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ART. VI.—*Contact of the Jews with the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, from the Division of the Hebrew Monarchy into two Kingdoms (B.C. 975) till the Entrance of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem (B.C. 333); and a View of Jewish Civilization.* By E. REHATSEK.

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The contact of the Jews with the *Assyrian empire* was limited to the period between B.C. 854 and B.C. 625, it having in the beginning of that period not only reached the height of its greatness, but also fallen therefrom at the end of it and been destroyed, when its old foe Media, assisted by Babylon, annihilated the empire.

Relations of Assyria, Babylonia, Media, and Persia to each other till their ultimate mersion into one vast empire.

*Babylonia* had been conquered by the Assyrians as early as B.C. 1250, and the country acknowledged the sovereignty of the Ninevite kings, although often trying to regain its independence, but recovering it only B.C. 747, under its own king Nabonassar, and retaining it till B.C. 680, when the Assyrian king Esar-haddon established, on his accession to the throne, once more the supremacy of Assyria, which lasted till Nabopolassar the Babylonian joined Cyaxares\* the Median in the last siege of Nineveh; and Babylonia recovered its independence,

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\* Old Pers. "Uvakshtra."

which was, however, finally lost when Belshazzar,\* having been attacked by Cyrus† the Persian, carelessly defended the city of Babylon and was slain, whilst Nabonidas, the Babylonian king, surrendered himself to Cyrus, B.C. 538.

Unlike Assyria, the reign of whose first king, Bel-lúsh, can be traced up to B.C. 1273,‡ no higher date can, with our present knowledge, be assigned to the commencement of a great *Median monarchy* than B.C. 650.§ The Medians had been conquered by Assyria B.C. 710, but often revolted; their first historical king, Phraortes,|| conquered Persia, attacked Assyria, and fell at Nineveh B.C. 633, but his son Cyaxares, although unsuccessful in his first attack of Nineveh, B.C. 632, took it in the second, B.C. 625. After him his son Astyages¶ reignèd peacefully, but (B.C. 558) the revolt of the Persians under Cyrus brought the Median empire to an end.

The *Persians* appear to have formed a part of a great *Áryan* migration from the countries about the Oxus, which began at a very remote time, but was not completed till about B.C. 650.\*\* A line of native Persian kings held the throne from Achæmenes†† to Cyrus, but relations of a feudal character bound Persia to Media either from the first, or for some time before Cyrus rebelled. He lived as a sort of hostage at the court of Astyages, and as he was growing up at Ecbatana‡‡ he saw that the strength of the Medes was undermined by luxury, and it occurred to him that it would be easy to make Persia an independent power. Accordingly the revolt of the Persians was due not to oppression, but to the ambition of one man. Media was conquered by and submitted to Cyrus B.C. 558, and when his expedition against Babylon, which had begun B.C. 539, terminated successfully the next year, B.C. 538, he became the liberator of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity. The empire thus founded by Cyrus the Great lasted for about 228 years, and was extinguished by Alexander the Great during the reign of Darius III. (Codomannus), who met him in person at the head of 600,000 men. After Darius had

\* Bil-shar-uzur. † Old Pers. 'Kurush;' conf. Sansk. 'Kuru.'

‡ G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 467.

§ G. Rawlinson's *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 31.

|| Name doubtful, Old Pers. 'Fravartish.'

¶ Zend 'Aj-dahak,' 'the biting snake.'

\*\* G. Rawlinson's *Manual of Ancient History*, p. 85.

†† Old Pers. 'Pakhâmanish.'

‡‡ Haudâu.

been defeated in several battles, the chief of which were at Issus, B.C. 333, and Arbela, B.C. 331, Bessus, the governor of Bactria, murdered him in the hope of succeeding him on the throne, and Darius was found by the Macedonians in his chariot covered with blood and almost expiring, B.C. 331.

It is at present a well-established fact that a certain concatenation exists among all the well-developed ancient religions; thus the origin of Greek and Roman mythology must be sought among the Egyptians, from whom they obtained their chief gods, deities corresponding to which occur not only more or less among the Hindus, but also the Assyrians and Babylonians. It appears that the idea of one omnipotent creator and governor of the universe was too grand for the human race in its childhood, which all the forces and phenomena of nature in their various aspects must have struck with awe, amazement, and terror: so that not only these, but all kinds of animate and inanimate objects, were deified, the number of gods being by degrees increased still more as men were prompted by superstition, selfishness, interest, &c. Also the Jews had "followed other gods, of the gods of the people that were round about them,"\* so that they were not only in historical, but also in religious contact with them, and their foreign gods will have to be considered; but, before doing so, it will be proper

The Pantheon of Assyria  
and Babylonia.

to give a brief account of the systems of religion prevalent among the four great nations with whom the Jews came in contact during the period under discussion.

The theology of the Assyrians, who were Semites like the Hebrews and Arabs, and of the Babylonians, who were Hamites, will not become well known until the many thousands of clay tablets now mouldering on the shelves of the British Museum are deciphered; † although much

\* Judges ii. 12.

† The incredulity which still exists on the subject of Assyrian decipherment would probably be removed by a knowledge of the fact that the translation of an inscription of the Assyrian monarch Tiglath-Pileser I., who succeeded Asshur-ris-Ilum about B.C. 1130, was executed in the year 1837, under peculiar circumstances:—Four gentlemen—Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert—were furnished simultaneously with a lithographed copy of the inscription, which was then unpublished; and these gentlemen, working independently, produced translations more or less complete of the document existing on a cylinder in the British Museum. The translations were published in parallel columns by Mr. Parker of the Strand, under the title of *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria, B.C. 1150*: London, J. W. Parker, 1857. (Cf. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, p. 310.)

has already been done to obtain data on the prodigious number of deities constituting the pantheons of these two nations, which ought to be considered separately, but which it is, in the present state of our knowledge, impossible to attempt. The difficulty is increased by the redundant nomenclature of the divinities, each having at least forty or fifty names, and also a female counterpart or spouse, as well as by their undefined character.

*Asshur* is "the king of all the gods." He belongs exclusively to the pantheon of Assyria, and in the list upon the clay tablets, seemingly drawn up for the purpose of explaining the mythology of Babylonia (which, it is quite clear, originated there) to the Assyrians, he is never mentioned, so that his synonyms have not yet become known.\* The country of Assyria derived its name from him, and it would seem that he was considered, as the head of the pantheon, of too high a rank to receive the homage of his votaries in any particular or special temple; but neither is his name found in the multitudinous lists of idols that have hitherto been examined. The Assyrian kings, however, from the earliest times, evidently regarded Asshur as a special tutelary divinity. They constantly used his name as an element in their own titles; they invoked him on all occasions which referred to the exercise of their sovereign functions; the laws of the empire were the laws of Asshur, and the tribute payable from dependent kingdoms was the tribute of Asshur. He was all and everything as far as Assyrian nationality is concerned, but he was strictly a local deity, and his name was almost unknown beyond the limits of Assyria Proper, and he is believed to be the deified patriarch of Gen. x. 11, the son of Shem who went forth from Shinar and founded the Assyrian empire.†

Of the two chief emblems connected with the worship of Asshur, the first is the winged circle or globe, considered to be also a symbol of Ormazd. It often occurs with the figure of a man protruding above and beneath it, and Mr. Layard believes it to have originated from a bird, which he actually found thus represented on a cylinder, and resembling the spread-eagle of the Roman standards. The second symbol is the sacred tree, which occurs in various forms; the simplest is a short pillar with two horns branching out, from which leaves are displayed; the more ornamental specimens are higher pillars with a number of arms

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Essay X., *Religion of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, by H. C. R., pp. 586 *seql.*

† *Ibid.*, p. 589.

branching out horizontally, each having a flower at its end. The *Asherah* of the Jews, always translated "grove" in the authorized version, was this sacred tree now described, and to be again mentioned further on when treating of the Hebrew idols, where also the figures of the Asherah, as occurring on the Nimrúd sculptures, may be seen.

Now we may consider the triad—believed to correspond to Pluto, Jupiter, and Neptune—which in the Assyrian lists usually follows Asshur, and in Babylonian mythology heads the pantheon, or is only preceded by the obscure god Ra or Il, the Arabic  $\text{الله}$  and  $\text{אל}$  pl.  $\text{אלים}$  of the Jews.

*Anu.*—The functions of this god are not clearly defined, but a very extensive class of synonyms of about twenty names occurring on the tablets are quite unintelligible except on the supposition that they refer to the infernal regions. He is usually mentioned in conjunction with the two other members of the triad; and Sargou, who appears to have had Anu in especial honour, associates him in his royal titles with the second god of the triad.

The name of the second god of this triad is still a matter of speculation, but his ordinary epithets are "the supreme, the father of the gods, the procreator," also "the lord, king of all the spirits, father of the gods, lord of the countries." His temples do not seem to have been very numerous, but there can be little doubt that, according to his character and position, he answers to the great father Jupiter of the Romans. His name is, for the sake of convenience, given as "Bel Nimrúd" by G. Rawlinson.\*

The third god of the triad answers to Neptune, and was probably named *Hea* or *Hou*; he was, although not strictly "the god of the sea," the presiding deity of "the abyss" or "the great deep." He is called "the king, the chief, the lord, the ruler of the abyss." There are no means at present of determining the precise meaning of the cuneiform *Hea*, which is Babylonian rather than Assyrian, but it may reasonably be supposed to be connected with the Arabic  $\text{حيه}$  *Hiya*, which equally means "life" and "serpent." There are strong grounds for connecting this serpent with that of Scripture, as well as with the Paradisiacal traditions of the tree of knowledge and the tree of life.† There is a remarkable phrase in an inscription of Sardanapalus on the

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 593.

† *Ibid.*, p. 600.

great bulls in the British Museum, in which the king himself takes the title of *Hea*. He says:—"I am Sardanapalus, the intelligent priest, the sentient guide (or fish); the senses of speaking, hearing, and understanding which Hea allotted to the whole 4,000 gods of heaven and earth, they in the fulness of their hearts granted to me, adding to these gifts empire and power and dominion."\*

With the preceding triad must be joined the supreme goddess known as *Mylitta* (*Malita* in Babylonia) and *Beltis* (in Assyria), whose ordinary title is "the wife of Bel-Nimrúd" and "mother of the great gods;" she appears, however, also as the wife of Asshur, and of *Nin* or Hercules. She is the famous Dea Syria who was worshipped at Hieropolis, and the Syriac name of the city "Mabog" is an old Persian translation of her favourite epithet, "mother of the gods." Her temples were numerous, and the bricks in the great ruin Bowárieh at Warká mostly bear her superscription, although the temple to which they belong was specially called *Bit-Ana*, or "house of Ana," an explanation being thus afforded of the title which she often bears, both in the Babylonian cylinder-seals and in the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, of "the lady of Bit-Ana." In the latter document, where she is noticed in connection with her temple outside of Babylon, she is called "the queen of fecundity;" and an analogous title is assigned to her at Khorsabad,† where, in conjunction with her husband, Bel-Nimrúd, she presides over the western gate of the city. She is also named "the queen of the lands" on the numerous tablets excavated from her temple on the great mound of Koyunjik. She had temples both at Ur (*Mugheir*) and in the city now marked by the ruins of Zerghúl. In the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser, where her temple is noticed at Asshur (*Shergát*), she is called the wife of Asshur. It is impossible to distinguish whether the great temple at Nimrúd (*Calah*), from which was brought the open-mouthed lion now in the British Museum, belonged to her or to Ishtar. At Nineveh (*Koyunjik*) she also had a temple, on the slabs of which the goddess is indicated indifferently by the name *Bilta Niprut*, and by the number 15, either expressed in figures or by the sign *Ri*; and it may therefore be presumed that when Esar-haddon invokes the goddess 15 of Nineveh and the goddess 15 of Arbela he is alluding to the same divinity. Yet the Arbela goddess was certainly

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 602.

† One of the four great mounds of Nineveh, the other three being Nimrud, Koyunjik, and Karamles.

Ishtar, and not Beltis ; and as Ishtar had also a great temple on the mount of Koyunjik, founded by Sardanapalus, she may be, throughout, the deity addressed by Esar-haddon.

We now come to the group composed of Æther, the Sun, and the Moon ; but as the reading of the name of the god who represents the sky, or Æther, continues to be the chief phonetic difficulty of cuneiform mythology,\* only Iva may be here mentioned as the provisional reading of his name. In Scripture *Ivah* is, in connection with some others,† mentioned as one “ of the gods of the nations,”‡ and not considered to belong to the Assyrians, as a god who was expected to deliver the Jews from them but did not. Sargon dedicated to him the northern gate of Khorsabad in conjunction with “ the Sun,” and invoked him as “ the establisher of canals of irrigation ;” Nebuchadnezzar employs almost the same epithet in alluding to his temple at Babylon. Tiglath-Pileser I. addresses him as “ he who casts the whirlwind over rebellious races and hostile lands.” The god *Iva* must have been known in Babylonia from the earliest times, as the son of Ismidagon§ of Ur, who founded temples at Asshur in the 19th. century before Christ. Nevertheless the name of the god is as yet unknown on the Babylonian bricks of the early dynasty, and it may be doubted whether he had any temples to the south except the two repaired by Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon and Borsippa. At Calah (the modern Nimrúd) he possessed a temple in common with Shala, his wife.

Associated with the god of the sky usually “ the Sun” and “ the Moon” occur. The Sun was probably named in Babylonia both *San* and *Sansi*, before his title took the definite Semitic form of *Shamas*, by which he is known in Assyria and in all the languages of that family. His usual title in the invocation passages is “ the regent of the heavens and earth.” Thus Tiglath-Pileser I. calls himself “ the proud chief who, under the influence of the Sun-god, sways the sceptre of power over man-

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 605.

† 2 Kings xviii. 34.

‡ *Ibid.*, verse 33.

§ Who the god Dagon was is still one of the obscurities of mythology, and it is doubtful whether the name has anything to do with דג “ a fish,” or with the Phœnician דגל; for in one passage of the inscriptions the pair are mentioned—Da-Gan for the male, and Da-las for the female—as if both the names were compounds ; and the explanation attached would seem to show that the titles appertained to the great gods Belus and Beltis. (G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 593.)

kind," &c. Sardanapalus, in the standard inscription of the north-west palace at Nimrūd, names Asshur and the Sun-god as the tutelary deities under whose influence he carried on his wars. Sargon, in his dedication to the Sun-god of the northern gate of Khorsabad, speaks of him as "he who has acquired dominion for me;" and the epithet employed by Nebuchadnezzar in noticing the temple of the Sun-god at Babylon is perhaps "the supreme ruler who casts a favourable eye on my expeditions." The Sun-god was probably one of the earliest objects of Babylonian worship. He had two famous temples (none specially dedicated to himself alone are known): the one was at Laracha (modern Senkereh), and the other at Sippara (modern Mosaib), and in both of them he was associated with his wife, Anunit or Gula. The male and female powers of the Sun, whose worship at Sippara was celebrated throughout the East, were by the Greeks identified with Apollo and Diana of their own mythology, and are in Scripture represented by "Adram-melech and Anam-melech, the gods of Sepharvaim," to whom the Sepharvaites burnt their children in fire;\* the first of these names may mean "fire-king" or "arranger" and "benefactor;" but the second, for the female sun, cannot be explained except in connection with the above-mentioned Anunit, whose primitive Babylonian name seems to be *Ati*, in which form she is found in most Babylonian documents to be associated as an object of worship with the Sun.†

The third god of this triad is the Moon, called *Sin* by the Assyrians and Babylonians,—pronounced probably *Hurki*. The most celebrated temple of the Moon-god appears in antiquity to have been in the city of *Hur*. Its site is now marked by the great mound of Mugheir, the excavation of which has yielded a vast number of bricks, tablets, clay cones and cylinders, all stamped with the names of different kings, but all bearing evidence of the worship of the Moon-god. Nabonidus, indeed, who seems to have been a special votary of *Sin* (for he calls him "the chief of the gods of heaven and earth.....in the city of Hur my lord"), expressly declares that he had found in the annals of Uruk—the oldest king whose name has been discovered in Babylonia—a record that he had commenced the temple in question; and the shrine, therefore, must have lasted throughout the entire period of the Babylonian monarchy, from its foundation to the time of Cyrus.

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\* 2 Kings xvii. 31.

† G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 612.



We now come to the five minor gods, who, if not of astronomical origin, were at any rate identified with the five planets of the Chaldæan system. In regard to four of the gods the identification is certain; but the identification of the first of them, whose ordinary names read phonetically *Bar* and *Nin-ip*, with Saturn is dubious, and it would rather appear\* that he is the celestial bull, Taurus, who bears the same names, or, perhaps, as far as the Greek accounts of the wars and hunting expeditions of Ninus may be received as genuine Oriental traditions, the true Assyrian Hercules, and the tutelary god of the Assyrian kings,† although, as the four remaining minor gods—*Bel-Merodach*, *Nergal*, *Ishtar*, and *Nebo*—respectively represent in the heavens the planets, the god we are now considering may, after all correspond with *Saturn*.‡

*Bel-Merodach*, or the planet *Jupiter*, originally belonged, probably, neither to the mythology of Babylonia nor Assyria. The earlier Assyrian kings usually name him in their prefatory invocations, but they do not seem to have held him in much veneration. Although, being the tutelary god of Babylon from an early period, he was in great estimation in that province,—as the Babylonian kings were generally named after him,—his worship does not appear to have been cordially adopted by Assyria until the time of Pul, who sacrificed to *Bel (Merodach)*, *Nebo*, and *Nergal*, in their respective high seats at Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha, and he took credit to himself for having first prominently placed Merodach in the pantheon of Assyria. Sargon, with-

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\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 618.

† The passage in the *Annals* of Tacitus, lib. xii., cap. 13, where the Assyrian Hercules is mentioned is as follows:—"Exim nivibus et montibus fessi, postquam campos propinquabant, copiis Carenis adiunguntur, transmissoque amne Tigri permeant Adiabenos, quorum rex Izates societatem Meherdatis palam induerat, in Gotarzen per occulta et magis fida inclinabat. Sed capta in transitu urbs Ninus, vetustissima sedes Assyriæ, castellumque insigne fame, quod postremo inter Darium atque Alexandrum prælio Persarum illic opes conciderant. Interea Gotarzes apud montem cui nomen Sanbulos vota dis loci suscipiebat, præcipua religione Herculi, qui tempore stato per quietem monet sacerdotes, ut templum juxta equos venatui adornatos assistant. Equi ubi pharetras telis onustas accipere, per saltus vagi nocte demum vacuis pharetris multo cum anhelitu redeunt. Bursum deus, qua silvas pererraverit, nocturno visu demonstrat, reperiunturque fuscæ passim feræ." It may be observed that here "the Assyrian capital" is by Tacitus merely called "the town of Ninus," which is rather vague, as well as the posting of a few horses near Mount Sanbulos at the temple by the priests, who no doubt made arrangements that the horses should, after having been used by Hercules in his nocturnal chase, return exhausted and without the arrows with which their quivers had been filled.

‡ G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 628.

out dedicating to him either temple or gate, paid him great honour. It is under the later Babylonian kings, however, that his glories seem to culminate. The inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar are for the most part occupied with the praises of Merodach. It is important to discriminate between Bel-Nimrúd and Bel-Merodach, although both of them appear to resemble Jupiter. The great temple of Babylon, which had the old Hamitic name of *Bit Saggath*, was the high place of the worship of Bel-Merodach, who was by Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, and Sargon called by the name of Bel alone when referring to the idol of that temple which is by the Greeks unanimously ascribed to Jupiter Belus.\* On the other hand, the only temple of Bel-Nimrúd in Assyria was at Calah, and even in Babylonia the great shrine Kharris-Nipra, supposed to have been situated at Niffer, and a smaller edifice raised to him at Akkarkuf, is known.†

The next god to be examined is *Nergal*, or *Mars*, the same who is mentioned as having been made by the men of Cutha,‡ situated about twelve miles from Babylon; the name is composed of *Ner* = man, or hero, and *gula* = great: hence "great hero." His analogy to Mars appears from his epithets, such as "the storm-ruler, the king of battle," &c. He was in the Assyrian sculptures represented as the *Man-Lion*, as his associate *Nin* was by the figure of the *Man-Bull*.

The goddess *Ishtar* is the *Ἄστάρτη* of the Greeks, *Astarte* of the Phœnicians, the *Astar* of the Hemyaritic inscriptions, and the *Asteroth* § of Scripture. She is the Babylonian planet Venus, *Nana*, *Nanæa*, &c., being even in the Assyrian inscriptions occasionally spoken of as "the lady of Babylon;" her aphrodisiac character is not mentioned in the inscriptions; on the Tiglath-Pileser cylinder she is "the head of the gods," "the queen of victory;" in the Sardanapalus inscription she is "the mistress of heaven and earth." Sargon, who

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay X., p. 629.

† In the famous denunciations of Isaiah against Babylon (ch. xlvi. 1), Bel and Nebo are spoken of as two great objects of worship, precisely as Sargon, who was the contemporary of Isaiah, uses the name of Bel and Nebo in the account of his Babylonian sacrifice. Jeremiah (l. 2), in a later age, distinguishes, it is true, between Bel and Merodach, but it is possible that he merely refers to separate idols of the same god.—G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Essay X., p. 629, note 7.

‡ 2 Kings xvii. 30.

§ 1 Kings xi. 5 and 33, *תַּיִשׁתִּים* is different from *תַּיִשׁתִּים* the plural, which appears to be a generic form for false goddesses.—G. Rawlinson's *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. I., p. 174, note 8.

joins her with *Anu* as the patroness of the western gate of Khorsabad, merely describes her as "the goddess who rejoices mankind." Although Sennacherib and Esar-haddon both mention her, they do not make any allusion to her functions; but in the hunting legends of Asshur-bani-pal she is distinctly called both "the goddess of war" and "the goddess of the chase." Her shrines were numerous; she had a fane at Asshur, and two very celebrated temples at Nineveh and Arbela. She is the Anaitis or Tanata of the Persians, chiefly of the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

*Nebo*, or *Mercury*, is the last of the five minor gods, and was also rather of Babylonian than of Assyrian origin. His epithets are "the holder of the sceptre of power, the god who teaches," &c. Nebuchadnezzar, who was under his special protection, calls him "the inspector of heaven and earth, who has given the sceptre of power into my hand for the guardianship of mankind." There are many other epithets which seem to refer to Nebo as the god of learning, or rather of letters; and it may be remarked that on the numerous tablets of Asshur-bani-pal, which the king ordered to be drawn up for the purpose of acquainting the people of Assyria with the language, the religion, the science, and even the literature of the earlier and more polished Babylonians, the work is usually said to be undertaken under the auspices of the "far-hearing" gods *Nebo* and *Warmitu*, in evident allusion to their character as the divinities who presided over knowledge.\*

This account of the Pantheon of the Assyrians and Babylonians now terminates with the enumeration of a few minor idols:—(1) *Allata*, probably the same with *Ἀλίττα* of Herodotus; (2) *Bel Zirpa*, a god to whom Nebuchadnezzar erected a temple; (3) *Idak* and his wife *Belat Muk*, gods of the Tigris, and *Supulat*, lord of the Euphrates; (4) *Kanisura*, who had a temple at Cutha; (5) *Kurrikh*, a goddess very frequently mentioned on the tablets; (6) *Sarrakhu* and *Manut*, lord and lady of *Kis*; (7) *Zamali* of *Khupshun*, also a great celebrity of the old Chaldean time; (8) *Lagumal*; (9) *Wada*, the *Wodd* of the Hemyaritic inscriptions and of the Korán; † (10) *Bahu*. ‡ The monstrous figures, e.g. a man with the head of an eagle or lion, and the claws of wild beasts, &c., occurring on basso-relievos or as statuettes, appear all to be representations of

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\* Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Essay X., p. 638.

† Surah LXXI.

‡ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Essay X., p. 641.

evil genii. The Assyrian idols were of stone, baked clay, or metal;\* and from the sculptures it appears that the animal and other sacrifices were analogous to those of the Hebrews, Hindus, Greeks, and Romans.

It is now universally admitted that the Medes and Persians were branches of the great Aryan family, and allied with each other both in language and religion. They not only merged into one government, but finally conquered their two Semitic neighbours, Assyria and Babylonia, and constituted the great Persian empire, which lasted from Cyrus to its overthrow by Alexander the Great. The unity of government thus established brought on no unity of language. Hence the trilingual inscriptions of Behistun, Persepolis, &c., consisting of an Indo-European, a Tartar, and a Semitic column, which the Persian monarchs were compelled to employ, to make themselves intelligible to their subjects.

The Magi, who considerably modified the religion of the Persians and the Medes, were a tribe of the latter, † but may be recognized as Scyths. ‡ The elemental worship and idolatry peculiar to the Medes are not mentioned in the first Fargard of the *Vendidad*, where the sixteen countries created by Ormazd, and identified with the present Sogd, Merv, Balkh, Herat, &c., are enumerated, and corresponding to each of which Ahriman created an evil, e.g. a great serpent and winter, a wasp which is very death to the cattle and to fields, ravenous beasts, slothfulness and poverty, Pairika (idolatry?), &c. Hymns, however, to Homa (the moon) and to Mithra (the sun) occur among the earliest parts of the *Zendavesta*, whose worship was common to the Persians with their Indian brethren; but their system of religion as developed in the *Zendavesta* is an emancipation from this sensuous and superficial nature-worship, as it begins with a distinct recognition of spiritual intelligences, i.e. real persons, with whom alone, and not with powers, religion is concerned. It divides these intelligences into good and bad, pure and impure, benignant and malevolent. To the former it applies the term *Asuras* (*Ahuras*), "living" or "spiritual beings," in a good sense; to the latter the term *Devas*, in a bad one. It regards the powers hitherto worshipped as chiefly *Devas*, but it

\* Sunt dii illorum lignei, et argentei et inaurati: *Baruch* vi. 69.

† Herodotus, bk. I., ch. 101.

‡ G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Essay V., p. 430, note 5.

excepts from this unfortunate view a certain number, and, recognizing them as Asuras, places them among the Izeds, or "angels." Thus far it has made two advances, each of great importance,—the substitution of real "persons" for "powers" as objects of the religious faculty, and the separation of the persons into good and bad, pure and impure, righteous and wicked. But it does not stop here; it proceeds to assert, in a certain sense, monotheism against polytheism. It boldly declares that at the head of the good intelligences is a single great Intelligence, Ahurô Mazdaô, the highest object of adoration, the true Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the Universe. This is its greatest glory. It sets before the soul a single Being as the source of all good, and the proper object of the highest worship.\* No statues or pictures of Ormazd or of the Izeds are known to have existed, and the aversion to such representations among the Parsees, in our times, is also well known.

The original exclusiveness of the Zoroastrian creed was, however, softened in course of time, and its contact with Magism resulted in a fusion therewith. The religious customs adopted from the Magians included also their opinions as to purity about the four so-called elements, to defile which was considered a great crime. Hence the difficulty about the disposal of corpses, which if thrown into any of the four elements would defile them, and consequently the very detailed rules in the *Vendidad* how to avoid their defilement by corpses. The leading feature of the Magian religion was ignolatri, which still flourishes among the Parsees, although the ceremonies are considerably reduced, and crowds of priests no longer chant their incantations according to the fashion of the Magi, with *Barsoms* and divining-rods in their hands, day after day at the fire-altars. After yielding so far to their surroundings as to adopt Magian tenets, the Zoroastrians went still further, and adopted the Babylonian Venus, Nana or Ishtar, whom the Babylonians themselves confused with Beltis, and called her Nanæa, † Anæa, Anaitis, or Tanata. At first idolatry in the literal sense was avoided, but Artaxerxes Mnemon, an ardent devotee of this goddess, introduced her images at Susa, Persepolis, Babylon, Ecbatana, Damascus, Sardis, and Bactra; this monarch set up also a statue to Mithra, so long an object of reverence, if not of actual worship, to the Zoroastrians. Towards the close of the empire two other gods emerged

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\* G. Rawlinson's *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. III., p. 96.

† 2 Maccab. i. 13, 15.

from the obscurity in which the lower deities of the Zoroastrian system were shrouded during the earlier and purer periods. Vohu-mano or Bah-man, whose image was of wood and borne in procession on certain occasions, and Amerdat or Amendat, two of the councillors of Ormazd, became subjects of idolatrous worship in shrines built to their honour ; also other idolatries were adopted, but no corruptions could blur the dualistic principle in which the supremacy of Ormazd always prevailed, as the most prominent doctrine of Zoroastrianism, down to our times, although the very names of the idols worshipped during the latter times of the empire have fallen into general oblivion.

Dualism, the germs of which occur already in the *Gathas*, the earliest portions of the *Zendavesta*, developed and maintained itself only in the Persian branch of the nation, but with the addition of elemental worship introduced among the Aryans by the Scyths, and more particularly the Magi, one of their tribes whom the Medes had subdued and amalgamated with ; and this Herodotus describes as the religion of the Persians :—“ The customs which I know the Persians to observe are the following : They have no images of the gods, no temples nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly. This comes, I think, from their not believing the gods to have the same nature with men, as the Greeks imagine. Their wont, however, is to ascend the summits of the loftiest mountains, and there to offer sacrifice to Jupiter, which is the name they give to the whole circumference of the firmament. They likewise offer to the sun and moon, to the earth, to fire, to water and the winds. These are the only gods whose worship has come down to them from ancient times.”\* In Herodotus there is no trace of Dualism, and no mention of Ormazd ; whereas, conversely, in the inscriptions there is nothing elemental, but the worship of the supreme God under the name of Ormazd. The conclusion from this is that Herodotus has had evidence of the religion of the masses only, which had not accepted Dualism,—that is to say, the religion of their Persian conquerors, the religion of the state or established worship ; whilst, on the other hand, the absence of the mention of elemental originally Scythian, and strictly Magian, religion in the inscriptions is no evidence of its not having constituted at the time of their composition a part of the Persian religion, as the omission may easily be accounted for by the great preëminence

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\* Herodotus, bk. I., ch. 131.

which the adoration of Ormazd naturally enjoyed after, as well as before, the addition of Magism to it. The fact that Herodotus knew of no other than the elemental religion is sufficient evidence of its extent; for not only was it predominant among the Medes, but also the bulk of the dominant Persians were well disposed towards it. How else could the Magi, who were a *caste*, and a very powerful one, consisting entirely of priests, put one of their own number, the pseudo-Smerdis, Gomates,\* on the throne of Persia. This was essentially a religious movement, intended to make Magism dominant. Priestcraft and sacerdotalism in general have in all parts of the world produced most disastrous results, and the small influence of the Desturs, Mobeds, and Herbeds of the Parsees may perhaps be ascribed to that ancient catastrophe in which the power of the Magi who aspired to royal power was broken, and they were so humbled that they never recovered it. The Persians, although accepting elemental worship and other additions to their religion, could not tolerate the novelty of a priest-king; a reaction took place as soon as it became known that the successor of Cambyses† was not the brother of Smerdis,‡ but a Magus. In this reaction Darius§ took the lead by right of his birth, and a general massacre of the priests ensued; their slaughter was commemorated in the annual festival of the Magophonia,|| and the Áryan faith was again triumphant. This appears plainly enough from the Behistun inscription, but particularly in col. IV., para. 14, of which I prefer to give Prof. Rawlinson's translation (*Herodotus*, vol. II., p. 590), with which also the later renderings, compiled by S. Birch and others, are materially identical:—

“Says Darius the king:—

The empire which had been taken away from our family,  
that I recovered;

I established it in its place, so I made (it).

The temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, I  
rebuilt.

\* Old Pers. *Gaumata*, “possessor of cows or herds.”

† Old Pers. ‘Kabujiya.’

‡ Old Pers. *Bardiya*, Zend *Beresya*, Vedic *Barhya* (elevated, glorious).

§ Daryavesh I., son of Hystaspes (Gushtasp, Vistaspa).

|| Herodotus, bk. III., ch. 79.

The sacred offices of the state, both the religious chants and the worship, (I restored) to the people, which Gomates the Magian had deprived them of.

I established the state in its place, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces.

As (it was) before, so I restored what (had been) taken away.

By the grace of Ormazd I did (this).

I arranged so that I established our family in its place.

As (it was) before, so I arranged (it), by the grace of Ormazd, so that Gomates the Magian should not supersede our family."

The whole Behistun inscription clearly proves that Darius was a monotheist, and thus he must naturally have sympathized with the Jews, who were such also; hence his permission, like that of Cyrus before him, and his encouragement, to their rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem. After the great defeat of Magism it could no longer aspire to attain supremacy, but nevertheless continued to influence the religion in such a manner as to amalgamate its own elemental worship with the more ancient Dualism, which, as has already been seen, was itself not the earliest creed of the Persians, at a time when the Áryan race, Indians and Eranians, had not yet adopted the conflicting creeds of Zoroastrianism and Bráhmañism.\*

Although the religion of the Jews became in course of time monotheistic, it was always mixed with polytheism, and its purification therefrom commenced only after the Babylonian captivity, so that the exclamation of Jeremiah (ii. 28, xi. 13), "As many as thy towns, O Judah, so are thy gods," need excite no astonishment. The Jews, indeed, did not merely, like the Persians, pray on high mountains and hills, but they "sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places and on the hills, and under every green tree,"† which proceedings were generally con-

\* At that remote period a polytheistic nature-worship, a recognition of various divine beings, called *Asuras* (*Ahuras*) or *Devas*, each independent of the rest, existed. All were seemingly nature-powers rather than persons, whereof the chief was *Indra*, storm or thunder; *Mithra*, sunlight; *Aramati* (*Armaiti*), earth; *Vayu*, wind; *Agni*, fire; and *Soma* (*Homa*), intoxication. (Haug, *Essays*, pp. 245-247.) This was the first stage of the religion; belief in Ormazd as the supreme creator the second; Dualism the third; fusion with Magism the fourth; purification of the religion by Darius after the Magophonia the fifth.

† 2 Kings xvi. 4.



nected with idols,\* and not seldom with astrolatry, for they burnt incense not only to Baal, but also “to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the host of heaven;”† and many examples of the polytheism of the Jews might be adduced:—“They forsook the Lord God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods, of the gods of the people that were round about them, and bowed themselves unto them, and provoked the Lord to anger. And they forsook the Lord, and served Baal and Ashtaroth.”‡

All the Semitic nations worshipped *Baal*, called in Babylon *Bel*, “the Lord,” and not only did the Jews form no exception, but even the Greeks and Romans promiscuously represented him and confounded him with Zeus, Saturn, Mars, or Hercules. Originally Baal appears to have been the Sun, or luminary governing and fructifying nature by its light and warmth; in course of time, however, various and the most contradictory ideas prevailed about him. As far as can be made out from the passages of the Old Testament where the Baalim are mentioned, it appears that they were either subordinate deities subject to Jehovah,—the honouring of whom did not, in the estimation of the people, detract from the worship of the God of Israel,—or else in the sanctuaries named “Baal of Judah,” “Baal of the well,” &c., originally none but Jehovah was worshipped. In other words, the different Baalim represented the Baal Jehovah, as the different Madonnas throughout the world—“Our Lady of Loretto,” “Our Lady of Salette,” &c.—all represent the Virgin Mary.§ This is the view of Dr. Oort, which was also adopted by Bishop Colenso, who adds to it the remark that “we must not in any case seek for pure monotheism in ancient Israel—much less apostasy from Jehovah,” and that everywhere in Canaan, before and after the arrival of the Israelites, the same deity, viz. the Sun, was worshipped as “the Baal;” whose great and mysterious name was JHWH (Jehovah),—there being no monotheism among the Jews, except among a few great minds, such as Samuel, &c.; that moreover even these men regarded Jehovah rather as the *Supreme* Deity, the “God of gods,” than as the *only* God.||

\* 1 Kings xiv. 23.

† 2 Kings xxiii. 5.

‡ Judges ii. 12, 13.

§ Dr. Oort's *The Worship of Baalim in Israel*. Translated by J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal, p. 48.

|| *Ibid.*, footnote on pp. 70 and 71 by Bishop Colenso.



*Astarte* was often confounded by the Jews with *Asherah*, and stands, as the chief female deity of the Canaanites, by the side of Baal,—the birth-giving by the side of the begetting force of nature. As in Baal the sun, so in *Astarte* the *moon* was worshipped for its pure light and influence on earthly life, but with great differences according to localities and times. Thus she was on the one hand worshipped as the celestial virgin, according to the manner of the Greek *Artemis* or also *Juno*,—hence pure and earnest; but on the other as *Venus*, with all the abominations of lust, and also confounded with *Beltis* or *Mylitta* in *Babylon* and elsewhere. As has already been observed, this female deity was under various names, but chiefly by the attributes of *Venus*, worshipped by the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, and the Jews adored her under the name of *Ashtaroth*.\* This last view of the female deity became afterwards gradually the dominant one, as the deterioration of her service can be traced in various Asiatic religions. The progress from the early simple worship of Baal and *Astarte* as stars, without any symbols, soon developed itself into a brilliant ceremonial service with costly images, and the intelligent contemplation of nature at first inherent in this service gradually disappeared in the external symbolism of statues. In the same way deterioration set in also in a moral sense, so that at last the lascivious character of Baal and *Astarte* worship prevailed. The name "*Astarte*" is undoubtedly of Semitic origin, and has nothing to do with "*Esther*." It is probably derived from a root which means in the Semitic languages "to connect, to form a community with each other:" wherefore it expresses in them also the number ten (عشر), as being a connection of all the fingers. Accordingly, by *Astor*, *Astoret*, or *Astarte*, originally the force uniting all creatures with one another, and the world with God, and at the same time the productive force of nature, was meant. Among the Jews, *Astarte* was confounded not only with the *Asherah*, but also with the queen of the heavens.†

The *Asherah* was an artificial structure, originally of wood,‡ but in later times probably of metal,§ capable of being "set" in the temple of Jerusalem by one king,|| and "brought out" by another.¶ It was a structure for which hangings could be made\*\* to cover it,

\* Judges ii. 13, x. 6; 1 Sam. vii. 3, xii. 10, xxxi. 10; 1 Kings xi. 33; 1 Chron. vi. 71.

† Jer. vii. 18, xlv. 17 seq.

‡ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

§ *Ibid.* xxiii. 6.

|| *Ibid.* xxi. 7.

¶ *Ibid.* xxiii. 6.

\*\* *Ibid.* ver. 7.

while at the same time it was so far like a tree that it could properly be said to be "cut down," rather than "broken" or otherwise demolished,\* and its essential element was "the straight stem of a tree." The subjoined drawings represent three forms of the Asherah, which is in the Old Testament spelt אֲשֵׁרָה (from אָשַׁר *Ashar*, the root being אָשַׁר "to be straight, erect"), and was a phallus like the *Lingam* of the Hindus. G. Rawlinson † believes that the sacred tree occurring in frequent connection with the symbol of the Assyrian god Asehur is a subject of curious speculation, as it may stand connected with the Asherah of the Phœnicians, which was certainly not a "grove," as rendered in the authorized version of the Old Testament, and that (to say the least) it is extremely uncertain whether the idea connected with the emblem was of the same nature with that which underlay the phallic rites of the Greeks.

The Asherah, which was considered a great abomination by the sacred writers, is mentioned nearly thirty times in the Scriptures, ‡ but its real character appears chiefly from 2 Chron. xv. 16 and 1 Kings xv. 13, in both of which it occurs in connection with the word אֲשֵׁרָה rendered in the authorized English version simply by "idol," probably on account of its indecent meaning, and for the same reason only transliterated in Luther's German translation as *Miplezeth*, whilst the French Bible has for the word in the first passage "idole infame," and in the second, where it occurs twice, we have the first time "marmouset," and the second simply "idole." In the Vulgate § the two passages stand as follows:—

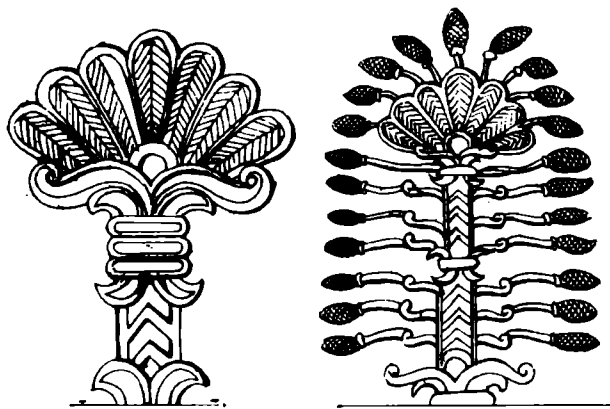
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\* Judges vi. 25, 28; 2 Kings xxiii. 14; 2 Chron. xiv. 3, xxxi. 1, &c. Ahab made an Asherah (1 Kings xvi. 33), and it had also prophets, "four hundred, which eat at Jezebel's table" (*Ibid.* xviii. 19).

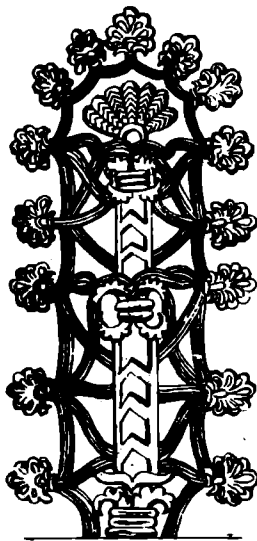
† *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. II., pp. 236-237.

‡ Exod. xxxiv. 13; Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3, xvi. 21; Judges vi. 25, 26, 28, 30; 1 Kings xiv. 15, 23; 2 Kings xiii. 6, xvii. 10, 16; xviii. 4, xxi. 3, xxiii. 15; 2 Chron. xiv. 3, xvii. 6, xxiii. 3, 19; xxiv. 3, 4, 7; xxx. 1; Isa. xvii. 8; Jer. xvii. 2; Micah v. 13.

§ Hujus autem veteris ac vulgatæ editionis tanta semper fuit auctoritas, tanque excellens præstantia, ut eam cæteris omnibus Latinis editionibus longe anteferebam esse, apud æquos judices in dubium revocari non possit. Qui namque in ea libri continentur (ut a majoribus nostris quasi per manus traditum vobis est) partim ex sancti Hieronymi translatione, vel emendatione suscepti sunt, partim retenti ex antiquissima quadam editione Latina, quam sanctus Hieronymus communem et Vulgatam, sanctus Augustinus Italiam, sanctus Gregorius Veterem translationem appellat. (BIBLIA SACRA vulgatæ editionis Sixti V. Pontificis Maximi jussu recognita et Clementis VII. auctoritate edita, Parisiis, 1851. Præfatio ad Lectorem, p. 1.)



*Simple forms of the Asherah or sacred tree (Nimrud)*



*Most elaborate Asherah (Nimrud)*

“Sed et Maacham matrem regis ex augusto deposuit imperio, eo quod fecisset in luco simulacrum Priapi: quod omne contrivit et in frusta comminuens combussit in torrente Cedron.” (2 Paralipomenon xv. 16.)

“Insuper et Maacham matrem suam amovit ne esset princeps in sacris Priapi, et in luco ejus quem consecraverat: subvertitque speciem ejus, et confregit simulacrum turpissimum, et combussit in torrente Cedron.” (3 Regum xv. 13.)

The two passages stand in the original as follows:—

וְגַם מַלְכָּם אִם אֵלֵּי הַמֶּלֶךְ הַסֵּדֶה מִנְבִּיחָה אֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָה לְאִשְׁתָּהּ מִלְּמַחֵה וַיִּכְרֶה אֶמָּא אֲדַמְסַלְמַתָּה  
 וַיִּרְקֵב הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּנֵהל עֵדְרוֹן: (2 Chron. xv. 16.)

וְגַם אֲדַמְסַלְמַתָּה אִמּוֹ הַסֵּדֶה מִנְבִּיחָה אֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָה מִלְּמַחֵה וַיִּכְרֶה אֶמָּא אֲדַמְסַלְמַתָּה וַיִּרְקֵב  
 בְּנֵהל עֵדְרוֹן: (1 Kings xv. 13.)

*Moloch*, “king,” is an old Canaanitish idol related to Baal, called Baalmelech, Melkarth (“king of the town”), Malkom, &c. by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. This idol was worshipped by the Canaanites, and since the time of Ahaz by the Israelites also, who sacrificed infants to it in the valley of Hinnom, the statue being of brass, hollow, with the head of a bull, and the arms of a man, stretched forth to receive the children. This statue was heated, and living children were placed in its glowing arms, whilst all kinds of noises were made in the vicinity, with drums, fifes, and other instruments around the idol, to prevent the cries of the infants from being heard. This, however, is certain only concerning the Moloch-worship of the Carthaginians; the Israelites first slaughtered their children, and then placed them in the arms of the god.\* By this cremation the children were given to the idol for food, and the sacrifice had no object, but was introduced to propitiate and to bribe the god by costly gifts, *i.e.* children, when calamities had either happened already, or were impending. In some of the passages mentioned in the last footnote but one, the expression “to pass through the fire” does not mean actual burning, but passing several times through the fire,—a purification by fire, whereby the children were dedicated to Moloch; a kind of fire-baptism, which preceded the sacrifice, and in more ancient times took place alone, without the actual sacrificing, *i.e.* killing and burning,—which more

\* Ezek. xv. 20 *seq.* Conf. Jer. xxxii. 35; 2 Kings xxiii. 10, xvi. 3, xvii. 17, xxi. 6; Ps. cvi. 37 *seq.*

ancient and less cruel usage is probably meant in Leviticus xviii. 21, xx. 2, and Deut. xviii. 10. This purification by fire was in vogue also among other nations, and probably also the terrible worship of Moloch degenerated from some less cruel rite, but it is not certain whether these human sacrifices during the time of Ahab have any connection with the appearance of the Assyrians in Palestine, and are to be derived from an acquaintance then obtained by the Israelites with the fire-gods of the Assyrians, who threw certain Jews set "over the affairs of the province of Babylon,"\* and therefore high above the level of their fellow-captives, "into the burning fiery furnace,"† because they would not adore the golden image set up by Nebuchadnezzar.

Besides the gods now briefly discussed, others are incidentally mentioned in Scripture, e.g. *Tammuz*,‡ who was the Adonis of the Greeks; *Dagon*, an idol of the Phœnicians,§ to whom all fish, as symbols of fertility, were dedicated, and who was, together with his spouse *Derkets*, worshipped as the natural force which produces everything from moisture. During the reigns of Ahaz and Manasseh, the *Sun* and *Moon* also, with the other luminaries, but especially the twelve signs of the zodiac, were worshipped|| after the invasion of the Assyrians, among whom the astral deities were not considered, according to their moistening force operating on natural life, to fertilize it as sexually distinct powers, begetting and giving birth, but only as the directors and guides of terrestrial affairs, which ideas afterwards developed themselves into astrology; besides which, the craving to know future events, inherent in the nature of man, gave rise also to many other superstitions among all nations. Thus we find witchcraft prohibited very early in the Scriptures.¶ Familiar spirits are mentioned; \*\* and serpent charms, †† whose practices may still be observed in their modern successors of Egypt, India, and the East generally, were employed by the Jews. Also allusions to practices the precise nature of which can no longer be ascertained occur; ‡‡ they appear to have been taken from the Chaldæans, who allowed two stones standing erect to fall to the ground, and who affected to discover a good or bad omen from their position towards the right or left when allowed to fall

\* Dan. iii. 12.

† *Ibid.*, ver. 20.‡ Ezek. viii. 14 *seq.*§ 1 Sam. v. 2 *seq.*

|| 2 Kings xxiii. 5, xxi. 3, 5.

¶ Ex. xx. 18; Lev. xix. 26, 31; Deut. xviii. 10.

\*\* Isa. viii. 19, xxix. 4.

†† Ps. lviii. 4, 5; Jer. viii. 17; Eccles. x. 11.

‡‡ Jer. ii. 27; Hos. iv. 12.

down whilst the operator was reciting an incantation. Divining arrows also are used for such purposes, and even kings did not disdain to employ them.\* The pre-Islamitic Arabs were so addicted to this practice and to the casting of lots that both superstitions were forbidden when Muḥammad promulgated the Kūrán.† They, as well as the Jews, learnt early the use of certain cups inscribed with cabalistic figures and incantations. Both nations had also amulets and various other superstitions in common,‡ and the cups at present in vogue among Muhammadans are likewise an inheritance of Babylonian and Jewish antiquity;§ those brought by Mr. Layard from Babylonia and deposited in the British Museum were the work of the descendants of the captive Jews, 20,000 of whom were in the 12th century still dwelling within twenty miles of Babylon. The title "the people of the captivity" appears on one of the cups, and they must have been made by the Jews of Babylonia and Chaldæa.

A very mixed religion flourished among the Jews, but chiefly among the Samaritans, who consisted of the remnant of the ten tribes, and the numerous colonists who had arrived from the Assyrian provinces. At the request of the polytheist colonists, the Assyrian king (Esar-haddon?) sent an Israelite priest from among the deported Jews, as well as a calf-priest, to Samaria, so that a confused Jehovistic service, under the symbols of calves or heifers, prevailed in Samaria with the national polytheism of Assyria and Babylonia.|| Already after the destruction of Jerusalem, worshippers of Jehovah among the Samaritans joined the divine service at Jerusalem¶; such was still more the case after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity. This, it seems, was what attracted the descendants of the colonists who formed the chief part of the population, and induced them to demand a position of equality with the

\* Ezek. xxi. 21.

† See V. 4. <sup>وَأَنْ تَسْتَقْسِمُوا بِالْأَزْلَامِ</sup> and "Of certain Negative Precepts in the Kūrán," p. 90, Sale's *Prel. Disc. to Kūrán*.

‡ See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. X., pp. 313 seq.; my paper "On the Evil Eye, Amulets, &c."

§ *Ibid.* vol. X., pp. 150 seq.; my paper "Explanations and Facsimiles of Eight Arabic Talismanic Medicine-Cups."

|| 2 Kings xvii. 24 seq.; xxiii. 15-19; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6, 9; xxxv. 18.

¶ Jer. xli. 5.



new community of Jerusalem. This demand was, however, not complied with. On the contrary, Ezra and, after him, still more Nehemiah purged the new community from all polytheistic elements with inexorable severity.\* This strictness gave rise to a great deal of quarrelling, and one of the malcontents, Jaddua, the son of the high-priest Joiada, betook himself, no doubt in company with others, to the Samaritans,† among whom he established firm religious laws and a regular worship; whilst Sanballat, the governor of Darius III. in Samaria, built a temple for him on Mount Gerizim, which greatly strengthened his cause. The secession of Jaddua to Samaria will be described more in detail further on, in the history of the Jews. As the divine service then established was under the direction of one of the race of high-priests, and was arranged according to the Law of Moses, the Samaritans considered it the more justifiable; they acknowledged only the books of the Pentateuch of Moses as sacred documents, and rejected all traditions. The tenets of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees developed themselves gradually, and did not assume prominence till the period of the Maccabees, when the Jews again recovered a little temporary social and religious independence; but that period does not fall within the compass of this paper.

Attempts were made by the kings of Assyria to propagate their religion, and nothing is more universal than the practice of setting up in the subject countries "the laws of Asshur" and "altars of the great gods." In some instances not only altars, but temples, are erected, and priests are left to superintend the worship and secure its being properly conducted. Sennacherib goes so far as to say that he has "established his religion and laws over all the men who dwell in every land;" but the history of Judæa is enough to show that the continuance of the national worship was at least tolerated, though some formal acknowledgment of the presiding deities of Assyria on the part of the subject nations may not improbably have been required in most cases. It is probable that the altar which Ahaz saw at Damascus, and of which he sent a pattern to Jerusalem,‡ was Assyrian rather than Syrian, and that he adopted the worship connected with it in deference to his Assyrian suzerain.§

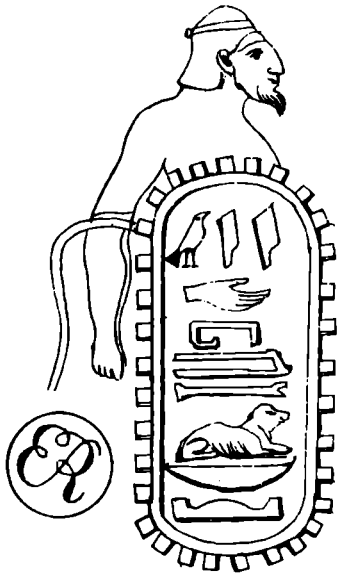
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\* Ezra. ix., x.; Neh. xiii.

† Neh. xiii. 28. Conf. ii. 19, iv. 1 *seq.*, 7 *seq.*

‡ 2 Kings xvi. 10.

§ G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Appx., Essay VII., p. 195.



## HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

Solomon died at the age of 94 years, and had before his death the mortification of seeing Jeroboam, a man of obscure extraction, dispute the throne with him. The rebel fled to Egypt, but returned immediately after the demise of Solomon, whose son Rehoboam was about to succeed him in the government, and Jeroboam became the rival of Rehoboam; the former appears, however, to have been a man of wealth, as he had built himself a palace at Shechem, and another at Peniel, as well as two little temples, the one at Bethel, and the other at Dan,\* in order to keep the people from going to Jerusalem to hold the Feast of Tabernacles, which was the beginning of his idolatrous practices. Thus the Hebrew monarchy was, in the year B.C. 975, split into two small kingdoms, *Judah* governed by Rehoboam, and *Israel* by Jeroboam, the former consisting of two tribes and having its seat at Jerusalem, whilst the latter comprised the remaining ten, with Shechem for its capital. The separation was entirely bloodless, and the number of 500,000 men slain of the ten rebellious tribes in a battle which took place after the demise of Rehoboam,—in B.C. 958, after a reign of nearly eighteen years,—by his son and successor Abijah, appears to be much exaggerated, especially if it be considered that Rehoboam and his people had some years before (B.C. 971) been so terribly afraid of Shishak, the king of Egypt, that he not only took Jerusalem, a place often valiantly defended on several later occasions against most powerful adversaries, without any resistance or fighting, but spoiled the temple, and carried off all the treasures, the bucklers of gold, and the shields Solomon had made,† so that nothing was left; and, moreover, the crime of impiety brought against Jeroboam applies just as well also to Rehoboam;‡ the record of Shishak's campaign against the latter, which still remains on the outside of the great temple of Karnak, in Egypt, bears an additional interest from the name *Yudh malk*, or *Youd-ha malok*, mentioned on the accompanying drawing, which had for a long time been read *Yuda hammelek* (*Heb.*), “king of Judah,” considering the Jewish-looking physiognomy to represent Rehoboam *Yudh* probably designates the old *Yehud* (*Josh.* xix. 45); the *malk*,

\* Josephus, *Antiq. of the Jews*, bk. VIII., ch. viii. 4.

† 2 Chron. xii. 3-9.

‡ *Ibid.*, ver. 2 seq.

however, or *malok*, still waits for an explanation. The inscriptions are read in a direction contrary to that to which the head points, thus:—

a leaf = Y  
 again a leaf = O  
 a bird = U  
 a hand = D  
 the symbol under the hand = H  
 the next sign = M  
 the sign over the lion = A  
 the lion = L  
 the sign under the lion = K

The last sign is said to mean that the preceding is the name of a country. In this relieve image Pharaoh Shishak or Sheshonk I. described his victorious campaign against the Jews, pointed out in the last footnote. This monument contains more than 130 human figures, with their hands tied behind their backs, led by Amun and the goddess Neit to Pharaoh; and the lower part of this series of prisoners is covered by shields like the one just explained.

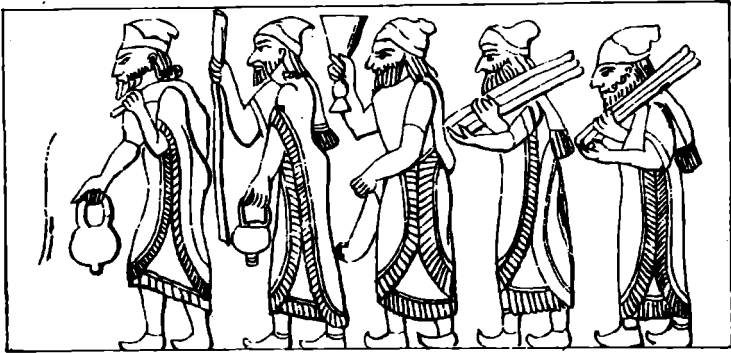
Ahab, the seventh king of Israel, who begat seventy sons,\* began to reign B.C. 918, and remained twenty-two years on the throne. He continued to worship the heifers of Jeroboam and of his successors; and having married Jezebel, a daughter of the king of the Tyrians, he learnt to worship her gods also. This woman was active and bold, and built a temple to Belus, for which she appointed priests. Ahab fought with Benhadad of Damascus, whom he first defeated, but afterwards himself fell, fighting against him at Ramoth-Gilead. He also fought against the Assyrians, but the first direct contact of the Jews with them, of which we have any record, occurred in the reign of Jehu, the tenth king of Israel, whose reign began B.C. 883, and lasted twenty-eight years. One of the five epigraphs on the black obelisk records the tribute which *Yakua* (Jehu) brought to Shalmanubar, *i.e.* Shalmaneser II. (very likely the Shalman of Hosea x. 14, who reigned probably from B.C. 900 to B.C. 860, *i.e.* forty years), the Assyrian king who set up the monument.† This work of art was discovered

\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. IX., ch. v. 5.

† G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., Essay VII., p. 465. There are no less than three accounts of this war of Shalmaneser II., which he undertook B.C. 854, in the sixth year of his reign, namely, on the Kurkh monolith, on the bull inscription (Layard, p. 45), and on the just-mentioned black obelisk—all of which are translated in Extracts I., II., and III., p. 106, in George Smith's *Assy-*



*Jewish Prisoners presented by a Eunuch.*



*Israelites bringing tribute to Shalmaneser II.*

at Nimrúd in a prostrate position under the *débris* which covered Shalmaneser's palace. It contained bas-reliefs in twenty-five compartments, five on each of its four sides, the space above, between, and below them being covered with cuneiform writing sharply inscribed in a minute character. In the inscription Jehu is called "the son of Omri;" Samaria was known to the Assyrian monarchs of this period as "Beth-Khumri," "the house or the city of Omri," which implied the existence at some previous time of a king Omri, the founder; and Jehu in his dealings with the Assyrians seems to have represented himself to them as this man's "son" or "descendant," which may have been true.\* The bas-reliefs represent the monarch, accompanied by his vizier and other chief officers, receiving the tribute of five nations, whose envoys are ushered into the royal presence by officers of the court, and prostrate themselves at the great king's feet ere they present their offerings.† The two drawings subjoined are the just-mentioned bas-reliefs on the black obelisk, and represent Israelites.

At this period of time the Assyrians had established their dominion over the whole of Upper Syria, over Phœnicia, Hamath, and Samaria, or the kingdom of the Israelites. These countries were not indeed reduced to the form of provinces,—on the contrary, they still retained their own laws, administration, and native princes; but they were henceforth really subject to Assyria, pretty nearly as the so-called independent princes of India are in our times feudatories of Great Britain.

Athaliah, although a daughter of Ahab the king of Israel by Jezebel, became queen and seventh sovereign of Judah, reigning from B.C. 884 to 878, when she was put to death by Jehoiada the high-priest, who proclaimed Joash, whom she had failed to murder with the rest of the royal family. During her short reign of six years, which was contemporaneous with a portion of that of Jehu in Israel, she succeeded in substituting the worship of Baal for that of Jehovah.

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*rian Eponym Canon.* Various attempts have been made to identify the Ahab of Extract I. with the king of Israel of that name, because the date there given is more than forty years after that king according to the Bible chronology; but the name alone ought not to cause so much difficulty, as it perhaps does not belong to the Hebrew king.

\* G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. II., p. 365. G. Smith, in his *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, p. 190, also suggests that the identity of the Jehu of the Bible and of the Jehu of the inscriptions is not proved, and that these notices, e.g. in the annals of Shalmaneser, B.C. 842, Extracts VIII. and IX., are not enough to force us to alter all our Biblical dates.

† *Ibid.*, p. 367.

After having briefly noticed a few sovereigns of both kingdoms, we shall now take up separately the kingdom destroyed first, namely Israel, then Judah, and lastly the history of the people from the captivity till the entrance of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem, taking notice chiefly of those sovereigns only who came in contact with Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia.

#### THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

*Menahem*, the sixteenth king of Israel, reigned from B.C. 772 to B.C. 762. He was the general of the army, but proclaimed himself king after having slain Shallum, another pretender to the throne. He entered Tapsah (Thapsacus) after besieging the city, the inhabitants of which he slew, not even sparing the infants, but killing all with great barbarity, which is the more surprising as the people were his own countrymen. Thus Menahem reigned for several years, when Pul, the king of Assyria, marched against him; but Menahem, unwilling to meet his foe, persuaded Pul to accept a thousand talents of silver and to go away.\* This Pul may perhaps be Iva-lush, of whom a pavement slab exists, from the upper chamber of Nimrud, whereon the reception of tribute is noticed from the Medes, Partsu, Minui, and Nairi on the north and east, from the country of Khumri or Samaria, from Tyre, Sidon, Damascus, Idumæa, and Palestine on the Western Sea.† The Assyrian records do not merely omit the Biblical Pul, but exclude him; and various explanations of the difficulty have been suggested. He may have been an Assyrian general, or a pretender to the throne, mistaken by the Jews for the actual king. Sir H. Rawlinson, as well as Professor Schrader, now supposes Pul to be a second name of Tiglath-Pileser II., who reigned B.C. 745-727; this view, however, necessitates lowering the date of the accession of Menahem, king of Israel, to B.C. 744, and obliges us to make corresponding reductions above, so that the date of the death of Solomon would fall about B.C. 932. This question is discussed at length in George Smith's *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 183 *seq.*

\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. IX., ch. xi. 1, and 2 Kings xv. 19, where the expression "that his [*i.e.* Pul's] hand might be with him [*i.e.* with Menahem] to confirm the kingdom in his [*i.e.* Menahem's] hand," appears to imply a kind of protection expected by a vassal; and this confirmation is mentioned also in the same sense in 2 Kings xiv. 5, with reference to Amaziah, the king of Judah, who may on that account likewise be supposed to have been a vassal of Assyria, as will be seen further on.

† Cf. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 467

*Pekiah* was as cruel as his father *Menahem*, and reigned two years, from B.C. 762 to B.C. 760, being murdered by *Pekah*, the general of his horse, who became the eighteenth king, and reigned twenty or thirty years, B.C. 760 to B.C. 730. The annals of *Tiglath-Pileser II.*, the Assyrian king contemporary with *Pekah*, and perhaps even with *Menahem*, extend over the space of seventeen years, but exist only in a very fragmentary state, having been engraved on slabs which were afterwards defaced by *Sargon* or his descendants, and used by *Isar-haddon* as materials for the buildings which he erected at *Nimrúd*—the ancient *Calah*. According to the records, he defeated *Rezin*, the king of *Damascus*, took and destroyed the city, and received tribute from the king of *Samaria* (whom he calls *Menahem*, by mistake for *Pekah*), &c. From a comparison of the narrative in the *Book of Kings* with the prophet *Isaiah*, it appears that *Tiglath-Pileser II.* invaded the dominions of *Pekah*, the king of *Israel*, *twice*.\* The first time when he “took *Ijon* and *Abel-beth-Maachah* and *Janoah*, and *Kedesh*, and *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, and *Galilee*, and all the land of *Naphtali*,† and again when he came up at the invitation of *Ahaz*‡ and broke the power both of *Syria* and *Samaria*.§ The latter of these expeditions appears to be that mentioned in his annals. It was undertaken at the request of *Ahaz*, who had recently ascended the throne, and found himself hard pressed by the combination against him of *Pekah* and *Rezin*, who had been previously engaged in war with his father.|| On condition of receiving aid against these enemies, *Ahaz* consented to become tributary to the Assyrian king.¶ Then *Tiglath-Pileser* marched against *Pekah*, and overran the whole district beyond *Jordan*; after which it is probable that *Pekah* submitted and consented to pay an annual tribute. On this occasion *Tiglath-Pileser* transplanted the people of *Damascus* to *Upper Media*, and brought a colony of Assyrians which he planted at *Damascus*. He also afflicted the land of *Israel* and took from it many captives. The tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half-tribe of *Manassch*, which had possessed the country between the *Jordan* and the desert from the time of *Moses*, were seized and carried away captive by the conqueror, who placed them in

\* This seems to follow from the difference of localities mentioned in *2 Kings* xv. 29 and *1 Chron.* v. 26. In *Isa.* ix. both expeditions appear to be meant.

† *2 Kings* xv. 29.

‡ Twelfth king of *Judah*, from B.C. 742 to B.C. 726.

§ *2 Kings* xvi. 5-9.

|| *Ibid.* xv. 37.

¶ *Ibid.* xvi. 7.



Upper Mesopotamia on the affluents of the Bilikh and the Khabur, and from about Horran to Nisibis. Some cities situated on the right bank of the Jordan in the territory of Issachar but belonging to Manasseh were at the same time seized and occupied: among them Megiddo, in the great plain of Esdraelon, and Dur or Dor, upon the coast;\* Assyrian governors were also appointed in various districts.

*Hoshea*, who reigned from B.C. 730 to B.C. 721, was the nineteenth and last king of Israel. He murdered Pekah,† and was so terrified at the approach of "Shalmaneser, king of Assyria," and the probable successor of Tiglath-Pileser, that he agreed to pay annual tribute, "became his servant, and gave him presents;"‡; but having afterwards obtained the protection of Shebek (Sabaco, Shishak), king of Egypt,§ he revolted and withheld his tribute, when Shalmaneser once more came up against him in person and incarcerated him. Shalmaneser laid siege to Samaria, the people of which defied his utmost efforts to conquer them for nearly three years, which is a great contrast to the above-mentioned pusillanimity of Hoshea.|| "In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, carried the people of Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in cities of the Medes."¶ It has been usual to ascribe the taking of Samaria to Shalmaneser, who reigned only six years, from B.C. 726 to 721; but in the verse just quoted his name does not occur, and only the king of Assyria is mentioned; if, therefore, we may trust the direct statement of Sargon, the successor of Shalmaneser on the throne, the former must be considered the actual captor of the city. Sargon relates that he took Samaria in his first year, and carried into captivity 27,280 families.\*\* Sargon or Sargina,†† who mounted the Assyrian throne B.C. 721, was the founder of a dynasty, and therefore most probably a usurper; Shalmaneser having either died or been deposed while Hoshea still held out, the final captivity of Israel fell into the reign of his successor.‡‡

\* 1 Chron. v. 26. See also note 8 in G. Rawlinson's *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. II., p. 398.

† 2 Kings xv. 30.

‡ *Ibid.* xvii. 3.

§ *Ibid.* xvii. 4. That the So, or rather Seveh (שֵׁבַע) mentioned in this passage represents the Egyptian name Shebek, is the general opinion of commentators.—G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, p. 403, note 12.

|| 2 Kings xvii. 5 and xviii. 10.

¶ *Ibid.* xvii. 6.

\*\* 2 Kings xvii. 6, and also xviii. 11.

†† Isaiah xx. 1.

‡‡ G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. I., Appx., bk. i., pp. 471-72.

Thus the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judæa 240 years 7 months and 7 days after they had revolted from Rehoboam, according to Josephus,\* who also states† that the people removed by the king of Assyria to Samaria—called Cuthæans, from Cutha, a country in Persia‡—always sided in his time with the Jews when they were in prosperity, pretending to be their kinsmen, as though they were derived from Joseph, but in the contrary case declared that they were sojourners coming from other countries. According to the number of years assigned to the reigns of its sovereigns, this kingdom came to an end after 230, but according to others after 250 years, and the facts that out of nineteen kings eight met with a violent death, and also that these nineteen belonged to nine different families, appear sufficiently to show that not much regard was had to hereditary rights; and the constant additions to or changes in the religion by the adoption of new and foreign deities, bear undoubted testimony to the unsettled state of political and religious principles from the beginning to the end of this kingdom.

#### THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH.

The duration of the kingdom of Judah was longer than that of Israel, as it amounted to three and a half, the latter only to two and a half centuries. In Judah, moreover, the kings followed each other in hereditary succession almost without a break in a direct line of descent as long as there was no foreign intervention; and although it consisted only of two tribes, and Israel of ten, the disadvantage was compensated for by its unity, the strong position of Jerusalem its capital, and the indomitable spirit of its inhabitants, who, being surrounded by foes, were always on the alert, and knew how to resist them, and who, although repeatedly compelled to accept ignominious terms of peace, and condemned to see their capital on three occasions in the occupation of the enemy, always arose from disasters with their strength seemingly unimpaired. It has already been observed above that *Athaliah* the queen of Judah had failed to put to death Joash, which fact Jehoiada had communicated to certain captains of hundreds, five in number, to whom he proposed to place the child on the throne. Jehoiada distributed arms to the captains of hundreds, as also to the priests and Levites, so that the child *Joash*, being anointed and crowned,

\* *Ant.*, bk. IX., ch. xiv. 2.

† *Ibid.* 3.

‡ Ruins of Cutha twelve miles from Babylon, according to Sir H. Rawlinson.—G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 632.

was proclaimed king although only seven years of age; he lived, however, to reign forty years (from B.C. 878 to B.C. 838), when he was murdered. He was succeeded on the throne by his son, *Amaziah*. The expression in 2 Kings xiv. 5 that he slew his servants who had slain the king his father, as soon "as the kingdom was confirmed in his hand," implies that he was confirmed as a vassal by the king of Assyria, as has already been hinted above when speaking of Menahem, the king of Israel; this subjection to Assyria becomes still more plain afterwards (about B.C. 740), when "Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son; come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria."\* Amaziah reigned twenty-nine years, and was in his turn succeeded by his son *Azariah* (Uzziah), aged sixteen years,† in B.C. 810, and who reigned fifty-two years. He conquered most of Philistia and defeated the Arabs. Azariah was succeeded by his son *Jotham*, who reigned sixteen years (B.C. 757-742) and fortified Jerusalem, which Rezin the king of Damascus and Pekah the king of Israel besieged in his last year.

*Ahaz*, like his father Jotham, also reigned sixteen years (B.C. 742-726). He imitated the kings of Israel, and reared altars in Jerusalem and offered sacrifices upon them to idols, to which he also offered his own son as a burnt-offering, according to the practices of the Canaanites.‡ When Rezin and Pekah had driven Ahaz into Jerusalem they besieged it for a long time, but made only small progress, on account of the strength of its walls. At last Rezin marched away; and Ahaz, thinking himself now a match for Pekah, attacked him, but the king of Israel slew 120,000 of his men in one day. King Ahaz, having been thoroughly beaten, sent messengers to Tiglath-Pileser II., king of Assyria, for aid,§ which was afforded by his marching into Syria in his eighth year (B.C. 740) taking Damascus, and slaying Rezin.|| Ahaz went to Damascus to pay homage to Tiglath-Pileser,¶ who also records the reception of tribute from a king of Judah whom he calls *Yahu-khazi*, which would be *Jehoahaz*, and may have been the real name of Ahaz, the initial element having been dropped by the Jews, unwilling to profane the sacred name of Jehovah by connecting

\* 2 Kings xvi. 7. Indeed, G. Rawlinson (*The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. II., p. 38, note 2) concludes that Assyria exercised sovereignty over Judah before the time of Amaziah.

† *Ibid.* xiv. 21.

‡ Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. IX., ch. xii. 1.

§ 2 Kings xvi. 7.

|| *Ibid.*, ver. 9.

¶ *Ibid.*, ver. 10.

it with so wicked a monarch.\* Then Tiglath-Pileser marched against Pekah, as has already been narrated above, when treating on his reign.

*Hezekiah*, the thirteenth king, was the son of Ahaz, and reigned twenty-nine years (B.C. 726 to 697). He was attacked by Sennacherib, son of Sargon, the king of Assyria, who took all the cities of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin by force, and was ready to march against Jerusalem.† Hezekiah sent ambassadors to Sennacherib, who promised to depart on being paid three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold.‡ Hezekiah nevertheless made warlike preparations, stopped all the fountains, strengthened Jerusalem, and made darts and shields in abundance.§ Sennacherib also kept his promise so far as to march away himself against the Egyptians, but left Rabshakeh, his general, with forces to besiege Jerusalem; and Hezekiah being afraid of the Assyrians who were now encamped before Jerusalem, sent out three men to treat with Rabshakeh (*literally*, chief cupbearer), who, however, would be satisfied with nothing less than complete submission, and made an insulting speech ridiculing Hezekiah, whom he also reproached with his weakness, hoping to induce the people to surrender the city on a promise that every man should eat of his own vine, after being taken away to a land

\* See note 10, p. 399, vol. II. of G. Rawlinson's *The Five Great Monarchies*.

† The translation of Sir H. Rawlinson gives this narrative in the words of Sennacherib as follows:—"Because Hezekiah, king of Judah, would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms and by the might of my power I broke forty-six of his strong fenced cities; and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers like the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape.....Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem with thirty talents of gold and eight hundred talents of silver, and diverse treasures, a rich and immense booty.....All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them by way of tribute, and as a token of his submission to my power." This translation is identical with that given by S. Birch, *Records of the Past, being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments, &c.*, vol. I., pp. 38 *seq.* See also G. Smith's *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, pp. 134 *seq.*, col. IV. of Cylinder C of Sennacherib, B.C. 701, where his great campaign against Hezekiah is described; but as 2 Kings xviii. 13 states that the expedition of Sennacherib took place during his fourteenth year, which would be B.C. 712, various speculations were made to explain the discrepancy.

‡ 2 Kings xviii. 14.

§ 2 Chron. xxxii. 4-5.

like their own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil, olives, &c.\* “ But the people held their peace, and answered him not a word : for the king’s commandment was, saying, Answer him not.”† When Sennacherib returned from his Egyptian expedition, and arrived before Jerusalem, he found that an hundred fourscore and five thousand of his army had been destroyed by a terrible plague ; therefore he fled with the rest of his forces to Nineveh.‡

*Manasseh*, the fourteenth king, was the son of Hezekiah, and reigned fifty-four years, from B.C. 697 to 642. He departed from the conduct of his father, defiled the temple of Jerusalem, and slew all the righteous men § that were among the Hebrews, and built altars for all the hosts of heaven.|| After that came “ the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon.”¶ Hence it appears that the king of Assyria, whose name is not given, but who was Esar-haddon,\*\* resided at the Babylonian capital, where he detained Manasseh for a while, but again allowed him to return. No record has yet been discovered of this expedition, nor of the peopling of Samaria by colonists drawn chiefly from Babylonia,†† which was in later times ascribed to this monarch.‡‡ In the construction and ornamentation of his palaces Esar-haddon made use of the services of Syrian, Greek, and Phœnician artists, §§ and the Jewish captives also must no doubt have been largely employed ; whilst, on the other hand, “ the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon and from Cuthah, &c., and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israël.” ||| After Manasseh had been released and returned to Jerusalem, he not only repented of his former wickedness, sanctified the temple, and re-established divine worship as it ought to be, but he also repaired the old wall of the city, added a new one, and strengthened it by building lofty towers. His son *Amon* succeeded

\* 2 Kings xviii. 31-32.

† *Ibid.*, ver. 36.

‡ 2 Kings xix. 35.

§ Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. X., ch. iii. 1.

|| 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5. “ And he caused his children to pass through the fire.” *Ibid.*, ver. 6.

¶ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

\*\* Ashur-akh-iddina reigned from B.C. 679 to 667, *i.e.* 13 years.

†† 2 Kings xvii. 24.

‡‡ Ezra iv. 2 ; also G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, Appx., bk. i., p. 482.

§§ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

||| 2 Kings xvii. 24

him, but reigned only two years, being murdered by conspirators B.C. 640. Amon likewise was succeeded by his son *Josiah*, who reigned thirty-one years, and was a pious sovereign, as well as the destroyer of all foreign innovations in the religion, among which the burning of "the chariots of the sun," and the taking away of the "horses of the sun,"\* appear to point to a peculiar worship of that luminary. He also destroyed the high places "which Solomon the king of Israel had built for Astoreth, the abomination of the Zidonians."† When Necho the king of Egypt marched to the river Euphrates in order to fight with the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the Assyrians,‡ Josiah, the king of Judah, wishing probably to ingratiate himself with the Babylonians, ventured to oppose him in the valley of Megiddo,§ where Pharaoh-Necho slew him.|| The stay of Necho in Judah must have been of some duration, for he not only deposed Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, who had been anointed king and reigned three months in Jerusalem, but put him in bonds, took him away, levied a tribute of one hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold, and appointed Jehoiakim king in his stead.

*Jehoiakim* reigned from B.C. 609 till 598, *i.e.* eleven years.¶ Necho, king of Egypt, maintained his influence over Judah till "the fourth year of Jehoiakim,\*\* when Nabopalassar, the king of Babylon, sent his son Nebuchadnezzar†† against the Egyptians, and defeated Necho"‡‡ at Carchemish, on the Euphrates. To him Jehoiakim also submitted, but again revolted; §§ but when Nebuchadnezzar, who had become king B.C. 604, arrived, in his seventh year—*i.e.* in B.C. 598—before Jerusalem, he nevertheless neither shut the gates, nor fought against him. And when Nebuchadnezzar "came into the city, he did not observe the covenants he had made, but slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded

\* 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

† *Ibid.*, ver. 13.

‡ Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. X., ch. v. 1.

§ 2 Chron. xxxv. 22.

|| 2 Kings xxii. 29. This battle is probably alluded to by Herodotus, bk. ii, ch. 159:—"Necos ..... also made war by land upon the Syrians and defeated them in a pitched battle at Magdolos, after which he made himself master of Cadytis, a large city of Syria." Megiddo, which retains its name almost unchanged, is on the borders of the sea of Galilee; and Cadytis may be Gaza.

¶ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5.

\*\* Jer. xlvi. 2.

†† Nabo-kuduri-uzur in Ezek. and Jer., נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר.

‡‡ Jer. xlii. 5.

§§ 2 Kings xxiv. 1.

to be thrown before the walls without any burial; and made his son Jehoiachin king of the country; he also took the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon.”\*

*Jehoiachin* was eighteen years old when he began to reign,† but becoming disloyal he was allowed to remain only three months on the throne, and Nebuchadnezzar had him conveyed to Babylonia with a large number of his subjects, and made Zedekiah, the uncle of Jehoiachin, king over Jerusalem.‡

*Zedekiah*, the third son of Josiah, governed as a Babylonian tributary till the ninth year of his reign, when he hoped to recover his independence by allying himself to the new king of Egypt, the Apries of Herodotus and the Pharaoh-Hophra of Scripture, § to whom he sent ambassadors with the entreaty to aid him;|| but Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, began the siege of Jerusalem ¶ before any help could come from Egypt. The siege of Jerusalem appears to have lasted two years,\*\* but the city fell only during the third, as it had become necessary to interrupt the siege on account of the approach of the Pharaoh’s army. †† The Babylonians had erected towers on great banks of earth around the city, and these were equal in height to its walls; but the Jews sustained the siege with courage and alacrity, although they suffered from famine and pestilence. They managed to defend themselves also by contriving various engines to repel the foe or keep him at bay. The city was taken in B.C. 586 at midnight on the ninth day of the fourth month in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, and when the Babylonian generals entered the temple the king fled, but was captured. Nebuchadnezzar put out the eyes of Zedekiah‡‡ and took him to Babylon. The gold and silver vessels of the temple were taken, and the building itself set on fire; the palace, too, was burnt; the city overthrown to the very foundations, and the people removed as captives to Babylon.§§ “Now as to Shalmaneser he

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\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. X., ch. vi. 3.

† 2 Kings xxiv. 8. Compare this with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, where he is erroneously made only eight years old.

‡ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.

§ Jer. xlv. 30.

|| Ezek. xvii. 15.

¶ 2 Kings xxv. 1 *seq.*

\*\* *Ibid.*, ver. 2.

†† Jer. xxxvii. 5, 7.

‡‡ This cruelty may be accounted for by the practice of the age and by the anger of Nebuchadnezzar, against whom Zedekiah had revolted several times, without imputing to the Babylonian monarch any ferocity of character.

§§ Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. X., ch. viii.

removed the Israelites out of their country, and placed therein the nation of the Cuthæans, who had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were thereafter called *Samaritans*, from the name of the country to which they were removed; but the king of Babylon who brought out the two tribes placed no other nations in their country, by which means all Judæa and Jerusalem and the temple remained a desert for seventy years; but the entire interval which elapsed between the captivity of the Israelites and the carrying away of the two tribes proved to be 130 years 6 months and 10 days."\*

FROM THE CAPTIVITY (B.C. 586) TO THE ENTRANCE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT INTO JERUSALEM (B.C. 333).

Although he cruelly put out Zedekiah's eyes, *Nebuchadnezzar* treated the relatives of the deposed king well, feeding them from his own table, and especially the young members of the family, to whom he also assigned tutors.† He spent his time in the embellishment of his capital, and in promoting great public works of utility, but suffered for several years from a madness called Lycanthropy, in which the patient imagines that he is a beast; he regained his throne, however, after recovering from this malady,‡ and died in the year B.C. 561, after a reign of 43 years,§ and was succeeded in the kingdom by his son *Evil-Merodach*, during whose reign *Jehoiachin*, the captive king of Judah, still lived, and was well treated by him.|| This sovereign was followed on the throne of Babylon by *Neriglissar*,¶ who reigned less than four years, from B.C. 559 to 556. The year following his accession, *i.e.* B.C. 558, is most likely that in which *Cyrus* the Persian dethroned *Astyages* the Median, and established the supremacy of the Persians. *Laborosoarchod*,\*\* the son of *Neriglissar*, reigned only nine months; although a mere boy, he was murdered by *Nabonadius*,†† who mounted the throne B.C. 555, and was the last king of Babylon. In his reign *Cyrus* entered it, after a siege, by the channel of the *Euphrates*, and *Nabonadius* took refuge in the fortress of *Borsippa*, so that *Belshazzar*,‡‡ his son, whom he had associated with himself in the government, was surprised in the midst of a festivity, and, being struck by an unknown hand, lost his life together with his kingdom.

\* *Josephus, Ant.*, bk. X., ch. ix. 7.

† *Dan.* i. 3, 4.

‡ *Dan.* iv. 36.

§ *G. Bawlinson, Herodotus*, vol. I., pp. 516, 517.

|| *2 Kings* xxv. 27-30.

¶ *Nergal-sar-uzur*.

\*\* *Josephus, Ant.*, bk. X., ch. xi. 2, *Labosordacus*.

†† *Nabu-nit* or *Nabu-nahit*.

‡‡ *Bel-shur-uzur*.



When Cyrus had taken Babylon, B.C. 538, he found among his new subjects an oppressed race, in whose religion he recognized a considerable resemblance to his own, as there is no doubt that he professed a purer form of Zoroastrianism than that which prevailed in Media, where a mongrel religion had grown up from the mixture of the Aryan creed with Scythic element-worship.\* He regarded the Jews with especial favour as monotheists, which he showed by allowing them to return to their country to rebuild the Temple, and bringing forth by the hand of Mithredath, his treasurer, the sacred vessels formerly taken from it, and surrendering them to Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah.† The leader of the first colony which set out for Jerusalem, which numbered 42,462 persons, was Zerubbabel; it was afterwards strengthened by two others, one under the guidance of Ezra, B.C. 458, and the other under Nehemiah, B.C. 445. Besides these known accessions, there was probably also for many years a continual influx of individuals of families, who were attracted to their own land not only by the love of country, which has always been especially strong in Jews, but also by motives of religion; although there were also many persons who remained at Babylon, because they were unwilling to leave their possessions.‡

\* The monotheism of Cyrus accounts also for the high opinion of the Jewish writers with reference to him; thus Isaiah (xliv. 28) calls him the shepherd of God who was to rebuild the Temple, and the Lord is said to have "stirred up the spirit of Cyrus" (Ezra i. 1), who is made to say in his proclamation, "Thus saith Cyrus the king of Persia: The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah." (Ezra i. 2.) From this it would appear that Cyrus believed the Lord God to be the same with Ormazd, and that both the Persians and Jews worshipped one and the same Creator and Governor of the Universe, although under different names. The worship of Mithra, or the Sun, does not appear in the inscriptions until the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon (G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. IV., p. 330): whilst Ormazd, who is considered chiefly as a giver and benefactor, is mentioned even in the shortest inscriptions without the addition of any other name, e.g.—

*Baga vazarka Auramazdâ, hya imâm bumim adâ, hya avam asmânam*  
Deus magnus Oromazdes, qui hanc terram dedit, qui istud cœlum  
adâ, hya martiyam adâ, hya shiyâtim adâ, martiya hyâ hya Daryavam  
dedit, qui hominem dedit, qui felicitatem dedit, homini qui Darium  
*khshâyathiyam akunaush.*

rogem fecit. (G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. IV., p. 228.)

† The number of the sacred vessels was as follows:—30 chargers of gold, 100 chargers of silver, 29 knives, 30 basins of gold, silver basins of a second sort 410, and other vessels 1,000. All the vessels of gold and silver were 5,400, all of which were carried back to Jerusalem. (Ezra i. 8-11.) He made also a grant of money for masons and carpenters, who received meat, drink, and oil. (Ezra iii. 7.)

‡ Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. i. 3.

In his edict concerning the building of the temple, Cyrus, who made Ecbatana his capital, had assigned the tribute due from Samaria for the expenses,\* and the work was commenced B.C. 535; but as the people, who now consisted of a mixed race, partly Jews and partly Babylonians, Elamites, Persians, Arabs, &c., had established a mongrel religion, partly Jehovistic and partly polytheist, and the emigrants from Babylonia belonged predominantly, if not exclusively, to the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin, there was a considerable difference among the newly arrived emigrants and the people of Samaria, in religion as well as in nationality, so that they were called the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin. They nevertheless proposed to Zerubbabel to join the new-comers in the erection of the temple, and to make it a common sanctuary, open both to themselves and to the Jews; but, as such a course would have been dangerous to the purity of the religion, Zerubbabel refused.† Accordingly the Samaritans "hired counsellors against them to frustrate their purpose all the days of Cyrus the king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius the king of Persia."‡ They reported to the pseudo-Smerdis§ that the Jews were building the city in order to become rebellious, and to elude the payment of tribute; accordingly he ordered the works to be stopped about B.C. 522, after they had been carried on with all the architectural skill the Jews had acquired during their Babylonian captivity, and had been going on for fifteen years.||

\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. i. 3.

† Ezra iv.

‡ *Ibid.*, ver. 5.

§ Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 17-23.

|| Cyrus had left two sons, Cambyses and Bardus (as the Greeks call him). To the former he left the regal title and the greater part of his dominions, and to the latter he gave some provinces, for which Cambyses secretly killed Smerdis, but himself committed suicide B.C. 522, after a reign of eight years, because, whilst he had undertaken his expedition to Africa a Magus named Gomates, supported by his order, which was very powerful in many parts of the empire, had ventured to personate the dead Smerdis, and had seized the throne in his name. This Magian revolution was a religious rather than a political one. The subject is still to some extent obscure, but it seems certain that Magianism and Zoroastrianism were at that time two different and opposite sects. The pretender was a Magus born in the eastern part of Persia, and the object of the revolution was to make Magianism the state religion; but its ill-success re-established the pure religion of Zoroaster.

To conciliate his subjects, the pseudo-Smerdis began his reign by a three years' remission of tribute. At the same time he adopted an extreme system of seclusion to escape detection. But the truth gradually cozed out. His religious reforms were startling in an Achaemenian prince. Secret messages between the great Persian nobles and some of the palace inmates converted doubt into certainty; whereupon Darius, the son of Hystaspes, probable heir to

The building of the temple was interrupted for three years, but resumed B.C. 519 in consequence of a decree of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the successor of the pseudo-Smerdis, and completed B.C. 515 under the direction of Zerubbabel. Darius had written to the toparchs and to the governors, enjoining them to conduct Zerubbabel and those who were going with him to build the temple. He also sent letters to those rulers that were in Syria and Phœnicia to cut down and carry cedar-trees from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to assist him in building the city. He also wrote to them that all the captives who might go to Judæa should be free; and he prohibited his deputies and governors from laying any king's taxes upon the Jews; he also permitted that they should have all the land which they could possess themselves of, without tribute. He further enjoined on the Idumæans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Cœlesyria, to restore those villages which they had taken from the Jews; and, besides all this, ordered that fifty talents of gold should be given them for the building of the temple. He also permitted them to offer their appointed sacrifices, and ordered that whatsoever the high-priest and the priests wanted, and the sacred garments wherein they used to worship God, should be made at his own charges, and that the musical instruments which the Levites used in singing hymns to God should be given them. Moreover he commanded that portions of land should be given to those that guarded the city and the temple, and also a determinate sum of money every year for their maintenance, and withal he sent the vessels. All that Cyrus intended to do before him, relating to the restoration of Jerusalem, Darius also ordained should be done accordingly.\* The reign of *Darius I.*, the son of Hystaspes, lasted thirty-six years, and terminated B.C. 486. He died probably at Susa. †

Under *Xerxes I.*, the successor of Darius, who appears after the failure

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the throne, headed an insurrection, and the impostor was slain after a reign of eight months. Then Darius rebuilt the Zoroastrian temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, and the Jews, trusting in his Zoroastrian zeal, forthwith resumed the interrupted building of their temple.

\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. iv. 8.

† Darius I., Old Pers. "Daryavesh," who began to reign B.C. 521, must be considered the greatest of Persian monarchs. The vast empire under him and his successor Xerxes extended from the frontiers of India to Greece. He undertook an expedition to India, and Macedon submitted to him B.C. 507-506. The battle of Marathon was fought B.C. 490. Darius would probably have proceeded in person against Athens to attack Greece for the third time, had not the revolt of Egypt (B.C. 487), and then his own death (B.C. 486) intervened.

of his great expedition against the Greeks\* to have sought consolation in the delights of his zanánah, one of the chief ladies of which, queen Esther, became the means of saving the whole Jewish nation, by her influence over the king. Haman (Omanes), the minister of Xerxes, † had persuaded him that the Jews, an unsociable race and inimical to all other religions, should be massacred on a fixed day. Esther, however, being a Jewess, was apprised of what was to take place, and, obtaining the countenance of the sovereign, warned her people of what was in store for them. The result was that the Jews, having the government to side with them, triumphed wherever they attacked, so that they slew in the country and in the cities 75,000 men; and the historical character of the narrative in the Book of Esther is proved by the institution of the Purim feast, which can be accounted for in no other way. ‡

Although the Jews had escaped destruction under Xerxes, two other dangers threatened them under his successor and youngest son, Artaxerxes I., called by the Greeks "Macrocheir," "the long-handed," who reigned from B.C. 465 to 425, *i.e.* forty years. The first peril was, that if the Jews had continued their intermarriages with foreign nations, as they had commenced to do, and did on their return from Babylon, they would soon have become so commingled with them as to cease to be a separate people. Ezra had brought his colony from Babylon during the seventh year of this king, *i.e.* B.C. 458, and Nehemiah about B.C. 434. Ezra collected all the men of Judah and Benjamin in Jerusalem, and exacted a solemn promise from all who had taken strange wives and begotten children, to divorce their wives. "Then all

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\* Xerxes I., Old Pers. "Khshayáshá," the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, who succeeded Darius, B.C. 486, undertook a great expedition against Greece B.C. 480, and the battle of Thermopylæ was the beginning of the disgrace of Xerxes, so that for twelve years no Persian fleet ventured to dispute the sovereignty of the seas with the Greeks, and when at last, B.C. 466, a naval force was collected to protect Cilicia and Cyprus, it was defeated and destroyed. After the failure of his expedition against Greece, which had also exhausted his empire by its losses in the war, he desisted from all military expeditions, ceased to trouble himself about affairs of state, and appears to have spent the rest of his life in his seraglio, where he was murdered by the captain of his guard, Artabanus (*atra* or *adra*, "fire," + *pa*, "to protect"), and his chamberlain Aspamitres ("lover of horses"), the former of whom placed Artaxerxes I. (Old Pers. "Artakshatra") on the throne.

† Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. vi., Artaxerxes.

‡ Mordecai also wrote to the Jews that lived in the kingdom of Artaxerxes to observe these days and to celebrate them as festivals, and to deliver them down to posterity, that this festival might continue for all time to come, &c. (Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. vi. 13.) See also Esther iii. 7, iv. 16, ix. 20, 24, 26.

the congregation answered and said with a loud voice, "As thou hast said, so must we do."\* Nehemiah also purged the nation from strange marriages,† and freed it from the second danger, which consisted in the defenceless position of the country, enhanced by its remoteness from Persia, and exposed to be pillaged before aid could arrive. Nehemiah obtained a decree from Artaxerxes to fortify the city in the twentieth year of his reign, and its walls were built.‡

Josephus does not mention the kings after Xerxes, who is Ahasuerus, but whom he calls Artaxerxes,§ probably because they meddled little with the affairs of the Jews, who appear to have suffered no oppression; and the Persian kings only occasionally appointed a local governor (*tirshatha*), with a rank and title below those of a satrap, to superintend the government of Judæa and Jerusalem. As it was, moreover, a feature of the Persian system of administration to allow the nations under their rule a good deal of self-government and internal independence, it appears that even the civil governors of Judæa, which was a portion of the Syrian satrapy, were always Jews; they, however, did not succeed each other very regularly, and therefore the high-priests, *i.e.* spiritual governors, came to be regarded as not merely the religious, but also the political heads of the nation; John,|| one of these high-priests, a contemporary of Artaxerxes II. (surnamed Mnemon, on account of his memory, who reigned about forty years and died B.C. 361) is mentioned as the one on whose account "Bagoses, the general of the army of another Artaxerxes [Artaxerxes II.], polluted the temple and imposed tribute on the Jews,—that out of the public

\* *Ezra* x. 12.

† *Neh.* xiii. 23, 24, 25.

‡ *Neh.* ii. 7, 8:—"Moreover I said to the king, If it please the king, let letters be given me to the governors beyond the river, that they may convey me over, till I come into Judah; and a letter unto Asaph, the keeper of the king's forest, that he may give me timber to make beams for the gates of the palace and for the house, and for the wall of the city, and for the house that I shall enter into. And the king granted me, according to the good hand of my God upon me."

§ After the death of Artaxerxes Longimanus, *i.e.* "Macrocheir," his legitimate son, Xerxes II., reigned only forty-five days, and was assassinated by his illegitimate son, Secydianus or Sogdianus, who seized the throne, and was, after six and a half months, murdered by another brother, Ochus, who on ascending the throne took the name of *Darius Nothus*, and reigned nineteen years, from B.C. 424 to 405, and was succeeded by his eldest son *Artaxerxes II.*, *Arsaces* (*arsa* or *arsha*, Sansk. *arshya*, venerable), also called *Mnemon* by the Greeks, but he had from the very first a rival in his own brother *Cyrus*, who, however, fell at the battle of Cunaxa, B.C. 401, so that Artaxerxes held the throne undisputed for about forty years, and died B.C. 361.

|| Jonathan, son of Joiada, about B.C. 400 to 360.

stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels."\* Jesus (Jeshua), the brother of John, was a friend of Bagoses, who had promised him the high-priesthood, which emboldened him to quarrel with, and so to provoke his brother John in the temple itself, that in his anger his brother slew him. It is not very clear from the narrative whether "Bagoses made use of this pretence, and punished the Jews seven years for the murder of Jesus."†

No events worthy of remark appear to have taken place among the Jews during the reign of Artaxerxes III., the youngest son of Artaxerxes II.,‡ who ascended the throne after the execution of his eldest and the suicide of his youngest brother, and reigned from B.C. 359 till 338, when he fell, after occupying the throne for twenty-one years, a victim to a conspiracy in his zanánah. This monarch was succeeded by the last king of Persia, *Darius III.*, surnamed Codomannus, whose government was overthrown by Alexander the Great, and who did not possess sufficient intellectual ability to enable him to grapple with the difficulties of the circumstances. Jaddua, the son of the above-mentioned John, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood (B.C. 360 to 330), and was a contemporary of Darius III., who sent one Sanballat, a Cuthæan by birth, of which stock also the Samaritans were, to Samaria as governor; this officer had a daughter, Nicaso by name, whom he gave in marriage to Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua, and partner with him in the high-priesthood. This marriage was a great stumbling-block to the elders of Jerusalem, who considered it to be a step encouraging all men desirous to enter into alliances with strange women, which would bring on a mixture with foreign nations; accordingly they commanded Manasseh either to divorce his wife, or to refrain from approaching the altars, the high-priest himself joining the people in their indignation against his brother, and driving him away from the altar. The evil had, however, already gone too far, for not only the people of Jerusalem, but many even of the priests and Levites, had contracted such marriages, so that a great disturbance arose; they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat

\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. vii. 1.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Ochus, the son of Artaxerxes II., assumed, on his succession to the throne, the name of *Artaxerxes III.*, and enjoyed a reign of twenty-one years, from B.C. 359 to 338, when he fell a victim to a conspiracy of his seraglio. Until the reign of this king the worship of Mithra, or the Sun, does not appear in the inscriptions. (See G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. IV., p. 330.)

gave money, as well as habitations and lands for tillage, to gratify his son-in-law, whom he also promised to make governor of all the places he himself ruled over, and high-priest ; he further promised to build him a temple like that of Jerusalem, upon Mount Gerizim, which is the highest of all the hills in Samaria. All this was to be done with the approbation of Darius the king.

About this time Alexander had invaded Asia (B.C. 334), had defeated the lieutenants of Darius in the battle of Granicus, and was proceeding further, when Darius himself resolved to encounter the Macedonians, and accordingly crossed the Euphrates and waited at Issus, in Cilicia, for the enemy, ready to give him battle. Sanballat was glad of the approach of the Persian monarch, and told Manasseh that as soon as Darius came back after having beaten his enemies—everybody being certain that the Greeks would not dare to engage in battle with the Persians, on account of the immense number of their forces—he would perform all his promises. The event proved otherwise than was expected ; Darius was beaten at Issus (B.C. 333), and fled to Persia.

When Alexander had arrived in Syria, taken Damascus, and was besieging Tyre, he despatched a letter to the Jewish high-priest, requiring him to send auxiliaries, to supply provisions to the army, and to seek the friendship of the Macedonians, with the assurance that he would never repent of it. The high-priest sent messengers to Alexander with the reply that he had sworn to Darius not to bear arms against him, and he would not break his oath as long as that king lived. Sanballat was of an entirely different character, and treacherous to his sovereign, inasmuch as he marched with 7,000 men to Alexander, whom he assured that the Samaritans accepted him gladly as their lord instead of Darius. It is no wonder that he was kindly received, and emboldened to state his views to Alexander, whom he accordingly informed that it would be to his advantage if the strength of the Jews could be divided, as otherwise they might prove troublesome to the government of Alexander, as they had been to that of the Assyrians. He also informed the Macedonian king that there were many persons under his rule desirous of having a separate temple, the building of which would effect the required division. Hereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave to erect a temple, which the latter very speedily built, and appointed Manasseh as the priest. But when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died.\*

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\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. viii. 3, 4.

Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and his approach greatly distressed Jaddua, the high-priest, as he felt sure that the king must have been vexed by his disobedience. He took courage, however, adorned the city, opened the gates, and marched out in a procession of the priests dressed in their sacerdotal robes, and the multitude of the people in white, when he understood that Alexander was approaching the city. "And when the Phœnicians and Chaldæans that followed him [Alexander] thought they would have liberty to plunder the city, and to torment the high-priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high-priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached himself, and adored that name, and first saluted the high-priest.\* And when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high-priest's direction, and magnificently treated both the high-priest and the priests."† The next day Alexander invited the people to come to him, and bade them ask what favours they pleased of him; whereupon the high-priest desired that they might be permitted to live according to the laws of their forefathers, and pay no tribute in the seventh year. Alexander granted all they desired, and promised to allow the Jews of Babylon and Media to have their own laws also; he permitted it, besides, to those who would enlist in his army on this condition; wherefore many were ready to accompany him in his wars. The Samaritans also came with great alacrity to meet Alexander at a little distance from Jerusalem, and not only made professions of loyalty, but also pretended to be Jews, because they had observed that the latter had been well treated by Alexander; although every outcast from Jerusalem, guilty of having transgressed some ceremonial law,—*e.g.* eating unclean things, breaking the sabbath, &c.,—found a refuge among the Samaritans (Shechemites), near Mount Gerizim, whereon stood their new temple.

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\* Josephus, *Ant.*, bk. XI., ch. viii. 5.

† *Ibid.*



Chronological Table to illustrate the Contact of the Jews.

Assyria.	Babylon.	Media.	Persia.	Judah.	Israel.	Remarkable Events.
B.C. 747 Tiglath-Pileser II.	Nabonassar .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Babylon re-establishes her independence.
741 .....	.....	.....	.....	Ahaz .....	.....	
730 Salmanser IV.	.....	.....	.....	.....	Hoshea, .....	
726 Makes Hoabeh tributary (P).	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
723 Besieges Samaria.	Merodach-Baladan.	.....	.....	.....	.....	
722 .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
721 Sargon takes Samaria.	.....	.....	.....	.....	Destruction of the kingdom.	710 Media. } conquered 709 Baby- } by Sar- lon } gon.
702 Sennacherib.....	Belibus.	.....	.....	.....	.....	
700 .....	.....	.....	.....	1st attack of Sennacherib.	.....	704 Babylon revolts. 703 Babylon conquered.
699 Displaces Belibus.	Ashurnadin.	.....	.....	.....	.....	
698 Loses his army by miracle.	.....	.....	.....	2nd attack.	.....	
697 .....	.....	.....	.....	Manasseh.	.....	
696 .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
688 .....	Interregnum, 9 yrs.	.....	.....	.....	.....	
680 Esar-haddon ...	.....	.....	.....	Deported to Babylon.	.....	Babylon revolts, and again in 604. Babylon recovered. 607 Babylon revolts again and returns to allegiance. 633 Cyaxares begins his conquests (?)
660 Ashur-banipal P	.....	.....	Migration from the countries about the Oxus completed ...	.....	.....	
640 Ashur-emitili P	.....	Media generally subject to Assyria but often in revolt; Media conquered by Assyria B.C. 710.	.....	.....	.....	
625 Destruction of Nineveh and of Assyrian empire.	Nabopolassar .....	8th yr. of Cyaxares.	.....	15th yr. of Josiah.	.....	
	606 .....	.....	.....	Exile begins .....	.....	
	605 Sends Nebuchadnezzar against Necho.	.....	.....	Jehoiakim submits to Nebuchadnezzar.	.....	

## CIVILIZATION OF THE JEWS.

(Chiefly from an anonymous German author.)

When the Hebrews multiplied, the original twelve tribes became very large, and each of them was divided into races,\* each of which was again subdivided into father-houses,† *i.e.* groups of families; but although, like all the Semitic nations, they tenaciously kept genealogical registers, most of them were lost during the Babylonian captivity, excepting only those of the priests,‡ which were carefully preserved, because the Levites, when they desired to become priests, were compelled to prove their descent. The heads of the tribes, races, and family-groups were the natural representatives and chiefs of the people. They were such by descent, and never by election; they are meant when communities are spoken of, they existed before the Jews had kings, and after them they continued as such even during the captivity,§ and were, after the return of the people from it, their representatives to foreign powers || and in internal affairs down to the times of the Maccabees.¶ During the exile, however, the ancient constitution of the tribes was deranged, and could never after recover its significance.

The just-mentioned tribal constitution offered guarantees of order and justice in general, but, as there existed no *central power*, not only tribes,\*\* but also towns, entered into league with each other to attack their antagonists,†† and the necessity of a firmer government made itself felt. Accordingly kings were appointed, and the first of them was Saul; but a regular court, with all its officers, was established only after his time, by David, when he fixed on Jerusalem as a permanent residence and built a palace. A royal table was kept, and to be a regular guest at it was considered a great distinction; ‡‡ David, and still more Solomon, was at meal times entertained by music,§§ and the table was very luxurious; ||| but it must be taken into consideration that besides the numerous court officials and servants, families also were fed from the royal table. A particular feature of royal comfort was the maintenance of a numerous *zanánah*

\* מִשְׁפָּחֹת *Mishpakhat*. † בֵּיתֹת *Bet-abot*. ‡ Ezra. ii. 61 *seq.*; Neh. vii.

§ Ezra viii. 1.

|| Ezra v. 9, vi. 7.

¶ Ezra vi. 14, x. 8; 1 Macc. xii. 6, 35; xiii. 36; xiv. 9. \*\* Judges xix. *seq.*

†† *Ibid.* ix.

‡‡ 1 Sam. xx. 5; 2 Sam. ix. 7; 1 Kings ii. 7.

§§ 2 Sam. xix. 35; Eccl. ii. 8.

||| Jer. xxii. 14 *seq.*

¶¶ 2 Sam. v. 13; 1 Kings xi. 1 *seq.*, xx. 3.

guarded by eunuchs, and inherited by the successor to the throne. The kings of Israel were much more accessible to their subjects than other Oriental rulers; they not seldom appeared in their midst, paid them visits,\* and also often administered justice in person.

The income of kings serving for the maintenance of the household and the necessities of state, so that the private and public treasury was one, was derived from the following sources:—(1) Voluntary presents or *nazzaranahs* from the subjects and from foreigners on a visit; † (2) Regular levies of natural produce from the subjects; ‡ (3) Tribute from the vassal nations of the kings of Israel; § (4) The produce of the domains and crown-goods, such as fields, vineyards, olive-groves, and large flocks. || When extensive architectural works were undertaken, regular levies of men were made, and when the Temple was built not less than 30,000 persons were enrolled as labourers; ¶ and the same exaction no doubt took place when David built his palace on Mount Zion,\*\* and Solomon his large residence, †† so that the labour contributed by the people for carrying out now and then works of this kind might perhaps be considered as a fifth source of the king's income. The royal palaces were of considerable size, and the Jews appear to have already, during the time of Solomon, imitated the architecture of the Assyrians. ††

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- \* 1 Kings *xxi. 2 seq.*, *iii. 16*; 2 Kings *vi. 26 seq.*, *viii. 3 seq.*; Jer. *xxxviii. 7* 2 Sam. *xix. 8*; 1 Kings *xx. 39*, *xxii. 10*.

† 1 Sam. *x. 27*, *xvi. 20*; 2 Sam. *viii. 2*, *11*; 1 Kings *x. 25*. †† 1 Kings *iv. 7*.

§ 2 Sam. *viii. 2*; 2 Kings *iii. 4*; Isa. *xvi.*; Eccles. *ii. 6*.

|| 1 Chron. *xxvii. 26 seq.*; 2 Chron. *xxv. 10*.

¶ 1 Kings *v. 13*.

\*\* 1 Chron. *xv.*

†† 1 Kings *vii. 1 seq.*

†† The palace of Solomon consisted of four parts:—1st, the house of the forest of Lebanon, which was a three-storied edifice supported by cedar trees; 2nd, a hall of columns forming a portico to the 3rd building, the judgment-hall, which contained the famous throne (1 Kings *x. 18 seq.*). In the rear of this hall was, 4thly, the royal habitation, and, probably separated from it, the *zanánah*.

A close analogy has been pointed out between the architecture of the north-west palace at Nimrúd, built by Sardanapalus, king of Assyria, and the great edifices of the Jews described in 1 Kings *vi.*, *vii.*; 2 Chron *iii.*; Josephus, *Ant.*, *viii. 2*; because the Jews in all probability borrowed their architecture from Assyria. The dimensions, however, of the palace of Solomon fell far short of those of the great Assyrian monarchs. Sardanapalus, the son of Tiglath-Pileser, is the first of whose grandeur we are able to judge by the remains of extensive buildings and sculptures which have come down to us. He was the founder of the north-west palace at Nimrúd, which, next to that of Sennacherib at Koyunjik, is the largest and most magnificent of all Assyrian

Among the Israelites the king was at the same time the supreme ruler, legislator, generalissimo, and judge. He had, however, several councillors,\* presided over probably by a chancellor,† and an equal position with him was very likely enjoyed by the scribe, *i. e.* secretary of state or of the cabinet;‡ sometimes also several other secretaries are mentioned,§ and their chancery.|| Besides these the master of the household also often engaged in affairs of state,¶ and occasionally attained great distinction.\*\* These officers seem to have directed the administration of the whole country. Intermediate officials between the highest ones of the state and of the municipalities were no doubt the bailiffs or governors of provinces,†† to whom the elders of towns may have been subject, who obtained the royal commands either directly or through the bailiffs, and carried them out.‡‡ Rehoboam and Jehoshaphat appointed royal princes as commanders of the various forts which protected the districts, giving them a good deal of money and valuables,§§ with extensive powers, in order to prevent them by such appointments from aspiring to the throne, and also to strengthen royal authority in those districts. The taxes of the Jews consisted, firstly, in the forced labour they yielded in the construction of roads and forts, as well as furnishing the court and the labourers in public buildings with provisions. In extraordinary cases also a capitation tax was levied.|||

After the time of the Babylonian captivity the Persian kings appointed, for the supreme direction of civil affairs, in all the countries situated west of the Euphrates, officers of their own nation; but as it

buildings. The greater portion of the sculptures now in the British Museum are from this edifice. It was a structure nearly square, about 360 feet in length and 300 in breadth, standing on a raised platform overlooking the Tigris, with a great façade to the north, fronting the town, and another to the west, commanding the river. It was built of hewn stone, and consisted of a single entrance hall, more than 120 feet long by 90 wide, probably open to the sky, round which were grouped a number of ceiled chambers, some larger and some smaller, generally communicating with each other. The ceilings were of cedar, brought apparently from Mount Libanon; the walls were panelled to a certain distance from the floor with slabs of alabaster, ornamented throughout with bas-reliefs, above which they were coated with plaster.—G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, p. 461.

\* 2 Sam. xv. 12; 1 Chron. xxvii. 32; 1 Kings xii. 6.

† מַזְכִּיר *Mazkir*, 1 Chron. xxvii. 32; 1 Kings xii. 6.

‡ סוֹפֵר *Sofer* סֹפֵר; 2 Sam. viii. 17, xx. 25; 2 Kings xxii. 3, 10, *seq.*; Jer. xxxvi. 10.

§ 1 Kings iv. 3.

|| Jer. xxxvi. 12.

¶ 1 Kings xviii. 3; 2 Kings xviii. 18; Isa. xxxvi. 3. \*\* Isa. xxii. 15 *seq.*

†† 1 Kings xiii. 3.

‡‡ 1 Kings xxi. 8; 2 Kings x. 6.

§§ 2 Chron. xi. 22 *seq.*, xxi. 3.

||| 2 Kings xv. 20, xxiii. 35.

was a feature of the Persian system to allow the nations under their rule a good deal of self-government and internal independence, as long as they complied with their requisitions, the Jews were allowed to have not only governors of their own people,\* but also judges, district and municipal officers.† What high dignities members of the subject race could attain even in Babylon appears from the position occupied by Daniel under Cyrus,‡ and from that of Mordecai under Xerxes.§ Nevertheless the taxes were now more varied and oppressive, *e.g.* toll, tributes, and custom.|| To these must also be added the exactions of the governors for their own personal benefit.¶¶

In patriarchal times the father of the family enjoyed judicial power over his household, and like him the heads of the tribes afterwards had the same authority. When, however, the people became more settled, every town had its local judges. Joshua was of course the chief judge, as Moses had been formerly, but most of the judges were only at the head of some tribes, and fought with each other, whence they could not be considered the chief judges of the nation. Samuel resigned his position as judge when Saul was elected at a meeting of the people in Gilgal,\*\* and from that time the king became the supreme judge, but the local courts of justice continued to exist, although they are often reproached with much corruption, bribery, and false testimony.†† The kings also often administered justice summarily and arbitrarily.‡‡

During the Babylonian captivity the Jews had judges of their own nation,§§ according to the custom of the Persian kings, who left the local authorities for the most part standing, the Persian satrap dealing with them, and not directly with the common people, which made the oppression of the people lighter than at almost any other period of their history; indeed the Persian yoke must have been borne very easily by the Jews, else we should surely have met with numerous

\* Neh. v. 14, 18.

† Neh. iii. 9, 14, *seq.*; ii. 16; iv. 19; Ezra vii. 25.

‡ Dan. vi. 2.

§ Esth. ix. 4.

|| Ezra iv. 13.

¶¶ Neh. v. 15, ix. 37.

\*\* 1 Sam. xi. 14 *seq.*, xii. 1 *seq.*

†† Isa. i. 23, v. 23, x. 1 *seq.*; Jer. xxii. 3; Amos v. 12, vi. 12; Mic. iii. 11, vii. 3; Prov. xviii. 5, xxiv. 23, vi. 19, xii. 17, xix. 5, xxi. 28, xxiv. 28.

‡‡ 1 Sam. xx. 17-20; 2 Sam. iv. 12; 1 Kings xxii. 26 *seq.*; 2 Kings xxi. 16; Jer. xxxvi. 26.

§§ Dan. xiii. 5:—"Et constituti sunt de populo duo senes iudices in illo anno." Such was also the case in the colony in Palestine: Ezra vii. 25, x. 14.

instances of oppression and injustice in all the books of the Old Testament written after the Babylonian captivity, and probably there was no necessity to keep large bodies of troops in the country in order to ensure the subjection of the people. As the civil and the religious law were intimately connected among the Jews, their courts of justice were of a mixed character; they had their own magistrates also under the Ptolemies in Alexandria, but the *Synedrium* mentioned in the New Testament is an institution of later times, and Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 9) first mentions it in the time of Antipater; its precise origin however, cannot be ascertained.

The ancient Hebrews led a nomadic and pastoral tent life, which was nearly the same as that of the wandering tribes in Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Turkestan in our days. When they became more settled, they constructed houses, chiefly of mud bricks, the manner of preparing which may still be seen in a picture dating from the times of Moses, as exhibited in the catacombs of the Beni-Hassan. No information exists about the construction of ordinary dwellings, as the ancients have described only temples, palaces, and other large edifices. Houses built of sun-dried bricks, *i.e.* of loam, are naturally very perishable;\* it is therefore no wonder that among the ruins of so many cities, only the remnants of public buildings are discovered, all the rest consisting of heaps of rubbish. The worst manner of building is contrasted with the best, *i.e.* of hewn stone, in Isa. ix. 10; but the Israelites must have used stone to a great extent, as it was plentiful in the mountains, and many houses in Jerusalem were, no doubt, built of it, otherwise their materials could not have been utilized in repairing the fortifications.† The better houses were built of hewn stone,‡ and the timber consisted of the wild fig (sycamore), though more rarely, the costly fir, olive, or even cedar, and sandal-wood,§ which Solomon obtained from Ophir. The houses of the poor had only one floor and no windows; such dwellings existed not only in apostolic times also, when a woman searched for a silver coin with a candle in broad daylight,|| but they are found even in our own age. The houses of the rich were built in quadrangles with roomy courtyards to them, not seldom containing verandahs with columns, baths, wells or cisterns, and trees.¶ The

\* Ezek. xii. 5, 7; xiii. 11 *seq.* † Isa. xxii. 9 *seq.*; Jer. xxxiii. 4.

‡ Amos v. 11; vi. 11; i. 4, 7; ii. 2, 5; Hos. viii. 14.

§ עֲרֵבָה *Almuggim*, 1 Kings x. 11.

|| Luke xv. 8. ¶ 2 Sam. xvii. 18, xi. 2; Neh. viii. 16; Matt. xxvi. 69.

house-tops were, as they still are, flat, and used for various purposes.\* In ancient times the nomadic Jews had no other utensils in their households except handmills, large water-pitchers, kettles, water-skins and lamps; they had no benches, chairs, tables, or bedsteads, and the poor man slept then, as now, on a mat. The rich had, however, in their houses soft cushions, couches, and costly carpets;† some luxurious epicures possessed not only bedsteads inlaid with ivory,‡ but also summer and winter houses.§

Agriculture compels people to settle in fixed habitations, but it is doubtful whether the city built by Cain|| was actually of that character, and not a collection of tents or mud huts; however, there is no doubt that the Jews commenced to build towns as soon as they became more settled, and engaged in husbandry; they were obliged to surround these towns with walls, towers, and ditches, or else to flee on the approach of a hostile army.¶ The streets were always narrow, and some or them occupied in later times by certain trades\*\* or bazars. The gates of the towns were used as gossiping stations,†† and the people sat in the street.‡‡ The market was kept in the vicinity of the gate;§§ hence public notices were often given and speeches made there, as well as in the vestibules of temples.¶¶ The gates had strong doors with iron bars, and were not seldom flanked by towers, near which the elders of the people and the magistrates sat.\*\*\*

The Jews lived both on vegetable and animal food, which they seasoned with salt, but the chief diet of the poor man was only bread and milk. The bread consisted of flat cakes, as is still customary all over the East, and was of wheat, millet, or barley meal, but the latter was consumed by wealthy persons in times of dearth only. Also much grain roasted in pans, as in India, was eaten. Besides bread, the milk of camels, cows, sheep and goats, either sweet or sour, was consumed for daily food. The Jews made cheese, but it cannot be

\* 2 Sam. xi. 2; Dan. iv. 29; 1 Sam. ix. 26; Isa. xv. 3; Zeph. i. 5; Isa. xxii. 1; Acts x. 9.

† Ezek. xiii. 18, 20; Prov. vii. 16.

‡ Amos vi. 4.

§ Amos iii. 15; Jer. xxxvi. 22.

|| Gen. iv. 17.

¶ Jer. iv. 5; Isa. x. 29, 31.

\*\* Jer. xxxvii. 21.

†† Ps. lxxix. 12.

‡‡ Job xxix. 7.

§§ 2 Kings vii. 1.

¶¶ Amos v. 10; Jer. xvii. 19; Prov. i. 21, viii. 3.

\*\*\* Deut. xxi. 19 *seq.*; Job xxxi. 21; Ps. xxxi. 21, cxxvii. 5; Prov. xxii. 22; Isa. xxix. 21; Zach. viii. 16; Gen. xxiii. 10, 18; Deut. xxv. 7; Ruth iv. 1, 11.

shown that they used butter.\* Besides honey, also plenty of fine fruits, such as figs, pomegranates, almonds, pistachios, and grapes, were consumed; the latter being often made into syrup by cooking,† whilst dates and figs were kneaded into firm cakes and carried on journeys,‡ as is still customary among the Arabs. The Israelites were fond of greens, such as peas, beans, cucumbers, melons, onions, and garlic, as well as of herbs, which they cultivated in their gardens or sought in their fields.§ They probably ate also eggs, although hens are never mentioned in the Old Testament. According to a general usage in every hot country, dictated by the climate, the Jews consumed but little animal food, and mostly reserved it for festivities. The animals used in the sacrifices were eaten, but the flesh most prized was that of calves, lambs, and goats. On the tables of the wealthy, also game, such as venison, gazelles, and various sorts of fowl, appeared.|| The lake of Gennesareth being extremely rich in fish, much of it was consumed in Galilee, and sea-fish was brought to the market of Jerusalem.¶ The poorer people also consumed locusts, and in our days also, when flights of these insects arrive, the Arabs are immediately at hand with their sacks, into which they gather them by the bushel. The legs and wings of the locusts are torn off, their bellies slit open, and the entrails thrown away; they are then either salted for the winter, or dried in ovens, or boiled in salt water and dried on the house-tops, or ground into flour and baked.

Among the *beverages*, water, which is more appreciated in the East than in cold countries, naturally occupied the first place; as, however, it was kept in cisterns, and was not very fresh for quenching thirst, the common people had recourse to a sour beverage,\*\* a kind of vinegar, mixed with some oil. The drink mentioned in Matt. xxvii. 34 and Mark xv. 23 was a sour wine prepared from pressed grape-dregs and mixed with myrrh or other bitter substances, and had intoxicating properties. *Wine* was seldom drunk pure, and was often served with spices.†† As the ancients called all beverages made from vegetable substances wine, some passages in the Old Testament may refer to date-wine or to Egyptian barley-wine, which appears to have been a kind of beer.‡‡

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\* The "butter" of Gen. xviii. 8, Dent. xxxii. 14, Judges v. 25, and of several other passages was probably "thick sour milk," because that can be drunk, and the feet washed in it; Judges v. 25, Job xxix. 6, and "butter" in Prov. xxx. 33.

† Gen. xliii. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 17.

‡ 1 Chron. xiii. 40.

§ 1 Kings xxi. 2; Prov. xv. 17. || 1 Kings iv. 23; Neh. v. 18. ¶ Neh. xiii. 16.

\*\* Ruth ii. 14. †† Ps. lxxv. 8; Prov. ix. 2; Cant. vii. 2. ‡‡ Num. vi. 3.



Even in wealthy families where luxury prevailed, much less time was devoted to cookery than in modern households. Men in general had fewer wants; the climate demanded no hot food, and fruits being more palatable in a raw state, there was no great consumption of fuel, which consisted of wood brought from long distances, of prepared charcoal, of briars and thistles; and lastly of grass, the leaves and stalks of plants, and of cow-dung\* as in India. Bread was, however, baked daily in every family, and the meal for it freshly ground in the handmill by the maid-servants.† Had the Jews possessed an acquaintance with water-mills, it would not have been of much use to them, as there is very little water-power in the Holy Land. The ovens—which ought rather to be called firepots—are of the same size and form nearly as the *sigree* in India, and their name is in Hebrew and in Arabic *tannur*. The Jews took only two meals a day, as is still customary in the East, namely, about noon and in the evening; they used neither plates, spoons, knives, nor forks, but only their fingers, and pieces of bread when broths were served, which they dipped into the great platter containing the meal of the whole family, and washed their hands after it. The ancient Hebrews sat whilst they ate; ‡ later, reclining on couches became the custom at the revels of the rich.§

It appears from the monuments of Nineveh, Persepolis, &c. that the costumes of the East have not undergone any change for thousands of years. The people dress in the same style, and inhabitants of towns are still, as in Ezekiel's time,|| fond of placing silver or brass writing materials in their costly girdles. They wear also a large seal-ring and carry a rosary in their hands; they like to put on costly garments, and wear, besides the shirt and several jackets or waistcoats, a long robe reaching to the ankles. How much more simple is the dress of the poor peasant! Over his shirt he merely puts on an overcoat of camels' or goats' hair striped black and white, but without any sleeves. Everybody wore the sandals with leather thongs still in use, excepting only mourners and very poor persons.¶ The dress of women resembled very much that of men, and their orna-

\* Ezek. iv. 15.

† Ex. xi. 5; Isa. xlvi. 2; Matt. xxiv. 41.

‡ Gen. xxvii. 19; Judges xix. 6; 1 Sam. xx. 5, 24; 1 Kings xiii. 20.

§ Amos vi. 4, ii. 8. At last the common people also lay down on cushions or couches, which position is to be understood in Matt. ix. 10, xxvi. 20, Mark vi. 22, xiv. 3, Luke v. 29, vii. 37, xiv. 10, John xii. 2, xiii. 23, and not *sitting*; this applies also to Mark xiv. 18.

|| Ezek. ix. 2.

¶ Ex. iii. 5; 2 Sam. xv. 30; Isa. xx. 2.

ments were so dear to them that Jeremiah (ii. 32) exclaims, "Can a maid forget her ornaments, or a bride her attire?" The ornaments of women were numerous.\* As glass mirrors have become known only since the 13th century, the Jews could not be acquainted with any, but there appears to be no doubt that they had mirrors of metal.† The Jews had, probably, learnt the art of spinning, weaving, and gold embroidery in Egypt,‡ but rich dresses came into use only under the kings, and lasted down to apostolic times.

*Bathing* was not only a necessity imposed by the hot climate and as a matter of cleanliness, but also as a religious duty,§ and as a purification from the plague,|| and for various other purposes. The Jews also washed before dinner,¶ and the host not only washed the feet of his guests, but also anointed their heads and beards.\*\* Rich men had baths in their houses, but public ones were introduced only at a late period by the Greeks. It was customary to bathe the whole body before paying visits to high persons,†† but especially before religious acts.‡‡ Purity of hands was considered a symbol of innocence.§§ To washing and bathing, the use of perfumed oil was sometimes also added;||| odorous substances of other kinds were likewise used, as is still customary in hot countries, where the smell of perspiration is thus neutralized. In the matter of shaving the head, as practised by modern Orientals, the Hebrews differed, and were, like the Assyrians, fond of thick strong hair;¶¶ in later times, however, this custom was not only abandoned, but considered a sign of effeminacy, and forbidden by priests; but, in consequence of a vow, men sometimes allowed their hair to grow.\*\*\* Women at all times placed great value on long hair;††† they plaited it, curled it, and intertwined

\* Isa. iii. 16 *seq.* Nose-rings were in use from very ancient times, and they are meant by the *nose-jewels* of Isa. iii. 21, by the *earrings* of Gen. xxiv. 47, by the *earring upon her face* of Gen. xxiv. 22, and the *jewel on the forehead* of Ezek. xvi. 12.

† Ecclus. xii. 10: "Non credam inimico tuo in æternum; sicut enim aramentum seruginat nequitia illius." Ex. xxxviii. 8; Job xxxvii. 18.

‡ 1 Chron. iv. 21.

§ Ex. xxix. 4; xxx. 19, 20, 21; xl. 32.

|| Lev. vi. 27, xiii. 54, xiv. 8.

¶ Luke xi. 88.

\*\* Pa. xxiii. 5; Tob. vii. 7; Luke vii. 46.

†† Ruth iii. 3; Judith x. 3.

‡‡ Gen. xxxv. 2; Ex. xix. 10; Jos. iii. 5; 1 Sam. xvi. 3.

§§ Pa. xxvi. 6, lxxiii. 13.

||| Ruth iii. 3; Judith x. 3.

¶¶ Ezek. viii. 3; Jer. vii. 29.

\*\*\* Acts xviii. 18; 1 Cor. xi. 14.

††† Cant. iv. 1.

with it not only ornaments, but also precious stones;\* combs, however, are not mentioned in the Old Testament. With the Assyrians the Jews, in contrast to the Egyptians, believed the beard to be the greatest adornment of man; it was therefore perfumed and fumigated. To pull a man by the beard was the highest insult, to shave it degradation; not to comb and anoint it, a sign of mourning and defilement.†

Monogamy is at present acknowledged among the most civilized nations to be the most natural connection binding man to woman, but

Matrimonial relations.

polygamy was not prohibited among the Hebrews, and began to flourish very early among them.‡ It was tolerated because too strict a law might have driven the people to the other extreme, and, not being able to bear the yoke of strict monogamy, they would have rushed into the complete laxity of sexual intercourse tolerated by the nations surrounding them. To mitigate, however, the evil consequences of polygamy as much as possible, injustice in the inheritance arising from the predilection of a husband for his favourite wife was prevented, and the marrying of two sisters, which might by jealousy extinguish sororial affection, was prohibited.§ The costliness of polygamy was a bar to its frequency, just as it is now among Moslems and others; and when practised entailed usually a great deal of unhappiness, as everybody knows who has conversed on the subject with a husband of several wives. It is also evident that the prevalence of polygamy allowed of no equality between man and wife; hence she was, even as a legitimate spouse, considered rather a possession than a companion valuable for her own sake. The case of the other wives was still worse, and the low position they held is evident from their being promiscuously called handmaids, bondwomen, concubines, and maid-servants.|| Prostitution as a trade, although strongly prohibited, could not be totally abolished.¶ Adulterers and adulteresses were put to death,\*\* while virtuous wives were held in great esteem.††

\* Isa. iii. 24; 2 Kings ix. 30; Judith x. 3; 1 Pet. iii. 3; 1 Tim. ii. 9.

† Isa. vii. 20, l. 6; 2 Sam. x. 4 *seq.*, xix. 24.

‡ Lamech, s. of Methusael, s. of Mehujael, s. of Irad, s. of Enoch, s. of Cain, s. of Adam, "took unto him two wives: the name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah." (Gen. iv. 19.)

§ Deut. xxi. 15; Lev. xviii. 18. || Gen. xvi. and xxi.; Judges viii. 31, ix. 18.

¶ Lev. xix. 29, xxi. 9; Deut. xxiii. 17 *seq.*; 1 Kings iii. 16; Prov. v. 3, vi. 26, vii. 10 *seq.*; Jer. v. 7.

\*\* Lev. xx. 10.

†† Prov. xii. 4, xviii. 22, xix. 14, xxxi. 10 *seq.*; Ps. cxxviii. 3; Eccles. vii. 28, ix. 9.

The marriages of their children were always arranged by the parents; they chose brides for their sons,\* and it depended naturally on the character of the parents whether they looked to the inclination of their children when giving them in marriage, or whether they disregarded it for the sake of money or position, as is often the case also in modern times. It is asserted by some that among the Israelites wives were bought, but this cannot be shown from the Old Testament, unless the serving of Jacob seven years for Rachel,† and the saying of Rachel and Leah that their father Laban had sold them,‡ and a few other passages to the same purport, or the payments made by bridegrooms to the fathers of their brides, be considered proofs of such bargains; but there are also examples of parents giving their daughters an inheritance, besides the usual dowries of small presents, ornaments, utensils, maid-servants, &c.§ There was no law to determine the precise age of the parties marrying, but it was presumably a very early one, or else the frequency of husbands aged thirteen and wives eleven years in Palestine must be a comparatively recent institution.

The celebration of the wedding appears to have been altogether of a secular character, but it is possible that religious ceremonies were also performed, although no trace of them occurs in the Old Testament. The festivities commenced with the procession of the bridegroom, in his best clothes, with his companions,|| to the house of the bride, whence he led her adorned and deeply veiled,¶ and accompanied by her young female friends, in solemn procession with song, music, and dance, in the evening, by the light of torches or lamps, to his father's house.\*\* The wedding, with festive dinners and noisy rejoicings, generally lasted several days,†† and numerous friends and acquaintances were invited,‡‡ garlands of flowers were put on the bridegroom, and various amusements took place.§§ Intermarriage between the various degrees of near consanguinity was prohibited, but when brothers lived together and one of them died without leaving a son, his relict was not to marry any one outside the family, but was

\* Gen. xxiv. 2 *seq.*, xxi. 21, xxxviii. 6. † Gen. xxix. 20. ‡ *Ibid.* xxxi. 15.  
§ Job xlii. 15 *seq.* || Judges xiv. 11; Matt. ix. 15; John iii. 29.

¶ Isa. lxi. 10; Rev. xxi. 2; Jer. ii. 32.

\*\* Jer. xvi. 9, xxv. 10; Matt. xxv. 1 *seq.* †† Judges xiv. 10 *seq.*; Tob. xi. 21.

‡‡ Gen. xxix. 22; Tob. ix. 3, 7; Luke xiv. 8; John ii. 2.

§§ Cant. iii. 11; Isa. xli. 10.

to become the wife of her brother-in-law, who was thereby to build up his brother's house ; and in the genealogy of the latter the son thus begotten was to be inscribed as his own, bearing his name, inheriting his property, and supporting his family.\* This custom, which was in vogue also among other nations, such as the Indians and Persians, is still prevalent among the Tartars, Gallas, and Afghans. In case the brother refused to marry the widow, she had a right to take off one of his shoes and to spit in his face in the presence of the elders of the town. The sacredness of the marriage contract appears from the statements concerning *divorce*,† which is permitted only to the husband ; where, again, the dependent position of woman appears, as he had only to write a bill of divorce and to send his spouse away that she might become another man's wife.‡ The Jews were proud of begetting many children, and barren women were objects of mockery as well as of pity.§ The anxiety for a numerous progeny became a cause of the continuation of polygamy ; whilst on the other hand the latter excited a very strong desire in the wives to become mothers, because in polygamous families mutual jealousies compel each wife to seek a firm pledge of her husband's love in children, but especially in sons. Infanticide, so common among the Greeks and Romans, and abortion, recommended by Aristotle and Plato in case of too great an increase of children, were both unknown among the Jews. As the Jews had no public schools, children obtained their whole education from their parents ; in wealthy families, however, special teachers were kept.||

*Slavery* was known among the Jews as early as the times of Abraham, and a regular slave-trade existed ;¶

Slavery, politeness, hospitality, and funeral rites. there are examples of persons having sold their own brothers.\*\* Slaves multiplied in the houses of their masters, and the offspring belonged to the family.†† The law could no more abolish slavery than polygamy, but it made it humane, and the misdeeds of the master towards his slaves did not remain unpunished.‡‡ A Jew became a slave either voluntarily by selling himself on account of poverty,§§ or by a judicial sale for inability to make restitution in a case of theft,|||

\* Deut. xxv. 5-10 ; Matt. xvii.

† Deut. xxiv. 1-4.

‡ Deut. xxiv. 1, 2 ; Matt. xv. 31, xix. 7 ; Mark x. 4.

§ Job xxiv. 21 ; 1 Sam. i. 6 *seq.* ; Luke i. 25.

|| Prov. i. 8, vi. 20, xxxi. 1 ; 2 Kings x. 1, 5.

¶ Amos i. 6-9 ; Joel iii. 4, 6.

\*\* Deut. xxiv. 7.

†† Ex. xxi. 4 *seq.*

‡‡ Ex. xxi. 20 *seq.*, 26 *seq.*

§§ Lev. xxv. 39, 47.

||| Ex. xxii. 3.

but of course the domestic slavery of the Jews among themselves was quite of a different kind than when they were forced by thousands to assist in the construction of temples, palaces, fortifications, and canals during their Babylonian captivity.

*Politeness* has always been, and still is, more formal and circumstantial in the East, in all localities where pushing European civilization has not yet penetrated, and simplified, if not abolished, all formalities. The bows of inferiors when saluting superiors are lower in proportion to rank, and if this be very high become almost prostrations. A person low in the social scale stood respectfully before one higher, and juniors allowed seniors to speak.\* In conversation the young spoke of themselves in the third person, called themselves servants, and their elders masters.† Public honours shown to princes and generals consisted in shouts of joy with music, and strewing the road with flowers, twigs of trees, and laying down carpets.‡ Representations of such triumphal processions may still be seen on some monuments of antiquity.

*Hospitality* was a great virtue,§ and the refusal of it blameworthy.|| In the disposal of dead bodies the Israelites followed the custom of all the Semitic nations by interring them, and resorted only in exceptional cases, such as war and epidemics, in order to prevent infection of the atmosphere, to cremation, which was so common among the Aryans, but chiefly the Hindus, Greeks, and Romans,¶ and which was by the Hebrews considered even as a degrading punishment.\*\* To be left unburied was a most dreadful thought†† among the Hebrews, just as among the Greeks, who believed that souls could not enter the Elysian fields till their dead bodies had been buried; and this feeling was so strong among them that it was considered a religious duty to throw earth upon a dead body which a person might happen to find unburied.‡‡ No data occur in the Old Testament on the funeral rites of the ancient Hebrews, but they were probably not unlike those described in later times,§§ because the Jews were just as tenacious of

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\* Lev. xix. 32; Job xxix. 8 seq.

† Gen. xviii. 3, xxiv. 18; 1 Sam. xxvi. 18; 2 Sam. ix. 8; 2 Kings viii. 13.

‡ 2 Kings ix. 13. § Gen. xviii. 5 seq., xix. 2; Judges xiii. 15, xix. 20 seq.

|| Job xxxi. 32.

¶ Amos vi. 10.

\*\* Lev. xx. 14.

†† Ps. lxxix. 2; Jer. vii. 33, viii. 1 seq., xv. 1 seq., xxii. 19, xxxvi. 30; 1 Kings xiv. 11, 13.

‡‡ Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 180.

§§ Acts ix. 37.

old customs as other nations of the East. The burial usually took place after sunset, as among the Greeks,—on the same day the person died, no doubt, principally on account of the polluting effect of the corpse,\* which was placed on a bier and carried out with a large *cortège* amidst the loud wailings of friends and relatives.† The songs of lamentation began in the house of mourning, and were often accompanied by the tones of the funeral flute;‡ also wailing women were especially hired,§ as is still customary not merely in Palestine, but also in the whole of India among certain castes. In the evening the relatives and friends of the deceased assembled and held the funeral repast. The rending of garments|| was a sign of grief; hence Joel exclaims “Rend your hearts, and not your garments.”¶ Mourning clothes\*\* consisted of robes like bags, made without sleeves and of coarse stuff; all ornaments, and even the shoes, were put away; men often shaved their heads and beards, fasted, and strewed earth and ashes on their heads.†† The graves were without the towns, and only kings and prophets were interred within the walls. Wealthy people had their own family tombs, surrounded by trees and situated in gardens; but the poor were buried in common cemeteries.‡‡ The graves were partly dug perpendicularly into the ground,§§ and often had steps, as may still be seen; but well-to-do people mostly got their tombs dug horizontally in hills, the interior consisting either of the bare rock only, or being lined with masonry. They were not unfrequently composed of several chambers separated from each other by doors; they had also lateral apertures, six or seven feet long, into which the corpse was pushed. Usually the many natural caves and grottoes were utilized as graves; also large stones were rolled against them,||| chiefly in order to keep off the greedy jackals, which infest also our cemeteries in India, digging down to the bodies. In the month of Adar (March), and also after the rainy season, it was customary to whitewash the graves, so as to distinguish them, and to ensure safety to passers-by from defilement by touching them.¶¶

\* Num. xix. 11 *seq.*† Luke vii. 12 *seq.*; 2 Sam. iii. 31 *seq.*‡ Jer. ix. 17 *seq.*§ *Ibid.*

|| Gen. xxxvii. 34; Judges xi. 35.

¶ Joel ii. 13.

\*\* 2 Sam. xiv. 2.

†† Ezek. xxvi. 16; 2 Sam. xv. 30; Jer. vii. 29; 1 Sam. iv. 12, xxxi. 13.

‡‡ Jer. xxvi. 23; 2 Kings xxiii. 6.

§§ Luke xi. 44.

||| Matt. xxvii. 60; John xi. 38.

¶¶ Matt. xxiii. 27.

Nomadic life was changed to agricultural after the Hebrews had come out of Egypt, in which country the transition commenced, because field labour demands but little trouble there, as the cultivator has scarcely anything to do but to scatter about the seed in order to secure a harvest. Only a small portion of the Israelites—namely, the tribes Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh—retained nomadic life: probably not from any special predilection for it, but on account of the eastern part of Goshen assigned to them, the soil of which was unfit for agriculture. After their settlement in Palestine the Hebrews engaged chiefly in agriculture, the produce of which was sufficient for the support of the nation, and was probably at all times a considerable article of trade with the thickly populated commercial towns of the Phœnicians. It was already in early times unlawful among the Jews to sow fields with mingled seed,\* or such as had been defiled in a moist state by dead insects falling into it. The use of the plough and harrow, the construction of both of which was very simple, had been learnt by the Hebrews in Egypt, where only the soft slime of the Nile had to be encountered; it sufficed to sharpen the common end of two branches having the shape of a fork, and to fix a pole where they met. This could not be done in Canaan, where the ground is hard; accordingly iron ploughshares were made, and a yoke for the cattle was fixed on the pole. The ox-goad was, no doubt, stronger† than that used in India, which is merely a wooden ferule or bamboo one or two feet long with an iron pin at the end. After a field was ploughed, the large lumps of earth were broken and smoothed down by a strong board weighted with stones, and used as a harrow.‡ It may be seen from Egyptian monuments that sowing and harrowing were almost simultaneous operations.

In order to secure the fertility of the soil the Jews used irrigation, which they must have learnt in Egypt,§ but afterwards still more in Babylonia, where it was carried to great perfection in numerous canals dug by the state; another way of irrigating all these countries was carried on by means of wells and the so-called Persian wheels. The manuring of fields was also practised, but not as regularly as in our times.|| In their fields the Israelites cultivated not merely cereals, wheat, barley, millet, and lentils,¶ but also flax, cucumbers, beans,

\* Lev. xix. 19.

† Isa. xxviii. 24; Hos. x. 11; Job xxxix. 10.

‡ 2 Kings ix. 37.

† Judges iii. 31.

§ Deut. xi. 10.

¶ 2 Sam. xxiii. 11.



and cumin.\* The harvest commenced with barley,† which ripens two or three weeks before wheat; vetches and lentils were ripe almost simultaneously with barley, and the harvest, collected on the arm, was tied into sheaves and immediately threshed, by driving some cattle over the threshing-floor, which was generally on an elevated spot, to get breeze, and well stamped; or a threshing cart or sledge was driven over the sheaves.‡ The corn was preserved in barns, in natural caves or artificial excavations or cisterns, many of which in a bell-shaped form still exist in villages, and are used as receptacles for cereals, their mouths being covered when full, with a stone, over which, again, earth is thrown, to conceal it from the predatory Arabs.

There were many vineyards in Palestine, especially beyond the Jordan, as well as olive-trees. For superintending the grazing of the numerous cattle and horses watch-towers were erected,§ but the animals were kept in stables during the hot season. The ancient patriarchs had no horses, nor did the Israelites make any use of them, although the Canaanites had even chariots drawn by them.|| Only during the reign of David a trifling force of cavalry was formed, in consequence of a lucky war against the Syrians;¶ and horses were, by the side of asses, kept by persons of dignity.\*\* Solomon, however, carried on a lively horse-trade with Egypt,†† kept a numerous stud at his court, and a regular war-cavalry.‡‡ The kings who followed him also maintained riding-horses, carriages, and war-chariots, the latter being especially necessary in their wars with the Syrians. Private individuals also were horse-breeders, and began to use them even for threshing corn.§§ The horse, however, never supplanted the ass, as an animal for riding, in times of peace;||| and in rocky mountainous districts, where no made roads existed, donkeys and mules were still more serviceable, on account of their sure step. The horses were not shod, neither were saddles or stirrups known; only a cloth was placed on the horse and

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\* Jos. ii. 6; Hos. ii. 9; Prov. xxxi. 13; Isa. i. 6, xxviii. 25.

† 2 Sam. xxi. 9; Ruth ii. 23.

‡ Isa. xxviii. 27, xlii. 15; Amos i. 3; 2 Sam. xii. 31.

§ 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; 2 Kings xvii. 9.

|| Deut. xx. 1; Josh. xi. 4; Judges iv. 7 *seq.*

¶ 2 Sam. viii. 4.

\*\* 2 Sam. xv. 1.

†† 1 Kings x. 28 *seq.*

‡‡ 1 Kings iv. 26.

§§ Amos i. 3; Isa. xxviii. 28, xxx. 16.

||| 1 Sam. xxv. 20, 2 Sam. xvii. 23; 1 Kings ii. 40; 2 Chron. xxviii. 15.

tied firmly with a girth. The usual food of horses was hay,\* but oxen and asses were compelled to put up with inferior fodder.†

In Egypt, where trades had already received a wonderful development, the Jews had become proficient, and the construction of the Ark of the Covenant shows how much they had profited there. After they had taken possession of Canaan they made no progress, but fell back, and nothing more pitiful can be imagined than that no smith was any longer to be found in the country during the oppression of the Jews by the Philistines, and that the former were bound to have recourse to the latter when they wished to sharpen their agricultural instruments and tools.‡ All this was, however, changed during the great elevation of the Israelites under Samuel. It is true enough that Solomon was, for his grand edifices, compelled to employ architects and artists from Tyre, and had even wood and stones cut by Phœnician workmen;§ but it is to be taken into consideration that magnificent edifices require great skill, and that even in our times the casting of the colossal furniture of the Temple, the vessels, and the figures, could be executed only by distinguished artists.||

This monarch took great pains to promote industry and commerce by constructing roads; "he built Tadmor in the wilderness; and all the store cities which he built in Hamath; also he built Beth-horon the upper and Beth-horon the nether, fenced cities, with walls, gates, and bars,"¶ for the promotion of security, commerce, and civilization. Solomon also engaged foreign artists to become the teachers of his

\* 1 Kings iv. 28.

† Isa. xxx. 24.

‡ 1 Sam. xiii. 19.

§ 1 Kings vii. 14 *seq.*, v. 18.

|| The buildings erected by Esar-haddon in Babylon appear to have equalled or exceeded in magnificence those of any former Assyrian king. In one inscription he states that in Assyria and Mesopotamia he built no fewer than thirty temples "shining with silver and gold, as splendid as the sun." Besides repairing various palaces erected by former kings, he built at least three new ones, for his own use or that of his son. One of these was the edifice known as the south-west palace of Nimrod, which was constructed of materials derived from the palaces of former monarchs who had reigned at the city, and for whom, as not belonging to his own family, Esar-haddon seems to have entertained small respect. The plan of this palace is said to differ from that of all other Assyrian buildings. It consisted of a single hall of the largest dimensions, 200 feet long and 100 broad; of an antechamber through which the hall was approached by two doorways; and of a certain number of chambers on each side of the hall, which were probably sleeping apartments. According to Mr. Layard, it "answers in its general plan, more than any building yet discovered, to the description in the Bible of the palace of Solomon." (*Layard's Nineveh and Babylon*, ch. xxvi., p. 654; G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 483.)

¶ 2 Chron. viii. 4, 5, *seq.*

people in all kinds of skill and knowledge, and luxury became so developed that, at least in the larger towns, many kinds of work usually done at home were performed by separate tradesmen, although even during the highest prosperity of the state no *originally* Israelitish industry developed itself, agriculture and pecoriculture having always remained the chief occupations of the people. Only after the Babylonian captivity, and the ensuing foreign rule, did a taste for industrial pursuits manifest itself among the Jews. Trades appeared among the Hebrews as guilds,\* but were never marked off as castes, and everybody was at liberty to choose the occupation he liked; the workshops and bazaars occupied in the towns certain localities assigned to them. It cannot be ascertained how far the Jews had progressed in their industrial pursuits, but as several names occur in Hebrew for one and the same product of a trade, the inference is that such a variety of names is a mark of development of trades, the principal of which are known to have been as follows:—(1) Workers in wood, &c., such as carpenters, carvers, and basket-makers; (2) workers in metal, such as copper, iron, silver, and gold. The figures made by the Israelites were of wood and coated with plates of gold, and hence easily burnt; such was the famous calf of Aaron. Most of the large idols of the ancients were also of wood, or cast of some base metal, and then coated with plates of gold.† The casting of metal recorded in Scripture‡ implies merely that gold was molten into a smooth mass, which the goldsmith afterwards hammered out. It is nowhere recorded whence the Israelites obtained their iron and copper, although not a little iron is contained in the mountains of Canaan; and Lebanon has now profitable iron-works. The Israelites themselves appear nowhere to have pursued mining, and the representation in Job xxviii. is based merely on views obtained by the poet from Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and Lebanon. Copper was probably obtained from Egypt and from the Sinai peninsula; iron from Syria and from Tyre; § gold and silver likewise from Egypt, its most productive source being Nubia, but also from Arabia and Ophir. That these metals arrived

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\* 1 Chron. ii. 55, iv. 14, 21 *seq.*

† The statue of Jupiter Belus described by Herodotus (bk. i., ch. 183) was the great idol Merodach in the temple of Bit Saggath, of which Nebuchadnezzar has left so curious an account. It had been made of silver by an earlier king, but was overlaid with plates of gold by Nebuchadnezzar himself. (See E. I. H. inso. col. 3, l. 1 to 7, G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 629, note 28.)

‡ Ex. xxxii. 4; Isa. xl. 19 *seq.*

§ Ezek. xxvii. 12, 22.

often in an unrefined condition from foreign countries appears from the prophetic metaphors about melting, refining, crucibles, furnaces, and dross.\*

*Pottery* was very flourishing,† and is often mentioned by the prophets,‡ but whether they were acquainted with glazing cannot be shown from Prov. xxvi. 23. *Bricklayers* and *stone-masons*§ were much employed in building forts and palaces. *Weaving* with wool, flax, cotton, as well as the preliminary labours of carding, spinning, and threading, were always done by women, but the more artificial labour of embroidering with flowers and figures was executed by men.|| The terms belonging to these trades were so well known that they are often used as figures of speech;¶ even Babylonian garments were known early.\*\* Newly woven garments were cleansed by fullers, who had their own field without the city of Jerusalem,†† and within it probably their own street; they arranged clothes which had already been worn, by soaking them in water, stamping, beating them with clubs, and using marl earth, sulphurous vapour and lessive.‡‡ Nothing is known about *dyeing*; very likely fast colours were used, and then biting fluids to fix them and make them durable. The hues most approved of were purple, prepared by the Phœnicians,§§ which was red ||| and blue,¶¶ both from shells; also crimson, \*\*\* a brilliant red colour obtained from the bodies of egg-nests of the cochineal insect.††† Finer works in precious stones and ivory are also mentioned.‡‡‡ Glass §§§ was known, and as costly as gold; it was obtained from Phœnicia and Egypt, the glass industry of which can boast of magnificent results.

The most accurate researches have shown that the measures and weights of the Jews, as well as of the Greeks and Romans, are all derived from one com-

Weights and Measures.

\* Jer. vi. 27 seq. † 1 Chron. iv. 23; Matt. xxvii. 7, 10. ‡ Jer. xviii. 3.

§ 1 Chron. xxii. 15; 2 Chron. ii. 7, xxiv. 12 seq. || 1 Chron. iv. 21.

¶ 1 Sam. xvii. 7; Job vii. 6; Lev. xiii. 48 seq. \*\* Josh. vii. 21.

†† 2 Kings xviii. 17; Isa. vii. 3.

‡‡ Mal. iii. 2; mineral *Kali*, Jer. ii. 22. §§ Ezek. xxvii. 7.

||| *Arguman* 1 אַרְגָּמָן.

¶¶ *Tekhelet*, תְּכֵלֶת.

\*\*\* قرمز (voz peregr.) *coccus baphica unde vulgatum nomen Kermes, estque*

*Proprie* vermiculus cocci eiusque succus expressus, Kam.—Freytag.

††† *Thola*, תֹּלָא crimson, *vermiculus cocci*,—*Shani*, שָׁנִי scarlet, *coccinum*,—*Isa. i. 18*.

‡‡‡ Ex. xxvii. ; Amos iii. 15, vi. 4; 1 Kings xxii. 39.

§§§ *Zekkhukhit*, זֶכְחֻקִּית.

mon basis, namely, the Babylonian. It is also remarkable that the measures of length, capacity, and weight are most closely connected with each other; thus the solid measure of the talent is equal to a cubic foot of rain-water, the ground-line of which is the Babylonian foot. This system of measures is no doubt connected with the sciences of the Babylonians, such as astronomical knowledge and their instruments for measuring time, *e.g.* their water-clocks to determine the periods of twelve and twenty-four hours.

The names of the usual measures of length are taken from the limbs of the human body. They are, in an ascending series, as follows:—

- Finger-(thumb-)breadth (*ezba'*).
- Hand-breadth (*tefakh*) = 4 finger-breadths.
- Span (*zereth*) = 3 hand-breadths.
- Cubit (*ammah*) = 2 spans.
- 6 hand-breadths = 24 finger-breadths.
- Rod (*qaneh*) = 6 cubits.

The absolute length of these measures can no longer be defined with certainty, because among the Jews, as among the Babylonians and Egyptians, various cubits came into use in course of time.\* The Mosaic cubit amounted probably to 475 French millimetres, whilst the larger one of Ezekiel consisted of 528. There is still more uncertainty about the measures of capacity, and modern authors who have discussed them cannot agree. Here follow some of those given in an appendix to Josephus:—

*Measures of Capacity.*

	English cubic inches.	English pints or pounds.
Bath or Ephah.....	807·274	27·83
Corus or Chomer.....	8072·74	278·3
Seah or Saton .....	269·091	9·266
Seah also, according to Josephus.	828·28	28·3
Hin .....	134·54	4·4633
Hin also, according to Josephus.	414·12	14·3
Omer or Assaron.....	80·722	2·78
Cab .....	44·859	1·544
Log .....	11·21	·39
Metretes or Syrian Firkin .....	207	7·125

The *weights* of the Jews were used even in patriarchal times, and are mentioned in numerous passages of the Scriptures; their equivalents in French grammes are as follows:—

Gerah = 0.727, Common Shekel = 7.27, Sacred Shekel = 14.54, Mine = 727, Talent = 43,620.

The *balance* of the Israelites was of a double kind; it had either two scales or a beam. The weights were of stone, and carried about in a bag.\*

Already Abraham bought a piece of land for 400 shekels of silver; † but from his time down to the Captivity, and the books of the Old Testament written after it, no coined money existed, although there is no doubt that certain weights were stamped, and may have been current in commerce, and that even smaller pieces of money must have been common ‡ in daily life, where mere weights would have been very inconvenient. It is, however, remarkable that the invention of coining was not made by the Assyrians, Babylonians, or Egyptians, whose position in the van of Oriental civilization would have led us to expect it from them.§ Accordingly we shall not be far from the truth if we assert that although Jewish money was not coined, it was stamped, and circulated in the shape of bars or rings, agreeing in weight with its name, like that of the Assyrians, so that a silver shekel, half-shekel, &c. weighed as much as its name implied;|| which was the case till the Babylonian captivity, after their return from which the Jews became Persian subjects and used Persian money. The so-called *Darics* were gold coins formally coined as in our mints; on the obverse they presented the figure of a

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\* Deut. xxv. 13; Prov. xvi. 11; Micah vi. 11.

† Gen. xxiii. 16.

‡ 1 Sam. ii. 36, ix. 8.

§ Not a single coin has yet been found among the remains of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquity which have come down to us. In Egypt it is said to be certain from hieroglyphic discovery that there was at no time any coinage; and it appears that the Persians first (Herodotus, bk. iv., ch. 166), and the Greeks afterwards, had to introduce their own monetary systems there, at the time of their respective conquests. Had Assyria or Babylonia possessed a coinage, it is almost impossible that the researches recently pursued with so much success throughout Mesopotamia should have failed to bring to light a specimen. Clay tablets commemorating grants of money *specified by weight* have been found in considerable numbers, but no coin or the trace of a coin has been discovered.—G. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. I., p. 684.

|| The full value in English money is here given from an appendix to Josephus:—

crowned archer, and on the reverse an oblong quadrangle stamped, and of irregular depth as on the most ancient coins. The form was generally oval with an admixture of only one-thirteenth of foreign metal, whereas our present silver and gold coins contain one-tenth of it. Those most often mentioned in the Old Testament\* weighed 8·38 French grammes. The name *Dareikos* (Gr.) and *Adarkhon* or *Darkhemen* (Heb.) is of Old Persian origin, and was current before the time of Darius; but its signification is not yet satisfactorily ascertained. Also silver darics existed besides the gold ones, enjoying among the Jews the name and value of the common silver shekel, † and also one-third of a shekel. ‡ Besides, Persian minas of gold were current, but only in calculation, § as well as talents. || The weight of these coins became known from the excavations at Nineveh, where fifteen Assyrian and Babylonian mina-weights in the form of lions and ducks, marked with old Aramaic and cuneiform characters, were discovered. The Assyrian minas weigh 192,000 old French grains, and the Babylonish-Persian ones exactly one-half, i.e. 9,600 grains. A talent was equal to 60 minas, and such Babylonish-Persian or Syrian talents, which were somewhat lighter, are no doubt meant in 2 Kings v. 5 seq. and 1 Chron. xix. 6. After the time of Alexander the Great the Jews must have used Ptolemaic or Syrian money. ¶ They recovered their independence only under the Maccabees, and their first prince acknowledged by the Syrian king Demetrius was Simon. \*\*

The position of Palestine was favourable enough to the development of commerce, but in their religious ordinances the people were informed that they

Commerce.

	£	s.	d.
Stater, sacred shekel or Syrian shekel .....	0	2	6
Bekah, i.e. half-shekel .....	0	1	3
Gerah or Obolus .....	0	0	1½
Maneh or Mina = 100 shekels' weight = 21,900 grains troy .....			
Maneh, Mina, or Mina as coin = 60 shekels .....	7	10	0
Talent of silver = 3,000 shekels .....	375	0	0
Shekel of gold, not more than .....	0	4	4
Dario of gold .....	1	0	4
Talent of gold, not more than .....	648	0	0

\* 1 Chron. xxix. 7; Ezra ii. 69; Neh. vii. 70. † Neh. v. 15, vii. 71.

‡ Neh. x. 32.

§ Neh. vii. 71 seq.; Ezra ii. 69.

|| Ezra vii. 22; Esther iii. 9.

¶ As may be concluded from 1 Macc. xv. 5 seq. \*\* 1 Macc. xiv. 37 seq., xv. 2.

would flourish by rearing cattle and cultivating the ground.\* In the beginning also the entire sea-coast was in the hands of the Canaanites and Philistines, just as the commercial road from Damascus to the sea was in possession of the Phœnicians. The condition of the Jews during the period of the Judges was not at all suited to the development of commerce, and as far as any existed it was limited to the export of corn into Phœnicia, and to a share of the tribes Zabulon and Issachar in the transit-commerce of the Phœnicians throughout Galilee; and the principal commercial intercourse between Asia and Africa was already in the hands of the Phœnicians and Arabs. Commerce began to flourish only under Solomon, but as a royal monopoly. His own merchants procured him horses from Egypt; † he allied himself with Tyre for the purpose of maritime commerce, which he carried on from Eziongeber and Elath on the Red Sea to Ophir, ‡ where the "Tarshish ships" are to be taken in the sense of the now obsolete expression "East-Indiamen" among ourselves. These commercial enterprises ceased again immediately after Solomon, and Josaphat § endeavoured in vain to revive the Ophir voyages. || Commerce must, however, have greatly flourished in the kingdom of Israel under Jeroboam II. ¶ This king restored the ancient boundaries against the Syrians, and imparted a prosperity to the country resembling that of the period of Solomon, as may be seen from the representations of luxurious life in the kingdom of Israel. \*\* Since Hezekiah's time, Jerusalem also appears to have become a very thriving emporium of commerce, otherwise it would be inexplicable whence so small a kingdom as that of Judah could obtain the means to pay the enormous contributions imposed on it by its victorious foes, or to build fortresses. If the words put by Ezekiel into the mouths of the Tyrians, who rejoiced at the fall of Jerusalem, †† be considered, there must have been a trade attracted to the capital of Judah considerable enough to excite the envy of mighty Tyre, which no doubt derived considerable profits from Assyria, as the merchants of that city traded with Tyre in

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\* Deut. xxvii. 11 *seq.*

† 1 Kings x. 26 *seq.*; 2 Chron. i. 16 *seq.*      ‡ 1 Kings ix. 26 *seq.*, x. 11, 22.

§ B.C. 914-899.

|| 1 Kings xxii. 48; 2 Kings xiv. 22, xvi. 6.

¶ B.C. 825 till 784,—Hos. xii. 8 *seq.*      \*\* Amos vi. 4-8, iii. 15.

†† "Aha! broken is the gate of the nations [i.e. the city visited by many nations], she is turned unto me; I shall be replenished when she is laid waste." Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24.



the clothes "and broidered work, and in chests, with cords, made of cedar wood,"\* and the latter not growing in their own country, the Assyrians obtained it from the Jews. Nevertheless, so small a country could not have large exports, and therefore its riches were derived only from large commercial speculations, and although it is unknown to us of what kind these were, we shall not be wrong in considering Jerusalem as the emporium of the goods exported from or imported into the seaports, as it was, by its distance from the coast and its fortifications, protected from sudden attacks during the wars between Egypt, Assyria, Phœnicia, &c., and from the insecurity of the Philistine towns entailed by them.

Although some articles of foreign commerce, *e.g.* cinnamon and pearls,† were known early and imported, the times were peculiarly favourable to commerce during the reign of Manasseh, who, unwilling to sacrifice anything to the higher interests of the nation, soon espoused the view that in order to maintain concurrence with the seaports, it would not do to present to foreign merchants an isolated and morally serious city, and that it would be better to allure them by a commercial emporium allowing free play to foreign manners and luxurious, sensual religions; and as often during times of prosperity, so also during the reign of Manasseh, Hebrew peculiarities again made room for the concourse of strangers. Such things naturally evoked opposition after the religious elevation of Hezekiah; but commercial politics are at all times arbitrary, and do not recoil from shedding innocent blood. Manasseh carried out his wish:‡ Jerusalem became a godless commercial town, and remained such till it was destroyed.§ Jerusalem only excepted, commerce was everywhere limited to an inland retail trade, kept alive and promoted chiefly by religious festivals. After the Captivity the Jews traded with Alexandria, Antioch, Damascus, Rome, &c., by sea and by land, to which latter mode of communication the Israelites had paid attention already in very early times, inasmuch as they had constructed artificial roads|| by throwing earth and stones on them;¶ but the assertion of Josephus that Solomon constructed roads with basalt cannot be proved from the

\* Ezek. xxvii. 23, 24. † "Cinnamon," Exod. xxx. 23; "Pearls," Job xxviii. 18.

‡ 2 Kings xxi. 16.

§ Ezek. xxvi. 2; Jer. xlii. 27, xvii. 27.

|| "Highway," *Mesilah*, מִסְלָח Num. xx. 19.

¶ Num. xx. 19; Judges xx. 31 *seq.*, xxi. 19; 1 Sam. vi. 12; 2 Sam. xx. 12; Deut. xix. 3.

Old Testament. Wagons and carriages\* were used from ancient times,† the former being always drawn by horned cattle. The construction of these conveyances is not known, but burdens were also always carried by mules, asses, and camels.

According to Tacitus the hieroglyphics of Egypt gave origin to the letters of the Phœnicians, which were afterwards brought to the Greeks, and amounted to sixteen in number.‡ A comparison of the Phœnician, Ancient Greek and Hebrew coin alphabets§ at once proves their common origin. All originated from picture-writing, and the twenty-two firmer sounds (consonants) of the Hebrew alphabet at first actually represented rude images of the objects after which they are called.|| These old characters, which are entirely the same with the Phœnician letters, were obtained by the Hebrews from the Canaanites, but the Phœnicians themselves probably obtained their letters from the Babylonians, and the origin of the cuneiform characters may likewise be traced to picture-writing.¶ The writings of Moses, who lived probably in the 15th century before Christ, date at least from that time, and hence the Phœnician letters must be much older, so that alphabetical writing was in use upwards of 1500 years B.C.\*\*

Engraving is mentioned in the time of Moses, †† and not only priests, †† but also other Israelites, are supposed to be acquainted with the art of writing, §§ but afterwards it became so common that letters

\* "Waggon," *Agaloth*, רָגֶלֶת Num. vii. 3; "Chariots," *Rekeb*, רֶכֶב Gen. 1. 9.

† 1 Sam. vi. 7 seq., viii. 11; 2 Sam. vi. 3, xv. 1; 1 Kings xii. 18.

‡ Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant (ea antiquissima monimenta memoriæ humanæ, impressa satis cernuntur) et litterarum semet inventores perhibent; inde Phœnices, quia mari prepollebant, intulisse Græciæ, gloriamque adeptos, tamquam reppererint quæ acceperant. Quippe fama est Cadmum classe Phœnicum vectum rudibus adhuc Græcorum populis, artis ejus auctorem fuisse.—*Annal.* XI. 14.

§ See the table of them in G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. II., p. 318.

|| The rude figures of the Hebrew letters were, and their names are—Ox, house, camel, door, window, hook, weapon, fence, snake, hand, hand-bent, ox-goad, water, fish, prop, eye, mouth, fish-hook, back of the head, head, tooth, and cross.

¶ G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, vol. I., pp. 81 seq. and pp. 336 seq.

\*\* The Aryan writings are later than this period of time; and Sanskrit, from its letters facing to the left, while the words are written from left to right, gives evidence of its having borrowed letters from a Semitic source; they are not turned, as in the later Greek, to suit the direction of the words. In Zend the letters face to the left, as the words do, and some of them appear to bear a resemblance to the Phœnician character.—G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. II., Appx. to bk. ii., p. 319.

†† Ex. xxviii. 9.

‡‡ Num. v. 23.

§§ Deut. vi. 9, xi. 20, xxiv. 1, 3.

and despatches,\* documents of sale, contracts, acts of accusation,† and whole books were written, although the common people, no doubt, often resorted to public scribes. The present square characters of the Hebrews, called Assyrian, were, according to Jewish tradition, brought by Ezra from Babylon; the changes, however, originated very likely from the gradual development of the old Semitic characters into cursive quick writing, and the transformation of the latter into the *square* letters took place as the sacred records evoked a taste for beauty and regularity in writing. During the time of Christ the Law was no longer written in the ancient Hebrew character, as appears from Matt. v. 18, because the *yod* mentioned there as the smallest letter had no existence in it.

The *writing materials* of the Jews were papyrus, which became known to them in Egypt, skins of various animals, and linen. They appear chiefly to have used tanned hides,‡ from which the writing could be washed off in case of need; these obtained in later times in their prepared state the name of parchment, from the town of Pergamus, whence it was called *charta pergamena*.§

The Jews had no schools; the fathers were the only teachers of their children,|| but the knowledge of reading must nevertheless have been very general, else it would have been useless to erect memorial stones with inscriptions;¶ as these were, however, written, or rather painted, on whitewashed stones exposed to the weather, they cannot have been destined to influence posterity.

The *Old Hebrew*, in the Old Testament called the Canaanitish\*\* and the Jews' language,†† was a special branch of the Semitic family of languages, which spread in six dialects over a considerable portion of the south-west of Asia, as well as over North and East Africa (Punic

\* 2 Sam. xi. 14; 1 Kings xxi. 8, 11; 2 Kings x. 1; 2 Chron. xxx. 1.

† Jer. xxxii. 10; Job xxxi. 35.

‡ Num. v. 23; Jer. xxxvi. 23.

§ This town, now called Bergamo, which is in Mysia, on the banks of the Cayous, had a library consisting of 200,000 volumes. This noble collection was transported to Egypt by Cleopatra, and adorned the rich Alexandrian library till it was destroyed, A.D. 642. Parchment is said to have first been invented at Pergamos for transcribing books, as Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, had forbidden the exportation of papyrus from his kingdom, to prevent Eumenes from making a library as valuable as that of Alexandria.

|| Deut. iv. 9 *seq.*, vi. 6 *seq.*, xi. 19, xxxii. 46. ¶ Jos. viii. 32; Deut. xxvii. 2, &c.

\*\* Isa. xix. 18.

†† 2 Kings xviii. 26, 28.

and Ethiopic) chiefly connected with Phœnician. It survived for a long time in the form developed by the writings of Moses; but that the written was not altogether the same with the spoken language appears from the book of Judges and other portions of the Bible. The Babylonian captivity contributed greatly to vitiate the Hebrew of the Jews, which gradually disappeared as a colloquial language altogether, and gave way to the Aramæan (or Syro-Chaldaic), that remained, at least among the Jews, greatly mixed with old Hebrew words, although Hebrew itself had become a dead language among the Jews long before the time of Christ, so much so that two centuries before him they had accepted Aramæan as their written language also. The Jews were no linguists, and persons able to converse in foreign languages are very seldom mentioned in the Old Testament:\* this is accounted for by their bigotry; but after the time of Alexander the Great, when they fell under Greek dominion and became greatly mixed with the strangers dwelling in Cæsarea, Scythopolis, &c., they learnt their language, and it appears that also Jews could speak Greek,† and Roman supremacy made them acquainted with Latin also.

There appear to have been among the Hebrews certain congregations of prophets,‡ who lived and ate together; some of them were married, and probably lived in their own houses.§ Their object was to live in retirement, to lead a contemplative life, spending their time in devotional exercises and the study of the law. In these institutions most of the members remained all their lives sons, *i.e.* students. These schools of prophets appear no longer to have existed in the kingdom of Judah, and had ceased altogether at the time of Ezra, after whom the scribes, chief priests, lawyers, and elders were the teachers of the people as far as religious knowledge was concerned.

How far the secular sciences were developed among the Jews does not appear from the Old Testament. As far as arithmetic is concerned, they do not seem to have progressed beyond the four cardinal rules necessary for daily life and commerce; they possessed also some skill in book-keeping. They, like the Greeks, used the letters of their alphabet to express

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\* 2 Kings xviii. 26; Isa. xxxvi. 11.

† Mark vii. 26; John vii. 35, xii. 20.

‡ 1 Sam. xix. 20 *seq.* Conf. *ibid.* x. 5, 10; 2 Kings ii. 3 *seq.*; iv. 1, 38 *seq.*; vi. 1; ix. 1.

§ 2 Kings iv. 1 *seq.*

the numerals, the first nine letters designating the units, the next nine the decades, and the four last the numbers from 100 to 400. The higher numbers were expressed by affixing to 400 all those which were required. The Egyptians had special numerals, and the Jews had no doubt learnt something of architecture and geometry from them, since the Israelites were not all employed in the construction of buildings as common labourers, and since they were, after every inundation of the Nile, obliged to fix the limits of their possessions in Goshen. Afterwards the buildings of Solomon were executed by foreigners, mostly Phœnicians. There is no doubt that some talented Jews had acquired skill in the higher branches of architecture, but the monuments of Egypt prove the truth of the reports of ancient authors respecting the knowledge which that country possessed at an early period of geometry, astronomy, and other sciences.\* In Egypt, as in India, the year was first lunar; this was, however, at a most remote period, before the establishment of the monarchy; such was at first the case also with the Hebrews. The lunar year of the Jews consisted of twelve months, and began, as with the Arabs, directly the new moon appeared; in order to rectify the loss of eleven days from the real length of the year, they added, every third and sometimes every second year, a thirteenth month to make up the deficiency, so that their months and festivals did not, as those of the Arabs still do, pass through the various seasons of the year. The Jews also designated the days of the week by ordinal numbers, as the Arabs yet do, and had no names except for the Sabbath; whilst the Zoroastrians have a name for every day of the month.

*Astronomy*, so much cultivated by the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Greeks, remained unknown to the Jews as a science, and also their empirical acquaintance with the stars and constellations appears to have been limited; nevertheless the following six are mentioned:— (1) The morning-star; † (2) Ursa major; ‡ (3) Orion; § (4) the Pleiades, or Hen and Chickens; || (5) the Dragon, ¶ Leviathan, \*\* the serpent between Ursa major and minor, which caused, according to the opinions of the ancients, solar eclipses by coiling itself round the sun and swallowing it; this belief still survives in India, where

\* G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. II., p. 329.

† Isa. xiv. 12. ‡ Septentriones, Septarishi, Beut Na'sb, Job ix. 9, שָׁפָר.

§ *Ibid.*, חֲסִידִים.

|| *Ibid.*, אֲדִיָּבָה also xxxviii. 31.

¶ *Ibid.* xxvi. 13.

\*\* *Ibid.* xli. 1.

much shouting and tom-toming takes place on the occasion when the Rákshasa is about to devour the moon or the sun, and the words *Sod! sod!* "Let go! let go!" are heard in the streets of Bombay; (6) Gemini.\*

The views of the Jews concerning the universe corresponded with the general level of knowledge in ancient times. The earth stands fast, and the sun moves in the sky,† but the speculative philosopher discovered that the earth "hangeth on nothing;"‡ this, however, no more implies an acquaintance with the mechanism of the heavens than the turning of the wind, its whirling, and returning again according to its circuits;§ suppose a knowledge of meteorology. The shaking of the earth out of her place, and the trembling of the pillars thereof,|| are referable to internal commotions of it, and to the mountains fixed with their roots in the bowels of the earth to steady it, or to clamp its parts together.¶

Of the *natural sciences* there is no trace among the Israelites; among the Greeks Aristotle, and among the Romans Pliny (A. D. 250), was the first writer on physics. No trace of Solomon's wonderful knowledge of the animal and vegetable world is discoverable in the Old Testament, but a grand example of accurate and reasoning contemplation on natural phenomena occurs in Job xxiii. *seq.*, "where the meteorological processes taking place within the covering of the clouds, the formation and dissolution of vapours during various phases of the wind are graphically described with their play of colours, production of hail and rolling thunder; with questions proposed, which the physicists of our day have been able to formulate in scientific expressions, but have not been able to solve." (*Humboldt.*)

\* Acts xviii. 11, Castor and Pollux.

† Eccl. i. 4 *seq.*; Ps. xix. 6.

‡ Job xxvi. 7.

§ Eccl. i. 6.

|| Job ix. 6.

¶ This view occurs also in the Kurán, XVI. 15:—"And he hath thrown upon the earth *mountains* firmly rooted, lest it should move with you," &c.

والقى في الارض رواسى ان تמיד بكم

And XLI. 9:—"And he placed on the earth *mountains* firmly rooted," &c.

وجعل فيها رواسى

The earth is established upon the sea and established upon the floods, according to the Old Testament, but according to several old Muhammadan geographers only the lower moiety is immersed like an egg, the upper being inhabited by the human race.

As physicians are often mentioned, the Israelites may be supposed to have occupied themselves a great deal with *medical science*. Their doctors appear to have been able to cure various external sores, bruises and wounds, by means of bandages, softenings with oil,\* balsam,† plasters,‡ and herbs.§

The Israelites had not only secular, but also religious *singing, music, and dancing*. Probably they had no actual musical notes, but the headings of the Psalms, like those in modern hymn-books, must have referred to certain well-known tunes according to which they were to be sung. Thus Psalms viii., lxxxi., and lxxxiv. are headed to the singing-master "according to the manner of Gath" or Gittith, which was no doubt a melody used in Gath, and transplanted by David on Israelitish ground. In Psalms xxxix., lxii., and lxxvii. we have the superscription to the singing-master "according to Jeduthun," an air introduced and much used by Jeduthun, usually called Ethan, one of the three music-masters of David. In Psalms lvii., lix., and lxxv. to the singing-master according to "Destroy not," and so on. The inventor of sacred music was David, to whom all the later arrangements may be traced. The direction of the liturgical service was under his superintendence, and he had 288 singers under him.|| The leading instrument of the three singing-masters, Asaf, Heman, and Etham, was the cymbal, which served, instead of the *báton* now used, to indicate the time. The soprano voice was represented by the harp (*nabals*), and the basso or male voice by *cythers*,¶ which were, in the rehearsal of the melodies, used by the singing-master appointed thereto.

The harp, or rather *cither* (כִּינּוֹר *kinnor*), which was the favourite instrument of David, and may be compared to a kind of guitar with a sounding-board over which the strings, the number whereof is unknown, were stretched. The harp had the shape of a triangle, and here the strings were under the sounding-board; and figures of harps, lyres, guitars, tambourines, cymbals, dulcimers, fifes, and drums are represented on Egyptian monuments, as well as on the Assyrian ones of Koyunjik, where the captives playing on lyres may be the Jews who hung their harps by the rivers of Babylon (Ps. cxxxvii. 1, 2).

\* Isa. i. 6; Luke x. 34.

† 2 Kings xx. 7.

‡ 1 Chron. xxv. 7.

† Jer. viii. 22, xlvi. 11.

§ Eccles. (i.e. Sirach) xxxviii. 1-7.

¶ 1 Chron. xxv. 1.

Wind greatly preceded string instruments ; the *horn* being one of the earliest,\* as an accompaniment to the song and music of the Levites.† In the second temple the case was different, where the trumpeting of the priests, the singing of the Levites, and the accompanying music were not simultaneous, but alternated with each other. The *congregation* usually abstained from singing, and uttered only its Amen, with a few responses in some psalms. The other wind instruments mentioned in the Old Testament are the bagpipe, the flute, drums, cymbals, and triangles, but it is not probable that the word אָוָּגָב *avgab*, translated “organ” in Gen. iv. 21, was actually the name of an instrument of that kind.

Dancing was at all times a social amusement of girls and women,‡ often imitated by playing children ;§ it was usual not only in private parties, but also in religious festivals ;|| both sexes, however, never danced together, as Europeans at present do, and their motions were probably circular, with irregularly rhythmical steps, lively gesticulations, and accompanied by hand-drums as well as triangles struck by women. Public dancing-women appear to have existed also among the Israelites,¶ but the dancing of Herodias at a carousal in the presence of men\*\* must be attributed to the influence of corrupted Greek morals.

The *arms* of the Israelites were those generally in vogue among the warlike nations of antiquity.†† A distinction is to be made between arms for the right and for the left hand,‡‡ between weapons of offence and of defence. The Egyptian monuments of the time of Moses show that the Jews must have learnt from them to equip infantry with cuirasses, shields, lances, or battle-axes and swords, whilst lighter troops consisted of archers, slingers, and scythe-men ; but it is to be considered that Egyptians soldiers formed a caste trained for military exercises, many of which are represented on the monuments, but that the Israelitish army was only a militia enlisted according to exigencies, and taken from the plough or the shop.

\* Ps. lxxxi. 3, xcvi. 6, cl. 3.

† 2 Chron. v. 12 *seq.*, vii. 6, xvix. 26 *seq.*

‡ Jer. xxxi. 4.

§ Job xxi. 11 *seq.*, Matt. xi. 17.

|| Luke xv. 25 ; Judges ix. 27 ; Ex. xv. 20 ; 2 Sam. vi. 14 ; Judges xxi. 19 *seq.* ; Jer. xxxi. 4.

¶ Isa. xxiii. 15 *seq.*

\*\* Matt. xiv. 6.

†† 1 Sam. xvii. 50 *seq.* ; 2 Chron. xxvi. 14 ; Neh. iv. 13, 16 ; Ezek. xxxix. 9.

‡‡ Judges xx. 16.



Besides ordinary swords the Jews had also double-edged ones,\* and on the Egyptian monuments curved ones likewise occur. The Israelites had various kinds of spears and javelins for throwing; their bows were of hard wood or metal,† and so difficult to bend that it was necessary to step on them in order to span them;‡ and the arrows were sometimes shot with inflammable substances kindled.§ Among the sculptures of Nineveh there is one with two men, the one in the act of shooting an arrow, while the other holds a shield which protects them both, and is high enough to cover both from head to foot. But no mention of the form of shields occurs in the Old Testament, although various sizes were used,|| some being large, of wood and covered with leather or metal, whilst others hung from the shoulders of the warriors. The *scale armour* represented on the bas-reliefs of Nineveh¶ was in use also among the Jews, but their *coats of mail* appear to have been rather heavy.\*\* The *sling*†† was of leather, or a texture of wool, hair, &c., broad in the middle where the stone was to be placed, and gradually tapering into two strings, which were taken into the hand, whirled over the head, and the stone or leaden ball projected, which struck the target with certainty up to a distance of 600 paces. The *war-chariot* was used by the Egyptian army,‡‡ the Canaanites,§§ the Philistines, and the Syrians.||| The Assyrian chariot, as seen in the sculptures of Khorsabad, is drawn by two horses, has two wheels, and contains three men, one of whom is in the act of shooting an arrow, but the Persians had scythes attached, which mowed the infantry of the enemy; on the whole, however, the construction of these chariots appears to have been nearly the same among all nations of antiquity. The Jews appear to have had no war-chariots down to the time of David; ¶¶ but Solomon increased their number, and assigned special garrison towns for their stations;\*\*\* they became

\* Judges iii. 16; Prov. v. 4.

† Job xx. 21.

‡ Job. "Tread the bow," 1 Chron. v. 18; Ps. vii. 13.

§ Ps. xviii. 14.

|| 1 Kings x. 15 seq.; 2 Chron. ix. 16.

¶ All these basso-relievos were originally painted, and traces of colour are still to be found on them; and some of the accessories of the figures, such as the sandals and bows, still retain a deep red tint on them. Comp. Ezek. xxiii. 14, 15.

\*\* 1 Sam. xvii. 5, 38.

†† 2 Chron. xxvi. 14; 2 Kings iii. 25; Judges xx. 16, *Kelo*. 27.

‡‡ Ex. xiv. 7, 9; xv. 1, 4, 19.

§§ Josh. xi. 4, xvii. 16; Judges iv. 3.

||| Judges i. 19; 1 Sam. xiii. 5; Jer. xlvii. 3; 2 Sam. x. 14; 1 Kings xx. 1.

¶¶ 2 Sam. viii. 4.

\*\*\* 1 Kings ix. 19, x. 26.

an essential part of the army,\* although not a strong one,† especially as they could not be used in hilly places.‡

As was the case more or less in Europe down to the last century, all cities were walled among the ancients;§ but Solomon fortified more systematically certain frontier-towns, which he also provided with strong garrisons.|| The wall was surrounded by a deep and broad moat, in front of which there was yet another smaller wall.¶ Isolated watch-towers and small castles were also built.\*\*

The *defences* of a garrison were extremely simple in ancient times. Whilst the foe was distant, arrows were shot at him, but on his approach stones, beams, boiling oil, &c. were thrown at him. Engines to shoot arrows were introduced by Uzziah.†† The *siege* of a fortress was begun by throwing up a ring-wall of earth, wood, and palisades, so as to isolate the town and to protect the besiegers against sorties. Nebuchadnezzar is stated to have built forts around Jerusalem when he besieged it; ‡‡ and in order to approach a town with battering engines it often became necessary to construct a road or inclined plane up to the foot of the ramparts, and these approaches were not seldom paved with bricks. The wall-breakers or battering-rams used by the Babylonians in their siege of Jerusalem were no doubt of Assyrian origin, and are represented on monuments. They partly consisted of moveable towers supported by four or six wheels, having archers above to shoot into the town, and a strong beam below, not seldom provided with an iron ram's head at its end,—some, however, having it shaped like the point of a spear or blunderbuss,—suspended by an iron chain from the top of the tower, and forcibly struck against the wall by the soldiers within, who were protected by thick hides wherewith the sides of the engine were clad: sometimes these engines consisted simply of scaffoldings running on wheels, without a tower, hides, &c., but provided with two wall-breakers, as they are represented also on Egyptian monuments. Besides the battering-ram, the Assyrians appear to have been acquainted with an engine like the catapult to throw darts, and the balista to throw stones.

\* 1 Kings xvi. 9; 2 Kings viii. 21, xiii. 7.

† 2 Kings xviii. 24; Isa. xxxi. 1.

‡ Jos. xvii. 16; Judges i. 19. § Num. xiii. 28.

|| 2 Chron. xiv. 7.

¶ 2 Sam. xx. 15; Isa. xxvi. 1; Neh. iii. 8.

\*\* 2 Kings xviii. 8; 2 Chron. xxvii. 4.

†† 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

‡‡ 2 Kings xxv. 1.

*Chronology of the Jews from the Division of the Kingdom to the Entrance of Alexander into Jerusalem.*

<i>Kingdom of Judah.</i>	<i>Kingdom of Israel.</i>	<i>Foreign Powers.</i>
B.C.		
975. Rehoboam, 17 years .....	Jeroboam, 22 years.	Shiahak in Jerusalem.
971. ....	.....	
971. Abijam, 3 years.		
955. Asa, 41 years.		
953. ....	Nadab, 2 years.	
952. ....	Baasa, 24 years.	
950. ....	.....	Benhadad I. of Syria.
930. ....	Ela, 2 years.	
929. ....	Zimri, 7 days.	
.....	Omri, 12 years .....	Ithobal, Tyre and Sidon.
918. ....	Ahab, 22 years.	
914. Josaphat, 25 years.....	.....	Benhadad II. of Syria.
897. ....	Ahaziah, 2 years.	
896. ....	Joram, 12 years.	
891. Jehoram, co-regent, 3 yrs.	.....	
889. Josaphat dies; Joram 6 yrs.	.....	Hasael in Syria.
884. Ahaziah, 1 year .....	.....	
883. Athaliah, 6 years .....	Jehu, 28 years.	
877. Josah, 40 years.	.....	
856. ....	Joahaz, 17 years.	
840. ....	Jehoaz, 16 years.	
838. Amaziah, 29 years .....	.....	Benhadad II. of Syria.
834. ....	Jeroboam II., 41 years ...	
810. Azariah or Uzziah, 52 years	.....	
783. ....	Jeroboam II. dies, anarchy 6 years.	
773. ....	Zachariah, 6 months.	
771. ....	Shallum, 1 month.	
771. ....	Menahem, 10 years (773-763).	Pul of Assyria (another name for Tiglath-Pileser II.).
760. ....	Pekaiiah, 2 years (762-760)	
759. ....	Pekah, 20 years.	
758. Jotham, 16 years.	.....	Nabonassar.
747. ....	.....	
743. Ahaz, 16 years.	.....	
739. ....	Pekah dies, anarchy 8½ years .....	Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria.
730. ....	Hosheah, 9 years(730-721)	So of Egypt.
727. Hezekiah, 29 years.	.....	
722. ....	Extinction of the kingdom	Shalmaneser of Assyria. [Iem. Sennacherib besieges Jerusalem-haddon sends colonists to Samaria.
714. ....	.....	
696. Manasseh, 55 years .....	.....	Nabopalassar of Babylon.
643. Amon, 2 years.	.....	Battle at Megiddo against Pharaoh Necho.
641. Josiah, 31 years.	.....	Do. Carchemish, Nebuchadnezzar in Jerusalem.
626. ....	.....	Nabopalassar dies.
610. Joahaz, Joiakim, 11 years..	.....	Pharaoh Hophra of Egypt.
606. Beginning of the Exile.....	.....	Cyrus.
605. ....	.....	529 Cambyses of Persia.
599. Jehoiachin, 3 months; Zedekiah, 11 years.....	.....	521 Darius I., Hystaspes.
588. Destruction of Jerusalem.	.....	486 Xerxes I.
536. End of the Exile .....	.....	465 Artaxerxes I., Macrocheir.
536. Zorobabel and Josua.	.....	424 Darius II., Nothus.
534. The Temple-building begins	.....	404 Artaxerxes II., Mnemon.
530. Continuation of it .....	.....	369 Ochus, i.e. Artaxerxes III.
516. Completion of it (Esther, Mordecai).....	.....	336 Darius III., Codomannus.
458. 2nd Caravan under Esar....	.....	333 Alexander the Great enters Jerusalem.
445. Nehemiah governor .....	.....	

On comparing the above table with that given on pp. 155-156 of George Smith's *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, it will be found to differ from it only in the upper half; the difference amounting in the first dates to 6 and 8 years, and in the later ones only to 3 or 4 years, and often only to 2, the difference decreasing, so that it vanishes entirely at 536, the first year of Cyrus, with which Smith's table ends.

ART. VII.—*Three Kadamba Copperplates : with Remarks.* BY  
 KA'SHINA'TH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B.

The copperplates, of which I present to the Society to-day transcripts and translations, were placed in my hands a short time ago by our Secretary, Dr. Codrington, to whom they had been forwarded by the Government of Bombay. In the letter from Government with which the copperplates were sent up, they are stated to have been found "when excavating the tank of Devagiri, Tâlukâ Karajaghi." No further information than this is given, and none, I suppose, is to be obtained. The first plate, the smallest of the three in size, consists of three rectangular sheets of copper measuring about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ . The second consists of four sheets measuring about  $8\frac{1}{4}$  inches by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ . And the third consists of three sheets about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  by  $1\frac{3}{4}$ . In all three plates the outer sides of the first and last sheets are, as usual, left blank; and the grants are engraved on the inner sides of these sheets and on both sides of the other sheets. Each plate has a ring of the ordinary form attached to it, passing through a hole in one of the smaller sides. There appear to have been seals upon all the rings at one time, which are now scarcely recognizable,—at any rate, my weak sight can make nothing out of any one of them. But Râv Sâheb Pândurang Vyankatesh Chintâmanipethkar, whose Canarese transcript and English translation of these plates, together with remarks, have been forwarded to us by Government, thinks that the seal on No. II. bears "the figure of a person (of a deity?) mounted on a horse or a bullock, I cannot say which, the figure being very much worn out."

All three plates record grants made to Jaina temples or mendicants by princes of the Kadamba dynasty. Of this dynasty neither the age nor the genealogical succession has as yet been clearly ascertained;\* and our plates do not furnish very much material for set-

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\* Comp. *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 233-234. Sir Walter Elliot, indeed, finds "full detail of the genealogy" in one of the inscriptions in his possession; but the sequel will show in what sense this must be understood. As to the age, even he is not so confident. And comp. also *Ind. Ant.* I. 366.

ting those points. In the first place the only names of kings to be found in these plates are the following, namely, Mṛigeśavarma—the grantor in plates Nos. I. and II.—the son of Śântivarma; and Devavarma,\* the grantor in plate No. III., the son of Kṛishṇavarma. And it ought to be added, that Kākustha† is mentioned in plate No. I. as a prince to whose family Mṛigeśavarma belonged. Now, if we turn to the principal repertory of information which we possess on these subjects, namely, Sir Walter Elliot's paper on Hindu Inscriptions, we do find there a king named Kṛishṇavarma—the second in Sir Walter's list; but then his successor, according to that list, is not Devavarma, but Nāgavarma. We find, too, a prince named Mṛigavarma—the fifth in Sir Walter Elliot's list—who could, perhaps, have been identified with the Mṛigeśavarma of our plates. But against this we have the fact that his father is not Śântivarma, as in our plates, but a prince named Vishṇuvarma. The other portions of Sir Walter's list do not render any help at all. Three alternatives then present themselves. Either the grantors in our plates flourished before the earliest prince in Sir Walter's list; or after the latest prince in that list; or they belong to an entirely different branch of the Kadamba family. Which of these alternatives is best supported by the available evidence?

The answer to this question involves the determination, within certain limits, of the age of our plates, and to a certain extent, indeed, of the chronology of this dynasty. And consequently, before proceeding to discuss that question, it is desirable to concentrate here all the information which we can command at present regarding the Kadambas. And first we turn to the paper of Mr. J. F. Fleet published in the *Journal of our Society*. Mr. Fleet distinguishes two branches of the Kadamba family,—namely, the Goa branch and the Banavâsi branch.‡ As to the former, we can dismiss it at once as out of the scope of the present paper, inasmuch as no relationship can be established to have existed between that branch and the grantors in our plates. But the other branch is of great importance, for in the plates belonging to that branch, transcripts of which have been furnished by Mr. Fleet, we find every one of the names occurring in our plates Nos. I. and II.

\* In one place in the plate this is simply देवर्ष, but that is doubtless through an error of the engraver in omitting one of the two v's in the name.

† Sic in our plates, and also in Mr. Fleet's transcripts (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. IX. 235*). Is it a mistake for Kākustha?

‡ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. IX. 232*.

And the language of those plates also exhibits an obvious family likeness to the language employed in the plates before us. Further, both sets of plates agree in this, that they both record grants made to Jaina temples or mendicants. It is, therefore, certain that the two sets of plates belong to one and the same Kadamba family. And the line of succession, so far as it is traced in our plates, coincides exactly with the line as deduced from Mr. Fleet's inscriptions.

We now proceed to another source of information. Among the "Inscriptions in Dhârwâr and Mysore," analysed by our late Vice-President, Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, there are two or three which contain some passing references to the Kadamba dynasty. The first of these to be here noticed is No. 9, where, according to Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, we find mention made of a Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Mayûravarma Mahâmahîpâla who was "subordinate to Tribhuvana Malla," the Châlukya monarch in the Śaka year 1104.\* This Mayûravarma is described in the inscription under notice as "having the five great titles, (Lord of the City of) Vanavâsi, favoured by the god Dhûkeśvara."† And, after mentioning these facts, Dr. Bhâu Dâjî goes on to say:—"The connexion of this king with the next cannot be clearly made out. Tailama Deva, of the Kadamba dynasty, is next mentioned, with many titles. The name of Nâmala Devi, perhaps the queen of Tailama, can next be made out; also the name of a Kadamba king styled variously Kâma Nripa, Kâma Bhûmipa, and Kâma Bhûmiśvara."‡ Now the Tailama-deva, or Tailapa (as he is also called), who is here mentioned, would seem to be identical with Tailapa Kadamba mentioned by Sir W. Elliot as "the most powerful of the family in modern times.§" The identification is rendered likely by the circumstance that Tailapa has "many titles," like Tailama; that both are subordinates of Tribhuvana Malla Châlukya; that Tailapa is grandson of Mayûravarma|| (the very name mentioned by Dr. Bhâu), and that, in all probability, the inscription which we are now discussing states this "connexion" between the Tailapa and Mayûravarama mentioned therein,—although Dr. Bhâu says the

\* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* 316.

† This is probably a mislection for Madhukeśvara. See *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 36 and note; also *Ind. Ant.* IV. 204a-205b; *Mackenzie Collection* I., *Introd.* ci.

‡ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. S. Soc.* IX. 317. A Kâmaabhûpa is mentioned in one of Mr. Fleet's inscriptions (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 295), also a Kâmaladevi.

§ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 36.

|| See the list at *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35.

“connexion” cannot be “clearly made out.” If, then, we accept this identification, it follows, that the Tribhuvana Malla Châlukya mentioned in this inscription must be taken to be, not the prince of that name who flourished in the Śaka year 1104, but the prince (Vikramāditya II.) who flourished, according to Sir W. Elliot, between the Śaka years 998 and 1049.\* One other conclusion is to be drawn from this identification. Speaking of the descendants of Mayûravarma, the first prince in his list, Sir Walter Elliot says, “It seems doubtful whether they could ever be considered as Mahâmaṇḍaleśvaras, as they are stated to have been under the subjection of, or subordinate to, other superior nobles.”† But this doubt is now rendered baseless, since Mayûravarma is clearly described in the inscription we are considering as Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara, and, in addition to this, as Mahâmahîpâla also. It is further worthy of remark that these Kadambas are here mentioned in company with one Munipati Nâgachandra, who, Dr. Bhaû thinks, was “probably a Jain hierarch,” and at whose suggestion a temple, constructed by the queen of the Kâma Nripa above referred to, was “dedicated to Âdinâtha, the first of the Jaina Tîrthaṅkaras.”‡ The significance of these facts will appear in the sequel.

The next inscription in this series referring to the Kadambas is the one numbered 29, which, according to Dr. Bhaû, “undoubtedly indicates the same person as in No. 9;”§ but as no further information about him is to be gleaned from this inscription, we may leave it here at once, and proceed to the next one of importance to us, namely, No. 39. This inscription mentions six kings of the Yâdava dynasty, the last of whom, Mahindra, the maker of the grant recorded in the inscription, is described, according to Dr. Bhaû, as “Kadambarâyasthâpanâchârya.” This expression is somewhat difficult of interpretation. Dr. Bhaû renders it by “restorer (*lit.* establisher) of the Kadamba king.”|| Sir W. Elliot, in translating a different inscription, but belonging to a prince of this same Yâdava family, renders the expression by “confirmer or ally.”¶ I do not see how the meaning “ally” can be justified by authority. Interpreting the expression as “confirmer” or “restorer” or “establisher,” we are unable to find any event in the history of the Kadamba kings to which that expression can refer. It is noteworthy, also, that whereas all

\* *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 4 (table).

† *Ibid.* 37.

‡ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 317.

§ *Ibid.* 325.

|| *Ibid.* 328.

¶ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 28 (note 1). *Sttrapanacharya* is obviously a misprint.

the five kings enumerated in the introductory description of the grantor in this inscription are to be found in Sir Walter Elliot's list of Yādava kings, the grantor himself—Mahindra—has no place in that list. The next inscription—and this is the last—in this series, which we need refer to, is No. 40. In this we have again a Mayūravarma—a Mahāmaṇḍalesvara, Vanavāspurādhiśvara, &c. &c. It is difficult to say whether this Mayūravarma is identical with his namesake mentioned in inscriptions Nos. 9 and 39. Here he is stated to have been under Vijaya Pāṇḍyadeva of the Pāṇḍya family, who himself was under Śrī Śankara Nārāyaṇ Deva,\* of the Yādava race, king of Kāncīpura. At the same time he is described as having performed eighteen *aivamedhas*. This last circumstance might possibly be used for the identification of this Mayūravarma with the first prince in Sir W. Elliot's list. But the Yādava race known to us does not appear to be entitled to an antiquity of twelve centuries, which would be necessary on this supposition, if we accepted Sir W. Elliot's chronology. Besides, this Mayūravarma was, according to Sir Walter, subordinate to the Chālukya dynasty, and not to the Pāṇḍyas or the Yādavas.

We now proceed to consider an inscription to which attention has been drawn by Mr. Fleet in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*. It bears date the Śaka year 977, and records a grant made by Harikesarideva, "the glory of the family of the Kadamba emperor Mayūravarma," to a Jaina temple.† With regard to this inscription, it is remarkable that whereas Mayūravarma is described as the Kadamba emperor—the original of which, as I infer from a passage occurring further on in Mr. Fleet's paper,‡ is Mahāmahīpāla—Harikesarideva styles himself simply a great chieftain, subordinate to the Chālukya king Vikramāditya II. Now if Mr. Fleet be correct in identifying, as he seems to do, the Mayūravarma here mentioned with the Mayūravarma who heads Sir Walter Elliot's list of Kadambas,§ we have here some evidence of that change in the political status of the family of which Sir Walter speaks in his paper.|| I am not, however, satisfied that this identification is quite correct. I do not find that there is much information at our command either in favour of it or against it. But the expression Mahāmahīpāla may, in default of other circum-

\* Neither of those princes is to be found mentioned in the lists of Pāṇḍyas and Yādavas in Thounas's *Prinsep II.* 277-280 (U. T.) A Śankaradeva Yādava is mentioned, but he is not Śankara Nārāyaṇdeva. See, too, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* XII. 1 *et seq.*

† *Ind. Ant.* IV. 203. ‡ *Ibid.* 204. § *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35. || *Ibid.* 36.



stances, be safely used to identify this Mayûravarma, not with the first of Sir Walter Elliot's Kadambas, but with that Mayûravarma whom we have found mentioned in two of the "Inscriptions from Dhârwar and Mysore" which we have already discussed. For this Mayûravarma is also described as Mahâmahîpâla. It may, indeed, be perhaps urged against this identification, that this Mayûravarma II. flourished too near the time of Harikesarideva for the latter to be described as an ornament of the family of the former. But among the plates before us to-day, we have an exactly parallel case. In plate No. I., Mṛigeśavarma is described as "of the great family of Kâkustha," and Kâkustha, we know from Mr. Fleet's inscriptions, was only the grandfather of Mṛigeśa.\* Harikesarideva's relationship with this Mayûravarma cannot be made out. As remarked by Mr. Fleet, he is not mentioned in Sir Walter Elliot's list.† But from the date, it appears probable, that Harikesarideva was another name of one of the five chieftains who appear in the line immediately below Mayûravarma in Sir Walter Elliot's list.

There is one other point of interest connected with this inscription. As Mr. Fleet has remarked, "Harikesarideva's titles,"—that is to say, the titles as they are found in this inscription—"are of much the same purport as some of those of Sivachitta in the Kadamba inscription of Gulhalli and of Jayakeśi III. in the Kadamba inscription of Kittûr."‡ Now Harikesarideva may be inferred, from the inscription we are now discussing, to have belonged to the Banavâsi branch of the Kadamba family, and this similarity of titles would seem, therefore, to indicate some connexion between the Banavâsi and the Goa branches. This conclusion is further borne out by another circumstance. In some of the inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas, they are described as "Supreme Lords of Banavâsîpura,"§ and this even though their capital was not Banavâsi, but Goa.¶ This fact, coupled with the further fact that the expression "Supreme Lords of Banavâsîpura" is distinctly mentioned as one of the titles|| of the princes or chieftains in whose inscriptions it occurs—appears to me to justify the conclusion which Mr. Fleet has already drawn from it, namely, that the expression would appear to be only a family name.|| And if this is so, then the further conclusion follows,—that the Banavâsi branch was the senior

\* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 229, Inscriptions Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

† *Ind. Ant.* IV. 203. ‡ *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 300, 307. § *Ibid.* 263.

|| *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 263, 300, 307.

branch of the two. Upon this view there now remains one difficulty for consideration. If these two branches of the Kadamba family are related to one another, as we have now seen reason to infer, how comes it that the one branch, which we have stated to be the junior branch, describes itself as springing from Trilochana Kadamba or Trinetra Kadamba, while this name is not to be found in the whole list of the other branch? I cannot find the materials for furnishing a thoroughly satisfactory answer to this difficulty. But there are some facts known to us which render the difficulty, in my opinion, of very little importance. According to Sir Walter Elliot, Mayûravarma is described, in his principal inscription, as founder of the Banavâsî branch of the Kadamba family. Now we find this same Mayûravarma\* to have been the third, or according to some accounts the sixth, prince of the Kadamba family after Trinetra Kadamba—the prince described as the founder of the Goa branch. So that the inference that the two branches sprang from the same principal stem is not negatived by the circumstance that the one branch refers to one person, and the other to another as its founder. It is not difficult to understand why the senior branch should have gone back, in tracing their genealogy, only as far as Mayûravarma, when we recollect that, according to Sir W. Elliot, he had performed several *âsvamedha* sacrifices, “had brought the eighteen tribes of Brâhman̄s from Ahichchatra,” and had several other titles to renown.† The junior branch, on the other hand, carried back the line still further, probably for the sake of distinction, and fixed on Trinetra Kadamba, whose name is associated with sundry miraculous occurrences.‡

We have thus taken stock, so to speak, of all our acquisitions relating to the Kadamba dynasty. And we may now revert to the question suggested towards the beginning of these remarks,—What is the place in the Kadamba dynasty of the several princes mentioned in the plates before us? In considering this question, it is necessary to separate these plates into two sets, and the first and second plates, relating to Mṛigeśavarma, must be discussed apart from the third plate, which relates to Kṛishnavarma. And first as to the plates of Mṛi-

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\* *Mackenzie Collection* I., Introd. ci. The identity is established by the statement about the introduction of Brâhman̄s. (See *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35.)

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35. See also *Mackenzie Collection* I. 95 *et seq.*

‡ *Mackenzie Collection* I., Introd. c. *et seq.* The late Col. Meadows Taylor, in his *History of India*, states that this prince is mentioned by Ptolemy (p. 71).

geśavarma. We have already seen that neither Mṛigeśavarma, nor his father, nor grandfather, all of whom we find mentioned in our plates and also in the plates discussed by Mr. Fleet, are to be found in the list of Kadambas given by Sir W. Elliot. And it has been also pointed out that this circumstance gives us three alternatives to choose from in fixing the place of Mṛigeśavarma in the Kadamba family. Either he must be earlier than Mayūravarma, or later than Namra Bhūpa Permāḍi, the successor of the great Tailapa Kadamba, or he must have belonged to a different branch of the Kadamba family altogether. Now I do not think it requires much argument for us to hold that the third of these alternatives is not to be adopted except as the last resort, when every other mode of explaining the facts completely breaks down.\* And this principle applies more strongly in this case than in others, because Sir W. Elliot's Kadambas and the grantors in our plates are both alike connected with Vanavāsi. We must therefore, for the present at all events, discard that third alternative. As to the second alternative, namely, that Mṛigeśavarma may have flourished subsequently to the last prince, or rather chieftain, in the list of Sir W. Elliot, there are, I think, strong reasons for rejecting that also. In the first place, the grantor in our plates always describes himself as a Mahārāja, and there is nothing in those plates to indicate his subjection to any prince or dynasty. On the other hand, Sir W. Elliot considers that Mayūravarma—the first in his list of Kadambas—was himself reduced to subjection by the Chālukya king Kirtivarma. He speaks of the family, in more than one place, as subordinate to other superior nobles, and even goes so far as to say that "it seems doubtful whether they could even be considered as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras."† And in a recent paper of his, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Sir Walter repeats these assertions, saying, "Banavāsi was the seat of the chiefs of the Kadamba family, but these were nothing more than feudatories during the eight or nine centuries of Chālukya supremacy."‡ It is scarcely likely, then, that the family which had come to this pass should afterwards be able to show Mahārājas and princes "honoured by Sāmantas" or subordinate chiefs.§ And, at all events, there is no tittle of evidence, not even a tradition, in favour of such a supposition. Another

\* Compare our remarks at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* X. 351 on a similar suggestion regarding the Chālukyas.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 36, 37. See *vide* p. 303 *supra*.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* V. 179. And comp. *Jour. R. As. Soc.* II. 397.

§ See Mr. Fleet's inscription No. III. *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 237.

argument may be drawn from the character of the writing in the several plates of Mṛigeśavarma, but that may be more conveniently discussed in considering the third alternative. That alternative seems to me to be entitled to adoption, not merely because of the weakness, as has now been shown, of the rival hypotheses, but also because of the incidental corroboration it derives from certain other circumstances. We know that, as remarked by Mr. Fleet, all tradition points to the existence of Kadambas amongst the very earliest dynasties.\* Furthermore, as Sir Walter Elliot has himself pointed out, "tradition states them to have exercised sovereign power before they were reduced to subjection under Kalyāna."† And this tradition is abundantly corroborated. In the Yeur inscription, summarized by Sir W. Elliot, the Kadambas are once mentioned in a passage, referred to by Mr. Fleet, as of "great power," and as "lofty, powerful heroes to conquer, but not to be overcome;" and again in speaking of Kirtivarṇa, the son of the first Pulakeśi Chālukya, the inscription mentions "the Kadamba pillar occupying the whole of the kingdom of Nala, which was without end, reaching from earth to Niriyān." And lastly, at a still later stage, Vikramāditya is spoken of as having "broken the strength of the Kadambas."‡ It must be admitted, however, that this is but a comparatively late inscription, and is not entitled to much weight. But then we have the Merkara plates, and one of the two Chera plates recently deciphered by Mr. Lewis Rice,§ both dating from the fifth century of the Christian era, in which mention is made of a Mahārāja "the sun in the firmament of the glorious Kadamba family." We shall have to refer to these plates further on for another purpose. But at present it seems to clearly result from them that in the fifth century A.C. there were living Mahārājas of the Kadamba family. Now Mayūravarma, according to Sir Walter Elliot's rough reckoning, must have flourished from about 500 to 520 of the Śaka era.|| So that it is clear that the Kadamba Mahārājas mentioned in the plates we have just now referred to must have

\* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 231.

† *Ind. Ant.* V. 179, and comp. *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35, 36.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 99, 40. § *Ind. Ant.* I. 363, V. 138; see, too, II. 157.

|| *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 36. This date is obtained by calculating back from the date of Tailapa Kadamba for 16 generations at 30 years to a generation. Assuming what does not appear from Sir Walter Elliot's list, that that list does represent as many generations as names, 30 years is too much (comp. *Ind. Ant.* III. 235a and also 303b); Mayūravarma must therefore be much later even than the Śaka year 500. And Kirtivarṇa must have flourished before 500 Śaka, when Mangalīśa was the reigning Chālukya (see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* X. 363, and *Ind. Ant.* III. 304).

preceded Mayūravarma. And Sir Walter Elliot's inscription, therefore, must either be taken as not intending to trace the Kadamba genealogy from the beginning, or must be put down as untrustworthy in so far as it designates Mayūravarma of the 6th century A.C. as the founder of the family.\*

These conclusions appear to me to be confirmed by the style of writing to be seen in the plates of Mṛigeśavarma. Mr. Fleet has not given any facsimiles of the plates discussed by him. But he tells us that "the appearance of the plates indicates great age, as they are very much corroded, and in places completely worn through."† And he adds, that "the employment of special signs, too, for the Visarga before ॠ and ॡ is antique, and if any inference may be drawn from this circumstance and the forms of the characters employed, it must be that these inscriptions are not much older than that of Jusdun, which belongs to the third century, though some time must be allowed for the elaboration of the alphabet."‡ Similar conclusions, in substance, may be derived from the plates which we are now discussing. I will not venture to attribute them to any particular century, but on comparing the structure of the letters in these plates with the well-known list of Prinsep, I cannot but come to the conclusion that upon the whole they have the appearance of belonging to the transitional period between the alphabet of the second and the alphabet of the fifth century of the Christian era. It is unnecessary, I think, to go much into details, and I shall, therefore, content myself with adding, that the well-known "special sign" for the Jihvāmūliya which Mr. Fleet speaks of, is to be found in these plates, and that the letter ॠ (i) at the close of plate No. I. is written very similarly to the ॠ (i) in the Merkara copperplates, which date from the fifth century of the Christian era.§ Upon the whole therefore, I think we are on safe ground in saying that the style of writing of our plates Nos. I. and II. is not incompatible with the date to which our investigation leads us, as the date when the grantor in them flourished. And we may even venture to go further, and say that the date we have arrived at is confirmed, to a certain extent, by the style of writing which we see in those plates.

\* See, too, a previous note as to Triueta Kadamba being mentioned by Ptolemy as flourishing in 168 A.C. (p. 306.)

† *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 233.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* I. 366, and see the facsimile, Pl. III., last line.

§ *Ibid.* II. 155-157.

It remains to consider the third plate, in which the grantor is Devavarma, son of Kṛishṇavarma. We have already pointed out that this Kṛishṇavarma is not to be identified with the Kṛishṇavarma who stands second in Sir Walter Elliot's list. Now a Kṛishṇavarma, of the Kadamba race, is mentioned in the Nāgamangala plates,\* in the Merkara plates,† and in one of the two Chera grants,‡ recently published in the *Indian Antiquary*. Speaking of this prince, when discussing the Merkara plates, Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar says: "Kṛishṇavarma, of the Kadamba race, is very likely the second in Elliot's list; *since there is no other of the same name in the list*. His date also is thus fixed by this grant to be 456 A.D. or thereabouts."§ I think that, with our present plate before us, this identification must be abandoned. When there was but one Kṛishṇavarma Kadamba known, the identification was, if one may so say, a matter of course. But it appears to me that the balance of probability is now in favour of the identification of our Kṛishṇavarma with the Kṛishṇavarma mentioned in the several plates above referred to. About Sir Walter Elliot's Kṛishṇavarma, we have no other or further information than that he succeeded Mayūravarma and preceded Nāgavarma, and that he flourished twelve generations before the Śaka year 956 or thereabouts.¶ On the other hand, our plate describes Kṛishṇavarma as *āsvamedhvyūyi*, or performer of horse-sacrifices, and as a Mahārāja. Both these titles belong to the Kṛishṇavarma mentioned in the Chera grants above referred to, all of them describing him as a Mahārāja, and the second of Mr. Rice's recently published plates describing him further as *avichhinnaśvamedhāvabhṛithābhishikta*, which Mr. Rice renders thus—'anointed with the final ablutions of continual *āsvamedhas*.'¶¶ See, therefore, how the case stands. We have three princes named Kṛishṇavarma of the Kadamba dynasty. (I.) The first is described as a performer of *āsvamedhas*, and as a Mahārāja, who, we may say with historical certainty, flourished about 466 A.C. (II.) The second is described in our plate No. 3 as a performer of *āsvamedhas* and as a Mahārāja; but we know nothing certain about

\* *Ind. Ant.* II. 155-157.

† *Ibid.* I. 366.

‡ *Ibid.* V. 138.

§ *Ibid.* I. 366. The italics are mine. And I have italicized the words in order to draw prominent attention to the ground upon which Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar arrived at his conclusion, for that ground is now untenable, though when Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar wrote it was not to be assailed.

¶ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35.

¶¶ *Ind. Ant.* V. 138, 140a.

his date. (III.) The third is only known to us as a son of Mayûravarma Kadamba, and as having flourished twelve generations—that is to say, upon the most favourable computation, three hundred years—before 1030 A.C.\* I apprehend that if there is to be any identification of one of these princes with the other, it must be an identification of the first of them with the second,—an identification of the second with the third being, as already pointed out, entirely out of the question. That being so, we may place our third plate at the middle of the second half of the fifth century after Christ.

It is not altogether easy to determine whether Mṛigeśavarma was predecessor or successor of Kṛishṇavarma. If, as Sir Walter Elliot says, the Kadambas were reduced to subjection by the Châlukya king Kîrtivarma,† it is most probable that they could not have, after that, continued to describe themselves as Mahârâjas. Now Kirtivarma must have died in 566 A.C.‡ After the second half of the fifth century after Christ, therefore, we have nearly three-quarters of a century during which the Kadambas continued to be independent sovereigns: consequently it is quite open to us, upon this chronology, to place Mṛigeśavarma, with his father and grandfather, after Kṛishṇavarma and Devavarma. And as Kṛishṇavarma is not in our third plate mentioned as the founder of the family, his ancestors would take the Kadamba family to a sufficiently early period of the Christian era to suit the tradition of its antiquity, which we have above referred to. At the same time we must admit that we have not sufficient means for arriving at a satisfactory conclusion upon the question of priority as between Mṛigeśavarma and Kṛishṇavarma. It may be worth while to note, in connection with this point, that in one of Mr. Fleet's inscriptions Mṛigeśa is described as "destroyer of the great Ganga family."§ Now the Gangakula is identical with the Chera or Kongu family, otherwise called in its plates the Jâhnavîya family.|| We have it, therefore,

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\* *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 35. In a previous note I have stated my grounds for not accepting Sir W. Elliot's proposed date for Mayûravarma, whom Kṛishṇavarma succeeded.

† *Ibid.* 36; and see p. 39 also.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* III. 305.

§ No. III. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 237).

|| *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* VIII. 3, 5. Prinsep, II. 267 (*Useful Tables*), mentions a Gangavânśa founded in the Śaka year 1054, but that can scarcely be the family here alluded to. The names given by Prinsep cover a space of but one century.

that while one Kadamba princess was married into this Ganga family, that family is described as having been overthrown by the Kadamba prince Mṛigeśavarma.\* This circumstance, however, does not help us in settling the question we are now considering. Perhaps a conclusion about it may be more safely drawn from the fact that the "Gangakula" is described in the Kadamba inscription referred to as "गङ्गा" or "lofty;" and that, if we may trust Professor Dowson's calculations, we may "look upon the year A.D. 400, or more widely the fifth century, as the time indicated by our MSS. for the rise of this dynasty,"† namely, the Gangakula. Now it seems scarcely likely that a family which only "arose" in the fifth century could have already, before the middle of the century, risen so far as to be described as "lofty," and so far as to make it worth the while of any inimical prince to boast of having destroyed it. If these arguments are of any value,—and nobody can feel more strongly than I do that they are very uncertain, and passable only in default of everything else,—then the conclusion at which we have arrived is to a certain extent confirmed, viz. that Mṛigeśavarmā flourished after Kṛishṇavarma.

In the same verse in which Mṛigeśavarma is described as the "destroyer of the Gangakula," he is also called the "wind of destruction to the Pallavas." Now, regarding the Pallavas our information at present is of a very meagre, vague, and uncertain character. But they, too, were a family flourishing in the Dakṣiṇā anterior to the Chālukyas:‡ so that we may at all events say this much at present, that the mention of them need not bring down the plates of Mṛigeśavarma to a later date than that which we have assigned them. The Vishṇuvarma who is mentioned in another of the inscriptions of Mṛigeśavarma, in Mr. Fleet's collection, has been identified by Mr. Fleet with the Vishṇugopavarma mentioned in a copperplate inscription in the facsimile collection of Sir Walter Elliot. Mr. Fleet, of course, mentions the identity as only "possible."§ But if he is right in this, and in further ascribing the inscription in question to the fifth century A.D.,|| our conclusion as to the probable

\* Compare, as to this, Bühler's *Vikramānakacharita*, Introd. 34.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.* VIII. 18. Prof. Dowson's views are not, however, thoroughly satisfactory: see *Ind. Ant.* I. 366b and II. 271b-272a.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* II. 156a, and see about the Pallavas, *Ind. Ant.* V. 50-51.

§ *Ibid.* V. 50: note.

|| Mr. Fleet says: "As far as we may judge from the form of the letters used, I would allot the inscription to the fifth century A.D."



date of Mṛigeśavarma will be, to a certain extent, confirmed ; albeit, no doubt, if these dates are perfectly accurate, Mṛigeśavarma may have to be placed, not after, but before Kṛishṇavarma. However, we are obviously dealing here, not with accurate, but only with approximately correct dates. And the reason for mentioning these matters here is to concentrate the materials on which further information will help us to build a more satisfactory chronology, and also to show that these portions of the information we at present possess, if they do not help us to a positive conclusion, are, at all events, not inconsistent with the results which we arrive at independently of them.

It will not, I think, be out of place here to consider the views put forward in the remarks on these copperplates which have been made by the Government Canarese Translator, and which have been sent up to us with the letter of Government. And in doing so, it will be fair, I think, to set out at length what he says on this subject. Adverting to the references to the Gangakula and the Pallavas which we have now been discussing, he observes as follows :—“ Now from the preface to Dr. J. G. Bühler's excellent edition of Bilhana's *Vikramānkadevacharita*, we find that the Chālukyas reigned over Kuntala or Karnāṭa during the 11th and 12th centuries of the Christian era. Their capital was Kalyāṇa, near Kalburgā, in the Nizām's dominions. At this time the Kadambas ruled over districts adjoining Goa, Halsi, and Banavāsī, as feudatories or 'Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras' of the Chālukyas. Of the seven Chālukya princes who reigned from 1018-1182 A.D., Someśvara Āhavamalla (1040-69) and his son Vikramānka Tribhuvanamalla (1076-1127) are known from their extensive conquests. Āhavamalla is said to have more than once vanquished the Chola king and stormed his capital, Kānchī. Tribhuvanamalla, his son, is said to have overthrown the power of the Cholas, the Pallavas, the lords of Gangākunḍa, and the Hoysālas. It is not improbable that in these his wars he was assisted by his Kadamba feudatories.” I beg to express my dissent from these views. No account is taken in them of the fact that Mṛigeśavarma is described in these plates as a Mahārāja, not as a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara ; of the fact that he is not described as having helped any one in the achievements alluded to, but as having been himself the hero of them ; and of the fact that between 1040 and 1059 no Kadamba is mentioned in Sir W. Elliot's list bearing the name Mṛigeśavarma. These facts, and especially the first and second of them, appear to me, I owe,

to be fatal to the views contained in the above excerpt. In a subsequent passage the Vishṇuvarma mentioned in the inscription above referred to is conjecturally identified with "Vishṇuwardhana the Hoysala prince of Dhorasamudra, who was also a contemporary of Tribhuvanamalla," and hence Ravivarma is inferred to be contemporary with this latter. But no grounds for the identification here relied upon are stated, and the names do not easily adapt themselves to the suggested identification. Upon the whole, therefore, we see nothing in these observations of the Government Translator to require any change in the conclusions which we have already stated.

Having thus finished the chronological inquiry suggested by our plates, we must now advert to other points of interest in them. And first the titles of this dynasty are worthy of note. The Kadambas call themselves in these plates descendants of Ilāritī: they describe themselves as of the Mānavya *gotra*; and they imply that their tutelary deities were Kārtika Svāmī and the "seven mothers."\* Now these titles are well known as among the titles of the great Chālukya monarchs. Mr. Fleet mentions the first two of the points here noted,† and he also draws attention in one of his papers in the *Indian Antiquary* to another title of some Chālukya kings not occurring in our plates,—Gangāperma-*naudi*—which, he says, was also adopted as a Kadamba title.‡ But neither in his paper in our Society's Journal, nor in the paper in the *Antiquary*, does he consider the fact as one calling for an explanation.§ I confess it seems to me to be one on which more information would be desirable; for it would seem to indicate some connexion between the Chālukya and Kadamba families, although the Yeur inscription, as already pointed out, makes on behalf of some princes of the former a boast of having vanquished or destroyed the latter. At present, however, we have not the means for casting further light upon this

\* All these points may be soon duly mentioned in every one of Sir LeGrand Jacob's plates in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. III.

† *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 232.

‡ *Ind. Ant.* IV. 203a in nota.

§ I have recently found, however, that he does make a note on this in his remarks on Mangalīśvara's inscription contained in Mr. Burgess's Report on the Junnar Caves. He says there that the "titles belong probably to the kings of other old dynasties also." No authority is, however, given for this statement. We do not find the titles in any Valabhi or Gupta inscription, or in the Pallava inscription, furnished us by Mr. Fleet himself. Nor does Mr. Fleet specify any other dynasty which has adopted the titles in question. I may add here that I think Mr. Fleet's translation of श्रीराजा in this inscription of Mangalīśvara correct; Prof. Eggeling's was erroneous (*Ind. Ant.* III. 305.)

question, and we can only content ourselves with drawing attention to it.

Another point worthy of note is the religious creed of the Kadamba princes. Mr. Fleet writes upon this point as follows:—"From the fact that all the grants recorded in these inscriptions were made to the worshippers of Jinendra, it is but reasonable to conclude that the donors themselves were of the same faith. The tradition, indeed, is mentioned by Buchanan that the Kadambas were originally Jains, but that in very early times they abandoned that religion for Brâhmanism."\* I think that the inference drawn by Mr. Fleet in this passage, although by no means a necessary inference from the facts stated, is nevertheless a safe one.† True it is that we have evidence of sovereigns indisputably belonging to the Hindu religion making grants of land and so forth to Buddhist and Jaina as well as Hindu institutions.‡ Nor must it be forgotten that the references to *âsvamedhas* and to the Vedas—the *Svâdhyâya*—in the Kadamba plates are calculated, to a certain extent, to throw doubt on Mr. Fleet's inference. But, on the other hand, we have now not less than ten Kadamba plates in every one of which the grant recorded is a grant to some Jaina institution. Throughout these ten plates we have the opening or closing benedictions addressed to Arhat; and in the body of the documents themselves we find expressions unmistakably of a Jaina stamp. And therefore, upon the whole, considering that the points we have noted as indicating a contrary conclusion are capable of explanation upon Mr. Fleet's view, I think that view may be safely accepted.

Vaijayantî, mentioned in our plates I. and II., appears to have been a place of importance under the Kadamba dynasty; but Palâsikâ, mentioned in some of Mr. Fleet's inscriptions, appears to have stronger claims than Vaijayantî to be regarded as the capital of the dynasty. Palâsikâ is not mentioned in any one of our three copperplates. But in plate No. III. among Mr. Fleet's plates, Vaijayantî is referred to as the residence of king Mrigeśa. Dâmakîrti Bhojaka, who is mentioned in our plate No. I. and described as "extremely pious," is also referred to in Mr. Fleet's plates Nos. II., III., and V., where also his piety is eulogized. He appears to have been still living in the reign of Ravi-varma, the son of Mṛigeśavarma.

\* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 233.

† And see p. 303 *suprà*.

‡ *Ibid.* X. 76; *Ind. Ant.* IV. 177b, 179b. See, too, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 18.

We may now sum up the result of our investigations. We find, then, that there were two branches of the Kadamba family, one of which may be described as the Goa branch, and the other as the Vanavâsi branch. It is just possible that there was some connection between the two branches, but we have not at present the materials for settling the question. We find, too, that the princes mentioned in our plates belong to the Vanavâsi branch, and that there is not sufficient ground for referring them to a different division from the Vanavâsi Kadambas enumerated in Sir W. Elliot's paper. We find, further, that these princes appear from their recorded grants to have been independent sovereigns, and not under subordination to the Châlukya kings, as their successors were, and that they flourished, in all probability, before the fifth century after Christ. Lastly we find that there is great reason for believing that these early Kadambas were of the Jaina persuasion, as we find some of the later Kadambas to have been from their recorded grants.

#### No. I.

To the perfect one\*! Victorious is the *Arhat*, the Lord of the three worlds, intent on the good of all beings, the destroyer of attachment and the other (internal) foes, supreme, infinite, and having a vision of infinite knowledge. Hail! From the prosperous *Vaijayanti*.† The Mahârâja Śrī Mṛigeśavaravarma, the son of Śrī Śântivaravarma—one of the Kadambas, who are crowned kings, and meditate on the Lord Mahâseua and the assemblage of the *Mâtris*,‡ who are of the *Mânavya gotra*, descendants of *Haritî*, and of the *Angiras*§ (clan), who are engaged in the study of the scriptures, and are good fathers of true piety—one who has in numerous previous births earned large quantities of merit—who has acquired in battles splendid and firm heroism—one of the

\* This expression occurs with great frequency in the Nâsik inscriptions; see also the Junâgadh Inscriptions (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* VII.). It does not occur in Mr. Fleet's inscriptions, except in Nos. VI. and VII.,—in No. VI. with स्वस्ति.

† The ancient name of Vanavâsi, says Mr. Chintâmanipethkar. It also occurs as Jayantipur—*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* XI. 250 n.; *Ind. Ant.* IV. 205. See a note upon it in Bühler's *Vikramânakacharita*, Introd. 34.

‡ They are thus enumerated:—ब्राह्मी माहेधरी वैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा ॥ वाराहो च तथेन्द्राणी चामुण्डा सममातरः ॥ cited in the commentary to *Amara Kośa* (Bomb. ed. 1862). In a MS. of *Amara*, in my possession it is given in the text. Compare *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 38, and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* III. 206 in notis.

This does not occur in any of the other Kadamba plates.

great family of Kākustha, sprung from the sun\* (?), which is, as it were, the light of the universe, and is continued through a succession of numerous persons in its original state of a pure family—in the third year of his reign, in the Pausha *sainvatsara*, † in the month of Kārtik, in the dark fortnight, on the tenth day, the *Nakshatra* being Uttarābhādrapada.....gave to the Supreme Divine *Arhat*, whose beautiful feet are rubbed against the crown of the Lord of the Gods, for cleansing, anointing, worship, repairing what is broken, ‡ and [celebrating] festivals, § a field of black soil, within the boundary of the village on the western side, of forty *nivartanas* by royal measure ; and a field of four *nivartanas* outside the *Chaityālaya* ; one *nivartana* for flowers ; and the courtyard of the temple of one *nivartana* only : together with all exemptions. ¶ Whosoever takes this away, through impiety or avarice, is stained by the five great sins ; whosoever preserves it obtains the fruit of the merit thereof. And it has been said : “ By many kings, such as Sagara and others, has the earth been enjoyed. The fruit accrues to each so long as he has the land. Whosoever takes away land given by himself or by another, burns in hell for sixty thousand years. What has been given with water, what has been enjoyed by three, ¶ and

\* This rendering, of course, is based on the reading महत्यादित्योदित, which the Government Translator seems to have adopted. The original text of the plate, however, is different. I can make no meaning out of it as it stands, unless, indeed, as is very likely, what we have transcribed by त्य is त्यु, and then perhaps उदितोदित् might mean ‘fully risen’—‘very prosperous.’ I am not aware of any authority describing the Kadambas as descended from the sun.

† I do not know what this means. Compare वैशाखसंवत्सर in Mr. Fleet’s plate No. 3. The note there given appears, having regard to the expression we have here, not very likely to be correct.

‡ The expression we have here occurs also in plate No. III. In plate No. II. the corresponding expression is भ्रमन्त्रिया. The last expression throws considerable doubt on the rendering in the text, which I have adopted from the Government Translator’s rendering, and which is to some extent supported by the plates at *Ind. Ant.* 1. 45, 46, translated by my friend Prof. R. G. Bhāndārkar. I think, looking at all the three expressions, that the true sense probably is ‘interrupted, or discontinued rites.’ See, too, Mr. Fleet’s Inscription No. VI., line 5 ; but that does not settle the question.

§ This is the best rendering I can suggest, and it is based on Mr. Fleet’s inscription No. II., lines 7 and 8 from the end.

¶ This expression also occurs in Mr. Fleet’s inscription No. VII. Does it refer to the same things as the expression in the Chālukya plate at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* X. 348 ? See our note on it at p. 366.

¶ i. e. three generations — a man, his son and grandson. For the efficacy of such enjoyment see *Mitāksharā (Vyavahārādhyāya)* on Yājñavalkya, St. 21 et seq. ; see also *Vyavahāra Mayākha*, p. 29 (ed. 1820, published by the Government of Bombay).

what has been preserved by the good, these may not be resumed, nor what has been done by former kings. It is easy to give one's own; to preserve another's is difficult. As between giving and preserving, preserving is better than giving." This plate has been written by the extremely pious Dâmakîrti—the Governor.\* Be it accomplished!

## No. I.

सिद्धम्† जयत्यर्हं खिलो केशः सर्वभूतहितैरतः रागाद्यरिहरो नन्तो नन्त-  
ज्ञानदृगीश्वरः स्वस्ति विजयवैजन्त्या ‡ स्वामिमहासेनमातृगणानुद्धयाता §-  
भिषिक्तानां मानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितीपुत्राणां अङ्गिरसां प्रतिकृतस्वाद्ध्याय-  
चर्चकानां सद्धर्मसदम्बानां ॥ कदम्बानां अनेकजन्मान्तरोपाङ्गितविपुल-  
पुण्यस्कन्धः ¶ आहवाङ्गितपरमरुचिरदृढसत्वः \*\* विशुद्धान्वयप्रकृत्यानेक-  
पुरुषपरंपरागते जगत्प्रदीपभूते महत्यदितोदिते काकुस्थान्वये श्रीशान्तिवर-  
वर्मतनयः श्रीमृगेशवरवर्मा आत्मनः राज्यस्य तृतीये वर्षे पौषसंबत्सरे कार्त्तिक-  
मासे बहुले पक्षे दशम्यां तिथौ उत्तरा††भद्रपदे नक्षत्रे बृहत्पर लूरे (!) त्रिद-

\* The original word here also occurs in the plate at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* X. 348. See our note on it at p. 366, also *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 227. The true name of Śrutakîrtibhoja, mentioned by Mr. Fleet in his remarks on p. 236 there, is Śrutakîrti, Bhoja being the title—an abbreviation for 'Bhojaka.' See inscription No. I.

† It is worthy of note that the म् here is written below the line, and not in the same line with the letters preceding or following it,—evidently to indicate that it is only a 'half-letter,' as we say in Marāṭhi, i.e. only a consonant without any vowel.

‡ Sic in the original; it should, of course, be वैजयन्त्या.

§ In Mr. Fleet's plates, according to his transcripts, this letter is invariably नाम्, and not स्ना; but this latter reading is supported by the form of the expression in all other plates. The word पाद, which invariably precedes अनुध्यात in this context, is omitted in our plates. I take the meaning, however, to be the same, although the compound with अभिषिक्त might suggest a different interpretation, which Mr. Chintāmanipethkar has adopted by rendering it thus: "crowned.....under the solicitude of the Lord," &c.

¶ This expression is framed as it is for the jingle. It also occurs in Mr. Fleet's inscription No. II. The expression preceding this occurs in various forms in these Kadamba plates, some of the forms appearing to be scarcely correct in point of grammar. See our plate No. II. and Mr. Fleet's inscriptions Nos. II., VI., VII.

¶ I have not met with this expression anywhere else. धर्मस्कन्ध occurs in the well-known Vedic passage त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धाः &c. But the meaning of स्कन्ध there will not suit here.

\*\* It is very remarkable that in these plates, where there is so strong a tendency to double letters, the त् is not doubled in सत्व and तत्व.

†† Sic in the original; it should be भाद्र°.

दशपतिमकुट\* परिघृष्टचारु चरणेभ्यः परमार्हेदेवेभ्यः संमार्ज्जनोपलेपनाभ्य-  
 च्चनभयसंस्कारमहिमात्स्यं ग्रामापरादिग्विभागसीमाभ्यन्तरे राजमानेन चत्वारि-  
 षंशान्निवर्त्तनं कृष्णभूमि क्षेत्रं चत्वारि क्षेत्रनिवर्त्तनं च चैत्यालयस्य बहिः  
 † एकं निवर्त्तनं पुष्पार्थम् देवकुलस्याङ्गनञ्च एकनिवर्त्तनमेव सर्वपरिहारयुक्तं  
 दत्तवान् महाराजः लोभादधर्माद्वा योस्याभिहर्त्ता स पञ्चमहापातकसं-  
 युक्तो भवति योस्याभिरक्षिता स तत्पुण्यफलभागभवति उक्तञ्च ‡ बहुभिर्ध्वं-  
 सुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्यस्य यदाभूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदाफलं  
 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि नरके पच्यते  
 तु सः § अद्विदंत्तं त्रिभिर्भुक्तं सद्विश्च परिपालितं एतानि न निवर्त्तते पूर्वरा-  
 जकृतानि च स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखमन्यार्थपालनं दानं वा पालनं वेति दा-  
 नाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥ परमधार्मिकेण दामकीर्त्तिभोजकेन लिखितेयं पट्टिका  
 इति सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

## No. II.

To the Perfect One! At the prosperous Vajjayantī. The full-  
 moon day in the eighth autumn fortnight, in the fourth year of in-  
 creasing victory, life, health, and greatness of Śrīvijayaśiva Mṛigeśa-  
 varma, a Dharma Mahārāja ¶ of the family of the Kadambas, who  
 are images of the Gods, \*\*—one who is a crowned king and  
 meditates on the Lord Mahāsena and the assemblage of the *Mātris*,  
 who is of the *Mānavya gotra*, who is a descendant of Harīti, and who  
 has gone through a due study of the Vedas.

On the day so particularized, †† Śrīvijayaśiva Mṛigeśavarma, the  
 Dharma Mahārāja of the family of the Kadambas, who has acquired

\* *Sic* in original. The same error occurs in the Mangalīśvara inscription, end  
 of line 7 (*Ind. Ant.* III. 305).

† The grammatical construction of the sentence here does not appear to be  
 quite correct.

‡ This stanza is ascribed to Manu in Mr. Fleet's inscription No. V. It is ge-  
 nerally attributed to Vyāsa.

§ For various readings here in Kadamba plates, see Mr. Fleet's inscriptions  
 Nos. III. and V.

¶ Compare, for this, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 269, 270; *ibid.* XII. 30 and  
 other passages.

¶ Comp. Mr. Fleet's inscription No. IV.; Mr. Rice's plate No. I., line 3, and  
 No. II., line 4 (*Ind. Ant.* V. 136-138). And see also the Nāgamangala plate (*Ind.*  
*Ant.* II.)

\*\* Here again there is a jingle, as in Plate No. I.

†† Literally, 'in this series,' *i.e.* of day, month, year, &c.

a large quantity of religious merit in numerous former births ; whose father's and mother's families are perfectly pure ; whose great and noble mind is constant in learning and discriminating the truths of the several sciences (*śāstras*) beneficial and entertaining in both worlds ; who has duly exerted himself in gymnasia, in riding on horses and elephants, and in arms ; who is dexterous, affectionate, skilful in polity and government ; who has acquired extreme firmness of heart in numerous battles ; who is possessed of a lofty intellect, of courage, valour, and liberality ; who, in the great danger of battles, has obtained extensive wealth by his valour and strength of arm ; who is constant in properly protecting his subjects, who is the Moon causing to bloom the forest of lotuses, namely, his relatives ; who is always making various kinds of gifts, such as gifts of cows, lands, gold, bedding, clothing, food, &c., to gods, brāhmaṇas, preceptors, and saints ; whose large wealth is enjoyed in common by his relations, his friends, and learned men, and who imitates the conduct of the princes of primeval days, has given away the village of Kālavanga, after dividing it into three parts. Of these, first, one part is for the great and divine Jinendra, the venerable *Arhat*, dwelling in the most excellent place, the *Arhat-śāld*. The second is for the enjoyment of the great congregation of the *Śvetapata Śramaṇas*,\* assiduous in the performance of the excellent duties proclaimed by the *Arhat*. And the third for the enjoyment of the great congregation of *Nirgrantha Śramaṇas*. And as to this, he who preserves, according to the rules in respect of [property dedicated to] the enjoyment of the Deity,† what has been thus duly obtained in order to be used for the purposes of the gods' share of corn, divine worship, the *bali*, the *charu*, the worshipper of the deity, the continuation of interrupted rites, and so forth, obtains the fruit thereof. He who may destroy it will be tainted with the five great

\* See *Ind. Ant.* II. 16b. The expression *निशुसङ्ग* occurs frequently in the Nāsik inscriptions. And see, too, *Ind. Ant.* II. 354a. As to both the *Śvetapata* and *Nirgrantha* Jainas, see the closing stanzas of the *Arhatā Darjāna* in the *Sarvadarśanasangraha*. And see, too, Burnell's *Vamśa Brāhmaṇa*, pp. xii., xiii.

† I have thus translated *देवभोगसमयेन*, as that is the best meaning I can make out of the words. But *quære* whether they have not some connection with the expressions *देवभोग* and *रक्षभोग* which occur in some of Mr. Fleet's inscriptions.

See No. IX. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 247.) And see, *inter alia*, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 257-273. But see, too, as to a certain extent supporting our rendering, inscription No. VIII. at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 244, line 9.



sins. And it has been said : " By many kings, such as Sagara and others, has the earth been enjoyed ; the fruit accrues to each so long as he has the land." Written by the king's Commander of the Forces.

## No. II.

सिद्धम् ॥ विजयवैजयन्त्याम् स्वामिमहासेनमातृगणानुद्धयाताभिषिक्तस्य मानव्यसगोत्रस्य हारितीपुत्रस्य प्रति\*कृतचर्चापारस्य विबुधप्रतिबिम्बानां कदम्बानां धर्ममहाराजस्य श्रीविजयशिवमृगेशवर्मणः विजयायुरारोग्यैश्वर्यप्रवर्द्धनकरः संवत्सरः चतुर्थः वर्षापक्षः अष्टमः तिथिः पौर्णमासी अनयानुपूर्व्या † अनेकजन्मान्तरोपाज्जितविपुलपुण्यस्कन्धः सुविशुद्धपितृमातृवंशः उभयलोकप्रियहितकरानेकशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वविज्ञानविवेच (१) ने विनिविष्टविशालोदारमतिः हस्यश्वारोहणप्रहरणादिषु व्यायामिकीषु भूमिषु यथावकृतश्रमः दक्षो दक्षिणः नयविनयकुशलः अनेकाहवाज्जितपरमदृढसत्वः उदात्तबुद्धिधैर्यवीर्यत्यागसम्पन्नः सुमहाति समरसङ्कटे स्वभुजबलपराक्रमावाप्तविपुलैश्वर्यः सम्यक्प्रजापालनपरः स्वजनकुमुदवनप्रबोधनशशाङ्कः देवद्विजगुरुसाधुजनेभ्यः गोभूमिहिरण्यशयनाच्छादनाच्चादिअनेकविधप्रदाननित्यः विद्वत्सुहृत्स्वजनसामान्योपभुज्यमानमहाविभवः आदिकालराजवृत्तानुसारी धर्ममहाराजः ‡ कदम्बानां श्रीविजयशिवमृगेशवर्मा कालवङ्गग्रामं त्रिधा विभज्य दत्तवान् § अत्र पूर्वमर्हच्छालापरमपुष्कलस्थाननिवासिभ्यः भगवदहन्महाजिनेन्द्रदेवताभ्य एकोभागः द्वितीयोर्हत्प्रोक्तसद्धर्मकरणपरस्य श्वेतपटमहाश्रमणसङ्घोपभोगाय तृतीयो निर्धन्यमहाश्रमणसङ्घोपभोगायेति अत्र देवभागधान्यदेवपूजाबलिचरुदेवकर्मकरभग्नक्रियाप्रवर्त्तनाद्यर्थोपयोगाय एतदेवं न्यायलब्धं देवभोगसमयेन योभिरक्षति स तत्फलभागभवति यो विनाशयेत्सपञ्चमहापातकसंयुक्तो भवति उक्तञ्च बहुभिर्ब्रह्मसुधा भुक्ता राजभि-

\* The formation of the letter कृ here is rather noteworthy on account of its very elaborate curve.

† I have never seen the अ engraved as it is here : in fact the letters here look like ०याँ नैक. ० The same remark applies to the structure of the letters in a subsequent line, गोभूमि, &c. (line 15.)

‡ It may be mentioned once for all that in the transcripts the Visarga is written, instead of the sign substituted for the Visarga before the gutturals.

§ The नृ here is below the line. See note on सिद्धम् in Plate No. 1.

स्मगरादिभिः यस्यस्य यदाभूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं नरवरसेनापतिना  
लिखिता.

## No. III.

At the prosperous Triparvata.\* The prince Devavarma, the beloved son of the Dharma Mahārāja Śrī Kṛishṇavarma, who is a crowned king and meditates on the lord Mahāsena and the assemblage of the *Mātris*, who is of the Mānavya *gotra*, who has gone through the study of the scriptures, who is a Dharma Mahārāja† of the Kadamba family, the parents of their dependants, and images of the royal saints of primeval days, who is a performer of horse-sacrifices,‡ who has acquired extensive wealth in battles, ..... the flower of the subordinate chiefs, who has one umbrella§ resembling the moon risen in a clear Śarat sky,—has, through a desire to acquire for himself the fruit of religious merit, given to the congregations of the *Yāpantiyas*|| a field in Siddhakedāra¶ of twelve *nivartanas* by royal measure, for the [celebration of the] festivals, and for worship, and repairing what is broken in the *Chaityālaya* of the venerable *Arhat*, who points out what is beneficial to all beings in the three worlds, and who keeps up piety. Whosoever takes this away is tainted with the five great sins, and whosoever preserves it obtains the fruit of religious merit. And it has been said: “By many kings, such as Sagara and others, has the earth been enjoyed; the fruit accrues to each so long as he has the land. What has been given with water, what has been enjoyed by three, and what has been preserved by the good, these may not be resumed, nor what has been done by former kings. It is easy

\* The Government Translator says that he cannot identify Triparvata.

† This occurs twice in the original as in our translation.

‡ This is ordinarily a mark of universal supremacy. Prof. R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar has spoken of “an *āsvamedha* sacrifice, which none but kings who pretended to paramount supremacy could institute” (*Ind. Ant.* I. 301b). Yet inscription No. 40 of the “Inscriptions in Dhārwar and Mysore” seems to militate against this. See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* IX. 328. The expressions at *Jour. R. As. Soc.* IV. 36 are to a considerable extent similar to those we have in the passage referred to. But those are, at least, ambiguous,—the performer of the *āsvamedha* there alluded to may be the *Kadambachakri*. Perhaps the same remark may be found to apply to the inscription No. 40 referred to by us: see, too, *Ind. Ant.* IV. 177-78.

§ This is a mark of universal sovereignty.

|| This word occurs again in Mr. Fleet’s inscriptions Nos. II. and III. Mr. Fleet has not given any explanation. May it be interpreted to mean ‘those who are to go away,’ i.e. mendicants who are going about, and not stationary?

¶ I cannot identify this.

to give one's own ; to preserve another's is difficult. As between giving and preserving, preserving is better than giving. Whosoever takes away land, given by himself or by another, burns in hell for sixty thousand years. The king the son of King Śrī Kṛishṇa, who is the ornament of the Kadamba family, and who is a lover of war, has given this land at Triparvata. Devavarma, the one hero (of the world) —who loves the holy qualities purified by a taste of the happiness (flowing) from nectar-like compassion, has given this land to the Jaina. Victorious is the *Arhat*, the Lord of the three worlds, the doer\* of good to all creatures, the destroyer of attachment and the other (internal) foes, supreme, infinite, and having a vision of infinite knowledge ! .....

## No. III.

विजयत्रिपर्वते स्वाभिमहासेनमातृगणानुध्याताभिषिक्तस्य मानव्यसगो-  
त्रस्य प्रतिकृतस्त्राध्यायचर्च्यापारगस्य आदिकालराजर्षिनिम्बानां आश्रित-  
जनाम्बानां कदम्बानां धर्ममहाराजस्य अश्वमेधयाजिनः समराजितविपुलैश्व-  
र्यस्य सामन्तराजविशेषरत्नसुनागजिनाकम्पदायानुभूतस्य † (?) शरदमल-  
नभस्युदितशशिसदृशैकातपत्रस्य धर्ममहाराजस्य श्रीकृष्णवर्मणः प्रिय-  
तनयो देववर्म्मयुवराजः स्वपुण्यफलाभिक्रक्षया त्रिलोकभूतहितदेशिनःधर्म-  
प्रवर्तनस्य अर्हतः भगवतः चैत्रालयस्य भग्नसंस्कारार्चनमहिमार्थं यापनी-  
यःसङ्क्षेभ्यः सिद्धकेदारे राजमानेन द्वादशनिवर्त्तनानि क्षेत्रं दत्तवान्  
योस्य अपहर्त्ता स पंचमहापातकसंयुक्तो भवति योस्याभिरक्षि॥(?)ता स पुण्य-  
फलमश्रुते उक्तं च बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः॥यस्ययस्ययदा-  
भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तथा (?) फलं अदिर्दत्तं त्रिभिर्भुक्तं सद्भिश्च परिपालितं एतानि

\* There is a different reading here in the original, which causes this difference in the rendering. The rest agrees exactly with the opening stanza in plate No. I.

† *Sic* in the original,—doubtless meant for चो, but not engraved accurately like the च in अर्चन (line 7 of plate). स्स, too, in line 10 looks more like स्य than स्स.

‡ After much consideration I am unable to make this out. The letters as given above yield no sense. There is probably some mistake here.

§ This स is not in the original,—doubtless by an error of the engraver.

॥ The original looks like रन्धिता.

¶ Omitted by mistake in the original.

न निवर्त्तन्ते पूर्वराजकृतानि च स्वं दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दु (!): ख(म) न्यार्त्यपालनं दानं वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं स्वदत्तांपरदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां वष्टिर्षसहस्राणि नरके पच्यते तु सः श्रीकृष्णनृपपुत्रेण कदम्बकुलकेतुना रणप्रियेण देवेन दत्ता भू (!)मिच्छिपर्वते दयामृतसुखास्वादपूतपुण्यगुणेप्सुना देववर्मैकवीरेण दत्ता जैनाय भूरियं जयत्यर्हस्त्रिलोकेशः सर्वभूतहितंकरः रागाद्यरिहरोनन्तो नन्तज्ञानदुग्मीश्वरः

*Notes on the Facsimiles.*

- Plate I., line 3.—Before the word मन्व्य is what may be called an erasure. The letter was apparently not engraved correctly, and was therefore attempted to be obliterated.
- „ „ 6.—The facsimile has महत्युदिता<sup>०</sup> for महत्यादित्यो<sup>०</sup> in our transcript. See our note on the translation, p. 317.
- „ „ 11.—I do not understand the mark after महिमार्थे. Is it a mark of punctuation? The mark before चत्वा<sup>०</sup> appears to be a mere scratching on the copper.
- „ „ 12.—The mark at the end of this line is apparently a mark of punctuation too.
- „ „ 18.—The mark at the end of this line is merely a scratching on the plate.
- „ „ 19.—There is a mark after शक्यन् which I don't understand. Conf. that in line 11.
- Plate II., line 13.—The mark after कु in कुसुद probably represents a letter incorrectly engraved and therefore obliterated.
- „ „ 19.—The tenth letter looks like क in the facsimile, but the original plate shows an attempt to obliterate the horizontal line.
- „ „ 29.—A similar remark to the last applies to the thirtieth letter in this line, which should be, and in the original is ता, the य being erased.
- „ „ 24.—The mark at the end of this line represents a hole in the plate.
- „ last line.—The mark before नर seems to denote the end of the sentence.

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PLATE III.

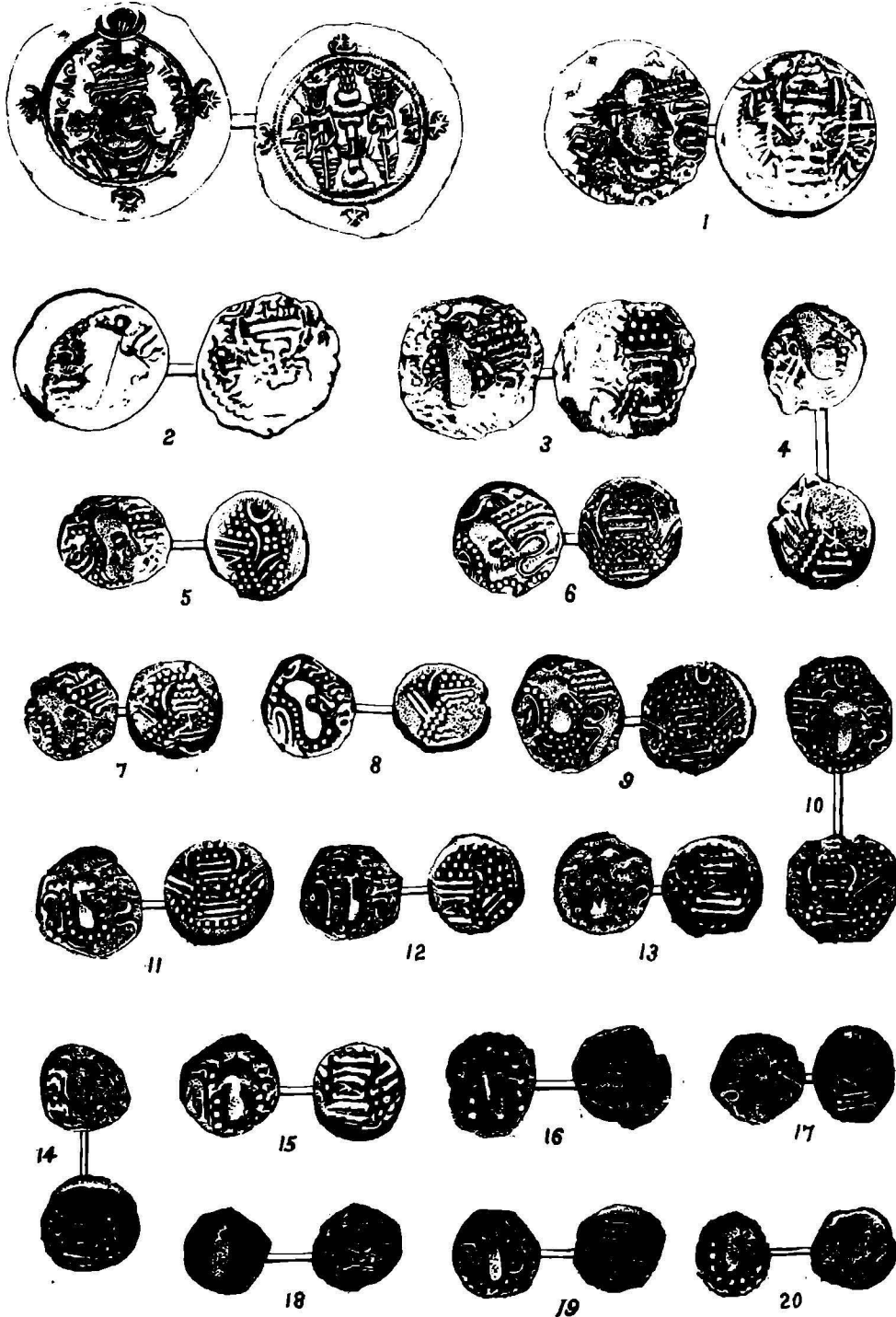
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GĀDHIA COINS OF GUJERAT AND MALWA.





ART. VIII.—*Gadhia Coins of Gujarát and Málwá.* BY  
PANDIT BHAGVA'NLÁ'L INDRAJI.

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Read October 14th, 1876.

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The coins represented in this plate from the Society's cabinet have been arranged by Mr. Codrington, the Secretary, to show the gradual change of the Persian Head on the obverse, and the Fire-altar on the reverse, of the Sassanian coins into the 'Oblong button' and the series of 'dots and lines' found on the Gadhia coins; and we think that if you follow the series mark by mark you will find the gradation pretty complete, and the supposed origin of the Gadhia design established.

These coins are still found in considerable quantities on this side of India, and are sent to us as treasure trove in greater number than any other coins; their distribution, too, is very extensive, throughout Gujarát, Málwá, and Káthiáwád. Lately some were sent found near Pháñá, and a few days ago three hundred found near Dápuli, in the Ratnágiri Collectorate, and now two hundred have come from near Ahmadábád. The most common sort are represented in Nos. 7 to 12.

The coins, according to Burnes, are called in Gujarát *Gadhiá*, in Káthiáwád *Gadhaiyá*. The name is derived from the Sanskrit *Gardhabhiya*, meaning 'of the Gardhabhi dynasty.' Should the identification by Mr. Wilford of an Indian tradition with Varahván (Gór) be a correct one, this Gardhábhi is a name of a family of Sassanian kings subsequent to the period of Varahván Gór: consequently the date of the beginning of this currency would be subsequent to A.D. 420, when that king flourished.

Soon after that period the Sassanian type appears to have been commonly known in India, since the Sassanian face and costume are often represented in the paintings of the caves of Bág, in Málwá, and of Ajañtá, both of which are believed to have been of about the 6th century, and probably the work of the same artists. The period for

which these coins can occupy a place amongst other kinds of coins found with them in the same localities also resembles the period above mentioned.

The earliest coins found in this province are the 'punched coins,' in which the design is punched into the metal; then we find the small coins bearing Buddhist figures resembling those on the punched coins, but struck on the metal with a die, and after these times we have the beautiful Kshatrapa, erroneously called Sáh coins, belonging to nearly twenty princes of one dynasty; then are found the Gupta coins, made after the same pattern, or closely resembling it, of which dynasty coins of but three kings are found, viz. Kumára Gupta, Skanda Gupta, and Bhánu\* Gupta. Coins of the first king are found in abundance, of various forms and sizes, of the best workmanship to the most corrupt and inferior forms. This I believe to be the result of continued imitation by subsequent kings. The corrupted forms are found largely in Káthiáwád, and I believe them to be Valabhí coins. The Honourable Mr. Justice Newton identified some others as Valabhí coins which had on the obverse a face of the last Gupta form, and on the reverse a trident encircled by some unintelligible letters; but, although I am not able to say to whom these coins should belong, I can assert that they do not belong to Valabhí, for such a coin is rarely to be found in Káthiáwád, and I have not met with a single one of this description at Valabhí or Valá, the seat of government, whilst the Kumára Gupta are found money both there and in the villages around it.

I purchased for Dr. Bháu Dáji coins like those of Mr. Newton's from Mehmudábád, and a few of good workmanship from Ujayin: from this I infer that these coins were current in Gujarát and Málwá at the same time when the corrupt Kumára Gupta were current in Valabhí and Káthiáwád.

Subsequent to the last mentioned period no coins except those given in the plate before us, and those of Muhammadan type which has continued up to the present time, are found. These, therefore, should be of a period between the Valabhí and the Muhammadan coins, which may be guessed as between the 6th and the 13th century,—a very long period; and, looking at the coins themselves, one would think a long time must have elapsed to have so disfigured the design from the first represented on the plate to the last ones.

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\* I shall describe the coins of Bhánu Gupta in a subsequent paper.

Now let us search from other sources for who were the ruling kings in the districts where they are mostly found, so as to enable us to make a guess at to whom they belonged. We are quite in the dark as to who were the kings of Gujarát and Málwá during the period between the 6th and 8th centuries; no coins or inscriptions throw any light upon the matter with anything like certainty; but we find authoritative information subsequent to that period, both from inscriptions and books, of two families of rulers. One is that of Cháudá and Chálukya of Anhilwáda, who were ruling in Gujarát and Káthiáwád; and the other that of Parmára kings of Málwá, who were found frequently in rivalry with the above kings.

As we find a continuous history of their family up to the time they were defeated by the Muhammadans, it seems quite certain that their rule did extend up to the Muhammadan period, and, although their rule extended far and wide and for a long period, we are quite unaware about the currency then in use. I therefore feel no hesitation in assigning these coins to them, and it seems to me very probable that, during the dark times above alluded to, some of the Sassanian kings may have established their rule somewhere in these districts, and had their currency issued, and that their successors, the above-mentioned kings, retained and copied the same type for their coinage.

We come now to a description of the plate. If the supposition is correct that these Gadhia coins were copied from those of an immediate successor of Varahván Górá, we should expect to find in the coins of these reigns one from which we may trace them. Unfortunately we have not one in the cabinet; a coin of Kobád, a somewhat later king, has therefore been copied, which answers the purpose to some extent.

No. 1.—On the obverse we see a face with a pronounced nose, short chin, round beard, earrings with two pendants, a necklace with a round pendant in the middle, two rising ends of cloth on the shoulders, the head covered with a round hat, having two rows of dotted ornamentation at the lower part, and on the top a crescent and ball. On the reverse is a fire-altar with four rows of flames one above the other, the altar being wide at the top and bottom, and contracted (like an hourglass) in the centre. On the sides of the altar two pieces of cloth tied. On either side of the altar stands an attendant holding a sword extended towards the altar, and above the flames a star on one side, and the moon on the other. All these subjects are perceptible in the Ga-

dhias, through in some represented but by a dot or line. Take, for instance, the chin; clear enough in No. 1, it becomes but a few dots in Nos. 5 and 6, which dots become fewer and fewer as we go on through the series. A portion of the carring is seen in No. 1 as in the Sassanians; in No. 5 it has become detached backwards from the head, and in No. 15 it has taken the form of merely a curved line at the back of the head, and in 16 and 18 is lost.

The necklace and pendant is seen in No. 1; in 5, 9, and 11 it may be recognized as a line of dots, after which it becomes confused with the dots of the chin. The cloth-pieces on the shoulders are seen of rude design in No. 1; in Nos. 6, 9, 11, &c. they take the form of a zigzag line, and in 15 and 16 they are no longer perceptible, but are seen again in No. 19.

The round hat and brim with crescent, seen more or less plainly in No. 1, can be traced again in No. 10, becoming more shady in 11, 12, 13, and 14, after which it is lost. The flames of fire, changed into dots, can be seen in nearly all. The hangings of the altar become dots in Nos. 6 to 9; and the attendants, rather sketchy in No. 1, become two lines, for their arms, in Nos. 4 to 12, whilst their swords become curved lines. The star or sun and the moon are still seen in Nos. 9 and 12, but become indistinguishable forms in No. 16.

In the Malwa coins of a late period there are sometimes letters like modern Nágari characters in the centre of the altar. In No. 14 there appears the well-known syllable *Om*, in No. 18 there is a corrupt form of the same, or *Śri*. In No. 19 is *Śri Omkar*, which has some reference to the well-known Mahádeva on the banks of the Narmadá, near Indore. No. 20 is a remarkable coin, inasmuch as there occurs a well-executed flying horse on the reverse, with a rude face on the obverse. Where this was found I am not aware. Under the horse is a zigzag line, which bears a resemblance to the word *Mahmúd* in Persian letters, in which case it might probably have been made after the Muhammadan conquest.

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ART. IX.—*Revised Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of Inscriptions.* BY PANDIT BHAGAVÁNÁLÁ INDEAJI.

Read November 13th, 1876.

I beg to submit amended facsimile, transcript, and translation of two inscriptions, one of which was found by Mr. Terry in the temple at Ambar Nátha, near Kalyán; and the other, from near Government House, Parcel, is now lying in the Society's Museum.

Both are already published, the former by the late Dr. Bháu Dáji in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX., p. 219, and the latter is No. 7 inscription in Mr. Wathen's collection in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. V.

INSCRIPTION No. I.

I have myself seen this inscription in its original place; it is upon a stone girder of the temple at Ambar Nátha. The inscribed stone is rough and uneven, and has become blackened by smoke; there is also but little light upon it: hence it is a difficult task to decipher the writing *in situ*, as the strokes and lines of the alphabet used have to be closely studied. A plaster of Paris cast of the inscription was presented to the Society by Mr. Terry, of the School of Art, on which the letters are more intelligible than on the original. The facsimile and transcript which I now submit are taken from this model.

No. 1. *Transcript.*

(1) शकसंवत् ९८२ श्रा (वण!) शुद्ध ९ \*सुक्रे समधिगताशेष-  
पञ्चमहाशब्दमहामंडले †स्वराधिप(ति) रिपुदैत्यदलनदामोदर-

(2) ‡सरणागतवज्रपंजरी§स्यादि समस्तराजावलिबिराजमानमहाम-  
ण्डले ¶स्वरश्रीमाम्बाणिराजदेवः । एतत्समस्तराज्यचिताभर-

(3) समुद्रहनमहामायश्री (वित)पैयस्तथा महाप्रधानश्रीनागणै-  
यस्तथा लेखसान्धि विग्रहिक श्रीवक्रडैयस्तथा महासान्धि विग्रहिक श्रीजोग-

\* Read शु. † ध. ‡ श. § रेत्यादि. ¶ ध.

(4) लैयस्तथा भाण्डागारप्रथमस्य (स्ते!) पादिसेन महादेवैयस्तथा  
दिति\*य (स्यै!) भाइलैयादि प्रधा[न] श्रीकरणाधिठित कल्याण विजय-  
राजवृधत‡ (!) श्री-

(5) म [हा] राजगुरुणाभात-लघुराजगुरु-श्रीवितण्डसिवभटषका-  
णपैवयक (!) महासामंतश्रीतासिवराभोले[ः] कारापकेन§ भूवा आम्बनाय-  
देवकुला \* \* \* पेभगलसमुद्ध[r] रित (पाटपल्यां!)  
महामण्डलेश्वरश्रीमच्छि॥त्त राजदेवस्य भवनं संपादितम्

*Translation.*

Śaka Samvat 982, on Friday the 9th of the bright half of Śrā(ṣṛaṇa).  
The illustrious king Mamvānirāja, lord of the great circle, who has  
obtained the five great entire words, who is the lord of the ruler of  
great provinces, is like Dāmodar in killing his enemies the demons,  
an adamant cage to suppliants, illustrious by these and other royal  
titles.

For bearing the burden of this kingdom, the Great Councillor is  
the illustrious (Vinta\*\*) Paiya, and the Great Minister the illustrious  
Nāgaṇaiya, and the Secretary and Minister for Peace and War the  
illustrious Vakadaiya, and the Great Minister for Peace and War the  
illustrious Jogalaiya, and the First Treasury Officer Pādhi†† Sena Mahā-  
devaiya, and the Second Treasury Officer the illustrious Bhāilaiya.

Under the administration of these and other ministers the beneficent  
and victorious kingdom is flourishing.

The †† illustrious Mahārāja Guru Nābhāta (?), the Second Rāja  
Guru the illustrious Vitauda Śiva, Bhata Shakan prai vriayaka (??) the  
Great Chief of a District the illustrious Tāsiva Rāola,§§ all these  
together, (near) Amba Nātha temple ||| .....

\* तोयस्थाने. † छि. ‡ राज्यवृद्धते. § कारकैर्भूत्वा. ॥ छि.

\*\* Perhaps 'Siṅha.'

†† Pādhi was a title generally given to the Treasurer, and the word is found  
in many inscriptions; even in the present day the title Pādha is given in Dwār-  
kā to some Gugli Brāhmins whose ancestors were, it is said, in charge of the  
treasury of the temple at Dwārka.

‡‡ The translation from this part is rather doubtful, the language in the origi-  
nal being very incorrect and confusing.

§§ Raol or Rawul is a term applied generally to Rajputs, and is corrupted  
from the Sanskrit word Rājakula.

||| Here nine letters are lost.

constructed a temple of the god of the most illustrious Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Chhitarāja in Pátapalli (?), restored by Bhagala.

REMARKS.—This inscription records the erection, by a Rāja Guru and others, of a temple for the god of King Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Chhitarāja (meaning probably Śiva), during the reign of that king ; which temple was probably built near that of Ambar Nátha, but, this part of the inscription being very imperfect except as regards the word Ambar Nátha, it is very doubtful where its exact position was. The inscription does not, perhaps, refer to the temple of Ambar Nátha in which it is placed, but to some other built in its neighbourhood,—it being often the case that records of this kind are set up in some place where they would be conspicuous, rather than on the building itself of which the account or notice is made.

Now let us consider who King Chhitarāja was, and in the first place we must think about the dates. In the inscription the day of the month (9th) and of the week (Friday) are both clearly intelligible, but the month is written very confusedly ; the first letter, however, is evidently ष, and the word is probably Śrāvana.

Of the year, Śaka Saṁvat 982 is read. The first figure resembles nearly the modern Nágari 'seven', but the curved stroke of this figure does not appear to have been so much curved as that of the one in the inscription is, even a few years ago, and would not, therefore, have been so represented at this earlier period. In Valabhí inscriptions, however, I have found a similar figure representing 'nine' ; and in an inscription of Alla, magistrate of Bhojadeva of Gwalior, the date 933 is thus written,—७३३, and its value is therein expressed in words thus :—संवत्सरेषु नवसु त्रयंशदधिकेषु. The figure 'nine' in this inscription is very similar to the one now under notice.

From this the date can be inferred to be 982. The only difficulty that I feel in the above inference is the difference in the form of the 'nine' which stands for the day of the month in the same inscription, and to which I cannot by any means assign value other than 'nine.' The difference can only be accounted for by supposing that there were two figures in use at the time to denote the same number.

If this reading of the date be correct, Chhitarāja Deva, for whose benefit the temple was made, can be identified with a king of that name, a descendant of the Śiláhára family, mentioned in Dr. Bühler's Bhāṇḍup grant, published in the *Indian Antiquary* for September last, as the donor of the grant in Śaka 942. This circumstance leads us to infer

that Māmvánirāja of this inscription was probably the son or successor of the above king. Dr. Bühler's grant also gives one more ground for this identification, for it is therein recorded that the Sarvadhikári (prime minister—*lit.* 'holding all powers') of Chhittarája Deva was Náganaiya, who seems to have held a similar post for Mamvánirāja of our inscription.

In the Bhāṇḍup grant the post of *Bhandágar* (Treasurer) seems to have been held by Sena Jogapaiya, whilst in our inscription the same office was in the hands of Sena Mahádevaiya, who might probably have been a son or brother of the other person, the surname *Sena* being common to both.

From all these facts it appears to me very probable that Chhittarája Deva and Mamváni Deva were both of the Śiláhára family,—the latter being the successor of the former, flourishing in Śaka era 982, or 1060 Anno Christi.

#### INSCRIPTION NO. II.

This stone was found near Government House, Parel, and is now in the Society's Museum. It is 6 ft. 9 in. long and 1 foot 5 in. in diameter, in the form of a pillar with one flat face on which the inscription is cut. The lower part of the stone (2 ft. 6 in.) is rough and irregular, whilst the upper part (4 ft. 3 in.) is smooth and hewn. At the top of the flat face of the stone is represented a small dome in the centre, with the sun on the right and the moon on the left. The object of engraving the sun and moon is to show that the grant made in the inscription is to last for ever, or, according to the common expression, यावच्चन्द्रदिवाकरौ, as long as the sun and moon live, and it is met with in all deeds, grants, &c. in which perpetuity is implied. A little below these begin the 25 lines of inscription in Nágari character differing a little from the modern Nágari: 22 lines are written in Sanskrit, the three last in the local dialect of the Koṅkaṇa language of the period. Below the inscription is a rude sculpture of an ass and woman *in coitu*, illustrating the curse on the violator of the grant described in the last lines of the inscription.

The custom of using curses for the violation of any grant or concession has been in vogue from an ancient time, and this particular curse is up to the present time called in the Gujaráti language ઝાંઝાંઝાં.

I have seen many stones on which it is represented,—on some there is a figure of an ass alone, on others both ass and woman. One such stands at this day near the eastern gate of the town of Por-



bandar, in Káthiáwád, the inscription on which prohibits the ruler of the place from taking possession of the estates of such of his subjects as die without heirs.

Another like it can be seen near a river adjoining the town of Amroli, in the Gaikwád's dominions of Káthiáwád, the subject being exempting the people from a certain tax, during the Muhammadan rule, in Samvat 1650.

Another bearing a similar inscription and figure, and of nearly the same date, as the last, is found near a well outside the town of Gogo, in Káthiáwád.

A fourth was found near the sea-shore at Mahim, and was in the possession of the late Dr. Bháu Dájí. It was of the 13th century of the Śaka era.

I saw another in the bazár at Karád, in the Sátára collectorate, and one more in the village of Bomli, on the way from Ganjam to Kalingapatam, on the Coromandel coast. The inscription on this stone was in the Telugu language, and appeared, from the form of the characters, to have been written in the 11th or 12th century of the Śaka era.

*No. 2. Transcript.*

- (1) ॐ ॥ स्वस्ति जयश्वाभ्युदयश्च ॥ शकसंवत्\* ११०९ पराभवसंव-
- (2) त्तरे ॥ माघेमासि ॥ अद्येह समस्तराजावलीविराजित-महा-
- (3) राजाधिराज-कौकणचक्रवर्ति-श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवकल्याण-
- (4) विजयराज्ये तथैतत्प्रसादात् समस्तराज्यमंडलचिंताभारं समु-
- (5) द्दहति महामात्यभोपाश्रीव्योमशंभुराजकुले । श्री करणे भांडा-
- (6) गारे च प्रथमस्ये पादी† महा सांधिविग्रहिक-श्रीअनंतपैप्रभु [ः]।  
द्विती-
- (7) यस्ये पाटीश्रीअमुक‡ इत्यादि श्रीकरणे सत्येत्स्मिन् काले प्रव-
- (8) र्त्तमाने मया श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवेन आत्मनः श्रेयोर्धिना संजात-
- (9) माघीपर्वणि सुतीर्थे स्नात्वा भगवते कमलिनीनाथाय अर्घं दत्त्वा
- (10) भगवंतमुमापतिमभ्यर्च्य दर्भवतीनाथश्रीवैद्यानाथदेवाय पंचोप-
- (11) चारपूजासत्कारार्थं षट्षष्टिप्रतिबद्धमाहवलिग्रामस्याभ्यंतरव-
- (12) र्त्ती§ अनंतपैप्रभुसत्कवाटिकासिद्धायात् आवान्तरप्रवृत्ताधिक-

\* Read शकसंवत्- † पाटी. ‡ अम्बक. § Read वर्त्यंत.

- (13) करसप्तस्तविमुक्तिं कृत्वा निमित्तसिद्धायात् चतुर्विंशतिद्रम्माः  
 (14) उदकातिसर्गेण प्रदत्ता[ः] । अत्राकतोपि द्र २४ तदेतस्याः वाटि-  
 (15) टिकायाः परिपंथना केनापि न करणीया यः कोपि पा-  
 (16) तकभाजी\* इमं द्रव्यादिलोभ[व]त्वात् निमित्तसिद्धायादधिकं करं  
 (17) करोति स पंचभिरपि पातकै रूपपातकैश्च परिवृतो रौर-  
 (18) व महारौरव तमिश्च अंधतमिश्च† कुंभीपाकादिनरकान् चिरम-  
 (19) नुभविष्यति । यतः स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरां । षष्टि-  
 (20) वर्षे सहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते कृमिः ॥ आरामाणां सह-  
 (21) स्रैश्च तडागानां शतैरपि । गवांकोटि प्रदानेन भूमिप्रदानैश्च  
 (22) भूमिहर्ता न क्षुष्यति ॥ २ ॥ अथतु जो कोणुहुवि एशासन लो-  
 (23) पी तेच्या वेदानाथदेवाची भाल सकुटुंबी आपडें ॥ तेहाची  
 (24) माय गाढवें ज्ञविजे ॥ ६५ ॥ लिखित मिदं कायस्थ‡ न्वयप्रसूते-  
 (25) न वालिगपंडितेन

*Translation.*

May it be propitious, victorious, and prosperous! Śaka Saṁvat 1109. In the year of the Bṛihaspati cycle called Parābhawa, in the month of Māgha. Now here resplendent with all the royal titles, the paramount sovereign, the ruler of the Koṅkaṇa, the most illustrious king Aparāditya; during his prosperous and victorious reign, and while by his favour were bearing the burden of the cares of the circle of his kingdom the Great Councillor Bhopá§ Vyoma Śambhu Rajkúl; Śrikaraṇa|| and Treasury Officer First in Rank Pádhi, and the Minister for Peace and War Ananta Pai Prabhú. Whilst these and others were Ministers, I, Aparāditya, desirous of my own welfare, on a Parvati¶ of Māgha, after having bathed at a sacred place, having presented Argha\*\* to the lord†† of the lotus flowers, and worshipped the God the Lord‡‡ of Uma, have given with a libation of water twenty-four drams,§§ 24 drs., after exempting other taxes, from the

\* Read भाजी.

† Read तमिस्त्राधतमिस्त्र.

‡ Read स्या.

§ Bhopa appears to be a family surname.

|| Secretary.

¶ Parvati, a name given to certain days in the lunar month, as the full and change of the moon, and the 6th, 8th, and 10th of each half-moon. (Wilson, Sansk. Dict.)

\*\* Argha, a respectful oblation of perfumed water.

†† The sun.

‡‡ Mahádeva.

§§ Probably coins. Drachmas?

सकलमृत ७८२३३ सुष्ठुके समविद्यतापत्र चणुज नालयुम नाम रालसया वि८ येपुदे तदत्थ नयासादन  
सत्रलागतवृत्तपिंङ्गावाटिसमस्यप्राज्ञवित्ति सुत्ता मे मनीमल्ले सुस्थपुमासा लिसाजे देवः ७ न अमस्यौ सुवितादप  
समुष्ट नमसासातासी वीपेयप्रसामा प्रहाक रीवाठाले पयसालेमसन्निविदकि क रियावक दे यमसम तासापिदं क्रि क शि गे  
लियससा नारावा रप्रथमसुपादिसेनेमताट व पयसादिति पठिम दा ३३ ले पादिप्रथ रीक रलक्षितकलाविजयराजवृ ५ न ३३  
मनाजरीरुणा दात्तपुसा ३३ सु स्थिति ले सिवदुष्ट कालमेव यकमनासा मीन प्रि तासि व ना ३३ ले कासापकेनदू वी ३३ अमो व दे वक  
ला ३३ पादहालमम इतिताणटयत्ता म नामल्लिखर मीमकि त्राने देव द्युद वर सपादि ते सु



fixed revenue of the oart in the village of Mahauli, connected with Shat-Shashti,\* which is in the possession of Ananta Pai Prabhú, for performing worship by five rites of Vaidyanátha, the lord of Darbhavati. None should disturb this oart. Whatever sinful man, through greed for money, shall impose additional burden on the fixed revenue, shall experience for ever *raurava*, *maháaurava*, *tamisra*, *andhatamisra*, *kumbhipáka*,† being involved in the five greater and five lesser sins. Because “He who takes away the land given by himself or another is born a worm in dung for sixty thousand years.” “He who takes away land is not purified by the gifts of thousand of gardens, and hundreds of tanks, and ten millions of cows,” and the gift of land‡. §The arrow of the god Vaidyanátha will fall on the family of whosoever violates this grant, *hujus mater rem habebit cum asino*.

This is written by Válíg Paṇḍit, born in the family of Káyashtha.

REMARKS.—This inscription was written in the Śaka era 1109 (1186 A.C.), in the month of Mágha, and relates to a grant by the great ruler of the Koṅkaṇa, Aparáditya, for the worship of Vaidyanátha Deva the lord of Darbhavati, of 24 drams out of the income of a certain oart in the village of Mahauli, in Salsette, which was in the possession of Ananta Pai Prabhú. From it the old name for Salsette can be ascertained, viz. Shat-Shashti, which means in Sanskrit 66, which number is in Maráthi *Sháshastí*, whence the present name *Shásṭi* is derived. This name might have been given from the island comprising within its limits 66 villages.

The god Mahádeva is called in the inscription the Lord of Darbhavati, which shows that Darbhavati was the name of a place where a temple of the god stood.

There is nothing in the inscription to show to what dynasty King Aparáditya belonged, but he is described in it as the Sovereign of the Koṅkaṇa, and about the date given the dynasty of Śíláhára ruled in this country,—from which it may be concluded that he belonged to that family, and he was probably the Śíláhára Aparáditya who wrote a commentary called *Aparárka* on the Hindu law of Yajñavalkya, at the end of which his name is thus written:—इति श्री विद्याधरवंक्षप्रभवश्री-शिलाहारनरेन्द्रजीमूतवाहनाम्बय-भीमदपरादित्यदेव-विरचिते याज्ञवल्कीयधर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धे प्रायश्चित्ताध्यायस्तृतीयः समाप्तः

\* Salsette.

† Five hells.

‡ भूमिप्रदानैश्च seems to have been added by the writer.

§ Here begin the lines written in the Maráthi of the period.

ART. X.—*Three Copper-plate Grants of the Kings of Vijayanagara, edited from the originals, with translations, notes, and remarks, by J. F. FLEET, Esq., B.O. C.S.*

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Presented 3rd December, 1876.

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THE accompanying three inscriptions are copper-plate charters of the kings of Vijayanagara, now called Hampe or Bijnagar, on the south bank of the Tuṅgabhadra, in north lat. 15° 20' and east long. 76° 31', in the Ballāri District.

Vijayanagara, 'the city of victory', was founded, under that name, or, rather, was reestablished as a capital, by the brothers Harihara I. and Bukkarāya. In more modern inscriptions the name is written 'Vijayanagari', and is further corrupted into 'Vidyānagari.' Ânêgundi, now only a small village, on the opposite bank of the river, seems to have been the previous capital of the locality, and to have become in later times the popular name of Vijayanagara itself. And Hampe, included in the later site of Vijayanagara, seems to have been the capital in still more ancient times.

'Ânêgundi' is undoubtedly a name of Dravidian origin; and 'Hastināvati', which occurs in these and many other inscriptions, seems to be an attempt to Sanskritize it.<sup>1</sup> 'Âne' is a Canarese word meaning *elephant*, and 'gundi' is, perhaps, from the Canarese 'gundu,' *much, abundant*; while in 'Hastināvati' we plainly see a desire to indicate a city *possessed of or abounding in* ('vat'; fem. 'vatī') *elephants* ('*hastin*').

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<sup>1</sup> See the remarks on this subject at p. vii. of the *Introduction* to Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*.

As regards 'Hampe', also undoubtedly a Dravidian name,—as a modern Canarese 'h' represents a 'p' of the ancient dialects, the old form would be 'Pampe', or, if used in Sanskrit passages, 'Pampâ.' As a matter of fact, 'Pampâkshêtra' is the name given to the locality in Sanskrit books. In Professor Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*, we have:—"Pampâ; the name of a river in the south of India; or, according to a Scholiast, the name of a lake." Mr. Garrett, again, in his *Classical Dictionary*, gives:—"Pampâ; a river that rises at Rishyamûka in the Dekkan." And Mr. Sanderson, in his edition of Mr. Reeve's *Canarese Dictionary*, goes further, and gives us:—"Hampe; from Pampâ;—1, the Tuṅgabhadrâ river; 2, a once celebrated city, now in ruins, lying on the bank of this river." Whether 'Pampâ' is another name of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, I do not know. But there is a sacred tank at Hampe called 'Pampâsarôvara'; and 'Rishyamûka' is the name by which a small hill on the north of the town is known. As an instance of the antiquity of the place,—in Sir W. Elliot's facsimile collection of copper-plate grants, a copy of which has been lent to me, I find an edict of the Châlnukya king Vinayâditya I., issued in the Śaka year 612 (A. D. 690-1), the tenth of his reign, from his victorious camp, which was pitched on the bank of the Pampâ (river, or lake).

\* \* \* \* \*

No. I. of the present inscriptions is on three copper-plates belonging to Jôyishara Bishtappa, of Harihar in Maisûr. The plates are about 5" broad by 8" long, and are fastened together by a ring, the seal of which bears the representation of, apparently, the god Virûpâksha. The inscription is written across the breadth of the plates. The characters are Sanskrit, approaching closely to those of the modern Bâlbôdh alphabet. The language is Sanskrit down to line 20; from there, it is Canarese as far as line 60, where the usual Sanskrit verses, inculcating the merit of bestowing grants of land and the sin of confiscating such grants, commence. A photograph of these plates is given at No. 2 of the copper-plate charters at the end of a Series of photographs of inscriptions on stone-tablets and copper-plates at Chitrakaldurg, Baḷagâmve, Harihar, and other places, collected by Major Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Regiment M.N.I., for the Government of Maisûr, and published by that Government in 1865. But I obtained the originals to edit from.

The inscription records how, in the year of the Śālivāhana-Śaka<sup>2</sup> 1276 (A.D. 1354-5), the Vijaya *saṃvatsara*<sup>3</sup>, king Bukkarāya bestowed upon Rāmaṇajōisayya, the astrologer of the city of Harihara, the village of Mittaligollanakatte, so called after a certain Mittaligolla, probably a minister of some position, who, at the king's command, made up this village from land taken out of the lands of four villages that were included in the township of Harihara.

No. II. is on nine copper-plates belonging to Venkatātri Śrīnivās Dēsai<sup>4</sup>, of Dambaḷ in the Gadag Tālukā of the Dhārwād District. The plates are about 7½'' broad by 10¾'' long, and are strung on a massive ring, the seal of which bears the representation of a boar, with the sun and moon above it. They are strung together very irregularly; but some of them are numbered. The inscription is written across the breadth of the plates, and is in Sanskrit characters of much the same standard as those of the preceding. The language is Sanskrit throughout. The inscription records how, in the year of the Śālivāhana-Śaka 1301 (A.D. 1379-80), the Siddhārthi *saṃvatsara*, Harihara II., the son and successor of Bukkarāya, while ruling at Vijayanagara, divided the district of Gadag, consisting of sixty-six villages, in the kingdom of Hastināvati, into three equal shares, and, retaining one

<sup>2</sup> This is the ordinary Śaka era, commencing, as we learn from line 6 of the Chālukya king Maṅgalīśa's inscription in Cave III. at Bādāmi (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III., p. 305), from the installation of the Śaka king on the throne. The initial date of it was the 1st Vaiśākha, Kaliyuga 3179, corresponding to Monday, the 14th March, A.D. 78 (p. 154 of the *Useful Tables* in Vol. II. of Thomas' Edition of Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, 1858). The era does not appear to have been known as the 'Śālivāhana-Śaka' till about the twelfth century A.D., and probably acquired that name from the traditions collected and reduced to writing at about that time by the Jain lexicographer Hēmachandra, who enumerates a king Śālivāhana, Sātavāhana, or Hāla, as the third of the Hindu 'Śaka-kartārah' or 'era-makers', and as the founder of the era known as the Śaka *par excellence* (See a Paper by R. S. Viśvanāth Nārāyan Mandalik on Śālivāhana and the *Śālivāhana-Saptasati* at p. 127 of No. XXIX., Vol. X. of this Society's *Journal*). But Mr. Forgusson, Vice-Pres. B. As. Soc., has decided that the great Buddhist king of the north, Kanishka, was the real establisher of this era, and that "it took, apparently, the name, by which it is generally known, from the fact that it was introduced into India during the reign of Śātakarni II., of the Āndhra dynasty of the Dekkan, and, consequently, the chief of the Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana race. He reigned ..... from A.D. 64 to 120." (See *Notes on the Śaka, Saṃvat, and Gupta eras*; London, March 1875.)

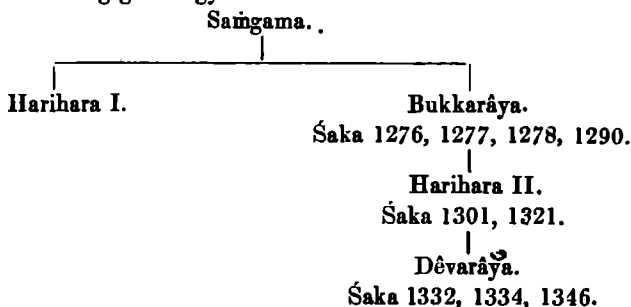
<sup>3</sup> By the *Tables* in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, London, 1863, the Vijaya *saṃvatsara* was Śaka 1275, and Śaka 1276 was the Jaya *saṃvatsara*.

<sup>4</sup> I had the plates for perusal from Jayantibāi Dēsai, who died about a year ago. Venkatātri Dēsai is, I understand, her grandson and heir and the present possessor of the plates.



share as the king's portion, bestowed the second share for the purposes of the religious rites of the gods Tryambaka<sup>5</sup> and Vīranārāyaṇa of Gadag, and gave the third share as an *agrahāra*-grant<sup>6</sup> to certain Brāhmanas and village-gods of minor note.

These two inscriptions, together with those that I shall notice below, furnish the following genealogy and dates :—



I do not know of any inscription of Saṅgama, or of Harihara I. In the colophon of the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛitti*<sup>7</sup>, we are told that Saṅgama's father was Kampa. If Saṅgama himself had reigned, the present inscription should, in the usual manner, have commenced with a mention of his father. In not giving his name in the list of the kings of Vijayanagara, and in stating that Bukkarāya was raised to the throne by Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāraṇya,—Mr. Thomas<sup>8</sup> seems to imply that Saṅgama did *not* reign, at least at Vijayanagara.

Harihara I. undoubtedly reigned for some time, conjointly with his younger brother Bukkarāya.

Other inscriptions of Bukkarāya himself are :—1, No. I. of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>9</sup> A well-preserved inscription in the Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet 3' 3'' high by 3' 0'' broad, at Chitrakaldurg. It consists of 24 lines of about 52 letters each. It

<sup>5</sup> Also called 'Trikuṭésvara.' See my remarks on these two temples and the inscriptions at them, in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II., p. 296.

<sup>6</sup> 'Agrahāra' or 'agrāhāra',—lands granted to Brāhmanas for religious and educational purposes.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Reinhold Rost's Edition of Prof. H. H. Wilson's Works, Vol. V., p. 192.

<sup>8</sup> Edition of Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II., *Useful Tables*, p. 281.

<sup>9</sup> No. 45, b, of Mr. Hope's Collection is another photograph of the same inscription by a different hand. Sometimes Major Dixon gives the best and clearest photograph, sometimes Mr. Hope, whose plates are on a larger scale; the two books should be used together in editing texts of inscriptions contained in both.

is dated Śaka 1277 (A.D. 1355-6), the Manmatha *śaivatsara*, while the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, Śrī-Bukkarāya-voḍeya<sup>10</sup>, was ruling at his capital of Hosapaṭṭaṇa in the Hoysaṇa country.—2, No. 2 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>11</sup> Another well-preserved inscription in the Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet 3' 3" broad by 2' 9" high, at Chitrakaldurg. It consists of 38 lines of about 48 letters each. It is dated Śaka 1278 (A.D. 1356-7), the Durmukha *śaivatsara*, while the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Śrī-Bukkarāya was ruling at the same place mentioned above. The title of '*Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*' or 'Great Chieftain', applied to Bukkarāya in these two inscriptions, must by that time have lost its original meaning of the local feudatory and representative of a supreme sovereign.—3, Another well-preserved inscription in the Canarese characters and language on a stone-tablet in the courtyard of the temple of the god Madhukēśvara at Banawāsi.<sup>12</sup> It is partially buried in the ground; above ground are 27 lines of about 23 letters each. It records grants made in Śaka 1290 (A.D. 1368-9), the Kīlaka *śaivatsara*, while the *Mahāpradhāna* or Prime Minister, Mādhavānka,—the celebrated Mādhavachārya-Vidyāranya—was governing the Banavase Twelve-thousand, under Bukkarāya, who was ruling at Hastināvati-pura.

The only other inscriptions of Harihara II. known to me are:—1, No. 29 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>13</sup> A long and fairly well preserved Sanskrit inscription in Canarese characters, on a stone-tablet 7' 1" high by 1' 9½" broad, at Harihar. It consists of 81 lines of about 34 letters each. It gives the same genealogy as No. II. now published, and the stanzas of the genealogical portion are mostly the same as those of No. II.; and, like No. II., it is dated Śaka 1301 (A.D. 1379-80), the Siddhārthi *śaivatsara*.—2, A short Canarese inscription on a column called Garuḍakambha, on the bank of a tank at Makaravaḷḷi, in the Hānagal Tālukā of the Dhārward District.<sup>14</sup> It is dated Śaka

<sup>10</sup> 'Oḍeya, oḍiya,' Canarese,—progenitor, proprietor, master, governor, lord, sovereign.

<sup>11</sup> No. 45, a, of Mr. Hope's Collection.

<sup>12</sup> See my remarks at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV., p. 206. Through the kindness of Sir Walter Elliot, there has been lent to me, from the Library of the University of Edinburgh, a MS. copy of his collection of six hundred Canarese inscriptions. A transcription of the inscription now noticed is given at Vol. II., p. 615, of this collection.

<sup>13</sup> No. 40, a, of Mr. Hope's Collection.

<sup>14</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 616.

1321 (A.D. 1399-1400), the Pramâdi *saivatsara*, while Hariharadêva, the son of the *Mahamaṇḍalêsvara* Vîra-Bukka-voḍeya, was ruling. It records how Bâchaṇṇa-voḍeya, the minister of Harihara II., in charge of the government of Gôve, the modern Goa, gave the village of Makaravalli to the god Nârasimha of Virabarage.

Harihara II. was succeeded on the throne of Vijayanagara by his son Dêvarâya, of whose time there are the following inscriptions:—1, A Sanskrit and Canarese inscription on a stone-tablet at the Jain Basti at Kuppaṭûr in Maisur.<sup>15</sup> It is said to be dated Śaka 1331 (A.D. 1409-10), the Sarvadhâri *saivatsara*<sup>16</sup>, but the date is not given in the portion of it that is transcribed.—2, No. 18 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>17</sup> A fairly well preserved inscription in the Canarese characters and language on a stone-tablet, 9' 9" high by 3' 10" broad, forming one of a row of stones on the south side of the temple of the god Harihara, at Harihar. It consists of 84 lines of about 75 letters each. It is dated Śaka 1332 (A.D. 1410-1), the Vikṛiti *saivatsara*.—3, No. 5 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>18</sup> Another inscription in the Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet 4' 0" high by 2' 4" broad, at Chitrakaldurg. It consists of 29 lines of about 36 letters each, and is fairly well preserved. It is dated Śaka 1334 (A.D. 1412-3), the Khara *saivatsara*.<sup>19</sup>—4, Another inscription in the Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet at the temple of the god Vîrabhadra at Saṅgûr in the Hânagal Tâlukâ.<sup>20</sup> It appears to be well preserved. It is dated Śaka 1334 (A.D. 1412-3), the Nandana *saivatsara*, while Sâvaṇṇa, the son of the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Nâgaṇṇa, was governing at Gôve, as the minister of Dêvarâya.—5, No. 23 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>21</sup> Another inscription in the Canarese characters and language, on a stone-tablet, 4' 4" high by 2' 3" broad, on the east side of the temple of the god Harihara, at Harihar.

<sup>15</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 617.

<sup>16</sup> But by Brown's *Tables*, the Sarvadhâri *saivatsara* was Śaka 1330, and Śaka 1331 was the Virôdhi *saivatsara*.

<sup>17</sup> No. 41 of Mr. Hope's Collection. Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 621; only a partial transcription, the beginning and the end being omitted.

<sup>18</sup> No. 44, b, of Mr. Hope's Collection.

<sup>19</sup> By Brown's *Tables*, the Khara *saivatsara* was Śaka 1333, and Śaka 1334 was the Nandana *saivatsara*.

<sup>20</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 625.

<sup>21</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 628.

It consists of 48 lines of about 49 letters each, and is well preserved. It is dated Śaka 1346 (A.D. 1424-5), the Krôdhi *saṁvatsara*.

By whom Dêvarâya was succeeded, and whether by a lineal descendant, I have not been able to determine.

\* \* \* \* \*

No. III. is from three copper-plates belonging to Jôyishara Kâḷappa, of Kuppêlûr in the Râṇibennûr Tâlukâ of the Dhârwad District. The plates are about 8½" broad by 12¾" long, and are strung on a massive ring, the seal of which has a sword and, apparently, a boar, with the sun and moon above them. The inscription is written across the breadth of the plates. The characters are Sanskrit, of much the same standard as those of the preceding inscription, but rather better formed. The language is Sanskrit as far as line 96; from there, it is Canarese down to line 137, where it changes to Sanskrit again in the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. The inscription records how, in the year of the Śâlivâhana-Śaka 1434 (A.D. 1512-3), the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara*<sup>22</sup>, king Kṛishṇarâya, while ruling at Vijayanagara, caused a new village, named Tirmalâpura or Timmalâpura, to be made of land taken out of five other villages, and bestowed it upon Timmanârya, the son of Ghaṭikâ-Nârasimha, the astrologer of Raṭṭêhalli and Kôḍ. The boundaries of the new village thus constituted are described in a very careful manner in the Canarese passage. The inscription is somewhat peculiar in containing parenthetical remarks by a revisor or by the engraver of the plates.<sup>23</sup> The author of these remarks betrays some sarcasm in line 75, where he "sums up in one verse the matter that has been expressed by *many* verses above." Down to where the description of the grant commences, in line 49, many of the stanzas of this inscription are repeated almost word for word from No. II. This occurs again in all the other inscriptions of Kṛishṇarâya, and they would seem to be taken from some handbook for the ready composition of inscriptions for the Vijayanagara kings.

This inscription, with those to be noticed below, furnishes the following genealogy and dates of Kṛishṇarâya :—

<sup>22</sup> By Brown's *Tables*, Śaka 1434 was the Âṅgirasa *saṁvatsara*, and the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 1435.

<sup>23</sup> Conf. a similar instance in line 40 of No. V. of my Dêvagiri-Yâdava inscriptions, at p. 44 of No. XXXIII., Vol. XII. of this Society's *Journal*, where the revisor inserts ' *Vipra-stutiḥ*', sc. '(Here comes) an eulogy of the Brâhman's.'

Timma, married to  
 Dēvakī.  
 |  
 Íśvara, m. to  
 Bukkamâ.  
 |  
 Nṛisimha, Narasimha, or  
 Narasa, m. to  
 Tippâjidēvi, and Nāgalâdēvi  
 or Nāgâmbikâ.  
 |  
 Krishnarâya  
 Śaka 1431, 1434, 1444, 1449.

I am not aware of any inscriptions of the ancestors of Krishnarâya mentioned in the above genealogy.

Other inscriptions of Krishnarâya himself are :—1, No. 32 of a Series of Photographs of inscriptions in Dhârwad and Maisûr, from negatives taken by the late Dr. Pigou, Bo. M.S., and Col. Biggs, R.A., and edited in 1866 by Mr. Hope, Bo. C.S., for the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of Western India. It is an inscription in the Canarese characters, and partly in the Canarese partly in the Sanskrit language, on a stone-tablet at Hampe.<sup>24</sup> It is dated in the year of the Śâlivâhana-Śaka 1431 (A.D. 1509-10), the Śukla *saivatsara*.—2, A short Canarese inscription on a column in the principal entrance of the temple of Ellamma, at Ugargol near Saundatti, in the Parasgaḍ Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District.<sup>25</sup> The translation of it is:—“Hail! In the Bhâva *saivatsara*, which was the year of the victorious and glorious Śâlivâhana-Śaka 1436 (A.D. 1514-5), was finished the work of the upper storey over the stone *mantapa*<sup>26</sup> of the west door, which Bommappa-Nâyaka<sup>27</sup> of Bâgi<sup>28</sup>, (the *Nâyaka*) of the great king the brave Śri-Kriṣṇa, caused to be built at the feet of (the goddess)

<sup>24</sup> Published by me at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 73.

<sup>25</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 637.

<sup>26</sup> ‘*Mantapa*’, from the Sanskrit ‘*mandapa*’,—an open hall or temporary shed erected on festive occasions, an open temple or halting-place for idols when carried in procession.

<sup>27</sup> ‘*Nâyaka*’, *lit.*, leader, chief,—a military officer with administrative functions. Also ‘*Daṇḍanâyaka*’, *Daṇḍanâtha*, *Daṇḍâdhîra*, *Chamûnâtha*, and *Chamûpa*’, are used in the same way.

<sup>28</sup> Probably the same as the Htvinabâge of my Kâdamba inscription (No. XXVII., Vol. IX., p. 294, of this Society’s *Journal*), and the modern Râyabêg or Raibâg, about 14 miles E. by N. of Chikôḍi in the Belgaum District.

Jat̥ṭaka-Mahammāye.<sup>29</sup>—3, No. 6 of the copper-plate charters given at the end of Major Dixon's Collection. A long Sanskrit inscription in characters of the same kind as those of the inscription now published, and agreeing very closely with it in all the introductory stanzas. It is dated in the year of the Śālivāhana-Śaka 1444 (A.D. 1532-3), the Svabhānu *saṁvatsara*.<sup>30</sup>—4, Another long copper-plate Sanskrit inscription, of the same description, published at Vol. III., pp. 39 *et seqq.*, of the *Asiatic Researches*. It is dated in the year of the Śālivāhana-Śaka 1449 (A.D. 1527-8), the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*<sup>31</sup>, and records a grant of land to Aillapabhāṭṭa, surnamed Sām̥khyāyana, for the purposes of the temple of the god Īśvara.

Kṛishṇarāya's successor on the throne of Vijayanagara was probably Achyutarāya, of whom the following inscriptions are known to me; but none of them state Achyutarāya's family or genealogy:—1, No. 22 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>32</sup> A Canarese inscription, in the Canarese characters, dated Śālivāhana-Śaka 1452 (A.D. 1530-1), the Vikṛiti *saṁvatsara*, on a stone-tablet, 5' 8" high by 2' 8" broad, in the principal entrance of the temple of the god Harihara at Harihar. —2, No. 25 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>33</sup> A Canarese inscription in the Canarese characters, in a fair state of preservation, on a stone-tablet, 4' 0" high by 1' 10½" broad, at Harihar. It consists of 27 lines of about 33 letters each. The date seems to be Śālivāhana-Śaka 1453 (A.D. 1531-2), but the last numeral is very indistinct, and the name of the *saṁvatsara* is wholly illegible in the photograph.—3, No. 22 of Mr. Hope's Collection.<sup>34</sup> A Canarese inscription, in the Canarese characters, on a stone-tablet, a fragment, at the temple of Banaśaṁkari, about three miles to the south by east of Bādāmi in the Kalādgi District. It is dated Śaka 1455 (A.D. 1533-4), the Nandana *saṁvatsara*.<sup>35</sup>—4, No. 21 of Major Dixon's Collection.<sup>36</sup> A Sanskrit in-

<sup>29</sup> Sc. 'Mahāmāyā', 'the Great Illusion',—Durgā, Śaṁkari, or Pārvaṭi, as the personification of the illusory nature of worldly objects.

<sup>30</sup> By Brown's *Tables*, Śaka 1444 was the Chitrabhānu *saṁvatsara*, and the Svabhānu *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 1445.

<sup>31</sup> By Brown's *Tables*, the Vijaya *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 1448, and Śaka 1449 was the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*.

<sup>32</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 637. Published by me in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV., p. 327.

<sup>33</sup> No. 38, b, of Mr. Hope's Collection.

<sup>34</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 639. Published by me in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 19.

<sup>35</sup> By Brown's *Tables*, the Nandana *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 1454, and Śaka 1455 was the Vijaya *saṁvatsara*.

scription, in the Canarese characters, on a stone-tablet, 7' 7'' high by 2' 11'' broad, at the temple of the god Harihara at Harihar. It is dated Śālivāhana-Śaka 1460 (A.D. 1538-9), the Vilambi *saṃvatsara*.—5, A Canarese inscription, in fair preservation, dated Śaka 1461 (A.D. 1539-40), the Vikāri *saṃvatsara*, on a stone-tablet at the temple of the god Vīranārāyaṇa at Gadag in the Dhārwaḍ District.<sup>37</sup>—6, a Canarese inscription, in fair preservation, dated in the same year, on a stone lying on the threshold of the temple of the god Narasiṃha, to the south of the above-mentioned temple of the god Vīranārāyaṇa.<sup>38</sup>—7, A Canarese inscription, in the Canarese characters, dated in the same year, on a stone-tablet just inside the west entrance of the courtyard of the temple of the god Trikūṭṛṣvara at Gadag.<sup>39</sup> It is in fair preservation, and consists of 14 lines of about 35 letters each.—8, A Canarese inscription, dated in the same year, on a stone-tablet standing on the south of the temple of the god Gachchina-Basappa, near the Kōtwāl's Chauḍi, in the Jāhāgir village of Anṇigere.<sup>40</sup> It is in fair preservation.—9, No. 19 of Major Dixon's Collection. A Sanskrit inscription in the Canarese characters, dated in the same year, on a stone-tablet, 3' 7'' high by 1' 4'' broad, at Harihar. It consists of 18 lines of about 18 letters each, and is fairly well preserved, but the photograph is hard to read.

<sup>36</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 642. Published by me in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV., p. 329.

<sup>37</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 645. This and the following were not pointed out to me when I was at Gadag.

<sup>38</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 646.

<sup>39</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II., p. 298.

<sup>40</sup> Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. II., p. 648.

No. I.<sup>1</sup>

[1]नमस्तुंगशिरश्वुबिचंद्रचामरच(चा)[2]रवे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तं[3]भाय शंभवे ॥ रक्षायै  
जगतां(गतां) भूयादया[4]लुर्द्वैरदाननः । पाथःक्रीडासरां[5]स्यासन्यस्य सप्त महार्णवाः ॥ [6]हरेर्लीलावराहस्य  
दंष्ट्रादंडः स [7]पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री [8]च्छत्रश्रियं दधी ॥  
पात्रसत्कृत्(र्तृ)णा[9]मेको धारां(रा)दात(न)मिंवोत्तरं [1] अंकू[10]पारादपाराद्दः स पायाद्वामद(दे)वता [11]  
[11]श्री 1(11) वंशे त्र मुक्ता(क्ता)फलवज्र(!स्तु)वृत्तः स्व[12]कांतिकीति(ति)स्यगिताशि(खि)लाशः ॥(1)  
[13]मनोक्त(ज्ञ)कां(का)ना(नां) कुचहारभूषणः स सं[14]गमो भून्महितः स(सु)संगमः ॥ अजायत  
[15]त्त(त)त(तः) श्रा(श्री)मान्श्री(ञ्श्री)मद्विजयभु(भू)पतिः । महा[16]राजाधिराजेंद्रो बुकराजो विरा[17]जि-  
(ज)ते (1) होरासिधां(द्वां)तवेदौद्वैः(षैः) स्वी[18]कृतैकाननः फणी [1] वेदातिशु(शु) क(कृ)तां[19]तो  
यं रामज्योतिर्विराजि(ज)ते ॥ स्वस्ति श्री[20]जयाभ्युदयनृपशालिवाहनशक [21]०७२६नेय विजयसंवत्सरद  
माघ [22]शुघ(द्ध) ०५ चंद्रवार सोमोपराम(ग)[23]पर्वणि\* जुष्णकालदह्यु ॥(1) श्रीमन्म-

<sup>1</sup> The numerals in square brackets mark the commencement of each line of the original. Corrections and doubtful points are shown in ordinary brackets,—( ) ; a mark of interrogation before a letter in ordinary brackets denotes doubt as to a reading ; and the same after a letter in ordinary brackets denotes doubt as to the propriety of a proposed correction. Letters supplied, when effaced or illegible in the original, from conjecture or from other sources, are shown in square brackets,—[ ].

<sup>2</sup> Before this letter,—‘a’—the original has the letter ‘vyu’, written apparently by mistake for ‘a’, which it somewhat resembles, and then allowed to remain uneffaced.

<sup>3</sup> The first side of the second plate commences with this letter,—‘kri.’

<sup>4</sup> This is the Sanskrit locative in a Canarese passage. The numerals in this passage are Canarese. The language of the inscription continues to be Canarese down to line 60.



[24] न्म<sup>१</sup> हाराजाधिराजराजपरमेश्वर [25] धर्ममूर्तिबुकरायमहारायरु । का [26] स्थ (श्य) पगोत्रद बो (बी) धायनसूत्रद यजुः-  
 [27] शाखेय हरिहरदेवपुरस्थलद दे [28] वज्ञरु माधवजोइसंगैय्यगल म [29] कलु । रामंणजोइसैय्यगल्लिगे ।  
 [30] कोदूर चावडिगे सलुव उच्चंगीवे<sup>२</sup> [31] ठदोलगण हरिहरदेवर पुच (र) द ऊ [32] रुं वाडदोलिह चौग्रामद  
 भूमी (मि) मभ्य [33] दालु । नावु मिट्टालिगोल्लगे निरूपि [34] शि (सि) कट्टिशि (सि) कोट्ट मिट्टालिगन [35] कट्टे  
 य (यें) दु नामधेयक वाडग्रामवं [36] नु<sup>३</sup> चतुःशी (सी) मासम (मि) तवागि सहिरं (र) [37] ण्योदकदानधारापूर्वक माडि  
 नि [38] धिनिक्षेप जल पाषाण अक्षि [39] णि (णी) आगामि सिध (द्ध) साध्य हेच्चा (च्चुगा) रि [40] के  
 मोदलाद सकल अष्टभोगतेज (जः) [41] स्वाम्यसहितवागि येकभोगदि भा (भो) गि [42] सुवरेंदु कोट्टेवु । (॥)  
 आ मिट्टालिगोल्ल [43] नकट्टे<sup>४</sup> ग्रामद चतुःशी (सी) माविवर [1] [44] आ ग्रामदि मूडलु नागे (ग) नूरेंब  
 ग्रा [45] मद भागदि<sup>५</sup> । पाडवमरडी मेले [46] मध्यदि (दिं) नेट्ट कर (रे) वर्न (णं) द कलु [1] ग्रा-  
 [47] मदि टें (तें) क (क) लु मुदिहददु यं (यें) ब ग्रा [48] मद बिलेकलमरडी बदीलि ने [49] ट्ट बिले कलुगलु  
 य (यें) रडु । ग्राम [50] दि पडुवलु । सालकट्ट (ट्टे) यं (यें) ब ग्रामद [51] संणकलमरडी मेले  
 नेट्ट (ट्ट) क [52] रेवर्न (णं) द कलुगलु मूरु । बडग [53] लु<sup>६</sup> कुंदवाडा यं (यें) ब ग्रामद बिळेकल-  
 मर [54] डी तगि (ग्गि) नलु नेट्ट बिलेकलु मोदलद [55] सालगलुगलु । इ (ई) बगे (ग्गे) चतुःशी-

<sup>१</sup> This second 'nma' is repeated in the original by mistake and is superfluous.

<sup>२</sup> The second side of the second plate commences with this letter,— 'nu.'

<sup>३</sup> In line 34 the reading is 'Miṭṭaligana-kaṭṭe', but probably the correct reading there should be 'Miṭṭaligollana-kaṭṭe', as here.

<sup>४</sup> To give any sense 'bhāgadin' should be preceded by 'uttara', north, or a word indicating some other point of the compass.

<sup>५</sup> The inner side of the third plate commences with this letter,— 'lu.'

(सी)मासं<sup>[60]</sup>मितव माडि श्रीविह(रू)पाक्षदेवर संनि<sup>[61]</sup>धियलि मनःपूर्वकदिद माडि कोट्टं<sup>[58]</sup>था  
 धम(र्म)शासनव(वं)नु । आचंद्रार्क पुत्रपौ<sup>[59]</sup>त्रपारंपरवागि सुखदिं भोगिसु<sup>[60]</sup>वदु(रु) ॥  
 दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाच्छे(च्छे)<sup>[61]</sup>यो नुपालनं । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पा<sup>[62]</sup>लनादच्चु(च्यु)तं पदं ॥  
 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां(त्तां) वा <sup>[63]</sup>यो हरेत्र(त) वसुंधरा(रां) । षष्टिर्व(व)र्षसत(ह)<sup>[64]</sup>स्त्राणि  
 विष्टया(ष्टा)यां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ <sup>[65]</sup>ये(ए)कैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भू<sup>[66]</sup>भुजां [1]  
 न भोज्या न करग्राह्या विम<sup>[67]</sup>दत्ता वसुंधरा ॥ <sup>[68]</sup>ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

## No. I.

Reverence to Śambhu<sup>1</sup>, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! May he<sup>2</sup>, who has the face of an elephant, who is compassionate, and whom the seven oceans served as lakes in which to disport himself in the water, preserve the (three) worlds! May the tusk of Hari, who assumed the form of a boar<sup>3</sup>, preserve you;—that tusk on which the earth conferred the honour of an umbrella, having (the mountain) Hêmâdri<sup>4</sup> for its point! May he,—Vâmadêvatâ<sup>5</sup>, who is the best of those who confer favours upon worthy people, just as a gift (of land), accompanied by libations of water, is the best (of all gifts),—preserve you from the shoreless sea (of misery)!

Śrî! In this race<sup>6</sup> there was Saṅgama, who was honoured, and who had excellent associates; as if he were a diamond among pearls, filling all the regions with lustre and fame, a very breast-garland of charming people.

From him there was born the glorious king Bukka, the fortunate king of victory, the supreme king of great kings; he is resplendent.

(The astrologer) Râmajyôtiḥ,—who, like a serpent, is entirely engrossed with the collections of the writings that bear upon the settled conclusions of astrology, and who is thoroughly versed in the Vêdânta,—is glorious.

Hail! In the hot season, at the time of an eclipse of the moon, on Monday, the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Mâgha of the Vijaya *samvatsara*<sup>7</sup>, which was the year of the victorious and glorious era of king Śâlivâhana 1276, the great king Buk-

<sup>1</sup> Śiva, who bears a digit of the moon on his tiara.

<sup>2</sup> Ganapati.

<sup>3</sup> When, in one of his incarnations, he plunged into the ocean, and raised on the tip of his right tusk, and thus rescued, the earth, which had been carried away by the demon Hiranyâksha.

<sup>4</sup> The golden mountain Mêru or Sumêru, the centre of the inhabited world.

<sup>5</sup> Śiva, or Viṣṇu; it is somewhat doubtful from the context which is intended.

<sup>6</sup> i.e., the Yâdavakula, which is also called the Viṣṇuvamâsa, or 'lineage of Viṣṇu', in consequence of Viṣṇu having become incarnate in it as Krishna, the son of Yadu.

<sup>7</sup> According to the *Tables* in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Vijaya *samvatsara* was Śaka 1275, and Śaka 1276 was the Jaya *samvatsara*.

karāya,—the glorious supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord of kings, the personification of religion,—(gave a charter as follows) :—

Saying “ He shall enjoy it, according to the *ékabhôga*<sup>9</sup>, as long as the moon and sun may last, together with the proprietorship of the glory of all the *ashtabhôgas*<sup>9</sup>, which commence with buried treasure, water, stones, *Akshipt*, that which accrues (?), that which has become property (?), that which may become property (?), and augmentation”,—we have given, with presents of gold and water and libations of water, to Râmannajôisayya, the son of Mâdhavajôisamgayya, who is the astrologer of the locality of the city of the god Hariharadêva, and who belongs to the *gôtra*<sup>10</sup> of Kâśyapa, the *sûtra*<sup>10</sup> of Baudhâyana, and the *śâkhe*<sup>10</sup> of the Yajurvêda, the village which bears the name of Mîttaligana-kaṭṭe<sup>11</sup>, together with its four boundaries, which, having given a command to Mîttaligolla, we caused to be created by him in the lands of the four villages which are included in the township<sup>12</sup> of the city of the god Hariharadêva, which is in the *Vēṅṭha*<sup>13</sup> of Uch-changi, which belongs to the *Châvadi*<sup>14</sup> of Kottûru.

<sup>9</sup> The meaning of this term, like that of ‘*tribhōga*’ which occurs in other inscriptions, is somewhat doubtful. Probably it denotes a grant that is to be enjoyed in perpetuity by one family only. It occurs again in No. III., ll. 68 and 135. In line 120 of No. II., we have a third kind of ‘*bhōga*’, viz., ‘*gaṇa-bhōga*’, which would seem to denote ‘a grant that is to be enjoyed in common.’

<sup>10</sup> See Note 17 to the translation of No. V. of my *Dēvagiri-Yādava* inscriptions, at p. 49 of No. XXXIII., Vol. XII., of this Society’s *Journal*. The meaning of ‘*akshipt*’ is not known.

<sup>10</sup> The nearest equivalents for ‘*gôtra*’, ‘*sûtra*’, and ‘*śâkhe*’, i.e. ‘*śâkhâ*’, are respectively, ‘kindred’, ‘ritualistic school’, and ‘traditional recension of the Vêdas followed by a particular school.’

<sup>11</sup> See Note 7 to line 43 of the text. ‘*Kaṭṭe*’, in the sense of a *stone platform round the foot of a tree*, is a frequent termination in the names of villages; e.g. *Arâṅkaṭṭe*, ‘the *kaṭṭe* of the sacred fig-tree’, *Bēvinakaṭṭe*, ‘the *kaṭṭe* of the Neem-tree.’ In the present case the village takes its name from the person who constructed it or laid it out,—‘the *kaṭṭe* of Mîttaligolla.’

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps ‘*Arumbâḍa*’, compounded of ‘*aru*’ and ‘*bâḍa*’, may rather be taken as the equivalent of ‘*kampana*’; see Note 38 to the translation of No. VI. and Note 37 to the translation of No. VII. of my *Baṭṭa* inscriptions, at pp. 237 and 280 of No. XXIX., Vol. X., of this Society’s *Journal*.

<sup>13</sup> The etymology and meaning of this word are not known. Possibly it is etymologically the same with, or even the origin of, the Marâṭhi ‘*Pêṭâ*’, a *subdivision of a Tâlukâ*.

<sup>14</sup> In the present day the meaning of this term is restricted to ‘the revenue and police office of a village, in which the village-headman and accountant transact their business.’ At the time of the inscriptions in which it occurs it would appear to denote ‘the chief office for transacting or superintending the business of a circle of villages.’

The details of the four boundaries of that same village called Mittaligollana-katte are :—There are stones arranged in order, commencing with,—On the E. of the village, a black stone set upright in the ground in the middle of the small hill called ‘Pâḍavamaradi’, which is to the .....<sup>15</sup> of the village ; on the S. of the village, there are two white stones set upright in the ground near the small hill called ‘the small hill of the white stones’ of the village of Mudihadadu ; on the W. of the village, there are three black stones set upright in the ground on the small hill called ‘the small hill of the white stones’ of the village of Sâlakatte ; and on the N. (of the village), there is a white stone set upright in the ground on the small hill called ‘the small hill of the white stones’ of the village of Kundavâḍâ.

And with reference to this (grant), having allotted (the village) together with its four boundaries, (the king), in the presence of the god Śrī-Virûpâkshadêva<sup>16</sup>, of his own free-will gave a charter. They shall enjoy it happily, in the descent of sons and sons’ sons, as long as the moon and sun may last.

In (discriminating between) giving a grant and preserving (the grant of another), preservation is better than giving ; from giving a grant a man obtains paradise, but from preserving (the grant of another), he attains the sphere of Achyuta!<sup>17</sup> He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another ! In this world, land that has been given to a Brâhman is as a sister to all kings, neither to be enjoyed nor to be taken in the way of taxes!<sup>18</sup> Śrī-Virûpâksha !

<sup>15</sup> See Note 8 to line 44 of the text.

<sup>16</sup> Śiva, who has an unnatural (‘virûpa’) number of eyes, —the third eye being in the centre of his forehead.

<sup>17</sup> Viṣṇu, whose paradise is one of higher degree and greater happiness than Svarga, the paradise of Indra.

<sup>18</sup> A play on words is intended here,—‘karagrâhyâ’ meaning also ‘to be taken by the hand, i.e. married.’

## No. II.

[1]श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥<sup>1</sup> नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुंबिचंद्रचामरचा[2]रवे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय  
 शंभवे ॥ हरेर्लीला[3]वराहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडः स पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री  
 [4]च्छत्रश्रियं दधौ ॥ कल्याणायास्तु तद्धाम प्रत्यूहतिमि[5]रापहं । यद्रजो प्यगजोद्भूतं  
 हरिणापि च पूज्यते ॥ लोकैका[6]वासहेतोप्यु(रु)म(प)गतवसतिर्हेमकूटाचलेंद्रे स्थित्यंतै[7]कावगम्यो  
 प्यखिलजनदयादत्तसंदर्शनश्रीः । कामं ना[8]भावशेषं विदधदपि सदा सर्वकामप्रदो सौ  
 भूयाद्भूत्यै जग[9]त्यां त्रिजगदधिपतिः श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवः ॥ प्रख्यातरूपं परि[10]कर्म  
 भूमेरावासभूमिर्महतां मनोज्ञा । अभ्युच्छ्रितं जन्म[11]गु(गु)णं(हं) गुणानां जागर्ति वंशो  
 यदुपुंगवानां ॥ विभूषयामास [12]तमन्ववायं श्रीसंगमाख्यो नृपतिर्गुणेन । श्रीमानृ[13]तूनामिव  
 संपमेकः कालो वसंतः कुसुमोदयेन ॥ विविध[14]सुकृतोद्दामे रामेश्वरममुखे मुहुर्मुदितहृदय(यः)  
 स्थाने [15]स्थाने व्यधत्त यथाविधि । बुधपरिवृतो नानादाना[16]नि यो भुवि षोडश  
 त्रिभुवनजनोद्गीतं स्फीतं यशः पुनरुक्त[17]यन् ॥ कावेरीमाशु बध्वा(द्वा) बहुलजलरयां तां  
 विलम्बैव शत्रुं [18]जीवघ्राहं गृहीत्वा समिति भुज्जबलान्तं च राज्यं तदीयं । कृत्वा  
 [19]श्रीरंगपूर्वं तदपि निजवशे पत्तनं यो बभासे कीर्तिस्तंभं नि[20]खाय

<sup>1</sup> In this inscription, and in No. III, the proper double mark of punctuation to denote the end of a verse or sentence, —||,— is seldom used, the single mark, —|,— being given instead. In transcribing, I have, for the sake of clearness, substituted the double mark wherever it should be used.

त्रिभुवनभुवनस्तूयमानापदानः ॥ चेनं(रं) चोलं च पांड्यं [21]तमपि च मधुरावल्लभं  
मानभूषं वीर्यौदग्रं तुरुष्कं गजपति[22]नृपतिं चापि जित्वा तदन्यान् । आगंगातीरलंकाप्रथमच-  
[23]रमभूभृत्तांतं नितांतं ख्यात(तः) क्षोणीपतीनां स्रजमि[24]व<sup>३</sup> शिरसां शासनं यो व्यतानीत् ॥  
यस्य वारणघटा[25]कटस्थलीनिःसरत्प्रमदवारितरंगाः<sup>३</sup> । अभ्य(न्व)कार्पु[26]रभितः कलिंदनामापगास्तदितरा  
निरंतरं [11] हरिहर[27]नृपबुक्कभूमिपालाविति भुवि तस्य त्वाचु(सुतावु)भावभूतां । पुनर[28]पि  
भुवनाभिरक्षणार्थं समुपय(ग)या(ता)विव रोहिण्येयकृष्णौ [11] [29]हरिहरनरपालः पालयामास पृथ्वीमथ  
जितरिपुराजो [30]बुक्कराजाग्रजन्मा । शिरसि सततमाज्ञापत्रिकां पार[31]यंतः स्रजमिव नरपाला  
यस्य सेवामकार्षुः ॥ यस्य प्र[32]स्तुतमात्र एव यशसि प्रालेयपृथ्वीधरको(क्षो)णीमांस[33]लमानवीय-  
मिहिकासंदोहसंदेहदे । कैश्चिनिश्चयवेदिभिः [34]सुमनसां गोष्ठीगरीष्ठैर्जनैश्चेतस्तत्क्षणमादिराजग[35]णनावैमुख्यमालंबते ॥  
अथानुजस्तस्य जगत्प्रतीतः श्री[36]बुक्कराजो विजयाभिधानी । पुरंदरश्रीः पुरमध्यवात्सी[37]द्रम्यामिव  
द्वारवतीं मुकुंदः ॥ लक्ष्मीवान् यदुपुंगमीक्तिक[38]मणिः प्रोद्यद्बलध्वंसनः सद्दंदावनवर्तिनैकरसि[39]कः  
सत्यानुरक्ताशयः । उन्मीलद्बलभद्रमूर्तिरभितः पृथ्वी[40]भृदुन्मूलनमौढः क्षामशिषन्मुरांतक इव श्रीबुक्कपृ[41]थ्वीपतिः ॥  
संतमा गरलोष्मले फणिकणाचक्रे स्वयं मे[42]दिनी नित्यं सौख्यकरं पदं पुनरसावाकांक्षमाणा  
परं । [43]नीरंधामभजिष्ट निर्वृतिमतिप्रौढोदयं संश्रिता च्छायामं[44]डलशालिनं निरुपमं यद्बाहुकल्पद्रुमं ॥

<sup>३</sup> The first side of the second plate commences with this letter,—‘va.’

<sup>३</sup> The metre is faulty here. In No. 29 of Major Dixon's Collection the reading is better,—‘Yasya vāraṇa-ghatā-kata-sthali-nissaran-mada-jhari-taramgitāh Am(a)nvakārshur-abhitah Kalindajām-āpagā-tad-itarā nirāntaram.’

<sup>४</sup> A mark of punctuation,— |,— wrongly intervenes between ‘Hari’ and ‘Hara.’

वीरः श्रीबुक्करा[46]जः स विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः कीर्त्या नीत्या निर[48]स्यंनृगनलनहुषानप्यवन्यामथान्यान् [1]  
 आसेतो[47]रा<sup>१</sup> सुमेरोरवनिसुरनुतः स्वैरमप्योदयद्वैरा पाश्चात्या[48]चलांतादाखिलहृदयमावर्ष्यं राज्यं शशास ॥  
 कीर्त्या [49]यस्य समंततः प्रसृतया विश्वं रुचैक्यं ब्रजेदित्याशां[50]क्य पुरा पुरारिरभवद्भालेक्षणः  
 मायशः । पद्माक्षो पि चतु[51]र्भुजो जनि चतुर्वक्त्रो भवत्यन्नभूः काली खड्गमधाद्रमा  
 [52]च कमलं वीणां च वाणी करे ॥ शत्रूणां वासमेते ददत इति रु[53]षा  
 किंनु समाबुराशीचानासेनातुरंगनुटितवसुम[54]तीधूलिकापालिकाभिः । संशोष्य स्वैरमेतत्प्रतिनिधिज[55]लधिश्चेणिका  
 यो विधत्ते ब्रह्माडस्वर्णमैरुप्रमुखनिज[56]महादानतैर्यैरमेयैः ॥ कांचीश्रीशैलशोणाचलकनक[57]सभावेकटाद्रिप्रमु-  
 ख्येष्वामृत्यावर्ष्यं सर्वेष्वतनुत विधि[58]वद्भूयसे श्रेयसे यः । देवस्थानेषु तीर्थेष्वपि कनकतु[59]लापूरुषादीनि  
 नानादानान्येवोपदानैरपि सममखि[60]लैरागमोक्तानि तानि ॥ तस्माद्भुक्तमहीपालाच्छ्रीमान् ह[61]रिहरो नृपः ।  
 आविरासीत्कलाश्लायः क्षीराब्धेरि[62]व चंद्रमाः ॥ तामेव नगरीमध्यवात्सीच्छ्रीमान्महीपतिः [1]  
 पि[63]त्राभिरक्षितां पूर्वमयोध्यामिव राघवः ॥ प्राकारो हेमकू[64]टः परिसरपरिखा तुंगभद्रातिभद्रा  
 साक्षादारक्षको यं क्षतभु[65]वनभयः श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवः । राजा राजाधिराजो हरिहरनृ[66]पतिः  
 क्षोणिकाची च कांची श्लायः शाखापुरश्रीः कथमिव व[67]चसां गोचरे स्यादिहास्याः ॥  
 उन्मीलनखकांतिमौक्तिकम[68]णिश्रेणीमनोहारिणच्छा(श्छा)यापल्लवितस्फुरक(ःक)रतलम[69]स्पष्टकल्पद्रुमात् । दानक्षीरप-  
 योनिधेर्हरिहरक्षमाप[70]लचूडामणेः संपूर्णः सततं तुषारकिरणः कीर्त्यात्मना जृंभते ॥ [71]य<sup>२</sup>-

<sup>१</sup> The second side of the second plate commences with this letter,—‘rá.’

<sup>२</sup> The first side of the third plate commences with this letter,—‘ya.’



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 स्वङ्गलतिकायातशंकाव्याकुलचेतसां । हंत चित्रं प्रक[72]पति शत्रूणां प्राणवायवः ॥ भुजालान-  
 निबद्धस्य प्रतापमद[73]हस्तिनः । मदरेखाश्रियं धत्ते यस्य ज्याकिणवल्लरी ॥ इतिहासपुरा[74]णा-  
 दिधर्मशास्त्रदृढव्रतः । चतुर्वर्णाश्रमाचारस्थापनैकाग्र[75]मानसः ॥ नानादानान्यकार्षीक(क्त)नकसदसि यः  
 श्रीविष्णु[76]पाक्षदेवस्थाने श्रीकालहस्तीशितु(ः)भु)रपिनगरे वेंकटा[77]द्रौ च कांच्यां । श्रीशैले  
 शोणशैले महति हरिहरे हो(हों)बले<sup>7</sup> सं[78]गमे च श्रीरंगे कुंभकोणे हततमसि महानंदित्थै  
 नि[79]वृत्तौ ॥ गोकर्णे रामसेतौ बगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्य[80]स्थानेष्वारब्धनानाविधबहुलमहादान-  
 वारिमवाहैः । [81]यस्योदंचतुरंगमकरखुररजःशुष्यदंभोधिममक्षमाभू[82]त्पक्षच्छिदोज्य(ः)(ज)त्तरकुलिशधरोक्तंठा-  
 कुंठिताभूत् ॥ [83]ब्रह्मांडं विश्वचक्रं घटमुदितमहाभूतकं रत्नधेनुं सप्तां[84]भोधिं च कल्पक्षिति-  
 रुहलतिके कांचनीं कामधेनुं । स्व[85]णक्ष्मां यो हिरण्याश्वरथमपि तुलापुरुषं गोसहस्रं हेमा[86]श्वं  
 हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं पंचलांगल्यतानीत् ॥ म[87]दत्तामर्थिसार्थाः श्रियमिह सुचिरं भुंजतामित्यवेत्य प्रायः  
 [88]प्रत्यूहहेतोस्तपनरथगतेरालयां(यं) देवतानां । तत्तद्दिग्जैत्र[89]वृत्त्यापि च बिरुदपदैरर्पितास्तत्र  
 तत्र स्तभान् जातप्रति[90]ष्ठान् व्यतनुत भुवि यो भूभृदभ्रं कषामान् ॥ रोषकृतप्रतिपा-  
 [91]र्थिवदंडः शेषभुजः क्षितिरक्षणशौंडः । भाषिगे<sup>9</sup> तप्युव र(रा)[92]यर गंडस्तोषकृदर्थिषु यो

<sup>7</sup> In line 23 of No. III. the reading is 'Öbhalé' or 'Aubhalé.'

<sup>8</sup> After this letter in the original, there are the two letters 'naka' repeated with marks of erasure on them.

<sup>9</sup> These three words are Canarese, and the final 'e' of the first of them is short; also, the 'i' of 'bhâshige' stands for a short 'e.'

रणचंडः ॥ राजाधिराज इत्युक्तो यो रा[९८]जपरमेश्वरः । मूर(रु)रायर<sup>10</sup> गंडश्च  
 पररायभयंकरः । हिंडु(दु)रायसु[९५]रत्राणो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः [1] वीरप्रताप इत्यादिबिरुदैरुचितैर्यु-  
 [९६]तः । आलोक्य महाराय जय जीवेति वादिभिः । अंगवंगका[९८]लि<sup>11</sup>गाद्यै राजभिः  
 सेव्यते च यः ॥ स्तुत्यौदार्यः सुधा(धी)भिः स [९७]विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थो  
 ग्राहारान्संचिकीर्षु[९८]हैरिहरनृपतिर्भूसुरान्संगमय्य । आ पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तक्षिति[९९]धरकटकादा सुवर्णाचलांतादा  
 सेतोरथिसार्यश्रियमिह [१००]बहुलीकृत्य कीर्त्या समिधे ॥ श्रीः ॥ शकाब्दे शालिवाह[१०१]स्य  
 सहस्रेण त्रिभिः शतैः । एकाधिकैश्च गणिते सिद्धार्थे [१०२]ब्दे श्रुभे दिने । ज्ये(ज्यै)ष्ठ्यां  
 भीमे निशानाथोपरागे तुंगभद्रयोः [1] [१०३]श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्य संनिधौ धर्मलिप्सया । सो  
 यं हरिह[१०४]रो राजा भूरिभूदानलोलुपः । हस्तिनावति(ती)राज्यश्रीतोरग[१०५]ब्देशमध्यतः ।  
 व्यवस्थितं श्रीलकुंडसंस्थानं समुपाश्रि[१०६]तं । श्रीमल्लतुपुराख्योक्तगदग्देशमुदारधीः । त्रैधा वि-  
 [१०७]भज्य सुकलः षट्षष्टिग्राममंडितं । एकं संस्थाप्य राजा[१०८]शं द्वितीयं देवयोः<sup>12</sup> कृतं ।  
 पूजाद्यर्थं त्र्यंबकेशवीरनारायणाख्य[१०९]योः । गदकूपुरस्थयोश्चाथ तृतीयं भागमुत्तमं । अग्र[११०]हारीक-  
 तुर्मिच्छुर्यजमानपरीक्षकः । वेदशास्त्रविदे श्रीत[१११]स्मार्तानुष्ठापकाय सः । सम्मणाचार्यनान्ने प्राक् गद-  
 ग्देश[११२]विलेखिने । याजमान्यं प्रदायैनं वेदशास्त्रविदं मुदा । यजमा[११३]नं पुरस्कृत्य

<sup>10</sup> This word, again, is Canarese. In other inscriptions in which the same verse occurs the reading is 'Mûrurâyara' in Dévanâgarî and 'Mûrurâyara' in Canarese characters.

<sup>11</sup> The second side of the third plate commences with this letter,—'lim.'

<sup>12</sup> This letter,—'yôh',—was at first omitted, and is inserted in the following line between the 'pu' and the 'ra' of 'pura-sthayôh.'

सम्मणाचार्यमुन्मनाः । परीतः प्रयतः स्निग्धैः पु[114]रोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधैर्विबुधैः  
 श्रीतस्मार्तकर्मपरायणैः [1] [116]श्रीमान् हरिहरो राजा चतुर्वर्गपरायणः [1] श्रीमत्क्रियाशक्ति[116]मू-  
 तिगुर्वज्ञामनुगृह्य च [1] नानाशाखाभिधागौत्रसूत्रे[117]भ्यः शास्त्रवित्तया । विख्यातेभ्यः सांगवेदाविद्भ्यो  
 विप्रैभ्य आदरा[118]त् । ग्रामान् द्वाविंशतिं सर्वमान्यान् सीमासमन्वितान् । निधि[119]नि-  
 क्षेपपाषाणसिद्धसाध्यजलान्वितान् । अक्षिण्यागामि[120]सं<sup>13</sup>युक्तान् गणभोग्यान् सभूरुहान् ।  
 वापीकूपतडाकाद्यैः [121]कच्छैरपि समन्वितान् । पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भोग्यान् क्रमादा[122]चंद्रतारकं ।  
 दानस्याधमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यापि चोचितान् । [123]सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा ॥ राजदेवादिजा-  
 [124]तीनां ग्रामनामानि भागशः । प्रोच्यन्ते तत्र राजार्थग्रामा द्वाविंश[125]तिर्मताः ।  
 श्रीमत्कृतपुरं चेति प्रतिनाम गदग्वथ । बट्टगेरी [126]च हरिलापुरं लकुंडमुत्तमं । लिंगधालुः  
 कौजगेरी गं[127]गापुरमतः परं । हिरहंदिगोलं(ल) चिकहंदिगोलं च बेल[128]हो<sup>14</sup>डा ।  
 वेंकटापुरनाहोले कुरहट्टी धृतस्य च । दुंदूरु[129]नीलगुदे चाडुनूरुयावगलु च । सोरदूरुः  
 शिंगल[130]रायनकेरी नृदिपुरं । तिम्मापुरं मणकवाड हस्येते [131]नृपार्थदाः ॥ अथ  
 श्रीमत्र्यं(त्र्यं)बकेशवीरनारायणेशयोः । ग्रा[132]मा द्वाविंशतिः प्रत्ताः प्रोच्यन्ते बेलवर्णिका ।  
 हुयन्गोलं त्र्यंबके[133]शपुरं बलरवाडकं । शिशुविन्हल्युंमचिगे कौकणेकुरहट्टि[134]का ।

<sup>13</sup> The first side of the fourth plate commences with this letter,—‘sam.’

<sup>14</sup> The ‘o’ here is short, being not Sanskrit.

बेंतूरुगोपालपुराऽ<sup>15</sup>सुंडीमलसमुद्रकाः । बेल्लकीको[136]प्यभृंगादकट्टनागसमुद्रकाः । बेनकन्कोप्यकहिरैको[136]प्य-  
 चिक्कोप्यका अथ । श्रीकदंबपुरं हुल्लकोटा सो[137]मपुरं ततः । हातलोरी च  
 मललेहालुरित्येव दैविकाः ॥ अथ द्वाविं[138]शतिर्ग्रामा ब्राह्मणेभ्यः समर्पिताः । प्रोच्यंते  
 होंबलं श्रीमत्कुर्तको[139]टाथ जंतला । शिरडूरुडैबलं च कणगिल्हालुरप्यथ । कल्सा[140]पुरं  
 यल्लिशिरडूरुर्जंबल्लिबैचिका । पणनाशी सोमनकट्टाथ डो[141]णी किल्लुडिरिः । तुरुचेहालुनागाव्यौ  
 बेल्लधडी श्रीनवापुरं । शि[142]रवल्लिशिरवुंजौ च कित्तूरुमदनूर(रु)कौ । शाकवाटीति विख्याता  
 अ[143]ग्राहारतया इमे ॥ चत्वारों शाः कृताः प्रत्यग्रहारं सुमनीषिणा । [144]रा<sup>16</sup> ज्ञा  
 हरिहरेणेत्यं विनियोगश्च कल्पितः । एकौ शः सम्म[145]णाचार्ययजमानाय कल्पितः । त्रयो  
 शा भूसुरेभ्यश्च देवे[146]भ्यः कचिदर्पिताः ॥ एवं ग्रामेषु सर्वेषु षष्ट्युत्तरशतत्रयं ।  
 वृत्तयश्चा[147]पि संख्याता अग्रहारेषु मेलिताः ॥ खारीणां नवतेर्यावनाल[148]बीजोत्तिभूमयः ।  
 ताश्चेत्यं विनियुज्यंते यथाग्रामं महीसुराः । य[149]थाशाखाभिधागोत्रसूत्रमेव विभागशः ।  
 वृत्तिमंतौ विलिख्यं[150]ते यजमानपुरःसराः ॥ द्वाविंशतेश्च खारीणां यावनालीयबीजकैः [1]  
 [151]आवापार्हा भूरिहास्ति चतुःसीमासमन्विते । होंबले ष्टाशीतिरि[152]त्यं विनियुक्ताश्च वृत्तयः ॥  
 श्रीमान् बौधायनः शर्वाचार्यजः काश्य[153]पान्वयः । संख्याचार्यपौत्रो द्वाविंशतिं याजुषः

<sup>15</sup> The *Avagraha* is unnecessary here.

<sup>16</sup> The second side of the fourth plate commences with this letter,—‘ rā.’

सुधीः । वृत्तीः श्री[154]सम्मणाचार्ययजमान इहाश्रुते । चतुर्थाशतया कृपाः प्रत्यग्र[155]हार-  
 मग्रणीः ॥ अथ शंकरलिंगस्य पूजाद्यर्थं प्रकल्पिते । हे वृ[156]त्ती अथ षड्वृत्तीः  
 कृष्णाराध्यसुतः सुधीः । ब्रह्मिष्ठो रामभद्रस्य [157]पौत्रः काश्यपवंशजः । बह्वृचः सांगवे-  
 दार्थकुशलो हरिदी[158]क्षितः । प्राप्तवानथ वेदांती नारायण इहाश्रुते । वृत्तीश्वतस्त्रो  
 रा[159]मेशभद्रजो याजुषाग्रणीः । आत्रेयः श्रीनिवासाख्यपौत्रो थ भृगु[160]वंशजः । सूनुः  
 शंकरभद्रस्य पौत्रो वीरेश्वरस्य च । भैरवाख्यः [161]सामवेदी हे वृत्ती विंदते बुधः ॥  
 यल्लभद्रसुतो विष्णुभद्रपौत्रो दिवा[162]करः । कात्यायनः कण्वगोत्रो वृत्तिं प्राप्नोति वेदवित् ॥  
 सौनिभद्रस्य पौ[163]त्रः श्रीवत्सजो बह्वृचो श्रुते । वृत्तिद्वयं भीमभद्रसुतो नारायणः  
 सुधीः ॥ [164]कौंडिन्यः कलसाभद्रः सूरिभद्रसुतो श्रुते । याजुषः कृष्णभद्रस्य पौ[165]त्रो  
 वृत्तित्रयं बुधः ॥ विनायकाख्यभद्रस्य पौत्रः सामस्वरार्थवित् । भारद्वा[166]जो रामभद्रसूनुर्वाग्यग्रणीरिह ।  
 वृत्तित्रयं समाप्नोति नृसिंहाख्यो द्वि[167]जोत्तमः ॥ तिम्राभद्रात्मजो नंतभद्रपौत्र उमापतिः ।  
 बह्वृचः काश्यपो वृत्तिं [168]विंदते थ पुरंदरः । वृत्तिमाप्नोति नागेशभद्रजो गौतमान्वयः ।  
 आ[169]श्वलायनकल्पाढ्यः पौत्रो नारायणस्य च ॥ लक्ष्मीपतिसुतो [170]व<sup>17</sup>त्सगोत्रजो भ्येति  
 बह्वृचः । तिस्रो वृत्ती रामभद्रपौत्रो विष्णुर्म[171]हामतिः ॥ मल्लिभद्रात्मजो देवभद्रपौत्रो  
 ऽत्रिगोत्रजः । आप[172]स्तंबो च्युतो भ्येति हे वृत्ती वेदपाठकः ॥ पौत्रः संनतिभद्रस्य

<sup>17</sup> The first side of the fifth plate commences with this letter,— 'va.'

होत्रि[173]भट्टसुतः सुधीः । देवज्ञाप्यो विरूपाक्षो वामदेव्यश्च बह्वृचः । [174]पंच  
 वृत्तीरिहामोति वेदशास्त्रविशारदः ॥ पौत्रो वेंकटिभट्टस्य ज[175]गन्नाथद्विजात्मजः । आश्वलायन  
 ऋचथो ब्रह्माभट्टो बुधायणीः [I] [176]तिष्ठो वृत्तीरिहामोति तस्य भ्राता महामतिः ।  
 शृंगेरिभट्टो हे वृत्ती मा[177]मोति बहुवेदवित् ॥ विष्णुमूर्तिसुतः कण्वः कात्यायनविशारदः ।  
 [178]अण्णभट्टस्य पौत्रः श्रीशेषाद्विवृत्तिमश्रुते ॥ मौद्रल्यगोत्रो रा[179]मेशभट्टसूनुस्तु याजुषः ।  
 हरिभट्ट इति ख्यातो वृत्तिमामोति बु[180]द्धिमान् ॥ नरशिभट्टपौत्रः श्रीरामभट्टसुतः  
 कविः । हनुमंतः का[181]श्यपजो बह्वृचो वृत्तिमश्रुते ॥ अर्कभट्टसुतः सामवेदी  
 पाराश[182]रान्वयः । तिम्माभट्टो(ष्टो) वेदशास्त्रविद्वृत्तिहयमश्रुते ॥ नीलकंठा[183]ख्यपुत्रः  
 श्रीवत्सजो याजुषः सुधीः । विश्वनाथाख्यभट्टो हे वृत्ती [184]पौत्र उमापतेः ॥  
 वेदत्रयविदम्भाजिभट्टसूनुस्तु बह्वृचः । परं[185]भट्टः कौत्सगोत्रो वृत्तित्रयमिहाश्रुते ॥ बसवाभट्टपुत्रः  
 श्रीज[186]क्किभट्टो वसिष्ठजः । याजुषो वृत्तिमामोति स्वकर्मनिर्ऋ(र)तः सुधीः ॥ गौ[187]तमो  
 विश्वनाथाख्यपौत्रो ब्रह्मण्यभट्टजः । सर्वाभट्टो यजुर्वेदी [188]हे वृत्ती विंदते बुधः ॥  
 विद्याशंकरभट्टस्य नंदनो हरिताण्वयः । आ[189]श्वलायनसूत्रः श्रीनृसिंहो वृत्तिमश्रुते ॥  
 पद्माकरस्य पौत्रः श्रीकौत्सः [190]सांख्यायनो महान् । वेदशास्त्रविदामोति हे वृत्ती  
 कमलाकरः ॥ [191]अमृतेश्वरभट्टस्य पौत्रो वेदांतपारगः । नारायणसुतः सोमभट्टो [192]वात्सश्च  
 बह्वृचः । वृत्तिहयमिहामोति कविवर्यः शुचित्रतः । श्रीम[193]दौभलभट्टस्य तनयो बह्वृचाग्रणीः ।

वासिष्ठो रामभट्टो ऋ वृत्तिद्वय[194]मिहाश्रुते ॥ शेषभट्टस्य पौत्रः श्रीकृष्णभट्टसुतः सुधीः ।  
 बह्वृचो गौत[195]मो विष्णुभट्टो वृत्ती इहाश्रुते ॥ भानिभट्टस्य नप्तासौ याजुषो माध-  
 [196]वा<sup>10</sup>त्मजः । आगस्त्यः श्रीनिवासी ऋ लभते वृत्तिमुत्तमः । पौत्रः के[197]शवभट्टस्य वेदनारायणो  
 भृगोः । वंश्यः सामस्वराभिज्ञो वृत्ति[198]द्वयमिहाश्रुते ॥ गणेशभट्टस्य पौत्रो यल्लभट्टस्तु सामकः ।  
 लक्ष्मीध[199]रसुतः कौत्सो विन्दते वृत्तिमुत्तमा ॥ श्रीः ॥ कुर्तकोटाग्रामभूमिबीज[200]संख्या  
 निगद्यते । खार्यस्त्रयोविंशतिर्द्विनवतिर्वृत्तयोः पि च ॥ अस्मि[201]न् ग्रामे चतुर्याशभूता  
 वृत्तीः समश्रुते । त्रयोविंशतिमाचार्यो यज[202]मानाख्यसम्मणः ॥ मंकेश्वरीनारसिंहदेवतार्चादये  
 कृते । हे वृत्ती [203]अथ लक्ष्मीशसूनवे वाग्मिने नव । वृत्तयो विदुषे बह्वृचाय  
 वा[204]सिष्ठगोत्रिणे । भानिभट्टस्य पौत्राय विष्णुभट्टाय धीमते । वे[205]दद्वयप्रवक्त्रे  
 स्मै प्रप्ता बहुकुटुंबिने ॥ नारायणाख्यपौत्राय वेदि[206]भट्टसु(सु)ताय च । गार्गाय  
 याजुषाय हे वृत्ती दत्ते हि सूरये ॥ अत्रिगो[207]त्रेण विश्वेशपुत्रेणर्वेदशास्त्रिणा । नृसिंहनप्ता  
 हरिणा विभं वृत्ति[208]त्रयं मुदा ॥ अथ शांडिन्यजे सामवेदे गोपालभट्टजे ।  
 श्रीमत्सांबशिवे वृ[209]त्तिद्वयार्थादौ नन्द राट् ॥ वृत्तीश्वतस्तः श्रीरामभट्टजाय समर्पयत् ।  
 [210]श्रीमान् हरिहरो वेदद्वयशास्त्रविदे नृपः । आश्वलायनवर्याय वैश्व[211]मित्राय विष्णवे ॥  
 ईश्वराख्यं च मौद्गल्यं बह्वृचं रामभट्टं । ब्रह्माभट्टस्य [212]नप्तारं प्रामुवन्वृत्तयस्त्रिकाः ॥ पौत्रो

<sup>10</sup> The second side of the fifth plate commences with this letter,—'vā.'

बेनकिभट्टस्य लोकनाथसुतो बु[219]धः । काश्यपो बहृचो विश्वनाथो वृत्तिमिहाश्रुते ॥ पौत्रो  
 माधवभट्ट[214]स्य कृष्णभट्टसुतो महान् । आत्रेयः सामगः काशिभट्टो वृत्तित्रयं ययौ ॥  
 [215]तस्यानुजो वेदशास्त्रविख्यातो वृत्तिमाप्तवान् । श्रीनृसिंहः क्रियास[216]क्तो माननीयो  
 मनस्विनां ॥ काशिभट्टसुतो रामभट्टपौत्रस्तु कौत्सजः ॥ या[217]जुषः कृष्णभट्टाख्यो  
 वृत्तिद्वयमिहाश्रुते ॥ वीरेशभट्टपौत्रः श्रीभार[218]द्वाजो पि बहृचः । अश्वत्थभट्टजः  
 पुट्टिभट्टो वृत्तिमिहाश्रुते ॥ वत्सराज[219]सुतो राम(मः) सोमयाजी महामतिः । काण्वो  
 बहृचवर्यं(र्यः) श्रीयुगवृत्तित्रयमश्रु[220]ते ॥ लिंगाभट्टात्मजो वामभट्टो बै(वै)दो पि याजुषः ।  
 वेदशास्त्रविदा[221]प्रोति द्वे वृत्ती बहुशेषिः ॥ लक्ष्मीलिंगप्रपौत्रो सौ सरस्वत्याख्यभट्टजः ॥  
 [222]कौशिको बहृचो नारसिंहो वृत्तिद्वयं ययौ ॥ दुंढिभट्टसुतो यक्क[223]ना<sup>1</sup>थभट्टः  
 कुशाग्रधीः ॥ गौतमो याजुष(षः) श्रौती वृत्तिद्वयमिहाश्रुते ॥ [224]तिमाभट्टसुतः शेषिभट्टो  
 वेदांतपारगः । काश्यपो याजुषो वृत्तित्रय[225]माप्रोति संसुधीः ॥ काण्व औभलभट्टस्य  
 पौत्रो नारायणात्मजः । लक्ष्मी[226]पतिर्बहृचो त्र विद्वांन् वृत्तित्रयं ययौ ॥ विज्ञानेश्वरभट्टस्य  
 नसा कात्या[227]यनो बुधः । कामदेवात्मजो विष्णुवृद्धान्वय उमापतिः ।  
 वृत्तित्रयं समा[228]प्रोति वेदशास्त्रविशारदः ॥ श्रीविरूपाक्षभट्टस्य पुत्रो नारायणः सु[229]धीः ।  
 आश्वलायनसूत्र(त्रः) श्रीवत्सगोत्रो द्विजाग्रणीः । वृत्तिद्वयमिहाप्रो[230]ति श्रौतस्मार्तक्रियापरः ॥

<sup>1</sup> The first side of the sixth plate commences with this letter, — 'n&.'



\* श्रीनारसिंहभट्टस्य पौत्रः सामविदग्र[231]णीः । वैश्वामित्रः कृष्णभट्टतनयो विनयान्वितः ।  
 वेदशास्त्रप्रवक्तात्र ति[232]स्त्रो वृत्तीः समश्रुते ॥ रामकृष्णस्य नमस्तरुग्वेदिनमुमापति । तिर्मलाख्यसु[233]तं  
 रामभट्टमाकार्य दत्तवान् । राजा भरद्वाजवंश्यं वृत्तिद्वयमुदारधीः ॥ [234]अनेकवेदेषु  
 कृताधिकारी गार्ग्यान्वयो बहुचरामभट्टः । श्रीवैकटाख्य[235]स्य सुतो मनीषी वृत्तित्रयं प्राप  
 शिवाख्यपौत्रः ॥ सामगोत्रकुलभूष[236]णो महादेवभट्टतनयो विपश्चितां । अग्रणीर्नृहरिभट्ट  
 आपतद्वृत्तिर्पंच[237]कमनंतवेदवित् ॥ याजुषो मुनिपराशरान्वयो देवणार्थतनयो बहुश्रु[238]तः ।  
 अच्युतात्मजसुतो विनायको द्वे इहाप बहुविच्च वृत्तिके ॥ महादेव[239]भट्टात्मजो याजुषः  
 श्रीनिवासाख्यपौत्रो न्वयः काश्यपस्य । हिर[240]ण्याक्षभट्टो पि वृत्ती इहामोत्सदाचारनिष्ठः  
 स्ववेदार्थविच्च ॥ श्रीः ॥ [241]अथ श्रीजंतलाग्रामभूमिबीजानि खारिकाः । दशैव  
 वृत्तय[242]स्वत्र चत्वारिंशदुदीक्षिताः ॥ दश वृत्तीः सम्मणार्थयजमान इहाश्रु[243]ते । तत्र  
 नारायणादीनां पूजार्थं वृत्तिरर्पिता ॥ आत्मजो नरसिंहस्य भ[244]रद्वाजान्वयो बुधः ।  
 अप्पाभट्टस्य नसात्र बहुचो वेदपारगः । श्रीमहर्षि[245]गणभट्टाख्यो वृत्तित्रयमिहाश्रुते ॥  
 गौतमान्वय इहाश्वलायनो [246]वेदपुरुषसुतो विनायकः । वेदशास्त्रपरिशीलनो निशं वृत्तिर्पंच[247]क-  
 मियन्ति यज्ञकृत् ॥ कौण्डिन्यगोत्रो हरिभट्टपौत्रो वीरेशपुत्रो बहु[248]वेदशास्त्रः । वृत्तीश्वतस्त्रो  
 लभते पवित्रः कातीयसूत्रो हनुमान् द्विजैः ॥ [249]वैकटाद्रितनयो त्रिगोत्रजो बहुचः  
 कमलनाभजात्मजः । भास्करो ल[250]भ<sup>०</sup>त वेदशास्त्रविद्वृत्तिक्रात्रयमनल्पशेमुषिः ॥ भारद्वाजः

<sup>०</sup> The second side of the sixth plate commences with this letter,—' bha.'

सांख्यसूत्रः [251]कर्वीद्रो रामाभट्टस्यात्मजो विष्णुपौत्रः । वेदे शास्त्रे त्यंतनिष्ठः क्रि[252]यासु हे  
 वृत्तीः(त्ती) श्रीरंगभट्टः समाप ॥ हरितकुलवरिष्ठस्तैत्तिरीयो नृ[253]सिंहाभिधसुत इह वृत्तीः  
 प्राप तिस्रो बुधाग्र्यः । हरिहरसुतसूनुः [254]श्रीनिवासो द्विजैद्रः सततमभिरतः श्रीवेदशास्त्रक्रियासु ॥  
 वसिष्ठ[255]गोत्रो वसुदेवपुत्रो मुरारिभट्टो नरसिंहपौत्रः । ऋग्वेदपाठी बहुशा[256]स्त्रवादी  
 वृत्तिद्वयं प्राप सदार्यवृत्तः । तस्यानुजातः कनकाद्रिभट्टो [257]वृत्तिद्वयं प्राप सुपंडिताग्र्यः ॥  
 रामाभट्टस्यात्मजो याबणाख्यः शांडि[258]ल्यो सौ याजुषो वृत्तिमाप । तस्य ज्यायान्वृत्तिमेकामवाप  
 भ्राता श्री[259]ती वेदशास्त्रार्थवेत्ता ॥ सुधीर्बहूचो गौतमो यायजूको नरैद्रप्रपूज्यो नृ[260]सिंहैद्रभट्टः ।  
 कुमारो महादेवभट्टस्य वेदेष्वनेकेषु शास्त्रेषु यः सु[261]प्रवक्ता । तमाह्वय वृत्तित्रयं प्रीतिपूर्व  
 ददौ सार्वभौमो पि विप्रोत्तमाय ॥ [262]अथ श्रीशिरडूरोर्भूबीजसंख्या तु खारिकाः ।  
 तिस्रो द्वादशसंख्या[263]का वृत्तयः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ यजमानः संमणार्यो वृत्तित्रयमिहा[264]श्रुते ।  
 अकलेभट्ट औचथ्यस्तिप्पाभट्टसुतः सुधीः [1] बहूचो वेदपा[265]रीणो वृत्तित्रयमिहाश्रुते ॥  
 अग्मणभट्टसूनुः श्रीतिम्मणो बहू[266]चाग्रणीः । पौतिमाषो वेदशास्त्रविद्वृत्तित्रयमश्रुते । तस्य  
 सूनर्महा[267]बुद्धिर्वीरेशो वृत्तिमश्रुते ॥ श्रीमद्विरण्यभट्टस्य पुत्रो नारायणो बु[268]धः ।  
 बहूचः कपिसंतानो वृत्तिं प्राप द्विजोत्तमः ॥ अथ उंबलभूबीज[269]मानं सप्तैव खारिकाः ।  
 वृत्तयो षाड्विंशतिश्च तत्र(च्च)तुर्थांशसंभवाः । स[270]प्त वृत्तीः सम्मणार्ययजमानः समश्रुते । तत्र  
 रामेश्वरादीनां पूजा[271]र्थं वृत्तिरर्पिता ॥ कात्यायनः शेषिभट्टः सूरिभट्टस्य नंदनः । शालं[272]कायनजो

विद्वान् वृत्तित्रयमिहाश्रुते ॥ पाराशरो विष्णुसुतो मनीषी<sup>21</sup> [273]नागेशभद्रात्मजसूनुरग्ये [1] वेदे  
 स्वधीती(ता) शिवरामभद्रो वृत्तिद्वयं प्रा[प<sup>22</sup>][274]दनस्यबुद्धिः ॥ नारायणो गौतमजो गणेशसूनुर्यजु-  
 वैदविदा[275]प वृत्ती । तस्यात्मजो वैकटिरेति वृत्तिं शास्त्रे स्ववेदे क्षरशः प्रव[276]क्ता<sup>23</sup> ॥  
 यास्को यजुर्वेदविदितिभट्टपौत्रो नृसिंहस्य सुतो विपश्चित् । ज्यो[277]तीशभद्रो लभते चतस्रो  
 वृत्तीर्मुहूर्तज्ञविदाः गरिष्ठः । तस्यनुजो वेद[278]विदग्रगण्यो रामो मुदा वृत्तिमवाप राज्ञः ॥  
 जैमिनिगोत्रः सामविदग्र्यो [279]वामनपुत्रः सोमणभद्रः । प्राप स वृत्ती तापसवृत्तिस्तस्सुतसूरिवृत्तिम[280]विदत् ॥  
 रैभो यजुर्वेदविदितिभट्टनसा मुरारस्तनयो नवद्यः । वृत्तिद्वयं प्रा[281]प जनार्दनाख्यः समस्तशा-  
 स्त्रप्रसृतोपलब्धिः ॥ लक्ष्मणाख्यसुतसू[282]नुरंगणो माधवस्य तनयो पि बह्वृचः । बार्हदुक्थ  
 इह विदते इके वृत्तिके श्रु[283]तिविदुत्तमो द्विजः ॥ श्रीः ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णगिल्हालुग्रामभूबीजसं-  
 मि[284]तिः । सप्त खार्यो वृत्तयो षाड्विंशतिः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ सप्त वृत्तीः सम्मणा[285]र्ययजमान  
 इहाश्रुते । तत्र नारायणादीनां पूजार्थं वृत्तिरर्पिता ॥ कोने[286]रिभट्टस्य पौत्रो बह्वृचश्चाप्यमर्षणः ।  
 बालकृष्ण इहामोति वृत्तिं राष[287]वभट्टजः ॥ पौत्रो लक्ष्मणभट्टस्य याजुषो हरितान्वयः ।  
 मल्हारिभ[288]ट्टजो रामभट्टो वृत्ती इहाश्रुते ॥ अनंतभट्टतनयो गौतमभट्टो पि गौतमः ।  
 ब[289]ह्वृचश्चंद्रभट्टस्य नसा वृत्ती इहाश्रुते ॥ अकालेभट्टपौत्रो यमप्याभट्ट[290]स्य नंदनः । आगस्त्यो

<sup>21</sup> This letter,—‘shi’,—was omitted at first in the original, and is inserted between the lines under ‘ni.’

<sup>22</sup> This letter,—‘pa’,—is omitted in the original.

<sup>23</sup> The first side of the seventh plate commences with this letter,—‘ktā.’

याजुषो वैकिभट्टो वृत्ती इहाश्रुते ॥ श्रीनाथ[291]भट्टपौत्रः श्रीवैश्वामित्रश्च सामगः ।  
अंगिभट्टसुतो नारिभट्टो वृ[292]त्ती इहाश्रुते ॥ पौत्रो यादवभट्टस्य चक्रपाणिमुतः  
सुधीः । शेषिकृष्णो [293]गौतमः श्रीयाजुषो वृत्तिमश्रुते ॥ अंगिभट्टमपौत्राय  
सौनिभट्टस्य सू[294]नवे । वृत्तिं ददौ काश्यपाय शंभवे सामगाय राट् ॥  
काण्वः कात्यायनो [295]विश्वनाथभट्टाख्यसूनजः । नारायणसुतस्तिम्मभट्टो वृत्ती इहाश्रुते [11]  
श्री[296]मच्छेषाद्रिभट्टात्मजसुतनरशिंभट्टसंभूतकाशीनाथो वेदार्थवेत्ता श्रु[297]तिविहितरतः काश्यपो  
याजुषो सौ । वृत्तीस्तिस्त्रः समृच्छत्यथ तदनुज[298]जः श्रीनृसिंहः समाप वृत्तिं वेदं  
च शास्त्रं विषदिषुरनिशं भूसुराग्र्यः [299]सभासु ॥ बहुचः कुशिकगोत्र ईश्वरो  
वामनाभिधसुतस्तु कोविदः ॥(1) [300]सूरिभट्टसुतसूनुरश्रुते वृत्तिकाद्वयमनल्पशेषुषिः ॥ गोविंदनसा  
श्रुत[301]वैत्तिरीयः सूनुर्यकुंदस्य हरिस्तु वात्सः । वृत्तिं समाप्नोति विपश्चिदी[302]ज्यो  
ज्योतिर्विदाभोगकृदुत्तम(मः) श्रीः ॥ कलसापुरभूजीजमितः सार्द्धा हि [303]खारिका । षडुत्तयश्च  
तत्रापि चतुर्थीशतया मता । सार्द्धा वृत्तिं संम[304]णा<sup>२२</sup>र्ययजमान इहाश्रुते । तत्र  
रामेश्व[305]रा<sup>२३</sup>यर्थे पादवृत्तिः समर्पिता ॥ यज्ञेशभट्टनत्तात्र नरशिंभट्टनंदनः । [306]लक्ष्मीनारायणो  
विद्वान् याजुषः कौत्ससंततिः । वेदपारायणास[307]क्तो निशं वृत्ती समश्रुते ॥  
मैलारभट्टो हरिलिंगपुत्रो नया मुरारेर्बहु[308]शास्त्रवेत्ता । सपादवृत्तिं समवाप विद्वान्

<sup>२२</sup> This line covers little more than half the breadth of the plate.

<sup>२३</sup> The second side of the seventh plate commences with this letter,—‘ra.’

सामश्रुती रौहिणगोत्रजा[३०९]तः ॥ आग्निवेश्यगोत्र आश्वलायनो माधवात्मसंभवः कुशाग्रधीः [१]  
 [३१०]श्रीनिवासपंडिताग्रणीरिह माप वृत्तिमुत्तमो महात्मनां ॥ यलेशि[३११]रूरुभूबीजमितिः खारी  
 निगद्यते । चतस्रो वृत्तयो त्रापि चतुर्थांशत[३१२]या मतां । एकां वृत्तिं सम्मणायौ  
 यजमान इहाश्रुते । तत्र शंकरना[३१३]रायणार्चार्थं पादवृत्तिका ॥ कृष्णभट्टसुतः काण्वो  
 गुरुनाथो त्र बहू[३१४]चः । सपादवृत्तिमाप्नोति नसा वीरेश्वरस्य च ॥ कात्यायनो  
 मुद्रलगो[३१५]त्रसंभवः शेषाद्रिसूनुर्मतिमद्बुधाग्रणीः । सार्धां च वृत्तिं समवाप  
 [३१६]भूसुरश्रितामणिश्वंद्रजसूनुरुत्तमः ॥ नवल्लेखाभूमिबीजमितिः [३१७]प्रोक्तार्धखारि च । द्वे वृत्ती  
 तत्र सम्णायः पादवृत्तिं समश्रुते ॥ वृत्तिद्वयं पाद[३१८]हीनं याजुषः काश्यपान्वयः ।  
 नृसिंहपौत्रो नागेशसूनु रामः समश्रु[३१९]ते ॥ पापनाशीभूमिबीजमितिः प्रोक्तार्धखारि च ।  
 द्वे वृत्ती यजमानस्तु पा[३२०]दवृत्तिमिहाश्रुते ॥ अत्रापि रामभट्टो सौ वृत्तेः पादं  
 समश्रुते । लोहिताक्षो [३२१]बहूचः श्रीविश्वनाथसुतः सुधीः ॥ कूशिभट्टो वेदपाठी वृत्तिं  
 सार्धां सम[३२२]श्रुते ॥ सोमन्कट्टाभूमिबीजमितिः प्रोक्तार्धखारि च । द्वे वृत्ती संमणा-  
 [३२३]चार्यः पादवृत्तिमिहाश्रुते । तत्र सोमेशपूजार्थं वृत्तेरंशो षट्मो मतः ॥ बहू[३२४]चो  
 दैर्घतमसो विष्णुसूनुरुमापतेः । नसा श्रीकाशिभट्टो सौ वेदशास्त्र[३२५]विचारदः । अष्टमांशाधिकां  
 सार्द्धवृत्तिमाप्नोति संसुधीः ॥ डोणीभू[३२६]बीजमानं तु सार्द्धां खारी च वृत्तयः । षट्  
 सार्द्धां वृत्तिमेत्यत्र यजमानाख्य[३२७]सम्मणः । अत्र सपैशापूजार्थं पादवृत्तिः समर्पिता ॥

वासिष्ठीयो बह्वृचो वे[328]दशास्त्री रामाभट्टो नन्दनो विष्णुमूर्तैः । नसा सोमाभट्टसुरेस्तपस्वा  
 [329]तिस्त्रो वृत्तीरश्रुते भूसुरेन्द्रः ॥ विरूपाक्षभट्टात्मजो यायजु(जू)को गणेशो म[330]हान्  
 बह्वृचः कौशिकोत्थः । नृसिंहाख्यनसा मनस्वी धरित्रीसुरेन्द्रः स[331]पादामिहाप्रोति वृत्तिं ॥  
 किरुङ्गेरीभूमिबीजप्रमाणं सार्धंखारिका । ष[332]डुत्तयः सम्मणार्ययजमान इहापि च ।  
 सार्द्धं वृत्तिं समाप्रोति चतुर्थी[333]श<sup>२६</sup>तया मतां ॥ अंगाजिभट्टस्य सुतः सुकाण्वः कात्यायनः  
 सोमना<sup>२७</sup>[334]थो विशिष्टः । नसा मुरारोरेह वृत्तिके ह्ये समश्रुते  
 पंडितमाननीयः [॥] अ[335]भ्यात्मविद्यो बृहदुक्थगोत्रः सामश्रुतिः कृष्णसुतो विपश्चित् ।  
 पौत्रो [336]गणेशस्य च सूरिभट्टः सार्द्धं ह्येके लभते<sup>२८</sup> वृत्तिके श्रीः ॥  
 तुर्चेहालोर्भूमि[337]बीजमितिः पादोनखारिका । तिस्त्रो वृत्तय इत्यत्र चतुर्थीशतया  
 मतां [॥] [338]पादोनवृत्तिं सम्मणयजमानः समश्रुते । कलिनाथस्य पूजार्थं पाद[339]वृत्तिः  
 समर्पिता ॥ वैश्वामित्रो याजुषो वैकिभट्टः कोनेर्याख्यस्यात्मजो [340]ज्योतिषज्ञः । नसा  
 तिम्माभट्टसुरेरेह ह्ये वृत्ती विद्वान् विदते शो(श्रो)त्रियाद्यः ॥ [341]नागावीभूमिबीजानि सपादखारिका  
 मता । वृत्तयः पंच तत्रापि चतुर्थीशत[342]या मतां । सपादां वृत्तिमाप्रोति  
 यजमानाख्यसम्मणः । सोमेश्वरादिपु[343]जार्थं पादवृत्तिः समर्पिता ॥ गार्ग्यान्वयो याजुषतिम्भट्ट-

<sup>२६</sup> The first side of the eighth plate commences with this letter,—‘*śa*’

<sup>२७</sup> The metre is violated here.

<sup>२८</sup> Here also the metre is violated.

सूनुर्मुंरारिः<sup>[३४४]</sup>नरसिंहपौत्रः । शास्त्रद्वये पाठयिता स्ववेदे सार्द्धं च वृत्तित्रयमाप सूरिः ॥  
<sup>[३४५]</sup>बेल्घडीभूबीजमितिः पादोना खारिका मता । तिखो वृत्तय इत्यत्र चतुर्था<sup>[३४६]</sup>शतया  
 मता । पादोनवृत्तिं सम्णार्ययजमानः समश्नुते । तत्र सोमेशपूजा<sup>[३४७]</sup>र्थं पादवृत्तिः  
 समर्पिता ॥ गाविष्ठिरो बह्वृचः श्रीनिवासः शेषाद्याख्यस्या<sup>[३४८]</sup>त्मजो वेदशास्त्री । नसा  
 कौडाख्यस्य सूरेरिह द्वे वृत्ती श्रौती विदते धर्मवृ<sup>[३४९]</sup>त्तिः ॥ नवापुरस्य भूबीजप्रमाणं  
 त्वर्धेखारि च । द्वे वृत्ती सम्णोचार्यः पाद<sup>[३५०]</sup>वृत्तिमिहाश्नुते । तत्र कल्पेशपूजार्थं वृत्तेरंशो  
 ष्टमो मतः ॥ वैद्यनाथसुत<sup>[३५१]</sup>सामगौभलाख्यात्मजो हरितवंशजः सुधीः । विट्ठलः श्रुतिविदां वामि(रि)-  
 ष <sup>[३५२]</sup>एत्यष्टमांशयुतसार्धवृत्तिकां ॥ शिरवल्भूमिवीजानि पादोना खारि<sup>[३५३]</sup>का मता । तिखो  
 वृत्तय इत्यत्र चतुर्थाशतया मतां । पादोनवृत्तिं सम्णयज<sup>[३५४]</sup>मानः समश्नुते । कलिनाथस्य  
 पूजार्थं वृत्तेरंशो ष्टमो मतः ॥ कात्यायनः कौशि<sup>[३५५]</sup>कोत्यो भानिभट्टसुतात्मजः ।  
 कृष्णभट्टसुतो विश्वनाथो वृत्ती इहाश्नुते । तद्गु<sup>[३५६]</sup>नीयस्य रामस्य वृत्तेरंशो ष्टमो मतः ॥  
 शिरहुंजीभूमिवीजमितिः खारी नि<sup>[३५७]</sup>गद्यते । चतखो वृत्तयो वृत्तिं सम्णार्य इहाश्नुते ।  
 कलिनाथादिपूजार्थं पादवृत्तिः समर्पि<sup>[३५८]</sup>ता ॥ श्रीकालिभट्टसुतसूनुरुदग्रवेदशास्त्रक्रियापारिचयो हरिभट्टपुत्रः ।  
 बौ<sup>[३५९]</sup>धायनः कुशिकगोत्र उपेन्द्रशास्त्री वृत्तीश्च पादरहिताः समवाप तिखः ॥  
 श्रीः ॥ <sup>[३६०]</sup>कित्तरुभूबीजमितिर्द्वै खार्यौ चाष्टवृत्तयः । द्वे वृत्ती सम्णोचार्य-  
 यजमान इ<sup>[३६१]</sup>हाश्नुते । तत्र रामेशपूजार्थमर्धवृत्तिः समर्पिता ॥ बह्वृचो बनदिभट्ट-

नद[३६२]नो बिष्टिभट्टसुतसूनुरत्रिजः । तिमभट्ट इह वृत्तिके द्वके प्राप वेदशि[३६३]ख<sup>१०</sup>रार्थलमर्धीः ॥  
 काशीनाथः काश्यपो याजुषः श्रीनामाभट्टस्यात्मजो [३६४]मुद्रलस्य । नसा वृत्ती द्वे इहामोति  
 विद्वान् पारावारीणो हि शास्त्रत्र[३६५]याब्धेः ॥ सांख्यायनः संणिभट्टनमाध्वरविचक्षणः ।  
 तमिमभट्ट[३६६]सुतः कामाभट्टः पैंगान्वयः सुधीः । सार्द्धवृत्तिमिहामोति स्वा[३६७]ध्यायनिरतः सदा ॥  
 मदनूरुग्रामभूमिबीजमानं तु खारिकाः । तिखो [३६८]द्वादशसंख्याता वृत्तयश्चात्र सम्मणः ।  
 यजमानः समामोति [३६९]तिखो वृत्तीर्द्विजाग्रणीः । कलिनाथादिपूजार्थं वृत्तिरेका समर्पि[३७०]ता ॥  
 कात्यायनो हरितगोत्र उमापतिः श्रीचौडेशसुनुरलीप[३७१]तिपौत्र आप । वृत्तिद्वयं तदनुजो  
 बहुवेदशास्त्री वृत्तिं समापदिह [३७२]चैव चिदंबराख्यः ॥ गालवान्वयविनायकात्मजो याजुषो  
 हनुम[३७३]दाख्यसूनुजः । श्रीपतिः समनुविंदते द्वके वृत्तिके विदितवैदिका[३७४]यनः ॥ गोपालाख्यः  
 सामवेदी वसिष्ठश्छायाभट्टस्यात्मजो वि[३७५]हृदग्र्यः । नसा मीनाक्षीशभट्टस्य चामोत्तिखो वृत्ती  
 राजपूज्यो [३७६]द्विजेंद्रः ॥ शाकवाटीभूमिबीजमितिः खारी निरीक्षिता । चतखो वृत्त[३७७]यो  
 त्रापि चतुर्थीशतया मतां । वृत्तिं श्रीसम्मणाचार्ययजमानो [३७८]श्रुते सुधीः ॥ श्रीमद्विरूपाक्ष-  
 सुतो नृसिंहपौत्रो भरद्वाजकु[३७९]लो विपश्चित् । पादोनवृत्तित्रयमत्र लेभे नारायणो बहुच  
 उत्त[३८०]मश्रीः ॥ एवं मुदा हरिहराख्यनृपेण पूर्वं ग्रामेषु वृत्तिविनि[३८१]योजनपूर्वकं तु ।  
 मत्तेषु देशलिखनाय म(द)दुर्द्विजेंद्राः प्रत्य[३८२]ग्रहारमपि सम्मणसूरये स्मै ॥ इति जगति

<sup>१०</sup> The second side of the eighth plate commences with this letter,—‘kha.’



विचित्रं कृत्यमा[३८३]धाय पूर्वं हरिहरनरपालो राजदेवद्विजार्थं [१] अलभत कृ[३८४]तकृत्यः  
 कीर्तिलक्ष्मीं चिकीर्षुस्त्वधिगतपरमार्थौ मोक्षल[३८६]क्ष्मीं मुमुक्षुः ॥ दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाच्छ्रेयो  
 नुपालनं । दाना[३८७]त् स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ॥ स्वदत्ताद्भिगुणं पुण्यं  
 [३८७]परदत्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भ[३८८]वे<sup>००</sup>त् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां  
 वा यो हरेच्च वसुंधरां । षष्टिर्व(व)र्षसह[३८९]स्त्राणां(णि) विष्टायां जायते कृमिः ॥  
 एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वै[३९०]षामपि भूभुजां । न भोग्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता  
 वसुंधरा ॥ [३९१]सामान्यो यं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो [३९२]भवद्भिः ।  
 सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवैद्रान् भूयो मूयो [३९३]याचते रामचंद्रः ॥ श्रीविष्णुसंस्कृतं ॥

३० The inner side of the ninth plate commences with this letter,— 'vê.

## No. II.

Reverence to Śrī-Gaṇéśa ! Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri*, &c. ! May the tusk of Hari, who assumed the form of a boar, preserve you &c. ! May that lustre<sup>1</sup>,—which dispels the darkness of obstacles ; which, though it is an elephant, was born from no female elephant<sup>2</sup> ; and which is worshipped even by Hari,—be favourable to you ! May the god Śrī-Virûpâkshadêva, the lord of the three worlds,—who, for the sake of a dwelling among mankind, took up his abode on the king of mountains, Hêmakûṭa ; who, though he is attainable only at the end of the duration (of life), has granted the favour of the manifestation of himself through his tenderness for mankind ; and who, though he reduced Love to a mere name<sup>3</sup>, ever grants all desires,—confer prosperity (upon all) in the world !

Vigilant is the race of the heroes who are the offspring of Yadu,—renowned for its beauty, the means of purification of the earth, the charming abiding-place of the great, the exalted house of the birth of all virtues.

The king Śrī-Saṅgama adorned that lineage with his virtue, just as the glorious time of spring alone, with its bursting forth of blossoms, adorns the assemblage of the seasons. At Râmêśvara and many other places abounding in various holy deeds, he, with joyful heart, surrounded by learned men, repeatedly gave according to due rite the sixteen great gifts, thus redoubling his fame, which, already manifest, was sung by the inhabitants of the three worlds. Having straightway bound (with a bridge) the Kâvêri, which flowed with a copious torrent, and having crossed over it,—having with the strength of his arm captured alive in war his enemy and his kingdom,—having made subject to himself that city (the name of) which is 'Pattana' preceded by 'Śrīraṅga'<sup>4</sup>,—and having set up the pillars of his fame,—he was glorious, having his achievements praised by the beings of the three worlds. Having conquered Chêra and Chôla and Pânḍya, the proud

<sup>1</sup> Gaṇéśa or Gaṇapati, who has the head of an elephant, the son of Śiva and Pârvatî.

<sup>2</sup> There is a play on words in the double analysis of 'agajôdbhûta',—1 'a-gajâ-udbhûta', not born from a female elephant ; 2, 'aga-jâ-udbhûta', born from (Pârvatî) the daughter of the mountain (Himâlaya).

<sup>3</sup> When Kâmadêva, the god of love, attempted to inspire Śiva with passion for Pârvatî, he was reduced to ashes by the flame of the eye in Śiva's forehead.

<sup>4</sup> i. e., Śrīraṅgapattana, —Seringapatam.

lord of Madhurâ, the fierce valorous Turushka, the king Gajapati, and others too,—and being renowned from the banks of the Ganges to Lañkā, and from the mountain of the east to the mountain of the west,—he spread forth his commands, as if they were garlands on the heads of the rulers of the earth. The other rivers, having for their waves the rut that flowed forth from the fissures in the temples of his troops of elephants, imitated the Kalindajā without intermission in all directions.

His two sons were king Harihara and king Bukka, as if Rôhiṇéya<sup>5</sup> and Kṛishṇa had come again to protect the earth. Then king Harihara, the elder brother of king Bukka, who conquered the hostile kings, ruled the earth; and the rulers of mankind did service to him, ever fulfilling his commands, (which they bore), as if they were garlands, on their heads. When his splendour,—which (like that of the sun) caused trouble to the mass of snow, which was the lusty descendants of Manu<sup>6</sup>, on the earth, which was the mountain of frost,—was only introduced as a topic by any who, acquainted with accurate knowledge, are of importance in assemblies, straightway the minds of the learned felt a disinclination to enumerate previous kings.

Then his younger brother, the king Śrī-Bukka, renowned in the world, glorious as Purañdara<sup>7</sup>, inhabited the city that bore the name of Vijaya<sup>8</sup>, just as Mukunda<sup>9</sup> inhabited the charming Dvâravatī.<sup>10</sup> The king Śrī-Bukka ruled the earth as if he were Murântaka<sup>11</sup>,—being possessed of wealth, as *he* is of the goddess Lakshmi; being, equally with *him*, the pearl of the heroes of the race of Yadu; destroying the rising mighty ones, as *he* destroyed the rising (demon) Bali; ever wholly engrossed in protecting the assemblage of good people, as *he* is ever wholly engrossed in dwelling in the excellent Vṛindâvana; the protector of those who delight in truth, as he is fondly attached to Satyâ<sup>12</sup>; having the auspicious form of his power expanding all around, as *he* has the form of Balabhadra<sup>13</sup>; mighty in exterminat-

<sup>5</sup> Balarâma, the half-brother of Kṛishṇa.

<sup>6</sup> The first man, the father of the human race.

<sup>7</sup> 'The destroyer of cities',—Indra.

<sup>8</sup> *i.e.*, Vijayanagara.

<sup>9</sup> Vishṇu, *i.e.* Kṛishṇa.

<sup>10</sup> 'The city with many gates',—the capital of Kṛishṇa in Gujarât, supposed to have been submerged by the sea.

<sup>11</sup> 'The slayer of (the demon) Mura',—Vishṇu.

<sup>12</sup> An epithet of Sitâ, the wife of (Vishṇu in his incarnation as) Râma.

<sup>13</sup> Balarâma, one of the incarnations of Vishṇu.

ing kings, as he is in uprooting mountains. The earth itself, scorched amid the hoods of the serpent<sup>14</sup> hot with venom, and ever longing for another comfort-giving place, enjoyed uninterrupted happiness when it betook itself to the unequalled tree of paradise, which was his arm, of luxuriant growth, and possessed of a surrounding circle of shade. He, the brave king Śrī-Bukka,—seated on a jewelled throne in the city of Vijayanagara; eclipsing with his fame Nṛiga and Nala and Nahusha and others (who have lived) on the earth, praised by Brāhmanas from the Bridge (of Rāma)<sup>15</sup> to Sumêru; and inclining all hearts to himself from the mountain of dawn to the mountain of the west,—ruled the kingdom. Methinks it was through fear lest everything should acquire an identity of radiance from his glory which was spread all around, that in former times Purâri<sup>16</sup> wore a (third) eye in his forehead (for a distinguishing mark), and the Lotus-eyed<sup>17</sup> became Four-armed, and the Lotus-born<sup>18</sup> became Four-faced, and Kâlî<sup>19</sup> took a sword into her hand, and Ramâ<sup>20</sup> a lotus, and Vâṇî<sup>21</sup> a lute. Having, with the clouds of dust of the earth which was ground into atoms by the horses of his numerous armies, dried up the seven oceans, in anger because they gave refuge to his enemies, of his own accord he created new oceans to replace them by the immeasurable waters of his great charities, the chief of which were the Brahmāṇḍa<sup>22</sup> and the golden Méru. Again and again, for the sake of supreme happiness, at Kāñchî and Śrîsâila, at Śônâchala, and Kanakasabhâ, and Veñkaṭâdri, and all other temples and sacred places, he performed according to due rite those many charities, commencing with gifts of gold weighed out against men, which, together with all propitiatory offerings, are prescribed by tradition.

From that same king Bukka there was born the glorious king Harihara, entitled to praise on account of his accomplishments; just as the moon, worthy to be praised on account of its digits, appeared

<sup>14</sup> Śêsha.

<sup>15</sup> Now known as 'Rāmasêtu' to Hindus and as 'Adam's Bridge' to Europeans.

<sup>16</sup> Śiva,—'the foe of the cities (of the demon).'

<sup>17</sup> Vishṇu.

<sup>18</sup> Brahma, who was born in the lotus which sprang from the navel of Vishṇu.

<sup>19</sup> A name of Pârvatî.

<sup>20</sup> A name of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishṇu.

<sup>21</sup> Sarasvatî, the wife of Brahma.

<sup>22</sup> 'The egg of Brahma',—the mundane egg, the universe.

from the ocean of milk. He, the glorious king, inhabited that same city which had been previously governed by his father, just as Rāghava<sup>23</sup> inhabited Ayōdhyā. The rampart that encompasses it is Hēmakūṭa; the most auspicious Tuṅgabhadrā is the moat that surrounds it; the guardian of it is visibly the god Śrī-Virūpākshadēva, who has allayed the fears of the world; its king is Harihara, the supreme king of kings; how shall Kāñchī, the girdle of the earth, which has the glory of being the branch city (of this city)<sup>24</sup>, be compared with it? The cold-rayed moon, always made full by his attribute of radiance, leaps forth from the ocean of milk which consists of the charities of Harihara the most glorious of kings, which captivates the heart with numbers of pearls which consist of the expanding lustre of his nails, and which has the trees of paradise manifested in the form of the scintillating palms of his hands and covered with the young shoots of his splendour. The vital airs of his enemies, whose minds are perplexed by fear of the luxuriant growth of the creeper which is his sword, are troubled in a wonderful manner. The creeper, which is the scar of the bowstring on his arm, assumes the glory of the flowing rut of the infuriated elephant of valour, fastened to the elephant-post which is his arm. He is ever engrossed in the Itihāsas, the Purāṇas, and other sacred works; his mind is wholly intent upon establishing the customs of the four castes and the four stages of life. Seated on a golden throne, he bestowed many gifts at the shrine of the god Śrī-Virūpākshadēva, at the city of Śrī-Kālahastī, .....<sup>25</sup>, at Venkatādri, and Kāñchī, and Śrīsaila, and Śōṇāsaila, at the great Harihara, at Hombala<sup>26</sup>, and Saṃgama, at Śrīraṅga, and Kumbhakōṇa, and at Mahānandī, that sacred place where the darkness (of sin) is dispelled and eternal happiness (may be attained). The eager sharpness of the edge of the thunderbolt, which was waxing more and more mighty, of him<sup>27</sup> who cut off the wings of the mountains immersed in the ocean which was being dried up by the dust caused by the hoofs of his troops of prancing horses, was blunted by the streams of the waters of his various and numerous great charities, which were performed at

<sup>23</sup> Rāma,—‘the descendant of Raghu.’

<sup>24</sup> The meaning of ‘śākhā-pura-śrīh’ is not quite apparent.

<sup>25</sup> Kālahastī is the place where there is the ‘vāyuliṅga’ of Śiva, or *liṅga* the lamp of which is kept in constant vibration by the wind. The meaning of ‘śiturapi’ or ‘śiburapi’, between ‘Kālahastī’ and ‘nagaré’, is not apparent; the same, with ‘s’ for ‘ś’, occurs in No. III., line 22.

<sup>26</sup> See the reading in the text, line 77, and the footnote below the same.

Gôkarṇa and Râmasêtu and all other sacred places in the world. He fashioned (and bestowed in charity) a (golden) Brahmânda, a (golden) Viśvachakra<sup>28</sup>, a (golden) goblet composed of<sup>29</sup> the (five) elements, a cow made out of jewels, the seven oceans (in gold), two (golden) creepers of the tree of paradise, a golden cow, a golden (figure of the) earth, a golden horse-chariot, the weight of a man (in gold), a thousand cows (of gold), a golden horse, a golden (fabric perforated so as to disclose something within it after the manner of a) foetus, a golden elephant-car, and a (golden) plough. It was probably from a determination that both beggars and rich men should enjoy for a long time the wealth bestowed by him, that, in conquering each country in succession, he set up on the earth pillars which were covered with noble titles, and which were famous, and the summits of which were as lofty as mountains, so as to obstruct the path of the chariot of the sun even up to the abode of the gods. He punished the angry hostile kings; his arms were like the coils of the serpent Śêsha; he was earnest in protecting the world; he was the punisher of kings who broke their promises; he satisfied those who begged of him; he was fierce in battle. Being called 'the supreme king of kings', and being invested with the appropriate titles of 'The supreme lord of kings; the conqueror of the Mûrurâyas<sup>30</sup>; he who is terrible to other kings; he who is a very Sultân<sup>31</sup> among Hindu kings; he who slays the tigers that are wicked people; he who is possessed of brave prowess',—he is served by the kings of Aṅga and Vaṅga and Kaliṅga and other countries, who say, "Look upon us, O great king!; be victorious and live long!" He, king Harihara,—seated on a jewelled throne at the city of Vijayanagara, and possessed of generosity that was worthy to be praised by the learned,—being desirous of making *agrâhâra*-grants<sup>32</sup>, called together the Brâhmanas, and, having increased abundantly the possessions of both beggars and rich men, became illustrious from the mountain of the east to the mountain of

<sup>28</sup> 'A particular kind of large gift or offering consisting of a mass of pure gold',—Prof. Monier Williams' *Sanskrit Dictionary*.

<sup>29</sup> Or, perhaps, 'representing.'

<sup>30</sup> Who the Mûru or Mûru kings were is not apparent. In Prof. Mon. Williams' Dictionary 'Mûru' is given as the name of a country, but with no further specification. In line 8 of a Balagûṇve inscription published by me at page 179 of Vol. IV. of the *Indian Antiquary*, dated Śaka 970 (A.D. 1048-9), the Kādamba Chhivundarîya is called 'Mûrurâyasâsthâna', the translation of which was then given by me, doubtfully, as *he who has three royal halls of audience* (mûru-râya-âsthâna); but I now consider that it should be taken as equivalent to 'Mûrurâyasâsthâpanâchârya', *the establisher of the Mûru kings*.

<sup>31</sup> 'Saratâna' in the text, lines 93-4, is a corruption of 'Sultân.'

<sup>32</sup> 'Agrâhâra',—land or villages given to Brâhmanas for religious purposes.

the setting of the sun, and from the golden mountain to the Bridge.

Śrī! In the year of the Śaka of Śālivāha one thousand three hundred and one, in the year Siddhārthi, on an auspicious day, at the full-moon of the month Jyaisṭha, on Tuesday, at the time of an eclipse of the moon,—in the presence of the god Śrī-Virūpākshadēva, at (the confluence of) the Tuṅga and the Bhadrā,—this same glorious king Harihara,—who was of a generous disposition and very accomplished and intent upon the four objects of human pursuit<sup>33</sup>, and who, through desire to acquire piety, wished to bestow a grant of land upon Brāhmaṇas,—divided into three portions the district of Gadag, which is also called the wealthy Kratupura<sup>34</sup>,—situated in the middle of the country of Śrī-Toragal<sup>35</sup>, which is in the kingdom of Hastināvati<sup>36</sup>, and belonging to the neighbourhood of Śrī-Lakkunḍa<sup>37</sup>, and adorned by sixty-six villages,—and having set apart one portion for the king and the second for the worship of the gods called Tryambakēśa<sup>38</sup> and Viranārāyaṇa at the city of Gadakpura,—and being desirous to make an *agrahāra*-grant of the third portion, which was the best of all,—and having, on looking out for a *Yajamāna*<sup>39</sup>, given the post of *Yajamāna* to Sammaṇāchārya, who was learned in the Vēdas, who performed both Śrauta and Smārta ceremonies, and who was previously the writer<sup>40</sup> of the district of Gadag,—and having with glad heart

<sup>33</sup> Virtue, wealth, pleasure, and final emancipation of the soul.

<sup>34</sup> The full old form of the name of Gadag was Kratakupura; see the Hoysala inscription published by me at pp. 296 *et seqq.* of Vol. II. of the *Indian Antiquary*.

<sup>35</sup> The 'Toragale Six-thousand' of my Dēvagiri-Yēdava inscriptions alluded to in a previous note.

<sup>36</sup> 'Hastināvati' is probably a Sanskrit form of 'Ānēgundi.'

<sup>37</sup> The modern Lakkunḍi in the Gadag Tālukā,—the ancient Lokkigunḍi of the Hoysala inscription referred to above.

<sup>38</sup> Known now, and referred to in the above-mentioned Hoysala inscription, by the name of Trikūṭēśvaradēva.

<sup>39</sup> 'A person who institutes or performs a regular sacrifice and pays the expenses of it.'

<sup>40</sup> The 'Vilēkhi' of this passage, line 112, corresponds to the 'Lēkhaka', *writer, scribe, clerk*, of lines 68 and 74 of No. III., and is further explained by the use in line 133 of No. III.,—the corresponding Canarese passage of the same,—of the word 'Sēnabhōvike', the office of the 'Sēnabhōva', modern 'Sēnabhōga' or 'Sānabhōga', the village-accountant. 'Sēnabhōva', the proper Canarese title of the holder of this office, occurs in l. 15 of No. 39 of Major Dixon's Collection, dated in the year of the Śaka 1015 (A. D. 1183-4), published by me at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 342. The title used in this Presidency, even in the Canarese Districts, is 'Kulakarṇi', of Prākṛit origin; I find the earliest use of it,—'Kulakarāṇi', and also 'Kulakarāṇa',—in an Old Canarese inscription of the Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla, dated Śaka 1071 (A. D. 1149-50), on a stone-tablet broken in two at the temple of the god Rāmalinga at Śirūr, in the Bāgalkōṭi Tālukā of the Kalādgi District.

joyfully done honour to the *Tajamāna* Sammanāchārya, who was versed in the Vēdas,—and being accompanied by many pure and amiable learned men, intent upon both Śrauta and Smārta rites, who were preceded by the *Purōhita*<sup>41</sup>,—and having received the permission of the spiritual preceptor, the holy Kriyāsaktimūrti,—respectfully and joyfully gave, with gifts of gold and libations of water, to Brāhman̄s of many *śākhās* and names and *gōtras*, renowned for their knowledge of the sacred scriptures and learned in the Vēdas together with their subsidiary writings, twenty-two villages, entirely free from assessment<sup>42</sup>, together with their boundaries and buried treasure and stones and whatever has become or may become property (!) and water, and *Akshir̄i*, and that which accrues (!), to be enjoyed in common<sup>43</sup>, together with trees and tanks and wells and pools and their banks, to be enjoyed by sons and sons' sons &c. in succession, as long as the moon and stars may last, and free to be given away, or even to be pawned, or even to be sold.

Now are declared separately the names of the villages of the king, the gods, and the Brāhman̄s.<sup>44</sup> The villages for the king were twenty-two:—Gadagu, which has also the name of the wealthy Kratupura; Battagērī; Harilāpura; the excellent Lakkunḍa; Liūgadhālu; Kaujagērī; Gaṅgāpura; Hirē-Handigolla; Chikka-Handigolla; Bēlhoḍā; Veṅkatāpura; Nāhōlā; Ghṛita-Kurahaṭṭi; Dundūru; Nilagunda; Aḍḍanūru; Yāvagallu; Soratūru; Śīngalarāyanakōri; Nṛīśimpura; Timmāpura; and Maṇakavāḍa,—these are the villages to supply the wants of the king. Next are declared the twenty-two villages of the gods, the holy Tryambakēśa and Nārāyaṇa:—Bellavarnikā; Huyalgolla; Tryambakēśapura; Ballaravāḍaka; Śīśuvinhalli; Ummachige;

<sup>41</sup> The priest who conducts all the ceremonies and sacrifices of a particular family.

<sup>42</sup> '*Sarvamānya*'.—'*Mānya*',—meaning, in the original Sanskrit, *worthy of honour, to be respected*,—came to be applied in the Karnāṭaka country, as shown by inscriptions, so as to mean *lands subject to only a trifling quit-rent, or held altogether free of assessment*, corresponding very closely to the Canarese '*umbali, umbaliḡe*.' That it was thoroughly adopted as a Canarese word in this special sense is shown by the change of the initial 'm' to 'v', by Canarese phonetic rules, in '*ganḍuvānya*', the *rent-free service-land of a village head-man*, which we have had in No. VII. of my Raṭṭa inscriptions (No. XXIX., Vol. X. of this Society's *Journal*), and which corresponds to '*yaḍḍumbali*' of line 117 of No. III. below. The terms '*namasya*' and '*sarvanamasya*', which are of such frequent occurrence in other inscriptions, are now evidently of the same purport as '*mānya*' and '*sarvamānya*' respectively; '*namasya*' having the same meaning as '*mānya*' in the original Sanskrit.

<sup>43</sup> See Note 8 to the translation of No. I.

<sup>44</sup> Most of these names may readily be traced on the Trigonometrical Survey maps in the country surrounding Gadag.



Konkaṇē-Kurahaṭṭikā; Bentūru; Gôpālapura; Asuṇḍi; Malasamu-draka; Bellakikoppa; Bhṛiṅgûdakaṭṭa; Nâgasamudraka; Benakan-koppaka; Hirêkoppa; Chikkoppaka; Śrî-Kadambapura; Hullakôṭā; Sômapura; Hâtalgôri; and Malalêhâlu,—these are the property of the gods. Next are declared the twenty-two villages which were given to the Brâhman̄s:—Hombala; the wealthy Kurtakôṭā; Jantalā; Śiraḍûru; Dambala; Kaṇagilhâlu; Kalsâpura; Yaliśiraḍûru; Javalibeṇchikā; Pāpanāśi; Sômanakaṭṭa; Dôṇi; Kirûḍgiri; Turuchêhâlu; Nâgâvi; Beldhaḍi; Śrî-Navâpura; Śiraval; Śiravuṅja; Kittûru; Madanûruka; and Śâkavâṭi; these are those that are famous by being constituted *Agrahâra*-grants.

In each *Agrahâra* four shares were made by the wise king Harihara, and the apportionment of them was devised thus;—One share was allotted to the *Yajamāna* Sammaṇâchârya, and three shares to the Brâhman̄s; and portions were given to the gods here and there. In this manner three hundred and sixty shares were enumerated in all the villages (of the Brâhman̄s, collectively), and were combined in the *Agrahâras*. Lands fit for sowing Yâvanâla<sup>45</sup> seed, of (the measure of) ninety *khâris*<sup>46</sup>, were distributed as follows over the villages, and the Brâhman̄s, commencing with the *Yajamāna*, who enjoyed allotments, are described according to their *sâkhâs*, their names, their *gôtras*, and their *sûtras*.

(It is unnecessary to translate in full the passage commencing here, line 150, and ending in line 380. The following is in brief the outline of the division. The village of Hombala measured 22 *khâris*, and was divided into 88 allotments; Kurtakôṭā,—23 *khâris*, and 92 allotments; Jantalā,—10 *khâris*, and 40 allotments; Śiraḍûru,—3 *khâris*, and 12 allotments; Dambala,—7 *khâris*, and 28 allotments; Kaṇagilhâlu,—7 *khâris*, and 28 allotments; Kalsâpura or Kalasâpura,—1½ *khâris*, and 6 allotments; Yaliśiraḍûru or Yalesirâru,—1 *khâri*, and 4 allotments; Javalibeṇchikā or Javalbeṇchâ,—½ *khâri* and 2 allotments; Pāpanāśi,—½ *khâri*, and 2 allotments; Sômanakaṭṭa or Sômanakaṭṭa,—½ *khâri*, and 2 allotments; Dôṇi,—1½ *khâris*, and 6 allotments; Kirûḍgiri or Kirûḍgeri,—1½ *khâris*, and 6 allotments; Turuchêhâlu or Turchêhâlu,—¾ *khâri*, and 3 allotments; Nâgâvi,—1½ *khâris*, and 5 allotments; Beldhaḍi,—¾ *khâri*, and 3 allotments;

<sup>45</sup> Barley.

<sup>46</sup> 'Khâri' or 'khârikâ', a grain-measure. 16 *drôṇas* or about 3 bushels, or sometimes 3 *drôṇas*, or sometimes 4 *drôṇas*.

Navâpura,— $\frac{1}{2}$  *khâri*, and 2 allotments ; Śiraval,— $\frac{1}{2}$  *khâri*, and 3 allotments ; Śiravuñja or Śirahuñji,—1 *khâri*, and 4 allotments ; Kittûru,—2 *khâris*, and 8 allotments ; Madanûru,—3 *khâris*, and 12 allotments ; and Śâkavâti,—1 *khâri*, and 4 allotments. Sammañâchârya, Sammañârya, or Samñârya's share was one-quarter in all the villages, with the exception of Javalibeñchikâ, Pâpanâsi, Sômanakaṭṭa, and Navâpura, in each of which it amounted to only one-eighth. The remainder of each village was divided among Brâhmaṇs, whose names, lineage, qualifications, &c., are given in detail, a small portion being usually given to the principal gods of the neighbourhood. The gods, to whom allotments were thus made, are :—At Hombala, Śamkaraliṅga ; at Kurtakôṭâ, Mankôśvari-Nârasimha ; at Jantalâ, Nârâyaṇa and others not specified by name ; at Dambala, Râmêśvara and others ; at Kaṇagilhâlu, Nârâyaṇa and others ; at Kalsâpura, Râmêśvara and others ; at Yaliśiraḍûru, Śamkara-Nârâyaṇa ; at Sômanakaṭṭâ, Sômêśa ; at Dôṇi, Sarpêśa ; at Turuchêhâlu, Kalinâtha ; at Nâgâvi, Sômêśvara and others ; at Beldhaḍi, Sômêśa ; at Navâpura, Kalpêśa ; at Śiraval, Kalinâtha ; at Śiravuñja, Kalinâtha and others ; at Kittûru, Râmêśa ; and at Madanûru, Kalinâtha and others. In line 380 the inscription continues) ;—

In the villages which were thus gladly given by king Harihara, with apportionment of the shares in them, the Brâhmaṇs gave, in each *Agrahâra*, (a certain portion) to the learned Sammaṇa, for doing the writing work of the district.

Having thus performed a wonderful achievement in the world for the sake of kings and the gods and Brâhmaṇs, king Harihara,—who had done that which should be done ; who was desirous of acquiring the goddess of fame ; who had attained the chief object of life ; and who was desirous of final emancipation from worldly existence,—obtained the good fortune of final emancipation.

In (discriminating between) giving a grant and preserving (the grant of another), &c. ! Preserving the grant of another is twice as meritorious as giving a grant oneself ; by confiscating the grant of another one's own grant becomes fruitless ! He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, &c. ! In this world land, that has been given to a Brâhmaṇ, is as a sister, &c. ! "This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you,"—thus does Râmachandra make his earnest request to all future lords of the earth ! Śrî-Virûpâksha !

No. III.

[1]नमस्तुंगशिरश्वुविचंद्रचामरचा[2]रवे [1] त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमु(मू)लस्तंभाय शंभवे ॥ ह-  
 [8]रेलीलावराहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडः स पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा य[4]स्य धात्री च्छत्रश्रियं  
 दधी ॥ कल्याणायास्तु तथा(द्वा)म प्रत्यु(त्यु)हतिमिरापहं [1] [6]यद्भजो प्यगजोद्भु(द्भु)तं  
 हरिणापि च पूज्यते ॥ अस्ति क्षीरमयादे(दे)वैर्मध्यमानान्महांतुधेः । न[6]वनीतमिवोद्भु(द्भु)तमपनीततमो  
 महः ॥ तस्यासीस्त(त्त)नयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्थनामा बुधः [7]पुं(पु)ण्यैरस्य पुरु(रु)रवा(वाः) पुरुभुजैरायुर्द्विषां  
 निमतः । तस्यायोर्नहुषो . स्य तस्य पुरवो युधे(द्वे) ययाति(तिः) [9]क्षितौ ख्यातिस्तस्य  
 रुरु(रु) रुरोर्वसुनिभः श्रीदेवयानीपतिः ॥ तदंशे देवकीजाने(नि)र्दिदीपे तिमभु(भू)[9]पतिः ।  
 यशस्वी तुलुवैद्रेषु यदोः कृष्ण इवान्वये ॥ ततो भु(भू)द्भुक्कमाजानिरीश्वर(रः) क्षितिपालकः ।  
 धा[10]श्रीगुणसमोपेतं मौलिरलं महीभुजां ॥ सरसादुदभु(भू)त्तस्मान्नरसावमि(नि)पालकः । देवकी-  
 [11]नंदनात्कामो देवक्यानंदकादिव<sup>1</sup> ॥ विविधसुकृतोदा(दा)मे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे मुहुर्मुदितहृदय(यः) [12]स्थाने  
 स्थाने व्यधत्त यथाविधिः(धि) । बुधपरिवृतो नानादानादि(नि) यो भुवि षोडश त्रिभुवनजनोद्री-  
 [13]तं स्फीतं यशः पुनरुच्छ्रयन् ॥ कावेरीमाशु बध्वा(द्वा) बहुलतरजलां तां विलंघ्यैव  
 शत्रु(त्रू)न् जीवग्रा[14]हं गृहीत्वा शमितभुजबलां(ला)त्तच(च्च) राज्यं तदीयं । कृत्वा श्रीरंगपु(पु)र्वं

<sup>1</sup> In Plate 1, lines 14-15, of No. 6 of Major Dixon's copper-plate charters, the reading is 'Dēvaki-nāmdanaḥ Kāmō Dēvaki-danād = iva.'

तदनु निजवशं पट(ट्ट)णं यो रिदेशे [15]कीर्तिस्तंभं निधाय त्रिभवनसुजन(नैः) स्तु(स्तु)यते  
 चावनीशः ॥ वीरं चोलं च पांड्यं तमपि च मधुराव[16]ल(ल्ल)भं मानभु(भू)पं  
 वीर्योदग्रं तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपती चापि जित्वा तदन्यान् । आगंगातीरलंका[17]प्रथमचरमभुतधितात(भूभूत्तटांतं)  
 नितांतं ख्याति(तः) क्षोणीपतीनां खजमिव शिरसा शासनं यो व्यता[18]नीत् ॥  
 तिपा(प्या)जीनागलादेव्योः कं(कौ)सल्याश्रीसुमित्रयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहो(है)द्राक्वृष्णरायमहीप[19]तिः ॥  
 वीरश्रीनारसिंहः स विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः कीर्त्या नित्यं निरस्यंनृगनलन[20]हुषानप्यवा(व)न्यान(म)था-  
 न्यान् । आ सेतोरा हिमाद्रेरवनिसुरनुत(तः) स्वैरमा चोदयाद्रेरा पाश्चात्या[21]चलांताद(ह)लितरिपुगणं  
 तच(च्च) राज्यं तदीयं ॥ नानादानान्यकारीकनकसदसि यः श्रीविरु(रू)पा[22]क्षदेवस्थाने  
 श्रीकालहस्तीसितु(भू)रपि(न)गरे वेंकटाद्री च कांच्यां । श्रीशैले शोणशैले महति ह[23]रिहरे  
 चौभले संगमे च श्रीरंगे कुंभकोणे हततमसि महानंदितार्थे निवृत्तौ(त्तौ) ॥ गोकर्णे राम-  
 [24]सेतो जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुं(पु)प्ये(प्य)क्षेत्रेप्विथं(त्थं) सुरत्नैर्निजभुजबलादाजितैरथजतिः । रत्ना-  
 [25]श्वस्वर्न(र्ण)धेनुक्षितिकनकतुलापु(पु)रुषाद्यादिकानि क्षौणीदेवैरनेकैः परिकलितविधिः [26]श्रीनृसिंह(हः) क्षितींद्रः ॥  
 यस्येदंच नुरंगमजतिखुरघटितक्ष्मातलादु(दु)धि(त्थि)तैस्तैर्धुं(धुं)लिस्तंमि[27]रुदीर्णैरपि जलधिरभु(भू)च्छुष्यदापस्तदानीं ।  
 पश्चादस्वैव नानाविधबहलमहादानवारिम[28]वाहैः पु(पु)र्णः शत्रुः(त्रु)क्षितीशानि(न्नि)जजलपतितान्पानुमेष(ष)

<sup>2</sup> In line 76 of No. II. the reading is 'sītu(? bhū)rapī.'

<sup>3</sup> In line 77 of No. II. the reading is 'Hô(? Hôh)balé,' for 'Ōbhalé' or 'Aubbalé' in the present passage.

<sup>4</sup> There is one short syllable required here to make up the metre; the words, however, as they stand, are complete.

<sup>5</sup> This syllable is superfluous to the metre and sense; 'vraja' should be read.

क्षमो भु(भू)त् ॥ ब्रह्मांडं विश्वचक्रं षट्मु[29]दितमहाभु(भू)तकं रत्नधेनुं सप्तांबोधिं च  
 कल्पक्षितिरुहलतिकं काचनीं कामधेनुं । स्वर्न(र्ण)[30]क्षमां यो हिरं(र)ण्याश्वरथमपि तुलापु(पु)रुषं  
 गोसहस्रं हेमाश्वं हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं पं[31]चलांगन्यतानीत् ॥ राज्यं प्रशास्य निर्विघ्नं  
 राज्यमिन्द्रस्य शासितुं । तस्मिन् गुणेन वि[32]ख्याते क्षितेरिन्द्रे दिवं गते ॥ ततो  
 प्यवी(त्रा)र्यवीर्यस्य कृष्णरायमहीपतिः । बिभर्त्ति मणिकै(के)[33]यु(यू)रं निर्विशेषं मही(हा)भुजः ॥ कीर्त्या यस्य  
 समंततः प्रसृतया विश्वं रुचैक्यं ब्रजेदित्या[34]शंक्य पुरा पुरारिरभवद्भालेक्षणः प्रायशः ।  
 पद्माक्षो पि चतुर्भुजो जनि चतुर्वक्त्रो भवत्प[35]द्मभुः(भूः) काली खड्गमथा(धा)दि(द्र)मा च कमलं  
 वीणां च वाणी दधौ ॥ शत्रु(त्रु)णां वासमेष प्रद[36]दति<sup>०</sup> रुषा किंनु सप्तांबुराशिं  
 नानासेनानु(तु)रंगत्रुटितवसुमतीधु(धू)लिकापालिका[37]भिः । संशोष्याश्वात्रथांस्तत्प्रतिनिधिजलधिं स्वर्न(र्ण)कैर्यौ  
 व्यधत्त ब्रह्मांडस्वर्न(र्ण)मे[38]रुप्रमुखनिजमहादानतोयैरमेयैः ॥ महत्तामर्थिसार्थि(र्थाः) श्रियमिह सुचिरं  
 भुंज[39]तानि(मि)त्यवेत्य प्रायः प्रत्यु(स्यू)हहेतु(तू)नरिनृपतिगणान् प्रापयदेवमार्गं । तत्त-  
 [40]द्विजैत्रवृत्या निजजनपद[सं']रक्षकान्संप्रकल्प्य स्थाने सिंहासनस्थः स ज[41]यति नृपतिर्भु(भू)सुरः(र)-  
 श्रेयसे यः ॥ [42]शेषकृत्प्र(तप्र)तिपार्थिवदंडः शेषभुज(जः) क्षितितार[43]णशौडः । भाषिणे  
 तपु(प्पु)व रायरगंडः शेषकृ<sup>०</sup>नृ(नृ)पहारण[44]चंडः । राजाधिराज इत्युक्ते(क्तो) यो राजपरमेश्वरः ।

<sup>०</sup> One short syllable is wanting here ; the reading should be ' êtê dadata iti rushâ', &c., as in line 52 of No. II.

<sup>१</sup> This syllable,—' sam',—is omitted altogether in the original.

<sup>२</sup> The first side of the second plate commences with this letter,—' ya.'

<sup>३</sup> The metre is faulty here ; in line 92 of No. II. the reading is entirely different.

मु(मू)रुरायरगंडश्च [46]पररायभयंकरः । हिंदुरायसुत(र)त्राण(णो) दुष्टशार्दु(दू)लमर्दनः ।  
 गजौषगंडभेरुंड इत्यादि[48]बिरुदान्वितः । आलोकय महाराज जय जीये(वे)ति वादिभिः ।  
 भंगवंगकालिंगाद्यै राजभि(भिः) स्तु(स्तू)य[47]ते च यः ॥ स्तुत्यौदार्यः सुधीभिः स  
 विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्थः क्षमापालान् कृष्णराय[48]क्षितिपतिरधरीकृत्य नित्यं नृगादीन् ।  
 आपूर्वाद्रेरधस्तात्रि(त्रि)दशकट<sup>10</sup>कादा च हेमाचलातादा [49]सेतोरथिसार्थिश्रियमिह बहुलीकृत्य कीर्त्या  
 समिधे ॥ एवं तस्य वंशावलिमुक्त्वा तस्य दान[50]क्षान्नादिकं प्रशास्य । एतादृशः  
 कृष्णरायमहीपतिः । कदाचित्प्रसन्नः । तिमणार्यविदुषे सर्वमा[51]न्याग्रहारं दत्तवानिति वक्तुं ।  
 तत्र कालदेशप्रतिघृ(गृ)हीतृगुण(णं) । सर्वमान्याग्रहारदेशमर्यादां । दा[52]नकरणप्रकारं च क्रमेण  
 विवृणोति । शकृब्द इत्यादिना दत्तवान्मुदेत्येतेन ग्रंथसंदर्भेण ॥ श[53]कृब्दे शालिवाहस्य  
 सहस्रेण चतुःशतिः । चतुस्त्रिंशत्समैर्युक्ते संख्याते गणितक्रमात् । श्री[54]मुखी(ख)वत्सरे  
 श्लाघ्ये माघे चासितपक्षके । शिवरात्रौ महातिथ्यां पुं(पु)ण्यकाले शुभे दिने ॥  
 दे[55]शं कर्तारं [च<sup>11</sup>] निरु(रू)पयति ॥ तुंगभद्रापगातीरे विरु(रू)पाक्षस्य संनिधौ । सुप्रसन्नो  
 महोदारः कृ[56]ष्णरायमहीपतिः । रटे(ट्टे)हली(लि)स्थलस्थस्य ज्योतिःशास्त्रविदुः(दः) पुरा । यावती  
 क्रोडसीमा च ता[57]वत्या ज्योतिषस्य च । विषामृतस्वरु(रू)पाणां घटिकानां निदर्शनात् ।  
 कृष्णरायेन(ण) महतां वि[58]दुषां पुरतस्तदा । घटिकानारसिंहेति नाम दत्तं महीभुजा ।

<sup>10</sup> One short syllable is wanting in the metre here, but the words, as they stand, are complete.

<sup>11</sup> This letter,—‘cha’,—is omitted altogether in the original.

रट्टेहल्या(लया)श्च कोडस्य सीम्नो[69]ज्योतिषवर्त्तनं । अपश्य(श्या)न् दत्तवान् ग्रामं वर्त्तनाय तयोस्तदा ।  
 षटिकानारसिंहस्य त[60]स्य पुत्राय धीमते । गौतमान्वयजाताय आश्वलायनसु(सू)त्रिणे ॥  
 प्रतिगृहीतारं वर्न(र्ण)[61]यति ॥ तिमणार्याय विदुषे बं(ब)इ(इ)चाय द्विजाय(ते)ते(ये) ।  
 अधीताध्यापितच्छात्रधृतचारित्रशास्त्रि[62]णे । धर्माधर्मवचोवक्त्रे मरालायुतबुध(द्ध)ये । भु(भू)दानपात्रभु(भू)ताय  
 भु(भू)मिदेवाग्रयायिने(णे) । अ[63]शेषवेदवेदांतनिगमागमवेदिने । विनीताय विशिष्टाय प्रशांताय महात्मने ।  
 वलिते [64]हस्तिनावत्यां चंद्रगुत्यांतरालकं । नु(नू)रूबाडाव्हये वेंठे रटे(ट्टे)हल्या(लया)-  
 ख्यसीमनि ॥ आल[65]द<sup>12</sup>कटा(ट्टा)व्हयग्रामपश्चिमस्यां दिशि स्थितं । दंडिगेहलि(लि)-  
 ग्रामस्य चोत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितं [1] [66]बिलहली(ल्ली)ति ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्यां तु  
 दिशि स्थितं । कुसुकु(कू)रुमहाग्रामदक्षिणस्यां दिशि स्थि[67]तं । सर्वमान्यं चतुःसी-  
 मासंयुतं च समंततः । निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणसिध(द्ध)साध्यजला[68]न्वितं । विचारलेखकादीनां  
 द्वादशाथैश्च संयुतं । अक्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्तमेकभोग्य(ग्यं) नि[69]रंतरं । पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भोग्यं  
 क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं । आदाय पंचग्रामेभ्यो धरणीं धरणीक्षि[70]तः । तिमलापुरमित्येतद्ग्रामं नान्ना  
 प्रतिष्ठितं । सहिरं(र)ण्यपयोधारापु(पू)र्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा । [71]ग्रामस्य यजमानस्य प्रतिग्राह्या-  
 ग्रहारिकं । कृष्णरायमहारायशासनं यत्सभापतिः [1] [72]अभाणि पदसंदर्भं तदिदं ताम्रशासनं ।  
 पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्नित्यं<sup>13</sup> पालनीयं प्रयत्नतः ॥ कृष्ण[73]रायमहारायशासनं मल(ल्ल)णाल्मजः । त्वष्टासौ

<sup>12</sup> The metre is faulty here.

<sup>13</sup> The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation, — | , — after this word.

वीरणाचार्यो व्यलिखता(त्ता)न्नशासनं ॥ ग्रा[74]मस्य पश्चिमे भागे पटि(ट्टि)काद्वयमादरात् ।  
 विचारलेखकाभ्यां च दत्तं धर्मेण पाल्य[75]तां ॥ पु(पू)र्वमनेकैः श्लोकैः प्रतिपादितमर्थमेकश्लोकेन  
 निगमयति ॥ कृत्वा ग्रामं जु(नू)त[76]नं कृष्णभु(भू)पो हत्वा पंचग्राममध्याच्च भु(भू)मिं ।  
 द्रव्यैः सार्धं तिंणार्याय सद्यो भक्त्या [77]प्रादाना(न्ना)रसिंद्वा(हा)न्मजाय ॥ श्रीकृष्ण(ष्णा)र्पितभु-  
 (भू)मेश्व कृष्णरायस्य शासने । अत्रेयं ग्रा[78]मवलयदेशभाषावल्लिख्यते ॥ तत्र लक्षणमाह ॥  
 तिर्यग्यबोदराण्यष्टावु(वू)ध्वौ(ध्वी) वा व्री[79]हयस्त्रयः । एतदंगुलिमाख्यात(तं) मध्यमांगुलिमध्यमं ।  
 चतुर्विंशतिरेतैस्तु हस्त[80]मानं स्मृतं भवेत् । एतैरेव चतुर्हस्तैर्धनुर्मानं प्रकीर्तितं । एतैरेव  
 धनुर्मा[81]नैः<sup>14</sup> सीमामर्यादसंस्थितिः । कारि[82]का(ता) राजमुख्येन विद्वद्भिश्च सभासदैः ॥ ग्रा[83]मस्य  
 पुरतस्ताक्षर्यस्तंभः सद्भिः प्रतिष्ठितः । तत्पु(सू)र्वभा[84]गे धनुषां चतुःशतप्रमाणकं । तथा  
 सप्ततिसंमिश्रमेवं सीमा [85]प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ तद(द्व)क्षिणे च धनुषां शतानां नवकं स्मृतं ।  
 तथा षट्त्रिंशदधिकं एवं सीमा व्य[86]वस्थितः ॥ तत्पश्चिमे च धनुषां शतद्वयसमान्वितं ।  
 तत्र द्वाविंशदु(दू)र्न वै सीमा तत्र प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ [87]तदुत्तरे च धनुषां शतानामष्टकं  
 स्मृतं । तथा चत्वारि संमिश्रमेवं सीमाव्यवस्थितिः ॥ [88]एवं च सर्वे मिलितं सहस्रद्व-  
 यमिश्रितं । तथा शतत्रयं चापि अष्टाशीतियुतं भवेत् ॥ ग्रा[89]मादीशान(न्य)मारभ्य  
 यावदाज्ञे(मे)यकोणकः । तावध(द्व)नुःप्रमाणानां सहस्रं च तदर्धकं । अ[90]शीत्यष्टाधिका चापि  
 सीमा मर्यादसंस्थितः ॥ ग्रामादाज्ञे(मे)यमारभ्य यावन्नेत्रैत्यकोण[91]कः । तावध(द्व)नुःप्रमाणानां

<sup>14</sup> The second side of the second plate commences with this letter,—‘ naih.’



शतानां सप्तकं स्मृतं । तत्रोनं त्रिंशता ज्ञेयं सीमा मर्याद[92]संस्थितः ॥ ग्रामानैर्कत्य-  
 मारभ्य यावद्द्वायव्यकोणकः । तावध(द्ध)नुःप्रमाणानां सहस्रं [93]च शताष्टकं । एकविंशद्दिहीना(नो)  
 त्र सीमा मर्यादसंस्थितः ॥ ग्रामाद्द्वायव्यमारभ्य या[94]वदीशान(न्य)कोणकः । तावध(द्ध)नुःप्रमाणानां  
 शतानां षष्ठकं स्मृतं । तत्र षष्ट्याधिकं विं[95]यादेवं सीमाविनिर्न(र्ण)यः ॥ चतुःसहस्रं  
 विज्ञेयं शतानां षष्ठकं स्मृतं । सप्ताधिकन[96]वत्या तु मिश्रितं धनुषः स्मृतं । एवं  
 धनुःप्रमाणानां ग्रामसीमाविनिर्न(र्ण)यः ॥ तिर्म[97]लापुरग्रामद<sup>15</sup> मुंदगडेयलि(ल्लि)द(द्ध) गरुडस्तंभद  
 पु(पू)र्वदिकि(क्कि)गे ५२० धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतिये मे[98]रे । ई गरुडस्तंभद दक्षिणदिकि(क्कि)-  
 मे ८३६ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतिये मेरे । ई गरुडस्तं[99]भद पश्चिमदिकि(क्कि)गे  
 ०२५ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतिये मेरे ई गरुडस्तंभद उत्तरदि[100]कि(क्कि)गे ५०५ धनुःप्रमाणिन  
 अलतिये मेरे । इति चतुर्दिशां निर्न(र्ण)यः ॥ अथ इंद्राद्यष्ट[101]दिशां निर्न(र्ण)य  
 उच्चं(च्य)ते । ई तिर्मलापुरग्रामके(क्के) पु(पू)र्वदिकि(क्कि)नलि(ल्लि)द(द्ध) आलदकटे(ट्टे)गु(गू) ई  
 तिर्म[102]लापुरकु(क्कु) पु(पू)र्वई(वै for वई)शान्यद विदिकि(क्कि)नलि(ल्लि)द(द्ध) पालाद्यद बैचे  
 मेरेयलि(ल्लि)द(द्ध) वामनमुद्रेक[103]लु(ल्लु) मेरे । इदरिं दक्षिणदिकि(क्कि)गे ६०६ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेयलि(ल्लि)  
 कडवनकटे(ट्टे)य[104]लि(ल्लि)द(द्ध) वामनमुद्रेकलु(ल्लु) गुरितु । इदरिं पुनः दक्षिणदिकि(क्कि)गे  
 ३५५ धनुःप्रमाणिन अल[105]तेयलि(ल्लि)गे ग्रामदिं पु(पू)र्वआ(वा for वआ)ज्ञे(ग्ने)यद विदिकि(क्कि)नलि-  
 (ल्लि)द(द्ध) अलंगोंडनकटे(ट्टे)यलि(ल्लि)द(द्ध) वामनमु[106]द्रेकलु(ल्लु) गुरितु । इदरिं पुनः

<sup>15</sup> From here to line 132 the language is Canarese.

दक्षिणदिकि(क्कि)गे अणे हलवरी मंले सु(सू)त्रव हिडिदु बंद हा[107]गे ग्रामदिं  
 आन्ने(ग्ने)यादिकि(क्कि)नलि(ल्लि)द(द) कोणंतलेकेरेवलगण अडेरीकटे(ट्टे)मु(मू)लिगे अ[108]गे नीरुवरी  
 सरुहु दक्षिणदिकि(क्कि)गे हरिदु बंदु कु(कू)डिद अडेरीकटे(ट्टे)मु(मू)लिगे ३७७ धनुः[109]प्रमाणिन  
 अलतिगे अडेरीकटे(ट्टे)मु(मू)लेमेरेयलि(ल्लि)द वामनमुद्रेकलु(ल्लु) मेरे । इदरिं पश्चि-  
 [110]मदिकि(क्कि)गे ५३५ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेयलि(ल्लि)द(द) बिलहली(ल्लि)मु(मू)गुडे(ड्डे)[111]य वामनमुद्रेकलु(ल्लु)  
 गुरितु । ग्रामदिं दक्षिणादिकि(क्कि)नलि(ल्लि)द(द) बिलेहुट्टु(ट्टु)कलु(ल्लु) गुरितु । इ[112]दरिं  
 पुनः दक्षिणदिकि(क्कि)गे १० धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेयलि(ल्लि)द(द) बिलहली(ल्लि)मु(मू)गुडे(ड्डे)य  
 [113]वामनमुद्रेकलु(ल्लु) मेरे । इदरिं पुनः पश्चिमदिकि(क्कि)गे ग्रामदिं नैर्ऋत्यदिकि(क्कि)न मु(मू)लिगे  
 [114]१०६ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेमेरेयलि(ल्लि) करेकलु(ल्लु) मेरे । ई नैर्ऋत्यदिकि(क्कि)न मु(मू)लेमे-  
 [115]रेकलि(ल्लि)नि उत्तरदिकि(क्कि)गे १३५ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेयलि(ल्लि)द(द) करेहुट्टु(ट्टु)कलु(ल्लु) गुरि[116]तु ।  
 इदरिं पुनः उत्तरदिकि(क्कि)गे ६५१ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेयलि(ल्लि)गे<sup>17</sup> ग्रामदिं प[117]श्चिमदिकि(क्कि)गे  
 देवतेगुडी( ड़ी)हिंदण गौडुंबलीपटी(ट्टी)मेरेयलि(ल्लि)द(द) वामनमुद्रेकलु(ल्लु) [118]मे<sup>18</sup>रे । ई  
 गौडुंबलीपटी(ट्टी)मेरेमेलिद(द) वा[119]मनमुद्रेकलि(ल्लि)नि पुनः उत्तरदिकि(क्कि)गे १०३ ध[120]नुःप्रमाणिन  
 अलतेयलि(ल्लि)द(द) गौडुंबलीपटी(ट्टी)मेरेयलि(ल्लि) गौ[121]डगोडगीयं(यें)ब अक्षर बर(रे)दिद कलु(ल्लु) गुरितु । इदरिं पुनः

<sup>16</sup> The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation, — | , — after this word.

<sup>17</sup> The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation, — | , — after this word.

<sup>18</sup> The inner side of the third plate commences with this letter, — ' mĀ.'

उत्तरदिक्(क्वि)[122]गे ग्रामदिं वाया(य)व्यदिक्(क्वि)न मु(मू)ल्लिगे ७० धनुःप्रमाणिन अलतेमेरेयलि-  
 (ल्लि)द(द) गौड[123]गोडगीयं(यें)व अक्षरव बर(रे)दिद वामनमुद्रेकलु(ल्लु) मेरे । ई वाया-  
 (य)व्यद मु(मू)लेमेरेयलि(ल्लि)द(द) गौ[124]डगोडगीयं(यें)व अक्षरव बर(रे)दिद वामनमुद्रेकलि(ल्लि)दिं  
 पु(पू)र्वदिक्(क्वि)गे ०४० धनुःप्रमा[125]णिन अलतेयलि(ल्लि)द(द) वामनमुद्रेकलु(ल्लु) गुरितु ।  
 इददिं पुनः पु(पू)र्वदिक्(क्वि)गे ०२७ धनुःप्र[126]माणिन अलतेगुरितिगे ग्रामदिं उत्तरदिक्(क्वि)-  
 नलि(ल्लि)द(द) अणे नीरुवरी सरुहु पु(पू)र्वदिक्(क्वि)[127]गे हरिदु होगीह सरुहिन गुरुतिगे  
 पुनः उत्तरदिक्(क्वि)गे ०६ धनुःप्रमाणिन अलते[128]ये मेरेयलि(ल्लि)द(द) वामनमुद्रेकलु(ल्लु) मेरे ।  
 इददिं पुनः पु(पू)र्वदिक्(क्वि)गे ३३८ धनुःप्रमाणिन [129]अलतिगे<sup>१०</sup> ग्रामदिं ईशान्यदिक्(क्वि)गे  
 हलुमेरेगे होगीह दारीनलिनोडने अणे नीरु[130]वरी सरुहु पु(पू)र्वदिक्(क्वि)गे हरिदु बंदु  
 कु(कू)डिद(द) दारीनलेमेरेयलि(ल्लि)द(द) वामनमुद्रेकलु(ल्लु) मेरे । [131]ई दारी कु(कू)डिद  
 नले मेरेयलि(ल्लि)द वामनमुद्रेकलि(ल्लि)दिं पुनः दक्षिणदिक्(क्वि)गे ७५० धनुःप्र[132]माणिन अलतिगे  
 पालाशद बेंचे मेरेयलि(ल्लि)द(द) वामनमुद्रेकले(ल्लु) मेरे ॥ एवं तिर्मलापुराग्र[133]हारा(र)ख्य(स्य)  
 चतुःसीमात्रिभागनिर्ण(र्ण)यः कथितः ॥ गौडिके सेनबोविके मोदलाद हंनेरडु आ[134]यमान्यके(के)  
 सलुव तेज(जः)स्वाम्यवनु(नु) रटे(ट्टे)हलि(ल्लि)क्रोडसीमेय ज्यौ(ज्यो)तिष उपाध्य(उपाध्यायतन)के(के) सलुव  
 वृत्ति[135]गे<sup>१०</sup> ई तिर्मलापुरवेंब सर्वमान्याग्रहार एकभोगग्रामवनु(नु) पुत्रपौत्रपा(प)रंपर्या(रेया)गि अनु[136]भविासि

<sup>१०</sup> The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation, — |, — after this word.

<sup>१०</sup> The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation, — |, — after this word.

कौंडीहदु यं(यें)दु सहिरं(र)ण्योदकादि धारादत्तवागि बरकोटं(टं)थ तां(ता)मद धर्मशास[187]न ॥  
 विदुषे तिमणार्याय कृष्णरायेन(ण) भु(भू)भुजा । दत्त इत्यत्र हि ग्रामो लिख्यंते  
 साक्षिणो धुना ॥ [139]आदित्यवंद्रो(द्राव)निलो नल(ल)श्च दौर्भुं(भूं)मिरापो हृदयं यमश्च ।  
 अहश्च रात्रिश्च उभौ(भे) च संभ्या(ध्ये) [139]धर्मस्य(श्च) जानाति नरस्य वृत्तिः(त्ति) ॥  
 एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भु(भू)भुजा(जां) । न भोज्या न [140]करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता  
 वसुंधरा ॥ दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाच्छ्रेयो नुपालनं । दानात्स्वर्ग[141]मवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ॥  
 सामो(मा)न्ये(न्यो) यं धर्मसेतुर्नुपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भ[142]वद्भिः । सर्वानेता-  
 न्भाविवर(नः) पार्थिवेद्रान्भु(न्भू)यो भु(भू)यो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो [143]हरेत्सु(च्च)  
 वसुंधरा(री) । षष्टिर्व(व)र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ गृह्णति यावतः पांसु(सू)-  
 [144]नुदत्या(ता)मश्रुबिंदवः । विप्राणां हतवित्तानां वदान्यानां कुटुंबिनां । राजानो राजकु-  
 [145]ल्याश्च तावतो ब्दानि(त्रि)रंकुशाः । कुंभीपाकेषु पच्यंते ब्रं(ब्र)ह्मदायापहारिणः ॥ उपायना-  
 [146]र्थं शुल्कार्थं ग्रामरक्षार्थमेव च । ये गृह्णत्यग्रहारे स्मिन् धनं ते मात्रु(तृ)गामिनः ॥  
 स्वद[147]त्ता पुत्रिका धात्री पित्रु(तृ)दत्ता सहोदरी । परदत्ता स्वमाता च दत्ता धात्रीं  
 परित्यजेत् ॥ म[148]हंशजाः परमहीपतिवंशजा वा ये न्ये नृपाः सततमुज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लधर्मचित्ताः ।  
 मध(द्ध)र्ममे[149]वमनघं परिपालयंति तत्पादपद्मयुगलं शिरसा वहामि ॥ मंगलमाहेश्वरी(६८.मंगलमहाश्री) [1]  
 शु[150]भं भवतु ॥ श्री श्री श्री ॥ [151] शुभं(७६)शुभं(७७)शु ॥ [1]

## No. III.

Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri*, &c. !  
May the tusk of Hari, who assumed the form of a boar, preserve you,  
&c. ! May that lustre,—which dispels the darkness of obstacles, &c. !

There is that luminary<sup>1</sup>, the dispeller of darkness, which was produced, like fresh butter, from the great ocean of milk, when it was churned by the gods.<sup>2</sup> The son of that luminary was Budha<sup>3</sup>, who through his unequalled penances and pious deeds acquired a name the meaning of which was obvious; his son was Purūravas; the son of him again, who with his many arms destroyed his enemies, was Âyu; the son of Âyu was Nahusha; and his again was Yayāti, the protector of cities<sup>4</sup> in war; Fame became as it were the female deer of him the male deer<sup>5</sup>, he resembled (in power) a demigod, and was the husband of Śrī-Dēvayānī.

In his race was born king Timma, famous among the princes of Tuluva, whose wife was Dēvakī,—as Kṛishṇa was born in the race of Yadu.

From him was born king Īśvara, whose wife was Bukkamā,—the best of kings, endowed with the qualities of the earth.<sup>6</sup>

As Kāma<sup>7</sup> sprang from the son of Dēvakī, so from that excellent man, the son of Dēvakī, sprang king Narasa. At Rāmēśvara and many other places abounding in various holy deeds, &c. Having straightway bound (with a bridge) the Kāvêrī, which flowed with a great flood of water, and having crossed over it, &c. Having conquered the brave Chōla, and Pāṇḍya, the proud lord of Madhurā, the valorous Turushka, the two kings who bear the name of Gajapati, and others too, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The moon, personified as Sōma, the founder of the Sōmavarīṣa, or 'lunar race.' According to another legend, the moon was produced from the eye of the sage Aitri, and was then, after personification, regarded as his son.

<sup>2</sup> To obtain the nectar.

<sup>3</sup> The planet Mercury personified.

<sup>4</sup> 'Purava'; the analysis is 'pur,' city, and 'ava,' one who protects, from *ava*, 'guard, protect.

<sup>5</sup> i.e., 'he was wedded to fame', 'became famous.'

<sup>6</sup> Viz., stability, wealth, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Kāmadēva is usually regarded as the son of Brahma, or of Dharma. But he is sometimes identified, in a second birth, with Pradyumna, the son of Kṛishṇa and Rukmiṇī.

As (Rāma was born) from among the queens Kausalyā and Sumitrā<sup>9</sup>, so king Kṛishnarāya was born to king Nṛisimha from Tippājīdēvi and Nāgalādēvi.

The brave Śrī-Nārasimha, seated on a jewelled throne in the city of Vijayanagara, ever surpassing in fame Nṛiga and Nala and Nahusha, &c. Seated on a golden throne, he bestowed many gifts at the shrine of the god Śrī-Virūpākshadēva, at the city of Śrī-Kālahasti, .....<sup>9</sup>, &c. Thus, at Gōkarna, and Rāmasētu, and all other holy places on the earth, the king Śrī-Nṛisimha, who was reminded of religious observances by innumerable Brāhmanas, (gave), from his jewels and the stores of wealth amassed by the might of his arm, golden horses and golden cows, lands, presents of gold weighed out against men, and other gifts. Even the ocean had its water dried up by the clouds of dust, raised up from the earth which was pulverized by the hoofs of his crowds of prancing horses; but it was afterwards filled again by the streams of his various and abundant charities, and he prevailed to save the hostile kings, who had fallen into the waters created by himself. He fashioned (and bestowed in charity) a golden Brahmāṇḍa, a (golden) Viśvachakra, &c. And when he, the Indra of the earth, famed for his virtues, having governed his kingdom in such a manner that it was free from all calamities, ascended to the skies to rule the kingdom of Indra,—

Then king Kṛishnarāya wore with equal renown the jewelled bracelet<sup>10</sup> of him whose valour was irresistible. Methinks it was through fear, lest every thing should acquire an identity of radiance from his glory which was spread all around, that Purāri wore a (third) eye in his forehead, &c. Having, with the clouds of dust of the earth which was ground to atoms by the horses of his numerous armies, dried up the seven oceans, together with the horses and the chariots (of his enemies), in anger because, &c. It was probably from a determination that both beggars and rich men should enjoy for a long time the wealth bestowed by him, that he sent to the other world<sup>11</sup> the hostile kings, who were obstacles (in the way of this being

<sup>9</sup> Two of the three wives of Daśaratha. Kausalyā was the mother of Rāma. There is nothing here to indicate which of the two wives of king Narasa was the mother of Kṛishnarāya, but No. 32 of Mr. Hope's Collection shows that Nāgalādēvi, or Nāgāmbikā, as she is there called, was his mother.

<sup>10</sup> 'Siturāpi' or 'sibhurāpi.' See note 25 to the translation of No. II., p. 375.

<sup>11</sup> The badge of sovereignty.

<sup>11</sup> i.e., 'killed in battle.'

dore), and, conquering in succession each of the regions, appointed guardians of his people; thus he, the king, a very god upon the earth, seated on his throne at his abode, possessed of the greatest good fortune, was victorious. He punished the angry hostile kings; his arms were like (the coils of the serpent) Śésba; he was earnest in protecting the world; he was the punisher of kings who broke their promises; he was fierce in slaying kings who committed acts of spoliation. Being called the supreme king of kings, and being invested with the titles of 'The supreme lord of kings; the conqueror of the Mûrurâyas; he who is terrible to other kings; he who is a very Sultân among Hindu kings; he who slays the tigers that are wicked people; he who is a very Gaṇḍabhêrūṇḍa<sup>12</sup> to the herds of elephants (that are his foes),—he is praised by the kings of Aṅga and Vaṅga and Kaliṅga and other countries, who say, "Look upon us, O great king!; be victorious and live long." Possessed of generosity that was worthy to be praised by the learned, he, king Kṛishṇarâya, seated on a jewelled throne at the city of Vijayanagara, ever surpassed Nṛigā and all other rulers of the earth, and, conferring abundance of wealth on poor and rich, shone with glory from the mountain of the east to the city of the gods, and from the golden mountain to the Bridge.

Having thus described his lineage, and having praised his charity and valour and other qualities,—in order to relate how this same king Kṛishṇarâya, happening to be in a good humour, gave an *agrahâra*-grant, entirely free from assessment<sup>13</sup>, to the learned Timmanârya,—he declares in succession the time, the locality, the merits of the recipient, the boundaries of the *agrahâra*-grant that was entirely free from assessment, and the manner of making the grant, in that part of the composition which begins with the words "In the year of the Śaka" and ends with the words "He gave with joy."<sup>14</sup>

In the year of the Śaka of Śâlivâha enumerated by one thousand four hundred and thirty-four, in the praiseworthy year Śrîmukha, in (the month) Mâgha, in the dark fortnight, on the great lunar day of the Śivarâtri, at a holy time and on an auspicious day,—(He discourses upon the locality and the maker [of the grant]),—on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrà, and in the presence of (the god) Virûpâksha,

<sup>12</sup> A fabulous two-headed bird.

<sup>13</sup> 'Sarvamânya'; see Note 42 to the translation of No. II., p. 378.

<sup>14</sup> This is a parenthetical remark, introduced by apparently a reviser or the engraver of the charter. Other instances of this occur further on.

the munificent king Kṛishnarāya, being in a very happy frame of mind,—(having regard to the fact that) formerly the boundaries (of the grant for the support) of the astrological knowledge of the astrologer, who dwelt in the locality of Raṭṭēhalli, were the same as the boundaries of (the village of) Kōḍa, and failing to see (at that time) any support of astrological science in the boundaries of Raṭṭēhalli and Kōḍa,—joyfully gave, for its support in them, with gifts of gold and libations of water,—(He describes the recipient),—to the learned son of Ghaṭikā-Nārasimha, which name had been given by king Kṛishnarāya in the presence of great and learned people because of his exposition of the *Ghaṭikās*<sup>15</sup> both *Viśha* and *Amṛita*, born in the *gōtra* of Gautama, belonging to the *sūtra* of Āśvalāyana, the wise Timmanārya, the twice-born,—who was acquainted with many hymns of the R̥igvēda; whose writings on observances were adopted by his disciples who both had studied of their own accord and had been taught (by him); who could declare what was right and what was wrong; whose intellect was not associated with anything that was evil; who was a worthy object for a grant of land; who was the foremost among Brāhman̄s; who was acquainted with all the Vēdas and Vēdānta and sacred precepts and traditional lore; and who was modest and courteous and of a calm disposition and high-minded,—a village, which was formed of land taken from five other villages belonging to the king and was established under the name of Timmalāpura,—in the boundaries of Raṭṭēhalli, in the *Vēṇṭha* called Nūrumbāda<sup>16</sup> in the middle of (the district of) (?) Chandraguti, and in the circle of Hastināvat̄, to the W. of the village of Aladakatt̄a, the N. of the village of Daṇḍigēhalli, the E. of the village of Bilahalli, and the S. of the large village of Kusukūru,—as a grant entirely free from assessment, and invested with its four boundaries, and accompanied by (the right to) hidden treasure, and stones, and that which has become property (?), and that which may be made property (?), and water, and the twelve hereditary dues<sup>17</sup> of the judge and the writer and the other officers,

<sup>15</sup> 'Ghaṭikā', 'a period of time = twenty-four minutes' 'Amṛita ghaṭikā' seems to be such a period when there is a conjunction of planets supposed to confer long life; and 'viśha-ghaṭikā', when there is a conjunction of planets of baneful influence.

<sup>16</sup> 'The hundred towns.'

<sup>17</sup> As in the case of 'mānya' and 'namasya,'—'āya', meaning in the original Sanskrit *income, revenue, gain*, was adopted, and is still current, in the Karṇāṭaka country, to denote in a special sense the hereditary dues of the twelve village officers, the 'bārā-balutēdār' of the Marāṭṭas, viz., the Gaṇḍa or Pāṭil,



and *Akshinī*, and that which accrues,—to be enjoyed perpetually by one (family) and by sons and sons' sons &c. in succession as long as the moon and stars may last. This copper-charter is that same poetical charter of the great king Kṛishṇarāya, conferring an *agrahāra*-grant upon the *Yajamāna* of the village, which the president of the assembly proclaimed; let it always be energetically preserved by sons and sons' sons, &c. ! Viraṇāchārya, the carpenter, the son of Mallana, engraved the copper-charter which contains the charter of the great king Kṛishṇarāya. In the western part of the village, two strips of land<sup>18</sup> were through respect given to the judge and the writer; let them be religiously preserved.

He sums up in one verse the matter that has been expressed above by many verses<sup>19</sup>;—King Kṛishṇa, having taken land out of five other villages, and having thus constituted a new village, straightway gave it in his piety, together with its treasures, to Timmaṇārya, the son of Nārasimha.

And a vernacular account of the boundaries of the village is now written in this charter of Kṛishṇarāya, which pertains to the land that was (thus) conveyed by Śrī-Kṛishṇa.

He enounces a definition:—That which is (measured by) eight barley-corns placed side by side, or three grains of rice placed lengthwise, is called a 'finger', and it is (the breadth of) the central portion of the middle finger; the measure of a 'hand' is to be considered as made by twenty-four of these (fingers); and the measure of a 'bow' is defined by four such 'hands.' The constitution of the boundaries was effected by that chief of kings and by the wise men of his assembly by means of those same measures of a 'bow.'

In front of the village a pillar (bearing the figure) of Tārکشya<sup>20</sup> was set up by good people. On the E. side of it, the boundary was

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here called the judge ('*vichāraka*'), the Śrīnabhōga or Kulkarni, here called the writer ('*likhaka*'), &c. '*Ākāra*' is again another instance of a Sanskrit word similarly adopted in a special technical sense; see Note 8 to the translation of No. III. of my *Sindavāṃśa* inscriptions, published in No. XXXI., Vol. XI., p. 252, of this Society's *Journal*.

<sup>18</sup> '*Pottikā*' here, and '*paṭṭi*' in lines 117, 118, and 120 below. This is another word to be added to the list of Sanskrit words used in the Karnāṭaka country, and still current, in a special sense. We find it used in the same sense as here as far back as the fifth or sixth century A.D.,—in line 8 of an old Kadamba copper-plate grant, No. XXIII. of my series in the *Indian Antiquary*, at Vol. V., p. 28.

<sup>19</sup> The author of the parenthetical remarks grows somewhat sarcastic here.

<sup>20</sup> Garuda, half bird, half man, the servant and vehicle of Vishnu.

laid out at the measure of four hundred and seventy 'bows.' On the S. side of it, the boundary was laid out at nine hundred and thirty-six 'bows.' On the W. side of it the boundary was laid out at two hundred 'bows', less by twenty-two. And on the N. side of it, the constitution of the boundary was at eight hundred and four 'bows.' And thus the total was two thousand three hundred and eighty-eight ('bows').

From the N.E. of the village, to the S.E. corner, the boundary was laid out as being (of the length of) one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight 'bows.' From the S.E. of the village, to the S.W. corner, the boundary was laid out as being (of the length of) seven hundred 'bows', less by thirty. From the S.W. of the village, to the N.E. corner, the boundary was laid out as being (of the length of) one thousand and eight hundred 'bows', less by twenty-one. From the N.W. of the village, to the N.E. corner, one may recognize (as the length of the boundary) six hundred and sixty 'bows'; such was the settlement of the boundary. Thus, the settlement of the (circumscribing) boundary of the village was four thousand six hundred and ninety-seven 'bows.'

To the E. of the pillar of Garuḍa<sup>21</sup>, which was in front of the village of Tirmalāpura, the boundary was (at the distance of) the measure of 470 'bows.' To the S. of that same pillar of Garuḍa, the boundary was (at the distance of) the measure of 936 'bows.' To the W. of that same pillar of Garuḍa, the boundary was (at the distance of) the measure of 178 'bows.' To the N. of that same pillar of Garuḍa, the boundary was (at the distance of) the measure of 804 'bows.'

Next is declared the settlement of the eight points of the compass commencing with that of Indra.<sup>22</sup> The boundary-mark, (which is taken as the starting-point,) is a stone, marked with an impression of Vāmana<sup>23</sup>, on the edge of a stream called 'the stream of the Palāśa tree,'

<sup>21</sup> The vernacular portion of the inscription commences here.

<sup>22</sup> The Lōkapālas, or presiding deities of the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass, are,—Indra, of the E.; Agni, of the S.E.; Yama, of the S.; Nirriti, or sometimes Sūrya, of the S.W.; Varuṇa, of the W.; Vāyu, of the N.W.; Kuvēra, of the N.; and Īśāna, or sometimes Sōma, of the N.E.

<sup>23</sup> Viṣṇu, incarnate as the Dwarf. Symbols of this kind were customarily cut on stones set up to mark the boundaries of grants; cf. the translations of Nos. I. and II. of my Sindavamaśa inscriptions, referred to in a preceding note, where we find stones set up, marked with the representations of a *liṅga* and ascetics and a cow.

which is at the point intermediate between the E. and the N.E., between that same (village of) Tirmalâpura and (the village of) Alada-katte, which is to the E. of that same village of Tirmalâpura. At the measure of 616 'bows' to the S. of this, the mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the *katte* called 'the *katte* of the stallion.' At the measure of 344 'bows' to the S. of this again, the mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the *katte* called 'the *katte* of Alangõnda', which is at the point intermediate between the E. and the S.E. of the village. Going in a straight line over a small rising-ground to the S. of this again, at the measure of 388 'bows', at the corner of the *katte* called Adërikatte, which you arrive at by passing to the S. of the edge of a small marsh which is at the corner of the *katte* called Adërikatte, which is in the tank called 'the tank of the head of the male buffalo', the boundary-mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, which is on the limit of the corner of the *katte* called Adërikatte. At the measure of 454 'bows' to the W. of this again, the mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the three heaps of stones above graves\*\* of (the hamlet of) Bilahalli, which is to the E. of that; (and) the mark is a white stone, marked with a paddle, to the S. of the village. Thence, again, to the S., the boundary-mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the three heaps of stones above graves of (the hamlet of) Bilahalli, at the measure of 90 'bows.' Thence, again, to the W., at the corner of the S.W. of the village, at the measure of 216 'bows,' the boundary-mark is a black stone. To the N. of this stone, which is on the limit of the S.W. corner, the mark is a black stone, marked with a paddle, at the measure of 254 'bows.' At the measure of 642 'bows' to the N. of this again, the boundary-mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, on the boundary of the strip of land, which is the rent-free service-land of the village head-man, behind the temple of the god on the W. of the village. To the N., again, of the stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, which is on the boundary of that same strip of land, which is the rent-free service-land of the village head-man, the mark is a stone, inscribed with the letters 'Gaudagõdagi'<sup>24</sup>, at the boundary of the strip of land which is the rent-free service-land of the village head-

<sup>24</sup> 'Mûguddeya', sc., 'mûru-guddeya.' See Note 17 to the translation of No. III. of my *Baṭṭa* inscriptions at pp. 167 *et seqq.* of No. XXIX., Vol. X., of this Society's *Journal*.

<sup>25</sup> Probably 'Gauda-gaudike', the office of the village head-man, is intended.

man, at the distance of 803 'bows.' To the N. of this, again, at the N.W. corner of the village, the boundary-mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana and inscribed with the letters '*Gaudagôḍagi*', at the measure of 80 'bows.' To the E. of that same stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana and inscribed with the letters '*Gaudagôḍagi*', which is on the boundary of that same N.W. corner, the mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the measure of 150 'bows.' At the mark of the measure of 172 'bows' to the E. of this again, and passing along to the E. of the edge of a small marsh which is to the N. of the village, the boundary-mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the measure of 16 'bows' to the N. again of this mark of the edge (of the marsh). To the E. of this again, at the measure of 339 'bows,' having passed along to the E. of the edge of a small marsh which is (situated) together with.....<sup>26</sup> the road that goes to (the village, or tank, of) Halugere, the mark is a stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, at the limit where.....<sup>27</sup> joins the path. To the S. again of the stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, which is at the limit where the.....<sup>28</sup> joins this path, and at the measure of 240 'bows', the boundary-mark is the stone, marked with an impression of Vâmana, which is at the limit of the stream called 'the stream of the Palâśa tree'. Thus has been declared the settlement of the allotment of the four boundaries of the *agrahâra*-(village) of Tirmalâpura.

Such is the pious copper-charter, which was written and was bestowed with gifts of gold and libations of water, to the effect that they should enjoy, in the succession of sons and sons' sons, the proprietorship of the glory that attaches to the twelve hereditary dues and rent-free service lands commencing with the *Gaudike*<sup>27</sup> and the *Sênabôvike*<sup>28</sup>, and, as a grant to be enjoyed by one family, the *agrahâra*-(village) of Tirmalâpura, free from all assessment, as an allotment for the office of the instructor of astrology of the boundaries of Raṭṭhali and Kôḍa.

Now are written the witnesses to the fact that the village was given by the king Kîṣiṅgarâya to the learned Timmaṅgârya:—The sun, the

<sup>26</sup> The meaning of 'nali', 'nale', is not known.

<sup>27</sup> '*Gaudike*', the office of the '*Gauda*', or village head-man. '*Gauda*' is derived from '*grâma-ādhyâ*', through the forms '*gâvunḍa*', '*gâvunḍa*', '*gâvunḍa*', '*gâvunḍa*', '*gâvunḍa*', and '*gâvunḍa*'.

<sup>28</sup> '*Sênabôvike*', the office of the '*Sênabôva*', '*Sênabhôga*', or '*Sânabhôga*', the village accountant, Kuṭkarṇi.

moon, the wind and fire, the sky, the earth, the waters, the heart, and Yama<sup>29</sup>, and day, and night, and the two twilights, and Dharma<sup>30</sup>, know the conduct of a man! In this world, land that has been given to a Brâhman is as a sister to all kings, &c. ! In (discriminating between) giving a grant and preserving (the grant of) another, &c. ! “This general bridge of piety of kings, should at all times be preserved by you”, &c. ! He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, &c. ! As many particles of dust as the tears of eloquent Brâhman, fathers of families, who weep when they are despoiled of their wealth, gather up ; during so many years are kings, or those belonging to the families of kings,—who, throwing off restraint, take away the heritages of Brâhman,—tormented in the hell called Kum-bhîpâka ! They are guilty of incest with a mother, who seize upon any wealth in this *agrahâra* as complimentary presents, or as taxes, or even on account of the protection of the village ! Land given by oneself is as a daughter, land given by one’s father is as a sister, and land given by another is as a mother ; one should abstain from land that has been bestowed ! I carry on my head the lotuses which are the feet of those kings<sup>31</sup>, whether born in my own lineage or in the lineage of other kings, who, always thinking upon religion, spotlessly preserve this my religious act ! (May there be) the most auspicious good fortune ! May it be auspicious ! *Śrî ; śrî ; śrî ! Śrî-Virû-pâksha !*

<sup>29</sup> The god and judge of the dead.

<sup>30</sup> Right, Justice, or Virtue, personified.

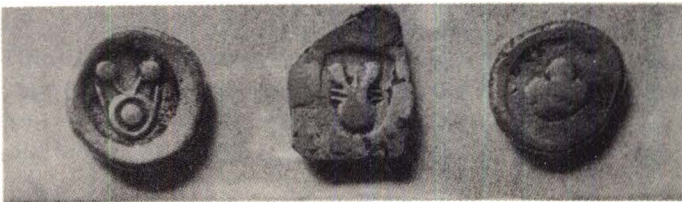
<sup>31</sup> *i.e.*, ‘I do obeisance to those kings.’

ART. XI.—*On some old Silver Coins found near Wai.*—By  
O. CODRINGTON, Sec. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.

The coins shown in the subjoined photograph were found a few months ago in a field at Sultánpur, a suburb situate about two miles north of the town of Wai, and inhabited by Musalmáns and Kulwáđís, in the Sátará collectorate. The field on the south-east of Sultánpur was formerly covered with houses, but is now under cultivation, and it was in the process of ploughing it up in the usual way that these coins were unearthed. How long it is since there were houses on this land is not known, but in Śaka 1665 (A.D. 1743), being then waste land, it was granted in inám to one Bhavánishankar Moreśvar Deshpáñde, and ever since it has been inám land.

The coins were forwarded to the Society by Mr. J. G. Moore, Collector of the district, to whom we are indebted for the above information regarding the place where they were found.

The hoard consisted of 52 pieces and a few fragments, viz., the ones marked A and B in the photograph, and 50 similar to that marked C. All are of silver. Mr. Hynes, of H. M.'s Mint, was good enough to assay a fragment, and found it to contain 89·18 per cent. of silver.



C

A

B

A, represented of actual size in the photograph, is a piece of metal weighing 110 grains, about  $\frac{1}{4}$ th inch in thickness, in shape an oblong square with one corner cut off, and with irregular edges. The ob-

verse—somewhat concave—bears a figure which has been stamped on it with a shield-shaped die of very much smaller area than the coin. There are cracks in the metal, resulting from the stamping, and the concavity of the obverse is the effect of the force used in impressing the die on its centre. The reverse—rather convex—is rough, and bears no marks of stamping. The figure on the obverse looks at first sight like the representation of an insect with fat body, short legs, pointed head, and branching horns or large claws; but I think it may be identified with a common symbol on Buddhistic coins which has been mentioned as like that of Taurus, and is well shown on page 211, vol. I. of Thomas's Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, where it is on a die of a similar shape to that of our coin. It will be seen, however, that the figure in this coin is more elaborate; there are the two legs on either side, and the pointed angular head; and these marks, with the general shape of the figure, lead to an identification of it with the *Trisul* symbol seen in the Buddhistic sculptures and carvings, which the more rude similar marks hitherto portrayed as found on coins do not. This is the mystic symbol found commonly in the carvings of the Sanchi and Amravati Topes. It crowns the pillars of the gateway of the former Tope, and is on numerous other positions, as may be seen in almost any of the photographs or plates in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* and in Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, and by both those authors is described as symbolical of Dharma. It is seen, too, commonly on the feet of Buddha, together with the *chakra* or wheel. In photograph No. 8 of a paper on "A Mystic Play performed in Ladak," in *Jour. R. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXII., the mask representing a bull's head is nearly the same in outline as the figure on our coin. This is not a little interesting in connection with this being a Buddhist symbol and like the sign of Taurus.

B weighs 108 grains; it is a thick round coin with rounded but rather irregular edges. Both faces are a little convex. On the obverse is a figure, indistinctly impressed from a circular die of nearly the same size as the coin, appearing to be a trefoil or quatrefoil,—which is probably the same as that on the coin in fig. 10, Plate XXXI. of *Bhilsa Topes*. The obverse is very irregular, and marked as if it had been beaten on a stone, as very possibly it was whilst being struck with the die.

Of the third variety there were 50, all more or less round, somewhat concave on the obverse, which is stamped with a curious device, and

convex on the reverse, which is plain. They vary much in size, and hardly any two are of exactly the same weight; but they may be divided into three sizes, viz. from 105 to 99 grains, from 58 to 45 grains, and from 23 to 21 grains. That represented in the photograph C is one of the largest. The coins were, I think, stamped when the metal was molten, for on the reverse of some there are evident marks of the grain of wood, and there is an absence of cracking of the metal observable in A, resulting from the striking forcibly with a die of smaller diameter than the coin; the round thick edge, like that of a wax impression, also favours this view. I have little doubt that a small quantity of the fluid metal was poured out on to a board or block of wood, and the die pressed on while still more or less soft. Some of them appear to have been stamped deeper than others, and they vary much in the sharpness of the impression, just as if the metal were softer when impressed in some cases than in others. A remarkable point is that although the device in all is the same, and appears to have been designed with some care, yet they are not all struck from one, but from many dies. I can count certainly thirteen different sorts; the variation in some is but small, but is enough to show that they must be from different dies. The device on the obverse is:—On a round area are three circular prominences arranged in a triangle, round one of which is a ring; from this ring two lines pass to each of the other prominences, which are not surrounded by a ring, making the whole look like a driving-wheel with connecting bands passing to two smaller wheels, as is seen in a machine.

I have not been able to find a device similar to this, either on coins or sculpture. The round spot surrounded by a ring is a not uncommon Buddhist symbol, and is found on coins usually as a group of four arranged in a square and joined in pairs by connecting lines crossing diagonally. But I can find no triangular arrangement.

Perhaps it is intended to represent the nave of the *chakra* or wheel, with garlands hanging on it, as in the Plate 43, fig. 1, of Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*.

Some on the reverse have indistinct marks of the same pattern, as if they had first been stamped on that side and then turned over and done on the other face.

These coins appear to differ from others yet described, both in workmanship and design. A is like in shape to the domino or punched



coins, in which one corner is trimmed off to adjust the proper weight ; but I find no allusion to any of this shape stamped with a die instead of punch. If B and C had been cast in a mould,—as, however, they clearly were not,—there would have been little difficulty in recognizing them as of the same kind as those commonly found at Ujjein. A series of coins found at Dhánk, in Káthiáwád, some year or two ago, seem to be more nearly allied to them than any others ; a description of them has not yet been published, but I believe my colleague Mr. Maṅḍlik has notes of them for the purpose of doing so. They are small square pieces of silver like the punched coins in general appearance, covered on both sides with various devices as found on the punched coins,—wheels, balls, elephants, &c.,—but in relief,—that is, impressed with a die, instead of sunken with a punch. Allusion is made in Thomas's *Prinsep's Antiquities*, vol. I., p. 213, to some unpublished coins on which “a square die has been driven home upon one surface so as to give the concavo-convex form, while the opposite face remains blank. The symbol within the square has the appearance of a rude quatrefoil.” No drawing is given of these, but the description to some extent tallies with our coins.

I think, then, that we may conclude that these coins show progress in development from the punched coins to the round die impressed money ; that the type of device is Buddhistic ; and that probably they occupy a place in the coinage of India between the punched coins and those cast in a mould bearing similar symbols.

I may add that I sent specimens of C, and casts of A and B, to Sir Walter Elliot for his opinion of them, and he writes to me as follows :—

“The very remarkable coins from Wai are unlike anything I have ever met with before, and I am quite at a loss to what era or dynasty to assign them. I have sent your note to Mr. Percy Gardner, of the British Museum, who has charge of the Indian and Oriental Department (exclusive of Sassanian coins), and he is equally puzzled with us.”

ART. XII.—*On Ancient Nágari Numeration ; from an Inscription at Náneghát.*—BY PANDIT BHAGAVÁN LÁL INDRAJÍ.

With this paper I present a plate containing Nágari numerals of ancient times. These numerals are taken from the inscriptions in a cave cut out of the rock, on the top of the Náneghát hill, and made long ago for the purpose of a resting-place for the travellers up that hill, which lies on the road between Kalyána and Junar.

This cave seems to have been carved by a descendant of the king Śátaváhana. Inside on the wall opposite the entrance there are carved figures of the members of his family, very much broken and defaced, but the names inscribed over their heads still remain entire, so we are able to know whom each figure represents. On both side-walls of the cave are inscriptions in big letters—the style of which is a little older than that of the inscriptions of Ushavadáta, the son-in-law of Kshatrapa, Nahapána, and Gotamiputra and Vasishtiputra, found in the Buddhist caves of Western India.

From the inscription it appears that the name of the king was Vedisiri (Vedaśrí). Amongst the figures on the wall next to that of king Śátaváhana are the remains of figures of a man and a woman, over the heads of whom there is written—

‘Deví Náyanikáya Ráño cha  
Siri Sát-kanino.’

‘Of queen Náyaniká and king Śrí SÁta-karṇi.

This king was, I believe, the one by whom the room and inscription were made. Śátakarni is not a name, but a title ; for the same appears to have been also applied to Śátaváhana\* and Gotamiputra,† so that his true name might be Vedisiri as written in the inscription, and he may have been known as Vedisiri Śátakarni.

An imperfect copy of part of this inscription is given in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV., p. 297 ; but, besides this, it has not been dealt with in the manner it ought to have been.

\* See *Vátsyáyana SÁtra*, chap. III. :—

कर्त्तव्यो कुन्तलः ज्ञातकर्णिः ज्ञातवाहनो महादेवी मलयावतीम् ॥

† See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. VII., Násik inscription No. 4.

राजो गोतमिपुत्रस सामि सिरि यत्रसतकर्णिस.

ANCIENT NAGARI NUMERALS FROM NANEGHÁT INSCRIPTIONS.

<i>Nos.</i>	<i>Numerals.</i>	<i>Their Value.</i>	<i>Nos.</i>	<i>Numerals.</i>	<i>Their Value.</i>
1	ॐ =	12	16	-	1
2	-	1	17	ॐ =	12
3	ॐॐ	1700	18	ॐॐ	21,000
4	ॐॐ?	189	19	-	1
5	ॐ १	17	20	ॐ	60,000
6	ॐॐ ॐ	11,000	21	ॐॐ -	10,001
7	ॐ	1,000	22	ॐ -	101
8	ॐ =	12	23	ॐॐ	1,100
9	-	1	24	ॐ	100
10	ॐॐॐॐ	24,400	25	ॐ -	101
11	ॐॐ	6,000	26	ॐॐ -	1,101
12	-	1	27	ॐॐ -	1,101
13	-	1	28	ॐ -	101
14	-	1	29	ॐ =	1,002
15	ॐ	100	30	ॐ -	1,001

I prepared a copy on cloth in actual size for my master, Dr. Bháu Dáji, one-half of which was missed during his lifetime, the rest was left unused at his death ; and this important inscription remains unpublished as yet. It is of much interest, as it seems to throw some light on the imperfectly known dynasty of Śátaváhana.

When copying the inscription, I took notes of the numerals which occur in it, and which I now present.

The inscription contains a list of gifts made on the occasion of the performance of several *yagnas* or religious sacrifices, and the numerals used in enumerating the gifts are very important, being of a different character to those which have been hitherto found in Western India caves. Although a great part of the inscription is obliterated, numerals are to be seen in no less than thirty different places, and these I give in the accompanying plate, in the order in which they were found in the inscription, with English equivalents.

Not only do we find specimens of ancient numerals from this inscription, but also the manner in which the numerals of ten thousand and upwards were written in those times.

Dr. Bháu Dáji described the numerals 1 to 9, and those representing tens, a hundred, and a thousand ; that they had distinct forms ; that 200 and 300 were made by adding one and two strokes to the sign of 100, and from 400 to 900 by adding the forms which represent the units to that of 100, thousands being written in the same manner as for hundreds. But we have hitherto been in the dark as regards ten thousand and upwards.

Referring now to the plate ; Nos. 1, 8, and 17 are the numeral 12, which is made by adding two strokes at the side of number 10 ; and Nos. 2, 9, 12, 13, 14, and 16 stand for 1, a horizontal stroke ; both as in ordinary cave numeration.

No. 3 is for 1700. That the first figure represents 1000 is evident from its always occurring before numerals for hundreds ; and other figures of units, it will be seen (as in 6, 10, 11, 18, 20, and 21), are added to it to represent so many thousands. It resembles the figure of Nágari *Ro* T and the English T, and is different from that expressing the same value in the other cave-inscriptions, which resembles the syllable *dhra*, q. The next numeral is 700, made by adding 7 to that of 100. This figure of 100 is of more ancient form than that which we find in the cave-inscriptions, 7. The form which I find in the inscriptions of Gupta Kála from Central India and Nepál resemble this closely.

No. 4 is for 189, the first figure being 100, and the second 80, which is nearly the same as the one found in the coins of Kshatraps of Sauráshtra. I identify the third figure as 9, it being the ancient form of that figure in the Násik caves, १.

No. 5 is 17, the first figure being 10, and the next 7, which also closely resembles that found in the Násik cave-inscriptions.

No. 6 is 11,000. The first figure, to represent 10,000, is made by adding the numeral 10 to that of 1000, which occurs in No. 3; and to make up the 11,000 the figure for 1000 is placed after it.

No. 7 is 1000.

No. 10 is 24,400. The first figure, standing for 20,000, is made by adding to the 1000 figure one denoting 20, the shape of which is like that seen in cave-inscriptions; the next figure, for 4000, is made by adding 4 to the 1000; and the last is a 4 added to 100, to represent 400. At first sight it looked like 104, but as the 4 is placed so close to the 100 it is probably meant for 400.

No. 11 is 6000, made by adding 6 of the cave-inscriptions to 1000.

Nos. 15 and 24 are 100.

No. 18 is 21,000. In this 20,000 is made exactly as in No. 10, and another 1000 figure is placed after it.

No. 20 I suppose to be 60,000, for the figure added to the 1000 seems probably to be that for 60, as a figure of this description representing that number is found on the coins of Virdama and Vijayasiñha, Kshatrapas of Sauráshtra. In those coins we find the mode of making 70 by adding a stroke on the side of the figure, thus ७.

And this is the ancient form of the figure for this amount found on the Kshatraps coins. By omitting the right side-stroke, that which remains resembles this figure.

There is a figure representing 70,000 in the Násik cave-inscription of Ushavadáta, where its value is also written in words:—*Sakatrani satari*," or Sanskrit "*Sakatrani sapṭati*." This figure is written thus—by adding ७, the sign for 70, to the one of 1000.

No. 21 is 1000.

No. 23 is 1100, *i.e.* figures of 1000 and of 100.

Nos. 26 and 27 are 1101, made by adding 1 to the 1100 figure of 23.

No. 29 is 1002; the first figure is 1000, the second 2.

No. 30 is 1001, made in the same way.

ART. XIII.—*A new Andhrabhṛitya King, from a Kanheri Cave Inscription.*—BY PANDIT BHAGAVANLĀL INDEAJI.

The inscription of which I give a copy, transcript, and translation is found in one of the caves at Kanheri, which stands last on the right side in the third row of the several groups of caves on the ascent of the Kanheri hill. All the caves of this place are numbered with white paint,—probably done by Mr. E. W. West, and the one in question is numbered 36. In the cave are two rooms, side by side, each about twelve feet square, and having another small room alongside it. There is a seat or platform opposite the doors which open on to a verandah 28 feet long by 5½ broad. The verandah roof is supported on two pillars, both a good deal broken, as is also the front wall of the rooms. In front of the verandah is an open courtyard 48 feet long by 19 broad, made by cutting out the rock. On the wall of this court, close to the verandah pilaster is found the inscription now under notice; and on the wall opposite to it is another. The greater portion of the latter is broken, but that which still remains is enough to show that the object of the two inscriptions is the same. Both are given in Mr. West's Kanheri inscriptions, marked Nos. 18 and 19, but are quite unintelligible. The one we are now describing is No. 19. It occupies a space of 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 6 inches, and is written in seven lines of big letters. With the exception of a few of the last words, the whole is intelligible. The wall on which the inscription appears is very rough and irregular, pieces of hard stone projecting here and there; owing to this the letter *ma* in the first line is half on the level surface and half on the prominent stone. The letters are similar to those used in the Buddhist cave inscriptions of Western India belonging to the kings of the Andhrabhṛitya family; the language also is ancient Prākṛit, resembling that used in those inscriptions.

The following are a transcript in modern Nāgarī, a literal translation into Sanskrit so as to show the resemblance between the two languages, and an English translation.

(*Transcript.*)

- 1 सिधं रजो मदरिपुतस स्वामि (सिरि) सेनस (!)
- 2 सवछरे ८ गिप ५ दिव १० एतायं पुवायं क-

- 3 लियाणकस नेकमस वेण्डुनंदिस पुतस नेग-  
 4 मस गहपतिस [सात्त !] स लेणं पतिठापितं  
 5 सहा आर्यकेन (जसे) न सहा पितुना वेण्डुनं-  
 6 दिना सहामातुये बोधिसमाये सहा भा-  
 7 [चुना - ] हथिना सहा सवेन (निकायेनेति)

(Sanskrit Translation.)

- 1 सिद्धम् राज्ञो मदरिपुत्रस्य स्वामिश्रीसेनस्य  
 2 संवत्सरे ८ ग्री. प. ५ दिव. १० एतस्यां पूर्वस्यां क-  
 3 ल्यालकस्य नैगमस्य विष्णुनन्दिनः पुत्रस्य नैग-  
 4 मस्य गृहपतेः (सात्त ! ) स्य लयनं प्रतिस्थापि-  
 5 तं सह आर्यकेण (यशसा) सह पित्रा विष्णुन-  
 6 न्दिना सह मात्रा बोधिसमया सह धा-  
 7 [त्रा - ] हस्तिना सह सर्वेण (निकायेनेति)

(Translation.)

(Salutation to) Sidha ! In the eighth year of king Maḍhariputra (son of Maḍhari), Lord Sirisena on sixth fortnight of *Grishma* (summer), the tenth day. On the aforesaid (date) a merchant householder the son of merchant Venhunandi (Vishṇunandi), resident of Kalyāna, made (erected) a cave of Sātta (?) with respectable [\*], with father Venhunandi, with mother Bodhisamā, with brother ... Hathi (?), with an assemblage of all (co-religionists).

NOTE.

In the above is written the sixth fortnight of *Grishma* : hence it appears that it is not one of the six seasons of the year, but one of the three, such as cold, hot, and rainy. This is summer, or hot of these three.

Kalyāna might be the town situated near Bombay, for it is found commonly in Kanheri cave inscriptions.

*Negam* is the Prakṛit word derived from Sanskrit *Naigama*, which is applied to merchants. This word is also written as *Nekima* in the above inscription, which shows that the word was being written in both ways at that period.

In a Pāli *Kośa* called *Abhidhāna pradīpikā* the word *Nikāya* is defined as an assemblage of co-religionists: सत्तातिनं तु कुलं निकायो तु सधंभिनं.

\* Name gone.

~~ԵՄԻ ԿԱՎՆԱԿԱՆ ԵՄ~~  
 ԿՆԱՄՔԱՐ ԵՄՔՅՆԱԿ  
 ԿՆԱՎՆԱԿԱՆ ԵՄԻ ԿԱՎՆԱԿԱՆ  
 ԵՄՔՅՆԱԿ ԵՄՔՅՆԱԿ  
 ԵՄՔՅՆԱԿ ԵՄՔՅՆԱԿ  
 ԵՄՔՅՆԱԿ ԵՄՔՅՆԱԿ  
 ԵՄՔՅՆԱԿ ԵՄՔՅՆԱԿ



REMARKS.—This inscription was made by a merchant of Kalyāna, to record his causing a cave to be made in the eighth year of the reign of Maḍhariputra. From the name and time, as shown by the form of the letters, of this Maḍhariputra, I consider him to be a member of the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty. In the caves of Násik, Kanherí, and Kárlí we find inscriptions of Andhrabhṛitya kings Gotamiputra and Vasishṭhiputra, both of whom are, I think, so called after their mothers, for it is quite clear from Mr. West's inscription No. 21 of Násik that the name of the mother of Gotamiputra was Gotami, for whose benefit the cave was made in the nineteenth year of the reign of Vasishṭhiputra, and who is described as the mother of Mahárāja and grandmother of Mahárāja : from which it can be inferred that she was grandmother of Vasishṭhiputra, who appears to have been a successor of Gotamiputra. The fact that the name of the mother of Gotamiputra was Gotami leads to the inference that the mother of Vasishṭhiputra was Vasishṭhi ; and in like manner Maḍhariputra would have been called after his mother, Maḍhari. Besides the above names, these kings had also their special names, as Gotamiputra was also called Yadna Śrí, Vasishṭhiputra Padumavi or Pulumayi, and our Maḍhariputra Sirisena. This name is rather doubtful in the inscription,—the upper portion of the *ra* in both syllables is rubbed out, and the letter seems like only a straight stroke in the hollow part of the stone on which it is inscribed, and thus the name reads like Saka Sena ; but as the *ra* is plainly legible in the inscription on the opposite wall the reading Sirisena seems more probable. I conjecture that this Sirisena or Maḍhariputra was a successor or son of Vasishṭhiputra or Padumavi, and the *Purānas* give a kind of support to this. In the *Vishṇupurāna*,\* where, naming the future kings, there occur the names Gomatiputra, his son Pulimat, and his son Śivasrí Satakarṇi. In like manner in the *Matsyapurāna* we find the names Gautamiputra, Pulomat, and Śivaśrí ; and in the *Bhagavat*, Gomtiputra, Purimata, and Medhaśiva. Now these names can be safely identified, the first with our Gotamiputra, the second with Pulimayi or Padumavi, and the third with Sirisena or Maḍhariputra. The name Medhaśiva which occurs in the *Bhagavat* appears to be a corruption of Madharaputra ; and Śivaśrí, which occurs in the *Vishṇupurāna* and the *Matsyapurāna*, appears to be formed from Sirisena. Satakarṇi, affixed to the name Śivaśrí of the *Vishṇupurāna*, was probably a title applied to all the members of the family.

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\* Wilson's *Vishṇupurāna*, p. 472.

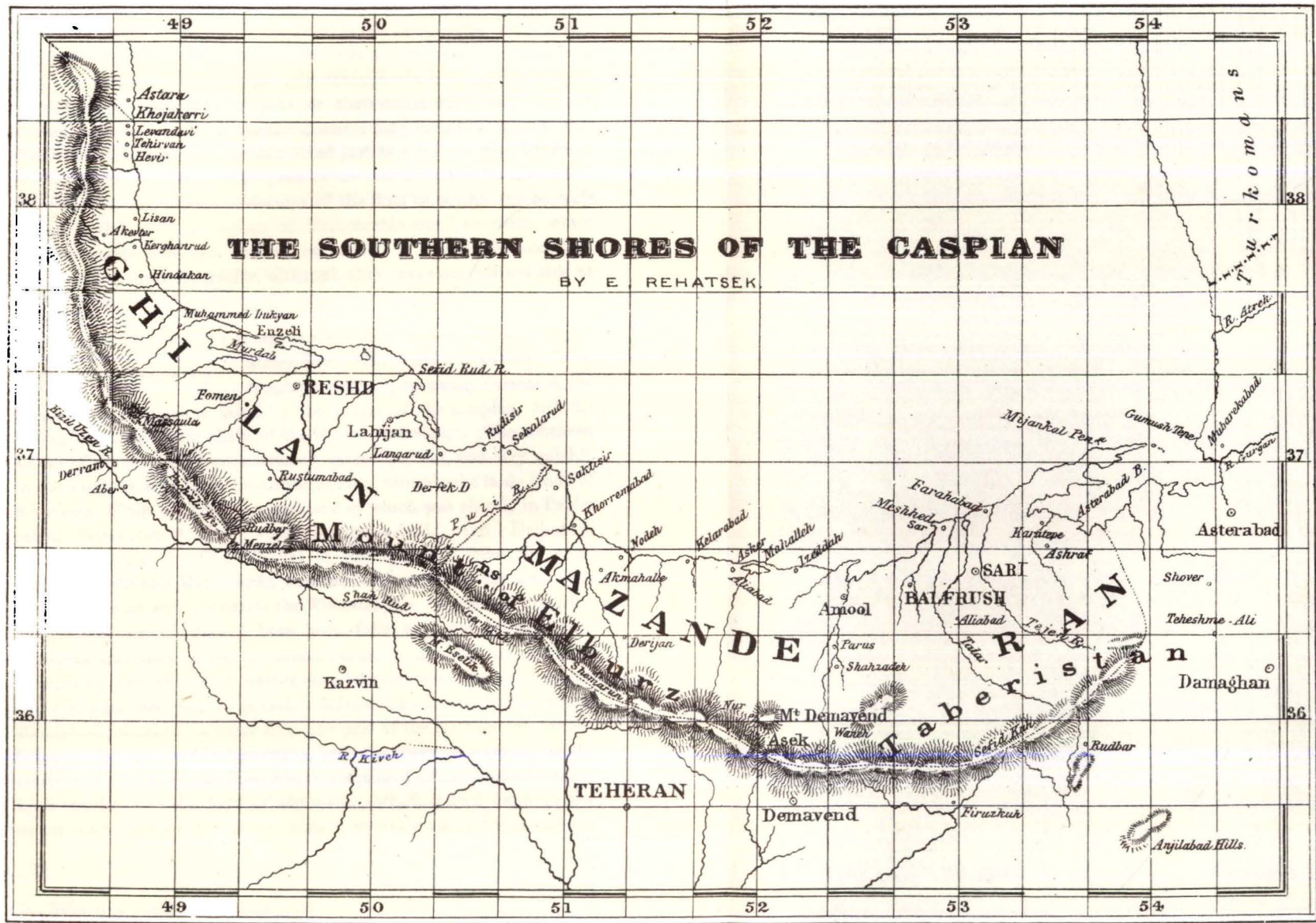
ART. XIV.—*The Báw and Gáobárah Sephabuds along the southern Caspian shores.* BY E. REHATSEK.

Some of the kinglets of northern Persia reigning in Gilán, Mázan-derán, and Tabaristán, the extent of whose Preliminary Remarks. dominions fluctuated at various periods, and was enlarged to several provinces, or diminished to a small district or town only, according to their prowess and capacities, were not seldom dubbed with the magnificent title of Pádsháh, although their general title was *Sephabud*, *Esphabud*, and, arabized, *Açfhabud*,—meaning a general, or military leader. They were also occasionally called *Ustandár*, or mountain-prince, translated by the Arabs *Melik-aljabál*, as *Ustán*, which means in Persian ‘a threshold,’ is said to be ‘a mountain’ in the Ṭabari language; whilst others state that the word ought to be pronounced *Ustándár*, because the thresholds of those mountaineers served as a refuge to all strangers, from whom they never accepted any reward for their hospitality. The title of *Marzbán* was inferior to that of Sephabud; and the *Mazmughán*,\* ‘prince of the ignolaters,’ which the Arabs translate *Kabir-almajús*, ‘great man of the Majús or Magi,’ must in early times have been an ecclesiastical dignitary.

The reason why several of these little sovereigns managed to subsist, after the establishment of Islám, for centuries, partly as independent princes, and partly as rebels against the power of the Khalifs, whose armies, as well as those of the Ṭaherides, the Samanides, the Deilemites, the Turkománs, and Khovarezmities, many times invaded their territories, and why at least the Báw and the Gáobárah Sephabuds succeeded in maintaining themselves in the *Kóhestán*, or ‘mountain region,’ must be sought in the rugged and wild character of a land full of

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\* Pehlvi مَسّ great + مگوي *magoi*, priest = great priest: pp. 233 and 235, *Wörterbuch. Der Bundehesh*, von F. Justi. *Mazmughán* was also the title of the prince of Danyavend or Demavend (*Dorn*), as well as of the *Marzbán* of Myánrúd, now called Myándarúd.



**THE SOUTHERN SHORES OF THE CASPIAN**

BY E. REHATSEK

**GILAN**

**MAZANDARAN**

**TABERISTAN**

Astara  
Khojakerri  
Lewandavi  
Tehirvan  
Hevi

Lisan  
Akhvar  
Bergharud  
Hindaban

RESHA

Fomen

Masaula

Kazvin

Sofid Bud. R.

Langarud

Der-Pek D.

Rudisir

Sekalarud

Saktisir

Amool

TEHERAN

Khorranshabad

Nodeh

Akmahab

Dorijan

Demavend

Kolarabad

Aster

Amool

Parus

Shahzadeh

Demavend

Farahabad

Meshked Sar

SARI

BALFRUSH

Aliabad

Firuzkur

Mijankal Pen.

Haratpe

Ashraf

Teich B.

Rudbar

Rudbar

R. Atrak

Moharshabad

R. Gorgan

Asterabad

Shover

Teheshme Ali

Damaghan

Anjilabad Hills

38

37

36

38

37

36

49

50

51

52

53

54

49

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51

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53

54

jungles, rocks, and precipices, as well as of malarious plains; in the independent nature of mountaineers; and in the struggles of the Abbaside Khalifs with various rebels, who sometimes so fully engaged their forces that the princes of Ṭabaristán and Mázanderán had opportunities of temporarily throwing off the yoke of their conquerors, and at others arrived in these regions as fugitives, where they found an asylum with the Sefhabuds, with whom they sided just as much on religious as on political grounds. Such was especially the case in the time of the Khalif Mámún, who was a fierce persecutor of the Shia'hs, so that the Sayyids retired to the mountain regions of Deilemestán and Ṭabaristán, where the Sefhabuds, who had, at their conversion to Islám, embraced that sect, received them cheerfully, although they were not always able to protect them.

The provinces along the southern shores of the Caspian Sea—namely, Mázanderán, Gilán, and Ṭabaristán—form, General view of the country. roughly and briefly speaking, a crescent, the concave side of which is laved by the waters of the Caspian, and the convex bounded by the chain of the Elburz mountains. The southern shores of the sea, which are extremely narrow and flat, rise very quickly to the south in very steep mountain terraces towards the table-lands of Khorásán, E'rák, or Erán, the highland of which was already in Pehlvi called Tapuristán, \* *i.e.* 'wood, mountain-land,' and Deilmann, Deilan, or Dilan by Ebn Haukal, to distinguish it from the coast plains of Gilán and Mázanderán, situated northward near the sea. The high mountains which separate the *Kóhestán*, *i.e.* 'highland,' from the *Farashwád*, *i.e.* 'lowland,' have been fully explored by numerous European travellers during the present century only, and the confusion entailed by the variety of names used in the works of geographers and historians has come to an end. *Mázanderán* has, according to the *Bundehesh*, obtained its name from one pair of the six races of human beings† who remained in Ganiratha, but was always considered as the country of the rebellious Divs who rose against Ormuzd, and are said to have assailed even the light of the stars,—which indeed happens also in our times, because the dense mists constantly rising there, and the

\* Tapuristán and Gilán, xxiii. 10. The former also in xxvii. 14 and lii. 19. *Der Bundehesh*, von F. Justi, Leipzig, 1868.

† Und von einem Paare entsprangen die Mazandranier: *ibid.*, xxviii., p. 21.

thick clouds overshadowing the country, obscure the serene sky by their evaporations. The northern slopes of the Elburz chain of mountains to the Caspian Sea in the direction of Gilán and Mázanderán present natural phenomena entirely differing from other parts of the country,—namely, a tract of a maritime character overcharged with moisture and heat, closely touching cold snowy heights and high dry table-lands, where the greatest contrasts, such as lowlands, morasses, with rice-fields and thick jungles, with exuberant quantities of fruits and a corresponding wealth of cultivated plants, but also malaria, fever-air, fogs, cloudy skies, and sea-tempests prevail,—quite the reverse of the naked, torrid, treeless steppes of Khorásán and the interior of Erán, vaulted by a perpetually blue and sunny sky.

*Gilán*—which is generally even more narrow than Mázanderán, extends like it and to the west of it along the coast—has Resht for its capital, with two district towns, Foman and Lahiján, and only two harbours worth mentioning, namely, Enzeli and Lenger-rúd, *i. e.* ‘anchor-river.’ Gilán is, similarly to Mázanderán, a littoral region, and constitutes with it, even in our times, part of an extensive forest belt passing eastwards through the whole of Mázanderán up the Gurgán river, and extending as far as the frontier of Khorásán, whilst it is on the west bounded by the plateau of Ađerbeiján, so that its whole length, from 48° to 54° Long. Greenwich, amounts to six degrees. This forest belt leaves in Mázanderán often a strip of coast between the foot of the mountain chain and the sea which extends to a journey of five or six hours, whilst in Gilán it mostly advances close up to the shore, and to the south of Astrábád it retires most.

The highest summits of the large Elburz chain protrude naked from among the lower mountains, and frequent earthquakes on both sides of them often cause great devastation. The declivities of the mountains and the plains adjoining them enjoy a vegetation so luxuriant that human hands cannot subdue it; the most splendid forests cover the mountain slopes, and these then gradually descend in terraces planted with orchards, vincyards, and mulberry trees, all of which are constantly in danger of being overwhelmed by the superabundant growth of the wild vegetation; then the rice fields and sugar plantations spread themselves out in the lowlands, whilst in the morasses and lagoons along the shores forests of reeds and brushwood abound. The people have not yet learnt to use the timber of their forests for the

building of ships, or of bridges over their countless rivers, or for any other purpose than making large roofs over their houses, like the Tyrolese and Swiss, to protect them from snow and rain. The branches of trees hang thickly in inextricable confusion over precipices, passes, and banks of navigable rivers as well as over the sea-shore, and overshadow the fields and the gardens of the people; wherefore sailing-vessels and boats with their masts avoid the navigable but also otherwise dangerous rivers of Gilán and Mázanderán, and Turkomans seldom venture from their treeless deserts into regions where they cannot easily penetrate with their horses, and where the spear, their principal weapon, would be every moment entangled among the creepers and thickets. The chief food in Gilán, and the only corn cultivated there, is rice, of an excellent quality.

*Mázanderán* is situated east of the province of Astrábád, and separated from it by the mountains extending between Ashref and Nohundah to the sea; whilst the river Puli-rúd, which runs between the coast towns Kumábád and Lahiján into the sea, divides it on the west from Gilán. The just mentioned river, at whose mouth the warm springs *Abi-germ* are situated, rises north of the town of Kazvin on the Elburz ridge, which sends out a spur in a northerly direction, the outermost promontory of which bears near the mouth of the Puli-rúd the name *Sekht-ser* ('hard head'); so that both forms, namely, the spur, with the mountain torrent rushing through the river valley, are to be considered as the natural boundaries between the two provinces.

Also the flat portion of Mázanderán is, like Gilán, merely a narrow strip of land between mountain chains and sea wastes, which is broadest about Amul and Balfrush; whilst east of Sári and Ashref near Puli Nika, between both of them and further on, the mountains again more approach the coast. Near Sári the sea-shore is from seven to eight hours distant from the foot of the mountains, and from twelve to fourteen geographical miles more to their summit. The breadth of the plain is, however, double near Balfrush, and at the same distance into the country the foremost of the splendidly wooded heights, overtopped by the snow-covered Demavend, begin to rise. This broadest and most cultivated tract of Mázanderán is everywhere covered by villages, which are, however, on account of the foliage of the trees concealing them, not visible to the traveller. Here the most important towns, such as Alum, Balfrush, Sári, and Ashref, are situated; and here the cotton plantations, the rice fields, and the

sugarcane forests are most extensive, although the cane here never attains its tropical stoutness, and is not even as thick as a finger.\*

The power of the Sephabuds of Mázanderán, Gilán, and Ṭabaristán was never considerable enough to extend beyond their own territories; hence it is no wonder that even in large historical works, *e.g.* that of Mirkhond, no mention is made of them, and all the information that can be gleaned from him is merely incidental as connected with the invasions of their country during the khalifate of A'bd-ulmelik and the Abbaside Khalifs of Bagh'dád, who reigned after him, many of whom established *Náybs* or lieutenant-governors. The just mentioned Khalif sent Yazid Ben Almalahab, and afterwards Mançúr sent his own son Mohdy, with Ab-Alkhaçib and O'mar B. Allá, with an army to Ṭabaristán, and they took Amul A.H. 137 (A.D. 754-5). After that Khozaimah arrived, who remained but two years, but slew many of the inhabitants. These *Náybs* were regularly sent from Bagh'dád, but were sometimes expelled, especially during the time of Vendád Hormuz; but in A.H. 224 (A.D. 838-9), when the tyrant Sephabud Mazyár was slain, the *Náybs* again prevailed in Ṭabaristán, although their power often extended not further than their military posts, and they could never meddle with the independence of the Kóhestán; some of them were also very tyrannical, especially the Hákum Muḥammad Aws, against whom the whole of Ṭabaristán rose in arms, until in A.H. 250 (A.D. 864) the Dáa'y Alkebir received the homage of the people.

The sturdy independence of the mountaineers and of their Sephabuds commands respect, and the resistance they offered during several centuries to the invaders who became their conquerors is beyond all praise; but when they become amalgamated with them the strong marks of a separate nationality and character are not only blurred, but totally effaced, and this is the reason why the present paper is confined to the earlier Sephabuds. Many of the little dynasties are remarkable for nothing, and contain little worth noticing beyond mere names; therefore the most remarkable of them, namely, the Bāw and Gáobárah, have been selected. The *Tárikh of Ṭabaristán, Ruyán, and Mázanderán*, by Sayyid Zahir-aldyn, is the most extensive and

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\* Carl Bitter's *Erdkunde*, vi., pp. 417-435.

the most important history of these countries, but it is written in an unconnected way, without taking in the collateral information available for each dynasty from the others, and composed as if the various accounts had not been influenced by events occurring in others; wherefore the Báu and the Gáobárah Sefhabuds<sup>4</sup> present a very meagre appearance, which is in this paper supplemented by taking the necessary information from other parts of the work, and adding whatever could be made available from Mirkhond. There is also another work of much smaller pretensions, composed as late as the time of the emperor Akber and by his command,—the *Muntakhab Altovárykh*, or Selection of History, containing only chronological lists of the Sefhabuds, but no historical information; and one of these lists, which agrees pretty well with the data of Zahir-aldyn\*, is here inserted for the sake of a general view, before giving the more detailed account of the Báu Sefhabuds, who were, after him, called the Báuand Princes.

*Princes of Mázanderán and Tabaristán.*

*Kyús*, the son of Kobád and elder brother of Anushirván, was by the latter appointed governor of Mázanderán, but having, after a reign of seven years, revolted against his brother, was slain, and Anushirván bestowed the dignity on *Sukhrá*, in whose family it remained nearly 102 years. *Shápúr Ben Kyús* was, after the execution of his father, in the service of his uncle; and died during the reign of Hormuz. *Báu B. Shápúr*, after whose name these princes are called, went to Constantinople in the service of Khosru Párviz, and, having distinguished himself also in the war against Behrám Chúbinah, was, by the command of Párviz, appointed governor of Eçtakhar, of E'rák, and of Ađerbeiján; but on the accession of queen Arzemidukht to the throne [A.D. 631, A.H. 10], being ashamed to serve under a woman, he retired to a fire-temple in 'Tabaristán, but was, after the murder of Yazdegird [A.D. 651, A.H. 31-32], in the year A.H. 45 [A.D. 665-6], made king by the people of 'Tabaristán, where he reigned fifteen [eighteen] years, when he was slain, A.H. 63 [A.D. 682-3], by Vellásh, who struck him in the district of Sári with a brick on the back [of his head], so that he expired. His little son Surkháb, who had taken refuge with a gardener, was eight years afterwards discovered by a magnate, recognized, and brought to Kullá, where the people of the Kóhestán congregated around him, and made a night attack on

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\* pp. ۳۲۲ and ۳۲۳



Vellásh and slew him. *Surkháb B. Báw* became king after Vellásh, and died after a reign of thirty years. *Míhmerdún B. Surkháb* reigned forty years and died, and was succeeded by *Surkháb B. Míhmerdún*, who reigned twenty years, but having in A.H. 142 [A.D. 759-60] broken his covenant with the Musalmáns, Abu Ja'fer sent Abu-Allaçeb with an army against him, and having fortified himself in a stronghold, afterwards taken by stratagem, poisoned himself, A.H. 143 [A.D. 760]. The Sephabud *Sharvyn B. Surkháb* then attained power, reigned twenty-five years, and became known as the Melik-aljebál ['prince of the mountains'], but the Abbaside Khalif Mohdy sent his own son Hady against him, A.H. 167 [A.D. 783], and he was slain. *Sheheryár B. Kárn B. Sharvyn* reigned twenty-eight years, and died during the time of Mámún, A.H. 210 [A.D. 825-6]. Then *Shápúr B. Sheheryár* governed, but, being ill-tempered, Mázýár B. Kárn and Músa B. Hafç marched against him with an army by order of Mámún, and he was slain by the hand of Mázíár. *Ja'fer B. Sheheryár* succeeded his brother in the government, and died soon after Hasan B. Zayd, surnamed Dúa'y Kabir, had revolted, after having reigned twelve years. *Kárn B. Sheheryár* reigned after his brother for thirty years, and was the first of these princes who made a profession of Islám. *Rustum B. Surkháb B. Kárn* reigned twenty-three years after his grandfather, and at his request Ráfi' Harsamah came with an army to Mázanderán, became one day Rustum's guest, and sent him to a fort, where he expired during the month Ramzán A.H. 282 [A.D. 895-6]. *Sharvyn B. Rustum* became the ruler of Mázanderán by the aid of the Sámánians, and attained supremacy over the whole of Tabaristán, Deilem, and Kúmesh, so that afterwards Naçr B. Aḥmed Súmány, who had marched against him with an army as far as Hezár Jerib, was compelled to return disappointed. *Esphabud Sheheryár B. Sharvyn* reigned thirty-seven years. *Dári B. Dára* reigned thirty-five years, and aided Kábús B. Vashmgir in recovering his power, who nevertheless became his foe and brought about his death, A.H. 397 [A.D. 1006-7]. *Esphabud Rustum B. Sheheryár* began to reign A.H. 418 [A.D. 1027-9], but was made prisoner in a war against A'llá-aldaulah, and expired in captivity A.H. 419 [A.D. 1028], the dynasty being extinguished in him.\*

\* As already mentioned, the above list agrees pretty well with Zahir-aldyn, who gives the names of these Sephabuds in two different parts of his *Tavárykh*,

## THE BAW SEPHABUDS.

When Alexander the Great distributed the provinces of Erán, he gave the country of Ṭabaristán to the descendants of Janafsháh, who were of royal blood, and who reigned there till the time of Kóbád, but then died out\* or were extirpated† by his son Kyús, who was appointed by him governor of Ṭabaristán, the inhabitants of which soon took a liking to him, as he was brave, and assisted him also in expelling the Turks from the whole of Khorásán. At that time the false prophet Mazdak had succeeded in ingratiating himself with Kóbád, who openly countenanced his pernicious doctrines, subversive of the laws of property and of conjugal relations, until he was at last brought to judgment by the strenuous efforts of Nushirván, the younger son of Kóbád, and his sect annihilated. When Kóbád died, the Khákán of the Turks marched to the banks of the Jaihún (Oxus), but was soon put to flight by Nushirván, whom his brother Kyús had aided with the troops of Ṭabaristán. After the victory Kyús aspired to the throne and marched against Madayn, the capital of Nushirván, who was successful in capturing him, but professed his readiness to liberate him and to make him again governor of Ṭabaristán if he would abandon his claim to the throne. Kyús, however, preferred death to servitude; accordingly he was, after having reigned seven years, deprived of life by Nushirván, who retained his son Shápúr at Madayn, gave the governorship of Ṭabaristán to the descendants of Sukhrá, and parcelled out also the other districts governed by Kyús to various officers.‡

When Firúz B. Yazdegird B. Behrám Gúr B. Yazdegird ascended the throne (A.D. 457) the Turanian Pádsháh of the country of Hiatalah, Ajustvár by name, fought against him until peace

The descendants of Sukhrá

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namely, at pp. ۲۰۱ *et seq.* and p. ۳۲۳. He omits to mention Shápúr B. Shoheryár, and there is no doubt that, if he actually did reign, his government must have been of extremely short duration. According to him the Baw princes reigned from A.H. 45 [A.D. 665-6] till A.H. 397 [A.D. 1006-7], i.e. 352 years,—which, however, prove to be only 349 on adding up the separate reigns from Vellásh to Dárá B. Dárá, whom he calls Shoheryár Ben Dárá. Vellásh was, however, preceded by Baw, to whom also he assigns fifteen years; whilst, as shown above, the *Muntakhab Alawárykh* adds one more sovereign. All these differences are, however, too slight to warrant the insertion of Zahir-alayn's two lists in this place, and a particular discussion of them.

\* *ظهیر الدین* p. ۲۰۱.

† *Ibid.*, p. ۳۱۸.

‡ *Ibid.* ۲۰۱ *et seq.*

was concluded on the condition that the river Oxus should, as far as the district of Balkh, constitute the frontier between them. This peace lasted for a while, but was broken by Ajustvár, who invaded and devastated the country of Firúz Sháh, met him in battle, captured and slew him, and kept his children and Amirs prisoners. Firúz Sháh had left Sukhrá B. Kárn B. Sukhrá at Madayn as his viceroy ; he was a descendant of the famous blacksmith and warrior Gavah, and, being a man of great resources and popularity, soon attracted to himself all who had fled from Ajustvár, whose country he now invaded, and whom he not only compelled to sue for peace, but extorted from him apologies with expressions of regret for having slain Firúz Sháh. For this great exploit, brought about by his exertions, the assembled Mobeds and grandees of Erán conferred on Sukhrá the title of Sefhabud, which had ere this been bestowed only on Pádsháhs.

Firúz Sháh had left three sons, Kóbád, Bellásh, and Jamásp, the last mentioned of whom, being the youngest, agreed to the nomination of Bellásh, who was made Pádsháh ; but Kóbád refused to acknowledge him as such, and went to Khorásán, whence he proceeded to the Khákán, in conjunction with whom he invaded Erán ; but when they arrived in the town of Rey they heard that Bellásh had died (A.D. 487), after a reign of four years. Sukhrá obtained the allegiance of the nobles and magnates for Kóbád, requesting him to assume the reins of government and to get rid of his Turk allies, of whom there was no need ; accordingly Kóbád ascended the throne by the aid of Sukhrá, who afterwards, however, fell into disgrace by the machinations of certain courtiers, and, being apprehensive of further calamities, took, with his nine sons, refuge in Tabaristán. Kóbád despatched several persons after Sukhrá, who treacherously murdered him, whereupon his sons departed from Tabaristán, and went to Badakhshán, where they established themselves, bought estates, and accumulated property. When Kóbád died (A.D. 531), after a reign of more than forty years, and Nushirván was desirous to atone for the ingratitude of his father, he made use of an opportunity, when the Turkish Khákán had invaded Khorásán and Tabaristán, and the sons of Sukhrá had given him effective aid in battle, by asking them to accept from him the position of Veziers or Sefhabuds. They were apprehensive that by accepting dignities of that kind at court they might become sufferers from intrigues like their father, and refused ;

but on being asked to select provinces for themselves and their descendants to live in, Zernihr, who was the eldest brother, chose Zábulistán, and Kárn, the younger, Ṭabaristán, where he made himself a habitation on a mountain; wherefore the mountainous regions of the Kóhestán are called Jebál Kárn, *i.e.* 'the mountains of Kárn,' and he obtained the name of Sefhabud of Ṭabaristán.\*

When Nushirván died he was succeeded by his son Hormuz Bâw, after whom the (A.D. 579), who reigned twelve years. Bâwund Sefhabuds are during which also Shápúr B. Kyús died, called. leaving a son Bâw, who afterwards entered the service of Khosru Párviz, accompanied him to Constantinople, and distinguished himself in the war against Behrám Chúbínah. When Khosru Párviz ascended the throne he conferred the governments of Ectakhar, of Ađerbeiján, of the E'rák, and of Ṭabaristán on Bâw. After the wicked Shiruyah had slain his father, Khosru Párviz, destroyed his palace in Madayn, and plundered his property, he was himself overtaken by the avenging hand of fate. Then the magnates placed Azermidukht on the throne (A.H. 10, A.D. 631-2), and induced her to offer the command of the army to Bâw, whom they also invited to the court; but he replied that only men of no standing would agree to serve a woman, and having retired to a fire-temple remained there until the government lapsed to Yazdegird B. Sheheryár, whom the Moslem army conquered at Kádesyah, and whose Commander-in-chief, Rustum Farrukhzád, they had slain. When Yazdegird fled to Rey, Bâw waited on him, probably with the intention to offer him his services, the necessity for which soon ceased, because when Bâw had returned to Ṭabaristán the information about the treachery of Máhi Súri, and the ruin of Yazdegird brought about by him, had already spread all over the country; so that nothing remained for Bâw to do but to shave his head, to retire to a fire-temple among the mountains, and to bide his time. When the Turks began to rise from the direction of Khorásán, the Arabs advanced from the side of the E'rák, and the Gáobárah princes governed Ṭabaristán separately, the magnates of it concluded unanimously that they required a Pádsháh to serve whom they need not be ashamed. They

\* ظهير الدين p. ۳۱-۳۵

† See my 'Moslem Conquest of Persia,' *Journ. As. Soc.*, vol. XI, pp. 183-4.

found no one more fit to be their sovereign than Bāw; therefore they went to him, and induced him, after many solicitations, to assume the reins of government, the people agreeing in writing to consider him as the master of their lives and property. Accordingly he left the fire-temple, took his arms, mounted his horse, and succeeded in a short time in purifying Ṭabaristán from the disturbers of the peace. He had governed fifteen years when Vellásh slew him in a treacherous and cowardly manner in the district of Chármán, at that time known as Shármán, by striking him with a brick on the back [of his head].

Vellásh forced the people to pay him allegiance, and was eight\* or twenty-five years† governor of Ṭabaristán; Vellásh. Bāw, however, had left a son, Surkháb by name, with whom his mother had taken refuge in a village in the house of a gardener, whilst the whole country obeyed Vellásh except the people of Kúllá, a man of which place, called Khordád Khosru or Khórzád, saw the boy in the house of the gardener, recognized him after a great deal of trouble, and took him, with his mother, to Kúllá, where the people gathered around him, as well as the inhabitants of Mount Kárn, with whose aid a night attack was made on Punjáhezar, during which Vellásh was captured and slain. The people carried Surkháb to Ferym, where they set him up as a Pádsháh, and constructed for him on the heights of Taliv, which is a village at the base of the fort of Kúz, a castle, a bath, and a race-course, the ruins of which still exist. From that time till the extinction of the Bāw family and the murder of Fahr-aldaulah (A.H. 750, A.D. 1349-50‡) no kings or sulṭáns could entirely overthrow the government of the princes of this line. Many struggles took place, but they always remained masters of the Kóhestán, although sometimes the lowland of Mázanderán was not in their possession, and were for that reason called 'the Princes of the mountains,' *Melik-aljabál*. They were often conquered by the Gāobárah and the Kárvend princes, by the Deilemites, the Bāwides, as well as the Shamgir dynasty; and the Abbaside Khalifs sent armies into their district, which committed depredations and prevailed till the time of the mountain prince Sephabud Sharvyn B. Surkháb B. Bāw, who made an alliance

\* ظهير الدين p. ۲۰۶

† *Ibid.*, p. ۳۱۹, and twenty years according to p. ۳۲۳

‡ *Ibid.*, p. ۲۰۷ and also p. ۳۲۴

with Vendád B. Hormuz, when all the Arab Amyrs were expelled from Tabaristán, and the Sephabud Sharvyn occupied the country as Pádsháh\*.

The various princes, such as Vendád Hormuz of the Kóhestán, the Sephabud Sharvyn Bávand who was at that time in Ferim, and Vellásh the prince of ignolaters† in Miándérud, as well as the *Ustándár* Sheheryár B. Bádúspán Gáobárah, who held at that time the fort of Kallár and governed Ruyán, had entered into a secret covenant to expel the officers of the Khalif Mohdy (reigned from 775, Oct. 6, till 785, Aug. 3,—which makes two years ten months and one day), who held the whole of Tabaristán in subjection, and tyrannized greatly over the people. Accordingly they appointed a certain day, on which great slaughter was committed, Vendád Hormuz beginning with his men to slay the highest officers, and wherever the soldiers of the Khalif were found they were killed; even women who had become their wives did not hesitate to surrender their husbands to the Mázanderánians to be slain, so that all the men of the Khalif were, from the boundary of Gilán as far as Tamisháh, extirpated in one day.

At that time O'mar B. Ala'llá had garrisoned Ruyán with six hundred men, whilst Naçr B. O'mrán was quartered in Gilánábád with five hundred. O'mar B. Nahran with five hundred troops had occupied Behrámbád, whilst A'li Hassár had his station with five hundred men at Velláshgerd. Sa'yed B. Da'luj was with one thousand men at Sa'yedábád, whilst Façl B. Sahl Du-alryasetyn was stationed with five hundred men at Jálús, and Khurram Alsa'dy with five hundred at Rosták Kúllá, which is the beginning of Deilemestán. All these were within the period of one day slain in the province of Ruyán except O'mar B. Ala'llá, who, being at variance with the Khalif, had begun to colonize and build Sa'yedábád, which Sa'yed B. Da'luj completed, and he was, by the connivance of the people of Ruyán, allowed to remain.

After this catastrophe the inhabitants of Tabaristán became again free from the yoke of the Khalif, and whilst the Sephabud Sharvyn Bávand occupied the position of ruler, Vendád Hormuz held that of Commander of the army, wherefore he was named *Çáheb-aljysh*; he was also the

\* ظهير الدين p. ۲۰۷

† *Ibid.*, p. ۱۵۶ مضمان = معان + مس = كبير الجوس

Lord of the Kohestán, but acknowledged, like his predecessors, the supremacy of the Bávund family.

When Mohdy was made acquainted with what had befallen his officers, he immediately despatched Sálem Further struggles with the Arabs. Fergh'áni, well known for his bravery and nicknamed Sheytán Fergh'áni, to Ṭabaristán, but was met by Vendád Hormuz in the plain of Palm, and afterwards slain by his son Vendád Ezad. Then the Khalif sent Ferásháh with ten thousand men, who entered Ṭabaristán by the way of Arum. Vendád Hormuz had joined the Sefhabud Sharvyn Melik-aljabál, and both agreed that no opposition should be offered to the invader, in order to embolden him; they marched to Kúllá and constructed two barriers, near which they drew up four thousand men armed with spears and daggers, as well as four hundred drummers and trumpeters, whilst they were themselves posted with four hundred men opposite, so that when Ferásháh advanced and perceived his antagonists to be apparently but few in number he progressed still further; hereupon the Sefhabud Sharvyn and Vendád Hormuz retreated and were pursued, but returned as soon as they had allured the enemy into the two barriers of faggots and brushwood which concealed their own army, the trumpeters and drummers of which immediately raised a horrible noise; Ferásháh was attacked and slain, and his troops fled.

Some time afterwards the Khalif sent Rúh B. Hátem to Ṭabaristán as governor; but, being of a cruel and tyrannical disposition, he was soon removed, and Kháled B. Bermek was sent after him, who made peace with the Sefhabud, and left him master of the Kóhestán; he was, however, likewise recalled after a while, and superseded by Kesym B. Senán; after whom Yazyd B. Mazyd and Hasan Kuhtubah arrived, all of whom lived in peace with the Sefhabud. Then the Khalif sent his son Hády to Gorgán, and Vendád Hormuz joined him and went with him to Bagh'dád, where he was till the Khalif Mohdy died (A.D. 785, August 3) and was succeeded by his son Hády; when, however, the Khalif's Náyb in Ṭabaristán was slain by Vendád Asfán, the brother of Vendád Hormuz, the Khalif intended to take the life of the latter, who was no doubt maintained at the court as a kind of hostage and security for the good behaviour of his countrymen, although apparently an honoured guest, and not a prisoner; being, however, on good terms with the courtiers, and a cunning man of the world as well as a brave

soldier, Vendád Hormuz pledged himself that he would, if permitted to do so, bring to Bagh'dád the head of his own brother, who, as he had always been his foe, had, with a view to injure him, slain the Náyb of the Khalif, knowing full well that the latter would take reprisals and avenge the murder by that of Vendád Hormuz. After deliberating with his courtiers, with whom Vendád Hormuz had ingratiated himself, the Khalif allowed him to depart, invested him with a robe of honour, exacted an oath of fealty, and sent him to Ṭabaristán. When, however, Vendád Hormuz arrived in Mázanderán, he eschewed all intercourse with the men of the Khalif, with whom the Sefhabuds were sometimes at feud and sometimes at peace, and altogether avoided meeting the Arab officers who garrisoned Amul and Sári. Meanwhile Hády died, and Hárún-alrashyd, who became Khalif, took Sheheryár the grandson of the Sefhabud Sharvyn, and Káru the son of Vendád Hormuz, to his court as hostages, but sent back again the sons of both these Sefhabuds when he went to Ṭús, where he died (A.D. 809, March 25), and was succeeded by his son Mámún.

Shortly afterwards both the Sefhabud Sharvyn and Vendád Hormuz died; the former had, like the latter, a son of the name of Kárn, who died before him, but who left a son, the above mentioned Sheheryár, who succeeded his grandfather as Sefhabud, and had in his turn also a son of the name of Kárn, who succeeded him only after the reign of his firstborn, Ja'fer B. Sheheryár. Sharvyn left yet a third son, namely, the Shápúr who is given as a Sefhabud in the chronological list inserted above from the *Muntakhab-altovúrykh*, but omitted as such from the lists of Zahir-aldyn. Kárn the son of the Sefhabud Vendád Hormuz also succeeded his father, and begat Mázyár, who slew the just mentioned Shápúr, but was also killed; although he does not belong to the Báw family, it will be necessary to give some account of him also. The name Kárn, which occurs so often at this period of the history of the Sefhabuds, is somewhat perplexing, but, as the name of the father is always joined to it, confusion may be avoided.

When Mázyár, who was a bold man, succeeded his father, the Sefhabud Sheheryár not only gradually encroached on his country and took it away from him, but also made him prisoner; Mázyár, however, made his escape, went to E'rák, and thence to Bagh'dád, where he waited on



the Khalif Mámún, made profession of Islám,\* and remained there till the Sephabud Sheheryár Bávund died in Ṭabaristán ; whereon Mámún bestowed the district of the Kóhestán on Mázyár, recommending him to Músa B. Ḥafç, his Náyb in Ṭabaristán. When Mázyár arrived in the Kóhestán he captured Shápúr, who was at that time the Hákum of it, by a stratagem, slew him, and reigned there four years, till Músa B. Ḥafç died ; when, taking no account of the latter's son Muḥammad B. Músa, he occupied the whole country and became the Hákum of it. In consequence of this the Báv princes arose in enmity against Mázyár, and all the people of Ṭabaristán complained of his tyranny to the Khalif, who sent him an order summoning him to Bagh'dád ; Mázyár, however, paid no attention to it, but removed from Amul to Ruyán, and, drawing the bonds of union closer with his supporters, increased his tyranny, so that an Amyr, who had in former times been the guardian of Mázyár at the capital, despatched one of his confidential men to Ṭabaristán in order to admonish him, whereupon Mázyár collected hastily as many armed men in Ruyán and Ṭabaristán as he could, whom he instructed to conduct the people of the Khalif along places easily fordable on foot, and received them with great honours on their arrival. Then he sent the Kázys of Amul and of Ruyán to the capital, who, when they waited on the Khalif and were asked about Mázyár, reported his allegiance to the Khalif and to Islám publicly ; but the Kázy of Amul went to Yahya Aktham, who was the Kázy of Bagh'dád, privately, and represented to him Mázyár as a rebel, infidel, and tyrant, stating moreover that he was an ignolater now as he had been before. The Kázy reported this statement to the Khalif, who replied that, as he was now about to go on an expedition against the Byzantines, he would settle this business after his return ; the Kázy of Amul offered to do so himself, and on obtaining permission departed. When the Kázy had returned to Amul, and Mázyár obtained information that the Khalif had started on a campaign against the Byzantines, he became furious like a wild beast, and there was no kind of tyranny which he failed to perpetrate ; when, however, the Kázy of Amul informed the people that he had obtained permission to remove him, they gathered unanimously around Muḥammad B. Músa, who was the Náyb of the Khalif, and killed the Náybs of Mázyár wherever they could find them. Meanwhile the

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\* ظهير الدين p. 172

Ḳázy of Ruyán had informed Mázyár of everything he had heard from the Ḳázy of Amul. On this, Mázyár, who had become frightened at what was in store for him, despatched an envoy to the Khalif with the false news that Muḥammad B. Músa had revolted and made common cause with the descendants of A'li, *i.e.* the Shia'hs, and with the message that he would attack the rebels and speedily send news of the victory. Accordingly he besieged Amul during eight months, and utterly devastated the country during all that time. He also took Khalyl Venda-stán and Abu Aḥmad Ḳázy prisoners and slew them, but spared the life of Muḥammad B. Músa on getting possession of Amul, the fortifications of which he razed to the ground. Then he built forts in the Kóhestán, raised barriers, excavated ditches, and placed sentinels at the openings, so that no one could enter without his knowledge or carry out information of his tyranny, and even agricultural labours were interrupted.

When Mámún died (A.D. 833, July 3) and his brother Mo'taçem became Khalif, the latter was made aware of the state of Ṭabaristán, and ordered A'bdullah B. Ṭáher to capture Mázyár; A'bdullah desired that Muḥammad B. Ebráhym should also be allowed to join him with the army of E'rák, and on obtaining permission they united and jointly attacked Mázyár, who fought against them for a long time, in various sanguinary battles, but was at last made prisoner. A'bdullah B. Ṭáher placed him in a box which he tied on a mule, and started for Bagh'dád. One day Mázyár shouted from the box to the muleteer that he was very anxious to eat a melon; when the guards reported his wish to A'bdullah, he took pity on him and ordered him to be taken out of the box, seated him in his own company, had cart-loads of melons placed before him, and said, "The Commander of the Faithful is a merciful Pádsháh, and I shall intercede with him to overlook thy crime." Mázyár replied, "Please God, an apology will be required from thee." A'bdullah, being amazed that a man on the eve of death should expect him to apologize, ordered the table to be spread and wine to be served, which he administered to Mázyár in large goblets, until the latter became intoxicated and lost his senses; then A'bdullah addressed him as follows:—"This day you uttered the opinion that I shall have to apologize to you; but if you explain it our hilarity will increase." But Mázyár replied, "It will become known to you after some days." Upon this A'bdullah pressed and adjured him more, till Mázyár removed

his head cover and said, "I, Efsbyn, Hayder B. Kásu, and Bábek have long ago made a covenant to remove the Arabs from the government, and to transfer it to the dynasty of Kesra.\* The day before yesterday

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\* As the statements which occur in Mirkhond about Bábek, Efsbyn, and Mázyár are of importance, I translate them here. They occur on pp. ۱۴۴ and ۱۴۷ of vol. III. :—p. ۱۴۴—"During the khalifate of Mámún, Bábek Khurrem Dyn revolted in the districts of Aderbeijan and Bylkáu, and was followed by a great multitude, who took refuge in a fortified place. Bábek was a little man, an infidel, who followed the religion of Mazdak, according to which licentious intercourse with women, and other forbidden acts, were considered lawful. He had at the beginning of his insurrection built strong forts and repelled every army that attacked him; Mámún sent against him, A.H. 212 (A.D. 827), Muḥammad B. Hamyd Túsy, who carried on war with him for a year and a fraction, when he attained the honour of martyrdom. After that, the affairs of Bábek prospered still more, and when Mámún was informed of the death of Muḥammad B. Hamyd, he gave A'bdullah B. Taher B. Husayn Dulyamany, who had been his governor in Egypt, the option of the governorship of Khorásán, of North Africa, of Aderbeijan, and of Armenia, or of a campaign against Bábek. He selected Khorásán and marched in that direction, because his brother had died there; great confusion had also arisen in that country, and after the departure of A'bdullah the power of Bábek again increased."

p. ۱۴۶—A:—"Mota'çem instructed Haydor B. Kásu, one of the Amyrzádás of Ma-verá-álnahr, and surnamed Efsbyn, and despatched him with a powerful army to attack Bábek Khurrem Dyn. The war raged for a considerable time between the two parties, and untold multitudes perished, till Efsbyn prevailed at last, took the fort of Bábek and put him to flight, who departed with some of his adherents to Armenia in the guise of a merchant. When the party arrived in the vicinity of the fort of one of the patricians, whose name was Sahl R. Sonbát, they alighted on the bank of the rivulet, where a flock of sheep were grazing, and bought one of them from the shepherd, who forthwith went away and reported the matter to Sahl. The latter immediately came out, and as soon as his eyes lighted on Bábek he recognized him; then he addressed him as follows:—'O prince! be of good cheer, for thou hast come to thine own house. My request is that you should now honour the fort with your presence, and take your ease in the castle of royalty.' Bábek with his followers entered the fort, and was received with great honours. Sahl placed him on a throne and girded up his loins to serve him, but began to eat with him when the dinner was served, whereupon Bábek, in the fulness of his conceit and folly, addressed Sahl as follows:—'Is it meet for thee to dine with me?' Then Sahl arose from the table and said, 'O prince! my station is lower than that I should eat anything with kings.' When, however, Bábek had finished his meal, Sahl advanced with a blacksmith, saying, 'O king! stretch out thy feet that the master may put chains on them.' After the blacksmith had put fetters on his feet, Bábek exclaimed, 'Thou art a traitor!' Then Sahl began in his turn to insult him, and said, 'Thou hast been a cowherd and shepherd, who has nothing to do with the arrangement of armies and the government of countries.' After that he fettered also the adherents of Bábek, and sent information to Efsbyn, who despatched a Sorheng with 4,000 men to bring Sahl and Bábek, the former of whom he received with great demonstrations of honour, and invested with a costly robe, whilst he absolved his district from paying tribute. Then Efsbyn wrote a despatch of the whole affair, which he tied to the wing of a pigeon; when the bird arrived in Sámerah [corrupted from *سمر من را ي* *Sirr men rá,*

a messenger from Efsbyn informed me that he would on a certain day invite Mota'çem with two of his sons, Wáthek and Motavakkal, to a banquet in his house, and would destroy them." Then A'bdullah gave him more wine until he completely lost his senses, and he was carried back where he had been taken from. A'bdullah reported the above words in writing to the Khalif Mota'çem, who had already

'he rejoices who sees it'], and Mota'çem with his Amys and pillars of the state became aware of the capture of Bábek, they raised the 'Takbyr' shout, and rejoiced greatly. A few days afterwards Efsbyn took Bábek with his adherents to Sámerah, where Hárún B. Mota'çem, with the Nawábs of the capital, hastened to meet him at a distance of five farsakhs, where the whole party alighted. Then Mota'çem ordered the elephant Ashab, which a Hindu prince had presented him with, to be adorned with red and green brocades, as well as with other decorations of various colours; he ordered also a camel to be decorated in a similar manner; a high mitre encrusted with pearls and jewels, as well as two rich dresses, were likewise prepared, and all sent to the camp of Efsbyn. Bábek was to be seated on the elephant, his brother on the camel; both, being richly dressed and overshadowed by pavilions, were to be brought in procession to Sámerah. When Bábek saw the elephant, he asked with amazement what kind of a strong beast this was, and where the dresses had come from. A man replied, 'This is a favour of the glorious king for the captive Pádsháh, who has fallen from a high position. It is to be hoped that your business will end well.' After Mota'çem had despatched the above mentioned things to the camp of Efsbyn, he ordered the people to dress themselves as nicely as possible, and the troops to form two lines from Sámerah to the camp of Efsbyn; and Bábek having been seated on the elephant, and his brother on the camel, they were paraded between the two lines. On that occasion Bábek exclaimed, 'Alas! that such a multitude of people have escaped unhurt by my sword.' It is related that a man said, 'Bábek had ten executioners, and I was one of them,' who on being asked how many persons he had killed replied that more than twenty thousand had perished by his hand; but the responsibility of this and of similar statements rests with their narrators, who also state that the number of men slain in battles in which Bábek commanded, and otherwise destroyed by him, amounted to more than one million.

"The manner in which Bábek was executed happened as follows:—Mota'çem ordered him to be stripped naked, and his hands and feet to be cut off; then he was decapitated, and his head sent with his brother A'bdullah to Bagh'dád, where the latter was likewise beheaded like Bábek, whose head was afterwards carried to E'rák A'jami and paraded in all the districts and towns. Efsbyn was overwhelmed with honours by Mota'çem, who gave him also a golden diadem adorned with rubies and emeralds, at the costliness whereof the highest civil, military, and ecclesiastical functionaries, who now envied him for the favours he had received, were highly astonished. The execution of Bábek took place A.H. 223 [A.D. 838], but A.H. 225 Efsbyn himself was accused of treachery and revolt, as he had encouraged Mázyár B. Kárn of Tabaristán in his insurrection, which fact the latter, when he was brought to Bagh'dád by A'bdullah B. Táher, who had, by the command of Mota'çem, attacked and at last conquered and captured him after many battles, himself confessed. Mázyár was whipped to death, and his corpse hung on a gibbet by the side of that of Bábek; Efsbyn, however, was kept in prison, where he died, but his body was likewise gibbeted and then burnt; A'bbás, however, the son of Mámún, was one day fed very plentifully, but water being withheld from him he died of thirst."

received the invitation to the banquet from Efsbyn; he sent word that Wáthek and Motavakkal were indisposed, but that he would come himself. He started with fifty troopers, and arrived at the house of Efsbyn, who had greatly adorned it, but had concealed some black slaves in it, who were to fall on Mota'çem and kill him as soon as he entered. When Mota'çem arrived at the gate of the mansion Efsbyn received him with the words "Enter, my lord." Mota'çem hesitated a little, and then desired some of his followers to precede him; whilst they were thus standing, one of the Hindus who were concealed sneezed, which aroused the suspicions of Mota'çem, who raised an alarm, whereupon the Hindus came out; he ordered the mansion to be burnt, and Efsbyn to be put in bonds until Mázyár was brought, who on being questioned why he had rebelled answered, "You have given me the country of Ṭabaristán; the people would not obey me and revolted; this I reported to the court of the Khalíf, from which I received the reply to make war upon them." The Khalíf asked, "Who sent that answer?" Mázyár replied, "Efsbyn." Then the lawyers, priests, and Kázys were brought forward, and both these men were executed according to the law.\* The genealogy of Mázyár is as follows:—It begins with Kárn B. Sukhrá, on whom Nushirván bestowed the mountain called after his name, and who reigned thirty-seven years; then comes Alindá B. Kárn, fifty-two years; Sukhrá B. Alindá, sixty-five years; then Vendád Hormuz B. Sukhrá, fifty years; then Kárn B. Vendád Hormuz, forty years; and lastly Mázyár B. Kárn, in whom the family was extinguished†.

After this digression from the Baw Sefhabuds, we again return to them by continuing their history after Sharvyn, who, as has already been stated just before introducing the narrative about Mázyár, was succeeded by his grandson the Sefhabud Sheheryár B. Kárn, who became the Prince of the Mountains. After him his son the Sefhabud Ja'fer B. Sheheryár reigned twelve years, and during his reign the Dáa'y-alkabyr ('great rebel or agitator') waged war. Both these Sefhabuds will again be mentioned below in the "Troubles with the Arab governors;" and after the last mentioned his brother the Sefhabud Kárn B. Sheheryár became Prince of the Mountains; he was the first of his tribe that made profession of Islám and tore off

\* ظهير الدين p. 167

† *Ibid.*, p. 321—2 and again p. 167 *infra*.

the string from his waist\*. During the reign of the Khalif Mota'çem the Dáa'y Alkabyr sent (A.H. 227) Bádústán against him, who burnt his country and pillaged it, so that Sephabud Kárn again made peace with the Dá'a'y, and even sent his sons Surkháb and Mázyár as hostages to him ; but when the first mentioned one escaped, the Dáa'y again invaded the Kóhestán and entirely devastated his country.

After the execution of Mázyár, A'bdullah Táher was sent as governor to Ṭabaristán, who governed there one year and three months, when his father died in Khorásán ; on that occasion he surrendered the government of Ṭabaristán to his brother Muḥammad, and himself departed to Khorásán ; after that, another brother, Sulaymán, arrived and became governor of Ṭabaristán, and Muḥammad went to Bagh'dád. After a while, however, he was also removed, and Muḥammad B. Aws was sent, who established his own son Aḥmad at Chálús, gave him also Kullár, and himself resided in Ruyán, where he practised great oppression, and where he annually levied three taxes,—one for himself, the second for his son, and the third for the [Zoroastrian] Majús, who was his Vizier,—till the time when the Khalif Mota'çem died and Motavakkal succeeded him (A.H. 232, A.D. 847, Aug. 10)†. When the tyranny of Muḥammad had become well-nigh unbearable in Ruyán, the people went to the Sayyids, descendants of A'li, but especially to Muḥammad B. Ebráhym, who was also one of them, and implored him to deliver them from the oppressor ; but he referred them to his brother-in-law the Dáa'y Kabyr, whose name was Hasan B. Zayd, who dwelt at Rey but was a native of Madynah, and a man of great valour as well as of ability in political affairs. Accordingly he was invited by a letter, and

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\* **ظهير الدين** p. ۲۰۸ On the same page in the next line A.H. 227 occurs as the date when Bádústán, elsewhere spe't Bádúspán, burnt the country. On pp. ۵۳ and ۵۴ a later date, namely A.H. 252, is given for the same event, as follows, in the account of Bádúspán the Sephabud of Bostumdár;—"During his reign Sulaymán A'bdullah Altáher waged war in Chamnú against the Dáa'y, and the Ustándár Ferydún sent him to aid the latter, and they put Sulaymán to flight. The Dáa'y sent Bádúspán against the Sephabud Kárn Bávund, whose whole country Bádúspán burnt and plundered, but the Sephabud Kárn again made peace by the intercession of Bádúspán with the Dáa'y, to whom he sent his two sons, Surkháb and Mázyár, as hostages. This happened A.H. 252."

† No mention is made of Vátheh, who reigned more than five years between the two: *ibid.*, p. ۱۶۸

when the messenger who brought his response accepting the call returned, the news soon spread. When Muḥammad Aws became aware that the people were rising, he summoned A'bdullah B. Sa'y'd and Muḥammad B. A'bd-ulkarym, who were prominent men in those parts, to his presence, in order to investigate this matter; A'bdullah B. Sa'y'd got frightened, fled from his house and secreted himself, but when the news came that Sayyid Hasan B. Zayd had arrived in Sa'y'dábád and had invited the nobles of the country to join him, A'bdullah B. Sa'y'd immediately proceeded there with A'bd-ulkarym and the chiefs of the fort of Kullár as well as of Kullárusták, and swore allegiance to Hasan B. Zayd on the 25th Ramazán A.H. 250, and agitators were sent in all directions to stir up the people.

When the Gumáshtáhs of Muḥammad B. Aws saw that the people were abandoning his cause, they fled to the Báw Sephabud Ja'fer B. Sheheryár B. Kárn. Hasan B. Zayd progressed meanwhile from Kajúr to Nátul, where the inhabitants paid him homage; but when he had arrived at the boundary of the plain, where at that time a flourishing town existed, Muḥammad B. Rustum B. Vendád Umyd Sheheryár, who was the commander of his vanguard and one of the princes of Kullárusták, encountered the vanguard of Muḥammad Aws, put it to flight, and sent the head of its leader, Muḥammad Akhshyd, which he had struck off, to the Dáa'y Hasan B. Zayd, who was afterwards joined by various bodies of troops raised in the country, and by the Sephabuds of Ṭabaristán, such as Bádúspán, Mazmaghan [the high-priest of the ignolaters], Vyjan, Khórshyd B. Janaf, Vakhyan B. Rustum, and Bádúspán B. Gurdrád Lapúr, who manifested their friendliness to him in letters. It has appeared above that the Sephabud Ja'fer B. Sheheryár had given refuge to the Gumáshtáhs of Muḥammad B. Aws; now, however, when Hasan B. Zayd was gradually increasing his power, and other nobles had joined him, Ja'fer B. Sheheryár also sent him a letter with the information that he would likewise aid him by sending troops. The Sayyid replied, however, that if he were in earnest he ought at once to join him; but the Sephabud sent a letter to the purport that the Sayyid ought to join *him*, whereby the latter knew that his amity was false. At that time A'bdullah B. Táher was the Hákum of Sáry, who sent Asd, the commander of his forces, to attack the Dáa'y, who meanwhile took Sáry, slew everybody whom he could find, and set the house of Sulaymán, who had fled, on fire. On the same day news was brought that the brother of

Sayyid Hasan B. Zayd, surnamed the Dáa'y-*alçagh* ('small agitator'), had arrived in Shambalah Damávend; he was soon joined by the Sefhabud Bádúspán, by the people of Lárján, and by those of Kaçrán. When Sulaymán fled he could find no resting-place until he arrived in Astrábád. It was the intention of the Dáa'y to go to Amul, but as the Deilemites had taken a large booty, and each of them was about to depart with his own share in a different direction, the Sefhabud advised the Sayyid to remain in Chamnú until information about Sulaymán arrived, that it might become known how his affairs stood; and he complied. Sulaymán collected an army in Astrábád, marched against the Dáa'y, attacked him and put him to flight; the Deilemites who were present ran away, but the Dáa'y himself stood at the head of the bridge of Chamnú till all the killed and wounded had been carried over it; then he himself crossed the bridge and fled, being pursued by the son of Muḥammad B. Aws, who was, however, slain, so that the victory was bought dearly by Sulaymán.

During that night the Dáa'y arrived in full flight at Amul, and considering it improper to stop he again mounted his horse in the morning and arrived in the evening at Chálús, where he took one thousand dirhems from the people. Meanwhile the Mountain Prince Kárn B. Sheheryár had made common cause with Sulaymán, and both arrived in Amul a few days afterwards and came to the Dáa'y from Deilmán and Gilán, so that he left Chálús and stayed at Kho-vájek. Sulaymán came with the Sefhabud to the frontier of the plain, whilst the Dáa'y pitched his camp at Lavyjhrúd, and despatched the Sayyids with some men to surprise the foe during the night. They did so, put him to flight, obtained much spoil, and slew the Sefhabud Ja'fer Ben Sheheryár with thirty of his friends.\*

Sefhabud Kárn succeeded his brother Ja'fer, and the Dáa'y, by whom the latter had been ruined and destroyed, now began to burn and to plunder also the possessions of Kárn; but when Sulaymán heard this he collected an army in Khorásán and came to his aid. At that time the Dáa'y, being probably not apprehensive of any opposition, had disbanded his troops, the Deilemites had gone to Deilemestán, the Gils to Gilán, and he had himself with a few troops taken up his

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\* ظهير الدين p. ۲۸۷



abode in Amul; but when he learnt that Sulaymán was approaching, he left that place and went to Chálús. When he arrived there he heard that Vahsúdán Deilmán, who was Hákum there, had died, and in a short time he was joined by 4,000 Deilemites. Then the Dáa'y marched to Mázanderán, and when he arrived by the way of the coast at Chamnú, Sulaymán gave him battle there, but was put to flight; on this the Dáa'y went to Sáry, where he captured the family of Sulaymán, obtained possession of his property, and sacked the place. When Sulaymán had arrived in full flight at Astrábád, he wrote an humble petition to Muḥammad Ala'luwy (Sayyid and descendant of A'ly) praying for the restoration of his family, which request being brought to the notice of the Dáa'y he complied therewith, and sent the children of Sulaymán back to him with honours. On this occasion the Sefhabud Kárn made, by the mediation of Bádúspán, peace with the Dáa'y, and sent him his two sons Surkháb and Mázýr as hostages; this event happened A.H. 252\*. Surkháb escaped from Dáa'y, whereupon the latter invaded the Kóhestán to wage war against the Sefhabud Kárn, and entirely devastated his country†. The Dáa'y Hasan B. Zayd attained considerable power, but was constantly at enmity either with the various Sefhabuds, or with other Arabs who invaded the country and attacked him; once also people designated merely by the general name of Káfer, *i.e.* infidels, invaded the Dehestán, 2000 of whom he slew, and obtained much booty, which he divided among the Deilemites, who, however, after he had established his brother Muḥammad B. Zayd as governor of Gorgán, and had himself returned to 'Iabaristán, taking up his residence in Amul, began to commit robberies and depredations. The Dáa'y warned them repeatedly but they paid no attention to his orders, wherefore he had the hands and feet of one thousand of the misbehaving Deilemites amputated, whilst another thousand of them fled and joined Sefhabud Kárn,‡ the 'King of the mountains,' who, being unable to supply them with provisions, gave them leave to steal, whereby he fell into enmity with

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\* A.D. 866, which date of p. ۲۸۸ occurs also at p. ۵۴, whilst, as already observed in footnote \* on p. 429, p. ۲۰۸ has A.H. 227 (A.D. 841-2); but the event itself is in all the three passages narrated nearly in the same words.

† ظيبر الدين p. ۲۰۸

‡ *Ibid.*, p. ۲۹ but on p. ۲۰۹ they are stated to have joined the Sefhabud Bustum B. Sukhráb B. Kárn.

the Dáa'y, went to Kánash, captured Sayyid Kásim, who was his Náyb there, and becoming master of the place received the allegiance of the people. The Dáa'y expired on the 3rd Rujub A.H. 270, *i.e.* January 4th, 884, and was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad Dáa'y-alçaghbir, *i.e.* 'small rebel'\*

The Dáa'y Muḥammad showed enmity to the successor of Kárn, the Sefhabud Rustum B. Kárn; wherefore the latter joined Ráfi' B. Harthamah, the Amyr of Khorásán, who marched with his army into Mázanderán; the Dáa'y, being unable to offer him any resistance, left Amul and retired to Kajúr, which he fortified strongly. He was, however, pursued by Ráfi', and fled to Deilemestán, whilst Ráfi' stopped four months at Kajúr with the Sefhabud Rustum, but greatly distressed the inhabitants. Meanwhile the Dáa'y was collecting troops in Deilemestán, and gave the people of Kallár an invitation to join him, to which they responded; then he went to Chálús, where he captured the Náyb of Ráfi', whilst the latter had stationed the Sefhabud Rustum and the Sefhabud Bádúspán on the shores of the violet-coloured sea [the Caspian], but himself went to Halm. When the Sefhabuds were closely pressed by the Dáa'y, Ráfi' again returned from Halm and alighted near a village named Khováj, at a distance of four farsakhs from Chálús, when the Dáa'y fled and went to Mount Vázah. After that, Ráfi' marched to Langá, where he took a great deal of property from the inhabitants; then he devastated the region of Tálkan, where he burnt the harvests, stopping for some time and taking forcible possession of the stronghold of Tájestán; on that occasion Vahsúdán, the Háikum of Deilmán, gave him a solemn promise not to aid the Dáa'y, after which agreement Ráfi' departed to Kazvyn. The Dáa'y intended to return to Chálús, but was prohibited from doing so by the Sefhabud Rustum and Muḥammad B. Harún, both of whom had been stationed there by Ráfi'; it happened, however, that when the Dáa'y went to Nátul, the army of the Khalif attacked him and put him to flight, so that he was compelled to go to Khorásán, where Bekr B. A'bd-ula'ziz B. Aby Dulf Ala'jly joined the Dáa'y Muḥammad, who

\* Because he, like his elder brother, disobeyed the Khalifs; but the interpretation favoured by the adherents of a Dáa'y, of whom there were many, is the *caller* or *inviter*, the words *to the truth* being understood, and sometimes also expressed *اداعي الحق*, whereby of course the Shia'h sect is meant, and every Dáa'y was a Sayyid and descendant of A'ly.

went in advance to meet him, alighted from his horse, and sent him many presents, as well as one million of dirhems tied up in one hundred purses, besides a quantity of utensils and goods; he also took him to Amul with great demonstrations of honour, giving him the government of the districts of Chálús and Ruyán, but on sending him away with a collar and banner he ordered poison to be administered to him in a draught of *fukhá*\* on his arrival in Nátul, which being done he expired. Then Ráfi' had a struggle with O'mru Leith, and sent for aid to Ṭabaristán, and the Sephabud Rustum with all the other Sephabuds started to aid him; when, however, they gave battle to O'mru Leith, Ráfi' was put to flight, and entered Ṭabaristán by the way of Vymah. When he had arrived in Míhrván it became known that the Khalif Almo'tazid Billah† had appointed O'mru Leith to be the Háikum of Nyshapúr; hereupon Ráfi' sent an envoy to the Dáa'y Muḥammad B. Zayd, who was in Gilán, and promised him allegiance on the understanding that Gorgán should belong to Ráfi' and Amul to the Dáa'y, on which condition the latter went to Amul, and the former to Gorgán. Meanwhile the news arrived that Aḥmad A'jly, the Háikum of Rey, had died, whereupon Ráfi' went to that place and conquered it; after one month, however, when the Khalif sent his own son there, Ráfi' would no longer hold out, but again returned to Gorgán, where he began again to be inimical to the Dáa'y, went to Sáry and pitched his camp near the river Arrúbun, where also Rustum B. Káru had arrived to aid him. As fate would have it, a great tempest arose, and the torrents of water swept away all their tents and baggage; also many of their quadrupeds perished; and Ráfi', who had now become helpless, went to Astrábád, where another treaty of peace was concluded between them; after it, however, Ráfi' sent word to the Sephabud Rustum that the treaty he had just made with Muḥammad B. Zayd was not a sincere one, and that he was now his enemy as before. The Sephabud, who had, after learning that a treaty now existed between the Dáa'y and Ráfi', become apprehensive that they might both attack him, had, for his own safety, connected himself with O'mru Leith; now, however, when Ráfi' had informed him that he was, in spite of the treaty, still an enemy of the Dáa'y, the Sephabud hastened to Astrábád to meet Ráfi', who arranged a banquet for him and received him

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\* A kind of beer made of barley, dried grapes, water, &c.

† Began to reign A.D. 865, Nov. 13.

with many honours; but when the repast was over, and they were sitting together in consultation, Ráfi' ordered fetters to be produced, which were put on the feet of the Sephabud, whom he carried as a prisoner to the Kóhestán, where he tortured him, and thus obtained a great deal of property and cattle; he also gave the country to Abu Naçr. This happened A.H. 282 (A.D. 895)\*, and in the same year the Dáa'y Muḥammad B. Zayd gave largesses to the army of Ráfi', who obtained a white flag, procured the allegiance of the people of Gurgán, Dehestán, and Jájerm for the Dáa'y, and sent him a portion of the property he had taken from the Sephabud Rustum.

During the time of the Sephabud Sharvyn, who had succeeded his father, Rustum Náçer was the Dáa'y, or Sephabud Sharvyn. 'inviter to the truth,' as the Dáa'y Muḥammad B. Zayd had been slain by Muḥammad Harún during the same year in which the Sephabud Rustum died in prison; but the Dáa'y Náçer was, like his predecessor, involved in constant wars; had, like him, many rivals; and underwent reverses of fortune, especially in his contests with the Sámánians, who had at that time obtained considerable power. Sayyid Náçer betook himself, when Esma'yil B. Aḥmad Sámáry was in Ṭabaristán, for the purpose of obtaining aid, to Deilmán and Gilán, in both of which many of the inhabitants paid him allegiance, and were by his preaching converted from Zoroastrianism to Islám and to his sect, so that nearly a million of persons gathered around him; he marched forth A.H. 287 (A.D. 900), but was, at the distance of half a farsakh from Amul, encountered by Aḥmad B. Esma'yil with a numerous army, and put to flight at a place called Fullás. On that occasion many Deilemites were slain, and both the Amyr Fyrúzán Shakúry and the Amyr Káky Gilány lost their lives, and Ṭabaristán became subject to the Sámánians; when, however, Muḥammad B. Harún joined him, the Sayyid Náçer again marched to Ṭabaristán, where the Sephabud Sheheryár B. Bádúspán, Prince of the Mountains, the Sephabud Sharvyn B. Rustum Báwund, and his nephew Párviz, the possessor of Lárján, went to attack him in the interest of Esma'yil B. Aḥmad, and fought with him during forty

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\* **ظهير الدين** P. 302 Also according to p. 209 the Sephabud Rustum died a prisoner in the same year in Derbend, and the narrative likewise corresponds to the above.

days and nights, but the Sayyid was at last victorious.\* After the Sayyid Náçer had for several months remained in Ṭabaristán, he again went to Gilán, so that whenever the Sámánians appointed Nawábs and A'máls in Ṭabaristán the Sephabuds sided with them as before, until a number of Russians, who arrived in ships from the Caspian Sea, landed and committed depredations; when the Sámán family took measures to extirpate them, and ejected them. After that the Sayyid Náçer again prospered, and when he had established himself in Amul, and A'bdullah B. Hasan Ala'kyky had erected white flags in Sáry, many people joined the Sayyid in Amul, his power increased, the Gils and Deilemites joined him, and Justán B. Vohsúdán, the Hákum of Deilmán, who had recanted and revolted, at last made peace after many struggles, became again a Musalmán and joined the Sayyid, who composed some verses to commemorate the event†.

When the news that the Sayyid had again become powerful reached Bokhára, the Pádsháh, Aḥmad B. Esma'yí, marched with 40,000 men to Ṭabaristán, but was treacherously slain on the road by some of his own slaves, so that the expedition failed, and, the position of Náçer having again become secure, the Sephabud Sharvyn, Prince of the Mountains, considered it proper to make peace with him. Náçer died on the 25th Sha'bán A.H. 304 (i. e. 22nd Feb. A.D. 917) in retirement as a devotee, as another Sayyid, Hasan B. Kásem, had become the Dáa'y after wresting the power from him; he had, however, left a son, Aḥmad B. Náçer, who contested the power of Hasan, with whom the Sephabud Sharvyn, Prince of the Mountains, and the Sephabud Sheheryár had made peace. The Dáa'y being afraid that danger would come to him from the side of Gilán, and being suspicious also about Khorásán, fled from Amul and took refuge with the Sephabud Muḥammad B. Sheheryár, who, however, made him a prisoner, put him in fetters and sent him to Rey, where A'li B. Vohsúdán was Náyb on the part of the Khalif Almoçtadir Billah‡; such, however, is fate, that afterwards the captor was slain, and the prisoner recovered his liberty. Aḥmad B. Náçer died towards the end of Rujub A.H. 311 (A.D. 923, about the middle of November).

\* *ظهير الدين* p. ۳۰۲ This account is also confirmed by p. ۲۰۹ nearly in the same words.

† *Ibid.*, p. ۳۰۴

‡ Reigned from 908, Aug. 3, till 932, Oct. 31,—24 years 2 months and 20 days.

The Sefhabud Sheheryár succeeded his father, and in his time the nephew of the above mentioned Náçer, the Sefhabud Sheheryár. Syyid Abulfazl Ja'fer, had a feud with the Sefhabud, which, however, terminated amicably by the Syyid Abulfazl leaving A'ly Kámah as his Náyb in Ṭabaristán, and himself departing to E'rák. When Ḥasan B. Bowyah\* heard this, he sent an army which invaded Amul, which was put to flight by Abulfazl, who was also called 'the white Syyid',—Ebn A'mid, the commander of Ḥasan Bowyah's forces, departing in the company of A'ly Kámah, who had connived at his invasion†. The Syyid was nevertheless unable to maintain himself at Amul without the assistance of the Sefhabud, and therefore went to Gilán, where he died, and no other Syyid reigned till the Syyid Kōvám Aldyn came forward.

After the preceding Sheheryár another of the same name reigned‡ for eighteen years, apparently subject to The last Sefhabud. Kábús, the governor of Khorásán, who also sent him to Rey to deliver the country from Rustum B. Almarzbán, the uncle of Mijd Aldaulah B. Fakhr Aldaula, after which Sheheryár ordered the Khuṭbah to be read in the name of Kábús; then he sent him to join Dáty or Baqy B. Sa'yd in Mázanderán, with whom he attacked Fyruzán B. Ḥasan, and put him to flight, A.H. 387 (A.D. 997). Then Sheheryár fought with Naçr B. Ḥasan Fyruzán, whom he also conquered. At last he revolted against Kábús, but was, during the hostilities, captured and slain.

After that, the affairs of the Báv Sefhabuds remained in a very depressed state, and nothing is on record about the remaining two princes, namely, Dáráş and Sheheryár or Rustum; they recovered themselves, however, when the dynasty of the Vashmgir Sefhabuds was extin-

\* This man was the second son of Bowyah, who had three, namely, A'li, Ḥasan, and Ahmad, and was the founder of the Bowide, also called the Deilemite dynasty, which was never powerful, and did not last longer than about 120 years. See Mirkhond, iv. ۴۴ et seq. Bombay lithogr. edition.

† ظهير الدين p. ۳۱۵ But on p. ۲۰۹ it is stated that Sheheryár had also gone over to Ḥasan Bowyah and joined him.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. ۲۰۹ He is, however, not mentioned in any other part of the work, and also omitted in the list of the *Muntakhab Altovarykh* given at the beginning of this paper.

§ Called by Zahir-aldyn the son of Rustum, and in the *Muntakhab Altovarykh* the son of Dárá; the last Sefhabud is also in the former work called Sheheryár B. Dárá, whilst the latter gives him the name of Rustum B. Sheheryár.

guished by the Seljuk Turkománs, when they again began to flourish as Muḥammadan princes under Sheheryár B. Kárn, with whom the later period of their dynasty begins.

#### THE GÁOBÁ'RAH SEPHABUDS.

Jámasp\* had two sons, Nersi and Bohvát; he was succeeded by the former, who became a vassal of Nushirván†, for whom he carried on war in Derbend, the whole of which he subjugated, and the famous rampart there built by him is ascribed to that sovereign. Nersi was succeeded by his son Fyrúz, and none of the Russian, Khazar, or Saḳalláb princes were left who did not obey him; he subjugated likewise the whole of Gilán, one of the princesses of which country he married, and by her he had a son, Jyllánsháh, who in his turn begat Jyl. The last mentioned prince added Deilem by conquest to the possessions of his father, and, being desirous of obtaining Ṭabaristán also, left the government in charge of a trusted officer, and departed incognito in the guise of a poor traveller with a load of cow hides or heads, wherefore he was afterwards surnamed *Gáobárah*. When he arrived in Ṭabaristán he cultivated the society of respectable and highly placed men, who soon conceived a high opinion of his intelligence, ability, and bravery, which he displayed by serving in a war. He enjoyed also the confidence of the magnates, to such a degree that Aḍervellásh, who was at that time, on the part of the Kesra, the governor of Ṭabaristán, invited him to pay him a visit, after which he employed him honourably, and profited by his advice as well as by his valour.

At that period of time the princes of Persia were harassed by invasions of the Arabs and Turks, and on the eve of a battle which took place between the latter, who were advancing from Khorásán, and the troops of Aḍervellásh, Gáobárah challenged warriors of the opposite side, according to the fashion of that age, to single combats, in which he was victorious, and also distinguished himself in the ensuing battle, that resulted in the flight of the enemy. When the fame of Gáobárah's bravery had spread all over the country, and he had made himself well acquainted with it, he took leave from Aḍervellásh, on pretence of wishing to arrange his private affairs in Gilán, and to bring over his family. On arriving in Gilán he prepared his army during one year, and then marched with the Gils and Deilems into Ṭabaristán.

\* Began to reign A.D. 497.

† Began A.D. 528 according to Benfey, but see also K. B. Cama's *Jamshedi Naorcz.*

When Ađervellásh was informed of the approach of Gáobárah, he immediately despatched a courier on a swift camel to Madayn with the news to the Kesra Yazdegird, the last king of Persia, asking for instructions. The king wished to know the descent of the invader, and Ađervellásh sent the reply that he was an unknown individual, whose fathers had come from Armenia, and that he had become governor of the Gils and Deilems; but when the Kesra assembled his Mobeds and examined them, those who were acquainted with history and knew the lineage of Gáobárah asserted that he was a descendant of Jamásp and a relative of the royal family; whereupon the Kesra immediately indited the following letter to Ađervellásh, from which it appears that he, as so often happens in our times, knew how to make a virtue of necessity:—"As it has become known that this man is one of our relatives, God forbid that I should allow the country of Ṭabaristán to become a prey to strife and war for the sake of one like him; the more so as the keeping up of friendship with kinsmen is incumbent on every right-thinking man, but especially at a time like this, when the Arabs, who were for so many years our subjects, have revolted against us, and brought confusion into our country with their army, which has invaded it. As this individual is our relative, he is welcome to the government of Ṭabaristán, and let it be surrendered to him without delay."

Ađervellásh obeyed these orders, and Gáobárah having thus, without any hostilities, attained supreme power in Ṭabaristán, immediately despatched an envoy, with gifts worthy of a sovereign, to the Kesra, who in his turn bestowed a robe of honour on him, and added to his title that of Farashwádjár Sháh. This happened in the 36th year of the new era the Persians had established.\* Henceforth Gáobárah was obeyed by Ađervellásh, who, however, happened one day to fall from his horse when playing at football, and immediately expired; but all the property he had accumulated during many years and that inherited from his ancestors fell to the lot of Gáobárah. The pedigree of Ađervellásh, who was, like his forefathers, governor of Ṭabaristán on behalf of the Kesras, is as follows:—Ađervellásh B. Mehr B. Vellásh B. Dádmehr B. Zermehr, who had been first sent to Ṭabaristán.

Gáobárah became the governor of the countries of Gil, Deilem, and Ruyán; he built strong forts from Pusagiláu as far as Gorgán, but his capital was in Gilán. He reigned fifteen years in Ṭabaristán, and died

\* ظہر الدین p. ۴۲. This era was established ten years before the Hejra.



A.H. 40 (A.D. 661) in the 50th year of the Persian era.\* He left two sons, Dabuyah and Bádúspán, the former succeeding him in the government of Gilán, whilst the latter took up his residence in Ruyán, where, after his demise, his son likewise reigned.

Dabuyah was succeeded by his son Farrukhán, surnamed *Đu Almu-nákub*, as governor of *Ṭabaristán*. When Farrukhán marched with an army from Gilán to *Ṭabaristán* he proceeded as far as *Nyshápúr*, subjugated those regions and built the town of *Sáry*. During his reign *Ṭabaristán* was in a very flourishing condition, and the Turks were cut off from invading it. When the people of *Deilemestán* revolted against him, he dug a fosse from *Amul* to it, which was impassable except to pedestrians. During his reign *Muçkalah B. Hobayrah Alshaybány†* arrived in *Ṭabaristán*, and carried on war two years against Farrukhán Buzurg; and after him came *Kaṭry B. Alfajáh Almázeny*, the rebel; then *Sofyán* was sent, in pursuit of whom *Hejjáj‡* despatched the armies of Syria and of the two *E'rák*s. At that time the Sefhabud Farrukhán was at *Demávend*; he had made an agreement with *Sofyán* that he would destroy *Kaṭry* on condition that his country should be left unmolested; this he did by marching to *Samnán* after *Kaṭry*, slaying him in battle and sending his head to *Sofyán*, which the latter immediately despatched to *Hejjáj*; whereupon the latter sent two donkey-loads of gold and two of ashes to *Sofyán*, with the message to keep the loads of gold for himself if he had gained the victory without the aid of the Sefhabud Farrukhán, but that if the latter had had part therein, the ashes should in full assembly be poured on the head of *Sofyán*. When the courier arrived and learnt the true state of the matter, he surrendered the gold to the Sefhabud, and strewed ashes on the head of *Sofyán§*.

\* See previous note.

† *Muçkalah B. Hobayrah* had sworn that he would fight against *Hájaj B. Yusuf* unto death, but was, like the majority of his faction, defeated.—*Mirkhond*, iii., p. 9.

‡ A.H. 75 (A.D. 694) *A'bd Almelik Merván* appointed *Hejjáj* governor of *E'rák*.—*Ibid.*, p. 17.

§ The *Khárejites*, who had revolted A.H. 73 (A.D. 692), were now greatly pressed by *Hejjáj B. Yusuf*, who hated them so much that he did not consider them to be *Musalmáns*. *Mirkhond* (iii., p. 17) states that when *Hejjáj B. Yusuf* heard that *Kaṭry* had gone to *Ṭabaristán*, he despatched *Sofyán* with troops to the country, where they put the adherents of *Kaṭry* to flight after many combats, during the last of which he was slain by some men of *Kufah*, who overtook him when he was retreating with his troops, which afterwards retired to a fort, where they stood a long siege, sallied out only after having eaten up all their horses, and fought with the troops of *Sofyán* till not one of them remained alive.

Afterwards when the Khalif Sulaymán B. A'bd Almelik began to reign\* he sent Yazyd B. Almulaheb, who was the Amyr of Khorásán and of Ma-vera-alnahr†, to attack the Sefhabud Farrukhán. When the said Yazyd arrived at Tamysháh and had conquered that district, Farrukhán betook himself to the forests of the Kóhestán, and whilst Yazyd was marching in the plains, always accompanied him along the hills, until Yazyd reached Sáry, when he defeated him and slew fifteen thousand of his army. After the war with Yazyd the Sefhabud Farrukhán again revived the cultivation of the country, and his whole reign extended to seventeen years.‡

\* Reigned from 715, Feb. 24, till 717, Oct. 2,—therefore 2 years 7 months and 11 days.

† Transoxiana.

‡ As the account about Yazyd, headed in Mirkhond (iii., p. 17), "The going of Yazyd B. Mulaheb to Khorásán, and his conquest of [Gorgán] Jorján and Tabaristán," differs considerably from that given above according to Zahiraldyn, p. 121, it will be worth while to give it also:—"During the khalifate of O'thmán (A.D. 644 to 656), Sa'yd B. Ala'ác marched with his army in the direction of Gorgán, but when he had come near, the inhabitants bribed him with 200,000 dinárs to make peace [I allude to bribing in my "Subjugation of Persia by the Moslems," *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xi., p. 217], and Sa'yd retraced his steps. From that time till the reign of the Khalif Sulaymán (A.D. 715 till 717) no Moslems had invaded that country; when, however, Kotaybah marched to Khorásán, he desired Hejjáj to give him permission to conquer Jorján and Tabaristán, which was, however, refused, on the plea that Mázanderán is a difficult country, where the army might be destroyed. Accordingly Kotaybah entered Khorásán by the way of Kúmesh, and avoided Jorján; whenever any of the victories gained by Kotaybah were brought to the notice of Sulaymán, he praised him to Yazyd, but the latter replied, 'What is the use of all this as long as Jorján remains in its former condition in the country, and Kotaybah does not encompass it?' After Sulaymán had obtained full power, he appointed Yazyd to the governorship not only of E'rák, but also of Khorásán, and when he came from the Arab to the Persian provinces he did his utmost to promote the cultivation of the land, as well as the happiness of the people. After he had firmly established his authority in Khorásán, he collected an army of 100,000 men, and, leaving his son Mulakbkhad as lieutenant-governor, marched to Jorján, where he met with strenuous opposition from the ruler of that district, and fought many hard battles, in which he was at last so successful as to put his opponents to flight, and to take possession of the town of Jorján itself, after besieging it, where untold wealth fell into the hands of the Moslems, one-fifth of which Yazyd B. Mulaheb sent to Sulaymán with an account of the victory. Then he marched to Tabaristán, the Governor of which, Açfhabud [Farrukhán] by name, asked aid from the Deilemites, 2000 of whom joined him, so that he took courage, and, blocking up all the roads, expected the invasion of Yazyd, whose troops soon attacked the outposts of the Açfhabud, and put them to flight; the latter then sent word to the Marzbán of Jorján to put to death any of the men of Yazyd he could lay hold of, whereupon the Marzbán collected his people, attacked the Gumáshtáh of Yazyd, and made a slaughter of the Musalmáns, the rest of whom, however, escaping from the sword, took refuge in a fortified place until Yazyd should return from Taba-

The Sephabud Farrukhán was succeeded by his son Dádmíhr, who enjoyed a reign of twelve years, during which, and down to the end of

ristán. When the news about the insurrection of the Gorgánians reached Yazyd, he was much perplexed, and calling one of the chiefs of the country, with whom he had made friendship, secretly held a consultation with him and said, 'Although I injured you, I trust your honesty and your being a Moslem, hoping that you will side with the Musalmáns. As the Gorgánians have revolted, there is no abiding for us in the Kóhestán. You must, therefore, in the best way you are able, conclude peace with the Açfhabud that I may retire.' The said chief immediately waited on the Açfhabud and said to him, 'Although I am a Muhammadan, I am nevertheless a native of this country, but your well-wisher, preferring your success to that of Yazyd. The Turks have appointed me to negotiate for peace, to the overtures for which you are to lend a willing ear, and the present weakness of the Moslem troops is not to deceive you, as Yazyd has sent for and will obtain reinforcements from Sulaymán B. A'bdulmelik. A very large army will soon arrive, therefore it will be best for you to make peace at once.' The Açfhabud replied, 'Woe to you! I am informed that you have been bribed with 200,000 dirhems, and now you have come to quench the fire of war with smooth words?' The chief replied, 'The case is such, but I only desire your welfare.' The conversation continued yet for a while, but terminated with the consent of the Açfhabud to pay Yazyd 700,000 dirhems, and to present him with four hundred slaves, each bearing on his head a silver dish filled with pieces of silken cloth, in order to induce him to return. Yazyd was naturally pleased with this arrangement, took possession of the just mentioned payment, and returned to the Gorgánians who had revolted, and whose blood he had sworn to shed so plentifully that it would turn a mill, with the water of which he would have food prepared and would eat it.

"When the news of Yazyd's return had reached the Marzbán, he took refuge in a fort, which the former besieged immediately, but ineffectually during seven months, in spite of all his efforts and engines of war, as it was very high, and encompassed by precipices and jungles. One day, however, Hayáj, a personal friend of Yazyd, reconnoitred the environs of the fort, when his dog happened to perceive a mountain-goat and followed it, but, being afraid of losing his way in the dense jungle, he tore his clothes and turban, pieces of which he tied here and there to the trees, until he reached at last a spot which commanded the fort. Then he returned and marched with three hundred picked men to the spot at the fall of night, whilst Yazyd had in the camp beneath kindled such bonfires that the besieged, apprehensive of an attack, made a sortie and encountered their foes who had arrived during the night, and who received them with tremendous shouts of 'Allah Akber!' Hereupon the garrison surrendered and asked for quarter, which was granted to the women and children, but denied to the Marzbán and to the insurgents, all of whom Yazyd immediately slew, and razed the fort to the ground; after that he laid siege to the town of Jorján, against which he erected his catapults and took it. Then he issued orders to slaughter the inhabitants, so that some men obtained four and some five prisoners, whom they dragged to the banks of the river, where a mill was situated, and whose throats they cut like those of so many sheep, at the command of Yazyd, who had also food for himself prepared with the bloody water, and fulfilled his vow by consuming it. Then he had gibbets erected, which extended to a distance of two farsakhs, whereon he hanged 4000 persons. In that town enormous booty, and property of every kind, fell into the hands of the Persian chiefs and Arab Amýrs who were with Yazyd on that occasion.

"After conquering this province, Yazyd ordered Moghayrah B. Abi Kumrah, who was his secretary, to write an account of the victory, and to enumerate in

the Ommiade dynasty (A.D. 749, A.H. 132), no Arabs invaded Tabaristán, on account of the great strife and troubles it underwent, but shortly before the death of Dádmíhr, Abu Muslim marched, as a rebel, forth from Merv. Dádmíhr had, however, left a son, Khórshyd\* by name, who, being a minor, could not succeed him; wherefore he appointed in his will his brother Sárúyah—after whom Sárý is said to be called—regent until Khórshyd attained age and became worthy to assume the reins of government, which actually happened eight years afterwards, when Sárúyah kept his promise and abdicated in his favour.

When the Sephabud Khórshyd succeeded to the government, his relatives, such as Vendád, Fehrán, and Farrukhán-Kúchek, assembled to pay him allegiance. He appointed Vendád to be Marzbán of Amul, Fehrán of the Kóhestán, and retained Farrukhán-Kúchek near his own person, whilst he made Yazdángird the commander of his army. He caused every town and the whole country to flourish, but became, after he had reigned for a long time, so proud and overbearing towards his high officers, and tyrannical towards his subjects, that they felt aggrieved, and would have been glad of an opportunity to revolt from him, which, as will be shown below, actually presented itself after the conflict of Abu Muslim with the Khalif Mançúrt, when Sinbád fled with a great deal of treasure to the Sephabud, who slew him, and kept

detail all the booty obtained in cash and property, which the latter was compelled to do, in spite of all his protestations that it would be dangerous so quickly to trumpet forth the news of all this wealth. When Sulaymán received this information of the conquest, he praised Yazyd in every assembly; meanwhile some letters arrived from Khorásán, stating that Yazyd meditated treachery, and would probably soon revolt openly. Hereupon Sulaymán consulted his magnates, who replied that any man obtaining so extraordinary an amount of wealth would undoubtedly try to become independent, and that therefore it would be best to send a near kinsman of the Khalif to deprive Yazyd of his riches; whilst, however, Sulaymán was making arrangements concerning this matter, he died [A.D. 717, October 2]; Yazyd B. Mulaheb was nevertheless removed from the governorship of Khorásán by Sulaymán's immediate successor, O'mar B. A'bd Ala'zyz, who ordered Yazyd to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor, and to betake himself to the court of the Khalif; Yazyd obeyed, leaving his own son Mulakhkhad in charge of the province, but could not proceed further than the river Mua'llak, where the governor of Boçrah lay in wait and made him prisoner by order of the Khalif, to whom he forwarded him, and who imprisoned him in Aleppo for peculation, but he soon escaped."

\* *ظهیر الدینی* p. ۴۶. But in the list given on p. ۳۱۹ the same author causes Dádmíhr to be succeeded by his brother Námver B. Farrukhán, to whom he assigns a reign of eight years.

† A.D. 754, June 9, till 775, Oct. 6; therefore he reigned 21 years and 4 months.

‡ Sinbád was put to flight and afterwards killed in Tabaristán. See my "Moslem Conquest of Persia," *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xi., p. 218.

the treasure for himself instead of sending it to the Khalif. This became an occasion of further trouble, because the Khalif despatched his own son Mohdy with instructions to carry away Hormuz the son of the Sefhabud as a hostage; Khórshyd replied, however, that, being a small boy, he would be unable to bear the fatigue of the journey, and begged to be excused from sending his son away. The Khalif assented, but again sent word by Mohdy that as this year dearth was raging in the camp of the army of Khorásán, and the latter was on the move, permission would be required for a portion of it to march through the country of the Sefhabud, which the latter granted. Accordingly Mohdy sent Ab-Alkhaçyb Sindy or Hindy with troops by the way of Zárem and Shákú, but A'wun B. A'b-ulmelik viâ Gorgán, so as to enable him from that direction to join the former and enter Mázandarán, whenever required. On this occasion the Sefhabud sent word to the dwellers in the plains to remove to the mountains, lest they should suffer from the army, which, however, he never suspected to have been sent for his own overthrow. O'mar B. Ala'llá, who had on a former occasion killed somebody in Gorgán, and having taken refuge with the Sefhabud lived for some time under his protection, was well acquainted with all the roads and mountain tracks, now joined the army of the Khalif, and became the guide of Ab-Alkhaçyb's troops, from which he took 1,000 men and hastened to Amul, where he slew in battle the Marzbán who governed that town on behalf of the Sefhabud, took possession of it, and appointed a herald to invite the people to embrace Islám, whereupon crowd after crowd and tribe after tribe arrived, accepted Islám, became Musalmáns, and renounced ignolatry, because the people had met only with scorn and disregard from their own Sefhabud.\*

When O'mar B. Ala'llá had established himself, and began to exert full sway in Amul, the Sefhabud Khórshyd became afraid, and knew that he could no longer abide in the country. Accordingly he collected all who were near and dear to him, with his children, wives, property, male and female slaves, and betook himself to the heights of Derbend-Kúllá by the way of Arem or Zárem, a cave with a stronghold, at present known by the name of A'áyshai Kargilduz, where provisions for two or three years had been stored. When the Sefhabud had thus sheltered his children, he got the door walled up, and, taking several donkey-loads of gold with him, went to Deilemestán by

\* *ظهر الدين* pp. ۳۸ *et seq.*

way of Lárján, but was pursued by the Moslem troops, who deprived him of some of his treasure; whereupon he betook himself to Fullám, which was at that time inhabited and in a flourishing condition, and there he crossed the Palúr river.

After the Sefhabud had left Mázanderán, the Moslem army besieged the above mentioned stronghold for two years and seven months, when at last an epidemic broke out among the beleaguered, and 400 persons of them died; there being no room for disposing of the corpses [and it being contrary to their religion to inter them], they were heaped on each other. At last only nine men remained alive, who sued for quarter and obtained it. When they had come out, it took seven nights and days to remove the property which was in the cave. The harem of the Sefhabud was taken to Bagh'dád to the Khalif, who made one of the Sefhabud's daughters a Muḥammadan and married her. When the Sefhabud Khórshyd was informed of what had become of his children and property, he became tired of life and poisoned himself.

From the reign of Jyl B. Jyllánsháh, Dábuyah, and his descendants to that of the Sefhabud Khórshyd, 119 years elapsed, which are distributed among the Sefhabuds as follows:—Sefhabud Khórshyd B. Dádmíhr B. Farrukhán B. Dábuyah B. Jyl B. Jyllánsháh.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

[JANUARY TO APRIL 1876.]

A Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on 15th January 1876 the Hon'ble JAMES GIBBS, *President*, in the chair.

The Rev. J. P. Hughes, and Mr. G. C. Whitworth, C.S., were elected Members of the Society.

The Hon'ble Rao Sáheb Vishwanáth N. Maṅḍlik, V.P., read a paper—"Remarks on Walabhí Copper-plates, and the Era current in those plates," in which he came to the conclusion that the era used in the Walabhí plates is the era of the Guptas.

A vote of thanks was passed to the author, on the proposal of Prof. Bháṅḍárkar and the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson.

Several Books and Pamphlets presented to the Society were placed on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on 12th February 1876.

The Hon'ble Rao Sáheb V. N. Maṅḍlik, *Vice-President*, in the chair.

Books, Pamphlets, and Papers presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

Mr. J. Gerson daCunha read a paper—"Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul." The paper was divided into two parts, viz., Historical and Archæological, the Historical part from the earliest Hindu period to modern times, passing through the Muhammadan and Portuguese periods, the latter being the most interesting of all. The Archæological part consisted of descriptions of the ruins, and decipherment of inscriptions to be there found.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Da Cunha, on the motion of the Chairman and the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson.

“On March 4th a public meeting called by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was held in the Library of the Institution, the Hon'ble J. Gibbs, *President*, in the chair, when Professor Monier Williams delivered an address in favour of an Indian Institute, which it is proposed should be founded at Oxford. The following circular, referred to in Professor Williams' address, was distributed amongst the meeting:—‘It is hoped that if the present system of educating the Civil Service of India be maintained, Oxford will become an effective and attractive training-ground for this purpose. Under any circumstances, the oldest and most central University in England may well become a place where all workers in the field of Indian knowledge should receive aid and encouragement. In that case a building and appliances will certainly be needed that shall be wholly dedicated to the promotion of Indian studies, and to the diffusion throughout England of correct information on every subject bearing on the welfare of the Queen's Indian Empire. The principal aim of such an Institution would be to form a centre of union, intercourse, inquiry, and instruction for all engaged in Indian studies. It would contain Lecture-rooms suited to the use of Professors of the classical languages of India, and of Teachers of the Indian vernaculars and of Indian law and history—to be hereafter attached to it—the teachers being paid either by the University, or by separate endowments like that of the Boden Professorship. It would also contain a Library and Museum, and might combine appliances for other Oriental studies, so as to furnish the selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service and others with the means of preparing themselves for examinations and for obtaining degrees in an Indian School, in the event of such a school being hereafter established at Oxford. Another great object of the Institution would be to encourage and facilitate the residence of young Indians at Oxford. Indeed, an increasing number of the natives of India already frequent our University. It is thought, therefore, that a scheme which will tend especially to their advantage is sure to meet with support in India. It is believed that a sum of about £20,000 would suffice for the erection of an Institute, and the endowment of a Curator, and application might be made to the University for a suitable site. It may be assumed that when an Indian Institute, with a Library and Museum, is once established at Oxford, contributions of books, MSS, and objects of interest, illustrating the ethnology, archæo-



logy, religious systems, domestic and social life of the natives of India, will rapidly come in from India itself, from old University men resident there, and from all interested in making Oxford a centre of Oriental studies. Communications with offers of assistance may be addressed to Professor Monier Williams, Oxford, or care of Messrs. King, Hamilton, and Co., Calcutta; or care of Messrs. King, King, and Co., Bombay; or to any members of the Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras committees. Any sums of money that may be voluntarily offered will be invested in the names of Lord Lawrence, Sir Edward Colebrooke, and other trustees. It is proposed that a subscription of £1 per annum and upwards shall entitle to membership, and a donation of £25 to life-membership. Patron—His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, K.G.; Vice-Patrons—His Royal Highness Prince Leopold, K.G.; His Excellency Lord Northbrook, Viceroy of India; His Honour Sir Richard Temple, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; the Hon. Sir John Strachey, K.C.S.I., Lieut.-Governor, N.W.P.; His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; His Grace the Archbishop of York; the Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon, D.C.L., High Steward of the University of Oxford, Secretary of State for the Colonies; the Right Hon. Lord Lawrence, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.; His Highness the Maharaja of Jeypore; His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore; His Highness the Maharaja of Punnah; the Right Hon. Sir Bartle Frere, Bart., G.C.S.I., K.C.B., Hon. D.C.L., Oxon; the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.; the Right Hon. Sir William Henry Gregory, K.C.M.G., Governor of Ceylon; the Lord Bishop of Calcutta; Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I.; the Hon. Arthur Hobhouse; the Hon. E. C. Bayley, C.S.I.; the Hon. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, K.C.S.I.; the Hon. Sir Douglas Forsyth, K.C.S.I.; the Hon. Ashley Eden; the Hon. T. C. Hope; the Maharaja of Darbhunga; Sir Edward Colebrooke, M.P.; Sir William Robinson, K.C.S.I.'

“The following propositions to be submitted to the consideration of the University of Oxford were also presented to the meeting:—

“I.—The University to give a site for the building in a convenient part of Oxford.

“II.—To provide stipends for Professors or Teachers of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu, Indian History and Indian Law (if not already provided).

“ To provide rooms for young Indians either in the building or near it, and to appoint a Superintendent or Tutors whose business will be to watch over the occupants of the rooms, and to promote their happiness, comfort, and well-being of mind and body.

“ V.—To allow all young Indian students to be members of the University, with admission to all its lectures and privileges, on payment of a matriculation fee of about £5 (covering the whole period of residence in Oxford), and on producing testimonials of moral character, and on giving evidence of proficiency in the usual subjects of an English education, not, however, necessarily including Greek and Latin, for which proficiency in Indian languages might be taken as an equivalent.

“ VI.—To make facilities for their going through courses of study in Chemistry and every branch of Physical Science in the University Libraries and Laboratories, and for attending the Lectures of the University Professors in Law, Medicine, Political Economy, and History.

“ VII.—To make facilities for Medical students attending Clinical Lectures in the Oxford Infirmary, if required, and for Law students attending the Oxford Assizes, and going to London (1 hour and 20 minutes distant by railroad) occasionally to attend and take notes in the Law Courts, and to keep terms in the Inns of Court if necessary.

“ VIII.—Not to compel all young Indian students to pass the Degree Examinations, but to enable those who desire degrees to graduate in an Oriental School, in which Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian shall take the place of Latin and Greek, and in which the Literature of India, the History of Asia, and Indian Law shall be prominent subjects.

“ IX.—To make such arrangements as shall enable a student from India to live all the year round in the rooms provided for him at Oxford, and to make such sumptuary rules as shall make it possible for each student to live in Oxford for £150 per annum, exclusive of expenses incurred during vacations, if such vacations be thought desirable.

“ X.—To allow any one interested in India to be a member of the Indian Institute, on payment of £1 per annum, or to be a life member on payment of £25.

“ XI.—To transfer all books on India and Sanskrit MSS., and all objects of interest connected with India, from the University Libraries and Museums to the Indian Institute.

“The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that Professor Williams, when he came to India, was anxious that a meeting in Bombay of some kind should take place at which he could explain his views, and he (the Chairman) thought that the Asiatic Society was the proper place to hear the views of such an authority on such a subject.

“Professor Monier Williams then said :—‘ I have been travelling over a great part of India endeavouring to excite an interest in the proposal for founding an Indian Institute at Oxford, the outline of which is in the printed paper before you. And where am I likely to meet with more sympathy than in my own *Janma-bhumi*, in my own native city of Bombay? Where more than with this learned Society, who have recently conferred on me a high and valued mark of their approval by enrolling me in the list of their honorary members? In the course of a long tour I have received many valuable suggestions, and others will, I trust, be offered to me by you, which will enable me to formulate the scheme before you more fully on my return to Oxford. It is clear that if I had to make a map of India I must have surveyed the country first. Even so any plan for founding an Indian Institute must be based on some personal knowledge of India and its people. This I have tried to gain by my travels here. I said at Calcutta that I had come here for *Prama*—that I might, so to speak, take a true measure of the country and form a right estimate of its condition and needs. Some of the newspapers made me say that I had come out for *Prema*, love. (Laughter.) Well, it is certainly true that the *Prama* I have gained has led to *Prema*. I have contracted a great affection for India and its inhabitants. (Hear, hear.) Both the people and the country have made a deep impression on me. It must be confessed that I have been received everywhere as a visitor (though having a special mission), and that, too, rather as a flying visitor; and a flying visitor’s impressions are not often worth much. But, such as they are, a few of them may perhaps interest you. I heard of a youth the other day who, on being asked to recount his impressions of India, said that he had found it a very dusty place. It must be admitted that I have encountered plenty of dust, but I trust I have done as the poet Wordsworth recommends, “turned the dust of my opportunities to gold, and filled my soul with sentiments august, the beautiful, the brave, the holy and the just,” examples of which I have found everywhere around me in my observation both of the country and its people. First as to the country. I found India a complete world in itself. The Duke of Argyll in his

“Reign of Law” shows that the Almighty delights in variety, and that this law is carried out in the most minute organizations invisible to the human eye. And what an infinite variety have I found here in India, in living objects, in physical features, in scenery, in climate! An Indian Institute will have to recognize this wonderful variety. It will have to deal with India as an epitome of the world. Every branch of science will have to come within the range of its teaching. Then as to the people of India. I have found here among them every variety of race, language, creed, custom, character. Yet they appear to have some characteristics in common which have struck me as worthy of admiration. First of all, the intensity of their belief in the presence and power of God. I asked a Pandit in Jammu to write down any two words he thought best in the Sanskrit language, and he instantly wrote down *Bhagavate Námah*, “reverence to God.” In fact these words seem written upon everything Indian. They stand at the head of every work. They are interwoven with every practice and usage of daily life. The people of India are ever reminding themselves of a future state of being. They are ever acting as if they were intensely conscious that this world is only the vestibule to another, and that that other world is close to them. Then their extreme docility and respect for authority. I saw greater and denser crowds at Calcutta than I have ever seen in London or Paris, and I doubt whether any European crowd would have behaved in so orderly a manner. I thought to myself, What influence a determined leader might have with such a people, either for good or for evil! Then their patient perseverance in *Dharma*, that is, in doing their appointed work in the state of life to which God has called them. Even a man of the lowest caste, however toilsome and despised by others his duties may be, seems to take a pride in patiently and contentedly performing them. Then their natural courtesy of manner. In no country have I met with more real gentlemen than in this. Even among the uneducated classes I maintain that there are more of nature’s gentlemen than are to be found in Europe. Of course this courtesy may easily slide into servility, but servility of manner is not more common here than elsewhere. Then their domestic virtues. Where can be found more filial and conjugal affection, where more family devotion, where more love for the *Janma-bhumi*, or the place of birth, where more *Sitas* or faithful wives, where more respect for age, piety, and learning than in India? Of course even reverence for fathers and forefathers may be carried too far if it leads to a blind following of practices manifestly out of date, merely because

they have been inherited from ancestors. Lastly, as to intellectual condition. Where in the world can be found a people so imaginative as the people of this country, though their imagination may often run a little too wild? And where in the world will be found among educated men more shrewd reasoners? I have been told that in some parts of India even an uneducated Indian is naturally a metaphysician. Even without being able to read or write, he is said to be quite capable of arguing with remarkable acuteness about the nature of God, the origin of evil, and the relationship of spirit to matter. But some will say, Have you no dark touches to put into your traveller's sketch? Of course I might do so; but I have not travelled as a *Chidranveshin*. I have not had too keen an eye for spots and holes. One *chidra*, however, is too apparent to have escaped my notice. Everywhere I have found among the people of India too great a tendency towards what we call in Sanskrit *Udasinata*, apathy and indifference. One great aim of the Indian Institute will be to represent the people of India in their true character. It will know better than to describe them as barbarous, just emerging from darkness. It will make known their ancient civilizations, their grand literatures, their subtle philosophies, their time-honoured usages, and will lay the foundation of a scholarlike acquaintance with their classical languages. The great men of this country ought to support such an Institution liberally, because they are deeply interested in promoting among Englishmen a right estimate of India. For India is daily becoming more and more governed from England itself. I mean, more from the central terminus of Queen, Lords and Commons than from those who are at the other end of the submarine wires. How, then, can India be governed properly if there is ignorance in England of what India is, and of what India needs? And how can such ignorance be better dispelled than by founding at our ancient Universities, where our Royal Princes and the majority of our Lords and Commons are educated, institutions that shall be wholly dedicated to the diffusion throughout England of correct information on every subject bearing on the welfare of the Queen's Indian Empire. The people of Great Britain, whatever their present ignorance of India may be, are deeply interested in the well-being of their Eastern Empire.

“ We sometimes hear England accused of governing India for England more than for India's own sake; of consulting the interests of London, Liverpool, and Manchester more than those of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras; of making India the theatre of experiments in political eco-

nomny and social science ; of annexing provinces for the maintenance of what is called our prestige in Europe. Yet we have only to look around to see abundant monuments of the good intentions, the disinterested policy, and the general efficiency of the English government. My tour in India has convinced me that, notwithstanding some blunders, Great Britain has done for India what no *rāj* has ever done before. Changes have been worked, and improvements effected, the magnitude of which must be seen to be believed. I have travelled thousands of miles from Bombay to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lahore and the kingdom of Cashmere. I have seen a network of railroads and telegraphs penetrating and girding the whole land, carrying trade, traffic, and prosperity into districts hitherto unopened. I have seen better carriage roads than any in Europe—wonderful canals and systems of irrigation. In larger cities beautiful public buildings ; and even in smaller cities signs of incipient civic life. I have witnessed a vast work being effected in education, especially here at Bombay ; and the standard for degree examinations seems to me really higher than it is in England. Everywhere in India are signs of intellectual activity and progress, nowhere more so than here. Libraries, reading-rooms, debating societies ; learned societies like that I am now addressing ; able newspapers and periodicals, in English and the vernaculars ; the best literature of India, and scientific books on all subjects, printed at Government and native presses. Among the latter ought especially to be mentioned the press of the Maharaja of Cashmere and that of Thakurgiri Prasad Sing of Beswan. Last, not least, a thoroughly effective Post-office carrying letters, papers, periodicals punctually to every corner of the empire. Yet, after all, I fear our zeal has not always been according to knowledge—such knowledge as an Indian Institute will, I trust, endeavour to supply. What is wanted is a wise progress neither forced nor premature—a wise adaptation of legislation and education to the varying conditions of particular localities. India is a collection of countries which ought not to be bound by any iron law of uniform treatment. What suits one place is quite unsuited to another. Probably in some places we are at least fifty years too early with our laws and regulations and our complicated processes, and too often we have educated men above their station and employments, instead of educating them in these. We shall be wise not to force too strong meat on those who cannot digest it. But if England has often misunderstood India, it is equally certain that India has misunderstood England. If, with all our good intentions, the governors

have failed to conciliate the governed, is the fault all on one side? I believe that Great Britain and India have much to learn from each other. The objects, then, of the Oxford Institute will be two-fold—first, to promote in England a right estimate of India; and, secondly, to promote sympathy and cordial feelings and a proper understanding between the natives of the two countries, and to show the common ground on which we may all meet together as brothers and fellow-subjects. And to this end the Oxford Institute will facilitate what is called in Sanskrit *Gamaná-gamana* between the East and West. If you wish to judge of a man's real character you must see him in his own home—in private life. You must go to England to understand what England really is. I have often been asked why should the Indian candidates for the Civil Service be sent to England to be examined? I really do not see, for my part, why Indians should not be examined in India, but every selected candidate ought to be absolutely compelled to go to England for his two years' training, that he may learn what England is at home, and take note of her vast power and resources. I regret very much that the Government scholarships for aiding men to go to England have been abolished. I think they ought to be re-established, and far more generally and numerously than before, so that deserving men everywhere may be helped to visit England. Why, too, should not the richer natives of this country themselves establish scholarships with this aim? I trust that what are called travelling fellowships may be founded in England in connection with our Indian Institute, to enable young Englishmen to visit India. Why should Indians lose their nationality by residing in England, any more than we lose ours by sojourning in this country? We do not even change the character of our dress. We keep our social habits, our customs, our games, and even our caste feelings. Why should not Indians do the same? Let me assure the native gentlemen here present, as I did those at Calcutta, that one great result of the residence of young Indians at Oxford will be to make them more patriotic, because our endeavour will be to set before them the greatness of their country, and stimulate them to make every effort for the amelioration of its condition. Now, I ask, how can this *Gamaná-gamana*, this intercourse between the East and West, be promoted? How can the difficulties surrounding it be removed? I trust this meeting will help me with suggestions, as the Calcutta meeting has already done. The eleven propositions in one of the papers before you embody the suggestions of my Calcutta friends. Have you any other propositions to add to these? I hope that before I

quit my native city, a powerful committee may be formed here who will undertake to strengthen my hands when I bring the subject before the University of Oxford, and who will aid me in obtaining promises of pecuniary assistance to erect a suitable building and to found suitable scholarships. Let me mention before I close that the Viceroy and all the present Governors of India, including His Excellency Sir Philip Wodehouse, have consented to become Vice-Patrons under the Prince of Wales as Patron of the Oxford Institute, the only exception being the new Governor of Madras, whose reply has not yet been received; I have also to put before you a letter from Mr. Lethbridge, Principal of the Kishnaghur College, enclosing about five hundred signatures of graduates of the Calcutta University, to be followed by many more, the object of which is to request me to lay before the University of Oxford their desire for the establishment of an Oriental School at Oxford.' (Cheers.)

“The Honourable Rao Sáheb V. N. Mañdik said that he begged to propose a vote of the sincere thanks of the meeting to Professor Williams for his interesting, exhaustive, and able address. He did so with pleasure, more in response to the call to the native audience present, than as one capable of doing justice to the important subject which had been placed with such ability before them. He would not go so far as to say that he coincided with the scheme which had been placed before them for their acceptance in all its bearings, but he sympathized entirely with the object Professor Monier Williams had in view. (Hear, hear.) He agreed with his desire to promote *gamaná-gamana* between the two countries. (Hear, hear.) The address with which they had been favoured that day was very instructive and suggestive; indeed, he might call it the epitome of the results of education in the Presidency of Bombay for twenty-five years, and of fifty years in the Presidency of Bengal. They had just been told that five hundred students from Calcutta University had signed a certain memorial, which fact showed the advance made by the University of the Bengal Presidency; but he made bold to assert that that university had made no further advance than had Bombay University in earnestness and desire for progress, considering the appliances which had been placed within its reach. If the progress here was somewhat slower than in Bengal, it was certainly more calculated to make each one more satisfied with his position in life, and tended more to promote a desire to seek a gradual amelioration of a man's own position, and the position of those around him. It was for the promotion of a communication between mind and



mind, of the *gamanî-gamana*, as the lecturer had described it, that he (the speaker) would desire the proposed movement to be successful. He hoped, therefore, that, before the meeting separated, some resolution would be proposed that would give practical encouragement to Professor Williams by the citizens of Bombay. (Cheers.)

“Mr. Naoroji Fardunji seconded the resolution, and said that the proposals of Professor Monier Williams were deserving of support from every enlightened quarter. As, however, suggestions had been asked for, he hoped he might be allowed to call attention to the suggestion which was made several years ago by the native community of Bombay in a memorial, extensively signed, and addressed to Her Majesty’s Secretary of State at that time. It was then submitted to the Government that the candidates for the Civil Service—the examination of which seems one of the main objects of Professor Williams’ scheme—should take place in the first instance in India, and then that those who showed themselves qualified should be selected to go to England to acquire the additional degrees of efficiency necessary to Civil Service appointments. Such was the proposal of years ago, such seemed to be the proposal of Professor Williams now; and he hoped the Professor would submit it to the authorities at home, and that the authorities would adopt it.

“The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

“Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji then proposed that a Committee be appointed for Bombay, to consist of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, viz.:—Hon’ble James Gibbs, President; Hon’ble Mr. Justice Pinhey, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., Hon’ble Rao Saheb Vishvanath N. Mandlik, Hon’ble Mahomed Ali Rogay, Professor R. G. Oxenham, Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., and Dr. O. Codrington, Secretary. Mr. Dadabhai said that one point was certain, viz., that native gentlemen going out to England to the Civil Service examinations, or for higher education, would derive immense advantages from such an Institute as that proposed. That would be the case, not only from the way in which their education would be completed, but from the intellectual society in which they would move. He had some young native gentlemen put under his charge some years ago, and he was very anxious to send them either to Oxford or Cambridge, but there were then religious difficulties in the way which prevented that, but now that had been removed, and he knew of several native gentlemen who had taken up a residence at the Universities.

Now he maintained that if they could find a home as well as a school at the University, it would be all the better for them. The use of the University to Indians was not only the superior education which they would get, but it was the highly intellectual society in which they would mix. He had often felt persuaded that the best thing to be done was to send young Indians to England to complete their education and to compete for the Civil Service. Of course there were some difficulties in the way, as there were some years ago in regard to the age of competitors for the Civil Service, which although not intended by the Secretary of State still thwarted many natives from competing, and left behind a very bitter feeling. He highly approved of subjecting the natives to a preliminary examination here, and then sending the most deserving to England to finish. After five years' hard labour he had at last succeeded in getting a clause to the effect that the Government 'might' do that, and he hoped it would not take the same length of time in getting the clause carried into effect. (Hear, hear.)

"The Rev. J. S. S. Robertson, in an excellent speech, seconded the resolution, speaking highly of Professor Williams and the address he had given. He said that all who had studied the affairs of India had been indebted to the works of Professor Williams for much valuable information, and long before they had seen his face his name was familiar as household words. He (the speaker) was sure that the proposal of Professor Williams, if carried out, would give an impetus to a work which would be of immense value to India, more valuable than was at first apparent. The reverend gentleman pointed out the great value from a political point of view of what Professor Williams proposed.

"Mr. Naoroji Fardunji then suggested that the name of Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai (cries of Hear, hear) should be added to the Committee, and with this amendment the resolution was carried unanimously.

"Professor Monier Williams, in returning thanks, said that he thanked the meeting for the kind way in which he had been mentioned: and he must apologize if his address had assumed a too political aspect, as he was afraid, from the last speaker, it had. The fact was that the questions of education and politics ran so much into each other, that it was difficult to draw the line between the two. Education was a great political lever; and he hoped, therefore, that in speaking of the one he had not entrenched too far into the regions of the other. He had mere-

ly expressed his own private views ; but he persisted in the idea that candidates for the Civil Service, though examined in India, should be compelled to reside for a year or two in England, and the Indian Institute could give them the opportunity of doing so. (Hear, hear.)"  
—*Times of India*.

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A Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on March 11th, 1876. The Honourable Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, V.P., in the Chair.

J. A. Baines, Esq., C.S., was elected a Member of the Society.

Several Books and Pamphlets presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

Mr. E. Rehatsek read a paper—"Some Beliefs and Usages among the Pre-Islamitic Arabs, with notes on their Polytheism, Judaism, Christianity, and the Mythic period of their History."

A vote of thanks was passed to the author, on the motion of the Chairman and Mr. W. M. Wood.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on April 8th, 1876. The Honourable Mr. Justice West, V.P., in the Chair.

Books, Pamphlets, &c. presented to the Society since the last Meeting were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

C. Grondona, Esq., and Surgeon-Major D. Mackie, M.A., M.D., were elected Members of the Society.

Dr. C. Marchesetti read a paper on "Pre-historic Monuments of the Western Coast of India," in which he described a fossil forest he had found near Goa, evidently of great antiquity, yet many of the fossil trunks having marks of the axe or a large knife, which marks he considered could not have been made by other than metal instruments.

A vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Marchesetti on the motion of the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson and the Honourable Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik.

Dr. G. Bühler then read a paper on "Sanskrit in Kashmir," describing what had come to his notice during his recent visit to that country, especially with regard to Sanskrit literature and MSS., and showed to

the meeting several of the birch-bark MS. books he had obtained, remarking on their peculiarities, &c.

Dr. Bühler also presented to the Society eleven Kashmir copper coins, dating from A.D. 415 to 1208.

A vote of thanks was proposed by Professor Bhāṅḍārkar and Mr. Da Cunha, and passed, to Dr. Bühler.

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*Original Communications, January to April 1876.*

Communicated by

BÜHLER (Dr. G.).—Sanskrit in Kashmir .....	The Author.
DA CUNHA (J. GERSON).—Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul .....	Do.
MANDLIK (Hon'ble Rao Sáheb V. N.).—Remarks on Walabhi Copper-plates, and the Era current in those plates .....	Do.
MARCHESETTI (Dr. CARLO).—Pre-historic Monuments of the Western Coast of India .....	Do.
REHATSEK (EDWARD).—Some Beliefs and Usages among the Pre-Islamitic Arabs, with Notes on their Polytheism, Judaism, Christianity, and the Mythic Period of their History .....	Do.

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*List of Presents to the Library, January to April 1876.*

Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Histoire, Parts II., III., and IV., for 1873. By the Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord à Copenhague.

Appendix H to the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the year 1874-75. By the Director.

Archæological Survey of Western India, No. 2. By J. Burgess. By the Government of Bombay.

Archæologike Ephemeris, 12 Parts. Plates 48 to 54.

A Welcome Address to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in honour of His Royal Highness' Visit to Indore. By Raoji Wasudeva Tullu. By the Author.

## INDICA BIBLIOTHECA :—

- Aitareya Aranyaka of the Rig Veda, with the Commentary of Sáyana Achárya ; edited by Rájendralála Mitra. Fasc. II. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Chaturvarga-Chintámani, by Hemádri. Vol. II., Fasc. II. and III. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Mirror of Composition ; translated by Pramadádása Mitra. Fasc. IV. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Sama Veda Sanhita. New Series, No. 334. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Birth and Accounts of the Prophet Zoroaster. By Kursetjee R. Kama. (Gujarati.) By the Author.
- Bombay High Court Reports, Vol. XII., Part 1. By the Government of Bombay.
- Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Lyon. Tomes I., II., and III. By the Geographical Society of Lyons.
- Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, Paris, 1875. By the Society.
- Catalogue of Books printed in the Bombay Presidency during the Quarter ending 31st December 1875. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.
- Catalogue of the Publications of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories. By F. V. Hayden. By the Boston Society.
- Collection of Papers illustrative of the several Scarcities which have happened in the Madras Presidency previous to 1866. By the Madras Government.
- Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages. By the Rev. R. Caldwell. By the India Office Library.
- Contributions to the Annals of Medical Progress and Medical Education in the United States. By J. H. Toner. By the Boston Society.
- Contributions to the Ichthyology of the Western Coast of the United States, from specimens in the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution. By C. Girard. By the Boston Society.
- Description of the New Genera and Species of North American Lizards in the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution. By S. F. Baird. By the Boston Society.

Di alcune nuove Località del *Proteus Anguineus* Laur. By Dr. Carl V. Marchesetti. By the Author.

Dictionary of the Pali Language. By R. C. Childers. By the India Office.

Ein Ausflug auf die Julischen Alpen. By Dr. Carl V. Marchesetti.

Essay on the Velocity of Light. By M. Delaunay. By the Boston Society.

Fifty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Public Education of the First School District of Pennsylvania. By the Boston Society.

Gulf Stream Explorations ; 3rd Memoir. By A. D. Bache. By the Boston Society.

Historia das Estabelecimentos Scientificos, Litterarios, e Artisticos de Portugal. Tomes I., II., and III. J. S. Ribeiro. By the Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa.

Historia e Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa. Nova Serie. Tome IV., Part 1. By the Society.

Jeffries Wyman : Memorial Meeting of the Boston Society of Natural History. By the Society.

Journal de Sciencias Mathematicas, Physicias, e Naturaes, da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa. Tome III. By the Society.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Part I., Nos. 3, 4 ; Part II., Nos. 2, 3.

Journal of the East India Association, Vol. IX.

Lists of Elevations, principally in that portion of the United States west of the Mississippi River. By the Boston Society.

Logos paradidontos ten Prytaneian. By G. A. Palle.

Logos peri tes Autophuuous Hellenikes Blasteseos. By T. G. Orphanidos.

Memoirs of C. F. P. von Martius. By Charles Ram. By the Boston Society.

Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History. Vol. II., Part III., Nos. 3, 4, 5 ; Vol. II., Part IV., No. 1.

Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India. Vol. XI., Part 2. By the Superintendent, Geological Survey.

**Memorandum on the Madras Famine of 1866.** By R. A. Dalyell. By the Madras Government.

**Monthly Reports of the Department of Agriculture for 1841.** By the Boston Society.

**Notes on Coluber Calligaster of Say, and a description of New Species of Serpents in the collection of the North-Western University of Evanston.** By R. Kennicott. By the Boston Society.

**Notes on Muhammadanism.** By the Rev. F. P. Hughes. By the Author.

**Notes on the North American Falconidæ, with Descriptions of the New Species.** By J. Cassin. By the Boston Society.

**Notices of Sanskrit MSS.** By Rajendralála Mitra. Vol. III., Part III. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

**On Free-Masonry.** By Bowmanji Cursetji Cowasji. By the Author.

**On the Establishment, in connection with the India Museum and Library, of an Indian Institute.** By J. F. Watson. By the Author.

**Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.** Nos. 9 and 10 of 1875 and No. 1 of 1876. By the Society.

**Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History.** Vol. XVI. Part 4, and Vol. XVII., Parts 1, 2, and 3. By the Society.

**Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for making Laws and Regulations.** Vol. XIV. By the Government of Bombay.

**Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia for 1875.** Vols. I., II., and III. By the Government of Bombay.

**Records of the Geological Survey of India.** Vol. IX., Part 1. By the Superintendent, Geological Survey.

**Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for 1874-75.** By the Chamber.

**Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for 1873.** By the Department of Agriculture of the United States of America.

**Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for 1874-75.** By the Director.

**Report of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories.**  
By F. V. Hayden. By the Boston Society.

**Report on the Administration of Mysore for the year 1874-75.** By  
the Chief Commissioner of Mysore.

**Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for 1874-75.**  
By the Bombay Government.

**Report on the Administration of the North-Western Provinces for the  
year 1874-75.** By the Government N. W. Provinces.

**Report on the Chemistry of the Earth.** By T. S. Hunt. By the  
Boston Society.

**Report on the Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India  
for 1874-75.** By the Superintendent of Survey.

**Researches upon the Venom of the Rattlesnake.** By S. W. Mitchell.  
By the Boston Society.

**Seventy-first Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society.** By  
the Society.

**Smithsonian Report for 1873.** By the Boston Society.

**Société de Géographie Commerciale de Bordeaux.** Bulletin No. 1 for  
1874-75. By the Society.

**Statistical, Descriptive, and Historical Account of the North-Western  
Provinces.** Vol. III., Part 2. By the Government N. W. Provinces.

**Tide Tables for the Ports of Bombay and Kurrachee, 1876.** By  
the Government of Bombay.

**Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. III., Part 2.** By  
the Society.

**Trial of the Guikwar, with special reference to the Principle of  
Publicity therein adopted.** By W. Tayler. By W. M. Wood.

**Una Escursione alle Alpi Giulie.** Dr. Carl V. Marchesetti. By  
the Author.

**Una Gita al Gran Sasso d'Italia.** Dr. Carl V. Marchesetti. By  
the Author.

**Viagem de Goa a Bombaim.** Por L. M. de Abreu. By the Author.

**Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.** Parts 1,  
2, 3, and 4, for 1874, and Parts 1 and 2 for 1875. By the Society.



*Presents to the Museum during 1876 (January to April).*

5 Silver Arcot Coins found in Sattara. Presented by the Government.

1 Copper Coin of the Pathan Emperors of Delhi. Presented by Capt. C. Wodehouse.

13 Small Silver Coins of the Pathan Emperors of Delhi. Presented by Capt. C. Wodehouse.

11 Copper Coins of the Rajas of Kashmir. Presented by Dr. G. Bühler.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

[AUGUST TO DECEMBER 1876.]

A Meeting of the Society was held August 12th, 1876. The Honorable James Gibbs, *President*, in the chair.

The Rev. T. Foulkes, M.A., M.R.A.S. ; J. A. Bryce, Esq. ; J. A. Cassels, Esq., and J. M. Campbell, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. Kásináth Trimbak Telang read a paper on three Kadamba Copper Plates which had been received from the Government by the Society.

The author gave an account of each plate, all of which record grants made to Jaina temples or mendicants by the princes of the Kadamba dynasty, and after having fully discussed the names and matters mentioned in the legends, summed up his investigation to this effect:—That there were two branches of the Kadamba family ; one may be described as the Goa, the other as the Banavási branch. The princes mentioned in the plates belonged to the Banavási branch, and were independent sovereigns, not under subordination to the Chálukya kings as their successors were ; they flourished probably before the fifth century of the Christian era ; and there is good reason to believe that these early Kadambas were of the Jain persuasion.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Telang for his paper, on the motion of the Honorable Ráo Sáheb V. N. Maṅḍlik and Professor R. G. Bháṅḍárkar.

Mr. Gumpert proposed, and Mr. W. M. Wood seconded, the following resolution :—

“That the Meeting desire to record their sense of the loss sustained by the Society in the recent deaths of two of its most eminent Honorary Members—Professors C. Lassen and Martin Haug.”

VOL. XII. d

Several books and pamphlets presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

A vote of thanks was also passed to Paṇḍit Govind Moreśvar for a stone slab, with inscription of the Śilāhāra king Aparādityadēva found at Ṭhāṇā and presented through Dr. Bühler.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on September 9th, 1876. The Honorable James Gibbs, *President*, in the chair.

Anná Moreśvar Kuṇṭe, B.A., M.D., was elected a Member of the Society.

Several books and pamphlets presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

Mr. E. Rehatsek read a paper on the Bāw and Gáobárah Sephabuds along the southern Caspian shores.

The paper treated of the Sephabuds of Mázanderán and Tabaristán, and touched upon the subject of the gradual transition of the Persians from Zoroastrianism to Muhammadanism as far as the Sephabuds of the Bāw and Gáobárah dynasty, whose history was given, is concerned, and the data available to the writer allowed; and this was an interesting feature in the paper, in which the attempt was made to give a connected and systematic account by collecting all the information within reach, and arranging it chronologically.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. E. Rehatsek, on the motion of the *President* and Mr. W. M. Wood.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, 14th October 1876. The Rev. J. S. S. Robertson in the chair.

The Right Rev. L. G. Mylne, D.D., Lord Bishop of Bombay, was elected a Member.

Several books and pamphlets presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

The *Secretary* showed a series of Sassanian and Gadhiá coins from the Society's cabinet, and a lithograph of the same, which he had arranged to illustrate the gradual transition from the Persian face and fire-altar, seen in the former, into the oblong button dots and lines on the latter coins, and which showed pretty plainly that the so-called Gadhiás are a debased imitation of the coins of the Sassanian kings of about the 6th or 7th century A.D.

He also read a paper on these coins by Paṇḍit Bhagvánlál Indrají, in which the author, after reviewing the history of the early coinages of this part of India, viz., the punched coins, those stamped with Buddhist symbols, the Kshatrpa (misnamed Sáh), and the Gupta series, gave his reasons for considering the Gadhiás to be a coinage following the Guptás, and probably that of the Chálukya kings of Anhiḷwáḍa who were ruling in Gujarát and Káthiáwáḍ, and of the Parmára dynasty who were reigning in Málwá, between the 8th and 13th centuries; and that apparently the pattern was a rude imitation of some which were struck or were current in India about the 6th century, when, as there is evidence both from tradition and from the paintings of the Ajañtá and Bágh caves, the Sassanians were pretty well known in Western India.

Dr. Bühler was of opinion that Mr. Bhagvánlál's theory, attributing these coins to the Chálukya kings, is correct. They are found in enormous quantities, and those found in Ujjein bearing the legend *Śrí Omkar* in the mediæval Devanágari character of the 11th or 12th century are, no doubt, of the Málwá kings of that period. He had found a remarkable similarity in some phrases and points in copper plates of Gujarát and Málwá, which led him to think there was a close relation between these kingdoms at that time, and which would account for their having a similar coinage. He considered it very doubtful whether there was a Sassanian dynasty in India.

Professor Bháñḍárkar thought some of the Gadhiá coins might be traced to the Sáh series, to which they bore a resemblance in size and shape.

Some brass and copper articles found in the Dhárwáḍ district, two of them bearing inscriptions in the Haḷa Canarese character of the 7th or 8th century, were then shown, and notes on them by Paṇḍit Bhagvánlál Indrají were read.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on 13th November 1876. The Rev. J. S. S. Robertson in the chair.

G. W. Forrest, Esq., B.A., and Ubaldo da Costa Campos, Esq., of Goa, were elected Members of the Society.

A paper by Paṇḍit Bhagvánlál Indrají—"Revised Transcript and Translation of Amra Nátha Inscription" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, No. XXVI.)—was read, in which he described the date as Samvat 982, and the names of the kings given in the inscription Chhitarájadéva and

Manvánideva, whom the author showed were probably of the Śiláhára dynasty. Another paper by the same author was read—"Revised Transcript and Translation of Parel Inscription" (No. 7 Wathen's Translation (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. V.). In this the date Śaka 1109 is given, and the name of the king Aparáditya, who is described as the Great Ruler of the Koikaṇa. This king was probably also of the Śiláhára race.

A vote of thanks was passed, on the motion of the Honorable Ráo Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik and Mr. Káśínáth Trimbak Telang, the latter observing that there was no doubt about the numerals in the first inscription, and this is confirmed by an unpublished plate in his possession.

Several books and pamphlets presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

MAY TO DECEMBER 1876.

- Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1866-67. Kjobenhavn. By the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.
- Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Vol. V., No. 4, and Vol. VI., No. 1. By the Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
- Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India for the month of May 1876 and the two months 1st April to 31st May 1876. By the Government of India.
- Do. do. do. for the month of June 1876 and the three months 1st April to 30th June 1876. By the Government of India.
- Do. do. do. for the month of July 1876 and the four months 1st April to 31st July 1876. By the Government of India.
- Do. do. do. for the month of August 1876 and for the five months 1st April to 31st August 1876. By the Government of India.
- Do. do. do. for the month of September and for the six months 1st April to 30th September 1876. By the Government of India.
- Do. do. do. for the month of October 1876 and for the seven months 1st April to 31st October 1876. By the Government of India.
- A Collection of Sanskrit Medical Works, Nos. 1 and 2. By Dr. Anna Moreshwar Kunte. By the Author.
- Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Bombay Presidency, for 1875-76. By the Government of Bombay.
- Allégories, Récits Poétiques, et Chants Populaires, traduits de l'Arabe du Persan, de l'Hindoustani, et du Turc. Par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris, 1876. By the Author.
- An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris. By the late J. W. Breeks. By the Government of Bombay.

- Anglo-Indian Prize Poems, by Native and English writers, in commemoration of the Visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to India. By W. S. Thomson, Esq.
- Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1874. By the Smithsonian Institution.
- Antiquarisk Tidsskrift, 1858-63. 3 vols. Kjobenhaven. By the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.
- A Rapid Journey from the Persian Gulf to England. By Surgeon G. Waters. By the Author.
- Archæological Survey of Western India. Translations of Inscriptions from Belgaum and Kaladgi Districts, by J. F. Fleet; and of Inscriptions from Kathiawad and Kachh, by Hari Vaman Limaye. Bombay, 1876. By the Government of Bombay.
- Bahia de Lourenço Marques : Questão entre Portugal e a Gran-Bretanha sujeita a Arbitragem do Presidente da Republica Franceza. 2 vols. Lisboa, 1873-74. By S. A. de Carvalho, Esq.
- Bibliotheca Indica :—Bhāmati : a Gloss on Sankara Acharya's Commentary on the BramhaSutras. By Váchaspati Misra. Edited by Pandit Bal Shastri. Fasc. I. and II.
- Nitisára, or the Elements of Polity. By Kaman-daki. With a Commentary. Fasc. IV. Cal. 1876.
- Sám Veda Sanhita, with the Commentary of Sá-yana Achárya. Vol. III., Fasc. I.-V.
- Biographical Dictionary of Persons who knew Mohammad. By Ibn Hajar. Fasc. XIV.
- Chaturvarga-Chintamani. By Hemadri. Vol. II., Fasc. IV. and V.
- Gobhiliya Grihya Sutra. Fasc. VI.
- The Aitareya Aranyaka of the Rig-Veda. Edited by Rajendralal Mitra. Fasc. V.  
By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Boletin de la Sociedad de Geografia y Estadistica de la Republica Mexicana. Tome III. 1876. By the Society.
- Bombay University Calendar for 1876-77. By the Bombay University.
- Botanische Wanderungen in Italien. Dr. C. von Marchesetti. By the Author.

- Breve Noticia da Imprensa Nacional de Goa.** Por F. J. Xavier. By the Author.
- British Administration in India.** By Bowmanji Cursetji Bhandupwala. By the Author.
- Calendario Azteca Ensayo Arqueologico.** Por Alfredo Chavero. Mexico, 1876. By the Sociedad de Geografia y Estadistica de la Republica Mexicana.
- Carob Tree (The) with reference to its Cultivation in India.** By J. E. O'Connor. By the Government of India.
- Catalogue of Books printed in the Bombay Presidency during the Quarters ending 31st March, 30th June, and 30th September 1876.** By the Director of Public Instruction.
- Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in Oudh, discovered from 1st January to 31st March 1875.** By the Director of Public Instruction, Oudh.
- Catalogue to illustrate the Animal Resources of the Dominion of Canada at the U.S. Centennial Exhibition.** By Dr. A. M. Ross. By the Author.
- Clavis Poëtica Antiquæ Linguæ Septentrionalis Hafniæ.** By the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.
- Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, second Viceroy of India.** Translated by W. De Gray Birch. By the Government of Bombay.
- Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India.** By J. Beames. Vol. II. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.
- Edda Songs and Sagas of Iceland.** By G. Browning. Lond. 1876. By the Author.
- Eighth Report of the Bandora Charitable Dispensary, from January 1872 to December 1875.** By the Committee of Management.
- Finance and Revenue Accounts and Miscellaneous Statistics relating to the Finances of British India. Part II.** By the Government of India.
- G. T. Survey Maps:—**  
**Guzerat Sheet 80, Sec. 12.—Parts of the Sanand and Dholka Talukas of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.**  
**Sec. 15.—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.**



Guzerat Sheet 81, Sec. 2.—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.

Sec. 3.—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate, with portions adjoining Kattywar States.

Sec. 4.—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.

Sec. 5.— Do.

Sec. 6.—Town and Part of the Taluka of Dholka, Ahmedabad.

Sec. 10.—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate, with portions of Limri and Samla States.

Sec. 12.—Part of the Dholka Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate, with portion of the Limri State.

Guzerat Sheet 14, Sec. 16.—Part of the Olpad Taluka of the Surat Collectorate, with portions of the Kathor Mahāl of the Baroda State.

Kattywar Sheet No. 31.—Parts of Machukanta and Cutch.

No. 32.—Parts of Hallar and Machukanta.

No. 42.—Parts of Hallar and Cutch.

No. 43.—Part of Hallar.

By the Superintendent G. T. Survey of India.

Guide to Poona and Kirkee. By Messrs. Treacher and Co.

Gold for India. By L. G. Hynes. By the Author.

Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Dun. By G. R. C. Williams. By the Government of India.

History of India. By Sir H. Elliot. Vol. VI. By the Government of Bombay.

History of Services of Gazetted Officers in the Civil Department serving in the Presidency of Bombay, corrected up to 1st April 1875. By the Government of Bombay.

Indian Problem Solved: Undeveloped Wealth in India, and State Reproductive Works. Lond 1874. By the Author.

Institutes of Gautama. Edited, with Notes, by A. F. Stenzler. 1876. By the Sanskrit Text Society.

Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India. New Series. Vol. V., Part 2. By the Society.

- Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.** Vol. 45, Part I., Nos. 1 and 2, and Part II., Nos. 1 and 2. 1876. By the Society.
- Journal of the East India Association.** Vol. IX., Nos. 1 and 5. By the Association.
- Journal of the National Indian Association.** Nos. 64, 65, 67, 70, and 71. 1876. By the Association.
- Lac : Production, Manufacture, and Trade.** By J. E. O'Conor. By the Government of India.
- Legends of the Shrine of Harihara, in the Province of Mysore.** Translated from the Sanskrit by Rev. Thos. Foulkes. Madras, 1876. By the Author.
- Mémoires de la Société Royal des Antiquaires du Nord.** Nouvelle Série. 1866. By the Society.
- Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.** Vol. XII., Part 2. By the Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.
- Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.** Palæontologia Indica. Ser. XI., Part 1. By the Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.
- Miscellaneous Statistics relating to British India.** By the Government of India.
- Modern Indian Leprosy : being the Report of a Tour in Kattiawar, 1876.** By the Publisher.
- Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein.** By J. Gerson da Cunha. By the Author.
- Notices of Sanskrit MSS.** By Rajendralal Mitra. Vol. III., Part 4. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians.** By A. C. Burnell. By the Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository.
- Photographs of the Ajunta Paintings.** By the Government of Bombay.
- Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nos. 3-8, 1876.** By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia.** Vols. I., II., III. for 1875. By the Government of Bombay.
- Protection of Life and Property from Lightning during Thunderstorms.** By W. McGregor. Bedford, 1874. By the Author.
- Records of the Geological Survey of India.** Vol. IX., Parts 2 and 3. 1876. By the Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.

- Report of the Archæological Survey of India. Vol. V., 1872-73. By A. Cunningham. By the Government of Bombay.
- Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Origin, Nature, &c. of Indian Cattle Plagues. 1871. By the Government of India.
- Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for 1875-76. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- Report of the Sanitary Commissioner of the North-Western Provinces, 1874-75. By the Government of the N.W. Provinces.
- Report of the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute for 1875-76. By the Institute.
- Report of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories. By F. V. Hayden. Vol. II. 1875. By the Author.
- Report on Public Instruction in Mysore for 1874-75. Bangalore. By the Chief Commissioner of Mysore.
- Report on Sanskrit MSS., 1874-75. By Dr. G. Bühler. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.
- Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during 1874-75. By the Government of Madras.
- Report on the Freshwater Fish and Fisheries of India and Burmah. By Surgeon-Major F. Day. By the Government of India.
- Report on Vaccination throughout the Bombay Presidency and Sind for 1875-76. By the Government of Bombay.
- Reports on the Forest Administration in the several Provinces under the Government of India, 1873-74. By the Government of India.
- Ricordi d'un Viaggio alle Indie Orientali, Profili della Flora Indiana. Dr. C. Marchesetti. By the Author.
- Selected Notices from the Newspaper Press of the Efforts made by Mr. Ghulam Mahammad Munshi to spread Education among the Mahammadans. Bomb. 1875. By the Publisher.
- Some Account of *Zapus Hudsonius*, and on the Breeding-Habits, Nest, &c. of *Lagopus Leucurus*. By Dr. E. Cones. Washington, 1875. By the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Interior of the United States.
- Statistical, Descriptive, and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India. Vol. IV., Part 1. By the Government of the N.W. Provinces.

- Supplement to the Report of the Towers of Silence Land Suit. By the Publisher.
- Synopsis of the Results of the Operations of the G. T. Survey of India. Vol. VI. Dehra Dun, 1875. By the Superintendent, G. T. Survey of India.
- Tide Tables for the Ports of Bombay and Kurrachee for 1877.
- Do. for the Port of Bombay for 1877.
- Do. for the Port of Kurrachee for 1877. By the Government of Bombay.
- Un Nuovo Documento Preistorico trovato nelle India. Dr. C. Marchesetti. By the Author.
- Vanilla: its Cultivation in India. By J. E. O'Connor. By the Government of India.
- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Vol. 29, Parts III. and IV., and Vol. 30, Parts I. and II. By the Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

## PRESENTS TO THE MUSEUM, 1876 (May to December).

- 3 Copper-plate Grants of Kadamba Kings. Presented by the Government.
- 1 Silver Baroda and 10 Copper Gupta Coins found at Jasdan, Kattywar. Presented by the Government.
- 1 Gold, 3 Silver, and 4 Copper Coins of Porebunder State. Presented by the State.
- 4 Silver and 2 Copper Coins of Junagad State. Presented by the State.
- 2 Silver and 96 Copper Coins collected in Gujarat. Presented by Mr. Byramji Cursetji Dordi.
- 35 Copper Coins. Presented by Mr. Janardan Ramchandra.
- A piece of Carved Wood, probably from a Portuguese Church, and A large piece of White Coral. Presented by Mr. A. C. Gumpert.
- A Stone bearing an Inscription of King Aparāditya. Presented by Mr. Govind Moreshwar.