

# P A R T I I .

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ART. I.—*A Sanskrit Inscription from Central Java.* By  
Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR, M.A., ETC.

Read 3rd September 1887.

TRANSCRIPT.

१. नमो भगवत्यै आर्यतारायै ॥ या तारयत्यमितदुःखभवाब्धिमग्नं लोकं वि-  
लोक्य विधिवन्निविधैरु-
२. पायैः । सा वः सुरेन्द्रनरलोकविभूतिस[[r]ं तारा दिशत्वभिमतं जगदेकता-  
रा ॥ आवर्ज्य महाराजं - - -
३. पणं पणंकरणं । शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं हि कारितं श्रीमत् ॥ गुर्वाज्ञ-  
या कृतज्ञैस्तारा देवी
४. कृतापि तद्भवनम् । विनयमहायानविशं भवनं चाप्यार्यभिभूषणम् ॥ पङ्कुर-  
तवानतीरिष-
५. नामभिरादेशशस्तिभी राज्ञः । ताराभवनं कारितमिदमपि चाप्यार्यभिभूषणं ॥  
राज्ये प्रवर्द्धमा-
६. ने राज्ञः शैलेन्द्रवर्मतनुजस्य । शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं कृतं कृतिभिः ॥  
शकनृपकालातीतै-
७. वर्षशतैः समभिर्महाराजः । अकरोद्गुरुपूजार्थं ताराभवनं पणंकरणः ॥ ग्रामः  
कोलग(श ?)नामा

८. वृत्तः संघाय साक्षिणः कृत्वा । पङ्कुरतवानतीरिषेसाध्यक्षान्महापुरुषान् ।  
भूर-
९. क्षिण्येयमनुला वृत्ता संघाय राजसिंहेन । शैलेन्द्रवर्मभूपैरनुपरिपाल्यार्थस-  
न्तत्या ॥
१०. सुष्णपङ्कुरादिभिः सत्तवानकादिभिः । सुष्णतीरिषादिभिः पत्तिभिश्च साधु-  
भिः ॥ अपि च ॥
११. सर्वानेवागाभिनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते राजसिंहः । सामान्योय-  
न्धर्मसेतुर्न-
१२. राणां काले काले पालनीयो भवसिंहः ॥ अनेन पुण्येन विहारजेन प्रतीत्य जा-  
तार्थविभागकि(वि)-
१३. ज्ञाः । भवन्तु सर्वे विभवोपभवा जना जिनानामनुशासनस्थाः ॥ करि(लि?)  
यानपणंकरणः श्री-
१४. मानभियाचतेत्र भावितृपान् । भूयो भूयो विधिवद्विहारपरिपालनार्थमिति ।

## TRANSLATION.

Salutations to the blessed, the noble Târâ! May Târâ the only Saviour<sup>1</sup> of the Universe, who, seeing men sunk in the sea of life which is full of immeasurable misery, formally delivers them by [resorting to] the three<sup>2</sup> means, give you the desired essence of the glory of the world of the Lord of the gods, and of men. Having prevailed upon the great King Pañamkaraṇa by.....the Preceptor of King Śailendra<sup>3</sup> caused a splendid temple of Târâ to be constructed. At the command

<sup>1</sup> This may also be translated as "the only star of the Universo."

<sup>2</sup> The Upâyas or means are three. (See Dharmasāṅgraha, Max Müller's Ed. CXI.)

<sup>3</sup> Śailendra, literally means "the lord of mountains," and the phrase Śailendrarāja may be translated as "king of the mountainous country." But it must be taken here as the name of a king. He is called Śailendravarma in the sixth line, of which name the latter part *varma* is the usual affix of the names of Kshatriyas; and his son is represented as reigning at the time when the temple was built. In the ninth line the plural of the name with the word *bhūpa* added to it is used, and the phrase literally means "the kings Śailendravarmas." This could be taken as the plural honorific; but at the time when the inscription was cut, Śailendra was not on the throne, but his son; therefore the plural is to be understood in the sense of "the descendants of Śailendra." It will be seen in the remarks that I identify Śailendra with the prince Śela Prawat, whose name occurs in one of the lists given by Sir Stamford Raffles.

of the Preceptor, the grateful ones made [an image of] the goddess Tārā and constructed that temple and also a house (monastery) for the honoured mendicant priests (Bhikshus) who knew the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna) of discipline. By the king's mandate issued in the names of Paṅkura, Tavāna, and Tīrisha,<sup>4</sup> the temple of Tārā was caused to be constructed and also this (monastery) for the honoured mendicant priests. The meritorious Preceptor of King Śailendra constructed the temple of Tārā during the prosperous reign of the king, the son of Śailendravarma. The great King Paṅamkaraṇa built the temple of Tārā to do honour to the Preceptor, after seven hundred years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed. A village of the name of Kolagśa has been granted to the congregation, the eminent men and leaders<sup>5</sup> of the country, Paṅkura, Tavāna, and Tīrisha being called to witness. This incomparable Dakṣiṇā (gratuity) in the shape of land has been granted to the congregation by the lion-like king. It should be continued by the kings [of the race of] Śailendravarma to successive bodies of the honoured ones (Bhikshus), and by the wise<sup>6</sup> Paṅkura and others, the good Tavāna and others, the wise Tīrisha and others, and the virtuous foot-soldiers. Moreover, the lion-like king again and again begs of all future kings, that this bridge in the shape of charities which is common to all men should be preserved by them from time to time. By the religious merit resulting from this monastery, may all people who follow the teaching of the Jinas derive a knowledge of the divisions of things produced by the chain<sup>7</sup> of causes, and attain prosperity! The prosperous Kaliyāṇa<sup>8</sup> Paṅamkaraṇa begs

<sup>4</sup> These are un-Sanskrit names, and must be the titles in old Javaese of the leading men or officers of districts and villages resembling the hereditary officers of India. They are spoken of as *Deśādhyakshas* or "leaders of the country" below.

<sup>5</sup> See the above note.

<sup>6</sup> The word which I read *sunna* must be a word expressive of praise as *sat* is, which is used in connection with Tavāna, and *sādhu* which is applied to the Pattis. It seems to be the Prākṛit of the Sanskrit *suṅṅa*.

<sup>7</sup> Twelve things are mentioned in the Buddhistic treatises, each subsequent one of which is produced from each preceding, and this constitutes the chain of causes and effects upon which depends the worldly existence of man. When this chain is known and efforts are made to destroy the first link, a man is free from worldly existence and attains Nirvāṇa. The technical term by which this causation is known is *Pratītyotpāda* (Dharmasaṅgraha, Max Müller's Ed., pp. 9 and 43, or any other Buddhistic work).

<sup>8</sup> This is another name of the king. See the "Remarks."

again and again of future kings to preserve the monastery in the proper manner.

#### REMARKS.

I place before the Society to-day a photograph of a Sanskrit inscription found in Central Java, together with a modern Nāgarī transcript and an English translation. The photograph was sent to me from Batavia by Mr. Baumgarten, who takes great interest in Oriental studies. The inscription is cut on a slab of stone, and the length is 67 centimetres and breadth 46. The characters resemble those of North-Indian inscriptions of the period between the eighth and eleventh centuries; being a good deal like those in the Radhanpur grant of Govind III., dated 730 Śāka or 808 A.D., the grant of Vākpatirāja of the year 1031 Saṃvat corresponding to 975 A.D., and the inscription at Deval in Rohilkhand, dated 1049 Saṃvat or 993 A.D.; while the style of execution is almost exactly like that of an inscription found at Ghosrāvan, near the old city of Nālandā in Magadha or Bihar, which I translated for Mr. Broadly in 1872,<sup>o</sup> and which is to be referred to about the middle of the ninth century.

The inscription is in verse. The first stanza is in the Vasantatilakā metre, one in the middle is a Samānikā without the last or eighth syllable, two about the end are in the Śālinī and Upendravajrā metres; and the remaining eight are Āryās. That in the Śālinī metre is the same as the one which occurs in some North-Indian and also South-Indian copperplate grants; only the first half of the Indian *Śloka* is here made the second half, and we have *Rājasinhah* instead of *Rāmabhadrah*.

The inscription opens with salutations to the Buddhistic goddess Tārâ; and in the first stanza she is praised and her blessings invoked. Then we are told that the Guru or Preceptor of King Śailendra having established his influence over the great King Paṇamkaraṇa, caused a splendid temple of Tārâ to be constructed in the reign of the son of King Śailendravarma. Paṇamkaraṇa built the temple of Tārâ out of respect for the Preceptor, after seven hundred years of the era of the Śāka king had elapsed. This temple and also a monastery for the mendicant priests of the Mahāyāna school referred to by the pronoun "this" were erected after a royal mandate had been issued in the names of the Paṅkura, Tavāna, and Tīrisha. A village of the name of Kolaga or Kolaśa was granted as Dakṣiṇā to the congregation of

<sup>o</sup> Published in Vol. XLl., *Jour. A. S. B.*, Part I., p. 271.

the priests, and the same Paṅkura, Tavāna, and Tīrisha who are here spoken of as Deśādhyakshas or the leading men, or rather the constituted authorities of the country, are called to witness the grant. Then follows the charge usual in Indian charters of this nature to future kings to continue the grant and preserve the monastery.

Of these two buildings, the monastery is that which is called Chandi Kali Sari by Sir Stamford Raffles and described by him in his *History of Java* (Second Ed., Vol. II., p. 25). "The external appearance of this edifice is," he says, "really very striking and beautiful. The composition and execution of its outer surface evinces infinite taste and judgment, indefatigable patience, and skill. Nothing can exceed the correctness and minute beauties of the sculpture throughout, which is not merely profuse, but laboured and worked up to a pitch of peculiar excellency scarcely suitable to the exterior of any building." Again :—"On entering the building, the mind of every one must be fully satisfied that it was never constructed for, or dedicated to, mere religious purposes. The arrangement is entirely adapted to the domestic residence of a great Hindu chieftain or rājā." But we now see from the inscription that it was not the residence of a great Hindu rājā, but the residence of the priests of the Buddhist Mahāyāna school.

The temple of Tārā is described by Sir Stamford under the name of Chandi Kali Bening (Vol. II., p. 27). "This ruin," he says, "is of the same general form and appearance as the larger temples at *Chandi Sewa* and *Zoro Jongran*, but on a closer examination is found to be superior to the whole, in the delicate and minute correctness of execution of all its decorative parts." I submit to the Society the photographs of these two buildings which Mr. Baumgarten has kindly sent to me.

It is somewhat difficult to determine the relations between the prince Śailendra whose Preceptor caused the temple to be constructed and his son during whose reign it was constructed, on the one hand, and Paṅamkaraṇa, the monarch, who constructed it and made the grant of land, on the other. Śailendra and his son are spoken of as Rājās merely, while Paṅamkaraṇa is styled Mahārāja, wherefore it is possible that he was a paramount sovereign whose feudatories were Śailendra and his son. But taking all things into consideration, I think it best to take Paṅamkaraṇa himself as the son of Śailendra, though I should have expected his name in the clause "during the

prosperous reign of the son of Śailendra," which occurs in the inscription. In one of the lists of the Hindu sovereigns of Java given by Sir Stamford Raffles (p. 86, Vol. II.), on the authority of manuscripts found in the eastern parts of Java, the name Śela Prawat occurs. *Prawat* is evidently the Sanskrit *parvata* or "mountain," which means the same thing as *Śaila*. This *Śaila* appears to be the same monarch as the Śailendra of our inscription. The date of his accession given in the MSS. is 756 of the Javan or Śaka era, while, according to our inscription, he must have ceased to reign before 700 Śaka in which year his son was on the throne. But this small discrepancy must be regarded as confirming the identification rather than militating against it; for a mere tradition such as that recorded in the manuscripts cannot be expected to be perfectly accurate. Or, it is possible that the inscription gives only the hundreds of the number representing the date, omitting the tens and units. The name of the next king given in the list is Kandiawan or Jaya Langkara. Kandiawan appears to be the same as Kaliyāna, which, in the last stanza of the inscription, is prefixed to the name Paṇamkaraṇa. Of the second name the first part is a mere honorific prefix, and *Langkara* is not unlikely a corruption of *ṇamkara* which occurs in the name Paṇamkaraṇa the first syllable *Pa* being dropped, and *ṇam* changed to *laṅg* as it does even in our Indian languages. As in the charters issued by Indian princes the royal mandate is addressed to the *Rāshīrapatis*, *Grāmapatis*, *Āyuktaka*, *Niyuktaka*, &c., that is, to persons invested with authority over villages and districts like the hereditary officers of modern times, so is it in the charter before us. But these district and village authorities are here called Paṅkura, Tavāna, and Tīrīshat. These are not Sanskrit words, and must be old Javanese. The first of these seems to have been preserved in the modern Pangoran, a title applied to the sons and daughters of sovereigns, according to Raffles (Vol. I., p. 298). This similarity in the form of the charters points to a similarity of polity in the two countries.

According to the united testimony of all who have written about the island, Central Java is full of statues, inscriptions, and ruins of buildings, all of them vestiges of the flourishing Hindu civilization of the island. The sculptures and detailed ornamentation of the finest building, the Boro Buddor, present such close resemblance to those in the Nasik, Ajanta, and Kenari Caves, that in the opinion of the late Dr. Fergusson it points to an identity of workmanship and

workmen. Most of the inscriptions are in the Kawi or old Javanese dialect, while there are a few which are in Sanskrit like the one before us. It is very much to be regretted that many of these have not yet been published, as they are sure to throw considerable light on the obscure history of the island as our inscriptions have done on the early history of India. In the fourth volume of the *Indian Antiquary*, (p. 356), two small Sanskrit inscriptions from East Java are published, the characters in which are unmistakably South-Indian; while our inscription is, as we have seen, in the Nāgarī characters of the North, especially of Magadha or Bihar, thus showing that Hindus both from Northern and Southern India went and settled in the island. The inscriptions from Cambodia recently published by M. Barth are all of them in the South Indian characters, and in all one or other of the Brahmanic gods Śiva, Vishnu, &c., is invoked. Cambodia was thus colonized by Hindus from Southern India, and does not seem to have had any considerable Buddhistic population. The Hindu settlements of Java were not made once for all; but there must have been a constant communication between the island and India; and Indians went to Java and settled there from time to time. The earliest notice of the Hindu civilization of the island which is unquestionably historical is that by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa-Hian, who in 413 A.D. returned to China from Ceylon by sea, and on the way passed five months in a country which he reached at the end of more than ninety days after leaving Ceylon and which he calls *Yepoti*. *Yepoti* is the Chinese equivalent of *Yavadvīpa*, the Sanskrit name of Java. As the island of Sumatra also was by the Mahomedans called "lesser Java," Dr. Fergusson thinks that that was the island visited by Fa-Hian. But I agree with Mr. Beal in thinking that in all likelihood it was Java itself. In the *Yavadvīpa*, Fa-Hian tells us "heretics and Brahmans flourished, but the law of Buddha is not much known." If these Brahmans and heretics established a colony in the island before the beginning of the fifth century and carried with them the Sanskrit alphabet of the time, they could not, if they were cut off from the parent country, develop out of it the fine Nāgarī letters of the inscription before us, so alike in every respect to those in use in Northern India four centuries later. And our inscription, as well as the remains of Buddhistic temples and monasteries, show that in the eighth century and even before there was a large population of the followers of Śākyamuni; but since Fa-Hian



says that the law of Buddha was not much known when he visited the island, the Buddhists must have emigrated in large numbers later on. In an article by the late Dr. Burnell published in the *Academy* in 1876, that scholar states his view that there was "a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java about the eleventh century A.D., and these took with them a Nâgarî alphabet, which is a great contrast to the old Javanese character." We now see the existence of this Nâgarî alphabet in the island in the latter part of the eighth century of the Christian era, and also of a large Buddhistic population.

In the Sanskrit literature of India, however, so far as it has hitherto been examined, Java is very rarely noticed. The "Yavadvîpa adorned with the seven kingdoms," and Suvarṇadvîpa which has been identified with Sumatra have been mentioned in the *Kishkindhâkânḍa* of the *Râmâyana*; and in the *Kathâsaritsâgara* Indian merchants are represented as trading with Suvarṇadvîpa and other islands of the name of Nârikela or the cocoanut island, Karpûra or the camphor island, and Kaṭâha. The *Kathâsaritsâgara* is professedly a translation of or a compilation based on Guṇâdhya's *Bṛihatkathâ*, a work which must have been composed in the first or second century of the Christian era. If, therefore, this work which has not yet been recovered contained a mention of Suvarṇadvîpa and some of the other islands of the eastern Archipelago, the connection of India with those islands must have begun very early. And this is confirmed by Fa-Hian's statement in the beginning of the fifth century that Brahmans and heretics flourished in the island. The traditional accounts of the Javanese refer the foundation of the first Indian colony to a person whom they call Âdi Śaka or the original Śaka, the founder of the Śaka era, which is used in Java. Higher antiquity is not claimed for it. It is, of course, difficult to say what the precise meaning of the tradition is; but what appears to me to be in all likelihood the true sense is that some princes or chiefs of the Śaka or Scythian race which, we know, had established itself in India about the beginning of the Śaka era, and had adopted Indian civilization, as is evident from the coins and inscriptions of the Satrap dynasty of Ujjayinî and Kattiawar, established the first Indian Colony in Java a short time after the foundation of the era in India. The same enterprising spirit which brought the Śakas into India and led to the establishment of a Śaka monarchy in Sind, Rajputana, and other provinces, must have carried them further to the east.

Hinduism did not possess that tenacity in Java which it has shown in India. From about the first century before the Christian era to about the beginning of the fourth many of the Indian provinces were held by foreigners of the Yavana (Bactrian Greek), Śaka, and Palhava races who had settled in the country. They, however, did not communicate any new religion to the Hindus, but, on the other hand, adopted either Buddhism or Brahmanism from the Hindus themselves. After the restoration of the native dynasties in the fourth century, Brahmanism became more powerful than Buddhism, and flourished till the beginning of the 12th century, by which time the latter had died a natural death. But now a new and serious danger threatened the existence of Hinduism. The Mahomedans, who show no toleration for other religions, established an empire in India. But though they held the country for five centuries and forcibly converted Hindus to Mahomedanism and pulled down their temples, from time to time, when the religious zeal of their princes and chiefs was excited, the only tangible effect of their domination was to add a Mahomedan fraction to the population of India. Mahomedanism did exert an indirect influence over some of the Hindu religious sects, especially by communicating to them a strictly monotheistic tendency; but it was slight. In Java, on the other hand, Mahomedans did not appear as conquerors but as missionaries; but in a short course of time they succeeded in converting the whole island to their faith, and Hinduism was compelled to take refuge in the small island of Bali, where it flourishes at the present day. But with the destruction of Hinduism, the blood of the foreign colonists, who "had persevered for nearly nine centuries in adorning the island with edifices almost unrivalled elsewhere of their class, had become," according to Dr. Fergusson, "diluted, their race impure, and their energy effete."

And, gentlemen, you will, I hope, allow me, in conclusion, to make a reflection or two which it is almost impossible for an English-knowing Hindu in the present condition of his country to avoid, when engaged on such a subject as this. If, from the first century of the Śaka era to about the twelfth, Brahmans and other Hindu castes set at naught the prohibition of the Śāstras against crossing the sea, and went on voyages lasting for ninety days and more, there is no reason why they should not do so in this nineteenth century of that era and go to Europe and America. The amount of energy and enterprise that the Hindus of those days displayed in thus keeping a constant intercourse

with Cambodia and the islands of the Archipelago, establishing colonies there and imparting to the native Polynesians their own civilization, ought, in the midst of a great deal in our present condition that is very discouraging, to fill us with hope as to the innate capacities of our race. If, according to the interpretation I have ventured to put on the Javanese tradition, it was in consequence of their contact with the Śakas that the Indian Âryas first showed those qualities, we have by our side at the present day the sturdy Anglo-Saxon to spur us on. Let us accept his guidance and leadership with a willing heart, and move on in all the fields of human activity, not excepting the one the achievements of our ancestors in which we have been considering.

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ART. II.—*A New Edict of Aśoka.* By M. EMILE SENART.

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 Road 15th March 1888.
 

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You recollect that the principal set of the edicts of Aśoka, those which can be embraced under the name of the Fourteen Edicts, were known until recently in five versions, more or less complete and in better or worse preservation. It is about three years, I suppose, since we learned from General Cunningham of the existence of another series, written like this last, in the Indo-Aryan character, at Mansera, on the road leading to Cashmere by Abbottabad. You can easily imagine that Mansera was among the intended stages of my journey when I started for India. I was on the way there when I heard at Mathura from Dr. J. Burgess, that at Shahbaz Garhi, quite close to the inscriptions previously known, a new one had just been discovered by Captain Deane, Assistant Commissioner at Hoti Murdan, and from the rubbing which he showed me I saw that we had here the twelfth edict, the only one of the fourteen which had been missing at Shahbaz Garhi. Among the versions written in Indo-Pali characters, that of Girnar, being so carefully executed and so remarkably preserved, undoubtedly holds the first rank. Mansera, Shahbaz Garhi, Girnar then, these were my three stages. When you leave the dāk bungalow at Mansera, a lane which goes round the village to the north crosses the river, and following among fallen rocks, the deep bed which the torrent has cut, for itself leads you into a kind of vast circle, the floor of which forms a stately plain, and which is surrounded on all sides by hills of various sizes, are overlooked towards the north by the snowy mountains of Khagan and Cashmere. To the left, some hundred yards from the stream, is a low hill, completely covered with a confused mass of boulders, large and small. It is on two of these boulders that the inscriptions are written. The first is engraved on one face only, which is turned to the east, and contains the first eight edicts. It would seem to have come out from its original position; the lines are inclined, and the lowest of them come so near the ground, and on the right side are so encumbered with fragments of rock, as not to be easily read, and to render it difficult to obtain satisfactory rubbings. The second

block, which is perhaps thirty yards distant, is engraved on two faces to the north-east and to the south-east. The first contains edicts nine to eleven, and the other the twelfth. To sum up, Mansera gives us a new version, more or less complete, of the first twelve edicts. I have little doubt that the two last had also been engraved here, but they do not seem now to be known of as in existence by the inhabitants; and the hurried search I was able to undertake on the spot led to no result. It may be that the inscription has fallen down with the face against the ground, or that it is more or less entirely buried. It is precisely such a circumstance which has delayed so long the discovery of the twelfth edict at Shahbaz Garhi. Only some weeks ago did Captain Deane, while stepping once more through that celebrated place which had been before searched over by experienced and devoted archæologists, notice a few characters on a stone just emerging from the soil. In clearing away the surrounding ground, he brought to light an entire and well preserved inscription, which is nothing else, as I told you before, than the previously missing version of the twelfth edict. This boulder lies just at the foot of the hill, on the steep slope of which, about forty yards higher up, the other boulder stands in marvellous equilibrium, which contains on its two faces, on one side the first seven edicts, on the other the thirteenth and the fourteenth, both faces, especially the second, much corroded by time, but still capable of yielding to a patient study, conducted with perseverance and sufficient leisure, many corrections to the current version. I do not need to insist upon the interest of those good tidings. Of course, these are texts which are known to us in other versions, and the general sense of which is sufficiently established. But it is precisely the version the least well preserved and the least settled, which is in this way controlled and completed by a parallel version which will enable us to fill up more than one gap, and clear up more than one doubt. I will add, that these inscriptions of the North-West, if some conjectures, which I have elsewhere expressed prove true, as I hope they may, would be precious and unique relics of that conquest of North India by the Persians, of which we know so little. It is, perhaps, through the influence of the Persian chancellery that the alphabet in which they are written has found its way to India; while, on the other hand, it may be from some tradition of the Persian kings that an Emperor of India borrowed the idea of engraving long memorials on the rock. Be that as it may, the scarcity of inscriptions written in these Aramean

characters insure some importance even to palæographic niceties. The two versions of Mansera and Shahbaz Garhi are geographically so near each other and on the whole so exactly alike, that there can be no question here of looking for different dialects. The few points in which they differ are all the more significant, and I had the satisfaction, in comparing the two, to light on certain facts of a kind to confirm two opinions which I have elsewhere attempted to establish: the one that the orthography of those inscriptions is in certain respects of a learned character, aiming not so much at producing the actual pronunciation as at approaching the etymological form of the word; the other, that even in the versions where, as here in the North-West, the orthography reflects a dialect different from the official Magadho of Aśoka, it undergoes and reveals the influence of that dialect in some isolated cases.

At Shahbaz Garhi: The twelfth edict is engraved on a separate stone, that has just been discovered by Captain Deane. At Mansera it has the face of a stone to itself. In both it is engraved with greater care than the rest of the long context. You will permit me to put before you the terms of this edict, the sense of which can, in my opinion, be conclusively settled.

“ King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, honours all the sects whether of ascetics or of householders. He honours them with alms and with honours of various kinds. But the king, beloved of the gods, lays less weight on alms and on worship than he desires the increase of their common essence. This progress implies without doubt many diversities. But for all sects it has a common source which is moderation in language, that is to say, that one should not exalt his own sect by speaking evil of the others, that one should not depreciate them without reason, that one should on the contrary render on all occasions to other sects the honours due. By doing so, one will work for the advance of his own sect, and at the same time be of use to the others. By doing otherwise each one will injure his own sect, and at the same time injure the others. He who exalts his own sect by depreciating all others, does so, of course, out of regard for his own, with the intention of glorifying it. Well, by so doing he only, on the contrary, strikes a severe blow at his own sect. Therefore, concord alone is good, so that all should listen and like to listen to the beliefs of each other. This is, indeed, the wish of the king beloved of the gods that all the sects be learned, and profess pure doctrines. Let

all, whatever be their faith, be well assured that the king beloved of the gods, thinks less of alms and of worship than he desires to see the increase of the common and mutual respect of all sects. To this end the officers of Dharma, the officers charged with the oversight of the females, and other officials are directed to work. The fruit of their labours is the good of all the sects and the glory of religion." We are accustomed by more than one example to see the ancient sovereigns of India show equal favour to different communions, and to distribute their gifts impartially among contending sects. It is not always easy to make out the real motive, breadth of mind, a mystical blending of religious superstitious fear or matter of policy, which has inspired them. It is certain that these words are unique in the past of India, and I know of nothing which does it more honour than this edict of toleration, so clear, so firm, and yet so simple. May we not add that the place of honour which the king secured for it, while it shows the very special importance he attached to this one of his edicts, must increase our respect and admiration for him? But we are here met by a small problem which I only wish to touch in passing. This very twelfth edict is wanting in two of the known versions of the series, at Dhauli and Yangada: it is missing along with the eleventh and the thirteenth. No one, so far as I know has suggested a reason for this. As regards the thirteenth edict the reason appears to me to be clear. That edict chiefly tells us how the conquest of Orissa (the country of Dhauli and Yangada), and the horrors then committed, were for Aśoka, the beginning of his conversion to the Buddhistic doctrines of mercy and peace. We can easily understand why he should not have felt bound himself to perpetuate such a recollection in the very country which, as he tells us, had so heavily felt the weight of his army. The eleventh edict may have been left out, as soon as omissions were practised, as being of secondary importance. In fact, it is only an amplification in other terms of moral advice, repeated again and again in other places. But what shall we say of the twelfth? The best reason which I can see for its being omitted in Orissa lies perhaps again in the too recent recollections of that violent conquest. The Brahmins and the men of every creed had been, as the king owns himself, so badly treated that possibly he may have feared that the precept coming from him might seem strange in a country which his practice had so ill prepared for it. At all events, these counsels of toleration, if they could be heard and understood, would be of use even to-day in the

country of the edicts. No sooner had the new stone been unearthed at Shahbaz Garhi than fanaticism roused the inhabitants against it. It bears the fresh marks of attempts to deface it, which were put an end to only by the activity and zeal of Captain Deane. Who will give us back the statues disfigured in our own day, as they emerged from the earth, sometimes by the very men to whom they had been entrusted in that country of Gandhara? Who will restore the broken noses, the amputated legs, and sliced-off arms?

But had these inscriptions and moral exhortations spread by the king in so many places, all the practical importance and immediate utility which seem to be implied in their contents and tone? I cannot help doubting it. I have told you that at Mansera the edicts are engraved in a desert place, hard to get at now, and which can never have been less so. At Shahbaz Garhi there are some traces of the existence of an ancient city. But even there the rock is half-way up a steep hill in a place that cannot have been much frequented, and the inscriptions are placed in such a way that the reading, for example, of the thirteenth and fourteenth edicts must always have been a task of difficulty. At Girnar, we are in a place which seems to have been, from very ancient times, consecrated by religious sentiment. But here, too, the inscription, although very carefully engraved, cannot be read entire from the foot of the rock, and there are several of the edicts at the beginning which, even with the indispensable aid of a ladder, are decidedly not comfortable reading. To examine some of the lines I had to travel over the rock on all fours, and then read them upside down. Were the king's wishes betrayed by the stupidity of his officers? It appears to me more probable that in engraving these texts he had no illusion as to their practical effect, but was actuated partly by the desire of leaving durable witness of the sentiments and ideas, partly also, perhaps, by the prospect of the moral merit he would store up, even by the fact that he multiplied in this way virtuous exhortations. Was it not a similar inspiration which has led so many people to add temple to temple, serving no practical purpose, in desert places, on the summit of such bare mountains as Satrunjaya and Girnar? If I lay any stress on this remark, it is because the fact would be rather favourable to the speculations I have had occasion to submit elsewhere with regard to the language of the inscriptions. It furnishes a good explanation of two peculiarities which, I hope, I have made clear—one, the use of



Magadhi, the dialect of the royal capital, in places where it was in no way the language of the country. The other, the use, specially in the western sets, at Shahbaz Garhi, Mansera and Girnar, of a half learned system of orthography which could not but have disconcerted the ordinary reader. I have only one more remark to offer. I have told you of the places where the fourteen edicts have been discovered at Dhauli and Yangada in the south of Orissa, at Khalsi, at the entrance of the hilly region of the Western Himalaya, at Shahbaz Garhi and at Mansera, towards Cashmere and Cabul, at Girnar, not far from the sea, and towards the western extremity of India. We must add Gutpataka, where Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and Mr. Campbell have discovered the traces of another series. It may well be that we have so far only a few of the inscriptions set up by Piyadasi, and we may still hope for more than one unexpected discovery. For the present does it not seem as if the series of fourteen edicts were especially meant by the king to mark out his frontiers? It was at all events a noble and honourable way of denoting the doors of his empire. Does he not devote several passages of his memorials to telling us of what he has done or tried to do even beyond those limits of his charity, and attempts of conversion pushed on one side as far as Ceylon, and on the other side up to the distant kingdoms of the Greeks, in the countries of Antiochus Ptolemy, Alexander and Magas? As far as our western world is concerned, these efforts cannot have penetrated very far. That is no reason why we should refuse our sympathy to this old eastern king who cared for our distant West, in a confused way perhaps, but with good will and charity. The West has paid its debt to him, thanks to the genius of Prinsep, by restoring to him the glory of his forgotten works, and it is even now with feelings of sympathy, mixed with scientific curiosity that we renew to-day, and that others will renew after us, these pilgrimages to the monuments of Aśoka, and that, now conscious of the tie which binds India to our West, we greet in them the earliest Indian witness to relations of peace and good will between the most widely separated members of our Aryan family. The more precious the witness is, the more it behoves us to preserve it intact? I cannot say if to this end everything which is possible and desirable has been done. At Girnar the rock which bears along with the edicts of Aśoka, inscriptions of Rudradaman and Skandagupta has been enclosed within a light construction which will preserve it from the injury of time and of men. I am told that the honour of this

measure belongs to the late Dewan. Could not some similar protection be given to the inscriptions of the North-West? If such care had been bestowed from the beginning, I believe that almost the whole text would be perfectly clear at Shahbaz Garhi. I confess that I should go further and see no inconvenience, if specimens, as, for example, the twelfth edict at Shahbaz Garhi, in the case of which the operation would be an easy one, were removed to some museum in India, whose chief ornament they would be. At all events it would be easy, and it is very desirable to take most careful casts of these monuments. Distributed among several of the principal centres of India, and perhaps also of Europe, they would be safe from all hazards of new injury, and be an object of study of the highest interest. An unhappy fate seems to spread over our too rare inscriptions in Indo-Aryan character. Very few have been published, as, for example, that of Sue Vihar by Mr. Hoernle, in a satisfactory and definitive way, and for a great number of them we do not even know—at least I have not been able to discover—where they now are. That is an additional reason why we should jealously protect those which cannot escape us except by the ravages of time, but which have already so cruelly suffered. I esteem myself fortunate to have had this opportunity of suggesting this wish before one of the highest and most enlightened representatives of power in India. I feel certain that Aśoka can rely on the zeal of his successor here. I cannot stop, gentlemen, without thanking you once more for your hospitality. This day, almost the last of my stay in India, will crown my recollections.

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ART. III.—*Memoir of the late Pandit Bhagvánlal Indrají,*  
*L.L.D., Ph.D.* BY JAVERILAL UMIASHANKAR YAJNIK.

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Read 21st May 1888.

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“It is sad to think of Pandit Bhagvánlál dying so early, and with so little record left of his learning and talents”—so wrote Mr. J. M. Campbell, B.C.S., C.I.E., Compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, in a note addressed to the writer of this paper in March last. The remark, as will appear later on, is most true. Mr. Campbell had had unusual opportunities of learning a great deal of the Pandit’s work, and of his character and learning in connection with the antiquarian portion of the volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer* generally, and the discovery of the Aśoka Inscriptions at Sopará and the project of an early history of Gujarát in particular. Two months before his death the Pandit had a presentiment that his end was near. It was only a question of a few weeks, he said to us, when I, in company with my friend, Ráo Bahádur Bhimbháí Kirpáram (who, when Assistant Compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, took a deep interest in Bhagvánlál’s work), paid a visit to the Pandit at his house in Wálkeshwar in February last. He welcomed his friends, because conversation with them, he said, revived his drooping spirits and made him for a time forget his pain. We found him sitting on a cushion in a contemplative mood, very much after the manner of a Jain Tirthankar. We saw him much reduced : he was suffering from dropsy : his chest had grown disproportionately large : his legs were swollen. We saw him dictating, though with bated breath, his last views on the genealogy of the Kshatrap dynasty to Mr. Vithalji Keshavji Divedi, Superintendent of the Gokuldás Tejpál Boarding School and Sanskrit College. Mr. Vithalji was taking down in English the remarks which the Pandit was dictating in Gujaráti. Pointing to the portion already taken down, the Pandit said :—“This is my last contribution to Indian archeology. It contains views which I have arrived at after a careful and continuous study, extending over twenty-six years, of the Kshatrap coins and inscriptions. The writing of this fragment I looked upon in the light of a debt I owed to archeology, and now that I am in a fair way towards

its completion, it is no small relief to me to know that I am in a position to redeem my pledge in respect of one at least of the numerous literary projects over which my mind had been ruminating for several years, and the execution of which was only a question of leisure and steady application." He did not fear to die. He thought he had devoted the best portion of his life to good, honest, substantial work. The only regret he felt was that he had been unable to commit to writing, even by way of rough notes in his mother-tongue, Gujaráti, the final results of all his enquiries and thoughts. The fact was that some fresh coins he met with, some inscriptions, stone or copper-plate, that he came across or heard of, aroused his curiosity, and set him on a new train of thoughts. And his mind was not at rest till he had heard the last of the coin, or the copper-plate, or stone inscription, or dealt with it in a practical manner. This drew him off from the execution of his settled plans. Latterly, he found it scarcely possible to carry out his long-cherished design of publishing to the world, with the aid of the knowledge which recent advances in archeology gave him, a history of Gujarát from the early Hindu period down to about the thirteenth century of the Christian era. Bhagvánlál was also well aware that he could not carry out many of his other projects, and that some of the best results of the knowledge he had laboured for years to acquire must perish with him. And the world must be considered poorer by so much as Bhagvánlál could not leave behind him in the shape of some solid memorial of all the vast stores of information respecting the antiquities of India that he possessed. My friend, Ráo Bahádur Bhimbháí, however, suggested that though it was now scarcely possible to do that which the Pandit himself was unable to carry out in his lifetime, yet some efforts might and should be made to jot down on paper from his own lips some of the reminiscences of his personal life,—some account of his travels in India and on its frontiers— if his health permitted of his dictating the same to any one of us. The papers, argued Mr. Bhimbháí, published by the Pandit from time to time in the journals of the learned societies in India and Europe, and in the *Indian Antiquary*, will doubtless bear witness to his labours in the field of Indian archeology, but such papers cannot satisfy the curiosity of those who wished to know something about his personal character—something as to what he was—how he came to study archeology—what he did for its advancement—what tours he undertook in pursuance of his plans—what results those tours yielded—how

they enabled the late Dr. Bháu Dáji and himself to advance archeology many steps further—how they acquired for him a European reputation for scholarship, and entitled him to the esteem and confidence of scholars in India and Europe. It was in this respect that public curiosity needed to be gratified. Bhagvánlál thought favourably of the suggestion, and promised to tell us something about himself on my consenting to visit him at intervals, and take down what he said. This I did. The notes thus taken have been put by me into shape; they could not be completed on account of the health of the Pandit having given way. He grew worse from day to day till he breathed his last on the 16th March. These notes, which have chiefly a biographical interest, I wish to be looked upon more in the light of a salvage from a shipwreck, but such as they are, I crave your kind permission to lay them before the Society, believing that personal accounts of eminent Indians, if left unrecorded while memories of them are fresh, are apt to be irretrievably lost in oblivion.

On my next visit to Pandit Bhagvánlál, the first thing he asked me to do was to put my attestation to his Will, which was written out and which he was about to sign. He signed the Will before me, and I attested it. This Will differs from ordinary wills made by natives of India in respect (1) of the nature of the property generally willed away, (2) of the persons or parties to whom it is bequeathed, and (3) of the directions it gives, not merely for the disposal of his property, but in regard to the ceremonies to be observed after his death. It is this characteristic of the Will that possesses for it an interest for the scholar, the antiquarian, and the social philosopher. In the course of a literary life extending over 26 years, Pandit Bhagvánlál had travelled over many parts of India in search of knowledge, in research of coins, inscriptions, manuscripts and archeological curiosities. The result was a collection of literary treasure unique in its kind, useful for all time, and for all persons interested in oriental scholarship. One important part of it comprised a collection of MSS. of the Budhistic literature of Nepál, of Jain works, and of a few MSS. belonging to the Bráhma portion of the Vedic literature. Another portion consisted of a valuable collection of the coins of the Western Kshatras, numbering over 700. Among them are some fine specimens, and in them are four new kings. There are also coins of the Sátkarni and other kings of Southern India. The rest contain groups of unknown coins of very ancient times. Among the most important in his collection of

inscriptions is the lion-pillar capital which Pandit Bhagránlál brought from Mathurá in one of his northern India tours, and which bear inscriptions in Bactro-Pali characters. "These," says the Will, "are most valuable inscriptions, inasmuch as they throw important light on the Kshatrap and Scythian periods." The directions he leaves to his executor, Mr. Karsandás Vallabhdás, as to the disposal of his literary wealth, are these :—The whole of his collection of MSS. he makes over to this Society for the purpose of being deposited in its Library, with a request to the Committee of Management of the Society that "they will kindly permit these MSS. to be kept in the empty book-shelf side by side with the shelf which contains the Sanskrit MSS. of my *guru* and master, Dr. Bháu Dáji." The top part of the shelf to bear the superscription of "Bhagránlál Indrají, Pupil of Dr. Bháu Dáji." His collection of coins the Pandit directs to be dedicated to the British Museum, where, says he, "it should be kept in a separate place with my name over it." Such of the copper-plate and stone inscriptions as are not his, the Pandit wishes to be made over to their respective owners, taking care to "obtain their receipt." "The rest," says he, "which are mine, I make over to the British Museum on condition of their being kept in a separate place, due entry being made of them in the books of the Museum.

About the lion-pillar inscription the Pandit gives the following directions :—"In this my collection of inscriptions is a lion-figured pillar with inscriptions in Bactro-Pali characters. This gift is simply invaluable, and the Curator of the British Museum should be requested to arrange for the pillar being put up on the best and finest wooden or stone pedestal, so that the lower inscription on the pillar should not suffer in the least thereby. And I do trust that this request on my part in favour of what I esteem to be a most precious heirloom is one which will with pleasure be acceded to. In like manner I give over likewise to the British Museum copies made with hand or rubbings taken of all my inscriptions." A little further on the Pandit says :—"And furthermore, all my copper, brass, and stone images, engravings and objects of antiquarian interest, I bequeath to the British Museum, to be kept there along with my other presentations." I trust that Dr. Peterson, who is now in communication with the authorities of the British Museum on the subject of their transmission to their final resting-place, will take steps to arrange that the wishes of the Pandit are fully conformed to. The Library of

the Pandit, consisting of valuable published works on Indian Antiquities, he directs to be made over to the Bombay Native General Library.

I take leave to exhibit to the meeting photographs of the lion-figured pillar taken by the Pandit himself and the collection of MSS. bequeathed by him to the Society. There is also on the table the Pandit's monograph on the pillar inscriptions describing the nature and importance of his crowning discovery. As it is, the monograph is not in a fit state for publication, but I am sure that Dr. Peterson, who has the charge of it, will do ample justice to the subject. I shall not anticipate its contents here as I desire to see the Pandit receive the full credit which rightly belongs to him in connection with this discovery. You have seen that the Pandit attaches, and very properly, I think, great value to this pillar. The reason of this lies in the fact that the two inscriptions upon it record the names of sixteen members of the Kshatrap house, and that these names supply a link or links in the Kshatrap genealogy. It may not be out of place here to suggest that before transmitting this lion-figured pillar to its destination in London, Dr. Peterson will kindly allow it to remain for some time in the University library, where it lies at present, with a view to satisfy the curiosity of those who may desire to inspect this latest archeological wonder.

Pandit Bhagvánlál had no son or heir to succeed to his property. "My Śákhi," says he, "ends with me." His house at Wálkeshwar he directed to be put in charge of the Cutchi Bhátia community whose affairs are managed by the house of Jivráj Bálu, the place to be used as a sanitarium by those amongst high-caste Hindus who wish to reside at Wálkeshwar for the benefit of their health.

So far for his property. But the Pandit lays down directions as to how his body should be disposed of, and what his relatives should do in respect of funeral ceremonies. And here may be mentioned a fact which may strike some as curious, but is not out of the routine of ordinary Hindu life. It is not unusual for Bráhmans to perform their own funeral ceremonies during their lifetime (*jvat kriyá*) in anticipation of death. Bhagvánlál had himself performed such ceremonies relating to himself during his lifetime. He accordingly directed in his Will that these ceremonies need not be repeated. If he died out of Bombay, he wished his body to be consigned to flames by those of his Bráhman friends who attended him. If he died in Bombay, he desired it to be

burnt according to directions laid down by him. These directions give the details of the ceremonies to be followed by his relatives, such as the sprinkling over his body of the Ganges water brought by him from Benares, and covering it with the sacred cotton sheet. "My relatives or friends," says he, "should carry the dead body to the burning-place, repeating the name of God while proceeding there." He desired expressly that no male or female member of his caste was to weep after him as is the Hindu custom. Women were not to be present at the time at all. Persons composing the funeral procession were to return to his house, take rest, and disperse. Letters intimating his death were to be written to the members of his family at Junághad, strictly enjoining the male members not to weep, and the female members not to beat their breasts. "With the greatest humility," says he, "I beseech my relatives and friends to consider how great a sin it is to act contrary to the wishes of the former owner of what would then be a helpless corpse." These directions were generally faithfully carried out.

To turn to the particulars of the Pandit's life. Pandit Bhagvánlál Indrají was born at Junághad in Kathiawád, on the 3rd of Kártik shud of the Samvat year 1896, corresponding with the 7th of November 1839, of the Christian era. He belonged to the class of Prasnorá Nágars Bráhmans, one of the six sub-divisions of the caste of Nágars Bráhmans. The Prasnorá Nágars are scattered over Porbandar, Junághad, Navánagar, Morvi, and other parts of Kathiawád. They are a hereditary literary class, following the profession of Veda-reciting, reading and interpreting the epic poems, the Purans, and the Dharma Śāstras. A good number of them are Vaidyas or medical practitioners, whilst others are astrologers. Bhagvánlál, the youngest of the three sons of Indrají, after receiving the usual amount of instruction given in the indigenous schools of his time, studied Sanskrit and medicine under his father's roof. Unfortunately there was in his time no Anglo-Vernacular or High School in Junághad, where he could study English. His ignorance of English was a drawback to the Pandit as he advanced in his favourite study of archeology and grew in reputation. Especially did it prove a serious impediment to him after the death of Dr. Bháu Dáji, and after his name had become well-known amongst scholars in India and Europe. Amongst letters and enquiries addressed to him by European scholars, those from Dr. Bühler appear to be the only ones written in Gujaráti. The special accomplish-



ment of this scholar was doubtless a matter of the greatest satisfaction to him, as he was able to correspond with Dr. Bühler in Gujarráti. In corresponding with other scholars he invariably got friends to help him, but the necessity of applying to them for such help was somewhat galling to his spirit. He tried hard, at a later stage, to overcome this difficulty by assiduous application, but he found English idiom at his age not very easy to master, though his acquaintance with it was just enough to enable him to read and understand ordinary English tolerably well. In all his epigraphical and archeological work, however, he was ever ready to acknowledge the kind help he received from his European and Native friends.

But though it was not possible for Junághad to equip Bhagvánlál with the means of acquiring a knowledge of English, it had that which excited his curiosity, which procured him introduction to the society of the learned, and which laid the foundation of his future career. The Girnár hills, famous for their inscriptions of the edicts of Ásoka and of the Śáh and Gupta dynasties, lie contiguous to Junághad. Bhagvánlál had seen these inscriptions frequently in his visits to Girnár and felt a strong desire to be able to read them, but being in old Páli characters they were to him like a sealed book. To fathom their secrets became a passion with him, but neither in Junághad nor in Kathiawád did these ancient characters excite curiosity or interest amongst the Pandits or indigenous Sanskrit scholars of his time.

How Bhagvánlál learnt to decipher and interpret cave characters it may be interesting to know. It appears that Colonel Lang, Political Agent of Kathiawád, took much interest in these Girnár inscriptions. He it was who had supplied *facsimiles* of the Ásoka inscriptions on the Girnár rock to James Prinsep, and it was from a careful study and collation of them with copies received by him from Dhauli and Kapurdi Giri that Prinsep was able to announce his discoveries of the names of Antiochus and Ptolemy in the edicts, and to frame from an examination of them and of other coins and inscriptions a complete system of the alphabet of old Páli characters which served as a key for deciphering other inscriptions. About 1854, Colonel Lang handed over to Mr. Manishankar Jatáshankar, an intelligent Junághad Nágara Bráhmaṇa, a thin paper containing the Indian Páli alphabet taken from Prinsep's journal for April 1838, saying 'these are the characters of your Girnár inscriptions.' Bhagvánlál, who had the copy shown to him, offered to take a tracing of them on paper. He brought the paper home, and

taking a thin piece of post paper, and dipping it into oil, placed it over Mr. Manishankar's copy, and took two excellent tracings, both of which he stitched on separate pieces of foolscap paper. 'Subsequently,' says he, 'I inked all the letters on the tracings. It is true this process interfered slightly with the cleanliness of the tracings, but it made the letters more legible. One tracing I gave over to Mr. Manishankar; the other I kept for my own use.' With the help of this alphabet Bhagvánlál tried to read the Rudra Dámá inscription on the Girnár rock. He found, however, that the inscription abounded in compound letters and mátrás, with which he had not made himself familiar. Not despairing of the ill-success of his first attempt, he wrote to a friend in Bombay requesting to purchase for him and send to Junághad any works or journals treating of the Girnár rock inscriptions. Accordingly, copies of the journals of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal and of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the journals of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society were sent to him. The receipt of these journals gave a new stimulus to his studies. What he did to thoroughly master the old rock characters was to write out from the printed inscriptions a line in old characters, and its transcript in Sanskrit below each letter. In this way he acquired facility in mastering the varieties of form which each letter of the old Páli alphabet assumed at different periods. He was also able to make out any new or unfamiliar letter he came across. Thus prepared, he ventured to renew his attempt to decipher the original Rudra Dámá inscription on the Girnár rock. "I used," says he, "to start from Junághad in time to be on the rock of the Rudra Dámá inscription at four in the afternoon and work at it till a little before sunset, and return home about the time of lamp-light. In this way I was able not only to read every letter of the Rudra Dámá inscription, but to supply such of the omissions as I found out in Prinsep's copy. I also discerned what incorrect letters had got into Prinsep's transcript. In this way I made out an entirely new transcript of the Rudra Dámá inscription." Bhagvánlál's facilities in deciphering inscriptions and his interest in the work generally grew with the increasing number of inscriptions he came to deal with. Col. Lang was so pleased with his progress that he used to call Bhagvánlál his "little antiquarian."

Among native scholars, however, the study of these Indian antiquities was at that time confined to a select few. In the Bombay Presidency the late Bál Śástri Jámbekar and Dr. Bháu Dáji were

perhaps the only two names then chiefly known to Anglo-Indian scholars who interested themselves in archeology. About this time Bhagvánlál was brought into contact with Mr. A. K. Forbes, who had for a time succeeded Colonel Lang as Political Agent of Káthiáwád. Mr. Forbes' literary tastes ran in the same groove as those of Bhagvánlál. He recommended the Pandit to the notice of Dr. Bháu Dáji. Dr. Bháu wrote to Bhagvánlál in October 1861, inviting him to Bombay. Bhagvánlál accepted the invitation and started for Bombay, taking with him sixty Kshatrap coins. On his arrival in Bombay, Bhagvánlál was introduced by Dr. Bháu Dáji to Mr. H. Newton, then President of this Society. Mr. Newton was at the time writing a paper on the Kshatrap dynasty. The sixty Kshatrap coins that Bhagvánlál placed before him interested him much. On one of them was the legend of Nahápán. This name and others which were clearly read out to Mr. Newton greatly pleased him. Bhagvánlál also handed over to Dr. Bháu the correct transcripts he had made of the Rudra Dámá and Skandagupta inscriptions. He pointed out at the same time the urgent need of doing anew the whole work of deciphering the inscriptions of the Máurya, Śáh and Gupta dynasties on the Girnár rock. Dr. Bháu was much impressed with the importance of this work. He found Prof. H. H. Wilson's translation of the Śáh inscription in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep to be "anything but an improvement." He accordingly deputed Bhagvánlál back to Junághad for this purpose. At Junághad Bhagvánlál learnt of the death of his father, on the performance of whose funeral ceremonies he set out for Girnár, and took *facsimiles* on paper and cloth of the Rudra Dámá and Skandagupta inscriptions. Copies were also made of them by hand and sent to Dr. Bháu at Bombay. Dr. Bháu was much pleased with the performance. The transcripts and translations of the Śáh and Skandagupta inscriptions thus made formed the subject of a paper which Dr. Bháu Dáji read before this Society on the 14th August 1862. In this paper Dr. Bháu thus speaks of Bhagvánlál:—

"Prof. Wilson's translation (of the Śáh inscription) is anything but an improvement. Having secured the services of a young Bráhmaṇ who possessed a moderate knowledge of Sanskrit and of the cave character, I induced him to study the character well, and employed him last year to take copies leisurely and carefully of the three large inscriptions on the Junághad rock, the third being the celebrated

edicts of Aśoka. The copies were brought to Bombay and carefully gone over, but not being quite satisfied, the young Pandit was again sent to Junághad, where he and another person copied the inscriptions, but independent of each other, and afterwards took *facsimiles* on paper and on cloth. The copies made by hand in small letters were sent to me in Bombay, whilst the copyists remained at Junághad to receive suggestions, &c., from me. All possible variations having thus been carefully considered with my learned Pandit Pándurang Gopál Pádhyé, the mature result is now presented to the Society. I found the copies of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob very useful as guides, but insufficient for the purposes of decipherment."\*

This translation differed in many important respects from that of Prinsep, doubtless on account of the imperfect nature of Prinsep's *facsimile*. The name of the lake, Sudarásana, which occurs at the very beginning of the inscription, was not recognised by Prinsep. Again, Prinsep's Aridama was only a mislection of Rudra Dámá. Moreover, an important historical fact in Dr. Bháu's translation, as pointed out by him in the paper, was the discovery that Rudra Dámá appeared to have been a grandson of Swámi Chashtana and not his son. The inscription did contain the father's name, but that part of it was unfortunately completely lost. Dr. Bháu also pointed out from the translation that the name of the actual builder of the bridge over the Sudarásana lake was not the Palhava Mávya or contractor as rendered by Prinsep, but the Palhava Minister of Rudra Dámá, named Suvisákha, which Dr. Bháu considered to be a Sanskrit adaptation of the Persian name, Śiavaksha, who seemed to have been appointed Governor of Anarta and Surásra. It was not an uncommon thing for Hindu rulers, even in those early times, to appoint foreigners to provincial Governorships, as in latter times it was an ordinary incident of the Mahomedan administration of India to appoint Hindus to the offices of ministers and provincial Governors.

These Junághad inscriptions on the whole pleased Dr. Bháu Dáji so much that he decided upon taking Bhagvánlál into his employment permanently. He accordingly asked Bhagvánlál to come to Bombay, promising him every help and offering every facility in the new field of archeological research, for which he had shown

peculiar fitness by the work he had already done. Bhagvánlál accordingly arrived in Bombay on the 24th April 1862. Dr. Bhau received the Pandit most kindly. He directed a tent to be pitched in the compound of his house to accommodate the Pandit temporarily. Thus was formed a literary connection which lasted uninterruptedly till the death of the learned Doctor. The relations in which Dr. Bháu Dáji stood towards Bhagvánlál were, however, not those of master and servant, but rather of partners in a common concern, the object being to explore the archeological remains of this country and extend the boundaries of human knowledge with regard to the authentic history of ancient India. Dr. Bháu Dáji could not afford to leave Bombay for any length of time. As most of you will remember, he was one of the busiest men of his day. He enjoyed a high reputation for medical and surgical skill. In fact, he was looked up to as the first and foremost amongst the earliest batch of native medical practitioners that the Grant Medical College turned out. He enjoyed a most extensive and lucrative practice amongst all classes of the native community in Bombay. But while thus distinguished in his profession, Dr. Bháu was also well known as a man of wide culture, of refined and cultivated tastes, the active spirit of many an important movement which had the social, moral and political advancement of the people for its object; a patron of learning and of learned sástris, who never turned their backs from him without feeling that he had the liberality of the Bhoja of Avanti, and last, though not least, a scholar and an antiquarian burning with a desire to strike out something new from amongst the unexplored regions of literature and science in India. He thus needed the help of one who could do that by means of work out of Bombay, which he himself could scarcely afford to do. In Bhagvánlál he found a man just after his own heart, one who possessed the ardour of youth, an indomitable energy to work for days and months in distant places, and all for purely literary and scientific purposes. Each partner in this literary firm undertook to furnish his quota to the common stock. Dr. Bháu had mastered the literature of the Indian antiquities as it then existed in the English language. He had also had translations made for him into English of works written by German and French scholars on oriental subjects. He had thus kept himself abreast of the progress made in his time by Europe and America in the department of Indian antiquarian research. Pandit Bhagvánlál,

on the other hand, visited the very fountain sources of knowledge in different parts of India, such as caves, monasteries, rock-cut temples, &c., where old inscriptions could be found, and where knowledge could be had at first hand.

And now as to the operations of this literary firm. Ever since his first visit to the caves of Ajantá and Ellora in 1845, in company with Sir Erskine Perry, Dr. Bháu had felt a strong desire to undertake a thorough revision of their inscriptions and paintings. He found Prinsep's copies incorrect: Dr. Bird's copies showed that no great efforts were made to ensure correctness. The Government of Bombay had engaged Lieutenant W. F. Brett to copy the cave inscriptions. Lieutenant Brett's copies of the Ajantá inscriptions were sent to England, but judging of their character from two or three duplicates in the possession of this Society, Dr. Bháu found them to have been carelessly and inaccurately taken. The one truth of which Dr. Bháu Dáji was by this time thoroughly convinced was that it was "not possible for any person ignorant of the cave characters to take correct copies of the inscriptions."\* In February 1863, the Doctor paid a second visit to the caves in company with Dr. H. Carter. From morning till sunset he was engaged in copying them, but the task was by no means easy or pleasant, as some of the inscriptions were at a great height and looked down on giddy precipices. He was not, however, able to complete them. The presence of Bhagvánlál in Bombay, in April 1863, appeared to Dr. Bháu a fit opportunity for completing the work he had begun. He accordingly deputed Bhagvánlál to the Ajantá caves. "Notwithstanding great care and diligence," says Dr. Bháu, "I found the time insufficient for thorough revision, and as important facts were expected from the rock inscriptions, which have never before been completely or correctly copied, I sent a young Pandit in my employment, who had made considerable progress in the knowledge of the cave characters, to Ajantá with my draftsman in the latter part of May."† Bhagvánlál carefully examined the doubtful letters in the copies taken by Dr. Bháu, and sent fresh copies, duly corrected, to him at Bombay, and awaited receipt at the caves of further remarks and suggestions from Dr. Bháu. On receipt of these suggestions, the copies underwent a further revision. Many of the

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\* *Journal of the B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., p. 56.

† *Ibid.*, p. 53.

letters were made out by the evening and morning light, and by patient application and study on the spot as well as at home. Bhagvánlál returned to Bombay from the caves in June. Thus carefully deciphered, the Ajantá inscriptions, which were twenty-three in number, with their transcripts and translations, were submitted with a paper by Dr. Bháu Dáji, read before this Society on the 10th July 1863, and published in Volume VII. of our Journal.

The rainy season of 1863 Bhagvánlál spent in Bombay. He was busily occupied in taking copies and making transcripts of inscriptions from the Caves at Násik, Kárli, Bhájá, Bhendar, Junnar, Pitalkhorí, and Náneghát.

On the 22nd December 1863, Dr. Bháu Dáji proceeded, in company with Mr. Cursetji Nusserwanji Cama, Mr. Ardesir Framji Moos, and a number of friends, on a rapid tour through the south of India, the N.-W. Provinces, Bengal, and Upper India.\* Before leaving Bombay, Dr. Bháu had arranged, on the recommendation of Sir Bartle Frere, to send Pandits Pándurang Gopál Pádhyè and Bhagvánlál to inspect the Jain Bhandárs at Jesselmere, and take copies of such of the works found therein as were rare or new and important. It was in the height of the cold season of 1864 that the two Pandits started on this literary expedition. They took their route by Karáchi and Sind. At Jesselmere they obtained the permission of the Durbar to examine the Bhandár containing the Jain MSS. The place where the MSS. were deposited was damp, and the work of sitting down and copying such of them as were found useful in such damp atmosphere brought on typhoid fever to Bhagvánlál and malarious fever to Pándurang Pádhyè. They suffered from these fevers for twenty-two days out of the three months that they stopped there. On recovery, in May 1864, they returned to Bombay *viá* Deesa.

The year 1865 and those which followed were not propitious to literary pursuits in Bombay. The sudden influx of cotton wealth into this City had turned men's minds from sober pursuits. This prosperity was, as is well-known, short-lived. It was followed by a monetary crisis which was as sharp as it was sudden. Pandit Bhagvánlál accordingly thought the time was suitable for practically carrying out his long-conceived design of visiting ancient Hindu shrines throughout India,

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\* A most interesting account of this tour has been given by Mr. A. F. Moos in his work, entitled "Travels in India."

with a view to making a personal examination of all old inscriptions on stones, rocks and pillars. In this he was confirmed by what Dr. Bháu had seen and felt in his rapid tour in the N.-W. Provinces. "My travels in various parts of India," said Dr. Bháu Dáji, "have enabled me personally to examine and copy many valuable inscriptions on stones and rocks, and I am convinced that every one of the inscriptions on rocks, and almost every copper-plate grant published years ago, require thorough revision, whilst I know hundreds if not thousands of inscriptions on temples, &c., which, if carefully examined by a competent person like Bhagvánlál, a flood of light could be thrown on the history and antiquities of India beyond the expectations of the most zealous Orientalists, who do not conceal their disappointment at the results of Indian historical researches."\* Very serious importance was attached by scholars to more correct readings of old inscriptions. It was in fact the only condition on which Indian archeology depended for its progress. Nothing illustrates the truth of this proposition better than an anecdote which points to a serious moral but which passes as a current joke in Gujarát even at the present day. The story goes that a letter addressed by a native of Márwád to a relative in Gujarát contained intimation couched in the following sentence:—

क क अ ज म र ग य छ क क क ट छ

By one person the sentence was read as:—

काका आज मरी गया छे काकी कुटे छे

i. e. Uncle died to-day (and) aunt bewails his loss. But this melancholy news gave way to a cheerful feeling on another person deciphering and interpreting the same sentence as:—

काका अजमेर गया छे काकी कोटे छे

i. e. Uncle has gone to Ajmere (and) aunt is at Kotah.

Bhagvánlál obtained a year's leave from Dr. Bháu in 1868 to be absent in Upper India. He started by way of Nággpur and Jabalpur for Alláhabád, where he got the permission of the authorities for the erection of a scaffolding on the Alláhabád Lát or column, for the purpose of taking a *facsimile* on cloth of the inscription of Samudragupta. It took him five days to complete the work. The copy thus prepared was sent with its transcript to Dr. Bháu, who thought so highly



of it that he submitted it, with an English translation and remarks, to this Society.\* In these remarks Dr. Bháu noticed many variations in the reading of the inscription, the most important of them consisting in the new names of Samudragupta's contemporaries. From Alláhábád the Pandit went to Benares, Bhitári, Mathurá and Delhi. At Bhitári, but more especially at Mathurá, he took copies of many old inscriptions. General Cunningham's description of Mathurá had led him to expect numerous antiquarian finds and in this his expectations were fulfilled. He determined to hold a thorough examination of old temples, places of religious worship, and of Buddhist mounds at Mathurá. From its bazaar he made purchases of Bactrian and Scythian coins and of curious old relics till he found that his purse had well-nigh run out. He returned to Bombay bringing with him copies of 35 inscriptions and a rich collection of coins and archeological curiosities. What he had seen in this tour stimulated him to further inquiry. Through the exertions of Dr. Bháu Dáji, the Junághad Durbar liberally promised to pay the expenses of a second literary expedition to Northern India. Bhagvánlál accordingly left Bombay on the 7th March 1871, well-equipped with influential recommendations and passes. At the instance of Dr. Bháu Dáji a demi-official circular, signed by Mr. C. J. Lyall, then Under-Secretary to the Government of India, was addressed to the Magistrates of Mathurá, Agra, Benares, Furruckabad, Gornkpore, Ghazeeपुर, and Alláhábád, informing them of the objects of the Pandit's visit, and requesting to give him every help in the prosecution of his research, and to take care that he was not molested in copying the inscriptions he might desire to see. In this tour Pandit Bhagvánlál was accompanied by his wife who shared with him his toils, experiences and troubles of jungle and tent life. He proceeded by way of Khandwá, Omkeshwar, Indore, Ujjein, Bhojáwar, Bhilsá, Sánchi, Udayagiri, Benares, Alláhábád, Delhi, Kálsi, Mathurá, and Agra. From Agra he proceeded to Gwalior. At Gwalior his wife's continued illness assumed a serious character, and he had to return by way of Alláhábád to Bombay in March 1872. Under Dr. Bháu's treatment Mrs. Bhagvánlál's condition took a turn for the better, and she recovered completely in the course of a few weeks. So Bhagvánlál once more decided to pay another visit to Northern India. He was now thoroughly imbued with the spirit

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\* *Journal of the B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X., page 59, for 1871-72.

of research. The greater the number of places he visited, the larger was the field opened to him for epigraphical study. This time also, under the arrangements made by Dr. Bháu, he was placed in funds by the Junághad Durbar to carry on his work. So off he started in December 1873 for Upper India. This tour took an unexpected turn by the opportunity it gave him of visiting Nepál and the frontier of India on the Thibetan side. It would extend the limits of this paper to inordinate length were I to describe this tour. Pandit Bhágvánlál has left notes in Gujaráti of his various tours, of his visit to Beluchistan and the Yusufzai territory, of what he saw and did in Nepál, of the reception he met with at the hands of the late Sir Jung Bahádur, of the Buddhist caves in Nepál that he visited, of the inscriptions on them which he discovered and took down, and of the serious illness which overtook him. Many of these notes are in the shape of letters addressed to his friend, Mr. Karsandás Vallabhdás, the executor of his Will. I trust that my worthy friend, Mr. Karsandás, who has invariably evinced his interest in literary undertakings, will see his way to the publication of these notes, as from a glance I have had of a portion of them, I am unhesitatingly of opinion that the account of the Pandit's travels given in these notes, and his shrewd observations on men and things will possess interest not merely for the scholar and the antiquarian, but for the general reader. Their literary merits alone will make them valuable additions to Gujaráti literature, which is sadly deficient in standard prose, and especially in works of travel.

After the return of the Pandit from his last tour he found that the one man in the whole of India to whom the results of his explorations were of the most direct interest, the one man who contributed so much to their success, was laid prostrate by a stroke of paralysis. He found Dr. Bháu rapidly succumbing to the influence of this malady till at last he sank under it on the 29th May 1874. To the Pandit the death of one who was to him not merely a friend and patron, but the inspirer of all that he undertook in life, was a blow from which he could not easily recover.

As evidencing Dr. Bháu's affection for him the Pandit used to relate that when the learned Doctor heard of his serious illness in Nepál, he, though confined to his bed, requested Mr. W. M. Wood, our late Secretary, to see him. To Mr. Wood Dr. Bháu expressed

his utmost anxiety for the life of the Pandit, and pointed out the urgent need of telegraphing to Mr. Girdlestone, our Resident at Khatmádu, to ascertain the state of the Pandit's health by a personal visit and enquiry. Mr. Girdlestone personally went to the Pandit and telegraphed to Mr. Wood, for Dr. Bháu's information, that the fever had left the Pandit, and that he intended soon to return to India. Again, Dr. Bháu, finding that the Pandit's health gave way in Nepál on account of the unwholesome *toor dhál* (*Cajanus indicus*) the Pandit was obliged to use for food, sent a quantity of it by post at charges which were double its original cost. The Post Office people could not easily account for the despatch of the grain through the post. They suspected that something else must have been concealed in the bundle. Accordingly, the Nepál Post Office, when giving delivery of the parcel to the Pandit's servant, directed it to be opened in the presence of the Postmaster, when on opening it the Postmaster found the contents to be purely *toor dhál*! The Pandit saw in this a fresh instance of the Doctor's ceaseless anxiety for his health.

Bhagvánlál thought that the best tribute of respect which he could pay to the memory of the deceased as patron, master, *guru* or teacher, and friend, was to work out his own teachings and follow in his own footsteps in the field of Indian research. The ideal of what constitutes a man of learning which the Pandit had come to form was conceived very much from what he had seen in the character of Dr. Bháu and in his love of knowledge for its own sake. Encouraged by the example of Dr. Bháu, the Pandit now perceived that in his study of archeology he had arrived at a point from which, relying upon his own enquiries, he was able to advance it a few steps further. His inability to express his thoughts in English was no doubt a disadvantage, but was by no means an impediment in the prosecution of research. In Dr. Bühler, Mr. J. M. Campbell, Dr. Codrington, Dr. Burgess, Dr. Peterson, Dr. Da Cunha and others, he had friends who appreciated his learning and his worth, and who looked upon everything coming from so accurate an epigraphist and so ripe a scholar as deserving of every attention. Dr. Bühler frequently helped the Pandit in putting his Gujaráti notes into English, and confirming or criticising the conclusions arrived at by the Pandit. One of the papers thus translated was on the ancient Nágari numerals. It announced the Pandit's discovery that the old Nágari numerals are *aksharas* or syllables, and that they are

expressed in the Kshatrap, Valabhi and Gupta inscriptions and coins. In a postscript to this paper, Dr. Bühler remarked that he undertook the task of translating this article from the Pandit's Gujaráti notes because, "after considering all his arguments, I felt convinced of the general correctness of his views and because I wished to secure for my fellow-Sanskritists a speedy publication of this important discovery, and to the Pandit the credit due to him."\* With Mr. J. Campbell the Pandit was associated in connection with the work of the *Bombay Gazetteer* and the discovery of the Sopará Buddhist relics. Dr. Burgess was also in constant communication with the Pandit, seeking his help in the work of deciphering and making transcripts of inscriptions for his reports on archeological surveys. To Drs. Bühler and Burgess the Pandit was indebted for the publication of his Nepál inscriptions.

In this way the Pandit published the results of his researches and discoveries from time to time. The following is a list of his published contributions as far as I have been able to make out :—

(a) *To the Journal the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

- (1) Gadhia Coins of Gujarát and Málwá.
- (2) Revised Facsimile, Transcript and Translation of Inscriptions.
- (3) On Ancient Nágari Numeration from an inscription at Náueghát.
- (4) A new Ándhrabharitya King, from a Kanheri Cave Inscription.
- (5) Copper-plate of the Siláhára Dynasty.
- (6) Coins of the Ándhrabharitya Kings of Southern India.
- (7) Antiquarian Remains at Sopará and Padan.
- (8) A new copper-plate grant of the Chálukya dynasty found at Naosári.
- (9) New Copper-plate Grant of the Ráshttrakúta dynasty.
- (10) A Copper-plate Grant of the Traikutaka King, Daharasena.
- (11) Transcript and Translation of the Bhitári Lát Inscription.
- (12) An Inscription of King Asokavalla.

(b) *To the Indian Antiquary.*

- (13) Ancient Nágari Numerals, with a note by Dr. Bühler.
- (14) The Inscription of Rudradáman at Junágadh.

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\* *Indian Antiquary.*

- (15) The Shaiva Prakramá.
- (16) Inscriptions from Nepál.
- (17) Inscription from Kám or Kámvan.
- (18) The Inscriptions of Aśoka.
- (19) The Kuhnan Inscription of Skandagupta.
- (20) An Inscription at Gayá, dated in the year 1813 of Buddha's Nirván, with two others of the same period.
- (21) A Bactro-Páli Inscription of Siáhár.
- (22) A New Yádava Dynasty.
- (23) A New Gurjarát Copper-plate Grant.
- (24) Some Considerations on the History of Nepál, edited by Dr. Bühler.

(d) *To the Proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Leyden in 1883.*

- (25) The Hathigumhá and three other Inscriptions in the Udayagiri Caves.

(e) *To the Transactions of the Seventh International Oriental Congress held at Vienna.*

- (26) Two New Chalukya Inscriptions.

(f) *To the Bombay Gazetteer.*

- (27) Portions relating to archeology in different volumes.

(g) *In separate and miscellaneous forms.*

- (28) Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India, with descriptive notes, edited by Dr. Burgess.

- (29) Contributions to Dr. Burgess' Archeological Survey of Western India.

Some of these contributions announced important discoveries which attracted much attention in India and England. I have already referred to the Pandit's paper on old Nágari Numerals. This discovery, as Dr. Bühler observed at the time it was made, alone entitled Bhagvánlál to rank in the first class of Indian antiquarians. Another discovery which made a great stir at the time not only amongst scholars in India and Europe, but amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon, and the Jains of Bombay, was that of the Buddhist relics found at Sopará, near Bassein, in April 1882. The circumstances connected with this discovery, the offer by a Bombay merchant of Rs. 2,000 for one of the images of

Buddha, the petition of the Buddhist High Priest of Ceylon, H. Suman-gala, for a small portion of the bowl of Gautama for deposit in the monastery at Adam's Peak, the exposure to public view of the relic at Widyodaya College, the discovery of the fragment of the eighth edict of Aśoka—these are so fresh in your memory that I will not take up your time in reiterating them. It is sufficient for me here to say that Pandit Bhagvánlál and Mr. J. M. Campbell received the thanks of the Government of Bombay for the great trouble taken by them in connection with this most interesting discovery. Government also directed, as you are aware, that the relics should be permanently deposited in the museum of this Society, and not transmitted to Europe, as suggested by Dr. Burgess.

These contributions and the important discoveries which some of them announced secured for Pandit Bhagvánlál a high reputation amongst scholars in India and Europe. They were followed by honours one after another. Our own Society, elected him an honorary member in 1877. The Government of Bombay appointed him a Fellow of the Bombay University in January 1882. The Board of the Royal Institute of Philology, Geography, and Ethnology of Netherlands-India at the Hague made him a Foreign Member of the Society in October 1883. Professor Max Müller, in a note to the Pandit, addressed on the 30th November 1883, acknowledging the receipt of his paper on "Nasik, Pandu Lena Caves," wrote:—"I must congratulate you on the excellent work you have been doing, and I hope you will continue it. Dr. Bháu Dájí's death was a great loss, but you are able to fill his place and carry on his work. You have proved yourself a truly conscientious scholar, and that means more in my eye than any amount of learning." The Senate of the Leyden University conferred upon the Pandit the degree of Doctor, *honoris causá*, in January 1884. In making this announcement, Professor H. Kern remarked:—"I cannot but heartily congratulate you with that signal acknowledgment of the services which you have rendered to science by your most valuable contributions to the study of Indian epigraphy. The decree of our Senate may convince you that your work is no less appreciated in Europe than in your own country." About the same time the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland elected him an Honorary Fellow, his election being strongly supported by Colonel Yule, Sir Edward Clive Bayley and others. Mr. Edward Thomas, in a note to the Pandit informing him of this election

observed : —“ We won the day against the claims of the late President of the Oriental Congress.”

It was the intention of the Compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer* to devote a great portion of the first volume of the *Gazetteer* to the early history of the chief divisions of this Presidency. The portion relating to the early history of the Dekkan was entrusted to Prof. Rámkrishna Gopál Bhandárkar. And no historian of that period, I think, could have acquitted himself of his task in a more admirable manner. Prof. Bhandárkar has brought to a focus the researches of modern scholarship in archeology and philology, including the most recent advances to our stock of knowledge in elucidating the early history of the Dekkan. The materials for an early history of Gujarát lie scattered in different directions. The two scholars who recently made important contributions to it were Dr. Bühler and Pandit Bhagvánlál Indrají. Prof. Bühler's engagements at the time did not permit of his undertaking this work. It was accordingly entrusted to Pandit Bhagvánlál. To help the Pandit forward in this work, Mr. Campbell had placed at the disposal of the Pandit the services of a young graduate of the Bombay University, Mr. Ratirám Durgárám Divedi, B. A., who had received excellent training in work of this kind in the office of the Compiler in connection with the compilation of the topographical and archeological portions of the volumes of the *Gazetteer*. The Government of H. E. Lord Reay, setting a high value upon the work, thought it desirable to give the Pandit every assistance towards making his history as complete as possible. In a Resolution, dated the 3rd January 1887, His Excellency in Council, considering that the value of isolated inscriptions is greatly enhanced by giving them their place in history, requested Collectors, Political Agents, and other officers in Gujarát to ascertain if any untranslated early copper-plate or stone inscriptions are in the possession of any States, religious institutions, or private persons within their charges, and induce the owners to produce such copper-plates or rubbings of the stone inscriptions and allow them to be forwarded for Pandit Bhagvánlál's use on promise of their being returned to the owners when done with. The Pandit himself was anxious to get through the work as early as possible, as would appear from his having made it a point to come to town from his residence at Wálkeshwar and to spend two or three hours every evening at his rooms regularly with Mr. Ratirám. In this way, I am told, he was

able to bring up three-fourths of the work in a condition well advanced for the press. The remainder, I am informed, is in the shape of notes in the Pandit's own handwriting, now in the possession of Mr. Karsandás Vallabhólás, the executor of the Pandit's Will. Various causes seem to have delayed the appearance in print of this important work. The Pandit desired to be thorough, and in fulfilment of this desire every new inscription, copper-plate or stone, that he met with unhinged his mind for a time. This, added, as I said before, to a somewhat morbid presentiment in his own mind that his end was approaching, and, not improbably, the professional engagements of Mr. Ratirám himself, may have protracted the completion and publication of a work of which the appearance has been looked forward to with interest for some time past as embodying the mature results of the Pandit's life-long study of Indian epigraphy. It is to be hoped that it will see the light at no distant date.

And now to sum up this account of the Pandit's labours and character. The place of Pandit Bhagvánólál among Indian archeologists it is too early yet to discuss and determine. That the results of the Pandit's life-work have been such as to advance Indian epigraphy some steps further is a proposition the truth of which will, I am sure, go home to the mind of any person who takes an unbiassed view of the state of Indian archeology thirty-five years ago, when the Pandit received the slip of paper from Col. Lang, on which were written the cave characters, (into the mysteries of which he got himself initiated), and of our present stock of knowledge of Indian archeological remains to which he was a large contributor. It is not for a moment claimed that the Pandit's work was faultless. This could not be. His reading and interpretation of inscriptions have sometimes been questioned, and his views on many antiquarian topics still form points of controversy amongst scholars. Indian archeology is as much a progressive science as any other. One scholar improves upon the reading and interpretation of another, and in this way it is that advances are made. The two important steps in the progress of study of Indian epigraphy in my opinion, are,—(1) A careful decipherment and transcript of old characters, and (2) the adoption of those methods of interpreting historical evidence which, while allowing to analogies and comparisons their due weight, accept no interpretation which is not consonant with reason and good sense. That many of the Pandit's conjectures, bold as they appeared at first, turned out to be correct, was probably due to



these circumstances. He formed his opinions on antiquarian questions after mature thought, and having formed them he adhered to them with a zeal and tenacity which was in keeping with the importance of the subject he discussed. Another trait in his character was that, though as a worker in science he had to contend against many disadvantages, yet he fought his way to distinction in spite of them all by his energy, his courage, and his laborious and persevering devotion to research.

Nobody felt more keenly than the Pandit himself his defective early training, his imperfect acquaintance with English, and his inability to express himself in that language; but such was the assiduity with which he mastered the points of each European scholar's views as they appeared in English that he would tell you how far they were, in his opinion, correct, and in what points he differed from them. In this way he kept himself thoroughly in accord with the progress made in Indian epigraphy in Europe, and had reached a point in his own study of it from which he was in a position to enlighten the world. His thorough, practical knowledge of cave characters at first hand was one of his strong points. On this account particularly he was constantly referred to by Dr. Burgess and Mr. Fleet in the work of deciphering characters in rock or copper-plate inscriptions which puzzled them. The Pandit's facility was doubtless due to long practice in work of this kind done in course of his travels in different parts of India. He had a genuine love for historical and geographical research. Each tour that he made, each visit that he paid, whetted his appetite for further information. In this way he saw almost all the noted caves, monasteries, old Hindu shrines, stupas, dagobas, in Eastern, Northern, and Western India, in Beluchistan, and on the borders of Thibet. He saw a great deal of the Indian world, peoples of many races, and of varieties of habits, customs and religions. These travels did for him what no amount of home-study could have done—they enlarged the vision of his mind, and enabled him to bring back a rich store of information and humorous anecdotes indicative of his insight into human nature. He was a conscientious worker, a true votary of science, an ardent lover of truth. He pursued knowledge under difficulties purely for its own sake, without regard to ulterior advantages. And he pursued it steadily, ardently, and with remarkable success. For the sake of knowledge he spent days and nights in lonely jungles, in caves, and monasteries, at times in the neighbourhood of the denizens of forests, regard-

less of heat or cold, hunger or thirst, comfort or discomfort. In this respect we may well apply to Bhagvólál the lines in which the lamented Matthew Arnold spoke of his father—the great Dr. Arnold:—

“ Languor is not on your heart,  
Weakness is not in your word,  
Weariness not on your brow,  
Ye alight in our van ! At your voice  
Panic, despair, flee away.”

He was very simple in his habits and unaffected in his demeanour. One could scarcely believe that behind his humble exterior there lay high qualities of head and heart. He had very high ideas of the greatness of the human mind and of the righteousness of man's soul. On no mind perhaps had the force of example told more deeply. In short, he combined in himself the mildness and urbanity of a Hindu, with the steadiness, patience, and inquisitive spirit of a German, the ceaseless activity and energy of an Englishman, and the serenity and contemplative turn of mind of a Jain Tirthankar.

During his last illness he was visited by many of his friends, who appreciated his worth and his services to science. Such of his European friends who were not in Bombay wrote to him letters of sympathy on learning that he was ill. Mr. J. M. Campbell was one of them. I cannot close this Memoir better than by quoting a portion of his letter, which admirably sums up his character from a personal knowledge of the Pandit. “ It is a sad thought,” says Mr. Campbell, writing to the Pandit on the 24th February, “ that your life's work may be nearly over. The time and the money you have spent for so many years in healing the sick-poor will be of more comfort to you now than if you had been able to see in print the final results of all your labours. It is a great grief to me that so little should remain to show how much you knew. I am very sorry I have been of so little help to you in return for all the help you gave the *Gazetteer*. Had I been nearer or less busy I might have done something, but it was not easy for me to press or to upbraid, seeing the *Gazetteer* was to be the chief gainer by your labour. Mr. Bhimbháí has told me of his visit to you and of your handsome disposal of your valuable property. I am glad to understand your mind is clear and that you do not suffer much. He speaks of your courage and composure in preparing to die. Knowing how much of these qualities you had in your life, I cannot

doubt that they will comfort you in death. It is a grief to me to lose you. More even than for the help you have so often given me, I thank you for leaving with me the memory of so learned, original, and high-minded a friend."

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*P.S.*—The following note (received six days after the above paper was read) from Dr. Codrington, late Honorary Secretary of this Society, a personal friend of the Pandit and a fellow-worker with him, describes the learned Doctor's recollections of the Pandit so well that I make no apology for quoting it in full as an appendix to this paper:—

"I did hear with the greatest regret of the death of my old friend, Bhagvánlál, but, knowing somewhat of his bodily condition, was not altogether unprepared for it. I do not know that I can add anything to what Dr. Peterson wrote about him in his notice in the *Academy*, which was, I thought, a very true and touching memoir of the man, bringing out the features which made his character so charming to me, and of his work I can add little to what is known. I knew Bhagvánlál very well, both in his own home as well as out of it, and more intimately than I knew any Indian gentleman, and was able to feel at home on equal terms with him. The simplicity of his life and of his honesty was such that I never felt I might, as an ignorant European, be doing or saying something which might be objectionable to his habits and feelings as an Indian, nor that he, from a similar feeling, would be uneasy with me, and this, I take it, is often the difficulty with us. I learnt from him something about all kinds of matters of India—history, manners and customs, ancient and modern—arts and manufactures, native medicine, religion and castes, besides that for which he was celebrated—archeology. He had a wonderful range of knowledge of modern things as well as ancient. We had many talks about religion, and he was perfectly pen with me about his beliefs, which I see evidenced in his directions for his death and the disposal of his body. As a man he was remarkable to me for his simple and pure life, of which I had never any doubt, his freedom from greed in any way, and his charity. He had a considerable knowledge of native medicines, and used to have generally a number of sick to see him in the mornings. He had been failing in health a good deal during the last year or two I was in India, and his work was done, I know, under difficulties in that respect for years past. The difficulty of expressing

himself in any other language than Gujaráti quite freely (though his knowledge of English was much greater than many supposed) was a drawback; for he had difficulty in getting a translator with his own spirit—he often told me there was only one in Bombay—and was not able to readily read articles which were difficult to translate into his own language. In his work he was accurate and slow. I never knew him to jump at a reading of an inscription or coin, as one so often sees done, and he would work away at a point for a length of time, yet not publish it until he felt sure. I remember he had a name he found in some inscription, which he believed to be that of a Bactrian king; he struggled over it for years, to my knowledge, for I often handed up references about it, but as he was not able to confirm it, I believe he never made any note of it in his writings. He had, I know, offers of employment which would have given him considerable profit, but he would not take them. He had no wish for money nor luxuries, and when that house was given him in which he was just settling when I left Bombay, he had nothing in the way of bodily wants to wish for, he said, and his one luxury was the enjoyment of any appreciation of his work by scholars in Europe, which was slow in coming to him, but did come at last.

“I hope you and Mr. Peterson will be able to make a good deal of MSS. of his there may be. The paper on Kshatrap coins is what I am most interested in, and I trust it will not be mangled or misrepresented.—I am, &c.,

“OLIVER CODRINGTON.

“ARMY AND NAVY CLUB, PALL MALL,

*London, S.W., May 10.”*

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Dr. Peterson wrote to the *Academy* under date Bombay, March 23, 1888, as follows:—

Many readers of the *Academy* will be grieved to hear of the death of Pandit Bhagvánlál Indrají. He died on Friday last, March 16, at his house in Walkeshwur.

I have seen him from time to time during his last illness; and two days before his death I had the sad pleasure of paying him a visit along with M. Senart, to whom he was well known, and who, like everyone else who knew Bhagvánlál, held him in great regard and

affection. We had previously taken steps to learn if our visit then would be agreeable, and were met on the way by a note, dictated by the Pandit, pressing us to come. His bodily state, he said, was getting worse and worse, and we must come quickly. I was told afterwards that he hoped each step on the stair might be that of the distinguished scholar who was coming to him with news about the recent discovery of an Aśoka inscription. M. Senart will, I know, be glad that we did not yield to the fear we had that a visit at such a time might be out of place. Bhagvanlal rallied to greet his friend in a way none of those who were present will forget. It was too painfully obvious to all that the end was a matter of hours. But his eye kindled as he listened to all M. Senart had to tell him. The only murmur of impatience which escaped him was when he heard that his friend had been to Junagarh—"my native place"—and he not able to accompany him there. "I am so sorry, so sorry." He pressed my hand warmly when we took leave of him, and I was glad to feel sure that we had given him a moment's pleasure. His death was to himself a relief. "I am quite happy to go to God," were his words to me some days before. But more than one of your readers will feel with his friends here that the world is poorer to them now that so simple, so true, and so pure a soul has gone from it. A man greatly beloved, in whom was no guile. His body was burned the same evening in the Walkeshwur burning ground close to his house. In a will, written shortly before his death, he had left directions which were for the most part faithfully carried out. All the ceremonies for the dying had been performed by himself in anticipation of death. They were not to be repeated now. When the end came near, earth, brought by himself from a holy place, was to be spread on the ground, and he was to be lifted from his bed and laid on it. His body was to be covered, up to the mouth, with the sacred sheet he had provided. The name of God was to be said repeatedly in his ear as he lay dying. When the breath was seen to be departing, the holy water he had brought from the Ganges was to be sprinkled over him, and a few drops put into his mouth. At the moment of death the sheet was to be drawn over his face and not again removed. Four friends were to carry him to the funeral pyre, and no weeping was to be made for him. Only the name of God was to be ever repeated. The women were not to come. When all was over his friends were to return to his house and disperse, first sitting together for a little time if they so

chose. He had no son or heir to take objection to the absence of the usual rites. Let his friends bethink them of the great sin they would commit if in any of these things they disregarded "the wishes of the previous owner of what would be then a worthless corpse." His caste people must not be allowed to interfere. The friend who should do his will were his true caste people. Bhagvanlal left the history of Guzerat he was writing for Mr. Campbell's Gazetteer unfinished, but he worked hard up to the last day or two to perfect the fragment he had commenced. He finished his account of the Kshatrap coins in his possession in the draft of a paper dictated by him in Guzerati, in which he has also given a full account of the lion pillar capital with its inscriptions in Bactrian Pali which he brought from Muttra. This paper will, in accordance with his wish, after it has been put in the form he would himself have given to it, be offered to the Royal Asiatic Society. His coins and inscriptions, including the Muttra one, are to be offered to the British Museum on terms which, I do not doubt, the authorities there will gladly agree to. His MSS. he has left to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, asking only that they may be placed near the MSS. of the late Dr. Bhao Daji. I cannot yet say in what state his papers, other than that to which I have referred, have been left. But his friend and executor, Mr. Karsandas Valubhdas, has asked me to look over them, and I undertake that nothing which can be published shall be lost. I hope, at all events, that we shall be able to bring together in a volume all the published papers of the Pandit, alongside of those of his revered master and friend, Bhao Daji. Bhagvanlal, I know, would have wished for just such a memorial.

I hope I have not written at too great length for your columns. I have myself lost a dear friend in Bhagvanlal; and I know that the details I have given will have a melancholy interest for a wide circle of scholars. They will join me in bidding him a last farewell—nay, rather, in the words with which we parted, *Punar darsandya* ("Auf wiedersehn!")

Count Gubernatis, the Italian savant, recounts his visit to Pandit Bhagvanlal in his work as under:—

"From Malabar Hill we went to Wálkeshwar, where lived a learned and holy Brahmin, Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, a native of Joonagur, in Kathiawár. I knew him to be a great authority on epigraphic and numismatic matters. I knew also that his work, done with the greatest modesty and disinterestedness, had been a precious help to

many English, German, and Dutch Orientalists, and that the University of Leyden, had, *honoris causá*, received him into the fold of her members. He had been so kind as to inquire about me at Dr. da Cunha's, as soon as I arrived at Bombay, and I was impatient to meet this truly learned Indian. I was very glad to visit the holy city of Wálkeshwar while going to his modest dwelling, the expenses of which, I heard with great pleasure, had been defrayed by his fellow citizens of Joonagar as a token of respect to his knowledge.

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“I entered at last the modest little house of the venerable Bhagvánlál. He was waiting for us on the threshold, and his young and intelligent servant, of the pure Bráhma caste, on the staircase. Knowing that I was curious to see sacred Indian objects, he had prepared for me on a table a little exhibition. This included sacred strings, rosaries, small idols, and little books with tiny images of the gods. The last-mentioned, especially, attracted my attention, on account of their smallness. Bhagvánlál explained that when the Mahomedan fanatics destroyed gigantic statues and colossal idols, the Hindus determined to substitute these by very small idols and images, to keep their gods more easily from persecution and destruction. Bhagvánlál, after having let me admire an ancient Buddhist manuscript of Nepál, and some beautiful sculpture belonging to him, which he intended giving after his death to the Asiatic Society of Bombay, presented me with many rare articles for my museum.” \* \* \* \* \*

ART. IV.—*Nyâyabîndhuṭîkâ of Dharmottara.* By PETER  
PETERSON, M.A., D.Sc., etc.

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Read 25th February 1869.

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The first of the four manuscripts which I wish to show to the Society to-day belongs to the palm-leaf collection preserved in the temple of Santinath, Cambay. An account of its discovery will be found in my Third Report, p. 33. It is dated Samvat 1229 = A.D. 1173, and is therefore itself more than seven hundred years old. It purports, according to the statement in the colophon, to contain a copy of a commentary (ṭîkâ) on a work entitled the Nyâyabindu, or "Drop of Logic," and to be the work of one Dharmottara. Dharmottara's very name had as good as perished in his own country. But from the Tibetan "Tandjur" it was known to European scholars that a teacher so called had been illustrious in Buddhist annals, as perhaps the founder, certainly a great professor, of the Sautrântika School. The Tandjur is, as you know, a compilation in Tibetan of all sorts of literary works, written mostly by ancient Indian Pandits and some learned Tibetans in the first centuries after the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, commencing with the seventh century of our era. The whole makes 225 volumes. Now the Tandjur, according to a statement of the Russian scholar, Wassiljew, contains among seven works ascribed to Dharmottara one whose title is *Nayabînduṭîka*. But the Sanskrit book before you calls itself the Nyâyabînduṭîkâ of the Acharya Dharmottara. In other words, it is the lost Sanskrit original of the Tibetan book.

The interest attaching to such a discovery will be obvious. I was anxious to publish a book which, in its Sanskrit and original form, had so narrowly escaped oblivion. Observing from the annual address of the President of the parent society in Calcutta that it was proposed to publish there some of these Tibetan texts side by side with their Sanskrit originals, where these were procurable, I offered to edit the Sanskrit Nyâyabînduṭîkâ from this manuscript. The offer was accepted, and the book has made some progress, though it has not yet I am sorry to say, been found possible to dig the Tibetan text of the



work out of the 225 volumes somewhere in which it lies entombed. The absence of a copy of the text of the book, of the Nyāyabindu itself, on which this is a commentary, has given me great trouble. It has been necessary to reconstruct the text from the commentary on it, an embarrassing and sometimes an impossible task. My excuse for offering to-night a few remarks on this book and its fortunes lies in the way in which this difficulty has within the last day or two been made to disappear. I am not sure that I ought not to be a little ashamed of the fact, but it is the fact that a copy of the much wanted Nyāyabindu has been all the time in my own charge as Secretary of the Society. For the second manuscript, which I lay on the table, is from our own Bhau Daji Memorial Collection. The work is here called the Laghu-Dharmottara-Sutra. But an examination has shown that it is neither more nor less than the Nyāyabindu. The same collection has a copy of the commentary, here called the Laghu-Dharmottara-Vritti. I lay it on the table. In reviewing my Third Report, Dr. Bühler was disposed to think that my Nyāyabinduṭīkā of Dharmottara must be identical with a Dharmottara-Vritti which he saw in Jesalmir, and of which he had a copy made for the Bombay Government Collection. I have that copy here. It is not Dharmottara's book, but a commentary upon that by a writer whose name is not given here. For this last book is a mere fragment, extending only to page 20 of the printed edition of the Nyāyabinduṭīkā in progress, and dealing only with the first and by far the shortest of the three chapters into which that work is divided. I hope to show that from the specimen we have, it is certain that this last book is full of information which would be of the greatest value to us. Indeed, my chief object in this brief paper is to call attention to the importance of this series of books, in the hope that more copies of all of them may become available.

Dharmottara nowhere refers to his author, the writer of the Sutras, on which he is commenting, by any other name than that of the Acharya, or teacher. There can be little doubt what teacher is meant. It is Buddha himself. Brahminical and Buddhist authorities agree in stating that in the beginning there were four great Buddhist sects—the Vaibhāshika, the Sautrāntika, the Mādhyamika, and the Yogāchāra. Of these, the first two were the earlier, and together formed what is called the Lesser Vehicle. Little is yet known of the distinctive tenets of the Sautrāntika School. They are said to have fallen into two divi-

sions—those who rejected every other appeal than that to the word of the master, and those who, besides a reference to the canon, admitted other proofs. The whole Sautrāntika School which, with the Vaibhāshika, shares the merit of being comparatively free from the philosophical and mythological absurdities of later Buddhism, were, as the name shows, Buddhists of the Book, to borrow a phrase from another great controversy. To the Sutra, at once the Law and the Prophets for them, they appealed. Their controversy with the Vaibhāshika School would seem to have turned on the way in which these latter had permitted the pure text of the scriptures to be pushed aside by commentators on it. Now the philosophical works of the Vaibhāshika School, the so-called Abhidharma section of the Tripitaka, are, according to the commentators, not the direct utterances of the Buddha, but expansions of these by later authors. The name Sutra is in them applied to the original writings ascribed to Buddha in a closer sense than the Abhidharma Pitaka is. But these Sutras had with this school almost completely given place to the commentaries upon them. The Buddhists of the Book, the Sautrāntika or Sutra-School, went back to the oldest sources for their canon. We accordingly are prepared beforehand to find that Dharmottara, whether rightly or wrongly, is, of course, a question by itself, took the Sutras on "right knowledge," of which he here gives us a commentary, to be the composition of Buddha himself. For it is in this light that I am disposed to understand the verse which, according to Indian pious use, he puts at the beginning of his book:—

"Hail to the words of Buddha, the conqueror over the world—the cause of all the evils of life—the enemy of the passions; Hail to his words that destroy the darkness of our souls."

Among the words of Buddha held in reverence by Dharmottara were these very Sutras which he is about to explain.

From the anonymous commentator we learn that Dharmottara had several predecessors in this task. One of these was Vinitadeva. Of this man, as a Buddhist writer on logic, we know something from Tibetan sources. Taranath's History of Buddhism is a Tibetan work which was composed so late as 1608, but which rests upon older, and, in part, Sanskrit authorities. It has been translated into Russian by Wassiliew, and into German by Anton Schiefner. The latter scholar has also published the Tibetan text. Taranath's book contains two references to Vinitadeva. In the first (p. 198 of the German transla-

tion) it is stated that the Acharya Vinītadeva lived in Sri Nalanda in the time of King Govichandra. Govichandra was a nephew of Bhartrihari, and his accession coincided with the death of Dharmakīrti, another famous Buddhist logician, of whom I shall have to speak immediately. Of Vinītadeva it is said that he composed a commentary in seven chapters on the Pramāna. This is an extremely important statement. There can, I believe, be no doubt that the work referred to is that quoted as an authority on Nyaya earlier than Dharmottara, in the Jesalmir fragment before the Society. Pramāna or Proof is the beginning and end of the subject-matter of our Sūtras. Now Strabo (xv. l. 70, p. 719 : quoted in Lassen, *Ind. Alth.* I. p. 1002) has preserved a passage of Megasthenes, from which we learn that the Brahmins were opposed by a sect called Pramnai : " Over against the Brahmins as philosophers they set the Pramnas, a school of sophistical dialecticians. The Brahmins, on the other hand, cultivate physiology and astronomy, and are laughed at by these others as swaggering blockheads." Lassen conjectured that the reference must be to a school of the Purvamimamsa, as founding their belief on Pramāna, logical proof, instead of revelation. From this title of Vinītadeva's book, and other similar titles, which we shall meet with immediately, it seems to me more likely that Megasthenes was talking of the Buddhists. Taranath's other reference to Vinītadeva consists of an extract from a work of his called Samajabhedaparachchanachchakra. I am unable to make Sanskrit of this name. The extract gives an account of the division of the Buddhist schools into eighteen.

In two places the Jesalmir fragment the name of a second commentator is put alongside of Vinītadeva's name in one compound word. But whereas Śāntabhadrā is written in the one place, Śāntarudra is written in the other. It is, of course, possible that we are dealing here with two different writers : but from the way in which, as has been explained, the name occurs, it seems more probable that the scribe is in fault in one or other place. It may turn out that he is in fault in both places. For while nothing appears to be known either of a Śāntabhadrā or of a Śāntarudra, Saṅghabhadrā is well known as a Buddhist writer on logic, whose work, the Nyāyānusāraśāstra, a refutation of Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośha, forms part of the Chinese Tripitaka, the translation being by no other than Houen Tshang himself.

The third of Dharmottara's predecessors is in the Jesalmir fragment not referred to by name, but only as the author of the commentary (that

is to say, of course on our Sūtras), called the Vinischaya. The name enables us, I think, to identify him with a Buddhist poet and logician of no common note—Dharmakīrti. This writer, more fortunate than the others we have been considering, is still something more than the shadow of a name in the land of his birth. The anthologies have preserved several of his verses. In the preface to our edition of Vallabhadeva's Subhashitavali Durgā Prasad and I have brought these together. Aufrecht had already written of Dharmakīrti:—"He is one of the oldest writers on Alamkāra. His work Baudhasamgati is mentioned by Subandhu in the Vasavadatta (p. 235 ed., Hall). In all probability he is identical with the Buddhist philosopher of the same name who, according to Wassiliew, wrote a commentary to Dinnaga's Prāmanasamuchaya, as also the works Prāmanavarttika, *Pramānavinischaya*, and Prasannapāda. A half verse by the philosophical writer is mentioned in the Baudha chapter of the Sarvādarsanasangraha. Verses by Dharmakīrti are cited by Abandavardhana in the Dhvanyaloka. The Sarvagadharapaddhati contains one, the Sadakūtikānamrita eight."

There can be, I think, little doubt that Dharmakīrti's book, the Prāmānavinischaya, must be the "commentary, called Vinischaya" of our writer. Schiefner mentions in a note that the Tibetan Tandjur puts together Dharmakīrti's Prāmānavārttikakārika and his Prāmānavinischaya, the one in four chapters, and the other in three. This last agrees with our book. You will remember that Vinītadeva's work was said to be in seven chapters. It looks as if, in addition to our Sūtra in three chapters, there was another in four, which was generally taken along with it. Vinītadeva, and Dharmakīrti wrote commentaries on both texts. It may turn out that Dharmottara did so also. We should then understand the title of the Bhau Daji Manuscript Laghu Dharmottaraoritti. Another work in four chapters was perhaps the Brihat Dharmottara Sūtra. Dinnāga, or Dignāga, mentioned here as the author of a compendium of logic (Prāmānasamuchaya), to which Dharmakīrti wrote a commentary, is a well-known name to us now. See Max Müller's references in the Note on the Renaissance of Sanscrit Literature to his "India; What can it teach us?" It was our own Dr. Bhau Daji who first pointed out that Kalidasa in his Meghadata refers to Dignāga as a contemporary. In the Jesalmir fragment there is an interesting reference to Kumarila's critique of Dignāga. The writer asserts that when Kumarila rejects mental perception as that had been established from the scriptures

(Āgamasiddham) by Dignāga, it was because he did not understand Dignāga's definition.

I have not attempted to do more in this paper than call the attention of the Society to the interest attaching to the books on the table. It will not be denied that it is very great. The re-discovery of Dharmottara's book will enable us to pay a debt to a man who in his own time did much for truth and science, and who has been undeservedly forgotten in India. From the Sūtras themselves it ought to be possible to reconstruct the science of proof, as understood by Buddhist thinkers, on the basis of a text for which we need not fear to claim a high antiquity. The Jesalmir manuscript again is clearly the fragment of a work which, if we could recover it in its entirety, would teach us much of the philosophical controversies with which India rang in the early centuries of our era. But, above all, I confess, am I fascinated by the fact that in this palm-leaf manuscript, which has lain concealed for centuries in its tomb below the temple of Santinath in Cambay, and has now been dragged to the light by an English servant of the Indian State, you have in your hands the work of an Indian author whose name, and the title of whose book, were first discovered by a member of the Russian Legation at Peking, while engaged in studying the Buddhist literature of Tibet. I would fain take this as an omen that much will yet be done by the study of the Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian literatures on the one hand, and the diligent search after lost Sanskrit originals on the other, to fill up the woful gaps in our knowledge of the wonderful past of this great country. We in this Society ought, I think, to be heartily glad that the Parent Society is making its present effort to utilize the rich treasures it owes to Csoma Kórosi and to Hodgson. Those of us to whom a kind fate has opened the scholar's life could not easily find better work than that to which the two Societies may confidently invite the learned of this country.

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ART. V.—*M. Dellon and the Inquisition of Goa.* BY  
DR. J. GERSON DA CUNHA.

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Read December 18th, 1888.

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M. Dellon was a French physician and traveller, born in 1649. Having entered the service of the French East India Company, he embarked as a surgeon on board the ship "Strong," of 400 tons, commanded by Captain Merchand, accompanied by the Golden Eagle, and left Port Louis for the East Indies on the 20th of March 1668. From 1671 to 1672 he ran down the Malabar Coast to Cannanore. On return to Surat he thought of visiting the Portuguese Settlements as far as China, and for this purpose he went first to Damaun and then to Goa. He stayed in Goa from January 14th, 1674, to January 27th, 1676, when he left for Lisbon *viâ* Brazil. He arrived at St. Salyador at the Bahia on the 20th of May, and at Lisbon on the 15th of December of the same year, having left Brazil on the 3rd of September. After some months he returned to his native country, and arrived at Bayonne on the 16th of August 1677. He practised as a physician until 1685, when he went to Hungary with the Princes de Conti as their physician. From that date nobody knows what became of him. There are two works written, or said to have been written, by him. First "Relation d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales." Paris 1685, 2 vols; in 12mo. This work was reprinted in Amsterdam in 1699, and translated into English in 1698, as "A Voyage to the East Indies." The second is "Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa." Leyden, 1687, in 12mo., Paris, 1688, in 12mo. There are later editions of these works, such as those of 1709, 1711, and 1719, with additions and corrections of various kinds, but I need not describe them here. And there are translations also of these works in several European languages, but it is unnecessary to speak of them here in detail.

According to the first work, "A Voyage to the East Indies," published in 1685, the author embarked at Port Louis in Brittany on the 20th March 1668 on board a ship belonging to the Compagnie Royale des Indes; on the 30th of April following he touched at the Cape Verd Islands; on the 3rd of September at the Isle of Bourbon; and on the 30th of the same month at Madagascar. From this place he went on board another ship to the Persian Gulf to bring back the servants

of the factories of the French East India Company in Persia, which were being given up by that Company, and having returned to Madagascar, he finally left that island for India on the 12th of August 1669. On the 21st of September he arrived at Surat, where he remained until January 1670. During this month he went down the Malabar Coast to Mirzeo, in the Kingdom of Bijapore, and then to Tilsary (Tellicherry), Tanor, and Batiapatan (Negapatam) in the service of the same Company. In the month of January 1672 he went to Goa, but he left it again on the 6th of February following, and then went again to the Persian Gulf to convoy the ship St. Francis from thence to Surat. On his way back to Surat, being "continually pestered," as he writes, "with contrary winds" he passed on the 6th of January 1673 within sight of Diu. After the wind blowing a favourable gale from the north-east he came within sight of the shore near Bassein on the 10th, and on the 12th he came to Bombay. "Just at the entrance of the port of Bombay," he says, "there lies a rock, which stretching a mile deep into the sea, makes this passage very dangerous; for which reason we sent for some pilots, who conducted us safely on the 12th into that harbour, which is one of the safest in the world, provided you are well acquainted with the situation of the place to avoid the rocks." "It was not many years ago in the possession of the Portuguese, who surrendered it to the English at the time of the marriage betwixt the King of England with the Infanta of Portugal. The English have since that time built there a very fine fort, where the president of the East India Company commonly keeps residence. They have also laid the foundation of a city, where they grant liberty to all strangers, of what religion or nation soever, to settle themselves, and exempt them from all manner of taxes for the first twenty years. We were treated here with abundance of civility, which are in fact attributed to the good understanding there was at that time betwixt these two nations." The above extract from the rare translation into English of the travels of Dellon, made in 1698, is one of the earliest references to Bombay after it came into the possession of the English, and I give it here only parenthetically, as it does not bear on the subject in question. Having left Bombay on the 30th of January 1673, our author arrived at Surat two days after. He then says that his "chief design being to visit, after his departure from Surat, all the places in the possession of the Portuguese on that coast as far as Goa, and from thence to travel as far as Bengal," he obtained some letters of recommendation

and went to Damaun on the 3rd of March by land. Here he met with two of his countrymen, *Sieur De St. James*, son of a French physician, and another, both of them married there, and, being introduced to the Governor of that city, was requested by the latter to stay there and practise as a physician. He did so, but after some months he changed his mind, for he writes: "For though I must confess that I received all the kind usage I could expect from the inhabitants of this place, yet the natural propensity I had to travel and to make curious and new observations abroad overbalancing all other considerations, I did, at last, resolve to leave Damaun. Pursuant to this resolution I took the conveniency of the Portuguese fleet; which goes every year to Cambay. This fleet being under the command of *Joseph de Mello*, arrives at Damaun towards the latter end of December, and was to be ready to sail for Goa towards the beginning of January. All my friends at Damaun having in vain endeavoured to detain me longer, I took at last my leave of them and embarked myself upon one of the galleons belonging to the abovementioned fleet." There is not a word here about his having been made a prisoner of the Inquisition by the Commissary of the town. He then set sail on the 1st of January 1674, arriving at *Bassein* the next day in the afternoon, and went to the town, when he met with another of his countrymen, *Sieur de Segvineau*, a physician, who had married and settled there. He stayed at *Bassein* five or six days, and then set sail for Goa, where he arrived on the 14th of January towards night. "I went on shore," he writes, "the next day, and by the advantageous offers made by my friends, was prevailed upon to stay near three whole years in this great city, of which I have given you a description before. After this, some affairs of moment happening, which required my presence in my native country, I was obliged to quit the Indies in order to take my speedy return to Europe. I took, therefore, the conveniency of a Portuguese galleon, which, being ready to sail for Lisbon, I, with the permission of the Governor, embarked myself in the said vessel towards the latter end of January." This was in 1676; but there is not a word here again about the Inquisition. He touched at the *Bahia* in Brazil on the 20th of May following, on his way back to Europe, and after staying there a few months he set sail for Lisbon on the 3rd of September, arriving there on the 15th of December. He stayed six months in Lisbon "to satisfy his curiosity," as he writes, "in taking a full view of this large and beautiful city," and then left



that city on the 22nd of July, arriving at Bayonne, in France, on the 16th of August 1677. "I took shipping in a vessel which was bound to Bayonne, in France," he writes. "We weighed anchor from before the castle of Belem, on the 22nd July, and happily entered the river of Bayonne on the night of the 15th of August. Thus after ten years of absence and a thousand dangers and fatigues, the necessary consequences of long voyages, I had the satisfaction to set once more foot on shore, the 16th day, in my native country—France." Of his stay in Lisbon he says: "I had the honour to be acquainted with the Sieur Fabre, Chief Physician to the Queen of Portugal, who is in great esteem, not only with the Princess, but also among all the *grandees* of the kingdom. He was so obliging as to offer me his house, and I must freely acknowledge that I received, during my stay in this city, so many kindnesses and obligations from his hands that the only way left me to repay them is to confess ingeniously that they are so many, as to put me into despair of ever being able to retaliate them unless it be by a perpetual acknowledgement." Here again there is not a word about the Inquisition. On his return to France Dellon practised his profession with great distinction, according to the *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle of Firmin and Didot* (Vol. 13, p. 484), but that from 1685, the writer says, there is nothing known about him. He left France in that year for Hungary, we are told, where he probably died soon after.

Now let us turn to the second work, said to have been written and published by Dellon in 1687, *i.e.*, two years after the first. It is the *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*. According to this work, which has been extensively quoted as an authority on the subject, Dellon settled at Damaun as a medical practitioner. Having rendered himself obnoxious to one or two men of influence there, he was accused before the Sacred Office of holding and expressing heretical sentiments. He was arrested and sent to a prison, which is described as lower than the river, which runs close to it; and some years before was flooded with water from a hole made in the wall by prisoners in order to escape. The room where Dellon was confined was too narrow for the forty male prisoners who were there at the time, while the upper room was occupied by females, that the whole thing was like a cesspool or a drain of sewage. It was fortunate for Dellon that he had many friends in Damaun, especially one Donna Francisca, who, he says, rendered his captivity a little more tolerable. "This illustrious lady,"

he continues, "did not content herself with sending me what was necessary for me, but I received from her every day enough of food for four persons." This is highly improbable, for such was the horror the whole Catholic population had for the prisoners of the Inquisition, that nobody would ever dare offer any food or even consolation to them. But the writer continues: "This was not so with other prisoners. There being no subsistence allowed them at Damaun, the magistrate provided for them from the charity of any one who might please to help them . . . but there were wretches in the other apartment, separated from me only by a wall, who were pressed with hunger, to the point of subsisting on their own excrement. I learned on this occasion that some years before, about fifty Malabar corsairs being taken and shut up in this prison, the horrible hunger that they suffered drove more than forty of them to strangle themselves with their own turbans." I think this is also improbable. Our author's arrest took place on the 29th of August 1673. If he had been sent at once to Goa, he might have been tried, he says, and got out of prison, three months after, at the *auto da fé* in December, but this would not have suited the plans of his enemies. Thus, after an incarceration of about four months, Dellon with his fellow-heretics was shipped off for the metropolis of Portuguese India, touching on the way at Bassein, where the prisoners were transferred for some days to the prison of the town. There a large number of persons were kept in custody under charge of the Commissary of the Holy Office, waiting for a vessel to take them to Goa.

This account, it will be noted, is quite different from that of the other work before mentioned. But to continue. It was not until the 7th day of the following month, *i.e.*, January 1674, that all the prisoners, heavily ironed, were sent to Goa. They landed there on the 14th of January, and until they could be deposited in the cells of the Inquisition they were sent to the *Aljube*, or ecclesiastical prison, which he describes thus:—"The most filthy, the most dark, and the most horrible of all that I ever saw; and I doubt whether a more shocking and horrible prison can anywhere be found. It is a kind of cave, wherein there is no day seen but by a very little hole. The most subtle rays of the sun cannot enter into it, and there is never any true light in it. The stench is extreme, because there is but a dry well to the level of the ground, and no channel or drain for the use of the prisoners." The ecclesiastical prison in Goa was from other accounts

quite different from all this, and in spite of the promiscuous crowd of delinquents, according to the writer, and the colonial barbarism of the 17th century, I think the *Aljube* was a far more decent place, being destined only for priests. On the 16th of January, 1674, at 7 o'clock in the morning, an officer came with orders to take the prisoners to the Holy House. M. Dellon dragged his iron-loaded limbs thither with great difficulty. The officer helped him to mount the steps at the great entrance, and in the great hall smiths were waiting to take off the irons from all the prisoners. He was then brought into the august presence of the Grand Inquisitor. Here M. Dellon's bearing was not particularly dignified, nor worthy of a Frenchman and a physician. He threw himself on his knees before his judge, wept bitterly, and declared his willingness to make a full confession. He then describes the room called "Board of the Holy Office," where the Grand Inquisitor of the Indies sat. He is said to have been a secular priest, about forty years of age, in full vigour, a man that could do his work with energy. At one end of the room there was a large crucifix reaching from the floor almost to the ceiling. Even in this description there is palpable exaggeration. When the Inquisition was abolished, and the whole property taken possession of by the State only two crucifixes were found, and both of them are preserved to this day, as well as the Inquisitorial chair, as curious and venerable relics. Both of these crucifixes, which I have seen, can scarcely exceed six feet in height, and M. Dellon says that one of them at least reached from the floor almost to the ceiling in a building, whose rooms were the loftiest in the old city of Goa, and which he describes as "great and magnificent."

But to return once more to this narrative. After having had two audiences with the Inquisitor his heart sickened, and in a frenzy of despair he determined to commit suicide. "On my return from this second audience," our author writes, "I abandoned myself wholly to grief, seeing that there were required of me things which seemed to me impossible, since my memory suggested nothing of what I was required to confess. I attempted then to starve myself to death. I took, indeed, the provisions that were brought to me, because I could not refuse them without subjecting myself to be caned by the guards, who are very careful to observe, when they get back the plates, whether the prisoners have eaten enough to maintain them. But my despair found means to deceive them. I passed whole days without eating

anything, and in order that they might not notice it, I threw into the basin a part of what had been brought me." But this fasting and mortification had not the desired effect. So he thought of something else more efficient to put an end to his life. I must detail it again at length:—"I feigned to be sick," he writes, "and to have fever. Immediately a pandit, or native doctor, was brought, who from the throbbing of my pulse, through excitement, did not doubt that it was a real fever. He ordered bleeding, which was repeated five times in as many days, and as my intention in submitting to this remedy was very different from that of the doctor, who was labouring to restore my health, while I only desired to end my sad and miserable life, as soon as the people were withdrawn, and my door was shut, I untied the bandage, and let the blood run long enough to fill up a cup, containing at least eighteen ounces. I repeated this process as often as I was bled; and as I took almost no nourishment, it is not difficult to judge that I was reduced to extreme weakness." As he had already reduced himself to a state of extreme weakness by trying to starve himself to death, it is rather difficult to conceive that a doctor, although a pandit, should have thought expedient, under such circumstances, to recommend depletion, not once, but five times. But, as according to this strange narrative, both the starvation and the profuse bleeding he had inflicted on himself had not the desired effect, he thought by an effort of desperate ingenuity of committing suicide by another means. He remembered, he tells us, that when his effects were taken from him, he had managed to retain a few gold pieces of money, which he had previously sewed into a ribbon, and tied round his leg like a garter under his stocking. Taking one of these coins, and breaking it in two, he ground one of the halves on an earthen pot, until he made it fit to do duty as a lancet. With this he tried to open the arteries of his arm. In this he did not succeed, but he opened the veins in both arms." This statement is also highly incredible, coming, as it is supposed to be, from a medical man. But to continue. He was found by a jailor weltering in his blood and insensible. Having restored him by cordials and bound up the wounds he had inflicted on himself, they carried him into the presence of the Inquisitor once more. They gave him bitter reproaches, ordered his limbs to be confined in irons; but in fetters he became so furious that they found it necessary to take them off. I must note here again, that after starvation and bleeding the use of fetters seems quite superfluous. But now our prisoner is

said to have assumed quite a new character. He defended his position with citations from the Council of Trent, and with passages of Scripture, which confounded the Grand Inquisitor, who is said to have been an ignorant person. But to cut this long narrative short, it was after about two years and a half from his first arrest, in July, 1673, that he was brought to a fourth audience, and on the 12th of January, 1677, the *auto da fé* was celebrated, when, dressed with *sambenito*, (scapular), grey *samarra*, with painted flames and devils, and *carocha* (cap) with a taper in his hand, he was marched off in a grand procession to the church of the Franciscans, where sentence was passed on him. He was excommunicated, his effects confiscated, and himself banished from India, and condemned to serve in the galleys of Portugal for five years, and further to undergo such penances as the Inquisition should prescribe. The subsequent history of M. Dellon is a short one. About a fortnight after the *auto da fé* he was ironed and taken on board-ship, and made over to the charge of the captain, who was ordered to deliver him over to the Inquisition at Lisbon. When the ship arrived at Brazil, he was put into prison there. After a short stay here he re-embarked and reached Lisbon on the 18th December. After working in a gang of convicts for some time as a galley-slave in the dockyard, he was, through the intercession of his friends, released on the 1st of June 1677. After some difficulties he found money to procure a passage in a vessel bound for France, and after a lapse of four years he set about the composition of his narrative, which he kept four years longer before he could make up his mind to publish it.

Such is a brief summary of this strange narrative, which, improbable as it seems on the face of its own statements, when compared with the previous work of the same author, becomes entirely contradictory. Still it has been quoted from, translated, and believed in as the genuine work of a prisoner of the Inquisition. Dr. Rule, and a writer in the *Calcutta Review* for 1857, among others, take the work to be trustworthy, for reasons which are not very convincing. I shall briefly deal with each of these arguments separately. The writer in the *Calcutta Review* accounts for the delay in the publication of this narrative of the Inquisition by the solemn oath the author had taken that he should not disclose the secrets of the prison until, later on, he found motives for justifying his breach of the enforced oath. Now that there was no such cause for the delay is evident from the allusion M. Dellon makes to the Inquisition in his first work, "The Voyage to

the East Indies." In chapter 16, "On Different Religions," he writes:—"The severity of the Inquisition established in all places under the obedience of the King of Portugal, Holy by its name, but so terrible in its consequences, serves for nothing else than to alienate the infidels from the Christian Church!"—p. 43. Elsewhere he writes: "Just opposite to the Cathedral, in a great square, stands that famous house whose very name makes many thousands tremble in these parts: this is the Court of Inquisition,"—p. 161. Of the *Aljube*, where he is said to have been imprisoned, in the narrative, for one night, he simply says in his travels:—"Not far from this you see the prison, called *Aljube*, where nobody is committed but upon the account of ecclesiastical concerns"—Another reason adduced by the writer in the *Calcutta Review* for not doubting the perfect accuracy of the narrative is that, not only an air of truthfulness pervades it but almost a perfect coincidence between the course of procedure represented to have been followed with the rules laid down for the guidance of the courts of the Inquisition in Spain. These rules had been kept secret until they were published in Llorente's "History of the Inquisition" in that country. They could not, therefore, have been known to our author, who wrote more than 100 years earlier, yet the treatment which he represents himself as having experienced, is, even to the most minute particulars, that which is prescribed in these rules for the treatment of persons accused as he was." It is, indeed, this air of truthfulness that pervades the narrative that has hitherto deceived most people, although not the Roman Curia, which placed this work on the Index for more than one reason by its decree, dated the 17th of December 1769. But although Llorente's *Historia Critica de la Inquisicion de Espana* was not published until 1812, there were earlier works on the subject, such as that of the Abbé Marsollier in French, and that of Philip van Limborch in Latin, published in the 17th century. Here the writer of this spurious narrative might have found all the details of, and other particular minutæ prescribed in, the rules for the treatment of the prisoners of the Inquisition. Then Dr. Claudius Buchanan in his *Christian Researches* says that he showed this work to the Grand Inquisitor in his time, by name *José das Dores*, whose name, however, he changes into Joseph A' Doloribus, and, although when the Inquisitor read it, he is said to have twice exclaimed, *Mendacium, Mendacium*, still he thinks he admitted the general accuracy of the statements. Then there were

Frenchmen at the time in India, and Dellon himself speaks of them in Damaun, Bassein, and Goa, where he says, "The first thing we did after our arrival at Goa was to visit Father Cornelius, St. Cyprian, Prior of the bare-footed Carmelites, who, being our countryman, showed us all the respect and civility in the world. The day after we went to see M. Martin, a rich French merchant, with whom we stayed three days." Still it appears strange that the friends of M. Dellon, if he was at all a prisoner of the Inquisition, were not so active as they might have been in procuring his deliverance, and it does not appear that the French Government ever made his case a subject of reclamation. Then the topographical and other local details, which impart to the work an air of trustworthiness, might have been easily copied from travellers who had preceded Dellon and had their works on Portuguese India published in more than one language, such as Linschoten, Pyrard de Laval, Tavernier, and others. For all these reasons I think the narrative which goes by the name of M. Dellon is a fabrication, a forgery, a fraud, although based on his genuine travels. If I were to recapitulate all the arguments, to doubt its fidelity or to repudiate its authenticity, it would take much time, which, unfortunately, I cannot spare. I shall be glad, however, if this humble contribution as a protest against the truthfulness of a work that has deceived several generations of scholars will invite the attention of other students of Indian history to the true character of the work. My denial of the authenticity of the work does not certainly imply the defence of the Inquisition, which I have elsewhere qualified in the manner it ought to be by every liberal-minded man, whether a Catholic or Protestant. My object is evident to you all. It is entirely of an historical and not of a religious character. And at the same time to liberate, if necessary, the memory of M. Dellon from the suspicion of being an impostor, for I believe the work was written and published by somebody unknown to us after his death. For if we all owe every regard to the living, we owe but the truth to the dead, or to put it in Voltaire's words:—

*On doit des égards aux vivants; on ne doit aux morts que la vérité.*

ART. VI.—*Pūrṇavarma and Śankarâchârya*. BY THE  
HON. KÂSHINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG.

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Read, March 19th 1889.

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In 1884 I contributed to the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*, (1) a paper in which I endeavoured to prove that our eminent philosopher, Śankarâchârya, flourished in the reign of Pūrṇavarma, who is mentioned as a King of Mrgadha, by the famous Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tshang. I further pointed out certain circumstances from which I deduced the conclusion, that Pūrṇavarma must have reigned at the latest, about the close of the sixth century of the Christian era and that Śankarâchârya must therefore be assigned to about that date. In 1887 my friend, Mr. S. P. Pandit, in a note to the very elaborate introduction which he has prefixed to his edition of the *Gauḍavaho* for our Bombay Series of Sanskrit Classics, accepting and further supporting my view about the contemporaneous existence of Śankarâchârya and Pūrṇavarma, impugned the correctness of the date which I had assigned to them. (2) At the time I wrote my paper, I was unable to make such use as I desired of the writings of Hiuen Tshang, and was obliged to trust to the information supplied by a few paragraphs selected out of Julien's *Hiuen Tshang*, which my honourable and learned friend, Mr. P. M. Mehta, was good enough to interpret to me. Soon after my paper was published, the Rev. Mr. S. Beal's Translation of the *Si-Yu-Ki—Buddhist Records of the Western World*—was issued by Trübner, but as the same distinguished scholar's *Life of Hiuen Tshang* was then also announced, I thought it best to hold over the further examination of the dates of Pūrṇavarma and Śankarâchârya, which I wished to institute, until the latter work became available. It has now reached Bombay, having been received in our library in the beginning of this month. (3). And I propose on the

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<sup>1</sup> The paper is also published in my *Mudrârâkshasa* (Bombay Series, Sanskrit Classics).

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 209-225.

<sup>3</sup> This paper was commenced to be written in February.



present occasion to consider the data supplied by Mr. Beal's three valuable volumes in relation to the date of Pūrṇavarma, and in the light of those data to review my own previous conclusions as well as the criticisms made upon them by Mr. Pandit.

I do not wish on this occasion to do much more than discuss the question as regards Pūrṇavarma. As regards Śāṅkarāchārya, I have no further facts to adduce at present, and therefore I will content myself with saying, that Mr. Pandit's note above referred to has not taken account of the argument based by me upon the Chinese translation of Gauḍapāda's Kārikās, "made during the Ch'en dynasty, which ruled from 557 to 583 A.D." (\*).

The passages in Hiuen Tshang, then, bearing upon the question to which this paper is limited fall into two groups—the one including all passages referring to Pūrṇavarma himself, the other including those which refer to Śāsānka, King of Karṇasuvarṇa, who is stated to have been a contemporary of Pūrṇavarma. It will be convenient at the outset to collect the passages in the first group, before considering what light they throw upon the point in controversy. That point, it is to be remembered, is this—How long did Pūrṇavarma flourish before the visit to India of Hiuen Tshang, from whose biography and narrative these passages are extracted? Taking, first, the *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, the first passage we meet with about Pūrṇavarma runs as follows in Mr. Beal's Translation. After mentioning the destruction and restoration of the great Bodhi tree at Buddha Gayā, in the time of King Aśoka, and its second destruction "in late times" by Śāsānka-rāja, Hiuen Tshang goes on to say (I):—"Some months afterwards, the king of Magadha, called Pūrṇavarma, the last of the race of Aśoka-rajā, hearing of it, sighed and said, 'The sun of wisdom having set, nothing is left but the tree of Buddha; and this they now have destroyed, what source of spiritual life is there now?' He then cast his body on the ground overcome with pity, then with the milk of a thousand cows, he again bathed the roots of the tree, and in a night it once more revived and grew to the height of 10 feet. Fearing lest it should be again cut

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\* I had not noticed before that this must be the work referred to by Prof. M. Müller (*India; What it can teach us*, pp. 360-1), I observe that a Nepāl tradition mentioned by the late lamented Pandit Bhagvānlāl makes Śāṅkarāchārya visit Nepāl and "destroy the Buddha faith" in the reign of Krishṇadeva Varma who according to Bhagvānlāl's dates, flourished about 260 A.D.

down, he surrounded it with a wall of stone 24 feet high. So the tree is now encircled with a wall about 20 feet high." (°) The only other passage in the *Buddhist Records* relating to Pūrṇavarma that I am aware of is the one (II) which mentions a pavillion of six stages having been "formerly made" by Pūrṇavarma to cover a figure of Buddha standing outside the Nālanda monastery. (°) This same work is also referred to in the *Life of Hiuen Tshang* in these words (III):—"This was the work of Pūrṇavarma-rāja in old days." (°) The next passage in the *Life* germane to this topic is one (°) alluding to Jayasena of Yashtivana (IV), in which it is stated that Pūrṇavarma-rāja, Lord of Magadha, had great respect for learned men, and that he assigned the revenue of twenty large towns for the support of Jayasena, which Jayasena declined to receive. The narrative then proceeds:—"After the obsequies of Pūrṇavarma, Śilāditya Rāja also invited him to be 'the master (of the country),' and assigned him the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa, which Jayasena likewise declined to accept." "From that time," we are further told, "Jayasena has constantly lived on the mountain called Yashtivana, where he takes charge of disciples." We have thus four different passages relating to Pūrṇavarma in Mr. Beal's volumes, and taking them all together, the following conclusions seem to be fairly deducible from them:—

*First.*—Pūrṇavarma had been dead some time before Hiuen Tshang's visit to India. (Passage No. IV.)

*Second.*—Pūrṇavarma must have lived at a time sufficiently removed from the date of Hiuen Tshang's pilgrimage, to warrant his speaking of the work done by Pūrṇavarma as having been done "formerly" or "in old days." (Passages II. and III.)

*Third.*—The interval of time between Pūrṇavarma and Hiuen Tshang must be enough to explain the reduction of about four feet in the height of the wall built round the Bodhi tree. (Passage I.)

*Fourth.*—The interval between Pūrṇavarma and Hiuen Tshang must not be too large to be spanned by the life of Jayasena, who was living in Hiuen Tshang's time, and had acquired renown enough

° Vol. II., p. 118.

° Vol. II., p. 174.

° *Life of Hiuen Tshang*, by Beal, p. 119.

° *Ibid.*, p. 153.

during Pūrṇavarma's reign to be offered the revenues of twenty large towns by that sovereign. (Passage IV.)

Comparing the conclusions now set forth with those I have expounded in my previous paper, I do not see any inconsistency between them. My final conclusion in my previous paper was that Pūrṇavarma probably flourished about 590 A. D. And if it is remembered that, according to General Cunningham's computation, Hiuen Tshang must have been in Pūrṇavarma's kingdom of Western Magadha about 637-638 (\*) this gives us an interval of nearly 50 years between Hiuen Tshang and Pūrṇavarma—an interval which, I venture to think, is certainly not too large, in view of the fourth of the propositions above set out, nor, perhaps, too small in view of the first three of them.

Let us now consider Mr. Pandit's criticisms on this branch of the argument, as set forth in my previous paper. He first contends that (10) "if Hiuen Tshang \* \* \* does not mention that he went to see Pūrṇavarma, it does not follow from this (11) that he was not living at the time. Hiuen Tshang does not, as a rule, go to see all the kings whose territories he visits, nor, even if he sees them, does he mention their names." Mr. Pandit then proceeds to refer to various monarchs whose territories Hiuen Tshang visited, but whose names he does not mention. The facts may be readily admitted, but I cannot perceive that they have any force as against my argument, which I will crave leave to re-state in the very words I used in 1884. "Hiuen Tshang," I then said, "speaks of Pūrṇavarma as the last of the descendants of Aśoka, and does not appear to have made any effort to see either him or any of his successors. I am disposed from this fact to infer that Pūrṇavarma had ceased to reign before Hiuen Tshang heard of him \* \* \* " To my mind it would be almost extraordinary

\* Mr. Pandit accepts this date. See p. 219. See also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography* p. 565.

10 P. 219.

11 Mr. Pandit does not notice the significance of the phrase "the last of Aśoka's descendants," on which I also relied. As to this see some remarks of General Cunningham's at *Arch. Sur. Reports*, Vol. XV., p. 164. See also pp. 165-6. The General's identification of Maukhari and Maurya seems to me to be certainly open to question. If Pūrṇavarma was one of the Maukharis, as General Cunningham thinks, and if the Maukharis were Kshatriyas, as seems pretty clear, Pūrṇavarma cannot have really been "a descendant of Aśoka." It is possible that the Buddhist tradition of Hiuen Tshang's time, disregarding caste, sought to enhance the importance of Pūrṇavarma by referring him to a family which was great in ancient Buddhist tradition.

circumstance for Hiuen Tshang to have failed to visit Pūrṇavarma and to keep a record of the visit, if Pūrṇavarma was living when Hiuen Tshang was in the country. And as he makes no allusion whatever to any such visit, and describes Pūrṇavarma as the last of Aśoka's descendants, I infer from this that Pūrṇavarma had long <sup>(12)</sup> been dead, and that his kingdom had assumed quite a subordinate position under some more powerful sovereign." <sup>(13)</sup> Nothing in the above reasoning, it will be observed, turns upon Hiuen Tshang's omission to mention any names, on which Mr. Pandit lays stress. My main point is that such a man as Hiuen Tshang would certainly visit a king like Pūrṇavarma, having regard to the latter's performances in relation to the Bodhi tree, as chronicled by Hiuen Tshang himself. But it is unnecessary to go further into this argument now. The correctness of my conclusion, impugned by Mr. Pandit, is demonstrated by the mention of the "obsequies of Pūrṇavarma" in the fourth of the passages set out above.

<sup>12</sup> On further consideration, I doubt whether the evidence really justifies the use of the word "long" here. Mr. Pandit, in another passage from the one set out in the text (see p. 220, and also p. 223), says, "it is quite true that both Pūrṇavarma and Śaśānka were dead before Hiuen Tshang's" pilgrimage, but again at p. 223 he says that Pūrṇavarma was "probably not living at the time of the pilgrimage."

<sup>13</sup> This was, of course, a mere suggestion thrown out on the basis of the facts set forth above. It seems, to some extent, to receive support from a fact mentioned in one of Bhagvānlāl's Nepāl Inscriptions. We learn from that inscription that about the period of the reign of Harshavardhana of Kanuj, Ādityasena was "Lord of Magadha," Ādityasena being the great-grandfather of Jayadeva who married Harsha's daughter. May we reasonably conclude from this that some time before the reign of Harsha, the sceptre of Magadha had passed away from the hands of the "Varmas" into those of Ādityasena's family? But I am bound to point out here, that Ādityasena's age, as here suggested by me, is by no means to be taken as established. See Bhagvānlāl in *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. XIII. p. 420 and Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. Reports*, Vol. XV., p. 163, where, however, there is some mistake in the relationships stated, also *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. X., p. 193. My difficulty about those dates is that if Harsha died about 650 A.D. his daughter's husband could not have been alive in 760 A.D. And again if Ādityasena was the great grandfather of Jayadeva who married Harsha's daughter, Ādityasena could hardly have flourished between 670 and 690 A.D., the earlier limit there being itself 20 years subsequent to Harsha's death. It is to be remembered further, that the Nepāl inscription and other records accessible to us do not necessarily involve the inference that Ādityasena was the first prince of his family who became "Lord of Magadha." The question, however, is hardly ripe for settlement yet. Mr. Pandit (pp. 215-6) has referred to Ādityasena's date, without, however, dealing with the difficulty here suggested.

Mr. Pandit's next contention is that, "even if Pūrṇavarma was not living about 637-638 A.D., it is not necessary to put him so far back as towards the end of the sixth century. He may have reigned from 600 to 635, as well as somewhere towards the end of the sixth century." I have not said in my previous paper, nor do I say now, that the earlier date which I adopted from General Cunningham was "necessary." "Likely to be nearer the truth" and "may be inferred," were the phrases which I then used in reference to that date. But now in view of the passages above extracted, and especially of the second and third of them, I am prepared to give in my adhesion to that date with a little *more* confidence than I felt at the time of my previous paper. If, as Mr. Pandit suggests, Pūrṇavarma "must have been alive in about 635 A.D." (14) I cannot understand how Hiuen Tshang in 637-38 could speak of Pūrṇavarma's erection of the pavilion as a work done "formerly" or "in old days."

Mr. Pandit next proceeds to consider "Hiuen Tshang's own references to Pūrṇavarma." I will deal at present only with the references falling within the first of the two groups above mentioned. The first of these, considered by Mr. Pandit, is that contained in our first passage. Mr. Pandit's rendering from the French version of M. Julien differs here very materially from Mr. Beal's. Mr. Beal's has already been quoted. Mr. Pandit has, in lieu of it, the following:—"That is why this day the tree of intelligence is protected by a stone wall, which is higher by twenty feet than the tree." And commenting on this, Mr. Pandit says that, "as the tree was only four feet high when Hiuen Tshang writes, it could not then be more than two or three years old; and, if so, Pūrṇavarma, who planted it . . . must have been living up till two or three years before the time at which Hiuen Tshang is speaking." Waiving the point that the inference thus drawn is not by any means a "necessary" one, it is obvious that our premises here are not to be implicitly relied on. Assuming the accuracy of Mr. Pandit's interpretation of M. Julien's version (15), it is clear that that version

14 Cf. Arch. Sur. Reports, Vol. XV., p. 166.

15 Dr. R. Mitra (Buddha Gayā, p. 79), translates Julien's words differently from Mr. Pandit, and, according to his rendering, Julien's and Beal's versions are quite in agreement. General Cunningham (Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. III. p. 80-1), says that Hiuen Tshang assigns to the tree a height of 40 or 50 feet at the time of his visit in A.D. 637. This fact the General must have obtained from M. Julien's work. It is also stated in Mr. Beal's version (Vol. II., p. 116). And it seems, therefore, manifest that Mr. Pandit's translation as quoted in the text

itself is different from Mr. Beal's. And in the face of this difference it is, of course, out of the question, at present, to base, any inference upon either of the divergent renderings.

The next passage Mr. Pandit relies upon is our passage number four—which, in his opinion, "*proves* that Pūrṇavarma must have died just such a short time before Hiuen Tshang was in Magadha, as I indicated above," namely, two or three years before. The proof of this conclusion is thus stated:—"King Śilāditya could not have offered the revenue of eighty towns of the kingdom of Orissa for several years after 607, or, indeed, till 637 A.D., because it was not till then (<sup>10</sup>) that he succeeded in making himself supreme ruler of India. At all events, Harshavardhana, whose father and brother ruled at Thanesar, and do not appear to have had any territory south of the Jumna, and who took six years to make any impression on his neighbours, could not have possessed the kingdom of Orissa *at the earliest* till 613 A.D." I pause at this first step of the demonstration to admit the very great probability of the first branch of the final proposition here laid down, though there is room for difference of opinion as regards some of the minor points now stated. Mr. Pandit then proceeds:—"Till that year at least Pūrṇavarma may be safely presumed to be reigning." Here, I confess, I am unable to follow Mr. Pandit's reasoning. I do not see how the duration of the reign of Pūrṇavarma of Magadha can be determined by the date of the conquest of Orissa by King Śilāditya of Kanuj, nor can any inference pointing that way be fairly derived from Hiuen Tshang's vague phrase "after the death of Pūrṇavarma." Mr. Pandit further goes on to add that "the probability, however, is that he (*i.e.*, Pūrṇavarma) was reigning much later, till perhaps the year 635 A.D., because the Śāstri was living and was in the full vigour of his literary activity as a teacher at the time when Hiuen Tshang left India towards the end of the year 643 A.D." Again, I venture

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must be incorrect, in so far as it shows the tree to have been then only four feet in height. General Cunningham (*loc. cit.*) assigns the destruction of the tree to the year 600 A.D., and its renewal by Pūrṇavarma to 610 A.D. In doing so he must, for the moment, have forgotten that Hiuen Tshang places the "renewal" only some months after the destruction (Beal's Records, Vol. II., p. 116), not ten years after.

<sup>10</sup> Hiuen Tshang distinctly says (*Records*, Vol. II. p., 213), "that after six years he had subdued the Five Indies," which included Orissa (see Cunningham's Ancient Geography, p. 12) not merely made an impression on his neighbours" as Mr. Pandit puts it. (P. 224).

to think, we have a *non sequitur*. Assuming that the Śāstri whom Pūrṇavarma honoured was living in 643 A.D., and was "then in the full vigour of his literary activity," I do not see that that justifies the inference that Pūrṇavarma himself was living till 635 A.D. To take a parallel from modern English history. Southey was honoured with the "laurel" in the reign of George III., yet he was "in the full vigour of his literary activity" throughout the reigns of George IV. and William IV., and was living so late as the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria. Again it is necessary to note this further fact. In the *Life of Hiuen Tshang* it is no doubt stated that the pilgrim remained with Jayasena Śāstri for two years, and those two years would be somewhere about 643-4 A.D., or possibly about 649 A.D. according to Professor Max Müller's calculations.<sup>(17)</sup> But in the *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, by Hiuen Tshang himself, we are told that "in the Yashtivana not long since there was an Upāsaka, named Jayasena, a Kshatriya of Western India." (<sup>18</sup>) The whole description shows that we have in this passage of the *Records* the same Jayasena who is mentioned in the passage from the *Life* excerpted above. Regarding him we are further told in the *Records*, that "although nearly seventy years of age, he read with them (*i. e.*, his pupils) diligently and without cessation;" and again "that even after he was a hundred years old, his mind and body were in full activity."<sup>(19)</sup> And reverting for a moment to the *Life of Hiuen Tshang*,<sup>(20)</sup> we find it stated that Jayasena, "as a youth, was given to study." What then is the result of these passages taken together? It is evident that Jayasena was a man blessed with great longevity, and that he commenced "his literary activity" while he was yet a "youth," and continued that "activity" till he was seventy or a hundred years of age. Leaving out of view, for the moment, the points on which the accounts in the two works, when compared, present difficulties, the conclusions now set forth seem to be undeniable. And if so, it seems to follow that

<sup>17</sup> Compare Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, pp. 566-570 with M. Müller's "India; what it can teach us," p. 286. General Cunningham's arguments at p. 570 would seem to refer the events alluded to in the text to 638 A.D.

<sup>18</sup> Vol. II., p. 146. I may state, that, generally speaking the *Records* appear to me to have much higher evidentiary value than the *Life*, as the *Records* contain Hiuen Tshang's own statements, the *Life* some one else's, based on Hiuen Tshang's notes and other materials. Cf. Beal's *Life*, pp. IX-X.

<sup>19</sup> Vol. II., p. 147.

<sup>20</sup> P. 153.

Mr. Pandit's argument, as above stated, even if logically sustainable, cannot be maintained in view of the imperfect accuracy of the premises. For if Jayasena was seventy years old in 643 A.D.—it will be observed that I am putting the hypothesis most favourably for Mr. Pandit's argument—there would be nothing very improbable in his having been honoured by a king whose reign had closed, let us say, before 600 A.D., as well as by a king who reigned between 607 A.D. and 650 A.D. I cannot, therefore, at all accept Mr. Pandit's contention that the passage relating to Jayasena Śāstri upon which he relies, "proves" Pūrṇavarma to have been still living about 635 A.D. The net result, consequently, is that the question must be decided, as far as this branch of the argument is concerned, upon the first and second of the propositions above deduced from what may be called for convenience the Pūrṇavarma group of passages in Hiuen Tshang.

Let us now turn to the other group, which may be called the Śāsānka group. Taking, first, the *Buddhist Records*, we have (I.) the passage No. I. in the first group, which refers to Śāsānka's destruction of the Bodhi tree "in recent times." We have (II.) the passage relating to "the great stone on which Tathāgata walked," as to which we are told that "lately Śāsānka-rāja, when he was overthrowing and destroying the law of Buddha, forthwith came to the place where that stone is for the purpose of destroying the sacred marks." (21). Thirdly, we have (III.) the passage touching the image of Buddha which Śāsānka ordered to be removed, and an image of Maheśvara substituted for it. The officer to whom the order was given, instead of removing the image, only built a wall of brick before the figure of Buddha, and placed a burning lamp with the figure, and we read that that wall was pulled down after the death of Śāsānka, and "although several days had elapsed, the lamp was still found to be burning unextinguished." (22.) Further we have (IV.) the passage (23) relating to the priest's house, as to which Hiuen Tshang tells us that "Śāsānka-rāja having destroyed the religion of Buddha, the members of the priesthood were dispersed, and for many

<sup>21</sup> Vol. II., p. 91.

<sup>22</sup> Vol. II., pp. 121-2.

<sup>23</sup> Vol. II., p. 42. The whole passage seems to show that not only the priest, but also his house, though they outlived the attacks of King Śāsānka, had failed to survive down to the days of Hiuen Tshang's visit to their "great village;" for Hiuen Tshang speaks of both as belonging to past times, and does not himself describe "the magnificent priest's house."



years driven away. The Brahman, nevertheless, retained for them through all an undying regard." And, lastly, in the *Records* we have (V.) the passage referring to Śāśānka's murder of Rājyavardhana, brother of Harshavardhana, and his "overturning" the Law of Buddha. (<sup>24</sup>). Passing next to the *Life* of Hiuen Tshang, we have (VI.) the message sent to Śilabhadra of Nālanda by Kumāra-rāja of Eastern India, not by Harshavardhana as Mr. Pandit inadvertently states, in which it is said:—"In recent times Śāśānka-rāja was equal still to the destruction of the law, and uprooted the Bodhi tree. Do you, my master, suppose that your disciple has no such power as this?" (<sup>25</sup>) These are the passages forming the second group above referred to. And to what conclusion do they point? The words "lately" and "in recent times," contained in the first two of the passages now under consideration, seem to me, when read in the light of the context in which they appear, to afford no safe ground for any conclusion regarding the period when King Śāśānka flourished. We have there allusion made first to events which are stated to belong to the time of Aśoka, upwards of eight centuries before Hiuen Tshang's time, and then a reference to Śāśānka's doings or misdoings, as having occurred "lately" or "in recent times." Half a century, or even a whole century, before Hiuen Tshang's pilgrimage takes us back to a period which can, I venture to say, be quite accurately spoken of as "late" and "recent" in comparison with occurrences then eight centuries old. (<sup>26</sup>) The third passage, as rendered by Mr. Beal, seems to me to throw no light on the period of Śāśānka's reign. Mr. Pandit's rendering of M. Julien would, no doubt, make the passage relevant to the inquiry, but waiving the point about the divergencies in the interpretation of Hiuen Tshang, we may note that Mr. Pandit himself

<sup>24</sup> Vol. I., pp. 210-2.

<sup>25</sup> P. 171.

<sup>26</sup> Mr. Pandit relies on another passage in Hiuen Tshang where the same phrase—"in these recent times"—is used in relation to Harshavardhana. The passage occurs at p. 183 of Beal's *Life*. It seems to me, however, to have no bearing upon the question. "In recent times" may, of course, signify five years ago, or any other similarly small period of time. The question here, however, is not how short a time the phrase will cover, but what is the maximum time it can cover. And further it is to be remarked that in this passage, as indeed in all the others with the single exception of No. VI. above, the phrase "in recent times" is used to mark a contrast with something which had occurred "in old days." (See Beal's *Life*, p. 181.) Does the phrase then indicate modern occurrences as distinguishable from those which took place in the early days of Buddhist history?

admits that the passage "does not by itself perhaps decide much either way." He then calls in aid the first of the passages in our previous group, but it is unnecessary to say more on that passage here. The fourth passage shows that Śāśānka's "destruction" of the religion of Buddha had occurred "many years" before Hiuen Tshang's pilgrimage, and that even the Brāhman who kept the priest's house in spite of that "destruction" had also passed away before Hiuen Tshang's visit to his village. The fifth passage I reserve for separate notice later on. The sixth shows that Śāśānka's mischievous activity was still regarded as a matter of "recent times" in the days of Hiuen Tshang. I do not know, however, that it is inaccurate to speak of historical occurrences of, say, fifty years ago as "recent." Very much depends, of course, on the point of view occupied by the speaker. But, on the other hand, it does appear to me somewhat unwarrantable to hold that "in recent times" must necessarily mean two or three years ago. (\*).

Having thus examined the two groups of passages relevant to our inquiry, I think we may now pause for a moment to consider the ultimate outcome of such examination. And it appears to me that leaving aside all circumstances disclosed by this inquiry, which are either equivocal or not satisfactorily made out, we may deduce this result from the data before us taken as a whole, namely, that both Śāśānka and Pūrṇavarma had been dead before the days of Hiuen Tshang's

Professor Max Müller (India; What it can teach us? p. 287, n. 6) refers to the phrase, but does not fix for it any precise meaning. As against this suggestion of Mr. Pandit's, however, I may also point to a number of passages in Hiuen Tshang, where the phrases "formerly" or "in old days" are used. See *inter alia* Beal's *Records*, Vol. II., pp. 10, 13, 26, 103, 113, 116. The events alluded to there are all events belonging to the period of Buddha's activity or to the period immediately after the Nirvāṇa. It cannot, of course, follow from these passages that those phrases must be rigidly confined to that signification; and no more should the phrases "in these recent times" or "lately" be confined to the sense they have in the passage relating to Harshavardhana. See also Mr. Beal's note at *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II., p. 81, which shows what that eminent authority considers to be the signification of the Chinese phrase which is the original of "lately." And cf. also, on the whole question, Note I. at Beal's *Life*, p. 10.

\* Taking Mr. Pandit's remarks as a whole, I doubt if even he would have so interpreted the phrase except in the light of the passage about the height of the Bodhi tree in Hiuen Tshang's time. I have shown above how that passage appears to have been misunderstood by Mr. Pandit. When correctly interpreted, that passage, so far as it goes, helps my view, I think, rather than Mr. Pandit's. But I admit it does not go very far.

pilgrimage in India, and that their achievements during life, though doubtless spoken of as having occurred "lately" or "in recent times," are nevertheless also described as having occurred "formerly" or "many years ago," or "in old times;" and that having regard to the context of the former set of phrases, they are entitled to somewhat less weight in connection with the subject of our inquiry than the latter set. And, if so, it follows that we cannot be far wrong if we place Pūrṇavarma and Śaśānka half a century before Hiuen Tshang's visit to Magadha. One other observation may be added. The phrases "lately" or "in recent times," whether they are to be interpreted, as I suggest, or in the narrower and more limited sense which Mr. Pandit would attach to them, are, in our authorities, applied to Śaśānka-rāja<sup>28</sup> and his doings only, while the phrases "formerly" or "in old days" are applied to the doings of Pūrṇavarma. It is then very probable that though, speaking roughly, Pūrṇavarma and Śaśānka can properly be described as contemporaries, still only a small part of Pūrṇavarma's reign may have fallen within the period of Śaśānka's rule; so that even if Śaśānka lived in the first decade of the seventh century A.D. (<sup>29</sup>) our authorities would still justify us in referring Pūrṇavarma to the last decade of the sixth century. I shall have to say a word more on this topic in the sequel.

There is yet one more line of inquiry bearing upon our subject, which we must now follow up. That is indicated by the fifth passage in our second group, which we reserved for separate treatment. Śaśānka, we

<sup>28</sup> If we could accept Mr. Fergusson's identification of Śaśānka with the "Śankaraja," whose son Budharaja was put to flight by the Chālukya King Mangaliśa (see J.R.A.S. (N.S.), Vol. IV. p. 93), our task here would be a good deal easier than it is, because Mangaliśa's date is thoroughly well fixed by the Badāmi inscription. Looking, however, at the *facsimile* of Mangaliśa's inscription, referred to by Mr. Fergusson, I do not think his identification is sustainable. The *facsimile* shows General Jacob's transliteration सुकरणपुत्र to be correct, and in those letters we cannot possibly see the name of Śaśānka—not to mention other difficulties also. Mr. Pandit (p. 217, note) throws out a suggestion that Śaśānka may be identical with the Rājavarma mentioned in one part of Sankarāchārya's Bhāshya on the Chhāndogya Upanishad. This is not very probable, if Śaśānka's other name was Narendragupta as we are told by General Cunningham *ex-relatione* Dr. Bühler (see Arch. Sur. Report, Vol. IX. p. 157).

<sup>29</sup> Dr. R. Mitra (Buddha Gayā, pp. 84, 99, 239-40), following General Cunningham, assigns Śaśānka's destruction of the Bodhi tree to about 610 A.D. That date can hardly be correct, if the arguments in the text are sustainable. See also Cunningham's *Geography*, p. 509, and note 15 *supra*.

learn from that passage, murdered Rājyavardhana, the elder brother of Harshavardhana Śilāditya. In my previous paper I have thrown together a few remarks on the date of Rājyavardhana. I am not in a position now to adduce any new facts bearing upon that question. But having had an opportunity, which I had not when I wrote my previous paper, of examining all that Hiuen Tshang says on the subject, I wish to point out one or two circumstances in relation to the conclusions which Professor Max Müller and Mr. Fergusson have deduced from Hiuen Tshang's statements. Mr. Fergusson first starts by asserting that Śilāditya of Mālavā was the grandfather of Harshavardhana Śilāditya of Kanuj. (<sup>79</sup>) For this assertion, however, I can find no warrant in Hiuen Tshang. On the contrary, I think that assertion must be incorrect, seeing that we find the nephew of Śilāditya of Mālavā stated by Hiuen Tshang himself to have married the grand-daughter of Śilāditya of Kanuj. (<sup>80</sup>) If Mr. Fergusson's assertion were correct, this would be equivalent to a man marrying the daughter of his own first cousin's grandson—a sufficiently improbable, not to say also inadmissible, connection. Apparently, Mr. Fergusson has here been misled by reason of his seeking for an explanation of the identity of the two names, in "the practice of Indian kings to assume the names of their grand-fathers." (<sup>81</sup>) Such a practice doubtless prevails, and not only among Indian kings, but it is, of course, nothing like universal. "Śilāditya of Mālavā," according to Hiuen Tshang, "flourished sixty years before this;" (<sup>82</sup>) that is to say, before 640 A.D., if we accept the dates fixed by Professor Max Müller and Mr. Fergusson, (<sup>83</sup>) and according to the same authority, his reign extended over fifty years. (<sup>84</sup>) On these data Mr. Fergusson places the reign of Śilāditya between 530 and 580 A.D. Professor Max Müller thinks that 550 to 600 A.D. would be consistent with these data, while this latter period harmonizes better with our information regarding the date of the battle of Korūr, &c. (<sup>85</sup>). It is not necessary for our present purpose to go into this branch of the

<sup>79</sup> J. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. IV., p. 87.

<sup>80</sup> See *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II., p. 267. Beal's *Life*, p. 149, states the relationship with a slight change which, however, does not much affect the argument.

<sup>81</sup> J. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. IV., p. 85.

<sup>82</sup> Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II., p. 261. Beal's *Life*, p. 148.

<sup>83</sup> General Cunningham concurs. See *Ancient Geography*, p. 536.

<sup>84</sup> "Fifty years and more" in the *Records*, Vol. II., p. 261.

<sup>85</sup> India; What can it teach us, p. 289; *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. XIII., p. 14.

controversy. Whatever the correct dates may be, I apprehend that they can have no bearing on the dates of Prabhākara vardhana and Rājyavardhana, if the relationship alleged between these latter princes and Śilāditya of Mālavā is not proved. The period of the reigns of Prabhākara and Rājyavardhana must, therefore, be discussed on somewhat different grounds than those adopted by Professor Max Müller and Mr. Fergusson. Even this discussion, however, is unnecessary for our present purpose, except to a slight extent. It is enough here to note that Rājyavardhana's murder must be placed somewhere between 607 and 610 A.D., according to the views of the scholars who have examined the point. (36) The inclination of my opinion—I can, at present, put it no higher—is in favour of the earlier date. In addition to the general grounds stated for this opinion in my previous paper, I may add that Hiuen Tshang's statements seem to me to point in that direction. According to Hiuen Tshang, Harsha told him that he had reigned for "thirty years and more" before the conversation between them. Again, Hiuen Tshang tells us that it was "after six years" from his accession that Harsha "had subdued the Five Indies." (37) We may reasonably presume that it was not until after this subjugation of the Five Indies that Harsha commenced his series of quinquennial Mokshamahāparishads, the sixth of which was held when Hiuen Tshang was about to leave India. In view of these facts and even upon the assumption that the conversation and Parishad alluded to took place in 640 A.D., I think 610 A.D. is not the correct date of Harsha's accession, but that 607 A.D. is nearer the correct date. At that date Śaśānka, the enemy of Harsha's predecessor must have been living. (38) I find no materials for saying how long he had been reigning before that time. I can only say that from the various references to Śaśānka's persecutions which occur in Hiuen

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. India; What it can teach us, p. 266; and Cunningham's Geography and the other authorities collected in my previous paper; also J. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. IV., p. 93. Mr. Pandit accepts the date 607 A. D. Alberuni's testimony on this point, which, thanks to Professor Sachau, I have now been enabled to examine in full, is, I think, of great value in spite of the discrepant accounts reported by him. On those accounts see Max Müller's India; What it can teach us, p. 282.

<sup>37</sup> See as to this Cunningham's Geography, p. 378, and *quære* as to the accuracy of the version of Hiuen Tshang there given, in view of the passage at *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I., p. 213.

<sup>38</sup> General Cunningham assigns Śaśānka to the beginning of the seventh century, *Arch. Sur. Reports*, Vol. III., pp. 81-3, also *Ancient Geography*, p. 509.

Thsang, his reign does not appear to have been a very brief one. At the same time such slight indications as are available seem to point to Śaśānka not having long survived the murder of Rājyavardhana. If he had remained alive for any time, Harshavardhana would, of course, have attacked him in the wars undertaken by him expressly for the punishment of his brother's enemies. (39) In this connection, however, Śaśānka is not mentioned by Hiuen Thsang, while it is stated that he died by the effects of a divine visitation. (40) That death probably explains the omission of Śaśānka's name in connection with Harsha's military achievements. If so, some part, and perhaps even a considerable part, of Śaśānka's reign may well have fallen in the last years of the sixth century. (41) And if I am right in the suggestion thrown out above, that only the latter part of Pūrṇavarma's reign was contemporaneous with the earlier part of Śaśānka's, the date 590 A. D. for Pūrṇavarma, is not far removed from the truth, and certainly not in the direction of too great antiquity.

This review then of the evidence bearing upon the dates of Pūrṇavarma, of Śaśānka, and of Rājyavardhana, has not disclosed any reason for modifying the conclusions arrived at in my previous paper. Mr. Pandit, however, draws attention to one element of doubt in the whole of this inquiry, namely, that whereas Hiuen Thsang speaks of Pūrṇavarma as belonging to the family of the great Aśoka, Śaukarāchārya, in an important passage disinterred by Mr. Pandit from his commentary on the Chhândogya Upanishad, speaks of Pūrṇavarma's family as

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<sup>39</sup> Beal's *Records*, Vol. I., pp. 210-13. Mr. Pandit (p. 220) says "Śaśānka was not punished for this perfidy at least till after six years from Harsha's accession." But I see no reference to this punishment even "after six years" in Hiuen Thsang, or even in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, where we only read of Bhandi being sent against the Gauda King.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 121.

<sup>41</sup> On this point it is to be noticed also that in Beal's *Life*, p. 131, we find *Karṇasuvarṇa*, the country of Śaśānka, to have been possessed in the days of Hiuen Thsang of "about ten *Sanghārāmas* and 300 priests," besides two other *Sanghārāmas* belonging to a section of the Buddhistic community. [As to the establishment of *Sanghārāmas* cf. *Records*, Vol. II., p. 196.] In the *Records* (Vol. II., p. 201) the priests are stated to have been 2,000 instead of 300, and the sectional *Sanghārāmas* three instead of two. "The heretics" are stated to be "very numerous" and to have "fifty Deva temples." It is not unreasonable to suppose that it must have taken a considerable number of years for Buddhism to have reached this position in the country of Śaśānka, whose chief activity appears to have been devoted to persecuting that religion.

being obscure, and as good as non-existent before Pūrṇavarma made it famous. This element of doubt must, of course, be at present recognised as existing. At the same time I must confess that I am not disposed to attach very much importance to it. Mr. Pandit himself points out one consideration which detracts from its importance. Another consideration is that our national deficiency in "the historic sense" renders it unsafe to build any conclusion on the ignorance of even an eminent man like Śankarāchārya about the genealogy of Pūrṇavarma; and especially so, when we are dealing with that genealogy at a period of eight centuries before his time. And a further consideration is that we have at present no evidence to show that the Brahminical traditions recognised Pūrṇavarma as a representative of the family of Aśoka (\*\*\*) in the same way that the Buddhist traditions did. Lastly it must not be forgotten that Aśoka's own unquestionable greatness finds but an inadequate recognition in Hindu, as distinguished from Buddhist, tradition. Upon the whole, therefore, my faith in the identification of Hiuen Tshang's Pūrṇavarma with Śankarāchārya's Pūrṇavarma remains at present unshaken. It is, of course, possible that the identification may turn out to be an erroneous one. But looking at all the circumstances of the case, I do not think that that is at all probable. (\*\*\*)

I have said above, that I do not on the present occasion intend to discuss the date of Śankarāchārya, but confine myself to the date of Pūrṇavarma. I wish, however, to depart slightly from my original intention, to make a remark in reference to the facts brought to light by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar. I alluded in my previous paper to the inference based by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar on these facts, but was not in possession of the detailed facts themselves when I wrote that paper. Since then the facts have been published in Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. during the year 1882-83. (\*\*\*) We there learn that a "grand-pupil" of Śankarāchārya wrote a work while "the prosperous King, the Āditya or the sun of the race of Manu, who belonged to a Kshatriya family, and whose orders were nowhere disobeyed, was ruling over the earth." It appears to me that

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\*\*\* See also the remarks in Note 11 *supra*.

\*\*\* At the same time, further corroboration of the various propositions involved in the argument must be looked for. And the data supplied in Mr. Pandit's paper indicate one or two points on which we may reasonably expect that some corroboration may yet be forthcoming.

\*\*\* Pp. 14, 15, and 202.

Professor Bhândârkar's suggestion is almost certainly right, that this king must be one of the Châlukyas, and probably one of the four successors of the great Pulakeśi whose names ended with Âditya. Professor Bhândârkar does not say which of the four is, in his opinion, to be here understood. And there are, no doubt, hardly enough materials before us to form any very confident opinion. In the absence, however, of anything else, it seems to me not unreasonable to hold that the king alluded to in the passage under consideration must be the first Vikramâditya; firstly, because Vikrama appears to have been a powerful and distinguished prince, (\*); and secondly, and more especially, because, unless we take the first of these "Âdityas" to be intended, the description would be too indefinite to serve the presumable purpose of the writer. (\*\*) In default of all other data, therefore, we may provisionally accept the suggestion that a "grand-pupil" of Śankarâchârya flourished in the reign of Pulakeśi's son, and if that suggestion is correct, we must agree with Professor Bhândarkar in holding that "Śankarâchârya must be referred to about the end of the sixth century." And so far as they go, this conclusion, and the conclusion we have reached above about the date of King Purnavarma may fairly be treated as supporting and strengthening each other.

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\* According to Mr. Fergusson, he reacquired the title of Mahârâjâdhirâja, which his grandfather Pulakeśi II. had originally acquired, but which had passed out of the family in the time of his elder brother Chandrâditya. See also *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. X., p. 132, and Inscription No. XXVIII. at *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. VI., p. 75, where it may be noted *valeat quantum* that the grant recorded is to a Brâhmin who studied the Vedânta, though it is not necessary to construe Vedânta here to mean Śankarâchârya's philosophy.

\*\* This presumable purpose is indicated in the closing stanza of the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya—काव्यमिदं विहितं मया बलभ्यां श्रीधरसेननेन्द्रपालितायाम् ॥ कीर्तितो भवताञ्ज-पस्य तस्य क्षेमकरोहि नृपः प्रजाजनानाम् ॥



ART. VII.—*The Epoch of the Gupta Era.*—By RAMKRISHNA  
GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., HON. M.R.A.Ś.

Communicated 1st August 1889.

In 1884 I published in my *Early History of the Dekkan*, a note on the Gupta Era, in which I endeavoured to show that there was no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of the initial date of the Gupta Era given by Alberuni, and that such of the Gupta dates found in inscriptions as contained details which allowed of their being compared with corresponding Śaka years, confirmed the statement of the Arab author. In the Introduction to the volume on the "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings," just published by Mr. J. F. Fleet, as Epigraphical Surveyor to the Government of India for about three years and a half, he quotes my views, in doing which, however, he has not been fair to me. He is also at issue with me as to the accurate Epoch of the Gupta Era. I therefore deem it necessary to notice this part of the Introduction.

In note 2, p. 64, Mr. Fleet says of me :—"A most curious confusion between current and expired years of the Śaka Era runs through his remarks. Thus, though quite rightly taking Śaka-Samvat 406 expired to be equivalent to A.D. 484-85 with a difference of 78-79, he also, with the same difference, took, *e. g.* A. D. 511-12 as the equivalent of Śaka-Samvat 433 current." I did not; and this is a pure misquotation. I did not say that Śaka-Samvat 406 expired was equivalent to A. D. 484-85; nor did I say that Śaka-Samvat 433 current was equivalent to A.D. 511-12. My words are :—"Śaka 406 corresponds to 484 A.D.\* \*If, however, he had added  $241 + 78 = 319$  and taken 484 A.D. to correspond to Gupta 165, &c." (E. H. D. p. 99, lines 12 and 15-16); and, " $191$  Gupta *past* +  $242 = 433$  Śaka *current* +  $78 = 511$  A.D. *current*." That is, I take 406 Śaka *past* (= 165 Gupta + 241) to correspond to 484 A. D. and 433 Śaka *current* to 511 A.D. Now it is a patent fact that every Śaka year corresponds to parts of two Christian years; but to avoid pedantry it is usual to give one of the two years only, except when something important is involved. And I have here given that of the two Christian years with which I was concerned. Śaka 406 *past* corresponds to a part of 484 and of 485 A.D., and Śaka 433 *current* to a part of 510 and of 511 A.D. I gave the first in the first case, because the month of Āshāḍha mentioned in the

inscription falls in the first of the two Christian years to which a Śaka year corresponds, and to mark off its contrast with General Cunningham's 483 (not 483-484); and the second in the second case because it was the year against which the cyclic year Mahāchaitra is found in General Cunningham's tables, and not against 510. It will thus be seen that the "most curious confusion" found by Mr. Fleet is not in my remarks, but in Mr. Fleet's misunderstanding and misquotation of them. He had no reason whatever to take my 511 A.D. as 511-12, A.D.; if he wanted to state the two years to which the Śaka year corresponds, he ought to have taken it as 510-11 A.D. In another place (p. 141, note 3) though he acknowledges that my second note drew his attention to the desirability of examining the details of almanacs, and though he must have seen it distinctly stated by me that the Śaka dates used by us in the Bombay Presidency represent expired years and those used on the Madras side current years, the latter being in advance of the former by one year, and though under these circumstances it is impossible that I should think the addition of 79 to a current Śaka year would give us the Christian year containing the second part of the Śaka year, still it is under such an implication as this that he quotes this same equation of mine, *viz.*, 191 Gupta *past* + 242 = 433 Śaka *current* + 78 = 511 A.D. *current*, and another, *viz.*, 209 Gupta *past* + 242 = 451 Śaka *current* + 78 = 529 A. D. *current*. Both these equations I say are perfectly correct; but the second Christian year a part of which corresponds to a part of the Śaka year ought not to be taken as 512 in the one case and 530 in the other, but 510 and 528 respectively. And as I have given 511 in the first case as stated above, because in General Cunningham's tables it and not 510 occurs in the column of *Mahāchaitra*, so have I in the second, given 529 and not 528, because it occurs in the column of *Mahāsvayuja*.

Again, in my note I identify (E. H. D. p. 100, lines 26-27) Dhruvasena II. with Hiuen Tsiang's Dhruvabhāṭa, and observing that the difference in the latter part of the names is insignificant, since *Sena* and *Bhāṭa* were titles that could be used promiscuously, I proceed to say that the king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasiṃha may have been called Dhruvabhāṭa by ordinary people from whom Hiuen Tsiang must have got the name. Now, no fair-minded man can have any difficulty whatever in finding out that here I speak of the same king Dhruvasena with whom I have above identified Hiuen Tsiang's

Dhruvabhāta, and that Dhruvasīmha is a misprint for Dhruvasena. Still Mr. Fleet says "the name of Dhruvasīmha does not occur at all in any of the numerous Valabhî grants that have come to light." If I were to criticize Mr. Fleet's work in the same spirit, I should, for instance, say as regards his reference to Volume IX. of the Archæological Reports as that which contains General Cunningham's "tables for the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter" (p. 102, note 1, l. 13), that the tables did not occur at all in the whole volume; and I should be more justified in doing so, since Mr. Fleet gives no indication whatever that IX. is a misprint for X.; while I have just five lines above called the same king whose name is printed here as Dhruvasīmha, Dhruvasena.

Mr. Fleet supposes me to have made "an assertion that Hiuen Tsiang was speaking of only two kings" (Intro. p. 65, ll. 6-7). I made no such assertion. My words are:—"The Chinese writer does not speak of a *king* but of *kings*," (E. H. D. p. 100, ll. 16-17). The word *two* does not occur here or anywhere else in connection with this matter. Mr. Fleet, however, may have meant to say that this is implied in the words that immediately follow which are:—"and says they were nephews of Śīlāditya of Mālvā and the younger of them named Dhruvabhāta, was son-in-law to the son of Harshavardhana. If they were nephews of the king of Mālvā they were brothers and both of them kings." If so, my reply is, that herein I interpret the plural *kings* in view of the identification I am going to make of the kings with two brothers who reigned one after another, viz. Dharasena and Dhruvasena. Mr. Fleet at the same time finds no authority in the two translations of the Chinese work for my statement that the younger prince was denoted by Hiuen Tsiang by the name T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu. The authority is in Julien's translation. The words translated into English are:—"The present kings are of the race of Kshatriya. They are nephews of Śīlāditya, King of Mālvā. At this time the son of Śīlāditya king of Kānyakubja has a son-in-law named Dhruvapaṭu." Since Hiuen Tsiang is to be supposed as knowing of kings past and present and not future, the kings who were nephews of Śīlāditya of Mālvā other than the one on the throne at the time, must have reigned previously to him, and since of brothers those who are elder occupy the throne before the younger, Dhruvapaṭu's brother or brothers who reigned before him must have been his elder brother or brothers, and he his or their younger brother. This is an obvious inference.

Again, Mr. Fleet says :—" he announced that Prof. K. L. Chhatre had found that it (Eraṇ record) was correct for Śaka-Saṁvat 406 as an expired year : " (p. 64). On this there is a footnote which begins :—" It was from this that he inferred that the Gupta Saṁvat 165 of the record was itself an expired year." And then he proceeds to tell me something about " the equation between the Gupta and the corresponding English date " being not " intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all," the bearing of which on the point I cannot understand, since the question is whether the Gupta year 165 as compared with the corresponding Śaka year and not the Christian year was an expired year. And in determining the value of Gupta dates we have primarily to do so in terms of a Śaka date and not a Christian date, since the equation given by Alberuni is in terms of a Śaka date. It will, however, be seen from the context that the fact of 406 Śaka being an expired year was only one of the premises which led me to the conclusion that 165 Gupta was a past year. The other premise is the rule I have laid down at the end of the last paragraph, viz., that if both the Gupta and Śaka years are past or both current, the difference between them is only 241. And I have alluded to it even here. If between 165 Gupta and 406 Śaka the difference is 241 and if the latter is an expired year the former also must be so. The grounds for this rule also are indicated in my paper. Mr. Fleet contests it and attributes the result I come to to the general mistake as regards the epoch of the Śaka era (p. 84, note), and refers to his note on p. 64 which I have been discussing and in which he says, " the equation between the Gupta and the corresponding English date is not intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all." What the epoch of the Śaka era and the equation have to do with my rule I cannot perceive. It is based on independent grounds which I will now proceed to discuss as well as the true epoch of the Gupta era.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has calculated and verified certain dates for Mr. Fleet and the following are the results :—

1. Gupta 165 of the Eraṇ inscription corresponds to Śaka 406 *expired*.
2. Valabhī 945 of Colonel Tod's Verāval inscription corresponds to Śaka 1186 *expired*.
3. Valabhī 927 of Dr. Bhagvānlāl's Verāval inscription corresponds to Śaka 1167 *expired*.

4. Valabhî 330 of Dr. Bühler's Kaira plate inscription corresponds to Śaka 570 *expired*.
5. Gupta 386 of a Nepal inscription corresponds to Śaka 627 *expired*.
6. Gupta 585 *past* of the Morvî plate translated by me corresponds to Śaka 826 and 827 *expired*.

Now Mr. Fleet supposes that the Gupta-Valabhî years are *current* years, and that by the addition of 241 the equation given by Alberuni, we get the corresponding *expired* Śaka year, and of 242, the corresponding *current* Śaka year. So that 0 Gupta current corresponded to 241 Śaka *expired* and 242 Śaka *current*, i.e., to 319-20. This therefore is the epoch of the era. Mr. Fleet gives no reason whatever for taking the Gupta years as *current*; but I suppose he thinks it natural that they should be so, especially since they were regnal years and dates in the Christian era represent *current* years. But from inscriptions and books we see that the Hindu's *usual*, not *invariable*, way of expressing a date is not 'in the year *so and so*' but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such event took place.' And in the second note given in the 'Early History of the Dekkan,' I have shown that in the inscriptions there examined about two-thirds of the dates represent the year *expired*, and one-third the year *current*. It should by no means be supposed that the *expired* year is to be understood only when a word expressive of 'having elapsed' is used. We use *expired* Śaka years at the present day in ordinary transactions, but never use a word expressive of 'having elapsed.' Mr. Fleet admits, though most grudgingly, that "we may have to interpret any given year of such an era as an *expired* year whether it is expressly denoted as such or not" (p. 128, ll. 30-31), and gives an instance in a footnote. But by 'such an era' he means an era used for astronomical purposes, *i. e.* in the present case, the Śaka era, and asserts that the "rule does not hold good in the case of eras that are not actually used for astronomical processes," and says that the Vikrama era is such an era, (*Ib.*). But in the very next sentence he admits so much at least that "the *expired* years of this era might be quoted" and actually gives three instances; and all that he claims for the supposition on which his whole speculation about the Gupta dates which occupies by far the greater portion of his Introduction is based, is that, "occasionally at least, the *current* years were used." Mr. Fleet goes on to say, "such an era, again, is the Gupta-Valabhî era," and declares that in the absence of a word mean-

ing "expired" it is only reasonable that we should interpret passages giving dates as denoting a current year. What, then, all this comes to is this:—The expired years of an era whether used for astronomical purposes or not might be quoted in dates; but in the case of the latter a word expressive of "expired" must be used; if not the year is to be taken as current; while in the case of the former, *i. e.* an era used for astronomical calculations, such a word is not necessary. The grounds of this distinction Mr. Fleet does not give, and it is proved to be simply imaginary by the fact pointed out by Mr. Fleet himself (p. 86, note 3) that the Vikrama year 1320 in Col. Tod's Verâval inscription is an expired year, though there is no expression there which means 'expired.' If then a date in the non-astronomical Vikrama era does sometimes denote an expired year whether it is expressly so stated or not, why may we not take the same to be true of the non-astronomical Gupta-Valabhî era? And what has the fact of the use of an era for astronomical purposes to do with the occurrence of expired years in the dates given in inscriptions and books. I see no reason whatever why, if astronomers use an era and construct their rules and tables on the basis of an expired year, ordinary people also should give their dates in expired years. And why should astronomers themselves use that as the basis of their rules? If calculations have to be made by taking completed years, surely the results may be made applicable to the current year, and given as astronomical facts belonging to that year. Do not the Christian astronomers do so? There is nothing in the nature of astronomy to lead to such a result. The fact is that the use of a past Śaka year instead of a current one was brought about by the Hindu's usual way of looking at a date stated above; and it was rather transferred to astronomy from ordinary usage than borrowed from astronomy. And the usage has been found to hold in the case of Vikrama dates whether a word meaning 'expired' occurs or not, though this era is not used for astronomical purposes. Thus, then, the usage proved by me with reference to the Śaka dates and now shown to hold in the case of Vikrama dates, must be regarded as applicable to Gupta dates also, and we must expect to find them mostly as expired years, and sometimes as current years.

Again Alberuni's equation is, Śaka 953 corresponds to Gupta 712, *i. e.*, we have to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Śaka date. We have seen that the addition of 241 in three at least of the above dates and in the four dates of the twelve-year cycle

gives us an expired Śaka year. Hence Alberuni's Śaka 953 must be an expired year, a fact which is also proved by the corresponding date in one of the other eras given by him; and on Mr. Fleet's theory his Gupta 712 must be a current year. Now this does not at all look likely that in giving the equivalent dates he should give the expired year of the Śaka and the current of the Gupta. Again, when he states that the epoch of the Valabhî or Gupta era falls 241 years later than the epoch of the Śaka era, ought we to understand him to say that the current year 0 of the Gupta era *i. e.* the year before the commencement of the era was 241 years later than the expired year 0 of the Śaka *i. e.* the first current year of that era, and make 241 Śaka expired and 242 current to correspond with 0 Gupta current and 242 and 243 respectively with 1 Gupta current? Is it not proper to interpret him as meaning that the epoch of the Gupta era, *i. e.* 0 Gupta current is 241 years later than the epoch of the Śaka era *i. e.* 0 Śaka current, and take 241 Śaka current and 240 expired to correspond with Gupta 0 current and 242 and 241 respectively with 1 Gupta current? According to Mr. Fleet's way of taking it the difference between a current or expired Gupta year and the corresponding current or expired Śaka is 242, Alberuni's equation 241 being applicable to those cases only in which one is expired and the other is current, while according to my interpretation the difference is 241, *i. e.* the number given by Alberuni. Again, my way of taking it harmonizes with M. Reinaud's translation "the era of the Guptas also commences the year 241 of the era of the Śaka," which means that 241 Śaka past is 1 current of the Gupta era or, 0 past, while Mr. Fleet's is quite opposed to it as according to him Gupta 1 current corresponds to 242 Śaka past. Again, the round-about way of arriving at the date of the destruction of Somnath mentioned by Alberuni proves nothing. The year 242 to which the years of passed centenniums have to be added may be the epoch year of the centennium. Thus, then, it is reasonable and natural to understand Alberuni, from all he has said, to mean that 241 have to be added to an expired or current Gupta to arrive at the corresponding expired or current Śaka.

But the date in the Morvî plate is almost fatal to Mr. Fleet's conjecture. It is put down as 585 *expired* and corresponds as determined from the solar eclipse mentioned in the grant to 826 Śaka *expired*. Thus we have here to add 241 to this *expired* year of the Gupta era, to arrive at the corresponding *expired* Śaka year; while since Mr. Fleet

adds 241 to a *current* Gupta year to arrive at it he will have to add 242 in this case. The Gupta date will thus, according to his view, be equivalent to Śaka 827 *past*. But in that year also there was a solar eclipse. This occurred on the new moon day of Vaiśākha according to the Southern scheme or of Jyeshṭha according to the Northern in the Śaka year 827 expired and 828 current. The grant was executed on the 5th of the bright half of Phālguna in the same Gupta year 585, which of course must, like that given above, be an expired year; so that according to Mr. Fleet's view the charter was issued nine months and four days after the religious gift had been made. But if we take the solar eclipse of 826 *expired* and 827 *current* to be the one alluded to in the grant, it occurred on the new moon day of Kārttika according to the Southern and of Mārgaśīrsha according to the Northern scheme, and thus the charter was issued three months and four days after the religious gift. This therefore is much more likely to be the eclipse mentioned in the grant, and if so, we have to add 241 to an *expired* not *current* Gupta year to arrive at the corresponding Śaka expired.\*

Mr. Fleet makes every endeavour to throw discredit on this date. The eclipse of Śaka 826 *expired* he considers to be not as satisfactory as that of 827 *expired*, because on that occasion only one twenty-fifth part of the sun's disc was obscured at Morvī, while on this, one-ninth. But the religious significance of it which alone led the king to make his grant is the same for all solar eclipses, whatever the extent of the obscuration. So that this consideration has no force whatever in the decision of the question. Again, in three different places in his book he discusses in detail the reading *Gaupte* and the grammar and sense of the word (p. 21, 97 ff. Intr. and p. 58). He finds that in the facsimile of the Morvī plate published in the *Indian Antiquary*, one stroke on the top of the letter *g* in the word *Gaupte* is wanting, so that he reads it *Gopte*. Now I have no definite recollection whether when I read the plate I found this stroke; but I think it did exist there, for I had no difficulty whatsoever in making out the word *Gaupte* just

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\* The eclipse adopted by Mr. Fleet was the only one found for me by the late Prof. K. L. Chhatre, when I wrote my note. Though of course a general agreement of the details in the dates with Alberuni's equation, which had been discredited by some previous writers, was alone what I wanted to establish, and that object was served by Prof. Chhatre's eclipse, still I found it very inconvenient, and have therefore expressed myself very hypothetically about its bearing on the point.



as I had none in making out the word *paurva* the *p* of which has two strokes in the ninth line. The very small stroke which makes *au* of *o* may have dropped away in the facsimile. In fact the probability that it existed is very great, amounting almost to a certainty, since my corrections I have enclosed within brackets, and if *Gaupte* had been a correction for *Gopte* I should have enclosed it similarly. In the third line the stroke is also wanting on the letter *n* of *svarbbhānu* and also the upper stroke representing *r*. However, for the present there is no help, and we must take the word as Mr. Fleet would have it and read it as *Gopte*. But it stands to reason, even supposing that to be the true reading of the plate, that it could be meant for nothing else but *Gaupte*. Mr. Fleet thinks that it may have been intended for *Goptre*, 'to the protector,' i.e., 'the local governor,' and this he thinks is 'even more sustainable' (p. 21, Intr. and p. 58 note). So then, according to Mr. Fleet, this grant of land was made to the governor of the province and not to the Brahmans of the Maitrāyaṇīya śākhā mentioned above as the grantees. Was he to perform the religious ceremonies for which it was given? Or *Gopte* may be the name of a village, he thinks; and the sense then would be "the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) *Gopta*." But has he seen such charters spoken of as having been given at villages without some such expression as that the king was at that time residing in the village? Besides we should in such a case expect the word *grāma* 'village' affixed to *Gopta*. This village Mr. Fleet identifies with *Gôp* which he says is the name of a village in Kattiawar. *Gopta* according to him "may quite reasonably be taken as the ancient form of the modern *Gôp*" (p. 58, note). But ancient *Gopta* must by the rules of Prākṛit philology be changed to *Gotta* and not *Gop*, or according to a more modern process, to *Gopat*, *Gopit*, or *Goput*; but as the Gujarātīs have a predilection for *a*, it must become *Gopat*. Again, Mr. Fleet says:—(1) "Even then (i.e., when we correct *Gopte* to *Gaupte*), the adjective *Gaupté* occupies an irregularly detached place, which any skilful composer would have avoided, from the noun, *śatapañchake*, which it qualifies (p. 98, l. 8 ff.). (2) "But even then the adjective occupies a very inconveniently detached position as regards the noun, *pañchaka*, which it qualifies" (p. 21, ll. 23-24). If Mr. Fleet's criticism is just, all our great Sanskrit authors will have to be considered unskilful composers. The śloka is

Pañchâśītyâ yute 'tīte samânām śatapañchake †  
 Gaupte dadāvado \* \* ††

What Mr. Fleet means to say is that if you have an adjective at the beginning of the second half of a śloka while the substantive which it qualifies is at the end of the first half, it is an irregularly detached place which any skilful composer will avoid; and if the substantive is further off it is of course worse. But in the Bhagavadgītā we have \* \* mahatīm chamūm | vyūḍhām Drupadaputreṇa &c. || I. 3; \* \* prakṛitīm viddhī me parām | jīvabhūtām mahābāho &c. || VII. 5. In Manu we have esha vo'bhihito dharmo brāhmaṇasya chaturvidhaḥ | puṇyo'kshayaphalaḥ &c. || VI. 97; āptāḥ sarveshu varṇeshu kāryāḥ kāryeshu sākṣiṇāḥ | sarvadharmavidolubdhāḥ &c. || VIII. 67. In Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa we have \* \* patyulḥ prāgvamśavāsinaḥ | ananyajāneḥ saivāsīd &c. || XV. 61; \* \* sa dadarsā taponidhim | anvāsitam Arundhatyā &c. || I. 56. And instances might be multiplied to any extent. Mr. Fleet's objection therefore is simply imaginary. If arguments such as these are allowable, what is there to prevent their being used against the reading *Gaupte* also, supposing we were to find the plate again and actually to see the word there. Even as against that you might say that the adjective is in an irregularly detached place and that *Gaupte* must be the name of a village.

In spite, however, of criticism of this nature, there can be no question that the date of the Morvī grant as a Gupta date is as reliable as any of the others given above, and as it is more reasonable to take the eclipse therein mentioned as the one that occurred in Śaka 826 expired than as that of 827 expired, it shows that we have to add 241 to a completed not current Gupta year to arrive at the corresponding completed Śaka year, and that Mr. Fleet's theory has no basis whatever to stand on.

The third of the above dates 927 Valabhī corresponds, according to Mr. Dikshit's calculations, to 1167 Śaka expired. Here we have to add 240 to the Gupta-Valabhī year instead of 241 and the date presents a serious difficulty. Mr. Fleet has shown that the Gupta-Valabhī year did not begin on the 1st of Kārttika or Mārgaśīrsha\*

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\* Mr. Fleet proves the point with reference to these two months only from the initial dates of some of the cyclic years. But it can be proved generally that the Gupta and the Śaka year began in the same month or the same day more easily. When the years of two eras do not begin on the same day, we have to add a certain number to the year expressed in one during one part of the year to convert it to the corresponding year of the other, and add the same number increased by one during the other part. Thus Śaka 1810 on

and takes the 1st of Chaitra as its initial date like that of the Śaka year, and it is to a current year according to that reckoning that we have to add 241 to convert it into the corresponding Śaka year completed. But the Gupta-Valabhî year in this inscription, he thinks, began, like the Southern Vikrama year, with the first of Kârttika. The month given in the inscription is Phâlguna which is one of the months that follow Kârttika. The year of the inscription he supposes became 927 on the 1st of Kârttika; and before that it was 926 and would have continued to be 926 till Phâlguna had it not been for this southern reckoning. With this 926 we have no difficulty, for by adding 241 to it we get 1167. But in the other Verâval inscription of Valabhî 945 the reckoning is according to Mr. Fleet himself distinctly northern, that is, the Gupta-Valabhî year there given was one that began like the Śaka on the 1st of Chaitra. How is it possible then that at the same place about 18 years before, the southern Vikrama scheme should have been applied to the Gupta-Valabhî date of this inscription? Mr. Fleet answers the question by saying, "the explanation, however, is perhaps to be found in the supposition that the inscription was prepared under the personal direction of a pilgrim from Gujarât, who had brought a Gujarât almanac with him." That is supposing too much indeed, to save a theory. The inscription was prepared under the direction of (1) a pilgrim, (2) a pilgrim from Gujarât, and moreover (3) a pilgrim who had brought a Gujarât almanac! We have no right whatever to make any one of these suppositions without a particle of evidence to support it, much less the three together.

According to my view, however, the discrepancy in the date can easily be reconciled. I have shown in my second note and mentioned above that though dates are very often given in completed years, still sometimes

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this side of the country had 78 added to it from 1st Chaitra to about the end of Mârgasîrsha and 79 thereafter up to the end of Phâlguna to convert it to the corresponding Christian year. The day in the Eraṅ Gupta date is Âshâdha, Ś. 13, in that of Verâval, Âshâdha, Kr. 13, in those with the cyclic years, Kârttika Ś. 3, Chaitra Ś. 2, Mâgha Kr. 3, and Chaitra Ś. 13, and in the Morvi grant, Phâlguna Ś. 5; and in all these cases we have to add 241 to convert the year to the corresponding Śaka *past*, and not 242 in any case up to the 12th month from Chaitra. Hence the Gupta and the Śaka years began in the same month, and, since we have Chaitra Ś. 2 in one case and Chaitra Ś. 13 in another, on the same day, as the Śaka year begins on the 1st of Chaitra.

they are given in current years. If in accordance with the evidence of this usage we suppose that 927 was a current year, the expired year is 926 ; and by adding 241 to it we get the corresponding year 1167 expired, arrived at by the astronomical calculation. This explanation will not agree with Mr. Fleet's theory ; for he adds 241 to a current Gupta-Valabhî to arrive at a completed Śaka. Here then, there is another piece of evidence that favours my view and goes entirely against Mr. Fleet's view.

The same is the case with the fourth date. Valabhî  $330 + 240 = 570$ . Mr. Fleet has to suppose a change of the original reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhî year and make it begin *in this case* on the 1st of Kūrttika. But if we take 330 as the current year and 329 as the completed year, we have  $329 + 241 = 570$ , where we apply Alberuni's equation.

The question then stands thus :— We have to add 241, the equation given by Alberuni, to the date-years in inscriptions Nos. 1, 2 and 5, and in the four in which *saṁvatsaras* of the twelve-year cycle occur, to convert them to the corresponding completed Śaka year arrived at by the astronomical calculation. Mr. Fleet says the years in the inscriptions are current, and the reason is that it is natural they should be so. My view is that they are expired years, and the reasons are :— 1st, the Hindu's usual, but not invariable, idea of a date ; 2nd, the usage proved by me formerly for the Śaka dates and now for the Vikrama dates, though this era is not used for astronomical processes ; 3rd, the unlikelihood of Alberuni's using the expired year in giving the Śaka date and the current year in giving the corresponding Gupta-date, and the proper interpretation of Alberuni's statement. 4th.— The eclipse mentioned in the Morvî grant when identified with that of 826 Śaka expired confirms my view and disproves Mr. Fleet's. If, however, it is identified with that of 827 Śaka expired, it strengthens Mr. Fleet's view and weakens mine, but cannot disprove it against the mass of other positive evidence. And my identification is more reasonable and natural, since in that case the interval between the gift and the issuing of the charter is three months and four days, while it is nine months and four days according to Mr. Fleet's identification. 5th.— The date No. 3 above admits of an easy explanation in harmony with known usage according to my theory ; according to Mr. Fleet's theory, most improbable suppositions have to be made. The same is the case with date No. 4. Thus, the whole weight of the evidence

is decidedly in my favour; and thus the Gupta year to which we add 241 to arrive at an expired Śaka year is a past year, *i.e.*, THE ADDITION OF 241 TURNS A PAST GUPTA INTO A PAST ŚAKA AND A CURRENT GUPTA INTO A CURRENT ŚAKA. And thus Gupta 0 expired, *i.e.*, 1 current, corresponds to Śaka 241 expired and 242 current; and the year previous to Gupta 0 expired or 1 current corresponds to Śaka 240 expired *i.e.*, 241 current; and thus THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA IS 318-19 A.D. and NOT 319-20 A.D. as determined by Mr. Fleet, and its first year was 319-20 A.D.

Mr. Fleet claims for his Mandasor inscription "the final settlement of the question" of the initial date of the Gupta-Valabhī era. I am of opinion that if Alberuni's statement and Colonel Tod's Verāval inscription do not settle it, the Mandasor inscription cannot. For the date 493 occurring in that inscription is referred to the event of the *Gaṇasthiti* of the Mālavas. What this event was exactly and when it took place we do not know. In that unknown year 493 reigned Kumāragupta as a paramount sovereign. His average date is 113 of an unknown era, so that the equation is  $113 \pm x$  (years of the Christian era)  $= 493 \pm y$  (years of the Christian era), that is, we have to determine the value of one unknown quantity by means of another unknown quantity, which cannot be done. If, however, we know the value of  $x$ , *i.e.*, the epoch of the Gupta era, we shall from that determine that of  $y$ , *i.e.*, the epoch of the Mālava era, and *vice versa*. Dr. Peterson, referring to Oldenberg and myself, held it to be already certain that the Gupta era began in 319 A.D. and arrived therefore at the conclusion that the Mālava era was the Vikrama era.\* Mr. Fleet assumes the truth of the latter and arrives from it at the epoch of the former (p. 125, Intr.). But if we do not know either we can come to no conclusion. However, so much can be said in favour of Mr. Fleet's view, that of the hypothetical proposition 'if the Mālava era is the Vikrama era, then the Gupta era began about 319 A.D.,' the antecedent clause is probably true; wherefore the conclusion is that the consequent clause is also probably true. Thus the Mandasor inscription, at the most, adds to the probability of the statement that the

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\* It is hardly fair to Dr. Peterson that Mr. Fleet should have made no allusion whatever to the fact that he (Dr. Peterson) had read the Mandasor inscription before him, and had quoted the verse in which the date is given, showing that we have in it a Vikrama date before 544 A.D., and that Ferguson's theory must be abandoned.

Gupta era began in 319-20, but cannot confer certainty on it, if it did not possess it before, *i.e.*, cannot finally settle the question. It is settled by the statement of Alberuni and by Colonel Tod's inscription, and the details in some of the other inscriptions confirm the conclusion arrived at therefrom, that is, are consistent with it and do not go against it. But Alberuni's authority had been set aside and the information given by Colonel Tod's inscription had been misconstrued; and the current of opinion that had set in against the true epoch of the era as derived from these two sources was so strong that many scholars had come to believe that the initial date 166-67 A.D. assigned to the era by General Cunningham was true. I therefore endeavoured in my note on the Gupta era to draw attention again to these two sources, and show how the question was not left doubtful at all by them, and how the information derived from them was consistent with all that we knew about the Gupta and the other dynasties of the early centuries of the Christian era. The details of the dates in some of the inscriptions I went into only with the object of showing that they were not opposed to the information derived from Alberuni and the Varival inscription. I used General Cunningham's tables of the years of the twelve-year cycle; and though in two of the four cases, and in one more with a corrected date, I arrived at the conclusion wanted, still I forgot that the Christian years in General Cunningham's tables were arrived at by uniformly adding 78 to an expired Śaka year, while I added 79 because it suited the purpose. General Cunningham's tables I find do not give the cyclic years mentioned in the four inscriptions. Mr. Fleet has gone fully into the details of all the inscriptions with the assistance of a competent and zealous Hindu astronomer, Mr. Shankar B. Dikshit, and has materially contributed to the elucidation of the question by bringing together and verifying the whole evidence; and though I cannot agree with him in several of his conclusions, or approve of his treatment of the most vital matters, still the materials that he has placed before us deserve our acknowledgment. I must, however, observe with reference to Mr. Dikshit's theory of cyclic years reckoned from one heliacal rising of Jupiter to another with unequal divisions of the Nakshatras, that though it agrees with the four inscriptions and gives the correct *saṃvatsaras*, still it is a question whether an astronomical year of 400 days that did not correspond with the usual luni-solar year could have been used for the purposes of recording dates by ordinary people.

*Note*.—In connection with the examination of the claims of the Mandasor inscription I have had to read Mr. Fleet's transcript and translation of it and find the following errors and omissions in both :—

P. 84, ll. 5-6 of translation.—Mr. Fleet translates चापप्रसारक्षमैः by "able to counteract curses." Now, this is an adjective of मुनिभिः or 'saints' who are spoken of as 'rich in strict religious austerities (तीव्रतपोधनैः)'. To such it is usual in Sanskrit literature and according to Hindu ideas to attribute the power of injuring or destroying one by a curse, and doing good by benedictions. The simple power of counteracting a curse is too low for them. Hence the proper translation is 'able to curse and confer favours,' 'able to injure by a curse and confer favours by a blessing.'

P. 84, ll. 25-26. We have here "decorative ear-ornaments," which is a translation of मण्डवतंस, taken as in apposition with तरु in the compound पुष्पावनमतरुमण्डवतंसकायाः which qualifies भूमेः. Ear-ornaments are always decorative and it involves a tautology to call them decorative again. Besides though the Dictionaries give 'ornament' as one of the senses of मण्ड, still it is not the usual sense of the word ; मण्डन is what we find in that sense. On looking into the photolithograph of the inscription I find that मण्ड must be read as खण्ड. The letter which Mr. Fleet reads as म is more like the last letter in the third line of the inscription and the thirteenth in the seventh line, each of which is ख. The upper vertical stroke to the right hand of the loop of the letter which must be a flaw in the stone is apt to mislead one into taking the letter as म ; but it will be seen that, in spite of it, the letter looks far different from the real म which we have in many places. तरुखण्ड is an expression that frequently occurs and means 'a collection of trees ;' so that the whole expression means 'which has for ear-ornaments, the collection of trees weighed down with flowers.'

P. 85, ll. 8 ff. Mr. Fleet here translates "other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful,—being like the lofty summits of Kailāsa, \* \* (and) being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees." Being curious to know when I first read it what these long buildings *on the roofs of the houses*, adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees could be, I turned to the transcript and found that here Mr. Fleet had mistranslated the expression दीर्घवलभीनि which occurs in the half-stanza कैलासतुङ्गशिखरप्रतिमानि चान्यान्याभान्ति दीर्घवलभीनि सवेदिकानि at the end of the sixth line of the inscription. He takes दीर्घवलभीनि as a Karmadhāraya, अन्यानि as an adjective qualifying it, and makes it the nominative of the verb आभान्ति. But वलभी is feminine, never neuter ; and still it is so here according to Mr. Fleet's way of taking it. Besides, when अन्यानि is connected with the long *Valabhis*, the question arises, why does he speak of these long buildings on the roofs of houses as 'other.' Did he speak of them in the last śloka?

No. दीर्घबलभीनि should be taken as a Bahuvrīhi meaning दीर्घा' बलभयो यासु those 'in which there are long rooms on the roof, and construed as an adjective of गृहाणि occurring in the last stanza, and to be understood or supplied here in connection with the word अन्त्यानि. And so we have, 'And other (houses) having long rooms on the roofs are beautiful, &c., being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees.' बलभि is according to Jagaddhara सौधोपरिकुटि 'a room on the top of a palace,' such a one as that from the window of which Mālati used to see Mādava passing by the road below. The groves of waving plantain-trees were thus not in the rooms on the roof but in the houses which had these rooms.

P. 85, ll. 19-20. The word बुद्धि in l. 2-3, p. 82 (transcript) has not been translated. Freedom "from the excitement of surprise" was, according to Mr. Fleet's translation, one of the virtues of the Brahmins of Daśapura. Similarly, "being never carried away by \*astonishment" was a virtue in Bandhuvarman, l. 20, p. 86. Now, freedom from surprise or astonishment is never found in the catalogue of the possible virtues of a hero; but freedom from arrogance or humility is; and the word translated by Mr. Fleet as "surprise" in one place, and "astonishment" in another is स्मयितैः in the one case, and स्मय in the other. He would have found from any ordinary Dictionary that स्मय means 'pride' or 'arrogance' also, and that is its usual sense. Has Mr. Fleet not seen at all the first line of the second or opening stanza of Bhartṛihari's Vairāgya Śataka बोद्धारो मत्सरमस्ताः प्रभवः स्मयवृषिताः । ?

P. 85, l. 24. Here Mr. Fleet, in his translation, speaks of the science of archery as pleasing to the ear. Though he supplies "in which the twanging of the bow is" between "archery" and "pleasing," still this is by no means proper and cannot be. In the transcript Mr. Fleet's reading of the line with his corrections is अक्षयसुभगं धानुर्वैद्यं वृद्धं परिनिष्ठिताः । and his translation "Some of them (*became*) excessively well acquainted with the science of archery pleasing to the ear." Here Mr. Fleet supplies the anusvāra on ग, the आ in घ, and the anusvāra on ञ, and thus brings in an accusative which is not governed by anything and is therefore ungrammatical. What is stated in the stanza is that some of the emigrants to Daśapura devoted themselves to a certain calling, some to another, and so on. In this line as read by Mr. Fleet there is no word which expresses 'some.' Still he begins his translation of it by "some of them" without enclosing the expression within brackets to show that it is supplied by him. Without such an expression the line looks awkward; and it cannot be supplied or understood by the rules of grammar. All these difficulties, however, disappear when we have the true reading of the original inscription before us. That true reading is अक्षयसुभगे गान्धर्वैर्व्ये वृद्धं परिनिष्ठिताः । The सु of सुभगे is not distinct. Mr. Fleet's य is distinctly न्यु in the photo-lithograph, and the left hand stroke representing ए is also visible though it is not distinct; so that this is न्ये. What he reads



as धा is distinctly गा with the आ traceable though not distinct; his जु is distinctly न्य; and his ज्ञै is ज्ञै, the second stroke necessary for ज्ञै being wanting. The ए on ग is not distinct, but must have originally existed in the little white space above, which represents a flaw in the stone. If we compare the present word with the गान्धर्व which occurs in the beginning of the seventh line and which Mr. Fleet has read properly, we shall have no doubt whatever that the true reading is that given by me. And now the sense is also right, for it is this—"Some were thoroughly conversant with Music (the art of the Gandharvas) which is agreeable to the ear."

P. 85, l. 31. Being "possessed of charming wives" appears in Mr. Fleet's translation as one of the excellences of some of the settlers in Dasapura, along with wisdom and famous lineage. This could scarcely be an excellence in them, at least it is not so, according to Indian notions. Besides मनोज्ञवधुः which is Mr. Fleet's reading is quite ungrammatical. As a Bahuvrīhi adjective qualifying अन्य it ought to be मनोज्ञवधुकाः by Pāṇini V, 4, 153. This reading therefore is not correct. But the word is illegible in the copy of the inscription; and I cannot say for certain what it must be. It may be मनोज्ञवधुषः 'having charming bodies or forms' or मनोज्ञविभवाः 'possessed of pleasing prosperity.' The former is more probable.

P. 85, ll. 36-37. वृषुभिः in the second pāda and the whole third pāda स्वकुलतिलकभूतैर्मुक्तरागैरुदारैः of a stanza in line 11 of the inscription have not been translated.

P. 86, l. 13. Here we have "who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and distressed." Virtue consists in fulfilling one's promise to everybody and not to persons in certain conditions only. Besides, it is not the fulfillment of a promise made to them that we should expect to find spoken of in connection with the miserable and the afflicted. Mr. Fleet's reading which he thus translates is कृपणातेवर्गसन्धाम्रदो. He does not find the आ of सन्धा in the original, but supplies it. सन्धाम्रद cannot mean 'he who fulfils his promise.' If it is a Sanskrit expression at all, it can only mean 'one who gives promises.' So that there is clearly some mistake here. If now we turn to the copy of the inscription, we shall find clearly न्त्व for Mr. Fleet's न्य; so that the word is सान्त्व. सान्त्वम्रद is 'one who brings solace,' so that what the prince did was 'to bring solace to the miserable and the afflicted.'

P. 86, ll. 32-33. Mr. Fleet reads in line 17 of the inscription, रामासनाथरचने as an adjective of काले. As such the expression is unintelligible. For, 'it being necessary to take it as a Bahuvrīhi, it can only be dissolved as रामाभिः सनाथा रचना यस्मिन् i. e. 'that in which a [certain] arrangement or system is accompanied by women.' This means nothing. What arrangement can that be? What Mr. Fleet reads as च is clearly व. र is supplied by him as the letter is effaced in the original; but, certainly, we can as well supply भ and read the

expression as रामासनायभवने *i.e.* 'that [time] in which there are lovely women in the houses,' *i.e.* when there is no separation between husband and wife. Mr. Fleet translates the next expression दरभास्कराद्युवह्वितापसुभगे by "which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the rays of the sun (*shining*) in the glens." Is the sun agreeably warm in the cold weather in the glens only, and nowhere else? Why should the word 'glens' be used then? The fact is Mr. Fleet forgets that दर means ईषद् 'little,' 'in a small degree,' 'moderate.' The sense of the expression will thus be 'which is agreeable with the moderated heat of the fire of the rays of the Sun.' And that the heat is moderated in the cold weather everybody knows.

P. 87, ll. 9-10. Mr. Fleet speaks here of "the close embrace of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (*their*) mistresses, completely under the influence of love." So, then, the breasts of young men were bulky, plump, and beautiful! Acquaintance with the descriptive manners and ideas of Sanskrit authors is not necessary to enable one to see that there is something wrong here. But if he does possess that, he will at once see that this must be a description of women and not of men as well. The original expression is स्मरदृशगतुरुणजनवल्गुभाङ्गनाविपुलकान्तपीनोरुस्तनजघनघनालिङ्गन, which is equivalent to स्मरदृशगा ये तरुणजनास्तैर्वल्गुभाङ्गना अङ्गनाथ तासां विपुलकान्तपीनान्यूरुस्तनजघनानि तेषां घनमालिङ्गनम्। It is the young men who are "completely under the influence of love," and it is they who embrace the thighs, breasts, and hips, of their beloved wives, which are bulky, beautiful, and plump. In पीनोरु, the latter part must be taken as ऊरु meaning 'a thigh,' and not उरु in the sense of 'bulky,' as Mr. Fleet takes it. You have thus three limbs spoken of, those which are principally the object of description in the case of women, and there are three adjectives to qualify them to be taken in order. Or the three adjectives might be taken as qualifying each one of the three limbs.

I must here complain that a good many photo-lithographs of the inscriptions in Mr. Fleet's volume are illegible, and consequently of little use to scholars who wish to examine the inscriptions for themselves.

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#### NOTE.

Since the preceding pages were ready for the Press, I had occasion to look into my old papers, when unexpectedly I found two impressions of the Morvi plate taken by Dr. Burgess, by beating a slip of thin and soft paper a little moistened into the letters by means of a small brush. In these impressions I do find an indentation on the left hand side of ग, which is the twelfth letter in the fourth line from the bottom, and a small faintly indented curve connecting it with the upper left hand

side flourish of the letter showing that the second stroke necessary for the syllable गौ did exist in the plate. There is thus no question whatever that the true reading is गौसे. As the original plate is not forthcoming, I have asked Dr. Peterson to take charge of these impressions as Secretary to the Bombay Asiatic Society, and deposit them in the Society's Museum, where they will be available for inspection.

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ART. VIII.—*Phonology of the Vernaculars of Northern India.*<sup>1</sup> By RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR,  
M.A., Ph.D., HON. M.R.A.S.

WE have now traced the gradual decay of Sanskrit from the form in which it is presented to us in the oldest literary records, to that which it assumed in the Apabhramśa dialect. We have seen how words lost some of their vocal elements on account of the natural tendency of men to economize effort, as well as in consequence of the fact that the vocal organs of the people, who through historical accidents had to speak that language though it was not theirs, were untrained to utter the sounds of that language, and that they imported into it some sounds to which they themselves were previously accustomed. We have also observed the effects of the operation of the law of analogy in simplifying the grammar of the language—an operation, the range of which, in consequence of the ignorance of those same foreigners, was very extensive. The declensions and conjugations gradually lost their variety and became reduced to one or two types by the generalization of the rules originally applicable only to the nouns and verbs frequently used in ordinary intercourse. At the same time the terminations themselves of some of the cases, tenses, and moods came through numberless analogies to have the same or similar forms, and their vocal body gradually became attenuated and in some instances they were altogether dropped. Thus these processes of simplification were carried on much further than was consistent with intelligibility in ordinary intercourse. Hence the necessity arose of inventing new modes of expression for those relations which came to be imperfectly expressed or ceased to be expressed in the old way. As observed in the last lecture such new expressions are to be met with in the Apabhramśa dialect. If the Prākṛits and the Apabhramśa which we have examined really represent the speech of the Indian people at certain periods of their past history, we should expect to find a relation of continuity between them and the prevailing speech of modern times. The words and grammatical forms in the modern vernaculars should either be the same as those existing in those dialects, or should be easily deducible from them by laws which we have observed to be in operation; and if in the Apabhramśa the grammatical forms came to be in a condition in which

<sup>1</sup> Continuation of Bombay Philological Lectures. See Note No. XLIII—Vol. XVI. p. 245 of 1885.

reconstruction was necessary, and if accordingly it was begun, we should find it carried on much further in the vernaculars and on principles used in the Apabhraṁśa and the older dialects and out of materials existing in them. We will therefore proceed now to the examination of the vernaculars with a view to trace this continuity.

The varieties of speech prevailing in Northern India at the present day are almost innumerable. If even a few peculiarities were to be regarded as giving individuality to a language, the number of dialects spoken in this part of the country would exceed even the proverbial fifty-six. But they may be divided into classes on the principle of resemblance; and generally the dialects spoken in the adjoining provinces are so alike each other that they may be regarded as constituting one class or even one language. Thus we have nine principal languages; and starting from ourselves, and going northwards, first on the western side of the country and then turning to the east and south-east, I may state them as the Marāṭhī, the Gujarātī, the Sindhī, including the Kachchhī, the Panjābī, the Kāśmīrī, the Hindī, the Nepālī, the Bangālī, and the Oriyā. Of these the Kāśmīrī and the Nepālī have not yet been studied, and no grammars or books are available. Hence my observations will not extend to them. Each of these has its dialects; but those of some, such as the Gujarātī and the Sindhī, differ from the main language in unimportant particulars. The same is the case with the Marāṭhī, except in some corners of the Maratha country. But in these there are five dialects differing in a great many important particulars from the main Marāṭhī. Thus, the Goanese prevails in Goa; the Mālvaṇī, my own native tongue, and the Sāvantvādī, both of which, notwithstanding some minor differences, may be considered as one, are spoken in the Mālvaṇ, Vingorla, and Sāvantvādī districts; the Chitpāvṇī is used only by the caste of Chitpāvan Brahmans in the district about Ratnāgiri; the Salsetṭī is spoken by the original inhabitants of that island and of Bombay; and the Khāndeśī, which is a mixture of Marāṭhī and Gujarātī, and contains to an appreciable degree a barbarous element, probably from a Bheel source, prevails in Khāndeś.

The Hindī has a great many dialects. Two at least may be distinguished among the variety of speech prevalent in Rajputana, the Mewārī spoken in Mewar and the adjoining districts, and the Mārwarī which prevails in Marwar, Jesselmer, and the other provinces. These, as may be inferred from their geographical position, are midway be-

tween the Gujarâti and the Hindî dialects of the North, displaying some of the peculiar characteristics of both. Further north, we have the Braj prevailing in the country about Mathura, and to the east the Kanojî. There is not much difference between these. The language of the history of 84 Vaishṇavas and other books of the Vallabhâ-châryan sects which is ordinarily supposed to be the Braj, has grammatical forms identical with those mentioned by a recent grammarian as peculiar to the Kanojî. There is a good deal of confusion as regards this matter, the characteristics of one being found in the printed books together with those belonging to another. Then further north, we have the Garhawâli and the Kumaonî spoken in the provinces of Garhawal and Kumaon. To the east, we have the Avadhî or the dialect of the province of Avadha or Ayodhyâ, and to the south of this again is the Rewâî-spoken in the State of Rewâ. Further to the east is the Bhojpurî, and kindred dialects prevailing in Bihâr and the adjacent districts on the confines of Bengal. The old literature of the Hindî is principally written in two dialects, the Braj, and what is called the Pûrbi. Sûradâsa's works, Behârilâl's Satasai, and others, are written in the former; and to these I may add the Vallabha works I have already mentioned. The Râmâyana and Tulasîdâsa's other works are written in the latter. The chief distinction between the idioms of Sûradâsa and Tulasîdâsa appears to me to be that the latter uses a great many grammatical forms which are old, and from which those used by the former are derived. In this respect Pûrbi might be considered to be a very old form of the Braj. But there are a few other distinctions, though it is questionable whether they are enough to justify the Pûrbi being considered an independent dialect. The language of Kabîra's Ramanî and Sâkhîs presents a few peculiarities found in neither of the above. But the characteristics of Sûradâsa and Tulasîdâsa are also to be found in it; so that if we leave out of consideration the other works of Kabîra in which there is probably another variety of speech, the dialect used by these Hindî poets may be considered to be the same. This has come to be regarded as the poetic dialect, and most of the other Hindî poets have written in it. Its modern representative is the Braj, in which the commentaries on Tulasîdâsa's, Kabîra's, and Behârilâl's works, and on the tenth book of the Bhâgavata that I have seen, are written. This, then is the Hindî literary dialect. The language, however, which is used as the medium of instruction in the Government schools in the North-Western Provinces, and in which the books published by the Educa-

tional Department are written, is now regarded as the Standard Hindî, and its grammatical structure is identical with that of the Urdu spoken by the Mussalmans. This is rather the dialect in which the Hindus of the different provinces in Northern India communicate with each other, than that which they speak in their own provinces. The Panjâbî has also several dialects, but little is known about them. Oriyî resembles the Bangâlî in so many respects that one of them may be considered a dialect of the other. The similarity between the Hindî and the Panjâbî is also very great. I will now give short specimens of these dialects.

### 1. Marâthî :—

क्रिस्केक लोक मुत्सद्दी यार्णी पदर पसरोन प्रार्थना आईसाहेबांची केली जे तुह्मी अभिप्रवेश केलिया नंतर संपादिल्लें राज्य लयास आजच जातें प्राण महाराज कांहीं देवीत नाहींत हा प्रकार घडतो शाहाजी महाराजांचें व शिवाजी महाराजांचें नांव जर्गी नाहींसें होतें सर्वांवर साहेबीं वृष्टि देवून राज्यांस वीसंगास घेऊन साहेबीं अभि म घेतां मानस कठिन करून राहावें। हें काम करून गेलिया वंशक्षय महाराजांचा वडिलींच केला ऐसें जर्गी प्रसिद्धता विसतें तेज्हां आई साहेबांस राहविल्लें।

(From an old Bakhara or Chronicle of Śivâjî.)

Some counsellors supplicated the lady-mother in an humble attitude saying: 'If you will burn yourself by fire, the kingdom which has been acquired goes to ruin this very day; and it will happen that the king will not bear life; the name of Śāhājī Mahārāj and Śivājī Mahārāj will not remain in the world. Therefore, your ladyship, looking to all these things should make the king sit in your lap (protect him), and not resorting to fire, render your mind firm, and live. If you do this (burn yourself), it will plainly appear to all the world that you destroyed the race of the Mahārāj.' Thus they prevailed on her to live.

### 2. Gujarātî :—

इमयंतीने तो महा आश्चर्य लाग्युं अने भ्रान्ति पडी के आ ते स्वप्न के साचुं। एवा अनेक विचार करती चालेछे एवामां एक अशोक वृक्ष रीठी र्यां रीन इमयंती आवीने कहेछे के ओ प्रियदर्शन अशोक तारा नामनी महिमा राखी मारा शोकनी नाश करी सत्यनामी था। पण कोण उत्तर आपे।

(From Mr. Mansukharāma's Nala-Damayantî.)

Damayantî felt greatly astonished and was in doubts whether it was a reality or a dream. While moving on, engaged in various such thoughts, she saw an Aśoka tree. Going there she said: "O lovely Aśoka, having regard to the greatness of thy name, destroy my śoka

(sorrow) and deserve that name." But who would answer ?

3. Sindhī:—

गिरनार कोटमे राई डिआचु नाले हिकिडो पातिशाह हो। तहिजे भेषु फकीरखां घुयां साईं मूखे पुटु डे। फकीर इनखे चिओ पुटु तोखे थीरो पर राह डिआचजो सिरु वडीरो। इन चिओ उहो पुटु ई बनि पिओ जो मूजे भाउजो सिरु वडे। पर फकीरजो चवणु पिओ सो टरे की न। थोरे घणे डिहाडे माइ-अ पुटु जण्यो।

(From the story of Râi Dîâcha in Major Stack's Grammar.)

There was a Pâtisâha (king) of the name of Râi Dîâcha. His sister begged of a Fakir: "Sire, give me a son." The Fakir said to her: "A son will be (born) to thee, but he will cut off the head of Râi Dîâcha." She said, "accursed be (*lit.* fall into a wilderness) the son who should cut off my brother's head." But the Fakir's word cannot prove vain. In a few days the woman gave birth to a son.

4. Panjâbî:—

तां फेर बाबे नानकजी कहिआ हे पंडतजी तूं सुण ब्राह्मणखतरीवा धरम अ-नेऊते रहिशा है या भले करमांते रहिदा है। सुण पंडत जे जनेऊ पावे भर बुरे कर-म करे तां उह ब्राह्मणखतरी रहिशा है या चंडाल हुवा है। जां इह गल्ल सीगुरु बाबेजी कही तां जितने लोक बैठे से सभ हैरान हो गए। तां कहिण लग्ये ऐ सीपरने-सुरजी अजां इह बालक है अते कैसीआं बातां करवा है।

(From the Janamasâkhî.)

Then again Bâbe Nânakajî said: "O Pandit, hear. Is the religious holiness of Brahmans and Kshatriyas preserved by the sacred thread or by good deeds? Hear, O Pandit, if one who is invested with the sacred thread does wicked deeds, does he remain a Brahman or Kshatriya or become a Chaṇḍâla." When Śrî Guru Bâbejî spoke thus, all the people that were sitting there were astonished. Then they began to exclaim: "O God, he is still but a child, and how wonderfully he speaks!"

5. Hindî:—

इतना कह उसने बहुतेरे उपाय हाथ निकालनेको क्रिये पर एक भी काम न आया। निदान सांस रुककर पेट फट गया। तो पछाड खाद्य के गिरा तब उसके शरीरसे लोह नदीकी भांति वह निकला। तिस समै ग्वालबाल आय आय देखने लगे औ श्रीकृष्णचंद्र आगे आय बनमें एक कसम की छांहतले खडे हुए।

(Premasûgarâ, chap. 38.)



Having said so much, he made many attempts to throw out his (Krishna's) hand, but none was of any use. At last, he was suffocated and his belly burst out. Then he fell down, and blood flowed from his body in torrents. At that time the cowherd boys came one after another and began to see; and Śrī Krishna went forward and stood in the shade of a Kadamba tree in the forest.

#### 6. Braj:—

जब सब ब्रजवासीनने सुनी जो श्रीदेवमदनको गाय बहोत प्रिय है तब सबनने मिलिके यह विचार क्रियौ जो जाके गाय होय सो सब एक एक तथा सोय सोय भेद करो। और श्रीगिरिराजके आसपास जो चौबीस गाम हैं तिनके पाससौ सब ब्रजवासी मिलिके एक एक रोइ रोइ गाइ भेद करवाई। और यह ठहरी जो बीस गाममें जाके प्रथम गाय ब्यावै सो बछिया तो देवमदनको भेद करै। ऐसे सहस्रावधि गाय श्रीजीके भेद भई। तब दूध वही माखन और मठा सब घरकी गायनका आरोने।

(From the Story of the Manifestation of Govardhananāthji.)

When all the inhabitants of Vraja heard that Devadamana was greatly fond of cows, they all joined and resolved that all who had cows should each present one or two. And the inhabitants of Vraja joined and caused each of the twenty-four villages about the mountain (Govardhana) to present one or two cows each. And it was resolved that in the twenty villages he whose cow should first calve should present the calf to Devadamana. In this way thousands of cows were presented to the Prosperous one. Then he used the milk, curds, butter, and whey of the cows in his home.

#### 7. Bangālī:—

तबे चुन्ने? आर बत्सर जखन आमि पाला ज्वर भुगते छिनु-दिबारात्रि बिठानाय पडे थाकितुम-उठिया दांडाइबार शक्ति छिल ना, से समय स्वामी आसिया उपस्थित हलेन। स्वामी केमन ज्ञान हओया अवधि देखि नाइ, मेये मानुषेर स्वामी न्याय धन नाइ। मने करिलाम बुइ दण्ड काछे बसे कथा कहिले रोगेर यन्त्रणा कम हबे। विरि बल्ले प्रत्यय जाबे ना—तिनि आमार काछे दांडाइयाइ अमनि बललेन शोल बत्सर हइल तोमाके बिबाह करे गियाछि—तुमि आमार एक स्त्री—टाकार दरकारे तोमार निकटे आसितेछि—शीघ्र जाब—तोमार बापके बल्लाम तिनि तो फांकि दिलेन—तोमार हातेर गहना खुलिया राओ।

(From Peary Chand's *Ālāler gharer dulāla—a Kulīna marriage.*)

Will you hear then? That year at the time when I was suffering from intermittent fever, remained lying in bed day and night, and

had no strength to rise and stand, my lord (husband) came. I had not seen what sort of a man my husband was since I ceased to be an infant. Nothing is more valuable to a woman than her husband. I had thought that my suffering would become alleviated, if he sat by my side for a few minutes (*lit.* two *daṇḍas*) and spoke with me. Dear sister, you will not believe me when I say that, as soon as he stood by my side, he said, "it is sixteen years since I married you and I went away. You are one of my wives. I come to you, being in need of money, and will go back soon. I spoke to your father, but he put me off. Do pull out the ornament in your arm (round the wrist), and give it to me."

8. Oriya:—

गोठि ए मशा एक षण्डशृङ्ग उररे बसि अहङ्गाररे आपणाकु भारी बुझि षण्डकु कहिला आहे षण्ड आम्ह बसिवाह जेवे तुम्हकु भारी लागे तेवे कह आम्हे अन्य स्थानकु उडि जाउं। ए कथा गुणि वृष कहिला आरे मशा तु जे आम्ह उपरे बसि-अञ्जु ए कथार देर सुद्धा पाइ नाई।

(*Fables published by the Calcutta School Book Society.*)

A certain guat sitting on a horn of an ox, and with pride thinking itself heavy, said, "O ox, if in consequence of my sitting, you feel heavily weighted, tell me, and I will fly away to another spot." Hearing these words the ox said, "O guat, I had not even the slightest idea that you were sitting on me."

In these extracts there are a great many words which on examination will be found to be derived from Sanskrit through the *Prākṛits*; in other words, the vernacular forms will be found to be the same as, or further developments of, the *Prākṛit* forms.

Thus we have in No. 1.

किति, Pr. केतिअ or कितिअ, Skr. कियत् with the termination इक changed to इअ.

वा of वार्णी, Pr. अअ or अअ in अअे nom. sing. Skr. अयम्.

पसर, Pr. पसर, Skr. प्रसर in प्रसरति.

के of केली, from Pr. कअ or कय, Skr. कृत, ल, being a termination often used in the *Prākṛits*.

जे, Pr. जअ, Skr. यकत्, क being a suffix used in the *Prākṛits* generally, and sometimes in Sanskrit also.

तुम्ही, Apabh. तुम्हइं, Pr. तुम्हे or तुम्हए, Skr. such a form as तुम्हके, by analogy, for वृद्यम्.

आज, Pr. अज्ज, Skr. अज.

- जा, of जातें, Pr. जा, Skr. या.  
 काहीं, Pr. केहिं, Skr. केभिः.  
 डेव of डेवीत, Pr. ठाव, Skr. स्थाप in स्थापयति.  
 हा, Apabhr. एहो, Pr. एसओ, Skr. एषकः.  
 घड of घडतौ, Pr. घड, Skr. घट in घटते.  
 नांव, Pr. नाम, Skr. नाम.  
 जग, Pr. जग, Skr. जगत्.  
 हो of होतें, Pr. हो, Skr. भव in भवति.  
 वर, Pr. उवरि, Skr. उपरि.  
 दे of देवून, Pr. दि as in दिष्ण, Skr. इत्त.  
 बीसंग or ओसंग, Pr. उच्छङ्ग, Skr. उत्सङ्ग. The छ of Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Hindi &c., is in Marāṭhī changed to स्.  
 घे of घेऊन and घेतां, Pr. घे as in घेचूण. Skr. गृह as in गृहीत्वा.  
 न, Pr. and Skr. same.  
 कर of करून, Pr. कर as in करइ, Skr. करोति.  
 काम, Pr. कम्म, Skr. कर्म.  
 गे of गेलिया, Pr. गअ or गय, Skr. गत्.  
 वडिल, Pr. वडू, Skr. वृद्ध, इल being a Prākṛit suffix.  
 ऐसें, Apabhr. अइस, Pr. ईविस, Skr. ईदृश.  
 विस of विसतें, Pr. विस in वीसइ, Skr. इद्वयते.

In No. 2.

- तो, Apabhr. तउ, Pr. ताव, Skr. तावत्.  
 लाग, Pr. लग्ग, Skr. लग्न.  
 अने, Pr. अने ? Skr. अन्य.  
 पड, Pr. पड, Skr. पत् in पतति.  
 ते from such Pr. and Skr. forms as ते, तं, तेण or तेन &c.  
 के, Pr. कय or कअ, Skr. कक for the crude किमकक्.  
 साचुं, Apabhr. सखउं, Pr. सखअं, Skr. सत्यकम्.  
 एवो, Apabhr. एहु or एहउ and अइसो, Pr. इविसो, Skr. ईदृशः.  
 कर as in No. 1.  
 चाल, Pr. चल, Skr. चल.  
 वीत्रो, Apabhr. विवउ, Pr. विहओ, Skr. वृष्टकः.  
 त्यां, Pr. तहिं, Skr. तस्मिन्.  
 आव, from Pr. आअओ, Skr. आगतः.  
 कह, Pr. कह, Skr. कथ as in कथयति.  
 छे, Pr. आच्छइ, Skr. आस्ते.  
 तार of तारा, Apabhr. तुहार for तुहआर, तुह being the Skr. तुभ्यम् and आर, कार.

नाम, Pr. नाम, Skr. नाम.

राख, Pr. रक्ख, Skr. रक्ष.

मार of मारा, Apabhr महार for महआर, मह being the Pr. for Skr. मह्यम् and आर for कार.

था, Pr. था, Skr. स्था.

पप, Pr. पुणो, Skr. पुनः.

कोण, Pr. कउण, Skr. कः पुनः.

आप, Pr. अप्प, Skr. अर्प.

In No. 3.

ना of नाल, Pr. and Skr. नाम, ल being suffix.

हो Apabhr. हूअउ, Pr. हूअओ, Skr. भूतः (भूतकः).

तहिं of तहिंजे, Pr. तेसि, Skr. तेषाम्.

भेणु, Pr. भइणी, Skr. भगिनी.

साई, Pr. सामी, Skr. स्वामी.

मू of मूखे, Apabhr. महु, Pr. मह, Skr. मह्यम्.

पुड, Pr. पुत्तो, Skr. पुत्रः.

तो of तोखे, Apabhr. तउ, Pr. तुह, Skr. तुभ्यम्.

डे, Pr. दा, Skr. दा.

राइ, Pr. राअ-राय-राभा, Skr. राजा.

सिर of सिरु, Pr. सिरं, Skr. शिरम्.

वड, Pr. वडू, Skr. वर्ध.

भाउ, Pr. भाउओ, Skr. भ्रातृकः

चवण, from Pr. चव for Skr. वृच.

थिअ, Pr थिअ, Skr. स्थित.

सो, Pr. सो, Skr. सः.

क्री, Pr. कहिं, Skr. कस्मिन्.

माइ, Pr. माइआ, Skr. मातृका.

थोरे, थो from Pr. थोअ, Skr. स्तोत्र, and र or ड, a suffix.

डिहाउ, Apabhr. दिअहउ, उ being a termination often used, Pr. दिअह, Skr. दिवस.

अण, Pr. जण, Skr. जन of जनयति.

In No. 4.

तां, Pr. तहिं, Skr. तस्मिन्.

कह, as in No. 2.

तू, Pr. तुं, Skr. त्वम्.

सुण, Pr. सुण as in सुणइ, Skr. शृण as in शृणोति.

अनेऊ, Pr. जण्णोवीअ, Skr. यज्ञोपवीत.

हे, from अस् Pr. and Skr.

- भला, Apabhr. भल्लउ, Pr. भल्लओ, Skr. भद्रकः, i.e. भद्र with suffix क.  
 जे, Pr. जे or जए, Skr. जे or जके.  
 पाव in पावे, Pr. पाव, Skr. प्राप as in प्राप्नोति.  
 अर, Pr. अवर, Skr. अपर.  
 कर, as in Nos. 1 and 2.  
 हु of हुंदा, as in No. 1.  
 जां, Pr. जहिं, Skr. यस्मिन्.  
 इह, Apabhr. एह, Pr. एस, Skr. एष.  
 जित of जितने, Pr. जित्तिअ, Skr. यावत् with suffix इक.  
 बैठा, Pr. उवइइओ, Skr. उपविष्टकः, i.e. उपविष्ट with suffix क.  
 से, plural from Pr. सो, Skr. सः.  
 सभ, Pr. सब्ब, Skr. सर्व.  
 गभा, Pr. गभओ, Skr. गतकः, i.e. गत with क.  
 लग्ग, Pr. लग्ग, Skr. लग्न.  
 अज्ज of अजां, Pr. अज्ज, Skr. अद्य.  
 कैस of कैसा, Apabh. कइस, Pr. कीदिस, Skr. कीदृष्ट.  
 बात, Pr. वत्त, Skr. वृत्त.

In No. 5.

- इत of इतना, Pr. इत्तिअ, Skr. इयत् with इक.  
 कह, as in Nos. 2 and 4.  
 हाय, Pr. हय्थ, Skr. हस्त.  
 किय of किये, Pr. किअ, Skr. कृत.  
 मी, Pr. वि, Skr. अपि.                      ..  
 काम, as in No. 1.  
 न, Pr. Skr. same.  
 भाय of आया, Pr. आभअ, Skr. आगत.  
 गय of गया, Pr. गअ, Skr. गत.  
 तो as in No. 2.  
 खा of खाय, Pr. खाअ, Skr. खाइ.  
 लोइ, Pr. लोहिअ, Skr. लोहित.  
 वह, Pr. Skr. same.  
 तिस, Pr. तस्स, Skr. तस्य.  
 ग्वाल, Pr. गोआल or गोवाल, Skr. गोपाल.  
 बाल, Pr. Skr. same.  
 देख, Pr. देख्ख, Skr. द्रक्ष or वृक्ष.  
 लग्ग of लगे, as लाग्ग in No. 2 and लग्ग in No. 4.  
 औ, Pr. उअ, Skr. उत.  
 आग of आगे, Pr. अग्ग, Skr. अघ.

भा as in No. 1.

छाह, Pr. छाभा, Skr. छाया.

हुअ of हुए, as हो in No. 3.

In No. 6.

सब, Pr. सब्ब, Skr. सर्व.

सुन of सुनी, Pr. सुण, Skr. शृण.

गाय or गाह, Pr. गावी, Skr. गाव as in गावम् &c.

मिल of मिलिकै, Pr. Skr. same.

किय as in No. 5.

जो, Pr. जओ, Skr. सकः i.e. य with the suffix क or भक.

हो of होय or होह, as in No. 1.

सो, Pr. सो or सओ, Skr. सः or सकः i.e. स with क or भक.

होय or होह, Pr. हुवे or हो, Skr. हे or हौ.

कर as in Nos. 1, 2 and 4.

और, Pr. अवर, Skr. अपर.

चौबीस, Pr. चउबीसा, Skr. चतुर्विंशति.

गाम, Pr. गाम, Skr. ग्राम.

है as in No. 4.

तिन of तिनके, Pr. ताण, Skr. तानाम्, by analogy, for तेषाम्.

पास, Pr. पस्त, Skr. पार्श्व.

अह, Apabhr. एह, Pr. एस, Skr. एष.

ठहर of ठहरा, Pr. ठिर, Skr. स्थिर.

बीस, Pr. बीसा, Skr. विंशति.

ब्या of ब्यावे, Pr. and Skr. वी.

बछ of बछिया, Pr. वच्छ, Skr. वत्स.

तां as in Nos. 2 and 5.

ऐसे as in No. 1.

भूअ of भई, Pr. भूअ, Skr. भूम.

बूध, Pr. बुद्ध, Skr. बुध्.

बही, Pr. बहि, Skr. बधि.

माखन, Pr. मक्खण, Skr. मक्षण.

मठ of मडा, Pr. मथ, Skr. मथ्.

घर, Pr. घर, Skr. गृह.

In No. 7.

शुन of शुन्वे or शुनिवे, as सुण and सुन in Nos. 4 and 6.

आर, Pr. अवर, Skr. अपर.

आमि, Apabhr. अम्हह, Pr. अम्हे, Skr. such a form as अस्मके or अस्मे for अयम्.

पाला, Pr. पलाभ, Skr. पर्याय.

पड of पडे or पडिया, as in No. 2.

उठ of उठिया, Pr. उठा, Skr. उत्था.

आछे in छिल, छिनु &c., Pr. आच्छद्, Skr. आस्ते.

से, Pr. सो, Skr. सः.

आस of आसिया, Pr. आगच्छ or आभच्छ, Skr. आगच्छ.

हो of हलेन or होलेन, as in Nos. 1, 4 and 6.

वेख of वेखि, as in No. 5.

नाइ, Pr. नाइ, Skr. नहि.

मन, Pr. मन, Skr. मनः.

बुइ, Pr. बुवे, Skr. ब्वे.

काच्छ of काच्छे, Pr. कच्छा, Skr. कक्षा.

बस of बसे, Pr. उवहस, Skr. उपविश.

कह, as in Nos. 2, 4, and 5.

बल or बोल, Pr. बोल्ल, Skr. बू.

तिनि, Pr. ताण, Skr. तानाम्, by analogy for तेषाम्.

षोल, Pr. सोलह, Skr. षोडश.

तोमा of तोमाके, Apabhr. तुम्हई, Pr. तुम्हाणं, Skr. तुम्हानं, by analogy for तुम्हाम्.

कर as in Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 6.

गे or गय of गियाछि as in Nos. 1 and 5.

जा of जाब, as in Nos. 1 and 5.

हात, Pr. हथ, Skr. हस्त.

तो as in Nos. 2, 5, and 6.

दि as दि in No. 1.

In No. 8.

माशा, Pr. मसअ, Skr. मशक.

बस of बसि, as in No. 7.

आपणा, Pr. अप्यण, Skr. आत्मन as in आत्मना &c.

बुइ of बुसि, Pr. बुइइ, Skr. बुध्य as in बुध्यति.

कह as in Nos. 2, 4, 5 and 6.

आम्भे, Apabhr. अम्हइ, Pr. अम्भे, Skr. such a form as अत्मके or अस्मे, for वयम्, as in No. 7.

तुम्भ as तुम्ही in No. 1.

लाग, as in No. 2, and as लग्ग and लग्ग in Nos. 4 and 5.

उड of उडि, Pr. उडु, Skr. उडु as in उडुयते.

आ as in Nos. 1, 5, and 7.

द्युण as in Nos. 4, 6, and 7.

त, as तू in No. 4.

पाअ of पाह, as पाव in No. 4.

जे as in No. 1.

ए, Apabhr. एह, Pr. एह, Skr. एष, as इह in No. 4, and यह in No. 6.

You will find that in the Marāṭhī passage there are about 58 different words of which 26 or a few less than a half are derived from the Sanskrit through the Prākṛits; in the Gujarāṭī there are 42 out of which 23 or a few more than a half are of the latter description; in the Sindhī the proportion is 38 to 21 or somewhat greater than a half; in the Panjābī 44 to 23 or a half; in the High Hindī 48 to 23 or a little less than a half; in the Braj 45 to 29, *i.e.* about two-thirds; in the Bangālī 71 to 27, *i.e.* about two-fifths; and in the Oriyā 32 to 15 or a little less than a half. I have not taken into consideration other words which do come to us undoubtedly through the Prākṛits, but the etymology of which is not so obvious. These would increase the proportion and bring it to more than one-half in most of the cases. In this list there are three or four words such as नाम and वह which may be called old Tatsama, since they exist unchanged in the Prākṛits, and the rest may be called old Tadbhava. Now in these passages you will also have seen a large number of words such as प्रार्थना, अभिप्रवेश, भाश्चर्य, स्वम, बालक, शरीर, नदी, मिथ, प्रथम, उवर, विचारवि, घृङ्ग, स्थान &c., which are exactly the same as in Sanskrit. They could not have existed in those forms in the Prākṛits, and hence it is clear that they were introduced long after the Prākṛit period; and the tendency now-a-days in our languages is to introduce more of such words. These may be called modern Tatsamas. But some of these have undergone a corruption since they were adopted. Thus कर्म is pronounced as करम; धर्म, धरम; क्षत्रिय, खतरी; कार्य, कारज; and कृपा, कर्पा or कुर्पा; while the Prākṛit corruptions of these are कम्म, धम्म खत्तिभ, कज्ज, and क्किवा. Such words therefore are modern Tadbhavas. At the end of my observations on the Prākṛits in the last lecture I gave a list of vocables existing in those dialects which are called Deśyas by native grammarians, and showed that several of them existed in our vernaculars also. We observe from the above passages which contain such words as मुत्सद्दी, साहेब, and पातिशाह that there are in modern dialects words of an Arabic or Persian origin also. Thus we may distinguish these elements in the vocabulary of the vernaculars of Northern India:—1. Old Tadbhava, 2. Old Tatsama, 3. Modern Tadbhava, 4. Modern Tatsama, 5. Deśya, 6. Arabic, and 7. Persian. In its nature the old Tatsama element is but a small quantity and the main skeleton of



our languages is made up of the old Tadbhava. It forms the principal constituent of the speech of the middle classes. The higher classes however use the Modern Tatsama and Tadbhava element to a much larger extent; and the language spoken by learned men is heavily loaded with pure Sanskrit words. This element has succeeded in driving out a very appreciable portion of the first, in some of the languages. The Bangālî contains the largest number of pure Sanskrit words, and hence one who knows Sanskrit can master the language in but a few weeks. The old Tadbhava element is reduced to the smallest minimum in what is called the *sādhubhāshā* or the speech of the educated. According to the extent of the modern Tatsama or Tadbhava element, the other languages may be arranged in the following order:—Oriyâ, Marāthî, Hindî, Gujarâtî, Panjâbî, Sindhî. This last contains but a few pure Sanskrit words; hence it is rich in the old Tadbhava element, while it draws largely upon the Persian and Arabic. This foreign element is used in our dialects, principally in political matters. Persian and Arabic words are also used in the concerns of ordinary life, but their number is limited. The higher classes and learned men very rarely use them; while that element enters largely into the speech of the Mahomedans in the different provinces and of the Parsis. And the Mahomedans in the Hindî area use such a large number of these words that their language is by some considered an independent dialect and called Urdu, but it differs from the High Hindî in nothing further than in the use of these foreign words.

But though the vocabulary of our languages is thus composite the grammar is in every way the same that they have inherited from the Prākṛits. Here there is no mixture of different elements. A good many of the forms now in use have been constructed since the Prākṛit period; but, as I hope to show you, they are simply combinations or adaptations of existing Prākṛit forms. Thus we will divide our examination of the vernaculars into three branches. In the first we will trace out the Sanskrit words which were transformed in the Pāli and the Prākṛits in the various ways we have noticed, and discover the operation of the same or other laws in their further transformation, if they have undergone any, as also in the transformation of other words which remained unchanged in the Prākṛits or were imported from Sanskrit at a later period. In the second we will trace out the Prākṛit or Apabhraṁśa grammatical forms, and in the third, examine the

new or reconstructed forms and find out the principles upon which they have been made up.

The phonetic changes which the words of a living language undergo involve, as a general rule, economy of exertion in its widest sense; but there are some which do not, or which require increased effort. Economy may sometimes be effected in more ways than one. For instance, the assimilation of vowels to consonants may be effected by changing अ to ओ and thence to उ, or to ए and इ. Some people have a predilection for the former, others for the latter. Again, one mode of change may be economical to some, and another opposed to it to others. Thus the assimilation involved in the less open vowels इ and उ is of importance to some, but of little consequence to others; and they prefer the economy arising from the change of these vowels to अ since this does not require any movement of the tongue or the lips. Here then we have two kinds of peculiarities. Again, if an ordinary change has a very comprehensive range or is almost universal in a language, and if other ordinary changes do not keep pace with it, and are to be found only in a limited number of instances, that ordinary change must be considered to be due to a peculiar vocal habit or incapacity. The assimilation of conjuncts and of the diphthongs in the Pāli and the Prākṛits, and the elision of uninitial consonants in the latter, are changes of this nature. And finally, there is all the greater reason for attributing changes that involve no economy or necessitate greater exertion, such as the change of dentals to cerebrals or of sonants to surds, to vocal peculiarities. These several kinds of peculiarities give distinct individualities, so far as the external forms of words are concerned, to languages derived from one and the same primitive language. Thus then, some phonetic changes are special or peculiar, and others ordinary. We will now take up in order the instances observable in the Pāli and the Prākṛits of these two kinds of changes and trace them in the vernaculars, and also endeavour to find out whether these dialects have preserved any of the Pāli and Prākṛit peculiarities or developed new ones.

And first as regards vowels. The following are some of the instances in which Sanskrit क् is changed to अ, इ, or उ in the Prākṛits with the vernacular forms of the words :—

अ.

1. Skr. कृत्ति: skin, Pr. कत्ति, M. कात in कातडे.

Skr. वृष्ट: rubbed away, slender, Pr. पही, G. and H. वड as a verbal base in वडवु and वडना.

Skr. मृदु soft, Pr. मऊ, M. and G. मऊ.

Skr. वृषभः bull, Pr. वसहो, H. बसह.

Skr. कृष्णः proper name, Pr. कण्हो, M. G. H. कान्ह or कान्हा.

Skr. तृणम् straw, Pr. तणं, M. तण.

इ.

2. Skr. कृपा pity, Pr. किवा, M. कीव.

Skr. हृदयम् heart, Pr. हिअभं, H. B. O. हिय or हिया, old M. हिये,  
Mod. M. हिद्या, S. हिओ, हिआउं, G. हद्या, P. हियाउं.

Skr. मृष्टम् sweet, Pr. मिहं, P. मिहा, H. मीठा, B. O. मिठा, G. मीठुं, S. मिठो.

Skr. { वृष्टः seen, Pr. विहो, G. वीठो, S. डीठो.  
वृष्टिः sight, Pr. विही, M. H. वीठ or वीठी.  
वृष्टय of वृष्टयते is seen, Pr. विस्सह, M. विस in विसणें, P. विस  
in विसणा, S. डिस in डिसणु, O. विह in विशिवार.

Skr. शृगालः jackal, Pr. सिआलो, G. B. शियाल, H. सियार.

Skr. घृणा pity, disgust, Pr. घिणा, H. घिन, P. घिण.

Skr. शृङ्गम् horn, Pr. सिङ्गं, M. B. O. शिंग, G. H. सींग, P. सिंग, S.

सिङ्गु.

Skr. कृषिः husbandry, Pr. किसी, H. P. किस in किसान and किसान.

Skr. तृषा thirst, Pr. तिसा, P. तिहा, S. टिह.

Skr. गृध्रः a vulture, Pr. गिद्धो, P. गिद्ध, M. G. H. गधि, M. गिधउ  
also, B. गिधर. उ and र being the same termination, S. गिह.

Skr. मृत्युः death, Pr. मिचू H. मीच.

Skr. घृतम् ghee, Pr. घिअं, O. घिअ, G. H. P. B. घी, S. गिह.

Skr. बृहस्पतिः name of a deity, बिहस्पह, H. बिपै.

Skr. मातृगृहम् mother's house, Pr. माहहंरं, M. माहेर, G. महीहं or महियर.

Skr. पितृगृहम् father's house, Pr. पिहहर, H. पीहर, G. पीयर.

उ.

3. Skr. पृच्छ to ask. Pr. पुच्छ, P. पुच्छ in पुच्छणा, S. पुछ in पुछणु,  
H. G. पूछ in पूछना-उं, M. पुस in पुसणें.

Skr. वृष्टः rained, Pr. वुठो. P. बुडा, S. वुठो, G. वुठ in वुठउं.

Skr. प्रावृष् rain, Pr. पाउसो, M. पाऊस, H. पावस.

Skr. ऋजु straight, Pr. उऊजू, M. उऊजू.

Skr. पितृकः father, Pr. पिउओ, S. P. पिउ.

\* Mr. Beames considers the उ of the S. पिउ, भाउ, &c., to be the nom. sing. termination and not a transformation of the Sanskrit ऋ. But he is evidently wrong, since this उ appears in the oblique cases also, as पिउओ, भाउओ, &c. ;

Skr. मानृष्वसृका mother's sister, Pr. माउस्सिभा, H. मौसी, M. मावशी.  
The others have मासी, probably by dropping उ.

Skr. भृङ्गः a bee, Pr. भुङ्गो, M. अंगा.

The word घृतम् has घअं in the Prākṛits according to the grammarians, but घिअं also must have existed; so also भृङ्ग has भिङ्गो. Some of the above words have two forms in the Prākṛits, but since one of them does not occur in any of the vernaculars, it has been omitted. There are other words having two or even three Prākṛit forms, one of which occurs in one of the vernaculars, and the other or others in another. Thus:—

- |                               |   |   |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| 4. Skr. तृणम् straw,          | { | Pāli तिणं, H. तिन in तिनका.<br>Pr. तणं, M. तण, P. तुण in तुणका.   |
| Skr. कृतम् done, Pr.          | { | किरो or किओ, G. कीरो, H. किया, P. कीता, S. कियो or कीतो.<br>कओ, S. कयो, M. के for कय or कअ in केला, B. के or कै in कैल*, O. कला.  |
| Skr. मृतः dead, Pr.           | { | मुओ, G. S. मुओ, H. मुआ.<br>मओ, M. मे for मय in मेला.  |
| Skr. वृद्धः old, Pr. ....     | { | वुडो, G. बुडो, S. बुदो, H. P. बुडा, O. बुदा, B. बुदा.<br>वडो, S. वडो, H. P. बडा, B. O. बड, M. dial. छड, in the sense of "large," G. वडो, M. G. S. वड in वडिल, and वडेरो, meaning "elder." |
| Skr. पृष्ठम् back, Pr. ....   | { | पड, M. पाठ, G. पाठ as in पाडुं a carbuncle.<br>पिड, P. पिड, G. H. पीठ, O. पिठ, B. पिठ or पिट.<br>पुड, G. पूड, S. पुडि.  |
| Skr. मृत्तिका earth, Pr. .... | { | मत्तिआ or मट्टिआ, M. माती, H. मट्टी or माटी, G. B. O. माटी.<br>मिडिआ, G. H. P. मिटी, S. मिटी.   |

while the nom. sing. उ does not, as in देहजो, gen. sing. of देह "a country." The words have उ even in those languages such as the P. and M. which have discarded the nom. sing. उ, and it appears even in the feminine word माउ which cannot take the masculine termination उ.

\* चारि भाग कैल वेदव्यास से कारण B. Mahābhārata.

Skr मातृका mother, Pr.	}	माइआ, G. S. P. II. माइ or माई, G. II. माए, O. B. माई and माइया contracted to मेये, meaning 'a woman' generally.
		माउआ, S. P. H. माउ or माऊ. M. माय and G. P. H. B. O. मा are from Pr. माआ, Skr. माता.
Skr. भ्रातृकः brother, Pr. ...	}	भाइओ, G. S. P. II. B. O. भाइ or भाई.
		भाउओ, M. S. P. भाउ or भाऊ.

As the Pāli and the Prākṛit alphabet, on account of these changes, has no क्, so do the vernacular alphabets not possess it. Sanskrit words containing the vowel have, however, been recently imported into the languages ; but since even in those words, it is not correctly pronounced except by a few learned men, it cannot be said really to exist in vernacular speech, notwithstanding the use of those words. The usual modern pronunciation of the vowel is र, रि, रु, or अर्.

Another characteristic change we noticed in the Prākṛits is the softening of इ and उ to ए and औ before double consonants. A good many words so changed have descended to the vernaculars. Thus:—

5. Skr. सिन्दूरः red lead, Pr. सिन्दूरो or सेन्दूरो, M. सैवूर, H. सैवूर, G. B. सिवूर, S. सिधुरु.

Skr. शिमुः a kind of tree, Pr. शेग्गु or शिग्गु, M. शेगूल or शेगट.

Skr. पिण्डः a ball, a bundle, Pr. पिण्डो or पेण्डो, M. पेंडा-पेंडी, H. P. पिंडा, G. पिंडो, S. पिंडो or पिंडी.

Skr. पुस्तकम् a volume, Pr. पोत्थओ, H. P. पोथा and पोथी, M. G. पोथी, S. पोथु and पोथी, O. पोथी, B. पुथी or पुती.

Skr. मुद्गरः a mallet, Pr. मोग्गरो, M. H. भोगरा, G. भोगर, S. मुडिरो, B. O. मुगुर.

Skr. मूल्यम् value, Pr. मोल्लं, H. M. मोल, O. मूल, G. मूल.

Skr. मुस्ता a kind of grass, Pr. मोत्था, M. मोथा in नागरमोथा, H. Pr. मोथा, S. G. मोथ, O. मुथा.

Skr. मुक्तः free, Pr. मोक्को, M. P. मोक in मोकळा, G. मोक in मोकळं, S. मोकल, O. मुकुळा.

Skr. कुक्षिः a side of the belly or abdomen, Pr. कोक्खी, H. कोख, P. कुक्ख or कोख, G. कुख, S. कुखि, M. कूस, from Pr. कुच्छी.

Skr. गुच्छः a bunch, Pr. गोच्छो, B. गुच्चि, गुछि, or गोछा, O. गोछा, M. वौस, H. P. गुच्छा, G. गुच्छो, S. लुगो (by transposition) or गोश.

Skr. कुष्ठम् white leprosy, Pr. कोडं, M. कोड, H. G. कोद, S. कोडु, B. कोड, कुड or कुड, O. कोद or कुड.

Skr. कूर्परः elbow, Pr. कोप्परो, M. कौपर, G. कोपरिथुं.

Skr. शुण्डा the trunk of an elephant, Pr. सोण्डा, M. सौंड, P. सुंड, II. सुंड or सुंड, G. सुंड, S. सुंडि, B. O. सुंड, O. सौंड ?

Skr. तुण्ड mouth, Pr. तोण्डं, M. तौंड.

Skr. कुण्डम् a puddle, Pr. कौण्डं, M. कौंड, G. कुंडी, कुंडुं.

Skr. मुग्ध foolish, Pr. मोद्ध or मोग्ग, II. P. मोधु, S. भौवू, मौंगो, M. भौवू ?

Skr. तुन्द a pot-belly, Pr. सोन्द, H. P. तौंद, M. सौंद, G. पुंद.

The G. ओच्चरुं 'to pronounce' from Skr. and Pr. उच्चर, ओळंगुं 'to transgress' from Skr. Pr. उलङ्गु, G. ओकतुं, M. ओकर्णे, H. ओकना 'to vomit' from Pr. उग्गिर, Skr. उद्गिर, are also later instances of the operation of the same law.

The change of इ to ए is according to the grammurians optional in the Prākṛits and that of उ to औ necessary. But in both cases we find two forms in the vernaculars. Still the prevailing forms in the latter are those in औ, while those in उ are rare and mostly to be found in the Bangālī and Oriyā, which languages, and more especially the first, have a predilection for उ, in which case it is possible they may have changed the Prākṛit औ to उ. In the Pāli and Prākṛits the ए and औ in these cases are short; but the vernaculars having dropped one of the following double consonants have, according to a general rule to be noticed hereafter lengthened the vowels. When instead of a double consonant, there is a conjunct of a nasal and a mute as in सेन्दूर and तोण्ड, the nasal consonant is reduced to a simple anusvāra or nasal sound so as to give to the conjunct the character of a simple consonant, and the ए or औ is pronounced long as in सैन्दूर and तौंड. In this manner, though the Prākṛit short ए and औ are, in the instances in which we possess an evidence of their existence, lengthened, I think in some of the vernaculars at least we have these vowels. For in a good many instances in Marāṭhī and Gujarāṭī ए and औ are pronounced short. There is a rule which in Marāṭhī is almost universal, and in Gujarāṭī, often observable, in virtue of which the accent or the whole weight of the sound of a word falls on the final आ or एं of nouns in the former and the final औ or ऊं in the latter; and the preceding vowels are rendered short while in the original Sanskrit and in Hindi they are long. Thus :

6. Skr. कीटकः a worm, Pr. कीडओ, H. कीडा, M. किडा.

Skr. कीलकः a nail, Pr. कीलओ, H. कीला, M. लिळा.

Skr. कूपकः a well, Pr. कूवओ, H. कूआ, G. कुवो.

Skr. चित्रकः leopard, Pr. चित्तओ, H. चीता, M. चिता, G. चित्तो.

Skr. चूडकः a bangle, Pr. चूडओ, H. चूडा, M. चुडा, G. चुडो.

Skr. चूर्णकः lime, Pr. चुण्णओ, H. चूना, M. चुना, G. चुनो.

And many more instances might be given. Similarly in Marāṭhī the preceding long vowels are shortened when the terminations of the oblique cases are applied, as in भिकेस, पिकास, किडीस, पिठास, उनास, भुकेस, र्गुळ्हास, &c., dative singulars of भीक 'beggary,' पीक 'crop,' कीड 'a worm,' पीठ 'flour,' ऊन 'sun,' भूक 'hunger,' गूळ 'molasses,' &c. If so, then by a necessary law of Marāṭhī speech, the ए and ओ of गेला 'gone,' केला 'done,' मेळा 'a gathering,' जेवढा 'as much,' पेढा 'sweetment,' घोडा 'a horse,' कोळसा 'charcoal,' गोफा 'the ankle,' जोडा 'a pair,' &c., and of शेपास 'to cowdung,' शेतास 'to a field,' पेठेस 'to a market,' लेंकरास 'to a child,' गोतास 'to a race,' चोरास 'to a thief,' पोरस 'to a boy,' &c., must be short. And if the Marāṭhī speaker will compare his pronunciation of मेळ, शेत, शेप, गोत, पोर, &c., with that of मेळा, शेतास, शेपास, गोतास, पोरस, &c., he will find that the quantity of ए and ओ in these latter words is shorter than in the former. Similarly, in Gujarāṭī the first ए and ओ of केवो 'how large,' वेलो 'a mad man,' छेडो 'end,' मेडो 'an upper storey,' मेळो 'a gathering,' खोळो 'lap,' घोडो 'a horse,' चोखा *pl.* 'rice,' पोळो 'broad,' पोणा *pl.* 'three-quarters,' मोगरो 'jessamine,' कोळसो 'charcoal,' &c., must be short. In Gujarāṭī the penultimate vowel of a monosyllabic root is, as in Hindī, shortened in the causal, as in लागवुं 'to adhere,' लगाडवुं 'to cause to adhere,' 'join,' धाववुं 'to run,' धवाडवुं 'to cause to run,' सीखवुं 'to learn,' सिखाववुं 'to teach,' सीववुं 'to sew,' सिवाडवुं 'to cause to sew,' बीहवुं 'to fear,' बिहवाडवुं 'to terrify,' &c. But in Hindī the short vowels that take the place of ए and ओ are इ and उ, as in दिखाना 'to show' from देखना 'to see,' धुलाना 'to cause to wash' from धोना 'to wash,' &c. But in Gujarāṭī the ए and ओ are not changed to इ and उ but remain, as in देखाडवुं 'to show,' लेवाडवुं 'to cause to take' from लेववुं 'to take,' धोवाडवुं 'to cause to wash' from धोववुं 'to wash,' जोवाडवुं 'to show' from जोववुं 'to see,' &c., which they cannot do by the general rule if they are long. They must therefore be pronounced short. And as a matter of fact it will be found that the Gujarāṭī people in these and several other cases give a short sound to these vowels. In the Mālvaṇī dialect of the Marāṭhī ओ is very often pronounced like the English *o* in *pot*, and ए like *e* in *pet*. In Bangālī the ओ to which अ is converted in ordinary speech is also broad and short, and we have reason to believe that both ए and ओ when they really occur in words are often pronounced short in that and the Bhojpūrī and other dialects of Bihār and Mithilā.

It may be urged against one of the arguments I have used that if the ए and ओ in हस्तास and गोतास are short, the first आ in हातास 'to the hand,' कानास 'to the ear,' &c., must also be short, and consequently these vowels must be changed to अ. But अ is not necessarily the short form of आ, or आ the long form of अ. For in pronouncing आ the lips and the upper and lower parts of the mouth are much more widely apart from each other than in pronouncing अ; so that the difference between the two is not simply of quantity but of quality also. The first आ of such words as हातास and मातला 'maddened,' is therefore short आ; that is, in pronouncing it the vocal organs are in the same condition as in pronouncing long आ, but the time occupied is shorter than in the case of the latter. The अ that we have got in Sanskrit is short, but in most of the vernaculars we have a long अ which takes longer time to pronounce than the Sanskrit अ, while the condition of the vocal organs is the same. The final अ of words is silent in the vernaculars, but at the same time the vowel of the preceding syllable is lengthened. Thus गुण 'virtue' is, as a Sanskrit word, pronounced *gu-ṇa*, but in Marāṭhī and Gujarāṭī it is *gūn*, and in Hindī *gūn*; Sanskrit गुड़ *gu-ḍa*, 'molasses,' is in Marāṭhī *gū!*; Sanskrit तिल *ti-la*, 'sesamum' is in Marāṭhī and Gujarāṭī *tī!* and Hindī *tīl*. In the same way, the word रथ is in Sanskrit pronounced *ra-tha*, but when in vernacular pronunciation it becomes *rath*, the *a* is not the short अ, but अ pronounced long as if the word were *ra-ath* without a pause between the two *a*'s. The long अ and the short are found side by side in such a word as मदन which as pronounced in Sanskrit is *madana* with three consonants each followed by the Sanskrit or short अ. In the modern languages, however, the first syllable has its अ as in Sanskrit, but that of the second is lengthened, and in the last it is dropped, and the word thus becomes *madaan*.

This peculiarity of softening ह् and उ to ए and ओ has been preserved by the vernaculars. It is not necessary that a conjunct consonant should follow. Thus :

7. H. बिराना or बेराना to mock, from Skr. विडम्बन; बिहान or बेहान morning, from Skr. बिभानम्, Pr. विहाणं; नेवता invitation, from Pr. निमन्त, Skr. निमन्त; सोहर pleasing, from Skr. सुखकर, Pr. सुहअर; सुहावन or सोहावन agreeable, from Pr. सुहावन for such a Sanskrit form as सुखापन; मोहरा or मुहरा front or van-guard, the first part of which is from Pr. मुह, Skr. मुख; उखल or ओखल a wooden mortar, from Skr. उलूखल.

G. मोह in मोहडु face, from Pr. मुह, Skr. मुख; भोव, ground, the M.



and H. forms being भुई; ओर in ओरडा, Pr. उवरओ, Skr. उपरकः or अपवरकः; गोर a family priest, from Skr. Pr. गुरु.

M. मेहण a couple, from Pr. मिहण, Skr. मिथुन; वेडावर्णे to mock, Skr. विडम्बन; षोडी the lock of hair on the head from Pr. शिहण्डिआ, Skr. शिखाण्डिका; मोहरे or म्होरे in front, of which मोह is from मुह as above; ओवरी (dial.) from Pr. उवरओ as above, तिरडा or तेरडा a kind of flower.

P. विह or वेह poison, from Pr. विस, Skr. विष; पिउ or पेउ father, for Pr. पिउओ, Skr. पितृकः; नेउंश invitation, from Pr. निमन्त, Skr. निमन्त्र; मोहर van-guard, as above, ओडक end, from Pr. उदक, Skr. उदर्क.

B. शोयार door, for Pr. दुभार; छोरा a razor, for Pr. छुरओ, Skr. क्षुरकः; B. O. मोच mustache, for मुछ, Pr. मस्सू, Skr. इमभु; शोन or छुन to hear, for Pr. सुण; शियाल or शेयाल a jackal, for Pr. सिआलो, Skr. शृगालः.

The ए and ओ to which इ and उ are thus reduced must be short, since there is no reason here why the quantity should be increased.

Of the instances in which long ई and ऊ are softened to long ए and ओ in the Prākṛits, the vernaculars have retained the following:—

8. Skr. विभीतक myrobalan, Pr. बहेडओ, M. बेहडा, G. बेहडु, H. P. बहेडा, S. बहेडो.

Skr. ताम्बूल betel leaf, Pr. तम्बोल, H. P. तम्बोल, M. तांबोळ in तांबोळी a seller of betel leaves, G. तंबोळ in तंबोळी.

Skr. स्थूल, Pr. थोर, M. थोर.

More modern instances of this change are:—

9. H. लीमु or लेमु, B. लेबु, a lemon; H. मूछ or मोछ mustache, Pr. मस्सु or मसु; G. पेठे in that manner, from Skr. पीठिकया; वेरवूं to scatter, from Pr. विहर, Skr. विकिर; खेचवूं to pull, for H. खीचना; O. भोक hunger, for theभूक or भूख of the others.

Of the few instances in which इ is softened to अ in the Prākṛits, the vernaculars have retained हलहा in the M. G. हळह, H. हलही, O. हळही and P. हळहही or हळही. Though पडंसुआ does not occur, still पड which stands for प्रति in this word is preserved in several words; as M. पडसाव 'echo,' for Skr. 'प्रतिशब्द, पडजीभ 'the uvula' for Skr प्रतिजिह्वा, पडछाया or पडसावली, H. परछाई for Skr. प्रतिच्छाया &c. No more instances of this change are given by the grammarians, but as observed in the last lecture, the substitution of अ for इ or उ in one of the two or more places in which it occurs in some words indicates a tendency in the Prākṛits towards this change. The vernaculars have got more instances. Thus:—

10. M. G. S. पारख examination, test, H. P. B. O. परख, Skr. परीक्षा, Pr. परिक्खा; also the verb पारखणे.

M. H. P. G. निरखनें-ना-पा-कुं. to see closely, Skr. निरीक्षण, Pr. निरि-  
कखण.

M. H. G. विखरनें-ना-कुं, P. विक्खरना to scatter, Skr. विक्किर, Pr. वि-  
विखर. (S. विखेरणु).

H. बहलना to divert, amuse, Skr. विहर.

H. भभूत holy ashes, Skr. विभूति.

H. बहन, also बहिन, sister, Skr. भगिनी, Pr. भइणी; also बहरा or बहिरा,  
Skr. बधिर, Pr. बहिर.

H. पहरना or पहिरना, S. पराहणुं, B. परण, to wear, Pr. परिहाण, Skr.  
परिधान.

M. G. पण but, also, Pr. पुणो, Skr. पुनः.

M. H. जया an herd, Skr. वृधकः.

P. पंडित a learned man, Skr. पण्डित.

P. सगन an omen, Skr. शकुन.

But in Gujarāti the tendency has operated very widely, as will be  
seen from the following:—

G.	Skr. or Pr.	M. or H.
11. लखडुं to write.....	लिख ... ..	H. लिखना.
बगडुं to be spoilt .....	विघट .. ..	M. बिघडनें, H. बिगडना.
मळडुं to be got .....	मिल .. ..	M. मिळनें, H. मिलना.
वक्रो sale .....	विक्रय .. ..	M. विक्रा, H. बिक्रा.
कठण difficult .....	कठिन .. ..	M. कठिण, H. कठिन.
वकासडुं to yawn .....	विकास .. ..	H. विकसना.
तळसी a kind of plant ...	तुलसी .. ..	M. तुळशी, H. तुलसी.
माणस a man.....	मनुष्य .. ..	M. माणूस, H. मानूस.
नरो mere .....	Pr. नवरि, Apabhr. निरु. ....	H. निरा.
भज्जवाळो light .....	उज्जवाल .. ..	M. उज्जेड or उज्जवड (dial.) H. उज्जियाला.
मडडुं a corpse .....	मृत with ट .. ..	M. मुडदा.
वसडुं difficult .....	विषम .. ..	M. H. विषम.
गळडुं to swallow .....	गिल .. ..	M. गिळनें.
समणुं a dream .....	Pr.सिमिण Skr.स्वप्न.	H. सपना, M. सपन or स्वप्न.
पंडे one's self, bodily ...	पिण्ड body .. ..	M. पिण्ड.
मस pretext .....	मिष .. ..	H. मिस, M. मिष.
चंता thought, anxiety ...	चिन्ता .. ..	M. चिन्ता.
गण virtue, quality .....	गुण .. ..	M. गुण, H. गुन.
मकण name of Kṛishṇa, of a man .....	मुकुन्द .. ..	M. मुकुंद.
परशोत्तम .....	परुशोत्तम .. ..	M. पुरुशोत्तम.

And there are many other instances, such as कर्बु 'to walk,' टकबु 'to last,' and मरडबु 'to twist,' the Marâthî forms of which are किरणे, टिकणे, and मुरडणे. Thus Sanskrit, Prâkrit, and even foreign words such as मालूम 'known,' which becomes मालम, change their इ or उ to अ. The Gujarâti people have thus got a habit of careless pronunciation. After forming the contact necessary for pronouncing a consonant, they emit the breath without compressing it at the palatal or labial position, and thus save the trouble of raising the middle of the tongue to the palate, or of rounding the lips.

Under the head of assimilation the first characteristic vowel change observable in the Pâli and the Prâkrits which we have to notice is that of the Sanskrit ऐ and औ to ए and ओ. Most of the nouns having ऐ and औ are in Sanskrit attributives formed from other nouns, and as these are formed in other ways in our languages we cannot expect to find many instances of them. Still there are a good many, and enough to show that our vernaculars have inherited these Pâli and Prâkrit transformations of the Sanskrit ऐ and औ. Thus :—

12. Skr. गैरिक red chalk, Pr. गेरिअ, M. H. गेरू; Skr. कैवर्त pilot, Pr. केवट, H. केवट; Skr. तैल oil, Pr. तेल, M. G. H. तेल; Skr. वैवाहिक parties to a marriage, Pr. वेवाहिअ, G. वेवइ, B. वेहाइ, M. (dial.) वेइ; Sk. शैवल moss, Pr. सेवल, M. शेवूळ, G. शेवाळ, H. शेवाल, B. शेवाला; Skr. सैन्धव rock-salt, Pr. सेन्धव, H. P. संधा, M. संधे in संधेलोण, S. संधोलूण; Skr. वैदिक; learned in the Vedas, Pr. वेदिओ, G. वेदिओ; Skr. सौभाग्य good fortune, husband's love, Pr. सोहग्य, H. B. O. सोहाग, —S. P. shorten the ओ to उ and H. also optionally; —Skr. पौत्र son's son, Pr. पोत्त, P. पोत or पोत्ता, H. पोता, S. पोट्टो; Skr. मौक्तिकम् a pearl, Pr. मोत्तिअ, M. मोती, G. S. P. H. मोती; Skr. वैद्यः, Pr. वेडजो, S. वेजु; Skr. गौरः, Pr. गोरो M. H. गोरा, S. गोरो.

The Sanskrit syllables अय and अव are, you will remember, often changed to ए and औ in the Pâli and the Prâkrits. The following instances of this change have come down to the vernaculars :—

13. M. ने to carry, H. ने, Pr. ने, Skr. नय; M. G. तेतीस thirty-three, H. तैतीस, P. तेती, B. तेत्तिश, O. तेतीश, Pr. तेत्तीसा, Skr. त्रयस्त्रिंशत्; M. केळें a plantain, G. केळुं, H. केला &c., Pr. केलं for कयलं, Skr. कदलम्; M. लोण salt, Pr. लोण, Skr. लवण; H. ओस dew, Pr. ओस्साव, Skr. अवदयाय; M. ओणवा bent, Pr. ओणअ, Skr. अवनत; M. G. ओळंबा a plumb, Pr. ओलम्बअ, Skr. अवलम्बकः; M. बोर jujube fruit, Pr. बोर for बवर or बअर, Skr. बवर.

The Pâli and the Prâkrits on account of these changes lost the

Sanskrit diphthongs ऐ and औ. But several of the vernaculars have got them back by combining the vowels अ and इ, and अ and उ, short or long, brought together by the elision of consonants in the Prākṛits. A hiatus which requires the intonated breath to be let off twice successively without being stopped or compressed, is mostly felt to be burdensome, and is in consequence avoided in several ways. Where the two vowels can combine into one sound, a diphthong is formed out of them. Thus ऐ and औ are combinations of अइ and अउ. In pronouncing these last the breath has to be emitted twice, while in sounding the former the same current is first let off through the position of अ, and afterwards through that of इ and उ. The first part of the diphthong is thus a very short अ, to which half a mātṛā, as previously observed, has been allowed by the grammarians. The following are instances of this formation :—

14. Skr. प्रविष्ट entered, Pr. पइह, H. old M. पैठा.

Skr. उपविष्ट sit, Pr. उवइस, M. H. बैसणें-ना, by the dropping of the initial उ.

Skr. उपविष्ट sat, Pr. उवइह, H. P. बेठा.

Skr. खदिर name of a tree, Pr. खइर, M. H. P. खैर.

Skr. कपित्थ name of a tree, Pr. कदित्थ, H. कैथ by dropping इ.

Skr. बलीवर्ष a bull, Pr. बइल, M. H. P. बैल.

Skr. तादृश like that, Pr. तदिस, Apabhr. तइस, M. H. P. तैसा.

Skr. महिषी a female buffalo, Pr. महीती, M. म्हैस, H. भैस, P. भैह or भैस.

Skr. भगिनी sister, Pr. भइणी, P. M. (dial.) भैण, H. बैन (more commonly बहिन.)

Skr. बृहस्पति a certain god, Pr. बिहप्फई, H. बिफै.

Skr. मलिन dirty, Pr. मइल, H. P. मैल, old M. मैळ.

Skr. पवित्रक holy thread, Pr. पवित्तअ, B. पैता.

In this manner the Hindi, Marāṭhī, and Panjābī combine अ and इ or ई into ऐ. Sometimes the ऐ so formed is dropped by the Marāṭhī, and we have optionally बसणें for बैसणें, म्हस for म्हैस, and तसा for तैसा. Bangālī and Oriyā have बस for बैस. The former has बैस in addition, so that these languages also seem to have once formed ऐ out of the two vowels.

अ and उ.

15. Skr. मुकुट a chaplet, Pr. मउड, H. P. मौडा, B. O. मउड.

Skr. चतुर्थ fourth, Pr. चउत्थ, M. H. P. चौथा, O. चौथ.

Skr. चतुष्क a square, Pr. चउक्क, M. H. P. चौक्क. Similarly other compounds of चतुर्; as चौरस, चौकान, चौमास &c., B. O. S. also have चौ.

Skr. उद्येष्टपुत्र the son of an elder brother, Pr. जेहउत्त, H. जेठौत्त.

Skr. मधुमक्षिका a bee, Pr. महमक्खिआ, H. मौमाखी by dropping ह्.

Skr. वधू a girl, a daughter-in-law, Pr. वहू, O. वौ.

When sometimes the Prākṛits combined अ and इ or अ and उ, they formed ए and ओ out of them. For, as we have seen, the passage from one position to another in the same breath was impossible to the speakers of the Prākṛits and the Pāli. Thus we have मौर for मऊर, Skr. मयूर; धेर for थहर, Skr. स्थविर; चोत्थ for चउत्थ, Skr. चतुर्थ; चोग्गुण for चउग्गुण, Skr. चतुर्गुण &c.

Similarly अय and अव form ऐ and औ in the vernaculars. When the final अ of य and व is not pronounced, these semivowels easily pass into इ and उ which with the previous अ form those diphthongs.

16. Skr. मदन god of love, Pr. मअण or मयण, H. नैन.

Skr. रजनी night, Pr. रअणी or रयणी, H. P. रैन.

Skr. नयन the eye, H. नैन, P. नैण.

Skr. भय fear, H. P. भै.

Skr. जय victory, H. P. जै.

Skr. शत a hundred, Pr. सअ or सय, H. P. सै.

Skr. वचन speech, Pr. वअण or वयण, H. वैन.

The Marāṭhī does not follow the Hindī and Panjābī here. For, according to the modern way of pronunciation as observed before, the final अ of words not being pronounced, the vowel of the preceding syllable is lengthened. The अ of the first syllable of भय and जय being thus long prevents the formation of ऐ; while that of य being so in such words as नयन that semivowel is not reduced to इ, and hence we have no ऐ. But these obstacles are set aside in the Hindī and the Panjābī, the tendency to form the diphthongs being strong. When however the Marāṭhī was in a state of formation it retained the Prākṛit peculiarity and changed the syllable अय to ए, as in हौ for शतम्, भे (old) for भय, ए of neuter nouns such as केळें and ताम्बें for the अय of the Prākṛit केलयं and तम्बयं, के and गे of केला and गेला for the Prākṛit कय and गय, &c. This change is due to a weakened pronunciation of य. In modern times even य is often sounded like ए. For, in producing these two sounds the middle of the tongue being raised, the forepart falls lower, than in sounding इ. When, therefore, in pronouncing य the middle is not raised sufficiently high, the sound becomes ए and not इ, because this requires the forepart also to be raised higher.

In the following instances अव forms औः—

17. Skr. धवल white, Pr. धवल, H. P. धौला, M. धवळा.

Skr. नवशिक्षित newly learned, Pr. नवसिक्खिअ, H. नौसिख, M. नौशिका or नवशिका.

Skr. भवन a dwelling, Pr. भवण, H. भौन, P. भौण.

Skr. कवल a mouthful, Pr. कवल, H. कौर or कौल.

Skr. नवनीत butter, Pr. नवणीअ, H. नौनी, P. नौणी, M. लेणी from the Pr. नोणीअ.

Skr. नमन bowing, Apabh. नधन, H. नौना, P. नौणा, M. लवणें.

Skr. लवन cutting, Pr. लवन, H. लौना.

Skr. कपर्दिका a shell, Pr. कवडिआ, H. P. M. कौडी, M. कवडी also.

Skr. सपत्नी a fellow-wife, Pr. सवत्ती, H. सौत, M. सवत.

Skr. भ्रमर a bee, Apabh. भवंर, H. P. भौरा, M. भोंवरा from another derivative of भ्रम.

Skr. समर्प to deliver, Apabh. सवंप, H. सौपना, P. सौपणा, M. सौपणें.

Here the Panjābī and the Hindī agree perfectly; but the Marāthī is not decided, sometimes changing the syllable to औ but more often, for the reasons given in the case of अव, retaining it as it is in the original, the अव, however, being pronounced like अव् in some cases, and अव् with long final अ in others. Hindī and Panjābī similarly treat आइ or आई and आय, and आउ or आऊ and आव, while the Marāthī here completely parts from them. For the आ in these syllables is too strong a sound for the Marāthī ear to pass off into the very short अ of half a mātrā. Even the Hindī preserves आय unchanged in a good many cases, as बाय for Pr. वाय, Skr. वात 'wind.'

18. आइ or आय.

Skr. पाद foot, Pr. पाअ or पाय, H. P. पै in पैर foot, पैवल foot-soldiers, पैकड shackles, &c. M. पाय in पायदळ foot-soldiers, पायरी a step.

Skr. कायस्थ name of a caste, Pr. कायस्थ, H. कैथ in कैथी name of the characters prevalent in some parts of Northern India.

Skr. नाविक a boatman, Pr. नाविअ, H. नैया by dropping इ as H. usually does and reducing नाविअ to नाइअ.

Skr. ज्ञातिगृह a woman's family of birth, Pr. नाइहर, H. नैहर.

19. आउ or आव.

Skr. भ्रातृजाया brother's wife, Pr. भाउजाआ, H. भौजाई, M. भावजाई, S. भाजाई.

Skr. मातृष्वसृका mother's sister, Pr. माउसिआ, H. मैसी, M. मावशी, S. P. मासी.

Skr. वानूल under the influence of wind, mad, Pr. वाऊल, H. P. बौरा, M. बावळा, O. बाउळा, B. बाउडा, S. वांविरो.

Skr. द्वापद् a prey, a beast of chase, Pr. सावज, H. सौजा, M. सावज.

Skr. वामन a dwarf, Apabh. बावंन, H. बौना, P. बौणा, B. बाउनिया.

Skr. पाशेन three-quarters, Pr. पाओन or पाऊन, H. पौने, P. पौणिआ.

There are a few instances in Hindî such as पेरना, from Pr. पइर 'to sow' Skr. प्रक्रिर; पोत 'nature,' Pr. पउत्ति. Skr. प्रकृति; पतोद् 'son's wife,' Pr. पुत्तवद्, Skr. पुत्तवधू; भाशे 'name of a month,' Pr. भइवभ, Skr. भावपद् &c., in which अइ forms ए, and अउ and अव, ओ; but it will appear that the prevailing rule in that language and in the Panjâbî is to change these vowels and semivowels into ऐ or औ. The Braj dialect of Hindî is thoroughly consistent in this respect, having ऐ and औ even in its grammatical terminations, as कौ for High. H. कौ करै, for करे, करौ for कइ, करौ for करो &c. The Marâṭhî agrees with these dialects perfectly only as respects अ + इ, and अ + उ; and the B angâlî and Oriyâ, if we look to the few traces that they have retained of these Prākṛit syllables, seem to agree with the Marâṭhî. But the Gujarâtî has throughout ए and औ for the Hindî and Panjâbî ऐ and औ; and the Sindhî follows the Gujarâtî a great way. The Gujarâtî and Sindhî forms of the words occurring in tables 14-19, are as follows :—

H.	G.	S.	H.	G.	S.
20. पैडा	पेटो	पेटो	जै	जे	
बैसना	बैसतुं		सै	से in सैंकडा	
बैठा	बैठो		बैन.	वेने	वेणु
खैर	खेर		मौडा	मोड	मोडु
बैल	बेल		चौथा	चोथो	चोथो [&c.
भैस	भैस	मँहि	चौक	चोक	चौक, चौपैरो
बैन (P. भैण)	बैन	भेणु भेण	चौरस	चोरस &c.	
मैल	मेल	भेरो-मैल	धौला	धोळो	धौरो
मैन	मेन		कौडी	कोडी	क्रोडी
रैन	रण		सौत	सोक	
नैन	नेन	नेणु	सौपना	सौपनुं	सौपणु
भै	भे		पैहल	पेहळ	
		H.		G.	
		भौजाई		भोजाई	
		पौने		पौणा	

The Gujarâtî has ए or ओ even in words of a foreign origin where the other languages have ऐ or औ; as

	H.	G.	H.	G.
21.	पैश करना	पेश करतुं	मैदान	मेदान
	शौलत	शोलत	फौज	फोज

Similarly, though a few Sanskrit words containing ऐ and औ do occur in Gujarâti dictionaries, these diphthongs are generally pronounced like ए and ओ; as in जेन for जैन 'a follower of the Jaina sect,' वैर for वैर 'enmity,' &c. The Gujarâti, therefore, like the old Prâkrîts combines अय and अव and अइ and अउ into ए and ओ, and since it did not receive the diphthongs ऐ and औ from the old Prâkrîts, its alphabet really does not contain them. As observed before, the syllables अइ and अउ differ from ऐ and औ only in two currents of breath being emitted instead of one; in other respects they are alike, both the vowel sounds being contained in the diphthongs. Those syllables as well as अय and अव should, therefore, naturally pass into those diphthongs as involving the least possible change. If, notwithstanding, the Gujarâti people make ए or ओ out of them, and also give those forms to the ऐ and औ of Sanskrit and foreign words, it must be so, because their vocal organs are in this respect in the same condition as those of their Pâli and Prâkrît ancestors. On the other hand, the Hindi, and especially the Braj form of it, presents the old Âryan tendency of pronouncing the diphthongs in a somewhat exaggerated form; while the other dialects take up a position between these two in this respect.

Of the words in which an open vowel is changed to one more close and an approach towards an assimilation to a consonant is thus effected, the vernaculars have preserved the following :—

22. Skr. पक्वम् ripe, Pr. पिक्कं or पक्कं, M. पिक्कं, G. पाकुं, H. P. पक्का, S. पक्को, B. पाक्का, O. पक्का or पाक्क in पाक्कला.

Skr. अङ्गारः ember, Pr. इङ्गालो or अङ्गारो, M. (dial.) ईगळ, इंगळो M. आंगारा, the rest अंगार.

Skr. ललाटम् forehead, Pr. णिडालं or णडालं, M. निडळ, S. निराड.

Skr. दन्तम्, Pr. दिण्णं, H. दीन, P. दिन्ता.

Skr. कन्दुकः a ball, Pr. गेन्दुओ, H. गेंदा, P. गेंद, M. गेंद.

Skr. अन्न, Pr. एत्थ, M. एथ.

In a great many more instances अ is thus changed in the vernaculars, and not only before conjuncts as is mostly the case in the Prâkrîts, but before simple consonants also.



S.	Skr. or Pr.	M.
23. किरापी a tale .....	कथानिका—कहानिआ ...	कहापी.
मुडिरो a mallet .....	मुडरः—मोग्गरो .....	मोगर.
सांविरो dark .....	इयामलः—सामलो .....	सांवळा.
पजिरणु to be lit up ...	प्रज्वलन—पज्जलण .....	पाजळणें.
पुखिराजु a topaz .....	पुष्कराज.	
विसिरणु to forget .....	विस्मरण—विस्तरण .....	विसरणें.
विभिणु a fan .....	व्यजन .....	विजणा.
खिण a moment.....	क्षण—खण .....	
खिमा forgiveness .....	क्षमा—खमा	
पघिरणु to melt .....	प्रगलन .....	पगळणें.
पिगुलो lame .....	पङ्गु with ल .....	पांगळा
पिजिरो a cage .....	पञ्जरः.....	पिजरा.
पिपिरु the pipal tree ...	पिप्पल .....	पिपळ.
लिलाट्टु the forehead ...	ललाट .....	ललाट.
विरिलो rare.....	विरलः .....	विरळ.
H.	P.	Skr. or Pr.
छिन a moment.....	छिन.....	क्षण—खणो .....
किवाड door .....	कवाड.....	कपाटम्-कवाडं .....
डिम्भ vanity .....	इम्भः .....	M. डंभ
गिनना to count .....	गिणना .....	गणनम् .....
.....	दिम्भ or इम्भ...इर्भः इष्भो .....	H. डाभ
पिघलना to melt .....	पिघलना.....	प्रगलनम्.....
हिलना to move .....	हिलना.....	हलनम्? .....
रींधना to cook .....	रिण्हना, .....	रन्धनम् .....
खिमा or छिमा forgive- ness.	खिमा .....	क्षमा .....
पिजरा a cage .....	पिजरा, .....	पञ्जर .....
जीमना to eat .....	.....	जमनम् .....
बिगा or बांका crooked ..	बिगा .....	वक्र-वंक .....
M.	Skr. or Pr.	
खिण (dial.) .....	क्षण—खण	
पिजरा as above.....		
मिशी .....	इमशू—मसू.....	H. मूछ
B.	Skr.	
पिजरा as above, O. also		
काछिम tortoise .....	कच्छप .....	M. कासव
काहिनी a tale .....	कथानक.....	M. कहापी

The Sindhî has the largest number of instances, and this change of अ to इ constitutes a peculiarity of that language. The Hindî has got a good many, and the Panjabî follows it in almost all cases. Marâthî has but a few stray instances, but sometimes, as in शिवर्णे 'to touch,' H. छुना, Skr. छुप, but Pr. छिव, and मिशी, इ takes the place of उ also. The Gujarâti has पिगलवुं for प्रगलनम् and ईण्डुं 'an egg,' for अण्डकम्, but not many more cases. Bangâli and Oriyâ have also but few instances, and even in most of these, and in those of the Marâthî, as well as in the Hindî पिजरा and जीमना, the इ may be regarded as arising from the influence of the neighbouring palatal consonant. The following are instances in which अ and in one case आ are changed to ए:—

24. H. मेंडुक or नेडुक, P. मेंडुक, G. मेंडक, M. बेडुक, Skr. मण्डुक.  
 H. सेबल or सेमल, M. शेवरी or सांवरी, Skr. शाल्मली, Pr. सामरी or सिम्बली.  
 H. नेवना to bow, P. नेउणा, M. लवणे, Skr. नमन.  
 H. नेवल a munguoose, P. नेउल, Skr. नकुल, Pr. नउल.  
 H. जेवना to eat, P. जेउणा, M. जेवणे, G. जमवुं, Skr. जमन.  
 M. उजेड light, Pr. उज्जाल, Skr. उज्ज्वाल.  
 M. शेण cowdung, G. छाण, Skr. शक्ना instr. sing.  
 M. ठेवणे to keep, Skr. स्थापन, Pr. ठावण.  
 G. केहवु to tell, सेहवुं to endure, रेहवुं to dwell, &c., before ह् followed by अ, for कथ, सह, &c.

But even here the ए of the Marâthî शेवरी, शेण, जेवणे, and उजेड, as of the Hindî जेवना may be attributed to the influence of the preceding palatal.

In the Prākṛits there are two instances of the change of अ to उ, viz. चुडं and खुडिओ for Skr. चण्ड 'fierce' and खण्डित 'plucked out.' The latter we have in the vernaculars in the form of खूट M. G., खुटि S. 'deficiency,' खोट H., खोड M. 'blemish,' and खुडणे or खुटणे M. खुटना H., खंडवुं G. to 'pluck out,' or खुटवुं G. 'to be deficient.' The Bangâli changes अ to उ in a good many cases as:—

	B.	Skr. or Pr.	M. or H.
25. हलुव	turmeric	हरिद्रा-हलद्वा	हळव M.
आगुन	fire	अग्नि-अगणी	आग M.
बामुन	Brahman	ब्राह्मण-बम्हण	बामण M.
धुअन	to place	स्थापन-ठावण	ठेवणे M.
शिमूल	the silk cotton tree.	शाल्मली-सामरी	सेमल H. शेवरी or सांवरी M.
पुकर	a pond	पुष्कर-पोक्खर	पोखर H.
मुगुर	a mallet	मुद्गर-मोगगर	मोगरा M.

And where the Sanskrit or the sister dialects have ओ, the Bangālī has उ as in the following words:—

26. B. चुरि theft, Skr. चोरिका, M. H. चोरी.  
 B. मुचि a shoemaker, M. H. मोची.  
 B. पुलि a cake, Skr. पोलिका or पुलिका, M. पोळी.  
 B. लुडी a girl, G. छोडी.  
 B. पुडन burning, M. पोळणें.  
 B. खुदन digging, H. खोदना, M. खोदणें.  
 B. खुजन searching, H. खोजना.

Thus उ whether for अ or ओ is a characteristic of the Bangālī. But this characteristic is very likely connected with another which distinguishes the Bangālī language, viz, to pronounce the non-final अ in all cases as a short and broad ओ like that in the English word *pot*. I have observed before that the assimilation of vowels to consonants might be effected by narrowing the passage of the breath by an upward movement of the tongue near the palatal position, or by rounding the lips. Which of these modes is resorted to, depends on the peculiar vocal tendencies of a people. Thus then, to change अ to ए or इ is a peculiarity of the Sindhī, the Panjābī, and the Hindī, and to short ओ and उ of the Bangālī.

The following Prākṛit instances of the assimilation of the different vowels of a word have come down to the vernaculars:—

27. M. G. P. बेल a creeper, H. P. बेल, Pr. बेली, Skr. बलि S. बलि, Pr. बली.

M. ऊंस a sugarcane, H. ऊख, Pr. उखू, Skr. इक्षु. H. has ईख also, and P. इख.

H. P. S. सेज a bed, M. G. सेज, Pr. सेज्जा, Skr. शय्या.

M. मिर्री, S. मिरि pepper, Pr. मिरिअं, Skr. मरिचम्.

M. ओपणें to give over, assign, Pr. ओप्य, Skr. अर्प.

There are a few modern instances as in

28. S. मेहि a buffalo, Pr. महिस.  
 H. इम्ली a tamarind tree, Skr. अम्लिका.  
 H. P. लोहू blood, Pr. लोहिअ, Skr. लोहित.  
 H. जुगून a glow-worm, Pr. जोइज्जण? Skr. ज्योतिरिज्जण.  
 H. तिरिच्छ askance, Pr. तिरच्छ, Skr. तिरश्च in तिरश्च; तिरश्चा &c.  
 P. उंगुळ or उंगुळी a finger, Skr. अङ्गुलि.

Examples of the change of अ to इ or ए under the influence of a palatal consonant have been given in Table 24.

Of the words in which one of two similar vowels is made dissimilar or changed to अ in the Prākṛits the vernaculars have preserved the following :—

29. Skr. बिभीतक, Pr., &c., as in Table 8.

Skr. सिधिलम् loose, Pr. सदिलं or सिदिलं, M. सदळ in the sense of 'loose of hand' or 'liberal,' H. B. O. डीला, S. डिरो or डरो, G. डीलुं. In these the first syllable स is elided.

Skr. हरीतकी myrobalan, Pr. हरडई, M. हरडी, S. हरीड.

Skr. मुकुटः a crown, Pr. मडडो, H. मौड, G. मोड.

Skr. मुकुलः a bud, Pr. मडलो, P. मौल in मौलना to bud.

Sindhî has हिलिडो also for सिदिल in which the last two consonants have interchanged places, and स् is changed to ह.

Modern instances of this change are :—

30. M. उंदीर a rat, G. उंवर, H. B. O. इंदूर, Skr. उन्वुरु.

H. B. चूची nipple, Skr. चूचुकम्.

H. गेहूं, घेऊं or गोहूं wheat, P. घेऊं, G. घऊं, M. गहूं or गंव, B. गम, O. गहम, Skr. गोधूम.

P. रेहू a kind of fish, for रोहू, Skr. रोहित.

G. मुगट a crown, S. मुकिट्टु or मुट्टिकु, P. मुकट, M. मुगुट, Skr. मुकुट

H. महुरत an auspicious time, Skr. मुहूर्त.

P. G. कुटंब family, Skr. कुटुम्ब.

P. परोहत priest, Skr. पुरोहित.

H. पतोहू for पुतोहू a son's wife, Pr. पुत्तवहू, Skr. पुत्रवधू.

H. सपूत, Pr. सुपुत्त, Skr. सुपुत्र.

H. P. पुरखा an ancestor, Skr. पुरुष.

M. तुंबळ, Skr. तुमुल.

H. P. जनेऊ, from जणोऊअ, Pr. जणोवईअ ? Skr. यज्ञोपवीत.

Here, as well as in the Prākṛits, one of the two similar vowels is oftener changed to अ than to इ or उ.

In the Prākṛits, you will remember, there are a few instances in which the vowels of the different syllables composing a word exchange places, or the close vowel of one is transferred to another. Of these the M. has विंचू 'scorpion,' H. and P. विच्छू, S. विहूं, and B. and O. बिछा. There are a good many more modern instances :—

31. II. भकेला alone, Pr. एकलअ.

II. उंगली a finger, Skr. अंगुलि.

H. P. मौत death, from such a Pr. form as मत्तु, Skr. मृत्तु; the उ being transferred to the preceding syllable forms औ with अ ; G. मांत.

H. हौले slowly, from Pr. हलु, Skr. लघु; and P. कौडा bitter, from Pr. कडुअ, Skr. कटुक.

H. M. S. बूढ़, G. P. बुंढ, Skr. बिन्दु, the इ transferred to the second syllable being dropped in virtue of a general law to be presently noticed in the vernaculars.

H. G. मूछ mustache, S. मुछ, P. मुच्छ, B. O. मोच, Pr. मस्तू, Skr. इमधु.

H. हिरन a deer, Skr. हरिण.

H. सेंध, B. O. सिंध a hole made in a wall by a thief, Skr. संधि.

G. केड the waist, Skr. कटि.

G. पीरसतुं to distribute food, from Skr. परिवेष.

G. बनेवी sister's husband, बने for बेन sister, Pr. भइणी, and वी for वई, Skr. पति.

B. शोल a dart, from Skr. शान्य, the इ arising from the softening of य being transferred to श.

P. पुर above, Skr. उपरि.

M. औंजळ a cavity made by joining the hands, from the word अंजुळी existing in old Marāṭhī and अंजुली existing in H. made up on the analogy of the Skr. अङ्गुलि.

M. हिरवा green, from Skr. हरित or हरितक.

M. चोंच a beak, M. (dial.) and B. दोंच, Skr. चंचु.

Of the Prākṛit words with a syllable lengthened or shortened through the influence of an accent of some sort, the vernaculars have preserved a few words. Thus:—

32. M. पाडवा the 1st day of the moon's increase, Pr. पाडिवो, Skr. प्रतिपद्. H. has the form with short प, पडिवा.

M. सारिखा like, Pr. सारिच्छो or सारिक्खो? Skr. सदृक्ष:

M. हल्या a buffalo used for ploughing, Pr. हलिओ; H. P. हाली one who ploughs, Pr. हालिओ, Skr. हालिकः.

H. गहिरा deep, Pr. गहिरो, Skr. गभीरः

G. कुंवर, H. कुंवर or कुंअर, Pr. कुमरो, Skr. कुमार.

In modern vernacular pronunciation there is a law of accentuation which has produced important results. The penultimate syllable of a word is in all our dialects pronounced with a stress, the tendency of which is to lengthen that syllable and drop the final vowel. In most of them this tendency has worked itself out thoroughly. The preceding vowel, however, is not always written long, but still the long or at least the emphasized pronunciation does exist. I have already given instances\* in which while the final अ is silent or dropped,

\* See p. 138.

the इ or उ of the preceding syllable is lengthened, and have shown that when that syllable has अ, it also is pronounced long, though not changed to आ. The final इ or उ of Sanskrit words recently imported into the languages have been dropped in virtue of this law of accentuation. Thus :—

33. M. H. G. पद्धत method, mode, Skr. पद्धति.

M. H. G. P. गत condition, Skr. गति.

M. G. विपत्, H. P. विपत् misery, Skr. विपत्ति.

M. H. P. G. B. रीत manner, Skr. रीति.

M. H. G. P. B. जात species, caste, Skr. जाति.

M. H. कीर्त, H. G. P. कीर्त fame, Skr. कीर्त्ति.

M. H. P. G. रास a heap, Skr. राशि.

M. H. P. उपाध injury, annoyance, Skr. उपाधि.

M. H. P. G. नीत morality, Skr. नीति.

H. P. कव a poet, Skr. कवि.

M. G. वस्त, H. P. वस्त a thing, Skr. वस्तु.

H. P. साध a good man, Skr. साधु.

M. G. H. P. मध honey, Skr. मधु.

Bangālî and Oriyâ authors hardly represent the proper vernacular pronunciation. Such words as the above, therefore, do not occur, but probably they do exist. In Sindhî, however, here as well as in other instances to be given, the tendency of this law of accentuation is but partially realized, and such of the above words as exist in that language preserve their Sanskrit endings; as राहि or रासि, जाति, रीति &c. Not only does this law characterise the vernacular speech of the day, but it must have been in operation for centuries, since the old Prâkrît words which like the above have not recently been imported but have descended to the modern languages from the spoken dialects of ancient times, have also been similarly changed. Thus :—

34. M. B. भूक, H. G. B. भूख, P. भुक्ख, O. भोक hunger, Pr. बुहक्खा, Skr. बुभुक्षा.

M. H. P. G. जीभ, B. O. S. जिभ tongue, Pr. जिम्भा, Skr. जिह्वा.

H. P. सेज, M. G. बेज, S. सेज-सेजा a bed, Pr. सेज्जा, Skr. शय्या.

M. भीक, H. G. भीख, P. भिक्ख or भीख, B. O. भिक alms, Pr. भिक्खा, Skr. भिक्षा.

M. नीज, H. P. नीद, S. निड sleep, Pr. निहा, Skr. निद्रा.

M. सौड, H. सुंड, G. सुंड, P. सुंड, B. O. सुंड, S. सुंदि trunk of an elephant, Pr. सोण्डा, Skr. शुण्डा.

M. G. राड, H. डाड, S. डाड a jaw, a grinder, Pr. राढा, Skr. हंष्ट्रा.

- H. P. सैन, S. सैण, G. सान a sign, Pr. सण्णा, Skr. संज्ञा.  
 H. S. साध, B. साद or साध, O. साध wish, longing, Pr. सद्धा, Skr. श्रद्धा.  
 M. G. धूळ, H. धूल, S. धूडि, B. O. धूला dust, Pr. धूलि, Skr. धूलि.  
 M. H. G. भाग, P. भाग or भागन, B. आगुन, S. आगि fire, Pr. अग्गी  
 or अग्गिणी, Skr. अग्नि.  
 M. H. रीठ sight, Pr. दिडि, Skr. दृष्टि.  
 M. बहिन or भैण, P. भैण, H. बहिन, बहन, or बैन, G. बेन, S. भेण or भेण,  
 B. बोन sister, Pr. बहणी, Skr. भगिनी.  
 M. म्हैस, H. भैस, G. भैस, P. भैह or भैस, S. भैहि a buffalo, Pr. महिस्ती,  
 Skr. महिषी.  
 H. P. कोख, G. कुख, M. कूस, S. कुखि a side of the abdomen, Pr.  
 कुखिख, Skr. कुक्षि.  
 H. P. रैन, G. रेन night, Pr. रयणी, Skr. रजनी.  
 M. सवत, H. सौत, G. सोक a fellow wife, Pr. सवत्ती, Skr. सपत्नी.  
 M. खाण, H. खान a mine, Pr. खाण, Skr. खनि.  
 M. H. P. G. B. O. रात, S. राति night, Pr. रत्ती, Skr. रात्रि.  
 M. G. P. वेल, H. P. बेल, S. वलि a creeping plant, Pr. वेळी, Skr. वलि.  
 H. सास, P. सस्स, M. G. सासू, S. ससु mother-in-law, Pr. सस्सु, Skr. श्वश्रू.  
 M. G. वीज, P. बिज्ज, S. विजु lightning, Pr. विज्जु, Skr. विद्युत्.  
 M. ऊंस, H. ऊख or ईख, P. इक्ख, Pr. उच्छ, Skr. इक्षु.  
 H. G. आंख, P. अक्ख, S. अखि, B. O. आखि the eye, Pr. आविख,  
 Skr. अक्षि.  
 M. G. B. O. हाड, H. हाड, हडु, or हड्डी, P. हडु or हड्डी, S. हडु or हड्डी,  
 Pr. अड्डी, Skr. अस्थि.  
 M. हत्तीण, H. G. हायीन, Pr. हत्थिनी, Skr. हस्तिनी.

Here also the Sindhî preserves the old endings in some cases, and has dropped them in others. In this manner, the final आ, इ, ई, उ and ऊ of Sanskrit and Prākṛit nouns have been dropped in the vernaculars or changed to a silent अ. Final औ is similarly treated. Even in the Apabhraṁśa period this rule of accentuation must have prevailed, since the ending vowels are similarly shortened in a good many cases. You will remember that the Prākṛit औ of the nominative singular of masculine nouns is mostly shortened to उ in that dialect, and sometimes altogether dropped. The modern vernaculars have thus got a great many masculine nouns ending in the silent अ, such as हात or हाथ 'hand,' कान 'ear,' दांत 'tooth,' धीट 'bold,' वड 'the Bunyan tree,' &c. But as before the Sindhî has in all these cases preserved the उ; as हयु, कनु, उंवु, डीटु, बडु, &c. When the final vowel is preceded by another and not by a consonant as in these words and the others given

in the above lists, that other vowel being accented by our rule shows a tendency to become long, and the original unaccented final being dropped, the accented vowel becomes final. Thus:—

35. Skr. मौक्तिकम् a pearl, Pr. मोक्तिअं, M. मोतीं, G. S. P. H. मोती.

Skr. पानीयम् water, Pr. पाणिअं, M. G. पाणीं, H. पानी.

Skr. युधिका a flowering bush, Pr. जुहिआ, M. H. G. जुही or जुई, H. जूही.

Skr. घोटिका a mare, Pr. घोडिआ, M. G. H. P. घोडी.

Skr. शटिका a garment, Pr. साडिआ, M. G. H. साडी.

Skr. मृत्तिका earth, Pr. मत्तिआ, मडिआ, or मिडिआ, M. माती, H. मडी as in Table 4, all ending in ई.

Skr. ताम्बूलिकः a seller of betelnut, Pr. and Ap. तम्बोलिओ-उ, M. तांबोळी, G. तंबोळी, H. तंबोली.

Skr. तैलिकः a seller of oil, Pr. and Ap. तेलिओ-उ, M. तेली.

Skr. हालिकः a peasant, Pr. हालिओ, Ap. हालिउ, H. हाली, S. हारी.

Skr. नापितः a barber, Pr. and Ap. न्हाविओ-उ or नाविओ-उ, M. न्हावी, H. नाई.

Skr. वृश्चिकः a scorpion, Pr. विञ्जुओ, Ap. विञ्जुउ, M. विञ्जू, H. P. बिछू, S. बिछु, B. O. विछा.

Skr. गुदः ordure, Pr. गुओ, गुउ, M. H. G. गू.

Skr. युगम्, Pr. जुअं, M. जूं.

Skr. यूका a louse, Pr. जूआ, H. P. G. जू, M. ऊ.

Skr. वाटिका an enclosure, Pr. वाटिआ or वाडिआ, M. G. H. वाडी, B. वाटी.

Skr. वीटिका a roll of betel leaf, &c., Pr. वीडिआ, M. विडी, G. बिडी, H. बाडी.

Skr. सूचिकः a tailor, Pr. सूचिओ, Ap. सूचिउ, H. सूजी.

Skr. मक्षिका a fly, Pr. मच्छिआ or मक्खिसआ, M. माशी, G. H. माखी, माछी.

Skr. जीवः life, Pr. जीओ, Ap. जीउ, H. जी.

Skr. लोहितम् blood, Pr. लोहिअं, G. लोही, H. P. लोहू.

Skr. जलीका a leech, Pr. जलोआ, M. जलू, H. जलू, G. जळो.

Skr. बालुका sand, Pr. बालुआ, M. G. बाळू, H. बालू.

Skr. पिटकः, माटका, and भ्रातृकः as in Tables 3 and 4.

Thus then the Sanskrit and Prākṛit penultimate vowels become final in the vernaculars, and being originally accented in consequence of the law we have been considering, retain that accent in most cases, and are thus lengthened. When the penultimate happens to be अ it is lengthened to आ as in the following:—

36. Skr. घोटकः a horse, Pr. घोडओ, Ap. घोडउ, M. H. P. B. O घोडा



Skr. पारदः mercury, Pr. पारओ, Ap. पारड, M. H. P. B. O. पारा.

Skr. आमलकः a kind of myrobalan, Pr. आमलओ, Ap. आवेलड, M. आंवळा, H. P. आंवला or आमला.

Skr. आघ्रातकः hog-plum, अम्माड भो? Pr., Ap. अम्बाडड, M. आंबाडा, H. अंबाडा.

Skr. विभीतकः beleric myrobalan, Pr. बहेडओ, Ap. बहेडड, M. बेहडा, H. P. बहेडा.

Skr. पुस्तकम् a volume, Pr. पोथओ, Ap. पोथड, H. P. पोथा.

Skr. कण्टकः a thorn, Pr. कण्टओ, Ap. कण्टड, M. H. B. कांटा.

Skr. गोलकः a ball, Pr. गोलआ, Ap. गोलड, M. P. गोळा, H. B. गोला.

Skr. इयालकः brother-in-law, Pr. सालओ, Ap. सालड, M. P. साळा, H. साला.

Skr. दीपकः a lamp, Pr. दीवओ, Ap. दीवड, M. दिशा, P. दीवा, H. दिया, B. दीया.

Skr. मञ्जुकः a bedstead, Pr. मञ्जओ, Ap. मञ्जड, M. मांवा.

Skr. मस्तकम् head, Pr. मत्यअं, M. (Goan., Mâl., and Chit.) मायां; Pr. मत्यओ, Ap. मत्यड, by a change of gender, M. H. B. माथा, P. मत्या.

Skr. कटकम् a wristlet, Pr. कडअं, M. (Goan., Mâl., and Chit.) कडां.

Skr. कीटकः a worm, Pr. कीडओ, Ap. कीडड, M. किडा, H. P. कीड़ा, B. कीडा, and the other words given in Table 6.

It may be urged that in modern pronunciation when the penultimate अ is accented, it does not become आ even though pronounced long, as observed before.\* How is it then that it becomes आ here? In modern times several new modes of pronunciation have arisen, but as regards the matter in hand, to lengthen अ into आ was the old process. And often when the old processes have disappeared from what is considered the standard form of a language, they are found preserved in some dialect of that language. Thus, while in the standard Marâṭhî the penultimate अ is simply pronounced long, it becomes आ in the Goanese and Mâlvaṇî dialects.

Thus—

	St. M.	Mâl. Goan.
37.	पातळ a garment.	पाताळ.
	कापड cloth.	कापाड.
	वतन hereditary property.	वतान.
	जतन careful preservation.	जतान.
	धोतर a garment.	धोतार.
	खडप a rock.	खडाप.

\* Supra, p. 138.

In this manner then the penultimate अ in consequence of the accent became आ, and the final उ and अ of अं being dropped, itself became final, and has preserved its accent.

An unaccented अ, आ, or उ is, you will have observed from the above instances, dropped after a close or dissimilar vowel. For, if preserved, its effect would be to change the preceding close vowel to the corresponding semivowel. But being accented that vowel resists the influence and in its turn overpowers the unaccented and consequently weak vowel. But when it is possible to combine both into one sound the final is sometimes not dropped. Thus the अ and उ in the above examples are combined into औ in the Gujarâti, the Sindhî, and the Goanese, Mâlvañi, and Chitpâvni dialects of the Marâthî, and the Mârvarî, Mewârî, Kumaonî, and Garhavâlî dialects of the Hindî; and we have घोडो, पारो, आंवळो or आंवलो, आंवाडो, बेहडो, कांटो, गोळो, साळो दिवो, मांचो, and किडो. When अ follows another अ, the former, you will remember, is generally changed to a light य in the Prâkrits. Those dialects tolerated a hiatus when one or both of the vowels were close. But अ or आ followed by अ or आ require two complete openings of the mouth which could not be borne, and hence a close sound य् was interposed. Thus मत्थअं and कडअं in the above became मत्थयं and कडयं, and the य being almost as light as the vowel इ and being unaccented, is dropped in the Mâlvañi and the other dialects; but in the standard Marâthî, as formerly observed, the अ and यं are combined into एं, and so we have मायें and कडें. In the Apabhrañśa, you will remember, the masculine termination उ is transferred by analogy to neuter nouns, and Hemachandra tells us that neuter nouns having a क्क at the end do not drop their nasal termination. Thus, we have मत्थउं and कडउं from which by combination we have the Gujarâti मायूं and कडूं. Here the nasal sound gives a sort of fixity to the vowel, and hence it does not pass into औ as in the case of masculine nouns, but absorbs the preceding अ. The औ, एं, and ऊं thus formed are accented like the आ of the masculine nouns in the Marâthî and others, since they contain the accented penultimate.

Similarly, final unaccented इ is not dropped after अ or आ, but is slurred over and the least possible time is allowed to it, in consequence of which it sounds like the consonant य्, and thus forms a sort of diphthong with the preceding अ or आ.

38. M. वइ or वय् a hedge, Pr. वइ, Skr. वृति.

M. सइ or सय् remembrance, Pr. सई, Skr. स्मृति.

M. (Mâl. and Chit.) नह or नख, H. नह, S. नहं, Pr. नहं, Skr. नही.

M. शेणवह or ख name of a caste, Pr. सेणावह, Skr. सेनापति.

H. बहनोह sister's husband, Pr. भहणीवह, Skr. भगिनीपति.

Sometimes the final vowel ह absorbs the preceding अ, as in छ-बनेही for बहनोह, M. शेणवी, and M. दळवी for Pr. दलवह, Skr. दलपति.

You will have seen that the Sanskrit nouns composed of three or more syllables given in Table 36 with अ for their penultimate vowel and क or any other similar syllable ending in अ for the final, have dropped one syllable and become nouns ending in आ in Marâthî, Hindî, Panjâbî, and Bangâlî, and in Oriyâ also in some cases, and in ओ in Gujarâtî, Sindhî, and the dialects of the Marâthî and Hindî spoken of above. Such of them as are neuter have acquired the ending एं or आं in Marâthî and ऊं in Gujarâtî. But these are not the only nouns with a final आ and ओ and एं, आं and ऊं in these languages. There are a good many more, both substantives and adjectives, which have these endings. In the Brajbhâshâ also a great many adjectives, nominal and verbal, end in ओ or औ. The Sanskrit words from which they are derived are not composed of three syllables, with क or another syllable like it preceded by an अ, as the final. Thus the substantives H. M. चेला 'a disciple,' पुडा 'a parcel,' काढा 'a decoction,' adjectives, H. नीला, M. निळा 'blue,' H. पीला, M. पिळ्ळा 'yellow,' and past participles, H. गया 'gone,' मुवा 'dead,' M. गेला, मेला, &c., and the corresponding Gujarâtî, चेलो, पुडो, काढो, नीळो, पीळो, गयो and मुवो are derived from the Sanskrit चेटः, पुटः, काथः, नीलः, पीतलः, &c. Similarly such neuter nouns as M. केळें (dial. केळां), G. केळुं, M. सोनें (dial. सोनां), G. सोनूं, are derived from the Skr. कवलम् and सुवर्णम्. How then did they get their आ and ओ and आं, एं and ऊं? A great many nouns in our languages end in अ, which has now become silent; and these, as I have explained, are derived from the Sanskrit nouns ending in अ, the nominative termination ओ being, because it was unaccented, at first reduced to उ, and afterwards dropped in most of them, but preserved in Sindhî. By that same law of accentuation which brought about the elision of this ओ, we have seen, that nouns ending in क or such other syllable preceded by अ come to have आ-ओ and एं-आं-ऊं for their final. By an obvious inference, therefore, those other substantives and adjectives also must have got कः or कम् in the Prâkṛits and the Apabhraṁśa in the forms of ओ or अ and उ or उं, though in Sanskrit they do not possess them. The suffix क though actually

found in certain words only in Sanskrit, must have been largely used in the spoken language of ancient times, since Pāṇini and his expositors allow of its being appended to all nouns and even verbs and participles, to indicate littleness,\* contempt,† tenderness,‡ the state of being unknown,§ resemblance or copy,|| and a species¶ founded on some of these particularities. Words formed by the addition of such a suffix in such senses cannot, of course, be much used in literary works. They are adapted for colloquial purposes, such as our Marāṭhī राम्या for Rāma and गौया for Govinda are. Accordingly in the Prākṛits and Apabhraṃśa, which were derived from the spoken languages, we find the practice of adding the suffix to be very common. Thus in the fourth act of the Vikramorvaśī we have लिङ्गुअं for लीढकम्, सिण्णिङ्गुअं for स्निग्धकम्, जुअलअं for युगलकम्, जुआणओ for युवकः, आणत्तओ for आत्तकः, परिमंथरओ for परिमन्थरकः, काननए for काननके, कुसुमुज्जलए for कुसुमोज्ज्वलके, लालसओ for लालसकः, परवारणओ for परवारणकः, लीणओ for लीनकः, गइन्धओ for गज्जेन्द्रकः and many others. So also in Hemachandra's quotations from Apabhraṃśa works, we have घडिअउ for घटितकः, विप्पिअयारउ for विप्रियकारकः, उड्ढावन्तिअए for उद्रावयन्तिकया, विहउ for वृष्टकः, वल्लहउं for वल्लभकम्, मुअउ for मृतकः, &c.

Now the question is, why is it that certain nouns only which have आ and ओ or आं, एं and ऊं in our vernaculars had क appended to them in the Prākṛits and not others? The suffix was used only where some additional sense was intended to be expressed. Hence there were some words to which it was not appended at all, and of those to which it was two forms existed, of which the one augmented had an augmented sense. And in our modern dialects a good many words have these two forms, and of these that with आ conveys an additional sense, such as is attributed to क by the Sanskrit grammarians. Thus दांत in Marāṭhī expresses a 'tooth,' but दांता a copy of the animal tooth, that is, 'the tooth' of such an instrument as a saw; मेळ signifies 'union,' 'agreement,' but मेळा expresses a certain union, viz. a concourse of people in a fair or on some festive occasion; कोंपर signifies 'the elbow,' but कोंपरा any corner, resembling that made by the elbow; होर means 'a string,' generally, but होरा a particular string, that is, 'thread,'

\* Pāṇ. v. 3, 85-86; v. 4, 4.

† Pāṇ. v. 3, 74-75.

‡ Pāṇ. v. 3, 76-77. § Pāṇ. v. 3, 73.

¶ Pāṇ. v. 3, 96-97. ¶ Pāṇ. v. 3, 75, 87, 97.

used for sewing ; पाट denotes generally 'a strip,' and thence *the piece of wood* used for sitting on ; but पाटा *a slab of stone* used for pounding spices ; फांस signifies 'a noose,' generally, but फासां *a snare* for birds or beast, and also '*a catch*,' for fastening anything. In the Hindī, Panjābī and Gujarātī बांस or वांस means *a bambu*, as does बांसु in Sindhi ; but in Marāṭhī वांसा means '*a bambu used as a rafter*' and thence a rafter generally, &c. In Marāṭhī and Hindī गाम्ब signifies 'foetus' or 'womb,' but गाम्बा the *internal spadix or fruit-receptacle* of the plantain-tree or the *core or heart* of anything. The Panjābī गम्ब and गम्बा also mean 'the womb' and the *heart or core* of anything respectively. Thus then क्क was appended to a word in the Prākṛits to denote some additional sense ; and both the augmented and unaugmented forms of it were in use ; and these in some cases have descended to the vernaculars. But in the course of time, in consequence of the frequent use of the augmented forms, the things expressed by the unaugmented words came to be thought of with the additional property to denote which the क्क was in the first instance affixed. Hence the forms without क्क went out of use, and gradually those with it lost the additional sense. It was not possible to preserve this sense except by a comparison with the signification of the unaugmented forms. But as these disappeared, the comparison was impossible. And in some cases the additional sense was so slight, that in the course of time it gradually dropped away, though the two forms of the word did exist. Thus we have in Marāṭhī चूर or चुरा 'fragments,' घेर or घेरा 'circumference,' खांद or खांदा 'the shoulder,' जोड or जोडा 'a pair,' भूस or भुसा 'chaff,' and others ; but there is no perceptible difference in the sense of the two forms, though in the last three cases usage has restricted one of them to one state of things and the other to another. So also one of our dialects has the augmented form, and another the original, the sense being the same. Thus :—

39. B. बड, H. P. बडा large or great.

M. खेळ, H. P. खेल, B. खेला a play.

H. रहिना, B. डाइन, O. डाहाण right hand.

M. खांब, M. (dial.) खांबो, G. खंभ, H. P. खंभ or खंभा, B. खंबा, O. खंब a pillar.

B. आम, H. आम or आम्व, P. अंब, M. आंबा, G. आंबो the mango tree.

P. मच्छ, H. B. माछ, M. मासा a fish.

B. भाल, H. P. M. भला good.

It thus appears that originally the suffix क was not necessarily applied to any nouns, but optionally to such as admitted of the additional signification. This additional signification has been preserved in some cases, but lost in others.

You will now have seen that the Sanskrit and Prākṛit final vowels having, for the most part, been dropped by the influence of the accent, the final आ, आं, ई, ईं, ऊ, ऊं, ए, and ओ that we have now got were originally penultimates or have arisen from a combination of the penultimate and final. The accent which originally fell on the penultimate falls now in consequence of this change on these new finals. Thus, these two accents, that on the penultimate when a word ends in the silent अ, and that on the new final, are now to be met with in the vernaculars. The first may be called the original accent, and the second derivative. The Marāṭhī is of all our dialects the most sensitive to them, and shortens all the other vowels of the word in order to throw the whole force of utterance on the accented syllable. The Sanskrit सूतक 'mourning,' नूतन 'new,' पीतल 'brass,' and the Sanskrit and Prākṛit जीवन्त (from जीवन्तः or जीवन्तो) are pronounced as सुतक, नुतन्, पितल, जिवन्त्, &c., with the penultimate अ long and the first vowel short. In this way, in a word composed of three syllables with the final अ silent, the first syllable must be short in Marāṭhī. When a word is composed of more than three syllables, the अ of the antepenultimate is elided, as in अडचण, शहाणपण, pronounced as अडचण्, शहाणपण्, &c.

Similarly, when a word ends in the accented आ and the other vowels, the preceding vowels are shortened as in the following :—

40. किडा, Skr. कीटकः, Pr. कीडओ, and the others in Table 6. Also चुरा and भुसा which without the आ are चूर and भूस (see p. 159), विडी, जुई and such others occurring in Table 35.

पिडी a step in the scale of descent, a generation, Skr. पीठिका.

जुवा gambling by means of dice, Skr. द्यूतकः (by change of gender).

निळा-ळें-ळी blue, Skr. नीलकः-क-लिका.

पिवळा-ळें-ळी yellow, Skr. पीतलकः-क-लिका.

When together with the accented final a word is composed of three or more syllables, or more generally, when the accented syllable is preceded by two others or more, the अ of that which immediately precedes is silent or elided, as in the case of अडचण above, and any other vowel in its place is shortened and sometimes dropped. The other vowels are also pronounced short. Thus :—

41. शीक *imper.* 2nd शिकर्णे *inf.* to learn, pronounced as शिकर्णे.  
*per. sing.* the original form of the root.

पुस ..... पुसर्णे *inf.* 'to ask' ... पुसर्णे.

रुस ..... रुसतो *pres. part.* 'he is angry' ..... रुसतो.

शीव ..... शिवला *past part.* 'touched' ..... शिवला.

शीव has similarly शिव्णे 'to sew,' *inf.* शिवतो 'he sews,' शिवला 'sown.'

कर 'do,' *pres. part.* unaugmented करीत, augmented करितो or करतो pronounced as कर्तो.

So also अङ्गुष्ठकः is आंग्ठा, and श्वघुरकः, सासरा the penultimate उ being dropped.

When the final is unaccented, it is the penultimate that is emphasized, but when it is accented, the penultimate is slurred over. Thus the accentuation of the penultimate leads to the elision of the final vowel, and the accentuation of the final brings about an elision or shortening of the penultimate.

In Hindi also the accent leads to the elision of the अ of the previous syllable when more than one precede the accented syllable. Thus उबटन 'a cosmetic,' is pronounced as उबटन, मूरखपन as मूरखपन, उबटना, *inf.* 'to rub the body with a cosmetic,' as उबटना, करना as कर्ना. The Braj present participle करत is pronounced as करत् since one syllable only precedes the accented penultimate; but the Hindi करता is कर्ता as two syllables precede the accented ता. The accent leads to the shortening of the preceding vowels in some cases. Thus गोपाल 'a cowherd,' and पाताल 'the lower regions,' are sometimes pronounced and written as गुपाल and पताल; so does अशिष become असीस. In such words as उपज 'produce,' उसास 'respiration,' and उबटन, 'a cosmetic,' from the Pr. उप्यज्ज, उस्सास, and उबडहण, Skr. उत्पद्य, उच्छ्वास, and उवर्तन, it prevents the lengthening of the initial उ, as by the general rule it should be long, since one member of the following double consonant is dropped. The derived accent also shortens the preceding vowels in such instances as the following :—

42. H. दहिना southern, Pr. दाहिणओ, Skr. दक्षिणकः.

H. दिवा a lamp, Pr. दीवओ, Skr. दीपकः

H. डूभा gambling, Pr. डूभओ, Skr. द्यूतकः (by a change of gender).

H. अगला foremost, the first part of which is आग, from Pr. अग्ग, Skr. अग्.

H. अपना one's own.....आप from Pr. अप्प, Skr. आप्प.

H. इकट्ठा together .....एक.

H. फिरा walked, पिया drunk, सिया sewn, छुआ touched, past participles of फीरना, पीना, सीना, छूना, &c.

In the same way it prevents the lengthening of a preceding vowel in such cases as उपजना 'to be produced,' उठना 'to rise,' उड़ना 'to fly,' the last two being derived from the Prākṛit उत्थाप्य and उडुवन.

But in a great many cases the accent does not affect the preceding close vowels. The Sanskrit words सूतक, पीतल, &c., the first syllable of which is shortened in Marāṭhī, retain it long in the Hindī. The words उपज, उपजना, उसास, and others have their initial vowel optionally lengthened, and in a few cases, such as ऊपर and ऊखल, it is lengthened without any apparent reason. Similarly, the Hindī forms of कीटक and the other words in Table 6 retain the long vowel. It has also बीडी, झूही, and सूजी as in Table 35, and नीला, 'blue,' पीला, 'yellow,' सीखा, 'learnt,' भीगा, 'wet,' मीठा, 'sweet,' पूछा, 'asked,' मूआ, 'dead,' सीखना, 'to learn,' पूछना, 'to ask,' दूसरा, &c., while in all these cases the Marāṭhī has short इ and उ. Perhaps this weakening of the accent as regards previous ई and ऊ is due to the development of another accent in Hindī on the initial syllable. To such an accent as this might be attributed the almost universal change of अय and अव to ऐ and औ that we have already noticed. The अ of the initial syllable, being accented, draws to itself the य or व of the following and deprives it of its अ, in which case the य or व becomes इ or उ, and then the two form ऐ and औ.

The Gujarāṭī follows the Hindī completely, sometimes shortening the preceding vowels as in कुवो, मुवो, and कुमको 'delicate,' 'tender,' and dropping it as in ससरो 'father-in-law,' (Skr. इवचुरकः), and आंगळी 'finger,' (Skr. अङ्गुलिका), sometimes preventing their being lengthened, as in उपज, उठवुं, &c., and very often preserving them long, as in पूरो, 'full,' सीकवुं, सीकयो, &c. The Panjābī also keeps the short vowel in such cases as उचार 'utterance,' उजाला 'light,' though a member of a double is dropped, and preserves the long in such cases as वीवा or वीवा, जूआ, कीडा, पूरा, पूरी 'a cake,' &c. It has even fewer instances of shortening than the Hindī. The Sindhi has छुआ



'gambling,' डिओ 'a lamp,' पितल &c., but has such words as सूतकु 'mourning,' कीडो 'a worm,' बीडो 'a roll of betel leaves,' Skr. वीटकः, पीतो 'drunk,' &c. In a great many words such as सुको 'dried,' बुधो 'heard,' छुतो 'touched,' बुधो 'milked,' the vowel of the preceding syllable is short; but that is due not to the accent on the last syllable but to the peculiarity of the Sindhi not to lengthen the preceding vowel even when a member of a double is dropped.

The Bangâli is more like the Marâthi in this respect than like the Hindî. Thus we have भितर, H. भीतर 'in the interior;' शुका dry, H. सूखा; भिजा or भिगा 'wet,' H. भीजा or भीगा; किडा 'a worm,' H. कीडा; जुता 'shoes,' H. जुता; खिला 'a nail,' H. कीला; उपजन 'to be produced,' &c. It thus shortens इ and उ in the unaccented syllables like the Marâthi. The Oriyâ follows the Bangâli, having जुडा, Skr. जूटक 'a knot of hair,' जुता 'shoes,' भिजा, 'wet,' भितर 'in the interior,' &c. All these languages, however, treat the unaccented अ in words of three or more syllables as the Marâthi and Hindî do.

In Marâthi the termination of the oblique form of cases and that of the plural of neuter nouns in ए are also accented. The reason why they bear the accent will be considered hereafter. The accent on the causal termination in consequence of which the preceding vowels are shortened in the Hindî and the Gujarâti has already been mentioned. This also seems to be the same accent that we have been considering. Thus in G. शिवडाव 'make him sew,' or धोवडाव 'make him wash,' the आ being penultimate bears the accent and the final अ is dropped. Similarly in धोवडावहुं by the general rule, the final vowel being accented the penultimate अ is silent. It is because it is so, and the वहुं forms the conjunct व्हुं that the आ looks as if emphasized just as the first अ of अङ्चन and कर्ता is. In the Marâthi and other dialects also there is this accent in the case of the causal, and the preceding ई and ऊ are shortened; as in निजव् 'make him sleep,' निजव्णे 'to make one sleep,' from the original नीज 'sleep,' in करिव् 'cause him to do,' करिव्णे or करव्णे 'to cause one to do,' &c. In the standard Hindî the व is dropped but still the way of pronunciation remains the same as it was when it existed. In दिखाना 'to show,' for instance, the खा is pronounced as it would have been if the word had been दिखावना. And the forms with व exist in the Braj.

Compounds in the vernaculars, most of which belong to the Tatpuruṣha, Karmadhāraya, or Dvandva class have an accent on the penultimate or final of the last word, as in the H. पन्साल 'a place where

water is provided for passengers,' in which the first word पानी becomes पन्, अमराई 'a forest of Mango-trees' in which the आ of आम is shortened, घुडसाल 'a stable,' in which we have घुड् for घोडा, रन्वास 'harem' the रन् of which is a shortened form of रानी, and in the G. अध्मुई 'half dead,' and the M. अध्मण 'half a maund.' In the Marāthî, आम्साइ, रान्माणूस, काळ्मांजर, the आ of the first syllable is short though not changed to अ; and in तिरकांबटें 'an arrow and a bow,' the first word is तीर with the ई shortened.

An unaccented initial vowel is dropped in the following instances :—

43. Skr. उपविश, sit, Pr. उवइस, M. H. B. O. बैस, G. बैस, S. बिह.

Skr. उपविष्टकः, sat, Pr. उवइडओ, H. P. बैठा, G. बेठो, S. बीठो.

Skr. अभ्यन्तर inside, H. भीतर, B. M. (dial.) बितर.

Skr. अरघट् a water-wheel, Pr. अरहट् ? H. रहट, M. रहाट.

Skr. अभ्यञ्जनकम् to soak, M. भिजणें, H. भीजना, G. भिजणुं, B. भिजिवा.

Skr. एकस्थकम् in one place, Pr. एकडअं, H. P. कडा or इकडा.

Skr. उपरि above, Pr. उवरि, M. वर.

Skr. उत्सृष्टकः left, Pr. उच्छुवओ, H. झूठा 'what is left after eating.'

Skr. उपाध्याय a preceptor, M. पाध्या, P. पाधे.

Skr. उवूडकः, Pr. उवूडओ a bridegroom, H. P. वूल्हा.

Of the two instances of this change in the Prakṛits लाबू 'a pumpkin' exists in Hindî, and रण्ण in the form of रान in M. and P. and of रन in H. Medial ऐ is dropped in Marāthî, Bangālî, and Oriyâ in the word बैस, and the others enumerated before. It is dropped in the G. माशी for H. मौसी (see p. 134). This elision does not appear to be due to accent since according to our theory it must fall on the ऐ in some at least of the cases. The change is due to the process of softening, since what takes place here is the simple dropping away of the close element of the diphthong.

We will now briefly notice the manner in which the hiatus caused by two vowels coming together in consequence of the elision of uninitial consonants in the Prakṛits is avoided. We have seen that अ and इ and अ and उ are combined into ऐ and औ in some of the dialects, and into ए and ओ in others.\* Final unaccented अ and आ are dropped when preceded by इ or उ as in the words given in list No. 35, and unaccented उ preceded by अ is dropped in some of the vernaculars, as in list No. 36, and combined into ओ or ऊ in others.† Final इ is preserved or changed to यू after अ in some cases, and combined with it to

‡ Pp. 123-127      † See p. 137.

form ई in others.\* Final accented आ and उ or ऊ are preserved and a hiatus is tolerated ; as in H. P. जुआ or ऊआ for ब्रूतक and S. P. पिउ, माउ, and the M. भाऊ for पितृक, मातृका, भ्रातृक, &c. Sometimes ख or व् are inserted in such cases after इ and उ, as in H. दिया for दिआ 'a lamp,' and M. जुवा, H. जूवा for ब्रूतक. The syllable अय formed in the Prākṛits by interposing a य between अ and अ is changed to ऐ in modern Hindi as in the words in list No. 16 and to ए in the Gujarāṭī and the Sindhī. This latter was the older process ; and hence even in the Prākṛits we have केल for कयल, Skr. कदल, and तेरह, तेवीसां, तेचीता for त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशति, त्रयस्त्रिंशत्, &c. And in Hindi also we have ए in बेर 'a plum' from बयर for Skr. बदर, which must have existed in the Prākṛits though the form given by the Grammarians is बोर for बवर. Though the Marāṭhī does not, like the Hindi or Gujarāṭī, now change अय to ऐ or ए, still as formerly observed, when in a state of formation, it did form ए out of it, as in the instances there given, and in the neuter singular termination ए.† The termination नेर occurring at the end of the names of Gujarāṭī and Marāṭhī towns such as चांपानेर बडनेर, संगमनेर, पिपळनेर, &c., is derived from Pr. नयर for Skr. नगर 'town.' The syllables अया arising from अ and आ are also sometimes changed to ए, as in H. अंधेर or अंधेरा, M. अंधेर, Pr. अन्धवार, Skr. अन्धकार. After आ the य is sometimes changed to ऐ and ए in the Hindi and Gujarāṭī as in the instances in No. 18 and 20, and also in the Marāṭhī in the instance शेळी from Pr. छाअलिआ, Skr. छागलिका ; but often आव and अया remain unchanged as in

44. H. G. कायर timid, Pr. कायर, Skr. कातर.

H. G. M. घाय a wound or blow, Pr. घाअ or घाय, Skr. घात.

H. वाय wind, Pr. वाअ or वाय, Skr. वात.

M. पाय the foot, Pr. पाअ or पाय, Skr. पाद्.

M. H. G. राय a king, Pr. राआ or राया, Skr. राजा.

H. गया gone, G. गयो, Pr. गअओ or गयओ, Skr. गतकः.

G. शियाळो the cold season, S. शियारो, Pr. शीअआ(या)लओ, Skr. शीतकालकः.

H. बरात, M. वरात a bridal procession, Skr. वरयात्रा.

Sometimes the interposed य् is so light that it is dropped and the vowels अ and आ or आ and अ and in rare cases अ and अ combine and form आ as in

45. B. पा, and B. G. घा for पाय and घाय in the above.

M. आ of आला, Pr. आअअ, Skr. आगत.

M. कुंभार a potter, Pr. कुम्भआर, Skr. कुम्भकार, and generally the termination कार as in सुवर्णकार 'a goldsmith' and others; also M. अंधार for अंधकार.

M. आर a Boa constrictor, Pr. अअअर, Skr. अजगर.

G. वानुं a promise, Pr. वअणअं, Skr. वचनकम्.

In some cases व् is inserted instead of य् to prevent the hiatus, as in M. राव for राअ 'a king,' H. पाव for पाअ 'the foot,' M. साव in सावली for छाअ in छाया, कावरा for Pr. काअरअ, Skr. कातरक, काव in कावळा for Pr. काअ from Skr. काक, and a few others. In the principal Prākṛit also we find पीवलअं for Skr. पीतलकम् 'yellow,' from which we have the Marāṭhī पिवळें, and बोर mentioned above.

A medial अ is dropped after इ, ए, or उ short or long, as in M. हीर for Pr. विअर 'husband's brother,' G. पीळ, H. पीला 'yellow' for Pr. पीअलअं, Skr. पीतलकम्, M. शिळें 'stale,' H. सीला 'damp,' 'cool,' Pr. सीअलअं, Skr. शीतलकम्; M. वेण 'a throe,' Pr. वेअणा, Skr. वेदना, M. जूळ or जुळें 'twins,' Pr. जुअलं or जुअलअं, Skr. युगलम् or युगलकम्. Sometimes with the previous इ, it forms ए; that is a vowel partaking of the character of both is substituted for them; as in the S. नेलु 'a fetter,' Pr. निअडो, Skr. निगडः; H. P. नेडे or नेरे 'near,' Pr. निअडे, Skr. निकटे; M. शौडी 'the tuft of hair on the head,' Pr. सिहण्डिआ, Skr. शिखण्डिका, the ह being softened to अ; H. बेना 'a fan,' Pr. विअणअ, Skr. व्यञ्जनक. नेडे has the form नीडे also in which case अ is simply dropped and the vowel rendered long as in the M. हीर. The long आ is preserved and changes the preceding इ to इय or य as in the H. सियार or स्यार 'jackal,' for Pr. सिआल, Skr. सृगाल, ब्याह 'marriage,' for Pr. विआह, Skr. विवाह, &c.

We will now proceed to the consideration of consonantal changes; and first of those due to the process of softening. The semivowel य् is often softened to इ. In the Prākṛits व्यञ्जन 'a fan' becomes विअण which is preserved in the H. बेना, and स्त्यान is changed to यीण. This word does not occur in the vernaculars, but the Hindī and Marāṭhī have got यिञ्जना and यिञ्जने 'to congeal' from the verb स्स्यायते, in which या is softened to इ. From व्यञ्जन or rather such a word as व्यञ्जन we have by a similar softening M. विञ्जणा, H. विञ्जना, G. विञ्जणो, S. विञ्जिणु. More modern instances are

46. H. P. सलार्ह, P. सळार्ह, Pr. सलाया, M. सळई a pencil, probe, Skr. शलाका.

B. शोल a dart, Skr. शाल्य; the य being changed to इ is transferred to the preceding syllable.

H. P. जनेत a bridal procession, Skr. जन्ययात्रा.

H. झाई shadow, P. छाइया, Skr. छाया.

H. P. बितीत passed, Skr. व्यतीत.

H. P. बिथा pain, Skr. व्यथा; बिबहार business, performance, Skr. व्यवहार.

H. P. कलिआण welfare, Skr. कल्याण, बिदिआ learning, Skr. विद्या.

P. पतीज faith, belief, Skr. प्रत्यय.

H. पतिछ visible, Skr. प्रत्यक्ष.

The Panjābī always dissolves a Sanskrit य contained in a conjunct into इ + अ, or sometimes into इ simply, while the Hindi often resorts to the latter change. The other languages do not seem to possess many instances of this process. The change of अय or अया to ए formerly noticed is also due to this softening process.

In the Prākṛits व् is dissolved into उ in सुणी for Skr. ध्वनि, सुवइ for स्वपिति, हु for द्वि, तुवर for त्वर, &c. In Hindi we have हुन in the sense of 'a slight resemblance,' a remote sound of the property possessed by another. But another derivative from the word exists in the form of धुन or धून in that language, and of धून or धुनक in Marāṭhī. From सुव H. has सो 'to sleep,' P. सौ, G. सुव, and B. and O. सु or सुइ, हु occurs in the forms of हो or हु when the word stands alone or is compounded, as in H. वूना, B. हुना, M. वुणा, &c., for Pr. वुउण, Skr. द्विगुण 'two-fold;' and तुवर by a further dissolution becomes the P. तुरना 'to go,' H. P. तुरंत, G. तरत 'instantly,' *pr. part.*, M. तूर्त 'at present.' More modern instances are:—

47. H. P. परोस to serve food, Skr. परिवेष.

H. P. M. पडोसी a neighbour, Skr. प्रतिवेशी.

H. अंगोछा a towel, Skr. अङ्गवस्त्र.

H. पतोहू son's wife, Pr. पुत्तवहू, Skr. पुत्रवधू.

H. P. जनेऊ, Pr. जण्णीवीअ, Skr. यज्ञोपवीत.

The व and वं to which प and म are softened are similarly changed to उ or ओ.

H. P. बहनोई sister's husband, Pr. बहिनीवई, Skr. भगिनीपति.

H. P. भादो name of a month, Pr. भदवअ, Skr. भाद्रपद.

H. P. G. खो-[ना-णा-वुं] to lose, Pr. खव, Skr. क्षप.

H. P. B. छू to touch, Pr. छिव or छुव, Skr. छुप.

H. अनोखा unexpected, Pr. अणवेकख-[अ], Skr. अनपेक्ष-[क].

H. नोता, P. नेउंदा, G. नोतरुं, invitation, Ap. निवंत-**[उ]** or निवंत-**[उ]**,  
Skr. निमन्त्र-**[कः]**. H. has नेवता also.

H. पुन्नी the full-moon day, Ap. पुण्णिवां, Skr. पूर्णिमा.

H. सौह (of सौही) face to face, Ap. संजुह, Skr. संमुख.

M. सौप to entrust, Ap. सवंप्य, Skr. समर्प.

It will be seen that the ओ or उ to which इ is softened often pre-  
vails over the preceding and following vowels, as in the words परोस and  
पडोशी. The change of अव to औ formerly noticed I consider as due  
to the elision of the final अ of व consequent upon an accent on the  
first syllable, though afterwards there is a softening of the इ to उ.  
But in the above instances the change of इ to ओ or उ is due to a  
weak pronunciation or softening alone. The diphthong औ requires,  
as I have several times observed, a passage from one vocal position  
immediately to another which involves energetic utterance. The  
Pāli, Prākṛit, Gujarātī, and Sindhī substitute for it, viz., ओ is due to  
assimilation. The Hindī औ and the corresponding Gujarātī ओ,  
therefore, are not due to a weakening of the इ; but the ओ in the above  
instances is, since it is not a substitute for औ and consequently does  
not arise from an assimilation of the two sounds, involved in that diph-  
thong.

The following are still more modern instances:—

48. H. P. परमेसुर God, Skr. परमेश्वर.

M. H. P. सुर or सूर a musical note, Skr. स्वर.

H. P. सुभाउ nature, Skr. स्वभाव.

P. सुआमी master, Skr. स्वामी.

In this manner the Panjābīs always pronounce the इ of Sanskrit  
words and to a smaller extent the Hindī people. The Marāṭhī has not  
many instances of this softening of इ.

In the Prākṛits there are according to the grammarians but three  
instances of the change of क् to the sonant ग्. Of these गेनुअ for Skr.  
कन्वुक occurs in the vernaculars.\* With these exceptions the initial  
क् remains unchanged and the medial is dropped. But the vernaculars,  
adopting pure Sanskrit words again and again in the course of their  
history, have changed them as we have seen or changed the Prākṛit  
words that came down to them in virtue of the general or special laws  
which regulate the development of human speech. Thus, though

they did not receive more words with a softened क् from the Prākṛits they have now come to possess a good many. Thus:—

49. M. सगळा, P. सगरा, सगला, or सगल, H. सगल or सगला, G. सगळो all or whole, Skr. सकल or सकलकः.

M. बगळा, H. P. बगला, G. बगलो, S. बगो, B. O. बग, Skr. बक or बककः a crane.

M. H. P. G. परगट or प्रगट, S. प्रघट्ट visible, manifest, Skr. प्रकट.

H. P. G. B. काग, S. कांगु a crow, Skr. काकः. H. has कौवा or कौआ from Pr. काभ with the suffix कः i.e., ओ, M. काव of कावळा, also.

H. लोग, S. लोगु or लोकु people, the world, Skr. लोकः. The others have लोक.

H. P. साग, S. सागु greens, culinary herbs, Skr. शाकः. The others have शाक.

H. सगुन, P. सगन, G. सगन or शगन, S. सगुण, B. शगुन an auspicious omen, Skr. शकुनः, M. शकुन. S. has सोणु also from the Pr. सउणो.

H. P. सोग, S. सोगु grief, Skr. शोकः. The others have शोक.

H. P. बिगा crooked, Pr. बजुअ, Skr. बक्रक. The others have बांक or बांक.

P. सगरांद् passage of the sun into a sign, Skr. संक्रान्ति. The others have संक्रांत.

P. संगोच्च contraction, bashfulness, Skr. संकोच; H. सकोच or सकुच, M. संकोच.

च् is softened to the sonant ज् as in the following:—

50. H. सूजी a needle, Skr. सूचि; also 'a tailor' from Skr. सूचिक.

H. G. सूज- or सूझ-[ना and दुं] to be suggested, Skr. सूच्य.

H. कुंजी a key, Skr. कुञ्चिका.

P. S. पंज five, Skr. पञ्च, P. मंजी a small bedstead, Skr. मञ्चिका. There are not many instances of this process.

The Prākṛits change an uninitial द् to ड् when preceded by a vowel; and the vernaculars have preserved the words so changed. For instance:—

51. Skr. घटकः a jar, M. H. घडा, G. S. घडो, H. P. घडा.

Skr. घट to happen, to occur, to forge, to fashion, M. S. G. घड-[णं-णु-दुं], H. P. घड-[ना].

Skr. घटिका a measure of time, M. G. S. O. B. घडी, H. P. घडी.

Skr. घोटकः a horse, M. O. B. घोडा, G. S. घोडो, H. P. घोड़ा.

Skr. तट a bank, M. तड, O. तडा, S. तडो in an altered sense.

Skr. कपाट a door, M. कवाड, H. किवाड, G. कमाड.

Skr. कटु bitter, M. कडु, G. कडुं, H. कडुवा, S. कडो.

Skr. कटि waist, M. कड, G. केड.

Skr. कटकम् a bracelet, M. कडें, H. O. कडा, G कडुं.

Skr. रद् or भारद् to cry, M. रड in रडयें or भारडयें, G. S. रड-[डुं-णु].

Skr. चाटिका a garment, M. G. साडी, H. P. साडी, S. चाडही, B. O.

षाडी.

Skr. वटः the Banyan tree, M. G. वड, H. P. बड, S. बडु.

Skr. चोट in चोटयति to snap, तोड in M. तोडयें, G. तोडवुं, H. P. तोडना, S. तोडणु.

Skr. स्फोट in स्फोटयति to break, फोड in M. फोडयें.

Skr. मुकुट or मुकुटक a crown, H. P. मौडा, B. O. मउड.

Skr. कुटज a kind of tree, M. कुडा.

Skr. पटोल a kind of cucumber, M. पडवळ, H. परवल, G. परवळ.

Skr. कीटकः a worm, M. किडा, G. किडो, H. कीडा.

The instances in which the cerebral द् resulting from an original न् has been softened in the Prākṛits to ड् have been preserved by the vernaculars. The following are some of these:—

52. पड for Pr. पडि, Skr. प्रति, in such words as H. G. पडोसी a neighbour, M. पडोशी, Skr. प्रतिवेशी; M. पडसार, Skr. प्रतिशब्द echo; M. पडसें, Skr. प्रतिश्वाय cold, catarrh, and also in M. पडछाया reflection, and पडताळा proof; G. पडसाळ, Skr. प्रतिशाला a penthouse, G. पडघा, Skr. प्रतिघात echo or resonance; हरडा or हरडी and बेहडा as in Table 29; M. पुढें forward, so forth, Pr. पडुडि, Skr. प्रभृति; पड of M. पडणे, G. पडवुं, H. पडना to fall, Pr. पड, Skr. पत्; मडे M. a corpse from Pr. मडअं, Skr. मृतकम्; उखाडना to dig out, to root out, from the Skr. उत्खात.

Of the change of स् to ष् there are some instances in the Śaurasenī, and corresponding to these we have a few in the Panjābī, Sindhī, and Gujarātī, thus:—

53. P. जीवण 'living,' Śaur. *pres. part.* जीवणो, Skr. जीवन्त; ण of the present participle of roots, as करण *masc.* 'doing,' आखण *masc.* 'saying,' &c. A modern instance is सगराण for the Sanskrit संक्रान्ति. The Sindhī preserves the Śaurasenī present participial affix णो or अणो sometimes changed to हणो throughout, as in हलणो 'moving,' करीणो 'doing,' हूणो 'being,' &c. The same change is observable in other words also as in खाणि for Sanskrit क्षान्ति. The Gujarātī has a few instances of the Śaurasenī past passive participle in ण as in खाणुं 'eaten,' पीणुं 'drunk,' कीणुं 'done,' &c. Marāthī has वोंड for Skr. मुन्ड 'belly,' and Gujarātī वुंड.

The labial surd व् is, when uninitial, softened in the Prākṛits to ष्. The व् is preserved by the Marāthī unchanged, but the Hindī softens it in some cases still further to ड् as already shown (p. 167), and drops it



in a great many more cases, according to a very general rule to be hereafter noticed, while the Gujarâtî changes it sometimes to *स्*. The Sindhî and Bangâlî follow the Hindî to a large extent in this latter respect.

54. Skr. वापी a well, Pr. बावी, M. बाव, H. G. बाव in बावडी, S. वाह, P. बाउ in बाउडी.

Skr. कूपकः a well, Pr. कूवो, G. कुवो, H. कुआ, S. कुहो for कुओ.

Skr. कपाट a door, Pr. कवाड, M. कवाड, H. किवाड, G. कमाड.

Skr. प्राप to reach, attain, Pr. पाव, M. पाव (in पावणें), G. पाम-*[बुं]*, H. पा-*[ना]*, S. पाह-*[णु]*, B. पाओ-*[वा]*.

Skr. प्रस्थाप to send, Pr. पडाव, M. पाठव-*[णें]*, old H. पठव-*[ना]*, H. पठा-*[ना]*, S. पठ-*[णु]*.

Skr. छुप् to touch, Pr. छिव or छुव, M. शिव-*[णें]*, H. P. B. छू-*[ना &c.]*, O. छुं or छुइ, S. छुअ-*[णु]* or छुह-*[णु]*.

Skr. ताप to heat, Pr. ताव, M. G. H. ताव-*[णें-बुं-ना]*, S. ताह-*[णु]*

Skr. नापित a barber, Pr. नाविअ or न्हाविअ, M. न्हावी, G. नावी, H. S. नाई.

Skr. गोपाल-लिक a cowherd, Pr. गोवाल-लिअ, M. गोवळा, M. G. गवळी, G. गोवाळियो, H. गोवाली, ग्वाल (=गोआल), ग्वाली, S. गवारु.

Skr. कच्छपः a tortoise, Pr. कच्छवो, H. कलूआ, S. कछुं, कछूं, M. कासव.

Skr. सपत्नी a fellow-wife, Pr. सवत्ती, M. सवत, H. सौत.

Skr. भाद्रपद name of the sixth month, Pr. भद्रवअ, M. भाद्रवा, H. भाद्रो, S. बडो.

The lingual surd aspirate *द्* is, it will be remembered, changed in the Prākṛits to *द्ध*, and the vernaculars, especially the Hindî, have preserved the instances and even added to them, as will be seen from the following :—

55. Skr. पठ to read, Pr. पढ, M. H. P. S. पढ in पढणें-ना-णु. In H. and P., however, the pronunciation of *द्ध* is somewhat different from what it is in M., and in S. it sounds like the conjunct *द्धह*.

Skr. पीठक a stool, Pr. पीढअ, H. पीढा.

Skr. पीठिका a series (of generations), Pr. पीढिआ, H. पीढी, M. पिढी, G. पेढी.

Skr. मठ or मठिका a small temple, Pr. मढ, H. P. मढी, old M. मढ.

Skr. दंष्ट्रा, Pr. दाढा, H. डाढ, M. G. दाढ.

Similarly we have H. लुटना 'to roll' from Skr. लुद्. In the word दाढा the दा does not represent *द्ध* but *द्ध* to which that Skr. conjunct must, by the general rules, be reduced in the Prākṛits. One of the two *द्* is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened according to a general

rule in the vernaculars to be hereafter noticed. The remaining *इ* is then softened to *इ*. There are other instances of the same change in our dialects.

56. वेड of M. वेडणें, S. वेडहणु, वेड of H. वेडना, वेड of B. वेडन 'to surround' from Skr. वेष्ट through Pr. वेड. The Gujarâti, however, has पीटवुं.

काड of M. काडणें, G. काडवुं, H. काडना; कड of S. कडणु, B. काड to draw out,' from Pr. कड, Skr. कृष्ट.

कूड of H. कूडना to mourn, from Pr. कुड, Skr. कुष्ट. Even here the Gujarâti has कूटवुं.

H. कोड, M. G. कौड, S. कोड्ड white leprosy, from Skr. कुष्ठ through Pr. कोष्ठ.

The *इ* arising from the Sanskrit *इ* is also similarly changed to *इ*. M. सडळ, H. डीला, &c., from Skr. क्षियिल as in Table 29.

M. कडणें to boil, काडा decoction, कडी curry, कडई a cauldron, G. कडवुं, काडो, &c. H. कडना, काडा, कडी, &c., all from the Skr. root कृथ्.

We have noticed the change of *इ* to *इ* and *इ* and of *इ* to *इ* in the Prâkrits. Not only have the vernaculars preserved the words so changed, but have carried on the process to such an extent that *इ* and *इ* have become mutually interchangeable in some of them, especially the Hindi.

57. Skr. तडाग a tank, Pr. तलाअ, M. G. तळाव, M. तळें, H. तलाव, S. B. तलाड.

Skr. शडिम pomegranate, Pr. शलिम, M. डाळिब, G. शळम, H. B. डालिम, H. शलिम.

Skr. गुड molasses, Pr. गुल, M. गूळ.

Skr. पीड of पीडयति to torment, to twist. Pr. पील, M पिळणें, G. पीळवुं, H. पिलना, &c.

The numerals with their *इ* changed in the Prâkrits to *इ* through an intermediate *इ* have come down to the vernaculars :—

Skr.	Pr.	H.	P.	S.	M.	G.	O.	B.
58. एकादश	एआरह	ग्यारह	यारां or गिआरां	यारहं } कारहं }	अकरा	अग्यार	एगार	एगार
द्वादश	बारह	बारह	बारां	बारहं	बारां	बार	बार	बार
त्रयोदश	तेरह	तेरह	तेरां	तेरहं	तेरा	तेर	तेर	तेर
चतुर्दश	चडह	चौदह	चौदां	चौडहं	चौदा	चौद	चौद	चौह
पञ्चदश	पण्णरह	पंद्रह	पंधरां	पंद्रहं-पंध्रां	पंधरा	पंधर	पंधर	पनेर
षोडश	सोलह	सोलह	सोलां	सौरहं	सोळा	सोळ	षोहल	षोल
सप्तदश	सत्तरह	सत्रह	सतारां	सत्रहं	सतरा	सत्तर	सतर	सनेर
अष्टादश	अठारह	अठारह	अठारां	अडहं	अठरा	अठार	अठर	आठर

The other Prākṛit words दोहल and कलम्ब in which the ह् of the Sanskrit दोहद् and कलम्ब is changed to ल् are preserved in Marāṭhī in the forms of डोहाळा and कळंब. Similarly हरिद्रा and अंगार with the र् so changed appear in the vernaculars as shown before.

The following are later instances :—

59. B. कोल, G. खोळो, Skr. क्रोड lap ; B. चुल, Skr. चूडा lock of hair ; H. मरा for Pr. मडअ, Skr. मृतक a corpse ; H. परछाई, Pr. पडिछाभा, Skr. प्रतिच्छाया ; H. बेराना or बिराना, Skr. विडम्बन mocking ; G. वाळवुं, from Skr. वार to resist ; G. पालवुं from Skr. पार to tide over ; H. बहलना from Skr. विहरण to amuse one's self ; S. निअरु, नेरु or नेलु fetters, from Skr. निगड ; H. P. नेरे, Pr. निअडे, Skr. निकटे-near.

Though the change of ल् to र् does not involve softening but must be considered to be due to a predilection for the sound, it would be convenient to notice it here. There is only one instance of this change given by Hemachandra as existing in the Mahārāshṭrī, but there are a great many in the vernaculars, so that this appears to be a peculiarly modern process. The Hindī and the Sindhī have, however, of all the vernaculars, the largest number of examples, the rest presenting but a few stray ones. Sometimes both the forms with ल् and र् are in use, especially in the Hindī.

60. Skr. स्थूल, Pr. थोर, M. थोर large, great.

H. G. लंगर, M. G. नांगर, S. लंगर, Skr. लाङ्गल a plough, or anchor.

H. कौर or कौल, Skr. कवल a morsel ; धूर or धूल Skr. धूलि dust ; सियार, Skr. शृगाल, a jackal ; सराहना, Pr. सलाह, Skr. श्लाघ् to praise ; हुलार, Skr. हर्लल a spoilt child ; सिकरी, Skr. शृङ्खला a chain ; बारना, Skr. ज्वाल (caus. of ज्वल) to burn, सांवरी Braj for सांवला, Skr. शामलक dark.

S. सांवरी, Skr. श्यामलकः dark ; पिपिरु, Skr. पिप्पलः a certain tree ; पजिरणु, Skr. प्रज्वल to light or burn, पघिरणु, Skr. प्रगल to melt ; हह Skr. हलः a plough, &c.

G. अटारी, Skr. अटालिका a high mansion. M. शेवरी or सांवरी, Skr. शात्मली the silk cotton tree.

Notable instances of the interchangeableness of ड, र् and ल् are afforded by the causal forms of verbal roots in some of the vernaculars. In Hindī the causal of roots ending in a vowel is formed by inserting ल् between it and the termination आ which is the remnant of the old Prākṛit आव् preserved in the Braj and other dialects ; as पिलाना caus.

of दी 'to drink,' खिलाना of खा 'to eat,' दिलाना of दे 'to give,' धुलाना of धो 'to wash,' &c. In Gujarâti we have ड् for ल् as खवाडवुं 'to cause to eat,' देवाडवुं 'to cause to give,' 'न्हवाडवुं' to cause to bathe,' 'wash,' &c. Sometimes instead of ड्, इ is optionally used as in खवराववुं 'to cause to eat,' धीहीवराववुं 'to threaten,' &c. But in Sindhi इ always represents the Hindi ल् and the Gujarâti ड्, as in दिभारणु 'to cause to give,' धुभारणु 'to cause to wash,' वेहारणु 'to cause to sit.' What the origin is of the ड् of these forms which is more primitive than the ल् and इ to which it was afterwards changed will be considered in the next lecture.

Another peculiarly vernacular process of which Hemachandra gives only one instance, is the transformation of न् into ल् in which न् is deprived of its nasal element, and the complete contact of the vocal organs avoided. Thus :—

61. Skr. निम्ब, a certain tree, Pr. लिम्ब or निम्ब, M. लिब.

M. लवणें to bow, Skr. नमन; लोणी butter, Skr. नवनीत; H. लौटना to return, Skr. निवर्त, Pr. निवट; G. लील 'blue, Skr. नील; P. ललेट, cocoanut, Skr. नारीकेल, H. नारियेल.

But there are more instances of the opposite process in the Prâkrits; and these have come down to the vernaculars.

62. M. G. नांगर a plough or anchor, P. नङ्गल or लङ्गल; M. निढळ, S. निराडु, Pr. निडाल or णडाल, Skr. ललाट forehead. Later instances are H. नून salt, Skr. लवण; G. न्हालु, H. न्हा, M. dial. न्हान, Skr. लघु, with some such termination as ल.

The sibilant स् whether original or derived from the Sanskrit ष् or ष् is in a few cases changed to ह् in the Prâkrits. For दिवस 'a day,' we have दिवह or दिअह, for पाषाण 'a stone,' पहाण, and for दशन् 'ten' दह. These words, so changed, have come down to the vernaculars, and are found in one or other of them. The various forms of the numerals having the word दश at the end have been given above. Of the other words G. has दिह 'a day,' and दिहाडो with the suffix डो, P. दिह and दिहाडा, and S. डिहु and डिहाडो; and S. पहणु 'a stone.' The Sindhi and the Panjâbi have given a wider range to this process, as will be seen from the following:—

63. S. बुह or बुहो chaff, Skr. बुस, M. भुसा.

S. बिह lotus-stalk, Skr. बिस, M. भिसें.

S. मेहि a buffalo, Skr. महीषी, M. म्हेस.

S. वेहणु to sit, Skr. उपाविश, M. बैसणें, G. बैसडुं.

S. वेसाहु trust, Skr. विश्वास.

P. बीह, S. बीह twenty, Skr. विश-[ति], M. बीस.

P. विह or विस, S. विड or विखु poison, Skr. विष, M. विख.

P. सहरा, S. सहरो, Skr. इवशुर, M. सासरा father-in-law.

P. तिहा thirst, Skr. तृषा.

P. फाहा or फाही, S. फाहो or फाही a snare, noose, Skr. पाश, M. फांस.

Gujarātis, especially of the uneducated classes, pretty freely pronounce स as ह, as in हमजवुं for समजवुं 'to understand,' बरह for वरस 'a year,' हाचुं for साचुं 'true,' &c., but the forms with स् are also in use. The other dialects do not seem to have many instances of this change. The termination स of verbs of the future tense is in several dialects of the Hindi changed to ह as in करिहै, G. करते 'he will do.'

The change of म to व seems to be an almost entirely later process of which there are scarcely any instances in the Prakṛits. It is seen in full operation in the Apabhraṃśa.

64. Skr. नाम name, M. नांव, H. नाओं, old H. नाऊ, also नाम, P. नांउ S. नांउ, also नामु and नालो.

Skr. वाम a tying rope, M. वावें, P. वांउ, H. वांव in वांवरी.

Skr. ग्राम a village, M. H. गांव, H. गाम, also; S. गांउ, गावु.

Skr. भ्रमण to turn round, M. भौवणें, P. भौणा, S. भौणणु; from the same root, M. भौवळ, H. भंवर, S. भौरी.

Skr. नमन, M. लवणें, H. नवना-नौना-नेवना.

Skr. अवनमन to bow down, M. ओणवणें.

Skr. आचमन to rinse the mouth, M. आचवणें, H. अंचवना, also अचाना.

Skr. विश्राम rest, M. विसांवा, S. वेसांहि,

Skr. इयामल dark-complexioned, M. सांवळा, H. सांवला-रा, P. सांवला and सामला, S. सांविलो.

Skr. जामातृक son-in-law, M. जांवई, but H. जमाई, P. जवाइ or जमाइ.

Skr. उद्गमन rising, M. उगवणें, but P. उग्गमणा.

Skr. आमलक a kind of myrobalans, M. P. आवळा, H. P. आवला, P. आमला also, S. आंउरो.

Skr. सामन्त a chief, M. H. सावंत.

Skr. चामर n, a sort of fly-brush, M. चौरी, H. P. चवंर, S. चंवर.

Skr. कमल a lotus, H. P. कंवल, M. कमळ, S. कंवल.

Skr. गमन caus. spending, wasting, H. गंवाना, P. गवाउणा, S. गंवाइणु but M. गमवणें.

Skr. भ्रमर a bee, H. भंवर or भौरा, P. भौर or भौरा, S. भौरु.

Skr. पञ्चम fifth, M. पांचवा, H. पांचवां, P. पंजवां, &c., and other ordinals.

Skr. कौमल delicate, tender, M. कौवळा.

Skr. जमन eating, M. जेवण, H. जेवन, P. जेंउणा.

Skr. कर्म mud, H. कांरो, G. काव.

From the fact that the Marāṭhī, Hindi, Sindhī, and Panjābī contain many instances of this change it is to be gathered that though it does not appear in the Prākṛits proper it must have begun very early before the vernaculars received their distinctive forms and were isolated from each other. Of all the dialects the Marāṭhī alone has preserved the व् of this वृ in most cases; the Hindī, and the others having dropped it or softened it to उ in a good many instances; while the Gujarātī changes it back again to म्. Thus, such of the above words as exist in Gujarātī have the following forms:—

65. नाम name.	चमरी a fly-brush.
गाम a village.	कमळ a lotus.
भमवुं to turn round, भमरी giddiness, corresponding to M. भौवल.	गमाववुं wasting. भमरो a bee.
त्रिसामो rest.	पांचमो, सातमो, &c., fifth, seventh, &c.
समळो dark-complexioned.	कुमळो delicate, tender.
जमाइ son-in-law.	जमवुं eating.
आमळा myrobalaas.	

The reason why I consider this as a change of वृ back to म्, and not a preservation of the original Sanskrit and Prākṛit म्, is that the Gujarātī changes वृ to म् in other cases where there is no question as to the वृ (or ए) being the original sound. Thus:—

66. G. कमाड a door, H. किवाड, M. कवाड, Pr. कवाड, Skr. कपाट; G. शिसम blackwood, M. शिसवा, Pr. सिसव, Skr. शिषाप.

G. पामवुं to attain, M. पावणे, Pr. पाव, Skr. प्राप.

G. धाम in होडधाम running, Skr. धाव.

Where in Marāṭhī we have वृ or व् the Gujarātī has in some cases म् as in G. मुक्की 'a blow,' M. बुक्की, G. ठाम 'a place of residence,' M. ठाव, derived in some way from Skr. स्थाप. There are traces of this change in some of the other dialects too, as in S. P. मिनत, B. मिनति, corresponding to M. विनंति, H. विनति, Pr. विणंति, Skr. विज्ञप्ति 'solicitation;' B. काछिम, Pr. कच्छव, Skr. कच्छप 'a tortoise;' H. धीमर, Skr. धीवर 'a fisherman;' old M. मात, G. वात, २kr. वार्ता 'news;' B. मुछ, H. पुछ-ना], Skr. प्रोञ्छ 'to wipe away.' This phenomenon of the change of वृ to म् the vernaculars, and especially the Gujarātī, have inherited from the Prākṛits. Of the words so changed the Gujarātī has preserved समणुं 'a dream,' the Prākṛit form being सिमिण or सुमिण, and some of the others, नीम 'kind of tree.' This last is नीप in Sanskrit; but probably there was an intermediate form नीव.

The vernaculars have thrown away the aspiration of hard and soft aspirate mutes in a good many cases, Thus:—

67. M. सीक learn, Pr. सिक्ख, H. सीख.  
 M. भीक beggar, Pr. भिक्खा, H. भीख.  
 M. सुकणें to dry, Pr. सुक्क or सुक्ख, H. सूखना.  
 M. भूक hunger, Pr. बुद्धक्खा, H. भूख.  
 M. हात hand, Pr. हत्थ, H. हाथ.  
 M. हत्ती elephant, Pr. हत्थी, H. हाथी.  
 G. बीनो afraid, Pr. भीरो or भीओ, M. भ्याला.  
 G. बडाई greatness from Pr. वडु, H. वडाई.  
 G. बगाडवुं to spoil, Pr. बिघड, M. बिघडणें.  
     S. सुकणु to dry.  
     S. बीख beggary.  
     S. बुख hunger.
- B. पुति a book, Pr. पोत्थिआ, H. M. पोथी.  
 B. पड to learn, Pr. पड, H. M., &c. पढ.  
 B. वाड to grow, Pr. वडु, M. वाढ-[णें], H. बाढ-बढ-[ना].  
 B. वेड to surround, Pr. वेढ, M. वेढ-[णें], H. बेढ-[ना], &c.  
 B. पातर stone, Pr. पत्थर, M. पायर, H. पत्थर or पायर.  
 B. पिठ back, Pr. पिठ or पठ, H. पीठ, M. पाठ.  
 B. साइ wish, Pr. सद्धा, S. P. साध.  
 B. शुक् (in शुक्कान) to dry, Pr. सुक्ख or सुक्क, H. सूखना.  
 B. काड (in काडिया) to take out, Pr. कड, H. M., &c. काढ.  
 B. पुकुर a pond, Pr. पुक्खरिणी.

And in such forms as पराहले 'worn' from Pr. परिहाण, नाहते 'for bathing' from Pr. न्हा, and डाइन 'to the right hand,' Pr. दाहिण, the aspirate ह् is dropped, so that the Bangālî has, in a large number of instances, thus weakened the pronunciation of aspirated sounds. In the instances given from Marāṭhî, it will be seen that the letters other than those which are softened are aspirates; hence the weakening consists simply in dropping the heavy breath in one of two aspirated sounds as in the case of the Sindhî बीख and बुख. The aspirates are preserved when occurring singly, which is not the case in Bangālî. Hence Bangālî utterance is the weakest, and the Hindî and Panjabî the strongest.

The Marāṭhî reduces a Sanskrit or Prākṛit छ् invariably to स, and in this respect differs from all its cognate dialects. Thus:—

68. Skr. इक्षु sugarcane, Pr. इच्छु, M. ऊस. The H. has ईख् ० ऊख्.  
 Skr. मत्स्य fish, Pr. मच्छ, H. माछ, M. मासा.  
 Skr. वत्स a calf, Pr. वच्छ, H. बाछ, M. वास in वासरुं.

- Skr. कुरिका a knife, Pr. कुरिका, H. कुरी, M. सुरी.  
 Skr. मक्षिका a fly, Pr. मच्छिआ, H. माछी, M. माची.  
 Skr. पृच्छ to ask, Pr. पुच्छ, H. पुछना, M. पुसनें.  
 Skr. कच्छप a tortoise, Pr. कच्छव, H. कछुआ, M. कासव.  
 Skr. कुक्षि a side of the abdomen, Pr. कुच्छि, M. कूस. The H. has कोख.  
 Skr. क्षेत्र a field, Pr. छेत, M. होत. But H. has खेत.  
 Skr. छुप to touch, Pr. छुव, H. छू-[ना], M. शिव-[नें].  
 Skr. छाया shade, Pr. छाआ, H. छांव, M. सांव-[ली].  
 Skr. गुच्छ a bunch, Pr. गोच्छ, H. गोच्छा, M. घोंस.  
 Skr. उत्सङ्ग lap, Pr. ओच्छङ्ग, M. ओसंग.  
 Skr. छागली a she-goat, Pr. छाअली or छाली, H. छेरी, M. शेयी.  
 Skr. क्षीण worn out, wasted, Pr. छीण, M. शीण-[नें].  
 Skr. क्षण a festival, Pr. छण, M. सण.

According to a general rule in Marâthî स् is changed to श् when followed by the palatal vowel इ or ए. This change of छ् to स् in this dialect is to be accounted for by the fact that the vocal organs of the Marâthâs have a predilection for the dento-palatals, च, छ, ज, झ to which the Sanskrit palatals are in almost all cases reduced by them except when they are followed by इ, ए, or श्. The Sanskrit छ् therefore becoming the dento-palatal छ passes into स् which differs from it only in the contact of the vocal organs being somewhat less incomplete. The only instances in the Prâkrits in which the change appears to be the same as that we have been considering are ऊसवो for उच्छवो and ऊसुओ for उच्छुओ.

I have already given instances of the many words with their uninitial consonants dropped which the vernaculars have inherited from the Prâkrits, and shown what further changes they have undergone. This process of elision has not been continued by any of the vernaculars unless we consider the disappearance of uninitial व् which is very general in Hindî, Sindhî, and Bangâlî to be an instance of the process.

69. B. H. दिवा, S. डिओ lamp, Pr. दीवओ, Skr. दीपकः, M. दिवा.  
 H. नया, S. नओँ new, Pr. नवओ, M. नवा.  
 H. जी, S. जीउ life, Pr. जीओ, Skr. जीवः, M. जीव.  
 H. S. नाई, B. नायि a barber, Pr. नाविअ or न्हाविअ, Skr. नापित, M. न्हावी.  
 H. कछुआ, S. कछउं a tortoise, Pr. कच्छवओ, Skr. कच्छपकः, M. कांसव.



H. लू-[ना], S. लुअ-[णु], B. लो(लोया s) to touch, Pr. छिव or लुव, Skr. लुप, M. शिव-[नें].

H. पा-[ना], S. पाइ-[णु], Pr. पाव, Skr. प्राप, M. पाव-[नें].

H. कुआ, S. कुहो for कुओ, B. कुया a well, Pr. कुवओ, Skr. कूपकः, G. कुयो.

H. ग्वाल=गोआल, B. गोयाला a cowherd, Pr. गोवालअ, Skr. गोपालक M. गोवळा.

H. ब्याह,=विआह, S. विहाव marriage, Skr. विवाह.

H. पठा-[ना], S. पठ-[णुं], B. पाठाइ-[वा] to send, Pr.पढव, Skr. प्रस्थाप, M. पाठव.

H. ता-[ना], S. ताइ-[णु] to heat, Pr. ताव, Skr. ताप, M. ताव-[नें].

H. दुआर, B. दोयार door, Pr. दुवार or दुआर, Skr. द्वार.

B. दुइ two, Pr. दुवे, Skr. द्वौ.

B. नय nine, Skr. नव, M. नव, H. नौ.

B. शेवाला moss, Skr. शैवाल, H. शेवाल.

This elision of व् appears also in the Hindî causal forms such as उठाना, चलाना, जलाना, in which the आ only of the Prākṛit or Marāṭhî termination आव् or अव् is retained. The whole termination appears in the Braj and other dialects and in old books, sometimes in the form of औ. The Sindhî causal termination is आइ, as in कराइणु 'to cause to do,' वधाइणु 'to cause to increase.' The इ here as well as in some of the Sindhî words given above represents the व् which according to the Prākṛit rule takes the place of the dropped व, and is, as shown before, changed to ए in the other vernaculars. The Sindhî इ is a shortened form of this ए. The termination आइ appears sometimes in its more original form of आआ as in वडाअणु 'to cause to take.' The Bangālî too forms its causal by adding आइ as in धराइतेछे 'is causing to be held;' but the इ here seems to be an euphonic addition, which even in their primitive form the verbs take, as in धरितेछे 'is holding,' so that the व् is here dropped and the vowel अ combined with the preceding as in the Hindî. In the speech of the Marāṭhâ lower classes of Southern Konkan व् is very often elided, and the causal termination of the Sāvāntvāḍî dialect is अव्, as in करव 'cause to do,' which corresponds to the Sindhî कराइ-[णु].

There are instances also in which the व् resulting from म् is elided as in H. कुअर 'a boy,' 'a prince,' Pr. कुमर, Skr. कुमार; बायां 'left-hand-side,' Pr. वामअ, Skr. वामक; धुआं 'smoke,' Pr. धुमअ, Skr. धूमक; अचाना 'to rinse the mouth,' Pr. Skr. आचम, विराना or बेराना 'to mock,' Skr. विडम्ब, भुई 'ground,' Skr. भूमि.

There are traces of this chango in other dialects too, as in the Oriyâ

बां for वाम 'left,' Gujarâti बांय=भूर्ई, S. भुई, Skr. भूमि, and the Marâṭhī भुई and the termination ई of the locative which is to be traced to the Pr. म्मि, Skr. स्मिन्. In all these instances we may regard म् as directly elided, and not the व् resulting from it. Hemachandra notices a few instances of the process in the Prâkr̥its.

The vernaculars possess a large number of those Prâkr̥it words, in which the mute element of hard and soft aspirates was dropped leaving only the ह्. Thus :—

ख.

70. Skr. मुख face, Pr. मुह, H. मुंह, S. मुहु, G. मोहो; M. मोहरे, P. मुहरेह (with the suffix र) in front, H. मोहरा; H. सौही, G. सामु-मो, M. समोर (with the suffix र) from Skr. संमुख face to face.

Skr. नख nail, Pr. बह, H. नह, S. नहु, P. नहं.

Skr. शोखरकः a chaplet, Pr. सेहरओ, H. सिहरा or सेहरा, S. सिहिरो, P. सिहरा.

Skr. सखी a female companion, Pr. सही, G. सही, H. S. P. सहेली, M. B. O. सई.

Skr. लिख to write, Pr. लिह, M. लिह-[नें.]

Skr. शिखण्ड a lock of hair or शिखण्डिका, Pr. सिहण्डिआ, M. शौडी.

Skr. सुखकर agreeable, Pr. सुहअर, H. सोहर.

Skr. आखेट hunt, Pr. आहेड (?) H. अहेर.

घ.

71. Skr. मेह rain, Pr. मेह, G. H. मेह, S. मेहु.

Skr. श्लाघ् to praise, Pr. सलाह, H. सराह-[ना].

Skr. प्राणुणक a guest, Pr. पाहुणअ, M. पाहुणा, H. पाहुना.

Skr. लघु little, quick, Pr. लहु, M. लहान, G. न्हालु, H. नन्हा with some such suffix as ल.

To these must be added the several compounds of the word घर some of which at least are modern, as—

H. नैहर house of a woman's family of birth, Pr. नाइघर or नाइहर, Skr. ज्ञातिगृह.

H. पीहर, G. पीथेर a woman's father's house, Pr. पिइघर or पिइहर, Skr. पितृगृह.

M. माहेर, G. महीर a woman's mother's house, Pr. माइघर or माइहर, Skr. मातृगृह.

G. भोंयार, M. भूंयार, H. भूंयारा a cellar, Skr. भूमिगृह.

G. देहह, M. देहारा, H. देहरा, दिहरा an idol-chamber, Skr. देवगृह.

## थ

72. Skr. नाथ a lord, Pr. नाह, old M. & H. नाह.  
 Skr. मिथुन a pair, Pr. मिहण, M. मेहण.  
 Skr. मय to churn, Pr. मह, H. मह-[ना].  
 Skr. मयनिका a churning vessel, Pr. महणिआ, H. मिहानी.  
 Skr. पथिक a traveller, Pr. पहिअ, M. G. पही.  
 Skr. पथुक flattened rice, Pr. पुहुअ (?), M. पोहे, S. पेहं.  
 Skr. पथुलकम् broad, Pr. पुहुलअं-[Ap. उं], G. पोहळं.  
 Skr. कथ to tell, Pr. कह, H. G. S. P. B. O. कह-[ना-वं-णु, &c.]  
 Skr. कथानक or कथानिका a story, Pr. कहाणअ or कहाणिआ, H. कहानी, M. G. कहाणी, S. किहाणी, B. काहिनी.

## ध

73. Skr. बधिरकः deaf, Pr. बहिरओ, H. M. O. बहिरा, G. बेहरो.  
 Skr. दधि curds, Pr. दहि, H. M. G. P. O. दहि, S. डहि.  
 Skr. मधु honey, Pr. महु, O. B. महु, M. मोंह.  
 Skr. साधु honest, good, Pr. साह, H. साह-साह, M. साव.  
 Skr. द्यू a young lady, daughter-in-law, H. G. S. वदू,  
 O. बोंह or बौ.  
 Skr. परिधा dressing, Pr. परिहा, H. पहिर-[ना], G. पेहर-[वं], S. पेहर-[णु], P. पहिर-[णा] by the consonants interchanging places.

## भ

74. Skr. प्रभा or प्रभात light, dawn, Pr. पहा, पहाअ, पहाह, H. पह or पोह, G. पोह, M. पहाट. The S. पिरिह must be a later form. From the same root with the prepositions वि and सु we have H. विहान morning, S. सुहाउ light, &c.  
 Skr. शुभ to become, to adorn, Pr. सुह, H. सोह-[ना], S. सुह-[णु].  
 Skr. सौभाग्य prosperity, good fortune, Pr. सोहग्ग, H. सोहांग or सुहाग.

Similarly, H. पहिचान 'recognize' is from Skr. प्रत्यभिज्ञाना, the consonants interchanging places; G. वहालो or वाल्हो 'dear' from Skr. वह्नभ; सेहलो 'easy' from सुलम; वेहच-[वं] to 'distribute' or 'divide' from विभञ्ज, &c.

The existence of many such words as M. H. P. उपाध 'injury,' H. P. साध 'a good man,' M. G. H. P. मध 'honey,' H. G. लिख, लख 'to write,' M. G. H. नख 'nail,' S. सुभाणे 'in the morning' shows that the popular speech of Northern India has now for a long time ceased to have recourse to this process of dropping the mute element of the aspirates of the Sanskrit words adopted from time to time from the parent

language. Still, however, a few later instances, such as S. पिरिह 'dawn, H. G. माह 'middle' from माध and मध्य, and some of the compounds of घर noticed above show that it has not been entirely absent. The elision of simple mutes and of the mute element of aspirates is a natural phenomenon which one always meets with in the course of lingual development; but its operation is generally slow and it is only in consequence of its systematic occurrence in the Prākṛits that I have attributed it to an ethnological cause, and supposed that the Prākṛit speakers belonged to another race than those who spoke Sanskrit, and being unused to Sanskrit sounds caught only the initial consonants from their Sanskrit teachers and dropped the rest or the mute portion of the rest. When, however, in the course of time they became used to those sounds and the Sanskrit and Prākṛit speaking races became united into one community, they ceased to be so dropped, except through the slow and gradual operation of the usual phonetic laws; and hence it is that in modern times we find Sanskrit words not shorn of their elements in the manner in which they were in ancient times as indicated above.

This elision, though it involves economy and is a natural process, constitutes a peculiarity of the Prākṛits in so far as it is due to peculiar historical incidents. We will now notice the peculiarities which do not involve economy and must be attributed to vocal predilections. Of the words in which a Sanskrit dental is changed to a cerebral in the Prākṛits the vernaculars have preserved the following:—

75. Skr. विभीतक myrobalan, Pr. बहेडभो, M. बेहडा, &c., as in table 8.

Skr. पत to fall, Pr. पड, M. G. H. पड-[पें-बुं-ना].

Skr. बंश to bite, Pr. डस, M. H. P. G. डस-[पें-ना-वा-बुं]. From this H. M. G. डांस, O. डाआंश a mosquito, Skr. बंश.

Skr. रंश to stick, Pr. डक (*past part.*), M. G. डक-[पें-बुं].

Skr. शङ्क to decay, Pr. सड, M. H. G. सड-[पें-ना-बुं].

Skr. झोला a swing, Pr. डोला, H. डोला *masc.* From this are derived M. डुलणे, H. डोलना, G. डोलबुं to swing, M. डुलकी a nap, G. डोळा nodding, M. G. H. P. O. डोली a litter or Sedan chair.

Skr. इण्ड a stick, Pr. डण्ड, H. डांड or डांडा, P. डंडा, G. M. (*dial.*) डांडो, H. G. डांडी. M. has हांडा and हांडी.

Skr. वह् to burn, Pr. डह, H. डाहना to be spiteful, malicious, H. P. डाह malice.

Skr. सिथिल, Pr. सिदिल, M. सडळ, &c., as in Table 29.

Skr. वम्भ hypocrisy, deceptive appearance, Pr. डम्भ, M. डंभ.

Skr. शोह्व longing, Pr. डोहल, M. डोहाळा.

There are many later instances of this change :—

76. M. S. दाण-[णं-णु], H. दानना, B. दानिवा, O. दाणिवा to stretch, Skr. तन; M. टिका, G. टिको a mark on the forehead, Skr. तिलक; H. M. टिकली, G. टिकडी, S. टिकिडो a small mark on the forehead, a spangle, Skr. तिलक: by consonants interchanging place ; M. G. दाळ, H. दाली a kind of cymbal, from Skr. ताल measured or beaten time, M. दाळा, G. दाळुं the roof of the mouth, Skr. तालु; H. P. डाल-डाला-डाली, S. डारी-डारो, G. डाळी, B. O. डाल, M. डाहळी a branch or bough, Skr. दल; M. कढणे, &c., as in p. 172.

The Sindhî has the largest number of instances, and the Hindî and the Panjâbî come next. The Marâṭhî and Gujarâtî have the smallest number.

77. S. डुंडो satisfied, Skr. नुष्ट-[कः]; S. देडो crooked, H. P. देडा, M. तेडा, M. (*dial.*) तिडो, Skr. तिर्यक्; S. दूंढो, H. दूंढ handless, M. थोटा, Skr. स्थगु with the suffix ट, Pr. थडटो (?); S. डखिणु the south, H. खिन, Skr. वक्षिण; S. डंढु a tooth, H. M. दांत, Skr. दन्त; S. डया pity, M. H. Skr. दया; S. डसणु to show, H. दसना, Skr. दर्शन; S. डह ten, H. दस, M. दहा, Skr. दश; S. डाड or डाडूह a grinder, H. डाड, M. दाड, Skr. दष्ट; S. डिओ a lamp, H. दिया, M. दिवा, Skr. दीप-[कः]; S. डिअणु to give, H. देना, M. देणे, Skr. दान; S. डीडो, H. P. डीड impudent, M. धीट, Skr. धृष्ट; S. डिसणु see, H. दिसना, M. दिसणे to appear, Skr. दृश्य; S. डिडो seen, H. P. डीड, G. दिडो, Skr. दृष्ट.

O. डाहाण, B. डाहन to the right hand, H. दाहिना.

Thus then the Pâli and Prâkrit tendency to pronounce dentals as cerebrals is seen in a much more exaggerated form in the Sindhî and next to it in the Hindî and the Panjâbî, while the other modern dialects seem to have kept it quite within the bounds in which we find it in the ancient dialects, though they have changed more words in that way than they.

In the following instances the cerebral mute in the place of the dental is to be considered as due to the influence of an adjoining र्.

78. पड for Pr. पंडि, Skr. प्रति, in the words given in list 52, and हरडा, पुढे, and मडे in the same.

M. G. H. S. P. डर-[णं-डुं-ना-णु-ना], B. O. डरिवा, Pr. डर, Skr. दर fear.

H. डभ or डाब, G. डभ or डभो, S. डभु, Skr. दभे a kind of grass, but P. दभ.

H. मट्टी or माटी, &c., as in list 4.

H. बुड्डा, बडा, M. S. वड, &c., as in list 4.

H. केवट, Skr. कैवर्त a pilot.

H. उबटन, M. उटणें, G. उटणु, S. उबटणु a cosmetic, =Skr. उद्धर्तन.

H. टाकना or ताकना, M. टकणे, O. टाकिवा, Skr. तर्के to watch, to look out for. G. B. S. have त for ट.

M. H. पवाडा, S. G. पवाडो a narrative, Skr. प्रवाद-[कः].

Even here the Sindhî has more instances than the others:—

79. पुट्ट a son, Skr. पुत्र, M. पूत.

टिह thirst, Skr. तृषा, P. तिहा.

निङ्ग sleep, Skr. निद्रा, H. नीव.

टामो copper, Skr. ताम्र, M. तांबें, &c.

Uninitial न् is changed to ण् in the Prākṛits invariably, but when it is at the beginning of a word it undergoes that change optionally. In the vernaculars the initial न् remains unchanged, but when medial it becomes mostly ण् in the Marāṭhî, Gujarātî, Sindhî, and Panjābî.

Initial न्.

80. M. नाव, &c., as in list 64.

P. नेउल as in list 24.

H. S. नाई, &c., as in list 69.

M. नीज, H. नीव, S. निङ्ग sleep,

M. नवा, H. नया, S. नओँ,  
as in list 69.

Skr. निद्रा.

H. P. नेरे as in p. 166.

P. नेउंसा, H. नेवता, G. नोतरं an invitation, Skr. निमन्त्र.

H. नह, &c., as in list 70.

M. नणं, P. नणान, S. निणुन, H.

P. नैण, as in list 16.

ननर or ननदी, B. ननर or ननंसा, Skr.

II. नौनी as in list 17.

ननान्द husband's sister, &c.

Medial ण्.

81. M. माणूस, G. माणस, S. माण्हूं, P. माणुस, Skr. मनुष्य a man.

M. दिसणें, S. डिसणु, P. विसणा, Skr. दर्शन or दर्शनक appearing; and all other infinitives in णे-णु-णा.

M. जण, G. जण, S. जणो, P. जणा, Skr. जन-[कः] a person.

M. G. कहाणी, S. किराणी, Skr. कथानिका a story.

M. G. S. P. पाणी, Skr. पानीय water.

M. G. S. P. जाण-[णे-णुं-णु-णा], Skr. जाना to know.

M. G. कोण, P. कौण, Skr. कः पुनः who?

M. बहिन, G. बेन, S. भेणु, P. भैण, Skr. भगिनी sister.

M. कठण, G. कठण, S. कठन, P. कठण-न, Skr. कठिन hard.

P. S. G. जण-[णा-णु-णुं], Skr. जन (*causal*) to give birth to, to produce.

G. लुण, S. लूण, P. लूण, M. लोण (in सेंधेलोण), Skr. लवण salt.

P. M. G. आपण, S. पाण, Pr. अप्याण, Skr. आत्मान one's self.

M. G. S. P. ताण-[णै-वुं-णु-णा], Skr. तन to stretch or pull.

M. नण्द, &c., as above.

There are a few instances in which we have the original न in the body of a word, as in M. G. P. मन, S. मनु, Skr. मनः 'mind,' G. वानु 'promise' for Skr. वचन, and G. बेन as above. But the general rule seems to be that these four dialects have a medial न् in the place of the double ण् of the Prākṛits, resulting from a Sanskrit conjunct of which न् is a member. Thus:—

82. Skr. अरण्य, Pr. रण्य, M. G. रान wilderness.

Skr. कर्ष, Pr. कण्य, M. G. कान, P. कन्न, S. कनु car.

Skr. पर्ण, P. पण्य, M. G. पान, P. पन्ना, S. पनु a leaf.

Skr. जीर्ण (जूर्णकः), Pr. जुण्य, M. जुनें, G. जुनुं, S. झूनो old.

Skr. विज्ञप्त, Pr. विण्यव, M. G. विनव-(णै-वुं) to solicit; Skr. विज्ञप्ति, M. G. विनंती, S. विनती, P. मिनत solicitation.

Skr. संज्ञा, Pr. सण्णा, G. सान, P. सन mark, sign.

Skr. जन्ययात्रा, Pr. जण्ययत्ता, P. जनेत a bridal procession; also, S. जन्न, Skr. जन्य, Pr. जन्न.

Skr. यज्ञोपवीत, Pr. जण्णोवईअ, G. जनोई, P. जनेऊ, M. जानवें, S. जण्यो the Brahmanic sacred thread.

Skr. मन्व, Pr. मण्य, M. G. मान-[णै-वुं], S. मनणु, P. मन्नणा to think, to regard, to obey.

But even here in Marāṭhī the purely Deśastha Brahmans living in the eastern part of the Deccan or Mahārāshṭra pronounce the न् as ण्; and the ordinary रान, कान, पान, विनंति, &c., of that dialect become in their mouths राण, काण, पाण, विणंति, &c. They have, therefore, preserved in its integrity the old habit of the Prākṛit speakers to pronounce the Sanskrit न् as ण् throughout. On the other hand, the lower classes of the Konkanī population preserve the Paisāchī peculiarity of reducing ण् in all cases to न्, and pronounce पाणी, वाणी, कोण, &c., as पानी, वानी, कोन, &c., and this peculiarity we find in its fulness in the Hindī, and next to it in the Bangālī. Thus the words with a ण् in them in the Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Sindhī, and Panjābī, given above, have the following forms in Pīndī:—

मानूस, विसना, जन, कहानी, पानी, जानना, कौन, बहिन or बैन, कटिन, जनना, लून or नून, अपना, दानना or तानना, ननद or ननरी.

And such of these words as are in use in the Bangālī have the following:—

मानूस, जन, कहानी, जानन, कोन, बहिन or बोन, कटिन, जनन, लोण, आपना, दानना, ननद.

Other words in some of which even in Sanskrit a ण् appears are in the Hindi and Bangālī thus :—

83. Skr. ब्राह्मण, H. ब्रम्हन or बामन, B. बामुन, but S. बामणु a Brahman. घृण in घृणोति, H. घुन-[ना], B. घुन-[न], S. घृण-[णु] to hear.

Skr. दक्षिण, H. दहिना, B. डाइन, right hand.

Skr. महण (?) , H. B. गहना, S. गहणो, an ornament worn on the person.

Skr. काण-[कः], H. कान or काना, B. काना, S. काणो blind of one eye.

Still ण् does appear in Bangālī book in a few words such as काण ear, लोण 'salt,' &c. In the Hindi it seems to be entirely absent.

In the principal Prākṛit and the Śauraseni all the Sanskrit sibilants are reduced to स्. Sanskrit words, therefore, containing the palatal ष् and the cerebral ष् which in the Prākṛits came to have the dental स् instead, have the last in the Hindi, Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī. But according to a law of Marāṭhī pronunciation, this स्, when followed by the palatal vowel or semi-vowel इ, ए, or य, is transformed into the palatal ष्. The foregoing lists of words contain many instances that prove these points.

84. List 2. M. H. P. दिस, S. डिस, Skr. वृद्ध; H. सियार, Skr. वृगाल; G. H. सींग, P. सिंग, S. सिङ्ग, Skr. वृङ्ग; H. P. किस, Skr. कृषि; M. पाउस, H. पावस, Skr. प्रावृष्.

List 5. M. G. H., &c. सौंड, सूंड, &c., Skr. शुण्डा.

List 11 & 8. G. माणस, M. माणुस, H. मानुस, P. माणुस, Skr. मनुष्य.

List 14. M. H. बैस, Skr. उपविश; M. हौस, H. भैस, G. भैस, Skr. महिषी.

List 24. H. सेमल, M. सांवरी, Skr. शाल्मली; list 34. H. S. साध, Skr. श्रद्धा.

List 47. H. P. परोस, G. पीरस, Skr. परिवेष; list 46. H. सलाई, M. P. सळई, Skr. शलाका.

List 36. H. साला, P. M. साळा, Skr. श्यालक; list 63. M. सांवळा, H. P. सांवला, &c., Skr. श्यामलक; M. विसावा, &c., Skr. विश्राम.

List 69. H. सिहरा or वेहरा, &c., Skr. शेखर; list 73. H. सोह, S. सुह, Skr. शुभ; list 74. P. H. M. G. डांस, Skr. दंश; H. घुन, S. घृण, Skr. घृण as above, &c.

H. सीसो, M. शिसवा, G. शिसम, Skr. शिशप, list 65.

Other instances are M. साळ, H. साल, Skr. शाला 'a school' or 'an establishment;' M. सल, H. साल, Skr. शल्य 'a dart;' M. G. साकळी, H. सांकली, सिकली 'a chain,' Skr. शृङ्खला; M. सुक, H. सूख, Skr. शुष्क 'dry;' H. सीख, Skr. शिष्य 'to learn;' H. पीस, Skr. पिष् 'to grind;' H. M. G. नास, Skr. नाश 'destruction;' S. बस, Skr. वर्ष 'to rain;' H. P. S.



सेज 'a bed,' Skr. शय्या, &c. Even in words adopted later and consequently treated somewhat differently from the way in which they were treated in the Prākṛits, the Sanskrit ङ् and ञ् are reduced to स्, as in the H. तर्सना 'to thirst,' Skr. तृष्; परवेश, 'entrance,' Skr. प्रवेश; परसु 'a hatchet,' Skr. पर्शु; निसपति 'lord of the night,' 'moon,' Skr. निशापति; S. वंसु 'race,' 'descent,' Skr. वंश; वसंणु 'to rain,' Skr. वर्ष; वसिकरण्णु to 'subdue,' Skr. वशीकरण; P. सोग 'sorrow,' Skr. शोक; सांत 'quietness,' Skr. शान्ति; परमेस्वर 'God,' Skr. परमेश्वर; M. वरिस, G. वरस 'a year,' Skr. वर्ष; वरसतुं to rain, Skr. वर्ष, &c. The present speakers of the Hindî, the Panjâbî, and the Sindhî retain therefore the vocal peculiarity of their Prākṛit ancestors of pronouncing Sanskrit ञ् and ङ् as स्. Of the words given above the सींग, सेमल, सीख and सेज of the Hindî become शिंग, शेवरी, शिक, and शेज in Marāṭhî, because they are followed by a palatal vowel. Similarly, we have शेण 'cowdung,' Skr. शकन्; शेगट 'a tree,' Skr. शिशु; शेवाळ 'moss,' Skr. शैवाल; शिडी a ladder, Skr. श्रेडी, &c. Even the original स् of Sanskrit words is pronounced by the Marāṭhâs as ञ् under those conditions, as शेबुर 'red lead,' Skr. सिन्दूर; शिवणे 'to sew,' Skr. सिद्ध; माडशी 'mother's sister,' Skr. मातृष्वसा, &c. Gujarātî too shows the same tendency though it is not so decided; and we have thus शिंग 'a horn,' शिखतुं 'to learn,' शिवतुं 'to sew,' शिसम 'blackwood,' Skr. शिद्यप, शेज, Skr. शय्या, &c. But we have also such words as सिचतुं 'sprinkling,' Skr. सिच, सिजववु 'to boil,' सिडी 'ladder,' &c. So that the Marāṭhî rule does not seem to be strictly applicable to the Gujarātî. Still the sound ञ् is as natural to the Gujarātîs as to the Marāṭhâs, as is shown by such forms as गुं for तुं 'what?' करसो 'do,' &c., and in some provinces it is freely used for स् in many words.

The Bangālî forms of such of the above words as are used in the language have ञ् for the Hindî स्, as :—

	B.	H.	B.	H.
85.	द्युक्तिवा	सूखना to dry.	शियाल	सियारा a jackal.
	द्युनिवा	सूनना to hear.	शिमुल	सेमल the silk cotton tree.
	द्युइवा	सोना to sleep.	शूंड	सोंड, सूंड trunk of an
	पासो	पास near.		elephant.
	शिगा	सींग a horn.	शिन्नु	सीसो blackwood.
	डांस	डांस a mosquito.	शेल	साल a dart.
	भईश	भैंस a buffalo.	दिवाशलाई	दियासलाई a fire-match.

Bangālî books and dictionaries contain a good many words derived from the old Prākṛits or recently adopted from Sanskrit which contain स् in them. The object of the authors in these cases is to give the correct Prākṛit or Sanskrit forms, and not to represent the correct Bangālî pronunciation. But it is not necessary to hear a Bangālî speak or read his language or even Sanskrit for a long time to arrive at the clear conviction that his vocal habits do not admit of the pronunciation of स् or ष् but only of ह्. Sanskrit and Prākṛit स् becomes ह् in his mouth. Thus the Bangālîs of the present day possess the same vocal characteristic that is attributed to their ancestors, the speakers of the Mâgadhî by the Prākṛit grammarians.

ह् has a tendency to pass off into छ् as we observed in going over the Pālî. Instead of the Pālî छक for the Skr. शकृत् 'cowdung,' we have छेणु in S., छाण in G., &c., from शकन् another form of the word, and for the Pālî छाप, Skr. शव 'the young of an elephant,' we have छावा in H. M. &c., the Pr. form being छाव. For the Skr. शेष the G. has छेवट, छेडो, and छेहो 'last,' 'end,' with the suffixes ट, ड and ल, for Skr. शल्ल 'rind,' H. has छली, for Skr. शण 'hemp,' O. has छण, for सूत्रधार 'carpenter,' which is सुतार in the other dialects and must have been pronounced सुतार by the Bangālîs, the B. has छुतार, and O. also. Other instances may be found. In Hindî Skr. श् is often pronounced as ख् as in भाख for भाषा 'spoken dialect,' पुरुख for पुरुष, भेख for बेष, विखम for विषम, &c. This is to be identified with the practice of the followers of the Mâdhyaîndina recension of the White Yajurveda who read the श् occurring in their books throughout as ख्. But other dialects also have a few instances of this change, as विख P. M. G., विखु, S. for Skr. विष.

Of the Prākṛit words in which a vowel or a mute is aspirated through the influence of an adjoining aspirate or an aspirated mute, the vernaculars have preserved the following :—

86. Pr. पनस, M. G. फनस, Skr. पनस a Jacktree. The H. has also फनस but more commonly पनस.

Pr. भिस, M. भिसै, H. भिस, P. भेह, Skr. बिस edible lotus root. S. has बिह.

Pr. खासिभ, G. H. P. खांसी, Skr. कासित cough.

There are a good many more modern instances :—

87. M. फरशी, G. फरसी, H. फरसा, Skr. परशु an axe.

M. G. फांस, H. फांस-फांसा-फांसी. P. फाहा फाही-फांसी, S. फासी-फाही, B. फांस-फांसी, Skr. पाश a noose.

M. निभावयें, G. निभावयुं, H. निभाना, S. निभाइयु, P. निभाउया, Skr. निवाह accomplishing. H. S. P. have also the forms with निवाह.

G. खसयुं, H. खिसना, Skr. कृष्यते to drop away, to be drawn.

G. वडं, H. घेडं or गोहूं, P. घेडं, Skr. गोधूम wheat. M. has गहूं.

M. G. O. हाड, P. हडु-हडुी, S. हडु-हडुी, H. B. हाड-हडुी, Pr. अठि, Skr. अस्थि bone.

B. हांटु knee, H. ठिहुन; by interchange of places, Skr. अष्टीवत्, Pr. अष्टीव ?

P. भाफ, B. O. भाप, Pr. बप्फ, Skr. वाष्प vapour.

M. घोंस a bunch, Skr. गुच्छ.

P. सभ, S. सभु all, Pr. सच्च, Skr. सर्व.

M. खुशाल safe, well, Skr. कुशल.

H. P. M. भेस garb, Pr. बेस, Skr. वेश.

M. भूस-भूसा chaff, H. भूस-भूसा, P. भूस-भुस्सी, G. भूसो-भुसुं, B. भूधि, Skr. बुस; S. has बुह-बुहो.

In some cases the aspirate sound is absorbed in the adjoining mute, and it ceases to exist as a separate component of a word. Thus, from the Pr. पड्डि, Skr. प्रभृति, we have the M. पुडें in which the ह् combines with ड्, and the M. *dial.* फुडें in which it combines with प्. In the same manner the Skr. मेष 'sheep' becomes, with the usual Apabrahmīśa suffix ड or डभ, मेसडड or मेहडड, which in M. and G. assumes the form of मेंदा and मेंदो, the ह् combining with ड्, and in H. and P. of भेडा in which the ह् being combined with the preceding मे destroys the nasal character of the sound. P. has मेंदा also, and G. भेडा, and B. and O. मेडा as well as भेडा. By a similar absorption of the ह् sound and the loss of nasal character, we have H. P. भैस (*masc.* भैसा), G. भैस, B. भईश, from Skr. महिषी 'a female buffalo,' and G. M. भेळ from Pr. मिस्स, Skr. मिश्र with the suffix ल, through an intermediate form मिहल or मेहल. We have a more ancient instance of the process in the Pr. संभर for Skr. संस्मर, through the intermediate form संम्हर, which has been preserved by the G. in सांभरयुं 'to remember' or 'remind.'

Sometimes a mute is aspirated without any apparent reason in the Prākritis, and these instances have come down to some of the vernaculars:—

88. Skr. कुच्च humpbacked, Pr. खुडजो, M. खुजा; but P. कोझा, H. कुंजा, B. कुंजो, O. कुंजा, S. कुवो; M. कुबडा also.

Skr. कौलक: a nail, Pr. खीलओ, M. खिळा, G. खिळो, B. O. खील or खिला; the rest कौल.

Skr. कर्पूर potsherd, an earthen cup, Pr. खप्पर, M. खापर, H. P. खप्पर, O. खपरा, B. खावरा.

Later instances are P. खूहा, S. कूहा a well, Skr. कूपकः; P. छुहणा to touch, H. छूना, Skr. छुप; M. घागर, P. H. गागर, Skr. गर्गरिका; G. खोळो lap, Skr. क्रीड.

Of the instances in the Prākṛits in which the consonants contained in a word interchange places we have हक् 'slow' in M., Pr. हलुभ and Skr. लघुक, हौला in H. and P. and हक् and हळवे in G.; M. सून 'daughter-in-law,' Pr. सुण्हा, Skr. स्नुषा; M. निडाल 'forehead,' Pr. णडाल, Skr. ललाट, &c. There are a good many more modern instances:—

89. H. पहिचानना to recognize, Pr. पव्हिआण, Skr. प्रत्यभिज्ञा (ज्ञान) P. पछापना.

H. पहिरना to dress, Pr. परिहाण, Skr. परिधान; P. पहिराउणा to cause to dress. In both the last two syllables are assimilated and we have पहिना also; G. वेरुं by the loss of ह्.

G. वहालुं beloved, Pr. वल्लह, Skr. वल्लभ; सेहलुं easy, Pr. सुलह, Skr. सुलभ; बिलाडी a cat, Sk. बिडाल; उयलपायल topsy-turvy, the M. form being उलटापालट, Pr. उवल्लथ-व पल्लथ-व, Skr. उपर्यस्त पर्यस्त.

M. शेपूट or शेपटी tail, G. having पूछुं or पूछडी, Skr. पुच्छ, with the suffix ट, the छ् being changed to ञ् by the usual M. rule and the palatal vowel being brought in by the palatal ञ्; थोडकें little, Pr. थोक्क, Skr. स्तोक, with the suffix ड.

S. झुगो a bunch of flowers, Skr. गुच्छ; हिलिडो loose, Pr. सिडिल, Skr. शिथिल.

H. M. टिकली, &c., from Skr. तिलक as in list 75.

We will now trace in the vernaculars the Sanskrit conjunct consonants assimilated in the Pāli and the Prākṛits, in the order I have observed in treating of them in the lecture on the Pāli. And first I will give a few instances of those in which the second member being strong prevails over the first and is doubled.

90. Skr. कर्म act, business, Pr. कम्म, P. कम्म, S. कमु, H. G. M. O. काम.

Skr. घर्म heat of the sun, Pr. घम्म, H. घाम; M. G. B. O. घाम in the sense of 'sweat.'

Skr. चर्म skin, leather, Pr. चम्म, P. चम्म, S. चमु, H. G. B. चाम, O. चम, M. चाम in चामडें.

Skr. कार्यं, Pr. कज्जं, S. काजु, M. G. H. P. काज. The M. has, however, the dento-palatal ज् here.

Skr. कर्ण ear, Pr. कण्ण, P. कज्ज, S. कनु, H. G. M. B. O. कान.

Skr. पर्ण a leaf, Pr. पण्ण, P. पन्ना (of a book), S. पनु, H. G. M. पान, G. पानुं (of a book), P. S. O. पान in the sense of 'betel leaf.'

Skr. विज्ञप्त to solicit, supplicate, Pr. विष्णव, H. G. M. विनव-[ना-कुं-नें]; H. also विनौना.

Skr. राज्ञी a queen, Pr. रण्णी(?), G. P. S. M. B. O. राणी, H. रानी.

Skr. संज्ञा a signal, P. सन, H. G. सान ; H. सैन also.

Skr. ब्रह्मोपवीत the sacred thread, Pr. जण्णोवईअ(?), H. P. जनेऊ, S. जण्यो, G. जनौइ, M. जानवे.

Skr. अर्प to make over, Pr. अप्य, G. आप-[कुं].

Skr. समर्प to consign, deliver, Pr. समप्य, H. P. S. सौप-[ना-णा-णु], M. G. सौप-[नें-कुं].

Skr. सर्प a serpent, Pr. सप्य, P. सप्य, S. सपु, H. G. M. B. O. साप.

Skr. वर्ध sacred grass, Pr. द्धम्, P. द्धम्, S. डुमु, H. डाम or डाब, G. डाम or डाभो.

Skr. शब्द sound, call, Pr. सह, P. सह (*subs. & verb*), H. M. G. साह.

Skr. बहुर a frog, Pr. बहुर, P. H. G. बाहुर, S. डेडरु.

Skr. भक्त boiled rice, Pr. भक्त, P. भक्त, S. भतु, H. M. G. B. O. भात.

Skr. रक्त red, Pr. रक्त, P. रक्ता, S. रतो, H. G. रातो, M. राता in राता-म्बा a read sour fruit of a certain tree.

Skr. सुप्त slept, Pr. सुत्त, P. सुत्ता, S. , G. सुतो.

Skr. कर्दम mud, Pr. कद्म, H. काशी or काशा, G. कादव.

Skr. तर्क to look out for, gaze wistfully, Pr. तक्क P. तक्कना, S. तकणु, M. टक्कणें, O. टाकिवा, H. G. ताक-[ना-कुं].

The following are instances in which though the second member of a conjunct prevails, some of the elements of the first sound are added to it:—

(a) *Conjuncts of a sibilant and a mute.*

91. Skr. हस्त hand, Pr. हत्थ, P. ह्थ, S. ह्यु, H. G. हाय, M. B. O. हात.

Skr. मुष्टि fist, Pr. मुठ्ठि, P. मुठ्ठ, S. मुठ्ठि, H. G. मूठ-मुठी, M. मूठ, O. मूठि, B. मूट.

Skr. प्रस्तर stone, Pr. पत्थर, P. प्थर, S. पथरु, H. G. प्थर or पाथर, M. पाथर, B. पाथर or पातर, O. पथर.

Skr. पृष्ठ back, Pr. पुष्ठ-पिष्ठ-पष्ठ, vernaculars as in Table 4.

Skr. प्रस्थापन sending, Pr. पडावण, S. पठणु, H. पडाना, Braj पडौनौ, M. पाठवणें, B. पाडाइवा.

Skr. मुस्ता a kind of grass, Pr. मोस्था, vernaculars as in Table 5.

Skr. मस्तक head, Pr. मत्थअ, P. मथ्या, S. मथो, H. M. B. माथा, G. माथुं, M. माथें, O. मथा.

Skr. पुस्तक a book, Pr. पोत्थअ, P. H. M., &c., as in Table 5.

Skr. उपविष्ट sat, Pr. उवइठ, vernaculars as in Table 43.

Skr. वृष्टि or वृष्ट sight or seen, Pr. विडि or विठ, P. डिडा-डिठ, and the rest as in Table 2.

Skr. उष्ण hot, Pr. उण्ह, G. उन्हं, M. ऊन; M. G. S. उन्ह as in उन्हाळा-त्पे-रो for उष्णकाळ the hot season.

Skr. स्ना to bathe, Pr. ण्हा, P. H. M. G. न्हा-[उणा-ना-णे-वुं]; P. H. नहा also.

Skr. अङ्गुष्ठ thumb, Pr. अंगुठ, P. अंगूठ, S. आङ्गुठो, H. अंगूठा, G. अंगूठो, M. आंगठा.

Skr. विखिर to spread, Pr. विखिर, P. विखरना, S. विखेरणु, H. G. M. विखर-[ना-वुं-णे] to be scattered.

Skr. शुष्क dry, Pr. सुक्ख, P. सुख्खा, S. सुको, H. सूखा, G. सूखो, M. सुका, B. O. चुका.

Skr. बाष्प vapour, Pr. बप्फ, S. H. G. बाफ, M. वाफ, P. भाफ, B. O. भाप.

Skr. स्कन्ध shoulder, Pr. खन्ध H. M. खांदा, G. खांसो; but H. mostly has कंधा and कांधा, P. कन्धा, B. O. कांध.

Skr. पश्चात् behind, Pr. पच्छा, P. पिच्छे, H. पीछे, पाछे, G. पाहुं.

Skr. ग्रीष्म hot season, Pr. गिह्म, M. dial. गीम.

Skr. कृष्ण proper name, Pr. कण्ह, vernaculars as in Table 1.

(b) *Conjuncts of a dental and a heavy य्.*

92. Skr. सत्य true, Pr. सच्च, P. H. सच्च, S. सच्चु, H. M. साच्च, G. साच्चुं, B. सांचा.

Skr. नृत्य of नृत्यति to dance, Pr. नच्च, P. नच्च- or नच-[णा], S. नच-[णु], H. M. G. नाच-[ना-णे-वुं], B. O. नाचिवा.

Skr. नृत्य a dance, Pr. नच्च, P. नाच, S. नाचु, H. M. G. B. O. नाच.

Skr. मृत्यु death, Pr. मिच्चु, H. मीच.

Skr. प्रत्यभिज्ञान of प्रत्यभिज्ञानाति to recognize, Pr. पच्चहिआण, H. पहिच्चा-न, P. पछाण, B. चिन of चिनिवा, by dropping the first two consonants.

Skr. उत्पद्य of उत्पद्यते to be produced, Pr. उप्पज्ज, P. S. H. M. G. उपज-[णा-णु-ना-णे-वुं]

Skr. माद्य of माद्यति to be intoxicated, Pr. मज्ज, M. माज्जणे.

Skr. विद्युत् lightning, Pr. विज्जू, M. G. वीज, P. विज्ज, S. विजु.

Skr. अद्य to-day, Pr. अज्ज, P. अज्ज, S. अजु, H. M. G. B. आज, B. O. आजि.

Skr. स्विद्य of स्विद्यति to sweat, also to boil, Pr. सिज्ज, P. सिज्जणा to be soaked, S. सिह्णु, H. सिह्णाना-सिजाना (causal), M. सिज्जणे, G. सिज्जुं, O. सिजिवा.

Skr. वन्ध्या a barren woman, Pr. बंज्झा or वंज्झा, P. वंझा, S. वांझ, H. O. बांझ, G. वांझ-[णी], M. वांझ or वांज, B. बांझा.

Skr. संध्या evening, Pr. संज्झा, P. S. संझा, S. सांझी, H. सांझ, M. G. H. B. सांज, O. संज.

Skr. बुध्य of बुध्यति to know, Pr. बुज्झ, P. बुज्झणा, H. S. बुझ-[ना-णु]; B. O. बुझिवा, M. G. बुज्ज-[णें-बु].

Skr. मध्य middle, Pr. मज्झ, P. मंज्झ or माज्झ, S. मंझ, H. मांझ or माझ, M. मार्जी, B. माझ.

Skr. युद्ध battle, Pr. जुज्झ from जुज्झद् for युध्यति, P. जुज्झ, H. जूझा, G. झुंज (in झुंजार), M. झूज.

When व्, as the latter member of a conjunct, is heavily pronounced, the double consonant that takes the place of the conjunct is व्य, व्व, and व्व according as the preceding member is a surd, a sonant, or an aspirated sonant. Sometimes when the preceding member is a dental, the substitutes are व्व, ज्ज, and ज्ज. The following are instances of these changes in the vernaculars :—

93. Skr. त्व abstract termination, Apabh. व्य, H. पा as in बुढापा old age, मोटापा fatness, S. पो as in माण्डपो humanity, from माण्ड man.

Skr. त्वन abstract termination, Pr. त्तण, Apabh. व्यण, H. पन or पना as in कृभारपन celibacy ; S. पणु or पणो as in जालपणु womanhood, माण्डअपणु humanity ; M. पण or पणा as in माणुसपण or माणुसपणा humanity ; P. पुण as in निभाणपुण childhood, &c.

Skr. उद्वेग feeling of repulsion, Pr. उव्वेग, M. उवग.

Skr. द्वार door, Pr. वार or बार, P. H. G. बार, P. दर, S. दरु, M. वार.

Skr. सर्वं all, Pr. सब्ब, H. सब, P. सभ, S. सभु, G. सह for सब.

Skr. ज्वल to burn, Pr. जल or बल, S. बरणु, P. जळना-बळणा, H. जलना-बलना, G. जळवुं-बळवुं, M. जळणें, and पोळणें where व seems to be hardened, B. O. पोड़ in पोड़िवा.

Skr. ऊर्ध्व above, erect, Pr. उव्व, S. उभो, M. O. उभा, B. उबु.

Skr. जिह्वा tongue, Pr. जिब्भा, M. H. P. G. जीभ, B. O. S. जिभ.

Skr. ध्वज banner, Pr. झभ; with the suffix डा or डो, S. झंडो, P. H. झंडा, M. झेंडा.

Similarly आत्मन, with the loss of the nasal sound of त्म, becomes अप्पण in the Prākṛits and आपण in M. O. G., आपन in B., पाण in S., and आप in H. P.

Dentals have a tendency to become palatals even when not followed by य् or व्, probably because they do so become when followed by those semi-vowels. Thus, from the Skr. वाद्यति 'to sound' or 'play on a musical instrument,' we have P. बजाउणा, H. बजाना, M. वाजविणें, &c. ;

from Skr. निद्रा 'sleep,' M. नीज; P. H. ओछा 'trifling,' 'vain,' S. ओछा, from, very probably, Skr. वृथा; M. सावज, II. सौजा from Skr. इवापर which appears even in the Prākṛits to have assumed the form of सावज, though सावय is usually given; M. H. G. छी छी, M. छे छे. Pr. छि छि from Skr. धिक् धिक्, &c.

(c) *The conjunct क्ष् when the sibilant is pronounced like श्, and त्स and त्स्य.*

94. Skr. क्षण { a moment, Pr. खण, P. छिण, S. खिण, II. छिन, G. खण, M. (dial.) खिण.  
a festival, Pr. छण, II. छिन, M. सण for छण.

Skr. क्षुरक-रिका a knife, a razor, Pr. छुरभ-रिभा, P. छुरा-री, S. छुरी, H. छुगरी, B. O. छोरा- छुरी, M. सुरी.

Skr. मक्षिका a fly, Pr. { मक्खिआ, P. मक्खी, S. मखी, H. G. माखी.  
मच्छिआ H. B. O. माछी, M. माशी.

Skr. कुक्षि a side of the abdomen, Pr. कुच्छि or कुक्खि, M. कूस; the rest कुख or कोख as in Table 5.

Skr. ऋक्ष a bear, Pr. रिच्छ, P. रिच्छ, S. रिछु, H. G. रीछ, M. रीस.

Skr. तक्ष to shave, hew, Pr. तच्छ, P. तच्छणा, M. तासणे, G. तासुं.

Skr. क्षेत्र a field, M. शेत from Pr. छेत; the rest खेत.

Skr. वत्स a calf, Pr. वच्छ, P. वच्छा, S. वछ, H. बाछा, बछा, बछ, G. वछ, वाछ-[रडुं], B. बाछु-[र], O. बाछु-[री], M. वास-[रुं]; P. H. बचा, S. बचो, B. बाचा, M. बच-[डें], &c., in the sense of 'the young one of any animal,' from the same.

Skr. मत्स्य a fish, Pr. मच्छ, P. मच्छ, S. मछु, H. मछ or माछ, B. O. माछ, M. मासा.

Skr. उत्सङ्ग lap, Pr. उच्छङ्ग, H. उछंग, M. ओसंग.

The conjunct क्ष् sometimes appears in the Prākṛits and perhaps even in Sanskrit in the form of झ्. The Sanskrit क्षर is झर in the Prākṛits, and this we have in the H. झरना, M. झरणे and पाझरणे in which last पा stands for the preposition प्र. क्षि is Pr. क्षिझ from which we have M. क्षिजणे 'to waste away,' and from क्षीण we have S. झीणो, H. झीन, &c.

(d) *Instances in which a dental is changed to a cerebral through the influence of a previous र्.*

95. Skr. वर्ध to increase, Pr. वडु, H. बटना or बाटना, M. वाढणे, B. बाडिवा, O. बडिवा. But P. S. G. बध or बध-(णा-णु-वुं).



Skr. वर्ध to cut, Pr. वड्, P. बड्ण्णा or वड्ण्णा, S. वडणु.

Skr. वर्धक-कि a carpenter, Pr. वड्डइ, P. वड्डि, H. बवई, O. बदाइ, B. बाडुइ, S. G. वाढो.

Skr. छर् to let off, leave, Pr. छडु, P. छडुणा, S. छडणु, H. छाडना, B. O. छाडिवा, H. छांडना, M. सांडणे, perhaps from the same, as also H. छोडना, M. सोडणें.

Skr. कर्त to cut, Pr. कह, P. कहणा, S. कटणु, H. काटना, B. काटिवा, G. काटवुं, M. काटणें.

Skr. उद्धर्तन a cosmetic, Pr. उव्वहन, S. उवटणु, H. उवटन, M. उटणें, G. उटणु.

Skr. कैवर्त a boatman, Pr. केवह, H. केवट.

Skr. सार्ध a half more, Pr. सडु, H. P. B. O. साढे, S. साढा-डु, H. M. साडे, G. साडा.

We will now proceed to instances in which the first member of a conjunct prevails over the second and is doubled :—

96. Skr. भ्रम-[कः] fled away, Pr. भग्ग-[ओ], H. भागा, S. भगो.

Skr. लग्न adhered to, connected, Pr. लग्ग, P. लग्गा or लग्ग in लग्ण्णा, S. लग in लगणु, H. M. G. लाग-[ना-णें-डुं], B. लागा, O. लागिवा.

Skr. नम-[कः] naked, Pr. नग्ग-[ओ], P. H. नंगा, S. नंगो, G. नागो, M. नाग-[डा], O. नागा.

Skr. रश्मि a cord, a rope, Pr. रस्ति, P. H. रस्सी, S. B. G. O. रसी, H. G. रास in the sense of 'reins.'

Skr. योग्य fit, Pr. जोग्ग, P. जोग or जोग्गा, S. जोगु, H. G. जोग, H. M. जोगा.

Skr. शून्य void, empty, Pr. सुण्ण, P. सुन्न or सुन्ना, S. सुंन, H. सून or सूना, M. सुना. सुंन has acquired the sense of 'insensibility' also.

Skr. मन्य of मन्यते to regard, Pr. मण्ण, P. मज्जणा, S. मनणु, M. G. H. मान-[णें-डुं-ना].

Skr. व्याख्यान to explain, Pr. ववखाण, P. व-वखाणना, H. वखानना explain or praise, S. वखाणणु praise, G. वखाणवुं, M. वाखाणणें.

Skr. अरण्य desert, Pr. रण्ण, M. G. रान, H. रन, S. रिणु.

Skr. व्याघ्र a tiger, Pr. वग्घ, P. H. B. O. बाघ, S. बाघु, M. G. वाघ.

Skr. अग्र front part, Pr. अग्ग, S. अगो, H. आगा; P. आग्ग before, G. आगो, G. आगल before, B. आगे, O. आगु first of all.

Skr. चक्र a wheel, Pr. चक्क, P. चक्क, S. चकु (both) a potter's wheel, H. चाक, चक्की in the sense of a 'mill-stone,' G. M. चाक, B. चाका.

Skr. पत्र a leaf, Pr. पत्त, P. पत्त, S. पतो a playing card, H. पात, पाता, पत्ता, G. पातरुं, M. पातें blade of a knife, M. पातेरा a collection of dry leaves.

Skr. चन्द्र moon, Pr. चन्द, P. चंद, S. चंदु, H. G. M. B. O. चांद, H. चंद also.

Skr. चञ्चु as in list 34.

Skr. अभ्र a cloud, Pr. अरुन, H. अमाल, M. अभाळ or आभाळ, (from अभ्रालि), G. आम.

Skr. उवल, Pr. and other forms with ज as in list 93.

Skr. पार्श्व a side, Pr. पास, S. पासो, P. पास्ता; H. पास, G. पासे, M. पार्शी near, i.e., by one's side.

When र followed by य् is changed to ल्, this last sound prevails over the य् and the conjunct becomes ल् in the Prākṛits. The following instances of this change have come down to the vernaculars :—

97. Skr. पर्याय्य rotation, turn, Pr. पल्लभ, H. पाला, M. G. O. पाळी.

Skr. पर्येस्त changed, Pr. पल्लव or पल्लथ, P. H. पलदा, P. पळदा, M. G. पालद.

Skr. पर्यङ्क a bedstead, Pr. पल्लङ्क, P. पलंग, S. पलेगु, H. M. G. पलंग, B. पालंक or पालंग, O. पलंक.

The following are instances of other cases of the same change :—

Skr. मर्द to squeeze, rub, knead, Pr. मल, P. M. G. मळ-[ना-वे-कुं], H. S. मल-[ना-गु].

Skr. आर्द्रक ginger, Pr. अल्लभ, M. आलें. H. P. B. have आदा G. आदुं, from Pr. अहभ.

Skr. आर्द्रक wet, Pr. अल्लभ, उल्लभ, ओल्लभ, M. ओलें, S. आलो, H. आला. H. has आदा also from Pr. अहभ.

P. H. M. भला, G. S. भलो, B. भाल, from Skr. भ्र, through the change of र् to ल् and of the conjunct to ल्.

When क् the first sound of भ् prevails and adds to itself the heavy aspiration of ष्, the conjunct becomes क्ष्. Of this change there are many instances in the vernaculars :—

98. Skr. वृक्ष a tree, Pr. रुक्ख, P. रुक्ख, H. रुख.

Skr. रक्ष to keep, to protect, Pr. रक्ख, P. रक्खणा, S. रखणु, H. रखना, also राखना, M. G. राख-[ने-कुं], B. खिवा, O. खिवा.

Skr. उपलक्ष to mark, Pr. उवलक्ख, M. G. ओळख acquaintance.

Skr. शिक्ष to learn, Pr. सिक्ख, P. सिखणा, S. सिखणु, H. सीखना, G. खिखणुं, M. चिकनें, B. O. खिवा.

Skr. क्षेत्र a field, Pr. खेत, P. खेत, S. खेतु or खेटु, H. B. O. खेत, G. खेत in खेती agriculture.

Skr. कुक्षि a side of the abdomen, Pr. कुक्खि, P. कुक्ख or कोख, S. कखि, H. कोख, G. कुख.

Skr. दुग्धुक्षा hunger, Pr. दुह्क्खा, P. भुक्ख, S. दुख, H. G. B. भूख, M. B. भूक, O. भोक्.

Skr. मन्त्रण to anoint, an unguent, Pr. मक्खण, P. मक्खण butter, S. मखणु anoint, butter, H. मक्खन or माखन butter, B. O. माखन butter, माखिवा to anoint, M. माखणे to anoint, G. माखण butter.

Skr. परीक्षा examination, Pr. परिव्खा, H. P. B. O. परख, M. G. S. पारख.

Skr. अक्षि the eye, Pr. अक्खि, P. अक्ख, S. अखि, H. G. आंख, B. O. आखि.

Skr. क्षीर milk, Pr. खीर, S. खीर, P. H. M. G. खीर a dish of rice and milk, O. खीरी.

Skr. मक्षिका and क्षण as in list 93.

Skr. इक्षु sugar-cane, Pr. उक्खु or इक्खु, H. ऊख or इख, P. इक्ख.

Though according to Hemachandra and Vararuchi the **क्** of क्षेत्र, कुक्षि, अक्षि, क्षीर, मक्षिका, and इक्षु is changed to **क्ख** in the Mahārāshṭrī or principal Prākṛit, still we see that most of the vernaculars derive their forms of these words from such Prākṛit forms as had **क्ख** for the Sanskrit **क्**. But with the exception of इक्खु and खीर which are mentioned as occurring in the Jaina sacred books, these forms are not given as existing in any of the dialects. This and other similar omissions show that the observation of the Prākṛit grammarians was by no means perfect. The Marāṭhī forms of these words, however, with the exception of अक्षि which is unknown to the language and of क्षीर which is खीर, have **स्** or **श्** which is the representative of the Prākṛit **क्ख**, and hence they are the same as those given by Hemachandra and Vararuchi. Here we have one of several indications that the modern Marāṭhī is the direct daughter of the old Mahārāshṭrī of the grammarians.

It will be seen from the lists given above that the Hindī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī and Bangālī, mostly drop one component of the doubled consonants and to make up for the quantity thus lost lengthen the preceding vowel. In other words, the speakers of those dialects take the same time to pronounce two syllables the latter of which contains a double consonant which the speakers of the Prākṛit did; but the preceding forcible vowel utterance and the subsequent strong contact and pressure being avoided, the effect is that one of the two consonants is dropped and the previous vowel lengthened. This then is essentially a case of softening. The Sindhī drops one of the two consonants, but does not lengthen the preceding vowel; while the Panjābī generally preserves the doubled consonants handed down to it by the old Prākṛits. The

Hindī contains more instances in which the original Prākṛit pronunciation is preserved than the other three dialects. Hemachandra notices in the Prākṛits the softened pronunciation we have been considering in the case of स्स् only, one स् of which is according to him dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened, as in पासइ for पस्सइ, Skr. पश्यति, नीत्तं for निस्सं, Skr. मित्रम्, &c. This lengthening of the previous vowel is in the four dialects prevented as observed before\* by the accent falling on a subsequent syllable.

In the Pāli and the Prākṛits, you will remember, the components of some conjuncts such as र्, ह्, र्, र्, र्, र्, र्, र्, &c., are not assimilated but separated by the interposition of a vowel. The vernaculars have preserved some instances of this process:—

99. H. सराहना to praise, Pr. सलाह, Skr. श्लाघ.

H. अगनी, P. अगन, B. आगुन fire, Pr. अगणी, Skr. अग्नि.

H. बरस, बरिस, M. बरीस a year, Pr. वरिस, Skr. वर्ष. So also H. P. वरस-[ना-णा], G. वरसुं, Skr. वर्ष.

H. गिलान tired, Pr. गिलाण, Skr. ग्लान.

M. किळस disgust, Pr. किलेस, Skr. क्लेश distress.

M. शिलोक stanza, Skr. श्लोक; G. हरख joy, Skr. हर्ष; G. सळेखम, P. सिलेखम, Skr. श्लेष, are later instances of of the same nature.

In modern times other conjuncts also are similarly dissolved, and we have पर्ताप S. M., &c., 'exploit' for प्रताप, खेतर्, P. G., &c., 'a field' for क्षेत्र, पद्मु S. 'a lotus' for पद्म, तियाग P. for त्याग, तर्मु S., others तरास 'vexation' for त्रास, धरम 'virtue,' H. M. G., &c., for धर्म, &c. But the books and dictionaries of some of these languages contain a good many Sanskrit words the conjuncts in which are not changed in any way. This is due to the fact that those languages are now the spoken languages of the educated as well as the uneducated portions of the different communities, and the former pronounce the words correctly and the forms given to them by the latter are not taken into account by the authors of those books. Again, even the latter, though they interpose a vowel between the components of some conjuncts as shown above, have to a certain extent become used to Sanskrit sounds and can pronounce others correctly. But in some of the provinces the old disability of the Prākṛit speakers has been inherited in certain cases by their modern descendants, whether educated or uneducated, and it is very much

to be regretted that the writers of books should in such cases write words in their Sanskrit forms which when they are read by themselves or others are read in quite a different way. The people of Sindh,\* whether belonging to the higher or lower classes, and the Bangālīs pronounce the conjunct क्त् invariably as क्त्. Thus Sanskrit नक्षत्र is pronounced नक्त्त्र, साक्षी as साखी, मोक्ष as मोक्त् or मोख, &c. The speakers of the Hindī more often pronounce क्त् as क्त् than as क्त्, नक्षत्र becoming नक्त्त्र with them, साक्षी, साच्छी; मोक्ष, मोक्त्; लक्ष्मण, लक्त्तमन; लक्षणा, लक्त्तना; क्षत्रिय, खत्री or क्त्री; क्षय, छय; क्षम, छम; &c. The Panjābīs pronounce the first three words as नक्त्त्र, साखी, and मोक्त्, लक्षण as लक्त्तण, क्षत्रिय as खत्री, &c., so that they also agree with the Hindī people, but seem more inclined towards making क्त् of the conjunct. The Marāṭhās, however, pronounce the क्त् properly, though ordinarily they make क्त् of it rather than क्त् as remarked on a former occasion. Similarly, the Bangālī assimilates conjuncts the latter member of which is क्त् or क्त्, ईश्वर becoming इक्त्वर and व्याख्यान, वाक्त्तान in his mouth.

Some of the vernaculars assimilate the components of a conjunct made up of a nasal and a mute. Thus the Panjābī has डक्त् for क्त् 'penalty,' मुक्त्तना for मुक्त्तना 'to shave,' सुक्त्त for सुक्त्त, Skr. सुक्त्त 'the trunk of an elephant,' कक्त्त for कक्त्त, Skr. कक्त्त 'shoulder,' बक्त्त for बक्त्त 'binding,' खक्त्त for खक्त्त 'a piece,' भक्त्तना 'to break' for भक्त्तना or भक्त्तना, यक्त्त for यक्त्त 'a pillar,' &c. In the Bangālī खान 'a piece' one of the two न् sounds of खक्त्त is dropped, and the preceding vowel lengthened. Similarly, we have यक्त्त 'to stop' from यक्त्त. In Sindhī we have मक्त्त 'interruption' for मक्त्त; कक्त्त 'good' for कक्त्त, M. कांगला; मक्त्त 'madder' for मक्त्त; पिनु 'a ball' for पिनु; खनु 'a piece of bread' for खनु; चुमुनु 'to kiss' for चुमुनु, &c. Here the Sindhī, as is

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\* While I was Head Master of the High School at Hyderabad in Sindh I introduced about the beginning of 1865 the study of Sanskrit, and the first thing I had to do was to teach correct pronunciation to my pupils. I had no great difficulty, so far as I can now remember, in making them pronounce the other conjuncts; but when I came to क्त् all my endeavours to teach its correct pronunciation failed. I got the most intelligent of my boys to pronounce first क्त् and then क्त्. This he did very well, whereupon I told him to utter both the sounds one after another immediately; but instead of making क्त् of them he invariably gave them the form of क्त्. I then gave up the attempt in despair.

usual with him, drops one component of the doubled consonants. With this exception, the modern dialects have got no cases of the assimilation of the members of a conjunct unknown to the Prākṛits, while as shown above the speakers of those dialects tenaciously retain the vocal habit of assimilation of their Prākṛit ancestors in a few cases.

And now I close this part of my inquiry. The results at which we have arrived are these:—The vernaculars of Northern India contain the instances and, in some cases, a large number of them, given by the Prākṛit grammarians or occurring in Prākṛit literature of every one of the rules or processes of change grouped by me under the heads of softening, assimilation, dissimilation, interchange of places, accentuation, and peculiarities by which Sanskrit words become Prākṛit. Most of these processes have been continued and their range widened, to such an extent in some of the dialects as to render them distinctive characteristics of those dialects. Other processes scarcely or rarely observable in the Prākṛits have come into operation, such as the original accent on the penultimate syllable and the final accent derived from it, the avoiding of the hiatus caused by the elision of consonants in the Prākṛits in different ways, the change of न् to ँ, and the dropping of one component of a double consonant and the lengthening of a previous vowel; and these have further transformed the Prākṛit vocables and changed also those Sanskrit words that have been adopted in later times. Some of the vocal tendencies and habits of the Prākṛit speakers are exhibited by the speakers of the vernaculars. Thus, like the former, the ordinary Gujarātī pronounces ऐ and औ as ए and ओ, the Deśastha Brahmans and other people of Eastern Mahārāshṭra have a predilection for ञ् to which they reduce न् in most cases,\* the Sindhīs make क्क् of क्ष, the Bangālīs do the same and also pronounce च्च and छ्छ as च्च and क्क्, and the Hindī people reduce क्ष् to क्ष. These again and the Konkan lower classes pronounce ञ् as न् like the speakers of the Paisāchī, and the Bangālī reduces all the sibilants to ञ् like the speakers of the Māgadhī; while the speakers of the Hindī, Sindhī and the Panjābī exhibit the old Mahārāshṭhrī and Śaurasenī characteristic of reducing them to च्. The tendency to pronounce dentals as cerebrals is common to all, though it appears in a very strong form in the mouth of the Sindhīs, and next to them in that of the Panjābīs and the

I feel it necessary, for the present, thus to modify the assertion made in p. 166.

Hindī people. The general or almost universal elision of certain uninitial consonants, which was a characteristic of the Prākṛits, has disappeared except in isolated cases, and the assimilation of the components of a conjunct which was also very general has become restricted to the few cases I have mentioned, though the words changed in the Prākṛits in accordance with these two processes have come down to us in large numbers. While, therefore, this fact shows that the speakers of the Prākṛits were in a condition which rendered the two phenomena very general in their speech, and that we are now free from it, the fact that we exhibit some of the same vocal peculiarities which they possessed leads to the conclusion that we are their successors or lineal descendants. And the fact that the vocables in ordinary use in our modern dialects are the same as those in the old Prākṛits, whether of a Deśya or Sanskrit origin, and in the latter case whether derived by the transformation of Sanskrit words in accordance with processes which have ceased or which have continued to operate in the vernaculars, affords strong evidence in favour of the hypothesis that these dialects are but a more developed form of the Prākṛits. But to place this hypothesis beyond the reach of cavil we must examine the grammar of our vernaculars ; and this I propose doing in the next two lectures.

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# PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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(SEPTEMBER 1887 TO MARCH 1889.)

A Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, the 3rd September 1887. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar read a paper on a Sanskrit Inscription found in Central Java, with remarks on the contents, as well as on the Hindu Colony of Java.

After a few remarks by Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik, the Hon'ble K. T. Telang, and the President, the usual vote of thanks was cordially accorded to Dr. Bhandarkar for the interesting paper he had read.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on 15th March 1888. The Hon'ble Mr. Raymond West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

M. Emile Senart read a paper on the new Asoka Inscriptions.

Dr. Peterson said that to follow M. Senart would be a task which any one might be justified in declining, but fortunately there was one circumstance in connection with that evening's proceedings which, as their secretary, he would almost be wrong if he did not dwell upon for a moment. M. Senart had referred to the fact that the honour of first deciphering the inscriptions of Asoka, which for ten centuries was a puzzle to the learned of all communities, fell to James Prinsep. And Prinsep was one of the names which Englishmen ever put forward when they are challenged to show what England had done in the way of Oriental research. It was just fifty years almost to a day, on the 7th March, 1838, when James Prinsep communicated to the parent Society at Calcutta the first translation of the Girnad inscription. The materials Prinsep worked upon, were reduced copies of the *fac-simile* of the inscription taken by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, the President of the Bombay Literary Society. They were, as they perhaps remembered, the representatives of the defunct Literary Society, and Dr. Wil-



son was the veteran missionary of 1875 as they all knew. Dr. Peterson thought they were to be congratulated in having such a scholar as M. Senart, giving them the first communication, in any detail, of the latest discovery with regard to the inscription, and he thought M. Senart was also to be congratulated on the fate which led him to find a fitting place and a fitting reception here for the revelation he had to make.

Mr. Javerilal U. Yajnik also addressed the meeting and spoke of the vast interest the discoveries such as M. Senart had made in regard to the Asoka inscriptions, had for students of Indian history and the people of this country.

His Excellency remarked that he would simply express the feelings which pervaded the meeting when he said that their best thanks were due to their eminent guest and visitor, M. Senart, for the eloquent essay he had delivered. He had no doubt that if they had had only time to digest its contents the lips of many eminent persons, who were present that evening, would be unsealed, and they should have had a very interesting discussion. However, he was afraid, the paper would give rise to a discussion after M. Senart had left the shores of India, but he was sure the Secretary of the Society would take care that M. Senart would see all the appreciative remarks which were sure to be made hereafter. What M. Senart had told the meeting tended to show what the difficulties of philological researches were. They were not only of a spiritual nature, but the physical difficulties were not to be underrated, he thought, after all those acrobatic exercises M. Senart had gone through. His Excellency continued: "I fully accept the responsibilities which M. Senart has said rests on the Government to do all that is in their power to accomplish in India the task which has been recognized in England, *viz.*, the duty of all those who are in power to preserve those great treasures which lie revealed, or unrevealed, in those countries which are under their dominion. The Ancient Monument Act of England is not yet introduced into India, but I do not think I am mentioning a secret when I say, official documents will show I have called the attention of those whose duties it would be to introduce a bill of this kind, and of its inestimable results to the Indian public generally. One thing, apart from what it would do for our own students, of whom we have an ever-increasing number—I am happy to say among the Europeans and natives of this country—that in addition, if more care was

bestowed on such monuments we should probably have had a larger number of visitors, like M. Senart and our recent visitor M. Darmesteter, whose visits always are, if I may say so, luminous points of our winter season. I only hope M. Senart will encourage other of his friends to come and visit us and pursue those studies to which he has shown the way, that he will assure them, or as he calls those gentlemen—the travelling philologists—that they will always be most welcome in India. One of the most important things which the essay has mentioned, the fact which we were aware of, but still which comes out very brightly in this paper, is what M. Senart has called the edict of tolerations. As M. Senart has said, that edict of toleration is only a forerunner of the legislation which now prevails all over England. I again beg to thank M. Senart in your name for the essay which he has read to us, and I am quite sure when he returns to Paris, that in his capacity as the youngest member of that illustrious Institution, the *Institut de France*, he will not forget us when he will be tempted, on the foundation of the paper he has read to us to-day, to lay it out to greater advantage in a treatise. And I have no doubt that from these materials he has so diligently collected he can well do so. I can assure him that the receipt of that treatise will be most welcome to the friends whom he leaves behind in this Presidency.

The Hon. Mr. West desired, in the name of the Society and as its President, to join their felicitations to those of his Excellency, on the remarkable success which had attended M. Senart on the journey he had just accomplished in India. The Aśoka inscription had an undying interest for every one who was concerned, not only in the development of Indian history, but in the evolution of human thought and morality. The peaceful spirit so remarkable in the Egyptian inscriptions was entirely wanting in those of Aśoka, which breathed a spirit of the most beautiful charity and beneficence. His own impression regarding these inscriptions had been, until M. Senart had instructed him to the contrary, that the traditional words of Aśoka, which from their very nature must have made a deep impression on the minds of the people of India, and had been very likely made in various parts of India by pilgrims and devotees similar to what had been done in some parts of Europe and Northern Africa. The hon. gentleman concluded by thanking M. Senart.

The meeting then broke up.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 21st May 1888. The Hon'ble Mr. R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Javerilal Umiashanker Yajnik read a paper on a Memoir of Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī.

The President made remarks on the paper, and moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Javerilal Umiashanker Yajnik, which was carried with acclamation.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on 16th July 1888. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Birdwood, one of the *Vice-Presidents*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. J. Westlake proposed that the subscription of Resident Members and Subscribers be reduced from Rs. 75 to Rs. 50 a year, and that the reduced rate should come into force from the beginning of 1889.

Mr. Justice Jardine seconded the proposition.

Proposed by Mr. Sedgwick, and seconded by Dr. Pechey, that the reduced rate be brought into immediate operation in the case of new Members joining the Society.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Parsons proposed that the new rate should commence from the 11th July this year, instead of January 1889.

The proposition, which was seconded by Mr. G. A. Kittridge, on being put to the vote, was lost.

The original motion with the rider proposed by Mr. Sedgwick was then carried.

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The Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 20th November 1888. The Hon'ble Sir R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. P. Peterson communicated six unpublished Valabhi Inscriptions by the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī.\*

After a few remarks by Mr. Javerilal and the President, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Peterson for having prepared the Inscriptions for publication.

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At the conclusion of the Ordinary Meeting, a General Meeting was held for the purpose of revising the list of newspapers, &c., taken by the Society

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A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 18th December 1888. The Hon'ble Sir R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha read a paper entitled "M. Dellon and the Inquisition of Goa."

The President moved a vote of thanks to Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha for his paper, which was carried by acclamation.

Dr. Peterson then submitted to the Meeting the recommendation of the Committee of Management to reduce the subscription for life-membership from Rs. 600 to Rs. 500, whereupon Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik made a formal proposition on the subject.

The proposition being seconded by Mr. Narotamdas Gowardhandas, was put to the vote and carried.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 16th January 1889. The Hon'ble Sir R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Jeevanji Jamsetji Modi read a paper entitled "The River Karun, just opened to trade by the Persian Government."

On the motion of the Honorary Secretary, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Modi for his paper.

The Secretary introduced Mr. Lanman, Professor of Sanskrit, Harvard College, U. S. A., to the Meeting, and on the invitation of the Hon'ble the President, Mr. Lanman gave a short sketch of the present state of Oriental Studies in America. Mr. Lanman said:—

I assure you that it is with no small degree of pleasure that I have found myself received so cordially by the European scholars of Bombay and by this Royal Asiatic Society. I come from the youngest of all the great nations of the world to the oldest seat of Indo-European civilization. But it may interest you to hear that even in my distant land the study of the beginnings of that civilization is not neglected. Many years ago Mr. Salisbury took up Sanskrit and became Professor in Yule College. He had two pupils—James Hadley, who was cut

off in his best years; and William Dwight Whitney, who became Salisbury's successor. To Whitney's efforts and indomitable persistence are in great measure due the prosperity and achievements of the American Oriental Society, which was founded in 1842, and hopes soon to celebrate its semi-centennial. Professor Whitney has done more than anyone else for the progress of Oriental studies in America. With Professor Roth in 1852 he published the first edition of the Atharva Veda. Since then he has published, with most marvellous thoroughness, the Pratishakyas of the Atharva Veda and of the Taittiriya Sanhita; and, in addition, a complete index to the Atharva Veda and a work upon the roots of the Sanskrit language, with their derivatives assembled in groups under each root. His grammar of the Sanskrit language is quite different from the native Hindu treatment of the subject, and aims to present all the facts of the language in a vigorously logical and systematic manner. The late Professor Avery devoted himself to grammatical studies, and towards the end of his life to the languages of the hill-tribes of Assam. Professor Bloomfield is now editing the Kaushika Sutra. Dr. Perry has made a recast of Professor Bühler's Sanskrit Primer. And Professor Hopkins, after completing and publishing the late Dr. Burnell's version of Manu, is now devoting himself with extraordinary zeal and success to the Mahabharata. Dr. Williams Jackson has just closed a course of study with my old friend and fellow-student, Professor Geldner, of Halle, in Germany, and is preparing an Avestan Reader, which will be of the greatest service in opening up the field of Iranian antiquities in general and the religion of Zoroaster in particular to the younger students of America. But not only the literature and antiquities of India are being prosecuted in the West, the antiquities of the great Mesopotamian empires are eagerly studied. The Wolfe Babylonian expedition brought to New York many objects of interest several years ago, and the inscriptions are now being translated by Professor Lyon, of Harvard. Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic all find able and enthusiastic devotees. I trust that many of my colleagues will come to the East and get upon the ground what it is well-nigh impossible to get from books—the general impression of the land, the people, the customs, and ways of life. And I can only hope that they may receive so kind a welcome and find as helpful friends as I have done.

The *President* tendered the thanks of the Society to Mr. Lauman, and the Meeting was dissolved.

At the conclusion of the Annual Meeting the Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 25th February 1889. The Hon'ble Sir R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

Dr. P. Peterson read a paper entitled "The Nyaya-bindhu of Dharmottara, a Buddhist work on Logic."

On the motion of the *President*, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Peterson for the paper he had read.

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The Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on the 19th March 1889. The Hon'ble Sir R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon'ble K. T. Telang, C.I.E., read a paper entitled "The Date of Purnavarma and Shankaracharya."

On the motion of the *President*, a vote of thanks was passed to the Hon'ble Mr. Telang for his paper.

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*Statutes.*

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