

CONTENTS OF NUMBER XXVIII.

ART.	PAGE
I.—Notes on the Shrine of Mahábales'vara. By RAO SAHEB VISHWANATH NARAYAN MANDLIK	1
II.—Transcript and Translation of a Copper-plate Grant of the Fifth Century of the Christian Era, found in Gujerat by Manekji Aderji, Esq., G.G.M.C., with Remarks. By Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.....	19
III.—On the Age of the Naishadha-Charita of Sriparsha. By Dr. J. G. BUHLER.....	31
IV.—Discovery of complete Manuscript Copies of Bána's Harsha Charita, with an Analysis of the more important portions. By BHAU DAJI, Esq., Hon. Mem. R. A. Society	38
V.—Transcript and Translation of King Rudradeva's Inscription at Anamkonda. By BHAU DAJI, Esq., Hon. Mem. R. A. Society.	46
VI.—Revised Translation of the Inscription on the Bhítari Lát (with Lithograph). By BHAU DAJI, Esq., Hon. Mem. R. A. Society.	59
VII.—Revised Inscription on the Delhi "Iron" (Metal) Pillar at Kootub Minar, with Remarks (with Lithograph). By BHAU DAJI, Esq., Hon. Mem. R. A. Society	63
VIII.—A Devanágari Transcript and Date of a new Valabhi Copper-plate, and a new Interpretation of the figured Dates on the published Grants of the Valabhi Dynasty. By Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.....	66
IX.—Consideration of the date of the Mahábhárata, in connection with the Correspondence from Col. Ellis. By Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.	81
X.—Notices of Hindu Tribes and Castes in Gujarát. By JAVE'RILA'L UMIASHANKAR YA'JNIK, Esq.	93

ART.

PAGE

- XI.—Note on a letter from Mr. Grant Duff to the late Mr. H. E. Goldsmid, Bombay Civil Service, recounting the circumstances under which the former wrote his History of the Marathas. By JAMES TAYLOR, Honorary Secretary B. B. R. A. Society..... 120

APPENDIX.

*Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society from 1st January 1871
to 30th January 1873.*

Members elected	i
Presents to the Library	ii
Presents to the Museum	x
Original Communications	xii
PROCEEDINGS—Official, Literary, and Scientific... ..	xiii
Paper on the “Shrine of Mahabalesvara,” read by Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik	xiii
Report by Mr. F. A. C. Boswell on the Archæological Remains in the Kistna District	xiii
Report by Dr. Bhau Daji on 13 Gold Coins received from the Collector of Sattara.....	xiv
Paper entitled Transcript and Translation of a Copper-plate Grant of the Fifth Century of the Christian Era, by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar	xiv
Papers on Revised Inscription on the Delhi “Iron” Pillar at Kootub Minar, and Revised Translation of the Inscription on the Bhitari Lat, by Dr. Bhau Daji	xiv
Descriptive Memo. on 96 small Silver Coins, by J. F. Fleet, Esq., C.S.	xiv

PROCEEDINGS—continued.	PAGE
Reports on 20 Gold Coins, by Dr. Bhau Daji	xv
Original Communications on—Antiquities of Warangal and of Anumkonda, Facsimile, Transcript and a Translation of King Rudradeva's Inscription of Anumkonda, and Discovery of complete Manuscript Copies of Bana's Harsha-Charita, read by Dr. Bhau Daji	xvi
Paper on "The History of the Sanskrit Literature," by Dr. G. Bühler	xvi
Annual Report for 1870-71.....	xvi
Members	xvi
Library	xvii
Periodicals	xvii
Presents to the Library	xvii
Presents to the Museum	xvii
Original Communications	xvii
The Society's Journal	xviii
Coin Purchases	xviii
Manuscript and Photograph Purchases	xviii
Finance.....	xix
New Catalogues	xix
Election of Office-bearers.....	xix
Additional Newspapers and Periodicals	xx
Paper on "A Devanagari Transcript and Date of a new Valabhi Copper-plate," &c., by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A. ...	xxi
Report on 30 Hindu Punch Coins and a Gold Ring found near Kolapore, by Dr. Bhau Daji	xxi
Report on 19 Gold Coins received from the Collector of Belgaum, by Dr. Bhau Daji.....	xxiv
Note on a Letter by Mr. Grant Duff, by the Secretary.....	xxv
Paper on "Consideration on the Date of the Mahabhárata, in connection with the Correspondence from Col. Ellis," by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A.	xxv
Paper entitled "Hindu Tribes and Castes in Guzerat," by Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar.....	xxvi

Annual Report for 1871-72.....	xxvi
Members	xxvi
Library.....	xxvi
Periodicals.....	xxvi
Presents to the Library	xxvi
Presents to the Museum	xxvii
Original Communications	xxvii
The Society's Journal	xxvii
Finance.....	xxvii
Destruction of Books by the Rains in September	xxvii
Reduction of Subscription	xxviii
Amalgamation of the Bombay Geographical Society with the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society	xxviii
Election of Office-bearers.. ..	xxix
Additional Newspapers and Periodicals	xxix

JOURNAL
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

No. XXVIII. VOL. X.

ART. I.—*Notes on the Shrine of Mahábales'vara.* BY RA'O
SA'HEB VISHVANA'TH NA'RA'YAN MANDLIK.

[Read 12th January 1871.]

MAHA'BALES'VARA is the shrine after which the chief sanitarium in Western India is named. It is a shrine at which the *linga* symbol is worshipped. There is no actual representation of the *linga* in the temple; but a rock from which water oozes out in some places is reckoned as a *linga*, and encircled by the usual accompaniments, which have been artificially supplied. In my last paper I have mentioned the seven sacred rivers said to take their rise at this spot. The temple is a common building, without any architectural pretensions. There is a *nandi* (or the sacred bull) seated at a distance and opposite to the *linga*. There is nothing peculiar about the worship offered to this shrine; but as a place laying claim to extraordinary sanctity in this part of India, it may be interesting to enquire and record what can be obtained with regard to its history as now received by its worshippers.

Like most other Hindu shrines, Mahábales'vara has a *Puránika* history of its own, of which annexed is a copy. It consists of two *Adhyáyas* or chapters, containing in all 163 *ślokas* (or verses). As a

literary performance, it is very poor; and in some places it is quite incorrect. The copy as now presented to the Society has been made and compared by myself with the original manuscript obtained from one of the priests at the shrine. This tract gives a description of the village, and the sacred places there, as now pointed out by the priests, and is evidently a modern composition. I content myself with a brief abstract of the poem, as there is nothing important to justify my placing the whole translation before the Society.

The poem states that on the top of the *Sahyádrí* mountain are five *Gangús* or rivers, and these take their rise in the locks of hair on the head of the God Mahábales'vara. They are (1) Krishṇá, (2) Veṇi [or Venná], (3) Kakudmatí [or Koyaná], (4) Gáyatrí, and (5) Sávitrí. The first is accounted equal in sanctity to Vishṇu, the second to S'iva, and the third to Brahmá; the two last are the wives of the god Brahmá. The first three flow towards the East, and enter the Eastern sea (the Bay of Bengal); and the Sávitrí, combining with the Gáyatrí, flows into the Western (or Arabian) sea.¹ There are eight *Tírthas* (i.e. places for man's salvation); 1 Brahmá, 2 Rudra, 3 Vishṇu, ² 4 Chakra, 5 Hansa, 6 A'raṇya, 7 Malápaha, and 8 Pitrimuktida. There are three *lingas* of S'iva:—1 *Mahábala*, 2 *Atibala*,³ and 3 *Koṭṭá'vara*. A portion of this village, covered with jungle, is called *Brahmáraṇya* (or the forest of the god Brahmá, the creative principle of the Hindu triad). It is said that when Brahmá formerly performed sacrifices in this forest, the two rivers Gáyatrí and Sávitrí were produced. When Jupiter enters the sign of *Virgo*, once in twelve years, there is said to be a greater sanctity in bathing at this spot in that season. And this I have already mentioned in my previous paper. This place is also called Brahmá-Kshetra (see chapter ii., verse 73), and the places fit for devotion at this spot are termed *vedá'sramas*. In the Krishṇámáhátmya

¹ Where the river Sávitrí discharges its waters into the Western sea, it is said there is a *tírtha* named *Sukla*, the sanctity of which is reckoned equal to that of 350 crores of *tírthas*.

² It is stated that before the creation of the world Brahmá, Rudra, and Vishṇu were performing penances, &c., at these places; hence the names of these three *tírthas*.

³ There were two giants named Mahábala and Atibala, who propitiated Brahmá and other gods, and at their desire the gods granted that these two *lingas* should be named after the two giants.

(i.e. greatness of Krishná), also described as a portion of the *Skanda-purána*, the story of Mahábales'vara is also mentioned, and it likewise occurs in *Kártika-máhátmya* from the *Padma-purána*; but there are some important variations. I have said above that this tract appears to me to be a modern compilation. This I conclude from its language and style as compared with those of what I may call the genuine old *Puránas*. The *Skanda-purána*, of which it is said to form a part, is one of the lost *Puránas*. A few detached chapters occur here and there in the shape of *Sthala-mahátmyas* (i.e., descriptions of the greatness or sanctity of particular localities). A portion named the *Bramhottara Khaṇḍa*⁴ has been thus rescued from the ravages of time; and if other fragments could be collected and published, it would assist the student of Indian history and philosophy, and prevent the concoction of modern poems under ancient colours. This useful work is being done to a limited extent in Madras,⁵ though not so exhaustively as I should wish. How far the Bombay Manuals or Gazetteer would work to this end I do not know; but more can be done by private individuals to help this object than by the public authorities, to whom the inner strata of our social structure are not, as a rule, yet accessible. Besides the objects above stated, the *Mahátmyas* would subserve another useful purpose, and that is to place within our reach some information about things which are gradually passing away, and which must be gathered by personal enquiries by those who search for the MSS. As an example, I may mention that at a place near Basseen (Vasai is the correct spelling) called *Nirmaḷa*, a tomb of the great *S'ankarác'hárya*⁶ is shown to the pilgrims to this day. As the author of several *Vedántika* works of undisputed authority, and the apostle of the system of higher doctrines of Bráhmaism as they obtain to this day, the great *S'ankarác'hárya* has been no ordinary individual. That his place of interment is *Nirmaḷa*, in our own neighbourhood, is a statement for which there seems to be no authority, beyond local tradition. At all events the point has yet to be determined; and it is a question which may well be discussed when the *Nirmaḷa-mahátmya* comes under review. But the Society will be perhaps surprised to hear that there

⁴ See printed edition of *Saka* year 1788 (A. C. 1806) : Bombay.

⁵ See Part III. of the *Madura Manual*, by J. H. Nelson, M.A., Madras Civil Service. Madras: 1868.

⁶ The expounder of the Vedánta philosophy.

is a large published poem in Maráthí, which assumes the sanction of the *S'ankaráchárya*⁷ to a Maráthí *Nirmaḷi-máhátmya* (i. e., the greatness or sanctity of *Nirmaḷa*), and which professes to derive its inspiration from the *Padmapuráṇa*. Now the hollowness of these pretensions is apparent. Our oldest Maráthí authors now extant are Mukundarája and Dnyánes'vara; and they come long after *S'ankaráchárya*.⁸ They wrote in Maráthí, which is different in grammar, and style, from the Maráthí as we now speak and write it, and in which this poem has been written. The author's name does not appear; but it is published under the high sanction of the name of *S'ankaráchárya*, and as such no doubt may impose on many an unsuspecting devotee. I give this as one of the many instances wherein the course of contemporary history and morals is thus corrupted because of the clouds of uncertainty and obscurity which still enshroud our *Puráṇika* literature. I have already pronounced my opinion on the *Mahábales'vara-mahátmya* presented to the Society to-day.

I shall now return to the shrine again, and state what I conceive to be its place in Indian history. *Mahábales'vara* is mentioned in the poem above alluded to, and in the poem on the *Krishná*; and its importance dates from the time of the Maráthá⁹ kings of Satará. S'ivájí and his successors endowed it; and it is now one of the recognized Hindu places of pilgrimage in Western India. It has no pretensions to the antiquity of Gokarṇa Mahábales'vara in *Kánadá*, which is noticed in many of our oldest works, and above all in the *Skanda-Puráṇa*. This Mahábales'vara is therefore a modern establishment, after the older shrine in the South. It is nowhere mentioned in the enumeration of the *Jyotirlingas* (i. e., the 12 luminous symbols), the names of which are pronounced by all *S'aiva* (*Smárta*) and *Bhágavata* Hindus every morning either in Sanskrit or Prákrit prayers.¹⁰

⁷ शंकराचार्यसम्मत निर्मलमाहात्म्य. Bombay: S'ake year 1785 (A. C. 1863-64.)

⁸ Lived in the 8th century of the Christian era.

⁹ See "Life of Rámdás," in Maráthí. Bombay: S'ake 1792 (A. C. 1870-71.)

¹⁰ The following are prayers repeated in *Kdnadá*:—

“ सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनं
उज्जयिन्यां महाकालं वाकिण्यां भीमशंकरं.

Nor have I met with it in the *Kedāra Khaṇḍa*, a portion of the *Brahmaivarta Purāṇa*, nor in the *Linga Purāṇa*. It is on this account

परळ्या वैद्यनाथं च भोकारं विमलेश्वरं
 सेतुबंधे तु रामेशं नागेशं दासकावने.
 वाराणस्यां तु विश्वेशं व्यंबकं गौतमोतटे
 हिमालये तु केदारं घृष्णेशं तु शिवालये.
 एतानि ज्योतिर्लिंगानि प्रातरुत्थाय यः पठेत्
 जन्मांतरकृतं पापं स्मरणेन विनश्यति.”
 “सौराष्ट्रदेशे विशदेतिरभ्यं ज्योतिर्मयं चंद्रकलावतंसं ॥
 भक्तिप्रदानाय कृपावतीर्णं तं सोमनाथं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ १ ॥
 श्रीशैलशृंगे विबुधातिसंगे तुलाद्रिगुंगेपि मुदा वसंतं.
 तमर्जुनं मल्लिकप्रमेकं नमामि संसारसमुद्रसेतुम् ॥ २ ॥
 अवंतिकायां विहितावतारं भक्तिप्रदानाय च सञ्जनानाम्.
 भकालमृत्योः प.रेरक्षणार्थं वंदे महाकालमहं सुरेशं ॥ ३ ॥
 काण्ठेरिद्वानमर्दयोः पवित्रे समागमे सञ्जनतारणाय ॥
 सदैव मां धातृपुरे वसंतमोकारमीशं शिवमेकमीडे ॥ ४ ॥
 पूर्वोत्तरे प्रञ्जलिकानिधाने सदा वसंतं गिरिजासमेतम् ॥
 सुरासुराराधितपादपद्मं श्रीवैद्यनाथं तमहं नमामि ॥ ५ ॥
 आमृदसंगे नगरेतिरभ्ये विभूषितांगं विविधैश्च भोगैः ॥
 सद्भक्तिमुक्तिप्रदमीशमेकं श्रीनागनाथं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ ६ ॥
 हिमाद्रिपार्श्वे चटुले रमंतं संपूज्यमानं सततं मुनीन्द्रैः ॥
 सुरासुरैर्यक्षमहोरगाद्यैः केदारमीशं शिवमेकमीडे ॥ ७ ॥
 सद्याद्रिशीर्षे विमले रमंतं गोदावरीतीरपवित्रदेशे ॥
 यद्दर्शनात्पातकमाशुनाशं प्रयाति तं व्यंबकमीशमीडे ॥ ८ ॥
 सुताम्रपर्णाजलराशियोगे विबद्धं च सेतुं विशिखैरसंख्यैः ॥
 श्रीरामचंद्रेण समार्चितं तं रामेश्वराख्यं नियतं नमामि ॥ ९ ॥
 योडाकिनीशाकिनिकासमाजि निषेव्यमाणः पिञ्जिताशनैश्च ॥
 सदैवभीमाद्यपदप्रसिद्धं तं शंकरं भक्तिहितं नमामि ॥ १० ॥
 सानंदमानंदवने वसंतमानंदकंदं इतपापवृद्धं ॥
 वाराणसोनाथमनाथनाथं श्रीविश्वनाथं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ ११ ॥

that I place this shrine amongst modern establishments, and its *Purāṇika* history, as now current, I certainly class, for the present at least, among poems of very doubtful antiquity.

इलापुरीरग्यशिवालयेस्मिन् समुद्रसंतं च जगद्धरेष्यं ॥
 वंदे महोदारतरस्वभावं घृष्णेश्वराख्यं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ १२ ॥
 ज्योतिर्मयं द्वादशलिंगकानां शिवात्मनां प्रोक्तमिदं प्रियेण ॥
 स्तोत्रं पठित्वा मनुजोविभक्त्या फलं तदालोचनजं भजेत् १३ ॥
 इति श्रीद्वादशलिंगात्मकं स्तोत्रं संपूर्णम् ॥ ० ॥”

॥ महाबलेश्वरमाहात्म्यम्. ॥

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्री विष्णवे नमः ॥

मिलिता नैमिषारण्ये सूतं शास्त्रविशारदं ॥
 मुनयः सुकथां दिव्यां पप्रच्छुः पापनाशिनीं ॥ १ ॥
 सद्वाद्रिमस्तके गंगाः पंच ज्ञाताःसुपुण्यदाः ॥
 तद्वत्तस्मिन् ब्रह्मतीर्थे विष्णुतीर्थे तदग्रतः ॥ २ ॥
 तदग्रे रुद्रतीर्थे च चक्रतीर्थे तदग्रतः ॥
 तदग्रे हंसतीर्थे च तीर्थे चारण्यसंज्ञकं ॥ ३ ॥
 मलापहं तस्य वामे चाष्टमं पितृमुक्तिदं ॥
 तथा महाबलः शंभुर्द्वितीयोतिबलेश्वरः ॥ ४ ॥
 कोटीश्वरः क्षेत्रपालस्तथा धूर्जटिरीश्वरः ॥
 अरण्येष्वपि लिंगानि दिव्यदेवमयानि च ॥ ५ ॥
 वेदाश्रमाः संति यत्र सर्वे देवास्तथैव च ॥
 ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेशाद्या यत्र तिष्ठन्ति सर्वदा ॥ ६ ॥
 अश्वत्थवृक्षस्तत्रास्ति सुवर्णदलमंडितः ॥
 सर्वे ग्रहाः सानुकूलाः परं पुण्यप्रदं नृणां ॥ ७ ॥
 एतादृशं महाक्षेत्रं माहात्म्यं ब्रूहि तस्य च ॥
 सर्वकामप्रदं चैव भक्तिभुक्तिप्रदायकं ॥ ८ ॥
 सूतउवाच ॥ शृण्वंतु ऋषयः सर्वे क्षेत्रमाहात्म्यमुत्तमं ॥
 यच्च श्रवणमात्रेण सर्वकामप्रदं नृणां ॥ ९ ॥
 भूमिलोकं विना ब्रह्मा चकार सृष्टिमुत्तमां ॥
 पश्चाद् ब्रह्मा ब्रह्मलोके ध्यानयोगपरो भवत् ॥ १० ॥
 बहुकालं तपश्चक्रे तदा विष्णुं तुतोष यत् ॥
 परमात्मा ततस्तुष्टः प्रोवाच कमलासनं ॥ ११ ॥
 भूमिलोके नृणां सृष्टिः कर्तव्या जीवसौख्यदा ॥
 इत्याज्ञां हि समालभ्य आरेभे सृष्टिमुत्तमां ॥ १२ ॥

निर्मानुषीं महीं कृत्वा सशैलवनकाननां ॥
 हरिं शिवं गृहीत्वादौ प्राप सद्द्याद्रिमस्तके ॥ १३ ॥
 सरस्वतीं तथा श्रेष्ठां गगां भागीरथीमपि ॥
 कश्यपादिऋषीन् वेदान् समानीय तपोतपत् ॥ १४ ॥
 ब्रह्मा चक्रे ब्रह्मतीर्थे विष्णुतीर्थे हरिहरः ॥
 रुद्रतीर्थे तपश्चक्रुः सर्वे देवर्षयस्तथा ॥ १५ ॥
 तपःसिद्धिस्तदा जाता सृष्टेरुत्पत्तिकारिणी ॥
 तपस्थलानि तीर्थानि जातानि स्नानहेतवे ॥ १६ ॥
 तदा ब्रह्महरीशाद्या यज्ञारंभं प्रचक्रमुः ॥
 महाबलेश्वर इति तथा चातिबलेश्वरः ॥ १७ ॥
 कोटीश्वरस्ततः पश्चाद्देवं ब्रह्मा प्रपूजयत् ॥ १८ ॥
 ऋषय उचुः ॥ श्रुतानि लिंगनामानि ब्रह्मणा कल्पितानि च ॥
 लिंगानां नामविख्यातिः कथं जाता भुवस्थले ॥ १९ ॥
 एतद्विस्तरतोस्माकं कृपया ब्रूहि तत्त्वतः ॥
 यस्य श्रवणमात्रेण पातकस्य क्षयो भवेत् ॥ २० ॥
 सूतउवाच ॥ लिंगानां भूमिलोकेस्मिन्नानाविख्यातिरुत्तमा ॥
 कारणं तस्य वक्ष्यामि शृणुध्वमृषिपुंगवाः ॥ २१ ॥
 कुंभयोनिः पुरा काश्यां बहुकालं स्त्रिया सह ॥
 मोक्षकामाय वसतिं चकार द्विजसत्तमः ॥ २२ ॥
 तदा विंध्याद्रिमागत्य नारदः स्वेच्छया क्वचित् ॥
 तमुवाच गिरं सूक्ष्मां मेरुस्त्वत्तोधिकः कथं ॥ २३ ॥
 इति विंध्याचलः श्रुत्वा परां वृद्धिं गतस्तदा ॥
 गतिं सूर्यस्य रुरुधे अंधकारो बभूवह ॥ २४ ॥
 अनेन कारणेनैव सर्वे देवर्षयस्तदा ॥
 काशीक्षेत्रं समागत्य कुंभयोनिं प्रतोष्य तु ॥ २५ ॥
 विंध्याद्रिवृत्तं सकलं प्रोचुर्देवर्षयस्तदा ॥
 विंध्योन्नतिं मुने न्हेस्वां कुरु त्वं शिष्यशिक्षया ॥ २६ ॥

कुंभयोनिस्त्वदा काशीं त्यक्त्वा गत्वाथ दक्षिणां ॥
 नर्धाकृत्य च विध्याद्रिं प्रययौ लोहपर्वतं ॥ २७ ॥
 लोषामुद्रा महाभागा भर्तुदेवा सहाध्वनि ॥
 चरन्ती तेन धर्माणां निर्णयं विदधे गिरा ॥ २८ ॥
 एवं चरन्ती कालेन लोहाद्रीं षण्मुखः पुरः ॥
 दृष्ट्वा विश्रामयित्वा तौ स्वाश्रमे विदधेर्हणं ॥ २९ ॥
 एतस्मिन् समयेगस्त्यः काशीविरहदुःखितः ॥
 यमच्छ षण्मुखं क्षेत्रं दक्षिणे काशिकासमं ॥ ३० ॥
 अगस्त्यउवाच ॥ अहो गौरीहृदानंद स्वामिन् सर्वार्थदर्शन ॥
 भवता भगवान् रुद्रः संपृष्टो गुह्यमप्युत ॥ ३१ ॥
 भगवान् भूतभव्येशः सर्वज्ञः सकलार्थदः ॥
 सर्वं तुभ्यमतिप्रीत्या जगद् गुणशालिने ॥ ३२ ॥
 काशीरहस्यं भवता सम्यङ् मे प्रतिपादितं ॥
 सद्वाद्रीं मुख्यतीर्थानि श्रुतानि भवतो मया ॥ ३३ ॥
 महाबलजटोद्भूताः पंच गंगाः कथं प्रभो ॥
 तथैव लिंगनामानि विख्यातानि कथं भुवि ॥ ३४ ॥
 कृष्णा वेणी तथैवान्या विख्याता या ककुद्गती ॥
 त्रयः पूर्णार्णवं याताः कस्मात्कार्यवशात्प्रभो ॥ ३५ ॥
 कृष्णया सह सावित्री पश्चिमायां कथं गता ॥
 एतद्विस्तरतो ब्रूहि सर्वशास्त्रविशारद ॥ ३६ ॥
 षण्मुखउवाच ॥ किमर्थं पृच्छसेगस्त्य रहस्यं सर्वदेहिनां ॥
 देवानामपि दुष्प्रापं कारणं वद मानसं ॥ ३७ ॥
 अगस्त्यउवाच ॥ काशीविरहदुःखेन दुःखितोहं न संशयः ॥
 तत्समं चाधिकं क्षेत्रं निवासाय ममास्तु तत् ॥ ३८ ॥
 एतदर्थं तपः स्थानं मोक्षसाधनकारणं ॥
 उत्तमं क्षेत्रमाहात्म्यं ब्रूहि षण्मुख तत्त्वतः ॥ ३९ ॥
 सूतउवाच ॥ श्रुत्वा प्रज्ञं कुंभयोनिःस्मरन् शिवपदांबुजं ॥
 षण्मुखो विस्तरादाह कथां पौराणिकीमिमां ॥ ४० ॥

आसीत्याग्ने पुरा कल्पे दैत्यो नाम महाबलः ॥
 तस्यानुजो प्यतिबलो महाबलपराक्रमः ॥ ४१ ॥
 ताभ्यां विश्वमिदं कृत्स्नं परिपूर्णमुपप्लुतं ॥
 तदा ब्रह्महरीशाना योद्धुं ताभ्यां समाययुः ॥ ४२ ॥
 ततोतिबलमायातं दृष्ट्वा देवाः सवासवाः ॥
 भयेन वेपमानांगा दैत्यदर्पपराजिताः ॥ ४३ ॥
 ततः शस्त्रैर्महास्त्रैर्धिर्विष्णुनातिबलो रणे ॥
 पातितोरिभिरन्यैश्च पुष्पवृष्टिस्तदाऽभवत् ॥ ४४ ॥
 ततो हाहाकृतं वीक्ष्य स्वस्य सैन्यं महाबलः ॥
 भ्रातुर्हंतस्यापचितिं समिच्छन् रोषदुर्धरः ॥ ४५ ॥
 तस्यानुगच्छतः शंभुर्विष्णुर्वा चतुराननः ॥
 अनीशाः संमुखे स्थातुं ततो मायां प्रसस्मरुः ॥ ४६ ॥
 देवाञ्जुः ॥ नमामस्त्वामादिभूतां जगद्बीजां परां सतीं ॥
 महामायां गुणवतीं ब्रह्मेशानहरिस्तुतां ॥ ४७ ॥
 यया सर्वं भेदरूपं कृतं चैतस्त्वभावतः ॥
 त्वमीशानब्रह्मविष्णुस्वरूपा योगसिद्धिदा ॥ ४८ ॥
 यया विश्वस्य बीजानि देवाः सर्वे विनिर्मिताः ॥
 दत्तं देवान् परं रूपं सामर्थ्यं तैजसं वरं ॥ ४९ ॥
 परां वाचं शास्त्रवतीं स्मृतिर्यस्यातिसिद्धिदा ॥
 यस्मादस्मान्प्रसन्नासि दैत्यदर्पं विनाशय ॥ ५० ॥
 इति स्तुतिमतिस्फीतां श्रुत्वा माया विमोहिनी ॥
 सद्यो दैत्यं मोहयित्वा वारयामास संगरात् ॥ ५१ ॥
 तदा महाबलो दैत्यः प्रतापानलदुर्धरः ॥
 रणे प्रसादसुमुखः प्रोवाचेशाजमाधवान् ॥ ५२ ॥
 वरान् वृणुत भद्रं वः प्रसन्नोऽस्मि सुरोत्तमाः ॥
 करोमि यदभीष्टं वो मा संदेहः पदे मम ॥ ५३ ॥
 ब्रह्मादयञ्जुः ॥ भवान्प्रसन्नो यदि नः संदेहो बचने न ते ॥
 तर्हि वध्यस्त्वमस्माभिरेवं नोभीष्टदो वरः ॥ ५४ ॥

महाबलउवाच ॥ धन्योस्मि कृतकृत्योस्मि जन्म मे सफलं भवेत् ॥
 यन्मे वचनसंकल्पात् वधमिच्छंति वै सुराः ॥ ५५ ॥
 तस्मात्पुरुषवर्येण जीवितव्यं महात्मना ॥
 यथा मे श्लाघ्यशशसो रिपवोऽपि वरार्थिनः ॥ ५६ ॥
 वाताहतांबुजदलप्रोच्छलद्द्विदुवच्चलं ॥
 आयुस्तत्रापि यशसा यो जीवेत स धन्यभूः ॥ ५७ ॥
 भारो धरण्यां न नगैर्नाब्धिभिर्न वनैर्धनैः ॥
 निरस्तयशसां भारो धरण्यां जायते भृशं ॥ ५८ ॥
 चरं बालस्य मरणं मातुर्वा गर्भपातनं ॥
 तिर्यक्षु अननं वापि नायशोलिप्तजीवनं ॥ ५९ ॥
 अहो भुवननाथस्य मम सेंद्रामरा नताः ॥
 भोगा लोकस्य दुष्प्रापा मया भुक्तोऽक्षिता वराः ॥ ६० ॥
 ज्वलत्काष्ठानलालोलप्रतापेन महीयसां ॥
 यशोगृहाणि सहसा भस्मसात्कारितान्यलं ॥ ६१ ॥
 देवाः सेवारताः सर्वे नराः किंकरतां गताः ॥
 विषादिनो हतश्वासा आशावासा द्विजाः कृताः ॥ ६२ ॥
 सुरांगनाकरालोलोशीरिव्यजनचालने ॥
 कंकणध्वनयोमंदाः सांद्रान् कुर्वति बर्हिणः ॥ ६३ ॥
 कलानिधिकला मुक्ताः सुरतांतकृपावहाः ॥
 मद्राष्ट्रे जनकांताभिः पौर्णिमास्विव नित्यशः ॥ ६४ ॥
 लोकेशाशासनस्थानसहभुक्तमिदं जगत् ॥
 तस्य वागीशलक्ष्मीशगौरीशाद्या वरार्थिनः ॥ ६५ ॥
 अधुना भुक्तभोमोहं देहपाताद्यशोवहं ॥
 सुरेशैरपि संश्लाघ्यं पुण्यं विस्तारयेद्दरः ॥ ६६ ॥
 स्कंदउवाच ॥ एवं विमृश्य मतिमास्तानुवाच मनस्विराट् ॥
 देहोयं भवतामग्रे कृतो वेगेन पाल्यतां ॥ ६७ ॥
 तदा ब्रह्मा पदद्वंद्वे आगलं विष्णुरास्थितः ॥
 मूर्ध्नि रुद्रस्त्रयोदेवाः वरैस्तं वब्रुवत्सुकाः ॥ ६८ ॥

ब्रह्मादय ऊचुः ॥ भोभो असुरवर्य त्वं वरयोग्योसि नोर्भक ॥

वृणुष्व वरमिष्टं ते दास्यामो भुवनेश्वराः ॥ ६९ ॥

महाबल उवाच ॥ नमामि देवान् सकलानभीष्टान् ब्रह्मेशोविष्णुन्
जगतामधीशान् ॥

जगत्त्रयादींस्त्रिगुणोद्भवादीन् मायामयान् सृष्टिलयस्थितिक्ष-
मान् ॥ ७० ॥

एकः पुमान् शक्तिगुणस्वभावैः सिद्धो विभिन्नो जगदादिसिद्धयै ॥

ते ब्रह्मविष्णुप्रमथाधिनाथा नामानि कर्मानुगुणानि भेजुः ॥ ७१ ॥

नमोस्तु शक्तित्रयभावरूपिणे नमोस्तु रूपत्रयभेददर्शिने ॥

नमोस्तु विश्वादितितिग्महारिणे नमोस्तु विद्याहतभेदमूर्त्ये ॥ ७२ ॥

नमो गुणव्याहृतभेदचक्षुषे नमो गुणाकारविकारदर्शिने ॥

नमो गुणाराममृगांबुदर्शिने नमो गुणैराहतरूपदर्शिने ॥ ७३ ॥

अनंतपारं भवसागरं भवत्यदं प्रयाताः प्रतरंति निर्भयाः ॥

भवत्यदस्पर्शहृत्तैनसो मम श्रमो गतोत्राद्भुतमत्र किं पुनः ॥ ७४ ॥

यदीक्षणस्पर्शहताधपुंजा यदर्चनोपात्तसुभद्रभद्रपाः ॥

तेषां पुरो मेपितमंगमंतत्ततोत्र सर्वं खलु याचनीयं ॥ ७५ ॥

ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेशाना दातारश्वेद्वरं मम ॥

वाञ्छितं मम सर्वस्वं दातव्यं सुरसत्तमैः ॥ ७६ ॥

मनुष्याणां यदा सृष्टिं कर्तुमिच्छति चेद्दिधिः ॥

विष्णुस्तु पालनं तद्वच्छिवस्तत्क्षयकारकः ॥ ७७ ॥

तदेदं वाञ्छितं देयं मुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदायकं ॥

एतद्वरस्य दानेन सौख्यं यातु जनेष्वपि ॥ ७८ ॥

प्रसन्नोसि यदा शंभो तदास्मिन् सद्यमस्तके ॥

मन्नाम्ना लिंगरूपस्त्वं सृष्ट्यादौ भव शंकर ॥ ७९ ॥

मस्तके पंचगंगानामुत्पत्तिश्चास्तु संततं ॥

मद्भूतृनाम्ना विष्णुस्त्वं दिव्यलिंगं भव प्रभो ॥ ८० ॥

सैन्यस्य मम कोटीनां कोटीशो भव पद्मज ॥

मन्नाम्ना ख्यातिमागत्य क्षेत्रं चास्तु भुवि प्रभो ॥ ८१ ॥

सर्वे देवास्तथा क्षेत्रे सर्वे वेदास्तथैवच ॥
 तिष्ठंतु सर्वदा लोकभोगमोक्षप्रदायकाः ॥ ८२ ॥
 गुरी कन्यागते जाते यात्रां कुर्वति ये जनाः ॥
 तेषां दारिद्र्यदुःखं च नाशमायातु नित्यशः ॥ ८३ ॥
 अस्मिन् क्षेत्रे तु यात्रार्थमागच्छन्ति च ये जनाः ॥
 तेषां स्नानेन दानेन पूजनेनाषसंक्षयः ॥ ८४ ॥
 एवं चरित्रं त्रितहासरूपं परं पवित्रं पठतां हि शृण्वतां ॥
 चतुर्विधास्मत्पुरुषार्थसिद्धिदं श्रीभोगलाभोस्तु परत्र लोके ॥ ८५ ॥
 महाबलेश्वरः सैष तथाचातिबलेश्वरः ॥
 कोटीश्वरोपि हि तदा विख्यातोभुवि चाद्भुतः ॥ ८६ ॥
 एवं परं हि माहात्म्यं सर्वपापप्रणाशनं ॥
 पठतां शृण्वतां मोक्षं भूमौ सौख्यं मञ्जयते ॥ ८७ ॥

इति श्रीस्कंदपुराणे सद्माद्री महाबलेश्वरक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यवर्णनं नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

ऋषय ऊचुः ॥ श्रुतो लिंगत्रयस्थैवमुद्भवो भवतोमुखात् ॥
 तत्र गंगाः कथं जातास्तद्दद शृण्वतां पुनः ॥ १ ॥
 सुत उवाच ॥ एवं लिंगत्रयं क्षेत्रे श्रेष्ठं सृष्टेः परंतपाः ॥
 तन्मस्तद्धे पंच गंगाः कथं भूता वदामि वः ॥ २ ॥
 ब्रह्मा यज्ञस्य चारभे निर्विघ्नकरणाय च ॥
 लिंगानि त्रीणि संपूज्य चारभे यज्ञमंडपं ॥ ३ ॥
 ब्रह्मारण्ये महाघोरे चकार यज्ञमंडपं ॥
 विस्तीर्णं भूषितं स्वर्णमुक्ताभिर्विद्रुमैरपि ॥ ४ ॥
 चकार यज्ञसामग्रीं समग्रां दृष्टिगोचरां ॥
 ऋषीन्देवास्तथा साध्यान्सिद्धान्यक्षान्मुनीन् विधिः ॥ ५ ॥
 सुमुहूर्तैतिसंप्राप्ते भूषिते वेदिकांगणे ॥
 ऋषिभिः परितो रेजे ग्रहैरिव निशाकरः ॥ ६ ॥
 देवा विष्णुमहेशाद्याः सभ्यास्तत्र महाक्रतौ ॥
 लोकपाला वेत्रधरा वेदावै परिचारकाः ॥ ७ ॥

सिद्धाः साध्याः सयक्षाया नागाः किंपुरुषांगनाः ॥
 सर्वे प्रमुदितास्तत्र यज्ञभरैरुपाययुः ॥ ८ ॥
 ब्रह्मा प्रजापरिवृतो मुहूर्ते वेदिकामुखे ॥
 स्थितः पुरोहितेनार्या सावित्रीं समुपाव्हयत् ॥ ९ ॥
 सावित्री यज्ञसंपत्तिमद्भुता वीक्ष्य संभ्रमात् ॥
 शृंगारान् रूपलावण्यानुरूपाङ्कुर्मैच्छत ॥ १० ॥
 पुरोहितस्य वचनं न कापि शृणुते यदा ॥
 तदा मुहूर्तक्रमणे भीतः प्रोचे सभासदः ॥ ११ ॥
 सावित्री संभ्रमेणार्या त्वरया नागमिष्यति ॥
 मुहूर्तमतिशेते हि यज्ञारंभो भवेत्क्रयं ॥ १२ ॥
 गायत्री चेत्समानेया सावित्री रोषमेष्यति ॥
 अतोविचार्य सभ्यैर्शैर्वक्तव्यं धर्मतो वचः ॥ १३ ॥
 स्कंदउवाच ॥ इत्थं पुरोधसोवाक्यं श्रुत्वा सभ्या विनिर्णयं ॥
 यदा कर्तुं समर्था न प्रोवाच श्रीपतिस्तदा ॥ १४ ॥
 विष्णुरुवाच ॥ ज्येष्ठा कनिष्ठा द्वे भार्ये सुखार्थं धर्मगुणये ॥
 संकटे ज्येष्ठभार्यायाः कनिष्ठापि प्रशस्यते ॥ १५ ॥
 मुहूर्तातिक्रमो माभूद्रायत्री यातु सत्वरं ॥
 सावित्रीचेद्भवेद्गुण्यं शास्यतेस्माभिरीश्वरैः ॥ १६ ॥
 स्कंदउवाच ॥ विष्णोर्वचोधर्मपरं श्रुत्वा सर्वे सभासदः ॥
 तथेत्युचुः साधुसाधु गायत्री धर्मभागिति ॥ १७ ॥
 तदा पुरोधास्त्वरया गायत्रीं समुपाव्हयत् ॥
 अर्द्धासनेन पत्युः सा रेबे भूरिव शार्ङ्गिणः ॥ १८ ॥
 विमा हृष्टाः स्वस्त्ययनं चक्रुः सभ्या महास्वनिः ॥
 वाद्यानि ववदुस्तूर्णं पणवाद्यानि बध्निरे ॥ १९ ॥
 वेदघोषैर्द्विजाञ्चुर्बेदिनस्तुतिमंगलिः ॥
 गायकागायनैः सिद्धाः साध्याश्च जयनिस्वनैः ॥ २० ॥
 तेन घोषेण महता दिक्कर्णाः पूरितास्तदा ॥
 ब्रह्मांडमद्दहासेन स्फुटेत्यतिरवैरिव ॥ २१ ॥

अप्सरानर्तनं चक्रुर्मंडपे सुमहोत्सवैः ॥
 तावद् घोषेण महता सावित्री चक्रितापतत् ॥ २२ ॥
 उत्थाय किमिदं चित्रमिति व्याकुलमानसा ॥
 पुरोधसः परवृत्तिं प्रतीक्षंती व्यतिष्ठत ॥ २३ ॥
 तावता मंगलाभ्यक्ताः सुवासिन्यः सुमंगलाः ॥
 नीराबनान् ग्राहयित्वा यज्ञादौ गृहमाविशन् ॥ २४ ॥
 स्वलंकृताभिस्ताभिस्तु कथितो यज्ञविस्तरः ॥
 कुपिता वेगतः प्रायाद्रक्ताक्षी यज्ञमंडपं ॥ २५ ॥
 तावद्ब्रह्मा च गायत्री प्रतिष्ठाप्य हुताशनं ॥
 सुस्थिरौ यज्ञदीक्षायां दृष्ट्वा प्रोवाच सा वचः ॥ २६ ॥
 सावित्र्युवाच ॥ अहो पश्यत सभ्यानां धर्मज्ञानमधर्मधीः ॥
 या धर्मपत्नी यज्ञागं तां विहाय कृतोमखः ॥ २७ ॥
 यएते बडबुद्धित्वान्मामुलंघ्य यशस्विनीं ॥
 धर्मातिक्रममारेभुरतः संतु बडाल्मकाः ॥ २८ ॥
 सावित्र्याः शापमाकर्ण्य सुरा विष्णुपुरोगमाः ॥
 शापमुक्तिकरं वाक्यं प्रोचुः सात्विकभाषणैः ॥ २९ ॥
 ब्रह्मादयड्बुः ॥ त्वमेव यज्ञरूपासि यज्ञमूलं त्वमेव हि ॥
 यज्ञारंभो न कर्तव्यः सर्वेभ्यश्चांतरं पतत् ॥ ३० ॥
 क्षमां कुरु जगद्वात्रि पवित्रे सृष्टिरूपिणि ॥
 शापमुक्तिः प्रकर्तव्या श्रेष्ठया कृपया त्वया ॥ ३१ ॥
 सर्वे देवाश्च ऋषयस्त्वत्तः सृष्टिमयाभवन् ॥
 अतः सर्वानुद्धर त्वं यदि त्वं जननी मता ॥ ३२ ॥
 इति श्रुत्वा सुवचनं ब्रह्मादीनां परंतपा ॥
 सावित्री शापनिर्मुक्तिं चकार करुणान्विता ॥ ३३ ॥
 ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेशश्च मामुलंघ्य यशस्विनीं ॥
 धर्मातिक्रममारेभुरतः संतु बलात्मकाः ॥ ३४ ॥
 स्त्रियोनान्ना मथां यातु गायत्र्याः पक्ष्णततः ॥
 गायत्र्यपि नदी भूयात्केनापीयं नलक्षिता ॥ ३५ ॥

यावत्सभ्याः सुराः सर्वे नदीरूपाभविष्यथ ॥
 विष्णुरेष महासभ्यो यथावादि तथास्त्वयं ॥ ३६ ॥
 विष्णुरुवाच ॥ या भर्तुराज्ञामुलंघ्य स्वयं मानं समीहते ॥
 सा कथं धर्मपत्नी त्वं लोके प्रख्यां गमिष्यसि ॥ ३७ ॥
 भर्तारि धर्मसेतूनां पालनाय व्रते स्थिते ॥
 मुहूर्तसंकटे भूषासंभ्रमः क्व तवार्भकि ॥ ३८ ॥
 यज्ञभारस्तु सिद्धोयं मुहूर्तोपि समीपगः ॥
 इतिसंकटमाज्ञाय गायत्री सा मयोदिता ॥ ३९ ॥
 आरंभेन तवार्याया गतं किंच करस्थितं ॥
 पुरोयज्ञांगमापूर्णं भवत्या संभविष्यति ॥ ४० ॥
 तावद्विचारमुत्सृज्य शापं प्रादादकारणं ॥
 गच्छ त्वं जलरूपेण नदी प्रत्यक् पयोनिधिं ॥ ४१ ॥
 एवमन्योन्यशापाभ्यां संकटं ह्युभयोरपि ॥
 तदंशेन भवध्वं भोदति बाला जगौ वचः ॥ ४२ ॥
 एवंच ता महानद्यः प्रभूताः सद्यमस्तके ॥
 तदा महाबलेशस्य मूर्द्धतः सहसोद्गताः ॥ ४३ ॥
 गच्छंतः पश्चिमाब्धिं ता याता अश्वत्थसन्निधौ ॥
 पंच गंगाः समुत्तेरुः स्मृतिमात्राखिलार्थदाः ॥ ४४ ॥
 ततोवेदाः पुरस्तस्युर्विष्णोः स्तुतिभिरादृताः ॥
 स्वामिन्पूर्वाणवं याहीत्यादृतोलोकपावनः ॥ ४५ ॥
 इतिवेदस्तुतिं विष्णोः श्रुत्वा देवाः सवासवाः ॥
 सावित्रीप्रार्थनां चक्रुः शापमोक्षस्य कारणं ॥ ४६ ॥
 सावित्री प्रददौ सर्वान् शापमोक्षं हि कृष्णया ॥
 संगमो यस्य देवस्य स देवः पूर्ववद्भवेत् ॥ ४७ ॥
 स्कंदउवाच ॥ तथाचाश्वत्थमूलात्ताः पंच गंगाः पराः शुभाः ॥
 ब्रह्मतीर्थसमीपस्थाः प्रकटागोमुखे ववुः ॥ ४८ ॥
 कृष्णा कृष्णः शिवेवेणी ब्रह्मा चैव ककुप्रती ॥
 सावित्री सा तु सावित्री गायत्री चापि तादृशी ॥ ४९ ॥

परस्परं संगमोभूत्सरिता पापमुक्तिदः ॥
 संगमे पंच गंगानां स्नानान्मोक्षोभिजायते ॥ ५० ॥
 अथवा ब्रह्मतीर्थे ये मज्जन्ति जलधारया ॥
 ते यांति परमं स्थानं यावच्चंद्रदिवाकरी ॥ ५१ ॥
 एवं पूर्वोदितान्यष्टौ तीर्थानि सह्यपर्वते ॥
 तत्र स्नानेन संपत्तिः संततिर्जायते ध्रुवं ॥ ५२ ॥
 एवं क्षेत्रं समुत्पन्नं महापुण्यकरं शुभं ॥
 इति ज्ञात्वा सुराः सर्वे ब्रह्मविष्णुशिविः सह ! ५३ ॥
 सावित्रीं तु सुसंधाय सृष्टेरुत्पत्तिकारिणीं ॥
 यज्ञं सागं महारण्ये ब्रह्माद्याश्चक्रुरुत्तमं ॥ ५४ ॥
 पूर्णाहुतिं ततः कृत्वा यज्ञाग्निं तुष्टुवुः परं ॥
 ततश्चावभृथस्नानं सर्वे देवाः सवासवाः ॥ ५५ ॥
 कर्तव्यं कीति चक्रुस्ते विचारं सुरसत्तमाः ॥
 मिलित्वा यज्ञभूमौ च ब्रह्मेशानजनार्दनाः ॥ ५६ ॥
 पूर्वाण्वं तु कृष्णाद्याः प्रस्थिताः प्राक्पयोनिधिं ॥
 तदा शापस्य निर्मुक्त्यै रुद्राद्याः सहगाययुः ॥ ५७ ॥
 सावित्री शापमोक्षाय प्रार्थयामास माधवं ॥
 तदोमिति हरिः सार्द्धं तथा प्रत्यङ्मुखोययौ ॥ ५८ ॥
 एवं कृष्णोभयमुखी सावित्री वेदसंस्तुता ॥
 पूर्वपश्चिमपाथोधी मिलिते जनपावनी ॥ ५९ ॥
 ते तत्रावभृताख्यंहि स्नानं चक्रुः सुपुण्यदं ॥
 तत्र जातानि तीर्थानि पापहानिकराणि च ॥ ६० ॥
 पश्चिमाब्धौ शुक्लतीर्थे सावित्रीसिंधुसंगमे ॥
 सार्धत्रिकोटितीर्थानां फलं दास्यति सर्वदा ॥ ६१ ॥
 एवं पूर्वाण्वे कृष्णा जाता संगमरूपिणी ॥
 तत्र तीर्थान्यनेकानि बभूवुः पापमुक्तये ॥ ६२ ॥
 यत्र यत्र भवेत्संगः कृष्णया सरितां पदे ॥
 तत्र तत्र महापुण्यं मुक्तिश्चैव न संशयः ॥ ६३ ॥
 कृष्णावेण्योः समायोगं कक्रुस्त्या च कृष्णया ॥
 सावित्र्याः कृष्णया योगं पश्यंतोमुक्तिभागिनः ॥ ६४ ॥

एवं क्षेत्रं पुरासृष्टेरादौ ब्रह्मा चकार यत् ॥
 तदारभ्यात्र गंगापि गुरौ कन्यागते सति ॥ ६५ ॥
 द्वादशैर्दादशैर्वर्षैरायाति कृष्ण्या सह ॥
 तदा तीर्थस्पर्शयोगात्सुखं यांति सुरासुराः ॥ ६६ ॥
 सरस्वती च गायत्र्यां संयोगं यातुमिच्छति ॥
 प्रयागक्षेत्रसंभूता उत्तराभिमुखी सरित् ॥ ६७ ॥
 एतादृशं परं क्षेत्रं वर्तते सद्यमस्तके ॥
 काशीक्षेत्रादप्याधिकं यवनैकेन वर्तते ॥ ६८ ॥
 जितं तैश्च जितं तैश्च संसारे दुस्तरे नृभिः ॥
 यैः कृष्णासंगमः साक्षात्कृतोनेत्रातिथिः सकृत् ॥ ६९ ॥
 कृष्णा गोदावरी गंगा तीर्थत्रयमिदं भुवि ॥
 यद्दि तस्योद्भवे स्नानं हृदि सौख्यप्रदं नृणां ॥ ७० ॥
 एवं क्षेत्रस्य माहात्म्यं वक्तुं शेषोपि न मभुः ॥
 गुणैः कृष्णस्य यत्तुन्यं देवर्षिसुरवेष्टितं ॥ ७१ ॥
 ते क्षेत्रकूपवापीस्थतीर्थरूपाबभुर्यतः ॥
 वावज्जलं तीर्थमयं पाषाणादेवरूपिणः ॥ ७२ ॥
 ब्रह्मक्षेत्रं परं श्रेष्ठं वेदाश्रमसमन्वितं ॥
 अस्मिन्क्षेत्रेऽवतिष्ठति ते गच्छति परं पदं ॥ ७३ ॥
 इतिहासं परं श्रेष्ठं पठतां शृण्वतां सदा ॥
 क्षेत्रवासफलं प्राप्य तेषां मुक्तिः सदा करे ॥ ७४ ॥
 कृष्णा भगवती माया महोत्तुमतरंगिणी ॥
 भूषणं सर्वं देवानां तारिणी या महाबले ॥ ७५ ॥
 वेणी प्रयागजा माया वेण्या नित्यसमागमा ॥
 पुण्योदये सुखप्राप्ता दर्शनादहते ह्यघम् ॥ ७६ ॥

इति श्रीस्कन्दपुराणे सद्वाद्रिपर्वते श्रीमहाबलेश्वरक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यवर्णनं नाम द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

कृष्णेयं विदधाति वाञ्छितफलं वेणा रिपोःसंक्षयं दद्यादत्र ककुत्सती कुल-
 मणीन् पुत्रान् शतं शर्मणे ॥ सावित्री श्रियमातनोति सुमुदा ज्ञानं च गायत्रिका
 पायान् सततं महाबलशिवा कृष्णादिगंगाधरः ॥ १ ॥ श्रीपंचगंगाधरार्पणमस्तु ॥

AET. II.—*Transcript and Translation of a Copper-plate Grant of the Fifth Century of the Christian Era, found in Gujerat by Manekji Aderji, Esq., G.G.M.O., with Remarks. By Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.*

Read 18th April 1871.

THE Tāmra-patra, a transcript and translation of which I have the pleasure of submitting to the Society to-day, consists of two rectangular plates, each $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $6\frac{1}{4}$ wide, originally joined together by two thick rings passing through two holes in one of the longer sides of each. One of the rings is lost, but the other is in a good state of preservation, and has a conical ball of copper attached to it, on which the seal is impressed. The lines of engraved letters are parallel to the longer sides. The copper-plate was found in a village in the Surat Collectorate by Mr. Manekji Aderji, G.G.M.C., and sent to me to be deciphered and translated.

The characters are a variety of the Deva-nāgarī, resembling that given in the fourth line of Prinsep's table, which was used in Gujerat in the early centuries of the Christian era. There is, however, some difference in the formation of several letters. The ञ differs from Prinsep's in having the uppermost horizontal stroke turned up and twisted, and the ञ looks like the Roman B with the perpendicular stroke placed horizontally. There are two varieties of ञ, one resembling that given by Prinsep, and occurring also in the Girnar inscriptions, which consists of two perpendicular strokes on a horizontal one, that to the left being twisted at the upper end; and the other looks like the Greek ρ. The ञ and the mâtṛā look exactly like those in the modern Deva-nāgarī. The writing is incorrect in many places, which circumstance increased the difficulty of deciphering.

The language of the copper-plate is Sanskrit. It purports to be a grant of a village named Rāchhchhavam, in the district of Ankules'vara, in Gujerat, to one Nārāyaṇa, the son of Govinda, a Rigvedī Brahman of the Kas'yapa Gotra, residing in Abhichchhatra. The king who granted it belonged to the Gurjjara dynasty, and was named

Dadda.* His father's name was Jayabhāṭa, and his grandfather's Dada. From the sign-manual it appears that Dadda had another name, which was Pras'ānta-rāga, and Jayabhāṭa was also called Vīta-rāga. But these sound like euphonious epithets or titles, and could hardly have been proper names, for the first means 'one whose passions are cooled,' and the other, 'one whose passions have disappeared or ceased to exist,' expressions which persons who are religious, or affect to be so, delight in. The writer or engraver was a minister of the name of Reva, the son of Mād'hava. From the opening benediction, the seat of the dynasty appears to have been Broach. The date is Jyeshṭha, amūvāsyā or new-moon-day, 417 of Ś'aka Nṛipa, i.e., of the era now known as Ś'ālivāhana's, corresponding to the 9th of June, 495 A.C. The seal bears the name of Dada, grandfather of the reigning sovereign.

The grant is in the usual style of such documents, but bears what I should consider a family likeness to the Valabhī or other Gujerat copper-plates. Several expressions may be quoted in support of this view. The reading, for instance, of some of the verses from the Mahābhārata, is the same in all these plates, while in the Southern grants it is different.

In the seventh volume of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* is published a transcript of a grant made by a king of the Gurjjara dynasty, along with some observations on it. A fresh transcript of it has been given by Prof. Dowson in the 1st volume of the *Journal*, new series, of the Royal Asiatic Society. In this a few of the mistakes of the first have been corrected. Prof. Dowson has collated with it another grant of the same king, similar to it in most respects, and given *facsimiles* of both. The copper-plates were discovered at Kaira by Dr. Burns. These we will distinguish by the Nos. 2 and 3, as the Professor has done. The present grant is by the same king as these two, the reasons for the statement being decisive. The king in Dr. Burns' plates belongs to the Gurjjara dynasty, as in the present grant. His name is Pras'ānta-rāga, as given in the sign-manual, which,

*The word is Ś'rimaddadda. If Ś'ri only were taken to be the honorific prefix, as it always is, the name would be Maddadda; if Ś'rimad, it would be Dadda. Prof. Dowson's *facsimiles* favour the latter supposition, though Ś'rimad, I must say, I have never found used as a prefix to the names of kings; and even in the present plate, the prefix is Ś'ri in the case of Jayabhāṭa, the second king. The same remark holds good in the case of the name Dada.

however, the editors of the Bengal Society's Journal read Pras'āngarāga; and his father's name is Jayabhaṭa and also Vīta-rāga. The writer's name is, as in the present copper-plate, Reva, and six lines of the eulogy of one of the kings correspond, word for word, in all the three. Ankules'vara and Broach are also mentioned there, though the occasion is different. But the grandfather's name is Dada in the present copper-plate, and Sāmanta-datta in both of Dr. Burns', and the second name of the reigning sovereign given in the body of these latter is, according to Prof. Dowson, S'ridatta-Kuś'ali, while it is Dadda in the former. Now, there can be no question that the Professor has misread the name of this king; for the word *Kuś'ali* means "enjoying health," and is used in most of the grants I have seen, where it is only thus to be interpreted. The usage of the country, to this day, also requires that this word, or an expression equivalent to it, should be used by the writer of a letter with reference to himself, before speaking of the matter in hand. Besides, in the present copper-plate and in No. 2, the word preceding *Kuś'ali* has the nominative termination (*visarga*) attached to it, which shows that *Kuś'ali* is an independent word, and forms no part of the one that precedes. Again, the word *S'rī* is a mere honorific prefix used before the names of kings; so that the real name is reduced to Datta. Now, referring to the *facsimile*, I find that the letters the Professor reads as two *t*'s are exactly similar to the first, which he takes to be a *d*, and are clearly two *d*'s. The name, therefore, is Dadda. Again, in the *facsimile* of No. 3, the king's name looks like Daddam. But the letter which resembles *m*, and is so read by Prof. Dowson, is in reality the symbol* for the *Jihvā-mūliya*, which, according to Pan. VIII. 3—37, is an optional substitute for *visarga* before a hard guttural. The name therefore may be taken to be the same in all the three plates. Now, as to Sāmanta-datta, I am inclined to doubt the faithfulness of the *facsimiles* in this case. For, as the name stands there, it is without the almost indispensable prefix of *S'rī* which we find in the case of both the other names and in almost all other copper-plates. This *S'rī* has perhaps been misread by the decipherer as *Sā*. And the *Datta* being in this case also *Dadda*, the name is very likely the same, or nearly the same, as in the present plate. Or perhaps the word *Sāmanta*, signifying as it does "a subordinate prince or chief," may have been used in Nos. 2 and 3 as a title. The dates also of Dr. Burns' plates are perfectly consistent with the

* I have since seen this symbol before ऋ in several Valabhi plates.

supposition of their common origin. That of No. 2 is 380, and of No. 3, 385, i.e., the first grant was made 37 and the second 32 years before the present one. And 37 years are not too long a period for a single reign. Prof. Dowson and the editors of the Bengal Society's Journal consider the dates 380 and 385 to refer to the era of Vikramāditya, but the only reason is the use of the word *Samvatsara*. This word, however, means simply a year, and does not indicate any reference to a particular era. And this is confirmed by its use in the present grant, with the expression S'aka-Nṛipa-Kāla before it. The common origin of the three grants, therefore, would necessitate the dates 380 and 385 being taken to refer to the S'aka era. For if they were not so taken, the interval between this and the other two grants would be about 171 and 166 years.

But as some antiquarians think that the S'aka-Nṛipa-Kāla is often confounded with the Samvat era "even by indigenou writers,"* it may be said that notwithstanding the use of that expression in the present copper-plate, its date 417, as well as those of Dr. Burns', may refer to the era of Vikramāditya. This point can, however, be easily determined. In the present grant, mention has been made of the occurrence of a solar eclipse on the day on which it was executed. I wrote to my respected friend Professor Keru Lakshman, a few days ago, to ascertain if there was such an eclipse on the Amāvasyā or conjunction day of Jyeshṭha in the year 417 of S'ālivāhana, and also whether there was a possibility of an eclipse on the same day of the same year of the Samvat era. His answer is that, on a rough calculation, he finds that on that day, which, supposing the era to be S'ālivāhana's, corresponds to the 9th of June, 495 A. C., the distance of the sun from the moon's ascending node was about 12° 14'. He therefore thinks that there was a solar eclipse on that day; but it must have been a partial one, and have begun in the afternoon, a short time before sunset. But on that day of that year of the Samvat era, there was, he says, no possibility of an eclipse, since the sun's distance from the node was about 8 signs and 9°. This, therefore, proves that the date of the present copper-plate, and hence those of Dr. Burns' No. 2 and No. 3, refer to the S'aka era, and that the use of the word *Samvatsara* does not by any means show the era to be Vikrama's. And, by the way, it would also

* See Dr. Bhau Daji on Merutunga's Theravali, *Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, vol. IX., page 156.

appear that it is more reasonable to regard the era used in other Gujrat copper-plates, such as those of the Valabhî dynasty, to be that of the S'aka king, than to assume it as the Samvat, since the three plates of the Gurjjara dynasty I have been considering may well be taken to indicate the prevalent usage. And this supposition thoroughly agrees with the Valabhî era discovered by Colonel Tod from a Somnath inscription, which began in 319 A.C. One would naturally take this era to commence from the date of Bhatârka, the founder of the family, and not from that of any of his successors, as Mr. Wathen has done without any good reason, though one of these may have brought it for the first time into use. The date of the copper-plate grant of Dhruva Sena, the sixth in descent from Bhatârka, published in the seventh volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, is 365,* which if taken to refer to the Samvat would correspond to 309 A.C., i.e., ten years before the foundation of the dynasty. But if, however, the era were assumed to be that of S'âlivâhana, the date would correspond to 443 A.C., that is, the interval between the first king of the family and the person sixth in descent from him would be 124 years, which, I think, is a reasonable period. The editors of the Journal, simply from the occurrence of the word *Samvatsara*, take the era used to be Vikrama's, and give up Colonel Tod's discovery of the Valabhî era, from its inconsistency with their supposition. But we see that the two dates are perfectly reconcilable if we take the era of the S'aka king instead of the *Samvat*.

Mr. Thomas has reprinted, in his edition of Prinsep's Essays, the two papers in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* which I have noticed, with the remark "that the dates of all these documents require accurate re-examination and revision, and that the geographical questions involved demand even in a greater degree an exact and formal definition."

The present copper-plate grant throws, I think, much light on these questions. We have seen that the era used in this and the other grants of the Gurjjara dynasty is that of the S'aka king; that the word *Samvatsara* does not by any means denote the Samvat era, and that if the usage indicated by these grants were understood to be

*I have shown in a paper since read at a meeting of the Society that this date must be read as 366, and that the most probable starting-point for the Valabhî era is the coronation of Dronasinha, the second son of Bhatârka, and in another, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, No. 1, that the grantor in the plate referred to in the text is S'ilâditya II., the eighth in descent from Bhatârka.

applicable to the Valabhî plates, their dates would be consistent with the discovery of Colonel Tod. The seat of the Gurjjara dynasty was Broach. But this appears to have been the name of the city, as well as of the country around it. In the Narmadâ-mâhâtmya, Bhṛigu-Kachchha is mentioned as a holy place on the northern bank of the river, about two miles long from east to west,* and the descriptions of many other similar places farther down the river wind up with the remark, "Thus ends the description of *such and such* a place in Bhṛigu-Kachchha." Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, also speaks of a kingdom of Broach. Ankules'vara, mentioned in the plate, has preserved its name unaltered.

About four miles to the North-east of Elao, in the vicinity of which the copper-plate was found, is the village of Walner, which seems to correspond to the Varnera of the grant. It is eight miles to the South-west of Ankules'vara. The river Varandâ appears to be the modern Wand Kharee; and about a mile and a half from Walner is the village of Surtham, answering to the Sarathuam [or Arathuam] of our plate. Sunthavadaka, which is mentioned as the eastern boundary of Râchhchhavam, I have not been able to discover on the map, though there is such a place as Koṭhadara there. But from the other places I have found, Râchhchhavam, the village conveyed by the grant, appears to be the modern Racheed.

* रेवाया उत्तरे तोरे गभोरंचाभिचारिणि । प्रागुदकप्रवणे देशे तीर्थक्रीडिविभू
यितम् ॥ क्लेशप्रमाणं तस्मिन् प्रासादशतसंकुलं चकार मुदितो भृगुः ॥

- १ ॐ स्वस्ति विजयविक्षेपात् भरुकच्छ*प्रहारनास[श]कात् सकलघनपटलविनिर्गतरजनीकरकरावबोधितकुमुद-
- २ धवलयश [ः] प्रतापस्थगितनभोमण्डलेनेकसमरसङ्कटममुखगतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधूमभातसम-
- ३ यरुदितफ [च्छ] लोद्रीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंशप्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामोदृष्टवज्रमणिकोटिरुचिरदी-
- ४ धितिविराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिराः दीनानाथातुर [रा] भ्यागताथिजन [ना] क्लिष्टपरिपूरितविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्ट-
- ५ पैकसहायधर्मसञ्चयः प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशीकृतविदग्धना-
- ६ गरकस्वभावो विमलगुणपञ्जरक्षिप्तबहुलकलितिमिरनिचयः श्रीमद्दस्तस्य सूनू [ः] समदप्रतिद्वंद्विगजघटा-
- ७ भेदिनिस्त्रिंशविक्रमप्रकटितमृगपतिकिसो [शो] रवीर्य [र्या] वलेपः पयोनिधिकृतउभयतटप्ररूढध [व] नलेख [खा] विह्वतनि-

रंकुशदानमवा.

- ८ हप्रवृत्तदिग्दन्तिविभ्रमगुणसमूहः स्फटिककर्पूरपिण्डपाण्डुरयशश्चन्दनचञ्चितसमुन्नतगगनलक्ष्मीपयोध.
- ९ रोत्सङ्गः श्रीजयभटस्तस्यात्मजः प्रतिहतसकलजगद्वापिदोषाधिकारविजृम्भितसन्ततितमोवृत्वि [र्त्ति] रधिकगुरुस्नेह-
- १० संपन्नविमलदिशोद्भासितजीवलोकः परमबोधसमानुगतो विपुलगुर्जरनृपान्म [न्व] यप्रदीपतामुपगतः
- ११ समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्दः कुशली सव्वानेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटयु.
- १२ क्तकानियुक्तकाधिकमहत्तरादींस्तमाज्ञापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोराम्नश्चैवामुष्मिकपुण्ययशो-

* This may, I think, be also read as भरु कच्छ पूर्वार; though the letters here look exactly like the ऋ I find in other places in the copper-plate.

१३ भिवृद्धये अभिच्छत्रवास्तव्यत [?] चातुर्विद्यसा [सं] मान्यकश्यपश (स) गोत्रबहुचसब्रह्मचारिभट्टगोविन्दस्त-

१४ स्य सूनुभट्टनर[नारा] यण[णा]यबलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपण्च[ञ्च]महाज[य]ज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पण[णा]र्थ अङ्कुलेश्वरविषय-

[या]न्तःपातिराहु.

१५ वं ग्रामोस्याष[घा]टस्थ[र]नानि पूर्वतः वारणेरग्रामः दक्षिणतः वरंदनदीः[दी] पश्चिमतः शृंठवडकग्रामः उत्तरत-

१६ अ[सः]रठुअंग्रामः एवमयं स्वचतुराघाटनविशुद्धो ग्रामः सोद्रङ्गसपरिकरसधान्यहिरण्यदेयसोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक-

१७ समस्तराजकीयन[याना]मप्रवेश्यम[मा]चंद्रका[द्राका]र्णवक्षितिसारित्पर्वतसमानकालीनपुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यपूर्वमत्तदेव.

१८ ब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जमभ्यांतरसिद्धय[माभ्यन्तरासिद्धया] शकनृपकालातीतसंवच्छ[त्स]रशतचतुष्टये सप्तदशाधिकेयेष्ट[ज्येष्ठा]मा-
वास्यासूर्यग्रा.

१९ हे उदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितं[तः]यतोस्योचितय[या] ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या कृषतः कर्षयतो भुञ्जतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिश-

२० तो वा न व्यासेधः प्रवर्तैतव्य[ः] तथागाभिभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य बिन्दूहोलान्य-
नित्यान्यैश्वर्या.

२१ णि तृणाग्रलज्जलबिन्दुचण्च[ञ्च]लन्च[ञ्च]जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्विसे[शे]षोयमस्म[दा]योनुमन्तव्यः पालयि-
तव्यश्च तथाचोक्तं.

२२ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्त[क्ता] राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ यश्च [श्चा]ज्ञानति-
मिरावृतमातिरा-

२३ च्छिन्यादाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेत वा सपञ्च[ञ्च]भिर्महापातैरुपपातैश्च संयुक्त[ः]स्यादिति उक्तं च भगवता
वेदव्याशे[से]

२४ न व्याशे[से]न षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ यानीह
दत्तानि पुरा-

२५ तनानि दानानि धर्मार्थयस [श]स्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाव्यप्रतिमानि तानि को भाम साधुः पुनराददीत । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा य-

२६ त्नाद्रक्षन्नराधिपः [प] महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं । लिखितमिदं संधिविग्रह[हा]धिकृतरेवेण म(मा)धवसु-
तेन श्रीवीतरागसूनाः स्वहस्तोयं मम

२७ श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य

Translation.

Security [freedom] from interruption in the race of victory calculated to violate the gate of the city of Bharukachchhâ ! There was S'rîmad Dada, whose fame and glory, as purely bright as the lotus blown open by the rays of the moon darting forth from an envelope of clouds, filled the cavity of the sky,—the bright achievements of whose sword the wives of the inimical chiefs slain by him in innumerable battles sang as it were in the morning by means of their cries of lamentation,—whose person was adorned by a crown shining with the refulgent rays of a crore of diamonds polished by being rubbed against the lotus-like feet of gods, Brahmans, and preceptors,—whose stock of religious desert, which is the only thing that enables one to go to Heaven, was always increasing in consequence of his liberally fulfilling the desire for wealth of the begging poor, the helpless, the distressed, and of the belated wayfarer,—and who, propitiating proud damsels angry on account of love quarrels by addressing sweet words to them, showed himself to be a skilful *gallant*,—and who dispersed by his many bright virtues the thick darkness of *Kalî*. His son was Jaya-bhaṭa, who showed the valour of a young lion, by achieving with his sword the destruction of the herds of elephants belonging to his enemies,—and who by his diversions on both sides of the sea, and the unstinted flow of his bounty,* realized in himself the qualities of the guardian elephants of the quarters, and who, on the high cloud-breasts† of the sky—Lakshmi, rubbed sandal-wood ointment in the shape of his glory as pure as a crystal or a ball of camphor. His son S'rîmad Dada, who has dispelled the darkness that grew thick and intense through the power of evil, and overspread the whole earth,—who has purified all the quarters by his very great kindness,‡ and embellished the world of the living,—who possesses true knowledge, and has become the luminary of the Gurj-

* There is a play on the word *dâna* here, which means 'giving' as well as the 'humour flowing from the temples of an elephant.' The other words in the compound may also be interpreted in two ways.

† A play on the word *payodhara*, which means 'a cloud' as well as the 'female breast.'

‡ A play on the word *sneha*, meaning 'oiliness' as well as 'kindness.'

jara dynasty,—who has obtained the five great sounds, and is the great king of kings,—enjoying good health, commands

All governors of districts and sub-divisions ; all villagers ; those in office or unemployed ; great men, chief men, &c. :—

Be it known to you, that for the increase of my father's, mother's, and my own holiness and goodness, as regards the next world, I have granted, by pouring water, on the new-moon day of Jyeshṭha, in the year of the S'aka king four hundred and seventeen, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, to Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the son of Bhaṭṭa Govinda, residing in Abhichchhatra, respected amongst persons conversant with the four Vedas, of the Kas'yapa Gotra, and student of Bahvṛicha (Rigveda), for the proper execution of the rites of Bali, Charu, Vais'adeva, Agnihotra, the five great sacrifices, &c., the village of Rāchhchhavam, situated in the district of Ankules'vara, the boundaries of which are the village of Vāraṇera to the east, the river Varandā to the south, the village of Sunṭhavaḍaka to the west, and Saraṭhuam to the north,—this village, with these boundaries specified, along with the hamlets and whatever pertains to it ; along with the revenue in grain or gold, and with whatever may be raised on the land by labour, except what in the village may have been granted to gods and Brahmans before—the said grant not to be interfered with by the delegates of the king ; to last as long as the moon, the sun, the sea, the earth, rivers and mountains shall endure, and to be enjoyed from father to son (*lit.* son to grandson). Therefore no obstruction should be made to him, who, in virtue of the rights conferred by this Brahman grant, ploughs the land or causes it to be ploughed, enjoys it or makes another enjoy it, or assigns it to another person. So also should future kings, whether of our race or others, knowing the fruits ordinarily arising from grants of land, and bearing in mind that prosperity is unsteady like a drop [of water] and transitory, and life as fleeting as a drop of water at the end of a blade of grass, confirm and continue this our grant, as if it were their own. For it is said :—“Many kings, such as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth, but the fruit to each lasts only so long as he is in possession.” And he who, with his good sense enveloped in the darkness of ignorance, should take away this land, or approve another person's doing so, would be as sinful as if he had committed the five great sins and the five minor sins. For it is said by the Rev. Vyása, the editor of the Vedas :—“He who grants land lives in Heaven for sixty thousand years, while he who takes it away, or approves of its being so taken away, passes

so many years in hell. The grants made in past times with the view that they might conduce to raise a man's moral desert, wealth, or fame, are like flowers worn and withered. What good man would resume them? O king, O thou the best of the lords of the earth, do maintain with care a grant of land made whether by thyself or anybody else; to maintain a grant is a greater virtue than to make one."

This is written by Reva, the son of Mád hava, counsellor in peace and war. This is the sign-manual of myself, Pras'ántarâga, the son of S'ri Vitarâga.

ART. III.—On the Age of the Naishadha-Charita of Śrīharsha.

By DR. J. G. BÜHLER.

Read 9th November 1871.

AMONG the Jaina works which I have been collecting of late for the Government of Bombay, there is one which, besides other interesting information, gives an account of the life and times of Śrīharsha, the author of the Naishadha-charita. This work is the Prabhandha-kosha of Rājas'ekharasūri, which contains in 4,300 ś'lokas* biographical notices of twenty-four famous men ; viz. :—

I. Of ten Jaina Sūris :

1. Bhhadrabāhu-Varāha. 2. A'ryanandila. 3. Jivadeva-sūri.
4. A'ryakhapata A'chāryā. 5. Pādaliptaprabhu. 6. Vṛiddha-vādī-Siddhasena. 7. Mallavādī. 8. Harībhadrāsūri. 9. Bap-pabhaṭṭisūri. 10. Hemasūri.

II. Of four poets :

1. Śrīharsha. 2. Harihara. 3. Amarachandra. 4. Madanakīrti.

III. Of seven kings :

1. Sātavāhana. 2. Vankachūla. 3. Vikramāditya. 4. Nágārjuna.
5. Udayana. 6. Lakshasena. 7. Madanavarman.

IV. Of three Jaina courtiers :

1. Ratna. 2. A'bhaḍa. 3. Vāstupāla.

Rājas'ekhara composed this work, which is written in barbarous Sanskrit prose, according to information† obtained from his teacher, Tilakasūri, in Samvat 1405, or A. D. 1348, whilst living at Delhi, under the protection of one Madanasīmha, whose father, Jayasīmha, had been honoured by Śrī Mahamād Shāhi, ‡ probably Mahamād Toghlak (1325).

* On 50 folios.

† Folio 1 a, line 9 :—

इदानीं वयं गुरुमुखश्रुतानां विस्तोर्णानां रत्नत्वानां चतुर्विंशतेः प्रपन्थानां संग्रहं कुर्यामः
स्मः ॥ .

‡ Folio 50 a, line 16 :—

श्रीप्रभवाहनकुले कोटिनामनि गणे जगद्विदिते श्रीमध्यकासाया हर्षपुरीयाभिधे गच्छे

I pass over the notices of the Jaina worthies, which have no general interest, and proceed at once to give an abstract of the account of S'riharsha, which runs as follows :—

In Banâras there ruled formerly a king, called *Govindachandra*. He had a son and successor, named *Jayantachandra*, who was exceedingly powerful and conquered the whole earth. His army was so large that, when he marched, his soldiers could not find water enough except by using the two rivers Gangâ and Yamunâ. This Râjâ is known in the world by the nickname 'Pangula,' the lame one, because he used the two rivers as crutches to help him on.* He had a son called *Meghachandra*. At Jayantachandra's court lived a Brahman, called Hîra, whose son was 'the prince of clever men' ('prâjñâ-chakravarti') S'riharsha. One day Hîra was conquered and silenced by one of his rivals in a disputation before the king. He took his defeat so much to heart, that he died shortly afterwards. But before his death he exhorted S'riharsha to avenge him on his enemy. In order to fulfil his father's wish, S'riharsha went into foreign countries and studied under various masters, Nyâya, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, astronomy, and other sciences. He also propitiated the goddess Bhârâtî by mantras, and obtained from her the gift of unsurpassable eloquence. He then composed the *Khaṇḍana*† and other works, to more than one hundred. After these feats he returned to Banâras. There he was honourably received by Jayantachandra. His father's enemy recognised his superiority and was reconciled to him. He then continued to live under the king's protection and the

मलधारिषिरुदविदितश्चाभयेपदसूरिसंताने श्रीतिलकसूरिशिष्यः सूरिः श्रीराजशेखरो जयति । तेनायं मृदुगद्यैर्मुग्धो मुग्धावबोधकामेन विरचितः प्रबन्धकोषो जयताञ्जिनपतिमर्त यावत् । तथा कदाखीरदुस्साधिवंशमुकुटो नृनोपगीतगुणः । वञ्चूलीपुरकारितजिनपतिसदनोचलन्कीर्तिः ॥ ७ ॥ (?) कप्यकसाधोस्तनयो गणदेवोजनि सपादलभ्रभुषि । तद्दुर्नकनामा तन्पुत्रः साटको दृढधीः ॥ ५ ॥ तत्सूनुः सामन्तरत्कुलितिलकोभूञ्जयसिंहः । दुर्मिक्षदुःखदलनः ॥ ॥ श्रीमन्महमहासाहिगौरवितः ॥ ६ ॥ तञ्जो जयति सिरिभवः षड्दर्शनपोषणो मदनसिंहः । टिलचा स्वदत्तवसतौ ग्रन्थमिमं कारयामस शरगगनमनुमितान्दे ॥ ॥

* तस्य राक्षसलतः सैन्यं गङ्गायमुने विना नाम्भसां नृप्यतीति नदीद्वयपट्टिग्रहणात्कुल्ये राजेति लोके श्रूयते ॥

† खण्डनादिग्रन्थान्परशताञ्जग्रन्थ ॥

latter once asked him to compose "a jewel of a story." S'riharsha agreed and wrote the *Naishadhacharita*.* He showed it to the king, who said: "This is certainly very beautiful. But go to Kás'mír, show it to the Pandits there, and place it in the hands of the goddess Bháratí. Bháratí sits there visibly on a throne. She flings a bad composition far from her like refuse, but a good book she accepts, nodding her head, and declares it to be good. Flowers are then showered on the book."†

After this S'riharsha received money from the King and set out for Kás'mír. Arriving there he placed his book in the hands of Sarasvatí. The goddess contemptuously flung it away. S'riharsha expostulated with her on this treatment of his production, and was told by the goddess that he had offended her by describing her in the 64th verse of the eleventh Sarga as Vishṇu's wife, and by thus denying her virginity, for which she was famous in the world. When S'riharsha thereupon replied, that, in that passage, he had stated nothing else but what was contained also in the Purāṇas, the goddess allowed herself to be pacified, took his book up with her own hands and praised it before the assembled Pandits. S'riharsha then requested the Pandits to introduce him to Mádhavadeva,‡ the king of the country, and to give him a letter for Jayantachandra, certifying that his composition was faultless. The Pandits, however, fulfilled neither of these requests. S'riharsha was, therefore, forced to stay many months in Kás'mír. He expended all his money and had at last even to sell his oxen and utensils. One day, whilst he was reciting the Rudrajapa near a well, two maid-servants came to fetch water. They began to quarrel about the precedence, and from words they came at last to blows, so that their dispute gave rise to a case before the king. The latter asked for witnesses of the quarrel, and S'riharsha was brought up in order to give evidence.

* एकदा मुदा नृपेणोक्तः कवीशः । वादीन्द्र किञ्चित्प्रबन्धरत्नं कुरु । ततो नैषधं महा-
काव्यं बद्धं दिव्यरसमहागूढं व्यङ्ग्यभारसारं राज्ञे दक्षितम् ॥

† The custom to submit a new book to the Pandits of Kás'mír, and to place it in the hands of the goddess Sarasvatí, is more than once mentioned in the Jaina Prabandhas. Perhaps it is a reminiscence of the times when Kás'mír was one of the chief seats of learning and literature.

‡ श्रीहर्षेण पण्डिता उक्ताः तन्नत्याय राज्ञे माधवदेवाय मां दर्शयत ॥ I am not able to identify Mádhavadeva. The name of the king who must have been the contemporary of our hero is Kshúksha.

On coming before the king he declared himself ignorant of the language of the country, but ready to repeat the *sounds* which he had heard. He then rendered the whole conversation of the two women word for word. The king, astonished at his marvellous memory, asked *S'rīharsha* about himself. When he heard how the poet had been treated by the Pandits, he blamed them for their jealousy and sent *S'rīharsha* home, loaded with presents. On his arrival in *Ban̄dras* the poet informed *Jayantachandra* of his adventures ; the king was pleased and the *Naishadhīya* became famous.

In the meantime* one of *Jayantachandra's* chief ministers (*pradhānata*), called *Padmākara*, whilst on a pilgrimage to *Somnāth Pāṭhan* in *Sorāṭh*, came to *Aṇhillapattan* or *Aṇhilvād* in *Gujārat*. There he discovered a *Padminī*, named *Sūhavadevi*, whom he took away with him to *Banāras*, with or without the consent—this is not clear—of king *Kumārāpāla* of *Aṇhilvād*. *Sūhavadevi* became the mistress of *Jayantachandra*, and acquired, on account of her various accomplishments, the surname ' *Kalābhārati*.' *S'rīharsha*, who was commonly called ' *Narabhārati*,' was hated by her. Once she ordered him to come to see her, and asked him contemptuously who he was. *S'rīharsha* replied that he was omniscient in ' *Kalās*, fine arts or trades.' Thereupon, in order to put him on the horns of a dilemma, the royal favourite ordered him to make for her and put on her feet a pair of shoes. As shoemaking was undoubtedly a *Kalā*, *S'rīharsha* had either, if he refused the task on the plea of ignorance, to acknowledge that he was not omniscient, or to make the shoes and to lose his caste. He chose the latter alternative, made a pair of shoes of the inner bark of a tree and put them on the queen's feet after the manner of the *Chamārs*. But, unable to bear the affront which had been put on him, he became an ascetic soon after.

After thus narrating the life of *S'rīharsha*, the *Prabandha* gives a short account of the end of his patron *Jayantachandra*. It informs us

* भ्रत्रान्तरे जयन्तचन्द्रस्य पद्माकरनामा प्रधानतरः श्रीअणहिल्लपत्तनं गतः। तत्र शर-
स्तटे रजकक्षालितायां शाटिकायां केतक्यामिव मधुकरकुलं निलीयमानं दृष्ट्वा विस्मितोप्राक्षी-
द्रजकम्। यस्या युवतेरिथं शाटी तां दर्शय। तस्य मन्त्रिणस्तत्पद्मिनीति निर्णयस्थं मनः। रजके-
न साथं तस्मै तद्गृहं नीत्वा तामर्पयित्वा तत्स्वामिनीं सृहवदेविनाम्नीं शालापतिपत्नीं विधवा
यौवनस्थां सुरूपां दर्शिता। श्रीकुमारपालराजपाश्चादुपरोध (१) तद्गृहार्ज्जनीन्वा सोमनाथयात्रां
कुत्वा कार्शीं गतस्तां पद्मिनीं जयन्तचन्द्रभोगिनीमकरोत्॥

that Sûhavadevi had a son whom she wished to have declared heir to the throne, instead of Jayantachandra's legitimate son, Meghachandra. Her schemes were frustrated by the minister, 'the illustrious Vidyâdhara,' who had the surname 'Laghuyudhishṭhira.' Sûhavadevi then conspired against her royal lover and sent a large subsidy to the *Sura-trâṇa* of *Takshas'îlâ*, engaging him to make war against Kâs'î and its lord. Vidyâdhara discovered this plot and denounced Sûhava to the king. But the latter would not believe the accusation. The minister thereupon drowned himself in the Ganges. The *Sûratrâṇa* advanced shortly afterwards towards Banâras, and defeated the king. The latter disappeared without a trace, and it was not known whether he had been killed or fled. The Yavanas took the town.

The account of S'rîharsha, which our Prabandha gives, is in many details obviously fanciful. But it seems to me that the main facts told regarding him, namely, that he was a native of Banâras, and that he lived under the protection of a king of that city, who was a contemporary of Kumârapâla of Anḥilvâḍ, are strictly historical. For firstly it might be expected that Râj s'ekhara, who wrote in the middle of the 14th century, could obtain trustworthy information regarding a person who lived only about 150 years before him. Secondly, Râjas'ekhara's narration agrees in some important details with the statements which S'rîharsha makes regarding himself in his own works.

S'rîharsha says at the end of the Naishadhîya that his father's name was Hîra, and that he wrote the *Khaṇḍanakhṇḍakhâdyâ* and other works—not indeed one hundred, but eight—before he composed the Naishadhîya. He further states that he used to be honoured by a king of Kânyâkubja, who gave him at the audience a seat and a double portion of betel.* The last point, that S'rîharsha used to visit the court of a king of Kânyâkubja, is most important. For it can be easily shown that Râjas'ekhara's *Jayantachandra*, who is said to have protected S'rîharsha, is no other than *Jayachandra*, the last of the Râsh-drakûta princes, who reigned over Kânyâkubja as well as over Banâras.

Jayachandra, the son of Vijayachandra and grandson of Govindachandra, is known from his inscriptions,† as well as through Jaina and Mahommedan writers. He must have ascended the throne between A. D.

* Compare also Hall, *Vâsavadattâ*, p. 8.

† Land-grants, which have been published in the 9th and 15th Vols. of the *Asiatic Researches*, and in the 10th Vol. of the *Journal Bengal Br. R. As. Soc.*

1163 and 1177, as the last inscription of his father is dated in the former year, and the first of his own grants in the latter year.* According to all accounts he was the last and the most powerful monarch of his race. The *Ayîn Akbarî*, II. 119, calls him the ruler of all Hindostan; the chronicles, quoted by Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, II. 7, describe his great power and victories over Hindus and Mahommedans, and state that he was called '*Dalpangla*,' '*he whose host is lame*,' "because, in marching, the van of his enormous army reached its halting-ground before the rear had moved from its position." He is also stated to have been the cause of the destruction of *Prithvîrâja*, the last *Tomâra* of Delhi, by allying himself with the Musalmans against him. The details of the events leading to his enmity with *Prithvîrâja* are variously given. Most of his historians assert that he lost his throne and his life fighting against the army of *Shâhabuddîn Ghorî*. The place where his last battle occurred is said to have been *Etarva*.† According to *Ferishta*, *Jayachandra* had his eye pierced by an arrow, shot by the commander of the hostile army. According to Tod, *Annals of Râj*. II. 10, he was drowned in the Ganges.

These accounts differ little from the story told by *Râjas'ekhara*, of *Jayantachandra*, and it is easy to prove that the two names designate one and the same person. The names themselves are nearly identical and synonymous. *Jayantachandra* is said to have been the ruler of *Banâras* in the time of *Kumârapâla*, A. D. 1143-1174, and *Jayachandra* certainly ruled over that town some time between A. D. 1163 and 1194. *Jayachandra* was called *Dalpangla* on account of the enormous size of his army, and to *Jayantachandra* the surname *pangula* is given for the same reason. The *Suratrâna*‡ of the *Yavanas* who reigned at *Takshas'ilâ* can be nobody but Sultan *Shâhabuddîn Ghorî* who held court at *Lahore*. *Jayanta's* minister *Vidyâdhara* finds his counterpart in the 'most illustrious *Thakkura Vidyâdhara*,' to whose son *Jayachandra* made grants of land in 1177. The name of *Jayachandra's* father differs from that which *Râjas'ekhara* assigns to *Jayantachandra's* parent. But, if it is borne in mind that *Jayachandra's* grandfather's name was *Govindachandra*, it becomes not improbable that *Râjas'ekhara* or his teacher *Tilakasûri* left

* Lassen, J. A., III. 813, tries to prove that *Vijayachandra* still reigned A. D. 1172. But that appears doubtful.

† *As. Res.* XV. 456.

‡ This is the regular Jaina form of the word *Sultan*.

out one person in the genealogy of the Raṭhore princes, deceived by the resemblance of the names *Vijayachandra* and *Jayachandra*. Colebrooke has fallen into the same error.

But if our identification of Jayachandra and Jayantachandra is correct, the Naishadhîya must have been written between A. D. 1163 and 1174, *i. e.* between the earliest date on which Jayachandra's accession to the throne may be placed, and Kumârapâla's death.

It may be objected against this date, that the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharâṇa*, a work ascribed to Bhoja of Dhâr, who lived in the eleventh century, quotes the Naishadhîya.* But I do not consider this point important enough to cause Râjas'ekhara's story to be rejected. For even if the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharâṇa* really has Bhoja for its author, the quotation from the Naishadhîya may be a later interpolation. It seems to me that the fact that Ś'rîharsha himself states that he was honoured by a king of Kanoj, and that Râjas'ekhara makes him the court poet of Jayachandra, who ruled over that town, establishes the poet's date as firmly as, in the absence of real historical works, we can hope to fix the date of any Sanskrit poet.

In conclusion I may add that Râjas'ekhara tells us in the *Harihara prabandha*, and other portions of his Kosha, that Harihara belonged to the family of Ś'rîharsha, and brought the first copy of the Naishadhîya with him to Gujarat, where Vâstupâla, the minister of Râṇa Viradhavala of Dholkâ (in A. D. 1235), obtained a copy of it. This story is at all events consistent with that of the Ś'rîharsha prabandha, and strengthens the credibility of the former.

* Hall, *Vâsavâdatta*, p. 18.

ART. IV.—*Discovery of complete Manuscript Copies of Bána's Harsha Charita, with an Analysis of the more important portions.* By BHÁ'U DA'JÍ, Esq., Hon. Mem. R. A. Society.

Read 10th August 1871.

The Harsha Charita of Bána.

A copy of the Harsha Charita of Bána, complete and accurate, with a Commentary, was discovered in Káshmir by a learned Paṇḍit who was formerly in my service.

He has, at my special request, been examining many valuable libraries in that ancient seat of Sanskrit learning, and has sent me copies of many valuable manuscripts not procurable or even heard of in other parts of India. Beautiful copies of the original text and commentary of the Harsha Charita were made for me, and they reached me on the 30th July 1869.

The copyist of the original has the two following verses at the end:—

“In the year 955, month Chaitra, 14th lunar day of bright demilunation, Monday, I have copied the most wonderful and instructive account of Mahárájá Harsha, composed by the ingenious and learned Bána.”

Neither the era nor the name of the copyist is given.

The copy now in my possession is far more correct than those hitherto procurable, and also has the merit of being a complete one.

The copies procured by my friend Dr. FitzEdward Hall were all incomplete, as was also one which was procured for me by my Paṇḍit, Páṇḍurang Gopál Pádhyé, twelve years ago, and of which I sent a copy to the learned Bábu Rájendralál Mitra in 1861.

The work is divided into eight parts (*ucchvásas*). The eighth part has not hitherto been found complete; and the discovery of the Káshmir manuscript, containing as it does all the parts in full, thus renders the work complete throughout, and at the same time removes

an impression which naturally arose, that, from some unknown cause, the author did not live to complete his work, and that it was thus brought to an abrupt termination.

The commentary is styled "Harsha Charita Sanketa." Its author is a Paṇḍit named S'ankara, the son of Punyákara. His age and country are not given, but, as the commentary has only been found in Káshmir I feel justified in supposing him to have been a native of Káshmir. He quotes the Amara Kosha, Raghu Kávya, Medical Nighantas, and other comparatively ancient works. The commentary is brief, but ably written, and is composed of a little more than two thousand verses. The copy sent is unusually free from mistakes. From the expressions "ityeké," "ityannyé," ("others explain it thus"), which frequently occur, it appears that there were other glosses preceding this one of S'ankara Paṇḍit. With the assistance of this commentary, doubtful readings have been corrected, and I hope to publish soon an excellent edition of Bána's Harsha Charita, with the commentary of S'ankara. The names of the poets Kálidása, Rájas'ekhara, and Bhámaha are referred to. Although I have ventured to suggest that the commentator was a native of Káshmir, yet he betrays extreme ignorance of the history of that country. In commenting on the following verse of Bána in the introduction, he proceeds to explain that "Pravarasena was a certain poet," the real fact being that Pravarasena was a distinguished king of Káshmir, who, in my opinion, was a contemporary of Hiouen T'sang. The commentary is rare even in Káshmir. The Paṇḍit in whose library it was found was not himself aware of its existence. It has now been brought to the notice of many Káshmir Paṇḍits by the eulogies of my Paṇḍit, and many copies are being made by them.

An excellent abstract of the manuscript is given by Dr. Hall in his notes on his learned Preface to the Vásavadatta of Subandhu, published in Calcutta in 1859 in the Bibliotheca Indica. I shall commence nearly where Dr. Hall concludes (p. 53):—

"Rájá Harsha, having entered the wilds of the Vindhya mountains, travelled in all directions for many days for the discovery of his sister, Rájya S'rí. He met a Chief named Vyághraketu, son of S'arabhaketu. He introduced to the King, Nirgháta, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bhúkampa S'abaras. The King made inquiries of the S'abara Chief regarding Rájya S'rí; he replied that no woman answering to the descrip-

tion given by the King was known to have been seen in his jungles, but promised to make vigorous efforts for her discovery. He remarked that at the distance of two miles, on a hill with a thick wood at its base, there resided, with a number of disciples, a Bauddha Bhikshu, a mendicant (Pindapáti)* named Divákaramitra, who might possibly have heard of Rájya S'rí. Hearing this, the King thought that Maitráya-
 níya† (Bṛáhmaṇa) Divákaramitra, the friend of Grahavarma, having abandoned the "way of the Vedas," in his youth put on brown clothes and embraced the Saugata creed. King Harsha, taking the S'abara Chief with him, proceeded to the abode of Divákaramitra. He admired the mountain scenery on the way, and got down from his conveyance on approaching the hermit's residence. Having placed his hand on Mádhavagupta's shoulder, he with a few Chiefs walked on. He found there followers of various schools, viz., Vítarágas, A'rhatas, Maskarins, Svetapatas, Pátarabhikshus (commentator), (in the text, Páñḍuri-bhikshu), Bhágavatas, Varnins, Kes'alunchakas, Káпилas, Kánádas, Aupanishadas, Ais'varas, Karanins, Kárandhamins, Dharmas'as-trins, Pauránikas, Saptatantavas, S'abdas, Páncharátrikas, and others. He also met Divákaramitra Bhikshu, and made him obeisance. Divákaramitra, seeing the King, said, "To-day our austerities have, even in this life, borne us good fruit by giving us a sight of the beloved of the gods; at the expense of my own body, I am ready to do the King's business." The King made inquiries regarding Rájya S'rí. It so happened that Rájya S'rí was at this time making preparations for self-cremation. An old female companion of Rájya S'rí went to a

* Pindapáti is the name to be found in this work of Bána for Bauddha mendicants. They went from house to house, begging for rice pindas or balls. See also Málati-Mádhava, Act I., in which the commentator Jagaddhara explains the word Pindapáta, as "Bhikshábhramana," "the begging-round" of a Bauddha Bhikshu.

† This Maitráyaⁿiya Bṛáhmaṇa appears to have lived at the foot of the Vin-dhyas. At the present day at Bhaḍgáon and other conterminous villages near the Sátpuḍa mountain, which is included in the Vindhya, there are Bṛáhmaṇas of the Maitráyaⁿiya school. They are rarely found in other places, and when they are, they may generally be traced to Bhaḍgáon. This is stated by me on the authority of several Bṛáhmaṇas of this school. It is remarkable to trace the residence of this class of Bṛáhmaṇas from the time of Harsha Vardhana to the present day. Other classes of Bṛáhmaṇas do not eat with them, and the reason may have been the early Buddhist tendencies of many of them.

disciple of Divákaramitra and said, "O mendicant! Pravrajyá (the vow to abandon all worldly enjoyments) is generally full of mercy to all beings, and Saugatas (Buddhists) are ever intent on fulfilling the vow, to suffer themselves for the relief of the sufferings of others. The teaching of the Lord S'ákya Muni is the family abode of mercy. The goodness of Jina is ever ready for the benefit of the whole world, and the religious law (*dharma*) of the Munis is a way of securing future bliss. There is no meritorious action more praised in the world than that of saving life. Pray, therefore, prevent my companion from destroying herself by fire." "My Guru (master)," said the disciple, "is verily a second Sugata (Buddha); when I relate to him this account, he is sure to come. He is full of pity. By the good words of Sugata, calculated to pierce the dark veil of sorrow, and by his own discourses, with illustrations culled and rendered weightier from the various A'gamas (scriptures), he would lead the good-natured lady to the path of knowledge."

Accordingly a Bhikshu (mendicant) came and said, "A woman in sorrow is ready to destroy herself by fire, not far from this abode." Hearing this, the King, with Divákaramitra, proceeded quickly, followed by the King's retinue, to the place of the fire. With great difficulty she was persuaded to abandon her purpose, and they having succeeded in consoling her and soothing her sorrows, treated her to a dinner. The Rájá heard all that had happened from the time she was put in confinement in Kányakubja, and from which she was released by a descendant of the Gupta kings. She then heard of the death of Rájya Vardhana, her eldest brother, on which she left off food and drink, and wandered through the woods of the Vindhya. Overcome with sorrow, she made preparations to burn herself. All this the King heard from her attendants.

The King and his sister were sitting under a tree, and, seeing the attendants at a distance, Divákaramitra approached the King and said, 'O King, Chandra took by violence Tára, the wife of Bṛihaspati. Still he used to suffer pangs from her separation. On one occasion he saw his own image reflected in the sea, and, being overwhelmed with passion and the thought of Tára, his tears fell fast, and being swallowed by the shells in the sea were converted into pearls. These came into the possession of Vásuki (the king of Nágas). He strung them together. They possessed the power of destroying poison and producing

a cooling sensation, and Vásuki wore them for that purpose. To procure some, the Nágás brought Nágárjuna Bhikshu to Pátála (the lower regions). Nágárjuna having asked for them, Vásuki presented them to him. Afterwards Nágárjuna presented them to Sátaváhana Narendra, the lord of the three seas, and his personal friend. In time, handed from master to disciple, they have at length come to my hands; accept them that they may protect you from poison (evil)." Having thus said, he unloosed the 'ekávati' tied in a knot in a Bhikshu's cloth ('chívara') and attached it to the King's shoulders. After a time, a maid of Rájya S'rí (whose duty it was to present the betel-leaf for chewing) approached the King and spoke lowly as follows:—"Mahárája, through me Rájya S'rí begs to say to you that to women a husband or child is a support. To those who have neither, life is full of sorrows. Give therefore your permission for me, Rájya S'rí, to put on the brown garments (the sign of devotion to the mendicant order)." The Rájá made no answer, but Divákara Bhikshu said, "This your elder brother Harsha is to you like your father, and it is proper that you should live under his commands." Rájá Harsha addressed Divákaramitra, "You are like a pillar of support to people in sorrow. I therefore say that this my sister in her youth has been afflicted with sorrow, and I have resolved to slay the family of the enemy who killed my brother. Until this resolution of mine is carried into effect, I am anxious she should be with me, and so should you, that with religious consolation you may comfort her till my wishes are fulfilled. She and I shall accept the brown garments at the same time." The Bhadanta agreed to the King's request. The Rájá, with the Bhadanta and others, went to his army. The sun set, and the moon rose and shone beautifully."

The following is a careful translation of a passage which is of importance as containing a number of historical data. It has been translated in the preface to the *Vásavadatta* by Dr. Hall as follows:—

"Skandagupta, while counselling Harsha to avenge the murder of his brother, consoles him by recapitulating historical instances of untimely death. The learned commandant had heard of numerous mischances of this kind, which are now known only by his retail of them. Nágasena, of the Nága family, was destroyed at Padmavátí; perfidy abridged the days of S'rutavarman at Srávastí, and of Swarnachúda the Yavana. Mártikávanta lost his life from talking in his sleep. Agnimitrá's son Sumitra was slain by Múladeva; Bṛihadhratha, the Maurya, by his own general, Pushpamitra; Kákavarna, lord of Chaudí, by a descend-

ant of S'is'upála ; Devabhúti, the S'aunga, through the instrumentality of his own minister, Vásudeva ; Mágadha, by the counsellor of the governor of Mekhalá ; Jaghanyaja, son of Pradyota, by Tálajangha ; a Gajapati king of Videha, by Kumárasena, in the guise of a leech ; Bhadrāsena, king of Kalinga, by Vírasena, his brother ; Vajraprabháva, ruler of Karúsha, by his younger son ; a prince of the S'akas at Nalinapura, by Chandragupta, habited as a woman ; Chandraketu, prince of the city of Chakora, by an emissary of King S'údraka ; Mahásena, prince of Kás'í, by Suprabhá ; a duke of Ayodhya by Ratnavatí ; Rantideva, by Rangavatí, one of his wives ; Vidúratha by Bindumatí ; Vírasena, of Sauvira, by Hansavatí ; and Soma, a monarch of the Púrus, by a woman of his own race. Devasena, of Sumha, was poisoned by Devakí ; and Bharata, who reigned over A'smaka, was also cut off before his time, as were Pushkara, prince of Chámundi ; Kshetravarman, the Maukhari ; Bṛihadratha, of Mathura ; Vatsapati ; King Varnatála ; and S'ais'unáli, who committed suicide."

My translation of the same from my more perfect copy is as follows :—

Nágasena, of the Nága family, was destroyed at Padmávati, from his secrets having oozed out. Perfidy abridged the days of S'rutarman at S'rávasti, and at Mṛittikávati, Svarnachúda lost his life from talking in his sleep. A Yavana king was destroyed by his female chouri-bearer from her reading a letter reflected in his head-ornament. Bṛihadratha, king of Mathura, was led by his avarice to dig for buried treasure, and killed by his troops. Vatsapati (*i.e.*, I suppose, Udayana, king of Vatsa ; see Kathá Sarit Ságara), who was fond of sporting in the elephant jungle, was made prisoner by soldiers of Mahásena (Chanda Pradyota of Ujjayini) concealed in an artificially constructed elephant. Mitradeva, having joined a company of actors, cut off the head of Sumitra, the son of Agnimitra (who was very fond of dancing), just as a lotus should be sliced off. A king of As'maka, fond of music, had his head cut off by enemies who presented themselves as students of music anxious to learn the science from him, and who had concealed a sharp sword in a *viná* (musical instrument). Bṛihadratha, the Maurya, a fool, was crushed at a grand review by his own general, the treacherous (*anárya*, low) Pushpamitra.* S'aisúnági † (S'aisúnári in the text) was carried by force, in a machine moving in the air (was this a balloon?), which was constructed by Yavanas (Greeks), and had his throat cut near the

city. The S'unga, full of lust and addicted to women, was killed by his minister Vasudeva, through the instrumentality of the daughter of a female servant of Vasubhúti, dressed and introduced as a queen. A king of Magadha, fond of excavations in the earth, was carried off through a tunnel (full of the jingling noise of the feet-ornaments of many women) in the Godhanagiri (a mountain named Surpa, † according to the annotator) to their own country by the ministers of the king of Mekala (the Vindhya, according to the commentator). At a festival of Mahákála (in Ujjayini), Tálajangha Vetála (Chief of Evil Spirits) killed Kumárasena, a Paunaki (born in the Punnaka family), the youngest son of Pradyota (Pratodya in the text), whilst foolish enough to go and offer to sell "Mahámánasa." § Gaṇapati, the son of the king of Videha, addicted to alchemy and medical preparations, after hearing how many persons had benefited by their medicines, was induced by quacks to submit to their treatment, which caused him to be affected with consumption. Bhadrasena of Kalinga, who trusted entirely to women, was destroyed by his eldest queen's brother, who concealed himself in a secret place in a wall. Dadhna, son of the king of the Karushas, who was trying to place another son on his throne, was killed by his own son, Vírasena, who was sitting on his mother's bed. S'údraka killed Chandraketu, the lord of Chakora, with his ministers, coming to hear of his intention to remove him (S'údraka) from office (of chief minister, I presume). Pushkara, king of Chámundi (city, Chámundá according to the commentator), who was fond of killing rhinoceroses, was killed by the soldiers of the king of Champá, who concealed themselves in a jungle amongst reeds and shrubs. Kshatravarmá, of the Maukhari family, a fool and fond of praise-singers, was rooted out by Mankhas (praise-singers), who were ever crying out "success," but were in reality employed as assassins (by his enemies). In Aripuri, a Śakapati (king of Śakas, Śakáchárya, according to the commentator), an adulterer was punished (killed) by Chandragupta, who presented himself in the dress of a woman.

The misfortunes which have befallen the careless through the treachery of women are well known to the king; such as Mahásena,

* Mentioned by Patanjali, and apparently his contemporary.

† One of the ten Sis'unágas. See Vishnu-purána.

‡ There is a hill near Kannada in Kbándesh called Surpala.

§ See Málati-Mádhava. Mádhava went to the great burning-ground at midnight and offered to the spirits his own flesh. He there found Málati.

prince of the Kás'ís, was killed with food mixed with poisoned honey, by Suprabhá, that her son might succeed to the throne. Járúthya, a king of Ayodhyá, a source of irritation to his enemies, was killed by his wife, Ratnavati, by throwing a sharp-edged circular mirror at him, pretending only to play and joke with him. A king of Saumha, named Devasena, was killed by his queen Devaki (who had illicit intercourse with his brother) by mixing poison with the blue lotus adorning her ears. Rantideva, prince of Vairanti (city), was killed by his wife Vallabhá, with her ankle-ornament, on account of jealousy of his other wife. Vidúratha, the Vrishni, was killed by Vindumati by an instrument concealed in the folds of her hair. Vírasena of Sauvira by his wife Hansavati, by means of a poisoned stone in her waistband. Somaka, of the Púrus, by his wife Paurav, by taking a mouthful of poisoned liquor and inducing her husband to drink it from her mouth.

ART. V.—*Transcript and Translation of King Rudradeva's
Inscription at Anamkonda.* By BHA'U DA'JI', Esquire, Hon.
Mem. R. A. Society.

Read 10th August 1871.

1. Svasti! May there be prosperity, success, and perpetual increase!

Peace! May the successful reign of King (Rajúla) Rudradeva, of the Kákatiya dynasty, last with ever-increasing prosperity as long as the moon, sun, and stars exist; the king who had the five great epithets, he Mahámandales'vara, Anmakundá-purayares'vara (sovereign of Anmakundá city), the lord of the great kings, doer of good, adorned with humility, the prosperous Mahámandales'vara.

In (?) Anmakondapattana munanda, where there is joyousness of stories of happiness (buna) buseyu chunanda, in S'aka year 1064, vanenti in the year Chitra bhánu pukha 12, Vaddhavára (Wednesday or Thursday?) munádu tanashera Rudres'vara Munu, S'rí Vásudeva, S'rí Súryadeva, were established (anupratisthá Seyinche).

I praise Hari as Varáha, to whom, at the time of upheaving, the land dashed the skies with high waves, and yet the waters of the seven oceans reached only the point of the nail of his feet; the point of whose tusk was a cottage in which were placed the three worlds as a drop of water; the rays from whose hairpits (?) were like Brahmandas (Brahmá's eggs).

2. O Haremba! mayest thou be propitious to me, thou who art the asylum of the collections of the smelling organs of the bees, attracted by the growing scent of the masses of opening buds of the Mogra entangled in thy long tresses; thou who art the seat of the intense splendour of that lustrous tooth the unparalleled majesty of which (splendour) completely extinguishes that of the teeth of the .

3. May Sarasvatí ever reside in my mouth! she who is like a mother; who nourishes as it were with the waves of the ocean of milk; who is fair, as if created by the moon; and like a white statue, made of balls of rubbed sandalwood.

4. Achintendrawara, the disciple of Advayámrita Yati, the chief of the Bháradwája gotra; intimately familiar with the ceremonial of the Vedas; a prominent character, and the son of S'rí Rames'vara Díkshita, praises with zeal (or at the request of the Yati?) the genealogy of the good Rudranares'vara.

5. In the Kákatiya race was born a king named S'rímat Tríbhuvaṇa Malla, a chief among kings who reduce the wives of their powerful enemies to widowhood.

6. S'rí Malla-deva (*i.e.* Tríbhuvaṇa Malla) shone with splendour in the three worlds, a frontal ornament of the assembly of the Kákotyā kings; a source of agony to his enemies; a daily giver of wealth to proper objects; a giver of delight to the hearts of women; an uprooter of the masses of the wicked; a worshipper of the brilliant lotus of the feet of S'iva; who has reduced kings to submission.

7. His son became distinguished as Prolí-rája, the seat of the ambrosia of contemplation of the pair of lotuses of S'iva's feet. The spoiler of the prosperity (Saubbhágya) of the beauties (wives) of his enemies, the destroyer of the pride of the chiefs of his enemies; a lord of Lanká in respect to the pride of fighting without fear, in all directions.

8. He, in battle (Prolí-rája), an elephant bound down in an instant, S'rímat Tailapa-deva, the head ornament of the Chalukyās, who was skilled in riding elephants, whose deep attention was continually directed to war, and who was like a lotus. He (Prolí-rája), celebrated for cutting off the bulb of his enemies, in an instant released him (Tailapa) on being pleased with his faithfulness.

9. He also bound down and released Govinda-rája, skilful beyond comparison in hewing the face of the forces by the sharp edge of his irresistible battle-axe, and gave the kingdom to King Udaya. He (Prolí-rája), invincible to hundreds of enemies, without pity, despoiler of (Govinda-rája) in the battle-field as if in sport, a master (or teacher) of the vows of heroes, this Prolí-rája in anger attacked and shaved the

10. head of Gúdhaha (?), the shameless lord of the great Mantra-kúta city, who bore the insignia of the boar on his breast, and who, when called on to fight by the king, ran away like a lamb to his city.

11. And, secondly, he (Prolí-rája) resisted Jagaddeva, whose beauty was like that of a god on earth, and who, accompanied by many Man-

dalika-rájas, had laid siege to the city of Anumakonda, and who, being unable to accomplish his object, retired in an instant. How is it possible to describe sufficiently the glory of the prosperous Proli-rája ?

12. His chief queen was Muppamá, endowed with virtues, with fame like the moonlight in the S'arat season (October and November) ; with brilliant beauty beyond comparison ; virtuous like Kausalyá and Jánakí, and great as Kunti, Lakshmi, Paulomí (the wife of Indra), and Chandiká.

13. Of her was born for the good of the world a son named S'ri Rudra-deva, a sprout of the chief bulb of supreme joy. Was he not Cupid himself ? was he not Skanda, the son of S'iva or Jayanta, or Jishnu (Indra), the holder of the Vajra (thunderbolt), or Hari, or as As'vini Kumara ? A humble devotee of S'ri Gírsa.

14. This Rudra king, defeated—repeatedly compelled to fly away by hundreds of bright arrows, as if in sport, and as Arjuna defeated Karna—Doma, of exceedingly elegant prowess ; and practised in leading (*lit.* riding) masses of tall and excellent cavalry ; and returned to his city, which contained everything that is remarkable.

15. [The transliteration of this verse is unsatisfactory, from imperfections in the copy, but I glean from it that Rudra-deva defeated S'rímat Meliga-deva, ruler of a country called S'rípalavása.]

16. The frightful mungoose Bhíma overcame the cobra named Gokarna, who boasted of his bravery, and was of low family. In that state he was instantly destroyed, just as a house-mouse would be killed in great darkness by a young cat.

17. The soul of Chodádaya-rája, an ornament of his race, was frightened by the lustrous weapon of paralyzing fear produced from the prowess of S'rímat Rudra (the king), and departed to the higher regions as if from madness or forgetfulness, as if pursued by the great Bhuta (spirits), as if from agony and confusion.

18. From sheer fright of the valorous king S'ri Rudradeva, King Tailapa was afflicted with diarrhœa and became emaciated. And although this resulted in death, Bhíma ventured to succeed to the fleeting royal dignity.

19. Just as a young jackall, surrounded by many younger ones, imagining himself to be a king, despises the rest of the world, and

filling with his cries all the quarters, attempting to measure his strength with a lion, is nowhere at the fright of the shaking of the mane.

20. So Bhíma, the vilest of kings, a brute among men, the husband of his step-mother, who killed an eminent brother at dinner, intent upon attempts at swallowing the skies, ascended the point of the great peak of the mountain of pride, increased by envy, ventured to defy the terrible S'rí Rudra-deva.

21. Thereon, Rudra-vares'vara, hearing of the wealth of king Bhíma, and having heard of his wicked acts from secret agents (or emissaries), commenced to make preparations for a successful expedition. He who was never opposed by an enemy with all the lines of his forces, with the palas (?) all armed, with joy quickly proceeded for S'rí
.....At the time of marching on his successful expedition, and at the beating of the Bheri (drum), the excitement (*lit.* sorrow) produced from its sounds, the masses of clouds dropped down, the earth trembled, the mountains shook. Kúrma (the tortoise) was troubled; S'esha (the serpent) became insensible; the Diggajas (elephants of the eight quarters) became distressed.

22. During the king's progress on the occasion of the unparalleled battle, the rajas frenzied and looking in all directions, when their ears filled by the deep reverberations of the Bheri, began to tremble through fear. From the fear of Rudra-deva, abandoned their treasures and homes, their horses and elephants on the road, their relatives at half-way, their families in the forts.

The king, having rapidly advanced a few steps, and like the pounding of corn, the fire of his anger intensified by the knitting of his eyebrows, performed a (*homa*) sacrifice by offering the ancient city of Vardhamána as a first holocaust.

23. Bhíma was filled with terror at the sight of the king, as Bhíma (one of the Páñḍavas) was, at the sight of King Duryodhana (of the Kauravas); with trembling body, having abandoned everything, with his brother (or brothers), mother, and wife, shamelessly fled to the jungle.

24. The king pursued him, and burnt, as Hanuman burnt Lanká, the minor town of Chodádaya (or Bodádaya), (a chief) comparable to the city of the gods, beautiful by the amorous sports of numbers of women.

25. He cut down the jungle remarkable for its inaccessible entrances, and in the centre of the city he constructed a wonderful lake.

26. How is it possible to describe the heroism of Rudra-deva, the Lord of the earth? the destroyer of the pride of the small family of Kshatriyas; the possessor of the wealth of the whole world; the main support of the wealth produced from the womb of the illustrious ocean of milk of the family of (King) Kaṇḍúrádaya Chodavansa (of the Choda dynasty), just as Ráma (Paras'u Ráma) strung a line of enemies hewn by his battle-axe.

27. Seeing the march of the king's forces, the enemies fled, and the earth was pounded by the hoofs of high-prancing steeds, and the sky was filled by numbers of beautiful umbrellas, and the eight quarters were occupied by masses of Chamaras, beautiful like a number of full-moons.

28. Rájas, like Bhíma, living between Kánc'hí-mandala and to the Vindhya (mountain), of whom Rudra-deva was informed daily, having a vision of the assemblage of the wives of the immortals, fell into a trance for a long time, and, looking up for support, returned to King Rudra.

29. I praise the king Rudra. He made hundreds of wise men, the main vessel of his magnificence, and yet pride was not permitted to enter his heart. The ocean making S'rí Purushottama (Viṣṇu) a vessel of its wealth, wakens the earth by the noise of its waves.

[This verse is only one-half.]

30. The king conducts himself in this world like Sátanand (Brahmá), the latter being Nyagbhútikrita-rája hansamákara, *i. e.* the one who has placed under him rows of royal geese (Brahmá's Váhana is represented as being carried by geese); the same adjective belongs to the former; as one who placed royal geese (rájas) under him; Brahma is Padmodbhavaikás'raya, the chief support (of the world), born from the lotus; the king is the same, as he is the chief support of the prosperity of Padma (the goddess of wealth). Brahmá is Kalpákliptagat, one who is destined to live as long as the Kalpa; the king is also Kalpákliptagati, *i. e.* one having proper and certain knowledge.

31. Rudra is Kes'ava (Kṛiṣṇa) himself; the former is Satyasak-tamana, *i. e.* one whose mind is intent on truth; Kes'ava is the same,

i. e. one whose mind is devoted to Satyá (*i. e.* to Satyabhamá, his wife). The one is Nirastanarakakles'ah, *i. e.* he who has removed the miseries of hell. Kes'ava is the same, one who removed the terrors of Narakásura. The one is Lakshmyás'raya, the abode of Lakshmi (wealth); the other, the support (husband) of Lakshmi.

The one is Pṛithvíbhṛta, the protector of the earth; so is Kes'ava. The one is Anantabhogamilalja, the abode of infinite enjoyment; so is Kes'ava, who sleeps on the body of the serpent Ananta. The one is ever Dvijendrapriyah, the lover of the best of Brāhmanas; so is Kes'ava, ever the friend of Dvijendra, the king of birds (garuda). The one is Dushtarishtha vimardanah, the remover of evil calamities; the other, the destroyer of the wicked Arishta (a giant). The one fulfils the wishes of the learned; the other who grants the prayers of the gods (sumanasabhyarthitharthaprada). The one is gotraprodharanah, *i. e.* one who raises his family to distinction; the other raised gotra (the Govardhana hill): The one is Sudarsanadharah, *i. e.* he who holds good doctrines or who looks excellent; the other is the holder of Sudarsána, wheel or disc.

32. Rudra-deva appears beautiful with the numerous rows of necklaces of the pearls (drops) dropping from the forehead of the tall elephants in the incomparable battle-field; he shone like heaps of the petals of blue lotuses, like the beautiful eyes of the wife (Psyche) of Cupid, the god who was in terror of Rudra's (S'iva's) anger.

33. Whilst Rudra-deva ruled over the earth, the title of Rájá was given only to the moon, not to the greatest among men. Roughness existed only in the Chandratilaka, not in the rich. Brightness existed only in the sun, not in the multitude of enemies. The catching of hair was confined to the act of copulation (not in fighting). The holding of sticks was confined to Yatis (ascetics); no *danda* or fine was exacted from the mass of the people. Disputation was confined to the S'ástras () not in social intercourse. There was no *mathana* (punishing) of the wicked; it was reserved only for the Arni wood (by rubbing which, fire is produced for the Agnihotra and Vedic sacrificés).

34. The extent of his charity was limited only by the relief of poverty; of his might, by the destruction of his enemy; of his wisdom, by that of the four-faced (Brahmá); of his good qualities, by infini-

tude ; of his brightness, by the heating of the sun ; of his fame by the three worlds. His attention to Dharma was without limit, and his mind was brilliant.

35. Ocean ! although thou art spread everywhere ; although thou art exalted ; although thou art the single support of the great ; although thou art the birthplace of S'ri (wealth) ; although thy heart is inclined to favour ; although thou art the abode of gems, yet thou wert drunken by the pitcher-born (Agasti) and became Sattith. But the king Rudra (to whom the adjectives applied to the ocean are also applicable) is not as thou art ; and vainly do not try to rival him.

36. Verily Rudra-deva was formed by the lotus-born (Brahmá-deva), selecting with joy—literally, from the Kalpa Vriksha ; greatness from him of Golden-body's peak (Meru mountain) ; courage from the son of Das'ratha (Ráma) ; strength, from Purabhit (Indra) ; gaiety (or depth) from the ocean ; beauty from him with the (Dragon) Makara flag (Cupid) ; love of learning from the teacher of the Suras (Bṛihaspati).

37. The moon at present appears beautiful as the lily in his ocean of milk of success. The sun appears like the expanded lotus ; the moving cloud (*lit.* sky), like the blue lotus ; the stars, like clear bubbles ; the quarters, like the coast ; the three worlds, like the series of waves. And how wonderful ! Success to S'ri Rudra-deva !

38. Imagine that to the successful prosperity approaching the victorious Rudra-deva, and to the fame proceeding from him to the distant quarters across the stream of blood, having flesh for shining mud, the fallen heads of enemies cut off by the sword in battle served as stepping stones ; and the spasmodic (*lit.* dancing) headless bodies served as little boats.

39. His city named Anumakonda is like the capital of the goddess of wealth, and prospers from the sword and battle-axe residing there permanently. It is rati-mati (beloved) like the city of Cupid, which is rati-mati (having Psyche in it) and full of S'ringára (gay life). Like the city of the great Indra with Jishṇu, Vishṇu (Anumkonda having temples of Jishṇi and Vishṇu) and the sports of Rambhá (Rambhá vilása) whilst Anumkonda had Rambhá vilása, *i. e.* abundance of plantain trees.

40. In it women are Makarketu's (Cupid's) favourite residence (*lit.* capital city), whose eyes are like the petals of the full blue lily,

whose bodies are spare, and who are the frontal ornaments of the most beautiful women in the three worlds, and who are bowed down by high and full breasts.

41. Where in the houses of the chief of the twice-born, the parrots, though prevented, commit to memory, along with the little boy, the Vedas, with all their Angas and all their deliberations with their Padas and Krama, and which (the Vedas) are the objects of study by the virtuous.

42. Where the five words of young parrots picked up from expressions dropt during amatory intercourse, and which (words) are like the full moon to the tempestuous ocean of the excitement of desire of gallants in the habitations of harlots, are in daytime heard in all directions.

43. The body of cavalry of S'ri Rudra-deva does not jump across the sky, only because it is the footmark (Pada) of Viṣṇu. It does not touch the earth with its feet, because it (the earth) is a god (cow). It fills all the quarters in the battle-field by its prancing; threatening the enemies every day, it causes them to fly and slays them.

44. His horses were of beautiful make, of low voice, and possessed of all the illustrious qualities mentioned in the various treatises on the horse, with a body full of agility and strength, hardy and trained in the five kinds of paces.

45. His extensive dominions reached the shores of the ocean (*lit.* salt sea) and to the S'ri S'aila mountains in the south, as far as the western countries, as far as Cuttak (in the east). On the north, as far as the fine country of Málavanta (the country in the neighbourhood).

Transcript of Rudra-deva's Inscription.

ॐ स्वस्तिश्रीर्विजयोभ्युदयश्च भवतु ॥ स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दम-
हामंडलेश्वरअन्मकुंडापुरवेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरपतिहितचरितविनयविभूषणश्री-
मन्महामंडलेश्वरकाकतीयरुद्रदेवराजुलविजयराज्यमुत्तरोत्तराभिवृद्धिप्रवर्धमा-
नमाचन्द्रार्कतारमुगाअन्मकौडपट्टनमुनंदुसुखसंकथाविनोदंबुनराज्यं वृसेयुचु-
नुंड शकवर्षमुलु १०६४ वनेटिचित्रभानुसंक्तरमापुख १२ बट्टुवारमुनांडुत-
नषेररुद्रेश्वरमुनुश्रीवासुदेवरश्रीसूर्यदेवरानुप्रतिष्ठासेधिचे ॥

यस्योत्तुंगतरंगताडितवियत्सप्तार्णवीयं जलं पादांगुष्ठनखाग्रदघ्नमभवद्भू-
मंडलोद्धारणे ॥ दंष्ट्राकोटिकुटीरकोटरगतं त्रैलोक्यमखिन्दुवदब्रह्माण्डाइव
रोमकंदरकरा वंदे वराहं हरिं ॥ १ ॥ श्रीहेरंबविलंबिकुंतलमिलनमल्लीदल-
त्कुडुलव्रातेजृभितगंधलुब्धमधुपघाणोत्करस्यास्पदं ॥ स्फीतप्रीतमनाभवत्त-
मिह मे दिग्दंतिदंतद्वृति प्रोक्षामोदलनैकविक्रमलसदंतातिकान्ध्याश्रयः ॥२॥
मातेव दुग्धलहरीभिरुदंचतीव दुग्धोदधेरमृतदीधितिनिर्मितेव ॥ श्रीखंडपि-
डपरिपाण्डुरपुत्तलीव कक्के वसलविरतं तु सरस्वती नः ॥३॥ भारद्वाजकुलश्रि-
यःपरिवृद्धश्रौतक्रियाकर्म्मठःश्रीरामेश्वरदीक्षितोजनयिता यस्य क्षितावग्रणीः॥
सोचिंतैद्रवरोद्धयामृतयतेःशिष्योयतेः श्रद्धया श्रीमद्गुद्रनरेश्वरस्य सुमतेर्वंशाव-
लिं वर्णये ॥ ४ ॥ श्रीमन्निभुवनमलो राजा काकत्यवंशसंभूतः ॥ प्रबलरि-
पुवर्गनारीवैधव्यविधायकाचार्यः ॥ ५ ॥ श्रीकाकत्यनेन्द्रवृंदतिलको वैरी-
न्द्रहन्तापकः सत्पात्रे वसुदायकः प्रतिदिनं कान्तामनोरंजकः ॥ दुष्टानां
चयदूषकः पुरहरः श्रीपादपद्मार्चको न्यग्भूतीकृतनायकस्त्रिभुवने श्रीमल्लदे-
वो बभौ ॥ ६ ॥ तत्पुत्रः शिवपादपद्मयुगलध्यानामृनानंदभूर्लुंठाकोरिपुसुंद-
रीजनमहासौभाग्यसंपच्छ्रियः ॥ प्रोलीराज इति प्रसिद्धिमगमद्वैरीन्द्रदर्पापहो
निःशंकप्रधनप्रबंधनमहाहंकारलंकेश्वरः ॥ ७ ॥ हस्यारोहणकर्मकर्मठगति
चालुक्यचूडामणिं शश्वदुद्धनिबद्धगव्हरमतिं युद्धे बबंध क्षणात् ॥ श्रीमत्सैल
पदेव मंजुजमिव स्तंबेरमस्तं क्षणात्प्रस्थ्यातोरिपुकंठखंडनविधौ भक्त्यानुरागा-
ज्जहौ ॥ ८ ॥ यो कुंठोरिशतैरकुंठपरशुश्लक्ष्णाग्रधारोत्सद्धारापातनिपातनैक-
चतुरं (गो) विंदराजाब्धयं ॥ बध्वोन्मुच्य तदोदयक्षितिभृते राज्यं ददौ
लीलया लुंठाकोविदयस्य तस्य समरे सद्दीरदीक्षागुरुः ॥ ९ ॥ कुद्धेनोद्गुर-

मंत्रकूटनगरीनायस्तु यो निस्त्रपो गूढः खंडितएव मुंडितशिराः क्रोडांक-
वक्षस्थलः ॥ एडोडिभकवत्पलायनपरो जातो गतः स्वां पुरीमाहूतोपि नृपे-
श्वरस्य पुरतः प्रोलेन युद्धाय यत् ॥ १० ॥ अन्यच्चानुमकौडनामनगरीं सं-
वेष्ट्य योयं स्थितो नानामंडलिकान्वितोभुवि जगदेवत्सदेवप्रभः ॥ स्तब्धस्तंभि-
तएव कार्यकरणे शक्तः क्षणाभिर्गतः श्रीमत्प्रोलनृपस्य तस्य जयिनः किं ब्रूम-
हे गौरवं ॥ ११ ॥ देवीमुष्पमनामधेयसहिता यस्यागुणाः सारकाः कीर्तिः
शारदचंद्रिकेव विलसत्कान्तेस्तु नैवोपमा ॥ कौशल्येव च जानकीव च
सती कुंतीव पथेव सा पैलोमीव च चंडिकेव च वरा तस्याभवद्भामिनी
॥ १२ ॥ तस्यास्तस्य सुतोजनीह परमानंदैककंदांकुरः कामः किं नल-
कूबरः शिवसुतः स्कंदो जयंतोथवा ॥ जिष्णु वज्रधरोथ वा हरिरयं दस्रौ
कुमारौ नतो भक्तः श्रीगिरिशे हिताय जगतः श्रीरुद्रदेवो नृपः ॥ १३ ॥
त्वंगन्तुगतुरंगपुंगवचयारोहक्रमे कर्मठंडोमं चारूपराक्रमक्रमभरं भंक्तासकृ-
लीलया ॥ कर्णं पार्थिवामलैः शरशतैर्विद्राव्य विद्राव्य येलेभे सर्वविशेषयुक्त-
नगरग्रामं सरुद्रोनृपः ॥ १४ ॥ . . . विडंबिडंबरभरक्षोदक्षमं क्षमाभृतां दुर्वारो-
द्गुरवीरमित्रसमयादानैकदीक्षागुरुं ॥ श्रीमन्मेलिगदेवसंगसमयप्रोद्भूतदर्पाहं
प्राप्तश्रीपलवासदेशविभवश्रीरुद्रदेवः सदा ॥ १५ ॥ भीमेन भीमनकुलेन
कुलेन हीनो ग्रस्तो ममार गृहमूषकवत्क्षणेन ॥ मार्जारडिभकवरेण महांध-
कारे गोकर्णनामभुजगो भुवि शूरमानी ॥ १६ ॥ श्रीमद्रुद्रपराक्रमोद्भवभय-
व्यामोहनाख्योलसच्छस्त्रस्तसमस्तगोत्रविलसच्चोडादयक्ष्मापतेः ॥ उन्म-
त्ता इव विस्मृता इव महाभूताभिभूता इव प्रोद्धांता इव संकुला इव तदा
प्राणाः प्रयाता दिवं ॥ १७ ॥ यातेपि तैलपनृपे दिवमस्य भीत्या सर्वातिसारक-
वलीकृतगात्रयष्टौ ॥ श्रीरुद्रदेवनृपतेः पृथुविक्रमस्य भीमोपि राज्यपदवीं क्ष-
णिकां स लेभे ॥ १८ ॥ एकोजंबुकडिभकोल(घु)तरैः संवे(ष्टि)तोजंबुकै
राजाहंकृतिधिकृतक्षितितलस्सिंहेन संस्पर्धते ॥ फेःकाराकुलगार्जितैर्मुखरय-
न्सर्वादिशोविह्लो यातः कापि सटाविधूननभरैः कंठीरवस्यातुरः ॥ १९ ॥
तद्वद्वीमनृपाधमोनरपशुर्मातुः सपत्न्याः पतिर्हता भ्रातृवरस्य भोजनविधौ भी-
मेन संस्पर्धते ॥ आकाशप्रसनप्रयासानिरतः श्रीरुद्रदेवेन यस्पर्धावर्धितगर्वपर्वत-
महाशृंगाग्रमारोहति ॥ २० ॥ श्रुत्वा भीमनृपस्य राज्यविभवं चारैश्च दुश्चे-
ष्टितं श्रीमद्रुद्रनरेश्वरोथ विजयप्रारंभसंभारभाक् ॥ जातोजातरिपुः समग्र

पतनामालापनीयोततः सद्यस्सज्जपलान्वितः प्रमुदितः शीघ्रं श्रियेनिर्गतः ॥ २१ ॥
 यस्योद्यद्दिजयप्रयाणसमये गंभीरभेरीभरद्वांकारोद्भवसंभ्रमव्यतिकरव्याजृम्भ-
 णोद्देगतः ॥ भ्रश्यंभ्रचया चलन्त्यवनयो भ्राम्यंत्समी भूधराः कूर्मस्ताम्यति मुह्यति
 द्विरसनः कुत्यन्ति दिक्कुंजराः ॥ २२ ॥ कोशान् गेहेष्वमुचन्यथि करितुरगान्बान्ध-
 वानर्धमार्गे दुर्गेष्वंतःपुराणि प्रतिरवचक्रिता रुद्रदेवस्य भीत्या ॥ यस्योद्योगे भ्र-
 मंतः समसमयसमारंभगंभीरभेरीभांकाराकीर्णकर्णज्वरभरतरलाः प्रेक्षिताशाः
 क्षितीशाः ॥ २३ ॥ गत्वा जवान्त्रिचतुराणि पदानि राजा सस्यस्य खंडनमिव
 प्रथमाहुतिं वा ॥ भ्रूंगवीक्षणविर्द्वितकोशवन्हौ यद्दृढमाननगरीं प्रथमां जुहा-
 व ॥ २४ ॥ यस्याक्षिवीक्षणभयाच्चकितस्तभीमो दुर्योधनस्य नृपतेरिव विव्ह-
 लंगः ॥ स्वभ्रातृमातृवनितासहितः समग्रलक्ष्मीं विहाय वनमेव ययौ विलज्जः
 ॥ २५ ॥ तत्पृष्ठतो नुच जगाम दहाह राजा चो(वो)डादयस्य नगरीमगरीय-
 सीं तां ॥ लंकांमिवामरपुरीसदृशीं मृगाक्षिश्रेणीविलासललितामिव चांजनेयः
 ॥ २६ ॥ लुलाव च वनं तस्य दुर्गमार्गलविभ्रमं ॥ तडागमक्रोत्तत्र पुरमध्ये-
 द्रुतं महत् ॥ २७ ॥ कंदूरादयचोडवंशविलसत्क्षीराब्धिगर्भोद्भवत्यैकाश्रयरू-
 द्रदेवनृपतेः किं वर्षते विक्रमः ॥ क्षुद्रक्षत्रकुलोन्नतिक्षयकृतः सर्वावनिश्रीभृतो
 रामस्येव कुठारखंडितरिपुत्रातस्य (प्रोतस्य) पृथ्वीपतेः ॥ २८ ॥ रंगचुंगतरं-
 गपुंगवबुरक्षुण्णं जगन्मंडलं ज्योत्स्नोलासिसदातपत्रनिकरव्याप्तं नभोमं-
 डलं ॥ पूर्णदूत्करचारुचामरचयैर्दिङ्मंडलं संभृतं दृष्ट्वा सैन्यविनिर्गमं नरपतेः
 प्रादुद्बुवुः शत्रवः ॥ २९ ॥ कांचीमंडलविध्यमध्यनिलया भीमादयः पार्थिवा-
 यस्य श्रोत्रपथं गता अहरहः श्रीरुद्रदेवस्य ते ॥ दृष्ट्वैवानिमिषा बभूवुरमरी-
 वर्गान् समर्यांश्चिरं प्रत्यावृत्त्य तमेव रुद्रनृपतिं प्राप्ताः शरण्यार्धिनः ॥ ३० ॥ रुद्रं
 स्तौमि नरेश्वरं बुधशतान्येकश्रियां भाजनं कृत्वा यस्य कदापि चेतसि मदा-
 शंका न संक्रामति ॥ एकः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं कलकलैः कृत्वा श्रियोभाजनं वीचीनां
 कुरुतेधुनापि वसुधामुज्जागरां सागरः ॥ ३१ ॥ न्यग्भूतीकृतराजहंसनिकरः प-
 द्रोद्भवैकाश्रयः कल्पाकृत्प्रगतिः क्षिताविह शतानंदस्ययं पार्थिवः ॥ सत्यासक्तमना
 निरस्तनरकक्लेशश्च लक्ष्म्याश्रयः पृथ्वीभृद्यदनंतभोगनिलयः शश्वद्विजैद्रप्रियः
 ॥ ३२ ॥ दुष्टारिष्टविमर्दनः सुमनसामभ्यर्थितार्थप्रदो गोत्रप्रोद्धरणः सुदर्शन-
 धरो रुद्रः स्वयं केशवः ॥ ३३ ॥ असमसमरसंगोचुंगमातंगकुंभस्थलविग-
 लितमुक्ताहारभाराभिरामः ॥ भवभवभयभाजो भामिनीभव्यनेत्रोत्पलदलचय-

भूषः (पः) शोभते रुद्रदेवः ॥ ३४ ॥ अस्मिन्प्रशासति महीं भुवि रुद्रदेवे
 राजाभिधा शशिनि नैव नरोत्तमेषु ॥ रूक्षत्वमिदुतिलके न धनाकुलेषु तेज-
 स्विता दिनकरे न च शात्रवेषु ॥ ३५ ॥ केशग्रहस्तुरतसंगरसंभ्रमेषु दंडग्रहोय-
 तिषु नैव जनोत्करेषु ॥ शास्त्रे विवादकथनं व्यवहारजं नो न कापि दुष्टमथनं
 मथनं वरण्यां ॥ ३६ ॥ दानं दैन्यपराभवावधि रिपुच्छेदावधिर्विक्रमश्चातुर्यं
 चतुराननावधि गुणग्रामस्त्वसंख्यावधिः ॥ तेजोभास्करतापनावधि यशोराशि-
 स्तु रुद्रस्य यस्त्रैलोक्याक्रमणवधिर्निरवाधिर्धर्मो मतिः शोभते ॥ ३७ ॥ प्राप्ता-
 शोपि महत्तरोपि महतामेकाश्रयोपि श्रियो जन्मस्थानमपि प्रसन्नहृदपि त्वं
 रत्नधामापि सन् ॥ पीतः कुंभसमुद्भवेन जलधिः ॥ क्षारस्समुद्रोयतो नैवं रुद्रनरे-
 श्वरोयममुना स्पृष्ट्वा वृथा माकृथाः ॥ ३८ ॥ औदार्यं सुरशाखिनः शिखरिणः
 स्वर्णाकृतेगौरवं धैर्यं दाशरथेर्बलं पुरभिदो गांभीर्यमभोनिधेः ॥ सौंदर्यं मकर
 रध्वजात्सुरगुरोर्विद्यारती कौतुकादादायाब्जसमुद्भवेन रचितः श्रीरुद्रदेवो ध्रुवं
 ३९ ॥ स्फायत्कैरवतीदुरंबुजपतिस्पष्टांबुजखंबरं लोलं नीलसरोजति स्फुट-
 यथादुग्धोदधौ संप्रति ॥ ज्योतीषि स्फुटबुद्बुदंतिहरितः कूलंति लोकास्त्रयश्चं-
 चद्वीचिचयंति यस्य जयति श्रीरुद्रदेवोद्भुतं ॥ ४० ॥ पादन्यासशिला शिरांसि
 समरे कृतानि खड्गेन यच्छत्रूणां पतितानि मांसविलसत्पंकेषु शके ह्यहं ॥
 रक्तस्रोतसि रुद्रदेवजयिनो नृस्यत्कबंधाः प्लवा आयांन्या विजयश्रियश्च सविधं
 कीर्तेः प्रयात्या दिशः ॥ ४१ ॥ तस्यास्तेनुमकौडनामनगरी श्रीराजधानीव या
 यत्रोद्यत्सदखंडखंडपरगुण्याजृम्भणोज्जृम्भिता ॥ कंदर्पस्य पुरीव सा रतिमती
 शृंगारभारान्विता माहेन्द्रीव च जिष्णुविष्णुसहिता रंभा विलासोर्जिता ॥ ४२ ॥
 यत्र स्त्रियोमकरकेतनराजधान्य आनीलनीरजपलाशदृशः कृशांग्यः ॥ त्रैलो-
 क्यसुंदरदृशां तिलकायमाना आपीनतुंगकुचकुंभभरालसांग्यः ॥ ४३ ॥ यत्र
 द्विजेन्द्रभवनेषु निवार्यमाणाः कीराः पठंति पटवो ब्रह्मिः समेताः ॥ सर्वाङ्ग-
 संगतसमस्तविचारचारुचारित्रचर्चितपदक्रमयुक्तवेदान् ॥ ४४ ॥ वेद्यागृ-
 हेषु सुरतोत्सवजातचेष्टाशब्दानुकारिशुक्रशावकचारुशब्दाः ॥ सर्वादिशो
 मुखरयन्ति दिवा विटानां कन्दर्पदर्पतरलार्णवपूर्णचंद्राः ॥ ४५ ॥ नातिक्रा-
 मति वैष्णवं पदामिति द्यां गौरितिहमामिमां पादैस्प्रक्ष्यति नो तुरङ्गमचयः
 श्रीरुद्रदेवस्य यः ॥ सर्वाशाः परिपूरयन्विजयते नृयेन संभीषयच्छत्रून्युद्धम-
 हीतले प्रतिदिनं विद्रावयन्मारयन् ॥ ४६ ॥ अतिरमणशरीरायेच नीचस्वरा-

द्व्याः सकलतुरगशास्त्रोद्भासिसलक्षणाद्व्याः ॥ जवभरभरिताङ्गाः सत्वसंपन्न-
गात्रा अतिचिरतरजीवाः पञ्चधारास्तुरङ्गाः ॥ ४७ ॥ राज्यं प्राज्यं लवणज-
लधेस्तीरपर्यन्तमस्य श्रीशैलान्तां प्रचरति सदा दक्षिणाशां समग्रां ॥ प्रातीच्या-
न्तां कटकनिकटस्थायिनीं राज्यलक्ष्मीः कौबेर्याशातटविलसिते माल्यवन्तप्र-
देशे ॥ ४८ ॥ अर्चनार्थमिह दत्तवान्महर्भन्दिचेरुवलनामखेटकं ॥ श्रीमहेश्वर-
विशौरिणे स्थिरं रुद्रदेवनृपतिर्मतस्ततां ॥ ४९ ॥

ART. VI.—*Revised Translation of the Inscription on the Bhítari Lát.* By BHA'U DA'JI', Esq., Hon. Mem. R. A. Society.

Read 13th April 1871.

The destroyer of all kings, an unsurpassable warrior in the world, whose victory is saturated by the four seas; comparable to Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra, Antaka; whose battle-axe is deadly; the giver of crores of gold (pieces) and of innumerable cows affording hundreds of benefits; the performer of the As'vamedha (horse-sacrifice) neglected for a long time: the great-grandson of Mahárájá S'rí Gupta; the grand son of Mahárájá S'rí Ghatokacha; the son of Mahárájádhirája S'rí Chandragupta; the son of Licchavi's daughter; born of Mahádeví Kumáradeví, (was) Mhárájádhirája S'ri Samudragupta; his son, born of his married wife Mahádeví (Queen) Datta-Deví (was) Mahápratiratha (the great unsurpassable warrior), Parama Bhágavata (the eminent devotee of Bhagavána [God]), Mahárájádhirája (the great king of kings) S'rí Chandragupta (2nd) his son, intent on his (father's) feet, was born of Mahádeví (Queen) Dhruva-Deví Parama Bhágavata Mahárájádhirája S'rí Kumára Gupta, whose talent and natural strength became renowned; whose glory is great; the son of this great lord of this earth was by name Skandagupta, whose wealth was like that of the gods: on the lotus of whose feet lay hundreds of hostile kings, whose glory is extensive; the lord of the earth; powerful in the strength of his arms in the world; an unparalleled hero in the Gupta dynasty, whose great glory is spread in all directions; who by his good qualities suffered not the virtuous state of the righteous to be destroyed, and caused his soul to attain (a high state?); who gradually, by great strength, eminent virtues, prowess, and by daily fighting battles, having obtained all he wished of the enemies intent upon gaining victory [*unintelligible*], bent upon re-establishing the lost prospects of the family, made the ground his bed for three months, and having taken (Pushya) mitra, whose strength and treasures had been eminently on the increase, he placed (his) left foot on the seat of the feet of kings (*i.e.* he conquered other kings). By those who attack with impetuosity, and by those the prowess of whose arms is

annihilated by
 mercy and bravery. Whose life of pure (white) glory is duly sung
 with joy by young and old in all quarters. Who conquered his ene-
 mies by the prowess of his arms. Who, after his father went to heaven,
 He recovered the lost wealth of the kingdom, as Kṛiṣṇa, after destroy-
 ing his enemies, approached (his mother) Devakī, with joy he repaired
 to his mother, who was full of tears, to say that he had conquered. . . .
 Having repaired the ruined Upendra-chalita (a temple of Vámana, an
 incarnation of Viṣṇu) : with his two arms, having conquered the earth,
 and having shown daily mercy to the distressed ; whose beauty was
 every day like that of the full moon, was neither filled with pride nor
 with despair. The community of A'ryas entertained him with songs,
 praises, and hundreds of poems
 In battle, had come to fight with Húnas?—with both arms and trem-
 bling of the earth created fearful whirlpools arrows to enemies
 distinguished in the ear, the sound of
 the Ganges father's fame with
 ingenuity the image of Shárngpáñi Viṣṇu was made by
 Supratíta? Having established this image of Viṣṇu here, he whose
 government is fully established, for the increase of the merits of his
 father, gave this village (in charity). This image of Bhagavána to
 whom here (?)..... Both were given by the meritorious Skanda-
 Gupta for the increase of the merit of his father.

सर्वराजोच्छेतुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधिसलिलस्वदितयशसे धनदक्-
 रुणेन्द्रान्तक कृतान्तपरशोः श्रेयशतानेकगोहिरण्यप्रदस्य चिरोत्सना-
 श्वमेधाहर्तुर्महाराजश्रीगुप्तपौत्रस्य महाराजश्रीषटोत्कचपौत्रस्य महाराजाधि-
 राजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छविदौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महा-
 राजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यान्दत्त देव्यामुत्पन्न—
 महाप्रतिरथ—परमभागवतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो
 महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभागवतमहाराजाधिराजश्री कुमारगुप्तस्तस्य

प्रथितपृथुमतिः स्वभावशक्तेः

पृथुयशसः पृथिवीपतेः (सुरश्रीः)

(रिपुजन) शतपादपद्मवर्ती

प्रथितयशाः पृथिवीपतिः सुतोयम्

जगति भुजबलाद्यो गुप्तवंशैकवीरः

प्रथितविपुलधामा नामतस्कन्दगुप्तः

सुचारितचरितानां येन वृत्तेन वृत्तं

न विहतमथचात्माभा

(विपुल) बलसुनीतैर्विक्रमेण क्रमेण

प्रतिदिनमभियोगादीप्सितं येन लब्ध्वा

स्वभिमतविजिगीषामोद्यतानां परेषां

प्रणिहितमवलोके संविधानोपदेशः

विचलितकुललक्ष्मीस्तंभनायोद्यतेन

क्षितितलशयनीये येन नीता (त्रिमासी)

समुदितबलकोशम्पुष्यमित्रं गृहीत्वा

क्षितिपचरणपीठे स्थापितोवामपादः

प्रसभमनुपमद्विध्वस्तशस्त्रप्रतापिः

. (सु येन) क्षान्तिशीर्यं निरूढम्

चरितममलकीर्त्तैर्गीयते यस्य शुभ्रं

दिशिदिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारं मनुष्यैः

पितरि दिवमुपेते विप्लुतां राज्यलक्ष्मीं

भुजबलविजितारिर्यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूयः

जितमितिपरितोषान्मातरं सास्त्रनेत्रां

हतरिपुरिव कृष्णोदेवकीमभ्युपेतः

. स्युपेन्द्रचलितं भयं प्रतिष्ठाप्य यो

बाहुभ्यामवनीं विभित्य हि बनेष्वात्तैषु कृत्वा दयां

नोत्सिक्तोनच विस्मितः प्रतिदिनं (पूणैन्दुमा) नद्युति-

ह्र(नै)र्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धराकंपितै-
 र्भीमावत्तकरस्य शत्रुषु शर
 प्रख्यापितोर्वी . .
 तल . . शोत्रेषुगाङ्गध्वनि
 . . पितुः कीर्ति
 . . . प्रतिमाकाचित्प्रतिमा तस्य शार्ङ्गिणः सुप्रतीतश्चकारेमा-

 . . ह चैनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुप्रतिष्ठितशासनः
 ग्राममेनं स विदधे पितुः पुण्याभिवृद्धये
 अतोभगवतोमूर्तिमिमां यश्चात्र (मंत्रितः)
 उभयं निर्दिदेशासौ पितुः पुण्याय पुण्यधीरिति ।

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
अहं कुरुक्षेत्रे भिक्षुं आसीत् ॥ द्रुपदपुत्र उवाच ॥
अहं कुरुक्षेत्रे भिक्षुं आसीत् ॥ द्रुपदपुत्र उवाच ॥
अहं कुरुक्षेत्रे भिक्षुं आसीत् ॥ द्रुपदपुत्र उवाच ॥
अहं कुरुक्षेत्रे भिक्षुं आसीत् ॥ द्रुपदपुत्र उवाच ॥
अहं कुरुक्षेत्रे भिक्षुं आसीत् ॥ द्रुपदपुत्र उवाच ॥
अहं कुरुक्षेत्रे भिक्षुं आसीत् ॥ द्रुपदपुत्र उवाच ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
अहं कुरुक्षेत्रे भिक्षुं आसीत् ॥ द्रुपदपुत्र उवाच ॥

ART. VII.—*Revised Inscription on the Delhi "Iron" (Metal) Pillar at Kootub Minar, with Remarks.* BY BHA'U DA'JI, Esq., Hon. Mem. R. A. Society.

Read 18th April 1871.

He, on whose arm glory is written with the sword, when he repeatedly turned back his combined enemies in the battle-field in the Vangas (Bengal?); who, having swum across the seven mouths of the Sindhu (Indus), conquered the Bálhikas in battle, the breezes of whose prowess still waft incense to the South Sea; who, having left the earth (*go*) as if in sorrow, resorted to the other *go* (heaven); who went to the land of his deserts (actions) with his (bodily) form, but with his glory remained on this earth; who destroyed the remnant of his enemies; whose heroism, like a great smouldering fire in a great jungle, does not yet leave the earth; and who by the prowess of his arms secured in this world an incomparable empire for a long time; whose countenance was beautiful like the full moon; this Lord of the earth, named Chandra, having by means of faith in Viṣṇu fixed his mind, erected this tall flag-post of Bhagavána Viṣṇu in Viṣṇupada-giri (the hill of Viṣṇu's feet).

Transliteration into Sanskrit of the Revised Facsimile of the Inscription on the Delhi "Iron" or Metal Pillar.

यस्योद्धर्त्तयतः प्रतीपम् (रुषः) शत्रून्समेत्यागता-
 न्वङ्गेष्वहवर्षात्तनोविलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्तिभुञ्जे
 तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता बाल्हिका
 यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते बलनिधिर्वीर्यानिर्लैर्क्षिणः
 खिन्नस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्गामाश्रितस्येतरां
 मूर्त्या कर्मचितावर्णि गतवतः कीर्त्या स्थितस्य क्षितौ
 शान्तस्येव महावने हृतभुजो यस्य प्रतापो महा-
 चाद्याप्युत्सृजति प्रणाशितरिपो र्यन्नस्य लेशः क्षितौ-

प्राप्तेन स्वभुजाजितञ्च सुचिरं चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ
 चंद्राब्देन समग्रचंद्रसदृशीं वक्तृश्रियं बिभ्रता
 तेनायं प्रणिधाय भूमिपतिना भावेन विष्णौ मर्ति
 प्राशुर्विष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजस्थापितः

REMARKS.—I examined the so-called “Iron” Pillar or Lát at Delhi in 1862. I am satisfied that iron forms no portion of the monument, and that it is a compound of several metals. It is 22½ feet above the ground, and 5 feet 3 inches in circumference.

I consider the transliteration and translation published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (vol. vii., pp. 629-31) as materially incorrect. There is no such name as Dhava, who has hitherto been supposed to be the prince who erected the pillar in commemoration of his prowess. Mr. E. Thomas, in his edition of Prinsep's Essays (Vol. i., p. 318), observes that “the hero of this record remains for the present unidentified with any potentate named in local annals, or with any sovereign whose place in history might be determined approximately from numismatic associations.”

I have no doubt that the name of the Rájá who constructed the pillar is Chandra Rájá. He appears to me to be of the Nerwar kings, whose coins are described by General Cunningham in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (No. III. of 1865). Amongst the coins delineated is one which has the name “Chandra” on it. General Cunningham, however, supposes this “Chandra” to be Chandragupta of a later date.

But amongst the coins of the Chandraguptas there is none bearing any great similarity to this coin. And as the name is simply “Chandra,” there are no good grounds for adding “gupta,” to it.

As the inscription is short, consisting only of six lines, I have but few remarks to make.

The character of the letters engraved shows them to be later than the time of the Guptas. The cross line across the top of each letter is only seen after the time of the Guptas. The letters correspond most to the inscriptions of the Maukhari dynasty, on two *riharas* or caves in

Behar, viz. those of Ananta Varmá at Nágárjuna and Bárábara. These inscriptions have also been revised, and a more accurate decipherment and translation will be submitted. The letter Va is similar to Ba.

The alphabet belongs in my opinion to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era.

It is difficult to make out where the temple of Viṣṇu and the Viṣṇupada-giri were situated, although in the Masjid or buildings around, there are stones which originally belonged to Jain, S'aiva, and Vaiṣṇava temples of the 10th or 11th century of the Christian era.

My copy of the inscription differs in every line from the copy published in Prinsep's Journal. What is read as "Dhavana" is really "bhávena." "Dhvaja" is really "bhuja," and what has been read "Chandrárkena" is "Chandrāv'hena." The mistake arises from adding a curved stroke to the letter Vha, on the left side at the middle.

ART. VIII.—*A Devanāgarī Transcript and Date of a new Valabhī Copperplate, and a new Interpretation of the figured Dates on the published Grants of the Valabhī Dynasty.* By PROFESSOR RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR.

Read 11th January 1872.

The Valabhī copperplate a Devanāgarī transcript of which I submit to the Society to-day was put into my hands by Mr. Burgess about two months ago. My translation of it, with remarks, has already appeared in the first number of the *Indian Antiquary*. I will therefore to-day proceed to the consideration of its date, and of those of all the Valabhī plates hitherto discovered and published.

In this copperplate the date is given in figures, thus २०५. The first symbol consists of a vertical line having at the lower end a circular loop with a point coming out on the right, and at the top a stroke consisting of two small curves on the left and a small curvilinear stroke on the right. This symbol, more or less modified, is often met with in the Valabhī copperplates and the Surashtran coins. The second consists of a circle with a smaller one touching it internally, and the last resembles the modern Devanāgarī ५ *six*. Before endeavouring to interpret this date, it must be premised that the value of the ancient Sanskrit numerals does not depend on position. Each symbol has a fixed value wherever it may be placed. The first figure in the present case has always been understood to signify three hundred, from the evidence of Dr. Burn's Chálukya and Gurjara plates. But subsequently, when it was found on the coins of fourteen or fifteen different kings of the Sáh dynasty, a doubt was thrown on the received interpretation. Mr. Thomas, on a careful observation of the numerals on these coins, found a variation in the form and number of the side-strokes, from which he gathered that the value of the symbol was, in some manner unknown to him, modified by these strokes.* But the exact signification of these was given by our

* *Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. XII., p. 35, note.

learned Vice-President, Dr. Bháú Dáji. In his paper* on the Ancient Sanskrit Numerals he tells us that the symbol without the right-hand strokes represents one hundred ; with one stroke it signifies two hundred ; and with two, three hundred. Dr. Bháú's conclusions are based chiefly on the numerals found in the Násik cave-inscriptions. I have carefully examined Mr. West's lithograph† of these, and I am convinced of the truth of this view. In the same inscription (No. 25) the numbers 'one hundred' and 'two hundred' occur in words as well as figures. The figures are ७ and ८, the first having no side-stroke, while the second has one. In the same manner, in No. 16, the words corresponding to 'two thousand' and 'three thousand' occur in the fifth and fourth lines, and along with them the symbol for a thousand with one side-stroke in the first case and with two in the second. In other places also we find the same, so that there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt as to the truth of Dr. Bháú's theory. It is also confirmed by the numerals on the Surashtran coins.‡

The symbol for one hundred in the present copperplate has, besides the two side-strokes, a circular loop at the lower end. I first thought that this represented another stroke on the left-hand side, so that the whole expressed four hundred. But from the Násik inscriptions § I find that the way of representing four hundred or four thousand was by annexing the figure equivalent to four to the symbol for a hundred or a thousand. And in the *facsimile* of one of Dr. Burn's Gurjara copperplates given by Prof. Dowson,|| in which the date 385 is given in words as well as figures, I find that the first symbol has a loop similar to that in the present plate. There can, therefore, be no doubt, I think, that the first figure here represents three hundred. The loop is merely a flourish.

The endeavours to decipher the figures in the place of tens have not been so successful. We know the symbols for ten, forty, eighty, and ninety ; but of the rest we do not know some at all, and have but an imperfect knowledge of the others. Dr. Bháú quotes an inscription from Kárlen, in which a symbol somewhat resembling

* *Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VIII., No. 24.

† *Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., No. 22.

‡ Mr. Justice Newton's paper, pp. 27, 28, *Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., No. 22.

§ Mr. West's lithographs Nos. 17 and 18.

|| *Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. I., New Series.

the second figure in the present plate is given, with its value stated in words, as 'twenty.' Other considerations also show that the figure must be thus interpreted. It occurs twice in the Násik inscription No. 25. In both places Dr. Stevenson takes it to be equal to *twenty*,* but Dr. Bháú attaches that value to it in one place, and in the other the symbol appears to have escaped his attention, since he gives in his paper on the Numerals† the value of the second figure in it only, which is *four*. The figure occurs in that inscription at Násik which is considered to be a deed of sale, and the deed is there said to have been executed at the orders of Gotamíputra in the year represented by the symbols. In another inscription (No. 26), in which Gotamíputra's exploits are enumerated, his wife assigns the cave in which it occurs for the use of religious mendicants in the 19th year of Padumayi. Both these things, therefore, took place in his reign, and very shortly after each other. The symbol under consideration cannot have been intended for *ten*; for that number is represented by a totally different mark. It stands therefore, very likely, for 20. The same figure occurs on a coin of Visva Sáh, the 15th king in Mr. Newton's‡ list. The second figure on his other coins is that which we know represents 10, and the whole date appears to be 217. The former symbol, therefore, must stand for 20. The last figure in our grant resembles, as I have said, our modern §, and that has generally been considered its value. The symbol occurs in one of Dr. Bháú's quotations§ with the word छत्र, signifying *six*, after it. The date of the present grant is therefore, I feel sure, 326.

This grant is by Dharasena IV., the great grandson of Dharasena II., as I have shown in the genealogical table.|| But the figured date of the copperplate of this last monarch deciphered and translated by Mr. Wathen is usually considered to refer to the fourth century of some era. Mr. Prinsep¶ and Mr. Thomas** interpret it as equal to 300 + some undetermined quantity. The Rev. Philip Anderson†† thinks it to be 330. Dr. Bháú, in his paper on the Numerals, gives five dates with their *facsimiles* from Valabhí plates. None of these latter resembles the



* *Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. V., p. 43. † p. 228, under Cave No. 23.

‡ *Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., p. 28, and Mr. Thomas's paper on the Sáh Dynasty, *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII., p. 59.

§ Sanskrit thin Numerals, p. 229, under Cave No. 4. || *Ind. Ant.*, No. 1.

¶ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII., p. 349. ** Paper on the Sáh Dynasty, p. 5, note.

†† *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. III., p. 216.

date in any of the three grants I know of, but the one which is somewhat like that in Mr. Wathen's plate is interpreted by him as 332. In the same volume of the Journal, however, in another paper,* he assigns to Dharasena II. the dates 322 and 326, which, by the way, are not to be met with in the former list. If, then, I have interpreted the date in the present copperplate correctly, and if, at the same time, Mr. Anderson and Dr. Bháú are right in their readings of the dates of Dharasena II., it follows that Dharasena IV. reigned at Valabhí 'four or six years *before* his great grandfather, or in the *same* year as he, or only four years after him. And even if we assign to the odd number of the date in Mr. Wathen's plate the least possible value, viz. 12, and consider the date to be 312, fourteen years is too short a time for five reigns, or for the great grandson to come to the throne after his father, uncle, grandfather, and great-grandfather. The supposition that the eras used by the two monarchs may have been different is, I think, unreasonable. One of two conclusions then must follow. Either my reading of the date of the present grant is wrong; or Mr. Anderson, Dr. Bháú, and other antiquarians, have assigned a wrong date to Dharasena II. Fortunately, in this difficulty, Mr. Wathen's copperplate happens to be in the Museum of this Society. On examining the date, which is  it will be found that the figure representing hundreds has only one side-stroke. And even in Mr. Wathen's lithographed copy given in the fourth volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, and in Mr. Prinsep's table of the numerals in the seventh volume, the symbol has one stroke. All subsequent writers, however, and even Mr. Prinsep in another place,† add one more. It thus appears that the first figure in the grant of Dharasena II. is equivalent to 200. But this does not altogether remove the difficulty. The effect of this new reading would be to throw back Dharasena II. by a whole century, if the other two figures were to have the same value as that hitherto assigned to them. And I shall presently show that a century's interval between Dharasena II. and his great-grandson would be too long. The question then is, what value should be assigned to the other two figures, which are . Our knowledge of the symbols for tens is, as I have observed before, imperfect. Something like the second figure in Mr. Wathen's plate occurs in Dr. Bháú's quotation from the A'bhira ‡ inscription at Násik, and he interprets it as 2. But I do not find the figure in Mr. West's § lithograph of

* p. 245. † B. A. S. Jour., Vol. VII., p. 349. ‡ Paper on the Numerals.
§ No. 15, l. 10.

the inscription; and instead of that, there is after the word ३ (two) the usual symbol of that number, viz. two short horizontal strokes. In the table given by him in the same paper I again observe the symbol opposite to the number 20.* But Dr. Bháú has given no authority for assigning that value to it, and I am inclined to think that it is a misprint for the figure which has now been interpreted as 20. In fixing the value of the symbol under consideration, it should be borne in mind that the same minister, Skandabhaṭa, executed the grant of Dharasena II., and also the present one. Dr. Burn's copperplates have acquainted us with the symbols for *eighty* and *ninety*; and from the Násik and other cave-inscriptions we have been able to determine the values of three more, viz. those for *ten*, *twenty*, and *forty*.† The figure in Mr. Wathen's copperplate does not resemble any of these five. It must therefore be interpreted as *thirty*, *fifty*, *sixty*, or *seventy*. If these values were assigned to it successively, the date would be 232, 252, 262, or 272 (the last figure, consisting of two simple strokes, clearly representing 2), and Skandabhaṭa's tenure of office would be 94, 74, 64, or 54 years. The last number must be accepted as the most probable, and it thus determines the date to be 272, and hence the symbol must be understood to represent *seventy*. A tenure of 54 years would not be too long for any individual holder of an hereditary office, though there would be a very great degree of improbability in the supposition of each of three or four members of a family holding it successively for as long a period. George III. reigned for 60 years, but the reigns of George IV. and William IV. were very short. The symbol the value of which I have been discussing bears a sufficient resemblance, making allowance for the difference of time, to that for *seventy* in Rudra Dáma's Girnár inscription, in which the date 72 is given in words and figures. Mr. Prinsep's transcript‡ of it is ३, General Jacob's and Mr. Westergaard's§ ३, and Dr. Bháú's ¶. Dr. Bháú's|| differs from the other two in having a stroke on the right-hand side, and this makes it look rather like 40. Of the three, it resembles the figure in Mr. Wathen's plate the least, the other two being more like it.

* p. 231.

† In his table Dr. Bháú gives symbols for 30 and 70, but I have not been able to find his evidence for them in his paper. One of those he puts down under 70 is very unlike the transcript he himself gives of the symbol for that number occurring in Rudra Dáma's inscription. And the transcript is, as I have shown further on, different from that given by two previous transcribers.

‡ *Jour. B. A. S.*, Vol. VII., p. 334, lith.

§ *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. I., p. 149, lith., l. 4.

¶ *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., No. 22 lith., l. 4.

Mr. Wathen's second copperplate is also in the Museum of this Society. It resembles in most respects Dr. Burn's No. 4, a modern Devanágari transcript of which is given in the seventh volume of the Bengal Society's Journal. The grantor in both cases is the same. He was, as I have shown,* Śíláditya II., the third king after Dhara-sena IV., the grantor in the present plate. The figured date of both is २५५.† The first symbol stands for 300, and the last for 6. The value of the second, which resembles the letter *sa* ५, has generally been taken to be 70. But we have already assigned that value to a totally different symbol, and if this also were taken to represent 70 the date of these two plates would be 376; *i. e.* the interval between Dhara-sena IV. and Śíláditya II. would be 50 years, and that between this latter king and Dhara-sena II. 104 years. The minister who prepared the deed in Śíláditya's time was Madana Hala, the son of Skandabhaṭa, so that this reading would give to the father and son together a tenure of the office for at least 104 years. But, as I have already remarked, the son holds an hereditary office only for a short time if the father has enjoyed it for a long time. Each year added to the father's tenure must, it appears to me, be taken away from the son's. There is probably no instance in history of a father and son holding an office in succession for 104 years. I think, therefore, that the second symbol in these places cannot have been meant for 70. The only *tens* now available in fixing the value of this symbol are 30, 50, and 60, the rest having been already appropriated. 30 would not do, as the resulting date 336 would limit the duration of three reigns to ten years. *Sixty* would, like *seventy*, give, I think, too long a time to Skandabhaṭa's son. But even if it should be thought otherwise, the dates on the Sáh coins appear to support the interpretation of the symbol under consideration as equal to 50 rather than 60. For after Rudra Sáh,‡ the twelfth in Mr. Newton's list, reigned in succession his two sons, Viśva Sinha and Atri Dáma, then his grandson Viśva Sáh, son of Atri Dáma, and after some interval his third son, Aśa Dáma. One of Rudra Sáh's coins bears the date 197, one of Atri Dáma's 214, one of Viśva Sáh's 227, and one of Aśa Dáma's a date the second symbol in which is the one we have been considering. The most probable values in this case are 30 and 40, for a coin of his predecessor bears the date 227. But 40 has another and well-ascertained symbol; and 30 I have rejected above on indepen-

* *Ind. Ant.*, No. 1.

† *Jour. B. A. S.*, Vol. VII., p. 349. ‡ *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII.

dent grounds. The value which ranks next in probability is 50; 60 would render Aśa Dāma's reign too long, and make him live about 40 years, or 33 at least, after his second brother. The date of Mr. Wathen's second copperplate and of Dr. Burn's, the grantor in both of which is Śílāditya II., appears thus to be 356. Dr. Bháú gives under one Śílāditya the date 338,* and under another 346 and 348. He does not tell us whether these are his interpretations of the figures in the two copperplates I have been speaking of, but if they are, I do not know on what authority he takes the symbol resembling the letter **२** *sa* to represent 30 or 40. In his own table of numerals he does not put the symbol under 30 or 40, nor does it occur there at all. My conclusions therefore are that the figure **२** stands for 50 and **३** for 70, and that the date of the grant of Dharasena II. discovered by Mr. Wathen is 272, and not 330, 332, 326, 322, or 300 and odd, as given by the various writers I have quoted, of Dharasena IV. 326, and of Śílāditya II. 356, and not 375. The interval between Dharasena II. and Śílāditya II. is thus 84 years, and not 40 or 45 as the interpretations of the dates hitherto received have led Indian antiquarians to suppose. According to Dr. Bháú the whole dynasty did not last for more than 40 years.† The reason generally given is that though there were many successions to the *gádi* during the interval, only one minister and his son served all the kings. But there is, I submit, no impossibility whatever in the circumstance of a father and his son holding an office for 84 years between them. Henry III. and Edward I. reigned in England for 91 years. And 40 or 45 years is certainly too small a period for seven or eight reigns. It appears to me very improbable that a son of the great-grandson of a king should be reigning only about 45 years after him. And Śílāditya II., the grantor in Mr. Wathen's second plate, was the son of the great-grandson of Dharasena II., as I have shown in the genealogy referred to above.

The question remains,—To what era are these dates to be referred? A good many antiquarians refer them to Vikrama's, and some to that of the Valabhí dynasty itself. Mr. Thomas, however, thinks the era used to be the Śaka,‡ and our learned Vice-President, Dr. Bháú, has consistently maintained this for many years. My humble opinion coin-

* *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VIII., p. 245. † *Ibid.*

‡ Paper on the Sáh Dynasty.

cides with Dr. Bháú's. Not only do we find the words S'aka-Kála used in those records of the period in which the era is specified, but I think there is a reason why that era should have been used. The name S'aka-nṛipa-Kála, or the era of the S'aka king, and the fact of the existence of such an era, show that there was a great king from whose date it originated, that he and his descendants governed the country, and that he was a foreigner and belonged to a tribe known to the Indian A'ryas by the name of S'akas. Now, from the cave-inscriptions and the Surashtra coins, we find that the whole of Gujerát and a great part of Maháráshṭra, with some adjacent countries, were for about three centuries governed by kings who called themselves *Kshatrapas*. Though a Sanskrit etymology has been given to the word, there can be no question that it is of foreign origin and is the same as the Persian word Satrap. The earliest person who is known to have borne the title was Náhápaṇa, spoken of in the cave-inscriptions as the *Kshatrapa* of a king named Kshaharáta. Another Satrap was called Chashṭana. These three names are unquestionably foreign and are considered to be Parthian. The name Sáh of the Satrap dynasty of Suráshṭra is also not of Sanskrit origin. It appears, therefore, that the kings who bore the title of Kshatrapas were Parthian by descent, though they were afterwards domiciled in the country, used the Sanskrit language, and took Sanskrit names. Náhápaṇa or his sovereign, or any one else who conquered this portion of India and established the Satrap dynasty, must have been the S'aka king from whom the era originated. And Ushavadáta, the son-in-law of Náhápaṇa, is called a S'aka in one of the Násik inscriptions.* The era must have been used by the dynasty itself, and consequently by the people, just as we at the present day, even in our private transactions, use the Christian era. When the Satraps were superseded by the Valabhís in Suráshṭra, and by the Chálukyas in Maháráshṭra, the same era to which the people had been accustomed for about three centuries must have continued in use, and been used by the conquering dynasties themselves. After the Maráthás had put down the Mahomedans and established their sway, they always used the Mahomedan era, sometimes along with, but often without, the S'aka, notwithstanding the endeavours of Shiváji to Sanskritize his Durbar. And this Mahomedan era continued to be used

* No. 14, *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., No. 22.

even by British Mámledárs, Mahálkaris, and Munsifs in their official letters until recently. From what has taken place in recent times, we may infer what must have occurred fifteen centuries ago. If we have seen the Maráthá Rájás and the Bráhmaṇ Peshwás using the Mahomedan era, notwithstanding that they had the advantage of another more ancient, we should certainly expect to find the Valabhís and the Chálukyas using the era of the Satraps whom they succeeded, especially when they had no other.

And if we refer the Valabhí dates to the era of the S'aka kings, we arrive at an intelligible starting-point for the Valabhí era, ascertained by Col. Tod to have commenced in 319 A.D. The date 272 of the grant of Dharasena II. if referred to the era of Vikrama is equal to 216 A.D., i.e. the Valabhí era must be supposed to have originated 103 years after Dharasena's grant was executed. But it is difficult to conceive what event in the history of those kings so important as to give rise to a new era could have taken place at that time, except it be the overthrow of the dynasty or the destruction of Valabhí. But we have no evidence to show that there was a revolution in the country in 319 A.D. Valabhí was the capital of a kingdom in the time of Hwan Thsang, and the overthrow of a reigning family does not appear to me to be such an occurrence as would give rise to a new era called after the family. It would in such a case bear the name of the conqueror, and not of the conquered. If, however, the date 272 were referred to the Śaka-Kála, it would be equivalent to 350 A.D., i.e. it would show that Dharasena II. was reigning at Valabhí in the 31st year of the era of his family. The best starting-point for the era is, in my opinion, the coronation of Droṇa-Sinha, the second son of Bhaṭárka. The latter had, no doubt, laid the foundations of the greatness of the family, but he and his first son did not assume the title of King, and were called Senápatís or Commanders of forces. Droṇa-Sinha is the first member of the dynasty to whom the title of Mahárája or King is given in Mr. Wathen's first copperplate, and he is there spoken of as having been crowned by the only sovereign of the whole world, whoever he may have been. The independence of the Valabhí kings therefore dates from this event. After Droṇa-Sinha, his two brothers governed the kingdom successively. The reigns of brothers succeeding each other cannot be very long, and even Guhasena, the son of Dharapaṭṭa the last brother, and father of Dharasena II., must have been a pretty old man when he began to

reign, for he came to the throne after his three uncles and his father. Droṇa-Sinha also must have received the title of Mahárāja some years after he succeeded his brother. I therefore think that 31 years is a sufficiently long period for a portion of the reign of Droṇa-Sinha and the whole reigns of his two brothers and Guhasena. These considerations, in my opinion, go a great way towards showing that the Valabhí princes used the era of the Śaka kings. Mr. Fergusson refers the dates in the grants to the Valabhí era*; but it is difficult to conceive how it should have escaped his notice that 272 years—or, according to the old reading, 330 years—is far too long a time for the reigns of Bhaṭárka, his four sons, and his grandson Guhasena, supposing even that the era began from the date of the original founder of the dynasty, and not from that of Droṇa-Sinha's coronation.

The conclusions, then, at which I arrive are—that the date of the grant of Dharasena II. discovered by Mr. Wathen is 272 Śaka, corresponding to 350 A.D.; that of the present grant is 326 Śaka or 404 A.D., and that of those of Śíláditya II. is 356 Śaka, *i. e.* 434 A.D.

Since the above was written, Mr. Burgess has kindly placed in my hands the second halves of two copperplate grants of the dynasty found in the ruins of Valabhí. Both are greatly damaged, but the smaller one more so than the other. The surface was at first covered over by a thick crust of some hard but brittle substance, so that the letters were not distinct. What was observable on the smaller plate was the sign-manual of the king and the date. But the date without the name of the grantor was of little use. I then placed the plates in a vessel containing water mixed with tamarind for a whole night, and the next morning, when the hard substance had softened a little, scratched it off with a knife. The letters are now more distinct. In the first line of the smaller plate the following words occur:—**सुखसंपदुपसेवानिरूढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममहेश्वरः श्रीशीला.... Śrī Śilá ...** whose second name Dharmáditya was procured for him by his enjoyment of prosperity being... ” The part of the plate containing the syllables दित्य forming the latter part of the name and two or three words more is broken off. Then follow the words **युक्तकविनिद्युक्तक**, after which some letters are

illegible ; and then समाज्ञापत्यस्तुवस्संविदितं, “ commands ‘Be it known to you.’ ” Dharmáditya, we know, was another name of Śíláditya, son of Dharasena II., and the words preceding his name in other plates are the same as here. The grantor, therefore, is Śíláditya I. The date is १००६. The first figure has one side-stroke only, on which account it represents 200. The second is that which stands for 80 in Dr. Burn’s plates. The common chord, however, on which the segments here stand is not quite a straight line, and the whole has the appearance of two irregular circles touching each other. But the figure occurs in this slightly modified form on some coins * of the Sáh dynasty. The last figure is 6, so that the whole date is 286. This remarkably confirms my reading of the date of Mr. Wathen’s first plate, and especially of the second figure in it. If the date of this grant of the son and successor of Dharasena II. is 286, that of one of Dharasena himself may well be 272.

These two plates, broken and mutilated as they are, are very interesting. Those hitherto discovered record grants of land to Bráhmaṇs, but in these I observe grants made to Buddhistic *Viháras* or monasteries for the support of the mendicant priests from “ the four quarters residing in them ;” as well as for providing the means of worshipping the great Buddhas, such as incense, flowers, and lamp-oil. The grant in the larger plate is to a *vihára* constructed at the village of Yodhávaka, by the minister Skandabhata, who appears to have been a pious Buddhist. We thus see that the Valabhí kings patronized Bráhmaṇs as well as Buddhists, and sectarian animosity did not exist. Buddhism still flourished side by side with Bráhmaṇism ; and the worship of the images of the several Buddhas formed part of the religion. But I reserve these plates for a fuller consideration on some future occasion.

* See Mr. Newton’s paper, *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., p. 28, under Rudra Sáh.

† These have been translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, No. II.

११। स्वस्ति वलंभीतः प्रसभप्रणतः मित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसंभ्रमण्डला-
भोगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धम् । १२। तौपात्प्रतापोनतदानमानार्ज्जवोपाज्जितानुरागाद-
नुरक्तमौलिभृते श्रेणीबलावासरारज्यश्रियः परममाहे । ३। श्वरश्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छि-
न्नराजवंशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्ग
द्वितीयबा । ४। हुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिक्षः तत्प्र-
भावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसर्कपादनख । ५। रश्मिसंहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीत
मार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्य
। ६। बुद्धिसंपाद्रेः स्मरशशाङ्कद्रिाराजोदधिर्त्रिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणाग-
त्नाभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ता । ७। शेषस्वकार्यैः फलप्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानान-
न्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलभोगप्रमोदः । ८।
करममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसंतानविसृतैजान्हवीजलौ-
घप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयि । ९। शतसहस्रं पृथिव्यमानसंपद्रूपलेभादिव-
श्रितः सरभसैमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैः सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविशेषविस्मापिता । १०।
खिलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमत्तिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्मदायानामपकर्त्ता प्रज्ञो-
पघातकारिणामुपप्लवा । ११। नां दिश [दर्श] यिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवा-
सस्य संहितारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगैर्दक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिव । १२।
श्रीः परममाहेश्वरैः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सकलजगदानन्दनात्य-
द्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्र । १३। दिङ्मण्डलः समरशतविजयशोभासनाथम-

- १ विजयस्कन्धावा...वासक W. 2. २ सपत्न W. 1. ३ संप्रहार W. 1.
४ प्रतापः प्रतापः प्रतापोनत W. 1. ५ W. 2 repeats अनुरागात्.
६ मौलिभृतमित्रश्रेणी W. 1, मौलिभृतः W. 2. ७ W. 1 & 2 om. one प्रकाशित.
८ संसक्तस-यपाद W. 1. ९ रञ्जनादन्वर्थ W. 1. १० स्वकार्यफलः प्रार्थना W. 1, कार्यफलप्रार्थना W. 2. ११ W. 1 has मण्ड. १२ श्रीमहाराजगुह W. 1.
१३ निर्वृत्त W. १४ विश्वालित W. 1. १५ उपजीव्यभोगसंपत्.
१६ सरसमा W. 1. १७ W. 1 om. one विशेष. १८ दर्शयिता W. 1.
१९ संहता W. 1. २० परिक्षोभ W. 1. २१ क्रमोप W. 1. २२ माहेश्वरो महाराज श्रीधर W. 1.

षडल्लग्रद्युतिभासुरतरांसपीठोटूदगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सर्व्व ॥१४॥ विद्यापरावर
 विभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतस्सुभाषतलखना [षितलेखेना]पि सुखोपपा-
 दनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाध । १५ । गाभीर्य्यद्वयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्य-
 क्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतो ॥१६॥ द-
 ग्रकीर्तिर्धम्मनुपरोधोज्ज्वलतरिकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवानिरूढधर्मादित्यद्वितयिनामा
 परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशिला ॥१७॥ दिव्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्र
 गुरुणैव गुरुणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्त ॥१८॥
 परमभद्र इव धुर्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैकरसतयैवोद्वहन्खेदसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितस-
 त्वसम्पत्तिःप्रभावसम्पद्वशी ॥१९॥ कृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि
 परावज्ञाभिमानरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परि । २० । त्यज्य प्रख्या-
 तपौरुषोभिमनैरप्यशक्तिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविम-
 लगुणसंहति । २१ । प्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्त्रिचजनाधिरोहि-
 भिरशेषैर्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतद्वयः प्रख्यातपारुषास्त्र ॥२२॥ कौशलातिशयगुणति-
 थविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंग्राहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगम [:]परम
 माहेश्वरः ॥२३॥ श्रीस्वरग्रहस्तस्य तनयस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सकलविद्याधिगमवि-
 हितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः सत्वस । २४ । म्पदा त्यागौदार्य्येण
 च विगतानुसंधानसमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशा-
 स्त्रकलालोकचरि ॥२५॥ तगम्भीरविभागो [वा ?] पि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृत्रिमप्रश्रय
 विनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्य [त्र ?] लोदग्र ॥२६॥ बा-
 हुदण्डविध्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदप्यौदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमान
 सकलनृपति ॥२७॥ मण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्या-
 नुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सच्चरितातिशयित ॥२८॥ सकलपूर्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साध्यानाम-
 पि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां मूर्तिमानिव पूरुषकारः परिवृद्ध ॥२९॥ गुणानुरागनि-
 र्भरिचत्तवृत्तिभिर्मनुविव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमा-
 न्नि ॥३०॥ वृत्तिहेतुरकलङ्कुकुमुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिशान्तरालप्रध्वंसित
 ध्वान्तराशिस्सततोदितस्स ॥३१॥ विता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुति-

थप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागमपरिपूर्णं विदधानः सन्धिविग्रह ।३२। समासनिश्चयनि-
पुणः स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं ददद्गुणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारस्साधूनां राज्यसौलातुरी
यतन्त्रयोः ।३३। भयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवान
प्यगाञ्चितः कौन्थो[न्तो]पि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदय्योपि निर । ३४ । सिता दो-
षवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजर्मेतानुरागपरिपीडितभुवनसमर्थतप्रथितबालादित्य-
द्वितीयनामा परम ।३५। माहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तंस्य सुतस्तत्वादकमलप्रणामध-
रणकषणजनितकिणलाञ्छनललाटचन्द्रशकलः शिशु भावएव।३६। श्रवण
निहितमौक्तिकालङ्कारविभ्रमामलश्रुतविशेषः प्रदानसलिलक्षालिताग्रहस्तारविन्दः
कन्याया इव मृदुकरग्र । ३७ । हणादमन्दीकृतानन्दविधिर्वसुन्धरायाः
कार्मुके धनुर्वेद इव संभाविताशेषलक्ष्यकलापः प्रणतसामन्तमण्डलोत्तमाङ्गु ।३८।
धृतचूडारत्नायमानशासनः परममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरच-
क्रवर्ती श्रीअञ्जकपादानुध्यातः ।३९। श्रीधरसेनः कुशली सर्वानेव यथासंबध्य
मानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय ।४०
सिंहपुरविनिर्गतकिक्कटापुत्रग्रामनिवासीसिंहपुरचातुर्विधसामान्यभारद्वाजसगोत्र
छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणगु ।४१। हाठ्यपुत्रबाह्यणार्जुनाय सुराष्ट्रेषु काला-
पकपथकान्तर्गतकिक्कटापुत्रग्रामोपरिवाटकशर्करापद्रकदक्षिणसीम्नि ष । ४२ ।
ट्पञ्चाशत्यादावर्त्तपरिमाणक्षेत्रखण्डं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः विण्हलसत्कवापी
दक्षिणतः वत्तकसत्कक्षेत्रं अपरतः ।४३। कुटुम्बविण्हलसत्कक्षेत्रं उत्तरतः ब्राह्म-
णषष्टिभवसत्कक्षेत्रं तथासिंहपुरविनिर्गतसिंहपुरचातुर्विधसामान्यकिक्कटा ।४४।
पुत्रग्रामनिवासिभारद्वाजसगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणगुहाठ्यपुत्रब्राह्मणमङ्क-
स्वामिने सुराष्ट्रेषु कालापकप ।४५। थकान्तर्गतकिक्कटापुत्रग्रामे अपरसीम्नि षोड-

२४ शालातुरीय Bs. २५ कान्तोपि Bs. २६ जनानुराग Bs.

W. 1 signifies Wathen's first plate.

W. 2 do. second do.

Bs. signifies the plate translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, No. II., p. 45.

शिपादावर्त्तपरिसरा वापी यस्या आषाटनानि पूर्वतश्चत्रसत्कवापी दक्षिणतोप-
 १४६। रतश्च कुटुम्बिचन्द्रसत्कक्षेत्रं उत्तरतः महत्तरदासकसत्कक्षेत्रं तथा कि-
 कटापुत्रग्रामोपरिवाटकशर्करापद्रकग्रामे अ १४७। परसीम्नि अष्टाविंशतिपादा-
 वर्त्तपरिमाणं क्षेत्रखण्डं यस्याषाटनानि पूर्वतः कुटुम्बिव्यस्यविरकसत्कक्षेत्रं
 दक्षिणतः आश्विनिकं १४८। पुत्रग्रामीणकुटुम्बिवराहसत्कक्षेत्रं अपरतः आ-
 श्विनिपुत्रकध (ब) प्यटीयकसत्कक्षेत्रं उत्तरतो ब्रह्मदायिकभागीयकसत्कक्षेत्रं तथा
 १४९। चतुर्दशपादावर्त्तपरिमाणं क्षेत्रखण्डं यस्याषाटनानि पूर्वतः बन्धस्यविरक
 क्षेत्रमेव दक्षिणतः कुटुम्बीश्वरक्षेत्रं अपरतः बप्यटीय १५०। कक्षेत्रमेव उत्तर-
 तः ब्रह्मदेयिकबारिलकक्षेत्रं तथा षट् पत्तकाः येषामाषाटनानि पूर्वतः विच्छीयक
 क्षेत्रं दक्षिणतः कुटुम्बीश्वरक्षेत्रमेव १५१। अपरतः कु [टुम्बी] श्वरक्षेत्रमेव उत्तरतः।
 पटानकग्रामसीमा एवमेतद्विंशत्युत्तरपादावर्त्तशतप्रमाणं वापीक्षेत्रं सोदृङ्गं स-
 १५२। परिकरं . . . सधान्यहिरण्यदेयं सदशापराधं सोत्यद्यमानविष्टिकं सव्वी-
 राजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं पूर्वप्रत्तदेव १५३। ब्रह्मदायवर्ज्यं . . . न्याये-
 नाचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितिसरित्यर्धतसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं उदकातिसर्गेण
 धर्मदायो निमृष्टः १५४। यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृषतः कर्ष-
 यतः प्रदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्दद्यासेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्दशजैरन्यैर्वा
 १५५। अनित्यान्यैश्वर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यंच भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भि-
 रयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजा १५६।
 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । यानीह दारिद्र-
 भयान्नेरैर्धनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि । निर्भुक्तमान्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः
 १५७। पुनराददीत ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गै तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता
 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति । दूतकोत्र राजपुत्रध्रुवसेनः लिखितामिदं
 १५८। संधिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवश [!] भटपुत्रदिविरपतिस्कन्दभटेन सं०
 ३२६. आषाढ शुद्ध स्वहस्तो मम.

ART. IX.—Consideration of the date of the Mahābhārata, in connection with the Correspondence from Col. Ellis. By PROFESSOR RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.

Read 12th September 1872.

In the 9th vol. of the *Asiatic Researches* there is a notice by Colebrooke of an inscription on copper plates purporting to be a grant of land by Janamejaya the son of Parikshit, of the race of the Pāṇḍavas. The characters engraved being very modern, and the language very incorrect, Colebrooke came to the conclusion that it was a forgery. But this decision rests on the supposition that the Mahābhārata, which describes the great serpent-sacrifice held by Janamejaya, alluded to also in the grant, is a very ancient work. The antiquity of this work, however, may be denied, in which case there is nothing in the grant itself to show that it is spurious. Colonel Ellis, therefore, in the correspondence placed before us, considers the grant as genuine, and refers the composition of the Mahābhārata to a period subsequent to its execution. On the day on which the grant was made, there was a partial eclipse of the sun, which, from calculations made by the Rev. G. B. Gibbons and Prof. Airy, took place at about 11 A.M. on Sunday the 7th of April, 1521. The date of the grant being thus determined beyond any possibility of doubt, Colonel Ellis wishes us to prosecute further inquiries, with a view to find out whether any traces of the events and circumstances mentioned in the grant, or connected with the story of Janamejaya, exist at the present day. For instance, we are asked to ascertain whether the ruins of the palace in which Sarvadamana or Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā, was crowned, and of the court in which Janamejaya held the Aśvamedha 'Jagg,' or Horse-sacrifice, are still visible at Anagunḍi, with which the Colonel identifies Hastināpura, or whether any burnt remains of the sacrifice are found by digging for them on the spot. But the supposition on which the Colonel goes leads him into a difficulty. Kṛishṇa Rāya, one of the ablest kings of the local dynasty, and not Janamejaya of the Pāṇḍava race, was on the throne of Vijayanagar, or Anagunḍi, about 1521. Since, then, both could not have been kings at the same time, Colonel

Ellis suspects that Kṛishṇa Rāya's minister, Appāji, was the Janamejaya of the grant, i. e. it is considered not at all unlikely that a king who is represented in the plates as the king of kings and the refuge of the whole universe, and whom Col. Ellis himself speaks of as a renowned conqueror, should have been but an insignificant minister of the king of a minor state. Again, if the grant is genuine and the Mahābhārata was written after 1521 A. D., we should certainly expect to find in it a picture of the state of society in the sixteenth century, when the Mahomedans had been ruling over a large portion of the country for about four hundred years, and when the few remaining Hindu states were struggling for existence, and not such an archaic condition as that which the poem unfolds to our view. The current tradition which ascribes a high antiquity to the Mahābhārata, ought also to be explained and not lost sight of. How is it that it has come to be an almost intuitive belief with every intelligent Hindu that the epic is very old, while at the same time he considers works written long before 1521 A. D. to be but very recent? At the same time it is very difficult to conceive how an epic only three hundred and fifty years old could have worked itself into the thoughts and feelings of all the Hindu nationalities, from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin, so thoroughly as the Mahābhārata has done. Reasons such as these ought, I think, to be sufficient to enable one to pronounce the grant to be spurious. But Col. Ellis does not seem to consider them to be weighty, and in the view he has put forth he but represents, in a somewhat exaggerated form, the tendency of most European scholars and antiquarians to modernize everything Hindu. I will, however, not content myself with this general reasoning, but will give more specific proofs of the antiquity of the Mahābhārata.

If Col. Ellis's view is correct, the greater part of our existing classical literature must be supposed to have been written after 1521 A. D.; for there are but few works which, directly or indirectly, do not allude to the Mahābhārata or the principal characters in the poem. But such a conclusion is inadmissible, for there are some dates in the history of India and the history of Sanskrit literature which cannot be called in question. I will therefore set forth the principal testimonies to the existence of the Mahābhārata, in chronological order.

The earliest literary date is that of Patanjali, the author of the Mahābhāshya, or the great commentary on Pāṇini's grammar. Prof.

Goldstücker places him in the second century before Christ, and I have recently succeeded in making out that he lived in the reign of Pushpamitra, the founder of the Śung dynasty, who reigned from B.C. 178 to B.C. 142. Pāṇini must have preceded him, and the interval between them was probably about three centuries, or even much greater. The Śrauta and Gṛihya Sūtras of the three Vedas preceded the work of Pāṇini, or, according to some scholars, some of them were written at about the same time. The Brāhmaṇas of these Vedas must have preceded the Sūtras. Now Janamejaya,* the son of Parikshit, and Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as very powerful kings who conquered the whole earth. I do not mean to assert that the Mahābhārata existed before the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, but I bring forward this instance to show how very far into antiquity some of the elements of the story of the Mahābhārata run. In Āśvalāyana Gṛihya, there is a sūtra containing the names of the gods and Ṛishis to whom water is to be given, i.e. tech., whose *tarpana* is to be made every day by a Ṛigvedī Brāhmaṇa. In this list the name of the Mahābhārata† occurs. But it may perhaps be questioned whether the reference here is to the Mahābhārata as we have it, or to some other work that existed in the time of Āśvalāyana. For the Ṛishi mentions several classes of literary works, such as Gāthās, Nārāśansīs,‡ &c. which are not now known. This objection amounts to this. A Mahābhārata may have existed before Āśvalāyana, but there is nothing to show that it contained the story of the Kurus. But I do not see why this question should be raised, since a few centuries later we are told by another author that the story of these heroes was popular and current in his time, and when, only a short time after, or about the same time, as Āśvalāyana, a third mentions the names of the Mahābhārata and some of the principal characters. Pāṇini (VI. 2. 38) teaches us the accent of *mahā* in the word Mahābhārata. Another sūtra § of his teaches that the termination *aka* should be applied to the nouns Vāsudeva and Arjuna to form derivatives

* Ait. Brāh. VIII. 21 and 23.

† Āśv. Gr. III. 4, 4—भाष्यभारतमहाभारतधर्माचार्योः

‡ Āśv. Gr. III. 3, 1.

§ Pān. IV. 3, 98.

from them signifying one who is devoted to Vāsudeva and Arjuna. In the Mahābhārata these two persons are represented as great friends, and their being mentioned together by Pāṇini is very significant. Even Patanjali, commenting on the sūtra, sees no reason why Vāsudeva should have been put in here, since there is another and a more general rule under which the noun would come. He explains that the Vāsudeva here meant was the god Vāsudeva, and not the one that comes under the general rule.* This is a subtlety which, however, shows that the characters in the Mahābhārata had come to be regarded as demigods. But it is not unlikely that Pāṇini was led to put them together because they were always associated together in the minds of the people, as they are in the Mahābhārata. In a third sūtra we have Yudishṭhira.† The words I have brought forward are not taken from the *ganas* or groups which form an appendix of Pāṇini's work, nor are they the examples of his rules given by the grammarians, for there is no evidence to determine what portion of these is to be attributed to Pāṇini. But they occur in the sūtras themselves, Pāṇini's authorship of which is unquestionable.

In Patanjali's work we find in one place the names of Bhīmsena, Sahadeva and Nakula, who are mentioned as descendants of Kuru,‡ and of Duryodhana and Duhśāsana.§ The compound Yudhisṭhīrārjunau occurs in several places. || In one of these, Patanjali, in explaining a *vārtika* of Kātyāyana, tells us that the word *dvi* becomes *dvandvam* as applied to a copulative compound of the names of persons or things always mentioned together and well known to all. In the case of the compound Yudhisṭhīrārjunau, though the persons are well known, says he, they are not always or invariably mentioned together; hence *dvi* does not become *dvandvam*, i. e. we have to say *dvau*

* वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् । किमर्थं वासुदेवशब्दाद्द्वन्विधीयते । न गोत्रसन्निययाख्येभ्यो बहुलं बु-
क्षित्येव सिद्धम् । नद्यस्ति विशेषो वासुदेवशब्दाद्दुर्जो वा वुनो वा । तदेव रूपं स एव स्वरः ।...
अथवा नैषा सन्निययाख्या । संज्ञैषा तत्रभगवतः ।

† VIII. 3, 95.

‡ Pat. IV. 1, 4 Ahn. कुर्वणोवकाशः । नाकुलः । साहदेवः । प्यस्य स एव । भीमसेनो
नाम कुरुस्तस्माद्दुर्भयं प्राप्नोति । प्यो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । भीमसेन्यः । § III. 3. 1 ann.

|| Under II. 2, 34 भातुश्च ज्यायसः पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ-
In this, Yudhisṭhira is spoken of as Arjuna's elder brother.

YudhishtirArjunau, and not *dvandvam YudhishtirArjunau*.* From this I infer that the story of Yudhishtira and Arjuna was current and popular in Patanjali's time.

In another place, Patanjali, in his comments on Pân. III. 2, 122, gives, as an example of a counter-rule, III. 2, 118, *Dharmaena sma Kuravo yudhyante*, i. e. the Kurus fought with fairness. Now the war between the sons of Pându and Dhṛitarâshṭra, both of whom belonged to the Kuru race, is known as a Dharma-yuddha, i. e. a war in which it was not allowable for the hostile parties to carry their enmity beyond the field of battle, and in which, even in battle, no unfair advantage could be taken by either side. Besides, this is an instance in which the present *yudhyante*, we are told, has the sense of the perfect, i. e. the action of fighting took place at a remote time and was not witnessed by the speaker. This shows that, when Patanjali wrote, the war was considered as having taken place at a remote time. From these quotations it follows that there was in Patanjali's time a work describing the war of the Kurus, that it was popularly read, that it contained a story concerning the five Pânduvas also, and that it was regarded as ancient. This could be no other than the Mahâbhârata. Perhaps the story in the epic was made the subject of new poems in Patanjali's time, for under II. 2, 24 he quotes, as if from such a work, 'asidvitiyonusasâra Pânduavam,' 'he followed the Pânduva, sword in hand.' This forms a regular line in the *vanâstha* metre. Of course I do not assert that the poem existed in Patanjali's time in exactly the same form as we have it now. There can be no question that several additions have been subsequently made, and it has undergone a good deal of transformation. The very popularity of our epics has made it almost impossible now to secure a correct or reliable text. But the main story as we now have it, leaving the episodes out of consideration, was current long before Patanjali's time.

My next testimony is from inscriptions. The inscriptions in the Nâsik caves—at least the earlier ones—appear, from the forms of the characters and the names of kings and other noted persons occurring therein, to date from the first to the third century of the Christian

* Under Pap. VIII. 1. 15. अत्यन्तसहचरिते लोकविज्ञाते इन्द्रमित्युपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम्। इन्द्रं स्कन्दविज्ञात्वी। इन्द्रं नारदपर्वतौ। अत्यन्तसहचरित इति किमर्थम्। द्वौ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ। लोकविज्ञात इति किमर्थम्। द्वौ देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ। Kaiyata on this last. द्वौ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनाविति। लोकविज्ञानादभिन्धक्तावेतौ नत्वत्यन्तं सहचरितौ.

era. In one of these Gotamīputra's prowess and exploits are compared to those of Késava, Bhīmsena, Arjuna, and Janamejaya,* all of whom are Mahābhārata characters. The Chālukya copper-plate grant translated by Professor Dowson, and one of the Gurjara ones translated by me last year, contain verses, quoted from the work of Vyāsa, one of which is addressed to Yudhishtīra.† This clearly is a reference to the Mahābhārata. The date of the former is 394, and of the latter 417 which correspond to 472 A.D. and 495 A.D. on the supposition that the era referred to is the Śaka. An inscription‡ in a temple at Iwullee, in the Dharwar and Mysore districts, bears the date 3730 in the era of the war of the Bhārata. The Śaka date corresponding to it is given as 506, i. e. 584 A.D. It thus appears that in the latter part of the sixth century the war which forms the theme of the Mahābhārata was considered to have taken place about four thousand years before.

The date of Kālidāsa is not yet thoroughly settled, but he must certainly have flourished long before Bāṇa, for he is mentioned by him in the Harshacharitra.§ Bāṇa, whose patron was Śrī-Harsha, as he himself tells us, lived in the first half of the seventh century, as is determined by a comparison of Hwan Thsang's itinerary with what is known from Sanskrit sources and from the Chālukya copperplates.|| Kālidāsa is also mentioned in the Iwullee inscription, noticed above, as a famous poet. Now, the Yaksha in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta directs his messenger, the cloud, to go by Kurukshetra, in which the Kshatriyas fought a battle, "in the course of which he with the *Gāṇḍiva* bow (i. e. Arjuna) discharged showers of arrows at the faces of the assembled

* *Jour. Bom. As. Soc.*, No. XXII., p. 52, Inscr. No. 26, l. 8; and *Jour. No. XVIII.*, p. 41.

† *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. I., New Series, pp. 269, 270; and *Jour. Bom. A. S.*, No. XXVIII.

‡ *Jour. Bom. A. S.*, No. XXVII., p. cxcviii. Dr. Bhāu Dāji here reads the Mahābhārata date as three thousand eight hundred and fifty-five years, but 3730 as above at p. 315 of the same No. The mistake seems to have arisen from his having taken अष्टसु for अष्टसु in the former place.

§ Dr. Hall's edn. of *Vāsavadattā*, p. 14, notes.

|| *Ibid.* p. 17, notes. *Journal Bom. A. S.*, Vol. III., p. 203. The Chālukya prince who conquered Harshavardhana, the patron of Bāṇa, was Satyāśraya Śrī Prithivī Vallabha, whose great-grandson Vijayāditya was on the throne in Śaka 627, i. e. 705 A.D. From the Iwullee inscription quoted above, it also appears that Satyāśraya was on the throne in 506 Śaka, or 584 A.D. This agrees pretty well with Hwan Thsang's chronology.

warriors." * Bāna himself in his Kādambarī makes Vilāsavatī, the queen of Tārāpīḍa, one of the characters in the tale, to go to the temple of Mahākāla in Ujjayinī, where she hears the Mahābhārata read.† By the way, this shows that the custom of reading the Mahābhārata or Purāṇas in temples for the edification of the visitors is as old as Bāna-bhaṭṭa. In another place we are told that the inhabitants of Ujjayinī were fond of the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, and the Rāmāyaṇa.‡ Elsewhere the Achchhoda lake is compared to the Bhārata.§ For there were observable there disturbances caused by the *paksha* of the race of Pāṇḍu Dhārtarāshṭras. There is a *double entendre* here; in the case of the Bhārata the expression means the adherents of the races of Pāṇḍu and of Dhṛitarāshṭra, and in the other the wings of white swans. There is also another equivocal on the name of the Bhārata.|| Bāna also alludes in the same work to the death of Pāṇḍu caused by the curse of Kindama Muni, to his wife Prithā having remained a widow all her life, to the death of Abhimanyu, and to the widowhood of his wife Uttarā, to Arjuna's having killed Jayadratha, to Arjuna's having been restored to life by Ulūpi after he had been killed by his own son Babhruvāhana, as related in the Āśvamedhika Parva, and to Kṛishṇa's having restored to life Parikshit, the son of Abhimanyu, stillborn in consequence of Aśvatthāmā's charmed arrow.¶ There can, therefore, be no question that the Mahābhārata existed in a form complete, so far as the story concerning the principal characters goes, in Bāna's time, i.e. in the first half of the seventh century.

In the Harshacharitra, Bāna mentions a work called Vāsavadattā. It is very probable that the Vāsavadattā here meant is a work of that

* ब्रह्मवर्त्तं जनपदमध्वःशायया गाहमानः क्षेत्रं सत्रमधनपिशुनं कौरवं तद्भजेथाः॥

राजन्यानां सितशरशतैर्यत्र गाण्डीवधन्वा धारापातैस्त्वमिव कमलान्यभ्यषिन्वन्मुखानि॥

† Kādambarī, Calc. edn. of 1919 Sam. अथ तु चतुर्दशीति भगवन्तं महाकालमर्चितु-
मितो गतया महाभारते वाच्यमाने श्रुतमपुत्राणां किल गतिर्नास्ति।

‡ Kād., Calc. edn. of 1919 Sam., p. 57 : महाभारतपुराणरामायणानुरागिणा बृहत्क-
थाकुशलेन.

§ Ibid., p. 138 : भारतमिव पाण्डुधार्तराष्ट्रकुलपक्षकृतसोभम्.

|| Ibid., p. 103 : भारतसमरमिव कृतवमौशिलीमुखसंभारभीषणम्.

¶ Ibid., pp. 196 and 197, from पृथां च वाञ्छेयीं to अयमर्थेऽर्जुनेन लोकान्तरमुपनी-
तेष्यकृतभाषपरित्यागाम्; and from अर्जुनं च to दुर्लभानसूत्रापितवान्.

name by Subandhu. But even if it were thought otherwise, Subandhu is mentioned in a śloka* attributed to Rājasekhara, from whose works again there are quotations† in the Sarasvatī Kaṅṭhābharana. This last work is attributed to King Bhoja. It contains a śloka in the first chapter addressed to Munja, ‡ the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja of Dhara, from which it appears that the work was written soon after the tenth century. Now Subandhu's Vāsavadattā contains many allusions to the Mahābhārata and to some of the characters in the story. Bhīma's having killed the giant Baka, the skill of the Pāṇḍavas in gambling, the Kīchakas as officers of King Virāṭa, Duhśāsana, Arjuna, and such other persons and events are mentioned. The name of the epic also occurs several times. §

The Mṛichchhakaṣīka is one of our oldest dramas, though its exact date is not yet determined. It is mentioned in the commentary on the Daśarūpa,|| of which more hereafter. In this play, the poet, in order to bring out the meanness, foolishness, and presumption of one of the characters makes him misquote the Mahābhārata. Draupadī is, according to him, dragged by the hair by Rāma, instead of Duhśāsana, Subhadra becomes the sister of Viśvāvasu and not Krishṇa, and she is carried away by Hanūman instead of Arjuna. In other parts of the play also there are several allusions. ¶

There is a commentary by Śankarāchārya on the Bhagavadgītā, which forms an episode of the Mahābhārata. In his principal work, the Bhāshya on the Vedānta Sūtras, there are many quotations from the Gītā and other parts of the Mahābhārata.** A verse from the Sāvitrīyupākhyāna, an episode in the Vanaparva, occurs in his comments on the sūtra I. 3. 24.†† The age of Śankarāchārya has not yet been fixed

* Śārngadhara, chap. on Viśiṣṭha Kavipraśāsa:— माघो भारविकालिदासतरलाः
स्कन्धः सुबन्धुश्च यः Dr. Hall's reading of the first name in this is मघो, which is evidently a mistake. (see his edn. of Vās., p. 20, notes.)

† Prof. Aufrecht's Oxford Cat., p. 209a.

‡ Ibid.

§ Dr. Hall's edn., pp. 15, 21, 27, 33, 70, 106, & 147.

|| Dr. Hall's edn. of Daśarūpa, p. 127.

¶ Calc. edn. of the play, Śaka 1792, pp. 28, 31, 109, 199.

** Sūtra Bhāshya Bibl. Ind., Vol. I. p. 275, 456, &c.

†† Ibid. p. 276:— अथ सत्यवतः कायात्पाशबद्धं वक्षंगतम्। अक्रुष्टमात्रं पुरुषं निबद्धकर्व
यमो बलात्॥ In the Bombay edn. of the Mahābhārata this śloka occurs as it is here, the only difference being the substitution of ततः for अथ.

with certainty, but some scholars are of opinion that he flourished in the 9th century. In the *Konga Deśa Charita*, a Tamil chronicle in the Mackenzie collection, Śankarâchârya is mentioned as having converted a king of the Chera country named Tiru Vikrama from Jainism to the Śaiva faith. The date of the king given in the MS. is 100 Śaka. But Prof. Dowson thinks the MS. is not trustworthy here, and is of opinion that he reigned in the sixth century. He also thinks that, perhaps out of a desire to assign a remote antiquity to the reformer, the compiler of the MS. may have transferred him from the reign of Tiru Vikrama II., another king of the same country, to that of Tiru Vikrama I., and assigns the eighth century to the former.* Mr. Burgess possesses a copperplate grant† by Kongaṇi Mahâdhirâja, another king of the dynasty, who appears, from a comparison of the plates and the chronicle, to have been the tenth after Tiru Vikrama I., and the third before Tiru Vikrama II. The date of the grant is 388, which supposing the era to be the Śaka, as is very likely, since the dates in the MS. are all referred to that era, corresponds to 466 A.D. Now, taking twenty years as the average duration of each reign, Tiru Vikrama I. must have been reigning in 346 A.D., and Tiru Vikrama II. in 526 A.D. And this latter date, curiously enough, agrees with that given in the chronicle, while the former does not. It thus follows that if the king converted to the Śaiva faith was Tiru Vikrama I., Śankarâcharya must have flourished in the fourth century, and if he was Tiru Vikrama II., in the sixth century. The Mahâbhârata then must have existed at the latter date.

The drama of the *Veṅṣanâhâra* by Bhaṭṭa Nârâyaṇa is based on the latter part of the story in the Mahâbhârata. It dramatizes the incidents in the war between the sons of Pându and Dṛitarâshṭra. In the prologue, Bhaṭṭa Nârâyaṇa thus speaks of the reputed author of the Mahâbhârata :—“I adore Kṛishṇa Dvaipâyana, who was no *Kṛishṇa*, *i. e.* whose deeds were pure, who had conquered his passions and who composed the nectar of the Mahâbhârata, drinkable by the ears.” The *Kirâtârjuniya* of Bhâravi and the *Śisûpâlavadhâ* of Mâgha are also based on parts of the story in the Mahâbhârata. The dates of these authors have not been determined, but it appears they must all

* See the Professor's Essay on the Chera Kingdom, *Jour. R. A. S.*, No. XV., pp. 17, 18.

† Since published in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. I., pp. 363-366.

have flourished before the tenth century. There are quotations* from their works in Dhanika's commentary on the *Daśarūpa* by Dhananjaya, who was patronized by Munja, the uncle of Bhoja, as appears from the last verse in the work. Dhanika seems to have been Dhananjaya's brother, and from a copperplate grant mentioned by Dr. Hall,† he appears to have lived in the middle of the tenth century. There are also extracts from these three books in the *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa*,‡ a work which I have already noticed.

Hemādri, as he tells us in his works, was a minister of Mahādeva, a Yādava king of Devagiri, who, according to Sir Walter Elliot, ascended the throne in 1182 Śaka, corresponding to 1260 A.D.§ In the *Dānakhandā* of this author, recently printed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there are many quotations from the *Mahābhārata*.||

We will next turn our attention to a Marāṭhī work. The *Jnāneśvari*, a Marāṭhī commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*, was finished, as the author tells us, in the year of Śaka 1212, i. e. 1290 A.D.¶ In the first chapter the *Mahābhārata* is spoken of in terms of praise and reverence, and we are told that the *Bhagavadgītā* was addressed by Kṛiṣṇa to Arjuna, and occurs in the *Bhīṣmaparva* of the work, as it does in our existing copies. Janamejaya also is mentioned by *Jnāneśvara*.**

Sāyaṇa was minister to Bukka, king of Vijayanagar, whom he mentions in all his works. Bukka was on the throne in 1334 A.D. ††

* Dr. Hall's edn. of *Daśarūpa*, pp. 118, 142, 143, 146, 148, 150, 151, 152, 153, &c. &c.

† Dr. Hall's *Daśarūpa*, p. 3, notes.

‡ Dr. Aufrecht's *Oxford Cat.*, p. 208b, p. 209a. In the Iwallee inscription noticed above, Dr. Bhāu reads the name of Bhāravi, and in the copy given in the *Bombay Society's Journal* the name does seem to occur in the last line, but in the photographic copy the *ra* is wanting, and the word looks like *Bhāvi*. I cannot arrive at any definite conclusion on this point in the absence of a better copy of the inscription.

§ *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. IV., p. 28.

|| pp. 6, 10, 25, 31, 33, &c. &c.

¶ शक्रे बारवते बारोचरे । ते टीका केली ज्ञानेधरे । सच्चिदानन्द बाबा आदरे । लेखक जाहाला ॥, last verse of chap. 18.

** स्रगजनी जनमेजयाचे अवलीळा । दोष हरले ॥ स्रगजनी महाभारती नाही । ते नोहे लोकीं तिहीं । येणे कारणे स्रगिवे पाहीं । व्यासोच्छिष्ट जगत्त्रय ॥ मुनि.सांगे नृपनाथा जनमेजया ॥

†† Prinsep's *Chronological Tables*.

Sâyana quotes from the Mahâbhârata in his commentary on the Taittirîya Upanishad. In the Sarvadarśana Sangraha an argument is brought forward by a follower of Jaimini to prove that the Vedas are eternal. An objector is then introduced who says that it would apply equally well to the Mahâbhârata. In another place also the epic is mentioned in the Sarvadarśana Saugraha.* In the same book quotations from the Kāvya-prakāśa occur.† The Kāvya-prakāśa itself quotes from the Veṅīsanhâra,‡ which I have already mentioned. Sâyana quotes from the Mahâbhârata in his comments on Parâsara also.§

Śârṅgadhara, in his Paddhati or Anthology, tells us that he was the grandson of Râghava, who was in the service of Hammîra, a Chohan prince.|| Hammîra came to the throne, according to Col. Tod, in 1300 A. D.¶ Śârṅgadhara must have therefore flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century. In his Paddhati he quotes from the Veṅīsanhâra, Kirâtârjunîya, Śîśupâlavadhâ, Bhagavadgîta and other parts of the Mahâbhârata.**

* Sarva-Darśana-Sangraha, *Bibl. Ind.*, p. 64 and p. 128.

वेदस्याध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।

वेदाध्ययनसामान्याद्भुनाध्ययनं यथा ॥

इत्यनुमानं प्रतिसाधनं प्रगल्भत इति चेत्तदपि न प्रमाणकोटिं प्रवेष्टुमीष्टे

भारताध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।

भारताध्ययनत्वेन सांप्रताध्ययनं यथा ॥ इति ।

† *Ibid.*, p. 172.

‡ In the chaps. on *Rasa* and *Dośa*.

§ Prof. Aufrecht's *Oxford Cat.*, p. 265a, 266b: *Anuśāsana-parva* and *Āśva-medha-parva* are mentioned here.

॥ पुरा शाकम्भरीदेशे श्रीमान्हम्मीरभूपतिः ।

चहुवाणान्वये जातः ख्यातः शौर्ये इवार्जुनः ॥

तस्याभवत्सभ्यजनेषु मुख्यः

* * * *

द्विजाग्रणी राघवदेवनामा ॥

गोपालदामोदरदेवदाससंज्ञा बभूवुस्तनयास्तदीयाः ।

तेषां मध्ये यस्तु दामोदरोभूदुत्पाद्य श्रीनात्मजान्वीतरागः ।

* * * * *

ज्येष्ठः शार्ङ्गधरस्तेषाम् ।

¶ Dr. Hall's *Vās.*, p. 48, notes.

** Chaps. on *Viśiṣṭakavi-praśānsâ*, *Raudrarasa*, *Bhayânakarasa* *Sântarasa*, *Vīrarasa*, &c. &c.

I have thus briefly sketched the principal testimonies to the existence of the Mahâbhârata from the time of Pāṇini and Âśvalâyana, *i. e.* from about the fifth century before Christ to the time of Śârṅga-dhara, *i. e.* the 14th century after Christ.

The antiquity of the Mahâbhârata being thus established, the grant, which according to Prof. Airy's calculations was made in 1521 A. D., must be pronounced to be a forgery. The fact that the villages conveyed by it are still in the possession of the descendants of the pretended donees agrees with the conclusions arrived at from the other data. Most of the queries of Col. Ellis contained in the letter before us, based as they are on the genuineness of the grant, require, I think, no answer. He refers to a passage in Ânandgiri's Śaukara-vijaya in which the *matha* of Maṇḍaṇa Mîsra is said to have been situated a few miles from Hastinâpura, which, as I have before mentioned, the Colonel identifies with Anagunḍi. There must have been some mistake here; for Mâdhava in his Śankara-vijaya, tells us that Maṇḍaṇa Misra lived in Mâhismatî, on the Narmadâ.* Anagunḍi may have been called Hastinâpura in some corner of the country, and there is some ground for it, for the name Anagunḍi is derived from *ane*, which in Canarese means, I am told, an elephant, and *gunḍi*, a lane. But the classical Hastinâpura was certainly far to the north. Patanjali, in his remarks on the Sûtra *yasya châyûmah* (Pan. II. 1-16) gives *Anugangam Hâstinapuram* as an example from which it is clear that Hastinâpura was situated on the Ganges. Besides, in the grant, Janamejaya is represented as having gone from his capital to the south to subjugate the different parts of the country, and performed the Sarpasattra or serpent-sacrifice at Harihara, at the junction of the Tungabhadrà with the Harida. There is a place of that name on the map and it is situated at the junction of the Tungabhadrà with another river, but its bearing from Anagunḍi is south-east by east, so that it appears that even in the grant the Hastinâpura that was meant was that one in the north. Some of the Colonel's questions as to the identification of the places the names of which occur in the grant can only be answered by one acquainted with the locality.

* See the Bombay edn. of Mâdhava's Sank. Vij., chap. viii.

ART. X.—*Notices of Hindu Tribes and Castes in Gújarát.*

BY JAVE'RILA'L U'MIASHANKAR YA'JNIK, Esq.

 Read 10th December 1872.

Preliminary Remarks on the sources of information about them.

I place before the Society the undermentioned MSS. (partly Sanskrit and partly Gujaráti), bearing upon Hindu Tribes and Castes in Gujarát.

They are—

1. An Inquiry into Castes in the City of Broach, conducted by H. Borradaile, Esq., in 1829 (Gujaráti).*
2. The *Pravarádhyáya*, a Sanskrit MS.
3. The *Nágar Khand*, a portion of the *Skand Purána*, also in Sanskrit.
4. The *Śrimál Múhátmya*, a Sanskrit MS.
5. The *U'dichyaprakúśah*, do.
6. The *Nirṇaya Dípiká*, by Achal Davé, do.
7. Narrative connected with the marriage of Sámaldás, the son of Narsinha Méhétá, the earliest of the Gujaráti poets, by Kavi Vallabha (Gujaráti).

Of these works the first contains queries respecting the law and custom of Hindu tribes and castes in Gujarát, with answers referring specially to castes in the city of Broach. It is but a fragment of a larger work, since it embraces only the Brahmanical castes, whereas the inquiry had reference to *all* castes in the city. Similar results, as is well known, have been obtained for Surat, where the investigation first began. I have placed the Broach MS. at the head of the list, as it comprises

* This MS. has been kindly placed at my disposal by Desái Kalyánraí Hakúmatrái, of Broach. For the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th MSS. I am indebted to my learned friend, Ráo Bahádur Bholánáth Sárábhái, of Ahmedabad, at present First Grade Subordinate Judge of Kaira.

some of the authentic results of the earliest attempts made by our Government to obtain a knowledge of the people and institutions of Western India. The history of such attempts is well worthy of notice. It would appear that after the settlement of the territory acquired from the Peishwa and the Gaekwad by the British, the late Mountstuart Elphinstone, while at the head of the Government of Bombay, was occupied with a scheme having for its object the preparation of a Code of Laws and Regulations for the Presidency,—a code founded on general principles of jurisprudence, and adapted to the customs and usages of this country. In a minute, dated the 22nd of July 1823, he pointed out the necessity of enquiring into the existing law and custom of the Hindus, affecting, especially, civil suits in the Presidency. He admitted the usefulness of the Hindu law-books, especially of such of them as were held to be of unquestionable authority in respect of questions bearing upon the social and domestic institutions of the country. In their application to every-day cases arising out of the current usages of the people, however, these law-books were found to be, in many respects, unsuitable. An examination of them showed that they had not kept pace with the progress of the country, and did not embody innovations which time and custom had introduced into Hindu society. On the other hand, custom had asserted its sway over law, and had, in fact, superseded it in many important points affecting marriage, divorce, *stridhan*, alimony, inheritance, adoption, division of property, &c. We find accordingly that at the commencement of British rule in Western India, the courts of justice, in the exercise of their civil jurisdiction respecting any one of these subjects, had to rely, partly, on the opinion of their Hindu law-officers to ascertain the particular law bearing upon the case in dispute, and, partly, upon the evidence of witnesses belonging to the caste to which the parties to the suit belonged, with a view to know what the prevailing custom of that caste was. The difficulty of this mode of procedure was manifestly great. Supposing that the Court Śāstris expounded the law as correctly and conscientiously as they could, and that the witnesses, on whose trustworthiness the Court had to rely, made as unbiassed and correct a statement of existing practice amongst their community as was consistent with truth, the Court was still left to the necessity of sifting the weight of the authorities cited in support of the Śāstris' views; of comparing the opinions of different Hindu jurists, and of deciding as to which was the most just and correct view bearing

upon the point in dispute. This was hardly possible at the commencement of British rule in Western India, when regular courts of justice, though established at a much earlier date in Gujarát than in the Dekkan, hardly existed in all the districts of the Presidency, and when an intimate acquaintance with Hindu Law and current customs of the country amongst English Judges presiding over Mofussil Courts was a rare acquirement. It was to remedy this defect in the administration of justice that Mountstuart Elphinstone applied himself to prepare a Code. In the minute adverted to before, he indicated the methods he considered most expedient to adopt in the matter. "There are but two courses,"* said he, "by which a remedy can be applied,—the first is to make "a new code founded entirely on general principles applicable to all "ages and nations; the second is to endeavour to compile a complete "and consistent code from the MSS. of written law, and the fragments "of traditions determining on general principles of jurisprudence those "points where the Hindu books and traditions present only conflicting "authorities, and, perhaps, supplying, on similar principles, any glaring "deficiencies that may remain when the matter for compilation has "been exhausted. The first of these courses, if otherwise expedient, "is rendered entirely impracticable here by the attachment of the natives "to their own institutions, and by the degrees to which their laws are "interwoven with their religion and manners. The second plan is there- "fore the only one which it is in our power to pursue. The first step "towards the accomplishment of its objects appears to be to ascertain "in each district whether there is any book of acknowledged authority, "either for the whole or any branch of the law: the next is to ascertain "what customs and traditions exist independent of them. The best "modes of conducting these inquiries are—1st, to examine the Shastrees, "heads of castes, and other persons likely to be acquainted either with "the law, the customs of castes, or the public opinion regarding the "authority attached to each; and, 2nd, to extract from the records of "the courts of justice the information already obtained in these subjects "in the course of judicial investigation."

My object in quoting these remarks from the minute of the eminent statesman is to indicate the plan on which it was resolved by his government to proceed for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of the

* See Preface to Steele's *Summary of Hindu Law and Custom*.

existing castes of Hindus and of their current customs and usages. The scope of these enquiries was primarily confined to such of the points in their social system as affected civil suits. Nevertheless, it embraced three most important subjects:—

First—The determination of text-books on Hindu Law, with their commentaries, held as authorities even at the present day by Śāstris and heads of castes in Hindu society.

Secondly—An enquiry into the number and relations of existing castes, their divisions and subdivisions, with notices of old customs still obtaining amongst them, and of new ones not having the force of written law.

Thirdly—A comparison of the written with the unwritten Law, with special reference to points in which the one coincided with, or differed from, the other.

It would seem that immediate action followed the minute of the Honourable the President of the Council. A commission known as “the Regulation Committee” was appointed by Government to prepare a Code of Regulations. Acting upon the suggestions contained in the minute of Mr. Elphinstone, this Committee prepared a set of leading questions “as the foundation of others to be introduced in progress of the investigation,”* and transmitted them to the Revenue Commissioners, Residents, Political Agents, and Collectors throughout the Presidency, with a view to obtain answers to them from the heads of castes in each district. The information thus obtained in regard to the Dekkan has been utilized by Mr. Steele in his “Summary of the Law and Custom among Hindu Castes.”

In Gujarát it was found expedient at the commencement to restrict the scope of the enquiry to one district only, lest it might give rise to any needless alarm among the people, who were generally ignorant of the objects contemplated by the measure. Accordingly, Surat was the first zilla where it was resolved that the enquiry should begin. The work was entrusted to the late Mr. H. Borradaile, who, by his translation of the *Vyavahár Mayúkh*, and his Reports of Judicial Cases illustrative of the rights, usages, and customs of the people of Gujarát, had shown his fitness for the task. He called before him the Śāstris of the place, and the leading men of different castes, and required them to answer his questions to the best of their knowledge and belief.

* *Vide* page 2 of the Preface to Mr. Steele's Summary.

At the end of their examination they were asked to affirm to the correctness of the statements made by them. In this way facts were collected regarding each caste. The city of Surat alone was found in 1829 to contain as many as 207 castes, all having more or less social differences and peculiarities of their own. One thing to be regretted in connection with this enquiry is that the results which were arrived at, after a patient and laborious examination of so many castes, should have hitherto remained unpublished, or unused for all practical purposes, so far as I am aware, except occasionally by the Judges of the Appellate High Court. Some idea of the nature of this enquiry may be formed from the copy of the Broach MS. now before the meeting. This work opens with queries on the following subjects:—

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Betrothal. | 7. Funeral Obsequies. |
| 2. <i>Strídhán</i> . | 8. Inheritance. |
| 3. Marriage. | 9. Division of Property. |
| 4. Divorce. | 10. Excommunication. |
| 5. Widow Marriage. | 11. Caste customs. |
| 6. Alimony. | 12. Adoption. |
| 13. Miscellaneous. | |

This is followed by replies from the heads of each caste, who conclude by affixing their names to the statements made by them. In the MS. before us, the castes that supply information are chiefly Brahmanical, with a few others. They are:—

1. Bhárgava Vísá Bráhmaṇs.
2. Do. Dasá do.
3. Khedáwál Bhítrá do.
4. U'dichya Sahasra do.
5. Do. Tolakiyá do.
6. Bhaṭ Mewáqá do. (senior branch.)
7. Do. do. do. (junior branch.)
8. Chowrási do. do.
9. Śrímáli do.
10. U'náwál do.
11. Sáraswat do.
12. Bhátellá do.
13. Tapodhan do.
14. Wáydá do.

15. Wadnágará Nágara Bráhmaṇs.
16. Zárolá do.
17. Kandoliá do.

Six other castes.

18. Brahma Kshatri.
19. Sutâr Pancháli.
20. Khatri Paraśúrâmi.

Unhappily the enquiries thus commenced were not extended to other districts of Gujarât. Even at Surat and Broach they were looked upon with suspicion by people,—even intelligent classes,—who often held back, under one excuse or other, from supplying the requisite information. This was discouraging enough. And it probably accounts for the postponement of all further attempts in this direction.

So far for the endeavours of the local Government to obtain a knowledge of the constitution of native society and the customs and usages of the people. Besides the partial results thus obtained, there are a few works in Sanskrit descriptive of some of the Brahmanical castes in Gujarât. They are comparatively of modern date, but, as many of the castes themselves are of modern origin, this circumstance would in no way detract from their merits, were it not for the very remote origin which each work seeks to establish for the caste of which it professes to treat. They hardly afford much assistance in arriving at any correct solution as to the date when some of the principal castes, out of the many now existing, were formed. Amidst much that is mythical and legendary in them, it is only rarely that we alight upon statements tending to throw some light on the past history of castes in Gujarât. The *Nágar Khaṇḍ* for instance, professes to treat of the Nágara Bráhmaṇs of Gujarât. It forms the third *Parichhêda* of the *Skand Purân*. In like manner, the Śrimáli Bráhmaṇs point to the *Śrimál Mâhâtmya*—also a portion of the *Skand Purân*—as a work of authority for their caste. The U'dichyas, who are by far the most numerous class of Bráhmaṇs in Gujarât, refer for an account of the origin of their caste to a work called the *U'dichya Prakâsa*. This work, it must be confessed, has many pretensions to credibility in regard to the history it professes to give of the arrival and settlement of the U'dichyas in Gujarât. The Kandole Bráhmaṇs, likewise, refer for their history to a *Purân* which they call the *Kandole Purân*. In Surat zilla there is a class of Bráhmaṇs

called Bhúttellá Desáís, who are chiefly either landholders or cultivators. They profess to have a *Purán* of their own, known as the *U'nátrála Purán*. These works will be referred to more at length when we come to the particular castes of which they treat.

Besides these works, the text-books of the Dharma Śástra which are of recognized authority throughout Gujarát and the Dekkan in all matters affecting the social as well as the legal status of the Hindus, are those of Manu and Yájñavalkya, with Vijnanbikshu's Commentary on the latter,—the *Mitákshará*; the *Vyavahár Mayúkh*; the *Nirṇaya Sinúhu*; *Hémádrí*; *Madhva on Parúsar*, &c. Other works on Hindu law are also held to be more or less authoritative, though they are not so frequently referred to as those named above.

I have thus briefly indicated some of the principal sources of information on the subject of castes in Gujarát. It must be confessed that they by no means guide us to a knowledge of all the existing castes: I must not, however, here omit to mention the efforts of Mr. Dalpatráam Dayabhái in this direction. In his "*Jñiti Nibandh*," or "*Essay on Castes*," he has attempted to supply much interesting and useful information on some of the principal castes in Gujarát.

A practical means of obtaining an insight into the statistics of castes would, perhaps, be the returns of the census. It does not appear, however, that this object has ever been kept in view at the time of taking a general census of the population on this side of India, though in the North-West Provinces it has not been lost sight of at each census. We find, for instance, that in his edition of Sir Henry Elliot's work on the History, Folklore, and Distribution of the Races of the North-West Provinces, Mr. Beames has largely availed himself of the materials placed at his disposal by the census returns of those provinces, in bringing the work down to a comparatively recent state of knowledge. The result of the census of this Presidency, taken in February last, would, when published, be serviceable in this respect. From the form in which the returns from the people were invited, however, it would appear that while the numerical results of the census, as supplied by these returns, would be most important, their value as a guide to a knowledge of Hindu castes and their sub-divisions would have been greatly enhanced if a column or two for this information

were added. We must, however, wait to see how far the census returns can be used profitably for this purpose.

Before proceeding to a detailed account of castes in Gujarát, I would refer to one important consideration bearing upon the institution in general. In doing this it must be premised that it is not my object here to discuss at length the question of the origin and antiquity of caste in India, or to trace its existence from remote times, or, further, to consider whether or not India was the original seat of the Bráhmical race. Each of these is a large question, a satisfactory determination of which demands materials for evidence which either do not exist at the present day, or, where they may exist, are not yet accessible to scholars. The study of Sanskrit and a survey of its literature by European scholars have, however, led to the formation of certain theories by them on these and other cognate subjects which are deserving of careful attention and study, not simply because they are, in many respects, inconsistent with or opposed to the views held on those very subjects by orthodox Indian writers, but with the object of determining what is the truth about them. Take, for instance, the question about the antiquity of caste as an institution in India. The orthodox opinion, which has been handed down from one generation of Indian writers to another, and which is the foundation of the belief commonly held at the present day, has assigned to it a period the most remote in the history of the world,—in fact, has made it coëval with the creation of the universe. The belief is general that from the first the Hindu race consisted of four classes,—the Bráhmaṇ, the Kshatriya, the Vaiśya, and the Śúdra—each of whom was created respectively from the mouth, the arms, the thigh, and the feet of the Creator. The oldest writings to which the existence of this notion has been traced are the Rigveda and the Yajurveda. In the Rigveda it occurs in the 90th hymn of the 10th book of the 8th Aśtaka of the Saṁhitá. In the Yajurveda the same hymn has a place in the 31st Chapter of the Saṁhitá of the White Yajurveda. In both places the hymn is known as the Púrúsha Súkṭa. That mantra of the Súkṭa, which contains reference to the four classes, runs thus:—*Brahmaṇo' sya mukhaṁ úsid b́hú ŕjanyah kṛitaḥ; úrú tad asya yad vaiśyah padbhyán Śudro ajáyata.* It may be translated thus:—“The Bráhmaṇ was his (Púrúsha's or Creator's) mouth; the Rájanya (Kshatriya) was made his arms; that (production which was called) the Vaiśya, that was his thighs; the

Śúdra was born from his feet." In his Lecture on the "Origin of Brahmanism," Dr. Haug, in referring to this passage, characterizes it as "the most ancient and authoritative on the origin of Brahmanism and caste in general."

The age of the Púrúsha Súkta, in which the above mantra occurs, has been a subject of considerable discussion amongst European scholars. The language and allegorical character of the hymn have led the majority of them to question its antiquity and assign it quite a modern date. Dr. John Muir, who goes somewhat elaborately into this question in his "Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India,"* describes the views of different European scholars on the age of this hymn, and arrives at the conclusion that the hymn was the production of a later age. It would appear that much stress has been laid by these scholars on the allegorical or, as they call it, the mystical nature of the hymn, to prove its modernness. This, however, is no argument that it is not as old as the other Vedic hymns, since many a hymn is found in the Vedas making use of allegorical or figurative expressions. Again, there is, after all, no great mystery about the passage in question. In making the Bráhmaṇ to be the mouth of the Creator, the author of the mantra, it is easy to understand, could hardly have meant anything more than that the Bráhmaṇ was created for the purpose of being the possessor and impartor of learning, the *guru* or the religious teacher and instructor of all classes. The mouth is the organ of speech, and speech in Hindu works is frequently associated with the idea of learning. In like manner, the arms being the seat of strength, and the means by which one could defend himself or his companions from the attacks of an enemy, the phrase "the Kshatriya was his arms" could only have been intended to mean that he was created for the purpose of protecting the people by the use of his arms—in other words, that he was to follow the military profession and to be the people's protector. The lower parts of the body are the principal receptacles of food; hence the creation of the Vaiśya to be the thigh of the Púrúsha was tantamount to saying that the Vaiśya was to concern himself principally with commerce and agriculture, thereby supplying all classes with the means of subsistence. He thus formed the mercantile

* Vide Sec. I., Ch. I., Vol. I., pp. 9—15 of the 2nd edition, on the mythical accounts of the creation of man, and of the four Castes.

and agricultural class. Lastly, the expression "the Śūdra was created to be the feet of the Púrúsha" meant that he was to be the servant of the three preceding classes.

The Púrúsha Sūkta is a well-known hymn in the Vedas, having a prominent place in the Bráhmānical ritual. To this day it is employed by the Rigvedi and Yajurvedi Bráhmaṇas in their principal ceremonies. It is true that, as far as we know, it is the only Vedic hymn in which a distinct mention is made of the creation of the different classes of Hindu society. But this circumstance in no way invalidates the traditional theory. On the other hand, the absence of any other hymn throughout the Vedas giving an account of the origin of Brahmanism and of caste in general, inconsistent with or contradictory to that given in the Púrúsha Sūkta, as we find is the case in later writings, indicates that there was hardly any difference of opinion on this subject among the writers of the Vedic period at least. Dr. Muir contends* that there was no settled opinion amongst them on this subject. So far, however, as the Vedas are concerned, there is nothing to show where the discrepancy in the account contained in them is. Dr. Haug, again, whose opinions on Vedic questions are entitled to as much consideration and authority as those of other European Sanskritists, has, in his Lecture on Brahmanism, submitted this hymn to a critical examination, and the conclusions he has arrived at tend to confirm, in a great measure, its traditional interpretation.

It is undeniable that in the later literature of India, the Bráhmaṇas, the Smṛitis, the Epic Poems, and the Puráṇas, we meet with accounts of the creation of the Hindu race that are inconsistent and often wholly

* At the conclusion of Sec. I. of Vol. I. of his *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Ch. 1, Dr. Muir observes :—

"But whatever may be the sense of the passage, it is impossible to receive it as enunciating any fixed doctrine of the writers of what is called the Vedic age in regard to the origin of the four castes ; since we find it not in the mantras or hymns, at least in the Bráhmaṇas (which, as we have seen in page 2, are esteemed by orthodox Indian writers as being, equally with the hymns, a part of the Veda), not only (1) texts which agree with the Purusha Sukta, but also (2) various other and discrepant accounts of the manner in which these classes were separately formed, as well as (3) a class of narratives of the creation in which the production of the human race is described without allusion to any primordial distinction of castes."

contradictory. When however, we consider the distance of the epochs which separate the composition of each of these classes of literary works, during which their authors gave themselves up to theories as best answered their purpose, it is hardly to be wondered at that their speculations should indicate a wide difference—nay, be often inconsistent and even wholly contradictory. As we find from later authorities, such as Manu and others, that the first three classes, known as *dvij* or twice-born, had many things in common amongst them, it is but natural to suppose that Hindu society during the early period of its history was composed of two classes, one of which was looked upon as a superior race, and the other an inferior or servile class—the first being known as the *Áryans*, and the second as the *Dasyus* or slaves. This division corresponds, in some respects, to the division of society into freemen and slaves which we read of in early Greek history, the *Áryans* forming the class of freemen, and the *Dasyus* that of slaves. The Hindu conception, however, is quite original, and independent of any Greek influence.

Coming down to the time of Manu, we find the existence of four castes to be a prominent feature of Hindu society in his time. In his code of laws, the Hindu jurist observes* :—“The Bráhmaṇ, the Kshatriya, “and the Vaiśya are the three twice-born classes; and the Śúdra “forms the fourth class, but there is no fifth class. ” It must be confessed that in some parts the code gives discrepant accounts of the origin of the human species. Still there can be little doubt that the main composition of Hindu society in Manu's time must be as above. In any long intercourse of people, however, the strictness of this classification can hardly hold, as no community of people can main or continue to be bound by such a rigid tie. We find that even in Manu's time the disintegration of Hindu society had already commenced. While the offsprings resulting from the marriage of members of each class among their respective communities were considered natural, pure, and legitimate, intermarriages between different classes were freely allowed. The children of such promiscuous marriages were, however, held to occupy a very inferior rank in society, and excluded from the privileges in regard to inheritance and other matters to which legitimate offsprings were entitled. They were known as

* Manu, Ch. X., verse 8.

Apasāda, or lower classes, and formed a numerous and ever-increasing section of the Hindu community, following a variety of professions. The offspring of a Brāhmaṇ marrying a woman of the Kshatriya caste, for instance, was called *Mūrdhāvāsikṭi*. A Brāhmaṇ marrying a Vaiśya woman had an offspring known in Manu's time as *Ambushta*, who followed the profession of a medical practitioner. The union of a Brāhmaṇ with a Śūdra woman resulted in a *Nishāḍ* or a *Pārshava*. In like manner, the offsprings of Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras marrying women belonging to classes above or below them in social rank, came to be known under distinctive appellations, and followed different professions. Such marriages of mixed classes among different sections of the Hindu community multiplied castes to an indefinite extent.

It is difficult—nay, almost impossible—to identify the names of the various mixed classes given by Manu with those existing at the present day, and *vice versā* it is equally hard or impossible to trace many of the existing castes back to their original sources. In their treatment of these classes, Hindu writers subsequent to Manu have not, as a rule, given their names, so as to furnish some link connecting the present with the past divisions of Hindu society. The process of disintegration, however, once commenced, appears to have been ever at work. Wherever the A'ryans advanced, whether in the south, east, or west, they carried with them their own organization of society, and permitted the formation of mixed classes to assist the development of their race.

One feature of these classes which materially fostered this development remains to be noticed. It was possible in the time of Manu for a descendant of a mixed caste to rise to the rights, dignity, and position of a high caste. Thus an *Ambushta* or *Vaidya*—a medical man (the offspring of a Brāhmaṇ married to a Śūdra woman)—could attain to the dignity of a Brāhmaṇ in the seventh line of descent, provided the successive female issues in his family were married at each period of the line to a Brāhmaṇ. Yājñavalkya even goes further when he says that the rise to a higher caste may take place in the fifth as well as the seventh line of descent. In this manner it may be easily supposed that many Brāhmaṇ, Kshatriya, and Vaiśya families, degraded by matrimonial alliances with castes of inferior orders, must have been restored to their pristine dignity. Those for whom it was not possible to reach this position among Brāh-

manical castes probably secured a place at least higher than that occupied by them before.

If this process of multiplying castes had gone on for a considerable length of time, the institution would have broken down by its own inherent weakness. A change, however, of a restrictive character appears to have come over this process of multiplication. The Bráhmaṇ ceased to marry a Kshatriya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra woman; the Kshatriya ceased to marry a woman of a caste superior or inferior to himself, and so on. Marriages thus came to be confined amongst members of the same community. The exact period when this change came over Hindu society it is difficult to determine. As Brahmanism began to exercise a stronger hold over the community, and the higher classes grew more powerful, greater restrictions came in course of time to be placed on the mutual intercourse of different classes. And accordingly we have, at this day, castes which, as will be seen in the sequel, are distinct communities in themselves, each having a social world of its own, within which its sphere of action is most rigidly confined.

Modern castes, especially the higher ones, are very compact bodies, held together by bonds which, it would not be perhaps quite correct to characterise as indissoluble, are yet such as cannot be broken through with impunity in the present state of popular feeling. There are social lines of demarcation separating each of the classes, which, though not easily distinguishable by strangers, are still sufficiently understood by members of each caste for all practical purposes of life. Of the numerous restrictions which fence them, the most important, and, at the same time, the most stringent, are in respect of—1st, eating and drinking; 2nd, formation of matrimonial alliances; and, 3rd, practical observances in regard to the doctrine of touch. The non-observance of these and other restrictions exposes a member of a caste to the penalty of excommunication.

In the absence of any authentic or connected accounts of castes during the long interval which separates modern Hindu society from the period of Manu's Code, we are left to grope in the dark as to the various phases which the institution assumed during the successive epochs when Brahmanism was on the decline; when the Buddhist religion gained ascendancy over popular forms of belief; and when, again, the revival of Brahmanical forms of worship became para-

mount throughout the country. It seems highly probable that the effect of these and other potent forces working on the society was at first to multiply its divisions, and subsequently to confirm the social separation by the compactness which they assumed. Though Buddhism declined, and, in course of time, became extinct from the land, Jainism—an offshoot of Buddhism—has continued to this day to flourish in Gujarát and other provinces of India. This has had no small share in multiplying castes. During the period of Mahomedan rule in India also, among the other political forces which were at work, the conversion of Hindus to the Mahomedan faith received very active support from the rulers. And we have this day communities like the Borahs, Khojas, Memons, &c., who are no more than Hinduized Mahomedans.

One reason why no progress has been made in obtaining a satisfactory account of modern castes is to be found in the very summary manner in which the subject is disposed of by writers on Hindu Law. In treatises on the Dharma-Śástras, for instance, we find their authors, down to the latest date, adhering to the traditional classification. All rules and precepts enjoined in these law-books under the respective heads *A'chár* (Religious Observances), *Vyavahár* (Law and Custom), and *Práyaschit* (Penance), have been given in reference to the different sections of Hindu society, as if the component elements of that society, down to this day, were only four, and no more, and that the numerous tribes and castes found at the present day were still referable to one or other of its principal divisions. Now, it may be acknowledged that, so far as the Bráhmaṇs are concerned, the old classification would hold good. Divided and subdivided as the Bráhmaṇs are into numerous tribes and castes (and they are more so in Gujarát than in any other part of India), they seem, upon the whole, to have, at all times, and in all parts of the country, formed a class distinct and distinguishable from the rest of the Hindu population, and have preserved the purity of their race intact, with, perhaps, the best and worst features of their class. They are still the predominant castes in Hindu society. The duties assigned to them by Manu of learning and teaching the Vedas, of offering sacrifices and officiating at the sacrificial rites, and of making and receiving gifts, are to this day performed by them, and, of late, by them exclusively. As a warrior class the Kshatriyas have mostly ceased to exist. Neither the protection of subjects, nor the offering of sacrifices, nor the study of the Vedas, forms, or is considered to form, a part of the religious duty of

those who, like the Rajputs, still claim to rank among the descendants of the Kshatriyas of yore, except by a very small class. Even where the above are considered to be their essential duties, such duties have seldom, if ever, been performed by the Rájputs at the present day. Again, *Kshatriya* as many of the reigning houses in Rajputána, Gujarát, Káthiávád and Kachh are, and claiming, as they do, to trace their descent from the Solar and Lunar dynasties, there can be little doubt, I think, that, excepting perhaps a few, many of the so-called Rajput tribes of the present day exhibit characteristics which, to say the least, are a very wide departure from those of Manu's Kshatriyas.

The Brahma Kshatriyas of Gujarát, and the Bhattis, from whom the Bhátíás of Bombay and Kachh trace their descent, also lay claim to a Kshatriya origin. It is often difficult, as observed in a previous part, to identify the bulk of other castes with any one of Manu's principal divisions. While claims are often put forward by many of them to be ranked in the category of '*dvij*' or twice-born classes, they are as often, and with perhaps equal vehemence, resisted by the superior classes.* In Gujarát the Vániás or Banyans claim to be regarded as a purely Vaiśya class. They even go further, and reckon themselves as next only to Bráhmaṇs, leaving the small class claiming to be the representatives of Kshatriyas behind them. Yet some of the common attributes assigned to the twice-born classes by Manu are wanting in them. As a matter of fact, they do not undergo the *Upanayana Sanskárs*, or ceremonies connected with the putting on of the sacrificial cord; nor, as a consequence of not undergoing the rites, do they wear the *Yajnopavit*, the common symbol of a *dvija*.† Again, they neither study the Vedas nor are permitted to perform the sacrificial rites. They are undoubtedly the great trading and banking class in Gujarát, Káthiávád, and Kachh, where they are known by the general appellation of "*Muhajan*," or "great people." In modern times, however, the profession of a *Vanik* by no means constitutes any claim to identity with Manu's Vaiśyas. Many other classes there are in Gujarát who, though they put on the sacred thread and assert their right to be

* Instances of this are very common in Hindu society.

† In the Dekkan and other parts of India, the Banyans do put on the thread, so that the wearing of the sacrificial cord by a Hindu is no indication of his being a member of the Brahmanical castes.

ranked among the Brahmanical classes, are looked still upon as inferior to them.

A change, however, is rapidly coming over caste feelings, under the influence of Western culture and civilization. It is of the gravest import to the future well-being of Hindu society. Education of the highest kind is now open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects who can avail themselves of it, irrespective of caste, colour, or creed. Merit and competency are becoming more potent instruments of worldly advancement than rank or social position. Rigid as the bonds which hold castes together appear to be, there are not wanting signs at the present day indicating that the limits of rigidity have been reached, and a turn towards the loosening of the screw has already commenced. The forces which have conspired to maintain the social equilibrium are fast beginning to grow weaker, and the future of castes has already become a problem of the day. No question connected with the future of Hindu society, however, requires greater caution to deal with, or demands a wider knowledge of the world and of the predominant forces which actuate human nature,—no question, it seems, stands more in need of being looked at or approached from a feeling of respect for the prejudices of the people. It must be remembered also that whereas the destructive forces, opposed as they are and will be, will take less time to accomplish their work, those of reconstruction are very slow processes indeed. Hindu society is not a mass of inert body, capable, like clay, of being moulded into as convenient forms and shapes as an artizan may desire. It has to be dealt with in a way which makes the greatest demands upon the practical wisdom and sagacity of those who undertake the work. That re-constructed it will be admits of little doubt when we look to surrounding circumstances; but the question is how to do it, what to avoid, and what to receive.

There is, perhaps, no other province of India which exhibits a greater variety and multiplicity of castes than the fertile land of Gujarát. Nowhere, perhaps, have the A'ryans developed their social organization into such an intricate labyrinth as here. Amongst the Bráhmans the divisions generally accepted constitute eighty-four castes. But if we take the Brahmanical castes as we find them at this day, the number is more than a hundred. The same remark holds true of "Vániás," who have their *chaurási* or 84 castes. Eighty-four is a mystic number, like five, nine, &c.: for where the number of existing castes do not

come up to 84, we have castes from other provinces, having but few representatives in Gujarát, imported into calculation to make up the number. Accordingly, it is not surprising that lists of castes from different parts of Gujarát Proper, Káthiavád, and Kachh should vary. Again, the Rajputs alone constitute 99 castes. The Brahma Kshatriyas, Khatris, and Bhátiás are classes widely different from the Rajputs. The Káyasthas form a pretty important class in Surat, Broach, and Ahmadábád districts. The Kunbis, who form the bulk of the agricultural classes, are divided into three branches—Lewá, Kudwá, and Ânjaná. As we descend lower in the scale of society, we meet with castes more or less professional. In their case it is difficult to mark with nicety tribal distinctions from those arising out of professions or trades, different castes often following the same calling. There are, however, professional castes in every large village, town, or district.

The list of castes and their subdivisions given below must be considered provisional, being subject to modifications as inquiry extends. In submitting it to the Society, the object chiefly kept in view is to give the names of those castes and subdivisions only which have a distinct recognition in Hindu society, and which exhibit sufficiently wide differences in social intercourse to deserve separate mention.

I.—BRAHMANICAL TRIBES.

A.—BRAHMANS.

First Group, comprising 6 subdivisions of Nágara Bráhmans.

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|------|-----------|
| 1. Vадnagará Nágara. ... | ... वडनगरा | नागर | ब्राह्मण. |
| 2. Visalagará „ ... | ... विसलनगरा | „ | „ |
| 3. Sáthodará „ ... | ... साठोदरा | „ | „ |
| 4. Praśnorá „ ... | ... प्रश्नोरा | „ | „ |
| 5. Kṛiśnorá „ ... | ... कृष्णोरा | „ | „ |
| 6. Chitrodá „ ... | ... चित्रोडा | „ | „ |

Second Group, comprising 3 subdivisions of U'dichya Bráhmans.

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| 7. Siddhpúrá. } | also known as | सिद्धपुरा. | } एषोने सहस्र
उदिच्य पण कहेछे. |
| 8. Śihora ... } | Sahasra U'dichyas. | शिहात. | |
| 9. Tolakiyá U'dichya ... | ... टोळकिया | उदिच्य. | |

Third Group, comprising 6 subdivisions of Modha Brahmans.

- | | | | |
|------------------------|----------------|-----|-----------|
| 13. Trivedi Modha. ... | ... त्रिवेदी | मोढ | ब्राह्मण. |
| 11. Cháturvedi do. ... | ... चातुर्वेदी | „ | „ |

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------|-----|-----|---------------------|-----------|
| 12. | Agiárasaná | Modha | ... | ... | अगियारक्षणा मोठ | ब्राह्मण- |
| 13. | Dhinojá | ... | ... | ... | धिनीजा. | " " |
| 14. | Jethi | ... | ... | ... | जेठी. | " " |
| 15. | Tándala or Tándaljá | ... | ... | ... | तांदळा (तांदळजा.) | |

Fourth Group, of 13 subdivisions of Bráhmans.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------------|
| 16. | Sáchorá | ... | ... | ... | साचोर. |
| 17. | U'dambará | ... | ... | ... | उदंबर. |
| 18. | Narsápúrá | ... | ... | ... | नरसापुरा. |
| 19. | Valádará or Vadádará | ... | ... | ... | बलादरा अथवा वडादरा. |
| 20. | Pangorá | ... | ... | ... | पंगोर. |
| 21. | Nádodará | ... | ... | ... | नांदोदरा. |
| 22. | Girnára | ... | ... | ... | गिरनारा. |
| 23. | Somapúrá | ... | ... | ... | सोमपुरा. |
| 24. | Harsorá | ... | ... | ... | हर्सोर. |
| 25. | Sajodhará | ... | ... | ... | सजोधरा. |
| 26. | Gangaputrá | ... | ... | ... | गंगापुत्रा. |
| 27. | Modhamaitrá | ... | ... | ... | मोठमैत्रा. |
| 28. | Gomitrá | ... | ... | ... | गोमित्रा. |

Fifth Group, of 7 subdivisions.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------------|
| 29. | Śri Gaud | ... | ... | ... | श्रीगौड or भ्रागौड. |
| 30. | Gurjar Gaud | ... | ... | ... | गुर्जर गौड. |
| 31. | Karhedá | ... | ... | ... | कन्हेडा. |
| 32. | Wáyadá | ... | ... | ... | वायडा. |
| 33. | Bhat Mewádá | ... | ... | ... | भट मेवाडा. |
| 34. | Trawáđi Mewádá | ... | ... | ... | त्रवाडी मेवाडा. |
| 35. | Dravidá | ... | ... | ... | द्रविडा. |

Sixth Group, of 17 subdivisions.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----------|
| 36. | Deshwál | ... | ... | ... | देशवाळ. |
| 37. | Ráyakwál | ... | ... | ... | रायकवाळ. |
| 38. | Rodhwál | ... | ... | ... | रोडवाळ. |
| 39. | Khedáwál | ... | ... | ... | खेडावाळ. |
| 40. | Sindhuwál | ... | ... | ... | सिंधुवाळ. |
| 41. | Palliwál | ... | ... | ... | पल्लिवाळ. |
| 42. | Gomtiwál | ... | ... | ... | गोमतिवाळ. |
| 43. | Intawál | ... | ... | ... | इंटवाळ. |
| 44. | Medatáwál | ... | ... | ... | मेडतावाळ. |
| 45. | Gayáwál | ... | ... | ... | गयावाळ. |

46.	Agastyawál	...	...	...	अगस्त्यवाळ.
47.	Pretwál	...	...	...	प्रेतवाळ.
48.	Yájnīkwál	...	...	...	याज्ञिकवाळ.
49.	Ghaḍwál	...	...	...	घडवाळ.
50.	Púḍwál	...	...	...	पुडवाळ.
51.	U'néwál	...	...	...	उनेवाळ.
52.	Rájwál	...	...	...	राजवाळ.

Seventh Group, of 9 subdivisions.

53.	Kanojiá	...	...	...	कनोजीआ.
54.	Śarvariá	...	...	...	शरवरीआ.
55.	Kandoliá	...	...	...	कंडोलीआ.
56.	Karkhelīa	...	...	...	करखेलीआ.
57.	Parwáliá	...	...	...	परवालीया.
58.	Sorathíá	...	...	...	सोरठीआ.
59.	Tangmodiá	...	...	...	टंगमोडीआ.
60.	Sanoṭhíá	...	...	...	सनोठीआ.
61.	Vanásvaddhá	...	...	...	वंशवध्धा.

Eighth Group, of 9 subdivisions.

62.	Motálá	...	...	...	मोताळा.
63.	Zárolá	...	...	...	झारोळा.
64.	Ráyapalá	...	...	...	रायपळा.
65.	Kapilá	...	...	...	कपीला.
66.	Akshayamangalá	...	...	...	अक्षयमंगळा.
67.	Gúgali	...	...	...	गुगळी.
68.	Nápal	...	...	...	नापळा.
69.	Anávalá	...	...	...	अनावला.
70.	Śrímáli	...	...	...	श्रीमाळी.

Ninth Group, of 2 subdivisions.

71.	Válmiká	...	...	...	वालमीका.
72.	Náradiká	...	...	...	नारदीका.

Tenth Group, of 2 subdivisions.

73.	Kalingá	...	...	...	कलिंगा.
74.	Telingá	...	...	...	तेलिंगा.

Eleventh Group, of 3 subdivisions.

75.	Bhārgava	...	...	...	भार्गव.
76.	Málví	...	...	...	माळवी.

Twelfth Group, of 3 subdivisions.

77.	Nandúváñá.	...	...	...	नंदुवाणा.
78.	Bhartháná.	...	...	...	भरथाणा.
79.	Pushkarná.	...	...	...	पुष्करणा.

Thirteenth Group, of 9 subdivisions.

80.	Sárasvat	...	...	...	सारस्वत.
81.	Khadáyatá	...	...	...	खेडायता.
82.	Máru...	...	...	...	मारु.
83.	Dahimá	...	...	...	दहिमा.
84.	Chovisá...	...	...	...	चोवीसा.
85.	Jámbu	...	...	...	जांबु.
86.	Maráthí	...	...	...	मराठी.
87.	Dadhichá	...	...	...	दधीचा.
88.	Lalát...	...	...	...	ललाट.

B.—MIXED CLASSES.

- a. Brahma Kshatriyas. ... ब्रह्मक्षत्री.
 b. Bhattis or Bhátiás. ... भट्टी अथवा भाटिया.
 c. Rajputs रजपूत.

(Thirty-six principal classes of Rajputs.)

1. Suryavansi, or the Solar Race. सूर्यवंशी.
2. Chandravansi, or the Lunar Race चंद्रवंशी.
3. Jádavavansi जादववंशी.
4. Kachhwáhá कच्छवाहा.
5. Parmár... .. परमार.
6. Túwár तुवार.
7. Chahuwán चहुवाण.
8. Solanki सोलंकी.
9. Chandel... .. चंदेल.
10. Silár सीलार.
11. Abhivar अभीवर.
12. Dahimá दहिमा.
13. Mukwáná मुकवाणा.
14. Gohil... .. गोहिल.
15. Guhilot गुहीलोट.
16. Chávadá चावडा.

17.	Padhár	...	...	... पढार.
18.	Ráthod	...	...	... राठोड.
19.	Devadá	...	...	... देवडा.
20.	Tánk ...	...	...	... टांक.
21.	Sindhava	...	...	... सिंधव.
22.	Aniga...	...	...	... अनीग.
23.	Yotika	...	...	... योटीक.
24.	Pratihár	...	...	... प्रतिहार,
25.	Dadhikhat	...	...	... दधीखट.
26.	Káratpál or Káthís	...	...	... कारटपाल-काठी.
27.	Kotwál	...	...	... कोटवाल.
28.	Hún...	...	...	... हुण.
29.	Hádá...	...	...	... हाडा.
30.	Góud ...	...	...	... गोड.
31.	Kamad or Jethava	...	...	... कमाड-जेठवा.
32.	Jaṭ ...	...	...	... जट.
33.	Dhyánpál	...	...	... ध्यानपाल.
34.	Lakum	...	...	... लकुम.
35.	Rájpál	..	...	... राजपाल.
26.	Kálchhar	...	...	... कालछर.

The *Vahivanchás* or Rajput genealogists trace the Rajputs to five original families :—The Parmárs, the Ráthods, the Yádava or Jádavas, the Chawáns, and the Solankis, each of which has the following branches :—

Parmárs	have	35	branches.
Ráthods	,,	13	do.
Yádavas	,,	20	do.
Chahuwáns	,,	24	do.
Solankis	,,	7	do.

—

Total..... 99 branches.

d. The Banyans or Vániás.

(Eighty-four castes of Vániás or Banyans.)

First Group, of 16 castes.

1.	Śrí Śrímálí	...	...	... श्री श्रीमाली.
2.	Śrí-Málí	...	...	... श्रीमाली.
3.	Agarvál	...	...	... अगारवाल.

4.	Anérvál	...	...	...	अनेरवाल.
5.	Átbarji	...	...	...	आटबरजी.
6.	Árchitvál	...	...	...	आरचीतवाल.
7.	Orvál	...	...	...	ओरवाल.
8.	Osvál	...	...	...	ओसवाल.
9.	Andorá	...	...	...	अंडोरा.
10.	Kathervál	...	...	...	कठरवाल.
11.	Kapó!	...	...	...	कपोळ.
12.	Karberá	...	...	...	करबेरा.
13.	Kákaliá	...	...	...	काकलीआ.
14.	Kájotivál	...	...	...	काजोटीवाल.
15.	Kortávál	...	...	...	कोरटावाल.
16.	Kambovál	...	...	...	कंबोवाल.

Second Group, of 4 subdivisions.

17.	Khadáyatá	...	...	...	खडायता.
18.	Khátarvál	...	...	...	खातरवाल.
19.	Khichí	...	...	...	खीची.
20.	Khandevál	...	...	...	खंडेवाल.

Third Group, of 3 subdivisions.

21.	Gasorá	...	...	...	गसोरा.
22.	Gujarvál	...	...	...	गुजरवाल.
23.	Goyalvál	...	...	...	गोयलवाल.

Fourth Group, of 5 subdivisions.

24.	Nafúk	...	...	...	नफाक.
25.	Narsinhaparú	...	...	...	नरसींहपरा.
26.	Nágar	...	...	...	नागर.
27.	Nágadrá	...	...	...	नागद्रा.
28.	Nághorá	...	...	...	नाघोरा.

Fifth Group, of 2 subdivisions.

29.	Chitrodá	...	...	...	चीत्रोडा.
30.	Chehetrávál	...	...	...	चेहेत्रावाल.

Sixth Group, of 7 subdivisions.

31.	Jhárolá	...	...	...	जहारोला.
32.	Jíranvál	...	...	...	जीरनवाल.
33.	Jailvál	...	...	...	जैलवाल.
34.	Jemá ...	...	...	...	जेमा.

35. Jambu जंबु.
 36. Jháliyará झालीआरा.
 37. Thákarvál ठाकरवाल.

Seventh Group, of 5 subdivisions.

38. Didu... .. डीडु.
 39. Dindoriá. डींडोरीया
 40. Disavál... .. डीसावाल.
 41. Terotá... .. तेरोटा
 42. Tiporá... .. तोपोरा.

Eighth Group, of 2 subdivisions

43. Dasará... .. दसारा.
 44. Doilvál... .. दोइलवाल.

Ninth Group, of 13 subdivisions.

45. Padmorá. पदमोरा.
 46. Palevál... .. पलेवाल.
 47. Pushkarvál पुष्करवाल.
 48. Panchavál—Pánchá.... .. पंचमवाल—पांचा.
 49. Bativará... .. बटीवरा.
 50. Baruri... .. बरुरी.
 51. Báis... .. बाइस.
 52. Bágriá... .. बाग्नीआ.
 53. Bábarvál Bábar... .. बाबरवाल—बाबर.
 54. Bámavál बामणवाल.
 55. Bálmivál बालमीवाल.
 56. Báhor... .. बाहोर.
 57. Bednorá... .. बेडनोरा.

Tenth Group, of 4 subdivisions.

58. Bhágevál भागेरवाल.
 59. Bhárijá... .. भारीजा.
 60. Bhugarvál भुगरवाल.
 61. Bhangadá भुंगडा.

Eleventh Group, of 10 subdivisions.

62. Medatávál मेडतावाल.
 63. Mánatvál. मानतवाल.
 64. Mád माड.

65.	Mhewádá.	...	...	...	मेहेवाडा.
66.	Mihiriá...	...	...	...	मीहीरीआ.
67.	Mangorá.	...	...	...	मंगोरा.
68.	Mandáhul.	...	...	...	मंडाहुल.
69.	Modha.	...	...	...	मोढ.
70.	Mándaliá	...	...	...	मांडलीआ.
71.	Mandorá	...	...	..	मंडोरा.

Twelfth Group, of 13 subdivisions.

72.	Lád...	..	...	...	लाड.
73.	Ládisáká	...	...	...	लाडीसाका.
74.	Lingáyēt...	...	...	...	लींगायत.
75.	Váyadá...	...	...	...	वायडा.
76.	Stabi...	...	...	...	स्तबा.
77.	Súrarwál.	...	...	...	सुररवाल.
78.	Sirkerá...	...	...	...	सीरकेरा.
79.	Soni. ....	...	...	...	सोनी.
80.	Sojatwál.	...	...	...	सोजतवाल.
81.	Sárviá...	...	...	...	सारवीआ.
82.	Sohárwál	...	...	...	सोहारवाल.
83.	Sáchorá...	...	...	...	साचोरा.
84.	Harsorá...	..	...	...	हरसोरा.

e. OTHER CASTES, CHIEFLY TRADERS.

1.	Káyastha	...	...	...	कायस्थ.
2.	Lohána	...	...	...	लोहागा.
3.	Bhansáli	...	...	...	भणसाळी.

II.—NON-BRAHMANICAL CLASSES.

a. ARTIZANS, MANUFACTURERS, AND SHOPKEEPERS.

1. Soní or Goldsmiths.

<i>a.</i>	Mástán	...	...	...	मास्तान.
<i>b.</i>	Trágad	...	...	...	त्रागड.
<i>c.</i>	Śrímáli	...	...	...	श्रीमाळी.
<i>d.</i>	Máru	...	...	...	मारु.

2.	Kansará	...	कंसार	...	Braziers or Coppermiths.
3.	Sutár	...	सूतार	...	Carpenters.

<i>a.</i>	Vaidya.	वैद्य
<i>b.</i>	Pancholi.	पंचोळी

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 4. | Lohár | ... लोहार | ... Blacksmiths. |
| 5. | Kadiyá | ... कडिया | ... Bricklayers. |
| 6. | Salát | ... सलाट | ... Masons. |
| 7. | Ozá or Kumbhar | ओझा-कुंभार. | Potters. |
| 8. | Dirzi | ... दरजी | ... Tailors. |
| 9. | Návi, Hajám, or Valund | ... नावी, हजाम अथवा वाळंद. | Barbers. |
| 10. | Sálvi or Khattri, | साळवी-खत्री. | Weavers. |
| 11. | Bháwsár or Chhipá | ... भावसार अथवा छीपा. | Calico-printers. |
| 12. | Galiará | ... गळीयारा | ... Indigo-dyers. |
| 13. | Sarayá or Sikalgará | ... सरैया अथवा शिकलगरा. | Polishers
of iron instruments. |
| 14. | Chúdgad | ... चूडगड | ... Manufacturers of elephant-teeth
bangles. |
| 15. | Barođiá | ... बरोडीया. | |
| 16. | Rájbbhará | ... राजभरा. | |
| 17. | Kamáliá | ... कमालिया. | |
| 18. | Sargadiá | ... सरगडिया. | |
| 19. | Bhádbhuná | ... भाडभुंजा. | |

b. AGRICULTURAL CLASSES.

- | | | | |
|----|----------|------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | Kuṇbí | ... कुणबी | ... Cultivators. |
| 2. | Máfi | ... माळी | ... Gardeners. |
| 3. | Káchhiyá | ... काळीया | ... Vegetable-sellers. |
| 4. | Tamboḷi | ... तंबोळी | ... Betel-leaf-sellers. |

c. BARDS, MUSICIANS, SINGERS, DANCERS, BUFFOONS, &c.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1. | Bhát or Vahivanchá | ... भाट अथवा वहिवंचा. | Bards. |
| 2. | Cháran | ... चारण. | |
| 3. | Gandhrava or Gandráp | ... गंधर्व or गंध्रप. | Singers. |
| 4. | Bhaváyá or Turgálá | ... भवाया अथवा तरगळा. | Players. |
| 5. | Naṭ or Bajánia | ... नट अथवा बजाणीया. | Rope-dancers. |
| 6. | Pawáyá | ... पवाया. | } Buffoons. |
| 7. | Hijdá | ... हिजडा. | |
| 8. | Bhánd | ... भांड. | |
| 9. | Mull or Jeṭhi | ... मल्ल अथवा जेठी. | Gymnasts. |
| 10. | Gádrú | ... गाडरु. | |

d. LABOURING CLASSES.

1.	Golá	...	...	गोला.	...	Grain-pounders.
2.	Khárwá	...	...	खारवा.	...	Ship's crew.
3.	Bhoí	...	...	भोई.	...	Pálkhi-bearers.
4.	Dhobí	...	...	धोबी.	...	Watermen.
5.	Bhistí	...	...	भिस्ती.	...	Water-bearers.
6.	Bhaṇḍárá	...	...	भंडारी.	...	Toddy-collectors.
7.	Mácchís	...	...	माछी.	...	Fishermen.

e. SECTS OF DEVOTEES AND RELIGIOUS MENDICANTS.

1.	Gosain	..	...	गोसांइ.
2.	Daṇḍi...	...	...	दंडी.
3.	Jogí or Yogí	...	...	जोगी अथवा योगी.
4.	Tridaṇḍí	...	...	त्रीदंडी.
5.	Aghorí	...	...	अघोरी.
6.	Sanyasí or Swámí	...	...	सन्यासी अथवा स्वामी.
7.	Paramhansa	...	...	परमहंस.
8.	Vairágí	...	...	वैरागी.
9.	Bharatharí	...	...	भरथरी.
10.	Digambara	...	...	दिगंबर.
11.	Jangam	...	...	जंगम.
12.	Brahmachárá	...	...	ब्रह्मचारी.
13.	Abdhuta	...	...	अबधूत.
14.	Udásí	...	...	उदासी.
15.	Kapáli	...	...	कपाली.
16.	Teliyárájá	...	...	तेलीयाराजा.
17.	Bahurupí	...	...	बहुरूपी.
18.	Gorjí	...	...	गोरजी.
19.	A'rjá	...	...	आरजा.
20.	Śiwḍa	...	...	शिवडा.

f. MESSENGERS, ATTENDANTS.

1.	Ráwalíyá	...	...	रावळीया.
2.	Wághari	..	...	वाघरी.

g. WORKERS IN LEATHER.

1.	Mochí:	मोची.	Shoemakers.	3.	Dufgar.	डफगर
2.	Chamár, Chámadiá,	चमार, चामडिया.				
	or Khálpá.	अथवा खालपा.				

h. SHEPHERDS.

1. Ábira. आहीर. 2. Bharwád or Rabári. भरवाड अथवा रवारी.

i. INFERIOR CLASSES.

1. Dheḍa or Mehetaṛ. डेड वा मेहेतर 4. Sindhwa. सिंधवा.
 2. Olgáná or Bhangi. ओलगणा अथवा भंगी. 5. Turi. तुरी.
 3. Garoḍa. गरोडा.

III.—ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|-----|----------|----------|
| 1. Koli, Dhárálá, | कोळी, धाराळा, | 8 | Talaniya | तळणीया. |
| Pagi, Koṭvál. | पगी. कोटवाळ. | 9. | Vághri. | वाघरी. |
| 2. Bhill. | भील. | 10. | Chodhrá. | चोधरा. |
| 3. Naikra. | नायकडा. | 11. | Dhodia. | ढांडिया. |
| 4. Dúblá. | दुबळा. | 12. | Naik. | नायक. |
| 5. Kalipuruja. | काळीपरज. | 13. | A'gri. | आगरी. |
| 6. Bhauda. | भाउडा. | 14. | Magpela. | मागपेला. |
| 7. Dhangar. | धनगर. | | | |
-

ART. XI.—*Note on a Letter from Mr. Grant Duff to the late Mr. H. E. Goldsmid, Bombay Civil Service, recounting the circumstances under which the former wrote his History of the Marathas.* By JAMES TAYLOR, Honorary Secretary to the Society.

Read 8th August 1872.

At a meeting of this Society held on the 14th March 1867,* the subject of the collection and publication of original and authentic documents elucidative of Marathi history (if such could be met with) was under consideration, and in the course of the discussion remarks were made by one or two members, of deserved influence, to the effect that Mr. Grant Duff's History of the Marathas hardly deserved the authority generally conceded to it, because it did not always specify the authorities on which the statements it contained were based. It was pointed out in the course of the discussion that this was altogether a misapprehension, as Mr. Grant Duff, in the preface to his History, stated in a very definite manner the sources whence he drew his information, and the authorities on which his History rested. After referring to the researches of the "indefatigable Orme," and the subsequent labours of Mr. Scott Waring, Mr. Grant Duff, in his preface, proceeds to remark that "circumstances placed me in situations which at once removed many of the obstacles which those gentlemen encountered, and threw materials within my reach which had been previously inaccessible."

At the meeting referred to, when taking part in the discussion and supporting the views expressed by the then President, the Honourable Mr. Justice Newton, I took occasion to state that I had in my possession information, on the authority of Mr. Grant Duff himself, which showed in a striking manner how he became possessed of materials of the highest value which were "previously inaccessible," and on which materials his History was based.

The information to which I alluded, (though I did not at the time mention it) is given in a letter written by Mr. Grant Duff himself to the

* Vide Proceedings, p. vii. vol. IX. Society's Journal.

late Mr. H. E. Goldsmid, of the Bombay Civil Service; of this letter I possess a copy made by myself, and the original came into my hand in this wise.

Towards the end of the month of October 1854, at the time the *Bombay Quarterly Review* was projected, but more than two months before the appearance of the first number, I had a conversation with Mr. Goldsmid (who was then Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay) about the project, about getting contributions for it on Indian topics, and so on. The subject of the Marathas, their history and their literature, turned up, and I remarked it was a pity there was no new edition of Mr. Grant Duff's *History*, which I said I knew had been long out of print at the publishers', and that it was difficult to procure a copy now. "Oh," he replied, as if taking a special interest in the subject, "Mr. Anderson* was speaking to me on this subject the other day,—if you think of doing anything you had better speak to him first; but I told him that if anything was done, I thought the *History* should be continued to the annexation of Satara, and in that matter I fear we [meaning the British Government] will not show well." He immediately went on to remark, "But I suggested this very thing to Mr. Grant Duff himself, in a letter I wrote to him on the subject when I was at home on furlough in 1845-6, and received a very interesting letter from him in reply: I shall be glad to show it to you if you like." I thanked him for his kind offer, saying I should like much to see it. The next day he sent me the letter in an envelope with his compliments. I was greatly interested in the contents of the letter, and after a careful perusal of it I wrote a note to Mr. Goldsmid at the Secretariat, asking permission to make a copy of it, not for publication, but for my private information in the event of doing anything about a reprint of the *History*. He at once wrote back, in the offhand way that was characteristic of him, "Do anything you like, only send me back the original when you are done with it." I thereupon made the copy of the letter which I now lay before this meeting, and returned the original to Mr. Goldsmid.

I saw him a week or two afterwards, when he again returned to the subject of Mr. Grant Duff's work. He told me that it had been his

* The late Rev. Philip Anderson, M.A., author of *The English in Western India*, first editor and one of the principal contributors to the *Bombay Quarterly Review*. Mr. Anderson was also a Vice-President of this Society and took great interest in its affairs.

constant companion in the Deccan and the South Maratha Country when he was engaged on the New Revenue Survey (so well known by his own name and that of his able coadjutor, Captain, now Sir George, Wingate), and it was because of the sense he entertained of the service the book had been to himself that he, when in England, wrote to Mr. Grant Duff, though a stranger to him at the time, to urge the bringing out of a new edition, which he said would be a boon to the junior servants employed in the Maratha districts of Western India.

When I had this conversation with Mr. Goldsmid, he had already begun to suffer from the illness that so soon afterwards proved fatal. In November he took a trip to the Persian Gulf and returned somewhat improved in health, but the improvement did not last; in December he was persuaded to take another trip to sea, and left Bombay with the intention of proceeding as far as Suez, hoping to return by the next mail steamer, but his state of health became worse, and he proceeded as far as Cairo, where he arrived in a state of exhaustion, only to die,—and so passed away one of the ablest servants in the Revenue Department the Government of Bombay ever had. I well remember the intelligence of Mr. Goldsmid's death being received in Bombay by the mail which arrived towards the end of January 1855. It was on a Sunday morning: I had gone down to the Bunder to hear the latest news as the passengers landed, for it was the time of the war in the Crimea, and news of every fresh event excited deep interest. But the news that saddened the few present on that occasion was the intelligence of Mr. Goldsmid's death at Cairo. When I was returning I met Lord Elphinstone's private secretary, Mr. Adam, hurrying down to the steamer; he stopped with me for a minute to discuss the news, and in reference to Mr. Goldsmid's death said, "What a loss to the public service!"

I should mention that I published the substance of Mr. Grant Duff's letter in an article which I wrote on the Marathas and their history in the *Bombay Saturday Review* shortly after the meeting of the Society above referred to.

It was then that it was suggested to me by the late President of the Society, and others, that the letter had so much value historically that it ought to be published in the Society's Journal with any remarks I might think fit to make regarding it. I quite concurred in this view, though I have been longer in carrying it out than I intended. I believe the members generally will admit that this

letter—giving an account by the author himself of the circumstances under which he wrote the history of the most remarkable native power that has existed in Western India in modern times, and that history itself perhaps the most valuable work that has been written on a special portion of Indian history—will do honour to the Society's Journal in finding a place there.

Letter from J. GRANT DUFF, Esq. (author of the "History of the Mahrattas"), to E. H. Goldsmid, Esq., Bombay Civil Service.

Eden by Banff, January 30th, 1846.

. . . . As to a second edition, about ten years ago, in consequence of repeated suggestions on the subject—for I had individually no *pleasure* in recurring to it—I wrote to the publishers, Longman and Co., but their reply was not so encouraging as to induce me to begin recasting many ill-written passages, which I sometimes thought of, but had always some more immediate object of interest or business.

I am aware that it cannot be purchased even of booksellers; but even if the publishers now wished it, I should be much more inclined—though I could not now be bothered re-writing—to publish a second edition on testimonials such as yours than from any other consideration whatever.

I think your suggestion very good, what you propose would make it more portable and better fitted to the end I had in view.

Your interest in the work, and in case you should ever become an Indian author, leads me to tell you something of its origin and progress.

It ought, and perhaps would, have been undertaken by Mr. Elphinstone had he not so soon then removed from the Deccan to Bombay. I began to collect materials at his (Mr. E.'s) and Sir Thomas Munro's suggestion, lest we should lose the only chance of recovering the records of a very extraordinary power, the history of which was only known in a very superficial manner. As I went on collecting, I was obliged to unite the fragments in order to ascertain what was wanted, and I soon found myself obliged to employ agents, not merely within the confines of Maharashtra, but all over India.

I wrote the greater part of the work when otherwise working twelve and fourteen hours daily without intermission (and of what sort you know), whilst some of the gentlemen with me, who had their full share

of public business, particularly Mr. W. R. Morris, still in the Service, most zealously assisted in translating the mass of materials which were selected from a still larger mass, read over without discovering a single fact on which we could depend. To account for some apparently very careless passages, I must tell you that I was subject to very severe headaches, which at last became very agonizing, returning every fifth day, and lasting from six to sixteen hours at a time, requiring me to work with wet cloths girt about my head, and I always could do best and most as the fit went off, so that I very often was induced to write on, upon these occasions, requiring no sleep until next night.

I was, as might have been expected, driven home; but it was some time before I had health or inclination to get through the task I had undertaken. At last I sent the MS. to the late Mr. Murray. It was read and approved of by the person to whom he submitted it. I waited upon the potentate of Albemarle Street, who told me he would publish the work if I would alter the title. I said "it was a history of the Mahrattas, and only of the Mahrattas." "Who knows anything about the Mahrattas?" "That's the reason," said I, "the book has been written; no one does know much about them." "Well," replied Murray, "and who cares to know? If you call it the Downfall of the Moguls, and the Rise of the English, or something of that kind, it may do, but a *History of the Mahrattas*—that will never sell!" I was not in the least discouraged, although I too well knew that what Mr. Murray said was true, and amongst other drawbacks, although India is now beginning to excite a little more interest in England, no one can write or speak of India as of Europe—the feeling which cheers and impels the writer or the orator by an indescribable . . . sympathy is wanting, and hence the tiresome task which the narration of events purely Indian imposes. Of course I do not mean such narratives as Orme's Carnatic, which is more exciting than it could have been made by the fancy of De Foe. I got the MS. laid before Sir James Mackintosh, who most kindly, without stopping to finish it, walked from Cadogan Place to Paternoster Row (before the days of omnibuses), and at his recommendation Longman and Co. immediately wrote to me offering to publish it. It went through the press in six weeks, and many errors corrected by me escaped the vigilance of the compositor: the reason was the MS. was too distinctly copied; had it been in such

* Illegible in original.

an abominably indistinct hand as mine, one of their best men would have been selected, but because distinct, I got one of the less experienced.

The late Mr. Rees was the partner with whom I chiefly communicated. No publisher in London at that time understood the business so thoroughly. When calculating the sale, I was surprised when he put down a very small proportion for India. The reason he said was "people in India don't buy—they read, but borrow—and it would be long before the Mahratta History would be bought as an *oufit* book." Murray was so far quite right—people require to know something before they desire to know more.

The publishers took the risk. The book cost me upwards of £2,000 before it went to press. The Court of Directors took 40 copies—which they would have done equally, had it been a *Mahratta Vocabulary*, and, as a general rule, is liberal: but, although I collected all those materials, certainly valuable to Government, and gave them an original and most valuable map, they never even acknowledged the receipt of the latter. They never inquired, and I certainly never stated, that I lost upwards of £1,700 by what I had done, and indeed, excepting a very few, I do not suppose any Director or aspirant of that period even opened the Mahratta History after they became Directors—a matter of no consequence, excepting as discouraging to such servants of the Company as may engage in extraordinary labour, and whom most certainly it is their province at least *. . . in order to stimulate others in a like course.

It is not unusual to send copies of new books to the principal reviews, and even to make interest, to ensure a favourable notice; but I begged Mr. Rees in this case to do nothing of the kind, as time, and time only, could prove whether the matter was correct—and that must be tried by Indian authority hereafter. I had in the first instance the favourable opinion of the best authorities of the period as regarded my facts, and the praise even of a favourable critique was therefore but a mere puff—of use principally to the booksellers. Mr. Rees, however, quite agreed with me.

These details, if not useful, may be amusing to you. * * *

* Illegible in original.

APPENDIX.

Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for 1871-73.

MEMBERS ELECTED

FROM 1ST JANUARY 1871 TO 9TH JANUARY 1873.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| W. Fraser, Esq. | Dr. Lino Augusto de Macedo e Valle, Prof. de Escola de Medicina de Goa. |
| Jones Q. Pigot, Esq. | G. H. D. Wilson, Esq., C.S. |
| John Young Lang, Esq. | John Marriott, Esq., B.A. |
| Alex. Dick Cunyngham, Esq. | Dr. A. V. Ward. |
| Rao Bahadur Bhaskar Damodhar. | John Macleod Campbell, Esq., C.S. |
| Thakurdas Atmaram, Esq., M.A., LL.B. | W. Wordsworth, Esq., B.A. |
| Bomanjee Cursetjee Cowasjee, Esq. | J. L. Kipling, Esq. |
| James Windram, Esq. | W. Woodward, Esq. |
| J. Jefferson, Esq. | G. W. Moultrie, Esq. |
| E. N. Molesworth, Esq. | W. Ramsay, Esq. |
| Shapurjee Hormusjee Patuck, Esq. | J. B. Paterson, Esq. |
| Ralph Hyde Cheetham, Esq. | John Gordon, Esq. |
| Lieut. Osbert Chadwick, R.E. | Prof. Kero Luxumon Chhatray. |
| James Macalister, Esq. | Ascanio S. Remedio D'Costa, Esq. |
| J. A. Cassels, Esq. | W. Lee-Warner, Esq., C.S. |
| Thomas H. Sealy, Esq. | Herbert Batty, Esq., C.S. |
| C. A. Stuart, Esq. | |
| R. E. Candy, Esq., C.S. | |

PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

FROM 1ST JANUARY 1871 TO 31ST DECEMBER 1872.

	DONORS.
ACADEMY (Connecticut) of Arts and Sciences, Transactions of the, Vols. 1 and 2. 8vo. New Haven...	The Academy.
——— Pictures in the Royal; Notes on some. Pht. 8vo. London, 1871.....	Ditto.
——— (Philadelphia) of Natural Sciences, Proceedings of the, No. 2. Pht. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1870.	Ditto.
ACADEMIA Real das Sciencias, Mathematicas, Physicas, Naturaes, de Lisboa; Memorias da. Nova Serie. Tomos 1 @ 3, Parte I., & Tomos 1 @ 4, Parte II. 4to. Lisboa, 1854-1871	Ditto.
——— Morais, Politicas, e Bellas Letras de Lisboa; Memorias da. Nova Serie. Tomos 1, 3, & 4, Parte I., & Tomos 1 @ 3, Parte II. 4to. Lisboa, 1854-1865	Ditto.
ADMINISTRATION of Mysore, Report on the, for the years 1869-70 & 1870-71. 8vo. Bangalore, 1870-71	Govt. of India.
——— of the Madras Presidency, Annual Report on the, during the year 1871-72. 8vo. Madras, 1872	Ditto.
——— Province of Oudh, Annual Report of the, for the year 1870-71. 8vo. Lucknow.....	Govt. of Bombay.
——— Report of British Burmah for 1867-68 to 1870-71. 8vo. Rangoon, 1868-72.....	Govt. of India.
AMERICAN Instructors of the Deaf and Dumb, Proceedings of the Seventh Convention. 8vo. Indianapolis, 1870	The Instn.
ANDERSON (Benj.)—Narrative of a Journey to Musadu. 12mo. Pht. New York, 1870	The Smithsonian Instn., Washington.
APASTAMBA'S DHARMASUTRA, edited with a Translation and Notes, by George Bühler, Ph. D. 8vo. Part II. Bombay, 1871	Govt. of Bombay.

DONORS.

- AUSTRALIA** ; Parliament of South, Proceedings of the ;
Vol. II. Folio. Adelaide, 1871 Govt. of B'bay.
- BAKER** (Capt. W. A.), The Trinity of Worlds. Pht.
8vo. Bombay, 1872. (Three copies) The Author.
- BIBLE SOCIETY** (British and Foreign), The Sixty-seventh
Report of the. 8vo. London, 1871..... The Bombay
Auxy. Bible
Society.
- BIBLE-WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION** (Bombay English), Re-
port of the, for the year 1871. 8vo. Pht. 1872... The Associa-
tion.
- BIBLE** ("Romans")—The Books of the. Pht. 8vo.
London, 1869 The Author.
- BLANFORD** (W. T.)—Geology and Zoology of Abyssinia,
Observations on the, made during the Expedition
in 1867-68. 8vo. London, 1870..... Govt. of India.
- (Henry T.)—Meteorological Reporter to the
Government of Bengal, Report of the, for the
years 1870-71. Folio. Calcutta, 1871-72 Govt. of Ben-
gal.
- BOMBAY ASSOCIATION**, Minutes of Proceedings of a Pub-
lic Meeting of the Members of the, together with
the Petition addressed by the Association to the
Bombay Government praying for the Abolition of
the Non-Agricultural Tax, &c. Pht. 8vo. Bombay,
1872 The Associa-
tion.
- Ditto ditto ditto ditto praying against the Ex-
emption of European British Subjects from the Ju-
risdiction of the Ordinary Criminal Courts, &c. &c.
Ditto, 1873 Ditto.
- BRIGHAM** (W. T.)—Earthquakes of New England, His-
torical Notes on the, from 1638 to 1869. Pht. 4to.
1871 The Author.
- BROCKHAUS** (F. A.)—Catalogue de Livres Anciens et
Modernes. Pht. 8vo. Leipzig, 1871 Ditto.
- CATTLE PLAGUES** (Indian), Report on, with Appendices
1871. Folio. Calcutta..... The Govt. of
Bombay.

DONORS.

- CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, Bombay, Report of the, for the years 1870-71 & 1871-72. 8vo. Bombay, 1872 and 1873.....** Chamber of Comce. B'bay.
- COTTON'S (Bishop) Views on the "Nil Darpan" Question. Pht. 8vo. Calcutta, 1871.....** Rev. J. Long.
- COURT (Major Henry).—The Araish-i-Mahfil ; or the Ornament of the Assembly. 8vo. Allahabad, 1871** The Translator.
-
- Selections from the Kullyat or complete Works of Mirza Rafi-oos-Sanda. 8vo. Simla, 1872
-
- DANVERS (Fred. Chas.)—On Coal Economy. 8vo. London, 1872** Govt. of B'bay.
- DHUNJEEBHOY FRAMJEE Reading-Room and Library, Report of the, from June 1870 to December 1871. 8vo. Pht. Bombay, 1872** The Publisher.
- DODGE (J. R.)—Monthly Reports of the Department of Agriculture for the year 1870. 8vo. Washington, 1871** The Author.
- EPISTLE (The) to the Romans, Exposition of. 12mo. Pht. 1871**
-
- FINSCH (Dr. Otto).—On Birds from North-Eastern Abyssinia and the Bogos Country. 4to. 1870 ...** Govt. of B'bay.
- FOLLOW THOU ME : or A Word for the Day. 18mo....** The Author.
- GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY (Royal), Classified Catalogue of the Library of the, up to December 1870. 8vo. London, 1871** The Society.
- GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Memoirs of the ; Vol. VII., Part III. ; Vol. VIII., Parts I. & II. ; and Vol. IX., Parts I. & II. Rl. 8vo. Calcutta, 1872... Govt. of India.**
-
- Palæontologia Indica, Vol. III., Nos. 9-13. Rl 4to. Calcutta, 1871
-
- Vol. IV., Nos. 1 and 2. Rl. 4to: Calcutta, 1871 and 1872
-
- Records of the, Vol. IV., Parts 1, 3, & 4, and Vol. V., Parts 1 to 4. Rl. 8vo. Calcutta, 1871 & 1872
-
- GODLY PROVOCATION : or A Word for the Believer. 18mo** The Author.

DONORS.

- GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY** ; Proceedings of the Council of the, for making Laws and Regulations ; Vol. X. 1871. 4to. Bombay, 1872 Govt. of B'bay.
- HAUG (Dr. Martin).**—Die Ahuna Vairya Formel, das heiligste Gibet der Zoroastrier. 8vo. Pht. München, 1872 The Author.
- HAWKSHAW (John).**—Suez Canal ; Report of, to the Egyptian Government. Folio. London, 1863.....Govt. of B'bay.
- HEALTH OFFICER'S REPORTS**, Bombay, for 1869, 1870, and 1871. 8vo. Bombay (12 copies).....Municipality of Bombay.
- HIGH COURT REPORTS**, Bombay ; Vol. VII., Parts II. & III., and Vol. VIII., Part III., with Index. 8vo. Bombay, 1871 and 1872Govt. of B'bay.
- HYDERABAD ASSIGNED DISTRICTS** ; Report on the Administration of the, for the year 1870-71. Rl. 8vo. Hyderabad, 1871 (By C. B. Saunders)

 _____ Public Instruction ditto 1871-72.
 Ditto 1872. (W. Lee-Warner)

- INDIA (EAST)**, Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of, during the year 1869-70. Folio

- JERVIS (Cav. Guglielmo).**—Il Museo Industriale Italiano. Illustrazione delle Collezioni Didattica. 8vo. Torino, 1869 The Author.
- KAVASJI EDALJI KANGA.**—Vendidad ; with Grammatical and Explanatory Notes, Parts I., II., & III. Bombay.....

- KEATINGE (Colonel R. H.)**—Administration of the Central Provinces, Report on the, for the year 1870-71. 8vo. Nagpur, 1871

- KERSALL (John).**—Bellary District, Manual of the. 8vo. Madras, 1872Govt. of B'bay.
- LONG (Rev. J.)**—Scripture Truth in Oriental Dress. 8vo. Calcutta, 1871..... The Author.
- MATHEMATICAS (SCIENCIAS)**, Jornal de ; Tomo II. 8vo. 1868-69. Lisboa, 1870 The Academy.
- MECHANICS' INSTITUTION (SASSOON)**, Annual Report of the, for the year 1871-72. Pht. 8vo. Bombay, 1872. The Inst.

DONORS.

- MEDICAL AND PHYSICAL SOCIETY (Bombay)**, Transactions of the, for the year 1871 ; No. XI., New Series. 8vo. Bombay The Society.
- MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONER'S BUDGET, Bombay**, for 1872. Folio Bench of Just.
- NORDISK OLDKYNDIGHED OG HISTORIE** ; Aarbager for Udgivne af Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab. for 1871 and 1872. 8vo. Kjobenhavn. (3 copies) Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copen.
- NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.**—Administration of the, Report on the, for the years 1867-68, 1868-69, and 1870-71. 8vo. Allahabad, 1868-69, and 1872 The Government of N. W. Provinces.
- Civil Justice (Sudder Dewanny Adawlut), Report on the Administration of, for the years 1858-59. 4to. Allahabad, 1860
- 1860-61, the Resolutions of the Court recorded on the Records of the Zillah Judges. Folio. Allahabad, 1861-62.
- 1862 to 1865, with the Court's Report on the Operations of the Small Cause Courts in the same years ; the Resolutions of the Court recorded on the Records of the Zillah Judges, and the Orders of Government on the same. Ditto 1863 to 1866
- High Court of Judicature do. 1866 ditto ditto. Ditto 1867.....
- Cotton Crop (Actual Out-turn of the), Report on the, for 1869-70. Folio. Allahabad, 1870
- Criminal Justice (Sudder Dewanny Adawlut), Report of the, on the Administration of, for the year 1860. Folio. Allahabad, 1861.....

DONORS.

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES (High Court of Judicature, ditto ditto 1866 and 1867, with the Orders of Government in reply. Ditto 1867 and 1868	The Government of the N. W. Provinces.
----- (Nizamut Adawlut), Report of the, on the Administration of, for the years 1855 and 1859. 4to. Agra, 1856 and 1862.....	-----
----- (Sudder Nizamut Adawlut), ditto ditto 1861. Folio. Allahabad, 1862	-----
----- (Nizamut Adawlut), ditto ditto 1862 to 1865, with the Orders of Government on the same, and the Resolutions of the Court recorded on the Reports of the Sessions Judges. Ditto 1863 to 1866	-----
----- Customs Department (Imperial and Inland), Report on the Administration of the, for the years 1867-68 and 1868-69. Folio. Calcutta and Allahabad, 1868 and 1869.....	-----
----- Dispensaries, Report of the, for the year 1870, by A. P. Tomkins. Folio. Allahabad, 1871.....	-----
----- Excise Administration ; ditto ditto 1867-68, 1868-69, and 1870-71. Folio. Ditto 1868, 1869, and 1871.....	-----
----- Income-Tax, Report of the Administration of the, for the year 1870-71. Ditto 1871	-----
----- Jails, Management of the ; Report of the Inspector of Prisons on the, from 1845 to 1851, and on the present state of Prison Discipline. Folio. Roorkee, 1859	-----

DONORS.

- NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES Jails, Condition and Management of the ; Report, with Tabular Statement, on the, for the years 1861 to 1871. (By Drs. S. Clark and W. Walker.) Folio. Allahabad, from 1862 to 1872.....** The Govt. of N. W. Provinces.
- **Legal Remembrancers, Report of the, for the years 1868-69, 1869-70, and 1870-71. Folio. Ditto 1869 and 1871.....** -----
- **Police, Administration of the, Report on the, for the years 1865 to 1868. (By E. O. Mayne.) Ditto 1866-69.....** -----
- **Revenue Administration ; Report by the Board of Revenue on the, for the Revenue years 1863-64, 1864-65, 1868-69, and 1870-71. Ditto 1865 to 1872** -----
- **Sanitary Commissioner of the, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Annual Reports of the, for 1868 to 1870. Ditto 1869-71** -----
- **Sanitary Condition of Allahabad and its Neighbourhood ; Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the. Folio. Allahabad, 1869** -----
- **Stamp Revenue of the, Report on the Administration of the, for the years 1867-68, 1869-70, and 1870-71. Folio. Allahabad, 1868, 1870, and 1871** -----
- **Vaccine Operations (in the Agra Division), Report on the, in 1859-60. (By Dr. J. A. Currie.) Folio. Allahabad, 1861..** -----
- PESHOTUM BEHRAMJEE SUNJANA (Dustoor).—Pahlvi Grammar. 8vo. Bombay, 1871** The Author.
- PILATE'S Statement of Jesus. 18mo. Pht.** -----
- PUBLIC INSTRUCTION in the Bombay Presidency ; Report of the, for the year 1870-71. 8vo. Bombay, 1871** Govt. of B'bay.
- **in Mysore ; Report on, ditto 1870-71 and 1871-72. 8vo. Bangalore, 1871 and 1872.....** -----

DONORS.

- PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT, Bombay Presidency ;**
Administration of the, for 1870-71 & 1871-72.
Folio. Bombay, 1871 and 1872 Govt. of B'bay.
- RAJENDRALALA MITRA.**—Notices of Sanskrit MSS.
Vols. I. & II. 8vo. Calcutta, 1871 & 1872 Govt. of Bengal.
- REPENTANCE.** Pht. 12mo. (6 copies.) ... Colonel Bisset.
- ROMANISM OR SUPERSTITION.** Pht. 12mo.
-----The Law and the Testimony. 8vo. London

- RUSSIAN TRADE WITH INDIA.** Pht. 8vo. 1870 Rev. J. Long.
- SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS, A Catalogue of, contained in**
the Private Libraries of Guzarat, Kathiawad, &c. ;
Fascicles I. & II., compiled under the superintendence of G. Bühler. 8vo. Bombay, 1871-72.....Govt. of B'bay.
- SCHERZER (Dr. Karl von).**—Fachmannische Berichte über die Oesterreichish-Ungarische Expedition nach Siam, China, und Japan, 1868-71. Rl. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1872 The Author.
- SEXE (S. A.)**—Le Névé de Instedal et ses Glaciers.
Par C. de Sexe. Pht. 4to. Christiania, 1870 ...-----
- SMITHSONIAN BOARD OF REGENTS ; Reports of the, for**
the year 1870. Rl. 8vo. Washington, 1871..... Smithsonian
Inst., Washn.
- SOCIETY (ROYAL ASTRONOMICAL), Monthly Notices**
of the, for 1868-69. Vol. 29. 8vo. London, 1869. Royal Astron.
Society.
- (THE ROYAL ASIATIC)** of Great Britain and
Ireland, Forty-eighth Annual Report of. 1871. 8vo.
Hertford The Society.
- SURVEYS, and of other Geographical Operations in**
India, Abstract of the Report of the, for 1870-
71. Rl. 8vo. London, 1872 Government of
India.
- TIDE TABLES for the Ports of Bombay and Kurrachee,**
1872. 12mo. London..... Government of
Bombay.

DONORS.

TIDE TABLES for the Port of Kurrachee, 1871-72. 12mo. London	Govt. of B'bay.
TRADE AND NAVIGATION (The) of the Bombay Presidency, Annual Statement of, for the year 1870-71. Rl. 4to. Bombay, 1871	_____
_____ of the Province of Sind ditto 1870-71. Ditto. Kurrachee, 1871	_____
TROOPS, Regulations for the training of, for Service in the Field, &c. Rl. 8vo. London, 1871. _____	_____
UNIVERSITY CALENDAR (Bombay) for the year 1871-72. 8vo. Bombay, 1872	University of Bombay.
VACCINATION throughout the Bombay Presidency and Sind, Report on, for the year 1870-71. Rl. 8vo. Bombay, 1871	Government of Bombay.
WATER SUPPLY (The) of Bombay. Rl. 8vo. London, 1872	_____
WEBER (A. von)—Über ein zum Weissen Yajus Gehoriges Phonestisches Compendium, das Praty-nasûtra. 4to. Berlin, 1872. (2 copies.)	The Author.

PRESENTS TO THE MUSEUM.

FROM 1ST JANY. 1871 TO 9TH JANUARY 1873.

DONORS.

COINS (1) Old Copper, of the time of the late Emperor of Beejapore	The Collector of Sattara.
——(6) Copper, of Portuguese Govt. in India	Mr. Edward F. Victor da Costa, through J. Burgess, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.

DONORS.

COINS (7), Old Copper, Bactrian, dug up from the soil in the vicinity of Peshawar	The Rev. T. R. Wade, C.M.S., through the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.
—— (8) Ancient Silver	A. Rogers, Esq., Rev- enue Com- missioner, N. D.
—— (Some) Old Silver	Col. Anderson, Pol. Agent, Kolapoor and S. M. Country.
COPPERPLATE GRANT (1)—Discovered in Gujerat....	Maneckjee Adurji, Esq., G.G.M.C.
COPPERPLATES (2)—From the Bhowuggur Durbar...	Dewan Gowree Shankar, through J. Burgess, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.
DEWARA (Metal)—Discovered in excavating for the Revadunda and Mulla Creek Road in Ta- looka Alibag	The Collector of Colaba.
Dhooparty (Metal)—Ditto ditto	—————
Ring (Gold)	Col. Anderson, Pol. Agent, Kolapoor and S. M. Country.

DONORS.

TABLET (Brass)—Bearing in relief a figure supposed to be that of Khundoba The Collector of Colaba.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

COMMUNICATED BY

- BHAU DAJI.**—Antiquities of Warangal and of Anumkonda, the ancient capital of Telingana, illustrated with Photographs The Author.
- Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of King Rudra Devá's Inscription at Anumkonda, with Remarks
- Discovery of complete Manuscript Copies of Bána's Harsha Charita, with an Analysis of the more important portions
- BÜHLER (Dr. George).**—A Note on the History of Sanskrit Literature
- JAVERILAL UMIASHUNKER.**—Hindu Tribes and Castes in Gujerat
- MANECKJEE ADARJEE.**—Transcript and Translation of a Copperplate Grant of the Fifth Century of the Christian Era, found in Gujerat, with remarks by Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar
- RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR.**—A Devanâgari Transcript and Date of a new Valabhi Copper-plate, and a new interpretation of the figured dates on the published grants of the Valabhi Dynasty
- Consideration of the Date of the Mahabharata in connection with the correspondence from Colonel Ellis
- VISHWANATH NARAYAN MANDLIK.**—Notes on the Shripe of Mahabaleśvara

PROCEEDINGS, OFFICIAL, LITERARY, AND SCIENTIFIC,

FROM 1ST JANUARY 1871 TO 9TH JANUARY 1873.

At a Meeting held on the 12th January 1871—

Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik read a paper entitled Notes on the Shrine of "Mahábalesvara." He presented to the meeting a copy of the *Mahabalesvara-mahatmya*, in Sanskrit, said to be a portion of the Skanda Purana. It consists of two chapters, containing 163 verses. It describes the shrine and its neighbourhood as they now exist; and from its language and style of composition it appears to be a modern work. It recounts the origin of the five rivers, and describes the various places of worship, &c. on the hill. This shrine appears to be a modern establishment after the model of the very old shrine of Gokarna-Mahabalesvara, in Canara. The importance of collecting the local *Mahatmyas* was pressed on the Society's attention, as a means of preventing the concoction of modern stories, of which an example was produced (being a copy of the *Nirmala-mahatmya* in Marathi). The Jyotirlinga was next described; and it was stated that Mahabalesvara was not one of them, and that although it was described as *linga*, it was not so in reality.

In reference to the question of the destruction and removal of architectural remains in various parts of the country, which had been considered at the meeting held on 10th November, Mr. Burgess read an extract from a letter, by Mr. Fleet, on the same subject, and it was resolved that the substance of the same should be embodied in the proposed representation by the Society to Government on the whole question.

At a Meeting held on the 13th April 1871—

The Honorable President laid before the meeting copy of a report made to the Madras Government by Mr. F. A. C. Boswell, Madras Civil Service, on the Archæological Remains in the Kistna District.

Ordered that the Secretary be requested to convey the thanks of the Society to Mr. Boswell for his interesting report.

Dr. Bhau Daji read a report on 13 gold coins received from the Collector of Sattara, which were submitted to the Society at the last monthly meeting.

The coins were reported as old (about 11th or 12th century), rare and valuable. The best thanks of the Society were given to Dr. Bhau Daji for his report, and it was resolved that the coins should be retained for the Society's Museum.


Professor R. G. Bhandarkar read a paper entitled Transcript and Translation of a Copper-plate Grant of the Fifth Century of the Christian Era.

It was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Tucker, *President*, and seconded by the *Honorary Secretary*, that the best thanks of the Society be voted to Mr. Manockjee Adurjee for the valuable and interesting present of a copper-plate grant for its Museum, discovered by him in Guzerat.

Dr. Bhau Daji then read papers on (1) Revised Inscription on the Delhi "Iron" Pillar at Kootub Minar; and (2) Revised Translation of the Inscription on the Bhitari Lat, with remarks.

At a Meeting held on the 13th July 1871—

The *Honorary Secretary* read the following descriptive memo. on 96 small Silver Coins, by the Collector, J. F. Fleet, Esq., C.S. :—

These coins, which are very small and of trifling weight, are stamped with a variety of impressions, but the only impression that can be clearly made out is that of a peacock shown on the eight coins in the packet marked A. I cannot make out the other impressions, and can find none very closely resembling them in the plates accompanying Thomas' edition of Prinsep's Indian Antiquities. Two of the coins bear on one side letters in the Kâyastha or Grantha character; one of them has the syllable *de* followed by *va*, part of which only appears on the surface of the coin, and the second has the syllable *ra*, so that these coins may possibly be Vijayanagara coins of Devarao or Devarâya, A.D. 1391-1414; but this is a mere conjecture, especially as the two parts of this name are on separate coins. Two other coins have marks on them that may possibly be lettered, but I cannot decipher them; the mark on one of them closely resembles the *l* () of the cave-alphabets. These

four coins are enclosed in the packet marked B. The packet C contains the best specimens of the remaining coins, and the packet D the residue, the impressions on which are not so clear. An inspection of coins A and B shows that the stamp with which the impressions were formed was very much larger than the coins themselves. The four coins in packet A and one of those in D, marked on one side with a small half-moon, appear to be the only ones originally stamped on both sides.

Dr. Bhau Daji read the following reports on 20 gold coins forwarded by Government :—

The gold coins submitted to me for report are ten in number. They are equal in weight, viz. fifty-three and a half grains each.

These coins are denominated Húna Varaha, and vulgarly Pagodas.

They are described in William Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata* (p. 735).

Five of these húnas have two figures on one side representing Siva and Parvati, the former having in one hand the *trisula* or trident, and in the other a deer. The reverse has, on a granulated ground, the Arabio character representing *h*, being the initial letter of the name of Hyder.

According to Marsden, Fig. MLXXXII., it is called the Baháduri hun, and was coined by Hyder Ali subsequently to the conquest of Mysore and Ikeri Rájás. The weight of the huna under examination, however, is a little less than half of the Baháduri hunns described by Marsden. Two of the hunns correspond to Fig. MLXXIV. of Marsden's plates. The inscription on one side is Srí Sádásiva, and not Srí Sádáshiva, as in Marsden's figure. Sadashiva was a Rája of Ikeri, whose kingdom and person fell into the hands of Hyder.

The remaining three correspond to Fig. MLXXII. of Marsden's plate XLVIII., there being two figures, Siva and Parvati, on one side, and an inscription on the reverse which may be read Srí Krishna Raja—Srí Krishna Raja was the name of the late Mysore prince.

Report on 10 Gold Coins.

The ten gold coins submitted for report are Hunas, with the inscription Srí Krishna Raja on one side, and two images on the obverse representing Siva and Parvati. They correspond to MLXXII. Plate XLVIII. of Marsden's *Oriental Coins*.

Each of five weighs fifty-five grains, and of the other five fifty-four grains.

The coins belong, I think, to the age of the late Raja of Mysore.

At a Meeting held on the 10th August 1871, Mr. Bhau Daji read original communications on the following subjects :—

First : Antiquities of Warangal and of Anumkonda, the ancient capital of Telingana, illustrated with photographs.

Second : Facsimile, transcript and a translation of King Rudradeva's inscription at Anumkonda.

Third : Discovery of complete manuscript copies of Bána's Harsha-Charita, with an analysis of the important portions.

Dr. George Bühler then read a paper entitled "A Note on the History of the Sanskrit Literature," of which the following is a brief abstract :—

A Jaina writer, Rajasekhara, gives in his Prabhandakosha, composed A.D. 1348, a life of Sriharsha. He states that Sriharsha, the son of Hira, was born in Benares, and composed the Naishadha-charita at the request of a king at that town, named Jayantachandra, the son of Govinda Chandra. Various details, which Rajasekhara gives regarding Jayantachandra, especially the statement that he had the surname Panjula, that he was a contemporary of Kumarapala, of Anakollapattan, and that he and his dynasty were destroyed by the Mussalmans, show that Rajasekhara's Jayantachandra is nobody else than the Kashtrakuta who reigned over Kanya Kubja and Benares in the latter half of the 12th century, probably from 1168-1194.

Rajasekhara's account of the age of Sriharsha is confirmed by the fact that the latter states at the end of his Naishadhiyakavya that he was honoured by a king of Kanya Kubja.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

Monday, 27th November 1871—the Hon'ble H. P. St. G. Tucker, President, in the chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the Annual Report for 1870-71.

Members.—During the past year 16 resident and 3 non-resident members were elected, against 23 resident and 9 non-resident elected in 1869-70. 30 members have with drawn, and 5 died in the past year,

leaving 175 resident and paying members on the Society's roll. The number of the non-resident members in India is 82.

Library.—During the year under review 526 works in 689 volumes were bought by the Society, against 740 in 1,003 volumes bought in 1869-70, and 557 works in 1868-69.

Periodicals.—The papers and periodicals taken by the Society are as follows :—

Literary, 10 ; Illustrated, 8 ; Scientific, 34 ; Reviews, 8 ; European Newspapers, 22 ; Medical Newspaper, 1 ; Registers, Army Lists, and Directories, 18 ; French Literary and Scientific Periodicals, 8 ; American Literary and Scientific Periodicals, 8 ; American Newspaper, 1 ; German Literary and Scientific Periodicals, 6 ; Indian Newspapers, 16 ; Indian Journals, Reviews, &c., 33 ; Batavian Society's Publications, 2 ; being a total of 131 Literary and Scientific Periodicals, and 45 Newspapers, or in all 176. Of these, 53 periodicals and transactions of the learned Societies are given in return for the Society's Journal.

Presents to the Library.—Fifty Miscellaneous works in 70 volumes, and 150 Pamphlets, were presented to the Society during the year, chiefly by the Governments of India, Bengal, and Bombay ; the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; the Royal Astronomical Society ; the Trustees to the British Museum ; the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries ; the Smithsonian Institution, Washington ; the Boston Society of Natural History ; the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, and others.

Presents to the Museum.—7 old Bactrian Coins which were dug up from the soil in the vicinity of Peshawur, presented by the Rev. T. R. Wade, C.M.S., through the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson ; 8 ancient Silver Coins, presented by A. Rogers, Esq., C.S., Revenue Commissioner, N. D. ; one Copper-plate Grant, discovered in Guzerat, presented by Manockjee Aderjee, Esq., G.G.M.C. ; and one Brass Tablet bearing in relief a figure supposed to be that of "Khundoba," a metal "Dewara," and a metal "Dhooparti," which were discovered in excavating for the Rewadunda and Mulla Creek Road in Talooka Alibag, presented by the Collector of Colaba.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers and reports on Coins and Copper-plate Grants were read during the year :—

1. "Notes on the Shrine of Mahabalesvara." By Rao Sahib Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik.

2. Report on 13 Gold Coins received from the Collector of Sattara. By Dr. Bhau Daji.
3. Report on 10 Gold Coins, called Ekairee Hoons, received from Government. By ditto.
4. Observations on a Copper-plate Grant discovered in Guzerat by Manockjee Aderjee, Esq. By Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Esq., M.A.
5. Revised Inscription on the Delhi "Iron" Pillar at Kootub Minar. By Dr. Bhau Daji.
6. Revised Translation of the Inscription on the Bhitari Lat, with remarks. By ditto.
7. Descriptive Memo. by J. F. Fleet, Esq., C.S., on 96 small Silver Coins which were dug up in the village of Hulli, Talooka Purusgad, forwarded by the Collector of Belgaum.
8. Facsimile, Transcript, and Translation of King Rudradeva's Inscription of Anumkonda, with remarks. By ditto.
9. Observations on a complete copy of the Harsha Charita, with a commentary, discovered in Kashmir. By ditto.

The Society's Journal.—No. 27 of the Society's Journal has unfortunately been delayed, much to the regret of the Committee, in consequence of some of the contributions not being returned from the writers with the punctuality so desirable in such matters, but the number is now in the press in a complete form, and will be published early next year. No. 28, containing the papers read in 1870-71, and the proceedings for the same period, is now ready for the press.

Coin Purchases.—Many coins have been submitted for the inspection of the Society during the past year, principally under the resolution of Government requiring that coins found in any part of the Presidency should be submitted to the Society for opinion, with option of retaining such as the Society might wish to possess on paying the price placed on them according to their value as metal. From the coins submitted, a selection to the extent of 33 Rupees was purchased of those possessing interest and value, and of which no specimens were in the Society's collection.

Manuscript and Photograph Purchases.—An opportunity offered of a selection from a collection of rare and valuable Maghadi and Sanskrit

manuscripts through the medium of Mr. Burgess, one of the members. A very good selection was secured of Photographs of Girnar and Elephanta, with letterpress description, and of the Caves at Nassick were also purchased by the Society during the year at a cost of Rs. 360.

Finance.—The financial state of the Society is on the whole satisfactory, there being a balance in hand at the present date of Rs. 5,12⁸-12-2.

New Catalogues.—In conformity with the resolution passed at the meeting of the Committee held in January last, the preparation of a new general alphabetical catalogue of all the works in the Library up to the end of 1870 has been undertaken, and is now all but ready for the press; in consequence of the delay and labour in preparing it, the catalogue will be brought up to the end of 1871.

W. Loudon, Esq., moved, and the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson seconded, that the Report now read by the Secretary be adopted. Carried unanimously.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of the Committee of Management for the year 1871-72.

John Connon, Esq., M.A., moved, and Bhau Daji, Esq., seconded, that the Vice-Presidents, members of the Committee, and Auditors for the past year be re-elected, and the vacancies caused by the absence of General Tremenheere, Dr. Thom, F. F. Arbuthnot, Esq., and Col. J. A. Ballard be filled up as follows:—

The Lord Bishop of Bombay in place of General Tremenheere as a Vice President.

Dr. W. Dymock, G. Norman, Esq., and R. West, Esq., in place of Dr. W. Thom, F. F. Arbuthnot, Esq., and Col. J. A. Ballard, and Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar to supply the other vacancy. Carried unanimously.

The following is the list of the Committee of Management for the year 1871-72:—

President.—The Hon'ble H. P. St. George Tucker.

Vice-Presidents.—The Hon'ble Sir M. R. Westropp, Kt.; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Gibbs; Bhau Daji, Esq., Hon. Mem. R.A.S.; and the Right Rev. Henry Alexander Douglas, D.D., Bishop of Bombay.

Committee Members.—Dhunjeebhoy Framjee, Esq.; Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik; W. Loudon, Esq.; E. Tyrrell Leith, Esq., LL.M.; James Burgess, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.; W. Dymock, Esq., B.A.; G. Norman, Esq., C.S.; Raymond West, Esq., C.S.; Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A.; and James Taylor, Esq., *Honorary Secretary.*

Auditors.—Professor F. J. Candy, M.A., and Venayekrao Jagonath Sunkersett, Esq.

The following Newspapers and Periodicals were added to the list of those at present taken :—

1. *Mechanic's Magazine.*
2. *Sydenham Society's Publications.* (All the back numbers, and to be continued.)
3. *The Scientific American.*
4. *Leipzig Illustrate Zeitung* (instead of the *Kladderadatsch*).

The meeting then adjourned.

At a Meeting held on the 14th December 1871 :—

Mr. Maclean submitted to the meeting the following proposition :—

“ That the subscription of a Resident Member to the Society be lowered to Rs. 50 a year, or 5 a month,” which was seconded by Mr. Narayan Vasudewjee.

The Hon'ble President stated that the proposal now submitted had been considered by the Committee of Management, and at their meeting they passed the following resolution :—

“ That the Committee are of opinion that the proposal announced to be made at the next monthly meeting to reduce the annual subscription should be opposed on the ground that they consider that the advantages which it offers are not commensurate with the injury which such a change would be likely to occasion to the Society.”

It was then moved by Dr. Wilson, and seconded by Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, “ That the resolution of the Committee be adopted by the meeting as an amendment on the proposal made by Mr. Maclean.” After some discussion the vote was taken, when the amendment moved by Dr. Wilson was carried by a majority of 4, the numbers being 28 to 24.

At a meeting held on the 11th January 1872,

Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., read a paper entitled "A Devanagari transcript and date of a new Valabhi Copper-plate, and a new interpretation of the figured dates on the published grants of the Valabhi Dynasty."

At a meeting held on the 11th April 1872 :—

A report was read by Dr. Bhau Daji on 30 Hindu punch coins and a gold ring found in a village near Kolapur.

In reference to the finding of these coins, the following account has been given by the State Karbharee, Kolapur, to the Political Agent there :—

I have the honour to forward herewith 192 silver pieces, valued at Rupees 23-1-6, and one gold ring, value Rupees 17-8, received with the Kurveer Mamlutdar's memorandum dated 17th August last. They were found buried in a ravine within the limits of the village of Shinhi, in the Kurveer Petta. The discovery was made under the following circumstances :—In August last certain cowherd boys, belonging to the aforesaid village, were one day grazing cattle in the vicinity of the ravine called the "Waghdura," when some of them happened to cast their eyes on an earthen pot lying partly buried in the ground. Out of curiosity they gradually dug up the pot, which on being opened disclosed its contents. Astonished at this, and inspired with superstitious fear, they fled back to their homes, leaving the pot with its contents where it lay, and reported the circumstance to one Appa Patel, who repaired to the place in question with others, and picked up some pieces. The news soon reached the police authorities of the village, and on inquiry the coins and ring above mentioned were procured and produced before the Mamlutdar (Subordinate Magistrate of Kurveer).

2. An attempt was made to decipher the inscription on these pieces but without success. From their size and shape, and the figures thereon, however, it is presumed that they must be very ancient coins, and quite out of circulation for some time past.

Dr. Bhau Daji reported on the coins and the ring referred to as follows :—

The coins consist of impure silver, and are flat pieces of an irregular form, with a few punch marks or symbols on one side and frequently one punch mark on the opposite side—neither bearing any inscription. Generally a corner is cut off, evidently for the adjustment of their weight.

Prinsep describes coins of this description under the head of "Stacey's earliest Hindu coins."* (Plate XX., Nos. 25, 26, 27, and 28.)

Coins of this type were procured in South India,—"others," says Prinsep, "were dug up in the Sunderbuns, and many were found in Behar."

Mr. Thomas calls them Hindu punch coins, and the plate which he gives in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1865, at p. 14:—

Their average weight, says Prinsep, is fifty grains, or the same as the Tanka of the ancient Hindu mythology. Indeed, the word tank-sála (mint) goes far to prove that these are the very pieces fabricated for circulation under that name.

The thirty coins submitted to me for report vary from 45 to 53 grains in weight.

The symbols punched clearly relate to Buddhism, and require a paper by themselves.

Hitherto Indian numismatologists have not ventured beyond a shrewd guess that the coins of this type belong to a high grade of antiquity, from the absence of inscriptions or of evidence of skill in the art of engraving.

The gold ring which was found in the same pot with these coins fortunately has the name of its owner engraved on it, and the character of the alphabet enables me to pronounce it to be two thousand and one hundred years old, i.e. nearly of the age of Asoka.

We have thus a limit to the modernicity of the family of Hindu punch coins now under consideration.

A large number of copper coins of this type have been brought to me by Pundit Bhagwanlal Indrajī from Ujjein; out of 500 coins of different types, 150 belong to the above type. He found about 30 at Vedisa, near Bhilsa; he found one at Sarnath, near Benares, two or three in Junagad, in Katiawar.

As Prinsep remarked, they are all stamped on at random with punches, and may naturally be interpreted as the insignia of successive dynasties authenticating their currency.

The ring is solid and of somewhat inferior gold. It is octagonal on the outside surface, each side of the octagon forming an oval seal. Its diameter is $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch. The inside diameter is rather less than $\frac{7}{8}$. The weight is $274\frac{1}{2}$ grains. On the surface of the oval seals or faces the following figures and inscription are engraved:—

On face No. 1 is the name of the original owner of the ring in Devanagari character—a few years later than the age of Asoka. I read it Nadibhagasa or Nandibhagasya in Sanskrit, i.e. “of Nandibhaga.” The inscription is as follows :—

The letters are exactly similar to those of the Asoka inscriptions ; but the letter “bha” has in the inscriptions the form represented on it.

The letter, however, in the railing of the great Sanchi Stupa is exactly as in the ring.

No. II. A lion or tiger.

No. III. Two human standing figures ; the male encircling the neck of the female with his left arm, and the female his with her right arm. An impression on sealing-wax, of course, shows the figures reversed.

No. IV. An elephant.

No. V. A ficus tree with a railing round the base of trunk.

No. VI. A horse.

No. VII. Two fishes head to head.

No. VIII. A deer.

These seals or faces are raised, as will be seen by the measurement. From the edge of the faces to the round heading which forms the inside circle are straight lines, all radiating from the centre of the faces.

It is needless to add that to the eye of the classical scholar a considerable resemblance to Grecian art is evident.

The figure of the ficus tree is exactly opposite the inscription, the lion and deer being on each side of it.

At a meeting of the Society held on the 11th July 1872 :—

The Vice-President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Gibbs, announced to the Meeting that His Excellency the Hon'ble Sir P. E. Wodehouse, K.C.B., had done the Society the honour of accepting the office of Patron.

Proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Gibbs, and seconded by the *Honorary Secretary*, that Col. J. A. Ballard, C.B., R.E., and Rev. D. C. Boyd, M.A., be elected Members of Committee in place of Messrs. West and Norman, who have left Bombay.—*Carried unanimously.*

At a meeting of the Society held on the 8th of August 1872, Dr. Bhau Daji read the following report on 19 gold coins received from the Collector of Belgaum :—

Of the 19 gold coins, 3 are larger and 16 smaller.

The larger three are circular, flat pieces weighing 66 grains. On one side each has a circular line very near the rim which is beaded. Within the circle is the figure of a lion rampant, face to the left. In front of the neck is a short inscription in Devanagari characters comparatively modern, mentioning the name of one of the years of Brihaspati Chakra, or sixty years' cycle of Jupiter. In that year the coin was probably struck.

In one the name of the year is Subhokrata, the 36th in the cycle ; the second has Pramoda, the 4th in the cycle ; the third has Pingala, the 51st in the cycle.

A little above the ear of the lion and close to the circular line is a small circle and the crescent, evidently to represent the sun and the moon.

The coin having the name of the year Pingala has the Svastika symbol just behind the raised tail, whilst that with the name of the year Pramoda has the same symbol under the raised forefoot.

The form of the lion has a general resemblance to the lions found in the cave of Elephanta and in the ruins of Mathura.

On the obverse of the coin with the Subhakrota year is an inscription of five lines within a circle ; the first line is in modern Devanagari characters, and may be read Siva Chitta. The line under has the same name but in a different character, probably the old Dravidian alphabet. The third line has the name of Sri Siva Chitta in Devanagari.

The fourth line reads exactly as the third, but the character is the old Canarese.

The fifth line has again Siva Chitta in Devanagari.

The coins having the name of Pramoda and Pingala have, on the obverse, inscriptions in five lines :—

- 1st—Sri Sapta ko.
- 2nd—tisa lavvai ara vi.
- 3rd—ra Jaya kesi.
- 4th—Deva Malava.
- 5th—Ra Mari.

In the coin with the name of the year Pingala the letter *vi* is at the commencement of the third line, and instead of *lavavara* there is *labhavara*, which is equivalent to *labdhavara* in Sanskrit.

The legend may be translated—

"The brave Jayakesi, who obtained the favour of Sri Saptakotisa and was the enemy of Mallavarma."

The temple of Saptakotisa (Siva) is Narven, in Goa. In my paper on Mudhavacharya I have stated that Madhava Mantri established the shrine in the time of Hari-Hara.

The sixteen coins are all alike, being 59 grains in weight. On one side is the representation of an elephant with trappings, badly carved and never entire in any one of the coins. On the obverse is a conventionalized leaf. These coins appear to be cast, and not die-struck.

The age of the coins, judging by the alphabets, is later than the thirteenth century of the Christian era. We have the name of a king Jayakesi and his enemy Mallavarma, but I am unable to find at present their exact position in the dynasties of Southern and Western India.

One or two of the smaller and two of the larger may be bought for the Museum.

The *Honorary Secretary* submitted copy of a letter written by Mr. Grant Duff, author of the History of the Marathas, addressed to the late H. E. Goldsmid, of the Bombay Civil Service, in which Mr. Grant Duff gave an account of that work, and under what circumstances he was led to undertake it. The letter with the remarks of the *Secretary* will appear in the journal.

At a meeting of the Society held on the 12th September 1872, Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., read a paper entitled "Consideration of the Date of the Mahábhárata, in connection with the Correspondence from Col. Ellis."

Dr. Wilson moved a vote of thanks to Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar for collecting so many proofs of certain portions at least of the Mahábhárata.

Dr. Bhau Daji, in seconding the same, said there can be no doubt that the Mahábhárata is a very ancient work. The difficulty in ascertaining the exact age of such poems is that they have been added to and modified from time to time. The first antiquarians assigned an absurd antiquity to everything Indian, and now the tendency was in the other way. He believed it could be shown that the Mahábhárata existed as long ago as Alexander the Great, and that he believed this could be proved.

After some further discussion, in which Mr. Robertson and Mr. Burgess took part, Prof. Bhandarkar replied.

The best thanks of the Society were voted to Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar for his interesting paper, and to the contributors to the Library, and the meeting then adjourned.

At a meeting of the Society held on the 12th December 1872—Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar read a paper entitled "Hindu Tribes and Castes in Guzerat."

On the motion of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, seconded by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, the best thanks of the meeting were given to Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar for his valuable paper. The meeting then adjourned.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

Thursday, 9th January 1873: the Honourable H. P. St. George Tucker in the chair.

The *Honorary Secretary* read the

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1871-72.

Members.—During the past year 10 resident and 4 non-resident members were elected, against 16 resident and 3 non-resident elected in 1870-71. 14 members have withdrawn and 3 died in the past year, leaving 153 resident members on the Society's roll. The number of the non-resident members in India is 109.

Library.—During the year under review 464 works in 618 volumes were bought by the Society, against 526 works in 689 volumes bought in 1870-71.

Periodicals.—The papers and periodicals taken by the Society are as follows:—Literary 12; Illustrated 10; Scientific 32; Reviews 8; European newspapers 19; Medical newspaper 1; Registers, Army Lists, and Directories 18; French literary and scientific periodicals 5; American newspaper 1; German literary and scientific periodicals 6; Indian newspapers 18; Indian journals; reviews, &c. 32; Batavian Society's publications 2; being a total of 133 literary and scientific periodicals and 39 newspapers, or in all 172. Of these, 50 periodicals and transactions of the learned societies are given in return for the Society's journal.

Presents to the Library.—Miscellaneous works in 140 volumes and 118 pamphlets were presented to the Society during the year chiefly by the Governments of India; Bengal, and Bombay; the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Royal Astronomical Society, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, the Smithsonian

Institute, Washington, the Boston Society of Natural History, the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, and others.

Presents to the Museum.—Six copper coins of Portuguese Government in India, presented by Mr. Edward F. Victor de Costa; and two copper plates from the Bhowuggur Durbar, presented by Dewan Gowrishankar through Mr. J. Burgess.

Original Communications.—The following papers and reports on coins and copper-plate grants were read during the year :

1. A Devanagari transcript and date of a new Valabhi copper-plate, and a new interpretation of the figured dates on the published grants, of the Valabhi dynasty, by Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.

2. A report on thirty Hindu Punch coins and a gold ring found in a village near Kolapore, by Dr. Bhau Daji.

3. Ditto ditto on nineteen gold coins received from the Collector on Belgaum by ditto.

4. Remarks on a letter written by Mr. Grant Duff, addressed to the late H. E. Goldsmid, Esq., Bombay Civil Service, on the subject of Mr. Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, by J. Taylor, Esq., *Honorary Secretary*.

5. Consideration of the date of the Mahábhárat, in connection with the correspondence of Colonel Ellis, by Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.

The Society's Journal.—No. 27 of the Society's journal was published and distributed to members in April last. No. 28, containing the papers read in 1871-72, and the proceedings for the same period, is now in the press, and will be published as early as possible.

Finance.—The accounts of the Society for the official year, terminating on 1st November last, show a balance at the credit of the Society with the New Bank of Bombay of Rs. 4,833-9-6, which amount was reduced by payments in November and December to Rs. 2,862-14-6 on 2nd January 1873. There was also an amount at the credit of the Society with its London agents in November of £300. The balance-sheet at the close of the official year is now on the table for the inspection of the members.

Destruction of books by the rains in September.—The Society has sustained a serious loss by the destruction of a large number of valuable works, owing to the heavy fall of rain which came through the roof of

the Library on the night of Thursday the 12th September last. After a careful collation of the detached pages of the damaged books, about 1400 complete volumes have been secured, but all will require to be re-bound before they can be made available for use. About 120 volumes, most of which consisted of valuable editions of the Greek and Latin classic authors, have been rendered totally useless. It is difficult for the Committee to estimate the exact pecuniary loss, but it cannot be short of Rs. 4,000.

Reduction of Subscription.—The subject of the reduction of the amount of the present annual subscription of the Members has been under the careful consideration of the Committee, but in view of the heavy expenditure about to be incurred in bringing out the new catalogue (which is now undergoing revision for the press) and in repairing the losses to the Library caused by the rain in September, the Committee do not feel justified in recommending any reduction for the present. Before another annual meeting takes place they hope to be in a position to recommend a modification of the existing rules on this point.

Amalgamation of the Bombay Geographical Society with the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.—Negotiations on the subject of the amalgamation of the Bombay Geographical Society with this Society were entered into by the Committees of both societies a few months ago, which have proceeded thus far favourably, and the result will be communicated to the members shortly at a special meeting to be convened for the purpose.

The Committee propose to have the large Library room, the adjoining smaller room, and the Museum room lighted with gas, which they consider will be a great advantage in case of the Society having evening meetings or *conversazioni* at a much later hour than has hitherto been the custom.

Proposed by Manekjee Karsetjee, Esq., and seconded by Nacoda Mahamed Ali Rogay, Esq.—“That the report now read be adopted.”—Carried unanimously.

The meeting then proceeded for the election of the Committee of Management for the year 1872-73.

Proposed by Dr. F. G. Joynt, seconded by Javerilal Umiashankar, Esq.—“That the Vice-presidents, Members of the Committee, and Auditors for the past year be re-elected.”—Carried unanimously.

The following is the list of the Committee of Management for the year 1872-73 :—

President.—The Hon'ble H. P. St. George Tucker.

Vice-Presidents.—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Gibbs; Bhau Daji, Esq., Hon. Mem. R. A. S ; The Hon'ble Sir M. R. Westropp, Chief Justice ; and the Right Rev. Henry Alexander Douglas, Bishop of Bombay.

Committee Members.—Dhanjibhoy Framjee, Esq.; Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik ; W. Loudon, Esq. ; the Hon'ble J. A. Forbes; E. T. Leith, Esq. ; James Burgess, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S. ; Dr. W. Dymock, B.A. ; Professor Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar ; Col. J. A. Ballard, C.B., R.E. ; the Rev. D. C. Boyd, M.A. ; and James Taylor, Esq., *Honorary Secretary.*

Auditors.—Professor F. J. Candy, M.A., and Vinayekrao Juggonath Sunkerset, Esq.

The following newspapers and periodicals were added to the list of those at present taken :—

1. *The Guardian* newspaper (London).
2. *Ocean Highways* (monthly).
3. *The Bombay Catholic Examiner.*
4. *Good Words* (monthly parts).

After the conclusion of the anniversary meeting, the monthly meeting of the Society was held.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed, and the following members were elected :—Surgeon Major T. E. P. Martin, Secretary to the Inspector General, Indian Medical Department.

The Hon'ble A. Rogers, Member of Council.

The Meeting then adjourned after a vote of thanks to the President for his conduct in the chair.