

ART. X.—THE ERA OF YUDHI-ṢṬHIRA. By RAJARAM  
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[Read 26th January 1899.]

Yudhi-ṣṭhira is the hero of the great epic Mahā-Bhārata. His era was counted from his coronation. When was Yudhi-ṣṭhira crowned? Of course there is a conflict of views. There are three views—the astronomical, the popular and the solstitial.

I.—*The Astronomical View.*

For the astronomical view we are indebted in the first place to Kalhāṇa,<sup>1</sup> who wrote his Rāja-Tarangīṇī in the year 1070 of the Cāshmīrian era. Kalhāṇa citing the distich षड्विकपंचद्विजुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ('and the era of that king lasted for 2526 years') from the Brihat-Saṅghita of Varāha-mihira adds 2526 to 1070. Kalhāṇa thus places the coronation year of Yudhi-ṣṭhira 3596 years anterior to the date of his Rāja-Tarangīṇī. The Cāshmīrian era coinciding with the Shālivāhana era of the Marāthās, 78 will have to be deducted from 2526 to determine the coronation year of Yudhi-ṣṭhira. The era of Yudhi-ṣṭhira will thus be found to have commenced 2448 years before Christ.

The line षड्विक, though found in the great work of Varāha-mihira, is not his own, but he<sup>2</sup> acknowledges to have borrowed it from Vṛiddha-Garga, who thus appears to be the earliest authority for the era. Dr. Kern in his excellent preface<sup>3</sup> to Brihat-Saṅghita, puts down 505 A. C. as the date of Varāha-mihira. The line षड्विक can thus be traced up from the middle of the 12th to the beginning of the 6th Christian century. When did Vṛiddha-Garga, from whose work Varāha-mihira borrows the line, live? It is evident from the wording of the line, that Vṛiddha-Garga must have written his work at a time when the era of Yudhi-ṣṭhira was no longer in use. The era of Yudhi-ṣṭhira having ceased in or about 78 A. C., Vṛiddha-Garga may safely be placed at the close of the first Christian century or there-

<sup>1</sup> "शककालस्य सांप्रतम् । सप्तत्याऽभ्यधिकं यातं सहस्रं परिवत्सराः (ऽलो० ५२ तरंग १) and संहिताकारैरेवं वक्तोऽपि निर्णयः" (ऽलो० ५५, तरंग १).

<sup>2</sup> "कथञ्चिच्च वेदवृत्तगर्भतात्" (आर्या २, अ० १३)

<sup>3</sup> P. 25, Kern's Edition बृहत्संहिता.

about. He cannot certainly be supposed to have written his work before 78 A.C., the year when the era of Yudhi-śhīthira is said to have ceased.

Though the close of the era of Yudhi-śhīthira will thus be found to be a thing not to be relegated to the domain of fiction, the same cannot be said of its commencement. The basis of the era is apparently astronomical अस्मिन् महासु मुनयः ज्ञासति पृथिवी बुधिविरे नृपतेः is the distich preceding पद्मद्विकः; while the distich following is एकैकारिन्बुधे सते शत ते चरति वर्षाणाम्. The preceding distich declares that while king Yudhi-śhīthira was ruling the earth, the (*seven*) *sages*, (the constellation of Ursa Major) were in Māghā (the 10th lunar mansion corresponding to the first part Leonis); while the distich, which follows, discloses the belief, which the astronomers of those days entertained that the *seven sages* remained for full 100 years in conjunction with each lunar mansion. This belief of the seven sages remaining in conjunction with each lunar mansion, after the fashion of the planets, for one hundred years, the modern astronomer will pronounce to be a fiction pure and simple. Nevertheless the belief was general in those times that the seven sages also moved in the vast space just like Jupiter, Saturn, and other planets, and that their one revolution was completed in 27 centuries or 2700 years. Beyond this belief in the revolution of the seven sages, there are no data for ascertaining the exact commencement of the era of Yudhi-śhīthira. "The seven sages were in conjunction with the first *Leonis* during the rule of Yudhi-śhīthira, and the conjunction of the *seven sages* with each lunar mansion lasts for one hundred years"—is the only ray of light, howsoever feeble or dim, the surrounding darkness being otherwise deep and impenetrable. Curiously enough Vṛiddha-Garga does not disclose the position of the *seven sages* in the year, when the era of Yudhi-śhīthira, according to him, ceased. Even as regards the commencement of the era, the information is not quite satisfactory, Vṛiddha-Garga having failed to put down the precise year. The only satisfactory and valuable information one gets from Vṛiddha-Garga is the time of the duration of the era. This information supplied by Vṛiddha-Garga taken in conjunction with the fact that the Cāshmirian era of Kalhana coincided with the Shālivāhana era of the Marāthās, enables us to fix conclusively the date of the history, or rather the story, of the civil war between the Kauravās and the Pāṇḍavas. The astronomical view of the era of Yudhi-śhīthira will carry up the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas to the 25th century before Christ, but not higher. Among the Brahminical data

for fixing the date of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, these seem to be the oldest and the most authentic. No other data older or more authentic are to be found in the whole range of Sanskrit literature.

Relying on these data, Kālhāṇa holds that the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas lived after 653 years<sup>4</sup> of the age of Kali had passed.

### 2—The Popular View.

According to the popular view, the commencement of the era of Yudhi-śhīthira coincides with the commencement of the age of Kali; in fact, the age of Kali commenced with the coronation of Yudhi-śhīthira. The era of Yudhi-śhīthira is thus carried up higher by 653 years. The duration of the era, according to the popular view, ought thus to be  $653 + 2526 = 3179$  years. But of these 3179 years, 135 years are assigned to the era of Vikrama and the duration of the era of Yudhi-śhīthira is thus reduced to 3044 years.

The popular view is based on the native annual almanacks.

The Vaiṣṇavas seem to have been responsible for this carrying up of the era of Yudhi-śhīthira by 653 years, thereby making it coincide with the commencement of the age of Kali. The view of the Vaiṣṇavas as set forth in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, is that "as long<sup>5</sup> as Kṛiṣṇa lived, Kali dared not touch this sub-lunary world, but the moment he departed, Kali assumed his impious rule." Kṛiṣṇa having come to be regarded as Viṣṇu, the beneficent divinity of the Hindu Trinity incarnate in entirety, some of the Vaiṣṇavas were naturally shocked to acknowledge that he lived and breathed his last, or rather ascended to his heaven, in this age of impiety; and piously carrying up the era of Yudhi-śhīthira by 653 years, they made it coincide with the age of Kali. Though Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is now-a-days very seldom read, Bhāgavata Purāṇa is very popular throughout the length and breadth of India; and its chronology, though faulty from a critical standpoint, is taken to be quite unexceptional by the orthodox Brāhmaṇa of to-day. The ante-dating of the era of Yudhi-śhīthira in native almanacks thus appears to be the result of the

<sup>4</sup> "सतिषु बहसु सार्षेयु अथिकेषु च भूतले । कलेर्मतेषु वर्षानामभवन् क्रुह्यां-  
हवाः" ( स्तो० ५१, अ० १ )

<sup>5</sup> "जावत् स पादपद्माभ्यां बसर्षेमां बह्ववसानम् । तावत् पृथिवीरिष्यते तस्यो  
नाभवन् कलिः" ( स्तो० १६, अ० २४, अंश ४१ ) विष्णुपुराण.  
"दन्तिन् कृष्णो दिवं वातस्त्वस्मिन्नेव तथाऽहनि । प्रतिपन्नं कलिबुगमिति  
प्रायः पुराविदः" ( स्तो० ११, अ० २, स्क० १२ ) भागवतपुराण.

popularity acquired by Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which is every inch a Purāṇa of the Vaiṣṇavas.

The era of Vikrama, which comes in the popular view, is quite distinct from the era of Vikrama current in the valley of Cāshmir. There is a difference of 135 years between the two eras. The era in Cāshmir was the era of a Vikrama, whose real<sup>6</sup> name, according to Kalhana, was Harṣha. The other, which is popularly known as Samvat, commenced 135 years earlier. There is a tradition current in Mahā-rāṣṭra that the founder of the Vikrama era and the founder of the Shālivāhana era were contemporaries. A battle was fought between the two kings or emperors, somewhere on the river Narmadā, in which the Marāthās having annihilated his forces, the Lord of Ujjayint had to beat a retreat. This Vikrama must be the Harṣha Vikrama, who, according to Rāja-Taranginī, subjugated Cāshmir and, among the spoils, carried to his capital even the throne<sup>7</sup> of the Cāshmirian kings. The Marāthā tradition appears thus to have had a historical foundation. The only point the reader's attention ought to be specially drawn to, is that the Vikrama of the Marāṭhā tradition must be the Harṣha Vikrama of Cāshmirian fame and not the Samvat Vikrama, whose conquests could not be so extensive.

Let us now proceed to the solstitial view.

### 3.—*The Solstitial View.*

There are two solstices, two equinoxes. The two equinoxes, the vernal and the autumnal, were hardly known in India in the earliest times. The same cannot be said of the two solstices, the winter and the summer. The six months following the shortest day and ending with the longest are even now known as the six months of Udagayana, popularly Uttarāyana, meaning "going towards the north" (of the sun). The old Hindu called the six months "the months of light," being the "months of growing days." The other half of the year was called Dakṣhinā-yana, meaning "going towards the south" (of the sun). These six months to the old Hindu were "the months of darkness," being "months of growing nights." In the astronomical appendix of the Vedas, the months in which the two solstices fell are held to be

<sup>6</sup> "श्रीमान् हर्षापरानिधिः । एकच्छत्रकवर्ती विक्रमादिस्व इत्यभूत्-"  
(अलो० १२५, तरं० ३)

<sup>7</sup> "सिंहासनं स्वर्गद्वानां तेनाऽहितकृतं ततः । विक्रमादिस्वसतेरानीतं स्वपुरं पुनः" (अलो० ३३३) त० ३).

always the same, the winter solstice in the first<sup>8</sup> year of the cycle of five years called Yuga invariably falling on the first day of the lunar Māgha (February and March), the sun being at that time in conjunction with the constellation of Shraighthā or Dhanishthā. In the second, third, fourth and fifth years of the cycle<sup>9</sup> the days were respectively 13th (white fortnight), 10th (dark fortnight), 7th (white fortnight) and 4th (dark fortnight) of the same month of Māgha for the winter solstice. In the sixth year, that is, the first year of the new cycle, the winter solstice again fell on the first day of the white fortnight of Māgha. The summer solstice fell on the 7th day (white fortnight) of the lunar month of Shrāvaṇa in the first year, on the 4th day (dark fortnight) in the 2nd, on the first day (white fortnight) in the 3rd, on the 13th day (white fortnight) on the 4th, and on the 10th day (dark fortnight) in the 5th year of the cycle. In the 6th year, it again fell on the 7th (white fortnight) of the same lunar month of Shrāvaṇa. The two solstices, according to the author, thus invariably fell in the two lunar months of Māgha and Shrāvaṇa.

Modern astronomical observations having established that the equinoxes recede 1 degree in 72 years, and that, the equinoxes receding, the solstices also recede, the date of the observation of the falling of the winter solstice on the 1st of the lunar Māgha, the sun being in conjunction with Dhanishthā, can be pretty accurately determined. The winter solstice being found to have receded about 41·5 degrees, as it now falls somewhere in the lunar Mārga-shrīṣha,  $41·5 \times 72$  would give the approximate number of years passed from the fixing of the date of its falling somewhere in the lunar Māgha. Rough calculations thus point out that the observation noted down in the astronomical appendix of the Vedas must have been made about B. C. 1091 (2938-1897). Armed with this astronomical datum, one can easily proceed to fix the date of the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas.

Bhīṣhma, the renowned Mahābhārata warrior, is reputed to have breathed his last on the 8th day of the white<sup>10</sup> fortnight of the lunar Māgha, the sun having commenced its career towards the north some

- <sup>8</sup> “प्रपद्येते अविद्यासौ सूर्याचांद्रमसा उदक् । सापार्थे रक्षिषाकेस्तु माघभावनयोः सश” (ऋ० ६)
- <sup>9</sup> “प्रथमं सप्तमं चाद्वयनाद्यं त्रयोदशम् । चतुर्थं दशमं च द्विद्व्यंताख्यं बहुलेऽप्युत्तौ (ऋ० ८).
- <sup>10</sup> “माघोऽयं समनुप्राप्तो मासः सौम्यो बुधधिर । विभागशेषः शुक्रोऽयं पक्षो भवितुमर्हति” (ऋ० २८, अ० १६८, आनुशासनिकपर्व.)

hours earlier. This year, then, must have been the fourth of the cycle of five years, since it is in the fourth year that the winter solstice is said to fall on the seventh day of the white fortnight of the lunar Māgha. The story of the death of Bhīṣhma on the 8th day of the lunar Māgha, after the winter solstice had set in on the 7th, is either a fact or a fiction. If it be taken as a fact, the testimony of Vṛiddha-Garga, in regard to the era of Yudhi-śhṭhira having lasted for 2526 years, loses its value. A better alternative perhaps is that the episode be taken as a fiction interpolated by the Brāhmanas to uphold the Vedic tradition as told in the Chhândogya-Upaniṣhad and also in Bhagavad-Gītā. "Those who die after the winter solstice has set in directly go to the heaven of Brahman and are not born again"—is the view<sup>11</sup> of the Chhândogya-Upaniṣhad. The original Mahābhārata containing<sup>12</sup> only 24,000 verses was hardly one-fifth of the voluminous epic of to-day which, according to popular belief, has 125,000 stanzas. The Pāṇḍavas do not seem to have come within the pale of the Brahminical civilization. A critical student cannot help bearing in mind that the five brothers married one wife, and that Bhīma had taken the vow of drinking the blood of the enemy most obnoxious to him. The original story was evidently a non-Brāhminical one, but being once recited before Shaunaka and his Vedic associates, it spread among the Brāhmanas. In the Book of Genealogy and in the Book of the Forest, the hand of the Brāhmaṇa-priest is distinctly visible. In the Book of Peace, which is the most voluminous of the eighteen books, the influence of Buddhism and Jainism also can be very easily detected. In the Book of Admonitions also the antiquity of a good many chapters is exceedingly doubtful. If this general analysis of the great epic poem be correct, there is room for believing that the placing of the death of Bhīṣhma after the winter solstice had set in is a later addition made by the Brāhmanas in the interest of the Vedic religion or rather the tradition of the Oupanishada School.

<sup>11</sup> १० खंड, ५ अध्याय.

<sup>12</sup> "चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्री चक्रे भारतसंहिताम्"। (श्लो० १०२, अ० १, आदिपर्व.)

ART. XI.—*The Cities of Irân as described in the old Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân.* By JIVANJI JAMSHEDI MODI, Esq., B.A.

[Read 26th January 1899.]

“Shatrôihâ-i-Irân,” or “The Cities of Irân,” is the name of an old Pahlavi treatise lately published for the first time, with some other Pahlavi treatises by the late lamented Dastur Dr. Jamsapji Minocheherji. The book purports to give the names of the founders of some of the known cities of Western and Central Asia that had, at one time or another, passed into the hands of the ancient Persians. It has not been hitherto translated in any language.<sup>1</sup> The object of this paper is to identify these cities and give a few points of geographical and historical importance about them as presented by this treatise.

This treatise seems to have been written a long time after the Mahomedan conquest of Persia. In the Pahlavi Bundeesh,<sup>2</sup> the country of Syria is spoken of as Sûristân (𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥), i. e., the country of Suria or Syria, just as Cabulistân is the country of Cabul. It is spoken of as the country from which the Frât or the Euphrates runs. Shâm is the name given to Syria by Mahomedan writers. According to Masoudi,<sup>3</sup> Syria was called Shâm 𐭮𐭥𐭥 because it is situated on the left (*shimal*) of Kaabah and Yemen was so called because it is situated on the right (*yemin*) of Kaabah. The king of Yemen (Arabia Felix) is spoken of in the Pahlavi books as *tasikân malak* 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 or “*tasikân shâh* 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, i. e., the king of the Arabs. But in this treatise these countries are known not by their old names of Sûristân and “the country of the Tasiks,” but by their later names

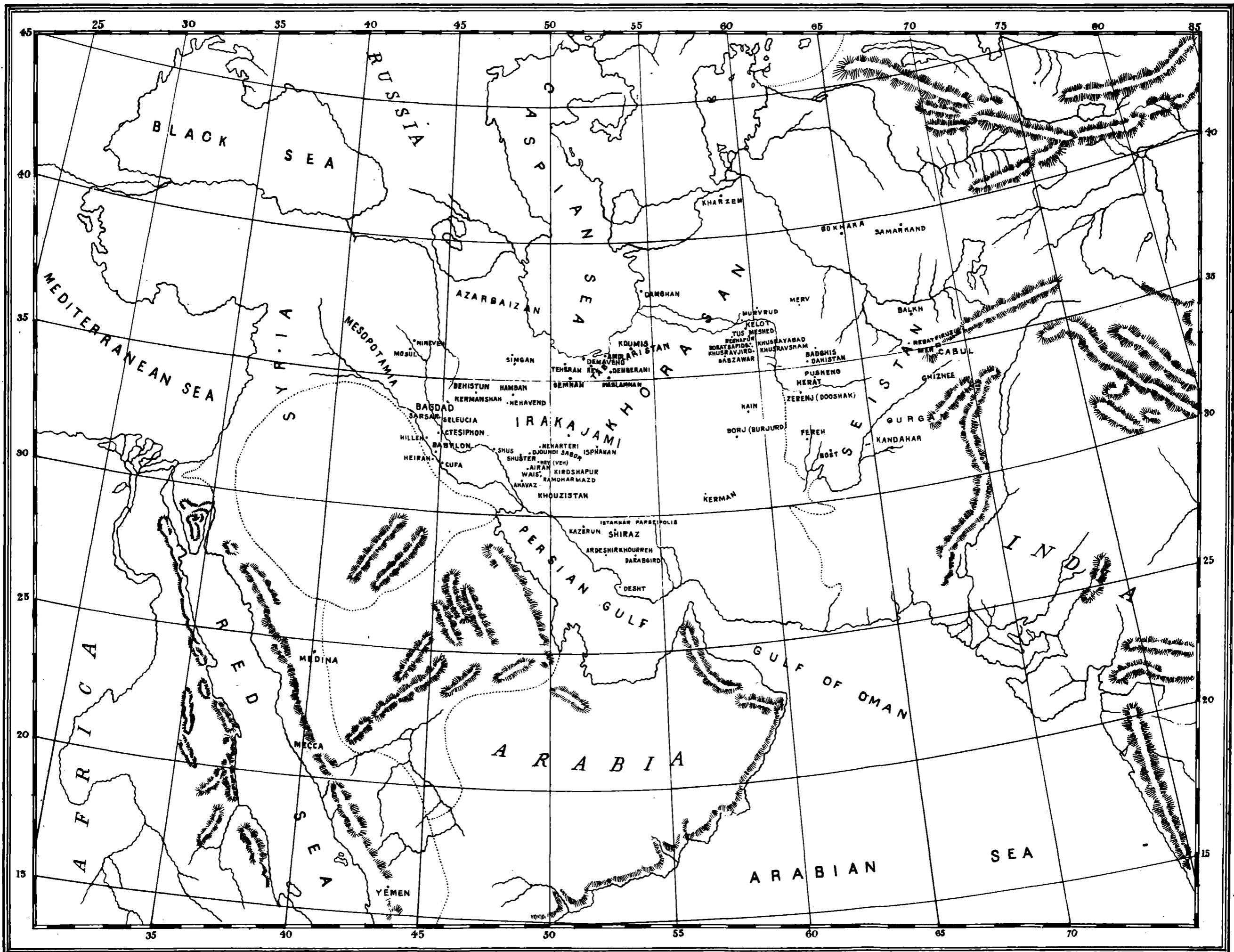
<sup>1</sup> The late lamented Dr. Darmesteter has translated two passages in his ‘*Textes Pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme.*’

<sup>2</sup> Justi, p. 51, l. 12. S. B. E. V., Ch. XX., 10.

<sup>3</sup> B. de Meynard, Vol. III., p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Dinkard. Tehmuras’s MS extra leaves after p. 306. S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII. Bk. VIII. Ch. XIII 9. Binâ-i-Farvardin Yâm-i-Khurdâd—Dastur Jamsapji’s Edition, p. 103, s. 14.

MAP OF THE CITIES NAMED IN THE PAHALAVI TREATISE OF SHA TRÔIHÂ-I-IRÂN.





of Shâm and Yemen. This fact then shews that it was written after the time of Mahomed, when these new names came into use. In what is called the older or the grand Bundeheesh, the name Shâm does occur once (S. B. E., Vol. XLVII., p. 151), but the word seems to have been miswritten for Âmi, which is found in the later copies. That it is a mistake of the last revising editor appears from the fact that he says that the land of Surak was called Shâm. Now the land of Surak, from which the river Arag is represented as flowing, is evidently the country of Sogdiana and not Syria. Nevertheless, the fact remains that though there is a mistake in the identification, yet the name 'Shâm' was known to the revising editor of the Bundeheesh. But in that case we must remember that the revising editor seems to have done his work as late as the end of the ninth century.<sup>5</sup> So it is possible that the Pahalavi writers began to use the name in the ninth century. That probably is the date of our treatise.

Again, we find in no other Pahalavi works the name of Africa, which is here called 'Farikâ.' Many Persian writers even, when they spoke of Africa, spoke of it as the country of Magreb, or the West. Just as at present, the European nations speak of Turkey and the adjoining countries as the East, and of China and Japan as the Further East, so the ancient Asiatic authors spoke of Africa—of course by Africa they understood only Egypt and the northern portion of Africa with which they had come into contact—as Magreb, or the country of the West. The country of Egypt is spoken of in some Pahalavi books as Misr, but the term Africa is not used at all. Therefore, the use of this name in our book also points to its later origin when the name Africa began to be used more commonly in Persia, after the time of the Mahomedan conquest. It is noteworthy that among the places mentioned in our books, the name of Egypt or Misr is conspicuous by its absence, though the country was at one time ruled over by the ancient Persians. So it appears that by the name Farika or Africa, which latterly became common in Persia, our author meant the country of Egypt. According to Maçoudi, the country had derived its name from one Afrike, son of Abrahah (افریقى بن ابرهه) who had founded it.

There is one other city, an allusion to which in the book points to the fact that the book could not have been written, or at least finished, earlier than the ninth century, or the end of the eighth century. It is

<sup>5</sup> S. B. E., Vol. V., West. Bundeheesh, Introduction, p. 43.

the town of Bagdâd. Its foundation is attributed to one Abou Jâfar, who was also called Abou Davânik. This personage was the Khalif Abou Jaffer Mansour, who had, according to Ebn Haukal,<sup>6</sup> built the celebrated city since the introduction of Islâm. This is the only town in the list of the cities of this book, the foundation of which is attributed to a Mahomedan raier. Our book gives Abou Davânik as the other name of this prince, and it is confirmed by Tabari, according to whom his whole name was Abou Djafar Manqur Abou'l Dawâniq. Now this prince began to reign in Hijri 136 (A. D. 754), and built the town of Bagdâd in Hijri 145 (A. D. 763). This shows, then, that the book must have been written at the end of the eighth century or in the ninth century.

Altogether 111 cities are referred to in this treatise. Out of this number 52 are enumerated with the names of the founders of most of them. With few exceptions these cities are grouped in large divisions. The first three divisions are separated by the common use of the words "In the direction of" (*pavan koste*).

The first group is that of the cities of Khorâsân, which is considered to be a very large province. As Kinneir says: "The vast province of Khorassan has for its boundaries the Oxus and country of Bulkh, to the N. E. and E., Cabul and Seistan to the S., and to the W. the province of Irâk, Asterabad and Dahestan."<sup>7</sup> The cities mentioned as those belonging to Khorassan are 17. They are the following:—Samarcand, a city in Balkh,<sup>8</sup> Khvarzem, Maruv-rud, Meruv (Merv), Harâi (Herat), Pushen (Pusheng), Tûs (Mashad), Nio-Shâpuhar (Nishâpur), Kâin, Dahistân, Komis, and five cities bearing the name of Khusrui.

The second group is that of the cities in the direction of Khurbarân, i. e., Khâvar (*Pavan kost-i-Khurbarân*). Khâvar is the name of a district in Khorassân. But the very first name in this group, viz., Ctesiphon, shows that it is not the district of that name that is mentioned here. Here the word is used as a common noun in the sense of 'the west.' In this group of the Western cities we find the following—

Ctesiphon.

Sasûr (Sarsur).

Hirleh (Hilleh).

<sup>6</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, by Kinneir, p. 169.

<sup>8</sup> The Pahlavi name can be taken as that of Bokhârâ also.

**Bâwir (Babylon).**

**Hairat or Hirat (Hira).**

**Hamdân.**

One city in Mâh in the direction of Nehâvand and in the district of Vahrâm-âvand.

Twenty cities in the country of Pâdashkvârgar (the mountain district on the south of the Caspian, including the provinces of Tabaristân, Mâzandarân and Ghelân).

**Mosul.**

Nine cities in Jazzerêh (Mesopotamia).

Twenty-four cities in the land of Syria, Africa, Cufa, Mecca and Medineh.

The third group of cities is that of Nimruz or Seistân. As Sir F. J. Goldsmid says, "It is somewhat embarrassing at the present day to define the limits of the province of Sistan. We may suppose two territories, one compact and concentrated, which may be termed 'Sistan Proper,' the other detached and irregular which may be termed 'Outer Sistan.'"<sup>9</sup>

The following are the cities of Seistân —

Cavul (Cabul), Râvad (Rebat), Bost, Fariâv (Fariâb), Zavulastân, and Zarang (Dooshak).

The fourth group is that of the towns of Kirmân and Pârs. It contains the following towns :—

Kerman, Veh Artashir, Stâkhar (Istakhar or Persepolis), Darabgird near Shiraz, Vish-Shâpuhar, Artashir Gadman or Firouzâbâd, Touj.

The fifth group forms the towns of Khuzistân, which are the following :—

Oharmazd-Artashir or Ahwâz, Râm Oharmaud, Shus, Shuster Vendu-i-Shâpuhar, Airân kird-Shâpuhar, Nâhar Tirak, Simlân, Kharâyast, Askar (Askar Moukarram), Veh (Hey), Gaê (Ispahân), Khajrân (Kazeroun), Adjân, Kard.

The sixth and the last group contains towns which cannot be ascribed to any one province. They belong to different provinces in different directions. They are the following :—

Ashkar (2nd), Âtaropâtakân (Âdarbaijân), Ninav (Nineveh), Ganjêh, Amui (Amul), Bagdâd.

<sup>9</sup> "Journey from Bunder Abbas to Meshed by Sistan," by Sir F. J. Goldsmid, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. XXII., p. 88.

We will now speak of the cities in detail.

**Samarcand.** — Our Pahalavi book attributes the foundation of Samarcand to Kâus of Kobâd of the Kyânian dynasty of Persia, and its completion to his son, Siâvakhsh. Tabari says that Samarcand was founded in the reign of Kobâd, but he attributes its foundation to one Samar, a general of Tobbâ Abou Karib, a king of Yemen.<sup>10</sup> Maçoudi also attributes its foundation to Samar.<sup>11</sup> Tabari, later on, says that Alexander the Great founded it. When Oriental writers speak of the foundation of a city, we must not always understand by that term its original foundation, but its being rebuilt or decorated or enlarged. Edrisi says this more clearly. "Samarcande doit sa fondation au Toba-el-Akbar<sup>12</sup> (roi de l'Arabie Heureuse), et ses progrès à Dhoul-Carneïn (Alexandre le Grand).<sup>13</sup>

The Shâh-nâme throws no further light on the question of the foundation of Samarcand. What we learn from this book is merely this, that at one time it belonged to the Persians, that latterly Afrasiâb, the Turânian, had taken it away from their hands and that, in accordance with one of the terms of peace made with Siâvakhsh, the son of Kâus, it went back into the hands of the Persians.<sup>14</sup> It appears then that Kâus must have begun building it, when it was captured by Afrasiâb and that Siâvakhsh finished it on regaining it according to the terms of peace. Though Tabari, Maçoudi, Edrisi, and Firdousi do not directly support our Pahalavi book in its statement that Kâus founded it, other Oriental writers do. "Samarkand remonte à la plus haute antiquité. Les annales de l'Orient musulman en rapportent la fondation sous le nom de Sogdo (d'ou Sogdiane) à l'époque heroique de l'histoire persane, en l'attribuant au Kéianide Kêi Kaous fils de Kêikobad."<sup>15</sup>

There is one statement about Samarcand in this new treatise which throws some light upon the locality of one of the two celebrated libraries of ancient Persia.

We find what Dr. West calls "The Traditional History of the

<sup>10</sup> Tabari par Zotenberg II., pp. 81, 82, 157.

<sup>11</sup> Maçoudi par Barbier de Meynard I., p. 352.

<sup>12</sup> He is the same as the Tobbâ Abou Karib, of Tabari, the master of Samar.

<sup>13</sup> Géographie d'Edrisi, par Jaubert, II., p. 198.

<sup>14</sup> Mohl. II., p. 272, ll. 923-24. "The ruins of Afrasiâb are still pointed out to travellers at Samarcand. (Through the Heart of Asia, by Bonvalot, Vol. II., pp. 7, 30.)

<sup>15</sup> Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle.

Zoroastrian Scriptures" in several Pahalavi books.<sup>16</sup> According to that history, when Zoroaster revealed his new religion Kai Vish-tâsp, the then ruler of Persia, asked him to write down the scriptures. The king ordered that the original be kept in the treasury of Shapigân or Shaspigân and that an authentic copy be deposited in Dazhu-i-Napisht, i. e., the castle of written documents. Thus two great libraries were established, the one of Shapigân and the other of Dazhu-i-Napisht. On the invasion of Persia by Alexander the Great, who, on account of the devastations that he committed, is termed "the evil destined villain" (*marô dush-gadman*) and "the cursed (*gazashîé*) Alexiedar," the latter was destroyed by fire by his troops.

The books in the library attached to the treasury of Shapigân fell into the hands of the Arumans, i. e., the Greeks of those provinces which latterly formed a part of the Eastern Empire of the Romans, and they were translated into Greek. Our Pahalavi book also refers to this traditional history in a few words. It says that the foundation of the city of Samarcand which is situated in the province of Khorasan (or the Eastern districts) was laid by king Kâus of Kobâd and that the city was completed by his son Siâvakhsh. Kaikhosru, the son of Siâvakhsh, was born there and he had built therein a glorious fire temple. The book then proceeds to say:

"In the end, Zoroaster brought the religion and by the order of king Vishtâsp wrote 1,200 '*pargards*' (chapters) of religious writings on golden tablets and deposited them in the treasury of that fire-temple. At last the accursed Sikandar (Alexander) burnt and threw into the river the (collection of the) religious writings (Dinkard) of seven kings."

This passage not only repeats what is already said in the above named Pahalavi works about the early part of the traditional history of the Zoroastrian scriptures but says something more. It says that the writings burnt by Alexander were not only those of Zoroaster alone but also the religious literature collected by seven kings.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Dinkard Bk. III. Haug's Introduction to the Zend Pahlavi Glossary of Dastur Dr. Hoshangji, pp. xxxi.-xxxvii. West's Dinkard, S. B. E. Vol. xxvii., pp. xxx.-xxxi. pp. 412-413. Ardai Virâf Nâmeh, chap. I., 1-15 Tansar's letter to the King of Tabaristan. Journal Asiatique, Tome III. (1894).

<sup>17</sup> Though the number of kings mentioned here is seven we find later on that the names of eight kings are enumerated. They are Jam (Jamshed), Azidâhâka (Zohâk), Faridun, Minocheher, Kâus, Kai Khoshru, Lohrâsp and Vishtâsp. The reason why, though eight kings are enumerated, the religious

Now where were the two libraries of Zoroastrian books situated? The one of the Dazhu-i-Napisht which was burnt by Alexander was situated, according to the Dinkard, in the country of Irân (*Airân Shatra*. The Zend Pahlavi Glossary, XXXII). It appears from the Ardâi Virâf Nameh (ch. I. 4) that the city of Irân in which it was situated was Stakhar-i-Pâpakân, i. e., Istakhar or Persepolis of Ardeair Bâbegân (Artaxerxes I.) As to the second library, *vis.*, that of Shaspigân, its situation has not been as yet settled. Dr. Haug thought that Shaspigân "was, perhaps, the name of the fort at Pasargadæ where Cyrus was buried." But our book seems to settle the question and says that the other library was at Samarcand. It was attached to the great fire-temple of that city founded originally by king Kaikhoeru. Samarcand, though now and then under the territories belonging to Irân, was not, strictly speaking, a city of Irân (*Irân Shatra*) as Istakhar was. It was now and then a Turânian city. Hence it is that the library of Dazhu-i-Napisht is specially spoken of as situated in the city of Irân, as distinguished from the library of Shaspigân, situated in Samarcand which was more a Turanian city than an Iranian one.

But there is one difficulty presented by our text which would prevent us from settling the question that the Shaspigân Library was situated in Samarcand. It is this that our text says of the Samarcand library also, that it was burnt by Alexander, and not only that but that its contents were thrown into the river. As a matter of fact, we know that the Shaspigân library was not immediately burnt by Alexander but that most of its books were translated by the Greeks into their own language, and that it was some of these translations that Tansar or Taôsar made use of in reviving the

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writings (Dinkard) of only seven kings are said to have been collected, is that the King Asidahâk or Zohâk is not taken into consideration. The names of the prominent kings of Irân, commencing from Jamshed, are mentioned one by one, and Asidahâk's name is also mentioned as that of a prominent king, but he was an irreligious monarch and so as such could not have written or collected any religious works. The fact that Asidahâk is not considered by the author to have been a monarch who contributed anything to the collection of religious writings in the library attached to the fire-temple in Samarcand is clear from the fact that while we find in the text the words 'sak-i' (that of, i. e., the *khuddi* or sovereignty of) repeated before all the monarchs we do not find them repeated before the name of Asidahâka.

ancient literature of Irân in the reign of Ardeshir Bâbegân.<sup>18</sup> I think that the writer of our Pahalavi treatise has committed a mistake in saying that the library of Samarcand was burnt by Alexander, and the mistake seems to me to have arisen from the fact of mistaking one place for another, their names being identical. We have seen that the library burnt was that of Dazhu-i-Napišht situated in Istakhar. Now, it appears from Ebn Haukal's *Oriental Geography*<sup>19</sup> that there is near Samarcand also a district of the name of Istakhar and that there is also a river of that name passing from the district. This identity of the names of two places seems to have led the author of the Pahalavi treatise into the mistake of saying that the library of Samarcand was burnt by Alexander, and not only that, but that its contents were thrown into the river. The statement in the older books of Dinkard and Virâf-Nameh that the library (of Dazhu-i-Napišht) at Istakhar was burnt by Alexander, seems to have led the author to the mistake of taking one Istakhar for another, the Istakhar of Pars for the Istakhar of Samarcand. Thus then our treatise seems to settle the question of the locality of the library of Shašpigan, the second library of Irân.

**Balkh or Bokharâ.**—The second city of Khorasân referred to in our treatise is Bâkhar-i-Nâmik (بکھار نامیک). It is the beautiful Bâkhdhi (*Bâkhdhim Srirâm*) of the Vendidâd spoken of as Bâkhar-i-Nyôk (بکھار نیوک) in the Pahalavi translation. This Bâkhar or Bâkhdhi of the Pahalavi Vendidâd is identified by some with Balkh and by others with Bokharâ. One manuscript of the Pahalavi Vendidâd in my possession identifies the Bâkhdhi of the Avesta with both Balkh and Bokharâ (بکھار بکھار نیوک). Now if we take this city to be Balkh, Maçoudi speaks of it as بلخ الحسناء *i. e.*, the beautiful Balkh<sup>20</sup> which epithet corresponds to the Srirâm (سریرام *i. e.*, beautiful) of the Avesta.

Coming to the name of its founder we find that our book attributes the foundation of a place called Novâzak in this city to Asfandiâr the

<sup>18</sup> Vide my paper on "The Antiquity of the Avesta," in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIX., No. 52.

<sup>19</sup> Sir Wm. Ousley's Translation, pp. 255-56.

<sup>20</sup> Maçoudi par B. de Meynard II., p. 121.

son of King Gushtâsp. No other Oriental work connects the name of Asfandiâr with Balkh. Maçoudi, Yakout<sup>21</sup> and Mirkhond<sup>22</sup> attribute the foundation of Balkh to Lohrâsp, the grandfather of Asfandiâr. Lohrâsp was therefore called Balkhi by some. According to the same historians, some attribute it to Kayomars, some to Kâus and some to Alexander the Great. According to Kinneir some oriental writers attribute it to Taimuras.<sup>23</sup>

According to Tabari<sup>24</sup> Lohrâsp built a residence there which he called Hasnâ (حسنًا). This is the Al Hasna (السناء) of Maçoudi above referred to. Cazvini attributes its foundation to Kaiomars.<sup>25</sup>

Asfandiâr is called Nizehvar (*i. e.*, a good lancer) in the Âfrins. (نیزهوار). Our work explains why this epithet was applied to him. It says, that he pointed his lance to king Arjâsp and his accomplices (Yašt, IX. 30, 31), saying that if they would not respect the new religion of Zoroaster, he would punish them with his lance.

**Khârzem.**—The foundation of Khârzem is attributed to the Resh of the Yahoudgân, *i. e.*, to the chief of the Jews. The Pahalavi word ریش<sup>26</sup> is the Hebrew ריש Arabic ريش *i. e.*, the chief. We find this word in many Hebrew words denoting the titles of Jewish chiefs, *e. g.*, Resh Metibta, *i. e.*, the chief of the Session, Resh Kalla (Professor), Resh Galutha, *i. e.*, the chief of the Exiles.<sup>27</sup> At times it was also used with the proper names of Jewish dignitaries. For example Simeon Ben Lakish, a Jewish dignitary, was known as Resh Lakish. Of all these Reshes or chiefs, the rank of Resh Galutha ריש גלותא *i. e.*, the Exilarch, or the chief of the Exiles, was considered to be the highest. According to Albiruni, "the head of the exiles who had been banished from their home in Jerusalem, is the master of every Jew in the world; the ruler whom they obey in all countries,

<sup>21</sup> Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112.

<sup>22</sup> Shea's Mirkhond, p. 58. Bombay Edition, p. 150.

فرقة از اهل تاریخ برآند که بلخ را لهراسب بنا کرده است

<sup>23</sup> Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 187. The Novâzak referred to here, may be the Nuwâzi (Fire-temple) of the coins. (Numismatic Illustrations of the Sussamans, by E. Thomas, p. 17).

<sup>24</sup> Tabari, par Zotenberg I., p. 491.

<sup>25</sup> Ousley's Travels II., p. 372.

<sup>26</sup> The correct form is ریش, vide section 47 of the book.

<sup>27</sup> History of the Jews, by Graetz, Vol. II., p. 554.



whose order is carried out in most circumstances." . . . "He must of necessity be one of the descendants of David; an offspring of another family would not be fit for this purpose."<sup>28</sup> In another part of our book the chief (Resh Galutha) is called Yahoudgân Shâh, *i. e.*, the King of the Jews, because in the court of some of the Sassanian kings of Persia he enjoyed royal honours. Some of these chiefs were the favourites of Persian kings and had founded separate colonies of their co-religionists in Persia. When our text speaks of the foundation of Khvârzem by the Chief of the Jews, we must understand by it, the foundation of a Jewish Colony there, because we know from the Avesta<sup>29</sup> that the town existed long before the Sassanian times.

Three other Jewish colonies are referred to in this treatise, as founded by the Jews, or more particularly by Shishin-dökht, the daughter of one Resh Galutha, the king of the Jews, and the wife of Yezdagard of Shâpuhar, *i. e.*, Yezdagard I., the son of Shâpur III.

According to Firdousi, Yezdagard I. was the son of Shâpur III. Tabari says that he was the son of Beharâm IV., but adds that some consider him to be the son of Shâpur and the brother of Beharâm.<sup>30</sup> Maçoudi calls him to be the son of Shâpur,<sup>31</sup> but on the authority of another writer says later on, that he was the son of Beharâm.<sup>32</sup> Mirkhond says that, according to some, he was the son of Beharâm, and according to others the brother of Beharâm.<sup>33</sup> Malcolm says, on the authority of several historians, that according to some Yezdagard was the brother of Beharâm, and according to others the son. Rawlinson calls him the son of Beharâm. He takes some Greek writers to be his authorities.<sup>34</sup> Our Pahlayi treatise settles this question by saying, that Yezdagard was the son of Shâpur.

Now this Yezdagard is called *dafir* دفر (Arabic دفر stinking). Most of the oriental historians call him a wicked king. Firdousi calls him Yezdagard-i-Bazêhgar (يزدگرد بزهگر), *i. e.*, the wicked Yezdagard. As an instance of his wickedness, Firdousi gives the case of his son Beharâm Gour's imprisonment. He was sent to pri-

<sup>28</sup> The Chronology of Ancient Nations, by Albiruni. Translated by Dr. Sachau, pp. 19, 68.    <sup>29</sup> Yast IX., 14.    <sup>30</sup> Tabari, vol. II., page 103.

<sup>31</sup> Maçoudi, vol. II., page 190.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II., page 238.

<sup>33</sup> بعضی یزدگرد را پسر بهرام و برخی برادر وی گفته اند (Mirkhond, Bombay edition, page 221. Mémoires sur la Perse S-de-Sacy, page 221.)

<sup>34</sup> The Seventh Oriental Monarchy, page 261.

son for nodding in the court while standing in his presence. At the very time of his accession to the throne he had given to his courtiers a cause to be displeased with him. Maçoudi calls him Al Athim (الاثيم), i. e., the sinner. In some oriental works he is spoken of as Pêjehkiar<sup>35</sup> which is evidently the corruption of Bazehgar (بزوهگر) of Firdousi. Mirkhond calls him Farn Bandehgar<sup>36</sup> (فروبندهگر) wherein the word (بندهگر) is evidently the corruption of (بزوهگر). According to Tabari some called him (الاثيم) and others Al Khasban (الخشبن), i. e., the wicked (Arabic خشن hard, rude). According to all these Oriental writers, Yezdagard was called wicked for his personal wicked characteristics. But we learn from Greek and Roman writers that there was another reason why he was hated by his own countrymen. According to Procopius, Agathias and Theophanes, Arcadius, the Roman Emperor, had by his testament appointed Yezdagard the guardian of his young son, Theodosius the Younger.<sup>37</sup> According to Cedranus, Yezdagard was given a legacy of 1,000 pounds of gold in return of this duty entrusted to him. This circumstance, they say, made him inclined a little towards the Christians. Again, Antiochus, his great favourite, whom he had sent to the court of Rome to help and advise young Theodosius, had, by his frequent letters in favour of Christianity, turned the mind of the Persian king to the religion of Christ, so much so that according to some Roman writers he began persecuting the Zoroastrians of Persia for the sake of his Christian subjects. The influence of Antiochus had greatly led to the increase of Christian population in Persia. According to Theophanes, Yezdagard himself had shown a little inclination to turn a Christian. Bishop Marutha, of Mesopotamia, and Bishop Abdaäs, of Ctesiphon, had great influence over him. Prof. Darmesteter, while referring to these passages in our treatise in his interesting article on this subject, says, on the authority of previous writers, that it was this monarch who had allowed the first Christian synod to be held in Persia in the town of Seleusia under the leadership of the Bishop of Byzantium.<sup>38</sup> Again, he had permitted the erection of a Church at Ctesiphon. He employed Christian bishops on diplomatic service. It is said that Bishop

<sup>35</sup> S-de-Sacy. Mémoires sur la Perse, page 321.

<sup>36</sup> Bombay edition, page 227.

<sup>37</sup> Rawlinson's Seventh Oriental Monarchy, page 272.

<sup>38</sup> Textes Pehlvis Relatifs au Judaïsme. Revue des Etudes Juives, X., vol. XVIII., page 44.

Marutha gained over the good will of the Persian monarch by once curing by his prayers, the headache from which the king was suffering, and which the Persian Mobeds and physicians could not cure. Again, they say, this very Bishop Marutha and Bishop Abdaâs once by their prayers and fasts chased a demon which had possessed the body of the son of the king.<sup>99</sup> All these statements, however exaggerated, show that Yezdagard was at first a little inclined towards Christianity. Latterly he had turned round a little. According to Theophanes and Theodaret, Bishop Abdaâs, once depending too much upon his influence with the king, set fire to the great Fire-temple of Ctesiphon. Yezdagard asked him to rebuild it at once. Abdaâs refused to do so. This exasperated the Persian king, and he ordered a general persecution of the Christians. Thus it was the favour that he had shown to a foreign religion and his inconsistent and wicked conduct that had made him unpopular with his people, and gained for him the epithet of *dafr* referred to in our treatise and the epithets of Al Athim, Al Khashan, Bazehgar, etc., referred to in other oriental works. He met with an accidental death, being kicked by a ferocious horse who appeared to be altogether quiet when he went before him to ride. Most of the oriental writers speak of this kind of death, as a punishment from God for his wicked conduct.

Now our Pahalavi treatise goes one step further, and points out that Yezdagard was not only favourably inclined towards the Christians but also towards the Jews. We learn from other sources that on great occasions he specially invited to his court the religious chiefs of the Jews. Huna, the son of Nathan, who was a Jewish prince, was a special favourite of Yezdagard. We read the following on this point in the history of the Jews:—"He (Yezdagard) was exceedingly well affected towards the Jews, and at the same time favourably disposed towards the Christians. On the days of homage there were present at his court the three representatives of the Babylonian Jews: Ashi, of Sora; Mar-Zutra, of Pumbeditha; and Amemar, of Nahardea. Huna bar Nathan, who, if he was no Prince of the Captivity, must nevertheless have been possessed of considerable influence, held frequent intercourse with Jezdijird's court. Such a mark of attention on the part of a Persian king . . . . may be regarded as a proof of high favour." (History of the Jews by Graetz, vol. II., page 617).

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, page 45.

Now there was one special reason why Yezdagard was exceedingly well affected towards the Jews. We learn for the first time from our Pahalavi treatise that Yezdagard was married to a Jewish princess. No other works, oriental or occidental, refer to this point. Shishin Dôkht is the name of this Jewish princess. She was the daughter of the Resh Galutha, *i. e.*, the Jewish Exilarch, who is spoken of here as the Yaboudgân Shah, *i. e.*, the King of the Jews. She seems to have played, if not the same, as Darmesteter says, at least a similar part, as that played by queen Esther of the Old Testament. It appears that not only Jewish princesses but other Jewish ladies had begun influencing the Persians in one way or another. It is for this reason that we find that the Dinkard deprecates marriages with Jewish women.<sup>40</sup> As to the question who this particular Rish Galutak, whose daughter, Shishin Dôkht, Yezdagard had married, was, the above passage of the history of the Jews seems to show that it was Huna, the son of Nathan, who had considerable influence with Yezdagard.

According to our treatise it was this Jewish queen of Yezdagard who had founded in Persia, Shus and Shuster, the well-known towns of Khuzistân. Not only that, but it was at her special desire that a Jewish colony was founded in Gaê (Ispahân). We will first speak of the towns of Shus and Shuster said to have been founded by her.

According to Sir Henry Rawlinson, in the ancient times there were two cities of the name of Susan or Susa, the more ancient the Shusan of Scripture being situated on the Kârûn or Eulæus, and the other, the Susa of the Greeks, being situated near the Cherkheh or Choaspes. The Shus of our treatise seems to be the first of these two. Tradition and some oriental authors<sup>41</sup> attribute to this town of Shus (Susa) the tomb of the Hebrew prophet Daniel. So it is likely that the Jewish queen of the Persian king took advantage of her influence over her royal husband and rebuilt or enlarged or improved the town with which the name of a prophet of her religion was connected. According to Tabari<sup>42</sup> it is a very ancient town and said to have been originally founded by Shapur II.

Shuster, the other city, whose foundation or rather enlargement also is attributed to the queen Shishin-dôkht, is situated on the river

<sup>40</sup> Dastur Peshotan's Dinkard, vol. II., page 90.

<sup>41</sup> Ebn Haukal, Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 76.

<sup>42</sup> Zotenburg II., p. 95.

Karun at the distance of about 32 miles from Susa. Tabari<sup>43</sup> and other authors<sup>44</sup> attribute its original foundation to Shapur I., who, they say, had ordered Emperor Valerian, whom he had defeated and taken prisoner, to send Roman engineers to build this and other cities. Firdousi<sup>45</sup> also refers to this fact and says, especially of the waterworks of this town, that they were built by Beranous, a Roman engineer, at the orders of Shapur I.

The similarity of the names (Shus and Shuster) of these towns with that of their founder Shishin-dôkht is striking. The original name of this queen may be Shushan, which is a common Hebrew name of Jewish women and Shishin may be a corrupted form. The Hebrew name Shusan seems to be the same as Arabic موسى *susan* meaning a "lily." The word *dokht* is the contracted form of dôkhtar دختر *i. e.*, daughter. It is used in the sense of "a maiden, girl or princess" and is added to the names of several Persian queens, *e. g.*, Purân-dôkht and Azermidôkht.

As to the town of Gaê wherein Shishin-dôkht had founded a colony of the Jews, the name Gaê is another form of Jaê or Djey, which was the ancient name of Ispahân.<sup>46</sup> A part of Ispahân, now in ruins, is still known by the name of Djey. It was also known as Yahoudeh, *i. e.*, the quarters of the Yahoudis or Jews. "Ispahan était anciennement la ville connu sous le nom de Djey. Elle se nommait, primitivement Djey, puis Yahoudieh."<sup>47</sup> Our text attributes its original foundation to Alexander.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> II., p. 79.

<sup>44</sup> Malcolm's History of Persia, I., p. 542.

<sup>45</sup> Mohl. V., p. 392.

<sup>46</sup> Dictionnaire de la Géographie, etc., par. B. de Meynard, p. 45.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>48</sup> The late Prof. Darmesteter had a copy of the old text (MK) supplied to him, wherein, a part being eaten away by worms, two letters are wanting. The words in the old text, as given by Darmesteter in his "Textes Pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme (Revue des Études Juives, p. 41) is "Shatrostân-i-Gai gujastak Alaksandaro pilp. . . . kart." Darmesteter in his translation takes the missing letters to be *âê*, reads the word *pilpâc* and translates the sentence thus "La ville de Gai fut foulée aux pieds des éléphants, par le maudit Alexandre." But it appears from the Teheran manuscript JJ. copied from the original when it was in a good condition, that the word was *philphous* (فيلقوس). Now Firdousi gives *philkous* فيلقوس as the name of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great (Mohl. v., p. 57). In Persian the word *philkous* فيلقوس

Some Persian writers carry the foundation of Ispahân to a period earlier than that of Alexander. According to our text the Jewish queen of Yeزدgard had founded a Jewish colony at Ispahân, but according to other authors the Jews lived there long before this time. It is possible that this Jewish queen rebuilt their quarters or their part of the town. According to Yakout<sup>49</sup> it was Bakht-en-Nasr (Nebuchadnezzar) who, after taking Jerusalem, brought the Jews as prisoners to Ispahân, where they built quarters of their own and called them Yahoudieh.<sup>50</sup> Their population there, latterly increased to such an extent that, according to Mansour ben Badân, there was hardly a family in Ispahan which could not trace its descent from a Jewish ancestor. Ebn Haukal<sup>51</sup> names a place called Jehudistân just near Ispahân. That may possibly be the same as Yahoudieh because it also means "the place of the Jews."

**Mêruv-rud.**—It is said to be founded by Beharâm of Yeزدgard. It is the Maruv-al-rud (مروال رود) of Ebn Haukal.<sup>52</sup> It is the Marv-rud (مورود) of the Shâhnâmeh.<sup>53</sup> The Beharâm referred to here is Beharâm V., known as Beharâm Gour. From other oriental works, we know nothing of Meruvrud being founded by Beharâm Gour. But what we know from Mirkhond and Firdousi is only this, that Beharâm Gour had won a great victory over the Khâkân of Chin at a place known as Merv<sup>54</sup> (مرو). But this Merv seems to be quite a different place from Merv-al-rud. It is possible that Mirkhond and

can easily be read philphons **فيل فوس** by dropping a dot (nukté) from **ق** k. So it appears intelligible how the copyist put in philphons **فيل فوس** for philkous (**فيل فوس**). Anyhow Prof. Darmesteter's reading pilpâe cannot hold good, because here, there is no question of the destruction of the city of Ispahan (fut foulée), but on the contrary that of its construction. That Alexander had destroyed the city of Ispahan does not appear from any author but the fact that he had founded it appears from Athar el-Bilad (Dans le livre Athar el-Bilad, c'est Alexandre seul qui est nommé comme fondateur d'Ispahân. Dict. de la Geogr. &c. B. de Meynard, p. 41). Tabari also supports this statement (L, p. 517).

<sup>49</sup> Dict. B de Meynard, p. 45.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Onsley's Oriental Geography, p. 169.

<sup>52</sup> Onsley's Oriental Geography, pp. 213, 214, 220, 222, 231.

<sup>53</sup> Mohl. II., p. 253; IV., p. 189.

<sup>54</sup> Mirkhond Traduit par Silvestre de Saoy, pp. 334-336; Bombay edition, p. 229, l. 13; Mohl V., pp. 676-78.

Firdousi have mixed up these two places. After the victory at the above place Beharâm Gour is said to have built a large column (میل) to mark out the frontiers of Irân and Turân.

**Meruv and Harâe.**—Both of them are said to be founded by Alexander the Great. Meruv is the well known city of Merv, known also as the Maru Shâh-jân. Ebn Haukal<sup>55</sup> also attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great. Yakout and other oriental writers also say the same thing.<sup>56</sup> It is called Merv Shâh-jân (i.e., Merv the city of the King), because it was one of the four royal cities of Khorâsân.<sup>57</sup> According to Yakout, it was called Shâh-jân (L'ame du roi) because it was one of the largest and greatest cities of Khorâsân.<sup>58</sup> Antiochus Nicatore had rebuilt the city and called it Antiochia. Tabari also attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great.<sup>59</sup>

The city of Harâe is the Haroyu 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹 of the Vendidad, Hariva of the cuneiform inscriptions and Aria of the Greeks. It is the modern Herat. Yakout also attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great. "La ville d'Herat, dit ed-Dehbi, à été fondée par Alexandre, lorsque ce conquérant, ayant envahi l'Orient, se préparait attaquer la Chine."<sup>60</sup> Some writers attribute its foundation to Lohrâsp and its rebuilding to Gushtâsp, Bahman and to Alexander.<sup>61</sup>

لهراسب نهاده است هریرا بنیاد  
گشتاسب ز نو بنای دیگر بنهاد

Silvestre de Sacy<sup>62</sup> says on the authority of an oriental geographer that Herat was first founded by an Emir of that name, and rebuilt by Alexander.

**Pushen.**—This name is variously written by eastern writers, such as پوشنج or بوشنج or پوشنگ. It is at the distance of 10 farsakhs from Herat. Some attribute its foundation and its name to Pasheng the son of Afrasiâb, who was otherwise known as Shideh<sup>63</sup> (شیده).

<sup>55</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 215.

<sup>56</sup> Dictionnaire de la Perse. B. de Meynard, p. 527, n. 2.

<sup>57</sup> Kinnair's Persian Empire, p. 179.

<sup>58</sup> Dictionnaire, B. de Meynard, p. 526.

<sup>59</sup> Tabari par Zötenberg, vol. I., p. 517.

<sup>60</sup> Dictionnaire. B. de Meynard, p. 593.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 592.

<sup>62</sup> Mémoires sur la Perse, par S. de Sacy, p. 389.

<sup>63</sup> Diot. B. de Meynard, p. 122. Livre des Rois. Mohl IV., p. 30, l. 713.

According to Kinneir<sup>64</sup> "Pushing is a considerable town a little to the north of Herat, built on the banks of the Heriroud." The foundation of this city is attributed to Shapur of Artashir, *i. e.*, Shapur I. In our treatise the foundation of seven cities is attributed to Shapur I. According to Firdousi, Shapur had founded several cities with the help of an engineer or a geometrician (هندسی) named Berânous, sent to him by Emperor Valerian of Rome. The seven cities referred to in our book as founded by Shapur are the following: (1) Pushen. (2) Neo Shâpuhar. (3) Hsirat. (4) Vish Shâpuhar. (5) Vandu-i-Shâpuhar. (6) Airankard-i-Shâpuhar. (7) Kharayast.

**Tus.**—Tus of Naôdar is said to have founded it. It is the Tous of Ebn Haukal according to whom it is situated to the north of Nishapur.<sup>65</sup> According to Maçoudi, king Faridun had built a great fire-temple here. The building of the city of Mesched in its neighbourhood eclipsed the city of Tus. The following story is related about its foundation:—Once upon a time, Kaikhosru sent Tus, the son of Naôdar, to the frontiers of Turân to fight against Afrâsiâb. He specially directed Tus to avoid the route of Kelât, lest Farud, the step-brother of Kaikhosru, who was living there, might create a quarrel and fight with him. Tus on his way to the frontiers of Turân passed by way of Kelat in spite of Kaikhosru's directions to the contrary. Farud thereupon sought a quarrel, fought with Tus, and was killed in the battle. On hearing of the death of his step-brother, Kaikhosru got enraged against Tus, who got afraid to return to the court of the Persian King. He therefore stayed in Khorâsân, and founding a new city, named it Tus, after his name.<sup>66</sup> The Dabistan<sup>67</sup> also attributes its foundation to Tus. Tus is mentioned in our books as the seat of the *sepâh-pat*, *i. e.*, the commander-in-chief. According to Tabari the sovereigns of Tabaristan and of Khorâsân were called Ispehbad, or Sepahbad, *i. e.*, the commanders-in-chief.

**Neo Shâpuhar.**—The second city founded by Shapur I., is Nishâpur (نیشاپور) the well-known city of Khorâsân. According to Ebn Haukal, one of the places without its suburbs is known as Kohendez, and one of its gates is known as der-i-Kohendez<sup>68</sup> (در قهندز).

<sup>64</sup> *Persian Empire*, p. 183.

<sup>65</sup> Ousley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 215.

<sup>66</sup> *Mecan's Shahnameh*. Persian Preface, p. 32. Tabari, Vol. I., p. 467.

<sup>67</sup> *The Dabistan* by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I., p. 52.

<sup>68</sup> Ousley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 214.



The Kohendez referred to by Firdousi<sup>69</sup> as founded in Nishâpur by Shapur I. is the above Kohendez referred to by Ebn Haukal.

کهندهز بشهر نیشاپور کرد  
برآورد وپردخت از روزارد

Mohl. V, p. 392.

Maçoudi attributes its foundation to Shapur<sup>70</sup> II. On the authority of an oriental historian and geographer Kinneir says: "This city was founded by Taimuras, and destroyed by Alexander the Great. It was after the lapse of many years rebuilt by Shapor I."<sup>71</sup> Hamd Allah Mustôfi also attributes its original foundation to Taimuras, and its rebuilding to Shapur I. "Le premier fondateur de cette ville est, dit-on, Thahomers. Quand elle fut ruinée, Ardeschi Babegân bâtit une autre ville qu'il nomma Nih (نہ). Son fils Schâpour, qui gouvernait le Khoracân, le pria de lui donner cette ville; piqué du refus de son père, il éleva sur les ruines de l'antique cité de Thahomers une ville nouvelle qui fut nommée Nih Schâpour, ou la ville de Shâpour, dont les Arabes formèrent plus tard le mot Niçabour."<sup>72</sup> This passage gives a derivation of the name Nishapur. It says that it was so called because it was a city (Neh نی city) founded by Shapur.

According to our Pahalavi treatise, Shapur I founded the city of Nishapour at a place where he had killed an enemy named Pâhlizak Tur, a name which can be variously read. Now the question is, who was this enemy. From Tabari we learn that Shapur I. had killed a hostile monarch in Khorâsân who had invaded the country of Persia during Shapur's absence at the siege of Nisib. "Schâpour . . . fut informé qu'un ennemi, venant du Khorâsân avait envahi la Perside Schâpour retourna dans la Perside, attaqua l'ennemi, le fit prisonnier et le tua; puis il revint à Nisibe."<sup>73</sup> Unfortunately Tabari does not give the name of this enemy whom Shapur had killed. So we are not in a position to ascertain if he was the same person referred to in our text. Maçoudi, Tabari and Mirkhond speak of another king as being killed by Shapur I. This king is variously known as Zizan, Dhaizan (Sâtiroun), or Manizen. But he was not a king of Khorâsân.

**Kâin.**—It is said to have been founded by king Lohrâsp. It is the

<sup>69</sup> Mohl. V., p. 392. <sup>70</sup> Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, Vol. II, p. 188.

<sup>71</sup> Persian Empire, p. 185. <sup>72</sup> Dict. par B. de Meynard, p. 578 n.

<sup>73</sup> Tabari par Zötenburg, Vol. II., p. 79. Valerian and Odenathus were also defeated by Shâpur, but they were not connected with Khorasan. Pâhlizak can, with some transmutation of letters, be read Valerian.

Kâin قاین of Ebn Haukal<sup>74</sup> according to whom it is about six days' journey from Herat. According to Yakout it is about eight days' journey from Herat, and nine days' from Nishapur. It is, as it were, the gate of Khorâsân.

**Dahistân** in the territory of Gurgân.—It is the Dahistân (دهستان) of Ebn Haukal.<sup>75</sup> Its foundation is attributed to Narsi of the Ashkânian dynasty, who, according to Maçondi, was the fifth reigning monarch of the dynasty

**Koumis**.—It is the Koumis قومس of Ebn Haukal, situated in Tabaristan within the territories of Mount Damavand.<sup>76</sup> It is said to have been inhabited by the Parsis in the reign of Shapur of Yazdargard. The word پارس Pârsiân can be taken for the Parthians, because Damghân in the district of Koumis was the seat of the Parthians. "Damghan . . . is always supposed to mark the sight of the ancient Hekatompylos (or city of a hundred gates) the name given by the Greeks to the capital of the Arsacid dynasty of Parthian kings." Persia, by Carzon, vol. I., p. 287.

**Khusrui**.—We now come to a group of five cities known by the name of Khusrui, and said to be founded by different kings of the name of Khusrui. It is very difficult to identify the cities, and the kings bearing the name of Khusrui referred to in our book. There were several cities in Khorâsân bearing the name of Khusrui. Of these, one is Khusruv Jird or Khusruv Gird (خسروگرد or خسرو جرد). It is situated between Koumis and Nishapur. According to some oriental writers, it was founded by Kaikhosru. "Les Historiens orientaux parlent de la citadelle de Khoarewdjird comme d'une place très-fortifiée dont l'origine remonterait à Keikhosrou."<sup>77</sup> "Le chateau de Khosraudjird خسرو جرد—C' etait une place très forte, dont on attribuait la construction à Keikhosrou, le vainqueur d'Afrasiab."<sup>78</sup> The city of Djeser Wadjerd (چسرواجرد) mentioned by Edrisi as situated on the way from Rei to Nishapur, is this same city of Khosraudjird<sup>79</sup> (خسرو جرد). This city, then, is the second city in our group said to have been founded by Kaikhusrui. Again, at the distance

<sup>74</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 222-23.

<sup>75</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 176.

<sup>76</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geograph, p. 178, 212.

<sup>77</sup> Yakout par B., de Maynard, p. 208, note.

<sup>78</sup> Journal Asiatique, 1846, Tome VIII., p. 460.

<sup>79</sup> Edrisi. Vol. II., p. 177.

of 12 miles from the above city of Khosraudjird there is a city known as Jasrauâbâd (جسرو آباد), which, I think, to be Khosrauâbâd (خسرو آباد), the points (Nukteh) of ج and خ having exchanged places. It is the Khosravâbâd (خسرو آباد) of Yakout, according to whom it is two "farsakhs" distant from Merv.<sup>80</sup> This city then appears to be the third city in our list founded by Schâd Khosru Mustâvâd (âbâd).

Again, Yakout speaks of another city Khosrau Shah (خسروشاه) as being three "farsakhs" distant from Merv.<sup>81</sup> Thus we find that there were three cities of the name of Khosru near each other in Khorâsân. The next two cities also seem to be near these three cities. We know from the history of Persia that there were five kings of the name of Khosru.—

- 1 Kai Khosru. 2 Khosru of the Parthian dynasty, who reigned after Pecorus from A. D. 108 to 130. 3 Khosru who reigned for a short time after Yezdagard of Shapur and before the accession to the throne of Beharâm Gour.
- 4 Khosru Kobâd (Noshirvân), and 5 Khosru Parviz.

Of these five, two can be identified with those in our list, *vis.*, Khosru Kobad and Kai Khosru. So the remaining three Khosrus of history seem to be the other three Khosrus referred to in our text.

**Ctesiphon.**—We now come to the second group of cities, *vis.*, the cities of Khâvar, or of the West.

Ctesiphon, the first city mentioned in the second group, is said to have been founded by one Tus, who was the Râvak (the governor) of Sifkân. The Ctesiphon was founded by by one Tus appears to be supported by the fact, that according to Yakout, its ancient name was Tousphon (طوسفون) and not Ctesiphon (طيسفون). "Hamzah dit que son non primitif 'tait Thôusfoun (طوسفون) que les Arabes ont changé en Thaïsfoun."<sup>82</sup>

According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Vardanes, a Parthian Prince, the son of Ardvân III., who reigned from A. D. 42 to 46, was the founder of this city. It appears then that Tus was possibly a general of Vardanis, of whom we know that he had suppressed a rebellion in Seleucia, which was situated on one side of the Tigris, while Ctesiphon was situated on the other. It is possible that when Vardanis conquered Seleucia, he got Ctesiphon rebuilt by Tus.

<sup>80</sup> Diot., par B. de Meynard, p. 208.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>82</sup> Yakout, B. de Meynard, p. 400.

According to our Pahalvi treatise Tus, the founder of Ctesiphon, belonged to a place called Sifkân. So I think Ctesiphon ܘܥܝܦܘܢ is the shortened form of Tous-i-Sifkan ܘܥܝܦܘܢ ܘܫܝܦܟܢ

According to Kinneir "The foundation of the city of Ctesiphon . . . . can hardly be ascribed to any particular person, as it would seem to have increased gradually during a succession of many years, from a camp to a city. Pacorus supposed to be Orodes, king of the Parthians, and contemporary with Anthony, is thought to be the first who surrounded it with walls, and made it the capital of the Parthian Empire." (Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 253-54.)

Kinneir is quite right in saying that we cannot ascribe its foundation to any particular Prince. According to Yakout, it was at first founded by Alexander the Great. It was subsequently destroyed. Noshirvân (Chosroes) had rebuilt it. Ardesbir Bâbegân had again rebuilt it.<sup>83</sup>

**Sarsar.**—Sarsar is another city attributed to the above mentioned ruler of Sifkân. It is the Sarsar ܘܫܝܦܟܢ of Ebn Haukal. It is situated at a distance of three farsangs from Bagdad.<sup>84</sup>

**Hirleh.**—It is the modern Hilleh, situated on the Euphrates. It is 54 miles from Bagdad. "It covers a very small portion of the space occupied by the ancient Capital of Assyria (Babylon). . . . . We learn from St. Jerome, that the space within the walls was converted by the Parthian kings into a royal hunting park."<sup>85</sup>

**Bawir.**—It is the Bawri (ܘܒܘܪܝ Yt. V. 29) of the Avesta, and Babyrus of the Behistun Inscriptions. It is the modern Babylon. Our treatise says of this city that "it was founded in the reign of Jamsheed. He (the founder of the city) fixed there (the direction of) the planet Mercury. (By the situation of the city or its building) he pointed out magically the 7 planets, the 12 constellations and signs of the zodiac and the eighth part (of the heavens) towards the sun and other planets."

This seems to be an allusion to the building of the temple of Babylon, which was said to be built on some principles of astronomical calculations. Zohâk is generally represented as founder of Babylon. Zohâk's connection with Babylon and his character as a

<sup>83</sup> B. de Meynard, *vide* the word ܘܕܝܢ

<sup>84</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 68.

<sup>85</sup> Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 269-272.

magician is also referred to in the Dinkard. "One marvel is several matters of evil deceit which Dahâk had done in Bâpêl through witchcraft."<sup>66</sup>

**Hirat.**—It is the Heirah (حيرة) of Aboulfeda.<sup>67</sup> It is the Heirah (حيرة) of Ebn Haukal who says that "Heirah is an ancient city, and large; but when Cufa was built, Heirah was drained of its inhabitants. Heirah enjoys a pure air, and is one farsang distant from Cufa."<sup>68</sup> Edrisi<sup>69</sup> and Maçoudi<sup>70</sup> also support Ebn Haukal. According to Kinneir, "the holy city of Nejiff, or Meshed Ali (the supposed burying-place of the Caliph Ali), is nine farsangs from Hilleh, and four miles from Kufa, and situate on a hill, at the bottom of which is an artificial lake. This city was founded by Alexander the Great, and for a long time bore the name of Alexandria, which was afterwards changed into that of Hira, when it became the residence of a dynasty of Arabian princes, who fought under the Parthian banners against the Emperors of Rome. It is also known in history under the general appellation of Almondari, after the name of Almondar (the Almondarus of Procopius) distinguished in the wars of Nushirwan and Justinian."<sup>71</sup>

Our book attributes its foundation to Shapur I. According to Tabari, Rabia, the son of Naçr, the king of Yemen, had once a dream in which he saw a piece of carbon falling from a cloud, taking fire and burning all the people of Yemen. His astrologers gave the following interpretation of the dream: "There will come from Abyssinia a king who will conquer the country of Yemen, take all its inhabitants prisoners, and annex Yemen to the country of Abyssinia." The king thereupon, under apprehensions, sent away his family out of Yemen to the country of Iraq; with a letter upon the Persian king Shapur, to take care of his children. Shapur thereupon gave them shelter in the above town of Heirah<sup>72</sup> (Hira). Now, as to who this Shapur was, there is a difference of names in the different manuscripts of Tabari's text. But Zotenberg says that in one of his manuscripts the name is that of Shapur, the son of Ardeshir, i. e., Shapur I.<sup>73</sup> It therefore appears that Shapur I. must have rebuilt this town at

<sup>66</sup> S. B. E., vol. XLVII, West's Dinkard, bk. VII, ch. IV. 72.

<sup>67</sup> Aboulfeda. Text by Reinaud et Blane, p. 299.

<sup>68</sup> Onaley's Oriental Geography, p. 65-66.

<sup>69</sup> Edrisi par Jaubert I., p. 366.

<sup>70</sup> Maçoudi, III, p. 213.

<sup>71</sup> Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 282.

<sup>72</sup> Tabari par Zötenberg, Vol. II., p. 171.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, p. 537.

the time when the king of Yemen sent his family to Iraq. If the allusion in our text does not refer to this event in the history of the Arabs, there is another event also to which it may allude. According to Percival's *History of the Arabs*, the Iranian king, Shapur-el-Acbar, had attacked the Arabs in the city of Heirah. Some of the Arabs thereupon went away to Mesopotamia and others remained in Heirah. It was perhaps at this time then that Shapur I. rebuilt the town of Heirah and appointed one Mitrozâd to rule over the Arab colony.

The Mitrozâd referred to in our text seems to be the Mitrok-i-Anushê Pâtân (میتروک اوشه پستان) of Kâr Nameh-i-Ardeshir Babe-gân. It is the Meherak Nushzâd (مهرک نوش زاد) of the Shah Nameh.<sup>94</sup> He was the father-in-law of Shapur I. According to Percival, the Persian governors of Heirah were up to a later time known as Masebân<sup>95</sup> (perhaps مرزبان)

The town of Heirah (حیره) is called Hirat (حیرت) in our book. The reason is this. Noman, a king of Heirah, had enlarged this town. So it was called Hirat Annomân, after his name. This name was subsequently abbreviated into Heirat.<sup>96</sup>

**Hamdan.**—Our book attributes its foundation to Yezdagard I. According to Maçoudi it was built by Alexander the Great.<sup>97</sup> It is the Ecbatna of the ancients. Herodotus attributes its foundation to Deioees, the first king of the Medes. According to some oriental writers it was founded by Hamadân, son of Felewdj, son of Sem, son of Noah.<sup>98</sup> According to Mustofi it was built by Jamshid. Bahman Asfandiar had re-fortified it, and Dara of Darab had rebuilt it. No other writer supports our author in his statement that it was founded by Yezdagard I. We learn from our work that Yezdagard had married a Jewish princess. So possibly Yezdagard had repaired and rebuilt this city at the request of his Jewish queen, because there were in that city the tombs of a former Jewish queen and prince, viz., Esther and Mordecai.<sup>99</sup>

**Mâh.**—Beharâm of Yezdagard is said to have founded a city in the district of Vâbrâm-âvand in the province of Mâh, in the

<sup>94</sup> Mohl. V, p. 349.      <sup>95</sup> Percival *Histoire des Arabes*, vol. II. p. 187.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>97</sup> Maçoudi, IX., p. 21.

<sup>98</sup> Diot. par B. de Meynard, p. 597.

<sup>99</sup> From the Indus to the Tigris, by Dr. Bellew, p. 429.

direction of Nehâvand. The country of Mâh ما referred to here is that of Mah-el-Basrah and Mah-el-Kaufah. According to Tabari, these two towns were known under the joint name of Mahâin.<sup>100</sup> According to the same author the city of Nehâvand نهانده was also known as Mah-el-Basrah. According to some writers Nehâvand was originally Nuh-âvand, *i.e.*, the city founded by Noah. Now it is difficult to identify the city of Vâhrâm âvand, referred to here. Perhaps it is the city of Râman رامن in the neighbourhood of Nehavand, situated about 21 miles from Hamdan; or perhaps it is the city of Râvandeh راونده situated in the same district.<sup>1</sup>

**Mousul.**—It is the Mousul (موصل) of Ebn Haukal, which he and Edrisi place in the country of Mesopotamia<sup>2</sup> (ديارجزيرة). According to Kinneir, neither the period of its foundation nor the name of its founder are known.<sup>3</sup> But our book attributes its foundation to one Piroz-i-Shâpuharân. Now we know of no king known as Piroz of Shâpur. We know of a hero of that name, whom Rustam the general of Yazdagard Sheheriar sent as a messenger to Saad Wakhas, the chief of the Arabs. But he is not represented to have founded any city. We know of a city named Piroz-i-Shapour said to have been founded by Shapur Zul-aktâf.

**Jazeereh.**—The foundation of nine cities (whose names are not mentioned) in the country of Jazeereh (Mesopotamia) is attributed to Amatvash and Kaiser Barâtarzâd. It is difficult to identify these two persons. Kaiser Barâtarzâd is perhaps the Armenian king Chosroes, son of Tiridates, who lived in the reign of Shapur II.<sup>4</sup> His original name must be Kaiser bin Tarazâd (Tiridates) کيسر بن ترازاد (*i. e.*, Chosroes, the son of Tiridates). Subsequently the bin بن seems to have been changed into barâ بار. This Armenian prince claimed his descent from the Parthian kings.

**Shâm (Syria) Yemen, Farikâ (Africa) Koufat, Mecah, Medinah (Medina).**—Twenty-four cities are said to have been founded in the land of these cities. Some of them were ruled over, or founded by, the Kaiser, *i. e.*, the Emperor of Rome, and some by the Malikân Malik, *i. e.*, the king of Persia.

<sup>100</sup> Tabari, V, p. 480.

<sup>1</sup> Edrisi par Jaubert II, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 55. Edrisi par Jaubert, Vol. II, p. 142-148.

<sup>3</sup> Persian Empire, p. 257, Note.

<sup>4</sup> Gibbon I, p. 399.

According to Tabari, the Arab kings of Syria and Yemen were from time to time under the suzerainty of the kings of Persia. The Arab rulers of Hira, referred to above, also ruled over the country of Yemen. The Persian king Faridun, had married his sons to the three daughters of the King of Yemen.

**Kavûl.**—Now we come to the towns of Nimrouz or Seistân. Kavûl is the modern Cabul, the foundation of which is attributed to Artashir of Spendadâd, who is the same as the Bahaman of Asfandiâr of the Shâhnâmeh. No other works support this statement. What we learn from Tabari, is that Bahaman had gone to Seistân to avenge, over Framroz, the son of Rustam, the death of his father Asfandiâr, who was killed by Rustam, the ruler of Zaboulistân and Kaboulistân.<sup>5</sup> According to Maçoudi, he had also founded in Seistân, a large fire-temple known as Kerakeran which, I think, is the same as 'Fire Karkoê' of the Âtash Nayâish of the Avesta. As this sacred fire existed even in the reign of Minocheher, as we learn from a subsequent passage (p. 38), and as Kabul is often referred to by Firdousi as the seat of Bustam, the reference here seems to be to a rebuilding of Cabul.

**Râvad.**—This seems to be the Raêbad رايباد, of Firdousi. It is said to have been founded by Rehâm, the son of Goudarz, at the place where he killed Aspvarz, the hero of Turkistân. This seems to be an allusion to the battle between the Iranians and Turanians known as the "Battle of Eleven Warriors," wherein Rehâm, the Iranian, killed Bârmân, the Turanian.<sup>6</sup> The Pahlavi name Aspvarz ('warrior' from 'asp' horse) seems to be an equivalent of Bârmân (برمنا horse) of the Shâhnâmeh. This town of Râvad is perhaps the Rebât of Ibn Haukal<sup>7</sup> known as Rebât Firouzmand (رباط فيروزمند). It is one menzal (stage) from Bost, the next town in our group. Perhaps the adjective Firouzmand (victorious) refers to the above victory of Rehâm over Bârmân, and to that of his other 10 Irânian colleagues over their Turânian rivals.

**Bost.**—According to Ebn Haukal and other writers, it is one of the principal cities in the province of Seistan.<sup>8</sup> It is the Abeste of Pliny.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Tabari I., p. 507.

<sup>6</sup> Firdousi Mohl. III, p. 573.

<sup>7</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 210.

<sup>8</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 207. Firdousi Mohl IV, p. 252. Maçoudi V, p. 302. Edrisi I, pp. 417, 442.

<sup>9</sup> D'Anville's Ancient Geography II, p. 64. Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 190.



It was founded by Bastur, the Bastavairi of the Avesta<sup>10</sup> and the Nastur of the Shahnameh.<sup>11</sup> It is said to have been founded at the time when King Gushîâsp had gone to Seistân to propagate the Zoroastrian religion there, a short time before his second war with Arjâsp.<sup>12</sup>

**Fariâv and Zâvulastân.**—These two cities are said to have been founded by Rustam. Fariâv is either the رباب of Firdousi<sup>13</sup> Tabari<sup>14</sup> and Yâkout<sup>15</sup> or Fereh فره of Ebn Haukal<sup>16</sup>. Fariâb is not in Seistân Proper but Fereh is a town of Seistân Proper. It is the Parrah mentioned in ancient geography as the capital of the Parthian province of Anabon.<sup>17</sup> As to Zavoul or Zaboul, in ancient geography, the whole region, which includes the modern towns of Cabul and Gizni, and the adjoining country, was known by that name. Rustam, who is mentioned in our treatise as the founder of these two cities and as the king of Seistan was the feudal Lord of this region under the rulers of Persia.

**Zaranj.**—According to Tabari,<sup>18</sup> Ebn Haukal<sup>19</sup> and Edrisi,<sup>20</sup> it was the capital of Seistân. It is the Zaranga or Zarang of Ptolemy and modern Dooshak.<sup>21</sup> The fire Karkoê is referred to in the text as being deposited in this city. It is the sacred fire Karkoê of the Âtash Nayâish of the Avesta and the Fire Temple of Kerakerkan کرا کرکان referred to by Maçoudi<sup>22</sup> as being founded by Bahman of Isfandiâr. The allusion to king Minocheher and Frâsiav in connection with this town is explained more fully by the Minokherad (S. B. E. XXIV., ch. XXVII., 44) and Zâd Sparam (S. B. E. XLVII., ch. XII., 3).

**Kermân.**—It is said to be founded by Kermânshâh. Now who was this Kermânshâh? He was Varanes (Beharâm) IV., the son of Sapor III. He is spoken of in our text as Piroujân, i. e., victorious. The word Beharam (Varahana, or Varanes) also means victorious. There were several kings of the name of Varanes or Beharâm in

<sup>10</sup> Yt. XIII, p. 103.

<sup>11</sup> Mohl. IV, p. 418.

<sup>12</sup> Yasht. V. 106, Mohl. IV, p. 442, ll. 994-95.

<sup>13</sup> Mohl. III., p. 506.

<sup>14</sup> Zotenberg III., p. 571, IV., p. 167.

<sup>15</sup> B. de Meynard, Dictionnaire de Géographie de la Perse, p. 414.

<sup>16</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 208.

<sup>17</sup> Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 193; D'Anville's Ancient Geography II., p. 65.

<sup>18</sup> Zotenberg III., p. 517.

<sup>19</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 213, 207.

<sup>20</sup> Jaubert I., p. 442.

<sup>21</sup> Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 192.

<sup>22</sup> B. de Meynard IV., p. 73.

Persia, and Oriental writers differ as to which of those several Beharâms was the king Kermâushâh. According to Firdousi<sup>23</sup> it was Beharâm or Varanes III. According to Mirkhond<sup>24</sup> it was Beharam IV. Tabari<sup>25</sup> agrees with Mirkhond. Malcolm,<sup>26</sup> on the authority of other Oriental writers agrees with Tabari and Maçoudi and differs from Firdousi. An inscription on a seal of king Beharâm IV. settles this question and shows that Firdousi is wrong in calling Beharam III. Keramanshâh. According to that seal it was Beharâm the son of Sapor, *i. e.*, Beharâm IV., who was known as Kermânsâhâh. He was so called, because in his young age he was entrusted with the governorship of Kermân by his father.

Now as to the foundation of the city of Kermân by Baharam IV., no other writer supports our text. According to Hamdulla bin Abou Bakar quoted by Silvestre de Sacy, it was the town of Kermânsâhâh, which is quite different from that of Kermân, that was founded by Beharam IV. Perhaps it is the similarity of names that has led our author to mistake the town of Kermân for that of Kermânsâhâh.

**Veh-Artashir.**—It is perhaps the New Ardeshir of Tabari, which, according to this author, was one of the six cities founded by Ardeshir Babegân. The Pahlavi, 'v' seems to have been read 'n.' It seems to be the same as Yazdshir, which, according to Edrisi,<sup>27</sup> is situated in the district of Kermân.

**Stâkhar.**—It is the Istakhar استخر of later writers. Ardavan (Artabanes) is said to be its founder. According to the Kârnameh<sup>28</sup> of Ardeshir Bâbegân Ardavan had his capital in that city. According to Tabari<sup>29</sup> it was queen Homai who had built it. According to Maçoudi<sup>30</sup> this queen had also built there a large fire temple. Mirkhond<sup>31</sup> attributes to this queen the construction of the well-known building known as Hazâr-Setun (1,000 pillars) among the ruins of Istakhar. According to Zinet el-Medjalis,<sup>32</sup> some attributed

<sup>23</sup> Mohl. V., p. 414, l. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Mémoires sur la Perse par Silvestre de Sacy, p. 320. Mirkhond, Bombay Edition, part I, p. 227.

<sup>25</sup> Tabari. Zotenberg, II., p. 103.

<sup>26</sup> History of Persia, 2nd Ed., Ch. V., p. 89.

<sup>27</sup> Edrisi par Jaubert I., pp. 416, 426.

<sup>28</sup> Karnamâh. D. Darab, ch. I., 4, Nöldeke, p. 36.

<sup>29</sup> Zotenberg, Vol. I., p. 510.

<sup>30</sup> IV., p. 76.

<sup>31</sup> Bombay Edition of 1228 Hijri. p. 197.

<sup>32</sup> Dictionnaire de la Géographie B. de Meynard (p. 48 s.)

its foundation to Keïomars and others to one of his sons named Isthakhr. Hoshang added to it, and Jamshed finished its construction. Yakout<sup>33</sup> and Edrisi<sup>34</sup> attribute its foundation to Isthakhr son of Tahmuras.

**Dârapgird.**—It is said to be founded by Dârá, the son of Dâra. Other Oriental writers<sup>35</sup> differ from our text in saying that it was the first Dârá (the son of Bahaman Asfandyâr) himself who had founded it and not his son Dârá II.

**Vish-Shâpûhar.**—It seems to be the city of Shâpur, situated on the road from Bushire to Shirân next to Kazeroun. It is said to be founded by Shâpûhar of Artashir, i. e., by Sapor I. According to Kazvini and other eastern writers<sup>36</sup> it was first built by Tahmuras, rained by Alexander the Great, and re-built by Sapor I., who named it Benâ-Shâpur (بنّا شاپور i. e., founded by Shapur). Some<sup>37</sup> called it Nischâvour or Nischawer, which is another way of reading the Pahalvi name Vish-Shapur. The name can also be read Vêh-Shâpur. In that case it is the Beh-Schâpour of Tabari<sup>38</sup> who by some mistake attributes it to Sapor. II.

**Gour Artashir Gadman.**—It is the Kharreh-i-Ardashir of Firdousi<sup>39</sup> which, he says, was subsequently also called Gour. Our text gives both the names together. The word Kharreh خره of Firdousi seems to be the corruption of the Pahalavi word Khoreh خوره. So the correct form of Kharreh-i-Ardeshir is Khoreh-i-Ardeshir (i. e. the splendour of Ardeshir). The word Khoreh is the Iranian equivalent of the Semetic word 'gadman' گدمان which also means 'splendour.' Thus the Kharreh-i-Ardeshir of Firdousi is the same as Artashir Gadman of our text.

It is the 'Ardeshir Khereh' خره اردشیر of Ebn Haukal.<sup>40</sup> Tabari<sup>41</sup> attributes to Ardeshir Bâbegân, the foundation of a city called Djour. This Djour جور is the same as the Gour گ of our text which

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>34</sup> Jaubert I., p. 393.

<sup>35</sup> *Mémoires sur la Perse*, par Silvestre de Sacy, p. 274, n. 4, Tabari I, p. 510, *Mudjmel al Tavârikh* and Hamdallah Kazvini quoted by Ousley. *Travels* II, p. 134.

<sup>36</sup> Ousley *Travels* I., p. 297; Edrisi I., p. 393; Yakout B. de Meynard, p. 293-4.

<sup>37</sup> *Dictionnaire de la Géographie* par B. de Meynard, pp. 293-94; Edrisi I. p. 399.

<sup>38</sup> II., p. 86.

<sup>39</sup> Mohl, V., p. 302, II. 438, 444.

<sup>40</sup> Ousley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 83.

<sup>41</sup> II., p. 71.

can also be read Djour. The Kâr-nâme<sup>43</sup> of Ardeshir Bâbegân also refers to the foundation of this city, which it calls Artashir Gadman. According to that work Ardeshir founded it on his return to Pars after his victory over the Parthian king Ardavân and introduced therein water-works and irrigation. According to Isthakhri,<sup>43</sup> it was at the place of this very town that Ardeshir had gained one of his victories over his enemy. According to Ibn el-Tagit<sup>44</sup> it was the Arabs who changed its name Gour to Djour. The modern name of it is Firouzâbâd. It was a governor of this city who changed its ancient name Gour to that of Firouzabâd. The reason was this. Whenever that governor went to the town of Gour, the people said ملک بگور رفت *i.e.*, "the king has gone to Gour." Now the word Gour also means in Persian a grave. So the sentence also meant "the king has gone to his grave." They say that the governor did not like these unlucky words, and so changed the name Gour to Firouzâbâd. According to Edrisi the area of this city is the same as that of each of the other three cities enumerated above, *viz.*, Istakhar, Sapur, and Darabgard.

**Touje.**—It is the town of لرج situated in the district of Istakhar.<sup>45</sup> It is near Kazerun. Some authors<sup>46</sup> include it in the district of Ardeshir Kharreh. The Pahlavi name of this town can also be read Tanpak. In that case it can be identified with تنبوی Tenbouk which, according to Edrisi,<sup>47</sup> is situated in the territories of Shâpour. Our treatise attributes its foundation to Homâe Cheherâzâdân, who is the queen Homâe of Firdousi. 'Cheherâzâd,' (*i. e.*, of noble face) is the epithet applied to her. Firdousi calls her 'Chehârzâd' چهارزاد which is the corruption of the original 'Cheherâzâd.' Mirkhond<sup>48</sup> gives the correct form. According to Maçoudi<sup>49</sup> she was so called from the name of her mother who was called Cheherâzâd. From all these Oriental writers we know nothing of her founding the town of Toujé or Tenbouk. The only town she is said to have founded was جربادگان.<sup>50</sup>

**Oharmazd Arteshiran.**—Our treatise attributes its foundation to Hormuz, the son of Shâpur and the grandson of Ardeshir

<sup>43</sup> Dastur Kaikobad's Edition, p. 15.

<sup>43</sup> Dictionnaire de la Géographie, B. de Meynard, p. 174-75. <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Edrisi I, pp. 391, 403, Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 106, 112, 132.

<sup>46</sup> Dict. de la Géogr., B. de Meynard, p. 143.

<sup>47</sup> I., p. 396. <sup>48</sup> Bombay Edition of 1266 Hijri, p. 190. <sup>49</sup> II., p. 120.

<sup>50</sup> Mirkhond, Bomb. Edition, p. 190.

Bâbegân. But Firdousi,<sup>51</sup> Tabari,<sup>52</sup> and other authors<sup>53</sup> attribute it to Ardeshir Bâbegân himself. It is the modern town of Ahwâz.<sup>54</sup> The original name Oharmazd Artashir has been at times abridged and corrupted into Horîmuz Shir, Hormuz Scheher, Houzmschir and Hormuz-Mirkhond,<sup>55</sup> like our author, attributes the foundation of this city of Hormuz to king Oharmazd.

**Ram Oharmazd.**—Our treatise attributes its foundation to Oharmazd, the grandson of Ardeshir Bâbegân. Mirkhond<sup>56</sup> and Maçoudi<sup>57</sup> also do the same. It is the Râm Hormuz of later writers. It is the contracted form of its original name Arâm-Hormuz *آرام هرمزد* i.e., the place of rest of Hormazd.<sup>58</sup>

Its founder Oharmazd is here called brave (*tag*). Mirkhond similarly calls him *dalir* دلیر i.e., brave, and Maçoudi *batal* بطل i.e., a brave man.

**Shusand Shuster.**—We have already referred to these towns while speaking of Khvarzem.

**Vandu-i-Shâpuhar and Airângird Shâpuhar.**—These two cities are said to have been founded by Shapur, the son of Artashir, i.e., Shapur I. According to Maçoudi<sup>59</sup> the Arabs knew this monarch as Sabour el Djunoud *سابورالجنود*. So the "Vandu" in the name of the city as given by our text seems to resemble Djunoud, the surname of Shapur. This Vandu-i-Shâpuhar seems to be the same as the town of Chand-i-Shapur, whose foundation Tabari<sup>60</sup> attributes to Shapur I. It is the Djoundi Sabour *جندی سابور* of Yakout.<sup>61</sup> According to Edrisi<sup>62</sup> it is situated in the district of Ahwas in the province of Khuzistân, about one day's march from Shuster.

Airângird Shâpuhar, the second city here referred to, as being founded by Shapur I., is the Shâpurgird of Firdousi.<sup>63</sup> It is situated in the district of Ahwaz. It is called Airangird Shâpuhar, perhaps to distinguish it from other towns founded by Shapur I. in the west, and which also bore his name. Our text says that it was also called

<sup>51</sup> Mohl. V., p. 386, l. 644.

<sup>52</sup> II., p. 74.

<sup>53</sup> Yakout Diot. de la Geogr. de la Perse B. de Meynard, p. 58.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid* and Tabari II, p. 74. Edrisi I., p. 364.

<sup>55</sup> Mémoires sur la Perse. Silvestre de Sacy, p. 293.

<sup>56</sup> Rauzat-us-Safa, Bombay Ed., p. 223.

<sup>57</sup> II., p. 166.

<sup>58</sup> Malcolm's History of Persia, I., p. 71.

<sup>59</sup> II., p. 164.

<sup>60</sup> II., p. 84.

<sup>61</sup> Diot. de le Geog. B. de Meynard, p. 169.

<sup>62</sup> I., p. 383.

<sup>63</sup> Mohl. V., p. 392, l. 58.

**Farâwâd.** We know nothing of this fact from other Oriental writers.

**Nâhar-Tira.**—Our text does not mention who founded this city. It merely says that it was founded in the reign of the wicked Azidahâk (Zohâk) and it served as a prison for the country of Irân. It is the Nahar-Tiri (نهر تیری) of Ebn Haukal.<sup>64</sup> It is situated at the distance of one day's march from Ahwâz.<sup>65</sup> It is situated on a canal (نهر nehar) of a river called Tiri. Hence its name. According to Yakout<sup>66</sup> it was Ardeshir Bâbegân who had got this canal dug.

**Simlân.**—It is the town of Semiran<sup>67</sup> سمیران in the province of Kharreh-i-Ardesair, which also contains the town of Desht دشت<sup>68</sup> referred to in our text in connection with Simlân as Desht-i-Tazik. It is said to have been founded by king Faridun, who is said to have conquered the country of Simlân and to have given the town of Desht as a marriage-gift to the Arab king Bât-Khûsrô, whose three daughters he had taken in marriage with his three sons. This Arab king Bât-Khûsrô is the king Sarv سرور of Firdousi,<sup>69</sup> according to whom, he was the king of Yemen in Arabia. He is the Pât Khusrôb of Dinkard,<sup>70</sup> according to which, he was the grandson of an Arab king named Tâz. He is also referred to in the Pahalavi Vendidad.<sup>71</sup> The marriage alluded to in our text, is also referred to by the Dinkard<sup>72</sup> and by the Pahalavi treatise of Binâ-i-Farvardin Yum-i-Khordad.<sup>73</sup>

**Kharayast.**—This city, which is said to have been founded by Shapur I., seems to be the town of Sabour Khvâst سابور خواست founded by Shâpur in the country between Khouzistan and Isphahân. It is at the distance of 22 farsakhs from Nehâvand.<sup>74</sup>

**Ashkar and Veh.**—Ashkar is the Asker or Asker Mokrem عسکر مکرّم in Khouzistan. It is also called لشکر Leshkar.<sup>75</sup> It is

<sup>64</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 74, 77, 80.

<sup>65</sup> Edrisi I., pp. 379, 385.    <sup>66</sup> Dict. de la Geog. B. de Meynard, p. 576.

<sup>67</sup> Edrisi I., p. 398. Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88.

<sup>68</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88.    <sup>69</sup> Mohl I., p. 120, H. 68-70.

<sup>70</sup> S. B. E. vol. XLVII. West Dinkard, VIII., ch. I. 34.

<sup>71</sup> Spiegel Pahalavi Vendidad, p. 221. Darmesteter's *Études Iraniennes*, Part II., p. 216.

<sup>72</sup> S. B. E. XXXVII. West, Bk. VIII., Ch. XIII., 9.

<sup>73</sup> Dastur Jamaspji's text., p. 103, s. 14.

<sup>74</sup> Yakout B. de Meynard Dict. de la Géographie de la Perse, p. 203. Ousley's Geography, pp. 167-68.

<sup>75</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 20, 73. Edrisi I., p. 379.

situated at some distance from Ahwaz on the banks of the river Muchiroan<sup>76</sup> (المشرقان). Veh seems to be the town of Hey<sup>77</sup> also situated in Khouzistan.

**Gaê.**—It is the city of Ispahan said to have been founded by Alexander the Great.

**Khajrân, Adjân and Kird.**—These three cities are said to have been founded by Kobâd-i-Pirouzân, who was the father of the great Noshirwân. Tabari attributes to Kobâd the foundation of two cities Awdjân and Kazeroun. The Khajrân of our text, seems to be the Kazeroun of Tabari and the Adjân of our text the Awdjân of Tabari. According to Ebn Haukal it was Kobâd who had augmented Kazeroun to a considerable size.<sup>78</sup> The city of Kird seems to be the Gird گرد of Ebn Haukal<sup>79</sup> and Kird of Edrisi.<sup>80</sup> It is about 21 miles from Shiraz.

**Askar.**—There were two towns of the name of Askar, of one we have already spoken. This second Askar seems to be the Askar Nishapur of Ebn Haukal.

**Atropâtakân.**—It is the Atropatena of the Greek writers. According to Strabo<sup>81</sup> it was a Persian General named Atropate, who had founded it. This Atropate is the Azerbâd of Yakout<sup>82</sup> who gave the city his name. This Atropate of Strabo and Azerbâd of Yakout may be the same as Airân Gushasp who is spoken of in our text as the founder of Atropâtakân.

**Ninav.**—It is said to be founded by Ninav of Yuras. It is the well-known town of Nineveh said to be founded by Ninus.

**Ganjé.**—It is said to be founded by Afrasiâb. It is the town of Ganjé or Janzè گنجے or جنزے in Azerbaizân.

**Amui.**—There is one thing mentioned by our text about this town which draws our special attention, because it is mentioned here for the first time and not mentioned in any other book. It is this that "Zoroaster was of this city" (*Zartusht-i-Spitâmán min sak madîná yehunt*). Amui is nowhere else mentioned in connection with Zoroaster. Then the question is in which part of Irân are we to look for this town as the city of Zoroaster?

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 381.

<sup>77</sup> Ebn Haukal, Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 77.

<sup>78</sup> Ousley's Travels I., p. 274.

<sup>79</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 89.

<sup>80</sup> I., pp. 403, 421.

<sup>81</sup> XI. ch. XVIII.

<sup>82</sup> Dict. B. de Meynard, p. 15.

The question, which was the native place of Zoroaster, has been much discussed. Some said, and especially the classical writers, that he belonged to the East of Irân, to Bactria, and that he was a Bactrian sage. Others said, and among them there were almost all Oriental writers and some classical writers also, that he belonged to the West of Irân, to Media. All the references to this much discussed question have been very fully given by Prof. Jackson of America, who himself has also ably discussed the question in his recently published work, "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Irân." The consensus of opinion is: that Zoroaster belonged both to the East and to the West of Irân, to Bactria and to Media; that Bactria, where the then king of Irân, King Gushtâsp, ruled, was the place of his ministry, the place where he promulgated his religion under the protection and with the help of the ruler; and that Media was the place of his birth, his childhood, his inspiration. Again, according to the Pahalavi books, in Western Irân or Media there were two places, each of which claimed him as its own. These were the province of Âdarbaijân (Atropatene) in Media and the province of Ragha or Raê (Media Phagina) or Medis Proper.

According to the Bundelesh,<sup>83</sup> Zoroaster was born on the banks of the river Dâraja *دراجا*. The words used in connection with this place, *vis.*, "*Zarâtûsht temman-sad,*" *i. e.*, "Zoroaster was born there," are quite clear, and leave no doubt that this place is referred to as his birth-place. This river Dâraja is the modern Daryai which flows from Mount Savalân in Âdarbaizân and meets the river Arras. This mountain Savalân is known by Kazvini as Sebilân, and is spoken of by him as the seat of Zoroaster's inspiration. I think that Savalân or Sebilan is another form of Ushidarena spoken of in the Avesta as the mountain seat of Zoroaster's inspiration. Thus we see that Atropatene in Western Irân was the birth-place of Zoroaster.

Then in the Pahalavi Vendidad<sup>84</sup> Ragha or Raê is mentioned as the place of Zoroaster. (Rak...mûn Raê imallunêt.. ...Zartûsht min Zak Zinâk Yehvûnt, *i. e.*, Ragha, which was called Raê.....Zoroaster was of that place). Here Zoroaster is not said to have been born at Ragha or Raê, but it is merely said that he belonged to that place. The above two statements, one according to the Bundelesh, and the other according to the Vendidad, *vis.*, that Zoroaster was born in

<sup>83</sup> S. B. N. V. West, *op. cit.*, XXIV., 15. Justl. p. 58, l. 7.

<sup>84</sup> Spiegel, p. 6.



Atropátene, and that Zoroaster belonged to Raê, are easily explained by a passage in the *Shaharastâni* that "Zoroaster's father was of the region of Âdarbaijân; his mother whose name was Dughdo came from the city of Raê."<sup>85</sup> This fact then explains why two places in Western Irân claim Zoroaster as their own.

This brings us to the question of localizing the town of Amui, mentioned in our text, as the city of Zoroaster. The words used in our text on this point (*Zartusht min Zak madinâ, Yehvûnt*) are similar to those used in the *Pahalavi Vendidâd* about Raê (*Zartusht min Zak Zinâk Yehvûnt*), the only difference being that our text uses the word "madinâ," i. e., "city" instead of "Zinâk," i. e., "place," in the *Vendidâd*. This very fact of the similarity of the language induces us to look for Amui in the province of ancient Ragha or Raê. On looking thus we find in *Tabaristan* a place called *Amouyeh* which, according to B. de Meynard,<sup>86</sup> is the same as modern *Amoul*. *Edrisi* places it at the distance of five days' journey from the town of Raê.

One may be tempted to identify this town of Amui with the Amui *أموي* of *Transoxonia* (on the way from *Samarcand* to *Balkh*)<sup>87</sup>, which is the same as the Amui of *Firdousi*.<sup>88</sup> But the above consideration of the similarity of the statements of our text and of the *Pahalavi Vendidâd* and of the fact that Zoroaster's close connection with it is specially referred to, makes us look for it in the west in the province of *Ragha*.

Again, there is one point which requires an explanation. It is that the foundation of this city is attributed to the "Zenk-i-pur-marg" (the sorcerer full of destruction). This may refer either to *Ahriman* himself<sup>89</sup> or to an evil-disposed person of Satanic characteristics. Its foundation is attributed to *Ahriman* because this town, where Zoroaster's mother lived, was inhabited by persons who, according to the *Dinkard*,<sup>90</sup> were hostile to her. On account of the divine splendour and glory that appeared on her countenance, they suspected her of witch-craft and per-

<sup>85</sup> Quoted by Prof. Jackson, in *Zoroaster the Prophet of Irân*, p. 192.

<sup>86</sup> *Dict. de la Géographie, de la Perse, &c.*, Table, p. 615.

<sup>87</sup> *Ebn Haukal*. *Ousley's Oriental Geography*, pp. 239, 242, 275.

<sup>88</sup> *Mohl*. IV., pp. 29, 75.

<sup>89</sup> In the *Pahalavi "Gajastak-i-Abâlis," Ahriman* is called a *Zendic* *Bartholomey's Ed.*, p. 1.

<sup>90</sup> *S. B. E.* XLVII., *West's Dinkard*, p. 20.

secuted her and her family to such an extent that her father was compelled to send her away to another district (Atropateue) where Poúrûshasp, the father of Zoroaster, lived. There she was married to Poúrûshasp and became the mother of the prophet.

**Bagdad.**—We have already spoken of this town in the beginning of this paper.

ART. XII.—*Currencies and Mints under Mahratta Rule.*—By the  
Hon'ble Mr. JUSTICE M. G. RANADE, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.

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Read 16th February 1899.

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The Hindu Financier whose opinions were so prominently referred to in one of the articles on Indian affairs published in a recent issue of the *London Times* reflected the views of his countrymen faithfully enough when he observed that "No Government has the right to close its Mints, or to say that the Currency of the country was either deficient or redundant. That was a question solely for the Bankers, Traders and Merchants to consider. If they do not require money they will not purchase Bullion to be coined. The duty of Government is merely to Assay all Bullion brought to the Mints for Coinage and to return the value of the Bullion in Money." The Currency troubles of the past few years have drawn, in a way not known before, public attention to this function of Government in the regulation of Mints and the Coinage of the country, and the question naturally suggests itself how under Native Rule State Mints were established and controlled in this part of the country. The study of comparative History can never be turned to better account than when we seek present guidance from the lessons it teaches as to the way in which those who went before us practically dealt with the questions which confront us at the present time. Admittedly there are no materials at present readily available by the help of which such comparisons might be made, and the present paper is intended to bring together the information that can be collected from widely scattered sources as regards the History of the Mints under Mahratta Rule during the past two centuries. The materials are not very ample, but scanty as they are, an attempt to bring them together cannot fail to be instructive.

It may be remarked at the outset that though the Sacred Institutes regard the power to coin Money as a very valuable prerogative of Royalty, the most powerful Hindu Rulers to the South of the Narmada have always shown a marked tendency not to set much store upon this emblem of their Power. The Policy of one Mint and one coin current all over the Realm, with which we have become so familiar in the present century did not find much practical recog-

dition in this or any other part of India. Mr. Macleod in his work on "Indian Currency" mentions that when British Rule commenced, there were no less than nine hundred and ninety-four (994) different Coins of Gold and Silver current in India. In an official Table published for the guidance of the Civil Courts in the Bombay Presidency the names of no less than thirty-eight (38) Gold coins and over one hundred and twenty-seven (127) Silver coins are mentioned as still so far current in different parts of this Presidency as to make it worth while to give the relative intrinsic values of these Local Currencies in exchange for the Queen's coin. Krishnajeo Anant Sabhásad, the writer of one of the best Bakhars of Shivaji and his Times mentions no less than (26) twenty-six different sorts of Hons or Gold coins of different values and weights current in Southern India in the seventeenth century. Some of these apparently bore the names of the Sovereigns of Vidayanagar, such as Shivaraya, Krishnaraya, Ramaraya, etc. But many more were called after the Places or Towns in which they were coined or issued. As the Vidayanagar Kingdom had ceased to exist after 1564, these Local Currencies must have been allowed to continue by their Mahomedan successors. The Local Currencies called after the names of the places as described by the Chronicler Sabhásad, were known as the Gooty Hon, the Adoni Hon, the Dharwad Hon, the Vellore Hon, the Tanjore Hon, and the Ramnathapuri Hon. The Mahomedan Rulers in the Deccan issued their own Gold and Silver coins such as the Shahi Rupees and the Páda Shahi Hons which latter are mentioned by Sabhásad. After the Mogul conquest of the Deccan, the Delhi Emperors continued the old system. Though as in Northern India, they issued their own Gold Mohurs, Akbari or Almagiri Mohurs and Silver Rupees, the old Local Currencies were not interfered with. The Government left these coins to find their own level in the Markets.

One result of this lax system was that various coins circulated at the same time exchanging for one another in proportion to their intrinsic value. One general feature, however, is noticeable distinguishing the coinage of Northern from Southern India. Macleod has remarked that in North India Silver Rupee coin circulated most widely and the Gold Mohur was only a supplementary coin. In Southern India the condition of things was reversed, especially to the South of the Krishna river. It was the Gold coin which enjoyed the largest circulation and the Silver Rupees were only subsidiary to it. This fact is best evidenced by the Sanad grants of cash allowances issued by

Shiwaji. The allowances granted were of so many Hons and not of Rupees as was the case in the later grants of the Peshwas. In the Karnatic the Government assessment was fixed, even under the Peshwa Rule, in so many Hons, and Hons were received in payment at the Treasuries. When Tippu's territory was partitioned among the three Powers in 1799, the revenues of the territories partitioned, were estimated in so many Lakhs of Hons. In the Maharashtra Country proper, the Rupee Coins of the Adil Shahi and Nizam Shahi Kingdoms circulated widely in the seventeenth century when Shiwaji laid the foundations of the Mahratta Power.

As is known to all the students of Mahratta History, it was in 1664, after the death of his father, that Shiwaji first assumed the title of Raja and at the same time coined money in his own mint. This mint was established at Raigad in 1664, and Copper and Silver coins were issued from it. As regards the Copper coins, the inscription on one side was *Shree Raja Shiva* (श्रीराजाशिव), and on the reverse *Chhatrapati* (छत्रपति) and the Pice was called Shivarayi Pice. One thing is most noteworthy about the Copper coin. It was current throughout the Mahratta Territory, and continued to be known for a century and a half as the Shivarayi coin, though the coins struck by Shahu and Ramaraja at Satara and by Sambhaji and his successors in Kolhapur bore the inscriptions of the names of these Rulers. The Shivarayi Pice, was Ten Masas in weight, and double Pice or Dhabu Pice was also coined by weighing twenty-two Masas. There was no fraction below a Pice. The subsidiary coins below the Pice were the Cowries in extensive use still for small transactions. Rev. Mr. Abbot of this place had made a curious collection of these Chatrapati coins and he noticed a difference of letters in the inscriptions. The name Shiwa on the coins is variously spelt Shiva, Sheeva, Siva, Seeva (शिव, शीव, सिव, सीव). In the inscriptions *Shree Raja Shiva Chhatrapati* (श्री राजाशिवछत्रपति), also *Pati* is spelt *Pati* and *Patee* (पति and पती). He consulted me about these variations and from the inquiries made it was satisfactorily shewn that they indicated no difference in the locations of the Mints between the Konkan and the Deccan, and the variations, were simply due to the want of education of the Goldsmiths (Sonars) who were employed in stamping the inscriptions. Copper pieces with Persian inscriptions are still found, but for the most part the Shivarayi pice with no Persian inscriptions appears to have prevailed all over the country.

As regards the Silver rupee coined at Raigad, it is impossible to say what inscriptions it bore, as no specimens of Shiwaji's rupee coin are now available. The likelihood is that it bore Persian inscriptions because all the later coins issued under the authority of the Peshwas and the Great Mahratta chiefs bore such inscriptions. It seems to have been thought that Persian inscriptions bearing the names of the Delhi Emperors and the year of their reign in which the coins were issued, were essential to the currency of these rupee coins. This consideration influenced even the East India Company whose rupees issued before 1835 always bore Persian inscriptions. Even when Mahratta words were used, they were written at first in Persian characters. It was only in very late times that some Mahratta letters and figures appear on these coins. On the whole the Delhi Emperor's claims to having his name on the coins issued by the Mahratta Chiefs appear never to have been disputed. Shiwaji's seal, it is well known, bore a Sanskrit Sloka inscription, the latter half of which recited that it was the seal of Shiwaji, the son of Shahaji (शहासुनोरियं मुद्रा शिवराजस्य राजते). A slight change was made in the inscription after the coronation (शहासुतस्य मुद्रैव शिवराजस्य राजते). The civil arrangements made by Shiwaji during his life time were not maintained in proper order by his son Sambhaji, and they were entirely dislocated when Aurungzeb invaded the Deccan, and the Mahratta Armies had to abandon the Deccan and retreat to Jinjee in Southern India. On Shahu's return to power he set up a Mint at Satara from which Gold, Silver and Copper coins were issued. A Subsidiary Mint was opened at Rahimutpore for the coining of Copper pieces. On Shahu's return to Satara, Tarabai's party retired to Kolhapur and after some struggle an independent principality was founded at that place. The Kolhapur Rajas at first lived at Panalla, and Tarabai's son Sambhaji established a Mint at that place from which the Kolhapur or Panhalla Rupees also known as the Sambha Rupees were coined. The Subordinate Jahagirdars of Bawada, Malkapore and Kagal also coined Rupees known after the names of those places. This Mint was subsequently removed to Kolhapur when the Rajas made it their Capital, and this Kolhapur Mint continued in working order till about 1850. The Panhalla and the other Rupees continued in circulation till 1860 when all the Local Currencies were withdrawn from circulation and sent to the Bank of Bombay to be coined into Queen's Rupees. Both the Mints at Satara and Panhalla issued small Silver pieces of eight, four and

two annas as occasion made it necessary. These Mints were not, in one sense, open to the public for coinage purposes. Anybody who brought Bullion to the Mints was not allowed to get coins in exchange. In practice, however, the Mints were set in motion by the large Sawakars who were creditors of the State. In return, for the sum borrowed from them, these creditors were allowed to get from the Mints new-coined Rupees with the usual deduction, and these Rupees were put into circulation by the State. The names of four such Sawakars are still remembered as having carried on a very lucrative business in this connection. The Thigales and Gulwanis of Kolhapur and the Angals and Rastes of Satara are still remembered by the Bankers of these places. And the Rupees coined at their instance often bore the names of the Sawakars. The Thigale Rupees or the Gulwani Rupees were well known coins in Kolhapur. As regards the Rastes, Malhar Bhikaji Raste, the brother-in-law of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, gave the name to Malhar Shahi Rupees struck at Bagalkot and later on the Rastes had a Mint at Wai.

After the death of Shahu, the Satara Mint was closed or rather transferred to Poona by the Peshwas. The first two Peshwas claimed only to be the Ministers of the Satara Rajas. In the time of the third Peshwa the seat of authority was transferred from Satara to Poona, and Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao gave a new development to the operations of the State Mints. He granted licenses to private persons to coin money under strict conditions in consideration of a small fee paid to the State. The first notice of such licensed Private Mints in the Peshwa's Daftar occurs in 1744 in which year one Balaji Bapuji of Nagotna was allowed a license for three years to coin copper pieces weighing 10 Masas, i. e.,  $10/12$  of a Tola each, and the fee for the license was settled at fifty for the first, seventy-five for the second, and one hundred rupees for the third year. A similar concession was granted to one Bahirawa Ram Datar of Rewadanda. Apparently the holders of both the licenses coined only Shivarayi pieces. Four years after, two Kasars of Mahuli in the Nasik District obtained a similar concession both for double and single pice pieces. The license was for three (3) years and the annual fee paid to Government was 125 Rupees. In the year 1760 it was brought to the notice of the Peshwas that the District Hereditary officers of Dharwar coined in their private Mints debased Mohurs, Hons or Rupees. Orders were issued for the stoppage of these private Mints and a Central Mint was ordered to be opened at Dharwar under the Superintend-

ence of one Pandurung Murar. He had the sole right to coin and issue Mohurs, Hons and Rupees paying to Government six pieces of each for every one thousand coined by him. The Hon was to be of three and half Masas in weight. The Mohur weighed equal to the Dehli Mohur in weight and the Rupee equal to the Arcot Rupee, i. e., the English Rupee coined in Madras. Minute regulations were prescribed as to the payments of the charges to be incurred by him and the profits he was to receive. The Central Mint thus started in Dharwar in 1765 under the superintendence of Pandurung Morar led to the closure of twenty-one Mints which had been coining debased Hons and Rupees before the date of that order. These Mints were in the charge of the local Desais, and the names of the places given in the order shew how extensive was the tract of country served by these Mints. The Mints ordered to be closed were those of *Monoli, Lakshmishwar, Toragal, Athani, Shahapur, Gokak, Kitur, Yadwad, Murgud, Nawalgund, Bunkapur, Nargund, Ramdurg, Jamkhindi, Bagalkot and Chikodi*. It appears from the Peshwa's Daftar that in 1764 and 1765 the Delhi Mohur as also the Mohur struck at Surat was in value equal to  $15\frac{1}{2}$  Rupees and the Aurungzeb Mohur  $14\frac{1}{2}$  Rupees in value. The privilege granted to this Pandurung Murar included the whole territory between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra and the Mint was located at Dharwar. Further regulations were made in connection with this Mint in 1765 and 1766. Pandurung Murar had power to call in the debased coin and issue new one of the standard weight of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  masas for Hons, and one tola full weight for Rupees and Mohurs. The Hon was to be 10 Kas in touch and the Mohur to be 12 Kas in touch and equal to the Delhi Mohur in weight. For every 1000 pieces six were to be paid to the Government and one to be retained by Pandurung for his troubles. This was apparently the first serious attempt on the part of the Peshwa to check the evil of ill-regulated private Mints. To strengthen Pandurung's hands the revenue officers were ordered not to receive as Government dues any coins which did not bear the stamp of the New Mint. In 1765-66 a private license was granted to one Laxman Appaji to open a Mint at Nasik. The details of the license show that he was allowed one karkoon on 20 and two peons on 6 rupees each and 10 workmen of whom one was a blacksmith, 5 goldsmiths, 2 hammerers and a carver. The rupee was to be  $11\frac{1}{2}$  masas in weight being half a masa less than the weight of silver that could be purchased for a rupee. This



deduction gave the licensee a profit of 45 rupees for every 1,000 coins struck and this covered the licensee's charges for manufacture and waste. In 1767-68, a license was given to two Sonars to open a Mint at Chinchwad near Poona. The rupee to be coined was directed not to be like the Surti rupee but to be like the Jayanagari or Falchhari rupees of full weight and pure silver. The stamp to be used should have the figures for the years altered annually, the Mohars to be issued should be also like the old Aurangabadi Mohars of full weight and fine gold of the Jayanagari stamp and the inscription for the year was to be altered annually. A similar concession was made to a Sonar at Talegaum Dábháde in 1766-67 and certain old licenses issued to Sonars at Pedgaum, Rashin, Talegaum Dhámphere and Talegaum Induri were withdrawn. In 1768, two Sonars at Dharwar were allowed to open a Mint there with instructions that the Hon was to be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  masas in weight, out of which  $2\frac{3}{4}$  masas and  $\frac{1}{2}$  gunja were to be pure gold of the Delhi stamp, and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  gunjas were to be silver. The Mohar coins were to be of the Delhi standard gold, the weight being  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a tola and  $\frac{2}{4}$  of a masa and 1 gunja, the rest silver. And the rupee was to be of pure silver of the Delhi standard  $11\frac{1}{2}$  masas in weight. In 1773, a karkun of Tukojirao Holkar obtained a license to open a Mint at Chandore under certain conditions. He was to bear his own charges out of the profits of the mints. He was to test the silver received from the traders, and then to cut it into pieces each weighing 11 masas and 1 gunja. He had to give security for the due observance of these conditions, and Tukojirao Holkar was directed to enforce the orders about the purity of silver. In 1782-83, one Dullabhashet Sonar and Govind-het were allowed to coin copper pieces in the Konkan. They had to pay a nazar of 1,200 rupees for the privilege which was conferred upon them for two years. The copper to be used was ordered to be brought from Bombay and not from Alibaug. The Shivarai pice was to be  $9\frac{1}{4}$  masas in weight, and the double pice  $18\frac{1}{2}$  masas in weight, and there was besides what is called Alamgiri pice which was to be  $13\frac{3}{4}$  masas in weight. In 1800, the last Peshwa prohibited the use of Malkapuri rupees in Wai, Satara and Karad, on the ground that these rupees were debased. These are all the notices which appear in the Peshwa's rojanisi daftar about the regulations of the private Mints. They shew clearly how these operations were carried on in those days. Of course, besides these private Mints the Central Governments had their own State Mints under official supervision.

The private Mints were intended for the convenience of the remoter districts, communications in those days not being so easy as they are now, there was ample justification for the course adopted. In the Peshwa's own Mints Malharshahi rupees appear to have been the standard. They were called Malharehahi after Malharrao Bhicaji Raste as stated above. This Raste family was at first a great banking firm and Malbarrow was the brother of Gopikabai, the wife of Balaji Bajirao. When the Karnatic was conquered from the Nabob of Savannr, the Rastes were appointed Subhedars and Malharrao opened a Mint at Bagalkot about 1753. There had been a Mint at Bagalkot established in the times of the Bijapur Kings, and the new Mint continued the operations. The Malharshahi rupee was under the two Madhawraos, the standard coin and the other coins were received at a discount in relation to it. In the reign of the last Peshwa Baji Rao the Chandwadi rupee took up the place of the Malharshahi, and was coined both at Poona and Satara. The Poona Mint was closed first in 1822 but had to be re-opened, and was finally closed in 1835, in which year the Bagalkot and the Shree Shikka rupees of Colaba and other Mints were also withdrawn from circulation. The Chandwadi rupee continued to be coined at Satara under the restored dynasty of the Satara Rajas, and the discount on it varied from two to three rupees in relation to the Company's rupees.

Besides the State Mint at Poona and the licensed Mints which have been noticed above, and which were at work in various parts of the Peshwa's dominions, the circumstances of the time and the difficulty of communication made it necessary that the rulers of each of the great Mahratta States in Guzerat, Central India, and the Central Provinces and the S. M. country should have their own Mints. The Gaikwad rulers in Guzerat had their own Mint in Baroda, and Sayashahi and Babashahi rupees are still current in those parts of the country, the Sayashahi being issued by the first Sayajirao Gaikwad and the Babashahi by Fattesing Gaikwad. The Sayashahi bore the inscription of a sword with *Sena Khaskhel Samsher Bahadur* (सेना खासखेलसमशेरबहादूर) written in Persian character. The Maharaja Scindia who ruled in Malwa had his Mint at Ujjain. The Maharaja Holkar had a separate Mint at Indore. The Bhosle Rajas of Nagpore coined their own money in their Mint at Nagpore. The Angrias of Kolaba struck their own Shree Shikka rupee so called because the inscriptions on the coin contained in Devanagri character, the letter Shree in the middle. The Pat-

wárdhan Chiefs of Sangli and Miraj had their own rupees which were distinguished by the Devanagari letters "गण" being the first letters of the name of their titulary God Ganpatí, stamped in their inscriptions separate. These Patwúrdhani rupees were called Hukkēri or Hallikōri rupees. After Sangli separated from Miraj, Miraj coined its own Miraji rupees and Sangli had its separate coinage which resembled the Hukkeri rupees. The Hukkeri rupees had about thirteen annas worth of silver in it, and the Shambhu coin of Kolhapur had the same weight of silver in it, while the Panhalli rupees had 9 to 11 annas worth of silver. The Malharshahi rupees contained the greatest weight of silver, the weight being 15 annas. The Chandwadi rupees which were most current in the central part of the Peshwa's dominions about the downfall of the rule of the last Peshwa were coined in Poona, and had in them about 14 annas of silver. The Ankushi rupee so-called on account of the Ankush or the Elephant-goad which it bore on the inscription was issued by the Rastes from their Mints at Wai. Haripant Phadake, the Peshwa's Commander-in-Chief, was allowed to issue a coin called Jaripataka rupee which was unlike other coins, a square piece and not round, and it bore the emblem of the Jaripataka banner of the Marathas. In the Khandeish and Nasik districts under the later Peshwas' rule this Jaripataka coin circulated as also the Chandwadi, Bellapuri, Chambhargondi and the Berhanpuri rupees. In Alibaug the Shree Shikka rupees of Kolabá were current, and in Rutnagiri the Chandwadi and the Hukkery rupees circulated.

The respective weights of some of the coins mentioned above together with the weight of pure silver in them and their intrinsic exchange value will be seen from the following statement prepared from the official notification :—

Alibaug ... ..	170	14½	87½
Ankushi ... ..	172	160	97½
Baroda rupee ... ..	177½	150½	91
Baroda new ... ..	177	150¼	91½
Bombay rupee ... ..	180	165	100
Hukkeri rupee ... ..	172½	152	86
Halkeri new or Mirji ... ..	173¼	159	96
Old Panhalli ... ..	170½	108	65½
Shahapur ... ..	174	152	92
Old Surti (or Delhi Standard) ... ..	176½	173½	105
Wai Shikka ... ..	171½	157½	95½

Barahanpuri	...	...	...	178·8	170·2	103·1
Sayashahi old	...	...	...	177½	149½	90½
Janjira Colaba	...	...	...	171·3	134·0	81·2

These scattered remarks about currencies and mints under Maratha rule can suggest few lessons for our guidance in the present day, as the circumstances of the times have changed so radically throughout British India. It is quite clear that a variety of currencies might have been necessary in those days when communication was difficult and authority decentralised. There are, however, decided indications that this variety was due to the lax system of Government which then prevailed. A more important lesson this history teaches us is, that the statement now so generally made that India was too poor a country for the circulation of gold coins is unsupported by the facts of the case, as they can be ascertained from the history of the Mints under Maratha rule. Gold coins were issued and freely circulated, though no attempt was made to regulate their value in relation to silver coins. The relative value of Gold and Silver was steady in the last century, and apparently stood at 15½ to 1, which proportion remarkably coincides with the ratio which our modern advocates of Gold currency would prefer to adopt. This coincidence is remarkable and it suggests that after all the new proposals are not so revolutionary as some people imagine them to be. Even the advocates of Silver currency might borrow a leaf from the administration of Mogul and Maratha rulers, and there is apparently no reason why, if the gold coins were in demand a 100 years ago, there should not be a similar natural demand for these coins in our present condition of greatly extended commercial and banking activity. We must leave this subject to be further developed by those who have made Indian Economics their special study. If their labours are in some way helped by the information here supplied, it will be all that I can claim by way of present interest for the otherwise dry subject to which I have ventured to draw the attention of the members of this Society.

ART. XIII.—*Description of a Hoard of 1,200 coins of the Kṣatrapa Kings of dates 203-376 A. D., found recently in Kāthiāwār.* By REV. H. R. SCOTT, M.A., Rājkot.

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[Read 10th March 1899.]

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THE UPARKOṬ HOARD OF KṢATRAPA COINS.

N. B.—When a date is given without the letters A. D. it is to be understood as a date of the Kṣatrapa era, which began 78 A. D.

About two years ago excavations were being made among the ancient rock-cells and temples to the south of the Uparkoṭ, the famous fortress of Junāgaḍh in Kathiawar, when in the floor in front of one of the cave temples a number of small holes were discovered cut into the rock and filled with earth. These holes were opened under the supervision of Mr. Bechardās Vibāridās, the Diwan Saheb of Junāgaḍh, and from several of the holes nearly 1,200 coins of the Kṣatrapa Kings were brought to light. A few holes were found empty. That the coins all belonged to the one hoard and were secreted at or about the same time does not seem to admit of doubt. The holes, one of which was kindly opened for my inspection by Mr. Bechardās, are about six inches in diameter and fifteen inches deep, cut out of the solid rock, which in this place is white sandstone.

This collection is, as far as I am aware, the largest and most important find of the coins of this dynasty that has yet been made, and an interesting point in connection with it is that there is strong internal evidence to indicate both the year in which the hoard was hidden and the reason for its having been so carefully put away.

Before the coins came into my hands they had already been roughly classified by Mr. Vallabhji Haridatt, the curator of the Watson Museum, Rājkot. He had, however, only arranged them according to the kings whose names they bear; and does not appear to have realised the importance of the fact that this hoard is exceptionally rich in dated coins. It was therefore my first business, in going over the collection, to separate the dated from the undated specimens of each king, and I was delighted to discover in several instances dates which are new to us, and which modify the history of the Kṣatrapa period as given in the most recent authority—Vol. I. of the Bombay Gazetteer.

Let me state at the outset that this hoard does not supply us with any specimens of the coins of the earliest Kṣatrapa kings, nor does it contain any coins of kings other than those already known to us. It would seem highly probable that we are now in possession of a complete list of the kings of this dynasty. Indeed, I hope to show good reason for making the list shorter by striking out one of the names given in the table in the Gazetteer: for this Uparkoṭ hoard among other facts proves that the twenty-second king Yaśadāman did not cease to reign in 240 as has been supposed, but continued to issue coins up to the year 254, and so there is no room for the so called twenty-third king, Damasiri, who is set down as reigning in 242 on the evidence of one "doubtful" coin.

The hoard contains three coins of the mysterious Mahākṣatrapa, Iśwaradatta, who is like Melchisedek in being "without father, and without descent." All three coins belong to his first year, and we are still as far as ever from knowing where that year is to be placed.

I have prepared a table, which will be found at the end of this paper, showing the names of the kings whose coins have been found in this hoard, with the number of coins, dated and undated, belonging to each. From this it will be seen that there were 1,144 coins in the collection when it was brought to me for classification. I understand that about 40 or 50 coins had been given away to visitors to Junāgaḍh who were anxious to possess specimens, and we can only hope that no very important coins have disappeared in that way.

A comparison of our table with the list of coins formerly in the possession of the late Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji and now in the British Museum, as given in Mr. Rapson's article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for July, 1890, shows at once the great importance of the present find. Thus the British Museum possesses but 8 dated specimens of the nineteenth Kṣatrapa, Bhartṛdāman's coins, whilst here we have no less than 59 specimens with dates. The Museum has only 2 dated specimens of Viśvasena's coins, but here there are 56 with dates more or less clear. Of Rudrasimha's coins the Museum only possesses 4 dated specimens; here we have 30. Of Yaśadāman's coins we have 40 with dates, whereas the Museum has only 3; and we have no less than 90 dated specimens of the last king on our list, Rudrasena III., whilst the Museum has only 15 with dates. In fact we possess far more dated than undated specimens of the coins of the last mentioned king.

Before entering on a detailed description of the coins it may be

well to point out briefly the two principal facts which their examination has brought to light. In the first place, I had not proceeded very far with the investigation till I had formed a theory as to the probable time and occasion when the hoard was buried: and as fact after fact, coin after coin, came to light in support of this theory, and no opposing fact was discovered, I concluded that the theory may be regarded as reasonably established. My conclusion is that the coins must have been concealed on the outbreak of a revolution which seems to have begun about the year 352 A. D.; and the facts in support of this conclusion are as follow:—

1. The 24th king, Rudrasena III., has left his name and title on coins of two different styles. Hitherto only two coins of the first class were known with the date 270 (A. D. 348); many coins of the second period have been found, and they are dated from 288 to 298 (A. D. 366-376). The long interval of 18 years, and the notable difference in the style of the coins led to the conclusion that some great political change must have taken place in the interval, and that the king was probably driven out of the country. Now we have in this collection 90 coins dated in the years, 270, 271, 272 and 273. (See Plate, coin 11.)

2. We have no coins of any later king or of Rudrasena's second period.

3. The coins of this king, and especially those of his later years are in remarkably good condition, have in fact the appearance of being fresh from the mint, and of having never been in circulation. I hold that these facts justify the conclusion stated above.

The second important fact to which I wish to draw attention is connected with another conjectured revolution, and with the supposed 23rd Kṣātrapa, Damasiri, referred to above.

Damasiri owes his place in the list of the dynasty given in the Gazetteer to two alleged facts, (a) a coin of his, dated "apparently 242," (b) the fact that no coin of his predecessor, Yaśādāman, was known of a later date than 240. I venture to question the reading of the single coin on which Damasiri's claim has been based, and I do so because our present hoard supplies us with about 40 coins of Yaśādāman with dates between 240 and 243; several dated 244 and upwards; and one each of the dates 252, 253 and 254. (Plate, coins 9, 10). I hold that these coins effectually put an end to Damasiri's claim, and I have no doubt that an examination of the coin supposed to be his will prove it to be of some other date, and

very probably to be a coin of one of the Dāmajaḍāśris. No coins were known of dates between 240 and 270 except the one coin just referred to, and it was concluded from this fact, and from the fact that the next king seems to belong to a new line, that a revolution lasting 30 years must have taken place. We are now able, not indeed to disprove the supposed revolution, but, to shorten its duration by about half; as we can carry Yaśadāman's reign on for 14 years after the year 240. There remains therefore only the interval between 254 and 270 to be accounted for. That the next king Rudrasimha did not begin to reign earlier than 270 is rendered almost certain by the fact that we have here 65 of his coins dated in that year, and not one of any earlier year.

I now proceed to describe in order the coins found in the hoard.

VIII.—The first king whose coins are found is Rudrasena I, the eighth Kṣātrapa, who reigned 200-220 A. D. There are seven of his coins, and of these six have traces of dates. One is very plainly 130 (A. D. 208), another appears to be 134. I should remark here that it is often possible to make out the first two figures of the date on Kṣātrapa coins, where we can only make a conjecture as to the particular year of the decade to which the coin belongs. Thus 133 is written ७३ = but coins are found so clipped that we can only read the lowest of the dots, and must remain in uncertainty whether there were others, or not. Again, if we find a down sloping line after the first two figures the upper part being cut away, it may signify almost anything between 4 and 9: thus ७३ 𑀘 may be ७३𑀘 = 134 or ७३𑀙 = 139.

XI.—The next king whose coins are found in this collection is Dāmasena, the eleventh Kṣātrapa, who reigned A. D. 226-236. [That there are no coins of the ninth and tenth kings confirms the Gazetteer's statement that the coins of these kings are extremely rare. There was only one specimen of the ninth king, Pṛthivisena's coinage known to the writer of the Gazetteer account, the coin now in the British Museum. It will interest my readers to know that another specimen is now to be seen in the Watson Museum, Rajkot. Of the tenth king Sanghadāman's coins only two were known, though in a footnote the existence of five others is referred to. The Watson Museum possesses a specimen, which is so peculiar as to merit a special description.] There are five coins of Dāmasena's in our collection, all of which have traces of dates. Two appear to be dated 151 or 152 two 154; one 158. The legends on all these coins are written in very small and beautifully clear letters.



[There are no specimens of the twelfth king's coins, which according to the Gazetteer are very rare: only five specimens having been recorded. To these must now be added three specimens in the Watson Museum, Rajkot, one of which is unique, as it styles the king Mahākṣatrapa.]

XIII.—The thirteenth Kṣatrapa Viradāman (A. D. 236-238) is represented by ten coins, of which four or five bear traces of dates, but none quite clear. Like those of the eleventh king these coins have clear and well-formed characters in the inscriptions.

XV.—Vijayasena, the fifteenth king (A. D. 238-250) is represented by 36 coins, in one of which he is styled simple Kṣatrapa, whilst he is Mahākṣatrapa on all the others. There were only two specimens of this king's "Kṣatrapa" coins known previously, one of which is in the British Museum. [Two other specimens are in the Watson Museum.] Our "Kṣatrapa" coin is not clearly dated, but it is evidently not in the seventies and seems to be 160.

Twenty-six of the other coins have dates more or less clear from 160 to 171 or possibly 172. [That Vijayasena reigned till 172 is certain as I possess a coin of his which is clearly of that date. The reign should therefore be a year longer than is given in the Gazetteer.] Several of Vijayasena's coins have the legend very finely cut, and they appear to have a fuller Greek inscription on the obverse than usual. By comparing several I made out the following: ΠΥΗΙΘΗΚΥΑ Σ ΣΙΥΟ.

XVI.—There are nine coins of the sixteenth Kṣatrapa, Dāmajadaśri III. who reigned A. D. 251-255. This king's coins are, according to the Gazetteer, "comparatively uncommon." There were only seven in Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl's collection, of which three had dates, 174, 175 and 176. Our hoard has one coin dated 174, and three which may be 176 or 177.

XVII.—From the seventeenth king onwards we have large numbers of each king's coins. Thus of this king, Rudrasena II. (A. D. 256-272) we have no less than 109 specimens, and of these 42 have traces, more or less clear, of dates. They do not however teach us anything new, as none of them are dated earlier than 181 or later than 185.

XVIII.—Of the coinage of the eighteenth king, Viśvasiṃha (A. D. 272-278) there are 51 specimens: but as has been remarked about the coins of this king hitherto discovered they are carelessly struck with a bad die and on most coins the legend is very incomplete. One coin appears to be of date 200, and three or four appear to be of date 198.

XIX.—There are 207 coins of the nineteenth Kṣatrapa, Bharṭṛdāman (A. D. 278-295), and to these might be added a score or two of the coins which have been set aside as illegible from having very incomplete legends, for this king's coins are often to be recognised even where the legend is obliterated. Bharṭṛdāman's coins are frequently of noticeably bad workmanship, and the bust of the king is a great contrast to that of any of the kings who preceded him. Yet this statement needs to be somewhat qualified, for there are many of Bharṭṛdāman's coins in this hoard which are of superior workmanship, having the bust almost if not quite as well executed as on other kings, coins (Plate, coins 1, 2). All the coins in which the king is styled simple "Kṣatrapa" are of the superior style. There are 18 such coins, of which five have traces of the date 201. I divided the rest of the coins not only into dated and undated, but into two classes in each case, according as they were of the well executed or of the coarse type. Among the undated coins I found that 74 are of good workmanship, and have the good looking bust which is found on the earlier Kṣatrapa coins, whilst 54 are of the coarse style. It is very probable that many of the coins of the first type really belong to the earlier period, for the title is either cut away or so obliterated that it is now impossible to tell whether to read "Kṣatrapa" or "Mahākṣatrapa" but a number of them have the latter title clearly enough. Of 59 dated coins about 20 belong to the first style, and the rest are of coarse workmanship. The dates range from 201 to 217 (?). Hitherto no coin of this king was known of a date later than 214, but in this Uparkot hoard there are several specimens of the year 217.  $\text{𑀅𑀓𑀭}$  = 214.  $\text{𑀅𑀓𑀭𑀮}$  = 217 (?). There is one coin with the date very clear but the figure is new to me. It is  $\text{𑀅𑀓𑀭𑀮}$  and probably stands for 215.

This king's name has been frequently read Atridāma, and the inscription on the majority of his coins could hardly be read otherwise, but on the very first specimen of his coins which I took up, when examining this collection, I found the legend gave the name Bharṭṛdāman quite clearly.

XX.—Regarding the twentieth king, Viśvasena, son of Bharṭṛdāman, (A. D. 295-304), the Gazetteer says that though his coins are fairly common, dated specimens are rare. Thus out of 25 in Dr. Bhagwānlāl's possession, only three bore traces of dates, and all three seem to be indistinct; "only three bear doubtful dates, one 218 and two 222." Now in the present hoard there are 179 specimens

of this king's coins, and of these no fewer than 56 bear traces of dates. About half of these may be set aside as doubtful, though I believe that if we had no better specimens to work on we should manage to read the Paṇḍit's dates on them with a tolerable degree of certainty ; but fortunately we have about 30 coins with legible dates, regarding which there can be no doubt. Most of these are of the years 217, 218, 219 : ten or eleven are of the dates 220 and 22 ; one is 224 or perhaps a year or two later. On the evidence of this last coin I should give Viśvasena a reign of at least two years longer than is given him in the Gazetteer. [There are two coins of Viśvasena in the Watson Museum whose dates I read 224 and 226.]

It is to be noted that Viśvasena's coins, like his father's, exist in two types, but the well executed coins bear a very small proportion to those of coarse construction. These latter are even worse than Bhartṛdāman's and are in fact the worst executed and the worst mutilated in the cutting of all the Kṣatrapa coins. (Plate, coins 4, 5).

XXI.—The twenty-first Kṣatrapa in the list of the dynasty as given in the Gazetteer, is Rudrasimha, son of Swami Jivadāman, and the earliest date hitherto known on his coins is 230. On this account and from the fact that Rudrasimha's father was not a king, but simply Swāmi Jivadāman, it has been conjectured that Chashtana's direct line ceased with the twentieth Kṣatrapa, and that Rudrasimha is the first of a new line who came to the throne after an interval of seven years. Dr. Bhagwānlāl possessed only 12 specimens of this king's coins, and of these only 5 had legible dates. We have in this Uparkoṭ hoard altogether 83 specimens of Rudrasimha's coins, and of these about 30 have dates that can be read with a fair degree of certainty. Most of these are of the year 230 and later years. None can be certainly identified as of 240 or any later year ; but *two are certainly earlier than 230*. Both clearly belong to the previous decade, one appearing to be 227 and the other 229. (Plate, coins 6, 7.)

Thus the interval between the 20th and 21st kings is still further lessened, and indeed it appears doubtful now whether there was any interval at all. It should be remarked that while almost all of this king's coins have the name of the king so badly printed that it seems to be Janadāman, there is here at least one coin in which the name is clearly Jivadāman. Again, a number of the coins have Chhatrapa instead of Kṣatrapa.

It is also worthy of remark that many of the coins of this king, as

well as of the two remaining kings whose coins are found in this collection, are new and unworn, apparently fresh from the mint.

The twenty-second king was Yaśādāman, the son of Rudrasimha, (A. D. 320). His coins have hitherto been very rare. Dr. Bhagwānlāl had only three of them, on two of which he read the date 239. We have in the present collection 117 specimens of this king's coins of which over 50 bear more or less clear traces of dates and the important point is that these dates cover quite a considerable period. Two are dated 239; thirty-five are dated 240; twelve have dates between 241 and 249; one is dated 252, another 253 and a third 254. (Plate, coins 8, 9, 10.)

The importance of these dates will appear when we turn to the account given in the Gazetteer. We read there that only the date 239 was known on this king's coins, and that a single coin of date apparently 242 is known of a king called Damasiri. On the strength of this testimony it was supposed that Yaśādāman reigned only one year, and was succeeded by a king called Damasiri who was reigning in 242. It is now evident that a mistake has been made. The alleged coin of Kṣātrapa Damasiri cannot be of the date supposed, as Yaśādāman was reigning in the year 242 and for at least 12 years afterwards. The Gazetteer does not inform us of the whereabouts of the coin in question, but I have little doubt that a more careful examination will show it to belong to one of the Dāmajaḍas.

Again the author of the Gazetteer account of the Kṣātrapas, in the absence of coins or other records for the years 240 to 270, has conjectured "some great political change" during these 30 years. We are now in a position to shorten this period considerably, for we have seen that Yaśādāman was still reigning in 254, so that the interregnum, or rather the period of which we have as yet no record, is now seen to be only 15 or 16 years.

XXIV.—The next king, and the last whose coins are found in this collection is Swāmi Rudrasena, the son of Swāmi Rudradāman (A. D. 348-376). Before proceeding to describe his coins it is necessary to draw attention to what is said about him in the Gazetteer. Two of his coins dated 270—and only two such—are on record; but "later coins of the same Kṣātrapa and of a different style are found in large numbers." These later coins are dated from 288 to 298. It is surmised that some political change must have taken place between 270 and 288; that Rudrasena was for the time overthrown, but that after 18 years of exile he again came to power. Now, on examining

this Uparkoṭ hoard, we find that there are no coins of any later king than Rudrasena, and not only so but there are no coins of Rudrasena's later period. There are 111 coins of Rudrasena's in the collection, and all belong to that first period of his reign of which only two specimens have hitherto been recorded. Out of 111 specimens no less than 90 have dates more or less clear. Sixty-five are dated 270; 25 are dated 271, 272 and 273. (Plate, coin 11.) Many of these coins, especially those of the last years, are in mint condition, fresh and unworn. From these facts, as I have shown above, we may fairly conclude that the hoard was secreted at the end of the first period of Rudrasena's reign, and most probably it was because of the revolution which then took place, rendering life and property insecure, that the money was hidden. Quite possibly its owner went into exile with the king or lost his life in the struggle which took place, and so never returned to unearth his treasure. We may suppose that 274 (A. D. 352) was the year in which the revolution took place, and in which the money was concealed. This would lead us to the conclusion that the coins lay hidden for 1545 years till they were dug up two years ago by Mr. Bechardās Vihāridās.

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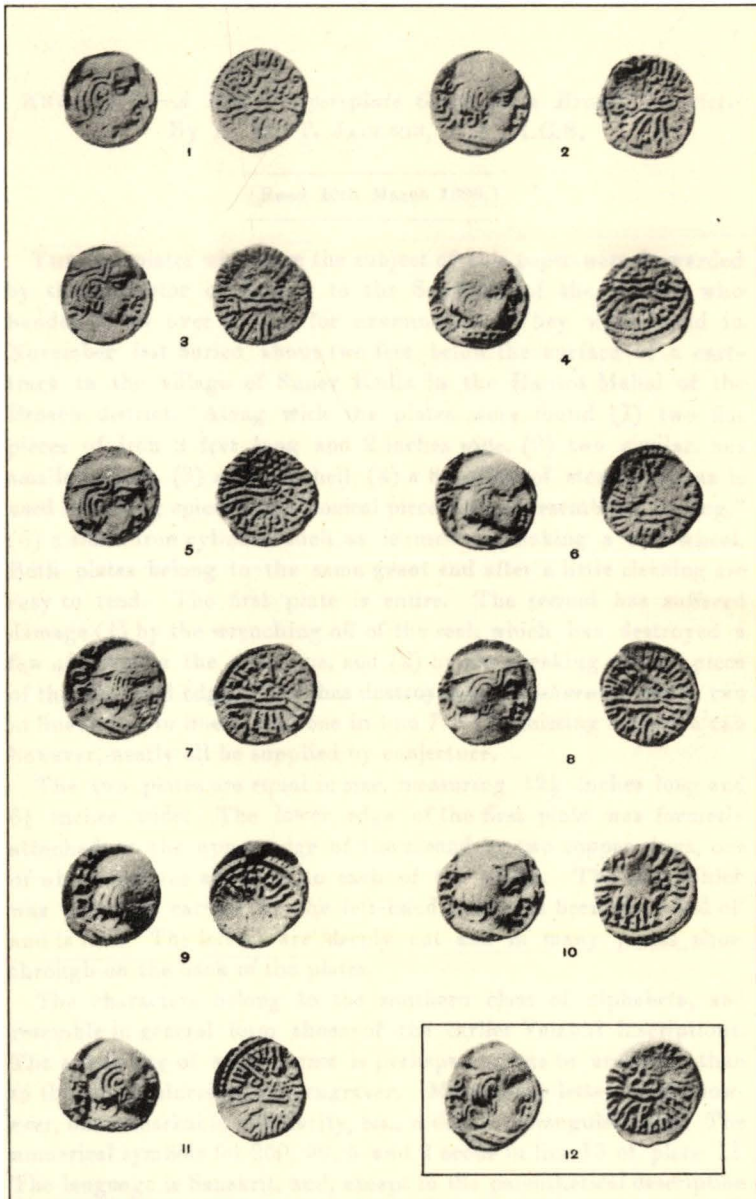
*Note.*—Besides the coins above described, there are between two and three hundred coins with illegible or very incomplete inscriptions—coins which cannot be classified. On 25 of these there are no legends at all, the obverse having a bust, and the reverse a blurred counter-impression of a bust. Others have the father's name alone legible and in some cases the king's name may be read, but which of the kings of the same name cannot be determined. A good many appear to be Bhartṛdāman's or his son's, but in the absence of the legend I have not thought it well to place them among coins which have the inscription clear.

[Coin No. 12 in the plate does not belong to the Uparkoṭ hoard, but has been given as a specimen of Swami Rudrasena's later coinage. (S. 288—300), for the purpose of comparison with his earlier coins, of which No. 11 (S. 273) is a fair specimen.]

TABLE

GIVING NAMES OF KINGS, THEIR DATES, AND THE NUMBER OF THEIR COINS, DATED AND UNDATED, FOUND IN THE HOARD.

No. in Gazet- teer List.	Kātrapa or Mahā- kātrapa.	Name of King and Date.	Number of dated Coins.	No. of undated Coins.
VIII.	M.	Rudrasena I., A. D. 203—220...	6	1
XI.	M.	Dāmasena „ 228—236 .	5	...
XIII.	K.	Viradāman „ 236—238...	4	6
XV.	K. and M.	Vijayasena „ 238—250...	26	10
XVI.	M.	Dāmajadaśri III. „ 250—255...	4	5
XVII.	M.	Rudrasena II. „ 256—272...	42	67
XVIII.	K.	Viśvasiṃha „ 272—278...	6	45
XIX.	K. and M.	Bhartṛidāman „ 278—295	59	148
XX.	K.	Viśvasena „ 295—304 .	56	123
XXI.	K.	Rudrasimha „ 305—311...	30	53
XXII.	K.	Yaśadāman II. „ 317—332 ..	40	63
XXIV.	M.	Rudrasena III. „ 348—376 .	90	21
	M.	Īśwaradatta—First year ... ..	...	3
		Coins not fully legible :—		
		Rudrasena ... ..	...	24
		Rudrasenaputra ... ..	...	93
		Damasenaputra ... ..	...	7
		Falsely struck ... ..	...	27
		Quite illegible ... ..	...	72



COINS OF THE WESTERN KṢĀ-TRĀPA.

ART. XIV.—*A New Copper-plate Grant from Broach District.*  
By A. M. T. JACKSON, M.A., I.C.S.

[Read 10th March 1899.]

THE two plates which are the subject of this paper were forwarded by the Collector of Broach to the Secretary of the Society, who handed them over to me for examination. They were found in November last buried about two feet below the surface of a cart-track in the village of Sunev Kulla in the Hansot Mahal of the Broach district. Along with the plates were found (1) two flat pieces of iron 2 feet long and 2 inches wide, (2) two similar but smaller pieces, (3) a conch-shell, (4) a flat piece of stone such as is used in mixing spices, (5) a conical piece of stone resembling a "ling," (6) a small iron cylinder such as is used in making a cart-wheel. Both plates belong to the same grant and after a little cleaning are easy to read. The first plate is entire. The second has suffered damage (1) by the wrenching off of the seal, which has destroyed a few *aksharas* in the first line, and (2) by the breaking off of a piece of the left-hand edge, which has destroyed one *akshara* in line 4, two in line 5, two in line 6, and one in line 7. The missing syllables can however, nearly all be supplied by conjecture.

The two plates are equal in size, measuring  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. The lower edge of the first plate was formerly attached to the upper edge of the second by two copper rings, one of which remains attached to each of the plates. The seal which was probably carried by the left-hand ring, has been wrenching off and is lost. The letters are deeply cut and in many places show through on the back of the plates.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and resemble in general form those of the earlier Valabhi inscriptions. The angularity of some forms is perhaps due less to archaism than to the unskilfulness of the engraver. Most of the letters have, however, one remarkable peculiarity, *vis.*, a distinct triangular head. The numerical symbols for 200, 90, 5 and 2 occur in line 13 of plate II. The language is Sanskrit, and, except in the parenthetical description of the grantees in lines 4 to 8 of plate I., is singularly free from grammatical errors. With the exception of the verses quoted from



the Mahābhārata in lines 7 to 11 of plate II., the inscription is in prose throughout. The only notable orthographical peculiarity is the occurrence of the sign *jihvāmūltya* in line 3 of plate II. *upanaya* )  
*kāryyah*.

The inscription records the grant, on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, in the year 292 of an unspecified era, of the village of Sōnavvā in the district "within the Narbadā," to five Brahmins of Broach to enable them to perform the five great sacrifices. The granter is the great feudatory and Mahārāja Saṅgama Siṃha.

There can, I think, be little doubt that the grant is dated in the Chedi, Kalachuri or Trāikūtaka Era, whose first year falls in A. D. 249-50 (cf. Kielhorn in Ind. Ant. XVII., pp 215 ff.). The grant belongs palæographically to the first half of the 6th century A. D., and we know from the Pardi grant of Dabrasena of Saṃ. 207 (A. D. 455-6) and from the Sāukhēḍā grant of Niribullaka (Ep. Ind. II. 21) that the Chedi Era was in use in this part of Gujarāt before the establishment of the Gurjara kingdom of Broach. We may therefore place the present grant of Saṅgama-Siṃha in the year 540-1 of Christian era. It is clear from the fact that Saṅgama-Siṃha bears the title of Mahāsāmānta, that he was not an independent ruler, but owed allegiance to some overlord. As he issued his grant from Broach, that place was probably his capital, but for the seat of his overlord's power we must look to the south or south-east. For Sōnavvā, the village granted, must be no other than Sunev, the place where the grant was found, which lies south of the Narbadā. The fact that the district in which the village stood was called "the district within (*i.e.*, on this side of) the Narbadā," shows that it belonged to a kingdom whose seat also lay south of the Narbadā, though it included also territory to the north of that river. On the whole the most probable supposition appears to be that Saṅgamasiṃha was a feudatory of the Kalachuris whose era he used, and who were certainly recognised as supreme in the lower Narbadā valley about A. D. 580 when Nirihullaka made his grant (cf. Bhagwanlāl's Early History of Gujarat, p. 114).

The grantees, being mentioned as Brahmins of Broach, probably belonged to the Bhargav caste, who claim to be the original Brahmins of that town, and are still to be found to the number of about 1,500 souls in the Broach and Surat districts. Whether the gotras of Chāndōgya, Gālava, Lōkākshi, Lōhāyana and Dhonḍi are still represented among them I have not been able to ascertain. The

name Chândôgya properly belongs to the third Brâhmâṇa of the Sâma-vêda, and I do not know whether it occurs elsewhere as the name of a gôtra. Gâlava is the name of a grammarian quoted by Yâska and Pâṇini, and a Gâlvarasmṛiti is quoted by Hemâdri and other later writers. At the Mysore Census of 1891, 34 Brahmans returned themselves as belonging to the Gâlavangetra (Mys. Rep. I. 303). Lôkâkshi, or, as the name is more usually written, Lângâkshi, is the reputed author of the Kâṭhaka Grihya-Sutra. The name Lôhâyana I have not traced elsewhere. The Dhônḍi Gôtra may take its name from the same patriarch as the Jambusar Brahmans gotra called Dâuṇḍakīya in the Khêḍâ grant of Vijayarâja, (I. A. VII. 241) or Dâuṇḍakīya in the Khêḍâ grants of Dadda II (I. A. XIII. 81 ff.).

TEXT.

1. Om Svasti Bharukacchân Mâtâpitri-pâd-ânudhyâtô mahâ sâmantha. 'Sri mahârâja. Saṅgama-sihah<sup>1</sup>
2. Sarvvân êva svân râjasthâny-ôparika- kumârâmâtya-vishaya patyûrakshika-drûmgika.
3. Kula-putraka-câṭa-bhaṭ-âdîms tad-âdêsakârīṣasca kuśalam anuvarṇya samanudarsa.
4. Yati Astu vô viditam yath-âsmâbhir antar-narmmadâ-vishay-ântarggata-Sônavvâ-grâmô Bhâru.
5. Kacchaka-Chandôga<sup>2</sup> sa-gôtra Chandôgasa brahmacâri Brâhmaṇ-Ânanta-datta. Tathâ Gâlava.
6. Sagôtra-Chandôga-sa-brahmacâri-Prajâpatîsarmma. T a t h â Lôkâkshi-sagôtr-âdhvaryyu-sa-brahma-
7. câri-Sivadêva. Tathâ Lôhâyana-sagôtr-âdhvaryyu-sa-brahma-âri-Bhâṇudêva. Tathâ Dhônḍi ( ? ) sa
8. gôtra-bahvrica-sa-brahmacâri. Bhavarucibhyô bali-caru-vûis-vadêv âgnihôtra-havana-paṅca.
9. mahâ-yajña-kriyôtsarppan-îrttham â-candr-ârkk ârṇṇava-graha-nakshatra-kshiti-sthiti-samakâlinah
10. sôdraṅgas sôparikaras sa-bhûta-vâta-pratyâyôcâṭa-bhaṭa-prâvêsyôbhûmi-cchidra-nyâyêna.
11. putra-pôtr<sup>1</sup>-ânvaya-bhôgyô mâta-pitrôr âtmanaśca puṇya-vasô-vâptayê dya puṇyatamâm
12. mahâ-kârttiki<sup>2</sup>-tithim atî-katyâ<sup>3</sup> udak-âtisarggêṇa pratipâditô yata êshâm brâhmaṇânâm

<sup>1</sup> Read siṃhah.

<sup>2</sup> Read pûtra.

<sup>3</sup> Read Kârttiki.

<sup>1</sup> Read Chândôgya.

<sup>2</sup> Read adhikṛitya.

*Plate II.*

1. ucitayâ brahma- . [ . . . . . ] ra-sthityâ bhñmñjatâm  
kṛishatâm karishayatâm<sup>4</sup> pradisatâm ca na kēnacit<sup>5</sup>
2. nishēdhē varttatavyam<sup>6</sup> Tadgrāma-nivāsibhirapyamīsbām  
vidhēyair bhūtvâ samucita-
3. -mēya-hirany-âdi-pratyây-ôpanaya ) kâryyaḥ-Bhavishyad-  
rājabbhī c-âsmad-vamśyair anyair-vvâ sū-
4. [-mâ]nyam bhūmi-dāna-puñya-phalam abbivāñchadbhir  
vībhavān-abhāv-ānubandhān-āyur-vvivyōgā-
5. [nushṭhi] tam guṇāmś ca dirggha-kālānugunān viganayya  
dānam ca guṇavatām avadātām iti.
6. [pramā] ūi-kṛitya śasikara-śuci-rucirañ cirāya yasās cicishubhir  
ayam asmad-dāyō numantavyaḥ
7. [pratipā] layitavyas cēti || Uktam ca bhagavatā Vyāsēna |  
shashṭim varsha-sahasrāni svarggē mōdati
8. bhūmidah Ācchettā c-ānumantā ca tānyēva narakē vaset |  
bahubhir vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbhis Sa.
9. gar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmir tasya tadā phalam |  
pūrvva-dattām dvijātibhyō ya.
10. -tnād raksha Yudhishṭhira mahīm mahimatām śrēshṭha  
dānac chrēyō nupālanañ || Vindhyāṭavishv atō.
11. yāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ kṛishṇāhayō bhijāyantē pūrvva-  
dāyān haranti yē ||
12. mahā-pratihāra-Gōpāhyaka-prāpit-ājñāya sāndhivigrahika-  
Rēvāhyaka-dūtakaḥ
13. Likhitam Vishṇa<sup>1</sup>-shēṅēn-eti || Sam 200 90 2 Kārttika  
śa 5 (?) na.

*Translation.*

1. Om Hail ! From Bharukacchā, Śrī Mahārāja Saṅgama-Siñha  
the Mahāsāmanta, who meditates upon the feet of his father and  
mother,
- 2-3. Having given greeting<sup>4</sup> to all his officers, husbandmen,  
princes, ministers, heads of districts, guards, heads of towns, noble-  
men, regular and irregular troops and their subordinates, proclaims :—
4. Be it known to you that the village of Sōnavvā in the Antar-  
narmadā District (has been given to the following).

<sup>4</sup> Read Karshayatār.

<sup>6</sup> Read varttitavyam.

<sup>5</sup> Read kēnacin.

<sup>1</sup> Read Vishṇu.

5-8. The Brahman Anantadatta of Broach, of the Chandoga *gôtra*, singer of the *Sâma-vêda* and ascetic: and Prajâpatîsârman of the Gâlava *gôtra*, singer of the *Sâma-vêda* and ascetic: and Sivadêva of the Lokâkshi *gôtra* student of the Yajurvêda and ascetic: and Bhânu-dêva of the Lohâyana *gotra*, student of the Yajurvêda and ascetic: and Bhavaruci of the Dhoṇḍi (?) *gôtra*, reciter of the Big-Vêda and ascetic.

8-9. (To these) for the performance of the rules of the five great sacrifices—the *bali*, the oblation to the *manes*, the *vâisvadêva*, the *agnihotra* and the *havana* (a gift) coeval with the existence of the moon, sun, ocean, planets, and constellations.

10. Together with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara* and the revenue from *bhûta* and *vâta*, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, according to the rule of *bhumichidra*.

11-12. And to be enjoyed hereditarily, (the aforesaid village) has been bestowed with outpouring of water, for the attainment of merit and fame by our parents and ourself, upon this day under the most holy *Mahâkârttikîti*.

II—1-2. So that no one shall interfere with these Brahmans in their enjoyment, tillage by themselves or by servants, or letting (of the village lands) according to the due terms of a gift to Brahmans.

2-3. The people of the village also should be compliant to them and should bring them their proper dues, measured (grain), money, &c.

3-7. And future kings, whether those of our race or others, should assent to and preserve this our grant, desiring to share in the merit that results from land-grants, and wishing to lay up a store of fame pure and sweet as a ray of moonlight, on the authority of the words "calculating that riches are associated with non-existence, that life is attended by separation, but virtues and gifts to the virtuous are durable."

7-8. And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa: "The giver of land revels in heaven for sixty thousand years, (but) the interrupter (of a gift) and his abettor lives so many years in hell.

8-9. "The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, beginning with Sagara. Whosoever the earth is at any time, his also is the fruit (of a land-grant).

9-10. "Oh Yudhishtîra, carefully maintain former grants of land to Brahman (for), oh best of kings, the maintenance is better than the gift.

10-11. "Those who resume old grants are born as black snakes living in the hollows of withered trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhya."

12. By command obtained through Gopâhaya the great chamberlain. The *dūtaka* is Rêvâhyaka the minister of peace and war.

13. Written by Vishṇuśeṇa. The year 292. The bright half of Kârttika 5.

ART. XV.—*The Etymology of a few towns of Central and Western Asia as given by Eastern writers.* By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODY, Esq., B.A.

[Read 24th March 1899.]

In my last paper before the Society I gave a short account of a few cities of ancient Irân, as presented by the recently published Pahalavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân. In this paper I propose giving the etymology of the names of some of these cities. I will divide the subject of my paper into two parts. Firstly, I will take up those cities, the etymology of whose names has not been given up to now. Secondly, I will take up those cities, the etymology of whose names has been given by oriental writers and will examine how far that etymology is correct.

**Ctesiphon.**—No oriental writer gives the derivation of its name. I think the Pahalavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân helps us to derive its name. It says, that it was founded by "Tus-i-Râvak-i-Sifkân," i.e., by Tus the ruler of Sifkân. I think, then, that its name is derived from the name of its founder Tus-i-Sifkân, i.e., Tus of Sifkân. Ctesiphon is another form of Tus-i-Sifkân. The fact that this city must have received its name from one Tus is supported by the statement of Hamzah<sup>1</sup> that the original name of this city was Tusfoun *طوسفون*.

**Babylon.**—It is the Bawri of the Avesta,<sup>2</sup> Babyrus of the cuneiform inscriptions<sup>3</sup> and Bâbil *بابل* of the Persian writers. The Avesta connects Azidahâka (Zohâk) with this town. The grand Bundelesh<sup>4</sup> says that Azi Dahâk had built a palace in Babylon which was known as Kûlâng Dushit, which is the "Kvirinta duzhita" of the Avesta,<sup>5</sup> Kulang Dis of Hamz Isphahâni, Gang Dizh-hukht of Firdousi.<sup>6</sup> These references and other references by oriental writers lead to show that Babylon (Bawri) was founded by Azi-Dahâk. Maçoudi<sup>7</sup> attributes its foundation to Nimrod. But according to Malcolm, oriental writers identify Nimrod with Zohâk. Ebn Haukal,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dictionnaire de la Perse B. de Meynard, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> Yt. V., 29.

<sup>3</sup> Behistun Inscription I., 6.

<sup>4</sup> Darmesteter *Le Zend Avesta* II., p. 584. *Études Iraniennes* II., 210-218.

<sup>5</sup> Yt. XV., 19.

<sup>6</sup> Mohl. I., p. 96. *Vide my Dictionary of Avestic proper names*, p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> Maçoudi per B. de Meynard I., p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> Ousley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 70.

and Edrisi<sup>9</sup> also attribute the foundation of Babylon (Bâbil) to Zohâk.

Now, according to the Bundelesh,<sup>10</sup> and the Shâhnameh<sup>11</sup> Azi-Dahâk or Zohâk was also known as Bivarasp, because, as Firdousi says, he was the master of 10,000 (bivar Av. baêwar') horses (asp). I think, then, that Bawri, the original form of the later name Bâbil, derived its name from the name of its founder Baêvaré or Bivar-asp. The second part (asp) of the compound word is dropped. We find another instance of this kind of dropping of the latter part, in the name of Tahmuras. The original name is Takhma-urupa, but in the Farvardin Yesht we find the name in its simpler form Takhma, the latter part *urupa* being dropped. In the same way we find the name Yima Khshaéta (Jamshed) shortened into Yima (Jam. Afrin-i-Haft Ameshâspand). At times instead of the second part of a compound name the first is dropped, and we find an instance of this kind in the name of this very Azi-Dahâka which we find in some places simply Dahâk, the first part 'Azi' being dropped.

**Bost.**—It is the Abeste of Pliny.<sup>12</sup> It is one of the principal cities of the province of Seistân. Oriental writers neither derive its name nor give the name of its founder. But we learn from the Pahalavi Shatrôihâ-i-Irân<sup>13</sup> that it was founded by Bastur, the son of Zarir, who was the brother of king Vishtâsp. It appears then, that the city has derived its name from its founder Bastur, the Bastavairi of the Avesta.<sup>14</sup>

**Zarenj.**—It is the Zaranga or Zarang of Ptolemy. The word زرنج Zeranj can also be read 'Zarang,' the name which Ptolemy gives. It is the Zarinje زرنج of Ebn Haukal<sup>15</sup> and Edrisi<sup>16</sup> according to whom it was the largest city in Seistan. According to Tabari<sup>17</sup> it was the capital of Seistân. According to Kinneir, Zarenj is the same place as Dooshak, the modern capital of Seistân. He says "the situation and description of Dooshak led me to suspect that it can be no other than Zarang, the old name having been lost in the constant revolutions

<sup>9</sup> Edrisi par Jaubert, II. pp. 160-161.

<sup>10</sup> S. B. E. V West, XXIX., 9; Justi, p. 69, l. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Mohl. I., p. 50.

<sup>12</sup> D'Anville's Ancient Geography II., p. 64; Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 190, note

<sup>13</sup> Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 22. My translation, p. 91.

<sup>14</sup> Yt. XIII., 103.

<sup>15</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 203, 207.

<sup>16</sup> Edrisi par Jaubert, I., p. 442.

<sup>17</sup> Tabari par Zotenberg III., p. 517.





the same thing about Duzaka "From the land of Padashkhvârgar into the beginning of Dûgako, such as Frâsiyâk had taken, by treaty he seized back from Frâsiyâk and brought it into the possession of the countries of Irân."<sup>25</sup>

Thirdly, the *Shatrôihâ-i-Irân*<sup>24</sup> speaks of the foundation in Zarenj of a fire-temple named Karkoê. This temple is the same as that named Kerâkerkân by Maçoudi,<sup>25</sup> and said to be founded in Seistân.

Having stated these facts which lead to the identification of Duzaka and Zarenj, we now come to the main question of deriving the name Zarenj. I think the word Zarenj is derived from the very word Duzaka. In fact, it is another form of Duzaka. The word Duzaka may be written thus ذڪ. It is so written in the *Minokherad*.<sup>26</sup> It can be read Zarzak. The final ڪ in the word, if written in Zend characters and if written with a longer stroke towards the left, can be read d د. The word can be then read Zarzd. The final 'd,' د when written thus in Pahalavi, can be read either as g or j. So the word in that case can be read Zarzaj. The word, when written in Persian characters in the Mahomedan times, would be written زرڄ. In the Shekasté style the letter ڄ z in Zarzaj is likely to be mistaken for ن n, and so the word would subsequently be written زرنج and read Zarenj. Thus we see that the name Zarenj can be derived from the old name of the city, viz., Duzaka.

Now there remains for us the question to consider why was the place called Duzaka.

The word Duzaka means 'bad or evil,' and the place seems to have been so called, because, according to the *Shatrôihâ-i-Irân*,<sup>27</sup> it was founded by Afrâsiâb, who was a wicked Turânian monarch and who was therefore always called Gazashtê or cursed in the Pahalavi books. He is said to have afterwards destroyed the city and also extinguished the sacred fire-temple there.

Again, as said above, the place was infested with fairies and genii. That fact also may have gained for the city the appellation of Duzaka.

<sup>25</sup> S. B. E. XXIV. West. *Minokherad*. ch. XXVII., 44.

<sup>26</sup> *Dastur Jamaaspji's Edition*, p. 22. My translation, p. 93.

<sup>27</sup> Vol. IV. p. 73.

<sup>28</sup> *Dastur Darab's Edition*, ch. XXVII., 44.

<sup>29</sup> *Dastur Jamaaspji's Ed.*, p. 22, s. 38. My translation, p. 93.

**Kerman.**—Yâkout says, on the authority of another author, that the city was called, from the name of its founder, Kermân, who was the son of Felawdj, son of Lobthi, son of Yafet, son of Noaha.<sup>28</sup>

According to the Tarikhé Guzideh,<sup>29</sup> the city was so called from the name of one of its rulers named Bakhté-Kerm **بخت کرم** who ruled there during the time of Ardeshir Babegân who conquered the city. This statement is more probable than that which derives the name from the name of the great great-grandson of Noaha. The Bakhté-Kerm **بخت کرم** of the Tarikhé-Guzideh is the Haftân *Bokhté-i-Kerm* **خوداه کرم** of the Kârnâme<sup>30</sup> of Ardeshir Babegân. He is often spoken of simply as Kerm **کرم**.<sup>31</sup> This Haftân Bokhté-i-Kerm is the Kerm Haftwâd **کرم هفتواد** of Firdousi.<sup>32</sup>

His proper original name was Haftân Bokht in the Kârnâme and Haftwad in the Shâhnâme. According to Firdousi,<sup>33</sup> he was called Haftwad, because he had seven (haft) sons. The Pahalavi name Haftân Bôkht<sup>34</sup> may also mean seven sons. Kerm or Kerm-khodâe (lit., the lord or master of the worm) was the designation by which he was subsequently known. The following story from Firdousi's Shahnâme explains why he was called Kerm or Kerm-khodâe, a name from which the city of Kermân is said to have derived its name.

There lived in the city of Kajârân<sup>35</sup> **کجاران** in Pars a poor man named Haftwâd. He had a young daughter, who, with other girls of the city, daily went to an adjoining hill. They all passed their time there in good company and in spinning their cotton. One day, when they laid aside their spinning distaffs to have their dinner, the daughter of Haftwad found an apple dropped from an adjoining tree. While eating it, she found a worm (**کرم** Kerm) in it. She carefully removed it with her finger and placed it in her distaff and went for her meals. On her return, she found that the worm had moved round about

<sup>28</sup> Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 483.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid* note.

<sup>30</sup> Nöldeke. Geschichte des Artachsir Pâpakân, p. 49; Kârnâmê-i-Artakhsir-i-Pâpakân, by Dastur Darâb, ch. VI., p. 1.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, ch. VI. 1, 8, 10. <sup>32</sup> Mohl, V., p. 308. <sup>33</sup> Mohl, V., p. 308, l. 510.

<sup>34</sup> P. **بوخت** son. The word Haftwâd seems to be a contracted form of

Haftân Bokht **هفت باد** can be read Haftâd-bavâd, which seems to have been contracted into Haftavâd.

<sup>35</sup> **کجاران** in the Kârnâme.—D. Darâb, VI., 1.

in her cotton and spun a good deal of it. So her task that day was made very easy, and she was able to spin that day twice as much cotton as she was able to do before. She was much pleased with it and said to her friends, "Thanks to God, by the good fortune of the worm,<sup>36</sup> I have been able to spin twice the usual quantity this day." The next day she carried double the quantity of cotton, and placed the worm in it. The spinning work was again finished very quickly. Every morning she gave a piece of apple to the worm, which increased daily in size and strength, and the quantity of cotton spun increased in proportion. The increase in the daily production of yarn made the family comparatively richer and more prosperous. Haftwâd took the worm to be a possession of good omen. He gradually became richer and richer. The ruler of the city, growing jealous of him, tried to extort money from him, but he opposed, and, collecting some force, killed the ruler and captured the city. He subsequently built a large fort on an adjoining hill, where he kept the worm, which, according to the story, had grown to an enormous size. Owing to the good luck and prosperity brought about by the worm, Haftwâd and all his followers began to worship the worm as a god. It was against this Haftwâd or Bakhtê-Kerm that Ardashir had waged his war.

This story then relates how Haftwâd had received the appellation of Kerm, an appellation from which the city founded by him had received the name of Kerman.

**Gour, or Jour.**—It is the old name of the modern town of Firouzâbâd. Its original name was Khorreh-i-Ardeshir according to Firdousi<sup>37</sup> or Ardeshir Gadman according to the Karnâmeh<sup>38</sup> and Shatrôiba-i-Irân.<sup>39</sup> The word Khorreh خوره in the name Khorreh-i-Ardeshir is a corruption of Khorreh (Av. 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 Pah 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 P.

خوره, or خوره) meaning splendour. Gadman is the semitic equivalent of Khoreh. Hence the Pahalavi name Ardeshir Gadman is an equivalent of the Persian Khorreh-i-Ardeshir. Now the

<sup>36</sup> باختر کرم Bâ akhtarê Kerm. Possibly the name Bokhtê-Kerm is a corruption of this phrase, which occurs several times in the episode. The poor man had become rich by the good fortune of the worm. So, possibly, he was named Ba-akhtarê-Kerm. Or his name can be directly derived from Bakhtê-Kerm i. e., the fortune of the worm.

<sup>37</sup> Mohl. V., p. 302, ll. 433-444.

<sup>38</sup> Text D. Larab. ch. IV., 17 Nöldeke Geschichte des Artachsir Pâpakân, p. 47.

<sup>39</sup> Dastur Jamaspji's Text, p. 22. My translation, p. 99.

city was so called from the name of Ardeshir, because this monarch was, according to the Kârnameh, invested with a certain halo, splendour or glory which was supposed to have accompanied him in his war with Ardwân or Artabanes. Now the name Jour, which according to Firdousi was another name of Ardeshir Khorreh, seems to be another form of Khoreh (splendour). Khoreh خُور or خوره and Khur خور are one and the same. The word Khur has subsequently become كور Kur.<sup>40</sup> The word kur كور was subsequently read گور Gour and so the name of the town of Ardeshir Khorêh has subsequently become Gour. Perhaps the word خور Khur may have, by a mere change of points (nuktâs) become جور Jour. It is said that it was a governor named Adhed ed Dooléh, who had changed the name of the town into Firouzâbâd. This town had a bracing climate, and so he often went there for a change. The people then said *ملك بگور رفت* *malik ba Gour raft*, i.e., the King has gone to Gour. But the word Gour also means a grave, and so the words could at times be misunderstood for "the King has gone to his grave."<sup>41</sup> So it was this ruler Adhed who changed the name for that of Firouzâbâd.

**Ahwaz.**—We learn from Yakout that it was formerly known as Hormuz. He says "El-Ahwâz, dit Abou-Zeid, était autrefois nommé Hormuz-schehr هرمز شهر ..... Les Arabes l'appellèrent Sonq-er Ahwaz."<sup>42</sup> Ibn Haukal also says, "Koureh Ahwaz is also called هرمز شهر Hormuz Shehr."<sup>43</sup> According to Mirkhond it was called Hormuz because it was founded by king Hormuz. "On dit que la ville d'Hormuz fut fondée par ce prince et qu'il lui donna son nom."<sup>44</sup> It appears then that the above named city of Hormus or Hormuz Schehr is the Hormuz-Artashir of the Pahalavi treatise of Sbatrôihâ-i-Irân.<sup>45</sup> It was so called because, as said there, it was founded by king Hormuz. He probably named it after his own and his illustrious grandfather's joint name. Hormuz Schehr was probably a contracted form of Hormuzd Artashir, or probably it retained only the first part

<sup>40</sup> Just as Khosrô has become Kaiser and Chosroe. We find from Ebn Haukal, that the name Korreh Ardeshir has latterly become Kureh Ardeahir (Ousley's Orient. Geog. pp. 87-88).

<sup>41</sup> Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 174.

<sup>42</sup> Dictionnaire, B. de Meynard, p. 68.

<sup>43</sup> Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 73, 74.

<sup>44</sup> Mémoires sur la Perse, S. de Sacy, p. 293.

<sup>45</sup> Dr. Jamaspji's Ed., p. 22. My translation, p. 103.

of the name (Hormuz) and the word Schehr was joined to it to signify city. Thus we see that Ahwaz is the later name of the city of Hormuz-Artashir or Hormuz Schehr or Hormuz. Edrisi also says that Ahwaz carried the name of Hormuz. "Hormuz qui porte aussi le nom d'Ahwaz."<sup>46</sup> But it appears that Ahwaz is not only the later name of the city of Hormuz but that the name Ahwaz is derived from that of Hormuz. In the Shatrohâ-i-Irân it is written thus  $\text{اھرمز}$  Auharmazd. That name can also be read Auhumazd. The letter m  $\text{م}$  in Pahalavi is at times substituted or transmuted for the Avesta letter  $\text{ν}$  » (*e. g.*  $\text{νم}$   $\text{م}$  in Avesta and  $\text{م}$   $\text{م}$  Zarmân in Pahalavi). So the last-read form Auhumazd may have become or been written Auhuvazd. The last d was then dropped and the name then became Auhuvuz and then Ahwaz.

**Simlan or Semiran.**—The Pahalavi treatise of Shatrohâ-i-Irân<sup>47</sup> gives the name of the city as Simlân which can be read Simrân also. It is the same as Semirân  $\text{سميران}$  of Ebn Haukal<sup>48</sup> and Edrisi.<sup>49</sup> It is situated in the province of Ardeshir Khorreh. Now, according to the Shatrohâ-i-Irân it was founded by Faridun, who conquered it from the hands of its former king and presented it or a part of it named Desht, as a marriage gift to the Arab king Bât-Khusrob, whose three daughters he had taken in marriage for his three sons. This Bât-Khusrob is the king Sarv of the Shâhnâmeh.<sup>50</sup> The name Sarv is derived from the latter part (Srob) of the name Bât-Khusrob. It appears then that the city was named after this Arab king Sarv. It must have been originally named Sarvân just as we have Turân from the name of Tur. This word Sarvân would be written  $\text{ساروان}$  Sarvân. By an interchange of letters Sarvân would be written Savrân  $\text{ساوران}$ . The  $\text{و}$   $\text{v}$  in this word would be changed into  $\text{م}$   $\text{m}$  in Persian (*e. g.*  $\text{νم}$   $\text{م}$  into  $\text{م}$   $\text{م}$  or  $\text{زمان}$ ) and the letter  $\text{ا}$  when passing into Persian may be read  $\text{ل}$   $\text{l}$  (*e. g.*  $\text{ا}$   $\text{ل}$  and  $\text{بلند}$ ). So  $\text{ساروان}$  would be written  $\text{ساملان}$  Samlân. Thus we see that the

<sup>46</sup> Edrisi par Jaubert I., p. 364.

<sup>47</sup> Dr. Jamaspji's Ed., p. 23. My translation, p. 108.

<sup>48</sup> Onaley's Oriental Geography, p. 88. <sup>49</sup> Edrisi par Jaubert I., pp. 898, 414

<sup>50</sup> Mohl I., p. 120 ll. 68-70.

name of the town Simlân or Simrân (Semiran) is derived from the name of the Arab king Sarv to whom it was presented as a marriage gift by king Faridun who had conquered it from its former rulers.

**Askar.**—It is the Askar **مسكر** (**فسكر مكرم**) of Ebn Haukal<sup>51</sup> and Edrisi.<sup>52</sup> It is a large beautiful city situated at some distance from Ahwas in Khozistân. According to the *Shatrôihâ-i-Irân*<sup>53</sup> it was founded by Ardesbir of Asfandiâr (i.e., Bahman Asfandiar) and one Kharashk of Akar **أكار** who belonged to this city was appointed the governor (marzpân) of Jerusal (Jerusalem). I think that this Kharashk-i-Akar is the Kirousch (Cyrus) son of Aikoun of Tabari,<sup>54</sup> who represents him as going with the Persian King to take Jerusalem. The final *r* of the Pahalavi word Akar being written **ا** thus, as it is at times written, it can be read as *n*. So the Pahalavi name Akar can be read and identified with Aikoun of Tabari. Again, the Pahalavi name Kharashk may be the same as Kirousch of Tabari.

Again the allusion to the Kharashk of Akar in the Pahalavi *Shatrôihâ-i-Irân* is similar to the allusion to Kirousch in Maçoudi.<sup>55</sup> According to that author, in the reign of Bahman of Asfandiâr, the Israelites returned to Jerusalem, and Korech the Persian, governed Irâk on behalf of Bahman. Thus we see, both from the Pahalavi treatise and from Maçoudi that it was one Kharashk who had ruled in Jerusalem on behalf of Bahman, who is said to have founded the town of Askar. Now it seems that as this Kharashk had done him some service, Bahman may have named the new town that he founded after his name. In that case we can attribute the difference in the forms of the two names—Askar and Kharashk—to a change of letters; the letter 'r,' which is second in the latter name, having changed place, occurs last in the former name. By a re-arrangement of letters **اكار** Kharashk would become **اكار** Khashkar, and the word then can also be read Ashkar.

<sup>51</sup> Ousley's *Orient. Geog.* I., pp. 20, 73.      <sup>52</sup> Edrisi par Jaubert I., p. 379.

<sup>53</sup> *Dastur Jamaspji's Edition*, p. 23. My translation, p. 111.

<sup>54</sup> Tabari par Zotenberg I., p. 500.

<sup>55</sup> Maçoudi, par B. de Meynard, II., pp. 127, 128. Maçoudi gives the name

**كورش** Korech, which resembles more the Kharashk **اكار** of the Pahalavi book.

**Nineveh.**—This city has received its name from its founder. According to the Pahalavi treatise of *Shatrôihâ-i-Irân*,<sup>66</sup> its original name is *Ninav*, and it was founded by one *Ninav*. This *Ninav* is the *Ninus*, to whom, according to *Kinneir*,<sup>67</sup> other writers ascribe its foundation. The Pahalavi book calls the founder *Ninav-i-Jurâshân* (or *Yurâshân*). Though, according to the Pahalavi book, the name of the town and that of the founder is *Ninav*, other writers have made the name *Nineveh*. I think that the reason of this change is that in the above mentioned name of the founder (*Ninav-i-Jurâshân*, i. e., *Ninav of Jurash*), they have taken the 'i,' expressing the meaning 'of,' to be a part of the original name, because the genitive is again expressed by the last termination 'ân.' So they have taken *Ninav-i* (*Nineveh*) to be the proper noun. Now the Pahalavi book calls this founder *Jurâshân*, i. e., "of *Jurâsh*." This name *Jurâshân* can be read *Junâshân*, if we take the 'r' to have been written l, in which way also it can be written. This *Junâsh*, then, is the Hebrew prophet *Jonas*, who had been ordered to go to *Nineveh*,<sup>68</sup> and whose sepulchre is said to have been in the city of *Nineveh*. The Pahalavi writer seems to have thought, that the founder *Ninav* belonged to the family of *Jonas*, whose tomb was in the town. *Maçoudi* also says that *Jonas* was of this city: "C'est à cette cité que Dieu envoya autre fois *Jonas* fils de *Mati*."<sup>69</sup> The *Mati* of *Maçoudi* is the *Amattai* of the Scriptures.

## II.

**Samarcand.**—According to *Tabari*, *Samarcand* derived its name from *Schamr*, a general of an Arab king *Tobba 'Abou-Karib*, who conquered it: "Le général arriva à *Samarcand* . . . Il se rendit maître de la ville, la détruisit et tua un grand nombre d'habitants. Ensuite il la reconstruisit et la nomma, d'après lui, *Samarcand*, car auparavant elle avait porté un autre nom. *Samarcand* veut dire 'la ville de *Schamar*' car en langue pehlvie *qand* signifie 'une grande ville'; les Arabes en traduisant ce nom dans leur langue en ont fait *Samarqand*."<sup>70</sup>

We do not find in the Pahalavi language the word 'qand' in the sense of a great city as mentioned by *Tabari*. Perhaps, the word is 𐭪𐭥𐭥 *kanl*, from 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (traditionally read *Kantan*, now read *Kardan*,

<sup>66</sup> Dr. *Jamaspij's* Ed., p. 21. My Translation, p. 115.

<sup>67</sup> *Kinneir's* Pers. Empire, p. 259. <sup>68</sup> *Jonah*, L, 1, 2; III., 2. *Maçoudi*, Vol.

<sup>69</sup> *B. de Meynard*, Vol. II., p. 93.

[I., p. 111.

<sup>70</sup> *Tabari*, par *Zotenberg*, II. p. 82, Partie II., Ch. VI.

کردن) i.e., to do. Then the name Samarcand may mean "founded by Samar." We find instances of names similarly formed in Dârâbgird (i.e., the city founded by Dârâb) and Shapurgird. On the analogy of these names the proper form of the name should be Samarkird. Or, possibly, the word *qand* is from Pahlavi *𐭩𐭪*, (*kandan*, to dig, to root out). In that case Samarcand may mean "(the city) dug out or excavated by Samar." In this sense it may rather refer to the fact of the old town being destroyed by Samar than to the fact of the new town being founded by him. It is possible that the inhabitants of the town, instead of commemorating the name of the conqueror with its construction, connected it with its destruction.

That it was so derived, and not as Tabari mentions it, appears from other authors, on whose authority Percival writes his history of the Arabs. He says,<sup>61</sup> "Chammir-Yerâch . . . détruisit les murs et une partie des édifices de la capitale de la Soghdiane. Les gens du pays appellèrent alors cette ville ruinée Chammir-cand, c'est-à-dire, Chammir l' a détruite. Ce nom, un peu altéré par les Arabes, devint Samarcand. Chammir lui-même la restaura ensuite." Under any circumstances, the city derives its name from Samar. Maçoudi<sup>62</sup> also derives its name from Samar.

Tabari gives the following story about its conquest by Samar. Samar had besieged the town for one year without success. One night, taking a quiet walk round the city, he took prisoner one of the guards on duty at one of the gates of the city. He asked him how it was that the city was so well defended. The guard said that the king himself was addicted to drinking and pleasures, but that he had a daughter who was very intelligent and that it was she who so well defended the city. On further inquiry, Samar learnt that she was not married. He thereupon sent her, as a present, a golden box full of pearls, rubies, and emeralds with the following message: "I have come from Yemen in your search, I want your hand in marriage. I have 4,000 golden boxes of the kind I send you. m not anxious about the capture of this city. I will leave it to your father to rule. If a son will be born of our marriage, I will make him the king of

<sup>61</sup> Essai sur L' Histoire des Arabes, par Percival, I., p. 80.

<sup>62</sup> Maçoudi traduit par B. de Meynard et P. de Courteille, III., p. 224, Ch. XLVI.



Persia and China. If you will like, I will send the 4,000 boxes at night to your city." The guard carried that private message to the young princess, who was soon duped. She accepted the offer, and, according to a previous arrangement, opened one of the four gates of the city for the admission of the promised boxes, each of which, instead of the treasure, contained two armed men. The boxes were placed on 4,000 asses, each of which was conducted by an armed man. By this piece of treachery 12,000 armed men were admitted into the city at night. At a given signal they all rushed out of the boxes, opened the gates of the city, and Samar entered with all his troops. He killed the king and took his daughter a prisoner.

According to Tabari, this event had happened in the reign of Kobád, the father of Noshirwán (A. D. 490-532). Percival places this Obammir or Samar in the middle of the first century.<sup>63</sup> Hamza and Nowayri<sup>64</sup> make him a contemporary of Gushtâsp, who had reigned a long time before Alexander the Great. If we at all attribute the name Samarcand to Samar, we must place his time long before that of Alexander, because, according to the Greek writers who have written about Alexander, this city was taken by him, and that it was then known as Maracanda, a name which is the same as Samarcand. That Samarcand was taken by Alexander the Great appears from the Pahalavi book *Shatrôihâ-i-Irân*,<sup>65</sup> from Tabari,<sup>66</sup> and from Greek writers. The name Samarcand occurs only once in other Pahalavi works, and that in *Bundehehsh*.<sup>67</sup> We do not find the name in the *Avesta*, though we find there the name of Sugdha<sup>68</sup> (Sogdiana), of which it is the capital. This shows that possibly the name came into use later, when it derived its name from Samar.

**Balkh.**—According to Ahmed Razi<sup>69</sup>, Kazvini,<sup>70</sup> and Mirkhond,<sup>71</sup> this city was originally founded by king Kaiomars. Mirkhond gives the following story, which gives the etymology of the name :—  
"Kaiomars had a brother in the regions of the west, who occasionally came to visit him : who, at this time having undertaken the journey to converse with his revered brother, found, on his arrival at Damâvend,

<sup>63</sup> *Le Histoire des Arabes*, I., p. 82.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> *Dastur Jamaspi's Text*, p. 18. My Translation, p. 55.

<sup>66</sup> *Tabari par Zotenberg*, I., p. 517.

<sup>67</sup> *S. B. K.*, Vol. V., West, Ch. XX., 20.

<sup>68</sup> *Vendidad*, I., 5.

<sup>69</sup> *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, par B. de Meynard, p. 112. n.

<sup>70</sup> *Ousley's Travels of Persia*, II., p. 372.

<sup>71</sup> *Shea's Translation*, p. 58. Bombay Edition, p. 150.

that Kaiomars was absent. On inquiring into his affairs, and learning that he was then engaged in founding a city in the east, this affectionate brother immediately directed his course thither, and completed the long journey. At the moment of his arrival, Kaiomars, who was seated on an eminence, having beheld his brother, exclaimed, 'Ho! who is this who directs his course towards us?' One of his sons answered, 'Perhaps a spy, sent by the enemy to find out our situation.' On which Kaiomars armed himself, and, accompanied by the same son, went out to meet him: but when they drew near each other, Kaiomars recognised his brother, and said to his son, **Bál Akh!** (Arabic بل assuredly, and أخ brother) (i. e., this is surely my brother) from which circumstance the city was called Balkh."<sup>72</sup>

Now, the Avesta name of Balkh is supposed to be Bâkhdhi **𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎** (Bactria).<sup>73</sup> The Pahalavi rendering of this name is **𐭅𐭆𐭇**, which can be read either Bâkhar or Bâkhal<sup>74</sup> and which can be identified with Bokhârû or Balkh.

We do not know why Bâkhdhi is so called in the Avesta, and what its meaning is. But if we try to trace its origin to a compound of words meaning "brother assuredly," as Mirkhond has taken its later form Balkh to mean, one can form a compound Bâdha-akh **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎**, which will be a compound of an Avesta word Bâdha **𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎**, meaning

assuredly, and a Pahalavi word Akh **𐭅**, meaning brother. This word Bâdha-akh or Bâdhakh can easily become Balakh, as the word *madhakha* has become *malakh*. Thus, the old name Bâkhdhi may have been formed from the above name Bâdha-akh or Bâdhakh by the interchange of 'dh' and 'kh,' such interchanges of letters being common

But the objection to this is that the compound so formed is of an Avesta and a Pahlavi word. So one must look into the Avesta language itself for both the words. We find them in Brâtar

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Vendidad, I., p. 7.

<sup>74</sup> The word Balkh can be thus derived from Avesta Bâkhdhi. The Avesta 'dhi' is changed into 'l' as in the case of *madhakha* (**𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎**), which has subsequently become *malakha* (**𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎**). Thus Bâkhdhi becomes Bâkhal, and then 'l' and 'kh' interchange places. (Darmesteter's *Le Zend Avesta*, Vol. II., p. 37.)

برادر, brother, and زى Zi, assuredly. This word Brâtarzi, then, may, by some corruption, become Bâkhi.

**Herat.**—According to an Oriental writer, this city owes its name to its founder Herat, an emir of Nariman. “Hêrat dit le géographe Persan a été fondée par un des émirs du célèbre Neriman le héros du monde qui portait le nom de Hêrat, et après avoir été ruinée, elle a été rétablie par Alexandre.” (*Mémoires sur la Perse*, par S. de Sacy, p. 389.)

This etymology seems to be imaginary; firstly, we do not find from the Bundeesh or from the Shâh-nâmeh that Nariman had an emir named Hêrat. Again, Herat is Harô, ū of the Avesta, Hariva of the cuneiform inscriptions, Harî of the Pahalavi Vendidad, Harâe of the Shatroihâ-i-Irân, and Harôî of the Bundeesh.<sup>75</sup> According to William Ouseley, Herat was formerly known as Hari, a name by which the river Harirûd, which flows by its side, is still known. The word Hari or Haroyû is derived from har 𐬨𐬀 to flow, because the country is watered by a large river. In the Vendidad the city is said to be Vish-harezanem, i. e., well-watered, because it was watered by the river.

**Pusheng.**—This town is situated at the distance of about 10 farsakhs from Herat. It was so called because it was originally founded by Pashang, the son of the Turânian king Afrâsiâh.<sup>76</sup> The other name of this place was Shideh.<sup>77</sup>

**Tûs.**—This city is the modern Meshed. According to some authors, it was situated a little near the modern Meshed. It was so called because it was founded by Tûs, the son of the Irânian king Naôdar.<sup>78</sup> The Pahalavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân<sup>79</sup> and the Dâbitsan<sup>80</sup> also attribute the foundation of this city to general Tûs.

**Nishâpour.**—This city was founded by Shapour I., from whom it derives its name. Various stories are given about the event which led Shapour to build it. Hamd Allah Mustôfi<sup>81</sup> gives the following story:—

“Ardeshir Bâbegân built a city which he named Neh (P. نِه), i. e., the city. His son Shapour, who was the Governor of Khorâsân, requested

<sup>75</sup> Justi, p. 50, l. 17.

<sup>76</sup> Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. Meynard, p. 122.

<sup>77</sup> Shâh-nâmeh, Mohl, IV., p. 80, l. 718.

<sup>78</sup> Mecan's Calcutta Edition of the Shâhnâmeh, Persian introduction, p. 32. Mohl, II., pp. 595-631.

<sup>79</sup> Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 19. My Translation, p. 65.

<sup>80</sup> Shea and Troyer's Translation, Vol. I., p. 52.

<sup>81</sup> Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 578.

his father to give that town to him, but his request was refused. Piqued at this refusal he built in its vicinity, on the ruins of the ancient town founded by Tehmuras, another city, and, to distinguish it from the Neh founded by his father, called it Neh-Shapour, which the Arabs afterwards changed into Nicabour."

Others give another story and etymology. They say that Shapour, once passing the locality of this town, had remarked that it was full of Naê (P. ناي) i. e., reeds. So the city built afterwards on that locality was known as Naê Shapour (i. e., the reeds of Shapour).<sup>82</sup> Edrisi<sup>83</sup> also refers to this story, but he attributes it to Shapour II.

Others give the following story to derive its name. The astrologers had predicted that Shapour would one day lose his throne, and be reduced to poverty, and that he would suffer great misfortunes till the time of his restoration to the throne. Shapour asked the astrologers how he was to know that the time of restoration had come. They said, "you may expect restoration to the throne when you eat golden bread on an iron table." The prediction turned out to be true. He lost his throne and wandered in deserts and mountains till he came to the city of Esfadjân. There he served as a labourer at the house of a cultivator, who, pleased with his work and energy, gave him his daughter in marriage. This wife of Shapour carried his meals every day to the fields. One day, being invited at a marriage in the village, she forgot to prepare the meals for Shapour. Being reminded of this fact, she hastened to her house from the marriage party, took with her a few cakes prepared with honey that were ready in the house and that presented a yellow colour like that of gold, and ran to the field where Shapour was working. A small trench separated Shapour from the place where she was standing. So she could not hand over the cakes to Shapour. He consequently extended towards her his spade, over which she placed the golden coloured cakes. The sight of the golden coloured bread, placed over the iron spade, reminded Shapour of the astrologer's prediction, that the eating of a golden bread over an iron table would bring about his restoration to the throne. He recounted the story of the prediction to his wife, declared to her who he was, and hastened home to be ready to go to his native country. He put on his royal robe and dress, which he had concealed in a bag. He wrote to his ministers and informed them of his whereabouts. He

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Edrisi, par Jaubert, II., p. 182.

got his coat of mails suspended at the gate of his house. The ministers, on hearing from Shapour, sent courtiers to bring back Shapour to the royal city. They came to a place and inquired about Shapour's whereabouts. They were told "Nist Sapour" نیت ساپور *i. e.*, Shapour is not here. Hence it is, they say, that the place was called "Nist Sapour" نیت ساپور and then Nishapour (نیشاپور). The courtiers, not finding Shapour at that place proceeded further, and came to a place, where the people asked them, what they had come there for. They replied "Sabour Khâst." سابور خواست (from خواستن to wish, to look for), *i. e.*, we look for Shâpour. Hence the place was called Sabour Khâst. This seems to be the city known as Sabour Khawst. The courtiers, on proceeding further, came to the village where Shapour lived. His house being discovered by means of the coat of mails hung at the gate, they said Jandim<sup>84</sup> Sabour جندیم ساپور *i. e.*, we have found Shapour. Hence the place was called Joundi Sabour. This is the city known as Vandu-i-Shapuhar in the Pahalavi treatise of Shatroiha-i-Irân.

**Nehavend.**—According to Yakout,<sup>85</sup> some writers says that its original name was Nouhâvend, and they thus derive it from Noah as the city originally built by him.

**Shâm.**—Shâm is the modern name of Syria. Asiatic writers call it Bald-el-Shâm, *i. e.*, the city on the left (Arab. شمال). According to Maçoudi, Yemen is so called because it is situated on the right hand side of Kaabah, and Syria is called Shâm because it is situated on the left of Kaabah.<sup>86</sup>

Others derive the name Shâm from Arabic شام or شوم 'unlucky' and the name Yemen from Arabic يمن 'lucky.' They say that Yemen (Arabia Felix) is so called because it is very fertile.

**Farika.**—It is the Afrikie افریقیه of Edrisi, Afrinkeieh افرنقیه of Ebn Haukal and modern Africa. Maçoudi calls it Afrikiyah افریقیه. According to this author, the country received its name from one Africas, the son of Abrahe ابرهه بن ابرهه who founded it.<sup>87</sup> The Romans had first introduced this name into Europe. At first they knew the country about Carthage by the name of Africa.

<sup>84</sup> This word seems to be the same as Pahalavi vandâdan (فاندا) (to find, to obtain).

<sup>85</sup> Dictionnaire de la Perse B. de Meynard, p. 578.

<sup>86</sup> Maçoudi III., p. 139.

<sup>87</sup> Maçoudi III., p. 224.

**Nahartirak.**—It was so called because it is situated on the canal (nehar نهر) of the river Tira. According to Yakout,<sup>89</sup> the river was so called from the name of Tira, a son of Goudaraz, the Vazir of Kaikhosru.

**Âtarpâtakan.**—According to Strabo<sup>90</sup> the city had derived its name from one Atropâte who had saved it from passing into the hands of the Macedonians. Yakout<sup>90</sup> says, that, according to Ibn el-Moquanna, it received its name from its founder Azerbad اذرباد. This word Azerbâd is the same as Atropâte. But this Oriental writer places this personage in times much anterior to that of the Macedonian conquest. The Pahalavi Shatrôitrâ-i-Irân attributes its foundation to one Airân Goushasp, a name which can also be read Âdarân Goushasp. In that case the first part of the name Âdar is the same as the Âtro in Strabo's name Atropâte and Âzer in Yakout's name Âzerbâd.

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<sup>89</sup> Dictionnaire de la Perse B. de Meynard, p. 576.

<sup>90</sup> Bk XI., ch. 18.

<sup>90</sup> B. de Meynard, p. 15.

[ ART. XVI.—*Three interesting Vedic Hymns.* By RĀSĀMĪM]  
RĀMKRISHNA BHĪGAWAT, Esq.

[Communicated June 1899.]

#### PREFACE.

The hymns of R̥ig-veda may first be classed under five heads, according to the subject-matter—(1) historical, (2) poetical, (3) ritualistic, (4) philosophical, (5) miscellaneous.

There is also a second way of dividing the Vedic hymns. The Mīmāṃsā philosophy or the orthodox school holds all the three constituents, *vis.*, *Saṁhitā*, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka* to be alike without any beginning, coeval or coeternal with one another, thus distinguishing them from the Shrauta-sūtras or the Ritual manuals, which, though based on the three-fold Veda or *Shr̥iti* have not the same authority with the *Shr̥iti*, and therefore go by the name of *Smṛiti*.

The modern Brahmin going a step further, or rather descending a step lower, holds even the Shrauta-sūtras with the remaining five *Angas* of *Nirukta* (Etymology), *Chhandas* (Prosody), *Jyotiṣh* (Astronomy), *Shikṣhā* (Phonetics), *Vyākaraṇa* (Grammar) and the *Nighaṇṭu* (Glossary) to be coeternal, calling these the Ten Books (*Dasha Granthas*), and taking special care to commit them to memory (even without understanding a single syllable) outstrips the most orthodox school, and carries to excess the theory of the co-eternity of the *Vedāngas* with the *Vedas*, which latter alone, were held to be without beginning by the great Jaimini and his equally great expositor Shabarswāmin. But this is a matter which just now does not concern us, though the intellectual descent or deterioration deserves to be noted. Even the view of the orthodox Jaimini will be found to have been a new departure of later times. The older view for which the student of Sanskrit is indebted to the aphorisms of Pāṇini may be said to be the view of the grammarians. This view of the grammarians materially differs from the orthodox view, inasmuch as it recognizes a part of Vedic literature to be older, another part to be later, and the remaining part to be still later, on which account it may not inappropriately be called the *chronological* or in other words comparative—historical view.

The basis of the chronological view is firstly the aphorism *Purāṇa-prokṣeṣhu* (पुराणप्रोक्षेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु—४, ३, १०५) and secondly the

aphorism *Shaunakādibhyas* (शौनकादिभ्यस्—४,१,१०६). The first aphorism places the Brāhmaṇa on the same level with the Kalpa, *i.e.*, the *Shrouta-sūtras* and distinguishes from the "old Brāhmaṇas and the Kalpas" the new ones. Whether it be liked by the Mīmāṃsakas or not, this levelling down of the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas with the Kalpa-sūtras is a fact. The second aphorism divides the Chhandas or the Ṛiks into the *drishṭa* (seen, revealed) and *prokta* (first spoken, not revealed). The word *prokta*, which is applied to the Brāhmaṇas and the Kalpas, being also applied to the division of the *Chhandas* or *Ṛiks* ascribed to Shaunaka and others, there is evidently a levelling down of that division. The whole of Ṛig-veda may, according to Pāṇini, be thus divided into two divisions, *vis.*, the revealed (*drishṭa*) and the non-revealed (*prokta*), the hymns composed by Shaunaka being placed at the head of the latter. The age of Shaunaka, as a matter of fact, does mark a new era in the history of Sanskrit literature. The originally non-Brahminical story of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas was for the first time made known to Shaunaka and other Brahmins engaged in the celebration of the twelve-years *satra*, though the almost complete Brahminisation and bulkiness of the story must be ascribed rather to times far removed from Shaunaka and his companions in the *satra*. The age of Shaunaka or the ritualistic age is thus deservedly held in high esteem, being the connecting link between the pre-Shaunaka or pre-ritualistic and the post-Shaunaka, or post-ritualistic ages. The Sanhitā of Ṛig-veda will be found to contain hymns of all these three ages. Though the majority of the hymns may be assigned either to the ritualistic or the post-ritualistic age, there are a few which may be traced to the pre-ritualistic age. The ritualistic hymns must be the product of the Shaunaka age, and to some extent of the post-Shaunaka age also. The philosophical hymns one would not be wrong in assigning to the post-Shaunaka age. The miscellaneous hymns cannot all be said to belong to one particular age, though the historical and the majority of the poetical must be held to be the product of the pre-ritualistic age. A Vedic hymn may thus be a product of the pre-ritualistic, the ritualistic or the post-ritualistic age.

This three-fold division of hymns corresponds with the order of natural growth observable in individual or collective man. Admiration and wonder excited by heroes and great man is the *first* stage; parallel to these is the admiration and wonder excited by natural objects or phenomena. The *second* stage is when attempts are made to



make this admiration and wonder permanent by institutions and rites. And when these fail to give satisfaction, there comes the *third* or last stage of thoughtful reflection or philosophy. This three-fold division will be best illustrated by a consideration of representative hymns.

It is proposed to deal this time with three hymns only, *vis.*, the Vṛiṣhâ-kapi hymn (86th), the Saramâ hymn (108th) and the Stars hymn (72nd), all of the 10th Mandala. Of these three selected hymns the first two belong to the historical or pre-ritualistic age. The third hymn, though a poetical one, cannot be said to belong to the pre-ritualistic age; it will have to be referred to the ritualistic, or even to the post-ritualistic age.

Let us now first turn to the Vṛiṣhâ-kapi hymn.

- 1 " वि हि सौतोरसृक्षत, नेन्द्रं देवमनंसत,  
ब्रथाऽमवद् वृषाकपिरर्षेः पुष्टेषु, नस्सत्त्वा विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः".
- 2 " परा हीन्द्र भावसि वृषाकपेरतिश्वयिः,  
नो भइ प्र विन्वस्वन्वन्न सोमपीतवे; विश्वस्मा०".
- 3 " किमचं स्वा वृषाकपिश्चकार हरितो मृगः ?  
बस्मा हरस्वसीदु न्ववौ वा पुष्टिमद् वसु; विश्वस्मा०".
- 4 " बमिमं त्वं वृषाकपिं भिवमिन्द्रानिरससि,  
था न्वस्व जम्भिमषत् कर्णे वराहयुः; विश्वस्मा०".
- 5 " मिवा तटानि मे कपिर्व्यक्ता ज्वबूधुपत् ;  
शिरो न्वस्व राविषत्, न सुगं बुक्कृते भुवम् ; विश्वस्मा०".

1 The उपसर्ग *vi* ( वि ) should be taken with असृक्षत-व्यसृक्षत the passive aorist ( कर्मणि लुङ् ) of सृष् with वि. The form सौतोः seems to be a तोसुनन्त, though not quite in accordance with the aphorisms of पाणिनि. As a तोसुनन्त adverb, सौतोः = सोतुम् = to bruise, to *destroy*. अयैः = lord or master.

2 " भइ " = अथ. सोम comes from सु ( सु ) to bruise or ferment; hence originally *some* fermented liquor.

3 " हरस्यसि " = प्रयच्छसि ( Mādhava ).

4 " जम्भिमत् is the लोट् the Vedic potential of जम्भ्, a Vedic root meaning " to eat. " " वराहयुः " boar-chasing, literally " longing for " or " wishing to have a boar ( आत्मनो वराहमिच्छुः ) ". The form is Vedic.

5 " तट " is the past pass participle of तष् to chip or to pare from which comes तक्षन् = carpenter. व्यक्ता ( Vedio ) = व्यक्तानि ( classical ) " राविषम् " the लोट् of लृ, र् being substituted for लृ; compare जम्भिमत् in the preceding verse. " सुगम् = सुखम्; one may derive it from गम् with सु and take it for " access " or " accessible. " " भुवम् " also is लोट्, but without सिप्; while both जम्भिमत् and राविषत् are with सिप्.

- 6 "न मत् स्त्री सुभसत्तरा, न सुबासुतरा भुवत्,  
न मत् प्रतिश्ववीवसी, न सक्थुष्यनीवसी; विश्वस्मा०".
- 7 "उवे अम्ब सुलाभिके वयेवाङ्ग भविष्यति,  
भसन्ने, अम्ब सक्थि मे, शिरो मे वीव हृष्यति; विश्वस्मा०".
- 8 "किं सुबाहो स्वङ्गुरे पृथुटो पृथुजाघने?  
किं शूरपत्नि नस्त्वन्वमीषि वृषाकपिम्? विश्वस्मा०".
- "अवीरामिव मामवं शरारुभिमन्वते,  
उताऽह्मस्मि वीरिणीन्द्रपत्नी; मरुत्सखा विश्वस्मा०".
- 10 "सं शोचं स्म पुरा नारी समनं वाव गच्छति,  
वेधा ऋतस्व वीरिणीन्द्रपत्नी महीवते; विश्वस्मा०".
- 11 "इन्द्राणीमासु नारिषु सुभगामहमश्वसुः  
न ह्यत्वा अपरं चन, अरसा मरते पतिः; विश्व०".

6 "सुभसत्तरा" is the comparative of सुभसत् = सुभगा, भसत् being a synonym of भग. "यायु" according to Mādhava is either "happiness" (सुख) or "son" (पुत्र). "भुवत्" is again the लृट्. "व्यवीवसी" or "उयमीवसी" are comparatives in ईयस् formed from च्यववत् or उयमवत् respectively, like वसीयस् from वसुमत् or ओजीयस् from ओजास्विन् or ओजस्वत्.

7 "उवे" a vocative particle. अम्ब mother (exclamatory), not literal "सुलाभिके" either a proper name or equal to "सुलभि" = "sure success"; if a proper name, अम्ब perhaps literally; if equal to सुलाभे, अम्ब exclamatory. "वीव" = विरिव, "पि" = वयः = पक्षी = bird. "हृष्यति" is throbbing; the throbbing of the several limbs being considered auspicious even in those times, as in classical times.

8 "स्वङ्गुरे" = स्वङ्गुले; for the substitution of र् for लृ, compare राविषम् for लाविषम्. "ङ्गु" according to Mādhava, is "hair, hair-band." "पृथुजाघने" for पृथुजाघने. "शूरपत्नि" is said to be the vocative singular of शूरपत्नी, the feminine form of शूरपति; it should, therefore, be dissolved as शूरः पतिर्यस्याः सा. Virtually, it is the same with शूरस्य पत्नी. "अभ्यमीषि" = अभिक्लृष्यसि.

9 "अवीरा" even in classical Sanskrit is निष्पतिसुता = without husband or son; originally the word meant "without a defender," the husband or, in his absence, the son, being considered as the "defender (of a woman)." "शरारु" is used also in the classical language.

10 "शोचं" = a woeer, from श्चे, to call. "समनं" a youth (समनं न योषाः— ऋ० २, सू० १६८, मण्डल १०, ऋग्वेदसंहिता). "वाव" is an expletive. "वेधा" = विशाघो = maker, fashioner, moulder. "ऋत" from ऋ, to go; originally it meant "path" or "water." "महीवते" = पूज्यते.

11 "नारिषु" = नारीषु. "अश्वसुः" = अश्वणवम्. "मरते" = पियते

- 12 "नाहमिन्द्रापि रारण सख्युर्वृषाकपेर्द्धते,  
वस्वेवमर्ध्वं हविः प्रियं देवेषु गच्छति; विश्व०".
- 13 "वृषाकपायि रेवति सुपुत्र आसु सुस्तुषे,  
घसत् त इन्द्र उक्षपः; प्रियं काचित् करं हविः; विश्व०".
- 14 "उक्षपो हि मे पञ्चदश साकं पचन्ति विद्यतिम्,  
उताहमाधि पीव इतुभा कुशी पृणन्ति मे; विश्व०".
- 15 "वृषभो न सिग्मभृङ्गोऽन्तर्द्वेषु रोरुवत्;  
मन्यस्त इन्द्र घं हवे, खं ते हनोति भावयुः; विश्व०".
- 16 "न सेधे वस्य रम्बतेऽन्तरा सक्थ्या कपुत् ?  
सेदीधे वस्य रोमघं निषेधुषो विश्वम्भते ? विश्व०".
- 17 "न सेधे वस्य रोमघं निषेधुषो विश्वम्भते ?  
सेदीधे वस्य रम्बतेऽन्तरा सक्थ्या कपुत् ? विश्व०".
- 18 "अवमिन्द्र वृषाकपिः परस्वन्तं हतं विवत्;  
अस्ति सूनां नवं चरुमाधेधस्वाऽन आचितम्; विश्व०".
- 19 "अवमेमि विश्वाकशश्च विश्विन्वन् दासमार्यम्,  
पिबामि पाकसुत्वानोऽभि धीरमचाकशम् ; विश्व०".

12 "रारण" according to Mādhava = रमे. "अप्यम्" = आप्यम् = watery, liquid.

13 "वृषाकपायि" = O wife of Vṛṣhā-Kapi; see Pāṇini (4-1-37). "रेवति" = we althy; रे or रै = wealth. "आसु" = आत् + उ = and "घसत्" again an example of लेट्. "उक्षपः" = उक्षपः. "करम्" = सुखकरम्.

14 "पीवः" = पीवरः = Stout. "उमा" = उभौ.

15 "न" = इव. "रोरुवत्" is either the present partic. or लेट् of the frequentative (यङ्लुगन्त) of रु, an अदादि root. "मन्य" might be taken in the sense of "destruction, plot, conspiracy." "भावयुः" may mean "trusting" also.

16 "सेधे" = सः + ईधे = "ईधे" = ईधे. "रम्बते" = लम्बते; compare राविषम् and स्वङ्गुरे. "सक्थ्या" = सक्थ्योः = between thighs. "कपुत्" = शिवनम्. "सेदीधे" = सा + इत् + ईधे; "ईधे" = ईधे. "वस्य" qualifies अनस्य; which is understood.

17 "सेधे" = सा + ईधे; "ईधे" = ईधे. "सेदीधे" = सः + इत् + ईधे; "ईधे" = ईधे.

18 "परस्वन्तम्" = परस्वन्तम् = a stranger having (a hand); this adjective qualifies "हतम्," a past passive participle used as a substantivum; "हतम्" (thus) = death, that is, assassination. "विदत्" (लेट्) = विन्दत्. "चरुम्" = boiled rice. "आत्" = and, afterwards; "आचितम्" = full of.

19 "विश्वाकशश्च" = पचयन्; it is the present participle of the frequentative (यङ्लुगन्त) of कश्च a Vedic root. "विश्विन्वन्" = पृथक् कुर्वन् = separating, distinguishing. "दास" and "आर्य" seem to be used for "slave" and "master" respectively. "पाकसुत्वानः" = पशस्तं सुत्वतः = of the excellent brewer.

- 30 "धन्व च यत् कृन्तत्रं च, कति स्विन् ता वि योजना ?  
नेरीबसो वृषाकपेऽस्तमेहि गृहां उपः विश्व०".
- 31 "पुनरोहि वृषाकपे सुविता कल्पबावहै,  
व एष स्वमनघनोऽस्तमेधि पया पुनः; विश्व०".
- 32 "अशुवश्चो वृषाकपे, गृहनिन्द्राऽजगन्तन,  
क स्व पुल्लघो वृगः? कनगं जनयोपनः? विश्व०".
- 33 "पशुर्ह नाम मानवी साकं ससूष विद्यासिम्,  
मद्रं मल स्वस्या अभूत् बस्वा उदरनामवत्; विश्व०".

## TRANSLATION.

1. (They, i. e., the slaves who) were sent to destroy (the enemy) did not respect (the authority of) Indra the *Deva*, when Vṛishâ-Kapi master of the fed (i. e., slaves), became intoxicated (with power); my friend Indra is superior to all.

2. O Indra, putting (thyself) to great trouble for Vṛishâ-Kapi, (thou) runnest and (thou) dost not get (time) to drink liquor elsewhere; Indra is superior to all.

3. What (benefit) has this dark animal done to thee? On whom (i. e., the dark animal) thou, his master, didst lavish so much swelling wealth; Indra is, &c.

4. (O) Indra, may the dog longing for a boar, devour the two ears of him, whom thy favourite thou guardest; Indra (is), &c.

5. The monkey has publicly spoilt dear (things) prepared for me; may I get his head cut off, may I not be (an object of) pleasure to (that) sinner; Indra (is), &c.

30 "धन्व," in the sense of "desert," is used in the classical language also. "कृन्तत्रम्" = forest (according to Mâdhava). "ता योजना" = तानि योजनानि. "अस्तम्" = गृहम्.

31 "सुविता" = सुवितानि = friendly visits or communications (सु + इतानि). "स्वमनघनः" = one who has lost sleep.

32 "उदश्चः" = उदगच्छः. "अजगन्तन" is the plural form of the 2nd person of the imperfect (लङ्), the root गम् having undergone reduplication. "स्वः" for सः is allowed even in the classical language. "पुल्लघः" = पुल्लघः = पुरु + अघ; "पुरु" much, many, and "अघ" misdeed. "अगम्" = अगम् = अगात्; the 1st person used for the 3rd. "योपन" = separating; hence "bribing" or "working treason."

33 "ससूष" = सुषुवे. "मल" perhaps for भण. "त्यस्याः" = तस्याः. "आमयत्" = अवर्धयत्.

6. There was not born a woman having more beautiful thighs than mine, more pleasure-giving, having more (pleasing) movements (of limbs) and stronger legs; Indra (is), &c.

7. By mother, my thigh, my leg, my head, are throbbing like a bird (in such a manner) that (my desires) will be, by (my) mother, easily fulfilled; Indra (is), &c.

8. (O) beautiful-armed, beautiful-fingered, copious-haired, broad-thighed, what (is the matter)? (O thou) with a brave—defender, why art thou angry against our Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi? Indra (is), &c.

9. This villain thinks me (to be) without a brave defender, but I, wife of Indra, have a brave defender (in) Indra, friend of the Maruts, (is), &c.

10. Verily, a maiden only once unites with a young man courting (her); the wife of Indra, possessed of a brave defender, is made much of (as) the maker of the way (of chastity).

11. I have heard Indrâṇi (to be) fortunate among these women; she, verily, has nothing else (except her husband); from old age (her) husband dies; Indra (is), &c.

12. (O) Indrâṇi, I find no pleasure except in (my) friend Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi, belonging to whom this liquid oblation passes among the Devas, (being) dear (to them); Indra (is), &c.

13. (O) worthy wife of Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi, (O thou), blessed with a son and blessed with a daughter-in-law, may Indra feast on thy oxen; (let) some (maid prepare) the dear (and) agreeable oblation (of liquor); Indra (is), &c.

14. Fifteen (men) are roasting for me twenty oxen at one and the same time; besides I am stout, (they) fill both my sides (with the liquid oblation); Indra (is), &c.

15. (May he drop down) groaning like a bull with sharp horns in the midst of a herd; (O) Indra, may the draught (of death) which thy faithful (wife) prepares bring happiness to thy heart; Indra (is), &c.

16. Is not the rule man's?

Is the rule woman's? Indra (is), &c.

17. Is not the rule woman's?

Is the rule man's? Indra (is), &c.

18. (O) Indra, may this Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi obtain death at another's hand, a dagger, a slaughter-house, new rice, and afterwards a cart-load of fuel; Indra (is), &c.

19. Here I come, inspecting and distinguishing between the

slave and the master ; (I) drink (of the liquor) of the excellent brewer ; I face the bold (Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi).

20. The desert and that forest, how many miles (are) they hence ? (O) Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi, seek the house of the neighbour, (then go) to (thy) house ; Indra (is), &c.

21. (O) Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi, thou who losing sleep, goest by the way (back) to (thy) house, come again ; may we two hold friendly meetings again ; Indra (is), &c.

22. (O) Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi, that thou shouldst have escaped ! (O) Indra that thou shouldst have come back home ! Where is that beast of many misdeeds ? Where has that traitor gone ? Indra (is), &c.

23. Parshu by name, verily a descendant of Manu, was delivered of twenty (children) in all ; say, she, whose womb conceived (him), received a blessing (when Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi escaped).

*Substance of the hymn.*

Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi was the son of one Parshu a female of the tribe or class of Manu. His father's name is not mentioned. Indra had many slaves, and Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi seems to have been in command of them. Whether Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi himself was originally a slave is not quite clear. He seems to have been once sent to chastise some enemies, when, with his following of slaves, he rebelled against the authority of Indra. Even after this rebellious conduct, Indra continued to be as kind to him as before. This kindness was doubtless owing to the superior quality of beer and beef supplied by Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi at the table of Indra. But Indra's kindness seems to have turned the head of Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi, who thereupon commenced trespassing on the privacy of Indra's wife. What follows is graphically described in the hymn. Indra's wife complains to him and demands that Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi be made over either to the dogs or to the executioner. In the first seven verses Indra's wife is the speaker. In the eighth verse Indra gently inquires the cause of her wrath against Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi. From the three following verses (the 9th, 10th, and 11th), it is quite clear that Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi paid attentions which Indra's wife naturally resented and rejected with indignation. In the twelfth Indra discloses his partiality for the liquid drink brewed in the house of Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi and appreciated even by the other Devas. In the 13th the wife of Indra calls upon the wife of Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi to prepare a repast with plenty of roast beef and beer for Indra, insinuating thereby that the beef roasted by her was less savoury and the beer served by her

or her maid less sparkling in his eyes. In the 14th Indra repudiates the insinuation with some warmth. In the 15th the wife of Indra seems to undertake the preparation of some fatal draught to be administered to Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi. In the 16th Indra asks her 'Whose is the rule?' In the 17th the wife of Indra puts the same question to Indra. The wife of Indra, either being born a princess or being his sister-queen or being his anointed queen, seems to demand a recognition of her rule as well, seeing that her proposal of poisoning does not meet with approval. Indra's wife in the 18th verse proposes that Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi be invited to a feast, stabbed or assassinated and secretly burnt. In the 19th Indra pretends to approve the plan, and undertakes to mete out in person the proposed punishment to the rebellious slave, after having indulged in a strong potation of his favourite drink. In the 20th Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi is offered the advice to secrete himself for some hours in a neighbouring house and then to go home direct. In the 21st Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi is asked to come back not long after and to renew his visits. Being told by Indra on his return home that Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi has escaped, his wife indignantly asks him, in the 22nd verse, how and where the villain could have escaped. In the 23rd Indra coolly replies that Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi has returned to his mother.

*Authorship of the Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi hymn.*

The ritualists ascribe the twenty-three verses severally to Indra, Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi, or the wife of Indra. But their way of determining the authorship of a hymn or a verse is generally very crude. A verse is very often ascribed to one whose name occurs in it. The verse "May that lord Varuṇa, whose name Shunash-shepa, bound (to the post), invoked release us," is put against the name of Shunash-Shepa, because *Shunash-Shepa* happens to be mentioned in the verse. The ritualists, following this custom, once universally in vogue in India, have ascribed the verses in this hymn severally to Indra, the wife of Indra, or Vṛiṣhâ-Kapi. But this, to say the least, is not a very satisfactory way of determining the authorship of a hymn or of any verse in it. It is not possible to father this hymn or any verse of it on any of the three mentioned therein. The author, whoever he was, was certainly other than these three, even if he be held to have been their contemporary. As regards the name or parentage of the author of this hymn or the time of its composition, we know absolutely nothing.

*Society as painted in the Vṛiṣhā-Kapi hymn.*

The hymn undoubtedly belongs to a time when beef was an article of daily consumption, both Indra and Vṛiṣhā-Kapi being very great beef-eaters. The author of the hymn also, even supposing for a moment that he was not a beef-eater, could certainly not be counted among those who held beef unclean. A fermented liquor of some strength is mentioned. It was prepared either from barley or from rice, both of which species of grain were required in the preparation of the Vedic beer *surā*. The hymn was evidently written at a time when society, having advanced beyond the pastoral stage, as the word 'house' points out, had recognized the two classes of *Ārya* and *Dāsa*, i. e., master and slave, or 'upper' and 'lower.' Not only do we find the institution of marriage established, but faithfulness and devotion to one man are prized at least by women of the upper classes. It was a time when maidens were freely wooed and won. The wife of Indra, no doubt, claims equality with her husband, but on what this claim of equality is based is not quite clear. She was, perhaps, Indra's sister, and, as such, could not but claim equality with Indra her brother. In the advancement of some societies there seems to have been a stage when the royal blood, not being allowed to be contaminated with the plebeian, it had become customary among royalty for the brother to marry his sister. This custom must have been at the bottom of the marriage of Jupiter with Juno. The primitive Moguls also had this custom among them. The Spaniards found the same custom among the Peruvians, when they first landed on their shore. There is a strong suspicion that Tryambaka and Ambikā, who are mentioned in Vedic literature as brother and sister, bore also the relation of husband and wife. Both poisoning and stabbing or assassination seem to have been, when the hymn was written, not uncommon. The slaves were doubtless cremated; but whether their masters were likewise cremated or buried, and tombs erected on them, is a point not easy of solution. With beef they had no wheaten bread but rice. So they did know rice, but whether they cultivated it themselves or had to depend on their depredations in some rice-producing districts near or far for its supply is again a nut hard to crack. The society of the time had made some advance in the manufacture of steel, as a 'dagger' is mentioned.

With so many materials before him, would it be presumptuous on the part of one to assume that 'Indra' is used in the hymn for a human ruler, prince or king, and that the 'Devas' were originally some



human subjects acknowledging his rule? The hymn may be held to belong to, or describe the state of, a time when the Devas were the masters, and the Manus or the Mánavas either partly or entirely the slaves.

We turn next to the Saramâ hymn.

- 1 "किञ्चिच्छन्ती सरमा प्रेवमानह् ? दूरे ह्यध्वा अगुरिः पराचैः;  
काऽस्ते हितिः ? का परितक्म्याऽऽसीत् ? कथं रसावा अतरः पचांसि ?"
- 2 "इन्द्रस्व दूतीरिषिता चरामि मह इच्छन्ती पचवो निधीन् वः;  
अतिष्करो भिषसा तन्न भावत्, तथा रसाक्व अतरं पचांसि."
- 3 "कीदृक्किन्ः सरमे ? का दृषीका ? वस्त्वेदं दूतीरसरः पराकात् ;  
आ च गच्छान्मिषमेना दधानाऽया गवां गोपतिर्नो भवाति."
- 4 "नाहं तं वेद हभ्यम्; दभत् सः, वस्त्वेदं दूतीरसरं पराकात्;  
न तं गृह्णन्ति स्रवतो गभीराः; हता इन्द्रेण पचवः क्षयध्वे."
- 5 "इमा गावः सरमे वा ऐच्छः परि विषो अन्तान् सुभगे पतन्ती ;  
कस्त एना अवस्रजादध्वी ? उताऽस्माकमावुधा सन्ति तिग्मा."
- 6 "असेन्या वः पचवो वचांसि; अनिषव्यास्तन्वः सन्तु पापीः;  
अधृष्टो व एतवा अस्तु पन्याः; बृहस्पतिर्व उभवा न मृकात्."

1 "इच्छन्ती" = अन्विच्छन्ती = searching. म + इदस् + आनट् = "प्रेवमानट्" आनट् (Imperfect लृट् of अस्, a Vedic रुधादि root meaning "to go") = came, has come. "अगुरिः" = उर्गुरिः = roaring, high. "पराचैः" (Vedic) = परागिभः (classical) = going or throwing back; it is an adjective qualifying कणोलैः by waves understood. "अस्ते" (Ved.) = अस्मासु. "हितिः" = धानम् = आधानम् = deposit. परितक्म्या (according to माधव), night or voyage. रस coming from रस water) = any river, though in the "Rivers-hymn" (6, 75, 10 M., Rig-veda) a particular river is meant.

2 "दूतीः" (Ved.) = दूती (cl.) = spy, envoy. "इषिता" = प्रेषिता. "महः" (Ved.) = महतः (cl.). "निधीन्" = a godown, a factory (etymologically)—marts, markets. "अतिष्कदः" = great velocity, rapidity, rapid crossing.

3 "दृषीका" (according to माधव) = army. स्थानम् after इदम् understood. "पराकात्" = दूरात्. "आ च गच्छात्" = आगच्छात् च; "आगच्छात्" (the Vedic लोट्) = आगच्छेत् "एना" (Vedic) = एनम् or एनेन. "आदधाम" = कुर्याम. "अथा" (Ved.) = अथ (cl.). "भवाति" (Vedic) = भवति or भवेत्.

4 "हभ्यम्" = दम्यम्, हिंस्यम् = easy to humble or destroy. "दभत्" (Ved.) = अदभोत् (cl.) = अदमयत्, अहिनत् = humbled, destroyed. "स्रवतः" = स्रवन्तः = स्रवन्त्यः (cl.) = नवः. "क्षयध्वे" (Ved.) = क्षयध्वे (cl.).

5 परि to be taken with पतन्ती. "अवस्रजात्" (Ved.) = अवस्रजेत् (cl.) = Would untie, set at liberty. "अयुध्वी" = युद्धमकृतवान् = one who has not fought. उत = besides. "आयुधा तिग्मा" (Ved.) = आयुधानि तिग्मानि.

6 "असेन्या" = "असेना" = "non-army" or असेन्यानि = "no substitutes for army." "अनिषव्याः" = अनिषयोग्याः; "इषु" = arrow. "पापीः" (Ved.) = पाप्यः.

- 7 "अयं निधिः सरमे अग्निब्रुध्नो गोभिरश्वेभिर्वसुभिर्नृष्टः;  
रक्षति तं पणवो वे सुगोपाः; रेकु पदमलकमाज्जगन्त्य."
- 8 "एह गमन्तृषवः सोमशिता अयास्यो अङ्गिरसो नवग्वाः;  
त एतमूर्ध्वं विभजन्त गोनाम्;" अयेतद् वचः पणवो वमभित्.
- 9 "एवा च त्वं सरम आज्जगन्त्य प्रबाधिता सहसा दैव्येन;  
स्वसारं त्वा कूपवै, मा पुनर्गाः; अप ते गवां सुभगे भजाम."
- 10 "नाहं वेव आच्छत्वम्, नो स्वच्छत्वम्; इन्द्रो विदुरङ्गिरसश्च घोराः;  
गोकामा ते अच्छदयन्, वराऽऽवन्; अपाऽऽ इत पणवो वरीयः."
- 11 "वूमित पणवो वरीयः; उद् गावो यन्तु मिनतीकृतेन,  
वृहस्पतिर्वा अविन्दन् निगूढहाः सोमो प्रावाणो ऋषवश्च विप्राः."

(cl.)=पापकृतः= sinning. "अभृष्टः"=unchallenged, unobstructed. "एतवै" either a तुमुन्त (infinitive) or कृत्य (potential participle) from इ= आगन्तुम् or आगन्तव्यः. "उभया" (Ved.)=उभरौ or उभये (cl.)=both; any two, or the three (वषष्ठ, तन्, पथिन्) mentioned. "मृडात्" (Vedic)=मृडात् (Ved.)=मृडेत्=सुखयेत्; "मृड्" a Vedic root=to make happy.

7 "बुध्न"=bottom, root, foot. "अश्वेभिः" (Ved.)=अश्वैः (cl.) "नृष्टः"=filled. "रेकु" (perhaps) having plenty of (stores and soldiers). "अलकम्" (Ved.)=अलीकम् (cl.)=in vain.

8 "एह"=आ+इह. "गमन्" (Ved.)=अगमन् (cl.) The class अङ्गिरस् seems to have had many sub-divisions, of which two, viz., नवग्व and दसग्व were the most distinguished (७ 62 H., 10 M., Rigveda Sanhitā). ऊर्वम् (Ved.)=महान्तं यूषम्. विभजन्त (Ved.)=व्यभजन्त (cl.) "वमन्" (Ved.)=अवमन् (cl.) "इत्"=एव.

9 "एवा" (Ved.)=एव (cl.). "सहसा" by tyranny. दैव्य is either an adjective meaning "of the Devas" or a collective noun meaning "the Devas collectively." "त्वा"=त्वाम्. "अप"=अपच्छिद्य=having detached.

10 "अच्छदयन्"=अच्छादयन्=covered, shielded. "अपात इत"=अतः अपेत वरीयः"=दूरतरम्.

11 "इत"=गच्छत. "उद् गावो यन्तु"="गावः उयन्तु." "मिनतीः (Ved.)=मिनत्यः (cl.)=गच्छन्त्यः or आगच्छन्त्यः, "कृतेन"=मार्गैः, पथा. "निगूढाः" (Ved.)=निगूढाः (cl.)=hidden. "प्रावाणः" perhaps like अङ्गिरसः formed a clan; or the soldiers are so called, being (hard like)"stones." विप् seems originally to have been a wooden weapon with a steel point (विपा वराहमयोऽभ्रया हन्"—ऋ० १, सू० १९, मण्ड० १०) attached to it; the र being a possessive suffix, the word विप denoted "one possessing the weapon विप्," hence "armed."

1. "Seeking what, has Saramâ come to this (place)? The way (is) verily long (and) roaring with (waves) dashing backwards. What deposit (of hers) with us? How fared the night? How didst thou cross the waters of the river?"

2. "A spy of Indra in quest of your large marts I travel; that rapid crossing owing to the fear (of being drowned) has preserved us, thus (I) crossed the waters of the river."

3. "(O) Saramâ what is the nature of Indra? What the (strength of his) army? whose spy thou hast come from a distance; and if he were to come and (we) to make him (our) friend, (he) might become the possessor of our cattle."

4. "I do not think him, whose spy I come to this place from a distance (to be) easy to humble; he has humbled (those difficult to humble); deep rivers do not keep him back; killed by Indra, you, (O) Paṇis, will sleep (the long sleep)."

5. "(O) fair Saramâ, here are the cows in whose quest thou art running down to the ends of Div. Who of thine without fighting will release them; besides, our weapons are sharp."

6. "(O) Paṇis, your words are no army; let not your sinning bodies be exposed to (our) arrows; let not the road leading to you be stopped; the commander of forces will afford rest to neither."

7. "(O) Saramâ, here is the mart filled with cattle, horses and wealth at the foot of the hill; those Paṇis who are good defenders are in charge of it; for nothing (thou) hast come to this well-defended station."

8. "The soldiers (made) cruel by liquor, (the renowned) Ayâsya and the Navagvas of (the clan of) the Angiras have come hither; they have divided (among themselves) this wealth of cattle." Afterwards this sentence the Paṇis gave vent to.

9. "(O) Saramâ, thou hast come groaning under the tyranny of the Devas. (I) make thee (my) sister, go not again (back); (O) fair (one), having separated (from the rest) thy cattle, (we) restore (them) to thee."

10. "I know not to be a brother (or) to be a sister; Indra and the terrible Angirasas know (it, that is, what is to be a brother or a sister); when (I) came, they, anxious to have the cattle, shielded me; therefore, (O) Paṇis, remove (yourselves) farther hence."

11. "(O) Paṇis, remove yourselves farther; let the cows, which Soma, the commander of forces, and the hardy (and) armed soldiers discovered (though) hidden, come, bounding on the way."

*Substance of the hymn.*

Saramâ was a female spy of some Indra, ruler of Div, bounded by a rapid and unfordable river. Beyond the river lived the Paṇis, a people or tribe not quite friendly to the natives of Div. Some cattle of this Indra were once stolen by the Paṇis and immediately carried off beyond the river. This Indra sent a party of soldiers, accompanied by Ayâsya and the Navagvas of the Angiras clan and furnished with the necessary quantity of liquor under the command of Soma, in search of the missing cattle, the female spy Saramâ being in the advance guard. They all crossed the rapid stream without the loss of a single soldier and landed early in the morning on the opposite bank. The Paṇis, who were encamped at the foot of a hill, were not prepared for the arrival of a party in search so soon, especially when the stream was well-known as unfordable and rapid; so they were taken rather by surprise. The land of the Paṇis does not seem to have fallen within the jurisdiction of the ruler of Div. The hymn contains a dialogue between Saramâ and the Paṇis, after the former with a strong military escort set her foot upon the land of the latter. The Paṇis begin, then Saramâ follows—this order is preserved up to the 10th verse, which is put in the mouth of Saramâ. The eleventh which is the closing verse of the hymn, being supplementary to the 10th, is also put into the mouth of Saramâ.

In the first verse the Paṇis questioned Saramâ as to the object of her visit, as to how she could cross the impetuous stream at night, land among them early in the morning and at once advance to the foot of the hill. In the 2nd verse Saramâ discloses to the Paṇis the fact of her having come from her Indra on the errand of searching their marts, and also informs them of the success which she owed rather to the quickness of her movements in crossing the rapid stream. In the 3rd, the Paṇis want to know the strength of that Indra, whose spy Saramâ reported herself to be, and spoke as if they were ready to submit or to concede the demands of Saramâ. In the 4th, Saramâ taking the Paṇis to be rather frightened dwells on the invincibility of her Indra, on the inability of the waters to arrest the advance of his search party, and on the certainty of annihilation in case of resistance to his lawful demands. In the 5th, the intrepid Paṇis, who point out the cows for whom Saramâ travelled all the way long from Div and refuse to surrender them peacefully, show themselves now in their true colours. In the 6th, Saramâ advises them not to run rashly to arms and to expose their bodies to the arrows or in any way

to attempt to oppose the advance of the search party, as all such means would, in her opinion, prove no barrier to the irresistible onward march of its commander. In the 7th, the Panis now describe the great wealth lying with them at the foot of the hill and point out the possibility of a very determined resistance on the part of the veteran warriors who were entrusted with the defence of the precious treasures. In the 8th, Saramâ, not in the least frightened or even bewildered, now gives out the composition of the escort and also points to possible divisions of the spoils, especially of cattle, which those forming the escort had expected or calculated to secure. In the 9th, the Panis appear rather embarrassed and endeavour to bribe Saramâ by acknowledging her as their sister and by proposing and agreeing to the restoration in full of the cattle which she might have lost or which she might claim as her own. In the 10th, Saramâ acknowledges no other brothers or sisters except her Indra and his terrific Angirassas who are watching her movements and therefore in right earnest counsels the Panis to retreat still further. In the 11th, there is again the same counsel; but before retreating they are asked to restore the stolen herds to their rightful owners and thus avert their just wrath.

*Authorship of the hymn.*

As regards the authorship, the ritualists are pleased to deal with this Saramâ hymn precisely in the manner in which they have dealt with the Vṛishâ-Kapi hymn, fathering some verses upon the Panis and the remaining on Saramâ. Consequently the same canon of criticism, which has been applied to the preceding hymn, may be safely applied to this hymn also. In the 8th verse, the 4th line is evidently of the author, whoever he was. Barring this one line in the 8th verse, in no other verse will the reader find anything to break the continuity of thought and regularity of argument observable in this hymn.

*The value of the Saramâ hymn.*

This hymn is rather political than social. The whole atmosphere of this hymn being political, there is very little in it calculated to catch the eye of a social reformer, nevertheless, a woman, employed in open diplomacy as a spy or rather as an envoy, is a phase of society for which even the progressive Christendom does not as yet seem prepared.

There is no Indrâñi here, the hymn being political. But there ought to be no two opinions in regard to the meaning of the word

*Indra*, which will be found used precisely in the same sense in this hymn as in the preceding. Not only is this hymn useful in arriving at the original meaning of the word *Indra*, but it is equally useful in getting an insight into the original meanings of the words *Bṛihaspati*, *Ṛiṣhi* and *Soma*. The word *Bṛihaspati* is clearly used for a "Commander" or "General." The other words being military, the word *Bṛihaspati* also in this verse must be held to express some military officer, and that too the "highest." *बृहन्* or *बृहन्* must primarily have denoted an "army." One might as well take *बृहन्*, to mean "great." The same canon applies to the word *Ṛiṣhi* in the 8th verse. The *Ṛiṣhis* who were under the *Bṛihaspati* must have been "soldiers" or "warriors," not "priests." The word 'Soma' in the 8th verse may be taken to mean "liquor;" but in the last verse to take it as a proper name, and that too of the *Bṛihaspati*, is the only course, no other course being found tenable. The word *Indra* thus seems to have originally denoted a 'ruler' or 'king,' *Bṛihaspati* 'a general' or 'commander,' and *Ṛiṣhi* a 'soldier' or 'warrior.' If for nothing else, at least as a means to determine the primitive meanings of the oldest Vedic words such as *Indra*, *Bṛihaspati*, *Ṛiṣhi* and *Soma*, this *Saramâ* hymn is simply invaluable. The hymn also throws an equally bright light on some other points, whose knottiness or obscurity can in no way diminish their importance. The name of the province or region ruled over by the *Indra* is mentioned as *Div*. May it not be that this name of a province or region ruled over by the *Indra* had something to do with the word *Deva*? *Deva* was thus the name of a tribe or division of mankind and *Div* that of the land occupied by that division. *Indra* was the title of the ruler of the division of the *Devas* and of the land of *Div*. The word *Deva*, or rather *Daiṛya*, occurs in the 9th verse, where the natives of *Div* are clearly indicated. The word *Deva* must thus have denoted all sections like the *Angiras* with their sub-sections like the *Navagvas*, while the word *Ṛiṣhi* denoted a member of the military profession. It might be that the *Ṛiṣhis* formed a sub-section like the *Navagvas* or a section like the *Angiras* of the natives of *Div*.

The *Paṇis* appear to have been a section of some division, which if it did not rise above, at least equalled, the *Devas* in civilization. One cannot gather from the hymn whether the *Devas* had marts, but the *Paṇis* at least had them, and they were filled with wealth and horses and cows or oxen. There can be no doubt as to the *Paṇis* being traders. The natives of *Div* must have made depredations into

the land of the Paṇis, as the Paṇis made into theirs. The cows or oxen and horses also formed the principal object of plunder. If the Paṇis spoke the same language, they must have belonged to the same human family with the Devas; if it be held that the language ascribed to them in the hymn has been fathered on them, the hymn being written in the Sanskrit language, they must have belonged to a different human family. The word *Daiṃya* applied by the Paṇis to their enemies in the 8th verse tends to establish that the Paṇis at least thought themselves to be quite distinct from the Devas. Be that as it may. In one of the plundering expeditions the Paṇis were, according to our author, the aggressors, and Saramâ, sent with a large military escort by the then Indra, proposed that they should restore the stolen cows and recede far inland. The hymn is silent as to whether the Paṇis accepted the proposal and accordingly receded, or whether they had to be forcibly disgorged of their unlawful plunder and also dispossessed of a part of their land. It is the close pursuit of, and dictation of terms to, the Paṇis by Saramâ, backed by a strong military escort which our bard has seen fit to immortalize.

*More about the Devas and Div.*

There was a time when it was usual to divide the then known mankind into two principal divisions, viz., the Devas and the non-Devas. In the very first hymn of the third Mandala, the author hopes (अभिष्याम पृतनायूं अदेवान् and आ देवानामभवः केतुरवे—अनुदेवान् रयितो वासि साधन्—16 and 17 verses) to humble the warlike non-Devas by the aid of the sacred fire, which the Devas seem to have carried in a chariot in the van and also in the rear of their armies, while marching or fighting. In the 10th Mandala in the 87th hymn in the 14th verse, the sacred fire is asked to consume by its flame the *Mûra-Devas*, while in the 99th hymn in the third verse, Indra is described as “humbling, by his power, the *Shishna-Devas*.” The *Shishna-Devas* and the *Mûra-Devas*, though originally they must have been offshoots of the Devas, as the addition of the word *Deva* to their names incontestably proves, seem to have been rather ill-disposed towards, and therefore at war with, the main stem at the time when the hymns in which their names occur were written. May it not be that the Paṇis being either of the *Shishna-Deva* or the *Mûra-Deva* branch carried on a constant warfare with, and gave no small trouble to, the Devas with their Bṛihaspatis and Indras.

From the 10th hymn (verse 4), of the 7th Mandala, Div seems to have been divided into three divisions, had three rivers, three lakes

and many streams descending down the chain of mountains called *Virapshi*. The names of the three divisions as given in the 65th hymn (verse 2) of the 8th Mandala are *Prasravana*, *Svarnara* and *Samudra*, while in the 10th hymn (verse 1) of the same Mandala, the names of *Dirgha-prasadman* and *Rochana* are substituted for the first two, though the third *Samudra* is the same as that found in the other hymn.

The word *Deva* will thus be seen to have originally denoted a people or division of mankind. The whole mankind then known was divided into 'five divisions' or 'five peoples' and the word *panch-jana* was most appropriately used when all the known divisions of men were intended to be expressed. The word *panch-jana* is found also in classical Sanskrit. The value of some of the historical Vedic hymns as unfolding the earliest history of one of the five divisions of mankind, is simply incalculable.

It is now time to turn to the "Stars' hymn."

देवानां तु वयं जाना प्रबोचाम विपन्व्या	
उरुषु घास्वमानेषु, यः पद्वावुत्तरे जुगे.	१
ब्रह्मणस्पतिरेता सं कर्मार इवाऽधमत्;	
देवानां पूर्वै जुगे असतः सद्जायत.	२
देवानां जुगे प्रयने असतः सद्जायत;	
तदाद्या अन्वजायंत, तदुत्तानपदस्परि.	३
भूर्जज्ञ उत्तानपदो, भुव आद्या अजायंत;	
अदितेदेशो अजायत ? इक्ष्वाक् वदितिः परि ?	४

1 "जाना" (Ved.) = "जानानि" (Ved.) = जन्मानि (classic.) "प्रबोचाम" (Ved.) = प्रबोचाम (classic.) = (we) have described, we describe. "विपन्व्या" is very loosely used for "wisdom" and विपन्व्यु for "wise." यः apparently for कोऽपि. "पद्वावुत्" is the so-called लेट्.

2 "एता" (Ved.) = एतान् (classic.) = (देवान्) एतान्. The prefix सम् should be taken with अधमत्; समधमत् = successfully blew. कर्मार is evidently an abbreviation of कर्मकार, which would literally mean any worker, though here the worker in glass only seems to be understood. पूर्व्ये for पूर्व्येतर the older, the more ancient.

3 प्रथम is strictly speaking प्रथम, the superlative of प्र meaning "old." The antecedent of तत् seems to be असत्; "तत् अनु अजायत" = followed that (*asat*) in birth = that *asat* begot. "उत्तानपदः" is evidently in the plural. "तत् परि (अजायंत)" = तत् अनु अजायंत = ताः (आद्याः) अनु अजायंत = those directions produced.

4 "उत्तानपदः" is the ablative singular. "वदितिः" = उ अदितिः; the particle उ is often interrogative, it sometimes expresses doubt also. परि should be



अशितिर्यजनिष्ट वस वा पुष्टिता तव ;	
तां देवा अन्वजावन्त भद्रा अमृतबन्धवः.	५
अर् देवा अर्ःसलिले सुसंरब्धा अतिष्ठत,	
अत्रा वो नृत्स्वतामिष तीम्नो रेणुरपाऽवत.	६
अर् देवा अतयो अथा शुवनानि अपिन्वत,	
अत्रा समुद्र भागूऋहमा सूर्वेमजभर्तन.	७
अष्टौ पुत्रासो अशितेर्, वे जातास्सन्वस्पति,	
देवां उप प्रेत् सप्तभिः, परा मार्ताण्डमास्वत्.	८
सप्तभिः पुत्रैरशितिरुप प्रेत् पूर्वैर् जुगम्;	
प्रजाये मृत्यवे स्वत् पुनर्मार्ताण्डमाभरत्.	९

1. Let us describe, while the Ukthas are being recited, the births of the Devas in polished language; any one will see (them, that is the Devas) at a time subsequent (to the recitations of the Ukthas).

2. Brahmanas-pati—like a glass-blower (karmāra)—blew them (of the previous night); in the more ancient creation of the Devas, the existent had sprung from the non-existent.

3. In the very first creation of the Devas, from the non-existent sprung the existent; that (non-existent) produced the (celestial) directions, those (directions) produced the (firmaments) extending high up.

4. From (the firmament) extending high up sprung the earth; from the earth the (terrestrial) directions; did Dakṣha spring from Aditi? or was Aditi produced from Dakṣha?

5. (O) Dakṣha, that Aditi, thy daughter, who was born (of thee), produced the blessed Devas, friendly to the not—dead.

taken with the Imperfect (लङ्) of जन्; the उपसर्ग in the Vedio language, sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the verb, one or even more words often intervening between them.

\* “ताम् अनु अजायत” = she begot or produced.

° “अत्रा” = अत्र.

† “अपिन्वत” (Ved.) = आप्याययन् (classic.). “गूढम्” (Ved.) = गूढम् (classic.).

“अजभर्तन” (Ved.) = अजर्तन (Ved.) = अर्तन (classic.); one आ to be taken with this verb.

° “पुत्रासः” (Ved.) = पुत्राः (classic.). परि should be connected with जाताः. “तन्वः” (Ved.) = तन्वाः (classic.). “देवा” (Ved.) = देवान् (classic.); “देवां उप” = देवानुप. “परा” = उपरि, पश्चात् = afterwards. “मार्ताण्डम्” = मृताण्डम्; “dead” seems to be used for “after death.”

° In the 2nd line अ should be taken as understood after मृत्यवे. “स्वत्” (Ved.) = एकम् (classic.); “त्व” in the Vedic language being equal to एक in the classical. “आभरत्” = conceived (if from भृ), brought forth (if from ह).

6. (O) Devas, when you stood greatly agitated in yonder water (of firmament), sharp dust of you as if dancing flew down hither.

7. (O) Devas, because you, like the Saints (Yatis) fed (with light) the worlds, you did lift up in this (world) the sun hidden in the sea.

8. Aditi had eight sons, who were produced from her body; she with the seven (sons) joined the (first creation of the) Devas; afterwards she threw out the posthumous egg.

9. With the seven sons, Aditi joined the (very) first creation (of the Devas); but she brought forth the posthumous egg for the propagation (and) death (of mankind).

*Remarks and Observations on the Hymn.*

First as regards the time of its composition.

The four words, viz., *Uktha*, *Brahmanas-pati*, *Karmāra* and *Yati* deserve special notice.

The words *Uktha* and the passive present participle *Shasyamāneṣhu* have a technical meaning in the Soma sacrifice. The term *Uktha* was once applied to the recitations of the Hotri priest, that is, the priest of *Ṛig-veda*. But subsequently the word *Shashtra* came to be substituted for it, the word *Uktha* being reserved for those evening recitations only, which were recited in a special form of the Soma sacrifice, which on that account has received the designation of *Ukthya* (possessed of the *Ukthas*). The *Ukthya* form of the Soma sacrifice gets the second rank among the four, the first being reserved for the *Agni-stoma*. In the ritual aphorisms, whenever the recitations of the priest of *Ṛig-veda* are intended, the word invariably used for them is '*shastra*,' derived from *shans* which in the ritualistic language means to "recite."

If the word *Uktha* be taken in the sense in which it is understood by later ritualists, it will be necessary to assume that the hymn was composed, while the *Ukthya* form of the Soma sacrifice was being celebrated by some munificent sacrificer. But the elaborate and tedious recitations (with permutations and combinations, often meaningless to a layman's ear) of the priests of later times, were ill-adapted to times rather simple, when, there being no established priesthood and therefore no organised attempt on the part of the priests to bring about an abnormal development, the ritual also was likely to be simple. The hymn seems to have been the production of a time, when the word *shastra* had not yet seen the light.

The word *Brahmanas-pati* means "Lord of the Ritual." The hymn must thus have been written at a time when there was the custom

of reciting some evening prayers in honour of the Lord of the Vedic ritual. There certainly was some advance in the ritual, as the words *Ukthas* and *Brahmaṇas-pati* prove; but the abnormally developed ritual of the later Soma sacrifice seems a long way off.

The word "glass-blower" proves that the society of the time when the hymn was written had made some advance in the art of glass-blowing. The author himself had perhaps the honour to belong to that trade. The word *yati* etymologically means a 'self-restrained' person. Whether these *yatis* had taken the vow of perpetual celibacy or only of one marriage is not quite clear, though they were evidently itinerant preachers, belonging to some religious order. The great mission of these saints was to banish the gloom prevailing in the heart of the hearers by awakening the dormant spiritual or moral faculty appropriately likened, in the 7th verse of the hymn, to the Sun. The saints, from the language at least of the seventh verse, must be taken as theistic, the word "sun" being suggestive rather of the Supreme Spirit. The society of the time of the hymn will thus be seen to have made considerable advance in spiritual and moral culture.

Now, as regards the authorship of the hymn.

The ritualists hold one *Bṛihaspati*, the son either of *Loka* or of *Angiras*, to be the author. Whoever the author was, he was a poet of no mean order; he was possibly a distinguished preacher of some religious order and by profession a glass-blower. He seems to have been a theist holding matter to have sprung from nothing. Whether the Supreme Spirit was or was not according to the author also a creator, is not quite clear. In the eye of the writer of the hymn the Supreme Spirit was possibly only an all-merciful and good Being, having had nothing to do with the creation of matter, though the blowing of the stars by *Brahmaṇas-pati* seems to be suggestive of the act of creation or rather of the creation of cosmos out of chaos.

The order of creation as unfolded in this hymn is somewhat obscure. The three words *Uttāna-pad*, *Dakṣha* and *Aditi* are, when speaking of creation, most interesting. The word *Uttāna-pad* is not a proper name, etymologically the word means something "extending high up" and in this place it is evidently applied to the 'firmament' or 'firmaments.' "The ends (*Āshās*) of the firmament first sprung from nothing; and extending high up, they formed the firmament, the terrestrial globe came out of the celestial, which it met at the ends." Such is the genesis, as described in this hymn,

of the two globes. The author, though at first sorely puzzled not knowing whether to put the genesis of day first or to make its genesis follow that of night, as if by a vision, perhaps prophetic, suddenly sees the relation between the first day and the first night to be that of father and daughter. *Dakṣha* is evidently "day," derived perhaps from 'dak' to burn; *Aditi* (non-*diti*) is evidently "night," *diti*, derived from *div* to shine, being "day." The word *Deva* in this hymn means nothing more than a "star," and as such, it is not less interesting than the preceding three words.

*Aditi* gives birth to the *Devas*, that is, to "stars" of which only seven are taken into account, the eighth the Sun being the "post-humous egg." The seven stars *perhaps* are *Mitra* (मित्र), *Aryaman* (अर्यमा), *Bhaga* (भग), *Tuvijāts* (तुविजात), *Varuṇa* (वरुण), *Dakṣha* (दक्ष) and *Ansha* (अंश) found in the 2nd Maṇḍala (verse 1, hymn 27) of *Rig-veda*. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* has substituted, according to *Mādhav*, *Dhātṛi* (धाता) and *Indra* for *Tuvijāta* and *Dakṣha*, while it reads *Anshu* for *Ansha*. The order of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* also slightly differs. The author ought to rank pretty high among the Sanskrit poets of the Vedic times. What a revolution in the original meaning of the word *Deva*!!!

May it not be that there were two words originally distinct; the one was an independent word connected with *Div*, the cradle of one of the five divisions of mankind, while the other, derived from *div*, to shine was a cognate of *divá*, *dya*, *dina* and *divasa*, all the four words meaning "day" in the Sanskrit language. A distinction was possibly made even in their pronunciation during the pre-ritualistic times, when the language was living. But how could the distinctions in pronunciation be preserved after the language had become dead. The consonant ह् (*h*) will quite vividly illustrate the point. It is not known whence *Pāṇini* received the first 14 alphabet—aphorisms. That he was not their author is admitted by all. The alphabet—aphorisms perhaps belong to the pre-ritualistic age, when the language was living; they are, perhaps, the product of the ritualistic or even of the post-ritualistic age, when, the language not being living and therefore many of the original simple words and expressions that had become obsolete being somehow misunderstood, the foundation—stone of the later sacrificial ritual was laid and its formidable fabric was either in course of being reared or had already been reared. Be that as it may, there are two kinds of ह् (*h*) mentioned in the alphabet—aphorisms, one being (ह्यवरट्) a semi-vowel

while the other is (हृत्) a decided aspirate. Both kinds of हृ (*h*) in these days are pronounced alike, no distinction being ever made between them. Pāṇini in one of his aphorisms (बोलेषुमयस्तरः षाकटाक्षनस्य—८,३,१८) has two kinds of वृ (*v*) and यृ (*y*); one being *lighter*, the other must be *heavier*. But there is no room for *lighter* वृ (*v*) and यृ (*y*) in the alphabet—aphorisms, nor is any distinction in the pronunciation ever made in these days. When such has been the case with the distinctions in pronunciation even of some sounds that were known in the ritualistic and the post-ritualistic ages, when the language was dead, should it be a matter of surprise that no clue is found to distinctions in the pronunciation, as they were observed in the pre-ritualistic age, when the language was living? Suppose the Marāṭhī language were to become dead; how could the distinctions in the pronunciations of फट (fissure) and फट (the sound *phat*), हंस (swan) and हंस (smile-imperative singular), चार (four) and चार (green grass or graze-imperative singular) be preserved? Some such distinction was, perhaps, made in the pronunciation of either one of the vowels or consonants of *deva*, denoting a division of mankind, and *deva* denoting a star, when the language was living; but all such distinctions are now lost beyond recovery. This of course, it is submitted, is only a conjecture. But still the fact remains, and there ought to be no two opinions with regard to that fact, that the word *deva* in the Vedic hymns denotes a “division of mankind” and also a “star.” Either the two words were originally distinct, or the original meaning being lost, the word somehow came to be applied to a “star.” These seem to be the only two solutions and, how-so-ever crude they may be, they are most respectfully submitted for the consideration of those who, having made the Vedas their life-long study, are better qualified to judge and pronounce an opinion or judgment.

The words Uttāna-pad, Dakṣha and Aditi are understood as proper names by the authors of the Purāṇas, and are thus made the groundwork of many a curious story. On a closer examination many of the stories in the Purāṇas, not excluding the great epic of the Mahābhārata, will be found to have for their basis a misunderstanding of some of the Vedic hymns, which, though generally very simple, are sometimes not quite intelligible, being filled with obsolete words and expressions, while at other times they are even obscure, being highly poetical.

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*Note on the Royal Society's International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.*

THE following account of the Royal Society's scheme for an International Catalogue of Scientific Literature, published in the August proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has been received from the Honorary Secretary, Committee of Control of the Regional Bureau for India and Ceylon, and as suggested by him it is republished for the information of the members of the B. B. R. A. Society :—

I. ORIGIN AND OUTLINE OF THE SCHEME.

At an International Conference organized by the Royal Society and held in London during July 1896, it was considered "desirable to compile and publish, by means of some international organisation, a complete catalogue of scientific literature, arranged according both to subject matter and to author's names," in order that scientific investigators, by means of the catalogue, may be able readily to find out what has been published concerning any particular subject of enquiry.

In the following November a Committee was appointed by the Royal Society of London to study all the questions involved, and to frame a scheme for the work. The report of this Committee was issued on the 30th March, 1898, and during the following October a second International Conference was held in London to discuss the proposals of the Committee. This Conference, which included delegates from Austria, Belgium, France, Germany Hungary, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, Cape Colony, India, Natal, New Zealand and Queensland, confirmed the general principle of the previous Committee, that a catalogue be published in the form of separate cards for each paper as well as periodically classified in book form. It was decided to provide schedules for the internal classification of each of the following seventeen sciences :—

Mathematics.  
Astronomy.  
Meteorology.  
Physics.  
Crystallography.  
Chemistry.

Mineralogy.  
 Geology (including Petrology).  
 Geography—Mathematical and Physical.  
 Palæontology.  
 Anatomy.  
 Zoology.  
 Botany.  
 Physiology (including Pharmacology and Experimental Pathology.)  
 Bacteriology.  
 Psychology.  
 Anthropology.

Each of these subjects will be distinguished by a separate *registration letter* and the subdivisions indicated in the schedules by *registration numbers* designed purely for the guidance of the Central Bureau in arranging the cards in order for the compilation of a book-subject-catalogue.

*Card Catalogue.*—The basis of the catalogue is the card or slip. For every communication containing scientific statement worthy of being indexed, whether appearing in a periodical or any other form of independent publication, at least one separate slip is to be prepared. These will be issued regularly to subscribers and will enable them not only to keep themselves informed as to the progress of a science, but also easily to keep an "account current" of such progress.

*Book Catalogue.*—At determined regular intervals, not necessarily the same for all sciences, the Central Bureau in London will compile from the slips and issue in a book form an index to authors as well as an index to the subjects treated in the literature published within the determined period. The book-catalogue will be obtainable in parts corresponding to the several sciences for which slips are provided, and in some cases, in Zoology for example, it may be found desirable to issue separate volumes for special sections of the subject. It is proposed also to supplement this frequent periodical publication of book-catalogues by issuing collective indices covering periods of at least five or ten years. The titles of the publications and the subject entries will appear either in English, French, German, Italian or Latin, and the titles of publications appearing in other languages will be translated into one of these five for the purpose of indexing, but the original title will be preserved and issued with the translation.

The final schedule of classification for each subject is now being

worked out by an International Committee, which was appointed by the 1898 Conference for the purpose, but the schedules proposed by the Royal Society's Committee, whose work closed on March 30th of last year, may be taken as example of the way in which the subjects will be sub-divided and catalogued.

As an example, the schedule proposed for subject F, Chemistry, is given at the end of this note and shows the elaborate system of classification which will enable the worker in any special branch to readily obtain the current literature bearing on his researches.

Where the different subjects overlap one another arrangements will be made as much as possible for similarity of numbering. Thus, in the case of Palæontology a publication will be numbered according to the system used in Geology for the stratigraphical horizon of the fossils referred to, according to the Zoological and Botanical systems to indicate their position in the animal or vegetable kingdom, and according to the scheme for Geography to show the country in which the specimens were found. A paper, for instance, on Cretaceous Fishes from Asiatic Turkey would bear the symbol, K 75, 14*ei*; K standing for Palæontology; 75, the number for Cretaceous in the Geological schedule; 14 that for fishes in the Zoological; *e* for Asia and *ei* for Asiatic Turkey and Arabia.

The systems of classification indicated above for Chemistry and for Palæontology are sufficient to show the immense value the catalogues will be to special workers, who, under present circumstances, have no certain means of readily discovering the whole of the current literature bearing on their particular lines of research.

## II. THE FORMATION OF REGIONAL BUREAUX.

The Royal Society's Committee, by enquiry of experts in the various subjects, estimated that the number of communications to be analysed and indexed would not fall far short of 40,000 in each year. To deal with such a body of literature, according to the detailed scheme indicated above, would, naturally, be beyond the powers of any one unaided Society, and the formation of Regional Bureaux was consequently undertaken.

The term *Regional Bureau* is introduced to indicate an organisation, wherever established, for the purpose of collecting and indexing the scientific literature of a particular region. The region may be either a country or part of a country, or several countries or parts of



countries which can for this particular purpose be conveniently grouped together.

It is proposed that such Regional Bureaux shall be entrusted with the task of preparing the slips required to completely index the scientific literature of the regions committed to their charge. The slips so prepared in the different regions will be regularly forwarded to the Central Bureau in London, to be checked according to the sanctioned schedules, and then printed, first in slip form and finally in book form for issue to the subscribers.

*Primary slips.*—The slips forwarded to the Central Bureau from each region will be known as *primary slips*, and when these bear more than one registration letter, or more than one subject-entry (indicating that more than one subject is treated in the publication it refers to), copies will be printed; with or without alteration in the arrangement of the subject-entries, to permit the production of a full card catalogue for each subject. Such copies of the primary slip will be known as *secondary slips* and will be prepared entirely in the Central Bureau.

The Regional Bureaux will be responsible merely for the preparation of the primary slips, each of which is to contain :—

- (i) *A Title-entry*—giving the author's name and the full title of the communication, in the original language alone if the language be either English, French, German, Italian or Latin. In the case of other languages, the title will be, as far as the Regional Bureau for India and Ceylon is concerned, translated into English; but the original title will also be added, either in the original script, or transliterated into Roman script. The title will be followed by every necessary reference, including the year of publication, and such other symbols as may be determined. In the case of a separately published book, the place and year of publication, and the number of pages, &c., will be given.
- (ii) *Subject-entries*—indicating as briefly as possible the principal subjects to which the communication refers. Such subject entries will be given only in the original language of the communication if this be one of the five previously referred to, but in other cases in India and Ceylon, English will be used.

The following specimens of primary slips prepared by the Royal

Society's Committee will serve as a guide to Authors, who, it is hoped, will assist the local committee in their preparation:—

### Specimen Primary Slips

#### Mineralogy.

G.

- FOOTE, H. W. On the occurrence of Pollucite, Columbite, and Microlite at Rumford, Maine. *Am. Journ. Sci.*, 1896 (iv), 1, 457.  
*Pollucite*. From Rumford, Maine. Anal.  
*Mangano-columbite*. From Rumford, Maine. Cryst.  
*Columbite*. Mangano-columbite, from Rumford, Maine. Cryst.  
*Microlite*. From Rumford, Maine.  
*Rumford (Maine)*. Pollucite, &c.

#### Zoology.

- WINTON, W. E. de. Remarks on the existing forms of Giraffe. *P. Zool. Soc. London*, 1897, pp. 273-283.

[*Mammalia*, *Artiodactyla*. *Giraffidæ*.]

- Giraffa*, specific characters, figg.; synonymy ...  
 Means of defence, use and origin of horns ...  
 Africa, distribution in ... ..

### III. THE REGIONAL BUREAU FOR INDIA AND CEYLON.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal, recognising the immense value of the scheme to workers in this country, readily acceded to the request of the Royal Society and undertook the formation and conduct of the Regional Bureau for India and Ceylon. The Governments of India and Ceylon have been addressed on the subject, and, in addition to an annual grant sanctioned by the former Government to cover office expenses, they have directed all heads of Government Departments issuing publications on subjects included in the Royal Society's list, to supply the Asiatic Society with primary slips of the kind described above; they have also instructed Local Governments and Administrations to supply periodical lists of books and journals published within their jurisdiction, with, as far as possible, copies of the publications.

A Committee has been appointed by the Asiatic Society to control the work of this Regional Bureau, and each subject defined by the Royal Society is represented on the Committee by a specialist, who will be responsible for checking or supplementing the primary slips relating to publications in his particular subject.

*To Authors:*—But as there are some fifty periodicals to be examined, besides independently published works, the Committee feels that its self-imposed task will not be adequately carried out without the loyal assistance of authors themselves, who, naturally, can most rapidly and most accurately indicate the scope of their essays.

The working of this scheme will, moreover, be attended with certain advantages to the authors themselves; for the catalogues will be regularly printed and issued by the Royal Society to the subscribers, who will include, besides many of the chief workers in each science, the principal scientific institutions and libraries in the world. In this way all scientific papers and books published in India will be brought to the notice of the scientific world and the present partial and unavoidable neglect of Indian publications will consequently no longer be possible. In fact, as far as the scientific world is concerned, work published in India will now receive, as it should do, exactly the same notice as it would if published by a leading society in Europe.

The assistance which the Committee ask of authors of papers coming within the scope of the catalogue is the preparation of a "primary slip" for each paper, prepared as already indicated and in a form similar to the two samples given above.

It is important to observe that what is required is not an index to the paper or book, but an index to the subjects treated, and the entries for these should be as brief and as few as is consistent with the scope of the paper. The author is not asked to enter the registration letters and numbers; that will be done by the Bureau, but he is requested to make the subject-entries, and these should only be prepared for subjects which are so treated as to contain an addition or alteration to existing knowledge; subjects referred to merely as illustrations of the matters dealt with in the paper should not be indexed.

In the case of papers dealing with Palæontology, Zoology or Botany the Primary Slip should contain a classified list of all new species described. If no new species are described the subject-entries should indicate the natural orders, families, or genera dealt with, and the subject dealt with in relation to them.

Books or papers whose scope is completely or sufficiently indicated by the title will require no further subject-entries. Text-books and educational works whose scope is sufficiently indicated by their title, require no subject-entries, except where they may contain additions to

the existing knowledge of science, when subject-entries should be prepared for these parts only.

The Committee of the Regional Bureau have drawn up a list of periodicals which are known by them to publish scientific papers, and which are received in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; but they have to trust to the quarterly reports from Local Governments for intimation of the publication of independent books and pamphlets. As these quarterly reports may appear some considerable time after the publication of a book, it is desirable for Authors, to ensure immediate record being made of their work, to send a copy to the Asiatic Society, accompanied by a primary slip containing title and subject-entries. Societies and Editors are similarly recommended to adopt the very useful practice now being followed by many scientific societies in Europe of issuing primary slips with each "part" of a journal. Such slips can best be prepared by the authors themselves, and sent to the editor of the journal in which his paper appears for transmission with the journal to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

#### IV. CENTRAL ORGANISATION.

For the continuation and proper development of the work the Royal Society recommended, and the Conference held last October approved of, the organisation of *International Conventions* to be held in London in 1905, 1910 and every tenth year afterwards. Such International Conventions will consist of delegates appointed to represent the various Regional Bureaux, for the purpose of revising as may be necessary the regulations for carrying out the work of the catalogue authorised by the International Conference of 1898.

It is also proposed to form an *International Council* composed of one member from each of the Regional Bureaux to act as a governing body of the catalogue. The reports of this Council, giving an account of the expenses of the scheme, will be distributed to the several Regional Bureaux and will be published in recognised local periodicals.

The International Council will appoint for each science an *International Committee of Referees* to decide on questions of classification not provided for by the catalogue regulations, or in cases of doubt to pronounce an opinion as to the meaning of the regulations.

The actual routine work connected with the classification of primary slips received from the different regions and the printing and issue of the catalogues will be carried on in London by the *Central Bureau*, which will consist of a Director and staff of expert Assistants.

It is impossible yet to fix the rates of subscription to the catalogues, but the scheme drawn up by the Royal Society's Committee provides for subscription to the Slip Catalogue and the Book Catalogue separately, both of which will be issued in parts devoted to the whole of a registered science when its literature is limited in amount, or to a special section of a science when its literature is extensive and capable of convenient subdivision. The Regional Bureaux will, later on, be provided with the scale of subscription, when steps will be taken to inform individuals or institutions likely to subscribe.

The preparation of the catalogue will date from the 1st of January, 1900.

**Abridged Schedule of Classification for Chemistry.<sup>1</sup>***Chemical Bibliography.*

- 0000 Philosophy.
- 0010 History.
- 0020 Biography.
- 0030 Dictionaries, collected works, text-books.
- 0040 Pedagogy.
- 0050 Addresses, lectures, essays and theses.
- 0100 Chemistry (Specific) of the elements, to include all entries relating to the elements generally, or which cannot be referred to any one of the known elements.
- 0110 Aluminium.
- 0120 Antimony.
- 0130 Argon, followed by the other known elements at similar numerical intervals and arranged in alphabetical order up to—
- 0840 Zirconium.

Entries made under any element may be further sub-divided according to the nature of the compounds in which they occur, and are arranged into five further sections in such order that the entries relating,  $\alpha$ , to the history or origin of the substance shall come first, followed by,  $\beta$ , its preparation or manufacture;  $\gamma$ , its structure, or theoretical nature;  $\delta$ , its interactions or use; and  $\epsilon$ , its compounds.

- 0900 Laboratory Procedure.
- 1000 Organic (Carbon) Chemistry (Specific).
- 1010 Hydrocarbons generally with the following recognised groups—
- 1020 Paraffins.
- 1030 Unsaturated open chain hydrocarbons.
- 1040 Benzenoid hydrocarbons.
- 1050 Reduced benzenoid hydrocarbons (terpenes, &c.).
- 1060 Unclassified hydrocarbons.

When necessary these groups of hydrocarbons are further sub-divided into isologous groups, in each of which the compounds are entered in homologous order.

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<sup>1</sup> From the Report of the Royal Society Committee, March 30th, 1898. The numbers employed to distinguish the sub-divisions are sufficiently separated to admit the interpolation of new sub-divisions as the subject expands.

- 1010 Alcohols and Ethers with sub-divisions as in the case of hydrocarbons ranging from 1110 to 1150.
- 1200 Acids.
- 1300 Aldehydes and Ketones.
- 1400 Carbohydrates; Glucosides; Resins.
- 1500 Amino- and Azo-compounds.
- 1600 Mixed Cycloids.
- 1700 Organo-metallic and allied compounds.
- 1800 Alkaloids.
- 1900 Proteids.
- 2000 Coloured compounds.
- 2500 Operations in Organic Chemistry.
- 3000 Analytical Chemistry.
- 3500 Theoretical and Physical Chemistry.
- 4000 Physiological Chemistry.

The above are only the main sections proposed by the Committee: the sub-divisions between Nos. 1500 and 1600 (*Amino- and Azo-compounds*) will serve to exemplify the next stage of sub-division in the schedule—

- 1510 Amino-paraffins.
- 1520 Amino-derivatives of unsaturated open chain hydrocarbons.
- 1530 Amino-derivatives of benzenoid hydrocarbons.
- 1535 Amino-derivatives of reduced benzenoid hydrocarbons.
- 1540 Acid amides and allied compounds.
- 1545 Imides, imido-ethers, &c.
- 1550 Azo-compounds (open chain).
- 1560 Azo-compounds (closed chain).
- 1570 Diazo-compounds (open chain).
- 1580 Diazo-compounds (closed chain).
- 1590 Unclassified amino- and azo-compounds.

Each of the divisions 1510—1540 are sub-divided again into mono-amino-, diamino-, &c., derivatives, which are arranged as in other series.

The following is given as a specimen page of the subject-catalogue in Chemistry :—

### Specimen Page of Subject Catalogue.

#### F. Chemistry.

- 0020 Chemical Bibliography.**  
**Biography.**  
 Raumann, Eugen, mit Bildniss and Verzeichniss seiner Schriften. *Kossel*, A. B. 1897, 3197-3209.  
 Blomstrand, Christian. Wilhelm, *Klasow Peter*, B., 1897, 3227-3241.  
 Kekulé memorial lecture, with portrait. *Japp*, F. R. Soc., 1898, 97-131.  
 Stohman, Friedrich, mit Verzeichniss seiner Schriften. *Ostwald W.*, B., 1897, 3214-3222.
- 0040 Pedagogy.**  
 Chapters on the aims and practice of teaching, edited by *Frederic Spencer*. Cambridge (England). At the University Press, 1897. Chap. X., Chemistry, by *Armstrong, H. E.*, 222-259.
- 0100 Elements.**  
 a Sur un nouvel extrait de la bauxite française. *Bayer, R. S.*, Bl., 1894, 11, 1155.  
 Argon, a new constituent of the atmosphere.  $\beta$  *Rayleigh Lord*, and *Ramsay, W.*, Phil. Trans., 1895, 187-241.
- 0100 Aluminium.**  
 $\delta$  Amalgamirtes mit Wasser als neutrale Reduktionsmittel. *Wislicenus, H.*, and *Kaufmann, L. B.*, 1895, 1323, 1983.  
 —*Cohen J. B.*, and *Ormandy, B.*, Ibid., 1505.  
 Use of amalgamated, in preparing benzenoid hydrocarbons. *Hirst, H. R.*, and *Cohen, J. B.*, Soc., Fr., 1895, 148.  
 Action sur le carbone et ses composés. *Franck L.*, Bl. 1894, 439.
- C.** Carburé. *Franck L.*, Bl. 1894, 445.
- Cl.** Krystallisirtes. *k. Dennis, L. M.*,  $\beta$  Z. a. Ch., 1894, 389.
- $\epsilon$  Avec du borneol. dum camphre. et du camphre monocloré. *Ferrier, G.*, C. r., 1894, 119, 276.  
 Avec les composés nitrés aromatique. *Ferrier G.*, C. r., 1895, 120, 980.
- O.** Sur les carbonates, less hydrates et  $\beta$  les phosphates. *Schlumberger, E.*, Bl., 1895, 41.  
 $\delta$  Réduction par le charbon. *Moissan, H.*, C. r., 1894, 119, 260.
- S1.** Zur Chemie einiger Alumosilicate.
- $\gamma$  Einwirkung der Alkalien. *Thugutt, S. J.*, Jahrb. f. Min. Beil., 9, 554.
- 0390 Iodine.**  
 $\beta$  Pure from Cuprous iodide. *Lean, Bevan*, and *Whatmough, W. H.*, Soc., 1898, 148-157.  
 $\text{Cu}$ . Cuprous iodide from iodoform. *Lean*  $\beta$  *Bevan*, and *Whatmough, W. H.*, Soc., 1898, 153.
- 0510 Nitrogen.**  
 Density of, from various sources. *Rayleigh, Lord*, and *Ramsay, W.*, Phil. Trans., 1896, 187.
- O** Nitrosoverbindungen, Aliphatische.  $\delta$ .  $\beta$  *Piloly, O.*, R., 1898, 452.
- P** Polymeric chloronitrides or phosphorus.  $\beta$  *Stokes, N. H.*, Am. Chem. Journ., 1897, 782-795.
- 1010 Hydrocarbons.**  
 Petroleum, Composition of Californian. *Maybery, C. F.*, Am. Chem. Journ., 1897, 796.
- 1020 Paraffins.**  
 $\beta$  propan. Brom-2-nitroso-2-, aus Acetoxim und Brom. Identisch mit Brompropylpseudonitrol. *Piloly, O.*, B., 1898, 454.  
 Octan-Ueber ein Nitroso-. Dimethyl-2-5-nitroso-2-hexan. *Piloly, O.*, und *Ruff, O.*, B., 1898, 457.
- 1130 Benzenoid-ols.**  
 $\delta$  phenol, *p*-Amido-, und dessen Aether. Einwirkung des Oxalesters auf *Pinetti, A.*, und *Iscicoli, R.*, B., 1898, 830.
- 1230 Benzenoid Acids.**  
 Cinnamic and allied acids as a criterion of structure, Etherification of. *Sudborough, J. J.*, and *Lloyd, L. L.* Soc., 1898, 81-96.
- 1340 Closed chain ons.**  
 $\beta$  Sulfonale cyclischer Ketone. Pentanon-Methylpentanon-, Methylhexanon-, und Heptanonsulfonal. *Wallaeh, O.*, und *Borsche, W. B.*, 1896, 338.
- 3500 Theoretical Chemistry.**  
 Stereoisomerism as affecting formation of ethereal salts from unsaturated acids. *Sudborough, J. J.*, and *Lloyd, L. L.* Soc., 1898, 81-96.
- 3550 Conditions of Chemical Change.** Moisture, Influence on production and stability of ozone, and on interaction of mercury and halogens of. *Shenstone, W. A.* Soc., 1897, 71, 477-488.

NOTE.—The Committee of the Regional Bureau will be obliged if the members of the B. B. R. A. Society interested in the sciences named on the Royal Society's list, will be pleased to help them in the scheme.



# Royal Asiatic Society,

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## GOLD MEDAL.

The following appeal from the Royal Asiatic Society is published in the hope that the members of this Society interested in the progress of Oriental learning will kindly aid the project in regard to the establishment of a gold medal by subscribing to the fund raised for the purpose.

In 1897 the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society established a Jubilee Gold Medal to be awarded every third year as an encouragement to Oriental learning amongst English-speaking people.

To meet the expenses incurred in preparing a design, engraving dies and finding an amount to produce an income sufficient to defray the requisite charges, a sum of about £ 400 will be necessary.

Subscriptions, with interest, of £ 300 have already been received and a balance of about £ 100 is therefore still needed.

Donations should be sent to the Chairman of the Medal Committee, Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London.

ART. XVII.—*A Kushana stone-inscription and the question about the origin of the Saka era.* By Devadatta Ramkrishna BRANDARKAB, B.A.

[Read 19th October 1899.]

TEXT.

- १ [महाराजस्व] इविष्कस्व देवपुत्रस्व से ४० ५ व ३ दि १० ५ एवस्व पुर्वे(र)-  
व उपासिकाये .  
२ खुसिचाये भगवतो ष(ष्ठा) क्वमुने अप्रतिमस्य प्रतिमा प्रतिस्थापिता आ-  
किकायां रोसिकविहारे  
३ आत्मनस्व आरोग्यदक्षिण<sup>१</sup> मात[र]पितरि<sup>२</sup> भद्रारिकाये षमपिक(का)मातरे  
षमपिकाये जीवकस्य जीवकमातु  
४ सर्वसत्वानं च हितसुखार्थे(८)

TRANSLATION.

In the year 45 of the great king Devaputra Hūvishka, in the third (month) of the rainy season, on the fifteenth day—on this (date specified as) above, an image of the blessed incomparable Śākya Muni was installed in the Rośikavihāra in Ālikā, by the female lay-worshipper Khvasichā for the gift of health for herself and for the welfare and happiness of her parents, her worshipful mistress, of the mother of Samanikā, of Samanikā, of Jivaka, of the mother of Jivaka and of all creatures.

The stone on which this inscription is engraved, was found by me in the library of the Bombay University. It originally belonged, I

<sup>1</sup> That here the month and not the fortnight of the rainy season is to be understood as the numer 13, will be seen from Ep. I d. I, p. 384 and 386. See also J.R.A.S. (N.S.) VI, 184, where the sixteenth day clearly shows that the second month and not fortnight of summer is intended.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ārogyadakhinā' is here identical with 'Ārogyadakhināye'. This is an instance of the crude form taking the place of an inflected form; for further instances, vide Ep. Ind., I, 375. The expression 'ārogyadakhinā' occurs in one of the Mathura inscriptions published by Dowson (J.R.A.S. [N.S.] VI, 187, No. 23, and Growse (Ind. Ant. VI, 218, No. 3). As they have misread the whole inscription, I submit my transcript of it: [L. 1] अयं कुंभको दानं भिक्षुनं सुरीय-स्य बुधराक्षितस्य च प्रहणीकानं (?) अनेन [L. 2] देयधर्मपरित्यागेन सर्वेषां प्रहणीका-ने (?) आरोग्यदक्षिणाय भवतु. A similar phrase 'arogudachhināe' is to be found in the inscription on the Wardak vase.

am told, to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. But no information as regards the place where it was discovered is forthcoming.

The inscription contains four lines of writing which covers a space of about 2' 5½" broad by 4" high and is in a state of almost perfect preservation. Immediately above the pedestal on which it is incised are visible vestiges of the feet only, undoubtedly, of an image of Buddha the gift of which the inscription purports to mention. The average size of letters is ¾" in the first three lines, and is ½" in the fourth. The type of characters agrees fully with that of the votive inscriptions of the Kushana period discovered at Mathura.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Kushana king Hūvishka, with whose name is coupled the title of Mahārāja only, without the usual additional title Rājātirāja. It is a Buddhist inscription and the object thereof is to record the installation, by the female lay-worshipper Khvasichā, of the statue of Sākya Muni on the pedestal of which it is engraved. It is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year forty-five, on the fifteenth day of the third month of the rainy season.

This year forty-five is one of a series of dates occurring in inscriptions of the Kushana kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, and ranging from the year 4 to 98. In order to determine the English equivalent of the date of this as well as other inscriptions of the Kushana period, we have first to settle to what era they refer. It was Fergusson who first started the theory that Kanishka was the originator of the Śaka era, and that the dates of Kanishka and his successors are therefore years of that era. This view has been adopted by most antiquarians, but so far as my knowledge goes, it is only Fergusson and Prof. Oldenberg who give any reasons in favour of their thesis, and the rest simply assume it as proved. We shall first examine the arguments of Fergusson.<sup>3</sup> He begins by saying that as worn out coins of the Roman Consular period (43 B. C.) were found in conjunction with those of Kanishka in the Manikyāl tope supposed to have been built by him, it shows that Kanishka flourished after that date *i.e.* 43 B. C. But how many years after that date Kanishka lived cannot, as Fergusson himself acknowledges, be determined. This, therefore, can hardly be called an argument. Secondly, he asserts that in the Ahin Posh Tope near Jelalabad, coins of Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka were obtained together with the Roman coins of Domitian,

<sup>3</sup> J. R. A. S. (N. S.) 1880, pp. 264-267.

Trajan, and the empress Sabina. The coin of this last-named person shows that the erection of the tope cannot be earlier than 120 A. D. and may be as late as 140 or even 150 A. D. And if it is supposed, says Fergusson, that the dates of the inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors are years of the Śaka era, the date 48 of Huvishka (taking this for our present purpose) corresponds to 126-127 A. D. which accords perfectly with the date arrived at from the Roman coins—130-140 A. D. This, I think, is the only argument on which Fergusson's theory is based. Now the only thing that may be called certain is that Huvishka cannot be earlier than 120 A. D. But that he lived about this time is an assumption that requires to be proved.\* And Fergusson's argument does not prevent us from assigning him a later period. Nay, he himself owns the difficulty of placing his successor Vāsudeva so early as 177 A. D. if his latest date 98 is supposed to be a Śaka year. For the architecture and the sculptures of the Ali Masjid Tope which he thinks to have been built in the time of Vāsudeva, since he is the latest of the princes whose coins are found there, represent the doctrine of an advanced Mahāyāna school and the erection thereof, cannot in his opinion, be anterior to the fourth or the fifth century. This means that according to Fergusson, from the available architectural evidence, the dates of Vāsudeva cannot refer to the Śaka era, but must correspond to some years in the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era which is the conclusion our investigation will ultimately lead us to.

We shall now test the line of reasoning which brings Prof. Oldenberg<sup>†</sup> to the conclusion that Kanishka started the Śaka era. He first shows that the word Korano occurring on coins with barbaric legends of Kanishka, corresponds to the Kushana of the coins of his predecessors, and the Gushana of the Manikyâl inscription to which it tells us that that king belonged. Then the Professor refers us to a tetradrachm in the British museum, the legend on which reads according to him ΤΥΙΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΣΑΚΑ ΚΟΛΙΑΝΟΥ. Since

\* In the N. Chr. (Numismatic Chronicle) for 1869, pp 274-275 Cunningham after referring the dates of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva to the Seleucidian era with four hundreds omitted, brings in confirmation thereof the argument that Huvishka was a contemporary of the empress Sabina as their coins were found together in the Abin Poah Tope. My refutation of Fergusson's argument holds equally good in this case.

† Ind. Ant. X, 214-215.

here the word Śaka is associated with the word Korano, the Professor argues that the Kushanas were Sakas, and that Kanishka was therefore of the Śaka nationality. Further, he observes that as from the evidence of his coins Kanishka appears to have reigned about the close of the first century A.D. and there was no other Indian Prince at this time so famous as Kanishka, and as we find an era with reference to which the inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors appear to have been dated, Kanishka was the founder of the Śaka era. Now, when Percy Gardner first published his notice of the coin just referred to, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,<sup>6</sup> he read the third word ΣΑΚΑ. And his reading was no doubt accepted by E. Thomas for some time,<sup>7</sup> but he soon pointed out (correctly as will be shown) when he found another coin of the same type that the letters between the horse's legs were ΣΑΝ followed by ΑΒ in the field in front.<sup>8</sup> But in his *British Museum Catalogue of Greek and Scythian kings of India*, Percy Gardner rejects this reading as unintelligible and sticks to that first proposed by him.<sup>9</sup> He further affirms that the third letter of this word is like a retrograde N (∩), which on later Parthian and Bactrian coins is engraved for κ. But Cunningham, who carefully examined the legends on the diverse coins of this king arrived at the conclusion that with Thomas the third word in the legend must be read Sanab.<sup>10</sup> In the first place he points out that there is a fifth letter Β, which is distinct even on the aforesaid tetradrachm but which Gardner and, it may be added, Prof. Oldenberg pass unnoticed. Next, he tells us that the legend on a similar coin noticed by Gardner in a footnote contains the word ΚΟΠΑΝΟΥ which he rightly reads as ΚΟΠΑΝΟΥ and not ΚΟΠΑΚΟΥ, although here there is a retrograde N which according to him should have been read κ. Lastly, Cunningham says that on one of the tetradrachms of this king this N of ΣΑΝΑΒ is properly formed. The correct reading therefore is Sanab and not Śaka. The Śaka extraction of Kanishka thus remains unproved since the reading of the legend on the tetradrachm in the British Museum from which it is inferred, has been shown to be erroneous. Prof. Oldenberg's theory of Kanishka being the founder of the Śaka era has therefore no ground to stand upon.

To my mind it appears that unless the Śaka nationality of Kanishka is established, all attempts to show that he was the originator of the

<sup>6</sup> N. Chr. (1874), XIV. N. S., p. 161. <sup>7</sup> Arch. Sur. West. Ind. II., p. 50 ff.

<sup>8</sup> J. R. A. S. (N. S.), 1833, pp. 75-76. <sup>9</sup> Gard., Intro, p. xlvii.

<sup>10</sup> N. Chr. 1890, pp. 111-112.

Śaka era must be futile. But, on the contrary, evidence of a cogent nature can be adduced, looking quite the other way. Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*<sup>11</sup> speaks of Kanishka as sprung from the Turushka race which corresponds to the modern Turks. Again, Al Bīruni<sup>12</sup> tells us a legend which makes Kanika, *i. e.* Kanishka, a descendant of the Turk family called Shāhiya, founded by Barbatakin, whom it describes as wearing "Turkish dress, a short tunic open in front, a high hat, boots and arms." And this is clearly attested by the royal figures on the coins, notably of Wema-Kadphises and Kanishka. About the costume and features of Wema-Kadphises, Kanishka's predecessor, H. H. Wilson makes the following remarks: "He wears a conical cap turned up at the sides, a tunic close to the body over which is a sort of strait coat: boots are invariably worn. The features are not those of the Mongal but of the Turk tribe."<sup>13</sup> Thus Kalhana's statement, the legend mentioned by Al Bīruni and the figures on the coins of Wema-Kadphises and Kanishka so thoroughly corroborate one another as to leave no doubt in regard to the Turk extraction of Kanishka.<sup>14</sup> Further, among the foreign powers with which Samudragupta entered into alliance, are mentioned in his Allahabad pillar inscription Daivaputrashāhishāhānushāhi-Śaka-Murunda.<sup>15</sup> There is some difference of opinion with respect to the first three words of this long Sanskrit compound. Cunningham takes them all as a single compound title referring to a Kushana prince.<sup>16</sup> Mr. V. A. Smith however like Dr. Fleet proposes to take them separately, each designating a different king.<sup>17</sup> But whatever may be the explanation of the first three components of the compound, this is incontrovertible that the Śakas are distinguished from the Devaputra kings of whom Kanishka was one. Kanishka therefore was not a Śaka prince, and hence cannot be the founder of the Śaka era.

<sup>11</sup> I, 170.

<sup>12</sup> Sachan's Al Bīruni II, 11.

<sup>13</sup> Ar. Ant. 349.

<sup>14</sup> These arguments occurred to me long before I read Cunningham's remarks regarding this point, at N. Chr. 1892, pp. 42-43. In addition to those which I have set forth, Cunningham has adduced other cogent arguments which in my opinion leave not even the shadow of a doubt as to the Śakas and the Kushanas being altogether separate races.

<sup>15</sup> Fleet, Cor. Ins. Ind. III, 8.

<sup>16</sup> N. Chr. 1893, p. 118; Arch. Sur. Reports. III, 42.

<sup>17</sup> J. R. A. S. 1897, p. 902; Cor. Ins. Ind. III, 14.

There is one other line of argument that leads us to the same conclusion. It can scarcely be doubted that the Northern and the Western Kshatrapas were of Śaka origin.<sup>18</sup> The presumption therefore naturally arises that the dates of their inscriptions and coins are years of the Śaka era. Secondly,<sup>19</sup> it has been maintained by most scholars that the latest Kshatrapa date 310 furnished by Kshatrapa Rudrasīmha's coin, if referred to the Śaka era is equivalent to 388-389 A. D. and that this date so much approximates to 82 G. E. *i. e.* 401-402 A. D., the earliest date in Malwa of the Guptas the successors of the Kshatrapas, that it is almost certain that the Kshatrapas dated their inscriptions and coins according to the Śaka era. Thirdly, Ptolemy, the well-known Greek geographer, writing shortly after 150 A. D. speaks of Puḷumāyi as king of the Dekkan reigning at Paiṭhaṇ.

<sup>18</sup> In a rather mutilated Nasik inscription, Ushavadāta calls himself a Śaka. And the title of Gotamiputra Śātakarṇi, viz., 'Śaka-Yavana-Pahlavanishūdana' seems to support it. Prof. Oldenberg, however (*Ind. Ant.* X, p. 233, note 54), doubts the correctness of the reading 'Śakasa' before 'Ushavadātasa' as the letters preceding it have peeled off. But this does not appear to be plausible, for the number of the letters that are lost before 'Śakasa' can be accurately determined, and they can very well be restored from the other inscriptions of Ushavadāta. It is gratifying to see that both Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji take 'Śakasa' as a word by itself, connect it with 'Ushavadātasa' and thus make Ushavadāta a Śaka (*Arch. Sur. West. Ind.* IV, 101, note 8; *Bomb. Gaz.*, XIV, 577-8). Mr. Rapson is inclined to suppose that the Kshatrapas were Pahlavas and the principal argument he relies upon, is that from the Gīnar inscription of Rudradāman it appears that he had appointed a Pahlava named Suviśākha as his viceroy, implying thereby that the work of administration could not have been entrusted to any other than a person of the same tribe or race as that of Rudradāman (*J. R. A. S.* 1839, p. 377). But this implication has little weight, for we shall have then to suppose that Nahapāna was a Hindu, since from a Junnar inscription, we learn that he had a viceroy named Ayama who was certainly a Hindu as he belonged to the Vatsagotra. For the grounds on which I hold that the Northern Kshatrapas were Śakas, see note 41 below.

<sup>19</sup> This form of the argument appears to have first suggested itself to Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Aroh. Sur. West. Ind.* V, 79; *Bom. Gaz.* XIV, 620) but they missed the true conclusion, as they were mistaken with regard to the initial year of the Gupta era. But it seems to have been successfully applied to determine the epoch of the Gupta era in the *Early Hist. of the Dekk.* pp. 130-31. When, however, the initial point of the Gupta era was known beyond all doubt, this reasoning was used by Bühler to show that the Kshatrapa dates *rea Śaka years* (*Die Indischen Inschriften, &c.*, p. 47). See also Rapson on *Indian Coins*, p. 22.

Puḷumāyi was therefore not much prior to 150 A. D. The latest date of Nahapāna is 46, known from the Junnar inscription of his minister Ayama. Not long after this date, Gotamiputra Śātakarni exterminated the Kshaharāta dynasty, to which Nahapāna belonged. So that shortly after 124 A. D., supposing the date 46 to be a Śaka year, Puḷumāyi became king. This brings Puḷumāyi sufficiently close to the time of Ptolemy so as to leave little doubt that the Kshatrapa dates refer to the Śaka era. Let us now proceed a step further. Almost all antiquarians concur in placing Kanishka posterior to Śoḍāsa, a northern Kshatrapa, on paleographic evidence. Further, I maintain that on similar paleographic grounds Nahapāna must be supposed to be prior to Śoḍāsa. Three inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of Śoḍāsa have been published—one found at Mora and the other two at Mathurā.<sup>20</sup> If we compare the characters of those inscriptions with those of the Nasik, Karle, and Junnar inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna, we shall find that the former, although agreeing with the latter in many respects, yet occasionally have later forms, which show that they belong to a later period, but a period not very distant from that of the characters of Ushavadāta's inscriptions. The lower part of their *ya* (𑀮) is more rounded, and the strokes go up equally high in a good many cases, and sometimes the character (𑀮) has a loop to the left in almost the Kushana fashion. The lower horizontal base-line of *ra* (𑀲) and *ṛa* (𑀳) bends slightly lower down on either side in most cases, while in almost all cases, it is perfectly straight in Ushavadāta's inscriptions. There are two instances of *bha* (𑀧) agreeing with those of the Kushana period. The nether part of the letter *ra* (𑀲) is a curve open to the left and the subscript *ra* (𑀳) is similarly denoted by a curve turning to the left. These differences of characters cannot be ascribed to the influence of locality. For, in the first place,

<sup>20</sup> Arch. Sur. Reports, XX., pl. V., ins. No. 4; *Ibid.* III., pl. XIII., ins. No. 1; Ep. Ind. II., 199; Vienna Ori. Jour. V. 177: Here Bühler reads the date 42 with hesitation, as the signs for 40 and 70 are almost alike. See also J. E. A. S. 1894, p. 531. But the date is certainly 72, as has subsequently been corrected by Bühler himself (Ep. Ind. IV., 55, and note 2). The date of an inscription of Vāsudeva had similarly been wrongly read by Cunningham as 44 (Arch. Sur. Reports III., 32, No. 8), and his reading of the date was adopted by Bhagwanlal Indrajī, who was puzzled thereby (Ind. Ant. XI., 129). Cunningham, however, subsequently showed the correct reading of the date to be 74 and not 44 (N. Chr. 1892, p. 50, note 6).



they do not occur in earlier inscriptions at Mathura itself, *e.g.* No. 5, Ep. Ind. Vol. II., Pt. XII. Secondly, they are to be met with in other inscriptions of the same period at different places,—*cf.* the Nasik and Kanheri inscriptions of Gotamîputra Yañña Śrî Sâtakarṇi and the Girnar inscription of Rudradâman. In the Nasik inscription, *ya* presents the first variety, *i.e.* its strokes go up almost equally high. But in the Kanheri inscription, *ya* is engraved with a loop towards the left. 'Ya' of this second type may also be noted in the Girnar inscription of Rudradâman, a contemporary of Yañña Śrî Sâtakarṇi. The developed form of 'bha' of the time of Soḍāsa is noticeable in these inscriptions of Yañña Śrî Sâtakarṇi and Rudradâman. The curvature in the base-line of *na* and *ṇa* is also to be seen in these inscriptions, though it is more distinct in the Girnar than in the Nasik or Kanheri inscription. Likewise, 'ra' whether medial or otherwise, terminates in a curve to the left in all these inscriptions. These characteristics cannot thus be said to be local divergences. The conclusion may therefore be safely drawn that Soḍāsa was later than Nahapâna, but as the transitional state of the characters of his inscriptions shows, there was no very great interval between them. Now, there is a general consensus of opinion on the point that Soḍāsa was earlier than Kanishka; and we have just seen that Nahapâna was anterior to Soḍāsa. *A fortiori*, Nahapâna was prior to Kanishka. But as the inscriptions of the time of Nahapâna are dated, as has just been shown, in the Saka era, Kanishka could not possibly have started that era.

Some scholars have argued on the data furnished by Buddhist legends that Kanishka flourished in the latter part of the first century A.D. The northern Buddhists place Kanishka 400 years after the Parinirvâṇa, and as Aśoka is placed by Hiuen Tsiang only a hundred years after Budḍha, it is contended that the mistake lies with the exact date when the Nirvâṇa came off, but that it is certain that Aśoka was chronologically prior to Kanishka by 300 years, and that therefore Kanishka lived towards the middle of the first century. And as it is clear that some era dates from the time of Kanishka, who lived about 50 A. D., it is maintained that he started the Saka era.<sup>21</sup> Even conceding for the moment that Kanishka flourished as early as the epoch of the Saka era, he can by no means be regarded as the founder of that era, unless it is proved that he was a Saka. Further, in my

<sup>21</sup> Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I., p. 56, note 200.

humble opinion mere legends afford a very frail foundation on which to base a theory especially when they conflict with established propositions, and even contradict one another. Thus, the northern Buddhists fix the date of the Greek king Menander, or Milinda as the Indians called him, to be five centuries after the Parinirvâṇa. This would seem to point to the priority of Kanishka over Menander by one century—a conclusion which no student of ancient Indian History will admit. Nay, the legend about Kanishka just stated is incompatible with other legends about the same king. Sung-yun mentions a tradition according to which Buddha predicted that three hundred years after his Nirvâṇa, Kanishka would rule over the country of Gandhâra, and the prophecy literally came to pass.<sup>22</sup> Again, there is one legend of an Arhat, who lived 500 years after the Nirvâṇa, and who, in his short autobiographical description, states that in his previous life he was a bat, and by listening to the words of Buddhist Scriptures in that life he became an ascetic in his present life, and was one of the five hundred monks whom Kanishka with Pârsvika summoned to draw up the Vibhâshâ Sâstra.<sup>23</sup> This implies that Kanishka reigned 500 years after the Nirvâṇa. In short, as the different legends about Kanishka assign him different dates, none of these can be utilised for the purpose of determining the period when he lived. The theory of Kanishka being the founder of the Saka era on the ground of Buddhist legends thus rests on a very unstable basis.

We have thus seen that Kanishka cannot be the founder of the 'Saka era, and that the dates of the inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudeva cannot therefore refer to that era. In order to determine their English equivalent, it is essential first to settle who was the founder of the Saka era. Three different views have been held by scholars in respect of the origin of that era. Of these, the theory started by Fergusson and upheld by Prof. Oldenberg, *viz.*, that Kanishka originated that era, has just been examined, and shown to be untenable. We shall now consider the other two theories suggested by Cunningham and Bhagwanlal Indraji respectively. Cunningham regards Chashiṇana to be the founder of the 'Saka era, as the dates on the coins and inscriptions of his successors are undoubtedly Saka years.<sup>24</sup> The dates of Nahapâna, he says, must be reckoned

<sup>22</sup> Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I., intro. ciii.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. I., pp. 116 and 117.

<sup>24</sup> N. Chr. 1888, pp. 232 and 233; *Ibid.* 1892, p. 44.

from the time of Maues (100 B. C.).<sup>25</sup> Nahapâna thus flourished about the middle of the first century B. C. He places Gotamîputra Sâtakarṇi about 78 A. D., and the Khakharâtas, who are said in Nasik Inscription No. 18 to have been exterminated by Gotamîputra Sâtakarṇi, are, in his opinion, the descendants of Nahapâna. He thus makes the former a contemporary of Chashtana, maintaining that the mention of Chashtana and Puḷumâyi by Ptolemy proves neither that the two kings were contemporaries nor that they were not far removed in time from the Greek geographer (150 A.D.). Similarly, he makes contemporaries, Puḷumâyi and Jayadâman the sons of Gotamîputra Sâtakarṇi and Chashtana respectively. He further assigns a reign of twenty-five years to Jayadâman (100-125 A.D.) and also to his son Rudradâman (125-150 A.D.). This is in short the view of Cunningham regarding the chronology of the Andhrabhṛityas and the Kshatrapas which he could not but adopt to support his theory that Chashtana started the Saka era. The chief characteristic of this view is that it is based on a number of improbable suppositions. The foremost of these is the thesis that the way in which Ptolemy speaks of Chashtana and Puḷumâyi does not in the least indicate that they were contemporaries or were not separated by a long interval from the former. The most staunch advocate of this opinion was Dr. Bühler himself.<sup>26</sup> But when it was ably contested and refuted by Dr. Bhandarkar<sup>27</sup> and M. Senart, he was forced to give it up,<sup>28</sup> and so far as my knowledge goes, no scholar of any repute now lends any countenance to it. Similarly, Cunningham insinuates that the Khakharâtas, the descendants of Nahapâna reigned upwards of a century before they were uprooted by Gotamîputra Sâtakarṇi but almost all scholars are now agreed on the point,<sup>29</sup> that there was no great interval between Nahapâna and Sâtakarṇi, since no Khakharâta prince places himself between them in any inscriptions in Western India and since a grant is made by Sâtakarṇi of a piece of land till

<sup>25</sup> For Cunningham's view of the chronology of the Andhras and the Kshatrapas, see *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 104 ff. In *N. Chr.* 1888, pp. 238 and 233, however, Cunningham refers the dates of Nahapâna to the fourth Seleukidan century commencing with 12 B. C.

<sup>26</sup> *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.* V., 72; *Ind. Ant.* XII., 273-4.

<sup>27</sup> *Dek. His.*, pp. 130, 131; *Ind. Ant.* XXI., 205-206.

<sup>28</sup> *Die Indischen Inschriften*, &c., pp. 56-57.

<sup>29</sup> *Ind. Ant.* X, 225; *Die Indischen Inschriften &c.*, p. 57 and note 2; *Jour. Asia.* 1897, pp. 124-125.

then in the possession of Usabhadâta who it is alleged can be no other than Usabhadâta of the Karli and Ushavadâta of the Nasik inscription, the well-known son-in-law of Nahapâna. If we set aside these suppositions, the weakness of Cunningham's theory is at once obvious. For then the combination that can be brought forward and has actually been brought forward<sup>30</sup> by scholars is as follows: Shortly after 46 the latest date of Nahapâna, followed a war with Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi who destroyed the Khakharâta race. Śâtakarṇi reigned at least 24 years according to the Nasik inscription No. 14. Now, Nasik inscription No. 13, dated in his 18th year records the donation of a village in the district of Govardhana which was formerly included in the dominions of Nahapâna, so that the victory of Śâtakarṇi occurred before the 18th year of his reign. Let us suppose that the event came off in the 15th regnal year of Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi. He was succeeded to the throne by his son Puḷumâyi. Since Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi reigned for at least 24 years (Nasik inscription No. 14), his reign comes to a close nine years after the date of his conquest of Nahapâna i. e. the year 47, so that about the year 57 of the era which Nahapâna employed, may be placed the accession of Puḷumâyi who was contemporary with Chashṭana. Now, if the dates of Nahapâna are to be reckoned from the time of Maues as Cunningham tells us, Puḷumâyi lived in the middle of the first century B.C. He cannot thus be made a contemporary of Chashṭana who reigned according to Cunningham from 78 to 100 A.D. Both of them, again, are separated from Ptolemy by a much greater interval than is probable, on the view that the Greek geographer's information was not of a much earlier date than when he wrote about the princes. If on the contrary, the dates of Nahapâna are referred to the Śaka era, Puḷumâyi came to the throne about 135 A.D. and this brings him sufficiently close to the time of Ptolemy. But if Nahapâna is supposed to have employed the Saka era as is generally accepted, Cunningham's theory of Chashṭana being the originator of that era falls to the ground.

<sup>30</sup> The view stated here is that held by Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* XII., 273; *Die Indischen Inschriften &c.* pp. 57-58). This view has no doubt been adopted by most scholars (*Ind. Ant.* XXI., 204; *Jour. Asia.* 1897 tome X., p. 124 and ff); but I cannot agree with Bühler in regard to the order of succession of the Andhrabhṛitya kings determined by him, as well as with respect to his opinion that Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi reigned in the Dekkan. For the grounds on which my dissent is based, see *Dek. His.*, p. 19. and note 1 and ff.

Similarly, there is a general consensus of opinion amongst scholars that the duration of Jayadâman's reign was a very short one on account of the extreme rareness of his coins. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajî, his reign lasted for three years.<sup>31</sup> Whatever the short period may be which is to be ascribed to Jayadâman, the period of twenty-five years which Cunningham has assigned to him is in every way improbable. Next, it is curious that Cunningham makes the reign of Rudradâman extend from 125 to 150 A. D., because the date which his Girnar inscription bears is 72 which, as Cunningham rightly considers it to be a Saka year, answers to 150 A. D. But this date is the date of the bursting of the embankment of the Sudarâna lake and not of the incision of the inscription. There is therefore good reason to suppose that Rudradâman's reign did not come to a close in 72 Saka, *i. e.*, 150 A. D. as Cunningham thinks. Further, his next two successors were Dâmaghsada and Rudrasimha.<sup>32</sup> The earliest and latest dates of the latter are 102 and 108 respectively. In all likelihood therefore, Rudrasimha began to reign not earlier than 102. The scarcity of Dâmaghsada's coins points to his having reigned not more than ten years, so that we get 92 as the approximate year when Rudradâman ceased to reign. Rudradâman therefore appears to have continued to reign long after 72 Saka. If we reject as improbable the suppositions to which Cunningham has resorted, the conclusion we come to is as follows: since Rudradâman reigned up to 92 Saka, in all probability his reign did not commence before 61 Saka; and making an allowance of ten years for his father Jayadâman, which can scarcely be exceeded since his coins are very rare we have fifty years as the duration of Chashtana's reign, if we hold with Cunningham that Chashtana started the Saka era. It is true that a period of fifty years is in itself not impossible, but is extremely improbable unless the contrary is proved. And as a matter of fact, the coins of Chastana that have been found are very few, and this points to a much shorter period than that of fifty years. We thus find that in order to maintain his theory, Cunningham had to make a number of improbable suppositions and bring to his aid these no longer upheld.

According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajî, the Śaka era dates from the coronation of Nahapâna and marks his conquest of Gujarat and

<sup>31</sup> History of Gujarat (Bom. Gazet. Vol. I, Pt. I.) pp. 33-34.

<sup>32</sup> Dâmaghsada is supposed by Pandit Bhagwanlal to have been succeeded by his son Jivâdaman. But Mr. Rapson has shown that Dâmaghsada was succeeded by his brother Rudrasimha (J. R. A. S. 1899, p. 375).

Western Dekkan.<sup>33</sup> The latest known date 46 of Nahapâna is therefore the 46th year of his reign as well as of the Śaka era. And the Pandit finds a confirmation of this in the effigy of Nahapâna on his coins the type of which passes from his youth to his old age. Now, in the first place this theory cannot be entitled to our confidence unless it is shown beyond all doubt that Nahapâna was an independent sovereign. I think, we may safely hold that the very title Kshatrapa points to the subordinate position of the person who assumes it unless the contrary is proved. So that Nahapâna's title Kshatrapa makes it highly probable that he was a dependent prince. Secondly, as Dr. Bühler has pointed out, the circumstance that on his coins his name is given in the Kharoshthî character as well as in the southern alphabet is an indication of his connection with the north and northwest where the Indo-Scythians ruled.<sup>34</sup> It is therefore almost certain that Nahapâna was not an independent ruler. Precisely the same line of reasoning holds good in the case of Chashtana.<sup>35</sup> Neither Nahapâna nor Chashtana can therefore be the founder of any era, and the originator thereof must naturally be looked for in the imperial Saka dynasty, whose might overshadowed the north and northwest of India. Again on the theory that Nahapâna founded the era we shall have to suppose that he reigned for 46 years at least, his latest recorded date being as stated above 46. Whatever support this supposition may derive from the look of effigy of Nahapâna on his coins, young and old, the improbability of it is evident, as the coins of Nahapâna have rarely

<sup>33</sup> History of Gujarat, pp. 26-27.    <sup>34</sup> Die Indischen Inschriften, &c., p. 57.

<sup>35</sup> I cannot but think that the assumption of the title Kshatrapa or Mahâkshatrapa by these Western Satraps at any rate is not without significance. Those who were Kshatrapas were subordinate to the Mahâkshatrapas or some foreign kings who conquered them. Those who are styled Mahâkshatrapas were independent and owed fealty to none. Nahapâna on his coins and in his son-in-law Ushavadâta's inscriptions (dated 41, 42 and 45) is called simply Kshatrapa. It is in the Junuar inscription of his minister Ayama (dated 46) that the title Mahâkshatrapa is first conjoined to his name. This shows that before the year 46 Nahapâna was only a Kshatrapa and occupied a subordinate position. Now, if the dates of Nahapâna are to be referred to the Śaka era as held by most antiquarians and even by Pandit Bhagwanlal, he cannot be the founder of the Śaka era, inasmuch as in the years 41, 42, and 45 which are thus Śaka years, he was not an independent ruler. Similarly on some of his coins Chashtana is styled Kshatrapa and on some Mahâkshatrapa. This also indicates that at the beginning he was like Nahapâna a dependent prince, though afterwards he rose to independent power.

been found. And if the Pandit assigns a reign of three years only to Jayadâman, father of Rudradâman, because of the rareness of his coins, it is inexplicable why he should regard Nahapâna as having reigned for 46 years at least when the coins of the latter also are rare. Thirdly, if the Saka era had been instituted by Nahapâna, it would have died with his death or with that of his successor, whosoever the Khakharâta prince may be whom Gotamîputra Sâtakarṇi vanquished. There is no reason why the princes of Chashtana's family should have dated their coins and inscriptions in Nahapâna's era, because, first, they did not belong, like the latter, to the Khakharâta race, of which, Nasik inscription No. 18 informs us, Gotamîputra Sâtakarṇi left no remnant; secondly, Nahapâna's dynasty was by no means politically superior to Chashtana's; and, thirdly, Nahapâna's era had a standing of scarcely above half a century. I hold that Nahapâna's and Chashtana's family both used the Saka era because they derived their power from and represented in the south the imperial Saka dynasty, whence the Saka era originated.<sup>36</sup>

It was shown before that Kanishka cannot be the founder of the Saka era, and we have now shown that Cunningham's conjecture that Chashtana started the era is highly improbable, and that Pandit Bhagwanlal's theory that the era was instituted by Nahapâna is also untenable. Let us now proceed to determine the question: who was, then, the originator of the Saka era? One of the inscriptions on the

<sup>36</sup> In his 'Nasik: Pându Lena Caves' (Bom. Gaz. XIV., 617), Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajî makes the following most learned remarks: "This era (*i.e.* the era used in the Kshatrapa inscriptions and coins) cannot have been started by Nahapâna, as it is improbable that Chashtana would have adopted an era begun by another Kshatrapa of a different family. The era must therefore belong to their common overlord. Who this overlord was cannot be settled until coins of Nahapâna and Chashtana are found with the Greek legend clear and entire. But all the Kathiawar Kshatrapas have adopted on their coins the Greek legend which appears on the obverse of Nahapâna's coins, and this seems to be the name Vonones differently spelt." I am perfectly at one with Pandit Bhagwanlal here in maintaining that the era employed by the Kshatrapas, which is identical with the Saka era, must have been originated by their overlord, who as I have shown further, is no other than Vonones, though the grounds on which the Pandit bases his conclusion are not sound, inasmuch as the Greek legend on the obverse of Nahapâna and Chashtana's coins, as has recently been shown by Mr. Rapson, is a mere transliteration of the Indian legend on the reverse (J. B. A. S., 1899, pp. 359-60), and does not contain the name of Vonones. But the Pandit gave up this correct view, and held in his History of Gujarat that the Saka era was started by Nahapâna.

Mathura Lion Capital<sup>37</sup> makes an honorific mention of the Mahābhadrava Kusulā Patika. They were all engraved in the time of Rājula or Rājubula and his son Śoḍāsa or Soḍāsa.<sup>38</sup> The Taxila copper-plate grant,<sup>39</sup> which bears the date 78 and refers itself to the reign of Moga, was issued by Patika, son of Chhatrapa Liaka Kusnlaka. The identification of Patika of the Mathura inscription with Patika of the Taxila plate is scarcely subject to doubt especially on account of the tribal name Kusulaka. It also follows that Rājubula and Liaka on the one hand, and Soḍāsa and Patika on the other, were contemporaries. There is a Mathura inscription which is dated in the year 72 in the reign of Soḍāsa.<sup>40</sup> This year 72 of the time of Soḍāsa and the year 78 of the time of Patika must therefore belong to one and the same era since the two Kshatrapas were contemporaries.

It has been shown that the dates of the Western Kshatrapa inscriptions refer to the Saka era. Nahapāna's latest date is 46, which is therefore a Saka year. Soḍāsa's date is 72. I have indicated above that Soḍāsa was undoubtedly posterior to Nahapāna, but that they were not far removed in time from one another. So that the date 72 of Soḍāsa in all likelihood belongs to the Saka era equally with the date 46 of Nahapāna, especially as, like the latter, the former was a Kshatrapa and a Saka.<sup>41</sup> And, further, Patika was a contemporary of Soḍāsa. His date 78 must also therefore be supposed to be a Saka year. Again, the Taxila plate refers itself to the reign of Moga, who has been identified with Maues of the coins. Maues was thus the overlord of Chhatrapa Liaka, father of Patika. The wording of the Taxila plate is ["Sāmvtasa]raye aḥasatatimāē 20 20 20 10 4 4 maharayasa mahamāntasa [Mo]gasa," &c. Some scholars have held that the year 78 refers to an era founded by Moga.<sup>42</sup> But Dr. Bühler has pointed out that the year 78 is not of any era started

<sup>37</sup> J. R. A. S. (N. S.), 1894, p. 537.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* p. 530.

<sup>39</sup> Ep. Ind. IV., p. 54 and ff.

<sup>40</sup> See note 18 *supra*.

<sup>41</sup> One inscription on the Mathura Lion Capital is engraved in honour of the whole Sakastana (J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 540). Sakastana is Śakasthāna, i.e., the land of the Śakas, and corresponds to the Sakastene of Isidorus, the Sejistān of the early Muhammadan writers, and the Sistān of the present day. The name clearly implies that the Śakas had occupied and permanently settled in that province. And unless we suppose Rājubula and Soḍāsa to be Śakas, it is inconceivable why there should be an honorific mention of Sakastana in one of the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions which record the gifts of the members of their dynasty.

<sup>42</sup> J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 553.



by Moga, but of the era used in his time.<sup>43</sup> This appears to be the correct explanation and similar wording from other inscriptions might be quoted in support of it.<sup>44</sup> It is thus clear that the year 78 of the Taxila plate refers to the Saka era, and that this era was in vogue in the time of Moga or Maues, a prince of the Saka dynasty which held direct sway over the north and the northwest of the country. And if our object is to find out who was the originator of the Saka era, we must fix upon the first Saka sovereign of this dynasty to which Maues belonged.

Various coins bearing bi-lingual legends, of kings such as Vonones, Spalirises, Azas, &c., whose Saka nationality is unquestionable, have been found, but the order of their succession has not yet been satisfactorily determined, although the legends enable us to do so. Not a single coin of Vonones has yet been discovered whereon both the Greek and Kharoshthi legends give his name. But the coins, the Greek legends of which mention the name of Vonones, and the Kharoshthi, those of other personages, are not few. Now, I believe that the prince whose name occurs in the Greek legend on the obverse is the paramount ruler, and the personage whose name is mentioned in the Kharoshthi legend on the reverse is a viceroy appointed by that sovereign, especially as we find that while certain coins bear the names of different persons on the reverses, they have the name of one and the same king on all the obverses. The titles affixed to the name of Vonones are *Basileus Basileon Megas* which unmistakably point to his supreme power. The different personages whose names are mentioned in the Kharoshthi legends are — (i) Spalahores, who is said to be *Mahārāja-bhrātā*, (ii) Spalgadames, son of Spalahores, and (iii) Azas.<sup>45</sup> Spalahores, Spalgadames and Azas were, therefore, subordinate to Vonones. It is also plain that during the life-time of Vonones, Spalahores died and his son Spalgadames succeeded him to his viceroyalty, since in addition to the coins which bear the father's name, there are others, the reverses of which give the son's name, with the name of the same overlord Vonones on the obverses of the coins of both. Next come the

<sup>43</sup> Ep. Ind. IV., 66, remark 1.

<sup>44</sup> See e.g. Śoḍāsa's inscription (Ep. Ind. II., 199); Rudrasālāha's inscription (Ind. Ant. X., 157); and Rudrasena's inscription (J. B. B. R. A. S. VIII., 234 ff.; Ind. Ant. XII., 32). In all these inscriptions the genitive of the name of the prince is connected with the year sometimes preceding it and sometimes following it as in the above.

<sup>45</sup> N. Chr. 1890, pp. 136-138; Gard., pp. 98-99.

coins of Spalirises which present two varieties: (i) coins bearing his name alone in both the legends and (ii) coins on which his name occurs on the obverse in the Greek legend, and those of others on the reverse in the Kharoshthi. The names on the reverse are — (i) Spalgadames and (ii) Azas.<sup>46</sup> These last were, therefore, the viceroys of Spalirises. It has just been stated that Spalahores died when his overlord Vonones was alive, and that after him the viceroyship was held by his son Spalgadames. And no coins on which the name of Spalahores is associated with that of Spalirises have been obtained. Vonones, therefore, as having the father and the son for his viceroys, must be the earlier prince, while Spalirises, who had the son only for his viceroy, must be the later. Spalirises was, therefore, the successor of Vonones. Similarly, the coins of Azas may be distinguished into three classes: (i) those in which his name is found in the Kharoshthi legend on the reverse in conjunction with those of Vonones and Spalirises in the Greek on the obverse; (ii) those which contain his name in both the legends with titles indicative of supreme power; and (iii) those which bear his name in the Greek legend on the obverse and mention the names of Azilises and Aspavarmā in the Kharoshthi on the reverse.<sup>47</sup> The first class was issued when he was in a subordinate position with reference to Vonones and Spalirises, and the last two indicate that Azas was a paramount sovereign when they were struck. Azas therefore could not have been a supreme ruler during the time of Vonones and Spalirises, but came to the throne after them and then became an overlord. The coins of Azilises are likewise of three distinct classes: (i) coins whereon his name is restricted to the Kharoshthi reverse, and that of Azas mentioned in the Greek obverse; (ii) those in both the legends on which his name is given, and is coupled with the epithets of a paramount sovereign; and (iii) two coins at least on which his name occurs on the obverse in the Greek legend, and that of Azas on the reverse in the Kharoshthi.<sup>48</sup> The first class shows that Azilises was a governor, and hence subordinate to Azas, when the latter was alive, while the rest two classes point to his supreme power. Azilises was therefore the successor of Azas and became a sovereign after the death of the latter. I have just stated that on two coins

<sup>46</sup> N. Chr. 1890, pp. 138-139; in the notice of coin No. 7 on p. 138, the heading given is 'Spalahores and Spalgadames,' but instead of Spalahores, Spalirises is wanted; Gard. pp. 100 and 102.

<sup>47</sup> N. Chr. 1890, pp. 140-152 and 170; Gard. pp. 78-92 and 173.

<sup>48</sup> N. Chr. 1890, pp. 153-155 and 149; Gard. pp. 93-97 and 92.

at least the names of Azilises and Azas are found on the Greek obverse and the Kharoshthi reverse respectively. This indicates that Azas was subordinate to Azilises. But this Azas must not be identified with the Azas just mentioned. We must suppose that there were two princes of that name, one the predecessor and the other the successor of Azilises, and it is not unlikely that some of the coins hitherto presumed to be issued by Azas I. were really struck by Azas II. Thus, the order of succession of these Śaka kings deduced from an examination of the legends on their coins is as follows : first comes Vonones, then Spalirises, then Azas I., after him Azilises and after him Azas II. There remains one more Śaka prince named Maues whose coins also have been discovered. And now the question arises: where to place him? whether to place him before Vonones or after Azas II.?

Before we proceed to decide this point, it is of vital importance to consider the views of Percy Gardner and Cunningham in respect of the succession of these Śaka rulers. Percy Gardner places Maues earlier than any other of these Śaka princes and remarks that "he ruled some Scythic invaders who had entered India not through the Kabul valley" but by the Karakoram pass. Azas, according to him, was the immediate successor of Maues. He further observes that Vonones and Spalirises, "who from the find-spots of their coins seem to have reigned in Kabul," may have been tributary to Azas.<sup>49</sup> Various other remarks have been made by him regarding the relationship of these kings, but with these we are not concerned.<sup>50</sup> Now,

<sup>49</sup> Gard. Intro. XI. ff.

<sup>50</sup> Spalahores on his coins calls himself *Mahārāja bhrātā*. Who this mahārāja was Percy Gardner is unable to determine. But I think that almost certainly, Spalahore was a brother of Vonones, as the latter clearly appears to be his overlord, and therefore the king whose brother Spalahores was, can be no other than Vonones. Similarly, one class of Spalirises' coins bears on the Greek obverse the legend *Basileus Adelfhos Spalirises*, and on the Kharoshthi reverse *Mahārāja bhrāta Dhramiśa Spalirisa*. This, in my opinion, is indicative of his inferior position at the time when they were struck. And as we have seen that before Spalirises became a sovereign, Vonones was the paramount ruler, it can scarcely be seriously doubted that he too like Spalahores was a viceroy appointed by and a brother of Vonones. Vonones was thus the supreme ruler, and appointed his brothers Spalirises and Spalahores viceroys to govern the provinces conquered by him, and after the death of the latter, conferred the viceroyalty on his nephew, i.e. Spalahores' son, Spalgadames. This seems to my mind the relationship in which they stood to one another. But how Azilises, Vonones, Spalirises and Spalahores were the sons of Azas as Gardner maintains is quite inexplicable to me.

first, do the coins show that Vonones and Spalirises were tributary to Azas? Whenever Azas strikes coins together with Vonones and Spalirises, the names of the last two kings occur in the Greek and that of Azas in the Kharoshthi legend. *Prima facie*, when the name of one prince is in the Greek legend and of another in the Kharoshthi, the latter must be looked upon as tributary to the former. The Kharoshthi legend on the coins was obviously meant for the Indian subjects of the province where they were current. When both the Greek and Kharoshthi legends contain the name of one king only, it must be supposed that he was the sole as well as the direct ruler of the territory. But when these legends give different names, it is natural to infer that the personage whose name is found in the Kharoshthi governed the province directly, and the prince whose name is placed in the Greek was the sovereign under whom he held the office of viceroy. On all the coins whereon the names of Azas and Vonones or Spalirises are associated, that of the first is invariably restricted to the Kharoshthi, and those of the last two to the Greek legend. Azas, therefore, far from being the overlord of Vonones or Spalirises, was himself their viceroy during their life-time. If it is, however, supposed for the moment that the prince, whose name is found in the Kharoshthi legend, must be considered paramount, then Aspavarma who strikes in conjunction with Azas and whose name is mentioned in the Kharoshthi, whereas that of Azas is confined to the Greek legend, must be regarded as the overlord of Azas. Nevertheless, Gardner thinks him to be a subordinate of Azas.<sup>51</sup> Again, we know that Spalahores, Spalgadames and Azas strike coins together with Vonones, the names of the first three being restricted to the Kharoshthi legends. If we now suppose for the sake of argument that princes whose names occur in the Kharoshthi legends are sovereigns, we shall have to infer that Vonones was tributary also to Spalahores and Spalgadames, when, as a matter of fact, the titles *Basileus Basileon Mageis* are conjoined with the name of Vonones and the epithet *Dharmika* only with the names of Spalahores and Spalgadames. The fact, therefore, of Azas' name being confined to the Kharoshthi, while those of Vonones and Spalirises are mentioned in the Greek legend, clearly shows that Vonones and Spalirises, far from being tributary to Azas, were each in his turn the overlord of Azas. Again, as I have said above, when certain coins give the names of

<sup>51</sup> Gard. Intro. XLIII.

different persons on the reverses, but bear the name of one and the same prince on the obverses, the latter must evidently be considered to be the supreme lord of the former. We have seen that there are coins which contain the names of Spalahores, Spalgadames and Azas on the reverses, but have the name of one and the same prince Vonones on the obverses. Vonones was therefore the overlord not only of Spalahores and Spalgadames, but of Azas also. Likewise, coins have been found, as stated heretofore, the reverses of which give the names of Spalgadames and Azas and the obverses of which bear the name of Spalirises only. This shows that not only Spalgadames, but Azas also, acknowledged the supremacy of Spalirises. In short, the statement that Vonones and Spalirises were tributary to Azas has no ground to stand upon. On the contrary, the assertion that Vonones and Spalirises were the overlords of Azas is in every way entitled to our confidence. Whether or not Maues was the first Śaka prince, as Gardner supposes, will shortly be considered, but with regard to his remark about the route by which the Scythic invaders, headed by Maues, poured into India, we may at this stage draw attention to the refutation thereof by Cunningham, who says: "I feel quite certain that they could not have come through Kashmir by the Kharakoram pass, as suggested by Professor Gardner, as that pass, instead of being open all the year round, is closed during winter and could *never* be traversed by an army even in summer."<sup>52</sup> Cunningham further holds, and rightly, I think, that they first occupied Arachosia and Drangiana and thence spread eastward to the valley of the Indus. The Chinese authorities, as he himself says, are in favour of this view. And further, I may remark that Sakastana, which designates modern Sistan, doubtless shows that the Śakas first occupied and settled in that province and that this country appears afterwards to have been looked up to by the Śakas with patriotic feelings, since, as mentioned above, there is an honorific mention of Sakastana in the celebrated Mathura Lion Pillar Capital.<sup>53</sup>

Although I express my full concurrence in these remarks of

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<sup>52</sup> N. Chr. 1890. p. 104.

<sup>53</sup> See note 41 *supra*; similarly Khorasān was called after the Korsan or Kushana tribe, Zabulistan after the Jābuli tribe of the Ephthalites, and Sogdiana after the Sughdi tribe. I think these provinces received the names of the tribes, as it was in these that they first gained a firm footing and established themselves permanently in their conquests southwards.

Cunningham, I must express my dissent from his view which distinguishes the family of Maues from that of Vonones and makes the former rulers of the Punjab, and the latter, of the country around Kandahar and Ghazni.<sup>54</sup> According to him, Maues at the head of a Saka horde first conquered Sakastana and then advanced further into the east and occupied the Punjab, leaving behind him Vonones who afterwards either rebelled or was himself made the ruler of Sakastana by Maues who was content with his Indian dominions. On the death of Maues, Vonones and Azas disputed each the claim of the other to the throne, and it was settled by both maintaining their equal authority. And, further, as the coins of Maues are found only in the Punjab, and of Azas and Azilises little beyond Jelalabad, whereas the money of Vonones and Spalirises is confined to the country around Kandahar and Ghazni, Cunningham holds that Azas and Azilises were the successors of Maues. Now, in the first place, I cannot but feel certain that the sequence of the reigns of Vonones, Spalirises, Azas I., Azilises and Azas II. deduced from the legends of their coins is indisputable. Why then should we not regard these princes as members of one and the same dynasty? Again, Cunningham maintains that the claim to the throne of Maues, contested by Vonones and Azas, was "adjusted by admitting the equal authority of Azas." But we have seen that on coins which he strikes together with Vonones and Spalirises, the name of Azas is restricted to the reverse. This shows that he was tributary to Vonones and Spalirises. This conclusion is assented to by Cunningham himself, who says that "politically they were certainly connected, as Azas acknowledged the supremacy of Vonones and afterwards of Spalirises by placing their names on the obverse on his coins."<sup>55</sup> It is therefore evident that during the life-time of Vonones and Spalirises, Azas was their subordinate. Further, according to Cunningham, Azas succeeded Maues, but I cannot comprehend how this can be so, when the legends on his coins distinctly and unmistakably connect him with Vonones and Spalirises and show him to be the successor of the latter, whereas no such connection with Maues is at all discernible.

We shall now examine the argument often adduced in favour of the first place in the dynastic list assigned to Maues. Such numismatists as Wilson, Von Sallet, Percy Gardner and Cunningham<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> N. Chr. 1890, pp. 103 ff.

<sup>55</sup> N. Chr. 1890, p. 107.

<sup>56</sup> Ar. Ant. p. 313; Gard. Intro., p. xl.; N. Chr. 1890, p. 110; *Ibid.* 1888, p. 242.

have maintained that since there are two types of Maues' coins which are identical with those of Demetrius and Apollodotus, he was not much posterior to these Greek princes and must therefore be regarded as the earliest prince of the Saka dynasty. Accordingly he has been placed about 70 B. C. by Gardner and about 100 B. C. by Cunningham. The question that we have now to consider is: 'Is identity of type a sure mark of contemporaneity?' I believe that when the type of any two kings' coins is alike or even identical, it does not *necessarily* follow that they were contemporary or even nearly contemporary to each other. It is not unlikely that the coinage of one of these kings was in circulation in the time of the other to whom it might have suggested types for his coinage. And this in fact appears to be the case from the coins of Maues himself. For one type of his coins is a close imitation of a coin of Apollodotus, and another an exact copy of a coin of Demetrius. And if we availed ourselves for the moment of the dates assigned by Gardner<sup>57</sup> to the Greek and the Indo-Scythian princes, there would be an interval of ninety years between Demetrius and Apollodotus and of thirty years between Apollodotus and Maues. Demetrius is thus anterior to Maues by one hundred and twenty years. This chronological difference between the Greek and the Indo-Scythian king is, in my opinion, much less than it most probably is.<sup>58</sup> However, even if we accept it, it can scarcely be reasonably maintained that Maues was contemporary or even nearly contemporary with Demetrius. Identity of type is therefore not a sure proof of contemporaneity, and, in particular, in the case of Maues we have just seen that he cannot possibly be contemporaneous with Demetrius and Apollodotus at the same time, seeing that they were removed from each other by ninety years, and from Maues by one hundred and twenty, and thirty years at least respectively. The assertion that Maues was the first Saka ruler, entirely based on the argument of the identity of type, thus falls to the ground.

Again, the fact that Maues' coins are confined to the Punjab<sup>59</sup> militates against the supposition that he was the first Saka prince. For one would expect to find the coins of the first Saka prince in countries to the west and north-west of the Punjab, and not in the

<sup>57</sup> Gard. Intro. p. xxxiii.

<sup>58</sup> Prof. Gardner allots an average of ten years only to every one of the Greek and Scythian kings. But I think that ordinarily an average of at least fifteen years should be assigned to each reign.

<sup>59</sup> N. Chr. 1890, p. 106.

Punjab only.<sup>60</sup> Therefore it is again supposed that Maues and his horde came into the Punjab by the Karakoram pass.<sup>61</sup> But the improbability or even the impossibility of its being used we have already shown on the authority of General Cunningham himself. Besides, the theory itself to support which this supposition is made, we have shown to be groundless, as it makes Maues a contemporary of two princes removed from each other by an interval of ninety years at least. The plain conclusion, therefore, from the fact that Maues' coins are confined to the Punjab, that he was the last of the Saka princes must be accepted. Further, it is worthy of note that during the reigns of Vonones, Spalirises, Azas and Azilises, we find powerful viceroys ruling under their authority over different provinces. But the reign of Maues is conspicuous by the absence of viceroys, such as Azas was in the time of Vonones and Spalirises, or Azilises during the reign of Azas himself. This also shows the curtailment of the Saka power in Maues' time, and therefore points to his being the last Saka ruler. Again, it is morally certain and I think that unless the contrary is proved, we may hold that the Mathura date 72 of Sodasa, the Taxila date 78 of Patika, the Takht-i-Bahi date 103 of the Indo-Parthian prince Gondophares, the Panjar date 123 of a Gushana prince (whose name is lost), &c., are years of one and the same era.<sup>62</sup> But the year 103 ~~was~~ the 26th year of the reign of Gondophares, who thus seems to ~~have~~ come to the throne in 78. The Taxila copper-plate charter was issued in the year 78. Maues and Gondophares were therefore contemporaries. And we know that the Saka power

<sup>60</sup> I have mentioned heretofore that the name Sakastene shows that the Śakas first occupied and settled in that province, and thence penetrated eastward into the Punjab. Hence, if Maues had been the first Śaka sovereign, his coins would have been found to the West of the Punjab; but since they are not, it is highly improbable that Maues was the earliest of the Śaka rulers.

<sup>61</sup> Gard. Intro. XL.

<sup>62</sup> Dr. Büdler was inclined to the same view (Vienna Ori. Jour. Vol. X., p. 173). I shall show the extremely great probability of the correctness of his view further in the sequel. It is interesting to find that in M. Senart's opinion the Taxila date of Moga and the Takht-i-Bahi date of Gondophares are links of the same chain and refer to the Śaka era (Ind. Ant. XXI., 207). In my humble opinion, all the dates mentioned above, including those given by M. Senart, are years of the Śaka era. And the numismatic difficulty in accepting this view, to which he has adverted, if we hold Kanishka to be the founder of the Śaka era, disappears when it is held that the era was not instituted by Kanishka, and that he flourished a century at least after Gondophares, as I shall attempt to show further on.



was overthrown by Gondophares, whose coins found all over the Punjab, as well as at Kandahar, Sistan, Jelalabad and Begram,<sup>63</sup> doubtless prove that his sway was established over all the territories formerly held by the Sakas. Maues is therefore the last prince of the Saka dynasty. According to our view, Vonones, the earliest, first conquered Arachosia and Drangiana, and thence pressed his victories further into the Punjab. And in all these districts the coins of Vonones' viceroys are found. We therefore hold that, like almost all invaders, Vonones entered into the Punjab from the west and not through Kashmir. From the find-spots of their coins, Vonones and Spalirises appear to have ruled over Arachosia, Drangiana, the lower Kabul valley, and the Western Punjab.<sup>64</sup> But after the death of the latter, Azas I. seems to have lost many of the Saka possessions in Afghanistan, his rule being confined only to the lower Kabul valley and the Punjab, where his coins have been found in abundance.<sup>65</sup> The dominions of Azilises and Azas II. were much the same as those of Azas I. It thus appears that after Spalirises, the diminution of the extent of the Saka kingdom had set in Afghanistan till the whole was lost in the reign of Maues, whose sway, as we have seen, was restricted to the Punjab only. We know that the Saka dynasty was supplanted by the Indo-Parthians. When they commenced their inroads and pressed upon the Sakas, the latter had naturally to leave their possessions in Afghanistan and the west more and more into the hands of their conquerors and remain content with their Indian dominions; and finally the Western Punjab also was wrested from them by Gondophares.

It has been observed above that it is natural to suppose the date 78 of the Taxila plate as a year of the era not started by Moga or Maues, but used in his time, that this era is in all likelihood the Saka era, and that if we could fix upon the first Saka prince of the imperial dynasty to which Maues belonged, we should find the originator of the Saka era. With this end in view, we have determined the following order of succession of these Saka rulers, viz., (i) Vonones. (ii) Spalirises, (iii) Azas I., (iv) Azilises. (v) Azas II., and (vi) Maues. Vonones thus appears to be the first prince of the Saka dynasty, and

<sup>63</sup> N. Chr. 1890, pp. 122-123; Gard. Intro. XLV.

<sup>64</sup> N. Chr. 1890, pp. 106-107; Gard. Intro. XLI. Since the coins of Azas, when a viceroy of Vonones and Spalirises, are found in the Western Punjab, the latter appear to have had it under their sway.

<sup>65</sup> Ar. Ant., p. 321; N. Chr. 1890, p. 110.

hence the founder of the Saka era. And, further, if we assign an average duration of fifteen years to the reign of each one of these kings, our calculation gives the year 76 as the initial year of the reign of Maues, and the year 90 as the last year of that reign. This result fits excellently; for in the first place the initial year of his reign, according to our reckoning, is earlier than and hence not inconsistent with the date 78 of the Taxila plate of Patika, and, secondly, his reign closes before the date 103 of the Takht-i-Bah, inscription, when Gondophares was alive and ruling over the Punjab. For about thirteen years the dominions of Gondophares and Maues were conterminous with one another, and shortly before or after the year 90, Gondophares wrested the Punjab from the Sakas. If this line of reasoning has any weight, the Saka era originates from Vonones. The coins of Vonones have not yet been obtained, but those of his viceroys have been found in Arachosia, Sistan, the lower Kabul valley, and the Western Punjab. To my mind it appears that the seat of Vonones' government lay to the west or north-west of Sistan, and that he subjugated Sistan, Arachosia, and other districts in the neighbourhood and appointed viceroys to govern them. Vonones must therefore have been a powerful sovereign. It has been alleged that Vonones sounds an Indo-Parthian name. But we have seen that his successors were Azas, Azilises, and Maues—which names are unquestionably Indo-Scythian. We may therefore suppose either that some of the Saka kings assumed Indo-Parthian names as they did Indian, or that, as remarked by Mr. Rapson,<sup>66</sup> a strong Parthian element was existent among the Sakas of this period. Be that as it may, if Azas, Azilises, and Maues were Śakas, their predecessor Vonones must be of Saka origin.

We have thus determined that Vonones was the founder of the Saka era, or, what is the same thing, we have seen that the Imperial Saka supremacy is to be assigned to the second half of the first and the first half of the second century after Christ. And in order to find out the English equivalent of the dates in the reigns of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva—which is the principal topic of our discussion, we have to settle how many years after the extinction of the Saka sovereignty Kanishka and his successors flourished.

I have remarked above that the Mathura date 72 of Soḍāsa, the Taxila date 78 of Patika, the Takht-i-Bahi date 103 of Gondophares,

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<sup>66</sup> Indian Coins, p. 8.

the Panjtār date 123 of a Gushana prince whose name is lost, &c., are all years of one and the same era. And, further, since the first two dates, as we have seen, must be Saka years, the other dates also must be referred to the Saka era. Now, if these dates belong to the same era, the Takht-i-Bahi date 103 is later than the Taxila date 78, and the Panjtār date 123 later than the Takht-i-Bahi date 103. And this result is quite in keeping with the generally accepted fact that the Saka rule over North-western India was overthrown by the Indo-Parthians and the Indo-Parthians by the Kushanas. Again, it might be objected that these dates cannot refer to the same era, as we have them to suppose that after the lapse of only twenty years the Kushanas succeeded the Indo-Parthians in the sovereignty over Gandhāra and the Punjab. But it must be borne in mind that the coins of Gondophares have come from the lower Kabul valley, the upper and the lower Indus valley, Sistan and Kandahar, but those of his successors Orthagnes, Abdgases, Pakores, &c., have been obtained all over these regions, except the lower Kabul and the upper Indus valley.<sup>67</sup> These last-mentioned territories were not therefore after Gondophares in the possession of his successors, and must therefore have been seized by the Kushanas. The difference of only twenty years between the Takht-i-Bahi and Panjtār dates is thus explained not by the supposition that the Indo-Parthian power became extinct in that short period, but by the inference from the find-spots of coins that the lower Kabul and the upper Indus valley were lost to the Indo-Parthians soon after the death of Gondophares and occupied by the Kushanas.

Now, I cannot but think that there are no cogent reasons to hold that Kanishka was the originator of any era. Certainly he was not the king who first established the independence of the Kushana dynasty. For so far as our knowledge goes, the real founder of this dynasty was Kujula-Kadphises. Nor was he the first Kushana sovereign who struck gold coins, if they are to be supposed as an indication of the extension of power and prosperity. For the gold coinage was first issued by his predecessor Wema-Kadphises. Nor does he appear to be a great conqueror who extended the dominions inherited by him. The coins of his predecessor were collected along the Kabul valley and were found all over the Punjab and the North-western provinces as far eastward as Gorakhpur and Ghazipur.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Gard. Intro. xlv.; N. Chr. 1890, pp. 122-123.

<sup>68</sup> N. Chr. 1889, p. 277; Ar. Ant. pp. 353 and 358. It deserves to be noticed that the coins of Wema-Kadphises have not been found in abundance only at

And Kanishka, to judge from the find-spots of his coins, does not seem to have added to these vast dominions. Perhaps, it may be argued that from the Rājatarāṅgiṅī we learn that Kanishka and his successors ruled over Kashmir, whereas we have no evidence to hold that Wema-Kadphises ever possessed that province. But I think that since Kanishka and his successors are mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṅī only as the founders of new cities, the omission of the name of Wema-Kadphises may be explained away by the fact that he did not found any new town. Even granting that Kanishka first subjugated Kashmir, the mere conquest of such a small and not an important province as Kashmir would not entitle him to be called a great conqueror. It is therefore inconceivable why Kanishka should be considered as the originator of any era.<sup>69</sup> The principal thing that has immortalized his name is his conversion to Buddhism and the assembly of Buddhist monks convened under his patronage. But I cannot understand how this fact can be sufficient to make him the founder of an era. I am therefore strongly inclined to hold with Cunningham<sup>70</sup> that the dates of the inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva are abbreviated by the omission of hundreds. The questions that now arise are : how many hundreds have been omitted and to what era are the full dates to be referred ?

Four kings at the most appear to have reigned before Kanishka, viz. Kujula-Kadphises, Kujula-Kara-Kadphises, the Nameless King and Wema-Kadphises. With the question whether or not the Nameless King was a Kushana prince we are not concerned. For anyhow

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a few specific places or scattered sparsely over many places, but that they have been obtained in plenty and over almost the whole of the Kabul valley, the Punjab and the North-western provinces as far as Gorakhpur and Ghazipur. The inference from the find-spots of his coins, as regards the extent of his dominions, is almost certain, and not overshadowed by doubt as in most cases where this form of argument is utilised.

<sup>69</sup> Garner thinks that the Saka era was perhaps started by Kadphises II., i.e. Wema-Kadphises, since he "begins the issue of Indo-Scythian gold coins : and Kanerki's earliest date is the year 9" (Gard. Intro. li, note \*). Since the above was written by Gardner, an inscription has been discovered which is dated in the year 5 in the reign of Kanishka (Ep. Ind. I., 381). Conceding however that the year 9 is the earliest date of Kanishka, it is next to impossible that Wema-Kadphises should have reigned only for eight years, as his coins have been collected in vast numbers over a very wide region.

<sup>70</sup> Book of Indian Eras, p. 41 ; N. Chr. 1892, pp. 44-45 ; but I do not agree with him in referring the dates of Kanishka and his successors to the Seleukidan era, as will be noticed further on.

we have to take the period of his reign into consideration. That he reigned after Kujula-Kadphises and before Kanishka and over the Kushana dominions can easily be shown. The find-spots of his coins<sup>71</sup> show that the extent of his kingdom was almost the same as that of Wema-Kadphises—which means that he ruled over the Kushana territories. A coin has been noticed by Cunningham<sup>72</sup> which bears on the reverse the faces of the Nameless King and Wema-Kadphises with their peculiar symbols in front of them. On his copper coins Wema-Kadphises assumes the titles that are found on the coinage of the Nameless King only. Various other similarities have been mentioned by Cunningham, which indubitably indicate that he was not far removed in time from Wema-Kadphises, and that for some time and over some region at least, as can be inferred from that peculiar coin, they were contemporaries reigning together. We must not however suppose that for long they were ruling together over the same territories or were intimately connected with each other. For the coins of the Nameless King are mostly of copper and rarely of silver, while those of Wema-Kadphises are of copper and gold, and not a single specimen of silver has hitherto been discovered. The Nameless King therefore ruled over the Kushana territories after Kujula-Kadphises and before Kanishka, and had an altogether separate reign, at any rate for a long time.<sup>73</sup> Now, each one of these kings seems to have had a long reign as appears from the vast number of coins found.<sup>74</sup> Assuming that the Kushana ruler, whose name is lost in the Panjar inscription, is Kujula-Kadphises, and that he began to reign independently in 120, *i.e.* three years before 123, the date of the inscription, an average period of twenty years to each

<sup>71</sup> *Ar. Ant.*, p. 332; *N. Chr.* 1890, p. 115; *Ibid.* 1892, p. 72.

<sup>72</sup> *N. Chr.* 1892, p. 56.

<sup>73</sup> In my opinion, Wema-Kadphises came after the Nameless King. For if the Nameless King is placed between Wema-Kadphises and Kanishka, we should find his gold coins, but the Nameless King does not appear to have issued gold coinage.

<sup>74</sup> This, however, cannot be said of Kujula-Kara-Kadphises. In fact, the general current of opinion amongst numismatists is to regard the coins of this prince as different types of the coinage of Kujula-Kadphises (*Rapson: Indian Coins*, p. 17), so that before Kanishka there lived only three princes, *viz.* Kujula-Kadphises, the Nameless King, and Wema-Kadphises. We have thus three reigns covering a period of eighty years, or an average period of  $26\frac{2}{3}$  years for each one of the three princes—a period which agrees with the abundance of their coins better than the period of twenty years which we have assigned to each.

one of these kings brings Wema-Kadphises' reign to a close in 200. And I have stated above that the Panjar date is in all likelihood a Saka year. Wema-Kadphises therefore ceased to reign about 200 Saka, *i.e.* 278 A. D. The dates of the inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva are therefore recorded with two hundreds omitted, and refer to the Saka era.

According to this view, the following will be the dates of the Kushana princes Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva :—

For Kanishka, we have inscriptions with the years 5-28, *i. e.*  
[20]5—[2]28 S. E., *i. e.* 283-306 A. D.

For Huvishka, we have inscriptions with the years 29-60, *i. e.*  
[2]29—[2]60 S. E., *i. e.* 307-338 A. D.

For Vāsudeva, we have inscriptions with the years 74-98, *i. e.*  
[2]74—[2]98 S. E., *i. e.* 352-376 A. D.

We have thus come to the conclusion that the dates in the reigns of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva are to be explained by the omission of two hundreds of the Saka era. This result agrees with the Mathura date 29 (9 ?) of a king whose titles are given but whose name is not specified. For, as Dr. Bühler has remarked, the type of characters of the Mathura inscription, which bears this date, points to the time of one of these three princes,<sup>75</sup> and I may add that the titles mentioned, especially the expression Rājātīrāja, are those which are peculiar to these Kushana kings. If the date 29 (9 ?) of this Mathura inscription thus in all likelihood belongs to the time of these princes, our view that in other Kushana documents the dates are recorded by leaving out two hundreds is confirmed. The date 29 (9 ?) must thus belong to the reign of Vāsudeva.

It will be seen that by holding that Vonones was the founder of the Saka era, and that the dates of Kanishka and his successors are Saka years abbreviated by the omission of two hundreds, we have placed these Indo-Scythian princes much later than almost all antiquarians have done. I shall therefore now proceed to show that the periods which we have assigned to them alone are consistent with

<sup>75</sup> Vienna Ori. Jour. X., 172-173. Dr. Bühler thinks that this fact shows either that two eras were used in the time of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva or that the dates of their inscriptions are given with two hundreds omitted. The former alternative appears to me to be improbable, for if two eras had really been prevalent at the same time, of certainly the numerous records of the Kushana period hitherto discovered, we should have found some at least dated according to that era.

what we know as certain about Northern India during the early centuries of the Christian era. If we suppose with Fergusson and Prof. Oldenberg that Kanishka originated the Saka era, i. e. that the dates of Kanishka and his successors, as they stand, refer to the Saka era, or if we hold with Cunningham that these dates are years of the Selenkidan era with 400 omitted, the latest date 98 of Vâsudeva corresponds to 176 or 186 A. D. This gives us a blank of at least 132 years between the latest Kushana date and the initial year of the Gupta era, to fill up which researches hitherto made do not furnish us with the names of any princes or dynasties. It is no doubt maintained by some antiquarians that what are called the later Great Kushanas occupy this long period. But for howsoever long a period the later Great Kushanas may have flourished after Vâsudeva, this much is incontrovertible that the Kushana power remained unabated till the time of Vâsudeva, but appears to have declined after his death. For there is a great lack of variety in the type of the Kushana coins after Vâsudeva,<sup>76</sup> and the Greek legends used thereon are corrupt and seem to have been intended as mere ornamental borders. Again, no inscription of the time of any of these later Great Kushanas has yet been discovered; whereas those of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudeva have been found in numbers; and since all these numerous inscriptions take us only as far as the year 98, it is all but certain that not long after this date the Kushanas lost their supremacy. Further, the coinage of the later Great Kushanas appears to be restricted to the Kabul valley and the Punjab only, and is not found over the North-Western Provinces and Central India, where also the coins of Wema-Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudeva are abundant. This shows that after Vâsudeva the Kushana rule over the North-Western Provinces and Central India was overthrown. So that we may safely conclude that after the death of Vâsudeva the Kushanas ceased to be supreme rulers, and their sway was confined to a much smaller region. There is not the slightest indication whatever of any royal dynasty intervening between the death of Vâsudeva and the rise of the Guptas and supplanting the Kushana sovereignty. But if our theory is accepted, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vâsudeva are brought sufficiently close to the Guptas, the blank of 132 years completely disappears, and the Guptas obviously appear to have brought about the downfall of the Kushanas, as is generally accepted. Nay, we can even determine

<sup>76</sup> N. Chr. 1893, pp. 115-116; Rapson: Indian Coins, p. 18, § 74; Jour. Ben. Asiatic Society, LXIII, pp. 179-181.

which Gupta prince in all probability conquered and reduced the Kushanas. For the date 98 of Vāsudeva, according to our mode of understanding it, is equivalent to 298 Saka, *i.e.* 376 A.D. And certainly about this time the Guptas had secured independence and were fast rising in power, as will be seen from the Allahabad pillar inscription recording expeditions of conquest of Samudragupta. But Samudragupta does not appear to have subdued the Kushanas<sup>77</sup> In his inscription the expression Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi<sup>78</sup> occurs, and the language there used, when divested of its rhetorical

<sup>77</sup> When I say that Samudragupta did not subdue the Kushanas, I do not mean to hold that he never came in conflict with them. The reign of Samudragupta marks the first blow dealt to the Kushanas, as the eastern-most portion of the North-Western Provinces, which was undoubtedly once held and possessed by the Kushanas, appears to be included in his dominions. Though he perhaps acquired a victory or two over the Kushanas, he did not entirely subjugate them, and they seem to have then entered into a friendly alliance with Samudragupta and are spoken of as Shāhi Shāhānushāhi, *i.e.* Mahārāja Rājātirāja, in his inscription. But it was Chandragupta II. who successfully attacked, and overwhelmed the Kushanas, as will be shown in the text further.

<sup>78</sup> I take this to be one single compound title, designating the member of the imperial Kushana dynasty, contemporaneous with Samudragupta, when the Allahabad pillar inscription was inscribed. Mr. Smith, like Dr. Fleet, has split up this expression into three different titles, denoting three different princes. But I do not understand how the word Shāhi or Shāhānushāhi by itself can be supposed to have been used to designate particular princes, as the words are not certainly tribal names, at any rate were not so at that time, but are ordinary titles corresponding to Mahārāja or Rājātirāja. Shāhi and Shāhānushāhi cannot thus be either dynastic or proper names. The last evidently corresponds as stated in the text to the expression Shaonano Shao on the coins of the three Kushana princes, and when the distinctive appellation Devaputra is read before the titles, the doubt is almost wholly cleared and the expression must undoubtedly be taken to refer to the Kushanas, for we know that Devaputra was a specific name by which the Kushanas were known. I therefore take the whole expression Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi as equivalent to Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra and as alluding to one prince of the imperial Kushana family. By the bye, it may be mentioned that Mr. Smith, taking each one of the words of this compound to be a separate name denoting a distinct prince, identifies Shāhi with some prince of the Kidāra, *i.e.* the Little Kushana dynasty reigning about Kandahar. But Kidāra, the founder of this dynasty who has been identified with Kitolo of the Chinese writers, is supposed to have conquered Gandhāra about 428 A. D. and to have reigned previously to this date to the north of Caucasus until the time of the incursions of the Hūnas (J. R. A. S. 1897, pp. 905-907; N. Chr. 1893, pp. 184-185; Jour. Beng. Asia. Socie. LXIII., 183). How therefore any prince of the Kidāra dynasty can be a contemporary of Samudragupta, I cannot imagine.



hyperbole, clearly implies that the Kushanas had entered into a friendly alliance with Samudragupta and that they were practically independent. It may also be observed that the title *Shāhānu-shāhi*, which is identical with Shaonano Shao, occurring in the legends of the Kushana coins, and which is equivalent to the Sanskrit epithet *Rājādhirāja* or the Greek expression *Basileus Basileon*, indicates that the prince who assumed it was a paramount sovereign, and that his supreme power was still unshaken, at any rate to any serious extent. Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II., who was the greatest and most powerful Gupta Prince. And it is he who seems to have eclipsed the glory of the Kushanas. For his coins have been found in Rāmnaḡar in the Bareilly district, Soron in the Etā district, Sunit near Ludiāna, Panipat and Alwar.<sup>79</sup> An inscription referring itself to his reign has also been discovered at Mathura.<sup>80</sup> But neither any coins nor any inscription of the reign of Samudragupta has been found in those regions. It is therefore almost certain that Chandragupta II. attacked and overwhelmed the Kushanas and brought the whole of the North-Western Provinces at least under his rule. The earliest known date of Chandragupta II. is 82 G. E., i.e. 400 A. D. In all probability he succeeded to the throne long before. The latest ascertained date of Vāsudeva is 98, i.e. 298, according to our theory, corresponding to 376 A. D. It was between 376 A. D. and 400 A. D. therefore that Vāsudeva was vanquished by Chandragupta. In all likelihood the event must have taken place soon after 298 S. E. or 376 A. D.; for in the inscription bearing that date Vāsudeva is called only a *Rūjan* and the imperial titles are omitted. Already therefore he had been reduced to a subordinate position before 376 A. D.

We have thus made the Guptas the immediate successors of the Kushanas in the supremacy over the North-Western Provinces and Eastern Malwa. The only conceivable objection of any force that may be urged against this view is that paleographic evidence does not support it. But, in my opinion, paleographic evidence, far from contradicting this view, strengthens it. Dr. Bühler has noticed that *ka* of the Kushana inscriptions has occasionally the Gupta form, and that instances of *sa*, with its left limb turned into a loop such as is to be met with in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, are not

<sup>79</sup> J. B. A. S. (N. S.) 1887, p. 48; *Ibid.* 1893, p. 104.

<sup>80</sup> *Cor. Ins. Ind.* III., pp. 25-28.

wanting.<sup>61</sup> The letters *ra* and *ṛa* engraved in the well-known Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II. and Kumāragupta I.<sup>62</sup> are also to be found in those of the Kushana period. But there may appear to be some difference regarding the character *ma*. But as Cunningham has assured us,<sup>63</sup> the so-called Gupta form of *ma* occurs in a Kushana inscription dated 98. The later form thus appears to have come into vogue about the close of the Kushana supremacy. He has also observed that the older form of *ma* which was almost invariably used in the time of the Kushanas was not unknown in the north during the reign of Samudragupta, and I may add, of Chandragupta II., as will be seen from the way in which the letter is incised in the words 'Parākrama' and 'Vikramāditya' in the legends of their coins respectively. It is thus plain that in the time of these Gupta princes at any rate, both the forms of *ma* were prevalent and the new form came to be used a little before the time of the overthrow of the Kushana power by Chandragupta II. Nor can it be said that in the Gupta period there is any marked permanent change in the form of the letter *na*; for though the loop form of that period may be seen in the word 'Kritānta'<sup>64</sup> in the Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II., the usual form of it of the Kushana period is to be seen in the words 'utpannasya' and 'tatparigrihṭena.' Further the loop-form is not peculiar to the Gupta period, since it may be noticed in the Kushana inscriptions<sup>65</sup> also and was not the only form used even after the extinction of the Gupta sovereignty as both occur in an inscription at Mathura dated 230 G. E.<sup>66</sup> The only notable difference that appears to me is with respect to the medial *i*. Excepting this, there are no characters in the Gupta inscriptions at Mathura which are not to be found in the epigraphical records of the time of the Kushanas. And no less an authority on paleography than Dr. Bühler bears testimony to this fact. In his work 'Indische Paleographie'<sup>67</sup> he says: "All these peculiarities (of the Kushana period) as well the advanced forms of the medial vowel *ā* in *ra*, *u* in *ku* and in *stu* and *o* in *to* appear in the northern alphabets of the following period, that of the Gupta inscriptions and that of the Bower MS. either without change or are the prototypes of the forms there appearing. The literary alphabets in use at Mathura in the first and

<sup>61</sup> Ep. Ind. I., 372-73.

<sup>62</sup> Arch. Sur. Reports III., 37-38.

<sup>63</sup> Vide in the plates accompanying  
tafel III., 26-IV.

<sup>64</sup> Cor. Ins. Ind. III., pl. xl. D.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* II., 210, No. 39.

<sup>66</sup> Vide the preceding note.

Bühler's Indische Paleographie,

<sup>67</sup> Indische Paleographie, p. 41.

second centuries after Christ were perhaps very nearly or altogether alike to the later ones, and the mixing up of the old forms is to be attributed only to the imitation of older votive inscriptions." As regards the fact that the type of characters of the Gupta period at Mathura almost fully agrees with that of the Kushana, we are quite at one with Dr. Bühler. But he ascribes this agreement of the form of the letters to an attempt at imitating the older votive inscriptions, because he sticks to the cherished belief that Kanishka lived in the first century A. D. and probably even earlier.<sup>88</sup> Any conscious attempt at imitating the letters of the older inscriptions is in itself improbable and on our view of the matter which we have developed so far it is quite unnecessary to make any such supposition, for we hold that Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva immediately preceded the Guptas and that the last prince at any rate was a contemporary of Chandragupta II. The close resemblance of alphabets is thus to be accounted for by the fact that the Kushana and the Gupta inscriptions at Mathura belong to almost the same period ; and thus the paleographic evidence far from contradicting our view affords a strong confirmation thereof.

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<sup>88</sup> Ind. Ant. XXVII, p. 49, note 4.

ART. XVIII.—*On the date of the poet Māgha.* By K. B. PATHAK, B. A.

(Read 19th October 1899.)

Māgha is one of the most distinguished Sanskrit poets. His fame rests entirely on the Śiśupālavadhā. This is the only production of his muse that has come down to us. It is considered a masterpiece of Sanskrit literature, and takes rank with the immortal productions of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. It is a great favourite with Sanskrit students in every part of India, and its immense popularity is attested by the existence of numerous commentaries on it, which belong to different parts of the country, though the one by Mallinātha is accorded the palm of excellence by universal consent. Vallabhadēva and Kshē-mēndra quote some verses as those of Māgha<sup>1</sup>. Since these are not found in the Śiśupālavadhā, it is conjectured by scholars that the poet gave to the world some other creations of his genius, which are now lost.

As a rule, Indian poets rarely give an account of themselves, or allude to contemporary men and events. To this rule Māgha is an exception. He tells<sup>2</sup> us that his father was Dattaka, and his grandfather, Suprabhadēva. Regarding the latter we are favoured with some interesting particulars. Suprabhadēva held the office of prime minister to a king who listened to his advice with as great respect as the enlightened public received the words of the revered Buddha. It may be easily inferred from this statement that in the days of our poet Buddhism counted among its votaries men of highly cultivated minds, and that the king also, to whom the poet's family owed so much, professed that faith. The poet naturally hoped that the king's name would descend to future ages. But this hope has not been realised. The royal patron of letters has narrowly escaped being immortalised. He has suffered so much from successive generations of scribes, through whose hands the Śiśupālavadhā has passed, that it is hard to determine what his name exactly was, since it occurs in manuscripts in a variety of forms.<sup>3</sup> And we look in vain for any of the variants of the king's name in the numerous inscriptions, the publication of which we owe to the labours of scholars who have worked in the field of Indian archæology. Thus it is obvious that the autobiographical stanzas with

<sup>1</sup> Durgāprasāda's edition of Śiśupālavadhā, introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Śiśupālavadhā, concluding verses.

<sup>3</sup> Durgāprasāda's edition of Śiśupālavadhā, introduction.

which the author winds up his brilliant poem, throws no light on his age.

It is well-known that the chronology of Sanskrit literature remains yet to be settled ; and the date of Māgha, like that of many other Indian authors, has formed the subject of controversy among scholars. Prof. Jacobi assigns him to the middle of the sixth century, while Dr. Joh. Klatt places him at the beginning of the tenth century of the Christian era.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Datta in his excellent work on Civilization in Ancient India refers the poet<sup>5</sup> to the twelfth century. A serious difficulty that we encounter in our attempt to determine the age of Māgha is found in the fact that the Bhôjaprabandha, the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi and the Prabhāvākacharita have put into circulation a number of traditionary stories concerning Māgha which make him contemporary with king Bhôja of Dhârâ. The authenticity of these stories has been discussed at length by the late Pundit Durgâprasâda in the introduction to his valuable edition of the Śīsupâlavadhâ, and the conclusion at which he arrives is that they cannot be received as matters of real history. One reason which he assigns for this view is that Māgha is quoted by Ānandavardhana who belongs to the latter half of the ninth century.

That these stories are wholly without foundation is also confirmed by many other facts. Māgha is mentioned in a Kanarese inscription<sup>6</sup>, dated Śaka 1102. The Śīsupâlavadhâ is quoted<sup>7</sup> by king Bhôja himself in his Sarasvatikanthâbharana. Māgha is also mentioned in the Yaśastilaka<sup>8</sup> by Sômadêva who finished his work in Śaka 881, when the Râshtrakûta king Kṛṣṇarâja III. was reigning. This last reference is ample to prove that Māgha was not contemporary with king Bhôja, as the latter's uncle Munja was taken prisoner by Tailapa II. who defeated Kakkal, the last of the Râshtrakûtas, and revived the Châlukya empire.<sup>9</sup>

But the earliest and most interesting reference to Māgha occurs in the Kavirâjamârگا which was composed by Nṛipatuṅga, the most accomplished prince of his age, shortly after his accession to the throne, which took place in A. D. 814. It is evident that in the first half of the ninth century Māgha was regarded by Nṛipatuṅga's

<sup>4</sup> Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. IV., pp. 61 and 236.

<sup>5</sup> Pntt. Book, V. Chapter XII.

<sup>6</sup> Ind. Ant. V., p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> Śīsupâlavadhâ, IX. 6 ; Aufrecht's catalogue (1891) 446.

<sup>8</sup> Dr. Peterson's Report for 1883-84, p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Dynasties of the Kanarese country.

contemporaries as a classical author of acknowledged excellence as he is ranked in the last-named work<sup>10</sup> with the immortal author of the Śakuntalâ, and this judgment is ratified by succeeding ages. The inference that we can deduce from these facts is that Māgha must have lived before the ninth century.

The earliest limit to the age of the poet is furnished by a well-known verse<sup>11</sup> in the second canto of the Śisūpālavadhā which distinctly alludes to the two grammatical treatises, the Kāśikāvṛitti and its commentary called Nyāsa. These are the works composed by eminent Buddhist authors who adorn our literary annals. Māgha alludes to them as a flattering compliment to the followers of Śākyasiṃha, to whose sect, as we have seen, the royal patron of his family belonged. From a similar desire Māgha is led to compare Hari<sup>12</sup> to Bodhisattva, and the princes, who marched under the banner of Śisūpāla, to the host of Māra or the Satan of the Buddhistic legend.

The Kāśikāvṛitti is the joint production of Jayāditya and Vāmana. As regards the former author the Chinese traveller I-tsing tells<sup>13</sup> us that he was a follower of Gautama Buddha and that he died about A. D. 661-662. The Kāśikāvṛitti is explained by Jinēndrabuddhi in his work entitled Nyāsa. Both these works are durable monuments of Buddhistic learning, and are so valuable as to make I-tsing's co-religionists of any age or country really proud of them. And yet while I-tsing gives us information about Jayāditya, he does not so much as mention his illustrious commentator; and his silence is highly significant.

We must bear in mind the fact that the sole object of I-tsing's travels in India was to collect literary and historical information concerning authors whose genius has shed an undying light over Buddhism. It is to the diligence of this enlightened traveller and his two eminent predecessors that we are indebted for the preservation of such information, which would have otherwise been lost to the world. We can therefore easily conclude from I-tsing's silence about Jinēndrabuddhi that the latter did not flourish during the interval of 44 years that elapsed between the date of Jayāditya's death and that of I-tsing's departure from India, which took place in A. D. 695.

<sup>10</sup> Introduction to my edition of the Kavirājamārga.

<sup>11</sup> Śisūpālavadhā, II., 112.

<sup>12</sup> Itcm. XV., 58.

<sup>13</sup> India, what can it teach us? First edition, p. 346. See also English translation of I-tsing's work, Chap. XXXIV., p. 176.

For these reasons the composition of the Nyāsa must be referred to the first half of the eighth century. Māgha must be placed still later as he mentions the Nyāsa, though as I have proved, he cannot have lived after the commencement of the ninth century. From these facts we can safely conclude that the author of the Śīsupālavadhā flourished in the latter part of the eighth century.