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ART. I.—*Traikutaka Coins from the Poona (Indapur) District.*

BY THE REV. H. R. SCOTT, M.A.

(COMMUNICATED.)

A parcel of coins, belonging to the Traikutaka dynasty, has been sent to me by the Secretary for examination and report, and I have much pleasure in laying the results of my examination before the Society.

The Collector of Poona has informed me that the coins were found on the 13th December, 1905, near the village of Kazad in the Indapur Taluka of the Poona district. The place where they were found is a small hillock on the top of a tableland. The rain seems to have cut a channel in the side of the hillock, and it was in this channel that some children who were herding goats found two of the coins. They took the coins home to their parents, who, finding them to be silver, made a careful search and found the rest of the hoard. Information was not given to the authorities, but news of the treasure trove somehow got abroad, and three months after the finding of the coins the police succeeded in obtaining 92 of them from the villagers. The Mamlatdar was not, however, satisfied with the result of the search, and he appears to have made a personal investigation on the spot, with the result that 267 more coins were recovered. Whether the coins in our possession constitute the whole hoard or only a part of it will never be known now. One can only hope that if a number of the coins have gone to the melting pot (as is only too probable) they may have been only coins of the types that were left.

The place where the coins were found was carefully examined, and no hope is entertained of any more being found there.

Of the 359 coins of the hoard there are two (probably those which were first found by the children) which have been hammered out of all recognition. The rest are in an excellent state of preservation, showing little sign of having been in circulation. The workmanship is of the degenerate quality that we are accustomed to in the Gupta and Valabhi coins of the same period, and the letters lack the clearness which we find in the inscriptions on the earlier coins of the Ksatrapas; still there is no serious difficulty in making out the legends.

On the obverse the coins have a roughly executed bust of the king facing to the right, without date or trace of any inscription.

On the reverse we find the familiar symbols of the Kṣatrapas, the *chaitya* with sun and crescent moon; but there is this difference, that the positions of the sun and moon are reversed, the sun being on the left instead of the right as on the Kṣatrapa coins. It is also to be noted that the cluster of dots which stands for the sun is almost always placed in the heart of one of the letters of the king's name, and the crescent moon appears under the last letter of the name. The average weight of the coins is about 30 grains.

The coins of the hoard fall into three groups :—

(1) 350 coins have the following inscription on the reverse :—

= महरजन्द्रदत्त पुत्र परम वष्णव श्रीमहरज दहगण.

*I.e.*, the devoted follower of Vishnu, Śrī Mahārājā Dahragāṇa, son of Mahārājā Indradatta.

(2) 3 coins on which the king's head appears to be better executed and more youthful than in the others, have the inscription:—

= महरजन्द्रदत्त पुत्र परम वष्णव श्रीमहरज दहसन.

*I.e.*, the devoted follower of Vishnu, Śrī Mahārājā Dahrasena, son of Mahārājā Indradatta.

(3) 4 coins have the inscription :—

= महरज दहगण पुत्र परम वष्णव श्रीमहरज व्यघ्रगण.

*I.e.*, the devoted follower of Vishnu, Śrī Mahārājā Vyāghragāṇa, son of Mahārājā Dahragāṇa.

Coins of this series have been known for a considerable time, but the inscriptions do not appear to have been correctly read until quite recently. Professor Rapsou, who was the first to decipher them

correctly, calls them "one of the most familiar puzzles in Indian numismatics," and adds, very truly, that "the characters are so corrupt in some cases as to admit of the possibility of a variety of readings."

The first Traikuṭaka coin to be recorded was one mentioned by Justice Newton in the Journal of this Society in 1862. The coin, which was evidently a very good specimen, is figured as No. 13 in a plate which accompanies the article, and which appears to have been prepared from drawings of the coins. Justice Newton's coin is clearly of the same type as the majority of the coins in the present hoard, but the inscription was not deciphered at the time. The coin, which was evidently the only one of the kind known at the time, was found near Karad in the Satara district along with some Gadhia coins and coins of various Kṣātrapa kings coming down as far as Visvasena, the son of Bhartḍaman (300 A.D.).

In the year 1885 a copperplate grant was found at Pārdi, which gave the name of the king who made the grant as Śrī Mahārājā Dahrasena, of the Traikuṭakas. The grant is dated 207 Samvat. It is now generally agreed that this date is in the Kalachuri era, which began about 248-9 A.D. Thus it is clear that Dahrasena issued the grant in the year 456 A.D.

Two years later, in 1887, a hoard of 500 coins of this dynasty was found at Daman in South Gujarat (a place not far from Pārdi), but apparently only 9 of the coins were preserved. From Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl's account of them it seems clear that they were all coins of Dahragana, but Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl was not able to read them with certainty, and we know now that the names which he thought might be Indravarma and Rudragana should be read Indradatta and Dahragana respectively. The Paṇḍit's incorrect reading of these coins is given in the chapter on the Traikuṭakas in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I., page 58. The matter has been fully discussed by Professor Rapson in his article on "Indian Coins and Seals, Part VI.," published in the R. A. S. J. for October 1905.

In this article, which is of special interest for the purpose of our present study, Professor Rapson gives the fruit of his examination of the Traikuṭaka coins in the British Museum, which include Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl's collection, as well as a number in the possession of Colonel Biddulph, and a large number in the collection of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha.

Most of the coins examined by Professor Rapson were of the same type as the great majority of the coins of this hoard, but among the coins in Colonel Biddulph's collection one coin was found which

differed from the rest in giving the king's name as Dahrasena, instead of Dahragaṇa. On the strength of this reading, taken along with the fact that the king's name is given as Dahrasena in the Pārdi copperplate, Professor Rapson argues that we should read the inscription Dahrasena in all cases, regarding the letter which is so like *ga* to be a "broken-down letter" intended for *sa* (= *se*).

It is matter for congratulation that the Poona hoard has supplied three good specimens of the coins with the *sena* variation of the king's name, and one at least of these appears to be in a better condition than the one that Professor Rapson had before him.

These coins prove that at one period—and I am inclined to place it at the beginning of the reign—the king issued coins in which his name was clearly given as Dahrasena, and we know that he was so styled in the Pārdi copperplate grant of 207 S.=456 A.D.

But the reading on the other coins seems to be just as clearly Dahragaṇa, and not Dahrasena. Professor Rapson admits that the letter "certainly seems more like *ga* than anything else," and after a careful examination of the 350 specimens now discovered, I cannot see how the letter can be read otherwise than as *ga*. Professor Rapson was somewhat strengthened in his opinion that *sena* and not *gaṇa* should be read as the termination of the king's name by the fact that the last letter is more like *na* than *ṇa*. But an examination of the copperplates of the fifth century will make it clear that there was at that time very little difference between the shapes of the two letters, and when that is so in the case of the plates where the letters are large and carefully formed, it need not surprise us to find that the distinction is quite lost in the case of these coins.

The conclusion to which I have been led is that the king appears to have altered the termination of his name from *sena* to *gaṇa* at an early period of his reign. It may be thought improbable that so pronounced a change should be made in the name of the king, but that such a thing is not by any means impossible is proved by the instance of the Kalachuri king, Mangaleśa (597 A.D.), whose name appears on perfectly authentic records as Mangaleśa, Mangalarājā Mangaliśa, and Mangaliśwara (Indian Antiquary, 1890, p. 15).

I am unable to offer any explanation of the new termination *gaṇa*, but in this connection it is worth while to remember that (1) there is good reason for holding that the Traikūṭakas ruled the Deccan and South Gujarat in the beginning as subordinate rulers, their use of the Kṣatrapa symbols showing that they regarded the Kṣatrapas as their overlords: and (2) *sena* was a very usual termination

in the names of the later Kṣatrapas: so it is not improbable that Dahrasena may have begun his reign as a tributary ruler of these provinces, and that after a few years he asserted his independence, and as a sign of his emancipation from the yoke of the Kṣatrapas changed the termination of his name. No coins of his father Indradatta have been found, and the presumption is that he never exercised independent authority, in which case the title Mahārājā given to him on his son's coins must be merely honorific, a conclusion which is supported by the fact of his name not being mentioned in the Pārdi copperplate.

That the termination *gaṇa* was in actual use in later times we know from the Bilhari inscription (of the 10th century), where a list of Chedi kings includes one *Sankaragaṇa*, and in one of the Sankheda grants described in the Epigraphia Indica (Vol. II., p. 19) the name *Śankaraṇa* occurs, clearly standing for *Śankaragaṇa*. Then we have the name *Śivagaṇa* in the Kanāswa inscription (A. D. 758). (See Indian Antiquary, Feb. 1890.) There is also the Benares copperplate inscription of Karnadeva (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 300), where we have both a *Śankaragaṇa* and a *Śankaragaṇadeva*. These inscriptions are dated in the Kalachuri era.

The case for *gaṇa* as against *sena* is strengthened, if not fully proved, by the inscription on the coins of Dahragāṇa's son, of which I have now to give an account.

As I have already said, the Poona hoard has placed in our hands 4 specimens of the coinage of Dahragāṇa's son. They are not the first to be found (though I was under that happy illusion when the coins came into my hands, and for some time after). In the paper above referred to, Professor Rapson reports on 8 specimens which had been obtained from the collection of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha in 1904. Those coins are now in the British Museum. They do not appear to be very good specimens, for Professor Rapson seems to rely mainly on a single coin for the reading of the inscription. It is therefore matter for congratulation that our 4 specimens are in good condition, and they confirm Professor Rapson's reading of the name of Dahragāṇa's son as most probably Vyaghraṇa.

The letters which make up the name Vyaghra are certainly not as clear as one could wish, and I had puzzled over them for some time before Professor Rapson's paper came into my hands, but of all possible readings I think this is decidedly the most likely to be the correct one, and Professor Rapson deserves congratulation on his success in solving the problem.

In accordance with his theory that the father's coins are to be read Dahrasena in every case, Professor Rapson makes the son's name Vyaghrasena and not Vyaghragaṇa, as I prefer to read it. Now it is a curious thing that in both the father's name and the son's as they appear on the son's coins we have the letter which Professor Rapson admits to be more like *ga* than any other letter. It may be admitted that an imperfect *sa—a* "broken letter"—might get into the die of Dahragana's coins, especially as it comes near the end of the inscription, but it is surely not very likely that this "broken letter" would be copied, and that twice over, on the coins of the son. I may be wrong in my opinion, and I certainly have no right to urge it against that of a scholar of Professor Rapson's authority, but I am decidedly of the opinion that we ought to read the names as Dahragana and Vyaghragaṇa, at any rate until further evidence is available. That of course may happen at any time, as the finding of a copperplate grant in the name of Dahrasena's son would probably settle the matter at once.

There is just one other point to which I wish to draw attention. These Traikutaṅka kings describe themselves as Parama Vaishnava, *i.e.*, devoted followers of Vishnu, and it is interesting to note that about the same time the Gupta kings called themselves on their coins Parama Bhāgawata, *i.e.*, devoted followers of Bhagawān, and the Abhira kings proclaimed to the world that they were Parama Māhesvara, *i.e.*, devoted followers of Siva.

#### NOTE

##### ON REV. H. R. SCOTT'S PAPER ON THE TRAIKUTAKA COINS.

I happen to be in a position to supply the evidence desired by Mr. Scott regarding the name of Dahragana's (or Dahrasena's) son. Some years ago a copperplate from Surat was sent to me for decipherment by the Secretary, but I have never been able to decipher it so completely as to publish it in full. I can, however, say that it distinctly refers itself to the Traikutaṅka dynasty, that it is dated, in figures only, in the year 231, and that it gives only the name of the granting king, without any genealogy. This name I was originally disposed to read as (A) vyayasena, but subsequently, though before I had seen Mr. Scott's paper, I came to the conclusion that it must be Vyāghrasena. I can state that the last two syllables of the name are quite clear on the plate, though the first two are not quite so certain. However, with the aid of Mr. Scott's coins, we can now confidently read the first two syllables as Vyāghra. The evidence of this copperplate does not, however, absolutely settle the question whether there was not another form, ending in *gaṇa*, for each of these two

royal names. It is perhaps worth noting that a name ending in *gaṇa* would be properly borne by a worshipper of Śiva, whose attendants or *gaṇas* are the demons or spirits whose leader is Gaṇapati or Vinayaka. If the elder of our two kings had been originally a worshipper of Śiva, he might well have called himself Dahragāṇa, and changed his name to Dahrasena on becoming a Vaishṇava. It is, however, perhaps hardly likely that if he had done this he would still have called his son Vyāghragāṇa.

A. M. T. JACKSON.

ART. II.—*Khadāvadā Inscription of Gyāsa Sahi.*

[*Vikrama*] *Samvat* 1541.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., *Poona.*

(*Communicated.*)

This inscription, which is published for the first time, was discovered by Major Dube, when Chief Gazetteer Officer, Indore Durbar, on a well at Khadāvadā in the district of Rāmpurā in the Indore territory. The stone bearing the inscription was lying in his house in 1905, and it is from the paper-impressions kindly supplied by him that the following transcript is prepared.

The writing, to judge from the impressions, covers a space of about 4'-9" broad by 1'-10" high and is in a state of fair preservation throughout. The characters are *devanāgarī* of the 15th century. The language is Sanskrit; and with the exception of the opening salutation to Gaṇeśa and Bhāratī and the concluding benediction to the scribe and the reciter, the entire inscription is in verse. The fault of *yatibhaṅga* or break of cæsura frequently occurs in this poetic composition, and solecisms, though few, are not altogether absent. Verses 51-54 are characterised by *yamaka* or repetition of letters of the same sound at the end of two consecutive *pādis*. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the substitution of *chchha* for *stha* in *chchhiribhava°* in l. 14, in *°āchchhāna* in ll. 15-16, and so forth. (2) the disregard of the rule of *samdhī* in the case of *t* and *ś*, e.g., in *vahat-śālmali°* in l. 16, (3) the use of *v* for *b* only twice, in verses 63 and 64, and (4) the splitting up of conjunct consonants into two separate letters, in *dolayan-tyātmiyam* l. 21, *°paris-khala°* l. 22, and so forth. As regards lexicography, it is to be remarked that the poet is very fond of using rare or obscure words; e.g., no less than three such words occur in l. 22, *vis. khidga, chamātaka* and *laṅgura*.

After the adoration and invocation of deities as usual, the composer of the inscription describes, in magniloquent terms in verses 5-6, the glory and prosperity of the country of Mālava (Mālwā), where both Śiva and Kārttikeya, leaving the Himālayas, had, we are told, fixed their abode. In this country there was triumphant (v. 7) at the city of Māṇḍavya on the Vindhya mountains a king of the name of Hūsaṅga, a Gōri, a gem of the Yavana race, and the sun to the lotuses, *vis.*, the Śaka tribe. The king mentioned is undoubtedly Hūshang (Alp Khān) Ghūrī, the second Sultan of Mālwā, who first made Māṇḍū (Māṇḍavya) his capital. In verse 8 Māṇḍū is compared to the capital town of Indra, and, in the verse following, nothing but

conventional praise has been bestowed upon Sultan Hūshang. The next verse (10), if we carefully notice the *double entendre* obviously intended, informs us that Hūshang secured a number of elephants from the Vindhya mountains, after making friends with Naganātha. Historians assert that Hūshang went disguised as a horse-dealer to Jājnagar (Jājpur) in Cuttack in Orissa to barter his horses for the war-elephants of the Rājā of Jājnagar, and was successful in securing 150 elephants there to fight against the Sultan of Gujarāt with whom he was at war. Naganātha may, therefore, be reasonably supposed to be no other person than the prince of Jājnagar himself. Verse 11 describes his defeat of the king of Kālapriyāpattana, Kādīrasāhi by name, who ceded his son, daughter and ministers to Hūshang. They all repaired to the city of Maṇḍapa (Maṇḍū), and the most pre-eminent of them all was Khāna Salaha (v. 12) who became an object of confidence with Hūshang. Kālapriyāpattana must undoubtedly be Kālpī<sup>1</sup> in Bundelkhand, and Kādīrasāhi, Abdul Kādūr, a Delhi officer in charge of this fortress, which the Ferishta represents Hūshang to have reduced, but which after receiving homage was delivered back by him to Abdul Kādūr. In the verse following (13), we are told that Salaha was originally a minister of Kādīra Sāhi, and was, owing to his fitness, appointed to the same post by Hūshang who made him a Khān, and entirely left the work of administration to him. Verse 14 says that after the death of Hūshang, the throne was seized by Mahamūda, the sun to the water-lily, viz., the Khilchī family. Muḥammad (Ghazni Khān), son of Hūshang, is thus passed over, and the name of the usurper Maḥmūd Shāh I. Khalji, mentioned in the inscription. The next verse describes the latter's conquests. He desolated Dhillī (Dehli), harassed the Chola king, subjugated the province of Utkala (Orissa), and vanquished the Draviḍa king. Verse 16 refers to the implicit confidence reposed by Maḥmūd in Salaha, who destroyed (v. 17) eighty elephants of the Sultan of Gujarāt who had assailed with his army the Sultan of Mālwa. The Sultan of Gujarāt here referred to must be Muzaffar I. The next verse informs us that Gayāsa succeeded Maḥmūd to the throne. Gayāsa, or Gyāsa as he is called further on, is unquestionably Ghīyās Shāh Khalji. Verses 19-20 are a pure eulogy of Gyāsa Sāhi, the ornament of the Pārasīka race. In the verse following, we are told that Salaha was allowed to retain his post by Ghīyās also. Verse 22 contains nothing but conventional praise of Salaha, but, from the next verse, we glean that, on hearing of a rebellion raised by Śabarās, Salaha appointed Baharī, who was regarded as son from his birth by

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Munshi Deviprasadji of Jodhpur for this identification.

the former, to quell the revolt. Verse 24 describes the defeat inflicted by Baharî on the Śabara kings at the city of Khidāvada on the bank of the Charmaṇvatî (Chambal). Khidāvada is unquestionably Khaḍāvada, where the inscription was found. Verse 25 gives no historical information, but the verse following tells us that Baharî, lord of Pārasikas, vanquished a king named Kshemakarna at Śamkhoddhāra between the two banks of the river raised by Ramtideva, i.e., the Chambal. Verse 27 also contains the historical information that Baharî extracted the dart, viz., Ivarāhima, which was rankling in the breast of the Sultan of Mālava. But who this Ivarāhima or Ibrāhim was, is unknown to me. The next three verses set forth the munificent nature of Baharî, and from verse 31 we learn that Baharî, leader of Śakas, excavated a tank in the town of Śālmimat. From the next verse we gather that to the north of this tank he had dug another tank, which was thought to be a small milky ocean. The verse following tells us that he constructed another tank to the north of this. Verses 34-35 describe the tanks and the many advantages conferred thereby on the passers-by. In verse 36 we are informed that in Khidāvada to the south of that city he constructed a spacious step-well, to a poetic description of which the *prastikāra* has devoted the next eight verses. Verse 45 further informs us that, above and surrounding the well, he raised a nice attractive orchard, which is also described at length in no less than ten verses. Verse 56 pronounces the wish that Baharî, his sons and grandsons, be spared together with the well as long as the Meru, the sun, and so forth endure. In verses 57-62 the poet sets forth his own genealogy. In the lineage of Bhṛigu, we are told, there was Śrî-Somanātha who performed the sacrificial rites of the spring season every year; his son was Narahari, who was an expert in logic, and who, being a reciter of the Vedas appropriately bore the *biruda* of *ili-tala-vinūchi*, i.e., "the god Brahmā on the surface of the earth." From Narahari sprang Śrî-Keśava, who was also known as Jhoṭiṅga. His son was Atri, who was conversant with *vedānta*, *mīmāṃsā*, and rhetoric, who was the leader of the Daśapura Brāhmaṇa caste, and who was held in respect by the Guhila king Kumbha. His son was Śrî-Maheśa, lord of poets, proficient in *darśanas* and an able dilectician. He lived as poet in Mālava for some time, and it was he who composed the *prastiti* engraved on the well of Baharî. All these verses (57-62) except the last, descriptive of the genealogy of Maheśa, the composer of our *prastiti*, occur with slight changes in an inscription in the celebrated temple of Eklingji, 14 miles north of Udaipur, Mewār. This record which is dated in V. E. 1545 and is consequently posterior to our

inscription by four years, was also composed by Maheśa, who then, as he himself tells us therein, was a poet in the assembly of the Guhila sovereign Rājamalla. Maheśa's father Atri, as we have seen, was honoured by Kumbhakarna. We are not informed whether he was his *protégé*. Probably he was. But though it is not certain that Maheśa's father flourished in the court of a Guhila prince, there can be no doubt that Maheśa was, and that he was the recipient of the patronage of Kumbhakarna's son, Rājamalla. This patronage he enjoyed till at least V. E. 1556, the date of the inscription found at Ghosûṇḍī, which was composed by Maheśa himself, and which records the construction of a step-well by Śringāta-devī, queen of Rājamalla.

From verse 63 we learn that the work of excavating the well was completed on Thursday, the *Dharma-tithi* of the bright half of Kārtika, in Vikrama Samvat 1541, during the Paridhāvin cyclic year. *Dharma-tithi* is the second *tithi* of the bright half of Kārtika, also called *Yama-tithi*, or, in Marāṭhī, *Dharmurijūchtī bij*. The date, as kindly calculated for me by the late Prof. Kielhorn, regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 21st October A.D. 1484. The learned Doctor further informed me that this day fell in the year Paridhāvin, which commenced 17 hours 1 minute after mean sunrise of the 28th June A.D. 1484 and that here we had a good instance of the strict mean-sign system (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 411).

Verses 64-67 give us interesting information about the genealogy of Śalaha. In Hamīrpura there was a king called Śrī-Bhairava, who was the son of the Karachulli family. Hamīrpura is doubtless the same as Hamīrapurā, the principal town of the district of the same name, now comprised in the United Provinces. Karachulli, again, appears to be the same as Kalachuri, whose rule was supreme in Central Provinces. Of King Bhairava there was one Sumedhas, who was the best *Mīdhyāmdina* Brāhmaṇa, and who was attached to two Vedas. From Sumedhas sprang Arthapati, who elevated his Bhārgava *gotra* by his merits. His son was Purushottama, a devotee of Śiva, and his son was Ghuḍaū, who was made a *pīrasīka*, *i.e.*, a Muhammadan, by Kādīra Sāhi. After becoming a *yavana*, Ghuḍaū assumed the name Śalaha and was made a *khān* by Mahamūda, *i.e.*, Maḥmud Shāh I. In verse 68 is contained the other interesting fact that Śalaha made Baharī a *yavana*, who was originally a *Kshatriya*. The last verse (69), as might naturally be expected, tells us that the mason who constructed the well was Kshetrasiṃha, son of Jhāmjhā.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>.

- 1.—स्वस्ति श्रीगणेशभारताभ्यान्नमः ॥ आनंदोत्तुंगतनवे विशुद्धज्ञानभानवे ॥ विश्वप्रकाशिने तस्मै नमः कस्मैचिदस्तु नः ॥ १ ॥ उदित्वरदिवाकारद्युतिसपत्नरत्नप्रभाविभासितमभीप्सितं दिशतु बोर्धवामं वपुः ॥ हरस्य हरिणेश्णीभवनदर्शिताम—
- 2.—त्सरस्मरस्मरणमिदुमत्कचन विंदुमत् कुत्रचित् ॥ २ ॥ <sup>२</sup>रणच्चरणघर्षरीवितततालसद्गृह्यहरीपरीतमुरजस्वनोनुगततांडवाडंबरः ॥ <sup>३</sup>प्रपोथयतु मन्मथं प्रतिरथांगभूर्भुवुकप्रभूतपरिपंथिनः प्रचयवारिवाचां<sup>४</sup> पथि ॥ ३ ॥ पुरारिपुरसुंदरीचिकुरविस्फुरन्मंजरीपरागपरिपिंजरीकृतमगेन्द्रकन्ये तव ॥ भजामि चरणद्वयं कृतसरोजगर्वव्ययं प्रपंचय वच<sup>५</sup> स्वयं झटिति
- 3.—वाणि कल्याणि मे ॥४॥ जयत्यवनिमंडनं जनपदः पदं संपदां स मालवसमाह्वयः पदम (?) मास यत्रादधौ ॥ शिवः शरवणोद्भवः सदनमुच्चकैश्चात्मनश्चकार रजताचलं परिहरन् गुणांभोनिधौ ॥ ५ ॥ ग्रामे ग्रामे चित्रसत्रैः पवित्रैर्वैतत्रासाः संसृतेयत्र संतः ॥ लोकाः कोकामित्रमित्राननानामंतस्तोषं विभ्रमैर्विभ्रति
- 4.—स्मा॥६॥ अमुष्मिन् दुर्वारप्रतिरथपुरंध्रीपारिचितप्रतापश्रीगौरी यवनकुलरत्नं व्यजयत ॥ गिरौ विंध्येवंध्यद्रुममहिममांडव्यनगरे हुसंगक्षोणींद्रः शकनिकरपंकेरुहरविः ॥ ७ ॥ यन्मंदाकिनयंति निर्झरसरिज्जराणि यन्नंदनं मुचत्केलिवनानि कल्पतरवंतीभ्याश्च दंभद्विषः ॥ यच्चास्मिन् सुरकोविदंति कवयो नाना—
- 5.—कलाहंयवस्तन्मांडव्यपुरं पुरंदरपुरः पर्यायतां [ नांचतु ] ॥ ८ ॥ हुसंगक्षोणींद्रे कलितकरवाले विदधिरे न धीराः संचारं विमतमतयः संगरभुवि ॥ स्फुटं पाणी तेषामनुचरिःकृतः के स्म मुकुलं दलत्कोशौ दंतास्तृणभरमनैष्टामपि भयात् ॥ ९ ॥ विंध्याचलाद्गुरुगजव्रजमाजहार कृत्वा हुसंगनृपतिर्नगनाथमाप्यं ॥ प्रत्य—
- 6.—थिंदीवरसंगरोपहेतो<sup>६</sup> सेतोः कृताविव गिरिव्रजमांजनेयः ॥ १० ॥ काले दिग्विजयोद्यतः परपुरप्राकारभंगोलसद्दोर्द्धः कचिदभ्यषेणयदयं कालप्रियापत्तनं ॥ त्रस्तः कादिरसाहिरस्य नृपतिस्तस्मादुपाजीहरत्तसूनुं निजकन्यकां सह महामात्यैः कियच्चिर्विभुं ॥ ११ ॥ सर्वेमी सुधियो गुणैरनणुभिश्चित्ते निजस्वामिनस्तोषं तेनुरदोषमेत्य नगरं श्रीमंडपख्याति—
- 7.—मत् ॥ अग्रयणः समभूदमीषु समदप्रत्यर्थिदर्पापहः खानश्रासलहा हुसंगयवनाधीशस्य विश्वासभूः ॥ १२ ॥ पूर्वं कादिरसाहिभूमिरमणः साचिव्यमत्रादधावौचित्येन

<sup>1</sup> From ink-impressions.<sup>2</sup> Read "सज्जहरी."<sup>3</sup> The reading of this letter is doubtful. <sup>4</sup> The reading of the first four letters is not certain.<sup>5</sup> Read वचः<sup>6</sup> The reading "सेध" for "रोध" is not impossible.

हुसंगसाहिरपि च प्रार्युक्त कृत्येषु तं ॥ एनं खानपदेभिषिच्य भुजयोरेतस्य धृत्वा  
भरं भूमेः शर्म स नर्मजातमभजद्भूपः कियद्वत्सरं ॥ १३ ॥ हुसंगक्षोणीशेनुस-

- 8.—रति यशःशेषसरणिं धरां धाराधारामधृत महमूदक्षितिपतिः ॥ प्रजा यस्मिन् खिल्ची-  
कुलकमलभानौ प्रभवति प्रभूतार्थानर्थध्वनितमधृतार्थं व्यवृणुत ॥ १४ ॥ दिह्रीमुन्नाद-  
शिह्रीमुखरतरुचरद्वल्लिपलीमुदंचच्चोलं वित्रासलोलं विघटनविवशानुत्कलानां प्रदे-  
शान् ॥ चक्रं चक्रेतिरौद्रद्रविडपरिवृढस्यापि दिग्जैत्र-
- 9.—यात्रारंभभृंगमात्रादमहिममहमूदक्षितींद्रो विनिद्रं ॥ १५ ॥ असौ भुवो भारमुदार-  
चित्ते निधाय खाने सलहाभिधाने ॥ न किं ददौ कन्न जिगाय किन्न जज्ञौ न भोग्यं  
कतमद्भुभोज ॥ १६ ॥ मालवमभिषेणयतो गूर्जरनृपतेरशीतिमातंगान् ॥ संगरगिरि-  
वरचारी जघान सलहाह्मकेसरी कुपितः ॥ १७ ॥ संप्राप्य मानुषजनुषः<sup>१</sup> फलमप्यशेष-
- 10.—मंतर्दधे स महमूदमहीमहेंद्रः ॥ राज्यं गयासन्पमात्मजमहेंणीयमानीय निजित-  
विपक्षमपेक्षणीयं ॥ १८ ॥ मांडव्यदुर्गमधितिष्ठति ग्यासभूपे न व्यासमापुररिभूमि-  
भृतो जगत्यां ॥ प्राच्याचले चलति चंडरुचावचंडाः किं कौशिकाः कचन  
कौशलमावर्हति ॥ १९ ॥ दंडः केवलमातपत्रनिचये मुक्तासु वेधावधिर्बंधः कंचुकसं-
- 11.—धिषु प्रतिबलं वाजिब्रजे चापलं ॥ उद्वाहे करपीडनं कुचयुगे काठिन्यमुन्नीयते  
भूमिं शासति पारसीकतिलके श्रीग्याससाहिप्रभौ ॥ २० ॥ तातप्रेमास्पदत्वादुष्णगण-  
गरिमालंकृतत्वाद्ग्यासक्षोणीभृद्भूरिकक्षक्षतजपरिलसत्संगरोवासिरस्सु ॥ धावद्धारालघात-  
प्रपतदरिशिरास्यंजनांभोजशोभामाधिःकुर्वति यत्<sup>२</sup> श्रीशलहनरपतेर्युद्धवैदग्ध्यमेतत् ॥  
२२ ॥ गयासक्षोणींद्रप्रतिनिधिरथोन्नीय शबरप्रभूतं वा-
- 12.—णाभिवृद्धं वनमिव सहसा संभृतं दोहदेन ॥ २१ ॥ आकर्णाकृष्टचापच्युतश नि-  
करोद्भिन्नवक्षोविपक्षक्षोणीभृद्भूरिकक्षक्षतजपरिलसत्संगरोवासिरस्सु ॥ धावद्धारालघात-  
प्रपतदरिशिरास्यंजनांभोजशोभामाधिःकुर्वति यत्<sup>२</sup> श्रीशलहनरपतेर्युद्धवैदग्ध्यमेतत् ॥  
२२ ॥ गयासक्षोणींद्रप्रतिनिधिरथोन्नीय शबरप्रभूतं वा-
- 13.—यव्यां दिशि जनपदत्रासमनिशं ॥ सुतप्रायं बाल्यान्पचरितमध्याप्य बहरी  
महावीरं वैरिप्रशमविधयेयोजयदयं ॥ २३ ॥ स्वामित्वं धरणेनिजेशवचनादासादय-  
न्नुदुरं दुर्गं दुर्गमचीकरत्स बहरी सद्योधविद्याधरं ॥ प्राच्यां चारुखिडावदाह्वयपुरे  
चर्मन्वतीतीरके<sup>३</sup> वामं पादमिव प्रतापिशबरक्षोणीभुजां मूर्द्धनि ॥ २४ ॥ बहरी  
मृगेंद्र इव
- 14.—कंदरं गिरेनिजदुर्गमाप्य रिपुकुंजरव्रजं ॥ शरशक्तिकुंतनखैर्य्यदीदरान्निशितैरिवाश-  
निभिरद्रिमद्रिभिः ॥ २५ ॥ शंखोद्धारे रंतिदेवोद्धृतायाः स्रोतस्विन्यास्तीरमध्येभ्य-

Read °जनुःफल°

° Read यच्छी°.

° Read चर्मभवती.



- 21.—जैमंजुसिजानहंसैरंहिन्यासैरंचितेवाविभाति<sup>1</sup> ॥ ४० ॥ यन्नीराहरणोपनघ्नतरुणी  
कुंभं जले दोलयन्त्याप्तीयं परिचिन्वती गुरुकुचद्वानुर्विबदयं ॥ नो गृह्णाति घटं  
न गच्छति तटं वाटं न वावेक्षते संपन्नभ्रमविभ्रमा त्रिकलशीमेवेक्षते विरिमता ॥ ४१ ॥  
नीरक्रीडासंगतैर्यत्र कांता वेणित्राणाबद्धचंडातकांताः ॥ वीचीदोलोलोलीनीविमि-  
वेशाः खिं-
- 22.—गैरंगीचक्रिरे<sup>2</sup> वारवध्वः ॥ ४२ ॥ अनर्घ्यतरदीर्घिकातरणसंमिलत्कामिनीकुचस्थ-  
लपरिसखलन्मृगमदैकपकाविले ॥ सुपेशलशिलातले कमलमंडलीमंतिकेप्यपास्य  
परिविभ्रति भ्रमणमत्र भृंगस्तजः ॥ ४३ ॥ उत्तुंगस्तनभारलंगुरुगुरुश्रोणीभ्रमव्याकुला  
यन्नीराहरणाध्वनीनतरुणी विश्रांतिमृच्छेदिति ॥ छायाभूरहराजिमत्र बहरी-
- 23.—वीरो मुदा वीवपद्यामुद्भति<sup>3</sup> न कुत्रचिन्नवनवोलासावतंसश्रियः ॥ ४४ ॥  
उपथुपरि दीर्घिकां समतले धरामंडले मनोहरतरुश्रिया तरणितापलोपेन्नतां ॥  
दल्लकुसुमसौरभभ्रमदमंगभृंगावलीमिलन्मृदुलकाकलीमकृत सोत्र वाटीं विभुः ॥  
॥ ४५ ॥ श्रोणीभारचलद्रसालविटपव्यालंबिदोलामिलद्वामोरूचलचोलिकांचलचल-  
द्रातैरपेत-
- 24.—भ्रमः ॥ जेतुं पंचशरः शरानिव जगद्भू[यो] जितं विभ्रमानिभ्यो लंभ-  
यति स्म सैनिकधिया मन्येत्र लीलावने ॥ ४६ ॥ पनसे पचेलिमफले चलदृशा  
कतमेन नास्मृत्य<sup>4</sup> यत्र कानने ॥ परिरंभसंभ्रमदलत्तनरूहा विरहे प्रियापृथुप-  
योधरद्वयी ॥ ४७ ॥ स्पर्धते लकुचफलानि बालिकानामुद्भिन्नस्तयुगलेन<sup>5</sup> कानने-  
स्मिन् ॥ कुंदानामविकलकोर-
- 25.—कस्रजोपि व्याकोशाधरपुटविस्फुरत्स्मितेन ॥ ४८ ॥ आश्लेषं कुसुमितमालतीलताना-  
मासाद्यामलजलदीर्घिकाभिषिक्तः ॥ स्वेदांभोनिवहमलुंपदंगनानामश्रांतं श्रमजममुत्र  
गंधवाहः ॥ ४९ ॥ इदं कचन काननं मृदुलमल्लिक्काशोभनं कचिकनककेतकप्रकरभू-  
रिवानीरवत् ॥ कचिन्मधुरसारसग्रहिलकोकिलःविभ्रमं कचित्तरुणपल्लवैररुणितांतराल-  
द्रुमं ॥ ५० ॥
- 26.—वनं कापि पुंन्नागरंगारुद्धं<sup>6</sup> कचित्तुंगनारंगभंगावनदं ॥ कचिच्चंपकस्वच्छगुच्छप्रपंचं  
कचिद्भ्रंगसंरब्धसंगीतसंचं ॥ ५१ ॥ कचिच्चित्तमुत्कंठते मंजुगंधे मनो मोदते कुत्रचित्कुं-  
जबंधे ॥ इहाहंयुजा या जहाति प्रकोपं प्रिये नानुरागस्य धत्ते विलोपं ॥ ५२ ॥  
कचित्सारणीवारिपूरा बलात् कचिन्मालतीपुष्पमाला दलति ॥ कचित्कोकिला मंजु  
सज्जति गा-

1 Read \* रंघि.

2 Read उज्जन्ति.

3 Read स्तनयुगलेन.

4 Read खिन्ने.

5 Read नास्मर्यत.

6 Read पुन्नागं.

- 27.—नं क्वचिद्योषितस्तेन मुंचंति [ मानं ] ॥ ५३ ॥ क्वचिन्नालिकेरीतरश्रेणिसंपन्निकुं-  
जीभवधूथिकावल्लिसंसत् ॥ मिलन्मातुल्लिगद्रुमद्रोणियुक्ते वने राजते पारसीकप्र-  
युक्ते ॥ ५४ ॥ विटपानुषंगकृतकंटकव्यथां शतपत्रचित्रकुसुमावचायिकां ॥ विजनेपि  
मालिकयुवात्र कानने विगतागसं न रमणीममन्यत ॥ ५५ ॥ यावत्शेषशिरस्सु<sup>1</sup>  
भूमिवलयं भूमंड-
- 28.—ले मध्यतो मेरुमैरुगिरावसावहरहः प्रद्योतते भास्करः ॥ तावद्वापिकया सहेह  
बहरी सत्पुत्रपौत्रावृतो निःप्रत्यूहमचंचलप्रमुदितश्रीसंश्रितो नंदतु ॥ ५६ ॥ वंशे  
भृगोर्भगवतो भुवनप्रकाशे चंद्रावतंसचरणोबुजचंचरीकः ॥ आसीत्पवित्रचरितोनु-  
वसंतयाजी श्रीसोमनाथरणीविवुधो धरण्यां ॥ ५७ ॥ तस्यात्मजो नरहरिर्हरिरेव  
साक्षादान्वी-
- 29.—क्षिकीकुमुदकाननशीतभानुः ॥ आसीदिलातलविरंचिरिति स्फुटार्थं यो वेद वेद-  
वसतिर्विरुदं बभार ॥ ५८ ॥ तस्मादंबुजिनीपतेरिव मनुश्र्वंडद्युतिः कश्यपादंभोजास-  
नतो भृगुजैलनिधेयद्रत्सुधादीधितिः ॥ संजातो नृहरेरहीनमहिमा श्रीकेशवः कीर्त्ति-  
मान् यो झोटिंग इति प्रथामुदवहद्दुर्वीदिपंचाननः ॥ ५९ ॥ अत्रिस्तत्तनयो नयकनि-
- 30.—लयो वेदांतदांतरिथितिर्मांसारसमांसलतुलमतिः साहित्यसौहित्यवान् ॥ मान्यः  
श्रीगुहिलान्वयांबुजवतीविद्योतनस्याभवत्श्रीमत्कुंभमहीपतेर्दशपुरज्ञातिदिजाग्रेसरः<sup>2</sup>  
॥ ६० ॥ अत्रेः स्रुर्दशनांभोजभानुर्वादिश्रेणीवाक्यवल्लीकृशानुः ॥ किं-  
चित्कालं मालवेराजतोद्यत्काव्योह्लासैः श्रीमहेशः कवीद्रः ॥ ६१ ॥ बहरीविनिर्मि-
- 31.—तसुदीर्घदीर्घिकामधि स प्रशक्तिमकरोन्महेश्वरः ॥ अनवद्यपद्यविकसद्रसिश्रया  
परितार्पितोत्तमकवीद्रमानसः ॥ ६२ ॥ श्रीमद्विक्रमभूमिभर्तृसमयाचंद्रागमेष्विदुभि-  
विख्याते परिधावित्सरवरे मासे लसत्कार्तिके ॥ शुद्धे धर्मतिथौ बृहस्पतियुते<sup>3</sup>  
पूर्णाभवदीर्घिका दीर्घायुर्बहरी बहूनि वितरन् वित्तानि यामातनोत् ॥ ६३ ॥  
मध्ये सितासि-
- 32.—तसरिद्वितयं चकास्ति पूः पावनश्रुतिहमीरपुराभिधाना ॥ तस्यां बभूव<sup>4</sup> करचु-  
ल्लिकुलांशुमाली श्रीभैरवो नृपतिरुग्रतरप्रतापः ॥ ६४ ॥ श्रीभैरवावनिपतेरभवत्सु-  
मेधा माध्यादिनदिजवरः कुशलद्विवेदः ॥ तत्सूनुरर्धपतिरुच्चतरं चकार गोत्रं  
गुणैरनणु भार्गवनामधेयं ॥ ६५ ॥ तत्सूनुः पुरुषोत्तमस्त्रिनयनं भक्त्या समाराधयन्  
वेदव्याकृतिसंप्रदायप-

<sup>1</sup> Read यावच्छेष.<sup>2</sup> Read "भवच्छ्री".<sup>3</sup> Read बृहस्पति.<sup>4</sup> Read बभूव.

- 33.—रमाचार्यो बभूवावनौ ॥ तल्पत्रो घुडऊ कलासु कुशलो मान्योस्ति भूमिमुजामेनं  
कादिरसाहिभूपतिरनैषीत् पारसीकस्थिति ॥६६॥ यवनत्वमाप्य घुडऊ गुणांबुधिः  
प्रभुतावशेन शलहामिधामधात् ॥ अभणच्च खानममुमुग्रतेजसं महमूदभूपतिरनल्प-  
विक्रमः ॥६७॥ शलहो यवनमकार्षीद्बहरीवीरं च बाहुजं जाल्या ॥ एतौ वर्णित  
पूर्वो महे-
- 34.—शकविना प्रसंगसंगत्या ॥६८॥ झांशासुनुदोर्षिकां क्षेत्रसिंहः शस्ताकारां सूत्रधारे  
व्यधत् ॥ शिल्पं यस्यावेक्ष्य कश्चिन्न शिल्पी शिल्पे गर्वग्रंथिमुख्यो विभर्ति ॥ ६९॥  
शुभं भवतु लेखकपाठकयोः ॥ शुभं ॥ छ ॥

ART. III.—*Bhāmaha's Attacks on the Buddhist  
Grammarian Jinendrabuddhi.*

BY K. B. PATHAK,

*Professor of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Poona.*

The late Dr. Kielhorn, whose death is a great loss to Sanskrit scholarship and who laid Indian students under deep obligations by his studies in Indian literature, contributed a paper on Śīsupālavadha II, 112, to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for April 1908. The epigraphic evidence in support of the date of the Śīsupālavadha, which is referred to in that paper, need not be considered here, as it is so unsatisfactory that it does not prove the date of Māgha. Conscious perhaps of the weakness of this part of his argument, the learned scholar proceeds to make the following statements :—

1. Mallinātha's interpretation of Māgha's verse II, 112, is wrong.
2. The title Nyāsa, Dr. Kielhorn says, he has not found in any of the five mss. of Jinendrabuddhi's work he has examined.
3. Jinendrabuddhi has freely copied from Haradatta's Padamañjarī.
4. In an Introductory verse it is intimated that the author (Jinendrabuddhi) made use of other commentaries, so that his work [the Nyāsa] cannot have been the first commentary on the Kāśīkāvṛitti.

Dr. Kielhorn so sincerely believed in Haradatta's priority to Jinendrabuddhi that he uses the expression "according to Haradatta and Jinendrabuddhi" and "strongly recommends those to whom the mss. of the Deccan College are readily accessible" to substantiate his statements. But it is deeply to be regretted that the learned scholar should have lent the weight of his authority to the last three statements, merely relying on "his impression" formed "many years ago." His second statement is contradicted by the fact that the title Nyāsa occurs nine times on the margin of the leaves 234b—242b in the D. C. ms. No. 34 of 1881-82. Two of the manuscripts of the Nyāsa, "examined" and "studied" by him, contain the celebrated passage attacked by the rhetorician Bhāmaha and refuted by Haradatta, which will presently be made use of to ascertain the time of Bhāmaha as well as that of Jinendrabuddhi. Sāyaṇa's opinion that Jinendrabuddhi was older than Haradatta will be also quoted

and confirmed by citations from the Nyāsa and the Padamañjar . As regards Dr. Kielhorn's fourth statement it will be shown that the second introductory verse in the Nyāsa can not bear the interpretation put upon it by the learned scholar.

In an interesting paper entitled " Notes on Alaṅkāra literature " contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for April 1897, Col. Jacob says : " No complete work of this writer [Bhāmaha] now remains and we are ignorant of his exact date. We know, however, that he is older than Udbhaṭa who wrote a commentary styled Bhāmaha-Vivarāṇa on some treatise of his." A manuscript of Bhāmaha's Kāvyaṅkāra has lately been discovered by Professor M. Rangacharya of the Presidency College, Madras. That this work is the genuine production of the celebrated author Bhāmaha himself is amply proved by the fact that numerous verses ascribed to Bhāmaha, which occur in Alaṅkāra literature, can be easily traced in it. It may also be mentioned here that the originals of about 31 Kannaḍa verses in the Kāvyaṅkāra<sup>1</sup> are found in this work, which corroborates the statement of Nāgavarama II that he was indebted to Bhāmaha. Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa<sup>2</sup> also owes many of his definitions of Alaṅkāras to this work. Two verses<sup>3</sup> in this work are explained by Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa ; one of these is explained by him in his Bhāmahavivarāṇa. From this it would seem that this work the Kāvyaṅkāra of Bhāmaha is the original text on which Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa wrote his commentary called Bhāmahavivarāṇa.

The general impression among Sanskrit scholars was that Bhāmaha lived prior to Daṇḍi. But in a paper entitled Bhāmaha the rhetorician contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for July 1905, Mr. M. T. Narasimhiengar has, I think, conclusively proved that Bhāmaha is later than Daṇḍi. But the date of Bhāmaha has not been fixed. I now propose to settle this point. At the close of the sixth chapter of the Kāvyaṅkāra we are told that Pāṇini is a most reliable authority.

श्रेद्धेयं जगति मतं हि पाणिनीयं

माध्यस्थ्यात् भवति न कस्य चित्प्रमाणम्

When we are in doubt as to whether an expression is correct or not, we should, says Bhāmaha, be guided by the supplementary notes of Kātyāyana or the great commentary of Patañjali.

सिद्धो यश्चोपस इह्याना दिष्ठ्या यश्चोपपादितः ।

तमाद्रियेत प्रायेण न तु योग विभागजम् ॥

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. Carn. Ed. App. Ia.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. A. S. 1897, p. 135 ff. आक्षेप, विभावना, अतिशयोक्ति.

<sup>3</sup> Dhvanyāloka Com., Kāvyaṅkāra Ed. p. 109 J. R. A. S for 1897, p. 832, footnote 1. The verse एकदे शस्य विगमे belongs to Bhāmaha (III, 33)

But Bhāmaha very carefully warns us against accepting the opinion of the Nyāsakāra supported by a mere inference deduced from the words of Pāṇini.

शिष्टप्रयोगमात्रेण न्यासकारमतेन वा ।  
 तृचा समस्तषष्ठीकत्र कथंचिदुदाहरेत् ॥  
 सूत्रज्ञापकमात्रेण वृत्रहन्ता यथोदितः ।  
 अकेन च न कुर्वीत वृत्तिं तद्रमको यथा ॥

Chap. VI, 36 & 37.

#### TRANSLATION.

One should under no circumstances employ a genitive compound ending in तृच् such as वृत्रहन्ता either on the ground that such compounds are used by the learned or in accordance with the opinion of the Nyāsakāra by the more ज्ञापक or inference drawn from [Pāṇini's] sūtra. Nor should one form a compound with अक like तद्रमक.

Pāṇini has prohibited the formation of genitive compounds with verbal derivatives ending in तृच् and अक which denote the doer of an action, such as वृत्रहन्ता and तद्रमक. Nevertheless such compounds are sometimes used by learned men, and compounds of the former class, namely, those that end in तृच्, are defended by the author of the Nyāsa by drawing a ज्ञापक or inference from the words of Pāṇini. Bhāmaha assures us that the Nyāsakāra's ज्ञापक or inference is positively wrong, that he is not a safe guide in this matter, and that compounds such as वृत्रहन्ता and तद्रमक are equally erroneous and should not be employed by those who aspire to literary fame.

Let us now proceed to inquire who is this Nyāsakāra and what is the ज्ञापक or inference that he has deduced from Pāṇini's Sūtra II, 2, 15. There are two grammatical works called Nyāsa. Sāyaṇa' in his Dhātuvṛtti clearly distinguishes between Bodhi-Nyāsa and Śakaṭāyana-Nyāsa. Sāyaṇa's reference to Śakaṭāyana-Nyāsa seems to confirm the tradition which is current among the Jaina community in Southern India that Prabhāchandra, the author of the Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa, wrote a commentary called Nyāsa on the Amoghavṛtti, itself a commentary on Śakaṭāyana's sūtras. We are told in an anonymous verse

विख्यातं भुवि सुप्रमेयकमल प्रख्यात मार्तंडकं  
 सन्नयायादिषु मध्यमं च कुमुदं न्यायं च चंद्रोदयं  
 तर्कं चारुसपादलक्षमितर्कं न्यासं च षट्सूत्रकं  
 श्रीदेशीयगणाधिपो मुनिवरस्तेन प्रभाचंद्रमाः ॥

The meaning of this verse is that Prabhāchandra wrote three works entitled Prameyākamalamārtanḍa, Nyāyakumudachandrodaya and Nyāsa. In a stone inscription in Mysore, of about 1530 A.D. he is thus referred to as the author of the Nyāyakumudachandrodaya and the Nyāsa on the sūtras of Sākaṭīyana :—

..... न्यायकुमुदचंद्रोदयकृते नमः ।

शाकटायनकृतसूत्रन्यासकर्त्रे व्रतीदेवे ॥

Epi. Carna. Vol. VIII, p. 268.

Prabhāchandra was the pupil of Akalaṅkadeva, who, according to Brahmanemidatta, was contemporary with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishnarāja I. Brahmanemidatta's opinion on this point is confirmed by an inscription at Śravaṇa Belgol in which Akalaṅkadeva is made to address king Sāhasatuṅga. Now we know that Sāhasatuṅga was a title of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga.<sup>1</sup> Akalaṅkadeva, therefore, was contemporary with Dantidurga and with his uncle and successor Kṛishnarāja I. Prabhāchandra, who was the pupil of Akalaṅkadeva, belongs to the end of the eighth century A.D. And his Nyāsa cannot be the work referred to by Bhāmaha, as the latter's work is commented upon by Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, a contemporary of Jayāpīḍa, king of Kashmir (779—813 A. D.)

The other and more well-known Nyāsa which is so frequently quoted in Sanskrit literature is a commentary on the Kāśikāṅgīṭī by a Buddhist writer named Jinendrabuddhi. There is a palm-leaf manuscript of this interesting Buddhist Nyāsa in the Jaina maṭha at Śravaṇ Belgol in Mysore. It begins thus :

श्री पंचगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ अविघ्नमस्तु ॥ जयंति ते सदा संतः सत्प्रिया यैरुपा-  
जितं ॥ गुणानां सुमहद् वृद्धं दोषाणांच विवर्जितं ॥ अन्यत त्सा ( स्सा ) रमाकृष्य  
कृतैषा काशिका यथा । वृत्तिरस्या यथाशक्ति क्रियते पंचि ( जि ) का मया ( तथा ) ॥  
वृत्तावित्यादि । अथ किमर्थः काशिकारभेस्य श्लोकस्योपन्यासः ।

At leaf 129 a, line 6, we read इत्याचार्य्ये जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि ( द्वि ) विरचितायां काशि-  
काविवरणपंचि ( जि ) कायां तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयपादः ॥०॥००॥

In some other manuscripts of this work the author is spoken of as बोधिसत्त्वदेशीयाचार्य जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि, स्थविराचार्य जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि or स्थविरजिनेन्द्र; and the work is spoken of as काशिका विवरणपंचिका, काशिकान्यास, न्यासपंचिका or न्यास. It will be very interesting to inquire whether this work contains the ज्ञापक or inference which has called forth the censure conveyed by Bhāmaha in the verses quoted above. It is necessary to mention here the fact that the authors of the Kāśikāṅgīṭī interpret Pāṇini

<sup>1</sup> Madras Archaeological Report, 28th July 1905, p. 57.

very frequently in a different way from that which is accepted by the orthodox school of grammarians who look up to Patañjali as their safest guide. And we have already seen that Bhāmaha also regards Patañjali as the best interpreter of Pāṇini. In order, therefore, to enable Sanskrit scholars to understand the position taken up by Bhāmaha, I shall quote below Pāṇini's sūtras, the Kāśikāvṛitti and Jinendrabuddhi's gloss thereon.

तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरि Pāṇini II, 2, 15.

कर्तृ ग्रहणं षष्ठीविशेषणम् । कर्तरि या षष्ठी सा तृचाऽकेन च सह न समस्यते । भवतः शायिका । भवत आसिका । भवतो ऽग्र गामिका । तृच् कर्तर्येव विधीयते तत्प्रयोगे कर्तरि षष्ठी नास्ति । तस्मात्तृच्ग्रहणमुत्तरार्थम् । कर्तरीति किम् । इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि ॥

कर्तरि च Pāṇini II, 2, 16.

कर्तरि च यौ तृजकौ ताभ्यां सह षष्ठी न समस्यते । सामर्थ्यादकस्य विशेषणार्थं कर्तृग्रहणमितरत्र व्यभिचाराभावात् । अपां स्रष्टा । पुरां भेत्ता । वज्रस्य भर्ता । ननुच भर्तृ शब्दो ह्ययं याजकादिषु पठ्यते । संबन्धिशब्दस्य पतिपर्यायस्य तत्र ग्रहणम् । अकः खल्वपि ओदनस्य भोजकः । सक्तूनां पायकः ॥

Kāśikāvṛitti, Benares Ed., Part I., p. 129.

तृजकाभ्यां ॥ भवतः शायिकेत्यादौ पर्यायार्हणोत्पत्तिषु ण्वुच् ॥ भवत इति कर्तृकर्मणोः कृतीति कर्तरि षष्ठी । तत्प्रयोगे कर्तरि षष्ठी नास्तीति ॥ तेनैव कर्तुरभिहितत्वात् । किमर्थं तर्हि तृचो ग्रहणमित्याह । तस्मादित्यादि ॥ इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसीति पूर्ववत्ण्वुच् ॥ अत्रेक्षुशब्दात् कृद्योगे कर्मणि षष्ठी ॥ मे इति कर्तरि कृद्योग इत्युभयप्रसौ कर्मणीत्येतदत्र न प्रवर्तते ॥ अकाकारयोः प्रतिषेधवचनात् ॥

कर्तरिच ॥ इतरत्र व्यभिचाराभावादिति तृचि ॥ एतच्च सामर्थ्यादकस्य विशेषणं कर्तरि ग्रहणमित्यस्य हेतुः[॥] संभवे व्यभिचारे च सति विशेषणविशेष्यभावा भवति ॥ न च तृच् कर्तरि व्यभिचरति तस्य कर्तर्येव विधानात् ॥ अकस्तु व्यभिचरति ॥ तस्य भावेपि विधानात् ॥ अतः सामर्थ्यादकस्यैव कर्तृग्रहणं विशेषणं न तृचः ॥ अपांस्रष्टेति अपामिति कर्मणि षष्ठी । स्रष्टेति ॥ ब्रश्वादिसूत्रेण षत्वं ॥ स्रजिदशोर्ज्ञल्यमकितीत्यमागमः ॥ ननु चेत्यादि ॥ याजकादिपाठाद्भवितव्यमेवात्र समासेनेत्यभिप्रायः ॥ संबन्धिशब्देत्यादिना परिहारः ॥ होतृशब्देन संबन्धिशब्देन साहचर्याद्भर्तृशब्दोपि संबन्धिशब्दस्तत्र गृह्यते ॥ अयं तु क्रियाशब्दः विभर्तीति भर्ता ॥ सक्तूनां पायक इति ॥ आतो युक् चिष्कृतोरिति युक् ॥

अथ किमर्थं तृचः सानुबंधकस्योच्चारणं ॥ तृनो निवृत्त्यर्थं ॥ नैतदास्ति ॥ तद्योगे  
न लोकाव्ययेत्यादिना षष्ठीप्रतिषेधात् ॥ एवं तर्ह्येतदेव ज्ञापकं भवति तद्योगेपि  
कचिद् षष्ठी भवतीति ॥ तेन भीष्मः कुरूणां भयशोकहंतेत्येवमादि सिद्धं भवति ॥

काशिकाविवरणपञ्जिका.

Deccan College Ms. No. 33 of 1881-82, leaves 31b and 32a.

No. 284 of 1875-76, leaves 156b and 157a.

In these extracts only the last portion is most important for our present purpose. Here the Nyāsakāra Jinendrabuddhi draws the ज्ञापकं alluded to above. He says that Pāṇini employs तृच in order to exclude तृन् from the operation of his sūtra II, 2, 15 and that a genitive compound with तृन् can be formed. But it may be objected that the use of the genitive with तृन् is prohibited according to the sūtra न लोक 11, 3, 69. It is urged in reply that the employment of तृच by Pāṇini is a ज्ञापकं and indicates that the sūtra न लोक may be sometimes disregarded, that the genitive case may be used with तृन् and that a genitive compound with तृन् like भयशोकहन्ता can be safely formed. This method of drawing inferences from Pāṇini's words has not been approved by subsequent writers ; Siradeva very properly remarks :—

ज्ञापकं नाम न वाधकमपितु निमित्तेन सूचकं तच्च क्वचिदेवेष्टसिद्धौ व्याप्रियते  
न सर्वत्रेति युज्यते ज्ञापकसिद्धं न सर्वत्रेति ।

परिभाषावृत्ति Benares Ed., p. 188.

It is not, of course, denied that compounds of the class prohibited by Pāṇini are sometimes met with in classical Sanskrit literature. And Pāṇini himself has been charged with inconsistency in this respect by Kumārila who says :—

सूत्रे तावन्निकर्तुः प्रकृतिरित्यत्र हि द्वावपशब्दौ जनिशब्देन हीक्वित्तपौ धातुनि-  
देश इत्यनेन लक्षणेनान्वितो धातुरेव निर्दिश्यते । न च जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिरित्यत्र हि  
कर्तुः प्रकृतेरपादानसंज्ञेयते । जायमानस्य पुनरर्थस्य जनिशब्दो वाचकतया नैव  
लक्षणेनानुगतः । तेनायं दरिद्र इवाश्वशब्दो जनिमात्रवाचित्वात्तदर्थं प्रत्यसाधुरेव  
विज्ञायते । तथा तृजकाभ्यां कर्त्तरि चेति प्रतिषिद्धषष्ठीसमासप्रयोगाद्व्याकरण-  
फलपरित्यागः । एवं तत्प्रयोजक इति प्रतिषिद्ध एव समासः

Tantravārtika, Benares Ed., p. 201.

Jayāditya explains and defends the compound तत्प्रयोजक thus :—

तस्य प्रयोजकः तत्प्रयोजकः । निपातनात्समासः

Kāśikā, Benares Ed., part I. p. 91.

Kumārila thus replies to this argument :

न चैषां निपातनैः साधुत्वसिद्धिः । कुतः ॥  
 येषामनुगमो नास्ति ते सिद्ध्यैयुर्निपातनैः ।  
 अन्यथानुगतानां तु प्रयोगं बाधते स्मृतिः ॥  
 स्मृत्याचारविरोधे हि स्मृतिरेव बलीयसी ।  
 प्रत्यक्षप्रतिषेधाच्च जनिकर्त्वाद्यसाधुता ॥

प्रत्यक्षस्मृतिविरोधे तु लक्षणरहितस्यापि प्रयोगादेव शिष्टाचारभूतादवयवानु-  
 गमस्मृतिमनुभाय निपातनात्साधुत्वासिद्धिः । न च लक्षणशब्दानां स्वात्मनि क्रिया-  
 विरोधादात्मार्थत्वाभावाद्वा लक्षणानुगतिरनादरणीया ॥

Tantrav&rtika, Benares Ed., p. 202.

Jay&ditya's commentator Haradatta admits the force of Kumārila's objection and thus deserts his author :—

यजनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिस्तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्चेत्यादावुच्यते निपातनात्समास इति तदनु-  
 पपन्नं शेषषष्ठ्या एव समासस्य सिद्धत्वात्.

Padamañjarī, Benares Ed., part I, p. 398.

But Haradatta holds Kumārila to be wrong in saying that जनि ends in इक् :—

जनिशब्दोयमिञ्जा (जजा) दिभ्य इति जनेर्भावं इजमुत्पाद्य व्युत्पादितः जनि-  
 वध्योश्चेति वृद्धिप्रतिषेधः । जन्यर्थवाची न त्विक्क्षित्पौ धातुनिर्देश इति इक्प्रत्ययान्तः ।  
 गमहनेत्युपधाया लोपप्रसङ्गात् ।

Padamañjarī, Benares Ed., part I, p. 288.

This great controversy between the grammarians and Kumārila is alluded to by the author of the Tattvabodhini :—

एतेन इक्क्षित्पौ धातुनिर्देशे इति इका निर्देशोयं जनिरित्याश्रित्य गमहन इत्यु-  
 पधालोपमर्थासंगतिं समासानुपपत्तिं चोद्भाव्य व्याकरणाधिकरणे गर्जन्तो मीमांसकाः  
 समा हिता इति भावः ॥

Tattvabodhini, Nirṇayasāgara Press, 2nd Ed., p. 144.

To return to the Ny&sak&ra Jinendrabuddhi. His method of dealing with P&ṇini's two prohibitive s&tras which have been discussed above is so revolutionary as to render them absolutely inoperative. This is the chief reason why the Ny&sak&ra's j&apka has not been accepted by subsequent writers though it is known to them.

Jñānendrasarasvatī says :

न्यासकारस्तु तृन्नन्तमेतत् । न लोका इति निषेध स्वमित्य : त्रकाभ्यामिति वक्तव्ये  
तृच : सानुबन्धग्रहणाज्ज्ञापकादित्याह.

तत्वबोधिनी Nirṇayasāgara Press, 2nd Ed., p. 166.

A careful study of the passages that I have cited above will not fail to convince Sanskrit scholars that Bhāmaha condemns the Nyāsakāra Jinendrabuddhi for drawing this peculiar ज्ञापक from Pāṇini's sūtra, that this ज्ञापक is actually found in Jinendrabuddhi's work called Kāśikāvivarana pañjikā, Kāśikānyāsa or Nyāsa and that this ज्ञापक is attributed to the Nyāsakāra by Jñānendrasarasvatī, the author of the Tattvabodhinī. And it is also worth noting that the three manuscripts of the second chapter of the Nyāsa, which are now accessible to me, contain the Nyāsakāra's ज्ञापक. These three manuscripts belong to different and distant parts of India. The first is a palm-leaf manuscript in the Jaina Maṭha at Śraavan Belgol in Mysore and is written in old Canarese characters. The second is written in Nāgari characters and bears date in Samvat 1682. It comes from Northern India. The third manuscript comes from Kashmir and is written in Śāradā characters. The first two are Jaina manuscripts belonging respectively to the Digambara and Svetāmbara sects, while the third is a Brahminical one. These facts leave no room for doubt as to the genuineness of the passage containing the Nyāsakāra's ज्ञापक.

It is a well-known fact that the Kāśikāvṛtti was the joint production of Vāmana and Jayāditya. And it is equally well-known that the section of the Kāśikā dealing with Pāṇini's sūtra, from which the Nyāsakāra draws his ज्ञापक was composed by Jayāditya, and this fact is thus attested by Haradatta, and Jñānendrasarasvatī :—

तृच् क्रीडाजीविकयो नास्तीति । वामनस्त्वके जीविकार्थ इत्यत्राक इति किं  
रमणीयकर्तेति जिविकायां तृचं प्रत्युदाहरिष्यति स मन्यते माभूत्क्रीडायां तृच् लक्षणा  
भावात् जीविकायां तु ष्वुलृत्चाविति ष्वुलिव तृच् कस्मान्न स्यादिति

Padamanjarī, Benares Ed., part I, p. 399.

तृच् क्रीडाजीविकयोर्नास्तीति जयादित्येनोक्तत्वादिति भावः । वामनस्तु 'अके  
जीविकार्थे' इत्यत्र 'अक इति किम् । रमणीयकर्ता' इति प्रत्युदाहरन् जीविकायां  
तृचमिच्छति ।

Tattvabodhinī, Nirṇayasāgara Press, 2nd Ed., p. 167.

According to I-tsing Jayāditya died in A. D. 661-662.

Jayāditya, 661 A. D.

Jinendrabuddhi, 700 A. D.

Bhāmaha, 750 A. D.

Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, contemporary with Jayāpiḍa, 779-813 A.D.

From the foregoing table it is clear that both Jinendrabuddhi and his critic Bhāmaha flourished between 661 and 813 A. D. We shall therefore be not far wrong if we assign the Nyāsakāra to the end of the seventh century and Bhāmaha to the middle of the eighth century.

We have already seen how Kumārila objects to Jayāditya's explanation निपातनात् समासः of Pāṇini's compound तत्प्रयोजक. The Mīmāṃsaka's objection is noticed by Haradatta while the Nyāsakāra is silent on this point. Jinendrabuddhi only remarks :—

ननु च कर्तरिचेति षष्ठीसमासप्रतिषेधेन भवितव्यमित्यत आह निपातनात्समास इति

His silence is highly significant and can be easily accounted for by the fact that he lived at the end of the seventh century while the illustrious Mīmāṃsaka flourished about 750 A. D. The other commentator Haradatta, who quotes<sup>1</sup> Kumārila and frequently refers to the Bhāṭṭamata, may be very naturally presumed to be later than the Nyāsakāra. It will therefore be very interesting to inquire whether the author of the Padamañjari refers to Jinendrabuddhi. This question can be easily answered by a comparison of the following passages.

(a) वज्रस्य भर्ता । ननु च भर्तृशब्दो ह्ययं याजकादिषु पठ्यते । संबन्धि-  
शब्दस्य पतिपर्यायस्य तत्र ग्रहणम् ।

KĀSĪKĀ.

The Nyāsakāra explains :—

ननु चेत्यादि । याजकादिपाठाद्भवितव्यमेवात्र समासेनेत्यभिप्रायः । संबन्धि-  
शब्देत्यादिना परिहारः । होतृशब्देन संबन्धि-शब्देन साहचर्याद्भर्तृशब्दोपि संबन्धि-  
शब्दस्तत्र गृह्यते । अयंतु क्रियाशब्दः विभर्तीति भर्ता ।

Haradatta remarks :—

संबन्धि-शब्दस्येति । अवयव प्रसिद्धेः समुदायप्रसिद्धिर्बलीयसीति भावः । अन्य-  
स्त्वाह । होतृशब्दसाहचर्यादिति तत्र । नहि तत्र बहुचो होता गृह्यते स एव  
संबन्धि-शब्दः क्षीरहोतेत्यादौ क्षीरस्य क्षेप्तेत्येव गम्यते ।

Padamañjari, Benares Ed., part I, p. 399.

<sup>1</sup> Padamañjari, Part II, p. 499; Part I, p. 293; Pandita Vol. III, p. 84.

*Remarks.*

In the याजकादि group the words हन्ते and भर्तृ are mentioned together. The Nyāsakāra says that here the word होतृ meaning a sacrificial priest is a relative term and the other word भर्तृ must also be taken to be a relative term meaning "husband" according to the maxim सहचरितासहचरितयोः सहचरितस्यैव ग्रहणम्. Haradatta, on the other hand, contends that this explanation is positively wrong and remarks that the word होतृ in the group is not a relative term but is simply a verbal derivative meaning "thrower" and the compound क्षीरहोता means a thrower of milk but the other word भर्तृ in the same group must be taken by itself to be a relative term meaning "husband" according to the maxim अवयवप्रसिद्धेः समुदाय प्रसिद्धिर्बलीयसी. This refutation of the Nyāsa places beyond dispute the priority of Jinendrabuddhi to Haradatta.

तस्मै हितम् V, 1, 5.

(b) Nyāsakāra : एतदेव ज्ञापकं हितयोगे चतुर्थ्यस्तीति

D. C. Ms. No. 34 of 1881-82, leaf 262b.

Haradatta: तस्मा इति हितयोगे चतुर्थी वक्तव्येति चतुर्थी । अपर आह ।

अयमेव निर्देशो ज्ञापको हितयोगे चतुर्थी भवतीत्यस्येति तच्चिन्त्यम् ।

Padamanjarī Part II, p. 230.

Here Haradatta says that the Nyāsakāra's ज्ञापक is open to dispute,

जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः I. 4, 30.

(c) जनेः कर्ता जनिकर्ता । जन्यर्थस्य जन्मनः कर्ता जायमानः तस्य या प्रकृतिः कारणं हेतुः तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति । शृङ्गाच्छरो जायते । गोमया-दृशिको जायते ;

Kāśikā I, p. 84. Benares Ed.

जनि जनिशब्दोऽत्र साहचर्याज्जन्यर्थे वर्त्तते अत एवाह ॥ जन्यर्थस्येति जन्मन इत्यनेन जन्यर्थं दर्शयति तथाहि जनी प्रादुर्भाव इति पठ्यते प्रादुर्भावश्च जन्मैव कः पुनः कर्त्तव्याह ॥ जायमान इति जायत इति ज्ञाजनोंर्जा इति जादेशः ॥ अथ प्रकृतिग्रहणं किमर्थं यावता ध्रुवमिति वर्त्तते ध्रुवश्चावधिः । जनिकर्त्तुश्चावधिः कारणमेव भवति । तत्रांतरेणापि प्रकृतिग्रहणं प्रकृतेरेव भविष्यति । नैतदस्ति । पुत्रा-त्प्रमोदो जायते इत्यादौ पुत्रादेरपादानत्वं यथा स्यादित्येवमर्थं प्रकृतिग्रहणं द्विविधं

हि कारणं । सहकारि कारणमुपादानकारणं च । तत्र यत् कार्येणाभिन्नदेशं तदु-  
पादानकारणं तद्यथा ॥ घटस्य मृत्पिण्डः ॥ सहकारिकारणं यत् कार्येण भिन्नदेशं  
तद्यथा तस्यैव चक्रदंडादि । तत्र ह्यसति प्रकृतिग्रहणे प्रत्यासत्तेरुपादानकारणस्यैव  
स्थानेतरस्य ॥ प्रकृतिग्रहणात्सर्व्वस्य कारणमात्रस्य भवति ।

Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā, Deccan College Ms. No. 34

of 1881-82 ; leaf 82 (b).

प्रकृतिरित्यस्य विवरणं कारणमिति । उपादानकारणमित्यर्थः । अन्ये तु ध्रुवग्रह-  
णानुवृत्तेरेव प्रकृतिपरिग्रहे सिद्धे प्रकृतिग्रहणं कारणमात्रपरिग्रहार्थं वर्णयन्ति अत  
एव वृत्तावुक्तं कारणमिति न पुनरुपादानकारणमिति तेन च पुत्रात्प्रमोदो जायत  
इत्यादावपि भवतीति ।

Padamañjarī, Benares Ed., Part I, pp. 288, 289.

From the last passage it is clear that Haradatta, after giving his explanation of the word कारण, summarises the opinion of Jinendra-buddhi on this point as nearly as possible in the latter's own words.

(d) यदा तु जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिरित्येतत्कृतमपादानत्वं विवक्ष(क्ष्य)ते तदा  
यवाग्वाः पंचम्येव भवति मूत्रं संपद्यते यवाग्वा इति ।

Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā D. C. Ms. No. 33 of 1881-82, leaf 45 a.

यदा तु जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिरित्युपादानत्वं विवक्ष्यते तदा विकाराच्चतुर्था न भवतीति  
केचिदाहुः मूत्रं संपद्यते यवाग्वा इति ।

Padamañjarī, Benares Edition, Part I, p. 425.

In the last passage Haradatta refers to his predecessor Jinendra-buddhi by the words केचिदाहुः "some authors say."

(e) वरतन्विति

अयि विजहीहि दृढोपगूहनं  
त्यज नवसंगमभा( भी )रुवल्लभं  
अरुणकरोद्गम एष वर्तते  
वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः ॥

वरतनु शब्दस्याम्बार्थेत्यादिना ऋस्वः ऋस्ववचनसामर्थ्याच्च ऋस्वस्य गुण इति  
संबुद्धौ गुणो न भवति ।

Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā D. C. Ms. No. 34 of 1881-82, leaf 70 (a).

वरतनु सम्प्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटा इति  
अपनय पादसरोजमङ्कतः  
शिथिलय बाहुलतां गलाहतां  
कच वदनेशुकमाकुलीकृतम्

पूर्वपादाः क्वचित्तु कृत्स्न एव श्लोकः पठ्यते तत्र वर-  
तनुरिति बहुव्रीहौ यदि ऋस्वान्तस्तनुशब्दः ततः संबुद्धौचेति गुणप्रसङ्गः दीर्घान्ते तु  
नदीलक्षणः कप् प्राप्नोति कैचिदाहुः तनुशब्दः स्त्रीजातौ कविभिः प्रयुज्यते तस्माद्  
ऊङुत् इति ऊङ् कृते कर्मधारयोयमिति ।

Padamañjarī, Benares Ed., Part I, p. 239.

Here Haradatta is unable to account for the expression वरतनु and is therefore content to place before us the solution of the difficulty proposed by his predecessor Jinendrabuddhi.

It is therefore quite obvious that the Nyāsa was one of those commentaries on the Kāśikā, which were already in existence when Haradatta began to compose his Padamañjarī. He admits this fact when he says :—

अविचारितरमणीयं कामं व्याख्याशतं भवतु वृत्तेः ।  
हृदयंगमा भविष्यति गुणग्राह्याणामियं व्याख्या ॥

On the other hand Jinendrabuddhi, who lived shortly after Jayāditya, cannot be understood to say, in the following verse, that the Nyāsa was preceded by many commentators on the Kāśikā :—

अन्यतः सारमाकृष्य कृतैषाः काशिका यथा ।  
वृत्तिरस्या यथाशक्ति क्रियते पञ्जिका तथा ॥

TRANSLATION.

Just as this Kāśikā was composed by drawing the best kind of material from other authorities, so its commentary, Pañjikā, will be composed in a similar way.

The expression “in a similar way” means by drawing its material from “other authorities.” And we know as a fact that one of these authorities is Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya which is frequently referred to by Jinendrabuddhi but which is not a commentary on the Kāśikā. Sanskrit scholars will thus see that there is nothing in this verse to show that the other authorities were commentaries on the Kāśikā and were composed between 661—700 A.D. Dr. Kielhorn's fourth statement must therefore be rejected. And it may also be hoped that the charge brought against the Nyāsakāra that he copied from Haradatta has been amply refuted by the passages cited above. It is also interesting to note that the priority of Jinendrabuddhi to Haradatta was a fact well-known to Sāyaṇa who says :

हरदत्तस्तु न्यासमतमुक्त्वा “यद्येवं माषेष्वश्वं बभ्रातीत्यत्र कर्मणोप्यश्वस्य वस्तुतो  
यद्भक्षणे स्वातन्त्र्यं तदाश्रया कर्मसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति तस्मात्कर्मकर्तृयत्र लकार इति ।

Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti, Benares Ed., Part II, p. 118.

Sāyaṇa's view that Haradatta quotes from the Nyāsakāra can be easily verified, if we compare the following passages :—

कर्मसंज्ञायां हि कर्तृग्रहणं स्वातन्त्र्योपलक्षणं ... ..  
तत्रापादानस्यापि सतः सार्थस्य हानक्रियायां यत्स्वातन्त्र्यं तत्क्रियाविवक्षै (क्षयै) व  
देवदत्तस्य कर्मसंज्ञा भवति.

Kāśikā-vivaraṇapañjikā, D. C. Ms. No. 34 of 1881-82, leaf 302 a.

स्वातन्त्र्योपलक्षणं च कर्मसंज्ञायां कर्तृग्रहणं कर्तृसंज्ञा भवतु मा वा भूत्, एवं  
चापादानस्यापि सतः सार्थस्य हाने यत्स्वातन्त्र्यं वास्तवं तदाश्रया कर्मसंज्ञा भवति, यद्येवं  
माषेष्वश्वं बभ्रातीत्यत्र कर्मणोप्यश्वस्य वस्तुतो यद्द्रक्षणे स्वातन्त्र्यं तदाश्रया माषाणां  
कर्मसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति तस्मात्कर्मकर्तार्यत्र लकारः ।

Padamañjarī, Benares Ed., Part II, p. 386.

Having proved the approximate dates of the Nyāsakāra and Bhāmaha we shall next proceed to determine the date of the Śisūpālavadha. Māgha assures us that he had studied Pāṇini's grammar :—

निपातितसुहृत्स्वामिपितृव्यभ्रातृमातुलम् ।  
पाणिनीयमिवालोकि धीरैस्तत्समराजिरम् ॥

Śisūpālavadha XIX, 75.

In the two following verses Māgha shows his acquaintance with some of the reasons for the study of grammar which are enumerated by Patañjali and alluded to by the Nyāsakāra in his Introduction.

नाञ्जसा निगदितुं विभक्तिभिव्यक्तिभिश्च निखिलाभिरागमे ।  
तत्र कर्मणि विपर्ययानमन्मन्त्रमूहकुशलाः प्रयोगिणः ॥ २३  
संशयाय दधतोः सरूपतां दूरभिन्नफलयोः क्रियां प्रति ।  
शब्दज्ञानविदः समासयोर्विग्रहं व्यवससुः खरेण ते ॥ २४

Śisūpālavadha XIV.

In the following verse Māgha copies the Nyāsakāra's definition of paribhāshā परितो व्यापृता भाषा परिभाषा, परिभाषा त्वेकदेशस्थापि सर्वत्र शास्त्रे व्या प्रियते. ( II, 1.1.)

परितः प्रमिताक्षरापि सर्वं विषयं प्राप्तवती गता प्रतिष्ठाम् ।  
न खलु प्रतिहन्यते कुतश्चित्परिभाषेव गरीयसी यदाज्ञा ॥

Śisūpālavadha XVI, 80.

Māgha was perfectly conversant with the alankāra literature of his time. He says :

खादयन्समनेकसंस्कृतप्राकृतैरकृतपात्रसंकरैः ।  
भावशुद्धिसहितैर्मुदं जनो नाटकैरिव बभार भोजनैः ॥

Śi. XIV, 50.

विषमं सर्वतोभद्रचक्रगोमुत्रिकादिभिः ।  
श्लोकैरिव महाकाव्यं व्यूहैस्तदभवद्वलम्

Śi. XIX, 41.

दधतस्तनिमानमानुपूर्व्याबभुरक्षिभ्रवसो मुखे विशालाः ।  
भरतज्ञकाविप्रणीतकाव्यप्रथिताङ्गा इव नाटकप्रपञ्चाः॥

Śi. XX, 44.

नालम्बते दैष्टिकतां न निषीदति पौरुषे ।  
शब्दार्थौ सत्कविरिव द्वयं विद्वानपेक्षते ॥

Śi. I, 86.

In the last verse Māgha clearly alludes to Bhāmaha's definition of poetry —

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यं गद्यं पद्यं च तद्विधा ॥ I, 16.

Since Māgha quotes the views of Jinendrabuddhi and Bhāmaha, we may safely assign the author of the Śisūpālavadhā to the close of the eighth century. And the view of Vallabha and Mallinātha that Māgha (II, 112) alludes to the Nyāsa may now be accepted.

## ART. IV.—Śivāditya's *Saptapadārthī*.

BY PROFESSOR V. S. GHATE, M. A.

(Communicated).

Śivāditya's *Saptapadārthī* is a short manual of the Nyāya Śāstra, like Tarkasangraha, Tarkabhāṣā, Tarkāmṛita, Bhāṣāparichcheda, Tarkakaumudī, and others. It strictly follows the Vaiśeṣhika system of Kaṇāda as opposed to the Nyāya system of Gautama, inasmuch as it deals with the seven padārthas instead of sixteen and has only two kinds of Pramās, *viz.*, Pratyakshapramā and Anumiti and two Pramāṇas corresponding to them, *viz.*, Pratyakshapramāṇa and Anumāna, instead of four. No traces of an attempt to reconcile both the systems are seen in *Saptapadārthī* and comparatively a very short space is devoted to the treatment of Anumāna (inference) and the Hetvābhāsas (fallacies). Owing to this last circumstance, we are inclined to regard the manual as very old compared with Tarkasangraha and others, since the temptation to deal with Hetvābhāsas and other kindred topics at length would have been very difficult to be resisted by a later writer. This argument, though not very strong by itself, is only confirmed by the following discussion regarding the date of the work and its author.

Unfortunately the manual provides us with no internal proof whatsoever which would enable us to determine its age, even with approximate certainty, since it strictly follows the principle of naming and defining the several padārthas in order and their sub-varieties, allowing no space for illustrations containing the names of some known persons\* or other occasional dissertations. Under these circumstances, we have to rely solely on external evidence in the form of allusions to our manual in other works.

To begin with, there are three known commentaries on *Saptapadārthī*: (1) *Mitabhāṣiṇī* by Mādhava-Sarasvatī; (2) a commentary by Jinavardhanasūri; and (3) *Padārthachandrikā* by Śeṣhānanta, which is itself commented upon by Nṛisimhāchārya in *Padārthachandrikā-prakāśī*.

There are also other commentaries on the work, *e.g.*, one by Bhāvavidyeśvara<sup>1</sup>; another named Śīsubodhinī by Bhairavānanda and so on; but I could not have access to them.

\* *e.g.* in Tarkasangraha-dīpikā, we have 'काञ्च्यां त्रिभुवनतिलको भूपतिरासीत्.'

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bhandarkar's report for 1883-84 p. 6. and 312

Of the three mentioned above, a Ms. of Mitabhāshiṇī in the Vizayanagar Library has at its end a verse beginning with 'Bāṇābdhīndramite Śāke, etc.'<sup>2</sup> Thus the Ms. was written in 1445 Śāka, corresponding to 1523 A.D. Thus Mādhavasarasvatī must have lived some time before this year; and Śivāditya must be still earlier.

The Deccan College collection contains a Ms. of the commentary by Jinavardhanasūri, the colophon at the end of which runs thus :— 'इति श्रीखरतरगच्छे श्रीजिनराजसूरिपट्टे श्रीजिनवर्द्धनसूरिविरचिता सप्तपदार्थी टीका समाप्ता...'. This Jinavardhanasūri, the successor of Jinarājasūri belonging to the Kharataragachchha, was high priest of the sect from 1405 A.D. to 1419 A.D., when he was deposed on account of his having transgressed one of the vows.<sup>4</sup> This is also confirmed by the fact that a Ms. of Udayana's Tātparya-pariśuddhi belonging to our collection, has at its end the remark in a modern handwriting 'संवत् १४०१ वर्षे । श्रीखरतरगच्छे श्रीजिनराजसूरिपट्टे श्रीजिनवर्द्धनसूरिणां पुस्तकम् ॥'<sup>5</sup> and Samvat 1471 corresponds to 1414 A.D. Thus Śivāditya's work must have been written before 1400 A.D.

Śivāditya is also referred to by Gangesopādhyāya in his Tatvachintāmaṇi, who refutes his doctrines and quotes his very name<sup>6</sup> as 'इति शिवादित्यमिश्राः'. Thus Śivāditya must be earlier than Gangesopādhyāya. The latter, however, must be placed about the 11th century A.D. For a Ms. of Tatvachintāmaṇyaṅlōka, a commentary by Jayadeva on the Tatvachintāmaṇi is found transcribed in 159 Lakshmaṇasena Samvat, *i.e.*, in 1189 Śāka or 1267 A.D.<sup>7</sup> And Udayanāchārya is frequently referred to by Gangesopādhyāya, *e.g.*, on p. 284 in the Śabda Khaṇḍa of the Tatvachintāmaṇi, where he says 'आचार्यास्तु प्रवर्तकमिष्टसाधनताज्ञानमेव,' etc., and the commentator explains 'आचार्याः उदयनाचार्याः'. So also, in his Īśvarānumāna, Gangesā seems to follow closely the train of reasoning in Kusumāñjali<sup>8</sup>. Thus Gangesā must be placed after Udayana and before Jayadeva. Now Udayana's Lakṣhaṇāvalī ends with the verse

' तकम्बिराङ्गप्रमितेष्वतीतेषु शकान्ततः ।  
वर्षेषुदयनश्चक्रे सुबोधो लक्षणावलीम् ॥ '

<sup>2</sup> The full verse runs thus : ' बाणाब्धीन्द्रमिते शाके सुभानौ वत्सरे कुजे । सहस्यासितसप्तम्यां पुस्तं लक्ष्मीधरोऽलिखत् ॥ '—Ramshashtri Telang's Introduction to Saptapadārthi.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1982-83, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Antiq. Vol. XI, p. 249.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Kielhorn's Report for 1880-81, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Tatvachintāmaṇi, Pratyakshakhaṇḍa, p. 830, Bibliotheca Indica series.

<sup>7</sup> Chandrakānta's Introduction to the Kusumāñjali of Udayana; also the Introduction to the Vaiśeshikadarśana in the Bibliotheca Indica series.

<sup>8</sup> Chandrakānta's Introduction to Kusumāñjali.

Thus Lakṣhaṇāvalī was written in 906 Śaka, corresponding to 984 A.D.<sup>9</sup> So that Gaṅgeśopādhyāya very probably belongs to the 11th century A.D.; and Śivāditya must precede him.

Śrīharsha in his Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā has " तेषु तावत् 'तत्वानुभूतिः प्रमा' इत्यप्ययुक्तं, etc.," on which the commentator Śankaramiśra remarks "न्यायाचार्यकृतलक्षणमालाग्रन्थे प्राथमिकं प्रमालक्षणं खण्डयितुमुपक्रमते तत्वानुभूतिरिति, etc." Now this Nyāyāchārya is none but Śivāditya to whom another work named Lakṣhaṇamālā is attributed.<sup>10</sup>

Now the author of Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā is supposed either to be a contemporary of Udayanāchārya<sup>11</sup> or to have followed him immediately.

Thus Śivāditya must have preceded Śrīharsha; at the same time I am inclined to think that most probably he did not precede Udayana. For—

1st, the Lakṣhaṇāvalī of Udayana is a work similar to Saptapadārthī. Now the former divides Padārthas into two, bhāva (positive) and abhāva (negative); and the positive categories, further into six. While the latter has seven padārthas to begin with, without a reference to the twofold division of bhāva and abhāva. And the Sūtras of Kaṇāda contain only six Padārthas excluding abhāva. Now the division followed in Lakṣhaṇāvalī seems to be a stage of transition from the six Padārthas of the Sūtras to the seven Padārthas of Saptapadārthī, whose very title lays stress on the sevenfold division of Padārthas.

2ndly.—Śivāditya is also supposed to be an author of a commentary (Vṛitti) on Praśastapāda's Bhāshya. For Rājaśekhara in his Panjikā, a commentary on the Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdhara, says in the very beginning that there are four Vṛittis on the Bhāshya of Praśastapāda<sup>12</sup>.—(1) Vyomavati by Vyomasivāchārya, (2) Nyāyakandalī by Śrīdhara, (3) Kiraṇāvalī by Udayana, and (4) Līlāvati by Śrīvatsāchārya. Now this Vyomasivāchārya mentioned by Rājaśekhara may be regarded as no other person than Śivāditya, the author of Saptapadārthī, if we can at all rely upon the colophon in a Ms. of Saptapadārthī belonging to the Benaras Sanskrit College which runs thus ' इति श्रीव्योमशिवाचार्यविरचिता शब्दप्रकाशिनी सप्तपदार्थी समाप्ता । ' <sup>13</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> The date of Udayana has not been finally settled yet, see the article 'Udayana and Vāchaspati-miśra', J. R. A. S., April 1908.

<sup>10</sup> This point is treated further on.

<sup>11</sup> Vindhyesvarīprasada's Introduction to Vaiśeshikadarsana.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Peterson's report for 1894-1886, p. 272 and ff.

<sup>13</sup> Edition of Saptapadārthī, in the vizayanagar Sk. Series, p. 80, footnote

And it is very probable that Śivāditya should be the author of some more important and voluminous work than the short manual of Saptapadārthī, before he is so frequently alluded to by writers like Gaṅgeśopādhyāya and Śriharsha.<sup>14</sup>

Now if Śivāditya's Vṛitti had been composed earlier than Udayana's Kiraṇāvalī, the latter should have referred to the former somewhere in his works; and moreover the assertion contained in one of the introductory verses of Kiraṇāvalī<sup>15</sup> would lose much of its force. Thus I am inclined to hold that Śivāditya did not very probably precede Udayana.

To the argument that the order in which Rājasēkhara mentions the four Vṛittis must have reference to chronology, much weight cannot be attached in the absence of other proofs. Thus Śivāditya belongs to the close of the 10th century and the early beginning of the 11th century.

Another work by name Lakṣhaṇamālā is also attributed to Śivāditya;<sup>16</sup> because in Chitsukhīvyākhyā, the commentator, in connection with the refutation of the definitions of Dravya, etc., consisting of Dravyatva and similar words, remarks "यानि शिवादित्यमिभोक्तानि लक्षणानि लक्षणमालायामुक्तानि तान्यपि निरस्तानि."<sup>17</sup>

It cannot be said that Lakṣhaṇamālā is only another name for Saptapadārthī; for in the same work Chitsukhīvyākhyā, we read further on, during the discussion of the definition<sup>18</sup> of Karma "शुचिसंयोगाऽसमानाधिकरणसत्तासाक्षाद्द्वयाप्यजातिमादिति वा संयोगाऽजन्यसंयोगाऽ

<sup>14</sup> The general plan of Saptapadārthī also is in favour of this assumption, for which see further on.

<sup>15</sup> अतिविरसमसारं मानवार्ताविहीनं

प्रविततबहुवेलप्रक्रियाजालदुःस्थं ।

उदधिसममतन्त्रं तन्त्रमितद्वदन्ति

प्रखलजडधियो ये तेऽनुकम्प्यन्त एते ॥ Vaiśeṣhikadarśana, Bib. Ind. Series, p. 3

<sup>16</sup> Notice in connection with this the objection raised by Col. Jacob in his preface to Part III, Laukikanyāyānjali. Varadarāja in his Tārīkarakṣhā has 'निरुपाधिकसाध्यसंबंधशालि लिगमिति लक्षणमालाया' (p. 179), on which, Mallinātha comments thus: 'तत्र प्रथमलक्षणे उदयनसंमतिमाह' from which it appears that Mallinātha attributes Lakṣhaṇamālā to Udayana. But this alone cannot disprove the fact that Śivāditya is the author of Lakṣhaṇamālā, which is positively mentioned elsewhere. Moreover it is very possible that the Lakṣhaṇāvalī of Udayana might have been mentioned by the name of Lakṣhaṇamālā, owing to the similarity of the two names; as for instance, Veṅṅisambhāra is named Veṅṅi-Samvaraṇa, in some Mes.

<sup>17</sup> Ramasastrī's Introduction to Saptapadārthī, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Ramasastrī's Introduction to Saptapadārthī, p. 4.

समवायिकारणवृत्तिसंयोगत्वात्समानाधिकरणजातिमद्वैत्यादीनि शिवादित्यमिभोक्तानि लक्षणानि भविष्यन्तीति etc.”

Now the definition referred to here, is not found in Saptapadârthî, so also, no trace of the passage referred to in Tatvachintâmañi <sup>19</sup> is seen in Saptapadârthî.

The general plan followed in Saptapadârthî is quite obvious and seems to be solely based on the fourth Sûtra of Kaṇāda, of which the whole work may be regarded as only a full and systematic exposition. After the customary salutation to Śambhu, the author enumerates the seven Padârthas and their sub-varieties (Uddeśa), then states the Prayojana or object of the enumeration, that it is the right knowledge (Tatvajñāna) of these Padârthas that leads to the highest good (Nisśreyasa). But as the right knowledge cannot be derived unless the Padârthas are defined, the author proceeds to the Lakṣhaṇa section, after explaining the meaning of Nisśreyasa which is the ultimate object in view. <sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> P. §30.

<sup>20</sup> It is noteworthy that the definition 'तत्वमनारोपितं रूपं' in Saptapadârthî, is, word for word, the same as that in Kirāṇāvali, p. 6. Bib. Indica Series

## ART. V.—*The Portuguese in the Persian Gulf.\**

By J. A. SALDANHA, B.A., LL.B.

(Communicated.)

The Ottoman Turks in 1453 A.D. seized Constantinople, in a few years overran South-Western Europe, Syria and Egypt, and created powerful fleets, which on the one side obtained full command over the Indian seas, and on the other threatened to subjugate the whole Mediterranean basin. But the wave of their conquests in the West was turned back by the victories of the combined fleets of Spain, Venice and other Italian states; while in the East a power, having her birth in the small kingdom in the extreme West of Europe, fresh from her victories in her crusades against the Moors that had established themselves in the Iberian Peninsula, diverted her enterprise against the Mussalman dominion in the Eastern seas and turned the flank of Islam in its grapple with Christendom. One of the smallest and poorest of the kingdoms of Europe, Portugal, put forth energy and embarked on a maritime enterprise which seems really extraordinary. "The swift audacity of the hero nation," the late Sir William Hunter in the first volume of his *History of British India* truly observes, "forms an epic compared with which our early labours are plain prose." Actuated by the spirit of the crusaders, the Portuguese pursued the Moors (as they called all Mahomedans) and all who traded with them with barbaric and relentless ferocity, established like the Phœnicians of old factories at every important port, concluded treaties with native princes for securing the monopoly of the trade of their country from which they had strictly to exclude the Moors. The Portuguese cared little for territorial aggrandizement, but cared more to establish a commercial empire as well also to extend the empire of the Catholic religion. In founding their vast maritime empire, one of the first steps they took was to establish their supremacy in the Persian Gulf. Let us see how they did this.

In April 1506 Tristao da Cunha sailed from Lisbon accompanied by

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\* Authorities:—*Administration Report of the Persian Gulf Residency and Maskat Agency*, 1884-85, pp. 24 *et seq.*

Danvers—*The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, pp. 157-177, 286-290, 310-322, 350-51, 354, 397, 492, 497, 500, 502, 507, 514-15; Vol. II, pp. 27-28, 45-47, 163, 207-213, 223, 243-44, 273, 274-98, 370, 384-85.

Birdwood—*Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (1891) pp. 155-183.  
Consult also the authorities cited by Danvers and Birdwood.

Alfonso Albuquerque and in August 1507 having completed the conquest of Socotra from the Moors, left for India, leaving behind Albuquerque with a flotilla of ships and with instructions for the capture of Aden, the blockade of the Red Sea and the bombardment of Jedda. Albuquerque perceiving the uselessness of his station at Socotra for the purpose intended and well aware that his flotilla was too small to attempt the capture of Aden, proceeded with his fleet for the purpose of capturing Ormuz, then the chief emporium of commerce in the Persian Gulf, the seizure of which would secure the entire command of the Persian Gulf route and would be of greater service to the Portuguese than the temporary blockade of the Red Sea and the bombardment of Jedda. The fleet on its way passed the Kuria-Muria islands; burnt 30 or 40 Arab ships from Ormuz at Ras-al-Hadd; took supplies from the town of Kalhat, then an important centre of trade, which readily threw off or pretended to throw off its allegiance to the King of Ormuz in favour of the King of Portugal; destroyed the towns of Kuryat and Maskat, which did not prove so pliant as Kalhat received the submission of Sohar; pillaged and burnt the town of Khore Fakaun and thence proceeded to the town of Ormuz. After some negotiations with the King of Ormuz and the Governor Kojeh Atar and receiving a refusal of their exorbitant terms, the Portuguese attacked and burnt the fleet in the harbour, and some detachments having landed routed the troops on the shore. The king at once tendered his submission and signed a treaty in September 1507, acknowledging the King of Portugal as his lord, agreeing to pay him 15,000 Xeraphins as tribute and 5,000 Xeraphins for the expenses of the fleet annually, and giving the Portuguese permission to build a castle either on one of the islands of Kishm or Turumbake or on the mainland at Naband. Albuquerque preferred to build the fortress at the northern point of the island of Ormuz and the work was put in hand at once. But the mutinous conduct and desertion of several of the Portuguese compelled Albuquerque to abandon the work, which was not resumed till 1514 during his viceroyalty, when it was placed in charge of a Commandant.

The Shah of Persia, the shrewd and energetic Sheikh Ismael, perceiving in the new rising power of the Portuguese a great weapon against his old enemy, the Sultan of Constantinople, sought their friendship and alliance. Accordingly we find the ambassador of Sheikh Ismael at the Court of Adil Shah at Bijapur making advances to Alfonso Albuquerque. Ultimately in 1515 an ambassador was despatched from Goa to the Shah, was received at his Court with great pomp and returned with magnificent presents, accompanied by an ambassador from Sheikh Ismael.

Meanwhile Pedro-de-Albuquerque, a nephew of Alfonso Albuquerque, who had been sent to Ormuz to demand tribute from its king, found that the latter had acknowledged the supremacy of the Shah of Persia, but did not find it difficult to obtain from him a renewal of a display of loyalty to the Portuguese Crown. Having, however, failed to get the arrears of tribute due from the king, Pedro-de-Albuquerque proceeded with his fleet to make an exploration of the Persian Gulf, with a warning to him to keep the arrears ready to pay on his return voyage. The Portuguese fleet made a survey of the gulf ports and islands as far as Bahrein and the Persian port of Rasiel, and on their return received a portion of the arrears of tribute due from the King of Ormuz.

The King having again made default in payment of tribute and excused himself on the ground of the King of Lahsa's refusal to pay the tribute due for El Katif and Bahrein, an expedition was despatched in 1521 under a Portuguese Admiral to Bahrein. In a fiercely fought battle the king of Lahsa was killed.

In 1523 a treaty was signed by the King of Ormuz, by which his tribute to the King of Portugal was increased.

In 1529 Belchier Tavarez de Souza was sent with a small force to Basrah to assist the King of the place against the chief of the Island of Gizaira. The Portuguese commander having settled the affair without having recourse to force, the King of Basrah refused to deliver up certain Turkish vessels or to prohibit the Turks from again trading at Basrah, which were the conditions upon which the Portuguese had agreed to assist him; thereupon Belchier Tavarez burnt two of his towns and returned to Ormuz.

From 1550 to 1559 we find the Turks assisting the local chiefs in the Persian Gulf against the King of Ormuz and the Portuguese. The Gulf was a constant scene of strife, which ended in a complete defeat of the Turks on the Island of Bahrein.

About 1581 some Turkish galleys despatched from Mocha by Alibec took by surprise the Portuguese garrison at Maskat, plundered the town and carried away a large quantity of spoils, without meeting much opposition from the Portuguese, who fled to Bruxel. An expedition sent in pursuit of Alibec under Luiz de Almeida from Ormuz went out of its intended course and plundered Pesani, Guadel and Gedrosia (a town on the banks of River Calamen).

In 1582 the King of Lars, ambitious of wresting from the Kingdom of Ormuz its supremacy on the Persian Coast, proceeded to conquer the coast towns and laid siege to Ormuz, but was repulsed by the united forces of the King of Ormuz and the Portuguese.

Luis da Gama, Commander of the Portuguese Fort at Ormuz, having caused great offence to the Persians on the mainland, a Persian fleet of 300 barques was sent to capture the fort of Bandel with a view to cutting the water supply of Ormuz, but it was dispersed easily by the Portuguese (1613 A. D.).

After a series of negotiations between Shah Abbas and the East India Company, beginning from the year 1613, the Persians and the English attacked and captured Ormuz in April 1622, thus wresting it from the Portuguese after they had held it effectively from 1514, when their castle on it was completed.

After the loss of Ormuz, the Portuguese established a factory of trade at Basrah, which also became the seat of a religious community and seminary for learning (1623).

In 1624-1625 two engagements took place between the Portuguese fleet under the command of Ruy Frere de Andrade on the one side and the English and Dutch fleets on the sea of Ormuz, in which both sides lost heavily.

In 1631, under instructions from the King of Spain endeavours were made by Ruy Frere to effect a re-settlement at Ormuz, but in vain. A fort was, however, established at Jalfar in the neighbourhood of the celebrated fishery.

At the time when the Portuguese acquired their independence from the Spanish yoke in 1640, they possessed fortresses at the following places in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman :—

Kuryat, Dobar, Maskat, Matrah, Sohar, Jalfar, Basrah, Kong and Bandel.

In 1640 Maskat was attacked by the Arabs who were however repulsed, but in 1643 Sohar was taken by the Imam.

In August 1648 the Arabs, under Said *bin* Kalifa, besieged Maskat, when plague was raging in the town. The garrison having soon expended its ammunition, the Portuguese had to buy peace on very disastrous terms :—The fortifications at Kuryat, Dobar and Matrah were razed to the ground, and the Imam's vessels were to be allowed to navigate the seas and trade without passports from the Portuguese, and free from the payment of customs.

Soon afterwards, the fort of Maskat was captured by the Arabs, and the Portuguese left the place for good.

In 1690 the Portuguese General, Antonio Machado de Britto, concluded a treaty with the Pasha of Basrah, under which the Portuguese were permitted to enjoy perfect freedom of trade at that port and were not to be subjected to any higher tax than 3 per cent. upon their commerce. Perfect freedom of religion was also guaranteed.

The Shah of Persia having recently lost Ormuz, which had been taken by the Turks, and also Bahrein, which had been seized by the Arabs, sought the assistance of the Portuguese by sending an ambassador to Goa, with the result that an expedition was despatched in 1719 to the Persian Gulf. A running fight was carried on from Kong, the Portuguese settlement, to Julfar and Maskat, in which the Arabs were defeated with heavy loss. The signal defeat of the Arabs was followed by riots at Maskat and the death of the Imam, who was succeeded by his nephew. An attempt was made by the latter to come to terms with the Portuguese, to which the latter would not agree, expecting to receive assistance from the Shah of Persia, who had come out successful in his domestic wars in consequence of the recent assistance rendered by the Portuguese in the Gulf against the Arabs. But the tardiness of the Shah in coming to their assistance, compelled the Portuguese fleet to return to Goa. This was the last opportunity that offered itself to the Portuguese to regain their power in the Persian Gulf, but their troubles nearer their capital in India and the ingratitude of the Persian Shah prevented them from utilizing the opportunity. Thus passed away the Portuguese Empire in the Persian Gulf, after having exercised for nearly a century and a half a control over the Gulf politics and trade, which has not fallen to the lot of any other European power. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

## ART. VI.—*Chitorgadh Prasasti.*

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

(Communicated.)

Last year while I was going over the list of Jaina MSS. given in the late Prof. Kathavate's Report for the years 1891-95, I happened to stumble on its No. 1332. The name of the work therein given is *Chitrakūṭadurgē Mahāvīra-prāsāda prasasti*. Being curious to know what it was, I ransacked the descriptive part of that Report, and even glanced over the extracts at the end, with a view to have some light thrown on the matter, but I was disappointed. I had, therefore, no recourse left but to secure the original MS., and, through the kindness of the Director of Public Instruction, I was successful in obtaining it. On perusing it, I found that the contents thereof were in every way interesting, and wondered why no summary of it had been published. I, therefore, make no excuse for publishing the *prasasti* prefixed by a resumé of its contents together with explanatory notes wherever necessary.

The *prasasti* begins with obeisance to *Śrī-Sarvajña*, the omniscient. Then follows the first verse devoted to the praise of the Goddess of speech. The next five stanzas (2-6) invoke the blessings of *Vṛishabhānātha*, *Śāntinātha*, *Nēminātha*, *Pārsvanātha* and *Mahāvīra*, the first, the sixteenth, the twenty-second, the twenty-third, and the twenty-fourth *tīrthamkara* respectively. Stanza 7 speaks of a country named *Medapāṭa* (*Mewār*), whose high edifices, shining in various places, served as so many towers of victory raised in commemoration of the subjugation of other countries. The following verse says that here, *i.e.*, in *Mewār*, flourished *Guhilarāja*, from whom sprang the well known *Guhila* dynasty. In this royal family there was a king called *Hammira* who vanquished the *Turushkas*, *i.e.*, the *Turks*, the *Muhamadans* (v. 9). He was succeeded by his son *Kheta*, and the latter by his son *Laksha* (vs. 10-11). After *Laksha*, his son *Mokala* became king, who "engraved his precious fame on the breasts of the fair-faced of *Sapādalaksha* in the form of the drops of water (issuing) from their eyes" (v. 12). The next two stanzas bestow on him nothing but pure conventional praise. Verse 15 speaks of *Śrī-Mokala* as having granted liberation (*mukti*) even to the sacred place *Gayā*, which is celebrated for giving beatitude (*mukti*) to the people. This may perhaps be taken to refer to some attempt made by him, to

expel the enemies of his faith, *viz.*, the Muhammadans, from the holy land of Gayā as his father Lākṣhā is credited with having done. In the verse following he is described as having vanquished the king of Nāgapura. Nāgapura is unquestionably Nāgaur, the principal town of the province of the same name in the northernmost part of the Jodhpur State. In the province there is a small district of the name Svālakṣh which is famous for horses. It is no doubt in this name that the old Sapādalakṣha, mentioned in verse 12 above and associated in epigraphs with the Chāhamānas, survives. In old days it was, of course, much more extensive than at present. It cannot possibly be the region round about the Sawālakṣh hills near the Himālayas, with which, so far as we know, the Chāhamānas were in no way connected. Nāgaur, on the other hand, is quite close to Sāmbhar, the ancient Śākambhari, the original seat of the Chāhamāna power. Verses 12 and 16 thus mean the same thing by representing Mokala as having subjugated Sapādalakṣha or as having defeated the king of Nāgapura (Nāgaur). The latter place was at this time held by Firuz Khan Dandāni, related to and viceroy of Ahmed I., Sultān of Gujarāt. And I have not the least doubt that he is the same as Peroja, king of Yavanas, whom the Chitorgadh inscription, dated A.D., 1428, speaks of Mokala as having vanquished. Prof. Kielhorn identifies this Peroja with the Sultan Firoz Shāh. But Firoz Tughlak reigned from A.D. 1351-1388 and could not have been a contemporary of Mokala. Peroja of the Chitorgadh inscription must, therefore, be supposed to be identical with Firuz Khān Dandāni. Verse 17 again is purely eulogistic and teaches us nothing new. But the next verse tells us that Mokala was succeeded by his son Kumbhakarna, whose conquests of Lāṭa, Bhoṭa, Karnāṭa, Jāngala<sup>1</sup>, Kaliṅga, Kuru, Mālava and Gūrjara are mentioned in the stanza following. Verse 20 lavishes nothing but pure conventional praise on him, and contains no historical information. Verse 21 speaks of the mountain Chitrakūṭa (Chitorgadh) as being guarded by Kumbhakarna and as "serving as a crown on the head of the young woman, *viz.*, the country of Śrī-Medapāṭa" (Mewār). The next two verses describe its various features wherein it excelled other mountains. Verse 24 says that "the town of the gods, being depressed in consequence of having to live without support (from below), descended from heaven on the earth in the form of Nagara near its foot by using this mountain as a pole of the ladder." This evidently refers to the place Nagari, six miles to the north of Chitorgadh, and the mention of "the town of the gods"

<sup>1</sup> Bikaner *ilākṣhā* was first known as Jāmgalū, and its capita was also called by that name. Bhoṭa is ordinarily identified with Tibet.

is, I think, made in order to imply the great antiquity of the place, where indeed even Buddhist remains of an early period have been discovered. Here at Chitorgaḍh reigned Kumbhakarna (v. 25).

The *prasasti* then describes an altogether different family, *vis.*, that of the Sāhukār who renovated the temple of Mahāvira at Chitorgaḍh. Of the Ūkeśa (Osvāl) race, there was one Vīsala in Chitorgaḍh. His son was Deda or Dedā, and his son was Dhanapāla Sādhu,<sup>1</sup> who lived in Karṇāvatī, the ornament of the Gūrjara country (vs. 26-28). Karṇāvatī was the city founded and made his capital, by the Solañkī king Karṇa. It was the place which was purified by the visit of Hemachandrasūri, who converted Kumārapāla to Jainism, and is supposed to be modern Ahmedābād.

Dhanapāla had four sons, *vis.*, Sāngaṇa, Godā, Samarā, and Chāchā. Amongst these Chāchāka, the ornament of Karṇāvatī, and the crest-jewel of all prominent (*prabhāvaka*) persons, bore unequal beauty by pilgrimages, meritorious deeds done according to the Ārhata law and so forth. He also constructed a temple in the city of Āśāpalli, which seems to be Āsāval near Ahmedābād (vs. 29-31). His first wife was Lādī, from whom he had three sons, *vis.*, Vijāda, Sāmala and Pūnā (v. 32). His second wife was Muktādevī from whom sprang four sons. Of these, the first was Guṇarāja sādhu, the lord of two wives, *vis.*, Śrī and Bhāratī, goddesses of wealth and learning, the second Āmbāka, the third Līmbāka, and the fourth Jayatā (vs. 33-36). The wives of these four brothers were respectively Gaṅgāde, Mānikāde, Hemādevī and Jasamāde (v. 37). From verses 38-39, we learn that Guṇarāja sādhu was exalted by Śrī-Pātasāhi, lord of the Gūrjara country to the rank of the member of his council. Then follow four verses which give us no historical information. Verse 44 says that he made a pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya and Raivata mountains<sup>2</sup> twice, once in V. E. 1457 and another time in V. E. 1462. Then we are told that his brother Āmra (Āmbāka), though in the prime of his youth, abandoned his wife and riches, and turned a monk, and in him Śrī-Sthūlabhadra incarnated himself (v. 45). The next verse informs us that he caused Guṇarāja, who had been enlightened by the words of the preceptor Devasundara, to perform praiseworthy pious acts exciting the admiration of the

<sup>1</sup> Monler-Williams' dictionary gives for *Sādhu* also the sense "a merchant, money-lender, usurer," which suits here excellently. It no doubt corresponds to *Sāh*, which is found used as an honorific suffix to the names of merchants in records of the 13th century onwards (compare e. g. the name Vimala Śāh). *Sādhu* and *Sāh* are also the same as the well-known word *Sāhukār*.

<sup>2</sup> Raivata is constantly mentioned in the *Śatruñjaya-māhātmya* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX, p. 245 and note 28). It is now identified with Mount Girnār, near Junāgaḍh, which is held sacred to Śrī-Neminātha, the twenty-second *tīrthamkāra*.

world, and to install Munisundara in the rank of a *pāthaka* in V. E. 1465.<sup>1</sup> What probably is meant is that he celebrated the festivities attendant upon the ceremony. Munisundara was a pupil of Somasundara, who himself was a pupil of Devasundara. In V. E. 1468 a famine was raging, and by erecting alms-houses and distributing gratis ghee, food, and gifts amongst the poor and afflicted coming from various countries, he obtained victory over this foe (v. 47). In V. E. 1470 he went on a pilgrimage to Sopāraka, *i.e.*, Sopārā, in the Ṭhānā district (v. 48). Verse 49 similarly makes mention of his pilgrimages to Jirāpalli and Arbuda.<sup>2</sup> The verse following is purely laudatory and tells us nothing new. The next five verses (51-55) describe his third pilgrimage to Vimalāchala (Śatruñjaya) and other sacred places which was undertaken in V. E. 1477; which was accompanied by musical instruments filling the worlds with sound and proclaiming his fame; which was rendered attractive by the miniature shrines, the sporting-abode of the goddess of victory over the ten quarters; which was headed by the *guru* Somasundara; which was greeted by the feudatory princes in consequence of the *farman* of Padsah; and to which were invited the *saṃghas* and *mahājanas* from various countries, such as Gūrjara and so forth. This pilgrimage seems to have been very grand, as, in the description of this pilgrimage only, it is said to have reminded the people of the first *yuga* although it was the fourth, and, by the pomp and pageant attendant upon it, Guṇarajā *sīdhu* was actually likened by the people to Bharata, son of the first *ūrthamkara* as he appeared, when he visited Śatruñjaya with his full paraphernalia and with great festivities. Verses 56-58 also describe this grand pilgrimage in general terms, but do not add to our knowledge. The verse following however informs us that during this pilgrimage he caused Jinasundara to be installed in the rank of *sāri* at Madhumatī, with great festivities. This Jinasundara<sup>3</sup>, like Munisundara mentioned above, must doubtless be the pupil of Somasundara, and Madhumatī is the modern Mahuvā, principal town of the district of the same name, Bhāv-nagar State. In verse 60 the mountain Raivata is compared to *Suragiri*, *i.e.*, Meru, and verse 61 tells us that by means of his various religious excellences he released Sāraṅga, Kumāra, king Samprati, Vastupāla and so forth from their prison-room, *vis.*, the mind of the people, by putting himself in their place. The next four verses, again, are merely eulogistic, revealing no fact or incident connected

<sup>1</sup> The date as given in the *paṭṭāvali* is, however, one year later.

<sup>2</sup> Arbuda is, of course, Monn Ābū. Jirāpalli is still in existence and is six miles north of Barmāp in the Sirohi State.

<sup>3</sup> He was the author of *dīpālikā-kalpa* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, p. 256, No. 50).

with Guṇarāja. In verses 66-72 we are informed that he had five sons, that the first was Gaja, the second Mahirāja of amorous propensities, the third Bāla who was held in respect by the king Mokala for the purposes of commerce (*vyavasāya*), the fourth Kālū who was on the road to becoming a *prabhāvaka*, and the fifth Īśvara who took delight in the worship of Ādinātha, the first *tirthamkara*. The verse following mentions Gaṅgā as the name of their mother, and of the wife of Guṇarāja, the same information being previously given in verse 37. The name of the son of Āmbāka, who was a brother of Guṇarāja and who had become a monk, was Manāka; and the son of Jayatā, the youngest brother of Guṇarāja, was Jinarāja (Vs. 74-5).

Here ends the description of the family of Guṇarāja and commences the order of pontifical succession of the Tapāgachchha. The first Gaṇadhara of Vardhamāna, we are told, was Gautama, and the fifth was Sudharmā. After the latter flourished Jambū, and in course of time there was Vajrasvāmī (v. 76). The ornament of his *sākhā* or line was the *sūri* Jagachchandra, who by his rigorous religious austerities (*tapas*) caused the Chandragachchha to be styled Tapā by the princes (v. 77). We know from the Jaina *paññavalis* that Jagachchandra vanquished in controversies thirty-two opponents who were preceptors of the Digambara sect at Āghāṭapura<sup>1</sup> in the assembly of the king and was styled Hiralā-Jagachchandra-sūri, being impenetrable like a *hīraka* or diamond in discussions. Then for twelve years he practised religious austerities, which gained for him the title Tapā from the king. By this name his *gachchha* also became known, *i.e.*, his *gachchha* was henceforth called Tapā-gachchha which name has continued down to the present time.<sup>2</sup> Jagachchandra was succeeded by Devendrasūri, whose collection of works, it is stated, like the rays of the sun made the roads (*padavi*) of Śivapura or town of absolution bright (v. 78). His seat was graced by Dharmaghosha, who established the god Gomukha, *i.e.*, Gomukha, Yaksha of Ādinātha, at Śatruñjaya, and he was succeeded to this rank by Somaprabhasūri, who had got by heart both the text and meaning (*sūtrārtha*) of all the eleven *angas* (vs. 79-80). After the latter Somatilaka became the ornament of his *pañña*, who was an expert in composing the various *sāstras* (v. 81). He was succeeded to the pontifical seat by Devasundara, and the latter by Somasundara on listening to whose religious sermons Guṇarāja shone as much as the king Kumārāpāla, who listened to the words of Hemāchārya (vs. 82-85). Then we are told in verse 86 that "through the order

<sup>1</sup> Āghāṭapura is Āhaḍ or Ād, the ancient capital of Mewār, not far from the present Udaipur Station.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI pp. 254-5.

of King Mokala, who conferred unequalled favours (on him), the *sādhu* Guṇarāja rebuilt with delight on Mount Chitrakūṭa, this (temple), standing close to the *kīrtistambha* or tower of fame, and whose beauty is enhanced by a row of lofty *maṇḍapas* and chapels. His son, Bāla, who is referred to above as being thought of highly by Mokala, appears to have been entrusted with the work of supervision in this connection (v. 87). The next three verses are in praise of the temple, of Guṇarāja who rebuilt it, and of Somasundara who enlightened him. Amidst a variety of festivities propagating the cause of Jainism, the five sons of *Sādhu* Guṇarāja placed in the temple a new image of Vardhamāna, in the year 1485 (A. D. 1428), which was consecrated by Somasundara. This probably means that although he commenced rebuilding the temple he did not live to see the image installed and that this work had consequently to be done by his sons. Verse 92 says that the height of this temple was so great that all well-known mountains, such as Vindhya, Kailāsa, Trikūṭa, Maināka and so forth, were shorn of their beauty. The next verse says that on perceiving this temple and the *kīrtistambha*, everybody began to suspect whether they were towers of victory erected in honour of the Jina who has triumphed over worldly attachment and hatred, whether they were two bridges for crossing the boundless ocean, *vis.*, the Evil Birth (*gati*), or whether they were two poles of a ladder to obtain the supreme bliss of the gods. This temple, we are told in the verse following, by upraising the hand under the pretext of the *kīrtistambha* declares to the world, "by ascending the flight of stairs, O you pious persons, enjoy yourselves, free from all care, in the abodes of celestial felicity." Verses 95 and 96 are important. In the first we are informed that the structure, *vis.*, the *kīrtistambha*, was first built by Kumārapala of the *Prāg-vamśa* or Porvāḍ family, leader of the *saṃgha*, to the south of this (temple), bearing to it the beauty of a mountain-like *maṇḍapa* and always doing twelve kinds of worship to the lord of the Jinas in an eight-fold manner. And, to the north of this (*kīrtistambha*), says the second verse, an elegant temple (*i.e.* the present one) was erected by an Osvāl of the name Chācha, son of Teja, and resident at Chitrakūṭa. Verses 97-100 bestow purely conventional praise on Guṇarāja and his sons. The verse following tells us that the *prasasti* was composed in V.E. 1495 by Chāritraratna-gaṇi, pupil of Somasundara. From the next verse we learn that the *prasasti* was written by a *Jati* named Saṃvegaja and engraved by Nārada, son of the *Sūtradhāra* Laksha. The remaining verses, which are two in number, express a wish, for the permanence of the temple, and for Mahāvīra and the *prasasti* causing delight to the whole world. Then follow one or two lines

in prose, which may thus be rendered : "And thus (ends) the *prasasti* of the temple of Mahāvīra on the illustrious fort of Chitrakūṭa composed by Śrī-Chāritraratna-gaṇi, the highest priest and crest-jewel of the charming circle (of the learned). This *prasasti* was copied in the great capital Devagiri in Samvat 1508 in the Prajāpati cyclic year."

I have so far given an account of the contents of this *prasasti*, with some additional remarks of my own to elucidate the various points therein referred to. I shall now turn to other matters connected with it. In the first place, this *prasasti* could not possibly have formed an integral part of any literary work. This is seen from the fact that it calls itself *Chitrakūṭadurge Mahāvīra-prāsāda-prasasti*, and deals with this subject only. This shows that it is an independent thing in itself. Next, there cannot be even the shadow of a doubt as to its having been incised as an inscription in the temple of Mahāvīra, to which it relates. Verse 102, as we have just seen, speaks of the mason Nārada as having engraved the *prasasti*. The word 'engraved' *utkṛṇavān* is worthy of note, and it indubitably shows that originally it was an inscription. Further verse 86, which gives the object of the *prasasti*, *vis.*, the mention of the re-erection of the temple under the instructions of Mokala, refers to it as shown above, only by the pronoun 'this' (*amum*), no noun signifying 'a structure' being used. This distinctly points to the inscription having been incised in the temple of Mahāvīra. This temple is no longer in existence, and this explains why no inscription identical with this *prasasti* has been found at Chitorgadh, although the ancient remains thereon have been so thoroughly explored by quite an array of Archæological Surveyors and antiquarians. That the copy of this inscription should have been preserved in a manuscript, which, again was written at Devagiri, *i.e.* Daulatābād in the Nizām's territory quite far off from Chitorgadh, is not a little curious. But a similar instance has come to my notice during my archæological tours. While at Jodhpur in 1907, a copy in manuscript of the copper-plate grant of Baroda of *Śaka* 783, issued by the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Kakka, had been brought for my inspection from a Jaina *bhaṇḍār*. How a manuscript copy of the copper-plate inscription, discovered so far south as Baroda, found its way to a Jaina *bhaṇḍār* so far north as Jodhpur is equally inexplicable. The probable explanation is that the Jaina Jatis are as industrious as learned, and when they start on their religious tours, they always gather, for being stored in their *bhaṇḍārs*, not only what pertains to their religion but also what is interesting in general. And if a copy of the Baroda copper-plate charter which registers a grant to a Brāhmaṇa and conse-

quently has no religious significance to the Jatis, is found at Jodhpur, it need not surprise us at all, that a copy of an inscription in the temple of Mahāvīra at Chitorgadh, which necessarily has religious importance in the eyes of the Jains, was made at Devagiri (Daulatābād).

श्रीसर्वज्ञाय नमः ॥

जिनवदनसरोजे या विलासं विशुद्ध-

द्वयनयमयपक्षा राजहंसीव धत्ते ॥

कुमतसुमतनीरक्षीरबोर्व्यक्तकर्त्री

जनयतु जनतानां भारती<sup>1</sup> भारती सा ॥ १ ॥

मेरुः स्मेरप्रमोदे त्रिदशपतिगणे यस्य जन्माभिषेकं

निर्मायं निर्मिमाणे घुसृणमसृणितैः स्नात्रवारिप्रवाहैः ॥

प्राप्तः किं पीतिमानं कनकगिरिरिति ह्यातिमाप क्षमाया-

मक्षामाः सौख्यलक्ष्मीवृषभजिनपतिवः स पुष्यादसंख्याः ॥ २ ॥

प्रीणन्तः सर्वकालं कुत्रलयमखिलं तामसस्तोमनाशे

निष्णाः पुष्णन्तु लक्ष्मीं कमनखशशिनः शान्तिनेतुर्नतानाम् ॥

संक्रान्ता येषु हर्षप्रसरसरभसा नम्रनाकीन्द्रकोटी-

कोटीराग्नोपविष्टा मरकतमणयो लक्ष्मलीलां वहन्ते ॥ ३ ॥

भाले नीलमणीयते मुखविधौ लक्ष्मोपमामक्षुते

पुष्णात्यञ्जनमञ्जुतां नयनयोर्धत्ते तु वक्षस्तटे ॥

कस्तूरीमयपत्रवल्लितुलनां सुत्रामवामभ्रुवां

यस्याङ्गद्युतिसंततिः स तनुतां नेमिः श्रियं नेमेषाम् ॥ ४ ॥

भीष्मे प्रीष्म इव प्रसर्पति कलौ सर्वान्यदेवप्रभा

निशेषाः सरसीरिव प्रतिपदं शोषं नयत्यन्वहम् ॥

युक्तं यन्महिमा महोदधिरिव स्फार्ति परामश्रुते

देवः सेवकवत्सलः प्रतिफलं प्रीणातु पार्श्वः स वः ॥ ५ ॥

उद्धर्ता धरणीमसाविति सुखं भेजे भुजङ्गेश्वर-

श्छेत्तायं परितस्तमस्ततिमिति प्रीतः प्रभाणां पातः ॥

दातायं जगतोऽपि कामितमिति स्वर्गिद्रुमाः स्वेच्छया

चेरुर्मरुवने यदीयजनने देवः स वीरः श्रिये ॥ ६ ॥

अस्ति स्वस्तिपदं समस्तकमलाविश्रामभूर्विश्रुतो

देशः पेशलसंनिवेशकलितः श्रीमेदपाटाभिधः ॥

स्थानस्थानविराजमानविशदप्रासाददम्भादहो

यो देशानितरान्विजित्य विजयस्तम्भान्समुत्तम्भयेत् ॥ ७ ॥

इह हि गुहिलराजस्तेजसामेकभोकः

सकलनृपतिमौलिः पालयामास पृथ्वीम् ॥

जगति गुहिलवंशः ह्यतिमानेष यस्मा-

दजनि जननिमित्तं जात्यपमौक्तिकानाम् ॥ ८ ॥

बहो तत्र पवित्रचित्रचरितस्तेजस्विनामप्रणीः

श्रीहृम्मीरमहीपतिः स्म तपति क्षमापालवास्तोष्पतिः ॥

तौरुष्काऽमितमुण्डमण्डलमिथःसंघट्टवाचालिता

यस्याद्यापि वदन्ति कीर्तिमभितः संग्रामसीमाभुवः ॥ ९ ॥

दिङ्मूलकषकीर्तिधौतभुवनस्तस्याङ्गभूर्निर्भरं

भूभारं बिभरामभूव तदनु श्रीखतनामा नृपः ॥

दृष्यत्पीवरगोपिकास्तनभरक्षुण्णं मुरारेकर-

स्त्यक्त्वा श्रीर्विललास पाणिकमले यस्यानिशं कोमले ॥ १० ॥

श्रीलक्षः क्षितिपालभालतिलकः प्रह्यातकीर्तिस्ततो

निर्माति स्म तदङ्गजो वसुमतीं राजन्वतीमन्वहम् ॥

न्यायश्रीः कलिकालभीषणतमर्षीष्मातपोत्तापिता

भोजे यद्भुजदण्डमण्डपतले विश्रामलीलासुखम् ॥ ११ ॥

तत्र त्रैदशधामवामनयना नेत्रत्रिभागातिथौ

पृथ्वीं पालयति स्म तस्य तनयः श्रीमोकलः क्षमापतिः ॥

यो दुर्द्धर्षसपादलक्षसुमुखीवक्षस्तटेषु स्फुटा-

ध्मालेखन्नयनोदबिन्दुमिषतः कीर्तिं प्रशस्तां निजाम् ॥ १२ ॥

स्फार्तिं शश्रुकलत्रनेत्रसरसां संसूत्रयन्दीप्यते

नव्यः कोपि भुवि प्रतापतपनः श्रीमोकलोर्वापतेः ॥

यो यः स्वातपवारण प्रतिनृपस्तत्याज निर्व्याजधी-

र्यस्तापं न हि तस्य तस्य तनुते नित्योदयः श्रीयुतः ॥ १३ ॥

निदेशप्रतिभूमिपालकमलालुण्टाकदोर्विक्रमः

श्रीमान्मोकलभूपतिर्विजयतां यस्त्यागलीलायितैः ॥

निश्चिन्ताः सकला वनीयकततीर्निर्माय चिन्तामहो

चक्रेऽव्यर्थितदानकौतुकतया चिन्तामणेः केवलम् ॥ १४ ॥

गवाह्यतीर्थं जनमुक्तिदायि दुरा पुराणेषु किल प्रतीतम् ॥

तस्वाप्यहो संप्रति मुक्तिदाता श्रीमोकलः कस्य न विस्मयाय ॥ १५ ॥  
 कः प्रौढिमा नागपुरेशभङ्गश्यामिरेतस्य महीमघोनः ॥  
 बतौऽस्य कीर्तिर्दयितापि घाम्ना पगकरोन्नागपुराधिराजम् ॥ १६ ॥  
 ऐश्वर्येण दिवस्सति मृगपतिं शौर्येण वाचस्पतिं  
 चातुर्येण वपुःश्रिया गतिपतिं कीर्त्या त्रियामापतिम् ॥  
 औदार्यातिशयेन कर्णनृपतिं न्यायेन सीतापतिं  
 गाम्भीर्येण सरित्पतिं विजयते श्रीमोकलोर्वीपतिः ॥ १७ ॥  
 तस्वाङ्गजो जगदगञ्जितदिव्यतेजाः श्रीमान्नवार्क इव राजति कुम्भकर्णः ॥  
 विन्वस्व यः क्षितिभृतां शिरसि खपादान्दूरास्तदुर्णयतमा भुवनं पुनारि ॥ १८ ॥  
 लाटः खिद्यल्ललाटः कटरटनपटुः भोटभूपः प्रदाता  
 कर्णाटः पूःकपाटं मुखपुटघटितस्वाङ्गुलिर्जाङ्गलेन्द्रः ॥  
 नश्यद्गङ्गः कलिङ्गः कुरुकुरुविनयो मालवः कालवक्त्र-  
 स्यक्तौजा गूर्जरेन्द्रः समजनि जयिनस्तस्य राज्ञः प्रयागे ॥ १९ ॥  
 उच्छेत्तुं कमलं न कण्टकमलं मित्रोपकारादपि  
 स्वस्यापीति ततोऽपष्टत्य कमला निष्कण्टकां मेदिनीम् ॥  
 कुर्वाणं स्वयमेव पाणिकमलं शिश्राय यस्थानिज्ञं  
 नम्रानेकमहीपतिः स जयाति श्रान्कुम्भपृथ्वीपतिः ॥ २० ॥  
 अस्त्वद्भुतः क्षितिधरः किल चित्रकूटस्तेनावनीमघवता परिपाल्यमानः ॥  
 श्रीमैदपाटघरणीतरुणीललाटपट्टे स्फट मुकुटतामुपटौकते यः ॥ २१ ॥  
 नानाविकस्वरसिताम्बजराजिताान  
 राजन्ति निर्मलपयांसि सरांसि यत्र ॥  
 जाने यदुन्नतविहारविदीर्णमूर्ते-  
 व्योम्नश्च्युतानि शकलानि सतारकाणि ॥ २२ ॥  
 तीर्थाधारतयारिदुर्गमतयोन्नयाङ्गुनत्वेन वा  
 स्पर्धो भो विदधाति यः मह मया सद्यः समायातु सः ॥  
 इत्याकारयतीव निर्झररवैरुत्रीधरान्यः परा-  
 न्कीर्तिस्तम्भमिषेण हस्तमतनुं प्रोत्तम्भ्य वादोन्मनाः ॥ २३ ॥  
 व्योमाङ्गणादनवलम्बनिवामजान-  
 खेदेव देवनगरी यदुपत्यकायाम् ॥  
 चक्रेऽवतारमवनौ नगरच्छत्रेन  
 निश्रेणिदण्डमिव यं गिरिमाकलय्य ॥ २४ ॥  
 वार्तापि तापविषयात्र कथं प्रजानां

श्रीकृष्णभक्तर्णपृथिवीपतिगद्गुतौजाः ॥  
 छित्त्वा यतः क्षितिभृतामभिनाऽपि वंशा-  
 नेक्यतपत्रमयमत्र तनोति राज्यम् ॥ २५ ॥  
 श्रीमानूकेशवंशः स जयति परमां विभ्रदौन्नत्यलक्ष्मीं  
 सच्छायः प्रांशुशास्त्राप्रकरपरिगतो विश्वविभ्रामभूमिः ॥  
 उत्पन्नस्तत्र मुक्तामणिरिव विमलस्त्रासमुक्तः सुवृत्तः  
 पूर्वं शोभां मेहेभ्यः पुरमिदमनयद्वीसलः शालितेजाः ॥ २६ ॥  
 वेत्सङ्घयः कृतनयप्रणयः प्रतीतः  
 स्फीतप्रभः सुविनयस्तनयस्तदीयः ॥  
 राकाशशाङ्कविशदापि सतां मनांसि  
 रक्तानि यस्य गुणपङ्क्तिरहो व्यधत् ॥ २७ ॥  
 आल्हादयन्कुवलयं धनगालसाधुः  
 सिन्धोरिवेन्दुरुदियाय ततः कलावान् ॥  
 धाम्ना च गूर्जरधराभरणं क्रमेण  
 कर्णावतीं दिवमिवैष पुरीं व्यभूषत् ॥ २८ ॥  
 जगदङ्गणरङ्गत्तरयशस्तरङ्गास्तदङ्गजा विदिताः ॥  
 साङ्गणगोदासमराचाचाहयाश्चारुचार्तुयाः ॥ २९ ॥  
 तन्नावाण्य स कर्णवर्णितगुणः कर्णावतीभूषण-  
 श्वाचाकः सकलप्रभावकनृणां चूडामणिर्दियुते ॥  
 तैस्तैरार्हतशासनस्य सुकृतैः श्रीनार्थयात्रादिकै-  
 र्यः शोभामनिभां बभार नभसो भास्वानिवाभाशुभिः ॥ ३० ॥  
 कीडागृहमिव पण्यश्रीणां देवालयं विशालयशाः ॥  
 आशापल्लीपुर्यामयं मुदा कारयामास ॥ ३१ ॥  
 तस्य प्रथमा पत्नी लाडास्तस्याह्वयः सुताः प्रथिताः ॥  
 बीजडसामलपूनानामानः स्फीतमहिमानः ॥ ३२ ॥  
 सौन्दर्यमन्दिरमजायत तस्य मुक्ताः-  
 देवी तु देवगुरुभक्तिपरा द्वितीया ॥  
 यस्या विभूषणत्रिधिव्यवहारमात्र-  
 मासीदसीमगुणरत्नविभूषितायाः ॥ ३३ ॥  
 तत्कुक्षिसरसीहंसाः सदाचारणचारवः ॥  
 विवेकिनः सुता जाताश्चन्दारः प्रथिता अर्मा ॥ ३४ ॥  
 आद्यः श्रीगुणराजसाधुराधिपः श्रीभारतीयोषितो-

राम्बाकः कलिकालजैत्रचरित्रः<sup>१</sup> ह्यातो द्वितीवस्तथा ॥  
 लम्बाकश्च तृतीयकः स्वधिषणावज्ञातवाचस्पति-  
 स्तेजस्वी जयताह्वयः पुनरयं तुर्यः समर्थदधीः ॥ ३५ ॥  
 गुणवर्याः सोदर्माश्चत्वारोऽमी त एव रामाद्याः ॥  
 भुवामिव पुनरवतीर्णाः कालकौणपविपुतामवितुम् ॥ ३६ ॥  
 गङ्गादेर्माणिकदेहेमादेवी तथा च जसमादः ॥  
 अनुपमगुणाभिरामाः क्रमादिमाः प्रियतमास्तेषाम् ॥ ३७ ॥  
 तेषु श्रीगुणराजसाधुरभवच्छ्रीशासनोद्भासन-  
 व्यग्रो जाप्रदभङ्गभाग्यविभवः सौभाग्यलीलागृहम् ॥  
 सर्वाङ्गीणतया प्रसन्नहृदयः श्रीगूर्जरोर्वीपति-  
 रित्यं पल्लवितां लतामेव मन्थुर्यस्य प्रतिष्ठां व्यधात् ॥ ३८ ॥  
 मुक्तामयं वपुर्यं दधादिद्धतेजाः  
 शोभां न केवलमपेतमलां निजस्य ॥  
 वंशस्य हार इव सारगुणश्चकार  
 श्रीपातसाहि<sup>४</sup>दसोऽपि सुवर्णशाली ॥ ३९ ॥  
 निर्भिन्नं सर्वदा सर्वधर्मकार्याणि कुर्वता ॥  
 कलेर्गले बलेनैव वामस्तेन ददे कमः<sup>५</sup> ॥ ४० ॥  
 अयं न केषां हृदयं तनोति सविस्मयं श्रीगुणराजसाधुः ॥  
 प्रत्यर्थिनां प्रत्यहमर्थिनां च ततान यो दानममानमानः ॥ ४१ ॥  
 भूयः कृतार्थीमवदर्थिसार्थप्रमोदवाप्यप्रव्रज्जातपङ्कम् ॥  
 न जातु तस्याङ्गणमारुरोह स्वप्नेऽप्यलक्ष्मीरिव पात्समीता ॥ ४२ ॥  
 बुद्ध्या समृद्ध्या विनयेन विद्यया शौर्येण धैर्येण तथा प्रतिष्ठया ॥  
 त्यागेन भाग्येन न कोऽपि भूतल तुलामलासीन्गुणराजसाधुना ॥ ४३ ॥  
 आद्यां सप्तशरणावनिमिते ( १४५७ ) वर्षे द्वितीयो पुन-  
 र्हस्तर्तु ( ६२ ) प्रमिते महात्म्यभरभ्राजिष्णुसङ्घेन सं ॥  
 श्रीशत्रुञ्जयरैवताचलमहाभ्रार्थार्थयात्रां मुदा  
 चक्रे शक्रसमद्युतिर्जिनमतं प्रौढे परां प्रापयन् ॥ ४४ ॥  
 शस्यः कस्य न शुद्धधीस्तदनुजः साधुः स आम्नाभिधः  
 सौन्दर्यास्तरति विहाय युवतिं प्रौढां समृद्धिं च ताम् ॥  
 रूपश्रीविजितस्मरं तरुणमोत्कर्षेऽप्युपात्तव्रतं

१ Read चरितः. 4 The word क्रम seems to have been here used in the  
 sense in verse 3. 5 The first *pada* of this stanza, offends against the metre.

यं नाश्रैव विभिन्नमुन्नतधियः श्रीस्थूलभद्रा जगुः ॥ ४५ ॥  
 तस्य श्रीगुरुदेवसुन्दरागरा बुद्धस्य शुद्धात्मनो  
 विश्वाध्वयकरानचीकरदसौ शस्यांस्तपस्यान्महान् ॥  
 तत्र श्रीमुनिसुन्दराभिधगुरु वर्षे शरर्तु ( ६५ ) प्रमे  
 प्रत्यष्टापवदेष पाठकपदे प्रष्टः प्रतिष्ठावताम् ॥ ४६ ॥  
 नानादेशजदीनदुर्गतजनप्राजयात्र दानायुधैः  
 सत्रागाररणाङ्गणे प्रगुणितैर्वर्षे गत्रर्तुप्रमे ( ६८ ) ॥  
 तुर्मिक्षप्रतिपन्थिनं कृतजगज्जन्तुव्ययं दुर्मथं  
 जित्वा धर्मभृतां वरो जयरमां पाणौ करोति स्म सः ॥ ४७ ॥  
 ऋदुष्कृतश्रीजिनधर्मराज्यां कुर्वन्स सोपारकतार्थयात्राम् ॥  
 वर्षेऽन्तरिक्षाश्व ( ७० ) मिते चकार यात्रां नु जैत्रौ कलिकालशत्रोः ॥ ४८ ॥  
 ज्ञातन्वानः प्रतिपदमयं धर्मसाम्राज्यमुच्य -  
 मव्याजात्मा प्रगुणितबहुग्रामसङ्घा अनर्घ्याः ॥  
 जीरापल्यवुदमुखमहार्थीययात्राः पवित्रा-  
 श्चक्रेऽनेका नवनवमहैः सूत्रितामात्रचित्राः ॥ ४९ ॥  
 तात्किञ्चिद्गुणराजसाधुरतुलैः श्राधर्मकृत्यैर्यश-  
 स्तेने पार्वणशर्वरीश्वरमहः श्रीगर्वसर्वकषम् ॥  
 चित्रं येन महोज्ज्वलं जनयताप्युर्वीतलं सर्वतो-  
 ऽशेषद्वेषवतां मुखानि नितरां मालिन्यमानेन्धिर ॥ ५० ॥  
 सङ्घाधिपस्य यशसां शरादिन्दुभासां  
 पुञ्जैरिवोरुचर्मरूपवीज्यमानैः ॥  
 उदघोषयद्भिरिव कीर्तिभरं तदीयं  
 वायैर्जगन्ति निनदाद्द्वयतां नयद्भिः ॥ ५१ ॥  
 सौन्दर्यसम्पदपनीतविमानमानै-  
 देवालयैर्दशभिरद्भुतजातशोभाम् ॥  
 श्रीधर्मभूपतिवृतां दशदिग्जयश्री-  
 स्त्रीणां तु जङ्गममणीमयकेलिकेहैः ॥ ५२ ॥  
 श्रीसोमसुन्दरगुरुप्रवरैः सनाथां  
 निर्मूलकृतकलिदुर्ललितप्रमाथाम् ॥  
 श्रीपातसाहिफुरमाणबलेन सर्व-  
 स्थानेषु संमुखममागतशास्त्रिभूपाम् ॥ ५३ ॥  
 श्रीजैत्रवृपराज्यमहार्यसूत्रमेकातपत्रमभिता भुवि सूत्रयन्तीम् ॥

तुर्वे युगेऽपि जनिताद्ययुगावतारां श्रीविक्रमान्मुनिहयाच्चिमहोमितेऽब्दे ॥ ५४ ॥

श्रीगूर्जरादिबहुदेशमहेभ्यसंघा-

नाकार्यं शौर्यजलधिर्गुणराजसाधुः ॥

साक्षात्कार भरतं विमलाचलादि-

यात्राममात्रमहिमा रचयंस्तृतीयाम् ॥ ५५ ॥

पञ्चभिः कुलकम् ॥

तस्यां रजः स्यन्दनचक्रचक्रसमुद्धृतं ऽथाप दिशां मुखानि ॥

मालिन्यपङ्कः पुनरुन्मिमील चित्रं तदीर्घ्यांसजुषां मुखेषु ॥ ५६ः ॥

रत्नचुरत्नमसहस्रखुरोद्धृताभिस्तस्यां नभस्यनणुरेणुभिरावृतेऽपि<sup>६</sup> ॥

चित्रं प्रतापतरणिर्गुणराजसाधोर्देदीप्यते स्म परितोऽप्यधिकप्रकाशः ॥ ५७ ॥

खिनसद्यसु तत्र यष्टिभिः पटुनिस्वानततिः स्म कुव्यते ॥

कलिकालमहोपतेः पुनर्हृदयेन स्फुटितं महाद्भुतम् ॥ ५८ ॥

नानानीवृदुपागतानवधिकश्रीसङ्घसमानना-

दिव्यानेकदुकूलदानाविविधप्राज्यान्नपानादिकैः ॥

निस्सीमैर्निरमीमपन्मधुमतीपुर्यामतुच्छोत्सवै-

स्तस्यां श्रीजिनसुन्दराभिधगुरोः सूरिप्रतिष्ठामसौ ॥ ५९ ॥

दानाद्यद्भुततत्तदुत्सवपरैः सङ्घाधिपैस्तन्मुखै-

र्देवैर्नैरिव दिव्यवेषसुभगैरिभ्यैरमर्त्यैरिव ॥

तस्यां तबिनमञ्जुमबनविधिः श्रीरैवतः पर्वतः

<sup>७</sup>स्फूर्ज्ज्वैनजतुमहः सुरगिरिं न स्मारयामास किम् ॥ ६० ॥

कां कां श्रीगुणराजसङ्घपतये स्तोत्रोपदां कुर्महे

तत्तद्गर्भगुणप्रयोगवशतः स्वं धारयित्वा दृढम् ॥

<sup>८</sup>प्रत्येवोत्तमचित्तगुतिषु धृतान्यो मोचयामासिबान्

श्रीसारङ्गकुमारसम्प्रतिनृपश्रीवस्तुपालादिकान् ॥ ६१ ॥

भ्रातः किं कलिकाल कालवदनः किं दुष्पथे दुःखिता

विघ्नाः किं भयनिघ्नतां भजथ किं तृष्णेऽसि कृष्णानन ॥

जानीषे किमु नो सखेऽलिलजत्य ( ? ) स्माकमुज्जृम्भितं<sup>९</sup>

सर्वेषां गुणराजसङ्घपतिना निर्मूलमुन्मीलितम् ॥ ६२ ॥

प्रक्ष्याप्यते कथमयं नयनोदयश्री-

रस्तोक्याचकजनाञ्जलिशक्तिकासु ॥

6 Read °राशुतोऽपि. 7 Read °जनुमहः. 8 Read प्रत्येको. 9 One letter is missing in this side.

यः स्वातिवृष्टिमुपकल्प्य यशस्ततान  
 मुक्तोज्ज्वलं सकलविश्रमलङ्क रेष्णु ॥ ६३ ॥  
 युक्तं गभीरिमगृहं गुणराजसाधुः  
 स्फार्ति परामधित नित्यमयं न दीनः ॥  
 यस्य प्रकाशमभितो जनयन्ति गावः  
 श्रीसोममुन्दरगुरोः सततोदयस्य ॥ ६४ ॥  
 व्यालुप्तदर्शनबलः कलिविश्रुतौजा  
 ज्यायानसञ्चरणः शरणप्रहीणः ॥  
 हस्तावलम्बमाधिगम्य चिरादमृष्य  
 धर्मः क्षमोऽजनि विहृतो नह<sup>10</sup> जगत्याम् ॥ ६५ ॥  
 राजन्ति पञ्च तनया गणराजसाधोः  
 ह्याताः सुमेरुवदभङ्गुरगारवाद्याः ॥  
 सन्नन्दना स्थिरतया कलिताः सभद्र-  
 शालाः सुवर्णवपुषः सुमनोनिषेव्याः ॥ ६६ ॥  
 तत्रादिमो ग ३ इति प्रथिताभिधानो  
 दानोपशोभितकरस्य महोन्नतस्य ॥  
 भद्रात्मकस्य कमनीयगतोर्विशाल-  
 वंशस्य यस्य गजनाऽनुगुणैव जज्ञे ॥ ६७ ॥  
 चातुर्यधैर्यादिभिरद्वितीयो गुणद्वितीया महाराजनामा ॥  
 दैवादयं यौवनवर्तमानः स्वस्त्रेणनेत्रातिथितामवाप ॥ ६८ ॥  
 धर्मोन्नतिं विवतनुतेऽद्भुतभाष्यभङ्गि-  
 बालाह्वय<sup>11</sup> शुभाध्यां निलयस्तृतीयः ॥  
 भ्रमिकलः क्षिातपतिवह्नु मन्यते स्म  
 यं चित्रकूटवमतिं व्यवसायहेतोः ॥ ६९ ॥  
 कालूः प्रभावकपथे पथिकश्च तुर्यः  
 ह्यातश्चतुर्षु पुरुषार्थावाधिष्वमन्दः ॥  
 यं शैशवेऽपि पुरुषोत्तममाल्लिलङ्ग  
 गाढानुरागवशागेव महत्त्वक्षमीः ॥ ७० ॥  
 पञ्चमो विजयते ऽ यमाश्वरः सर्वदा कलितसर्वमङ्गलः ॥  
 यो जिगाथ मदनं निजयता रजयते च वृषभामनंऽनिसम् ॥  
 एते गुणराजमुता जयन्ति विदिता विशुद्धगुणकलिताः ॥

असमानदानललिताः प्रशस्तचरिताः मदाभ्युदिताः ॥ ७२ ॥  
 गङ्गेव क्षस्या न हि कस्य गङ्गादवीत नाम्ना गुणराजभार्या ॥  
 यस्याः प्रवाहा इव सूनवांसमी स्वर्णश्रियाद्यः भुवनं पुनन्ति ॥ ७३ ॥  
 आम्बाकस्याभवत्सूनुरनूना गुणसंपदा ॥  
 सुमनोजनसंमान्यो मनाकः सुकृतोन्मनाः ॥ ७४ ॥  
 यक्ष्णी जयताकस्य तनयो विनयोऽज्ज्वलः ॥  
 जिनराजसतीभक्तिर्जिनराजो विराजते ॥ ७५ ॥

इतश्च ॥

सिद्धयै श्रीवर्धमानप्रथमगणधरो गौतमः सत्तमश्रीः  
 सिद्धान्तस्वर्गिसिन्धोस्तुहिनगिरिस्थो पञ्चमः श्रीसुधर्मा ॥  
 जम्बूर्म्बूपमानस्तदनु शमवने दिद्युतेऽथ क्रमेण  
 श्रीऽञ्जस्वामिनामा गुरुरवगणितस्वर्गिरिगौरवेण ॥ ७६ ॥  
 विख्यातस्तस्य शाखातलकमविकलोल्लासिसंवेगरङ्गः  
 सूरिः शोभापदम्भां जिनमतमनयच्छ्रीजगच्चन्द्रनामा ॥  
 स्वच्छैः श्रीचन्द्रगच्छे जगदतिशयिभिर्दुम्नपस्तैस्तपोभिः  
 क्षोणौ ख्यातिं तपेति क्षितिपतिजनितां प्रापयामासिवान्यः ॥ ७७ ॥  
 श्रीमान्देवेन्द्रसूरिः <sup>12</sup>प्रसरदुर्गमहा भासयामास भाखां-  
 स्तत्पट्टप्राच्यशैलं दिशि दिशि कमलोल्लासनेऽलम्भविष्णुः ॥  
 अद्यापि ग्रन्थसार्थः किरणनिकरवान्निर्मिमाते यदीय-  
 श्चित्रं देदीप्यमानः शिवपुरादवीः सर्वतः सप्रकाशाः ॥ ७८ ॥  
 सम्यक्त्वं प्रतिपाद्य गोमुखसुर शत्रुञ्जये स्थापय-  
 त्रिन्ये प्रौढिमसौ ततो जिनमतं श्रीधर्मघोषः प्रभुः ॥  
 विद्योन्मृदिकुवादिनां मदगदापस्मारनिस्मारणे  
 यो धन्वन्तरितां दधार बहुधा सिद्धीर्दानोऽद्भुताः ॥ ७९ ॥  
 श्रीसोमप्रभसूरयः शुशुभिरं शोभाप्रास्तात्पदे  
 सूत्रार्थोभयशालिनी प्रातकलं कण्ठं लुठन्तीतमा ॥  
 मुक्तावाह्निरिवोज्ज्वला सुभगतामेकादशाङ्गी तथा  
 यान्नन्ये जगदुत्तमत्वकमला वने स्वयं सा यथा ॥ ८० ॥  
 तत्पट्टैकललाम सोमातलकः सूरिस्ततां दिद्युते  
<sup>13</sup>धावानूत्रविचित्रशास्त्ररचने श्वेताम्बराधीश्वरः ॥  
 एकच्छत्रमसूत्रयत्त्रिजगति श्रीधर्मभूमीभुजः

साम्राज्यं दुरपोहमोहनृपतिं निर्जित्य यो धैर्यभूः ॥ ८१ ॥  
 तेजःश्रीवसतिस्तपागणसमुद्रासैकनिष्णस्ततो  
 दीपोऽदीप्यत देवसुन्दरगुरुः श्रेयोदशाभासुरः ॥  
 श्रीधर्मार्हतशासनं कलिनिशि प्राकाशयद्यस्तथा  
 जज्ञे मन्दहशामपि स्फुटतया सद्यः सुदर्शं यथा ॥ ८२ ॥  
 तत्पृष्ठपूर्वागिरिमण्डनचण्डभासः श्रीसामसुन्दरगुरुप्रभवो जयन्ति ॥  
 विश्वत्रयोत्तमगुणैर्जिनशासनं यैः प्रत्याप्तगौतमामव प्रतिभासतेऽद्य ॥ ८३ ॥  
 शृण्वन्धर्मसमाया गुरुराज इमान् राज गुणराजः<sup>14</sup> ॥  
 श्रीहेमाचार्यानिव कुमारपालः क्षमापालः ॥ ८४ ॥  
 धत्तां श्रीगुणराजमानसभुवि स्फार्ति न कां कां परां  
 सच्छायं फलशालिपुण्यविपिनं विश्वैकविभ्रामदम् ॥  
 तैस्तैः श्रीवरसोमसुन्दरगुरोर्यत्पुण्यत्राक्यामृतै-  
 लोके प्रीणयनागमप्रष्टमरैः<sup>15</sup> सेषिच्यते सर्वतः ॥ ८५ ॥  
 उच्चैर्मण्डपपङ्कितदेवकुलिकाविस्तर्यमाणश्रियं  
 कीर्तिस्तम्भसमीपवर्तिनममु श्रीचित्रकूटाचले ॥  
 प्रासादं स्रजतः प्रसादमसमं श्रीमोकलोर्वापते-  
 रादेशाद्गुणराजसाधुरमितस्वर्द्ध्योदधार्षीन्मुदा ॥ ८६ ॥  
 नानान्तरायतामिराणि निहन्तुमत्र  
 यस्योद्यमस्तरुणतिगमकरांचकार ॥  
 बालाभिधोऽस्य तनयः सनयश्चिरायु-  
 रस्तु प्रशस्तगुणसंपदकम्पकीर्तिः ॥ ८७ ॥  
 नेत्राणाममृताञ्जनं त्रिजगतः श्रीचित्रकूटाचला-  
 लङ्कारः सविहार उज्ज्वलवपुर्विभ्राजतेऽभ्रंलिहः ॥  
 जाने श्रीगुणराजसाधुयशसां विश्वेऽप्यमातामयं  
 पिण्डीभूय महोच्छ्रयः समुदयः स्थेमानमास्तिष्ठते ॥ ८८ ॥  
 अस्य त्रिलोकैकविलोकनीयां सौन्दर्यलक्ष्मीमवलोकमानः ॥  
 व्याक्षिप्तचेता इव सप्तसाप्तर्द्ध्यं दिने याति विलम्बमानः ॥ ८९ ॥  
 मूर्तोऽयं किम् सोमसुन्दरगुरोः पुण्योपदेशोच्चयः  
 प्राप्तो वा गुणराजसाधुसकृतस्तोमः किमध्यक्षताम् ॥  
 पिण्डीकृत्य सुधारसः सुकृतिनां दृक्पारणेवोन्नत-

<sup>14</sup> The line, as it stands, is puzzling. The following restoration may be suggested as probable: शृण्वन्धर्मसभायां गुणराज इमान् राज गुरुराजान् ॥ <sup>15</sup> Read प्रीणयदागम.

स्थानेऽस्थापि जगत्कृतेति कृतिभिर्नो तद्वर्गते कैरवम् ॥ ९० ॥  
 तत्र श्रीजिनशासनोन्नतिकरैरत्यद्भुतैरुत्सवै-  
 र्नेव्यां श्रीवरसोमसुन्दरगुरुप्रभैः प्रतिष्ठापिताम् ॥  
 वर्षे श्रीगुणराजसाधुतनयाः पञ्चाष्टरत्नप्रमे  
 न्यास्थन्त प्रतिमामिमामनुपमां श्रीवर्धमानप्रभोः ॥ ९१ ॥  
 शोभाबन्धयः स विन्ध्यः सुरगुरु \* \* \* नोष्कूटस्त्रिकूटः  
 कैलासश्चाविलासो हिमगिरिरमहान्वाभनभः सुनाभः ॥  
 मैनाकः पाकरूपः सकलवसुमर्तादत्तनेत्रप्रसादे  
 प्रासादे द्योतमाने रविरथतुरगप्राप्तविश्रान्तिकेऽस्मिन् ॥ ९२ ॥  
 रागद्वेषजितो जिनस्य विजयस्तम्भौ किमुत्तम्भितौ  
 पारावारदुरन्तदुर्गतियुगोत्ताराय सेतू किमु ॥  
 किं बोधैस्त्रिादवापवर्गगमने निश्रेणिदण्डाविमौ  
 कीर्तिस्तम्भममं च वीक्ष्य विदधत्येवं विकल्पात् के ॥ ९३ ॥  
 सोपानपद्धतिमिमाभिदृष्ट्वा भव्याः  
 स्वर्गापवर्गभवनेषु सुखं रमध्वम् ॥  
 इत्येष वक्ति किल हस्तमुदस्य कीर्ति-  
 स्तम्भच्छलेन निनदैरिव किङ्किणीनाम् ॥ ९४ ॥  
 प्राग्वंशस्य ललाम मण्डपगिरिं शोभां नयशैष्टिक-  
 प्रष्टः प्रत्यहमष्टधा जिनपतेः पूजाः सृजन् द्वादश ॥  
 सद्वापीशकुमारपालसुकृती कैलासलक्ष्मीहृतौ  
 दक्षं दक्षिणतोऽस्य सोदरमिव प्रासादमादीषपत् ॥ ९५ ॥  
 ऊकेशवंशातलकः सुकृतोऽहतेजा-  
 स्तेजात्मजः प्रतिवसन्निह चित्रकूटे ॥  
 चाच्चाह्वयः सुजनलोचनदत्तशैल्यं  
 चैल्यं च चारु निरमीमपदुत्तरस्याम् ॥ ९६ ॥  
 सर्वत्रागजिता कीर्तिगुणराजस्य गर्जतु ॥  
 येन श्रीधर्मसाम्राज्यमसृज्यत कलौ युगे ॥ ९७ ॥  
 यः कल्लोलवर्तापतेः कलयितुं कल्लोलमालां प्रभु-  
 निर्ण्णातश्च नभोगणे गणयितुं यस्तारकाणां गणम् ॥  
 यो मातुं सिकताकणांश्च सरितां शक्तः स एव ध्रुवं  
 संख्यातुं गुणराजसाधुविहितश्रीधर्मकार्याण्यलम् ॥ ९८ ॥  
 तेजस्विनो विजयिनो गुणराजसुता जयन्तु चिरमेते ॥

श्रीजिनशासनसौधे स्तम्भा इव ये विभासन्ते ॥ ९९ ॥

यद्विद्यानां विनेया अदुरुगुणनुत्तराननान्युत्तमानां

श्राद्धाद्गद्गोधशक्तैः सकलवसुमती यद्यशोमण्डलस्य ॥

ब्राह्मी यत्प्रौढिमोक्तैर्गुरुरापे मरुतां तत्त्ववादस्य येषां

यद्गुद्देवोध्यभावा न हि विषयतया यान्ति पर्याप्तियोगम् ॥ १०० ॥

शिष्यः प्रशस्तिमेतां तेषां श्रीसोमगुन्दरगुरूणाम् ॥

शरनिधिमनु ( १४९५ ) मितवर्षे चक्र चारित्ररत्नगणिः ॥ १०१ ॥

लक्षस्य सूत्रदक्षस्य नन्दनो नारदः प्रशस्तिमिमाम् ॥

उत्कीर्णवान्मुवर्णां लिखितां संवेगजयांतना ॥ १०२ ॥

श्रीचित्रकूटाचलमौलिमौलिरमोघितोर्वीजनदृष्टिर्गृष्टः ॥

देयादमेयाः शरदः प्रमोदं सतां महावारविहारराजः ॥ १०३ ॥

यावल्लीलां विधत्ते सततमुदयिभिर्भीमतंजः प्रतानै-

युक्ता मुक्तावलीयं हृदि विशदगुणा सिद्धिलक्ष्मीस्मिताक्ष्याः<sup>15</sup> ॥

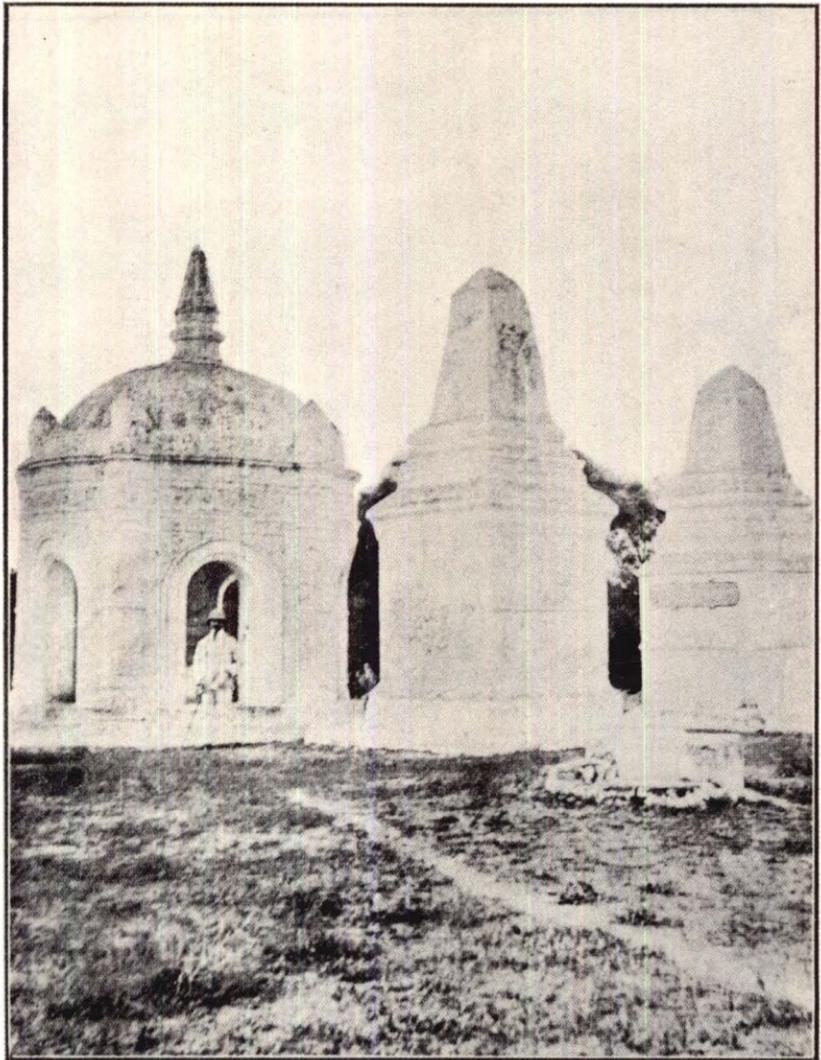
प्रासादस्तावदेषोऽभ्युदयतु विदृषां हर्षमेषा प्रशस्ति-

दंतां धत्तां नितान्तं जिनमतमदयं प्रायतां सर्वशोकः ॥ १०४ ॥

इति श्रीचित्रकूटदुर्गमहावीरप्रासादप्रशस्तिश्च चारुचक्रचूडामणि-

महोपाध्यायश्रीचारित्ररत्नगणिभिर्विराचता ॥

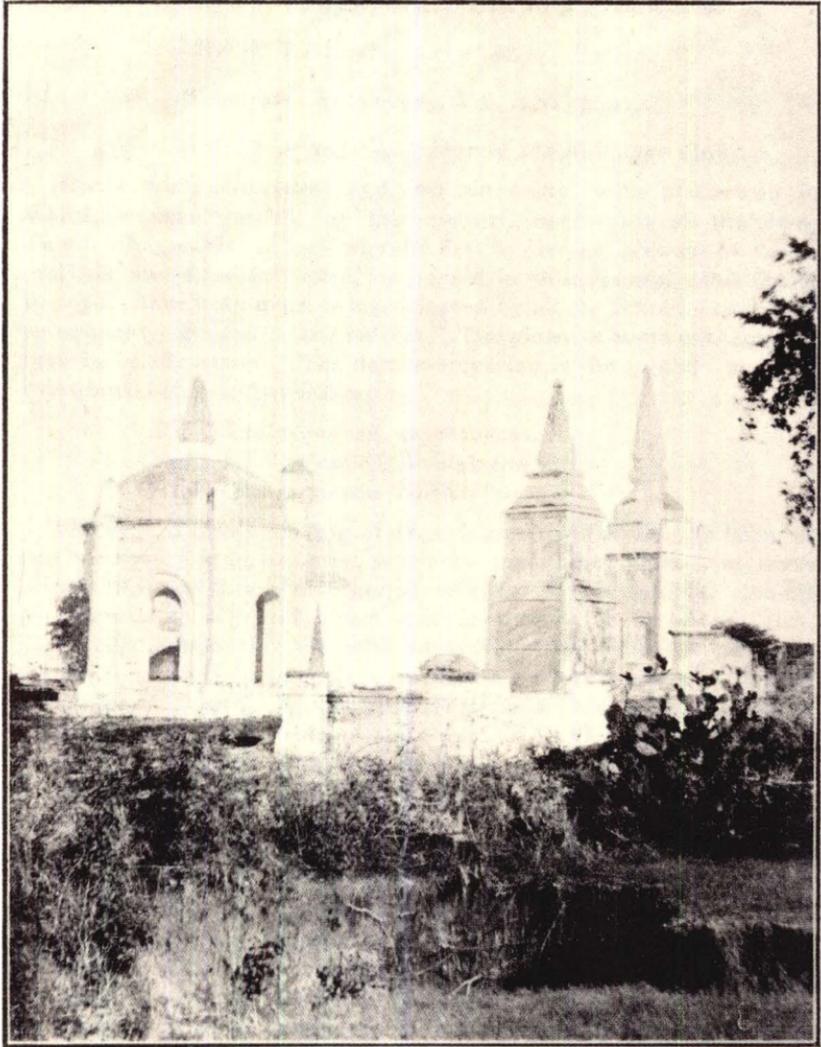
संवत् १५०८ प्रजापतिसंवत्सरे देवगिरौ महाराजधान्यामियं प्रशस्तिरलेखि ॥



**Tombs in the Dutch Cemetery, Broach.**

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"Notes on Broach."  
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To face page 722.



**Tombs in the Dutch Cemetery, Broach.**

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"Notes on Broach."  
By J. J. Modi.

To face page 323.

## ART. VII.—*Epigraphic Notes and Questions.*

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

(Continued from above, Vol. XXI, p. 412.)

### IV.—*Viṣivāyakura and Sivalakura of the Kolhāpur Coins.*

Nearly thirty-two years ago, certain coins were discovered in Kolhāpur near the hill of Brahmapurī, north-west of the town. Pandit Bhāgwanlal Indrajī was the first to give an account of them, and his views, which were expressed in this *Journal*, Vol. XIII, p. 303 ff., have been more or less adopted by all the scholars that have subsequently written on the subject. The views of some of them may here be briefly stated. The names occurring in the legends on these coins have been read as follows :—

Raño Vāsishṭhīputasa Viṣivāyakurasa.

Raño Mādharīputasa Sivalakurasa.

Raño Gotamīputasa Viṣivāyakurasa.

With regard to the reading of these legends no doubt has been or can be raised. It is, however, when the question of identifying these princes turns up that a divergence of views is perceptible. Pandit Bhāgwanlal took Viṣivāyakura and Sivalakura to be mere titles, identified the first with Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi, the second with Mādharīputra Śakasena and the third with Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi, and further deduced the conclusion that as Mādharīputra of the Kolhāpur coins re-struck the coins of Vāsishṭhīputra, whereas those of the former were in turn re-struck by Gautamīputra, Vāsishṭhīputra, Mādharīputra and Gautamīputra succeeded to the Āndhra-bhṛitya throne in this order. His views were endorsed by the late Dr. Bühler.<sup>1</sup> In the *Early History of the Dekkan*,<sup>2</sup> however, Viṣivāyakura and Sivalakura are taken to be the names of viceroys and identified the former with the Baleokouros of Ptolemy, Vāsishṭhīputra with Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi and Gautamīputra with Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi and not with the father of Puḷumāyi, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who never reigned in the Dekkan. And as Viṣivāyakura was the viceroy of two kings, *viz.*, Vāsishṭhīputra and Gautamīputra, it is argued that one of these was the immediate successor of the other, and Śrī Yajña, being the later, must be considered to be Puḷumāyi's immediate successor. Mādharīputra has been therein identified with Mādharīputra Śakasena, who is taken to be a successor, but not the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 20-21.

immediate one, of Śrī Yajña. Mr. V. A. Smith also regards the princes of the Kolhāpur coins as belonging to the Āndhrabhṛitya dynasty, but identifies Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura, who is styled Viḷivāyakura II. by him, with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, and considers the other Viḷivāyakura (*i.e.*, Viḷivāyakura I.) and Sivalakura to be the same as Chakora and Śiva-Svāti (Śātakarṇi) mentioned in the Purāṇas as Gautamīputra's predecessors.<sup>1</sup> It will thus be seen that Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura are taken by Mr. Smith as personal names and of kings pertaining to the Śātavāhana dynasty. But Mr. E. J. Rapson, whose is the latest view expressed on this subject, supposes them to be local titles, and identifies Māḍharīputra Sivalakura with Māḍharīputra Śakasena and Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the third name, he says the following : "The identification of No. 1, Vāsīḥīputra : Viḷivāyakura, must remain doubtful. The evidence of the re-struck coins shows that he cannot possibly be identified with the best known Vāsīḥīputra, *viz.*, Puḷumāyi, who was the son of Gautamīputra ; but this metronymic was common in the dynasty, and there is no difficulty in supposing that it was borne by the predecessor of Māḍharīputra in the Kolhāpur District."

Such are the views expressed by various scholars of repute with regard to the names occurring in the legends on the Kolhāpur coins. I hope I shall be pardoned if I put forth my own view about the matter, in order that it might be taken for what it is worth by the antiquarians. In the first place, Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura cannot possibly be regarded as viceroys of any kings, if the legends on the coins actually are as they have been read. For what this view comes to is just this : *viz.*, that *raño Vāsīḥīputasa*, *raño Māḍharīputasa* and *raño Gotamīputasa*, the first halves of the legends, are to be supposed as containing the names of sovereigns, and *Viḷivāyakurasa* and *Sivalakurasa*, the second halves, as giving the names of their viceroys. Such a thing is unknown to Indian numismatics, so far as my knowledge goes. Whenever coins of any viceroys or feudatories are found, their names are, as a rule, specified on the reverse and those of their sovereigns on the obverse. Sometimes, no doubt, but very rarely, the names of the latter alone occur without those of the former being engraved. But not a single instance can be pointed out wherein the names of both the sovereign and the viceroy are specified in one single line in one and the same legend without the introduction of any word indicative of the subordinate rank of the latter. The numismatic evidence is, therefore, against Gautamīputra,

<sup>1</sup> *Early History of India*, p. 197 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, intro. pp. xl and lxxxvii.

&c., being considered as names of sovereigns and Viṣivāyakura and Sivalakura as those of their viceroys.

Secondly, this view involves the supposition that Vāsishṭhīputra, Māḍharīputra, and Gautamīputra can be used by themselves to denote any individuals, and here, in particular, the Śātavāhana princes themselves. But not a single inscription has been found in which any one of these terms is used by itself to denote a Śātavāhana. If it is Puṣumāyi that is spoken of, he is called in inscriptions not simply Vāsishṭhīputra, but Vāsishṭhīputra Puṣumāyi; if it is his father, he is referred to not simply as Gautamīputra, but as Gautamīputra Śātakarni. Similarly, Śakasena is never called simply Māḍharīputra, but Māḍharīputra Śakasena, Gautamīputra, Vāsishṭhīputra, and Māḍharīputra of the Kolhāpur coins cannot thus, by separating them from what follows and taking them by themselves, be regarded as denoting any Śātavāhana rulers. Nor can it be maintained that, although the terms Gautamīputra, &c., are not used by themselves to denote the Śātavāhana princes, they, especially the metronymic Māḍharīputra, were about this period conjoined to their names only. For it was a custom of this period with personages of the warrior class<sup>1</sup> to state the names of their mothers; and names of the latter such as Vāsishṭhī, Gautamī, Kauśikī, Hārītī, and so forth are met with in many old inscriptions, not as mothers of the Śātavāhana kings only, but also of princes of other families and tribes, such as Mahārāṭhi, Mahābhoja and so forth. The name Māḍharī also is not unknown to Indian epigraphy of this period. Jaggayyapeṭa *stūpa*, *e.g.*, has an inscription of the 3rd century A. D., and referring itself to the reign of Vīrapurushadatta of the Ikshvāku family.<sup>2</sup> This king is therein called Māḍharīputra. Similarly, the Ābhīra prince Īsvarasena is called Māḍharīputra in a Nāsik inscription of about the same date.<sup>3</sup> The view, therefore, that the terms Gautamīputra, Vāsishṭhīputra and Māḍharīputra must denote, by themselves in inscriptions of the early period, the kings of the Śātavāhana dynasty only, has no grounds to stand upon.

I shall now proceed to consider the second view which regards Viṣivāyakura and Sivalakura as local titles, and Gautamīputra, &c., as metonymics, referring to the Śātavāhana kings. This view was first started by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī, and has been adopted, as we have seen, by Mr. Rapson. But to look upon Viṣivāyakura and Sivalakura as local titles is a mere gratuitous supposition without

<sup>1</sup> I know of only one instance of a Brāhmaṇa whose name is so specified, *vis.*, Aśvibhūti, who is called Vārāhiputra (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 78).

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Surv. South. Ind.*, Vol. I., p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII., p. 88.

the least foundation in fact. Again, if they had been titles, some explanation would have been offered of them, but, as Mr. Rapson himself admits, "no satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the forms *Viḷivāyakura* and *Sivalakura*." Next a sort of inconsistency is perceptible in his identification of *Vāsishṭhīputra* : *Viḷivāyakura*. At one place, he says, as we have seen above, that the evidence of the re-struck coins shows that he cannot possibly be identified with *Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi* but with the predecessor of *Mādhariṣputra* in the *Kolhāpur* district, implying that this *Viḷivāyakura* was somewhere between *Puḷumāyi* and *Śakasena*. But at another place he says that "two of *Puḷumāyi*'s predecessors seem to have borne the title ' *Viḷivāyakura* ' in the district of *Kolhapur* only,"<sup>1</sup> clearly mentioning here that the *Viḷivāyakura* in question was prior to *Puḷumāyi*, and not posterior to him as said at first. But what is most inexplicable is that while commenting on the passage of Ptolemy where *Puḷumāyi* and *Viḷivāyakura* are mentioned, he says that both "might well be one and the same person," and adds in support of his statement that "a foreigner might be excused for not knowing that in our country, the Prince of Wales, the Earl of Chester and the Duke of Cornwall were the same person"<sup>2</sup>. This means in unmistakable terms that according to Mr. Rapson, *Puḷumāyi* and *Viḷivāyakura* were one and the same person, and how this is to be reconciled with his previous statement that "the evidence of the re-struck coins shows that he cannot possibly be identified with the best known *Vāsishṭhīputra*, *vis.*, *Puḷumāyi*" is certainly not clear to me.

This theory again is open precisely to the same objection to which, as we have said, the view first discussed was open. For, if *Viḷivāyakura* and *Sivalakura* are mere titles, why are they to be taken as referring to the *Śātavāhana* kings, unless we suppose that the metronymics *Gautamīputra*, &c., can, even though standing by themselves, denote these princes only? This supposition has been discussed above and shown to be utterly untenable. These metronymics, as stated above, were at this period used in the case of the persons belonging to the warrior class generally and were never employed by themselves without the addition of personal names, not even in the case of the *Śātavāhanas*, as shown by their numerous inscriptions.

All these objections are applicable even to the identifications proposed by Mr. Smith. In fact, no evidence whatever can be adduced to show that there was any connection between the princes named in the legends on the *Kolhāpur* coins and the *Śātavāhana* dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Indian coins, Intro.*, p. XL.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. XL. and note 1.

Now, it is to be remembered that Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, while describing the cities and villages of inland Ariake, speaks of Baithana as the royal seat of Siro-Polemaios and Hippokoura as the royal seat of Baleokouros.<sup>1</sup> Baithana is, of course, Paiṭhan, and Siro-Polemaios, Śri-Puḷumāyi of the Śātavāhana dynasty. Hippokoura has not yet been satisfactorily identified. But Dr. Bhandarkar was the first to identify Baleokouros with Viḷivāyakura of the Kolhāpur coins, and this identification is universally accepted. It is to be noted that Ptolemy speaks of two different places and of two different kings as reigning there. The two kings, therefore—Puḷumāyi and Viḷivāyakura—must be taken to be different persons. And to argue that Puḷumāyi and Viḷivāyakura are the same person, on the analogy that the Prince of Wales, the Earl of Chester and the Duke of Cornwall denoted one individual is to argue that Puḷumāyi is identical not only with Baleokouros (Viḷivāyakura) of Hippokoura, but also with Tiastenes (Chasṭana) of Ozene (Ujjain) and Kerobothros (Keralaputra) of Karoura (Kârûr), the two other kings mentioned by Ptolemy. Tiastenes and Kerobothros might also be thus taken to be local titles of the Śātavāhana sovereign, and not personal names of different kings.

We thus find that Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura cannot possibly be identified with any princes of the Śātavāhana dynasty, but must be taken to be princes belonging to a different line and ruling separately round about Kolhāpur. Now, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī has shown that coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura have been re-struck by Mādharīputra Sivalakura, while those of the latter have been re-struck by Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura. The following is, therefore, the order of their succession :—

Vāsishṭhīputra-Viḷivāyakura or Viḷivāyakura I.

|  
Mādharīputra-Sivalakura.

|  
Gautamīputra-Viḷivāyakura or Viḷivāyakura II.

It will thus be seen that there were two kings of this line bearing the name Viḷivāyakura, and one of these was a contemporary of Puḷumāyi. Who that was we have at present no means to determine.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 366.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 359 and 366.

V.—*Sātakarṇi of the Gīrnār inscription.*

Outside the city of Junāgaḍh, but not far from it, on the road to Mount Gīrnār is the celebrated inscription rock of Aśoka, on which his edicts are engraved. The same rock contains two more inscriptions, one of the Mahākshatrāpa Rudradāman and the other of Skandagupta of the imperial Gupta dynasty. Rudradāman's inscription, with which we are concerned, has been more than once edited, and the scholar who edited it last was the late Prof. Kielhorn, whose transcript and translation may be seen in the *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII., p. 42 ff. Therein in l. 12 occurs the following passage:—

*Dakshināpatha-pates-Sātakarṇe-dvir-āpi nirvyōjam-avajity-āvajitya sambāmdh-iv(i)dūrayā(ratayā) anutsādanāt-prāpta-yaśasā.*

This has been translated by Prof. Kielhorn as follows: "who obtained good report because he, in spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated Sātakarṇi, the lord of Dakshināpatha, on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him."

Now, the question arises: who was this Sātakarṇi that was twice defeated by Rudradāman? This question has been differently answered by different scholars. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, this Sātakarṇi was Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi. He held that Puḷumāyi was succeeded by his brother Vāsishṭhīputra Chaturapana Sātakarṇi of the Nāṅghāṭ inscription, who was identified by him with Chaturapana, mentioned in the legend of the Sopārā coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi, and, according to his interpretation, father of the latter. As Puḷumāyi was a contemporary of Chashṭana, Yajña Sātakarṇi, the second successor of the former, might very well be contemporaneous with Rudradāman, who was also the second successor of Chashṭana. Vāsishṭhīputra Chaturapana Sātakarṇi was further identified by him with Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi of the Kaṅherī inscription, which speaks of his queen as being the daughter of a Mahākshatrāpa whose name, according to Bhagwanlal Indraji, is lost. "His son Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi would, through his mother being a Mahākshatrāpa's daughter, be a relative of Rudradāman."<sup>1</sup>

According to the late Dr. Bühler, the Sātakarṇi referred to in the Gīrnār inscription is either Yajña-Sātakarṇi or his father Chaturapana, who are both called Sātakarṇi in their inscriptions. Bühler, however, does not regard Chaturapana as the immediate successor of Puḷumāyi, but places Śakasena between the two. As regards the Kaṅherī inscription, he makes out the name of the Mahākshatrāpa to be Rudra, of which *ru*, in his opinion, is quite certain, and thinks

<sup>1</sup> *History of Gujarat, in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 38.*

that it stands for Rudradāman. The Sātakarṇi defeated by the latter was, therefore, either his son-in-law or grandson, according as we take him to be Chaturapana or Yajña.<sup>1</sup>

A third view we find expressed in the *Early History of the Dekkan*, according to which Yajña is the Sātakarṇi alluded to. He is regarded as the immediate successor of Puḷumāyi and, by putting a different interpretation on the legend of the Sopārā coin, Chaturapana is considered as son, and not father, of Yajña, as propounded by Bhagwanlal and Bühler. Now, if Chaturapana is regarded as the Sātakarṇi in question, he, being the son-in-law of Rudradāman, according to the Kaṣheri inscription, would stand with the Mahākshatrapa in very close, and not simply non-remote, relationship. Yajña has, therefore, better claims to be considered his non-distant relative, and consequently is the Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Girnār inscription.<sup>2</sup> These are the principal views held by veteran scholars. According to all of them, the Sātakarṇi of the Girnār inscription must be taken to be some Sātakarṇi, not anterior, but posterior, to Puḷumāyi. Now, a little reflection will tell us that those of Bhagwanlal and Bühler are not even consistent in themselves. For, they do not, like Dr. Bhandarkar, maintain that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi did not reign in the Dekkan at all, but consider the dates of the two Nāsik inscriptions wherein his name alone occurs as his regnal years, and not Puḷumāyi's. The earlier of these is dated in the 18th and the other in the 24th year of his reign.<sup>3</sup> The latest date of Nahapāna is 46 furnished by a Junnar inscription.<sup>4</sup> And they consider that Gautamīputra turned his arms against Nahapāna's territory, and exterminated his race soon after this date but soon before the 18th year of the former's reign. Now, even making the case favourable for them, we shall suppose that Gautamīputra defeated Nahapāna in 46, which again, we shall grant to make their case more favourable, coincided with his 18th regnal year and that he did not live after his 24th. We thus obtain at least 6 years' reign for Gautamīputra. Add to this 24 years at least of Puḷumāyi's reign, as is shown by a Kārlā inscription.<sup>5</sup> The total thus comes up to 30, which is the least period of Gautamīputra and Puḷumāyi's rule over the Dekkan. Add this 30 to the year 46, so that, according to this calculation, Puḷumāyi died in the [Śaka] year 76. Now, according to Bhagwanlal and Bühler, as we have seen, the Sātakarṇi referred to in the Girnār inscription is posterior to Puḷumāyi, and

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 28 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 71 and 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 71.

hence he must have come to the throne only after the [Śaka] year 76 as just shown, but the Gīrnār inscription is itself dated in the [Śaka] year 72. Thus according to these scholars' theory, the Śātakarṇi, whom they have identified, could not himself have commenced reigning but four years after the date of the epigraph which makes mention of him. Nor can this inconsistency be obviated by conjecturing that the date 72 is really the year when the dyke of the Gīrnār lake gave way, and not the year when the inscription was incised. For the very fact that the dyke is said to have given way in 72 and in the reign of Rudradāman is alone sufficient to show that in that year Kāṭhiāwār, *i.e.*, ancient Surāshṭra, which is spoken of in a Nāsik inscription as having been held by Gautamīputra, <sup>1</sup> was itself ruled over by the Mahākshatrapa and that consequently Śātakarṇi must have been defeated and the lost kingdom regained from him by Rudradāman before 72. Nor can the view expressed in the "*Early History of the Dekkan*", though self-consistent, be maintained, I think, in the face of the Cutch inscriptions of Rudradāman, which discovery I had the good fortune of announcing.<sup>2</sup> They are no less than five memorial stone inscriptions, the initial portion of which runs as follows: *Rājño Chāshṭānasa Ghsamotika-putrasa rajño Rudradāmasa Jayadāmaputrasa varshe dvi-paṃchāśe 50 2 Phaguṇa-bahulasa dvitīyam 15 2*. Now, it will be seen that these words as they stand are not quite intelligible. The meaning, however, becomes clear by supplying *putrasa* after *Ghsamotika-putrasa*. It is to be noted in this connection that only Chashṭāna and Rudradāman are called *rājan* and that Ghsamotika and Jayadāman are conspicuous by the absence of that or any title conjoined to their names. Ghsamotika, we know, was not a ruler, and we must also suppose that the same case was with Jayadāman. Similarly, in other inscriptions of this Kshatrapa family, while Chashṭāna and Rudradāman are called Mahākshatrapas, Jayadāman alone is called simply Kshatrapa. Arguing from the analogy of the princes of this dynasty, who were Kshatrapas during the reigns of their predecessors, but became Mahākshatrapas after them, <sup>3</sup> Jayadāman was a Kshatrapa during the reign of, *i.e.*, was, like many heir-apparents in ancient India, a viceroy of his father Chashṭāna, but for some reason or another never rose to the rank of a Mahākshatrapa. It will thus be seen from the wording of the Cutch inscriptions of Rudradāman quoted above that in the year 52, he was, like his grandfather, ruling over the dominions of his dynasty. Rudradāman thus must have defeated Śātakarṇi and regained his ancestral territory before

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., West Circle for 1905-6*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue of Indian Coins* by E. J. Rapson, Intro. pp. c and ci.

52. Now, as, according to the view put forth in the *Early History of the Dekkan*, Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi did not reign in the Dekkan, we have to add only 24 years of Puḷumâyi's reign to the year 46, the latest date for Nahapâna. Puḷumâyi must thus be supposed to have died in 70 and followed to the throne by Yajña Sâtakarṇi, his successor and the Sâtakarṇi of the Girnâr inscription according to that authority. But it has just been shown that in 52 Rudradâman had vanquished Sâtakarṇi and re-taken his ancestral dominions. This Sâtakarṇi must, therefore, be the one who flourished before 52, and cannot be Yajña Sâtakarṇi who came to the throne only after 70.

It will be concluded from the above line of argument that the Sâtakarṇi of the Girnâr inscription cannot possibly be any other than Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi, as it was he who was living before 52. We shall now proceed a step further, and see the force of the word *dvir* in the Girnâr record, which shows that Sâtakarṇi had been twice defeated by Rudradâman. Before this is shown, one point requires to be cleared up. It is whether Bühler and Bhagwanlal<sup>1</sup> are right in saying that Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi did reign in the Dekkan, and the two inscriptions in a Nâsik cave bearing the dates 18 and 24 are really dated in the reign of Gautamîputra, or whether Dr. Bhandarkar is correct in saying that Gautamîputra did not reign in the Dekkan and consequently the two dates must be taken to be the regnal years of Puḷumâyi, who was reigning simultaneously with his father Gautamîputra, the first as viceroy in the Dekkan and the second as supreme ruler, but at his old capital Dhanyakaṭa (Dharnikot). In my opinion, the latter view alone can be correct. For the arguments adduced by Dr. Bhandarkar, which appear to me to be cogent, are these: (1) In the long inscription in Cave No. 3 at Nâsik, dated in the 19th year of Puḷumâyi, his grandmother Gautamî is called the mother of the great king (*mahârâja-mâtâ*) and the grandmother of the great king (*mahârâja-pitâmahî*). "This statement," says Dr. Bhandarkar, "would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time". He says further in a footnote as follows to meet Bühler's argument: "If the object of the writer was to represent Gautamî's 'special claim' to honour, that is better served by supposing that her son and grandson were great kings at one and the same time. Every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the mother of a king and grandmother of a king; and there is nothing special in the fact if the son and the grandson bore the title at different times". (2) "If it was a fact that Gautamîputra

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 273; *Die Indischen Inschriften &c. &c.*, p.

was dead when the cave-temple was dedicated and Puḷumāyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him. If Puḷumāyi became king only after Gautamīputra, the latter must have died nineteen years before the dedication of the temple, and it certainly is not what one acquainted with the manner and motive of Hindu inscription-writers would expect that a king who had been dead for nineteen years should be highly extolled in the inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence".<sup>1</sup> Every one of these arguments is convincing, but if any further arguments of equal cogency are required, they are not wanting. Thus, first, both Bühler and Bhagwanlal, on the authority of Ptolemy, regard Chashṭana (Tiaſtenes) and Puḷumāyi (Polemarios) as contemporaries. And this view is now held by all antiquarians of repute. But how can they be contemporaries if Puḷumāyi and Gautamīputra did not reign conjointly in the manner shown before? Because the latest date of Nahapāna is 46, and, according to Bühler and Bhagwanlal's theory, as pointed out above, Gautamīputra must have reigned for at least six years. Add 6 to 46, and the total comes to 52. Puḷumāyi thus, according to their view, ascended the throne in 53 at the earliest, but in 52 Rudradāman was living, as the Cutch inscriptions inform us. The latter's grandfather Chashṭana must, therefore, be supposed to have died before 52. Chashṭana, who died before Śaka 52, cannot thus be a contemporary of Puḷumāyi who became king in 53. Nay the inscriptions in Nāsik Cave No. 3 themselves strongly repudiate their view. For the inscription, which is dated in the regnal year 24 and which registers a grant by Gautamīputra to certain Buddhist monks, speaks of the grantees as follows :—

*" etha amhehi pavate Tiraṅhumhi amha dhama-dāne leṇe pativasatānam pavajitāna bhikkhūna."*<sup>2</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

(Given) by us to the ascetic mendicants dwelling in the cave, which is a pious gift of ours, here on mount Tiraṅhu.

What is worthy of note here is that Cave No. 3, in which the inscription is engraved, is spoken of by Gautamīputra as a pious gift of his to the Buddhist mendicants. But as the long inscription in it informs us, the cave itself was caused to be made and dedicated to them by his mother Gautamī in the regnal year 19 of his son, Puḷumāyi.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 19

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

If cave No. 3, as we have thus seen, was granted in the 19th year of Puḷumāyi's reign, and if in the year 24 his father Gautamīputra speaks of it as *his own* pious gift, is not the conclusion irresistible that Gautamīputra was living when the cave in question was made over to the Buddhist monks, *i.e.*, in Puḷumāyi's 19th regnal year, and that the year 24 of the other inscription, although it records a donation of Gautamīputra, must be referred not to his, but to Puḷumāyi's reign?

No doubt can, therefore, be possibly entertained as to Gautamīputra and his son having reigned simultaneously together, one in his old ancestral dominions and the other in the Dekkan. Now, the long inscription in Cave No. 3 says that Gautamīputra rooted out the Khakharāta race, and Khakharāta has been universally and correctly accepted to be the same as Kshaharāta, the name of Nahapāna's family, mentioned on his coins and in the inscriptions of his son-in-law Ushavadāta. It thus appears that Gautamīputra turned his arms against the territory of Nahapāna and destroyed the latter's successor whosoever he was, or, what is most probable, Nahapāna himself, as his coins are re-struck by Gautamīputra.<sup>1</sup> In this connection another passage from the same inscription requires to be considered which mentions his exploits. Therein Gautamīputra is spoken of as having conquered Surāshṭra and Ākarāvanti. Ākarāvanti, which is really Ākar-Āvanti, denotes the eastern and western Mālwā respectively. And as the name Avanti shows, its capital must have been Ujjain (Ujjayini). But at Ujjain, as we have been told by Ptolemy, was reigning at this time Tiastenes, who has been identified with Chasṭana. What conclusion are we then to draw? The only conclusion possible in my opinion is this, *vis.*, that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his son Puḷumāyi, after having destroyed Nahapāna's family, turned their arms against another dynasty of foreigners that was ruling at Ujjain, or the Kshatrapa sovereign of Ujjain, Chasṭana, having observed the growing power of Gautamīputra who had put an end to a kindred family of rulers, must have attacked him.<sup>2</sup> Whatever the cause was, the expedition resulted in the defeat of Chasṭana, who, together with his son Jayadāman, appears to have been slain in the battle. Reasons have been adduced to show that Jayadāman did not obtain the throne. We must, therefore, suppose Chasṭana, and not Jayadāman, to have been engaged in war with Gautamīputra. Again, we have seen that the Cutch inscriptions of Rudradāman are dated in the [Śaka] year 52, which is but six years removed from the latest date of Nahapāna. This period of six years is very brief, and Rudradāman's enjoyment of sovereignty so soon as in the year 52

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 238 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 29

cannot be explained except on the assumption that both father and son, Chashṭana and Jayadāman, were worsted and killed in the battle. We have seen above that the long inscription in Cave No. 3 at Nāsik refers itself to the 19th regnal year of Puḷumāyi and speaks of Surāshṭra and Ākarāvanti as some of the provinces subjugated by Gautamīputra. We must consequently suppose that in the year 19 of Puḷumāyi's reign, which corresponds to the [Śaka] year 65, Chashṭana's dominions owned Gautamīputra's sway. But we find that in the [Śaka] year 52, Rudradāman was, like his grandfather, Chashṭana, a king, and must, therefore, be presumed to have regained the lost ancestral dominions during this year at the latest. How is this discrepancy to be explained? A satisfactory explanation can, I think, be here given and also of the force of the word *dvir* in the passage from the Girnār inscription quoted above. Soon after rooting out the Kshaharāta family about [Śaka] 46, Gautamīputra seized Chashṭana's kingdom, but this was re-taken by Rudradāman shortly before the [Śaka] year 52. Soon after this Rudradāman was attacked by Gautamīputra and the Kshatrapa kingdom seized again, which certainly was in the Śātavāhana king's possession in [Śaka] 65, the 19th year of Puḷumāyi's reign. But, as we have seen, the Girnār inscription of Śaka 72 distinctly mentions Surāshṭra and Ākarāvanti, together with many provinces as possessed by Rudradāman. We must, therefore, suppose that between 65 and 72 the lost provinces were again subjugated by Rudradāman. We thus see that as the Girnār inscription informs us, Rudradāman twice defeated Śātakarṇi, i.e., Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, once shortly before Śaka 52 and another time some year between 65 and 72.

One point in the passage from the Girnār inscription remains to be cleared up. Śātakarṇi is said therein to have been twice defeated by Rudradāman, but was not destroyed by the latter as their relationship was not remote. Now, we have to determine, if possible, in what relationship they stood to each other. In this connection, one Kapherī inscription is invariably referred to. It records the grant of a minister of the queen of Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi. Her name is lost, but she is said to have been the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa. The name of this Mahākshatrapa is not preserved whole and entire. It is, however, all but certain that his name consisted of only two letters of which the first is distinctly *Ru*, and that consequently it must be restored to Rudra. But Rudra may stand either for Rudradāman, Rudrasimha or Rudrasena. But, in Dr. Bühler's opinion, the form of the letters is of the time of Rudradāman. Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi was thus Rudradāman's son-in-law. And now we must see how he was related to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. I think the term Vāsish-

thîputra clearly shows that he too like Puḷumāyi was a son of Gautamîputra. One objection perhaps might be raised to this view. It might be said that if Vāsishṭhîputra Sâtakarṇi was a son of Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi, then both father and son bore one and the same personal name Sâtakarṇi, which is against the Hindu practice. But, in the first place, it has to be proved that Sâtakarṇi is a personal name. And secondly, whatever the case may be, the Purānas at any rate furnish no less than two instances wherein two consecutive kings are called Sâtakarṇi. To take one of these, Sundara Svâtikarṇa and Chakora Svâtikarṇa of the Mâtsya-Purāna may be mentioned. Here Svâtikarṇa obviously is intended for Sâtakarṇi as will be seen by comparing the names with those given in the Vāyu-Purāna. There can thus be no reasonable objection to Vāsishṭhîputra Sâtakarṇi being regarded as a son of Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi. Again, the relationship between Rudradāman and [Gautamîputra] Sâtakarṇi said to be not remote is better explained in this manner. For Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi was the father of Rudradāman's son-in-law. His connection, therefore, with the Mahākshatrpa was thus by no means intimate and can be described only by calling it "not remote."

VI.—*The date of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna.*

The late Prof. H. H. Wilson has written an able paper on the Purānas which forms the Preface to his English translation of the Vishṇu Purāna. This paper is still looked upon as an authority on these works, and there cannot be the least doubt that what he has written about the nature and development of this class of Sanskrit literature is full of depth and erudition and can hardly be much added to by further study, though the dates assigned by him to the various Purānas may be called in question in the light of the present researches. That paper contains the following remarks regarding the date of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna.

"It is not easy to conjecture a date for this Purāna. It is subsequent to the Mahābhārata; but how long subsequent, is doubtful. It is, unquestionably, more ancient than such works as the Brahma, Padma, and Nāradiya Purānas; and its freedom from sectarial bias is a reason for supposing it anterior to the Bhāgavata. At the same time, its partial conformity to the definition of a Purāna, and the tenor of the additions which it has made to receive legends and traditions, indicate a not very remote age; and, in the absence of any guide to a more positive conclusion, it may, conjecturally, be placed in the ninth or tenth century."<sup>1</sup>

I had elsewhere an occasion to fix the date of the Vāyu-Purāna in its present recast form. And let us now see whether a similar thing

<sup>1</sup> *Vishṇu Purāna*, Vol. I., p., LVIII.

can be done for the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa also. Two years ago when I visited Jodhpur for the first time, I seized an opportunity to visit its Tawārikh Mehkā, which then contained a number of inscription stones, stored together, which had been discovered in Mārwar. The earliest of them first attracted my attention. It was originally found by Munshi Devi Prasad in the temple of Dadhmat mātā situated between the two villages of Goṭh and Mānglod of the Nāgaur district, Jodhpur State. The inscription apparently refers itself to the reign of Dhruhlāṇa, and records the gifts of certain Dadhya Brāhmaṇas to the goddess Dadhimatī. Dadhyas are, of course, what are now known as the Dāhimā Brāhmaṇas and Dadhimatī the same as Dadhmat mātā, their tutelary goddess. After specifying the donations of the different Dadhya Brāhmaṇas, the inscription<sup>1</sup> gives the following verse in praise of the goddess in lines 11-12 :

सर्वमङ्गलमङ्गल्ये शिवे सर्वार्थसाध(धि)के ।

अ(श)रण्ये त्राम(त्र्यम्ब)के गौरि (1) नारायणि नमोस्तु ते ॥

Now, any orthodox Brāhmaṇa, who reads this verse or hears it repeated will at once say that it occurs in the *Chandī-pāṭha* or *Sapta-sati*, which forms part of the well-known Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa and is known therein under the name of *Devi-māhātmya*. Now, the date of the inscription which is given at the close is 289. Bearing in mind the form of the letters, it can reasonably be referred to the Gupta era. The date thus becomes equivalent to A.D. 608. We must, therefore suppose that the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, at any rate its section entitled the *Devi-māhātmya*, wherein the verse in question occurs, was popular as early as the 7th century A.D. But as the existence of the *Devi-māhātmya* as independent of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa has not been proved, we may take that to be the date of this Purāṇa also.

The *Devi-māhātmya* may perhaps be not as well-connected as one might wish with what precedes and follows it. But we must remember that we should not expect in a Purāṇa that kind of co-ordination of its parts that we meet with in a novel or a drama. The truth of the matter is, as Dr. Bhandarkar has said, that "most of the existing Purāṇas, perhaps all, were written to promote the worship of particular deities" and they are, as they exist at present, in their recast form.<sup>2</sup> We must, therefore, suppose that the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa in its recast form was in existence long before A.D. 608, the date of the Goṭh-Mānglod inscription.

<sup>1</sup> I had a mind to edit this inscription, but had to yield to the entreaties of Pandit Ramkaranji of Jodhpur, who, being a Dāhimā Brāhmaṇa, was naturally anxious to publish it himself as it was the only and very early record of his tutelary goddess. His paper will appear in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XX, p. 403.

ART. VIII.—*Bhâḍūnd inscription of Paramāra Pūrṇapāla  
of Vikrama Samvat 1102.*

BY PAṆḌIT RĀMAKARṆA, JODHPUR.

This inscription was discovered by my late younger brother Paṇḍit Śyāmakarṇa, who took great interest in archæological researches. It was found on a step-well in the village of Bhâḍūnd in the Gôḍwâr district, Jodhpur State. It is incised on a stone measuring 3'-2½" long by 1'-¼" broad. Its middle portion from line 3 to line 15 is well nigh destroyed. It appears that the last portion only contained the names of the *gôshṭhikas* and the amount they subscribed towards the funds raised for constructing the step-well. Its first and last portions are, of course, fairly well-preserved and go a long way to supply the information intended to be given.

The inscription stone is broken into two, one of which has swerved a little from its original position, with the result that the lines of the record do not run straight as they did formerly. This is specially the case with the lines 14-15. The *language* of the inscription is Sanskr̥it but is anything but grammatical. With regard to its text, there are only 3 verses at the beginning and the rest is in prose. Its *characters* belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare forms of *s*, *n*, *g*, *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, *i*, and *kh*. Attention may also be drawn to the somewhat archaic form of *s* in *saha* (line 9) and in *sunâsîra* (line 11) which is quite different from that in *prastutas-tu* in line 1. With respect to *orthography* the following may be noticed ; (1) the sign for *v* has also been used for *b* ; (2) all consonants following *r* are doubled ; and (3) there is a tendency to use the dental sibilant in place of the palatal.

The inscription opens with a verse in praise of Nârāyaṇa, Varuṇa, Sarasvatî, Gaṇēśa, Gau (cow) and Brâhmiṇa. The novelty of this inscription lies in the fact that obeisance is made to Varuṇa and the still more striking feature is that cows and Brâhmiṇas are associated with the venerable gods—a fact never noticed in inscriptions discovered till now. Salutations are offered to Râmachandra, of the Raghu family, the destroyer of Râkshasas, who is here called the donor of the village Bhuṇḍipadra, *i.e.*, Bhâḍūnd. Verse 3 speaks of writing the *prasasti* for specifying the names of the *gôshṭhikas*. The name of the writer of the *prasasti* is not given here, which is, however, mentioned in lines 12 and 13, as will be seen later on. Line 2 contains the date, which is the 5th of the dark fortnight of Kârtika of Vikrama Samvat 1102. The date is given in words in a rather round about way but it has been made clear by giving it in figures

(*ankatah-api*). Line 3 informs us that the inscription was engraved in the reign of *mahārājādhirāja* Pūrṇapāla of the Paramāra dynasty and son of Dhandhuka. He ruled over *Arbuda-maṇḍala* or modern Mount Ābū. During his reign (l.4) a certain number of Brāhmaṇas, residents of the village of Bhunḍipadra, having realised the instability of this world, caused this step-well to be constructed with a view to acquire worldly fame as well as spiritual advancement. Lines 5 to 9 contain the names and *gōtras* of the donors, with their fathers' names and the amounts contributed by each, the details whereof are embodied in the statement below :—

List of the donors in lines 4—9.

No.	Name of donor.	Gōtra.	Name of father.	Name of brother.	Name of son.	Caste.	Share.
1	Sōḍhaka ..	Ātrēya ..	Durgasvāmin.	..	..	Brāhmaṇa	10
2	Peeled off ..	.. ..	.. ..	Brother of No. 1.	..	..	Peeled off.
3	Padmanābha.	Peeled off ..	Peeled off ..	..	..	..	20
4	M a d hūsudana.	Ātrēya ..	Rudrasarman.	..	..	..	20
5	Pradyumna ..	.. ..	Madhusūdana.	..	..	..	40
6	Peeled off ..	.. ..	.. ..	Brother of No. 5.	..	..	20
7	.. ..	Peeled off ..	Peeled off ..	..	..	..	Peeled off.
8	Dāmōdara ..	Kāśyapa ..	Rishi ..	..	..	..	30
9	Sarvadēva ..	Ātrēya ..	Sādhārana,	..	Durgāditya.	..	20
10	Peeled off ..	Śaṇḍilya ..	Peeled off ..	..	..	..	Peeled off.
11	Rishi ..	Peeled off ..	.. ..	..	..	..	20
12	Srīdhara ..	Śaṇḍilya ..	Durggata ..	..	..	..	20
13	Gōvinda ..	.. ..	Sarvadēva,	..	..	..	20
14	Peeled off ..	.. ..	(S a r v a dēva.)	Brother of No. 13.	..	..	Peeled off.
15	[Dā] ūa ..	Peeled off ..	Sangarudra	..	..	..	40
16	Uddharaṇa ..	.. ..	Dāūa ..	..	..	..	40
17	Mādhava ..	.. ..	.. ..	Brother of No. 16.	..	..	40
18	Sarvadēva ..	Ātrēya ..	Mahasvāmin.	..	..	..	Peeled off.
19	Peeled off ..	Peeled off ..	Dāmō (dara.)	..	..	..	..
20	Vihia ..	.. ..	-dharma ..	..	..	..	2
21	Śivānanda ..	.. ..	Vihia ..	..	..	..	4
22	Sarvadēva ..	.. ..	Mādhava ..	..	Sajjana etc.	Kshatriya ..	30

Line 10 is in eulogy of the step-well as well as of the water thereof stating that one can live without food for a month or so, but without water no one can remain alive even for one day and night. The well is again extolled in line 11 which says that a person who digs a well and with the water of which a Brāhmaṇa (observing all the six duties imposed upon him by the Śāstras) and a cow quench their thirst goes straight to heaven together with seven generations of his ancestors. The word *dushyanti* at the end of this line (11) leads us to believe that those who pollute the water of a well go down to hell. In line 12 is given the name of the person who

composed this *praśasti*. It is given in an *anushṭubh* verse\* and then again in prose in line 13 as Ambāditya son of *Upādhyāya* Mādhava, of Kāśyapa-gōtra. Then a request of the *goshhikas* is expressed to the effect that it is for the inhabitants of the village of Bhāḍūnd that the well was constructed. Line 14 is well nigh destroyed, and no sense can be made out of it. But from its last portion it is clear that the people should not be anxious even if the writing committed to this stone be lost. This step-well, we are informed, was placed at the disposal of the people in general, *i.e.*, left entirely to their care. In line 15 the names of the *sūtradhāras* are given, *viz.*, 1. Dhārēśvara, 2. Dēūa, 3. Dēvaū and 4. Lahampaśra.

We thus see that the inscription refers itself to the reign of Pūrṇapāla, who was a Paramāra by race and son of Dhandhuka. He ruled over *Arbuda-maṇḍala* or modern Mount Ābū. The inscription is dated V. S. 1102. The inscription of Vasantgaḍh in the Sirōhī State published by Professor Kielhorn belongs to the time of this Pūrṇapāla, wherein he is also called a Paramāra and son of Dhandhuka. Vasantgaḍh is situated near Ābū and so is Bhāḍūnd; from this we may safely conclude that both of these inscriptions relate to one and the same ruler. Moreover, the date of Vasantgaḍh inscription is V. S. 1099 which comes close to the date of our inscription, *viz.*, 1102. Two inscriptions of Kṛishṇarāja‡ have been discovered at Bhīnmāl in Mārwar, of which one is dated V. S. 1117, and the other 1123, wherein Kṛishṇarāja is stated to have been a Paramāra and son of Dhandhuka. From this it may safely be inferred that Kṛishṇarāja was the brother of Pūrṇapāla because the name of the father of both is Dhandhuka. Moreover, the date of Pūrṇapāla (V. S. 1102) and that of Kṛishṇarāja (V. S. 1117) are very near each other. The only discrepancy is that the names of their grandfathers are not identical. The Vasantgaḍh inscription states Mahīpāla, whereas the Bhīnmāl inscription gives Dēvarāja§ as the name of the father of Dhandhuka. But this doubt can be removed by the supposition that Mahīpāla and Dēvarāja were the names of one and the same prince, for instances are not wanting of princes being known by more than one name.

This step-well was constructed by a number of Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras who made it over to the people of Bhāḍūnd. Now the

\* It is mentioned in this verse that he has composed it through the grace of goddess Sarasvatī; in the first verse the same goddess is saluted; there is also a temple dedicated to Sarasvatī near this step-well in Bhāḍūnd; we can, therefore, conclude from these facts that these Brāhmaṇas had a staunch faith in Sarasvatī.

† Ep. Ind. Vol. IX p. 10 ff.

‡ History of Gujārāt in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 472-3.

§ The name of Dēvarāja is also met with in the Jālōr as well as Kirādū inscriptions, but Dēvarāja of Jālōr was the descendant of Vākpatirāja while that of Kirādū was descended from Sindhurāja—a fact leading us to believe that in those days there were three dynasties of Paramāras, *viz.*, one of Ābū, another of Jālōr and the third of Kirādū.

descendants of these Brāhmaṇas, who are called Purōhīts, say that the village Bhāḍūnd was granted to them by Raghuvamśi Rāmachandra, which fact is supported by the second verse of this inscription, *vis.*—

“ रघुवंस (श) प्रसूतस्तु (१) यातुधानांतकः प्रभुः ।  
भुंडिपद्रप्रदातारं त (यस्त) स्मै रामाय वै नमः ॥ ”

It is thus clear that this tradition of these people that it was given to them by Rāmachandra was also prevalent as early as the 10th century.

### TEXT.

- 1.—स्वस्ति । [ 1 ] अ०नमः श्रीनारायणाय (1) [ नमः श्री ] वरुणा [ य च । स- ]  
रस्वत्यै गणेशाय (1) नमो गोत्रा (त्रा) ह्यणाय च ॥ रघुवंसप्रसूतस्तु<sup>1</sup> यातुधानांतक<sup>2</sup>  
प्रभुः । भुंडिपद्रप्रदातारं<sup>3</sup> (1) तस्मै रामाय वै न [ मः ॥ ] — पथस्फुटैर्णामैः<sup>4</sup>  
गोष्ठिकानां महात्मनां ।
- 2.—सर्व्वस्य सुखसंबोधा<sup>5</sup> (1) प्रशस्ता<sup>6</sup> लिख्य [ ते ] ~<sup>7</sup> ॥ [ सं ] वत्सरशतेषु  
दशसु दुरोत्तरशताधिकेषु<sup>8</sup> । अंकतोपि संवत्से<sup>9</sup> ११०२ कार्ति-<sup>10</sup> वदि पंचम्यां ५  
अस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षदिवसपूर्व्वायां तिथौ । समस्तवृहद्राजावली पूर्व्व ।<sup>11</sup>  
महाराजाधिराजः (1) प्र-
- 3.—मारान्वयप्रसूतः श्रीधंधुकसुतः ( 1 ) — — — ( न्विसित ? ) ( 1 ) नद — — —  
— — — णा [ शक्तिवर्गः (1) श्रीपूर्णपालः श्रीमवुदमंडलं<sup>12</sup>  
प्रशासति<sup>13</sup> ह्येतस्मिन् काले प्रवर्त्तमाने (1) श्रीभुडिपद्रस्थाने<sup>14</sup> (1) कतिपयत्रा (त्रा)-  
ह्यणैः<sup>15</sup> असारसंसारं बुध्वा<sup>16</sup>
- 4.—आत्मश्रेयजसोपवृध्ण<sup>17</sup> (1) मुशिलष्ट घटिता या (1)  
साधुसज्जनहृदयानंदकरा ( 1 ) श्रीमंत<sup>18</sup> शोभना वापीः<sup>19</sup> कारापिताः<sup>20</sup> ।  
तत्र वाप्यां प्रथमः<sup>21</sup> गोष्ठिकः<sup>22</sup> 23 अत्रुगोत्रप्रसूतः सोढकः<sup>24</sup> दुर्गस्वामिसुतः<sup>25</sup> (1)  
दशांसिकः<sup>26</sup> [ 1 ] अंशु<sup>27</sup> १० [ ॥ ]

1. Read °वंश. 2. Read °तकः. 3. Read प्रदाता यस्त. 4. Read °टैर्नामभिर्णो. 5. Read संबोधा. 6. Read प्रशस्तलि. 7. Supply मया. 8. Read द्रुचर. 9. Read संवत्सरेषु. 10. Read कार्तिक. 11. Read पूर्व्वत्. 12. Read °मदवुद. 13. Read प्रशास्ति। ए° 14. Read भुण्डि. 15. Read ब्राह्मणैरसारं. 16. Read बुद्ध्वा. 17. Read °श्रेयायज्ञउपवृद्धये. 18. Read श्रीमती. 19. Read वापी. 20. Read कारापिता. 21. Read प्रथमो गो. 22. Read °ठिको. 23. Read °ऽत्रिगो. 24. Read सोढको दु. 25. Read सुतो द. 26. Read °शांसिकः । 27. Read अंशाः.

- 5.—तथा तस्यैव दुर्गस्वामिसुतः<sup>1</sup> (1) आत्रे [ यः ] बनु ।  
 पञ्चनामः । अंशु<sup>2</sup> २० [ ॥ ] तथात्रेयः<sup>3</sup> मधुसूदनः<sup>4</sup> रुद्रशर्मसुतः<sup>5</sup> (1)  
 वींशांसिकः<sup>6</sup> [ 1 ] अं २० [ ॥ ] तस्यैव मधुसूदनसुत<sup>8</sup> प्रबुद्धः<sup>9</sup> (1) चत्वारिं-  
 शांसिकः<sup>10</sup> । अं ४० [ ॥ ] तस्यैव  
 मधुसूदन<sup>11</sup>
- 6.—सुतः वींशां [ सिकः । अं २० ]<sup>12</sup> [ काश्य ] परिषिसुतः<sup>13</sup> दामोदर<sup>14</sup>  
 वृंशांसिक<sup>15</sup> [ 1 ] अंशु<sup>16</sup> २० [ ॥ ] तथात्रेयसाधारणसुतः सर्वदेवः [ 1 ] दुर्गादित्यः<sup>17</sup>  
 सुतसमेतस्य सर्वदेवस्य वाप्यां भागः<sup>18</sup> वींशतिमः<sup>19</sup> [ 1 ] अंकतोपि २० [ ॥ ] तथा  
 [ शांदि ]—
- 7.—ल्यगोत्रप्रसूतः सुत<sup>20</sup> ( 1 ) रिषिः<sup>21</sup> वींशांसिकः<sup>22</sup> [ 1 ]  
 अं २० [ ॥ ] तथा तस्यैव दुर्गटसुतः<sup>23</sup> शांडिल्यगोत्रोत्पन्नः<sup>24</sup> श्रीधरः<sup>25</sup> ( 1 ) वींशां-  
 शिकः<sup>26</sup> [ 1 ] अं २० [ ॥ ] तथा शांडिल्यगोत्रगोवीदः<sup>27</sup> सर्वदेवसुतः<sup>28</sup> वींशां-  
 सिकः<sup>29</sup> [ 1 ] अं २० [ ॥ ] तथा तस्यैव
- 8.—देवसुत<sup>30</sup> ( 1 ) त्या ? [ दा ] उअ<sup>31</sup> संगरुद्रसुत<sup>32</sup> चत्वारिंशां-  
 सिकः<sup>33</sup> [ 1 ] अंकतो<sup>34</sup> ४० [ ॥ ] तस्यैव दाउअसुत उद्धरण<sup>35</sup> [ 1 ] अंशु<sup>37</sup> ४० [ ॥ ]  
 तथा तस्यैव दाउअसुतः<sup>39</sup> माधवः [ 1 ] अंशु<sup>40</sup> ४० [ ॥ ] तथात्रेयमहस्वामिसुतः(1)  
 सर्वदेव<sup>41</sup> ( 1 ) ज
- 9.—दामो र्मरतः<sup>42</sup> विहिअ वाप्यां  
 द्वयंशांसिकः<sup>43</sup> [ ॥ ] तस्यैव विहिअसुत<sup>44</sup> सिवानं [ द ] तु मध्ये चतुर्थां-  
 सिकः<sup>45</sup> [ 1 ] अं ४ [ ॥ ] तथा सर्वदेव<sup>46</sup> ( 1 ) क्षत्रयमाधवसुतः<sup>48</sup> सञ्जनादिसुतै<sup>49</sup>

1. Read दुर्गस्वामिनः सुतः. 2. Read अंशाः. 3. Read °त्रेयो मः. 4. Read °दनो रुः.  
 5. Read सुतो. 6. Read विंशांशि ः । 7. Read मधुसूदनस्य. 8. Read सुतः.  
 9. Read प्रबुद्धः. 10. Read °रिंशांसिकः । 11. Read °सूदनस्य. 12. Read विंशांसिकः.  
 13. Read काश्यप ऋषिसुतो. 14. Read दामोदरः। 15. Read °शांसिकः. 16. Read अंशाः.  
 17. Read °दित्यमु. 18. Read भागो विः. 19. Read °शतितमः. 20. Read सुतः.  
 21. Read ऋषिर्विः. 22. Read °शांसिकः. 23. Read दुर्गटस्य. 24. Read °त्रोत्पन्नः.  
 25. Read °धरो. 26. Read विंशांसिकः. 27. Read गोविन्दः. 28. Read सुतो. 29. Read  
 विंशांसिकः. 30. Read देवस्य सुतः. 31. Read °उअः. 32. Read सुतश्च. 33. Read  
 °रिंशांसिकः. 34. Read °तोऽपि. 35. Read दाउअस्य. 36. Read उद्धरणः. 37. Read  
 अंशाः. 38. Read दाउअस्य. 39. Read सुतो माः. 40. Read अंशाः. 41. Read °देवः.  
 42. Read °रतो विः. 43. Read °शांसिकः. 44. Read विहिअस्य सुतः शोवा. 45. Read  
 °र्थांसिकः. 46. Read सर्वदेवस्य. 47. Read क्षत्रियः. 48. Read सुतस्य. 49. Read भुवैः

सह<sup>१</sup> धम्ममचलवृद्धिः<sup>२</sup> [ 1 ] अंशु<sup>३</sup> [ ॥ ]

10.—

म

यां च शुभागतीं<sup>४</sup>

व । तिष्ठते<sup>५</sup> सस्यर [ हितो ] मासं मासाद्धमेव च । ( 1 ) अहोरात्रं  
न तिष्ठति यावत्सलिलवर्जिता<sup>६</sup> । सग्रजन्मेषु ये पाशी महिर्इयपी तथा ( ? ) दूरं ि

11.—

कभूताव

साः सर्वे

[ चंड ] सी त्य [ ॥ ] यस्य कूपे तु वितृष्णौ<sup>७</sup> षट्कर्मा रोहिणी  
बुभौ<sup>८</sup> । ( 1 ) [ स सप्त ] कुलजैः साद्धं ( 1 ) सुनासीर ( 1 ) पुरं ब्रजेत् ॥ दूषयति

12.—चचद

रहिता तस्माद्वाप

अत्र स्थाने रियं<sup>९</sup> वापिः<sup>१०</sup> पदिष्टा ( 1 ) श्रियान्विता । सरस्वतिप्रसादेन<sup>११</sup> अंवादित्येन<sup>१२</sup>  
शोभनाः<sup>१३</sup> । तथा लिखितमिदं मया ।<sup>१४</sup> कास्यपगोत्रप्रस् [ त ]

13.—उपाध्यायमाधवसुतेन ( 1 )<sup>१५</sup> अंवादित्यव्या [ सेन । ]

[ म ]

या लिखितं तत्सर्व्वमार्यैः क्षमितं व्यभुंः<sup>१६</sup> प्रमाणमितिः<sup>१७</sup> ॥ अपरं समस्तश्रीभुंडिपद्र-  
लोकं ( 1 ) सर्व्वे गोष्ठिकाः करमकुलीकृत्वा<sup>१८</sup> विज्ञापयति । यथा लोककृते

14.—लोकमाहात्मवर्द्धिता<sup>१९</sup> गोष्ठिका

येन दैवद

हमः<sup>२०</sup> स्वसितपाषाणे<sup>२१</sup> त्रातिचौता<sup>२२</sup> समस्तलोकैर्न कर्त्तव्याः<sup>२३</sup> । कीं<sup>२४</sup> बहुना<sup>२५</sup>  
इयं वापिः<sup>२६</sup> लोकोत्संगे क्षिप्ताः<sup>२७</sup> । प्रभुर्यदेवेच्छति<sup>२८</sup> त

15.—

अस्वप

न । अत्र सूत्रधारा-

पि<sup>२९</sup> चत्वारि<sup>३०</sup> । धारेश्वर । देउअ । देवउ । लहंपश्रेति ॥

1. The letter ह is engraved below the line. 2. Read ° भेऽचला. 3. Read अंशाः. 4. Read शुभां गति. 5. Wrong for 'तिष्ठति' which would not have suited the metre. 6. Read वर्जिताः. 7. Read वितृष्णौ तु for sake of metre. 8. Read उभौ. 9. Read इयं. 10. Read वापी. 11. Read सरस्वती. 12. Read अम्बा. 13. Read शोभना. 14. Read काश्यप. 15. Read अम्बा. 16. Read स्रन्तव्यं. 17. Read पमिति. 18. Read °मञ्जलीकृ. 19. Read °माहात्म्य. 20. Read भमः. 21. Read क्षचित. 22. Read °चिन्ता. 23. Read कर्त्तव्या. 24. Read किं. 25. Read बहुना. 26. Read वापी. 27. Read क्षिप्ता. 28. Read °वेच्छति. 29. Read °धारा अपि. 30. Read चत्वारः.

ART. IX.—*Some words of Chronological interest.*

BY B. C. MAZUMDAR, M.R.A.S.

1. *Malaya*.—In the languages of the Indo-Aryans, 'Malaya' is the name of a particular mountain (*Malaya-giri*) in Southern India. It is regarded as the fabulous seat of the spring-breeze (*Malaya Samirana*). Pleasantness of the south wind is considered to be due to its being laden with the cool aroma of sandalwood trees which grow on the mountain. The spring-breeze is also supposed, in similar poetic fancy, to be tainted with the poisonous breath of serpents; and so it is that the lovers created by the poets pine for something indefinite at the touch of the vernal breeze.

The Tamil word 'Malāi' ( மலைய ), as well as the Malayalam word 'Mala' ( മല ), means mountain in general, and not any particular mountain. The name Malayalam, I need hardly state, owes its origin to the mountainous character of the country; and one principal serpent-worshipping aboriginal tribe of the country is known by the name 'Malayer'. As a fact, sandalwood trees do grow in Malabar.

From these facts I infer that the word *malaya* was borrowed from the people of the South, at a time when neither Tamil nor Malayalam was known to the borrowers. Even with superficial knowledge of the languages, the word mountain could not be understood to mean a particular mountain, and the word 'giri' could not be affixed to the word *Malaya*. The character ascribed to 'Malaya-Samirana' shews that the physical aspect of Malabar was generally known, when the word was borrowed. But this knowledge also must then have been confined to a very limited few; for, otherwise the 'Malayagiri' could not be given a mythical and fabulous character. Southern India was then known, but there was no social contact established.

For these reasons, I consider that 'Malaya-Samirana' of Sanskrit literature, must at least be of post-Asoka date.

2. *Mīna*.—I need not point out that this word now means fish in Sanskrit. But I am doubtful if the word occurs in any Sanskrit literature which in date is older than 200 B.C. It is well known that the Pāṇḍyas of the Tamil-speaking country had *Mīna* for their principal tribal deity. The history of *Mīnākṣī* Devī of Madura being only of recent date, I am strongly of opinion that the old deity has undergone a transformation to bring about a reconciliation between the old fish worship and the newly introduced worship of *Çiva* and his consort.

As the word is not Vedic in origin (as far as I could ascertain it), it must have been borrowed by the Aryans when social contact with the Pāndyas was established. Taking advantage of the old story of Manu and Matsya (fish), the name *Mina* was given to the new Avatār of Viṣṇu as a conciliatory measure. It must also be noted that the *Kandhs* also use the word *Mina* to mean fish in their own aboriginal language.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Ghoḍo*.—We get this word meaning horse, in Hemchandra's *Deçināma-mālā*, as a Deçi word not derived from Sanskrit. *Gorrāmu* is the Telugu form of it, where 'mu' is merely an affix usually added to similar words. It is curious that *Gorrā* is also the word used in *Barisal* in Eastern Bengal. 'Ghoḷaka' as the Sanskritised form of it, must be later than *Mahābhāṣya* in date, since use of any Deçi word in Sanskrit is distinctly prohibited in that work.

4. *Tulasi*.—The leaves of this aromatic plant are held universally to be specially sacred as an offer to Viṣṇu. Neither the name nor the use of it is known to any Vedic literature. As this word is also mentioned in Hemchandra's *Nāma-mālā* as a Deçi word, my remarks regarding 'Ghoḍo' apply to it.

5. *Heḍimbo*.—This name in the form of a Deçi word of a tribal god of uncertain origin, is interesting to note, in Hemchandra's *Nāma-mālā*. We find the name of *Ganeça* to be *Hiramba* in the interpolated introductory chapter of *Mahābhārata*. I have shown it in a Magazine of Bengal (*Vangadarśana* of 1310 Beng. year, p. 387) that the worship of *Ganeça* as an affiliated son of *Pārvatī*, was wholly unknown to the Hindus previous to the 6th century A.D. The date of the Puranas dealing with *Ganeça* should be considered with reference to it.

<sup>1</sup> Cf also *Kanarise Minu* (Ed.)

ART. X.—Notes on some Pāli words.

BY B. C. MAZUMDAR, M.R.A.S.

1. ° S. B. E., Vol. XI—page 15, verse 21—“ . . . went away . . . bowing to the Blessed One and *keeping him on their right as they past him.*” The italicised portion represents the translation of the phrase “Padakkhiṇakkattā.” In the light of the custom of making ‘Pradakṣiṇa’ still now in vogue in India, I suggest the following alteration in the translation :—“(They) *walked around* the Blessed One, by *keeping him to their right*, (when they) went away.”

2. *Ibid*—page 71, verses 17 and 18—Difference between Khādaniyam and Bhojaniyam has not been noted in the translation. From the context it appears that by ‘Khādaniyam’ was meant what was eaten as staple food, while ‘Bhojaniyam’ indicated what was prepared as a dish of special delicacy.

3. *Ibid*—page 82, verse 54—“Fold, . . . . a robe in four . . . .” To fold in four is certainly very literal in translation. But the idiomatic expression of the text conveys only the meaning of *folding the robe* without any reference to the *number of folds*. The Oriya idiom “kāpḍā cāutibā” means to fold a cloth, no matter how many the folds may be.

4. *Ibid*.—page 146, verse 1—“At the hermitage called ‘Migadāya’ is what we get in translation of ‘Isipatane Migadāye’”. The suggestion that ‘Patana’ means ‘alighting ground’ is ridiculous. The word is a contraction of Sanskrit ‘Pattana.’ “Where the Rīṣis *fell*, *i.e.*, where the Rīṣis *resided*,” cannot be seriously maintained. ‘Isipatana’ (Rīṣipattana) does not mean a hermitage. The Ācramas or Tapovanas of the sages were never called ‘Pattana.’

‘Pattana’ originally was a port town either at the confluence of rivers, or at the mouth of a river falling into the sea. Later on, big trading towns, and even small towns of some importance were so named.

Again, Migadāvah means usually a park in Sanskrit, perhaps because of its rearing or keeping deer in the parks.

The translation should therefore be :—“In a park of the place called Rīṣipattana.” This Rīṣipattana seems to have been a suburban town of Benares.

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° *Sacred Hooks of the East.*

5. *Ibid*—page 222.—The English equivalent for the 9th fetter—Uddhacca, seems to be haughtiness and not self-righteousness, for the word appears to have been derived from Sānskrit Āudhatya.

6. *Ibid*—page 293.—I think Āsava was derived from Asuḥ (life; As+tan). In the light of the list of the Asavas, and also with reference to the derivation I have suggested, I think, that the word 'āsavas' means what are *born of life*, i.e., what the flesh is heir to.

7. S. B. E., Vol. X., Part II.—Padhāna Sutta, verse 4—I suggest the substitution of "are gathered" for "are woven to thee" in the translation of Ciyate.

8. *Ibid*—verse 25.—Kacchā (kakṣāt) of the text has been omitted in the translation, and "String of his" is not warranted by the text. "The lute slipped down from his arm-pit" seems to be the right translation.

9. S. B. E., Vol. XIII, pp. 154-157—By *Pāda-kāṭhalikum* I understand the wooden shoe (called Khaḍam in Bengal, but *Kāṭhala* or *Kaṭhāu* in Orissa) in use in India is meant. *Kāṭhala* also means in Orissa the wooden howda—the seat on the back of an elephant.

10. I failed to understand properly the meaning of the word *Pattalima* as occurs in Ambapāliś poem in the Theri-gāthā (E. Müller's edition). The Paramathadipani of Dhammapāla does not make the meaning clear. I do not understand what 'Kadalima' as used by Dhammapāla means. In describing a beautiful set of teeth, the seeds of pomegranate are usually mentioned by the poets. But it is difficult to connect *Pattalima* with *Dāḷima*.

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## ART. XI.—Śeshānanta.

BY PROFESSOR V. S. GHATE, M.A.

1. Of the several commentaries on Śivāditya's Saptapadārthi,<sup>1</sup> one is Padārthachandrikā written by Śeshānanta. The author, to judge from the commentary, seems to be very learned ; he masters a style which is flowing and perspicuous, and possesses neither the rude simplicity of old works nor the elaborate artificiality of modern works on Nyāya. He is neither very concise nor diffuse, but always follows the golden mean, discussing important points at length, but passing over simple passages altogether unnoticed. Sometimes he differs boldly from the routine explanations, though his explanations may not be always acceptable, and thus now and then has an air of originality about himself. That Śeshānanta's commentary was once regarded as a work of merit is clearly proved by the fact that there are at least two commentaries on the same, by Keśavabhāṭṭa and Nṛisimhāchārya. Who this Śeshānanta was and when he lived, it is proposed to discuss in this article.

2. About the personal history of Śeshānanta, almost nothing is known, as the author is quite silent about himself. At the end of the commentary in question, we have,

‘ गुरुशार्ङ्गधरेण बोधबीजं  
यदनन्ते निदधे बुधास्तदीयम् ।  
इममङ्कुरमादरः फले चेत्  
न विमृन्दीत पदार्थचन्द्रिकाख्यम् ॥

इति श्रीमदशेषविद्यापारगजगद्गुरुशेषानन्तविरचिता सकलबालबोधिका सप्तपदार्थी  
टीका पदार्थचन्द्रिकाख्या समाप्ता ॥ ’

From this, we learn that Śeshānanta must have occupied a very high rank as he calls himself ‘ the teacher of the world ’ ( jagadguru ), a title which is only applied to great priestly teachers like Śaṅkarāchārya whose duty it was to go from one end of the world to another, preaching Dharma to the populace, and whose word was authoritative in all matters relating to the same. He also acknowledges Śārngadhara as his teacher, and, it should be noted, refers to himself by the bare name Ananta.

3. Of the two commentaries on Padārthachandrikā, one is named Padārthachandrikā-ṭippaṇī written by Keśavabhāṭṭa.<sup>2</sup> The colophon

<sup>1</sup> For this, see p. 32 and ff. J. B. B. R. A. S. No. LXIII.

<sup>2</sup> The Deccan College Collection possesses a MS. of this—No. 327 of 1879-80.

at the end of the MS. which, unfortunately, wants the first two-thirds of the work, runs thus—

‘ इति श्रीमन्महामहोपाध्यायविद्वन्मुकुटमाणिक्यमाध्यन्दिनीयलोगाक्षगोत्रसंभूत-  
श्रीमत्केशवभट्टनूजानन्तभट्टमुतकेशवभट्टविरचिता पदार्थचन्द्रिकाटिप्पणी समाप्ता ॥

इन्दुनेत्रशरभूमिते शके  
चैत्रकृष्णपतने विकारिणि ।  
तर्कतन्त्रविदन्तटिप्पणीं  
भट्टकेशवसुधीरटीकयत् ॥ ’

From this it is clear that Keśavabhaṭṭa wrote this ṭippaṇī on the work of Ananta well-versed in the Science of Tarka, in the Śaka year 1521, i.e., 1549 A.D. He also calls himself the son of Anantabhaṭṭa who was himself the son of Keśavabhaṭṭa of the Logākṣha family and Mādhyandina Śākha. Thus Śeshānanta must be dated before 1599 A.D.

4. The same Keśavabhaṭṭa has also written another independent treatise on Nyāya, named Nyāyachandrikā, of which there is a MS. in the collection of the late Professor Jinsivale, Poona. The work deals with the sixteen padārthas of Gautama, and begins thus :—

‘ आराधकेप्सितफलाधिकदानदक्षा  
दाक्षायणी दलितपद्ममनोहराक्षी ।  
साकारभाग्यमिव यस्य नमोस्तु तस्मै  
विश्वेश्वराय भवभीतिभिदे भवाय ॥

यच्छिष्यैर्जगतीतलं परिवृतं यस्तर्कविद्यामयः

श्रीलौमा ( गा ? ) क्षिकुलारविन्दतरणिमाध्यन्दिनः केशवम् ।

यः प्रासूत सदाशिवाङ्घ्रिकमलद्वन्द्वैकनिष्ठं परम्

भट्टानन्तमहं नमामि पितरं साम्बं कृष्णम्भोनिधिम् ॥

सकलन्यायसिद्धान्तमन्वगम्य यथामति ।

भट्टश्रीकेशवेनैषा क्रियते न्यायचन्द्रिका ॥ ’

The MS. is incomplete, stopping at the fourteenth padārtha, viz., ‘Chhala’. The scribe writes at the end of the MS. ‘इत्यपूर्णं न्याय-  
सिद्धान्तचन्द्रिका । अथ जातिः । and the last leaf is left half-blank ; so there

is reason to think that the original work itself was perhaps left incomplete. The date of writing the MS. is thus given :—

‘ संवत् द्विवेदाब्धिशाशाङ्कवर्षे  
भाद्रे सिते मृत्युतिथौ रवौ च ।  
श्रीशामजेनेयमलेखि न्याय-  
पदैकपूर्वा खलु चन्द्रिकेयम् ॥ ’

Thus the MS. is written in Samvat 1742, *i.e.*, 1686 A.D., about 75 years after the work was actually written by the author.

5. Now I am inclined to think, though I must confess that there are no sufficient and convincing proofs, that this Keśavabhaṭṭa should be the son of Śeśhānanta called by the name Anantabhaṭṭa in both the works mentioned above. One argument in favour of this conjecture is the second verse at the beginning of Nyāyachandrikā, where Bhaṭṭa-Ananta is described as being ‘one by whose disciples the surface of the world was occupied,’ which very well corresponds with the title ‘Jagadguru.’

6. So also the similarity of names Padārthachandrikā and Nyāyachandrikā points in the same direction. We see, for instance, that Viśvanātha, the author of Sāhityadarpaṇa, names his commentary on Mammaṭa’s Kāvya-prakāśa, as Kāvya-darpaṇa ; so also Nāgeśabhaṭṭa gives the name Udyota to his two commentaries on Kaiyaṭa’s Bhāshya-pradīpa and Govinda’s Kāvya-pradīpa. Carrying the analogy a little further, we should not be surprised, if the son imitates his father in calling his work by the name ‘Chandrikā.’ Though these are not convincing proofs, still it must be allowed for certain that the conjecture does not in any way contradict the date of Śeśhānanta, fixed upon by independent arguments, as will be seen later on.

7. Śeśhānanta, the author of Padārthachandrikā, has also written another work<sup>1</sup> Nyāyasiddhāntadīpaprabhā, a commentary on the Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa of Śaśadhara. The colophon at the end of the work and of each section runs thus :—

‘इति श्रीसकलसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमरीचिमञ्जरीपरागपिञ्जरितचरणकमलकलिकर्णवतार-  
श्रीमन्भतापराजोयोजितशेषानन्तविरचितायां न्यायसिद्धान्तदीपप्रभायामीश्वरप्रकरणम् ।’

In the beginning of the work the author also refers to his teacher, Śārṅgadhara. The MS. was written in Samvat 1626, *i.e.*, 1569 A.D. Thus Śeśhānanta must be placed before 1569 A.D. He mentions a

<sup>1</sup> See Peterson’s Report on MS. for 1892-95, page 179, and his Catalogue of Ulwar MSS. (1892), page 31, No. 735.

king named Prataparāja,<sup>1</sup> about whom, however, nothing can be positively known.

8. That Śeshānanta must be placed even before 1567 A.D., follows from the fact that there is a MS. of Padārthachandrikā in the collection of the late Professor Jinsivale, Poona, written in Samvat 1623, Āśvina month, *i.e.*, 1567 A.D. Thus the terminus *ad quem* for the time of Śeshānanta is 1567 A.D.

9. While criticising the definition of 'Sāmānya' Śeshānanta refers to Kiraṇāvalīprakāśa thus :—'अन्ये तु द्रव्यकिरणावलीप्रकाशानुसारेण समवेतपदे वृत्तिमन्त्रपरमङ्गीकृत्याभावसमवाययोरतिव्याप्तिनिरासायैकमित्याचक्षते ।' So also, while describing the destruction of things, the author refers to Kusumāñjalīprakāśa thus :—'यत्तु तथा उभयनाशजन्यद्रव्यनाशे का गतिरित्याक्षिप्य पृथगेव तत्तद्द्रव्यकृत्योः कार्यकारणभावग्रह इति कुसुमाञ्जलिप्रकाशकृतोक्तं तद्विन्यम् ।' Now the author of both these works, Vardhamāna, the son of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya, is generally put in the 11th century<sup>2</sup> A.D., so that Śeshānanta cannot be earlier than the 11th century A.D.

10. While criticising the definition of 'Samskāra', the author remarks—'अत एवाहुः । 'यज्ञातीयसमुत्पाय' इत्यादीति मतम् । तत्र ।'. Now the definition of 'Samskāra' in the Tārkikarakshā of Varadarāja is found to begin exactly in the same way—

'यज्ञातीयसमुत्पायस्तज्जातीयस्य कारणम् । स्वयं यस्तद्विज्ञातीयः संस्कारः स गुणो मतः ॥'<sup>3</sup>

And a similar definition is nowhere found as far as I remember<sup>4</sup>; so that I believe that in this passage the author had nothing but Varadarāja's definition before him. Now Varadarāja very probably belongs to the latter half of the 11th century or the first half of the 12th century; since he many times refers to Udayanāchārya and Vāchaspatimīśra as authorities, and since his work is commented upon by one Jñānapūrṇa, who calls himself a pupil of Viṣṇusvāmin, very probably, the accepted founder of the Vallabha Sect, coming a little before Madhvāchārya.<sup>5</sup> Thus Śeshānanta also cannot be earlier than the middle of the 12th century A.D.

11. Śeshānanta must also come after the well-known Mādhvāchārya, since he refers to his Dhātuvṛitti, in the course of comment-

<sup>1</sup> I may note here that there ruled at Vizayanagara a king named Pratāpadeva Rāya between 1419 and 1446 A.D. (See A Forgotten Empire, by Sewell, pp. 78, 79 and 404.) Vīra Pratāpa Deva Rāya styled as 'Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara' is mentioned in a South Indian inscription of Saka 1353. Śeshānanta's time also falls thereabout, as will be seen later on. May this Pratāpa Deva Rāya be the same as the Prataparāja mentioned by Śeshānanta? No conclusion can be arrived at in the absence of any decisive proof.

<sup>2</sup> See J. B. B. R. A. S. No. LXIII, pp. 33, 34.

<sup>3</sup> Tārkikarakshā (Benares), p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> At least it is not found in Praśastapāda's Bhāshya, on the Vaiśeṣhika Sūtras, Nyāya-kandali, a commentary on the same, Tarkabhāshā, Tarkasangraha and Dipikā.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction to Tārkikarakshā (Benares, Pandit).

ing upon the word Śambhu occurring in the very first verse' of Saptapadārthi. 'शं भवत्यस्मादिति व्युत्पत्तिरपादाने दुप्रत्ययाभावाच्चिन्त्येति माधवः'. And Mādhavāchārya is known to belong to the 14th Century A.D., a contemporary of kings Bukka and Harihara.' Thus Śeshānanta cannot be placed earlier than the 14th century A.D.

12. In connection with the explanation of the same word, *viz.*, 'Śambhu,' Śeshānanta further remarks—' अत एव योगप्रसञ्जितकान्तादिन-तिव्युदासार्थं प्राचीनविशेषणोपादानमिति निरस्तम् '. I think that this is a reference to nothing but another commentary on Saptapadārthi, by Jinavardhanasūri; since, this latter does take the word 'Śambhu' in an etymological sense and only in that way, and explains the propriety of other words in the verse, as serving to exclude all other things than God Śāṅkara, which may be etymologically expressed by the word Śambhu. He remarks thus :—' शं भवति अस्माद् इति शम्भुः इति कृत्वा स्ववन्दनादर पेनमः स्यात् तन्निरासार्थं गुरवे इति.'

13. So also, a little later on, while explaining the meaning of the particle 'eva,' in the same verse, Śeshānanta remarks—' हेतवे एव निमित्तायैव नोपादानायित्यर्थः इति तु व्यस्तत्वादुपेक्ष्यम् । स्तुत्यनुपयोगादकार्यव्यावर्तकै-वकारव्याख्यानवत् । '. Herein Śeshānanta refutes two ways of construing 'eva,' one, with the word 'hetave,' the expression 'hetave eva' meaning 'to one who is only the operating cause, and not the material cause,' and the other, with the word 'jagatām,' the expression 'jagatām eva' meaning 'of the created things only and not the eternal things.' This also is, I think, a refutation of Jinavardhanasūri, who mentions both these interpretations and only these, as follows :—

' हेतवे जगतामेवेति । गच्छन्तीति जगन्ति अनित्याः पदार्था इत्यर्थः । तेषां हेतवे निमित्त-कारणाय । एकारोऽवधारणार्थः । ततो जगतामनित्यानमेव न नित्यानां हेतुरिति । अथवा ब्रह्मादिवशेनोपादानकारणाय किन्तु जगतां हेतवे एव निमित्तकारणायैव । '

14. It cannot be said that Śeshānanta, in the two passages above, may have referred to the Mitabhāshinī of Mādhava-Sarasvatī, another commentary on Saptapadārthi; for in connection with the explanation of the word 'Śambhu,' Mādhava-Sarasvatī gives both the kinds

<sup>1</sup> I quote the full verse here as I have to refer to it again.

' हेतवे जगतामेव संसारार्णवसेतवे ।  
प्रभवे सर्ववियानां शम्भवे गुरवे नमः ॥ '

<sup>2</sup> See page 75, Vol. I. Dhātuvṛtti. (Bibliotheca Sanskrita, Mysore). The same line is also quoted in Tattvabodhinī (Pāṇini III, 2-180, p. 491, Nirṇaysagar edition).

<sup>3</sup> For Mādhavāchārya, see J. B. B. R. A. S. No. LXII. p. 367 and ff.

of interpretation,' *yaugika* as well as *rûḍha* ; thus there is no point in refuting him. As for the second passage, Mādhava-Sarasvatī first of all mentions the very interpretation accepted by Śeśhānanta, and secondly, though he mentions two more interpretations,\* he does not at all refer to the second of the two interpretations refuted by Śeśhānanta.

15. Thus, I believe, that Śeśhānanta in the two passages referred to above tries to refute Jinavardhanasûri than whom he cannot, therefore, be earlier. Now this Jinavardhanasûri, was high-priest of the Kharatara gachchha from 1405 A.D. to 1419 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Thus this date would furnish the terminus *a quo* for the time of Śeśhānanta.

16. Thus Śeśhānanta lived between 1410 A.D. and 1567 A.D., whether he be the father of Keśavabhāṭṭa referred to above or not, and whether his Pratāparāja be the Pratāpa Deva Rāya II of Vizayanagar or not.

<sup>1</sup> शं सुखं भवत्यस्मादिति व्युत्पत्त्या स्ववन्दनदिनेमस्कारः कृतः स्यान्मेश्वरस्यात आह गुरवे इति । ..... एतत्तु सर्वे शब्दा व्युत्पन्ना एवेति पक्षमाश्रित्य व्याख्यातम् । विप्रसंभयो ह्यवसं-  
ज्ञायामिति सूत्रे मितद्वादिभ्यभेति वार्तिकेनासञ्ज्ञायां दुप्रत्ययविधानाच्च शंशुशब्दो यौगिको  
व्याख्यातः । अथ पुराणादिप्रसिद्धिबलाच्छम्भुशब्दः परमेश्वरे रूढ इति पक्षमाश्रित्येदमेवोत्तरार्द्धं  
व्याख्यायते । शम्भवे परमेश्वराय ..... (Saptapadārthi, pp. 2, 3. Vizayanagar Sanskrit Series.)

<sup>2</sup> 'जगतामिवेति एवकारः काल्त्स्न्यवाची अव्ययानामनेकार्थत्वात् । ... अथ वा एवकारः  
भिन्नक्रमः हेतवे एवेति । स चायोगान्ययोगव्यवच्छेदार्थः । जगतां हेतुत्वं ईश्वरस्य सदा वर्तते न  
तु कदाचिन्नास्तीति । ..... यद्वा हेतवे निमित्तकारणयैव न तु वेदान्तिवदुपादानकारणयापीति  
सूचितम् ।' (Saptapadārthi p. 8. Viz. Sk. Series.)

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Bhandarkar's Report on MSS for 1882-83, p. 25.

## ART. XII—*Bhāmaha, the Nyāsa and Māgha.*

By P. V. KANE, M.A., SOME TIME AG. PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT,  
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Professor K. B. Pāthak contributes a very interesting article on Bhāmaha and the Nyāsa to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1908 (No. LXIII, Vol. XXIII). In that article he controverts the view of Professor Kielhorn that Māgha could not have referred to the Nyāsa in Śīsupālavadha II. 112, and conclusively proves that chronology entirely supports the interpretation put upon the abovementioned verse by Vallabha and Mallinātha. Incidentally, he arrives at the conclusion that Māgha should be placed at the end of the 8th century of the Christian era. The great importance of the article lies in the fact that it not only conclusively establishes the point raised by it, but also helps us in settling some other important chronological points. In the following lines, an humble attempt is made to deduce from the materials supplied by Professor Pāthak some conclusions about Vāmana, the rhetorician and to supplement the information about Māgha, Bhāmaha and the Nyāsa given by Professor Pāthak.

The date of Māgha can be arrived at in a different manner also. The Dhvanyālōka of Ānandavardhana quotes (on p. 114 of the निर्णयसागर edition) a verse from the Śīsupālavadha (V. 26, त्रासाकुलः परिपतन्परितो निकेतान् &c.). From the Rājataranginī (V. 34 मुक्ताकणः शिवस्वामा कविरानन्दवर्धनः । प्रथा रत्नाकरश्चागान्साभाज्येऽवन्तिवर्मणः ॥) we know that Ānandavardhana flourished under Avantivarman, king of Kāśmir (855 A.D.—883 A.D.). Therefore Māgha must be earlier than 850 A.D.

Vāmana in his Kāvyaḷamkāra-sūtravṛtti (p. 52, Nirṇaya edition ; p. 135 of Benares ed.) quotes the verse उभौ यदि श्येभ्यो पृथक्प्रवाहावाकाशगंगापयसः पतेताम् । तेनोपमीयेत तमालनीलमामुक्तमुक्तालतमस्य वक्षः ॥ from Śīsupālavadha (III, 8.); besides Vāmana's sūtra न पादादौ खल्व्वादयः (v. 1.5.) appears to refer to the words of Māgha निर्धारितेऽर्थे लेखेन खलूक्त्वा खलु वाचिकम् (Śīsupālavadha II, 70). Thus Māgha is earlier than Vāmana. The date of Vāmana is far from being settled. The state of the authorities on this point stands in this way:—

Dr. Cappeller, in his edition of Vāmana's Kāvyaḷamkāra-sūtravṛtti, argued that Vāmana must be later than 1000 A. D. on the strength of the fact that Vāmana mentions a Kavirīja who was identified by the

learned Doctor with the author of the Rāghava-pāndaviya. Dr. Cappeller further identified the author of the Kāvyaḷamkāraṽṛitti with the author of the Kāśikā. Max Müller ('India, what can it teach us?' p. 338 ff.) dissented from Dr. Cappeller and showed that the Kāśikā could not have been written later than 660 A.D. He left the question of the identity of the two Vāmanas unsettled. Professor Pischel (Introduction to Śringāratilaka of Rudraṭa) controverted the view of Dr. Cappeller (p. 25), expressed it as his opinion that Dandin is earlier than Vāmana and said (p. 26) that there was nothing to prevent us from placing Vāmana later than the 8th century A.D.

We shall first deal with the question of the identity of the two Vāmanas, *viz.*, the Vāmana who had a hand in composing the Kāśikā and the Vāmana who is the author of the Kāvyaḷamkāra-sūtra and Vṛitti. It is here that Professor Pāthak's article is of great service. He proves that the Nyāsa has been referred to by Māgha and we have shewn above that Māgha is quoted by Vāmana in his Sūtraṽṛitti. The position of the four writers may be shown by a table :—

Kāśikā, composed by Vāmana and Jayāditya.

Nyāsa, a commentary on the above.

Māgha, in Śiśupālavadhā II. 112 mentions the Nyāsa.

Vāmana, the author of काव्यालंकारसूत्रवृत्ति quotes a verse from Māgha.

It is clear from the above that the Kāśikā is separated from Vāmana, the author of Kāvyaḷamkāra-sūtraṽṛitti by a long interval of time.

There is also another way in which we arrive at the same conclusion as regards the identity of the two Vāmanas. Professor Max Müller, as said above, showed (in his 'India, what can it teach us?') that the Kāśikā could not have been composed later than 660 A.D. We shall show below that the Kāvyaḷamkārasūtra of Vāmana cannot have been written earlier than 750 A.D. From these two independent lines of reasoning it follows that the Vāmana, one of the authors of the Kāśikā is quite distinct from the Vāmana, the author of the Kāvyaḷamkārasūtra.

We shall now deal with the question of the date of Vāmana.

(a) Pratihārendurāja, the commentator of Udbhaṭa, refers to Vāmana as an authority on the Alankārasāstra (see Fol. 55, 59, 61 of the

Deccan College MS.). Pratihārendurāja was a pupil of Mukula, the author of the अभिधावृत्तिमातृका and son of Kallaṭa. Kallaṭa flourished in the reign of Avantivarman as said in the Rājatarangīni V. 66 अनुग्रहाय लोकानां मृदुश्रीकण्ठादयः । अवन्तिवर्मणः काले सिद्धा भुवमवातरन् ॥

As Avantivarman reigned from 855 A.D. to 883 A.D., Mukula must have flourished about 900 A. D.

Mukula's pupil, Pratihārendurāja, cannot therefore be later than the middle of the 10th Century. So Vāmana cannot be placed later than about 900 A.D.

(b) Abhinavagupta often quotes the Sūtras of Vāmana. One reference, however, is very significant for our purpose. On p. 37 of his Lōchana, Abhinavagupta tells us that the verse अनुरागवती सन्ध्या &c., occurring in the Dhvanyālōka (p. 37) was given by Ānandavardhana with special reference to the views of Vāmana and Bhāmaha. वामनाभिप्रायेणायमाक्षेपः । भामहाभिप्रायेण तु समासोक्तिरित्यमुमाशयं हृदये गृहीत्वा समासो-  
क्याक्षेपयोरिदमेकमेवोदाहरणं व्यतरद् ग्रन्थकृत् । According to Abhinavagupta (960—1020 A.D.), therefore, Vāmana flourished before Ānandavardhana, who as shown above was a protege of Avantivarman (855—883 A.D.). Therefore Vāmana cannot be later, at least according to Abhinavagupta, than the first half of the 9th century.

(c) The Rājatarangīni tells us (IV.497) that a Vāmana was a minister of king Jayāpida, who reigned from 745 A. D. to 776 A. D. Buhler is inclined to give credence to the tradition of the Kāśmirian Pandits that the Vāmana who wrote the Kāvyaḷamkāra-sūtravṛitti was the same whom Jayāpida employed (Kāśmīra Report, p. 65). This would place Vāmana in the 2nd half of the 8th century.

(d) Vāmana, under Rūpaka (IV. 3, 6, p. 50, Nirnaya. ed., p. 130 of Benares ed.) quotes a verse from the Uttaraṛāmacharita I, *viz.*, इय मेहे लक्ष्मीरियममृतवार्तिर्नयनयोः &c. Bhavabhūti's patron Yaśovarman was subdued by Lalitāditya of Kāśmir. Dr. Bhandarkar comes to the conclusion that Bhavabhūti flourished at the end of the 7th century (Preface to Mālatī, p. X). On the other hand, Mr. V. A. Smith gives 728 A. D. as the date of the accession of Yaśovarman (J. R. A. S. of Great Britain for 1908, p. 793). At all events, it is indisputable that Vāmana who quotes from Bhavabhūti's work cannot be earlier than about 750 A. D.

From the foregoing, we can say with certainty that Vāmana is later than 725 A. D. and earlier than about 900 A. D. and that, if we rely upon the testimony of Abhinavagupta and understand the refer-

ence to Vāmana in the Rājatarangiṇī as the Kāśmīrian Pandits do, it is highly probable that he belongs to the latter half of the 8th century A. D.

Having thus dealt with the date of Vāmana, we shall now revert to the question of Māgha's date. If Vāmana, as said above, probably belongs to the latter half of the 8th century, Māgha who is quoted by Vāmana cannot be later than 750 A. D. Prof. Pāthak assigns Māgha to the close of the 8th century (p. 31 of the article). With the greatest deference to Prof. Pāthak, I demur to the conclusion arrived at by him and say that he places Māgha later than our authorities warrant us in doing.

Starting from the statements of It-sing, which, as will be seen from Max Müller's work, are in themselves quite vague (see India ; what can it teach us ? pp. 343-350) he says that the Kāśikā was composed about 660 A. D., the Nyāsa about 700 A. D. and that Bhāmaha who criticizes the Nyāsa wrote about 750 A. D. The statements of Chinese travellers cannot always be taken as Gospel truth. They wrote what they heard from others ; besides, the spectacle that the translation given of a Chinese passage by one scholar is entirely disapproved of by another is not also very rare. Moreover, as to the date of the Nyāsa, we have to grapple with a very knotty point. The Harshacharita of Bāṇa clearly alludes to the Nyāsa : प्रसन्नवृत्तयो गृहीतवान्याः कृतगुरुपदन्यासा न्यायवादिनः मुकृतसंग्रहाभ्यासगुरवो लब्धसाधुशान्दा लोक इव व्याकरणेऽपि (p. 96, Nirṇaya. 1st edition). The commentator explains कृतगुरुपदन्यासाः as कृतः अभ्यस्तः गुरुपदे दुर्बोधशब्दे न्यासो वृत्तिविवरणं यैः. Bāṇa belongs to the first half of the 7th century and so the Nyāsa will have to be placed not later than 600 A. D. Prof. Pāthak places it 100 years later. I do not mean that this isolated passage should upset the whole reasoning based upon It-sing's statements. What I insist upon is that It-sing's statements should be received with caution and that the dates of the Kāśikā, the Nyāsa and Māgha are yet open to discussion and not finally settled. It will not do to say simply that the passage from the Harshacharita is an interpolation. That is begging the whole question. It can be called an interpolation only if one takes for granted that the Kāśikā was composed in 660 A. D. But this is exactly what I doubt. The passage is explained by the commentator, who appears to be an early writer. Thus then the date of the Nyāsa being unsettled, the date of Māgha also becomes so. The second point in favour of assigning Māgha to the end of the 8th century advanced by Prof. Pāthak, *viz.*, that Māgha alludes to the definition of Kāvya given by Bhāmaha does not really help much in

that direction. We know very little of the predecessors of Bhāmaha. Before Bhāmaha, there must have existed many writers on Rhetoric, as he himself twice mentions one of his predecessors, named Medhāvin. त एत उपमादोषाः सप्त मेधाविनोदिताः II. 40. यथासंख्यमथोल्बेक्षामलंकारद्वयं विदुः। संख्यानमिति मेधावी नोल्बेक्षाभिहिता क्वचित् ॥ II. 88. We know from Namisādhu that Medhāvi (rudra) was an ancient Ālamkārika ननु दाण्डि-मेधाविरुद्रभामहादिकृतानि सन्त्येवालंकारशास्त्राणि, तत्किमर्थमिदं पुनरिति &c. (p. 2 of Rudra's KāvyaĀlamkāra, Nirṇaya). Bhaṭṭi, in his Bhaṭṭikāvya devotes four Sargas to the illustration of the Ālamkāra-śāstra. Bhaṭṭi wrote under Śrīdharasena of Valabhī and must be placed somewhere between 500 A. D. and 650 A. D., the dates of the 1st and the 4th Dharasenas. Thus, we need not suppose that Māgha alludes to Bhāmaha; he may have referred to some writer earlier than Bhāmaha.

It will be thus seen that no conclusive proof has yet been offered for placing Māgha at the end of the 8th century and that the reasons assigned for doing so are merely hypothetical. My own opinion is that Māgha is at all events not later than 750 A. D. and may well have lived a century or two earlier.

I shall close this communication with a word about Udbhaṭa's Bhāmahavivarāṇa. This work of Udbhaṭa appears to have been in existence in the day of Hemachandra (1088—1172 A. D.). On p. 110 of Hemachandra's Ālamkārachūdāmaṇi-viveka (Nirṇaya.) we read " एतेन ' रसवदशितस्पष्टशृंगारादिरसोदयम् । स्वशब्दस्थायिसंचारिविभावाभिनयास्पदम् ' इत्येतद्व्याख्यानानवसरे यद्गोद्वेदेन ' पंचरूपा रसा ' इत्युपक्रम्य ' स्वशब्दाः शृंगारादेर्वाचकाः शृंगारादयः शब्दाः ' इत्युक्तं तत्प्रतिक्षिप्तम् " । The genuineness of the work now going under the name of Bhāmaha is evidenced by the fact that half of the verse ' रसवदशित, &c., ' occurs (III. 6) in the Manuscript of Bhāmaha's work; and the whole verse occurs in (IV. 4) Udbhaṭa's own work on Rhetoric, called अलंकारसारसंग्रह.

ART. XIII.—*The Divine Vāsudeva different from the  
Kshatriya Vāsudeva in Patanjali's opinion.*

BY PROFESSOR K. B. PATHAK, B.A.

In an article on Bhagavat, Tatrabhavat and Devānām priya contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for April 1908, p. 502, the late Dr. Kielhorn finds fault with Mr. Keith's statement that "Patanjali distinctly says that Vāsudeva is a Sanjñā of the Bhagavanta." Dr. Kielhorn holds that this statement is not correct as he says it is based on a wrong reading of the Benares Edition of the Mahābhāshya (Samjñāishā tatra bhagavataḥ). He then says that the true reading is Samjñāishā tatra bhavataḥ and asks us to compare this with another remark of Patanjali regarding the word Ka (= Prajāpati) samjñā chāishā tatrabhavataḥ. "In either case", says Dr. Kielhorn, "the word tatrabhavataḥ, by which Samjñāishā is followed, does not, in the least, suggest that the personage denoted by the proper name, is a divine being."

I may at once tell Sanskrit scholars that Mr. Keith's rendering, far from being based on the wrong reading of the Benares Edition of the Mahābhāshya, is as old as the seventh century A. D. and is sanctioned by no less an authority than Jayāditya (A. D. 661-62) who says—

संज्ञैषा देवताविशेषस्य । न क्षत्रियाख्या

Kāśikā, Benares Edition, Part I, p. 444.

"This is the proper name of a particular god, it is not the name of a Kshatriya."

Let us compare these words with the text of the Mahābhāshya, which runs, according to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita, whose reading is identical with that which is accepted by Dr. Kielhorn.

न क्षत्रियाख्या । संज्ञैषा तत्रभवतः

It will be clear that Jayāditya in explaining Pāṇini's sūtra, closely follows Patanjali, and borrows all the words from the Mahābhāshya except the disputed reading तत्रभवतः or whatever else it may have been, in place of which we have in the Kāśikā the unambiguous expression देवता विशेषस्य. It is therefore quite obvious that according to Jayāditya, Patanjali says that Vāsudeva is the proper name of

a divine being. It is very interesting to note that Jayāditya's celebrated commentator the Nyāsakāra Jinendrabuddhi, who lived about A. D. 700, as I have proved in my paper entitled Bhāmahā's attacks on the Buddhist grammarian Jinendrabuddhi, says—

अभ्यर्हितत्वं तु वासुदेव शब्दस्य देवता विशेषत्वात् ।

Deccan College Ms. 34 of 1881-82, leaf 246a.

That the first place is assigned to Vāsudeva in the compound वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्याम् because Vāsudeva is the name of a particular god.

Jayāditya and his commentator Jinendrabuddhi were Buddhists and believed in the Nirvāṇa as defined in the following verse :—

दीपो यथा निर्वृतिमभ्युपेतो नैवावनीं गच्छति नांतरिक्षं  
दिशं न कांचि द्विदिशं न कांचित् स्नेहक्षयात्केवलमि ( मे ) ति शान्ति ।  
जोवस्तथा निर्वृतिमभ्युपेतो नैवावनीं गच्छति नांतरिक्षं  
दिशं न कांचिद्विदिशं न कांचित्क्लेशक्षयात्केवलमेति शान्ति ॥

Quoted in the Prameya Kamala mārtanda.

The testimony of these illustrious Buddhist commentators is most valuable as they are least likely to be prepossessed in favour of Brahminical interpretations. Another celebrated Buddhist commentator and a contemporary of Jayāditya himself was Bhartṛihari, whose commentary on the Mahābhāshya is now believed to be lost beyond recovery. A fragment of it is preserved at Berlin. Dr. Kielhorn has shown, with the help of this fragment, that the text of the Mahābhāshya accessible to Bhartṛihari could not have materially differed from that which is now extant. Dr. Kielhorn's opinion on this point is confirmed by the numerous attacks made by Kumāriḷa on Patanjali in the 8th century. One very remarkable instance may be cited here :

माष्येविरविकन्यायेनेति इन्द्रगर्भतत्पुरुषे पूर्वसमासपूर्वपदस्थायाः सुपः सुपो धातु  
प्रातिपदिकयोरिति प्रत्यक्षोपदिष्टोपि लुङ्नकृतः । तथान्यथा कृत्वा चोदितमन्यथा कृत्वा परि-  
हार इति । अन्यथैवं कथमित्यन्वाख्यातसाधुत्वोपि णमुल् न प्रयुक्तः ।

Tantravārtika, Benares Ed., p. 201.

It is obvious that in Kumāriḷa's opinion the expressions अविरविक न्याय and अन्यथा कृत्वा which are met with in the extant text of the Mahābhāshya, are mistakes for अव्यविकन्याय and अन्यथाकारणम्. And we do find the correct form अव्यविकन्याय actually employed by Haradatta in his Padamanjarī.

Though the text of the Mahābhāshya has not changed since the days of Bhartṛihari and Kumāriḷa, yet Bhartṛihari's commentary on

Patanjali's work, is, as stated above, lost beyond recovery. But Kaiyaṭa, a distinguished writer of the 12th century, tells us that in explaining the Mahābhāṣya, he is solely guided by Bhartṛihari.

तथापि हरिबद्धेन सारेण ग्रन्थसेतुना ।  
ऋममाणः शनैः पारं तस्य प्राप्तास्मि पञ्चुत् ॥

Kaiyaṭa says that in the well-known passage under discussion, the God Vasudeva is alluded to :—

सं ज्ञेयति । नित्यः परमात्मदेवताविशेष इह वासुदेवो गृह्यत इत्यर्थः

Mahābhāṣya, Benares 2nd Ed., p. 139.

We can fairly argue that Bhartṛihari, Jayāditya, Jinendrabuddh and Kaiyaṭa are unanimous in their opinion that Patanjali alludes to a divine being in the passage quoted above.

The next great writer, whom I shall quote, is Haradatta, who, Dr. Kielhorn says, has based his own work on Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa and may, on that ground, be assigned to the 13th century. He gives evidence of his intimate acquaintance with the Mahābhāṣya on every page of his work and says :—

एवं प्रकटितोस्माभिर्भाष्ये परिचयः परः ।  
तस्य निःशेषतो मन्ये प्रतिपत्तापि दुर्लभः ॥

Padamanjari, Benares Ed., Part I, p. 40.

तदेतत्प्रतिपद्यन्तां भाष्ये कृतपरिश्रमाः ।  
नान्ये सहस्रमप्यन्धाः सूर्यं पश्यन्ति नाञ्जसा ॥

Idem, p. 369.

Haradatta thus explains Jayāditya's words, which, in their turn, as we have already seen, are explanatory of Patanjali's view "This is the proper name of the Highest Being."

सं ज्ञेया देवताविशेषस्येति । वसत्यस्मिन्सर्वमिति व्युत्पत्त्या परमात्मन एषा संज्ञा

Padamanjari, Benares Ed., Part II, p. 182.

Both Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta are frequently quoted in the Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛitti. Mādhava was living in Śaka 1300. A later writer than Mādhava is Rāmachandra, the author of the Prakriyākaumudī, who belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century. Neither Mādhava nor Rāmachandra helps us in our present inquiry. The next great writer is Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita, who belongs to the middle

\* Ms. of the Jaina Matha, Kolhapur.

† Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report for 1884-87.

of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> In his Prauḍha manoramā Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita thus quotes and explains Patanjali,

अत्र भाष्यं सञ्ज्ञैषा तत्रभवत् इति । अयं भावः सर्वत्रासौ समस्तं च वसत्यत्रेति वै यतः । ततो सौ वासुदेवेति विद्वद्भिः परिगीयते ॥ इति स्मृतेः परमात्मेह वासुदेवः

Prauḍhamanoramā, Part I, p. 416, Benares Edition.

It is worth noting that the reading in the Prauḍhamanoramā तत्र भवत् is accepted by Dr. Kielhorn ; yet the explanation given by Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita is quite different from what the German scholar expected. The next great commentator is Jñāndrasarasvatī, who must have lived in the third quarter of the Seventeenth Century, as a manuscript of the Tattvabodhinī is dated Samvat 1753 or A.D. 1696. He cites and explains the passage in the Mahābhāshya thus:—

अत्र भाष्यम् । संज्ञैषा भगवत् इति । अयं भावः सर्वत्रासौ समस्तं च वसत्यत्रेति वै यतः । ततोसौ वासुदेवेति विद्वद्भिः परिगीयते ॥ इति स्मृतेः परमात्मा इह वासुदेवः सर्वत्रासौ वसति सर्वमत्र वसतीति वा व्युत्पत्त्या वासुः बाहुलकादुष् । वासुश्चासौ देवश्चेति विग्रहः ।

It may be remarked that the reading in the above passage is भगवत् instead of तत्र भवत् and yet the explanation given by Jñāndrasarasvatī is none the less identical with that given by his illustrious predecessor Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita. Last but not least the celebrated Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa endorses the view of all the preceding writers when he says—

अथवा क्षत्रियाख्येति देवताविशेष इति बहुव्रीहिः देवता पदं चोपलक्षणमित्याहुः

According to Dr. Hall, Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa was living in 1713 A.D. I have thus quoted the views of all the distinguished grammarians who flourished between the end of the sixth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth century and who belonged to different parts of India. They are unanimous in their opinion that Patañjali alludes to a divine being by the expression तत्रभवत्. They could not have been influenced by the wrong reading of the Benares Edition of the Mahābhāshya which was only recently published. We must therefore reject Dr. Kielhorn's opinion.

We may now proceed to examine the second passage in the Mahābhāshya which is cited by Dr. Kielhorn in support of his contention, and in which Patañjali discusses the question whether the dative of Ka (= Prajāpati) should be कस्मै or काय. In order to understand the

great commentator's remarks, we must remember what Pāṇini says in the preceding sūtra :—

सास्य देवता IV,2,24.

which Dr. Ballantyne translates "An affix comes after the name of any Deity, when something is to be spoken of as His." Thus "aindra" belonging to the deity Indra. Jayāditya says that this sūtra is supplementary to the following one

कस्येत्. IV,2,25.

which, therefore, means :—

सा अस्य देवता इत्यर्थे कस्य इत् आदेशः । को ब्रह्मा देवता अस्य कायं हविः ।  
The letter इ is to be added to क before the affix अन् and we thus get the expression कायं हविः an oblation belonging to क, क being the name of a deity according to Pāṇini. Patañjali says this deity is Prajāpati. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita says क is Brahmā. This discussion will enable us to understand correctly the following remarks of Patañjali :—

अथ यत्कायं हविः कथं तस्य संप्रैषः कर्तव्यः । यदि तावत्किमः कादेशः कस्मा अनुब्रूहीति भवितव्यम् । अथ न किमः कायानुब्रूहीति भवितव्यम् ॥ यद्यपि किमोऽथापि न किम उभयथा कस्मा अनुब्रूहीति भवितव्यम् । सर्वस्य हि सर्वनामसंज्ञा क्रियते सर्वश्च प्रजापतिः प्रजापतिश्च कः ॥ अपर आह । यद्येवं किमोऽथापि न किम उभयथा कायानुब्रूहीति भवितव्यम् । संज्ञोपसर्जनयोर्हि सर्वनामसंज्ञा प्रतिषिध्यते संज्ञा चैषा तत्रभवतः ॥

Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya, Kielhorn's 2nd Ed., Vol. II, p. 275.

*Translation.*

Now as regards कायं हविः an oblation belonging to Ka, how is the injunction issued by the Adhvaryu priest to the Hotṛipriest in respect of it to be expressed? If, in the first place, Ka [in कस्य mentioned by Pāṇini] is a derivative of the interrogative pronoun किम्, then the injunction should be कस्मै अनुब्रूहि. Suppose क is not a derivative of किम्, then the injunction should be काय अनुब्रूहि. Whether it be a derivative of किम् or not, in both cases the injunction should be कस्मै अनुब्रूहि; for the term सर्वनाम is, in its literal sense, the name of every thing: everything is Prajāpati; and Prajāpati is Ka. An opponent remarks whether Ka is derived from किम् or not, yet in both cases, the injunction should be काय अनुब्रूहि for the technical name सर्वनाम is denied to proper names and subordinate members in compounds; and this [Ka] is the proper name of the divine being [Prajāpati].

The injunction काय अनुब्रूहि means "Address an invitation to the God Ka." In response to this injunction the Hotṛi priest recites a Vedic verse containing the name of the God Ka to whom oblations

are intended to be offered. Such a verse is technically called Puroṇvākya. This explanation will convince Sanskrit scholars that Ka is the name of a deity. Then again Patañjali's statement that everything is Prajāpati and Prajāpati is Ka, is simply the doctrine of the identity of Brahma with the Universe which has been elaborately propounded in the Brahma Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. It is thus clear that Ka is a deity in the opinion of Patañjali; and, as has been pointed out above, according to Pāṇini also, Ka is a divine being. Jayāditya tells us in plain words that Ka is a deity.

क शब्दो देवतायां प्रजापतेर्वाचकः

Pāṇini's two aphorisms कस्येत् IV. 2, 25 and सोमाट्ट्यण् IV, 2, 30 have been condensed into one aphorism by the Jaina grammarian Śākaṭāyana thus—

क सोमाट् ट्यण् II, 4, 212.

and Ka in this combined aphorism is explained by Yakshavarma, a contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha\* I, to be the God Brahmā.

कसोमाभ्यां देवते त्यस्मिन्विषये ट्यण् भवति । कौ ब्रह्मा देवतास्य कायं हविः

Śākaṭāyana-Chintāmaṇi.

and by Abhayachandra to be the Highest Being.

कः परमात्मा देवता अस्य कायः । कायी पूजा

Śākaṭāyana-prākriyā samgraha.

Hemachandra, the celebrated Śvetāmbara grammarian of the twelfth century borrows the above aphorism from Śākaṭāyana and says that Ka is a divine being:

आभ्यां सास्य देवतेति विषये ट्यण् स्यात् । कार्यं (य) न् । सौम्यं हविः ।

Siddha-Hema-Śabdānuśāsana, Benares Ed., p. 390.

In the face of this overwhelming evidence Sanskrit scholars cannot but perceive that Dr. Kielhorn has simply overlooked the context; and his statement that "in either case the word tatra bhavataḥ, by which samjñaiśhā is followed, does not in the least suggest that the personage denoted by the proper name is a divine being," cannot be accepted. I say this with great deference to Dr. Kielhorn's authority. He was my revered teacher. His memory is still cherished in Western India. Indian Saṅskṛitists owe him a debt immense of endless gratitude. Owing to the exceptional advantages which Dr. Kielhorn enjoyed of learning the Pāṇinian System from the best native grammarians of forty years ago, his erroneous opinion on this point is likely to gain a wide currency among Saṅskṛit scholars throughout

\* A palm-leaf ms. of the Jaina Matha at Kolhapur

the world. I therefore hasten to refute it as early as I can, my excuse being that though I feel the highest reverence for my teacher, I love the critical study of Indian literature still more.

Having satisfactorily proved that in both passages the word तत्रभवत् refers to a divine being, I shall now proceed to translate the first passage.

किमर्थं वासुदेवशब्दाद्द्विग्विधीयते न गोत्र क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं बुष् [ ४-३-९९ ] इत्येव सिद्धम् । न ह्यस्ति विशेषो वासुदेवशब्दादनो वा बुष्णोवा । तदेव रूपं स एव स्वरः ॥ इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं वासुदेव शब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातं वक्ष्यामीति ॥ अथवा नैषा क्षत्रियाख्या । संज्ञेया तत्र भवतः ॥

Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya. Vol. II, p. 314, Kielhorn's Ed.

*Translation.*

Why is बुन् (अक) affixed to the word Vāsudeva? This is not necessary, the form Vāsudevaka being formed by the next aphorism which enjoins बुष् (अक) to be added to the names of [famous] Kshatriyas. Nor is there any difference in the form whether the affix added to the word Vāsudev is बुन् or बुष्, the result being the same form Vāsudevaka, with the same accent [udātta on the first syllable in Vāsudevaka]. The reason, then, is this, the wish of Pāṇini to give precedence to the word Vāsudeva in the compound Vāsudevārjunābhyām. Or rather this is not the name of the Kshatriya [Vāsudeva]; it is the proper name of the divine [Vāsudeva]. In order to understand why Patañjali has started this discussion, we must try to realize the state of things that prevailed when Pāṇini and his great Commentator flourished. There were neither manuscripts nor printed books; everything had to be committed to memory in those days. It was therefore imperatively necessary for an author to be as brief as possible in the treatment of his subject. Brevity was sought for even at the cost of perspicuity. There is a well-known maxim among grammarians which says—

अर्थं मात्रालाघवेन पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते वैयाकरणाः

“Grammarians rejoice over the saving of (even) the length of a short vowel as much as over the birth of a son.”

On this principle Patañjali has been at great pains to dispense with many aphorisms of Pāṇini on the ground that they are unnecessary or useless. In dealing with the present aphorism [IV, 3, 98] the great Commentator is at first inclined to dismiss it as unnecessary because a derivative like Vāsudevaka can be easily formed with the aid of the next aphorism [IV, 3, 99]. But on second thoughts he is disposed to retain the first aphorism [IV, 3, 98]. The reason that

at first suggests itself for its retention is a possible wish on the part of Pāṇini to indicate the superiority of the Kshatriya Vāsudeva to Arjuna. But this reason appears to the great Commentator far from satisfactory. He accordingly makes the further remark "Or this word Vāsudeva is not the name of the Kshatriya ; it is the proper name of the divine one." Here the author of the Mahābhāshya distinctly says that the Kshatriya Vāsudeva is different from the divine Vāsudeva. Had Patañjali believed in the identity of the two Vāsudevas, he would have been only too glad to avail himself of such an opportunity to curtail the aphorism so as to lighten the task that lay before the student, of committing to memory the whole of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. But in Patañjali's opinion the god Vāsudeva was neither a Kshatriya nor the son of Vasudeva. And this opinion has been so far accepted by the later commentators as to suggest for the name of the divine Vāsudeva a different etymology, as has been pointed out above,

सर्वत्रासौ वसति सर्वमत्र वसतीति वा.

Moreover Patañjali believed that the Kshatriya Vāsudeva was a historical personage and that the act of killing Kamsa performed by him, as indicated by the use of the perfect in the well-known instance given in the Mahābhāshya,

कंसं जघान किल वासुदेवः

must have taken place at such a remote time that none of Patañjali's contemporaries could have witnessed it. With this instance is contrasted another,

अरुणघवनः सकेतम्

where the use of the imperfect tense implies, according to Patañjali, that the siege of the town of Sāketa was a well-known event which took place in the lifetime of the speaker, or of Patañjali himself in this case, who could have witnessed it. The Yavana or Greek King mentioned in this instance has been identified with Menandros who lived between 144—120 B. C.\* and who is better known to the students of Pāli literature as Milinda from a well-known Buddhist work which is still extant. Patañjali therefore lived in the middle of the second century B. C. And since he believed the Divine Vāsudeva to be different from the Kshatriya Vāsudeva, it is evident that any passages or episodes in the great Epic Mahābhārata, which identify the two Vāsudevas, must be later interpolations. And for this reason the Bhagavadgītā, which has never been regarded by European scholars as forming an integral part of the Mahābhārata, must be pronounced later than the middle of the second century B. C.

\* Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 62.

ART. XIV.—*Epigraphic Notes and Questions.*

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Poona.

VII.—*The new Besnagar Inscription.*

It is needless to say that the whole antiquarian world is indebted to Mr. J. H. Marshall, Director-General of Archæology, for his brilliant discovery of the Besnagar inscription. An account of it has appeared in the *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, for October 1909, wherein the transcript and translation of the inscription by the late Dr. Bloch are given. This is followed by Dr. Fleet's article on the same inscription, wherein he also has given his own transliteration, which is decidedly better than Dr. Bloch's. But as the text of the inscription is not yet finally settled, I give my own transcript and translation also, in order that they might be taken by the scholars for what they are worth.

My transliteration is based on Plate I accompanying Mr. Marshall's article, and is as follows :—

- 1 *Devadevasa Vâ(sude)vasa Garuḍa-dhvaje ayam*
- 2 *kârite i[a] H[e]lîodoreṇa bhâga-*
- 3 *vatena Diyasa putreṇa Takhasilâkena*
- 4 *Yona-dûtena âgatena mahârâjasa*
- 5 *Aṃtalîkitasa upa[m]tâ sakâsam raño*
- 6 *K[o]sîputena [Bh]âgabhadrasa trâtârasa*
- 7 *vâs[i]nâ Majhad[e]se natrâje nava-dha(m)mân(u)s[d]—*
- 8 (*sanâya*). . . . .

REMARKS.

Line 2.—I adopt Dr. Fleet's reading *kârite*. The word *i[a]* read by him is distinct enough.

Line 4.—I am certain that *Yonu-dûtena* is the correct reading. The two horizontal strokes on the right side of the lower end of the letter show that it is to be read *dû* and not *dâ*.

Line 5.—Dr. Fleet's reading *upa[m]tâ* is incontrovertible. But I cannot accept his reading *Su[m]kâsa-raño*, as in that case we would have had *Sa[m]kâsa-râjasa*. I read *sakâsam raño* and take *sakâsam* in the sense of 'near.'

Line 6.—The letters *Kâsîputasa* are no doubt what is preserved. But originally they must have been *Kostîputasa*. Like Dr. Bloch I take this word to be a metronymic like *Vâsîkîputa*, *Gotamîputa*, and so forth. For mere *Kâsî* cannot possibly mean "daughter of a king of Kâsî," and the corruption of Kautsi into Kosî is philologically not impossible.

Line 7.—My reading of this whole line entirely differs from that of either Dr. Fleet or Dr. Bloch. Instead of their *vasena* I read *vâsinâ*, to which no objection can be taken. The next word I prefer to read *Majhad[e]se = Madhyadêse*. But *Vajadase = Vaidase = Vaidîse* is not impossible. The third word, in my opinion, is *natrâje = Sk. nagar-âdye*, i.e., the foremost of towns. *Nagara* must first have been corrupted into *natra* and afterwards into *ner*, which now forms suffix to the names of many modern towns. But it is more natural, I think, to take *râje = râjye*, whatever the meaning of *Nai* may be. The last word, I conjecture, is *nava-dhamm-ânuśāsanāya*, of which the last three letters must have been engraved in line 8. It corresponds to the Sanskrit *nava-dharmânuśāsanāya*, i.e., for instructions in the new religion, of course, espoused by the donor. Some of these instructions are, I think, those conveyed in the two lines engraved on the other side of the pillar. These have been transcribed and translated by Mr. Barnett in the *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, for 1909, pp. 1093-4.

#### TRANSLATION.

This *Garuḍa-dhvaja* of Vāsudeva, the god of gods, was caused to be made here, for instructions in (his) new religion, by Heliodora, a Bhāgavata, son of Diya, a native of Takshaśilā, a Yavana ambassador, come from the great king Amtalikita to Kautsîputra-Bhāgabhadra, the saviour (and) residing in the kingdom of Nai (?) in the Middle country.

The object of the inscription is thus to record the erection of a column surmounted by Garuḍa in honour of the god Vāsudeva by Heliodorus, son of Dion. He was an ambassador sent by the Greek king Antalkidas to the court of Kautsîputra-Bhāgabhadra, who apparently was reigning at Vidiśā in the Middle country. Vidiśā has been identified by some with Bhilsā and by others with Besnagar itself.\* Both are close beside each other. Heliodorus, although a Greek, is called a *bhāgavata*. And on this column he caused to be incised some teachings of his new religion, which he probably embraced at Vidiśā. These teachings are contained, as already said by me, in the two lines engraved on the other side of the column. Now, according to the

\* Both Bhilsā and Bes of Besnagar can be shown to be corruptions of Vidiśā.

Purāṇas, the ninth king of the Śuṅga dynasty was Bhāgavata. Is Bhāgavata a corrupt form preserved by the Purāṇas of the original true name Bhāgabhadra? This is not impossible, as we have cases of some names of kings, which are given in corrupt forms by the Purāṇas when compared with those appearing in inscriptions. The name Bhāgavata again is unknown to us as the proper name of an individual. The Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas may thus very well be the corrupt form of Bhāgabhadra. Bhāgabhadra was thus a Śuṅga prince reigning at Vidiśā probably as *yuvārāja*, just as one of his predecessors Agnimitra was during the reign of his father Pushyamitra, as we learn from Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Bhāgavata, *i.e.* Bhāgabhadra, has been assigned by Mr. V. A. Smith to circa 108 B.C. This does not disagree with the characters of our inscription.

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XV.—An eye copy of an inscription in Devanagari characters, on a stone lying near the temple of Shri Nagesh, in the village of Bandora, District Ponda, Goa, dated Shaka 1335 (A. D. 1413) furnished by Mr. Wamanrao R. Varde Valavlikar.

श्री गणाधिपतये नमः नमस्तुंग शिरश्चुवि चंद्रचामरचारवे ॥ त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभ मूल-  
स्तंभाय शंभवे ॥ १ ॥ स्वस्ति श्री शालिवाहन शकु १३३५ वरिषो अद्य महाराजाधिराज  
परमेश्वर श्री वीरप्रताप देवराय महाराय विजयानगरीं सुखसत्कथाक्रीडा विनोदें सकळ राज्य  
प्रतिपाळत असते काळीं त्यांचा प्रतिहस्तु गोंवें सिंहासनी धर्माधर्मविचारपनु नंजण गोसांवीं  
राज्य करीते काळीं विजय संवत्सर पुष्य व ३० रवी अर्धोदय पुण्यकाळीं कुकळ्ळी ग्रामे  
पुरुषशेणवैया सूतु मांइं शेणवैयासि बंदवाड ग्रामे ग्रामपुरुस रामनायकु । नागणनायकु ।  
रामप्रभु । मांगेप्रभु । हे मुख्य प्रजसहित समस्त ग्रामीचे निदेतः धर्मशासनाची भास ऐसि  
आमच्या गांवां भितरि श्री नागनाथ देवासनिधि गोपाळभटा नावें वेदखंडिकेचें कुळग्र  
प्राकू श्रीमहालक्ष्मी देवासि अखंड जोर्तासि वर्षप्रतिवर्ष तेला बारा तांबिए वेगळे करुनु त्य  
उपरी गोपाळभटान बावे टां २॥ तथा सूतु केशोभटा नांवे मळो कुळग्र कडुबाण टां ६  
पर्कां कार्तिक २ वेंदि बावा टां २० उभउराएज टांके ३॥ संमंध तथा मांइं शेणवै याह  
श्रीग्रामान रोकडे टां २० घेउनु तयाच्या कुळग्रॉवरी आचंद्रार्कपर्यंत सहिरण्योदक दान  
धारा पूर्वक करुनु सर्वनमस्य सर्वबाधाविर्वजित करुनु दिधलें तथा मांइं शेणवैएं आपुलीये  
भक्तिपूर्वक श्रीनागनाथ देवासि वर्षप्रतिवर्षा कार्तिक पुनवे दिपमाळा जळूंची ये भासे  
आचंद्रार्कपर्यंत तथा गोपाळभटान तथा पुनवेचा दिसिं प्रवर्तांचा तांबिया येका प्रति सोळसिया  
६७ लेखिं तेला तांबिये तिनि संमंध सोळसिया ५१ तिळेल नाहितरी नारळेल  
अथवा तुप मेजुनु देउळिं बावें तथा दिपमाळेसि पणातियां ४०० वातिसि लाग तेतुकें सुत  
येतुकें गोपाळभटान देउनु दिपमाळ करावि श्री नागनाथ देवासि रात्री महास्तपन गंद धूप  
दीप उपाहारा तांदुळां चउथ दोन-तुप सोळासि ०॥ पक्कना वडे कां घारीया आठ ८ शाक  
२ विडा १ श्रीमहालक्ष्मी देविसि अभिसेकु गंध धूप दीप उपाहारासि तांदुळा चउथु ?  
तुप गिदु १ पक्कान वडे ४ शाक २ विडा १ दोद देउळिं मंत्र अवसरु करावा दिपमाळेच्या  
त्वांबापासि मिदा २ चा निवेदु करावा हे या येतुक्यासि तथा मांइंशेणवैयं तथा गोपाळभटासि  
तथा गोंवें कुळग्रिचे टांके ३॥ दिधले संमंधि तथा गोपाळ भटाचिये जातप्रजात संततीस ३॥  
चंद्रार्कपर्यंत चालवावा तथा दिने नागनाथ देवाच्या उपाहारा चारियेमाळि रवळुगि घूवाळि  
भरल्यान दों वांगे दिपमाळ जळवी तथाच्या जातप्रजात संततिन दिपमाळा जळवी-तया ग्रामान  
तथा मांइंशेणवैयासि कुरुपांगुसि वाडे रवो कुळग्र १ नागझरी मळोसेत १ दत्तभुमि दोनि  
देतां क्रयाचे मांइंशेणवैया हस्तें ग्रामान टांके ५० घेउनु सहिरण्योदक दान धारापूर्वक  
सर्वनमस्य सर्वबाधाविर्वजित करुनु ग्रामान मांइं शेणवैयासि आचंद्रार्क पर्यंत दिधलें ॥  
तथा मांइंशेणवैएं आपुले भक्तापूर्वक रवो कुळग्र श्रीनागनाथ देवासि प्रातकाळि आठवलि

इच्या उपहारासि प्रति दिवसि दिवा १ का सुरै सडिक तांदुळां गिदा १ लेखि करबुचि वेमासे तथा र्वो कुळाग्र गोठति बाडे लखुमशेणवैयां सुतु विठलशेणवैयासि तथाचे जातप्रजात संततिसि आचंद्रार्कपर्यंत दिधले नागशरि मळोसेत श्रीमहालक्ष्मि देविसि प्रातकाळि आठवलि एच्या उपाहारासि दिधले संमंधि तथा देवतेच्या पुजाऱ्यान तथा X X X नु देवतेसि अभिषेकु गंध धूप दीप सुरै सडिक तांदुळ गिदा १ लेखि उपहारु करावा विडा मंत्रावसरु करावा तथा उपहारु देवारियासि हा केला धर्मु ग्रामान चालवावा सिंहासनिच्या रायेन अधिकारीया वक्तिया पाळावा हा केला धर्म जो मोडि तेणे वाराणासि श्रीविश्वेश्वरा सन्निधि सूर्यग्रहणि आपुला माता पिता गाए वदिल्या पापासि जाए ॥ दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां कालेकाले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवैद्रान् भूयोभूयो याचते रामचंद्रः । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेच्च वसुंधरां ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कुमिः । तथा उपहारु आणता प्राकु दवाचे उळिगाचे माणुसि उळिग करुन उपहारुन्यावा ॥ श्री शुभं भवतु ॥

## ART. XVI.—*Bhakti*.

About a year before his death the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson remarked to me in a letter that the history of "bhakti" is a large and important subject, and—to use his own words—"very much needs doing." The knowledge that in preparing this paper I would have had his sympathy and approval has been a great stimulus to me; and if a paper such as this can be dedicated, I dedicate it to the memory of my late friend and adviser.

The study of that particular phase of Hinduism which is dominated by the rise and development of "bhakti",—that is to say, personal faith in a personal God, love for him as for a human being, the dedication of everything to his service, and the attainment of "mokṣa" by this means, rather than by knowledge, or sacrifice, or works—has been until recently neglected. How far it was misunderstood by earlier scholars can be inferred from the following extract from the works of H. H. Wilson.' "Bhakti is an invention, and apparently a modern one, of the existing sects, intended, like that of the mystic holiness of the Guru, to extend their own authority. It has no doubt exercised a most mischievous influence upon the moral principles of the Hindus." Almost every idea contained in the above quotation is wrong. "Bhakti" is misinterpreted, and misjudged. When such scholars as Wilson dismissed "bhakti" with such scant courtesy, and such misjudged blame, it is natural that it should have been neglected by his successors. Its importance, however, gradually asserted itself, and the study of Krishna<sup>2</sup> and Krishna worship received a strong stimulus from the essays of Weber. But it is only during the last two or three years that "Bhakti" has assumed a foremost place among the controversial topics of Oriental Scholarships, and the principal field of controversy has been the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London. Now of the literature of "bhakti" by far the greater portion is in the vernaculars; and owing to the fact that Dr. G. A. Grierson, who has been the principal contributor to the Journal, is a student of the Hindi poets, the idea is liable to arise that Hindi is the only vernacular in which there is an important "bhakti" literature. Western scholars may hardly be aware that there exists in Marathi a "bhakti" literature, which in age, in volume, and in quality can equal, if not surpass, the Hindi. Indeed I would go further, and say that viewed

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↓. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVIII., p. 312.

<sup>2</sup>. While adopting the international system of transliteration I have retained the Anglicised spelling of a few common words, e. g., Krishna, Vishnu, and of the Marathi Poets. Also as the fount from which this paper is printed contains no dotted "m's" anusvāra is represented by an italic "m" instead.

from any standpoint of criticism the "ovi" poems of Mahipati, and the "abhangs" of Namdev, Eknath, Tukaram, and Ramdas must be placed among the finest of the poetic productions of the world. And here I may be forgiven if I pause to combat the disastrous idea, which has recently been allowed to spring up among my countrymen in this Presidency, that Marathi poetry is neither read by Marathi-speaking gentlemen, nor worth reading. Literature for its own sake is perhaps not so much followed in the East as in the West. But such students of literature as there are in the Deccan read the Marathi poets. "Abhangs" and "pothis" are sung or read at every festival. Children in the smallest as well as the largest schools are taught the poetical language as soon as they can read and write reasonably correctly. A not inconsiderable amount of research work and literary criticism is being done in Marathi through the medium of periodicals, such as the विविधज्ञानविस्तार and the now defunct श्रीप्ररस्वतीमन्दिर or lectures such as the वसन्त and हेमन्तव्याख्यानमाला. Last but not least we have at the present moment in Poona a group of Indian scholars calling themselves the Tukaram-mandali, which is preparing a critical edition of the works of Tukaram with an exhaustive and scholarly commentary. All this is indicative of the fact that Marathi poetry is read and studied more than ever before. So much for the first point. For the second I can only ask my hearers to suspend their judgment until they can either read the Marathi poets for themselves, or some translation which does them justice. When such time comes I venture to think that they will not find the encomium which I have just bestowed in any way exaggerated. I conclude this digression with a quotation from the works of Mr. Gangadhar Ramchandra Mogre, a name well-known and much respected in this Society:—

द्वणतात जे—“ मराठी भाषा हाणार ही असे नष्ट ;  
 “ मिळणार काय करुनी व्यर्थ हिला वांचवावया कष्ट ? ”  
 त्यांना हेंच पुढा का —“ मरणोन्मुख होय आपुली माय,  
 “ द्वाणी औषध कांहीं पत्रीं दऊं नये तिला काय ? ”  
 माता तशी स्वभाषा सवाया होय अपणां उचित ;  
 किंबहुना मानेहनि भाषक हिचा याग्यता असे खचित.  
 दे जन्म मात्र माता, भाषा व्यवहार चालवी सकळ ;  
 माने शिवाय जन्माह जाय, न भाषाशिवाय एक पळ <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> अभिनवकादंबरी 2nd. Ed., Bom., 1893.

To return to the subject in hand, "bhakti," and the study of "bhakti," the object of this paper is to gather up the threads of such investigation as has so far been made, and to lead them down to a consideration of the phenomenon as we find it here in the West of India. To secure such an object it is unavoidable that a large portion of my remarks should cover somewhat elementary ground; and if any of my hearers should feel impatient at having to listen to the presentation of familiar facts I must ask them to remember that it is only by arranging correctly our basic material that we can hope ultimately to raise a structure that shall be either durable or beautiful. To change the metaphor I wish to clear the ground for myself—and I hope possibly for others—to bring our knowledge of the subject down to the point from which research on this side of India should commence.

The word भक्ति is a very late one. It occurs first in the closing verse of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad.

यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ ॥

तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ॥ <sup>1</sup>

"These truths that have now been related shine forth (if they have been related to) a high-souled man who is possessed of "bhakti" for (lit. on) God and for his guru as for a god." In his translation of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad Max Muller says,—“ Bhakti” is never inculcated, and is only mentioned in the last verse. . . . but what is really peculiar. . . . is the strong stress which it lays on the personality of the Lord The *Īvara Deva* in the passage quoted is perhaps the nearest approach to our own idea of a personal God.”<sup>2</sup> This Upaniṣad is a very late one, and there is no reason why it should be placed much, if at all, before the *Bhagavadgita*. It may be that the term "bhakti" came into use as the result of this passage, where it may have been used without any intention of using a technical term. It is a not uncommon phenomenon for an existing word to acquire a new and technical sense, when a new term is required to express a new religious idea; and in such cases the new technical meaning comes to exclude the older or more general meaning, and, as it were, to appropriate the word to itself. Instances of such an occurrence are *μυστήριον* in Greek Religion, and in Roman Catholicism the "real presence," two perfectly ordinary words, which have acquired technical meanings.

<sup>1</sup>. Śvet. Up. VII. 23 (in the Bib. Ind.)

<sup>2</sup>. S. B. E. -Upaniṣads, Pt. II, p. XXIV, London, 1884.

The process can be seen going on now. For instance the English Evangelical school have adopted some slang expressions, which seem quite in danger of acquiring permanent technical uses, *e.g.*, "red-hot," "out and out," and so on.

The term "bhakti" which we find cropping out in this way at the close of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad<sup>1</sup> received its final establishment in the Bhagavadgīta, and in certain other passages in the Mahābhārata, notably the Nārāyaṇīya, which is the name given to the discourse put into the mouth of the dying Bhīṣma. "Bhakti" is by no means the sole principle which is inculcated in the Gīta, but it is the principle which is new, that is to say, which is not known hitherto to have been expressed in a literary form in Sanskrit. That the Gīta is a composite work, a hotchpotch, is acknowledged by all. But whereas some say that the author was trying to unite and reconcile the various schools of thought of his day, *i.e.*, that he was an eclectic, others maintain that his is the fountain from which the various schools subsequently flowed, that the Gīta contains a number of embryos, as it were, destined to grow into the various philosophical systems. The latter view appeals especially to Indian scholars who have been taught from childhood to regard the Gīta as the chief among the sacred books, and who therefore shrink from the cold light of outside criticism, just as Christians have shrunk from the criticism of the Bible. Space forbids my discussing the point at length. But for my own part I find the former theory the more attractive. The opinions of Sāṃkhya and Yoga are quoted as if they were already fully developed systems. एषा तऽभिहिता साख्ये बुद्धिर्योगेतिमांशु ॥<sup>2</sup> "The knowledge which has just been related to you is that which is contained in the Sāṃkhya. Now hear that contained in the Yoga." It certainly fits better with the style of work to conclude that it is an eclectic production. And on the top of the eclectic presentation of existing Hindu thought is grafted, as it were, the new idea of personal devotion, in a rudimentary form, it is true, without the elaboration or emotionalism of a later time, but nevertheless clearly discernible as a new factor in religious thought. The special chapter devoted to "bhakti" is the 12th. And it is to my mind significant that it should be the chapter which immediately follows the mystic revelation scene, which is a climax in elaborated pagan superstition. At the same time it must be noted that the

<sup>1</sup> It is true that in some other Upaniṣads, for instance the Cāṇḍogya and Kāṭhaka a view of the Deity is taken more resembling the later cults. But the word "bhakti" does not occur.

<sup>2</sup> Bhgi. II., 35.

word "bhakti" only occurs twice in the chapter which bears its name. In the whole Gita it occurs fourteen times.<sup>1</sup> Of course the other derivatives of the same root, भक्त "worshipper," and भजामि "I worship" occur much more frequently. The sense attaching to the root is earnest worship. So that the word can have two possible meanings, (1) simply "worship," *i. e.*, the abstract noun from the root भज्, and (2) "bhakti" as a special technical term, implying a devotional attitude of an emotional type. It is somewhat doubtful whether the word is used in all of the fourteen passages in the latter sense. For instance in Chapter VIII, 10 the dying saint is described, who meditating at the moment of death on the divine being, bright as the sun, and so on, with an unswerving mind, with "bhakti," and with the force of "Yoga," attains to the highest heavenly being. Here there is nothing in the idea of "Bhakti" which in any way corresponds with the later personal ideas about the deity. On the other hand when we come to Chapter IX, which is in many ways the most advanced of all the chapters and offers the greatest number of parallels to the New Testament, we have two stanzas in which "bhakti" seems to mean something more than merely "worship." These are IX, 26 and IX, 23. The whole passage is remarkable and worth quoting at length.

पत्रं पुष्पं फलं तोयं यो मे भक्त्या प्रयच्छति ।  
 तदहं भक्त्युपहृतमश्नामि प्रयतात्मनः ॥ २६ ॥  
 यत् करोषि यदश्नासि यज्जुहोषि ददासियत् ।  
 यत् तपस्यसि कौन्तेय तत्कुरुष्व मदर्पणं ॥ २७ ॥  
 शुभाशुभफलैरेवं मोक्षसे कर्मबन्धनैः ।  
 संन्यासयोगयुक्तात्मा विमुक्तो मामुपैष्यसि ॥ २८ ॥  
 समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः ।  
 ये भजन्ति तु मां भक्त्या मयि ते तेषु चाप्यहं ॥ २९ ॥

"He who with 'bhakti' makes me an offering of a leaf, a flower, a fruit, or water, I accept it (lit. eat it) because it is offered with 'bhakti,' and comes from one whose personality is pure. Whatever you do, whatever you eat, whatever you sacrifice, whatever you give away, whatever penance you perform, O Son of Kunti, do it as if offered to me. Thus you will be relieved from the bonds of 'karma,' with their fruits both pleasant and unpleasant, and being released and having your personality filled with renunciation

<sup>1</sup>. VII, 17, VIII, 10, 22; IX, 14, 26, 29; XI 34; XII, 17, 19; XIII, 10; XIV, 26; XVIII, 54, 56, 68 (the list is taken from Telang's index in SBE., Vol. VIII, p. 44).

and 'Yoga' you will attain to me. I am alike in the case of all living things. One is not hateful to me nor another dear. But they who worship me with 'bhakti' they are in me and I in them."

In the last stanza "bhakti" must have a significance other than merely "worship" otherwise there would be a tautology. Still I doubt whether to the mind of the original reader of the Gita the need for "bhakti" would have at once presented itself as the main point of the passage. The emphasis to him would probably have fallen on the personal pronoun मे, मयि, etc. When we come to the भक्तियोगो नाम अध्यायः the XIIth, we find the idea of "bhakti" no further worked out than in the passage just quoted. Both here and elsewhere we find statements to the effect that such and such an one is dear to God (in spite of IX, 29, which is difficult to reconcile with the rest of the Gita in this particular), but we nowhere find any hint that God is dear to man, that man can love God. In fact we may say that the idea of "bhakti" had developed no further than the conception of personal dedication of self, and the things of self to God. The idea of mutual affection was still to be evolved.

With the Bhagavatgita we come to the end of what for the sake of convenience I shall call the first "bhakti" wave. It is separated by many centuries from the later literature both Sanskrit and vernacular. The date of the Gita is a thorny question which I do not intend to discuss. Lorinser worked out in detail the parallels between the Gita and the New Testament. Admitting that there are striking parallels I do not know that they are more numerous than might have been expected in the case of two thinkers or sets of thinkers who attempted to sum up the best of the religious speculation of their day. And if borrowing is to be regarded as necessary to explain the parallels, is there any special reason to claim the lending part for Christianity? The teaching of Christ must have been merely an advance on what had been preached by wandering ascetics such as John the Baptist and the sect of the Essenes for many years and these Syrian ascetics are known to have been partly a product of Buddhism, which had sent its missionaries over the whole world. Besides much of the ethical system of the New Testament is due not to the founder, but to the idiosyncracies of his followers, especially Paul, who incorporated into the system which he embraced a large amount of extraneous matter, which must itself have been drawn from the fluid mass of speculation then circulating among the educated. Almost contemporary with Christianity we find certain cults in the Roman Empire, notably those of Isis and Mithras, taking on a new colour, that of personal

devotion to a lovable God. All this goes to show that there was about the commencement of the Christian era a great mental upheaval going on all over the civilised world. The existing religions were felt to be insufficient. Philosophy had advanced beyond Religion, and both in the East and the West religious thinkers were making strenuous efforts to catch up philosophy and absorb it. Lastly it is well known that during this period there was an active commerce going on between Alexandria and India. The time was therefore ripe for the introduction of a new religious idea whether in India or in any other country, and the new element in the Gita is just the element which we find in the Mithras worship of the Roman Empire, namely personal devotion to, and dedication of, one's faculties to the deity. The Gita appears to me therefore to be a natural development just on the lines that we should have expected, and not an exotic introduction at all.

The second "bhakti" wave, at least in the sense of a literary wave, commences perhaps a thousand years after the Gita. Some time during this immense gap there arose the worship of the boy Krishna, the cowherd. The unravelling of the history of Krishna worship is not yet a *fait accompli*. It is one of the most difficult questions in the whole of Hinduism. The question is not whether Krishna represents a syncretion of more than one person. Everyone is now agreed to that. The point is how many such persons syncretised. Mr. Kennedy in Jour., R. A. S. for 1907, p. 961, says four. These four are an historical villain who lived at Dwarka, a dark sun-god, a wild lovable hero of the North-West valleys, and the child of Mathura. I cannot go into all the details of this theory nor into the discussion which followed in the Journal. I must ask my hearers to read it for themselves. For myself I confess to a certain sense of bewilderment such as follows the perusal of any discussion of folklore and the origin of deities, and myths. I cannot see the necessity for three divine Krishnas. The dark sun-god, or vegetation spirit, whichever it be, and the Dionysus-like hero of the valleys may surely be one. This seems to satisfy all the requirements of the case. Admitting that there was an original worship of some dark deity connected with the clouds of the monsoon, or of the winter rains of North India, then we have a sufficient reason why the drunken brawler of Dwarka is invested with divine attributes in the Mahabharata, I mean simply the similarity of the names, just as for the same reason the historic warrior, Arjuna, takes on some of the glamour of the early mythical Arjuna, the bright white god of the storm. For the purpose of the present inquiry it is sufficient to emphasise the fact that no trace of

the child-legend and the herdsmen legend appear before the two great Puranas : the Viṣṇupurāṇa and Bhāgavatapurāṇa. In the Mahabharata there is nothing about the childhood of Krishna. The latter is a highborn prince, who kills Kamsa, the King of Mathura, and subsequently being hard pressed by Kamsa's father-in-law Jarāsandha, flees westward, and founds the city of Dwarka. Krishna's father Vasudeva is brother of Kunti, the mother of the Pandavas. Now there are here several serious difficulties. First if Vasudeva and Devaki are the mythical parents of the original divine Krishna of the North-West valleys, as they are said to have been, then they must have been foisted into the story of the historical leader of the Dwarka banditti. Secondly is it likely that he, in the event of his being involved in a local quarrel, could have migrated 700 miles as the crow flies from Mathura to Dwarka, and there built a city with unusually fine fortifications? Thirdly being there would several powerful kings have taken the trouble to go to attack him? Fourthly would a man thus situated, an outlaw with a handful of banditti, have played the important part in the wars which he is alleged to have played? Perhaps we may say rightly that the influence attributed to Krishna is solely due to the fact that by the time the Epic came to be constructed the otherwise inconspicuous charioteer, who had so little control over his own banditti that they joined the other side in the war, had come to be united in the legend with the divine hero who has been mentioned above. But, is it too much to suggest also that besides this syncretising of a divine and a historic hero we have the confusion of two historic persons, one a marauder or possibly an exiled prince from Dwarka who sold his services to the Pandavas, and the other an aboriginal of the herdsmen tribe of Vṛndāvan, who, raising a horde of his caste-fellows, slew the king of Mathura, Kamsa, and then disappeared from view, leaving the throne to be regained by the father of the deceased monarch? The unpopularity of Kamsa, whose cruelty had earned him the name of Rākṣasa, would have been a factor in facilitating the transient success of this herdsman upstart. This is only a suggestion, but it would assist us thus far, that it would offer a reason why when the worship of the Divine Child came into India some centuries after the time of Christ, it became attached to Krishna. The reason is that the herdsman hero, the stormer of Mathura, still lived in the minds of his fellow caste-men, the dark, aboriginal herdsmen; and they being less under the influence of Brahmanism than the other races, and, like all low castes in India, much more receptive of new and especially of devotional religious ideas than the Aryan castes, greedily assimilated the new worship.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. Royal Asiatic Society, 1907, p. 962.

Two origins have been suggested for the cult of the Divine Child. Dr. Grierson, following Weber and others, thinks that it came from the example of the Nestorian Christians of Madras. Mr. Kennedy thinks that it was introduced by the influx of tribes of nomadic Gujars.' Dr. Grierson in a subsequent note accepted this view but suggested that there were two movements one from North to South (the worship of the Child) and one from South to North (the emotional religion of "bhakti").<sup>2</sup> Admitting that the Gujars or Gurjaras migrated into India at the required time, and that they were herdsmen, we still have to assume so much before we can say that they introduced the worship of the Child. If we knew of a body of words of Gurjara origin in Krishna worship it would be a powerful argument. But all the words are of Sanskrit origin. Vraja (North Indian Braj) occurs once in the Rigveda, and always means a cow-pen, or place for keeping cattle, not, as Mr. Kennedy would like to imply, a tribe of nomads. If it has retained its root-sense of roaming then it means "a place for the cattle to roam about." Gujars admittedly settled in many other places besides the upper Jumna Valley, yet the child-worship supposed to be theirs was confined to the Mathura District alone. The wild-ass occurs in India as far South as the salt lands of Gujarat even to the present day, and probably extended further East and South in early times, so that the occurrence of an ass-demon in the Krishna legend does not necessitate its introduction by invaders from the North-West. Last, but not least, nothing has been adduced to show that the Gujars had a child-worship. So far from that it is admitted that they were worshippers of the sun.

Now let us revert for a moment to the suggestion which I made before that besides the Dwarka Krishna there had been another historical Krishna, a herdsman of the woods of Vṛndāvan who had made a meteoric descent upon Mathura, and then disappeared from view, and that the tradition of this hero had lingered on among his caste fellows. Then when the Christian legends of the Child filtered through into India, here was just the soil ready to receive them. The stories of the great prowess and physical strength of the man are just such stories as would be preserved about a local hero. We get a composite myth containing three separate limbs connected by crude artificial joints. The three limbs are : (1) the "child" legend, (2) the legend of the local strong man, who destroyed the king of Mathura, and (3) the legends of the Dwarka hero. The joints by which

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Jour., Royal Asiatic Society, 1907, p. 951ff.

" " 1908, p. 163.

these limbs are connected are : (1) the changeling story connecting the child with the local hero, and (2) the story of the migration of the hero to Dwarka connecting the local hero with the Dwarka hero. Of these joints the second had been used in the Mahabharata. The first comes into use in the Vishnu Purana after the "child" legend had been added to the ever-increasing bulk of the Krishna legends. And through the whole of this composite story, colouring and illuminating the whole, we see the traditional worship of an older, divine Krishna, be he sun-god, or rain-god, or vegetation spirit.

I have occupied so much of your time with this discussion of the origin of the god Krishna because he is the central figure in the development of "bhakti," and therefore of prime importance to the subject of the present paper. We must now skip over the second part of the great gap which separates the first from the second "bhakti" wave, and come to the 11th century. This is the latest date to which we can ascribe the spread of emotional religion throughout India. The details are very obscure, and not yet fully or satisfactorily worked out. In South India Rama seems to have received the attention of "bhaktas," in North Central India Krishna, in the Deccan and West Carnatic "Viṭhala." The comparative dates of these different schools are very obscure. Dr. Grierson is of opinion that the Southern Rama cult brought up from South-East Madras by Rāmānuja is the oldest, and that the general trend of the migration of the cults was from South to North. This is so exactly opposite to the trend of migration in all other cases that on that ground alone it is hard to accept. Not only have all new tribes moved through India from North-West to South-East, but we find the same movement among the vernaculars. The Dravidian languages have been gradually pressed back towards the South. In old times Kanarese covered the Southern half of the Satara District and almost the whole of the Sholapur District, from both of which regions it has been ousted by the Marathi. We should expect the same in the case of religious movements.

Time forbids me to go further into this question, since it is necessary to leave the main stream of "bhakti" for the branch which we find in this part of India, namely "Viṭhobā"-worship. But before doing so I must briefly notice two Sanskrit works which must belong roughly to the time of which we are now treating. These are the Nāradapañcarātra and the Bhaktisūtras of Śāṅḍilya with Svapneśvara's commentary. Both are of interest as being highly artificial works of learned scholars handling themes foreign to their own Brahmanic religion. The Nāradapañcarātra is a long work in Epic style in

which Nārada is induced to go to Kailāsa to consult Śiva on the propriety of worshipping Krishna. At Kailāsa we have the spectacle of the whole pantheon of Puranic gods uniting to extol Krishna. The work, which is a text book of the Bhāgavata and Pāñcarātra Sects, and contains a certain number of ritual details, mantras, and prayers, is highly artificial, and the literary style is degraded. For instance during Nārada's journey he passes through a forest in which 84 different kinds of trees are named ; and almost every śloka is so overloaded with redundant epithets and other ornamentation that it becomes quite nauseating.

To turn to the Bhakti-sutras. Neither the date of them nor of their commentary is known, but they are certainly very late, and probably were written in Bengal. The sutras show the emotional side of "bhakti" fully developed, and are apparently an exercise in which the author has chosen to discuss the new religion in the antiquated and pedantic style of fifteen centuries earlier. One can almost imagine him sitting down with a sigh, and saying :—" Well, if we cannot expel this new religion, we had better absorb it and put it on a sufficiently difficult and priestly basis." I even venture to suggest that the same author composed the sutras and the commentary to them. The first sutra states the subject of the whole work.

#### अथातो भक्तिजिज्ञासा. 1

" Now there is a desire to know about " bhakti," and the commentary which runs as follows :—अथेत्यधिकारार्थो नानन्तर्यार्थः। आनन्तर्यं हि न स्वाध्यायाध्ययनस्य आनिन्त्ययोन्वधिकृतेर्वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् ॥ points out that for the acquisition of "bhakti" no preliminary is necessary (such as study of the vedas or attainment of tranquillity by means of Yoga), " since it will hereafter be declared that even men of degraded castes are competent to enter upon the present enquiry." Both these two points are of great importance, and the latter is the great distinguishing feature of "bhakti." We shall see how the author treats of it later on. The second sutra strikes yet another characteristic note, *viz.*, the emotional character of "bhakti," and its object, a personal and lovable God. The commentary runs :—ईश्वर इति प्रकृताभिप्रायं । आराध्यविषयकरागत्वमेव सा । इह तु परमेश्वरावषयकान्तःकरणवृत्तिविशेष एव भक्तिस्तद्वेश्याप्यं च लौकिकानुरागादौ सुग्रहं ।

which Cowell translates : The words " on God " have reference to the proper topic of the present work. " It," *i.e.*, Faith ( भक्ति )

1 I quote from the text of Ballantyne, Cal., 1861, and the translation of Cowell, Cal., 1878.

is thus generally an affection, the object of which is a being, who is to be propitiated (or worshipped); but here in this treatise it is a peculiar affection of the internal organ, having the Supreme Being as its objective, and its special character is easily known by examining worldly affection." The author goes on to say that, although hymns and "smarana" often appear as accompaniments to faith, yet they cannot be included in the definition of faith. It is simply an affection अनुराग एवास्तु. The physical character of "bhakti" can be seen from the commentary to Su. 6. पुलकादिरागालिंगेनापि रागत्वं । "..... it possesses all the characteristic signs of earthly affection, such as horripilation, etc." This thought is repeated in Su. 46 and Commentary. The author then in Su. 9 to 18 discusses "bhakti" in reference to ज्ञान "knowledge," and decides that, though ज्ञान may be a means to "mukti" it is not an indispensable means, and instances the Gopis, who obtained "mukti" solely by "bhakti" without ज्ञान. Next he discusses it in relation to योग (Su. 19, 20), to कर्म (Su. 22), and to भ्रद्धा, the earlier form of devotional belief (Su. 28), in all of which by much ingenious argument he brings "bhakti" out as the most important. In Su. 21 he deals with a supposed objection that as "bhakti" is an affection it is to be avoided हेया रागत्वात् । To this he answers that this is not the case, because "bhakti" has ईश्वरा as its aim, which is the highest aim, and therefore does not fall under the category of affections objected to by the Yoga philosophy :—रागद्वेषाभिनिवेशाः क्लेशाः । In the same way he says that union, which is otherwise objectionable, is unobjectionable, if it is union with the best. I pass over a mass of philosophical discussion and digressions and come straight to the crucial Sutra No. 78, in which the accessibility of "bhakti" to all castes is discussed. As we have seen the author has laid down this principle in his commentary to Su. 1. When he comes to work it out in detail, he explains how a low caste man can obtain this best of all spiritual treasures. The following is the Sutra :—

आनिन्द्योन्यधिक्रियते पारंपर्यात् सामान्यवत् ॥

*Translation.*—"All, even the most despised castes are capable of learning it at second hand like the great common truths." The word पारम्पर्यात् "at second hand" is the noticeable point. It seems almost to take away from the value of the statement. In the commentary, however, it is explained as "by fitting instruction and general example, just as kindness to animals is learned," उपदेशपारम्पर्येण and यथा तेषाम् सामान्याऽहिंसाधर्मादिज्ञानं । That is to say, that "bhakti" is a way that all may tread. There need not be the intervention of the

professional spiritual instructor, but some sort of common teaching is sufficient.

Now all this is obviously the work of a man or men deliberately elaborating an essentially simple idea. The "bhakti sutras" never exercised the slightest effect on the development of this phase of Hinduism. I refer to them solely as showing what a learned contemporary critic seized on as being the main characteristics of the new cult—an interesting sidelight from the pen of a reliable and dispassionate observer.

We have now reached the point at which we can enter upon the study of "bhakti" as we find it in this part of India, of the god Viṭhobā, and of the Marathi "bhakti" poets. We are in the presence of a strange world of saints and poets extending from the eleventh century or twelfth century to our own day—a religion which had dominated the thoughts of the lower and middle classes in the Deccan during all this time. "Bhakti" in this part of India centers entirely round this one god. It is true that one of our Marathi poets, Rām'dās<sup>1</sup> was a worshipper of Rama. But the worshippers of Rama are few in the Deccan, and the common people, when they hear an "abhang" of Ramdas recited undoubtedly do not differentiate his god from the god of Tukaram. They are both Hari, and both to the more educated worshippers "avatāras" of Vishnu.

The curious thing about Viṭhoba is that all existing statues of the god can be traced to imitations of one original statue, the one at Pandharpur.<sup>2</sup> Neither the origin of the statue nor of the name are known. So far as the commencement of the Vithal worship is concerned, we have a latest possible date, A.D. 1234; because in an inscription of that date in the Pandharpur Temple, one Someśvara describing himself as a Yādava prince, recounts how he had conquered the country round Paṇḍarige on the banks of the Bhimathī (Bhima). In the inscription the god is mentioned under the name of Viṭṭhala, and there is an allusion to Puṇḍalik' (in the correct Sanskrit form of Puṇḍarika) who is described as a "muni." Now, with regard to the name Paṇḍarige, we know that the country in which Pandharpur lies was originally a Kanarese-speaking district. The highwater mark of Kanarese can be clearly traced by following the line of place names ending in -ge and -argi. So that Paṇḍarige is an original Kanarese form which was subsequently Sanskritised into Pandharpur. Even to this day the termination -pur is commonly omitted in conversation. For the same reason, Eknath speaks of

<sup>1</sup> I have occasionally used the symbol ( ) to represent the silent अ in Marathi words.

<sup>2</sup> पंढरपूर on the River Bhima in the Shelapur District.

Vīṭhoba as Viṭṭhala Kānaḍa, not because he was imported from further south, but because originally Paṇḍhara came well within the northern limit of Kanarese. The fact that the worship of Viṭṭhala and the story of Puṇḍalika were known in A. D. 1234 and were a sufficiently conspicuous feature of the neighbourhood to merit reference in an inscription, is curious in the light of the fact that Jñāneśvara, the Marathī poet, whose birth is not put earlier than A.D. 1270, does not allude to them.<sup>1</sup> But Jñāneśvara was composing a deep commentary on the Gita, and the terms in which he speaks of the deity are frequently elaborate and vague. Reference to so modern a deity as Viṭṭhala would have been out of place. Moreover he lived at Alandī, a few miles north of Poona, and it is possible that Viṭṭhala-worship was at that time confined to the Kanarese-speaking tract. Lastly Namdev, the Shimpi, whose works are entirely devoted to the laudation of Viṭṭhala was practically a contemporary of Jñāneśvara. So that we must regard the fact that the latter does not mention Viṭṭhala either as an idiosyncrasy or as showing that the reputation of the Pandharpur image had not then travelled so far west as Poona.

The image of Vīṭhoba is about 3 ft. 9 in. high of black stone on a kind of base or plinth, the whole being apparently cut out of one block. It is built into the altar, so that there is about 1½ inches of the base exposed. This is the so-called brick. The image has its arms akimbo, and its feet together. There is on the image a faint carving of a waist-cloth and waist-band, with the end hanging on the right thigh. On the head is a round-topped cap. There are also long earrings touching the shoulder, and a chain or necklace. The image of Rukmini, which is in another shrine, is late, and need not be considered. The Vīṭhobā statue is said to be of a style of workmanship, which cannot be later than the 5th or 6th century after Christ. The singular characteristic of having the arms akimbo is shared by the Jagannātha of Puri, and by two figures in the Udayagiri Brahmanical caves near Bhilsa. It is certainly rare. After Vīṭhobā had come to be added as the incarnation of Vishnu in the Kali age<sup>2</sup> the position of the arms was explained as an indication that the god was resting after his labours. But it seems reasonable to suppose that the real explanation is the inability of the workman to portray the hands, as well as the greater strength given to the statue by the avoidance of the separated arm. Although the hands are resting on the hips, they hold a conch and discus, the essential "ayudha" of Vishnu.

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My authority for this statement is Prof. Patwardhan of the Fergusson College. See the opening passage in the Bhaktavijaya of Mahipati and elsewhere.

Apart from our ignorance of the origin of the statue, we do not know how it got to Pandharpur. The name of Pundalika or Pundarika is so consistently associated with the god that there seems to be good grounds for believing that it was he who brought the statue and set it up in the shrine at Pandharpur. Mr. Vishvanath Kashinath Rajawade says :—पुंडलीक शके ११५०च्या सुमारास हयात असावा असे वाटते. त्याने विठोबाची स्थापना प्रथम पंढरीस केली. ही मूर्ति शालिवाहनशकाच्या पाचव्या शतकांतल्या कारागिरीसारखी असून मथुरेहून पुंडलिकाने ११५०त आणली व तिची स्थापना साऱ्या विठेवर पंढरीस केली. . . . “Pundlik seems to have lived about Shake 1150 (A.D. 1220). It was he who set up Viṭhobā at Paṇḍharpur. This image resembles the workmanship of the 5th century of the Shālivāhan era. It was brought from Mathura by Pundalik about Shake 1150, and set up on a simple brick at Paṇḍharpur.” I do not know if there is any literary or epigraphic authority for this statement. But if it is simply theory it accords well with what we know of the statue. Only I think it bold to definitely locate the original home of the image as Mathura, and the last words of the quotation about the “simple brick” are not in accordance with the apparently unquestioned fact that the so-called brick is part of the base of the original statue. That the statue is an intruder in the present site is proved by the fact that the earlier parts of the temple, which is a structure of gradual growth, seem to have been part of an original temple of Mahādev.

We next come to the question of the origin of the name. That is to say, what god is represented by Viṭṭhala, and to what language does the name belong? This involves some further consideration as to the character of Puṇḍarika, and the two points may be taken together. Many and various are the etymologies which have been suggested both for Viṭhobā and Viṭṭhala. Those which aim at explaining Viṭhobā are inadequate because Viṭṭhala is the earlier name of the God, as is shown from the inscription previously referred to, from the use of the word in the earliest abhangs of Namdev, and from the natural inference that the more elaborate name preceded the abbreviated one. An anagram on the word Viṭṭhala will be found in Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary. It is too fanciful to be worth notice. Three etymologies of Viṭṭhala may be mentioned. One is that it is for इष्टि—स्थल, इष्टि being both a brick and a special form of sacrifice,<sup>1</sup> another is that it is from the Marathi words बोट “loathing” and टालणे “to avoid.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> श्रीसरस्वतीमन्दिर, वर्ष ६ वे-अंक १ला-चैत्र शके १८२८, पृ. ३१.

<sup>2</sup> My authority is again Prof. Paṭwardhan.

<sup>3</sup> i. e., the loathing caused by worldliness, विषयविरागी त्याचे नांव (Ek.)

The third is the received tradition that it is connected simply with the Marathi word ब्रिक (which is often pronounced ब्रीट,) and means "the Vishnu of the brick." This etymology is bound up with the Pundalik legend. It resembles the first etymology given above except that it does not elaborate so much. Now of the Pundalik legend the features which always occur are these. Pundalik was a dissolute man, who neglected the worship of his parents. During a journey to North India he saw a miracle which, so to speak, converted him and he thenceforth became a devoted server of his parents. One day when he was washing his father's feet the god Vishnu appeared in person. Not wishing either to interrupt the service he was performing for his father or to neglect the laws of hospitality, Pundalik threw the first thing handy—a scrubbing brick—towards the God, and asked him to sit down. The God stood on the brick and subsequently blessed Pundalik. Now of this legend the latter part, so much, that is to say as relates to the brick, is obviously capable of being explained away as due to the coincidence that the statue rests on a slightly raised plinth, and is called by a name which somewhat resembles the Marathi word for brick. The first half of the story, so much that is to say, as related to Pundalik's attitude towards his parents and his subsequent change is not capable of any such explaining away. There is nothing in the name or character of the God, nor in the ceremonial connected with his worship that could have accounted for the story. So that it must be accepted as true. As to Pundalik's caste and profession tradition makes him a rich merchant. But, as we have seen, the inscription of Someshvara speaks of him as a "muni." Putting together then all the undisputed elements of the legends we may theorise as follows. About the middle of the 12th century a holy man named Puṇḍarika brought to Pandharpur a statue which he had somehow obtained in some other part of India, and set it up in a disused temple of Mahādev' under the name of Viṭṭhala. The only satisfactory derivation of this name is that it is a dialectic corruption of Vishnu. We have an old or dialectic form of Vishnu, *viz.* Viṣṭu and similarly Kyṣṭa for Kṛiṣṇa.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Grierson says that to this day in Bengal Vishnu is pronounced Bishta, Vaishnava Boistom, etc.<sup>2</sup> I am told that among Kanarese speakers Krishna is often pronounced Kuṭṇa.<sup>3</sup> This would explain the cerebral mute.<sup>4</sup> Now why did Puṇḍalika call the statue Viṭṭhala? I suggest that it was the name of his own father, and that the statue was intended

<sup>1</sup> Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, 1907—p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> " " " " 1908—p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> My authority is Mr. P. B. Haigh, I.C.S., Hon. Sec., B. B. R. A. S.

<sup>4</sup> For the origin of the syllable '-la' see the appendix to this paper.

by him to be merely a commemoration of his deceased parent. As pointed out above the tradition that Pundalik was at the end of his life a worshipper of his father and mother is not able to be explained away. His father was called Viṭṭhala just as many Hindus are to-day called Vishnu. The statue having the conch and discus must have been in origin a Vaisnava statue. It is natural that after Pundalik's death it should have come to be regarded as a statue of Krishna-Vishnu.

Besides the name Viṭhobā or Viṭṭhala we have another distinctive name in Pāṇḍurang'. This is ordinarily interpreted as meaning "pale coloured." It is a possible meaning, because, although the statue is of black stone, it is always dressed in a yellow outer garment. But another etymology is suggested, *viz.*, that the name is a corruption of the place name, Paṇḍarige, which, as mentioned above, was the earlier Kanarese form of Pandharpur.

Time forbids me to go at any length into the history of the temple. The only outstanding incident is the carrying away of the statue to Vijayanagar by Ram Raja about A. D. 1550 and its rescue by Bhānūdās', a devotee. Ram Raja was a powerful monarch and was attracted, no doubt, by the financial possibilities of the image. He saw in the securing of it for Vijayanagar an easy way of enriching both the state treasury, and the merchants of the city. In the battle of Palikoti in A. D. 1565 the power of Vijayanagar was broken, and Bhānūdās', no doubt, managed to re-capture the image in the general confusion.

Before leaving the subject of the god and his temple I must briefly notice a theory which was put forward as long ago as 1841 by the Rev. J. Stevenson, D. D.,<sup>1</sup> namely that the image and its worship were originally Jain. His grounds for making this assertion were—

- (1) that the image is nude, a feature which is characteristic of Jain, but not of Hindu images.
- (2) that there existed in his (Dr. Stevenson's) day a party among the Brahmans of the Deccan who asserted that the image and temple were originally Jain.
- (3) that the distinctive Krishna festivals are not held at Pandharpur, but on the contrary the festivals seem to approximate to Buddhistic festivals. The festivals of the full moons of Ashādh' and Kārtik' only fail by four days to coincide with the beginning and end of the "Was" or "Varshava," the

<sup>1</sup> Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII, (old series), p 5 ff. and p. 64 ff.

season of sacred rest. The new moon of Māgh', called the Vela new moon, falls only 15 days later than the Buddhist festival which commemorates the visit of Buddha to Ceylon : while the Dekkhan months begin 15 days later than the North Indian months.

- (4) that there is no distinction of caste within the precincts of the temple.
- (5) that all this offers an analogy to the Jagannāth' of Orissa which is known to be probably Buddhistic in origin.
- (6) that in the opening passage of the Bhaktavijaya Mahipati represents the deity as establishing himself as the Bauddha Avatāra.
- (7) that the colour of Pāṇḍurang', golden yellow, is a colour sometimes attributed to Buddha.
- (8) that Pāṇḍurang' is sometimes spoken of as having his "Vihāra" on the banks of the Bhima : and "Vihāra" is a technical term in Buddhism.

Some of these arguments can be quickly disposed of. For instance, as noted above, there is a faint sculpture of a loin-cloth on the image so (1) falls to the ground. With regard to (3)—the dates of the festivals—it is certainly somewhat significant that at the Āshādh' and Kārtik' festivals the god is popularly represented as being tired out and his bed chamber is closed. But if the Vela festival is 15 days after the Buddhist festival then why are the Kārtik' and the Āshādh' feasts not 15 days after the commencement and end of the "was" which they are supposed to represent? As a matter of fact they are four days before them. Argument (4) is of no weight since absence of caste distinctions is, as we have seen, a leading feature of "bhakti" as indeed of all religious reformations in India. Argument (5)—the analogy from Jagannāth of Puri—is of some weight. Not only do the type of statue and the date of the festivals agree to a certain extent, but the ground principles of the character of the two deities are the same : Viṭṭhala is frequently called Jagannātha, and both are Hari. Now Jagannath is fully believed to be of Buddhist origin, and the relic which is within the image is supposed to be some relic of Buddha, and not of Krishna. Argument (6)—the question of the meaning of the Bauddha or Buddhāvātara in Mahipati requires more elucidation, but at first sight is significant. Argument (7)—from the colour of the God is of no importance. The golden colour of Buddha is a rare tradition, and besides possible false interpretations of the word Pandurang, the image of Viṭṭhala is always

dressed in yellow garments (पीतांबर). Argument (8).—The word विहार, although it is a common Buddhist term for a monastery, is also common in its Sanskrit meaning of “recreation” “place for enjoyment.” The most that we can say is that we find in the cult of Viṭṭhala traces of possible Buddhist influence. But owing to the extraordinary receptiveness of Hinduism as well as to the fact that almost all the existing deities show similar traces, the concession is not a serious one, nor one difficult to accept.

Upon the worship of this deity there has been built up in Marathi a literature of great extent and beauty. It covers a period from about A. D. 1290 to the present day, but the best period ends with the death of Mahipati in 1791 A. D. It may be divided into two main portions:—hymns, mostly in the metrical form known as “abhang” (अभंग) but also partly in other forms, and secondly narrative lives of the saints in the metre known as the “ovi.” Of the former the four great exponents are Namdev, Eknath, Tukaram, and Ramdas (the last named being a Rama worshipper), while the latter is represented mainly by Mahipati, whose Bhaktavijaya, Bhaktalilāmṛta, etc., were suggested by the Bhaktamāla of Nābhāji, the Hindi Poet. I have not mentioned Jñāndev because although a bhakti-poet he is so learned and refined that he is not typical of the popular bhakti-movement in the way that his contemporary Namdev is. Of the three Viṭṭhalabhakt’ “abhang” writers Tukaram is by far the most popular. But from the point of view of the study of “bhakti,” Namdev, who preceded him by three centuries is the most important. In fact he is probably the most important “bhakti” writer in any vernacular language. In Tukaram the religious ideas are more advanced; there is a much greater variety of treatment, as well as phraseology, and imagery. But the main principles of “bhakti” have altered but little since the time of the earlier poets, and Tukaram himself admits his indebtedness to them. Indian writers have always exhibited a marvellous power of working up into new shapes again and again the same material of metaphor and phrase. But although the style of Tukaram may be more artistically developed than that of Namdev and Eknath I confess that I prefer the freshness and straightforwardness of the earlier poets, just as I prefer the strong brush strokes of Vālmiki to all the delicate silver-point of Kālidāsa. Mahipati, both on account of his lateness, his subject, and his admitted indebtedness to Nabhaji is not of so much importance for the study of the development of the religious principle of “bhakti.” But he will be of immense importance when the detailed legends of mediæval “bhaktas” come to be worked out

critically. And they seem to me to be in every way as deserving of being worked out as those of the early Christian Martyrs to which they often bear a strong resemblance.

I propose now, before closing my paper, to present, as far as I can, a picture of the main tenets and principles of the "bhakti" cult, as expressed in the works of these writers. It may be said that the sentiments are usually simple, rarely abstruse, and scarcely ever wrapped up in those highly artificial and elaborate classifications which are apparently the main features of the Hindi writers. The main heads under which the tenets of the Marathi schools may be arranged are : (1) the condition of the human being before he finds Viṭṭhala, (2) the method of obtaining Viṭṭhala and the manner of his worship, (3) the advantage which follows from the same, (4) the mutual relations between the god and his worshippers, (5) the position of the saints.

Before he finds the right way the human being is distressed like a child that has lost its mother, like a bride longing for her father's house. He flounders about (तळमळणे) like a fish out of water. He has wasted time in previous births, in the affairs of sense (विषय), and in the ties of worldly existence (संसार, भवबन्धन).

अबधेँ जन्म वायां गेलें विषयासगें (Nam.) <sup>1</sup>

अवघा बेळ करी संसाराचा धंदा (Nam.) <sup>2</sup>

He has been bound hand and foot by the snares of illusion (माया)

शिणलेती बाळगें मायामोहें (Nam.)

and scorched by the threefold heat, or troubles (त्रिविधताप), *vis.*, the troubles of ordinary human nature, आध्यात्मिक, those of external natural phenomena, आधिभौतिक, and those which are caused by super-natural agency, आधिदैविक. Then comes the longing for the god.

(2) There is only one way to attain to Viṭṭhala, and that is "bhakti." This is the only उपाय.

दृढ धरी भाव । न करी आणीक उपाव (Ek.) <sup>3</sup>

रामदास सांगे खून । भक्तिवीण सर्व शीण (Ram.) <sup>4</sup>

Knowledge of Brahma without "bhakti," says Tukaram, is like milk without sugar, like food without salt, like a lute (वीणा) with-

<sup>1</sup> "All my life (or each of my lives hitherto) has been wasted in connection with affairs of sense."

<sup>2</sup> "All the time I followed the profession of worldly existence."

<sup>3</sup> "Hold your inclination (bhava) firm. Practise no other remedy."

<sup>4</sup> "Ramdas gives you the hint, without "bhakti" everything is vain."

out strings. To get "bhakti" a condition of mental alertness (सावधपणा) is required, and the senses must be kept in restraint. This "bhakti" consists of hymn-singing, repeating the name and so on. It must be continuous.

सर्व वेळ वाचा झणा नारायण (Nam.) <sup>1</sup>

The image of the god should be in mind's vision all the time. Evil affections have to be cast out, such as काम, क्रोध, वैर, दंभ, मान, लोभ.<sup>2</sup> All desires, *vis.*, तृष्णा, आस or आशा<sup>3</sup> must be suppressed, and the "bhakta" should become oblivious of worldly anxieties. (उदास, उदासी).

आझी तरी आस झालों टाकुनी उदास (Tuk.) <sup>4</sup>

तृष्णा आशा तुझांपाशी । आझी अखंड उदासी (Ek.) <sup>5</sup>

देह जाईल तरी जावो राहिल तरी राहो ।

दोराचिया सर्पा जिणें मरणें ना बावो (Ek.) <sup>6</sup>

लोभ ममता दवडूं आशा । उदरव्यथेचा वोळसा ॥

न करूं आणीक सायासा । वासुदेवावांचुनी (Ek.) <sup>7</sup>

Devotion is to be conducted by means of भाव, a word of every-day use, conveying the sense of mental inclination. There were 8 भावs or सात्विकभावs enumerated in later times. They are described in an abhang of Eknath, but it has a very artificial flavour. These सात्विकभावs are the bodily marks of affection, sweating, shivering and so on. But the earlier use of भाव and that in which it is commonly employed by Namdev, and indeed by all the Marathi poets is a general mental disposition. This is continually insisted upon as the indispensable expression of "bhakti."

ठेवा जाणीव गुंडोन । एथें भावची प्रमाण (Tuk.) <sup>8</sup>

and in the same abhang

तुका झणे भावावीण । अवघा बोलती तो शीण <sup>9</sup> ॥

<sup>1</sup> "Continually read and repeat the name of Narayan."

<sup>2</sup> "Love, anger, enmity, hypocrisy, pride, covetousness."

<sup>3</sup> "Thirst" (in the spiritual sense), "longing."

<sup>4</sup> "We however have cast out desires and become passionless."

<sup>5</sup> "Thirst and desire may stay with you. We are utterly passionless."

<sup>6</sup> "If the body must go, let it go; must it stay let it stay; are not life and death vain delusions like a rope that one thinks to be a serpent?"

<sup>7</sup> "We will cast out covetousness, affection, and the round of the pains of appetite: we will do nothing strenuously except (worship of) Wāsudev."

<sup>8</sup> "Wrap all your learning in a bundle and put it on one side. Here inclination (भाव) is the only criterion."

"Tukaram says, everything which they talk of except 'bhava' is vain."

अवघा in the context means अवघा तर्क "every guess after the truth." Devotion must be complete—dedication of the whole person to God.

काया वाचा भाषा मन । रिघालों शरण तुजची (Ek.) <sup>1</sup>

where काया वाचा and मन come near to the Christian triplet of "thought, word, and act." The same idea occurs frequently in Tukaram, together with the other triplet of dedication, तन मन धन "body, mind, and worldly goods."

सर्व भावें आलों तुजची शरण (Tuk.) <sup>2</sup>

The other traditional ways of obtaining "moksha" are quite unnecessary, *i.e.*, ध्यान, philosophical meditation, ब्रह्मज्ञान, discernment of Brahman by means of Vedic study, कायाह्वेश, bodily penance, इंद्रियांचा विरोध, restraining of the bodily functions, such as breathing, and so on. Likewise there is no longer any need to go visiting a large number of varied shrines; the one क्षेत्र on the banks of the Bhima is sufficient. It has been said above that repeating the name is part of the "bhakti" worship. Great insistence is placed on the name, especially by Eknath. The name has a mystic power. <sup>3</sup> It alone can save.

नाम तारक सांगडी । तेणें उतरूं पैल थडी ॥ १ ॥

राम नाम जप सोपा । तेणें नेणों पुण्य पापा ॥ २ ॥

सर्व साधनांचें सार । भवसिंधूसि उतार ॥ ३ ॥

ऐसा नामाचा प्रताप । एका जनार्दनीं नित्य जप ॥ ४ ॥ (Ek.)

"The name is a boat that saves, by its means we will cross to the other bank. The recitation of the name Rama is easy, by its means I can cease to take cognizance of merit and sin. It is the quintessence of all means (of salvation); it is a crossing for the ocean of worldly existence. Such is the power of the name. In Janardana alone we should continually repeat the name." Eknath quotes Vyāsa as an authority for his reliance on the name.

उच्चारिण नामावळी । नाम तारक हे जनीं । व्यास बोलिले पुराणीं ॥४२॥ (Ek.)<sup>4</sup>

(3) The result of the attainment of Viṭṭhala and of continuous worship through "bhakti" is just what we should expect. All the

<sup>1</sup> "With my desire, my speech, my mind, I have come under thy protection."

<sup>2</sup> "With all my inclination I have come under thy protection."

<sup>3</sup> For a most interesting note on the mystic power of the name both in mediæval Christianity and in the Rama worship of Hindustan, see Dr. G.A. Grierson in Jour., R. A. S. 1910, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> "I will take up the rosary of the name, the name saves in this life—Vyāsa said so in the Puranas."

evils which we have noted as the distinguishing feature of the unsaved disappear at once. The three-fold fire is cooled. The snares of "māyā" and the bonds of worldly existence and the things of sense are at once loosened.

विषयीक वासना । सोडी सोडी सत्यजाणा (Ek.) <sup>1</sup>

फिटे संसाराचा पांग (Ek.) <sup>2</sup>

अवर्षी निरसली गुंती (Ek.) <sup>3</sup>

संसारबंधनें तुटलीं तेंणे (Ek.) <sup>4</sup>

The pains of Hell (यातना) and indeed Hell itself are vanquished. The endless round of births and deaths (येरझारा-खेपा) ceases, with all their sorrows.

जन्ममरणव्यथा दूर होती (Tuk.) <sup>5</sup>

The worship of the God becomes very pleasant to the taste, like nectar. It is absolutely satisfying. There is no desire for any other thing.

आझासी तो पुरे विठ्ठलची एक । वावगाची देख दुजा न मनीं (Ek.) <sup>6</sup>

सर्व सुख आहे त्याचे पायीं (Ek.) <sup>7</sup>

There comes peace of mind (विभ्रान्ति) instead of restlessness (भ्रान्ति) Viṭṭhala being so supreme as an object of worship, all other deities vanish into obscurity, and seem absorbed in him.

अवचे देवा तुजसमान । मज नाहीं भिन्नाभिन्न (Ek.) <sup>8</sup>

(4) The relations between the God and his devoted are far more intimate and friendly than anything conceived of in early Christianity, though we have the same phenomenon among the advanced personal Christianity of the modern Evangelical School. The God is playfully addressed and twitted. He is represented as being on the look-out

<sup>1</sup> "He loosened, he loosened the desire of worldly things, know truly."

<sup>2</sup> "The ties of worldly existence were loosened."

<sup>3</sup> "All the tangle was evolved."

<sup>4</sup> "By his instrumentality the whole tie of worldly existence was broken."

<sup>5</sup> "The pains of births and deaths pass far off" (i.e., disappear.)

<sup>6</sup> "For us just that one Viṭṭhala sufficeth. No other second and useless person is in our minds."

<sup>7</sup> "All happiness is at his feet."

<sup>8</sup> "All deities are as it were thou. To me there no breaking up of the Godhead."

for his devoted, and running eagerly to meet them. He is their devotee. There is a sort of mutual give and take about it all.

पूजी माझिया भक्तांतें । तेणें संतोष होत मातें ॥ १ ॥

भक्त माझा मी भक्तांचा । ऐसी परंपरा साचा ॥ २ ॥ (Ek.)<sup>1</sup>

Without "bhakti," without the crowd of "bhaktas" to press around his shrine and make him famous what would the god be ?

भक्तांवाचूनी देव । कैचें रुप कैचें नांव ॥

भक्तांवाचूनी पुसा कोण देवा नाहीं अभिमान ॥ ५२ ॥ (Ek.)<sup>2</sup>

He is a relative of his devoted. Indeed he is all relations, father, mother, and so on. This idea is to be found in the Nāradapañcarātra, and even in the Gita. He is a friend and adviser. His permission has to be asked before anything is done. Namdev represents Jñāndev asking him to come and visit all the shrines and replies that the God's permission will have to be asked.

नामा झणे तुझीं पुसावें विठ्ठला देता आज्ञा मला मीही येतो॥(Nam.)<sup>3</sup>

The God takes all our burdens upon him.

आपला घेईल भार माया (Nam.)<sup>4</sup>

He is distressed if any of his "bhaktas" is in pain, and does his best to ease it.

भक्तालागीं अणुमात्र व्यथा । ते न साहवे भगवंता (Ek.)<sup>5</sup>

He grants all their wishes.

आझां सकळां देखतां । पुरवी लळे तो सर्वथा ॥ १ ॥

जें जें मागावें तयासी । तें तें देतो निजभक्तांसी ॥ २ ॥ (Ek.)<sup>6</sup>

He transacts all their business for them like a mukhtyar.

कोणासवें आमूचें काय काज । सर्व पंढरीराज कैवारी ॥ ३ ॥ (Ek.)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "I do honour to my devoted. In this way I find solace. My devoted is mine and I am his : in such wise truly is our mutual obligation."

<sup>2</sup> "A god without worshippers ! What form would it be ? What name would it have ? . . . without worshippers who, pray ask, is God ? He hath not any notability."

<sup>3</sup> "Nama says, 'you ask Vitthala. If he gives permission I will go.'"

<sup>4</sup> "He will take our burden upon his head."

<sup>5</sup> "If there is any pain with a devotee, Bhagavanta will not be able to bear it."

<sup>6</sup> "He fulfilleth in every way our desires in our very presence. Whatever is to be asked of him, he giveth it to his devoted."

<sup>7</sup> "If we have business with any one the king of Pandhara taketh thought for it."

So happy is this spiritual resting place that the shrine of Viṭṭhala and rest by him is frequently spoken of as a माहेर, the mother's house to which a bride tormented by her mother-in-law or by an elder rival wife turns for comfort.

(5) The position of the saints in the "bhakti" cult is peculiar. Their importance may be due to the traditions of the older Hinduism. But it is noticeable that mediæval Christianity laid much greater stress on the "communion of saints," "fellowship with the saints," than modern Christianity does. In the Marathi "bhakti" poets—the saints, *i.e.*, "bhaktas," men whose spiritual life is already developed, are treated with extraordinary honour. Their society is to be continually enjoyed.

सर्वकाळ राहा संतसंगें । (Nam.) <sup>1</sup>

संतसमुदाय मिळतील जेथें । लोटांगणें तेथें जावें आर्षीं । (Nam.) <sup>2</sup>

Like the God himself they are the relatives of the worshipper.

सोइरे धाइरे आर्षां संतजन (Ek.) <sup>3</sup>

They also are to be served with respect. Just as the head is placed on the feet of the God, so it is to be placed on the feet of the saints.

संतांचे पायीं मस्तक ठेवून (Ek.) <sup>4</sup>

Their leavings ( उष्टावळी-उष्टे ) are to be eaten.

संतांचें भोजन अमृताचें पान (Tuk.) <sup>5</sup>

The water in which their feet have been washed (पायवणी) is to be drunk. The dust of their feet (चरणरज) is to be taken up on the head. The last-mentioned articles are constantly spoken of as the wealth or capital of the devotee, his जोडी or भांडवल.

एकविध भाव संतांच्या चरणीं । घेईन पायवणी धणीवरी ॥ १ ॥

आनंदें चरण धरीन आवडी । हीच माझी जोडी सर्व जाणा ॥ २ ॥ (Ek.) <sup>6</sup>

Last, but most important of all, Viṭṭhala is quite free to all castes. Frequently this idea comes to the front in the "abhangs" of the

<sup>1</sup> "Abide ever near the saints."

<sup>2</sup> "Wherever the gathering of saints is to be, go thither in front rolling the body along the ground."

<sup>3</sup> "The saints are our relations and friends."

<sup>4</sup> "Putting our heads at the feet of the Saints."

<sup>5</sup> "The meal which the saints have partaken of is a plate of nectar."

<sup>6</sup> "Our single inclination is at the feet of the Saints. I will greedily take the water in which their feet were washed. I will clasp their feet with joy and gladness. This is all my worldly possessions, be it known to you."

best period. We have seen it seized upon by the author and commentator of the Bhaktisutras as one of the leading characteristics of the cult. And there is no doubt that in early times, i. e., in the 13th to 16th centuries, distinction of caste was not observed in and about the temple precincts at Pandharpur. Many of the famous saints were Mahars. There was a love-feast called the गोपालकाला at all the main festivals, at which all castes dined together. But gradually the tremendous power of caste reasserted itself. Distinction began to arise; and to-day the lowest castes are not allowed within the temple at all, but worship at the "pāduka" of a Mahar Saint named Chokhamela. All religious revivals in India beginning from Buddhism have had the abolition of caste inequalities as their main basis. All have failed.

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*Note.*—After the paper Rao Saheb P. B. Joshi suggested that the name Viṭṭhala is from विष्टरभव: "the far-renowned," a classical but rare epithet of Vishnu and Krishna. Of course philologically Viṣṭara and Viṭṭhala are perfect parallels. But it has first to be proved that the statue at Pandharpur was called by the rare and elaborate name Viṣṭaraśravas, and then that the first half of the word, which by itself means nothing, usurped the place of the whole.

Dr. Grierson writing to me says....."the-la of Viṭṭhala is a derivative of the Prakrit "-alla" and is especially common in Maharastra Prakrits, and in Marathi. It is the origin of the ळ in the Marathi past tense. The meaning is simply pleonastic."

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## ART. XVII.—*Besnagar.*

BY H. H. LAKE, M. INST. C. E.

The ruins of the old city of Besnagar, or as it has been called Baisnagar or Wessanagara, are situated at the confluence of the Bes and Betwa rivers, about two miles to the North-West of Bhilsa, in the Gwalior State, Central India.

It was here that Asoka tarried on his way to Ujjain to take up his government there in about the year 274 B. C., and married Devi, the daughter of the chief man of the place.<sup>1</sup>

The city itself was enclosed by the river Bes on the North, by the Betwa river on the South, and by a high embankment on the West.

The holy hill of Udiagiri lies to the West, about a mile from the present village of Besnagar.

What must once have been a famous city of the Buddhists, full of grandeur and solemnity, is now but a desert waste of small mounds and ground covered with broken stone and brick and fairly dense shrubwood. A map is attached showing the different sites partly excavated.

Under instructions from His Highness the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior, G.C.S.I., A.D.C., LL.D., etc., I began an exploration of Besnagar on the 17th January 1910, and work was continued up to the 24th February, about six weeks in all.

Excavations were commenced on the mounds marked No. 1, on the West, outside the city proper, on mound marked No. 9, and on the high mound, marked No. 10, to the North of the ford, on road from Bhilsa to Sirong.

Mound No. 1, or Dungi as it is called, stands outside the city and is about 30 ft. high. A longitudinal cut was made which disclosed brick walls and on further excavations the stone plinth of upper, second and first storeys of a temple.

It would appear as if it had been built to the conformation of the slope of the hill as natural soil was excavated in foundation of upper storey and also lower down on the 2nd storey.

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<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's "Bhilsa Topes."

No further columns besides those found by Cunningham<sup>1</sup> were discovered. A beautifully carved piece of stone, of floral and fruit design, was found at entrance of second storey and may have been a piece broken off the entrance way ; it appears to have been polished. A similar design to this I have lately seen on a large sculpture of a Bodisattwa at the Sarnath Museum. A carved stone, flat with geometric design of rosettes. A carved stone water spout in the shape of a crocodile's head which probably acted as a spout for drainage from temple were the finds. From these I should say the temple would probably be late Buddhist.

Mound marked No. 9.—A cross cut was made which revealed walls of stone and many broken pieces of carvings of a Jain temple. One small stone shows a few letters of an inscription in Pali. Further excavation was stopped here for the time being.

Mound No. 10.—This is a high mound of an oblong shape. It appeared as if it might contain a stupa or large building or both.

A deep cross cut was made running East and West at about the centre of the oblong, also deep cuts were made in southern and northern slopes and a deep well was sunk on the North slope, but no building was found, although it seemed in one place as if natural soil had been reached. The finds appear to be Buddhistic. A piece of slate which may have been the lid of a box, carved very neatly with conventional form of a crocodile and a lotus flower. A piece of carved stone like curled feathers. A carved stone like a flooring stone.

Excavations were then begun in mounds Nos. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8—See map.

No. 2 mound was excavated up to 10 feet in depth when foundation walls appeared. A stone half pillar was found of octagonal form, 6 feet 4 inches long by 1 foot 10 inches across sides, the capital being one with the column. The latter is 1 foot 6 inches deep and the breadth may have been 2 feet 6 inches but it is much worn away. It appears to have been of a floral design and apparently of the Gupta age.

In No. 3 mound, brick walls were come across and some stone-carvings of Braminical temple.

No. 6 mound on excavation revealed brick and stone wall foundations.

<sup>1</sup> Archæological Survey Report of India, Vol. X.

No. 7 mound, brick walls only and No. 8 mound two stone walls. Further work in these mounds was stopped for the time being.

Khamba Baba mound is a low but fairly extensive mound, General Cunningham has described the pillar, and the crocodile and palm capitals he found there.<sup>1</sup> He says the pillar was covered with a thick coat of vermilion paint and in consequence he could find no inscription.

In January 1909 when on a tour of inspection of Archæological remains, I looked closely into this pillar and catching the glint of the sun on one of its painted sides, found that there appeared to be indentures in the form of lettering and on lifting up the scales of paint discovered an inscription.

I drew the attention of Mr. Marshall, the Director General of Archæology, to this fact, the paint was removed and an estampage taken. The inscription has proved to be of great Archæological interest, and dates back to 150 B. C. Notes on it have appeared in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. In the October number 1909 by Mr. J. H. Marshall, Dr. L. D. Barnett and Dr. J. F. Fleet and again in the January number, 1910 by J. F. Fleet.

As the inscription has proved of such interest, I have had the whole column cleared of paint and a drawing and photograph made of it—*See illustration.*

General Cunningham depicts the palm leaf capital as being fixed on top of column but in my opinion this could not have been the case.

On close inspection of the palm leaf capital, Fig. 1, it is found that it has no tenon or mortice but appears as if it had been broken off a shaft. Whilst above the abacus of the column there is a square tenon chiselled and quite flat on top, 11 inches square on plan. It may be that a figure of Garuda was placed on top, the tenon being so large a square.

The pillar <sup>2</sup> stands 17 feet 8 inches high above a chabutra 12 feet square and 3 feet high. I should have liked to have opened this chabutra to make a drawing of the lowest part of column but the local Pujaree did not seem to relish the idea so I respected his feelings. The first 4 feet 10 inches of column is octagonal, the diameter at base being 1 foot 7 inches tapering to 1 foot 6 inches at top. This part contains the inscription. The octagonal length ends in a sunflower design. The next length of 6 feet 2 inches has

<sup>1</sup>Archæological Survey Report of India, Vol. X.

<sup>2</sup> See illustration.

sixteen sides with a diameter of 1 foot 6 inches at bottom tapering to 1 foot  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches at top. The width of sides are rather strangely apportioned, every other side being 4 inches wide with 3 inches sides in between, that is eight sides of 4 inches width and eight sides of 3 inches width, the sixteen sides end in a festoon encircling the column and at the point of each dependent curve, the festoon is carried on the back of a duck, the depth of this festoon is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

Above it for a height of  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches the column has 32 sides, 1 foot  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter at bottom tapering to 1 foot  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches at top. The remaining portion of the column 2 feet 2 inches is circular and tapers to a diameter of 1 foot  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Upon this comes the capital of bell shape, 1 foot 6 inches in depth, by 1 foot 8 inches in width, then a cable moulding above which is the abacus. The latter is 1 foot 7 inches by 1 foot 7 inches by 1 foot 3 inches in depth, and is very ornate. There is a bead moulding of 2 inches depth, the beads are well separated and their thread is shewn. On this is a graceful design of geese feeding, the spaces between the birds being filled in with a floral design half of a sunflower with stalks in conventional curves, above the geese are again sunflowers.

The whole column is of an elegant design and is interesting as a specimen of art of 150 B.C.

Fig. No. 1.—The palm capital is a clever and graceful design and unique. There is another palm capital, Fig. No. 2, lying close to the crocodile capital, which Cunningham does not mention. It is a more graceful design than Fig. 1. Four broad leaves spread downwards and below them is a cluster of cocoanuts. The top of capital is unfortunately broken but it shows that other leaves were spreading upwards and may have been similar to Fig. 1. The columns of these capitals have not been found. The square stone seen below the capital does not belong to the latter, the capital here is of course round like a tree and is 1 foot 4 inches diameter, the width across from outside to outside of leaves is 2 feet 4 inches.

The highest part of the Khamba Baba mound has been built on and the Babajee or priest lives here, so excavations could only be made round about.

At a depth of 2 feet a Buddhist railing was discovered practically intact. It is a large railing and quite plain. As no inscriptions were found, it is difficult to assign a date to it. The pillars were founded in a kind of concrete made of broken up laterite rock which was probably obtained from the river bed. Nine pillars with their rails and copings were found running in a straight line. The pillars are 1 foot 7 inches

wide and 10 inches thick, perfectly plain-dressed slabs of stone without any bevelling such as at Sanchi or any decoration of medallions. They are pierced for three rail bars of the usual lens shape, 1 foot 10 inches broad and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick at centre. The intercolumniation is 2 feet 2 inches. The coping, which is also plain, is 1 foot 7 inches high and  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad with the top corners rounded. The total height from ground level to top of coping is 8 feet 5 inches. The section of this railing, which appears to be of Udāigiri sand stone is poorly proportioned, both rails and pillars being too thin, several are broken. About 36 feet of this railing was traced in a straight line and then it appeared to be continued in a smaller and different kind of fencing consisting of pillars  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick, with 2 inches thick slabs let in between. This was a low fencing, not more than 3 feet 6 inches high.

Another railing was excavated not far from the above but the connection between the two could not be traced, see plan. This is a better proportioned section but just as plain. The pillars are 1 foot  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide and 1 foot thick, pierced for three rail bars which are 1 foot  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad and 6 inches thick at centre. This railing is made of a harder stone slightly claret coloured and is in much better preservation. To find what these railing enclosed, cross cuts were made but nothing was disclosed. I think that the site on which the present houses exist and which is the highest part of the mound must have been the site of a monastery. It is difficult to assign a date to these railings but I should say that they are late Buddhist.

In the excavation, at spot marked on plan, a sculpture of Vishnu was discovered, Fig. No. 3. On the head is a high crown, in the ears massive earrings, and in the hand a mace with tiger's head. This carving is similar to that of Vishnu in the Udaigiri cave which contains the inscription of Chandra Gupta 11, S. 82 or A.D. 401. The surface appears to be polished. Another small capital, Fig. 4, was also found with a carving of a winged lion and the same beading and floral style of the large Buddhist rail capital, Fig. 5, found by Cunningham near the pillar. General Cunningham depicts this big capital with crocodile capital, Fig. 6, on top, but on taking measurements I find that the tenon on the rail capital is 6 inches by 6 inches whereas the mortice hole in crocodile capital is  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches thus the hole being  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches too large either way, would make a very unsteady seat and it does not appear probable that the crocodile topped this capital. A rather quaint Toy horse, made in earthenware, was found in this excavation.

About half a mile to the North of Khamba Baba, is a low flat mound No. 11, on plan. Here I saw what appeared to be the top of a capital but on excavation this stone proved to be the edge of a stool on which sat a female figure with its head buried in the ground. No less than eight of these figures were here disclosed in higgledy piggledy order, as if they had been thrown down.

There must have been more than eight for I found separate heads and trunks, three heads on road, not far away and a trunk of body in Bhilsa. They are in the round and quiet unique. Attached are photos of the best preserved, front and back views. Some have lost their heads, some their arms or legs. Every head-dress is different and the hair is in great profusion. Notice Figs. 7 and 8, front and back views of one of the figures. The hair in front is parted in the middle and carries some ornament. The back hair is in a large chignon much resembling the big chignon of the Mid-Victorian age, plaited at top and looks as if in a net. Others have plaits down the back as well as chignons and all have massive earrings, necklets and anklets. They appear naked down to the waist, with the exception of the first two figures, see illustration, which wear the native choli or angia to hold up the breasts.

In most of these sculptures a small child is seen resting itself against the left thigh. All figures are seated on stools, the corners of which are carved like legs of a charpoy. The sculptures stand 3 feet 10½ inches high, carved out of single blocks of stone, the stool being 1 foot 3 inches. They do not appear of the religious order.

General Cunningham describes a colossal female figure he found on the bank of the river Betwa<sup>1</sup> about half a mile from Khamba Baba. It was 6 feet 7 inches in height, broken in two pieces, curious on account of its head-dress, a kind of turban—and says it is possibly a portrait of Maya Devi, that it is not a religious figure and that it appears of the Asoka time. He thinks it may have been placed on top of a pillar and says "It is the only specimen of a female statue in the round that has yet been discovered of so early a period." I went to the spot where Cunningham found this figure but could not trace it. On enquiry from the Khamba Babajee, the latter said the figure was in the river. I wished to compare its carving with that of the figures under description. Could it have been that these figures surrounded the colossal figure of Maya Devi and have represented 'motherhood.'

Amidst these sculptures of females, was found another interesting figure—see Figs. 9 and 10, of a male naked to the waist, wearing a

<sup>1</sup> Archaeological Survey Report of India, Vol. X.

full loin cloth or dhoti. His locks are long and his brow encircled by a crown which looks Grecian. At the back of the head is a nimbus, denoting his divinity. He wears a massive necklace, also armlets and bracelets. In his left hand he holds what looks like a flask or a vajra or thunderbolt grasped in the middle.

Unfortunately the stone is broken just above where the hand grasps the object. This figure is evidently a Bodhisattva, but it is difficult to indentify any special one. The figure, as it now stands with the feet broken off, is 3 feet 6 inches high.

These sculptures were found lying on a brick platform 74 feet by 65 feet and in depth 2 feet 6 inches, but it is not understood what the construction was and there is no sign of stone plinth for the figures to stand upon. Some of the bricks were 14 inches by 6 inches by 3 inches, others 16 inches by 8½ inches by 3¼ inches. I can assign no date to these figures, nor can I read their *raison d'etre* and should be glad of any information in the matter.

While searching in the lower parts of the ancient site for any signs of pre-existent buildings, I saw in the bank of a nulla the ends of three stones which appeared to be placed as if in a staircase. These I thought worth following, so excavations were started. After a depth of about 6 feet a stone platform appeared to which the steps led.<sup>1</sup> The whole of the steps were then cleared to their foundation. It was difficult at first to determine what this structure would turn out to be, there being no indication of any kind to inform one—but on levels being taken it was found that the present water level of the Bes river, which is 600 feet away, was 6 inches higher than the last step. So I decided this was a big Ghat. It is curious to mark the alteration time has made in the surface of the ground. The present level of bed of nulla is 11 feet 4 inches higher than the original ground level at the same spot, and from the appearance of the bank of the Bes river, which for a height of 10 feet above water level shows strata of bujri and shingle, leads me to conclude the river bed has sunk 10 or 12 feet and that when this Ghat was built the lower steps must have been some feet under water, and in flood time must have come high up the steps. The steps average 6 inches in rise and about 1 foot in tread, and there would have been about forty-one of them. The depth excavated to steps where the latter join the present bed of nulla was about 18 feet. Below the level that I have taken as foundation of steps, 2 feet of soil mixed with brick was found, then came original ground level.

<sup>1</sup> See illustration.

The portion of platform which was excavated measures 21 feet by 19 feet. There are walls to the north of platform, at present standing about 3 feet high, these may represent another platform. Close to platform are a stone circular pit 3 feet 6 inches diam., which looks like a well, and a stone masonry pit oblong shape, of internal dimensions, 12 feet by 9 feet 6 inches by 12 feet deep. Below the masonry pit was found soil mixed with broken brick and pieces of earthenware gurahs. At a small distance from latter is another circular pit 3 feet 6 inches diameter of brick. These may have been used for the storage of grain. Some 100 feet back from Ghat is another platform with shallow founded walls adjoining. It would appear as if this place had been a market. Excavation was made at the nulla side of this platform to a depth of 13 feet which showed that the stone wall of platform was founded about 6 feet below present ground level, the next 3 feet in depth was of brickwork and the remaining depth of brick dust. This excavation was interesting as showing the different ages of building. At the junction of brickwork with brick dust, several punch-marked coins were found. On the obverse are solar symbols, and on the reverse the figure resembling the Greek Caduceus or wand of Hermes.

At the foot of the Ghat steps was found a rude copper coin, on obverse is a wheel device, on reverse a few letters in Asokan character.

Other finds in this excavation were:—A piece of slate, circular, carved with a wheel device. A piece of steatite box lid, with rough design of an elephant on underside and on top, geometrical design scratched on. Both of the above were found about 5 feet below existing ground. Two stools in stone, broken in half, were found about platform level. Several of these have been found in Besnagar. They may have been praying stools or stools to stand the household gods on. See Fig. 11. A tortoise in earthenware, a very neat design, and on its back are impressed two little figures half man, half fish, which may probably represent the Matsya or Fish Avatāra of Vishnu. An earthenware pipe, reducing from 5 inches to 3 inches with collars on the outside. It is difficult to say what this was used for— It might have been used as a pinnacle.

Fig. 12 is a stone capital found at the foot of mound No. 12 to the west of the present village of Besnagar. The sculpture is of eight lions back to back, two lions on each of the four sides of capital—they are looking diagonally from corners of capital and thus one head suffices for two bodies. It is 2 feet square by 1 foot 2 inches in

depth and appears early Gupta. At the top of this mound is a modern temple with a figure of Ganesh—so I could not excavate here.

About 350 yards to the north-west of mound No. 12, on top of river bank, I found a piece of Buddhist rail coping, see illustration, of similar section to that found by Cunningham in the village. It is carved in bas-relief on both sides and has the inscription—Asabhāya dānam—Gift of Asabhā—in the Asokan character. On the convex side is a flowing scroll of the lotus stalk with buds. Between the scroll is—first a stupa with figure of female musician, then two figures worshipping a tree—two musicians, two figures carrying gifts and lastly an elephant carrying a casket on its head. On the concave side is a procession of elephants with mahouts, carrying caskets on their heads, men on foot with fly switches and also carrying gifts, followed by horses with riders carrying gifts.

Near by the coping I found three rail bars, each 1 foot 4 inches long by 1 foot broad and 5 inches thick in centre, carved with lotus medallion on either side. One rail bears the inscription—Asaduvāsa dānam—Gift of Asaduva—and at the back a number possibly of the rail bar.

The second rail bears the inscription—Balagutasa da (nam)—(Gift) of Balagupta. The third rail bears an inscription but only a few letters of an incomplete name. There is no sign of a stupa or any sign of large building about here, to which one could attribute these finds. Near by I made a shallow excavation and came across a brick wall but had not the time to continue the work, but hope to do so later on.

In the village was found a piece of Buddhist rail pillar, see Fig. 13, 10 inches wide by 9½ inches thick, pierced for rail bars on two adjacent sides or right angles to each other, showing that this pillar belonged to a square enclosure.

The piercings are for bars 11½ inches broad by 3½ inches thick at centre. The other two adjacent sides are carved in bas-relief. On one side are two pictures divided by a Buddhist rail design, one depicts a chariot drawn by two horses, driven by one who sits in state, with two attendants, one with a fly whip and another with an umbrella. The other picture depicts deer, peafowl and other birds, in the midst of which is a figure. The other side depicts musicians playing various kinds of instruments.

To give a shelter to the sculptures, &c., described above, a temporary Museum has been erected at Besnagar.

The ancient site of Besnagar lies in a most fertile district, the soil is 'Black cotton' and yields fine crops, and the climate is comparatively good. Such a favoured spot, lying, as it does, at the confluence of two rivers could not but attract the eye of the different sects. It therefore did not escape spoliation, and the buildings of the Buddhists were thrown down by the Brahmins and those of the latter religion were again destroyed by the Mahomedans,—until to-day, nothing but the bare foundations are left.

The building of Bhilsa and its fort was no doubt simplified by the use of the temple stones of Besnagar, one comes across many carved stones and pillars in the walls of that city.

In one of the narrow streets I found the stump of a column which most probably was brought from Besnagar. It was lying at the side of the road covered with dust, a very unnoticeable object, but I happened to turn round to look at it again, and saw a word in the Mauryan character which decided me at once to have it brought into Camp. It is the lower part of a column 1 foot 8 inches in diameter, eight sides running into sixteen sides. Seven of the sides are inscribed in the Mauryan Script.

Professor A. Venis has very kindly given me the following transliteration and translation with notes of the inscription.

*Inscription on Stump of Eight-sided Column found at Bhilsa.*

SIDE 1 ...	Gôtamaputena.
„ 2 ...	Bhāgavate [na]
„ 3 ...	Destroyed.
„ 4 ...	[bha] gavatō prāsādota
„ 5 ...	masa garudadhvaje kārīt [e]
„ 6 ...	[dvā] dasavasā bhisit [e]
„ 7 ...	bhāgavate ma [hārāje]
„ 8 ...	blank.

The purport of this fragmentary record is as follows:—The son of Gotama, a follower of Vishnu, set up a column with a Garuda standard at the stately temple of Bhagavān (Vishnu), when the Maharajah, a follower of Vishnu, had been consecrated ten years.

*Notes.*—Line 3 must have contained the name of the donor. This line probably ended with the letter *bha*.

Line 4 is read doubtfully.

Prāsādotamasa = uttamamandirasya. If this reading be accepted, it would imply that this was a well known Vishnu temple.

In line 7, maharaje is conjectural.

With the idea in my mind that the surrounding hills of Besnagar might contain the remains of Buddhist buildings, I rode over to the hills to the west of Udiagiri, and was fortunate in finding two stupas or topes at Bigan.

### BIGAN TOPES.

About three miles to the west of Besnagar is a village called Bigan, situated on the right bank of the Bes river. There is an easy ford here and immediately to the north of it rises a high hill shewn in topographical map as a High Station 1558. On the plateau just below the high knoll of hill, I found two stupas or topes, one large and one small, and the foundations of an old monastery. I have not seen any record of these topes and do not know if any has been published, so give here the particulars I took of them.

The large tope at the present time simply appears as a huge cairn of stones, having been half destroyed by some persons who excavated from one side down to original ground level.

General Cunningham in his book the "Bhilsa Topes" states that the large tope of Sanchi and other topes were half ruined by the blundering excavations of amateur antiquaries in 1822. As the Bigan Tope is only about four miles from Sanchi and could be seen from the latter place, it is probable that this tope was destroyed by the same persons.

The tope is built of large stones, set dry, and is a solid hemisphere.

To obtain part of a circumference, a large amount of loose stones had to be lifted, when this was done I struck a centre and to my disappointment saw that there was little hope of finding anything as the spoilers had gone beyond the centre in their excavation, however to make sure I sunk a well through the stones, that had evidently been thrown in again, to ground level but found nothing.

To obtain a reconstruction of the tope I set out a diameter line and from this line cleared away the loose stones.

The diameter of tope is 59 feet and the hemispherical shape springs directly from the terrace. It is built in quadrants of a circle and the centre was thus more easily obtainable. The terrace is 7 feet above ground level with a perambulatory of 6 feet width and is reached by a double set of steps on the east side 5 feet 6 inches wide.

At present the height of Stupa is only 15 feet above ground level, but according to the hemispherical shape it must originally have

been at least 29 feet 6 inches, *i.e.*, the radius, plus the height of terrace or 36 feet 6 inches high.

I made careful search for Buddhist railings or any other of the usual accompaniments employed in the construction of a tope but unfortunately made no discovery. It cannot therefore be said how the top was finished but, no doubt, it had the usual chatta pinnacle, terrace, &c.

General Cunningham dates this class of stupa whose hemispherical shape sprung immediately from the terrace, as high as the middle of the 6th Century B. C. He says "the age of almost every tope may be obtained approximately from its shape, the most ancient being a simple hemisphere and the latest a tall round tower surmounted by a dome." The Bigan tope would certainly not be later than Asoka's time.

At a distance of 261 feet S. W. of this tope is a square stone masonry platform, 80 feet by 80 feet by 3 feet 6 inches high, built of large stones. This platform is probably the remains of a temple.

The smaller tope lies to the N. E. of larger tope at a distance of 309 feet. It is raised on a platform of oblong shape, 41 feet by 37 feet by about 1 foot 6 inches high.

It is a small tope, the present height being about 6 feet. It had also been destroyed. A well was sunk in the middle, but no discovery was made nor were there any signs of Buddhist railings.

To the N. E. of small tope at a distance of 492 feet I came across the foundations of a monastery. After the surface of the ground had been cleared, measurements of walls were taken and registered, see plan.

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ART. XVIII.—*An Account of the Comets as given by Mahomedan Historians and as contained in the books of the Pishinigân or the Ancient Persians referred to by Abul Fazl.*

(*A Paper read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 9th February 1910.*)

The present year is one, during which, as announced by astronomers,<sup>1</sup> we have to see three comets. They are the following :—

1. Halley's Comet, which appears at the interval of every 75 years. It will be at its perihelion, or the point nearest to the sun, on 18th May 1910 at about 10 a.m.

2. Temple's second periodical Comet, which appears at the interval of every  $5\frac{1}{4}$  years. It was first observed in Milan on 3rd July 1873. It was subsequently seen in 1878, 1894, and 1899. It was last seen in November 1904.

3. D'Arrest's Comet which appears at every  $6\frac{1}{2}$  years. It was first observed in 1851. Subsequently it was observed in 1857, 1870, 1877, 1890, and 1897. In some of the intervening years, and in 1903 when it was last expected to be seen, it could not be seen, being, as astronomers say, "unfavourably placed."

We are, as it were, on the eve of seeing Halley's comet, but before we could see this celebrated comet, whose observations by Halley have led to a great advance in the science of cometography, there appeared on our Western horizon, a new visitor which drew towards it hundreds and thousands of eyes every evening from our beautiful Backbay foreshore and from other parts of our country. I do not know if it is altogether a new visitor.

As said above, we are on the eve of seeing Halley's great comet, before which, the one that we have already seen this year is a mere child of yesterday. Some observers have already seen it with their powerful telescopes. The Directors of the Heidelberg and the Cambridge Observatories have already seen it. The Director of the latter Observatory has announced that its appearance is like that of a star

<sup>1</sup> *Nature* of January 1910.

of the 14th or 14.5th magnitude. At this juncture,<sup>1</sup> I hope, that an account of the comets, as given by some Mahomedan historians, and as contained in the books of the ancient Persians will be found interesting. I think that a part of this account will be of some interest, even to scientific men, because, if I do not mistake, the account of the comets by Abul Fazl, which will form the principal part of my paper, will be presented fully for the first time, before the students of cometography.

*Division of the subject.*

I propose dealing with the subject under the following heads :—

- I. The version of some Mahomedan historians about comets.
- II. The identification of the comets seen or described by them.
- III. An inquiry into the views of Mahomedan writers on comets.
- IV. The influence attributed by the people to the appearance of comets.
- V. The views of the *Pishinigân* or the ancient Persians.

*List of the Mahomedan Authors referred to in the Paper.*

The Mahomedan authors, whose versions I propose giving, or to whom I am going to refer in this paper, are the following :—

1. Maçoudi, who lived at the end of the third century and in the first half of the fourth Hijri century. He was born in Bagdâd but he had visited India. In 912 A. D., he was in Mooltan. In 916 A. D. he had again come to India and had lived at Cambay and in other places. So, though not born in India, we take him as an Indian historian for our purpose. There is only one reference to a comet in his *Maruj-ul Zahb* or "Prairies of Gold."

2. Abul Fazl, the celebrated Prime Minister of King Akbar of India. He describes, in his *Akbar-nâmeh*, a comet that he had seen in the 22nd year of the reign of Akbar (985 Hijri, 1577-78 A.D.). Before describing this comet, he writes, as it were, a long introduction, giving, not only his view of the phenomenon of the appearance of a comet, but the views of the learned of his time. While doing so, he refers to Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Hindu writers on the subject also. Having given his introduction, he describes three comets that had appeared before his time. Of course, this must be on the authority of some previous writers whom he does not name. This account of the comets will, I hope, interest some scientific men. As

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<sup>1</sup> A paper on this subject has appeared from my pen in the "Revue de Monde Musulman" of Paris, in its issue of January 1910 (Volume X, Numero I). Later on, it was read before this Society, with some modifications and additions suggested by a further study of the subject.

far as I know, that portion of the Akbar-nâme, which gives this long account of the comets, is not hitherto translated into any other language. I give my own translation, in which I have followed the text, edited for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Maulawi Abd-ur-Rahim :

3. Ahmad-bin-Mahmad, the author of the Nigârîstân, written in 1552 A. D.
4. Nizâm-ud-din, the author of the Tabakât-i-Akbari.
5. Badaoni, the author of the Muntakhab-ul-Tâwarikh.
6. Jehângir, the author of Wakiât-ij ehângiri.
7. Mutamadkhan, the author of Ikbâl-nâme-i-Jehângiri.

## I.

### THE VERSION OF SOME MAHOMEDAN HISTORIANS ABOUT COMETS.

I will now give the version of the Mahomedan historians I have named above. I will give the versions of four in the words of their translators. The rest I have translated from the original.

I will give, at first, Abul Fazl's version about the comets, as it is the largest and fullest. As said above, I give my own translation of his version in the Akbar-nâme.<sup>1</sup>

*Abul Fazl's version of the comets of 1264, 1400-1, 1433 and 1577 in his Akbar-nâme.*

“ In the matter of the appearance of a tailed comet which appeared after sunset (lit. after the time of the sitting of the great luminary—which bestows favours upon the world—on the chair of the west of the earth.)

“ A preface is written for a complete comprehension of the description of the symbol of the Heavens.

“ When the rays of the world-illuminating sun fall on the moist earth, it is heated by the lustre of that exalted luminary, and some of the particles of water, becoming lighter rise upwards, and mixing with particles of air take an upward direction. This mixture is called vapour (*bokhâr*).

“ When the parched earth becomes the seat of the heat of the illuminator of the world (*i.e.*, when it is heated by the sun), the essence of

<sup>1</sup> Maulawi Abd-ur-Rahim's Text for the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III. pp. 221-224.

moisture from its ambuscade is attached to dryness. Then by the influence of the heat, particles of earth being heated become lighter, and after mixing themselves with air fly above and that intermixture is called steam (*dakhân*).

"Each of these is of two kinds. One is confined to the earth and springs, streamlets and streams come into appearance."

"The second, appearing on the surface, rises up pompously. From this are formed clouds, rain, hail, thunder, lightning and such other phenomena. Books of Natural Science give explanatory accounts of these very clearly.

"Now, let a little of the manifestation of that wonderful image (*vis.* the comet) be written for the pleasure of the garden-ground of information (*i.e.*, I will now write something about the phenomenon of a comet for the information of my readers).

"It is not concealed from (*i.e.*, it is known to) the writers of wisdom, that every time Mars attains ascendancy over the tract of a country, it makes the land of the country dry, and foul vapour and steam arise in large quantities, especially, in the commencement of the year or the season, when Mars is in the 10th and when the unhappy constellation may be that of *bâdi* (*i.e.*, that of Gemini, Aquarius and Libra) and of *âtashi* (*i.e.*, of Aries, Leo and Sagittarius) and when the moon or Mercury is in the *bâdi* (*i.e.*, in the signs of Gemini, Aquarius and Libra), so that it looks towards them with an eye of amity. Anyhow, fields are then devastated and the beginning of a famine is in sight; sickness is prevalent, calamities gain strength and the thread of the pursuit of knowledge is broken.

1. This refers to the action of what Abul Fazl calls *dakhân* or steam. Here he explains, not in a clear or distinct way, how streams and springs are formed. Modern science also attributes to the formation of steam, the rise of springs, &c. Prof. Anstead's following description elucidates what Abul Fazl says:—

"Of the water that falls on the earth as rain, we have seen that a certain part runs off the surface by rivers into the sea, or is evaporated back again into the atmosphere within a very short time. The remaining part disappears. It passes into the earth's crust being absorbed into the soil and surface-rocks or entering the innumerable crevices and fissures that exist in all rocks near the surface. Making its way through permeable rocks, such as sand, or passing into natural reservoirs or along some underground channel, it circulates through the earth for a time, longer or shorter, according to circumstances, and comes at length once more to the surface. If it falls in a district greatly above the sea-level, it may issue in springs at some lower part of the same country, or, by the pressure it exerts when the rocks are full, may force out other water that has already performed a long journey. If it falls near the sea, it may still be brought back into circulation, for we know that the temperature of the interior of the earth is higher than at the surface; and it is quite possible that a little water, penetrating the depths at which it would be converted into steam, may exercise a pressure sufficient to overcome the force of gravity, and help to force up large columns of water from great depths, which may either rise through fissures at a high-temperature in thermal springs, or, oozing upwards, may again become cooled before reaching the surface. It may and does re-appear in this way naturally, and at ordinary temperatures. All water obtained or obtainable from the interior of the earth is called *spring water*, and all sources of water within the earth are called *springs*."—Physical Geography, by Prof. Anstead (1871) p. 213.)

“ In short, when the tenacious thick vapour (rising) from its seat, attaches itself to the first layers of atmosphere which are heated, it acquires a pleasant look (*i.e.*, is illuminated), just as the lamp-black of a lamp becomes illumined from its contact with a lighted candle. It is then called *shahâb* (*i.e.*, meteor). When it begins coming down to the earth, common people think that it is a star that is coming down. If that does not happen on account of its connection, it is not illuminated, but burns, and profiting by the different kinds of weather assumes, different forms, like those of a man with locks of hair, a person having a tail, a person holding a lance in his hand, an animal with horns, or the like. Depending on the differences of its position, it fades soon, or lasts long. At times dreadful red<sup>1</sup> or black forms appear in it. The red forms, when thick, add to the terror. When thicker, it is the black forms that cause terror. In the ancient language, such a form is name *sawâst.-i-najum*<sup>2</sup> or *Zawa't'l Aswâb*<sup>3</sup>. Every one (of these forms) has a different name according to its feature. Thus, the one with locks is called *Zusavâbê* (*i.e.*, the possessor of locks of hair) and the one with a tail is called *Zusanâb* (*i.e.*, the possessor of a tail).

“ In Indian books more than 100 (names) are recounted. In Greek books, seven kinds are recognized and all are considered to be of the nature of Saturn or Mars. Those with locks of hair and those with tails are known to be more unlucky. Batlimus (Ptolemy) says that between the hairy comets and the sun, there is the difference of 11 constellations. Some Greeks are of opinion that the hairy comets appear towards the East at the time of the dawn and the tailed comets appear towards the West in the early part of the evening. Certainly from the repeated sight (of such phenomena) such a supposition can be made.

“ The wise men of India divide them into two kinds and take them to be auspicious and inauspicious (respectively). All are unanimous in saying this, that its (*i.e.*, the comet's) influence is reflected upon the country over whose zenith it passes or whose best inhabitants see it. It moves according to the position of the constellation in which it appears, and in accordance with the strength of the motion of the region of fire.<sup>4</sup> Its influences appear in proportion to (the time of)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the description of the appearance of Halley's comet in 1835 by Mr. E.V. Heward:— “ It glowed like a red-hot coal of oblong form.” It appeared like “ a blazing rocket.” (The Story of Halley's comet. *The Nineteenth Century* of September 1909, p. 531).

<sup>2</sup> Lit. “ keeper of the ward-robe of the stars.”

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.*, “ Mistresses of locks.”

<sup>4</sup> Compare with this, the words, the “ Chariot of Fire,” applied to a comet by Mr. E. Vincent Heward in his Story of Halley's Comet (*The Nineteenth Century* of September 1909, p. 51 a).

its stay (*i.e.*, the longer it appears, the greater its influence as to good or bad luck to the country). In the writings of the ancients, *nirangs* (نیرنگ incantations) for (counteracting) these influences are mentioned more than can be described.

“ Out of all (these comets) one hairy comet appeared in the year 662 Hijri. <sup>1</sup> The increaser of the splendour of the world (*Farugh afsâe-i-âlum*) was in the sign of Leo and had gone about 11 fingers’ down the earth, (*i.e.*, had set) in the night. The strange thing was, that it (*i.e.*, the comet) appeared to be of the proportion of the head of a big man and emitted steam from its front. It passed (*i.e.*, appeared) in the countries of Tibet, Turkestan, China, Kashgar, Fargâna, Ma’wara’u’n-nahr (Transoxania) and Khorasan. It appeared for 85 days. In all these countries, there arose rebellions. In Transoxania and Khorasan, calamities of thunder <sup>2</sup> and lightening and such other (phenomena) appeared.

“ Many years and months had passed over this event, and then, in 803,<sup>4</sup> a tailed comet appeared in the zenith at Rum (Constantinople). Mulana Abdallalasan and Mahiâddin Magrabi with other astrologers of that time informed Timur, that from what the wise and the experienced have said, it appears that an army (coming) from the direction of the East will be victorious in that country, and a general from that country will assist (him). Timur (lit. that illuminator of the face of fortune), who was always expecting an invasion of the country, but whose companions of poor intelligence did not acquiesce, attended to that (prediction) and convinced the great and the small (of his court) of the truth (lit. gem) of his resolution and of the insight of the star-seers.

“ In the year 837,<sup>5</sup> on the occasion of a new moon in the first part of Libra, a tailed comet appeared (lit. gave brilliancy to the day) near the 17th lunar mansion in the north. It rose and set with it. After the lapse of several days, its special motion appeared. From that 17th lunar mansion in the north (a form like that of) a lanceholder separated (lit. assumed the face of separation), and in 8

<sup>1</sup> A. D. 1264.

<sup>2</sup> A kind of measure.

<sup>3</sup> Taking the word to be *ra'ad* (رعد). The Bengal Asiatic Society's text gives the word as *قاید* which is the last star in the tail of the Lesser Bear. It also means a governor. But these words seem to have no proper meaning here. In the foot-note it gives *rayad* (راید) as found in another manuscript. I think it is mistaken for *ra'ad* (رعد) which suits well with the next word *barâk* (براق) “flashing.”

<sup>4</sup> 1401 A. D.

<sup>5</sup> 1433 A. D.

months, took the path of the camel. A great pestilence, spreading misery (round about), appeared in Herat and its dependencies. Every day more than a thousand persons died. Mirza Ibrahim, the governor of Fars and Mirza Bysangar Arghun, the King of Badakhshan, and Shaikh Zai-ud-din Khafi died in this calamity. A fierce quarrel, which took place between Mirza Shah-rokh and Sikandâr Karâ-Yusaf, was also the consequence of this (comet).

“The learned in the mysteries of the Heavens are convinced of this, that, if it appears within the boundaries of a country, its king or his vice-regent dies. If it is inclined towards the boundary, the property, *i.e.*, the country of the governor passes away from his hands, and plague and diseases and afflictions add to the sickness of the country. Sudden deaths occur among the common people.

“A thousand thanks to God, that, owing to the benedictions of the holy soul of the King (Akbar), (bad) influences and misfortunes have disappeared from his dominions. If, in case, such a terrible sign (*i.e.*, a comet) appears, a great calamity does not overtake this country. In spite of such Divine protection, that intelligent person of the assembly of information (*i.e.*, the intelligent and well-informed King Akbar) ordered alms to be distributed on a large scale according to the customs of the Mahomedans and Brahmans, and people of all places became cheerful. The most beautiful thing of this great liberality (*i.e.*, the result of this alms-giving) was this :—

“On the day Arad (Arshisang), the 25th of the Ilâhi month Abân, at the time, when the sun made his conspicuous appearance in the sign Scorpio, this heavenly sign (*i.e.*, the tailed comet) kindled its brilliant face in the sign of Sagittarius, faced towards the west (and) inclined towards the north. It had a long tail. It had reached such a limit, that in many towns they saw it for five months. The well-informed astrologers, and those skilled in the mysteries belonging to the higher (*i.e.*, celestial) assembly, explained it thus :—‘That among some of the inhabited parts of Hindustan, there will be a scarcity of grain, and they specified some particular places. The time of the ruler of Iran will come to an end, and in Iran and Khorasan there will arise disturbances.’ All, that was said, came to pass without anything being less or diminished. A short time after, a caravan came from Iran. Some of its well-informed men of truthful mind informed His Majesty of the death of Shah Tahmasp and of the murder of Sultan Haidar and of the accession to the throne of Shah Ismail.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. The words of Louis le Debonnaire, on seeing Halley's comet in 837 A. D. He said :—“A change of reign and the death of a prince are announced by this sign (The story of Halley's comet. *The Nineteenth Century* of September, 1909, p. 518).

“The purport of all this detailed account is this :—The King of heavenly abode (*i. e.*, King Tahmasp) died in the beginning of the Ilâhi month Khordad . . . . .”

I will now give the version of other Mahomedan writers in the order in which I have named them above.

*Maçoudi's Muruj-ul-Zahb.*

Maçoudi, speaking of the events of the Hijri year 299 (911-12 A. D.) thus speaks of the appearance of a comet in that year. Though born in Bagdad he was in India at the time when the comet appeared.<sup>7</sup>

“Une grêle énorme, composée de grêlons pesant un *ritl*, poids de Bagdad, tombe sur Koufah en même temps qu'une bourrasque de sirocco, au mois de ramadan ; plusieurs maisons et édifices sont renversés. Ce sinistre est suivi d'un tremblement de terre qui coûte la vie à un grand nombre d'habitants. Ces désastres eurent lieu à Koufah en 299. La même année est signalée par un tremblement de terre en Égypte et par l'apparition d'une comète.”<sup>8</sup>

THE VERSION OF AHMAD BIN MAHMAD, IN HIS NIGARISTAN,<sup>4</sup>  
OF THE COMET OF 941-42 A. D.

In the year 330<sup>5</sup> (Hijri), there appeared a comet whose tail appeared from the East to the West. It remained for 18 days. From the influence of this inauspicious sign, one *jarib*<sup>6</sup> of wheat cost 320 golden *miskils*.<sup>7</sup> One ear of corn was worth a beast of burden,<sup>8</sup> the price of wheat rose so high. Men ate one another out of hunger. In the time of famine a plague appeared, so (virulent) that people had not the strength of burying the dead.

NIZAM-UD-DIN'S VERSION OF THE COMET OF 1578 IN HIS *Tabakât-i-Akbari*. TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN<sup>9</sup> (A. D. 1578-79).

“At this period, at the time of evening prayer, a comet appeared in the sky towards Arabia, inclining to the north and continued very awful for two hours. The opinion of the Astrologers was, that the effects would not be felt in Hindûstan, but probably in Khurasan and

<sup>1</sup> Here follows an account as to how King Tahmasp died, Sultan Haidar was murdered, and Shah Iemal came to the throne.

<sup>2</sup> Maçoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. I, Avant-propos p. III.

<sup>3</sup> Maçoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Vol. VIII, pp. 281-82.

<sup>4</sup> In this translation, I have followed the text published in 1245, Hijri, 1829 A. D. at the instance of Captain George Jervis (کپتان جورج جرویس صاحب) p. 70, l. of seq. Vide Elliot's History of India, Vol. II., Appendix, p. 505.

<sup>5</sup> 941.641 *i. e.*, 941-42 A. D.

<sup>6</sup> Jarib is “a corn measure equal to four qafix.” Qafix is “a measure containing about 64 lbs. in weight.” (Steingass).

<sup>7</sup> “A weight of a dram and three-sevenths” (Steingass).

<sup>8</sup> Parvin. It also means Pleids.

<sup>9</sup> The beginning of the 23rd year of Jehangir's reign corresponded with Tuesday, the 2nd Muharram 986 H. (11th March 1578).

Irāk. Shortly afterwards, Shâh Ismail, son of Shâh Tahmasp Safawi, departed this life, and great troubles arose in Persia." <sup>1</sup>

I have given Elliot's translation but have corrected it in one place. The first part of the passage as given by Nizam-ud-Din runs thus :—

دگر ظاهر شدن دور دانه درین ایام در وقت نماز شام در طرف  
عرب مایل بشمال دور دانه روی آسمان ظاهر شد

Elliot seems to be wrong in translating the word "dar-tarf-i Arab" by "towards the east." The word "Arab" does not mean 'East.' It simply means 'Arabia.' So, the words should be translated "towards Arabia." Now, as Arabia is in the West, the words may be translated "towards the West." This translation will then tally with the statements of Badaoni and Abul Fazl, who say that the comet appeared in the West (مغرب Magreb).

There is one thing to be noticed in Nizam-ud-Din's writing. He uses the word dur-daneh (دور دانه) for a comet. I do not find the word in the well-known Persian dictionary "Burhân-i-kâtêh." I do neither find the word in the Persian-English dictionaries of Richardson and Steingass nor in the English-Persian Dictionary of Wollaston. The Tabakat-i-Akbari alone uses it for a "comet." I think that this is an attempt to render into Persian "Gurcheher," the Pahlavi word for comet, which can also be read "durcheher." We will speak of the Pahlavi word at some length later on.

*Badaoni's Muntakhab-ul-Tawârikh.*

Badaoni's version of the comet of 1578 as given in his Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh <sup>2</sup> runs thus :—

"Among the unexpected events (one) was this, that in the same year, a comet appeared from the direction of the West. When Shah Mançur left a long tail from behind in the corner of his turban, they named him (in joke) 'a tailed comet.' . . . The effects of this comet appeared in that country."

Badaoni, like Atul Fazl, places the event in the 22nd year of king Akbar's reign, while Nizam-ud-Din, as seen above, places it in the 23rd year. Elliot thus explains the discrepancy :—

"The twenty-second year began on the 20th Zi-l-hijja, 984, and being a solar year, it extended over the whole of Hijra 985, and end-

<sup>1</sup> Elliot's History of India, Vol. V, p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> Tabakat-i Akbari. Munshi Naval Kishore's lithographed edition of 1875 A.D. (1292 Hijri)

p. 339 lls. 3-4.

<sup>3</sup> Lees and Ahmad Alis text, Vol. II, p. 240, l. 16, — p. 241, l. 5. I give my translation from this text. *Vide* Lowe's translation, Vol. II, p. 248. *Vide* also "L'Empereur Akbar" par le Comte F. A. De Noer, traduit de l'Allemand par G. Bonet Maury, Vol. I, p. 262.

ed on the 1st day of 986. The oversight of this fact has given rise to some confusion in the dates about this period, and the events here recorded as having occurred in the twenty-third year of the reign are placed by Abûl Fazl in the twenty-second."<sup>1</sup>

When identifying the comet of King Akbar's reign, later on, we will see that it appeared in 1577, the 22nd year of Akbar's reign.

*Jehangir's Wâkiât-i-Jehangiri.*

The version of the author of the *Wâkiât-i-Jehangiri* about the two comets that appeared in 1618 in King Jehangir's reign runs thus (Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 363):—

"Saturday, 17th Zi-l-ka'da.<sup>2</sup> Several nights before this, a little before dawn, a luminous vapour, in the form of a column, had made its appearance, and every succeeding night it arose half an hour earlier than on the preceding night. When it had attained its full development, it looked like a spear with the two ends thin, but thick about the middle. It was a little curved like a reaping-sickle, with its back towards the south, and its edge towards the north. On the above-mentioned date it rose three hours before sunrise. The astronomers measured its size with their astrolabes and, on an average of different observations, it was found to extend 24 degrees. Its course was in the empyrean heaven, but it had a proper motion of its own, independent of that firmament, as it was retrograde—first appearing in the sign of the Scorpion, and then in that of the Scales. Its declination was southerly. Astrologers call such a phenomenon a spear, and have written that it portends evil to the chiefs of Arabia, and the establishment of an enemy's power over them. God only knows if this be true !

"Sixteen nights after its first appearance, a comet appeared in the same quarter, having a shining nucleus, with a tail in appearance about two or three yards long, but in the tail there was no light or splendour. Up to the present time, nearly eight years have elapsed since its first appearance, and when it disappears, I shall take care to record it, as well as the effects which have resulted from it."

From the above extract, perhaps one may be led to suppose that the comet continued to appear for eight years. We will explain this matter, later on, while identifying this comet.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot's History of India, Vol. V, p. 403, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The year was Hijri 1027, A. D. 1618. *Vide* Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 356.

*Mutamadkhan's Ikbāl Nameh-i-Jehangiri.*

Version of Mutamadkhan, in his *Ikbāl Nāmeḥ-i-Jehangiri*, of the first of the comets of 1618 (Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VI, pp. 406-7).

“ On the 16th of De, an hour and a quarter before the dawn of the day, there appeared in the atmosphere a vaporous matter in the shape of a column, and it was seen half an hour earlier every succeeding night. When it appeared in its full form, it resembled the shape of a javelin. It was thin at both ends, and thick and crooked in the middle like a sickle. Its back was towards the south, and its face towards the north. The astronomers measured its size by means of an astrolabe, and upon a comparison of different observations, it was found to extend over 24 degrees. It moved with the highest of the heavens, but had a proper motion of its own ; so that it first appeared in the sign of Scorpio, and in a short time left it, and entered that of Libra. It also had a southerly declination. Astrologers in their books mention such a phenomenon under the name of a javelin. Sixteen nights after its appearance a star was seen in the same direction, the head of which was luminous ; but its tail, which was two or three yards long, emitted no light. It was in consequence of its appearance that a pestilential disorder (*wabā-o tā'aūn*) spread throughout this extensive country of Hindūstān, which exceeded everything known and recorded in former ages, nor is there any mention made of such in the authentic works of the Hindūs. The pestilence arose in the country one year before the appearance of the phenomenon, and continued to rage for eight years. It was also through the effects of this phenomenon that a misunderstanding arose between His Majesty, and the fortunate prince Shāh Jahān. The disturbances which thus originated lasted seven or eight years. What blood was shed in the country ! and what families were ruined !

“ At this time it was learnt from the petition of Bahādur Khān, Governor of Kandahār, that in the environs and dependencies of the city, the mice had increased to such an extent that they left no trace of either crops or fruits. With the greatest difficulty, perhaps, only one-fourth of the produce was saved to the cultivators. In the same manner, the fields of melons and the produce of orchards and vineyards were totally destroyed ; and when no fruit and no corn remained in the gardens and in the fields, by degrees the mice all died off.”

## II.

## IDENTIFICATION OF THE COMETS.

We will now proceed to identify the comets described by the above-named Mahomedan authors. Mr. J. Russel Hind's book on comets

has been of great use to me in identifying them. The comets referred to by Nizam-ud-Din's *Tabakat-i-Akbari* and by Badaoni's *Muntakh-ab-ul-Tawârikh* are the same as that which is the fourth in the list of Abul Fazl; so they do not require a separate identification. We will proceed in our work of identification in the chronological order of their appearance. The oldest comet referred to is the one mentioned by Maçoudi.

*Maçoudi's Comet of 912 A.D.*

1. The comet of Hijri 299 (911-12 A.D.) referred to by Maçoudi is Halley's Comet in one of its previous revolutions. Mr. Russel Hind, in his book on comets,<sup>1</sup> gives a table of the most probable epochs of the perihelion passages of Halley's Comet, commencing from 11 B.C. Therein we find its 13th appearance in 912 A.D. This date corresponds to Maçoudi's Hijri date 299. In this table, the author marks with an asterisk, the most certain appearances of Halley's Comet before the year 1456. This particular appearance is not so marked, because, probably, he had not before him any historical reference to it. But a new compiler can, I think, take this as a certain appearance on the authority of a well-known Arab author like Maçoudi. In another place, Hind refers to it as a comet observed at Constantinople.<sup>2</sup>

According to Mr. Chambers<sup>3</sup>, there appeared two comets in 912 A.D. One of these was Halley's. The one referred to by Maçoudi must be Halley's, as it is referred to as a remarkable one, having been accompanied with other phenomena.

*The Comet referred to in the Nigârîstan.*

2. Elliot<sup>4</sup> surmised that the comet of Hijri 330 (941-42 A.D.), referred to in the *Nigârîstân*, was Halley's Comet, one of whose probable appearances has been reckoned to be in 930 A.D. He surmised that, as there is always a difference of a few months between each period of its appearance, due to the action of planets and to other causes, this difference of nearly 11 years may be accounted. But Russel Hind has, in his book<sup>1</sup> on Comets, given a list of the epochs of its perihelion passages on former occasions from the date of its last appearance 1835 A.D. to 11 B.C. We do not find in that list its appearance in 941-42 or thereabouts. Again, we do not find any comet mentioned in this year either in the list of Russel Hind or

<sup>1</sup> The "Comets" by J. Russel Hind (1852) p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> The Story of the Comets, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot's History of India, Vol. II, p. 506, n. 1.

in that of Ferguson. <sup>1</sup> So, for the present, we must take it as an unidentified comet.

*Abul Fazl's Comets—First Comet.*

3. (a) The first comet referred to by Abul Fazl is that of the year 1263-64 (Hijri 662). This comet is Comet III of Ferguson's <sup>2</sup> list. It passed its perihelion on 6th July 1264 at H.  $7-50'-39''$ , according to the mean time of Greenwich. <sup>3</sup> Mr. Hind says of it that it was a great comet and that it "was accompanied by a train fully  $100^\circ$  long, agreeably to the Chinese description, while European contemporaries tell us, when the head was just clear of the eastern horizon, the tail stretched passed the mid-heaven westward, which seems to indicate an extent of more than  $90^\circ$ ."<sup>4</sup>

Further on, Hind speaks thus of this great comet.—"One of the grandest comets mentioned in history is that which made its appearance in the middle of the year 1264. It is recorded in terms of wonder and astonishment by nearly all the historians of the age: no one then living had seen any to be compared to it. It was at the height of its splendour in the month of August, and during the early part of September. When the head was just visible above the eastern horizon in the early morning sky, the tail stretched out past the mid-heaven towards the West, or was fully  $100^\circ$  in length. Both Chinese and European writers testify to its enormous magnitude. In China, the tail was not only  $100^\circ$  long, but appeared curved in the form of a sabre. Its movement was from Leo, through Cancer and Gemini into Orion. It continued visible until the beginning of October, historians generally agreeing in dating its last appearance on the 2nd of October, or on the night of the death of Pope Urban IV, of which event it seems to have been considered the precursor. \* \* \* Some rough approximations to the elements have been attempted in the first instance by Mr. Dunthorne, in the middle of the last century, and subsequently by M. Pingre, the well-known French writer upon the history of comets."<sup>5</sup>

According to Russel Hind, the comet of 1556, which, according to Ferguson's list, passed its perihelion on 21st April, was the same comet appearing after a period of 292 years. Then, it was "not

<sup>1</sup> Ferguson's Astronomy, explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's principles, by David Brewster 1811, Vol. II., pp. 360-37.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> The "Comets" by J. Russel Hind (1852), p: 127. Hind gives the hour as H.  $7-51'$ .

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, pp. 116-17.

nearly so conspicuous as in 1264", but still was "a great and brilliant star." It seems to have gradually lost its brilliancy. Hind<sup>1</sup> predicted its return between 1856-1860. Two comets<sup>2</sup> have appeared within the period, in 1859 and 1860, but none has been clearly identified with it.

Abul Fazl also refers to the comet's passing from the sign of Leo and says that it was seen in Tibet, Turkestan, China, Kashgar, Fargana, Ma'wara'u'n-nahr (Transoxania) and Khorasan, and that it continued to appear for 80 days. From this, we see that it was a great comet and was seen even in China in the further east. All these facts and the year identify Abul Fazl's Comet of 662 Hijri as the great comet of 1264.

(b) We are not able to identify the second comet of Abul Fazl (Hijri 803, A.D. 1400-1) with any of the comets in the lists given in books of modern astronomy. According to Wollaston,<sup>4</sup> the Hijri year 803 lasted from 22nd August 1400 to 10th August 1401. A remarkable comet appears in Grant's list, as given by Mr. Chambers,<sup>5</sup> as one seen in 1402. So, perhaps it may be that comet.

(c) Coming to Abul Fazl's third comet (Hijri 837, A.D. 1433-34), I think it is the same as that of 1433 referred to by Russel Hind<sup>6</sup> in his list of comets. It passed its perihelion on the 4th or 5th of November 1433. It was also observed by the Chinese.<sup>7</sup>

(d) The fourth comet referred to by Abul Fazl (Hijri 985, A.D. 1576-77) is the comet IX of Ferguson's<sup>8</sup> list which passed its perihelion on 26th October 1577. Russel Hind also gives this comet in his list.<sup>9</sup> It was of this comet that Tycho Brahe found "that it had no diurnal parallax, and that it was, therefore, situated at a much greater distance than the Moon."<sup>10</sup> This comet has been identified by Elliot.<sup>11</sup> On the day of discovery it exhibited a curved tail 22° in length. The Chinese described it as of a bluish colour with a white vapour, and about 10" long.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Newcomb's *Astronomy for Everybody*, 1903, p. 274.

<sup>4</sup> Wollaston's *English-Persian Dictionary*, p. 1488.

<sup>5</sup> *The Story of the Comets* by Chambers, p. 126.

<sup>6</sup> "The Comets" by Russel Hind, p. 127.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p. 141.

<sup>8</sup> Ferguson's *Astronomy* by Brewster, p. 360.

<sup>9</sup> "The Comets" by Russel Hind, p. 128.

<sup>10</sup> Ferguson's *Astronomy* by Brewster Vol. II, p. 355.

<sup>11</sup> Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. V., p. 407.

<sup>12</sup> "The Comets" by Russel Hind, p. 100.

"The elements of this comet were first calculated by Halley."<sup>1</sup> As said above, Tycho Brahe's name is greatly connected with this comet. Mr. E. V. Heward, in his article<sup>2</sup> on Comets, thus refers to Tycho Brahe's work in connection with this comet which alarmed and surprised King Akbar's court in India.

"To Tycho Brahe belongs the credit of being the first in Europe to open the way leading to the more accurate knowledge we have to-day of the comets in relation to their position in space, and on the sure ground of actual measurement with instruments he himself had made. This he was enabled to do through the munificence of Frederick II of Denmark, who, in order to secure for his country the services of so profound a reader of the stars, built for him a palatial home and observatory on the Island of Huen, at the entrance of the Baltic. Overjoyed with the grandeur of the edifice, Tycho called it Uraniberg—city of the heavens. Here for a period of twenty years he occupied himself in measuring and mapping out the position of the stars and planets, and in poring over their significance in relation to mundane affairs. While thus employed, on November 13th, 1577, a comet came into view. It was twilight, and the after-glow, seemed to tinge the visitor with a rosy hue; but as the shades of evening closed in, its colour merged in bluish white. It was a beautiful object, with a train of silvery lustre sweeping over the heavens and dividing towards the end into two gracefully curved steams."<sup>3</sup>

Abu Fazal saw this comet in India on the day Arad, the 25th of the Ilahi month Āban. Tycho Brahe saw it on 13th November 1577. The Ilahi Calehdar of Akbar was, as we know, the Parsi Calendar. I give below a table of the Ilahi and Christian months to enable us to determine the relation of the above days.

The Ilahi or Parsée month.	Its corresponding Christian Date.
Fravardin (commences)	... 21st March
Ardibehesht ... ..	... 20th April
Khordad ... ..	... 20th May
Tir ... ..	... 19th June
Amardad ... ..	... 19th July
Sheherivar ... ..	... 18th August
Meher ... ..	... 17th September
Aban ... ..	... 17th October.
The day Arad (Arshisang) <i>i. e.</i> , the 25th day of the Āban month fell on ... ..	... 10th November.

<sup>1</sup> "The Comets" by Russel Hind, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> "What are Comets and Meteors" in the *Fortnightly Review* of November 1909.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 916-17.

This table, then, shows that while Abul Fazl saw the comet in India on the 10th of November 1577, Tycho Brahe saw it in the Baltic on the 13th of November 1577, about three days later. So the time is well nigh the same. Abul Fazl says that it had a "brilliant face." Tycho Brahe found it to be "a beautiful object." Both saw it in the western horizon.

In my paper on "The Parsees at The Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," read before this Society on 19th December 1901,<sup>1</sup> I had examined at some length the question of the so-called miracle at the Court of Akbar connected with the name of Dastur Meherji Rana, and had said, "As Dr. West said, there may be some 'probable fact,' at the bottom, round which the story is interwoven. It may be a conjurer's trick, or it may be a meteorological phenomenon or it may be the astronomical phenomenon of a comet, which is actually noted by three historians of Akbar's time, *viz.*, Badaoni, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din, and the occurrence of which has been confirmed by European astronomers. I am disposed to believe, that it was possibly the third fact, *viz.*, the phenomenon of the comet, that led to the tradition of the so-called miracle. It was believed, as Abul Fazl says, that evils resulted from the appearance of the phenomenon. They further believed that the writings of the ancients (*pishinigin*) had some *nirangs* (prayers) which averted these evils. So they may have turned to Dastur Meherji Rana for some of these *nirangs*."<sup>2</sup>

My present study of the subject of the comets has led me to strengthen my above belief still further. It is no wonder, if the great comet of 1577 surprised and alarmed the Court of Akbar and the country of India, when one reads, that even in Europe, the appearances of comets frightened not only the ordinary public but learned divines and poets, kings and nobles. We know of Pope Calixtus III that, at the time of the comet of 1456, during the period of the last Crusade, when Christendom fought against Mahomed III, he was so much frightened by the appearance of the comet, that he issued a Bull "exercising the evil thing" and asked prayers to be said. The mid-day bell known as Angelus de Midi is connected by some with this prayer and with this event.

Mr. Heward says of this comet that "the eyes of Europe were fixed upon the apparition and many and crude were the conjectures hazarded to account for its presence"<sup>3</sup> If that was the case in

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol XXI, No. LVIII.

<sup>2</sup> *I*de my book on "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> "What are Comets and Meteors"—*The Fortnightly Review* of November 1909, p. 917.

learned Europe, no wonder that similar should be the case in the comparatively backward country of India.

Coming back to Tycho Brahe's work in connection with this comet, we further read that "with honest pride he announced his discovery, saying that he had demolished the artificial fabric of the ancients—the solid crystal spheres. The free spaces of heaven he filled with air and gave countenance to the Pythagorean belief that the revolving worlds produced harmonious tunes by their action on the surrounding ether."<sup>1</sup>

*The Comets referred to in the Wakiât-i-Jehângiri and in the Ikbâl Nâme-h-i-Jehângiri.*

The Wâkiât-i-Jehângiri and the Ikbâl Nameh-i-Jehângiri refer to two comets that appeared in Jehangir's reign. Both appeared in the same year (Hijri 1027, A. D. 1617-18) with a short interval between them. We also find both from Ferguson<sup>2</sup> and Russel Hind<sup>3</sup>, that two comets had appeared in 1618. The first had passed its perihelion on 17th August 1618 and the second on 8th November 1618.

(a) Let us identify these comets. According to the Wakiât-i-Jehângiri,<sup>4</sup> the first of the two comets appeared on the 17th Zi-I Ka'da of the Hijri year 1027 (A. D. 1618). This Mahomedan date, *viz.*, 17th Zi-I Ka'da, *i.e.*, the 17th of the 11th month of the Mahomedan year, corresponds to some day in November 1618. This identification of the Mahomedan and Christian dates helps us in the matter of identifying this comet with a comet observed by European scientific writers. According to the latter, one of the comets of 1618 "passed through perihelion on 8th November 1618."<sup>5</sup> The Mahomedan Historian says that the comet appeared several nights before the 17th of the 11th month of 1027 Hijri (November 1618). A slight difference in dates presents no difficulty in our work of identification. Wollaston in his English-Persian Dictionary gives, at the end of his work, an excellent table of Mahomedan years, and their corresponding Christian years. We find from that table that the Mahomedan or Hijri year 1027 commenced on 29th December 1617, *i.e.*, only two days before the commencement of the Christian year 1618. Now the Mahomedan

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Ferguson's Astronomy by Brewster, Vol. II, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> The Comets, by Russel Hind, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 356.

<sup>5</sup> E. V. Heward in the *Fortnightly Review* of November 1909. Ferguson's Astronomy by Brewster, (1811), Vol. II, p. 360. J. Russel Hind's "Comets" (1852) p. 128.

month Zi-I Ka'da, given by the author of the Wâkiat-i-Jehângiri, is, as we know, the 11th month of the Mahomedan year. So, calculating from the 29th of December 1617, on which day the Mahomedan year 1027 began, the 11th month does not correspond with March 1618. It does correspond with November 1618, the month given by European scientific writers as the month during which the comet of 1618 appeared in its perihelion.

Thus, we see that, the first comet, referred to by the Wakiât-i-Jehângiri as appearing on the 17th day of the eleventh month of Hijri 1027, is the comet of November 1618. It was believed to have brought on, the great "Thirty years' War." Milton was of the age of 10 when it appeared, and it is said<sup>1</sup> that, it was the impression made upon his boyish mind of 10 by this comet that made him say at the age of 50 in his "Paradise Lost" the following lines:—

. . . "On the other side,  
 Incensed with indignation, Satan stood  
 Unterrified, and like a comet burn'd,  
 That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge,  
 In the arctic sky, and from his horrid hair,  
 Shakes pestilence and war" (Paradise Lost, B. II, ll. 708, et. seq.)

Mr. Heward thus speaks of it.

"It was first caught sight of in November of that year, and was attentively observed by Kepler at Lintz, Father Scheiner, at Ingolstadt, Marsilius in Bohemia, and also by the Jesuits at Goa. It passed through perihelion on November 8, and while thus saluting the sun it put forth a train which extended far past the mid-heavens to a distance of 104°. The magnificent appendage was greatly admired, for it sparkled with silvery lustre through its entire strength. And the head or body of the comet shone so brightly that Marsilius saw it in full daylight, and, more wonderful still, he says, that it cast a distinct shadow, as the Moon does. On the 25th, the tail crossed the Earth's path, and was estimated to be fifty millions of miles long. Father Cysatus saw in the body of the comet a bright, round nucleus, shining most vividly, through an immense shroud; at the same time the flickering tail seemed as if agitated by the wind, and from the head there shot forth luminous rays which instantly returned *cum vibratione enormi*. Then, to the astonishment of all, there followed a marvellous transformation. Before the eyes of the wondering spectators the comet opened out and separated into several parts, each part shining with a diamond-like sparkle. By December 20th, the whole body of the

<sup>1</sup> The Story of the Comets by Chambers, p. 211.

comet had resolved itself into a cluster of small bright stars, each one putting forth a tail of its own. Thus rapidly developed, and adorned with the attributes of beard and tail, they journeyed on together, a fine social group of comets. Before taking final leave of these parts they enacted a brilliant coup. Mingling their tails together, they sent forth an immense train, bright and sparkling, which measured about sixty millions of miles. Then, as if satisfied with the performance, the troop of celestial vagrants vanished from terrestrial gaze.

"Arago, commenting upon the physical aspect of the spectacle says : 'The separation of the comet of 1618 into several fragments took place under the direct observation of Cysatus, Wendelin, and Scheiner.'" <sup>1</sup>

Hind speaks of this comet as "a splendid comet" and as "one of finest ever observed." <sup>2</sup>

From the description of the comet as given by the above two Mahomedan authors, we find, that they refer to the same comet. But the date 16th of Dè given by the *Ikbâl Nameh-i-Jehângiri* (17th Zi-I Ka'da) does not seem to tally. I think that, perhaps the author of the *Ikbâl Nameh* has mistaken the Mahomedan month Zi-I Ka'da for Ilahi Dè.

(b) Coming to the second comet of the Wakiât-i-Jehângiri, we find that, it says that it appeared in the same year (Hijri 1027, A.D. 1618), sixteen days after the first comet. Both Hind and Ferguson speak, as said above, of a second comet in that year. But they say that it passed its perihelion on 17th August 1618, *i.e.*, about 3 months before the above-named comet of November 1618, while the Mahomedan author says that it followed sixteen days after.

In connection with this matter of difference between the Mahomedan writer and the later Christian writer, it is worth noting that, according to Hind, the observations of Kepler on the first of the two comets were "somewhat imperfect." <sup>3</sup>

From the description of the Wakiât-i-Jehângiri, one may be led to think, that the comet continued to appear for eight years. But as the *Ikbâl Nameh's* description of the same comet, which, to a certain extent, follows that of the Wakiât-i-Jehângiri, points out, the reference is to the supposed disastrous and unlucky influences of the comet. These were believed to have lasted for a long period of nearly eight years.

<sup>1</sup> "What are Comets and Meteors" ?—*Fortnightly Review* of November 1909, pp. 919-20.

<sup>2</sup> "The Comets" by Russel Hind, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.

I will supplement this account of the comets observed in India by Mahomedan historians with the following further account :—

- (1) An account of the comet observed in India in 1705 A.D. as given by an European writer.
- (2) An account of two comets observed between Hijri 1003 and 1006.

We find the following account of a comet observed in India in 1705. It is not from the pen of an Indian historian but from that of an European writer in the time of the later Mogal Emperors. The author is Mannuci. The account is taken from his "Storia do Mogor," Vol. IV, p. 247. The writer says :—

"At the same time (in 1705-6) there appeared a comet which was visible for fifteen days. The Brahmans and astrologers found herein an occasion for talk, and they declared that these signs were demonstrations of Aurangzeb's (approaching) death and of devastation in many places in the Empire together with the loss of the post of Swat."

Mannuci does not give the exact date of the appearance of the comet in India. But, after describing some events of the year 1705, he speaks of this event as happening "at the same time." So, I think, it is the comet, which, according to Hind<sup>1</sup> and Fergusson, passed its perihelion on 30th January 1706. "It was observed at Paris by Cassini and Maraldi"<sup>2</sup>. As the 30th of January 1706 is the day of its perihelion or the nearest point to the Sun, it is possible that it was seen in India some time before that day, probably at the end of 1705.

We find an account of two comets observed in Hijri 394 (A.D. 1003-4) and Hijri 396 (A.D. 1005-6) by Mahomedan writers. We have not the original Mahomedan writing before us, but we are indebted for this account to Dr. J. A. Condé, who has referred to them in his History of the Dominions of the Arabs in Spain. He thus speaks of the Comets—

"In this year of 394<sup>3</sup> (Hijri) there appeared in the heavens a comet, or blazing star, of great magnitude and astonishing splendour.

"In the year 396<sup>4</sup> there was witnessed a second phenomenon of similar kind; a bright star, namely, which was seen in the heavens and was one of those which are accompanied by great thunders while they run their course: this being one of the twelve notable ones

<sup>1</sup> Russel Hind's Comets, p. 127; Fergusson's Astronomy by Brewster, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Hind's Comets, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. October 1003-4.

<sup>4</sup> 1005-6.

mentioned by the most ancient observers. The learned watched the course of that star with much attention, and many were of opinion that none of this species ever appears unless when God the Highest, in His special providence, hath determined to bring about great changes in the world”<sup>1</sup>.

These two comets are not referred to in the lists of Fergusson and Hind. Mr. Chambers<sup>2</sup> refers to a comet, of 1005, as one falsely identified by a writer in the Edinburgh Review of April 1835 as Halley's. I think, the second of the two comets referred to above, by Dr. Condé, on the authority of Arab writers, as appearing in 396 Hijri, is this comet of 1005 A.D.

*List of the Comets.*

We will here give a list of the comets, referred to in this paper, which will present to the reader, at one sight, the dates of their appearances and an idea of their identification. In giving the Christian dates of the Hijri years of the Mahomedan authors, I have followed the following rule :—

“From the given number of Mahomedan years, deduct 3 per cent. and to the remainder add 621'54.” The corresponding rule for *vice versa* is—“From the given number of Christian years, deduct 621'54 and to the remainder add 3 per cent. of the same.” Wollaston gives, at the end of his English-Persian Dictionary, a list of the Mahomedan years and their corresponding Christian years.

*A List of the Comets referred to by the Mahomedan Authors named to in this paper.*

The Book referring to the comet.	Hijri year.	Christian year.	My identification of the comet.
1. Maçoudi's Maruj-ul-Zahb	299	911-12	Halley's Comet in 912 A.D.
2. Ahmad bin Mahmad's Nigaristan.	310	941-42	Unidentified.
Arab writers according to Dr. Condé.	{ 394 }	1003-04	Do.
	{ 396 }	1005-06	It may be the comet referred to by Chambers as appearing in 1005.
3. Abul Fazl's Akbar Namah.	662	1263-64	The comet which passed its perihelion on 6th July 1264.

<sup>1</sup> History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. Translated from the Spanish of Dr. J. A. Condé by Mrs. Jonathan Foster (1854), Vol. II, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> The story of the Comets, p. 124.

*A List of the Comets—continued.*

The Book referring to the comet.	Hijri year.	Christian year.	My identification of the comet.
4. Abul Fazl's Akbar Nameh.	803	1400-01	Unidentified. Perhaps it may be the remarkable comet of 1402.
5. Ditto ...	837	1433-34	The comet, which according to Russel Hind, passed its perihelion on 4th or 5th November 1433.
6. (a) Abul Fazl's Akbar Nameh.	985	1577-78	The comet that passed its perihelion on 26th October 1577.
(b) Nizam-ud-din's Tabakat-i-Akbari.	...	....	
(c) Badaoni's Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh.	...	.....	
7. (a) The Wakiat-i-Jehangiri and (b) Ikbâl Nameh.	1027	1618	The comet that passed its perihelion on 17th August 1618.
8. The Wakiat-i-Jehangiri.	1027	1618	The comet that passed its perihelion on 8th November 1618.
Storia do Mogor ...	...	1705-6	The comet that passed its perihelion on 20th January 1706.

## III.

## AN INQUIRY INTO THE VIEWS OF THE MAHOMEDAN WRITERS ON COMETS.

We will now examine the statements of these Mahomedan authors at some length. All of them, with the exception of Abul Fazl, have mostly described the appearances of the comets, which fell under their own observations or whose observations were noticed by some previous writers whose descriptions they followed. It is Abul Fazl alone, who, not only describes the appearances of the comets, but enters into a kind of dissertation about the theory of their formation, &c. So, we will examine his statement, and, where necessary, see, how far he is supported by other Mahomedan authors, by other ancient writers and by modern scientific writers.

## ABUL FAZL'S THEORY EXPLAINING THE PHENOMENON OF THE APPEARANCE OF A COMET.

Abul Fazl connects the phenomenon of the appearance of a comet with the formation of what he calls *bokhâr*, i.e., vapour and *dakkan*, i.e., steam. To speak of it in the modern scientific phraseology, he

connects it with the phenomenon of evaporation. He says, that its appearance is due to the vapour floating in the air, as the result of the process of evaporation. But, though the vapour is thus always in the air, the appearance of the comet is rare. So, to explain that he says, that its appearance in the heavens is due to a particular position of the planets, Mars and Mercury, in the heavens.

*A comparison with the modern view.*

As to the theory about the presence of vapours in the comet, we find, that modern scientists also refer to them, and say that the luminosity is due to them. Sir George Gabriel Stokes<sup>1</sup> says on this point :—

“ There can no longer be any doubt that the nucleus consists in its inner portions at least, of vapour of some kind, and we must now add incandescent vapour ; nor does there appear to be any reasonable doubt that in most comets this vapour consists of or contains some volatile compound of carbon, unless it be carbon itself vaporized by the heat of the Sun. . . . Now it is conceivable, that if the nucleus of a comet be endowed with an atmosphere, or perhaps even coated with a liquid, having in a high degree the combination of the transparent and athermanous characters of glass, its temperature when exposed to radiation from the Sun might rise much above what we might have expected *a priori*.”

Though Abul Fazl's reference to vapours in the comet is correct, even from the modern scientific point of view, his inference that the vapour is the vapour rising from our earth is wrong. He takes it to be an ordinary meteorological phenomenon which is not correct, as the comet appears in the ultra-terrestrial regions. Abul Fazl refers to terrestrial evaporation, while according to the modern view, it is the evaporation of a volatile liquid in the ultra-terrestrial region. The *Ikbāl-nāmeḥ-i-Jehangiri*<sup>2</sup> also connects the phenomenon with a vaporous matter in the atmosphere. The *Wākī-i-Jehangiri* also speaks of “ a luminous vapour.”<sup>3</sup>

It is one of the features which a comet generally assumes, that seems to have led Abul Fazl and others to understand that it is a terrestrial meteorological phenomenon. As pointed out by Prof. Newcomb,<sup>4</sup> one of the three features which a comet embodies is that of the

<sup>1</sup> Nature Series. “ Burnett Lectures on Light,” by Sir George Gabriel Stokes (1892), pp. 210-213.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 406.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 363.

<sup>4</sup> “ Astronomy for Everybody. A popular exposition of the wonders of the Heavens,” by Prof. Simon Newcomb, with an introduction by Sir Robert S. Ball (1903), p. 255.

nucleus, which is surrounded by "a cloudy nebulous mass like a little bunch of fog, shading off very gradually towards the edge." The comet "looks like a star shining through a patch of mist or fog." So, it is this misty or foggy appearance that seems to have led Abul Fazl and others to conceive the appearance of a comet to be a terrestrial phenomenon occurring within the limits of the strata of the earth's atmosphere.

Thus Abul Fazl and some other Mahomedan authors partially reflect the views of the early ages of science referred to by Ferguson. He says:—"In the early ages of science, the comets were regarded as an assemblage of small stars that had accidentally coalesced into one body, and afterwards they were believed to be simple meteors or exhalations generated by inflammable vapours in the earth's atmosphere".<sup>1</sup>

The view that the comets are atmospheric phenomena was held upto as late as Tycho Brahe's time. Astronomer Heath thus speaks on this point: "The ancient philosophers believed that comets existed in the earth's atmosphere. This idea was first exploded by Tycho Brahe, who showed by actual measurements that the comet of 1577 moved in space at a distance from the Earth farther away than the Moon, and therefore far beyond the confines of the earth's atmosphere."<sup>2</sup>

*Abul Fazl's view about the forms assumed by the comets.*

While explaining the origin of the appearance of the comet, Abul Fazl speaks of the various forms which the comets assume. He says that the comets assume the following forms:—

- (a) A man with locks of hair.
- (b) A person having a tail.
- (c) A person holding a lance in his hand.
- (d) An animal.

(a) The first form mentioned by Abul Fazl, *viz.*, that of a person with locks, is that which is also referred to by modern scientific writers on comets. They say that the nucleus or the central nebulous mass is surrounded by a hairy mass. The very word "comet" is derived from "coma", the latin word for hair, because it looks hairy. This hairy portion is called "coma." The nucleus and the coma together form what is called "head." We find that the use of the word "head" for a part of the body of the comet which is hairy is

<sup>1</sup> Ferguson's Astronomy by Dr. Brewster (1811), Vol. II, pp. 354-55.

<sup>2</sup> The Twentieth Century Atlas of Popular Astronomy, by Thomas Heath (1903), p. 93.

ancient. The *Bundehesh*, a Pahlavi book of the Parsees<sup>1</sup> speaks of the head and tail (*royashman va dumb*) of a comet.

One of the several Persian words for a comet is *zusu'âbe*, i.e., the possessor of locks of hair. A story is told of Professor Barnard showing a photograph of a comet to a lady. On looking to it, she is reported to have said: "Why! that comet looks as if it had been out all night"<sup>2</sup>! The remark can be more true from the point of view of the hairy portion of its head than from that of its tail.

(b) The second form of the comet referred to by Abul Fazl is that of a person with a tail. One of the several Persian words for a comet is "zuzanâb," i.e., the possessor of a tail. Our general notion of a comet is that it is a tailed star, and that, as such, it always carries a tail. So Abul Fazl's distinction between the comets, as those with locks of hair or hairy comets, and tailed comets, appears strange at first thought. But we must remember that, at times, the comet is not seen in all its perfection. At times, the nucleus or the part which forms the hairy portion is not seen at all, and at other times, it is the tail that is not seen at all. Prof. Newcombe says on this point: "Comets differ enormously in brightness . . . Sometimes a telescopic comet has no visible tail; this however is the case only when the object is extremely faint. Sometimes, also, the nucleus is almost wholly wanting."<sup>3</sup> Again, we must remember that the observations in India in the time of Abul Fazl (1551-1602 A.D.) were made with naked eye and not with telescopes. The *Wakiât-i-Jehangiri* while speaking of a comet in the time of Jehangir, the successor of Akbar, in 1618, also says that in its tail "there was no light or splendour."<sup>4</sup>

According to Badaoni, the author of the *Muntakhab-ul-Tawârikh*, the tail of a comet, which had appeared in 985 Hijri (1577-78 A. D.) in the reign of King Akbar (1542-1605 A.D.), had suggested a joke in the case of a courtier. Shah Mançur, who occupied the post of *Divân*, used to keep the end of his turban hanging behind him over his head. The recent appearance of the comet at that time suggested the idea that the end of the turban hung over the back of his head like the tail of the comet. So, in joke, he was called *Sitâr.h-i-dunbaleh* (ستاره دنباله) i.e., a tailed star or comet.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. XXVIII, 44. S. B. E., Vol. V. (1880), p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> "Modern Astronomy," by Turner (1901), p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> Newcombe's *Astronomy for everybody*, p. 256.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 364.

<sup>5</sup> The *Muntakhab-al-tawarikh* edited by Dr. Lees and Munshi Ahmad Ali (1865), Vol. II., p. 240, l. 18. Lowe's Translation (1881), Vol. II., p. 248. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. V, p. 407, n. 3.

(c) The third form attributed by Abul Fazl to a comet, *vis.*, that of a person with a lance (nizeh) in his hand, is one which is not referred to by modern scientific writers on comets, but is referred to by Pliny.<sup>1</sup> Other Mahomedan authors, besides Abul Fazl, have attributed to comets forms of instruments. The Waki&t-i-Jehangiri, while speaking of a comet that appeared in the 13th year of the reign of Jehangir (Hijri 1027, A.D. 1618) says, that it appeared "like a spear with the two ends thin but thick about the middle."<sup>2</sup> The Ikbal-nameh-i-Jehangir also speaks of the form as that of a javelin.<sup>3</sup>

Some European writers also refer to the comets as assuming the forms of instruments. For example, Sigebert says of the comet that appeared in 1066, the year of the Norman conquest, that to its train "hung a fiery sword not unlike a dragon's tail."<sup>4</sup> In another place we read of a comet appearing like a Turkish scimitar.<sup>5</sup>

(d) The fourth form supposed to be assumed by the comets, according to Abul Fazl, is that of an animal. The Pahlavi Bundelesh also seems to refer to this form.

Pliny<sup>6</sup> refers to the following forms assumed by the comets:—Sword, dart, horn, deity in a human form, spear, spire, knot of fire, and flute.

#### IV.

### THE INFLUENCE ATTRIBUTED BY THE PEOPLE TO A COMET'S APPEARANCE.

Mr. Vincent Heward, in his "Story of Halley's Comet,"<sup>7</sup> says of Halley's comet that "it is closely associated with events which have contributed largely towards moulding the destiny of Europe." One can say that that statement is true, to a greater or less extent, of many great comets. Abul Fazl's statement about the beliefs in a comet's influence is a reflection of the general belief on this subject.

#### *Abul Fazl's version of the influence of the comets.*

Abul Fazl, on the authority of ancient writers, whom he calls "writers of wisdom," says that as a result of the evil influences of a comet "a famine is in sight, sickness is prevalent and calamities gain strength." Further on, he refers to the dethronement of kings, &c. If by the "writers of wisdom" he means the *pishinigan* or "the

<sup>1</sup> Pliny's Natural History, Book II, Chapter XXII. Bostock and Riley's translation (1855), Vol. I, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 363.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 406.

<sup>4</sup> The story of Halley's Comet. The Nineteenth Century of September 1909, p. 519.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 520.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny's Natural History, Book II., Chapter XXII and XXI. Bostock and Riley's translation, Vol. I, pp. 55-58.

<sup>7</sup> The Nineteenth Century of September 1909, No. 291, p. 509.

ancients" referred to by him in another passage, we will see, later on, that the Pahlavi Bundelesh refers to all these calamities mentioned by Abul Fazl. We find from other Mahomedan authors also that the fear about the evil influences of the comets was well nigh general.

*Its comparison with other similar views.*

The following statement of Ferguson is a reflection of what, according to Abul Fazl, was the general belief of those and earlier times. Ferguson says :—"During the ages of barbarism and superstition, they were regarded as the harbingers of awful convulsions, both in the political, and in the physical world. Wars, pestilence and famine, the dethronement of kings, the fall of nations, and the more alarming convulsions of the globe, were the dreadful evils which they presented to the diseased and terrified imaginations of men . . . . Even at the beginning of the 18th century, the friend and companion of Newton, Mr. Whiston, regarded them as the abode of the damned."<sup>1</sup>

There are a number of theories about the origin and cause of the Deluge. One of these is, that it must be due to a comet which may have come into collision with the earth. Ferguson and also Dr. Whiston, an astronomer and a contemporary and friend of Newton, held this view. Ferguson says as follows on this point :—"We must confess, that if a natural cause is to be sought for that great event, we can explain it only by the shock of some celestial body. The transient effect of a comet passing near the earth, could scarcely amount to any great convulsion; but if the earth were actually to receive a shock from one of these bodies, the consequences would be awful. A new direction would be given to its rotatory motion, and the globe would revolve round a new axis. The seas, forsaking their ancient beds, would be hurried by their centrifugal force to the new equatorial regions; islands and continents, the abodes of men and animals, would be covered by the universal rush of waters to the new equator, and every prestige of human industry and genius at once destroyed. The chances against such an event, however, are so very numerous, that there is no dread of its occurrence."<sup>2</sup>

Halley is reported to have said of the comet that bears his name that "if so large a body with so rapid a motion were to strike the earth—a thing by no means impossible—the shock might reduce this beautiful world to its original chaos."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ferguson's Astronomy by Dr. Brewster (1811), Vol. II, p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> The Nineteenth Century of September 1909, p. 513.

It seems, that the very mention, by those, whom Abul Fazl calls "writers of wisdom," of the chances, however remote, of a catastrophe has led many men, even of the intelligent class, to be afraid of the phenomenon. It has led them to prayers and ceremonies to avert such misfortunes. They attributed their escape to their devout prayers. Though they believed that the general disaster was averted, they attributed partial disasters, like that of an invasion or of a dethronement, a famine or a pestilence, to that phenomenon. It was not only in India and Persia that such a fear was general. We find that it was common in many nations, both ancient and modern. Abul Fazl in his account of the comets refers to ancient Greece, Egypt and Rome. All these countries had superstitious fears of these comets. Among the Greeks, Aristototele, among the Romans, Ammianus Marcellinus and Pliny, and among the Egyptians Ptolemy refer to this.

Ammianus Marcellinus is reported to have said that "comets foretold the ruin of great conditions."<sup>1</sup> Pliny devotes two chapters (Bk. II, chaps. 22 and 23) to comets.<sup>2</sup> He divides them into several classes according to their form and appearance. In his long description of their form and appearance we find the following traits referred to by Abul Fazl,

(1) "Shaggy with bloody locks and surrounded with bristles like hair." Some "have a mane hanging down from their lower parts like a long beard."

(2) "They shine like a sword." "One had the appearance of a spear."

(3) "It portends something unfavourable".<sup>3</sup> These unfavourable prognostications depend upon the different forms and appearances that it assumes.

According to Ptolemy, referred to by Abul Fazl, "comets presented an omen especially unfavourable to kings."<sup>4</sup> Milton is believed to refer to this opinion when he says of a comet in his *Paradise Lost*, "And with fear of change perplexes monarchs." Milton also refers to the belief referred to by Abul Fazl that pestilence and wars result from the appearance of a comet.<sup>5</sup>

Pliny refers to a comet that appeared in the time of Cæsar (44 A. D.). Halley has identified this comet with that of 1680 A.D. whose

<sup>1</sup> Encyclopædia of Antiquities by Rev. Fosbroke (1825), Vol. II, p. 675.

<sup>2</sup> "The Natural History of Pliny," translated by Bostock and Riley (1855), Vol. I, pp. 55-58.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57, n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* above p. 164. *Paradise Lost*, Bk. II, ll. 708 et seq.

appearance is said to have led both Newton and Halley to believe that "the comets were perhaps controlled in their movements by the same influence as that which \* \* \* \* held the moon in its orbit." <sup>1</sup> It was the study of the observations of this comet in 1680 that led Halley to observe and study more carefully the comet which appeared in 1882, whose next appearance is foretold and which is known by his name.

Gibbon<sup>2</sup>, on the authority of Halley, and others, gives an account of the different appearances of the comet of 44 A. C. referred to by Pliny. It has the period of 575 years. While speaking of its appearance in the time of Justinian, Gibbon says that "the nations, who gazed with astonishment, expected wars and calamities from the baneful influence, and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled." <sup>3</sup> Gibbon enumerates its following appearances :—

1. Its appearance in 1767 B.C. is connected with the tradition which Varro has preserved that under the reign of Oxyges, the father of Grecian Antiquity "the planet Venus changed her colour, size, figure and course."<sup>4</sup>
2. Its second appearance in 1193 B.C. "is darkly implied in the fable of Electra, the seventh of the Pleiades, who have been reduced to six, since the time of the Trojan war. That nymph, the wife of Dardanus, was unable to support the ruin of her country ; she abandoned the dances of her sister orbs, fled from the Zodiac to the North pole, and obtained from her dishevelled locks the name of the *comet*." <sup>5</sup> From this description, we find that the comet is classed as a nymph, just as it is styled as a *pari* (fairy) in the Avesta and Pahlavi writings, as will be seen later on.
3. The third appearance was in 618 B.C., "a date that exactly agrees with the tremendous comet of the Sybill, and perhaps of Pliny." <sup>6</sup>
4. The fourth appearance was in 44 B.C. when it appeared as a long-haired star in Rome. It was believed to have "conveyed to heaven the divine soul of the dictator (Cæsar)."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The Story of Halley's Comet" by E. V. Heward in the Nineteenth Century, No. 391, September 1900, p. 509.

<sup>2</sup> The Decline and Fall of Roman Empire (1844), Vol. III, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

5. The fifth appearance was, as said above, in 531 A. D., in the reign of Justinian.
6. The sixth appearance was in 1106 A. D. Even the Chinese have a record of this appearance. This was the time of the Crusades, and both the Crusaders and the Saracens took omens from its appearance.
7. The last appearance was in 1680 A.D.

## V.

**THE VIEWS OF THE PISHINIGAN, I.E.. THE ANCIENT  
PERSIANS, AND THEIR NIRANGS REFERRED  
TO BY ABUL FAZL.**

Abul Fazl, in his long account of the comets, refers to the *Pishinigân* or: the ancients and says that they had many *nirangs* to counteract evil influences like those resulting from the appearances of comets. Let us examine here, in a separate section, the following points on this subject :—

A.—Who were the *pishinigân* ?

B.—What were their *nirangs* ?

C.—What had the *pishinigân* to say about the comets ?

A.—Who were the *pishinigân* ?

The *pishinigân* or the ancients, referred to by Abul Fazl, were the ancient Persians who professed the Mazdayaçnân faith. In the Pahlavi Dinkard<sup>1</sup>, the *pishinigân* are identified with the *poriyo-tkaêshan*. This word is used in the Persian translation from the Pahlavi of the letter of Tosar or Tansar, the Chief Priest and Prime Minister of the Court of Ardeshir Babagân, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, to Jansasfshah, the king of Tabaristan.

Tansar has used this word,<sup>2</sup> as well as the word *avalyân*<sup>3</sup> ارويان in the sense, as Darmesteter<sup>4</sup> has said, of *poriyo-tkaêshân*, who were the ancient Mazdayaçnâns of Persia of the time of Zoroaster.

B.—What were the *nirangs* of the *pishinigân* ?

The word *nirang* used by Abul Fazl is originally a Pahlavi word. Darmesteter says that "Nirang est le terme pehlvi pour les actes

<sup>1</sup> The Dinkard by Dastur Dr. Peshotan Behramji Sanjana, Vol. IX, Pahlavi text, p. 451, l. 20. Vide the Zand Pahlavi Glossary by Dastur Hoshang and Dr. Haug, Introduction p. xxxv, l. 2.

پوریو تگه‌شان و پشینیگان Poriyo-tkeshân-i-pishinigân. Vide also the text of the Sad-dari Behere-itàvil, Chapter XIII, wherein King Jamshed is spoken of as one of the *pishinigân*.

<sup>2</sup> Journal Asiatique. Neuvième Série. Tome III, Mars-Avril, 1894, p. 212, l. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 211, l. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Mai-Juin 1894, pp. 514-15.

liturgiques et par suite pour les indications liturgiques.<sup>1</sup> The word signifies more than this. It has the following different significations—

- (1). Ritual.
- (2). A prayer formula used on particular occasions and in particular ceremonies.
- (3). A prayer formula used as a charm or amulet for averting an evil.

As an example of the use of the word in the first sense, the Parsees have a ritual or ceremony called Nirangdin or nirang-i-din (lit. the ritual of religion). It is a long ceremony for the consecration of the *gaô-mez* or the urine of a sacred bull. From the name of the ceremony, urine itself is at times called *nirang*. Again, there is a Pahlavi book which is called Nirangistân, because it refers to rituals.

*Origin and meaning of the word 'nirang.'*

I think that the Pahlavi word nirang is another reading of the Pahlavi word *nirui* 𐭥𐭩𐭮, or *niru* 𐭥𐭩, which is Persian *niru* (نیرو), meaning strength or power. The same Pahlavi word that can be read *nirui* is read *nirang*. A *nirang*, whether it is a ritual, a prayer formula, a charm or amulet, or an incantation, gives to its performer, possessor, or reciter, power or strength, especially mental power or strength, as the result of faith.

In the Pazend Âfrin-i Gâhambâr<sup>2</sup> and in the Âfrin-i Ardâfarvash, we find the word *niru* in the sense of strength used with cognate words. We read there "*Aoj, zur, niru, tagi, amavandi, pirozgari hama fravash-i ashoân be-rasâd*" i.e., "May the strength, vigour, power, force, success, victory all reach the holy spirits of the pious". This word *niru* when it occurs similarly in the Âfrin-i Rapithavin occurs as *niru-i*. The sentence runs thus:—"Pa aoj, va zor va niru-i varz pirozgar-i Dadar Ahura Masda,"<sup>3</sup> i.e., "With the strength and vigour and power of the triumphant splendour of Dadar Ahuramazd." This word *niru-i* 𐭥𐭩𐭮 as written here, may be clearly read *nirang*.

<sup>1</sup> Le Zend Avesta, I. Introduction, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> The Text of the Fravashi, Afringâns and Afrins published by Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria (1883) p. 196. Afrin-i Gahambar 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* p. 178. Darmesteter translates this sentence thus:—"Que la vigueur, la force, la puissance, la fermeté, l'ascendant victorieux viennent aux Fravashis des saints"! (Le Zend Avesta III p. 181).

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Tehmuras's Text, p. 223; Afrin-i Raphithvan: 21.

Dr. Steingass<sup>1</sup> gives a Persian word 'niruyish' نیرویش as meaning "Divine decree, fate," and by putting a mark of interrogation before it, seems to have some doubt about the word. I think this word is the same as "*nirui*" which, in the above passage, is associated with Divine splendour. The final *ی* (ي) which forms abstract nouns in Persian is written in Pahlavi and Pazend with a letter 𐭥𐭩 which can be read both "sh" and "ya or ih." For example, the Persian "shādi" for joy, which is Avesta "shāiti," is written in Pahlavi "shadih" 𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭩. But, in the Pazend, the word is written and read "shadish." We have a number of such readings of abstract nouns in the Pazend *Áfrin-i Haft Ameshashpandan*<sup>2</sup>. So, Dr. Steingass's Persian word "*niruyish*" is nothing but *nirui*, which has originated the word "*nirang*."

From this short examination of the etymology and meaning of the word, we see that the word "*nirang*" has acquired the sense of incantation, charm, &c., because it gives power or strength to those who have faith in its recital.

#### *A few Parsee Nirangs.*

We have a number of *nirangs* still existing among some of the Pazend and Persian books of the Parsees<sup>3</sup>, intended to be recited on certain occasions to avert certain maladies, evils and evil influences. I have given some of the *nirangs* in my papers<sup>4</sup> before the Anthropological Society of Bombay. Among the *nirangs* that now exist, we do not find any special *nirang* enjoined to be recited on the appearance of a comet. But it seems certain, that latterly, in ancient Persia, some of the natural phenomena were believed to bring with them some calamities. As I have said in my paper on "A few ancient Beliefs about the Eclipse and a few Superstitions based on these Beliefs"<sup>5</sup>, "it was usual among the Parsees, until a few years ago, to say prayers on such occasions and to recite especially the *Mah-bokhtar Nyāish* in the praise of the moon during lunar eclipses. Mr. Gaspard Drouville<sup>6</sup> said of the Zoroastrians in Persia in the early part of this century that "Ils adressent leurs prières au soleil, et les jours d'eclipse sont pour eux jours de désolations et de deuil ;

<sup>1</sup> Persian-English Dictionary, p. 1441.

<sup>2</sup> *Áfrin-i Haft Ameshaspand* 15. Ervad Tehmuras's text, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> *Ílde* Revayet of Dārāb Hormazdyār, Bombay University Library Manuscript, Vol. I, folios 155-165.

<sup>4</sup> (a) Charms or amulets for some diseases of the Eye. The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. III (1894); p. 338 et seq. (b) *Nirang-i Jashan-i Burzigarān*. *Ibid.* Vol. V. (1900) p. 398. (c) Incantations for cutting the hair and the nails. *Ibid.* Vol. VIII.

<sup>5</sup> Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. III, No. 6, p. 360.

<sup>6</sup> "Voyage en-Perse" faites en 1813 Tome II p. 197.

ils se posterent alors la face contre terre et ne se relevent qu'au retour des rayons de cet astre."

We will see further on, that the comets were believed, as it were, to belong to the class of *paris* or fairies. So we have several Parsee *nirangs* still existing, and still recited by many—though not on occasions of the appearance of comets only—in which *paris* (fairies) are mentioned, and it is prayed that their influence may be averted. One of these *nirangs* is that known as the "Nirang of the Vanant Yasht." The other is that known as the "Nirang of the Haoma Yasht." The third *nirang* of this kind is the "Nirang-i-kusti,"<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, the prayer recited on putting on the sacred thread. The fourth is that known as the "Nirang-i dūr kardan-i zulum-i div&an va darujan"<sup>3</sup>, *i.e.*, the incantation for averting the oppressive influence of the Demons and Drujs.

*C.—What have the pishiniġān, to say about the comets ?*

Now, we come to the third part of this section. Let us examine here briefly what the Pahlavi books of the *pishiniġān* or the ancient Persians have to say generally on the subject of the comets. Before considering this subject, we must, first of all note, that in the Pahlavi Bundelesh, wherever the comets are referred to, they are generally referred to, together with the meteors.

*Meteors and comets classed together in Pahlavi books.*

Almost all scientific writers of the present day treat of comets and meteors in the same chapter or division.<sup>4</sup> They think of these as being two phenomena of well nigh the same kind. Some of the meteoric showers are believed to be the disintegrated parts of a comet. For example, the Perseides are believed to be connected with Swift's Comet or the Comet III of 1862. The Andromedes are believed to be the disintegrated portion of Biela's Comet. The Lyrids are connected with the Comet I of 1861. The Leonides are connected with the comet known as the Temple.

Prof. Newcomb connects these together, and while speaking of them under the heading "Connection of Comets and Meteors" says:—

"These objects had originally formed part of the comet and had gradually separated from it. When a comet is disintegrated . . . those portions of its mass which are not completely dissipated

<sup>1</sup> Vide Spiegel's Avesta translated by Bleek. Khordeh Avesta, Vol. III, p. 190 LXV. Vide the Pazend Texts, edited by Ervad Edalji Kershaspji Antia and published by the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay, p. 174. <sup>2</sup> Spiegel *Ibid.* p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Vide the Pazend Texts edited by E. K. Antia, pp. 181–182.

<sup>4</sup> The Twentieth Century Atlas of Popular Astronomy by Thomas Heath (1903), Chap. XIII, p. 92.

continue to revolve around the sun as minute particles, which get gradually separated from each other in consequence of there being no sufficient bond of attraction, but they still follow each other in line in nearly the same orbit."<sup>1</sup>

*Reference to the Comets in the Bundehesh.*

The Pahlavi Bundehesh, though it does not specifically refer to any connection between comets and meteors, speaks of them together. At times, both these bodies are mixed up together. It refers to the comets in chapters V, 1 ; XXVIII, 44, and XXX, 18, 31.

The fifth chapter, which is a chapter on a part of Astronomy, after speaking of the planets, speaks of two heavenly bodies as "*Gurcheher va dusdo mushpar dumbhomand.*" Dr. West translates these words as "Gocheher,<sup>2</sup> and the thievish Mushpar provided with tails." Here the word 'Gocheher' may, as suggested by Dr. West, refer to meteors. The word 'Mushpar' from its epithet *dumbhomand*, i. e., "with tails," is evidently for the comet. For this heavenly body of Mushpar (comet) it is added "The sun has attached Mushpar to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm."<sup>3</sup>

In the 28th chapter we have the words "*Gocheher royashman va dumb va mush parik-i dumbhomand,*" i. e., Gocheher, head and tail, and the tailed mush-parik. Here, we find that both the words "Gocheher" and "mush-parik" refer to comets. The words "head and tail" attached to Gocheher show that the word "Gocheher" also refers to the comet.

Then we find two more references to Gocheher in the 30th chapter of the Bundehesh. In the first place, it says "*Gucheher chegun dayan sepeher min tahi binâ barâ val samik nafrunet.*"<sup>4</sup> Dr. West thus translates the sentence:—"As Gochihar falls in the celestial sphere from a moon beam on to the earth."<sup>5</sup> Here, he takes the word "Gochihar" as referring to a meteor. But Windischmann reads the word as "Gurzcheher" and translates it as "Komet Keulenkoph," i. e., "a club-headed comet." Justi, reading it Gurcheher says of it, that it is "the name of a comet." (name eines Kometen)

Again, we read in the same chapter (Chap. XXX, 31). "*Gocheher mâr pavan zak ayokshest vataktah suset,*" i. e., "Gocheher burns the serpent in the melted metal."

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Newcomb's Astronomy for everybody, pp. 281-282.

<sup>2</sup> S. B. E., Vol. V. (1880), pp. 21-22.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> S. B. E. V., p. 125, Chap. XXX, 18.

*Pahlavi words for Comets.*

From all these references in the Bundelesh, we find that the comets are known as "Gocheher" and "Mush" or "Mush-parik."

As to the word Gocheher, we find that the word itself varies in various manuscripts, and, even when written in the same way in some manuscripts, it is read by scholars in various ways, because some of the letters of the Pahlavi alphabet admit of various readings. Taking both these facts into consideration, we find that the word can be, and is, read as: Gochihar, Gurchihar, Gurgchihar, Gurzchihar, Durchihar, Gurzdâr, Gurgdâr. The words may respectively mean "cow-faced, boar-faced, wolf-faced, mace or club-faced, far-faced, club-keeper, wolf-keeper." Some of the several words for a comet in modern Persian, as given by Richardson in his English-Persian Dictionary, are juzahr (جوزهر) *guzchahar* (گوزچهر), *guzchaharah* (گوزچهره). Dr. Steingass in his Persian-English Dictionary gives the words *gauz-chahar* (p. 1102 گوزچهر) and *jauzahr* (p. 378 جوزهر) for a comet. Nizam-ud-din in his *Tabakat-i Akbari* gives the word "dur-danê" (دور دانم) for a comet. All these are then derived from the Pahlavi word "Gurchihar" which can be, and which is, read variously. All the Persian words for a comet settle one thing, *viz.*, that the Pahlavi word "Gurchihar" and its equivalent readings in the Bundelesh refer more generally to "comets" than to "meteors."

Now, coming to the meaning of the Pahlavi word, we find, that the "comet" has derived its name, either from its apparent form of an animal,—like the cow, boar, or wolf—or of an instrument like the mace or club. These Pahlavi words then show that Abul Fazl, when he said that the comet assumed the forms of animals or of instruments like the spear or javelin, had the support of the Pahlavi writings—the writings of the ancient Persians whom he called the *pishinigân*, *i.e.*, the ancients.

Coming to the second word in Pahlavi for a comet, *viz.*, Mush-par, we do not find, that it has given an equivalent word to Persian for a comet. The word occurs twice in the Bundelesh (Chap. V, 1, 2 and Chap. XXVIII, 44). That the word is used for a comet is evident, because it has the appellation *dumbhomand*, *i.e.*, "with a tail" attached to it in both the places. As the words "*royashman va dumb*," *i.e.*, "head and tail" are attached to the word *Gochihar*, and

as the word "dumbhomand," *i.e.*, "with tail," is attached to "Mush-par," I conclude that the Pahlavi writers divided comets into the following two classes :—

- (1) Those which were quite distinct, and which appeared both with their heads (or to speak in the modern scientific language with their nucleus and coma) and their tails.
- (2) Those which appeared rather indistinct, *i.e.*, those whose tails only appeared.

I think Abul Fazl's division of the comets into two classes, *viz.*, (1) the *Zawât'l-azwâb*, (or *zuzvabê*) *i. e.*, those with locks of hair and (2) the *Zuzanâb*, *i.e.*, those with tails, corresponds to the above division of the Pahlavi *Bundehesh*, *viz.*, the *Gochihar* and the *Mush-par*.

As to the meaning of the word *Mush-par*, it is difficult to settle it. In one old text of the *Bundehesh*, in one place (chapter XXVIII, 4), the word is given as *Mush-parik*.<sup>1</sup> This *Mush-par* or *Mush-parik* is the *Mush-pairika* of the *Avesta* (*Yaçna* XVI 8, LXVIII 8) where the words *Mush* and *pairika*, seem to have been used as two separate words. The *Avesta* word *pairika* is the same as Pahlavi *parik* Persian *pari*, English *fairy*. Thus, we find, that "Mush," the *Avesta* and Pahlavi word for a comet, has the word *pairika* or *parik* or *par* meaning *fairy*, attached to it, both in the *Avesta* and in the Pahlavi. Similarly, we find that the "Meteors" which belong to the same class of bodies as the "Comets", are referred to in the *Avesta* (*Tir Yasht* 8), as belonging to a class of *fairies*.

It appears from some of the Pahlavi books, that at one time, the ancient Persians distinguished between the Sun, the Moon and the Fixed Stars on the one hand, and the planets, the comets and meteors on the other hand. The former belonged to the class of the creation of *Spēnta Mainyu*, *i.e.*, the Good Spirit, and the latter to that of the creation of the *Angra Mainyu*, *i.e.*, the Evil Spirit.<sup>2</sup> In the Pahlavi *Zadsparam* (chap. IV, 3) the planets are represented as being opposed to the Sun and the Moon. The reason, why the Sun, the Moon and the Fixed Stars are represented as belonging to the creations of the Good Spirit, and the planet and the comets and meteors to those of the Evil Spirit, seems to be this : What is orderly and systematic is said to move in the path of *Asha*, *i.e.*, Righteousness and Order. What is disorderly and unsystematic is opposed to *Asha* and is said to move in the path of the *Dravant*, *i.e.*, the wandering. Now "Planets" as their very English word (from its Greek root signifying to

<sup>1</sup> S. B. E., Vol. V (1880), p. 22 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The *Bundehesh*, chap. XXVIII, 43-45 ; S. B. E., Vol. V (1880), pp. 113-114.

“wander”) implies, are “wandering stars,” as compared with the “fixed stars.” So they are represented to belong to the class of the Evil Spirit.

The fairies, according to the ideas of the ancient Persians, belonged to the class of the creations of the Evil Spirit. Pairik, Parik, Par or Pari, the Iranian words for a ‘fairy’ come from a root “par” meaning “to tempt, to enchant”. The English word ‘fairy’ also comes from a similar root (fiér to enchant). Thus, the wandering bodies of comets and meteors were termed ‘fairies’ as belonging to the class of the creatures of the Evil Spirit.

This idea of considering the planets and the comets and meteors as belonging to the class of the Evil Spirit seems to be a later one. It does not seem to be early Avestaic. This appears from the very names of the planets. They all bear the names of some of the Yazatas or good beings named in the Avesta. For example, the planet Jupiter is called Ormazd (Ahura Mazda). Mars is called Beharâm (Verethragna). Venus is called Nâhid (Anâhita). The Oulamâ-i Islam<sup>1</sup> says that Ahura Mazda had given these planets good names. Thus the idea of attributing evil influences to the meteors and comets, which we see in later Pahlavi books and in the Persian books of Mahomedan authors, seems to be a later one.

We find a reference to the comets (Mush-pairika) in the Avesta also. They are referred to in the (Yaçna XVI 8, LXVIII 8). The Pahlavi translators of the Avesta render Mush-Parika by Mushparik.<sup>2</sup> The Persian rendering of this is “mush yani pari harâmzâd”<sup>3</sup> i.e., Mush, which is the ill-born fairy. In the above Yaçna, we find faint allusions to the belief that the appearances of the comets were opposed to the prosperity of a country.

Now, as to the word Mush, which forms the first part of the word Mush-parika, Mush-parik or Mush-par, it comes from the Aryan root “mush” to injure. This word seems to be the same as Persian Mush (موش), English “mouse.” So, perhaps one may take it, that one of the animal forms, which, the comet, according to Abul Fazl, was believed to assume, was that of the “mouse.” Prof. Harlez derives the word from the root “mush” to steal, which we find in the Sanskrit word *mushnâmi*, i.e., a thief. If we take that to be the proper root of the word, the Pahlavi word “duzina” (Persian duzd دزد)

<sup>1</sup> Fragments, relatifs à la Religion de Zoroastre. Extraits des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque du Roi (Paris 1829) p. 5. Vide M. Blochet's article “Le Livre Intitulé L'oulama-i-Islam” in the “Revue de l'Histoire des Religions” (1898).

<sup>2</sup> Spiegel's Pahlavi Yaçna, p. 96 l. 1. (mush-parik).

<sup>3</sup> My manuscript of the Avesta-Pahlavi-Persian Yaçna, Vol. I. p. 188.

*i.e.* a thief, which we find applied to Mush-par in the Bundelesh, supports that assumption. Dr. Mills asks :—"Is it possible that a plague of mice is meant, *mush* being here undeclinable"? This reminds us of what is said in the above-mentioned Mahomedan work, the "Ikbâl-nameh-i-Jehângiri." There, in the account of the phenomenon of a comet that appeared in the 13th year of King Jehangir, it is said :—"In the environs and dependencies of the city, the mice had increased to such an extent that they left no trace of either crops or fruits. With the greatest difficulty, perhaps, only one-fourth of the produce was saved to the cultivators. In the same manner, the fields of melons, and the produce of orchards and vineyards were totally destroyed; and when no fruit and no corn remained in the gardens and in the fields, by degrees the mice all died off."

The Bundelesh (Chap. V.) says of the comet that "the sun has attached Mush-par, (*i.e.*, the comet) to its own radiance by mutual agreement, so that he may be less able to do harm."<sup>2</sup> This statement refers to the movement of the comet round the sun, alluded to by Abul Fazl and referred to by modern scientific writers, who say that moving under the influence of the sun, it always describes a conic section, the curve of which is in the form of an ellipse, a parabola or an hyperbola.

The evil influences believed to be resulting from the appearance of a comet as mentioned by Abul Fazl are thus referred to in the Bundelesh :—"By them these ten worldly creations, that is, the sky, water, earth, vegetation, animals, metals, wind, light, fire, and mankind, are corrupted with all this vileness; and from them calamity, captivity, disease, death, and other evils and corruptions ever come to water, vegetation and the other creatures which exist in the world<sup>3</sup>."

The Bundelesh thus refers to the terror struck among the people by the appearance of a comet :—"The distress of the earth becomes such like as that of a sheep when a wolf falls upon it." The Avesta,<sup>4</sup> Pahlavi, Pazend<sup>5</sup> and Persian<sup>7</sup> books when they want to speak of a great alarm or terror, use this simile, *viz.*, that of the sheep being frightened by the coming of a wolf in their midst.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> S. B. E. Vol. V (1880) p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Bundelesh, Chap. XXVIII, 45. S. B. E. Vol. V, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* Chap. XXX, 18. S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> Vendidad XIX, 33.

<sup>6</sup> Afrin-i Ardafarosh.

<sup>7</sup> Le Livre des rois par M. Mohl, vol. I, p. 365. "Il apercut ses hommes de guerre qui avaient peur de l'elephant comme une brebis quand elle voit la face du loup."

ART. XIX.—*Kumāragupta the patron of Vasubandhu.*

*An interesting literary reference.*

K. B. PATHAK, CHITRASHALA, POONA.

In Vāmana's *Kāvya-lāṅkārasūtravṛtti*, we have the following important passage, to which I beg to invite the attention of Sanskrit scholars, who are interested in the history of Indian Literature :—

सोयं संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयश्चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा

जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्टया कृतार्थश्रमः ।

आश्रयः कृतधियामित्यस्य वसुबन्धुसाचिन्व्योपक्षेपरत्वात्सामिप्रायत्वम् ।

Vāmana's *Kāvya-lāṅkārasūtravṛtti*,  
Vāṇivilāsa Press Edition, p. 86.

*Translation.*—This very son of Chandragupta, young, shining like the moon, and the patron of eminent men of letters, has now become king deserving congratulations on the success of his efforts.

The words "patron of eminent men of letters" contains an allusion to the ministership of "Vasubandhu."

Kumāragupta, the son of Chandragupta II (413—455 A.D.) is alluded to in the preceding half verse as the patron of Vasubandhu, the illustrious Buddhist author. Paramārtha, another famous Buddhist author, who lived between 499—569 A.D., tells us that Vasubandhu died at the age of 80 during the reign of Bālāditya. The last-mentioned Gupta King was the grandson of Kumāragupta. Vasubandhu was, therefore, contemporary with Kumāragupta, Skandagupta and Bālāditya. When Paramārtha, in his life of Vasubandhu, speaks of King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā and his crown-prince Bālāditya as patronising Vasubandhu, the Buddhist Biographer obviously refers to the famous Gupta King Skandagupta who had the title of Vikramāditya. This identification has already been proposed by Dr. Takakusu in his very valuable paper on the date of Vasubandhu, contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* for 1905, pp. 33-53. As regards the date of Vasubandhu, this Japanese Scholar has discussed all the Chinese authorities bearing on the subject, and sums up his conclusion in the following words—

“ At present we must rest satisfied with the result at which we have arrived, however small it may be, in establishing the date

of Vasubandhu in the light of Paramārtha's valuable work. We can thus take Vasubandhu's date A.D. 420—500, as well-nigh settled."

This date of Vasubandhu, as well as the identification of the Vikramāditya mentioned by Paramārtha with Skandagupta, the son of Kumāragupta, and the father of Bālāditya, is now amply confirmed by the literary reference which is given above.

The most important work of Vasubandhu was the *Abhidharma-kośa*, which he composed in the great monastery near Peshawar (*Purusha-pura*.) When *Sanghabhadra* challenged Vasubandhu to a personal discussion, the latter declined on the ground that "even a complete refutation by the former would have no effect on his *kośa*." Vasubandhu's hope that this literary production of his genius would be immortal was amply realised, because the study of his *Kośa* was so universally popular in the first half of the seventh century that even devout parrots explained it :—

त्रिसरणपैः परमोपासकैः शुकैरपि शाक्यशासनकुशलैः कोशं समुपदिशद्भिः

Harshacharita Chapter VIII, p. 317.

Bombay Sanskrit Series ed.

Here the word *Kośa* is explained by the commentator Śāṅkara as कोशो बौद्धसिद्धान्तो वसुबन्धुकृतः। Bāṇa's reference to the *Abhidharma Kośa* of Vasubandhu is misunderstood and mistranslated by Professor Macdonell when he tells his readers that "pious parrots expounded a Buddhist dictionary."

History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 333.

This testimony of the Brahmin poet Bāṇa to the immense popularity enjoyed by the Buddhist author Vasubandhu, and to the fact that to explain the *Abhidharmakośa* was a very common attainment in the first half of the seventh century is very important. We need not, therefore, be surprised that the poet Vāmana has preserved for us the historical fact that Vasubandhu enjoyed the patronage of Kumāragupta. The interesting half verse which Vāmana has rescued from oblivion is evidently taken from a lost poem dealing with the Gupta Dynasty, which may for convenience be called *Guptavaṃśa-mahākāvya* in which the name of Vasubandhu is directly mentioned, or which was composed by Vasubandhu himself to congratulate Kumāragupta on his accession to the throne. It may be hoped that manuscripts of this poem may yet be discovered in Kāshmirā, where Vasubandhu spent many years of his life.

## DIGNĀGA AND KĀLIDĀSA.

The date of Vasubandhu being established beyond dispute, the next question which I propose to settle is the date of Dignāgāchārya. Dr. Takakusu says that Dignāga's works were translated into Chinese by Paramārtha who lived between A. D. 499-569. One of these works was called प्रमाण समुच्चय which is referred to by Hiuen Tsang and is mentioned as an illustration by the Buddhist authors of the Kāśikā under Pāṇini III, 3, 42. I-tsing (671-695 A. D.) assigns Vasubandhu to "the middle ages" and Dignāga to "late years." From these facts we may safely conclude that Dignāga flourished in the second half of the fifth century A. D. and was contemporary with Skandagupta, who had the title of Vikramāditya. It was during the reign of this Gupta king that the first invasion of India by the Hūṇas took place. The white Huns or the Hūṇas, as they are called by Sanskrit writers, were settled in the valley of the Oxus between A. D. 455-480<sup>1</sup>. In the well-known verses of the Raghuvamśa, the importance of which I have already pointed out, the text found in six different commentaries, including that of Vallabha, who belongs to the twelfth century<sup>2</sup> and was a native of Kashmir, is वङ्क or वङ्ग.

विनीताध्वश्रमास्तरस्य वङ्गतीरविचेष्टनेः ।

दुधुवर्वाजिनः स्कन्धालम्ब कुङ्कुम केसरान् ॥ ६७ ॥

तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।

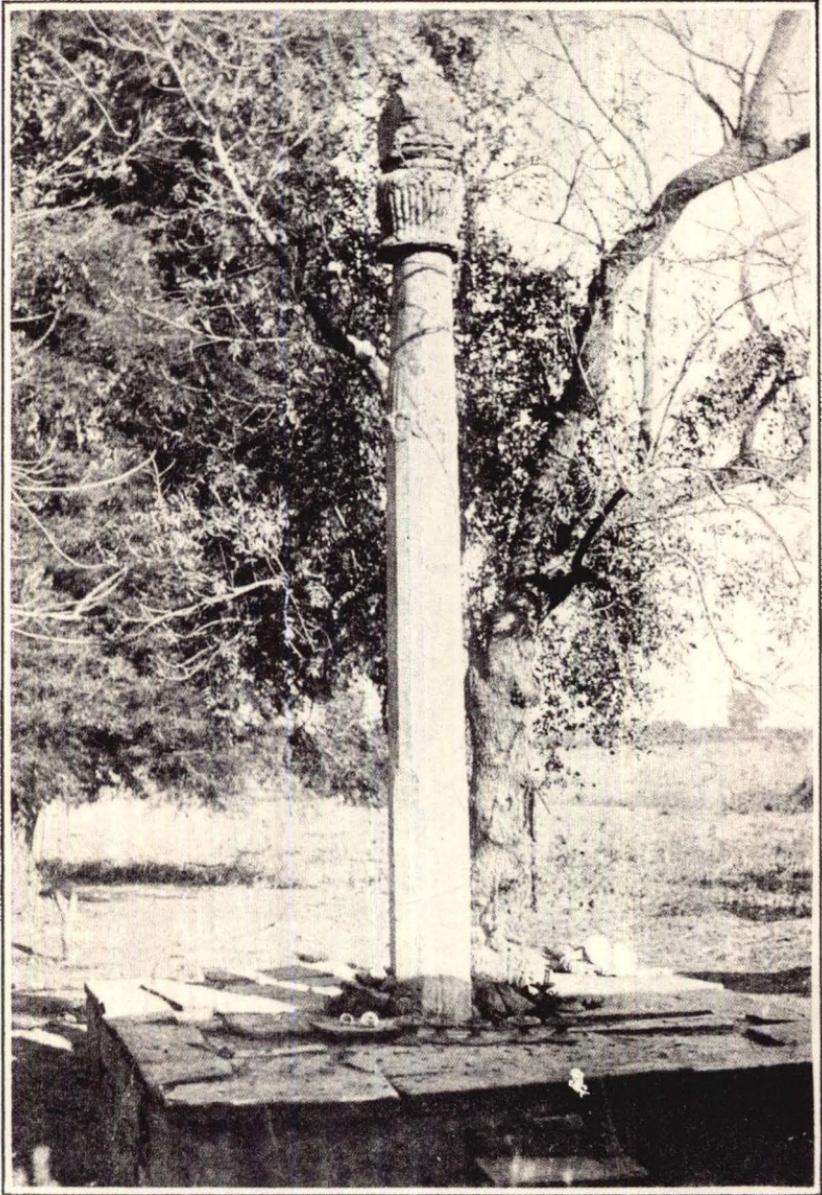
कपोलपाटलदेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥ ६८ ॥

## Raghu IV.

It is obvious that वङ्ग is only a Sanskritized form of the name of the river Oxus. And Kālidāsa's reference to the Hūṇas in these verses, therefore, amounts to a definite statement that in his time the Hūṇas were settled on the banks of the Vankshū or Oxus. It is thus clear that Dignāga and Kālidāsa were contemporaries and flourished in the reign of Vikramāditya of the Gupta Dynasty whose other name was Skandagupta.

<sup>1</sup> Smith's Early History of India, 2nd Ed. p. 297.

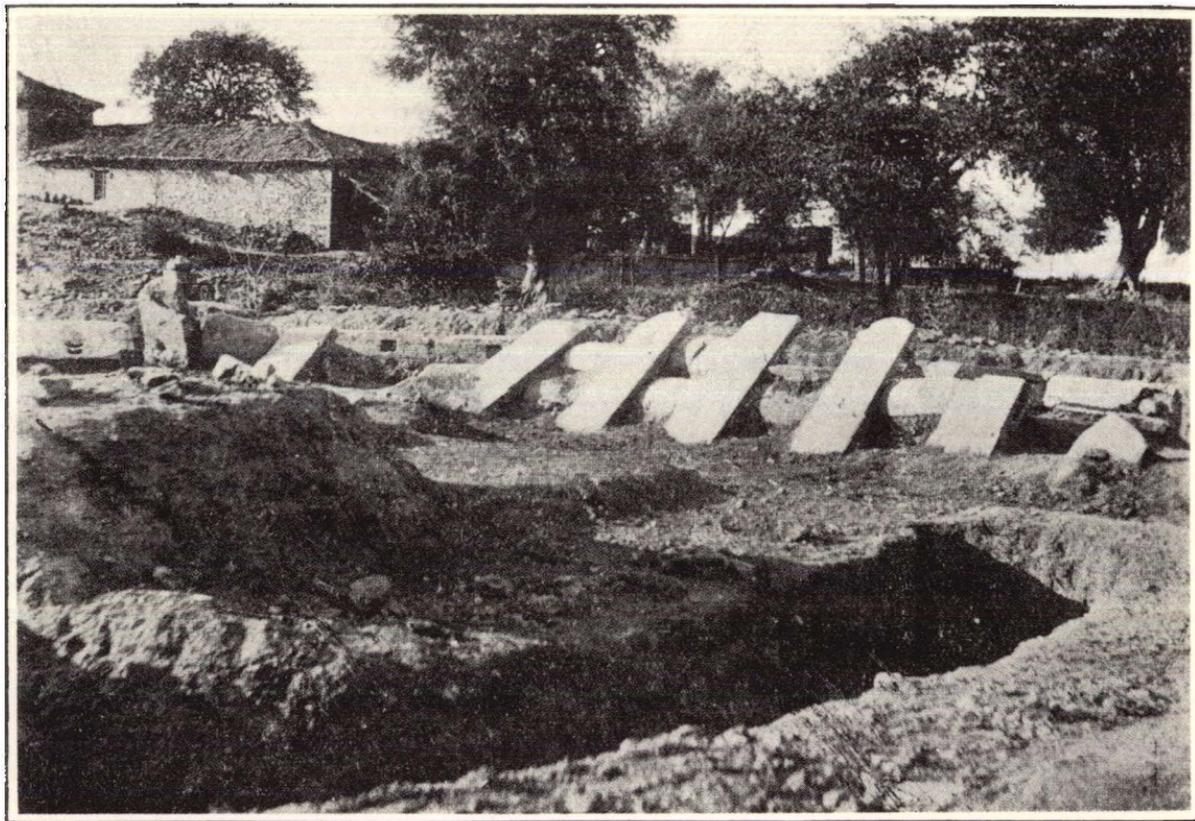
<sup>2</sup> Vallabha mentions Bilhāṇa (Durgāprasād's Ed. of Māgha, last stanza). Vallabha's explanation of आस is quoted by Vardhamāna in his Gaṇaratnamahodadhi.



*Khamba Baba Pillar.*



*Stone Ghat.*



*Khamba Baba Mound.*



*Back View of Female Figures.*

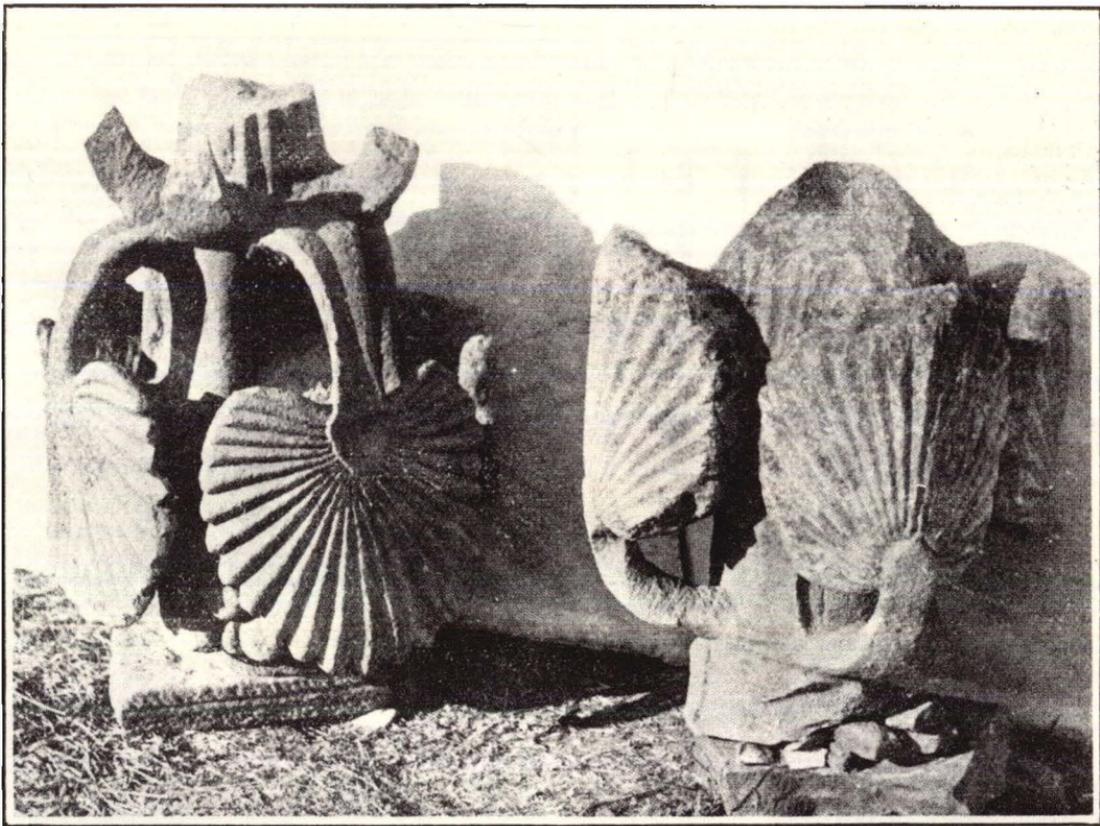


FIG. 2.

FIG. 1.

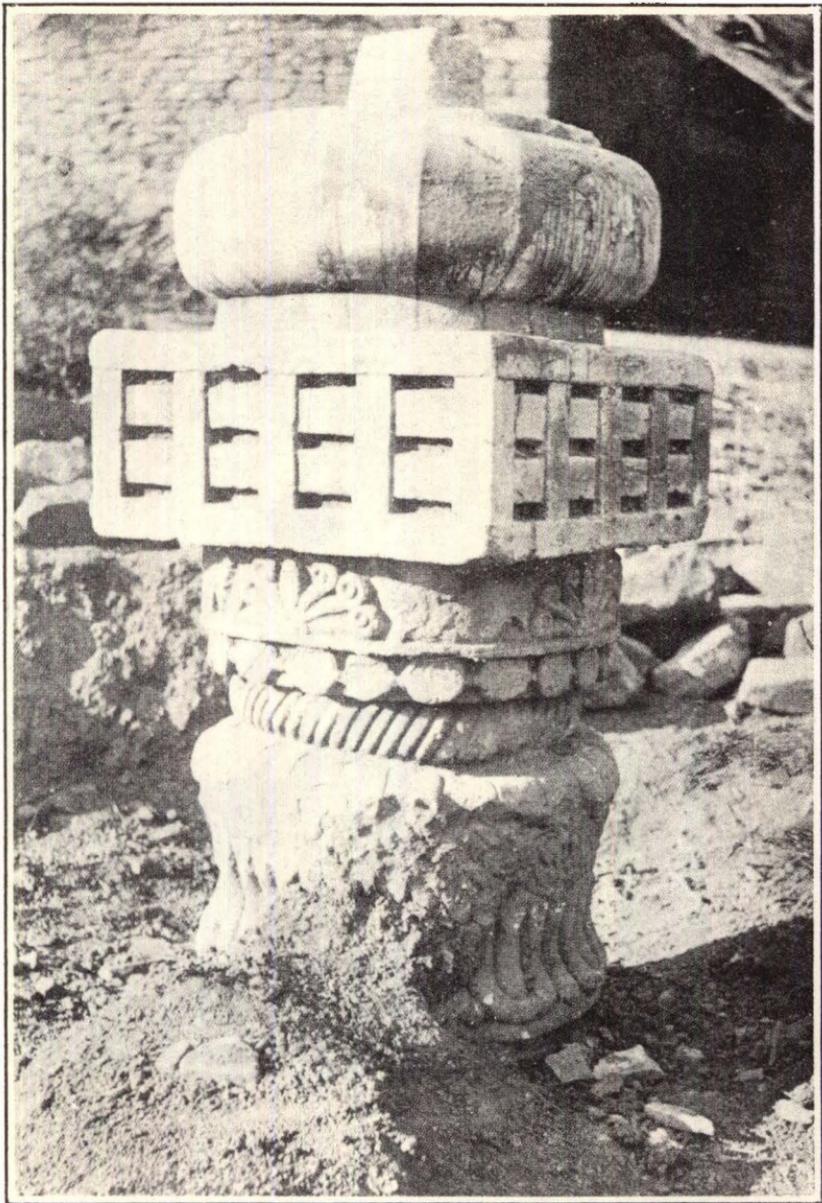


FIG. 5. *Buddhist Rail Capital.*

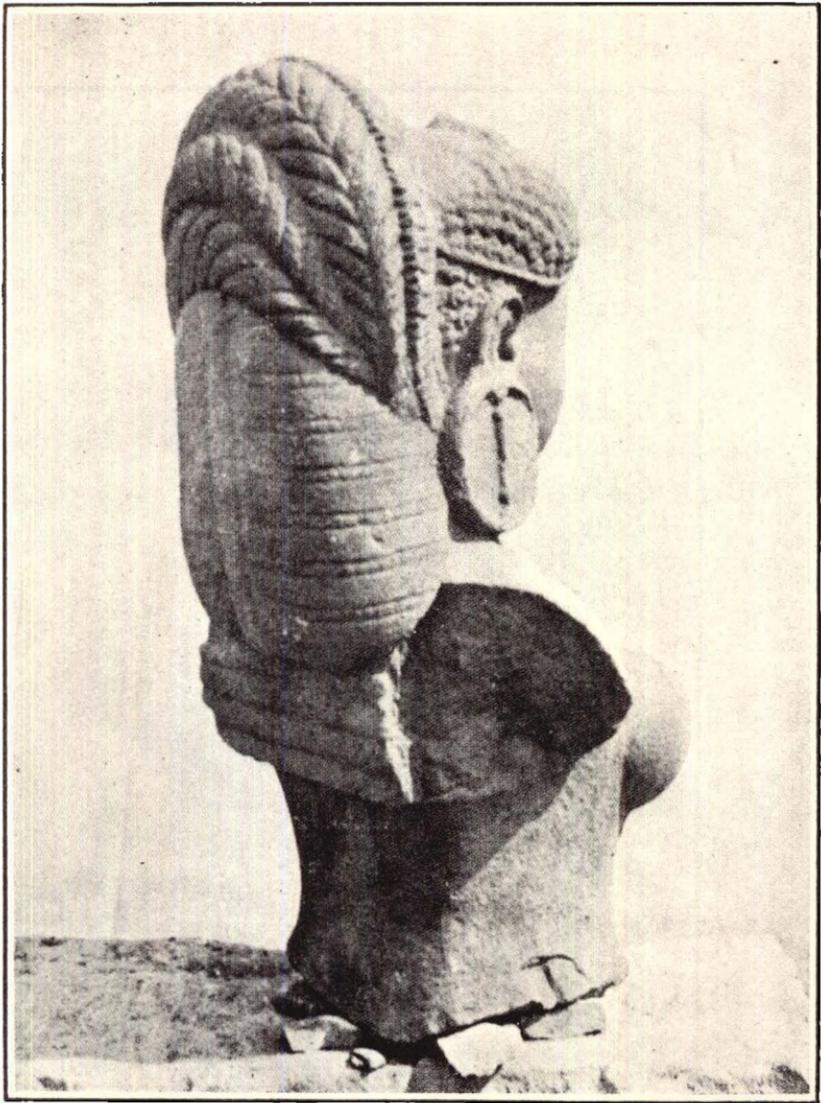


FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.

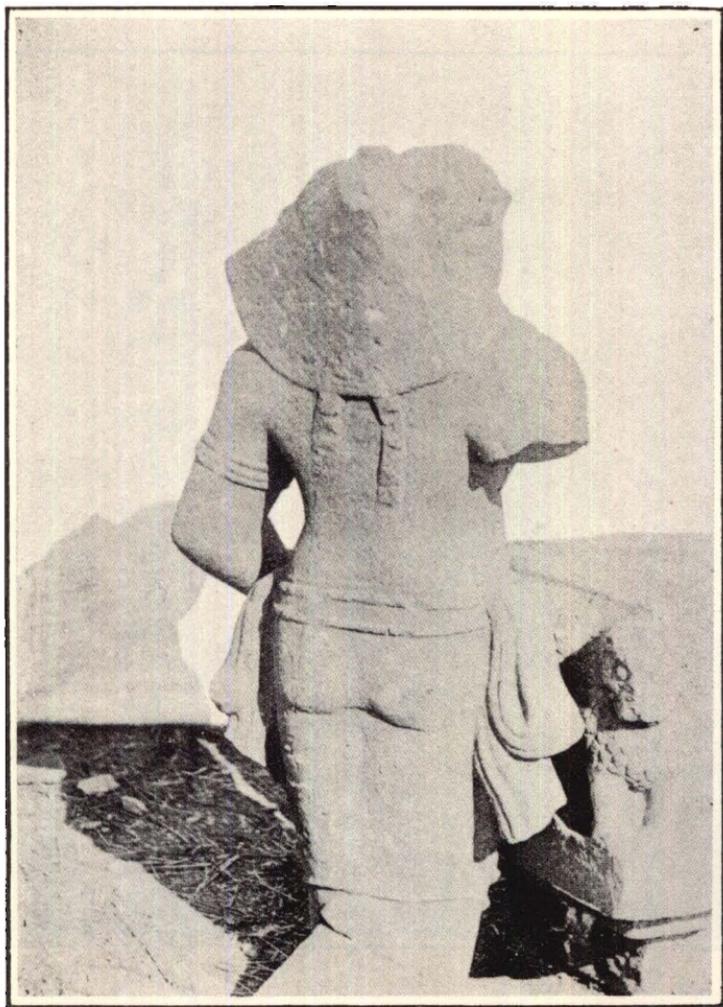


FIG. 10.

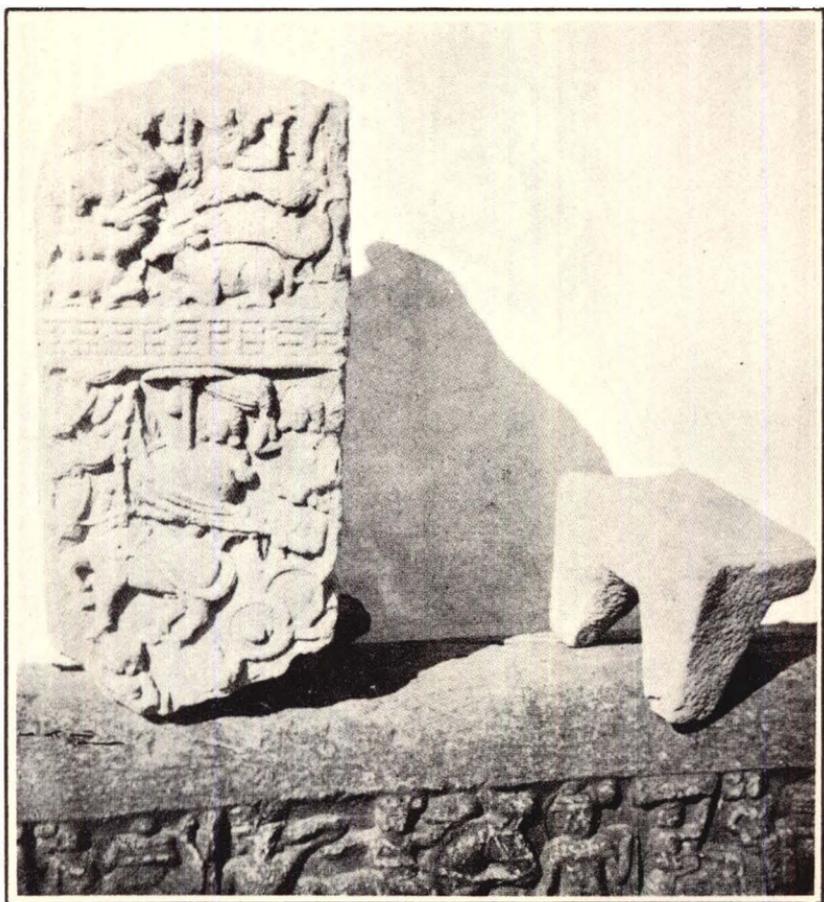


FIG. 13.

FIG. 11.

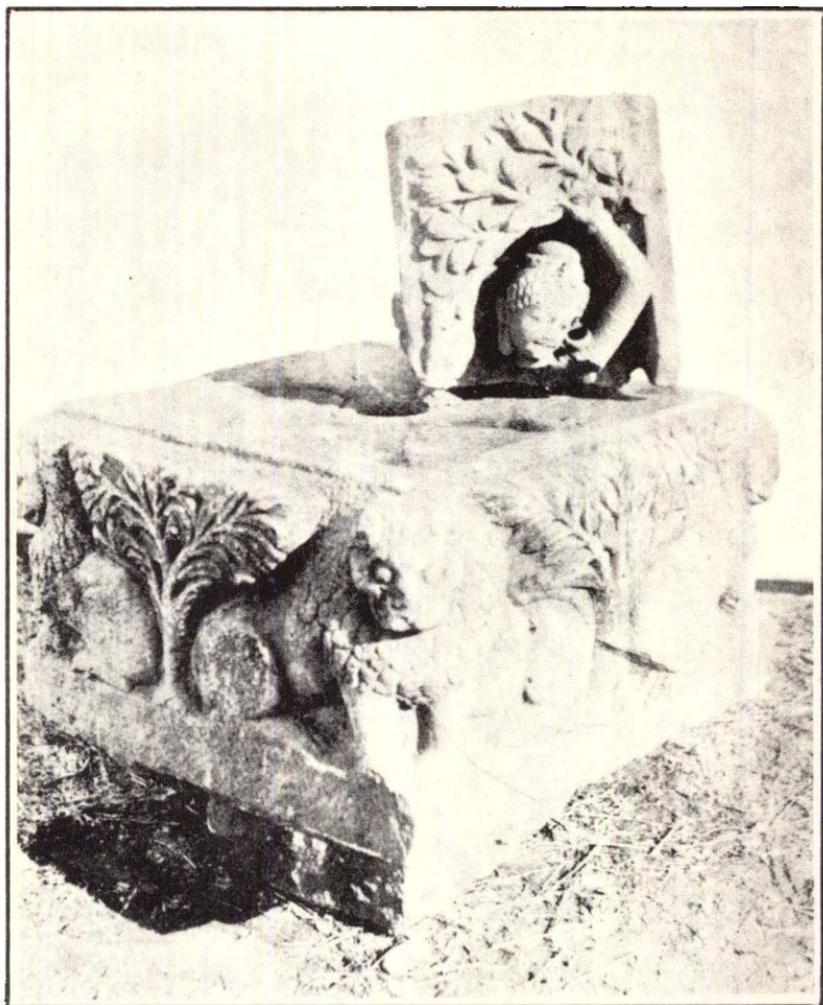


FIG. 12.

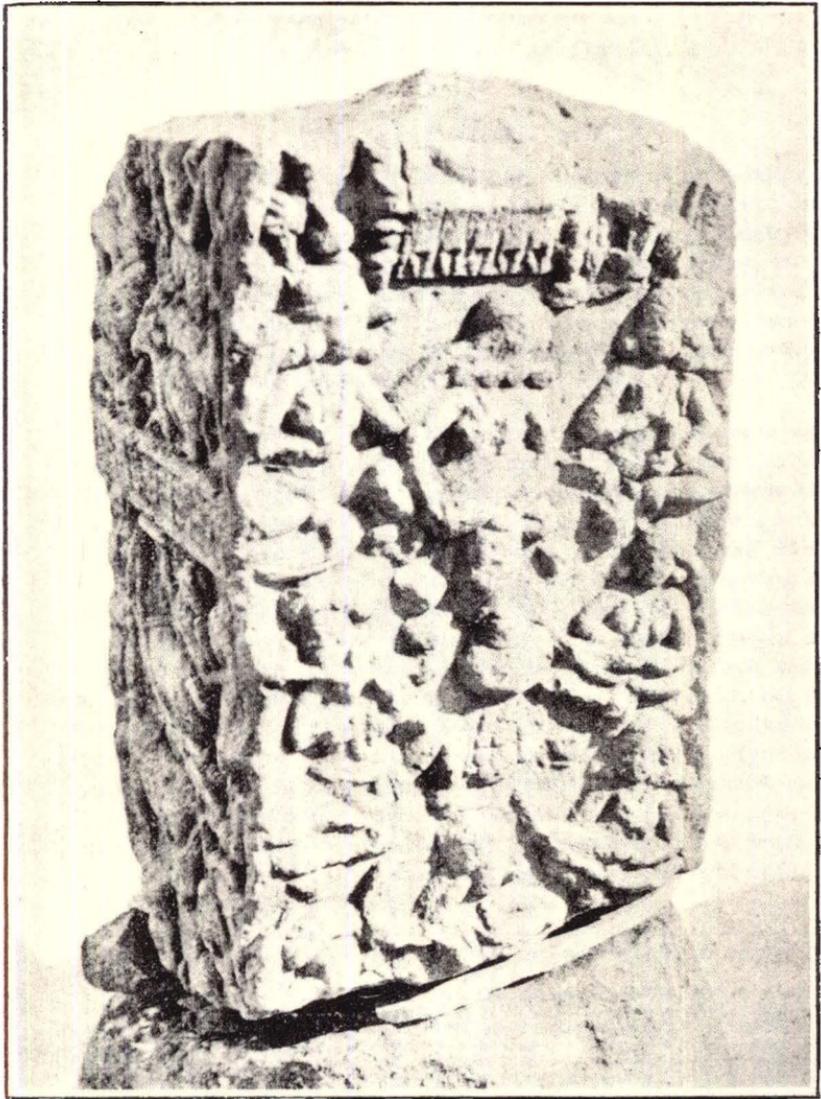


FIG. 13.

ART. XX.—*An Iranian Precursor of Dante and  
an Irish Precursor of Dante.*

BY

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

The stories of the visits of the other world by pious persons in a dream, in a state of trance or ecstasy, or otherwise, have been many, and they are found among many nations and in many countries. I had the pleasure of reading a paper before this Society, on 26th February 1892, entitled "The Divine Comedy of Dante and the Virâf-nameh of Ardâi Virâf,"<sup>1</sup> wherein, I have referred to two such stories, and have compared, at some length, the versions of the visions of Dante of Italy and Ardâi Virâf of Irân.

Last year, I had the pleasure of writing a similar but more amplified paper, entitled "An Iranian Precursor of Dante" for the Dante Society, at the request of its Secretary, to whom my name was kindly submitted for a paper or lecture, by Countess Martinengo Cesaresco. I had the pleasure of reviewing, in the *East and West* of July 1909, at the request of its Editor, that lady's interesting book, "The Place of Animals in Human Thought," wherein she has referred to the Italian and Iranian visionaries.<sup>2</sup> The review brought about some correspondence, wherein I drew her attention to, and sent her a copy of, my above paper before our Society. That led to her drawing the attention of the Dante Society to my paper and to the invitation above referred, to write a paper for the Dante Society. In that paper, though I have said many things that have already been said by me in my first paper before this Society, I have added a good deal more, as the result of my studying "the subject anew with some further materials on Dante that have freshly come to light or that had not been used by me before."

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<sup>1</sup> Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XVIII, pp. 192-205; vide my "Asiatic Papers," pp. 31-44.

<sup>2</sup> "Like the vision of the Seer of Patmos (Dante) this work (the Book of Ardâi Virâf) is purely religious; it attempts no criticism of life and man such as that embodied in the "Divina Commedia," but in spite of this difference in aim, here is an astonishing resemblance between its general plan and that of the poem of Dante. Without going into this subject, I may say that I cannot feel convinced that with the geographical, astronomical, and other knowledge of the East which is believed to have reached Dante by means of conversations with merchants, pilgrims and perhaps craftsmen (for that Italian artists worked in India at an early date the Madonna-like groups in many a remote Hindu temple bear almost certain testimony), there did not come to him also some report of the travels of the Persian visitant to the next world." (The Place of Animals in Human Thought" by the Countess Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco, p. 160.)

The subject of this paper was suggested to me while studying further for that paper. It was suggested to me by an interesting book by Mr. C. S. Boswell, entitled "An Irish Precursor of Dante," recently published, and received in the library of our Society last year.

In this book, the author has given an account of an Irish seer, Adamnán, and the translation of the Irish book "Fis Adamnáin," which embodies the version of his vision of the next world. Two versions of the Fis Adamnáin exist in two old manuscripts in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. One was copied from an older copy not in existence now, in about 1103, and the other was written at the end of the 14th century. Dr. Whitley Stokes, who was in India from 1862 to 1882, and was the legal member of the Supreme Council from 1877—1882, had edited and translated the Irish book, but had printed only 50 copies for private circulation in Simla in 1870. This copy is not to be found, either in our library or in that of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The attention of students among the general public has been drawn to this Irish vision, only three years ago, by the publication of Mr. Boswell's book on the subject. The learned author gives therein a lucid and interesting account of the various heads of traditions, under which can be grouped, the "several widely divergent lines," along which the legend of the vision of the next world, which forms the ground plan of the vision of Adamnáin, may be traced. One of the heads of traditions is the Eastern or Oriental tradition. While tracing this tradition from its origin in the times of the earlier Accadians and Assyrians, he speaks of the Iranian tradition, as noted in the Avesta and other books. There, he refers to the *Vara*<sup>1</sup>, the happy region founded by the Iranian Yima, the Yama of the Vedas, and says of its denizens that their "life was one of perpetual mirth and gladness, exempt from heat and cold, sickness, old age and death; and there (was) no humpbacked, none bulged forward, there; no impotent, no lunatic; no one malicious, no liar; no one spiteful, none jealous; no one with decayed tooth, no leprous to be pent up, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Maienya stamps the bodies of mortals."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Boswell then adds: "It is impossible not to be struck with the resemblance which this passage bears to chapter 35 of the Fis

<sup>1</sup> Vendidad, II, 29, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Boswell's "Irish Precursor of Dante," p. 73. I may say here, that while reading the passage in Mr. Boswell's book, before reading his above quotation and observation, which occur later on, I was at once struck with its similarity to the Vendidad passage which was very familiar to me.

Adamnân. This passage of the Irish book may be given here for comparison. It runs thus :

“ This, then, is the manner of that City : A Kingdom without pride, or vanity, or falsehood, or outrage, or deceit, or pretence, or blushing, or shame, or reproach, or insult, or envy, or arrogance, or pestilence, or disease, or poverty, or nakedness, or death, or extinction, or hail, or snow, or wind, or rain, or din, or thunder, or darkness, or cold,—a noble, admirable, ethereal realm, endowed with the wisdom,<sup>1</sup> and radiance, and fragrance of a plenteous land, wherein is the enjoyment of every excellence.”<sup>2</sup>

Having made the above observation on the similarity of the above passages, Mr. Boswell says thus :—

“ This resemblance must be purely accidental, but it is none the less worthy to be noted ; for there is reason to suspect that a careful record of the similitudes and coincidences which so frequently occur where imitation or direct derivation is impossible, might tend to discourage the arbitrary assumption that derivation must needs exist, in cases where it may be possible, but is not proved.”<sup>3</sup>

The object of this paper is to present as desired, by Mr. Boswell, a record of the similitudes which exist between, not the Avesta and the Irish book, but the Irish vision of Adamnân and the Irânian vision of Ardâi Virâf. I find that Mr. Boswell has not referred at all to the Virâf-nâmeh. His attention does not seem to have been called to this Pahlavi book, which has been translated into English. Had he known the book, perhaps he would have drawn some resemblances. To make my paper a little complete in itself, I not only give the points of similarity between the two visions, but go also into the subjects of the visionaries and the origin of the visions.

Mr. Boswell himself has given some points of resemblance between the Avestan eschatology and the eschatology of St. Adamnân's vision, which is, more or less, the eschatology of the Hebrews and of the early Christians. To speak more generally, he gives a comparison between, what he calls, the ecclesiastical tradition and the Irânian tradition as found in the Avesta and other books. So I will not refer here, at any length, to that comparison or points of resemblance, but, before coming to the immediate subject of my paper,

<sup>1</sup> Or fruitfulness.

<sup>2</sup> “ The Irish Precursor of Dante ” by Boswell, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

—*viz.*, the points of resemblance between Adamnân and Ardâi Virâf— simply give a list of these points.

(a) The association of the idea of the Tree of Life<sup>1</sup> with a mystical bird. The Christian legend and Adamnân's vision refer to it. It is the bird Karsipta.<sup>2</sup>

(b) The world-sea. In the Avesta, it is the sea Vôuru-Kasha, which physically or terrestrially can be identified with the Caspian.

(c) The temporary provision for the souls of mingled characters, *i.e.*, who are neither good nor bad. Those are the inmates of the Irânian Hamastgân.

(d) The idea of a guardian angel attending the soul of a dead person. Mr. Boswell thinks this to be the Fravashi, or Farohar of Zoroastrianism. But, I think, he is the same as the angel Sraosha.

Coming to the subject proper of the paper, the subject can be divided into four heads :—

I.—An account of the Irânian visionary, his book of vision, and his vision.

II.—An account of the Irish visionary, his book of vision, and his vision.

III.—A few points of resemblance between the Irânian and Irish versions.

IV.—An enquiry into the origin and the materials of the versions.

As to the first part of the subject, *viz.*, "An account of the Irânian visionary, his book of vision, and his vision." It has been treated very superficially by me in my first paper before this Society, and more fully in my paper sent to the Dante Society. To make this paper complete in itself, and in order to enable my readers to have the whole subject before them for comparison, I will give now this first part as I have given it in my paper before the Dante Society.

## 1

### AN ACCOUNT OF THE IRANIAN VISIONARY, HIS BOOK OF THE VISION, AND HIS VISION.

I will treat this subject under four heads—

(a) Virâf, the Irânian visionary.

(b) Virâf-nâmeh, the Book of the Irânian vision.

(c) The circumstances of the times of Virâf.

(d) An account of the vision.

<sup>1</sup> Haoma. Yaçna, IX—XI; Bundesh XVIII, 1—2, XXVII, 4; Zadsparam VIII, 5 XXXVII, 100.

<sup>2</sup> Vendidad II 42. In the Pahlavi commentary, it is also called chehâr-ravâki, *i.e.*, a quadruped. *Vide* also the Pahlavi Visparad I, 1; Bundesh XIX 16; XXIV 11. Darmesteter in his "Ormuzd et Ahriman" (p. 157), considers the subject to be a meteorological allusion.

A.—*Virâf, the Irânian Visionary.*

Nothing is known of the life of the Irânian Divine with whose name the book is connected. It is not even possible to fix exactly the age when he flourished. The later Pazend version of the Pahlavi Virâf-Nâmeh makes him a contemporary of King Vishtâsp<sup>1</sup>, and places his vision after the death of Zoroaster in that monarch's reign. The still later Persian version of the book makes him a contemporary of Ardeshir<sup>2</sup> Babegân, the founder of the Sassanian Empire. The Pahlavi work itself (Chap. I, 16) places his time after that of Alexander the Great, and even after that of Dastur Âdarbad Mârespand, the Irânian Savanarola, who lived in the reign of Shâpur II (A.D. 309-379), and who took an active part in bringing about the Irânian Renaissance.

In the Dibâcheh-i-Âfringân<sup>3</sup>, Virâf's name is recited as that of a great departed worthy of Irân. He is there spoken of as Ardâi Virâf Ardâ Farosh. Following the analogy of a number of other names, therein recited, Ardâ Farosh may, at first sight, seem to be the name of his father. But, in this case, it seems to be simply an appellation like that, which we find after several names, like those of Jâmâsp and Agrerath. "Ardâ Farosh" may be taken in the sense of "the Holy Farohar or Holy Spirit." That appellation seems to have been applied to him for his having performed the task, which forms the subject of our paper, *viz.*, that of going to the other world in his lifetime as a holy spirit and of describing the vision of that world.

The Âfrin-i-Rapithavin enumerates some of the worthies of ancient Irân, especially those who took an active part in the spread of the Zoroastrian religion, and in bringing about its renaissance after the blow that it had received at the hands of Alexander. The list of this Âfrin closes with that of Khusro Kobâd (Chosroes I), popularly known as Noshirwân Adal or Noshirwân the Just. As Ârdai Virâf's name does not occur in the list of this Âfrin, we are led to think that he lived at some time in, or after, the reign of Chosroes I (531-579 A.D.), in whose time, or shortly after whose time, the Âfrin must have been written. So, the most probable date when Virâf lived was the latter half of the sixth century after Christ.

The Virâf-Nâmeh (Chap. I, 35) says that Ardâi Virâf was called Nishâpurian by some. We know of a commentator on the Avesta,

<sup>1</sup> Pazend text by Ervad E. K. Antia, p. 358, ll. 8-10.

<sup>2</sup> The Revelations of Arda Virâf by J. A. Pope, pp. 1-3. *Ardâ-Virâf-Nâmeh* by Dastur Kaikhuuru, Persian version, p. 1, l. 3; p. 2, l. 26. *The Ardai-Viraf-Nameh or The Revelations of Arda-Viraf, the Persian Saint*, by Geo. Maddox, pp. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> Spiegel's Avesta, translated by Bleeker, Vol. III. *Khordah-Avesta*, XLVIII, p. 172.

known as Nishâhpûhar (Pahlavi Vendidad V, 34<sup>1</sup>; VIII, 22). He is also referred to in the Pahlavi Nirangistân. This commentator Nishâhpûhar was a councillor of the court of King Noshirwan (Epistles of Mânushcheher I, Ch. IV, 17). So, if we take Virâf, whose another name was Nishâpurian, to be the councillor who assisted Noshirwân in his fight against Mazdak, his age was that of the sixth century after Christ.

*B.—Virâf-nâmeḥ, the book of the Irânian vision.*

'Ardâi Virâf-nâmeḥ, or the book of (the vision of) Ardâi Virâf, is the name of a Pahlavi book which describes the vision. It belongs to the second of the three classes into which the late Dr. West<sup>2</sup> has divided the extant Pahlavi literature, *vis.*, "The Texts on Religious Subjects."

We are not in a position to fix exactly the date at which this Pahlavi Virâf-nâmeḥ was written, but it is probable that it was written in the last days of the Sassanian Empire, at some time after the reign of Chosroes I, more generally known as Noshirwân the Just.

The text of this Pahlavi book was published for the first time with an English translation in 1872<sup>3</sup>.

A French translation<sup>4</sup> from the original Pahlavi was published in 1887.

Another edition of the text with a Gujarati translation has been published in 1902<sup>5</sup>.

The Pahlavi text has been latterly rendered into Pazend<sup>6</sup> and then into Persian<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Spiegel's Pahlavi Vendidad, p. 59, l. 2. He is also referred to in the Pahlavi Madigân-i Hâzâr Dâdistân. *Vide* the Photo-Zinco fac-simile text edited by me, pp. 14 and 34. *Vide* my Introduction to "The Social Code of the Parsees in Sassanian Times," p. XII. He is named 7 times in the Pahlavi Vendidad, four times in the Vendidad commentary and 18 times in the Nirangistân.

<sup>2</sup> "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie," Pahlavi Literature.

<sup>3</sup> The Book of Arda-Virâf. The Pahlavi text prepared by Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa, revised and collated with further MSS. with an English Translation and Introduction, by Martin Haug, Ph., D., assisted by E. W. West, Ph., D.

<sup>4</sup> Arta-Virâf-Namak ou Livre d'Arda-Virâf, traduction par M. A. Barthélemy.

<sup>5</sup> Arta-Virâf-Namak. The original Pahlavi text, with an introduction, notes, Gujarati translation and Persian version of Zarthosht Behram in verse, by Dastur Kaikhusru, Dastur Jamaspji Jamasp Asa.

<sup>6</sup> The Pazend texts, collected and collated by Ervad Edalji Kersâspji Antia, and published by the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet (1909), pp. 358-380.

<sup>7</sup> Arda-Virâf-Nameh, by Dastur Kaikhusru Dastur Jamaspji Jamasp Asa (1902). Persian version, pp. 1-37.

The attention of learned Europe was drawn to this Iranian vision by the English rendering of this Persian version by J. A. Pope in 1816. As Dr. Haug said, it "then excited considerable interest" in Europe<sup>1</sup>.

*C.—The circumstances of the Times of Virâf.*

As to the circumstances, under which Virâf saw and described his vision, we gather the following facts from his Virâf-nâmeh and from other Pahlavi sources<sup>2</sup> :—

Alexander the Great, when he overthrew the ancient Achemenian Empire and conquered Persia, destroyed a good deal of the old literature, especially the religious literature of the country. Authorized copies of this literature were kept in the two well-known libraries of the country, the one known as Ganj-i Shapigân and connected with the Royal treasury at Shapigân or Shaspigân at Samarcand<sup>3</sup>, and the other, known as Daz-i Napisht (lit. the castle of written documents), and connected with the royal palace at Istakhar. The latter is said to have been burned by Alexander in one of his drunken frolics at the instigation of Thais, the courtesan, and the contents of the former were carried away by his Greeks<sup>4</sup>. Alexander, at one time, thought of even destroying the whole of the aristocracy of Irân, so that, he could then safely march to India without the least fear of having his rule overthrown by the leaders of Irân, rising in revolt. But, he was saved from the guilt of doing this atrocious act by his tutor Aristotle. We find an excellent account of the correspondence that passed between Alexander and Aristotle in this matter in the letter<sup>5</sup> of Tansar or Tosar, the minister and Dastur of Ardashir Babegân to Jasnafshah, the King of Tabaristan. Aristotle thus wrote in reply to his royal pupil :—

"What distinguishes the Persians, is courage, bravery, and prudence in the day of battle—qualities which form the most powerful instruments for sovereignty and success. If you exterminate them, you will destroy from this world, the best

<sup>1</sup> The Book of Arda-Virâf. Introductory, Essays III, p. LV. In 1904 Mr. George Maddox rendered Mr. Pope's prose translation into prose verse, under the title of "the Arda-Virâf-Nameh."

<sup>2</sup> (a) Dinkard, Book III. *Vide* Haug's introduction to the Zend Pahlavi Glossary of Dastur Dr. Hoshangji, pp. XXXI-XXXVIII, and West's Dinkard, S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII., pp. XXX, XXXI, pp. 412-413.

(b) Tansar's letter to the king of Tabaristan. *Vide* Journal Asiatique, Neuvième Série, Tome III (Mars., Avril, Mai, Juin, 1894), p. 516.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* my Asiatic papers, pp. 152-154; Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XX, pp. 161 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> Ebn Khaldoun as quoted by Hadji Khalife. "Relation de l'Égypte," par Abd-al-latif, traduit par Silvestre de Sacy (1810), p. 241.

<sup>5</sup> Journal Asiatique Neuvième Série (1894), Tome III, pp. 503-505.

pillar of talent, and once the great men have disappeared, thou shalt be unavoidably forced to pass down to villains, the functions and the ranks of the great. Now, bear this in mind, that in this world, there is no evil, plague, revolt and pestilence of the action of which shall be so pernicious as the promotion of villains to the rank of nobles."

Having thus dissuaded Alexander from putting to death the aristocracy of Irân, he gave him the advice to "divide and rule." He asked him to divide the Irânian Empire into petty principalities (*Muluk-i-Tawâif*), so that no particular chief can be so powerful as to raise the banner of revolt and to rule over the whole of the Empire.

Thus, the conquest of Irân by Alexander gave a great blow to the religion and literature of the country, and brought ruin and disaster to its aristocracy of wealth and intellect. The *Virâf-nâmeh* thus takes a note of this event: "Till the completion of 300 years (from the time of Zoroaster), the religion was in purity, and men were without doubts. But, afterwards, the accursed evil spirit, the wicked one, in order to make men doubtful of this religion, instigated the accursed Alexander, the Ruman, who was dwelling in Egypt, so that he came to the country of Irân with severe cruelty and war and devastation; he also slew the ruler of Irân and destroyed the metropolis and empire, and made them desolate. And this religion, namely, all the Avesta and Zend, written upon prepared cow-skins, and with gold ink, was deposited in the archives in Stakhar Pâpakân<sup>1</sup>; and the hostility of the evil destined wicked Ashemok, the evil-doer, brought onward Alexander, the Ruman, who was dwelling in Egypt and he burnt them. And he killed several *dasturs* and judges and *herbads* and *mobids*, and upholders of the religion, and the competent and the wise of the country of Irân. And he cast hatred and strife, one with the other, amongst the nobles and householders of the country of Irân; and self-destroyed, he fled to hell. And after that, there were confusion and consternation among the people of the country of Irân, one with the other. And so they had neither lord, nor ruler, nor chieftain, nor *dastur*, who was acquainted with the religion, and they were doubtful in regard to God; and religions of many kinds and different fashions of belief and scepticism and various codes of law were promulgated in the world<sup>2</sup>."

This state of affairs of, what may be called, the "Dark Ages" of Irân lasted for a very long time. At last, Ardashir Babegân, laying the foundation of the Sasanian Empire, brought about the

<sup>1</sup> The name of Persepolis in Sasanian times; the modern Persian Istakhar.

<sup>2</sup> *Virâf-Nameh*, Chap I. 2-11; Dr. Haug's translation of the *Virâf-Nameh*, p. 143.

Renaissance in religion and literature. The Renaissance had begun in the last days of the Parthian rule. Valkhash (Vologeses I) may be said to have begun it. But Ardeshir laid the foundation of it on a firm ground. While doing so, he tried to bring about the unity of the Church and the State. Shapur I, Shapur II, and Chosroes I continued the work at intervals. This brings us to the time of Ardaī Virāf.

Coming to the times of Chosroes I (Noshirwan the Just), we find that this monarch had to fight against the tenets of that Iranian socialist Mazdak<sup>1</sup>. Thus, Mazdakism also had added to the religious disorder of the times. Countess Cazaresco<sup>2</sup> seems to suggest, that the Christian sects, which were, after some persecution in 344 A.D., tolerated in Persia, and which latterly received the Moslem invaders with favour, may also be one of the many causes that led to religious scepticism and disorder. It is possible that all these causes may have more or less contributed to the then current state of affairs.

In order to put an end to this state of scepticism and disorder, resulting from a long period of the rule of foreign powers and changing dynasties and from a long list of various causes, and in order to bring about a state of improvement, a new attempt was now made. A number of religious and God-fearing men met together in the great Fire-temple of Âtash-Farobā. According to the Persian version of the Virāf-nāmeḥ, at first, there met a large assembly of 40,000 leading men of all the cities of Irān. They elected a body of 4,000 persons from among themselves. These selected a body of 400, and these again one of 40. This body of 40 then selected a smaller body of 7 from among themselves.

According to the Pahlavi Virāf-nāmeḥ, after some deliberation they came to the conclusion, that "some one of them must go to, and bring intelligence direct from, Divine Intelligence." They resolved upon calling a general meeting, of the people to select a properly qualified person for the divine mission. The people met and selected, from among themselves, seven men, who, on account of their great piety, and on account of the purity of their thoughts, words and deeds, were best qualified for divine meditation. These seven then selected from among themselves, the three best, who, again, in their turn, selected, from among themselves, one by name Ardâi Virāf, who belonged to the town of Nishāpur. Virāf, before sub-

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* my Paper on "Mazdak, the Iranian Socialist" in the Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume, pp. 117-131.

<sup>2</sup> "The Place of Animals in Human Thought," pp. 160-161.

mitting to this selection of himself, wished to ascertain what the sacred divination was about his election. As in the choice of Mathias, as the last apostle, he desired to determine by lot, the sacred divination. He said: "If you like, draw lots for the (other) Mazdayaenâns and myself. If the lot falls to me, I shall go with pleasure, to that abode of the pious and the wicked and I will carry faithfully this message and bring a reply truthfully." The lots were drawn thrice and they fell to Virâf.

#### *D.—An Account of the Vision.*

After describing the times and the circumstances which led to the vision, we will now speak of the vision itself.

The lots that were drawn being in favour of Virâf, he prepared for the vision or for the visit to the other world. He retired to a quiet place, washed himself, put on a new clean suit of clothes and said his prayers. He then drank three cups of a sacred somniferous drink in token of "*humata, hukhta and hvarshta, i.e.,* good thoughts, good words and good deeds. The somniferous drink and the deep divine meditation soon threw him into an unusually long sleep, which lasted for seven days and nights. The place of his retreat was guarded from interference by several pious men. Virâf rose from this meditative sleep at the end of the seventh day.

He rose, as if, from "a pleasant sleep."<sup>1</sup> All the priests and others who were round about him, were pleased to see him awake, and they all welcomed him "from the city of the dead to the city of the living."<sup>2</sup> They paid their obeissance and homage and Virâf bowed in return. He then blessed them in the names of Ahura Mazda (God), of the Ameshâspands (archangels), of Zoroaster, of Sarosh and Âdar, the two angels that were his guides, and of all the pious spirits of the other world. The assembled priests blessed him in return and requested him to describe his vision. Before doing so, he asked for food and drink. Food, water and wine were immediately brought before him. He said grace and took his meals, which included *myazd, i.e.,* consecrated bread and other eatables. Having finished his repast he said grace again, as was, and still is, the Zoroastrian custom. He then sent for a clever writer (*dâpir*) and dictated to him an account of his vision.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chapter III. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid III. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Virâf narrates the account in the first person. Here I describe it in a narrative form.

According to his account, on the first night of his seven days' sleep, the angels Sarosh, who is the messenger of God, and Âdar, who presides over fire, came to him, and bowing before him, welcomed him. They took hold of his hand, and, in their company and guidance, he advanced to the Chinvat bridge with three footsteps of *humata, hukhata* and *hvarshla*, i.e., of good thoughts, good words and good deeds. This was a bridge which the souls of all the departed have to go across. For three nights after death, the souls of all men remain within the precincts of this world, more especially at the places where their corpses lay. The souls of the righteous recite the words which meant "Happiness to him through whom happiness reaches others." On the dawn of the third night, the soul of a righteous man goes over to the other world. It passes through an atmosphere of sweet scent and fragrance.<sup>1</sup> The whole aggregate of his *Kunashne*, i.e., his deeds done in this world, presents itself before him in the form of a beautiful and virtuous damsel. The righteous soul asks the damsel<sup>2</sup> who she was. She replies: "O young man of good thoughts, good words and good deeds! I am (the result of) your good deeds."

Having seen this state of affairs of the pious and righteous souls that cross the Chinvat bridge to go over to paradise, Virâf himself crossed the bridge, which widens on the approach of righteous souls and straitens itself on the approach of unrighteous souls. He saw, at the bridge, the angel Mithra<sup>3</sup>, who judges men's actions in this world. He had with him the angel Rashnu who helped him in his work of judgment with a balance in his hand. The angels Vai (Râm), Vahrâm (Beharâm) and Âstâd who helped Mithra, were also there.

Crossing the bridge, Virâf entered into the other world in the company of his two guides. At first, he was taken to Hamestagân which is the place, where live the souls of those whose meritorious acts and sinful acts in this world are equal. Virâf was told, that, if one's meritorious actions exceeded his wrongful acts even by a small measure, he was sent to Heaven. If the contrary, he was sent to Hell. If both were equal he was sent to this place till his resurrection. The only punishment here was alternate heat and cold of the atmosphere.

<sup>1</sup> Vide my paper "An untranslated Chapter of the Bundelesh (Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXI, pp. 49-65." Vide my "Asiatic Papers," pp. 217-34.)

<sup>2</sup> According to Dr. Cheyne, who calls this "a very noble allegory," in his work, entitled "The origin of the Psalter," the Mahomedans have taken their idea of the *pari* in the Heaven from that of this damsel among the Iranians. Rev. Dr. Casartelli calls this a "a Dantesque episode." (Outre-Tombe K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, p. 74.)

<sup>3</sup> Vide my paper on "St. Michael of the Christians and Mithra of the Zoroastrians—A comparison" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VI, pp. 237-254). Vide my paper on "The Belief about the Future of the Soul among the ancient Egyptians and Iranians (Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XX, pp. 217-232.)

From this stationary place of Hamēstagān, Virāf was taken to the first stage of Heaven, with the first step of *humata* or good thoughts. The place of this heaven was a place of the track of the star. A second step of *hukhata*, *i.e.*, good words, took him to the second heaven of the track of moon; and a third step of *hvarshata*, *i.e.*, good deeds, took him to the third heaven of the track of the sun. A fourth step took him to the fourth heaven of Garotman, which is the very seat of Ahura Mazda. Here, he was welcomed by all pious persons and made to eat *anōsh*,<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, immortality. Here, his guide Adar drew his special attention to the fact, that some people carelessly burnt green wood over fire. This was wrong. A tank of water resulting from the green wood was pointed out to him (Chap. X, 11). Then, Vohuman, the second of the seven Archangels, or the first of the six—if Ahura Mazda be excluded from the list—got up from his golden throne and introduced Virāf to Ahura Mazda, who was surrounded by all the archangels and by the holy spirits of pious and religious persons like Zoroaster, King Vishtāsp, Jāmāsp, Frashaostar, Isadvāstar and others. Ahura Mazda welcomed him and directed the guides of Virāf to show him Heaven and Hell.

In his celestial tour in the Paradise, Virāf now and then utters words of praise to the righteous souls (Chap. XII, 5). Virāf saw in Heaven the souls of the following class of righteous persons. The liberal; those who recited their prayers and were steadfast in their religion; good rulers; speakers of truth; women of good thoughts, good words and good deeds, who were obedient to their husbands; those who took care and made proper use of water, fire, earth, trees, cattle, sheep and such other good creation of God and who regularly performed religious ceremonies and praised God; those who performed religious ritual well; warriors in the cause of good work; those who killed noxious creatures; the agriculturers; good artisans; shepherds, who attended to and fed their cattle, saved them from the grasp of wolves and looked to their breeding at proper times; heads of families and villages, who did their respective duties carefully and who carried prosperity to waste land by introducing therein streams, canals and such other water works; and those who spread knowledge and religion and who interceding between fighting parties brought about peace.

Then Virāf was taken to a place where a river was formed of the tears of those who lamented much and wept for their dear departed

<sup>1</sup> The Hādokht Nask, Chap. II, 88; and the Minokherad (Chap. II, 152) speak of *maidyo-zarm raagan*, *i.e.* the oil maidyo-zarm which is given to pious souls as an emblem of immortality. On drinking it, the soul forgets his past life of this world.

ones. The souls of these dead ones, for whom much lamentation was made by their living dear ones, found it difficult to cross the river formed of their tears. Those for whom there was not much unreasonable lamentation crossed the river easily. Showing this river of tears, Âdar, one of the two guides, asked Virâf to convey a message to the living world that people should not indulge in unlawful lamentation, which, instead of doing any good, did a good deal of harm to the dead.

Virâf was then taken back to the Chinvat bridge (Chap. XVII). He now saw there the souls of the sinners. During the first three nights after death, the soul of the sinner felt miserable, roved round the place where the corpse lay and uttered words of despair, saying : " Ahura-Mazda ! Where shall I go ? Where shall I take refuge ? " He is overtaken with a cold stinking wind.<sup>1</sup> The aggregate of his sinful actions in this world appears before him in the form of a very ugly woman, who presents herself before him, as the result of his bad life, and taunts him for having failed to do his duty towards his God and for having acted according to the will of Ahriman. The soul of the wicked man then passed on to Hell, where it went with three footsteps. The first step of *dushmata* (evil thought) took him to the first hell of evil thoughts; the second step took him to the hell of evil words (*dushukhta*), and the third to that of evil actions (*dusvarshta*). The fourth step took him to the Hell proper. Virâf's guides took hold of his hand in this place of danger, so that he may be unhurt. It is a place full of cold and heat, drought and stench, darkness and depth. Every soul there feels alone, and a period of three days appears like that of 9,000 years. All noxious creatures, the smallest of which is like a mountain, torment him day and night.

Virâf is now taken through the different parts of hell, wherein he sees the different classes of sinners meeting with their appropriate punishments. At each of these places, Virâf puts a question to his guides about the particular sins the sinful had committed, and they explain the state of affairs. The list of sinners observed by Virâf is too long to be enumerated here in details. But the following list of sins gives an idea of the different classes of sinners : Sodomy ; murder ; adultery ; fraud in weights and measures ; misrule ; slander ; avarice ; lying ; defrauding workmen ; disowning one's children ; infanticide ; perjury ; extortion ; dishonesty in the acquisition of wealth, in measuring lands, in removing boundary stones, and in agreements and promises.

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<sup>1</sup> Vide my paper entitled " An untranslated Chapter of the Bundeshesh " (Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXI, pp. 49-65)

There are a number of sins which can be considered as such only from a Zoroastrian point of view. They are such as the following:— Non-observance of certain rules of abstinence on the part of women during their menstruation ; talking when dining ; walking without shoes ; pollution of fire or water by throwing hair and such other animal refuse into them ; wearing of false hair or painting of faces.

At the end of his visit of Hell, Virâf was taken to the place where lived Ahriman, the great evil spirit himself. Virâf saw, that instead of consoling the sinners who had acted according to his will, he taunted and reprimanded them. He said to the sinners : “ You ate the food given to you by God, but served me (instead of serving Him). You did not think of your Creator, but acted according to my will ” (Chap. C, 3-4).

Now Virâf was taken to Ahura Mazda for the second time. Ahura Mazda welcomed him and asked him to convey the following message to the world :—

“O Ardai Virâf ! Say thus to the Mazdayaçnâns of the world : There is only one path (and) it is the path of Righteousness. It is the path of the ancients. All other paths are no paths. Go along that one path which is that of Righteousness. Do not turn away from it, whether in prosperity or in adversity and in any case whatever. Entertain good thoughts, utter good words, practise good actions. Continue in that very religion which Spitamân Zarathusht accepted from me and which Vishtasp promulgated in the world. Hold fast the law of virtue and abstain from vice. Bear this always in mind, that cattle will be (reduced to) dust, horse will be dust, gold and silver will be dust, the body of man will be dust. He alone will not be (reduced to) dust who will praise righteousness and do the works of righteousness.”

Asking Virâf to convey this beautiful message to the denizens of the world, Ahura Mazda, bid adieu to him saying : “ Ardai Virâf ! You are righteous. Prosperity to you.”

## II.

### AN ACCOUNT OF THE IRISH VISIONARY, HIS BOOK OF VISION, AND HIS VISION.

Now, I will give a brief account (A) of the Irish visionary, (B) of his book, and (C) of his vision, as collected from: Mr. Boswell's work.

*A—An account of Adamnán, the Irish visionary.*

Ir or Eri, a word which can be compared to Avestaic *airya* (in Airyana Varja or Irân Vej) and Sanscrit Arya, was the ancient name of Ireland, by which name it is said to be still known to its natives. This old name or radical form can be traced in many of the old names of Ireland, such as Iris, Iernis, Invernish, Hibernia and Eri or Erin, and in the modern names of Irland or Ireland. The name Scotia seems to have been applied to the country, in or after the third century. This name came from the Scoti, a people who possessed the island at the time when Christianity was introduced into the country. The original tradition of these Scoti is, that they came from Scythia, situated in the north-east of Central Europe, the country invaded by Darius of Persia. The Saks, Sakas or Sagœ, who are referred to in the ancient Indian literature, whose name formed a part of the name of Sajastan, Sajastan or Siestan, a part of the eastern frontiers of India, and who are connected with the Scythians, are believed by some to have given their names to the ancient Saxons and to the country Saxony.

The Irish Scoti were converted to Christianity in the fifth century after Christ. In this conversion, Saint Patrick, the patron Saint of Ireland, had a principal hand. By the end of the 17th century, Christianity had made a good progress in Ireland, and the Irish Church had a great hand in the spread of culture in Western Europe. It sent abroad missionaries to preach Christianity.

One of the foremost of the clergy of this time was St. Adamnán, the visionary, whose vision of the next world is the subject of comparison in this paper. The constitution of the National Churches of these times being aristocratic, Adamnán, like many leading Churchmen, was a man of high birth, his father being "a man of chiefly rank"<sup>1</sup>. He was born at some time between 624 ad 627 A. D. His name Adamnán is a diminutive of Adam<sup>2</sup>. Iona one of the islands of the Hebrides, which was, at one time, inhabited by the ancient Druids, and then, latterly, christianised by St. Columbia in the sixth century, was, at this time, a seat of great learning. It had a great monastery. Adamnán had his education at this monastery, and, latterly, he became its abbot in 679 A. D. Not only did he show himself to be a great administrator of ecclesiastical establishments, but, like many other saints of Ireland, took an active part in public events."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "An Irish Precursor of Dante" by Boswell, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

In the year 684, King Ecgfrid of Northumbria had invaded Ireland and carried a number of captives. Adamnán, taking advantage of his acquaintance with Ecgfrid's son, Aldfrid, who had at one time visited Iona and had met Adamnán there, brought about the release of his countrymen when Aldfrid came to the throne of Northumbria. He subsequently visited Northumbria, and having made there the acquaintance of the venerable Bede, at his instance, turned his attention to two points, in which "the Irish usage differed from that of Rome: *i.e.*, (a) the form of the tonsure, <sup>1</sup> which, in Ireland, was made crescent-wise across the head, (b) and the time of keeping Easter."<sup>2</sup> He succeeded in introducing reforms in these two matters in Ireland, but failed in doing so in his own monastery at Iona, where "his monks refused to admit any innovation upon the national practice."<sup>3</sup> He died in 704. He was at first buried in Iona, but his relics were carried to Ireland in 727. They were then reconveyed to his monastery in Iona in 730.

He was the author of several works, and some later annals attribute various miracles to him. One of the miracles refers to his services to bring about the emancipation of women, who, in those times, were like men "obliged to render military service."<sup>4</sup> After several "incredible austerities,"<sup>5</sup> forced upon him by his mother who espoused the cause of womenkind in this matter, he got women exempted from military service.

#### *B—Adamnán's Work.*

Now coming to the book of his vision, known as "Fis Adamnáin", we find the following facts:—

"The vision, which has come down to us under the name of Adamnán, is not to be included among his own works"<sup>6</sup>. It is attributed to the 10th or 11th century, *i.e.*, to a period about two or three hundred years after his time. The work "never professes to be Adamnán's own composition. It invariably speaks of him in the third person. . . . The work may be, what it professes to be, and may have for its basis a more or less accurate tradition of Adamnán's own teaching."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The ceremony of cutting off a part of the hair of the head with prayers and benedictions by the bishop in the first degree of the clerical.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Boswell's *Irish Precursor of Dante*, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26.

The book is "a vision recited by the saint, which a later writer has worked up into literary form, while other details relating to the same subject, but entirely irrelevant, have been added later."

*C—A brief account of the version of the Irish vision.*

1. The book<sup>1</sup> opens with the praise of God who rewards the righteous by calling them to Heaven and consigns the unrighteous to Hell.

2. To the Saints, the righteous, the apostles and the disciples of Christ, the secrets and the mysteries of the Heavenly Kingdom are revealed. Such was the case with apostles Peter and Paul on special occasions, and with all the apostles on the day of Mary's death. Adam&n was the latest instance of the kind. To him were revealed the things of the other world.

3. "His soul departed from out his body on the feast of John Baptist and was conveyed to the celestial realm, . . . . and to Hell. . . . There appeared to it (the soul) the angel that had been its guardian while in the flesh, and bore it away with him to view, firstly, the Kingdom of Heaven."<sup>2</sup>

4. In the Kingdom of Heaven, the first land is the Land of Saints—a bright land of fair weather. The Saints of the Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern world have their separate companies in the East, West, North and South of the Land of Saints. There are nine classes of Heaven in the Kingdom of Heaven, varying according to the rank and order of the Saints.

5. The Saints keep singing, hear music, and contemplate the radiance which they see. They are face to face with the Lord who is in the South-east with a crystal veil between them. They discern the form of the people of Heaven through a golden portico in the South. No veil separates them from the Host of Heaven and the Host of the Saints. A circle of fire surrounds their place, but they pass in and out through it unscathed.

6. The Twelve Apostles, Virgin Mary, the Patriarchs and Prophets, the holy Virgins, all form separate bands. Bands of angels and guardians of the souls do perpetual service there in the Royal presence. This will continue until the Day of Judgment.

7—11. The splendour of the throne of the Lord is even greater. Over the head of the Lord—the Glorious One—there is "a great arch: and the eye which should behold it would forthwith melt away." The

<sup>1</sup> The marginal figures refer to the paras of the version, as given by Mr. Boswell.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

mighty Lord himself is indescribable. He is a fiery mass burning on for ever. The city, wherein His throne is set, is surrounded by seven crystal walls. The floor also is of crystal, with the sun's countenance upon it.

12—13. Gentle folk "most mild, most kindly and lacking in no goodly quality" dwell within this city of the throne of the Lord. "Seven thousand angels, as it were great candles, shine and illumine that city," spreading sweet savour all round.

14. Those who have been not found fit to enter into this city "find a restless and unstable habitation, until the coming of Judgment," outside it on heights and in marshy places.

15. This city of the Lord has six guarded doors, each guarded by a warder of the Heavenly Host. At the first door, approaching the city from this world, sits the Archangel Michael and "two youths, with iron rods in their laps," who "smite the sinners as they pass through this the first grief."

16—18. While passing through most of the gates, the souls of the righteous pass easily, but those of the sinners suffer pain and torment.

19—20. On passing the last gate, the pure and the righteous souls are welcomed by the Lord, and the unrighteous are ordered to be delivered over to Lucifer. The wicked soul thereupon utters "a groan heavier than any groan." The angels, who had guided him so far, leave him now.

21. Adamnân's spirit is now taken by his guardian angel to the nethermost Hell. The first region in Hell consists of land, burnt black, but with no punishment therein. A fiery glen is on the other side of it.

22. "An enormous bridge spans the glen . . . . Three companies seek to pass over it, but not all succeed. One company find the bridge to be of ample width, from beginning to end, until they win across the fiery glen, safe and sound, fearless and undismayed. The second company, when entering upon it, find it narrow at first, but broad afterwards, until they, in like manner, fare across that same glen, after great peril. But for the last company the bridge is broad at first, but straight and narrow thereafter, until they fall from the midst of it into that same perilous glen, into the throats of those eight red-hot serpents, that have their dwelling-place in the glen."

23. These three companies of souls are of the three classes of persons (a) who were chaste and penitent from the very beginning, (b) who were not so at first, but who had afterwards become so, and (c) who were sinners who listened to God's precepts but did not act up to them.

24. Furthermore, there were vast multitudes "upon the shore of perpetual pain, in the land of utter darkness." Their pain ebbed and returned again in turns. "These are they in whom good and evil were equally balanced, and on the Day of Doom, judgment shall be passed between them, and their good shall quench their evil on that day."

25. There is another company of sinners, who had most to do with the Church. Their torments are monstrous. "They are fettered to fiery columns, a sea of fire about them up to their chins . . . ."

26. There is another band of sinners, who, among other punishments, suffer that of being alternately submitted to heat and cold.

27—30. There are various other sinners who suffer a variety of torments.

31. After a visit to this dark region of Hell, the spirit of Adamnân is taken back to the Land of Saints. There, an angel's voice enjoined him "to return again into that body whence he had departed, and to rehearse in courts and assemblies, and in the great congregations of laymen and of clerics, the rewards of Heaven and the pains of Hell."

32. Adamnân taught this doctrine (that is all that he saw in Heaven and Hell) to his congregations.

33. That doctrine is taught continually to the souls of the righteous who go to the teacher (Elias) in the "form of bright white birds."

34. The woes of Hell are such, that even Saints moan on knowing them. "How much more fitting were it for the men that are yet on earth to ponder. . . . upon the pains of Hell."

35. "This, then, is the manner of that City: A Kingdom without pride, or vanity, or falsehood, or outrage, or deceit, or pretence, or blushing, or shame, or reproach, or insult, or envy, or arrogance, or pestilence, or disease, or poverty, or nakedness, or death, or extinction, or hail, or snow, or wind, or rain, or din, or thunder, or darkness, or cold,—a noble, admirable, ethereal realm, endowed with the wisdom, and radiance, and fragrance of a plenteous land, wherein is the enjoyment of every excellence."

## III.

## A FEW POINTS OF STRIKING RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN THE IRANIAN AND IRISH VISIONS.

Coming to the points of similarity in their visions, we will speak of these under the following heads:—

Points of similarity between—

- A. The Visionaries.
- B. Their Books or Versions.
- C. The Method or the Ways of their Visions.
- D. Details of the Visions themselves.

*A.—Similarity between the Visionaries.*

Both the visionaries—the Iranian and the Irish—were priests of very high standing and both had arisen to the rank of saints. Adamnân is put into the rank of the saints and the righteous in the *Fis Adamnân*. Ardaï Virâf's name is commemorated in the list of the ancient worthies of Irân in the *Dibâcheh-i of Âfringân*. The proper name itself is Viraf and Ardâ (*artâ*) is another form of Asha or Asho, *i.e.*, holy or saintly.

2. Both had to come into contact with the general assemblies of the learned divines of their country, in connection with their religious functions. Adamnân had promulgated his "Canons" and his code of laws (*Câin Adamnân*) before "a Mórdail—Great Assembly—the Diet or States-General of Ireland."<sup>1</sup> Virâf also had to present himself before the Anjuman<sup>2</sup> of the learned to consider the question of improving the state of religious affairs of his country.

3. Again, on coming to life or on resuming their bodies again, both communicated their visions to large assemblies. Adamnân was asked to do so "in courts and assemblies, and in the great congregations of laymen and of clerics."<sup>3</sup> He preached what he saw before the great assemblies of the men of Éire.<sup>4</sup> Virâf communicated his vision to the assembled Dasturs (*din dastubarân*) and Mazdayaçnâns.<sup>5</sup>

*B.—Similarity in their versions or books.*

4. The books that have come down to us, as the versions of their visions, are not their own works, but are the works of some later writers. In the case of Adamnân, his version, as noted in the *Fis Adamnân*, is believed to have been written about two or three

<sup>1</sup> Boswell, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Virâf-nameh, Chap. I. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Fis Adamnân*, 31, Boswell, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> *Fis Adamnân*, 32, Boswell, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Virâf-nameh, Chap. III, 4.

hundred years after him. In the case of Virâf, his version, as noted in the Pahlavi Virâf-nâme, is also written by somebody else. But there is this difference. In the case of the Fis Adamnân, the version is always described in the third person. In the case of Virâf-nâme, the version itself is given in the first person, as it is Virâf himself who dictates the vision to a writer. In the first three chapters of the book, it is the author of the book who speaks and describes the state of affairs and events before the vision itself.

5. The books connected with the visions of both begin at first with, what can be called, an Introduction. The first three chapters of the Virâf-nâme are of that kind. The first three chapters or sections of the Fis Adamnân are of that kind. The introductory chapters of the Virâf-nâme can be said to be more pertinent to the subject, as they relate the state of affairs which led to the vision of Ardaï Virâf. The introductory chapters of the Fis Adamnân do not give any account as to what led to the vision of Adamnân. They simply say that as God had revealed the mysteries of the Heavenly Kingdom to apostles and saints, he revealed them finally to Adamnân.

With reference to the subject of the circumstances that led to the vision, one point is worth noting here, though the Fis Adamnân does not refer to it. It is in connection with Adamnân's attempt to bring about the emancipation of women referred to above. Boswell thus speaks of it :

"Whatever the nature or extent of the evil (*viz.*, the compulsory military service by women), it was greatly taken to heart by Adamnân's mother Ronat, and dutiful as her son was to her, she counted his service as nought until he should effect the emancipation of women. One day, as they were on a journey—Adamnân, after his usual custom, carrying his mother on his back—they came to a battlefield, where so great had been the slaughter that the women lay, the soles of one touching the neck of another ; but the most piteous sight of all was a woman with her head in one place and her body in another, and her baby lying on the breast of the corpse with a stream of milk on one cheek, and a stream of blood on the other. At his mother's bidding, Adamnân set the woman's head upon the trunk, made the sign of the cross with his staff, and she arose and related her experiences in the next world between her death and resuscitation."<sup>1</sup>

Now, laying aside the question of the miracle in this story related by later annals, one may observe the coincidence that the woman in the story of the miracle also had a vision. Her vision—whatever it may be—had suggested to Adamnân the idea of his own vision.

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Boswell, p. 20.

*C.—Similarity in the methods of their visions.*

6. Both are represented as having left their physical bodies in this world. Adamnân's soul "departed from out his body on the feast of John Baptist"<sup>1</sup>, and he was enjoined "to return again into that body whence he had departed."<sup>2</sup> Virâf's soul left his body and returned to it on the seventh day.<sup>3</sup> The clergy and his seven sisters kept a watch over the soulless body during the period, and recited prayers.<sup>4</sup>

7. Both were accompanied in their visits to the other world by angels who guarded them when they were alive. Adamnân was guided by the angel that had been his guardian when he was "in the flesh"<sup>5</sup>. Virâf was guided by Sarosh,<sup>6</sup> who is, according to the Avesta,<sup>7</sup> the guardian angel protecting the souls of men when alive.

8. Both were asked at the end of their heavenly journey to communicate what they saw to the people of the terrestrial world. Adamnân, who had first been to the land of Saints, was, at the end of his journey, again taken to that land. There, he "heard, through the veil, the angel's voice enjoining him to return again into that body whence he had departed, and to rehearse in courts and assemblies, and in the great congregations of laymen and clerics, the rewards of Heaven and the pains of Hell, even as his guardian angel had revealed them unto him."<sup>8</sup>

Virâf, who also had, at first, been to the abode of Ahura Mazda himself, was at the end of his journey, taken to that place again. There, he was asked by Ahura Mazda, to return to the material world and to communicate correctly what he had seen and known.<sup>9</sup>

*D.—Points of Similarity in the details of the Visions.*

Coming to the details of the visions themselves, we find the following points of similarities.

9. In both the versions, the gates to the other world are guarded by angels. In the Irish vision, "at the door of that Heaven, which is nearest on the hither side, sits the Archangel Michael and with him

<sup>1</sup> Fis Adamnân, 3. Boswell, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid 31, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Virâf-nameh, Ch. III 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid Ch. II, 17-19.

<sup>5</sup> "Fis. Adamnân" S. 3, Boswell, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Virâf-nameh, Ch. IV. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Yasna LVII, Sraosh Yasht.

<sup>8</sup> Fis. Adamnân 32. Boswell, p. 44.

<sup>9</sup> Virâf-nameh, Chap. C. 3-4.

two youths, with iron rods in their laps to scourge and smite the sinners."<sup>1</sup> In the Iranian vision, it is the Chinvat bridge that leads to the other world. It is guarded by the angel Mithra, assisted by other angels.<sup>2</sup> I have shown elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> that this Mithra of the Iranians is the same as the Michael of the Christians.

10. In both visions, a bridge plays an important part. In Adamnân's vision, "an enormous bridge spans the glen reaching from one bank to the other."<sup>4</sup> Though the bridge is the same, it presents different breadths to different souls according to their righteousness or sin. Ardai Virâf also has to pass over a bridge, known as the Chinvat bridge.<sup>5</sup> When a soul passes over it, it varies in breadth according as the soul is righteous or sinful. To allow the righteous Virâf to pass, it assumed the breadth of nine lances.<sup>6</sup> The Virâf-nâmeh, which gives Ardai Virâf's version, does not enter into the details of its size, etc., as the Fis Adamnân does, but other Pahlavi books, which refer to Iranian eschatology, and some of the views of which agree with those of the Virâf-nâmeh, give these details at some length. The Dadistan-i-Dinik<sup>7</sup> says that, if the soul that crosses it is of a righteous person, it passes on to Heaven safely. If it is that of an unrighteous or sinful person, it drops from its middle or its end down into the deep abyss of Hell. It is described as a wooden beam, having several sides of various breadths, the smallest breadth being like that of the sharp edge of a sword. In the case of a righteous person it presents the breadth of nine lances, but in the case of a sinful person that of the blade of a razor.<sup>8</sup>

11. Both pass through several grades of Heaven before they reach the throne of God. The first land that Adamnân goes to is the Land of Saints, where he finds a band of saints. Then, the twelve Apostles and Virgin Mary with the holy virgins on her right hand form another band. Then comes the band of the patriarchs and prophets. Lastly, most splendid is the region of the Heavenly Host, in the midst of which stands the throne of the Lord, the Glorious One, who is indescribable.<sup>9</sup> Virâf also has to pass through three heavens before he

<sup>1</sup> Fis Adamnân, 15. Boswell, pp. 35-36.

<sup>2</sup> Virâf-nâmeh, Chap. V.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* my paper, entitled "St. Michael of the Christians and Mithra of the Zoroastrians. A comparison" *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XX, pp. 217-233. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers," pp. 178-90.

<sup>4</sup> Fis. Adamnân 22. Boswell, pp. 38-39.

<sup>5</sup> Virâf-nâmeh, Chap. III 1; IV 7; V 1,2; XVII 1; LIII 2-3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, Chap VI.

<sup>7</sup> Questions 19 and 20.

<sup>8</sup> *Vide* for this bridge, Vendidad XIX 29; Vishtasp Yasht 42. Yasn LXXXI, 16; Bundeshesh XII 7; Dadistan-i-Dinik XXI 5; Saddar L. 4; Minokherad.

<sup>9</sup> Fis. Adamnân 4-9.

goes to Garo-nmâna, the seat of God.<sup>1</sup> The first three heavens are the Satar-pâyâ, *i.e.*, the star-tracked, the Mahâ-pâyâ, *i.e.*, the moon-tracked, and the Khurshed-pâyâ, *i.e.*, the sun-tracked.

12. In Adamnân's region of the Lord's throne, there was the harmony of music and all melody and delight. Virâf's Garo-nmâna also was, as its very name implies, "the house of song, music or hymns."

13. Over the head of the Glorious One in Adamnân's region of the Lord, there was an arch "and the eye which should behold it would forthwith melt away."<sup>2</sup> The Garo-nmâna of Virâf was so brilliant that the like of it Virâf had never seen.

14. Both come across souls whose good and evil deeds are equal. Adamnân meets with souls "in whom good and evil were equally balanced, and on the day of doom, judgment shall be passed between them, and their good shall quench their evil on that day; and then they shall be brought to the Heaven of Life, in God's own presence, through ages everlasting."<sup>3</sup> Virâf also is taken to a place where the souls were to stay till the day of resurrection. They were the souls whose actions being judged in a balance by Mithra, as said elsewhere, their good deeds were found to be equal to their bad deeds. They meet with no punishment but feel hot and cold alternately.<sup>4</sup>

15. Coming to the punishments in Hell, we find many punishments common in both the visions. The list of sins and sinners, enumerated in the Virâf-nameh, is very long. It occupies 80 chapters (19 to 99) out of its 101 chapters. The most common punishment in the Fis Adamnân is the torture by fire. I give below a table showing the punishments that are common to both:—

Forms of punishment.	References to Fis Adamnân. Sections.	References to the Virâf-nameh. Chapters.
1. Tortured by Fire	21, 25, 27, 28.	55, 60, 63, 64, 85, 94.
2. Tortured by Serpents.	21	19, 28, 50, 56, 71, 86, 90.
3. Tortured by Demons.	26	28, 31, 48, 49, 50.

<sup>1</sup> Virâf-nameh.

<sup>2</sup> Fis. Adamnân, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Fis. Adamnân, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Virâf-nameh, Chap. VI.

Forms of punishment.	References to Fis Adamnâin. Sections.	References to the Virâf-nâmeh. Chapters.
4. Tortured by being nailed.	27 (nailed through the hand)	91 and 92 (nailed through the eye); 77 (through the head); 99 (through the tongue).
5. Forced to stand in mire or mud up to the girdle or breast.	26	65
6. Torturing the tongues.	13	26, 29, 33, 63, 66, 79, 81, 82, 90, 96, 97.
7. Extremes of weather, cold (ice) and heat, cold wind.	26	55, 64, 89, 93 (cold wind).
8. Devoured by hounds, &c.	28	29 and 32, 34, 37, 43, 81. Devoured by Kharfastars or noxious creatures. 48 (by hounds like demons); 84 (by hounds).

16. There were a number of sins or sinners that were actually common to the versions of both. I give below a list of them :—

Description of the Sinners.	References to Fis Adamnain.	Reference to the Virâf-nâmeh.
Parricides ... ..	25	Sinners, not doing their duty towards their parents. 43, 65
Liars ... ..	27	33, 36, 40, 45, 90, 97.
Treacherous persons, robbers...	27	27, 29, 30, 40, 49, 50, 51, 52, 55, 67, 80, 96
Judges giving false judgments...	27	79, 91
Adulterous women ... ..	29	24, 62, 69, 81, 85
Bad women, not attending to their duties and dealing in spells, &c. ... ..	27	26, 35, 44, 59, 63, 70, 78, 82, 87, 94, 95
Men of loose character ... ..	27	71, 88
Heretics ... ..	27	47, 61

## IV

## AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN AND THE MATERIALS OF THE VERSIONS.

We saw above, that there are several points of resemblance between the Iranian vision and the Irish vision, though they are not so numerous as those between the Italian vision of Dante and the Iranian vision of Virâf. But, in spite of these several points of similarity, as far as their immediate sources are concerned, in detail, both the visions come from different sources. The vision of Virâf is thoroughly Zoroastrian, that of Adamnân is thoroughly Christian, though not so thoroughly Christian in its details as that of Dante. If we except some allusions to Mary and to the Apostles, we may say that Adamnân's version is, as it were, more cosmopolitan than sectional. There are more striking points of similarity in the methods or the processes of the version than in the details of the visits to Heaven or Hell. The sins referred to are generally referred to, more from a moral point of view, common to all religions, than from a special Christian point of view.

So, it seems that the source, from which Adamnân drew his inspiration, was one that was very ancient, from which Virâf also seems to have drawn. Virâf added a good deal that was specially Zoroastrian, e.g., his list of sins includes sins based, not on a moral or common cosmopolitan ground, but on Zoroastrian ground. Take, for example, the sins about the pollution of fire, sins in connection with customs relating to menstruation, &c., which are not referred to by Adamnân.

Now, we know, that laying aside the details of sins and punishments in the Virâf-nameh, which seem to have been added by the author from a Zoroastrian point of view, and also laying aside the question of the forms of punishment which seem to have an alien source, the main features about the destiny of the soul in the other world have their origin in the Avesta. It appears, that in the case of Dante, whose time was much later and whose Divine Comedy contains a good deal of details in the vision of Heaven and Hell that is common with the Iranian vision, it is possible that the version of the Virâf-nameh may be one of the many direct sources of his work. But, in the case of Adamnân's *Fis Adamnân*, it is possible that a previous Iranian version, more simple in character than that of the Virâf-nameh, may have inspired his version, or the version from which he took his materials immediately.

Dr. Plumptre, in his learned translation of Dante's Divine Comedy, gives a list of the possible sources which may have inspired Dante.

In that list, we find "The Vision of Drithelm, reported by Bede in the seventh century." Now, in our account of St. Adamnán, we have seen, that he had come into contact with Bede in Northumbria. It is possible, that Drithelm's vision, which latterly may have inspired Dante, may also have inspired at first St. Adamnán, and that it itself was inspired by an old Iranian version.

We have seen above, that Erin and other ancient names of Ireland point to some ancient connection between that country and the land of the ancient Aryans, of which Iran was the principal part, nearer to Europe than India. Again, we know that there is the ancient Irish story of Cucullin and Conloch which resembles in many points the Iranian story of Rustam and Sohrab. I have dealt at some length on this similarity in my paper before this society entitled "The Irish Story of Cucullin and Conloch and the Persian Story of Rustam and Sohrab."<sup>1</sup> It is possible, that like that story, the original Iranian version of a visit to the other world may have migrated to Ireland. Mr. Boswell gives a very interesting account of what may be called the history of the legend of the vision of the other world. He very properly claims a great antiquity for the legend and says that it "may be traced back along several widely divergent lines"<sup>2</sup> which he groups under the following heads:—

- 1 The Classical Tradition.
- 2 The Eastern or Oriental Tradition.
- 3 The Ecclesiastical Tradition, which is the result of "the fusion in the Early Christian Church of Hellenic and Oriental schools of thought."<sup>3</sup> In other words, the Ecclesiastical tradition arose from the first two, *vis.*, the Classical and the Eastern.
- 4 The Irish Tradition, which is not an independent growth, but "a new departure."<sup>4</sup> The Ecclesiastical tradition, when carried to Ireland, embodied some of the cognate ideas prevalent in (a) the local native mythology of the country and (b) in the romantic literature, and thus "acquired a fresh development." Ireland, being "the intellectual centre of Western Europe" in the later middle ages, influenced "the mediæval theories of the other world until the revival of the Classical learning."

<sup>1</sup> Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII, pp. 317-329. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, pp. 53-66.

<sup>2</sup> "An Irish Precursor of Dante" by Boswell, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

Of these four traditions referred to by Mr. Boswell, the last two were, as said above, derived, as far as the main features of the visions are concerned, from the first two. In the second, *vis.*, the Oriental tradition, ancient Persia had, as pointed out by Mr. Boswell, a prominent part.

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ART XXI.—*Foreign Influences in the Civilization of  
Ancient India 900 B.C.—400 A.D.*

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No civilization can claim an entirely independent origin. Every nation borrows from the countries with which it comes into contact in course of trade or conquest. Even the art of classical Greece owed something to the mysterious elder races whom the Hellenic people displaced or absorbed. The same is true, in spite of her boasted exclusiveness, of India; she has, from time immemorial, borrowed ideas from the nations, Aryan or Semitic, which have successively dominated the Western World. On the other hand, the theory that Indian civilization is a kind of bye-product of the Macedonian Invasion is at once insulting and ridiculous; for India has, as often as not, suffered rather than gained from foreign influence. In this paper I have tried to collect the leading facts about the contact between India and the West from the earliest times to the fall of Rome, and to estimate the probable effect of this intercourse. Few of my observations can claim entire originality; but as far as I know, a

comprehensive and unbiassed survey of the whole subject has not yet been attempted, at any rate in such a manner as to separate the grain of ascertained fact from the chaff of wild and unsupported hypothesis.

Trade between India and the West, both by land and sea, stretches no doubt beyond the dawn of history. But for a long time it was fitful and intermittent. By land the journey was beset with perils, deserts, mountains<sup>1</sup> and hostile tribes. By sea, navigation was hindered by bad ships and want of enterprise on the part of the sailors. It was not until the Phœnicians, the greatest maritime nation, perhaps, in all history, undertook the task of exploring Eastern waters, that anything serious was achieved in this direction. Curiously enough, this important step was not due to any of the powerful nations of Asia Minor, the Egyptians or Assyrians, but to the enterprising action of Solomon, the ruler of the tiny Hebrew Kingdom of Israel, some time in the twelfth century B.C. Solomon, upon coming to the throne, found his country in a state of almost unexampled prosperity, and determined to make Jerusalem as magnificent as the capitals of his great neighbours. Unable, however, to obtain in sufficient quantities locally the gold, silver, and rare woods required for his purpose, he requested his ally, Hiram of Tyre, to lend him some of his skilled seamen to build a fleet for use in Eastern waters. Making their head-quarters the port of Ezion-geber, the modern Akaba, at the northern extremity of the right arm of the Red Sea, these sailors fitted out a number of vessels, in which with characteristic boldness they soon passed the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and reached the coast of India. Their final destination was the port of Ophir, from which they brought back as much as "four hundred and twenty talents of gold," as well as almug-wood, ivory, apes, and peacocks. The voyage to Ophir and back occupied a space of three years.<sup>2</sup>

There are many reasons for thinking that the port of Ophir was somewhere on the Indian coast.<sup>3</sup> The mention of the vast quantities of gold exported from it, seems to favour an identification of it with the "Barbaricon" of the Greek traders, which stood at the mouth of the Indus. The Indus valley, in ancient days, produced an enormous amount of gold; it paid Darius three hundred and sixty talents

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<sup>1</sup> Ibn Batuta, the Moor, who did the journey in the 13th century, said that the Hindu Kush Mountains, (*i.e.* Hindu slaying Mountains,) were so-called because so few Hindu captives survived the journey over them.

<sup>2</sup> See I Kings, IX. 26; and II Chronicles IX, 21.

<sup>3</sup> It has of course been located in Arabia, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, and various parts of India.

weight of gold-dust yearly in tribute<sup>1</sup>; and everyone in Greece had heard of the legends of the miners of Dardistan and their fierce yellow mastiffs, which travellers in some extraordinary fashion mistook for huge ants! Again, the fleet of Solomon took three years to sail from Ezion-Geber and back. The voyage, then, took about eighteen months, and this was exactly the length of the voyage of Scylax of Caryanda from the Indus to the Gulf of Suez.<sup>2</sup> Ivory, apes, and peacocks would naturally come from an Indian port; and the Hebrew word for "ape," *koph*, is suspiciously like the Sanskrit कपि<sup>3</sup>. The "peacock," on the other hand, appears to have reached the West from a Dravidian port, perhaps Goa or even further South, for the Hebrew word for a peacock, *thuki*, is apparently derived from the Tamil *tokei*, when also the Persian *tavus* and the Greek Ταΰς. Many other commodities appear to have been introduced by these traders and their successors, to judge by their names. Thus the Greek *σανταλον* (sandal, perhaps the "almug" of Solomon), is the Sanskrit चंदन<sup>4</sup>; *σινδών*, linen, maybe derived from the "Sindhu," or Indian country,<sup>5</sup> and may have been brought by Hebrew traders to the West; for we find *Sādin*<sup>6</sup> used as "fine linen" in Isaiah, and *Sātin* is the Arabic for a "covering." The word is also found in Assyrian. In a similar fashion, rice was brought to Europe by Arabian traders from Dravidian ports, for the word *rice* is a shortened form of the Spanish *arros*, derived from the Arabic *arus*, from which, too, the Greek *βρυχα* and the Latin *oryza* also come; and the Arabic word is simply a corruption of the Tamil *arisi*. The rich fields of Southern India must have borne rice-crops for immemorial ages.

But the strangest and most interesting evidence of intercourse between India and Judæa in the time of Solomon was afforded to us by a Buddhist birth-story called the *Mahōsada Jātaka*.<sup>8</sup> Here we have the story of a Yakshini, or female ghoulish being, who has carried off a poor woman's child in order to devour it. The mother claims her offspring, and the two women are summoned to the judgment hall of the

<sup>1</sup> Herod. III. 97. A huge sum, equal to 4,680 talents in Eubæic money; about 1½ crores of rupees.

Herod. IV. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Egyptian *kafu*. This, however, is disputed.

For च = Σ, cf Chandragupta, Sandracottus.

Like *Calico* (Calicut), *Muslin* (Mosul), etc.

Isaiah III. 23. But see Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1887, p. 138.

Another plant known to Europe by its Tamil name was the *jack fruit* (Latin *pala*, Tamil *pala*). The dictionaries translate *pala* as "plantain," but Pliny's description of the tree is conclusive. "Fructum cortice emittit, longitudine triumcubitorem." (N. H. I. 26.) Fancy a plantain-three cubits long, growing out of the bark of a tree!

Trans. Rhys Davids. *Buddhist Birth Stories* p. XIV.

Buddha (at that time incarnate as the wazir of a local Raja) to have their dispute adjudicated. The Buddha tells one woman to take the child's legs and the other its head, and decide the matter by a tug-of-war. The Yakshini consents, but the rightful mother will give up all her claims rather than put the baby to such torture. The Buddha then gives her the child. No one, I think, can doubt that this is an Indian version of the famous story of the Judgment of Solomon,<sup>1</sup> nor will anybody who has studied the extraordinary history of the migration of the Jâtaka Tales, be surprised at this odd occurrence. There can be no doubt that the Indians borrowed the tale from the Jews and not *vice versa*. The Jâtakas were collected from all sorts of præ-Buddhistic folk-legends. The only question is whether the Indians got it direct from Hebrew traders long before the birth of Gautama, or whether it came from Babylon, whither it had been brought by the Jews during the Captivity (597-538 B.C.).<sup>2</sup>

After the death of Solomon, the Persian Gulf became the chief trade route between India and Asia Minor. At the mouth of the Euphrates lived the Chaldeans, a restless, seafaring race; the prophet Isaiah speaks of the "Chaldeans whose cry is in their ships,"—a vivid phrase, describing exactly the bustle and turmoil of an Oriental port. About 695 B.C., however, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, replaced them by Phœnicians, probably in order to punish the Chaldeans for helping the Babylonians in a rising against the Assyrian Empire. The advent of the Phœnicians had the same magical effect upon the trade of the Persian Gulf, as it had formerly produced in the Red Sea. These bold navigators soon pushed on to India, and rounding the Indian Coast, even visited the Malay Archipelago and China. A whole colony of Phœnician sailors sprang up in the Persian Gulf. The Bahrein Islands were especially popular as a port of call for vessels to take in water and provisions before setting out on their long run across the Indian Ocean, and recent excavations have revealed remains of a large settlement there.<sup>3</sup> Strabo says that in his day the islands of the Persian Gulf were dotted with Phœnician temples.<sup>4</sup> Their less skilful rivals, the Chaldeans, discontented at their supersession, appear to have rebelled again. This time they were banished to Gerrha, a terribly hot, barren spot, where they had

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings III. 16.

<sup>2</sup> During Gautama's lifetime.

The last Report of the Archæological Department gives details of these. Some of the remains have been put in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay.

<sup>3</sup> Geog. XVI. 3. 3-4.

to use blocks of salt to build their houses. <sup>1</sup> This must have been an unwelcome change after the humid climate of Chaldea.

Of the overland route between India and the West we hear little before the time of Darius the Great, probably because the journey was rendered difficult and dangerous by the wild tribes who beset the road. Even in the remotest days, however, such a route must have existed; an axehead of white Chinese jade was found in the second city of Troy. <sup>2</sup> Caravans came and went, no doubt, both from Tyre and from the ports further north. In any case the route taken must have been ultimately the same,—past the Caspian Gates, and north of the Carmanian Desert to Balkh, where the roads running to China and India converged. Shalmanesar (858 B.C.) has representations of Indian elephants and apes <sup>3</sup> and Bactrian camels on his obelisk, and these animals, the elephants at any rate, must have been imported overland. After the defeat of Assyria by Nebuchadnezzar in 606 B. C., Babylon became the leading city of Asia. In its market-places met the nations of the world,—captive Jews, Indian traders, Egyptian ambassadors, Phœnician sailors from the Far East—in short, as Berosus says, πολλὸ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀλλοεθνῶν, “a crowd of men of all nationalities.” We hear in one of the Jataka stories of the adventures of the merchants who took the first peacock to Babylon; on the other hand, there appears to have been a settlement of Babylonian traders at the frontier town of Taxila in India, for Aristobulus of Cassandria <sup>4</sup> found at that city a “marriage market” being carried on Babylonian fashion, just as is described by Herodotus. <sup>5</sup> What was the result of the contact between India and the Semitic races? Not very great, I think. Casual traders do little towards the real opening up of a country. From the Jews India learnt practically nothing; from the Chaldeans she may have borrowed part of her prae-Alexandrian system of Astronomy, <sup>6</sup> from the Babylonian merchants may have come the idea of striking rude, punch-marked coins, and perhaps a system of weights and measures. It is, I think, useless to attempt to trace early Indian architecture to Babylonian or Assyrian

<sup>1</sup> Strabo Geog. XVI. 33. This is not a traveller's tale. Ibn Batuta, the Moorish traveller, tells the same story about the negroes in the Sudan.

<sup>2</sup> The “Swastika” sign, has, I believe, been found in Troy.

<sup>3</sup> For methods of trapping apes (apparently for export), see Aelian, *apud* McCrindle, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> *Apud* Strabo, Geog. XV., 62-1.

<sup>5</sup> *I.*, 196.

<sup>6</sup> It has been also suggested that the story of the Tortoise Incarnation of Vishnu is a Hindu version of the story of the Flood, which first appears in Babylonian legend. Dr. Vogel attributes to Babylon the practice, in India and modern Europe, of naming the days of the week after the Sun, Moon, and five planets. This is a very interesting explanation of a remarkable coincidence.

sources. "The culture of Assyria, and still more of Babylonia, was essentially literary; we miss in it the artistic spirit of Egypt or Greece. In Babylonia the abundance of clay and want of stone led to the employment of brick; the Babylonian temples are massive but shapeless structures of crude brick, supported by buttresses."<sup>1</sup> The absurd stories of Ctesias about an Assyrian invasion of India, narrated by Justin,<sup>2</sup> are a gross fabrication, and Semiramis is a product of the imagination. The Semites merely prepared the way for the momentous Iranian invasion with which we shall presently deal.

While thrones were rising and falling in Western Asia, a revolution of another kind was taking place in North-Eastern India. Gautama Buddha (572-483 B.C.)<sup>3</sup> was formulating the doctrines which were destined, to use the picturesque phrase of the Pali commentator, to re-echo "like a great bell set in the heavens" throughout the East. Gautama Buddha is the one personality of the pre-Alexandrian period of whom we can really say that we *know* something. Was he really an Aryan, or are we to class his remarkable creed among the "foreign influences" which affected India during this period? The question is a startling one, and has never, I think, been adequately considered. But every one must have noticed the many striking features of Buddhism, so utterly at variance with anything to be found elsewhere in Hinduism, the *stupa*, the worship of relics, the abolition of caste as a religious factor, contempt for penance and ceremonies, and the discouragement of abstract metaphysics. Many of these peculiarities may, of course, be merely the products of a powerful and far-reaching mind, bent on religious reform; but relic-worship, and its concomitant the *stupa*, are quite un-Indian.<sup>4</sup> Gautama belonged to the Sakya clan: were they an early offshoot of the Sakas, the Sacæ or Scyths, who, as we know, followed the Aryans from time to time into India in successive waves? The word *stûpa* signifies a "barrow," or "tumulus," a Sanskrit name for a Scythian object. The Scythian chieftain was buried under a tumulus of this kind, and not, as in India, cremated. Herodotus, for instance, tells us how the Gerrhi, a tribe on the Borysthenes, buried their kings in huge square tombs, over which the people raised a high mound of earth, each vying with his neighbour to make it as tall as possible.<sup>5</sup> In Southern Siberia may be seen to this day the *kurgans* of the primitive Scythian tribes. The round

<sup>1</sup> *Encyc. Brit.*, XIth Edn., "Babylonian Art."

<sup>2</sup> Justin I, 1-3, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Fleet's date.

<sup>4</sup> The Babylonians, of course, practised urn-burial.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. IV, 71.

shape of the *stûpa* shews that it was originally an earthen structure,<sup>1</sup> just as the pyramid, a kindred type of building, must have been always constructed of stone. And so the massive Sanchi Stupa, with its elaborately carved stone railing, is very probably the lineal descendant of the rude earthen mound covering the tombs of the Scythian chieftains on the Central Asian steppes, fenced in by a rough palisade of hewn logs, decorated with fetish-symbols to scare away the evil spirits which might otherwise disturb the peace of the inmate.

When the Saka tribes migrated to India, and were received into the fold of Hinduism, a kind of compromise must have been effected, in the case of notable personages, between the rival customs of burial beneath a barrow and cremation. The body was first cremated and then the ashes were buried. The custom of relic-worship—not a Hindu custom,<sup>2</sup>—led to the practice of dividing the ashes, (and other remains) of a deceased teacher among several claimants, each of whom enshrined his portion under a *stûpa* of his own. Thus the *stûpa*, or burial mound, became a *dîgoba*, or relic-holder. The earliest record of such a division relates to the ashes of Gautama Budha himself.<sup>3</sup> Eight tribes sent delegates to claim, on the ground of kindred with the deceased teacher, a share of his remains. The possession of such relics was, of course, an asset of great material value; the *dagaba* beneath which they lay became a *tirtha*, or place of pilgrimage, and rapidly grew rich and famous.

Among the tribes claiming, as kinsmen, a right to a portion of the ashes of Gautama, were the Vajjis of Vaisâli. They are depicted<sup>4</sup> in early Buddhist sculptures as wearing Scythian garb. Whether Vajji is simply a variation of *Yue-chi*, and whether the Lichhavi clan, said to be an offshoot of the Vajji, are to be identified with the Litsavi, a Mongolo-Scythic tribe in Thibet, is uncertain, but probable. Another tribe, the Gandhâras, must have originally come from the distant North-West Frontier, where Scythians would naturally be found. If these two tribes were Scythian, the tribe of Gautama must have been Scythian too. And so, perhaps, we are justified in includ-

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson thinks it was copied from the conical Tartar tents. But it is difficult to account for such an imitation. And the early stupas are more dome-shaped. Professor Rapson (Hasting's Dictionary of Religion) traces it to the funeral pyre. But the resemblance is not very close.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a survival of the old barbarous rites paid to the "Manes" of deceased ancestors by various nations, particularly Mongolian nations. If the Scythians were Mongolian in origin, we have another interesting piece of evidence in this custom.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahâharanibbana Sutta*. S. B. E. XI p. 131,

Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, 447, Beal in J. R. A. S. XIV, 39.

ing Buddhism among the products of early foreign influence in India.

In 538 B. C., Cyrus the Great took Babylon by storm, and became master of Western Asia—"King of Babel, Sumer, Akkad, and the four quarters of the world." Twenty years later, his equally great successor, Darius, crossed the Carmanian Desert to claim the allegiance of Eastern Iran. Darius was a splendid organizer and financier—his abilities in that latter direction had gained him the contemptuous title of *Κάπηλος*, "The Pedlar," from the Persian nobility,—and he was struck with the brilliant idea of annexing the Indus Valley to his eastern possessions. The scheme was carried out in a most methodical fashion: the Panjab was occupied, and an expedition was sent under a Greek named Scylax of Caryanda to explore the Indus Valley and to travel home by sea from the mouth of the river.<sup>1</sup> The explorers accomplished their task with complete success; they returned by the old route followed by Solomon's trading-fleet, and landed eighteen months later near the modern port of Suez.

We know so little of the history of Persia, that there is not much to record of the "Satrapy of India" during the two centuries which preceded the invasion of Alexander. That the country fully realized the expectations of Darius, is shewn by the enormous tribute which it paid to the imperial coffers. Indian contingents fought in the Persian campaigns against Greece. Perhaps Taxila was the capital of the province, for Alexander's soldiers found there traces of Persian and Babylonian customs; the people held a marriage-market every year in their city, like the Babylonians, and exposed their dead for the vultures to devour instead of cremating them.<sup>2</sup> Darius was the first monarch to have both Greek and Indian subjects under his rule. Of the mainland of Greece, India knew nothing; the Ionians of Asia Minor, employed in the Great King's service, or traders of the same nationality who put in at Barbarikon or Barygaza, were the only Greeks with whom they were acquainted. Hence we may dismiss at once any theories about the influence of Greek literature on India before Alexander's invasion. The Sanskrit *यवन*, *Ἰάβων*, dates from the time when the digamma was still in use. The Prakrit *यन*,

<sup>1</sup> He started from an unidentified city called "Caspatyrus in Pactyca," somewhere in the North-West Panjab. Probably *Κασπάτιρος* is a misreading for *Κασπάτιρος*, (*Kaspa-pura*) defined by Hecateus as *Γανδαρική πόλις Σκιθῶν ἄκτῃ*, "A city of Gandhāra on the Scythian border." Pactyca is the land of the Pachtu or Pashtu, the Pathans or Afghans.

<sup>2</sup> A Median custom, borrowed from the Scythians, who gave their dead to "dogs and birds" to devour. At Bactria, the home of Zoroastrianism, a special breed of dogs, called *ἐνταφιασταί*, "Entombers," were kept for the purpose. The Persians buried their dead. The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, for instance, is a proof of this.

'Iw, is, of course, later.<sup>1</sup> There seems little doubt that the Persian occupation of the Panjab made a great impression upon India; Persian customs and Persian architecture were probably adopted at the courts of some of the local rajas. One unmistakeable trace of Persian influence lasted in Western India for many centuries after the Persian Empire had disappeared. This was the Kharoshthi script, introduced by the officials of the Achæmenids, which was not entirely replaced by the Brâhmi writing till the fourth century A. D. The Kharoshthi is undoubtedly Aramaic in origin, reading, like other kindred scripts from right to left.<sup>2</sup> The last hope of Persia perished with the gallant young Cyrus on the field of Cunaxa (401 B. C.). After this the great Empire began to break up. Eastern Iran became a practically independent kingdom under the satrap of Balkh, who was always a member of the Royal Family. We cease to hear of Indian troops in the Persian army, and probably the annual Indian tribute seldom found its way to the Imperial coffers.

## II.

In 329 B. C. Alexander entered the Panjab. He found Western India governed by a number of independent princes, controlled by no sort of central government. In this disunited condition, they fell an easy prey to the Macedonian forces, in spite of the desperate resistance which was offered from time to time by the gallant natives. Alexander marched across the Panjab in a south-easterly direction to the river Bias, where he was compelled to turn back. He then retreated to the banks of the Jhîlam, and sailed down that stream to its confluence with the Indus, and thence to the coast, subduing and organizing the country as he went. The conquered lands were put in charge of governors, native and Greek; elaborate arrangements were made for building a harbour at Pattala; Nearchus was sent to explore, and re-opened the old Phœnician trade-route between the mouths of the Indus and Euphrates. Unfortunately, these far-seeing plans came to nothing. In 323 B. C., two years after leaving India, Alexander died. The Empire collapsed like a pack of cards; at the same time a great national movement under Chandragupta united all Aryan India under a single leader, and the Macedonian governors were glad to hurry away to the further side of the Hindu Kush with such booty as they could lay hands on.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Milton's "Ionian gods of Javan's issue held," *P. L.*, l. 508, and *S. A.* 715-6. Milton got the word from Isaiah LXVI. 19, but he mixes up Javan with Javan, son of Japheth. (*Gen.* X. 2.) The Greeks heard of India from the Persians. "Ἰνδοί is Hindu, the Avesta word, and, not Sindava (Skt.). Hecataeus (c. 400 B. C.) is the first to mention India among surviving Greek writers.

<sup>2</sup> A highly amusing article by Prof. Lacouperie, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 1886, p. 58, ascribes this script to Cyrus (Khusru). Unfortunately Cyrus never visited India.

By 321 B. C., Macedonian power was at an end in India; only those settlers remained, who cared to throw in their lot with the people.<sup>1</sup> The effect of the great invasion was practically *nil*, unless the example of Alexander inspired the enterprising Chandragupta with the idea of making himself master of Northern India.

We now come to the age of the enlightened and powerful Maurya dynasty, which may be compared with the age of the Antonines in Rome for wisdom, progress and moderation, though there is a certain spirituality about the great Asoka which is hardly found in Marcus Aurelius himself. It was a period of Renaissance in India: a great religious revival was accompanied by a magnificent artistic outburst. Shrines and palaces of stone suddenly replaced the wood and plaster erections of earlier days: clemency of a type unknown in India prevailed in the Government: free communication with the hitherto despised "barbarian" was welcomed and encouraged. The difference which organization could make to a country's powers of resistance was seen when Seleucus Nicator tried in 305 B. C. to repeat the exploits of Alexander. The "Victorious" monarch quickly found it prudent to come to terms with his adversary. A friendly agreement was made, ceding a large portion of Eastern Iran to India, and the compact was sealed by a marriage between Chandragupta and a Syrian princess. The relations between the Mauryas and their western neighbours was of the most cordial kind. Chandragupta was an enthusiastic admirer of Greek customs. Envoys from the west were in attendance at Pataliputra, and the presence of a Greek *ράσι* must have enhanced the philhellenic tendencies of the court. Among the ambassadors, the most famous was Megasthenes, the Syrian envoy to Chandragupta; in the reign of Bindusara he was succeeded by Deimachus. We also hear of a Dionysius from the court of Alexandria, who appears to have been in residence in the reign of Asoka.<sup>2</sup> A friendly and often amusing correspondence between the Maurya kings and their Syrian neighbours testifies to the intimate character of the relations between India and the Greek world at that time. Chandragupta sends Seleucus some powerful Indian drugs; Bindusara requests of Antiochus a consignment of "figs, Greek wine, and a sophist"; to which that monarch replies, that while delighted to send the wine, he regrets that it is not "good form for Greeks to deal in sophists." (*οὐ νόμιμον ἐν Ἑλλήσι σοφιστὴν πωλεῖσθαι*). After his conversion to Buddhism, Asoka's first thought is for his friends, the Greek rulers of Syria and Alexandria.

<sup>1</sup> Quite possibly considerable Yavana colonies remained behind.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, 2, 1. 9. Pliny. *N.H.* 17.

And yet, in spite of the intimacy between India and the West under the Mauryas, we can discern very few actual traces of Greek influence on Indian civilization during that period. The court of Chandragupta, as described by Megasthenes,<sup>1</sup> was conducted in Persian fashion. As in Persia, the king lived in strict seclusion, and observed Persian festivals like the curious "hair-washing festival" held on the king's birthday.<sup>2</sup> Offences were punished by mutilation, a Persian practice abhorred by the Greeks. The country was split up into provinces, called satrapies as in Persia. Asoka, when he determined to use a more lasting material than the wood and plaster of his predecessors for architectural purposes, set his workmen to erect buildings and monuments of stone in the Persian style, but adapted and Indianized in characteristic Hindu fashion. At the same time, we may discern traces of Scythian influence in the sculpture of the period. The grotesque, broad-shouldered figures of the Sanchi carvings are certainly not Aryan in type. The same type of figure appears even in the semi-Hellenic sculptures of the Gandhara school.

We may take it for granted that the inhabitants of the Aryavarta at the time of the accession of Chandragupta were already a highly civilized people. No remains, alas, of the early architecture of India has survived, owing to the fragile nature of the materials employed, but we can see that the beautifully carved and inscribed pillars of Asoka are not the crude efforts of a primitive nation. At the same time their essentially Indian appearance seems to prove that they are not the work of foreign artisans, like the Gandhâra sculptures. The numerous "sermons in stone" erected by Asoka, shew that reading was a common accomplishment,<sup>3</sup> otherwise their erection all over the country would have been pointless. For two centuries constant intercourse with Persia, combined with the indigenous culture of the people, had produced an advanced civilization to which the rude Macedonian could add nothing, and upon which even Hellenistic refinement had comparatively little influence. Already, when Megasthenes arrived at Pataliputra, he found it as

<sup>1</sup> V. A. Smith. *Early History of India*, Ch. V.

<sup>2</sup> "A Royal Festival is held once a year on the birthday of Xerxes. It is called *Tycta* in Persian. The king washes his head and makes presents to the Persians." Herod, IX, 110. "When the King (Chandragupta) washes his hair, they celebrate a great festival and send him presents." Strabo. XV, 69.

<sup>3</sup> The common legend that writing was not practised in India arose from the fact that most Sanskrit literature was transmitted orally, and legal disputes were settled by unwritten local custom. Strabo. XVI, 53, 67, etc. Writing was confined to secular purposes: even in the fifth century A. D. FaHian had the greatest difficulty in getting MSS. of Buddhist works. Perhaps Asoka borrowed from Persia the idea of inscribing long records upon the surface of rocks where they would meet the eye of the passer-by.

splendid as Susa or Ecbatana ; and it was from Susa, *via* Taxila, that foreign influence permeated the country. A Persian official, Tushâspa,<sup>1</sup> carried out Asoka's irrigation schemes in Kathiawar, doubtless on the model of the famous Babylonian works ; the great trunk road, built from Pâtaliputra through Delhi to the North-West Frontier, was suggested, no doubt, by the royal road of Darius in Persia.

A great deal has been made of the sudden introduction of stone as a building-material by Asoka. It may be, of course, that he learnt from foreigners, perhaps Greeks, to use stone instead of wood. But it seems clear that he employed native craftsmen to work in this material, and allowed them to treat it in their own fashion. Thus anyone examining the carvings of the Sanchi Stupa will recognise that the workmen employed, were used to working in wood. The famous "Buddhist rail" at Sanchi is built of stone blocks elaborately hewn into the likeness of wooden legs, and a significant inscription records that one of the gates was the work of the "ivory carvers of Vidisa."<sup>2</sup> The truth is, that stone was not extensively used for building purposes till a much later period. Even four centuries later, Hiuen Tsiang regards the deserted ruins of Asoka's stone palaces with superstitious awe, as "the work of no mortal hands." Kanishka's great relic tower at Peshawar was of wood,<sup>3</sup> and wood was used for the fortifications of Pâtaliputra. The huge wooden arches in the Karla caves shew to what use wood could be put by Indian builders, and no doubt the vast majority of the buildings of the time were of wood and plaster, built on brick foundations, such as are still popular in Western India. Asoka's more ambitious schemes were partly due to religious enthusiasm, and partly, no doubt, to the great access of wealth which resulted from the excellent organization of his vast Empire. Persian influence may be detected in the bell-shaped pillars and "lion-capitals," of the Buddhist architecture of the Maurya period, but it is so adapted and transformed that we cannot help tracing its first introduction back for many years before the accession of Chandragupta, to the time when the Persian, Indian, and Central Asian races first encountered one another in that strange meeting-place of nations, the Panjab.

<sup>1</sup> Called, however, a *Tana*, in the Girnar Inscription. No doubt he spoke Greek. He may have been a Greek half breed from Bactria.

<sup>2</sup> विदिसंकरि दंतकीरिहि रूपकं कते So too in the *Toy Cart*, the Palace has a "high ivory portal." V. A. Smith, *His Fine Art*, X, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records*, I. 113.

## III.

The "Yellow Peril" was no new thing to the ancient world. The Assyrian Empire had been menaced by the threats of Scythian incursions; and Scythians assisted at the sack of Nineveh. Cyrus the Great fell in battle against these traditional foes of the Aryan race, and Alexander, though compelled to destroy Cyropolis, the fortress built by the Persian monarch to guard the passage over the Jaxartes, replaced it by an even greater stronghold in the shape of Alexandria Eschaté. But the chief safeguard for the Aryans of Western Asia was the ancient Iranian province of Balkh or Bactria, the great buffer-state between the Persian Empire and the peoples of the steppes of Central Asia. Alexander had realized the strategic importance of Balkh to his eastern possessions, and had established there a large military colony. After his death this colony had grown into the dimensions of an important kingdom, the veterans having freely intermarried with the Iranian and Scythic populace. In 250 B. C. they revolted against the Syrian Empire, and their independence was recognized some forty years later by Antiochus the Great. That monarch had marched against the revolting province and laid siege to the capital, but he was induced to abandon his design, by the plea that if he weakened this outpost of the Greek world, the Scythians would burst in and overrun the whole of the West at once.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the Bactrians did not confine themselves to the rôle of guarding the Oxus; the disorders which followed upon the break-up of the Maurya Empire, left the Panjab as a tempting prey to an ambitious conqueror, and the Bactrian monarchs were unable to resist the opportunity. About 190 B. C. the Bactrian king Demetrius invaded the North-West of India, and made himself master of a considerable portion of territory. This he made into a separate Kingdom, with its capital at Sagala,<sup>2</sup> which he re-named Euthydemeia after his father Euthydemus. This left Bactria Proper in a precarious condition. Harassed by internal dissensions, and by continual quarrels with their old rivals the Parthians, the Bactrian Greeks could ill-afford to send the flower of their troops on distant expeditions to the far South. As Justin says, they were literally "drained of their life-blood."<sup>3</sup> In consequence, the Scythians at last managed to cross the Oxus, and overrun the country. Heliodorus, the last Greek king to reign north of the Hindu Kush, hastily evacuated Bactria, and fled, with such of his followers as did not care to submit to the

<sup>1</sup> ἐκβαρβαρωθήσονται τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁμολογουμένως. Polyb. XI. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Sialkot.

<sup>3</sup> *Ersanges*. Justin, xli-6.

invaders, to find a home in the province of Sāgala which his predecessors had established. This was about 140 B. C. Unfortunately, the Greeks were continually quarrelling among themselves, and split up into a number of independent principalities. Only once, under the great Menander, did they unite for a brief time; and by 20 A. D., they disappear altogether, though little isolated Greek states probably struggled on here and there till a much later period.<sup>1</sup>

These Greeks had really very little western blood in their veins when they settled in India, and their influence upon this country was very slight. They issued, however, some very beautiful and remarkable coins, one or two of which will compare with anything produced in the ancient world. It is impossible to explain this outburst of artistic genius in the furthest confines of Hellenic influence. These Bactrian coins were imitated extensively by the few Indian rulers who shewed any taste in this direction, the Kushans, the Guptas, and the Western Kshatrapas, especially Nahapana, the ruler who issued the coins found in such immense numbers near Nasik, some years ago.<sup>2</sup> The Greek word *drachma* has passed into the vernacular language of to-day: from it came the Prakrit द्रम and the modern दाम.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise it appears that the Greeks were rapidly absorbed in the native population. The process may be traced in the coinage, where Indian figures and inscriptions replace by degrees the Greek types of the earlier monarchs, and the workmanship becomes more and more debased. The few remains we have of the Indo-Greeks seem to shew that they quickly lost all traces of their individuality, and adopted the religion, and even in many cases the names, of their neighbours. Thus the Karla caves contain many inscriptions recording donations from "Yavanas." These must be Bactrian Greeks; but they have Hindu names, and are Buddhists. The pillar recently discovered at Besnagar<sup>4</sup> bears an inscription to the effect that it is the work of "Heliodorus, a worshipper of Krishna, sent by the Yona king Antialcidas." The pillar is in the Indo-Persian style, and contains no traces of Greek workmanship. Probably the Greek language was only used at the court of Sāgala, and among a few of the ruling class who had not intermarried with the natives. The Indo-Greek kingdoms reached the height of their power under the Buddhist prince Menander, who for a brief

<sup>1</sup> Thus Gautamiputra (after 130 A. D.) talks of subduing Yavanas. Rapson, *Coins of the Andras*, Section 44, Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> See the Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, 224.

<sup>3</sup> The Kushans and Guptas also imitated extensively the Roman coins which poured into India in the first and second centuries A. D. दाम is the Roman Denarius.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 1092.

space carried the Greek arms to the walls of Pataliputra. Of his court and capital we find a delightful picture in the Buddhists *Questions of Milinda*,<sup>1</sup> which describes them as follows :

“There is in the country of the Yonakas a great centre of trade, a city called Sāgala. . . Wise architects have laid it out, and its people know of no oppression, since all their enemies and adversaries have been put down. Brave is its defence, with many and strong towers and ramparts, with superb gates and entrance archways ; and with the royal citadel in its midst, white-walled and deeply moated. Well laid out are its streets, squares, cross-roads, and market places. Well displayed are the innumerable sorts of costly merchandise with which its shops are filled. It is richly adorned with hundreds of almshalls of various kinds, and splendid with hundreds of thousands of magnificent mansions, which rise aloft like the mountain-peaks of the Himalayas. Its streets are filled with elephants, horses, carriages, frequented by men of all sorts and conditions, Brahmans, nobles, artificers and servants. They resound with cries of welcome to the teachers of every creed, and the city is the resort of the leading men of each of the differing sects.” In the unoppressive government, the white-walled acropolis, and the “welcome given to teachers of every sect,”<sup>2</sup> we may perhaps discern echoes of the old Greek spirit ; but Menander was essentially an Indian raja, and not a Greek ruler. A Siamese tradition affirms that he took the yellow robe in his old age, and died an *arhat* ; and Plutarch relates a story<sup>3</sup> to the effect that at his funeral, as at that of Gautama Buddha, seven nations disputed for a share of his ashes, which they carried away and buried beneath *stupas* (*μνημεια*) in their own countries. As far as we can tell at present, the Indo-Greeks exercised very little intellectual influence upon India, though excavation on the site of the ancient Sāgala may modify this view. If, however, Menander used the same flimsy materials for his great palaces and fortresses as his Indian contemporaries, not much remains to be unearthed.

In the meanwhile, bodies of Sakas were beginning to appear in the Panjab and to settle in the vicinity of Taxila, Mathura, and other places. One isolated tribe eventually reached Kathiawar.<sup>4</sup> Great numbers at the same time flocked into the modern Sistan (Sakastan), giving the country its modern name. These immigrants appear to

<sup>1</sup> S. B. E. XXV. The book is so replete with detail that it must have been written soon after the time of Menander, by one who knew the country.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Acts of the Apostles*, XVII.-21.

<sup>3</sup> In the tract *Reip. Gerend*, p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> The modern Jats are descendants of the famous Scythian tribe, the Getæ.

have been accompanied by a certain number of Parthians, but in spite of the ingenuity of modern numismatologists, very little can be said with certainty about these petty chieftains. Whether there was an actual Parthian invasion of the Panjab is unknown, and after all, not very important; but coins and inscriptions shew that a powerful Saka dynasty was succeeded by a line of monarchs bearing Parthian names, who employed satraps to govern the more distant parts of their realms. The Greeks, who were continually quarrelling among themselves, could offer no resistance to these new-comers. Hindu writers speak contemptuously of the "Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas," as a set of barbarians with little to distinguish them. There is little doubt that the sudden incursion of Saka tribes was caused by pressure from the North. After a series of obscure movements, a powerful Mongolian tribe called the Yue-chi had treated the Sakas of Bactria precisely as the latter had formerly treated the Bactrian Greeks, and thus the Sakas were in their turn compelled to seek new homes south of the Hindu Kush. In the meanwhile, the nomads who now held Bactria settled down in that fertile country and rapidly became a powerful and civilized nation. In their new abode they acquired a certain amount of culture; from the remnants of the Scythian and Iranian peoples of Balkh they adopted a debased form of Zoroastrianism; while from the Greeks of the country, or perhaps the Parthians, they took over the Greek alphabet, and possibly a certain modicum of the Greek language. Finally, about the first century A. D., the Yue-chi began, like their predecessors, to cast envious eyes upon the Panjab, and a Yue-chi monarch named Kadphises, belonging to the dominant Kushan clan, quietly overran the decadent Indo-Greek and Saka principalities in North-Western India.<sup>1</sup> That the Greeks submitted without a struggle appears from the fact that the last Greek Prince, Hermœus, issued coins in conjunction with Kadphises until his death, when Kadphises appears alone. The Kushans rapidly made themselves masters of Northern India. Kanishka, their most powerful prince, must have ruled from the Jaxartes to the mouth of the Ganges. He appears to have sent an embassy to the Emperor Trajan, and for the next two centuries the trade between Rome and India reached very large dimensions. Some idea of the extent of the commerce between the two countries may be gathered from the immense finds of Roman coins which have been made from time to time in India. Five cooly loads of *aurei* of the reign of Nero were found some years ago near Cannanore, and this is by no means an isolated instance. Pliny complains bitterly of the

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<sup>1</sup> The invasion was no doubt quite a peaceful one; the "Kshatrapas" merely acknowledged their new overlords and remained undisturbed.

“ drain ” caused by the shipment of Roman gold and silver to India in return for useless and unproductive luxuries, and anticipates the gravest results therefrom. Perhaps this export of Roman money really had something to do with the disastrous financial paralysis which finally overtook the Roman Empire. Similar complaints about the absorption of money by India are not unknown in modern times,<sup>1</sup> the Kushans, having no indigenous culture of their own, were forced, as they became a settled nation, to borrow from their neighbours. The result, as seen in their coins, is a curious medley. From the Parthians they took over the titles of *Kshatrapa*, *King of Kings*, etc., probably because no change in the government of the subordinate provinces was made when they conquered the country. From the Parthians, too, they borrowed the Greek script generally in vogue, modifying it, however, to express certain sounds not known to the Greek tongue. Thus P on the Kushan coins represents not *p* but *sh*; KOPANO KANEPKI is “ Kanishka the Kushan,” and the title PAONANO is the Pahlava *Shahan-shan*, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων.<sup>2</sup> It does not follow, of course, that the Kushans spoke Greek because they employed the Greek script. The Greek script is frequently used by various rulers of the time, indifferently with the Brahmi or Kharoshthi, to express Prakrit coin-legends. A curious example of the confusion of Greek and Indian ideas by these semi-barbarous tribes is a coin of Kanishka bearing a *male* figure of the moon, and inscribed ΣΑΑΗΝΗ.<sup>3</sup> The Goddess NANAIΑ appears on many Kushan coins. She is the Zoroastrian Anaitis, the tutelary deity of Balkh, and it appears probable that she and many other Zoroastrian deities,<sup>4</sup> were imported by the Kushans from their ancient home on the Oxus. In some cases, no doubt, the Kushans merely continued the local coins of the districts over which they ruled, and it is possible that the Zoroastrian coins of the Kushans were issued for circulation in Pahlava settlements and satrapies. The deity on a particular coin very often represents the religion, not of the King who strikes it, but of the district for use in which it is minted.

Far more important, however, was the importation by Kanishka of Greek artists from Asia Minor to decorate the numerous shrines, monasteries, and other buildings with which, in the first enthusiasm of his conversion to the Buddhist creed, he covered the district round

<sup>1</sup> “ Minima computatione milies centena milia sestertium annis omnibus India et Sereis peninsulae illa imperio nostro adimunt.” N. H. 12.18.

<sup>2</sup> For the whole question, see Stein's *Zoroastrian deities on Indo-Scythian coins*. (Babylonian and Oriental Record, Vol. I, p. 133.)

<sup>3</sup> B. M. Cat. XXVI 1.

<sup>4</sup> Also represented on Kushan coins.

his capital town Peshawar. The productions of these workmen and their Indian imitators still cover the ancient country of Gandhâra in vast quantities, and their influence upon Buddhist art was very considerable. It is a curious thing that it was left to a Scythian, and not to the Indo-Greeks, to introduce Hellenic art into India. Of the artistic value of the "Gandhâra School" of sculpture, very varying estimates have been formed. Many Europeans, educated on Greek models, have found them more familiar and intelligible than the purely Hindu work of the following period, and have, in consequence lavished upon them a quite disproportionate amount of praise. On the other hand, the recent school of Indian critics, which has done so much for ancient Hindu art, condemns them as utterly worthless attempts on the part of fifth-rate Hellenistic workmen to represent subjects they do not in the least comprehend. This, I think, is a little exaggerated. No one in his senses would compare the work of Kanishka's semi-barbarous Indo-Scythian mechanics, or the decadent Syrian sculptors imported from Ephesus and Pergamum, with the Elephanta bas-reliefs, or the magnificent Mahâyâna Buddhist statues of Java, or the South Indian bronzes. They are obviously second-rate; they are not even up to the average standard of the Hellenistic art of the period. They are evidently 'made to order,' and shew no trace of higher artistic feeling. It is, after all, impossible for anyone to represent purely Eastern ideas by Western methods. The result is always lamentable.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, we could ill-afford to lose these interesting, realistic, and often pretty representations of Indian life in the first century A.D. To the student of Buddhism they are a mine of information, an entrancing record of the beliefs of the time. We should beware of under-estimating their value and interest. Their importance, too, in the history of Buddhist art is very great. The Greeks first taught the Indians to represent the Master in human form; it is possible that they are responsible for the introduction of sculptured representations of the gods of the Hindu Pantheon as well. The conventional Buddha of modern Buddhism originated from the Gandhâra sculptures. Buddhism has now become very largely the religion of the Mongolian nations, and the modern type of the Buddha has Mongolian features; but in the hair, the halo, and the arrangement of the drapery, we may discern clear traces of his Indo-Greek origin. The Gandhâra school, no doubt, influenced the Far East through Khotan, where abundant remains of semi-Mongolian culture, strongly tinged

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<sup>1</sup> Take, for instance, the atrocities of Ravi Varma, unhappily so popular in Western India.

by Indo-Greek ideas, have recently been discovered. The amount of Hellenistic influence in the Gandhâra Sculptures varies considerably. Some of the statues and bas-reliefs are obviously the work of Greek artists; Zeus does duty as Kubera, Pallas Athene as an Indian attendant. Purely Greek themes like Hercules and the Lion, Ganymede and the Eagle, Tritons, Centaurs, and so forth, are reproduced with no attempt at concealment. Others, again, are much less Greek, both in type and subject. They represent scenes from the Jâtaka stories, treated with a humorous realism which takes us back to the older Maurya sculptures. The short, broad shouldered figures appearing in these sculptures are Scythian rather than Aryan. Probably they were the work of native craftsmen working under Greek overseers. In the later remains of the period, we find debased Corinthian pillars, bearing figures in the foliage, which are Roman rather than Greek. Some of them are "finished" with stucco in a similar fashion to the pillars of the Baths of Caracala (217 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> As we have already mentioned, there was a considerable intercourse between Rome and India in the first three centuries after Christ.

The most unpleasing remains of the period are the repulsive Mathura sculptures, which probably belong to a local Tantric cult, as Mr. Vincent Smith supposes. The finest work of the time, on the other hand, is found at Amrâvati. The Amrâvati bas-reliefs shew very little Greek influence, having been executed under the orders of the Andra princes, who were not, like the Kushans, foreigners without a culture of their own. On the whole, the influence of Greece on the Gandhâra and kindred schools of sculpture has been exaggerated; we may find a good many traces in Kushan Art of the ancient traditions of the Maurya period, partly Indo-Persian and partly Central-Asian. The critics who are determined to find an origin for every striking artistic type, trace to Alexandria the practice of executing long bas-reliefs of an anecdotal character; in that case, we must, perhaps, look for Greek influence, transmitted from Western India, in the wonderful mural sculptures of Java as well as in the Gandhara friezes.

#### IV.

After the collapse of the Kushan Empire, attention reverts to Eastern India, where the great indigenous dynasty of the Guptas arose about 300 A.D. With the Gupta monarchs India begins

<sup>1</sup> These pillars are ornamental and not structural. The buildings erected by Kanishka must have been of the conventional Indian type, and to judge from the way in which they have disappeared, must have been mostly of wood and brick. It should be mentioned, by the way, that faint traces of Hellenistic influence before the Kushan era may be found, notably in the coins and other remains of Azes, and other Saka and Indo-Parthian rulers.

once more to discard foreign influence; Buddhism, the creed of the cosmopolitan settlers of the Panjab, is slowly replaced by the more conservative Brahmanism; a great revival of Sanskrit literature takes place. In Art, a very noticeable change is observed, both in style and subject. The short, broad-shouldered type of figure gives place to the long-limbed, graceful forms which are characteristic of later Hindu art. Hindu subjects replace Buddhist ones. Did even this great conservative reaction owe anything to western influence? The Guptas, while adhering strictly to national ideals, were a singularly enlightened dynasty. They encouraged foreign trade, and like the Kushans, issued a gold coinage in imitation of the Roman *aureus*. Indian philosophy began to make itself felt in the West; Neo-platonism undoubtedly bears traces of contact with Eastern ideas. Even Christianity borrowed something in the course of its development from Buddhism; relic-worship and monasticism found their way into the Church from the East; and Gautama Buddha, under the title of St. Josaphat, is still, *mirabile dictu*, recognised as a Christian saint. On the other hand, the East borrowed something in her turn from Western schools. Astronomy, which has a ritual as well as a scientific importance in India, was about this time very largely re-modelled upon the lines suggested by the researches of the Alexandrian mathematicians. Indians were quite frank about their indebtedness to Greece in this respect. "The Yavanas are indeed barbarians," says the *Gargi Samhita*, "But astronomy originated with them, and for this they must be venerated as gods." Of the five *siddhantas*, or astronomical systems, two, the *Romaka siddhanta* and the *Paulisa siddhanta* (the latter is named after Paul of Alexandria, c. 387 A.D.,) are manifestly Western in origin. The word जामिष, used by Kālidāsa, (*Kumārasambhāva*, VII-1.) is the Greek *δαίμων*.<sup>1</sup> Many of the names of the planets, as well as of the signs of the zodiac, are derived from the Greek.<sup>2</sup> Hindu medical science, in a similar fashion, is said to shew distinct traces of Western influence, though this may have been introduced in Kushan times.<sup>3</sup>

We now come to a much more disputed question. Does the Indian drama, which reached its height of perfection under the Guptas, owe anything to Greece? If the Greek language was ever known to any extent in India, it would be easy to suppose that the Indian dramatists had read Menander and the other Greek writers.

<sup>1</sup> It is the seventh place on the horoscope, by which the astrologer predicts the happiness of married life for a person.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Dr. Vogel's article in *East and West*, Jan. 1912.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Vogel finds in the works of Charaka, "said to have been Kanishka's physician," very strong traces of a knowledge of Hippocrates.

But can we infer this from the actual evidence which we have? A corrupt Greek was no doubt spoken at the Court of Sāgala by the successors of the Bactrian Greeks, but the coins shewn that it was in a moribund condition. Still more corrupt, if we may judge from the coins, was the Greek in use at the court of the Kushans: Indeed, it is doubtful whether it was used at all, except for intercourse with foreigners, as the language of diplomacy and commerce. Traders at Barygaza must have picked up a little of the language, and so must the stonemasons who associated with Kanishka's foreign workmen. But this does not imply a knowledge of the literary, written language of classical Greece. Nor can we rely much upon the fact that Indian astronomers and doctors were acquainted with Greek astronomy and medicine. The knowledge was brought to India by students who had studied abroad. In the same way, medieval Europe owed a great deal to Arabian astronomers and scientists, but this does not imply that Roger Bacon or other students knew Arabic. As a matter of fact, we know they did not.

Only one Indian play, the *Toy Cart*, shews any real resemblance to a Greek comedy. Even Mr. Vincent Smith would hesitate to find likenesses in *Shakuntala* to any classical drama. Indeed, we might very well shew the futility of making too much of such resemblances by comparing the Indian and Elizabethan dramas.<sup>1</sup> The Fool (विदूषक) certainly plays a prominent part in the plays of Shakespeare. *Shakuntala* resembles for more closely romantic comedies like the *Winter's Tale*, or the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, than any Greek drama. Then, again, Greek plays were acted in public, open-air theatres; Indian and Elizabethan plays in halls and courtyards. The small amphitheatre discovered by Dr. Bloch at Rāmgarh<sup>2</sup> is unique, and may be, like the *Yavanikā*, or Greek curtain,<sup>3</sup> the work of an ingenious Greek workman in Indian employ. Indian, like Elizabethan playwrights, shew a sublime disregard for the unities, and mingle prose and verse indiscriminately. The *Nāṭya Shāstra* of Bhārata, it is true, lays down a rule limiting the number of the persons appearing upon the stage to five, and the Sanskrit, like the classical drama, avoids the representation of violent or unseemly actions. But these conventions may very well have arisen independently. It is possible, of course, that the author of the *Nāṭya Shāstra*,

<sup>1</sup> Dean Milman, in an article in the *Quarterly* for 1831, compared the Indian and Spanish dramas.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Survey of India*, 1903-4, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> No curtain was used on the Greek stage, hence this apparatus was not imported from Greece. Dr. Rapson says *Yavanikā* merely means "made of Greek (or Western) material."

like the Indian writers on astronomy and medicine, *may* have derived some of his rules from Alexandria. The writer of the *Toy Cart* *may* have witnessed or read a Greek comedy. But the ingenious arguments of Weber and Windisch are merely clever special pleading ; there is really no reason why the Indian drama should not have arisen like the Greek, from primitive religious celebrations, quite independently of foreign influence. Mr. Vincent Smith, who is always anxious to deprive India of the credit of all her achievements in Art and Literature, thinks there is sufficient evidence to warrant our believing that Kālidāsa could read, not only Menander but Terence ! He also finds Greek influence in the typically Indian Sculptures of the Gupta period.<sup>1</sup> The rhetorical statements of writers like Clement of Alexandria and Aelian, that there were Hindus who knew Homer and the Greek tragedians, need not be taken seriously. They probably arose from vague stories of the purely fortuitous points of resemblance between the Greek and Indian Epics.<sup>2</sup>

After 400 A. D., the Western World, in the throes of her last struggles with the barbarian, ceased to have commerce with the East, and India remained a vaguely known and legendary land to Europe until it was rediscovered by Vasco de Gama. The results arrived at in this paper are mainly negative ; for the duty of the historian is, I conceive, to overthrow groundless assumptions and hasty conclusions before building up theories of his own. I hope I may have succeeded in shewing how unjust are the theories which attribute any lasting influence upon India to Greece. To sum up, we may trace three distinct currents of foreign influence in India. Firstly, the influence of Babylon and Chaldea, which is visible in early Indian weights and measures and computations of time ; secondly, Persian influence, which is very apparent in the court of the Mauryas ; and, thirdly, Greco-Roman influence. This last dates from the time of the Kushan kings only, (the Macedonian and Bactrian Greeks exerted no influence worth mentioning), and is to be seen in certain debased sculptures found in North-Western India, in coinage, and in works on technical subjects, such as astronomy and medicine. It did not affect the literature. On the other hand, India influenced the West very considerably, from the time of the Phœnician traders, to the adoption of certain Indian philosophical ideas and religious customs by Greeks and Christian thinkers. The latter question, however, has not yet been fully investigated : it awaits unbiassed and patient research.

H. G. RAWLINSON.

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*Hist. Fine Art.* VI-1.

Like the supposed resemblance between the *Rāmāyana* (the story of Sita) and the *Iliad* (the story of Helen) of which Weber absurdly makes so much.

ART XXII.—*Seed structure and germination of Vateria indica L.*

By H. M. CHIBBER, M. A.

[The white Dammer Tree, or the Piney Varnish tree, or the Indian Copal Tree. Vernacular Dhup. References:—Hooker, Flora of British India I, 313; Cooke, Flora of Bombay Presidency I, 87; Talbot, Forest Flora I, 113; Watt, Dictionary of Economic Products, 6, 4, 222; Woodrow, Journal Bombay Natural History Society, 11, 126.—Products. Piney gum resin from wounds in the trunk which makes an excellent varnish for carriages and furniture; vegetable butter or piney tallow from the seeds which contain about 50% of it; it is used for lamps and for human consumption in place of or adulterated with *ghi*; it is white in colour, and remains solid even in hot climates. It is sold in the form of balls, and is particularly recommended for internal use to rheumatic persons.]

My attention was first drawn to the beautiful tree whose seed and germination are described here, as I was touring through the Kanara rain-forest on a May evening. I was passing from Jog (Garsappa) to Siddapur and I was suddenly struck by the avenue of trees. There were large terminal bunches capping the trees after the manner of the teak-wood, and white petals covering the road for miles. Subsequently I learnt that if it was not a portion of the avenues planted by the Sonda kings; it was a later imitation of the same. On examination the tree was found to be *Vateria indica*. L. I obtained a few seeds of it last month through the courtesy of Forest Officers with a view to trial planting at the Ganeshkhind Botanical Gardens, Kirkee, near Poona. Most of them had started germinating on the way. The following description and the plate of figures is a result of the study of these specimens.

The fruit very strongly resembles both in external appearance and in dimensions ( $2\frac{1}{2}''$  by  $1\frac{1}{4}''$ ) a popular fruit in Bombay markets called chickoo (*Achras Sapota-Sapotaceæ*). The resemblance, however, ends there; for the chickoo (sapodilla of the West Indies) is a berry with succulent pulp and one to five large seeds with a shining hard seed coat, while the *Dhup* (for that is vernacular for *Vateria*) is a sort of nut. It is derived from an ovary with three cells and six ovules; of these all but one are aborted. The shell is three valved in correspondence with the three carpels in the flower. It is about a

quarter of an inch thick and softly woody or rather corky in texture. In colour it is uniformly brown throughout. The large seed within fills the entire cavity. The small calyx projects its five rays round the stalk of the nut. This is unusual for the family to which the *Vateria* belongs, which derives its name (*Dipterocarpaceæ*) from the extension of two (or all) of the sepals during the fruiting stage into wings.

Within the shell is a single large seed. It has a thin soft brown cover or testa. On its removal the embryo is to be seen, which forms the only contents within the seed-coats. There are two cotyledons (see figures). These are unequal fleshy and curiously lobed and slightly dovetailed. Both are of a beautiful walnut colour with a good dash of the flesh tint. Their outlines remind one of saggitate leaves. The smaller one shows a T-shaped fissure on the outside which makes it three lobed; one lobe is median and apical, and the remaining two are descending as in a saggitate leaf. Its inner face is marked by a deep hollow surrounded by four or more buttress like protuberances. The cotyledon has a stalk. This arises in a level with the transverse part of the T-shaped fissure; it bends inwards (see the left hand top figure) and is overlapped by the two descending lobes of the cotyledon. The whole cotyledon is shorter than the other one as it does not reach the apex of the seed (see the central figure), but is short of it by about one-fifth the entire length of the seed. It is, however, a bit broader than the other one. Its lateral margins are convex. The larger cotyledon is more intricately lobed than the smaller one. On the outside it is divided longitudinally from the base to almost the apex into two halves by a somewhat zigzag fissure and these halves towards the top are sub-divided by one or two transverse incomplete fissures which start from the main vertical fissure. The inner face which is opposed to the other cotyledon is curiously excavated and spurred to fit exactly into the irregularities of the corresponding surface of its opposed fellow. The base of the cotyledon, or rather the junction of the fleshy blade and the rod like petiole, forms the highest point; from it downwards extending to the basal extremity we get two descending lobes on either side. On forcing apart these lobes we find the surfaces applied to each other divided into three or four very unequal lobes by irregular fissures, strongly reminding one of the convolutions in a mammalian brain. The outer descending lobe is by far the largest; the remaining two or three are subequal.

As regards germination the first sign of it is a triradiate fissure at the apex or free end of the fruit. The rays gradually reach the other

PLATE I.

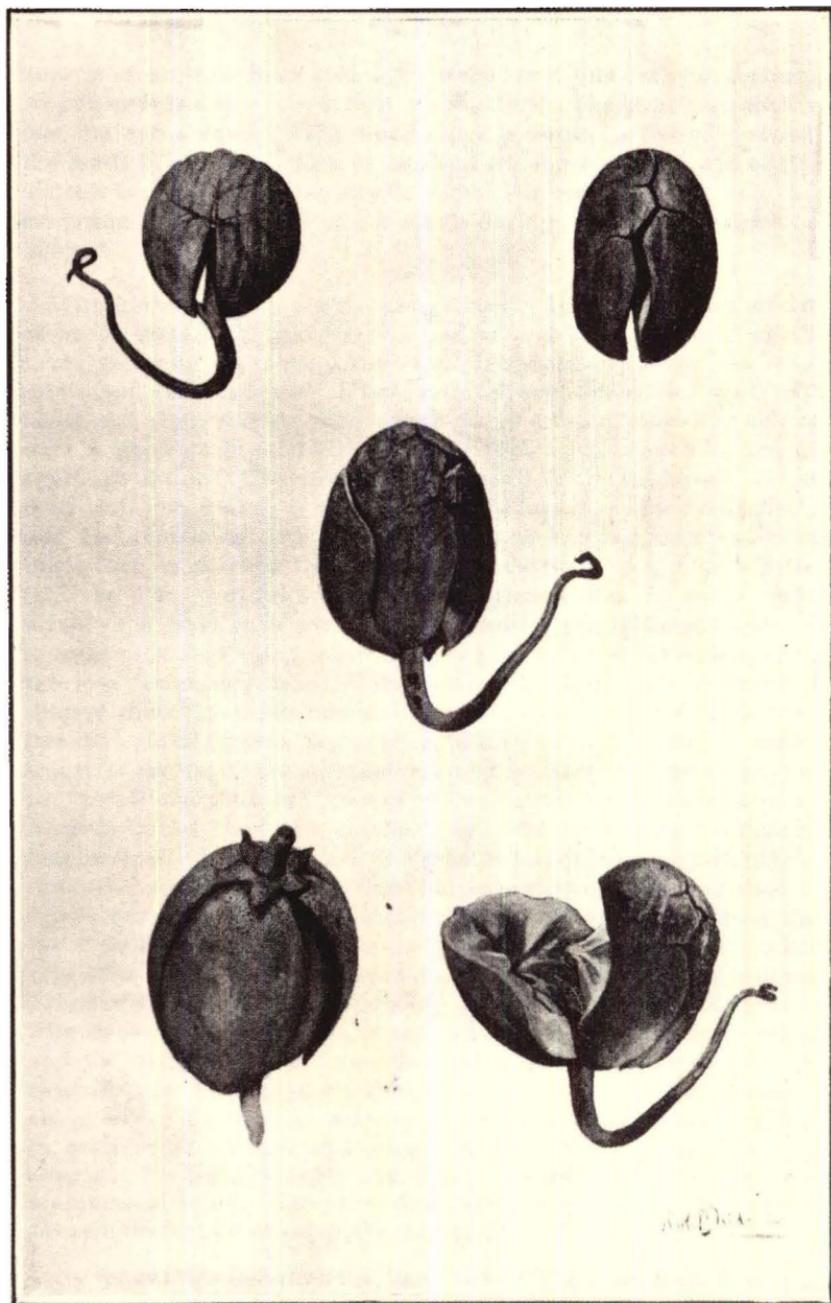
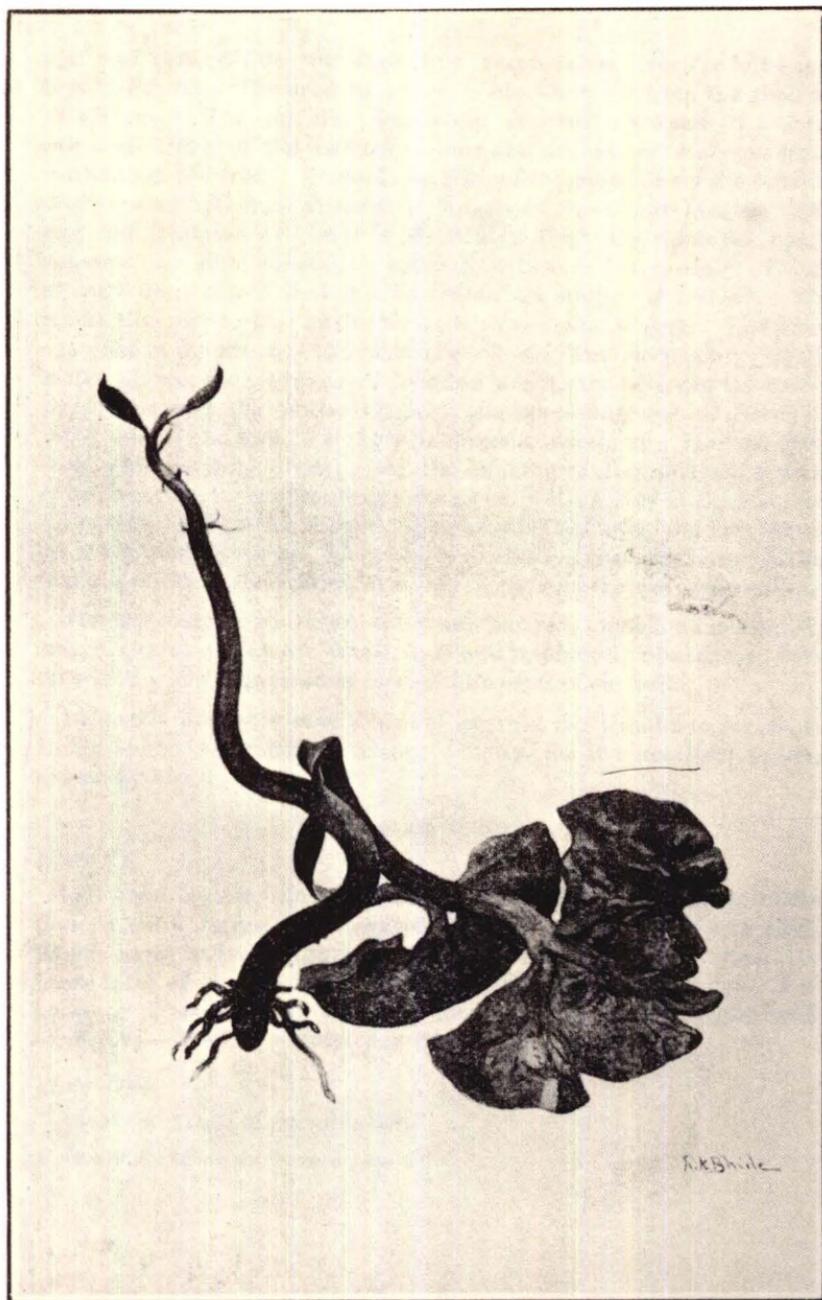


PLATE II.



end and thus divide the shell into three valves (see the left hand bottom figure). The seed, however, is not liberated from the shell at this stage. The radicle meanwhile courses between the four principal lobes of the two cotyledons and ultimately emerges from the apex of the fruit. There is no sign of the plumule on the outside until the radicle has attained a length of one or two inches. The way the plumule or shoot is extricated from the enclosed space between the two dovetailed cotyledons is very interesting. It has already been stated that the cotyledons are stalked and lobed. The stalks elongate to four or five times their original length. The lobes open out in the manner shown in the plate. The lengthening of the stalks serves the purpose of forming a distance between the heavy cotyledons and the tender shoot. The spreading out of the thick lobes allows the coil of elongated stalks to open out. The soft shell meanwhile rapidly decays. As the plant establishes itself several lateral roots grow out from near the apex of the top or main root, the tip of which thereafter decays. As regards the shoot, the first leaves on it are mere vestiges. They are in a whorl of three or four. Later leaves are alternate. Stipules are present from the very beginning.

The microscopic contents of the surcharged cotyledons are chiefly starch grains which are small, oval and apparently nonstriated, and oil which when expressed is formed into white firm balls.

In concluding this note I would express my thanks to Mr. R. K. Bhide of the Agricultural College, Poona, for the excellent figures drawn by him.

#### Explanation of figures.

##### *Plate I—*

Left hand bottom figure—The fruit at the beginning of germination. Central figure—Germinating embryo taken out of the shell. Right hand bottom figure—The above opened out to show the inner faces of the two cotyledons and the plumule between. Left hand top figure—The smaller cotyledon with the axis. Right hand top figure—The larger cotyledon by itself.

##### *Plate II—*

Advanced stage of germination.

NOTE.—All the figures are drawn to natural size.

## ART. XXIII.—*Rāmāyaṇa and Temples.*

BY ALKONḌAVILLI GOVINDĀ'ĀRYA SVĀMIN,

C. E., M. R. A. S., M. R. S. A., M. M. S.

GENTLEMEN,

Śrī-Rāmāyaṇa is the bulwark of Hinduism. We consider Śrī Rāma as one of the Ten Incarnations of Mahā-Vishṇu. According to Hinduism, God has Five Hypostases, what are known as the *Paru*, or the Transcendental, *Vyūha*, or the Cosmogonical, *Vibhava*, or the Incarnational or Avatāric, *Antaryāmi*, or the Immanential, and the *Archā*, or the Worshipable. The Temples are devoted to the lattermost Form, and are intended to be cosmopolitan, comprehensive, representative, accommodative and concentrative.

The trend of the modern Hindu mind is curiously for anthropotheism, whereas the ancient Hindu mind knew the rationale of anthropomorphism. The modern Hindu mind tries to reduce all Godship to mere heroism, but would elevate man-ship to the apex of apotheosis. The modern Hindu mind thinks there is no impossibility in the idea that man can be raised to God, that parvissance and parvipuissance can be transmuted to omniscience and omnipuissance ; but the same mind thinks it illogic that God can condescend to appear as man, that it is impossible for Omniscience and Omnipotence to lend itself to helpless man by partaking of his nature, out of His free will, love and mercy for that creature of His !

Can God be worshipped in flesh and bone ? Hinduism gives the answer, yes, in His *Avatāric* character. Can God be worshipped in wood and stone ? Hinduism says, yes, in His *Archāic* character. The rationale of the latter mode is briefly elucidated in a certain verse, thus—

‘ Viśuddhe viśva-rūpasya  
Yatra kvacana vighrahe  
Samādhi-jananīm puṁsām  
Sādhayishyāmi bhāvanām.’

‘ O Lord, Thou art Holy, and Thy Form is Cosmic. (Thou art therefore in all Forms inclusive, and not exclusive.) I might therefore focus my tiny mind on to any miniature portrait of Thy magnificent Infinitude, that I may, with mind so fixed and held captive, and inhibited from aimless and vicious wandering, practice my love for Thee.’

*That* in a nut-shell is the import of Temples. We shall to-day seek for these evidences in that bulwark of Hinduism, Śrī-Rāmāyana. The present critical age demands historicity for all statements, but where that commodity cannot always be procured, there is much that tradition supplies. Where is the place of Śrī-Rāma in this account? That first, next Temples.

### *Srī-Rāmāyana and Temples.*

#### PART I.—Rāma's place.

If we could trace the existence of Temples, and therefore the worshipable Form of God installed in them, by Brāhmanism, then we might lay on ourselves the task of pursuing the track further into the mazes of the Vedas.

For the limits assigned to this paper it would suffice to fix the place of Rāma, one of the Ten Incarnations of Mahā-Viṣṇu, in the chronology traditionally sanctioned. I advisedly say traditional, as a precautionary measure, though I prefer to join the band of such erudite oriental scholars as G. Bühler of Germany, in noticing whose obituary, Prof. Kaegi wrote: 'Only a short time ago he explained to me with his cheerful enthusiasm, how he was going once for all to refute the general talk about the *Hindus* lacking the *Historical Sense*.'<sup>1</sup> And even if there may be a lacking in historicity, traditions and customs supply 'a power fixed by a thousand tough and stringy roots to peoples' pious nursery faith.'

Researches, historcially, have from time to time been made to fix the place of Rāma. That he figures prior to the days of Patañjali, the Grammarian (140 B. C.), has been tried by Telang so long ago as in Vol. III. *Indian Antiquary*, 1874, p. 124. But if Rāma could be shown to be prior to Kṛṣṇa, we could bring forward the evidence of Pāṇini, IV. 3-98<sup>2</sup>: (*passim* IV. 1, 114, V. 3, 99) to prove Kṛṣṇa's precedence to Pāṇini, who is placed about 350 B. C. Kṛṣṇa can again be shown to go behind 600 B. C., by the evidence furnished by Gautama Buddha, for Paul Carus, in his 'Gospel of Buddha,' com-

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVII. 1898, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> 'Vāsudevā arjunābhyām vun.' Also consult Pāṇini, I. 2-49, iv. 2-65, iv. 1-176, (Kuntī); iv. 1-177 (Mādrī). Gana Sivādi (Prithā); vi. 1, 134, vi. 3, 9, viii. 3, 95 (Yudhiṣṭhira); iii. 1, 119, iv. 3, 64, v. 4, 48, vi. 2, 131 (Arjuna); vi. 1, 205 (Bhīma); vi. 3, 75 (Nakula); vi. 1, 114 (Nākulas) Sāhadevas); iv. 2, 56 (Subhadra); ii. 3, 72, iii. 3, 156, iv. 1, 114, iv. 3, 98, v. 3, 99. (Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa); vi. 2, 38. (Mahābhārata). Let these Sūtras be read with the Kāśikā-Vṛtti. Also read pp. 44, 54 of Max-Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1859).

piled from such sources as the Mahāvagga, Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King, etc., records the passage on page 49 (*op. cit.*) thus:—

“ At that time there lived in Uruvilā the Jatilas, *believers of Krishna* (Kṛṣṇa), worshipping the fire ; and Kāshyapa (Kasyapa) was their Chief.”<sup>1</sup>

Now, in works dealing with Kṛṣṇa—who is of course another Incarnation of Mahā-Viṣṇu, Rāma is alluded to as anterior to Kṛṣṇa. I shall refer to three works only here : (1) the Kṛṣṇ-opaniṣat, (2) the Viṣṇu-Purāna and (3) the Mahā-bhārata.

(1) Kṛṣṇ-opaniṣat opens by recording, that the Munis, the dwellers of the forest, were fascinated by seeing Rāma—Mahā-Viṣṇu, the *Sat-Chid-Ānanda*—of bewitching beauty ; and expressed a desire to embrace Him? Rāma said:—“ In My next Incarnation as Kṛṣṇa, become Gopikas (netherdresses), and embrace Me ”.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The Viṣṇu-Purāna [I. 10, 144]<sup>3</sup> states that, (1st) that when Viṣṇu became Rāma, Śrī (or Mahā-Lakṣmī) became Sitā, and (2nd), that when He became Kṛṣṇa, She became Rukmiṇī, thus Rāma preceding Kṛṣṇa. The Purāna also in I. 12, 4<sup>4</sup> enters into a brief account of how Śatrughna—a brother of Rāma—established the City of Madhurā, killing the demon Lavaṇa, the son of Madhu. (Hence Madhurā, the modern Muttra, North India). In this city, so appellation in Rāma's days, Kṛṣṇa was latterly born, inasmuch as the city-name was not manufactured in Kṛṣṇa's days. The story of Śatrughna's exploits may be read in the Uttara-Rāmāyaṇa.

(3) Taking next the Mahā-bharata, it relates the story of Rāma as an *old* story, and when winding up the epic of the Eighteen voluminous Parvas, places the Vedas as the first, next to it the Rāmāyaṇa, next to the latter the Mahā-bhārata, as the testimonies in which Hari (*i.e.* Viṣṇu) is proclaimed.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Jones goes even further back. For he states in his Discourse III, delivered in February 2, 1786:—“ On taking, however, the medium of the four several dates, we may fix the time of Buddha, or the ninth great incarnation of Viṣṇu, in the year one thousand and fourteen before the birth of Christ, or two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine years ago. Now the Kāshmerians, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, assert that he appeared on earth about two centuries after Kṛṣṇa ; —the Indian Apollo, who took so decided a part in the war of the Mahābhārata.” Thus the *terminus ad quem* of Kṛṣṇa is at least 13 centuries B. C. and Rāma again is much prior. Also see G. Bühler's remarks quoted by me, J. R. A. S. for October 1911, p. 960.

<sup>2</sup> Om, Śrī Mahā-Viṣṇum sac-cid-ānanda-lakṣaṇam Rāma-candram dr̥ṣtvā sarvāṅga-sundaram munayo vanavāsino vismitā bābhūvuh ; Tam-h-ōcur 'no' vadyam śavatārān vai ganyante ālingāmo bhavāntam, iti ; 'bhavāntare Kṛṣṇā' vatāre yūyam gopikā bhūtvā, Mām ālingatha. Also in the Chhāndogya-ūpaniṣat, 'Kṛṣṇāya Devakī putrāya' already occurs. Hence Rāma goes far back into the dim past.

<sup>3</sup> Rāghavavte (a)bhavat Sitā, Rukmiṇī Kṛṣṇa-jaṇmani.

<sup>4</sup> Hatvā ca Lavanam rakṣo Madhu-putram mahā-balam, Śatrughno Madhurām nāma purim yatra cakāra vai.

<sup>5</sup> Vede Rāmāyaṇe puṇye Bhārate Bharatar̥ṣabha !

Adau cānte ca madhye ca Haris sarvatra giyate [xviii. 6. 6g].

Coming to the episode in the Mahā-bhārata, *vis.*, the renowned Bhāgavad-gītā, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Himself refers to Ikṣvāku, the originator of the race of Rāma,<sup>1</sup> and to Himself having been Rāma among the weapon-wearers (Kṣatriyas).<sup>2</sup>

So far it might suffice to satisfy the historical sense of the age. Seeking for further confirmatory light from tradition whose value, according to Bühler and others, is not to be lightly viewed, there is an old verse (*versus memorialis*) in which all the Ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu are embodied in Chronological order :—

1. *Maṭṣyah*<sup>1</sup> *Kūrma*<sup>2</sup> *Varāha*<sup>3</sup> *ca*
2. *Nṛsimho*<sup>4</sup> *Vāmana*<sup>5</sup> *tathā*
3. *Rāmo*<sup>6</sup> *Rāmaś ca*<sup>7</sup> *Rāmaś ca*<sup>8</sup>
4. *Kṛṣṇah*<sup>9</sup> *Kalki*<sup>10</sup> *ca te daśa*<sup>3</sup>

Of the three Rāmas of line 3, the first is Paraśu-Rāma (older but contemporaneous with Śrī-Rāma); the second is Śrī-Rāma (of Rāmāyaṇa fame) and the third is Bala-Rāma, the brother of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

In the 1st variant of line 3 (written out in the footnote), Rāma omitted is Bala-Rāma, Kṛṣṇa taking his place. The omission of Kṛṣṇa in the chief verse is accounted for by the traditional opinion that inasmuch as Kṛṣṇa is Pūrṇa or God Himself incarnate in all His entirety (plenarily so to say), He is not to be counted with His Incarnations which are theophanous.

In the 1st variant of line 4, Buddha is taken after Kṛṣṇa, and in the 2nd variant (also written out in the footnote), (Bala-) Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are both taken, Buddha being omitted.

<sup>1</sup> Vivasvān Manave prāha, Manur Ikṣvākave 'bravit [iv. 1].

Pavanaḥ pavatām asmi Rāmas' śāstra-bhṛtām aham [x. 31].

Of lines 3 and 4, there are two variants :—

- (1) 3. Rāmo Rāmaś' ca, Kṛṣṇaś ca
4. Buddhaḥ Kalki ca te daśa.
- (2) 3. Rāmo Rāmaś ca Rāmaś ca
4. Kṛṣṇah Kalki ca te daśa

A shorter verse runs thus "caṇajāu vanaajāu hrāsvas tri-Rāmi sa-kr̥ṣṇo kr̥ṣṇah."  
1-2      3-4      5      6-7-8      9      10

In any case (Śri) Rāma is prior to Kṛṣṇa, and anterior to Kṛṣṇa comes Buddha, whoever this Buddha might be, the Gautama-Buddha of Buddhism or the Purānic Buddha<sup>1</sup> of Brāhmaṇism.

According to tradition, of the ten Avatāras enumerated, Matsya,<sup>1</sup> Kūrma,<sup>2</sup> Varāha<sup>3</sup> and Nṛsimha,<sup>4</sup> are placed in the First or Kṛta-Age; Vāmana,<sup>5</sup> Para'su-Rāma<sup>6</sup> and Śri-Rāma,<sup>7</sup> in the Second or Treta-Age;<sup>8</sup> Bala-Rāma and Kṛṣṇa<sup>8</sup> in the Third or Dvāpara-Age; and Buddha and Kalki in the Fourth or Kali-Age. That this order and assignment to several ages is neither arbitrary nor fanciful is borne out by collateral testimony. *Inter alia*, Sir William Jones in his Discourse III, delivered in February 2, 1786, states:—

"...if an etymologist were to suppose that the Athenians had embellished their poetical history of Pandian's expulsion, and the restoration of Ægeus, with the Asiatic tale of the Pandus and Yudhisthir, neither of which words they could have articulated, I should not hastily deride his conjecture: certain it is that Pandumandal (*a*) is called by the Greeks the country of Pandian. We have therefore determined another interesting epoch, by fixing the age of Kṛṣṇa near the three thousandth year from the present time; and, as the three first Avatāras, or descents of Viṣṇu, relate no less clearly to an Universal Deluge, in which eight persons only were saved, than the fourth and fifth do to the *punishment of impiety* and the humiliation of the proud, we may for the present assume<sup>2</sup> that the second, or silver age of the Hindus was subsequent to the dispersion of Babel."<sup>3</sup>

The first three Avatāras alluded to in this extract are the Matsya,<sup>1</sup> Kūrma<sup>2</sup> and Varāha<sup>3</sup> of our traditional verse above cited. The Brāh-

<sup>1</sup> The Purānic or Brāhmaṇist Buddha has for his father Vilocana Rṣi; mother Padmāvati; nativity Puruṣottama-puri; and it is this Viṣṇu Buddha, who kills Gayā-sura in Gayā, where the Viṣṇu-pāda is worshipped by all the Hindus throughout and all funeral oblations (*Srāddha-pinda*) are offered at His feet. The Buddhist Buddha's shrine is about 8 miles away from Viṣṇu-Gayā, specifically called Buddha-Gayā; which though under Brāhmaṇic supervision has never been effaced as would be supposed by anti-Buddhists. Contrary to this tradition of the Purānic Buddha (*vide Indian Antiquary*, e.g., p. 243, Vol. XXV, 1906), if it be advanced that it is the Buddhist Buddha that is adopted by the Brāhmaṇs into their Ten-Incarnation-verse (cited), the reason for the procedure is assigned as 'honor' or 'policy' (*upacāra*). There seems every probability that Buddhism is a corruption, if not a reformation, of the old Vedic Vaiṣṇavism.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Uttara-Ramayana*, (adhika) iii. 18-19. *Kṛta-yuge vratite vai mukhe tretā-yugasya tu, bitārtham deva-martyānām bhavitā* (6) nṛpa-vigrahaḥ

<sup>3</sup> This is a cautious word in view of the conjecture that the three first Avatāras may be subsequent to the dispersion of Babel!

<sup>4</sup> According to a Biblical Chronology given in the Romanist Bibles, Noe's flood took place about 4,000 years ago, and the dispersion after the Babel-tower building was 140 years after. But this Biblical Chronology, even the 6,000 for the beginning of creation, is utterly rejected by modern scientific Christians. While then this explodes all assumption, *vis dubia* what historical sense, however acute and sagacious, can make surmises about the subsequences or antecedencies of such æonic events as those which are implied by the Avatāras. Surmises then must inevitably be met by better surmises. The very nature of the case admits of nothing more tangible being adduced.

mans place them, however, not in the silver (*Treta*), but in the golden (*Kṛta*), age. This may be well conjectured from the collateral evidence we get from Trans-Indian sources, of the great antiquity of the Varāha<sup>3</sup> (Boar), Nṛsimha<sup>4</sup> and Vāmana<sup>5</sup> Avatāras, and then of Śrī Rāma. For from the same discourse cited above of Sir William Jones, we have this :—

“ The pyramids of Egypt, the colossal statues described by Pausanias and others, the Sphinx, and the Hermes Canis (which last bears a great resemblance to the Varāha<sup>3</sup> vātāra, or the incarnation of Viṣṇu in the form of a Boar), indicate the style and mythology of the same indefatigable workmen who formed the vast excavations of Canārah, the various temples and images of Buddha, and the idols which are continually dug up at Gayā, or in its vicinity.”

We Brāhmins call this the Sveta-Varāha or the White Boar. Curious to state, that in their stories of creation and notions of God, the Quichès (Indians) of Central America refer to a white boar,<sup>1</sup> the legend of which is narrated at length in the Viṣṇu-Purāna.<sup>2</sup>

The same writer again connects the Nṛsimha<sup>4</sup> and the Vāmana<sup>5</sup> Avatāras with the Tower of Babel story in these words :—

“ \* \* \* : this event also seems to be recorded by the ancient Hindus in two of their Purāṇas ; and it will be proved, I trust, on some future occasion, that *the lion bursting from a pillar to destroy a blaspheming giant*, and *the dwarf, who beguiled and held in derision the magnificent Bali*, are one and the same story, related in a symbolical style.”

Neither, according to Brāhmins, the one story is the same as the other, nor are both stories the same or so recent as the story of Babel. Taking,—according to the Biblical Chronology (?),—about 6,000 years ere now for the *Anno Mundi*, the deluge with which Noe's name is connected happened about 4,500 years ago. This computation hardly reaches even the brass or the Dvāpara age, in which Kṛṣṇa<sup>8 or 9</sup> lived. There was no deluge then, unless the extinction of the Kuru and the Yādava races can be called by that name. The

Matsya-Avatāra<sup>1</sup> goes back to the days of Svāyambhuva-Manu in the Kṛta or golden age ; and Manu is a very old person, in whose time there was a deluge. In his introduction to Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra

<sup>1</sup> See p. 334, Vol. I. M. Muller's Chips from a German Workshop (1868).

<sup>2</sup> Read I-4 Verse 8 in this chapter places the Matsya<sup>1</sup> and Kūrma<sup>2</sup> in ages anterior :—  
“ Akarot sva-tanūm anyāṃ kalp-ādiṣu yathā purā.

<sup>1</sup> Matsya-Kurmā<sup>2</sup> ” dikan tadvad vārāham vapur āsthitaḥ

or the Institutes of Manu, the same distinguished scholar, W. Jones, writes about the antiquity of Manu thus :—

“ Whether Manu or Manus in the nominative and Menós in an oblique case, was the same personage with Minos, let others determine ; but he must indubitably have been far older than the work, which contains his laws, and, though perhaps he was never in *Crete*, yet some of his institutions may well have been adopted in that island, whence Lycurgus, a century or two afterwards, may have imported them to *Sparta*.”

“ There is certainly a strong resemblance, though obscured and faded by time, between our Manu with his divine Bull, whom he names as Dharma himself, or the genius of abstract justice, and the Menues of *Egypt* with his companion or symbol, *Apis* ; and, though we should be constantly on our guard against the delusion of etymological conjecture, yet we cannot but admit that Minos and Mneues or *Mneuis*, have only *Greek* terminations, but that the crude noun is composed of the same radical letters both in *Greek* and in *Sanskrit*. \* \* \* ‘ He was the same,’ adds my learned friend (the Analyst of ancient Mythology), with Menes, whom the *Egyptians* represented as their first king and principal benefactor, who first sacrificed to the gods, and brought about a great change in diet.’ If Minos, the son of Jupiter, whom the *Cretans*, from national variety, might have made a native of their own island, was really the same person with Manu, the son of Brahmā, we have the good fortune to restore, by means of *Indian* literature, the most celebrated system of heathen jurisprudence, and this work might have been entitled *The Laws of Minos* ?

Even this antiquity is not sufficient to satisfy the sense of Brāhman traditions. For we have Fourteen Manus, of whom Svāyambhuva-<sup>1</sup> Manu the First, is connected with the Matsya-Avatāra, and Manu is already a Vedic personage, the age of the Vedas being at least 8,000 years ago, which is far behind the time of the Tower of Babel, Noe's flood, or Egyptian Minos.

Even the Varāha-Avatāra<sup>3</sup> which is third subsequent to Matsya, figures already in the Vedas, e.g.—

*Uddhṛtā'si Varāheṇa Kṛṣṇena s'ata-bāhunā* ‘ (Earth ! ) thou wert lifted by the thousand-armed Varāha, Kṛṣṇa’<sup>1</sup> [*Taittirīya Upaniṣat*, IV. 1-28].

Besides, the flood connected with Manu, seems connected with the Himālayas, which, according to orological geology, was once under the sea ; and so is widely separated from Noe's flood somewhere in Asia Minor both as regards time and as regards place.

<sup>1</sup> It might be observed here for the information of Oriental Scholars that Kṛṣṇa is a primeval name, having a radical sense, becoming, long subsequently, the personal appellation of Kṛṣṇa, the ninth Avatāra of the brass or Dvāpara Age.

Parenthetically, the Aryan immigration to India seems a figment of Western speculation. The Hindu traditions on the other hand point to India as the cradle of humanity, including the farthest countries trans-Himālayan, the Uttara-Kuru-desa (the Imaus, etc., and all Irān, the Levant or the Ægean including *Crete*, Greece, etc., and Egypt, to which countries the Aryans on the other hand emigrated from India. Manu is the patriarchal progenitor of humanity. The deluge account, which with the emigration, seems first to have travelled to the Chaldeans, and thence to the Hebrews, is assigned by the Indian tradition to have taken place in the *Northern Mountain* (*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* I-8) and this deluge is connected with Manu. The story of Yayāti blessing his son Puru, saying that his offspring shall cover the earth, is an Indian evidence for emigration.<sup>1</sup> Pocock's work *India in Greece*, Persia calling itself *Iran*, and Indian names found in Asia Minor<sup>2</sup> and the cycle of 43,000 years, and the fish-God (*Matsya*), Oannes or Ea-Hán of the Chaldees,—the dragon or four-armed Fish-God bearing the discus, conch, etc. (see illustration in Webster's Dictionary), exactly like the Indian portraiture of (Viṣṇu) Matsya—further corroborate the emigration from India.

Coming to the Nṛsimha-Avatāra,<sup>4</sup> it is curious to find the Assyrian and Babylonian Kings bearing such names as Naram-sim and Amara-pāla. Nṛsimha is the slayer of Hiranya. There were two Hiranyas, both brothers, one connected with the Boar (Varāha) incarnation, and the other with the Lion (Nṛsimha) incarnation. That the Persians and the Indians dwelt together, and they then perhaps quarrelled and the Persians (*i.e.*, Zoroastrians) emigrated to Irān, seems to be connected with Nṛsimha killing Hiranya. Hiranya easily becomes Iraṇia, and then contracted to Irān. Max Muller writes corroboratingly thus, about the great separation of the two first brothers of the Aryan race :—

' \* \* \* many of the Zoroastrians came out once more as mere reflections and deflections of the primitive and authentic gods of the Veda. It can now be proved, even by geographical evidence, that the Zoroastrians had been settled in India before they immigrated into Persia.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also read the account of the earth being peopled by the race of Manu continued through his son Uttānapāda [Viṣṇu Purāna II-1].

<sup>2</sup> [Vide J.R.A.S. for July 1909, p. 723]. Excavations in Asia Minor at Boghaskoi, has brought to light as among the Mitani (Northern Mesopotamia) Gods.—'itani <sup>1=</sup>mi-it-ra-as-si-il itani <sup>2=</sup>uru-u-ne as-si-el ilu <sup>3=</sup>in-dar itani na-s(a) <sup>4=</sup>at-ti-ia-an-na.' 1=Mitra; 2=Varuna; 3=Indra; 4=Nāsatya.

<sup>3</sup> Chips from a German Workshop. (1868), Vol I, p. 86; *The Zend-Avesta*.)

' \* \* \* the fire-altars of the Zoroastrians were never to be lighted again, except in the oasis of Yezd and on the soil of that country (India) which the Zoroastrians had quitted as the disinherited sons of Manu.' <sup>1</sup>

In the Uttara-Rāmāyana (*passim*), Ila, the son of Kardama-Prajāpati, is discovered as a King ruling in Bāhlika (Balkh or Bactria). How he came there, when, and whether there is any philological relation between Kardama and Kadman, are matters for would-be mythological researchers.

All these archaic accounts, however, point undoubtedly to very remote ages, never so near certainly as the time of the tower-building of Babel. Nor, as Sir W. Jones surmises, the Lion and the Boar stories are symbolical of the same one event alleged to be connected with Hebrew history. For Brāhman traditions require a hiatus of 3 to 4 generations,—whether each generation is so short as the modern three-score and ten, or the ancient thirty-score and more, is another matter—between Hiraṇya connected with the Lion, and Bali connected with the Dwarf (*i.e.* Vāmana-Aatāra). For Hiraṇya's son is Prahiāda, Prahlāda's son is Virocana, and Virocana's son is Bali, whom Vāmana, the fifth Viṣṇu-Incarnation conquers. The Dwarf therefore comes very much subsequent to the Lion, and Vāmana (Dwarf) grows into Tri-vikrama, which it may be noted is already a very remarkable figure in the Vedas. Nṛṣimha (Lion), is therefore much anterior to this Vedic Tri-vikrama; and Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha *a fortiori* go back into antiquity beyond the scope of any later Judaic narrative.

Thus then we come to Śrī Rāma<sup>7</sup> or Rāma. That Brāhman tradition places him in the Silver or Treta age is no wonder judging from the miraculous account of the birth as well as the disappearance of Sitā, the wife of Rāma, inasmuch as the more antiquarian the subjects of mythology are, the more are the miracles narrated of them. Collateral evidence also curiously comes in to prove the great antiquity of Rāma. For we find Sir W. Jones discoursing before the Asiatic Society on February 2, 1786, bringing to notice the fact of the Peruvians in America preserving a Rāma-Sitā reminiscence, thus :—

" \* \* \* The great incarnate gods of this intermediate age are both named Rāma, but with different epithets (*i.e.* Parasu<sup>6</sup> and Śrī<sup>7</sup>); one of

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

whom bears a wonderful resemblance to the Indian Bacchus, and his wars are the subject of several heroic poems. He is represented as a descendant from Sūrya or the Sun; as the husband of Sitā, and the son of a princess named Kausalya. It is very remarkable that the Peruvians, whose Incas boasted of the same descent, styled their greatest festival Rāmasitōa; whence we may suppose that South America was peopled by the same race who imported into the farthest parts of Asia the rites and fabulous (?) history of Rāma":

If America is the Brāhmanś Pātāla, the tradition of the Dwarf (Vāmāna<sup>5</sup>) sending Bali down to Patāla to rule there is significant in connection with Asiatics (Āryāns) peopling America, as Sir W. Jones has so shrewdly traced to its chronicles.

The Rāmāyana itself [I. 29] gives an account of the locality (Āśrama) where Vāmāna<sup>5</sup> (Dwarf) appeared to Kaśyapa-Prajāpati, and defeated Bali and so forth, bearing internal evidence thus as to the anteriority of Vāmāna<sup>5</sup> to Rāma, justifying the chronological sequence of the Ten-Avatāric traditional verse on which all these preliminaries to our subject-in-hand are based.<sup>1</sup>

The rudiments of Rāma and Sitā may also be traced in the Ṛg-Veda, where in one place in particular iv. 57-6-7, Sitā occurs in connection with plough. And it is well known from the story of the Rāmāyana that Janaka, the father of Sitā, ploughed the sacrificial ground, and Sitā was discovered in the furrow. In Ṛg. Veda, Rāma's name is mentioned along with Daḥsima Prthavāna, Vena, and others. If the Rāmāyana personages Sitā and Rāma have really their roots in the Ṛg. Veda, it would be no wonder, since personages appearing in the entourage of Śrī Kṛṣṇa<sup>8</sup> (the subsequent Āvatāra to Rāma) of the story of the Mahābhārata, appear therein.<sup>2</sup> Then again we have the Rāmātāpani Upaniṣat, testifying to Śrī-Rāma's greatness, and Kṛṣṇ-opaniṣat referring in it back to Śrī Rāma.

<sup>1</sup> Visvāmītra relates of Rāma :-

Eṣa purvā 'sramo Rāma ! VĀMANASYA mahātmanah  
Siddhā 'srama itī khyātah siddhoy atra Mahātāpāh.  
Etasmiñn eva kāle tu rājā Vairocanir BALIH etc.

Atha Visnur Mahā-tejā Adityām sam-ajāyata  
VĀMANAM rūpam āsthāya Vairocanim upāgamat.  
Trin kramān atha bhiksivā prati-grhya ca mānatah, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Max Muller's remarks in his *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, which is a great advance in opinion and knowledge, Indian, from the days of William Jones, are here of value :- "If it were possible to sift out from the huge mass of Indian Epic poetry, as we now possess it in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana, those old stories and songs which must have been living for a long time in the mouth of the people before they were collected, enlarged, arranged, and dressed up by later hands, a rich mine of information would be opened for the ancient times of India, and very likely also for the Vedic age." [Pp. 43-44; 1859]. Rhys Davids writes in his *Buddhist India* thus [p. 30] :- "Already in a Vedic hymn [Rv. X-61-8] though it is one of the latest, we hear of a banished man going along the path of the South."

If Śrī Rāma himself is thus a very archaic figure, the other Avatāras anterior to him go very far back into the haze of the past, certainly much behind the comparatively very recent Judæic deluge. The Brāhman Avatāras may be justly called antediluvian.

Thus then we have arrived at the relative age of Śrī Rāma—a prehistoric age it must be admitted—and there seems nothing illogical in the Brāhman tradition assigning him to the silver or Tretā-age. We are not here concerned about the relative anteriority or posteriority of the works Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata; for the personages may be archaic and their chronicles may be recorded by many men at different times in various styles of composition. We, therefore, proceed to the subject-matter of our resolve after these preliminaries, *viz.*, to Temples in the Rāmāyaṇa, (2nd part) closing this part of the thesis, with a few pertinent lines from Euripedes, (verses 200 ff.) as to the value of Tradition.

Teiresias says to Cadmus :—

‘ In things that touch the gods it is not good  
To suffer captious reason to intrude.  
Tradition handed down from sire to son,  
Since time itself began its course to run,  
By reasonings never can be undermined,  
Though forged by intellects the most refined. <sup>1</sup>

## PART II.—Temples.

There has been an opinion put into currency, that the Temples were an institution which came into existence in the Buddhistic age, *i.e.*, since 600 B. C. (*circa*); and they were intended to supplant the Brāhmanic sacrificial systems. Temples, however, belonging to Buddhism are no Temples at all, inasmuch as firstly they are not shrines erected for Divine-worship, but Hero-worship, the hero being Buddha himself<sup>2</sup>; and, secondly, the name *Chaitya* appropriated by Buddhism from Brāhmanism is more a memorial sarcophagus than a temple. The Stūpas, Dāgobas and Chaityas are all

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Deva-guhyesu cā 'nyesu hetur Devi nir-arthakāḥ. [Lakṣmi-Tantra.?] quoted by Vedāntācārya in the Dvayādihikāra of Rahasya-traya-Sāra.

Also in the *Secret Doctrine*, I. 739. H. P. B. says:—"that in legend alone rests real history. . . . Legend is living tradition and three times out of four, it is truer than what we call history." In *Id* II. 307: "the origin of nearly every popular myth and legend could be traced invariably to a fact in nature!"

<sup>2</sup> *Read*: 'Buddha, who denied the existence, or at least the divine nature, of the gods worshipped by the Brāhmanas, was raised himself to the rank of a deity by some of his followers' [P. 234. Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. I., 1868]. 'Human nature could not be changed. Out of the very nothing it made a new paradise; and he who had left no place in the whole universe for a Divine Being, was deified himself by the multitudes who wanted a person whom they could worship, a king whose help they might invoke, a friend before whom they could pour out their most secret griefs.'—[*Op. cit.* p. 255.]

structures raised over the remains or relics of Buddha,—in fact they are no more than stupendous urns.

That Chaitya is a term appropriated from Brāhmanism<sup>1</sup> is evident from its mention in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. If the Mahābhārata is pre-Buddhistic, *a fortiori*, Rāmāyana is so. And temples in Rāmāyana therefore prove their pre-Buddhistic existence, and of their Brāhmanic nature, *i.e.*, edifices erected for *God*, not for *man*. About the anteriority of the Mahābhārata it is suffice to state one opinion here, which, as far as my knowledge goes, has not yet been shaken, if not strengthened by later investigations. For in a note, Max Muller notices thus :—

“ That the principal part of the Mahābhārata belongs to a period previous to the political establishment of Buddhism, has been proved by Prof. Lassen, [*Ind. Ant.* I. 489—491]. Much has been said since to controvert his views with regard to the age of the Mahābhārata, but nothing that is really valuable has been added to Prof. Lassen's facts or reasonings. ‘It is not at all difficult,’ as Prof. Lassen remarks, ‘to look at this question from one single point of view and to start a confident assertion. But in doing this, many persons commit themselves to inconsiderate judgments, and show an ignorance of the very points which have to be considered.’ ”<sup>2</sup>

Brāhmanic temples are invariably and inseparately connected with Bhāgavatism.<sup>3</sup> That Bhāgavatism is an ancient cult and pre-Buddhistic, is evident, apart from Brāhmanic testimonies,<sup>4</sup> and from the testimonies of Buddhistic literature itself.<sup>5</sup> To take one example, the age of the Institutes of the Sacred Law, by Ṛṣi Gautama (Brāhmana) has been tentatively, as a *terminus a quo*, fixed at about 500 B.C.<sup>6</sup>

Bühler having experimentally fixed the chronological order of Āpastamba,<sup>7</sup> Hiranayakesī,—Baudhāyana—and Vaśiṣṭa-Smṛtis, has discovered from internal evidence that Gautama precedes them all,

<sup>1</sup> (A note) So also are such Vedic terms as *Sramana*, *Stupa*, &c., which figure conspicuously in Buddhism. [Vide *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. X, article *Sramana*, and Max Muller's *Anc. Sans. Lit.* p. 248]

<sup>2</sup> Max Muller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 62 (1859).

<sup>3</sup> Vide p. 23, note 2, for further considerations as to the antiquity of Brāhmanic temples.

<sup>4</sup> For Brāhmanic testimonies, see the article *Pāncardtra or Bhagavat-Sāstra*, by A. Govindācārya Svāmīn, JRAS, for October 1911, pp. 935 to 961.

<sup>5</sup> That Kṛṣṇa worship prevailed before Buddha has already been noticed from the *Gospel of Buddha* by Paul Carus, vide p. 2 *Ante*. Other evidences are hereafter noted.

<sup>6</sup> A. A. Macdonell's *History of the Sanskrit Literature*, p. 260.—“The latter (Dharma-Sūtra of Baudhāyana) has indeed been shown to contain passages based on or borrowed from Gautama's work, which is therefore the oldest Dharma-Sūtra that has been presumed or at least published, and can hardly date later than about 500 B.C.”

<sup>7</sup> Pp. xliii. Introduction to Āpastamba, S. B. E., Vol. II : “On linguistic grounds it seems to me Āpastamba cannot be placed later than the third century B.C.”

and further shows that his Dharma-Śāstra (Sūtras) contains pre-Buddhistic evidences, thus :—

“ Regarding the distance in time between Gautama on the one hand, and Baudhāyana and Vāsistha on the other, I prefer not to hazard any conjecture, as long as the position of the Gautamas among the schools of the Sāma-veda has not been cleared up. So much only can be said that Gautama probably was less remote from Baudhāyana than from Vāsistha. There are a few curious terms and rules in which the former two agree, while they, at the same time, differ from all other known writers on Dharma. Thus the term *bhikṣu*, literally a beggar, which Gautama<sup>1</sup> uses to denote an ascetic, instead of the more common *Yati* or *Sannyāsin*, occurs once also in Baudhāyana's Sūtra. The same is the case with the rule, III, 13, which orders the ascetic not to change his residence during the rains. Both the name *bhikṣu* and the rule must be very ancient, as the Buddhists have appropriated them, and have founded on the latter their practice of keeping the Vasso, or residence in monasteries during the rainy season.”<sup>2</sup>

Drawing inspiration from Euripedes on the value of tradition (quoted on page 252), there is the old Brāhman verse, which has received hoary sanction, found in the Parāśara-Dharma-Śāstra to the following effect :—

‘ Kṛte tu Mānavā dharmāh  
Tretāyām Gautamā's smṛtāh  
Dvāpare Śankha-Likhitāh  
Kalau Parāśarā-smṛtāh. [P. Smṛti. I. 24.]

i. e. ‘ The Mānava-Dharma is for *Kṛta* (or gold)-Age; the Gautama for the *Treta* (or silver); Śankha and Likhita for the *Dvāpara* (or brass); and for the *Kali* (or iron), Parāśara.’

Orientalism is a child of the 18th century A. C. ; and it has not grown to sufficient senescency to extend its vision beyond the small horizon of a few centuries before Christ, but would crib and confine all the epochs of the world within an insignificant circle of time, oblivious to the fact of eternity of time, and infinitude of space, and God eternally standing over all, the Lord of many creations and many dissolutions, i. e., Manvantaras, Kalpas, and Mahākalpas, in every one of which, our Vedas and all their congeners appear and disappear, <sup>3</sup>—the Lord who is gratuitously supposed or constrained to remain perfectly inactive beyond the very proximate limit—the 6000 years of the Biblical *Anno Mundi* would assign the

<sup>1</sup> Gaut. Dh. III. 2. 11 :—Anicayo *bhikṣuh*.”

<sup>2</sup> Pp. lv. Introduction to Gautama. [S. B. E. Vol. II.]

<sup>3</sup> Read (1) ‘ Yo Brahmānam vidadhāti pūrvam yo vai Vedāms' ca prahīṣoti tasmāi’  
[*Svetasvatara. Upaniṣat* vl. 18 ]  
and (2) Yūgāntē antarhitān Vedān sethāsān purāṇakan, lebhīrē tapasā pūrvam.

Lord as gratuitously supposed to be so inane and incapable as not to find within his infinite resources many Vyāsas, Vālmikis, Gautamas and Pāninis to appear in many ages and in many places as teachers of the circle of sciences, instead of monopolizing<sup>1</sup> them all for a few hundred years for the benefit of the present generation alone! The horizon, however, is widening and we may live to see revealed, palæontologic, archaic as well as arcane, surprises. This is aside however.

Gautama then, according to tradition, belongs to the Tretā-age, or the age when Rāma-Avatāra descended on earth. At any rate as shown above, Śrī-Rāma is certainly pre-Buddhistic. In the Dharma-Sūtras of Gautama, which is pre-Buddhistic, we find references to Image-worship which means *Brāhmaṇic* Temples, which are thus not a copy merely from Buddhism as is generally alleged. There are, e.g., two references in Gautama-Dharma :—

- (1) Pras'asta-mangalya-*Devata'yatana* catuspathān pradakṣiṇam āvarteta. [ix-67].

*i.e.*, 'He shall pass excellent (beings and things), auspicious (objects), *temples of the gods*, cross-roads, and the like with his right turned towards them.'<sup>2</sup>

- (2) Gṛha-*Devatābhyaḥ* pravis'ya [v. 13].

*i.e.*, 'To the *deities* of the dwelling, inside (the house)'<sup>3</sup>

Vālmikis and Vyāsas are very ancient personages, even mythically primitive. The story of Prācīnabarhī and of the Prācētāh, set in a string of miracles, is related in the Viṣṇu-Purāna (I-Amśa) and elsewhere; and Vālmiki, when he pleads before Śrī-Rāma, Sitā's rectitude at the time of the horse-sacrifice, and the sonships of Lava and Kuśa to Śrī-Rāma, declares that he is the tenth son of Pracetasa.<sup>4</sup> As for Vyāsa he goes into the grey Vedic ages.<sup>5</sup> If Vālmiki and Vyāsa are not doubted as the authors respectively of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana (the *onus probandi* to the contrary rests on the doubters), these epics are pre-Buddhistic (we are not responsible for later interpolations savouring of Buddhism); and therefore Brāhmaṇic temple-institutions and Images-of-God Worship therein, may well be conceived as antedating the Buddhistic Chaityas and Hero-worship. The Purāṇas and the Itihāsas also antedate Gautama.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor Max Muller, as Rhys Davids says; 'has done so much to infuse the glow of life into the dry bones of Oriental Scholarship' [P. xli. Vol. I. *Buddhist Birth Stories.*]

<sup>2</sup> Buhler's Translation, S. B. E., Vol. II. But the number of Aphorism is ix-66.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>4</sup> 'Prācetaso 'ham daśamaḥ putro Rāghava-nandana, &c.' [*Uttara Rāmāyana* 96-19],

<sup>5</sup> 'Sa ho (u)vāca Vyāsah Pārāsaryaḥ' [*Yajur-Aranyaka*, I. 9].

<sup>6</sup> 'Vakovaky—*etihasa-purāṇa*—kuśala.' (*Gautama-Sūtras*. viii-6).

It was stated that Bhāgavatism is a primitive cult and primitive to Buddhism, and apart from the traditional evidence, Brāhmanic orthodoxy would readily furnish, here is a most cautious scholar of the historic school, George Bühler, writing thus :—

“ Still more irreconcilable with the theory that the literary activity of the Indo-Āryans began about 1200 or 1500 B. C. is another point, which, I think, can be proved, *vis.*, that the ancient Bhāgavata, Sātvata, or Pāñcarātra sect, devoted to the worship of Nārāyaṇa and its deified teacher Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, dates from a period long anterior to the rise of the Jainas (which is *co-temp.* with the Bauddhas) in the eighth Century B. C. To give the details here would unduly lengthen this already long note. And I reserve their discussion to my *Indian Studies*, No. iv. The essentials may, however, be stated. They are (1) that the recovery of the Vaikhānasa *Dharma-Sūtra* permits me to fully prove the correctness of Professor Kern's (or rather Kālakācārya's and Utpala's) identification of the *Ajivikas* with the *Bhāgavatas*, and (2) that the sacred books of the Buddhists contain passages showing that the origin of the *Bhāgavatas* was traditionally believed to fall in very remote times, and that this tradition is supported by indications contained in Brāhmanical works.”<sup>2</sup>

In the Buddhistic lore, there is a Daśaratha-Jātaka, and Buddha claims to be descended in the line of Ikṣvāku, and therefore from Śrī-Rāma.<sup>3</sup> Hence both Kṛṣṇa and Śrī-Rāma antedate Buddha, and Brāhmanic temples with images of Rāmas and Kṛṣṇas are therefore for these reasons to be accredited with pre-Buddhistic Brāhmanic origins.<sup>4</sup>

In connection with temples and worship, the term *Chaitya* frequently occurs in the Rāmāyana; but that does not indicate the existence of Buddhism (*i.e.*, as we understand it in these days) in Śrī-Rāma's days, though commentators on the Rāmāyana have themselves wavered about its import. Evidence can be adduced to show that it is a Brāhmanic term, borrowed and adopted by the Bauddhas to indicate Buddha's memorial sarcophagi for the following reasons :—

- (1) Śrī-Rāma, according to the traditional verse of the Avatāras, cited *ante*, precedes even the Purānic Buddha by two Avatāric epochs, Śrī Rāma being the Seventh Ava-

<sup>1</sup> See page 18 *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXIII, p. 248, 1894: Jacob's 'Age of the Vedā and Tilak's Orion'.

<sup>3</sup> See also p. 287, Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism*, Beal's *Rāma-Jātaka*. Also Vol. III *Jātakas*, Pp. 78 to 82.

<sup>4</sup> Architecture, probably of a temporary character, was inevitable for the old Vedic Sacrifices, and Sulva-Sūtras came into existence; and further developments culminated into the Chalukyan and the Drāvidian styles of architecture; and there seems no reason to refer them all to post-Buddhistic times. The Pāncarātras or the Bhagavāt-chhātra works contain elaborate instructions how to construct temples. If therefore Pāncarātras are pre-Buddhistic, temples are necessarily so.

tāra, Kṛṣṇa the Eighth, and Buddha the Ninth. The Buddha of the Buddhists is therefore to Brāhmanic traditions but an event of yesterday. Even if the two Buddhas were identical, the fact of Śrī Rāma antedating them by two Avatāric epochs is past controversy. Hence the term *Chaitya* in the Rāmāyana is a place of sacrifice, of worship, and where memorials, such as stone or brick revetments, plinths, and sacred trees planted on the sacrificial spots, &c., were inaugurated. Having regard to the high state of civilisation in Śrī Rāmā's time, and the magnificent descriptions of royal and other mansions found in the Rāmāyana, architectural science (*śilpa*), must have been in a high state of perfection; and *Chaityas* or Temples to Gods, or other monumental varieties to which the term *Chaitya* is applicable, existed in pre-Buddhic ages.

- (2) It is not our present purpose to trace the existence of temples in Vedic days, <sup>1</sup> as our discourse is confined to their Rāmāyanic existence alone, and pre-Buddhistic *Chaitya* (or *Caitya* for JRAS Scheme) has for its radical *Cin Cayane*—to collect. In the Vedas, we have various *Cavanas*, or sacrifices, where stones or other building materials are grouped together or built, according to rules of mensuration, into various designs. *Garuḍa-cayana* is a sacrifice where a design like the Brāhman-kite (*Garuḍa*) is made, whereon sacrificial libations are offered. *Sam-cayana* is a term still in use among the Brāhmanas for the act of collecting the remnants of bones, etc., after cremation. From this practice the Buddhists appear to have adopted the word for any monumental structures raised over Buddha's relics (for Buddha was burnt according to the Brāhmaṇic custom).

- (3) *Amarakośa* (or *Nāmaliṅgā* "nuśāsana) is written by a Jain, and he enumerates the word *Caitya* along with synonymes meaning Temples, temporary or permanent, and other erections where holy men sheltered themselves:—

*Caityam* āyatanam tulye ' [II. 25.]

*i.e.*, *Caitya* and *āyatana* are words both meaning the same, (*vis.*, a *yajña-śāla*, a sacrificial and worshipping place).

<sup>1</sup> But the reader may refer to the word *Cit. cita*, and its various derivations and senses, in the Veda.

So writes the Commentators. Also he gives the definition:—

Ciyate pāṣāṇā 'dinā caityam.

*i.e.*, what is built of stone, etc., is a *caitya*.

- (4) The Śabda-kalpa-druma, under S. V. *caitya* and *caityam*, states that *caitya* means the sacrificial spot; next a Temple alone (*devā* "yatana-mātram"); and gives an instance from the Mahābhārata [II. 3-12]:—

'Yatra yūpā maṇi-mayāḥ *Caityāś'* cā 'pi hiraṇmayāḥ.'

*i.e.*, where the sacrificial posts (*yūpa*) are made of gems, and plinths (*caityas*) made of gold.<sup>1</sup>

Next, *caitya* means a Buddha, an image (*bimba*) and a marked tree (*uddesa-vrkṣa*). Again it means a celestial tree (*deva-taru*), a God's dwelling (*devā* "yatana"), &c.

- (5) Manu ix. 264, understands by the word, holy trees such as the sacred fig. (*as'vattha*).<sup>2</sup>

'Catus-pathās' *caitya*-vrkṣāḥ.'

- (6) That *Caityaṣ* were known before Buddha's time as pointed out in the Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, p. 1001 (Conf. Alwis, *Buddhism*, pp. 22, 23).

- (7) In the Mahābhārata, *Āranya-parva* : 12-38, we have:—

Āsinam *caitya*-madhye tvām  
Dīpyamānam svatejasā  
Āgamyā Rṣyas sarve  
Yācantā 'bhayam Acyuta !

*i.e.*, Arjuna addresses Kṛṣṇa : "O Acyuta ! finding Thee seated in the midst of the *caitya* (the holy hall or abode), all the Rṣis came and asked of Thee protection."

Having now disposed of the genesis and import of the term *Caitya*, and its pre-Buddhistic currency, we are now ready to dive into Rāmāyana<sup>3</sup> for its references to Temples (or Image-worship in other words) inasmuch as there are no Brāhman Temples without Holy Symbols of Divinity therein installed. Through the perceptible

<sup>1</sup> Cp. also;—'Caitya-yūpa-śatān kitāh' [M. Bh. I. 100'13; and I. 94'29]. (*Cūti* will be found to be alternatively used for *Caitya*; and *Cūti* and *Cayana* are synonymous in the pre-Buddhistic Brāhmanas; e. g., Vaiśvasrja-*cūti* (or *cayana*), [Taittirīya-Brāhmana iii'12'6-9]; Caturhotra-*cūti* [ad. iii'12-5]; Nāciketa-*cayana* [ad. iii'11] Sāvitrāgni-*cayana* [iii'10].

<sup>2</sup> The Commentator of *Parāśara-Smṛti* on XII-27, explains *Caitya* tree, as the tree in a *smasāna* or the burning ground, *cūti* meaning pyre or burning ground. The adoption by Buddhists of this to indicate structures over Buddha's relics is thus understandable. The verse is:—*caitya*-vrkṣas *cūti* yūpak.'

<sup>3</sup> All the figures noted refers to the Telugu Edition of Rāmāyana (with Commentaries) published in 1883, by Sarasvatī Tiruvenkata' cārya.

*symbol* for purposes of concentration, to the imperceptible *idea* or *spirit* of God is the method of practical Vedāntism.

(1) When Śrī-Rāma returned to Ayodhya with his retinue, after his marriage with Sītā, Janaka's daughter, they all worshipped in the Temples of God :—

' *Devatā'yatanāny āsu*  
Sarvātaḥ praty-apūjayan.' [I-77-13].

(2). Preparations were ordered to be made to coronate Śrī-Rāma, among them being the stationing of the Brāhmaṇas, ready with viands and dainties, coins and flower-wreaths to worship at the Temples and sacred squares (*caitya*) where generally the *ficus religiosa* is planted with a stone (&c.) plinth (or platform) built about :—

' *Devatā 'yatana caityeṣu*  
Sanna-bhaksās sa-dakṣiṇāḥ  
upasthāpayitavyās syuh  
mālya-yogyāḥ pṛthak pṛthak. [ II 3, 18—19 ].

(3). When Śrī-Rāma was returning from his father's palace, after hearing a sermon from him (Daśaratha) on the art of Governing, the people assembled in the palace, took leave of the king and returning home—glad of heart at hearing Rāma's proposed installation—worshipped the Gods :—

' *Te cā'pi paurā nṛpater vacas tat'*  
Srutvā tadā lābhamiv-eṣtam āsu  
Narendram āmantrya gṛihāni gatvā  
*Devān sam-ānarcur ati-prahrs'tāḥ.*' [II. 3, 49—50].

(4) Daśaratha sends for his son Śrī-Rāma again, and reveals his intention to instal him early, as men's minds are unsteady, and Śrī-Rāma promising to obey the commands, visits his mother Kausalyā, silently worshipping in the Shrine of God, invoking blessings (*i.e.*, Śrī) (for Rāma):—

' *Vag-yatām Devatā'gāre*  
dadarśā "yācatim Śrīyam' [II, 4, 30].

(5) Śrī-Rāma saw his mother breath-restrained, praying to Puruṣa Janārdana (*i.e.*, Nārāyaṇa or Mahā-Viṣṇu) :—

' *Prāṇā 'yāmena Puruṣam*  
dhyāyamānā Janārdanam.' [II 4'33]

(6) Mother Kausalya blesses her son Śrī-Rāma, by saying that her penances made to the Lotus-eyed Puruṣa (*i.e.*, Nārāyaṇa), has

borne fruit, inasmuch as the wealth of the Kingdom of Ikṣvāku was coming to him :—

‘ A-mogham bata me kṣāntam  
*Puruṣe Puṣkar-ekṣane*  
 Ye-yam Ikṣvāku-rājyā-srih  
 putra tvām saṁs'rayiṣyati.' [II. 4, 41.]

(7) Daśratha having decided to instal Śrī-Rāma as King in Ayodhya enjoined on him certain holy observances to be strictly kept as preliminary to Coronation. Śrī-Rāma accordingly goes through ablutions, &c., and with His consort presents himself at the Temple of Nārāyaṇa, and in due ceremony pours oblations to that Great God in the blazing fire. Partaking himself the remnants of the offerings, seats himself on a bed of *Kuśa*-grass, meditating on Nārāyaṇa, and spends the night in the blessed abode of Viṣṇu (*i.e.*, Nārāyaṇa). Early in the morn next day, prayerful, he praises, and in humility lays his head low at the feet of Madhusūdana (*i.e.*, Nārāyaṇa) :—

‘ Saha-patnyā viśālā'ksyā  
*Nārāyaṇam* upāgamat  
 pragṛhya śirasā pātram  
 haviṣo vidhivat tadā  
*Mahate Dāivatāyā* 'jyam  
 juhāva jvalite'nale  
 śeṣaṅca haviṣas tasya  
 prāsyā' s'āsyā " tmanaḥ priyam  
 dhyāyan *Nārāyaṇam Devam*  
 svāstirne kuśa-samstare  
 vāgyatas saha Vaidehyā  
 bhūtvā niyata-mānasaḥ  
*śrīmaty āyatane Viṣṇoś*  
 siśye naravarā " tmajāḥ  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 tuṣṭāva pranataś caiva  
 śirasā *Madhusūdanam*, [II. 61'-7]

(8) The whole city of Ayodhya was decorated for the celebration; and banners waved aloft from all mansions, &c., God's abodes and *caityas* :—

‘ Sitā'bhra-sikharā " bhesu  
*Devatā yatanesu*, ca  
 Catus-pathesu rathyāsu  
*Caityesv* atṭālakessu ca [II. 6-11.]

(9) Mandarā, the *confidante* abigail of Kaikeyī (second wife of Daaratha, and mother of Bharata), by chance going up the terrace, viewed the decorated city, in which, among other things, she saw the whitewashed portals of God's Temples :—

'Śukle-Devagṛha-dvārām' [II. 7-4].

(10). Instigated by Mandara, Kaikeyī, in order to secure the Kingdom of Kosala for her own son Bharata instead of Śrī-Rāma, the son of her co-wife Kausalya, works upon the weakness of her husband Dasāratha, and extracting a promise from him beforehand to grant her her wishes—not yet divulged—invokes all nature spirits, &c., to be witnesses, so that Dasāratha might not,—in the anguish of his heart at the sudden demand she was going to make for Śrī Rāma's deportation to the woods—retract from his pledge already slyly secured by her. Among the witnesses Kaikeyī calls upon are the household gods :—

'Nis'ācarāṇi bhūtāni  
Gṛheṣu Gṛha-Devatāḥ  
Yāni cā anyāni bhūtāni  
Jāniyur bhāṣitam tava.' [II. 11-15].

(11). Śrī Rāma, as bid by his father Daśāratha, came to the palatial residence, prepared for coronation, but the stern fact—a result of events which had transpired in the interval—had to be revealed to him of his co-mother Kaikeyī's resolves to see him off to the woods, &c., to which Śrī-Rāma without the least hesitation, bows, and proceeds to his own mother Kausalya to take leave. He finds her engaged in Divine Worship, or Worship of Viṣṇu :—

'Kausalyā 'pi tadā devī  
Rātrim sthitvā samāhitā  
Prabhāte tv akarot pūjām  
Viṣṇoḥ putra-hitaiṣiṇī [II. 20-14].  
\* \* \* \* \*  
'Deva-kārya-nimittaḥ ca, &c. [Id.—17].  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Tarpayantim dadarsā 'dbhil  
Devatām deva-varṇinim' [Id.—19].

(12). Śrī-Rāma gently broke the news of his ejection from the throne to his mother Kausalya, but he plunged her thereby into inconsolable grief, from which Śrī-Rāma tries to raise her, by comforting her about the duties which she should not neglect whatever tricks fates played with mortals. Amongst such duties he exhorts

her to be mindful of her husband-god, even to the detriment of god-worship ; (and never forget the gods) :—

' Bhartus' s'us'rūṣayā nārī  
labhate Svargam uttamam  
Api yā nir-namaskārā  
Nivṛttā *Deva-pūjanāt*  
S'us'rūṣām eva kurvīta  
Bhartuh priya-hite ratā  
Eṣa dharmah purā dṛṣto  
Loke vedais'rutas smṛtaḥ  
Agni-kāryeṣu ca sadā  
*Sumanobhis', ca Devatāh'* [II. 24'26-28].

(13). Thus comforted by Śrī-Rāma, Kausalya resigns herself to the inevitable, and admonishes her son to follow in the path of righteousness during his itinerancy, and blesses him by saying ; " Let those gods, &c., whom thou worshipping, protect thee in the wilderness." So blessing, Kausalya took flowers, &c., and worshipped ;—

' Yebhyaḥ praṇamase putra !  
*Caityesvāyataneṣu ca*  
Te ca tvām abhirakṣan tu,  
Vane saha maharṣibhiḥ.' [II. 25-4].  
\* \* \* \* \*

' *Vedyas' cā'yatanāni ca*  
*Sthandilāni vicitrāṇi'* [II. 25'7]  
\* \* \* \* \*

' Iti mālyais sura-gaṇān  
Gandhais' cā'pi yas'asvini  
Stutibhis cā 'nurūpābhir  
*Ānarca* "yata-locanā.' [II. 25. 26-27].

(14). Śrī-Rāma returns from the royal mansion to his own quarters ; and his spouse Sītā, who is blissfully yet unaware of the intrigues conspiring to banish him to the forest, awaits gleefully his return after performing worship :—

' *Deva-kāryam* svayam kṛtvā  
Kṛtajñā hṛṣṭa-cetanā  
Abhijñā rāja-dharmāṇām  
Rāja-putram pratīksate' [II. 26'4].

(15). After disclosing the unpleasant news of his exile to Sītā, Śrī-Rāma sermons her as to how she should conduct herself during his absence, and amongst many things invites her particularly to do

God's worship, the first thing in the day, and do due homage to his father Das'aratha :—

' Kālyam utthāya *Devānām*  
Kṛtvā *pūjām* yathā-vidhi  
Vanditavyo Das'arathah  
Pitā mama nares'varah' [II. 26'30.]

(16). Śrī Rāma with his consort Sītā proceeds to take final leave of Das'aratha before departure to the woods ; and the populace plunged in grief over the threatened separation from their passionately-loved Rāma, resolve to follow him, leaving all their belongings,—deserted of the gods,—to be enjoyed by the vile Kaikeyī, in solitary desolation :—

' Rajasā 'bhyava-kīrṇāni  
Parityaktāni *Daiivataiḥ*  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Asmat-tyaktāni ves'māni  
Kaikeyī pratipadyatām' [II. 33. 19-21].

(17). Śrī-Rāma departed from Ayodhyā, and Das'aratha disconsolate with grief, runs after Rāma, but obliged to return, finds desolation perched on the city, and amongst other things finds all temple-doors closed :—

' Sūnya-catvara-ves'mām tām  
*Samvrtā* " paṇa *Devatām*  
\* \* \* \* \*  
vilapan prāvis'ad rājā  
gṛham sūrya ivā'nbudam.' [II. 42'23'24].

(18). Śrī-Rāma took his departure in the midst of an uproaring sea of the wails of the people, and goes past by many objects of his association, among which are the sacrificial spots with their posts (yūpa) and plinths (caitya)<sup>1</sup> :—

' Akutas'-cit-bhayān ramyān  
Cāitya-yūpa-samāvrtān  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Rathena puruṣa-vyāghrah  
Kosalān atyavartata.' [II. 50. 8—10].

(19). Śrī-Rāma entering the lovely Citrakūta, washed by the sweet liquid of the river Mālyavati, had established sacrificial places, and temples for various deities :—

' Vēdi-sthala-vidhānāni  
*Cāityāny āyatānāni* <sup>2</sup> ca' [II. 56. 33.]

<sup>1</sup> It is clear from this passage, that *caitya* is a Brāhmanic structure in the sacrificial area consecrated for the purpose, and later adopted by Buddhists for their sepulchral memorials of Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> *Cāityāni*, temples for other divinities of the Hindu pantheon.  
*Āyatānāni* „ for Viṣṇu, [Comm :

(20). Das'aratha died of grief leaving his kingdom kingless. The holy elders hold a solemn council and represent to their chief Vasiṣṭha the anarchical state of a country without a monarch, of which state, desertion by men of divine worship is an ingredient.

' Nārā'jake janapade  
Mālya-modaka-dakṣiṇāḥ  
Devatā-bhyarcanārt hāya  
Kalpyante niyatair janaiḥ ' [II. 67. 27].

(21). At the time calamities were happening in Ayodhyā, Bharata, the son of Kaikeyi and foster-brother of Śrī, Rāma, was absent in the home of his maternal grand-father Kekaya, the King. On account of the promise extorted by Kaikeyi from Das'aratha to raise her son Bharata to the throne of Ayodhyā, exiling the rightful heir Rāma, Bharata was sent for by the council headed by Vasiṣṭha. Bharata comes in post-haste, and as he approaches Ayodhyā finds it enveloped in gloom and desolation, of which the emptiness of Temples and absence of Divine worship and desertion by birds of Temples and Caityas are some of the series of signs auguring something inauspicious, of which Bharata was advisedly kept unaware :—

' Devā'gārāni śūnyāni  
na cā " bhanti yathā-puram  
Devatā'rcāḥ praviddhās, ca' [II. 71, 40-41]  
\* \* \* \* \*  
Devatā" Yatana-caityesu  
Dīnāḥ pakṣi-gaṇās tāthā [II. 71, 43].

(22). Bharata came and as the series of calamities which fell the house of Ayodhyā during his absence, were slowly disclosed to him, he swooned away on hearing the exile of Śrī Rāma on his account, and whom he loved better than his self; and forthwith started in search of Śrī Rāma, whom he meets at Citrakūta. Śrī Rāma, as soon as the ecstasy of meetings and greetings permitted, inquired of Bharata if all were well at Ayodhyā, amongst which the upkeep and prosperity of Caityas (sacrificial spots) and Temples :—

' Kac cit<sup>1</sup> Citya-s'atair juṣṭaḥ  
su-niṣṭa-janākulāḥ  
Deva-sthānaiḥ prapābhis'ca  
tatakāis' c-opas'obhitāḥ ' [II. 100. 43]

(23). Bharata, at the bidding of Śrī-Rāma, returns to Ayodhyā to be regent for fourteen years. Many events transpire in the Daṇḍakā-

<sup>1</sup> This word is explained as synonymous with *Caitya*, and hence derived from the old Brahmanic word (*cin, cayane*, to collect, to construct, etc.)

forest, the chief of which is the abduction of Sitā by Rāvana, and search parties under the leadership of Sugrīva, the ruler of Kiṣkindhā sent after the Rākṣasa-thief (Rāvana). Hanumān proceeds southwards, crosses the ocean to Laṅka (Ceylon ?) and searches for Sitā in every possible nook and corner where she might be hid. Of these places, *cāityas* form part, which are explained as structures erected at the crossings, under the tree-shades :—

‘ Bhūmī-gṛhāṁs' *cāitya*-gṛhān' [V. 12-14.]  
\* \* \* \* \*

‘ Prākārantara rathyās' ca  
*vedikās' cāitya*-samśrayaḥ' [V. 12-17.]

(24) The scene next where *Cāitya* occurs is when Rāvana, the giant-king enters Aśoka-park, where he has confined Sitā, in all regal splendour to press on her his love-suit ; and when he is doing it, his figure—as one striking fear and loathing—is described as resembling the śmaśāna-*cāitya*, or the fear-inspiring pavilion or tree planted on cremation-ground :—

‘ Smaśāna-*cāitya*-pratimō  
bhūṣito'pi bhayaṅkaraḥ' [V. 22-29.]

(25). In the meanwhile, Hanumān watched all the scene between Rāvana and Sitā, discovered himself to Sitā as her husband Śrī-Rāma's messenger, created great confusion and dread in Laṅka, returned to Śrī-Rāma, delivering to him the joyful tidings of his Sitā's discovery. Śrī-Rāma with the help of the Kiṣkindhā chiefs throws a gigantic viaduct across the seas to reach Laṅka from the peninsula (of India), and crossing over with his vast army, sights Laṅka perched on the Trikūṭa-hill, and his ramparted palace (*Cāitya*),-- the jewel of Laṅka—reaching the very skies. In this there is no reference to Temple, but the incident is here adduced in order to show how the term *cāitya* is pre-Buddhistic and had quite other senses than the sepulchral mementoes which it came to mean with the Buddhists who succeeded the pre-Brāhmanic civilisation ; and adduced here also to preserve a continuity of the story of Rāmāyana, in this research :—

‘ *Cāityas* sa rākṣas-endrasya  
babhūva pura-bhūṣaṇam' [VI. 33. 24].

(26). Now comes the battle between Śrī-Rāma's and Rāvana's hosts, and Indrajit, the son of Rāvana, resorts among other things to methods, clandestine and magical, pertaining to the latter being a

great sacrifice to the goddess Nikumbhalā, to whom temples (*caityas*) are dedicated :-

‘ *Caityam* Nikumbhilām nāma  
Yatra homam kariṣyati’ [VI. 84. 13].

‘ Nikumbhilām abhiyayau  
*Caityam* Rāvāṇa-pālitam’ [VI. 85. 38].

(27). Śrī-Rāma vanquishes finally the demon-hosts with their chief Rāvāna, recovers Sitā, his Blessed wife, and on his return-journey to Ayodhyā, covered with immortal glory, sends messengers in advance to apprise Bharata, his brother-regent, of his triumphal approach. Bharata is by himself with joy and commands his brother Śatrughna to see the city decorated, &c., befitting the occasion ; and among the commands are the conduct of worship in due form to all Gods and in all Temples (*Caityas*) :—

‘ *Daiṇatāni* ca *sarvāṅi*  
*Caityāni* nagarasya ca  
sugandha-mālyair vāditirair  
*arcantu* śucayo narāḥ ’ [VI. 130’2].

(28). Śrī-Rāma makes his triumphal entry into Ayodhyā, and preparations on an imperial scale are made for the Coronation ceremony. In the presence of kings, chiefs, nobles, and people, Śrī-Rāma is crowned Emperor. All are dismissed with honors and presents becoming their statii ; but to Vibhīṣana, the devotee, (the surviving brother of Rāvāna),—on whom the Government of Laṅkā had already been conferred—is granted the Wealth of the Race of the Ikṣvākus, (*vis.*, their God Baṅganātha), obtaining which, Vibhīṣana departs for Laṅka :—

‘ Labdhvā *Kula-dhanam* rāja  
Laṅkām prāyād Vibhīṣaṇaḥ [VI. 131’185].

(29). Now we come to the Uttara-Rāmāyaṇa story. Śrī-Rāma, after the ceremonies of installation were all over, rose from his throne amidst the acclamations of feudatories and all subjects assembled for the solemn occasion, and wended his way to the Temple enshrining the Wealth of the Ikṣvāku race (*i.e.*, Rāṅganātha—Nārāyana), and there performed worship. (It was then Vibhīṣana is blessed with the Divine Gift (the Wealth) to convey to Laṅka) :—

‘ *Devā’gāram* jagāṃśu”  
puṇyam *Ikṣvāku-sevitam*  
tatra devān pitrūn viprān  
*arcayitvā* yathā-vidhi’ [VII. 27-14.]

(30). Śrī-Rāma, when delivering over to Vibhiṣana the Holy and Precious Charge, enjoins him to worship the Lord of the Universe—Jagannātha, a name of Nārāyaṇa—the God (Wealth) of the illustrious line of the Ikṣvākus ; and the God, worshipped by all the celestials and divinities :—

'Kiñ cā 'nyad vaktum icchāmi  
rāksas-endra ! mahāmata !  
*ārādhaya Jagannātham*  
*Ikṣvāku-kula-Daivatam,*  
*ārādhanīyam anīśam*  
sarvair devais sa-Vāsavaih' [VII. 108'31-32].

(31). Vibhiṣana accepted the gift, and making due obeisance to Śrī-Rāma, proclaimed Rāma's will to all his men, and took leave of Śrī-Rāma :—

tath-eti pratijagrāha  
Rāma-vākyaṃ Vibhiṣaṇah' [VII. 108-32].

Jagannātha means Lord of the Universe ; and Raṅga-nātha means the same ; *Raṅga* meaning the Stage, *i.e.*, the Stage of the Universe, and *Nātha* meaning, the Lord thereof. That this identification is not a mere etymological one is borne out by what is clearly written out in the Pādma-Purāṇa,—Śrī-Rāma granting to Vibhiṣana, Śrī Raṅga-Śāyinaṃ = Raṅga-nātha, to be worshipped by him as long as Sun and Moon endure—Raṅganātha, who is the Wealth of the race of the Ikṣvākus :—

'Yāvat Candras' ca Sūryas' ca  
yāvat tiṣṭhati medinī  
tāvad ramaṣva rājyasthaḥ  
kāle Mama Padam vraja  
ity uktvā pradadau tasmai  
sva-vislesā-'sahisṇave  
*Śrī-Raṅga-Śāyinaṃ svā-'rcyam*  
*Ikṣvāku-kula-Daivatam*  
*Raṅgam vimānam ādāya*  
Laṅkāṃ prāyād Vibhiṣaṇah'.<sup>1</sup>

The Holy Shrine—the *Sanctum Sanctorum*—in which Nārāyaṇa, in his lying posture on Śeṣa,<sup>2</sup> is enshrined, is also called Raṅga, inasmuch as the shrine is in miniature the Symbol of the Universe.

Śrī-Raṅga-Māhātmya, or the Holy narrative of Śrī-Raṅga, narrates in detail how Nārāyaṇa, the Eternal One God condescended to grant

<sup>1</sup> Embodied in the *Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa*, (passim)

<sup>2</sup> See *Symbology* in my book: *The Lives of Saints*. In his *Primitive Constellations*, Vol. I, p. 44, R. Brown says:—"The watery deep, the Okeanos of Homer.. surrounds the earth like a coiled serpent (*i. e.*, *Śeṣa*).

himself to Brahmā, the demiurge, when prayed to on the shores of the Milky Ocean (Kṣīr-ābdhi); how Brahmā vouchsafed him the Shrine, to Ikṣvāku, the patriarch of the pedigree in which Nārāyana is going to become incarnate as Śrī-Rāma; how Śrī-Rāma granted it to Vibhiṣana, and under what circumstances, the Shrine with Śrī-Raṅga-Nātha, remained permanently at Śrī-Raṅgam, near Trichinopoly (Madras Presidency). This Māhātmya has been put in verse under the Title: "The Legend of Śrī-Rāṅgam" by G. A. Salisbury. A few extracts relevant to the theme here outlined, will, it is hoped, interest the readers of this article:--

\* \* \* \* \*

1. Now Brahmā to the Milky Ocean goes :  
 And, near the bosom of the main so white,  
 With prayerful penance seeks more guiding light.  
 Such labour, claims Sri-Nārāyan's special care,  
 And soon to Brahmā's side he doth repair  
 In form disguised. Adoring Brahmā cries :—  
 ' Oh Svāmin ! grant that I may realise,  
 In native form unveiled, thy presence bright,  
 And with the happy vision bless my sight '

\* \* \* \* \*

A vigil long again, with penance deep,  
 The holy Brahmā doth devoted keep.  
 And from the lonely shore the God descends.  
 A Shrine, so glorious from the main arise ;  
 Awhile he gazes on the wondrous sight,  
 Amazed, his eyes are dazzled with its light !  
 ' Tis Raṅga's Shrine that onward to the shore  
 The Āzhvār Garuḍa now proudly bore.'

\* \* \* \* \*

2. ' In fair Ayodhya's realm Ikṣvāku sate  
 Upon his throne as lord, high potentate ;  
 Before him princes, kings and nations bend,  
 And fame and glory his bright reign attend.

\* \* \* \* \*

But while around loud plaudits rent the air,  
 The meditative sate, opprest with care.

\* \* \* \* \* , how shall I

Mount to yon world so fair, beyond the sky,  
 Where Raṅgā's holy Shrine by Vraja's stream,  
 With sacred beauty now doth brightly gleam.

\* \* \* \* \*

With penance rigid I the gods shall move,  
 By penance I my filial duty prove ;  
 The gods then heeding, shall the prize resign,  
 And send below to mortals, *Raṅga's Shrine.*'

\* \* \* \* \*

3. ' Oh ! Brahmā ! have I (Vṣiṇu) e'er to thee denied  
 A boon ? 'gainst Ikṣvāku must I now decide ?  
 What if by his deep penance he obtains  
 The *holy Shrine*, and thus, for mortals, gains  
 Vaikunṭha's joys, must gods the act resent ?

\* \* \* \* \*

The words ambrosial raptured Brahmā hears  
 Then on Śrī-Viṣṇu's *vāhan* swift he bears  
 The *holy Shrine* to Ikṣvāku's lone retreat.'

\* \* \* \* \*

Between two limpid hills, a *Temple* fair  
 Its *Sacred Dome in Ayodh* soon doth rear,  
 With ' mantapas ' and lofty ' gopras ' bright,  
 And fount and garden welcome to the sight.  
 On day auspicious, chants with rites combine,  
 As in that *Pane* is placed *Śrī-Raṅga's Shrine.*'

\* \* \* \* \*

4. From Ikṣvāku's race great kings successive reign'd,  
 Who from the gods, immortal honors gain'd ;  
 And ' Yogas ' four their periods well nigh ran,  
 When Daśaratha's brilliant reign began.  
 Long did he rule, belov'd and blest by all.

\* \* \* \* \*

Among the crowd assembled there, we scan  
 King Dharmavarma from South Hindustan.  
*Śrī-Raṅga's Shrine* he views with keen delight  
 Its story while the Ṛṣis there recite.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Dharmavarma* : " From Vraja's bank did Raṅgas' Shrine descend ?  
 For it with Ikṣvāk did the gods contend ?  
 Like him a penance rigid I will keep,  
 Like him a great renown for zeal I'll keep."

\* \* \* \* \*

*Ṛṣis* to " Retrace thy steps, thy busy court regain,

*Dharmavarma* : The boon thou seekest thou shalt sure obtain ;  
 Convey'd from Ayodh shall that *Shrine* so bright,  
 Upon this smiling Isle (Śrīraṅgam) ere long alight."

\* \* \* \* \*

*God Viṣṇu to* " In Ayodh soon as Daśaratha's son (Śrī-Rāma).

*Dharmavarma* : Shall I appear, and Laṅka's conquest won,  
Vibhis'ṇa shall *sri-Raṅga's Shrine* obtain  
From him the *Shrine* shall Chola's Sov'reign  
(Dharmavarma) gain.

\* \* \* \* \*

5. ' Behold now, as forewarned, *Srī-Raṅga's Shrine*  
Which Rāma to Vibhīṣaṇa did resign !  
With it, this solemn charge was also given :—

*Rāma to* " This *Shrine* for which the gods above had striv'n.

*Vibhīṣane* : Accept ; thus Rāma Laṅka's prince (Vibhīṣaṇa) rewards,  
And may their richest gifts th'immortal gods  
On thee bestow ; with sacred rites above  
This idol, which to Ayodh Brahmā bore ;  
The ' pūjas' sanctioned must thou not forbear,  
But make Śrī-Raṅga's honors thy great care."

And then upon his head that *Shrine* so bright.  
Vibhīṣ'ṇa southwards bears ; by day and night.  
O'er Indian plain and stream, with zealous toil  
He journeys, bound for Laṅka's fruitful soil.  
But as he trod upon the lovely Isle (Śrīraṅgam).  
That, woo'd by Kaveri, doth happy smile,  
Upon its shore he laid the sacred load,  
Where Ṛṣis in surrounding groves abode.

\* \* \* \* \*

And now to Raṅga's Isle he bids farewell,  
While grateful feelings fast his bosom swell ;  
Then lo ! he bends with reverent hands to lift  
The *Shrine*, beloved as Rāma's parting gift.

But lackaday ! the pilgrim quakes with fear,  
From him unbidden starts tear after tear !  
The *Shrine a fixture* seems, it can't be moved,  
Abortive all Vibhīṣ'ṇa's efforts proved ?

\* \* \* \* \*

6. *God Rānga to* " Vibhīṣaṇa ! Go thy way, these fears forsake,

*Vibhīṣaṇa* : Upon this Isle my fixed abode I make !

\* \* \* \* \*

The sovereign, too, great Dharmavarma blest,  
Of godly men would rank among the best.  
My good Vibhīṣaṇa ! therefore here I stay  
To Laṅka's shore must then now wend thy way."

\* \* \* \* \*

7. *Vibhīṣaṇa* to " Thus Rāṅga ; and Vibhīṣaṇa heaving sighs,  
*Raṅga* : To him, with grief o'erflowing, thus replies :—  
 " When Rāṅga, father of the gods, resolves,  
 All opposition, e'er so strong, dissolves ;  
 Still grant that I may daily serve thee here,  
 With ' pūjas' deep may I *this Shrine* revere."  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Then Rāṅga :—" Pilgrim, all these fears forsake,  
 And to thy Kingdom (Laṅkā) swift thyself betake ;  
 From this *my hallowed Shrine* I thee shall bless,<sup>1</sup>  
 And thee shall follow bliss and righteousness."  
 \* \* \* \* \*
8. ' With kind farewells Vibhīṣaṇa southward turns,  
 As for his island home his bosom yearns ;  
 And Dharmavarma on the holy Isle  
 Great walls with ' Gopras' builds in gorgeous style.'

The extraordinary sanctity that attaches to Śrī-Rāṅgam even unto this day is on account of such hoary traditions as recounted above.

In my article on the ' Five Truths' (*Artha-Pañcaka*) in JRAS for July 1910, Five Hypostatic aspects for God are outlined, *vis.* :—  
*para*, *vyūha*, *vibhava*, *antaryāmi* and *arcā*. Nārāyana is of *para* ; Nārāyana, Jagan-Nātha, or Rāṅga-Nātha, at the Milky Ocean (*Kṣīrā-bdhi*) is of *vyūha* ; Śrī-Rāma or Nārāyana incarnate is of *vibhava* ; and Śrī Rāṅga in the shrine at Śrīraṅgam is of *arcā* ; Nārāyana in the hearts' of all beings being the *antaryāmin*. Nārāyana's external companion S'eṣa (or Time and Space), becomes Lakṣmaṇa, the brother of Śrī-Rāma, according to the passage :

' Ādi-devo Mahā-bāhuḥ  
 Harir Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ  
 Śakṣād Rāmo Raghus'resthah  
 S'eṣo Lakṣmaṇa ucyaṭe' [VI. 131. 113.]

Lakṣhmaṇa of Rāmāyana—*vibhava*—is the Seṣa of *para*, is the Saṅkarṣaṇa of *vyūha* [*Mahābhārata*, and *Viṣṇu-Purāna*]<sup>2</sup> and Lakṣhmaṇa of the Tretā-Age is Rāmānuja of the Kali-Age.

For symbolism of Milky Ocean (the *Nebulæ*) Rāṅga-nātha, S'eṣa, etc., see my Introduction to the *Lives of Drāviḍa Saints*, (passim).

A. GOVINDĀ-CĀRYA SVĀMIN,

Veda-Gṛham,

M.R.A.S., &c.

Mysore (South India).

<sup>1</sup> Hence Śrī-Rāṅga's recumbent figure, lying on Seṣa; in the Śrīraṅgam Shrine is facing south towards Laṅkā.

<sup>2</sup> In Kisna'vatāra (*vibhava*), S'eṣa. = Saṅkarṣaṇa = Balarāma.

[12th December 1911, *i.e.*, written on the Delhi Coronation Day (India) of King-Emperor George V and Queen Mary of Great Britain and Ireland, and read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, at Bombay, on 23rd September 1912.]

*A few elucidatory Notes.*

1. *Raṅga-nātha.*

*Raṅga* means Theatre, *i.e.*, the Cosmic Theatre. *Nātha* means Lord. Hence *Raṅga-nātha* means the Spirit of the Universe, or Universal God—'the one only God without a second.' He is thus the *Viśvakarman*, *Varuṇa*, &c., or the Omniscient Lord described in the celebrated *Viśvakarma* and *Sūktas* in *Rig-Veda*, Tenth *Maṇḍala*, *Sūktas* 82 and 83. The meaning of *Nārāyaṇa* or 'He who broods over the waters'<sup>1</sup> of the Biblical *Genesis* [1-2], occurs in the 82nd *Sūkta*, verses 5 and 6 :—

*Tam id garbham dadhra āpo*  
*Yatra devāḥ sam-apaśyanti viśve* (5).  
*Tam id garbham prathanam dadhra āpo*  
*Yatra devāḥ sam-agacchanta viśve* (6).

This breathes, besides, pure monotheism inasmuch as these passages tell us that all the numerous gods were conceived in *Nārāyaṇa* (*i.e.*, *Raṅganātha*). The first of these gods, *viz.*, the Masculine *Brahmā*, the four-faced *Demirge*, is having his nativity at the navel (compared to a *Lotus*) of this Lord :—

*Ajasya nābhāv adhy ekam arpitam*  
*Yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthuh* (6).

And this Lord *Nārāyaṇa* is the Personal God, who is not only 'our Father,' but our *Mother* and *Creator*, &c., as well, as is seen from another verse in the same 82nd *Hymn* (*Sūkta*), thus :—

*Yo nah pitā janitā yo vidhāta*, etc. (3).

B. (1) *Rāmā-Avatāra.*

That this precedes *Gautama Buddha* is evident from the *Daśaratha-Jātaka*, related by *Buddha* himself in the *Jātakas*, Vol. IV. Cambridge University Press, pp. 78 to 82. *Buddha* narrates the story of *Rāma*, and in the end identifies himself with that *Rāma* as incarnate now in *Buddha*.

(2) *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, which is chiefly concerned with *Kṛṣṇāvatāra*, the whole solar dynasty up to *Rāma* is related in *Amsā* 4, Chapter 4. In verse 14, *Jāmbavān* the great *Bear Chieftain*, refers to *Rāma*.

<sup>1</sup> 'Waters means primordial matter. *Nārāyaṇa* has also an etymology connoting the character of God as both 'transcendent' and 'immanent.'

(3) *Bhārgava-Rāma*.

Bhārgava-Rāma or Paraśu-Rāma is referred to in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, the son of Jamadagni. Rāma *Mūrgaveya* is suspected rightly as Rāma *Bhārgaveya*, or Rāma, the descendant of Bhṛgu, see p. 487, Max Muller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*. Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa is an ancient work, whose date by modern historical scholars is at least 3000 B.C. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Bhārgava-Rāma encounters Śrī-Rāma. Hence they are contemporaries. Rāmāvatāra therefore antedates at least the date of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.

(4) The words *Tathāgata* in the Rāmāyaṇa, and *Mahāmoha* in Vishṇu-Purāṇa do not allude to Gautama-Buddha at all of the 6th Century B.C. The Buddhistic or Atheistic system is as old as the Vedas; there were a continuous heirarchy also of its expounders according to Buddhism. The Vedānta-sūtras themselves of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana-Vyāsa rebut this system. The date of Vyāsa itself cannot so far be certainly fixed—see Weber's *History of Indian Literature* (s. v. Vyāsa).

C. *Temples*.

(1) Temples therefore, and Images referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa are certainly therefore, pre-Buddhistic.

(2) If Drāvidian is pre-Āryan, and is chiefly found in the south of India in the Science of Architecture, the Drāvidian Architecture is pre-Āryan, and therefore pre-Buddhistic forasmuch as Gautama Buddha and his predecessors as well (in all probability) belong to the Āryan race.

(3) *Devatādhyāya-Brāhmaṇa* is one of the Sāma Veda Brāhmaṇas. Also see *Shadvimsā-Brāhmaṇa* and *Adbhuta-Brāhmaṇas*, all of which are acknowledged to be very old, and in which Images are mentioned as laughing, crying, singing, dancing, bursting, sweating, twinkling.<sup>†</sup> [See p. 210, A. A. Macdonells' *Sanskrit Literature*.]

D. *The word Chaitya*.

Its radicals, *citi* is found in *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā* xiii to xv, and *cayana* in ix to xviii.

E. *Matsya-Avatāra*.

This is the most ancient Deluge. Avatāra, to be found narrated in the Ancient Work *S'atapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 1-8. 1.1 (Prapāṭhaka VI,-3. 1.)

२. सपरंदिव मन्वावर्ततेऽय यदास्या युक्तानि यानानि प्रवर्तन्ते देवतायतनानि  
कम्पन्ते दैवतप्रतिमा हसन्ति रुदन्ति नृत्यन्ति स्फुटन्ति खिद्यन्त्युन्मीलन्ति प्रति प्रयान्ति ॥

ART. XXIV.—*Amarasimha and his Commentator  
Kshīrasvāmin.*

BY

K. B. PATHAK AND K. G. OKA.

(*Contributed.*)

Amarasimha's lexicon well-known to every Sanskrit student, is the oldest work of the kind now extant. It is of great interest to note that, though the production of a Buddhist, it has been universally accepted as an authority by the Brahmans and the Jainas alike. The fact that it has been commented upon by Buddhists like Subhūti-chandra, by Jainas like *Asādharaṇapāṇḍita* and *Nāchirāja*, and by Brahmans like *Kshīrasvāmin*, *Mallinātha*<sup>1</sup> and *Appayyādikshita* testifies to its usefulness to every class of Sanskrit students. It is a well-known fact that translations of the *Amarakośha* into Chinese and Thibetan have been recently discovered.

Many commentaries on the *Amarakośha* have been published, the most well-known of these being the one by *Mahesvara* and the other called *Vyākhyāśudhā* by *Bhānuji-Dikshita*. But the oldest and most important commentary now extant is the one by *Kshīrasvāmin*. Its interest mainly lies in the fact that *Kshīrasvāmin* quotes numerous authorities, sometimes without naming them, in support of his statements. The date of this commentator is now known. He quotes *Bhoja* and is quoted by *Vardhamāna* in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*, and therefore belongs to the second half of the eleventh century. He was a man of profound learning, proofs of his erudition being found on every page. His works are : (1) *नामपारायण* or *अमरकोषोद्घाटन*; (2) *क्षीरतरङ्गिणी* or *धातुवृत्ति*; (3) *निपाताभ्ययोपसर्गवृत्ति*; (4) *अमृततरङ्गिणी* referred to in the *Kshīrataranginī*; (5) *निघण्टुवृत्ति* mentioned by *Devarāja* in his *Niruktanirvachana*; and (6) *गणवृत्ति* referred to by *Vardhamāna* in his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*. He appears to have been a native of Central India from his use of the words *प्राच्य*, *प्रतीच्य*, *उदीच्य*, &c. His attachment to *Rājasekhara* and to *Srī Bhoja* makes this view highly probable. His mention of many words as *Desī*,

<sup>1</sup> *Mallinātha's* Commentary is called *Amarapadaparijatam*.

which are really found in the Hindi and other Northern dialects, points to the same conclusion. KshĪrasvāmin was a devotee of Śiva, as is obvious from the introductory verse and other indications in the commentary, and his name seems to have been suggested by the god KshĪresvara Mahādeva at Kākupada near Kanoj. In his Commentary, on page 47<sup>1</sup>, he enumerates all the well-known towns situated in Central India. This circumstance may also be taken as confirmatory of the view that he was not a native of Southern India, but belonged to Central India.

A list of authorities quoted by him is given below :—

*Lexicographical Authorities.*

1 Kātya	9 Abhidhānakāra
2 Muni	10 Abhidhānasesha
3 Bhāguri	11 Anekārtha
4 Mālā and the Mālākāra	12 S'riharsha
5 Nighantu ( <i>Vedic</i> )	13 Durga
6 S'āsvata	14 Bhoja
7 Amaramālā	15 Rudra
8 Nāmamālā	

*Commentators.*

1 Upādhyāya	4 Achāryāh
2 Gauda	5 Nārāyanah
3 Bhoja	6 Tikā

*Medical Authorities.*

1 Susruta and Sausrutāh	6 Indu
2 Vaidyāh (chiefly Charaka)	7 Chandranandana
3 Dhanvantari and his Nighantu (medical)	8 Dhātuvidadh
4 Vāhata or Vāgbhata	9 Nimih
5 Chandra	10 Haremekhalam.

Kesava in his Kalpadruma enumerates the Koshakāras thus :—

काल्यवाचस्पतिव्याडिभाग्युर्मरमङ्ग(ख)लाः । साहसार्द्धमहेशाया विजयन्ते जिनान्तिमाः ॥

If the order, in which Kesava enumerates the names, may be taken as chronological, Kātya necessarily stands as foremost in time. He is cited with great respect and so often by KshĪrasvāmin as to

<sup>1</sup> This and other references that follow are to Mr. K. G. Oka's Edition of Amarakosha with KshĪrasvāmin's Commentary.

suggest his priority to Amarasimha. We are told that the year begins with Hemanta :—हेमन्ताद्धि वत्सरस्यारम्भः, and Kshīrasvāmin cites Kātya as his authority thus :

आदाय मार्गशीर्षाच्च द्वौ द्वौ मासावतुः स्मृतः । ( p. 23 )

From this it would appear that Kātya is older than Amarasimha. The same remark may be made as regards Muni who may probably be identified with Vyādi. The third in the list is Bhāguri, as to whose priority to Amarasimha, Kshīrasvāmin thus remarks on p. 70:—

बृहती तु निदिग्धिकेति भागुरिवाक्याद् ग्रन्थकृद् भ्रान्तः ।

On page 148 we meet with the remark of Kshīrasvāmin that Mālikāra was led astray by mistaking सर for शर in Bhāguri's statement :—एतच्च द्रष्टं शरम् and that this author, *i.e.*, Amarasimha, was in his turn misled by the latter. It is thus clear that in the opinion of Kshīrasvāmin, Bhāguri and the Mālikāra preceded Amarasimha. It may be pointed out here that the author of the Māla is not only frequently quoted as an authority, but is sometimes adversely criticized by Kshīrasvāmin.

S'āsvata, as it contains Anekārtha Samuchchaya only, is an incomplete work though frequently quoted by Kshīrasvāmin. It is nevertheless much fuller than Amarasimha's Nānārthavarga, though in some places both agree word for word, *e.g.* अनु and अनुबन्ध. On these grounds the S'āsvata may be regarded as a later work than the Amarakosha. According to the last verse in Prof. Zachariae's edition :—

महाबलेन कविना वराहेण च धीमता । सह सम्यक् परामृश्य निर्मितोयं प्रयत्नतः ॥

it was composed in consultation with Varāha who may be identified with Varāhamihira. On page 118 Amarasimha says that आतिथ्यः means अतिथ्यर्थ, while Kātya and Māla say that आतिथ्यः means अतिथि. Kshīrasvāmin adds that :—शाश्वतोत्त एवोभयमाह 'for this very reason S'āsvata gives both the meanings.' This constitutes a further proof of S'āsvata's posteriority to Amarasimha.

The next authority quoted by Kshīrasvāmin is Durga who together with Bhoja are his latest authorities. The Vedic Nighantu is twice quoted. The Amaramāla is thrice quoted though we know nothing as to its age and authorship. The Nāmamālā is thrice or four times quoted. Some quotations appear on pp. 72, 75 and 169 which are ascribed to Rudra by Bhānuji Dikshita.

Among the commentators on Amarakosha, who preceded Kshīrasvāmin, are Upādhyāya, Gauḍa and Bhoja. According to Rādhākānta, Upādhyāya is Achyutopādhyāya whose Commentary on Amarakosha is called Vyākhyā-pradīpa. Gauḍa was another commentator on Amarakosha before Kshīrasvāmin. Both these commentators are quoted and criticized. The third is Bhoja about whose commentary we know nothing. Nor do we know anything about the commentators Achāryāḥ, Nārāyanah, &c.

#### Medical Authorities.

Since Kshīrasvāmin refers by name to Susruta thus:—सुश्रुतस्त्वाह (p. 80), पवनेष्टोपीति सौभुताः (p. 64), it may be inferred that the frequent reference to वैद्याः may be intended generally for Charaka. The next medical authority after Charaka and Susruta is Dhanvantari who in the opinion of Kshīrasvāmin is older than Amarasimha:— बालपञ्चो यवासः खादिरश्चेति द्वयर्थेषु धन्वन्तरिपाठमवृद्ध्वा बालपुत्रभ्रान्त्या ग्रन्थकृद्बालतनयमाह (p. 62). द्वयर्थे—उपचित्रा दन्ती पुत्रिपर्णी चेति । अत्र दन्त्यां द्रवन्तीभ्रान्त्या ग्रन्थकृदुपचित्रामाह (p. 69). पुष्करमूले श्रीणि नामानि । पञ्चपत्रामिति ग्रन्थकृद् भ्रान्तः । पञ्चवर्णेति लिपिभ्रान्त्या पञ्चपर्णमिति बुद्धवान् । यदाह— मूलं पुष्करमूलं च पौष्करं पुष्कराह्वयम् । काश्मीरं पुष्करजटा धीरं तत्पञ्चवर्णकम् ( धन्वन्तरिः ) (p. 79). शीतलवातक इत्येका संज्ञा यद्धन्वन्तरिः शणपर्णी शीतलवातक इत्याह । Amarasimha considers शीतलवातक as a compound and treats वातक and शीतल as separate terms for शणपर्णी (p. 80).

From these and other similar remarks it is obvious that Dhanvantari, whose work is known as *Nighantu*, must have preceded Amarasimha by a long interval. Vāhata or Vāgbhata, who was a Buddhist, is thrice or four times referred to in this Commentary. His reference to the S'aka kings being very fond of onions enables us to assign him to the second or third century A. D.

लङ्गानानन्तरं वायोः पलाण्डुः परमौषधम् । साक्षादिव स्थितं यत्र शकाधिपतिर्जीवितम् ॥

दस्योपयोगेन शकाङ्गानानां लावण्यसारादिव निर्मितानाम् ।

कपोलकान्त्या विजितः शशाङ्को रसातलं गच्छति निर्विदेव ॥<sup>1</sup> (अष्टांगसंग्रह उत्तरस्थान Ch.49).

Other medical writers Chandra, Indu and Chandranandana are very frequently quoted, especially in his comments on the वनौषधिवर्ग, by Kshīrasvāmin. But nothing is known about their works. A गणनिघण्टु by Chandranandana is mentioned in a list of writers of medical *Nighantus*. Two or three references to Nimi show him to have been a medical writer about whom nothing definite is known. Nor do we

<sup>1</sup> This interesting reference to the S'aka kings has been kindly supplied by Dr. G. K. Garde of Poona.

know anything about the *हरमेखलतन्त्र*, an ancient medical treatise mentioned on page 71. *धातुविदः* mentioned on page 156 may, for aught we know, be medical authors.

#### *Grammarians.*

*प्राच्याः*, *प्रतीच्याः* and *उदीच्याः* are referred to here and there in this commentary. Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patanjali are of course frequently referred to. The grammarian Chandragomin is cited nearly nine or ten times. Not only does Kshīrasvāmin quote Kāśikā but reproduces even its mistakes (see Comment. on *सहायता* and *भग* pp. 188 and 192). Lastly, the grammarian Bhoja is also quoted with great respect as *श्रीभोज*.

#### *Philosophical Authors.*

The Dharmasūtras of Gautama are quoted on pp. 28 and 114. Jaimini's Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra is quoted on p. 28. Sāṅkhya-sāstra is referred to on page 25, while Sāṅkhya-kārikā is quoted on page 217. We find mention of the Vaiseshika doctrine on page 25. Yoga-sāstra and its Sūtras are cited on pp. 13, 119 and 191. The great Mīmāṃsā-writer Kumāriḷa-bhaṭṭa is quoted on pp. 28, 166 and 207. The seven principles recognised by the Jainas are mentioned on page 187; while Buddhism and its principles are mentioned on pp. 25 and 203.

Other authors and works quoted by Kshīrasvāmin in his commentary are too numerous to mention here. They are given in Mr. K. G. Oka's Edition, Appendix I.

#### *The age of Amarasimha.*

In the Kālavarga, page 23, Amarasimha says :—

द्वौ द्वौ माघादिमासौ स्यादनुस्तैरयनं विभिः ।

Upon this Kshīrasvāmin remarks thus :—*माघाद्युपक्रमस्ततोयनारम्भात्* । It is obvious from this statement that in the days when Amarasimha lived or shortly before his time, the sun's course to the North must have commenced in the month of Māgha. Similarly the other remark of Kshīrasvāmin :—*हेमन्ताद्धि वत्सरस्यारम्भः* may be taken as confirmatory of the same view. From this it may be inferred that Amarasimha must have flourished 15 or 16 hundred years ago. Another clue to his age is found in the fact that he, though a Buddhist, follows the Pāṇinian system of grammar. The line :—

शालार्थापि परा राजामनुष्यार्थादराजकात् । (p. 236)

is a rendering of Pāṇini's well-known Sūtra सभाराजामनुष्यपूर्वा and not of Chandra's simpler and more intelligible Sūtra ईश्वरार्थादराजःसभा. A justifiable inference from this and many other Sūtras is that Chandra's grammar was not before Amarasimha when he wrote his work. In this connection it is interesting to note the well-known line current amongst the orthodox Pandits :- अमरसिंहो हि पापीयान् सर्वे भाष्यमच्चचुरत् ।

Kshīrasvāmin commenting on the word आप्य says :-

आप्यं तु लक्ष्यात् । अत एव- आप्यं वेति चान्द्रं सूत्रम् । (P. 40).

On page 161, while explaining मन्द, Kshīrasvāmin says :-

मन्दते स्वपितीव मन्दः । अत एव यदि जाड्य इति चान्द्रो धातुः ।

On page 157 the commentary has :- शशस्योर्णा शशोर्णं, गृहस्थूणवत्कृत्वि । But here Kshīrasvāmin does not cite Chandra's Lingūnusāsana which says :- शशोर्णं कारणं कर्म । From these it may be inferred that Amarasimha preceded Chandragomin. Since Chandragomin, from whom the grammarian Vasurūta (A. D. 480) is said to have learnt grammar directly, belongs to the fifth century A. D., Amarasimha may be assigned to the fourth century A. D.

A correct explanation of the word जडु is found in Susruta, Charaka and even in Vāgbhaṭa. But Amarasimha attaches to the word a wrong meaning. (See Dr. Hoernle's Osteology p. 166.) This fact may indicate that Amarasimha was posterior to Vāgbhaṭa.

In passing it may be remarked that Amarsimha, though a Buddhist, had strong leanings towards Sāṅkhya philosophy as is evident from the use of the words :-

क्षेत्रज्ञ आत्मा पुरुषः प्रधानं प्रकृतिः स्त्रियाम् । (See p. 24 and Com. thereon).

This philosophy of Kapila was revised by *Isvarakṛishṇa* or *Vindhyavāsin*, the rival of *Buddhamitra* and his pupil *Vasubandhu* (A. D. 480). Amarasimha says :-

अन्तराभवसत्त्वेषु गन्धर्वो दिव्यगायने । (p. 207)

'अन्तराभवसत्त्व (i. e. अन्तरा मरणजन्मनोर्मध्ये भवं सत्त्वं यातनाशरीरं) is one of the senses of the word गन्धर्व'. *Kumārila-bhaṭṭa* in his *S'lokaśr̥tika* says :-

अन्तराभवदेहस्तु नेष्यते विन्ध्यवासिना । तदस्तित्वे प्रमाणं हि न किञ्चिदवगम्यते ॥

The theory of the existence of अन्तराभवदेह is rejected by *Vindhyavāsin*. This shows that Amarasimha was not acquainted with the revised notions of Sāṅkhya philosophy as propounded by *Isvarakṛishṇa*.

This circumstance again strengthens the probability that Amarasimha lived prior to *Isvarkrishna*, that is, in the 4th century A. D.

Amarakosha was translated into Chinese by Gunarâta of Ujjayini in the sixth century (see Max Muller's *India* : What can it teach us ? 1st Ed. p. 328). In the *Kavyâdarsa* of *Dandin* who flourished in the latter half of the 7th century (See *Indian Antiquary* Oct. 1912, p. 232) we meet with words indicative of 'likeness' thus :—

इववद्वायथाशब्दाः समाननिभसंनिभाः । तुल्यसंकाशनीकाशप्रकाशप्रतिरूपकाः ।  
सदृक्सदृशसंवादिसजातीयानुवादिनः । सलक्षणसदृक्षाभसपक्षोपमितोपमाः ।

These words or many of them appear to have been suggested to *Dandin* from the following lines in the *Amarakosha*—

वद्वा यथा तथैवैवं साम्ये— (p. 288).

वाच्यलिङ्गाः समस्तुल्यः सदृक्षः सदृशः सदृक् ।

साधारणः समानश्च स्युरुत्तरपदे त्वमी । निभसंकाशनीकाशप्रतीकाशोपमादयः । (p. 164).

Dr. Bhandarkar has found the words तन्त्रं प्रधाने सिद्धान्ते (p. 215) of Amarasimha quoted in the *Kāśikāvivaraṇanapanjikā* of Jineḍrabudhi who flourished in the beginning of the 8th century\*. A reference to Amarakosha is also found in the *Amoghavṛitti* written in Saka 789.

\*Vide *Journal Bcm. R. A. S.* for October 1912.

ART. XXV.—*Year-measurements in Ancient Times.*

BY

V. VENKATACHELLAM IYER.

(*Contributed.*)

From J. F. Hewitt's "History and Chronology of the Myth-making age."

Primitive man had his articles of faith and his dogmas though he was not a trained theologian. He drew much of his inspiration from the sky. When he started star-gazing, he managed to make 'the lesser lights that rule the night' subserve the purpose of a chronometer. This was not all. The constellations provided him not only with signs for time-measurement, but also with the fundamentals of his religion and mythology. In the richness of his imagination, he endowed every heavenly body that entered into his calculations with an animate existence, with human aspirations and human weaknesses. The familiar motions of these bodies and the regularity of their cyclical movements, suggested to his poetic fancy a centralised authority controlling the service of agencies, subordinated in some gradation of precedence.

The constellations were made the *Dramatis Personæ* of an extensive organisation of poetic fiction, the constant theme of which, in spite of an endless variety of forms, was the story of the year-measurement and the revolution of the seasons.

These star-leaders were sexed and unsexed as suited the ideas of the age or the exigencies of the invention. Combats, duels, and wars were waged among them as among the sons of the earth. Offences against social morality and purity were rife among these luminaries of the higher sphere quite as much as among their compeers on this planet.

Mr. J. F. Hewitt, who retired from the Indian Civil Service several years ago, was, I believe, one of the old Haileybury men. He was a profound scholar and found leisure, in the intervals of work consequent on his incumbency of high and exacting administrative offices, to pursue his favourite studies of the antiquities of primitive

racés, and in particular of the ancient peoples of India. He addressed himself to a serious study of primitive ideas of time-measurement and discovered that much of the fantastic mythology of ancient invention was traceable to a free use of allegory, of simile and of metaphor, in which astronomical material had been made the groundwork of skilful poetic manipulation.

Every attempt to rationalise the myths of antiquity should be welcomed, in particular of India, where the notions of remote antiquity are allowed to dominate the current religious thought of living generations.

Mr. Hewitt's elaborate study was published as 'The History and Chronology of the Myth-making age,' in 1901. The work is one that ought to be widely read, especially in India ; but, I fear, it has attracted considerably less attention than its merit deserves.

I do not know whether this is due to the dryness of the subject or, if I may venture to say so, to the manner in which it is presented, or to both. An attempt to keep in touch with the outline of the thesis and the main current of the author's thought is calculated to tax severely the patience of the student.

I wish to be pardoned, therefore, for attempting something like an analysis of the results of Hewitt's study. I am not sure that I have understood the author correctly in every respect. The following analysis is therefore given, subject to correction, with an expression of regret that it has not occurred to some one better informed and better qualified to essay the attempt.

The author has furnished the clue for the explanation of several myths, Vedic and Puranic, that otherwise defy ordinary attempts at rationalisation.

It is not required that the reader should pin his faith to every idea of the learned author ; but, the general outline of his theory and the processes of reasoning on which he has based the same must commend themselves as acceptable to every reader.

It should be possible, even if the suggested explanations, as to what are believed to be historic facts and what are admittedly matters of myth, should not be regarded as conclusive, to accept the author's historic resume of the evolution of year-measurements with some degree of assurance as to their accuracy.

The author relies for much of his proof on the Vedas and the Brahmanas, which suggests a solid foundation for the reasoning that has been developed.

Astronomical myths are more transparent in the Vedas and the Brahmanas than in the Puranas, among which last, the Mahabharata should also be reckoned. In these works of less remote antiquity, methodised attempts had been made to invest the fables with a realism that has endowed them with so much of the semblance of history as to lead the uninformed reader to mistake it for the reality.

I am aware that the present summary leaves much to be desired. But I make no further apology for offering it than this that I am impressed that the subject is of such importance and the general conclusions of such value as to make it desirable that the matter should be placed before the reader, even though it should be in its present form and no better.

The reader will be so good as to attribute any errors he may find to the present writer and not to the author of "The History and Chronology of the Myth-making age."

An attempt has been made to retain the language of the author wherever desirable.

## I

### THE PLEIADES-YEAR.

At one time in the Dravidian South, the year began when the Pleiades first set after the Sun, which took place on or about the first day of November. This was chosen by these people as their new-year's day because it marked the beginning of Spring in that region of the Equator.

It was the age of the worship of the Pole-star. The earth was believed to be a stationary oval plain, resting on the mud of the southern ocean, whence the mother-tree of the universe was born from the seed brought by the rain-cloud-bird. The heavenly bodies revolved in circles round the Pole.

There was no star visible at the South-Pole. That part of the globe was believed to be a dark abyss of waters, presided over by the unseen South-Pole goddess, the awful and mysterious mother of living things. She was the mother-goddess of the southern mud, the Phœnician Thith (The Sanskrit Diti. ) . She was the goddess of the universal mother-tree also. (She is the Atirathresi and Kalarratri of the 'thousand names.'

It was otherwise at the North-Pole. The presiding star was there visible. It was, therefore, the object of universal worship.

The cosmic mother-tree had its roots, deep in the mud of the southern ocean. It grew through the strata of this earth and shot up to the sky, where its topmost branches were lost in the expanse of the highest heavens.

The stars by a metaphor were the flowers of this tree, and the Pole-star crowned the top of this tree.

The rain-cloud was likened to a bird and this bird had its home in the Pole-star. This star, was the creator of the universe. He was Prajapati प्रजापतिः. The starry host, the Moon and the Sun, the latter regarded as a day-star, revolved day after day round this luminary. These revolutions were caused by the seasonal monsoon-winds set in motion by the black rain-cloud.

Agastya, the star Canopus, is the brightest of the stars near the pole of the southern hemisphere. He was looked on as the king of the Antarctic Polar space. He was believed to lead the Pleiades, their queen Aldebaran (रोहिणी) and the rest of the host round the Pole.

By another metaphor, Agastya runs away with this queen of the Pleiades and courses with her round the Pole. Agastya means the leader of the choir (heavenly).

It was, however, the time-measuring winds of early astronomy, the South-West and North-East monsoons which bring the rains, that drove Agastya and the Pleiades with their attendant stars round the Pole and distributed the seasonal rains over the Indian-Ocean-regions.

And in this daily and annual circuit, the Pleiades set before the Sun, during the six months from the 1st of May till the 31st of October and began on the 1st of November to set for the next six months after the Sun. They continued to set after the Sun at more distant intervals each evening, till, in April, their setting was no longer seen at night. They re-appeared again as evening stars in May, when they set before the Sun; and this they continued to do till October.

This year thus measured was not reckoned by months, for months were as yet unknown. The reckoning was by weeks of five nights and days. This number, five, as a unit of measurement, was suggested by the number of the fingers of the (creating) hand. As the reckoning was by setting and not rising star-signs, the day was computed from night to night. This method of measurement was started: in the

infancy of astronomical knowledge. It was based on the notion that the setting, rising and culmination of the stars, the Sun and the Moon proved that they described a daily circle in the heavens round the Pole.

The Pole-star was watched in India from about 21,000 B.C., when it was first a star in Kepheus ; and a record of the changing Pole-stars must have been kept by the nations round the Indian Ocean as also in Egypt and Arabia.

The first day of the Pleiades-year began at sunset at 6 P.M.

The year was one of 72 weeks, of 360 days, and of two seasons or periods :—36 weeks from November to April and 36 from May to end of October. This was the year of the earliest Indian village-settlements and was in use in other parts of the world also.

It was observed in Southern and Western India, and is still used by the majority in the Southern hemisphere and by the traders in Western India (the Guzeratis), who close their books on the 26th of October and begin their year with the full-moon of Kartik (October-November).

This was once the official year throughout South-Western Asia and Europe. The Mandaeans of Mesopotamia worship the Pole-star. In the early ages their new-year's day fell in October-November.

In Ireland this year passed as the year of the Brau or the raven.

The raven in South-Indian metaphor was the raven-star Canopus. He appears in his raven-form in the Rig-Veda, II-43, 1-2, where the holy raven 'Shakuni' is said to sing in the divine metres, which by the varying number of the syllables indicate the successive changes in the measurement of the ritualistic time.

The existence of the Pleiades-year is recognised in the Hindu system of months. For, the name of the month Visakha (April-May), which is the mid-month of the Pleiades-year means the month of two branches, thus recording the original bifurcation of the year in the middle of this month.

The Brihati measure of Vedic poetry is a metrical mnemonic of this year. It consists of 36 syllables, symbolical of the 36 five-days-weeks of each half of the Pleiades-year.

The year began with a three-days-feast to the dead, which has survived in Christian England in All-Hallow-Eve, All-Saint's and All-Soul's days.

In Dravidian South, the year started with the election of the village-officers, a custom which is still in evidence in the English practice of the election of aldermen and mayors on the 1st of November.

This original three-days-feast of the first fruits, inaugurating the November-year survived in the Greek Thesmophoria. It was a festival of the Southern races, who reckoned by the Pleiades-year. This feast was followed by the Chalkeia on the 1st of November, dedicated to Athene, the tree-mother, and Hephaistos, the rain-wand-god.

Between the Thesmophoria and Chalkeia, the village-feast of the Apaturia was held, at which the Phratiria or village brotherhood met to elect officers for the ensuing year.

At this feast, the village-fires in each household were lighted from the central fire of the village, kindled on the hearth dedicated to Hestia. So that, the Greek festivals of October-November are survivals of the new-year's feast of the Southern Pleiades-year, beginning on the 1st of November with a feast of three days to the dead, and also with a feast of first-fruits reproduced in the Thesmophoria. It is the seed-husk buried with the enclosed seed that becomes the May-queen of the next year, the maiden-mother, adored throughout Europe in the dances round the May-pole which only reproduce the revolution of the stars round the Pole.

The annual victory of the summer-sun was, in the reckoning of the Pleiades-year, represented by the return to the upper world of the May-queen, who had been buried in the underworld-abys of the Southern Sun during the winter-months.

## II.

### THE SOLSTITIAL YEAR.

Besides the Pleiades-year, there was another in vogue in ancient India. It was introduced by the Munda immigrants from the North-East, *i.e.*, from the mountains of South-West China.

It was a very cold and rainy region. To them the Sun was kindly as a mother. He rendered their country fit for cultivation. This gave rise to a new reckoning by the solstitial year.

The measurement of time by months was not yet understood. So that in this year also as in the Pleiades-year, the reckoning was still by the weeks. These were of five days or rather nights each.

The five-days-week was widely diffused through the world. It is on these two years that all national reckonings of annual time in India, South-Western Asia and Europe were based.

The Srinjayas of the Rig-Veda reckoned by this week. The five-days-week survives in the five Agnis or parent fire-germs of which the names are recorded in the Zend-Avesta and the Atharva-Veda.

Thus there were two primitive year-calculations of two seasons of six months each. But this idea of dividing the year into two six-monthly periods did not come very easy to primitive man. His idea was of two seasons, the productive and the unproductive.

This was measured in one of the year-calculations by the setting of the Pleiades after or before the Sun ; and in the other by the position of the solstitial Sun at mid-winter and mid-summer.

These two years were years of 72 or, by exception, of 73 weeks each.

Osiris, the year-god of Egypt, was slain by Set and his 72 assistants. This shows that in Egypt the original computation was by 72 weeks and that the addition of a supplementary week was a later idea.

Orion goes in 72 ships to seek his bride Bridget.

The idea of 72 weeks survived in the symbolism of the Kushti or the sacred cord of the Parsi fire-worshippers. It is formed of 6 strands, indicating the 6 seasons of the orthodox Zend year ; each of these strands is made of 12 threads or 72 in all.

It is also worthy of note that the Yasna of the Zend-Avesta is divided into 72 chapters, as also the great astronomical work of the ancient Babylonians called the "Illuminations of Bel."

The sacred number 72 is preserved in the magic square of 16 minor squares, looked on as the most sacred for witchcraft.

28	35	2	7
6	3	32	31
34	29	8	1
4	5	30	33

In this year's history, the Sun and stars were represented by metaphor as flying year-birds. In Indian legend the Sun-bird is re-

presented by the Garutman and Agastya is the raven-star. So that, in this period of bird-idea, the year's course of the Sun-bird and the raven-star Canopus was measured by two periods of 36 weeks each.

The number 36 of the weeks was therefore a sacred number and the one most used in Hindu ritual. It numbered the syllables of the Brihati metre dedicated to the Pole-star-god, Brihaspati, and represented the circuit of the year-sun-bird round the Pole. The Brihati metre, in its twofold division, of the Brihatsaman and the Rathan-tara-Saman, embraces the entirety of the Sun's course of the sacrificial year. These Samans have to be chanted at the consecration of the later brick-built Sun-bird-altar of the Agnichayana sacrifice. The altar was shaped and designed in the form of an eagle. The first portion, the Brihat-Saman was recited at the left or north-wing of the Sun-bird (altar); and the second, the Rathan-tara-Saman, or as the name implies, that of the tuning of the chariot, was sung at the right or south-wing of the Sun-bird, starting on his southern journey. The meaning of this measurement by the two forms of the Brihati metre was present to the minds of the priests who were the authors of the ritual. For, we are told in the Satapatha Brahmana that the sacrifice was the year or the year was the sacrifice and that the year amounts to a Brihati.

The 36 weeks were also, by a figure of speech, the 36 steps of Vishnu. They appear as such in the arrangement of the ground consecrated for the Soma sacrifice. This sacred ground represented in epitome the whole earth. The priest, in measuring it, is directed to make it 36 steps long from East to West.

This original Brihati measurement of Vishnu's 35 steps represented a year beginning at the winter-solstice, with the setting in the South-West of the Brihati-Sun, supposed to go round the Pole as a star in an annual course of 72 weeks and a half-yearly course of 36.

The two Bridgets of Irish legend (the Sanskrit Brihatis) were the daughters of the Pole-star (Daksha in Sanskrit.) The first Bridget represented the Sun starting from South to North at the winter-solstice and the second, the Northern Sun of the summer-solstice, returning to its winter-home in the South.

The astronomical fable of the two dogs points unmistakably to the solstitial-year. The milky way is the bridge of the gods, neath which flows the Sun-stream. The Sun in his celestial journey was supposed to cross the heavens by this bridge. This crossing-place is guarded at the two extremities by two dogs. These two dogs

are the spotted one, the star Sirius, and the yellow one, named Procyon. This pair, in Sanskrit synonyms, is mentioned under the names Syama and Sabala; Sarvara and Sarameya; Svan and Prasvan.

It was these two dogs who as Procyon from the South-West and Sirius from the North-West guarded the Sun as he started from the South-West on his northern journey at the winter-solstice and also on his return from the North-West when he started homewards at the summer-solstice.

Egyptian temples oriented to Canopus show that he was one of the year-stars of the primeval age. In Egypt, when the earliest settlements were in the Upper Nile region, the legends and myths gathered round Canopus. When the Egyptians went northwards into the delta, this star was no longer visible. They then looked to the North-Pole-star as the central star of the heavens, which therefore replaced the Southern Canopus.

This Pole-star was the star in Kepheus (Sanskrit, kapi), the constellation of the ape, whose thigh extended to the Great Bear. It ruled both the North and the South, when Osiris, who was afterwards the rival of the ape-Pole-star-god, was the star Orion ruling the year of the next chapter.

### III.

#### THE YEAR RULED OVER BY ORION, THE DEER-SUN-GOD.

In Arabian legend, Canopus or Repha has as his brothers Sirius and Procyon; Repha is married to Orion (here a female) and the bride breaks the necks of her husband's brothers.

This means that the star Canopus as the ruling star was deposed and slain, and Orion substituted in his place as the ruler of the year.

The old idea of the Sun's progress on the milky way was now abandoned and a new rule of time-measurement inaugurated.

The change was brought about by a new race or by new changes in social life. The nations had learnt the use of the bow and to add to their food-supplies from the spoils of the chase. The bow was foreign to India. The boomerang was the national Dravidian weapon.

The metaphors of this era for the astronomical fables were accordingly drawn from the chase. The year-Sun was a deer who went through his course in obedience to the control of the Pole-star and was hunted by Orion, the hunter of the heavens.

He hunted also the Pleiades and their attendant stars round the Pole, instead of dragging them round as Canopus was believed to do. The image of the hunting god is a variant of the original storm-god, Rudra or the Pole-star. Orion was the working deputy of this principal. The similitude of the deer was suggested by the constant experience of the early men.

The cave-men of the Palæolithic age, domesticated the reindeer. The dropping of his horns in Autumn told them of the approach of winter and their re-growth in Spring heralded the advent of Summer. They therefore used the deer as the symbol of the Sun.

In Scandinavia and North-Germany, the new-year's festivals begin 12 days in advance. On the last day, a drama is enacted. Before the closing hour, the actor playing the god is disguised as a deer and courts a woman disguised as a doe. They sing ribald songs together, till the last moments arrive; and then, the Sun-god seizes the doe and, as he attacks her, he is shot by the ball of the wild hunter now. But, he was formerly shot by the hunter's arrow.

The story of the hunted deer-Sun-god has its variants. One Indian version appears in the Aitareya Brahmana, III-33. There, Prajapati, (प्रजापति, here we must understand Orion), in the form of a deer, pursued his daughter Rohini (Aldebaran, the queen of the Pleiades.), who fled in the form of a doe. This was at the end of the month of Mriga-Sirsha (deer's head), ending with the winter-solstice. He violated her and as he did so, he was shot with the three-knotted arrow of Rudra, the storm-god form of the Pole-star. This arrow is indicated by the three stars in Orion's belt.

The stars and the arrow symbolised the three seasons of the year. The feather of the arrow was the spring, the shaft was the summer, and the barb was the winter.

From the union of Prajapati and Rohini sprung according to the Rig-Veda, Vastoshpati, the household-fire, which symbolised the new Sun-god born to replace the dead deer-Sun of the expiring year.

In the above fable, Orion is the hunted deer-Sun and he is shot by the year-arrow which brings about his death.

Another variation of this story is found in the Rig-Veda. The archer in this version is Krisanu, but his quarry is not the year-bird but the Syena or the frost-Sun-bird of the winter-solstice. The archer shot her as she flew through the sky carrying the life-giving Soma that is, the rain-cloud.

The ritual of the festival of Rudra Thriambika (The author reads Thriambika not Thriambaka) or Rudra of the three wives supplies further evidence. This is a very ancient festival held at the winter-solstice and the offerings then made are made, as the Brahmanas tell us to Rudra's arrow—the year-arrow. This is the arrow with which he first shot the god of the winter-solstice, the year-deer. In this festival the deer changes into the frost-bird Syena. It was the festival of the death and re-birth of the year-god of the year of three seasons.

In this rite the priests made two circumambulations of the altar. They first went three times round it, contrary to the course of the Summer-Sun, to indicate the northward journey from the winter-solstice. In the second circuit they went Southwards marking the southern journey of the Sun. The offering consisted of cakes made of rice-meal ground on mill-stones placed on the skin of a black antelope, the deer-Sun-god.

The year-Sun-deer, who is killed to make room for the new Sun, appears in the Ramayana as Mārīcha, the Rākshasa, who had changed himself into an antelope. As soon as he is killed by Rama's arrows he is transferred to the heavens in the constellation of the seven antelopes, the Great Bear. It appears in the astronomy of the Akkadians that this constellation was the cradle of the year-god. We thus see that the ruler of this epoch was the archer-god. This hunting god re-appears in the Vedic Sudhanvan, father of the three Ribhus, the fillers of the three cups, that is, of the three seasons.

The three wives of Rudra were likewise the three seasons of the year. They are the same as the three daughters of the king of Kasi, whom Bhishma in the Mahabharata won at the contest.

The three mother-goddesses of a later period invoked in the Apri hymns, Mahi, Ida and Saraswati were the three seasons of Orion's year.

[The three eyes of Siva are these three seasons. The middle one, that on the forehead, represented as containing the all-consuming fire is the Summer-season. V.V.]

Each season was of four months or three Chaturmasya periods. The first was dedicated to the Visvedevas, the gods of the Spring, the second was dedicated to Varuna the god of Summer. Indra was the god of the rainy season and Winter.

The reckoning by weeks of five nights each continued the same as before. The months were 12 and each month comprised 29 days as computed from night to night. It was the same month as that of the Hindu Karanas. It will be seen that this reckoning gave only  $29 \times 12$

or 348 days to the year. This computation, therefore, left 12 days wanting to make up the full tale of 360 days of the year. These 12 days were accounted for by the sleep of the Sun-god, prior to his death, the evidence as to which (the sleep) is extensive as will be shown below.

The Ribhus slept for 12 days in the house of Aguhya (that which cannot be concealed), the Pole-star. The totem-dog of the fire-worshippers wakes the Ribhus at the end of this sleep at the winter-solstice. This dog as the year-dog was sacrificed at the end of the year to make way for his successor.

The three seasons of Orion's year were symbolised by three dogs. The idea is preserved in the legendary account of Sunah-sepha and his two brothers, Suna-puchcha and Suna-langala.

This was the period of 12 days during which Thoas slept with his daughter, the Pole-star, mother of the Sun-god born of the world's tree.

During 12 days and nights Argal, the Phœnician Sun-god slept on the funeral pyre before he was recalled to life as the Sun-god of the new year on the 25th of December.

This incident is repeated in the Gilgames epic. After he received the wound from Ishtar, Gilgames lingered for 12 days before he died.

(Cf. The similar case of Bhishma in the Mahabharata. V. V.)

During that time he implored the gods of the lower world to restore him to life. He rose again as the Sun of the new-year in the twelfth book of the poem to be the antelope or gazelle-Sun-god.

(This is the period of Aditya-Sayana or the Sun's sleep, which is marked as sacred and for which special religious observances have been prescribed in the Puranas. V. V.)

In the episode of Samvarana and Tapati, it is related that Samvarana (the rising Sun) died for love of Tapati, the Sun-maiden. He lay insensible for 12 days, at the end of which period he was recalled to life by Vasishta, who united the reborn god to Tapati, the Sun-maiden of the winter-solstice, and thus made him a year-Sun-god.

This year of Orion, according to the ritualistic measurement by months, began with the full-moon of Phalguna (February-March); but, as the Vedic year of the Ribhus, it began at the winter-solstice, as is clear from the relation that it was at the end of this year that the Ribhus slept for 12 days in the house of Aguhya.

The 12 days' sleep conclusively marks this year as that of three seasons, which closed with the 12 days' revel before the winter-solstice, ending with the death of the deer-Sun-god as in Scandinavia.

It has been pointed out above, that the month of Orion's year was a month of 29 days. In the Mahabharata, we find Karna reproaching Salya with the barbarities of the customs prevailing in the country of the latter—that they sacrificed living victims, which they ate, and indulged in intoxicating drinks, and that their women joined at these revels and in the orgiastic dances.

This festival was, it is clear, held in honour of the dying moon about to re-appear as the new-moon of the next month. It was the monthly festival held on the 29th of each month of Orion's year of the Karanas.

Parasurama was the fifth son of his parents. He recovered the year-calf begotten in the cosmological hymn of the Rig-Veda from the year-cow after ten months of gestation. This cow had been stolen by Arjuna of the thousand arms (the Orion-Sun-god). He was slain by Parasurama who slew his sons also and filled five lakes with their blood. So that Parasurama became the ruler of the year of the united moon-cow and Sun-calf with the five-days-weeks.

The five snake's-teeth of Cadmus were the five days of the week and the legend represents a settlement from the Semitic East with a new calendar.

The stag-god who slew Adonis was the deer-Sun-Orion.

The history of this year-measurement is very ancient. Its origin must have been very remote. It should have been at about 17,000 B. C., when the Pole-star was in Cygnus. We may however take it as certain that it was subsequent to the division of the Sun-circle into 360 degrees. This division arose naturally out of the division by 72 weeks of 5 days each, which originated in the Dravidian South.

This main division involved a further division of the day into 30 Muhurtas of 60 Ghatis, each. Each Ghati was of 24 minutes' duration. This reckoning by Ghatis is even now universal in India. It was a very ancient one. Evidence of it is found preserved in the sacrificial ritual. In the rules of the Satapatha Brahmana, relating to the procedure to be observed at the Garuda Chayana sacrifice (the sacrifice of the Sun-bird), it is ordained that as many as 10,800 bricks should be employed on the construction of the altars and the

consecrated hearths. It will be found that this number is obtained as the result of the multiplication of  $360 \times 30$ , or of the number of days in the year by the number of Muhurtas in each day of the sacrificial year.

#### IV.

### **The year of three seasons and six-days-weeks, ruled over by the Eel-god, the parent-fish of the sons of the river.**

The seasons were still three as in the previous era. The reckoning by the solstices was also retained, with a change as to the year-beginning, which was shifted to the summer-solstice. But the weeks were of six instead of five days as before.

12 months were reckoned to the year and 30 days to the month. This gave the full number of 360 days to the year and did away with the sleep of the Sun-god of Orion's year.

The amalgamated tribes of farmers, hunters and shepherds, which were congregated together in Asia Minor at the close of the Palaeolithic age gradually found their way to India.

These people had two original lines of ancestry. As the sons of the South, they were the sons of the clould-bird, *Āhu* and of the mother-tree; and, as the sons of the North, they claimed descent from the deer-Sun-god and the mother-mountain. On this mountain the rains fell and descended to its base in the parent-rivers that fructify the earth.

These races belonged to a stock different from that of the reindeer-race. But, as dwellers in the North, they worshipped the Sun as the giver of light and heat. They looked upon the Sun-god as the measurer of the year. But they recognized the stages of his course, not by the shedding of the deer's horns, but by the migration of the eel, which leaves the mother-rivers in autumn and returns in spring. The eel-god was their ploughing-god and the bringer of rains. He was thus the god of the tiller of the soil.

The eel was worshipped in Egypt. In India it is the totem-god of several tribes and in the Veda this god is to be found in the Indra.

The Trojans were of the reindeer-race. The eel was the parent-god of these corn-growing sons of the wild-fig-tree.

Ilos and his brothers Assarakos and Ganymedes made up the three seasons of the Dardanian year. Lenormant has conclusively shown that this year was of Assyrian origin. Ilos was the god of spring;

Assarakos, corresponding to the Sanskrit Ashadha ( आषाढ ) was the god of Summer and Ganymedes of Winter.

In the Zend-Avesta, king Frangrasyan has two brothers—Agraeratha and Krisavabda. They were the sons of Pashang, the Sanskrit Pushan, whose brother was Visakha, that is, the Indian month of April-May of the Pleiades year. Agraeratha was the ruling god of the year of three seasons founded on the Pleiades-year.

The Phrygians of Asia Minor associated their Phallic cult with the original worship of the household-fire. They passed into India as Bhrigavas. They were followers of the fire-dog, the symbolism of which is associated with this year-epoch. This dog is the dog of the Parsi funerals. This holy dog was born of the wooden fire-socket, that is to say, he was the son of the mother-tree.

He became, in ritualistic astronomy, the dog-Star Sirius, the dog of Orion, the hunter.

It was this totem-dog of the fire-worshippers that woke the Ribhus at the end of their sleep of twelve days. The meaning is that he started the new-year. He, as the year-dog, was sacrificed at the end of the year to make way for his successor. This sacrifice took place at the summer solstice. That is, it was a mid-year sacrifice, at which the year-dog was sacrificed as symbolical of the sacrifice of the Sun of the summer solstice.

This sacrifice was of the Pole-star-age of worship, as proved by the fact that the Agnidhra or priest kindling the fire should go round the fire on which the victim was to be cooked, three times against the course of the Sun.

The fire-worshipping warriors of this era, who sacrificed living victims, bound them to the three-headed sacrificial stake by their necks. The three-headed sacrificial stake was, in all probability, a later ritualistic improvement—a substitute for three several stakes. We may gather so much from the Vedic legend of Sunah-sepha or the male-dog. He had two brothers, Suna-puchcha or the dog's-tail and Suna-langala or the dog's plough or head. They were the three seasons of the dog's year of Orion. If that was so, Sunah-sepha was the dog-god of the summer season.

In this sacrifice of Sunah-sepha of the summer season, the dog is said to have been bound to three sacrificial posts, at each of which probably a separate dog was originally sacrificed.

This was the first step in the ritualistic change. Instead of sacrificing three dogs at the three stakes, one dog was tied to the three stakes and sacrificed. The next step was to substitute a sacrificial post which represented all three in one, hence the three-headed stake. In the earliest Hindu ritual, these three posts, each in its pit, represented the three seasons of the year, just as in the Soma ritual of later times, the eleven posts for as many living victims slain represented the eleven months of the year of the Sun-horse. The trident-god represented in the three posts of his trident the three seasons of the year.

The sacrifice of the middle-god of the trident, *i.e.*, the god of the summer solstice, as the god of the dying year, marks a change in the year-reckoning coincident with the abandonment of the five-days-week and the adoption of the six-days-week of the Phallus worshippers.

This change appears in the ritual of the Chaturmasya sacrifices of the three seasons of four months each. To these three sacrifices offerings of baked cakes, boiled rice and curds were common. But to Varuna, as the god of the summer solstice, a ram and a ewe made of barley-meal were superadded. This doubtless represented a superseded custom of offering living originals. So that, it is apparent that, in consequence of the change in the ritual, it was only at the summer solstice that animal sacrifices were offered, and this, certainly, should have been done to mark the commencement of the new-year.

This change in the ritual consequent on the introduction of the worship of the Sun of the summer-solstice is also marked in the Zend-year-reckonings. For, they began their year at the summer solstice and with the feast of the dead.

The week of six days was the Hittite week of creation. Sayana says that the month of thirty days was divided into weeks of six days each.

The new-year's festival of this year was apparently that called in the Rig-Veda Trikadruka or that of the three trees—the three mother-trees. The festival lasted six days.

It began on the day when Indra drank the soma brewed from barley, before he went to slay the dragon who imprisoned the year maiden, the May-queen of the new year.

The Akkadian counterpart was the six-days-festival held at the summer solstice, to celebrate the death, re-birth and marriage of Dumuzi; the son of life. This sacrificial year-dog was called back to life as the rising Sun of the new year by the six Adityas, who were doubtless the six days of the week.

The symbolism of the sacred pig is also in evidence for this year. The *Adi-varaha* in the *Rig-Veda* had three heads and six eyes. He was slain by *Trita*, the god of the next year of the three-years-cycle. The three heads of this sacred pig are the three seasons of this year and the six eyes are the six days of the week.

The earliest class of *Pitris* recognised were the *Pitris* named *Somavantah* or the sons of the tree and its life-giving sap. They were fed (vicariously) on six leaf-platters, the six days of their week.

The account of *Jarasandha* in the *Mahabharata* is an episode relating to this epoch. He was the god of the year of three seasons and six-days-weeks, and was slain by *Bhima*, the new god of the summer solstice.

## V.

### THE AGE OF LUNAR-SOLAR WORSHIP.

#### *The epoch of the Three-years-cycle-year.*

This year was symbolised by the three-legged-ass. A new conception of time-measurement had come into vogue. The *Pleiades-year*, the year of the solstitial bird and the raven, the year of *Orion* and the deer-Sun, all which had their origin in the conceptions of the agricultural and hunting races, were superseded by a notation of time devised by cattle-breeders, and suggested by the period of gestation of the animals.

They reared cattle. The bull and the cow were their totem-parents. They measured their year by ten lunar months, the period of gestation of the cow-mother. But this did not cover the full period of the circle of the seasons, according to which the national agricultural festivals had been arranged in the previous era. To meet this difficulty, they devised the three-years-cycle. These men were the worshippers of the household fire. They were *Bhrigus*, that is of *Phrygian* origin.

The eponymous ancestor of the kings of *Phrygia* was *Midas* with the ass's ears. *Asia Minor* was the land of the ass. The *Sun-ass* was now substituted for the *Sun-deer*, even as the latter replaced the *Sun-bird*; and the *Sun-ass* was itself superseded in a later age by the *Sun-horse*. In the *Bandahish* we find that the bringer-up of the rains of the summer solstice is the same ass. The men of this new era began their day and year in the evening, and they reckoned their day and night from the setting of the equatorial Sun. In Northern countries this can be made to coincide with actual sunset only at the equinoxes.

This gave them the sunset-time they sought for at a period of the year very near the beginning of the original Pleiades-year. From this starting point they devised a time-unit reconciling in a three-years-cycle of forty sidereal months, divided into four periods of ten months each, the gestational and seasonal measures of the year. The autumnal equinox was celebrated as the birth-day of the Sun-god who had been conceived in the womb of the winter solstice, when the deer-Sun-year began. The idea had its origin in Syria, where the birth-day of the national Sun-god, Adonis, was celebrated at the autumnal equinox by the finding of the gardens of Adonis.

The cycle was begun with the birth of the Sun-god at the first new-moon following the autumnal equinox and the young Sun-god then born was the Hermes Kriophoros.

This Sun, born at the autumnal equinox, when the Jewish year opened with blasts from ram's horns, begat at his birth the Sun of the divine seed, who was to be born at the summer solstice ending the ten lunar months of gestation. This Sun of this summer-birth then begat the Sun-god to be born at the vernal equinox, who in his turn became the parent of the Sun-god of the next winter solstice, whose offspring closed the three-years-cycle at his birth at the autumnal equinox.

The parent-god of this cyclical succession of equinoctial and solstitial Sun-gods was the crescent-moon, and the months were not those of 29 days of Orion's year, but were measured by the sidereal circle represented by the 27 stars of the Moon's circuit.

The first of these star-stations was that of the Ashwins,  $\beta$ . Arietis in the constellation of the Ram. So that this sidereal month was one of 27 days, and for the 40 months of the cycle,  $40 \times 27$  or 1,080 days were accounted. It will be seen that this number is exactly the same as the number of days for the three years of the cycle, that is  $360 \times 3$  or 1,080.

This division of the time, while recognising the circuit of the equinoctial and solstitial Sun-star round the Pole as of old, introduced a new element by marking the Moon's path through the stars.

It is probable that the solar Zodiac was devised at the same time. For, the commencement of the year with the birth of the Ram-Sun at the autumnal equinox and the adoption of the star  $\beta$ . Arietis in the constellation of the Ram as the first of the lunar mansions seems to show that the Sun was in conjunction with the new-moon in Aries at the autumnal equinox when the cycle-year began. In this epoch the

Sun was in Cancer at the winter-solstice when Rama was installed as the ruler of the Indian three-years-cycle.

Lockyer states that the period of the revolution of the equinox forming the circle of the changing Pole-stars is 24,450 years. The Sun changes from one Zodiac to another once in 2,037 years. It was in Arietis at the vernal equinox at about 2000 B. C., and hence the period during which it had been moved forward from its position in that constellation at the autumnal equinox was  $2037 \times 6$  or about 12,220 years before 2000 B. C., that is to say, it must have occurred about 14220 B. C.

This was apparently a time when no Pole-star was visible, for, neither ancient tradition nor the star-globe tells of any star sufficiently conspicuous to be marked as a Pole-star between  $\delta$  Cygnus, the Pole-star about 15000 B. C. and Vega in Lyra, the Pole-star about 10000 B. C. The ruling god of time was no longer the Pole-star-bird in Cygnus, but the great ape who had become the master-potter and made the stars revolve as he turned the central wheel of the universe. He had his residence in the constellation of the Great Bear, called by the Egyptians the thigh of Set or Hapi.

This new reckoning of time, starting from the place of the Sun at the autumnal equinox and the winter-solstice ignored the old Pole-star worship of the days when the Pole-stars in Kepheus and Cygnus were visible. A new conception was introduced of the Sun-mother enclosed in the tower of the three-years-cycle, the castle of the ten-headed Ravana in which Sita was confined.

The ten heads of Ravana were the ten months of gestation of the cycle year and Ravana was the Sun-god of the South.

Every month of the 40 months of this cycle-year was a month of 27 days as stated already. Each month was divided into 3 weeks of 9 days to the week.

The Angirasas, surnamed or characterised as Navagwah, were the nine priests of the burnt offerings. They guarded the seed whence the god engendered by the union of Prajapati and Rohini was to be born. This Rohini was at first the Doe-mother. She then became the Cow-mother. Their connection with the reckoning of the cycle-year is distinctly proved in the Rig-Veda, V. 45, 7-8 ; where they are said to have sung for ten months, when Sarama, the bitch, found the cows they guarded.

This year with the nine-days-weeks is referred to in the Rig-Veda, X. 49-6, where Indra relates his destruction of Brihadratha, the

year-god with the chariot of Brihati with its nine dwellings. This Brihati we have shown was the goddess of the original year of 72 weeks of 5 days each. In this passage she still remains the goddess of the weeks, which had now become weeks of nine days or dwellings.

The ancient week of nine days still survives in the Navaratri festival of Durga-Pujah. It is held during the first nine days of the autumnal equinox, and so is practically the new-year's feast.

The 40 months of the year are mentioned as a measure of time in the Rig-Veda, II, 12-11, where Indra is said to have found and slain Sambara in the 40th month of autumn ; and again in the Rig-Veda, I, 126-4, where Kakshivan, who, as we shall see in the next chapter, was the year-god of the next year—epoch of 11 months—is said to have in his possession the 40 flame-coloured horses or months of Dasaratha, that is of the ten chariots or months of gestation.

As the cycle-year was the year of the Sun ass, we are told that the chariot of the Ashwins was drawn by asses. Their chariot had three wheels—the three years of the cycle. The cycle-year in India also began with the month consecrated to them, the month Aswayuja.

The twin-Ashwins were the male and female creators, the days and nights who made the potter's wheel of the earth revolve by turning the tridents of the three seasons. This symbolism remained dominant in the present epoch.

The detail of the 40 months year and nine-days-weeks and run of three years is allegorised in the Zend garden of god, called the Vara-jam-kard, the rain-garden made by the twins Yama. It is the garden symbolised as circled by the Sun-bird in the four equal divisions of his three-years' flight round the heavens. The garden is described as an exact square, about two miles long on every side. In it was built a house, the house of the household-fire of the earth, and it was stocked with the seeds of the most perfect specimens of the human race and the several animal and vegetable types.

The garden was divided into three districts, the three years of the cycle. The largest district contained nine streets, the middle six and the third three. These streets were the nine and six-days-weeks and the three years of the cycle, thus tracing the gradual growth of this conception of time-measurement from the year of three seasons. The entrance to the garden was sealed up with a golden ring, the ring of the cycle. The garden was entered by a door to which the ring was attached. This door was supported by two posts, the Gemini.

The number 40 was the sacred number of that garden, for, every 40th year each male and female couple were to have a male and a female child. These children were born from the one-stemmed *Āivās* plant, the mother-tree out of which they grew as one bi-sexual being, the parent of future life. They were thus the symbols of the bi-sexual creating Sun-god born in the 40th month of the cycle.

This square garden became the Latin *Templum*.

The radical change in the national customs accompanying the introduction of this new measurement of time is marked by the change in the date of the annual feast to the dead. The original feast to the dead was that which began the Pleiades-year with a three-days' mourning of the 31st day of October and the 1st and 2nd days of November. The date was first altered by the Iranian worshippers to the Summer solstice during the epoch of the year of three seasons and six-days weeks.

In this new epoch of the cycle-year this was now shifted to the fortnight beginning with the autumnal equinox. This was the month consecrated to the Pole-star-god.

On every new-moon-day libations are offered to the dead. This shows that it was the sacrifice of a year commencing with the new-moon; but as in the beginning of the cycle-year, the new-moon of *Aswayuja* was consecrated to the Sun-god of the new-year, it was the last days of the departed year that were dedicated to the dead fathers.

The Jews also changed the time of their new year's festival of the Feast of Booths or Tabernacles. It was originally held at the full moon of the 15th of *Tisri*. But in the epoch we are now dealing with, it was observed as the new-moon feast of the cycle-year.

We have seen that the Mandaeans, who are worshippers of the Pole-star, originally held the new year's festival on the 1st of November, but in the present epoch it was changed to the autumnal equinox.

This was the feast of the *Saga*.

In this cycle-year the two festivals of the solstitial year held at intervals of six months in each year were incorporated, and to these two the equinoctial festivals were added; and each of these festivals was the beginning of a new-year of ten lunar months of gestation. Consequently the new year's feast of the autumnal equinox was repeated at the two solstices and the vernal equinox also.

### THE FESTIVALS OF THE THREE-YEARS'-CYCLE.

(1) The three-years'-cycle-year opened with the feast of the autumnal equinox which ushered the first period of ten months out of the forty of the cycle.

(2) The feast beginning the second period of ten months of this cycle was that of the summer-solstice. This feast at Babylon was that of the Saga or Saka, commemorating the marriage of Shemiramot (Semiramis) to Ninus, the hunter star Orion of the year of the three seasons. The date June-July coincides with that of the setting of Orion at sunset. This festival lasted five days, and was ruled by the bi-sexual goddess, Shemiramot, represented by a male slave. This marriage was characteristic of the new age of lunar-solar worship, which began with the cycle-year, and it was celebrated all over South-Western Asia.

The same festival was celebrated in India as the Rathajatra or chariot wedding-procession of Krishna, the antelope Sun-god, Orion, with his twin-sister Subhadra.

In another form it was the June-July wedding procession of Rama and Sita, on their triumphal return from the island of Ravana, as described in the *Mahabharata*.

(3) The third feast of the cycle-year was that of the vernal equinox beginning the third year of ten lunar months, extending from then to the winter-solstice. This festival was reproduced in Rome in the festivals of the 23 days' procession of the fully armed dancing priests, in the festivals of Mammurius on the 14th of March, and of Anna Perenna on the 15th, that is the full-moon day of the month.

The series of March festivals in the Roman calendar was based entire on the new and full-moons by which the months were measured. They begin with the new-moon of the 1st of March, when the year-fires of Rome were lighted.

(4) The fourth festival of the cycle-year was that of the winter solstice, at which was conceived the Sun-god *to be born* at the autumnal equinox. This was the old feast of the death and re-birth of the deer-Sun-god. In India it has passed into the Pongul feast. In Italy it was the Consualia of the 15th of December. These were followed by the seven days of Saturnalia beginning on the 17th of December. It was the new-moon feast of the ten-months-year.

The corresponding Greek festival was the lesser Dionysiaca, in honour of Dionysus, the god of the lower world, the home of the

winter-sun. He was worshipped at Megara at the winter-solstice. It would seem that in the age before the cycle-year the month beginning the life of the year-bird was transferred from its original place at the beginning of the Pleiades-year to the winter-solstice, when the national year-festival beginning Orion's year was observed as a festival and this was continued in the cycle-year.

This was also one of the dates beginning the Jewish year before they finally adopted the year commencing with the autumnal equinox. This cycle-year is the subject of an allegory in the tale in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, of Kamar-ul-zaman and Badoura.

It was on the new-year's day of the new cycle, when the Sun-god to be born at the autumnal equinox was to be begotten by the sexless parent-gods of this epoch, that the moon-gods who were to rule this new era were brought into the prison of the garden of God and exchanged rings, the rings of the ten-months-periods of gestation (the crescents of the moon).

Badoura goes back to prison for three years. Marzaban, her foster-brother, is the boundary star-god of heaven. He makes a journey by land and sea, much like that of the Argo. He is shipwrecked and rests twelve days in the house of Kamar-ul-zaman's father. The two escape by land to China, where Badar breaks the chains at the end of the three years and marries Kamar-ul-zaman, under the condition that she, as the circling Moon-goddess, was to return once a year to her father's house.

The popular tale of the Arabian Nights of Ali Baba and the forty robbers is another romance, with the history of this cycle year and its overthrow by the succeeding year of 11 months for its moral.

The number forty of the thieves is the same as that of the months of the cycle-year. Their treasure was buried in a cave, the cave of Cybele. Ali Baba had three asses, that is the three seasons of the year. His brother was well-to-do; he himself was poor. That is, his brother represented the prosperous season and Ali Baba symbolised winter. The treasure was discovered at the period of the autumnal equinox. The magic formula to open the door of the cave was 'open sesame'. It was the plant of life. Ali Baba's brother takes with him ten mules, the ten-months of gestation of the cycle-year. He cries out "open barley," showing that he was the summer and autumn-god of the barley-growers.

He was slain in the cave as the autumn-god by the forty of the cycle-year. They divided his body into two parts, which they hung

up on each side of the cave door, as the twin door-posts of the cave temple of the garden of God, opening at the autumnal equinox, when the cycle-year began. These two door-posts are the Ashwins who ruled both the cycle-year and the year of eleven months.

The forty robbers are overthrown. The whole treasure passes to Ali Baba and his son, the new Sun-god of the winter solstice, who is married to Marjeenah, the solar maiden.

Ali Baba is thus the ruling twin of the eleven-months-year which will be the subject of the next chapter.

Bellerophon was the slayer of the triple monster, Chimæra, that is, the god of the three-year's cycle. The horse that secured him the victory was the Sun-horse of the next epoch.

Duryodhana brayed like an ass at his birth, showing him to be the son of the cycle-year of the three-legged ass.

Siva is again the three-eyed god of the three-years-cycle-year.

The oblation of the Dasapeya or ten cups, a rite of the Rajasuya sacrifice was offered to the gods of the year of the months of gestation; the last cup, that is the tenth, was offered to the Ashwins, the Gemini, who ruled this and the next era.

## VI.

### THE YEAR OF THE HORSE'S HEAD OF ELEVEN MONTHS.

The horse's head is called in the Rig-Veda Dadhiang. It is the same as the horse's head originally placed on the roofs of all houses in Gothic lands, after the sacrifice to Odin of the horse to which the head belonged. This is still carved in wood and affixed to the principal gables of houses in Gothic provinces.

The races who succeeded the sons of the ass of the cycle-year introduced the horse into Western Asia, which now superseded the ass.

The horse symbolised the year. The head of the horse represented the animal and was replaced at the end of the year by the head of the horse sacrificed to consecrate the next year.

This was the head found in the Rig-Veda, 1-84, 13-14, by Indra, in the Sharyanavan lake. It was the revival of the arrow-year of Orion that superseded and destroyed the cycle-year. It was with the bones of the head of Dadhichi (the son of Atharva, the Sun-priest) that Indra slew Vritra and destroyed the 99 strongholds of that tyrant.

This number clearly shows that the year-god slain was the god of the cycle-year. The year of the head of the Sun-horse was a year of 11 months and of 33 days to the month. Hence, the 99 false year-gods over-thrown by the bones of Dadhiang are those of the three-years-cycle of the superseded era, measured by the year-reckoning of the 33 gods of the new ritualistic order.

The year of the head of the Sun-horse is said in the Rig-Veda to have been imported with the horse's head by the Ashwins who taught in it the secrets of Thwashta, the framer of the solstitial-year of two seasons.

The month was divided into three weeks, each of 11 days. The gods of this new year were 33 or three elevens, who accompany the Ashwins to drink Madhu or mead.

As the year comprised 11 months and each month reckoned 33 days, the number of days in the year was 363.

The week in this new reckoning was a combination of five and six days' weeks of the years of two and three seasons; and the number of weeks in the year was equal to the number of days in the month.

This year was also the year of the Zend ritual ruled by the 33 gods who station themselves round the Havani, the mortar in which the holy Soma is mixed.

Further evidence is supplied by the ritual of the Soma sacrifice. Outside the east-end of the Soma consecrated ground are placed 11 sacrificial stakes, to which the 11 victims sacrificed to the gods of the 11 months of this year were tied.

These 11 gods are also invoked in 11 of the stanzas of the Apri hymns. These stanzas offer a resume of the past religious history of the country from the earliest time.

The sacrifice offered at the recitation of these Apri hymns is, according to the Aitareya Brahmana, one offered to the 33 gods who do not drink pure Soma, but drink Sura offered at the Sautramani sacrifice, which is a part of the new ritual of this year.

In the orthodox Soma animal-sacrifice the offerings of the 11 slain animals are divided into 33 parts, called fore-offerings, after-offerings and by-offerings.

The by-offerings are the hind-quarters of the victims divided into 11 parts for the 11 gods. This seems to have been the consequence of a change in the ritual.

There can be little doubt that, in the original sacrifice, 33 portions divided into three elevens were offered to the gods of the 33 days of the month and the 11 days of the week.

The whole ritual tells us that those who instituted this sacrifice were a northern race, who originally worshipped the pine-tree of Cybele, the cave and tree-mother, and looked on the god ruling the year as the Sun-ram born of the tree and nurtured by the rains of Varuna.

The 11 months are also commemorated in the 11 stanzas of the Samidheni or fire-kindling hymns.

They are also symbolised in the Thristubh metre with 11 syllables to each line.

These months are spoken of in the Akkadian hymn describing the combat between Tiamat and Merodach, the Agni of the Rig-Veda. These months are there called the eleven-fold offspring of Tiamat and it was on the 11th day of the new-year's festival that Bel sat on his throne as king of heaven and earth.

The eleven-months-year is also found in the Book of Esther in allegory.

According to the custom of ancient historical astronomy, the 11 months of this year became the 11 stars of Joseph's dream. He was himself the 11th son of his parents.

The 11 months appear likewise in the 11 sons of the blind Dirghatamas.

In the Mahabharata the rulers of the 11 months figure as the 11 Maharathas or those of the great chariots.

The year of 11 months appears in allegory in the account of Kalmashapada, called also Sudasa in the varying forms of his story. The starking Kalmashapada, the Pole-star-god, became mad when cursed by Sakti, son of Vasishtha ; that is to say he became invisible between the Pole-star in Cygnus in 15,000 B. C., and the Pole-star in Vega, in the Vulture, in 10,000 B. C., a period during which on Pole-star was seen. It was the period of the year of the head of the Sun-horse.

What was the first day of this eleven-months-year? We may be certain that it was the same as that of the Roman year of the horse's head. It began on the Ides, *i.e.*, the 15th of October. This day was sacred to the god of fountains, that is, of the springs brought to the surface by the hoofs of the Sun-horse of this epoch. On this day

there was a horse-race of two-horsed chariots, and one of these horses was sacrificed.

The tail of the horse was carried to the Regia, the ancient royal palace, which could only be entered by the vestal virgins, who guarded the fire in its central hall. This festival was the same as the Greek Pynapsion of Apollo and the Oscaphoria or the bringing home of the grape or vine bunches.

It was the same also as the Indian Dipavali.

The year thus begun was totally unconnected with the equinoxes or the solstices which had marked the course of the Sun in Orion's year and the three-years-cycle-year.

This year dates from the time when the Sun was in Virgo at the vernal equinox, about 12,200 B.C. or about 2,000 years after the cycle-year, during which the Sun was in Aries at the autumnal equinox and in Cancer at the winter solstice. It was at this solstice that Rama was proclaimed heir-apparent.

This year continued until 10,000 B.C., when Vega became the Pole-star and when the Pole-star circled by the Sun again ruled time.

We find the religious history of this age of transition depicted in the ritual of the Sautramani, the new-year's Soma sacrifice of this epoch. It was a part of the Rajasuya sacrifice. In later times, its day in the calendar shifted, but originally it must have been held three days before the new-moon, commencing the new year, probably three days before the 1st day of Kartik.

Sura was offered at the Sautramani. Thus we see that this new-year's sacrifice of the eleven-months-year of the Sun-horse was accompanied by the same drunken orgies that marked the earlier religious festivals.

The Aswamedha was pre-eminently the sacrifice of this year ruled by the crescent-moon. As such it must have originally taken place at the new-moon. It seems to have been transferred in later epochs to the full-moon of Chaitra, as a preliminary sacrifice to the dying year-god of the year ending with the close of Chaitra and commencing the new-year at the new-moon of Vaisakh. This sacrifice is an offering preceding the new-year beginning in Vaisakh and should therefore date from 10,200 B. C.

The sacrifice was to the 33 gods of the eleven-months-year. The horse was to be cut up into 34 parts ; 33 for the gods of the months, and one for the Sun-god. The ritual in the Mahabharata is compounded of

various forms adapted to the 15, 17 and 18 months' years. But the fundamental rule was that the horse should be cut into 34 pieces.

The Aswamedha like the Sautramani was accompanied with much drinking by both men and women, It was not until the 17 months' year that the Brahmins gave up the practice of drinking Sura.

The belief about the Sun's chariot being drawn by horses and about their number had its origin in this epoch of eleven-months-year of the Sun-horse. These horses were symbolical of the seasons of the year. In the Indian form the year appears to have been one of four seasons, but in the beginning it was probably one of only two.

The Ashwins ruled both the cycle-year and also the eleven-months-year.

## VII.

### THE FIFTEEN-MONTHS-YEAR OF THE SUN-GOD OF THE EIGHT-RAYED-STAR AND EIGHT-DAYS-WEEKS.

Society had progressed into advanced systems of political and religious unions. Trade guilds had been formed and a flourishing commerce developed by land and sea. The god of the new cycle was the Sun-god born of the thigh. This year succeeded the eleven-months-year. This appears from the Brahmanas in the instructions given for the kindling of the fire on the year-altar. The eleven Samidheni or fire kindling stanzas were to be recited as before, but the first and the last had to be repeated three times each, so as to make up the number fifteen of the months.

In this year each month extended only to 24 days, divided into 3 weeks of 8 days each. So that the reckoning for the year was  $15 \times 3 \times 8$  or 360 days.

Now, it will be seen that this was a reverter from the more correct year of the horse's head of 363 days to Orion's year of 360 days.

The history of this revolution can be traced in the history of the Sun-god's birth. He was called the son of the thigh in all the mythologies relating to this age. This thigh was the thigh of Set (Egyptian), the constellation of the Great Bear. This constellation ruled both the three-years-cycle-year and the year of eleven months. For the latter computation it was associated with the four stars of Pegasus. So that the seven of the Great Bear and the four of Pegasus gave the required number.

But in the present year, the Sun-god of the Phœnician *ogdoad* Eshmoun or the eighth, and Astika (or Ashtaka) of the Mahabharata were the presiding deities of the eight days of the week.

This Sun-god was the son of the thigh of the god of the dead year. But of which thigh? It was of the right thigh, of the Sun-father-god, for the left thigh was sacred to the Pole-star-god.

We find the history of the god of the thigh in the Mahabharata. He is there called Aurva, the son of Chyavana. Aurva means 'born of the thigh.' Chyavana means 'the slipping one or moving one.' It is the personified fire-drill.

His wife in the Mahabharata is stated to have been the daughter of Manu, Arushi, that is the red one,—the glowing fire-socket kindled by the fire-drill. In the Satapatha Brahmana, her father is Saryata, or the god of the arrow, that is Orion, who slew with his arrow the year-mother-bird Syena from whom the Sun-god of Orion's year was to be born. This traces the pedigree of Aurva to Orion and explains the reverter to Orion's year.

The marriage of Chyavana to Sukanya his wife, was brought about by the Ashwins, who made this Chyavana, the aged kindler of the fires of Orion's year, young again by bathing him in the pool of regeneration. This rejuvenation means the reverter to Orion's year.

There is a variant of Chyavana's story in the Rig Veda, X. 85, 8-20. There, the rejuvenated Chyavana is the Moon-god Soma, married to Surya, the Sun-maiden. In this poem, the sacrificial cow was slain in Magha (January-February) when the year began; and the marriage was consummated in Phalgun (February-March).

The Ashwins (Gemini) assisted at the marriage; they brought the bride in the three-wheeled car. This ritualistic record extends from about 10,200 B.C., when the Sun entered the constellation of the Gemini in January-February, to 8,200 B. C., and again to 6,200 B.C., when the sun was in Gemini in February-March.

The Bahishpavamana-stotra is a Vedic chant associated with this year. It contains nine lines of the Gayatri or eight-syllabled metre, that is, 72 syllables in all. So that it is a year-hymn, telling of the union of the eight-days-week of this year of the nine-days-week of the cycle year and of the seventy-two five-days-weeks of the Pleiades and Orion's years.

By this hymn, the Ashwins were summoned to the assembly of the gods. This hymn of invitation therefore recognises the twin-ruling-

stars of the eleven-months-year as the agents who introduced the new Sun-year of the eight-days-week.

The Sun-god born of the thigh of the Pole-star-ape-god is, in Greek Mythology, Dionysos, son of Semele, (who, after having been abortively delivered from his mother, was secreted in the thigh of his father, Zeus, and re-delivered from there at the end of the gestational period.)

We find the Sun-god of the thigh in the story of Jacob. He wrestled with the goddess of the thigh till the Sun rose, and he found himself transformed into the Sun-god born from the left thigh of the Pole-star-ape, who (the Sun-god) was conceived during the age when the priests wore the sacrificial cord on the right shoulder. Henceforth, the sinew of Jacob's left thigh was dried up, as the virtue had gone out of it, and the right thigh became the offering given by the priests of the Sun-god of Benjamin.

This Benjamin, the son of the right hand (thigh), was born as the Sun-god of the worshippers of the Pole-star of the North, now represented by the Sabaeen Mandaeans.

The Sun-god of the left thigh was the god of the ten and eleven-months-years and when his thigh was broken or withered like that of Jacob, it meant the supersession by the Sun-god of the right thigh, that is of the year of eight-days-weeks.

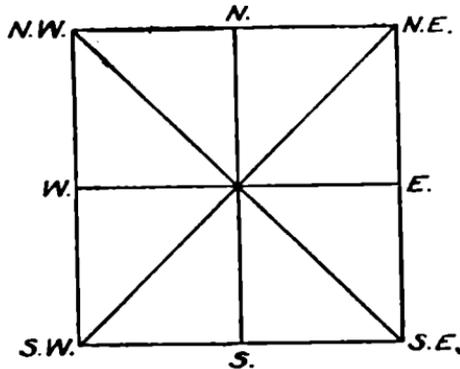
The Sun-god of the thigh appears in Celtic legend as the Sun-god Cuchulainn.

The tale of Jack, the giant-killer, is an allegorical rendering of the story of this year. He first built the house of the nine-days-weeks and after that the house of the eight-days-weeks of the present year. In China, in the Pole-star-age, the course of the Sun among the signs was from right to left and not as in the solar age from left to right. These signs only concern the present discussion as to the first sign or brick of the year-house. This in the Chinese system was the Rat (Aquarius). "This is the rat that ate the malt that lay in the house that Jack built." This nursery tale was invented to teach children the history of time, beginning with the sowing of seed in the Pleiades-month.

The house that Jack built was the house of time and each sign was a brick. Jack wars against the giants of the eleven-months-year. He is a solar hero. He procures for himself the out-fit of the solar gods, Perseus and Sigurd :—The coat of darkness, the cap of knowledge, the sword of sharpness and the shoes of swiftness.

The altar on which the sacrifice by Janamejaya was offered, the year-altar of this age, gives in the compass of its alignments the summary of all the year-reckonings up to the one now treated.

The altar is a square.



The sides face the cardinal points and the first lines begin at the S. W. corner, the setting point of the Sun-bird of the year beginning at the winter-solstice.

- The first line traced is from S. W. to S. E.  
 „ 2nd „ „ „ „ S. W. to N. W.  
 „ 3rd „ „ „ „ N. W. to N. E.  
 „ 4th „ „ „ „ N. E. to S. E.

This completes the square of the year-circuit of the Sun-bird.

The first cross-line drawn is that of the Pole-star N. to S., passing through the centre of the line S. W. to S. E. to mark the year measured by the Pleiades and Canopus, in their annual course round the Pole. Then a line is drawn from the S. W. point to N. E., to mark the year of the solstitial flying-bird, beginning with the setting of the Sun at the winter-solstice in the S. W.

Then the line is drawn due West and East from the centre of the West line to mark the equinoctial year included in the three-years cycle.

And lastly, the line from N. W. to S. E. denoted the eight-rayed-star as measured from the setting Sun of the summer-solstice of the year of six-days-weeks.

Thus the altar represents, in its eight divisions, the eight points of the compass, the eight days of the week of this year and all the primitive ruling years.

The sex-less Sun-god Bhishma, the eighth issue of his parents was the god of this year. His mother destroyed the first seven of her offspring in sequence. But the eighth, Bhishma was spared by covenant.

Aditi had eight sons. She took away with her seven of them and left the eighth on the earth. He was Martanda (the dead egg), the Sun. The same as the sexless Sun-god Bhishma.

He was as clearly born from the thigh as the other national gods of this epoch. He was the king of the land and ruled during the reigns of Chitrangada, Vichitravirya and the minority of the Kurus and Pandus. He was the generalissimo of the Kaurava army for ten out of the eighteen days of the battle. He bore on his banner the date-palm-tree, the mother-tree of the eleven-months-year.

The Hindu god who was the counter-part of Bhishma on the Pandava side was Krishna, the charioteer of Arjuna. Krishna was like David or Bhishma the youngest of eight sons and he was born on the eighth of Bhadoun or at the end of the first week of the second half-year in the epoch dating from 8,200 B. C.

Balarama, the brother or half-brother of Krishna was the Plough-god. He stood aloof in the contest between the Pandus and the Kurus. He was thus the leading star in the Plough and Bear constellations.

Yasoda, the mother of Krishna and Balarama is also called in local legend Rohini (or Aldebaran, the queen of the Pleiades).

The six of the off-spring of Yasoda who were killed were the Pleiades, the six mothers from whom Balarama was born. His birth suggests the marriage of Rohini, their queen, with the seven Rishis or antelopes of the Great Bear, a marriage succeeding her first union with Orion. This first union was commemorated by the year of the god of the antelope's head, the year commencing with Mriga-Sirsha, when the Sun was in Taurus, 12,200 B. C. It was a year of the age of the eleven-months-year. So that Krishna and Balarama were the issue of the Pleiades and Aldebaran by communion with the seven stars of the thigh, that is of the Great Bear.

Krishna was born on the same day as his twin-sister Subhadra, a cognisance of Durga. It is the Indian parallel of Apollo and Diana. Apollo was himself born on the eighth of Bhadoun, the day of Krishna's nativity as observed in several parts of India.

We are told that Apollo was born on the seventh of the Greek month of Metageitoun, (August-September). But it is probable that

his birth was originally dated on the eighth, for, the Pythian games which began on his birth-day were held, in the earlier periods, every eighth year. It is probable that the nativity was fixed to the seventh day in the next epoch of seven-days-weeks and seventeen-months-year.

This Python of Apollo is the same as the 'Kaliya Serpent' strangled by the infant Krishna. The Vedic prototype of the Python and Kaliya is Vritra, the serpent. The 'Maruts', seven in number, danced round Indra when he slew Vritra. They were the parents of the young Sun-god born of the thigh with its seven stars.

This year of the slaying of the snake by the new corn-Sun-god told in this series of national year-histories is the year of Krishna, the black antelope-Sun, and of Balarama, the parent-plough-star-god of the year of fifteen months. It was the year of the first victory of the Pandavas, when they won Draupadi at the tournament and the year in which Arjuna married Subhadra, at the season of the religious festivities on Raivataka hill. This hill was sacred to Revati, the last of the 27 stars and marked the close of the year of one epoch and the commencement of the new-year of another epoch.

It was on this hill that Arishtanemi was worshipped by Krishna and Balarama on his renunciation of the rule of the eleven-months-year in favour of Arjuna and Subhadra, the nominees of Krishna, and the deities of the new year.

The connection of the Gemini with this year of 15 months is borne out by a valuable piece of historical evidence from Islamic Arabia. Their year began with the first day of Moharram, the 15th of July, and was closely connected with the fortunes of Hasan and Hussein, the twin sons of Fatima, to whom the attributes of the stellar twin-gods, who had been worshipped in pagan Arabia for thousands of years before Mahomed, were transferred entire.

The first birth was said to be on the third day of Sha'aban (February-March), when Jerusalem was abandoned as Kiblah and replaced by Mecca. Jerusalem was associated with the veneration of the Pole-star, where men prayed turning to the North.

The second date of the birth was the 6th day of Ramzan (March-April), inaugurating the new year beginning at the vernal equinox. (There was a pagan god worshipped at Mecca, in the pre-Islamic period, named Hobal, represented as youthful like Apollo or Arjuna and armed with arrows.)

The year of 15 months had two beginnings, one in January-February and the other in February-March, marked by the time when the Sun was in Gemini in these two months. We find the legend of the Arabian twins developed on the same analogy.

In this year of the eight-days-weeks, though the first birth of the young Sun-god takes place at the winter solstice, yet the second is in January-February, and the mid-year-star of this second birth is that in which the Sun is found on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin. on the 15th of August, when Athene received the Peplos at the Pan Athenaia.

Odysseus was also a god of the thigh. He was originally the northern wandering god Orwandil, whose great toe was the star Rigel in Orion. He was married to Penelope whom he won in a foot-race as leader of the stars going round the Pole. His wife, the weaver of the web, was originally the Pleiades (the spinning mothers). But afterwards, she changed into the goddess-mother of the corn-growing races of the constellation Virgo, one of the Zodiacal stations of the Sun.

Odysseus owned 600 sows lodged in 12 pig-sties (and he had also two boars who lived outside) whose numbers had been reduced to 360 by the suitors of Penelope, who killed them for food.

They were the year-pigs of the 12 months of the Boar-god and in this month 50 sows were allotted to each month.

These pigs answer to the 50 great gods of the Akkadians.

50 daughters of the Hindu god of time,  
Daksha.

50 ,, ,, Endymion by Selene.

50 ,, ,, Danaus.

50 sons of Priam.

50 servant-wives left behind at Ithaca by  
Odysseus when he went to Troy, 12  
of whom became mistresses of the  
suitors.

They were the year-goddesses of old-year-reckonings who were to be replaced by the newly recovered Penelope.

This 50 is symbolical of the 50 Tithi divisions of each of the 12 months, or 600 Tithi days for the year, and this is the number of the cycle of the Babylonian Nergal, of 600 years.

Odysseus was gashed on the left thigh by the Boar and wounded. He then struck the Boar on the right shoulder and slew him. Thus, it is apparent, Odysseus was the conquering god of the right thigh. Duryodhana was a cognisance of the god of the thigh. He shows the left thigh to Draupadi, when Dushshasana tells her to choose a new husband. As the god of the eleven-months-year, he was the god of the left thigh and it was as the god of the two parent-thighs that he was slain by Bhima in combat.

The Pandavas represented the five seasons of the year and Bhima was the summer ending with the summer-solstice. It was this conquering god of Summer who ended the war between the gods of the eleven-months-year and those of the solar year by breaking the thighs of Duryodhana and thus killing the leader of the age when time was reckoned by the fixed stars.

Patroclus was a year-god of this year. He took over the arms of Achilles. He wore the impenetrable mail and the helm of aweing and the cap of invisibility. He was killed by Apollo.

#### VIII.

#### THE YEAR OF SEVEN-DAYS-WEEKS AND OF SEVENTEEN AND THIRTEEN MONTHS.

The year of 15 months was succeeded by the year of 17 months.

It was one of 5 seasons in which both new and full-moon sacrifices were offered.

The year of 17 months was considered to be a year of the Sun-horse also, and therefore a legitimate descendant of the year of 11 months, though it came after the 15 months year. The number of days to each month was 21, divided into 3 weeks of 7 days each. So that the number of days in the year was  $7 \times 3 \times 17$  that is 357.

This year was ritualistic and used by the priests to regulate the religious calendar. Side by side, there existed in use a popular year of 13 lunar months.

Each month was of 28 days' duration. So that the year reckoned 364 days. This number was obtained by adding a week to the 357 days of the ritualistic year of 17 months. In the ritual of this year sacrifices were offered in libations. The invocation to the five seasons is cast in seventeen-syllabled metres, for the Brahmanas tell us that Prajapati, the year-god, is seventeen-fold.

The number 17 is prominent in the chants of the ritual of the Vajapeya sacrificial festival with which the year opens. The first ceremony is the invocation to the Ashwins. This is done by the Bahishpavamanastotra. This as we have seen is composed in 9 lines of the Gayatri metre. To these 9 lines 8 new were added to make up the number 17 of the Vajapeya.

The chant of the Madhyandina-pavamana is likewise increased from 15 to 17 Riks.

Next the Ribhava-pavamana, the hymn special to the Vajapeya sacrifice is likewise one of 17 verses.

The hymn recited at the evening sacrifice of the Vajapeya ritual, the last of the day, call the Brihat-stotra or the 'great praise,' has the same number of Riks.

And likewise, the Samidheni or fire-kindling Riks of the animal sacrifices of this year are increased to 17.

That each month of these 17 consisted of 21 days may be seen from the number 21 of the verses of the morning-hymn sung at the Kesava-paniya or the ceremonial hair-cutting of the king, which was performed as part of the ceremonies of this year, on the full-moon of Jyeshtha.

This symbolism is repeated in the gold-plate with 21 knobs, which the sacrificer puts on when he is initiated as the representative of the Sun and carries the fire in the fire-pan round the sacrificial ground in imitation of the solstitial course of the Sun.

The Vajapeya sacrifice works out in detail the full account of the course of this year.

The first special rite inaugurating the birth of this imperial year was the drawing of the five Vajapeya cups for its five seasons. These are the five cups of the evening libations. The chant is composed in the five well-known metres symbolical of time-measurement.

It is apparent from the above that this year was conceived to be one uniting and making use of all previous measurements.

The five Pandavas were the gods of these five seasons. Spring, Summer, Rains, Autumn and Winter.

It was as ruler of the year of 13 lunar months that Odysseus returned to Ithaca as the returning pauper-Sun-god. He came from the land of the Phœcians ruled over by its twelve and one kings. They sent him to Ithaca in a ship manned by 52 oarsmen, the number of weeks of this year.

In the chronology of this year, the Moon has become the female goddess of the Southern nations and is no longer the male Moon of the North, while: on the other hand, the Sun has become the ruling king of the North, born of the thigh ; and he is no longer the Sun-bird.

The 13 wives of Kasyapa are the 13 months of this year. This has its counter-part in the 13 Theres of the Buddhists.

The Sonthals reckoned by the 13 months year.

The exile of the Pandavas was for a period of 13 years.

We find evidence of the existence of the reckoning by 17 and 13 months in the Mahabharata.

The origin of this year may be found in the fifth year of the Pandavas' exile. At the end of the fourth year they went north-wards. As the gods of this year they started on their travels from the South. On the 17th day of their departure from the South, they reached their Northern point on the Himalayas and remained there for 7 days, the first week of the new year. There they were joined by Arjuna, the god of the rainy season of the summer-solstice.

This year was also the year of Skanda, or Kartikeya. He was the son of the Pleiades. He was the Sun-physician. The cock was offered to him in sacrifice. He had six faces. The sixth was that of the goat, a cognisance of the Pole-star. He was attacked by Indra. From the blow of the thunderbolt the second Skanda or Visakha was born as ruler of the month of Vaisakha (March-April), the mid-month of the Pleiades year.

Skanda was married to Devasena. She had eight names. She was the mother of Sisu, the infant, the eighth ruling god of a year measured by new and full-moon sacrifices. After the marriage, Skanda went out to lead the seventh army-corps of the gods, in his search to find out a ruler of time to replace Abhijit, that is the star Vega, who had ceased to be the Pole-star, showing that the rule of Skanda was subsequent to 8000 B.C., and started during the age when the Pole-star was in Hercules.

It was then, as we gather from the Mahabharata, that the Pleiades were made the rulers of heaven succeeding Abhijit, the late Pole-star. Under their rule the 13 wives of Kasyapa were made the 13 mothers of heaven.

It was after the installation of this new age that Skanda and Visakha destroyed the Danava sons of the Pole-star-god and their leader Mahisha, the buffalo, who was once the god Indra.

After this victory, Skanda was honoured by 51 names recorded in the Mahabharata, that is, as the god of this year of 17 months and 51 weeks.

The vessel of food of Draupadi, which happened to be empty when the Rishi-guest Durvasa went in, is the Sun-vessel, the same as the begging bowl of the Buddha (and of Siva).

The re-filling of the vessel by the miraculous intervention of Krishna means starting a new reckoning of time.

Jayadratha, who audaciously attempted the rape of Draupadi, boasts of his descent, from the 17 high clans,—the 17 months of this year. It was in the eleventh year of the Pandava exile that the rape was attempted. Jayadratha was the Moon-god, the silver-boar. When he attempted the abduction of Draupadi, he was seeking for a bride to replace Dussala, the year-bride of the Kaurava-year of 11 months. Arjuna cut off his head with a magical shaft which bore it to the hands of his father, Vriddha-Kshatra, the Pole-star-god, and thence it fell to the earth. As it fell, the head of this Pole-star-god broke into several pieces and his career as the world's ruler of time was ended for ever.

In the story of the death of Jayadratha and the loss of his head we have a parallel to the disfigurement of Melanthios and Eurytion. Like them, Jayadratha, the god with ear-rings, ruling the year of new and full-moon sacrifices, was, when his career was ended, changed from a god depicted in human form and decapitated into the Sun-pillar-god (the gnomon-pillar).

The Nuktas of British Columbia reckoned by the 13 months' year.

The detail of the ritual of the construction of the Garhapatya altar of this year affords further evidence. The ground for the altar was enclosed with 21 stones, the days of this month.

## IX.

### THE HINDU YEAR OF 18 MONTHS AND 12 MONTHS, OF 5 AND 10 DAYS' WEEKS, RESPECTIVELY.

The year of seventeen months closing the exile of the Pandavas ended before the Aswamedha of Yudhishtira in Chaitra. The year of eighteen months begins with this sacrifice. To suit the new ideas of reckoning, the ritual underwent some change. Eighteen sacrificial stakes were set up for the gods of the year instead of 11 as in the earlier epochs. In addition, three stakes were required for the triangle

enclosing the fire in the altar of animal sacrifices, or only two by a variation of practice.

If two the total number would be 20 to correspond with the number of days of a month of the 18 months' year. If three the number would be 21 corresponding with the number of days of a month of the year of 17 months.

On the sacrificial ground a brick-altar was also built. It was 10 cubits long and 8 broad to make up the number 18 of the months.

This year of 18 months was ritualistic. It had 20 days to the month, divided into 4 weeks of 5 days each. This gave 72 weeks and 360 days to the year, and marks a return to the reckoning of the early periods, after the final victory of the Pandavas.

(The Mahabharata is divided into 18 cantoes or Parvas. The great war lasted 18 days and the Akshauhinis or army-corps engaged in the contest were 18) [V.V.] The Pandavas in the period of Ajnata-vasam or incognito-existence were the Sun-gods who went into hiding, during the age when time was measured by Lunar months.

The Musala of the Mahabharata was the iron bolt with which the Yadavas, the kinsmen of Krishna, slew each other. The Mausala Parva or the canto dealing with the havoc caused by this iron-bolt is a dramatic representation of the opening of the iron age.

The episode of Tapati and Samvarana follows closely the history of time measurement of the later cycles.

This Samvarana is mentioned in the Rig-Veda as a Rishi who gathers wealth by his might and to whose stalls the cows of light come. That is to say, he is the Sun-god. He is the gelded Sun-horse, the sexless Sun-god of the year of 15 months. The name Samvarana means the consecrated ground. He is the creating spirit-god, whose earthly dwelling-place is the central national altar. His marriage with Tapati is a solar myth. This will appear from the sequel. We must trace the ancestry of Samvarana to Bharata who gave his name to this continent. This Bharata was the son of the three-years-cycle year. That is, he was the god of the eleven-months-year. He begat 9 sons, the 9 days of the week of the cycle-year, but slew them all and remained childless, till by the help of Bharadwaja he became the father of Bhumanyu. The son of the latter was Suhotra. His son was Ajamidha, the warring goat, who is said in the Rig-Veda to sustain life.

He found himself alone in the navel of the unborn. He was the Pole-star-creating-god. He married Dhumini, the daughter of the sacrificial smoke of the southern altar. From her was born Riksha, the Great Bear, who as the thigh of the ape-god begat in union with the Pole-star-goat, the sexless Sun-god of the year of 15 months, that is the god of the sons of the date-palm-tree.

This was the god Sanvarana who, in his first 'avatar', was the sexless Sun-god of the year of 15 months. He was attacked by the Panchalas with the ten Akshauhinis, those of the ten months of gestation of the cycle-year. He was driven to the forests at the foot of the Himalayas. There he remained childless and in exile for a thousand years, during the cycle of 17 and 13 months' years, till he was brought forth by Vasishtha as the ruling Sun-god of this new era.

His return to power as the conquering Sun-god is represented as his marriage with Tapati. Her name means the 'heating mother.' She is the daughter of Vivasvan, the Sun-god. She was the younger sister of Savitri, the Sun-maiden. She was the mother-goddess of the South, the home of the Southern Sun.

Sanvarana, as the dying Sun, expired for love of her and lay insensible for 12 days, till he was recalled to life by Vasistha, who brought about his reunion with Tapati, the Sun-goddess of the winter-solstice and thus made him a year-Sun-god, who reproduced the year of Orion in which the Sun-god slept for 12 days of the year.

### **THE YEAR OF 12 MONTHS OF THE SUN-WORSHIPPERS.**

The year of this Sun-god was like that of Orion one of 12 months and 360 days, but it was not like Orion's year divided into months of 29 days, but into months of 30 days each; and, it was not measured by 72 weeks of 5 days each, but by 36 weeks of 10 days each, the decades of the Egyptians and the Athenians.

These weeks of 10 days were the weeks of the two hands, or the ten fingers, exhibiting the completeness of the power of the Sun-god.

It was with the weapon Anjelika that Arjuna overthrew the year-god Karna, after he had overturned the chariot of the latter with the iron-arrow, the thunderbolt of this era which destroyed all the old year-gods.

Anjelika is from Anjali, which means the two hands joined with the palms placed together.

(It is well-known that one of the names of Arjuna is 'Savyasachi.' This word has been explained to mean "he who is *dexterous* with both hands in shooting." So that Arjuna is the Sun-god who has been liberated from control and whose independence and power is now complete.) [V. V.]

The year thus measured could be easily manipulated by the priests, who knew the exact length of the year and could intercalate a month once in six years. By this change of reckoning the Sun was released from the yoke of the stars Gemini, and it was no longer necessary to begin the year when the Sun entered that constellation. This year-calculation lasted until the Sun entered Taurus about 4200 B. C.

This year of 12 months was the year of the rising Sun of day, and meant the over-throw of the votaries of the Moon-god and of those who began their year with the setting Sun and Stars. So that the Sun was now free from the Pole-star domination.

The Ahavaniya altar of the Sun-bird of this year of 12 months was the culminating embodiment of the theology of the Brahmins. Living victims were no longer offered. Milk, sour milk, barley, running water and the sap of the Soma plant were poured on the altar and consumed by the priests as sacramental drink which incorporated into their frames the spirit of the living god.

The Aswamedha ascribed to Yudhishtira was probably the latest occasion of the mention of the sacrifice of animals and of spirits drunk as sacramental drink by the Hindu priests.

For, we find that after this, the revisor of the ritual preaches that the sacrifice of animals cannot be an act of righteousness and that only seeds and liquids should be offered in future.

In the Mahabharata, towards the close of the war, Aswaththama, of Duryodhana's party, attempted to destroy the embryos in all the wombs of such of the Pandava ladies as happened to be pregnant at the time. The purpose evidently was that they may bring forth only the yearly-dying Sun-gods. But Krishna raised again to life the dying child who ruled the world for a cycle of 60 years as Parikshit, the circling Sun.

In the early periods the reckoning by new-moons was that used. But this was followed by the substitution of full or the crescent moons, as we see from the Mahabharata that Bhishma's year began with the new-moon of Magh and that of Parikshit, the Sun-god succeeding Bhishma, with the full-moon of Chaitra, when the course of the sacrificial horse was started.

## X.

It does not appear that the learned author had access to the Sanskrit Puranas, as they are not, except in one case, available in English translations. There is however considerable testimony in these repertories of ancient legendary lore, in support of the author's data.

In these works, the connection of the Pleiades with year-reckonings and the character of the Dipāvāli as a new-year's day appears unmistakeably. The chapter relating to the Dipāvāli is, strange to say, repeated in the same words and verse for verse in the Skanda and the Padma Puranas.

The worship of the May-pole and the festivities connected with it are found in the Mahabharata in the account given of Uparicharavasu, king of Chedi. He is credited with having originated the cult of the Indradhwaja (May-pole) on account of his great friendship and regard for the Indra. A reference to the Indradhwaja is also extant in the Ramayana.

The solstices and the equinoxes with their attendant religious ceremonies and festive rejoicings are treated repeatedly in the Puranas. The suggestion made in the text, that the metres of Vedic poetry were symbolical devices of time-measurements in connection with the Sun's course, is confirmed by an express avowal to that effect in the Garuda-purana.

The Vedic legend of Prajapati pursuing his daughter is a favourite topic of the Puranists. It will be found set out graphically in the Kālikā Purana.

The twelve-days-sleep of the Sun-god was well-known as the Aditya Sayanam. The Puranists have availed themselves of this chapter of the Sun's life to inculcate pious gifts and religious exercises.

The Eel-god and the sons of the mountain and the river are preserved to us in the accounts of Uparicharavasu and Santanu from whom the Kurus and the Pandus are deduced, though perhaps in a left-handed way.

The year of the Sun-horse has added a great god to the pantheon, Hayagriva, he of the horse's head who has held his place since then. We have had in addition 33 crores according to one computation, or 33 thousands, 33 hundreds and 33 according to another, of the non-descript gods and angels brought into being in this age.

The sun of the thigh, the son generated from the thigh of his dead father is easily recognised in Prithu, son of Vena. The emperor Prithu was brought into existence in this manner by a synod of pious Brahmin priests who murdered his father to promote the public weal. This Prithu is a favourite of Puranic writers. He is believed to have given his name to this Earth as 'Prithvi.' He is depicted as an example of a righteous monarch and beneficent ruler.

I believe that corroboration from an unexpected quarter would be very welcome. This Prithu had his Double in ancient Persian legend. Kaiomars (Gayo-Maretan), the first ruler of men, came into being out of 'the right front leg' of the Bull-man or Homo-*taurus* at the moment of the latter's death. The account may be consulted in the History of the early Kings of Persia by Mirkhond, translated by David Shea. (1832.)

The thirteen-months-year finds express mention in the Yajur-Veda. It is also apparent in the period assigned for the pilgrimage of Arjuna, soon after the marriage of Draupadi, in fulfilment of a preregistered vow which required his exile for a period of one year. We are told that this voluntary exile, worked out in pilgrimage abroad, lasted during thirteen months.

The Moon-cow and the Sun-calf frequently meet the eye in the episodes of the Puranas.

The double-dating of the nativity of the Sun-god will be found noticed in the account of the birth of Skanda in the Skanda-Purana. The overthrow of the three-years-cycle in the form of the triple monster Chimæra, by the solar hero Bellerophon of Greek myth, has been translated into the victory of Skanda over the mountain of enchantments, Krauncha, an episode the true character of which is seen and understood better in the Tamil Skanda-Purana.

The Sun-maidens under varying names, such as Savitri, Gayatri, Saraswati, Badaba and Tapati are all subjected to extensive Puranic treatment. They help to form some of the elevating episodes of the Puranas, in which it is not difficult to discover the indicia of the solar myth.

The dying Sun-god in the form of the Yajna-varaha has engrossed much of the attention of the compiler of the Kālikā-Purana.

The Chaturmasya-periods, and in particular the last of them, have elaborate regulations of religious austerities ordained in connection with their currency.

The star Canopus, figured as the sage Agastya, has had the tribute of universal homage rendered to him as the saint of the southern regions. He is mixed up with many pious undertakings in the south of the continent.

His well-known migration from the north to the south, often interpreted by modern critics as representing the Aryan colonisation of the south, is an astronomical fable of probable Egyptian inspiration. It was pointed out above (p. 290) that the star-leader of the primitive Egyptians, who then lived in the districts of the upper Nile, was Canopus. But as they coursed down the river, and settled in the Delta, this star was no longer visible. A few generations later, the history of the migration was forgotten. At that stage, it was easy for the race to believe themselves autochthonous in these latitudes. The Canopus of their ancestors was no longer visible to them, but the legends associated with his name remained in popular traditional knowledge. The difficulty was solved by the theory that Canopus had his abode originally in the north and subsequently betook himself to the south.

That the Pole-star occupied a very high place in primitive religious belief can be shown from the Puranas. His worship was much in vogue as may be gathered from a chapter in the Matsya-purana.

At a certain period of the world's history no Pole-star was visible. The occasion for the worship of the Sun and the Moon was thus supplied. They had no doubt been previously concerned in fixing the start and finish of the months and years, but their individuality was subordinated to, and controlled in popular conceit by, the Pole-star. In this period of transition it was the Moon that predominated in religion as in reckoning. From this period onwards we find a struggle proceeding between the worship of the Moon and that of the Sun for precedence and permanence.

When the Pole-star reappeared on the scene, he recovered only a small portion of his former power and glory and only for a time; for, to regain all that had been lost was impossible in the existing conditions of the balance of power.

The result was that the Sun-god had to encounter the opposition of the Moon as also of the Pole-star in his attempts to establish his independence, as the first step of an ambitious career, the ultimate goal of which was his exclusive supremacy.

He was not as yet a free agent, for he was constantly held in leash by the Twin Ashwins. (The Gemini). His life, if also that of the Moon, was little better than ephemeral, for he died or was killed every year, though he was allowed to reappear for the next.

The Pole-star on the other hand was constant and eternal, except for a temporary aberration. That was the secret of his power. In due course, however, the Sun gains steadily, if slowly, over the Moon and the others of his opponents. He cuts himself free from the tether of the Ashwins; and finds himself able to use both his hands to the best advantage. Finally, his opponents are all overthrown: the Moon, the rest of the host and the old veteran of the Pole-star.

The longevity of the Sun is assured, at least for a fixed term of sixty years, and he rules supreme in the firmament as well in astronomical reckoning as in religious worship.

The whole of this astronomical drama with its detail of circumstance can be traced in the Puranas. Often enough the meaning of the fable is apparent; as often the true intendment is obscured by a realistic treatment. But with the key furnished by Mr. Hewitt, the task of interpreting these texts is rendered comparatively easy.

The mother-tree has taken deep root in the Indian soil in the form of the Puranic Akshayavata of Gaya. It has its cult, observed to this day by thousands of pilgrims from the length and breadth of the Empire.

The veneration and worship of the Pole-star in lost periods of history, its desuetude in later epochs; the predominance of the Moon in time reckoning and worship, at first, and her (his) gradual subordination to the Sun even to subservience, subsequently, can be unmistakably read in the Puranas. The latter theme, in particular, may be studied in relief in that portion of the Skanda-purana which deals with the sacred shrines and places in and around Somanath. (Prabhasakhandam). It was after the subjugation of the Moon that the Sun-god, renamed as Iswara, became Somanath, the master or lord of the Moon, and was firmly established in his imperialism.

We read almost everywhere in the Puranas exhortations as to religious observances, associated with this day or that of the week, month or year, or some star or conjunction of stars in the heavens. Oftentimes, these precepts appear at first sight to be groundless.

## A Tabular Statement of Year-Measurements.

	Name of the year.	Number of months to the year.	Number of days to the month.	Number of days to the year.	Number of weeks to the month.	Number of days to the week.	Number of weeks to the year.	Number of seasons in the year.	Time of year beginning.	Sun-metaphor.	Star-leaders.	Ruling God of time.	Age of worship of	Probable Period.	Remarks.
I	The Pleiades-year.	Reckoning by months unknown.	....	360	....	5	72	2	1st day of November (Cir.)	Sun of the Mother-tree.	Canopus and (The Pleiades.)	The Pole-Star (In Kepheus.)	The Mother-tree and the Pole Star.	From 21000 B. C.	Days reckoned from night.
II	The Solstitial year.	Do.	....	360	....	5	72	2	The Winter-Solstice.	The Year-Sun-bird.	Canopus.	Do.	The Pole-Star.		
III	The Orion's year.	12	29	348+12	....	....	72	3	(a) The Winter-Solstice. (b) Full-Moon of Magh., i.e., Feb. March.	The Sun-deer.	Orion.	The Pole-Star (In cygnus.)	Do.	From 17000 B. C.	
IV	The year of the Eel-God.	12	30	360	5	6	60	3	Summer-Solstice.	The Sun-fish.		Do.	Do.		
V	The Three-years-cycle-year.	(4x)10	27	(4x)270	3	7	(4x)30	4	The alternation of the Equinoxes and the Solstices. Cycle begins with the Autumnal Equinox.	The Sun-ass or the Sun of the left thigh.	The Twin Ashwins and the Great Bear	The Master potter of the Great Bear.	The Moon and Sun-Moon dominant.	From 14200 B. C.	Pole-Star invisible.
VI	The year of the Sun-horse.		33	363	3	11	33	4	15th of October (Cir.)	The Sun-horse. The Sun of the left thigh.	The Twin Ashwins. The Great Bear and Pegasus.		The Moon and Sun. Latter gains in importance.	From 12200 B. C.	Do.
VII	The Fifteen-months year.	15	24	360	3	8	45	5	(a) January-February. (b) February-March.	The Sun, born of the right thigh.	The Twin Ashwins and the Great Bear.	The Pole-Star Vega in Lyra.	The Pole-Star, the Moon, the Sun. Latter grows further in importance.	From (a) 10200 B. C. (b) 8200 B. C.	The Pole-Star re-appears.
VIII	(a) The Seventeen-months year. (Ritualistic).	17	21	357	3	7	51	5		The thigh-born Sun also kin of the Sun-horse.	The Pleiades.	The Sun. (The career of the for ever.)	The Sun who is dominant. Pole-Star ended	From 6200 B. C.	Pole-Star domination extinguished, days reckoned from the rising Sun.
	(b) The Thirteen-months year. (Popular).	13	28	364	4	7	52	5	.....						.....
IX	(a) The Eighteen-months year. (Ritualistic).	18	20	360	4	5	72	6	.....	The Sun of the two hands.	All Star-leaders overthrown.	The Sun.	The Sun.	Down to 4200 B. C.	The Moon-gods, and Star-gods overthrown. The Sun freed from the yoke of the Ashwins. Marks a reverter to the earliest reckoning.
	(b) The Twelve-months year (Popular).	12	30	360	3	10	36	6							.. ..

But however in the light of the explanations offered by Mr. Hewitt, we can recognise in them fossilised relics of buried strata of religious and astronomical belief.

I am satisfied that the importance of Mr. Hewitt's data for a correct understanding of Puranic literature cannot indeed be overestimated.

Before closing, I wish to present to the reader an abstract in a tabular form of the data outlined above, and I hope it will be found useful.

V. VENKATACHELLAM IYER.

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ART. XXVI.—*An Inquiry as to how a Bell in the Portuguese Church at Borivli came to be transferred to a Hindu Temple at Nasik.*

BY

RUSTAMJI NASARVANJI MUNSHI.

(Read, 18th September 1913.)

The Thana Gazetteer describes the old Portuguese ruins of Mandapshwar which is in the island of Salsette, about two miles north of the Borivli Station (B. B. & C. I. Railway).

**THE STORY OF THE PORTUGUESE BELL.**

The Thana Gazetteer in its account of the Portuguese Church at Mandapshwar at Borivli thus refers to a bell therein :—

“ On the eighth of December, the festival of the Mandapshwar Virgin, Sâhibin Kosehsang (N. S. da Conceição, Our Lady of Conception), a fair is held, which, among Christian festivals, comes next in popularity to the fair of Mount Mary in Bandra. Numbers of childless people, Parsis, Hindus and Musalmans as well as Christians, come and make vows. A large bell, said to have cost £25 (Rs. 250), was given to the church by a man whose prayer for a son was heard<sup>1</sup>. ”

Interesting as this information was, it induced me to visit the Church which I did on the 26th of December 1912. Inquiries about the bell made at Borivli. I found no bell there, so I inquired of the Rev. M. Baptista, the Vicar of the Church, as to the whereabouts of the missing bell. He said that according to the oral tradition of the locality, the bell was carried away by some robbers and that it has now become the property of one of the Hindu temples at Nasik.

I immediately put myself in communication with the Collector of Nasik, Mr. C. M. Baker, B.A., I.C.S. In my letter, dated the 27th December 1912, I communicated to him the information about the bell as I had heard it from the Vicar of the Church. Mr. Communication with Mr. Baker, the Collector of Nasik.

<sup>1</sup> Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIV (Thana), Bom., 1882 p. 225.

Baker, in his kind communication, dated the 11th January 1913, wrote as follows :—

“ The bell, you speak of, is no doubt the one which hangs in Naru Shankar's Temple at Nasik. It is said locally to have been captured at Bassein (Wasai) Fort by Naru Shankar Raje Bahadur, but it is quite likely to have been less gloriously acquired by robbing a Church ! I have not seen the inscription myself, so I have asked my registration clerk<sup>1</sup>, who is also an antiquarian, to take a copy of it. Unfortunately he has been ill, but I expect the copy in a few days.”

While kindly forwarding to me that copy of the inscription on the bell, Mr. Baker wrote in his letter, dated the 14th January 1913 : “ It is nothing but the date 1721. As Mr. Gupte is an experienced archæologist, you may be sure that there is no other inscription, nor is any other mentioned in the Nasik Gazetteer.”

I here produce the impression of the above inscription on the bell. Naru Shankar's temple, referred to above, was built in 1747 A. D. by Naru Shankar Raje Bahadur of Malegaon at the total expenditure of Rs. 18,00,000<sup>2</sup>.

The Nasik Gazetteer thus refers to the bell :—“ The top of the wall which encloses the temple is eleven feet broad. At each corner are semi-circular domes about ten feet in diameter, and there is a fifth dome in the middle of the west wall with a large bell, dated 1721 in European-Arabic numbers. The bell, which is six feet in circumference at the lip, is probably Portuguese. It is said to have been brought either from Bassein or from Delhi, but Bassein is more likely.”<sup>3</sup>

A Gujarati guide-book giving a succinct account of the different temples at Nasik says that there is a large bell on the gate near the temple of Naru Shankar, that there is on it the number 1721 and that it is said to have been brought there from Bassein.<sup>4</sup> This Gujarati

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Y. R. Gupte, B.A.

<sup>2</sup> The Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVI, 1883 (Nasik), p. 519.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> “आ देवना आसण दरवाळ उपर अंक मोडी धांटे ते वसईची लावी अंक केहे छे. तेना उपर १७२१ अंक छे.”—श्री क्षेत्र नासिक पंचवटी तपोवन वार्त्तन अने श्री कपिल महाराजनी महाराज रचनार, श्रीधर नारायण महाराज, अ० मारुट रेलुवासी श्री क्षेत्र नासिक इ० २ विध भूषण छे ७० नासिक, पृष्ठ १३.

guide-book of 32 pages does not suggest Delhi as the original home of this bell.

Dr. Gerson da Cunha<sup>1</sup>, that ardent historian of Western India, in describing the antiquities of Bassein, divides Bassein into eight districts. The island of Salsette (A Ilha de Salceté) was the third of the eight divisions under the jurisdiction of Bassein. It was divided into a Pragna and ninety-five villages. And Mandapeshwar, called Mont-Pezier or Monpacer by the Portuguese, is one of the villages of this third division of Bassein<sup>2</sup>.

So, Mandapeshwar, which is at about two miles north of Borivli Station, forms a part of the Bassein territory.

The object of this paper is to trace the history of events that seem to have led to the removal of the bell from the Christian Church to the Hindu Temple.

### HISTORICAL EVIDENCE.

The Thana and Nasik Gazetteers do not mention either the date or the event when the bell was carried away from the Church. But we shall endeavour to trace both.

The date 1721 in European-Arabic numbers, as can be observed from the impression of the inscription on the bell, kindly supplied to me by Mr. Baker, helps us to ascertain approximately the time when the bell was transferred to the Nasik temple.

The date 1721 on the bell may either be the date of its casting or the date of its subsequent presentation to the Church by the donor "whose prayer for a son was heard." Taking this as our hypothesis, we have to look for a subsequent date for the transmission of the bell from Bassein to Nasik. According to the Nasik Gazetteer

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gerson da Cunha, Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein. Bombay, 1876; pp. 157, 188 and 192.

<sup>2</sup> "This Salsette Taluka is bounded on the north by the Bassein creek, on the east by the Bhiwandi creek and a range of hills known as the Parsik range, which runs north and south forming the Bombay boundary between this and the Kalyan and Panvel talukas, on the south by the island and harbour of Bombay and on the west by the Sea."—Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. CCCLVIII—New Series. Papers relating to the Revision Survey Settlement of the Salsette Taluka of the Thana Collectorate, Bombay, 1897, p. 5.

"The Taluka contains 138,549 acres or 216½ square miles; it is bounded on the north by the Vaitarna river and Mahim Taluka, on the south by the Bassein creek and Salsette Taluka, on the east by the Bhiwandi and Vada Talukas, and on the west by the Sea."—Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. CCCLXXII—New Series. Papers relating to the Revision Survey Settlement of the Bassein Taluka of the Thana Collectorate, Bombay, 1898, p. 4.

and the Gujarati Guide-Book of the Nasik temples, above referred to, Naru Shankar's temple was built in 1747. Now, between these two dates (1721 and 1747), we come across an event of historic interest and significance.

The rise of the Portuguese power in India dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century when in A. D. 1507 the sound of the Portuguese cannon was first heard on the shores of Maharashtra <sup>1</sup>. Goa was the first possession which the Portuguese acquired in the land of the Marathas <sup>2</sup>. Among the many territories which the Portuguese then gradually acquired, Bassein, which for the first time fell into their hands in A. D. 1534 having been ceded to them by Bahadur Shah, king of Gujarat <sup>3</sup>, was an important one. This remained in the undisturbed possession of the Portuguese till 1670<sup>4</sup> when Shivaji attacked them by sea <sup>5</sup>. But he was repulsed. There was now war going on between these two powers. The principal exploit that marks it, is the storming of Bassein in May 1739 by the Maratha troops under Chimnaji Appa, the Peshwa's brother. The Marathas were now the masters of Bassein for about 40 years, when, in 1780, the English under General Goddard captured it from them.

Thus, between the dates 1721 and 1747, the important event of historic interest is the passing away of Bassein from the Portuguese into the hands of the Marathas in the year 1739. As Naru Shankar's temple at Nasik was not built before 1747, we conjecture that the bell might have remained in the custody of the Marathas since the capture of Bassein in 1739 till that date, and that it might have been deposited to its new home of sanctity at Nasik either during, or subsequent to, A. D. 1747.

### INQUIRIES ABOUT THE BELL MADE AT NASIK.

With a view to collect as much information and material as possible regarding the transference of the bell to Nasik, I visited that place on the 25th April 1913. While there, I took some measurements

<sup>1</sup> History of the Mahrattas by James Grant Duff, 3rd. ed., London : 1873, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Imperial Gazetteer, of India, Vol. VII (Oxford : 1908), p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIII, p. 475.

<sup>5</sup> Nairne's Konkan. This is the first mention of Shivaji's fleet.—Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 207.

of the bell from above one of the five domes of the temple and also got a photograph of the bell taken which I produce here.<sup>1</sup>

The inquiries made at Nasik were not productive of better results, partly owing to the ignorance of the people—especially of the temple ministrants—and partly owing to the lack of interest in such matters of antiquity. The only information that the ministrant of Naru Shankar's temple could give me was that the bell was hanging there even before his grandfather was born ! But it appeared that some people knew from local tradition that the bell was brought from Bassein.

I was told that the metal and make of this bell widely differed from those of Nasik bells. This, I was able to see and compare. The Nasik bells are generally small in size and of a bright metal with figures of some gods or goddesses or some sacred animals carved on them. This Portuguese bell is unusually large, being 2 feet 6 inches in height, 3 feet 3 inches in diameter, and 5 feet 7 inches in upper, 6 feet 3 inches in middle and 10 feet 3 inches in lower circumference. It is only on account of its hugeness, and as a trophy, that the bell seems to have been placed in this temple. As to why the bell should have been located in this particular temple—for, there are many temples at Nasik—no one could elucidate me. But this was because the bell probably belonged to the builder of the temple, as we shall presently see.

There is a belief amongst the people of Nasik that whenever the water of the river rises to the level of the bell, the river is supposed to have reached its utmost capacity of a flood. We find this statement also corroborated by the *Bombay Gazetteer*<sup>2</sup> wherein we read that "In the great flood of 1872, the water of the river rose to the level of the bell."

That the bell is not now used in religious rites or worship is certain as is evident from the state in which it is allowed to rust. But the inquiries revealed that, at one time, it might have been used by the people. A local saying current amongst the people is नारो शंकरचा घंटा वाजला, *Naroshankarcha ghanta vajla, i. e.*, the bell of Naru Shankar has sounded. Whenever a particular information, which is to be kept

<sup>1</sup>. I am indebted to Mr. Ardeshir Lal of Nasik for all the kind and prompt help received from him while at Nasik.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XVI, p. 519.



*The bell of the Portuguese Church at Borivli now hanging in  
Naru Shankar's temple at Nasik.*

private, happens to be known to a person, who is reputed not to keep it to himself, this saying is usually resorted to. With reference to that person, when it is said that the bell of Naru Shankar has sounded, it means that the information will now be known to all, just as the peals of this bell are heard far and wide.

This local saying suggests to us that the tolling of the bell might have been resorted to when the temple was in use and it was this use of the bell that very probably gave birth and currency to the saying.

The self-same saying sets us thinking on the question of the ownership of the bell.

There can be no doubt as to the fact that the bell was brought from the Portuguese Church to the Hindu temple during, or subsequent to, 1739 A. D. But who brought it? The Marathas, or Naru Shankar, the builder of the temple. The above Maratha saying speaks of the bell as *Narushankarcha ghanta*, i. e., Naru Shankar's bell and not as *Narushankarcha mandircha ghanta* which would then mean, the bell in or of the temple of Naru Shankar. So, when interpreted in this light, the saying seems to assign the ownership of the bell to Naru Shankar, who probably brought the bell from Bassein, and hung it in the temple, which he built, with a view, perhaps to attract worshippers to his temple, owing to the hugeness of the bell.

### A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF NARU SHANKAR.

The life of Naru Shankar, the builder of the temple at Nasik, known after him, throws some light on the subject-matter of our Paper.

From references to Naru Shankar in Grant Duff's "History of the Marathas," we gather that at the siege of Ahmednagar in 1755 A. D. by Raghunath Rao and Dummajee, Naru Shankar was one of the most active of the assailants, having under his command a large body of Arab infantry<sup>1</sup>.

When Sadashiv Rao Bhow marched from the Deccan to oppose the Afghans in 1760, Naru Shankar was one among the principal officers with the Bhow's division<sup>2</sup>.

When Raghunath Rao raised his own infant son, Bhaskar Rao, to the dignity of Pratinidhi in lieu of Bhowan Rao, who had succeeded

<sup>1</sup> Duff, History of the Mahrattas, Lon : 1873, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 313.

his uncle Jagjivan Prati Nidhi, Naru Shankar, who, for a time, commanded in the citadel of Delhi, was appointed "to the office of Mootaliq, which was in effect conferring the office of Pratee Needhee upon him."<sup>1</sup>

According to the Nasik Gazetteer, "Málegaon fort is said to have been built in 1740 by one Narushankar."<sup>2</sup>

I am indebted for the following biographical sketch of Naru Shankar to Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara and to Mr. Y. R. Gupte of Nasik for the translation from the Marathi of the learned Rao Bahadur :—

### नारो शंकर राजेबहादुर.

नारो शंकर राजेबहादुर हे पेशवाईमध्ये प्रसिद्ध पुरुष होऊन गेले. हे ऋग्वेदी देशस्थ ब्राह्मण असून यांचे उपनांव दाणी असे होते. यांचे वडील शंकराजीपंत हे विजापूरच्या सुभ्याजवळ दिवाण होते. यांस आबाजी शंकर, लक्ष्मण शंकर, व नारो शंकर असे तीन पुत्र होते. यांपैकी लक्ष्मण शंकर व नारो शंकर यांनी स्वपराक्रमाने बुंदेलखंडामध्ये मराठ्यांचा अंमल संस्थापित करून मोठी कीर्ति मिळविली. नारो शंकर हे प्रथमतः थोरले मल्हारराव होळकर यांजपाशी शिलेदारीचे कामावर होते. त्यांजवळ त्यांनी लढाईचे प्रसंगी अनेक वेळां आपली मर्दुमकी व्यक्त केली. त्यावरून मल्हारराव होळकर प्रसन्न होऊन त्यांनी त्यांस नगारा, निशाण, पागा वगैरे सरंजाम दिला व त्यांस इंदूर सुभ्याच्या बंदोबस्ताचे काम सांगितले. पुढे मल्हारराव होळकर यांच्या शिफारसीने नारो शंकर यांची योजना हिंदुस्थान प्रांती दतिया, ओच्छी, वगैरे बुंदेले राजांच्या बंदोबस्ताच्या कामी करण्यांत आली. तिकडे त्यांनी मोठा पराक्रम करून बुंदेले राजांस नम्र केले व झांशीचा किछा इ० स० १७४२ मध्ये हस्तगत केला. याच वर्षी बाळाजी बाजीराव पेशवे यांस छत्रसाल राजांचे मुलाकडून बुंदेलखंडामध्ये जो मुलुख मिळाला त्यापैकी झांशी प्रांताच्या सुभेदारीवर नारो शंकर यांची नेमणूक करण्यांत आली. नारो शंकर यांनी झांशी शहर वसविले आणि तेथे चवदा वर्षेपर्यंत सुभेदारीचे उत्तम प्रकारे काम केले. नारो शंकर यांचा फौजेचा खर्च विशेष असल्यामुळे त्यांच्याकडून पेशवे सरकारास तिकडील प्रांताच्या उत्पन्नाचा वसूल येईनासा झाला. शिवाय नारो शंकर यांचा बडेजाव झांशी प्रांती विशेष होऊन त्यांस दिल्लीच्या बादशहाकडून 'राजेबहादुर हा'

<sup>1</sup> *Duff*, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> *Nasik Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI, p. 451.

किताब मिळाला, त्यामुळे ते आपणांस स्वतंत्र सरदार म्हणवू लागले. हे त्यांचे प्राबल्य पेशवे सरकारास राजकीय दृष्ट्या अनिष्ट वाटले. सबब त्यांनी ३० स० १७५७ मध्ये त्यांस परत बोलाविले. त्या वेळीं नारो शंकर यांनी पुणे येथे पेशव्यांच्या वाढ्यामध्ये नौबत व डंका वाजवीत प्रवेश केला आणि पेशवे सरकारास सुप्रसन्न करून त्यांचा सर्व रोष नाहीसा केला. अर्थात् पेशवे सरकारांनी त्यांचा सरंजाम वगैरे त्यांस परत दिला.\*

नारो शंकर यांस दिल्लीच्या बादशहाने राजेबहादुर म्हणून जो किताब दिला होता तोच कायम करून जरी पटका, साहेब नौबत, व सरदारीचीं वस्त्रे देऊन फौजेस व जातीस मिळून पंधरा लक्षांचा सरंजामी महाल मुलूख दिला होता. त्यांच्याकडे हिंदुस्थान प्रांती गंजबसोदे व सुजालपुर हे दोन महाल होते व स्वदेशी, निंबार्दित बेलापूर, अंमळनेर वगैरे महाल, व गुजराथ प्रांती जंबूसर व बुंदेलखंड प्रांती झांशी इत्यादि महाल होते.

नारो शंकर राजेबहादुर हे सोनपत पानपतचे स्वारीत ३० स० १७६०-६१ मध्ये दिल्ली येथे होते. घेन लढाईचे प्रसंगी दिल्लीच्या तक्ताचे संरक्षण करण्याचे काम नारो शंकर यांच्याकडे होते. नारो शंकर हे पानिपतची लढाई संपल्यानंतर कांहीं दिवस पुन्हा झांशीच्या सुभेदारीचे काम करित होते. नंतर ३० स० १७६३ मध्ये त्यांनी झांशीच्या सुभ्यावर आपल्या बंधूचा मुलगा विश्वासराव लक्ष्मण यास नेमून ते दक्षिणेत आले. या प्रसंगी धोरले माधवराव हे पेशवाईच्या गादीवर आले असून सर्व सत्ता रघुनाथराव दादा यांच्या हातांत होती. अर्थात् नारो शंकर व रघुनाथराव दादा यांचा विशेष स्नेह असल्यामुळे रघुनाथरावांच्या शिफारसीमुळे नारो शंकर यांस ३० स० १७६३ मध्ये प्रतिनिधि पदाचीं सातारच्या राजाकडून वस्त्रे मिळालीं. राजेबहादुर नारो शंकर यांनी एक वर्षपर्यंत प्रतिनिधि पदाचा अधिकार उपभोगिला, ही महत्त्वाची गोष्ट घडून आली. नारो शंकर यांनी याच वर्षी मिरजेचा किल्ला गोपाळराव पटवर्धन यांच्या बरोबर लढाई करून घेतला. यानंतर नारो शंकर यांनी शौर्याची व पराक्रमाची जीं कामे केलीं, त्यांची माहिती बरोबर समजत नाहीं.

\* ह्या संबंधाने पुढील उल्लेख मि० एल्फिन्स्टन ह्यांच्या माहितांमध्ये दाखल आहे:—

"In the reign of Raja Shahu, Naro Shankar was nominated by Nana Saheb Peishwa to collect the revenues of Jhansi in Hindustan. He held the office for fourteen years without contributing one rupee to Government, and eventually assumed a Nowbut as a military leader, for which reasons he was recalled to Poona, and on his entry he not only caused his Nowbut to be beaten through the City, but came directly to the Peishwa's palace, where he claimed apartments. Having sufficient address to satisfy the Peishwa of his conduct, he was henceforward treated as one of the great military chiefs of the empire, and known by the name of Motiwala, from an enormous pearl which he wore."

नारो शंकर राजेबहादर हे ज्याप्रमाणे शूर सरदार होते, त्याचप्रमाणे मोठे उदार व दिलदार पुरुष होते. यांनीं झांशी व मालेगांव येथे मोठे किल्ले बांधिले, हें इतिहास प्रसिद्धच आहे. त्याचप्रमाणे त्यांनीं नासिक येथे दहा लक्ष रुपये खर्च करून एक सुंदर देवालय बांधिलें आहे, तें त्यांच्या नांवानें प्रसिद्ध आहे. तेथें त्यांनीं एक पोर्तुगीज घंटा टांगिली आहे. तिचा आवाज फार मोठा असल्यामुळे, 'नारो शंकराची घंटा' अशी मराठी भाषेत एक म्हण पडली आहे.

नारो शंकर राजेबहादर यांच्या मृत्यूने नक्की साल सांपडत नाही.

“ Naroshankar Rajebahadar flourished during the reigns of the Peshwas. He was a Rigvedi Deshastha Brahman and was surnamed Dani. His father Shankarajipant was Divan to the Subha of Bijapur. He had three sons, Abaji Shankar, Lakshman Shankar and Naroshankar. Of these, Lakshman Shankar and Naroshankar established the Maratha rule in Bundelkhand and were well-known. Naroshankar was a Shiledar under Malharrao Holkar. He showed his valour in battlefield many a time. Malharrao was pleased and favoured him with a nagara (drum), a flag, etc., and entrusted him with the administration of the Indore Subha. At the instance of Malharrao he was deputed to keep in check the Bundela Rajas, Datiya Orcha and others in Northern India. He fought battles, humbled the Bundela Rajas and captured the fort of Jhansi in A.D. 1742. Naroshankar was appointed Subedar of the Suba of Jhansi out of the province of Bundelkhand which was received as a jagir by Balaji Bajirao Peshwa from King Chatrasal. Naroshankar founded the city of Jhansi and was a Subedar there for 14 years. The Peshwa could not get the revenue of the province owing to the enormous expenditure on Naroshankar's military establishment. Besides, Naroshankar being very influential in the province of Jhansi, and being favoured with the title of Rajebahadar from the Emperor of Delhi, was considered as an independent Sardar. This predominance was thought of as undesirable from a political point of view by the Peshwa Government. So in 1757, he was recalled. At that time Naroshankar entered the Peshwa's Vada in Poona, while the kettle drums were being beaten and well pleased the Peshwa Government and the ill-feeling disappeared. Of course the saranjam was returned to him<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> About this Mr. Elphinstone has recorded as follows :—

“ In the reign of Raja Shahu, Naro Shankar was nominated by Nana Saheb Peishwa to collect the revenues of Jhansi in Hindustan. He held the office for fourteen years without contributing one rupee to Government, and eventually assumed a Nowbut as military leader

The title of Rajebahadar conferred by the Emperor of Delhi, was confirmed. Naroshankar was presented with a Jaripatka, Saheb Nowbat. He was created a Sirdar and was given Mahals (smaller than talukas) as a saranjam yielding 15 lacs of rupees. He had the administration of Ganjabsode and Sujalpur Mahals, of Nimbait Belapur, and Amalner Mahals in Gujrat, of Jambusar and in Bundelkhand the Jhansi Mahal.

Naroshankar was at Delhi in 1760-61, when the battle of Sonpat Panipat was fought. Naroshankar was to protect the Emperor of Delhi at this critical moment. Naroshankar had the control of the Jhansi Subha again after this war. Then in 1762, he appointed his nephew Vishvasrao Laksman and returned to the Deccan. At this time Madhavrao the Great was the Peshwa and Raghunathrao was all in all. Naroshankar and Raghunathrao being bosom friends, the former was created the Pratinidhi by the Raja of Satara in 1763. The important event was that Naroshankar enjoyed the authority for one year. In the same year, he fought with Gopalrao Patwardhan and took the fort of Miraj. Reliable information regarding Naroshankar's campaigns after this event is not forthcoming.

Naroshankar Rajebahadar was a valorous Sardar as well as a noble and bold man. It is well-known that he erected the forts of Jhanshi and Malegaon. He built a beautiful temple at Nasik, over which he spent ten lacs of rupees. It is called after him. There he has hung a Portuguese bell, the pealing sound of which has given rise to the Marathi proverb "Naroshankarchi Ghanta" (Naroshankar's bell).

The year of Naroshankar's death is not known."<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing account of Rajebahadar Naroshankar's life, succinct and imperfect as it is, represents him as a daring and enterprising Maratha warrior all his life. He distinguished himself as a great soldier and administrator. He went to Delhi and the Deccan. A part of his life was spent in the various districts of Gujrat and Bundelkhand. Though he seems to have traversed many places both as a soldier and as an administrator, the above account of his

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for which reasons he was recalled to Poona and on his entry he not only caused his Nowbat to be beaten through the City, but came directly to the Peshwa's palace, where he claimed apartments. Having sufficient address to satisfy the Peshwa of his conduct, he was henceforward treated as one of the great military chiefs of the empire, and known by the name of Motiwala, from an enormous pearl which he wore."

<sup>1</sup> That the date of Naroshankar's death cannot be placed later than 1774-75 A. D. can be shown from the following entry into the Naro Apaji's Diary:—

"(8) Naroshankar Rajebahadar being dead, a present of clothes and jewelry was sent to Raghunathrao Narayan, and he was directed to join his battalion which was under Hari Ballal." (*Vide Selections from the Satara Rajas' and The Peshwas' Diaries IV.*—Sawai

Madhavrao Peshwa, Vol. I. prepared by Rao Bahadur G. C. Vad, 1908, p. 10.

life does not, in any place, speak of his visit to Bassein or refer to his having taken part in the siege of Bassein by the Marathas in 1739 A. D. Nevertheless, it does, undoubtedly, couple his name with the huge Portuguese bell which hangs in the temple at Nasik, which was built by him at a cost of no less than 18 lacs of rupees and which is named after him.

But the Bombay Gazetteer comes to our aid. The extract from it which we shall presently quote below shows the Maratha warrior as having actually gone to Bassein, where he is said to have repaired the Nirmala temple.

Naru Shankar  
actually in Bassein.

We quote the Gazetteer :—

“ A tradition exists that the temple at Nirmala near Bassein was erected to commemorate the death there of the great Shankar-āchārya, the chief teacher of the Shaivite worship in the eighth or ninth century. But he is known to have died in Kashmir, and as there were twenty-seven of his spiritual descendants who assumed his name, and who are calculated to have lasted for about 650 years, it is probable, that some one of these was the person, in whose honour the original temple was built.<sup>1</sup> The present building dates only from the time of the Peshwas, having been built by one Naroshankar, probably the same mentioned by Grant Duff<sup>2</sup> .”—Bom. Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II (1896), p. 28.

The extract, just quoted, clears up the little doubt. It distinctly locates him in a district which was at that period occupied by the Portuguese. When Narushankar had been to Bassein, where he built the Nirmala temple, it is quite probable that he took part in the siege of Bassein (1739 A. D.) and that he ravaged the Portuguese church at Mandapeshwar near Borivli, from where he carried the bell to Nasik to be placed there in a temple which he subsequently built in 1747 A. D.

### INSTANCES OF THE RELIGIOUS EDIFICES OF ONE NATION BEING USED BY THE OTHER.

Strange as this incident of the Portuguese bell having been transferred to the Hindu temple seems to be, history affords us many parallel instances of the religious edifices of one nation being used by the other for its own purposes.

<sup>1</sup> H. H. Wilson's works I., 197, Compare Bom. Gaz., XIV, 292-293.

<sup>2</sup> Duff, History, 313, 327. Vide also Da Cunha's Chaul and Bassein, p. 127.

It was customary with the Mahomedan kings to raise their masjids on the sites, and with the materials of the Mahomedans. Hindu temples which they demolished.

We shall bring under review a few instances to illustrate this.

Sir (then, Colonel) Alexander Cunningham, in his Memorandum laid before the Government of Lord Canning in November 1861, regarding a proposed investigation of the archæological remains of Upper India, said about the remains at Jaunpur, "Although the existing remains at this place are Mahomedan, yet it is well-known that the principal buildings were originally Hindu temples<sup>1</sup>."

The Atala Masjid of Jaunpur on the site of the Hindu temple of Atāla Devi which is said to have been built by Jaya Chundra Deva, the last of the Rathor Princes of Kanouj, was subsequently converted to Mahomedan use by Ibrahim Shah Shurki between the years 1403 and 1443 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

The Great Mosque of Kutb-ud-din at Delhi "was built by Hindu masons under Mahomedan supervision out of the ruins of twenty-seven Hindu temples, some of which were no doubt Jain"<sup>3</sup>.

The Great Mosque at Ajmere, popularly known as "*Arhai din ki Jupdi*" or the "shed of 2½ days," was built, like the Kutb Mosque at Delhi, out of the spoils of many Hindu temples<sup>4</sup>. According to Col. Tod<sup>5</sup>, the whole of this building was originally a single Jain temple.

According to Cunningham<sup>6</sup>, the great temple of *Sās-bāhu*, or the great Jain temple of Gwalior, was not available for Hindu worship during the time of its Mahomedan occupation in the 13th and 14th centuries as it was used by the Mahomedans as a dwelling place.

The two Stone Pillars (*śila thambha*) bearing the religious edicts of Asoka were brought by Firoze Shah Tughlak about A. H. 757 (A. D. 1356) to Delhi. One of them, well known as Firoze Shah's Pillar, was brought from Topar<sup>7</sup> of Shams-i-Sirāj identified by

<sup>1</sup> Sir A. Cunningham, Archæological Survey of India, Four Reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, Vol. I, (Simla, 1871), Pref. p. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, Archæological Survey of India, Report for the year 1871-72, Vol. IV (1874), Pref. p. VI; Vol. XI (1880), p. 104, 107. Vide also Khair-ud-din's History of Jaunpur tr. by Pogson, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, IV, Pref. p. V; also vide my "History of the Kutub Minar (Delhi)," 1911, pp. 30 & 52.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, Reports, Vol. II, pp. 258-61.

<sup>5</sup> Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1808), pp. 797-801.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham, Reports, Vol. II (Simla, 1871), p. 361.

Journal of Archæological Society of Delhi, I, p. 74.

Cunningham<sup>1</sup> as the present village of Pasta "on the western bank of the Jumna, and 12 miles in a direct line to the north-east of Khizrabad<sup>2</sup>."

Haibat Khan's Mosque at Ahmedabad was built on the site of a Hindu temple. "Inside, in the centre, is a Hindu dome of great beauty and pillars taken from different temples<sup>3</sup>."

The Jain temple of Chintaman finished about 1638 A. D. at a cost of Rs. 9,00,000 by Santidas, a rich Bania merchant, was turned into a mosque by Aurengzeb, who "defiled the temple by having a cow's throat cut in it and breaking the images<sup>4</sup>."

The *Someri* or Golden Mosque at Ahmednagar was built by Nizam-ul-Mulk (1720—1748) out of the materials of a Hindu Temple. The mosque is now used as a residence by a Pársi family<sup>5</sup>.

Malik Karim's and Khwaja Jehan's mosques of Bijapur were built from the remains of the Hindu temples<sup>6</sup>.

We do not find instances of Mahomedan mosques changed into Hindu temples because the Hindus were wont to look upon this piece of business as profane and blasphemous. But it was certain that the Hindus did not leave the mosques unmolested or intact whenever such opportunities presented themselves. Sidi Sayed's mosque<sup>7</sup> at Ahmedabad was desecrated by the Marathas. With regard to the well-known temple of Sunder Narayen at Nasik, we read that "on the spot where the temple stands there is said to have been an old Hindu temple which was destroyed by the Musalmans and the site made a burying-ground. On the overthrow of Musalman rule, probably about 1750, Peshwa Báláji is said to have destroyed the grave-yard, cleared the ground of the bones, and sanctified the spot on which the present temple was built<sup>8</sup>."

There are a number of instances on record to show that the Christian churches were also not left undisturbed by the Moslems in the high tide of their victory.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, Reports, II, 161.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Gazetteer of Bom. Pres., Vol. IV (Ahmedabad), 1879, p. 270.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>5</sup> Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVII (Bom. 1884), p. 699.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Bijapur Gazetteer, Vol. XXIII (Bom. 1884), pp. 632, 637.

<sup>7</sup> Gaz. of Bom. Presidency, Vol. IV (Ahmedabad), p. 276.

<sup>8</sup> Nasik Gazetteer, p. 504.

We are told that "the columns and capitals used in the mosque of 'Amir at Fostat,' Cairo, built in A. D. 643, were all taken from ancient buildings, Egyptian, Roman and Byzantine."<sup>1</sup>

Again, it was from the ruins of Justinian's church of St. Mary on Mount Sion that the columns and other materials of the Mosque of el-Aksa at Jerusalem were taken by Abdul Malik (A. D. 690).<sup>2</sup>

The mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus built by the Caliph Walid in 705 A. D. stands on the site of the Basilican church of St. John.<sup>3</sup>

The Mecca niche is sunk in the doorway of a Roman temple which formerly occupied the same site.<sup>4</sup>

The church of Sancta St. Sophia or the Divine Wisdom of which "the mosques of Constantinople are all copies more or less,"<sup>5</sup> has been used, since the Mahomedan conquest in 1453, as an imperial mosque. Prof. T. F. Collier, in his article on Constantinople in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th edition, Vol. VII., p. 6) thus refers to this church:—

"Since the Turkish conquest a minaret has been erected at each of the four exterior angles of the building and the interior has been adapted to the requirements of Moslem worship, mainly by the destruction or concealment of most of the Mosaics which adorned the walls. In 1847-1848, during the reign of Abdul Mejid, the building was put into a state of thorough repair by the Italian architect Fossati. Happily the Sultan allowed the Mosaic figures, then exposed to view, to be covered with matting before being plastered over. They may reappear in the changes which the future will bring."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. XVIII, p. 899.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ency. Brit.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 899.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ency. Brit.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 900.

<sup>6</sup> *Ency. Brit.*, Vol. VII, p. 6, *vide* also Edward Foord, *The Byzantine Empire.—The Rear guard of European civilization*, Lon. 1911, p. 70.

## APPENDIX A.

*Some Parallel Instances of Portuguese Bells in Hindu Temples.*

During the course of discussion on my above Paper on the Portuguese Bell, in the Nasik Temple, Mrs. Eleanor Arthur spoke of a similar Portuguese Bell in "a curious old temple" of Mahadev at Satara, and suggested to embody in this Paper any particulars regarding this bell also.

It appears from the Satara Gazetteer that "two bells, with the date 1720 in Roman letters engraved on them and probably brought from some Portuguese Church in the Konkan, hung from the roof" of a Hindu temple at Shinganapur in Satara.

Before I could make further inquiries in this direction, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Heaton, who took an interest in my paper and with whom I was in correspondence in the matter, kindly sent me with his letter, dated the 22nd October 1913, a communication which Mrs. Arthur had received from the Collector of Satara about the bells at Shinganapur. As the said communication is important and full of information, which the Satara Gazetteer lacks, I copy it down fully :—

No. 854 of 1913.

CAMP SHINGANAPUR,

15th October 1913.

To

THE COLLECTOR OF SATARA.

SIR,

With reference to your memo. No. 6307, dated 1st instant, I have the honour to report that in front of the main temple of Shri Sambhu Mahadev at Shinganapur, there are two big bells hanging over the small Nandis under a stone canopy. There is also a third bell still bigger than these two. It is hung outside a stone chamber in a south-west corner in the rear of the main temple. These bells, I denote, as Nos. 1, 2 and 3 to distinguish them from each other and give the inscriptions on them below. I made enquiries as to when, whence and by whom these bells were brought there with old persons, but none is able to give any enlightening information on those points.

They only say that they were brought during the time of the Mahratta Rule.

Bells hanging over the Nandis :—

No. 1. It bears the figure 1729 and a mark  $\ddagger$ . There are no Roman letters of years at all on this or any of the bells. The lowest part of "9" in figure 1729 mentioned above appears to have broken away and it appears more like vernacular figure 1 (one). This bell is 1 foot, 7 inches in diameter.

No. 2. This bell bears the figures 1716. The lower and upper ends of the last figure 6 appear to be a little broken. It bears a mark  $\ddagger$ . It is 1 foot 10 inches in diameter.

No. 3. This bell is in the south-west of the temple. It bears the year 1630 and has the following inscription on it :—

I H S  
DO BENAVENTVRADO  
AMARO SANCTO  
AM

These letters are protuberant and appear to have been inscribed on the bell when it was cast. This bell is 2 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter.

The following vernacular letters are carved on it and are evidently seen to be of a recent date :—

हर हर महादेव  
रामजी कोडोबा  
वाग्या तुरंबेकार  
हे कोण घेईल तो मात्रा गमनी.  
मण ॥ ४

These vernacular letters rendered in English would run thus :—

Har Har Mahadev.  
Ramji Kodova (probably meant Kondoba).  
Vagya Turambekar.  
He who will remove this (bell) is a wretch.

Weight 19 maunds.

These 19 maunds appear to be of local measure, a maund being of 13 seers, of 80 tolas each ; *i.e.*, the weight will come upto 247 seers or 6 maunds 7 seers of Bengal measure.

I have, etc.,  
(Sd.) G. A. ADVANT.  
*Mamlatdar of Man.*

It appears from the above communication that there are three bells at Shingnapur, the third, which is the largest, having some inscriptions carved on it.

I sent a copy of the above communication to Mr. Joseph Bocarro, the Portuguese Translator with the Bombay Government, with my letter, dated the 29th December 1913, requesting him to kindly translate for me in English the Portuguese inscription on the bell which he kindly did in his letter, dated 7th January 1914. I give below that portion of his letter which deals with the inscription :—

“I. H. S.” are the initials of the words JESUS HOMO SALVATOR = Jesus the Saviour of Man.

DO BENAVENTURADO } = “of the Blessed Amaro,  
AMARO SANCTO }

Saint,” or a better form would be “of the Blessed Saint Amaro,” which would show that the bell was dedicated to St. Amaro.

“A.M.” are the initials of the words “Ave Maria” which in English means “Hail Mary” which are the first two words of a Catholic prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Shams-ul-ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A., Ph. D., that indefatigable scholar, who takes some interest in my humble studies and whose willing help and guidance have been ever useful to me in this paper as elsewhere, kindly drew my attention to a parallel instance of a Portuguese bell in the Potala in one of Dr. Sven Hedin’s recent books from which I quote as under :—

“Yet still in the year 1904, the English under Younghusband found a bronze bell in the Potala which had once rung for service in the Capuchin church. ‘Te Deum Laudamus’ could be read in the bronze, and the Ambrosian hymn of praise seems to linger in the waves of sound when the bell is set swinging by pagan hands, and the melancholy and victorious echo rebounds from the rocks of Tibet.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sven Hedin, Trans-Himalaya Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet, Vol. III, Lon: 1913, p. 133.*

## APPENDIX B.

*The Bell of the Portuguese Church of Yerangal at Versova.*

When this paper, along with other papers, was being composed, I received from Mr. Nicholas F. DeSouza, a proof examiner in the *Times of India* Press where our journal is printed, a letter dated the 23rd March 1914 drawing my attention to some inaccuracies in my paper on the Portuguese Bell. The letter stated as follows :—

“ Since there are inaccuracies regarding the transference of the Portuguese Bell, I may be permitted to draw your attention to the following facts which I am in a position to prove as a Warden and Administrator of the Church of Yerangal which is affiliated to the Church of Mhad, a place near the Versova village in Salsette. There is no doubt that Naru Shanker carried the Portuguese Bell as a trophy after the memorable siege of Bassein to Nasik, but it is not from the Portuguese Church at Borivli or Mandapeshwar but the property of the then Cathedral of St. Bonaventure of Yerangal . . . . . The Yerangal Cathedral also has a fortress attached to it, and traditional history tells us that the Marathas under Naru Shanker on their way to the Mhad Fort broke open the doors of this Cathedral and captured the small force stationed here, taking away the Portuguese Bell as a trophy. . . . . Now, Sir, “ *The bell was given to the Church by a man whose prayer for a son was heard,*” distinctly strengthens my contention that the said bell originally belonged to St. Bonaventure’s Church of Yerangal, as promises for a son were originally and are up to now made in this Church. Throughout the length and breadth of Salsette there is a saying that those that don’t get a son or children should celebrate the Feast of this Church, and their prayers are heard. The Feast of this Church is celebrated on the thirteenth day of Christmas and it is called Epiphany. If you would enquire of any one from Salsette where the promises for a son are made, he will readily mention the name of this Church.”

The letter came to me more or less as a thunder-bolt, especially when my paper had already been read before the Society some months ago, and when it was now on the eve of being published. Though personally I was fully convinced of the result of my inquiries and studies as set forth in my paper, I visited on the 29th March 1914

the church in the village of Yerangal<sup>1</sup> to which, my informant thought, or rather was prepared to prove, the Naru Shanker's bell rightly belonged.

The Bombay Gazetteer thus speaks of the Yerangal Church :—

“Yerangal, on a pretty bay close to the sea, about ten miles north of Bandra, has a large vaulted church of the Holy Magi still in fair repair, 110 feet long by 26 broad and 24 high. Once a year, on the feast of Epiphany, a mass is performed on its altar, when Christians gather from the villages round.”<sup>2</sup>

Da Cunha<sup>3</sup> thus refers to it :—

“Church of Sam Boaventura at Yerangal, which was spelt by the Portuguese Arengal, and sometimes called Altomar. This church, with the parochial house attached to it, is now in ruins. It is about ten miles from Bandra, and is situated on a pretty little bay close to the sea. A mass is performed on its altar once a year, on the feast of the Epiphany, when a pilgrimage of the Roman Catholics of the adjacent villages takes place.”

The Portuguese Church at Yerangal is a massive structure, now in ruins. This church differs from other churches in Salsette and round about it, in that no attempt whatever seemed to have been ever made to repair it. It is perhaps the oldest Portuguese Church in Salsette, having been built in A.D. 1575.<sup>4</sup> The roof and many portions of its huge stone walls have come to the ground. It appears the church had two belfreys, the one of which on the south left no trace whatever of its existence, so utter had been the ravage of time. The belfrey on the north measured 96 inches in height<sup>5</sup> and 34 inches in breadth, at the time of my visit and year after year the stones and the

<sup>1</sup> Yerangal is a small village on the west coast of Salsette, about ten miles north of Bandra. It is separated from Versova by a small creek which can be crossed in a boat on payment of two pice for return journey. Dr. Gerson Da Cunha identifies it with “*Altomar*” (Chaul and Bassein, p. 195). But, from inquiries made at that place, I find that it is not so. Yerangal, and “*Altomar*” which seems to be the corruption of *Aldeamar* (from Portuguese *Aldea* = village and *Mar* = sea), are two distinctly separate villages, though lying close to each other. There is a fort at Aldeamar which can be identified with the Madh or the Versova Fort of the Thana Gazetteer (Vol. XIV, pp. 379-80).

<sup>2</sup> Bom. Gaz. (Thana), Vol. XIV, p. 383.

<sup>3</sup> *Dr. Gerson Da Cunha*, Chaul and Bassein, Bom. 1876, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* the Address, dated Aldeamar, 7th April 1907, given by the Christian population to His Grace the Most Rev. Dom Sebastiao Jose Pereira, Archbishop of Cranganore and Bishop of Damaun.

<sup>5</sup> Though my measurement gave this height, I am inclined to believe it was not the original height of the gap of the belfrey. This height of 96 inches, I think, is the result brought about by the stones and masonry dropping off from along the sides of the belfrey.

masonry, the villagers asserted, got loose and dropped. So, it may be fairly conjectured that the measurement of the belfrey in its original state might have been less than now. A bell, the diameter of which is more than 34 inches, cannot fit in the above belfrey. Now, the Portuguese bell of the Borivli church now hanging in the Naru Shanker's temple at Nasik measured, as we have already seen above, 39 inches in diameter. So, this bell could never have belonged to the Portuguese Church of Yerangal.

There is one more point in Mr. DeSouza's letter to me. He says that vows for children are invariably taken only at the Yerangal Church of St. Boaventura and the fact that "the bell was given to the church by a man whose prayer for a son was heard" referred to in my paper distinctly strengthens his contention. My inquiries showed that the headman or the *patel* of Aldeamar (*Madh* of the Bombay Gazetteer) had a son of vow made at the Yerangal Church and so had some of the villagers. My informant says that the Yerangal Church is the only church in Salsette that is famous for such vows for children and in order to test the truth, suggested to me to make a vow at this church and to wait for the result ! None of the books that I have consulted refers to this fame of the Yerangal Church in fulfilling the vows taken at its altar. But I find in one of the volumes of the Indian Antiquary\* a story No. 6 about "The Children of Vows" under the general heading "Folklore in Salsette" by Mr. Geo. Fr. D'Penha. The story says that the king and a baker of the country had no children. "Come, let us both go to *the Church*," says the king to the baker, "and make a vow in order to obtain children." Accordingly, they both went to *the Church* one day and made a vow, each promising to give his child in marriage to the other, in case the sexes differed. The story then runs on to say that the vows of both the king and the baker were duly fulfilled. The queen and the baker's wife begot a girl and a boy respectively and in spite of the unworthy attempts on the part of the king to get out of the vow by some means or other, the boy and the girl are eventually married amid great rejoicings, for, as the villagers said, "Were they not *children of vows*?" We are not told whether the Church to which the king and the baker of our story repaired to make vows for children was the Church of Sam Boaventura at Yerangal or the Church of N. S. da Conceicao at Mandapeshwar (Borivli) referred to in my paper. It is now, as it was in those days, common for the native Christians to take vows in any church.

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\* The Indian Antiquary. Vol. XX—1891, p. 80.

When I was at Mandapeshwar, I was told a similar story about the efficacy of prayers offered at that church. So, the mere contention of the fulfilment of vows taken at the Yerangal Church cannot be relied upon as having any value in proving that Naru Shankar's bell originally belonged to this Yerangal Church to which it was presented by a man "whose prayer for a son was heard."

So far as my inquiries go, I am convinced that if ever the Portuguese bell which is now hanging in Naru Shankar's temple at Nasik belonged to any church, it belonged to no other church but the Borivli Church.

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ART. XXVII.—*Jádi Ráná and the Kissah-i-Sanján.*

BY

PROF. S. H. HODIVALA.

[*Read 24th November 1913.*]

It is fairly well known that almost the only source of our knowledge of the early history of the Indian Parsis is the *Kissah-i-Sanján*, a narrative in Persian verse written by Bahman Kaikóbád Hamjiár Padam Sanjáná in 969 A. Y. (1600 A. C.) The substance of the first part of Bahman's account, as Anquetil calls it, of the "Parsi retreat"<sup>1</sup> is that some time after, (*it is not said how long*), the kingship had departed from Yazdajird and the Moslems had come and seized his throne, the Dasturs and Behdins finding it impossible to observe the customs of the good faith took refuge in Kohistán ( a district of Khorasan in Eastern Persia) and after having remained for a hundred years in that mountainous and wild region, fifteen years in Old Hormuz and nineteen in the island of Diu, they arrived at Sanján when a Hindu chief named Jádi Ráná was ruling there. As Bahman does not give us anything like a precise chronological starting-point, it remains open to his readers to infer whether a long period of time or a short one, whether many years or a few only intervened between the departing of the monarchy from Yazdajird and the commencement of the Kohistan wanderings. The result has been that the later writers on the subject have adopted *various starting-points of their own*, and at least six different dates have been put forward for the first arrival at Sanján, of which the earliest, Vikram Samvat 772 (716 A. C.) is separated from the latest, 961 Vikram Samvat (905 A. C.), by a hundred and eighty-nine years<sup>2</sup>. To take a few of these only ; the Compiler of the *Imperial Gazetteer* speaks of "the influx of Parsi Refugees in 775 A. D." Mr. Jivanji J. Mody in a paper read before this Society in 1900 adopted the same year, starting from 642 A. C., the date of the decisive Arab

<sup>1</sup> Le.Zend Avesta. Tome I. Disc. Prelim., CCCXVIII, Tome II. Part II. XXXIV—XXXV.

<sup>2</sup> For Eastwick's translation of the passage, see B. B. R. A. S. Journal I. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Imp. IGaz., (1908). art. Sanjan.

victory of Nehavend and adding to it 134 (100+15+19)<sup>1</sup>. Five years later, in another paper, he favoured 766 A. C. <sup>2</sup>, and very soon after, he discarded 642 A. C. for 651 A. C. (the year of Yazdajird's death,) fixed upon 785 A. C. (651+100+15+19) and even erected upon that shifting and scarcely stable foundation an imposing chronological fabric<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, there is hidden away in the Appendix of Mr. Bahmanji Patell's most valuable repertory of Parsi facts, a paragraph to the effect that according to a marginal comment in an Udwará MS. of the *Kissah-i-Sanján*, dated 1816 A. C., the Parsis first landed at Sanján on Roz Hormazd, Máh Tir, Sunday, Vikram Samvat 895 (839 A. C.)<sup>4</sup>. Lastly, Ervad M. R. Unwállá can show two MSS. written about 1750 A. C. according to which the same event must have taken place in 901 Vikram Samvat (905 A. C.).

But the most famous traditional date and that which, in spite of its inherent improbability and other unanswerable objections, has commanded the assent of writers, critical as well as uncritical<sup>5</sup>, is that which first found its way into print in the "*Kadim Tárikh Pársioni Kasar*" of Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdinji, a polemical treatise, which has the merit or demerit of having blown into flame the smouldering embers of the Kabisáh controversy. I have recently shown in another place that this statement occurs elsewhere also, in a MS. of miscellaneous Persian verses about 150 years old, and I should not be surprised if it is ultimately traced much further back. The actual words employed in this old Manuscript are

“ સંવત ૭૭૨ વર્ષ, શ્રાવણ શુદ્ધ ૯ વાર શુક્ર, રોજ ૨, માહ ૪, સને ૮૫ ઇબ્નલજરદી એવે દને શ્રી ખોરાસાનથી વેહેદીનાન શ્રી સંભણ મધે માહારાજ્ય શ્રી જાદિરાણના વખતમાં આવેઆ.”

This date is Friday, Shrāvan Sud 9, Roz Bahman (2), Máh (4), Samvat 772.

It is now forty-three years since Mr. K. R. Kama pointed out in a Gujarati pamphlet on the "Yazdajardi Era" that the Hindu Tithi here given does not coincide with the Parsi Roz Mah<sup>6</sup>. Later calculations made by others also show that—

Shravan Shud 9, 772 V. S. = 7th July 716 A. C. (N. S.) = 3rd July 716 A. C. (O. S.)

<sup>1</sup> Journal, B. B. R. A. S. XXI, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Centenary Volume 234.

<sup>3</sup> A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Parsi Prakash*, 83p.

<sup>5</sup> Romer, Journal R. A. S. IV. 360. Bombay Gazetteer XIII. Part I. 249.

<sup>6</sup> *Yazdajardi Tarikh*. (187c), 17—21.

Adhika Shravan Shud 9, 772, V. S. = 5th August 716 A. C. (N.S.),  
1st August 716 (O. S.).

Roz Bahman, Mah Tir 85 (A. Y.) (Shahansháhi) = 28th September  
716 A. C. (N. S.), 24th September 716 (O. S.).

Roz Bahman, Mah Tir 85 (A. Y.) (Kadmi) = 29th August 716 A.C.  
(N. S.), 25th August 716 (O. S.).

Adhika Shravan Shud 9, 772 V. S. = Roz Depádar, (8) Mah  
Khordád (3) (Kadmi).

Shravan Shud 9, 772 V. S. Roz Adar, (9) Máh Ardibehesht (2),  
(Kadmi),

Mr. Kama expressed his conviction that there was an error somewhere—*i.e.*, either in the year or in the Rôz Máh—and that either the one or the other stood in need of correction. He also pointed out that the Parsi Rôz Máh and the Hindu Tithi as well as the week-day tallied perfectly for *Vikram Samvat* 992 (936 A.C.), but he was for some reason averse from facing the necessary consequences of such an alteration, and adopted the middle but misleading course of supposing that it was not the year but the Rôz Máh that had been 'muddled' in the course of transmission. The emendation, therefore, for which he then exhibited the most decided partiality was that we should read Rôz Tir, Máh Second (Ardibehesht) instead of Rôz Bahmán, Máh Tir (Kadmi)<sup>1</sup>. I venture to say that such an error as he imagined to have been committed, is scarcely within the bounds of probability. If Mr. Kama had urged that Rôz Bahman, Máh Tir had been mixed up with Rôz Tir, Máh *Bahman*, it might not have been difficult to admit that such a confusion was possible.

But that Rôz Bahman, Máh Tir should have been mixed up with Rôz Tir, Máh Ardibehesht, Rôz 2, Máh 4, with Rôz 13, Máh 2, must appear to most Zoroastrians, if not to outsiders unfamiliar with our nomenclature, almost unthinkable<sup>2</sup>. But even as it is, Mr. Kama's suggestion does not really meet the difficulty at all, for even if we read Rôz Tir, Máh Ardibehesht, there is not anything like *the*

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 21—24.

<sup>2</sup> "Mr. K.R. Kama has discovered," we read in the Bombay Gazetteer, "that these Hindu and Parsi dates do not fall together till the Christian year 936. He suggests a simple change in the Parsi date from Roz Bahman Mah Tir to *Roz Tir Mah Bahman*, which gives the Hindu date Shravan Shuddh 13th, Samvat 772, or within four days of the accepted date." XIII, Pt. I, 249. This is not at all correct. Mr. Kama really proposed to read Roz Tir Mah (2) *Ardibehesht* not *Bahman*. Nothing perhaps can illustrate my contention better than this unconscious mistake of the Parsi compilers of this account. Indeed, Mr. Kama himself, subsequently appears to have perceived that his first position was scarcely tenable and adopted with less diffidence the other alternative, though he could never advance a step beyond conjecture. Proceedings of the *Zarhoshti Dinni Khol Karnári Mandali* (1902), pp. 200—201.

*perfect coincidence* that is alone of any significance, between the Hindu Tithi and the Rôz Mâh, but *only an approximation within four days*.

At the same time, the incontrovertible objections to the year itself remain unanswered. Indeed, it is plain from what I have said about the alternative dates, 839 A. C., 905 A. C., etc., that intelligent Parsi chroniclers had long before our own days perceived that 772 V. S. = 716 A. C. was absolutely too early and irreconcilable with the *Kissah-i-Sanjān* as well as with many well-known facts. I have always thought that it was the year that had been muddled somehow and that it was most unfortunate that Mr. Kama should have lent the weight of his authority (which was deservedly high), to the improbable supposition of the Rôz Mâh only being wrong and the year being right, and thus given a fresh lease of life to the old error. I have said that it is long since I first entertained this notion, but it is only within the last year or two that I have obtained satisfactory evidence on the matter, which I propose to submit to your candid judgments to-night.

My theory then is that V. S. 772 is a very old misreading of V. S. 992, which has been transmitted from generation to generation and which is responsible for that chaos which still reigns in Parsi chronology. I am, of course, aware that the burden of showing the probability as well as the origin of such an extraordinary blunder lies upon me, and I will, therefore, proceed at once to state that in the writings and inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era, the symbol for the number nine (9) is so very much like the modern Devanāgarī sign for seven (7) that this is not the only mistake of the kind which has engendered confusion and controversy. Were it not that this happened many years since and human memories are short, it would be scarcely excusable to point out at length to the members of *this* Society that the gifted Bhāu Dāji committed an almost identical error in a paper read and discussed probably in this very room. He took the date of the inscription of the Silhāra Māmvañi in the temple of Ambarnāth near Kalyān in Thānā District to be Jyeshta Shudī 9, 782 Shaka (instead of 982 Shaka). Dr. Burgess confidently declared on architectural grounds that the building was not of the eighth but of the tenth Shaka century and even cited the opinion of the redoubtable Ferguson, but the palæographer could not understand how the architect could be right or how the symbols could be read in any other way,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. B. R. A. S. Journal IX. 219.

and the date of the inscription, remained for some years, *a questio vexata* among scholars. At length, Pandit Bhagvánlál Indrají gave to the Society a revised transcript and translation of the ancient record and read Shràvan Shud 9, Shaka 982<sup>1</sup>.

Fortunately, Bháu Daji's as well as Bhagvánlál's facsimiles are to be found in the journals and a glance at them must convince any one, however strange it may appear, that what looks almost exactly like a modern Devnágari, Mahrátti or Gujaráti 'seven' is really a 'nine.' It is scarcely necessary to add that archæologists are now, for all the old doubts and surmises, absolutely unanimous in the matter and the discovery of a series of other Silhára inscriptions and copperplates has made it impossible for any one to adhere to Bháu Daji's reading. Nairne<sup>1a</sup> as well as Dr. Bhandárkar and Kashinath Telang<sup>2</sup> unreservedly accept Bhagvánlál's view, and though Dr. Fleet vigorously contested the point in 1889<sup>3</sup> and made a last valiant stand behind the trenches, the conjoint weight of Silhára testimony has induced him to admit in a note to the 1896 edition of the "Kanarese Dynasties" that "Bháu Daji's reading of 782 Shaka was wrong and that Pandit Bhagvánlál correctly read it 982"<sup>4</sup>.

Let us now hear Bhagvánlál himself about *the cause of the error*—the matter of the greatest interest to us.

"Of the year Shaka Samvát 982 is read. The first figure resembles nearly the modern Nágari 'seven' but the curved stroke of this figure does not appear to have been so much curved as that of the one in the inscription is, even a few years ago and would not therefore have been so represented at this earlier period. In Valabhi inscriptions, however, I have found a similar figure representing 'nine,' and in an inscription of Alla, Magistrate of Bhojadeva of Gwalior, the date 933 is thus written ७३३, and its value is therein expressed in words thus :

संवत्सरशतेषु नवसु त्रयतिशदधिकेषु ।

The figure 'nine' in this inscription is very similar to the one now under notice. From this the date can be inferred to be 982. The only difficulty that I feel in the above inference is the difference in the form of the 'nine' which stands for the day of the month in the same inscription, and to which I cannot by any means assign any

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Antiquary IX. 43. B. B. R. A. S. Journal XII. 329.

<sup>1a</sup> Konkan, B. m. Gaz. I. ii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Indian Antiquary IX. 43. B. B. R. A. S. Journal, Centenary Volume. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant. XVIII. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, I. ii. 543 note.

other value than 'nine.' The difference can only be accounted for by supposing that there were *two figures in use at the time to denote the same number*<sup>1</sup>."

As it is now twenty-seven years since this was written and as a quarter of a century is a period sufficiently long, at least in the history of archæological research, to produce revolutions, you have a right to demand the production of some later authority. Fortunately, nothing can be more conclusive than the following passage from a paper on "A New Silhāra grant of Shaka 1049"—by Professor Pathak which appears in the volume for 1903.

"This grant," says Mr. Pathak, "is also of interest in furnishing a correct interpretation of the inscription in the temple of Ambarnāth near Kalyān which has formed the subject of controversy among scholars. The date consists of three decimal figures, the first of which closely resembles the modern Nāgari 7. Dr. Bhāu Daji read the date as Shaka 782. Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, on the other hand, interpreted it as Shaka Samvat 982, because a figure closely resembling a modern Nāgari 7 really stands for 9 on the Vallabhi grants and in an inscription of Bhojadeva of Gwalior, dated Vikram Samvat 933. Dr. Fleet has contributed an elaborate paper in which he upholds Dr. Bhāu Daji's reading on the grounds (1) that in the Vallabhi grants we are concerned with numerical symbols and (2) that we are dealing with very different parts of the country in respect of the Ambarnāth and Gwalior inscriptions. These objections are removed by the present grant in which the last figure in the date closely resembles the modern Nāgari 7, though its value is definitely given in words as nine. This affords an interesting confirmation of Dr. Bhagvānlāl's reading of the date in the Ambarnāth inscription as Shaka 982."<sup>2</sup>

You will see that Professor Pathak does not seem to have been aware of Dr. Fleet's note of 1896, which I have already quoted. Putting that aside, there cannot be a shadow of doubt that *there were two figures in use* in the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era to denote the number nine, one of which resembled the modern Nāgari symbol for 'seven,' and the other that for 'nine.'

It thus becomes quite easy to understand how some Zoroastrian priest committed the very error from which all his knowledge and experience could not save Bhāu Daji, and just as the Doctor misread 782 Shaka for 982 Shaka, so the priest thought 992 Samvat was 772

<sup>1</sup> B. B. R. A. S. Journal, XII. 331.

<sup>2</sup> B. B. R. A. S. Journal, XXI. 506.

Samvat and left us, in consequence, a fruitful legacy of blunder, confusion and preposterous assumption. But this is not all. Just as the Parsi date is *Shrávan Shud 9, 772 V.S.*, so the Ambarnáth date is 982 Shaka, *Shrávan Shud 9*, (or according to Dr. Bhau, Jyesta Shud 9), and the symbol for the day of the month in both facsimiles is exactly like a modern Nágari 'nine' and does not at all resemble the sign employed 'nine' in the number of the year (982). It is easy to perceive how this fact must not only have produced the error, but afterwards promoted and confirmed it, for seeing one sign exactly like the modern symbol for nine, the Parsi priest must, like the Hindu Doctor, have inferred that the other stood for a different number altogether and could not by any means be anything else than a 'seven.'

To my own mind, this is not only a satisfactory explanation of the origin of the error, but a convincing proof of 992 (Vikram Samvat) being the real date of the landing. But I have no intention of asking you at this stage to accept my amendment as a substantive historical proposition and I will at present merely request you not to altogether discard such a supposition if only to enable me to proceed with my argument.

Supposing then for a moment that the Persian refugees did land at Sanján in 992 V. S.=936 A.C., what is it that accredited history teaches us about those who were the masters then of that part of the present Thànà District? It is now common knowledge that the Silhàras of North Konkan, were a dynasty who ruled there independently or in subordinate alliance with the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed, the Chàlukyas of Gujeràt, and perhaps also others, from about 830 A.C. to about 1260 A.C., with some interruptions. The date for their second King Pullashakti is 843-44 A.C., and their capital was at Puri which Wathen, Nairne and others are in favour of locating at "the Moreh bunder or landing on the north-east corner of Ghàràpuri or Elephantà<sup>1</sup>," but which Mr. Edwardes<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Jackson<sup>3</sup> would identify with Thana itself. These Silhàras speak of themselves as Lords of the Konkan and designate their territory the Konkan fourteen hundred, of which the chief towns appear from their epigraphic records to have been Sthànaka, (Thànà), Shurpàraka (Sopàrà), Chemul (Chaul), Lavantata (Lonàd), Uran<sup>4</sup> and above all, Hamyamana, or Hanjamanagara, that is Sanján itself. The last is mentioned four times in their copper-plates,

<sup>1</sup> History of the Konkan, Bombay Gazetteer, I. II. 16. *Ib* XIV. 401-2.

<sup>2</sup> Rise of Bombay, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Gazetteer of Bombay City, II. 9 note.

<sup>4</sup> Nairne, I. ii. 16 and Fleet, *Ib*, 543.

*vis.*, those of Arikesarideva, 939 Shaka (1018 A.C.), 'Chittarājdeva Shaka 948 (1026 A.C.), Anantadeva, Shaka 1016 (1094 A.C.), and Aparāditya, Shaka 1049 (1127 A.C.)<sup>1</sup>.

Now let us hear what the Parsi tradition crystallized in Bahman Kaikobad's verses has to say about the matter. "In that territory," he declares, "there was a good Raja who flourished there in righteousness. His name was Jādi Rānā, who was liberal, wise and prudent. A Dastur went before him with offerings, selected for his learning and understanding. He blessed him and said, "O Rāy Rāyān (King of Kings) grant us a place of abode in this thy city. We are poor and have sought thy protection. We have arrived in thy city and at thy abode. We have arrived here by reason of our faith. We have heard that in this place is one of virtuous acts descended from the kingly Rāyān, whose fame perpetually extends through Hind<sup>2</sup>."

Such is Eastwick's version, to all but the last sentence of which it is not worth while to raise any serious objection. But it is on this last sentence that everything turns and of which I may be permitted to say, the true significance as well as signification has not been perceived by any one.

I will repeat Eastwick's rendering of the last three lines.

"We have heard that in this place is one of virtuous acts descended from the kingly Rāyān [*Shāhrāyān* is the word in the original] whose fame perpetually extends through Hind."

ز بهر دین شد ستیم اندر این جای — شنید ستیم چه بود ست یکر ای  
زنسل شاه ز ایان نیک کار است — بهند اندر همیشه نامدار است

In other words, Eastwick has been obliged to understand "Shāh" as an adjective in the sense of "Kingly," to make some sense out of the verses. In the Gujarati version, Dastur Framji Aspandiarji does not tackle the difficulty at all but simply passes it over.

હુએએ શાહલેઈ ઉ જે રાજાએની નશબે પુનીઆદથી નેકનામનેા હુઈદોશતાનના દર-  
ખેઆનમાં નેકનામદાર એ જગે ઉપર એક રાજા ઉ.<sup>3</sup>

"We have heard that there is in this place a famous king renowned throughout Hindustan and descended from Kings," (ر ا ی ا ن), as if the vocable *Shāh* had not been used at all and the word was

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Researches, I. 357. Buhler, Ind. Ant. V. 276. Telang, *ib.* IX. 33. Pathak, B. 11. R. A. S. Journal XXI. 505. Nairne, Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 15. Fleet, *ib.* 338.

<sup>2</sup> B. B. R. A. S. Journal I. 175-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Hadisnameh*, 102.

*Rāyān* only and not *Shāhrāyān*. I have no doubt that the fault is not in the translators but in their text, that it is the reading that is corrupt and cries for correction. I am sure that the true lection of this otherwise meaningless word "Shāhrāyān," is "*Shilāhrāyān*," the plural, according to the rules of Persian Grammar, of "*Shilāhrā*," the name of the dynasty to which the ruler of Sanjān in 936 A.C. = 992 V.S. belonged, a name which occurs, as we know in seven or eight different forms, *viz* :—

Silāhara, Shailāhara, Silāyāra, Silāra, Shilar, Shrilāra, Silhar<sup>1</sup>.

The lines will then mean :—

"We have heard that in this place is a Raja descended from the *Shilāhrās* of virtuous acts, who are ever renowned throughout Hindustan."

Nothing can be plainer or clearer than this, and nothing also can better illustrate the compliment in the last words than the pompous title to which all the Silāhras lay claim of being *Tagarpura parameshwara*, "Supreme Lords of Tagarapura," (the ancient and far-famed Tagara of the geographer Ptolemy), just as the Hoysalas and the Yādavas style themselves *Dwārāvati-puravarādhishwara*, Lords of the excellent city of Dwārāvati (Dwārakā)<sup>2</sup> and the Kadambas, *Banāvāstīpuravar Adhishwara*, Lords of the excellent city of Banāvāstī<sup>3</sup>.

Supposing then that the Hindu Raja whom the Parsi priest approached with a request for protection was descended from the Silhārās "whose fame perpetually extended through Hindustan," which of the members of that dynasty would have been on the throne in 936 A.C. = 992. V. S. ? Well, we have the testimony of the Arab Masa'ūdi that when he was in the Konkan in 916 A. C., the ruler of Saimur or Chaul was named "Jhanjha"<sup>4</sup> and all archæologists are agreed that Masa'ūdi's Jhanjha was the fifth Silāhra. The sixth was his brother 'the beautiful Goggi' as he is called in the Bhandup copper-plate<sup>5</sup>.

"From him sprang a son famed for the astounding and enchanting deeds, the illustrious prince Vajjadadeva, a chief of Kings." Now it is unfortunately not possible in the present state of our knowledge

<sup>1</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, Nairne. I. ii. 15. Ind. Ant. IX, 39 notc.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, Bom. Gaz., I. ii. 49c, 517.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 558.

<sup>4</sup> Prairies d' Or. II. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant. V. 279. Journal, R. A. S. (F. S.), II., 381, IV. 109.

to predicate the exact year of Vajjadadeva's accession, but there is nothing whatever to militate against the conclusion that he reigned about 940 A. C., and that he is the Jádi Ráná of the *Kissah*, whom Wilson sought to identify with Jayadeva, (or Vanrāja the Chāvḍā ruler of Anahilwāda)<sup>1</sup> and Campbell supposed to have been "some Yādava chief of South Gujerat".

In the first place, then, we know that only one reign—perhaps a short one—that of the handsome Goggi—intervenes between Jhanjha, who was reigning in A. C. 916 and Vajjadadeva (or Jádi). We also know that there were thirteen rulers between Pullashakti, the second King, for whom we possess a date 843-4 A. C., and Anantadeva, the fourteenth, whose records of 1081 and 1095 A. C., we have found. This gives a total of 252 years for thirteen reigns, and the somewhat high average of nineteen years and a half for the duration of single chieftain's rule. Now supposing Pullashakti had come to the throne only five years before 843, Vajjadadeva would, according to this approximate calculation, have become king just about 935 A. C., 991 (Vikram Samwat).

I have no doubt that Jádi is the local or familiar Deshi form of the name and it is impossible not to be struck, as Buhler was, by the large number of Deshi forms, Vappavanna, Jhanjha, Goggi, etc., in the dynastic list of these Mahāmandleshwars of the Northern Konkan<sup>2</sup>.

The dropping of the affix 'deva,' which is a mere honorific, would scarcely require any explanation. At the same time, it would be a serious error of omission not to note that to Parsi priests of the 10th century, it was an imperative necessity. Assigning to the word 'Deva' as they did, a meaning entirely the reverse of that which it bears in Sanskrit, they must have been peculiarly averse to append it to the name of a prince whom they could not but regard with feelings of gratitude and reverence. Ervad Shehriarji Bharucha, who has recently produced a critical edition of Neriosengh's Sanscrit Writings, tells us that that great Iranist never employs the word '*Deva*' except in the Iranian sense of '*demon*', and the reason is not at all difficult to understand. Neriosengh must have known that if he had used it in any other sense or followed the Sanskrit Dictionaries, he must have been all but incomprehensible to his own people. (I. Preface. ii. note.)

What then remains to account for is how 'Vajjada' has been changed into *Jádi*. Of the procope of the *ṛ* which is so common, e.g.,

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

<sup>2</sup> Bom. Gaz. XIII. pt. i. 249.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant. V. 280 note.

(Gujarati) હોરા, વોહોરા, હવેર, બાહાવર, હોરુ, વોહોરુ<sup>1</sup> સદરા<sup>2</sup> વસ્ર, etc., it is scarcely necessary to give examples, but I have been able to put together from only two books—and those the best of their kind—Bhandarkar's *Dekhān* and Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties* more than half a dozen parallel cases which absolutely clinch the matter.

I will first take the name of Vajjadadeva's own father. It occurs as Goggarāja, in the copperplate edited by Mr. Pāthak, and elsewhere as 'Goggi', with the 'Rāja' dropped and the 'i' added just as in *Jādi*<sup>3</sup>. Similarly, a *Māndalik* or feudatory of the Silhāras of Karhād is called indifferently *Gonkadeva* or *Gonki* in the inscriptions (1182 A. C.)<sup>4</sup>. Then, Someshwar Kalachuri becomes Soma or Sovideva (1167-1177 A. C.)<sup>5</sup>; Jonma or Jōma of the Gutta family of Feudatories also is spoken of as 'Joyideva (1181 A. C.)<sup>6</sup> and in both these cases, if the 'deva' was dropped, the name would become *Sovī* or *Joyi*, (just like *Jādi*). The name of Lokaditya, a feudatory of the Rashtrakuta Krishnā II is contracted to *Lokade*<sup>7</sup>. So also the form *Paramaddeva* which occurs in various dynastic lists is changed into *Permādi*, (exactly like *Vajjadadeva* into *Jādi* with the final 'i' added and the 'a' elongated), *Paramardi*, *Paramardideva*, and *Paramardin*<sup>8</sup>. The seventh case is that of *Vaddiga*, a Yādav chief of Seunadesha whose name assumes the forms *Vandiga* and *Bādagi* and *Vādugi*, with the 'a' again elongated and the final 'i' added just as in *Jādi*<sup>9</sup>. The eighth but not the last case (for many others can be quoted) is that of *Brahma*, a general of the Chalukya King Someshwara IV, who is indifferently designated *Bomma*, *Bammaya* and *Bammideva*<sup>10</sup>.

After having thus shown that *Vajjadadeva* is the *Jādi* of Bahman and Parsi tradition, allow me to proceed to another question of great interest. The *Kissah* account leaves the decided impression that the Hindu Rāja was a very tolerant and liberal-minded sovereign in matters of religion. He not only permitted the refugees to land, and gave them permission to build a fire temple without the smallest hesitation, but gave them all kinds of assistance in consecrating it.

<sup>1</sup> Belsare, Gujarati-English Dictionary, S. I'.

<sup>2</sup> Jackson, *Persia, Past and Present*, 380 note.

<sup>3</sup> B. B. R. A. S. Journal, XXI. 512.

<sup>4</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*. I. ii. 576, 548.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 227, 484.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 579, 581.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 411 and note.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 225, 452, 456, 460, 470, 515, 516.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 231-2, 513.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 237, 464.

The passage is fairly well known and I will therefore give only the last line. "The prince Jādi Rānā himself sent abundant offerings of every description<sup>1</sup>."

Now this is just what we should expect of the Silhāras from their epigraphic records. "From the numerous references to Shiva in the Silara inscriptions," says Telang, "the family may well be inferred to have been devotees of Shiva. Jimuta Vahana's name, however, certainly suggests Buddhist associations. Probably, the creed of the princes was not of a narrow sort and the evidence is daily accumulating that so late even as the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era, sundry Hindu princes shewed considerable catholicity of spirit as between Hindu, Buddhist and Jain<sup>2</sup>." Similarly, Nairne tells us of their cousins, the Silhāras of Kohlapur "that they" appear to have been tolerant Kings, as one copperplate records grants to Mahadeva Buddha and Arhat. (" Journ. B. B. R. A. S. XIII. 17<sup>3</sup>."

A later but equally competent witness, the lamented A. M. T. Jackson, who wrote the Hindu chapter for Mr. Edwardes' interesting "Gazetteer of Bombay City," is even more emphatic. "So they passed away these fine old Kings of Thana and Bombay, nor failed to leave to posterity the sign manual of their tolerant and able rule. They fostered trade, particularly trade with Moslem lands, permitting the merchants thereof to build mosques within their territory, appointing a Musulman Judge to decide their disputes and generally treating them with great favour (Al Masudi II. 85). Jews, Christians, and Fire worshippers immigrated in large numbers to Chaul and other towns, the chief of which were Sindān (Sanjān)", Supārā, Thānā, Chaul, &c.<sup>4</sup>

But we have better evidence even than that of the scholarly and critical Jackson for the regard and sympathy entertained by "these fine old Kings" for their Zoroastrian subjects. There is lying in the Museum down-stairs, a sandstone slab recording the grant by Anantadeva, the 14th Silhāra, in Shaka 1003—1081 A. C. of some *drammas* to the "Khārasān Mandli<sup>5</sup>." The writing is somewhat defaced and Pandit Bhagvānlal who deciphered it was not quite sure of the reading *Mandli* or perhaps of the meaning of the phrase "Khārasān Mandli" which he has italicised and marked with a query. But there can be little doubt that the royal gift was meant for the *people from*

<sup>1</sup> Eastwick, B.B.R.A.S. Journal I. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Anti. IX. 46.

<sup>3</sup> History of the Konkan, Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 17 n.

<sup>4</sup> Vol II. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Nairne, Konkan, Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 19., XIV. 379.

*Khorásán*—the Parsi refugees—whose connection with that great province of Eastern Persia is repeatedly mentioned in the *Kissah-i-Sanjān*—one of the chapters in which is headed

گفتار آمدن بهدینان در کشور هندوستان از شهر خراسان —  
 "Account of the coming of the Behdins from *Khorásán* to the country of Hindustan." And again, in his account of the building of the Fire temple, Bahman says,

برایشان بود هر جا کار آسان — که آورده بودند آلت خراسان  
 "All their affairs were prosperous in as much they had brought with them the tools and skill of *Khorásán*."

It is a pity that we cannot say anything positively of the purpose of the gift, and it may be useless to say anything where it is impossible to advance beyond the region of conjecture, but I should like to invite your attention to the curious fact that of the twenty-five grants of the Silhāras, three only, besides this one, record gifts of *drammas* and all those three were made for strictly religious purposes.

The object of the first gift of the sort (the inscription is on the architrave over the verandah of Kanheri Cave No. 78, and of the time of Pullashakti, 765 Shaka = 843-4 A. C.) was the repairs of the Buddhist monastery and the provision of clothes and books for the priests<sup>2</sup>. The second donation (temp. Aparāditya, Shaka 1109 = 1187 A. C.) was made for the "worship by five rites of the God Vaidyanāth of Darbhavati<sup>3</sup>." The third is dated 1171 Shaka = 1249 A. C. in the reign of Someshwar and is a donation to "Uttareshwar Mahādeva of Shri Sthānaka" (Thānā)<sup>4</sup>. It may be a hazardous conjecture, but it is *just possible* that this fourth grant of the same kind may have been connected in some way with the erection and maintenance or repairs of the fire temple of the *Khorásán Anjuman* (the exact Parsi equivalent of the Sanscrit *Mandali*, if that is the true reading of the three letters about which Pandit Bhagvānlāl was not quite sure.

Let me pause for a moment on the results arrived at. I have shown that the reading 772 V. Samvat is a mistake for 992 V. Samvat, and I have explained how the error arose. I have, by making a very slight emendation of an 'alif' into a 'lām,' (two letters which are almost alike in cursive Persian and which are constantly being

<sup>1</sup> Eastwick, B. B. R. A. S. Journal. I. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties. Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 404. Ind. Ant. XIII. 136

<sup>3</sup> Nairne, Konkan, Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 20 n.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 21.

mixed up by copyists) in an hitherto incomprehensible line of the *Kissah*, proved, that according to a Parsi tradition recorded in 1600, the ruler of Sanjan in 992 V. Samvat was a *Silhárá* and that his name was Jádi Ráná. I have lastly demonstrated from epigraphic records that this Jádi Ráná was no other than Vajjadadeva, the seventh *Silhárá*.

I request you particularly to note that this name *Silhárá* which I have shewn to exist in the *Kissah* itself is the patronymic of a family of princes of which all recollection had vanished from the minds of the most learned in local history until it was unearthed by archæological research within only the last hundred years. I regard the absolutely unconscious preservation of the name by Parsi tradition and the unexpected confirmation of Bahman's statements by Hindu inscriptions as the most convincing proof hitherto discovered of their resting on a nucleus, of, not only genuine oral tradition, but perhaps, of very old written memoranda.

After this resumé of the argument itself, allow me to invite your attention to some of the corollaries of this proposition. In the first place, then, it explains why not a single reference to the Parsis in Western India during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries has been ever found though they are supposed to have arrived so early as 716 A. C. It enables us also to understand why the earliest notice, the first Kanheri Cave Pahlavi inscription, is dated only 1009 A. C.<sup>1</sup>, and the next 1021 A. C. It makes, besides, the traditional date of the foundation of the first Parsi colony—that of Navsari—not only perfectly intelligible and free from suspicion but consistent with the *Kissah-i-Sanjan* also. That date is said to be 511. A. Y.<sup>2</sup> = 1142 A. C. or 551 A. Y.<sup>3</sup> (1182 A. C.), that is, four hundred years and more after V. Samvat 772 (716 A. C.), the supposed date of the landing. It has been incomprehensible to many why the Zoroastrians should have taken four hundred years and more to spread out to a town only fifty or sixty miles distant from Sanjan. Bahman tells us that the peregrinations began "three hundred years more or less" after the landing. The "more or less" now acquires a very real meaning, which simply is that the first settlement in Southern Gujerat—that of Navsari—took place less than three hundred years after the landing, and that the Zoroastrian colonies in some of the other towns (*Bánkáner*, *Anklesar*, *Variáv*, etc.) came later. Now if we

<sup>1</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, XIV. 187-8, Arch. Survey Reports X. 62-5. Mr. K. R. Kama read the first date 999 A. C. (468 A. Y.) instead of 478 A. Y. (1009 A. C.) *Zarthosti Abhiyas* Part iii. 160. *Parsi Prakash.* 2. Dr. E. W. West reads 478 A. Y. (Ind. Antiquary IX. 265.)

<sup>2</sup> *Parsi Prakash*, 2 note.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhagarsath Vanshavli.* p. 1

take 1182 A. C. as the date of the Navsari colony, we have an interval of 246 years—just what Bahman says—a few less than three hundred<sup>1</sup>.

Moreover, it removes one of the principal difficulties in the way of accepting the Athornān Genealogy. A glance at the pedigree of the Broach Dasturs shows that there are only thirty-three generations between the late Mr. Ardeshir Sorabji Dastur Kamdin<sup>2</sup>, who was born in 1838 and Dastur Sháh-pūr Shahriár, who is said to have been one of the first band of refugees. If we accept the date 716 A. C. there would be thirty-three generations only in 1122 years, giving the inconceivably high average of 34 years for a single generation. But if we adopt 936 A. C. = 992 V. S., you have only 902 years with an average of only twenty-seven years which is still high, but which is not improbably due to some names having slipped out between Sháh-pur Shahriár and Hormazdyár Rámyár. The reason is that, the ten generations which immediately follow after Hormazdyár are taken, as Dr. É. W. West has rightly observed<sup>3</sup>, from "that best of all authorities for early dates," a contemporary colophon—the colophon, namely of Peshotan Ram Kamdin's MS. of the 'Book of Arda Viraf and Gosht-i-Fryano' of 1397 A. C. 'Lastly, it would make Bahman's statement that Mahmūd Begadú's sack of Sanjān took place about five hundred years or a little more after the landing, perfectly harmonize with historical facts, for I have recently shown elsewhere that that disastrous event occurred, according to the Muslim historians themselves, in 1465 A. C.

In a word, this change will, over and above placing the early history of the Parsis in India on the sound critical basis of a date derived from unimpeachable epigraphic evidence, restore order in the hitherto chaotic realm of Parsi chronology, bring daylight where there has hitherto been only darkness and solve not one but many difficulties which have been heretofore insuperable in that department of inquiry.

Here, I may be permitted to say a few words in anticipation of a possible objection. It may be said that the Shaka era was used throughout the Western Coast at this time and that all the Silahrá dates are in that era. How then could the Vikram Samvat have been

<sup>1</sup> Eastwick, B. B. R. A. S. Journal I. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Bharuch Dastur Khandan ni Vanshavli* and Dr. West's Letter, in Mody, *Irani Vishayo*. III. 199-200.

<sup>3</sup> Letter in *Irani Vishayo*, III. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Haug and West, *Book of Arda Viraf*, 246, 266.

employed by these Parsis? The answer is easy. These Zoroastrians came to Sanjān from Diu in Kattayāwār and it was there they had become first acquainted with the Hindu system of reckoning time. It is well known to scholars that the Hindu era generally in use in *Kattayāwār and Gujerat* during these centuries was the *Vikram and not the Shaka Samvat*. All the Chāvḍā, Chālukya and Vāghelā dates of the Gujerat province are in the Vikram era, and the numerous inscriptions also of that period mentioned in the Kattayāwār Gazetteer are almost all in the Vikrama era<sup>1</sup>.

I have said above that Bahman's statements appear to have been based not only on a nucleus of genuine oral tradition, but, perhaps of written memoranda. Those memoranda were no doubt made intermittently and without system and the few which remain show, as I have proved elsewhere<sup>2</sup>, signs of much blundering and misapprehension in their present state, but they must be pronounced trustworthy and valuable whenever in virtue of extraneous support, we can be sure of their having been correctly read and transmitted in the original form. Indeed, Bahman himself tells us at the end of the poem that he had written the *Kissah* according to what "he had seen and also learnt from the conversation of his elders."

من این قصه بگفتم آنچه دیدم - بگفتار بزرگان هم شنیدم

As he does not make any reference whatever to contemporary events or even to any which occurred within a hundred years of the date of the composition of his narrative (1600 A. C.), we must take it that he means by "what he had seen," notes and memoranda which he had had the opportunity of *reading with his own eyes*. He is more explicit as to the name of the person from whom he derived the substance of oral tradition.

شنیدستم من از دانای دستور - که همواره بخوبی بود مشهور

ز بی دستور بودش نام هوشنگ - بدانش در همیشه بود باشنگ

هموزند و اوستاخوانده بوده - ز خود اهریمنان را زانده بوده

<sup>1</sup> Bhagvānlal and Jackson, *History of Gujerat*, Bom. Gaz. I. i. 149-206. Kattayāwār Gazetteer, p. 357. Inscription of (V.S. 1042), p. 653, (V.S. 1076), p. 515, (V.S. 1141), p. 693, (V.S. 1139), pp. 282, 543 (V.S. 1202), pp. 543, 609 (V.S. 1225), p. 547 (V.S. 1260), p. 691 (V.S. 1262), p. 664 (V.S. 1264), pp. 652, 604, (V.S. 1272), p. 686 (V.S. 1320), and many others.

<sup>2</sup> See my papers on the "Traditional dates of Parsi History," (*Iranian Association Journal*, Jan. and Feb. 1914).

بشهرش در عیان مهبود دستور - کزو گشتست دین پیوسته پر نور  
 در آن آیام حکمش بر همه کس - برفتی و بکردی کار دین بس  
 از و هر کس که پرسید ندزدین راز - بگفتارش بکردی کار دین ساز  
 بشهر خویشتن کاستاد بودش - بشاگردان دل و جان شاد بودش  
 زگفت باستان این داستان گفت - نهانی رازهای راستان گفت†

"I have heard this from a wise Dastur, who was always renowned for virtue. May the Dastur whose name is Hoshang live long, whose wisdom had always great excellence. He had read the Zend Avesta also and thus driven away devils from himself. He was manifestly the Dastur of the city and the faith always received lustre from him. In those days his authority was exercised over all and he managed religious affairs. Whosoever consulted him about the secrets of the faith, performed all religious duties according to his advice. In his own town, where he was the universal teacher, his pupils were devoted to him heart and soul (or he was devoted heart and soul to his pupils). He told me this tale according to the sayings of the men of old and repeated the (secret facts) the obscure history of the men of the true Faith." (The translation is my own<sup>1</sup>.)

It is perhaps unfortunate that the name of Dastur Hoshang's father is not appended, but that really makes no difference whatever. The expressions employed, the epithet *Dastur of the city*, the reverent manner in which his informant's piety and learning are spoken of, the allusions to his being the universal referee on religious matters, and above all, the explicit declaration *that his authority was exercised over all* and that he *managed the affairs of the religion*, in a word, that he was the acknowledged religious head of the community can apply to but one person living in 1600 A.C., the famous Dastur Hoshang Asà Sanjānā, of Navsāri. The *Maktub-i-Fredun Marsaban*, a letter of introduction from the Iranian priests which, according to Dr. West (Index to Darab Hormazdyar's *Bevayet* in the Bombay University Library), must have been written about 1570 A. C., is addressed among the Navsāri priesthood to only two notables, Dastur Mahiār (Rānā), who died in 1591 A.C.<sup>2</sup> and this Dastur Hoshang (Asà), and among the laity to the brothers Minocheher and Noshervan Bahman Manek Changa, the first of whom died

<sup>1</sup> The second line does not occur in some copies, but I have found it in at least three old and good manuscripts and it was not absent from Anquetil's copy. (Le Zende Avesta, Tome II. Pte. II xxxiv.)

<sup>2</sup> *Parsi Prakash*, 9.

in 1640, Samvat 1584-A.C., according to an old *Disāpothi*<sup>1</sup>. About thirty years later (1601), the name of Dastur Hoshang Asā again occurs in the Revāyet of Kāus Mahiyār and then, it is not in the second place but in the very first, the place of honour, just what we should expect from Bahman's statement<sup>2</sup>. Now I have been able to put together the pedigree of Hoshang partly from this old *Disāpothi*<sup>3</sup> and partly from the papers left by a famous Athornān genealogist, Dastur Jamaspji Sorabji Mehrji Rānā<sup>4</sup>. The account obtained from these sources is confirmed by an Udwarā Fihrist kindly procured for me by my old friend Mr. J. D. Bharda.—It is as follows :—

Hoshang-Āsā-Kāmdin-Chhāyān-Āsā-(or Asdin)-Khorshed-Kāmdin.

In a word Hoshang was lineally descended from Khorshed Kāmdin, the *Khorshed Busurg-i-Sanjānā* of the Revayets of 1486 and 1511, one of the three revered ministers of the Irānshāh, who had personally endured the heat and brunt of the day in the evil times of the Bānsdāh wanderings. Hoshang must have been in 1601, a man of great age, older certainly than Bahman, who repeatedly speaks of himself as *Bahman-i-pir*, the 'aged Bahman,' "whose youth was gone and old age had arrived". I have attempted to fix approximately the birth-dates of Hoshang's ancestors, on the probable supposition that Hoshang was about seventy years old in 1600.

Born (Circa) A.C. 1530, Hoshang, mentioned in the Revāyet, (Circa) 1570 and 1601 A.C.

Born (Circa) A. C. 1507, Āsā           ,,       in the Revāyet of 1553 A.C.  
 A. C. 1484, Kāmdin  
 A. C. 1461, Chāyān       ,,       ,,       ,,       1516 A.C.  
 A. C. 1438, Āsā (Asdin)   ,,       ,,  
 A. C. 1415, Khorshed Kāmdin, 1486 and 1511 A.C.

Now taking the earliest date and the latest, we get a period of one hundred and fifteen years and the reasonable average of twenty-three years for a generation. Now Hoshang's grandfather Kāmdin Chāyān must, according to these approximately calculated dates of birth, have been twenty-seven years old at the time of Khorshed

<sup>1</sup> Rustamji Jamaspji Dastur, *Bhagarsath Vanshāvali*, 240.

<sup>2</sup> *Parst Prakash*, 839.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhagarsath Vanshāvali*, 241.

<sup>4</sup> For these papers I have to make my acknowledgments to Ervad Mahiār Nowroji Kutār. The same pedigree is given in a *Khordeh Avesta* M.S. written in A. Y. 970 (1601 A. C.) by Herbad Shapur Dastur Hoshang. (Navsari Meherji Rānā Library M.S. F. 4 Proceedings, *Kholkarnari Mandali*, (1891). p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Eastwick, B. B. R. A. S. Journal I, 170.

Kāmdin's death about 1511 A.C., and sixty-six when Hoshang himself was twenty. It is quite possible therefore that Hoshang heard the story of the Sack of Sanjān and its sequel from one to whom Khorshed Kamdin, *himself an eyewitness*, had told it. And if Hoshang Āsā born about 1530 could have heard it from his own grandfather (a man of sixty-six when he himself was twenty), he must have had opportunities of hearing the same story from other grey bearded priests or laymen (his grandfather's contemporaries) who had in their turn received it from some parent or grandparent who had lived in the same age as Khorshed Kāmdin. In the same way, it can be proved from the same sources that Bahman Kaikobad the author of the *Kisseh* was a direct descendant of Khorshed's colleague Nāgan Rām, the pedigree being, Bahman-Kaikobad-Hamjiār-Padam-Kāmā-Narsang-Nāgan Rām.

In other words, whatever may be said of the authenticity and credibility of the earlier events mentioned in Bahman's narrative or of those belonging to the intervening period, the story of the Sack and the Bānsdāh wanderings appears to rest on evidence removed, but one step or two from that of eyewitnesses. It is now acknowledged even by those who are most disposed to discount his worth that Bahman's statements about Changa Āsā are fully borne out by the contemporary evidence of the Revayets of Nariman Hoshang, in both of which that worthy is represented in the same light, *viz.*, as a philanthropic layman observant of religious rites, and devoted to the cause of spiritual reform.

Let us go back a little further and hear what the *Kissah* says, about Sanjān itself. Bahman Kaikobād tells us that the "Raja gave them permission to abide in the land. He ordered that their men of rank and age, of good disposition and wise of counsel should examine the land minutely and when they found a vacant spot should inform the Mobed thereof. A place in the desert was fixed upon. It was a pleasant spot and there they fixed their abode. When the Dastur saw the soil was good, he selected the place for their residence. The Dastur named that spot Sanjān and it became populous as the land of Iran<sup>1</sup>."

All this turns out on examination to be really more accurate than one has a right to expect in a "poetical narrative." There is, no doubt, notwithstanding the mention of a *Sindān* by the Arab geographers of the eighth and first half of the ninth centuries, that the Konkan Sanjān first came into existence only in the tenth century,

<sup>1</sup> Eastwick, B. B. R. A. S. Journal I., 179.

and that its prosperity dated from the incoming of the Parsis and other foreigners. The writer of the chapter on the Arab References in the Bombay Gazetteer History of Gujerat has seen this very clearly and pointed out that the earlier references of Bilāduri (*d*) 892 A. C., Ibn Khordādbih (*d*) 912 A. C., and Mas'ūdi 915 A. C. are all about the Kacch Sindān.<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that the Konkan Sanjān was originally a colony founded by the Zoroastrian refugees who gave it its name after *Sanjān*, a town in the Khwāf district of Kohistān—that Kohistān in which they had first to take refuge for religion and conscience's sake and which they afterwards abandoned for more distant lands for the same reasons. The Arab Geographer Yākūt in his *Moajjam-ul-Buldān*, mentions four places of that name, one of which was situated near Nishāpur and the other was a township in the district of Khwāf<sup>2</sup>. Mr. Guy LeStrange informs us in his excellent monograph on the *Nuzhat-ul-Kulūb* of Mustawfī that "Khwāf with its district lies to the south of Bākharz and Mustawfī gives as its chief towns Salām, *Sanjān* and Zūzan<sup>3</sup>." The same accurate writer gives us to understand elsewhere that Salām, Sanjān and Zūzan were the chief centres of population in the district of "Khwāf in the 8th century of the Hejira, and that Yākūt calls Zūzan "a little Basra for its trade and refers to it as a *shrine of the Magians*." That the name was first given by the Parsis and is not of indigenous origin is further proved by the artificially Sanscritised forms 'Hamyaman,' and 'Hanjamanaganara' of which such a good Sanscritist as Telang said he could not make anything in 1880<sup>4</sup>. It is easy to suggest and it has been suggested by many that the Sanscritised form is connected with the Persian word 'Anjuman', Avestaic *Hanjamana*, meeting, assembly, congregation of the Faithful.

But I am not aware of any one having pointed out that this name, 'Hanjamanaganara,' the Sanscritised form of *Sanjān* means exactly the same as, Hamdān, which is, itself, probably, another form of the name, Sanjān. The equivalent of Hamadān "in the ancient Persian inscriptions is *Hagmatana* [old Persian *Hangamatāna*, Behestun, 2, 76-77] which means literally 'a place of meeting, concourse of many ways' and Hamadān to-day is a meeting place of as many highways

<sup>1</sup> Bom. Gaz., Vol. I. i. 520-1.

<sup>2</sup> Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire de la Perse, 323.

<sup>3</sup> Mesopotamia and Persia under the Mongols, 86.

<sup>4</sup> Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 358

<sup>5</sup> Telang, Indian Antiquary, IX, 44.

from various parts of the kingdom as when it was the Median Capital."<sup>1</sup>

Now whether the name of Sanján can, through Hamadán, be *etymologically affiliated* to the old Persian Hangamatána or not, it is certain that the Konkan Sanján came to be a real 'Hangamatána' or Hanjamanaganara, "a meeting of many nations, a concourse of many ways." The Arab Idrisi tells us in the 12th century that it was populous, its people noted for industry and intelligence, rich and of a warlike temper and that the town was large and had an extensive commerce.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, it appears to have had a large population of foreigners, *Moslems, Parsis and Hindus*, and this is, perhaps, the real meaning of the phrase हंजमननगर पोर तू वर्ग प्रभूतिश्च which Buhler took to refer to the *three* twice-born castes<sup>3</sup>, which Telang, though coming after Buhler, said he could not understand<sup>4</sup>, and which Ervad Jivanji Mody has attempted to identify with the *three classes of Parsi Priests*, "Dasturs, Mobeds and Hirbads," as if Parsi priests could have by any possibility been so numerous as to constitute the *entire population* of a large commercial town under a Hindu prince in the twelfth Christian century<sup>5</sup>. The truth is that Sanján like many other Tháná ports at this period gradually came to have a *very large non-Hindu population of different races and religions*.

Mr. S. M. Edwardes has put this very neatly in the 'Rise of Bombay'. "The Silharas seem to have fostered colonization and trade in the highest degree, and to have introduced into these sparsely populated islands a social and religious element hitherto unknown. Hindu, Musalman, Parsi, Persian, Arab, Jew and Chinaman all visited and settled in the Tháná ports of their day or braved the dangers of the sea and they were not few \* \*. Ten thousand Persians and Arabs made their homes in Chaul, the Jews brought a living freight of women, eunuchs and boys by way of the Gulf to Chaul, Sanján and Sopara."<sup>6</sup>

This is further shown by the name "Navteri Nagari" by which old Sanján is still spoken of by the common people. "According to a story current at Dahánū and Umbargaon, Sanjan," says the Bombay Gazetteer, "was so large a city that it was called *Navteri*

<sup>1</sup> Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, 150.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot & Dowson, *Historians*, I, 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Antiquary*, V, 280.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 38.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XLI, 175.

<sup>6</sup> *Rise of Bombay*, 7.

*Nagari*, or the city that measured nine koss by thirteen<sup>1</sup>." Nine koss by thirteen indeed ! an area of 468 square miles !!

It is needless to say that this is only an instance of meaning-making and folk etymology. The real signification is probably "Town of the Naváyats"—new comers, foreigners, especially "descendants of Arab and Kūfi Settlers." Let us see what *Hobson-Jobson*—one of the finest productions of Anglo-Indian scholarship—can tell us about the matter. "Naváit, Naiteá, Neváyat, a name given to Mahomedans of mixed race in the Konkan and S. Canara. This is apparently a Concani word connected with Sanscrit Nava=new and implying converts." Castanheda is then quoted to show that they were "Sons of Moors and gentile mothers," and Purchas made to bear witness that they were "mesticos of mixed seed, of Moor fathers and Ethnike mothers." The high authority of Wilks also is adduced to prove<sup>2</sup> that they were "the descendants of the early Arab emigrants from Kufa who landed on that part of the Western Coast of India called the Concan<sup>3</sup>." Ferishta is even more explicit. "The Mahomedans," he says, "extended their dominions in Malabar ; and many of the princes and inhabitants becoming converts gave over the management of some of the sea-ports to the strangers whom they called *Nowayits* (literally, the New Race)<sup>4</sup>." The historian Mas'ūdi informs us that "the sailors of Siráf and Omán who were constantly on this sea and visited various nations in the islands and on the coast were called *Nawájidah* (نواجده)".<sup>5</sup> In a word, Sanján was called *Navteri Nagari*, "Town of the Naváyats," just as Old Káyal was named "Sónagar or Jónagar, a Tamil corruption of *Yavandar*, the Yavanas, the name by which Arabs were known, and the name most commonly used in the Tamil country to designate the mixed race descended from Arab colonists, who are called *Mapillas* on the Malabar coast, and *Lubbies* in the neighbourhood of Madras."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bom. Gaz., XIV. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Historical Sketches, I, 243.

<sup>3</sup> Yule and Burnell, ed. Crooke. s.v. see also Bombay Gazetteer, XIII, 232, XIV, 303.

<sup>4</sup> Briggs, Ferishta, IV, 533.

<sup>5</sup> Mas'udi, Meadows of Gold, Sprenger, 277.

<sup>6</sup> Caldwell's note in Yule, Marco Polo, ed. Cordier, II, 372. This parallel from an unexpected quarter is as interesting as it is instructive and almost settles the question.

*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,  
and a List of Presents to the Library.*

1907.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 30th March 1908.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the following report.

**The Annual Report for 1907.**

**MEMBERS.**

*Resident.*—During the year under review 40 New Members were elected and 1 Non-Resident Member came to Bombay and was added to the list of Resident Members; 28 Members resigned, 4 retired, 2 died, and 4 having left Bombay, were placed on the list of Non-Resident Members. The total number at the end of the year was 326, including Life Members. The number at the close of the preceding year was 323.

*Non-Resident.*—15 New Members joined under this class and 4 were transferred from the list of Resident Members. 8 Members withdrew, the name of 1 Member was removed from the Roll for non-payment of subscription and 1 became a Resident Member. The number on the Roll at the close of the year was 105 against 96 in the preceding year.

**OBITUARY.**

The Society regrets to announce the loss by death, during the year, of the following Members:—

**RESIDENT.**

R. R. Ross, Esq.

J. Stanley Smith, Esq.

**ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.**

The papers contributed to the Society during the year were:—

The Nasik Hoard of Nahapana's Coins.

By the Rev. H. R. Scott, M A.

The Coins of Surat.

By the Rev. G. P. Taylor, M A., D.D.

**A Few Notes on Broach from an antiquarian point of view.**

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq., B.A.

**Parásariya Dharma Śastra.**

By the late Shamrao Vithal, Esq.

Communicated by the President.

**LIBRARY.**

The issues of books during the year under report were 45,812 volumes ; 34,645 of new books including periodicals and 11,167 of old. The daily average, excluding Sundays and holidays, was 150 volumes. The issue in the preceding year was 45,106.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues is sub-joined :—

MONTHLY ISSUES.							
						<i>Old Books.</i>	<i>New Books.</i>
January ...	...	...	...	...	1,018	4,341	
February ...	...	...	...	...	1,036	3,838	
March ...	..	...	...	...	1,161	3,275	
April ...	...	...	...	...	1,050	3,902	
May ...	...	...	...	...	905	2,931	
June ...	...	...	...	...	957	2,129	
July ...	...	...	...	...	864	2,964	
August ...	...	...	...	...	879	2,775	
September ...	...	...	...	...	869	2,308	
October ...	...	...	...	...	822	2,569	
November ...	...	...	...	...	564	2,059	
December ...	...	...	...	...	1,042	1,554	
<hr/>						11,167	34,645

The issues of each class of books, new and old, are noted below :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Fiction ...	19,871
Biography ...	1,901
Miscellaneous, Collected Works and Essays ...	1,446
History ...	1,413
Voyages, Travels, &c. ...	1,405
Oriental Literature ...	720
Poetry and Drama... ..	502
Naval and Military ...	495
Religion ...	430
Politics, Political Economy, &c. ...	404
Literary History ...	383

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes</i>
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of Learned Societies (in bound volumes) ... ..	372
Foreign Literature... ..	310
Art, Architecture ... ..	303
Natural History, Biology, Geology, &c. ...	291
Philosophy ... ..	284
Archæology, Antiquities, &c. ... ..	190
Govt. Publications, Public Records ... ..	147
Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, &c. ... ..	140
Botany, Agriculture ... ..	130
Classics .. ..	117
Medicine, Surgery, &c. ... ..	108
Law ... ..	92
Grammars, Dictionaries, &c. ... ..	75
Logic, Works relating to Education ... ..	47
Periodicals in loose numbers ... ..	14,236
Total ... ..	45,812

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of Volumes added to the Library during the year was 1,715, of which 1,306 were purchased and 409 were received as presents.

Presents of books were as usual received from the Bombay Government, the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India, and the other local Governments ; and also from the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds and individual authors and donors.

The number of Volumes of each class of books acquired by purchase and presentation is shown in the following table :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes Purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes Presented.</i>
Religion and Theology ... ..	22	...
Philosophy ... ..	18	...
Logic, Rhetoric and Works relating to Education ... ..	11	...
Classics and Translations ... ..	22	...
Bibliography, Literary History, &c. ...	23	...
History ... ..	68	5
Politics, Political Economy, Trade and Commerce ... ..	49	4
Law ... ..	...	14

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes Purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes Presented.</i>
Government Publications and Public Records ... ..	...	137
Biography ... ..	75	2
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry ... ..	61	9
Voyages, Travels, Topography, &c. ...	82	85
Poetry and Drama ... ..	15	...
Fiction ... ..	381	...
Foreign Literature ... ..	20	...
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Essays, &c. ... ..	58	4
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, and Astronomy ... ..	4	14
Art, Architecture, Music, &c. ... ..	22	1
Naval and Military .. ...	22	...
Natural History, Zoology Geology Botany, Horticulture and Agriculture ... ..	27	6
Medicine, Surgery, Physiology ... ..	11	1
Annuals, Serials, Transactions of Learned Societies .. ...	208	92
Dictionaries, Grammars, &c. ... ..	14	...
Oriental Literature .. ...	89	32
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,306	409

## NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The papers, periodicals, journals and transactions of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1907 were—  
English Newspapers—

Daily ... ..	2
Weekly ... ..	25
Monthly Magazines ... ..	31
Quarterly Magazines ... ..	22
Annual Publications, Almanacks, Directories, Year Books, &c. ... ..	16
Supplements to Illustrated and other Papers ... ..	12
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals ... ..	10
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals ... ..	11
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes ... ..	23
Indian and Asiatic Journals, Reviews, &c. ... ..	30

At a General Meeting of the Society held in November for the revision of the list of Newspapers and Periodicals in accordance with article XX of the Rules it was resolved to subscribe to the following :—

Modern Review,  
 Madras Review,  
 The New Asiatic Monthly Journal,  
 Indian Educational Journal,  
 Indian Social Reformer.

and to discontinue

Engineering,  
 London, Edinburgh and Dublin Philosophical Magazine,  
 Political Science (Quarterly),  
 O. M. Fur den Orient.

#### COIN CABINET.

During 1906 the number of coins added to the Society's Cabinet was 187: 1 Gold, 46 Silver, 30 Copper and 111 Brass. Of the Total 187, 32 were presented by the Bombay Government; 2 by the Bengal Government; 9 by the Punjab Government; 5 by the Government of U. P.; 2 by the Government of Madras; 1 by the Government of East Bengal and Assam; 21 by the Government of C. P. and 4 by the Political Agent, Rajputana, under the Treasure Trove Act. and 111 brass coins were purchased from the Collector of Bijapur. The description of the coins is as follows :—

#### *Ancient India.*

Coins of Nahapana, the first king of the Western Kshatrapa Dynasty, Silver 22.

Found at Jogeltembe, Nasik District.

Indo—Scythian

Later Kushan

Shaka, Gold 1.

Found in the Peshawar District, N. W. F. Province.

#### *Mediæval India.*

Gaddhya, Silver 1.

Found in the Ajmere district. Rajputana.

Chahad Deva

(Narwar Dynasty). Copper 1.

Found in the Manipur District, Garhwal, U. P.

#### *Larins.*

Silver Wire Coins.

5

Found in Saitawde, Ratnagiri District.

*Pathan Kings of Delhi.*

Muhammad bin Tughlak. Brass 111.

Found in the village of Jagjeevani, Indi Taluka, Bijapur District.

Ghias-ud-din Tughlak Copper 2.

Firuz Shah Copper 1.

Firuz Shah & Fath Khan Copper 1.

Found in the Manipur District, U. P.

*Mogul Emperors.*

Shah Jahan Silver 1.

Aurangzib Silver 1.

Found in Tando Bago Taluka, Hyderabad District, Sind.

Aurangzib Copper 1.

Found in the Wun District, C. P.

Ahmad Shah Bahadur Silver 1.

Found in the Saran District, Bengal.

Shah Alam II. Silver 1.

Found in Faridpur District, East Bengal.

Shah Alam II. Silver 1.

Found in the Jabalpure District.

*Bahamani Kings of Kulburga.*

Muhammad Shah bin Humayun Shah Copper 4.

Ala-ud-din Ahmed Shah II. Copper 4.

Humayun Shah bin Ahmad Shah. Copper 2.

Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah. Copper 1.

Ahmad Shah I. Copper 2.

Muhammad Shah bin Muhammad Shah. Copper 1.

Ahmad Shah bin Humayun Shah. Copper 1.

Found in the Betal District, C. P.

*Kings of Bengal.*

Ala-ud-din Husain Shah Silver 1.

Found in the Murshidabad District, Bengal.

*Modern India.*

Native States of India, with fragmentary inscription of parts of coin-legends of later Moghul Emperors. Silver 1.

Do. do. do. Copper 1.

Chhatrapati coin—bearing name of Shivaji. Copper 1

Found in Jamkhed, Ahmednagar District.

Native States. Copper 3.

Found in the Wun District, C. P.

*Native States of the Punjab.*

- Guru Govind Singh. Silver 7.  
 Found in the Gujranvala District, Punjab.  
 Do. do. Silver 1.  
 Found in the Amritsar District.

*Coins of the French Compagnie des Indes.*

- Doudous or Dudous. Copper 2.  
 Found at Kuntalur, South Arcot District, Madras.

*Miscellaneous Mahomedan.*

- Early Musalman Governors of Sind. Silver 3.  
 Found in the Ajmere District.  
 Saif-ud-din Hasan Quarlugh. Copper 1.  
 Found in the Gujranvala District, Punjab.

Besides coins the Society obtained during the year from Collectors of different Districts in the Presidency the following objects of antiquarian interest :—

- A monumental tablet, with three panels.  
 From Bijapur.  
 Do. do. with four panels.  
 From Hebsur, Dharwar.  
 Do. do. with five panels.  
 From Dharwar.
- A fragment of a white stone slab bearing rows of small sitting figures of Jaina Tirthankars.  
 From Badami.
- A block containing mutilated figure of Shiva and Parvati ; a mutilated figure of Brahma with four faces ; the head of a figure (probably Parvati) with a high ornamental cap ; a broken image of Parvati as Mahishasurmathani and broken parts of images of Shiva and Parvati.  
 From Elephanta.
- A stone bearing an inscription of the Silahar dynasty, dated Samvat 1223 (A. D. 1165).  
 From Kalyan.
- Sculptures and small inscription stones (5 in all) from the Portuguese Ruins at Revdanda.  
 From Revdanda.
- Two Paliya Stones.  
 From Viramgaum.
- Two roughly sculptured slabs with the figures of Parvati and female attendants ; a broken black stone image of Vishnu ; two

sculptured slabs each with two panels with figures on them ; a block containing a roughly carved sitting figure of Shiva with attendants ; a stone with standing figures of Shiva, Parvati and Vishnu ; a slab with standing figures of Shiva and Parvati.

From Ahmedabad.

A finely sculptured slab having in the centre the figures of Shiva, Parvati and Nandi ; Shiva with three faces.

From Belgaum.

A large inscribed stone with various symbols.

From Muntor, Dharwar.

A finely carved standing black stone image of Vishnu decked with necklaces, armlets, etc.

From Navalgund, Dharwar.

The Society purchased from the widow of the late Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, a ring which is said to have been found at Elephanta. The following information relating to the ring is extracted from " the Rock-Temples of Elephanta " by J. Burgess, 1871.

" The year before last a small seal for a ring was found at the excavations on the east side of the island. It is an oval light ruby-coloured cornelian, 0.45 inch long by 0.35 inch broad. The length of the face 0.40 and its breadth 0.28 inch, on this is sunk an ellipse 0.37 by 0.26 inch, inside which is sunk characters that stamp the word ( नारायण ) Narayana in letters of the 5th or 6th Century. It is now in the possession of Dr. Bhau Daji. "

## JOURNAL.

Number 62 forming the third and concluding number of Vol. XXII was published during the year, with an index, title page and contents of the Volume.

The new number contains the following papers and an abstract of proceedings of the Society for 1907, with a list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to it during the year.

The Nasik Hoard of Nahapana's coins.

By the Rev. H. R. Scott.

The coins of Surat-

By the Rev G. P. Taylor.

Bombay as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the year 1754 A. D.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

A few notes on Broach from an Antiquarian point of view.

By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

The Parâsariya Dharma Śastra.

By the late Shamrao Vithal, Esq.

(Communicated by the President.)

**FINANCE.**

A detailed statement of receipts and disbursements during 1907 is appended. It will be seen from it that the total amount of subscription including arrears, collected during the year was Rs. 13,422-12-0. The subscriptions received in the preceding year amounted to Rs. 13,712-4-0.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 885-2-8, and the arrears of subscription on the same date were Rs. 125-0-0.

The invested funds of the Society amount to Rs. 16,900.

**ELECTRIC LIGHT AND FANS.**

Special thanks of the Society are due to the Collector and to Government for providing electric lights and fans for all the Rooms in the Town Hall in the occupation of the Society.

Mr. S. S. Setlur proposed the adoption of the report. The proposition being seconded by Mr. Ghanasham N. Nadkarni was carried unanimously.

The Honorary Secretary proposed that the following gentlemen form the Committee of the Management and Auditors for 1908.

**COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT FOR 1908.***President.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar.

*Vice Presidents.*

James MacDonald, Esq.

K. R. Cama, Esq.

J. J. Modi, Esq.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott.

*Members.*

F. R. Vicaji, Esq.

Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.

Dastoor Darab P. Sanjana.

Khan Bahadur D. R. Chichgar.

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni.

Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar.

Prof. E. H. McDougall.

T. A. Savage, Esq.

V. P. Vaidya, Esq.

Fazulbhoy C. Ibrahim, Esq.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

*Hon. Secretary.*

P. B. Haigh, Esq., I.C.S.

*Hon. Auditors.*

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

S. T. Bhandare, Esq.

The Chairman suggested that the name of the Rev. A. S. Crichton be substituted for that of Prof. E. H. McDougall who had been absent in Europe, and Mr. Wilkinson proposed that Mr. A. D. Shanks be one of the Auditors in his own place.

This being accepted, the original proposition as moved by the Honorary Secretary was adopted.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 25th November 1908.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandawarkar, President, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary laid before the Meeting the following proposals about periodicals :—

By Mr. E. J. Bolus, I.C.S.—

- (1) That the "Daily News" be discontinued.
- (2) That if it is necessary to include a Liberal Paper, the "Chronicle" be taken.
- (3) That the "Oxford and Cambridge Review" be taken.
- (4) That the "Empire Review" be substituted for either
  - (a) Scribner's or
  - (b) Harper's.
- (5) That "Hazell's Annual" be taken.
- (6) That the "Empress" be taken in place of the "Indu Prakash".

By Mr. F. A. Vakil—

That the following be taken :—

- (1) "The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News."
- (2) "Westminster Budget" (in which Political Cartoons appear).
- (3) "Idler."
- (4) "Fry's Magazine."
- (5) "Tatler."
- (6) "Monist."
- (7) Journal of the English Folk-lore Society.

By Rev. Dr. R. Scott—

That the "Westminster Gazette" (Saturday Issue) be substituted for the "Nation."

By Prof. K. N. Colville.—

(1) That the "Daily News" be replaced by the "Westminster Gazette."

(2) That the "Morning Post" be taken.

To avoid increase in expenditure suggests the omission of—

"Portfolio."

"Le Tour des Monde."

The proposals for new additions were considered and the existing list was examined, and it was resolved that the following be subscribed for from the beginning of 1909 :—

The "Empire Review."

"Journal of the English Folk-lore Society."

"Westminster Gazette."

"American Journal of Archæology."

and that those named below be discontinued from the same date :—

"Daily News."

"Scribner's Magazine."

"Nation."

"Le Tour du Monde."

"Scientific American and Supplement."

*List of Presents to the Library.*

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
<b>ACCOUNTS</b> of the Trade by Rail and River in India, 1906-07.	Government of India.
<b>ACTS</b> , Government of India, 1907.	Government of India.
<b>ADMINISTRATION</b> Report, Ajmer-Merwara, 1906-07.	Government of India.
————— Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1906-07.	Government of India.
————— Report, Bengal Government, 1906-07.	Bengal Government.
————— Report, Bombay Presidency, 1906-07.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, Burma, 1906-07.	Burma Government.
————— Report, Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1906-07.	Government, Eastern Bengal.
————— Report, Madras, 1906-07.	Madras Government.
————— Report, N.-W. Frontier Province, 1906-07.	N.-W. F. Government.
————— Report, Punjab, 1906-07.	Punjab Government.
————— Report, United Provinces, Agra and Oudh, 1906-07.	U. P. Government.
<b>AGRICULTURAL</b> Ledger, 1907 (Nos. 1-5).	Government of India.
<b>ANNALES</b> du Musee Guimet.	
Tome 12 (Bod-Youl ou Tibet).	
,, 22 (Essai de Bibliographie Jaina).	
,, 23 Histoire des Idées Theosophiques dans l'Inde.	Minister of Public Instruction, France.
<b>Annals</b> , Astrophysical Observatory, Smithsonian Institution, Vol. II, 1908.	The Institution.
<b>ANNUAL</b> Statement of Trade and Navigation, Sind, for 1906-07.	Bombay Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey of Ceylon, Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. I, Parts 1 to 3.	Ceylon Government.
BALLADS and other Poems, Life in Song; Aztéc God. By G. L. Raymond.	The Author.
BOMBAY Code, 3rd Edition.	Government of India.
———— Improvement Trust Report, 1907-08.	Chairman, Improvement Trust.
———— Port Trust Report, 1907-08.	Chairman, Bombay Port Trust.
———— University Calendar, 1908-09.	The University.
BOUDDHA Sakhya Mouni, Par. S. Egoreff.	The Author.
BULLETIN, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XV, Part II. 1907.	The Museum.
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*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,  
and a List of Presents to Library,*

1909.

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A special meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was held at the Town Hall on Monday, the 1st March 1909, for the purpose of the formal presentation of the Campbell Memorial Medal for 1908, awarded to Dr. M. A. Stein, for his work on Ancient Khotan, by His Excellency the Governor. In the unavoidable absence of Dr. Stein, the Governor handed the medal to Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, the Trustee of the Medal Fund, to be forwarded to Dr. Stein. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, President of the Society, presided.

In opening the proceedings Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, on behalf of the members of the Society, extended to his Excellency a cordial welcome, and called upon Mr. A. M. T. Jackson to explain the purpose of the meeting.

Mr. Jackson said :—Your Excellency, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. The occasion of our meeting here to-day can be explained in very few words. Sir James Macnabb Campbell died in retirement at home some 7 years ago. Of the loss to scholarship, His Excellency will speak to-day. Of the loss to friendship, we who were Campbell's friends can even now hardly trust ourselves to speak. Some of us resolved to perpetuate his memory in connection with the studies which he loved so well and for which he did so much. A fund was subscribed by a number of Campbell's personal friends, both Europeans and Indians, and vested in trustees, to meet the cost of awarding every three years a gold medal, to be called the Campbell Memorial Medal, for the best work published in English regarding the history, ethnology or folklore of India. It is the function of our Society to select a recipient of the medal. On this, the first occasion of the award, our Society appointed a Selection Committee consisting of the Hon. Dr. Bhandarkar, Shams-ul-Ulama Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, and myself. Our task was to prepare as complete a list as possible of English publications on Indian subjects for the three years ending 1907, and after excluding work of ephemeral or minor importance, to classify the remainder and balance against each other the claims of

the best works in each department of study. Our choice has unanimously fallen on the work of Dr. Mark Aurel Stein, which under the name of "Ancient Khotan" records the results of his first expedition to Chinese Turkestan. Dr. Stein is one of those German scholars, who like Bühler and Kielhorn have come into living contact with the subjects of the study through service under Government in India. At the University of Tübingen he devoted himself chiefly to the study of Avesta literature, and his first work to attract attention was an Essay on Zoroastrian deities on Indo-Scythian coins. He entered the Indian Educational Service in 1886 and except for a brief period spent in Calcutta, has served entirely in the Punjab and N.-W. Frontier Provinces. In India he took up the study of Sanskrit and holidays spent in Kashmir drew his attention to the history and antiquities of that fascinating country. He edited and translated with an elaborate and valuable commentary the Sanskrit history of Kashmir (the Rajatarangini), and has published catalogues of Sankrit MSS., and reports on the antiquities of the N.-W. Frontier. The work for which the Campbell Medal is to be awarded to-day records the results of exploration undertaken in Chinese Turkestan under the orders of the Government of India. For some years the attention of the learned world had been attracted by the reports of travellers, and by the arrival in India or Europe of manuscripts and other portable antiquities, to the valley of the Tarim river as a field for archæological exploration.

The country was a meeting place of Greek, Persian, Indian and Chinese influences; and as we now know as the result of Dr. Stein's discoveries, the Indian influence was both very early and very powerful, both in art and in religion, and for a time at any rate in language and government also. This immense influence exercised by India over her Asiatic neighbours, coupled with the power to absorb into herself and civilize her barbarian conquerors are the outstanding facts of the history of India before the Mahomedan invasions, though they are only now beginning to be generally understood. At a time when the evidence was still scanty, Sir James Campbell's sound historical instinct had seized upon these two points, and it would have given him peculiar pleasure to have seen his theories confirmed by Dr. Stein's work. But it is not so much this fact as the merits of the work itself that have led us to recommend Dr. Stein's for the award of the medal. Dr. Stein's book unfolds a picture of a curious composite civilisation at two periods, the first in the 3rd century of our era, when Indian influences were dominant, and the second in the 8th century, when they had been partly overshadowed by Chinese civilisation and the barbarians were knocking at the door. But the decay of these settlements was due not so much to political disorder

as to the gradual encroachment of the desert upon the sown lands. The advancing sand blotted out the cities while it preserved their remains. Dr. Stein's perseverance and resourcefulness in the face of difficulties of transport, labour and water-supply are worthy of all praise ; and lastly and above all his book is a model of archæological method. He spared no labour to note every discovery in full detail as soon as it was made ; and it is therefore possible to use his work with confidence that nothing important has been missed. With these words of preface, I now, on behalf of the Selection Committee, recommend that the Campbell Memorial Medal be awarded to Dr. Mark A. Stein for his book on Ancient Khotan.

His Excellency then addressed the meeting as follows :—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you for the kindly welcome you have accorded to me on this the first occasion on which I have had the pleasure of meeting the members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

You, Sir, have most lucidly explained the objects of this special meeting of the Society, and Mr. Jackson, as Trustee of the Medal Fund, has clearly shown the very strong claims of Dr. Stein and has most fully justified the award. Before presenting this medal, I should like to say a few words about Sir James Campbell, in whose honour it was instituted. Campbell joined the Indian Civil Service in 1869. Only four years later he was appointed Compiler of the Bombay Gazetteer, and he carried on this important and arduous work in addition to his official duty until his retirement in 1899. The Bombay Gazetteer is a monumental undertaking, consisting of twenty-six district and historical volumes, which were for the most part edited by him. To this work he devoted himself with characteristic conscientiousness, and, as he gained insight and experience, his contributions became of the utmost value. I fear that too few people avail themselves of the mine of historical wealth that lies open to us in the Gazetteer. Campbell searched deeply into the past and traced customs prevailing to-day to their sources in the evolution of the people under the constant stress of wars and invasions. Tribal and caste institutions remain and will long remain as factors of extreme importance in the social and political structure of India, and it is important that we should realise that they are not capricious and accidental growths, but developments arising out of the exigencies of dim periods upon which more light is required.

Campbell's literary and research work in no way interfered with his official duties. Perhaps life has grown more strenuous in India in the

last few years ; but the man who could be a good District Officer, Municipal Commissioner, and Collector and Commissioner of Customs, while carrying on in private the work of an earnest student, must have been singularly gifted as well as superlatively industrious. With the exception of a break of four years, Campbell spent eighteen years in Bombay, where he made many friends, of all classes, who recognised his broad sympathies and his unflagging devotion to duty, and mourned his too early death.

The public estimate of his sterling worth of character could not be better expressed than in the closing paragraph of the memoir which appeared in the "Times of India" of June 1st, 1903, on the announcement of his death :—“ He was signally averse from all forms of public notice, with a lack of ostentation, which formed one of his greater charms. Let us humour his wishes in contenting ourselves with this brief notice of a noble character. Many men have advanced to posts of greater honour. Many far less worthy have been acclaimed as public benefactors. Long after they have been forgotten, will Campbell's genial influence live on, in many an unselfish deed, in many a broad-minded thought. By his work Englishmen may come to know, with the knowledge that brings sympathy, the unfamiliar depth of the oriental character ; by his work, the natives may have kindlier feeling for their old friend's fellow-countrymen. Let him thus pass to posterity as the type of all that is best in the English character, as an example of unselfish devotion to duty, and of kindly sympathy for all, that will seldom be surpassed.” This is a striking tribute which anyone might wish to deserve when his work in this world is done.

I can well believe that a medal would be the most pleasing of memorials to a man of this character, because its object is to inspire others to the Asiatic studies to which he gave a great part of his life.

Gentlemen, I am very glad to meet the members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to-day. No one can feel more strongly than I do the need for this Society, or realize more completely the good work it is accomplishing. Yet, I know well that it is impossible for me to give you any real help. Some of my distinguished predecessors have bequeathed to us historical work of high and permanent value. I can only say that their times must have been far less complex than those of to-day. It is true not of India alone, but of all countries that the business of Government grows more and more exacting, and I find that my days are always full, and that the literary work, which has occupied a great part of my life, must be absolutely stopped. All that I can do, therefore, is to try to encourage and exhort on occasions such as this.

I assume that the institution of this medal was primarily intended to stimulate Indian students, and that it was hoped that some of our many University graduates would follow in the steps of Sir James Campbell, and carry on his great work. The field for historical, archæological and ethnological research, which this great country offers, is almost boundless. The labourers in this field are not many, and I note with much regret the wholly disproportionate number of Europeans so employed. In Western India we have a few scholars among whom Dr. Bhandarkar stands pre-eminent, but the number is very small, and it is from Europe and not from India that requests for the loan of documents from the Public Archives are forthcoming.

Every year about eight hundred books in English and in the vernaculars are published in this Presidency; but there are hardly any works dealing with the history, the buildings and the people of the Province. The Newspapers, with some exceptions, seem to take no interest in these matters, though there is scarcely any locality which has not something to tell us of the past. Government have recently undertaken to subsidise a small periodical publishing documents having reference to the pre-British period. This is a small beginning, but I trust that it will encourage progress in research of this nature. The materials are many and varied. There are unstudied documents to analyse and to collect. Occasional finds of coins can throw new light upon old history. Excavation of historic sites may have much to teach us. Existing literature, such as Sir James Campbell's valuable Folklore notes, is ready to be worked up into new and interesting forms useful to the historian. Much more folklore lies scattered around us unrecorded and unconsidered.

In all countries, which stand in the forefront of civilization, the educated classes provide numbers of individuals who, singly or in organized bodies, devote time and money to the scientific and impartial study of their past. Work of this kind must be easier for the native than for the foreigner, and I hope that the time is not far distant when we shall have many earnest Indian searchers into the vast store-houses of historical and archæological treasures, and the unrivalled wealth of folklore and primitive customs which India contains.

And now I am sure I speak for all the Members of the Society when I say that we greatly regret that Dr. Stein is not able to be here to receive this medal in person. In forwarding it to him, I hope you will convey the very high appreciation of the Society in regard to his remarkable achievements, which have amply deserved the honour which the Society desires to confer upon him.

Mr. R. E. Enthoven said that one word remained to be said. Two years ago, when the Committee of the Society were considering how they could inaugurate that medal with the greatest publicity, the question arose of asking His Excellency to present the medal. I need hardly say that His Excellency, with his usual readiness to assist all movements of importance, kindly consented to come here and present the medal. Dr. Stein had written saying that he greatly regretted that he could not be present and he was sure that his regret would be increased when he knew that he had missed the opportunity of having the medal presented to him by His Excellency the Governor. (Applause). He moved a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency.

The vote was heartily accorded and the proceedings terminated.

### Annual Meeting.

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The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 24th March, 1909.

The Hon. Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, President, in the chair.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings said :—Before we take up the work on the agenda paper you will allow me to refer to the sad loss which has been suffered by His Excellency the Governor in the death of his beloved daughter, Miss Clarke. His Excellency is a patron of this Society, and, therefore, it is our duty—a sad duty indeed—to record our sense of very deep regret at the bereavement which he has sustained. I would also propose a resolution to the effect that the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society expresses its deep sense of regret at the loss sustained by His Excellency by the death of his daughter, Miss Clarke, and conveys to His Excellency its sincere sympathy and condolence. I am quite sure this resolution will meet with your acceptance.

Mr. James MacDonald seconded the resolution, which was carried.

The Honorary Secretary read the following report :—

### The Annual Report for 1908.

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#### MEMBERS.

*Resident.*—During the year under review, 41 new Members were elected and 5 non-resident Members, having come to Bombay, were added to the list of resident Members. 25 Members resigned, 8 re-

tired, 7 died, 4 left Bombay and were transferred to the Non-Resident List, and the names of 5 were removed from the Roll for non-payment of subscription. The total number of Members at the close of the year was 319, including life members. The number at the end of the preceding year was 326.

*Non-Resident.*—34 new Members joined under this class, and 8 having left Bombay were transferred from the list of Resident Members. 9 withdrew, 2 died and 5 were added to the Resident List. The number at the end of the year including Life Members was 131 against 105 in the preceding year. Of Non-Resident members 60 pay the additional subscription of Rs. 15 for the privilege of taking out books.

#### OBITUARY.

The Society regrets to have to notify the loss by death of the following members :—

- Mrs. Pechy Phipson, M. D.
- Veerchand Deepchand, Esq., C.I.E.
- F. R. Vicaji, Esq.
- Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai, Bart.
- E. Bollam, Esq.
- Prof. E. H. MacDougall.
- R. E. Forrest, Esq.
- Rao Bahadur Balwantrao Bhuskute.
- H. E. J. Herculano de Moura, Governor of Diu.

#### ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were contributed to the Society during the year :—

- Traikutaka coins from the Poona (Indapur) District. By the Rev. H. R. Scott, M.A.
- Khadavada Inscription of Gyas Sahi (Vikram) Samvat 1541. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.
- Bhamāhā's Attacks on the Buddhist Grammarian Jinendrabuddhi. By Prof. K. B. Pathak, B.A.
- Sivaditya's Saptapadārthi. By Prof. V. S. Ghate, M.A.
- The Portuguese in the Persian Gulf. By J. A. Saldanha, B.A., LL.B.
- Chittorgadh Prasasti. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

## LIBRARY.

The issues of books during the year under review were 48,268 volumes ; 35,041 of new works including periodicals and 13,227 of old books, compared with 45,812 volumes ; 34,645 of new books and 11,167 of old in the preceding year. The daily average excluding Sundays and holidays was 161 Volumes.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues is subjoined.

## MONTHLY ISSUES.

						<i>New Books.</i>	<i>Old Books.</i>
January	...	...	...	...	...	3,038	1,085
February	...	...	...	...	...	2,719	1,213
March	...	...	...	...	...	2,709	1,294
April	...	...	...	...	...	3,007	1,271
May	...	...	...	...	...	2,545	1,081
June	...	...	...	...	...	2,839	1,079
July	...	...	...	...	...	3,254	1,262
August	...	...	...	...	...	3,212	1,209
September	...	...	...	...	...	3,332	1,062
October	...	...	...	...	...	3,149	1,003
November	...	...	...	...	...	2,614	759
December	...	...	...	...	...	2,623	909
						<u>35,041</u>	<u>13,227</u>

The issues of each class of books, new and old, are noted below :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Fiction ... ..	12,320
Biography ... ..	1,871
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Essays...	1,683
History ... ..	1,339
Travels, Topography &c. ... ..	1,259
Oriental Literature ... ..	853
Poetry and Drama ... ..	657
Religion... ..	551
Politics, Economics, Sociology, &c. ... ..	579
Literary History, Criticism, &c. ... ..	507
Philosophy ... ..	524
Naval and Military ... ..	413
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c. (in bound Volumes) ... ..	436
Art, Architecture ... ..	396

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Science, Natural History, Geology, &c. ... ..	339
Archæology, Mythology, Anthropology, &c. ... ..	279
Foreign Literature ... ..	234
Botany, Agriculture ... ..	220
Govt. Publications, Public Records ... ..	210
Natural Philosophy, Astronomy ... ..	189
Classics ... ..	139
Medicine ... ..	132
Grammars, Dictionaries, &c. ... ..	96
Law ... ..	90
Logic and Works relating to Education ... ..	45
Periodicals in loose Numbers ... ..	13,907

It is satisfactory to observe that there has been a steady increase in the use of the Library books in the districts, owing to a gradual increase in the number of Non-Resident Members acquiring the privilege of taking out books by payment of an additional subscription.

#### ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of Volumes added to the Library during the year was 1,645, of which 1,235 were purchased and 410 were presented.

Presents of books were as usual received from the Bombay Government, the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India and the other local Governments, and also from the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds and individual authors and donors.

The number of Volumes of each class of books acquired by purchase and presentation is shown in the following table.

	<i>Volumes Purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes Presented.</i>
Religion... ..	10	2
Philosophy ... ..	20	...
Works relating to Education ... ..	2	...
Classics and Translations .. ..	9	...
Literary History, Criticism, &c. ... ..	23	...
History ... ..	92	2
Politics, Economics, Sociology, &c. ... ..	50	6
Law ... ..	4	10
Government Publications and Public Records ... ..	9	168
Biography ... ..	95	...

	<i>Volumes. Purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes. Presented.</i>
Archæology, Mythology, Anthropology, Numismatics, &c. ... ..	34	10
Travel and Topography ... ..	44	57
Poetry and Drama ... ..	77	4
Fiction ... ..	401	...
Miscellaneous, Essays, Collected Works...	33	2
Foreign Literature ... ..	1	...
Mathematics, Astronomy, &c. ... ..	2	...
Art, Architecture, Music ... ..	30	15
Naval and Military ... ..	18	...
Science, Natural History, Geology, &c. ...	22	12
Botany and Agriculture ... ..	7	7
Medicine, Surgery, Physiology ... ..	5	...
Annals, Serials, Transactions of Learned Societies ... ..	170	96
Dictionaries, Grammars, &c. ... ..	14	1
Oriental Literature ... ..	63	18

#### NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The Papers, Periodicals, Journals and Transactions of Learned Societies taken by and presented to the Society during 1908 were :—

##### English Newspapers—

Daily ... ..	2
Weekly ... ..	24
Monthly Magazines ... ..	28
Quarterly Magazines ... ..	19
Annual Publications, Almanacs, Directories, Year Books, etc. ... ..	17
Supplements to Illustrated and other Papers...	12
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals ... ..	11
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals...	11
Indian Newspapers and Govt. Gazettes ... ..	24
Indian and Asiatic Journals, Reviews, &c. ... ..	33

As required by Article XX of the Rules, a General Meeting was held in November, for the revision of the list of Newspapers and Periodicals, to which the Society subscribed. At this meeting it was resolved to subscribe to—

- (1) The Empire Review.
- (2) The Journal of the English Folklore Society.
- (3) Westminster Gazette (Daily).
- (4) American Journal of Archæology.

from the beginning of 1909 and to discontinue the following from the same date :—

- (1) Daily News.
- (2) Scribner's Magazine.
- (3) Nation.
- (4) Le Tour du Monde.
- (5) Scientific American.
- (6) „ „ Supplement.

#### COIN CABINET.

The number of coins added to the Society's Cabinet during the year was 77. Of these 4 were Gold, 54 Silver, 18 Copper and 1 of mixed metal, Silver and Copper. Of the total 77, 13 were presented by the Collector of the Panch Mahals, 12 by the Jabna Durbar through the Political Agent, Bhopawar, 1 by the Agent to the Governor-General, Central India, and 1 by Miss Chubb. The rest were presentations to the Society under the Treasure Trove Act, from the Governments of Bombay, Madras, the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and the Eastern Bengal and Assam.

The Coins are of the following description :—

##### *Ancient India.*

- 5 Silver coins of Græco-Bactrian King, Apollodotus II, Philopator. Found in the Dera Ghazikhan District.

##### *Medieval India.*

- 2 Silver coins of the Traikutaka Kings. Dahragana (Dahrasena). Found, Indapur Taluka, Poona District.
- 13 Silver coins of the Kshatrapas. Found in the Panch Mahals District.
- 1 (Silver and copper) coin of Rajput Dynasty of Narwar, (Malaya Varma Deva) A.D. 1223. Found in the Jhansi District.

##### *Assam Coins.*

- 1 Silver coin of Gaurinatha Singh.
  - 3 Silver coins of Gaurinatha Singh (¼ rupee).
  - 2 Silver coins of Lakshmi Singh.
  - 1 Silver coin of Rajeshwar Singh.
  - 1 Silver coin of Brajanatha Singh.
- Found in the Jorhat Sub-division, Sibsagar District.

*Moghul Emperors.*

- 1 Copper coin of Akbar, Chautanka. Found in the village of Mohobel, Taluka Nadiad, Kaira District.
- 1 Silver coin of Akbar, Ahmedabad Mint, A. H. 982.
- 1 Silver coin of Akbar (Square) Ahmedabad Mint, Regnal year 37. Found in the Jhansi District.
- 1 Silver coin of Akbar (old Forgery of a Rupee of Akbar. Found near Jabna Town, Central India.
- 4 Silver coins of Aurangzeb. Found in the Village of Sangamner, Ahmadnagar District.
- 1 Silver coin of Aurangzeb. Found at Khurd Taked, Igatpuri Taluka, Nasik District.
- 1 Silver coin of Muhammad Shah, Surat Mint. Found at Vejalpur, Kalol Taluka, Panch Mahals.
- 1 Silver coin of Muhammad Shah, Surat Mint. Found in the Bhandara District.
- 1 Silver coin of Muhummad Shah, Shahjahanabad Mint. Presented by Miss M. E. Chubb.
- 1 Silver coin of Ahmad Shah, Katak Mint. Found in the Bhandara District.
- 1 Silver coin of Shah Alam, Roshangar Mint. Found in the Saugor District.

*Native States.*

- 1 Silver coin said to belong to the Peshwas—with the mark of a pair of Scissors and Hijri date in Marathi figures 1243 (A.D. 1827). Found in Vetel Peth, Poona City.

*Southern India.*

- 3 Gold coins, Viraraya Fanams. Found in the Coimbatore District.
- 1 Gold Fanam, assigned to the Ganga Dynasty of Kalinga Nagar, the Modern Mukhalingham, Ganjam District. Found in a village in the Gajapatinagram Taluka, of the Vizagapatam District.
- 4 Copper coins of the Chola Dynasty. Found in a village in the Gajapatinagram Taluka, of the Vizagapatam District.

*Pathan Kings of Delhi.*

- 5 Copper coins of Bahlol Lodi.
- 5 Copper coins of Sikandar Lodi.  
Found in the Hissar District.
- 2 Copper coins of Sikandar Lodi. Found in the Gonda District.

*Kings of Malwa.*

- 5 Silver coins of Nasir-ud-din bin Ghyas-ud-din, of different dates.
- 3 Silver coins of Ghyas-ud-din bin Muhmad, of different dates.  
Found near Jabna Town, Central India.

*Kings of Gujarat.*

- 3 Silver coins of Mahmud Shah I. Found near Jabna Town, Central India.

*Burma Coins.*

- 1 Silver, the so-called Symbolical Coin. Found in the Yame-then District, Burma.

*King of Jaunpur.*

1 Copper coin of Mahmud Shah I, A. H. 863-917. A. D. 1458-1511. Found at Kotar Village, Rewa State, Central India.

Mrs. Awabai Dhanjibhoy Commodore, presented an onyx seal bearing a portrait in outline of an Iranian at prayer through Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

DISPOSAL OF TREASURE TROVE COINS.

A new arrangement relating to disposal of the coins acquired under the Treasure Trove Act was proposed by the Government of India in their Resolution, Home Department, No. 889—903, dated 30th March 1907. In accordance with this resolution, the Bombay Government issued orders on the subject, which were communicated to the Society by Government in their letters, General Department, No. 5523, dated the 10th September 1907, and No. 5923, dated 30th September 1908.

Under these orders, the Society examined and reported on 758 Coins during the year. Of these 380 were received from the Collector of Poona, 17 from the Collector of Kaira, 37 from the Collector of Panch Mahals, 10 from the Collector of Belgaum, 198 from the Collector of Ahmednagar, 6 from the Collector of Larkhana, and 110 from the Collector of Násik.

The Coins are classified as follows :—

Metal.	Ancient.	Moghul.	Bahamani.	Native States.	Sassanian.	Total.
Gold	...	5	...	...	6	11
Silver	359	340	10	21	...	730
Copper	...	17	...	...	...	17
Total	359	362	10	21	6	758

and they have been distributed as shown below :—

	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Total.
The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay ... ..	4	62	2	68
The Indian Museum, Calcutta.	2	35	2	39
The Madras Museum ... ..	2	29	1	32
The Provincial Museum, Luck- now ... ..	1	24	1	26
The Lahore Museum ... ..	1	20	1	22
The Nagpur Museum ... ..	1	15	1	17
The Public Library, Shillong...	...	15	1	16
The Archæological Museum, Poona ... ..	...	15	1	16
The Peshawar Museum ... ..	...	11	1	12
The Quetta Museum ... ..	...	10	1	11
The Ajmere Museum ... ..	...	10	1	11
The Rangoon Museum... ..	...	9	1	10
Asiatic Society, Bengal ... ..	...	9	1	10
Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society ... ..	...	9	1	10
The British Museum ... ..	...	9	1	10
For sale at the Mint, Bombay...	...	439	...	439
Rev. H. R. Scott ... ..	...	9	...	9
				Total... 758

An important find occurred near the village of Kazad, in the Indapur Taluka, Poona District. The hoard comprised 359 coins, which were all of the Traikutaka King Dahragana (Dahrasena) about A.D. 456, except 4, which were of his son Vyagrahagana. They are similar to the Kshatrap coins, with this difference that the positions of the sun and moon are reversed. The sun being on the left instead of the right as on the Kshatrap coins. The Rev. Mr. Scott of Surat has written a paper on them, which is published in the number of the Society's Journal just issued.

Another find deserving of special mention was that of 6 Sassanian gold coins dug up in the Larkana District. They are in fine condition, and their peculiarity is the head dress of the King on the obverse, which differs from what is generally seen on these coins. Mr. Cousens is of opinion that the so-called globe of the head is nothing more than a jewelled aigrette somewhat like that on plate XXIV, figure A, in Cunningham's Mahabodhi. The coins probably belong to about the 5th Century A.D.

Among the other coins may be mentioned 10 Silver coins of the Bahamani Dynasty of Kulbarga found at Chandgada Petha in the Belgaum District. All the 10 Coins are in an excellent state of preservation. Two of the Coins are of the first King of the dynasty, Hasan Shah Gangu Bahman and eight of the Second King, Muhammad Shaha.

The 37 Silver coins of Native States discovered in the City of Poona are curious coins which are said to belong to the "Peishawas." They have fragments of legends of the later Moghul Emperors on the obverse and reverse and a symbol on the reverse, a pair of Scissors (?) with Hijri dates in Marathi figures below the symbol. The dates are 1231, 1241-1244 (A.D. 1815 and 1825-1828).

The two finds at Nasik and Ahmednagar were also important as they contained some 300 specimens of the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb of various mints and dates.

#### CAMPBELL MEMORIAL MEDAL AWARD.

The Selection Committee consisting of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, the Hon'ble Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi appointed in connection with the award of the Campbell Medal agreed to recommend the award, the first since the institution of the Medal, to Dr. M. A. Stein for his work 'Ancient Khotan.' The Managing Committee approved of the recommendation. Dr. Stein was informed of the Committee's decision and he was asked if he would do the Society the honour of accepting it. He acknowledges his acceptance in these words:—"I feel deeply touched by the great honour thus bestowed upon me and appreciate highly the encouragement afforded to me by this generous recognition of what service I have been able to render to Oriental research within and outside India. It is a source of special gratification to me that this recognition should have come from the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, for it was in Bombay that I had, when coming out to India twenty years ago, first hoped to carry on my labours, and I have always felt linked to Bombay by the memory of scholar friends who had worked there and of others for whose Orientalist labours I entertain sincere respect and admiration."

Dr. Stein much regretted that having had to leave for Europe immediately he would not be able to receive the medal personally.

A formal presentation of it has since been made *in absentia* by H. E. the Governor. (See pp. xxv to xxx.)

## JOURNAL.

No. 63, the first number of Vol. XXIII, was published during the year. It contains the following papers :—

- (I) Traikutaka coins from the Poona (Indapur) District. By the Rev. H. R. Scott, M.A.
- (II) Khad&avadá Inscription of Ghy&asa Sahi. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.
- (III) Bhamaha's Attacks on the Buddhist Grammarian Jinendra-buddhi. By Professor K. B. Pathak, B.A.
- (IV) Śiv&aditya's Saptapad&arthi. By Professor V. S. Ghatе, M.A.
- (V) The Portuguese in the Persian Gulf. By J. A. Saldanha, B.A., LL.B.
- (VI) Chitorgadh Prasasti. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

## ACCOUNTS.

A statement detailing the items of receipts and disbursements for 1908 accompanies the report. The total amount of subscription received during the year, including arrears was Rs. 13,717-0-0. Subscriptions in the preceding year amounted to Rs. 13,422-12-0.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 777-4-4.

The Invested Funds of the Society amounted to Rs. 16,900-0-0.

Mr. James MacDonald in moving the adoption of the report said that the report was on the whole exceedingly satisfactory.

Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni seconded the motion which was carried.

On the motion of Mr. James MacDonald, the following gentlemen were appointed office-bearers for the year 1909.

## COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT FOR 1909.

*President.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar.

*Vice-Presidents.*

James MacDonald, Esq.

K. R. Cama, Esq.

J. J. Modi, Esq.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott.

*Members.*

Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.  
 Dastur Darab P. Sanjana.  
 Khan Bahadur D. R. Chichgar.  
 J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.  
 Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni.  
 Professor S. R. Bhandarkar.  
 T. A. Savage, Esq.  
 V. P. Vaidya, Esq.  
 Fazulbhai C. Ibrahim, Esq.  
 H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.  
 Rev. A. S. Crichton,  
 Dr. D. A. DeMonte

*Hon. Secretary.*

P. B. Haigh, Esq.

*Hon. Auditors.*

S. T. Bhandare, Esq.  
 A. D. Shanks, Esq.

On the conclusion of the proceedings the Chairman moved a vote of thanks to the Auditors for the arduous work they were doing without remuneration and to Mr. Haigh, Hon. Secretary.

The resolution was carried.

Mr. James MacDonald, in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, said, that he would apply to the Chairman the very excellent words that the latter had just applied to Mr. Haigh. The Chairman was a tower of strength in himself and put his heart into the work. They were deeply grateful to him for the interest he took in the Society.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 28th August 1909.

*Present.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandawarkar, President, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the minutes of the last meeting which were confirmed.

Mr. J. J. Modi proposed the following resolution relating to the late Mr. K. R. Cama, and in doing so, gave a careful and admirable appreciation of his friend's life and character :—

That the Society places on record its deep sense of the loss it has sustained by the death of one of its Vice-Presidents, Mr. K. R. Cama,

and its testimony to his varied abilities, to the interest he took in its affairs, and to his great services in connection with Iranian literature.

Mr. Cama was one of the oldest members of the Society, having been elected in 1861. He was a Trustee of the invested funds of the Society and one of its Vice-Presidents. During the celebration of the centenary of the Society, he took a prominent part in organising and successfully carrying out arrangements in connection with the Iranian section of the programme, and by his profound learning added greatly to the interest of the occasion. The Society deeply regrets the loss of so useful a member, and one whose death is a loss to the cause of oriental literature in general in this city.

That a letter, enclosing a copy of the Society's Resolution, be forwarded to Mr. Cama's eldest son, with an expression of the Society's sympathy with him and his family.

Sir Bhalchandra Krishna seconded the Resolution.

The President in laying the proposition before the meeting referred to the high sense of duty that characterised Mr. Cama and the marked influence which he exerted on others and described him as great and good. The Resolution was agreed to.

On the proposition of the Rev. Dr. Scott, seconded by Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni, it was resolved to appoint Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, a trustee of the Society's Government Securities in place of the late Mr. K. R. Cama.

A general meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 22nd November 1909.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandawarkar, President, in the Chair.

The following proposals regarding newspapers and periodicals received from Members were laid before the meeting :—

From Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar—

That the following be taken—

- (1) Science Progress.
- (2) International Journal of Ethics.
- (3) Nation, an American Weekly.
- (4) Benares Sanskrit Series.
- (5) Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares.
- (6) American Journal of Philology.

From Mr. J. K. Metha.

That—

- (1) Scientific American.
- (2) India.
- (3) Eugenics be taken.

From Mr. O. Bothfeld, I.C.S., that the "Quest" be taken.

From Lt.-Col. Gubbins that the "Lancet" be taken.

From Prof. K. N. Colvile that the "Morning Post" (Daily) and the "Nation" (Weekly) be taken and the following be discontinued :—

Sphere.

Ladies' Field.

Ladies' Pictorial.

The proposals were considered, and it was resolved to subscribe to the following from the beginning of 1910 :—

- (1) The American Journal of Philology.
- (2) The Quest.

On the proposition of the Honorary Secretary, it was resolved to substitute the weekly edition of the Westminster Gazette (Saturday Issue) for the daily edition from the same date.

As regards the "Benares Sanskrit Series" and the "Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series", it was resolved that a specimen copy of each of these two publications be obtained with a view to ascertaining if they are suitable for the Library.

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*List of Presents to the Library.*

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
FACTS, Government of India, 1908.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION-Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1907-08.	Government of India.
_____ Report, Bengal, 1907-08.	Bengal Government.
_____ Report, Bengal, under Sir A. Fraser.	Bengal Government.
_____ Report, Bombay Presidency, 1907-08.	Bombay Government.
_____ Report, Burma, 1907-08.	Government of Burma.
_____ Report, Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1907-08.	Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam.
_____ Report, Ajmer-Merwara, 1907-08.	Government of India.
_____ Report, Punjab, 1907-08.	Punjab Government.
_____ Report, Madras, 1907-08.	Madras Government.
_____ Report, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1907-08.	Government of United Provinces.
_____ Report, North-West Frontier Province, 1907-08.	Government, North-West Frontier Province.
AGRICULTURAL Statistics of India, 1902-03 to 1906-07.	Government of India.
ANNUAL List and General Index, Parliamentary Papers, East Indies.	Secretary of State for India.
ANTHROPOLOGICAL Papers, American Museum of Natural History, 1908.	Smithsonian Institution.
AREA and Yield of Principal Crops in India, 1893-94 and 1907-08.	Government of India.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
BIBLIOGRAPHY of the Literature relating to Central India Agency. By Capt. C. Luard.	The Author.
BODHAYANADHARMA Sutram.	Mysore Government.
BOMBAY Code, Vol. IV, 1898—1908.	Government of India.
BOUDDHISME. <i>Poussin</i>	M. M. Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie.
BULLETIN, Lloyd Library, 1909.	Lloyd Library.
BULLETIN, American Museum of Natural History, 1908.	Smithsonian Institution.
———— American Ethnology, 1908.	Smithsonian Institution.
———— De L'Ecole Française D'Extrême-Orient, Vol. VIII, 1908.	L'Ecole Française.
CASTES and Tribes of Southern India. By E. Thurston.	Madras Government.
CATALOGUE of Coins, Phayre Provincial Museum, 1909.	Government of Burma.
———— Sanskrit MSS. Adyar Library, Madras.	Theosophical Society.
———— Sanskrit MSS. Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, Vols. V and VI.	Madras Government.
CHRONOLOGICAL Tables of Indian Statutes.	Government of India.
COMMERCIAL Products of India. By Sir G. Watt.	Government of India.
CONQUEST of New Spain (Hakluyt Society).	Bombay Government.
DIGEST of Indian Law Cases, 1907. By D. B. Bose.	Government of India.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
EAST India. Advisory Councils, Vol. II, Parts I and II.	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Famine) Administration of Famine Relief in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1907-08.	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Fifty Years' Administration).	Secretary of State for India.
———— Financial Statement, 1909-10.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Education, Progress, 1902-07.	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Progress and Condition), 1907-08.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Import Duty collected in British India during 1905-08.	Secretary of State for India.
———— Income and Expenditure 1897-98 to 1907-08.	Secretary of State for India.
ENGLISH Avesta Dictionary. By K. E. Kanga.	Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat.
———— Factories in India, 1624-29.	Government of India.
EPIGRAPHIA Zeylanica, Vol. I, Part IV.	Ceylon Government.
EXPLORATIONS in Central Asia, 1906-08. By M. A. Stein.	The Author.
FACTORY Report, Bombay Presidency, 1908.	Bombay Government.
FINAL Report, Settlement of Dhar State, 1908.	Settlement Officer, Dhar State.
FINANCE and Revenue Accounts, Government of India, 1907-08.	Government of India.
FOREST Administration, British India, 1906-07.	Government of India.
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*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,  
and a List of Presents to Library.*

1910.

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SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

A MEETING of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was held on Saturday, the 8th January 1910, to put on record the Society's sense of regret at the untimely death of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson and to condemn the dastardly outrage perpetrated at Nasik. The Hon'ble Sir Narayen G. Chandavarkar presided, and among those present on the occasion were :—The Hon'ble Sir John Muir-Mackenzie, the Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, Mr. James Macdonald, the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parekh, the Hon'ble Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey, the Hon'ble Mr. Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Mr. D. A. Khare, Mr. Tribhovandas Mangaldas Nathubhai, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Dr. D. A. DeMonte, Mr. Mo'ilal Jamnadas Sevaklal, Mr. Faiz B. Tyebji, Mr. M. B. Chaubal, Rao Bahadur R. S. Jayakar, Rao Bahadur N. T. Vaidya, Professor S. R. Bhandarkar, Shams-ul-Ulama Ervad J. J. Modi and others.

The Chairman then addressed the meeting. In the course of his speech the Chairman was so much overpowered by his feelings that he broke into tears several times while dwelling on the many sterling qualities of the late Mr. Jackson.

Sir Narayen Ganesh Chandavarkar said :—We have met to-day to perform a most sad duty, which is to give expression to, and record our deep sense of regret at the great loss which this Society and the cause of Oriental Scholarship, in particular, have sustained by the widely lamented death of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, from the hands of an assassin at Nasik. I very much wish we had on this occasion one whom we profoundly revere for the greatness of his scholarship and holiness of his character—I mean the eminent Orientalist, Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. He alone is fitted to do full justice to the memory of the late Mr. Jackson. Both of them had common aspirations intellectually; both laboured in the same vineyard; and both reaped and rejoiced in the fruit of Oriental research. It is a misfortune that

Dr. Bhandarkar is at this moment in Northern India for an eye operation and cannot be here. He writes to me how miserable he feels after hearing of Mr. Jackson's death. It is not easy for me to give adequate expression to our sense of the loss consequent upon his death—so highly valued and loved was Mr. Jackson as an official, as a gentleman in private life and above all as a student and scholar. Members of this Society need hardly be told how deeply he was attached to it and how earnestly he strove in the midst of busy official life to promote its object and further its interests. He was for several years a member of our Committee of Management ; he acted more than once as Secretary of the Society and he was one of those who by their papers on Oriental subjects read at our meetings and published in our journal made valuable contributions to the cause of learning and research. Mr. Jackson was a linguist and his love of Sanskrit literature was intense. It had great attractions for him. Two years ago I asked him how he found time to pursue his Oriental studies, and he replied with that genial smile, which shed a mellowed light on his calm countenance, that his mornings and nights were generally given to the study of some Sanskrit work. "Never a day without a line" was practically his motto as a student and scholar. He was then, he told me, studying with a Shastri Patanjali's "Mahabhashya," which had great fascination for him. As an Oriental scholar, he had excellences of his own. There are scholars whose scholarship and spirit of research is bold, confident and striking. They theorise daringly and attract by the courage of their conceptions. These have their uses ; but I am not sure it is the right kind of scholarship. Oriental questions of antiquity have to be approached in a spirit of patience and humility and carefully handled. The paucity—I might even say, the absence of historical records in India—furnishes a strong temptation to hasty generalisations ; and unless the scholar is on his guard, he is apt to be misled by prejudice or false appearances. That makes it necessary that all those questions should be approached with extreme caution, and the duty of an antiquarian is at the present stage more to collect data with patience and prepare materials for a history than to lay down conclusions and suggest theories in a dogmatic spirit. Mr. Jackson was animated by a judicial spirit in research. He studied every question without any preconception or prejudice and searched for light from all quarters, not neglecting even the most trifling of facts or circumstance. And no scholar was more ready to acknowledge his error when it was pointed out by a critic. Whether here or in Europe there have been quarrels among some Oriental scholars. Differences of opinion and criticism of one another's theory on a subject of antiquarian interest has at time led to angry discussion as if the controversy was of personal interest more than the cause

of truth and light. Mr. Jackson was free from this weakness. His was antiquarian scholarship of the winning, sober, serene character—it was a reflection of the man himself with his calm, steady and contemplative expression. Adverse criticism of any theory of his on an antiquarian question never irritated him; on the other hand, he sought to learn from it for further light. It was this spirit of becoming modesty and humility which endeared him to all who knew him and his worth as a scholar. In this respect he resembled the great Oriental scholar, Kinlock Forbes, author of the “*Ras Mala*” whose name is still a household word in this Presidency. The names of such men of deep thought and learning made all the more worthy by humility, the secret of the wise has often led me to examine what is often said of the English character that it is materialistic. This view has been for some time taken hold of and circulated by certain writers in our press for political ends. Some years ago I came across a remark in Keble’s writings that his countrymen take a business view of everything—even religion and literature; and that the mystical element was wanting among them. I asked myself, Is it so? The remark coming from Keble was all the more surprising because mystic himself, he more than any mystic in other countries has been regarded as having by his “*Christian Year*” redeemed the mystic element in religion from narrow limits. And since Keble’s time in particular how large is the number of such writers and thinkers in England and Germany he only knows who watches the development in the nineteenth century of the spirit of the communism with Nature, which makes the religious and poetic and other literary productions in England soul elevating, because of their vigour and the endeavour to apply abstract thought to practical life and conduct. The late Mr. Gladstone once in his leisure hours in going over this ground and in a paper contributed to “*The Speaker*” in 1891 gave a list of English writers and thinkers who had enriched thought by application of the spirit of mysticism and spirituality and the literary talent to the concrete in life. Mr. Jackson was an example among us of this feature of the English character—union of thought and action. As an official, Mr. Jackson was popular wherever he served. It is said of him that during the last Sinhast festival when thousands of pilgrims had congregated in Nasik and epidemics were feared, Mr. Jackson used to be daily on horseback for so many as twelve hours, going among the people and by his persuasive manner inducing them to observe rules of hygiene to avoid illness. He had warm sympathy with the people among whom he served and could enter into the inner mind of the Indian. In July, 1907, he and I were guests at Government House, when Lord Lamington was Governor. One day, after breakfast, his Lordship sat with us to talk on the

question of Indian reform which was then in the air. Mr. Jackson expressed himself on that occasion in his calm unimpassioned manner and then I could see what a sane mind and sympathetic heart he had for India and her people. "He was a god, Sir?" exclaimed a hack victoria driver—a native of Nasik working in Bombay—when he heard that Mr. Jackson had fallen a victim to assassination at the hands of a misguided youth. And that in a place which of all places in the Presidency he loved best. It was only a year ago when he came to Bombay from Nasik to take part in a meeting convened by our Society for awarding the Sir James Campbell prize to Dr. M. A. Stein under the presidency of His Excellency Sir George Clarke. Our venerable friend, Mr. James Macdonald, met him as he came to the Town Hall and remarked: "You look as if you had returned from home—you look so healthy." Mr. Jackson replied: "I come from Nasik you see. I like Nasik very much. That was where I joined the service when I first came out." Alas! for Nasik which he loved so well! Brahmin Pandits and Shastris, particularly those of them who are poor and have hard struggles in life lose in him a friend whose silent charity helped many of them from want. No Pandit or Shastri who went to him returned without some mark of encouragement; and it was given not in a patronising or condescending spirit but with a genuine simplicity. I will not detain you longer, gentlemen, but I cannot conclude without making an observation which seems to me to be called for by the excellent life and exemplary character and scholarship of the late Mr. Jackson. An Englishman, who had lived in Bombay in the sixties of the last century and taken an active part in our literary and scientific activities and retired, returned some years ago just to spend some days here. We met and I asked him how Bombay struck him. "Well," he replied, "you have changed a good deal for the better physically. New sights, new buildings, wider streets and cleaner surroundings. But there is a dearth of mental activity, I am afraid. Where are your George Birdwoods, Sir Alexander Grants, Sir Raymond Wests, James Taylors, John Connors, Dr. Bhau Dajis, and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajis. We, in our days, made, by means of these, Bombay highly intellectual." I said to him: "You mistake us. We have still among us gods though in the germ; but life has since your time become more complex, and we are more busy." "Yes," he added, "busy making money. I wish you had another crisis like the Share Mania we had and you will then be rid of the craze and think more of mind and morals than money." I will not moralise on this but leave you to draw the lesson. But it is permissible for me to remark on this melancholy occasion that the late Mr. Jackson has left us a commendable example of duty. His

was a life of thought and action and he combined in himself what the late Mr. Jackson called in his suggestive language—the import and export of knowledge. Mr. Jackson read and studied not in a dilettante spirit but to enrich and make life, as far as he could, better than he found it. May his soul rest in peace and may his beautiful career be an inspiration to us all !

The Chairman then announced that he had received letters from H. E. Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay, Dr. Bhandarkar, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Mr. Cowasji B. Setna. Mr. N. G. Velinkar, expressing their sympathy with the object of the meeting.

#### THE GOVERNOR'S SYMPATHY.

H. E. the Governor wrote as follows :—“ I hasten to say that I am very glad to know that the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society will record its deep regret at the murder of Mr. Jackson. His is a great loss to scholarship in this Presidency as well as the service of which he was a valuable member. Mr. Jackson was closely connected with Bombay City and I think that apart from what may be done at Nasik, Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion as to a memorial here is an excellent one. I shall be glad to contribute to such a memorial. The memory of a good man is a precious heritage, and in a world which too easily forgets it is well that permanent form should be given to it.”

Dr. Bhandarkar, in the course of his letter, said :—“ The diabolical murder of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson has sent a thrill of horror into the hearts of the members of European and Indian communities. He was by nature a kind-hearted and sympathetic man, and these traits of character were observable in everything that he did in his official as well as private capacity. He never spoke an angry or unkind word to anybody, and his general character and conduct were saintly. He was an accurate and enthusiastic Sanskrit scholar, and his critical judgment was sound. He made original researches in the ancient history of India, and the introductory volume of the “ Bombay Gazetteer ” and his other papers and occasional notes contain the results of these researches. He successfully identified the cities and towns of India mentioned by Greek and Roman authors. He pointed out that the Turkomans of Central Asia settled in the western part of India and adopted Hindu civilisation. He also threw very great light on the origin of the Gujars. He showed that they were a foreign race that had established a powerful kingdom over the whole of Rajputana and further to the north-east up to Kanauj. The Gujars were in power from the first quarter of the seventh to about

the end of the tenth century, and were constantly at war with the Princes of the Chalukya and Rashtrakuta races that ruled over the Maratha and Kanarese countries. Mr. Jackson put forth a very original and correct idea as regards the nature of the puranas, which awaited further development at his hands. His paper on this subject has appeared in the Centenary volume of our Society, and will well repay perusal. He has also contributed several papers to the ordinary volumes of our journal. His essay on the method in the study of Indian Antiquities shows a very wide knowledge, not only of our special branch of study, but also of a number of other lines of researches. This is calculated to be of great use to Indian students, and he projected for their use a handbook to the study of Sanskrit literature and Indian Antiquities. To sound scholarship, Mr. Jackson added modesty and sobriety of thought and expression—a combination rarely met with amongst scholars. He freely and fully acknowledged all the good that he found in the writings of native Indian scholars. He often complained that his official duties left him little time for his favourite studies, and I had great hopes that after his retirement from service he would be able to apply himself to them with zeal and ardour, and throw light upon many a knotty point in Sanskrit literature and Indian Antiquities. The loss that the horrid deed of the fiendish young man inflicted on the cause of Indian research is incalculable. I beg to propose that the Society should raise a memorial in honour of this saintly and learned scholar, who was Honorary Secretary of the Society for some time and presented a number of valuable books to its library. The memorial may take the form of a collection of books on Indian languages and historical research, of copper-plates and stone inscriptions and coins, which, together with the books presented by him, should be styled the Jackson Memorial Collection. Or it may take the form of a medal to be presented to a scholar who is or has been in India in the manner and on the terms in which the Sir James Campbell Medal is awarded."

The Chairman then announced that over Rs. 2,000 had already been promised towards a memorial fund.

On the motion of Shams-ul-Ulama Ervad J. J. Modi, seconded by Mr. V. P. Vaidya, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—  
 "That the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society records its deep sense of regret at the great and irreparable loss it has sustained by the death of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., some time Secretary of this Society, whose labours as a scholar and linguist and whose learned contributions to antiquarian research have secured him a foremost place among oriental scholars."

Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey proposed and Mr. H. R. H. Wilkin-son seconded the motion :—" That a copy of the resolution now passed be sent to Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, with a letter from the President of this Society, conveying to her the Society's condolences and deep sympathy in her sorrow."

The resolution was carried.

The Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan moved the resolution:—" That a memorial fund in honour of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson be raised in connection with the Society and that the members of the Society and other friends and admirers of Mr. Jackson be invited by the Honorary Secretary to subscribe to the same."

Professor S. R. Bhandarkar seconded the motion, which was carried.

On the motion of Mr. James Macdonald, seconded by Mr. Tribhovan- das Mangaldas Nathubhoy, it was resolved that the form of the memorial be determined by the Committee of Management of this Society.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

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A meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 9th February 1910.

The Hon. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Shams-ul-Ulama Jivanji Jamshedji Modi then read a paper on "Comets observed in India by Mahomedan Historians and their identification."

On the motion of the President a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Modi for his learned and interesting paper.

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### **Annual Meeting.**

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The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 4th of April 1910.

The Hon. Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, President, in the chair.

The Honorary Secretary presented the following report :—

## The Annual Report for 1909.

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### MEMBERS.

*Resident.*—During the year under review 30 new Members were elected and 1 Non-Resident Member having come to Bombay was added to the list of Resident Members. 26 Members resigned, 4 died and 5 having left Bombay were transferred to the Non-Resident List. The total number of Members at the end of the year was 315. The number at the end of the preceding year was 319.

*Non-Resident.*—17 Members joined under this class and 5 Resident Members who left Bombay during the year became Non-Resident Members. 13 Members withdrew, 2 died, and 1 was added to the Resident list. The number at the close of the year was 137 against 131 at the end of 1908.

### OBITUARY.

The Society records with regret the death of the following Members :—

- Dr. L. P. De Rozario.
- Mr. J. Humphrey.
- Mr. K. R. Cama.
- Mr. Nowroji Manekji Wadia, C.I.E.
- Mr. R. B. Stewart, I.C.S.
- Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S.

At a meeting of the Society held on 28th September, the following resolution, relating to the late Mr. K. R. Cama, was proposed by Shams-ul-Ulama Jivanji Jamshedji Modi and seconded by Sir Bhalchandra Krishna.

“ That the Society places on record its deep sense of the loss it has sustained by the death of one of its Vice-Presidents, Mr. K. R. Cama, and its testimony to his varied abilities, to the interest he took in its affairs and to his great services in connection with Iranian Literature. Mr. Cama was one of the oldest Members of the Society, having been elected in 1861. He was a Trustee of the invested funds of the Society and one of its Vice-Presidents. During the celebration of the Centenary of the Society he took a prominent part in organising and successfully carrying out arrangements in connection with the Iranian Section of the programme, and by his profound learning added greatly to the interest of the occasion. The Society deeply regrets the loss of so useful a Member and one whose death is a loss to the cause of Oriental Literature in general in this city.”

## CAMPBELL MEMORIAL MEDAL PRESENTATION.

A special General Meeting of the Society was held on March 1, for the presentation of the Medal to Dr. M. A. Stein *in absentia* by His Excellency the Governor, Patron of the Society.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, President of the Society, presided.

In opening the proceedings, the President on behalf of the Members of the Society, extended to His Excellency a cordial welcome and called on Mr. A. M. T. Jackson to explain the purpose of the meeting.

Mr. Jackson gave a brief history of the foundation of the Campbell Memorial Medal, and stated that the choice of the Selection Committee had fallen on Dr. Stein's work "Ancient Khotan," which records the results of his first expedition to Chinese Turkestan. After reviewing the career of Dr. Stein and his researches in Oriental Literature and Antiquities, Mr. Jackson formally recommended the award of the Medal to him.

His Excellency the Governor then addressed the meeting. (The full text of his speech will be found in No. LXIV of the Journal of the Society just published). After expressing his pleasure at the opportunity afforded to him of meeting the Members of the Society, he gave a brief history of Sir James Campbell's service under the Bombay Government, dwelling at length on his literary work and his labours in the field of Indian history, archæology and ethnography. His Excellency expressed a hope that the institution of the medal would stimulate Indian students to follow in the footsteps of Sir James and carry on his work.

At the conclusion of the speech His Excellency handed the medal to Mr. Jackson to be forwarded to Dr. Stein.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to His Excellency proposed by Mr. R. E. Enthoven.

The Medal was subsequently delivered to Dr. Stein in Oxford by Mr. J. E. B. Hotson.

## ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were contributed to the Society during the year :—

Epigraphic Notes and Questions. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A.

Bhâdund Inscription of Paramâra Purnapâla of Vikram Samvat, 1102. By Pandit Râm Karna.

Some words of Chronological Interest. By B. C. Mazumdar, M. R. A. S.

Notes on Some Pali Words. By B. C. Mazumdar, M. R. A. S.

Seshananta. By Prof. V. S. Ghate, M. A.

Bhâmaha, the Nyasa and Magha. By P. V. Kane, M. A.

The Divine Vasudeva, different from the Kshatriya Vasudeva in Patanjali's opinion. By Prof. K. B. Pathak, B. A.

Epigraphic Notes. No. 2. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A.

An Eye Copy of an Inscription in Devanagari characters from Goa. By Mr. W. R. Warde.

#### LIBRARY.

The issues of books during the year under review were 44,091 Volumes ; 30,952 of new works including periodicals and 13,139 of old books. The daily average, excluding Sundays and holidays, was 147. The issues in the preceding year was 48,268.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues is subjoined :—

#### MONTHLY ISSUES.

						<i>New Books.</i>	<i>Old Books.</i>
January	...	...	...	...	...	1,996	1,207
February	...	...	...	...	...	2,588	954
March	...	...	...	...	...	2,851	897
April	...	...	...	...	...	2,760	1,204
May	...	...	...	...	...	2,130	1,213
June	...	...	...	...	...	2,599	1,191
July	...	...	...	...	...	3,010	1,235
August	...	...	...	...	...	3,001	1,082
September	...	...	...	...	...	2,494	925
October	...	...	...	...	...	2,197	1,027
November	...	...	...	...	...	2,503	969
December	...	...	...	...	...	2,823	1,235
						<hr/>	<hr/>
						30,952	13,139
						<hr/>	<hr/>

The issue of each class of books, new and old, are noted below :—

	<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Fiction ... ..		19,170
Biography ... ..		1,340
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Essays, &c. ... ..		1,227
History ... ..		1,147
Travel, Topography, &c. ... ..		1,214
Oriental Literature ... ..		845
Poetry and Drama ... ..		631
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c. (in bound Volumes) ... ..		474
Politics, Sociology, Economics, &c. ... ..		467
Religion ... ..		448
Philosophy ... ..		412
Literary History, Criticism, &c. ... ..		322
Archæology, Folklore, Anthropology, &c. ... ..		292
Naval and Military ... ..		250
Science, Natural History, Geology, &c. ... ..		249
Foreign Literature ... ..		247
Art, Architecture, Music ... ..		244
Govt. Publications, Public Records ... ..		202
Classics ... ..		103
Law ... ..		92
Medicine ... ..		85
Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy ... ..		82
Botany, Agriculture ... ..		67
Grammars, Dictionaries, &c. ... ..		64
Logic and Works relating to Education ... ..		45
Periodicals in loose Numbers ... ..		14,372
		44,091

The use of the Library books in the districts has been yearly increasing, as gentlemen now joining the Society as Non-Resident Members generally acquire the privilege of taking out books by payment of an additional subscription.

#### ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total Number of Volumes added to the Library during the year was 1,321, of which 974 were purchased and 347 were presented.

Presents of books were as usual received from the Bombay Government, the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India and

the other local Governments and also from the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet Funds and Properties and individual authors and donors.

The Number of Volumes of each class of books acquired by purchase and presentation is shown in the following table :—

	<i>Volumes purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes presented.</i>
Religion ... ..	19	...
Philosophy ... ..	20	...
Works relating to Education ... ..	13	...
Classics .. ...	26	...
Literary History, Criticism, &c. ... ..	24	1
History ... ..	39	2
Politics, Economics, Sociology, &c. ... ..	37	...
Law ... ..	2	19
Government Publications, Public Records	5	165
Biography ... ..	39	...
Archæology, Mythology, Anthropology, &c.	42	18
Travel and Topography ... ..	37	58
Poetry and Drama ... ..	15	...
Fiction ... ..	381	...
Miscellaneous Essays, Collected Works, &c. ... ..	23	...
Foreign Literature ... ..	1	...
Mathematics, Astronomy, &c. ... ..	3	..
Art, Architecture, Music ... ..	16	...
Naval and Military ... ..	13	1
Science, Natural History, &c. ... ..	23	2
Botany, Agriculture, &c. ... ..	2	6
Medicine ... ..	2	2
Annals, Serials, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c. ... ..	132	37
Dictionaries, Grammars, &c. ... ..	4	..
Oriental ... ..	56	36

#### NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The Papers, Periodicals and Journals and Transactions of Learned Societies, taken by and presented to the Society during 1909 were :—

##### English Newspapers—

Daily ... ..	2
Weekly ... ..	23

English Magazines—						
Monthly	...	...	...	...	...	28
Quarterly	...	...	...	...	...	21
English Almanacs, Directories, Year Books, Annual Publications, etc. ... .. 17						
Supplements to English Papers, Illustrated and others ... 12						
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals ... .. 10						
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals ... .. 9						
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes ... .. 24						
Indian and Asiatic Journals, Reviews, etc. ... .. 31						

A General Meeting for the revision of the list of Newspapers and Periodicals, to which the Society subscribed, was held in November. At this meeting it was resolved to subscribe to the following from the beginning of 1910 :—

The American Journal of Philology,  
The Quest,

and to substitute the weekly edition of the Westminster Gazette (Saturday Issue) for the daily edition from the same date.

### COIN CABINET.

8 Gold, 24 Silver and 51 Copper coins, or a total of 83 of all kinds, were added to the Society's Cabinet during the year. Out of these 23 Copper coins were presented by the Collector of the Panch Mahals. The rest were presentations to the Society under the Treasure Trove Act from the Governments of Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Central Provinces and Burma and the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

From the following detailed description of the coins acquired during the year under report, it will be seen that of the total number of coins acquired, 1 Silver and 1 Gold have been classed as Mediæval Indian ; 7 Gold as South Indian ; 13 Silver as Moghul ; 23 Copper and 2 Silver as Gujarat coins ; 28 Copper as Malwa ; 1 Silver as Arakan ; 6 Silver as Native States Coins and 1 Silver as the East India Company's Surat Rupee :—

#### *Mediæval India.*

##### Early Kings of Kashmir.

1 Silver coin of Pratapaditya. About the 7th Century A. D. Tomar Dynasty of Ajmer and Delhi.

1 Gold coin of Kumara Pala Deva, 1017-49 A. D. Found in the Jhansi District.

*South Indian.*

## Kings of the Vijayanagar Dynasty.

- 1 Gold coin of Pratap Deva Raya, 1422-47 A. D.
- 1 Gold coin of Pratapachuyt Raya, 1536-42 A.D. Found in the Barsi Taluka, Sholapur District.
- 1 Gold coin of Pratap Krishna Raya, 1509-30 A.D. Found in the Shimoga District, Mysore.
- 3 Gold coins of Yadavas of Devagiri. About the 11th to 14th Century A.D. One of the Coins bears the name of श्री सिंह (Shri Sinha). Found in the Satara District.
- 1 Gold coin of Ganga Dynasty of Kalinga, Anantavarma Chodaganga, 1075-1146 A. D. Found in the Raipur District, C. P.

*Mogul Emperors of India.*

- 3 Silver coins of Jahangir, Kandahar Mint, A. H. 102—Found in the Punjab.
- 1 Silver coin of Shah-Jahan, Patna Mint. Found in the Junnar Taluka, Poona District.
- 1 Silver coin of Aurangzib, Patna Mint, A. H. 1071. Found in the Junnar Taluka, Poona District.
- 1 Silver coin of Surat Mint, A.H. 1102. Found in the Akola District, C. P.
- 1 Silver coin of Muhammad Shah, Mumbai Mint, A. H. 114—Found in the Mahim Taluka, Thana District.
- 1 Silver coin of Muhammad Shah, Shahajanabad Mint, A. H. 115—Found in the Man Taluka, Satara District.
- 2 Silver coins of Shah-Alam II, Mahindrapura Mint, A. H. 1186. A. H. 11—
- 3 Silver coins of Bareli Mint, A.H. 1212, 1213 and 1215. Found in the Moradabad District, U. P.

*Kings of Gujarat.*

- 1 Copper coin of Ahmad Shah I, A.D. 1410.
- 1 Copper coin of Muhammad Shah II, A. D. 1443.
- 20 Copper coins of Mahmud Shah I, A.D. 1458.
- 1 Silver coin of Mahmud Shah III, A. D. 1536.
- 1 Copper coin of Muzaffar Shah III, A.D. 1501. Found in the "Anch Mahals District.

*Kings of Malwa.*

- 28 Copper coins of Nasir Shah Khalji, A. D. 1500. Found in the Hoshangabad District, C. P.

*Coins of Arakan.*

- 1 Silver coin of King Canda Wighaya, Burmese date 1072—A.D. 1710.

*Native States.*

- 2 Silver coins with parts of coin legends of the later Mogul Emperors on obverse and reverse. Found in the Chikodi Taluka, Belgaum District.
- 2 Silver coins with parts of coin legends of the later Mogul Emperors on obverse and reverse. (Different variety.) Found in the Satara District.
- 1 Silver coin with the symbol of Ankush on obverse and portions of Persian legends on obverse and reverse.
- 1 Silver coin with  $\text{गो}$  (*go*) on obverse and portions of coin legends of later Mogul Emperors on obverse and reverse. Found in the Sindgi Taluka, Bijapur District.

*Coins of the East India Company.*

- 1 Silver coin in the name of Shah Alam. Surat Rupee, 46 San (Regnal year) Issue. With a star on obverse and fragments of Persian Inscription on obverse and reverse. Found in the Sindgi Taluka, Bijapur District.

## DISPOSAL OF TREASURE TROVE COINS.

The Society examined and submitted a report to Government on 962 coins found in various districts of the Presidency. The examination was made on the Society's behalf by Mr. Ganpatrao K. Tivarekar as regards Hindu coins and by Mr. Framji J. Thanawalla (Messrs. Gaddum & Co.) as regards coins of the Mohamedan dynasties. Of these 48 were received from the Mamlatdar of Mahim, 44 from the Collector of Poona, 46 from the Collector of Belgaum, 264 from the Collector of Satara, 159 from the Collector of Sholapur, 200 from the Collector of Bijapur, 4 from the Collector of Kolaba, 141 from the Collector of East Kandesh and 56 from the Collector of Larkana. Out of the total number 962, 632 were selected and recommended for pre-

sentation to Coin Cabinets or for sale to numismatists. The remaining 330 comprised specimens which were more or less defaced and were not of any numismatic value. They were accordingly returned ; 111 to the Collector of Sholapur, 110 to the Collector of Satara, 9; to the Collector of Bijapur and 12 to the Collector of Larkana.

The classification of the selected coins by metal and by the series to which they belong is as follows :—

		Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Lead.	Total.
South Indian.	{ Padma Tankas ... ..	2	...	...	...	2
	{ Kings of Vijayanagar ...	39	...	...	...	39
	{ Yadavas of Devagiri ...	88	...	...	...	88
Pathan Sultans of Delhi ...		4	12	...	...	16
Kings of Gujerat ... ..		...	141	...	...	141
Moghul Emperors of India ...		...	119	...	...	119
Indo-Portuguese ... ..		...	...	...	2	2
Kings of the Durani Dynasty ..		...	44	...	...	44
Chhatrapati of Shivarai Coins ..		...	...	2	...	2
Coins of Native States ... ..		...	143	...	...	143
Coins of the East India Company in the name of Shah Alam ... ..		...	36	...	...	36
Total ... ..		133	495	2	2	632

It will be observed that out of the 632 coins selected, 129 gold were South Indian coins (2 Padma Tankas, 39 of Kings of Vijayanagar and 88 of Yadavas of Devagiri) and 4 gold were coins of the Pathan Sultans of Delhi. Of the 495 Silver coins, 12 were coins of the Pathan Sultans of Delhi, 141 of Kings of Gujarat, 119 of Moghul Emperors, 14 of Durani Kings, 143 coins of Native States and 36 coins of the East India Company in the name of Shah Alam. The 2 copper were Chhatrapati or Shivarai coins and 2 lead were Indo-Portuguese, known as the rodas of tutenag.

Except 44 Durrani coins received from the Collector of Larkana, which are awaiting final disposal pending their legal acquisition by

the Collector, all the selected coins have been distributed and the balance after distribution has been transmitted to the Mint Master for sale as shown below :—

Institutions.	Gold	Silver.	Copper.	Lead.	Total.
The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay ... ..	8	35	1	1	45
The Indian Museum, Calcutta ...	8	26	1	1	36
The Madras Museum ... ..	7	24	...	...	31
The Provincial Museum, Lucknow.	6	23	...	...	29
The Lahore Museum ... ..	5	21	...	...	26
The Nagpur Museum ... ..	5	20	...	...	25
The Public Library, Shillong ...	5	19	...	...	24
The Archæological Museum, Poona ... ..	5	19	...	...	24
The Peshawar Museum ... ..	5	19	...	...	24
The Quetta Museum ... ..	5	19	...	...	24
The Ajmer Museum... ..	5	18	...	...	23
The Rangoon Museum ... ..	5	16	...	...	21
Asiatic Society, Bengal ... ..	5	15	...	...	20
Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society ... ..	5	15	...	...	20
The British Museum ... ..	5	15	...	...	20
For Sale at the Mint, Bombay ...	49	147	...	...	196
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>451</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>588</b>

### JOURNAL.

No. 64, the second number of Vol. XXIII of the Journal is all but ready and will shortly be published. It contains the papers contributed to the Society during the year, a list of which has been given above, an abstract of the proceedings of the Society and a list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to it.

### ACCOUNTS.

A statement of accounts detailing receipts and disbursements for 1909 accompanies the report. The total amount of subscription from members received during the year was Rs. 13,121-12-0. Subscriptions in the preceding year amounted to Rs. 13,717-0-0. There was besides a sum of Rs. 620 received on account of life-subscription from one Resident Member and one Non-Resident Member, which has been duly invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was R. 1,075-0-2 and the arrears of subscription due on that date were Rs. 155

The invested funds of the Society amount to Rs. 17,500.

Shams-ul-Ulama J. J. Modi moved and Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni seconded that the Report for 1909 be adopted and the resolution was carried.

Mr. J. J. Modi then proposed that the following gentlemen be the Committee and Auditors for 1910.

Mr. G. N. Nadkarni seconded the proposition, which was carried.

### COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

#### PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., LL.B.

#### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

James MacDonald, Esq.

Shams-ul-Ulama J. J. Modi, B.A.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice J. J. Heaton, I.C.S.

#### MEMBERS.

Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A.

Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.

Khan Bahadur D. R. Chichgar.

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni, B.A., LL.B.

Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

T. A. Savage, Esq.

V. P. Vaidya, Esq. B.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Fazalbhui C. Ibrahim.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

Rev. A. S. Crichton, M.A.

Dr. D. A. DeMonte, M.D.

Faiz B. Tyabji, Esq. M.A.

#### HONORARY SECRETARY.

P. B. Haigh, Esq., I.C.S.

#### AUDITORS.

S. T. Bhandare, Esq.

H. Humphrey, Esq.

On the conclusion of the proceedings, the Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Messrs. S. T. Bhandare and A. D. Shanks, Auditors, and to Mr. P. B. Haigh, Honorary Secretary, for their services during the year.

A meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, the 18th June 1910. The Hon'ble Sir Narayan G. Chandawarkar, President, in the chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. L. J. Sedgwick, I.C.S., then read a paper on "Bhakti."

After some remarks the President moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Sedgwick for his learned and interesting paper.

A general meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 17th November 1910.

The Hon'ble Sir Narayan G. Chandawarkar, President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following proposals regarding newspapers and periodicals received from members were laid before the meeting :—

From Lt.-Col. W. B. Bannerman, I.M.S.

That the Lancet be taken.

From Mr. J. E. Aspinwall.

That the Observer (Weekly) be taken.

The proposals being seconded by Mr. James MacDonald were agreed to.

On the motion of the Honorary Secretary it was also resolved to discontinue—

The Sketch and

The Bradshaw's Continental Guide.

*List of Presents to the Library.*

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACCOMPANIMENT to Mitchell's map of the world.	
American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.	
ACTS, Government of India, 1909.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Ajmer, Merwar, 1908-09.	Government of India.
----- Report, Bengal, 1908-09.	Government of Bengal.
----- Report, Bombay Improvement Trust, 1909-10.	Bombay Improvement Trust.
----- Report, Bombay Municipality, 1909-10.	Municipal Commissioner, Bombay.
----- Report, Bombay Port Trust, 1909-10.	Bombay Port Trust.
----- Report, Bombay Presidency, 1908-09.	Bombay Government.
----- Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1908-09.	Government of India.
----- Report, Burma, 1908-09.	Government of Burma.
----- Report, Government Museum and Connemara Public Library, 1908-09.	Madras Government.
----- Report of the Incumbered Estates in Sind, 1908-09.	Bombay Government.
----- Report, Irrigation, Works, 1908-09.	Bombay Presidency, Bombay Government.
----- Report, Madras, 1908-09.	Madras Government.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
<b>ADMINISTRATION</b> Report, N. W. Frontier Province, 1908-09. Government of N. W. Province.	
————— Report, Opium Department, Bombay, 1909-10. Bombay Government.	
————— Report, Punjab, 1908-09. Punjab Government.	
————— Report, of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1908-09. Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam.	
————— Report, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1908-09. Government of the United Provinces.	
<b>AGRICULTURAL</b> Ledger, 1908-09, No. 1-7. Government of India.	
————— Research Institute, Pusa, Bulletin No. 17, the Milling and Baking Qualities of Indian Wheats, No. 2. Government of India.	
————— Statistics of India, 1903-04 to 1907-08. Vol. I, British India. ,, II. Native States. Government of India.	
————— Statistics of India, 1904-05 to 1908-09. Government of India.	
<b>AHMEDABAD</b> Mohamedan Architecture by J. Burgess. Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.	
<b>ANNALES</b> Da Bibliotheca Nacional Do Rio De Janeiro. Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.	
————— De Instruction Primaria, Vol. VII. Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.	
————— du Musée Guimet. Dynasties Egyptiennes. The Musée Guimet.	
————— du Musée Guimet. Tome XXXII. The Musée Guimet.	
<b>ANNUAL</b> Report, Archæological Dept., Madras, 1909-10. Madras Government.	
————— Report, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, 1909-10. Government of Bengal.	

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors</i>
ANNUAL Report, Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle.	N. W. F. Government.
——— Report, Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries, Bombay Presidency.	Bombay Government.
——— Report, Punjab Veterinary College, 1909-10.	Punjab Government.
——— Report of Stamp Department, Bombay, 1909-10.	Bombay Government.
——— Statement of Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions, Punjab, 1909.	Punjab Government.
——— Report, Police, Town and Island of Bombay, 1909.	Bombay Government.
——— Report, Smithsonian Institute, 1908.	Smithsonian Institute.
ANTHROPOLOGICAL Papers, American Museum of Natural History.	Smithsonian Institute.
ANWAR-i-Suhayli. Edited by T. Jarret.	Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.
ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XXXIV, Pallava Architecture.	Government of India.
————— Survey of India, The Tomb of Akbar, Vol. XXV By E. W. Smith.	Government of India.
ARCHITECTURAL Antiquities of Northern Gujarath. By Burgess and Cousens, Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.	The Author.
ART in Theory. By G. L. Raymond.	The Author.
ASIATIC Observer, 2 Vols.	American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.
BACON is Shakespeare. By Sir E. Durning-Lawrence.	The Author.
BOMBAY Civil List, 1857.	American Marathi Mission. Ahmednagar.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
BOMBAY Quarterly Civil List, January—October 1910.	Bombay Government.
Temperance Repository.	American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.
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TIDE Tables for Indian Ports for 1911.	Secretary of State for India.
TIMES Telescope for 1816.	American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.
Tinnevelly Mission. By Rev. G. Pettit.	American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.
TORTURES of Civil Suit in Mofussil Court.	American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.
TRADE by Rail and River in India, 1908-09.	Government of India.
TRANSACTIONS of Medical and Physical Society of Bombay, Vol. I.	American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.
VIEWS in Great Britain.	American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.
VISIT to the South Seas, 2 Vols. By C. S. Stewart.	American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.
UNIVERSITY Calendar, Madras, 1910.	Madras University.
VOYAGE to East Indies. By J. S. Stavorinus, 3 Vols. Translated by Wilcocke.	American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.
WHY Friends (Quakers) Do Not Baptize with Water.	The Author.
WOMAN and her Saviour in Persia.	American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar.
Yaqut's Dictionary of Learned Men, Vol III.	Trustees, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial.

*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal  
Asiatic Society*

1911.

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A MEETING of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 9th February 1911.

The Hon. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, President, in the Chair. The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Honorary Secretary read a paper communicated by Mr. H. H. Lake, on "Recent Explorations at Besnagar in the Gwalior State."

On the Motion of the President a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Lake for his interesting paper.

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ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 6th April 1911.

The Hon. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, President, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary presented the following Report :—

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**Annual Report for 1910.**

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MEMBERS.

*Resident.*—During the year under review 48 new Members were elected and 4 having come to Bombay were added to the list of Resident Members. 59 Members have resigned, 4 died and 4 having left Bombay were transferred to the Non-Resident list. The total number of Members at the end of the year was 300. The number at the end of the preceding year was 315.

*Non-Resident.*—29 Members joined under this class and 4 Resident Members, who left Bombay during the year, became Non-Resident Members. 17 Members resigned and 4 were added to the Resident list. The number at the end of the year was 145 against 137 at the close of 1909.

## OBITUARY.

The Society records with regret the death of the following Members :—

Lt.-Col. J. P. Barry.  
 Mr. J. H. Symington.  
 „ G. Ostermayer.  
 „ Motilal Jamnadas Shroff.  
 „ C. A. Wordsworth.

At a Special General Meeting of the Society held on 8th January 1910, the following resolutions relating to the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson were unanimously passed :—

(1) Proposed by Shams-ul-Ulama J. J. Modi and seconded by Mr. V. P. Vaidya.

“ That the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society records its deep sense of regret at the great and irreparable loss it has sustained by the death of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., sometime Secretary of this Society, whose labours as a scholar and linguist and whose learned contributions to antiquarian research have secured him a foremost place among Oriental Scholars.”

(2) Proposed by Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey and seconded by Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson.

“ That a copy of the resolution now passed be sent to Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, with a letter from the President of this Society, conveying to her the Society's condolences and deep sympathy in her sorrow.”

(3) Proposed by Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan and seconded by Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar.

“ That a memorial fund in honour of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson be raised in connection with the Society and that the Members of the Society and other friends and admirers of Mr. Jackson be invited by the Honorary Secretary to subscribe to the same.”

(4) Mr. James Macdonald proposed and Mr. Tribhovandas Mangaldas Nathubhoy seconded.

“ That the form of Memorial be determined by the Committee of Management of this Society.”

The fund raised for this purpose amounts to Rs. 7,712-12 including interest on Government Promissory notes in which it was invested.

The Committee of Management having discussed several suggestions in connection with the form the memorial should take resolved

on the recommendation of the Sub-Committee consisting of the President Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, the Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. Heaton, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, Shams-ul-Ulama J. J. Modi, Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S., Mr. S. M. Edwardes, I.C.S., and the Honorary Secretary, that the books of the late Mr. Jackson be purchased for Rs. 4,500 from his executors and the consideration of utilising the balance of the fund in the best way be postponed until the books are placed in the Library in suitable cases. The book cases have already been ordered and will be ready for use very shortly.

### ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were contributed to the Society during the year :—

- (1) Comets observed in India by Mahomedan Historians and their Identification. By Shams-ul-Ulama Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.
- (2) Bhakti. By L. J. Sedgwick, I.C.S.
- (3) Besnagar. By H. H. Lake.

### LIBRARY.

The issues of books during the year under review were 52,668 volumes; 40,704 of new books including periodicals and 11,964 of old books. The daily average excluding Sundays and holidays was 175. The issues in the preceding year were 44,091.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues is subjoined.

	<i>New Books.</i>	<i>Old Books.</i>
January ... ..	2796	1172
February ... ..	2046	1146
March ... ..	2358	1158
April ... ..	2627	1084
May ... ..	2294	983
June ... ..	2425	1044
July .. ..	2704	1167
August ... ..	2558	885
September ... ..	2257	733
October ... ..	2518	842
November ... ..	2467	626
December ... ..	1680	1124
Total ... ..	40,704	11,964

The issues of each class of books are noted below:—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Fiction ... ..	18,091
Biography ... ..	1,290
History ... ..	1,225
Miscellaneous ... ..	1,187
Travel, Topography, etc. ... ..	965
Oriental Literature ... ..	656
Literary History, Criticism, etc. ... ..	505
Politics, Sociology, Economics .. ..	503
Poetry and Drama ... ..	447
Philosophy ... ..	379
Religion ... ..	361
Archæology, Folklore, Anthropology, etc. ... ..	315
Foreign Literature ... ..	287
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of the Learned Societies (in bound vols.) ... ..	277
Art, Architecture, Music ... ..	207
Government Publications, Public Records ... ..	200
Naval and Military ... ..	198
Classics ... ..	180
Grammars and Dictionaries ... ..	146
Botany and Agriculture ... ..	120
Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy ... ..	102
Medicine ... ..	85
Law ... ..	77
Periodicals in loose numbers ... ..	12,845

#### ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of volumes added to the Library during the year was 1,646, of which 1,120 were purchased and 526 were presented.

Presents of books were as usual received from the Bombay Government, the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India and the other local Governments and also from individual authors and donors. Of these last special mention is necessary of the 176 volumes presented by the American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar, through the Rev. Dr. R. A. Hume, and a valuable set of 17 volumes of "Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund" by Mrs. Loving.

The number of volumes of each class of books acquired by purchase and presentation is shown in the following table :—

	Volumes purchased.	Volumes presented.
Religion ... ..	16	21
Philosophy ... ..	31	1
Works relating to Education ... ..	3	3
Classics... ..	12	1
Literary History and Criticism ... ..	17	...
History... ..	73	7
Politics, Economics, Sociology, etc. ... ..	49	8
Law ... ..	2	7
Government Publications, Public Records	...	219
Biography ... ..	64	14
Archæology, Anthropology, Mythology, etc.	48	34
Travel and Topography ... ..	43	18
Poetry and Drama ... ..	35	1
Fiction ... ..	375	...
Miscellaneous... ..	44	6
Foreign Literature ... ..	10	...
Mathematics, Astronomy, etc. ... ..	...	1
Art, Architecture, Music ... ..	17	8
Naval and Military ... ..	11	...
Science, Natural History, etc. ... ..	26	4
Botany, Agriculture, etc. ... ..	4	4
Medicine ... ..	3	2
Annuals, Serials, etc. ... ..	126	89
Dictionaries, Grammars, etc. .. ..	38	29
Oriental ... ..	73	49

**NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.**

The Papers, Periodicals, Journals and Transactions of the Learned Societies taken by and presented to the Society during 1910 were :—

**English Newspapers—**

Daily ... ..	1
Weekly ... ..	24

**English Magazines—**

Monthly ... ..	30
Quarterly ... ..	23

English Almanacs, Directories, Year Books, Annuals, etc. ... .. 17

Supplements to English Papers, Illustrated and others ... .. 12

Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals ... ..	10
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals...	10
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes ...	24
Indian and Asiatic Journals, Reviews, etc. ... ..	31

A General Meeting for the revision of the list of Newspapers and Periodicals, to which the Society subscribed, was held in November. At this meeting it was resolved to subscribe to the following from the beginning of 1911:—

“ The Lancet”

“ The Observer” (weekly)

and to discontinue—

“ The Sketch” and

“ The Bradshaw’s Continental Guide.”

#### COIN CABINET.

21 Gold, 29 Silver, 21 Copper, 7 Lead and 5 Coins, of an alloy or a total of 83 of all kinds, were added to the Society’s Cabinet during the year. Of these the 5 last were presented by Mr. Y. R. Gupte. The rest were presentations to the Society under the Treasure Trove Act from the Governments of Bombay, the United Provinces, Madras, the Central India, the Eastern Bengal and Assam and the Central Provinces.

The Coins are of the following description :—

#### *Ancient India.*

King Dhutukalananda.

Lead (1)

King Mulananda.

Lead (1)

Found in the Karwar District.

(Both of these are coins of the Feudatories of the Andhra Dynasty of about 2nd or 3rd Century A.D.).

Andhra Coins, name unknown.

Lead (5)

Found in the Anantpur District, Madras Presidency.

## Punch marked Coins.

Silver (10)

Found in the Trichinopoly District, Madras  
Presidency.

## MEDIÆVAL INDIA.

*South Indian.*

## Temple Coins. Copper (7)

On obverse and reverse a lozenge-shaped ornament  
with 9 dots inside it and Hindustani or Persian letters  
around. Found in the Bellary District.

## Gold Fanams (5)

Obv. Dots and unknown symbols.

Rev. Plain.

Found in the South Arcot Dist.

## Gold Fanams (5)

Obv. Standing figure of Vishnu with symbols.

Rev. Standing figure of Goruda ? and lamp.

Found in the Coorg District.

## Mysore Cash. Copper (10)

Obv. Elephant.

Rev. Chequered design.

Found in the Coimbatore District.

## Gajapati Pagoda. Gold (1)

Obv. Elephant.

Rev. Floral Design.

Found in the Malabar District.

*Vijayanagar Dynasty.*

## Harihara. Gold (2)

Obv. Shripratapa Hari (hara).

Rev. God and goddess (seated).

## Devaraja. Gold (3)

Obv. Shripratapa Deva (raya).

Rev. God and goddess (seated).

## Krishna Raya. Gold (1)

Obv. Shripratapa Krishna Raya.

Rev. Vishnu seated.

## Achyuta Raya. Gold (2)

Obv. Blank.

Rev. A double headed eagle monster holding up small  
elephants in its beaks and claws.

Found at Basein, Akola District.

*Pathan Kings of Delhi.*

Muhammad bin Tughluk. Copper (2)

Mint Daulatabad. A. D. 730.

Found in the Bellary District.

*Moghul Emperors.*

Shah Alam II. Silver (1)

Mint Benares. A. H. 1232.

Alamgir II. Silver (2)

Mint Bareilly. A. H. 1171.

Found in the Kheri District, U. P.

Ahmad Shah. Silver (1)

Gadhia Coin. Silver (1)

Indore Rupee. Silver (1)

Maheshwar Rupee. Silver (1)

Indore  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and  $\frac{1}{8}$  Rupees. Silver (3)

Indore Rupee, Shivaji Maharaj Holkar. Samvat 1958.

Silver (1)

Malwa square Rupee.

Mahmud Shah Khilji. Silver (1)

Indore Rupee. Silver (1)

Gujarat Sultanate.

Mahmed III. Silver (1).

Gazi-ud-din Haidar, Nawab of Oudh.

Mint Laklnao 1243. A. H. Gold (1)

Kabul Coin (Current) 1288 A. H. Gold (1)

Indore Pice. Copper (1)

$\frac{1}{2}$  Indore Pice. Copper (1)

*East India Company's Coins in the names of Native Princes.*

Arcot Half Rupee. Silver (1)

Alamgir. A. H. 1172.

Found in the Tanjore District.

Arcot Rupee. Silver (1)

Alamgir. A. H. 1172.

Found in the Tanjore District.

Arcot Rupee. Silver (1)

Alamgir 1172.

Found in the Cuddapah District.

The *French East India Company*.

Mahe Fanam. Silver (1)

Obv. French Company in Persian.

Rev. Pondicherry in Persian and letter P.

Found in the Malabar District.

*Kings of Assam.*

Gaurinath Simha, 1708. Silver (1)

Found in the Lakhimpur District, Eastern Bengal and Assam.

DISPOSAL OF TREASURE TROVE COINS.

The Society examined and submitted reports to Government on 87 coins. They were examined for the Society by Mr. Ganpatrao K. Tiwarekar and Mr. Framji J. Thanawala. 86 of these were received from the Collector of Karwar and 1 from the Collector of Ahmednagar. The 86 Lead coins issued in the names of Kings Dhutukalananda and Mulananda, two feudatories of the Andhra Dynasty, are of historical interest. The Silver coin from Ahmednagar is a half rupee struck in the Mint at Daulatabad in the name of Emperor Shah Jahan.

The selected coins have been distributed and the balance after distribution has been forwarded to the Mint Master for sale as shown below :—

<i>Institution.</i>	<i>Silver.</i>	<i>Lead.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
The Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay ... ..	1	2	3
The Indian Museum, Calcutta ... ..	...	2	2
The Madras Museum ... ..	...	2	2
The Provincial Museum, Lucknow ... ..	...	2	2
The Lahore Museum ... ..	...	2	2
The Nagpur Museum ... ..	..	2	2
The Public Library, Shillong ... ..	..	2	2
The Archæological Museum, Poona ... ..	...	2	2
The Peshawar Museum ... ..	...	2	2
The Quetta Museum ... ..	...	2	2
The Ajmer Museum ... ..	...	2	2
The Rangoon Museum ... ..	...	2	2
Asiatic Society, Bengal ... ..	...	2	2
Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society ... ..	...	2	2
The British Museum ... ..	...	2	2
For sale at the Mint, Bombay ... ..	...	56	56
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	86	87

62 Copper and 202 Silver Coins received from the Collector of Larkhana are awaiting their examination and report and the 44 Durrani Coins mentioned in the last year's report, their distribution in the usual way.

## JOURNAL.

No. 65, the third Number of Vol. XXIII is in the press. In addition to an abstract of the proceedings of the Society and the list of the presents, it will contain the following papers :—

- (1) Bhakti. By L. J. Sedgwick, I.C.S.
- (2) Record Explorations at Besnagar in Gwalior State Central India. By H. H. Lake.
- (3) An Account of the Comets observed in India by Mahomedan Historians and their Identification. By Shams-ul-Ulama Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.
- (4) Kumāragupta, the patron of Vasubandhu. An Interesting Literary reference. By Prof. K. B. Pathak, B.A.

## STAFF.

Mr. Ganpatrao K. Tiwarekar, Librarian of the Society, resigned the Society's Service from November 1910. Mr. Ganpatrao Tiwarekar's association with the Society dates from 1st August 1874. In recognition of his long and faithful service, the Committee of Management decided that Mr. Tiwarekar be granted a retiring pension of Rs. 125 from November 1910.

Mr. G. R. Mogre, Asst. Librarian, has been appointed Librarian and Mr. P. B. Gothoskar promoted to be Assistant Librarian.

## ACCOUNTS.

A statement detailing the items of receipts and disbursements for 1910 is appended. The total amount of Subscriptions received during the year, including arrears, was Rs. 14,184. Subscriptions in the preceding year amounted to Rs. 13,121-12-0. There was besides a sum of Rs. 620 received on account of life-subscription from one Resident Member, and one Non-Resident Member, which has been invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The balance to the credit of Society at the end of the year was Rs. 2,667-9-7.

The invested funds of the Society amount to Rs. 18,100.

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On the motion of the President the Report for 1910 was adopted and the Resolution was carried.

Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni then proposed that the following gentlemen be the Committee and Auditors for 1911.

Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson seconded the proposition, which was carried.

## COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

*President.*

The Hon. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., LL.B.

*Vice-Presidents.*

James MacDonald, Esq.  
 Shams-ul-Ulama J. J. Modi, B.A.  
 Rev. Dr. R. Scott, M.A.  
 The Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. Heaton, I.C.S.

*Members.*

Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A.  
 Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.  
 Khan Bahadur D. R. Chichgar.  
 J. E. Aspinwall, Esq., B.A.  
 Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni, B.A., LL.B.  
 Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.  
 V. P. Vaidya, Esq., B.A.  
 The Hon. Mr. Fazulbhai C. Ibrahim.  
 H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq., B.A.  
 Rev. A. S. Crichton, M.A.  
 Dr. D. A. DeMonte, M.D.  
 Faiz B. Tyabji, Esq., M.A.  
 Prof. S. M. Isfahani.

*Hon. Secretary.*

P. B. Haigh, Esq., M.A., I.C.S.

*Auditor.*

S. T. Bhandare, Esq.

At the suggestion of the Honorary Secretary, the question of appointing another Auditor in place of Mr. H. Humphrey was reserved for consideration of the Committee of Management.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, the 19th August 1911.

Mr. S. T. Bhandare, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi read a paper on "An Iranian Precursor of Dante and an Irish Precursor of Dante."

After some remarks, the Chairman proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Modi for the interesting paper he had read, which was unanimously carried.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 25th September 1911.

The Hon. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. James MacDonald proposed that Mr. S. M. Edwardes, I.C.S. be appointed a Trustee of the Campbell Memorial Fund in place of the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S.

The proposition being seconded by Rev. Dr. R. Scott was unanimously carried.

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A General Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 20th November 1911.

The Hon. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Honorary Secretary laid before the meeting proposals for addition to the list of periodicals taken in by the Society.

After some discussion it was resolved that the "Eye Witness," the "Nation," the "World's Work" and the "Country Home" be added to the list from the beginning of 1912 and the "Burlington Magazine" be discontinued from the same date.

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*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal  
Asiatic Society.*

1912.

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THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 11th April 1912.

The Hon. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, President, in the Chair.

In the absence of the Hon. Secretary Mr. M. M. S. Gubbay, I.C.S., Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson read the following report of the Society for 1911.

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**The Annual Report for 1911.**

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**MEMBERS.**

*Resident.*—During the year under review 50 new Members were elected and 7 Non-Resident Members having come to Bombay were added to the list of Resident Members. On the other hand 26 withdrew, 1 died, and 12 having left Bombay were transferred to the Non-Resident list. This leaves 318 on the roll at the end of the year. The number at the close of the preceding year was 300.

*Non-Resident.*—39 Members joined under this class during the year and 12 were transferred from the list of Resident Members. 12 Members resigned, 6 died, and 7 were added to the Resident list. The number at the end of the year was 147 against 145 at the close of 1910.

## OBITUARY.

The Society has to record with regret the death of the following Members :—

## RESIDENT.

Rao Bahadur Vasudeo Jagannath Kirtikar.

## NON-RESIDENT.

Mr. V. R. Natu.

Rao Saheb M. B. Warad.

Mr. Ramaya Pillaya.

Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi.

Mr. W. C. Keith.

„ J. A. Hoyes.

## LIBRARY.

The total issue for the year, excluding the use made of Reference and other works at the Library, was 44,092 volumes, comprising 31,309 volumes of new books including periodicals and 12,783 of the old, a daily average, excluding Sundays and holidays, of 148 volumes. The issue in the previous year amounted to 42,668.

The issues of each month are noted in the subjoined table.

## MONTHLY ISSUES.

					<i>New Books.</i>	<i>Old Books.</i>
January	...	...	...	...	2,579	966
February	...	...	...	...	2,620	853
March	...	...	...	...	2,698	1,228
April	...	...	...	...	1,973	950
May	...	...	...	...	3,023	987
June	...	...	...	...	2,761	951
July	...	...	...	...	3,427	1,326
August	...	...	...	...	2,818	1,339
September	...	...	...	...	2,606	1,278
October	...	...	...	...	2,690	997
November	...	...	...	...	2,408	962
December	...	...	...	...	1,706	946
					<hr/> 31,309	<hr/> 12,783

The issues of each class of books are noted below :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Fiction ... ..	19,291
Biography ... ..	1,434
Miscellaneous ... ..	1,159
Travel, Topography, &c. ... ..	902
History ... ..	901
Oriental Literature ... ..	714
Politics, Sociology, Economics ... ..	664
Philosophy ... ..	563
Poetry and Drama... ..	505
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of the Learned Societies (in vols.) ... ..	381
Literary History, Criticism, &c. ... ..	330
Religion ... ..	290
Archæology, Folklore, &c. ... ..	286
Foreign Literature ... ..	233
Natural Science ... ..	198
Art, Architecture, Music ... ..	154
Grammars, Dictionaries, &c. ... ..	152
Classics ... ..	130
Naval and Military ... ..	130
Public Records ... ..	119
Botany, Agriculture, &c. ... ..	100
Astronomy, Mathematics ... ..	94
Medicine ... ..	90
Law ... ..	59
Logic, Works relating to Education ... ..	53
Periodicals in loose numbers ... ..	14,718

#### ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of volumes added to the Library during the year was 1,703, of which 1,359 were purchased and 344 were presented.

Presents of books were as usual received from the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, the Bombay Government and other local Governments, and also from the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat Funds and individual authors and donors.

The number of volumes acquired by purchase and presentation is shown in the following table :—

<i>Subject.</i>	Volumes Purchased.	Volumes Presented.
Religion and Theology ... ..	11	...
Philosophy ... ..	46	...
Logic ... ..	11	...
Classics and Translations ... ..	16	1
Philology and Literary History ... ..	14	...
History and Chronology .. ...	101	4
Politics, Political Economy ... ..	96	...
Law ... ..	4	2
Public Records ... ..	...	160
Biography ... ..	102	...
Archæology, Antiquities, &c. .. ...	38	19
Voyages, Travels, Topography ... ..	96	4
Poetry and Drama ... ..	80	3
Fiction ... ..	405	...
Miscellaneous ... ..	122	...
Foreign Literature ... ..	18	...
Astronomy ... ..	2	2
Art, Architecture, Music, &c. ... ..	39	2
Naval and Military ... ..	13	...
Natural History, Geology, &c. ... ..	33	4
Botany and Agriculture ... ..	6	20
Physiology, Medicine ... ..	12	...
Annuals, Serials, Transactions of the Learned Societies ... ..	14	27
Dictionaries, Grammars and Reference Works ... ..	25	46
Oriental Literature ... ..	55	50
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,359	344

#### NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The papers, periodicals, journals and transactions of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1911 were :—

##### *English Newspapers—*

Daily ... ..	1
Weekly ... ..	24

<i>English Magazines—</i>			
Monthly	...	...	30
Quarterly	...	...	25
<i>English Almanacs, Directories—</i>			
Year Books, Annuals, &c.			17
<i>Supplements to English papers—</i>			
Illustrated and others	...		11
<i>Foreign Literary and Scientific</i>			
Periodicals	...	...	10
<i>American Literary and</i>			
Scientific Periodicals		...	10
<i>Indian Newspapers and</i>			
Government Gazettes	...		24
<i>Indian and Asiatic</i>			
Journals, Reviews, &c.	...	...	31

A Meeting of the Society as required by Article XX of the Rules was held in November for the revision of the list of Newspapers, Magazines, &c., taken by the Society.

At this Meeting it was resolved to subscribe to the following from the beginning of 1912 :—

- (1) The Eye Witness,
- (2) The Nation,
- (3) The World's Work,
- (4) The Country Home;

and to discontinue the Burlington Magazines from the same date.

#### COIN CABINET.

The number of Coins added to the Society's Cabinet during the year was 54. Of these 8 were gold, 32 silver, 10 copper and 4 mixed metal. Of the total, 1 gold was presented by the Government of Mysore and the rest were acquired from different Governments under the Treasure Trove Act.

The Coins are of the following description :—

South Indian, *Gold*.

- (1) Viraraya Panam.  
Presented by the Mysore Government.
- (1) Half Pagoda of Devaraya II of Vijayanagar.  
Obv. Shri-Pra-tapa-deva-raya.  
Rev. God and goddess seated.

- (1) Half Pagoda of Achyutaraya of Vijayanagar.  
Obv. Shri Pra-tapa-chyuta-raya.  
Rev. A double-headed eagle holding elephants in its  
beaks and claws.
- (1) Half Pagoda of Sadasiva-raya of Vijayanagar.  
Obv. Shri Pra-tapa-Sadashiv-raya.  
Rev. God and goddess seated.
- (1) Half Pagoda of Krishnaraya of Vijayanagar.  
Obv. Shri Pra-tapa-Krishna-raya.  
Rev. Vishnu seated with discus and conch.
- (3) Pagodas probably struck by Sadasiva the first Nayak of  
Ikkeri.

*Pathan Emperors of Delhi. Silver.*

- (3) Muhammad Taghlak. A. H. 726-7.  
(1) Kutbuddin Mubarak. A. H. (7) 16.

*Mogul Emperors of Delhi.*

- (5) Shah Alam II.  
Mint Jata-Bareli. R. Y. 37.
- (4) Muhammad Shah.  
Mint Shahjahanbad R. Y. 7 and 22.
- (9) Shah Alam II.  
Mint Farukabad. A. H. (11) 98 R. Y. 25 and 39.
- (2) Do. do. A. H. 39.
- (1) Aurangzeb.  
Mint Katak. R. Y. 39.
- (1) Alamgir II.  
Mint Balwantpur. R. Y. 2.

*Gujerath Sultanate.*

- (4) Muhammad Bin Latif.  
(2) Unidentified.

*Lodi Kings of Delhi. Copper.*

- (10) Sikandar Lodi. A. H. 914-919.

*Durani Coins. Mixed metal.*

- (3) Zaman Shah (Taimur).  
Mint Bakkar. R. Y. 10-19.
- (1) Shah Shuja.  
Mint Bakkar.

The Society examined and submitted reports to Government on 298 coins. They were examined for the Society by Mr. Framji J. Thanawala. 202 of these were received from the Collector of Larkhana and 96 from the Collector of East Khandesh. 27 of these were Persian, 13 Durani and the rest Mongol Coins. 546 Silver and 222 Copper coins from the Collector of Broach are under examination and will be disposed of in the usual way. 19 Silver coins from the Collector of West Khandesh, 35 from the Collector of Ahmednagar and 62 Copper coins from the Collector of Larkhana were found, after examination, of no historical or numismatic importance and therefore returned or sent to the Mint.

The selected coins have been distributed and the balance, after distribution, has been forwarded to the Mint Master for sale as shown below :—

Institution.	Silver.
The Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay ...	36
The Indian Museum, Calcutta ...	25
The Madras Museum ...	21
The Provincial Museum, Lucknow ...	17
The Lahore Museum ...	13
The Nagpur Museum ...	12
The Public Library, Shillong...	11
The Archæological Museum, Poona	10
The Peshawar Museum ...	9
The Quetta Museum ...	9
The Ajmer Museum ...	8
The Rangoon Museum ...	7
Asiatic Society, Bengal ...	7
Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society ...	5
The British Museum ...	5
For sale at the Mint ..	103
Total ...	<u>298</u>

### JOURNAL.

No. 65, the third number of Vol. XXIII was published during the year. In addition to an abstract of the proceedings of the Society and the list of presents it contains the following papers :—

- (1) Bhakti. By L. J. Sedgwick, I.C.S.
- (2) Recent Explorations at Besnagar, in Gwalior State, Central India. By H. H. Lake.

- (3) An Account of the Comets observed in India by Mahomedan Historians and their Identification. By Shams-ul-Ulama J. J. Modi, B.A.
- (4) Kumargupta, the Patron of Vasubandhu. By K. B. Pathak, B.A.

One paper "An Iranian Precursor of Dante and an Irish Precursor of Dante," read at a meeting in August has been kept over and will appear in the next number of the Journal.

#### JACKSON MEMORIAL FUND.

Four book-cases were purchased at a cost Rs. 740 and these with the books of the late Mr. Jackson's collection now stand in the Meeting Room of the Society. The books have been classified and are now being catalogued.

On the recommendation of the Sub-Committee of the Fund the Committee of Management have agreed to defray the expenses of printing and publishing Mr. Jackson's Notes on Gujerath and Konkan Folklore as suggested by Sir Richard C. Temple, Mr. R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E., I.C.S., having undertaken the work of editing and carrying it through the press. These notes are now appearing in the Indian Antiquary with separate paging in order that they may finally be issued in book form.

#### ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

- (1) Recent Explorations at Besnagar in the Gwalior State. By H. H. Lake.
- (2) Kumargupta, the Patron of Vasubandhu. By K. B. Pathak.
- (3) An Iranian Precursor of Dante and an Irish Precursor of Dante. By Shams-ul-Ulama J. J. Modi, B.A.

The first two of these have already appeared in No. 65 of the Journal.

#### ACCOUNTS.

A statement detailing the items of receipts and disbursements for 1911 accompanies the report. The total amount of subscription received during the year including arrears was Rs. 14,302-11. Subscriptions in the preceding year amounted to Rs. 14,184. There was besides a sum of Rs. 1,000 received on account of life-subscriptions from two Resident Members, which has been invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 19-2-9. This with Rs. 1,164-15-2 debited to the Jackson Memorial Fund account would have been Rs. 1,184-1-11.

Mr. P. B. Haigh, I.C.S., having resigned owing to his transfer from Bombay, Mr. M. M. S. Gubbay, I.C.S., was appointed Honorary Secretary.

The President moved and Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni seconded that the Report for 1911 be adopted and the resolution was carried.

Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare then proposed that the following gentlemen be the Committee and Auditors for 1912.

Mr. Balkrishna V. Wasudeo seconded the proposition, which was carried.

#### COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

##### *President.*

The Hon. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., LL.B.

##### *Vice-Presidents.*

James Macdonald, Esq.  
Shams-ul-Ulama J. J. Modi, B.A.  
The Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. Heaton, I.C.S.  
Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A., D.D., LL.D.

##### *Members.*

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J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.  
Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni, B.A., LL.B.  
Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.  
V. P. Vaidya, Esq., B. A., Bar.-at-Law.  
The Hon. Mr. Fazulbhoy C. Ibrahim.  
H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.  
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Faiz B. Tyabji, Esq., M.A., Bar.-at-Law.  
Prof. S. M. Isfahani.  
Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar, I.M.S. (Retd.).  
A. L. Covernton, Esq., M.A.  
P. A. Wadia, Esq., M.A.

*Honorary Secretary.*

M. M. S. Gubbay, Esq., B.A., I.C.S.

*Honorary Auditors.*

Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare.

K. McIver, Esq.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 23rd September 1912.

The Hon'ble Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, President, in the Chair.

Mr. Govindāchārya Svāmin read a portion of his paper on "Rāmāyana and Temples."

A discussion followed the reading of the paper in which Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare, Messrs. C. V. Vaidya and P. V. Kane took part.

Before proceeding with his remarks on the paper the Chairman referred to the death of Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E. He gave a brief account of his career and made special mention of his services to the Society, both as its active member and its President for several years. After making a touching reference to his various qualities of head and heart, his sympathetic attitude towards educational and other activities and exhorting the audience to take a leaf from the life of Sir Raymond, the President moved the following resolution :—

"That the Society records with deep regret its sense of loss at the death of Sir Raymond West, who, besides being one of its most active Members, was its President for a number of years before his retirement in April 1892. During the period of his connection with the Society he took very great interest in its welfare and contributed by his services to its prosperity. In his death the cause of Oriental scholarship has lost one of its best friends and supporters."

The President then referred to the death of Mr. Ganpatrao Krishnaji Tiwarekar, the late Librarian of the Society, and moved the following proposition :—

"That the Society heard with regret the sad news of the death of Mr. Ganpatrao Krishnaji Tiwarekar and places on record its sense of high appreciation of his services as its Librarian and Assistant Secretary for a period extending over 36 years."

The propositions were unanimously carried.

It was also resolved that letters enclosing copies of the resolutions be forwarded to the families of the deceased gentlemen.

The proceedings terminated after a few remarks on the subject of the paper from the President and a vote of thanks to Mr. Govindāchārya Svāmin for the interesting paper he had contributed.

A special general meeting of the Society was held in the Philharmonic Society's Room, Town Hall, on Friday, the 15th November 1912, for the purpose of the formal presentation of the Campbell Memorial Medal for 1911 awarded to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., for his work in historical research.

The Hon. Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, President, in the Chair.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that the selection of Mr. Bhandarkar for this medal was made by a committee appointed for that purpose. On the last occasion it was presented to Dr. Stein. They had then amongst them the late Mr. Jackson, one of the Trustees of the Sir James Campbell Memorial Fund, who gave them a full account of the circumstances under which the fund was started. It was a melancholy fact that on this occasion they had not amongst them the late Mr. Jackson—a gentleman, who took a deep interest in the history, ethnology and folk-lore of India. He was a personal friend of the late Sir James Campbell, who was himself a scholar, and did all that he could to promote the cause of Oriental scholarship. They missed him very much that day. His place, however, had been supplied by another Oriental scholar—Mr. Edwardes—and the only discouraging circumstance in that connection was that on account of his arduous duties he was not able to pursue the cause of scholarship as much as he would like to do. He (the Chairman) hoped the time would soon come when by way of promotion he would find some place where he would enjoy both the dignity of office and the leisure which was so necessary for the purpose of Oriental scholarship in India. That was a cause, he thought, which required very much to be fostered. He was reading only last night an old number of the *Calcutta Review*, where, it was said, that in those days the Civil Service had succeeded in giving India Oriental scholars like Colebrooke and others. They had some scholars among them now, but the demands of official duty were growing on account of the complex problems of administration, and he could very well understand that there was not that encouragement for Oriental scholarship which they should like to have. This memorial was raised for the purpose of encouraging Oriental

scholarship, and he was particularly gratified to find that the medal was going to be presented to a young man in whom personally he felt very greatly interested, because he was the son of one to whom he had always looked for guidance on almost every important question of life—he meant his very revered friend Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar.

The Hon. Mr. Enthoven gave a brief history of the institution of the medal and said there was a special reason why Mr. Bhandarkar was particularly fitted to receive this medal. He would like to recall a reminiscence of the late Sir James Campbell which had a peculiar bearing on the present situation. When he was appointed Superintendent of Census in 1899, Sir James wrote to him drawing his attention to the necessity of collecting information by which they could trace the foreign elements in the Hindu, as his theory was that many strange foreigners, who came to India in the first century, became amalgamated with certain races of the orthodox Hindu community. In the two papers for which Mr. Bhandarkar was awarded the medal he had pursued the lines which Sir James Campbell had indicated and had brought fresh evidence to prove what Sir James had foreshadowed. He has accepted the theory of the amalgamation of the foreigners from outside into the orthodox Hindu society and proved that the views of Sir James Campbell were sound. He hoped other Indian scholars would imitate the excellent example set by Mr. Bhandarkar in the matter of historical research, for, as remarked by Sir Narayan, the Civilians nowadays found very little leisure for such work.

Sir Narayan then presented the medal to Mr. Bhandarkar, who acknowledged the gift in a suitable speech.

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A general meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 9th December 1912.

The Hon. Sir Narayan G Chandavarkar, President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Honorary Secretary laid before the meeting several proposals received from members regarding newspapers and periodicals.

After some discussion it was resolved to subscribe to the following from the beginning of 1913 :—

- (1) The Scribner's Magazine.
- (2) The Munsey's Magazine.
- (3) Les Annales (Paris).
- (4) The Philosophical Magazine.
- (5) The Indian Review.
- (6) Everyman.

*List of Presents to the Library.*

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACARANGA Sutra. By W. Schubring.	The Author.
ACCOMPANIMENTS to Letters from Negapatam. (Dutch Records, No. 15.)	Madras Government.
ACCOUNT of the Operations of G. T. Survey of India.	Government of India.
ACCOUNTS of Trade by Rail and River in India, 1909-10.	Government of India.
ACTES du XIV <sup>e</sup> Congress International des Orientalistes, Alger 1905, Vol. I and III.	
ACTS of the Governor-General of India in Council in the year 1911.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Ajmer-Merwara, 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Government of India.
----- Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Government of India.
----- Report, Bengal, 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Government of Bengal.
----- Report, Bombay Improvement Trust, for 1911-12.	The Trustees.
----- Report, Bombay Jail Department, 1910.	Government of Bombay.
----- Report, Bombay Municipality, for 1911-12.	The Commissioner.
----- Report, Bombay Port Trust, for 1910-11 and 1911-12.	The Trustees.
----- Report, Bombay Presidency, 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
----- Report, Burma, 1909-10.	Government of Burma.
----- of Civil Justice, Report, Punjab, for 1911.	Punjab Government.
----- of Criminal Justice in the Punjab, Report, for 1911.	Punjab Government.
----- Report, Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ADMINISTRATION Report, Excise Department, Bombay Presidency, for 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, Forest Circles, Bombay Presidency, including Sind, 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, Forest Department, Madras Presidency, 1909-10.	Madras Government.
————— Report, Incumbered Estates in Sind, for 1909-10.	Bombay Government.
————— Report of Irrigation Works, Bombay Presidency, 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, Madras, 1909-10.	Madras Government.
————— Report, Meteorological Department of the Government of India, for 1910-11.	Government of India.
————— Report, North-West Frontier Provinces, 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Government of N. W. F. Provinces.
————— Report, Opium Department, Bombay Presidency, for 1911-12.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, Punjab and its Dependencies, for 1910-11.	Punjab Government.
————— Report of Jails, Punjab, 1910.	Punjab Government.
————— Report, Railways in India, for 1909 and 1910.	Government of India.
————— Report, Registration Department, Punjab, 1908, 09 and 1910.	Government of Punjab.
————— Report, Salt Department, Sind, for 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, United Provinces, 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Government of United Provinces.
AGRICULTURAL Department, Bombay, Bulletins No. 36—39.	Bombay Government.
————— Ledger 1908-09, No. 7.	

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
AGRICULTURAL Ledger 1910, No. 1. Part I and III, Oryzasativa.	
————— Ledger 1911, Nos. 1, 2 and 3.	Government of India.
————— Research Institute and College, Pusa, Report for 1910-11.	Government of India.
————— Statistics of India, Vol. II, Native States, 1904-05 to 1908-09.	Government of India.
AGRICULTURAL Department, Punjab, Report of Operations, for 1911-12.	Punjab Government.
ALPHABETICAL Index to the Chinese Encyclopædia.	The Trustees, British Museum.
ANNUAL Factory Report of Bombay Presidency, 1909-10.	Bombay Government.
————— Progress Report of the Superintendent of Mohammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, for 1911-12.	U. P. Government.
————— Report, Department of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
————— Report of the American Historical Association for 1909.	American Historical Association.
————— Report, Archæological Survey of India, for 1907-08.	Government of India.
————— Report Archæological Survey, Mysore, 1909-10.	Government of Mysore.
————— Report, Director General of Archæology, 1908-09 and 1910-11 Part I.	Government of India.
————— Report, Forest Department, Madras Presidency, for 1910-11.	Madras Government.
————— Report, Lucknow Provincial Museum for 1909-10 and 1910-11.	U. P. Government.
————— Report of Police of the Town and Island of Bombay, 1910.	Bombay Government.
————— Report of the Reformatory School, Yeravda, for 1911.	Bombay Government.
————— Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1909 and 1910.	Smithsonian Institution.

- | <i>Title of Books.</i>   | <i>Donors.</i> |
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| ANNUAL Report, Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, for 1911.<br>Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana.  |                |
| —— Report, Stamp Department, Bombay Presidency, for 1911-12.<br>Bombay Government.   |                |
| —— Report, Talukdari Settlement Officer, 1909-10.<br>Government of Bombay.   |                |
| —— Statement of Trade and Navigation of Bombay Presidency,<br>1909-10 and 1910-11.<br>Bombay Government.                                 |                |
| —— Statement of Trade and Navigation, Sind, 1909-10 and<br>1910-11.<br>Bombay Government.  |                |
| —— Statements of the Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions,<br>Punjab, 1911.<br>Punjab Government.                                    |                |
| AUSGEWAHLTE Bemerkungen über den Bohairischen Dialect. F.<br>Anderson.<br>The Author.  |                |
| ANTHROPOLOGICAL Papers of the American Museum of Natural<br>History, Vol. VI., Part II.<br>Trustees, American Museum of Natural History. |                |
| ANTIQUITIES of the Chamba State. Part I.<br>Government of India.   |                |
| —— of Pushkarne Brahmins. By Mithalal Vyas.<br>The Author.   |                |
| ARBORICULTURE in the Punjab for the Triennial Period, 1908-09, and<br>1910-11.<br>Punjab Government.                                     |                |
| ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey of Mayurbhanja. Vol. I, by N. N. Vasu.<br>Author.   |                |
| —— Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Re-<br>port for 1911-12.<br>Madras Government.  |                |
| —— Survey of India, Frontier Circle Report, for 1911-12.<br>N. W. F. P. Government.  |                |
| AREA and Yield of principal Crops in India, 1896-97 to 1910-11.<br>Government of India.  |                |
| AREA and Yield of certain principal Crops in India, 1897-98 to 1911-12.<br>Government of India.  |                |
| ARRIANI Nicomediensis Expeditionis Alexandri.<br>Rev. J. R. Cuthbert   |                |

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ASEFUL Sughat. Persian-Urdu Dictionary, 4 vols. By Nawab Aziz Jang Bahadur.	The Author
AUTHENTIC Account of an Embassy from Great Britain to China by Sir G. Staunton, 2 vols.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
AVESTA-English and English-Avesta Glossary. By S. D. Bharucha.	The Trustees, Parsee Panchayat
——— Reader. By Reichelt.	The Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
BENGAL District Gazetteer—Hoogly.	Bengal Government.
——— District Gazetteer—Jessore.	Bengal Government.
——— District Gazetteer—Manbhum.	Bengal Government.
——— District Gazetteers—Nadia and Burdwan.	Bengal Government.
BENGALI Books in British Museum, Supplementary Catalogue.	The Trustees, British Museum.
BHAVNAGAR Prachin Shodha Sangraha. Part I. By G. U. Oza.	B. V. Wasudeo.
BOARD of Scientific Advice for India, Annual Report for 1910-11.	Government of India.
BOMBAY Millowners' Association, Report for 1911.	The Association.
——— University Calendar, 1910-11, 2 Vols. and 1911-12, 2 Vols.	Bombay University.
BORDER History of England and Scotland. By G. Ridpath.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
BRITISH Museum Library, Subject Index for 1906-10.	The Trustees, British Museum.
BUDDHA Charitam of Ashwaghosa, I-V. By G. R. Nandargikar.	The Author.
——— Sakya Muni. By Sophia Egoroff.	The Author.
BULLETIN de la Commission Archæologique dé L'Indo-China, 1910.	Minister of Public Instruction, France.
——— Lloyd Library. Nos. 14, 15.	Curator, Lloyd Library.
BUREAU of American Ethnology, Bulletin, Vol. 30, Part II.	Smithsonian Institution.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
BURMA Code. 4th Edition, 1910.	Government of India.
— Gazetteer—Sandoway District, Vol. A.	Burma Government.
BURNEY Papers. Vols. I, II and III, Part I.	Vajiranana National Library, Siam.
CALENDAR of Persian Correspondence. Vol. I, 1759-67.	Government of India.
CAPT. DOWELL'S Notes on the Survey of old Ratnagiri Taluka.	Bombay Government.
CATALOGUE, Archæological Museum, Mathura.	Government of United Provinces.
— of Cabinet of Coins, Eastern Bengal Association.	Eastern Bengal and Assam Government.
— of Coins of the Rulers of Delhi in the Delhi Museum of Archæology.	The Author.
— of Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards in the British Museum.	The Trustees, British Museum.
— of Early Printed Books in the Library of the Royal Society.	The Royal Society.
— du Fonds Tibetan.	French Government.
— Imperial Library, Calcutta, Part II.	Government of India.
— of the Kannada, Badaga and Coorg Books, British Museum.	The Trustees, British Museum.
— Sanskrit Mss., in the Oriental Mss., Library, Madras, Vols. X and XI.	Government of Madras.
— Sanskrit Mss. in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore.	B. V. Vasudeo.
— Supplementary, of Bengali Books, British Museum.	The Trustees, British Museum.
CATECHISM of the Zoroastrian Religion. By J. J. Modi.	The Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
CENSUS of Baroda, 1911, Report. 2 Vols.	Bombay Government.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
CENSUS of Burma, 1911, Report. 2 Vols.	Bombay Government.
——— of Cochin, 1911.	Bombay Government.
——— of Coorg, 1911, Report.	Bombay Government.
——— of India, 1911, Madras. 2 Parts.	Government of India.
——— of Mysore, 1911.	Bombay Government.
CHAMBER of Commerce, Bombay, Report 1910.	The Chamber of Commerce.
CHENAB, Jhelum and Chunion Colonies, Annual Report for 1910-11.	Punjab Government.
CHRONOLOGICAL Tables and Index of Indian Statutes. Vol. II.	Government of India.
CIVIL Hospitals and Dispensaries under the Government of Bombay, Report for 1911.	Bombay Government.
CLASSIFIED Catalogue of the Library of the Director-General of Archæology, Supplements I and II.	Government of India.
——— Catalogue of Sanskrit Printed Works in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore.	B. V. Wasudeo.
COLLECTED Sanskrit Writings of Parsees. Part II.	The Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
COINS dealt with under the Treasure Trove Act, Report for 1911-12, Nagpur.	C. P. Government.
—— (Greek) of Phœnicia in the British Museum.	The Trustees, British Museum.
—— of the Roman Republic in the British Museum.	The Trustees, British Museum.
COLLEGE of Fort William in Bengal.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
CONTRIBUTIONS of Feudal Japan to New Japan. By K. Asakawa.	The Author.
CORRESPONDENCE relating to the Criminal Proceedings against Khan Bahadur K. M. Khan.	The Secretary of State for India.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors</i>
CRAWFURD'S History of the Indian Archipelago. Vols. II and III.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
CULTIVATION of Guavas near Poona, Dharwar and Limbgaon.	Government of Bombay.
DARKNESS and the Dawn in India. By Sheshadri and Dr. J. Wilson.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
DELHI, the Imperial City. By J. R. Denning.	The Author.
DESPATCHES from England. (Fort St. George Records).	Madras Government.
DIARIES of Streynsham Master. 2 Vols.	Government of India.
DIARY and Consultation Book, Military Department (1755)—(Records of Fort St. George).	Madras Government.
DIGEST of Indian Law Cases. By B. D. Bose.	Government of India.
DINKARD. Vol. XII. Darab Dastoor Peshotan Sanjana.	The Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
DISTRICT Gazetteer, Burma—Bhamo. Vol. A.	Government of Burma.
——— Gazetteer, Burma—Lower Chindwin.	Government of Burma.
——— Gazetteer, Burma—Mergui. Vol. A.	Government of Burma.
——— Gazetteer, Burma—Myitkyina District. Vol. A.	Government of Burma.
——— Gazetteer, C. P.—Amroti District. Vol. A.	C. P. Government.
——— Gazetteer, U. P.,—Almora District.	U. P. Government.
——— Gazetteer, United Provinces—Bareilly.	U. P. Government.
——— Gazetteer, United Provinces—Farrukhabad.	U. P. Government.
DUTCH in the Malabar. By A. Gallitti and Rev. A. J. Van Der Burg.	Madras Government.
DOCTRINE of Jehovah. By Dr. J. Wilson.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
DUKKANIPATA Jataka.	Government of Siam.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
EARLY Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan.	Government of Bombay.
EAST India, Financial Statement and Budget for 1912-13.	Secretary of State for India.
— India, Income and Expenditure from 1899-1900 to 1909-10.	Secretary of State for India.
— India Papers (Estimates for 1910-11).	
,, (Executive and Legislative Councils).	
,, (Home Accounts).	
,, (Progress and Condition, Moral and Material).	
,, (Prosecutions for Speeches, &c.).	
,, (Railways and Irrigation Works).	Secretary of State for India.
EASTERN Bengal District Gazetteer, Vol. XII.—Rangpur.	Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam.
— Bengal Gazetteer—Jalpaiguri.	Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam.
— Bengal Gazetteer—Noakhali.	Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam.
EIGHT Questions of King Bedraja of Ayudhya.	Siamese Government.
ENGINEERS', Architects' and Surveyors' Compendium for 1911-1912.	The Publishers.
ENGLISH Factories in India, 1634-36 and 1637-41. By W. Foster.	Secretary of State for India.
ESTATES under the Court of Wards in the Punjab, Report for 1910-11.	Punjab Government.
EXTERNAL Land Trade of Sind and British Baluchistan for 1911-12.	Bombay Government.
— Trade of the Punjab, Report 1911-12.	Punjab Government.
FACTORY Report, Bombay Presidency, for 1910 and 1911.	Bombay Government.
FALSAFA-E-IZDEVAJ. By Syed Ali Asgar Bilgrami.	The Author.
FESTIVALS of the Twelve Months.	Siamese Government.
FINAL Report of the Third Regular Settlement for 1905-10, Rohtak District, Punjab.	Punjab Government.
FINANCE and Revenue Accounts, Government of India, 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Government of India.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
FINNIC and Dravidian. By E. H. Tuffe.	The Author.
FISHES of the Indo-Australian Archipelago.	Government of Netherlands—India.
FODDER Crops of the Punjab.	Punjab Government.
FOR God and Iran. By N. M. Cooper.	Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
FOREST Administration, British India, Report, 1908-09.	Government of India.
—— Administration Report, Punjab, for 1910-11.	Punjab Government.
—— Flora of Bombay Presidency and Sind. Vol. II. By W. A. Talbot.	Bombay Government.
GAZETTEER of Bombay City and Island. 3 Vols.	Bombay Government.
—— Central Provinces—Akola District.	Government of Central Provinces.
—— Central Provinces—Amraoti District.	Government of Central Provinces.
—— Central Provinces—Buldana District.	Government of Central Provinces.
—— of the Rampur State.	United Provinces Government.
GAZETTEERS, Central Provinces—Bilaspur District and Chhattisgarh Feudatory States.	Government of Central Provinces.
—— Central Provinces and Berar—Akola District.	Government of Central Provinces.
GAZETTEER, District, Bengal—Purnea.	Government of Bengal.
GAZETTEERS, District, Eastern Bengal—Tippera.	Government of India
—— District, United Provinces,—Gorakhpur, Jhansi and Shahjahanpur Districts.	Government of United Provinces.
—— District, United Provinces—Etawah and Mainpura.	Government of United Provinces.
—— United Provinces—Aligarh District.	Government of United Provinces.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
GENERAL Acts, Government of India, 1910.	Government of India.
————— Index, Royal Astronomical Society's Memoirs, Vols. 53-70.	Royal Astronomical Society.
————— Report of the operations of the Survey in India, 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Government of India.
GLOSSARY of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the N.-W. Frontier Provinces, Vol. II.	Punjab Government.
GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, Madras and Connemara Public Library, Report for 1911-12.	Madras Government
GRAMMAIRE Basque.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
GROUND-NUTS in Bombay—Deccan.	Government of Bombay.
HANDBOOK, Ethnographical Collection, British Museum.	Trustees, British Museum.
————— to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum.	Curator, Peshawar Museum.
HERSCHEL'S Results of Astronomical Observations in 1834-38.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
HISTOIRE des Mongols de Fadh Allah Rasmid Eddin.	The Trustees, Gibb Memorial.
HISTORY of Rise and Fall of Parsee Empire. Vol. II.	Trustees, Parsee Punchayat.
————— of the Kirk of Scotland. By D. Calderwood, Vols. III, IV and VIII.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
————— of the Kutb Minar. By R. N. Munshi.	The Author.
————— of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren. Vol. I.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
————— of Services of Gazetted Officers, Civil Deptt., Bombay Presidency, upto July 1912.	Bombay Government.
INCOME and Expenditure of India, Return for 1900-01 to 1910-11.	Secretary of State for India.
————— Tax Administration Report, Punjab, for 1911-12.	Punjab Government.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
INDIAN Financial Statement and Budget for 1911-12.	Secretary of State for India.
——— Saltpetre Industry. Pusa Bulletin No. 24.	Government of India.
——— Weather Review, Annual Summary, 1909-10.	Government of India.
INDUSTRIAL Punjab. By A. Latifi.	Punjab Government.
INSECTICIDES, Bulletin No. 23, Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa. By H. Maxwell-Lefroy.	Government of India.
IRRIGATION Revenue, Bombay Presidency, Triennial Report ending 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
——— Revenue, Triennial Report, Sind, 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
JAIL Department, Bombay, Administration Report for 1911.	Bombay Government.
JĀTAKAPuffamālā No. 1. By R. G. Bhadkamkar.	The Author.
JOINT Stock Companies, Punjab, Report for 1911-12.	Punjab Government.
JOURNAL, American Museum of Natural History. Vol. XXVIII, 1910.	The Museum.
——— Anthropological Society of Bombay. Vol. VIII.	The Society.
——— of the Transactions of Victoria Institute for 1910 and 1911.	Victoria Institute.
KASHF Al-Mahjüb Ali bi Ultiman.	Trustees, Gibb Memorial.
KATHIAWAR Central Famine Committee <i>ad interim</i> and Final Reports.	The Secretaries.
KAUTLYAM Arthashastram.	Mysore Government.
KHORDEH Avesta Searched, 1. By R. R. Bhagwat.	Messrs. Tata and Sons.
KNOWLEDGE of the World (Hakluyt Society, 2nd series. Vol. XXIX)	Bombay Government.
LATIN Versions of First Esdras. By H. C. York.	Government of U. S. A.

- | <i>Title of Books.</i>   | <i>Donors.</i>               |
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| LEADING Eucalypts suitable for India. By F. Booth-Tucker.                              | Government of Bombay.        |
| LIFE and Ethics of Zoroaster. By A. Rogers.  | Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.  |
| — of Lieut.-General Hugh Mackay of Scoury. By J. Mackay ;<br>2 copies.                 | Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.         |
| — of Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao. By M. W. Burway.  | The Author.                  |
| LST of Ancient Monuments in Burma.   | Government of Burma.         |
| — of Books in the Reading Rooms, British Museum.                                       | Trustees, British Museum.    |
| — of Inscriptions in the Punjab and N. W. F. Provinces—Kashmir<br>and Afghanistan.     | Punjab Government.           |
| — of Sanskrit and Hindi Mss. in the Sanskrit College, Benares,<br>1909-10 and 1910-11. | United Provinces Government. |
| LITURGIES and other Documents of Ante-Nicene Period.                                   | Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.         |
| LOCAL Rules and Orders applying to Bombay.   | Bombay Government.           |
| MADRAS University Calendar for 1911 and 1912.  | Madras University.           |
| MAGNETIC Observations, Bombay Government Observatory,<br>1846-1901.                    | Bombay Government.           |
| MAHOSATHA Jataka and Mahavessantara Jataka.  | Government of Siam.          |
| MARITIME Trade of the Province of Sind for 1910-11 and 1911-12.                        | Bombay Government.           |
| MAZDAYASNIAN Hymns. By A. Rogers.  | Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.  |
| MEMOIR. By H. A. Von Rheede (Dutch Records, No. 14.)                                   | Madras Government.           |
| MEMOIRS of Babur. By H. Beveridge.   | Government of India.         |
| — Royal Astronomical Society, Vol. 60, Part II.  | The Society.                 |
| MILL-OWNERS' Association, Bombay, Report, 1910.  | The Association.             |

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MILLING and Baking Qualities of Indian Wheat, Pusa. Bulletin No. 22.	Government of India.
MISSOURI Botanical Garden, 21st and 22nd Annual Reports.	Government of U. S. A.
MITCHELL's Expeditions in Eastern Australia. Vol. II.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
MORAL and Material Progress and Condition of India for 1910-11.	Secretary of State for India.
MUNICIPAL Administration Report of the City of Bombay for 1910-11.	Municipal Commissioner, Bombay.
NAVA-Kovad. Instructions for Novices.	Government of Siam.
NOTE on the Confluence of the Vitasta and the Sindhu.	Kashmir Government.
— on the Stamp Statements, Punjab, for 1911-12.	Punjab Government.
NOTES on Maps illustrating Explorations in Chinese-Turkestan and Kansu. By Dr. M. A. Stein.	The Author.
— on Vaccination in Punjab, for 1911-12.	Punjab Government.
NUQTATUL-KAF. By Haji Mirza Jani.	Trustees, Gibb Memorial.
NUMISMATIC Supplement. No. XVI.	Framji J. Thanavala.
OPERATIONS in connection with the Income Tax, Bombay Presidency, Report for 3 years ending 31st March 1911.	Bombay Government.
ORATION delivered by H. R. H. Prince Vaziranana of Siam at the Ceremony before the Cremation of the King.	Government of Siam.
ORIGINAL Survey Settlement of the Village of Moula in Chopda Taluka, East Khandesh.	Bombay Government.
PAHLAVI Dinkard. Complete, Part I, Books III-V; Part II, Books VI-IX.	The Trustees, Parsee Punchayat.
PALÆONTOLOGIA Indica, Vol. III, No. 4 (Memoirs, Geological Survey)	" " " "
Vol. IV No. 1 " " " "	Government of India.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
PANCAKAMPATA Jataka.	Government of Siam.
PAPERS, Educational Conference, Allahabad, 1911.	Government of India.
—— relating to the Conference of Orientalists at Simla ; July 1911.	Government of India.
—— of Martin Van Buren.	Government of U. S. A.
—— Original Survey Settlement of Padali Khurd, Raver Taluka, East Khandesh Collectorate.	Bombay Government.
—— Revision Settlement of Jhalod Mahal, Panch Mahals Collectorate.	Bombay Government.
—— Revision Survey Settlement of Hingangaon in Khanapur Taluka of the Satara District.	Bombay Government.
—— Revision Survey Settlement of Kalol Taluka, Panch Mahals.	Bombay Government.
—— Revision Survey Settlement of Maldeo in Javli Taluka of the Satara District.	Bombay Government.
—— Revision Survey Settlement of Sanghar and Khipro Taluka, Thar and Parkar District.	Bombay Government.
—— Second Revision Settlement of Muddebihal Taluka, Bijapur Collectorate.	Bombay Government.
—— Second Revision Settlement of Karajgi Taluka, Dharwar.	Bombay Government.
—— Second Revision Settlement of Haliyal Taluka of Kanara Collectorate.	Bombay Government.
PARASARA-DHARMA-SAMHITA, Vol. III, Part I.	The Editor.
PARSEE Dhara. By F. B. Rana.	Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
PARSI PRAKASH, Vol. II. By Khan Bahadur B. B. Patell.	Bai Dinbai Byramji Patell.
PARITTANI.	Government of Siam.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
PATON'S List of Schools and Tutors for 1912.	The Author.
PHILOSOPHICAL Transactions of Royal Society of London, Vol. I, 1845, and Vol. I, 1847.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
PHRA Bhikku Patimoka.	Government of Siam.
— Khatha Dharmubat.	Government of Siam.
POEMS of Thomas, Third Lord Fairfax.	Connecticut Academy.
POLICE Administration Report, Punjab, for 1911.	Punjab Government.
— of the Town and Island of Bombay, Annual Report for 1911.	Bombay Government.
— Report, Bombay Presidency 'including Sind and Railways, for 1909, 1910 & 1911.	Bombay Government.
POLITICAL Economy. By C. Devas.	H. G. Pathak,
PRESENT Position of Cotton Investigation in India. Pusa Bulletin, No. 26.	Government of India.
PROCEEDINGS, Bombay Legislative Council, Vol. XLVIII.	Bombay Government.
— of the Royal Numismatic Society for 1910-11.	Royal Numismatic Society.
— of the Society of Science, Amsterdam, Vol. XII.	Government of Netherlands—India.
PROGRESS Report, Forest Administration in the Punjab, 1909-10.	Punjab Government.
PUBLIC General Acts, 1910.	Secretary of State for India.
PUNJAB District Gazetteer, Vol. IVa, Gurgaon District.	Punjab Government.
— District Gazetteer, Rohitak District with Maps.	Punjab Government.
— Gazetteer—Simla Hill States.	Punjab Government.
— Lunatic Asylum, Triennial Report, 1909-11.	Punjab Government.
QUINQUENNIAL Progress of Archæology, Jamu and Kashmir.	Kashmir Government.



<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
<b>REPORT on the Causes of Malaria in Bombay.</b>	<b>Bombay Government.</b>
——— <b>Chemical Analyser, Government of Bombay and Sind, 1910-11.</b>	<b>Bombay Government.</b>
——— <b>Chemical Examiner to Government of Punjab, 1910 and 1911.</b>	<b>Punjab Government.</b>
——— <b>on Chenab, Jhelum and Churian Colonies.</b>	<b>Punjab Government.</b>
——— <b>Chief Inspector of Mines in India, for 1910 and 1911.</b>	<b>Government of India.</b>
——— <b>Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries, Bombay Presidency, for 1910.</b>	<b>Bombay Government.</b>
——— <b>Criminal Justice in the Punjab for 1910.</b>	<b>Punjab Government.</b>
——— <b>Department of Agriculture, Punjab, for the year ending 30th June 1911.</b>	<b>Punjab Government.</b>
——— <b>Director-General of Archæology, Part I, Administrative, for 1909-10.</b>	<b>Government of India.</b>
——— <b>Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, 1909-10 and 1910-11.</b>	<b>Bombay Government.</b>
——— <b>of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, for 1875-76.</b>	<b>Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.</b>
——— <b>on Education in the Punjab for 1910-11.</b>	<b>Punjab Government.</b>
——— <b>Excise Administration in the Punjab for 1910-11 and 1911-12.</b>	<b>Punjab Government.</b>
——— <b>Excise Department, Bombay, 1909-10.</b>	<b>Bombay Government.</b>
——— <b>Government Museum and Connemara Library for 1910-11.</b>	<b>Madras Government.</b>
——— <b>Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for 1910-11.</b>	<b>Punjab Government.</b>
——— <b>Income Tax Administration, Punjab, for 1910.</b>	<b>Punjab Government.</b>
——— <b>Internal Land Trade of Sind and British Baluchistan for 1910-11.</b>	<b>Bombay Government.</b>

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REPORT Internal Trade by Rail and River, Punjab, 1907-9.	Punjab Government.
—— Joint Stock Companies, Punjab, 1910-11.	Punjab Government.
—— Lunatic Asylums under Government of Bombay, 1910 and 1911.	Bombay Government.
—— Maritime Trade of the Province of Sind, for 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
—— Opium Department, Bombay Presidency, for 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
—— Punjab Administration, 1909-10.	Punjab Government.
—— Police Administration, Punjab, for 1910.	Punjab Government.
—— of the Progress of Agriculture in India for 1911.	Government of India.
—— Punjab Veterinary College and Civil Veterinary Department for 1910-11.	Punjab Government.
—— Rail and River-borne Trade, Sind 1909-10.	Bombay Government.
—— Sanitation, Dispensaries and Jails in Rajputana for 1910 and Vaccination for 1910-11.	Government of India.
—— Sea-borne Trade and Customs Administration in the Bombay Presidency for 1911-12.	Bombay Government.
—— Season and Crops, Bombay Presidency, 1909-10.	Bombay Government.
—— Settlement Operations in the Punjab, 1909-10.	Punjab Government.
—— of the Talukdari Settlement Officer for 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
—— Rail-borne Trade, Bombay Presidency, 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
—— Reformatory School, Yeraoda, for 1910.	Bombay Government.
—— Stamp Department, Bombay Presidency and Sind, for 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
—— Salt Department, Bombay Presidency, for 1910-11.	Bombay Government.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
<b>REPORT</b> Sanitary Administration, Punjab, for 1910.	Punjab Government.
——— Sanitary Commissioner for the Government of Bombay for 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
——— of Sanitary Measures in India for 1909-10 and 1910-11.	Secretary of State for India.
——— Third Gujarathi Sahitya Parishad.	Committee of the Parishad.
——— Trade and Navigation, Aden, for 1910-11 and 1911-12.	Bombay Government.
——— U. S. National Museum for 1909-10.	Smithsonian Institute.
——— Vaccination in the Punjab for 1910-11.	Punjab Government.
——— Working of the Factories Act in the Punjab for 1910-11.	Punjab Government.
——— on the Working of the Municipalities in the Punjab for 1910-11.	Punjab Government.
<b>RETROSPECT</b> and Index, New Sydenham Society, 1859-1907.	The Society.
<b>RESOLUTION</b> , Reviewing the Reports on Municipal Taxation and Expenditure, Bombay Presidency, for 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
<b>RETURN</b> of Wrecks and Casualties in Indian Waters for 1910-11.	Government of India.
<b>REVISION</b> Survey Settlement, Maler Mal and Thana Tapas, Karachi Taluka, Karachi District.	Bombay Government.
——— Survey Settlement, Nandurbar Taluka, West Khandesh.	Bombay Government.
——— Survey Settlement, Kaloi Tappa, Diplo Taluka, Thar and Parkar District.	Bombay Government.
——— Survey Settlement, Kambar Taluka, Larkana District.	Bombay Government.
Ratodars Taluka,     "     "	
Larkana Taluka,     "     "	
	Bombay Government.
<b>REVISED</b> Financial Statement, Government of Bombay, for 1911-12.	Bombay Government.

<i>Title'of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
REVIEW of Forest Administration in British India for 1909-10. —— of Trade of India for 1909-10, 1910-11 and 1911-12.	Government of India.
SACRED Poetry of the 17th Century.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
SANITATION, Dispensaries, Jails and Vaccination, Rajputana, Report for 1911-12.	Government of India.
SEASON and Crop Report, Punjab, for 1910-11 and 1911-12.	Punjab Government.
SEED Supply of Broach District, Part II.	Bombay Government.
SECOND Revised Settlement, 1908-11 of the Ludhiana District, Punjab.	Punjab Government.
—— Revision Survey Settlement, Bagewadi Taluka.	Bombay Government.
SECRETS of a Beautiful Life. By J. R. Miller.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
SELECT Practical Writings of John Knox.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
SETTLEMENT Report of the Karnal District, Punjab. By A. M. Stowe.	Punjab Government.
SHAKESPEARE Myth. By Sir E. Durning-Lawrence.	The Author.
SPECIFICATION, Rates and Notes on Work by Marryat.	Bombay Government.
STATISTICS of British India for 1908-09 and 1909-10, Part IVa and IVb. Finance and Revenue.	Government of India.
STATISTICS of British India, 1909-10 and 1910-11—	
Vol. I—Industrial.	
,, II—Commercial.	
,, III—Commercial Services.	
,, VI—Administrative and Judicial.	
—— of British India, Part V, Area, Population, &c., for 1909-10 and 1910-11 and preceding years.	Government of India.
—— of British India, 1909-10 and 1910-11, Part VII—Educational.	Government of India.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
STATISTICS Relating to Forest Administration, British India, for 1911-12.	Government of India.
————— with notes of the Registration Department, Bombay Presidency for 1911.	Bombay Government.
STORM Van's Gravesande, 2 Vols.	Bombay Government.
STREAMLETS from the Fount of Poesy. By N. B. Gazdar.	The Author.
STUDY of Yasna I. By L. H. Mills.	The Trustees, Parsee Punchayat.
SUDHARMAVATI Rajavamsa and Siharajadhirāja Rajavamsa.	Government of Siam.
SUPPLEMENTARY Catalogue, Archæological Collection, Indian Museum.	Government of India.
SWEDISH Explorations in Spitzbergen, 1758-1908.	Government of Sweden.
TABLES of Trade of British India.	Government of India.
TAITTIRIYA Brahman. 1st Astaka.	Mysore Government
TARIKH-I-GUZIDA. Vol. I. (Text).	Trustees, Gibb Memorial.
TIDE Tables for Indian Ports, 1912-13.	Government of India.
THIRD Regular Settlement of the Delhi District, Final Report.	Punjab Government.
TON Panñai. The primary duties of Priests.	Government of Siam.
TRADE of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries, Tables, 1906-07—1910-11.	Secretary of State for India.
TRAIBHUMI. Buddhist Cosmogony.	Siamese Government.
TRANSLATION of the Kalyani Inscription in Pegu.	Siamese Government.
TRANSACTIONS and Proceedings of the American Philological Association for 1910.	American Philological Association.
TRANSACTIONS, Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. 47, Part IV.	The Society.
TRIENNIAL Report, Charitable Dispensaries in Punjab, for 1908-9-10.	Punjab Government.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
TRIENNIAL Vaccination Report, Bombay Presidency, for 1908-09 to 1910-11.	Bombay Government.
TYAGAYYAR. By C. T. Naidu.	The Author.
U. P. DISTRICT Gazetteer—Allahabad.	U. P. Government.
————— Gazetteer—Azamgarh.	U. P. Government.
————— Gazetteer—Dehra Dun.	U. P. Government.
————— Gazetteer—Etah.	U. P. Government.
————— Gazetteer—Mirzapur.	U. P. Government.
————— Gazetteer—Moradabad.	U. P. Government.
————— Gazetteer—Muttra.	U. P. Government.
UNITED States Geological Survey Monograph, No. 52.	Washington Government.
VEDIC Fathers of Geology. By N. B. Pavgee.	The Author.
VETERINARY College and Civil Veterinary Department, Punjab, Report for 1911-12.	Punjab Government.
WORDENBOEK. By Dr. H. N. Van Der Tusk.	Government of Netherlands—India.
WORKING of the Co-Operative Societies, Punjab, Report for 1911-12.	Punjab Government.
WORKS of the Rev. Isaac Watts, Vol. IV.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
———— of Sir William Jones, Vol. IV.	Rev. J. R. Cuthbert.
YĀQŪT's Dictionary of Learned Men (Text). By D. S. Margoliouth.	Trustees, Gibb Memorial.
YEAR Books, Royal Society, for 1911 and 1912.	The Royal Society.
———— with the Gaikwar. By Rev. E. S. Weeden.	Baroda State.
YODOGIMA in Feudalistic Japan. By Rev. I. W. Adams.	The Author.
ZOROASTER and the Bible. By L. H. Mills.	Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.

*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,  
and a list of Presents to the Library.*

1913.

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THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 2nd of April 1913.

The Hon. Mr. J. J. Heaton, I.C.S.,

One of the Vice-Presidents in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the following report :—

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**The Annual Report for 1912.**

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**MEMBERS.**

*Resident.*—During the year under review 43 new Members were elected and 3 Non-Resident Members having come to Bombay were added to the list of Resident Members. 48 Members resigned, 4 died and 7 having left Bombay were transferred to the Non-Resident list. This leaves 305 on the roll at the end of the year. The number at the close of the preceding year was 318.

*Non-Resident.*—14 Members joined under this class and 7 Resident Members who left Bombay during the year became Non-Resident Members. 15 Members withdrew, 1 died and 3 were added to the Resident list. The number at the close of the year was 149 against 147 at the end of 1911.

## OBITUARY.

The Society records with regret the death of the following Members :—

*Resident.*

Mr. R. M. A. Branson.  
Khan Bahadur D. R. Chichgar.  
Mr. Dharamsy Murarji Gokuldas.  
Mr. Reginald Gilbert.

*Non-Resident.*

Mr. J. S. Collet, I.C.S.

*Honorary.*

Sir Raymond West, M.A., LL.D., K.C.I.E.

At a Meeting of the Society held on 23rd September the following resolution relating to the late Sir Raymond West was proposed by the President Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandawarkar and seconded by Shums-ul-ulama Dr. J. J. Modi :—

“ That the Society records with deep regret its sense of the loss at the death of Sir Raymond West, who, besides being one of its most active Members, was its President for a number of years before his retirement in April 1892. During the period of his connection with the Society he took very great interest in its welfare and contributed by his services to its prosperity. In his death the cause of Oriental scholarship has lost one of its best friends and supporters.”

At this Meeting the President also referred to the death of Mr. Ganpatrao Krishnaji Tiwarekar, the late Librarian of the Society, and moved the following proposition :—

“ That the Society heard with regret the sad news of the death of Mr. Ganpatrao Krishnaji Tiwarekar and places on record its sense of high appreciation of his services as its Librarian and Asst. Secretary for a period extending over 36 years.”

## CAMPBELL MEMORIAL MEDAL PRESENTATION.

A special general meeting of the Society was held on November 15 for the presentation of the Campbell Memorial Medal for 1911 to Mr. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, M.A.

The Hon. Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandawarkar, President of the Society, presided.

The President after a short speech presented the medal to Mr. Bhandarkar. Mr. R. E. Enthoven, who followed the President, gave a brief history of the institution of the medal and remarked on the special fitness of Mr. Bhandarkar for the award as he (Mr. Bhandarkar) had pursued the lines which Sir James Campbell had indicated and had brought fresh evidence to prove what Sir James had foreshadowed. (Report of the speeches will be found in No. LXVI of the Journal of the Society.)

The proceedings terminated, Mr. Bhandarkar having acknowledged the gift in a suitable speech.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were contributed to the Society's Journal during the year :—

Foreign Influence in the Civilization of Ancient India. 900 B. C., 400 A. D. By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A.

Seed Structure and Germination of *Vateria indica*, L. By H. M. Chibber, M.A.

Rāmāyana and Temples. By A. Govindāchārya Swamin, C.E., M.R.A.S., M.R.S.A., M.M.S.

LIBRARY.

The issues of books during the year under review were 44,793 Volumes ; 30,735 of new works including periodicals and 14,058 of old books. The daily average excluding Sundays and holidays was 150. The number in the previous year was 44,092.

A detailed statement of monthly issues is subjoined.

MONTHLY ISSUES.

					<i>New Books.</i>	<i>Old Books.</i>
January	..	...	...	...	2,540	1,263
February	...	...	...	...	2,820	1,365
March	...	...	...	...	3,081	1,080
April	...	..	..	...	3,110	1,119
May	...	...	...	...	2,668	1,282
June	...	...	...	...	2,548	1,070
July	...	...	...	...	3,054	1,297
August	...	...	...	...	2,723	1,363
September	...	...	...	...	2,154	1,055
October	...	...	...	...	2,462	1,060
November	...	...	...	...	2,076	968
December	...	...	...	...	1,499	1,187
					30,735	14,058

The issue of each class of books is noted below :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes</i>
Fiction ... ..	18,518
Biography ... ..	1,693
Miscellaneous ... ..	1,567
Travel, Topography, &c. ... ..	1,156
History ... ..	992
Politics, Sociology & Economics ... ..	925
Oriental Literature ... ..	870
Philosophy ... ..	503
Poetry and Drama ... ..	459
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of the Learned Societies (in bound Vols.) ... ..	385
Religion ... ..	365
Archæology, Folklore, Anthropology, &c. ... ..	344
Science, Natural History, Geology, &c. ... ..	246
Foreign Literature ... ..	234
Literary History, Criticism, &c. ... ..	210
Public Records ... ..	177
Grammars, Dictionaries, &c. ... ..	176
Art, Architecture, Music &c., ... ..	172
Naval and Military ... ..	157
Classics ... ..	118
Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy ... ..	112
Medicine ... ..	112
Logic and works relating to Education ... ..	104
Botany, Agriculture, &c. ... ..	82
Law ... ..	79
Periodicals in loose Numbers ... ..	15,161
Total ... ..	44,793

#### ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of volumes added to the Library during the year was 1,308, of which 1,125 were purchased and 283 were presented.

Presents of books were as usual received from the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, the Bombay Government and other local Governments; and also from the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat Funds and individual authors and donors.

The number of volumes acquired by purchase and presentation is shown in the following table :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes purchased.</i>	<i>Volumes presented.</i>
Religion and Theology	29	7
Philosophy	41	1
Logic	17	0
Classics and Translations	15	1
Philology and Literary History	20	3
History and Chronology	48	9
Politics, Political Economy	100	3
Law	2	6
Public Records	...	164
Biography	94	4
Archæology, Antiquities, &c.	20	8
Voyages, Travels, Topography	52	14
Poetry and Drama	27	2
Fiction	330	...
Miscellaneous	78	1
Foreign Literature	20	...
Astronomy	3	1
Art, Architecture, Music, &c.	28	...
Naval and Military	20	...
Natural History, Geology, &c.	22	2
Botany and Agriculture	3	1
Physiology, Medicine	16	1
Annals, Serials, Transactions of the Learned Societies	56	13
Dictionaries, Grammars and Reference Works	63	15
Oriental Literature	48	27

The papers, periodicals, journals and transactions of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during 1912 were :—

English Newspapers—

Daily	1
Weekly	29

English Magazines and Reviews—

Monthly	30
Quarterly	26

## English Almanacs and Directories—

Year Books, Annals, &c.	...	...	...	17
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## Supplements to English Papers—

Illustrated and others	...	...	...	10
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	...	10
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals...	...	...	...	13
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazette	...	...	...	22
Indian and Asiatic Journals and Reviews, &c.	...	...	...	33

A meeting of the Society as required by Article XX of the Rules was held in December for the revision of the list of Newspapers, Magazines, &c., taken by the Society.

At this meeting it was resolved to subscribe to the following from the beginning of 1913 :—

- (1) Scribner's Magazine.
- (2) Munsey's Magazine.
- (3) Les Annals (Paris).
- (4) Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science.
- (5) Indian Review.
- (6) Everyman.

At a meeting of the Committee of Management held in September last the proposal of Prof. P. A. Wadia suggesting the printing of an up-to-date Catalogue of the Library was agreed to and a Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the question.

This Sub-Committee made the following recommendations which were subsequently adopted :—

- (1) That a Card Catalogue according to authors' names be prepared simultaneously with the general catalogue.
- (2) That an allotment of 1,000 be made for the rest of the current financial year towards the work.
- (3) That the preparation of the work be entrusted to a Sub-Committee consisting of Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, Prof. A. L. Covernton, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Prof. P. A. Wadia, Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji and the Honorary Secretary.

In conformity with this resolution collection of letters of the alphabets of the Author's part of the catalogue was commenced and has now been brought up to the end of 1911.

Mr. Gothoskar, the Asst. Librarian, who was deputed to examine and remark books in the Library, has nearly completed the work. He has compiled a list of missing books which requires to be checked before submission to the Committee of Management ; and has pasted press number tickets on the backs of books all over the Library. The Geographical section only now remains to be examined and lists of Magazines, Newspaper Files and Public Records have to be drawn up.

### COIN CABINET.

The number of Coins added to the Society's Cabinet during the year was 25. Of these 1 was Gold, 13 Silver, 5 Copper and 6 were of mixed metal. Of the total, 2 Silver Gadhaiya coins were presented by Thakore of Piploda through the Malwa Agency, 4 Copper were received from Messrs. Uddhavdas Radhakrishna & Co., Shikarpur, and the rest were acquired from different Governments under the Treasure Trove Act.

The coins are of the following description :—

#### *South Indian. Gold.*

(1) A punchmarked coin with four areas on the obverse, one of which contains the letters श्री जगदेव. The reverse is blank. The date of the coin is about the 12th Century.

#### *Mougal Emperors of Delhi. Silver.*

- (1) Shah Jehan.  
Mint Patna.
- (1) Aurangzeb. A. H. 1113.  
Mint Ajmer.
- (1) Do. A. H. 1094.  
Mint Surat.
- (1) Do. R. Y. 39.  
Mint Katak.
- (1) Shah Alam. A. H. 1224.  
Mint Benares.
- (1) Muhammad Shah. A. H. 1155.  
Mint Shahjanabad.
- (1) Furrukshiar. A. H. (11) 31.  
Mint Etawa.

*Persian. Silver.*

- (1) Nadirshah of Persia. A. H. 1157.  
Mint Mashad.

*Gujerat Sultanate. Copper.*

- (1) Ahmedshah.

*Pathan Kings of Delhi. Mixed Metal.*

- (2) Ghyasuddin Taghlak. A. H. 722.  
(1) Do. do. A. H. 723.  
(2) Do. do. A. H. 724.  
(1) Kutubuddin Mubarak. A. H. 719.

*Native States. Silver.*

- (1) Rupee issued by some Native State in the name of some Mougul Emperor.  
(1) Baroda State rupee probably of Sayajirao I.  
(1) Do. half rupee do. do.

*Gadhैया Coins. Silver.*

- (2) Presented by the Thakore of Piploda.

*Shikarpur. Copper.*

- (4) Copper coins with impression of the name of Diwan Saheb Jethmal, Governor of Shikarpur (Sind). Presented by Uddhavdas Radhakrishna & Co.

The Society examined and submitted reports on 976 coins. They were examined for the Society by Mr. Framji J. Thanawala. 112 of these were received from the Collector of Poona, 642 from the Collector of Broach and 222 from the Mamlatdar of Borsad, Surat District. 112 of these were Mougul, 222 of the Gujerath Sultanate, 641 of the Baroda State and 1 of the East India Company. 10 Gold from the Collector of Bijapur, 76 Gold from the Collector of Ratnagiri, 37 Gold from the Collector of Ahmednagar, 3 Gold and 417 Silver from the Collector of East Khandesh, 87 Silver from the Collector of Satara and 275 Silver from the Mamlatdar of Sangamner are under examination and will be disposed of in the usual way. Fifty Copper coins from the Collector of Kaira, 10 from the Bombay Secretariat and 35 from the Mamlatdar of Halol, Panch Mahal District, were found after examination of no historical or numismatic importance and therefore returned.

The selected coins have been distributed and the balance after distribution has been forwarded to the Mint Master for sale as shown below :—

<i>Institution.</i>	<i>Silver.</i>	<i>Copper.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
The Prince of Wales Museum of Western India .. ...	20	4	24
The Indian Museum, Calcutta ...	9	1	10
Madras Museum ... ..	7	1	8
The Provincial Museum, Lucknow	7	1	8
The Lahore Museum... ..	6	1	7
The Nagpore Museum ... ..	6	1	7
The Public Library, Shillong	5	1	6
The Archæological Museum, Poona	5	1	6
The Peshawar Museum ... ..	5	1	6
The Quetta Museum... ..	5	1	6
The Ajmer Museum ... ..	3	1	4
The Rangoon Museum ... ..	3	1	4
Asiatic Society, Bengal ... ..	3	1	4
Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society	3	1	4
The British Museum ... ..	3	1	4
For sale at the Mint... ..	664	204	868
	<u>664</u>	<u>204</u>	<u>868</u>
Total	754	222	976

### JOURNAL.

No. 66, the fourth number of Vol. XXIII is in the press. In addition to an abstract of the proceedings of the Society and the list of presents it will contain the following papers :—

- (1) An Iranian Precursor of Dante and an Irish Precursor of Dante. By Shums-ul-ulama Dr. J. J. Modi, B.A.
- (2) Foreign Influence in the Civilization of Ancient India, 900 B. C.—400 A. D. By Prof. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A.
- (3) Seed Structure and Germination of *Vateria indica*, L. By H. M. Chibber, M.A.
- (4) Rāmāyana and Temples. By A. Govindacharya Swamin, C.E., M.R.A.S., M.R.S.A., M.M.S.

### ACCOUNTS.

A statement detailing the items of receipts and disbursements accompanies the report. The total amount of subscription received during the year including arrears was Rs. 14,481. Subscriptions in

the preceding year amounted to Rs. 14,302-11-0. There was besides a sum of Rs. 1,500 received on account of life subscriptions from three Resident Members, which has been invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The Chairman moved and Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson seconded that the report for 1912 be adopted and the resolution was carried.

The Honorary Secretary read a letter from Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, tendering his resignation of the office of the President of the Society.

Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan then proposed the following resolution :—

“ The members of the Society accept with regret the resignation of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, their President since 1907, and desire to place on record their appreciation of his assiduous and zealous efforts to promote the prosperity of the Society and for the assistance he has always rendered to the Committee of Management in respect of all subjects coming before them. Though the Society is sorry to lose the valuable services of Sir Narayan, it heartily congratulates him on the high position of trust and honour, H. H. the Maharaja Holkar has been pleased to confer upon him and wishes him every success in the new sphere of activity. The Society feels sure that though absent from Bombay Sir Narayan will continue to take interest in the affairs of the Society as he has done since he joined it as a member.”

In support of the resolution Dr. Mackichan said that they all felt that Bombay was the poorer by the departure of Sir Narayan to other spheres of work as he was one of its most eminent and beloved citizens. Many societies were at that time placing on record their appreciation of the services he had rendered to them. His life was so varied in activities that it brought him in contact with societies of various descriptions. But their Society had a special reason to be grateful to him as he had served it with conspicuous zeal and ability and done his best to promote its interests. By his culture and character and intelligence he was pre-eminently fitted to promote the interests and work of the Society. He was a distinguished scholar and brought to bear on his work intelligence which was possessed by only a few. He was admired not only for his scholastic attainments but also for his personal qualities and his strong personality influenced for good the lives of other people with whom he came into

contact. He (Dr. Mackichan) thought that Bombay's loss was Indore's gain and he was sure that by reason of his high position Sir Narayan would make his character and influence felt throughout Central India.

The resolution, having been seconded by Mr. V. P. Vaidya, was carried unanimously.

Mr. James MacDonald then proposed that the Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. Heaton, I.C.S., be elected President in place of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, Kt.

Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

The Honorary Secretary then proposed that the following gentlemen form the Committee of Management and Auditors for 1913 :—

*President,*

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. Heaton, I.C.S.

*Vice-Presidents.*

James MacDonald, Esq.	Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan.
Shums-ul-ulama Dr. J. J. Modi.	Rev. Dr. R. Scott.

*Members.*

Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.	The Hon. Dr. D. A. DeMonte.
J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.	Prof. S. M. Isfahani.
Rao Bahadur G. N. Nadkarni.	Lt.-Col. K.R. Kirtikar, I.M.S.
Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar.	(Retired.)
V. P. Vaidya, Esq.	Prof. A. L. Covernton.
The Hon. Mr. Fazulbhoj C. Ibrahim.	Prof. P. A. Wadia.
H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.	E. L. Sale, Esq., I.C.S.
	Rev. R. M. Gray.

*Honorary Secretary.*

M. M. S. Gubbay, Esq., I.C.S.

*Honorary Auditors.*

Rao Bahadur S. T. Bhandare.  
K. McIver, Esq.

After the Annual Meeting an Ordinary Meeting of the Society was held when Mr. G. K. Nariman delivered his address on "Sanskrit Buddhism."

The audience highly appreciated the discourse and after a few remarks on the subject by Shums-ul-ulama J. J. Modi, Mr. V. P. Vaidya moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Nariman, which was carried with applause.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 18th September 1913.

The Hon. Mr. Justice J. J. Heaton, I.C.S., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Rustomji Nusarvanji Munshi then read his paper "an inquiry as to how a bell in the Portuguese Church at Borivli came to be transferred to a Hindu Temple at Nasik."

Mr. V. R. Karandikar having made a few remarks on the paper, Lt.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Munshi for the interesting paper he had read, which was unanimously passed.

A general meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 24th November 1913.

Rev. Dr. R. Scott, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The proposals for new additions to the list of Newspapers and Magazines were considered and it was resolved that "the British Review" and "the Hindustan Review" be subscribed for from the beginning of 1914. It was also resolved that the "Oriental Review" be discontinued from the same date.

Prof. S. H. Hodivala then read his paper on "Jadi Rana and the Kissah-i-Sanjan."

Shums-ul-ulma Dr. J. J. Modi after some observations proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Prof. Hodivala for the interesting paper he had read and expressed a hope that the Professor would again appear with further papers on such interesting subjects.

The proposal being seconded was unanimously carried.

The Chairman having made a few remarks the proceedings closed.

*List of Presents to the Library.*

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACTS of the Governor General in Council, 1912.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Ajmer-Merwara, for 1911-12.	Government of India.
————— Report, Assam, for 1911-12.	Bengal Government.
————— Report, Baluchistan Agency, for 1911-12.	Government of India.
————— Report, Bengal, for 1911-12.	Government of Bengal.
————— Report, Bihar and Orissa, for 1911-12.	Government of Bihar and Orissa.
————— Report, Bombay Presidency, for 1911-12.	Bombay Government.
————— Report, Burma, for 1911-12.	Government of Burma.
————— Report, Madras, for 1911-12.	Madras Government.
————— Report, N. W. Frontier Provinces, for 1911-12.	Government, N. W. F. Provinces.
————— Report, Punjab and its Dependencies, for 1911-12.	Punjab Government.
————— Report, United Provinces, for 1911-12.	U. P. Government.
AGRICULTURAL Department, Bombay Presidency, Report for 1911-12.	Bombay Government.
————— Research Institute, Pusa, Report.	Government of India.
AGRICULTURE in India, Progress Report for 1911-12.	Government of India.
AMERICAN Historical Association, Report for 1910.	The Association.
————— Museum of Natural History, Memoirs, Vol. XII, Part II.	The Museum.
ANTIQUITY of the Iranian Calendar and of the Era of Zoroaster. By M. N. Kuka.	The Author.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ARABIAN and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Catalogue, Vol. III.	Bengal Government.
ARCHÆOLOGICAL Department, Mysore, Report for 1911-12.	Mysore Government.
————— Department, Southern Circle, Report for 1912-13.	Madras Government.
————— Survey, Burma, Report 1911-12 and 1912-13.	Government of Burma.
————— Survey, Eastern Circle, Report for 1911-12.	Bengal Government.
————— Survey, Frontier Circle, Report for 1912-13.	N. W. F. Government.
————— Survey, Western Circle, Report for 1911-12.	Bombay Government.
ARCHAOLOGISCHE Reise im Euphrat-und Tigris-Gebiet.	Dietrich Reimer.
AREA and Yield of certain Principal Crops in India, 1898-99 to 1912-13.	Government of India.
ASEFUL Lughat : Persian-Urdu Dictionary.	Nawab Aziz Jang Bahadur.
BABYLONIAN Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum.	Trustees, British Museum.
BENE-Israel of Bombay. By R. Reuben.	The Author.
BENGAL Code, Vol. I.	Bengal Government.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL notices of military officers, &c., in Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in the Punjab, N. W. F. Province, Kashmir and Afghanistan.	Punjab Government.
BOARD of Scientific Advice for India, Report for 1911-12.	Government of India.
BOMBAY Chamber of Commerce, Report for 1912.	The Chamber.
———— City Improvement Trust Administration Report for 1912-13.	The Trustees.
———— City Improvement Trust Lectures. By G. O. Dunn, Esq., and J. P. Orr; Esq., I. C. S.	J. P. Orr, Esq.
———— Millowners' Association Report for 1912.	The Association.

- | <i>Title of Books.</i>  | <i>Donors.</i>                      |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| BOMBAY Municipal Government—Rise and Growth. By D. E. Wacha.                          | The Author.                         |
| — Port Trust Administration Report for 1912-13.                                       | The Trustees.                       |
| — Provincial Co-operative Conference, September 1913, Proceedings.                    | Bombay Government.                  |
| BRIEF History of Antarctic Exploration.   | American Museum of Natural History. |
| BRITISH Association for the Advancement of Science, Report for 1912.                  | The Association.                    |
| BULLETIN de la Commission Archeologique de L'Indochine Anne 1910.                     | French Government.                  |
| — International De L'Academie des Sciences, No. 1-6; 1912.                            | Academie des Sciences.              |
| CANTERBURY Tales, Part IX.  | Chaucer Society.                    |
| CAUCASUS and its Significance to Russia. By Major O. R. Von Bischoff, Trans. P. Mosa. | Government of India.                |
| CENSUS of India, 1911, Andaman and Nicobar Islands.                                   |                                     |
| — Assam, 2 Parts.   |                                     |
| — Baluchistan.  |                                     |
| — Bengal, 2 Parts.  |                                     |
| — Bihar and Orissa, Part III.   |                                     |
| — Bombay, 2 Parts.  |                                     |
| — Bombay Presidency, 1872. 3 Parts.   |                                     |
| — Central India Agency.   |                                     |
| — Central Provinces and Berar, 2 Parts.   |                                     |
| — Kashmir, 2 Parts.   |                                     |
| — N. W. Frontier Province.  |                                     |
| — Punjab, 2 Parts.  |                                     |
| — Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara, 2 Parts.   |                                     |
| — Travancore, 2 Parts.  |                                     |
| — United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 2 Parts.   |                                     |
| CENSUS of Mysore, 1911, Brief Summary.  | Mysore Government.                  |
| CHEMICAL Analysers to the Government of Bombay, Reports for 1912.                     | Bombay Government.                  |

- | <i>Title of Books.</i>   | <i>Donors.</i>                    |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| CHEMICAL ANALYSER to the Government of the Punjab, Report for 1912.                              | Punjab Government.                |
| CHENAB, Jhelum and Chunion Colonies, Report for 1911-12.   | Punjab Government.                |
| CHINESE Pottery on the Philippines. By Fay-Coopercole,   | Smithsonian Institute.            |
| CIVIL Hospitals and Dispensaries, Bombay, Report for 1912.                                       | Bombay Government.                |
| CIVIL Justice, Punjab, Administration Report for 1912.   | Punjab Government.                |
| COLD Weather Storms of Northern India, Part I (Memoirs of Indian Meteorological Department).     | Government of India.              |
| CONQUEST of New Spain, Vol. IV (Hakluyt Society).  | Government of India.              |
| CO-OPERATIVE Credit Societies, Bombay and Sind, Report.  | Bombay Government.                |
| ———— Societies, Punjab. Report for 1912-13.  | Punjab Government.                |
| CORRESPONDENCE relating to the Sitapur Murder Case.  | The Secretary of State for India. |
| ———— with the Bank of England and Messrs. Samuel Montague & Co. on Purchase of Silver in 1912.   | Secretary of State for India.     |
| COUNTY Folklore—East Riding of Yorkshire. By Mrs. Gutch.   | Folklore Society.                 |
| CRIMINAL Justice, Punjab, Administrative Report for 1912.  | Punjab Government.                |
| DACCA University Committee Report.   | Bengal Government.                |
| DASARUPA of Dhanamjaya.  | Government of Assam.              |
| DATE of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses. By A. S. Cook.                                       | Connecticut Academy.              |
| DELHI Town Planning Committee's Reports, Parts I, II, III.                                       | Secretary of State for India.     |
| DIE Altindischen Absolutiva besonders in R̥gveda Aitareya-und Satapatha Brahmana. By P. D. Gune. | The Author.                       |
| DINAK-U Mainyo-i-Khord, Pahlavi, Pazend and Sanskirt Texts.                                      | Trustees, Parsi Panchayat Funds.  |
| DINKARD, Part III.   | Trustees, Parsi Panchayat Funds   |

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
DIRECTOR of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, Report for 1907-08 to 1911-12 with Supplement.	Bombay Government.
DISEASES of Rice. By E. J. Butler.	Government of India.
DISPENSARIES and Charitable Institutions of the Punjab, Statements for 1912.	Punjab Government.
————— Jails, Hospitals in the Central India Agency, Report of Working for 1912-13.	Government of India.
DISTRICT Boards, Punjab, Report for 1912-13.	Punjab Government.
DUTCH War, the First, Vol. V.	Navy Records Society.
DYNASTIES of Kali Age. By F. E. Pargiter.	Government of India.
EARLY man in South America. A. Hrdlicka.	Smithsonian Institute.
EAST India and Persia. Fryer. Vol. II (Hakluyt Society.)	Government of India.
EDUCATION and Progress in the Punjab, Report for the Quinquennium ending 1911-12.	Punjab Government.
EDUCATIONAL Report, Madras, for 1912-13.	Madras Government.
ENGINEERS' Architects' and Surveyors' compendium for 1913.	J. E. Sears.
ENGLISH Factories in India, 1642-45.	The Secretary of State for India
———— Moral Plays.	Connecticut Academy
———— Register of Godstow in Oxfordshire, Part III.	Early English Text Society.
EPIGRAPHY in Southern Circle, Report for 1912-13.	Madras Government.
ESTATES under the Court of Wards, Punjab, Report for 1911-12.	Punjab Government.
EXCISE Administration in the Punjab, Report for 1912-13.	Punjab Government.

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
EXCISE Department, Bombay Presidency, Report for 1911-12.	Bombay Government.
FACTORY Act in the Punjab, Report of working for 1912.	Punjab Government.
FACTORY Report, Bombay Presidency, for 1912.	Bombay Government.
FINANCE and Revenue accounts of the Government of India, for 1911-12.	Government of India.
FINANCIAL Statement, Revised, of the Bombay Government, for 1912-13 and 1913-14.	Bombay Government.
FOREST Administration in British India, Annual Return of Statistics for 1911-12.	Government of India.
—— Administration, Punjab, Report for 1911-12.	Punjab Government.
—— Administration, Madras, Report for 1911-12.	Madras Government.
FOREST Circles, Bombay Presidency, Report for 1911-12.	Bombay Government.
GAZETTED Officers in the Civil Department, Bombay Presidency, History of Services up to July 1913.	Bombay Government.
GAZETTEER, District, Bombay Presidency, Vols. B of Ahmednagar, Ahmedabad, Ratnagiri and Savantwadi, Kolaba and Janjira, Dharwar and Savnur, and Kanara.	Bombay Government.
—— District, Burma—Pakokku District, Vol. A; Upper Chindwin District, Vol. A.	Government of Burma.
—— District, Burma, Vols. B of—Thayetmyo, Katha; Rubymines; Shwebo; Kyaukse; Mandalay; Sagoing; Myingyan; Toungoo; Prome; Ahmerst; Mergui; Pakokku; Pegu; Tavoy; Yamethin; Hill District of Arakan; Tharrawaddy; Sandoway; Kyankpyu; Bassein; Myaungmya; Henzada; Ma-Ubin; Pyapon; Mogwe; Myitkyina; Hanthavaddy; Insein; Thaton; Salween; Meiktila; Lower Chindwin; Upper Chindwin; Minbu and Bhamo.	Government of Burma.

- | <i>Title of Books.</i>  | <i>Donors.</i>                |
|---|-------------------------------|
| GAZETTEER, District, Central Provinces—Mandla District, Vol. A. and Vol. B.   | C. P. Government.             |
| ———— District, Eastern Bengal, Vol. B. of Dacca and Dinajpur.   | Bengal Government.            |
| ———— District, Punjab, Vols. B. of—Hissar and Loharu State ; Gujrat ; Jhang ; Karnal ; Kangra ; Jallunder and Kapurthala State ; Lahore ; Simla ; Muzaffargarh ; Rohtak and Dujava State ; Shahpur ; D. G. Khan ; Gurgaon and Patandi State ; Mandi and Suket States ; Gurdaspur ; Sialkot ; Rawalpindi ; Phulkian States ; Bhawalpur State ; Attock ; Ambala and Kalsia State. | Punjab Government.            |
| GLOSSARY of Botanic Terms. By R. L. Heinig.   | Government of India.          |
| GOVERNORS and Judges of Egypt. By El-Kindi.   | Trustees, Gibb Memorial.      |
| GRIHASTHA Dharma. By Shitala Prasad Brahmachari.  | The Author.                   |
| HANDBOOK of Assyriology. F. C. Norton.  | Prof. A. H. Sayce.            |
| HINDI Books in the British Museum Library, Supplementary Catalogue.   | Trustees of the Museum.       |
| ———— and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, Report of the Superintendent for 1911-12.   | Punjab Government.            |
| HISTORY of Khokand. By S. K. Singh  | Government of India.          |
| ———— of the Marathas. Grant Duff.   | Government of India.          |
| ———— of Orissa, 1803-1828, a sketch. By G. Toynbee.   | Government of India.          |
| HOME Accounts of the Government of India with the Explanatory Memorandum.   | Secretary of State for India. |
| HYMNS to the Goddess, Transl. from Sanskrit. By A. & E. Avelon.   | The Authors.                  |
| INCOME and Expenditure, Return of British India, for 1901-02 to 1911-12.  | Secretary of State for India. |

<i>Title of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
INCOME Tax Administration, Punjab, Report for 1912-13.	Punjab Government.
——— Tax Statistical Returns, Bombay Presidency, for 1911-12.	Bombay Government.
INCUMBERED Estates in Sind, Report for 1910-11 and 1911-12.	Bombay Government
INDIA Office List, 1913.	Secretary of State for India.
INDIAN Architecture. By E. B. Havell.	The Author.
——— Finance Commission ; Minutes of Evidence, 2 Vols. Appendix Vol. I. and Index.	Secretary of State for India.
——— Financial Statement and Budget for 1913-14.	Secretary of State for India.
——— Hemp Drugs Commission, Report and Evidence, Vol. I.—VII.	Government of India.
——— Law Cases, Digest, Vols. IV-VI.	Government of India.
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