

GLASENAPP-STIFTUNG

BAND 3, 1

FRANZ KIELHORN
KLEINE SCHRIFTEN
TEIL 1



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG GMBH · WIESBADEN
1969

FRANZ KIELHORN

KLEINE SCHRIFTEN
MIT EINER AUSWAHL DER EPIGRAPHISCHEN AUFSÄTZE

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
WILHELM RAU

TEIL 1



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG GMBH · WIESBADEN
1969

VORWORT

Ein Nachdruck der kleinen Schriften Lorenz Franz Kielhorns (31. 5. 1840 – 19. 3. 1908) bedarf bei Sachkennern schwerlich weitläufiger Begründung. Seine Arbeiten zur altindischen Grammatik, Chronologie und Epigraphik waren bei ihrem Erscheinen bahnbrechend, haben seither an Bedeutung nicht verloren und sind ein bleibendes Beispiel für den Wert methodischer Sorgfalt bei der Bewältigung historisch-philologischer Probleme. Zugänglich aber waren sie lange Zeit nur Wenigen. Die Bände des *Indian Antiquary* (Bombay 1872 sqq.) und der *Epigraphia Indica* (Calcutta 1892 sqq.), in denen sie größtenteils zuerst erschienen, sind wenigstens hierzulande in Privatbibliotheken nirgends und in öffentlichen Bibliotheken nur ganz selten vorhanden. Die Fachgenossen danken es der H. von Glasenapp-Stiftung und dem Franz Steiner Verlag, daß nunmehr jeder diese Aufsätze in einer leicht erreichbaren Ausgabe studieren kann¹.

Es war zunächst geplant, die kleinen Schriften sämtlich ohne Ausnahme vorzulegen, aber dies erwies sich leider als zu kostspielig. So schien mir denn die beste Lösung alles darzubieten, was zur Grammatik, zur Chronologie, zur Handschriftenkunde² und zur allgemeinen Indologie Beziehung hat, unter den Inschrifteneditionen aber, abgesehen von einigen Kostproben³, allein solche auszuwählen, welche für die Literaturgeschichte von Bedeutung sind. Mit anderen Worten, unsere Ausgabe möchte die Bedürfnisse philologisch orientierter Indologen befriedigen, Epigraphikern und Historikern kann sie nicht genügen.

Auf diesen Überlegungen beruht auch die Anlage des Registers, zu-

¹ Sollte die Reproduktion in einzelnen Exemplaren nicht überall völlig befriedigen, so liegt das an dem ungewöhnlichen Format des *Indian Antiquary* und der *Epigraphia Indica*. Diese Vorlagen mußten für unsere Zwecke durchweg verkleinert werden. Verlag und Herausgeber hatten unter mehreren Übeln das geringste zu wählen und rechnen auf gütiges Verständnis der Benutzer.

² Über Kielhorns eigene Handschriftensammlung unterrichtet: Fick, Richard: Kielhorns Handschriften-Sammlung. Verzeichnis der aus Franz Kielhorns Nachlaß 1908 der Göttinger Universitäts-Bibliothek überwiesenen Sanskrit-Handschriften. NGWG, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1930, III. Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft und östliche Kulturkreise, pp. 65–94, und: Kielhorn-Handschriften (Ein Nachtrag), NGWG, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1941, pp. 115–119.

³ Siehe z. B. pp. 299–314; 315–318; 368–379; 380–387; 388–391.

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mal sein Umfang sich von vornherein in festen Grenzen zu halten hatte. Es bietet 1. einen vollständigen Index der von Kielhorn erwähnten indischen Autoren (pp. 1085–90), 2. einen ebensolchen der indischen Literaturwerke (pp. 1090–99), 3. eine Liste indischer Wörter und termini technici, zu denen wichtige Bemerkungen gemacht werden (pp. 1099–1100), und endlich 4. ein Sachverzeichnis (pp. 1100–01). Ein Nachweis besprochener Stellen erübrigt sich, da unser Autor aus literarischen Texten nur selten und dann ganz kurze Sätze verdeutscht: der schwierige Passagen besser als jeder andere hätte übersetzen können, scheint gerade dies absichtlich gemieden zu haben. Dagegen wird eine Konkordanz willkommen sein, die es gestattet, Stellen in früheren Aufsätzen, auf die gelegentlich zurückverwiesen wird, in unserer Ausgabe rasch zu finden (pp. 1102–05).

Wer diese kleinen Schriften durcharbeitet – bloßes Lesen dürfte nur in Ausnahmefällen zum Verständnis genügen –, wird finden, daß für Kielhorn *mutatis mutandis* gilt, was die Anthologia Graeca (IX, 583) von Thucydides sagt:

Ἦ φίλος, εἰ σοφὸς εἶ, λάβε μ' ἐς χέρας· εἰ δέ γε πάμπαν
νῆις ἔφυς Μουσέων, ῥῆψον, ἀ μὴ νοέεις.
εἰμὶ γάρ οὐ πάντεσσι βατὸς, παῦροι δ' ἀγάσαντο
Θουκυδίδην Ὀλόρου, Κεκροπίδην τὸ γένος.

Sein Stil ist karg. Verlässliches gilt ihm mehr als glänzendes Wissen. Er wendet seine ganze Kraft darauf, den Torbogen der Sanskrit-Philologie auf zwei schmucklose aber feste Pfeiler zu setzen: tadellose Kenntnis der Sprache und sichere Chronologie der Literatur. Die Nüchternheit, mit der er das Mögliche und das Nötige erkennt, die Energie, mit der er absichtlich nur die schwierigsten Probleme angeht, die Meisterschaft in der Beherrschung des Stoffs und die Selbstzucht, mit der er sich auf die Feststellung des sicher Erkannten beschränkt, geben seiner Gestalt eine in der Geschichte der Indologie einzigartige Größe. Auf ihn zu schauen tröstet in einer Zeit, wo es mit den Geisteswissenschaften unaufhaltsam bergab geht.

Zuletzt möchte ich herzlich danken: Herrn Karl Jost vom Steiner Verlag für umsichtig-tatkräftige Beschaffung der zu reproduzierenden Originale, meinem Kollegen Claus Vogel für gewissenhafte Hilfe bei den Korrekturen, und meinem Freunde Paul Thieme für ermutigenden Zuspruch ebenso wie für eine abschließende Durchsicht des Ganzen.

Marbach bei Marburg/Lahn
1. August, 1969

Wilhelm Rau

Bibliographie der Publikationen

Franz Kielhorns

von Jacob Wackernagel¹

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c) Listen von Inschriften

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ERRATA

Der Druck des Textteils des vorliegenden Werkes erfolgte photomechanisch. Um dem Benutzer die Möglichkeit zu geben, nach der Originalseite zu zitieren, wurden die Kopfzeilen (Kolumnentitel) jeweils beibehalten. Auf folgenden Seiten (nach der Zählung am Fuß der Seite) beziehen sich die Kolumnentitel nicht auf Beiträge Kielhorns: 156, 179, 188, 214, 246, 433, 455, 468, 470, 496, 512, 555, 695, 726, 763, 769, 785, 803, 852, 877, 894, 901, 915, 990, 1013, 1016, 1023 und 1074. Auf Seite 395 ist die letzte Zeile des oberen Beitrags zu streichen; desgleichen die Fußnoten auf Seite 625. Der Kolumnentitel der Seite 617 lautet: THE SAPTARSHI ERA. Die nach Kielhorns Tode in Epigr. Ind. 9 (1907/8), pp. 207 sqq. und pp. 222 sqq. erschienenen Aufsätze, welche in J. Wackernagels Bibliographie fehlen, wurden uns leider zu spät bekannt, als dass sie noch hätten in diese Sammlung aufgenommen werden können.

KÂTYÂYANA AND PATANJALI:

THEIR RELATION TO EACH OTHER AND TO PÂNINI.

I.

AMONG all the European scholars who have been engaged in the study of the works of the Sanskrit grammarians, no one has more patiently, minutely, and thoroughly examined the Mahâbhâshya, than the late Prof. Goldstücker. His essay on Pâṇini betrays a familiarity with the work of Patanjali to which no other scholar has as yet attained, and which few are likely to acquire in the future. It is on this account that the views which have been expressed by Prof. Goldstücker regarding the Mahâbhâshya, are deserving of the highest consideration; but the very weight which justly attaches to that scholar's opinions, at the same time imposes on those who may devote themselves to grammatical studies after him, the duty of independently examining and testing their value, and of publicly discussing such doubts and objections as may occur to them in the course of their own reading. And the adoption of such a course appears to be the more called for, when we find that not only have some of the views held by Prof. Goldstücker been apparently widely adopted without such examination, but that views have even been ascribed to him which are at variance with those to which he has actually given expression in his 'Pâṇini.'

In an article on the Mahâbhâshya published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V., page 241, I ventured to express some doubts as to whether the nature and the object of the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana and of the Mahâbhâshya of Patanjali had been correctly described by other scholars. I would gladly have deferred discussion on this point to the time when I might

have been enabled to subject the whole of the Mahâbhâshya to a thorough and searching examination; but having been led publicly to question the accuracy of others, I feel bound to lay before the reader such objections to the current views regarding the works of Kâtyâyana and Patanjali, as have led me to doubt their correctness.

On pp. 119—121 of his essay on Pâṇini, Prof. Goldstücker has described the nature and the object of the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana and of the work of Patanjali in the following paragraphs:—

“The characteristic feature of a Vârttika,” says Nâgojibhaṭṭa, “is criticism in regard to that which is omitted or imperfectly expressed in a Sûtra.” (Note: Nâgojibhaṭṭa on Kaiyaṭa वाचिकमिति । छत्रेऽनुक्तदुरुक्तविन्नाकरत्वं वाचिकत्वम्). A Vârttika of Kâtyâyana is therefore not a commentary which explains, but an animadversion which completes. In proposing to himself to write Vârttikas on Pâṇini, Kâtyâyana did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of Pâṇini, but to find fault with them; and whoever has gone through his work must avow that he has done so to his heart's content' 'Kâtyâyana, in short, does not leave the impression of an admirer or friend of Pâṇini, but that of an antagonist,—often, too, of an unfair antagonist'

'The position of Patanjali is analogous, though not identical. Far from being a commentator on Pâṇini, he also could more properly be called an author of Vârttikas. But as he has two predecessors to deal with instead of one—and two predecessors, too, one of whom is an adversary of the other,—his Great Commentary undergoes, of necessity, the influence of the double task he has to perform, now of criticising Pâṇini and then of animadverting upon Kâtyâyana. Therefore, in order to show where he coincided with, or where he differed from, the criticisms of Kâtyâyana, he had to write a comment on the Vârttikas of this latter grammarian; and thus the Mahâbhâshya became not only a commentary in the ordinary sense of

the word, but also, as the case might be, a critical discussion, on the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana; while its *Ishtis*, on the other hand, are original Vârttikas on such Sûtras of Pâṇini as called for his own remarks.'

'I have already mentioned that Patanjali often refutes the strictures of Kâtyâyana and takes the part of Pâṇini'

'His object being, like that of Kâtyâyana, merely a critical one, Patanjali comments upon the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana, because such a comment of his implies, of necessity, criticisms, either on Pâṇini or on Kâtyâyana; and, in consequence, no Vârttika could be left unnoticed by him. Again, independently of Kâtyâyana, he writes his own Vârttikas to Sûtras not sufficiently or not at all animadverted upon by the latter grammarian, because they, too, are criticisms, viz. on Pâṇini.'

Prof. Weber, in his article on the Mahâbhâshya (*Indische Studien*, vol. XIII.) has adopted Prof. Goldstücker's view regarding the nature of Kâtyâyana's Vârttikas, but to the same scholar's remarks on the work of Patanjali he appears to have given a meaning, against which Prof. Goldstücker would seem to have distinctly and repeatedly guarded himself. On page 297 Prof. Weber writes:—

'Through Goldstücker . . . we then learnt that Patanjali behaves much less like a commentator on Pâṇini than like a defender of the latter against the unjust attacks of Kâtyâyana, the author of the Vârttikas. And this view is indeed fully borne out by appearances.'

On page 298 Prof. Weber speaks of Kâtyâyana as attacking or combating the Sûtras of Pâṇini, and of Patanjali as refuting the Vârttikas of Kâtyâyana.

On page 321 Prof. Weber says:—

'The red thread which runs through the work (*i.e.* the Mahâbhâshya) is—and on this Goldstücker was the first to lay particular stress—the polemic against the Vârttikakâra; and on the same page he speaks of the Sûtras as attacked by Kâtyâyana.

On page 399 Prof. Weber writes: 'He (*i.e.* Kātyāyana) it is to combat whom is the special object of the Bhāshya;' and he tells us that the Bhāshya contains the Vārttikas 'together with their refutation' by Patanjali.

Finally, on page 502 Prof. Weber asks: 'What business have Kātyāyana's Vārttikas, whose object it surely is to attack Pāṇini's Sūtras, in the introduction of the Bhāshya?'

While, then, according to Prof. Goldstücker, Patanjali commented on the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana in order to show *where he coincided with, or where he differed from*, the criticisms of that grammarian, frequently attaching, at the same time, to quote another passage from the essay on Pāṇini, 'his own critical remarks to the emendations of Kātyāyana, *often in support of the views of the latter*,' Prof. Weber maintains, apparently on the authority of Prof. Goldstücker, that the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana have been *refuted* by Patanjali. And Prof. Weber is not the only scholar who has given this meaning to Prof. Goldstücker's words. For Dr. Burnell in his essay *On the Aindra School*, likewise describes the relation to each other of Kātyāyana and Patanjali in the following terms (page 91) 'Kātyāyana criticised Pāṇini, and Patanjali replied in justification of the latter,' (and on page 92) 'the Mahābhāshya is . . . a skilful compilation of the views of Pāṇini's critics and of their refutation by Patanjali.'

Setting aside for the present the work of Patanjali, it would appear from the above quotations, that Prof. Goldstücker and Prof. Weber are agreed in regarding Kātyāyana as an antagonist or, to speak more accurately, as an unfair antagonist of Pāṇini, and that both these scholars are of opinion that Kātyāyana had no other motive in composing the Vārttikas than to attack, or to find fault with, the Sūtras of his predecessor. If we try to examine how far this view of the literary activity of Kātyāyana may be correct, we meet at the very outset of our enquiry with the difficulty that neither Prof. Goldstücker nor Prof. Weber has furnished us with a test by which to recognise the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, that neither scholar has shown to us a way of reconstructing out of the Mahābhāshya, as we

find it in our MSS, the work of Kātyāyana as it must have existed before it was by Patanjali embodied in his own work. And not only have both withheld from us their guidance in deciding this most important and fundamental question, but they have incidentally ventured on statements the adoption of which, in my opinion, would be sure to mislead, and have in individual cases expressed opinions opposed to those which are unanimously held by the native grammarians.

It is true Prof. Goldstücker commences his description of the nature and the object of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas with Nāgojībhaṭṭa's definition of the term वार्तिक, but it must be apparent that that definition, even supposing it to have been rightly understood, can be of but little value in determining what are *Kātyāyana's* Vārttikas, for we find it stated by Prof. Goldstücker that the Mahābhāshya contains not only Kātyāyana's Vārttikas, but also Vārttikas of Patanjali. Moreover, no reader of the essay on Pāṇini can fail to perceive that practically Prof. Goldstücker has little heeded Nāgojībhaṭṭa's definition, and that he frequently, and I may add, correctly, has prefixed the words *Vārttika* or *Kātyāyana* to remarks which justify and teach the proper application of, without in any way taking exception to, the Sūtras to which they refer. Turning to incidental notices, we find that in a note on page 29 Prof. Goldstücker speaks of the usual addition of Kātyāyana इति वक्तव्यम्; in reality this phrase appears to be entirely foreign to the style of Kātyāyana, and occurs either in the original remarks of Patanjali, or in the explanations given by this scholar of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas. Nor is another statement (in a note on page 23) that 'Kātyāyana *never gives instances*' less liable to objection, for there *are* Vārttikas, on P. I, 1, 39 and other rules, which lay down general rules and at the same time *give instances*.

Prof. Weber has adopted Prof. Goldstücker's rendering of the definition of the term Vārttika, and on the strength of that definition so understood, he apparently is inclined to deny, that Vārttikas occur in the first Āhnika of the Mahābhāshya, *viç.*, because no Sūtras of Pāṇini's are treated of in

that Âhnika, and because therefore there is as yet no occasion for finding fault with Pāṇini. Though I have found reason to admire their thorough knowledge of the Mahābhāshya, I am by no means inclined to assert that men like Kaiyaṭa, Bhaṭṭojidīkshita, and Nāgojibhaṭṭa are free from error. But when I see that those scholars unanimously call certain statements which we meet with in the first Âhnika, by the name Vārttika, while at the same time they adhere to the current definition of that term as recorded by Nāgojibhaṭṭa, I in the first instance feel strongly moved to question whether the force of that definition has been rightly apprehended by Prof. Goldstücker. And when Prof. Weber *justifies* his doubts as to whether the words **यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु** in the first Âhnika are part of a Vārttika, by stating that the same words in other passages in which they occur (*viz.* on pages 28b, 45a, 136b of the first volume of the Lith. Ben. Edn., and on P. VI, 1, 84) are *certainly not* Vārttikas, I can only reply that the sentence ending with **यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु** on page 28b is called a Vārttika by Kaiyaṭa, and that I consider those words as part of Vārttikas in the remaining passages also. On page 399 (*Ind. Stud. XIII.*) Prof. Weber states that *on the whole* the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana are easily detected in the Mahābhāshya, because *as a rule* they are followed by a short paraphrase which ends with the word **वक्तव्य** or **कर्तव्य**. This would seem to be an improvement on Prof. Goldstücker's remark concerning **इति वक्तव्यम्**, but it contains no test by which to recognize all the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana or even most of them; nor did Prof. Weber *intend* to lay down a general rule. Moreover, Prof. Weber, too, has regarded as Vārttikas statements of Patanjali which end with **इति वक्तव्यम्**.

So far as we know at present, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana do not exist separately in MS. MSS. which profess to give the Śrīmadbhagavat-Kātyāyanavirachita-vārttikapāṭha are indeed to be met with in different and widely distant parts of India,* but a very superficial examination is sufficient to prove that the Vārttikapāṭha which they contain, has been compiled and, I have no

* A so-called *Vārtikapāṭhaḥ* has also been printed at Benares.

hesitation in saying, very carelessly compiled from the Mahābhāshya at a comparatively modern date. Nor do the commentators on the Mahābhāshya, or other scholars who have written on Pāṇini, render us any very great assistance in reconstructing the work of Kātyāyana, for they only occasionally contrast the views of Patanjali with those of the Vārttikakāra, and they tell us only incidentally that a particular statement is a Vārttika or belongs to Kātyāyana. And Patanjali himself, the author of the Great Commentary, is even more reticent.

In attempting then to determine which are the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, we are mainly left to our own resources. Given the Mahābhāshya, which in accordance with the tradition handed down to us and to judge from incidental remarks that occur in the work itself, contains both Vārttikas of Kātyāyana and original matter contributed by Patanjali, we must attempt to find out whether there is anything in the method and the style of the work that would enable us to separate the former from the latter. In making an attempt of this nature, we may avail ourselves of the assistance rendered to us by the later native grammarians—not indeed on account of any traditional knowledge, which they may or may not have been possessed of, but because they evince a familiarity with the work of Patanjali in which they will never again be equalled,—and if the result to which our enquiry may lead should happen to coincide with their views, such accordance will tend to assure us that our attempt has not been entirely vain or fruitless. In this spirit and from this point of view I have examined that portion of the Mahābhāshya which treats of the rules in the first Pāda of Pāṇini's grammar; the results which I have arrived at in the course of that examination I have tested by applying them in the later portions, and having found them confirmed, I now submit them to the judgment of others.

II.

The first thing sure to arrest the attention of the student of the Mahābhāshya, is in my opinion this, that the method of discussion followed in it, is distinctly two-fold. If we examine

that part of the work which treats of the rules in the first Pâda of the *Ashtâdhyâyi*, we find that in the case of some rules the discussion is begun, continued, and ended in a series of short epigrammatic sentences. The paraphrases which invariably accompany these sentences, and the explanatory remarks which are sometimes added, form no integral part of the discussion. They facilitate the understanding of the sentences to which they are attached; but an intelligent reader might supply them for himself. They contribute nothing to the discussion of which at first sight they seem to form a part.

On the other hand, there are other rules in the discussion of which such short sentences accompanied by paraphrase and explanatory remarks, are completely wanting. Wherever this is the case, every part of the discussion is essentially necessary, and nothing could have been omitted without either breaking the continuity of the discussion, or depriving the student of information which no mere exegetical ability of his could have supplied him with.

As instances of rules where the former method has been exclusively adopted I cite P. I, 1, 10, 48, 54, 60, and 71; as instances for the latter P. I, 1, 14, 25, 28, 30, 32, 35, 37, 55, 74 and 75.

On P. I, 1, 10 all essential points of the discussion are contained in the following sentences:—

- (a) अञ्जलोः प्रतिषेधे शकारप्रतिषेधोऽञ्जलत्वात् ।
- (b) तत्र सवर्णलोपे दोषः ।
- (c) सिद्धमनच्त्वात् ।
- (d) वाक्यापरिसमाप्तेर्वा ॥

On P. I, 1, 48 in the following:—

- (a) एच इवचनं सवर्णाकारनिवृत्त्यर्थम् ।
- (b) दीर्घाप्रसङ्गस्तु निवर्तकत्वात् ।
- (c) सिद्धमेडः सस्थानत्वात् ।
- (d) ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात् ॥

On P. I, 1, 54 in the following single sentence:—

अलोऽन्त्यस्यादेः परस्यानेकालिशत्सर्वस्येत्यपवादविप्रतिषेधात्स-
र्वादेशः ॥

On P. I, 1, 60 in the following sentences:—

- (a) लोपसंज्ञायामर्थसतोरुक्तम् ।
- (b) सर्वप्रसङ्गस्तु सर्वस्यान्यत्रादृष्टत्वात् ।
- (c) तत्र प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधः ।
- (d) सिद्धं तु प्रसक्तादर्शनस्य लोपसंज्ञत्वात् ॥

On P. I, 1, 71 in the following:—

- (a) आदिरन्त्येन सहेतेत्यसंप्रत्ययः संज्ञिनोऽनिर्देशात् ।
- (b) सिद्धं त्वादिरिता सह तन्मध्यस्येति वचनात् ।
- (c) संबन्धिशाब्दैर्वा तुल्यम् ॥

I select the discussion on this last rule as an instance to show that all that has been stated regarding that rule of Pâ-
ṇini's in the *Mahâbhâshya* is really contained in the three sen-
tences which I have pointed out, and that what we find besides
is paraphrase and explanatory remark. The whole *Bhâshya*
on P. I, 1, 71 आदिरन्त्येन सहेता runs thus:—

आदिरन्त्येन सहेतेत्यसंप्रत्ययः संज्ञिनोऽनिर्देशात् ॥

आदिरन्त्येन सहेतेत्यसंप्रत्ययः । किं कारणम् । संज्ञिनोऽनिर्देशा-
त् । न हि संज्ञिनो निर्दिश्यन्ते ॥

सिद्धं त्वादिरिता सह तन्मध्यस्येति वचनात् ॥

सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । आदिरन्त्येन सहेता गृह्यमाणः स्वस्य च
रूपस्य ग्राहकस्तन्मध्यानां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

संबन्धिशाब्दैर्वा तुल्यम् ॥

संबन्धिशाब्दैर्वा तुल्यमेतत् । तद्यथा । मातरि वार्तितव्यं पितरि
शुभ्रूषितव्यमिति । न चोच्यते स्वस्यां मातरि स्वस्मिन्पितरीति
संबन्धाच्च गम्यते या यस्य माता यश्च यस्य पितेति । एवमिहाप्या-

दिरन्त्य इति संबन्धिशब्दावेतौ । तत्र संबन्धादेतद्गन्तव्यं यं प्रति य आदिरन्त्य इति च भवति तस्य ग्रहणं भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्येति ॥

To show how this method differs from that which has been followed on P. I, 1, 14 and the other rules enumerated above, in the discussion on which we meet with no sentences that are accompanied by paraphrase and explanatory remarks, I cite for the sake of brevity the Bhâshya on P. I, 1, 25 and 30.

P. I, 1, 25:—इति च ॥ इदं इतिग्रहणं द्विः क्रियते संख्या-
संज्ञायां षट्संज्ञायां च । एकं शक्यमकर्तुम् । कथम् । यदि ताव-
त्संख्यासंज्ञायां क्रियते षट्संज्ञायां न करिष्यते । कथम् । षण्णान्ता
षडित्यत्र इतीत्यनुवर्तिष्यते । अथ षट्संज्ञायां क्रियते संख्यासंज्ञायां
न करिष्यते । इति चेत्यत्र संख्यासंज्ञाप्यनुवर्तिष्यते ॥

P. I, 1, 30:—तृतीयासमासे ॥ समास इति वर्तमाने पुनः समास-
ग्रहणं किमर्थम् । अयं तृतीयासमासोऽस्त्येव प्राथमकल्पिको यस्मि-
न्नैकपद्यमैकस्वर्यमेकविभक्तित्वं चेति । अस्ति च तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छब्दं
तृतीयासमासार्थानि पदानि तृतीयासमास इति । तद्यत्तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छ-
ब्दं तस्येदं ग्रहणम् ॥ अथवा समास इति वर्तमाने पुनः समास-
ग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनं योगाङ्गं यथा विज्ञायेत । सति च योगाङ्गे यो-
गविभागः करिष्यते । तृतीया । तृतीयासमासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनाम-
संज्ञानि न भवन्ति । मासपूर्वाय देहि संवत्सरपूर्वाय देहि । ततो
ऽसमासे । असमासे च तृतीयायाः सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न
भवन्ति । मासेन पूर्वाय देहि संवत्सरेण पूर्वाय देहीति ॥

If we now ask whether there is anything in the nature or in the object of the remarks on the two sets of rules cited above which could have induced the author of the Mahâbhâshya to adopt two distinctly different methods of discussion, we are bound to answer in the negative. For the object of the discussions on P. I, 1, 10, &c., is no other than that of the discussions on P. I, 1, 14, &c., either to defend Pâṇini against objec-

tions which might be raised or have actually been raised, or to show the real meaning and the scope of his rules, or to prove that a particular rule need not have been given, &c. Nor is it the extent of the remarks appended to P. I, 1, 10, &c. that could have induced Patanjali to sum up, as it were, the discussion in a few short sentences, which, it might be argued, are more easily remembered by the student than long discussions void of such summary sentences; for the remarks attached to some of the rules contained in the second set are even more lengthy than those attached to some rules of the first set.

Now I am well aware of the fact that there have lived authors in India who have furnished us with commentaries on works composed by themselves, and if Patanjali had carried on his discussions on Pâṇini's rules throughout his whole work in the manner which he follows, *e.g.* on P. I, 1, 10, I would admit the possibility of his belonging to that class of authors. But it appears to me extremely unlikely that the same scholar in the composition of one and the same work should, for no discernible reason whatsoever, have followed two methods of discussion so different as those which Patanjali would seem to have adopted in the Mahâbhâshya, and the only way in which I am able to account for such an apparent inconsistency is by assuming that in the discussions on P. I, 1, 10, &c., Patanjali has simply paraphrased and commented on the words of another scholar, while in those on P. I, 1, 14, &c. he has given us his own original remarks on Pâṇini's Sûtras. In other words, I would venture to assume that those short sentences on P. I, 1, 10, &c., by means of which the discussion is carried on from beginning to end, and which we find paraphrased and explained in the Mahâbhâshya, are not of Patanjali's own authorship, but form part of the work of another scholar on which, in these instances, the author of the Mahâbhâshya is merely commenting. And this assumption is rendered the more probable when we find that the author of the Mahâbhâshya in the discussion on one of the rules which I have instanced above, on P. I, 1, 10, does not merely give us his own interpretation of the sentences अङ्गलोः प्रतिषेधे शकारप्रतिषेधे

उज्ज्वलम् &c., but also quotes, after having done so, the interpretation by another (अपर) of the very same sentences, which interpretation, in some respects, materially differs from his own. Such a proceeding of his would, in my opinion, be altogether inexplicable, were the sentences अज्जलोः प्रतिषेधे, &c. of Patanjali's own authorship. Of whose authorship they are, I will not at present stop to enquire. I content myself with stating that the sentences (a) and (b) on P. I, 1, 10 are called *Vārttika* by Bhaṭṭojidikshita in his *Śabdakaustubha*, that (c) and (d) on the same rule are ascribed to the *Vārttikakāra* by the same scholar, and that the sentence (b) on P. I, 1, 71 is called a *Vārttika* by Nāgojibhaṭṭa in his *Pratyākhyanasamgraha*. On the other hand, the most diligent search has not enabled me to discover in the works of the commentators an indication that they have regarded any part of the discussions on P. I, 1, 14 &c. as *Vārttika*, or have ascribed any portion of them to the *Vārttikakāra*. On the contrary, Kaiyaṭa* distinctly ascribes the statement which we find on P. I,

* That Kaiyaṭa is older than the *Kāśikā-vṛitti* appears to be by no means so certain as has been generally assumed to be the case. For in his gloss on P. I, 1, 75 and elsewhere Kaiyaṭa would seem distinctly to quote from the *Kāśikā*. Nor is it at all certain that the name of the author of the *Kāśikā-vṛitti* was *Vāmana Jayāditya*. On the contrary, it clearly follows from a remark of Bhaṭṭojidikshita's in his *Śabdakaustubha*, that the *Kāśikā-vṛitti* is the work of the two scholars *Jayāditya* and *Vāmana*; that it was begun by the former and concluded by the latter. On page 122a of my MS. of the *Śabdakaustubha* Bhaṭṭojidikshita writes as follows:—

तथा च ग्लजिरथेति सूत्रे (III, 2, 139) श्लोकवार्तिकम् । वस्नोर्गत्वान्न . . . कगोरितोरिति ॥ जयादित्योऽप्येवम् ॥ वामनस्तु ग्लजिस्थश्चेत्यत्र स्था आ इत्याकारं प्रसिध्य वस्तुप्रत्ययान्तस्थ तिष्ठतेराकार एव न त्वीत्वमिति व्याख्यानादेव रथान्नोः सिद्धौ न कापि गकारप्रश्लेषः कार्ये इत्याह ॥

Jayāditya's view is that given in the *Kāśikā* on III, 2, 139; and that view is distinctly refuted, as stated by Bhaṭṭojidikshita, by *Vāmana* in the same *Kāśikā* on P. VII, 2, 11 (केचिदत्र द्विककारकनिर्देशेन गकारप्रश्लेषे वर्णयन्तीत्यादि). It is impossible that the author of the comment on VII, 2, 11 should be the same person who composed the comment on III, 2, 139. It will, I think, be possible to show approximately where Jayāditya's portion of the work ends and where *Vāmana*'s begins.

1, 75, to the *Bhāshyakāra*, notwithstanding the fact that it ends with the phrase इति वक्तव्यम्.

The number of rules in the discussion of which either of the two methods described in the above has been exclusively adopted, appears small and insignificant, when it is compared with the number of those rules in discussing which the author of the *Mahābhāshya* would seem to have employed both methods, one by the side of the other. In the case of some rules the discussion opens with one or more paraphrased sentences, while it concludes with remarks in which such sentences are wanting; or on the other hand it opens with remarks that contain no such sentences, and it is carried on and concluded by means of paraphrased sentences. Again, there are numerous rules where both methods are continually changing places with each other.

On P. I, 1, 45 the discussion opens with the paraphrased sentences :

(a) संप्रसारणसंज्ञायां वाक्यस्य संज्ञा चेद्दणविधिः ।

(b) वर्णसंज्ञा चेन्निर्वृत्तिः ।

(c) विभक्तिविशेषनिर्देशस्तु ज्ञापक उभयसंज्ञात्वस्य ।

and it concludes with remarks that contain no paraphrased sentences, but the object of which is identical with that of the paraphrased sentence (c), viz. to defend Pāṇini's rule from the objections raised to it in (a) and (b).

On P. I, 1, 6 the discussion opens with the paraphrased sentences :

(a) दीधीवेव्योश्छन्दोविषयत्वाद्दृष्टानुविधित्वाच्च छन्दसोऽदीधेददीधयुरिति गुणदर्शनादप्रतिषेधः ।

(b) दीध्यदिति च इयन्व्यत्ययेन ।

which are intended to show that *दीधीवेवी* might have been omitted from Pāṇini's rule; and it concludes with remarks in which no paraphrased sentence occurs, but the purport of which is similar to that of (a) and (b), viz. to prove that *इद्* might have been omitted likewise.

On P. I, 1, 11 the discussion opens with lengthy remarks which consider the propriety of the Anubandha न् of the terms ईन् &c. of Pāṇini's rule, remarks in which we do not meet with any paraphrased sentences; and it is continued by means of the following paraphrased sentences which consider the several possible interpretations of Pāṇini's rule :—

- (a) ईदादयो यद्विवचनं प्रगृह्या इति चेदन्त्यस्य विधिः ।
- (b) ईदाद्यन्तं यद्विवचनमिति चेदेकस्य विधिः ।
- (c) न वाद्यन्तवत्त्वात् ।
- (d) ईदाद्यन्तं यद्विवचनान्तमिति चेत्कुकि प्रतिषेधः ।
- (e) सप्तम्यामर्थग्रहणं ज्ञापकं प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधस्य ।

On P. I, 1, 49 the discussion opens with remarks on the term स्थानेयोगा; it is carried on by means of the paraphrased sentences :

- (a) षष्ठीस्थानेयोगवचनं नियमार्थम् ।
- (b) अवयवषष्ठ्यादस्वन्त्रिसङ्गः शासो गोह इति ।
- (c) अवयवषष्ठ्यादीनां चाप्राप्तिर्योगस्यासंदिग्धत्वात् ।

the purport of which is to show the object of Pāṇini's rule, to state an objection to which it is liable, and to refute that objection; (c) is followed by remarks without paraphrase, identical in purpose with (c); those remarks are in turn followed by the paraphrased sentence :

- (d) विशिष्टा वा षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ।

which suggests a different way of obviating the objection raised in (b); and after that the discussion is wound up with remarks in which no paraphrased sentences occur, and in which Pāṇini's rule, taken in the sense which is ordinarily ascribed to it, is stated to be superfluous.

And here again we have to observe that there is nothing whatsoever in the nature of the questions discussed, which could seem to have induced the author of the Mahābhāshya to

follow one method in preference to the other, for the remarks which contain no paraphrased sentences are of essentially and identically the same nature as other remarks conveyed to us by means of such sentences, the object of both being either to justify or to find fault with the rules laid down by Pāṇini. We at any rate fail to perceive, why Patanjali on P. I, 1, 11 should have discussed the possible interpretations of that rule (ईदादयो यद्विवचनम् or ईदाद्यन्तं यद्विवचनम् &c.) in paraphrased and commented sentences, and should not have adopted the same method on P. I, 1, 39 (कृद्यो मान्तः or कृद्यन्तं यन्मान्तम्); or why he should have discussed the propriety of the Anubandha न् of ईन् &c., on P. I, 1, 11 without employing paraphrased sentences, and should, when considering the same question with regard to the Anubandha न् in P. I, 1, 1, have opened the discussion with a paraphrased sentence.

The conclusion to which we are led by these considerations would again seem to be this, that, whenever the author of the Mahābhāshya in the discussion of Pāṇini's rules makes use of sentences to which he attaches a paraphrase and comment, he, while doing so, is quoting and commenting on the words of another scholar, and that those portions of the discussion which do not consist of paraphrased sentences contain original remarks of Patanjali's, remarks, I may add, which adduce additional evidence in support of, or corrections of, the statements of that other scholar, or discuss questions which had not been raised by him. And there is, I believe, even in that small portion of the Mahābhāshya on which mainly I have based this enquiry, evidence sufficient to prove that the paraphrased and commented sentences are not of Patanjali's authorship. I have mentioned already that in one instance at least (on P. I, 1, 10) the author of the Mahābhāshya does not merely give us his own interpretation of the sentences by means of which he carries on the discussion, but also quotes the different interpretation of the very same sentences by another scholar. I may now add a similar instance which occurs in the discussion on P. I, 1, 69. After having paraphrased and commented on the three sentences

सवर्णेऽण्यहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणात् ।

अनन्यत्वाच्च ।

अनेकान्तो ह्यनन्यत्वकरः ।

Patanjali goes on to say : अपर आह ।

सवर्णेऽण्यहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वम् ।

सवर्णेऽण्यहणमपरिभाष्यम् । आकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वं भविष्यति ।

अनन्याकृतिरकारस्याकारस्य च ।

अनेकान्तो ह्यनन्यत्वकरः ।

Here then Patanjali informs us that another scholar has not only given a different interpretation, but has also adopted a different reading, of those very sentences which Patanjali himself has just been making use of. Could we wish for stronger proof that at any rate *these* sentences cannot be Patanjali's own ?

Again, after having on P. I, 1, 3 paraphrased the sentence सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गश्चानिगन्तस्य in the words सर्वादेशश्च गुणोऽनिगन्तस्य प्राप्नोति, Patanjali shows that so understood the sentence would be open to objection, and he therefore proposes another paraphrase and another explanation of the same sentence, which he introduces thus: एवं तर्हि नायं दोषसमुच्चयः । पूर्वापेक्षोऽयं दोषः । ह्यर्थे चायं चः (*i.e.* the च of सर्वादेशश्च) पठितः.—In other words, Patanjali tells us that it would be possible to understand the particle च of the sentence सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गश्चानिगन्तस्य either in its ordinary sense or in the sense of हि, and in doing so, and by the manner in which he introduces his second explanation, he, in my opinion, clearly shows that he is commenting on the words of *another*. And the same conclusion we have to draw from another remark of his, on P. I, 1, 63, in which he informs us that the particle च of the paraphrased sentence क्रमेदीधत्वं च does not stand in its proper place, but should have been placed, or should at any rate be understood to stand, immediately after क्रमे. (भवेद्योऽयं चः पठितः । क्रमेद्य दीधत्वं ।).

I will not try the patience of the reader by adducing many more instances which would all point to the same conclusion, but I cannot refrain from drawing attention to at least two others, because they somewhat differ from those which I have given above. On P. I, 1, 38 the discussion is carried on by means of the following paraphrased sentences :

(a) असर्वविभक्तावविभक्तिनिमित्तस्योपसंख्यानम् ।

(b) सर्वविभक्तिर्द्यविशेषात् ।

(c) त्रलादीनां चोपसंख्यानम् ।

(d) अविभक्तावितरेतराश्रयत्वादप्रसिद्धिः ।

(e) अलिङ्गमसंख्यमिति वा ।

(f) सिद्धं तु पाठात् ॥

(a—c) show that Pāṇini's rule has to be corrected; (d) and (e) show that two alterations of the rule which might possibly be suggested, can, on account of the objection to which they would be open, and which has been stated in (d), not be adopted; (f) on the other hand states that the corrections mentioned in (a—c) need not be made, and that the alterations suggested in (d) and (e) need not be adopted, as soon as all the Taddhita-affixes intended in Pāṇini's rule are put down in the Gaṇa svarādi. The statement made in (f) is opposed to the suggestion made in (e), and the particle तु in (f) is in its proper place and has its usual force. But if we turn to the paraphrase of (f), we find that there तु 'but' has been rendered by वा 'or' (पाठाद्वा सिद्धमेतत्). How are we to account for this rendering? By the simple fact that Patanjali, after commenting on (e), has shown that the objection to which the alteration suggested in (e) was by the author of the paraphrased sentences considered to be liable, is in reality no objection at all. Patanjali adopts the definition अलिङ्गमसंख्यमव्ययम् which was objected to in (e) and for *him* therefore the course indicated in (f) is only an *alternative* course. His rendering of तु by वा is inexplicable as long as we consider the paraphrased sentences (e) and (f) as his own; it admits of a reasonable explanation when we

regard them as statements made by another. And that this is the view held by the commentators, follows from Kaiyaṭa's gloss : सिद्धं त्विति । वार्तिककारस्येतेतराश्रयस्यैः स्थित एवेति तुशब्दो विशेषप्रदर्शनार्थः । भाष्यकारेण त्वितरेतराश्रयस्यैः परिहृत इति वाशब्दार्थस्तुशब्दो व्याख्यातः ।

On P. I, 1, 61 we find the following paraphrased sentences:

- (a) लुमति प्रत्ययग्रहणमप्रत्ययसंज्ञाप्रतिषेधार्थम् ।
- (b) प्रयोजनं तद्धितलुकि कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्लुकि च गोप्रकृतिनिवृत्त्यर्थम् ।
- (c) उक्तं वा ।
- (d) षष्ठीनिर्देशार्थं तु ।
- (e) अनिर्देशे हि षष्ठ्यर्थप्रसिद्धिः ।
- (f) सर्वादेशार्थं वा वचनप्रामाण्यात् ।

Object of the whole discussion is to prove the necessity of the word प्रत्ययस्य in Pāṇini's rule ; one reason for the employment of प्रत्ययस्य is given in (d-e), and another *alternative* reason in (f). Such being the case, the particle वा in (f) would seem to stand in its proper place and to convey the meaning which it usually conveys. But if we again turn to Patanjali's paraphrase of (f), we find that he has rendered वा by तर्हि, a word which he elsewhere makes use of to paraphrase the particle तु. The reason for this rendering of his is similar to that for his rendering तु on P. I, 1, 38 by वा. After having commented on (d-e), Patanjali has shown that प्रत्ययस्य for the reason stated in (d-e) would *not* be necessary ; and to *him* therefore (f) does not convey an *alternative* reason for the employment of प्रत्ययस्य. In his opinion प्रत्ययस्य is not necessary for the reason given in (d-e), *but* it is necessary for the reason given in (f). His rendering of वा by तर्हि is explained, as soon as and only when we assume that the paraphrased sentences (d—f) are not his own but *another's*. And here again we are able to quote Kaiyaṭa in support of the view we have taken ; for in commenting on (f) that commentator remarks : षष्ठीनिर्देशार्थत्वं तु स्थितमेवेति वार्तिककारेण विकल्पार्थो वाशब्दः प्रयुक्तः । . . . भाष्यकारस्तु तर्ह्यर्थे वाशब्दं व्याख्यातः षष्ठीनिर्देशार्थत्वं नेच्छति ।

I have shown in the preceding that the method of discussion followed in the Mahābhāṣya is distinctly twofold ; I have attempted to account for this twofold method by assuming that those sentences made use of in the discussion of Pāṇini's rules, which we find to be accompanied by paraphrase and comment, are not of Patanjali's authorship ; and I have tried to render this assumption probable by drawing attention to the manner in which those sentences have been paraphrased and commented on in various passages of the Mahābhāṣya. I may be told now that, if then only that portion of the Mahābhāṣya which does not consist of paraphrased sentences were Patanjali's, and if the paraphrased sentences themselves had really to be considered as proceeding from another author, we might well expect that the two parts of the work, being in reality works by different authors, should differ as regards their respective styles and the language employed in either of them. So far from regarding such an objection as hostile to the view which I have ventured to express, I gladly avail myself of it, to adduce the difference of style and of language as additional evidence in favour of the assumption that the paraphrased sentences do not belong to the author of the rest of the Mahābhāṣya. I cannot pretend to undertake at present to show that difference in all its details ; all I shall attempt to do here, is to illustrate it by a few characteristic instances.

Very often the question is raised in the Mahābhāṣya whether a particular term employed in Pāṇini's rules conveys one meaning or another, whether we are to understand a rule in one sense or in another, whether a particular term should be understood to be qualified in this or in that way, whether a rule should be regarded as teaching something independently of other rules or as a restrictive rule, &c. In all these cases it is customary to place before the reader both sides of the question and to state the objections to which either side would be liable. And here we have to observe that whenever this is done by means of paraphrased sentences, the particles employed are always चेद् or इति चेद्, and that when it is done without the employment of such sentences the particle used is invariably

यदि, generally followed by अथ. In proof of this I adduce from the paraphrased sentences :

On P. I, 1, 3—(किं पुनरयमलोऽन्त्यशेष आहोस्विदलोऽन्त्या-
पवादः ।)

वृद्धिगुणावलोऽन्त्यस्येति चेन्मिदि ग्रहणम् ।
इदमात्रस्येति चेज्जुसि प्रतिषेधः ।

On P. I, 1, 11—(कथं पुनरिदं विज्ञायते)

ईदादयो यद्विवचनं प्रगृह्या इति चेदन्त्यस्य विधिः ।
ईदाद्यन्तं यद्विवचनमिति चेदेकस्य विधिः ।
ईदाद्यन्तं यद्विवचनान्तमिति चेद्विधिः प्रतिषेधः ।

On P. I, 1, 45—(किमियं वाक्यस्य संप्रसारणसंज्ञा क्रियते . . .
आहोस्विद्वर्णस्य ।)

संप्रसारणसंज्ञायां वाक्यस्य संज्ञा चेद्वर्णविधिः ।
वर्णसंज्ञा चेत्त्रिवृत्तिः ।

On P. I, 1, 51—(किमिदमुरणपरवचनमन्यनिवृत्त्यर्थम् . . .
आहोस्विदपरत्वमात्रमनेन विधीयते ।)

उरणपरवचनमन्यनिवृत्त्यर्थमिति चेदुदात्तादिषु दोषः ।
य उः स्थानेऽण् स रपर इति चेद्गुणवृद्धचोरवर्णाप्रतिपत्तिः ।

On P. I, 1, 57—(किं पुनरन्तरस्य विधिं प्रति स्थानिवद्भाव आ-
होस्वित्पूर्वमात्रस्य ।)

अनन्तरस्य चेदेकाननुदात्त षूपसंख्यानम् ।
पूर्वमात्रस्येति चेदुपधाह्रस्वत्वम् ।

(किं पुनराश्रयमाणायां प्रकृतौ स्थानिवद्भावत्याहोस्विदविशेषेण । . . .)

अविशेषेण स्थानिवदिति चेन्नोपयणादेशे गुरुविधिः ।
ग्रहणेषु स्थानिवदिति चेज्जग्यादिष्वादेशप्रतिषेधः ।

On P. I, 1, 65—(किमिदमल्पग्रहणमन्त्यविशेषणम्)

उपधासंज्ञायामल्पग्रहणमन्त्यनिर्देशश्चेत्संघातप्रतिषेधः ।

On P. I, 1, 70—(किं पुनरिदं नियमार्थमाहोस्वित्प्रापकम् । . .)
तपरस्तत्कालस्येति नियमार्थमिति चेद्दीर्घं . . . ग्रहणम् ।
प्रापकमिति चेद्द्वस्वग्रहणे दीर्घप्लुतप्रतिषेधः ।

To show how the same or similar questions are discussed when no paraphrases are employed, I instance—

On P. I, 1, 1—(किं पुनरिदं तद्भावितग्रहणम् . . . आहोस्विदा-
दैज्मात्रस्य । . . .)

यदि तद्भावितग्रहणं न प्राप्नोति ।
अथादैज्मात्रस्य ग्रहणं . . . प्राप्नोति ।

On P. I, 1, 7—(कथमिदं विज्ञायते ।)

यदि विज्ञायते ऽविद्यमानं न प्राप्नोति ।
अथ विज्ञायते ऽविद्यमाना न दोषो भवति ।

On P. I, 1, 20—(कथमिदं विज्ञायते)

यदि विज्ञायते दाधाः प्रकृतयः स एव दोषः ।
अथ विज्ञायते दाधां प्रकृतय इति न स्यात् ।

On P. I, 1, 39—(कथमिदं विज्ञायते कृद्यो मान्त इत्याहोस्वित्कृ-
दन्तं यन्मान्तमिति ।)

यदि विज्ञायते कृद्यो मान्त इति न प्राप्नोति ।
अथ विज्ञायते कृदन्तं यन्मान्तमिति . . . प्राप्नोति ।

On P. I, 1, 50—(सा किं प्रकृतितो भवति . . . आहोस्विदादे-
शतः)

यदि प्रकृतित इको आदेशतो दोषः ।

On P. I, 1, 52—(किमिदमल्पग्रहणमन्त्यविशेषणमाहोस्विदादेशवि-
शेषणम् ।)

यद्यन्त्यविशेषणमादेशो ऽविशेषितो भवति ।

The difference of expression between the passages quoted from the discussions on P. I, 1, 11 and 65 on the one hand, and from P. I, 1, 39 and 52 on the other, is particularly instructive,

because the questions raised and discussed are in either cases exactly the same.

No reader of the Mahâbhâshya can have failed to perceive that frequently objections are raised to Pâṇini's rules, alterations proposed and additional rules suggested. But it not seldom happens that in the course of the discussion these objections are shown to be unfounded, the alterations to be uncalled for, or the additional rules to be unnecessary. And here again we have to notice a striking difference of expression as between the paraphrased sentences and the rest of the Mahâbhâshya; for in the case of the former those objections, &c., are most usually refuted in sentences commencing with the words न वा or सिद्धं तु, generally followed by a noun in the ablative case; while in the latter the same object is attained by such expressions as नैष दोषः, तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम्, followed by a complete sentence which takes the place of the ablative case of the paraphrased sentences. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this difference of expression :—

On P. I, 1, 39 we have the paraphrased sentence न वा संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्येति; on P. I, 1, 20 not paraphrased स तर्हि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वक्तव्यः । घुसंज्ञा कस्मात् भवति । संनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्येत्येवं न भविष्यति.

On P. VI, 4, 130 the paraphrased sentence न वा निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशत्वात्; on P. I, 1, 47 and 51 not paraphrased नैष दोषः । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्येवं न भविष्यति.

On P. VI, 2, 2 the paraphrased sentence सिद्धं तु लक्षणप्रतिषेधोक्तयोः प्रतिषेधोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणात्; on P. I, 1, 15 not paraphrased न वक्तव्यः । लक्षणप्रतिषेधोक्तयोः प्रतिषेधोक्तस्येत्येवं न भविष्यति.

On P. VI, 1, 1, the paraphrased sentence सिद्धं तु तद्गुणसंविज्ञानान्त्वाग्निरेर्यथा लोके; on P. I, 1, 27 not paraphrased नैष दोषः । भवति हि बहुव्रीहौ तद्गुणसंविज्ञानमपि.

A common artifice of refuting an objection—less frequently resorted to in the paraphrased sentences than in the rest of the Mahâbhâshya—is to show that that objection has been indirectly guarded against by Pâṇini himself; in other words, to point out a *Jnâpaka*. When this is done in the paraphrased sentences, we find, so far as I have observed, invariably the noun

ज्ञापक followed by another noun in the genitive case; in the remainder of the Mahâbhâshya we always have instead some such verbal phrase as ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः, आचार्यप्रवृत्तिज्ञापयति. Instances of the latter mode of expression are of the most frequent occurrence. From the paraphrased sentences I quote :

On P. I, 1, 11—सप्रम्यामर्थग्रहणं ज्ञापकं प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधस्य;

On P. I, 1, 45—विभक्तिविशेषनिर्देशस्तु ज्ञापक उभयसंज्ञात्वस्य;

On P. I, 1, 59—अज्ग्रहणं तु ज्ञापकं रूपस्थानिवद्भावस्य; and

ओः पुयण्जिषु वचनं ज्ञापकं गौ स्थानिवद्भावस्य.

And this leads me to draw attention generally to the almost entire absence of verbal forms from the paraphrased sentences, which absence, in my opinion, constitutes one of their chief characteristics of style, as compared with the style of the unparaphrased portion of the Mahâbhâshya. In cases where in the latter we meet with such verbal forms or expressions as प्राप्नोति, विधेयः, नोपपद्यते, वक्तव्यः, इति वक्तव्यम्, न वक्तव्यम्, ग्रहणं न कर्तव्यम्, ग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्, we are sure to meet in the former, nouns such as प्रसङ्गः, विधिः, अनुपपत्तिः, वचनम्, भवचनम्, अग्रहणम्; and in many instances it is altogether left to ourselves to complete the sentence by supplying some verb or phrase such as भवति, भविष्यति, स्यात्, क्रियते, प्राप्नोति, सिध्यति, न सिध्यति, कर्तव्यम्, वक्तव्यम्, इति वक्तव्यम्, &c. On P. I, 1, 8 where the word मुख of Pâṇini's rule is stated to be superfluous, the unparaphrased sentence which contains this statement is मुखग्रहणं शक्यमकर्तुम्; on P. I, 1, 23 where the same remark is made with reference to the words बहु &c. of that rule, the paraphrased sentence made use of for the purpose reads simply बहुव्रीहानामग्रहणम्. On P. I, 1, 36 and 75 we find the additional or corrective rules अपुरीति वक्तव्यम्, एह प्राचां देवो दैषिकेष्विति वक्तव्यम्, to which no paraphrase has been attached; so far as my knowledge goes, no paraphrased sentence ever concludes with the phrase इति वक्तव्यम्.

If these considerations should have rendered probable the supposition that the paraphrased sentences are not of Patanjali's authorship, and that the author of the Mahâbhâshya has merely commented on them, and supplemented and cor-

rected the statements contained in them, by his own original remarks, that probability will be raised to a certainty, when we consider the manner in which Patanjali has referred to them and to their author in the uncommented portions of his work. The Mahâbhâshya being a work on Pâṇini's grammar, it is natural that Patanjali, in such words as पठति, करोति, शास्ति, ज्ञापयति, 'he reads', 'he teaches,' &c. should have referred to Pâṇini, without being under the necessity of telling us that he was citing or referring to Pâṇini. Moreover, I have had occasion to state elsewhere that wherever reference is thus made to Pâṇini, the context would show at once and beyond doubt that the subject of the verbs पठति, करोति &c. can be no other than Pâṇini. But there remain very many verbs of this kind for which it is impossible to supply the subject 'Pâṇini'; in all *these* cases the reference made is, so far as my own observation goes, *invariably* to *paraphrased sentences*. The verbal forms belonging to this class which occur in that part of the Mahâbhâshya which treats of the rules of the first Pâda, are :

On page 55*b* of the Lith. Ben. Ed. पठति ; the paraphrased sentence referred to follows immediately upon पठति ;

P. 59*b* वक्ष्यति ; refers to a paraphrased sentence on the same page ;

P. 66*b* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. I, 1, 47 ;

P. 69*a* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on the next page ;

P. 72*a* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VI, 1, 101 ;

P. 77*b* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. I, 4, 14 ;

P. 86*b* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VI, 1, 1 ;

„ वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VIII, 3, 59 ;

P. 88*a* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. I, 1, 72 ;

P. 99*a* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. II, 2, 35 ;

P. 99*b* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. II, 2, 35 ;

„ वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. II, 2, 35 ;

P. 102*a* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VI, 2, 2 ;

P. 106*b* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VIII, 2, 3 ;

P. 117*a* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VI, 4, 72 ;

P. 133*a* चोदयिष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. I, 1, 56 ;

P. 139*b* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. I, 1, 58 ;

P. 141*b* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VIII, 2, 23 ;

P. 146*b* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VII, 3, 54 ;

P. 148*b* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. IV, 3, 163 ;

P. 156*b* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on the next page ;

P. 157*b* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VI, 4, 34 ;

P. 159*b* चोदयिष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VIII, 2, 107 ;

P. 164*a* वक्ष्यति ; to a paraphrased sentence on P. VI, 1, 186.

It is hardly necessary to tell the reader that the manner in which Patanjali here invariably speaks of the author of the paraphrased sentences, in no way differs from the manner in which other commentators continually speak, not of themselves, but of those authors on whose works they happen to be commenting, and since there is no doubt that Patanjali *has* commented on those sentences, it is natural to conclude that those sentences are not his own, but are the work of *another*. And this conclusion is further strengthened, when we find that in such expressions as पठिष्यति ह्याचार्यः *e.g.* on page 75 *b* of the Benares Edn., or वक्ष्यति ह्याचार्यः *e.g.* on pages 143*b* and 151*a*, the author of those sentences* is actually spoken of by Patanjali as the Âchârya, in the same way in which Patanjali elsewhere speaks of the Âchârya Pâṇini.

The first part of our enquiry is drawing to a close. Considering it unlikely that an author in the composition of one and the same work should have adopted two methods of discussion so different as those which Patanjali would seem to have adopted in his Mahâbhâshya, we ventured to assume that those portions of the Mahâbhâshya which have been furnished by him with paraphrase and comment, were not his own. That assumption we tried to render probable by pointing out that the manner in which Patanjali in various passages of his work has been paraphrasing and commenting, admits of a reasonable explanation only when we assume that he was commenting on and paraphrasing the words of another. We then showed that the paraphrased portions of the Mahâbhâshya in style and language differ from the rest of that work as we

* See on P. VI, 1, 129 ; VI, 4, 104 ; and VI, 1, 12.

might expect the works of two different authors to differ from each other. And we finally pointed out that by the manner in which he continually refers to and quotes the paraphrased sentences and their author, Patanjali himself has clearly shown to us that that author must be another than himself. Fortunately we are not left without the means of ascertaining who that author was. For since Patanjali, when *e.g.* quoting on P. I, 1, 34, a paraphrased sentence from the discussion on P. VIII, 3, 13, incidentally, but obliged to be more explicit than usual because only in the preceding line and for one and the same purpose he had been quoting the Āchārya Pāṇini, has told us that that paraphrased sentence is the Vārttikakāra's, it is clear that that author was called *Vārttikakāra*. And since the same Patanjali, after having on P. III, 2, 118, in his usual manner paraphrased a sentence, has in the sequel informed us that that sentence is Kātyāyana's, it is equally clear that the name of that Vārttikakāra was *Kātyāyana*.

The conclusion then at which we have arrived is this, that the paraphrased sentences which we meet with in the Mahābhāshya belong to Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārttikas; and this conclusion furnishes us with a means, in my opinion the *only* means, of reconstructing from the text of the Mahābhāshya, as it has been handed down to us in MS., the text of the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana. We may as yet consider it matter for further enquiry whether *all* the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana have been recorded by Patanjali; but wherever in the Mahābhāshya we meet with a paraphrased statement, of which Patanjali does not tell us explicitly that it belongs to another or to others, or of which the context does not prove clearly and beyond doubt that it is a quotation from the work of another, we shall regard ourselves as bound to assume that such statement is Kātyāyana's, or in other words, that it is a Vārttika or part of one. On the other hand, we shall not allow ourselves to regard as a Vārttika of Kātyāyana any statement unless it be accompanied by a paraphrase.* In

* If in accordance with this principle we examine the passages from the Mahābhāshya quoted by Prof. Goldstücker in notes 141—152 of

applying this principle, we may occasionally find it difficult to decide whether a particular statement should be regarded as merely paraphrasing another statement by which it is preceded, or as an explanatory remark such as an author might think it necessary to append to a statement previously made by himself. But, on the one hand, to judge from my own experience, such cases are exceedingly rare; on the other hand, the more we become familiar with the manner, the style, and the language of Kātyāyana by the study of what undoubtedly is his, the easier and the more ready will be our decision in cases which at first sight may appear to us doubtful.

There is yet another difficulty which is intimately connected with and which results from the manner in which Patanjali has paraphrased the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana. I have found it convenient to employ throughout the preceding investigation the word *paraphrase*, but it would have been more correct to say that frequently Patanjali does not paraphrase but literally repeats the words of the Vārttika which he happens to make use of. If I might venture to give a reason for his doing so, I would say that Patanjali adopted that practice in order to apprise us of the fact that he was giving us not his own arguments but those of Kātyāyana; in other words, to save the literary property of that scholar. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the very practice which he adopted, through the carelessness of the copyists, has in many cases led to the disappearance of Vārttikas from our MSS., and consequently from the only complete edition of the Mahābhāshya which has been published up to the present. One example will suffice to prove this.

his Pāṇini, we find that Prof. Goldstücker has correctly termed Vārttikas इन्धेच्छन्दो° on P. I, 2, 6 (note 141); इतरच्छन्दसि° on P. VII, 1, 26 (note 142); यरोऽनुनासिके° on P. VIII, 4, 45, (note 143); वा गोमयेषु on P. IV, 2, 129 (note 152). On the other hand, the statements विकिरो वेति वक्रन्म on P. VI, 1, 150 (note 145); आश्चर्यमद्भुत इति व° on P. VI, 1, 147 (note 147); भोज्यमभ्यवहार्यमिति व° on P. VII, 3, 69 (note 148); पश्यध्याय° इति व° on P. IV, 2, 129 (note 152); which also have been termed Vārttikas by Prof. Goldstücker and other scholars, are no Vārttikas, but are Patanjali's.

On pages 149 *a* and *b* of the Lithog. Benares Edn., we read as follows :—

किं प्रयोजनम् । क्सलोपः सलोपे । क्सलोपः सलोपे प्रयोजनम् ।
 दध आकारलोप आदिचतुर्थत्वे प्रयोजनम् ।
 हलो यमां यमि लोपे प्रयोजनम् । अल्लोपणिलोपौ संयो-
 गान्तलोपप्रभृतिषु प्रयोजनम् । द्विर्वचनादीनि च प्रयोजनानि
 न पठितव्यानि भवन्ति । वरेयलोपस्वरवर्जम् । वरेय-
 लोपं स्वरं च वर्जयित्वा ।

According to what I have said in the preceding, this passage would seem to contain only *two* Vārttikas, *viz.* क्सलोपः सलोपे and वरेयलोपस्वरवर्जम्, for apparently only these two statements have been paraphrased by Patanjali. A comparison of other Vārttikas of Kātyāyana (on P. I, 1, 21, 39, &c.) would make us feel inclined to read the first of these Vārttikas प्रयोजनं क्सलोपः सलोपे, and we would willingly recognize Vārttikas also in दध आकारलोप°, हलो यमां°, अल्लोप°, and द्विर्वचनादीनि°, were we not forbidden to do so by the result of our enquiry. We now turn to Prof. Goldstücker's photo-lithograph copy of the Mahābhāshya, and find that there the same passage is read thus :—

किं प्रयोजनम् । प्रयोजनं क्सलोपः सलोपे । क्सलोपः सलोपे प्रयोजनम् । दध आकारलोप आदिचतुर्थत्वे प्रयोजनम् । हलो यमां यमि लोपे २ प्रयोजनम् । अल्लोपणिलोपौ संयोगान्तलोपप्रभृतिषु २ प्रयोजनम् । द्विर्वचनादीनि च । द्विर्वचनादीनि च न पठितव्यानि भवन्ति । वरेयलोपस्वरवर्जम् । वरेयलोपं स्वरं च वर्जयित्वा ॥

Here we find that the first Vārttika is really read as we expected that it should be read, प्रयोजनं क्सलोपः सलोपे, and we perceive at once that the first word प्रयोजनं has been omitted in the Benares edition because it was preceded by the same word प्रयोजनं in किं प्रयोजनम्. We further see from the figure २ after लोपे and प्रभृतिषु that the words हलो यमां यमि लोपे and अल्लोपणिलोपौ संयोगान्तलोपप्रभृतिषु have to be read twice ; and the words

द्विर्वचनादीनि च we find actually written twice. Such being the case, the result of our enquiry tells us that हलो यमां यमि लोपे, अल्लोपणिलोपौ संयोगान्तलोपप्रभृतिषु, and द्विर्वचनादीनि च which we were inclined to regard as Vārttikas, *are* Vārttikas, omitted in the Benares edition, or in the MSS. from which it has been prepared, because the paraphrases by which those Vārttikas are followed commence with identically the same words. And having found it proved in this manner, that at least three of the four statements which we were inclined to regard as Vārttikas, *are* Vārttikas, we shall not I trust be accused of rashness when we venture to assume that also the fourth of those statements, दध आकारलोप आदिचतुर्थत्वे, is really a Vārttika, omitted also in the photo-lithograph copy, because the writer forgot to write the figure २ after the word आदिचतुर्थत्वे. The Vārttikas which the above passage contains, are therefore not two, but six :

1. प्रयोजनं क्सलोपः सलोपे.
2. दध आकारलोप आदिचतुर्थत्वे.
3. हलो यमां यमि लोपे.
4. अलोपणिलोपौ संयोगान्तलोपप्रभृतिषु.
5. द्विर्वचनादीनि च.
6. वरेयलोपस्वरवर्जम्.

In a similar manner Vārttikas have disappeared on page 162*a* of the Benares edition, on page 168*b*, 169*b*, 173*b*, 177*b*, and elsewhere. Here then our only safeguard is not to trust to one or two indifferent MSS., but to compare in every instance the best and oldest MSS. which we may be able to lay hold of.

III.

There is in my opinion no better way of testing the soundness of the conclusion at which we have arrived in the preceding, than practically to apply the principle with which it has furnished us, for the reconstruction of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas. But as want of space would forbid such a reconstruction on any

large scale, I am obliged to confine my attempt in this direction to a small portion of the Mahâbhâshya. I shall choose for the purpose first the 7th Âhnika of the first Pâda, which treats of Pâṇini's rules I, 1, 45—55. After having pointed out the Vârttikas which occur in the discussion of each rule, I shall, in as few words as possible, point out their tendency, and shall show (in italics) what Patanjali's views are in regard to them, or whether he has raised any points of discussion regarding the rules of Pâṇini, which have not been noticed by Kâtyâyana; but I shall not think it necessary expressly to state in each case that Patanjali has simply commented on or adopted a particular Vârttika. In notes I shall indicate whether any portions of the discussion have incidentally been called Vârttikas by Kaiyaṭa, Nâgojibhaṭṭa or Bhaṭṭojidîkshita (in his Śabdakaustubha), and shall also state what Vârttikas or other remarks from the Mahâbhâshya the editors of the Calcutta edition of Pâṇini have thought fit to append to their gloss. Having, in this manner, gone through the whole of the 7th Âhnika, I shall subject the discussions on some other rules of the first Pâda to a similar examination.

P. I, 1, 45—इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् ॥

Vârttikas :

- (a) संप्रसारणसंज्ञायां वाक्यस्य संज्ञा चेद्दर्शविधिः ॥
 (b) वर्णसंज्ञा चेन्नैवृत्तिः ॥
 (c) विभक्तिविशेषनिर्देशस्तु ज्ञापक उभयसंज्ञात्वस्य ॥

(a) and (b) state the objections to which the two possible interpretations of Pâṇini's rule would be liable; (c) shows why both interpretations are nevertheless admissible.

Patanjali agrees with Kâtyâyana; and shows subsequently how the objections to either interpretation may be refuted also in other ways.

Note.—The Calcutta edition gives no Vârttikas, nor any remarks of Patanjali's.

P. I, 1, 46—आद्यन्तौ टकितौ ॥

Vârttikas :

- (a) टकितोराद्यन्तविधाने प्रत्ययप्रतिषेधः ॥
 (b) परवचनात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नापवादत्वात् ॥
 (c) सिद्धं तु षष्ठ्यधिकारे वचनात् ॥
 (d) आद्यन्तयोर्वा षष्ठ्यर्थत्वात्तदभावेऽसंप्रत्ययः ॥

Patanjali commences with remarks on the terms of Pâṇini's rule and on Âgamas in general.

(a) suggests a correction, and (b) obviates an objection that might be raised to (a).

(c) and (d) show in different ways that the correction suggested in (a) is unnecessary.

Note.—The Calcutta edition gives the Vârttikas (a) and (c), but states in the words इति भाष्यम् that (c) is a remark of Patanjali's.

P. I, 1, 47—मिदचो ऽन्त्यात्परः ॥

Vârttikas :

- (a) मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः स्थानपरप्रत्ययस्यापवादः ॥
 (b) अन्त्यात्पूर्वो मस्जेर्मिदनुषङ्गसंयोगादिलोपार्थम् ॥
 (c) भर्जिमच्योश्च ॥
 (d) अभक्ते दीर्घनलोपस्वरणत्वानुस्वारशीभावाः ॥
 (e) परादौ गुणवृद्ध्यौ च्वदीर्घनलोपानुस्वारशीभावेनकारप्रति-
 षेधाः ॥
 (f) पूर्वान्ते नपुंसकोपसर्जनह्रस्वत्वं द्विगुस्वरश्च ॥
 (g) न वा बहिरङ्गक्षणात् ॥

(a) states the object of Pâṇini's rule.

(b) and (c) correct that rule.*

Patanjali refutes (c).

* The Vârttika (c) presupposes another etymology of मरीचि than the one given in Uṇṇâdisūtra IV. 70.

(*d—f*) consider the question whether the augment (नुम्) is to stand by itself or to be attached to what follows or precedes it; the question is decided in favour of the last alternative, for the faults arising on that alternative are refuted in (*g*).

Patanjali agrees with Kātyāyana and supports the conclusion at which he has arrived by an argument of his own.

Note.—(*b*) is quoted by Patanjali on P. I, 1, 7 (वक्ष्येतत् । अन्त्यात्पूर्थमिति) ; (*b*) is called a Vārttika by Bhaṭṭojidikshita ; (*d*) and (*e*) by Nāgojibhaṭṭa. The Calcutta edition gives only the Vārttikas (*b*) and (*c*), the former incorrectly. The Nyāya which it quotes is identical in purpose with remarks made by Patanjali.

P. I, 1, 48—एच इग्प्रस्वादेशे ॥

Vārttikas :

- (*a*) एच इग्वचनं सवर्णाकारनिवृत्त्यर्थम् ॥
 (*b*) दीर्घाप्रसङ्गस्तु निवर्तकत्वात् ॥
 (*c*) सिद्धमेडः सस्थानत्वात् ॥
 (*d*) ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात् ॥*

(*a*) states the objects of Pāṇini's rule.

(*b*) refutes a possible objection.

(*c*) and (*d*) show that the objects for which the rule has been given are attained without it, and that the rule is therefore unnecessary.

Note.—(*c*) and (*d*) are quoted on Śivasūtra 3 and 4. The Calcutta edition gives no Vārttikas, nor any remarks of Patanjali's.

* The short substitute for ऐ is इ, because इ forms a larger portion of ऐ than अ. The word अवर्तः of Patanjali's gloss can in my opinion only mean 'less in number.' One calls a village a Brāhmin-village, although some of its inhabitants belong to other castes, because the number of Brāhmins who live in it, is greater than the number of inhabitants belonging to other castes. For a different interpretation, see *Ind. Stud.* XIII, p. 333, note.

P. I, 1, 49—षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ॥

Vārttikas :

- (*a*) षष्ठीस्थानेयोगवचनं नियमार्थम् ॥
 (*b*) अवयवषष्ठ्यादिष्वतिप्रसङ्गः शासो गोह इति ॥
 (*c*) अवयवषष्ठ्यादीनां चाप्राप्तिर्योगस्यासंदिग्धत्वात् ॥
 (*d*) विशिष्टा वा षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ॥

Patanjali annotates on the term स्थानेयोगा.

(*a*) states the object of Pāṇini's rule.

(*b*) suggests the objection that if the object of the rule be correctly stated in (*a*), the rule is too widely applicable.

(*c*) refutes that objection.

Patanjali supports (c) by additional arguments.

(*d*) suggests a different way of obviating the objection raised in (*b*).

Patanjali shows that the rule, in the sense ascribed to it, is superfluous, and will retain it only because its adoption allows us to dispense with the Paribhāshā निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति, with which Paribhāshā he considers it to be identical in meaning.

Note.—(*c*) and (*d*) are called Vārttikas by Nāgojibhaṭṭa.—The Calcutta Edn. gives only the Paribhāshā निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति.

P. I, 1, 50—स्थानेऽन्तरतमः ॥

Vārttikas :

- (*a*) स्थानिन एकत्वनिर्देशादनेकादेशनिर्देशाच्च सर्वप्रसङ्गस्त-
 स्मात्स्थानेऽन्तरतमवचनं नियमार्थम् ॥
 (*b*) स्थानेऽन्तरतमनिवर्तके सर्वस्थानिनिवृत्तिः ॥
 (*c*) निवृत्तप्रतिपत्तौ निवृत्तिः ॥
 (*d*) अनर्थकं च ॥
 (*e*) उक्तं वा ॥
 (*f*) प्रत्यात्मवचनं च ॥

- (g) प्रत्यात्मवचनमशिष्यं स्वभावसिद्धत्वात् ॥
 (h) अन्तरतमवचनं च ॥
 (i) व्यञ्जनस्वरव्यतिक्रमे च तत्कालप्रसङ्गः ॥
 (k) अक्षु चानेकवर्णादेशेषु ॥
 (l) गुणवृद्धचेज्भावेषु च ॥
 (m) ऋवर्णस्य गुणवृद्धिप्रसङ्गे सर्वप्रसङ्गे ऽविशेषात् ॥
 (n) न वा ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने रपरप्रसङ्गाद्वर्णस्यान्तर्यम् ॥
 (o) सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गस्त्वेनेकाल्त्वात् ॥
 (p) न वानेकाल्त्वस्य तदाभयत्वाद्वर्णादेशस्याविघातः ॥
 (q) संप्रयोगो वा नष्टाश्चदग्धरथवत् ॥
 (r) एजवर्णयोरादेशे ऽवर्णं स्थानिनो ऽवर्णप्रधानत्वात् ॥
 (s) सिद्धं तुभयान्तर्यात् ॥

Patanjali gives an example for Pāṇini's rule which does not result from any other rule, and which therefore proves that the rule is necessary; he shows why स्थाने, which we read in the preceding rule, has been repeated here; and why Pāṇini has employed the superlative अन्तरतम.

(a) shows why Pāṇini was obliged to give this rule, and states the object of the rule.

Patanjali, having accepted this, discusses the question whether the rule should be read स्थानेऽन्तरतमे or स्थानेऽन्तरतमः, both readings being possible when the rules of Sandhi as between this and the following rule are observed.

(b—d). Does this rule teach something independently of other rules, or does it give certain directions regarding substitutes that have been taught in other rules? The question is decided in favour of the latter alternative, for the objections which were raised to that alternative, are in (e) met by a reference to a statement made before (Vārt. (r) on P. I, 1, 3).

Patanjali, when commenting on (b), brings forward another objection in addition to the one raised in the Vārttika.

(f) suggests a correction of Pāṇini's rule, which correction (g) shows to be unnecessary.

(h) states that Pāṇini's rule is unnecessary, because what is taught in it results from the ordinary practice of life. If the rule be nevertheless adopted, it is liable to the objections stated in (i), (k), and (l).

Patanjali refutes these three objections.

(m) suggests the desirability of making a rule that should teach what the Guṇa and Vṛiddhi of ऋ are; (n) and (q) show that no such rule is required.

Patanjali shows, by giving an additional reason, that such a rule is not required.

(o) states an objection which the adoption of (n) would give rise to; (p) refutes that objection.

(r) raises an objection to Pāṇini's rule, regarding the substitute for एच् + अ; (s) refutes that objection.

Note.—(l) is called a Vārttika by Nāgojibhaṭṭa; (o), (p), and (q) are called Vārttikas by Bhaṭṭojidikshita. The Calcutta Edn. gives no Vārttikas; the Paribhāshā quoted is taken from Patanjali's remarks.

P. I, 1, 51—उरण्रपरः ॥

Vārttikas :

- (a) उरण्रपरवचनमन्यनिवृत्त्यर्थमिति चेदुदात्तादिषु दोषः ॥
 (b) य उः स्थानेऽण् स रपर इति चेद्गुणवृद्धचोरवर्णाप्रतिपत्तिः ॥
 (c) सिद्धं तु प्रसङ्गे रपरत्वात् ॥
 (d) आदेशो रपर इति चेद्दीर्घविधिषु रपरप्रतिषेधः ॥
 (e) उदात्तादिषु च ॥
 (f) एकादेशस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥
 (g) अवयवग्रहणात्सिद्धमिति चेदादेशो रान्तप्रतिषेधः ॥
 (h) अभक्ते दीर्घलत्वयगभ्यस्तस्वरहलादिःशेषविसर्जनीयप्रतिषेधः
 प्रत्ययान्यवस्था च ॥

(a) पूर्वान्ते र्ववधारणं विसर्जनीयप्रतिषेधो यस्स्वरश्च ॥

(k) परादावकारलोपौत्वपुक्प्रतिषेधश्चडचुपधाह्रस्वत्वमिटोऽव्यव-
स्थाभ्यासलोपोऽभ्यस्ततादिस्वरो दीर्घत्वं च ॥

(a) and (b) state the objections to which two possible interpretations of Pāṇini's rule would be liable ; (c) suggests the correct interpretation of that rule.

(d) and (e) refute the possible objection that Pāṇini should have said merely ऊ रपरः (i. e. उरादेशो रपरः) instead of उरण्रपरः. (f) demands an additional rule, and (g) obviates an objection to that rule.

*Patanjali shows that the additional rule is not required.** (h—k) discuss the same question in regard to the augment र्, which had been discussed in Vārttikas (d—f) on I, 1, 47, with regard to the augment नुम्, without distinctly deciding which alternative should be adopted.

Patanjali refutes some of the objections raised to the first and last alternatives, and all those to which the adoption of the view expressed in (i) was stated to be liable.

Note.—(b) is called a Vārttika by Bhaṭṭojīdikshita, and (d), (h), and (k) are called Vārttikas by Nāgojībhaṭṭa. The Calcutta Edn. gives the four Vārttikas (d—g), the last of them incorrectly.

P. I, 1, 52—अलोऽन्त्यस्य ॥

Vārttikas :

(a) अलोऽन्त्यस्येति स्थाने विज्ञातस्यानुसंहारः ॥

(b) इतरथा ह्यनिष्टप्रसङ्गः ॥

(c) योगशेषे च ॥

Patanjali discusses the question whether अलः is a genitive qualifying अन्त्यस्य, or a nominative (plural) qualifying the Ādeśa.

* Patanjali in his remarks quotes a Vārttika on P. VIII, 4, 31 which he paraphrases in the usual manner.

(a—c) show the correct way of applying Pāṇini's rule.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. gives no Vārttikas.

P. I, 1, 53—डिच्च ॥

Vārttika :

(a) तातडि डित्करणस्य सावकाशत्वाद्द्विप्रतिषेधात्सर्वादेशः ॥

(a) shows why तातड् is not substituted for the final only, in other words, refutes an objection that might be raised to Pāṇini's rule.

Patanjali rejects Kātyāyana's explanation, and substitutes for it another.

Note.—The Vārttika is given inaccurately in the Calcutta Edn.

P. I, 1, 54—आदेः परस्य ॥

Vārttika :

(a) अलोऽन्त्यस्यादेः परस्यानेकालिशत्सर्वस्येत्यपवादविप्रतिषे-
धात्सर्वादेशः ॥

(a) a remark regarding the scope of this rule and of the next.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. does not give the Vārttika.

P. I, 1, 55—अनेकालिशत्सर्वस्य ॥

No Vārttika.

Patanjali shows that शित्, since it would otherwise be superfluous, indicates the existence of the Paribhāshā नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वं भवति, and he states that that Paribhāshā renders two Vārttikas (on III, 1, 94 and I, 1, 20) unnecessary.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. gives the Paribhāshā.

The above are all the rules discussed in the 7th Āhnika ; in the following I propose to examine the discussions on P. I, 1, 1 ; 6 ; 25 ; 36 ; 39 ; 65 ; 68 ; 72 ; and 75.

P. I, 1, 1—वृद्धिरादैच् ॥

Vārttikas :

(a) संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः ॥

(b) इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके ॥

(i) पूर्वान्ते र्ववधारणं विसर्जनीयप्रतिषेधो यक्स्वरश्च ॥

(k) परादावकारलोपौत्वपुक्प्रतिषेधश्चङ्चुपधाह्रस्वत्वमितोऽव्यवस्थाभ्यासलोपोऽभ्यस्ततादिस्वरो दीर्घत्वं च ॥

(a) and (b) state the objections to which two possible interpretations of Pāṇini's rule would be liable ; (c) suggests the correct interpretation of that rule.

(d) and (e) refute the possible objection that Pāṇini should have said merely ऊ रपरः (i. e. उरादेशो रपरः) instead of उरणरपरः. (f) demands an additional rule, and (g) obviates an objection to that rule.

*Patanjali shows that the additional rule is not required.** (h—k) discuss the same question in regard to the augment र्, which had been discussed in Vārttikas (d—f) on I, 1, 47, with regard to the augment नुम्, without distinctly deciding which alternative should be adopted.

Patanjali refutes some of the objections raised to the first and last alternatives, and all those to which the adoption of the view expressed in (i) was stated to be liable.

Note.—(b) is called a Vārttika by Bhaṭṭojī-dīkshita, and (d), (h), and (k) are called Vārttikas by Nāgojibhaṭṭa. The Calcutta Edn. gives the four Vārttikas (d—g), the last of them incorrectly.

P. I, 1, 52—अलोऽन्त्यस्य ॥

Vārttikas :

(a) अलोऽन्त्यस्येति स्थाने विज्ञातस्यानुसंहारः ॥

(b) इतरथा ह्यनिष्टप्रसङ्गः ॥

(c) योगशेषे च ॥

Patanjali discusses the question whether अलः is a genitive qualifying अन्त्यस्य, or a nominative (plural) qualifying the Ādeśa.

* Patanjali in his remarks quotes a Vārttika on P. VIII, 4, 31 which he paraphrases in the usual manner.

(a—c) show the correct way of applying Pāṇini's rule.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. gives no Vārttikas.

P. I, 1, 53—डिच्च ॥

Vārttika :

(a) तातडि डित्करणस्य सावकाशत्वाद्द्विप्रतिषेधात्सर्वादेशः ॥

(a) shows why तातड् is not substituted for the final only, in other words, refutes an objection that might be raised to Pāṇini's rule.

Patanjali rejects Kātyāyana's explanation, and substitutes for it another.

Note.—The Vārttika is given inaccurately in the Calcutta Edn.

P. I, 1, 54—आदेः परस्य ॥

Vārttika :

(a) अलोऽन्त्यस्यादेः परस्यानेकाल्शिस्तसर्वस्येत्यपवादविप्रतिषेधात्सर्वादेशः ॥

(a) a remark regarding the scope of this rule and of the next.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. does not give the Vārttika.

P. I, 1, 55—अनेकाल्शिस्तसर्वस्य ॥

No Vārttika.

Patanjali shows that शित्, since it would otherwise be superfluous, indicates the existence of the Paribhāshā नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वं भवति, and he states that that Paribhāshā renders two Vārttikas (on III, 1, 94 and I, 1, 20) unnecessary.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. gives the Paribhāshā.

The above are all the rules discussed in the 7th Āhnika ; in the following I propose to examine the discussions on P. I, 1, 1 ; 6 ; 25 ; 36 ; 39 ; 65 ; 68 ; 72 ; and 75.

P. I, 1, 1—वृद्धिरादैच् ॥

Vārttikas :

(a) संज्ञाधिकारः संज्ञासंप्रत्ययार्थः ॥

(b) इतरथा ह्यसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके ॥

- (c) संज्ञासंज्ञ्यसंदेहश्च ॥
 (d) आचार्याचारात्संज्ञासिद्धिः ॥
 (e) यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु ॥
 (f) संज्ञासंज्ञ्यसंदेहश्च ॥
 (g) अनाकृतिः ॥
 (h) तिङ्नेन वा ॥
 (i) सतो वृद्ध्यादिषु संज्ञाभावात्तराश्रय इतरेतराश्रयत्वादप्र-
 सिद्धिः ॥
 (k) सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वात् ॥
 (l) किमर्थं शास्त्रमिति चेन्नवर्तकत्वात्सिद्धम् ॥
 (m) अन्यत्र सहवचनात्समुदाये संज्ञाप्रसङ्गः ॥
 (n) प्रत्यवयवं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तेः ॥
 (o) आकारस्य तपरकरणं सवर्णार्थम् ॥

Patanjali justifies the च् of आदेच्; he discusses the question whether आदेच् means every आ, ऐ, and औ, or only those which are taught in grammar by the term वृद्धि.

(a) and (b) demand a Saṃjñādhikāra, and (c) demands besides that it should be stated distinctly what is meant to be the Saṃjñā, whether वृद्धि or आदेच्. (d—h) refute (a—c).

Patanjali does not approve of the way in which Kātyāyana has refuted (a—c), and he therefore refutes those Vārttikas differently.

(i) raises an objection, which is refuted in (k); (l) answers a question to which (k) gives rise.

(m) and (n) refute the possible objection that Pāṇini should have said प्रत्येकम् in this and the next rule.

Patanjali does not approve of the way in which Kātyāyana has refuted the objection.

(o) states why Pāṇini has affixed त् to आ.

Patanjali does not approve of the Vārttika, and gives another reason for the त्.

Note.—(a) and (b) are called Vārttikas by Kaiyāṭa; (i), (k), (l), and (o) by Bhaṭṭojidikshita. The Calcutta Edn. gives the Vārttikas (a), (c), and (o), the last incorrectly; it also gives as a Vārttika प्रत्येकं गुणवृद्धिसंज्ञे भवतः, but this is a remark of Patanjali's by which he introduces the Vārttika (m).

P. I, 1, 6—दीधीवेवीटाम् ॥

Vārttikas :

(a) दीधीवेव्योऽञ्जन्दोविषयत्वाद्दृष्टानुविधित्वाच्च च्छन्दसोऽदीधे-
 ददीधयुरिति गुणदर्शनादप्रतिषेधः ॥

(b) दीध्यदिति च इयन्व्यत्ययेन ॥

(a) and (b) show that दीधीवेवी may be omitted from Pāṇini's rule.

Patanjali states that इद् is likewise unnecessary.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. quotes part of (a) but states that it is a remark of Patanjali's.

P. I, 1, 25—इति च ॥

No Vārttika.

Patanjali shows that either the इति of I, 1, 23 or the इति of this rule may be omitted.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. ascribes the remark इदं इतिग्रहणं &c., correctly to Patanjali.

P. I, 1, 36—अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंख्यानयोः ॥

Vārttikas :

(a) उपसंख्यानग्रहणमनर्थकं बहिर्योगेण कृतत्वात् ॥

(b) न वा शाटकयुगाद्यर्थम् ॥

(c) वाप्रकरणे तीयस्य डित्सूपसंख्यानम् ॥

(a) suggests a correction of Pāṇini's rule, which correction (b) shows to be unnecessary.

Patanjali adopts the correction proposed in (a) and rejects therefore the word उपसंख्यान from Pāṇini's rule.

Patanjali gives the additional rule अपुरीति वक्तव्यम्.

(c) suggests an additional rule.

Note.—(b) is called Vārttika by Kaiyaṭa and Bhaṭṭojidīkshita. Bhaṭṭojidīkshita also calls अपुरीति वक्तव्यम् a Vārttika; it is given as a Vārttika also in the Calcutta Edn., but the Calcutta Edn. is wrong when it says that it has been called a Vārttika by Kaiyaṭa. (c) is given as a Vārttika in the Calcutta Edn., but inaccurately.

P. I, 1, 39—कृन्मेजन्तः ॥

Vārttikas :

- (a) कृन्मेजन्तश्चानिकारोकारप्रकृतिः ॥
- (b) अनन्यप्रकृतिरिति वा ॥
- (c) न वा संनिपाततक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्येति ॥
- (d) प्रयोजनं ह्रस्वत्वं तुग्विधेर्भाषणिकुलम् ॥
- (e) नलोपो वृत्रहभिः ॥
- (f) उदुपधत्वमकिच्वस्य निकुचिते ॥
- (g) नाभावो यञि दीर्घत्वस्यामुना ॥
- (h) आत्त्वं किच्वस्योपादास्त ॥
- (i) तिसृचतसृत्वं डीब्विधेः ॥
- (k) तस्य दोषो वर्णाश्रयः प्रत्ययो वर्णविचालस्य ॥
- (l) आत्त्वं पुग्विधेः क्रापयति ॥
- (m) पुग्वस्वत्वस्यादीदपत् ॥
- (n) त्यदाद्यकारष्टाब्विधेः ॥
- (o) इड्विधिराकारलोपस्य यथिवान् ॥
- (p) मतुब्विभक्तयुदात्तत्वं पूर्वनिघातस्य ॥
- (q) नदीह्रस्वत्वं संबुद्धिलोपस्य ॥

Patanjali states the objections to which the two possible

interpretations of Pāṇini's rule would be liable and shows that both interpretations nevertheless are admissible.

(a) suggests a correction of Pāṇini's rule, which correction is improved on in (b); (c) states that the corrections suggested in (a) and (b) are unnecessary as soon as the Saṃnipāta-paribhāshā is adopted; (d—i) give examples for that Paribhāshā, and (k—q) enumerate exceptional cases in which the Paribhāshā must not be applied.

Patanjali shows that the examples for the Paribhāshā which have been given by Kātyāyana can be formed without that Paribhāshā, but shows by giving three different examples that the Paribhāshā must be adopted nevertheless.

Note.—(d) and (k) are called Vārttikas by Nāgojibhaṭṭa in his Paribhāshenduśekhara. The Calcutta Edn. gives (a) and (b), and the Paribhāshā contained in (c).

P. I, 1, 65—अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा ॥

Vārttikas :

- (a) उपधासंज्ञायामल्पहणमन्त्यनिर्देशश्चेत्संघातप्रतिषेधः ॥
- (b) अन्त्यविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नानर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यविधिरनभ्यासविकारे ॥
- (c) प्रयोजनमव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ ॥
- (d) ध्वसोरेद्भावभ्यासलोपश्च ॥
- (e) आपि लोपो ङ्कोऽनचि ॥
- (f) अत्र लोपो ङ्भ्यासस्य ॥*
- (g) अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्वोऽलुपधेति वा ॥
- (h) अवचनाल्लोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धम् ॥

It might appear as if Pāṇini's rule should either be restricted (a); or altered (g). In reality it is quite correct (h). (b) shows, by quoting a Paribhāshā, how (a) cannot be refuted; and (c—f) give examples for the Paribhāshā cited in (b).

* MS. of I. O. reads अत्र लोपोऽभ्यासस्य । अत्र लोपोऽभ्यासस्येत्य°.

Patanjali objects to all the examples given in (c—f) and rejects therefore the Paribhâshâ cited in (b).

Note.—(g) is called Vârttika by Nâgojibhaṭṭa.—
The Calcutta Edn. gives (a), and the Paribhâshâ contained in (b).

P. I, 1, 68—स्व रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा ॥

Vârttikas :

- (a) शब्देनार्थगतेरर्थे कार्यस्यासंभवात्तद्वाचिनः संज्ञाप्रतिषेधार्थं
स्वरूपवचनम् ॥
(b) न वा शब्दपूर्वको ह्यर्थे संप्रत्ययस्तस्मादर्थनिवृत्तिः ॥
(c) शब्दसंज्ञाप्रतिषेधानर्थक्यं वचनप्रामाण्यात् ॥
(d) मन्त्राद्यर्थमिति चेच्छास्त्रसामर्थ्यादर्थगतेः सिद्धम् ॥
(e) सित्तद्विशेषाणां वृक्षाद्यर्थम् ॥
(f) पित्पर्यायवचनस्य च स्वाद्यर्थम् ॥
(g) जित्पर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् ॥
(h) क्षित्तस्य च तद्विशेषाणां च मत्स्याद्यर्थम् ॥

Patanjali shows that रूपम् conveys the sense conveyed by the Paribhâshâ अर्थवद्गुणे नानर्थक्यम्, and renders that Paribhâshâ unnecessary.

- (a) shows why it was necessary for Pâṇini to give this rule ;
(b—d) show that the rule can be dispensed with.
(e—h) give additional rules.

Patanjali corrects the additional rule (h) by adding to it.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. gives the Vârttikas (e—h), and (inaccurately) Patanjali's remark on (h). It also cites the Paribhâshâ mentioned by Patanjali.

P. I, 1, 72—येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य ॥

Vârttikas :

- (a) येन विधिस्तदन्तस्येति चेद्गुणोपाधीनां तदन्तोपाधिप्रसङ्गः ॥

- (b) सिद्धं तु विशेषणविशेष्ययोर्यथेष्टत्वात् ॥
(c) समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः ॥
(d) उगिद्धर्णग्रहणवर्जम् ॥
(e) अकच्भ्रम्वतः सर्वनामाव्ययधातुविधावुपसंख्यानम् ॥
(f) सिद्धं तु तदन्तान्तवचनात् ॥
(g) तदेकदेशविज्ञानाद्वा सिद्धम् ॥
(h) प्रयोजनं सर्वनामाव्ययसंज्ञायाम् ॥*
(i) उपपदविधौ भयाद्यादिग्रहणम् ॥†
(k) ठीव्विधावुगिद्धर्णम् ॥‡
(l) प्रतिषेधे स्वस्त्रादिग्रहणम् ॥‡
(m) अपरिमाणविस्तादिग्रहणं च प्रतिषेधे ॥§
(n) दितिः ॥||
(o) रोण्या अण् ॥
(p) तस्य च ॥
(q) रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ ॥¶
(r) सुसर्वादिक्शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य ॥**
(s) ऋतोर्वृद्धिमद्विधाववयवानाम् ॥††
(t) ठीव्विधौ संख्यायाः ॥‡‡
(u) धर्माच्चयः ॥§§

* MS. of I. O. प्रयोजनं सर्वनामाव्ययसंज्ञायां सर्वनामाव्ययसंज्ञायां प्रयोजनम्.

† MS. of I. O. उपपदविधौ भयाद्यादिग्रहणं २ प्रयोजनम्.

‡ Should be read twice both in the Benares edition and in the I. O. MS.

§ MS. of I. O. अपरिमाणविस्तादिग्रहणं च प्रतिषेधे २ प्रयोजनम् ॥

|| MS. of I. O. दिति दितिग्रहणं च प्रयोजनम्. Bhattojid. reads दितिः.

¶ MS. of I. O. रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ २ प्रयोजनम्.

** MS. of I. O. सुसर्वादिक्शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य २ प्रयोजनम्.

†† MS. of I. O. ऋतोर्वृद्धिमद्विधाववयवानां २ प्रयोजनम्.

‡‡ MS. of I. O. ठीव्विधौ संख्यायाः २ प्रयोजनम्.

§§ MS. of I. O. धर्माच्चयः २ प्रयोजनम्.

- (v) पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च ॥
 (w) प्रयोजनमिष्टकेशीकामालानां चिततूतभारिषु ॥*
 (x) प्रयोजनं महदप्स्वसूनमृणां दीर्घविधौ ॥†
 (y) पद्युष्मदस्मदस्थ्याद्यनडुहो नुम् ॥‡
 (z) बुपथिमथिपुंगोसखिचतुरनडुच्चिग्रहणम् ॥§
 (aa) त्यदादिविधिभस्त्रादिस्त्रीग्रहणं च ॥॥
 (bb) वर्णग्रहणं च सर्वत्र ॥¶
 (cc) प्रत्ययग्रहणं चापञ्चम्याः ॥
 (dd) यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावत्यहणे ॥**

Patanjali shows, by giving the proper meaning of येन, that Pāṇini's rule is not too widely applicable, and that it need not be changed to प्रकृते तदन्तविधिः—

(a) raises an objection, which is refuted in (b).

(c, d) limit the rule.

(e) demands an additional rule; (f) shows how Pāṇini's rule might be altered so as not to necessitate the additional rule (e); (g) shows that in reality no additional rule is required. (h—cc) teach where and with what limitations or modifications to apply Pāṇini's rule.

Patanjali rejects (v); he says that Pāṇini's rule is sufficient, or even preferable, if the statement अलैवानर्थकेन नान्येनानर्थकेनेति वक्तव्यम्, limited again by the other statement अनिनस्मन्ग्रहणानि चार्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति, be adopted.

(dd) corrects Pāṇini's rule.

* Should be read twice in Benares edition and I. O. MS.

† MS. of I. O. प्रयोजनं महदप्स्वसूनमृणां दीर्घविधौ २.

‡ MS. of I. O. reads this twice.

§ MS. of I. O. बुपथिमथिपुंगोसखिचतुरनडुच्चिग्रहणं २ प्रयोजनम्.

॥ MS. of I. O. त्यदादिविधिभस्त्रादिस्त्रीग्रहणं च २ प्रयोजनम्.

¶ Should be read twice in Benares edition and I. O. MS.

** The Benares edition omits अल्पग्रहणेषु after वल्यग्रहणे.

Note.—(p) is called a Vārttika by Kaiyaṭa; (a), (g), (h), (v—z), (bb) and (cc) are called Vārttikas by Nāgojibhaṭṭa, and (a—d), (h), (i), (l—z), and (dd), by Bhaṭṭojidikshita; Bhaṭṭoji also calls अलैवानर्थकेन a Vārttika. The Calcutta Edn. gives, not always correctly, (c), (d), (e), (f), (h), (i), (n—t) and (v).—Of the Paribhāshās cited in it, (6) is a Vārttika (dd), (4) equivalent to Vārttika (cc), and (1) similar in purpose to what is stated in Vārttika (g); (5) and (7) are statements of Patanjali; (2) occurs in and (3) is based on Patanjali's remarks.

P. I, 1, 75—एङ् प्राचां देशे ॥

No Vārttika.

Patanjali corrects Pāṇini's rule.

Note.—The Calcutta Edn. apparently mistakes Patanjali's correction for a Vārttika.

From the above it will appear that by adopting and practically applying the principle with which the first part of our enquiry had furnished us, we have been enabled to point out in Patanjali's discussions on 20 of Pāṇini's rules 135 Vārttikas; and I venture to hope that the reader who will examine the several Vārttikas appended to each of Pāṇini's rules, and compare the style and phraseology exhibited in all, and the manner in which Pāṇini's rules have been discussed in them, will grant that these Vārttikas bear the stamp of having been composed by one and the same author, and that taken together they form part of a work, complete in itself* and independent

* A very strong argument in favour of the assumption that Patanjali has recorded and commented on all the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, is furnished by the fact that whenever Kātyāyana in such words as उक्तं or उक्तं वा refers to another of his Vārttikas, the Vārttika so instanced or referred to is invariably to be found in the Mahābhāshya. The same argument holds good with regard to the Mahābhāshya itself, and deserves perhaps some little consideration at the hands of those who maintain that the

of the rest of the Mahābhāshya. Of this, at least, there can be no doubt, that the result at which we have arrived accords with the views held by the native grammarians. That these scholars have not made it their business to point out *all* the Vārttikas, but have told us only occasionally and incidentally that a particular statement was regarded by them as a Vārttika, has been mentioned already. I have also shown that out of the 135 statements which I have been led to consider as Vārttikas in the above, no less than 48 have actually been termed Vārttikas or ascribed to Kātyāyana the Vārttikakāra, by Kaiyaṭa, Nāgojibhaṭṭa, and Bhaṭṭojidikshita, and it would be easy to prove that, if these 48 statements were regarded as Vārttikas by those grammarians, the same must necessarily have been the case with many more. On the other hand, to the best of my knowledge, the term Vārttika has, with two exceptions, never been applied to any of those remarks which I have considered as Patanjali's; and as regards those two exceptions, I feel no hesitation in saying that Bhaṭṭojidikshita has been in error; for both the statements which he terms Vārttikas, अपुरीति वक्तव्यम् on P. I, 1, 36, and अतैवानर्यकेन नान्येनानर्यकेनेति वक्तव्यम् on P. I, 1, 72, end with the phrase इति वक्तव्यम् which is foreign to the style of Kātyāyana,* and in the case of the latter of those statements the context of the discussion in my opinion proves beyond doubt that it is Patanjali's.

IV.

Having fixed on a principle by which to distinguish in the Mahābhāshya, as it has been handed down to us, between the

text of the Mahābhāshya has been several times reconstructed out of fragments.

* Setting aside those cases in which Patanjali is commenting on Vārttikas, we find in the Mahābhāshya on P. I, 1, altogether only 9 statements which end with वक्तव्यः or इति वक्तव्यम्. Of these, three, on P. I, 1, 36; 72; and 75 have been given already above. The remaining ones occur on P. I, 1, 1; 27; 57; 69; and 72; in them Patanjali states clearly the objections which are supposed to be refuted in particular Vārttikas; or he states objections which he refutes himself.

Vārttikas of Kātyāyana and the original remarks of Patanjali, and having tested the worth of that principle by applying it practically for the reconstruction of a portion of the work of Kātyāyana, we now recur to the question which led to this enquiry, the question as to the nature and the object of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas, and of the work of Patanjali; and we may hope to answer that question the more readily and satisfactorily because we already have shown in the case of 20 of Pāṇini's rules, chosen at random, what is the tendency of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas in regard to them, and what the relation of Patanjali in regard to those Vārttikas on the one hand and to the Sūtras of Pāṇini on the other. We begin with the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana.

It is true that the Vārttikas are not a commentary on the rules of Pāṇini's grammar, and that it was not Kātyāyana's intention to explain the meaning and the import of those rules, as they have been explained, *e.g.* by the author of the Kāśikā Vṛitti. But it is in my opinion equally true that Kātyāyana, in composing his Vārttikas, did *not* propose to himself the task of *finding fault* with Pāṇini; for he *justifies* the rules of his predecessor as often as he finds fault with them. So far from calling Kātyāyana an unfair antagonist of Pāṇini, I would rather claim for him the title of a follower and judicious admirer of Pāṇini, who dispassionately examines the rules laid down by his master, considers the objections which have actually been or which might be raised to them, is ever ready to defend and justify Pāṇini, and corrects, adds to, or abandons the rules propounded by him, only when no other course is left open. It is true, Kātyāyana states the objects of some of Pāṇini's rules in order to show that those objects are attained without those rules, and that the latter may therefore be dispensed with,—but he also explains to us the object and the purport of other rules in order either to show that those rules are not too widely applicable, or to obviate the objection that they are unnecessary. He states the objections to which the possible interpretations of a particular rule would be liable, but he also shows that those interpretations are nevertheless

admissible, or suggests himself a correct interpretation. He discusses the several views that might be entertained regarding the objects of Pāṇini's rules, or their relation to other rules, and he states the objections to which those views would be open,—but in many instances he also refutes the objections advanced, and brings forward arguments in favour of one or more of the views propounded. He raises objections to whole rules or to particular terms employed in them, but he not seldom also proves those objections to be unfounded, and shows the correct way of applying a rule, or explains the import of a particular term, for the very purpose of meeting objections that might possibly be raised. If it cannot be denied that in many cases he corrects Pāṇini's rules, or suggests additional rules, it must also be admitted that there are many instances in which he proves that such corrections or additional rules are altogether uncalled for, or rendered unnecessary so soon as we adopt one or another maxim of interpretation the validity of which is proved by examples covering the whole range of Pāṇini's grammar. And if it is true on the one hand that some of Pāṇini's rules are declared by him unnecessary, it is on the other hand equally true that other rules which at first sight might seem to be unnecessary, are upheld by him and justified.

The object of the Vārttikas is then no other than this, without bias or prejudice to discuss such objections as might be raised to the rules of Pāṇini's grammar, and on the one hand to justify Pāṇini by defending him against unfounded criticism, and on the other hand to correct, reject, and add to, the rules laid down by him, where defence and justification were considered impossible. And this is in my opinion the true meaning of the definition of the term *वार्त्तिक*, as recorded by Nāgojibhaṭṭa, सूत्रे ऽ नुक्तदुरुक्तचिन्ताकरत्वं वार्त्तिकत्वम्. The Vārttikas consider whether anything has been omitted in the Sūtras that should have been stated, and whether there is in them anything that is superfluous, faulty, or objectionable. A consideration of this nature would lead either to the justification of Pāṇini or to his condemnation, and

Kātyāyana has given us ample proof that he has both justified and condemned the Sūtras of Pāṇini, the former perhaps even more than the latter. And from this point of view it will no longer be possible to question whether certain statements in the introductory Āhnika of the Mahābhāṣya have been correctly called Vārttikas by the native grammarians; for it must be patent to every one that the nature and object of those statements in no way differ from those of the rest of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas. If it is admitted that the words and their meanings are fixed and settled by common usage, it may well be questioned whether the rules laid down by Pāṇini are at all necessary, and it must therefore be shown that and why they are necessary*; and if it is the object of grammar to lay down rules for the correct formation of those words which people actually use, it does not seem improper to enquire whether Pāṇini, in teaching the formation of such words as would not appear to be in use, has not laid himself open to just censure.† If, moreover, we are promised some transcendent benefit from the study of Pāṇini's grammar, we may well ask whether, to secure that benefit, it is sufficient for us to *know* the right words, as they have been taught by Pāṇini, or whether we only have to *employ* them.‡ It is also fair matter for discussion whether the name chosen for the science taught by Pāṇini is altogether appropriate and unobjectionable.§

* सिद्धे शब्दार्थसंबन्धे लोकतो ऽ र्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमो यथा लौकिक-
वैदिकेभ्यः ॥

† अस्त्यप्रयुक्त इति चेत्यर्थे शब्दप्रयोगात् ।

अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्यत्वात् ।

अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसञ्चवत् ।

सर्वे दज्ञान्तरे ॥

‡ ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्यथाधर्मः ।

आचारे नियमः ।

प्रयोगे सर्वलोकस्य ।

शास्त्रपूर्वके प्रयोगे ऽ भ्युदयस्तत्तुल्यं वेदशब्देन ॥

§ सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थो ऽ नुपपन्नः ।

शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः ।

शब्दे ल्युडर्थः ।

भवे प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः ।

लक्ष्यलक्षणे व्याकरणम् ॥

And finally, when we are told that Pāṇini intended to teach the correct formation of words actually used, we may well raise the question why he should have commenced his grammar with an enumeration of the letters.*

Though I am obliged to differ from Prof. Goldstücker, I am not altogether at a loss to understand what may have led him to describe the nature and the object of the Vārttikas as he has done. The work which first brought the Sūtras of Pāṇini and the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana within the range of the studies of European scholars, was the Calcutta Edition of Pāṇini. The editors of that work did not consider it necessary to append *all* the Vārttikas to their gloss; and unfortunately they in most cases selected those which contained objections and corrections, and omitted those others in which the corrections were rejected and the objections refuted † (see on P. I, 1, 1; 7; 12; 20; 22; 24; 26; 29, &c). Starting from such a selection of Vārttikas as they had given, it was not unnatural to arrive at the conclusion, which Prof. Goldstücker actually has arrived at, a conclusion which not even his subsequent profound knowledge of the Mahābhāshya could induce him to modify.

We turn to Patanjali. That Patanjali has refuted some of the objections, that he has rejected some of the additional rules of Kātyāyana, no student of the Mahābhāshya would think of denying. But it is altogether contrary to fact to say that all the Vārttikas have been refuted by Patanjali, or to maintain that the Mahābhāshya has been composed for the justification of Pāṇini. In proof of this assertion it would suffice to refer the reader to the analysis of part of the Mahābhāshya which I have given above, and in which I have shown

* वृत्तिसमवायार्थे उपदेशः।
अनुबन्धकरणार्थम्।
इष्टबुद्धयर्थेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकदीर्घप्लुतानामप्युपदेशः।
आकृत्युपदेशात्सिद्धमिति चेत्संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः॥

† To use two terms which have been employed, e.g. by Bhaṭṭojidikshita on P. I, 1, 10, the Calcutta editors have given us the *Pūrvapakṣa-vārttikas*, but they have omitted the *Siddhānta-vārttikas*.

that more than half of the 135 Vārttikas pointed out have been unreservedly adopted by Patanjali; but I will try to corroborate it by additional evidence. I have stated already that whereas in the case of P. I, 1, 6 Kātyāyana only objects to the words **रीषिविषी** of that rule, Patanjali proves the whole rule to be superfluous; and that while Kātyāyana defends P. I, 1, 35 from an objection, his defence is not accepted, and Pāṇini's rule altered, by Patanjali. I have also shown that Patanjali declares the **इति** either of P. I, 1, 23 or 25 to be superfluous, and that he rejects the rule I, 1, 49, which had been justified by Kātyāyana, in the sense ordinarily ascribed to it, altogether. Similarly, while Kātyāyana thinks it right to defend P. I, 1, 8 from a possible objection, Patanjali rejects the word **सुख** from that rule; and while Kātyāyana on P. I, 1, 41 enumerates three cases as the only ones for which it would be necessary to term an Avyayībhāva Avyaya, Patanjali rejects the rule altogether. In the same way Patanjali refutes a Vārttika on P. I, 1, 56 which shows the purport of that rule, and he tries to prove that Pāṇini's rule may be dispensed with; and he shows on P. I, 1, 62 that either the **प्रत्ययस्य** of the preceding rule or the first **प्रत्यय** of I, 1, 62 may be omitted. Such a proceeding cannot be called *justifying* Pāṇini.

The Mahābhāshya is in the first instance a *commentary on Kātyāyana's Vārttikas*. This must be evident from all I have had occasion to state in the first part of this enquiry, and this too is the view entertained by the native grammarians. Puṇyārāja informs us that Patanjali composed his work **वाचिककव्याख्यानपुरःसरम्**, and Jinendrabuddhi, when commenting on the word **भाष्ये** in the introductory verse of the Kāśikā-ṛitti, tells us distinctly **भाष्यं कात्यायनमणीतानां वाक्यानां पतञ्जलिमणीतम्**.

But Patanjali did not rest satisfied with being a mere commentator. Having started as a commentator, he became a follower and imitator of the man whose work he was explaining. He unreservedly adopted Kātyāyana's method of discussing the Sūtras of Pāṇini, and like most imitators carried that method to extremes. Finding that Kātyāyana had left unnoticed certain Sūtras of Pāṇini which were or which might

appear to be liable to objection, he drew those rules within the range of his discussion, and either refuted the objections to which they seemed to be open, or showed that Pāṇini was really in the wrong and that his rules ought to be corrected. Or finding that Kātyāyana had failed to notice objections to rules which *had* been discussed by him, he thought it necessary to do what had been left undone by his master. On the other hand, not approving of the way in which certain objections had been met by Kātyāyana, or finding that the objections refuted by the latter admitted of different refutations, he either substituted his own refutations for those of Kātyāyana, or strengthened the views held by that scholar by additional arguments of his own. Again, believing himself to be in the possession of arguments by which to refute objections to Pāṇini's rules which had been stated by Kātyāyana, but which the latter had been unable to refute, or by which to prove the uselessness of corrections or additional rules which Kātyāyana had thought fit to adopt, he employed those arguments to refute those objections, corrections, and additional rules, and in doing so he refuted the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana. On the other hand, there are not wanting instances in which he proved his superior skill by showing that Kātyāyana had done wrong in defending Pāṇini, and by supporting the very objection which Kātyāyana had laboured to refute. If by adopting such a course of procedure Patanjali has defended Pāṇini from some of the objections brought against him by Kātyāyana, it is on the other hand equally true that in many cases his criticism is much more thorough-going and destructive than Kātyāyana's, and that Pāṇini has suffered more at *his* hands than at those of the Vārttikakāra.*

* Where there is a difference of opinion between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, or between Kātyāyana and Patanjali, or between all the three, the native grammarians attach a higher value to the views of Kātyāyana than to those of Pāṇini, and a higher value again to those of Patanjali than to those either of Kātyāyana or of Pāṇini. That such should be the case is not unnatural, and it might appear unnecessary to allude to it here, were it not that Prof. Weber has expressed a somewhat different view when discussing the meaning of the word *Āchāryadeśīya* (Ind. Stud. XIII,

The object which Kātyāyana and Patanjali have in view throughout their works, is one and the same; the nature of their remarks on Pāṇini's rules is identically one; both differ in the form which they have given to their discussions and in the extent to which they have carried them, and to which they have availed themselves of such artifices as *Nipātana*, *Jnāpaka*, &c. Were we to omit the text of the Vārttikas and to retain only Patanjali's explanations of them, or were we to

page 317). Prof. Goldstücker was of opinion that this word denoted Patanjali as the countryman of the Āchārya, understanding by *Āchārya* Kātyāyana. Prof. Bhāṇḍarkar had referred it likewise to Patanjali, but had understood it to mean 'Āchārya the younger.' Prof. Weber, without actually refuting these two interpretations, is apparently inclined to take the word, in accordance with Pāṇini's rules, in the sense of 'an unaccomplished teacher,' and he disposes of the objection that Kaiyaṭa, who uses the word *Āchāryadeśīya*, would not have called Patanjali an unaccomplished teacher, by stating, that since Kaiyaṭa once has placed the Vārttikakāra even above the Sūtrakāra, it would seem even less strange that he should have placed the same Vārttikakāra also above Patanjali, 'although it would appear curious enough that he should have spoken of Patanjali in *so* disparaging a manner.' Here Prof. Weber appears to have overlooked the fact that Kaiyaṭa in another place of his work has distinctly told us his views as to the relative value of the teachings of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patanjali. For when commenting on a passage of the Mahābhāshya on P. I, 1, 29, Kaiyaṭa lays down the well-known maxim यथोत्तरं मुनित्रयस्य प्रामाण्यम्. 'the later the Muni, the greater his authority;' Kātyāyana is a higher authority than Pāṇini, and Patanjali a higher authority than Kātyāyana or Pāṇini.

The word *Āchāryadeśīya* does mean 'an unaccomplished teacher,' and it is opposed to *Āchārya*; but it is not synonymous with Patanjali, nor does the word *Āchārya* necessarily denote Kātyāyana. Those who are acquainted with the method followed in the Mahābhāshya, must be aware that in many cases Patanjali does not at once acquaint us with the final and correct view (*Siddhānta*) on the matter under discussion, but leads up to it by degrees. While doing so, he not seldom propounds views which contain a part of the truth, but which, as they contain truth mixed with error, are subsequently abandoned in favour of the *Siddhānta*. And in these cases it is customary with the commentators to consider those views which are partly correct and partly incorrect, as views of an *Āchāryadeśīya*, a disputant who has some idea of the true state of the case but does not know the whole truth, and to contrast with them the views of the

translate Patanjali's original remarks into the language of Kātyāyana, we should find it an exceedingly hard task, a task in most cases altogether impossible of solution, to distinguish between the two grammarians. Of this fact the native commentators were well aware, and hence discussions such as those of Nāgojibhaṭṭa on P. I, 1, 12, as to whether Patanjali is giving his own remarks, or is commenting on Vārttikas which have been omitted in the MSS.*

It is not seldom that in the works of European scholars we meet with the statement that Patanjali has commented on and explained the rules of Pāṇini; but that statement can be accepted as true only if a meaning be assigned to the words

Āchārya, the disputant whose views are entirely correct and finally adopted. They in fact employ the two terms in the same manner in which they also use the words *Siddhāntekadeśin* and *Siddhāntin*. Where Patanjali leads up to a *Vārttika* which is finally adopted by him, by stating a view which is only partly correct, the view to which he thus gives expression, is the view of an *Āchāryadeśīya*, and the view taken in the *Vārttika* that of the *Āchārya*. But where the two views, as happens to be the case not unfrequently, are *both* propounded by Patanjali, Patanjali himself is both the *Āchāryadeśīya* and also the *Āchārya*. When commenting on the *Vārttika* पदुस्मदस्मद° on P. I, 1, 72, Patanjali raises the question whether the word पद् of that Vārt. is an instance for पदाधिकारे or अङ्गाधिकारे in the preceding Vārt. पदाङ्गाधिकारे°. In the words एवं तर्ह्यङ्गाधिकारे प्रयोजनं नास्तीति° he first states the view that it is an instance for पदाधिकारे; but that view he afterwards abandons in favour of the correct view that पद् is an instance for अङ्गाधिकारे. In this case there is no question between a view of Patanjali's and one of Kātyāyana's; both views are propounded by Patanjali. And yet Nāgojibhaṭṭa contrasts the two views with each other, by calling the view first stated that of the *Āchāryadeśīya*. It is the view of an *Āchāryadeśīya*, because it is partly correct and partly incorrect; पद् is an instance for the *Vārttika* पदाङ्गाधिकारे°, but it is an instance for the term अङ्गाधिकारे of that *Vārttika*, and *not* for पदाधिकारे. See also for a similar example Kaiyaṭa on P. IV, 1, 162.

* The question on P. I, 1, 12 is, whether in the words अथवा प्रश्नसंज्ञा°—मार्थादीदायर्थानामिति (on page 79a of the Benares Edition) Patanjali is giving his own arguments or is commenting on the three *Vārttikas* वचनसामर्थ्याद्वा योगविभागाद्वा ॥ मार्थादीदायर्थानां वा ॥ omitted in the MSS. (कोशे).

explanation and comment, which those words do not convey generally. For, so far as my own experience goes, Patanjali never tells us the import of a whole rule or of a particular term of a rule, he never quotes instances or counterinstances, for the simple purpose of explanation, but always does so either to show that such rule is absolutely necessary, and that the objects for which it has been given are not attained by other rules, in other words, to justify Pāṇini; or he does so for the purpose of showing subsequently that such rule or part of a rule is not necessary, and that it therefore may be dispensed with. The *Bhāṣhyakāra*, in short, is not a *Vṛttikāra*, and the functions of both are carefully kept separate by the commentators. When Patanjali on P. I, 1, 4 asks why Pāṇini has employed the terms धातु and आर्धधातुके in his rule, and when he quotes counterinstances, apparently to explain the meaning and import of those terms, Kaiyaṭa shows us the real purpose of Patanjali's proceeding by saying क्रमेण सूत्रप्रस्थारख्यानाथार्धधातुकस्य च लोपविशेषणत्वे धातुग्रहणानर्थक्यप्रतिपादनाय प्रत्युदाहरणोपन्यासः, and Nāgojibhaṭṭa justifies Kaiyaṭa's remark by adding ननु पदप्रयोजनविन्ता वृत्तिकारस्योचिता न भाष्यकारस्येत्यत आह क्रमेणेति । तत्तत्प्रयोजनखण्डनक्रमेणेत्यर्थः ॥ And when Patanjali on P. I, 1, 57 asks why Pāṇini has employed the term अच् in his rule, and when in answer to that question he quotes a number of counterinstances which by the term अच् would seem to be excluded from Pāṇini's rule, Kaiyaṭa again considers the occasion worthy of remark and tells us that the question has been raised (not to explain Pāṇini's rule, but) to show that for *some* of the Pratyudāharaṇas which are given in the commentaries, the term अच् would be unnecessary ('वार्त्तानि प्रत्युदाहरणानि कानिचिच्छक्यप्रतिविधानानीति प्रश्नो ऽच इति किमिति.'). and Nāgojibhaṭṭa again appends to Kaiyaṭa's remark the explanatory statement प्रत्युदाहरणविन्ता वृत्तिकारानुचिता न तु भाष्यकृतो ऽत आह वार्त्तानीति. When on P. I, 1, 50 Patanjali asks for an example of that rule, Kaiyaṭa shows the reason for that question by saying कश्चिन्नपान्तरेणैति सिद्धमिति प्रश्नः; and when Patanjali on I, 1, 56 enquires why Pāṇini has employed the term स्थानिवत् instead of saying merely स्थानी, Kaiyaṭa informs us of the real import of Patanjali's question

by stating विनापि वतिना तर्क्यलाभो यथा किञ्चिदिति भावः. Nowhere does Patanjali explain Pāṇini for the simple purpose of explanation, but like a second Vārttikakāra, he enquires whether anything has been omitted in the Sūtras that should have been stated, or whether in them there is anything superfluous, faulty, or at all liable to objection.

Here I conclude. To show in detail the differences between Kātyāyana and Patanjali would be a task full of interest, and highly instructive, as showing the progress which the science of grammar had undoubtedly made from the time of Kātyāyana to that of Patanjali, and as tracing in the work of the latter the germs of those failings which have continued growing and increasing in the works of the later grammarians ever since. But that task does not lie within the scope of this enquiry, nor would the materials at my command justify my undertaking it at present. My purpose is attained if in future it will be impossible to stigmatize Kātyāyana as an *unfair antagonist* of Pāṇini, and to speak of Patanjali as *refuting* the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, or *justifying* Pāṇini.

APPENDIX.

In order to enable the reader to judge for himself of the value of the *Vārttikapāṭha* which I have mentioned on page 6, I publish below the first chapter of that work from the MS. in my possession.

सिद्धे शब्दार्थसंबन्धे लोकतो ऽर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमो यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु । समानाधामर्थावगतौ शब्देन चापशब्देन च शब्देनैवार्थो ऽभिधेय इति नियमः ॥

तत्र ज्ञानपूर्वके प्रयोगे धर्मः ॥

न चेदानीमाचार्याः सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति ॥

वृत्तिसमवायार्थो ऽनुबन्धकरणार्थश्च वर्णानामुपदेशः । शास्त्र-प्रवृत्तिफलको वर्णानां क्रमेण निवेशो वृत्तिसमवायः ॥

अ इ उण् ॥

आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धम् । रूपसामान्याद्वा ॥

ऋ लृक् ॥

समाने चार्थे शास्त्रान्वितो ऽशास्त्रान्वितस्य निवर्तको भवति । एवं समाने शब्दे शास्त्रान्वितो ऽप्यर्थो ऽस्य निवर्तको भवति तुल्य-न्यायात् ॥

पक्षान्तरैरपि परिहारा भवन्ति ॥

ए ओङ् ॥

वर्णैकदेशा वर्णग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते ॥

नाव्यपवृक्तस्यावयवस्य तद्विधिः ॥

अथवा न गृह्यन्ते ॥

ह य व रट् ॥

रेफस्यानुनासिकपरसवर्णप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

रेफोष्मणां सवर्णा न सन्ति ॥

नेमौ रहौ कार्थिणाविति च ॥

अयोगवाहानामट्स्वपदेशः कार्यः । शर्षु च ॥

अर्थवन्तो वर्णा धात्वादीनामेकवर्णानामर्थदर्शनात् ॥

अनर्थकास्तु प्रतिवर्णमर्थानुपलब्धेः ॥

तत्र स्वभावाद्भात्वादेय एकवर्णा अर्थवन्तो ऽन्ये ऽनर्थका इति

तत्त्वम् ॥

प्रत्याहारे ऽनुबन्धानां कथमज्ग्रहणेषु न ।

आचारादप्रधानत्वाद्भ्रोपश्च बलवत्तरः ॥

अक्षरं न क्षरं विशादभ्रोतेर्वा सरो ऽक्षरम् ।

वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे किमर्थमुपदिश्यते ॥

वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।

तदर्थमिष्टबुद्धयर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥

वृद्धिरादैच् ॥ १॥

छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्ति । छन्दोवत्कवयः कुर्वन्तीति नेष्टिः ॥

अथ संज्ञेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

आचार्यव्यवहारात्संज्ञात्वसिद्धिः ॥

पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी परोच्चारिता संज्ञा ॥

सतो हि कार्थिणः कार्येण भवितव्यम् ॥

मङ्गलादीनि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषाणि च भवन्त्यायुष्मत्पुरुषाणि चाध्येतारश्च वृद्धियुक्ता भवन्ति ॥

इतरेतराभ्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते ॥

प्रत्येकं वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः । समुदाये वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिः ॥

गुणा भेदकाः । अभेदकाश्च । तत्राभेदका इत्येव न्याय्यम् ॥

तकारः मुखसुखोच्चारणार्थः ॥

इको गुणवृद्धी ॥ ३ ॥

यं विधिं प्रत्युपदेशो ऽनर्थकः स विधिर्वाध्यते यस्य तु विधेर्निमित्तमेव नासौ वाध्यते ॥

मण्डूकगतयो ऽधिकाराः ॥

न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके ॥ ४ ॥

प्रसक्तस्यानभिनिर्वृत्तस्य प्रतिषेधेन निवृत्तिः ॥

(दीधीविवीटाम् ॥ ६ ॥)

दृष्टानुविधिश्छन्दसि ॥

हलो ऽनन्तराः संयोगः ॥ ७ ॥

अतज्जातीयव्यवाये नानन्तर्यम् ॥

तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् ॥ ९ ॥

ऋकारल्कारयोः सवर्णसंज्ञा विधेया ॥

उरण् रपर इत्यत्र लपरत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

अदसो मात् ॥ १२ ॥

नैकं प्रयोजनं योगारम्भं प्रयोजयति ॥

निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥ १४ ॥

ईषदर्थे क्रियायोगे मर्यादाभिविधौ च यः ।

एतमातं डितं विश्वाहाक्यस्मरणयोरडित् ॥

तरप्तमपौ घः ॥ २२ ॥

इह व्याकरणे सर्वेष्वेव सानुबन्धकग्रहणेषु रूपमाश्रीयते यत्रा-
स्यैतद्रूपमिति रूपनिर्ग्रहश्च नान्तरेण लौकिकं प्रयोगं तस्मिंश्च लौकिके
प्रयोगे सानुबन्धकानां प्रयोगो नास्तीति कृत्वा द्वितीयः प्रयोग उपा-
स्यत उपदेशो नाम ॥

बहुगणवतुडति संख्या ॥ २३ ॥

कृत्रिमाकृत्रिमयोः कृत्रिमे कार्यसंप्रत्ययः ॥

अप्रकरणज्ञं प्रति गोपालकमानयेत्युक्त उभयगतिस्तस्य भवति ।
साधीयो यष्टिहस्तं गमिष्यति ॥

अध्यर्धशब्दस्य संख्यासंज्ञा वक्तव्या समासकन्विध्यर्थम् । लुकि
चाग्रहणम् ॥

अर्धपूर्वपदश्च पूरणप्रत्ययान्तः संख्यासंज्ञ इति वक्तव्यं समास-
कन्विध्यर्थम् ॥

अधिकग्रहणं चालुकि समासोत्तरपदवृद्ध्यर्थम् । बहुव्रीहौ चाग्रह-
णम् ॥

णान्ता षट् ॥ २४ ॥

उपदेशे णान्तेति वक्तव्यम् । न वा ॥

यथालक्षणमप्रयुक्ते । तत्र लक्षणाभावस्य योग्यतेत्यर्थः ॥

क्तवतू निष्ठा ॥ २६ ॥

अनुबन्धो लुप्ते ऽपि कालकारकादिविशेषानुपलक्षयति ॥

सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि ॥ २७ ॥

बहुव्रीहौ तद्गुणसंविज्ञानमपि ॥

वाधकान्येव निपातनानि ॥

संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतानां पाठात्पर्युदासो वक्तव्यः ॥

अङ्गाधिकारे यदुच्यते गृह्यमाणविभक्तेस्तद्भवति । सप्तमीनिर्दिष्टे
यदुच्यते प्रकृतविभक्तौ तद्भवति ॥

अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंख्यानयोः ॥ ३६ ॥

अपुरीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वाप्रकरणे तीयस्य डिस्तूपसंख्यानम् । विभाषा द्वितीयेत्यादि न
कर्तव्यम् ॥

तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः ॥ ३८ ॥

एवं गते कृत्यपि तुल्यमेतन्मान्तस्य कार्यं ग्रहणं न तत्र ।
ततः परे चाभिमतानां कार्याल्लयः कृदर्थान् ग्रहणेन योगाः ॥
कृत्तद्धितानां ग्रहणं तु कार्यं संख्याविशेषं ह्यभिनिश्चिता ये ।
तस्मात्स्वरादिग्रहणं च कार्यं कृत्तद्धितानां ग्रहणं च पाठे ॥
सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेष्वित्यादि च ॥

कृन्मेजन्तः ॥ ३९ ॥

अनन्यप्रकृतिरिति वाच्यम् । न वा संनिपातलक्षणेत्यादि ॥

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ ४१ ॥

लुग्मुखस्वरोपचाराः प्रयोजनमिति परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् ॥

मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः ॥ ४७ ॥

नैवेश्वर आज्ञापयति नापि धर्मसूत्रकाराः पठन्त्यसंभवेऽपवादैरु-
त्सर्गा वाध्यन्तामिति । किं तर्हि । लौकिको दृष्टान्तः । लोके हि स-
त्यपि संभवे वाधनं भवति । यथा दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्य इत्यादौ सत्यपि
संभवे तद्दानं दधिदानस्य निवर्तकं भवति ॥

अन्त्यात्पूर्वो मस्जेरनुषङ्गसंयोगादिलोपार्थमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

भार्जिमर्च्योरन्त्यात्पूर्वो वक्तव्यः ॥

एच इग्घस्वादेशे ॥ ४८ ॥

सिद्धमेडः सस्थानत्वादौचोत्तरभूयस्त्वादिति ॥

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ॥ ४९ ॥

अधिकारश्च त्रिप्रकारकः । कश्चिदेकदेशस्थः सर्वं शास्त्रमभिज्वलयति प्रदीपवत् । अपरो यथा रज्ज्वा बद्धं काष्ठमनुकृष्यते तद्वदनुकृष्यते चकारेण । अपरः प्रतियोगं तस्यानिर्देशार्थं इति योगे योग उपतिष्ठते ॥

स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥ ५६ ॥

सामान्यातिदेशे विशेषानतिदेशः ॥

एकदेशविकृतस्योपसंख्यानम् । लोकन्यायात्सिद्धमेतन्न हि श्वा पुच्छे छिन्ने गर्दभो भवति ॥

स्थानी नाम यो भूत्वा नो भवत्यादेशो नाम यो ऽ भूत्वा भवति ॥

बुद्धिविपरिणाममात्रं वा ॥

तयदेश उभयप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । विप्रतिषेधात्सिद्धम् ॥

त्रयदेशे सन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । विप्रतिषेधाद्वा ॥

आम्बिधौ च सन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । विप्रतिषेधाद्वा ॥

स्वरे वस्वादेशे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

गोः पूर्वणित्वात्वस्वरेषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

न पदान्तं ॥ ५८ ॥

स्वरदीर्घयलोपेषु लोपाजादेश एव न स्थानिवदिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

क्विलुगुपधात्वचङ्परनिर्हासेषूपसंख्यानम् ॥

पूर्वत्रासिद्धे न स्थानिवदिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वरेयलोपस्वरवर्जं द्विर्वचनादीनि च न कर्तव्यानि ॥

तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलत्वणत्वेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

न लुमताङ्गस्य ॥ ६३ ॥

लुमति प्रतिषेध एकपदस्वरस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

सर्वामन्त्रितसिज्जुक्स्वरवर्जम् ॥

प्रयोजनं लुकि ङित्कित्स्वरा इति ॥

अङ्गो रविधौ लुमता लुमे प्रत्ययलक्षणं नेति वाच्यम् ॥

न लुमता तस्मिन्निति वक्तव्यम् ॥

तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य ॥ ६६ ॥

उभयनिर्देशे पञ्चमीनिर्देशो बलीयान् ॥

स्त्रं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा ॥ ६८ ॥

सित्तद्विशेषाणां वृक्षाद्यर्थम् ॥

पित्पर्यायवचनस्य च स्वाद्यर्थम् ॥

जित्पर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् ॥

क्षित्तस्य च तद्विशेषाणां च मत्स्याद्यर्थम् । मीनस्य पर्यायस्येष्यते ॥

तपरस्तत्कालस्य ॥ ७० ॥

ध्वनिः स्फोटश्च शब्दानां ध्वनिस्तु खलु लक्ष्यते ।

अल्पो महांश्च केषांचिदुभयं तत्स्वभावतः ॥

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य ॥ ७२ ॥

उगिहर्णप्रहणवर्जं समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः ॥

अकच्छनम्बतः सर्वनामाव्ययधातुविधानुपसंख्यानम् ॥

तदेकदेशविज्ञानात्सिद्धम् ॥

प्रयोजनं सर्वनामाव्ययसंज्ञायाम् ॥

उपपदविधौ भयाढ्यादिप्रहणम् ॥

प्रतिषेधे स्वस्नादियहणं च ॥

दितिप्रहणं च प्रयोजनम् ॥

रोष्ण अण् ॥

तस्य चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ प्रयोजनम् ॥

सुसर्वार्धादिक्शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य ॥

ऋतोर्वृद्धिमद्विधाववयवानाम् ॥

ठञ्चिधौ संख्यायाः ॥

धर्मान्नञः ॥

पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य तदुत्तरपदस्य च । तदन्तस्येत्येव ज्यायः ॥

वर्णग्रहणं च सर्वत्र प्रयोजनम् ॥

प्रत्ययग्रहणं चापञ्चम्याः ॥

अलैवानर्थकेन नान्येनानर्थकेनेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

अनिनस्मन्ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च ॥

यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावल्ग्रहण इति वाच्यम् ॥

वृद्धिर्गस्याचाया° ॥ ७३ ॥

वा नामधेयस्य वृद्धसंज्ञा वक्तव्या ॥

गोत्रोत्तरपदस्य च सा वक्तव्या ॥

गोत्रान्ताद्वासमस्तवत्ययोजयतीति वक्तव्यम् । जिह्वाकास्यहरित-
कात्यवर्जम् । इदमेव ज्यायः ॥

(त्यदादीनि च ॥ ७४ ॥)

कश्चित्कान्तारे समुपस्थिते सार्थमुपादत्ते स यदा निष्क्रान्तका-
न्तारो भवति तदा सार्थं जहाति ॥

एङ् प्राचां देशे ॥ ७५ ॥

शैषिकेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

॥ इति (श्रीमद्भगवत्कात्यायनविरचिते वार्त्तिकपाठे) प्रथमा-
ध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

No. 17 of 1881.
MS.

From Dr. F. KIELHORN,

Professor of Oriental Languages,

Deccan College,

To K. M. CHATFIELD, Esq.,

Director of Public Instruction,

Bombay.

Deccan College, 2nd May 1881.

SIR,

I have the honour to submit my report on the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the year 1880-81.

2. Up to the middle of September the work in connection with the search for MSS. was divided between Dr. Bühler and myself ; after Dr. Bühler's departure the whole work in both the Northern and the Southern Circles of the Presidency and the territories attached to it was entrusted to me. I have also had charge of all the MSS., collected by order of the Government of India since 1868, which are deposited in the Library of the Deccan College.

3. The work done during the year may be considered under the following heads :—

1. The collection of information regarding the existence of ancient Libraries, and the search for particular books.
2. The preparation of rough lists, or of detailed catalogues, of Libraries likely to contain old or rare MSS.
3. The purchase of MSS. for the Government collection.

To this may be added :—

4. A statement of the total number of MSS. hitherto collected, and of the use made of them by different scholars.

4. The first part of the work has been chiefly entrusted to native agency. Dr. Bühler left

1. Collection of information India before the commencement regarding Libraries. of the travelling season; and I

have been prevented by my duties in the College and by the work of cataloguing the numerous MSS. acquired during the year, from leaving Poona during the cold weather. The main result of such inquiries as I was able to make by letter has been the discovery, in the Southern Circle, of four ancient Jain Libraries which contain a large number of paper and palm-leaf MSS. In the Northern Circle the native agents employed have made six tours. They were specially directed to acquire ancient palm-leaf MSS., and to search for works of the Maitrāyaṇīya Śākhā of the Yajurveda and of the Paippalāda Śākhā of the Atharvaveda. For the former purpose they again went to Cambay and Pāṭhan (Aṅhilwād), where this time their labours were very successful, and in carrying out the orders for the search of Vedic books they travelled through the districts of Surat, Broach, Kaira, the Gaikwari territory and Kathiawār. Their endeavours to procure MSS. of the Paippalāda Śākhā were fruitless, but they succeeded in procuring a considerable number of works of the Śaunaka Śākhā of the Atharvaveda and of the Maitrāyaṇīya Śākhā.

5. With the assistance of a former pupil, Mr. Paranjpe, who is now a Professor in the

2. Preparation of lists and catalogues. Kolapur College, I have obtained

rough lists of the MSS. in two of the Jain Libraries mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Of works which would interest Sanskrit scholars generally these lists mention hardly any besides the *Śākaṭāyana* and *Jainendra-vyākaraṇas*, but they give the titles of many Jain

works which have not yet been met with elsewhere, and it has therefore been considered advisable to arrange for the preparation of accurate catalogues of the contents of these two as well as of the two other libraries which have been discovered. The palm-leaf MSS. in these Southern collections and some of their paper MSS. are written in the Canarese character.

6. In the Northern Circle catalogues were prepared, under the supervision of Dr. Bühler, of a small private Library and of the large Saṅghavi Bhaṅḍār at Pāṭhan. Both these Libraries contain only palm-leaf MSS., the former 89, and the latter 527. Of the MSS. of the smaller Library 26 are dated, the oldest Saṁvat 1186, and the latest Saṁvat 1456; 22 of the dated MSS. were written between A.D. 1150 and 1300, one before, and three later. Of the 527 MSS. of the Saṅghavi Bhaṅḍār 143 are dated; of these the oldest bears the date Saṁvat 1120, and the latest the date Saṁvat 1505. The number of those written during the 14th century of the Christian era (more accurately between A.D. 1290 and 1390) is surprisingly small, a fact which probably may be accounted for by the unsettled state of the country after the fall of Aṅhilwād in A.D. 1297.

7. However valuable these two collections may be for researches regarding the Jain religion and literature and for the history of Gujarāt, it is a matter for regret that among the old MSS. which they contain only the following (the titles of which are given from the MS. list) are likely to interest Sanskrit scholars generally :—

1. *Anekārthasamuchchaya* by ŚĀŚVATA; 93 ll.; Saṁvat 1240 (copied for Government).
2. *Alamkāravṛitti*; 305 ll.; incomplete.
3. *Unādisūtravṛitti* by HEMACHANDRA; 155 ll.
4. *Kātantravṛittivivarāṇa* by TRILOCHANADĀSA; 288 ll.
5. *Kāvyaḍarśa* by DAṆḌIN; 49 ll., incomplete; Saṁvat 1190.
6. *Kāvyaalamkāra* by VĀMANA; 36 ll.
7. *Gauḍavadhakāvya*; 110 ll.; Saṁvat 1286.

8. *Chhandānuśāsanavṛitti* by VĀGBHAṬṬA ; 78 ll.
9. *Chhandovṛitti* by HALĀYUDHA ; 191 ll.
10. *Tātparyapariśuddhi* by UDAYANA ; 215 ll.
11. *Naishadhakāvya* ; 125 ll.
12. The same ; 166 ll. ; Saṁvat 1304.
13. The same ; 197 ll. ; Saṁvat 1395.
14. *Nyāyavārttika* ; 64 ll. ; Saṁvat 1492.
15. The same ; 317 ll. ; Saṁvat 1484.
16. *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā* by VĀCHASPATIMIŚRA ; 422 ll. ; Saṁvat 1487.
17. *Pañjikoddyote 'nushangapādah* by TRIVIKRAMA ; 81 ll ; Saṁvat 1221.
18. *Prabodhachandrodayanātaka* ; 57 ll.
19. *Rāmanātaka* ; 186 ll.
20. *Vasantarājāsākuna* ; 130 ll.
21. *Vātsīyanyāyabhāshya* ; 98 ll.
22. *Vārāhī Saṁhitā* ; 58 ll., Saṁvat 1313.
23. The same ; 224 ll.
24. *Śiśupālavadhakāvya* ; 201 ll.
25. The same ; 184 ll ; Saṁvat 1296.
26. *Śiśupālavadhasāravṛitti* by VALLABHA ; 178 ll.
27. *Sālamkārā Saptasatīchhāyā* by JALHAṆADEVA ; 304 ll.
28. *Sūktaratnākaramahākāvya* ; 297 ll ; Saṁvat 1347.

8. The catalogue of the palm-leaf MSS. in Śāntināth's Bhaṇḍār at Cambay, mentioned in last year's report, has, owing to objections raised by the proprietors, not yet been completed.

9. The total number of MSS. purchased during the year is 413; of these 336 are paper, 3. Purchase of MSS. and 77 palm-leaf MSS. Of the paper MSS. 229 were collected by Dr. Bühler, and 107 by myself. Of the 77 palm-leaf MSS. two (Nos. 26 and

72) were obtained for Dr. Bühler at Cambay; the remaining 75 come from Pāṭhan (Aṅhilwād), and were purchased by me for Government between December and March last.

10. A description of the palm-leaf MSS., as accurate and full as I could make it in the short time at my disposal, is appended to this report. Here I have only to add a few general remarks. The first point which will strike any one who may examine this collection is the great age of the MSS. which it contains. It is well known that few Sanskrit MSS. in public Libraries are older than two or three hundred years. The oldest of these palm-leaf MSS., the date of which is absolutely certain,* was written exactly 800 years ago, and I may state in general that all the MSS. collected were written during the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries. 20 of the MSS. are dated, and the dates given by the writers are:—

No. 57. Saṁvat 1138 = A.D. 1081.

Nos. 35 and 36. Saṁvat 1145 and 46 = A.D. 1088 and 89; during the reign of Karnadeva.

No. 53. Saṁvat 1176 = A.D. 1119.

Nos. 41—43. Saṁvat 1179 = A.D. 1122; during the reign of Jayasingha.

No. 58. Saṁvat 119—(?) = between A.D. 1133 and 42.

No. 13. Saṁvat 1218 = A.D. 1161; during the reign of Kumārapāla.

No. 8. Saṁvat 1264 (?) = A.D. 1207 (?); during the reign of Bhīmadeva II.

No. 38. Saṁvat 1294 = A.D. 1237.

No. 47. Saṁvat 1300 = A.D. 1243.

No. 28. Saṁvat 1304 = A.D. 1247.

No. 62. Saṁvat 1315 = A.D. 1258.

No. 3. Saṁvat 1332 = A.D. 1275.

* The MS. No. 7 seems to have been written in Saṁvat (?) 962; but I cannot be perfectly certain about this, because the last leaf of the MS. is much damaged and the writing on it effaced. (See below page 9.)

No. 60. Saṃvat 1340 = A.D. 1283.

Nos. 2 and 5. Saṃvat 1342 = A.D. 1285.

No. 34. Kaliyuga 4398 = A.D. 1297 ; during the reign of Rāmachandradeva.

No. 37. Saṃvat 1359 = A.D. 1302.

11. But the age of the palm-leaf MSS. is proved, not merely by these dates, but also by the interesting fact that in nearly all of them the leaves, in addition to being numbered on the right hand side with the ordinary numeral figures now in use, are also numbered, on the left hand side, with the more ancient numerals which have been described by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indraji in the Indian Antiquary, vol. VI page 42. The principal of this more ancient system of numeration is this, that separate signs are used for the numerals from 1 to 9, separate signs for 10, 20, 30, &c., up to 90, and separate signs again for the numerals 100, 200, 300, &c., and that in combining these signs those for 10, 20, 30, &c. are placed above those for 1, 2, 3, &c., and those for 100, 200, 300, &c. above those for 10, 20, 30, &c. *E. g.* 281 is denoted by सु
१

where सु is the sign for 200, ७ the sign for 80, and १ the sign for 1 ; 199 by सु
७९९, where सु is 100, ९९ 90, and ९ 9 ; 140

by सु
० where न is 40 ; 101 by सु
१ &c. To my knowledge, this system of numeration by means of letters or syllables is never employed in any paper MSS., and there are indications that it had ceased to be understood even when these palm-leaf MSS. were being written.

12. In the MSS. examined by me the forms of some of these ancient numerals slightly differ from those copied by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl from two Jain MSS.

The numerals 1, 2, and 3 are denoted by the ordinary numeral figures १, २, and ३.

The sign for 4 is ष्क, or ष्क, or (in Nos. 20 and 21) ष्क. As ष्क has been supposed to be the *Fihvāmūliya* plus *ka*, I may state that in No. 61 where that sign is used for 4, the *Fihvāmūliya* + *ka* are denoted by the ordinary sign क.

The sign for 5 is everywhere like the ordinary Devanāgarī ह, or (very rarely) वृ.

The sign for 6 corresponds generally to ङु; sometimes we find ङु, or ङु, or (very rarely) ङु or ङु.

The sign for 7 is either णी or णा.

The sign for 8 is either ङी or ङा, or very rarely ङी.

The sign for 9 is generally the old sign for ओं, but in one or two MSS. the Anusvāra is omitted. The principal forms occurring in the MSS. examined are : ७, ७, ७, ७ and ७. That the sign for 9 is nothing but the syllable ओं, is clear also from the fact that many Sanskrit MSS. begin with what looks like ७, but is really the word ओं. In most MSS. ओं is repeated after the sign ७, because the meaning of the latter had ceased to be understood.

The sign for 10 is ले or, more rarely, ल.

The sign for 20 is धे or य, or rarely थो or या.

The sign for 30 is ली or ला.

The sign for 40 is ण or, rarely, ण or णा or णा.

The numeral 50 is denoted by the sign ६ or ६.

The signs for 60 and 70 are थु or थु, and थु or थु.

The sign for 80 is ७ or ७, or, very rarely, ७ ; in No. 61, where the first sign is used, the same sign is used for the *Upadhmanīya*.

The sign for 90 is ९९, or, very rarely, ९९.

The sign for 100 is सु, for 200 सु, for 300 स्ता, and for 400 स्तो.

13. Some variations from the above are owing to the ignorance or carelessness of the writers. In No. 66 the sign ७ is used for 50, and ६ for 80. In No. 3 the three first leaves

are numbered स्व, स्ति, and श्री; in No. 7, 20, and 32, simply स्व, स्ति, and श्री, without the addition of १, २, and ३; in No. 24 the numerals 1, 2, and 3 are *throughout* denoted by स्व, स्ति, and श्री, *e.g.* थ is 21, थ 22, and थ 23. In No. 19 the leaves 4 to 9 are correctly marked with the signs given in the preceding paragraph, but on the later leaves the same numerals are denoted by the ordinary numeral figures ४, ५, ६ etc. : *e.g.* 67 is थु, 109 सु, 138 सु &c.

Finally, it deserves to be stated that in some cases those leaves of a MS. which happen to be more modern than the rest of the MS. are numbered only with the ordinary numerals. For details see the list of the MSS. Nos. 4, 26, 38, &c.

14. Notwithstanding their great age many of these palm-leaf MSS. are exceedingly well preserved, and I feel no hesitation in saying that, with reasonable precautions, they will last as long again as they have lasted already. The state in which the MSS. were made over to me did certainly not indicate that any particular care had been bestowed on their preservation; yet in most cases the material of which they consist shows no signs of decay, and the writing is as clear and distinct as in the best modern paper MSS. These facts tend to disprove the generally prevailing notion that MSS. in India will not last beyond a few centuries, and give rise to the hope that we may yet discover in the old libraries of this country MSS. far more ancient than those which have been obtained already.

When the MSS. were first brought to me they formed huge bundles of palm-leaves, in which frequently the leaves of one MS. were mixed up with those of one or more other MSS. I have myself examined every single leaf, have with the help of my assistants put together what belongs together, and have had the leaves of each MS. put between wooden boards, so as to ensure their preservation and to facilitate their being used by other scholars.

15. As I have read portions of every MS., I am able to state that nearly all of them have been written with care and are very correct. From the remarks which occur at the end of some MSS. it may be inferred that the copyists were well paid, and that as long as four or five hundred years ago palm-leaf MSS. were valuable possessions. Of the MSS. in this collection Nos. 2 and 5 were purchased in A.D. 1344 for a large sum of money by a certain Mohaṇa, and presented by him for the spiritual welfare of his mother to the sage Jinalabdhi-sūri; and No. 58 was copied at the expense of a lady, and presented by her to the sage Devabhadrā. A similar story appears to be told at the end of No. 60.

16. The short account of the palm-leaf MSS. given below will, I trust, enable others to judge for themselves of their value. I am aware that the collection will chiefly interest those who specially devote themselves to the elucidation of the history of the Jain religion and literature; at the same time I believe that Sanskrit scholars generally will find in it some interesting works which hitherto were either altogether unknown, or of which only very modern or incorrect, or imperfect copies were accessible.

17. The 336 paper MSS. acquired during the year may be classified thus:—

1. Veda: Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa, and Sūtra. .	31 MSS.
2. Vedāṅga, Upanishads, Prayogas, and similar tracts	117 „
3. Purāṇa and Māhātmya	12 „
4. Poems, Plays, and Fables	32 „
5. Grammars and Glossaries.....	30 „
6. Poetics and Metrics	5 „
7. Philosophy	20 „
8. Dharma	17 „
9. Astronomy and Astrology	7 „
10. Medicine.....	1 „
11. Technical books.....	7 „
12. Mantra-tantra works	3 „
13. Jaina works, not included in the preceding	54 „

The titles of the works which these MSS. contain and the names of their authors, the number of leaves of each MS. and its extent in Slokas, and the dates of those MSS. which are dated, are given below.

18. The number of MSS. belonging to the Government collection which are now under my charge amounts to 2,904. 35 of these contain works in Kâśmîrî, Hindî, and Persian; about one thousand are Jain, and the rest Brahminical MSS. 81 are palm-leaf MSS., 68 on Bhûrjapattra, and the rest on paper.

19. In addition to the MSS. used by myself, 99 MSS. are on loan with different scholars in Europe and in India.

The scholars in Europe to whom MSS. have been lent are:—

Professor Aufrecht, Bonn.

Mons. Barth, Paris.

Professor Bühler, Vienna.

Professor Delbrück, Jena.

Professor Eggeling, Edinburgh.

Professor Goldschmidt, Strassburg.

Professor Jacobi, Münster.

Professor Jolly, Würzburg.

Dr. Klatt, Berlin.

Professor Müller, Oxford.

Professor Roth, Tübingen.

Dr. von Schröder, Jena.

Dr. Zachariae, Greifswald.

The scholars in India are:—

Professor Bhandarkar, Bombay.

Dr. Hoernle, Calcutta.

Dr. Kunte, Bombay.

The Hon'ble V. N. Mandlik, Bombay.

Râo Saheb S. P. Pandit, Bombay.

Professor Paranjpe, Kolapur.

Professor Peterson, Bombay.

Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra, Calcutta.

Dr. Thibaut, Benares.

Mr. Vâmanâchârya, Poona.

20. I append to this report (A) a description of the palm-leaf MSS., and (B) a classified list of the paper MSS. acquired during the year. As Government desire this report to be submitted at an early date, my remarks on the MSS. are necessarily short, but they will, I trust, suffice to enable other scholars to identify the works contained in the collection. As I consider the palm-leaf MSS. to be of very great value, I have endeavoured to describe the state each MS. is in as accurately as possible. I have also copied all statements regarding the authors of the different works and the writers by whom the MSS. were written, and any other interesting details concerning the history or former possessors of particular MSS. In reproducing these remarks I have strictly adhered to the readings of the originals before me, and have abstained from correcting even the most palpable blunders. —In an Appendix I give a list of the MSS. collected during the year 1873-74, which has not yet been submitted to Government. A catalogue of the MSS. purchased by Dr. Bühler in 1879-80 is in preparation, and will be published together with the report for the current year.

21. The total expenditure on account of the search for MSS. during the year 1880-81 is Rs. 6,728-7-9. Dr. Bühler's as well my own accounts have been rendered to the Accountant General.

22. In concluding this report I venture to express my hope that the results attained during the year will be consi-

dered to compare favourably with those of former years. That many old and valuable works have been added to the Government collection, is a piece of good fortune; but I may say for myself that during the last five months I have devoted all my spare time to the task of properly arranging and cataloguing the MSS. collected so as to render them easy access and useful to my fellow-students.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

F. KIELHORN,

Professor of Oriental Languages.

Tafeln zur Berechnung der Jupiter-Jahre nach den Regeln des Sûrya-Siddhânta und des Jyotistattva.

Von

F. Kielhorn.

Vorgelegt in der Sitzung der Königl. Ges. d. Wiss. am 2. November 1889.

Die folgenden Tafeln, von denen 1—4 auf den Resultaten eines von mir für den *Indian Antiquary* geschriebenen Aufsatzes über den sechzigjährigen Jupiter-cyclus beruhen, dienen zur Berechnung des Anfangs (und Endes) eines in einem indischen Datum erwähnten Jupiter-jahres. Die Tafeln 1 und 2 gelten für die Sûrya-Siddhânta Regel, 3 und 4 für die Jyotistattva Regel. Tafel 5 ist Dr. Schram's Tafel für die Verwandlung eines Tages der Julianischen Periode in das Datum des europäischen Kalenders; und Tafel 6 dient für die Verwandlung der Decimalen eines Tages in Stunden und Minuten ¹⁾).

Tafel 1 giebt in den beiden letzten Columnen den laufenden Tag der Julianischen Periode und, in Decimalen, die Stunden und Minuten nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange (für Ujjain) für den Anfang eines Cyclus von 60 Jahren, gezählt von Vijaya = No. 1, ohne und mit *bjā*. Die erste Columne enthält das europäische Datum für den in derselben Zeile gegebenen Tag der Julianischen Periode, ohne *bjā*; und Columne 2 und 3 geben das verflossene (nördliche) Vikrama Jahr und das verflossene Ś'aka Jahr, in welches jenes europäische Datum fällt. Tafel 2 giebt die Zahl der Tage und, in Decimalen, die Stunden und Minuten für den Anfang eines jeden Jahres innerhalb eines Cyclus von 60 Jahren, eben-

1) Bei der Construction meiner Tafeln habe ich die Methode befolgt, welche Dr. Schram in seinen *Hilftafeln für Chronologie* angewandt hat.

falls ohne und mit *btja*. Der Gebrauch der beiden Tafeln (in Verbindung mit den Tafeln 5 und 6) wird zur Genüge aus folgendem Beispiele erhellen: —

Nach Professor Eggeling's Kataloge der Sanskrit HSS. des I. O., S. 23, trägt eine HS. des *Kāṇḍānukramanikāvivaraṇa* das Datum —

Samvat 1650 śake | S'ubhakṛit-samvatsare Bhādrapada-sudipaurṇamāsyām Bhrigu-vāsare, —

d. i., am Vollmondstage der hellen Hälfte des Bhādrapada, im Vikrama Jahre 1650, im (Jupiter's-) Jahre S'ubhakṛit, an einem Freitage; und das entsprechende Datum unsres Kalenders ist Freitag, der 31. August, 1593. Zu berechnen ist der Anfang des im Datum erwähnten Jahres S'ubhakṛit, nach der Sūrya-Siddhānta Regel, zunächst ohne *btja*.

S'ubhakṛit ist das 10. Jahr eines Cyclus (Tafel 2); und dies hier mit Vikrama 1650 zusammen genannte Jahr S'ubhakṛit gehört offenbar zu dem Cyclus, dessen Anfang (ausgedrückt in Tagen der Julianischen Periode) in Tafel 1 in derselben Zeile mit Vikrama 1641 gegeben ist. Wir haben also für den Anfang des Jahres S'ubhakṛit, ohne *btja*: —

Tafel 1, Vikrama 1641, ohne *btja*, 2299 732, 4077

+ Tafel 2, S'ubhakṛit, ohne *btja*, 3 249, 2405

Summe 2302 981, 6482;

d. h., das im Datum erwähnte Jahr S'ubhakṛit fing an am Tage der Julianischen Periode 2302 981, und zwar so viel nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange (für Ujjain), wie durch die Decimalen 6482 bezeichnet wird. Für den Tag der Julianischen Periode finden wir nun, aus Tafel 5, —

2302 981
 — 2268 932 = A. D. 1500.
 Rest 34 049;
 — 34 028 = Jahr 93, März.
 Rest 21;

d. i., der 21. März, 1593; und für die Decimalen, aus Tafel 6, —

0,64 = 15 h. 21,6 m.
 0,0082 = 11,8 m.
 0,6482 = 15 h. 33,4 m.

Mit anderen Worten, das Jahr S'ubhakṛit des indischen Datums fing an, nach der Sūrya-Siddhānta Regel ohne *btja*, am 21. März, 1593, 15 h. 33,4 m. nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange¹⁾.

In gleicher Weise ergibt sich für den Anfang des Jahres S'ubhakṛit, mit *btja*, —

Tafel 1, Vikrama 1641, mit *btja*, 2299 769, 9960

+ Tafel 2, S'ubhakṛit, mit *btja*, 3 249, 3119

Summe 2303 019, 3079;²⁾

Tafel 5, — 2268 932 = A. D. 1500.

Rest 34 087;

— 34 059 = Jahr 93, April,

Rest 28;

Tafel 6, 0,30 = 7 h. 12,0 m.

0,0079 = 11,4 m.

0,3079 = 7 h. 23,4 m.;

1) Die in den Nachrichten, 1889, S. 435 gegebenen Daten für den Anfang und das Ende des Jahres S'ubhakṛit sind nach Warrens Regeln und Tafeln berechnet, die, was die Sūrya-Siddhānta Regel betrifft, einen Irrthum von 2, 1476 Tagen enthalten, wie ich im *Ind. Antiquary* gezeigt habe.

2) Mit Warrens Tafeln ergibt sich der Tag der Julian. Periode für den Anfang des Jahres S'ubhakṛit mit *btja*, wenn man vom Vikrama Jahre 1651 = Kaliyuga 4695 ausgeht, wie folgt: —

Tafel XI: —	R.	S.	°	'	''
Epoche 4400	Dhruva	370	11	17	20 0
Kaliyuga 4695	Col. III, 200 . . .	16	10	10	20 0
	Col. II, 90 . . .	7	7	1	39 0
	Col. I, 5 . . .		5	1	45 30
		395	10	1	4 30

Btja, Tafel XII: —	Btja				
Ep. 4400, Dhruva . . 2° 56' 0''	395	9	27	56	42
Col. III, 200	12				
Col. II, 90	4740				
Col. I, 5	+ 10				
Btja 3 7 48	60) 4750	(79	10 = S'ubhakṛit.		
	550				
	10				

d. i., der 28. April, 1593, 7 h. 23,4 m. nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange, — Anfang des Jahres S'ubhakrit, mit *bja*.

Hat man den Anfang eines Jahres gefunden, so findet man das Ende desselben Jahres, indem man den gefundenen Tagen der Julianischen Periode für das Jahr ohne *bja* 361, 0267 Tage, und für das Jahr mit *bja* 361, 0347 Tage hinzuzählt. Also in obigem Falle: —

Anfang des Jahres S'ubhakrit, ohne <i>bja</i> , . . .	2302 981, 6482
	+ 361, 0267
	Summe 2303 342, 6749;

Das laufende Jahr am Ende von Kaliyuga 4695 war also S'ubhakrit. —
Tafel XIII, solare Zeit für 27° 56' 42": —

Col. I, 20° . . .	240	41	23	9,4886
7° . . .	84	14	29	6,3210
Col. II, 50' . . .	10	1	43	27,8954
6' . . .	1	12	12	24,9474
Col. III, 40" . . .		8	1	22,7719
2" . . .			24	4,1386
				336 T. 18 d. 13 p. 35,5629 c.;
				= 336 Tage 7 h. 17,5 m. = 336,3038 Tage.

Für das Ende des Jahres Kaliyuga 4695 finden wir nun nach meinen Tafeln im *Ind. Antiquary* den Tag der Julianischen Periode: —

4000 . . .	1461	035,	02600	
600 . . .	219	155,	25390	
90 . . .	32	873,	28808	
5 . . .	590	289,	89618	
Kaliyuga 4695 . . .	2303	353,	4642 ;	
		336,	3038	
			2303 017, 1604	Tag der Jul. Per. für den Anfang von S'ubhakrit nach Warren;
			+ 2, 1476	für Warrens Irrthum.
			2303 019, 3080	Tag der Jul. Per. für den wirklichen Anfang des Jahres S'ubhakrit.

Unterschied vom Resultate meiner Tafeln 0,0001 Tag = 6 Sekunden. — Ausserdem mag bemerkt werden, dass wir nach Warren eigentlich von Vikrama 1650 = Kaliyuga 4694 ausgegangen sein würden und so eine doppelte Berechnung (für Kaliyuga 4694 und 4695) hätten machen müssen.

d. i., nach Tafeln 5 und 6, der 17. März, 1594, 16 h. 11,9 m., —
Ende des Jahres S'ubhakrit, ohne *bja*:

Und, Anfang des Jahres S'ubhakrit, mit <i>bja</i> , . . .	2303 019, 3079
	+ 361, 0347

Summe 2303 380, 3426 ;

d. i., nach Tafeln 5 und 6, der 24. April, 1594, 8 h. 13,3 m. — Ende des Jahres S'ubhakrit, mit *bja*.

Sucht man für ein gegebenes Datum das laufende Jupiter-jahr, so wird man die Tafeln in umgekehrter Folge benutzen müssen. Fragen wir z. B., in welchem Jahre wir uns, nach der Sūrya-Siddhānta Regel ohne *bja* am 26. October 1889, 6 Stunden nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange, befinden, so haben wir —

für 6 Stunden, nach Tafel 6,	0,2500 ;
für den 26. October, 1889, nach Tafel 5, —	
	N. S. 1800, = 2378 495
Jahr 89, October, =	32 781
Tag 26, =	26
	Summe 2411 302 ;

für den 26. October, 1889, 6 Stunden nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange also —

Tag der Jul. Per. 2411 302, 2500.

Tafel 1,	— 2408 040, 4240	Anfang des letzten Cyclus, ohne <i>bja</i> ;
	Rest 3 261, 8260	

Tafel 2,	— 3 249, 2405	Anfang des Jahres S'ubhakrit, ohne <i>bja</i> ;
	Rest 11, 5855.	

Hieraus ergibt sich, dass wir uns jetzt, nach der Sūrya-Siddhānta Regel ohne *bja*, im Jahre S'ubhakrit befinden, und dass im gegebenen Momente 11,5855 Tage = 11 Tage 14 Stunden und 3,1 Minuten dieses Jahres verflossen sind.

Die Jyotistattva Regel verlangt wegen der ungleichen Länge der Jupiter-jahre eine andre Behandlung als die Regel des Sūrya-Siddhānta, und die Einrichtung meiner Tafeln 3 und 4 unterscheidet sich deshalb wesentlich von der der Tafeln 1 und 2. In Tafel 3 giebt

die letzte Columne den Tag der Julianischen Periode und, in Decimalen, die Stunden und Minuten nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange (für Ujjain) für das Ende des in der vorletzten Columne genannten Jupiter-jahres. Die erste Columne giebt das europäische Datum für den Tag der Julianischen Periode in der letzten Columne; die dritte das verflossene solare S'aka Jahr, in welches jenes Datum fällt; und die zweite das verflossene (nördliche) Vikrama Jahr, welches dem S'aka Jahre annähernd entspricht. Es ist hier besonders darauf zu achten, dass die Jupiter-jahre von Prabhava = No. 1 in der in der Hilfstafel angegebenen Weise zu zählen sind. Tafel 4 giebt die Zahl der Tage und, in Decimalen, die Stunden und Minuten für den Anfang einer Reihe von Jupiter-jahren, deren Zählung nicht mit der Zählung der Jahre in der Hilfstafel zu Tafel 3 verwechselt werden darf. Auch hier wird es genügen, den Gebrauch der beiden Tafeln an einigen Beispielen zu zeigen.

Wir haben oben gesehen, dass eine HS. des I. O. im Vikrama Jahre 1650 und in Jupiter's Jahre S'ubhakrit geschrieben wurde. Nach der Hilfstafel zu Tafel 3 ist S'ubhakrit das 36. Jahr eines Cyclus. Dies hier mit Vikrama 1650 zusammen erwähnte 36. Jahr S'ubhakrit fiel jedenfalls später als das in Tafel 3 mit Vikrama 1644 in einer Reihe stehende 29. Cyclus-jahr Manmatha, und es ist klar, dass wir dem Tage der Julianischen Periode für das Ende des 29. Jahres Manmatha in Tafel 3 aus Tafel 4 die Zahl der Tage für den Anfang des (36—29.) = 7. Jahres hinzufügen müssen, wenn wir den Anfang des 36. Jahres S'ubhakrit erhalten wollen. Wir haben also —

Tafel 3, V. 1644, Ende des J. 29	2300 798, 6897
+ Tafel 4, Anfang des Jahres 7	2 165, 8379
Summe, Anfang des Jahres 36 (S'ubhakrit) 2302 964, 5276;	

d. i., nach Tafeln 5 und 6, der 4. März, 1593, 12 h. 39,7 m. nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange, — Anfang des Jahres S'ubhakrit.

In einer Inschrift zu Boram-Deo (*Archaeol. Surv. of India*, B. XVII, S. 41, und Tafel XXII) wird das Jahr Bháva zusammen mit dem Vikrama Jahre 1445 genannt. In Tafel 3 haben wir für Vikrama 1388

den Tag der Julianischen Periode für das Ende des 10. Cyclus-jahres Dhátri. Das mit Vikrama 1445 zusammen genannte 8. Cyclus-jahr Bháva fällt hier offenbar nicht in denselben Cyclus mit jenem 10. Jahre, sondern gehört dem nächsten Cyclus an. Wir haben deshalb aus Tafel 4 das (50 + 8.) = 58. Jahr zu entnehmen, und erhalten so —

Tafel 3, V. 1388, Ende des J. 10	2207 293, 8311
+ Tafel 4, Anfang des Jahres 58	20 575, 4598
Summe, Anfang des J. 68 = 60 + 8 (Bháva) 2227 869, 2909;	

d. i., nach Tafeln 5 und 6, der 29. Juli, 1387, 6 h. 58,9 m. nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange, — Anfang des Jahres Bháva.

Wollen wir ferner z. B. den Anfang des mit dem S'aka Jahre 912 zusammen erwähnten 25. Cyclus-jahres Khara bestimmen, so müssen wir dem in Tafel 3 gegebenen Tage der Julianischen Periode für das Ende des in Verbindung mit S'aka 827 genannten 59. Cyclus-jahres Krodhana aus Tafel 4 die Zahl der Tage für das (1 + 60 + 25.) = 86. Jahr hinzuzählen; denn die Differenz zwischen S'aka 912 und S'aka 827 (85 Sonnenjahre) zeigt uns, dass hier zwischen dem 59. Jahre Krodhana und dem 25. Jahre Khara ein vollständiger Cyclus von 60 Jahren liegt. Wir erhalten also —

Tafel 3, S'. 827, Ende des J. 59	2051 693, 0488
+ Tafel 4, Anfang des Jahres 86	30 682, 7032
Summe, Anfang des J. 145 = 60 + 60 + 25 (Khara) 2082 375, 7520; ¹⁾	

1) Auch hier gebe ich die Berechnung des Tages der Julian. Per. für den Anfang des Jahres Khara (für S'aka 912) mit Hilfe von Warrens Tafeln.

$$\frac{912 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 12 \frac{1855}{1875}; \text{ und } \frac{912 + 12}{60} = 15 \frac{24}{60};$$

d. i., letzt verflossenes Jahr 24 = Vikrita.

Tafel XIV # —	1000 . . .	192 T.	0 d.	0 p.
	800 . . .	153	36	0
	50 . . .	9	36	0
	5 . . .		57	36
	1855 . . . 356			
		9	36	

d. i., nach Tafeln 5 und 6, der 26. März, 989, 18 h. 2,9 m. nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange, — Anfang des Jahres Khara.

Hat man den Anfang eines Jahres gefunden, so erhält man das Ende desselben, indem man zu dem für den Anfang gefundenen Tage der Julianischen Periode 360, 9730 Tage hinzuzählt. Nur für die in Tafel 3 genannten Jahre ist das Ende des Jahres stets der Tafel selbst zu entnehmen.

Wir erhalten also in den beiden ersten der obigen Beispiele: —

Anfang des Jahres S'ubhakrit . . .	2302 964, 5276
+	360, 9730
Summe	2303 325, 5006 ;

d. i., nach Tafeln 5 und 6, der 28. Februar, 1594, 12 h. 0,9 m., — Ende des Jahres S'ubhakrit.

Und, Anfang des Jahres Bháva . . .	2227 869, 2909
+	360, 9730
Summe	2228 230, 2639 :

Tafel XVI: —

Col. I, 300 . . . 304 T. 22 g.	56,04165 v.
50 . . . 50 43	49,34025
6 . . . 6 5	15,52083
Col. II, 9 . . . 9	7,88802
Col. III, 30 . . . 30	43,822
6 . . . 6	0,8763
361 21	45,31660

= 361 Tage 8 h. 42,1 m. = 361,3626 Tage.

Für den Tag der Julian. Per. für das Ende des S'aka Jahres 912 haben wir nun nach meinen Tafeln im *Ind. Antiquary*: —

900 . . . 328 732,	81249
10 . . . 3 652,	58681
2 . . . 1750 351,	71526
S'aka 912 . . . 2082 737,	1146 ;
— 361,	3626
2082 375,	7520 ;

Tag der Julian. Per. für das Ende des Jahres Vikṛita oder den Anfang des Jahres Khara, genau wie oben.

d. i., nach Tafeln 5 und 6, der 24. Juli, 1388, 6 h. 20 m., — Ende des Jahres Bháva.

Dagegen endet das Jahr Khara des dritten Beispiels, wie in Tafel 3 angegeben, am Tage der Julian. Periode 2082 741, 0107, d. i., nach Tafeln 5 und 6, am 27. März, 990, 0 h. 15,4 m. nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange.

Endlich wollen wir auch hier fragen, in welchem Jahre wir uns nach der Jyotistattva Regel am 26. October, 1889, 6 Stunden nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange, befinden. Für den gegebenen Zeitpunkt haben wir schon gefunden den Tag der Julianischen Periode —

2411 302, 2500.

Tafel 3, — 2394 303, 5483 = Ende des J. 48

Rest 16 998, 7017 ;

Tafel 4, — 16 965, 7300 = Anfang des J. 48

Rest 32, 9717. Summe 96 =

60 + 36 (S'ubhakrit).

Also auch nach der Jyotistattva Regel ist das jetzt laufende Jahr S'ubhakrit, und von diesem Jahre sind im gegebenen Momente 32, 9717 Tage = 32 Tage 23 Stunden 19,2 Minuten verflossen.

Tafel 1.
Sûrya-Siddhânta Regel.

Tag der Julianischen Periode für den Anfang eines Cyclus von 60 Jahren,
gezählt von Vijaya = No. 1.

A. D.	Vikrama.	Śaka.	Tag der Julianischen Periode.	
			Ohne Btja.	Mit Btja.
101, Sept. 1.	158	23	1758 192, 3261	1758 218, 0194
160, Dec. 21.	217	82	1779 853, 9294	1779 880, 0985
220, Apr. 12.	277	142	1801 515, 5327	1801 542, 1776
279, Aug. 3.	336	202	1823 177, 1359	1823 204, 2566
338, Nov. 22.	395	260	1844 838, 7392	1844 866, 3357
398, März 14.	455	320	1866 500, 3424	1866 528, 4148
457, Juli 3.	514	379	1888 161, 9457	1888 190, 4938
516, Oct. 23.	573	438	1909 823, 5490	1909 852, 5729
576, Febr. 13.	632	497	1931 485, 1522	1931 514, 6519
635, Juni 4.	692	557	1953 146, 7555	1953 176, 7310
694, Sept. 24.	751	616	1974 808, 3588	1974 838, 8101
754, Jan. 13.	810	675	1996 469, 9620	1996 500, 8891
813, Mai 5.	870	735	2018 131, 5653	2018 162, 9682
872, Aug. 25.	929	794	2039 793, 1685	2039 825, 0473
931, Dec. 15.	988	853	2061 454, 7718	2061 487, 1263
991, Apr. 6.	1048	913	2083 116, 3751	2083 149, 2054
1050, Juli 26.	1107	972	2104 777, 9783	2104 811, 2845
1109, Nov. 15.	1166	1031	2126 439, 5816	2126 473, 3635
1169, März 7.	1226	1091	2148 101, 1848	2148 135, 4426
1228, Juni 26.	1285	1150	2169 762, 7881	2169 797, 5216
1287, Oct. 17.	1344	1209	2191 424, 3914	2191 459, 6007
1347, Febr. 5.	1403	1268	2213 085, 9946	2213 121, 6798
1406, Mai 28.	1463	1328	2234 747, 5979	2234 783, 7588
1465, Sept. 17.	1522	1387	2256 409, 2012	2256 445, 8379
1525, Jan. 6.	1581	1446	2278 070, 8044	2278 107, 9170
1584, Apr. 28.	1641	1506	2299 732, 4077	2299 769, 9960
1643, Aug. 19.	1700	1565	2321 394, 0109	2321 432, 0751
1702, Dec. 8.	1759	1624	2343 055, 6142	2343 094, 1542
N.S. 1762, Apr. 10.	1819	1684	2364 717, 2175	2364 756, 2332
1821, Juli 31.	1878	1743	2386 378, 8207	2386 418, 3123
1880, Nov. 20.	1937	1802	2408 040, 4240	2408 080, 3913

Tafel 2.
Sûrya-Siddhânta Regel.

Zahl der Tage für den Anfang eines jeden Jahres innerhalb des Cyclus.

№	Jahr.	Tage ohne Btja.	Tage mit Btja.	№	Jahr.	Tage ohne Btja.	Tage mit Btja.
2	Jaya	361, 0267	361, 0347	32	Raktākṣa	11 191, 8284	11 192, 0742
3	Manmatha	722, 0534	722, 0693	33	Krodhana	11 552, 8551	11 553, 1088
4	Durmukha	1 083, 0802	1 083, 1040	34	Kshaya	11 913, 8818	11 914, 1435
5	Hemalamba	1 444, 1069	1 444, 1386	35	Prabhava	12 274, 9085	12 275, 1781
6	Vilamba	1 805, 1336	1 805, 1733	36	Vibhava	12 635, 9352	12 636, 2128
7	Vikārin	2 166, 1603	2 166, 2079	37	Sukla	12 996, 9620	12 997, 2474
8	Śarvarin	2 527, 1870	2 527, 2426	38	Pramoda	13 357, 9887	13 358, 2821
9	Plava	2 888, 2138	2 888, 2772	39	Prajāpati	13 719, 0154	13 719, 3167
10	Śubhakrit	3 249, 2405	3 249, 3119	40	Angiras	14 080, 0421	14 080, 3514
11	Śobhana	3 610, 2672	3 610, 3465	41	Śrīmukha	14 441, 0688	14 441, 3860
12	Krodhin	3 971, 2939	3 971, 3812	42	Bhāva	14 802, 0956	14 802, 4207
13	Viśvāvasu	4 332, 3207	4 332, 4158	43	Yuvan	15 163, 1223	15 163, 4553
14	Parābhava	4 693, 3474	4 693, 4505	44	Dhātri	15 524, 1490	15 524, 4900
15	Plavanga	5 054, 3741	5 054, 4851	45	Īvara	15 885, 1757	15 885, 5246
16	Kilaka	5 415, 4008	5 415, 5198	46	Bahudbhāya	16 246, 2024	16 246, 5593
17	Saumya	5 776, 4275	5 776, 5544	47	Pramāthin	16 607, 2292	16 607, 5939
18	Śādhārāṇa	6 137, 4543	6 137, 5891	48	Vikrama	16 968, 2559	16 968, 6286
19	Virodhakrit	6 498, 4810	6 498, 6237	49	Bhriyā	17 329, 2826	17 329, 6633
20	Paridhāvin	6 859, 5077	6 859, 6584	50	Chitrabhānu	17 690, 3093	17 690, 6979
21	Pramādin	7 220, 5344	7 220, 6930	51	Subhānu	18 051, 3361	18 051, 7326
22	Ānanda	7 581, 5611	7 581, 7277	52	Tārāṇa	18 412, 3628	18 412, 7672
23	Rākshasa	7 942, 5879	7 942, 7623	53	Pārthiva	18 773, 3895	18 773, 8019
24	Anala	8 303, 6146	8 303, 7970	54	Vyaya	19 134, 4162	19 134, 8365
25	Pingala	8 664, 6413	8 664, 8316	55	Sarvajit	19 495, 4429	19 495, 8712
26	Kālayukta	9 025, 6680	9 025, 8663	56	Sarvadhārin	19 856, 4697	19 856, 9058
27	Siddhārthin	9 386, 6947	9 386, 9009	57	Virodhin	20 217, 4964	20 217, 9405
28	Raudra	9 747, 7215	9 747, 9356	58	Vikṛita	20 578, 5231	20 578, 9751
29	Durmati	10 108, 7482	10 108, 9702	59	Khara	20 939, 5498	20 940, 0098
30	Dandubhi	10 469, 7749	10 470, 0049	60	Nandana	21 300, 5765	21 301, 0444

Tafel 3.

Jyotistattva Regel.

Tag der Julianischen Periode für das Ende eines jeden einem Kshaya-Jahre vorausgehenden Jupiter-Jahres.

A. D.	Vikrama.	Śaka.	Ende des Jahres		Tag der Julianischen Periode.
			M	Name.	
138, März 18.	195	60	3	Śukla	1771 539, 4460
223, März 20.	280	145	29	Manmatha	1802 587, 4079
309, März 17.	366	231	56	Dundubhi	1833 996, 3427
394, März 19.	451	316	22	Sarvadhārin	1865 044, 3046
479, März 21.	536	401	48	Ananda	1896 092, 2665
564, März 22.	621	486	14	Vikrama	1927 140, 2283
649, März 24.	706	571	40	Parābhava	1958 188, 1902
735, März 22.	792	657	7	Śrīmukha	1989 597, 1250
820, März 23.	877	742	33	Vikārin	2020 645, 0869
905, März 25.	962	827	59	Krodhana	2051 693, 0488
990, März 27.	1047	912	25	Khara	2082 741, 0107
1076, März 23.	1133	998	52	Kālayukta	2114 149, 9455
1161, März 25.	1218	1083	18	Tāraṇa	2145 197, 9074
1246, März 27.	1303	1168	44	Sādhāraṇa	2176 245, 8692
1331, März 29.	1388	1253	10	Dhātri	2207 293, 8311
1417, März 26.	1474	1339	37	Sobhana	2238 702, 7660
1502, März 28.	1559	1424	3	Śukla	2269 750, 7278
1587, März 30.	1644	1509	29	Manmatha	2300 798, 6897
1672, März 31.	1729	1594	55	Durmati	2331 846, 6516
N.S. 1757, April 13.	1814	1679	21	Sarvajit	2362 894, 6134
1843, April 12.	1900	1765	48	Ananda	2394 303, 5483

Hilfstafel.

Der Jupiter-Cyclus von 60 Jahren.

1. Prabhava.	11. Śvara.	21. Sarvajit.	31. Hemalamba.	41. Plavanga.	51. Pingala.
2. Vibhava.	12. Bahndhānya.	22. Sarvadhārin.	32. Vilamba.	42. Kīlaka.	52. Kālayukta.
3. Śukla.	13. Pramāthin.	23. Virodhin.	33. Vikārin.	43. Saumya.	53. Siddhārthin.
4. Pramoda.	14. Vikrama.	24. Vikṛita.	34. Sarvarin.	44. Sādhāraṇa.	54. Raudra.
5. Prajāpati.	15. Bhṛiśya.	25. Khara.	35. Plava.	45. Virodhakṛit.	55. Durmati.
6. Angiras.	16. Chitrabhānu.	26. Nandana.	36. Śubhakṛit.	46. Paridhāvin.	56. Dundubhi.
7. Śrīmukha.	17. Subhānu.	27. Vijaya.	37. Sobhana.	47. Pramādin.	57. Rudhīrodgārin.
8. Bhāva.	18. Tāraṇa.	28. Jaya.	38. Krodhin.	48. Ananda.	58. Raktāksha.
9. Yuvan.	19. Pārthiva.	29. Manmatha.	39. Viśvāvasu.	49. Rākehsa.	59. Krodhana.
10. Dhātri.	20. Vyaya.	30. Durmukha.	40. Parābhava.	50. Anala.	60. Kshaya.

Tafel 4.

Jyotistattva Regel.

Zahl der Tage für den Anfang der Jupiter-Jahre.

Jahr.	Tage.	Jahr.	Tage.	Jahr.	Tage.
1	000, 0000	31	10 829, 1894	61	21 658, 3787
2	360, 9730	32	11 190, 1623	62	22 019, 3517
3	721, 9460	33	11 551, 1353	63	22 380, 3247
4	1 082, 9189	34	11 912, 1083	64	22 741, 2977
5	1 443, 8919	35	12 273, 0813	65	23 102, 2707
6	1 804, 8649	36	12 634, 0543	66	23 463, 2436
7	2 165, 8379	37	12 995, 0272	67	23 824, 2166
8	2 526, 8109	38	13 356, 0002	68	24 185, 1896
9	2 887, 7838	39	13 716, 9732	69	24 546, 1626
10	3 248, 7568	40	14 077, 9462	70	24 907, 1356
11	3 609, 7298	41	14 438, 9192	71	25 268, 1085
12	3 970, 7028	42	14 799, 8921	72	25 629, 0815
13	4 331, 6757	43	15 160, 8651	73	25 990, 0545
14	4 692, 6487	44	15 521, 8381	74	26 351, 0275
15	5 053, 6217	45	15 882, 8111	75	26 712, 0004
16	5 414, 5947	46	16 243, 7841	76	27 072, 9734
17	5 775, 5677	47	16 604, 7570	77	27 433, 9464
18	6 136, 5406	48	16 965, 7300	78	27 794, 9194
19	6 497, 5136	49	17 326, 7030	79	28 155, 8924
20	6 858, 4866	50	17 687, 6760	80	28 516, 8653
21	7 219, 4596	51	18 048, 6490	81	28 877, 8383
22	7 580, 4326	52	18 409, 6219	82	29 238, 8113
23	7 941, 4055	53	18 770, 5949	83	29 599, 7843
24	8 302, 3785	54	19 131, 5679	84	29 960, 7573
25	8 663, 3515	55	19 492, 5409	85	30 321, 7302
26	9 024, 3245	56	19 853, 5138	86	30 682, 7032
27	9 385, 2975	57	20 214, 4868	87	31 043, 6762
28	9 746, 2704	58	20 575, 4598		
29	10 107, 2434	59	20 936, 4328		
30	10 468, 2164	60	21 297, 4058		

Tafel 5.

Zur Verwandlung eines Tages der Julianischen Periode in das europäische Datum.

A. St.		Jahr	Jan.	Feb.	März	Apr.	Mai	Juni	Juli	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Jahr n. Chr.	Tag der Julian. Periode.	00	[g.K.]001	032	060	091	121	152	182	213	244	274	305	335
0	1721 057	01	000	031	060	091	121	152	182	213	244	274	305	335
100	1757 582	00	366	397	425	456	486	517	547	578	609	639	670	700
200	1794 107	02	731	762	790	821	851	882	912	943	974	1004	1035	1065
300	1830 632	03	1 096	127	155	186	216	247	277	308	339	369	400	430
400	1867 157	04	461	492	521	552	582	613	643	674	705	735	766	796
500	1903 682	05	827	858	886	917	947	978	1008	1039	1070	1100	1131	1161
600	1940 207	06	2 192	223	251	282	312	343	373	404	435	465	496	526
700	1976 732	07	557	588	616	647	677	708	738	769	800	830	861	891
800	2013 257	08	922	953	982	1013	1043	1074	1104	1135	1166	1196	1227	1257
900	2049 782	09	3 288	319	347	378	408	439	469	500	531	561	592	622
1000	2086 307	10	653	684	712	743	773	804	834	865	896	926	957	987
1100	2122 832	11	4 018	049	077	108	138	169	199	230	261	291	322	352
1200	2159 357	12	383	414	443	474	504	535	565	596	627	657	688	718
1300	2195 882	13	749	780	808	839	869	900	930	961	992	1022	1053	1083
1400	2232 407	14	5 114	145	173	204	234	265	295	326	357	387	418	448
1500	2268 932	15	479	510	538	569	599	630	660	691	722	752	783	813
1600	2305 457	16	844	875	904	935	965	996	1026	1057	1088	1118	1149	1179
1700	2342 982	17	6 210	241	269	300	330	361	391	422	453	483	514	544
		18	575	606	634	665	695	726	756	787	818	848	879	909
		19	940	971	999	1030	1060	1091	1121	1152	1183	1213	1244	1274
		20	7 305	336	365	396	426	457	487	518	549	579	610	640
		21	671	702	730	761	791	822	852	883	914	944	975	1005
		22	8 036	067	095	126	156	187	217	248	279	309	340	370
		23	401	432	460	491	521	552	582	613	644	674	705	735
		24	766	797	826	857	887	918	948	979	1010	1040	1071	1101
		25	9 132	163	191	222	252	283	313	344	375	405	436	466
		26	497	528	556	587	617	648	678	709	740	770	801	831
		27	862	893	921	952	982	1013	1043	1074	1105	1135	1166	1196
		28	10 227	258	287	318	348	379	409	440	471	501	532	562
		29	593	624	652	683	713	744	774	805	836	866	897	927
		30	958	989	1017	1048	1079	1109	1139	1170	1201	1231	1262	1292
		31	11 323	354	382	413	443	474	504	535	566	596	627	657
		32	688	719	748	779	809	840	870	901	932	962	993	1023
		33	12 054	085	113	144	174	205	235	266	297	327	358	388
		34	419	450	478	509	539	570	600	631	662	692	723	753
		35	784	815	843	874	904	935	965	996	1027	1057	1088	1118
		36	13 149	180	209	240	270	301	331	362	393	423	454	484
		37	515	546	574	605	635	666	696	727	758	788	819	849
		38	880	911	939	970	1000	1031	1061	1092	1123	1153	1184	1214
		39	14 245	276	304	335	365	396	426	457	488	518	549	579
		40	610	641	670	701	731	762	792	823	854	884	915	945
		41	976	1007	1035	1066	1096	1127	1157	1188	1219	1249	1280	1310
		42	15 341	372	400	431	461	492	522	553	584	614	645	675
		43	706	737	765	796	826	857	887	918	949	979	1010	1040
		44	16 071	102	131	162	192	223	253	284	315	345	376	406
		45	437	468	496	527	557	588	618	649	680	710	741	771
		46	802	833	861	892	922	953	983	1014	1045	1075	1106	1136
		47	17 167	198	226	257	287	318	348	379	410	440	471	501
		48	532	563	592	623	653	684	714	745	776	806	837	867
		49	898	929	957	988	1018	1049	1079	1110	1141	1171	1202	1232

1) Die Jahrhunderte zwischen [] dürfen nicht mit 00, sondern nur mit 00[g.K.] verbunden werden.

Tafel 5 (Fortsetzung).

Zur Verwandlung eines Tages der Julianischen Periode in das europäische Datum.

A. St.		Jahr	Jan.	Feb.	März	Apr.	Mai	Juni	Juli	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Jahr n. Chr.	Tag der Julian. Periode.	50	18 263	294	322	353	383	414	444	475	506	536	567	597
0	1721 057	50	18 263	294	322	353	383	414	444	475	506	536	567	597
100	1757 582	51	628	659	687	718	748	779	809	840	871	901	932	962
200	1794 107	52	993	1024	1053	1084	1114	1145	1175	1206	1237	1267	1298	1328
300	1830 632	53	19 359	390	418	449	479	510	540	571	602	632	663	693
400	1867 157	54	724	755	783	814	844	875	905	936	967	997	1028	1058
500	1903 682	55	20 089	120	148	179	209	240	270	301	332	362	393	423
600	1940 207	56	26 454	485	514	545	575	606	636	667	698	728	759	789
700	1976 732	57	820	851	879	910	940	971	1001	1032	1063	1093	1124	1154
800	2013 257	58	21 185	216	244	275	305	336	366	397	428	458	489	519
900	2049 782	59	550	581	609	640	670	701	731	762	793	823	854	884
1000	2086 307	60	915	946	975	1006	1036	1067	1097	1128	1159	1189	1220	1250
1100	2122 832	61	22 281	312	340	371	401	432	462	493	524	554	585	615
1200	2159 357	62	646	677	705	736	766	797	827	858	889	919	950	980
1300	2195 882	63	23 011	042	070	101	131	162	192	223	254	284	315	345
1400	2232 407	64	674	707	735	767	797	829	859	891	922	953	984	1014
1500	2268 932	65	742	773	801	832	862	893	923	954	985	1015	1046	1076
1600	2305 457	66	24 107	138	166	197	227	258	288	319	350	380	411	441
1700	2342 982	67	472	503	531	562	592	623	653	684	715	745	776	806
		68	837	868	897	928	958	989	1019	1050	1081	1111	1142	1172
		69	25 203	234	262	293	323	354	384	415	446	476	507	537
		70	568	599	627	658	688	719	749	780	811	841	872	902
		71	933	964	992	1023	1053	1084	1114	1145	1176	1206	1237	1267
		72	26 268	299	328	359	389	419	450	480	511	542	572	603
		73	634	665	693	724	754	784	815	845	876	907	937	968
		74	27 029	060	088	119	149	180	210	241	272	302	333	363
		75	394	425	453	484	514	545	575	606	637	667	698	728
		76	759	790	819	850	880	911	941	972	1003	1033	1064	1094
		77	28 125	156	184	215	245	276	306	337	368	398	429	459
		78	490	521	549	580	610	641	671	702	733	763	794	824
		79	855	886	914	945	975	1006	1036	1067	1098	1128	1159	1189</

Tafel 6.

Zur Verwandlung der Decimalen des Tages in Stunden und Minuten¹⁾.

d	h	m	d	h	m	d	m	d	m	d	m
0.			0.			0.00		0.00		0.00	
00	0	0,0	50	12	0,0	00	0,0	50	7,2		
01	0	14,4	51	12	14,4	01	0,1	51	7,3		
02	0	28,8	52	12	28,8	02	0,3	52	7,5		
03	0	43,2	53	12	43,2	03	0,4	53	7,6		
04	0	57,6	54	12	57,6	04	0,6	54	7,8		
05	1	12,0	55	13	12,0	05	0,7	55	7,9		
06	1	26,4	56	13	26,4	06	0,9	56	8,1		
07	1	40,8	57	13	40,8	07	1,0	57	8,2		
08	1	55,2	58	13	55,2	08	1,2	58	8,4		
09	2	9,6	59	14	9,6	09	1,3	59	8,5		
10	2	24,0	60	14	24,0	10	1,4	60	8,6		
11	2	38,4	61	14	38,4	11	1,6	61	8,8		
12	2	52,8	62	14	52,8	12	1,7	62	8,9		
13	3	7,2	63	15	7,2	13	1,9	63	9,1		
14	3	21,6	64	15	21,6	14	2,0	64	9,2		
15	3	36,0	65	15	36,0	15	2,2	65	9,4		
16	3	50,4	66	15	50,4	16	2,3	66	9,5		
17	4	4,8	67	16	4,8	17	2,4	67	9,6		
18	4	19,2	68	16	19,2	18	2,6	68	9,8		
19	4	33,6	69	16	33,6	19	2,7	69	9,9		
20	4	48,0	70	16	48,0	20	2,9	70	10,1		
21	5	2,4	71	17	2,4	21	3,0	71	10,2		
22	5	16,8	72	17	16,8	22	3,2	72	10,4		
23	5	31,2	73	17	31,2	23	3,3	73	10,5		
24	5	45,6	74	17	45,6	24	3,5	74	10,7		
25	6	0,0	75	18	0,0	25	3,6	75	10,8		
26	6	14,4	76	18	14,4	26	3,7	76	10,9		
27	6	28,8	77	18	28,8	27	3,9	77	11,1		
28	6	43,2	78	18	43,2	28	4,0	78	11,2		
29	6	57,6	79	18	57,6	29	4,2	79	11,4		
30	7	12,0	80	19	12,0	30	4,3	80	11,5		
31	7	26,4	81	19	26,4	31	4,5	81	11,7		
32	7	40,8	82	19	40,8	32	4,6	82	11,8		
33	7	55,2	83	19	55,2	33	4,8	83	12,0		
34	8	9,6	84	20	9,6	34	4,9	84	12,1		
35	8	24,0	85	20	24,0	35	5,0	85	12,2		
36	8	38,4	86	20	38,4	36	5,2	86	12,4		
37	8	52,8	87	20	52,8	37	5,3	87	12,5		
38	9	7,2	88	21	7,2	38	5,5	88	12,7		
39	9	21,6	89	21	21,6	39	5,6	89	12,8		
40	9	36,0	90	21	36,0	40	5,8	90	13,0		
41	9	50,4	91	21	50,4	41	5,9	91	13,1		
42	10	4,8	92	22	4,8	42	6,0	92	13,2		
43	10	19,2	93	22	19,2	43	6,2	93	13,4		
44	10	33,6	94	22	33,6	44	6,3	94	13,5		
45	10	48,0	95	22	48,0	45	6,5	95	13,7		
46	11	2,4	96	23	2,4	46	6,6	96	13,8		
47	11	16,8	97	23	16,8	47	6,8	97	14,0		
48	11	31,2	98	23	31,2	48	6,9	98	14,1		
49	11	45,6	99	23	45,6	49	7,1	99	14,3		

1) Die Tafeln geben immer Stunden und Minuten nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange für Ujjain.

Bruchstücke

Indischer Schauspiele

in

Inschriften zu Ajmere

Vor etwa zehn Jahren fand ich unter mir von Dr. FLEET übersandten Papieren des im Jahre 1893 verstorbenen Sir A. CUNNINGHAM Abklatsche (pencil-rubbings) zweier zu Ajmere in Rājputānā aufbewahrter Steininschriften, die Bruchstücke von zwei sonst nicht bekannten indischen Schauspielen enthalten. Noch ehe ein von mir für den *Indian Antiquary*¹ über diese beiden Inschriften geschriebener Aufsatz erschienen war, schickte mir Herr RAMCHANDRA DUBE in Ajmere Abklatsche einer Anzahl anderer Inschriften², von denen zwei neue, wichtige Theile derselben Schauspiele enthielten. Später hat Dr. FÜHBER Abdrücke der in Ajmere befindlichen Inschriften angefertigt³ und es mir durch Uebersendung derselben ermöglicht, die Fragmente eines der beiden Schauspiele in den Nachrichten dieser Gesellschaft (1893, S. 552 ff.) nahezu vollständig herauszugeben. Da diese Inschriften einzig in ihrer Art und für das Prākrit von einiger Wichtigkeit sind, ist es immer mein Wunsch gewesen, zuverlässige Photolithographien derselben zu veröffentlichen. Dass ich dies jetzt thun kann, verdanke ich besonders Herrn E. W. SMITH, Archæological Surveyor N. W. Provinces and Oudh, der auf die Anregung meines Freundes Dr. HULTZSCH die Güte gehabt hat, mir im Museum zu Lucknow befindliche, zum Theil sehr gute Abklatsche zur Verfügung zu stellen.

Diese Inschriften befinden sich auf vier Platten von polirtem Basalt, die im Jahre 1875 oder 1876 bei einer Reparatur der Arhai-din-ka Jhonpra Moschee in Ajmere entdeckt wurden und jetzt in derselben Moschee in hölzernen Kisten aufbewahrt werden.

1) Siehe Ind. Ant. XX, 201 ff.

2) Darunter befindet sich eine 27 Zeilen enthaltende schöne grosse Inschrift, die offenbar den Anfang eines Lobliedes auf die Familie der Cāhamānas enthält. Ausser dieser und den oben erwähnten Inschriften enthält die Sammlung 15 Fragmente von Prasāstis von Königen und noch ein ganz kleines Bruchstück des Harakeli-nātaka. Es scheint mir zweifellos, dass Nachgrabungen in Ajmere viele andere Inschriften an's Tageslicht fördern würden.

3) Siehe Annual Progress Report of the Archæol. Survey Circle N. W. Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June, 1896, S. 9. Die dort gegebene Beschreibung der Inschriften ist meinem Aufsätze im Ind. Ant. entnommen.

Platte I enthält 38 Zeilen Schrift auf einem Raume von 90×55 cm. Sie hat, wie hier und bei den anderen Platten aus den Photolithographien zu ersehen ist, mehrere Brüche oder breite Risse, durch die im Ganzen etwa 25 Silben zerstört oder unleserlich geworden sind. Die Höhe der Buchstaben beträgt etwa 1 cm.

Platte II enthält 37 Zeilen Schrift auf einem Raume von 106×58 cm. Sie ist in mehrere Stücke zerbrochen, wodurch die Schrift besonders in den Zeilen 19—21 arg gelitten hat. Die Zahl der zerstörten oder unleserlichen Silben ist etwa 100. Die Höhe der Buchstaben beträgt auch hier etwa 1 cm.

Platte III enthält 41 Zeilen Schrift auf einem Raume von 94×64 cm. Durch die Risse, die sie enthält, und durch Abbröckelungen in den ersten Zeilen sind etwa 70 Silben zerstört oder unleserlich geworden. Die Höhe der Buchstaben beträgt etwa 11 mm.

Platte IV enthält 40 Zeilen Schrift auf einem Raume von $100 \times 58\frac{1}{2}$ cm. An der oberen rechten Ecke des Steins fehlt ein grosses Stück, mit dem 18—20 Silben der Schrift am Ende jeder der Zeilen 1—12, und von 17 bis zu einer Silbe an den Enden der Zeilen 13—23 verloren gegangen sind; im Ganzen fehlen etwa 320 Silben. Die Höhe der Buchstaben beträgt durchschnittlich 9—10 mm., in der letzten Zeile 11 mm.

Die technische Ausführung der Inschriften zeugt von grosser Sorgfalt und ist in jeder Hinsicht vortrefflich. Die Schrift unterscheidet sich nur wenig von der modernen Nāgari. Von seltener vorkommenden Buchstabenzeichen bietet sie das des *jhvāmūliya* in *dhātuh-kas-tvam*, Pl. IV, Z. 27, und das Zeichen für *jh*¹ in *jhamkrtānām*, III, 32. Sie wurde geschrieben und eingehauen von dem Gelehrten Bhāskara, einem Sohne des Mahāpati und Enkel des Govinda, aus einer Familie von Hūna Fürsten; siehe II, 37; III, 41; IV, 38. Das Datum, das er IV, 38 für die Beendigung der vierten Inschrift giebt, ist in allen Einzelheiten correct und entspricht Sonntag, dem 22. November 1153 nach Chr.

Die Sprache der Inschriften ist, wie in anderen indischen Schauspielen, Sanskrit und Prākṛit. Die in den Platten I und II vorkommenden Prākṛitstellen sind ziemlich umfangreich, die in denselben angewandten Dialecte die Śauraseni, Māgadhī und Māhārāṣṭrī. Gleich nach meiner Entdeckung der Inschriften theilte mir Prof. PISCHEL mit, dass die Prākṛitformen in denselben im Ganzen genau zu Hemacandra's Regeln stimmen; später hat Dr. STEN KONOW dies in den Gött. gel. Anz. 1894, S. 478 ff. im Einzelnen nachgewiesen; auch haben die hier vorkommenden, irgendwie bemerkenswerthen Formen einen Platz in Prof. PISCHEL's Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen gefunden. Nach Prof. PISCHEL's Urtheil, Gramm. § 11, sind diese Bruchstücke trotz aller Fehler „von grösster Wichtigkeit für die Māgadhī, die nur hier uns in einer Gestalt überliefert ist, die mit den Regeln der Grammatiker übereinstimmt.“ Die Platten III und IV enthalten sehr wenig Prākṛit, in Śauraseni und Māhārāṣṭrī.

1) In *jhvījāi* (für *jhījāi*), II, 2, und *jhamkrtīr-* (für *jhamkrtīr-*), III, 28, hat der Schreiber fälschlich das Zeichen für *jh* statt des einfachen *jh* gebraucht.

Zur Orthographie des Sanskrit ist im Verhältniss zu anderen Inschriften nur Weniges zu bemerken. Der Schreiber ist so sorgfältig gewesen, dass er in allen vier Platten nur eine einzige Silbe (*ta* in *tanubhṛḥ* für *tanubhṛtaḥ*, IV, 36) ausgelassen hat. Der Laut *ḥ* ist überall durch den Buchstaben *v* bezeichnet. Für *nīkram* finden wir überall *nīhkrām*, z. B. in *nīhkrāntāḥ*, I, 32, *nīhkrānta*, I, 37, *nīhkrāntaḥ*, II, 7; ebenso *ḥ* für *ṣ* in *duḥprekṣyaṃ*, I, 12, *nīhparicchado*, I, 15, *dhanuḥpānt*, III, 27, und *nīhkrāmāḥ*, III, 40. Der dentale Sibilant ist statt des palatalen gebraucht in *citrasālikā*, I, 24, *rasanām-*, II, 35, *prakāsaṃ*, III, 18, *akāse*, III, 22 und 38, *āsleṣa-*, III, 30, *svās-* (für *svās-*), III, 36, *svāpadām-*, IV, 6, *vanitārī*, IV, 7; umgekehrt haben wir *Kailāsa* statt des gewöhnlichen *Kailāsa*, IV, 37. Schreibarten wie *satva*, *datvā* für *sattoa*, *datvā*, und *ujvāla* für *ujjvāla*, sind auch anderwärts so gewöhnlich, dass sie kaum der Erwähnung bedürfen; seltener ist *paryanya* für *parjanya*, das sich IV, 20 findet. In etwa ein Dutzend Fällen sind die Wohllautsregeln nicht beobachtet worden. — Was die Prākṛitstellen betrifft, so sind einige der in denselben vorkommenden Fehler (wie *ṭhāne* statt *ṭhāne*, I, 3, *paccakkhāim* statt *paccakkhāim*, I, 8, *Nomālie* statt *Nomālie*, I, 33 und 34, *kiṃṇa* statt *kiṃ ṇa*, I, 34) gewiss auf Rechnung des Schreibers zu setzen. Da derselbe seiner Arbeit aber im Allgemeinen ausserordentlich grosse Sorgfalt gewidmet hat, müssen wir für die Mehrzahl der Verstösse gegen die Regeln der Grammatiker gewiss die Verfasser selbst verantwortlich machen. Wo solche Verstösse vorkommen, habe ich deshalb in meiner Abschrift der Texte, statt zu verbessern, gewöhnlich auf die entsprechenden Regeln in Prof. PISCHEL's Grammatik verwiesen.

Die Platten I und II enthalten Bruchstücke eines von dem als *Mahākavi* bezeichneten Gelehrten SOMADEVA zu Ehren des Cāhamāna Königs VIGRAHARĀJA von Śākambhari verfassten Schauspiels, betitelt LALITAVIGRAHARĀJA-NĀṬAKA. Platte I giebt in Z. 1—32 einen grossen Theil (bis zum Schluss) des ersten Acts, und in Z. 32—38 den Anfang des zweiten Acts; Platte II in Z. 1—12 einen Theil (bis zum Schluss) des dritten Acts, und in Z. 12—36 den Anfang des vierten Acts.

Die Platten III und IV enthalten Bruchstücke des von dem *Mahārāja* oder *Mahārājādhirāja* VIGRAHARĀJADEVA von Śākambhari selbst zu Ehren des Gottes Śiva verfassten HARAKELI-NĀṬAKA. Platte III giebt in Z. 1—24 einen Theil (bis zum Schluss) des *Līngodbhava* betitelten zweiten Acts, und in Z. 24—40 den Anfang des dritten Acts; Platte IV einen Theil des *Krauñcavijaya* betitelten fünften und letzten Acts, bis zum Schluss des Schauspiels.

Der in dem ersten der beiden Schauspiele erwähnte Feldzug des Königs VIGRAHARĀJA gegen die Turuṣkas (oder Muhammedaner) zeigt, dass der genannte König identisch ist mit dem VISALADEVA-VIGRAHARĀJA, von dem wir eine Inschrift aus dem Jahre 1164 nach Chr. besitzen¹, und dass deshalb die Inschriften, für die uns

1) Siehe Ind. Ant. XIX, 215 ff.

der Schreiber ein Datum aus dem Jahre 1153 nach Chr. gegeben hat, während der Regierung dieses Königs in Stein eingehauen sein müssen.

Meine Umschrift der Texte schliesst sich genau den Originalen an. Hinzugefügt habe ich ausser einigen nothwendigen Verbesserungen nur die Sanskrit-Uebersetzung der Prakritstellen und Verweise auf Prof. PISCHEL's Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen (bezeichnet mit P.) und Dr. STEN KONOW's Bemerkungen in den Gött. gel. Anz. 1894, S. 478 ff.

A. Lalitavigraharāja-nāṭaka.

Platte I.

1. nidhātum niyatya
nyastā tanvī sakṛd-anubhavy-ādhvani svapnajasya |
tac-cimtābhis-tad-ayam-adhunā bhāvito bhāvan-ātmā
hetuḥ sūte diśi vidiśi tām jāgrato=py-agrato me ||
sakhedam || āścaryam=āścaryam ||
Smita-jyotsnā-sāraṃ dadhad-api tad-āsy-ṃdum=uditam
sakhe cetaś-citraṃ nipatati mahāmoha-
2. timire |
sudhā-vici-sniḡdhaiḥ snapitam-api tan-netra-valitair-
v vapur-mme sarvv-āṅgaṃ kalayati ca saṃtāpam=adhikaṃ ||

Vidū || ^(a)Vayassa¹ maha hiyaṃ tujjha² a dāva ekkam jjeva³ | tuha uṇa bhūri-
bhāvaṇaṇuvamḡha-paravvase hiae nicca-saṇṇihida jjeva⁴ sā maacchi | tā tae paccakkhi-
kadā mae vi kādavva

3. jjeva⁵ tti juttam bhodi | tadhāvi maha asaṃjāda-taddaṃsaṇassa kade kampi
taddaṃsaṇovāyaṃ maṃtehi⁴ ||

Rājā || Vayasya || yadi te kautukam=asti tadā samālikhya darśayām=iti citre likhitoā
darśayati ||

Vidū || *citra-phalakam-adāya mirikṣya* [|| *] ^(b)Vayassa tṡhāne⁵ jādāsaṃgosi || *punar-*
avalo-

(a) Vayasya mama hrdayam tava ca tavad=ekam=eva | tava punar=bhūri=bhāvan-
ānubandha-paravaśe hrdaye nitya-saṃnihit=aiva sā mṛgākṣi | tasmāt=tvayā pratyakṣikṛtā
may=āpi kartavy=aiv=eti yuktam bhavati | tath=āpi mam=āsaṃjāta-tad-darśanasya kṛte
kam=api tad-darśan-opāyaṃ mantrayasva ||

(b) Vayasya sthane jāt=āsaṅgo=si ||

1) Zu *vayassa*, *hiyaṃ* u. s. w. für *vaassa*, *hiyaṃ* u. s. w. vgl. Konow, S. 480, P. § 187.

2) P. § 11, S. 9, Z. 2; § 421, S. 297. 3) P. § 11, S. 9, Z. 2; § 95.

4) Ursprünglich *maṃtehiṃ*, geändert zu *maṃtehi*. 5) Lies *tṡhāne*.

4. *kya* || ^(a) kadham siloo vi nimmāya¹ lihido | *iti vācayati* ||
 Svapne prāg-avalokit-āsi sutanu prāptair-mmāy-ojjāgaraiḥ
 [so]-py-amtarvvitat-ārativyatikaraiḥ pascād-abhūd-durllabhaḥ |
 paśyaty-asta-rasāmtaram tu vidhṛta-dhyānapravam(bam)dham tvayi
 svāmtam tvanmayam-eva viśvam-adhunā dhatte tu no nirvṛtim ||
5. Vidu || ^(b) Vayassa asacca jjeva² dāva atthā siviṇae viloijjamti³ | kāmipi uṇa
 jahatthāim⁴ pi vatthuruvāim siviṇae pekkhijjamti⁵ | Aniruddhena khu⁶ Ūsā tae a so
 sacco jjeva siviṇae dittho tti evamvihā vuttamā edihāsīnaṃ kadhāim suṇṇamti |
 tā jaḥ esā
6. vi sūndart sacco sulahā ābhādi tā juttā tattha de āsatti | annadhā uṇa kitti⁷
 appā⁸ āyāsiyadi | adhava sacco sulahā a sā avassam sambhāvīyādi jjeva | ṇa hu⁹ sā
 asaccā huvamti¹⁰ tae suddha-hiāeṇa nikkāraṇaṃ siviṇae pekkhyādi | eriso a anurāo
 samatthassa de kadham
7. nipphalo sambhāvīyādi ||
 Rājā || Vayasya sā saty-eti katham vijñātam pāryate ||
 Vidu || *soṭṭprāsam* || ^(c) Vayassa | ṇam bhaṇāmi puhavtala-nihidāim dhanānaṃ
 dhanāim tadhā tamapasara-¹¹duppecca-¹²peramtesu pura-vahiṭṭhidesu uvavaṇesu
 addharatta-vihidāim coriā-suradāim pi jāva tu-
 8. mhārisāṇaṃ cāra-ṇayanāṇaṃ mahivādīnaṃ pacakkhāim¹³ huṃti¹⁴ | kiṃ uṇa ṇa
 saala-loa-loaṇāṇaṃdanāim paḍāim kāmipi-ṇayanāim¹⁵ ||
 Rājā || Vayasya kim-ayam jahāsah samāsvāsaṇaṃ vā ||
 Vidu || ^(d) ṇam saccoṇ jjeva¹⁶ edam | tā kiṃ ettha uvahāseṇa āsāseṇa vā | (||)

(a) katham śloko-pi nirmāya likhitah ||

(b) Vayasya asatyā eva tāvad-arthah svapne vilokyante | kāny-api punar-yathār-
 thāny-api vasturūpāni svapne prekṣyante | Aniruddhena khal-Ūsā tayā ca sa satya eva
 svapne drṣṭa ity-evamvihā vṛttantā aitihasikānām kathābhīḥ śrūyante | tasmād-yady-
 eṣ-āpi sūndart satyā sulabh-ābhādi tad-yuktā tatra ta āsaktiḥ | anyathā punaḥ kimity-
 ātm-āyāsyate | athavā satyā sulabhā ca e-āvaśyam sambhāvīyate eva | na khalu e-āsatyā
 bhavanti tvayā śuddha-hṛdayena niṣkāraṇaṃ svapne prekṣyate | idrśās-c-ānurāgaḥ samar-
 thasya te katham niṣphalaḥ sambhāvīyate ||

(c) Vayasya | nanu bhaṇāmi pṛthivītala-nihitāni dhanikānām dhanāni tathā tamah-
 prasara-dusprekṣa-paryanteṣu pura-bahiṣṭhiteṣ-ūpavaneṣv-ardharātra-vihitāni caurikā-
 suratāny-api yāvad-yuṣmādrśānām cāra-nayanānām mahipatnām pratyakṣāni bhavanti
 kiṃ punar[na] sakala-loka-locaṇ-ānandanāni prakāṣāni kāmipi-ratnāni ||

(d) Nanu satyam-ev-aitat | tasmāt-kim-atr-opahāsen-āsvāsaṇena vā ||

1) P. S. 400, Z. 6. 2) P. § 96. 3) P. § 536. 4) Konow, S. 479; P. § 208. 5) P. § 536.
 6) P. § 94, S. 81, Z. 19. 7) P. § 428, S. 304, Z. 3. 8) Was auf dem Stein steht, sieht wie *appa* aus.
 9) P. § 94. 10) P. § 476, S. 338, Z. 2. 11) Lies *samappasara*; P. § 11. 12) P. § 84; vgl. § 321.
 13) Lies *pacakkhāim*; P. § 11. 14) P. § 476, S. 338, Z. 11. 15) P. § 132. 16) P. § 11, S. 9, Z. 2; § 96.

Nepathye ||

- Phalam ka-
 9. rmm-ānusāreṇa bhāvayan-bhavinām prabhūḥ |
 Śambhūḥ śubhāya me bhūyād-bhaktānām-abhaya-pradaḥ ||
 Rājā || *śrutvā* || *vilokya saharṣam* || [V]ayasya pāmtha iva ko-pi drśyate || yaḥ ||
 Avirata-[pa]ṭhi-prasthān-otthām-imām kṛsatā-sakṣim
 dṛg-anabhimatām kṛtenam vyāpya sthitām vapur-śriyam |
 dadhad-api vahann-etad-vrā(brā)hmaṇ mahah
 10. sphuṭam-adbhutam
 jagad-api jayaty-ākṛty-aiva pratita-guṇodayaḥ ||
 tad-duḥkhitam-api me hṛdayam-etasya darśanena sukhita[m-e]va varttate ||
Tataḥ pravīṣati pāmthah ||
 Pāmthah | Śru[taṃ] mayā yathā kila puraḥsthitam-idam-ev-odyānam-alamkurvann-
 āste Śākambhari-narendro Vighararāja iti tato yady-a-
 11. paricitavān-na nivārye tadā kṛtārthayāmi tad-avalokanena cakṣuḥ || *puro-valokya* |
śānandam || diṣṭyā dūrāpas[āri]ta-samasta-parijano dvi-traiḥ praṇayibhir-upe[to]-ey-aiva
 samullasita-kusum-āmoda-medurita-Malayamāruta-samṛddher-ghanatama-cohāyā-pari-
 nāha-manohara-samunnate-
 12. r-nūtana-vakulasya talam-alamkurute devo Vighararajaḥ ||
 Ayam duḥprekṣyam¹ ca prathita-jagad-ānandam-api ca
 prabhūtam vi(bi)bhrā[ṇa]s-tad-idam-asamaḥ dhāma kim-api |
 satām samtrāṇāya vyat[i]karita-mārtamda-tuhina-
 dyuti-jyotiḥ kāmṭam jayati jagati-maṇḍana-maṇiḥ ||
 Yam-utko-smi drāṣṭum namad-amara-koṭira-
 13. vilasan-
 maṇi-śreṇi-śāṇ-ojvala²-cāraṇapīṭh-ārppita-padam |
 prabhō-Camḍibharttus-tribhuvana-pates-tasya kṛpayā
 nṛpaṃ sam[vi]kṣy-ainaṃ jani-phalam-avāpto-smi sakalam ||
 Rājā || *[sam]jñāyā pratihāram-āśīati* | (||)
 Pratihārah [|| *] Ārya ita itah [|| *]
 Pāmthah | (||) *uparṣṭya* | Svasti samast-āvani-rakṣā-puṇya-bhāja-
 14. nāya bhavate bhūpāya ||
 Rājā || Namo viduṣe ||
 Pāmthah || Śarad-īndu-dyuti-svacchair-ddaś-āpi satatam di[śah] |]
 . . . d-yaśah-pūrair-ddūram-unnamita-śriyaḥ ||
 Rājā || *svagatam* || Aho sātīśaya-puṇya-parinatyā mahatām-evamvidhānām-api
 darśanam na durllabham || *prakāṣam* || *śānam pradāpya* | sa-

1) Lies *dusprekṣyam*.

2) Lies *-ojvala*.

3) Lies *bhavanti tad-(?)*.

Kielborn, Bruchstücke indischer Schauspiele.

15. *vinayaṃ* || vidvan-kuta iyam yātrā katham vā sātiśaya-guṇ-ottare]-py-avatāre
niḥ[paricchado-si | kva vā gaṃtavyaṃ] |

Vrā(brā)hmaṇaḥ || Mahārāja ||

Tarkkār-iti prasiddham jagati nirupamaṃ sthānam-asti dvijānām
tasmin-niḥśeṣa-vidyā-vasatir-adhigata-vrahmatatv-āvavodhaḥ* |
tātaḥ samjātavān-me di-

16. śi diśi sudhiyaḥ prakrame yat-kathānām
[sarvve-py]-ānamda-vāṣpa-prasara-bhara-bhrt-āpānga-bhājo bhavanti ||
tasmiṃś-ca ||

Tāte [ga]tavati svarggam-aśeṣa-viduṣāṃ gurau |
s-āpi kv-āpi śuc-e[va] śrīḥ prayātā tasya veśmanaḥ ||
ahaṃ tu tāta-śoka-śamkubhir-nnirbhidyamāna-marmā ||
Vṛddhāṃ tām jananiṃ śiśūn-api su-

17. tān-sādhvīm-a[pi] — — —
— — [na]nya-samāśrayān-api vahūn*-vaṃdhūn-vihāy-ādhunā |
taṃ draṣṭuṃ calito-smi viśva-bhuvana-prāraṃbha-rakṣā-vyaya-
vyāpāra-prabhavaṃ prabhūṃ sumanasām-śaṃ Pra bhāsa-sthitam ||

Rājā | (||) Vidvan |

Viracitam-ucitaiḥ purātanais-taiḥ
sukṛta-cayair-idam-atra darśanam te |
niravadhi-śubha-

18. sampadām [nidānam] ||
[sa]phalayati sma mam-aitad-ādhipatyam ||
kimtv-ārya || tvad-abhidhāna-śravaṇena śrotra-vṛttim-api kṛtārthayitum-icchāmah ||

Viprah || savriḍam || Deva ||

Viśv-ot[sa]va-nidānasya sadyaḥ samdarśanāt-tava |
prāpt-aśeṣa-śubh-ānamdaṃ Śubhānamdaṃ pratthi māṃ ||

Rājā || Ārya || tatra

19. sad-deśe sambhūtena prabhū[tā]nām ca vidyānām bhājanen-aitāvamtaṃ deśam-
āgatena ca kiṃ kim-apy-adbhutam-avaloki[ta]m-iha bhavatā ||

Śubhānamdaḥ || Jagad-vismayādāyi-guṇa-gaṇam bhavamta-ālokya kiṃ nāma
n-ādbhutam-avalokitam || smṛtīm-abhinīya sānamdaṃ || mahārāja || dvityam c-ādbhu-
tam dr-

20. ṣṭam yathā [*] ast-ita uttarasyāṃ diśi* Iṃdrapuram nāma nagaram | tatra ca
tad-upāmta-vartti vinidr-empdivara-vanam-udbhinn-āmbhoja-vraja-virājitam-apāram-
aparam-iva pārāvaram vasaṃta-samaya-sundaram sarovaram-avalokitum tatrasya
rājño Vasamtapālasya putri pracuratara-turānga-vāra-parivṛtām gr-

21. hita-vividh-āyudha-puruṣa-saṃgha-samrakṣitām saviseṣa-maṃḍanām kariṇtm-
ārūdhā vividh-ālakāra-bhūṣit-ābhinavāraṃbha-yauvan-odbhāsīt-ādbhuta-rūpa-ramaṇi-

1) Lies *nīpari*°. 2) Lies *brahmatatto-āvavodhaḥ*. 3) Lies *bahūn-baṃdhūn*°. 4) Lies *diśi-Iṃdra*°.

yābhir-bhūyasibhiḥ sakhibhir-upetā yatr-āham nitya-karma kurvann-asmi tatr-āga-
tavati | āgatya ca ttre samuttirya māṃ prāṇāma | a-

22. haṃ tu tasyās-tena vinayena pramudita-manā āśiṣam pradāya [tām ni] puṇa-
taram ciraṃ nirikṣitavān | kiṃ va(ba)hūnā ||

Mukhāt-tasyāḥ padmaṃ niyatam-anukampām mṛgayate
dhruvaṃ tal-lāvanyād-abhilaṣati bhāgam himaruciḥ |
tad-amgānām kāmtyāḥ kanakam-upameyaṃ tu bhavitum
sphuṭam bhūyo bhūyah pra-

23. viśati hutāśasya jāṭharam ||
api ca ||

Suvyakta-stanamamḍala-dvayam-uro n-ā[dy-ā]pi na vṛḍdayā
vā(bā)la-kṛḍitam-āvṛtam smita-sudhā-siktā na [vā]cām tatiḥ
na spaṣṭa-trivalt-ta[raṃ]ga-vibhavo madhya-pradeśas-tath-āpy-
astram jaitram-iti Smarena manasi nyastam tadyam vapuh ||
atha kicit-tad-anuca[Ri]

24. murti-eva Ratis-tvaritatara-turāgam-ādhirūdhā paścād-āgatya tām-uktavati |
bhartṛdāri[ke] tvām devī samādīśati yathā || abhinava-nirmmita-citrasā(śā)likā-pra-
veśa-lagnaṃ pratyāsannaṃ varttate | tat-satvaram-āgamyatām-iti || tataḥ sā tad-
ākaraṇya tath-aiva nagaram praviṣṭavati ||

Rājā || *svagatam* | A-

25. ho nu khalv-āścarya-paramparā-va(ba)hulo jvalokaḥ | yato mayā tāvad-ākāra-
jita-jagat[itala]vartti-sakala-nārjanam-avalokitam svapne kanyā-ratnam | ayaṃ ca
vivu(bu)dh-āgraṇ[īh] Śubhānamdo-pi tad-anūna-guṇam-aparam-api stri-ratnam-ācāṣṭe ||
manye c-āsamsāram-asamāpta-prakaraṇa-parampar-aiva jaga-

26. ti sraṣṭuḥ sṛṣṭiḥ || *prakāśam* || vidvan || tvadrśām-api drśām-āścarya-dāyi nārī-
rūpam-asmān-api dra[ṣṭum s]otkamṭhayati ||

Śubhānamdaḥ || Mahārāja kim-atr-āpi durllabham-ānyatām sa-citropakaraṇam
tal-likhanāya phalakaṃ ||

Rājā || *tathā kārayati* ||

Śubhānamdaḥ || *likhitvā darśayati* || †

27. Rājā || *vilokya svapna-drṣṭam pratyabhijñāya || sānamdādbhutam || svagatam ||*
Āścaryam-āścaryam ||

Sarvve-pi drutam-etad-amga-niviḍa-śleṣ-ābhilāṣ-āmkura-
vrāten-eva samamta-to-py-avayavā ro[m-o]dgamen-āmcitāḥ |
samprāpt-āvasaro mam-aīṣa bhajati vyaktiṃ cirāt-sampito
vāṣpāmbhaḥ-prasara-cchalena ca drśor-asyāṃ di-

28. drkṣā-rasaḥ ||
tad-idānīm sātirekayoḥ sukha-duḥkhyor-amtare tiṣṭhāmi || *prakāśam* || aho k-āpy-
apar-aiv-eyam saundarya-rekhā |

1) Dies Interpunktionszeichen steht am Anfange der folgenden Zeile.

Sājatyepyupalāmtarāt-khalu janair-mmāṅkīya-khaṃḍasya ca
śrīkhaṃḍasya ca yāvad-atra viditam kṣāṭhāmtarād-amtaram |
ślāghyād-apy-ucitair-ggunaiḥ kṣiti-bhuvo niḥśeṣa-nārtjanā-

29. l-lāvāny-aika-vidhāv-ih-āpi vidadhe dhātrā tath-aiv-amtaram ||
api ca ||

Smita-bhrūbhāṅg-ādyaiḥ kila harati ci[ttam] śāsīmukhi
svartūpākhyānatvād-īha tu na hi te ke-pi likhitāḥ |
ta[th-ā]py-ākāro-yam jita-Kusumavāna-praṇayin-
vapuh-saumdarya-śrīr-bhramayati muninām-api manah ||

urdhvam-ava-

30. lokya || vidvan-samvṛtto madhyāhnaḥ | tathā hi |
Samastasy-āpy-urdhve vilasati dinānām-adhipatau
kṣa[ṇam] maṃdibhāvaṃ nayati turaga-śreṇim-Aruṇaḥ |
anuṣṭhāyan-mādhyamdinam-atha [vi]dhiṃ śiṣya-nivaho
vihāya svādhyāyaṃ namati ca guror-amhri-yugalaṃ ||
tato bhavadbhir-apy-asmāt-parijana-saṃnidhā-

31. [pi]ta-samasta-sopakarāṇa-parijanam-asman-nirddiṣṭam prathāreṇa nivedayisya-
māṇam-āvāsam-adhiṣṭhāya vimucyatām-adhva-śramah | kiyamtam-api kālam eva-sam-
vāsena c-āsmāka[m-ā]pi śubh-ānaṃdau pradāy-asmad-anumatair-bhavadbhīḥ śrī-Sō-
manāthadevo draṣṭavyaḥ ||

Śubhānaṃdah || Yad-āha mahipa-

32. [ti]ḥ ||

Rājā || *Vidūṣakaṃ prati* || Vayasya vrajāmo devārccan-ādi-kṛtyāya ||

Vidū || (a) Jam vayasso ānavedi || *iti niḥkrāntāḥ sarve* ||

|| Iti mahākavi-paṃḍita-śrī-Somade[va]-viracite Lalitavigraharāj-
ābhidhāne nāṭake prathamō-ṅkaḥ samāptaḥ ||

Tataḥ pravīṣatas-cetyau ||

33. *E[kā] || (b) Halā Nomālie* | bhāṭṭidārī Desaladevi kiṃ karedi ||

Dvityā || (c) Sahi Sūmdarie | ahiṇava-nimmidam citta-sāliam pekkhamti ci-
tṭhadi | (||)

Sūmdarikā || (d) Halā kiṃ kiṃ ta[tt]ha pekkhidavvam vatthu ālihidaṃ ||

Navamālikā || (e) Sahi jam kimpī samsāre sāraram āsi vaṭṭadi ya ||

(a) Yad-vayasya ājūāpayati ||

(b) Sakhi Navamālike | bhartṛdārikā Desaladevi kiṃ karoti ||

(c) Sakhi Sundarīke | abhinava-nirmitam citra-sālikam prekṣamāṇā tiṣṭhati ||

(d) Sakhi kiṃ kiṃ tatra prekṣitavyam vastv-ālikhitam ||

(e) Sakhi yat-kim-api samsāre sāraram-āsi-d-vartate ca ||

1) Lies *niḥkrāntāḥ*.

2) Das *e von eba* steht am Ende von Z. 32.

3) Lies *Nomālie*.

Sūmdarikā ||

34. (a) Nomālie* | keṇa uṇa tārisam cittam ālihidaṃ | (||)

Navamālikā | (||) (b) Sūmdarie kiṇṇa* jānāsi Nipūṇa-nāmaṇam cittaaram | so khu*
parisilid-āsesa-desāmtara-vvavahāro raṇa*-tta[ya. i] gihida*-saala-purāṇa-vuttamto a ||
Sūmdarikā || (c) Sahi Nomālie sampadam jara-jajjaraasa tassa kadham nā-*

35. meṇa vva kajjeṇa vi nipuṇattanaṃ ||

Navamālikā || (d) Halā ṇam bhaṇāmi vā(bā)lattanaḍo vi ṇiramtaravbhā(bbhā)sa-
ppaariso jarājanidamgavialattanaṇam pi taruṇo jjeva bhodi ||

Sūmdarikā || (e) Sahi tumam dāpi kaḥim calidāsi ||

Navamālikā || (f) Sahi bhāṭṭidāriattham Camdasehara-gharint-ca-

36. laṇaccā-ṇimittam campaa-kusumāim avacinedum ||

Sūmdarikā || (g) Sahi pasidadu* se bhaavadt Sasisehara-vallahā anurūva-vallaha-
dāṇeṇa ||

Navamālikā || (h) Tumam uṇa kattha [ca]lidāsi ||

Sūmdarikā || (i) Sahi aham pi bhāṭṭidārīe guruṇa-pāvaṇḍanaṃ kādum pesidā |
tam kadua bhāṭṭi-

37. dāriam Desaladeviṃ daṭṭhum gacchanti citṭhāmi ||

Navamālikā || (a) Halā tā gaccha tumam | aham pi patthudam karemi ||

iti niḥkrāntāḥ * [|| *] *Viṣkambhakaḥ* ||

(a) Navamālike | keṇa punas-tādrsam citram-ālikhitam ||

(b) Sundarīke kiṃ na jānāsi Nipūṇa-nāmaṇam citrakaram | sa khalu parisilid-
āseṣa-desāntara-vyavahāro ratna-traya . . gṛhita-sakala-purāṇa-vṛttānta-ca ||

(c) Sakhi Navamālike sāmpratam jarā-jarjaraṣya tasya katham namn-eva kāryeṇ-
āpi nipuṇatā ||

(d) Sakhi nanu bhaṇāmi bālatvād-api nirantar-ābhyāsa-prakarṇo jarā-janit-āṅga-
vikalatvānām-api taruṇa eva bhavati ||

(e) Sakhi tvam-idantam kva calit-āsi ||

(f) Sakhi bhartṛdārik-ārtham Candrasekhara-gṛhīṇi-carāṇārcā-nimittam campaka-
kusumāny-avacetum ||

(g) Sakhi prasidatv-asyai bhagavati Śāsisekhara-vallabh-ānurūpa-vallabha-dānena ||

(h) Tvam punaḥ kva calit-āsi ||

(i) Sakhi aham-api bhartṛdārikayā gurujana-pādavandanam kartum preṣitā | tat-
kṛtvā bhartṛdārikam Desaladevīm draṣṭum gacchanti tiṣṭhāmi ||

(k) Sakhi tad-gaccha tvam | aham-api prastutam karomi ||

1) Lies *Nomālie*. 2) Lies *kiṃ ṇa*. 3) P. § 94. 4) P. § 132. 5) Konow, S. 481; P. § 564.
6) Lies *ṇa*. 7) Konow, S. 480. 8) Lies *niḥkrāntā*.

Tataḥ pravṛṣṭiṣṭi cī[tram-avalo]kamānā sapā¹ ladevi citrakarās-ca ||

Desala || ^(a) Mahābhāa kiṃ uṇa eam² louttara-sundarattan-āṇaṃdiāse-³

38. sa-loa-loaṇaṃ diṭṭha-sa[m]haṭṭha[m] dīsaī⁴ ||

Citra || Bhartṛdārike | idam-anupama-rāmaṇyak-ā[rham] tridivasadām-ucitaṃ
sadaḥ sudharmā | ayam-api sa [hi]

[Desala ||] *namasyati | anyato-valokya* || ^(b) Mahābhāa ko eso viviha-raaṇa⁵-gaṇa-
bhūsiavbham⁶-

Platte II.

1. vāṃchitānām

vihita iva hitānām-amtike durllabhānām |
tad-abhayam-avivekaṃ śāsvata[m] svāvavo(bo)dha[m]
k[im-a]pi padam-avāpy[-ai]v-āham-āsam kṛtārthaḥ ||

atha ||

Kim-api nivīḍa[m] vṛīḍā-cchannaṃ prakāma-manoharaṃ
[pra]kaṭitavati s-āpi prema prabhūtataṃ mayi |
yad-aśanir-iva krūraḥ prauḍhaṃ jvalann-iva pāvakaḥ
skhalad-iva muhuḥ śa-

2. lyam svāṃte tanoty-adhunā rujaṃ ||

Saśi || *sānandam* || ^(c) Deva diṭṭhiā pasannaṃ bhaavadā vihinā va[lla]hena a ||
acchariaṃ 2

Damaṇa-suham pi aṇisaṃ paṭṭhiḥḥai jeṇa dullahaṃ jassa |
so vi hu jaī tassa kae jḥiḥḥai⁷ tā kiṇṇa⁸ pajjattaṃ ||

dāṇi⁹ jaṃ bhattidāriāe tārisa-kilesāṇala-saṃtāva-paramparāe e-

3. risassa a ṇia-ppasāa-vilasidassa aṇurūpaṃ taṃ aīreṇa jjeva kijaḍu¹⁰ || jado ||

(a) Mahābhāga kiṃ punar-etal-lokottara-sundaratv-ānandit-āśeṣa-loka-locanaṃ
drṣṭa-saṃhrṣṭam (?) drṣyate ||

(b) Mahābhāga ka eṣa vividha-ratna-gaṇa-bhūsit-ābhyam-

(c) Deva diṣṭyā prasannaṃ bhagavatā vidhinā vallabhena ca | āścaryam-āścaryam |
Darsana-sukham-apy-anīsaṃ prārthyate yena durlabhaṃ yasya |
so-pi khalu yadi tasya kṛte kṣyate tat-kiṃ na paryāptam ||

idānīm yad-bhartṛdārikāyās-tādrṣa-kleśāṇala-saṃtāpa-paramparāyā idrṣasya ca nija-
prasāda-vilasitasy-ānurūpaṃ tad-acireṇ-aiva kriyatām | yataḥ |

Prabala-pavanaugha-durdhara-dāvānala-kavalanaṃ taru-varā api |
na sahanta eva kiṃ punaḥ sukumāraṃ mālati-kusumam ||

1) Lies *saparijānā Desaladevi*. 2) P. § 426. 3) P. § 203. 4) P. § 541. 5) P. § 132.
6) Lies *-bhāsiabḥhaṇi-*; P. § 203. 7) Lies *jḥiḥḥai*. 8) Lies *kiṃ ṇa*. 9) Konow, S. 480; P. § 144.
10) P. § 547, S. 375, Z. 3.

Pavala-pavaṇoha-duddhara-dāvāṇala-kavalanaṃ taru-varā vi |
ṇa sahaṃti coia kiṃ ṇa somālaṃ māladr¹-kusumaṃ ||
ahaṃ tu erisaṃ deviyam-aṇurāṃ-eārisaṃ² ca siviṇaa-saṃvihāṇaṃ ṇiveiya āsāsaemi
sapa-

4. rianaṃ bhāṭṭidāriaṃ ||

Rājā || *svagataṃ* ||

Sa prauḍha-prasaraḥ priyā-viraha-jo duḥkh-augha-dāvāṇalo
viṣvag-vāg-amṛtair-mukh-aṃvu(bu)da-tatair-yen-ādyā nirrvāpitaḥ |
āḥ kaṣṭaṃ sudhaya-eva nirmmita-tanos-tasy-ādhun-opasthitaḥ
ko-py-etasya sumānuṣāya virahaḥ soḍhuṃ kathaṃ yāsyati ||

prakāśaṃ || sakhi Śāśiprabhe saṃprati pri-

5. yatamā-viraha-duḥkha-dāvāṇalas-tvad-viyoga-prava(ba)la-prabhaṃjana-vega-śata-
mukhikṛtaḥ kavalayann-imaṃ deha-viṭapinaṃ kathaṃ śakantiyaḥ soḍhuṃ || tato yāvat-
priyā-samāgamo bhavati tāvad-atr-aiva tiṣṭhatu bhavati || tatra tu tvadiya-kalyāṇa-
pravṛtṭy-upavṛṃhitām-ātmanaḥ kuśala-vārttām nivedayitum-ātmyam sakala-viśraṃ-

6. bha-bhuvam Kalyāṇavatim nāma preṣayisyāmaḥ ||

Śāśiprabhā || ^(a)Jam devo āṇavedi ||

Rājā || Kaḥ ko-tra bhoḥ kaḥ ko-tra ||

Pravītya puruṣaḥ || ^(b)Āṇavedu bhāṭṭā ||

Rājā || Bhadra asmad-vacanād-abhidhyatām mahāmātyaḥ || yathā saṃnidhāpit-
āśeṣa-śayan-āsana-bhāṇḍ-ādy-upakaraṇaṃ tāmvū(bū)la-kusuma-karppūra-vilepana-vasa-

7. n-ādi-samast-opabhogyā-vastu-sampannaṃ sa-parijanāyāḥ Śāśiprabhāyāḥ sthity-
ucitaṃ saṃpāday-āvāsa-bhavanam-iti ||

Puruṣaḥ || ^(c)Jam devo āṇaved= *iti niḥkrāntaḥ*³ ||

Rājā || Śāśiprabhe ||

Sā kalpadruma-maṃjar-iva hi mama smera-smarāgni-jvara-
jvālā-dhyāmalitair-mmanoratha-śatair-bhṛṃgair-iv-āliṃgitā |
āḥ kaṣṭaṃ ha[takai?]-

8. r-vvidher-vvilasitair-durvāta-vegair-iva
krūrair-vyākulatām va(ba)lena gamitā tanvi kathaṃ sthāsyati ||
Vidūṣakaṇi prati || vayasya samāhuyatām Kalyāṇavati ||

ahaṃ tv-idrśaṃ devasy-ānurāgam-etādrśaṃ ca svapna-saṃvidhānaṃ nivedy-āśvāsāyāmi
sa-parijanāṃ bhartṛdārikām ||

(a) Yad-deva ājñāpayati ||

(b) Ājñāpayatu bharta ||

(c) Yad-deva ājñāpayati ||

1) Konow, S. 479; P. § 204, S. 147, Z. 19.

2) Lies *deviāṃ aṇuvāṣaṃ eārisaṃ*; vgl. P. § 11.

3) Lies *āṇavedi* || *iti niḥkrāntaḥ*.

Vidū ||^(a) Hī hi jāne vayasseṇa vvasasidam¹ nīa-vivāha-kajjeṇa | tā amhāṇam cira-vaḍḍhidā dāpi phalaṃtu khaṇḍa-laddhūāim maṇoraha²-ddumā [|| *]

9. *ity-ukto nīkramya³ Kalyāṇavatya saha praviśati* |

Rājā || Kalyāṇavati ih-āsane⁴ upaviśyatām ||

Kalyāṇa || *tathā karoti* ||

Rājā || *Kalyāṇavatyaḥ Śāśiprabhā-svarūpam-āgamana-prayojanam ca sarvoam nivedya* [|| *] Kalyāṇavati vraja tvam-avanipater-Vvasantapālasya putrim-asmad-vacanād-anumodayitum-ā-

10. rādhayitum ca || idam-o-āsmat-samdiṣṭam rājaputrī śrāvayitavyā ||

Drutataram-itah kāṃte viśvaiḥ samam vahir-impriyaiḥ

kvacid-api mano-smākaṃ nītam tvayā prathamam haṭhāt |

anujigamiṣor-jjivasy-aitāny-ath-āsya Śāśiprabhā-

vacana-vihitād-āsā-taṃtor-abhūd-avalamva(ba)naṃ ||

idam o-āgrataḥ karttavayam-asmadyam ||

11. vijñāpantya rājaputrī yathā Turuṣkeṃdra-vigraha-prasaṅgena drutataram-eva-āgatya devi bhavatīm prasādayiṣyāmaḥ || yatas-Turuṣkarājo-py-asmān-prati pracialiṭhā śrūyate ||

Kalyāṇavati ||^(b) Jam devo ānavedi ||

Rājā || Vayasy-āsmad-vacanād-ucyatām mahāmātyo yath-edam-idam-upāyan-ādy-ucit-opakarāṇa-

12. sampannā kṛtvā sa-tvaram preṣyatām Kalyāṇavati ||

Vidū ||^(c) Jam vayasso bhāṇedi || *iti Kalyāṇavatya saha [m]nikrāntāḥ⁵* ||

Rājā || Śāśiprabhe āvasam gatvā vyapagat-ādhva-śramā bhavatu bhavati || vayam-api mādhyaṅnikam vidhātum-uttiṣṭhāma *iti sarvo nīkṛāntāḥ⁶* ||

|| Tṛtīyo-ṅkaḥ samāptaḥ ||

Tataḥ pra-

viśato vaṃdīnau || *

13.

Vaṃdīnau ||^(d) Eṣe ṣe Śāyambhālīsāla-śivila-niveśe || edaśiṃ alaśkiyyamāṇa⁷-pappamde⁸ kadham [lā]ulam yānidavvam || *puro-valokya* || vayasāsa eṣe kevi cale vva¹⁰ dśadi | tā imādo edaśā śivilaśāsa śśalūvam¹¹ lāulam ca yāniśāsamha ||

(a) Hī hi jāne vayasyena vyavasitam nīa-vivāha-kāryeṇa(*ryam) | tad-asmākaṃ cira-vardhitā idānīm phalaṃtu khaṇḍa-laddhukāni maṇoraha-drumāḥ ||

(b) Yad-deva ājñāpayati ||

(c) Yad-vayasyo bhāṇati ||

(d) Eṣa sa Śākambharīśvara-śibira-niveśaḥ | etasminn-alaśyamāṇa-paryante katham rājakulam jñātavyam || vayasya eṣa ko-pi cara iva dṛṣyate | tad-asmād-etasya śibirasya svarūpam rājakulam ca jñāsyāvah ||

1) Lies *vavasidam*. 2) Konow, S. 479; P. § 208. 3) Lies *nīkramya*. 4) Lies *āsana*. 5) Lies *nīkṛāntāḥ*. 6) Lies *nīkṛāntāḥ*. 7) Statt *vaṃdīnau* || *vaṃdīnau* || hat das Original *vaṃdīnau* || 2. 8) P. § 11, 535. 9) P. § 275. 10) P. § 143, S. 111, Z. 5. 11) Lies *śalūvam*; P. § 11.

Tataḥ praviśati caraḥ ||

Caraḥ ||^(a) Aścaliyam 2 aho Viggahalāa-

14. pāśāla-śilīṇam avayyamdadā¹ || *puro-valokya* || amhadeśtya vva² kevi puliśa peśkiyyamdi³ | yāṇ[e] vaṃdīm edehim huvidavvam⁴ | (||)

Vaṃdīnau | (||)^(b) Bhadda amhāṇam Tuluśkāṇam deśtye vva³ tumam peśkiyyasi² | tā kadhehi Cāhamāṇa-śivila-śśalūvam lāulam ca ||

Caraḥ ||^(c) Śuṇādha le vaṃdiṇo śuṇādha | hage Tuluśkalāeṇa

15. Śāambhālīsālaśśā śivilam peśkidum peśide | tam ca dśamcalaṃ | yado tathasteḥim idale puścamde⁶ vi ni[liśkam]de vi a palakiye tti yāniyyadi⁴ | tadhāvi mae kimpī kimpī pacakkhikadam⁷ | (||)

Vaṃdīnau | (||)^(d) Aścaliam 2 kadham bhadda tattha uvastidāṇam cadulide aṇumam pi tae laśkidam ||

Caraḥ ||^(e) Śuṇādha⁸ le vaṃdiṇo ya-

16. dhā mae tam śivilam nilūvidam | hage khu⁹ śili-śśomesāleavam peśkidum vaṇṇamdaśśā¹ śāśāśśā¹⁰ milide milia a etha pavīśūpa¹¹ bhīśkam paśtidum¹² lagge | tado yam yam yānidam tam taṃ tumhāṇam yahastam¹³ kadhyadu || maa-vāli-nijjhala¹⁴-kalāla-kaḍastalāṇam kalīṇḍāṇam dāva śahaśśam | tulamgāṇam u-

(a) Aścaryam-aścaryam | aho Vigharāja-nareśvara-śrīṇam-aparyantatā || asmad-deśiyāv-iva kāv-api puruṣau prekṣyete | jāne vandibhyām-etābhyām bhavitavyam ||

(b) Bhadra āvayos-Turuṣkayor-deśtya¹⁴ iva tvam prekṣyase | tasmāt-kathaya Cāhamāṇa-śibira-svarūpam rājakulam ca ||

(c) Śṛṇutam re vandīnau śṛṇutam | aham Turuṣkarājena Śākambharī-śvarasya śibiram prekṣitum preṣitaḥ | tac-ca duṣamcaranā | yatas-tatrasthair-itarah pṛcchann-api nirkṣamāṇo-pi ca parakīya itī jñāyate | tath-āpi mayā kim-api kim-api pratyakṣikṛtam ||

(d) Aścaryam-aścaryam | katham bhadra tatr-opasthitāṇam catura-svabhāve(?)-nukam-api tvayā lakṣitam ||

(e) Śṛṇutam re vandīnau yathā mayā tac-chibiram nirūpitam | aham khalu śrī-Someśvaradevam prekṣitum vrajataḥ sārthasya milito militvā c-ātra praviśya bhikṣam prārthayitum lagnaḥ | tato yad-ya-j-jñātam tat-tad-yuvayor-yathārtham kathyatām | madavāri-nirjhara-karāla-kaṭasthalāṇam karṃdrāṇam tāvat-sahasram | turaṅgāṇam punar-lakṣam | narāṇam punar-yuddha-kṣamāṇam daśa lakṣāṇ-ṭi | kim bahunā jalpitena | tasya kaṭakasya pārēva-sthitaḥ sāgaro-pi śuśko bhavati || etac-ca tad-rājakulam ||

1) P. § 275. 2) P. § 143, S. 111, Z. 5. 3) P. § 11, S. 9, Z. 8; (lies *peśkiyāsi*). 4) P. § 476, S. 338, Z. 3.

5) Ursprünglich *puścamdo vi ni[liśkam]do*, aber o beide Male zu e verändert. Vgl. P. § 275.

6) P. § 11, S. 9, Z. 9. 7) Lies *pacca*, und vgl. Konow, S. 479; P. § 11, S. 9, Z. 9.

8) Lies *śuṇādha*. 9) P. § 94, Z. 7.

10) Ursprünglich *śāśāśā*, aber zu *śāśāśā* verändert; vgl. P. § 290. 11) Konow, S. 480; P. § 584.

12) Ursprünglich *paśtidum*, aber zu *paśtidum* verändert; vgl. P. § 290.

13) Konow, S. 479; P. § 11, S. 9, Z. 10. 14) Dies ist kein correctes Sanskrit.

Kleibern, Bruchstücke indischer Schauspiele.

17. na laśkaṃ | ṅalāṇaṃ uṇa yujjha¹-śkamāṇaṃ dāha laśkāim ti || kiṃ va(ba)huṇā
yampideṇa | taśśa kaḍaśśa pā[śa]-stide śāale vi śuśke bhodi | va(bā)hum-utksipya [| *]
edaṃ ca taṃ lāulam-² iti darsayati ||

Vaṃdināu || ^(a) Śāhu le calā śāhu ||

Caraḥ || ^(b) Ale le vaṃdiṇo | cilam khu me ṅia-stāṇādo ṅiśśalidaśśa | tā ha-

18. ge vaññāmi ||

Vaṃdināu || ^(c) Gaśca le calā gaśca | (||) iti caro niḥkrāntaḥ³ ||

Vaṃdināu || purato gatv-āvalokya || ^(d) Taṃ nidam⁴ lāula-duvālam tā idha stidā
eva⁵ ṅia-lāa-ppahāvam payāsemha⁶ || punar-avalokya || śānaṇḍam || eśe śe Śāambha-
liśāle astāṇa-stide pulado dīśadi ||

Tataḥ pravīśati rājā vibhavataś-ca pari-

19. Rājā || ^(a) svagataṃ || Aho vaicitryam ||

Ādāv-amrtamay-āṃvu(bu)dhi-vigāhana-pratimam-avanipati-duhituḥ |

smaraṇam davadahan-odara-nipāta-nibham-agrato bhavati ||

viciṃṭya || s[ā] punaḥ sulab[-e]va darśit[ā]

.

20. tatham v-eti nirddhāritapūrvvam | tath-āpi tāvad-vyavasito-smi | (||)

Vaṃdināu-upasarppataḥ ||

Ekah || ^(a) Idale vi hu¹[dhala]ṅśā śe dhalanīśe Tuluśkalāe vi |

iśi[m]mittā vi gottagilīṇo² ka[ṅ] [||]

Dvittyaḥ || ^(c) [la]ḥ māhaṇatisteśu liupalimda . . [|]

.

21. ṅto puṇo vi viśiṅṇa³ ṅiggamaṇam ||

Punaḥ prathamah || ^(a) Śāalaya ekkapaṭve Tuluśkalāe tti śaccaam ṅe[dam] |

idala-ṅalavadi ||

(a) Śādhū re cara śādhū ||

(b) Are re vandinau | ciram khalu me nija-sthānān-ṅiḥṣṭasya | tasmād-aham
vrajāmi ||

(c) Gačca re cara gačca ||

(d) Tan-nv-idam rājakula-dvāram tasmād-iha sthitāv-eva nija-rāja-prabhāvam
prakāśayāvah || eṣa sa Śākambharīśvara āsthāna-sthitah purato dṛśyate ||

(e) Itare-pi khalu dharanīśah sa dharanīśas-Turuṣkarājo-pi | gotra-
girayah

(f) brāhmaṇa-tirtheṣu ripu-narendra punar-api viṣṭvā nirgamaṇam ||

(g) Śakalaka(?) eka-pradīpas-Turuṣkarāja iti satyam nv-etat | itara-narapati

1) Konow, S. 479; P. § 11, S. 9, Z. 10. 2) Lies lāulam. 3) Lies niḥkrāntaḥ.

4) P. § 174 und § 423, S. 305, Z. 13. 5) P. § 11, S. 9, Z. 11; §§ 95, 986. 6) Lies padsemha.

7) P. § 94. 8) Ursprünglich gottā, aber zu gottā verändert. 9) P. § 584.

Punar-dvittyaḥ || ^(a) Paḍhamam paścā aste vi gālave hi . . |

kadalōśe hu¹ ṅalimda² yai deve . . ṅāhivadī ||

Vigraharājadevaḥ | (||)

22. pratihāram-ākārya | Pratihāra | dāpyatām-etayor-yathā-diyamānaḥ kanaka-vasan-
adīś-tyāgaḥ ||

Pratihārah || Yad-adiśati deva iti vaṃśābhyaṃ saha niḥkrāntaḥ³ ||

Rājā || Aho n-ādy-āpy . . . py-āgato Hammira-kaṭak-āvāsa-svarūpa . . . kaḥ ||

Pravīśya caraḥ || ^(b) Jayadu 2 devo | deva deveṇa Hammira-kaḍa-

23. a-vuttamtaṃ jāṇidum parassim dine pesido sampadam ādo mhi ||

Rājā || Bhadra kathaya kiyat-Turuṣkeśvara-śivi(bi)ram kutra e-eti ||

Caraḥ || ^(c) Deva ||

Agahida⁴-gaa-raha-turaa-ppavira-samkham a[ṅ]a-peramtaṃ |

amunida⁵-pavesa-ṅiggama-maggaṃ riurāṇo kaḍaam ||

āvāso uṇa kalle ido Vavveraādo joa-

24. ṅa-ttae āsi | ajja uṇa teṇa jjeva sivireṇa samaṃ āacchiṅṇa⁶ taṃ ido joaṅkeṅṅa
āvāsidaṃ pekkhiṅṇa⁶ ādo mhi ||

Rājā || Bhadra kīdṛśī punas-tatra kiṃvadamtī ||

Caraḥ || ^(d) Deva jujjhattham saalāim pi seṅṅāim saṅṅaddhāim kāriṅṇa⁴ ettomuham

calaṃteṇa Hammireṇa tumhāṇam pāse keṇa

25. vi vaṅṅeṇa dūdo pesidavvo tti kehimpī jaṅṅehim jampijjadi⁴ ||

Rājā || Bhadra gačca tvam viśrāmāy-eti caro niḥkrāntaḥ³ ||

Rājā || Kaḥ ko-tra bhoḥ kaḥ ko-tra ||

Pravīśya puruṣaḥ || ^(e) Eso mhi āṅavedu devo ||

Rājā || Āhūyatām mātulaḥ Siṃhava(ba)lo rājā ||

(a) Prathamam paścād-arthe-pi gaurave hi . . |

kṛta-roṣaḥ khalu narendra yadi devaḥ . . n-ādhipatiḥ ||

(b) Jayatu jayatu devaḥ | deva deveṇa Hammira-kaṭaka-vṛttāntam jñātum
parasmin-dine preṣitaḥ sāmpratam-āgato-smi ||

(c) Deva

Agṛhita-gaja-ratha-turaga-pravira-samkhyam-a[jñāta]-paryantam |

ajñāta-praveśa-nirgama-mārgam ripurāśasya kaṭakam ||

āvāsaḥ punaḥ kalya ito Bavveraād(?)=yojana-traya āst | adya punas-ten-aiva śibireṇa
samam-āgamaṃ tad-ito yojan-aiken⁴-āvāsitaṃ prekṣy-āgato-smi ||

(d) Deva yuddhārtham sakalāny-api sainyāni samnaddhāni kārayitv-aitad-abhimu-
kham calatā Hammireṇa yuśmākam pārśve ken-āpi vacaneua dūtaḥ preṣayitavya iti
kair-api janaiḥ kathayate ||

(e) Eso-smi ajñāpayatu devaḥ ||

1) P. § 94. 2) Lies niḥkrāntaḥ. 3) Konow, S. 479; P. § 204. 4) Konow, S. 480; P. § 584.
5) P. § 535. 6) Für yojanem-aiken.

- Puruṣaḥ || ^(a) Jam devo ānavedi || *iti nihkrāntaḥ*¹ ||
Tataḥ pra-
 26. *viśati Sīmhava(ba)laḥ* ||
 Rājā || *sādaram-āsanam pradāpya | sarvaṃ vṛttāntaṃ nivedya* [||*] Mātula kim-
 idāntaṃ vidheyam ||
 Sīmhava(ba)laḥ ||
 Tair-mmātāṅgair-haribhir-api tais-tair-bhaṭ-aughair-anikaṃ
 Hammīrasya prasarad-akhilāṃ medinīm-āvṛṇotu |
 virair-etais-tad-api samarāt-tvat-pratāpa-pravṛddhi-
 prāpt-otsāhair-iha na hi bhave-
 27. *t-tāvakaiḥ kṛtyam-anyaṭ* ||
 Rājā || *maṃtrīṇaṃ Śrīdharaṃ prati* || Bhavatām-atra kim pratibhāti ||
 Śrīdharaḥ || Deva ||
 Virāṇāṃ ca vipaścitāṃ ca gaṇanāsv-ādyas-tvam-ev-ādhunā
 vidvadbhir-ggāṇito-si tena bhavataḥ kv-āpy-asti na dvāparaḥ |
 kimtv-ātmyatayā vidheyam-adhunā yat-prṣṭam-asmadrśām
 sva-prajñām-anusṛtya tat-kathayatām
 28. *kṣāṃtavayam-tśa tvayā* ||
 Rājā || Mahāmate-smakam tvam-eva maṃtrīṇām-agraṇis-tat-kim-evam-abhidhyate ||
 Śrīdharaḥ || Deva saty-upāyāntara-sambhave yuddham-anupāya iti dharm-ārtha-
 śāstra-vidāṃ samayaḥ ||
 Rājā || Bhāved-evam yady-upāyāntaram-atra syāt | kimca || durātmanam Mleccha-
 rājam praty-upāyāntar-ānusarane ma-
 29. *hati vṛdā* ||
 Śrīdharaḥ || Deva tath-āpi jagad-ekavireṇa Hammīreṇ-āsamkhyā-sainya-svā-
 minā saha yuddh-āvatarāṇaṃ katham-anumanyāmahe ||
 Rājā || Akīrttiḥ k-āpy-uccaiḥ suhrd-abbhayādāna-vrata-hatis-
 tathā dhvamsas-tṛtha-dvija-sumanasām virya-vigamaḥ |
 mam-aiteṣu vyasteṣv-api [bhṛśam-a]sahyeṣu sakalān-
 imān-āṅgt-
 30. *karttuḥ kathayata vidheyam kim-aubhiḥ* ||
 Sīmhava(ba)laḥ || Mahārāja ||
 Svayam ced-urvvīśaiḥ samitiṣu mahā-sāhasa-rasair-
 ajasraṃ yoddhavyam tad-iha karāṇyam kim-aparaiḥ |
 sāśastrair-nnihsamkhyair-vvijita-va(ba)hu-samkhyaiś-ca subhāṭair-
 mmad-āndhair-mmātāṅgaiḥ pavāna-javanair-vvājibhir-api ||
 Api [ca ||]
 (a) Yad-deva ājñāpayati ||
 1) Lies *nihkrāntaḥ*.

- Kṣātram dhāma tav-edam-adbhutatamaṃ tva-
 31. *t-saṃnidhi-sthāyinaṃ*
 virāṇāṃ tanuṣu dhruvaṃ pariṇataṃ yāsyaty-asamkhyātātāṃ |
 dipād-ekata eva [bha]dra timira-pradhvamsa-dhiraṃ ma[ha]ḥ
 svīkurvaṇ-iha hi pradīpa-nivaho dṛṣṭāntātām-āśritāḥ ||
 Api ca || Yudhyase svayam-eva tvam sannidhi-sthe-pi cen-mayi |
dakṣiṇa-kareṇa sva-vā(bā)hū nīrdhāśya |
 tad-doṣṇor-ddhig-imam bhāram dhanuṣi śrām-
 32. *tayor-vṛthā* ||
Pravīṣya pratthārah || Deva Turuṣkarājena prahitaḥ praśānta-veśaḥ ko-pi
 viśiṣṭa iva pumān-saparicchado dvāri samāgatas-tiṣṭhati ||
 Rājā || *Sīmhava(ba)la-Śrīdhara-uddīṣya* | Kim-ih-āpi tena praveṣṭavyam ||
 Tau dvāv-api || Ko doṣo rāja-sadanam h-idam tat-prayojan-ānurodhataḥ sarvvair-
 api praveṣṭavyam-eva ||
 33. [Rājā] || *pratihāraṃ prati* || Praveśaya tarhi drutaṃ ||
 Prati || Yad-ādīśati deva *iti nirgatya dātēna saha pravīśati* ||
 Dātāḥ || *samāntato-valokya* || *sānandam* || Aho sarvv-āṅga-sundarābhir-vvibhūti-
 bhīḥ sampūrṇam rāja-maṃdiram || tathā hi ||
 Iha kari-nikarair-ih-āyudh-ādhyaiḥ puruṣa-varair-iha vārasuṃdarībhīḥ |
 iha vi-
 34. *bhīr-nnareṃdra-praṇayi-janair-iha rājate nṛpa-śrīḥ* ||
puro rājānam-avalokya || *sānandādbhutaṃ* | aho sakala-jana-vilakṣaṇaḥ ko-py-ayam-
 apūrva ev-āśya nṛpateḥ sanniveśaḥ || *vimṛśya* || athavā || ayam tāvad-akhilam-api rāja-
 maṃḍalam-atīśeta eva prabhāvena | kimtv-apareṣām-api rājñām kṛte [n-āv]i[ś]nuḥ(?)pr-
 35. eva paurāṇikāḥ pravādaḥ || katham-aparathā teṣām-idam vaiśvarū-
 pyam || tathā hi ||
 Cārāḥ kārya-vilokana-śravaṇayoś-cakṣuḥ-śruti vāg-vayam
 vaktum saṃdhi-virodha-karma samara-kṛdāsu virāḥ karāḥ |
 kṛty-ākṛtya-vivecana-vyatikare san-maṃtriṇo mānasam
 haaty-aśvam kramitum payodhi-rasa(śa)nām-etām mahi-
 36. *— — —* ||
 . . . ho vyāhata-vidheya-dvay-opasthānena paryākulo-emi || tathā hi ||
 Sāmarthyam yadi na prabhor-abhidadhe yāsyānti tad-vidviśaḥ
 saṃdheyatvam-asādhvasāḥ katham-atha prakhyāpaye
 | *Vigraharājam-uddīṣya* ||
 syāt-tadā |
 ākṛty-aiva vibhāvyamāna *— [kaṃ] dhām-edam-āvīrbhavat-*
 kopam kasya vidheyam-ity-ubhaya-
 37. Mahīpati-sutena paṃdita-Bhāskareṇa svayam-ālikhy-otkṛṇṇāni¹ akṣarāni ||

1) Lies *-otkṛṇṇāny-*.

B. Harakeli-nāṭaka.

Platte III.

1. r-odvahane-pi vega-vaibhavāy-edṛ[śā] [nir]māṇ[e]na . . kara-kalevara-
bhāra-pīditasy-āpi [pra] yojana-sahasrā ga[tiḥ] ||

Śrīkaṁṭhaḥ || Manye liṅga-vaibhavam-apy-anena karmaṇā kṛtam-adūr-ā[ṁ]taraṁ
Śāmr̥ggaṇinā¹ | bhadra | tataḥ ||

2. Kuṁbhodaraḥ || Atha tena nirmāṇa-kāyena tābhyā[ṁ ca] [jñāua?]-kriyā-śakti-
bhyāṁ tena ca prākāmyena² tadvidhen-ādhyava[śā] [ṇa?] icchānuvidhāyi-
carācareṇa prayatamānen=āpy = āścaryam = akṛtārthena niṣṛttaṁ || sa eṣa
nirmāṇa-kāyam-āpahāya pūrvva-kāyam=āvi-

3. śya³ ita ev-ābhivartate ||

Tataḥ pravṛṣati Garuḍadhvajāḥ ||⁴

Garuḍadhvajāḥ || Aho liṅgasya mahimā yan-mayā⁵ evaṁvidhen=āpi asya [j] . . .
tram-āsāditam || *Tataḥ Śiva-liṅga-vaibhav-ānubhava-saṁtuṣṭaḥ sva-saṁvedana-siddhān-
sva-guṇān-Maheśvare satyāpayati* ||

Namo-stv-anantāya sahasra-mūrttaye
sahasra-

4. pād-akṣa-śir-oru-vā(bā)have |
sahasra-nāmne puruṣāya sātva⁶ te
sahasra-koṭi-yuga-dhāriṇe namaḥ ||

Maheśvaro=pi *Garuḍadhvajā-prema-bhūmānam-ātmany-avalokya svamād-ananyaṁ
taṁ manyamāno* namo-stv-anantāy-ety-ādīnā ślokena stauti || *parāmr̥śya* [|| *] yuktam-
etat ||

Parāt-parataraṁ yāṁti

5. Nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇāḥ |

1) Lies Śāringa°. 2) Lies prākāmyeṇa. 3) Lies śy-eta.
4) Statt *Garuḍadhvajāḥ* || *Garuḍadhvajāḥ* || hat das Original *Garuḍadhvajāḥ* || 2.
5) Lies *mayasācāmyevidhen-āpya*. 6) Ursprünglich *sāsva*, aber zu *sātva* verändert; lies *sātva*.

Viṣṇuḥ || *saparāmarśam* ||

na te tatra gamiṣyanti ye dviṣanti Maheśvaram ||

Śrīkaṁṭhaḥ || Vra(bra)hman tvam=apy=asmacchirobhūṣaṇa-sitakiraṇa-kal-ālam-
kṛtām diśam gaccha ||

Vra(bra)hmā || Yad-āha deva *iti niḥkrāntaḥ*¹ ||

Bhṛṅgi || *ūrdhvam=avalokya* || Āścaryam-āśca-

6. ryaṁ || sitacchada-pakṣirājam-āruhya daśasāhasra-yojanaṁ śarīram-adhyāstmaḥ
Kamalayonir-utpapāt-ātra ca valakṣapakṣa-vihagacakravartti mano-pi karacapeṭikayā
sparddhamānaḥ piva(ba)nn=iva viyad-vaibhavaṁ kalayann=iv=[o]rddhva[m] digvadhū-
keśapāśam vegam-āsthitaḥ | tataś=ca

7. kuto-pi pramādāl-linga-śirastaḥ patitā Ketakti va(ba)hubhḥ kalpair-vāyaviyaṁ
yogam-ārūḍhasya Vra(bra)hmaṇaḥ kara-kacchapikām-āsāditavati || putri śrāṁte kuto-
s-iti Vra(bra)hmaṇā pṛṣṭā pramādāl-linga-śirasaḥ skhalitā kalpa-śatena tvat-sampṛam
prāpt-āsmi tad-alam-ane[n-ā]śa-

8. ky-ārohaṇa-vyavasāyena yat-sāvayavaṁ tad-amṭavad-iti nyāyād-viśeṣataś=ca mad-
vacanād-dṛṣṭa-lingāṁtena bhavatā purato māṁ nivedya tūṣṇim-āsītavyam-iti Ketakyā
saha samvidaṁ kṛtvā [sa] eṣa Viriṁcir-ita ev-ābhivarttate ||

Tataḥ praviśya Vra(bra)hma Ketaktiṁ nive[da]yati ||

9. Rudraḥ || *sakrodhaṁ* || Kim=etat ||

Vra(bra)hmā || Idam=etal-lingaśiro-rūpād-avadher-iyam-ih-eti ||

Rudraḥ || *sakrodhaṁ* || Aho satyam-api cchalena malinayati || *ūrdhvam=avalokya* ||
kim kriyatām || *karṇaṁ dattvā* || kim-āttha || daṁḍaḥ ||

Rudraḥ || *Vra(bra)hmāṇaṁ prati* || *sakīraścalam* ||

Mā [de]viḥ śira-

10. sā na rohati punaḥ kasy-āpi lūnaṁ śiraḥ
prākāmyāya sukhāya c-ādya bhavatā datto jalasy-āmjalih || (|)

Vra(bra)hmā || Bhagavan liṅgaśiraḥ-praṇayinṁ Ketakim-ādāya prāptam māṁ
katham-anyathā sambhāvayasi ||

Rudraḥ || *punar-ūrdhvam=avalokya* ||

atyākṣid=ahaha svayaṁ katham=i[da]ṁ satyaṁ Saro-

jāsanah

11. satya-svena lunthi tena sahasā vā(bā)leya-vaktraṁ Vidheḥ ||
Ketaktiṁ prati || tvam=apy-asatyē datt-ānumatiḥ punar-asman-mauli-me[la]ka-pratiṣṭhām
n-ānubhaviṣyasi || *sva-kare Vra(bra)hma-śiro-valokya* || *savismayaṁ* ||

Chinnaṁ śiṛṣaṁ Kamalavasater-vrā(brā)hmaṇasy-eti pāṇāv-
āsmāke-pi tridaśa-

12. pariṣat-pāsyatu prāptam=etat |

puṇyaṁ pāpaṁ mama vaśam-idam Vra(bra)hmahatyā tu ghorā

mām=apy-eṣā sprāti durita-stoma-sāmrajya-mattā ||

1) Lies *niḥkrāntaḥ*.

bhādevānām prabhāvam vijñāya deva-dāitya-nāgānām teṣu pravṛttim-upadīśati ||
Puṇyānām-aśvamedhas-tridivagati-muṣām-enaśām vra(bra)hmahatyā
tatka-

13. rṭṣ-sparśa-vāsa-sthiti-śayanavatām drāk-sambhāva-hetuḥ |
Daiteyair-Āditeyair-vapuṣi kṛta-padaiḥ Kādraveyair¹-mam-aitair-
ady-ādi vrā(brā)hmanānām-asad-āpi bhajatām na krudho varddhantyaḥ ||
yuktam-eva Kṛṣṇasya vrā(brā)hmaṇa-guṇa-grahaṇam ||
Ghoṣaṇā Yadn-simhasya Dvāravatyām dine dine |
14. avidyo vā savidyō vā vrā(brā)hmaṇo mama daivatam ||

Praviśy-āpatikṣepeṇa

Vra(bra)hmahatyā | 2^a (a) Accharitam 2 haṃtavvassa miccū haṃtuṇo satta
jammāim duggat^a teṇa saha ālavantassa bhujjānassa ekkāseṇa uvavisantassa sam-
kamti tti pekkhadham^a mahadāruṇam^a pa[r]ijānamam || *smṛtīm-abhi-*

15. *niya sātāhasam* | tiasānam pi nāheṇa^a Vittavaha-samsammi^a aṇubhūdam maha-
kaḍattanam^a || *punaḥ smṛtīm-abhinīya* [| *] hahaha Vāsuiṇā nāraeṇa vi āśidādhagga-
niggaa^a-garalaggi-ḍaḍḍha^a-va(ba)mhaṇa-haccāe Caṭvaṇam^a pāyaccittam^a pucchidum
ga[d]jeṇa ṇādo^a mahapahāva-

16. [ppa]vbbhā(bbhā)ro Caṭvayanēṇa¹⁰ vi saala-jāna-taṇu-maṇa-vaṇa-malāvahāri-
sathhāim kuṇehi¹¹ tti pācchittam ānattam | teṇa Caraa-Pāamjāla^a-mahābhassāim
kiām^a | tado khamkahampi^a so mae mukko sapparāo || eo vi Īsaro mae paḍiga-
hāv[i]o^a Va(ba)mhasira-kalamkam ||

Śri-

17. [kaṃṭha]ḥ | *saparāmarśam* || Yady-etām jñānāgi-mukhe haviḥ kurmaḥ |¹²
tadā vrā(brā)hmaṇa-prabhāvo-smābhir-eva hatō bhavet | tasmād-idam prāyaścittan-
āpanetavyam ||

Viṣṇuḥ || *svagataṃ* || *Hara-kara-stham* Vra(bra)hma-śiro vilokya | Aho duramtam¹³
vyasanam Vra(bra)hmaṇi hate vedā hatās-teṣu hateṣu

(a) Āścaryam-āścaryam | hantavyasya mṛtyur-hantuḥ sapta janmāni durgatis-tena
sah-ālapato bhññānasy-aik-āsana upaviśataḥ samkrāntir-iti prekṣadhvam mahādāruṇam
paripānam || tridāśānām-āpi nāthena Vṛtravadha-samaye-nnbhūtam mahā-kaṣṭvam ||
hahaha Vāsukinā nāgarājen-āpy-āśidamṣṭr-āgrā-nirgata-garalāgni-dagha-brāhmaṇa-
hatyāyās-Caturvadanam prāyaścittam praṣṭum gatena jñāto mahā-prabhāvaprāgbhārah |
Catnrvadanen-āpi sakala-jana-tanu-mano-vacana-mal-āvahāri-śāstrāni kurv-iti prāya-
ścittam-ājñaptam | tena Caraka-Pātañjala-mahābhāṣyāni kṛtāni | tataḥ kathamkatham-
api sa mayā muktah sarparājah | eṣo-p-Īśvaro mayā pratigrāhito Brahmaśiraḥ-kalaṅkam ||

1) Ursprünglich *Kādra*^a, verändert zu *Kādra*^a.

2) Diese Zahl ist hier überflüssig.

3) P. § 208.

4) Lies *pekkhadha*; P. § 471.

5) Lies *mahā*^a.

6) P. S. 253, Z. 5.

7) Vielleicht ist das zweite *a* verändert, aber *da* ist nicht zu sehen; lies *viggada-*.

8) P. § 222.

9) P. § 186.

10) P. §§ 208, 186.

11) P. §§ 508, 509.

12) Vielleicht ausgestrichen; lies *kurmas-tada*. 13) Ursprünglich *duramtam* ||; aber das Interpunktionszeichen ist ausgestrichen.

18. dha[rno] hatō dharme hate trilokī hat-eti || *prakāsaṃ(śaṇ)* || bhagavan-sāvaya-
vatv-āptavacanābhyām-npalavdhām(bdhām)tasya [ta]d-vacanam katham mithyā | katham
ca mithyāvacanamātrasya śiraś-chedo daṃḍaḥ ||

Śrikamṭhaḥ | *sava(ba)humānam* [| *] Yuktam-uktam Yajñavarāheṇa na kiṃcid-
aparādham Vidhin-eti kaṣṭam 2 [| *]

Kṛtasy-ā-

19. ka[raṇam n]-āsti yat-kṛtam kṛtam-eva tat |
pratīkāras-tu kartavyaḥ prāyaścittena pāpmanah ||

Vra(bra)hmānam prati ||

Sraṣṭuḥ puṇy-āpuṇya-yāvat-kriyānām

Vra(bra)hman-kā syāt-satyataḥ pracyutis-te |

apy-enahkṛc-chreyase sādhaso hi

kṣāmtiḥ kāryā Sthānaviye-parādhe ||

Vra(bra)hmā || Sven-aiv-āmgtkurvva-

20. taḥ sva-[k]ṛ[tam-a]likam Bhargga kṣāmtam sarvvaṃ-etāvat-aiva | yasya tv-icchā-
mātrataḥ śrṣṭa-lakṣāny-eka-cchede tasya kā nāma hāniḥ || *iti parasparam parivajete* ||

Vra(bra)hmā || Akṛtaprāyaścittasya pratikṣaṇam prasaramty-enāṃsi || tasmāt-
tvam-āpi tṛtha-yātrayā prāyaścittena kṣapaya pāpmanam ||

Śrikam-

21. ṭhaḥ || Yad-[āha] Prajāpatir-iti *Ketakyā gaṇābhyām* Vra(bra)hmahatyayā
*saha niḥkrāntaḥ*¹ ||

Vra(bra)hmā || *Caturbhujam prati* || Garuḍadhvaja paśya kāla-samvam(bam)dha-
kṛta-laghugurubhāv-āhamkāras-traiguṇy-āttē-pi tvayi mayi ca vikriyā | māmakam
purnām-aṣṭakam tvam grhāṇa tāvakam e-āham-ity-a-

22. hamkāra . . . [de]n-āvayor-bheda-bbramo nivarttatam laukikānām-*iti rūpaṃ*
parivartayataḥ ||

Ākāśe(śe) || Ete gadā-cakra-saroja-śamkhā Lakṣmīpatau ye Caturānane te |
kamaṃḍalu-śruk-sruva-darbhāmālāḥ Prajāpatau yāḥ Kamalāpatau tāḥ || tan-manyāmahe
bhedaḡamdh-āparāmṣṭa-paramā-

23. tmamātr[a] . . . [ra]ṇyagarbhau samvṛttau ||

Ubhau parasparam-ālingataḥ ||

Viṣṇuḥ || Vra(bra)hman sṛṣṭasya jagataḥ kṛt-ākṛte kalayitum gacchāvah ||

Vra(bra)hmā || Yad-āha Garuḍadhvaja *iti niḥkrāntau*² ||

|| Iti mahārāja-śri-Vigraharāja-kavi-viracite Harakeli-nāṭake liṃgodbha-

24. vo nāma dvit[īyo-m]kaḥ ||

Tataḥ pravīśato Vidyādharaḥ ||

Jṛmbhāṇah || *Stambhanam prati* || *saviemayan* || Dṛṣṭas-tvayā Himavat-sutayāḥ
prabhāvah || vā(bā)la-bhāvena tata ito dhāvamyāḥ patitāt sveda-vimdos-trilokī-tarjjanah
Krauṃco nāma Dānava-bhāto jāś-ca Menakā-kanyaka-

1) Lies *niḥkrāntaḥ*.

2) Lies *niḥkrāntau*.

Kielhorn, Bruchstücke indischer Schauspiele.

25. yā putratayā sam[bhāvi?]taś-ca [| *] tatas-tat-trāsāt-tridāsa-gaṇaḥ sa-strī-
vā(bā)laḥ Prajāpatiḥ śaraṇam-upagataḥ || tataḥ Prajāpatir-api tasya duḥśīlatvaṃ
durddharṣatayā durnivāratāṃ ca manyamāno Viṣṇuḥ śaraṇam-upagataḥ || Madhuripur-
api parāmrṣya tasya va(ba)lam-aurasam Himagirisūtā-prasveda-prabha-

26. va-va(ba)lam ca tadgarbhāsam[bha]vād-ev-āśya vadham manyamāno Gauri-
Girīśayoh paraspar-ānurāgāya Kusumākara-Kāmadēvau [pre]ṣitavān || uktavāpś-ca ||
sarvvendriya-jayini Pinākini nipuṇābhyāṃ bhavitavyaṃ ||

Stambhanaḥ || Sādhu sambhāvitam Viśvaṃbhareṇa || na khalu Śi-

27. va-Śakti-sambhāvād-anyaḥ Kraunca-vaṃcanāya prabhavati || *nepathy-ābhimu-
kham-avalokya* | tad-etau Puṣpāyudha-Puṣpākaraḥ dha[nuḥ]-pāṇi¹ ita ev-ābhivartete
tad-āvām-api yata āgatau tata eva vrajāva itī *niḥkrāntau*² ||

Viṣkaṃbhakāḥ ||

Tataḥ pravīṣataḥ Puṣpākara-Kāma-

28. *devau* ||

Vasantaḥ || *sarvato-va*lokya *sahasraṃ* || Aṃtarvijṛmbhamāṇa-Makaradhva-ja-kṛt-
onmādam-iva jagad-dṛṣyate || tathā hi ||

Nādaḥ śrotṛa-sukhaḥ piki-parīśadām-ānaṃdini jhamaḥkṛtir-³

bhṛmgṇāṃ Malay-ānilāśya ca gatiḥ kaśy-ādyā n-onmādini |

hrd-vṛtte rati-tāṃḍavaṃ sumanasām-aṭṭā-

29. *ṭṭahāso mahān*

kṛtā-d[ya-ā]pi Manobhavaḥ parapura-prāveśikī varttate ||

saśmitāṃ || aho amoghaḥ prabhāvo Makaradhvajasya jagan-mohanāya pravarttitaiḥ
parikarair-yena so-pi mohitaḥ || tathā hi ||

Mrdu-Malayanabhasvan-nartitābhīr-llatābhīr-

madhura-madhupakāntā-kāka-

30. *libhīr-vanānt* |

Manasi-ja[m-a]pi manye nirbhar-ānaṃda-maṃḍam

svakara-kulīśa-niryat-patri⁴-pātrīkaroti ||

kārmuka-pāṇiṇa mṛgīdṛgbhyaḥ prabhavaṃtāṃ Kaṃḍarppam-avalokya sānaṃḍam ||

Magn-eva gādhagraha-nirvṛt-eva

kodaṃḍa-kaṃṭhe luṭhat-iva maurvī || (|)

ito-pi ||

paraspar-āsle(śle)śa-vilāśavatyāḥ

31. *sakṣiṇo sakhyo-pi hi vallabham*[ti ||]

anyato-avalokya || *sahasraṃ* ||

Bhṛmg-āvalī Smara-bhaśasya paṭhaty-ajasraṃ

vāmā-vaśṭikarāṇa-kāraṇa-pauruṣeṇ |

manye śarāsana-gatāgata-lāghavena

citte cale-pi viśikh-ānaparādha-śilpaṃ ||

1) Lies *dhanuspāṇi*. 2) Lies *niḥkrāntau*. 3) Lies *jhamaḥkṛtir*. 4) Lies *-patri*.

punar-anyato-avaloky-¹āścaryam-āścaryam ||

Praphullavall-

32. *sukhasupta-Kāma-*
pravo(bo)dhak-ēmdim[va(ba)ra]-jhamkṛtānām |
sparddhābhīr-etāḥ pika-subhruvo-pi
prābhātikam maṃḍalam-ācarantī ||

api ca ||

Pratāninōām sphuṭa-puṣpa-hāsair-
apakramam ṣaṭpada-rāva-[ra]jmyaiḥ |
sambhāvayaṃty-Ātmabhavam Bhavasya
jetāram-adya tri-jaganti manye ||

kiṃca ||

Ito nabhasvān-ma-

33. *karaṃda-varṣair-*
vikāśi-puṣpa-sta[vak-o]panṭaiḥ |
Mmadhvajaṃ Śambhu-jayāya yāntam
sānaṃdam-uccair-abhiṣimcat-tva |
etāni tat-tad-vijigṣu-rāja-prasthānika²-cihnāny-āhita-va(ba)lātīśayāny-asmāt-suhṛdas-
Tripuravijayi-vaśīkaraṇam-āvedayaṃti || tathā hi ||

Caṃdraś-chatraṃ³ kusumi-

34. [ta]-latāḥ pārśvayōś-cāmarāṇi
kr[am] — — [kva]ṇanam-abhitāḥ svasti-pāṭhaḥ sa ko-pi |
kaṃkillinām⁴ mukula-pulakodbheda-dūrvvālatāḥ
mauli-nyastā Kusumadhanuṣo jaitra-lakṣmīm vyanakti ||
āścaryam-āścaryam kalakamṭhnam Kaṃdarpp-āhitāḥ ko-pi pramāthī guṇ-ātīśayaḥ ||
tathā hi ||

35. — — strīnām parabhrta-vadhū-kaṃṭham-ā — — h[ai]r-⁵
ghūrṇaty-aṃtāḥ skhalati vacanam dhvaṃsate jūāna-cakraṃ |
prāṇāḥ sadyo Malaya-marutām⁶ kaṃṭha-lagnāḥ prayānto
vyāvarttyante priyatama-kathā-premavam(bam)dhaiḥ sakhibhīḥ ||

api ca ||

Kāṃte kv-āpi pravāsati piki kaṃṭhavīṇā-ninādaiḥ

strīnām marma-

36. ~ ~ ~ ~ [bh]iḥ ke-pi vāspa-pa — — [|]
[ni]rmaryādam Madana-dahan-ottapta-vakṣo-ja-simni
svā(śvā)ś-occhālair-amasṛṇa-simatkāra-garbhāḥ patanti ||
aho || Kaṃdarpa-piḍitānām pralāpaḥ || tathā hi ||

Sarvvatra kṣvela-varsi Manasi-ja bhavato vā(bā)la-mitraṃ nabhasvān-

saptārccih prācyā-śaile kusumata-

1) Lies *avalokya* || 2) Lies *prasthānika*. 3) Lies *-chattraṃ*.
4) Vielleicht zu *kaṃkillinām* verändert. 5) *āśīśya bhāṣā* (?). 6) Lies *-marutā* (?).
7) Lies *-prasāhā* (?).

api ca ||

Nṛtyaty-Umā-vasi(śi)tari prabhu-citta-vijñā
nṛtyamty-ami divisado daśadiksado-pi |
tādrgvi[dhe] ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪
— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪

8. karmathasya ||

Gaurim-avalokya savismayaṇ || aho anurāpa-veṣa-parigraheṇa devyā sādhu bhagavān-
prñitah || tathā hi ||

Mādyat-ṣaḍamhrivanitā-cchavi-kajjalābhyāṇ
Kaṇḍarppa-piḍita-dhanur-madhumarditābhyāṇ |
kāli-pralepa-ghatit-eva cal-otpalākṣi
manye mano harati ka ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ||

9. canā-paridhāna-kāṁtim=

aṅga-sthalīṣu Kusumeṣu-suhrṇ-nabhasvān |
anyonya-saṁnidhi-vivarddhita-rāga-ramyaṇ
bhāvai rasair-naṭayat-iva mude Śivasya |

Gauri || Śavara-rūpan-Īśvaram-avalokya || *sasmitānurāgaṇ* ||

^(a) Ammo khaṇagahida¹-Śāvararudda-rūvo
ṇaccanṭao rasa-vasaṇ bhuvanāṇ ∪ — [|]
— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —

10. ppaūtta-ghanacalli²-paappaāro ||

avi a ||

Līlāpasāria-mahavbhu(bbhu)a-vā(bā)hukhaṇbhe
tāo palamvi(bi)ra³-Puliṇḍa-ṇiamvi(bi)ṇio |
hiṇḍola-gea-māirāi maṇaṇ haraṇti
māa-Puliṇḍavaṭṇo Sasiseharassa ||

Śavaraḥ || *parimala-ghraṇam-abhinīya* | Itah karppūra-kṣoḍa-di[gdha]-

(a) Aho kṣaṇagrḥita-Śāvararudra-rūpo
nṛtyan-rasa-vasaṇ bhuvanāṇ . . . [|]

. . . pravṛtta-ghanavalli-padaparakārah ||

api ca ||

Līlāprasārita-mahādbhuta-bāhustambhe
tāḥ pralambamāna-Puliṇḍa-nitambinyah |
hindola-geya-madirayā mano haranti
māyā-Pulindapateḥ Śasisekharasya ||

1) P. § 564.

2) Lies *-ghanavalli-*.

3) P. § 596.

11. ko-pi kam-api devam-arccat-iti | tad-anayor-viṣeṣam-avagaṇṭuṃ ko gacchatu ||
Vidū || ^(a)Ahaṃ dāva vi(bi)hemi¹ || *aṅguli-saṃjñayā nīrddīśan* || imaṃ kukkuraṃ
pesaa ||

Śavaraḥ || *sahāsaṃ* || Aho vrā(brā)hmaṇasya² adṛṣṭv-aiva palāyanam || *nepathy-*
ābhīmukham-avalokya | Mūka itas-tā

12. [ra(?)]ḥ || Kim-ājñāpayati svāmī ||

Śavaraḥ || Dhūpa-gaṇḍhen-opadiśyamāna-mārggo gatvā ko-yam=ity-avadhāry-
āgaccha ||

Mūkaḥ || Yath-ājñāpayati deva *iti niḥkrāntaḥ*³ ||

Śavaraḥ || ⁴*gītāni gāyan*⁵ Śavara-simantīnīr=nartayati ||

Pravīśya Mūkaḥ || Deva tvad-ājñayā dṛṣṭaḥ Pāṇḍupu

13. ni pūjayati [*] yad-itah karttavyam tad-ādeśaya ||

Śavaraḥ || Kirāta-veṣam-āsthāya tatra gatvā tvam-asmān-pratipālaya ||

Mūkaḥ || Yad-ādiśati deva *iti niḥkrāntaḥ*³ ||

Śavaraḥ || *siṃhanādam-ākarmya* [|| *] Pūrvapravṛtta-vairayor-Mūk-Ārjunayoḥ
prāyaḥ pravṛttaḥ samaro yatr-āyam siṃha

14. ddha-prekṣakā bhavāmaḥ || *Vibhāṇḍakam prati* || Vibhāṇḍaka 2 [|| *]

Vidū || *sahāsaṃ* | ^(b)Āsa 2 [|| *]

Śavaraḥ || Gatv-āvagaccha yuddhasya kiyati niṣṭh=eti ||

Vidū || *sabhayaṃ* || ^(c)Samaraggiṇi huṇantassa tuha ajjappahudi ṇa kovi ahaṃ ||
ṇa ānāsi kiṃ ṇa kassavi va(ba)mhaṇo dāso tti

15. *saṃ* | vaassa laddho dūo⁶ esā tuha mahilā tā kiṃ kāraṃ⁷ muaṃ⁸ maṃ
māresi ||

Śavaraḥ || Yady-evam-asmābhiḥ sah-āgaccha ||

Vidū || *sahāsaṃ* || ^(d)Edaṃ karissam || evaṃ pekhkha⁷ me suhaḍattanam ||

Śavaraḥ || ⁴*grhīta-Kīrātārūpo Vibhāṇḍakam haste grhītvā valītikayā niḥkrāntaḥ*³ ||

Pra[ti]

(a) Ahaṃ tāvad-bibhemi || imaṃ kukkurakam preṣaya ||

(b) (?)

(c) Samar-āgnau juhvatas-tav-ādya-prabhṛti na ko=py-aham || na jānāsi kiṃ na
kasy-āpi brāhmaṇo dāsa iti | vayasya labdho dūta eṣā
tava mahilā tasmāt-kiṃ kātaram mṛtaṃ mām mārayasi ||

(d) Etat-kariṣyāmi || evaṃ prekṣasva me subhaṭatvam ||

1) P. § 501.

2) Lies ^o*nasy-adṛṣṭv*.

3) Lies *niḥkrāntaḥ*.

4) Diese Interpunktionszeichen sind überflüssig.

5) Lies *gāyaṇ*.

6) P. § 203.

7) Lies *pekhka*.

11. ko-pi kam=api devam=arccat=iti | tad=anayor=viśeṣam=avagaṃtuṃ ko gacchatu ||
Vidū || ^(a)Ahaṃ dāva vī(b)hemi¹ || *aṃgulī-samyāyā nirddīśan* || imaṃ kukkuraṃ
pesaa ||

Śavaraḥ || *sahāsam* || Aho vrā(brā)hmanasya² adṛṣṭv=aiva palāyanam || *nepathy-*
ābhimukham=avalokya | Mūka itas-tā

12. [ra(?)]ḥ || Kim=ājñāpayati svāmi ||

Śavaraḥ || Dhūpa-gaṃdhen=opadiśyamāna-mārggo gatvā ko-yam=ity=avadhāry-
āgaccha ||

Mūkaḥ || Yath=ājñāpayati deva *iti niḥkrāntaḥ*³ ||

Śavaraḥ || *gītāni gāyan*⁴ Śavara-siṃhantīr=narttayati ||

Praviśya Mūkaḥ || Deva tvad=ājñāyā dṛṣṭaḥ Pāṇḍupu

13. ni pūjayati [*] yad=itaḥ kartavyam tad=ādeśaya ||

Śavaraḥ || Kirāta=veṣam=āsthāya tatra gatvā tvam=asmān=pratipālaya ||

Mūkaḥ || Yad=ādisāti deva *iti niḥkrāntaḥ*³ ||

Śavaraḥ || *siṃhanādam=ākarma* [||*] Pūrvapravṛtta=vairayor=Mūk-Ārjunayoh
prāyaḥ pravṛttaḥ samaro yatr=āyam siṃha

14. ddha-prekṣakā bhavāmaḥ || *Vibhāṃḍakam prati* || Vibhāṃḍaka 2 [||*]

Vidū || *sahāsam* || ^(b)Āsa 2 [||*]

Śavaraḥ || Gatv=āvagaccha yuddhasya kiyati niṣṭh=eti ||

Vidū || *sabhayaṃ* || ^(c)Samaraggiṇi huṃantassa tuha ajjappahudi ṇa kovi ahaṃ ||
ṇa ānāsi kiṃ ṇa kassavi va(ba)mhaṇo dāso tti

15. *saṃ* | vaassa laddho dūo⁵ eṣā tuha mahilā tā kiṃ kāaraṃ⁶ muṃ⁶ maṃ
māresi ||

Śavaraḥ || Yady=evam=asmābhiḥ sah=āgaccha ||

Vidū || *sahāsam* || ^(d)Eḍaṃ karissam || evaṃ pekkha⁷ me suhaḍattanam ||

Śavaraḥ || *gṛhita-Kirātarūpo Vibhāṃḍakam haste gṛhitvā valitīkayā niḥkrāntaḥ*³ ||

Pra[ti]

(a) Ahaṃ tāvad=bibhemi || imaṃ kukkurakaṃ preṣaya ||

(b) (?)

(c) Samar=āgnau juhvasat=tav=ādya=prabhṛti na ko-py=aham || na jānāsi kiṃ na
kasy=āpi brāhmaṇo dāsa iti | vayasya labdho dūta eṣā
tava mahilā tasmāt=kiṃ kātaram mṛtam māṃ mārayasi ||

(d) Eḍat=kariṣyāmi || evaṃ prekṣasva me subhaṭatvam ||

1) P. § 501.

2) Lies °*ṇasy=adṛṣṭv*.

3) Lies *niḥkrāntaḥ*.

4) Diese Interpunktionszeichen sind überflüssig.

5) Lies *gāyāñ*.

6) P. § 203.

7) Lies *pekkha*.

16. *tya Gauriṃ prati* || *śaivismayaṃ* | Devi tapasā kṛśatamasy-Ārjunasya tejasā prati-
bhāṭa-bhairavam rūpam-ujjṛmbhate | yena gr̥hite gāṃḍīve maurvyām-āropitāyām-
āspāhālite guṇe bhaya-pracalite-eva trilokt | ¹ sphuṭad-iva vra(bra)hmāṃḍam kāmḍiśkān-
iva pratibhāṭa-manāmsi² āvirbhavann-i

17. m-iva gagana-talam varttate | Mūko-pi vāma-dakṣiṇa-kara-kulīśa-parivarttyamāna-
kārmuka-tadīc-chat-āṭṭāṭṭahāsair-nārāca-vega-bhidyamāna-nabhasvat-sāmkārair-hnṃ-
kārair-namat-kārmuka-kṛra-kremkārair-jagad-ākulayati || tad-anayoḥ samara-darśana-
samutsukaḥ sa-strīvā(bā)lah sura-loko gagana-madhya

18. ^(a) edāṇam mahābhāṭāṇam accavbhu(bbhū)ṃ³ jujjham ||

Prati || *Gauriṃ prati* || Atha Mūkena maṃtra-va(ba)lāc-chatasahasrāyamānen-
aiken-āgneya-vāṇena Pārtham prati śara-vṛṣṭir-āravdhā(bdhā) || tataḥ Pārthena laghu-
hasten-ānyūn-ānadhikair-vāṇaiḥ kṛta-paraspara-samghaṭṭa-jvalita-nirvāpitatayā na
Mūkena muktān-vā

19. ṣṭa-naṣṭam-ivā śara-varṣam-abhūt || Kirāteṃdro-py-āścaryam-āścaryam Pām-
ḍanamdanasya yat-para-muktānām-iṣṇām-iyāt-āvadhāraṇam⁴ anyūn-ānadhika-śara-
prayogāc-eti prītavān || tataḥ sakrodham ||⁵ Mūk-Ārjunau parasparam sāmudram
gaṇam-uterṣṭavāṃtau || tatra c-ābhraṃliḥbhāyām-nllolābhāyām-āplāvi

20. to-pi pralayaparyanya⁶-mukteṣu caḍacaḍatkāra-camḍeṣu taḍid-vāṇeṣu prasarat-
sū Kirtinā laghu-hasten-Āgastya-vāne mukte śāṃptaḥ samudra-vāṇaḥ || tato Mūkena punaḥ
sāṃdhīyamānam-eva dhanuś-chinnam-Arjunena [| *] tato yāvat-sāṃdhāne yāvac-cheda iti
nirāyudhatayā Mūkaḥ Kirātam śaraṇa

21. rātam prati ||⁷ muṃca 2 mam-āyam vadhya iti pradhāvite-rjune Arjuna 2
kṣatriyo-pi san katham-anabhijñāḥ śaraṇagata-rakṣaṇa-dharmānām-ity-abhidhāya
dhanur-gr̥hitavān Kirātaḥ ||

Gauri || ^(b) Ammo accavbhu(bbhū)ḥ⁸ Hara-keli ||

Prati || *punar-avalokya* | Āścaryam-āścaryam ||

Tādṛg-Vra(bra)hm-Ēmdra-Rudra-jvalana-jala-[na] — — ∪ — —

22. śvarāṇām=

astra-grāsa-kriyābhīḥ prakāṭita-mahima-vyakta-māye Kirāte |
dorbhāyām-udyamya cāpam Śatamakha-tanayen-āhate mastakastha-
triṣerotas⁹-toya-majjaj-jhaṣa-makara-kul-occhāla-ruddham viḥayaḥ ||

tataḥ parasparam gr̥hita-karābhāyām Kirāt-Ārjunābhāyām prati-svam-abhimukhākaraṇa-
lāghavena gatāgate pravarttamāne dvayor-api [Kirāt-Ā]-

(a) etayor-mahābhāṭayor-atyādbhutam yuddham ||

(b) Aho atyādbhuto Hara-keliḥ ||

1) Dies Interpunktionszeichen scheint ausgestrichen zu sein und ist überflüssig.
2) Lies *-manāmsy-*. 3) P. § 208. 4) Lies *dhāraṇam*.
5) Dies Interpunktionszeichen ist ausgestrichen. 6) Lies *parjanya-*.
7) Dies Interpunktionszeichen ist überflüssig. 8) Lies *triserotas-*.

23. rjunayoḥ parasparam-ākṛṣṭa-svakarayoḥ ||¹

Muṣṭi-praveṣṭa-kara-jānu-pada-praṣṣṭā-
ghora-prahāra-raṇa-karkkaśayor-mitho-pi |
ehy-ehi darśaya gr̥hāṇa va(ba)dhāna tiṣṭh-ety-
evam pravṛttam-ahamagrikayā niyuddham ||

tato-rjunaḥ sakrodham-utpatya ḍhukkarakena² Kirātam va(ba)ddhavān | atha Kirātaḥ
prahasya³ Arjunam vākṣaṣṭhale do[rbhāyām]

24. mṛditavān || Arjunam kāya-karāṇa-va(ba)lābhāyām hiyamānam satvād⁴-askhalitam-
avaloky-onmlat-karṇarasah Kirāteṃdro bhāmau muktavān-uktavāṃś-ca || sādhu Gāṃ-
ḍīva-dhanvan sādhu || puruṣa-pravīro-s-ity-abhidhāy-Ārjunam haste gr̥hitvā ramgam-
avatarati ||

Pravītya yathā-nirddiṣṭaḥ

Kirātaḥ || *Gauriṃ prati* ||

Ā satvam⁵ pu-

25. ruṣa-vratam Giri-sute dr̥ṣṭam tad-ady-Ārjune
śārīrād-api mānasād-api va(ba)lād-yac-cyāvito n-ātyajāt |
tuṣṭas-tad-dhanur-Āiṃḍuśekharam-idam dātāsmi Gāṃḍīvine
mad-dr̥ṣṭyamcala-vāri-niṣṭaṣṭamāt-satvān⁶-na kiṃ prāpyate ||
Devau vo-rūpeṣ-āvirbhavataḥ ||

Arjunaḥ || *dr̥ṣṭvā* || *sabhakṣipraṇāmam* ||

Sāṃvarttau tanu-citta-

26. vāhmaya-malair-eno mayā yat-kṛtam
yac-c-ācyāvi dhiyā kṣaṇam kṣaṇam-ito yuṣmat-padāmbhoruhāt |
yan-n-ādhyāyi pada-dvayam bhagavator-advaita-mudr-āṃkitam
tan-nāthau trijagat-śr̥jāv-asadr̥śam sarvvaṃ kṣamethām mama ||
api ca ||

Yat-kāye niruji tvad-amhrikamalam n-ārādhitam Tryamva(ba)ka
svāṃte śāṃtatame na vu(bu)-

27. ddam-ahaha tvad-dhāma tat-tādr̥śam |
vācam phalguvacah-prapaṃca-caturām samyamya yan-na stutam
tan-me śālyam-iva sphuraty-aviratam marm-āptare Śaṃkara |
api ca ||
Dhātuh-kaś-tvam Girīśa praṇavam-ajagavam tulyam-etad-dadhānas-
tiśro bhittvā purīś-tā ravi-śāśī-śikhinām-aṃtar-anya vahiś-ca |
nirvāṇam vaṃ(baṃ)dha-vahner-Ditisuta-

28. subhāṭa-krodha-vahneś-ca kurvvan⁷
jñān-ājñāne vitanvan⁸ Tripuraharatayā mokṣa-saṃsāra-vīraḥ ||

1) Dies Interpunktionszeichen ist überflüssig.
2) Lies *ḍhukkarakena* (?); das Wort kann ich nirgends finden. 3) Lies *prahasya Arjunam*.
4) Lies *sattvād-*. 5) Lies *sattvam*. 6) Lies *sattvān-*. 7) Lies *kurvvan-*. 8) Lies *vānavaṃ-*.
Kielhorn, Bruchstücke indischer Schauspiele.

api ca ||

Sva-pratyayā jagataḥ parama-priyāya
prāleyabhānu-kalayā kṛta-śekharāya |
devāya durddama-tamahpaṭal-āpahāya
svasmai Śivāya nirupādhi-mude namas-te ||

api ca ||

Vrā(bra)hmādi-viśvaguru-vargga-

29. niyāmakāya
svājñā-vibhīṣita-surāsura[nā]rakāya |
yāvad-vidhāyaka-niṣedhaka-vigrahāya
tubhyaṃ namas-Tuhināsailasutā-priyāya ||

api ca ||

Tatpaṃcakāraṇatayā jagatāṃ vidhātre
tadbhāvakarmmakṛtisākṣitayā niyamtre |
bhāsvatsvacitta-nutayā saha-j-ecchayā ca
traiguṇyatanmayatayā nama

30. Īśvarāya ||

api ca ||

Namo yogasthāya svaviditapadasthāya mahase
namaḥ puṇyasthāya pratitanu sukthasthāya bhavate |
namaḥ pāpasthāya prabhavadasukthasthāya bhavine
namo jñānasthāya prasaramṛtasthāya kṛtine ||

api ca ||

Namaḥ kartre dhātre tanuṣu viśate saṃyamayate
namo hartre bhartre caturadhika-

31. ṣaṣṭi-praṇayine |

namo vyaktāvyaktatrijagad-āgha-vidhvamsa-paṭave
namaḥ puṇyāpuṇya-sthitiṣu mṛdughor-āikavapuṣe ||

Īśaḥ || Vatsa prīto-smi tad-grhāna Pāsūpatam mamtram || *iti karṣṇe mamtram
dadāti* | vatsa anena mamtren-ābbhimamtritam tṛṇam-api pāsūpatāstrāyate | idam-aparam
yāvadastra-sahitam nija-gāṃdivam grhā-

32. ṇa ||

Arjunaḥ || ¹ *avinayam* || ² *grhṇāti* ||

Īśaḥ || Mṛttikāliṅg-ārādhanaśya yuddhen-āsmad-ārādhanaśya ca phalam la-
vdham(bdham) tad-yath-āgatam gaccha ||

Arjunaḥ || Yath-ājñāpayati deva *iti niḥkrāntaḥ* ||

Īśaḥ || *Gaurīm prati* || Anena Harakeli-nāṭakena sādhu prīto-smi Vighra-
rāja-kavinā tad-enam paśyāmas-tāvāt ||

1) Diese beiden überflüssigen Interpunktionszeichen sind vielleicht ausgestrichen.

2) Lies *grhṇāti*.

3) Lies *niḥkrāntaḥ*.

Ta-

33. *tah pravṛṣati Vigharaharājah* || ¹

Vigharaharājah || *drṣtvā devau praṇamya kṛt-anjalih* ||
Smeragmukhe ² prakāṣa-sarvvarase-pi vā(bā)le
samsāram-apy-amṛta-nirvṛtam-ādadhāne |
m-āstām prabho khaladurakṣara-vahnivarsair-
abhyarthaye malinatā Harakeli-kāye ||

urdhvam-avalokya ||

Svar-vvāsino Bharata-śiṣyajanāś-cireṇa
Sthāṇoḥ śirāṃsi nanu dhūna-

34. yitum sa eṣaḥ |

pratyakṣarasruta-rasāmṛta-vāhininām
kallola-kelibhir-ito Harakelir-āstām ||

punar-urdhvam-avalokya | api ca ||

Stotā guṇān-abhidhadhat-stutir-Imdu-maulih
stutya sa eva phalarūpatayā sa eva |

ittham caturmmayatayā Harakelir-āstām=
ā-camdram-ā-ravi mude yasase śriye vaḥ ||

Īśaḥ || Sarvvaṃ carācaram-idam kha-

35. lu māṃ viditvā

tan ³-nāṭya-darśana-sukhotsava-nīścalānām |

maitṛiṃ sukhiṇy-asukhiṇi pravaram kṛpām ca
tanyād-bhavartti-hṛtaye Harakelir-eṣaḥ ||

vatsa Vigharaharāja anena Harakeli-nāṭaken-ārādhito-ham kiṃ te priyam-upa-
karomi ||

Vigharaharājah || *anjaliṃ va(ba)ddhvā* ||

Yeṣāṃ nāma na Śaṃkar-eti vadane na vra(bra)hma paṇau dhanam
ha-

36. ste n-āhar-āhar-nivāpa-salilam n-ākṣṇoḥ kṛp-āmbhaḥkaṇāḥ |

n-āhimsā-rucayo guṇās-tanu-mano-vāṇiṣu naisarggikāḥ
kāṣṭh-mā Śaśi-cūḍa tāṃs-tanubhrḥ ⁴ samsāra-kutsā-sṛjāḥ ||

Īśaḥ || Idam-apy-astu ||

Yāvad-Viṣṇu-vi(bi)bharti pramada-citi-rase bhoga-nirvāna-śakti

Lakṣmīṃ Vrā(brā)hmīṃ ca tāvad-dhavalayatu jagat-tāvaki kirttir-eṣā |
prajñā-dugāhā-

37. vdhi(bdhi)-janmā navarasa-lahari-datta-hastāvalamvā(bā)

vidvac-cetaś-cakori-kulam-akhilam-api prīṇati camdrik-eva ||

1) Statt *Vigharaharājah* || *Vigharaharājah* || hat das Original *Vigharaharājah* 2. 2) Lies *smeragmukhe* (?).

3) Lies *tan* (?).

4) Lies *tanubhrḥ*.

vatsa tvam Śākambhari-rājyam pālayitum grham gaccha || vāyam-api sa-parivārāḥ
Kailāśa(sa)m-eva vrajāma itī niḥkrāntāḥ¹ sarve ||

|| Kraunca-vijayo nāma pañcamo-ñkaḥ ||

Āsm-nirmala-Haṇa-pā-

38. rthiva-kule Govinda-nāmā sudhī-
tais-taiḥ kovida-vādyā-sadguṇa-gaṇai-
yo Bhojarāja-priyaḥ |
taj-janmā sukṛti Mahīpatir-
abhūt-tasy-ātma-
jo Bhāskarāḥ
sa śri-Vigraharāja-nirmitam-
idaṁ prājño-likhan-nātakam ||

Samvat 1210 Mārgga-śudi 5 Āditya-dine Śravaṇa-nakṣatre | Makara-sṭhe caṁdre |
Harṣa-

39. ṇa-yoge | Vā(bā)lava-karaṇe || Hara-keli-nātakam samāptam || Maṅgalam
mahā-śrīḥ ||

40. Kṛtir-iyam mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śri-Vigraharājadevasya ||

1) Lies niḥkrāntāḥ.

Die Bhāshikavṛitti des Mahāsvāmin¹⁾.

Professor Bühler wurde im vergangenen October von der Regierung beauftragt, für 5000 Rup. Manuscripte in dieser Praesidentschaft zu kaufen. Er gestattete mir gütiger Weise, die Mss., welche ihm hier in Poona zur Ansicht gebracht wurden, durchzusehen, und ich fand unter ihnen ein aus zwei Abschnitten (auf sechs Blättern) bestehendes Werkchen, Bhāshika (sūtra) vṛitti genannt, von dem ich die folgende Abschrift mittheile.

¹⁾ Da ich diejenige Auffassung der Regeln 1, 5—18, resp. 13—18, welcher Kielhorn in seiner nachstehenden, höchst dankenswerthen Mittheilung huldigt, zunächst nur als möglich, resp. wahrscheinlich, jedoch nicht direkt als nothwendig anerkennen, sodann aber, auch wenn sie sich als richtig, d. i. von dem Verf. wirklich beabsichtigt, ergeben sollte, doch nur — abweichend von Kielhorn — als eine irrige Interpretation des faktischen Sachverhaltes ansehen kann, habe ich in einem Anhang die hierbei maafsgebenden Gesichtspunkte und Fragen näher erörtert. Im Interesse des leichteren Verständnisses habe ich mir aber auch schon zu K.'s Darstellung selbst einige Zusätze erlaubt, nämlich: 1) meine Auffassung des faktischen Sachverhaltes in kurzen Noten je, wo es mir nöthig schien, markirt: — 2) den aus Vs. und Çatap. Br. angeführten Stellen die Citate beigegeben: — 3) dieselben mit den in den Mss., resp. in meiner Ausgabe des Çatap. Brāhmaṇa verwendeten beiden Accentzeichen (für den udātta ein wagerechter Strich unter der Linie, für den svarita zwei dgl. unter der vorhergehenden Silbe) versehen, resp. unter Beobachtung des Systems der Mss., wonach udātta vor udātta unbezeichnet bleibt: — 4) einige sonstige mir nöthig erscheinende Bemerkungen und Verweise in Notengestalt beigegeben. Einige der beigebrachten Citate habe ich noch nicht auffinden können, was theilweise gewifs meine Schuld sein, theilweise indessen vielleicht auch entweder darauf beruhen mag, dafs der schol. selbst in seinem Citat nicht ganz genau verfahren ist, oder darauf, dafs diese Citate etwa der Kāṇva-Schule entlehnt sind. Nach 1, 12. 2, 28 zu schliessen, gehörte nämlich zwar der schol. der Mādhyandina-Schule, der Autor dagegen der Kāṇva-Schule an, und so mag denn etwa auch der schol. hier und da aus letzterer geschöpft haben. — Nur diejenigen Noten stammen von Kielhorn selbst her, die sich auf die Lesarten der Handschrift des Werkchens selbst beziehen: alle übrigen Noten dagegen, zum Vorwort wie zum Texte, sind von mir, was ich hier ein- für allemal bemerke, um es nicht in jedem einzelnen Falle wiederholen zu müssen.

Anm. d. Her.

Indem ich die Frage über Verfasser und Zeitalter des Bhâshika Sûtra hier übergehe, will ich mit ein paar Worten hauptsächlich auf die sûtra 5—18 des ersten Abschnittes hindeuten, welche mir den interessantesten Theil des ganzen Werkchens zu enthalten scheinen. Sie lehren nämlich, in welcher Weise die Accente, welche wir gewöhnlich in den Vedasaṃhitâs vorfinden, im Çatapathabrâhmaṇa verändert worden sind¹⁾.

Im Çatapathabrâhmaṇa giebt es nur zwei Accente, den udâtta und den anudâtta; wie sind die drei Accente der Saṃhitâs, udâtta, anudâtta und svarita auf jene beiden Accente zu reduciren?

Ehe wir diese Frage beantworten können, müssen wir wissen was ein bhâshika sei²⁾.

1. Der saṃdhi eines udâtta Vocals und eines anudâtta Vocals heißt bhâshika; z. B. der saṃdhi des finalen ä von âryamä, und des initialen â von âyûḥ in âryamâ"yuḥ.

2. Der saṃdhi eines udâtta Vocals mit einem vorhergehenden und einem folgenden anudâtta Vocale; z. B. der saṃdhi von a in stabhâna, von ä, und von a in antâriksham in stabhânâ"ntariksham.

Ausnahmen: bhâshika heißen nicht³⁾:

a)⁴⁾ der saṃdhi des udâtta ä (in der Praepos. ä), oder des udâtta á von prá, mit dem anlautenden anudâtta-Vocale eines Verbuns; z. B. der saṃdhi des udâtta-á von prá mit dem anudâtta u von ukshâmi in prokshâmi.

¹⁾ Faktisch handelt es sich darum, wie sie graphisch darin dargestellt werden.

²⁾ Die folgenden vier bhâshika-Gruppen fallen sämtlich unter den Begriff des primären svarita, s. Vâjas. saṃh. spec. II pag. 9. 10.

³⁾ es werden resp. nicht wie svarita-Silben behandelt:

⁴⁾ zu a) b) siehe meine preface zum Çatap. Br. p. XIII.

b) der saṃdhi des udâtta ä (in der Praepos. ä), oder des udâtta á von prá als erster Glieder eines Compositums mit einem anlautenden anudâtta-Vocale des zweiten Compositions-gliedes, z. B. der saṃdhi des udâtta á von prá mit dem anudâtta i von iddha in predhah.

c)¹⁾ der saṃdhi eines auslautenden udâtta á im ersten Gliede eines Compositums mit einem anlautenden anudâtta-Vocale des zweiten Compositions-gliedes; z. B. der saṃdhi des udâtta á von citrá mit dem anudâtta û von ûti in citroti.

3. Der jâtya, abhinihita, kshaipra, und praçlishta heißen bhâshika; z. B. à in dhânyam; è in prasavè 'çvinoḥ; à in drvannah; und f in abhîndhatâm.

4. Das o in uto, yo, mo, no, so. — Anmerkung: Nach Einigen auch o.

Nach dieser Vorbemerkung genügen folgende Regeln für die Verwandlung des Saṃhitâ-Accents in den Çatapathabr.-Accent:

1) Was nach obigen Regeln bhâshika ist, wird (1, 13) im Brâhmaṇa udâtta²⁾.

2) Was svarita oder anudâtta ist, wird (1, 14) im Brâhmaṇa ebenfalls udâtta.

3) Was udâtta ist, wird (1, 15) im Brâhmaṇa anudâtta³⁾, auſer wenn es am Satzende steht⁴⁾.

4) Von mehreren auf einander folgenden udâtta-Sylben

¹⁾ Diese Regel (s. I, 9) habe ich versäumt am a. O. der preface zu notiren. Die Beispiele, wo ein oxytonirtes pûrvapadam auf a seinen Ton behält, und mit vokalischem anlautendem uttarapadam zusammentritt, sind eben im Ganzen ziemlich selten. Die Mss. stimmen aber in der That zu obiger Regel.

²⁾ wird resp. darin so bezeichnet, wie die udâtta-Silbe in den Saṃhitâ-Texten, nämlich gar nicht.

³⁾ wird resp. darin mit dem in den Saṃhitâ-Texten üblichen anudâtta-Strich unter der Linie markirt.

⁴⁾ und nota bene die nächste kaṇḍikâ oder das nächste Hemistich

wird (1, 16) die letzte anudâta, die übrigen bleiben unverändert¹⁾.

5) Vor einem bhâshika wird (1, 17) eine udâta- oder svarita-Sylbe anudâta²⁾, eine anudâta-Sylbe bleibt unverändert³⁾.

z. B. a¹|rya²|mã³ â|yú⁴|r i⁵|ti⁶ wird á|rya|mã³|yú⁴|r i⁵|ti⁶.

1. anud. wird ud.⁴⁾: — 2. anud. bleibt anud.³⁾, weil ein bhâshika folgt: — 3. bhâsh. ist ud.⁴⁾: — 4. ud. bleibt ud.¹⁾, weil ud. folgt: — 5. ud. wird anud.²⁾ als letzter mehrerer aufeinander folgenden udâta: — 6. svar. wird ud.⁴⁾

á|thâ²| va³|yá⁴|m â⁵|di⁶|tya⁷| vra⁸|té⁹| tá¹⁰|vã¹¹|
'nâ¹²|ga¹³|so¹⁴| á¹⁵|di¹⁶|ta¹⁷|yc¹⁸| syâ¹⁹|ma²⁰| wird athã
váyam ádityá vraté távã'nãgásó adítáyé syãmá.

1. ud. wird anud.²⁾: — 2. 3. svar. und anud. werden ud.⁴⁾:
— 4. ud. wird anud.²⁾: — 5–8. svar. und anud. werden ud.⁴⁾:
— 9. 10. ud. bleiben ud.¹⁾, weil ud. folgt: — 11. ud. wird anud.²⁾: — 12–14. svar. und anud. werden ud.⁴⁾: — 15. ud. wird anud.²⁾: — 16–20. svar. und anud. werden udâta⁴⁾.

pú¹|ru²|sha³|sya⁴| bã⁵|hũ⁶ wird purúshásyã bãhũ⁶⁾.

1. ud. wird anud.²⁾: — 2–5. svar. und anud. werden ud.⁴⁾:
— 6. ud. am Satzende bleibt udâta¹⁾.

bhũ¹|r bhú²|vah³| svãh⁴ wird bhũr bhuvãh svãh.

1. ud. bleibt ud.¹⁾, weil ud. folgt: — 2. ud. wird anud.²⁾:
— 3. anud. bleibt³⁾, weil bhâsh. folgt: — 4. bhâsh. ist ud.⁴⁾

mit einem udâta beginnt: dann erhält nämlich dieser den anudâta-Strich, und der schließende udâta nur drei Punkte, s. meine preface p. XIII not. Sonst behält der letzte udâta seinen anudâta-Strich. So wenigstens die Mss.: vgl. auch die eke im schol. zu 1, 21.

¹⁾ d. i. sie bleiben so, wie die udâta-Silben in der Samhitã, nämlich unbezeichnet. ²⁾ d. i. erhält den anudâta-Strich.

³⁾ d. i. behält den anudâta-Strich. ⁴⁾ d. i. wird so bezeichnet, wie die udâta-Silben in der Samhitã, nämlich gar nicht.

⁵⁾ das Brâhmaṇa würde indefs faktisch bãhũ haben, falls nicht etwa ein udâta folgt, s. not. 4 der vorigen Seite.

Das Ms. giebt die zu den sûtra beigebrachten Beispiele meistens mit derjenigen Accentuation, welche man nach den obigen Regeln erwartet, und zwar in der gewöhnlichen Weise, nach welcher der udâta gar nicht, der anudâta durch einen horizontalen Strich unter der Sylbe bezeichnet wird¹⁾. In einigen Beispielen fehlt die Bezeichnung der Accente, und bisweilen steht die angegebene Accentuation mit obigen Regeln im Widerspruche. Die Stellen beider Gattung, welche sich in 1, 5–18 finden, sind folgende:

1, 5. bhãś'ntáriksham = bhãś'ntaríkshám; im Ms. ohne Acc.

1, 8. éshṭã rãyaḥ = éshṭã râyãḥ; aber im Ms. éshṭã rãyaḥ.

éshṭayo nãma = éshṭáyó nãmá; aber im Ms. éshṭáyó nãmá.

1, 9. mãtã + iva putráam = mãtévá pútrám; im Ms. ohne Acc.

vasnã + iva ví krīṇãvahai = vasnévá ví krīṇãvãhái; im Ms. ohne Acc.

pitã + iva putráam = pitévá pútrám; im Ms. ohne Acc.

ihéhaishãṃ krīṇuhi bhójanãni = ihéhaishãm krīṇúhí bhojánãni; im Ms. ohne Acc.

1, 10. vedãḥ asi = vedó 'sí; im Ms. ohne Acc.

itthã hí sóma in mãde 'vitã'si sunvató vrik-tãbarhisha íti = íthã hí somá in mãde

¹⁾ Es liegt somit hier wohl eben die gewöhnliche Accentuation der Brâhmaṇa-Mss. vor, welche den „nach den obigen Regeln“ anscheinend zum anudâta gewordenen udâta und svarita mit dem wagerechten anudâta-Strich unter der Linie (beim svarita resp. unter der vorhergehenden Sylbe) versieht. — Im Interesse der Deutlichkeit wäre es gewesen, wenn K. den Text nicht in lateinischer Umschrift, sondern in Devanãgari mitgeteilt hätte.

'vītā'sī sūnvāto vṛiktabārhishā iti; aber im Ms. iṭthā und sūnvátó.

1, 14. sá prathamám anuyājám ánu mantrayeta = sa práthámam ánuyājám anú mantráyétá; aber im Ms.: sá práthámám anuyājám anú mantráyétá.

1, 15. candré = cándré; aber im Ms. cándré¹⁾; das Wort ist außerdem ein Gegenbeispiel.

1, 16. In ā yā dyām bhāsy ā pṛithivīm ā + urú + antáriksham bildet ā mit dem anlautenden u von urú bhāshika; ebenso ist der durch den Zusammenstoß des auslautenden ú von urú und des anlautenden a von antáriksham entstehende svarita bhāshika; es treffen also hier zwei bhāshika zusammen. Nach der Accentbezeichnung des Ms. wird der erste derselben anudātta²⁾.

agne yukshvā hí yé távā'çvāso deva sādha-
vaḥ = agné yúkshvā hí yé távā'çvāso dévā
sādhavāḥ; aber Ms. hat tavāçvāsó.

Die obigen Regeln reichen für die Verwandlung des Saṃhitā-Accents in den Çatapathabrāhmaṇa-Accent aus. Es ergibt sich aus ihnen, daß die einheimischen Gelehrten, welche behaupten, im Çatap. br. gebe es nur zwei Accente, udātta und anudātta, durchaus Recht haben, und daß die Accentuation des Çatapathabrāhmaṇa in Europa bis jetzt mißverstanden worden ist.

Ist nun aber die Verwandlung der Saṃhitā-Accente in der beschriebenen Weise vor sich gegangen, so sind für

¹⁾ mit Recht: denn es ist ein Vocativ Sgl.

²⁾ d. i. es werden beide mit dem anudātta-Strich unter der vorhergehenden Silbe geschrieben: der erste bhāshika(o) nimmt somit den anudātta-Strich des zweiten bhāshika unter sich selbst.: pṛithivīm orv antáriksham.

die Aussprache der durch sie gewonnenen udātta- und anudātta-Accente noch folgende drei Regeln zu beachten:

1, 19. Von den in der Saṃhitā unmittelbar auf einander folgenden udātta-Sylben haben alle mit Ausnahme der letzten, oder mit andern Worten alle, welche im Brāhmaṇa udātta¹⁾ bleiben, kampana, d. h. sie sind in einem Tone, der niedriger ist als der anudātta (1, 19), auszusprechen. kampana haben ebenfalls alle im Brāhmaṇa unmittelbar auf einander folgende udātta-Sylben. Erkläre ich die Regel richtig, worüber ich zweifelhaft bin, so haben z. B. in athā váyam ādityā vraté távā 'nāgásó aditáyé syāmā alle Sylben mit Ausnahme der 1, 4, 11, und 15-ten kampana; von den vier, welche nicht kampana haben, sind 1, 4 und 15 in der Saṃhitā udātta und 11 ist die letzte der drei übrigen udātta-Sylben, welche in der Saṃhitā vorkommen und in ihr unmittelbar auf einander folgen (vraté távā-). — prāti shṭhāpayati svar ṇākāḥ svāhēti = prāti shṭhāpáyati svar ṇākāḥ²⁾ svāhēti. Das folgende Beispiel ist accentuirt: ya-daivódēty athā vāsántaḥ.

1, 20. 21. Eine anudātta- oder svarita-Sylbe der Saṃhitā, der ein bhāshika folgt und ein udātta vorangeht, hat ebenfalls kampana; z. B. die Sylbe ca in kiṃ cañā"mamát, oder die Sylbe yai in bhūtyai yédam.

Gern hätte ich erfahren, wie das Çatapathabrāhmaṇa heutzutage in Indien gelesen wird; aber ich habe bis jetzt noch Niemand gefunden, der es recitiren konnte, weil es hier in Poona gar nicht, oder nur sehr wenig, studirt wird. Sollte ich indessen den Norden Indiens besuchen,

¹⁾ d. i. unbezeichnet.

²⁾ es ist resp. zu lesen: svar ṇā 'rkaḥ.

so hoffe ich mir die erwünschte Kunde zu verschaffen und ich werde dann das hier Versäumte nachholen.

Der zweite Abschnitt des Werkchens hat zunächst nichts mit der Verwandlung des Samhitâ-Accents in den Çatapathabr.-Accent zu thun, sondern giebt eine Aufzählung der âkhyâtapadavikarâna, d. h. der Bedingungen, unter denen ein Verbum in der Samhitâ seine gewöhnliche Betonung d. i. Accentlosigkeit verändert, oder, wie wir sagen würden, unter denen ein Verbum seinen Accent nicht verliert. Für diesen Abschnitt brauche ich hauptsächlich nur auf Professor Whitney's Abhandlung über den Sanskrit-Verbal-Accent, übersetzt in den „Beiträgen zur vergleich. Sprachf.“ vol. I, pag. 187 ff. zu verweisen.

2, 2. Wh. p. 190. syâd dhaivâ prâyaçcittih = syâd dhaivâ prâyaçcittih; aber im Ms. prâyaçcittih: — 3. Wh. p. 190. ânu yojâ nv indra te harî = anu yojâ nv indra té harî; aber im Ms. ânú und hârî: — 4. Wh. p. 198: — 5. P. 8, 1, 30 und 54: — 6. Wh. p. 200: — 7. Wh. p. 220: — 8. Wh. p. 217. Vâj. Prât. 6, 21; P. 8, 1, 39; 61: — 9 ist mit 26 zu verbinden. Wh. p. 202: — 10. Das sûtra lautet im Ms. âmantritam sasvaram, und so habe ich es trotz der Erklärung des Scholiasten gelassen. Wh. p. 190. Das letzte Beispiel hat im Manuscript keine Accentzeichen: — 11 ist mit 24, 12 mit 26 zu verbinden. Wh. p. 201: — 13. yajeta haiva ohne Accentzeichen im Ms.: — 14. Wh. p. 195. Çat. Br. 3, 6, 2, 3 hat pârâpaçyât: — 15 ist mit 23 zu verbinden. Ms. hat devatâyade. Unter viniyogaḥ ist sicherlich der nânâ_p rayojano niyogaḥ des schol. zu P. 8, 1, 61 zu verstehen. Die Fälle gehören zu den Wh. p. 201 erwähnten: — 16 Wh. p. 193 unten: — 17. Ms. bhâvâtî; imâm

me varuṇa çrudhî hávam = 'imam mé várúṇá çrudhî havám; aber im Ms. imám und çrudhî: — 18—22. Der Einfluß der Wörter hi etc. auf die Accentuation eines Verbuns erstreckt sich bis zur 16ten Sylbe, nach Bhâradvâja bis zur 25sten, und nach Aupaçivi bis zur 32sten Sylbe. In den beiden letzten Fällen aber behält von zweien oder mehreren Verben, welche innerhalb der 25 oder 32 Sylben stehen, nur das erste seinen Accent, während nach Aupaçivi alle accentuirt bleiben. Die beiden Beispiele zu 19 haben im Ms. die Samhitâ-Accentuation: — Zu 23 vgl. 15; zu 24 vgl. 11; zu 25 vgl. P. 8, 1, 57; zu 26 vgl. 9 und 12: — 27—29, deren Lesarten theilweise verdächtig erscheinen, enthalten Modificationen der vorangehenden Regeln: — 30 und 31 handeln vom Accent der verdoppelten Wörter: — 32 soll nach dem Commentare noch einmal darauf hinweisen, daß alle vier Wortklassen ihren Accent im Çat.-Brâhm. in der früher angegebenen Weise verändern. Weshalb die Worte akârekâro — dhâraṇâḥ im Commentar angeführt werden (als sûtra werden sie nicht betrachtet) ist schwer einzusehn.

33—38 endlich enthalten Notizen über die Accentuation anderer Veden, anderer Schulen, und der übrigen Literatur.

|| çrigaṇeçâya namaḥ || çrimatsâmbo jayati ||

Yâjñavalkyam munim natvâ Kâtyâyana munin api |
vyâkhyâsye bhâshikam sūtraṃ Kâtyâyana muniritam ||1||
mantralakṣhaṇabhinnatvâc Chatapathabrâhmaṇasya tu |
tallakṣhaṇârtham muninâ prañitam bhâshikam khalu || 2 ||
tasyedam âdimam sūtram |

atha brâhmaṇasvarasaṃskâraniyamaḥ || 1 ||
atha çabda ânantaryârthaḥ¹⁾ | atha mantralakṣhaṇapraṇa-

¹⁾ Ms. anantaryârthaḥ.

yanânantaram¹⁾ çatapatha brâhmaṇasvarasaṃskârani-
yamaḥ kriyata iti sûtiraçeshah | mantralakshaṇânantaryam
caitanya bhâshikalakshaṇasya sûtiraçeshah eva jñâ-
yate | tathâ kim vakshyati | „jâtyâbbinihitakshaiprapraçish-
tâç ca“²⁾ 1, 10 iti sûtireṇa pûrvasiddham jâtyâdikam anûdya
bhâshikasamjñâ || tathâ „svaritânudâttau ca“ 1, 14 iti sûtireṇa
pûrvasiddhasvaritânudâttâv anûdya brâhmaṇa udâttam vi-
dhâsyati | tena tadupajivyatvât tadânantaryam etasya
sâdhuktam ||

d v a u || 2 ||

brâhmaṇe tûdâttânudâttau dvâv eva svarau veditavyau || nanu
mantralakshaṇe dvitîyâdhyâyâdau svaraniyamasyâ'bhi-
hitatvân nedam ârabdhavyam nirâkânkshatvâd, ata âha |
ukto mantrasvaraḥ || 3 ||

na ca pûrvoktenedam anyathâ siddham pûrvoktalakshaṇasya
mantrabhâgavishayavât | ato nairâkânkshyâbhâvâd³⁾ vaktâ-
vyyam evedam | kim ca „kaṇṭhya rikâre hrasvam“ Vâj. Prât.
4, 48 iti vidyamâne „yat kim ca'rtushu⁴⁾ kriyate“⁵⁾, „tathâ
ṛishîṇâm⁶⁾ tathâ manushyâṇâm“ 14, 4, 2, 21 | tathâ „yava-
yoḥ padântayoḥ svaramadhye lopah“ Vâj. Prât. 4, 124 iti
vidyamâna „indiraç caiva prajâpatiç ca trayastriṅçâv iti“
11, 6, 3, 5, tathâ „vâyav iha tâ⁷⁾ vimuñce“⁸⁾-ty 4, 4, 1, 15 evam-
âdau⁹⁾ saṃskâravailakshaṇadarçanâc⁹⁾ cârabdhavyam
evedam || nanûkto mantrasvara iti na vaktavyam prakṛite
prayojanâbhâvâd ity ata âha |

1) unter mantralakshaṇa muß hier wohl wie zu 2 das Prâçîçâkhyam
gemeint sein? Zu 2, 1 citirt der schol. den letzteren Namen selbst.

2) Ms. jâtyâbbini°. 3) Ms. °kshâbhâvâd. 4) Ms. caturshu.

5) diese Brâhmaṇa-Stelle ist mir nicht zur Hand.

6) das Brâhmaṇa hat: tathâ'ṛishîṅâm: die Regel Vs. Prât. 4, 48 wird
im Çatap. Br. nicht beobachtet: anders im Ait. Br., s. diese Stud. 9, 309.

7) Ms. to. 8) Ms. vimuñcetyamâdau.

9) vgl. das zu Vs. Prât. 4, 125 Bemerkte.

tenâ'tra siddham || 4 ||

tena mantrasvaralakshaṇena siddham'svaram anûdyâ'tra
Çatapathabrâhmaṇe svaralakshaṇam praṇîyata. iti sûtira-
çeshah ||

udâttânudâttau bhâshikas tatsamdhîḥ || 5 ||

udâttâç câ'nudâttâç codâttânudâttau | tayoh samdhir
ekavarṇatety arthaḥ | sa samdhir bhâshikasamjño bhavati |
vyavahârârthaṃ samjñâkriyate | vakshyati ca | „bhâshike co-
bhayeshâm“ 1, 17 iti | âryamâ“¹⁾ yûr iti 13, 5, 1, 18 | bhâsâ'ntariksham
9, 2, 3, 34¹⁾ || udâttagrahaṇam kimartham | ud bûdhyâsvâ'gné
8, 6, 3, 23 | atra dvayor mâ bhûd anudâttasvarayoḥ || an-
udâttagrahaṇam kimartham | svâr yantó nâ'pékshânté 9, 2,
3, 27 | atra dvayor udâttayor mâ bhûd iti || tad iti vacanam
kramârtham | bôdhâyâtâ'tithim iti 3, 1²⁾ | atrâ'nudâttapûr-
vatvân na bhavati || samdhir iti | dhruvâ ásádán 1, 3, 4, 15 |
kâ'îm árá 13, 5, 2, 18 | atrâ'samdhitvân na bhavati ||

atheha katham bhavitavyam | úd divám stâbhânâ“³⁾nta-
rikshâm iti 3, 6, 1, 15³⁾ |

anudâttâv antareṇodâttah || 6 ||

pûrvayoḥ prathamam ekâdeçe kṛita udâttânudâttâv etau |
tayoḥ samdhir bhâshikasamjño bhavati ||

âprapûrva âkhyâtaparo na || 7 ||

âprâv upasargau | âpûrvaḥ prapûrvaç câkhyâtapara
udâttânudâttasamdhir bhâshikasamjño na bhavati | â'prâ
dyâvâ'prîthivî' 4, 3, 4, 10 | prokshâmî 1, 1, 3, 11 | prâ'rpâyâtú
1, 7, 1, 4 || âprapûrva iti kim | dhruvâ'si 3, 6, 1, 20⁴⁾ | pûshâ'si
14, 2, 1, 9 | yantâ'si 3, 6, 3, 7 | svâdhayâ kṛitâ'si 6, 6, 2, 6⁵⁾

1) Vs. 25, 24 und 17, 72 hält den udâttâ fest.

2) die durch iti markirte Brâhm.-Stelle ist mir nicht zur Hand.

3) Vs. 5, 27 hält den udâttâ fest.

4) Vs. hält durchweg den udâttâ fest, s. 5, 28. 38, 3, 5, 35. 11, 69.

5) hier hat meine Ausgabe den udâttâ, weil alle drei hiesigen Mss.
(Chambers 7. 17. 19.) so lesen.

atra pratishedho mā bhūt || ākhyāte iti kim | édám 3, 1, 2, 11¹⁾ | á'yám 2, 1, 4, 29 | prédám²⁾ | présché 3, 4, 3, 21³⁾ | samāsaç câ'nākhyātaparo 'pi || 8 ||

cagrahaṇam āprayor⁴⁾ anukarṣaṇārtham | āpūrvaḥ prapūrvāç ca samāso 'nākhyātaparo 'pi na bhāshikasamjño bhavati | anākhyātagrahaṇam ākhyātādbikāragrahaṇanivṛittyartham | apigrahaṇam ākhyātaparo yadi dṛiçyate sa na bhāshikasamjño bhavati | eshtëā rāyāḥ 3, 4, 3, 21 | eshtëyó nāmá 9, 4, 1, 12 | preddhó ágné 9, 2, 3, 40 | pretyā etyái 8, 1, 4, 8 || samāsa iti kim | prédám | présché | édám ||

apūrvaç ca samāso naiva || 9 ||

a ity akāro brasvo 'tra grihyate | akāraḥ pūrvo yasya samāsasamdhē so 'yam apūrvaḥ samāsasamdhī sa na bhāshikasamjño bhavati | sa nó viçvâyúḥ sáprathāḥ 14, 3, 1, 18 | çatâyúsham kṛiṇúhī cīyamánāḥ 7, 5, 2, 17 | citrotáyó⁵⁾ vāmajātāḥ 7, 3, 1, 31 | vṛiddháyum anú vṛiddháyāḥ 3, 6, 1, 24 || apūrva iti kim | divívá çakshúr átátám 3, 7, 1, 18 || brasvapratijñānam kim | mâteva⁶⁾ putram 6, 8, 2, 3 || vaṣneva vi kṛiṇāvahai 2, 5, 3, 17 | piteva putram 13, 8, 4, 9 || samāsa iti vartamāne punaḥ samāsagrahaṇam apūrvasamdhimātra-pratipattiyartham | ihehaisham⁷⁾ kṛiṇubi bhojanāni 5, 5, 4, 24 || eva kārakaraṇam câ'navadhāraṇārtham | névá⁸⁾ vā ídám ágrē 'sád āsīn névá sad āsīt 10, 5, 3, 1 || neti vartamāne punar neti vacanam uttaratra nishedhanivṛittyartham ||

¹⁾ Hier ist in meiner Ausgabe yajur āhedam zu lesen.

²⁾ diese Brāhm.-Stelle ist mir nicht zur Hand.

³⁾ in allen diesen Fällen läßt sich der svarita der ersten Silbe hier nicht bezeichnen, weil eine vorhergehende Silbe fehlt. Die Vs. hat durchweg den udātta, s. 4, 1. 3, 6. 5, 7. — Die ultima ist mit dem anudātta-Strich zu versehen, s. p. 399 n. 4. ⁴⁾ Ms. āprayor.

⁵⁾ die Oxytonirung dieses Wortes in meiner Ausgabe ist ein Druckfehler. Beide hiesigen Mss. (Chambers 9 und 39) haben das Wort als paroxytonon.

⁶⁾ Vs. hat durchweg den udātta, s. 3, 49. 12, 35. 35, 17.

⁷⁾ so alle drei hiesigen Mss. (Chambers 6. 16. 21.).

jātyābbhinīhitakṣhaiprapraçliṣṭāç ca || 10 ||
jātyaḥ | abhinīhitaḥ | kṣhaipraḥ | praçliṣṭāç ca | caçabdo bhāshikasamjñānukarṣaṇārthaḥ | ete ca svaraviçeṣhā bhāshikasamjñā bhavanti || jātyaḥ | dhānyām ási 1, 2, 1, 18 | bhūr bhuvāḥ svāḥ 2, 1, 4, 27 || abhinīhitaḥ | prásavé 'çvinóḥ 1, 1, 2, 17 | pūshné 'gnayé 3, 1, 4, 9 | vedo 'si 1, 9, 2, 23 | kó¹⁾ 'si kátámó 'sí 4, 5, 6, 4 || kṣhaipraḥ | drvánāḥ¹⁾ 6, 6, 2, 14 | tryámákám¹⁾ 2, 6, 2, 11. 12 || praçliṣṭāḥ | abhīndhātām 6, 5, 4, 5 | divívá çakshúr 3, 7, 1, 18 || jātyakṣhaiprayoḥ „svaritānudāttau ca“ 1, 14 ity anenaivodāttau siddhe pūrvasya nighātārtho 'yam yatnaḥ | abhinīhita-praçliṣṭayor udātānudātta-samdhivād bhāshikasamjñāyām prāptāyām anyatra bhāshikasamjñāyā anityatvajñāpānārtha ārambhaḥ | teneha na bhavati | sāvítā 'si sātya-prásāvāḥ 5, 4, 4. 9²⁾ | itthā hi soma in made 'vitā 'si sunvato vṛikta-barhisha iti³⁾ | á'ham⁴⁾ ájāni gárbbhām 13, 8, 2, 5 ||

uto yo mo no so ca || 11 ||

uto | yo | mo | no | so | ity eshām okāro bhāshikasamjño bhavati | utó⁵⁾ tá ishávé namāḥ 9, 1, 1, 14 | yó¹⁾ mamá tánúḥ 3, 4, 3, 9 | mó¹⁾ shū náḥ 2, 5, 2, 28 | nó¹⁾ éva kshātriyāḥ 4, 1, 4, 5 | só¹⁾ éva pūródhā 4, 1, 4, 5 ||

o caikeshām || 12 ||

o ity ayam okāra ekeshām ācāryāṇām matena bhāshikasamjño bhavati | bódháyātā 'tīthim ó āsmín⁶⁾ | saptadāçā 'ksha-

¹⁾ hier ist der svarita ohne Marke, weil die vorhergehende Silbe fehlt, unter welcher der betreffende anudātta-Strich stehen könnte.

²⁾ s. Vāj. samh. spec. II. praef. p. 10: „exceptiones inveni perraras: 10, 28 savitā 'si.“

³⁾ diese Stelle finde ich weder in Vs. noch im Çat. Br.

⁴⁾ Auch hier ist wie oben bei ¹⁾ nicht ersichtlich, ob á mit ahām zu á'hām oder zu á'hām verschmilzt: in der That aber hat Çat. 13, 2, 8, 5, in meiner Abschrift wirklich: apakrāmanty āham also á'hām, und das apakrāmanty meiner Ausgabe ist somit wohl ein Fehler.

⁵⁾ Vs. hat hier durchweg den udātta, s. 16, 1. 5, 6. 3, 46.

⁶⁾ Vs. 3, 1 hat aber gar nicht o asmin, sondern á'smin. Die Brāhmaṇa-Stelle ist mir nicht zur Hand.

rāṇy ó çrāváyeti 12, 3, 3, 3 | ekeshām vacanād āçruteḥ
Kāṇvānām na bhāshikaḥ¹⁾ ||

udāttam etat || 13 ||

yad etad bhāshikasamjñam upakrāntam udāttam etad bhavati²⁾ | citrām āḥam vṛñé 9, 2, 3, 38 | sinham sémam pātva añhásāḥ 12, 7, 3, 21 ||

svaritānudāttau ca || 14 ||

svarito 'nudāttaç ca svaritānudāttau | tau codāttau bhavataḥ³⁾ || svaritaḥ | akrān karmá 2, 5, 2, 29 | vājé-vājé 'vátá 5, 1, 5, 24 || anudāttaḥ | sa prāthāmam ánúyājām anú mántráyétá 11, 2, 7, 22 | sáhā vácā mayobhuvá 2, 5, 2, 29 ||

udāttam anudāttam anantyam || 15 ||

udāttam yat samāmnāye tad anudāttam bhavati brāhmaṇe⁴⁾ | havyé | kāmýé | idé | ranté | candré 4, 5, 8, 10 || anantyam iti kim⁵⁾ | cakshúr mītrasyá varúnasyá'gnéḥ 4, 3, 4, 10 | viçvāni dévá váyunāni vídvān 3, 6, 3, 11 | purúshásyá bāhū⁶⁾ ||

antyam samhatānām || 16 ||

bahúnām udāttānām⁷⁾ ekatra yuktānām paurvāparyeṇā 'vasthitānām samāmnāye brāhmaṇe 'ntyam udāttam anudāttam bhavati | pūrveshām svaraviçeshānupadeçāt samāmnāyasvara eva bhavati | ā brāhmán 13, 1, 9, 1 | athá váyam ādityá vráté távā'nágásó adítáyé syámá 6, 7, 3, 8 | lājīñ chácīñ yavyé gavyé 13, 2, 6, 8 | ā yá dyām bhásy á

¹⁾ unter den eke sind somit im Texte die Mādhyandina genannt, die in der That das o in o çrāvaya als bhāshika d. i. svarita bezeichnen.

²⁾ d. i. es bleibt die Silbe selbst unbezeichnet.

³⁾ der sekundäre svarita (hinter einem udātta) und der anudātta der Samhitā-Texte bleiben ebenfalls unbezeichnet.

⁴⁾ d. i. erhält den anudātta-Strich.

⁵⁾ diese Ausnahme gilt aber (s. ob. p. 399 n. 4) in den Mss. nur für den Fall, daß der ultima eines Hemistichs, resp. einer kaṇḍikā, als Anlaut des nächsten Satzes ein udātta folgt, also von den hier aufgeführten Fällen bei 4, 3, 4, 10 (wo ā'prāḥ folgt), nicht aber bei 3, 6, 3, 11 (wo yuyódihi folgt). S. noch schol. zu 21.

⁶⁾ diese Brāhm.-Stelle ist mir nicht zur Hand. ⁷⁾ Ms. udāttām.

prithivīm orv antarikshām 8, 7, 3, 13 | agne yukshvā hi ye tavā'çvāso deva sādhaḥ 7, 5, 1, 33. ||

bhāshike cobhayeshām || 17 ||

bhāshike para ubhayeshām¹⁾ udāttānām anudāttānām cā 'nudātta ādeço bhavati || udāttānām | citrām āḥam 9, 2, 3, 38 | sinham sémam 12, 7, 3, 21 || anudāttānām | dhānyām así 1, 2, 1, 18 | sávītārām onyoh 3, 3, 2, 12 | nigrābhyā sthá 3, 9, 4, 7 || ekasyā'pi || 18 ||

ekaçabdo 'nyavacano yathā 'nyatrā 'py ābhyām eka ity evam ihā 'py udāttānudāttābhyām eko 'nya ity arthaḥ | kaç cā'sau | svaritaḥ²⁾ | tasyā 'pi bhāshike pare 'nudātta³⁾ ādeço bhavati | namó bhūtyai yedam cākārā 7, 2, 1, 17⁴⁾ | eshtā rāyaḥ préshé bhagāyá 3, 4, 3, 21 || nanu „nihilam udāttasvaritaparam“ Vāj. Prāt. 4, 135 ity anenaivā 'nudāttasya siddhasya „bhāshike cobhayeshām“ 1, 17 iti ca nighāte siddhe sati yadā "rabhyate tadā jñāpayati hanyamāno 'pi yena kenacit prakāreṇa yena kenacin nimittenā'yam svarita eveti | kim etasya jñāpane prayojanam bhavishyati | prāsavé 'çvinóḥ 1, 1, 2, 17 | pūshné 'gnayé 3, 1, 4, 9 | evam nighāte 'pi sati svaritavm svaritasya cā'bhinihitatvam abhinihitasya ca bhāshikasamjñā siddhā bhavati ||

teshām ca prāg uttamād anantarāṇām ca kampanam || 19 ||

teshām ca prāg uktānām anantarāṇām bahúnām paurvāparyeṇā 'vasthitānām uttarāt pūrveshām anantarāṇām | jātyantareṇā'vyavahitānām ity arthaḥ | kampanam nāmā 'nudāttād anudāttatvam bhavati | pratī shthāpáyati svár

¹⁾ dies ist ein etwas eigenthümlicher Ausdruck, vgl. dvau in Regel 2.

²⁾ auch dies ist ziemlich sonderbar.

³⁾ Ms. udātta.

⁴⁾ der udātta von cakāra bleibt vor dem folgenden udātta von iti unbezeichnet.

nâkâḥ svâḥeti¹⁾ | yaḍaivodety²⁾ aṭha vasantaḥ 2, 2, 3, 9 |
 aḍḍhâ hi tād yān manṭro 'ddhó tād yaḍ ātmā 2, 3, 1, 29 |
 ādityo ha tv évaishó 'gniḥ citāḥ 10, 5, 4, 4 ||

udâttapûrvasya câ 'nudâttasya || 20 ||

udâttapûrvo yasyâ 'nudâttasya so 'yam udâttapûrvo 'nu-
 dâttas tasya ca bhâshike pare kampanam bhavati | kiṃ
 canā³⁾ māmād iti 9, 1, 1, 24 | sa dâdhârâ prithivīm dyām
 utémām iti 7, 4, 1, 19 ||

udâttapûrvasya ca svaritasya || 21 ||

svaritasya codâttapûrvasya bhâshike pare kampanam bha-
 vati | namó bhūtyai yēdam cākāreṭi 7, 2, 1, 17 | eṣṭā rāyaḥ
 prēshē bhagāyēti 3, 4, 3, 21 || atrâ'ntyasyodâttasyâ 'nudâttatâm
 praty eke vivadante⁴⁾ | tasmād ú kuryād evaitasyâ purú-
 shāsya bāhū⁴⁾ | prāṇād ápānātī 2, 1, 4, 29 || iti prathamā-
 kaṇḍikā ||

athâkhyâtapadavikaraṇâḥ || 1 ||

âkhyâtam⁵⁾ ca tat padam câ'khyâtapadam | tasya vikaraṇâ
 âkhyâtapadavikaraṇâḥ | ke punas te | hyâdayo va-
 kshyamâṇâḥ | aṭhaçabdaç câ'trâ'dhikârârthaḥ | brâhma-
 nârtho 'dhikâro nivrittaḥ | athedânīm samâmnāya⁶⁾ âkhyâta-
 padavikaraṇâ vyâkhyâyante || kim punar âkhyâta-
 padam | kriyâvâcakam âkhyâtam liṅgato na viçishyate ||
 kaḥ punar âkhyâtapadavikārah | anâkhyâtât parasyâ'nudâ-
 ttatvam⁷⁾ adhikārah | çesho vikārah || nanu ca prâtiçâkhyā
 eva „prakṛityâ'khyâtam âkhyâtapûrvam“ Vâj. Prât. 6, 11
 iti prakṛityâ'khyâtapadavikaraṇâ uktâs teshâm iha punar-

¹⁾ aber Vs. 18, 50 hat nicht nâkaḥ, sondern nâ'rkaḥ, und Çat. 9, 4, 2, 19. 20 liest daher: °yati svar nâ'rkaḥ. ²⁾ Ms. yedevódéty.

³⁾ dies hat mit sūtra 21 nichts zu thun, sondern erscheint als eine nachträgliche Bemerkung zu 15.

⁴⁾ diese Brâhmaṇa-Stelle ist mir nicht zur Hand.

⁵⁾ Ms. akhyâtam. ⁶⁾ Die Beispiele nimmt der schol. indessen doch fast ausschließlich aus dem Brâhmaṇa! auch hat der Text in der That wohl in einigen Regeln nur dieses im Auge.

⁷⁾ Ms. padasyânu°. (Vgl. Vs. Prât. 6, 1. 2, 17).

vacanam anarthakam | atrocitate | tatrâ'bhibitebhyo 'dhikâ
 vaktavyâḥ | te yadi çuddhâ abhidhîyerañs tadâ'bhibhitânâm
 parisamkhyânam âçañkyeta | atas taddoshaparijîrshur âcâ-
 ryo 'bhibhitânabhibhitânâm jñâpakam granthapraṇayanam ka-
 roti sma ||

arthâdih || 2 ||

arthâdâv âkhyâtapadam vikriyate¹⁾ | bhavâty ātmanā parâ
 'syâ dvishân bhrâṭṛivyaḥ 8, 4, 4, 3 | santy éva ghrîtâstókâ
 ivâ tvât 1, 6, 3, 5 | syâd dhaiva prâyaçcittih 5, 5, 4, 9 ||

pâdâdih || 3 ||

pâdasyâdih pâdâ 'dih | pâ'adâv âkhyâtapadam vikriyate |
 manó, dadâtú daivyo janâḥ 3, 55 | tánûbbih, agánmahî ma-
 násâ sam çivenâ 2, 24 | anú, yojâ nv indrá té harî 3, 52 |

hi || 4 ||

hiçabdâc ca param âkhyâtam vikriyate | âpó hí shthâ má-
 yóbbhuvâḥ 11, 50 | vi him iddhó akhyât 6, 7, 3, 2 | çiró hi prá-
 thámam jâyámânasyâ jâyáté. 10, 1, 2, 5 || pûrvam apiti vak-
 tavyam | indâvo vâm uçantí hi 7, 8 ||

hanta || 5 ||

hantety etasmâd api param âkhyâtapadam vikriyate | hantâ
 té nayâ Kâtyâyányâ 'ntâm kâravāñīti 14, 5, 4, 1 | hantâ 'sy-
 êndriyam vîryam sómâpītham ânâdyam harāñīti 12, 7, 1, 10 ||

net || 6 ||

ned ity asmâc ca param âkhyâtam vikriyate | ned âtiréçayâ-
 nīti²⁾ | nét tvad ápácétayātai 2, 17 ||

kuvit || 7 ||

kuvid ity etasmâc ca param âkhyâtam vikriyate | kúvin
 mé pútrâm avâdhīd iti 1, 6, 3, 6 | kúvin me 'núpâhūtâḥ
 somâm abâbhâkshâd iti 1, 6, 3, 8 ||

¹⁾ Ms. vikriyate.

²⁾ Diese Stelle ist mir nicht zur Hand.

aha || 8 ||

ahety etasmāc ca param ākhyātaṃ vikriyate | nakshātrām
ahā'syā bhavāti¹⁾ | annām ahaitāsyā 'bhāvāt 6, 6, 3, 11 | annām
ahaitāsyā bhavāti 6, 6, 3, 11 ||

samuccaye || 9 ||

samuccaya ākhyātaṃ vikriyate | çarmā cá sthó varmā cá
sthāḥ 11, 30 | sūkshṃā cā'si çivā cā'si 1, 27 ||

āmantritaṃ sasvaram²⁾ || 10 ||

saha svareṇa vartata iti sasvaram | āmantritaṃ ca tat sa-
svaram cā'mantritasasvaram | ādyudāttam iti arthaḥ |
āmantritasasvarāt param ākhyātaṃ vikriyate | maghāvan
vāndishīmāhi 3, 52³⁾ | agnē yúkshvā hí 13, 36 | agnē bha-
rāntú cītibhīḥ 12, 31 ||

jijñāsitam || 11 ||

jñātum ishṭam jijñāsitam | jijñāsitam ākhyātaṃ vikriyate |
kātham⁴⁾ asyāitāt karmā sāmvaśāram āgnim āpnoti 6, 2, 2,
31 | kātham asyaishā vaśór dhārā máhad úktham āpnoti 9,
3, 3, 19 ||

vicāritam || 12 ||

vicāritam ākhyātaṃ vikriyate | yajéd⁵⁾ ājyābhāgau nās iti
11, 7, 4, 2 | ádhaḥ svid āśīśd úpari svid āśīśt 33, 74⁶⁾ |
yajétās na yájétās iti 11, 1, 5, 4 ||

avadhāritaṃ ca || 13 ||

avadhāritaṃ ākhyātaṃ vikriyate | avadhāraṇārtham avadhā-

¹⁾ diese Stelle ist mir nicht zur Hand. ²⁾ nach dem schol. erwartet man āmantritasasvaram, oder gar °sasvarāt param.

³⁾ aber Vs. liest mit Recht vandishīmāhi als paroxytonon: ebenso Çat. 2, 6, 1, 38 (und R. I, 82, 3).

⁴⁾ s. 24. In beiden hier angeführten Fällen folgt noch eine zweite Frage mit katham: es liegt somit Regel 9 vor (:in einfachen Sätzen mit katham ist das Verbum stets tonlos): — asya ist im Brāhm. beide Male enklitisch, tonlos.

⁵⁾ für dies erste und das letzte Beispiel reicht bereits Regel 2 aus. — s. 26.

⁶⁾ wo aber das erste āśit nur wegen des pluta als oxytonon betont (! auch im Rik 10, 129, 5 beide Male unbetont).

ritam | yajéd¹⁾ ity ābhūḥ 11, 7, 4, 2 | yajétā¹⁾ hāivā 11, 1, 5, 4 ||
yadyogaḥ || 14 ||

yadā yogo yadyogaḥ | yogaçabdaḥ sambandhamātravacanaḥ |
sa ca vibhaktyanto ðataradātamādipratayāntaḥ ca drash-
ṭavyaḥ | yadyogād ākhyātaṃ vikriyate | viçvā yād ajāyāḥ
sprīdhāḥ 19, 71 | yó 'smān dveshṭi yaṃ cá váyāṃ dvishmāḥ
1, 25 | yatrā niyudbhīḥ sacāsē çivābhīḥ 13, 15 | yátārā nau
davīyāḥ párápaçyāt²⁾ 3, 6, 2, 3 | yátáro vai samyátáyóḥ
párājayáté 1, 5, 3, 6 | yátaráṃ vai samyátáyór mitraṃ
āgacchāti sa jāyāti 1, 5, 3, 17 | yátārathā kāmāyétā 1, 7, 3,
17 | yátāmathā kāmāyétā 2, 1, 4, 27 | yādriçād vai jāyáté
7, 4, 1, 1 ||

viniyogaḥ || 15 ||

viniyoge yad ākhyātaṃ tad vikriyate | sa ca viniyogo drash-
ṭavyo yaç ca mantrādau devatāpade vā bhavati, tadabhāve
kvacit | sá vā indrāgnībhyām úpādadhāti, viçvakārmaṇā
sādāyāti 8, 3, 1, 4 | tūshṇīm dārbhāstāmbam úpādadhāti,
yajúshā 'bhi júbóti 7, 2, 4, 29 | tūshṇīm údacāmāsān nīnayāti,
yajúshā vāpāti 7, 2, 4, 29 ||

vākyaçeshaḥ || 16 ||

vākyaçeshas tu yasminn upalabhyate tac cā 'khyātaṃ vikri-
yate³⁾ | athā prātar āgnéyaḥ púrodāçó bhavāty, aindraṃ
sāmnāyyām 2, 4, 4, 8 | dvāv⁴⁾ uttārāsyām vedyām pádau
bhavátó, dvaú dakshināsyām 12, 8, 3, 6 | citó gārhapátyó
bhavāty, acitā āhāvānīyāḥ⁵⁾ 7, 2, 1, 15 ||

anubandha iti || 17 ||

anubandhyate⁶⁾ 'nenety anubandhaḥ | ākhyātārthasya yaḥ
çabdo nityatām bravīti so 'nubandhaḥ | tasmāc ca param

¹⁾ für beide Beispiele reicht bereits Regel 2 aus.

²⁾ Ms. °paçyét.

³⁾ Ms. vikriyate.

⁴⁾ das Br. hat dvā, s. Vs. Prāt. 4, 124 (diese Stud. 4, 252).

⁵⁾ Ms. āvanīyaḥ.

⁶⁾ Ms. anubandhyate.

ākhyātam vikriyate | çvaḥ-çvāḥ çreyān bhavāti 4, 3, 4, 33¹⁾ ||
itikaraṇam ākhyātādhikārasamāptiyartham | yatra-yatra sam-
āmnāya ākhyātavikāro dṛiçyate, tatra-tatra tathaiva prati-
pattavyaḥ samānasamskārāt | imam me varuṇa çrudhī ha-
vam 21, 1 ||

eta ā shoḍaçaāksharāt padam kurvanti || 18 ||
ete hyādaya ā shoḍaçaād aksharāt padam ākhyātam
kurvanti | ā shoḍaçaād ity abhividhir maryādā vā | sa cai-
kasmād ārabhyā "shoḍaçaād aksharāt | yathālābham udāha-
raṇāni | hantā 'syendriyaṃ vīryaṃ sōmāpītham ānnādyāṃ
harāñīti 12, 7, 1, 10 | sā yo haivam etaṃ samvātsāram ādhy-
ātmam pratīshṭhitam vedā²⁾ | ned ātirēcaṇāñīti³⁾ | nēt tvad
āpācētayātāi 2, 17 ||

ā pañcaviṇṇād⁴⁾ iti Bhāradvājaḥ || 19 ||
hyādaya ā pañcaviṇṇāt padam vikurvanti ākhyātam iti⁴⁾
Bhāradvāja ācārya bravīti | yēnā naḥ pūrve pitāraḥ padaññā
ārcanto āngiraso gā āvandan 34, 17 | yān nirṇijā rēkṇasā
prāvṛitasya rātīm gṛibhītām mukhatō nāyanti 25, 25 ||

ā dvātriṇṇād⁵⁾ ity Aupaçivih⁶⁾ || 20 ||
hyādaya⁷⁾ ā dvātriṇṇād aksharāt padam kurvanti ākhyā-
tam ity Aupaçivir⁸⁾ ācārya bravīti | sā yo haivam etaṃ
sāptādācam prājāpātīm ādhidaivātam cā 'dhyātmaṃ cā pra-
tīshṭhitam vedā 12, 3, 3, 4 ||

āmaryādāsthayoh padayor bahūnām pūrvapa-
dam vikriyate || 21 ||
maryādā tridhā shoḍaçaāksharā pañcaviṇṇatyaksharā dvā-
triṇṇadakhareti | tatra shoḍaçaāksharā pradhānāpratihatā

¹⁾ die Editio hat hier bhavati ohne Ton, weil die beiden hiesigen Mss. (Chambers 5. 39) so lesen

²⁾ diese Stellen sind mir nicht zur Hand. ³⁾ Ms. pañcaviṇṇād.

⁴⁾ Ms. om. iti. ⁵⁾ Ms. dvātriṇṇād.

⁶⁾ zu Aupaçivi s. diese Stud. 3, 160. 4, 73. ⁷⁾ Ms. ādayaḥ

⁸⁾ Ms. aupaçivir. ⁹⁾ vikriyate.

pañcaviṇṇatyaksharāyām¹⁾ dvātriṇṇadakharāyām pakshe
vikriyate²⁾ | pākshikatvād aparipūrṇe itare maryāde | īshad-
ārtha³⁾ ān prayuktaḥ | īshanmaryādā "maryādā | āmaryā-
dāyām tishṭhata ity āmaryādāsthe | āmaryādāsthayor
ākhyātapadayoḥ | pañcaviṇṇatyaksharādvātriṇṇadakh-
rāntarbhūtayor⁴⁾ ity arthaḥ | pūrvam ākhyātapadam vi-
kriyate⁵⁾ | bahūnām cā "maryādāsthānām ākhyātānām
pūrvam ākhyātam vikriyate hyādiyoge sati || dvayor udā-
haraṇam | sā yat sāyām astāmīte jūhoty āgnāv evaibhyā
ētāt pravīshṭēbhyō jūhōti 2, 3, 1, 9 | sā yat sāyām astāmīte
jūhoty āsyā rasāsyā jīvanāsyā devēbhyō jūhāvāñīti 2, 3, 1,
11 || bahūnām udāharaṇam | sā yat sāyām astāmīte jūhoti
garbhām evāitāt santām ābhījūhoti garbhām santām ābhi-
kārōti 2, 3, 1, 4 | athā yat prātār anūdīte jūhoti prajānāyāty
evāinām ētat sō'yām tejō bhūtvā vibhrājāmānā udēti 2, 3, 1, 5 ||

sarvāñīty Aupaçivih || 22 ||

sarvāny āmaryādāsthitāny ākhyātapadāni hyādiyoge vikri-
yanta⁶⁾ ity Aupaçivir ācārya āha | yasmīn ardhē yajāntē
teshām vā unnetōttāmō dīkshatē prāthamō 'vābhṛithād udā-
yātām udaiti 12, 1, 1, 10. 11 | ye devāsō divy ekādāçā stha
prīthivyām ādhy ekādāçā sthā | āpsūkshītō māhīnāikādāçā
sthā te devāsō yājñam imam jūshādhvām 7, 19 ||

viniyoge tu pūrvapadam || 23 ||

viniyoge tu pūrvapadam vikriyate na dvitīyam | tūshṇīm
dārbhāstāmbam upādadhāti, yajūshā 'bhījūhōti 7, 2, 4, 29 |
tūshṇīm udācāmāsān nīnāyātī yajūshā vāpātī 7, 2, 4, 29 |
sā vā indrāgnibhyām upādadhāti viçvakārmāṇā sādāyātī 8,
3, 1, 9 | tuçabdo viniyogāvadhāraṇārthāya | viniyoge tu pūrvap-
adam eva vikriyate⁷⁾ ||

¹⁾ Ms. pañcaviṇṇād. ²⁾ Ms. vikriyate. ³⁾ Ms. īshadārtha.

⁴⁾ Ms. rāntabhū. ⁵⁾ Ms. vikriyate. ⁶⁾ Ms. vikriyante.

⁷⁾ Ms. pūrvapadam c vikriyate.

jijñâsitayoç ca || 24 ||
jijñâsitayoç ca pûrvapadam vikriyate¹⁾ | kâtham asyaitât²⁾
karmâ samvâtsâram âgnim âpnoti kâtham samvâtsârenâ'gninâ
sampâdyâté 6, 2, 2, 31 ||

anantarhitayoç ca || 25 ||
anantarhitam bhinnajâtiyair avyavahitam ity arthaḥ | anan-
tarhitayoç ca pûrvapadam vikriyate | puruṣham há nârâ-
yânam prâjâpâtir úvácâ yajâsvâ-yâjâsveti 12, 3, 4, 1 | athâ
yajâ-yâjety évottârân âhá 1, 5, 3, 8 ||

vicâritasamuccayayoç ca || 26 ||
vicâritadvaye samuccayadvaye ca pûrvam âkhyâtapadam
vikriyate nottaram || vicârita udâharaṇam | yajéd âjyâbhâ-
gaú nâs iti 11, 7, 4, 2 | yajétâs na yâjétâs iti 11, 1, 5, 4 ||
samuccaya udâharaṇam || çarmâ cá sthó varmâ cá sthâ
iti 6, 4, 1, 10 | sūkshamá cá 'sî çivâ cá 'sî 1, 27 ||

na nirvacane 'nûbandho vâkyaçesho 'vadhya-
rthaç cá'vadhâraṇo na vikuruta iti Bhârad-
vâjaḥ || 27 ||
nirvacanam nâmâ'rthasyâ'nvâkhyânam vidhirûpeṇa vâ'nu-
vâdarûpeṇa vâ pûrvasyâ'nvâkhyânam | anubadhyata ity
anubandhaḥ | punaḥpunar âvartanam ity arthaḥ | anye-
shâm api dṛiçyata iti dîrghatvam | nirvacane 'nû-
bandho vâkyaçesho yasmin vidyate tad âkhyâtam na
vikuruta iti Bhâradvâja âha | çráddhâyâ vai dévâ
dīkshâm nirámimâtâ'dityai prâyâñiyám 12, 1, 2, 1 | ity agré
krīshâty âtheti 7, 2, 2, 12 || Bhâradvâjavacanâd vikurute vâ |
bâstâjine puṣṭikâmâm âbhishîncet kṛiṣṇâjine brâhmâvar-
câsakâmâm úbhayór úbhayâkâmâm 9, 3, 4, 14 | pañca prá-
yâjâ bhavânti trayó 'nuyâjâ ekâm sámishṭâyâjúḥ puṣṭi-
mântâv âjyâbhâgâu 11, 4, 3, 19 || avadhira ity karmani kaç-

¹⁾ Ms. vikriyate. ²⁾ In den Mss. des Çat. Br. ist asya unbezeich-
net, also tonlos: es müſte somit oben zweimal als udâta bezeichnet sein.

cit kâlaviçesha upâdiyate | tatra¹⁾ karmano yad avadhâ-
raṇaḥ so 'vadhya'rtho 'vadhâraṇaḥ | tasminn avadhâ-
raṇe yad âkhyâtam tan na vikriyate | iti-karaṇâd Bhâ-
radvâja âha | tad yathâ | évam évâ mâdhyândiné savâne
'grihîtâ evaitasmâd âcchâvâkâyôttâmó grahó bhávâty athâ
trîtiyâm vâsâtívarîṇâm avânayâti 4, 2, 3, 5 || vâkyaçeshaḥ
2, 16 iti vikâre prâpta idam ârabhyate ||

bhûyovâdî varîyovâdî kanîyovâdî vâ'navadhâ-
raṇâḥ || 28 ||

bhûyo bahutaram ity arthaḥ | bhûyo vadatîti bhûyovâdî |
varîyo gurutaram ity arthaḥ | varîyo vadatîti varîyovâdî |
kanîyo 'lpataram ity arthaḥ | kanîyo vadatîti²⁾ kanîyo-
vâdî | ete vâ anavadhâraṇâḥ | na avadhâraṇâḥ anavadhâ-
raṇâḥ³⁾ | bhûyovâdî yaḥ çabdâs tasmâc ca parasya vikâro
nâ'vadhâryate | vikâro na bhavatîty arthaḥ | evam varîyo-
vâdikanîyovâdinoḥ⁴⁾ | tasyâ bhûyó-bhûyâ évâ tejó bhávâtî
2, 2, 2, 19 | páraḥ-pará évâ varîyâs tapó bhávâtî 3, 4, 4, 27
tasyâ kanîyâḥ-kânîyâ évâ tejó bhávâtî 2, 2, 2, 19⁵⁾ | neti
vartamâne 'navadhâraṇagrahaṇam anityârtham | naikânti-
kenâ'vikâro 'vadhâryate kadâcid vikriyate 'pi | Mâdhyan-
dinânâṃ ca santi bahûny udâharaṇâni | tasyâ bhûyó-bhûyâ
évâ tejó bhávâtî⁶⁾ | tasyâ kanîyâḥ-kânîyâ évâ tejó bhávâtî |
anubandhaḥ 2, 17 iti prâpta idam ârabhyate | anavadhâra-
ṇam kim | anyatrâ'pi yatra vikâro dṛiçyate tatra vikâro
nâ'vadhâryate | évam hainâm⁷⁾ sâ uddîpâyâtî 2, 2, 2, 19 |
évam haivam çriyâ yaçâsâ bhávâtî⁸⁾ | évam hainâm sa
jâsâyâtî 2, 2, 2, 19 | évam⁹⁾ haivam kîrtyâ yaçâsâ çriyâ

¹⁾ Ms. taya. ²⁾ Ms. vadatî. ³⁾ Ms. ete na avadhâraṇâ | na
avadhâraṇâ anavadhâraṇâ | ⁴⁾ Ms. vâdikanîyo.

⁵⁾ wohl in der Kânva-Schule? ⁶⁾ so die Editio (2, 2, 2, 19) beide Male.
⁷⁾ Ms. haivam. ⁸⁾ Diese Stelle ist wohl durch Deuterologie aus
dem Folgenden entstanden. ⁹⁾ die folgenden beiden Stellen sind mir nicht
zur Hand: sind es etwa Kânva-Varianten zu 2, 2, 2, 19? oder zu 9, 5, 2, 12. 13?

çvaḥ-çvāḥ çreyān bhāvātī | évaṃ haivaṃ kīrtiyā yaçāsā
(çriyā) çvaḥ-çvāḥ pāpīyān bhāvātī ||

parisamāptyarthaç câ 'nyatamo hyādīnām
vikaroti || 29 ||

hyādīnām vikaranānām anyatama ekatamo yena sākaṃ
sambadhyate tad evā "khyātaṃ vikaroti | anyāny ākhyā-
tāni¹⁾ samīpsthānāni na vikaroti | tasmīn evā "khyāte pari-
samāptyarthatvāt | kiṃ hī haréd yaḍ āntarikshām hārāmī
divāṃ hārāmīti harét 1, 2, 4, 14

yamapadayoḥ svarādyor alpasvarataram pra-
kṛityā || 30 ||

dviruktam padaṃ yamapadam | svara ādir anayos te ime
svarādīnī pade | alpatarāḥ svarā yasmin dṛiçyante tad alpa-
svarataram | tayor yamapadayoḥ svarādyor²⁾ alpasva-
rataram prakṛityā tishṭhati | tād ekaikāyevēmānī lókān
sprīṇūtē 1, 3, 5, 15³⁾ | taragrahaṇaṃ svareshu tulyasaṅkhye-
shv api mātrātrekād uttaram pūrvasyā 'dhikam ity arthaḥ |
mātrāhīnam api pūrvam prakṛityā bhavati | tasmād ekaikām
évā 'nāvānām anū brūyāt 1, 3, 5, 15 ||

svarādyasvarādyoç ca samamātrayoḥ pūrvam
iti Bhāradvājaḥ || 31 ||

svara ādir anayos te ime svarādīnī⁴⁾ | asvara ādir anayos
te ime asvarādīnī⁵⁾ | tayor svarādyoç ca yamapadayor
asvarādyoç ca yamapadayoḥ samamātrayos tulyamātrayoḥ
pūrvapadam prakṛityā bhavatīti Bhāradvāja āha | tad yathā |
svarādyoḥ | upōpēn nū māghāvān 3, 34 | asvarādyoḥ | prá-
prā 'yām agniḥ 12, 34 | saṃ-sām id yúvāsē 15, 30 ||

yathārthaṃ caturvidhapadam viparyastam || 32 ||

¹⁾ Ms. anyākhyā°.

²⁾ man erwartet svarādīnor.

³⁾ der Mādhy.-Text liest aber: lokānt samtanoty ekaika-
yēmānī lokānt sprīṇute.

⁴⁾ Ms. svarādī.

⁵⁾ Ms. asvarādī.

catusprakāraṃ caturvidhapadam nāmākhyātopasarga-
nipātākhyam catusprakāraṃ samyak prakārato vyākhyā-
taṃ tad brāhmaṇe svarato viparyastam bhavatīti vedi-
tavyam | sa ca viparyāso vyākhyātaḥ pūrvatra bhāshike |
udāttam etat 1, 13 svaritānudāttau ca 1, 14 udāttam an-
udāttam anantyaṃ¹⁾ 1, 15 antyaṃ saṃhatānām²⁾ 1, 16 bhā-
shike cobhayeshām 1, 17 iti ||

akārekārokārarkāralkārā³⁾ avarṇadhāraṇāḥ⁴⁾ || avarṇa-
sya dhāraṇā avarṇadhāraṇāḥ | asti padam mātrākālam dvi-
mātrākālam trimātrākālam iti | akārādayaḥ pañca varṇā
asṭādaçadhā bhidyanta ity arthaḥ | yat tv Āpiçalinok-
tam⁵⁾ „rivarṇaḥvarṇayor dīrghā na santī“-ti tad iha na⁶⁾
vidyata rikārādigrāhaṇāt || saṃdhyaksharāṇām dvādaça bhe-
dāḥ⁴⁾ | saṃdhyaksharāṇām hrasvā na santīty etad api jñā-
pitam bhavati ||

çatapathavat Tāṇḍi-Bhāllavinām⁷⁾ brāhma-
ṇasvaraḥ || 33 ||

çatapathasyeva çatapathavat | Tāṇḍino⁸⁾ Bhāllavinaç ca
Tāṇḍi-Bhāllavinaḥ | teshām çatapathavad brāhmaṇasvaro
bhavati | sa ca vyākhyātaḥ ||

sapta sāmnam shadjarshabhaçandhāramadhya-
mapañcamadhaivataniḥādāḥ || 34 ||

¹⁾ Ms. anityam. ²⁾ Ms. °hitānām. ³⁾ Ms. °ekārarkārā°.

⁴⁾ ist dies nicht ein sūtram? (s. oben p. 405). — Zu der Festhaltung
des a als Norm für die anderen Vokale s. Vs. Prāt. 1, 55., diese Stud. 4,
115. 119. 5, 92. ⁵⁾ Ms. apiçilinoktam.

⁶⁾ s. Vs. Prāt. 1, 65. 69. Whitney zu Ath. Prāt. 1, 39. Daß Āpi-
çali auch den langen ri-Vocal in Abrede stellte, ist höchst interessant. Im
Taitt. werden die Gen. Plur. von Wörtern auf ri meist mit kurzem ri ge-
schrieben, aber im Accus. Plur. hat das ri auch da seine sichere Stelle, s.
z. B. pitṛin Ts. 1, 8, 5, 2.

⁷⁾ Das Brāhmaṇam der Tāṇḍin, das Pañcaviṅçam nämlich, wird in
den jetzigen Ms. gar nicht mehr accentuirt (ebenso das Shaḍviṅçam). Aber
auch der schol. zu Pushpas. 8, 8, 29 berichtet von ihnen, wie von den im Texte
dasselbst genannten Kālabavin und Çātyāyanin, daß ihre Brāhmaṇa accentuirt
gewesen seien, resp. ihr „pravacanavihitāḥ svaraḥ“ svādhyāye d. i. ūha-
gāne verwendet worden sei (diese Stud. 1, 47). ⁸⁾ Ms. tāṇḍavino.

hadjâdayah sapta svarâh sâmnâm¹⁾ bhavanti | teshâm
yonayah | teshâm shadjâdnâm yonayah sthânâni bhavanti
kañhât shadjah | çirasa rishabhah | nâsikâyâm gân-
dhârah | uraso madhyamah | urasah çirasa²⁾ kañhât
pañcamah | dhaivato lalâtât | nishâdah sarvata iti |
itikaraṇam adhikâryopasaṃgrahârtham³⁾ | yad apy adhikam
asti lakshanaṃ tac châkhântarebhyo 'vagantavyam ||

mantrasvaravad brâhmaṇasvaraç Carakâ-
ṇâm⁴⁾ || 35 ||

mantrasvareṇa tulyo mantrasvaravat | mantrasvaravad brâh-
maṇasvaro bhavati Carakâṇâm | mantrasvaratulyo bhava-
tity arthah ||

teshâm Khândikîyaukhîyânâm câtuṣvaryam
api kvacit || 36 ||

teshâm eva Carakâṇâm ye Khândikîyâ⁵⁾ Aukhîyâç ca
teshâm câtuṣvaryam api bhavati⁶⁾ | kvacidgrahaṇât
traisvaryam api bhavati ||

tâno 'nyeshâm brâhmaṇasvarah || 37 ||

anyeshâm çâkhinâm yeshâm dṛiçyate teshâm brâhmaṇa-
svaras tâna eva bhavati | ekaçrutir ity arthah ||

tâna evâ 'ṅgopâṅgânâm, tâna evâ 'ṅgopâṅgân-
âm iti || 38 ||

çikshâ kalpo vyâkaraṇam niruktaṃ chando jyotisham iti
shaḍ aṅgâni | pratipadam anupadam chandobhâshâ dharmo
mîmâṃsâ nyâyas tarka ity upâṅgâni⁷⁾ | eteshâm aṅgânâm

¹⁾ nämlich in der Saṃhitâ, resp. den Gâna: vgl. diese Stud. 4, 139.
8, 260. ²⁾ Ms. sirasaḥ.

³⁾ dies läßt darauf schließen, daß ein iti im Texte gestanden hat
somit ein Theil des vorhergehenden scholion, wohl schon teshâm yonayah,
zum Texte gehört.

⁴⁾ das Taitt. Br. wird in der That in der Weise der Saṃhitâ-Texte
accentuirt; das Kâthakam ist in der hiesigen Handschrift leider ohne Accente.

⁵⁾ Ms. Khândikîyâ.

⁶⁾ über vier Accente der Taittiriyaka s. T. Prât. 2, 11 (diese Stud.
8, 264).

⁷⁾ s. diese Stud. 3, 260.

upâṅgânâm tâna eva svaro bhavati || dvirabhyâsaç ca
çâstraparisamâptyarthaḥ | itikaraṇam ceti ||

iti Mahâsvâmikṛitâ bhâshikavṛittih ||

Poona College, 12. Januar 1867.

Franz Kielhorn.

THE CONCLUDING VERSES OF THE SECOND OR VĀKYA-KĀṆḌA OF BHARTRIHARI'S VĀKYAPADĪYA.

BY Dr. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE.

It was, I believe, the late Professor Goldstücker* who first drew attention to certain verses of Bhartrihari's Vākyapadīya which are of considerable interest for the history of Sanskrit Grammar. As the London MS. made use of by him is unfortunately very incorrect, Professor Goldstücker was obliged in many cases to have recourse to conjectural readings, and it is therefore hardly strange that his translation of the passage in question should have been open to objections. By comparing the Berlin MS. of the Vākyapadīya, Professor Weber† was enabled to publish a more correct and reliable text of the same verses; in proposing, however, a translation of the latter, he, like his predecessor, laboured under the disadvantage of being destitute of the assistance of any native commentary. Two Sanskrit commentaries appear to have been accessible to Tārānātha Tarkavachaspati,‡ but in republishing the passage published by Professors Goldstücker and Weber he omitted some of Bhartrihari's verses, and mixed up the remainder with other verses that do not belong to Bhartrihari himself, but were composed by his commentator

Puṅyarāja, and occur in the résumé which that scholar has given of the contents of the second kāṇḍa of Bhartrihari's work.

As I have at last succeeded in procuring considerable portions of both Puṅyarāja's and Helārāja's commentaries, I propose to republish below the last ten verses of the second or Vākyakāṇḍa of the Vākyapadīya, together with Puṅyarāja's gloss. The latter appears to me generally so clear and intelligible as to render an English translation for Sanskrit scholars unnecessary.

I have no means of ascertaining whether Puṅyarāja and Helārāja have either of them composed separate commentaries on the whole of the Vākyapadīya: my fragments of Puṅyarāja's work refer only to the second kāṇḍa; those of Helārāja's commentary only to the third or Pada-kāṇḍa, of the Vākyapadīya. Nor have I, up to the present time, been able to learn anything regarding Puṅyarāja beyond his name and the fact that he commented on Bhartrihari's work. Helārāja was a son of Bhūtirāja, and a descendant of Lakṣmaṇa minister of the king Muktāpīḍa§ of Kāshmir; this is clear from

* See his Pāṇini, p. 237.

† See Indische Studien, vol. V. p. 169, and also Professor Stenzler's notes, ib. p. 447.

‡ See Siddhānta-Kaṇḍī, vol. II. p. 2 of the Introduction.

§ Also called Lalitāditya: see Bījatarānginī, IV. 42. 43.

the following verse which occurs towards the end of my MS. of his work:—

बुकापीड इति प्रसिद्धिगमत्काश्मीरदेशे नृपः
श्रीमन्व्यातयशा नभूव नृपतेस्तस्य प्रभावाणुगः ।
मन्त्री लक्ष्मण इन्दुदारचरितस्तस्यान्वयो भवो *
हेलाराज इमं प्रकाशमकरोच्छ्रीभूतिराजात्मजः ॥

Puṅyarāja writes as follows:—

अथ यथाभ्यास्यवतारान्नाख्यानपूर्वकं टीकाकारो महाराजप्र-
त्यन्तरचितस्य ग्रन्थस्य गुरुपूर्वकययमिधानुमाह ।

प्रायेण संक्षेपार्चान्त्यविद्यापरिग्रहात् ।

संप्राप्य वेयाकरणासंप्रदेह उस्तमुपागते ॥ १ ॥

इह पुरा गाणिनेये ऽस्मिन्नाकरणे व्या इयुराचितं लक्षपरिमा-
णवर्त्यं संघाभिधानं निबन्धनमासीत् । तत्र कालवशात्सुगुण-
रबुद्धौ न्यायकरणाभ्यासस्तमुपागतम् । तस्मान्ने शर्मिस्तत्संक्षे-
पवचस्ते जनाः । अत एवात्मो विद्याय परिग्रहः स्वीकारो येषां
ते तथा । तन्तैः संघसाध्ययनमुक्तेभ्यस्तस्यानः संघहः ॥

साधुतज्ञानोपयिक्तया धर्मसाधनतन्तैःपज्ञानोपयोगाय व्या-
करणस्यैतद्विच्छेदाय कृष्णाप्रयुक्तेनाथ भगवता पतञ्जलिना
वार्तिककथास्थानपुरःसरे महाभाष्यनिबन्धनप्रपरचितमित्यभि-
धानुमाह ।

कृते ऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।

सर्वेषां न्यायवीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने ॥२॥

गुरुणेति भाष्यकर्तुः पुराणदत्तम् । तीर्थान्यायमविज्ञेयस्ता-
द्वानि विज्ञानानीति तीर्थदर्शी । अनेन गुरुत्वनिबन्धनः प्रभावा-
निहायी भगवत उक्तः । तत्र भाष्यं न केवलं व्याकरणस्य निब-
न्धनं यावत्सर्वेषां न्यायवीजानां बोद्धव्यमिति । अत एव सर्वन्या-
यवीजैर्नृणादेव महच्छब्देन विज्ञेयं महाभाष्यमित्युच्यते लक्ष्णे ॥
अथ महत्त्वमेव विशेषणद्वारेणास्योपादायितुमाह ।

अलक्ष्यभाषे गाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात् ।

गाम्भी निष्ठापरिच्छेद इत्येति यावत् । असातन्त्रो यस्य ।
कस्मादित्यह । गाम्भीर्यादिति । गाम्भीर्यं गहनता प्रमेयबाहुल्येन
दुरवगाहत्वम् । अनियम्भीरं हि भाष्ययुपरचितं भगवता पतञ्ज-
लिनेति । न तस्याभिषेयं व्यवच्छेत्तुं केनचित्कृत इति ।
किमेवमेकान्तगहनमितं भाष्यम् । नैत्याह । उत्तान इवेत्यादि ।
उत्तानं स्पष्टम् । सौष्ठवं परिपाठी । यस्मादेतद्भाष्यं परिपाठील-
क्षणदत्र सौष्ठवादुत्तानं स्पष्टमायं यत एवं प्रतिभायतीति तदमसं-
ध्यम् । सञ्जनमानसमित्ति निसर्गसुकुमारमतिगाम्भीरं चेतदत
एव महाभाष्यमित्युच्यते इत्यर्थः । एतेन संप्रहानुसारेण भगवता
पतञ्जलिना संघसंक्षेपभूतमेव प्रायशो भाष्ययुगनिबद्धमिदि-
मुक्तं वेदिन्यम् । तदेव ब्रह्मकाण्डे कायवार्त्तविषया ये ऽमला
इत्यादिभेकेन भाष्यकारपत्रसंकेते वैवं भाष्यप्रशस्तं शास्त्रस्य
शास्त्रकर्तृत्वं टीकाकृता महानोपवर्णिता ॥

अत एवेदं महाभाष्यमकृतवृद्धयो नैव बोद्धुमलमित्याह ।

तस्मिन्मकृतवृद्धीनां नैवावास्थित निश्चयः ॥ ३ ॥

कृता व्युत्पत्त्या प्रकर्षं प्राप्ता महती बुद्धिर्येषां न तथा नृप-
वैकल्पेनाकृतवृद्धयः सन्त्यप्रज्ञा उच्यन्ते । तेषां निश्चयो निषेय-
पर्यन्तो बोधो नैवावास्थितः । न प्राण्डालमलन । न नैनास्यङ्ग-
रोस्तभभवतो वसुरातावन्त्यः कश्चिदपि भाष्याण्ययवगाहितुमल-
मित्युक्तं मवति ॥

तथा च संप्रहमेवपभूतेराचरितसंघेयामात्रवेदिसुद्ध-
पाट्यादिदमात्रावेतमाभासोक्तमित्याह ।

वैजिशौभवर्यक्षैः शुष्कतर्कानुसारिभिः ।

आर्षे विप्रविते प्रत्ये संघप्रतिकञ्चुके ॥ ४ ॥

शुष्कतर्को ऽन्यथास्वपरिमलहितः केवल एव भण्यते ।
तयेवा सुतरान्नि प्रमेयनिर्णययेति तदनुसारिणः । महाभाष्ये हि
वृष्टिविधियावादबहलमार्थं व्यवस्थितं ततथान्वेषिकीमात्रकृत्वात्तः
कर्तुं तन्निश्चिन्यादिति तर्कमात्रानुसारिभ्योस्तद्विज्ञातितम् । तर्कं
गुरुणा स्वबुद्धियात्तान्वेषितविषये । ऽव्यवस्थित एव । यदुक्तं
यन्नेवानुमितो ऽप्यर्थः कुडाङ्गैरनुमानुभिः ।
अभियुक्तनृरेणैरन्यथैवोपपाद्यत इति ॥

इत्थं च परस्परवैमत्यादागमसंयोगाच्च यथास्थितो व्याक-
रणगमः पातञ्जलिशैष्येभ्यः कालपरितासत्सदृशैः सन्त्यन्यमात्रे
पाठमात्र एव व्यवस्थितो दाक्षिणात्येष्वन्याह ।

यः पातञ्जलिशैष्येभ्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणगमः ।

काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु प्रत्यमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ॥ ५ ॥

तदेवमुत्तमकल्पः संज्ञानो व्याकरणगमः ॥

अथ कालान्तरेण चन्द्राचार्यादिभिरागमं लब्ध्वा तेन बोधा-
यभूतेन सकलानि भाष्यव्यवस्थितानि न्यायवैजानि नान्यनुसुभ्य
व्याकरणगमः पुनरपि स्फूर्तिता नीत इत्यभिधानुमाह ।

पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यवीजानुसारिभिः ।

स नीतो बहुशास्त्रवं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥६॥

पर्वतात् विद्वदकदेशवर्तिनो विद्वदकदेशादिति । तत्र ह्यपुलनले
रावणविरचितो मूलभूतव्याकरणगमस्तिष्ठति केनचित् ब्रह्मर-
क्षसानीय चन्द्राचार्यादेवसुरातगुरुप्रभृतीनां दत्त इति तैः खलु य-
थावद्व्याकरणस्य स्वरूपं तत उपलभ्य संततं च शिक्षयाणां न्या-
ख्याय बहुशास्त्रवं नीतो विस्तारं प्रापित इत्यनुभूयते ॥

अथ कदाचिद्योगिनो विचार्य तत्रभवता वसुरातगुरुणा ममा-
यमागमः संज्ञाय वात्स्यायान्प्रणीत इति स्मरचिनश्शैष्य ग्रन्थस्य
गुरुपूर्वकयमभिधानुमाह ।

न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गास्तान्प्रथमं स्वं च दर्शनम् ।

प्रणीतो गुरुणास्माकमयमागमसंप्रदेहः ॥ ७ ॥

न्यायस्य प्रतिष्ठा प्रस्थानं तस्य मार्गो न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गो ।
न्यायप्रतिष्ठितं क्वचिन्मार्गैरिति यावत् । न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गास्तान्
च दर्शनं व्याकरणसिद्धान्तलक्षणमयस्यार्थं प्रणीतः । अनेन ग-
रुणा संज्ञाय न तथा मयायमागमसंप्रदेहः प्रणीतो येन संदर्भो

* MS. पुर्वो.

भवेदपि नु सत्वध.नेनेत्युक्तं भवति । अस्माकमिति बहुवचनाद-
न्येषामपि सहाभ्याथिनां घटणसामर्थ्यं बोधितम् । मया तु तदनु-
च्छेदायाय पूर्णनिबन्धः कृत इत्यन्तर्गतो बहुमानः प्रकटितः ॥

नन्वेतावानेवायं काण्डद्वयमोक्तो व्याकरणागम इत्याशङ्क्याह ।

वर्त्मनामत्र केषांचिदस्तुमात्रमुदाहृतम् ।

काण्डे तृतीये न्यक्षे ग भविष्यति विचारणा ॥ ८ ।

अत्रास्मिन्काण्डकण्डे काण्डद्वये वा केषांचिदेव न्यायवल्मना
वस्तुमानं वीजमात्रं प्रदर्शयितव्येति तृतीये ५ स्य ग्रन्थस्य
पदकण्डे काण्डद्वयानिग्रहयन्तुने न्यक्षेणादरविशेषेण स्वसिद्धा-
न्पर.सिद्धान्तवर्तिनां विचारणां युक्तयुक्तविचारपूर्वकं निर्णीते-
भीवेत्यति । तत्रो नायमेव.वा.न्याकरणागमसंग्रह इति ॥

ननु तत्तद्व्यायप्रस्थानमार्गोभ्यानेन किं कुर्यं स्वदशनेमेव
सुनिश्चितं किं न विचार्येण इत्याह ।

प्रज्ञा विवेकं लभते भिन्नैरागमदर्शने ।

कियदा शक्यमुभितुं स्वतर्कमनुपावता ॥ ९ ॥

नानाविधैरागमदर्शनेरागम.सिद्धान्तैः ख.नु प्रज्ञा विवेकं लभते
वे.वा.र.घ.मा.प्रो.नि. । तत्रैव नि.संदिग्धं स्वसिद्धान्तमेव स्यष्टीकर्तुं
भिन्नागमदर्शनेः शक्तिर्जायते । अत्रुष्टपरकीयागमसंरूपेण प्रति-
पन्ना स्वैः प्रेक्षाभेद तेषु चतस्रानेव.नुसरता कियच्छक्यमुज्जेतु-

प्रतिविधान्तः । कदाचित्परमर्षयो योगज्जभ्रमोत्पन्नसामर्थ्याद्या-
वदर्थोत्पद्यन्तः सिद्धान्तमभिधानुक्तमिति शोभते ये त्वाहू-
क्षतः प्राच्यवदन्त्यिकाभ्यासमालिनाचि.स.पु.न.यः शास्त्रादेवातीताना-
गतव्यवहितपदायंस्वरूपं निश्चिन्तन्ति तेषां नानागमोपसेवयैवा-
नुपसीदति भगवती प्रतिभेति ॥

युक्तमेतदेव निरूपयितुमाह ।

तत्तदुत्प्रेक्षमाणानां पुराणैरागमैर्विना ।

अनुपासितवृद्धानां विद्या नातिप्रसीदति ॥ १० ॥

प्रतिष्ठापुपगतिः पूर्वैरागमैर्बहुविधैर्विनिश्चयमेव तत्तदित्यप्याय-
यमेवेत्प्रेक्षमाणानां विकल्पयतां प्रतिपत्तुं शास्त्रोपज्ञमेधा.वे.र-
हिणां प.वे.द.त.म.न्या.ना.म.भि.मान.प्र.ह.पु.त.नां तेषां भगवती विद्या
विशुद्धपत्ता प्रतिभालक्षणा न प्रसीदत्यन्यथम् । किं तर्हि । वृद्धो-
पसेवाशालि.ना.शा.म.म.नु.षां विगलित.भि.माना.ना.म.भि.जा.ता.ना.मे.वै.षां
भगवती प्रज्ञा प्रसादमुपयार्ति.ति. सिद्धम् ॥

१ The London and a Benares MS. which I have both
compared read वैजिसौभवं.

२ MS. ते खटुः.

३ MS. न्यक्षेणा. ४ MS. सपरीकर्तुं.

५ MS. तेषु. ६ MS. पश्यन्.सि.

which possessed his—the king's—grammatical
document, or, after they had received from him
the order and his MS. they established the text
of the *Mahābhāṣya*.'

None of these translations appears to me to
be tenable; for, to omit other considerations, I
do not believe that the words *हन्नादज्ञं* *तरमाचदागमं*
can convey the meaning ascribed to them by
Lassen, Böhlingk, and Weber, nor am I aw: re
that the word *आगम* is ever used in the sense of
'a grammatical document' or 'a manuscript,'
claimed for it by Prof. Goldstücker.

Left entirely to conjecture—for MS. copies
of the *Rājataranginī* do not seem to exist in
this part of India—I propose to read the above
passage

चन्द्राचार्योदिशतेऽज्ञा देशान्तराचदागमम् ।

प्रवर्तिनं महाभाष्यम् ॥

and to translate thus:

'At that time Chandrāchārya and
others brought into use the *Mahābhāṣya*, after
having received its doctrine or traditional in-
terpretation (*आगम*) from another (part of the
country).'

In support of this alteration and transla-
tion I must refer to the verse from the *Vākya-
padiya*.

परं वागमं लब्ध्वा मत्पत्नी ज्ञात्सारीभिः ।

स नीनो बहुशास्त्रं चन्द्राचार्योदिभिः पुनः ॥'

which I have reprinted in the *Indian Antiquary*,
vol. II. (Oct. 1874) p. 286. Those scholars
in India and Europe to whom MSS. of the
Rājataranginī are accessible will easily be able
to ascertain how far my conjecture may be
supported by the authority of the MSS., and
none can be more willing than myself to adopt
whatever other intelligible reading may be sug-
gested by the latter; of hasty conjectures we
have, I think, in Sanskrit enough already.

I cannot conclude this short note without
protesting against the statement, which I find
repeated over and over again, that at some time
or other the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* had been
lost, that it had to be reconstructed, &c. All we
know at present amounts to this, that for some
period of time Patanjali's great work was
not studied generally, and had consequently
ceased to be understood. We may perhaps allow
a break so far as regards its traditional inter-
pretation, but for the present we are bound to
regard the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* as given
by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about
two thousand years ago.

Deccan College, February 1875.

NOTE ON RĀJATARANGINĪ I, 176.

BY F. KIELHORN, PH. D.

चन्द्राचार्योदिशतेऽज्ञादेशं नस्माचदागमम् ।

प्रवर्तिनं महाभाष्यम् ॥

Thus the passage is read both in the Calcutta
and in the Paris edition. So far as I am aware,
all scholars who have had occasion to refer to it
(Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, II. p. 486;
Böhlingk, *Pāṇini*, vol. II. Introduction, p. xv.;
Goldstücker, *Pāṇini*, p. 238, note; Weber, *In-
dische Studien*, vol. V. p. 166) agree in con-
sidering it to be corrupt; all of them have
changed *हन्नादज्ञं* to *हन्नादज्ञं*, and in addition to
this, Professors Lassen, Böhlingk, and Weber
have substituted *नदागमे* for *नदागमम्*.

The translations which have been proposed
are the following :—

Prof. Lassen: 'Chandra and other teachers
introduced the *Mahābhāṣya*, after having
received his (viz. Abhimanyu's) orders to
fetch it.'

Profs. Böhlingk and Weber: 'The teacher
Chandra and others introduced the *Mahā-
bhāṣya*, after having received his (viz. the king
Abhimanyu's) orders to come there (or to
him).'

Prof. Goldstücker: 'After Chandra and the
other grammarians had received from him (the
king Abhimanyu) the order, they established a
text of the *Mahābhāṣya*, such as it could be
established by means of his MS. of this work
(literally: they established a *Mahābhāṣya*

REMARKS ON THE ŚIKSHĀS.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNA.

Since the publication of Professor Haug's valuable essay on the nature and value of the accents in the Veda, I have been enabled to collect from various parts of India a large number of Śikshās, some of which appear to be very little, if at all, known to Sanskrit scholars, and it was my intention to publish critical editions of such of them as seemed to deserve to be made more generally accessible. Unfortunately most of the MSS. which I have collected, even the best and oldest of them, are so incorrect that I feel inclined to postpone the task of editing any of them for the present. What I cannot but consider as wrong readings occur with such uniformity and, if I may say so, regularity in the several copies of one and the same work as to render it probable that the text has been corrupt for several centuries; and although it would no doubt be possible, by conjecture and by means of such corrections as might be suggested by a comparison of other Śikshās, to produce in many cases a readable text,* I much doubt whether the adoption of such a course would be likely to meet with the approval of careful and conscientious scholars, and whether the result would be satisfactory.

There is another reason which makes me

* An example will illustrate my meaning. My copy M of the *Māndūkī Śikshā* reads verse IV. 9 as follows:—

सुनैरन्वसु बभूव न परं योजनाङ्गुजेत् ।

न हि पाणिहता बाणी प्रयोगान्बभूवहेति ॥

A copy of the original of my MS. M was sent to Berlin, and from it Prof. Weber gave an account of the *Māndūkī Śikshā* in an appendix to his essay on the *Pratīśākhya*. Professor Weber saw that the verse as given above must be corrupt, and after consulting Professor Roth he adopted the conjectures of the latter and printed the verse as follows:—

सुनैरन्वसु भागेन न परं योजनाङ्गुजेत् ।

न हि ग्दानिहता बाणी प्रयोगान्बभूवहेति ॥

This is no doubt readable Sanskrit, but it certainly is no longer a verse of the *Māndūkī Śikshā*.

As the compound letter *व्व* in MS. M is always written *व*, the third word of the first line is really *बभूव*, a reading which is given by both my MSS. C and B, but which I at present do not understand; if I considered it right simply to admit the reading of another Śikshā, I should adopt that of the *Māndūkya-Śikshā* सुनैरन्वसु बभूव, but I cannot yet bring myself to believe that *बभूव* should in the *Māndūkī Śikshā* have been altered to *बभूवेन*.

The case is less hopeless with the second line; here C reads पाणिहता and B पाणिहतिता; which readings, to-

hesitate to publish the materials which I have collected, and one which mainly induces me to write these lines. The chief object of nearly all the Śikshās accessible to me is no other than to lay down rules for the proper recitation of the Vedas. They not only state in a general way the qualities, both bodily and mental, of which he who wishes to recite the Vedas should necessarily be possessed; they not only tell us how the reciter of the sacred texts should prepare himself for his task; but they also lay down the most minute rules for the pronunciation of certain sounds and combinations of sounds, for the musical modulation of the voice, for the right postures of the body, for the motions of the hands and fingers which must accompany and which form an essential part of the recitation, &c. These rules it may be easy enough to understand when one has seen them illustrated in practice, but I doubt whether any one who has not actually and repeatedly heard and seen the Vedas recited would be able not merely to translate, but to explain them satisfactorily. For a European scholar, aided by the bare texts or even by commentaries, to do so, appears, so far as my own experience goes, to be impossible.†

gether with that of M, point to पाणिहता; this actually does occur in the *Nisādīya-Śikshā*, and this I do adopt for the *Māndūkī Śikshā*.

† As Professor Weber (*On the Pratīśākhya*, p. 75) wishes to know whether the Śikshās lately discovered in India throw any light on the verse describing the pronunciation of the nasal sound called *ṛṅga* which occurs in the *Pāṇinīyī Śikshā*, I may venture to select his interpretation of that particular verse as an instance of how things occasionally may be misunderstood.

The verse itself is as follows:—

यथा सीराष्टिका नारी अरं (व. ब. तर्क) इत्यभिमानत ।

एवं रङ्गं विजानीयान्ति अरं इव खेददा ॥

and it was originally translated by Prof. Weber thus:—
‘Just as the women of Surāshtra address (?) with the word (?) अरं ।’

‘Just so one ought to know the *ṛṅga*, e.g. खे अरं इव ॥’
At p. 270 of vol. IV. of the *Indische Studien* a second translation is proposed, which we may omit here; but we cannot altogether disregard the third interpretation at p. 380 of vol. IX. of the same periodical, chiefly on account of the note appended to it, the sense of which is shortly this:—that both the readings अरं and तर्क in the first line give nonsense; that we have to read अरं इत्यभिमानत; that अरं is the Greek word *χαρπε*; that the Surāshtra women of old used to greet one another with the Greek word *χαρπε*;

Professor Haug has been present at the recitation of one or two Vedas, and he has in consequence been able to correct several erroneous views conceived by other scholars in Europe and America, and I have myself had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the recitation of the *Rigveda*. But this is not sufficient. What we want is an accurate, minute, and intelligible description of the manner in which the several Vedas are recited in the different parts of India, and this can only be given by native scholars. The subject is not one of very great importance, and the task by no means an easy one, but only when it has been accomplished can we hope to be able to explain all the details of the Śikshās as they ought to be explained, if it should be considered worth while to explain them at all.

Professor Haug, in the essay mentioned above, has arrived at the conclusion that the Śikshās are decidedly older than the *Pratīśākhya*s, and that the doctrines contained in the former were incorporated and further developed in the latter. Dr. Burnell (*On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 47) has adopted the same view, and, if I understand him rightly, has ascribed the Śikshās, or at any rate their doctrines, to a school of grammarians which is said to have preceded that of Pāṇini. My own investigations, and the perusal of a larger number of treatises than were accessible to Prof. Haug or Dr. Burnell, have led to the conclusion that the views expressed by both scholars require to be considerably modified before they can be accepted.

To disprove the view taken by Professor

and that finally their manner of pronouncing the final letter of this particular Greek word *χαρπε* or *χαρπε* is prescribed by the Śikshā to be the right way of pronouncing the *ṛṅga* sound of the Vedas.

Years ago, when conversing with a native friend of mine who was to have been a reciter of the *Rigveda*, I asked for his explanation of the above verse, and what I learnt from him was that the *ṛṅga* ought to be pronounced like the final sound of the word तर्कर when shouted by dairy-women in the street. Had I had any doubt as to the correctness of this explanation it would have been removed by the following passage from the commentary on the *Sarvasamhata-Śikshā* which I subsequently received from Mairat:—

सीराष्टिका इत्यत्रा की तर्किकयनार्थं यथा तर्का इति काव्य-
प्रसिद्धं भावत एवं वेदे उचि रङ्गः प्रयोजन्याः । वेद उदाहृत्य
इसंयति । ख अरं इव खेदयोति ॥ See *Rigveda* viii. 77, 3.

‡ I could quote many instances to show that I do not exaggerate, but one must suffice here. Several Śikshās

Haug that the Śikshās (i.e. all the Śikshās which are known to exist) are older than the *Pratīśākhya*s, it would suffice to state that one of the most important Śikshās, and one the value of which appears to have been considered sufficiently great to ensure for its author the title of Śikshākhāra kar'ṛṣṭv,—I mean the *Vyāsa-Śikshā*—follows the *Taittirīya-pratīśākhya* so closely as to be in many respects little less than a metrical version of the latter, and that ‘Sannaka and the rest,’ the authors of the *Pratīśākhya*s, are actually quoted in the *Yājñavalkya*, or, as it is also called, *Kātyāyana-Śikshā*.§

I might also point to passages of the *Sarvasamhata* and other Śikshās in which the *Pratīśākhya*s are likewise cited, and in which their authority over that of the Śikshās is extolled, as in the following lines:—

शिक्षा च प्रतिशाख्यं च विरुध्येते परस्परम् ।

शिक्षैव दुर्बलेयाहुः सिहस्यैव मृगी यया ॥

But it appears to me that such distinct references to the *Pratīśākhya*s are by no means required to prove the comparatively recent date of all the Śikshās that have up to the present been discovered. A perusal of the more important treatises of this branch of Sanskrit literature, and a comparison of their form and contents, have ended, so far at least as I am concerned, in the conviction that, notwithstanding the high-sounding and ancient names which most of them bear, they are modern compilations, as a rule executed with very little skill.

Had Professor Haug confined himself to state that the contents of the Śikshās may in the main be as old as those of the *Pratīśākhya*s, I

contain a verse in which the reciter is warned against seven different wrong positions of the hands or fingers:—

चतुर्भावा स्फुटी दण्डा स्वस्तिका मुष्टिरेव च ।

एते वै हस्तदोषाः स्युः परुच्छेदात् सप्तः ॥

To know the exact meaning of each of the terms contained in this verse is of course a matter of very small importance; but conjecture in a case like this would, in my opinion, be worse than useless.

§ The *Vyāsa-Śikshā* actually refers to the *Pratīśākhya*s in the following lines:—

मन्थयां वृत्तियालम्ब्यै वैवं कालाः मुनिबिलाः ।

पतिशाख्यादिभु बभ वृत्तिः सायबलम्बिता ॥

The verse from the *Yājñavalkya-Śikshā* alluded to in the above in my MSS. reads thus:—

मुने वकारे यत्वारं ज्जमति जौनकादयः ।

एवं रङ्गं विजानीयान्त्वा त्वा भीरि वन्दति ॥

See *Rigveda*, X. 146, 1.

should have felt little hesitation in agreeing with him; for there are traces in the latter to show that the principal doctrines embodied in our present *Śikshás* were not unknown at the time when the *Prātisākhya*s were composed. || But I am again obliged to differ from Professor Haug when he maintains that the teachings of the *Śikshás* have been more fully developed in the *Prātisākhya*s. On whatever point I have compared the doctrines of both classes of works, I have almost in every instance been driven to the conclusion that the teachings of the *Śikshás* are fuller and more minute than those of the *Prātisākhya*s,—that the former give much of detail which, if not unknown, has at any rate found no place in the latter. What do the *Prātisākhya*s teach us regarding the denotation of the *svaras* by means of the hands and fingers, about which the *Śikshás* have so much to say, and about which they give such minute rules? All I can find are one or two short rules in the *Vājasaneyi-prātisākhya*, which contain hardly more than ten words. Why was Professor

|| That *Śikshás* in verse were in existence when Patanjali composed his great commentary on Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas*, seems to me very probable; for the verse which he quotes when explaining the term *संवृतादि* of the *Vārttika* अकृत्युपदेशान्तिद्धमिति चत्संवृतादीनां प्रतिषेधः in the introductory *Āhuika*

मस्तं निरस्तमवित्थितं निहत-
मन्कृतं ध्यातमयो विकल्पितम् ।
संदष्टयेणीकृतमधेकं द्रुतं
विकार्यमेताः स्वरद्विभावनाः ॥

is all the appearance of being a *Śikshā*-verse, even in this particular that the first line violates the metrical rules.

¶ *Loc. cit.* p. 57, note 1. In my own copies of the *Mānḍūkī Śikshā* the optional name for *Pāṇinī* is not *Mādhya*, but *Jamaadhya*.

उभाभ्यामेव इत्याभ्या यवमध्यां विनिर्दिशेत् ।
ताभ्यामेव तु दीवोभ्यां विज्ञेया सा विधौलिका ॥

The *Sarasamantā-śikshā* has for *vatsānusriti* 'vatsānusriti', which is also found in the *Vyāsa-śikshā*.

* Instead of the term *karinā* (*loc. cit.* note 2) of the *Mānḍūkī* and *Vājasaneyi-śikshā*, other *śikshās* have *karṇu*. See, e.g., *Sarasamantā-śikshā* :—

करेण ह्ययोर्योगं कर्षिणी लहकारयोः ।
हरिणी सप्तसोऽंशं हारिता लहकारयोः ।
या तु हंसपदा नाम सा तु रेफकारयोः ॥

and *Vyāsa-śikshā* :—

स्वरभक्तिः करेण रो हो-त्रो लः कर्षिणी भवेत् ।
हरिणी सप्तसोऽंशं हारिता हारितोच्यते ॥

† A knowledge of the *Śikshās* might have rendered assistance to the editors of the *Prātisākhya*s, excellently as the latter have been edited, or it would at any rate

Haug himself the first to point out the different kinds of *vivṛitti* ¶ and of *svarabhakti* * so accurately described and classified in nearly every *Śikshā*? Is there any *Prātisākhya* which more accurately or more fully treats of the *svarita* than the *Śikshās* do, any one which tries to describe the relation of the so-called four accents to the seven musical notes in the manner in which this is done in the *Śikshās*? The *Prātisākhya*s do teach much that is not to be found in the *Śikshās*, but on no one point do they teach more on what it is the object and the business of the latter to give information. †

The *Śikshās* are manuals intended to teach the proper manner of reciting the Vedas, and inasmuch as the compiler of a manual has to adapt himself to the capacities and previous mental training of those for whom his work is designed, it is natural that the *Śikshākāra*s should have given to their teachings the simplest possible form, that they should have illustrated them by examples which even the uneducated might be supposed to be familiar with, and

have guarded them against occasional rash statements. The commentary on the *Taittirīya-Prāt.* XIX. 3 states that the word यम is synonymous with स्वरित, upon which Professor Whitney remarks: "In *yama* as a synonym of *svarita*, and meaning 'circumflex,' I cannot in the least believe." Indian, like other commentators, are not infallible, but in this instance the commentator was right, for in defining the *Prātisākhya* *svarita* the *Vyāsa-śikshā* says—

उभात्वार्थाच्च उल्वे स्यात्प्रसिद्धः संधितो यमः

The commentator is right, too, when he states that *yama* (not merely describes the nature of the *svarita*, but) is actually another term for *स्वरित*; this likewise can be proved from the *Śikshās*.

That the term धृत, by itself, is synonymous with *yama* appears from the following verse of the *Vyāsa-śikshā* :—

स्वारः शो वै मुखे ऽयुष्मच्छयौ निहतो हृदि ।
नीचोच्चरारधृतश्च विज्ञेयाः प्रमापते ॥

This passage will show that the reading of the MSS. of the *Pāṇinīya-śikshā*, v. 43, धृत च, ought not to have been altered to धृतश्च, and that the word उपात्तमध्य should have been translated by 'the ring and the middle fingers.' (*Int. Stud.* vol. IV. p. 365.) The following verses of the *Bharatīyīśikshā* called *Sarasvathīrītyabhūṣṭra*, the author of which professes to have studied the *Śikshās* of Pāṇini, Nārada, and Apisali, are evidently based on the verse of the *Pāṇinīya-śikshā* referred to in the above :—

अकृतस्य मुखामेग तर्जनीमूलसारणात् ।

उदात्तः स स्वरो नाम वेदविहितोदात्तः ॥
कनिष्ठामूलसंस्पर्शादनुदात्त इति स्थुतः ।
स्वरितो ऽनामिकामूलसंस्पर्शाद्यः स्वरो भवेत् ॥
मध्यमामूलतो विवात्मचित्तं स्वर्णनादाय ।

that as a rule they should have avoided, so far as it was possible, the strict terminology and the concise forms of the grammatical schools, even when the temptation of employing the latter was by no means a slight one. The simpler their treatises, the more homely their illustrations,—the better they would serve their purpose. For it can hardly be doubtful that in the recitation of the Vedas, as in a thousand other things, India of old did not differ greatly

from India as we find it at present, and that the ancient *Vedapāṭhikas* were as ignorant in everything except their own profession as their successors are to-day. To adduce the less strict or less technical terminology of the *Śikshās* as a proof for an antiquity higher even than that of Pāṇini, or at all to consider these treatises as the production of a school of grammarians, appears to me to be misunderstanding their nature and the purpose for which they have been composed.

REMARKS ON THE ŚIKSHĀS.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNA.

(Concluded from p. 144.)

I NOW proceed to give a short account of the Śikshā treatises which I have been able to collect up to the present. Owing to the imperfect condition of my MSS., this account will not in every case be as accurate or complete as I could wish it to be. I nevertheless venture to hope that it will not be considered entirely useless or void of interest.

1. The AMOGHĀNANDINĪ ŚIKSHĀ belongs to the *Mādhyaṅgīna Śikshā* of the *Yajurveda*. My MS. of this work contains 57 ślokas, which, so far as I can make out from the very incorrect text, treat of the pronunciation of certain letters. The treatise begins:—

प्रणम्य शिरसा स्याणुं त्रिलोकेषां त्रिलोचनम् ।
विपुरघ्नं त्रयीमूर्तिं शिष्येयं क्रियते मया ॥ १ ॥
यथानुदद्या यजुर्वेदे सोमेश्वरप्रसादतः ।
माध्यंदिनस्य ज्ञात्वायामुदाहरणसंयुता ॥ २ ॥
पाणिनीयादिशिक्षाभ्यो यत्साक्षात्प्रोपलभ्यते ।
शिष्याणामुपदेशाय तदज्ञेयं मयोच्यते ॥ ३ ॥
and it ends:—

लक्षा [लक्ष्या?] नुसारिणी श्लेषा कृता राजसनेयिनाम् ।
अभोधनन्दसंज्ञेयं पूजनीया मनीषिभिः ॥ ५७ ॥

The Library of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta possesses a work entitled *Amoghānandini Śikshā*, which contains only 17 ślokas, all of which are found in my own copy. Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra (*Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* No. I. p. 72) mentions another work which bears the same title, but contains 120 ślokas.

2. The *Āpīśālī Śikshā* treats of the classification and pronunciation (*śūlāna* and *pratyāyana*) of the letters of the alphabet. It is written in prose, but ends with three ślokas which give a *résumé* of the preceding prose portion. My MS. contains 44 lines each of about 42 aksharas.—A very large portion of this Śikshā is quoted by *Hemachandra* in the commentary on his *Sūtra tvaṣṭvānāstapayana*: स्वः

* See also Jinendrabuddhi's *Kāśikā-vicāranapanjikā* on P. I, 1, 9, where the *Āpīśālī śikshā* has likewise been made use of.—Putanjalī, in his comment on the *Vārttika śikshā* on P. I, 1, 10, appears (in the words *सुष्टं कर्णं स्वर्णानाम्* ! इह सुष्टमन्तस्थानाम् । विद्वत्सुष्टमणाम् ।

(तथा षापिः शिष्यापीते । षापिपदेशानयनपरितः यज्ञो नाम षापुरित्यादि) and its contents are given in the *Śikshāthiyāya* of the *Bharatabhāṣya* mentioned above.*

3. The ARANYA-ŚIKSHĀ treats chiefly of the peculiar accentuation of Vedic passages met with in the *Taittirīya Aranyaka*: it professes to have been based on nine other Śikshās. It begins:—

गणपतिमभिवन्वावद्यजातामयघ्नं
स्वरपदमिति वर्णोद्घोषनं (?) शीलनेन ।
क्षितिसुरगणहेतोरितदाराण्यशिक्षाः
मृतमिह नवशिक्षावारिषुद्वारामि ॥
आयुदानानि वाक्यानि चैकद्विच्युदिसंख्यया ।
विविधानि तु वृद्धानि विस्मृष्टान्यत्र कृत्स्नशः ।
उदाहृत्यन्तेऽभ्येतृणां संदेशानां निवृत्तये ॥
आदिमध्यान्तग्रहणं क्रियते यत्र तत्र तु ।
वाक्यानामिति मन्तव्यं श्रुतिस्त्वेकश्रुतिरिति ॥
भवेतामायुदात्तौ च यत्तच्छब्दौ तु सर्वतः ।
योषित्यतिमया चेभ इमे नित्यं परं न चेत् ॥
and it ends:—

इत्यं निरूप्य सकलं स्वरवर्णजालं
प्रश्नेषु पञ्चसु मुदे निगमे पट्टनाम् ।
आरण्यके यदिह किंचन न न्यरूपि (?)
तद्बुद्धिमदिरविलं स्वयमूहनीयम् ॥

This Śikshā is accompanied by an anonymous commentary. Both the text and the commentary fill in my MS. 60 pages, each of which contains 9 lines with about 35 aksharas in each line.

4. The KEŚAVA-ŚIKSHĀ belongs to the *Mādhyaṅgīna Śikshā* of the *Yajurveda*. It treats, like the *Pratijñāsūtra* 9-27, of the pronunciation of the letters *र*, *य*, *व* (to be pronounced as *र*, e.g. *दशत = दरेज्ञत*), *र* (to be pronounced as *रे*, e.g. *दशत = दरेज्ञत*), *र* (to be pronounced as *रे*, e.g. *ज्ञतवत्स = ज्ञतवत्से-ज्ञ*), Anusvāra, the doubling of consonants, the

स्वराणां च विद्वत्तम् ।) to quote a Śikshā which may have resembled the *Āpīśālī*,—unless indeed the rules given by him should have been quoted from the *Atharvaveda-pratīśikhyā* I, 29-33 (सुष्टं स्वर्णानां कर्णम् । इषत्सुष्टमन्तःस्थानाम् । उज्जगं विद्वत्तं च । स्वराणां च ।).

pronunciation of *र* (to be pronounced as *रे*, e.g. *दशत = दरेज्ञत*), and the somewhat prolonged pronunciation of short vowels. Altogether this treatise contains nine sūtras called *Mādhyaṅgīna-vedā-paribhāṣāśikshā-kāśikhyā*, which are accompanied by a full commentary and the contents of which are repeated in six *kārikās*. The following are the two first sūtras and the first *kārikā*:—

पदादौ पूर्वाहल्योर्द्विर्द्यौश्चारी, संपूर्वयोश्च च्छन्दसि
॥ १ ॥

e.g. गुणवः । यत्पतिः । संयौमि ॥

पदाद्यन्तमध्य ऋहरेफुगुयस्य यश्च ॥ २ ॥

e.g. सामान्युमिः । मद्यम् । धुर्वो ॥

पूर्वाहल्योः पदादौ च वेदे संपूर्वयोर्द्विर्द्यौः (?) ।

यस्यहरेफुगुयस्य यः पदाद्यन्तमध्येके (?) ॥ १ ॥

My MS. begins:—

नन्वा गणपति देवं परिभाषाङ्कसूत्रकम् ।

उच्यते केशवनेदं वेदाध्यायिसुखायते ॥

and it ends:—

इति माध्यंदिनीयवेदपरिभाषाङ्कसूत्राणि ॥ इति

केशवशिक्षा समाप्ता ॥

The Calcutta MS., however, which I have compared, ends as follows:—

इति माध्यंदिनीयवेदपरिभाषाङ्कसूत्राणि समाप्तानि । इति केशव-
कृतनवसूत्रव्याख्या समाप्ता ।

It thereupon repeats the nine sūtras, and concludes with the words इति कात्यायनाचार्यकृतनवसूत्राणि समाप्तानि, ascribing thereby the nine sūtras to *Kātyāyana*, and only the commentary and the six *kārikās* to *Keśava*.

5. The CHĀRĀYĀNĪYA-ŚIKSHĀ or *Chārāyaṇī Mahāśikshā*, or, as it is several times called in the body of the work, the *Chārāyaṇīyaka*, consists of 10 adhyāyas with 335 ślokas, if my calculation be correct. The expression एतन्नाम-

† Instead of एतन्नाम- Calcutta MS. which I have compared reads everywhere एतन्नाम- । I am enabled to state on the best authority that all the rules laid down in the *Keśava-śikshā* are strictly observed by the followers of the *Mādhyaṅgīna Śikshā*.

‡ Adhyāya III, 2:—

तथाः सनःकुमारः ।

स्वरे ऽक्षरमिति ज्ञाहुराचार्योः शब्दचिन्तकाः ।

सयुवायः पदं तेषां तन्तुर्था व्यवस्थितम् ॥

नेयन्त् which occurs in the second adhyāya, shows that this treatise professes to have been composed by *Chārāyaṇī*. It quotes *Vasishtha* and *Sanatkumāra*, and its contents are as follows:—

Adhyāya I, 64 ślokas: On the classification and pronunciation of the letters.

A. II, 57 śl.: On the combination of letters.

A. III, 57 śl.: On the combination of words: ends:—

संहितायां विधिः प्रोक्तः कवीनामनुक्रमया ।

पुरा सकृद्बुधैर्जुष्टः सैनिकैरिव केशवः ॥

A. IV, 28 śl.: On the study and recitation of the *Veda*.

A. V, 18 śl.: On the different *Svaritas*, &c.

A. VI, 19 śl.: On *Virāma*, the *Mitrās*, and *Vivṛttis* (containing an enumeration of metres used in classical Sanskrit: *Vasantatilaka*, *Mālinī*, *Mandākrānta*, &c.).

A. VII, 8 śl.: On the *Vṛttis* (*drutā*, &c.).

A. VIII, 46 śl.: On the *Piṅgas*, *Svara-bhakti*, and *Ranga*.

A. IX, 18 śl., and A. X, 40 śl.: On *Krama*, &c.

The MS. which I have used was procured by Dr. Bühler in *Kāshmir*; it begins:—

ओं नमो नारायणाय ।

ओं प्राक्प्रपद्ये विभुं भक्त्या सर्वलोकपितामहम् ।

शिक्षां साक्षात्प्रवक्ष्यामि तेनेवालपितामहम् ॥

चारायणीं महाशिक्षां प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुपूर्वशः ।

निबोधत बुधैर्जुष्टां नित्यं वाङ्मनशास्त्रये ॥

वर्णानां चैव संख्यानं संज्ञा स्थानं श्यक्विभम् ।

स्वराः सव्यञ्जनाश्चैव तेषां भेदमशेषतः ॥

and it ends:—

षट्पञ्चाशत्प्रथमे वै विशाङ्गोका द्वितीयके ।

तृतीये विशाङ्गोका एकेनोनाश्वतुर्यके ॥

षट्त्रिंशत्पञ्चमे प्रोक्ताः सप्त चत्वारि एव हि ।

चत्वारिंशदष्टमे वै नवमे तु त्रयोदशे ॥

नासिकाख्यामिके (!) चोमे नैपानकृमन्नरम् ।

उपसर्गश्चानिष्पत्तिः पदमेवं चतुर्विधम् ॥

नासिकं (!) सविना ग्योम वृत्तिव्यख्यातिकं स्मृतम् ।

पयुपेत्युपसर्गश्च चवाशेति निदग्धनम् ॥

नाम वायव्यभेदं वा सौम्याख्यानमिष्यते ।

अग्नेयस्तुपसर्गः स्यान्निपातो वाहणः (!) स्मृतः ॥

भारद्वाजकमाख्यातं भार्गवं नाम गौतमः ।

वासेष्ठा उपसर्गान्तु निपाताः (!) काश्यपाः स्मृताः ॥

चत्वारिंशत्तु दशमे श्लोका वै परिकीर्तताः ॥
एकत्रैव तु संख्यातं श्लोकानां तु शतत्रयम् ।
चत्वारिंशदधिकं वै (!) शास्त्रं चारायणीयकम् ॥
अमः सर इदं देयं मत्सरे न कदाचन ।
मत्सरे तु भवेदत्तं न्युप्तं बीजमिवोषरे ॥
य इदं पठते निखं यश्च वाघ्यापयेद्विजम् ।
अस्यार्यं नुष्यते यो वै ब्रह्मलोकं स गच्छति ॥
इति चारायणीयशिक्षायां दशमोऽध्यायः ॥

6. The NĀRADĪ ŚIKSHĀ has been described by Professor Haug, l. c. p. 57, and by Dr. Burnell, *Catalogue of a Collection of Sanskrit MSS.*, p. 42. It belongs to the literature of the *Sāmaveda*. It consists of two prapāthakas, each of which is divided into 8 chapters. At the end of my MS. the number of ślokas is stated to be 240, which will be found to be fairly correct when one counts the prose portions which occur in the 3rd chapter of the first prapāthaka in the way native writers do. The authorities quoted are :—Nārada, Kaśyapa, Tumburu, Somaśarman, Vāsishtā, and the old (?) Audavraji (Prāchiuau-davrajī).

I do not think that there is anything to prove the existence of two different recensions of this Śikshā. All that appears from Dr. Burnell's description of the work is that in his MS. the first chapter of the second prapāthaka is omitted. The end of the first prapāthaka shows that the second prapāthaka must commence with the verse with which Prof. Haug's and my own MS. make it commence, and which my MS. gives correctly thus :—

स्यकारं सवं वापि अक्षरं स्वरितं भवेत् ।

न चोदात्तं पुरस्तस्य जायः स्वारः स उच्यते ॥

I have not been able yet to procure a copy of Sobhākara's *Nāradyāsikshā-vivaraṇa*, although several MSS. of it seem to be in existence. That it cannot be a very modern work would appear from the fact that a *Nāradyāsikshā-vivaraṇa-tīkā* is quoted already in the *Bharatabhāshya* (p. 166 of my MS.).

7. The PĀNINIYA-ŚIKSHĀ has been edited by Professor Weber. I have procured a very modern and worthless anonymous commentary of the so-called Yajus version of this Śikshā, entitled *Śikshā-panjikā*, which commences thus :—

पातु वो निकषपावा मतिहेमः सरस्वती ।
पातेतरपरिच्छेदं वचसैव करोति या ॥ १ ॥
छन्दःकल्पनिरुक्तानि विवृतानीह सूरिभिः ।
शिक्षा लविवृता यस्मात्तस्मात्तं विवृणोप्यहम् ॥ २ ॥

Verses 6 and 15-22 the author has left unexplained; the authorities he quotes are :—Audavraji (to judge from the quotations, author of a Śikshā), Nārada (the *Nāradyā Śikshā*), Pāṇini, a *Prātisākhya*, the *Bhāṣyākāra* (Patanjali), Manu, a *Vishṅupurāṇasthasahasraṇāmbhāshya*, Vyāsa, the *Sablatkaustubha*, the *Sablenābhis-khara*, Śaunaka, Śrīdhara, and Sūryaja.

8. The BHĀRADVĀJA-ŚIKSHĀ, which belongs to the *Taittirīya-veda*, differs altogether from the Śikshās described above. It has nothing whatever to do with the classification and pronunciation of the letters, nor with the manner of reciting or accentuating the Vedic texts, but, like the *Siddhānta-śikshā*, it lays down empirical rules by which to distinguish, and to employ in their proper places, words of similar sound or form. It teaches, e.g., where to read वृजन and where वृजिन, where सुवृत्त and where सुवृत्ति, आहुत and आहुति, परच्यु and पच्यु, अकार्षम् and अकारिषम्, रथाति and रथति, विदुक् and विदुप्, रथाति and रथाति, सौम्य and सौम्य, &c. The object of this, as well as of the *Siddhānta-śikshā*, appears to be no other than to keep the text of the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* free from wrong readings.

The number of ślokas contained in this Śikshā is stated in my MS. to be 133; the text is accompanied by an anonymous commentary which together with the text fills 152 pages, each containing 8 lines of about 38 aksharas.

My MS. begins :—

ओं गणेशं प्रणिपस्याहं संदेहानां निवृत्तये ।

शिक्षामनुप्रवक्ष्यामि वेदानां मूलकारणम् ॥

श्रीगणपतिप्रतिमानस्य वेदानां मन्थनसहितानामादिकारणम् एषु पदेषु संदेहा वनेने नेण संदेहानां निवारणाय शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामीति भारद्वाजमुनिना प्रणीतम् ॥

वृजने [MS. व्रजने] ज उदात्तश्चेदकारेण सहोच्यते [MS. सहाच्यते] ।

एतदन्वय अक्षरसहितानि पदानि क्रमेण कथ्यन्ते । वृजनशब्दे [MS. व्रजनं] जकार उदात्तश्चेत् जकारोऽकारसहितं भवति । यथा । वृजन [MS. वृजिनं] दोस्ते [MS. जकार उदात्त इति किम् । वृजिनमनृतं दुश्चरितम्]

and it ends :—

यौ जानाति भरद्वाजशिक्षामर्थसम्बन्धिताम् ।
सो ब्रह्मलोकनामोनि गृहमेधी गृहं यथा ॥ १३३ ॥

9. The MĀNDŪKĪ ŚIKSHĀ has been described by Professor Haug, loc. cit. p. 55, and by Professor Weber in the appendix to his essay on the *Pratijñāsūtra*, p. 106. It forms part of the literature connected with the *Atharvaveda*. It contains 16 chapters with altogether 184 verses, and cites, besides Maṇḍūka (मण्डूकस्य मतं यथा), Kāśyapa.

10. The MĀDHYANDINĪ ŚIKSHĀ contains 25 verses. V. 1-14 lay down the same rules which are given in the *Kāśyapa-śikshā*, and the remaining verses treat of the pronunciation of Visarga and the motions of the fingers which are to accompany its pronunciation.

My MS. begins :—

अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि माध्यन्दिनमतं यथा ।
एकारस्य सकारः स्यादक [MS. दुक्] योगे तु नो भवेत् ॥ १ ॥

and it ends :—

दीर्घो (!) अपि चोषयो (!) क्षिप इति शास्त्रव्यवस्थितिः ।
इति चोष्पा प्रयोक्तव्या (!) हीहृहेहो निदर्शनम् ॥ ५ ॥

11. The YĀJNAVALKYA, or KĀTYĀYANA-ŚIKSHĀ. Of this work I possess three different MSS., of which two generally agree with each other, while the third appears to contain a somewhat different recension of the text. In the last the work is described as *Yājñavalkyoktā Śikshā*, while in the first it is called *Yājñavalkyavivachitā Bṛihaschhikshā*, and in the second, which is slightly defective, *Kātyāyana-śikshā*. Both as regards its contents and the number of ślokas, this treatise resembles the *Māndūkī* more than any other Śikshā. Yājñavalkya himself is cited at the beginning, and other authorities quoted are Somaśarman and Śaunaka and others.

The MS. of the *Yājñavalkya-Śikshā* begins :—

श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्याय नमः ॥

अथातस्त्रैस्वर्यलक्षणं व्याख्यस्यामः ।

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च स्वरितश्च तथैव च ।

लक्षणं वर्णयिष्यामि देवतं स्थानमेव च ॥

That of the *Bṛihadājñavalkya-śikshā* :—

अथातस्त्रैस्वरलक्षणं व्याख्यामः ।

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च . . . स्थानमेव च ॥

That of the *Kātyāyana-śikshā* :—

याज्ञवल्क्य उवाच । अथातस्त्रैस्वर्यलक्षणं व्याख्यास्यामः ।

उदात्तश्चानुदात्तश्च . . स्थानमेव च ॥

12. The LOMASĪ ŚIKSHĀ or *Lomaśingyā*, as it is also called in my MS., appears to belong to the *Sāmaveda*. It is said to have been composed by Gargāchārya, and it cites Tumburu (तुम्बुरस्य मतं यथा). It consists of 8 khaṇḍas with altogether about 80 verses. The incorrect state of my MS. prevents me from giving an accurate account of the contents of this treatise, but I may state that it treats in the usual fashion of the Mātrās, the doubling of consonants, Kampa, Ranga, Svarabhakti, &c. It refers distinctly to the Sīmāni, Sīmagaṣ, and Ārchika.

My MS. begins :—

ओं लोमशिन्यां प्रवक्ष्यामि गर्गाचार्येण चिन्तिताम् ।
सामिधानां यथोक्तां लाचार्यवचनं यथा ॥ १ ॥
हसं दीर्घं तथा वृद्धमभिगीतं तु सामगाः ।
मुहुर्मूढं वृद्धकुपुः सांपातोत्यानसंज्ञवत् ॥ २ ॥

and it ends :—

वृण्यगृहे पिशाचस्तु गर्जते न च दृश्यते ।
एवं यकारा वक्तव्या प्रियमिर्म्म निदर्शनम् ॥

13. The VĀSISHTHA-ŚIKSHĀ.—Of this treatise I have not been able to procure more than a few ślokas, which together with an anonymous commentary fill 7 pages each containing 8 lines with about 30 aksharas in each line, and which treat of the doubling of consonants and of Svarabhakti.

My MS. begins :—

परं [MS. स्वरं] स्वराचानुस्वाराद्व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जने परे ।
स्वरात्परं [MS. स्वरात्स्वरं] व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जने परे द्विरूपमिष्यते ।
भनुस्वाराच्च परं व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जने परे द्विरूपमिष्यते ॥

द्विरूपमिष्यते रेफात्स्वरपूर्वात्परं च तत् ॥

स्वरात्पूर्वात्स्वरात्परं च तद्व्यञ्जनं द्विरूपमिष्यते ॥

14. The VYĀSA-ŚIKSHĀ is the longest and certainly one of the most important and in several respects most interesting Śikshās which I have examined. I have stated already above that it so closely follows the *Taittirīya-prātisākhya* as to be little less than a metrical version of the latter, and I trust that my statement will be borne out by the following short description of its contents. To facilitate a comparison

with the *Taittirīya-prāśāśikhyā*, I have cited, after the several verses quoted below, the rules of the *Prāśāśikhyā* on which they appear to have been based.

The first chapter of this *Śikshā* treats of *Samjñis*, or technical terms, and begins as follows:—

श्रीवासुदेवं वरदं प्रणम्य
श्रीमद्गणेशं वचसां च देवीम् ।
शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्ये श्रुतिकारणाङ्गं
सुनोधकं लक्षणशीर्षभूषाम् ॥ १ ॥
अथ स्वरादिसंज्ञाश्च तत्प्रयोजनमेव च ।
तत्फलं च प्रवक्ष्यामि विदुषां प्रमुदे यथा ॥ २ ॥
अवर्णवर्णानुवर्णं ऋवर्णावृत्तमेच्चैतम् ।
ओदौहङ्गौ क्रमादौ तु स्वराः स्युर्व्यञ्जनान्यथ ॥ ३ ॥
(I, 5-6.)
कादिमान्ताः स्मृताः स्वर्शा अन्तस्था यदिवेत्तराः ।
जिह्वामूलादिहान्ताश्च षड्रूपाण उदीरिताः ॥ ४ ॥
(I, 7-9.)
स्वर्शानां पञ्च पञ्च स्युर्वर्गा वर्णान्तरो ऽस्य च ।
तत्प्रथमादिसंज्ञाः स्युः पञ्चमस्योत्तमः क्रमात् ॥ ५ ॥
(I, 10-11 ; 27.)
अघोषाः स्युर्विसर्गोऽपिद्वितीयप्रथमान हः ।
गजबादा दबादाश्च घोषवन्तः परे हलः ॥ ६ ॥
(I, 12-14.)
सविशेषस्तु यस्तस्य ज्ञेयं वर्णान्तरं बुधैः ।
तुल्यरूपं सवर्णं स्यात्सोपः स्यादप्यदर्शनम् ॥ ७ ॥
ऋवर्णस्य लवर्णस्य षकसंज्ञाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
अवसाने ऽन्त्यवर्णाश्च नादा इति बुधैः स्मृताः ॥ ८ ॥
आख्यानेकस्य वर्णेष्वः स्वस्य कारतोत्तरः ।
भवेदकारः कारोर्ध्वो हलां रस्वेषुगो भवेत् ॥ ९ ॥
(I, 16-21.)
अदन्तं ग्रहणं वा स्यात्संदहे संनिधि तयोः ।(I, 22, 25.)
निर्देशाः कारमुख्यान्वादिशावपिचैत्यथः ॥ १० ॥
(XXII, 4-5.)
व्येवेति निवृत्तिस्यो ऽधिकारश्चावधारकः ।
अनमान निषेधे स्युर्वेति वैभाषिको भवेत् ॥ ११ ॥
(XXII, 6-8.)
संमिश्रः स्यादथैकत्वं संनन्धः भ्रवणे द्वयोः ।
अनेकव्यञ्जनश्चिष्टः संयोगश्च प्रकीर्तितः ॥ १२ ॥

वर्णभावो विरामश्चावसानं सार्धमावकः ।
नानापदवीदिक्रमं चासंख्यनि चाद्यवधः ॥ १३ ॥
(I, 48-49.)
A large portion of this first chapter treats of *Pragrahas*, and the rules which are given on this subject agree entirely with those contained in chapter IV. of the *Taittirīya-prāśāśikhyā* : the introductory verse reads thus:—
अथ प्रग्रह एवात्त उच्यते ऽवग्रहो न चेत् ।
उकारः स्थित ओकारो ऽप्यकारव्यञ्जनोत्तरः ॥
(IV, 1-6.)

The first or *Samjñā-prakarana* is followed by several chapters which treat of the relation to each other of the Pada and *Samhitā-pāthas* and contain rules of Sandhi. These again are followed by the *Śvara-dharma-svarūpa-prakarana* and the *Svāra-samhitā-prakarana*, on the accents and particularly the different *Svaritas*; and by the *Svara-nyāsa-prakarana*, on the denotation of the accents by means of the fingers, which last chapter has nothing to correspond with it in the *Prāśāśikhyā*. The following chapters treat of the doubling of consonants, and of accents; the first of them begins:—
स्वपूर्वमियाद्विभुं व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जान्तरे ।
लपूर्वे च वपूर्वे च द्वित्वं स्वर्श उपायुयात् ॥(XIV, 1-2.)

Then follows a chapter on syllabication (*Taitt.-prāt.* XXI), called *Anga-samhitā-prakarana*, with a full description of *Svarabhakti*. This again is followed by the *Śhāna-prakarana*, corresponding with *Taitt.-prāt.* II, and this by the *Kālanirṇaya-prakarana*, on the *Mātrās*, on *अंग*, and on the three *Vṛttis*. The two following chapters, with which the treatise concludes, appear to be called *Savarṇa* (?) and *Uchchhāraṇa-prakarana*.

The *Vyāsa-śikshā* appears to me to be a work of very great importance for two reasons: firstly, because it shows to us, more clearly than this is done by any other *Śikshā*, how *Śikshās* are based on and have their origin in the *Prāśāśikhyā*; and, secondly, because, being older than the *Tribhāshyasarvata*, it cannot but be of great value for the interpretation of the *Taittirīyaprāśāśikhyā*. The text of this *Śikshā* is accompanied in my MS. by a full commentary, called *Vedutajasa*, which begins thus:—

वागीशप्रभृतिस्तुयं प्रणम्याहं गणाधिपम् ।
करोमि व्यासशिक्षाया व्याख्यानं वेदतैजसम् ॥

About the name of its author I am not certain; at the end of the first chapter we read इति श्रीवैलमीकन्यास्वरावधानिविरचिते वेदवै-
जयन्त्यादिशावपिचैत्य संशयकरं सनाद्यम्; but at the end of the whole work—

श्रीरातरंगिण (!) व्यासशिक्षाया भाष्यमुत्तमम् ।
इत्येवैकन्यास्वरावधानिना कृतम् ॥
इति श्रीवैलमीकन्यास्वरावधानिविरचिते व्यासशिक्षा-
विवरण उच्चारणप्रकरणं संपूर्णम् ॥

The commentator quotes, besides other works, the *Kālanirṇaya-śikshā*, *Āraṇya-śikshā*, *Lakshmi-kānta-śikshā*, the *Sambhā (?)-śikshā*, and *Ātreya-śikshā*. The text and commentary fill in my MS. more than 258 pages with 8 lines on each page, each line containing about 35 aksharas.

15. The *ŚIKSHĀ-SAMUCCHAYA* contains about 300 ślokas, which are divided into 24 chapters with the following titles:—*Svarabhaktiprakaraṇa*, *Dvirohthya-p.*, *Prayatna-p.*, *Nakāra-p.*, *Nakirānta-p.*, *Anusvara-p.*, *Anunāsika-p.*, *Mātrākāla-p.*, *Ekaśruti-p.*, *Varnānyatva-p.*, *Kāthaka-p.*, *Dvirukti-p.*, *Apūrva-p.*, *Svaravishaya-p.*, *Dvirukti-p. (!)*, *Yama-p.*, *Krama-p.*, *Jatā-p.*, *Ranga-p.*, *Kampa-p.*, *Svarochchhāraṇa-p.*, *Varnopatti-p.*, *Uchchhāraṇa-p.*, *Anga-p.*—The treatise cites, so far as I can see from my very incorrect MS., *Ātreya*, *Nārada*, and *Parāśara*, and its author has freely used the *Pāṇinīya-śikshā*.

16. The *SARVASAMMATA-ŚIKSHĀ* gives in 134 ślokas a very clear and intelligible résumé of what is generally taught in the *Śikshās*. It treats of the doubling of consonants, *Svarabhakti*, *Vivṛiti*, the *Vedapāthakadoshāḥ*, the *Mātrās*, *Ranga*, of syllabication, of the accents, and especially the different *Svaritas*, of the denotation of the accents by means of the fingers, of *Kampa*, &c. It begins:—

रूपालुं वरदं देवं प्रणिपत्य गजाननम् ।
द्विवादीनां प्रवक्ष्यामि लक्षणं सर्वसंमतम् ॥ १ ॥
स्वराद्विभवंवाप्रीति व्यञ्जनं व्यञ्जने परे ।
स्वर्शो लकारपूर्वो यो वपूर्वश्च द्विरुच्यते ॥ २ ॥
and ends:—
ऋषिभिर्वेदेषु मो कं वेदविद्विस्तथापि हि ।
अभ्येत्थिः समस्तैस्तु यद्वृहीतं तदीरितम् ॥ १३ ॥

The verses which describe the denotation of the accents by means of the fingers are as follows:—

गौरुणाकृतिहस्ते तु निर्दिशेदक्षिणे स्वरम् ।
निनेस्य दृष्टिं (!) हस्तापे शास्त्रार्थमनुचिन्तयन् ॥
दक्षिणे गौरुणाकृतिहस्ते हस्तापे दृष्टिं (?) निनेस्य प्रातिशास्त्र-
दिशास्त्रार्थमनुचिन्तयन्कञ्जेन स्वरं निर्दिशेत् ॥

गुरुषो हि व्रजेन्मार्तिं न नारी गुरुषु व्रजेत् ।
ययाद्गुलीषु सर्वासु नयेदगुरुषुमेव तु (!) ॥
सर्वोत्कृष्टीष्वगुरुषुमेव नयेत् । गुरुषो हीति दृष्टान्तः ॥

शिरःकर्म विहायैव स्वरन्यासो विधीयते ॥
सष्टम् । किंच
कनिष्ठानामिकामध्यातर्जनीमध्यपूर्वसु ।
नीचस्वारधृतोदात्तानुकुष्ठाद्येण निर्दिशेत् ॥

कनिष्ठानामिकामध्यातर्जनीमध्यपूर्वसु ।
प्रचयोदात्तलक्षणेण दृष्टाद्येण विनिर्दिशेत् । पञ्चान्तराम्
तर्जनीयादि कनिष्ठादि तथैवानामिकान्त्यकम् ।
मध्यमाङ्गुलिमध्यं स्यात्स्वरस्यानं विधीयते ॥
नर्जनीया आदिमं पर्वोदात्तस्य स्थानं कनिष्ठाया आदिमं पर्वो-
दात्तस्थाननामिकाया अन्त्यं पर्वं शरितस्थानं मध्यमाङ्गुलि-
मध्यमं पर्वं च प्रचयस्थानमिति विधीयत इत्यर्थः ॥

The text of this *Śikshā* is in my MS. accom-
panied by an anonymous commentary which, besides other authorities, quotes a work by the same author entitled *Śikshā-chandrikā*. The commentary begins:—

ध्यात्वा सर्वजगन्नाथं साम्बं सर्वार्थसाधकम् ।
व्याख्यायते ऽधुना शिक्षा सर्वसंमतलक्षणा ॥
and it ends:—
सर्वसंमतशिक्षापि संपदायानुसारतः ।
वासुदेवप्रसादेन व्याख्याता लक्षणं वै ॥

The text and commentary fill in my MS. 65 pages, each containing 8 lines with about 38 aksharas in each line.

17. The *SIDDHĀNTA-ŚIKSHĀ* I have mentioned already when speaking of the *Bhāradvāja-śikshā*, and I have also stated the object for which it appears to have been composed. It belongs to the *Tribhāshya-pāthā*, and is the work of *Śrinivāsa-dīkshita*. In my own MS. the end of this treatise is wanting, but according to Dr. Burnell's description the whole consists of 74 ślokas. The text of this *Śikshā* is accompanied by an anonymous commentary, according to which the author of the original had studied the nine *Śikshās* of

Bhāradvāja, Vyāsa, Pāṇini (?), Śamhhu, Kauhala, Vāsishtā, Vālmiki, Hārta, and Baudhāyana, besides the *Taittirīya-prātisākhya* with the *Tribhāshya-ratna* and other works. The commentator on his part quotes the *Bhāradvāja* and the *Sarvasamvṛta-śikshā*, the *Vaiśeṣa-vādhīlānukosa*, *Gangāsa*, &c.

The two first verses of this Śikshā, together with the commentary on the second verse, are as follows:—

संप्रणम्य सकलैककारणं

ब्रह्मसूत्रमौलिभूषणम्।

लक्षणं श्रुतिगिरां विलक्षणं

श्रीनिवासमखिना प्रणीयते ॥ १ ॥

पूर्वशिक्षाः परामर्श्यं प्रातिशाख्यं च सर्वशः।

सिद्धान्तशिक्षां वक्ष्यामि वेदभाष्यानुसारिणीम् ॥ २ ॥

भारद्वाज्यासपादि (!) शंभुकीहलनासिद्धबान्मीकिसारीनौभायनोक्तशिक्षानवरं परामर्श्यं तदनुक्तसंदेहपदानि पर्यलोच्य त्रिभाष्यरवैदिकामरणादेव्याख्यानुसृततया कुर्वन् प्रातिशाख्यं च परामर्श्यं वेदभाष्यानुसारिणीं महामास्कीयादेशोधनजन्यतया विश्वसनीयां दुष्प्राप्तपरिव्यागे निष्क्रम्यप्रवर्तन (!) हेतुभूतां च सिद्धान्तशिक्षां वक्ष्यामि । सिद्धान्तशिक्षित्वन्यसेज्ञाविज्ञानात्माचीनप्रबन्धानां पूर्वपक्षत्वं सूचितम् । न रेके वा हकारे वा श्रिभांशे जायते ऋषिदिग्दिशिशावचनानां प्रातिशाख्यवैरोधो ऽस्ति नेह तथेति भावः ॥

The Śikshās or works on Śikshā which are mentioned in the above, but copies of which I have not yet been able to procure, are—

18. The *Ātreya-śikshā*.

19. The *Anduraji-śikshā* (?).

20. The *Kālavāriṃya-śikshā*; this is probably the work quoted in the *Tribhāshyaratna*, XVIII. 1.

21. The *Kauhala-śikshā*.

22. The *Parāśara-śikshā*.

23. The *Baudhāyana-śikshā*.

24. The *Lakṣmānānta-śikshā*.

25. The *Vālmiki-śikshā*.

26. The *Śamhhu-śikshā*; I believe this to be the title of the so-called Rig-version of the *Pāṇiniya-śikshā*. § The lines quoted in the commentary on the *Vyāsa-śikshā* from the *Śamhhu-śikshā* are—

मनः कायापिमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मारुतम् ।

मारुतस्त्वृत्ति चरन्मन्दं जनयति स्वरम् ॥

§ See the expression शम्भुमते in v. 3 of the Rig-version of the *Pā.* §, and compare with it expressions such as

27. The *Śikshā-chandrikā*.

28. The *Hārta-śikshā*.

Dr. Burnell (*On the Aindra Grammar*, p. 46) enumerates besides—

29. The *Kaśīki Śikshā*.

30. The *Gautami Śikshā*.

From the above short description of the Śikshā-treatises which I have collected, it will appear that the term Śikshā, or, as it is occasionally spelt in MSS. from the south of India, Śikshā, is applicable to any work which treats of the classification and pronunciation of letters, and that in particular it denotes such works as profess to teach the correct pronunciation and recitation of the Vedic texts; lastly, the term Śikshā has been applied, as it would seem to me, somewhat improperly, also to works composed for the purpose of keeping the Vedic texts free from incorrect readings. The 17 works described above may be classified thus:—

A. Works which teach the classification and pronunciation of letters without special reference to the Vedic texts:—The *Āpisali Śikshā*.

B. 1. Works which profess to lay down all the rules to be observed in the pronunciation and recitation of the Vedic texts,

(a) Without, so far as I can judge, reference to any particular Veda:—The *Chārāyanīya*, *Pāṇiniya*, *Māṇḍūkī*, *Yājñavalkya*, and *Vāsishtā* (?) *Śikshās*.

(b) With particular reference to the *Taittirīya Veda*:—The *Vyāsa-śikshā*.

(c) With particular reference to the *Sāmaveda*:—The *Nārudī* and *Lomaśī Śikshās*.

(d) Professedly compilations:—*Śikshāsamucchaya* and *Sarvasammata-śikshā*.

B. 2. Works which lay down particular rules to be observed in the pronunciation and recitation of Vedic texts:

(e) Works teaching the peculiar pronunciation of certain letters only, as adopted by the followers of the *Mādhyaṇḍīni Śikshā* of the *Yajurveda*:—The *Amoghānandīni* (?), *Kośava*, and *Mādhyaṇḍīni Śikshās*.

(f) Works teaching the peculiar accentuation of Vedic passages in the *Taittirīya Āraṅgika*:—The *Aranya-śikshā*.

C. Works composed with the object of keeping the Vedic texts free from wrong words:—The *Bhāradvāja* and *Siddhānta-śikshās*.

मन्दुक्त्य मते यथा । एतन्नायायणमतेत् in the *Māṇḍūkī*, *Chārāyanīya*, and other Śikshās.

Concerning the relation between the *Prātisākhya*s and such Śikshās as are enumerated under B, which may be called the Śikshās *car' d'ṣṣṣ*, my views are, shortly expressed, as follows:—

Much of what is taught in these Śikshās was taught before them in the *Prātisākhya*s, but as the latter were found to contain many rules with which the reciter of the Vedic texts had no concern, manuals—such as the *Śik-*

shās are which are known to us—had to be composed which professed to give only the rules required for the correct recitation of the Vedas, and to give them in both an intelligible and an easily remembered form; the composition of such manuals became the more necessary when the recitation of the Vedic texts had become so artificial that it no longer was sufficiently accurately described by the comparatively simple rules of the *Prātisākhya*s. ||

|| I cannot conclude these remarks without a word of thanks to the gentlemen whose kindness has enabled me to collect the treatises described in the above. The Secretary of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta has placed at my disposal all the Śikshā MSS. which belong to the Society. Dr. Bājendralāl Mitra has, with his usual kindness, furnished me with copies of the *Amoghānandīni*, *Kātyayana*, and *Lomaśī Śikshās*. My friend Dr. Bühler has collected

for me, on his travels in Gujārat, Rājputana, and Kāchmīr besides the *Śikshāpanjikā*, no less than eight Śikshās: the *Amoghānandīni*, *Āpisali*, *Kośava*, *Chārāyanīya*, *Nārudī*, *Māṇḍūkī* (3 copies), *Mādhyaṇḍīni*, and *Yājñavalkya*. And to the kindness of Colonel Malleson of Maiseur I owe copies of the *Āranya*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Vāsishtā*, *Vyāsa*, *Sarvasammata*, *Siddhānta-śikshās*, and of the *Śikshā-samucchaya*, together with their commentaries.

August, 1876.]

ON THE MAHĀBHĀSHYA.

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ON THE MAHĀBHĀSHYA.

BY DR. F. KIELHORN, DECCAN COLLEGE, PUNĀ.

When last year I wrote for this journal (vol. IV. p. 107) a note on a passage of the *Rājataran-gīṭā*,

I had just been reading, later perhaps than I ought to have done so, Prof. Weber's valuable article

on the *Mahābhāshya* (*Indische Studien*, vol. XIII. p. 293), and as there I had found some statements regarding the history of the text of that work for which there appeared to me to be little foundation, I deemed it advisable to conclude my note as follows:—

"I cannot conclude this short note without protesting against the statement, which I find repeated over and over again, that at some time or other the text of the *Mahābhāshya* had been lost, that it had to be reconstructed, &c. All we know at present amounts to this, that for some period of time Patanjali's great work was not studied generally, and had consequently ceased to be understood. We may perhaps allow a break so far as regards its traditional interpretation, but for the present we are bound to regard the text of the *Mahābhāshya* as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about two thousand years ago."

My object in writing these lines was no other than to induce Professor Weber to reconsider the grounds for his assertions. From a note on p. 242 of the second edition of his lectures on *Indische Literaturgeschichte* I now learn that he has done so, but that he has seen no reason to change his views. For Professor Weber, in reply to my remarks, sums up his own views in the following words:—

"On the other hand it follows, not only from the statements of the *Rājataranginī*, but also particularly from those at the end of the second book of Hari's *Vākyapadīya*. . . . that the *Bhāshya* has suffered manifold fates, that it has been several times *vichchhinna* and newly rearranged, so that the possibility of considerable alterations, additions, and interpolations cannot be denied, and that in every case it remains *a priori* uncertain whether a particular example belongs to Patanjali himself, or is owing only to these later reconstructions. . . . Kielhorn, it is true, has strongly protested against the statement that 'at some time or other the text of the *Mahābhāshya* had been lost, that it had to be reconstructed, &c,' and will only 'perhaps allow a break so far as regards its traditional interpretation,' while for the present he considers us bound 'to regard the text of the

* In his later articles Prof. Weber employs, so far as I remember, only the Sanskrit words *viplāvita*, *bhrashṭa*, and *vichchhinna*, but I believe that the above represents his views correctly. From a note on p. 297 of vol. XIII. of the *Ind. Stud.* I infer that the word *vichchhinna* is taken in the sense of 'incomplete'; on p. 315 Prof. Weber

Mahābhāshya as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about 2000 years ago.' Let us await, then, his proofs; for the protest alone might, in opposition to the statements handed down to us by tradition (on three different occasions the terms *viplāvita*, *bhrashṭa*, *vichchhinna* are employed regarding the work), not be sufficient. It must, besides, be added that the South-Indian MSS. of the text, according to Burnell's testimony (see Preface to the *Vansabr.* p. xxii., note), appear to differ considerably."

So far as I am aware, the question at issue between Professor Weber and myself is, clearly stated, this:—

According to Professor Weber there are grave reasons for doubting the text of the *Mahābhāshya*, as we find it in the existing MSS., to be the original text of that work. At the time of king *Abhimanyu* of Kāshmir the original text of Patanjali's work existed only in fragments,* from which a new text of the *Mahābhāshya* was reconstructed by *Chandracharya* and others. This second text underwent in its turn the same fate as the original, and a new (third) text was accordingly prepared, under king *Jayāpīḍa* of Kāshmir. This third text is the one given by our MSS.

According to my own view no evidence has yet been adduced to prove that the text of the *Mahābhāshya* as known to us from MSS. is not the original text of that work, and the only one that ever existed; and I shall now attempt to show why the reasons which have been brought forward to the contrary appear to me invalid. In the note from his lectures quoted above, these reasons are clearly implied by Professor Weber to be the following:—

(1) According to the testimony of Dr. Burnell, the South-Indian MSS. of the text of the *Mahābhāshya* differ considerably from those found in other parts of India.

(2) From the verse IV. 487 of the *Rājataranginī* we learn that a new (what I have called above *third*) text of the *Mahābhāshya* was prepared, under king *Jayāpīḍa* of Kāshmir.

(3) In another verse (I. 176) of the same work and in the concluding verses of the

speaks of 'remodellations' (*Bearbeitungen*), on p. 320 of 'reconstructions,' but on p. 321 distinctly of 'fragments' out of which a new text was constructed. On p. 160 of vol. V. *viplāvita* is translated by 'devastated' or 'destroyed' (*verwüstet*), on p. 161 *bhrashṭa* by 'lost,' and on p. 167 *vichchhinna* by 'split into pieces.'

second book of *Bhartrihari's Vākyapadīya* we are told that at the time of king *Abhimanyu* of Kāshmir all that remained of the original text of the *Mahābhāshya* were fragments, from which *Chandracharya* and others reconstructed a new (or second) text.

To the first reason Professor Weber himself does not appear to attach any very great importance; but it may be admitted that if the South-Indian MSS. really did contain a text considerably different from that which is given by MSS. from other parts of India, a fact such as this might prove, at any rate, the existence of different recensions of the *Mahābhāshya*. All, however, I find Dr. Burnell to have stated regarding the difference of the text in the South-Indian MSS., is this: that in the introductory *Āhnika* the latter "omit the quotation from the *Atharvaveda*;" moreover, on p. 91 of his essay *On the Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammars*, the same scholar deliberately states "that the Northern and Southern MSS. of the *Mahābhāshya* differ to no great extent, though various readings occur." I may add that in the course of the last ten years I have examined MSS. from nearly every part of India, and that I have not been able to discover any traces of the existence of several recensions of Patanjali's great commentary.

I now proceed to verse IV. 487 of the *Rājataranginī*, which in the Paris edition is given thus:—

देशान्तरादागमस्य व्याचक्षणाणस्त्वमापतिः ।
प्रवर्तयत विच्छिन्नं महाभाष्यं स्वमण्डले ॥

On p. 167 of vol. V. of the *Indische Studien* this passage has been translated—"The king (*Jayāpīḍa*) caused interpreters to come from other countries, and set the split *Bhāshya* again going in his realm;" and from the remarks which immediately follow this translation it is clear that Prof. Weber, when first quoting and translating the passage, understood it to relate the 'introduction' or 're-introduction' of the *Mahābhāshya* into Kāshmir, and not a 'reconstruction' of the text of the work. This view has been abandoned in vol. XIII. of the *Ind. Stud.*, for in the latter Prof. Weber speaks on p. 315 of a 'remodellation,' and on p. 320 (where the word *व्याचक्षणाणान्* is rendered by 'knowing' or 'expert men') of a 'reconstruction'

of the text, as having been brought about at the instance of *Jayāpīḍa*.

If, for argument's sake, we were to admit that the word *विच्छिन्न* did convey the sense of 'incomplete' or 'existing in fragments,' which has been ascribed to it, and that under *Jayāpīḍa* fragments were all that was to be found of the text of the *Mahābhāshya* in Kāshmir, would there be any reason for assuming the same to have been the case all over India? Do we not know of numbers of works of which fragments only exist in one part of India, while complete copies are to be found in others? And supposing that fragments only of the text existed in Kāshmir, what possible good could *Jayāpīḍa* have done when he desired to encourage the study of the *Mahābhāshya* by sending for interpreters? For as to the meaning of *व्याचक्षणाणान्* there can, I presume, be no doubt whatsoever.

In reality the context in which the term *विच्छिन्न* is employed in the above passage, as well as the manner in which *विच्छिन्न* and *विच्छेद* are used elsewhere, show that the former cannot in the above convey the meaning which has been assigned to it. Sanskrit writers frequently speak of *अवयवस्य विच्छेद*, and call the study of a text *विच्छिन्नसंपादय*; and in accordance with this usage I maintain that *विच्छिन्नं महाभाष्यं* can only mean "the *Mahābhāshya* which had ceased to be studied" and was no longer understood in Kāshmir, and that the whole verse must therefore literally be translated thus:—"The king, having sent for interpreters from another country, brought into use in his realm the *Mahābhāshya*, which had ceased to be studied" (in Kāshmir, and was therefore no longer understood).

Before I proceed, I find it necessary to point out two slight inaccuracies in Prof. Weber's remarks concerning the history of the *Mahābhāshya*. Prof. Weber has stated more than once (see above, and this journal vol. IV. p. 247), and has apparently laid great stress on the fact, that the *Mahābhāshya* on three different occasions has received the epithets *viplāvita*, *bhrashṭa*, and *vichchhinna*. In reality *vichchhinna* occurs in the verse of the *Rājataranginī* quoted above, and the words *viplāvita* and *bhrashṭa* are found, as will be seen below, in one and the same sentence of the *Vākyapadīya*, although not in one and the same verse. Moreover, the epithet

bhrashā has been applied by Bhartṛihari not to the text of the *Mahābhāṣya*, but to the *vyākaraṇāgama*, the traditional knowledge of grammar as handed down from teacher to pupil, † a fact by which alone the force of Prof. Weber's argument would be considerably lessened. The terms *वृत्* and *वृत्त* are indeed used occasionally with reference to the text of a work (*ग्रन्थ*), and when they are so used it must be admitted that the writer who employs them desires to state that such text is lost, either completely, or at any rate partly. But it does not follow that because the *अगम*, i.e. traditional interpretation of a text, has become *वृत्*, or because a work is no longer studied, its text must necessarily have been lost too. P u n y a r ā j a, ‡ the commentator of the *Vākya-pādīya*, when accounting for the fragmentary state of the third chapter of that work, brings forward, as one of the probable reasons, the *अगमवृत्त*, the fact that part of Bhartṛihari's work had ceased to be studied, § and his doing so sufficiently proves that although *अगमवृत्त* may in course of time lead to 'the loss of a text,' the former is not equivalent to the latter. There exist at the present day numbers of works in the libraries of this country, though their *अगम* has been lost, I am afraid, beyond the hope of recovery.

The passage of the *Vākya-pādīya* from which Prof. Weber concludes that (at the time of king Abhimanyu) fragments only of the original text of the *Mahābhāṣya* were in existence, and that from these a new text of the work was prepared by Chandrāchārya and others, was first pointed out by the late Prof. Goldstücker; it was republished with corrections by Prof. Weber himself in vol. V. of the *Indische Studien*, and subsequently again reprinted, together with the commentary of Pūnyarāja, by myself on pp. 285-7 of vol. III. of this journal. After having stated

† From the way in which Pūnyarāja subsequently in the commentary on the verse *वर्षेनागम* (see above, vol. III. p. 287), as well as in his *résumé* of the contents of the second book of the *Vākya-pādīya* (पुनर्गतौ विधिवशात् मम व्याकरणग्रन्थः), employs the term *व्याकरणग्रन्थ*, it is evident that *व्याकरणग्रन्थ* cannot possibly mean 'the text of the *Mahābhāṣya*,' but can only mean 'the doctrine or the traditional knowledge of grammar.'

‡ The name of this scholar is spelt both Pūnyarāja and Pūnyarāja in my MSS.

§ एतेषां च वित्तय सौपतिकं सनिदर्शनं स्वल्पं पदकाण्डे लक्षणसमुद्देशे विनिर्दिष्टमिति ग्रन्थकृते स्वहृत्तौ पतिपादितम्। आगमवृत्तान्निष्कमपादादिना वा लक्षणसमुद्देशाच्च पदकाण्डमध्ये न प्रसिद्धः ॥

the reasons which induced Patanjali to compose his great commentary, and that the latter, on account of its difficulty, was not generally understood, Bhartṛihari proceeds thus:—

वैजिसौपत्यैः शुक्तकानुसारीभिः ।
आर्षे विप्रवित्ते ग्रन्थे.....॥॥
यः पातञ्जलिसिष्येभ्यो भद्रो व्याकरणागमः ।
कान्ते स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमाने व्यस्तितः ॥
पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारीभिः ।
स नीतो बहुसाखलं चन्द्रचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥

Prof. Weber's translation of these lines on p. 160 of vol. V. of the *Ind. Stud.* is this:—
"Vaiji, Saubhava, and Haryaksha, addicted to dry reasoning, . . . destroyed the Rishi's work."

"The grammar-text, lost to Patanjali's pupils, existed for a while among the Dākṣhiṇātyas, in one MS. only."

"Thereupon Chandra and others, searching for the seed (i.e. the original) of the Bhāṣya, received the text from Parvata, and made many branches of it."

From the remarks which follow this translation it appears that the words 'destroyed the Rishi's work' are not to be taken literally, but must be understood to convey the sense (see p. 163) that Vaiji, &c. "rose up against the work of Patanjali and caused it to fall into disuse (*verdrängten es*) for a while." Moreover, from pp. 166 and 167 we learn that Chandra and the others recovered the *Mahābhāṣya*, and that they did not establish a new text. Whether Prof. Weber was justified by his own translation in speaking, on p. 168, "of the reconstruction (by Chandra and others) of a text which had been lost for a time,"—a view which, so far as I am aware, he has upheld in all his later writings,—I leave for the decision of the reader. But the translation itself—which was prepared

¶ I purposely have omitted the last word of this line, because both its reading and signification appear to me somewhat doubtful. The Puna, Benares, Lahore, and Dr. Burnell's Malayālam MSS. read *संमहपतिकञ्चुके*. Colebrooke's MS. has *कञ्चुके*: and Pūnyarāja appears to have read *कञ्चुके*: for he seems to explain it by *संमहपतिपसृते*: 'enemies of the *Samgraha*,' on which, according to Pūnyarāja's statement, the *Mahābhāṣya* has been based. If *संमहपतिकञ्चुके* be correct, it must, as was pointed out by Prof. Stenzler, be an adjective qualifying *ग्रन्थे*, and its meaning may possibly be 'preserving the (contents of the) *Samgraha*.' The meaning of the whole passage, so far as we are concerned with it here, is not affected either way.

without the assistance of any commentary—is open to objections, for some of which I may refer to Prof. Stenzler's remarks in the *Ind. Stud.* vol. V. p. 448. Following Pūnyarāja's commentary I venture to render Bhartṛihari's words thus:—

"When the book of the Rishi had been perverted by Vaiji, Saubhava, and Haryaksha, because (in attempting to explain it) they had followed their own unaided reasoning,*

"The traditional knowledge of grammar, lost to the pupils of Pātanjali, in course of time existed only in books, amongst the Dākṣhiṇātyas.

"It was again widely diffused by Chandrāchārya and others, who, after they had received the traditional knowledge from Parvata, followed (by its means) the principles laid down in the Bhāṣya."

After a careful consideration of Bhartṛihari's statement and of all that has been written about it (see also Burnell, *loc. cit.* p. 91), I am unable to perceive that it contains any allusion to the history of the text of the *Mahābhāṣya*. What the author of the *Vākya-pādīya* really tells us, so far as I understand his meaning, is this:—There were certain scholars, mentioned by name, who in the explanation of the *Mahābhāṣya* rejected the assistance of the traditional interpretation handed down to them, and trusted each to his own unaided reasoning. Their attempt, as might have been expected, proved unsuccessful. The meaning of Patanjali's work became perverted; its text, indeed, continued to exist, but as its true meaning was no longer understood, this existence was a sham (अभास, as Pūnyarāja says,) rather than a reality. The traditional interpretation having been once neglected ceased to be handed down orally from teacher to pupil, and remained only written down in books, which I understand to mean in the shape of written commentaries, † among the

* Instead of the epithet *शुक्तकानुसारीभिः* Pūnyarāja in his *résumé* uses the expression *आर्षेविप्रवित्ते*: 'overpowered by oneself,' i.e. Vaiji, &c. were too conceited to follow the traditional interpretation. *विप्रवित्ते* is explained by *आभासीकृत*, literally 'reduced to a semblance,' i.e. after the treatment which the *Mahābhāṣya* had received from Vaiji, &c. it indeed looked still like the *Mahābhāṣya* (just as a *Hetuśāṅkha* looks like a *Hetu*), in reality however it had ceased to be the *Mahābhāṣya*, because its true meaning had been perverted and was no longer understood.

† If it be objected that no such commentaries are known at present, I can only answer that commentaries

Dākṣhiṇātyas. Chandrāchārya and others got hold of these commentaries which gave the traditional interpretation, and made it again generally known; they developed and diffused the science of grammar after, by means of the traditional interpretation, they had mastered the principles laid down in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

For the sense in which I understand verse I. 176 of the *Rājataranginī*, I may refer the reader to p. 108 of vol. IV. of this journal, and I may add that even according to Prof. Weber's own interpretation, as given in *Ind. Stud.* vol. V. p. 167, the verse must not be understood to refer to a 'reconstruction,' or, as Dr. Burnell, *loc. cit.* p. 91, has expressed it, a 'revision,' of the text of the *Mahābhāṣya*, but relates only the 'introduction' of the work into Kāshmir.

The above are, I believe, all the reasons which Prof. Weber has ever brought forward to prove that the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* has been 'several times newly rearranged.' The more important of them were examined at length, after the publication of Prof. Goldstücker's *Pāṇini*, in vol. V. of the *Indische Studien*, and the conclusion to which they appeared to point then was, to use Prof. Weber's own words (p. 169), "that there existed no cogent reasons to doubt the authenticity of the text, so far as it was known," fourteen years ago. Since then, it is true, the whole text of the *Mahābhāṣya* has been made generally accessible; but, as I fail to perceive how *thereby* its authenticity should have become more doubtful than it was before, I consider myself still justified in maintaining "that for the present we are bound to regard the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about two thousand years ago."

But I shall be told that even if all I have maintained in the preceding were correct, there would still remain sufficient internal evidence

of which we know nothing must have existed even in Kaiyata's time, because he frequently introduces interpretations that differ from his own by *अन्ये*, *अपरे*, *केचित्*. And there is no reason why commentaries on grammatical works should not have been lost, as well as others. The commentaries on Pāṇini's Sūtras by Chullibhatti and Nallūra, which are mentioned by Jinendrabuddhi, are, so far as I am aware, not known to Sanskrit scholars even by name. And that commentaries on Kātyāyana's *Vārtikas* were in existence when Patanjali composed his own *Mahābhāṣya* no one will deny who is acquainted with the latter.

to prove that what we are accustomed to call the *Mahābhāṣya* is but a modern compilation, prepared probably during or after the 7th century of our era. This at least is the view to which Dr. Burnell has given expression in his essay *On the Aindra School of Grammarians* (p. 91), and which has been approved of by Prof. Weber in his review of Dr. Burnell's book. As it is desirable that the case should be stated to the reader as fairly as possible, I am obliged to quote Dr. Burnell's opinion and arguments in full, the more so because it would seem as if the views of that scholar have been somewhat misrepresented by his reviewer.† "But," writes Dr. Burnell, "it appears to me that the form of the *Mahābhāṣya* is in itself a convincing proof that the text is not in its original form. That it is highly controversial has already been noticed, but I think that, as it now stands, it may be rather taken as a synopsis of arguments for and against the details of Pāṇini's system, and as a controversial manual. No doubt, Kātyāyana criticized Pāṇini, and Patanjali replied in justification of the former, but the *Mahābhāṣya* goes further than this. The first *āhnika*, which contains a long argument as to the utility of grammar, &c., and which fills no less than 27 pages in the splendid India Museum facsimile edition, has no parallel in the older commentaries, and certainly is not to be expected in a book of the second century before our era, but is just what we find in the controversial literature of the 7th and the following centuries A.D. How is it possible to believe that Patanjali himself found it necessary to furnish arguments which would justify the study to which he had devoted his life? Again, the whole arrangement and the matter are too systematic and copious for a mere refutation of Kātyāyana, whereas the epigrammatic forms of Kātyāyana's criticisms on Pāṇini point rather to an abridgment of Kātyāyana's words than to quotations. It must not be forgotten that Vārttikas of others besides Kātyāyana are occasionally given. Is it likely that these critics of Pāṇini merely stated their corrections, real or presumed, in the fewest possible words, and did not assign full reasons for

† Prof. Weber in quoting from Dr. Burnell's book makes the latter say that the *Mahābhāṣya* is not 'the real text of the original work,' whereas in reality Dr. Burnell speaks of original works. This difference between the singular and plural shows clearly that Prof. Weber's and Dr. Burnell's views regarding the *Mahābhāṣya* are by no means the same. According to Prof. Weber some

their opinions? It thus appears to me that the *Mahābhāṣya*, as it stands, is rather a skilful compilation of the views of Pāṇini's critics, and of their refutation by Patanjali, than the real text of the original works, and that it has been made with a view to practical polemic."

If I rightly understand these words, Dr. Burnell maintains that some time before the 7th century A.D. there existed certain works composed by Kātyāyana and others in which these scholars stated their criticisms on Pāṇini, assigning full reasons for their own opinions; that at the same time there existed another work by Patanjali which was exclusively devoted to a refutation of those criticisms; and that the *Mahābhāṣya*, as it stands, is rather a skilful compilation (prepared during or after the 7th century) of the views of Pāṇini's critics, and of their refutation by Patanjali, than the real text of the original works of Kātyāyana, Patanjali, &c. To corroborate this assertion, it is stated that the *Mahābhāṣya* looks like a manual of controversy:—

(1) Because the views of Kātyāyana and other critics of Pāṇini are given in it in an abridged form, the reasons which those critics must have assigned for their views having been omitted.

(2) Because what we are accustomed to consider as Patanjali's remarks are not confined to a refutation of Kātyāyana, as may be seen—

(a) From the long argument as to the utility of grammar, &c., filling no less than 27 pages; this argument is out of place in a refutation of Kātyāyana; it is not in keeping with Patanjali's date (the second century B.C.), nor in keeping with his devotion to the study of grammar.

(b) From the whole arrangement and the matter, which are too systematic and copious for a mere refutation of Kātyāyana.

I have examined these statements with that care and attention which Dr. Burnell's scholarship and wide range of reading are always sure to command from a fellow-worker, but I have been unable to convince myself of the truth of his premises, or the fairness of the conclusion

such work as the *Mahābhāṣya* which we possess was actually composed by Patanjali, but had to be reconstructed when its original text in course of time had been reduced to fragments. According to Dr. Burnell our *Mahābhāṣya* has been compiled from several original works, and may therefore be called an original compilation from works which have been altogether lost. See below.

which has been derived from them. Whether the late Prof. Goldstücker was right in describing the nature and the object of the Vārttikas as he has done, I may have occasion to examine hereafter; but allowing for the sake of argument that the Vārttikas contain nothing but criticisms on Pāṇini, and that it was the sole aim of Kātyāyana 'to find fault' with that grammarian, it certainly appears to me that in the *Mahābhāṣya* those 'criticisms' have in every case been given as fully as could be expected, that they are supported by reasons whenever their nature admits of or necessitates such support, and that the term 'abridgment' is as little applicable to them as it would be applicable to the Sūtras of Pāṇini. As regards Patanjali, it has nowhere been shown that he was bound to confine his remarks to a refutation of Kātyāyana, nor has it been proved that the justification of Pāṇini

§ A few examples must suffice here. On P. I. 1. 1 the two first vārttikas are:—

(a) संज्ञासंज्ञार्थः संज्ञासंज्ञार्थः ॥

(b) इतरथा वसंमत्यो यथा लोके ॥

Here the reason for which Kātyāyana demands a Samjñābhikāra is given in संज्ञासंज्ञार्थः, and the fault which is said to arise from the non-adoption of such an adbhikāra is stated in vārttika (b). It is unnecessary to state here how Kātyāyana himself subsequently shows that in reality no Samjñābhikāra is required.

On P. I. 1. 4 we read the vārttika (a) यद्व्यङ्ग्यवलोपे प्रतिषेधः the reason for the adoption of which is stated in (b) ननुप्योपसिद्धवत्त्वतोपेऽप्रतिषेधार्थः;

On P. I. 1. 5 the vārttika (a) क्तिनि प्रतिषेधे लक्षणित्त्वात्, the reason for which is stated in (b) उपधातोर्लौत्वं;

On P. I. 1. 9 the vārttika सवर्णसंज्ञायां भिन्नदेहेत्यतिप्रसङ्गः नबलसायान्यात्, where the reason for the objection raised is given in the last word.

On P. I. 1. 13 in the vārttika मत्प्रगुणसंज्ञायां तस्यासिद्धत्वादेवावेकदेशप्रतिषेधः the reason is given in the words तस्यासिद्धत्वात्.

On P. I. 1. 20 in the vārttika वुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतिग्रहणं सिद्धयेत् the reason for the correction is stated in the word सिद्धयेत्.

See also the vārttikas on P. I. 1. 23:—

(a) संख्यासंज्ञायां संख्याग्रहणम् ॥

(b) संख्यासंज्ञार्थम् ॥

(c) इतरथा वसंमत्योऽङ्गि मत्वायथा लोके ॥

(d) उत्तरार्थं च ॥

|| I need quote only Vākyopadhyāya, I. 23:—

नित्याः शब्दायैवंबन्धास्तथाद्याना महर्षिभिः ।

सुजाणां सानुत्पन्नाणां भाष्याणां च पणेतैभिः ॥

on which the commentator remarks:

अनुत्पन्नं वाचिकम् । तथाप्युक्तं सिद्धे शब्दायैवंबन्ध इति ॥

was the main object of his work. Moreover, so far from having attempted to bring forward anything in favour of the assertion that what we know of Patanjali's views has been compiled from a more extensive work of that grammarian, Dr. Burnell appears rather inclined to regard the copiousness of the matter in the *Mahābhāṣya* as inconsistent with the idea of its being an original work. The long argument as to the utility of grammar, which to Dr. Burnell appears to be so much out of place in a refutation of Kātyāyana, fills in reality by far the smaller number of the 27 pages of the introductory *āhnika*: for as early as the 12th page we read the words सिद्धे शब्दायैवंबन्धे, which, by the unanimous consent of all grammatical works known to me, form the first of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas. I too am inclined to believe that the reasons in favour of the study of

and Śivarānanda's Bhāṣyapradīpavivaraṇa वारत्तचं वाचिकम् । तस्मिन्मंगलाचरणपूर्वकं सिद्धे शब्दायैत्यादि ॥

The vārttikas commented on by Patanjali in the first *āhnika* are the following:—

सिद्धे शब्दायैवंबन्धे ।

लोकतोऽर्थेयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः ।

यथा लौकिकवैदिकेभ्यु ॥

अस्त्ययुक्तं इति चेत्तार्थं शब्दप्रयोगात् ।

अप्रयोगः प्रयोगान्वयान् ।

अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घत्ववत् ।

सर्वे देशान्तरे ॥

ज्ञाने धर्म इति चेत्तथाधर्मः ।

आचारो नियमः ।

प्रयोगे सर्वलोकस्य ।

ज्ञानपूर्वके प्रयोगे ऽभ्युदयस्तनुज्यं वेदशब्देन ॥

स्यै व्याकरणे षड्गुणोऽनुपपन्नः ।

शब्दाप्रतिपत्तिः ।

शब्दे ल्युडयेः ।

भवे ।

प्रोक्तदयश्च तद्विताः ।

तस्यैतच्छब्दे व्याकरणम् ॥

वृत्तिसमवायार्थं उपदेशः ।

अनुबन्धकरणार्थं च ।

इष्टवृत्तयैवेति चेदुदात्तानुदात्तचरितानुनासिकरीचैयुताना-

मन्युपदेशः ।

आहृत्युपदेशादिसिद्धमिति चेन्ननुत्पन्नादीनां प्रतिषेधः ॥

The so-called *Vārttika-pāṭha*, of which I possess a MS., appears to me to be a modern compilation, and does not decide the question of what are vārttikas and what not.

¶ खोहागमलज्वसंदेशः प्रकृजनम्, and तेषुः up to सुदे-वोऽसि बहून्. That Patanjali has not himself collected the passages तेषुः; &c. appears to follow from the fact that he understands the eighth of them, चत्वारि, to indicate *Rigveda*, IV. 58. 3, while at the same time he informs us

grammar, by which this *Vārttika* is preceded, have not been invented by Patanjali; but, so far from allowing them to be an addition made during or after the 7th century A.D., I would rather maintain that those arguments must have been current long before Patanjali, and that all he has done himself is to comment on them, and to quote the interpretation of another scholar which differs from his own. When a scholar of Yāskā's antiquity has thought it desirable to bring forward arguments in favour of the study of his science,* the presence of such arguments cannot, surely, furnish any just cause for casting doubts on the authenticity of a work supposed to have been composed during the second century before our era, and it is accounted for, rather than rendered suspicious, by Patanjali's devotion to the study of grammar. To my mind the language and the style in what we are accustomed to call the *Mahābhāṣya* are a sufficient proof that that great work must have been composed a very long time before the 7th century. In the *Vākya-pāṭīya* native grammarians have given to us a specimen of such a compilation or controversial manual as has been described by Dr. Burnell, but I am unable to admit that the terms used by that scholar are fairly applicable to what tradition has taught us to regard as the original work of Patanjali.

And this leads me to touch upon one more question raised by Prof. Weber,—the question, namely, whether the *Mahābhāṣya* ought not to be considered the work of the *pupils* of Patanjali, rather than the work of their master.

"It is true," says Prof. Weber on p. 322 of vol. XIII. of the *Ind. Stud.*, "one of the arguments which I have brought forward in favour of this view, viz. that Patanjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* is *always* spoken of in the *third* person, and that his opinions are several times introduced with तु, or rather with पश्यति त्वाचार्यः, is no longer strictly valid. For, on the one hand, we several

times find in it also statements in the *first* person . . . on the other hand, according to Bhāṅḍārkar, we have to understand by the word आचार्य in such phrases as पश्यति त्वाचार्यः not Patanjali at all, but Pāṇini! As regards some passages, Bhāṅḍārkar appears to be strictly correct; by no means, however, as regards all: for on the one hand this would form too glaring a contrast with Nāgēśa's distinct statement to the contrary 'that in the *Bhāṣya* आचार्य denotes *only* Patanjali,' आच्ये आचार्यपदेन शास्त्राचार्यको भाष्यकारं एव विवक्षितं, on the other hand, in many of those cases the reference to the statements of the *Bhāṣya* (and *not* to the wording of Pāṇini's *Sātras*) is perfectly clear and distinct. How matters really stand will still have to be specially investigated. But, in spite of these two corrections of my former statements, so much at any rate remains certain, that on the whole the cases in which the views of the *Bhāṣyakāra* are stated in the first person are *comparatively* rare, and that, *as a rule*, his statements, on the contrary, are made in the third person."

I was, I confess it, somewhat startled when first perusing these lines; for I also had studied portions at least of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and during that study it had always appeared to me that the word आचार्यः, in cases where no other Āchārya was particularly specified, denoted either Pāṇini or, though much more rarely, Kātyāyana; and, moreover, I could not remember to have found Patanjali, if I may say so, speaking in the third person. I was sorry, too, that a man of Nāgojibhāṭṭa's vast learning and scholarship, whom I had found cause to regard as one of the greatest grammarians of modern times, should have been thought capable of making a statement the falseness of which could be demonstrated from almost every single page of the *Mahābhāṣya*. The first thing I had to do was to examine Nāgojibhāṭṭa's remark for myself, and here I found that it admitted of a very different explanation.

I. 17. अथापीदमन्तरेण पदविभागो न विद्यते ॥
अथापि यानि देवतेन बहवः प्रदेक्षा भवन्तीत्यादि ॥
अथापि शानपञ्चसा मन्त्र्यज्ञाननिन्दा च ॥
स्यापुरयं भारहारः ॥
यदूहीतमविज्ञानम् ॥ (See Patanjali.)
उत त्वः पश्यन् ॥ (See Patanjali.)
उत त्वं सख्ये ॥
† Nāgojibhāṭṭa says भाष्यकृदेव.

that *another* understands by it *Kv. I. 164. 45*. I may add, too, that by (6) विशर्कं कुर्वन्ति, (11) सारस्वतीम्, and (12) दक्षाम्यां प्रवस्य some other passages appear to have been intended than those which have actually been quoted by Patanjali.
* See Nirukta, I. 15. अथापीदमन्तरेण मन्त्रैश्चर्यन्त्ययो न विद्यते स्थमपरिगतो नात्यन्तं स्वसंस्कारो वैज्ञान्तदिदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कात्स्न्यं स्वायंसायकं च ॥ (Compare herewith Patanjali's explanation of असंदेहाय आच्येभ्यं व्याकरणम्.)

Nāgojibhāṭṭa's declared object in composing his *Bhāṣyapradīpodyota* was to elucidate Kaiyata's *Bhāṣyapradīpa*, but he did not thereby regard himself as prevented from commenting on the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* as well, in cases where he deemed Kaiyata's commentary insufficient; and, to show the student at first sight that he was explaining the text of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and not that of Kaiyata's commentary, he adopted the practice of prefixing to such explanations the word आच्ये (see Ballantyne's ed. pp. 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, &c.). This is exactly the case in the passage quoted by Prof. Weber (*loc. cit.* p. 36), आच्ये आचार्यपदेन शास्त्राचार्यको भाष्यकृदेव विवक्षितः. Nāgojibhāṭṭa considers that Kaiyata ought to have given a note regarding the meaning of the word आचार्य in तेभ्य एव विद्यतिपत्रवृत्तियो ऽ ध्येत्तुः सुहृत्त्वाचार्ये इदं शास्त्रमन्त्राचरे, because in this particular passage आचार्य does not appear to him to convey its ordinary meaning; and to supply this defect he is good enough to tell us that (in his opinion) आचार्य denotes, in this particular passage of the *Mahābhāṣya*, *exceptionally* the author of the *Bhāṣya* himself, and not those whom it denotes generally (Pāṇini or Kātyāyana).

Accurately to determine whether Prof. Weber was right in maintaining that in the *Mahābhāṣya* आचार्यः in such phrases as पश्यति त्वाचार्यः (by which I understand Prof. Weber to mean the phrases पश्यति त्वाचार्यः, आचार्यपञ्चसोपयति, and ज्ञापयन्त्वाचार्यः) denotes in the majority of cases Patanjali, and that the latter, *as a rule*, is spoken of in the third person, or whether I was correct in believing that आचार्य (with possibly the one exception pointed out by Nāgojibhāṭṭa) did not denote Patanjali, and that the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* in the body of the work ascribed to him (with perhaps the exception of those five passages in which, according to Professor Weber, the terms गोनदीयं or गोणिकापुत्रं occur) was not spoken of in the third person, I should have had

† This *vārt.* and Patanjali's remarks on it are of some importance, for we learn therefrom that at any rate in P. IV. 1. 166 the word आचार्य does not denote former grammarians, but has the sense of आचार्य देवे. For the different view taken by Dr. Burnell see his essay *On the Aindra School*, pp. 24 and 26.

§ It is hardly necessary to state that we are very often required to supply the subject Pāṇini. For instances I refer to—

p. 22b, यदयम् अ अ (P. VIII. 4. 68) इति...शास्त्रितः
p. 32a, 33a, &c.

to read through the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Though I had not the time for doing this, I thought it right to study once more at least part of the work, with the view of testing, so far as was in my power, the truth of Prof. Weber's statements and of my own impressions. Accordingly I read through carefully the first 240 pages of the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* as given in the lithographed Benares edition, and the results at which I arrived by doing so were the following:—

(a) *As to the word आचार्यः.* On the first 240 pages this word is found sixty times, and among those sixty passages in which it occurs there is only one, viz. that pointed out by Nāgojibhāṭṭa, in which it denotes Patanjali himself, provided Nāgojibhāṭṭa's statement be strictly correct. The phrase आचार्यपञ्चसोपयति occurs twenty times, ज्ञापयन्त्वाचार्यः nine times, and पश्यति त्वाचार्यः seven times, and in them आचार्य *always* means Pāṇini. Besides, Pāṇini is denoted by आचार्य nine times (on pp. 11b, 12a, 40a, 46a, 47b twice, 94b twice, and 112b).

Four times आचार्ये denotes Kātyāyana, viz. twice on p. 13a, once on p. 18b, and once on p. 75b (see his *vārt.* on P. VI. 1. 129).

The Āchārya Śākalya is mentioned on p. 82a.

The Āchāryas generally are spoken of six times; Āchāryas other than Śākalya once; and the Āchāryas mentioned by Pāṇini likewise once, viz. in the *vārt.* आचार्यदेवज्ञानमेव च तद्विषयताः on p. 112a.

(b) *As to whether Patanjali is, as a rule, spoken of in the third person.* Since Patanjali (with the possible exceptions already pointed out) is not mentioned by name, the question to be decided is really this: whether for verbal forms such as पठति, वदयति, in cases where their subject has not been particularized in the *Mahābhāṣya*, and where it is impossible to supply the subject Pāṇini,§ we have ever to supply the nominative पतञ्जलिः.

p. 24b, यदयं... कुराति p. 25a, 31b, &c.

Do. उच्चारयेत्.

p. 31a, अयमुपदिशते.

p. 34b, यदयं क्षुन्नादिषु (P. VII. 4. 39) नूनमन्त्रं पठति.

p. 65b, किति प्रतिषेधं वदयति (P. I. 1. 5), &c.

As in all these and similar cases the context would show at once and beyond doubt that the subject of the verbs शास्त्रितः, &c. can be no other than Pāṇini, it was unnecessary for Patanjali to tell the student that it was Pāṇini who had taught something by the rule अ अ, Pāṇini who had

On the first 240 pages the verbal forms that have to be considered are the following :—

- p. 22a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*. See his *vārt.* on P. I. 1. 9, सिद्धं त्वाये तुल्यदेशयन्त्वं सवर्णम्, and the way in which it has been paraphrased by Patanjali on p. 69b.
- p. 27b, (अत उच्यते) पठति; supply *Kātyāyana*. His *vārt.* is given immediately after the word पठति.
- p. 30a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VI. 4. 133.
- p. 40a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. I. 2. 45.
- p. 40b, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VIII. 2. 6.
- p. 55b, (अत उच्यते) पठति; supply *Kātyāyana*; his *vārt.* follows immediately upon the word पठति.
- p. 59b, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on the same page.
- p. 66b, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. I. 1. 47.
- p. 69a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on the next page.
- p. 72a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VI. 1. 101.
- p. 77b, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. I. 4. 14.
- p. 86b, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VI. 1. 1.
- „ वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*; see his *vārt.* on P. VIII. 3. 59.
- p. 88a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. I. 1. 72.
- p. 99a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. II. 2. 35.
- p. 99b, 1. 3, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. II. 2. 35.
- p. 102a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VI. 2. 2.
- p. 106b, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VIII. 2. 3.

prohibited the substitution of Guna and Vriddhi by his rule किति च, &c.

On the other hand, when, as has been shown in the above, Patanjali speaks of *Kātyāyana* without particularizing him, his doing so is in my opinion accounted for by the fact that *Kātyāyana*'s is the work on which he is commenting (or, as other scholars would say, the work which he is refuting), and in speaking of him in the third person without mentioning his name Patanjali has done what numbers of commentators have done besides him. On p. 101a, where

p. 117a, वक्षति; supply *Kātyāyana*, *vārt.* on P. VI. 4. 72.

The only verbal forms of this kind which remain are वक्षति on p. 24a, on p. 52a, and on p. 99b, line 1. As regards the two latter, it might indeed at first sight appear as if we had to supply for them the subject *Patanjali*; but to do so would in my opinion be incorrect. For in reality the statement which follows upon the word वक्षति on p. 52a is not of Patanjali's invention, but it must, as we are told by Patanjali on P. V. 2. 4, be ascribed to *Pāṇini*; similarly the statement which follows the word वक्षति on p. 99b is not Patanjali's, but is implied in *Kātyāyana*'s *vārt.* on P. II. 2. 35, and belongs therefore to him. Finally, not even the one remaining वक्षति on p. 24a is likely to support Prof. Weber's view, for the best copy of the *Mahābhāṣya* accessible to me does in this case not read वक्षति, but वक्षते (see the lith. ed. of the India Office, p. 31).

As, then, the perusal of the first 240 pages of the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* does not appear to furnish any argument in favour of Prof. Weber's views, it will not, I trust, be thought unreasonable when for the present I venture to doubt their correctness, and when I continue to regard the supposition that the *Mahābhāṣya* may have been composed by the pupils of Patanjali, as void of foundation. The longer I study that great work the more I feel convinced that from beginning to end it is the masterly production of one and the same individual scholar, and that few works in the whole range of Sanskrit literature have been preserved to us as complete and intact as the text of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

I may be wrong, and when I find my views refuted by cogent arguments I shall be the first to say so. The *Mahābhāṣya*, besides being one of the most interesting works for the student of language, is in many respects also one of the most difficult, and every attempt to facilitate

Patanjali addresses both *Pāṇini* and *Kātyāyana* as authorities for one and the same thing, he does consider it necessary to inform us that he is quoting the *Vārttikakāra*: भाष्यार्थ-वृत्तिर्वापयति..... वार्तिककारो पठति.

That no subject whatever need be supplied for the phrase इत्याह when it occurs in such sentences as नेत्याह, उच्यमित्याह, उच्यमित्याह, गतमित्याह, &c., which give answers to questions that have been previously raised, those who are acquainted with the style of the *Mahābhāṣya* need hardly be reminded of.

the understanding of it, or to solve the problems to which it gives rise, must be received by all scholars with gratitude. But we ought never to forget that little will be gained by conjecture, or by a perusal of the bare text of

'Patanjali's work, and that no attempt at understanding the true nature of the *Mahābhāṣya* is likely to be successful unless it be based on a careful study of what the Hindu commentators themselves have written about it. ||

|| May I venture to request Professor Bhāṣṭākar to reprint his articles on Goldstücker's *Pāṇini* which were published in *Native Opinion*, so as to make them more generally accessible? Some of Prof. Goldstücker's views are being repeated and used as arguments although they have been refuted many years ago. I allude particularly to his explanation of Patanjali's remarks on P. I. 2. 53.

ARUNAD YAVANO MADHYAMIKĀM.

Mr. Carlleyle's and General Cunningham's remarks on pp. 201-205 of Vol. VI. of the *Archæological Survey Reports* induce me to state that the oldest and best MSS. both of the *Mahābhāṣya* and of the *Kāśikā Vṛtti* on P. III. 2. 111 read अक्षयवर्णो मध्यमिका (and not माध्यमिका). A marginal note in one of the MSS. of the *Mahābhāṣya* states that *Madhyamikā* was a town (नगरी); Nāgajibhatta on P. VI. 3. 37 likewise says मध्यमिका नगरी; and in the *Garatnamahodāhī* we read मध्ये भवा मध्यमिका नगरी. तस्यां पर्वो माध्यमिकीयः.

I leave it to General Cunningham to decide whether this correct reading *Madhyamikā* is of any value for the interpretation of the legend on the coins found by Mr. Carlleyle, and whether the ancient city of Nāgari may originally have been called *Madhyamikā*. To me it would seem that the *Madhyamikā* of the coins might well be the oblique case of a feminine noun in *ā*, equivalent to a Sanskrit form मध्यमिकावाः.

Later writers have freely copied *Kātyāyana*'s *Vārttika* on P. III. 2. 111, and in some cases also Patanjali's instances. The author of the *Prasāda* (a commentary on the *Prakriyā-kāṇḍī*) quotes अक्षयवर्णः सकेतः; the same instance we find in the *Jainendra-mahāvṛtti* of Abhayānandin, who instances besides अक्षयवर्णो मधुपार; and in the *Sādānava-handrikā*, another commentary on the *Jainendra-śyākarana*, we read अक्षयवर्णः सकेतः. But the most interesting instances are Sanskrit those which Hemachandra in his *Sanskrit grammar* gives for his rule ह्यतिर् इत्ये, &c. :—

अक्षयवर्णो इत्ये (sic), and अक्षयवर्णः सैराधुनः. According to the late Dr. Bhāṣu Dīji, Hemachandra lived 1088-1172 A.D., and Siddharāja reigned some time during the first half of the 12th century (Lassen, vol. III. p. 567).

F. KIELHORN.

ON THE JAINENDRA-VYĀKARAṆA.

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The Government collection of Sanskrit MSS. deposited in the Library of the Deccan College contains the following works of the so-called *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa* :

1. (a) A paper MS. consisting of 314 leaves, entitled *Jainendrovijñāna-mahāvṛitti*.¹ It contains the text of the Sūtras from I, 1, 1 to IV, 3, 30 (यः = P. VI, 1, 42) together with a full commentary by *Abhayānandi-muni*. The MS. begins :

देवदेवं जिनं नत्वा सर्वसन्नाभयप्रदम् ।
शब्दशास्त्रस्य मूलाणां महाशक्तिर्विच्यते ॥ १ ॥
यत्तन्मूलक्षणमसुवन्नपारमर्त्य-
रव्यक्तशुक्लमभिधानविशो दारिद्र्यैः ।
नत्सर्वलोकरुददयाप्रयचारुवाक्यै-
वैकीकरोत्यभयनन्दितुजिनैः समस्तम् ॥ २ ॥

शिष्टाचारपरिपालनार्थमादाविष्टदेवतानमस्कारलक्षणं मद्र-
काभेदमाहाचार्यैः ।

लक्ष्मीरात्यन्तिकी यस्य निरवशावभासते ।

देवनन्दितपूजेशो नमस्तस्मै स्वयंभुवे ॥ १ ॥

(b) A paper MS. consisting of 75 leaves, and containing the same work from IV, 4, 143 (नैकाचः = P. VI, 4, 163) to the end of the Jainendra-grammar, V, 4, 124. The MS. ends :

चतुष्टयं समन्तमद्रस्य ॥ १२४ ॥

इयो हः (see P. VIII, 4, 62) इत्यादि चतुष्टयं स-
मन्तमद्राचार्यस्य मनेन भवति नान्येषाम् । तथा त्रैवीदाहृतम् ॥
इत्यभयनन्दिविरचितायां जैनेन्द्रव्याकरणमहाशुक्तौ पञ्चम-

¹ A MS. of this work is at Berlin; from it an account

स्याध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः समाप्तः ॥ समाप्तार्थं पञ्चमो ऽध्या-
यः ॥

2. (a) A paper MS. consisting of 262 leaves, containing the text of the Sūtras complete, with a succinct commentary, entitled *Śabdārṇavachandrikā*, and composed by *Somadēva-yati*, or *-munisvara* (*Somānara-vratipa*). The MS. begins :

श्रीगुरुवपादममलं गुणनन्दिदेवं
सौम्यमरुतिपूजितपादयुग्मम् ।
सिद्धं समुन्नतपदं वृषभं जिनेन्द्रं
सच्छब्दलक्षणमहं विनमामि वीरम् ॥ १ ॥

and it ends :

इति जैनेन्द्रे व्याकरणे शब्दार्णवचन्द्रिकायां वृत्तौ पञ्चमो
ऽध्यायः ॥ ५ ॥

श्रीसौमदेवपतिनेमिःमादधाति
या नौः प्रतीतगुणनन्दितशब्दवार्धै ।
सैयं सनाममलचेनसि विशुकरन्ती [MS. न्ति]
वृत्तिः सदा नृपपदा परिवर्तिषीष्ट ॥ १ ॥

(b) An old palm-leaf MS. of the same work. Unfortunately this MS. has been so much injured that it will take some time to arrange the existing fragments of about 300 leaves in their proper order.

The paper MS. of the *Śabdārṇavachandrikā* contains (after the last verse above quoted) a note, according to which the work was composed in A.D. 1205, in the reign of Bhojadeva (Bhoja II), at a Jinālaya founded by Gaṇḍari-

of the Jainendra-grammar and of the commentary has been given by Dr. Zschlauer (Beiträge a. Kunde d. ig. sprachen, vol. V, pp. 296-311).

dityadeva at Ājurikā (the modern आजरे ?), in the country of Kollāpura³ (see Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. VIII. New Series; pp. 321, 326-329).

3. A paper MS. consisting of 138 leaves, entitled *Panchavastuka*. This is a short grammar arranged after the fashion of the Kaumudis. It consists of five chapters, *Sandhi-vastu*, *Nāma-vastu*, *Savīdhi* (i.e. *Samāsavidhi*)-*vastu*, *Hriḍvidhi* (i.e. *Taddhitavidhi*)-*vastu*, *Ākhyāta-vastu*. The Sūtras are taken from the text of the Jainendra-grammar given by Abhayānandin, and they are accompanied by a short commentary. Towards the end of the MS. the whole is stated to be the work of *Devanandy-āchārya* (कृतिरियं देवनन्द्याचार्यस्य परवादियथनस्य). How much truth there is in this statement, I shall endeavour to show below; here it will suffice to note that in a verse which occurs on Fol. 8a the authorship of the Panchavastuka is distinctly assigned to *Śrutakīrti*. In the MS. before me the actual text of the Panchavastuka commences on Fol. 10a, and the first 9 leaves contain a commentary on the introductory portion of it. The work begins :

जगत्त्रिनयनायाय नमो जन्मप्रमाथिने ।
नयप्रमाणवायदिमिभ्रस्तध्वान्नाय शान्त्ये ॥
अथ मयाहरकर्मो ऽ नुवर्णये । तद्यथा । अ इ उण् । . .

After a discussion on the Pratyāhāra-Sūtras, in which it is stated that they are in every respect the same as those given in the works of former grammarians (meaning Pāṇini), and that the *Ayogavāhas* (*Anusvāra*, *Visarjanīya*, etc.) are not put down in them, the author goes on to say (Fol. 11b) :

पञ्चमौ गतिमापन्नं पञ्चनस्वार्थदेशिनम् ।
प्रणय वचसां वर्ये प्रपञ्चं पञ्चवस्तुकम् ॥

In now proceeding to give a short account of the contents of the Jainendra-grammar, I have first to state that the MSS. which have been described in the above, contain two different recensions of the text of the Sūtras, a shorter one which has been followed by Abhayānandin and in the Panchavastuka, and a longer one

³ स्वस्ति श्रीकोलापुरदेशान्तर्वैद्योक्तुः कामहास्यानयुधिष्ठिरावतारमहामण्डले श्वरगण्डरादित्यदेवनिर्मोपनिबन्धुवननिलक - विनालये श्रीमन्तरमपरमेष्ठिश्रीनेमिनाथश्रीवाद्यद्वाराधनव - श्वेन शार्दिभगताकुञ्जाश्रीविशालकीर्तिगण्डतदेववैद्यानुत्पन्नः श्रीम - च्छिलाहारकुलकमलमार्तण्डतेजःपुञ्जराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपर -

which is the basis of Somadēva's commentary. In both the text is divided into 5 Adhyāyas (पञ्चाध्यायाः पारिमाणस्य पञ्चकं जनेन्द्रम् । पञ्चकं विदन्त्यधी - यते वा पञ्चका जनेन्द्रः), each Adhyāya consisting of 4 Pādas; but whereas in the shorter recension the total number of Sūtras hardly amounts to 3000, Somadēva's text contains no less than 3,712 rules. There are also some slight differences in the formation of the Pratyāhāras, in the employment of technical terms, and in the arrangement and wording of the rules, but as all these differences do not materially affect the character of the work, it is possible to base an estimate of it mainly on the shorter and, I may add, original text.

And here I may remark that among the various grammars which have come under my notice, there is none more wanting in originality, none more worthless than the *Jainendram*. It was indeed difficult for later grammarians to add to the store of knowledge which had been collected by Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patanjali; nevertheless there has been no lack of scholars who have endeavoured to improve on the arrangement of the Ashtādhyāyī, and who, each in his way, have done useful work. The Jainendra-grammar, taken as a whole, is a copy of Pāṇini pure and simple, and the sole principle on which it was manufactured, appears to be that 'the saving of half a short vowel affords as much delight as the birth of a son.'

The Jainendra-grammar omits all those rules of Pāṇini's grammar, which treat of the Vedic idiom. Of the rules relating to the accents it retains only (in a somewhat altered form) the general rules which define the terms *Udātta*, *Anudātta* and *Svarita*, and the technical rule स्वर्तितेनाधिकारः. Pratyāhāra-Sūtras are not given, but the Pratyāhāras used are Pāṇini's. For the rest, both the order of the rules and the rules themselves are, generally speaking, the same as in Pāṇini's grammar, and the compiler's ingenuity is exclusively exerted in the endeavour to economize one or more syllables. To this end he transposes the words of a rule;² he omits the particle च (see *Mahibhāshya* on P. I, 3,

ममहारकर्णक्षमचक्रवर्तिश्रीवीरभोजदेवविजयराक्ये शकवर्षेक - सहस्रेकशतसप्तविंशतितमकीधनसंवत्सरे स्वस्तिस्वामस्वानवशवि - द्याचक्रवर्तिश्रीगुरुवपादमदानुरक्तचेतसा श्रीमत्सौमदेवमुनी - श्वरेण विरचितेयं शब्दार्णवचन्द्रिका नाम श्रुतं तैः ॥

² भित्तो ऽत एव = P. VII, 1, 9 अतो भित्त एव्.

93); he uses words in आदि and compound words generally in the singular*; he employs व instead of विभावा or अन्वतरस्याम्;† and in general he substitutes shorter words for longer ones, इव for ओपम्य (P. I, 4, 79), परे for परस्मिन् (वा परे = P. III, 3, 132, परस्मिन्विभावा), मेद for विशेष (P. IV, 2, 4), नृ for मनुष्य, म for नक्षत्र, रैति for आहरति (P. IV, 3, 51), सञ्ज्ञे for परिशिष्यमान (P. III, 4, 55) etc. But the most effective means which he employs to attain his object is the formation or, in some cases, the adoption, of a large number of short technical terms, which are collected in the following list:—

व = *hrasva*, दी = *dirgha*, प = *pluta**; वि = *laghu*, रु = *guru*; एप् = *guṇa*, ऐप् = *ovidhī*, हु = *evīdhī*; रि = *pragṛīya*, उ = *anunāsika*, ख = *savarna*, स्त = *sāmyoga*, जि = *samprasāraṇa*.

मूढ = *prātipadika*, व्य = *pratyaya*, इन् = *taddhita*, व्य = *kṛīya*, रि = *tadrija*, न = *nishkṛī*, गु = *anya*, थ = *sarvanāmasthāna*.

स = *samāsa*, व = *talpuruṣa*, य = *karmadhāraya*, र = *dvigu*, व = *bahuvrīhi*, इ = *avyayibhāva*, सु = *uttarapada*, ल्यच् = *upasarjana*.

धृ धातु, वि = *akarmako dhātuḥ*, ग = *sārvadhātuka*, अग = *śrīdhadhātuka*, म = *parasmaipada*, द = *ātmanepada*, अ = *abhyāsa*, थ = *abhyasta*, एक = *ekavachana*, द्वि = *dvivachana*, बहु = *bahuvchana*, अस्मद् = *uttama*, मध्यम् = *madhyama*, अन्त्य = *prathama*, द्वि = *bhāvakarman*.

वि = *acyaya*, नि = *nipāta*, गि = *upasarga*, ति = *gati*. ल = *lopa*, लृप् = *luk*, उच् = *lu*, उच् = *lup*; लृ = *saijnā*, इन् = *śaśh*, सु = *nauli*, वाच् = *upapada*, वि = *ānredhita*, नप् = *napuṣaka*.

To obtain short names for the case-terminations the compiler ingeniously forms the term वि-भक्ती for 'termination' generally and tells us that we must add the vowel आ to the several consonants of this word, and the consonant ए to its vowels in order to arrive at वा = *prathamā*, इप् = *dvitīyā*, मा = *tritīyā*, अप् = *chaturthī*, का = *pañchanā*, ता = *ṣaṣṭhī*, ईप् = *saptamī*. To complete the list, he substitutes चोप for *āmantrita*, and क्रि for *sambuddhi*.

I have not considered it necessary to indicate the gender of the terms enumerated in this list, but not to deprive the author of any credit

* सर्वोदिः सर्वनाम = P. I, 1, 27 सर्वोदीनि सर्वनामानि.

† वा गो = P. II, 8, 59 विभाषोपसर्ग.

* आकानो ऽप्यदीपः

† See e.g. *Kāśikā-vṛitti* on P. II, 4, 21 पाणिन्नुपसर्गका-

that may be due to him, I may state that in order to show the working of the difficult rule सर्वे परम् (= P. I, 4, 2 विवतिषे परं कार्यम्), he employs some terms in the masculine and others in the neuter, and lays down the rule : that where two terms would seem to be simultaneously applicable, the neuter term must give way to one of different gender. रुः (i.e. *guru*) in this manner supersedes वि (i.e. *laghu*), मः supersedes पद्म्, इः (i.e. *ātmanepada*) supersedes मम् (i.e. *parasmaipada*), etc. By means of this device the author has been enabled to embody in the text of his Sūtras much of what we are taught in the Vārttikas on P. I, 4, 1. (See *Mahābhāṣya*, vol. I, p. 301.)

The Vārttikas are the source of another innovation which is of no mean importance to us because it will help us to settle the question of the authorship of the Jainendram. The 3rd Āhnikā of Adhy. I, Pāda 2, of the *Mahābhāṣya* treats of the so-called *Ekaśeṣa*-rules of Pāṇini's grammar (I, 2, 64-73) and the main result of a long and sometimes difficult discussion is this that Pāṇini might have saved himself the trouble of giving his rules, because it lies in the nature of words that e.g. the one base राम should denote two or more Rāmas just as it denotes one Rāma (*Mahābh.* vol. I, p. 242 अधिपान्.....स्वाभाविकम्). This doctrine the author of the Jainendram accepts; he omits all the rules on *Ekaśeṣa*, and to defend the course he has adopted he lays down the maxim—

I, 1, 99 स्वाभाविकत्वादिभिधानस्यैकशेषानाम्भः

'(The rules on) *Ekaśeṣa* I do not give, because it is the nature (of words) to denote (two or more objects as well as one).'

Hence it is that the Jainendra-grammar is the अनेकशेष व्याकरणम् just as Pāṇini's grammar is the अक्रान्तकं व्याकरणम्.⁷

The names of the grammatical authorities mentioned by Pāṇini are invariably omitted in the Jainendram, the rule for which an authority is quoted by Pāṇini being simply made optional.⁸ To make up for this, the compiler quotes six⁹ authorities of his own, Śrīdatā, Yaśobhadra, Bhūtibali, Prabhāchandra, Siddhasena, and

लकं व्याकरणम्, and *Padamanjarī* पूर्वाणि व्याकरणान्यधतना-दिकालपरिभाषायुक्तानि, तत्रैतानि व्याकरणम्. See P. I, 2, 57.

* e.g. कौ वेतो = P. I, 1, 16 संजुहो वाक्यस्येनावाचनैः.

† The longer recension omits Yaśobhadra, but adds *Eke*, *Keçit*, and *Anyeshām*.

Samantabhadra; but as all these are mentioned in such rules as are optional with Pāṇini¹⁰ the process adopted in the case of Pāṇini's authorities appears here simply to have been inverted. A commentary on the *Dvyaśrayamahābhāṣya* of Hemachandra tells us that Siddhasena was not a grammarian, and the same we may believe of the rest until their grammars have been discovered.

On the longer recension of the work which has been commented on by Somadeva, little need be said here. Though many rules have been added in it from the Vārttikas, rules of the other recension have, where it appeared possible, here been made even shorter,¹¹ or have been altogether omitted.¹² The number of *Pratyāhārasūtras* has been reduced to 13, and a place has been given in them to the *Ayogavāhas*. The rules defining *Udātta*, etc., are omitted, and so are the terms *anudātta* and *svarita* of the shorter recension. For *Sarvanāmu* and *Samkhyā* we find लि and लिः; on the other hand there is no *Samprasāraṇa*, nor any equivalent for it. And though in the commentary the work is still called the *anekaśeṣam vyākaraṇam*, all the *Ekaśeṣa*-rules have been reintroduced from Pāṇini.

The existence of the Jainendra-grammar first became known through Vopadeva's *Dhātupāṭha*, in the introductory lines of which a grammarian *Jainendra* is enumerated with *Sākātyana*, Pāṇini, and other grammarians.

इन्द्रबन्धः काशकृष्णापित्रादी शक्रतपनः ।
पाणिन्यमरचैनेन्द्रा जयन्यष्टादिशास्त्रिकाः ॥

Some European scholars have, I do not know on what authority, transformed the name Jainendra into *Jinendra*, and they have discussed the question whether this *Jinendra* is the same as *Jinendraheddi*, the author of a gloss on the *Kāśikā-vṛitti*. The commentators on the Jainendra-grammar frequently speak of their grammar as the जैनेन्द्रम् and call its followers जैनेन्द्राः, but they nowhere mention a grammarian *Jinendra* or *Jainendra* as the author of it, and I fear that the grammarian *Jainendra* is nothing but a fiction of Vopadeva's.

¹⁰ P. II, 3, 25; III, 1, 113, 120; V, 1, 86; VI, 3, 72; VII, 1, 7; and VIII, 4, 62.

¹¹ E.g. P. II, 3, 5 कालाञ्जनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे: Short Rec. कालाञ्जनव्यभिच्छेदे; Longer Rec. कालाञ्जनव्यभिदे.

¹² E.g. P. II, 3, 1 अनभिहिते: Shorter Rec. अनुक्ते; Longer Rec. अनि.

¹³ E.g. in the first verse of the *Moharājaparājaya*, an

On the last page of the palm-leaf MS. of the *Śabdāraṇavachandrikā*, which I have mentioned above, there occurs a verse which, owing to the fragmentary state of the leaf, is incomplete, but of which luckily enough remains to show that the personage referred to in Vopadeva's verse was designated *Pūjyapāda*.

इन्द्रबन्धश्चक्रतपनः पाणिनिः पूज्यपादो
कपोवावापिशक्तिरमरः काशकृष्णः
..... शब्दपारायणे ऽस्मि ॥

Somadeva mentions this *Pūjyapāda* also in the body of his commentary. For a rule which corresponds to P. I, 4, 86, he gives the instance अनु पूज्यपादे वैयकरणाः; for another rule corresponding to P. II, 1, 6, he instances इतिपूज्यपादम्; and finally, when for the rule which corresponds to P. IV, 3, 115, he instances पौज्यपादमेकशेषव्याकरणम्, he thereby clearly tells us that the *Anekaśeṣa*—i.e. the Jainendra-grammar is the work of *Pūjyapāda*.

That this *Pūjyapāda* was not an ordinary grammarian, but is the *Pūjyapāda kar* ईश्वर. Mahāvira, the last of the Jinas, to whom the title *Jinendra* is applied not infrequently,¹³ we learn from the tradition of the Jainas regarding the origin of the Jainendra-grammar.

When Mahāvira—so the story goes, and it is with slight variations repeated over and over again—was about eight years old, his parents thought it time that he should learn to read and write. With great pomp they accordingly took him to school and introduced him to the Guru. Then Indra, by the shaking of his throne advised of what was going on here below, came down from heaven, assumed the form of an old Brahmin, and asked the child to solve the grammatical difficulties by which the mind of the Guru had long been disturbed, and which nobody had been able to explain before. Mahāvira not only answered all the questions put to him, but he also propounded the various kinds of grammatical rules, and his utterances became the Jainendra-grammar. The Guru, delighted with what he had heard, made Mahā-

allegorical play composed by Yaśobhā in honour of king Kumārapāla. In the beginning of the *Pañchastaka* it is stated that the proper *Mangala* for the commencement of a work is जिनैन्द्रमुणस्त्रोत्रम्, and the term जिनैन्द्र is explained जिनानामिन्द्रो जिनैन्द्रः. जिनैन्द्र then is equivalent to जिनेश्वर, जिवर, जिनोत्तम, and so the word is used, e.g. in a commentary on the *Upadeśanāṣṭi*, at the commencement of a MS. of the *Gaṇavādya* and elsewhere.

vira a Guru too, and saluted by Indra, the child returned home with his parents.

In *Somayasundarasūri's* commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* the Sanskrit text of the main part of this legend is as follows: अथ भगवतो लेखशालाकरणं कथने । तस्य विस्तारस्त्वयम् । उपाध्यायशालाद्वारं भगवानानीनः । भवान्तर इन्द्रस्यासनं चलाचले जानम् । ... तत इन्द्र ... आगत्य प्रभोः पुरः प्राह । अहो अहो मानादीनीं मोहः । भगवन्तो हि विनायध्वयन विद्वंसि भवन्ति । परं भवन्तु मातापितृर्मनोरथाः पूर्णाः । तत इन्द्रो वृद्धश्राद्धणरूपं कृत्वा भगवन्तुष्वैरिग्यासन उपवेश्योपाध्यायमनोगानान्संदेशान्भवन्तं पृच्छति स्म । भगवन्तं तेषामुत्तराणि दत्तवान् । उपाध्यायश्च भगवता कथ्यमानान्युत्तराणि शृण्वन्नैवमविन्नयन् । अहो एते व्याकरणसंदेशा मम वाक्यावस्थान आरम्भाभ्युत्थरं न केनापि पण्डितेन भग्ना अनेन कालेनापि भग्नाः । अहो एतस्य बालस्य ज्ञानम् । इत्याशये क्रियमाण इन्द्र उपाध्यायपण्डितं प्राह । भो एते बालमानं सा जानाहि । अयं विभुवनस्वामी ज्ञानवयसहेतुः सर्वज्ञप्रियो महाशौरदेवः । इन्द्रेण दृष्ट्वा त्वाणि पृष्ठानि संज्ञामूलं परिभाषामूलं विधिमूलं नियममूलं प्रानेतिभूमूलमधिकारमूलमतिदेशामूलमनुवादमूलं विभाषामूलं नियमनमूलम् । भगवता चेत्यां दृष्ट्वा नी व्याकरणमूलानां प्रयुक्तराणि दत्तानि । तदा तत्र स्थाने जनेन्द्रव्याकरणं जानम् । तत उपाध्यायवैप्रेणापि भगवान्महावीरदेवो गुहः कृतः । नतो विप्रस्य बहुदानादिना संतोषं कृत्वा भगवोस्त्वयैव विच्छिच्या गृहं गतः । इन्द्रोऽपि भगवन्तं प्रणय स्वस्थानं गतः ॥

In another commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*, entitled *Kalpadrūmakalikā*, and composed by *Lakṣmīvāllabha*, we are told that the rules of grammar were propounded by Mahāvīra, and furnished with a gloss and illustrations by Indra.

नदा दशाङ्गव्याकरणं कृतम् । जिनेन मुलाणि प्रानेपादिना-नीन्द्रेण वृत्तिरुदाहरणानि दक्षिणानि । तन्त्रोके जैनेन्द्रं व्याकरणं जानम् ॥

Again, in the *Upadeśamālā-karṇikā*, by *Udayaprabhāśūri*, *Vardhamāna Mahāvīra*, the *Jainendra*, is made to reveal 'the science of words' to Indra, and the Guru is reported to have published those revelations under the title of *Jainendra-grammar*.

उपाध्यायमानोने विनाय विजगद्गुरो ।

हरोः पीठमनीवियन्त्रणैनेन काय्यम् ॥

मन्वावनेसमवर्षि गत्वा नत्वा च जिष्णुना ।

पृष्टो उध्यास्य गुरोः पीठं शब्दविद्यां जगो प्रभुः ॥

इन्द्रयेदं जिनेन्द्रेणोपदिष्टमिनि विष्टे ।

ऐन्द्राख्यं नदुपाध्यायो उध्यापयच्छब्दशासनम् ॥

These quotations, to which I might add others, will suffice to prove that the Jainas themselves generally ascribe the composition of their gram-

mar to the *Jainendra Mahāvīra*, and that for this reason they term it the *Jainendram*. We must look for an ordinary human author of the work, and we shall, I trust, have little difficulty in discovering him.

I have shown that the *Jainendram*, to distinguish it from other grammars, is called the *Anekaśeṣam vyākaraṇam*, the grammar in which there are no rules on *Ekaśeṣa*, and I may now state that the author of that grammar can be no other than *Devanandin*, a grammarian who is mentioned in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* and elsewhere. My proofs are these :

1. For the rule उपज्ञाने of the *Jainendram* (= P. IV, 3, 115) the commentator *Abhayanandin* gives the illustration देवन्दिनमनेकशेषं व्याकरणम् 'the *Anekaśeṣa* grammar composed by *Devanandin*.'

2. On the rule उपज्ञोपक्रमं तत्पृक्तौ (= P. II, 4, 21) both *Abhayanandin* and *Somadeva* quote the instance देवोपज्ञमनेकशेषव्याकरणम् 'the *Anekaśeṣa* grammar first propounded by *Deva* (i.e. *Devanandin*).'

3. On a rule which corresponds to P. I, 1, 69 and 70, and which in the shorter recension is worded 'अणुदित्स्वस्थान्मनाभाष्योऽतपरः' and in the longer recension 'स्वस्थान्मनोऽत्यरोऽणुदित्', the commentator *Somadeva* quotes the following verse :

अधेशः प्रणयश्चैव कटमेतो हि लक्ष्मणि ।

भाष्यशब्देन पञ्चैने कथ्यन्ते देवन्दिभिः ॥

'By the word भाष्य in this rule *Devanandin* denotes the following five, viz. a substitute, an affix, that which has क, that which has ट, and that which has म् for its *Anubandha*.' (See *Mahābhāṣya*, vol. I, page 177.)

4. The MS. of the *Panchavastuka* ends with the remark that 'this is the work of the *Āchārya Devanandin*.' But as the explanatory part of the *Panchavastuka* is in the body of the MS. stated to belong to *Śrutakīrti*, I take the truth of that remark to be that *Devanandin* was the author of the rules rearranged and commented on in the *Panchavastuka*.

5. Finally, I believe that the author of the *Jainendram* himself has suggested to us his name in the very first lines of his work, which have been quoted already, and which run thus :

लक्ष्मीराऽन्तिको यस्य निरवयवाभसने ।

देवन्दितपूजेशो नमस्तस्मै स्वयम् ॥

ON THE GRAMMARIAN BHARTṚIHARI.

By PROF. F. KIELHORN, Ph. D., GÖTTINGEN.

Whatever may be the opinions of scholars regarding the dates generally which Professor Müller in his *Notes* on the "Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature" has assigned to the chief works of the so-called classical Sanskrit, there can be no doubt that Professor Müller is right in placing the grammarian *Bhartṛihari* and the *Kāśikā-vṛitti* before the middle of the 7th century A.D. This date is fixed by that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who has left us an interesting account of the course of study pursued in the grammatical schools of India at the time of his visit to that country.* I propose to compare I-tsing's statements regarding the works of *Bhartṛihari* with what we know of them from existing MSS. or commentaries, and to inquire if those works furnish any data that may help to fix the time of other authors.

According to Professor Müller, I-tsing's account of *Bhartṛihari's* works, so far as it is necessary to mention it here, is as follows :—

'Next, there is the *Bhartṛihari-discourse*, a commentary on the . . . *Chūṛṇī*, the work of the great scholar *Bhartṛihari*. It contains 25,000 ślokaas.'

'There is, besides, the *Vākya-discourse* (*Vākya-pādika*), which contains 700 ślokaas.'

'Next, there is the *Piva* or *Pūla* or *Vina*. It contains 3,000 verses of *Bhartṛihari*.'

In the first of these works Professor Müller recognizes *Bhartṛihari's* commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, and in the second the *Vākya-pādika*; as regards the last work he inclines to believe that I-tsing is speaking of the *Bhaṭṭi-kāṇya*, 'supposing that *Bhaṭṭi* could in Chinese have been represented by *Pida*.'

From existing MSS. we know that *Bhartṛihari* has written a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, and a work in three chapters (*trīṇḍa*)

* India, *What can it teach us?* pp. 281-366.

Loc. cit. pp. 343-349. In the first work mentioned by I-tsing, the elementary *Sūdhānta*, I would recognize a kind of *Lipi* or *Mātrikā-vivṛita*, similar to the one of *Kabandrasārman*, which teaches the letters, their combinations, the organs with which they are pronounced, &c. I think I am right in stating that both in Brahmanical and Jaina indigenous schools, the first thing children learn is the phrase ओ नमः सिद्धम्.—For the use of the auspicious word सिद्ध at the commencement of literary works I need refer only e.g. to the first of *Kātyāyana's* *Vṛttikas* and I would draw attention to the fact that *Kātyāyana* has employed the

commonly called *Vākya-pādika*. The commentators and later grammarians generally inform us that his commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* did not extend over more than three *Pādas*, and, so far as I know, they do not ascribe to him any works besides that commentary and the *Vākya-pādika*.⁶ In proof of this I may quote *Helārāja*, who, towards the end of his own commentary, thus speaks of *Bhartṛihari* :—

वैलोक्यगामिनी येन त्रिकाण्डी लिपदी कृता ।

तस्मै समस्विचात्रिकात्याय हरये नमः ॥

Whether the whole of *Bhartṛihari's* commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* is still in existence, it is impossible to say. I have never heard of any MS. of it except the Berlin one which does not go beyond the 7th *Āhnika* of the first *Pāda*; it is incomplete at the beginning and defective in the middle, and altogether very incorrect. But even from this imperfect and faulty MS. it is clear that *Bhartṛihari's* was a very full and elaborate commentary, that its author knew more than one gloss on the *Mahābhāṣya* of which we know nothing, that his MSS. exhibited readings not to be met with in any of the MSS. which have hitherto become accessible, and that *Kaiyaṭa's* commentary—at least for the first seven *Āhnikas*—is but a very meagre extract from the work of *Bhartṛihari*. Considering that *Bhartṛihari's* commentary is at least four times as extensive as *Kaiyaṭa's*, and that *Kaiyaṭa's* comment on the first three *Pādas* contains about 6,000 ślokaas, we may well believe that the *Tripadī* contained 25,000 ślokaas, which is the figure given by I-tsing. I-tsing is right too in calling *Bhartṛihari's* work a commentary on the *Chūṛṇī*, for *Bhartṛihari* himself calls the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* the *Chūṛṇīkāra*, or author of the *Chūṛṇī*. (Berlin MS. pp. 92a, 102b, 121a.)

same auspicious term at the end of the last *Vṛttika* in every one of the eight *Adhyāyas*. Curious it is that the author of the *Vājaneyi-pratīkhyā* should have wound up every one of his eight *Adhyāyas* with the similarly auspicious expression इह सिद्धिः.—I-tsing's statement about the so-called *Khilas* appears to me to contain some mistake. *Khilapātha* occurs *Kāśikā-vṛitti*, I, 3, 2, and is explained there by *Hamdatta* to comprise the *Dhatupātha*, *Prātipadika* (i.e., *Gaṇa-pātha* and *Vākya-pātha*).

⁶ The *Āri-kārikās* are no separate work, *Āri-kārikā* being merely another expression for 'a verse from the *Vākya-pādika*.'

The work usually called *Vākya-pāṭīya* has long ceased to be studied in India. MSS. of it are rare, and generally incorrect. In all of them the work is divided into three *Kāṇḍas*, and the whole is therefore also named *Trikāṇḍī*. The first of the three chapters which is called *Brahmakāṇḍa* or *Āgama-samuchchaya* contains in most MSS. 183, the second or *Vākya-kāṇḍa* 487 ślokas. The third or *Pada-kāṇḍa* consists of 14 sections (*Samuḍdeśa*), with a total of 1315 ślokas. The *Vākya-pāṭīya* then, such as we have it, contains altogether 1985, or in round numbers 2000 ślokas, and this is the figure given at the end of Colebrooke's MS. (together with the additional remark Rupees 2½').

Such being the case, it appears to me that I-tsing's statement, according to which the *Vākya*-discourse contained 700 ślokas, cannot refer to the work to which our MSS. give the title *Vākya-pāṭīya*; for I see no reason to believe that a writer who gives correctly the extent of Pīṇini's grammar, of the *Kāśikā-vṛitti*, of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and, so far as we can judge, of Bhartṛihari's commentary, should have made a mistake or been misinformed in this case. On the contrary, I hope to show that I-tsing's account is as accurate here as it is in the case of the other works which he describes, and I believe that I can at the same time suggest the Sanskrit title of the last work mentioned by him, the '*Pīna* or *Pida* or *Vīna*' which Professor Müller hesitatingly understands to be the *Bhāṭṭikārya*.

Vardhamāna describes Bhartṛihari, whom he mentions in his *Gaṅaratanumatoladhī*, as वाचस्पतीयप्रकीर्णकयोः कृतं महाभाष्यनिपया व्याख्याता च 'the author of the *Vākya-pāṭīya* and *Prakīrṇaka*, and commentator of three *Pīdas* of the *Mahābhāṣya*.' The expression '*Vākya-pāṭīya* and *Prakīrṇaka*,' is here equivalent to the term *Trikāṇḍī* in the verse cited from Helārāja, and must be understood to denote the work which the MSS. call simply *Vākya-pāṭīya*. As a South-Indian MS. uses *Prakīrṇaka* synonymously with *Pada-kāṇḍa*, and as moreover Helārāja calls his commentary on the *Pada-kāṇḍa*—*Prakīrṇa-prakāśa*, it is clear that *Prakīrṇa* or *Prakīrṇaka* was a name for what is now considered the third chapter of the *Vākya-pāṭīya*, and it follows that as late as the 12th century the term *Vākya-pāṭīya* was

employed to denote the first and second chapters only of Bhartṛihari's work.

After this it is hardly necessary to say that I understand I-tsing's statement about the *Vākya* discourse to refer to the *Vākya-pāṭīya* in this restricted sense, which would contain 670 or, roughly speaking, 700 ślokas, and that I would recognize in the '*Pīna*' the *Prakīrṇa* or *Pada-kāṇḍa*. I am aware that the number of ślokas which I-tsing assigns to the *Pīna* does not agree with the actual number of ślokas of the *Prakīrṇa*, but am inclined to think that this very discrepancy speaks rather in favour of than against my identification. Not to mention my own views on the subject, we have P u n y a r ā j a's distinct testimony, that already in his time the *Pada-kāṇḍa* was no longer complete, 'either because it had ceased to be studied, or through the carelessness of copyists, or through other causes.' I-tsing's statement is the more valuable as suggesting how much of Bhartṛihari's work may really have been lost.

Excepting the well-known verses at the end of the *Vākya-kāṇḍa*, Bhartṛihari refers to other literary works, both in the *Vākya-pāṭīya* and the *Prakīrṇa*, only in such general terms as *Smṛityantara* and *Vyākaraṇantara*, by which the commentators understand the grammars of Āpīśali and Kāśakṛitṣa. In his commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* he cites of writers on grammar by name the Āpīśalāḥ and K u ṇ i, the commentator of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Besides he mentions or quotes:—the *Taittirīyāḥ* and *Vājasaneyināḥ*; the *Āśvalāyana*- and *Āyastamba*-(*śrauta*)-*sūtras*, and a *Bahvricha*-(*śrauta*)-*sūtra*-*bhāṣya*; the *Nirukta*, *Prāśiā-khyas*, *Śikṣhās* in general, and a verse from the *Pāṇinīya-śikṣhā* in particular; *Dharmasūtrakā-rāḥ*; the *Mīmāṃsaka-darśana*, *Sūnkhyā-darśana*, *Vaiśeṣika-darśana* and the *Naiyāyikāḥ*. But what I would call particular attention to, is the fact that Bhartṛihari also mentions and quotes three times from the *Vaidyaka* and *Chāraka*, and that it is therefore certain that of Indian writers on medicine *Chāraka* at any rate must be placed before the middle of the 7th century.

I hope to prove elsewhere by the help of Bhartṛihari's commentary, that later grammarians are wrong in identifying Gonardīya with Patanjali.

QUOTATIONS IN THE MAHABHASHYA AND THE KASIKAVRITTI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN; GOTTINGEN.

Professor Peterson's discovery (announced in his remarks on the *Auchityālakāra* of Kshēmūndra, p. 22) that a certain Sanskrit verse, of which a part is quoted by Patañjali, is ascribed to the poet Kumārādāsa, is, to say the least, very interesting; and I hope that similar discoveries may be made regarding some of the other quotations which occur in the *Mahābhāṣya*. To render in this matter such assistance as it is in my power to give, I have, for the sake of ready reference, collected from the *Mahābhāṣya* all those passages which may appear to be quotations from poetical works composed in classical Sanskrit. Many of those passages have been already cited by Professor Weber in his article on the *Mahābhāṣya*; but others are given here for the first time. I still consider the *Mahābhāṣya* an old work, and am inclined to believe that the occurrence in it of such verses or fragments of verses as we do find in it, tends to show that the so-called classical poetry is older than it has lately been represented to be. I have added similar quotations occurring in the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*, which I have noted down during my study of that work.

MAHABHASHYA:

- Vol. I. p. 3. बभ्रुवृत्तवर्णानां पटीनां मण्डलं महत् ।
पीठं न गमयस्त्वयै किं तत्कृतगतं नयेत् ॥
I. 277 and II. 59.
एति जीवन्तमानन्ः ।¹
- I. 283. वरतनु संभवन्ति कुकुदाः ।²
(Metre, *Varatanu* or *Mālatī*.)
- I. 283. उनी लोकी संवसि इमं चामुं च रेवल ।
- I. 313. बसिन्वच सहचानि पुत्रे जाति गवां रसो ।
त्राकनेभः पिवाकनेभः सोऽवमुच्छेन
जीवति ॥
- I. 340. आ वनान्नासोपकान्तायिचं पान्यमनुजज्ञेहा ।
I. 382 and 392. सर्वमेकनीतरे ।
- I. 384. पण्डुवृत्ताधराधराः ।
I. 411 and II. 363. सपः श्रुतं च बोधिवेत्सेत्-
दूराक्षकारकम् ।
सपःश्रुता-भां बो धीनो जातित्राक्षप एवसः ॥
- I. 426. अस्तिजितीनोऽस्रसवार पाण्डवम् ।
- I. 426. उकर्वन्निशीबिच वलं कृष्णस्व वर्धलात् ।

¹ See ante, Vol. III. p. 124.
² See Prof. Peterson, on the *Auchityālakāra* of Kshēmūndra, p. 22.

- I. 430. उपास्यात् स्थूलसिक्तं नृष्णीगज्जुः महाइवम् ।
दीपं चैवचको गन्तुं मा यातामां कृताकृते ।
- I. 431. अहरवर्चमानां मानचं पुरुषं पत्नम् ।
वैवस्यतो न नृप्यति सुतया इव पुष्पे ॥
- I. 435. सङ्कुन्निशीबिचानाम् ।
- I. 435. सुवज्जुःचङ्कुन्निशीबिचः पुण्ड्रवन्ति संसहि ।
- I. 436. प्रासाव धनपतिरामकेयवामानम् ।
(Metre, *Praharshipi*.)
- I. 444. इयुषितं न प्रतिमानि किञ्चित् ।
- I. 449. वाताव कपिना विद्युत्तपावातिलोहिनी ।
पीता भवति सस्वाव शुभिसाव सितभवेत् ॥
- I. 457. दूरावसथान्मुमं दूरावारावसेचनम् ।³
दूराव भाव्यं इत्तु-भो दूराव कुपितामुरोः ॥
- I. 458. चर्मणि शीपिन् हन्ति हन्तोर्हन्ति कुकुदम् ।
केचोपु चर्मणो हन्ति सीपिन् पुष्कतको हतः ॥
- II. 25. तपस्वते लोकजिगीषुसेः ।
- II. 102. भास्वन्निशीबरति नृप्यसंभवान् ।
(Metre, *Vasantailakā*.)
- II. 119. जपान कंसं किल वासुदेवः ।
- II. 147. गौरिवाकृतनीषारः प्रावेण शिपिरे कृषः ।
- II. 167. कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरति प्रजाः ।
- II. 213. रात्रिं रात्रिं स्मरिष्यन्तः रात्रिं रात्रिमाजानतः ।
सर्षो रात्रिं सरोषिरवाः । वृत्त्वानि-
कान्तरात्रिन् ॥ (?)
- II. 213. मयते स्वया पतिमती प्रियवी ।
(Metre, *Pramūlksiarī*.)
- II. 220. वीणि बत्वावसताति विद्या बोधिच कर्म
च ।
एतच्छिवं विवागीधि ब्राह्मणाम्भव लभ-
यम् ॥
- II. 280. आढाव धृतपाप्मानो भास्करा वातनृष्यवः ।
- II. 422. भासितच्छे किल नृष्णीकामितः पदवन
चिन्तितव ॥
- II. 438. सेमे सुनिसे कृतसंभवानि
पुराणि रातां विनयति कोपम् ।
- III. 28. अहमपीनमुखां कन्या ।
- III. 58. ऊर्ध्वं प्राणा श्रुत्कामन्ति हूनः स्पष्टिर
आवति ।
प्रब्रुव्यानिवासोऽभां पुनस्तामप्रतिपद्यते ॥⁴
- III. 75. इवैव भव मा एग गाः ।
- III. 143. अनार्धनस्वात्मचक्षुषं एव ।
- III. 175. पुना रूपानि कल्पन्त ।
- III. 288. महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा कुकुपुः पुत्रवनापवाः ।
- III. 338. यिमां नयूः प्रतिनृषीति ।

³ See Manu IV. 151.
⁴ See Manu II. 120.

III. 338. वदस्व नरवर ननुतीषि हटः ।
(Metre, Prakarshijā)
III. 367. सावृतेः पानिनिर्गन्तव्यं गुरवो न विप्री-
सितैः ।
लाटनाश्विनो रोषास्ताडनाश्विनो गुणाः ॥
III. 402 and 403. चकारि पिलसि चिरः ।
KASIKĀ-VṚITTI.
On Pāṇini I. 1, 11. नप्रीवोस्त्व लम्बेते प्रिवो वरस्त-
ती नमः ।⁶
P. I. 1, 35. धृगाबन्त इवाभिराः प्रउपलन्तीष संघताः ।
उप्युक्तातीष मेऽभी स्वा ज्ञातयो नरलपेभ ॥
P. I. 3, 23. संघात्वं कर्णसिद्धि तिष्ठते वः ।⁷
P. II. 2, 28. सहेव वरानिः पुषेभोरं वरसि गर्भनी ।
P. II. 3, 32. विना वार्तं विना वरं विद्युत्पतनं विना ।
विना हस्तिरुक्तान्चोषान्केनेनो पतितो हुनो ॥⁸
P. II. 4, 23. वृःक्षे हेयन्तसिचिरे ।
P. II. 4, 28. अहोरात्राविनो पुण्यौ ।
P. III. 2, 138. चाश्विपुना लोहितचन्नेन ।
P. III. 3, 49. पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः ।⁹
P. IV. 1, 31. तिमिरपटलैरवगुण्डिताश्च राष्वाः ।(?)
P. IV. 1, 39. गतो गणस्तूरमसिक्तिकानाम् ।
P. IV. 1, 50. सा हि तस्व धनक्रीता मापेभ्यो ऽपि
गरीचसी ।

⁶ According to Böhtlingk and Both from the Mahā-
bhārata.
⁷ See Kāśikā-śūnyo, III. 14.
⁸ The Kashmir MS. reads विना हस्तिरुक्तं वरं, and adds:—
विना वार्तं विना विसं वैचोपकरणं विना ।
विना वैचकृतं वीषं केनेनो मारितो नरो ॥
⁹ See Indische Sprüche, 6948.
¹⁰ Some MSS. have वयां for तथा.
¹¹ Some MSS. have रीयां.

P. IV. 1, 99. प्रवीचतां ह्यारयाव भैथिनी ।
P. IV. 2, 103. तथा हि ज्ञातं दिनवस्तु कान्यकम् ।¹⁰
P. IV. 3, 10. हेय्वं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् ।¹¹
P. IV. 3, 56. आरयन्तं चरं विचरम् ।
P. V. 3, 115. कानकोषी ननुव्यापानं खारितो वृका-
विच ।¹²
P. V. 4, 122. श्रीविचस्वेव ते राजन्मन्त्रकस्वाल्पमेधसः ।
अनुवाक्यता दुस्त्रितेषा तस्वार्थवतीनी ॥
P. VI. 1, 63. व्यापानमुपगमात्स्व पञ्चाशुवार्तितस्व च ।
व्यापयो नोपसर्पन्ति वैनतेयवियोरयोः ॥¹³
P. VI. 1, 98. घटसि विन्मीरन्स्वूर्नरिणम् ।
P. VI. 1, 134. सैष ह्यारथी रामः सैष राजा सुधिरः ।¹⁴
P. VI. 1, 150. सर्वे चक्रुन्वो अस्वाविष्काराः कुक्षुदाहते ।
P. VI. 1, 152. मानमद्य प्रवेद्वामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कषः ।
P. VI. 2, 14. समुद्रमार्गं न सरोऽस्ति किञ्चन ।
P. VII. 3, 34. सूर्यविश्रामभूमिः ।¹⁵
P. VII. 3, 35. भक्तकथेन विद्येत वधकोऽपि न विद्यते ।
P. VIII. 1, 18. रुद्रो विष्केचरो देवो बुध्माकं कुतरेवता ।
स एव माधो भगवानस्माकं शक्रमर्षेन ॥
P. VIII. 4, 6. फली वनस्पतिर्ज्ञेयो वृक्षाः पृथक्कल्पंगमाः ।
भोग्यः फलपाकान्ता लता गुन्माध-
वीरुषः ॥¹⁶

¹¹ See Indische Sprüche, 2350.
¹² See Śūnyo II. 139, 12, where the verse ends (सिं
ह्रदभृगा इव.
¹³ The Kashmir MS. adds in the margin सैष द्वयोर्धनो राजा
सैष पार्थो धनक्षयः ।
¹⁴ This appears to be the reading of Haradatta, for he
adds विधानिभूमिर्गिति पठितेन्यमित्यर्थः; the printed
text has सूर्यविश्राम भूमिः.
¹⁵ Compare Charaka, Calc. Ed. p. 7.

Der Grammatiker Pāṇini.

Von
F. Kielhorn.

Prof. Pischel hat in der Zeitschr. d. D. Morg. Ges. XXXIX S. 95—98 zwei Verse eines Dichters Pāṇini aus Nami's Rudraṭakāvyālamkāratippanaka mitgetheilt und wahrscheinlich zu machen gesucht daß der Dichter und der Grammatiker Pāṇini eine Person seien. Dieser Pāṇini würde in das 6te, frühestens 5te Jahrhundert nach Chr. zu setzen sein, und es würde dann keine so große Lücke zwischen der *Ashtādhyāyī* und der *Kāśikā* bestehen 'wie man jetzt annehmen muß, und wie es ganz unwahrscheinlich ist'.

Ich will versuchen mit wenigen Worten darzulegen was uns über das gegenseitige Verhältniß der erhaltenen grammatischen Werke

Nachrichten von der K. G. d. W. zu Göttingen. 1885. Nr. 6.

der Inder von Pāṇini bis etwa zur Mitte des 7ten Jahrhunderts nach Chr. bekannt ist. Vorher jedoch bemerke ich daß Nami's Worte ebensowenig wie eine anonyme Strophe ein Beweis für die Identität des Dichters und des Grammatikers Pāṇini sein können und daß die von Nami citirten Stellen eher gegen als für solche Identität sprechen.

'Obgleich', so übersetze ich abweichend von Pischel, 'der Gebrauch falscher Formen schon indirect dadurch verboten ist daß vom Dichter umfassende gelehrte Bildung (und deshalb natürlich auch eine Kenntniß der Grammatik¹⁾) verlangt worden ist, so tadelt der Verfasser doch noch ausdrücklich den Gebrauch solcher Formen um zu zeigen daß man besondere Aufmerksamkeit auf ihre Vermeidung verwenden müsse, weil er findet daß sogar große (und mit der Grammatik vertraute) Dichter (ans Unachtsamkeit) falsche Formen gebraucht haben'. Als Beweise für den Schluß des Satzes citirt Nami zwei Stellen Pāṇini's in denen गृक्ष fälschlich für गृहोत्वा²⁾ und पश्यती fälschlich für पश्यन्ती gebraucht worden sind. Ist es aber wahrscheinlich, daß der Grammatiker Pāṇini seine eigenen Regeln VII, 1, 37 समासे ऽनञ्पूर्वे क्लो ल्यप् und VII, 1, 81 श्रृण्वन्तोर्नित्यम् vergessen haben sollte?

Wichtiger ist die Frage nach dem Zeitalter dieses Pāṇini. Wenn ich hier zunächst meine eigene Ansicht aussprechen darf, so ist es die daß Pāṇini der vedischen Litteratur weit näher steht als der sogenannten classischen; daß er einer Zeit angehört in der das Sanskrit mehr war als eine Sprache der Gelehrten.

Ich gebe zu, daß das Bestreben die Zeit eines Grammatikers aus den von ihm gegebenen Beispielen bestimmen zu wollen, zu einem sichern Resultate deshalb nicht immer führen kann, weil wir nicht wissen ob solche Beispiele von ihm selbst gebildet oder seinen Vorgängern entnommen sind. Dieselben Beispiele finden sich in den Werken der jüngeren wie in denen der älteren Grammatiker. Wäre das Mahābhāshya verloren gegangen, so würden wir aus den Beispielen der Kāśikā für den Gebrauch des Imperfectums (Kāś. III, 2, 111) und aus der Erwähnung des Pushyamitra für das Alter dieses Werkes vielleicht dieselben Schlüsse ziehn die jetzt für das Mahābhāshya gezogen werden trotz der Thatsache daß Patanjali ältere Werke ebenso benutzt hat wie es die Verfasser der Kāśikā gethan haben. Wenn aber Pāṇini z. B. in Uebereinstimmung mit dem vorherrschenden Gebrauche der ältern Sprache das Periphr. Perfectum nur mit dem Verbum kri bildet, während die Schriftsteller des 6ten Jahrhunderts kri, bhû und as ohne Unterschied gebrauchen;

¹⁾ Siehe Kāvyaaprakāśa pag. 3.

²⁾ Für क्लोऽपवादे प्रः ist क्लो ल्यवादेः प्रः zu lesen.

wenn seine Lehre über die Verwendung des Aorists durch die Praxis der Brāhmaṇas bestätigt wird, während die spätere Zeit das Verständnis für die Unterschiede der Tempora der Vergangenheit verloren hat; wenn seine Regeln für den Gebrauch der Casus in einem Brāhmaṇa bis in die geringfügigsten Details beobachtet werden, Abweichungen von denselben dagegen bei classischen Schriftstellern nicht selten sind, so fühlen wir daß wir auf festerem Boden stehn, und werden Pāṇini eher Jahrhunderte vor Chr. als zusammen mit *Kālidāsa*, *Bhāravi* u. a. etwa in das 5te oder 6te Jahrhundert nach Chr. setzen.

Wie aber verhält es sich dann mit der Lücke welche in diesem Falle zwischen Pāṇini und der *Kāśikā* bestehen würde und deren Vorhandensein Prof. Pischel als unwahrscheinlich bezeichnet hat? A priori ist es vollständig gleichgültig, ob wir die *Kāśikā* 200 oder 1200 Jahre nach Pāṇini verfaßt sein lassen, denn wir haben nicht den geringsten Grund anzunehmen daß sie einer der frühesten oder überhaupt einer der alten Commentare zu Pāṇini's Grammatik gewesen sei. Die uns bekannten Thatsachen erhärten vielmehr das Gegentheil. Von mehr als funfzig Regeln können wir beweisen daß sie in der *Kāśikā* anders lauten als sie Pāṇini gegeben hat. Nicht nur werden in jedem Kapitel die Lesarten und Erklärungen Anderer mit *Keचित्*, *Kāचित्*, *Anye*, *Apare*, *Aparaḥ*, *Eke*, *Pāthāntara*, *Smṛityantara*, *S'āstrāntara*, *Granthāntara* u. s. w. eingeführt, sondern einer der Verfasser berichtet im Eingange seines Werkes ausdrücklich, er fasse kurz das Beste von dem zusammen was sich in den Commentaren (zu Pāṇini) und andern Werken zerstreut finde. Einige Namen der Verfasser solcher Commentare sind uns erhalten worden¹⁾.

Außer älteren Commentaren haben die Compiler der *Kāśikā* auch das *Mahābhāshya* benutzt. Das *Mahābhāshya* ist von *Bharṭṛi-*

¹⁾ Die *Kāśikā* *Vṛitti* fängt an:

वृत्तौ भाष्ये तथा धातुनामपारायणादिषु ।
विप्रकीर्षस्य तन्त्रस्य क्रियते सारसंग्रहः ॥

Dazu *Haradatta*: तत्र सूत्रार्थप्रधानो ग्रन्थो वृत्तिः सा चेह पाणिनिप्रणीतानां सूत्राणां कुपिप्रभृतिभिराचार्यैर्विचिन्तितं विवर्णाम् । आक्षेपसमाधानपर्यो ग्रन्थो भाष्यं तदिह कात्यायनप्रणीतानां वार्तिकानां पतञ्जलिप्रणीतं विवर्णाम् । तथाशब्दः समुच्चये । पारायणशब्दः प्रत्येकमभिसंबन्धते । धातुपारायणं नामपारायणमिति । यत्र धातुप्रक्रिया तडातुपारायणम् । यत्र गणशब्दानां निर्वचनं तन्नामपारायणम् । आदिशब्देन शिक्षोपादिफिषादेर्ग्रहणम् । *Jinendrabuddhi*: तत्र वृत्तिः पाणिनिप्रणीतानां सूत्राणां विवर्णं बु(?)ल्लिभट्टिनल्लूरादि विचिन्तितम् । भाष्यं कात्यायनप्रणीतानां वाक्यानां पतञ्जलिप्रणीतम् ।

hari commentirt worden, und da wir durch M. Müller's für die Geschichte der Grammatik epochemachende Entdeckung wissen daß dieser *Bharṭṛihari* vor den Verfassern der *Kāśikā* gelebt hat, so verdienen sein Verhältniß zum *Mahābhāshya* und seine Mittheilungen über die Geschichte dieses Werkes unsere besondere Aufmerksamkeit. In der Vorrede zum 2ten Bande meiner Ausgabe habe ich gezeigt, daß *Bharṭṛihari* oft verschiedene Lesarten des Textes des *Mahābhāshya* mitgetheilt und daß er noch häufiger die abweichenden Erklärungen anderer Commentatoren erwähnt hat, deren Werke verloren gegangen sind. Würden wir schon hieraus schließen daß *Patanjali* und *Bharṭṛihari* durch einen vielleicht nach Jahrhunderten zu bemessenden Zeitraum von einander getrennt sind, so wird diese Ansicht in vollem Maße bestätigt durch die bekannten Verse am Schlusse des 2ten Buches des *Vākyapadiya*¹⁾. Dort nennt *Bharṭṛihari* das *Mahābhāshya*

¹⁾ Siehe *Indian Antiquary* Vol. III, pag. 285 und V, pag. 244. Da Handschriften von *Puṅyārāja's* Commentare zum *Vākyakāṇḍa* in Europa nicht vorhanden sind, so gebe ich hier noch den Wortlaut seiner Version der von *Bharṭṛihari* erwähnten Begebenheiten. Wenn ich seine Worte recht verstehe, nennt *Puṅyārāja* sich den Schüler des Schülers des *S'āśānka* (*Chandra*?).

अवतारो ऽपि भाष्यस्य संग्रहे ऽस्तमुपागतः ।
निबन्धहेतोः शास्त्रस्य टीकाकारेण कीर्तितः ॥
संग्रहार्थायनुगुणानुपपन्नं चोपपादितम् ।
विज्ञानवपथैतस्य संग्रह्यतिपक्षतः ॥
कृतमाचार्यदेवसैरावेप्रविविधैस्ततः ।
अष्टस्यान्नायसारस्य वैयाकर्णगामिनः ॥
मूलभूतमवाप्याथ पर्वतादागमं स्वयम् ।
आचार्यवसुरातेन न्यायमार्गान्विचिन्त्य च ॥
प्रणीतो विधिवन्नायं मम व्याकर्णगामः ।
मयापि गुरुनिर्दिष्टाङ्गणान्नायाविलुप्तये ॥
काण्डउत्तरयक्रमेपायं निबन्धः परिकीर्तितः ।
ग्रन्थकारेण ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्स्वस्मिन्गुर्वागमः स्फुटम् ॥
रुत्येवं वाक्यकाण्डस्य प्रमेयविषयः स्मृतः ।
संगतिः कीर्तिता लक्ष्मी समासेन निराकुला ॥
विद्वल्लनानां यः खलु सर्वत्र गीयते जगति । (?)
तत उपसृत्य विचिन्ता राजानकशूरवर्मनाम्ना वै ॥
शशाङ्कशिष्याच्छुचैतद्वाक्यकाण्डं समासतः ।
पुण्यराजेन तस्योक्ता संगतिः कारिकाश्रिता ॥
गुरुवे भर्तृहरये शब्दब्रह्मविदे नमः ।
सर्वसिद्धान्तसंदोहसारामृतमयाय च ॥

das Buch des *Rīshi*; er berichtet daß es eine Zeit gab in der das Werk nicht verstanden wurde, und fügt hinzu daß wir seine Wiedereinführung in den Kreis der grammatischen Studien dem *Āchārya Chandra* und andern Gelehrten verdanken. Absichtlich übergehe ich die Nachricht nach der Chandrāchārya unter *Abhimanyu* von *Kāśmīr* gelebt haben soll, und ebensowenig will ich den Stil und den eigenthümlichen Sprachgebrauch des Mahābhāshya als Argumente für das Alter dieses Werkes benutzen. Soviel denke ich erwiesen zu haben daß es im höchsten Grade gewagt sein würde auch nur Patanjali in eine so späte Zeit wie das 5te Jahrhundert nach Chr. setzen zu wollen. Und welcher Zeitraum liegt zwischen Patanjali und Pāṇini!

Das Mahābhāshya ist zunächst ein Commentar zu *Kātyāyana's Vārttikas*, aber es ist ebensowenig der älteste Commentar zu jenem Werke wie Bhartrihari's der älteste Commentar zum Mahābhāshya oder die *Kāśikā* der älteste Commentar zur *Ashtādhyāyī* gewesen sind. Denn wir erfahren von Patanjali, daß Andre nicht nur eine ganze Anzahl von *Vārttikas* anders als er selbst erklärt (vgl. z. B. meine Ausgabe Vol. I, pag. 10, 64, 237, 247, 357, 366, 450, 465, 473 u. s. w.), sondern daß sie auch den Text gewisser *Vārttikas* anders abgetheilt (z. B. I, pag. 193, 422), oder überhaupt anders gelesen hatten (z. B. I, pag. 179, 314). Auch hatte es in der Zeit zwischen *Kātyāyana* und Patanjali Gelehrte gegeben welche die Lehren des *Vārttikakāra* zu vereinfachen, zu erweitern, oder ihnen durch die Hinzufügung näherer Bestimmungen eine exactere Fassung zu geben sich bemüht hatten (vgl. z. B. I, pag. 367; 230, 281, 443; II, pag. 103, 273, 304, 397; I, pag. 468, 489; II, pag. 136 u. s. w.). In dieselbe Periode fallen, um von vereinzelt genannten Persönlichkeiten nicht zu reden, zwei Schulen von Grammatikern, welche beide auf der von *Kātyāyana* eingeschlagenen Bahn weiter gegangen waren, und von denen die einen, die *Bhāradvājīyās*, in engerem Anschlusse an *Kātyāyana* hauptsächlich dessen Werk zu verbessern oder zu vervollständigen bestrebt gewesen waren (vgl. I, pag. 73, 136, 201; II, pag. 46, 70, 233; III, pag. 199, 230), während die andern, die *Saunāgās*, in mehr selbständiger Weise ihre kritischen Bemerkungen gegen Pāṇini selbst gerichtet hatten (vgl. I, pag. 416; II, pag. 105, 228, 238, 325; III, pag. 76, 159; vgl. auch *Kāśikā* zu P. VII, 2, 17). Was wird aus den Generationen von Gelehrten von denen wir aus dem Mahābhāshya allein Kunde haben, wenn Pāṇini selbst frühestens im 5ten Jahrhundert nach Chr. gelebt haben soll?

Und dies ist nicht Alles. Die Tradition berichtet daß Patanjali sein eigenes Werk verfaßte als ein älteres grammatisches Werk, dessen Titel er uns selbst überliefert hat, unverständlich geworden

war und daß seine Lehren auf die in jenem Werke enthaltenen Lehren basirt sind. Wie dem auch sei, soviel läßt sich aus dem Mahābhāshya selbst ersehen daß Patanjali ein oder mehrere in Versen geschriebene Werke vor sich hatte, die nach der Zeit des *Kātyāyana* verfaßt waren und die Patanjali in so ausgedehntem Maße benutzt hat daß manche Stellen seines Werkes kaum anders denn als Pro-saversionen metrischer Originale bezeichnet werden können. Wenn nun die Verfasser jener von Patanjali benutzten Schriften *Kātyāyana* (II, pag. 121) den *Vārttikakāra* (II, pag. 176) den *Bhagavān Kātyāḥ* (II, pag. 97) 'den heiligen *Kātya*' nennen, gerade wie Bhartrihari den Verfasser des Mahābhāshya den *Rīshi* Patanjali genannt hat, so reden sie offenbar nicht von einem Zeitgenossen, sondern von einem Gelehrten der schon für sie — und wieviel mehr für Patanjali — ein Weiser der Vorzeit war.

Und was für das Verhältniß des Patanjali zu *Kātyāyana* gilt, gilt in gleichem Maße für das Verhältniß des *Kātyāyana* zu *Pāṇini*. Auch für ihn ist Pāṇini schon der *Bhagavān Pāṇinīḥ* (vergl. III, pag. 467), auch er hatte seine Vorgänger in der kritischen Behandlung der *Ashtādhyāyī* (vgl. z. B. I, pag. 211, 365; II, pag. 19, 133, 216; III, pag. 265, 377), auch er kannte ebenso wie Patanjali Commentare zu Pāṇini, denn seine Bemerkungen beziehen sich in vielen Fällen nicht sowohl auf den Text der *Sūtras* als auf die Erklärungen, von denen sie begleitet gewesen sind. Daß das Sanskrit in der Zeit zwischen Pāṇini und *Kātyāyana* in grammatischer wie lexicalischer Hinsicht manchen Veränderungen unterworfen gewesen war, daß in derselben Zeit eine neue Litteratur entstanden war, daß während derselben Periode die Sanskritsprechenden Hindus weite Landstrecken Indiens in Besitz genommen hatten, ist von andern Gelehrten erwiesen worden, und ich glaube nicht daß die hierfür wie überhaupt für das Alter der *Ashtādhyāyī* vorgebrachten Beweise einfach durch die Identification eines Dichters und des Grammatikers Pāṇini zunichte gemacht werden können¹⁾.

Ich habe oben bemerkt, daß der Text der Pāṇineischen Regeln uns in der *Kāśikā* *Vṛitti* nicht überall in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt vorliegt. Die Beweise hierfür finden sich im Mahābhāshya, und die einheimischen Gelehrten haben nicht verfehlt auf den Gegenstand aufmerksam zu machen. Im Folgenden stelle ich aus der *Kāśikā* alle mir bekannt gewordenen Fälle zusammen, in denen (1) eine Regel Pāṇini's in zwei oder drei Regeln zerlegt worden ist

¹⁾ Das Verhältniß der Grammatiken des *Chandra* und des sogenannten *Sākaṭyānu* zu *Pāṇini* und zur *Kāśikā* hoffe ich später zu behandeln.

(Yogavibhāga); (2) einer Regel ein oder mehrere Worte hinzugefügt sind; (3) der Wortlaut einer Regel anderweitig verändert worden ist; und (4) ganze Regeln dem ursprünglichen Texte der Sūtras hinzugefügt worden sind. Die Gründe für meine Vermuthung, daß in sehr vereinzelt Fällen an der Reihenfolge der Regeln geändert worden ist, halte ich zurück; doch möchte ich (5) einige Belege dafür beibringen daß die Verfasser des Kāśikā hie und da verschiedene Lesarten eines Sūtra mitgetheilt haben, die sie nicht dem Mahābhāṣya entnommen haben, und endlich (6) darauf aufmerksam machen daß sowohl für den in der Ausgabe der Kāśikā Vṛitti wie den in den Ausgaben der Aṣṭādhyāyī gedruckten Text der Sūtras von einer Vergleichung der Handschriften der Kāśikā und der Aṣṭādhyāyī manche Verbesserung zu erwarten sein wird. Die Handschriften des Mahābhāṣya sind, was den letzten Punkt betrifft, im Allgemeinen von geringerer Bedeutung, weil in ihnen von den im Mahābhāṣya behandelten Regeln gewöhnlich nur die ersten Worte oder Sylben angeführt werden.

1. Yogavibhāga:

- P. I, 1, 17 उज्जः und 18 ऊँ bildeten ursprünglich ein Sūtra उज्ज ऊँ; getheilt wurde dasselbe von Kātyāyana (I, pag. 72). Es ist merkwürdig daß das Kāśikā MS. der Kāśikā nur die eine Regel उज्ज ऊँ hat und daß dem entsprechend der Commentar daselbst ganz anders lautet als in der gedruckten Ausgabe und in den Devanāgarī MSS; Haradatta liest wie letztere.
- P. I, 4, 58 प्रादयः und 59 उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे bildeten ein Sūtra प्रादय उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे, getheilt von Kātyāyana (I, pag. 341). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: यदा प्रागेव प्रादय इति योगो विभज्यते तदा प्रयोक्तव्यनाय वार्तिकम् । यदा तु प्रादय उपसर्गाः क्रियायोग इत्येको योगः पठ्यते तदा योगविभागः कर्तव्यत्वेन चोच्यते ।.
- P. II, 1, 11 विभाषा und 12 अपपरिबहिरश्चवः पञ्चम्या bildeten ein Sūtra विभाषापपरिबहिरश्चवः पञ्चम्या; Patanjali theilte dasselbe (I, pag. 380), weil, wie Kaiyaṭa bemerkt, अन्यथेहैवास्य (nämlich विभाषापञ्चम्यस्य) उपयोग आशङ्क्येत योगविभागे त्धिकारो गम्यते.
- P. IV, 3, 117 संज्ञायाम् und 118 कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् bildeten ein Sūtra संज्ञायाम् कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ्. Die Theilung wurde von Kātyāyana vorgeschlagen (II, pag. 317). Kaiyaṭa erklärt: संज्ञायाम् कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ्जति सूत्रं विभक्तमित्यर्थः.
- P. V, 1, 57 तदस्य परिमाणम् und 58 संख्यायाः संज्ञासंघसूत्राध्ययनेषु bildeten ein Sūtra तदस्य परिमाणम् संख्यायाः संज्ञासंघसूत्राध्ययनेषु, so citirt II, pag. 343. Die Theilung in zwei Regeln ist weder von Kātyāyana noch von Patanjali ausdrücklich verlangt worden, aber Kaiyaṭa be-

merkt zu Vārt. 6 auf pag. 353 तदस्य परिमाणमिति योगविभागः कर्तव्य इत्युक्तं भवति, und Nāgojibhaṭṭa im Laghusābandendusekhara उक्त्रेण योगविभागो ऽत्र भाष्ये ध्वनितः.

- P. VI, 1, 32 ह्रुः संसाराणाम् und 33 अन्त्यस्य च bildeten ein Sūtra ह्रुः संसाराणामन्त्यस्य च, getheilt von Kātyāyana (III, pag. 29).
- P. VI, 1, 164 तदितस्य und 165 कितः bildeten ein Sūtra तदितस्य कितः, das III, pag. 116 so citirt wird. Die Theilung wurde (II, pag. 253) von Patanjali vorgeschlagen.
- P. VI, 2, 107 उदराश्लेषु und 108 श्लेषे bildeten ein Sūtra उदराश्लेषु श्लेषे, das III, pag. 121 so citirt wird. Die Theilung ist weder auf Kātyāyana noch auf Patanjali zurückzuführen. Nāgojibhaṭṭa bemerkt: अत्र वृत्तौ श्लेष इति योगविभागः पूर्वत्र च संज्ञायामित्यनुवर्तते इत्युक्तम् । तदेकसूत्रत्वप्रतिपादकैतद्भाष्यविरुद्धम् ।.
- P. VII, 3, 117 इट्टाम्, 118 औत् und 119 अश्च वेः bildeten ein Sūtra इट्टामौत्श्च वेः, das I, pag. 116 und II, pag. 404 so citirt wird. Kātyāyana zerlegt dies Sūtra (III, pag. 342) zunächst in इट्टाम् und औत्श्च वेः, und verlangt später die Theilung in औत् und अश्च वेः (vgl. auch Kāś. zu P. VII, 3, 119). Pāṇini's eine Regel würde nur पठतौ, धेनौ, aber nicht पठत्याम्, धेन्याम् u. s. w. gestatten.
2. Ein oder mehrere Worte sind einer Regel zugefügt worden:
- P. I, 3, 29 समो गम्यच्छिप्रच्छिस्वरतिर्निश्चिदिभ्यः lautete ursprünglich समो गम्यच्छिभ्याम्. चिदिप्रच्छिस्वति und चिदिभ्यः sind aus Kātyāyana's Vārttikas (I, pag. 282) in die Regel aufgenommen und es fällt nur auf daß dasselbe nicht auch mit dem von Kāty. erwähnten टृष्ण geschehen ist; letzteres wird im Commentare der Kāśikā besonders erwähnt. Kaiyaṭa bemerkt zu den Vārttikas: समो गम्यच्छिभ्यामित्येतावत्सूत्रमिति वार्तिकमारुध्यम् .
- P. III, 1, 95 कृत्याः प्राड् एवुलः, ursprünglich कृत्याः. Der Zusatz प्राड् एवुलः ist von Kātyāyana in Vorschlag gebracht, aber schon von ihm selbst für überflüssig erklärt worden (II, pag. 81). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt zu Vārt. 1: कृत्या इत्येतावत्सूत्रमित्याह कृत्यासंज्ञायामिति.
- P. III, 1, 118 प्रत्यफियां ग्रहेष्वन्त्सि, ursprünglich प्रत्यफियां ग्रहेः. Der Zusatz इन्त्सि ist Kātyāyana's (II, pag. 87).
- P. III, 3, 122 अध्यायन्यायोवाचसंहाराधारावावाच, ursprünglich अध्यायन्यायोवाचसंहाराध. आधारा and आवाच sind aus dem Vārt. zu P. III, 3, 121 hinzugefügt; das in demselben Vārt. genannte अवाच wird, ähnlich wie oben P. I, 3, 29 टृष्ण, in der Kāśikā nur im Commentare erwähnt. Schon Patanjali citirt die Regel (II, pag. 146) in

- der ihr in der Kāśikā gegebenen Fassung. Kaiyaṭa bemerkt zu P. III, 3, 121: अध्यायसूत्रे आधारावायशब्दो वार्तिके दर्शनादभियुक्तैः प्रक्षिप्तो.
- P. IV, 1, 15 टिड्ढापाञ्चदशसद्व्यसनात्रचतयपठकठञ्कञ्कृपल्युनाम्, ursprünglich टिड्ढापाञ्चदशसद्व्यसनात्रचतयपठकठञ्कञ्कृपः. ल्युन् ist von Kātyāyana (II, pag. 209) hinzugefügt und erscheint auch in einem Vārttika der Saunāgas (नञ्जोक्तकृत्युस्तृणतलुनानामुपसंख्यानम्, II, pag. 105, 209, und 238), das ohne ल्युन् in der Kāśikā am Ende des Commentares gegeben wird. Die ursprüngliche Form des Sūtra ergibt sich aus Patanjali's Bemerkung zu P. IV, 1, 16. Kaiyaṭa bemerkt zu P. IV, 1, 15: सूत्रे ल्युनः पाठोऽनार्थः.
- P. IV, 2, 2 लात्तारोचनाशकलकर्दमारुठक्, ursprünglich लात्तारोचनारुठक्. शकल and कर्दम sind von Kātyāyana hinzugefügt (II, pag. 271). Auch hier bemerkt Kaiyaṭa: शकलकर्दमयोः सूत्रे पाठोऽनार्थः.
- P. IV, 2, 21 सास्मिन्वैर्णमासोति संज्ञायाम्, ursprünglich सास्मिन्वैर्णमासोति. संज्ञायाम् ist von Kātyāyana hinzugefügt, aber von Patanjali für überflüssig erklärt worden (II, pag. 275). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt wieder: संज्ञायहणं सूत्रेऽनार्थमिति वार्तिकमारुढम्.
- P. IV, 2, 43 ग्रामतनबन्धुसह्येभ्यस्तल्, ursprünglich ग्रामतनबन्धुसह्यस्तल्. सह्य ist von Patanjali hinzugefügt (II, pag. 279); das von Pat. ebenfalls verlangte तन् steht in der Kāśikā im Commentare.
- P. IV, 4, 17 विभाषा विवधोविधात्, ursprünglich विभाषा विवधात्. विवध ist von Patanjali hinzugefügt (II, pag. 329). Haradatta bemerkt: विवधशब्दो वार्तिके दर्शनात्सूत्रे प्रक्षिप्तः.
- P. V, 2, 101 पञ्चाशदाचार्यावृत्तिभ्यो णः, ursprünglich पञ्चाशदाचार्याभ्यो णः. वृत्ति ist von Patanjali hinzugefügt (II, pag. 396, wo ich jetzt das Vārttika वृत्तेषु streichen würde). Auch hier bemerkt Haradatta: सूत्रे वृत्तिशब्दो वार्तिके दर्शनात्प्रक्षिप्तः.
- P. V, 4, 50 अभूततद्वावे कृत्वस्तियोगे संपयकर्तृ च्चिः, ursprünglich कृत्वस्तियोगे संपयकर्तृ च्चिः. Der Zusatz अभूततद्वावे ist Kātyāyana's. Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: अभूततद्वावग्रहणं वार्तिके दृष्टान्तैः सूत्रे प्रक्षिप्तम्.
- P. VI, 3, 40 स्वाङ्गाञ्जेतोऽमानिनि, ursprünglich स्वाङ्गाञ्जेतः. Der Zusatz अमानिनि ist Kātyāyana's (III, pag. 156; vgl. auch II, pag. 193). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: स्वाङ्गाञ्जेत इत्येतत्सूत्रमिति मत्वा वार्तिकारम्भः.
- P. VI, 3, 83 प्रकृत्याश्रिष्यगोवत्सहलेषु, ursprünglich प्रकृत्याश्रिषि Kātyāyana macht den Zusatz अगवादेषु, und Patanjali giebt die Beispiele सगवे सवत्साय सहलाय. (III, pag. 171). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: अगोवत्सहलेष्विति भाष्यवार्तिकदर्शनात्सूत्रे केनचित्प्रक्षिप्तम्.
- P. VIII, 1, 67 पूतनात्पूजितमनुदानं काष्ठादिभ्यः, ursprünglich पूतनात्पूजितमनुदानम्. Der Zusatz काष्ठादिभ्यः ist von Kātyāyana verlangt worden (III, pag. 379). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: काष्ठादिभ्य इति सूत्रे वार्तिकदर्शनात्कैश्चित्प्रक्षिप्तम्.

- P. VIII, 3, 118 सद्विस्वस्योः¹⁾ परस्य लिटि, ursprünglich सदेः परस्य लिटि. स्वसि ist von Kātyāyana hinzugefügt worden (III, pag. 451).
- P. VIII, 1, 73 und 74 नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् und विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम्. Ursprünglich lautete 73 नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे und 74 सामान्यवचनं विभाषितं विशेषवचने. Die verschiedene Abtheilung und die Hinzufügung von बहुवचनम् sind von Patanjali vorgeschlagen worden (III, pag. 383 und 384), doch bemerkt derselbe daß entweder सामान्यवचनं oder, nach Andern, विशेषवचने gestrichen werden könne. Kaiyaṭa bemerkt zu 73 नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरण इति सूत्रं पठितं ततः सामान्यवचनं विभाषितं विशेषवचन इति द्वितीयम्, und zu 74 बहुवचनग्रहणमपापिनीयमिति.
- Zweifelhaft erscheint ob P. VIII, 2, 12 ursprünglich das Wort कञ्चोवत् enthalten hat. Kaiyaṭa bemerkt zu P. VI, 1, 37, Vārt. 7, आसन्दोवद्वीवदित्यत्र कञ्चोवच्छब्दस्य निपातनाद्वार्तिकं नारुढव्यम्. Nāgojibhaṭṭa dagegen एतद्भाष्यप्रामाण्यात्तत्र (i. e. in VIII, 2, 12) कञ्चोवच्छब्दपाठोऽनार्थ इत्यन्ये.
3. Die Regeln Pāṇini's sind anderweitig geändert worden:
- P. V, 3, 5 एतदोऽण्; ursprünglich lautete die Regel एतदोऽन्. Vgl. Patanjali (II, pag. 403), der das ण् für überflüssig erklärt. Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: इह केचिदंशं पठन्ति केचिदनम्.
- P. VI, 1, 115 प्रकृत्यान्तःपादमव्यपरे; Kātyāyana hat नान्तःपादमव्यपरे gelesen (III, pag. 86), aber die Lesart प्रकृत्या ist schon Patanjali bekannt gewesen (siehe zu P. VI, 1, 127 und 129). Die Kāśikā selbst bemerkt: केचिदिदं सूत्रं नान्तःपादमव्यपरे इति पठन्ति.
- P. VI, 1, 124 इन्द्रे च नित्यम् und 125 सुतप्रमृष्टा अचि; Patanjali hat इन्द्रे च und सुतप्रमृष्टा अचि नित्यम् gelesen (III, pag. 87), aber er bemerkt zu P. VI, 1, 127 daß das Wort नित्यम् überhaupt überflüssig sei und citirt das zweite Sūtra ohne नित्यम् z. B. I, pag. 66. Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: इन्द्रे चेति ये सूत्रं पठन्ति सुतप्रमृष्टा अचि नित्यमिति तु द्वितीयं तन्मतेनैष प्रश्नः
- P. VI, 1, 137 संपर्युषेभ्यः करोतौ भूषणे und 138 समवाये च. Patanjali hat statt संपर्युषेभ्यः संपर्युषेणं und überhaupt an Stelle der beiden Regeln nur die eine Regel संपर्युषेणं भूषणसमवायेयोः करोतौ gelesen (III, pag. 93, Z. 13, und pag. 216, Z. 1).
- P. VI, 1, 150 विष्किरः प्रकुनिर्विकिरे वा lautete ursprünglich विष्किरः शकुनौ वा, eine Fassung der Regel welche Kātyāyana nicht befriedigte (III, pag. 95); denn dies würde bedeuten 'कु nach

¹⁾ So lesen drei MSS. der Kāśikā.

वि erhalte das Augment सुट्, — nach Belieben wenn man einen Vogel bezeichnen wolle', während die Regel lehren soll daß 'कृ nach वि nach Belieben das Augment सुट् erhält, wenn man einen Vogel bezeichnen will'. (Anders Goldstücker, Pāṇini pag. 125). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: विक्रिः शकुनो वेति सूत्रपाठमाश्रित्य वार्तिककारम्भः; Haradatta: यथा तु भाष्यं तथा विक्रिः शकुनो वेत्येतावत्सूत्रम्; Nāgojibhaṭṭa: विक्रिः शकुनिर्विक्रिो वेत्यनार्थः पाठ इति भावः.

- P. VI, 4, 56 ल्यपि लघुपूर्वात् lautete ursprünglich ल्यपि लघुपूर्वस्य. Die veränderte Form der Regel ist auf Kātyāyana zurückzuführen (III, pag. 204); Patanjali citirt sie in beiden Fassungen (vgl. III, pag. 191; 212; und 288, Z. 4 und 11). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: केचिदाचार्येण ल्यपि लघुपूर्वस्येति षड्यन्तमध्यापिता घन्ये तु लघुपूर्वादिति पद्यन्तम्.
- P. VI, 4, 100 वसिभसोर्दलि च. Kātyāyana's Bemerkung zu dieser Regel macht es wahrscheinlich, daß च ein späterer Zusatz ist (III, pag. 213). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: घन्यत्रापीति वचनादार्तिककाराश्चकारं न पपाठेति लक्ष्यते.
- P. VII, 1, 25 षट् उतरादिभ्यः पद्यन्तः lautete ursprünglich षट् उतरादिभ्यः पद्यन्तः; die Hinzufügung des Anubandha इ ist von Kātyāyana in Vorschlag gebracht worden (III, pag. 250).
- P. VII, 3, 75 द्विवृक्कमुच्यमानं¹⁾ श्रिति lautete ursprünglich द्विवृक्कमुच्यमानं श्रिति. Die veränderte Fassung der Regel ist auch hier auf Kātyāyana zurückzuführen (III, pag. 334); und sie erscheint schon in den besten MSS. des Mahābhāṣya zu P. VII, 3, 71 (III, pag. 333, Z. 15). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: द्विवृक्कमुच्यमानं श्रितिति सूत्रपाठादाह... अथवा सूत्रे तन्त्रमाह न तु यथोपेयिवा नित्यत्रोपशब्दो ऽ तन्त्रमिति प्रदर्शनाय वार्तिककारम्भः.
- P. VII, 3, 77 इषुगमियमां कः lautete ursprünglich इषुगमियमां कः, wie aus Kātyāyana's Bemerkung zu der Regel hervorgeht (III, pag. 334). Die Kāśikā selbst bemerkt: य इषुमुदितं नाधीयते ते ऽ चोत्यनुवर्तयन्ति; Kaiyaṭa: इषुगमीति पाठो ऽनार्थ इत्याहेषेप्रकृतमहलीति.
- P. VIII, 4, 28 उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् lautete ursprünglich उपसर्गादनेत्यर्ः. Die veränderte Fassung der Regel ist auf Patanjali zurückzuführen (III, pag. 460).

4. Ganze Regeln sind hinzugefügt worden:

- P. IV, 2, 8 कलेर्दक् ist ursprünglich ein Vārt. zu P. IV, 2, 7 (II, pag. 273).
- P. IV, 3, 132 कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण ist ursprünglich ein Vārt. zu P. IV,

¹⁾ द्विवृक्कमुच्यमानं ist eine falsche Lesart.

3, 131 (II, pag. 320); Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: अपाणिनीयः सूत्रेषु पाठः. Ob auch die folgende Regel 133 अथर्वपाकस्येकलोपश्च ursprünglich nur ein Vārt. gewesen sei; darüber sind die Meinungen geteilt. Kaiyaṭa betrachtet es als Sūtra; Haradatta dagegen bemerkt पूर्व च सूत्रमिदं च (i. e. 132 und 133) वार्तिके दर्शनात्सूत्रेषु प्रक्षिप्तम्; ebenso eine Randbemerkung in MS. a des Mahābhāṣya इदमपि वार्तिके दृष्ट्वा सूत्रेषु प्रक्षिप्तम्.

- P. V, 1, 36 द्वित्रिपूर्वाद्यपच ist ursprünglich ein Vārt. zu P. V, 1, 35 (II, pag. 350). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: द्वित्रिपूर्वाद्यपचेति सूत्रेष्वनार्थः पाठ इति वार्तिककारम्भः.
- P. VI, 1, 62 अचि शीर्षः ist ursprünglich ein Vārt. zu P. VI, 1, 61 (III, pag. 41). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: वार्तिके दृष्ट्वा कैश्चित्सूत्रेषु प्रक्षिप्तम्.
- P. VI, 1, 100 नित्यममेडिते डाचि ist ursprünglich ein Vārt. zu P. VI, 1, 99 (III, pag. 77). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt वार्तिकदर्शनात्सूत्रे कैश्चित्प्रक्षिप्तम्.
- P. VI, 1, 136 अउभ्यासव्यवायेऽपि faßt das in Vārt. 5 und 6 zu P. VI, 1, 135 gelehrte zusammen (III, pag. 92). Kaiyaṭa bemerkt: अउभ्यासव्यवाये ऽपीति सूत्रस्यापाठे वार्तिकप्रवृत्तिः, und Nāgojibhaṭṭa fügt hinzu अनार्थः सूत्रे पाठः.
- P. VI, 1, 156 कारस्करो वृत्तः ist Patanjali's Bemerkungen zu P. VI, 1, 157 entnommen (III, pag. 96). Die Kāśikā selbst bemerkt: केचिदिदं सूत्रं नाधीयते पारस्करभृत्तिल्वेव कारस्करो वृत्त इति पठन्ति.
- Ob P. VI, 3, 6 आत्मनश्च पूरणो ursprünglich ein Vārttika gewesen sei (Vārt. 1 zu P. VI, 3, 5; III, pag. 143), ist mir zweifelhaft, denn आत्मनः scheint für die folgenden Regeln nothwendig. Haradatta jedoch bemerkt: वार्तिकमेवेदं सूत्ररूपेण पठितम्; Nāgojibhaṭṭa erwähnt dieselbe Ansicht und zeigt wie man ohne आत्मनः erklären muß (अत्रात्मनश्च पूरण इति विशिष्टं वार्तिकमित्यत्रत्यभाव्यस्वसादायाति त्रैयाकरणाख्यायामित्यत्र परस्य चेति चेन परशब्दप्रतिद्वन्द्वितयात्मशब्दस्यैव ग्रहणं तदुभयं चैकसूत्रमित्याहुः).

Endlich ist P. IV, 1, 166 वृदस्य च पूत्रायाम् dem Wortlaut nach identisch mit Vārt. 3 zu P. IV, 1, 163, und P. IV, 1, 167 वृदस्य च पूत्रायाम् equivalent dem Vārt. 2 zu P. IV, 1, 162 जीवदंश्यं च कुत्सितम् (II, pag. 265), doch ist zu bemerken daß die Erklärung des Patanjali von der in der Kāśikā gegebenen insofern abweicht als in letzterer ja aus P. IV, 1, 165 fortgilt. Kaiyaṭa hält beide Regeln für unächt (सूत्रेषु तु कैश्चिद्वृदस्य च पूत्रायामिति वार्तिकदर्शनात्प्रक्षिप्तम्, वृदस्य कुत्सायामिति सूत्रमनार्थमिति वचनम्) und ich glaube daß diese Ansicht durch den Gebrauch der Genitive वृदस्य und वृदः statt der zu erwartenden Nominative bestätigt wird.

5. Die Verfasser der Kāśikā erwähnen Lesarten, die sie nicht dem Mahābhāshya entnommen haben. Beispiele hierfür sind:

- P. III, 3, 78 अन्तर्धनो देशे; अन्ये पाकारं पठन्ति । अन्तर्धपो देश इति ।
 P. IV, 1, 117 विकर्षाशुद्धि⁰; शुद्धाशब्दं खोलिङ्गमन्ये पठन्ति . . . । द्वयमपि चैतत्प्रमाण-
 मुभयथा सूत्रप्रणयनात् ।
 P. IV, 4, 135 सहस्रेण संमितौ घः; केचित् समितौविति पठन्ति ।
 P. V, 1, 125 स्तेनायन्नलोपश्च; einige zerlegen die Regel in zwei, स्तेनात्
 und यन्नलोपश्च.
 P. V, 4, 57 द्रव्यत्रवार्थादिति उच्च; केचिद्द्रव्यत्रवार्थादिति यकारं पठन्ति ।
 P. V, 4, 121 हलिसकथोरन्यतरस्याम्; हलिसकथोरिति केचित्पठन्ति ।
 P. VI, 1, 117 यनुष्युर; अघरे यनुष्युरो इति सूत्रं पठन्ति ।
 P. VI, 2, 134 चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषड्याः; चूर्णादीन्यप्राण्युपग्रहादिति सूत्रस्य पाठान्तरम् ।
 P. VII, 2, 48 तीषसह⁰; . . . तीषसहेति सूत्रे केचित्द्वितमिषं पठन्ति ।
 P. VII, 2, 49 भर्त्तपिसनाम्; केचित् भर्त्तपिसनिननिपतिद्विद्राणामिति पठन्ति ।
 P. VII, 3, 17 परिमाणान्तरस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः; असंज्ञाशाणकुलिजानामिति केचित्पठन्ति ।
 P. VIII, 3, 109 सहेः पृथनर्ताभ्यां च; einige zerlegen die Regel in zwei,
 सहेः und पृथनर्ताभ्यां च.

6. Der in den Ausgaben der Kāśikā Vṛitti und der Ashtādhyāyī gedruckte Text einiger Sūtras verglichen mit dem Texte von Handschriften, die mir zugänglich sind oder gewesen sind.

(Ich bezeichne hier die Ausgabe der Kāśikā mit Kās., und Böhlingk's Ausgabe der Ashtādhyāyī mit Bö. Für die Kāśikā habe ich verglichen das Kāśmīr MS. des Deccan College (K), ein unvollständiges Devanāgarī MS. des Deccan College von Saṃvat 1543 und 1535 (D), und mein Devanāgarī MS. von Saṃvat 1464 (G); für die Ashtādhyāyī ein unvollständiges Devanāgarī MS. Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's von Saṃvat 1550 (P), und mein S'ake 1729 geschriebenes Devanāgarī MS. (p)).

- P. III, 1, 109 Kās. u. Bö. एतिस्तुशास्त्व⁰; KDG und P एतिस्तुशासुवृ⁰.
 P. III, 2, 21 Kās. u. Bö. दिवाविभानिशा⁰; KDG om. निशा, P hat es *sec. man. in marg.*
 P. III, 3, 99 Bö. ⁰सुञ्जोभृजिणः; Pp ⁰सुञ्जो⁰; vgl. auch Mhbh. II, pag. 85, Z. 16.
 P. IV, 1, 62 Kās. u. Bö. सख्यशिष्वीति भाषायाम्; KDG u. P सख्यशिष्वी भा⁰.
 P. IV, 1, 126 Bö. सख्यापयादीनामिनङ् च; Pp om. च; vgl. auch Mhbh. I, pag. 260, Z. 24.

- P. IV, 2, 68 Kās. u. Bö. तेन निर्वृत्तम्; KD und P तेन निर्वृत्तः; (G ist hier lückenhaft).
 P. IV, 2, 130 Kās. u. Bö. विभाषा कुरुयुगंधरायाम्; DG und ursprünglich KP ⁰युगंधरेभ्यः; so hat Kātyāyana gelesen (II, pag. 299, Z. 21).
 P. IV, 3, 119 Kās. u. Bö. ⁰पादपादञ्; KDG und P ⁰वातपादञ्.
 P. IV, 4, 64 Bö. बहुव्यर्थपदादृठञ्; Pp ⁰पदादृठञ्; vgl. auch Mhbh. III, pag. 60, Z. 10.
 P. IV, 4, 82 Bö. संज्ञायं ज्ञ्या; Pp संज्ञायं ज्ञ्याः; so hat Kātyāyana gelesen (II, pag. 334, Z. 3). Vgl. Böhlingk's Anm.
 P. IV, 4, 117 Bö. घञौ च; P घञौ च; dies ist richtig, denn das erste Suffix ist चञ्; (Mhbh. III, pag. 241, Z. 3).
 P. V, 1, 69 Kās. u. Bö. कञ्कर⁰; KDG und P कञ्गर⁰. Vgl. Böhlingk's Anm.
 P. V, 1, 79 Kās. u. Bö. तेन निर्वृत्तम्; DG, ursprünglich K, und P, तेन निर्वृत्तः.
 P. V, 1, 95 Kās. तस्य च दक्षिणा⁰; KDG om. च.
 P. V, 2, 82 Bö. तदस्मिन्नं प्रायेण⁰; Pp तदस्मिन्नं प्राये⁰; so hat Kātyāyana gelesen (II, pag. 388, Z. 19).
 P. V, 2, 129 Kās. वातातिसार⁰; KDG वातातिसार⁰.
 P. V, 3, 49 Kās. u. Bö. प्राणेकादश⁰; KDG und P प्राणैकादश⁰.
 P. V, 3, 92 Bö. किंयत्तोर्निर्धारणे; Pp किंयत्तो निर्धारणे.
 P. V, 3, 117 Kās. ⁰योधेयादिभ्यामपाजौ; KDG ⁰योधेयादिभ्यो ऽपाजौ.
 P. V, 4, 68 Kās. u. Bö. समासान्तः; KDG und P (ebenso wie die besten MSS. des Mhbh.) समासान्तः.
 P. VI, 1, 36 Kās. ⁰शोर्ताः; KDG ⁰शोर्तः.
 P. VI, 1, 173 Kās. u. Bö. शत्रुनुमो नयज्ञादी; KDG und *sec. manu* P ⁰नयज्ञादिः; vgl. Mhbh. I, 141, Z. 2, und III, 390, Z. 17.
 P. VI, 4, 15 Bö. ⁰क्विक्रलोः; Pp क्विक्रलोः; vgl. auch Mhbh. III, 186 Z. 11, und 289, Z. 23.
 P. VI, 4, 126 Kās. u. Bö. ⁰गुणानाम्; KD und ursprünglich G ⁰गुणानाम्.
 P. VII, 1, 29 Kās. u. Bö. शसो न; KDG und P शसो नः; aber Patanjali hat शसो न (Mhbh. III, pag. 252, Z. 1).
 P. VII, 2, 2 Kās. u. Bö. अतो लान्तस्य; G und P (ebenso wie MSS. des Mhbh.) अतो लान्तस्य, und so hat der Verf. der Kās. gelesen. (KD hier nicht verglichen).
 P. VII, 2, 23 Kās. u. Bö. घुषिर्⁰; G und P (ebenso wie MSS. des Mhbh.) घुषेर्⁰. (KD hier nicht verglichen).
 P. VII, 2, 34 Kās. ⁰क्षरित्क्षमिति⁰; KDG om. क्षमिति im Text und Commentar.

- P. VII, 2, 112 Bō. घनाप्यकः; Pp घनाप्यकः. (Ich erwähne dies nur um darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß Patanjali, wie seine Bemerkungen zu P. VII, 1, 12 zeigen, nur ein ङ in der Regel gehabt hat. Wir erhalten dadurch einen neuen Beweis dafür, daß die Regel über die Verdopplung eines finalen ङ, ङ, oder ञ vor folgendem Vocal von den Grammatikern selbst bei den Finalen technischer Ausdrücke nicht angewendet worden ist. Siehe meine Vorrede zu Vol. I des Mhbh. pag. 10. Zu den dort ans Kārikās gegebenen Beispielen sind hinzuzufügen Vol. II, pag. 65, Z. 5 सुत्तिस्सुग्रह⁰, und pag. 97, Z. 26 यथास्तु ते).
- P. VII, 4, 4 Kās. u. Bō. ⁰पिबतेरीञ्चाभ्यासस्य; G ⁰पिबतेरी चाभ्या⁰, P ⁰पिबतेरा चाभ्या⁰, (KD nicht verglichen); vgl. Mhbh. III, pag. 344, Z. 20.
- P. VII, 4, 40 Bō. ⁰स्यामि ति किति; P ⁰स्यामिति किति; vgl. Kātyāyana III, pag. 350, Z. 7; und siehe Böhlingks Anm.
- P. VIII, 2, 18 Kās. u. Bō. कृपो रो लः; KGD und P कृपे रो लः; vgl. aber Patanjali I, pag. 21, Z. 19 und pag. 25, Z. 26.
- P. VIII, 3, 66 Kās. u. Bō. सद्दिप्रतेः; KG und P सद्देप्रतेः.
- P. VIII, 3, 97 Kās. u. Bō. ⁰परमेवर्हि⁰; KDG und P ⁰परमवर्हि⁰.
- P. VIII, 4, 34 Bō. ⁰व्याप्ति⁰; P ⁰व्यापि⁰; vgl. auch Mhbh. III, pag. 416, Z. 18.
- P. VIII, 4, 68 Bō. ञ ञ; Pp ञ ञ इति.

NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN; GÖTTINGEN.

1. ACHARYADESIYA.

The *Mahābhāṣya* is composed in the form of a series of dialogues. The principal interlocutors in those dialogues are the *Sishya*, the *Āchāryadēsiya*, and the *Āchārya*. The *Sishya* brings forward his doubts and asks questions; the *Āchāryadēsiya* is ready to solve those doubts and to reply to the questions raised, but *paṇḍitammanya* as he is, his answers are given hastily and without a full knowledge of all the difficulties of the matter under discussion; so that finally the *Āchārya* must step in to overrule him, and to explain the true state of the case. Sometimes we find all the three disputants introduced in parts of the *Mahābhāṣya* which contain only remarks of Patañjali; on other occasions, the views of the *Āchāryadēsiya* are contained in a *Vārttika*, and those of the *Āchārya* in original remarks of Patañjali, or

vice versa. Moreover, as the *Mahābhāṣya* has not himself told us which of the views stated in his work are those of the *Āchāryadēsiya*, and which those of the *Āchārya*, it cannot be wondered at that commentators occasionally should differ, and that one should regard as the opinion of the *Āchārya*, what the other takes to be the opinion of the *Āchāryadēsiya*.

All this is so plain and natural, and accords so perfectly with the Hindu method of scientific discussion, that it might seem unnecessary to state it here, were it not that *Āchārya*s and *Āchāryadēsiya*s are by some scholars still taken to denote, the former only Kātyāyana, and the latter only Patañjali, and that accordingly the word *अचार्यदेसिय* is still explained to be "a term used by Kaiyata to denote Patañjali."

To show how the word *Āchāryadēsiya* is

really used by Hindu commentators. I select the following from a large number of passages which I have collected from the commentaries of Bhartrihari, Kaiyata, Haradatta, and Nāgōjibhāṣa.

The *Dvandva*-compound *शिष्याचार्याचार्यदेसिया* is employed by Bhartrihari, when commenting on the *Mahābhāṣya*, l. 5, of Vol. I. p. 5 of my edition.

In the *Bhāṣya* on P. IV. 1, 13 (Vol. II. p. 204), where there is no *Vārttika* at all, the question is asked (l. 23, अयं कथं भवितव्यम्), what would be the correct form of a *Bahuvrīhi*-compound to express the sense of the words *बहवः चानोऽस्वान्*; the answer given (l. 24, बहुवृत्ता...कप्) is, that the compound would be *बहुवृत्ता*, and it is shown how such a form is obtained; in the following words (l. 25, to p. 205, l. 5 कृपा तावन्...तस्माद्बहवो बहुवृत्तेति भवितव्यम्) that first answer and the reasons adduced in favour of it are rejected, and it is shown that the compound would really be *बहवः*. In this passage Kaiyata ascribes the answer *बहुवृत्ता...कप्* to the *Āchāryadēsiya*, and the following words *कृपा तावन्* to the *Āchārya*.

In the introductory portion of the *Bhāṣya* on P. V. 1, 19, (Vol. II. p. 343), where no *Vārttika* is yet referred to, Kaiyata ascribes the words (l. 9) एव तर्हि सिद्धे सति to the *Āchāryadēsiya*, the words (l. 12) यद्येतद्व्याप्यते to the *Sishya*, and the words (l. 17) बन्नावदुच्यते to the *Āchārya*.

In the introductory portion of the *Bhāṣya* on P. V. 3, 57 (Vol. II. p. 416), where likewise no *Vārttika* is yet referred to, Kaiyata ascribes the words (l. 18) यदि पुन⁰ to the *Āchāryadēsiya*, the words (l. 20) नैवंआलोचिक to the *Āchārya*, the words (l. 24) तर्हि to the *Sishya*, and the words (l. 24) न बन्नावदुच्यते to the *Āchārya*.

In the *Bhāṣya* on P. VI. 1, 91 (Vol. III. p. 70), Kaiyata introduces the statement (l. 22) अन्वयेन with the words "*Āchāryadēsiyaḥ paṇḍitammanayutvād āha*," and he ascribes the words (p. 71, l. 4) अत्रिच्छे to the *Āchārya*.

In the *Bhāṣya* on P. I. 4, 105-108, (Vol. I. pp. 352-354) Kaiyata introduces, in addition to the *Āchāryadēsiya* and *Āchārya*, the *Chhāka* or objector; and to these three disputants he assigns some of the statements made in the *Vārttikas* and *Bhāṣya*, as follows: P. 352, l. 13 *Chhāka* :—*ए तर्हि*.

l. 14 *Āchāryadēsiya* :—*न बन्नावदुच्यते*.

l. 16 *Chhāka* :—*अनेकपक्षे (Vārttika)*.

l. 19 *Āchāryadēsiya* :—*न वा बुध्यते (Vārttika)*.

P. 353, l. 5 *Āchārya* :—*बन्नावदुच्यते*.

Or on p. 354, where there is no *Vārttika* :

l. 1 *Āchāryadēsiya* :—*तदन्वयविधाना भवितव्यते*.

l. 1 *Chhāka* :—*इहापि तर्हि*.

l. 4 *Āchāryadēsiya* :—*एव तर्हि*.

l. 5 *Chhāka* :—*इहापि तर्हि*.

l. 6 *Āchārya* :—*एव तर्हि*.

In the introductory portion of the *Bhāṣya* on P. VI. 4, 62 (Vol. III. p. 206), the words (l. 1), अथ के...परत्वाद may according to Kaiyata either be taken as the statement of one disputant, and the following words (l. 2) उदाहृतोऽपि as the words of the *Siddhāntavādin*; or अथ के...परत्वाद may be considered as questions and answers of the *Sishya* and *Āchāryadēsiya*, and उदाहृतोऽपि as the statement of the *Āchārya*.

The last passage naturally suggests the idea, that the term *Āchārya*, when used in opposition to such terms as *Sishya*, *Chhāka*, or *Āchāryadēsiya*, is equivalent to *Siddhāntavādin* or *Siddhāntin*, and, that such is really the case, might be proved by a large number of quotations. Here it may suffice to state, that *Āchāryadēsiya* is actually opposed to *Siddhānta* by Nāgōjibhāṣa on P. I. 1, 27, to *Siddhāntin* by the same on P. II. 1, 69 and VI. 4, 42, and to *Siddhāntavādin* by Kaiyata on P. VII. 2, 106.

The natural consequence is that *Āchārya* in turn may be opposed to *Pārapakṣin*, as has been done, e.g., by Nāgōjibhāṣa on P. IV. 1, 10.

2. GONIKAPUTRA AND GONARDIYA.

On p. 227 of Vol. XII. of this Journal, I stated that I hoped to prove, by the help of Bhartrihari's Commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, that later grammarians were wrong in identifying Gōnardiya with Patañjali. Since then, Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, who even in his preface to the *Yōga Aphorisms* (published in 1883) had adhered to the view which makes Patañjali a son of Gōnikā and a native of Gōnarda, has attempted to prove that Gōnikāputra and Gōnardiya in the *Mahābhāṣya* do not denote Patañjali, but are the names of grammarians quoted by him (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LII. Part I, p. 261*). I shall now briefly indicate the reasons which years ago have made me arrive at the same conclusion; and I am perhaps the more justified

¹ See my *Kātyāyana and Patañjali*, p. 53, note, and A. Barth in the *Revue Critique*, 1878, No. 23, p. 19.

in once more discussing this matter, as the arguments in favour of the view advocated by Dr. Hajendralal appear even stronger than he has shown them to be.

The name *Gōṅikāputra* occurs only once in the *Mahābhāṣya*, at the close of the discussion on P. I. 4, 51 (Vol. I. p. 336 of my edition). After having raised the question, whether one should say *नेताश्वस्य सुन्नम्* or *नेताश्वस्य सुन्नस्व*, i.e. whether the word *सुन्न* should here be put in the acc. or gen. case, Patañjali simply answers *उभयथा गोपिकापुत्रः* "Gōṅikāputra (says that) either (case is correct)." To this Nāgōjibhāṣa appends the somewhat vague remark *गोपिकापुत्रो भाष्यकार इत्याह*, "they say that Gōṅikāputra is the author of the *Bhāṣya*." It appears, however, that the statement here repeated by him had not met with general acceptance; for, on the margin of a MS. which was written in A.D. 1695, and which often furnishes valuable notes, we have the gloss *गोपिकापुत्राचार्यने उभयथा, षष्ठी भवति द्वितीयापि भवति*, "in the opinion of the *Āchārya* Gōṅikāputra, &c.," a phrase which cannot be taken to refer to the *Bhāṣyākāra*. We are left then to choose whichever interpretation may seem the more reasonable one; and when we find that only on p. 332 Patañjali has answered a similar question by saying *उभयथापि भवितव्यम्*, and has there moreover given his reasons for such answer, we shall, I think, decide in favour of the alternative that in the words *उभयथा गोपिकापुत्रः* he is quoting the opinion of another scholar.

Gōnardiya occurs four times in the *Mahābhāṣya* :—

(a) On P. I. 1, 21 *Kātyāyana* shows that rule of Pāṇini's to be necessary when we assume *āli* to denote that which, while it is accompanied by something else (*सन्धस्मिन्*), has nothing before it, and *anta* that which, while it is accompanied by something else, has nothing after it; that on the other hand the rule may be dispensed with when 'beginning' and 'end' are simply taken to be what has nothing before it and what has nothing after it. After having explained *Kātyāyana's Vārttikas*, Patañjali adds (Vol. I. p. 78):—

गोनर्दीयस्वाह सत्यमेतस्मिन् सन्धस्मिन्नि
"but Gōnardiya says, that (the definitions of

āli and *anta*) ought to contain (the clause) *सन्धस्मिन्* while it is accompanied by something else' (and that therefore Pāṇini's rule is necessary).—

(b) On P. I. 1, 29 Patañjali argues that that rule is necessary solely because it enables us to account for such forms as *मकल्पितक* and *त्वकल्पितक*. Without it, we should render the sense of the phrase *अहं क्विप्तास्व मकल्पितक* for *म्* would be *Sarvaminan* even in the *Bahuvrīhi*-compound and would therefore take *अकच्* by P. V. 3, 71, not *क्व* by the general rule P. V. 3, 70. But Patañjali adds (Vol. I. p. 91):—

गोनर्दीय आह ।

अकच्यरो नु कर्तव्यो मत्वङ्गः मुक्तसंज्ञो ।
त्वकल्पितकः मकल्पितक इत्येव भवितव्यमिति ।

"Gōnardiya says, that (the words termed *Sarvanāmāni*) ought without any doubt to take *अकच्* and to receive the accent (due to them as *Sarvanāmāni*, even in a *Bahuvrīhi*-compound) because (both *अकच्* and that accent present themselves before the composition takes place and) are (therefore in regard to it) *antarānya*; that accordingly one ought (not) to say (*त्वकल्पितक*, *मकल्पितक*, but) *त्वकल्पितक*, *मकल्पितक*, (and that Pāṇini's rule I. 1, 29 is superfluous and may be dispensed with).—

(c) On P. III. 1, 92 Patañjali raises the question whether it is allowable to form a noun like *कुम्भीकार* to express the sense of *कुम्भीकरोति* in such a phrase as *कुम्भीकरोति मृदम्*, "he turns clay into a jar," and having, for reasons given, answered that question in the negative he proceeds (Vol. II. p. 76) :—

न तर्हीरानीदिर् भवति

इच्छाम्यहं काशकरीकारमिति ।

इदमेवैतन्नोनर्दीयस्य ।

"Do we then not find the following, viz. 'I maintain (that we ought to say) काशकरीकार one who turns grass into a mat? Gōnardiya certainly does maintain (that) *this* is correct.'—

(d) Lastly, on P. VII. 2, 101 it is stated that, in the nom. sing. neut. *अतिजरस्*, the termination *अम्* cannot be dropped, because this very termination has caused the substitution of *जस्* for *अस्*, and because there is a maxim, that that which owes its existence to something else cannot in turn cause the dis-

appearance of the latter.* The objection to this is that such reasoning would render impossible the forms *अतिजरस्* and *अतिजस्*, (because the terminations *अम्* and *इः*, as they owe their presence to the preceding *जस्*, ought not to bring about the disappearance of that *जस्*), and would lead one to form *अतिजरस्* and *अतिजस्*: instead. And the discussion is wound up in the words (Vol. III. p. 309) :—

गोनर्दीय आह । इदमेवैतस्मिन् गृहीतम् भवति । अतिजरस् अतिजरोति भवितव्यं सत्यामेतस्मां परिभाषायां संनिपातनयो विधितनिमित्तं तद्विनातस्मिन् ।
"Gōnardiya says, that such a result is exactly what is wanted; the forms should be *अतिजरस्* and *अतिजस्*, since there is the maxim that that which owes its existence to something else cannot in turn cause the disappearance of the latter."

Now it is true that Kaiyaṣa, when commenting on (a), substitutes *भाष्यकारस्वाह* for *गोनर्दीयस्वाह*, and that he understands Patañjali to propound in the passage (b) his own view as to the uselessness of the rule P. I. 1, 29. It is also certain that Nāgōjibhāṣa believes Kaiyaṣa in his note on (a) to say that Gōnardiya is the author of the *Bhāṣya*, and that Hémachandra (and Vardhamāna*) consider the names Gōnardiya and Patañjali to denote one person. But Kaiyaṣa's words need not necessarily convey the meaning assigned to them by Nāgōjibhāṣa, and probably before him by Hémachandra, and *a priori* there is as little reason to identify Gōnardiya with Patañjali as there would be of identifying Patañjali with *Kuṣaravāḍava*, who in the words *कुषारवाहस्वाह* is introduced, and whose views, as opposed to those held by the *Vārttikakāra*, were probably adopted by Patañjali, on P. III. 2, 14 and VII. 3, 1 (Vol. II. p. 100 and Vol. III. p. 317). On the contrary, an examination of the statements ascribed to Gōnardiya would seem to show, that in two cases at least those remarks are quotations, quotations from a grammatical work which was *is verse*, and the terminology of which differed from that of the *Mahābhāṣya*, while it agreed with that of other grammarians. And moreover, the manner in which Gōnardiya is mentioned by Vāmana and referred to by Bhartrihari, can, in

my opinion, leave no doubt that those older grammarians never thought of identifying him with Patañjali.

The passages (a) and (d) may be considered to contain little of any decisive value, although I cannot altogether pass over the fact that on no less than eight occasions Patañjali has put forth his arguments in the same manner as on P. VII. 2, 101, and has employed the same phrase *इदमेवैतस्मिन् गृहीतम्* which occurs on P. VII. 2, 101, without an introductory "Gōnardiya says." (See Vol. I. p. 491, 495; Vol. II. p. 228, 238, 325; Vol. III. p. 159, 378, 403). More important is the passage (c). From the concluding words of it we learn, that it is Gōnardiya who maintains that one may form *काशकरीकार*; and if then in the preceding line we read *इच्छाम्यहं काशकरीकारमिति*, "I maintain that काशकरीकार is correct Sanskrit," we are led to conclude that these are the very words in which Gōnardiya had expressed his opinion, or, to put it differently, that this sentence is quoted from a work of Gōnardiya, which cannot be the *Mahābhāṣya*. The words would appear to be part of a *Śloka*, and that their diction accords with that of other grammatical *Kārikās* becomes evident when we compare, e.g.—

Vol. I. p. 114 स्तोत्राभ्याम् पारिक्रमोत्सवार्ह ।

Vol. II. p. 87 अमात्रसौरहं पयतोनिपातवा-
न्वृद्धिताम् ।

Vol. III. p. 183 शास्त्रि निवर्त्य हृदयविषये-

Vol. II. p. 63 इत्यवधिच्छति शास्त्रकुरेपां,

and other verses quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya*. That Gōnardiya was a writer of grammatical *Kārikās* is proved more clearly still by the passage (b); and that passage is of further importance, inasmuch as the half *śloka* actually furnished by it, and ascribed to Gōnardiya, contains two words which are never used by Patañjali, viz. the word *मुक्तसंज्ञ* which is peculiar to the *Vārttikas*, and the word *मत्वङ्गः* (for *अन्तरङ्गः*) which in this technical sense is found only in a *Kārikā* on P. VI. 4, 110, and in the *Bhāṣya* on P. VI. 3, 138, where Patañjali repeats a statement of other grammarians (Vol. III. p. 177, इत्यन्व आचार्याधो मत्वङ्गस्य प्रतिषेधमाह :).

All this tends to prove that Gōnardiya cannot be Patañjali himself, but must be a

* The Kashmir MS. has गोनर्दीय आह सत्यमेतस्मिन् सन्धस्मिन्नि-
भिन्नि.

* The Kashmir MS. has मत्वङ्गः.

* For a more accurate rendering of this maxim see *Paribāhāṣāsūtrikāra*, LXXXV.

* *Guratanamahāśādhā*, p. 68.

grammarians quoted by him; and such I believe is the opinion both of Vāmana, the author of a portion of the *Kārikā-Vṛtti*, and of Bhartṛihari, the commentator of part of the *Mahābhāshya*. For the former, after having on P. VII. 2, 101 copied the statement that one ought to form अतिचरत् and अतिचरे; adds इति गौर्दीवत्यन्त् "such is the opinion of Gōnardiya," a remark which would be strange

if Vāmana, who repeatedly quotes the Bhāshya and the *Bhāshyakāra*, had identified Gōnardiya with the *Bhāshyakāra*; and Bhartṛihari, when commenting on P. I. 1, 29,* and after having quoted the words गौर्दीवत्यन्त्, raises the question किमस्मात्तस्मात् इत्यन्त् "what is the opinion of *this* Āchārya?", words which clearly imply that *this* Āchārya is not Patañjali.

* Haradatta explains एव गौर्दीवत्यन्त् पठः.

* The Berlin MS. does not contain Bhartṛihari's commentary on P. I. 1, 21.

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NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

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NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, GÖTTINGEN.

3.—ON SOME DOUBTFUL VĀRTTIKAS.

While trying to reconstruct the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana from the Mahābhāshya, I have never ventured to hope that my attempt would from the beginning be successful in every particular. I indeed feel convinced that the general principles which I have followed are correct, and I believe that my edition is likely to present a fairly true picture of what Kātyāyana's work was like, before it was embodied by Patañjali in his own work. But I have always been ready to admit, that, in individual cases, the comparison of older or better MSS. than those are which I had at my disposal, the superior knowledge of other scholars, or my own researches, may prove that I have been wrong; and there certainly are Vārttikas in my edition, about whose right to be there I myself feel doubtful, just as in that portion of the text which I have assigned to Patañjali, there occur some statements which may have to be

regarded as Vārttikas. With the permission of the Editors, I intend in this Journal to discuss some of those doubtful Vārttikas, and I hope that scholars who are versed in the subject, and to whom ancient MSS. are more readily accessible than they are to myself, will take an interest in the matter and assist in the final settlement of a question which is of some moment for the history of Sanskrit grammar.

Not counting the 14 Pratyāhāra or Sivasūtras, the total number of rules of Pāpini's Ashtādhyāyī in the published text is 3983. According to my edition of the Mahābhāshya, Kātyāyana has appended notes to 1245 rules only, and Patañjali has, independently of Kātyāyana, attached remarks of his own to 488 other rules. The remaining 2270 of Pāpini's Sūtras are not directly treated of in the Mahābhāshya, but I may state incidentally that by far the greater number of them have either been actually quoted by Patañjali, or can

be shown to be necessary for the formation of words which have been made use of by that scholar in the course of his arguments.

As Kātyāyana in his Vārttikas has treated of somewhat less than a third of Pāpini's rules, and as he has not told us in figures to which particular rule he intended to append a remark or a set of notes, it might be expected that he would have endeavoured to remove our doubts in this respect by some other device, that in some way or other he would have pointed out the Sūtra, to which a Vārttika or a string of Vārttikas must be understood to belong. And I believe that he really has done this, and that the device which he adopted furnishes a means of occasionally testing the accuracy of the MSS., and tends to enable us in a number of doubtful cases to distinguish between his own remarks and those of his successor and commentator Patañjali.

When in the MSS. we examine what in accordance with the general method of the Mahābhāshya ought to be regarded as Vārttikas, we find that in the case of about 1200 Sūtras the first of a set of Vārttikas, or the one Vārttika that may have been appended to a rule, contains some distinct reference to that rule; that it is worded in a manner which at once renders it apparent to which rule of Pāpini's the Vārttika or the string of Vārttikas belongs. No less than 131 times Kātyāyana has repeated a whole rule of Pāpini's, absolutely unchanged, at the commencement of the first Vārttika which he was attaching to that rule. In numerous cases a first Vārttika contains the whole rule to which it belongs, altered only so far as to allow of its being construed with the other words of the Vārttika. In a very large number of instances a first Vārttika commences with the first word or words of a rule, or repeats that portion of it to which the remark contained in the Vārttika is meant specially to refer. Thus, in the case of 24 rules of Pāpini's which teach the meaning of technical terms, it is the technical term taught in a rule, compounded with the word लङ्, that is placed at the beginning of a first Vārttika. Similarly, in the case of about 50 rules which teach the addition of suffixes, the particular suffix taught in a rule, compounded with the word षक्त्वा, is made to head the Vārttika or Vārttikas attached to a rule. For

those who wish still further to pursue this subject, I may add that there are between 25 and 30 instances, where the reference contained in a first Vārttika is not to the rule under which it is actually placed in the Mahābhāshya, but to a preceding rule, or where a Vārttika, which according to the Mahābhāshya heads the Vārttikas of one rule, really belongs to the Vārttikas of the preceding rule, and that a few times we are referred by a Vārttika not to Pāpini's rule itself, but to the Gāṇa appended to it. Thus much is rendered certain even by a study of the MSS., that in the vast majority of cases Kātyāyana has clearly indicated the rules to which his notes refer, and the presumption therefore is that he has intended to do so everywhere. If his Vārttikas were taken out from the Mahābhāshya and printed as a separate work, we should have no difficulty in pointing out the Sūtra to which any given Vārttika or number of Vārttikas belong.

The case is different with many of the notes, which Patañjali has appended to Pāpini's rules. When Patañjali tells us गृह्यसहाय्या-यां वेति षक्त्वात् (Ed. II. p. 279, 19), we suspect indeed that we are directed to add a certain suffix, which has been taught by Pāpini, to गृह्य and सहाय्य, but that that suffix is लङ्, we know only when Patañjali's note has actually been appended to or placed under P. IV. 2, 43. What Patañjali has taught in this particular instance, Kātyāyana would have expressed in a sentence like लङ्कत्वे गृह्यसहाय्या-यां षक्त्वात् or लङ्कत्वे गृह्यसहाय्या-यां ष, a sentence from the wording of which it would have been clear at once that the suffix to be added is लङ्, while from the position assigned to it in the order of the Vārttikas, we should have inferred with certainty that the suffix लङ् alluded to is the लङ् taught by Pāpini after the suffix षन्; in other words, the लङ् of P. IV. 2, 43. Similar rules of Patañjali's occur under P. III. 1, 16 देवावेति षक्त्वात्, P. III. 1, 145 इति लङ्कत्वात्, इति षक्त्वात्, P. III. 3, 17 आधिपत्यव्ययनेति षक्त्वात्, P. V. 2, 129 विद्यायावेति षक्त्वात्, P. VII. 2, 68 इत्येति षक्त्वात्, and elsewhere, and make it clear that Patañjali did not consider it necessary to indicate, by the wording of his notes, to which of Pāpini's rules a particular note refers. His notes of this kind receive a meaning only when they are actually put under

the text of the Sūtras; taken by themselves they are unintelligible.

It is from such considerations as these, that in my edition of the Mahābhāṣya I have occasionally given, as a remark of Patañjali's what the authority of some of the MSS., sometimes the best MSS. at my command, would otherwise have made me regard as a Vārttika. In Vol. II. p. 120, l. 18, all MSS. except K. have सुप्तवसवोरसमः। सुप्तवसवोरसम इति वक्तव्यम्, K. has only सुप्तवसवोरसम इति वक्तव्यम्. If in this case the MSS. GA. EgB were right, सुप्तवसवोरसमः would be a Vārttika; but it cannot be a Vārttika on Pāṇini's rule परोक्षे लिट् because it does not contain any reference to that rule. The first Vārttika on that rule must be परोक्षे लिट् वक्तव्यम् इति च, and all the MSS. excepting K. must be wrong. In Vol. II. p. 217, l. 12, GA. EgB. have गोपालिकासीनां प्रतिषेधः। गोपालिकासीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, aK. have only गोपालिकासीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः. Here again गोपालिकासीनां प्रतिषेधः cannot be a Vārttika, because it contains no reference to the rule पुनोवासावकाशम्; the first Vārttika on that rule must be पुनोवासावकाशां लिट्पुनश्चनम्. In Vol. II. p. 278, l. 20, all MSS. except K. have वृद्धाच। वृद्धाचोति वक्तव्यम्, but वृद्धाच can for the reasons given above not be regarded as a Vārttika on P. IV. 2, 39. The same reasoning speaks again गणिकावाच on P. IV. 2, 40, गहिवाच on P. IV. 2, 87 and other statements which some of the MSS. have given as Vārttikas.

I confess that the principle which I have tried to explain here, has not from the very beginning been so evident to myself as it is at present. I now know that some statements, which I have printed as Vārttikas, have as little claim to be such as others which I have already rejected. Such are स्वाङ्गकर्मकाच on P. I. 3, 27, which is omitted in the MS. K.; the same on P. I. 3, 28, which also is omitted in the same MS.; अदिक्करवाच on P. III. 1, 10 which originally was left out in the MS. Deccan Coll. 99 of 1881-82; कर्मकर्तरी च on P. III. 2, 83, and वृत्तेच on P. V. 2, 101, which both are given by all the MSS. known to me. I do not feel so certain about पररपरोपपराच on P. I. 3, 16, and अधर्वाच on P. IV. 4, 41, because

these statements may perhaps be considered to contain a reference to the Sūtras to which they are attached; but the former has at any rate been omitted in the MSS. KgB., and the latter is rendered superfluous by Kīṭyāyana's own Vārttika 20 on P. I. 1, 72. Apart however from these, there are other Vārttikas about which I feel or have felt doubtful, and I have therefore put together the following list of all first Vārttikas in which I fail to discover with certainty any distinct reference to the rules of Pāṇini under which they are placed in the MSS.

P. I. 4, 24 ध्रुवमपावेऽपादानम्.—Vārt. 1 ध्रुवस्त- विरामप्रमाणायां गुणसंख्यानम्. If this were really a Vārttika, we should expect it to contain the word अपादानसंज्ञायाम्, just as Vārt. 1 on P. I. 4, 49 contains the word कर्मसंज्ञायाम्, and Vārt. 1 on P. I. 4, 54 कर्तृसंज्ञायाम्. When we strike it out from the list of Vārttikas, we have the expected reference to Pāṇini's rule in the word अपादानसंज्ञा of what in my edition is now Vārt. 2.

P. II. 3, 2 कर्मणि द्वितीया.—Vārt. समा- निकाशायां गुणसंख्यानम्. The MSS. AKk. omit this. If it be really a Vārttika, it should be made to commence with द्वितीयाविधाने, just as there is चतुर्थीविधाने in Vārt. 1 on P. II. 3, 13, तृतीयाविधाने in Vārt. 1 on P. II. 3, 18, पञ्चमी- विधाने in Vārt. 1 on P. II. 3, 28, and सप्तमी- विधाने in Vārt. 1 on P. II. 3, 36.

P. III. 3, 157, इच्छयैषु लिङ्गोदो.—Vārt. कामप- देवनं चेत. MS. A. has इच्छा कामपदेवनं चेत, but I should like to know if this reading is given by other MSS. The Kāśikā-Vṛitti has कामपदेवन इति वक्तव्यम्.

P. V. 3, 66, प्रसंसावां रूपम्.—Vārt. 1 प्रकृतोक्ति- व- च्चनानामावाचि इत्युक्तेरन्वयवचनम्. This Vārttika, for such it must be, appears to offer two difficulties which I should wish to see removed. In the first place, it should, in my opinion, contain the term रूपम्, which would show to what rule the Vārttika belongs, and which does appear in Patañjali's explanation. And secondly, I cannot get any satisfactory meaning out of लिङ्ग- वचनानामावाचि. The forms to be explained are पञ्चतिरूपम्, पञ्चतीरूपम्, पञ्चतिरूपम्, रूपम् being a svārthika suffix, a derivative formed by it should take the gender and number of the primitive word, to which रूपम् is affixed. Now

in this case the primitive words have no gender at all, and they are singular, dual, or plural, whereas the words formed by रूप have a gender, viz. are neuter, and are all singular. This must be accounted for, and is accounted for, by the final portion of the Vārttika which teaches that अम् is the termination of a derivative formed by the addition of रूप to a primitive word which is a verbal form. Unwilling as I am to alter the text, I would suggest that we ought to read प्रकृतोक्ति- वचनानामावाचि इत्युक्ते रूपस्योऽन्वयवचनम्;—"As (derivatives formed by means of svārthika suffixes) take the gender and number of the primitives, it is necessary to state that a derivative in रूपम् (does not do so, but) takes the termination अम् when the primitive form, to which रूपम् is added, is a verb."

P. V. 4, 68, समासान्तम्.—Vārt. प्रबोजनमप्यधीमा- धिगुह्यन्तत्पुनश्चद्विहितं. Here we expect to be told in the Vārttika, of what अन्वयवचनम्...संज्ञा are the प्रबोजनम्. The word प्रबोजनम् appears altogether 41 times at the commencement of a Vārttika, but in all these cases that, whose purport is stated in such a Vārttika, has been given to us in a previous Vārttika (Vol. I. p. 87, l. 17; 97, 15; 154, 9; 159, 9, etc.). Seventeen times प्रबोजनम् stands in the middle of a Vārttika, and it is then preceded by a word in the Locative or Genitive, which contains that of which the purport is to be explained by the Vārttika (Compare e.g. Vol. II. p. 47, l. 1 ध्रुववर्तिते प्रबोजनं द्वित्ये, p. 402, l. 3 विधाकित्से प्रबोजनमि- त्यतिषेधः, or Vol. III. p. 141, l. 5 उत्तरपत्राधिकार- स्त प्रबोजनं लोकादि-योऽनुमानिकोद्भवनोपा., p. 179, l. 12 अङ्गाधिकारस्त्व प्रबोजनं संसारात्परी- षत्से). In accordance with this universal practice of the author of the Vārttikas, I would suggest that we ought to read the Vārttika under discussion either समासान्तरे or समासा- न्नाधिकारस्त्व प्रबोजनमप्यधीमाधिगुह्यन्तत्पुनश्चद्वि- हितं.

P. VI. 1, 28, च्वावः पी.—Vārt. आङ्गुर्वचिन्धुपसोः. All MSS. have this, but, as it stands, it cannot, in my opinion, be regarded as a Vārttika. Moreover, considering that अन्धु 'a well' does not appear to be used in the older literature, that, on the other hand, the verb च्चि is frequently used in connection with अन्धु 'the stem of the sōma-plant,' and that in R̥igvéda VIII. 9, 19, we actually read चापीतासो अन्धः, one may fairly feel inclined to question the correctness of the reading अन्धुपसोः.

P. VI. 3, 3, भोजःसरोऽन्वयवचनस्योवावाः.—Vārt. 1, अ- न्वयवचनस्योवावाः. AB. and originally E. have वृत्तीयावां अन्व. E. by alteration वृत्तीयावा अन्व. One would expect the Vārttika to commence with वृत्तीयावकरणे, just as Vārt. 1 on P. VI. 3, 2 commences with पञ्चमीप्रकरणे, and Vārt. 1 on P. VI. 3, 21 with षष्ठीप्रकरणे.

P. VII. 1, 39, सुपुं सुदुर्गुत्सवर्णाच्छेदाङ्गावा- ज्ञानम्.—Vārt. इवाङ्गिवाजीकात्पुनश्चख्यानम्. AE. omit this; a. and B. omit it too, but the former has a stop and the figure 2 between ख्यानं and कर्तव्यम् in the next line, and B. has a stop in the same place. I hardly think that it can be rejected from the Vārttikas, because in that case it would be difficult to explain, why Patañjali should have made the subsequent statement आङ्गाज्यायारो चोपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् a separate rule.

P. VIII. 1, 66, वचनःश्रित्यम्.—Vārt. वा वाया- क्त्वम्. All MSS. have this, but I doubt its being a Vārttika, as it stands.

P. I. 4, 60 गतिश्च.—Vārt. 1 कारिकाशब्दश्च; Vārt. 2. पुनश्चनसो छन्दसि. Vārt. 1 is given by all MSS., but DK. Eg. read कारिकाशब्दस्योपसंख्यानम्. Vārt. 2 is omitted in K.; E. has it added in the margin; g. omits it, but has the figure 2 after पुनश्चनसो छन्दसि below. पुनश्चनसो छन्दसि is quoted thus by Patañjali in Vol. I. p. 377, l. 19; it is there called a Vārttika by Nāgōji- bhāṣya, and is considered one also by Haradatta on P. II. 1, 72 (पुनश्चनसो छन्दसीति गतिसंज्ञा वानिककारीयेति गणकारिणेश्च पठितम्). I can only state that we miss the expected reference to Pāṇini's rule, which, if the two Vārttikas were removed, would be contained in what in my edition is now Vārt. 3.

P. II. 2, 8, षष्ठी.—Vārt. 1 कृषोणा च; Vārt. 2 तस्येच गुणे; Vārt. 3 न तु तद्विषये.—P. II. 2, 10, न निर्धारणे.—Vārt. प्रतिपदविधाना च. Patañ- jali, in the words प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वदन्ति on p. 412, l. 20, appears certainly to ascribe the statement प्रतिपदविधाना च to the Vārttikakāra, but we miss in the Vārttikas themselves some distinct indication of the fact that the three first refer to P. II. 2, 8, and the last to the prohibitive rule P. II. 2, 10.

P. II. 4, 3, अनुवादे चरणात्.—Vārt. 1 त्येपो; Vārt. 2 अद्यतन्वां च. Vārt. 1 is omitted by the MSS. gB., and Vārt. 2 by AkKEgB. The term अद्यतनी for दुह is used by Kīṭyāyana Vol. II. p. 114, l. 7, and Vol. III. p. 217, l. 17, just as he elsewhere employs मन्थनी, भविष्यन्ती, and अस्तनी,

¹ The letters K. G. A. &c., denote the MSS. described in the prefaces of Vol. I. and II. of my edition of the Mahābhāṣya.

instead of कृ, कृ, and कृ; the two statements given above can nevertheless not be regarded as Vārttikas, so long as the first of them contains no reference to Pāṇini's rule. This objection would be removed, if we were allowed to read अनुवाये वचनात् इत्येवो.

P. III. 1, 17, कृत्वात्तन्नामकृत्वात् इत्येवो.—Vārt. 1 कृत्वात्तन्नामकृत्वात् इत्येवो; Vārt. 2 नीहारात्. The MSS. kK. omit the two Vārttikas and read कृत्वात्तन्नामकृत्वात् इत्येवो वक्तव्यम्; exactly the same reading we find in the Kāṭhikā-Vṛitti.

P. IV. 1, 85, विवक्षित्वादिभिरनुवायेनात्त्वम्.—Vārt. 1 वाङ्मयविकृतानां छन्दस्त्वसंज्ञानम्. Several MSS. omit this and some of the following Vārttikas up to Vārt. 8. In none of the eight MSS. which I have compared does the first Vārttika contain any indication of the Sūtra to which it belongs. We may conjecture the correct reading of the Vārttika to be एव्यकरणे वाङ्मयविकृतानां छन्दस्त्वसंज्ञानम्, and this reading we actually find in the Benares edition of the Mahābhāṣya.

P. IV. 3, 131, शिबिकादिभिरनुवायेनात्त्वम्.—Vārt. 1 शिबिकादिभिरनुवायेनात्त्वम्. Vārt. 2 आपर्षिण्यत्वेकलोपश्च. These two Vārttikas (which have been received into the text of Pāṇini's grammar) have nothing to do with the particular rule P. IV. 3, 131, but they may be regarded as additions to the whole chapter, which begins with the rule 120 and ends with 131. Similarly the Vārttika अन उपानोषिण्यत्वेकलोपश्चिद्वन् has been placed under P. IV. 1, 75, which is the last rule in the chapter treating of the formation of feminine bases; आद्युक्तप्रकरणे द्विवीहारादीनां छन्दस्त्वसंज्ञानम् under P. VI. 2, 91 etc.

P. VI. 3, 109, प्रचोदरादीनि वयोपविट्म्.—Vārt. 1 विवक्षित्वादिभिरनुवायेनात्त्वम्. Several MSS. omit this and some of the following Vārttikas. We must, it seems, assume that हसिपसारम् and other words explained in the Vārttikas had been put down in the Gaṇa प्रचोदरादि, and that the reference therefore is to the Gaṇa. Similar references to Gaṇas we have on P. IV. 1, 4; IV. 1, 151; IV. 2, 49; and V. 2, 116.

P. VI. 3, 122, उपसर्गत्वे चञ्चनपुञ्जे बहन्म्.—Vārt. 1 साधकारयोः कृत्विने; Vārt. 2 प्रतिष्ठादीनां विभाषा. Both Vārttikas are omitted by some of the MSS. The reference to Pāṇini's rule may consist in this, that साध् and कृत् are bases formed with the suffix चञ्, which is mentioned in the rule. A similar case we find in अस्ति-पमित्तयोः प्रतिषेधः on P. IV. 1, 39, which undoubtedly is a Vārttika, and where अस्ति and पलित

are at once recognized to be such words as are spoken of by Pāṇini in his rule.

P. VIII. 2, 17, नादत्त्वम्.—Vārt. 1 इतिचिन्; Vārt. 2 दुरिषात्त्वम्. The wording of these two Vārttikas may perhaps be accounted for in a similar way. The Vārttikas preceding them belong undoubtedly to P. VIII. 2, 16; and when then immediately afterwards Kātyāyana teaches something regarding two bases that end in न्, we must understand him to refer to that न् which is spoken of by Pāṇini in the rule following upon VIII. 2, 16.

I will finally mention a few cases, in which it may be doubtful whether a certain statement, which in my edition has been ascribed to Patañjali, might not, for the reasons which I have explained in the above, perhaps be better regarded as a Vārttika.

On P. I. 1, 75, एह प्राचां देवो, I have printed as a remark of Patañjali's एह प्राचां देवो ऐषिके-त्विनि वक्तव्यम्. I was at the time surprised, that Patañjali should have repeated the words of Pāṇini's rule, but the MSS. then at my disposal did contain those words, and they did not in any way suggest the idea, that a Vārttika might have disappeared. I now find that the MS. A does omit एह प्राचां देवो before ऐषिके-त्विनि, and further consideration has convinced me, that either the MS. A. is right or that a Vārttika has disappeared; on the latter alternative we should have to read एह प्राचां देवो ऐषिकेत्त्वे ॥१॥ एह प्राचां देवो ऐषिकेत्त्विति वक्तव्यम् ।

On P. II. 1, 23, द्विगुच, I have assigned to Patañjali the statement द्विगोस्तत्पुत्रत्वे समासान्ताः प्रबोजनम्, but I now feel almost certain that this is really a Vārttika. When however we compare such Vārttikas as अज्यधीशवत्त्वाच्च-त्वे प्रबोजनं प्रायुक्तत्वेरोपधाराः on P. I. 1, 41, दुषवतिरेषे प्रबोजनं द्वित्वेने on P. III. 1, 39, or विभक्तित्वे प्रबोजनमित्यतिषेधः on P. V. 3, 1, we should expect to read द्विगोस्तत्पुत्रत्वे प्रबोजनं समासान्ताः.

On P. IV. 1, 16, वाम्, I may have been wrong in rejecting the reading of the MSS. EgB., which before आपरत्त्वहर्णं have the Vārttika आपरत्त्वहर्णं ह्योपायम्: प्रतिषेधार्थम्. But if, what seems very probable, this is really a Vārttika, I should expect Patañjali's explanation to be आपरत्त्वहर्णं कर्तव्यम् । किं प्रबोजनम् । ह्योपायम्: प्रतिषेधार्थम् । इह मा मूर्त् । द्वेवेति ॥ Compare e.g. Vārt. 1 on P. III. 4, 2, Vārt. 1 on P. VI. 1,

6; Vārt. 1 and 2 on P. VI. 1, 58; Vārt. 1 on P. VI. 1, 108; Vārt. 1 on P. VI. 1, 171.

On P. V. 4, 103, अनसन्नामपुंसकाच्छन्त्वि, I have given as a remark of Patañjali's the statement अनसन्नामपुंसकाच्छन्त्वि वेति वक्तव्यम्; the MS. a. omits here अनसन्नामपुंसकाच्छन्त्वि, and g., a very indifferent MS., has the same words twice. The repetition of Pāṇini's rule at the beginning of this statement must again make us suspect that a Vārttika has disappeared in the MSS., and that we ought to read अनसन्नामपुंसकाच्छन्त्वि वा ॥१॥ अनसन्नामपुंसकाच्छन्त्वि वेति वक्तव्यम्. It is true that Kātyāyana, when he wishes to make a rule of Pāṇini's optional, generally employs the word वाच्यम् (compare e.g. Vārt. 1 on P. III. 1, 27, Vārt. 1 on P. V. 1, 10, Vārt. 1 on P. VIII. 2, 103), yet on P. III. 3, 156 हेतुहेतुवर्गीकम्, we have the Vārttika हेतुहेतुवर्गीकम्, to which अनसन्नामपुंसकाच्छन्त्वि वा would be similar in every respect.

The doubts and conjectures, which I have expressed in the above, are in the first instance suggested by the principle that the first Vārttika on a rule must contain some distinct reference to that rule. There are other matters, on which I should wish to elicit the opinions of Indian scholars.

We frequently find in the Mahābhāṣya statements, which end with the word उक्तम्, 'something has been said,' 'a remark has been made.' They are invariably followed by किमुक्तम् 'what has been said?' When we examine the answers to this question, we are struck by the fact, that almost everywhere they consist in one or more Vārttikas met with in different parts of the Mahābhāṣya. We are thus led to the conclusion that the statements ending with उक्तम् are themselves Vārttikas, and that in them Kātyāyana is referring us to other Vārttikas, which generally precede, sometimes follow, the Vārttikas ending with उक्तम्. And our belief in the soundness of this conclusion is strengthened, when we examine those statements a little more closely.

When we try to ascertain what Vārttikas Kātyāyana may have appended e.g. to P. I. 1, 60, अर्चयन् लोपः, the first Vārttika to present itself will be लोपसंज्ञावामर्षसतोक्तम्. It is explained by Patañjali as other Vārttikas are, with this difference only that the comment on the words preceding उक्तम् has taken the form of an introductory remark. It does contain

the necessary reference to Pāṇini's rule, for like other Vārttikas on Saubhāṣya-rules it does begin with the technical term defined by Pāṇini, compounded with संज्ञावामर्ष. It must be considered a Vārttika, because the wording of the sentence which in my edition is given as Vārt. 2, and which undoubtedly is a Vārttika, shows that there must be a Vārttika preceding it, and because in the preceding we find nothing that could possibly be regarded as one, excepting our लोपसंज्ञावामर्षसतोक्तम्. "The remarks that have been made," and to which we are referred by उक्तम्, are इतिकारणोऽर्थनिर्देशार्थः and सिद्धं तु निरवयवत्वात्, the former being the Vārt. 3 on P. I. 1, 44, and the latter the Vārt. 9 on P. I. 1, 1.

Now, what I have proved in this one instance may be shown to be true elsewhere, and it becomes evident, that by the Vārttikas described Kātyāyana has furnished a means of testing to some extent the value of any attempt at reconstructing his work. For whenever we find a statement of his ending with उक्तम्, our Vārttika-pāṭha, if it be right, must contain the Vārttika or Vārttikas, to which he refers us. And when, to give a somewhat striking instance, in the Vārt. 10 on P. I. 2, 45 he tells us "that he has said something regarding the question as to whether letters have a meaning or not," and when, in order to show what Kātyāyana has said, Patañjali quotes the seven Vārttikas on pp. 30 and 31 of Vol. I. of my edition, exactly as they have been printed there, it will appear probable that the principles followed in the reconstruction of the Vārttikas were correct. On the other hand, the question किमुक्तम् should everywhere be answered by Vārttikas only; and if anywhere in the Mahābhāṣya it should have been answered differently, it must be possible to substitute a Vārttika or Vārttikas for the answer actually given by Patañjali. If in any particular case it should be found impossible to point out the Vārttika to which Kātyāyana could have referred us, such a case should either make us doubt our having fully understood the drift of his remarks, or suspect some fault in our method, or in the readings of the MSS. used for the reconstruction of his work.

In my edition the number of Vārttikas ending with उक्तम् is 45; not one of them has been given in the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini. 38

times we are referred by उक्तम् to something which precedes the Vārttika containing the word उक्तम्; 7 times to what follows. 36 times Patañjali has answered the question किमुक्तम् by quoting one, two, three, five, or even seven Vārttikas exactly as they are given in the edition; thrice he has considered it sufficient to quote only part of a Vārttika; and four times he has quoted a Vārttika, but completed it by words of his own. Once (in Vol. I. p. 229), instead of quoting the actual text of the Vārttika, he has given his own explanation of it. Once only has Patañjali referred us to a remark, which is purely and exclusively his own, and it is this particular case that has induced me to discuss this matter under the head of the (as yet) doubtful Vārttikas.

To the rule P. VI. 4, 66, Kātyāyana appends the exception (Vārt. 1), that इ is not substituted for the final of वा, धा, etc. before a suffix commencing with the letter व्, and as an instance in point he quotes the word वृत्तवाचन्, which occurs e.g. in Vāj. S. VI. 19. Patañjali then raises the question, how with such an exception one is to account for the words धीवरी and धीवरी, in which इ apparently has been substituted before a suffix commencing with व्. This question is answered in the sentence (Vārt. 2) धीवरी धीवरीति चोक्तम् "as to धीवरी and धीवरी you are referred to what has been stated"; and Patañjali by way of explanation tells us that the statement alluded to is धैतव्यम् । किं तर्हि । आचोरेत्सं-प्रसारणम् ।—"here we have no substitution of इ for the आ of धा and धा, but that of Samprasāraṇa for the व् of धै and धै, (together of course with the operations attendant on or caused by the substitution of Samprasāraṇa)." Now the statement quoted by Patañjali is certainly not a Vārttika, but is a remark made by Patañjali himself in Vol. III. p. 197, l. 22, and the alternative we have to face is this: either Patañjali is wrong in citing his own words instead of quoting a Vārttika, or the MSS. are wrong in reading धीवरी धीवरीति चोक्तम् । किमुक्तम्. We must either point out the Vārttika, which Patañjali should have quoted, or substitute for धीवरी धीवरीति चोक्तम् । किमुक्तम् words such as उक्तमेतत्. I confess that, without having examined other MSS., I do not venture to express any decided opinion; should such an examination, however, prove

favourable to the retention of the second Vārttika, I might probably suggest that Patañjali ought to have referred us to the Vārttika आचोरेत्: संप्रसारणं च on P. III. 2, 178.

Of more frequent occurrence even than the Vārttikas described, taking them all together, is another Vārttika, to which the same general remarks are applicable,—I mean the Vārttika उक्तं वा. It has been shown elsewhere, that Kātyāyana has not merely stated his doubts and objections in regard to some of Pāṇini's rules, but that often he also has shown how those doubts may be solved and the objections removed, and it is mainly for the latter purpose that the Vārttika उक्तं वा has been employed by him. For, when making use of this phrase, he thereby intimates that an objection raised is met, or an additional rule rendered unnecessary, by some Vārttika or Vārttikas in another part of his work, Vārttikas to which we are referred by the very words उक्तं वा, and which after the usual question किमुक्तम् are generally pointed out by Patañjali. On P. III. 1, 30, after having stated (Vārt. 1 and 2) that the Anubandha ह् of the suffix लिङ् would by P. I. 1, 5 prevent the substitution of Viddhi in क्त्वन्ते, Kātyāyana adds (Vārt. 3) उक्तं वा "or it is as stated"; in other words, he refers us to the Vārt. 4 on P. I. 1, 5, in which he himself has explained why that rule of Pāṇini's can have nothing to do with क्त्वन्ते. In Vol. III. p. 2 and also p. 440 he similarly refers us to the four Vārttikas 2-5 on P. I. 1, 21, in Vol. II. p. 242 to the six Vārttikas 4-9 on P. IV. 1, 163, and so elsewhere. Here too we must in every case be able to point out the Vārttikas to which Kātyāyana can have referred us, and the probability here also is, that there is something wrong in our work or in the MSS. which we have followed, when we are unable to do so.

In my edition the phrase उक्तं वा occurs as a Vārttika 55 times; among the Vārttikas appended to Pāṇini's rules in the Calcutta edition I have not found it once. In 33 out of these 55 cases Patañjali has cited the Vārttikas, to which we are referred by उक्तं वा, exactly as they are found in the edition. In 10 other cases he has either quoted only part of a Vārttika, or quoting a whole Vārttika he has rendered its meaning more easily intelligible by adding words of his own, or he has given in

his own words the sense of a Vārttika, not the actual text of it. Twice (Vol. I. p. 194 and Vol. II. p. 182) Patañjali refers us first to a Vārttika, and afterwards, objecting to Kātyāyana's reasoning, to remarks of his own; and three times (Vol. I. p. 225, p. 423; and Vol. III. p. 223) he refers us to Vārttikas and at the same time to other statements, which it is unnecessary to discuss here. Five times (Vol. I. p. 141; Vol. II. p. 427 and 433; and Vol. III. p. 353 and 416) he has referred us only to remarks of his own, but in these cases it is easy to point out the Vārttikas which he should have quoted. Thus by the Vārttika उक्तं वा on P. V. 3, 88 and P. V. 4, 27, Kātyāyana can have referred us only to his Vārttikas 6 and 7 on P. IV. 1, 92, where Patañjali himself has given the very examples कुटी कुटीरः etc., the gender of which has occasioned Kātyāyana's remarks on P. V. 3, 88.

From this general survey it will appear then, that in 53 cases out of 55 we have either been actually referred to the Vārttikas, to which allusion is made by the phrase उक्तं वा, or that we, at any rate, can point out the Vārttikas, which should have been cited by Patañjali. It is different with the two remaining cases, which on that very account demand a more detailed discussion.

On P. II. 3, 8, Kātyāyana proposes to add the rule (Vārt. 1), that प्रति etc., when conveying the meanings spoken of in P. I. 4, 90, etc., govern the Accusative, such a rule being considered necessary to prevent the employment of the Locative and Ablative cases taught in P. II. 3, 43, and P. II. 3, 10; and Patañjali adds that Kātyāyana's rule would prove advantageous also in enabling us to dispense with the word अन्ते: in P. II. 3, 43. The Vārt. 2 उक्तं वा would lead us to expect that in the sequel Kātyāyana's additional rule should have been rejected by means of some other Vārttika of Kātyāyana's. In reality Kātyāyana's suggestion has been met, as regards the Locative, by the remark that Pāṇini in his rule II. 3, 43, has said अन्ते:, and, as regards the Ablative, by showing that for reasons given the परि in P. II, 3, 10 can only be the परि spoken of in P. I. 4, 88, not the परि

* I may add that Kātyāyana has referred us to other Vārttikas of his also in the Vārt. उक्तं वा in Vol. I. p. 53, in the Vārt. उक्तं पूर्ण in Vol. I. p. 462, and p. 464,

of P. I. 4, 90; nor do I see how it could have been met in any other way. Such being the case, I consider that the words उक्तं वा ! किमुक्तम् ! at the top of Vol. I. p. 447 of my edition are wrong and must be struck out, notwithstanding the fact that they are given by all the MSS. hitherto examined by me.

Similarly I, for the present, believe that the MSS. are wrong in giving as a Vārttika what is now Vārt. 3 on P. VIII. 1, 15, for there too the statement लिङ्गमधिष्ठं लोकान्भवामिङ्गस्त्व, to which we appear to be referred, is not a Vārttika. That statement occurs as part of Patañjali's commentary, e.g. in Vol. I. p. 390, l. 18, where we certainly might have expected Kātyāyana to allude to it, had it been possible for him to do so. It occurs too in Vol. II. p. 418, l. 24, where the Kāsmir, MS. appears to me to be right in omitting before it the words उक्तं वा ! किमुक्तम् !, which have found their way into all the Dēvanāgarī MSS., just as the phrase उक्तं वा has found its way into some of the MSS. in Vol. II. p. 173, l. 23. On the other hand, I will not conceal that, in Vol. II. p. 198, l. 15, Patañjali has introduced the statement लिङ्गमधिष्ठं लोकान्भवामिङ्गस्त्व by the words पठिष्यति आचार्यः, and that at any rate Nāgōjibhatta understands the Āchārya there referred to to be the Vārttikakṛit.*

Besides the Vārttikas which I have treated of in the above, there are some others, which I should call 'doubtful Vārttikas,' but to which I have nevertheless assigned a place in my edition, because in a first attempt I wished to be guided rather by the MSS., than by my own views as to what ought to be a Vārttika and what not. One or two examples may show, that at least I have not been quite unconscious of the objections that might be brought against the text given by me. By the Vārt. 10 बहुव्रीहिनाममहत्त्वम् on P. I. 1, 23, my edition makes Kātyāyana, who in the preceding Vārttikas has tried to amend Pāṇini's rule, reject that rule altogether,—reject it, without his giving any reasons, and without intimating that the rejection of the rule would be an alternative proceeding. Now this is altogether contrary to what we see Kātyāyana do else-

and in the Vārt. उक्तं संख्यान्ते प्रयोजनं तस्मादिशाध्यर्थे-ह्यानर्थेवम् in Vol. II. p. 349.

where. Kātyāyana always proves his proposals; he always shows what is the good of his proposals; when he suggests an alternative course, he tells us that he does so. When he rejects the rule P. III. 3, 119, he does so by saying *गीचरादीनामपह्नं प्राचयचनाया कपो विक्रम इति*; when, after having discussed the rule P. I. 1, 44, he desires to show that that rule may be dispensed with, he says (Vārt. 19) *अधिप्यो वा विहितत्वात्*. I am convinced then, that on P. I. 1, 23, Kātyāyana could not have simply said *बहुरीनामपह्नम्*, and that the MSS. are wrong. What appears to be a Vārttika is really a translation, into the language of Kātyāyana, of Patañjali's statement *बहुरीनां मह्नं अन्वयकर्तुम्*.—Chance repetition of Patañjali's words has caused the reception into the text of false Vārttikas elsewhere. In his Vārt. 5 on P. I. 4, 52, Kātyāyana states that that rule does not apply to *अद्, खद्, ली,* and *बद्*; in the following Vārt. 6, which is

given by all the Dēvanāgarī MSS., he is made to say that Pāṇini's rule does not apply in the case of *बद्* provided that verb be not used in connection with beasts of burden. Here it is clear that Kātyāyana would not have included *बद्* in the list of verbs given in Vārt. 5, if he had intended to make a special rule for it in a separate Vārttika. The special rule concerning *बद्* is really, if I may say so, a Vārttika of Patañjali's on Kātyāyana's Vārt. 5, and has taken the form of a true Vārttika, because Patañjali's words *बहुरीनामपह्नम्* were wrongly put twice in the MSS. Such has, I believe, been the case with what is now Vārt. 20 on P. II. 2, 24 (omitted in the Kāśmir MSS.), with the Vārt. 4 on P. III. 2, 110 (omitted in the MS. K.) and in one or two other instances, and this is one of the reasons why I appeal particularly to those scholars, who have old MSS. within reach, to assist me in the task of improving my work.

NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from p. 211.)

4.—SOME SUGGESTIONS REGARDING THE VERSES (KARIKAS) IN THE MAHABHASHYA.

Besides the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, which are in prose, and to explain which is the main object of Patañjali, there occur, scattered through the Mahābhāshya, a number of verses treating of grammatical matters. Some of these verses have been fully commented upon by Patañjali; of others he has merely given the general import, or he has appended to them an occasional remark only. Again, there are verses which appear to repeat in a summary way what has been already stated before in prose; and still others, which are neither commented upon, nor partake of the nature of summary verses. Sometimes the discussion on a rule of Pāṇini's is carried on solely by means of verses that are explained by Patañjali; on other occasions verses, commented upon or without comment, precede the prose Vārttikas on a rule, or follow them, or occur in the midst of them. In a large number of cases the verses

occur singly, but sometimes two, three, four, five, or even six verses are grouped together; and we also meet with a considerable number of half-verses, and even quarter-verses.

The total number of these verses is about 260. The metres in which they have been composed are the following:—

- The ordinary Āryā: about 40 verses.
- Portions of an Āryā: Vol. II. pp. 127, 129.
- Giti: one verse and a half: Vol. III. p. 216.
- The ordinary Ślōka: about 165 verses.
- Three quarters of a verse: Vol. II. p. 29.
- Half-verses: 16.
- Quarter-verses: 12.
- Vaktra: 2.—Vol. I. p. 273; and Vol. II. p. 97.
- Half a verse: Vol. I. p. 63.
- Vidyumāñā: 3.—Vol. I. p. 356; Vol. II. p. 203; and Vol. III. p. 350.
- A quarter-verse: Vol. I. p. 14, l. 3 (सिद्धार्थं तु प्रत्यापत्तिः).
- Samāni: 2.—Vol. I. p. 502.

Inravajrā: 3.—Vol. I. pp. 96, 336; and Vol. III. p. 52.

Upajāti: 4.—Vol. I. p. 96; Vol. II. pp. 124, 232; and Vol. III. p. 54.

Dōbhaka: 12.—Vol. I. p. 484; Vol. II. pp. 65, 138; Vol. III. pp. 182, 189, 410, 423.

Śānti: 4.—Vol. II. p. 72; Vol. III. pp. 206, and 247.

Vamāsthā: Half a verse. Vol. III. p. 216.

Tōṭaka: 2.—Vol. I. p. 334, 335.

Jagati: One verse.—Vol. III. p. 409.

Irregular Trishṭubh or Jagati verses occur besides in Vol. I. pp. 13, 144; and Vol. II. p. 123. As verses I am inclined to consider also Vol. I. p. 362, l. 4 and 13; Vol. II. p. 60, l. 1 and 4, and perhaps a few other lines, regarding which I have not been able to arrive at any decided opinion.

The name which by the commentators is most frequently applied to these verses, be they commented upon or not, is that of Vārttika. Sometimes they are called by the fuller name Ślōka-vārttika, or ascribed to the Ślōkavārttikakāra. Thus Bhartrihari assigns to the Ślōkavārttikakāra the verses in Vol. I. p. 36; Kaiyata the verses in Vol. II. p. 329; Vol. III. pp. 189, 273, 402. Nāgōjibhaṭṭa uses the term Ślōkavārttika of the verse in Vol. III. p. 466; and a note in the MS. G. calls by the same name the verses in Vol. II. p. 383. That the terms Vārttika, Ślōka, and Ślōka-vārttika, when used with reference to verses, are equivalent, may be seen from the fact, that the verses in Vol. III. p. 402, by Kaiyata ascribed to the Ślōkavārttikakāra, have by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa on P. viii. 2, 22 been called simply Vārttikas, and that the verse in Vol. III. p. 466, called Ślōkavārttika by Nāgōjibhaṭṭa, is called simply a Ślōka by Kaiyata.

¹ The special name of this particular kind of the Jagati metre does not appear to be known. The first line of the verse in Vol. III. p. 409 is wrong, and the last line is interesting, inasmuch as it has been curiously misunderstood by both Kaiyata and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa. Both take the first word of the line

अगव्यन्ता भवति हि रुषिर्वा
to be अगति, the Loc. Sing. of अगन्, and they understand the meaning of the line to be, that the explanation given of परिक्लृप्त will please everywhere, because it fully accounts both for the form and for the accent of that word. Really, the first word of the line must be taken to be the Nom. Sing. अगती. The author of the verse has said all he had to say about परिक्लृप्त in three lines, and finding that his Jagati verse required a fourth line, he somewhat facetiously adds 'that a complete Jagati verse is indeed pleasing.'—I am well aware of the fact, that about six per cent. of the verses in the Mahābhāshya are

When the term Ślōkavārttikakāra is opposed to the term Vārttikakāra (or Vākyakāra), as has been done by Kaiyata on Vol. III. p. 189, or by Bhartrihari on Vol. I. p. 36, both of course denote different persons; and in such a case it was hardly necessary for Nāgōjibhaṭṭa to tell us that the Vārttikakāra (or Vākyakāra) is Kātyāyana, and the Ślōkavārttikakāra another.² But from this it by no means follows that the Ślōkavārttikakāra has been regarded by the commentators to be different from the ordinary Vārttikakāra in every case. On the contrary, we have abundant proof for it, that both Kaiyata and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa (as well as Haradatta and other commentators whose works have been examined by me) have considered Kātyāyana as the author, not only of prose Vārttikas, but also of Vārttikas in verse. When Kaiyata on P. i. 1, 21 opposes the Vārttikakāra to the Sātrakāra, the former must be understood to be Kātyāyana, just as the Sātrakāra can be no other than Pāṇini; and, as the particular statement ascribed here to the Vārttikakāra is a verse on P. vi. 4, 74, Kaiyata must have taken Kātyāyana to be the author of that verse.³ Similar instances might be quoted from Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's work. So far then, what we learn from the commentators amounts to no more than this, that in their opinion some of the verses in the Mahābhāshya are by Kātyāyana, and others by another author of Vārttikas.

But the commentators assign some verses also to the author of the Bhāshya. Thus Puṅyarāja ascribes to the Bhāshyakāra the verse in Vol. I. p. 356; Nāgōjibhaṭṭa calls the verse 2 in Vol. III. p. 267 a Bhāshya-ślōka; and he states that the verses in Vol. II. p. 229—verses fully commented upon—belong to the

wrong; in some of these cases a slight alteration of the text would have sufficed to set the metre right.

² Bhartrihari on Vol. I. p. 36:—यदेके वाक्यकारेण वृत्तिसवयायै उपदेश इति तदेव श्लोकवार्तिककारोऽप्याह. Kaiyata on Vol. III. p. 189:—वाचिककारोकेषु पयोजनेषु पत्याख्यतेषु श्लोकवार्तिककारोऽपयोजनेषुप; and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa:—वाचिककारः कान्यापनः श्लोकवार्तिककारोऽस्त्यप्येवेति भावः.

³ Patañjali refers to the same verse by means of the word बहुरीति in Vol. I. p. 113, l. 10, and Vol. III. p. 189, l. 16, indicating thereby that that verse, at any rate is not his own. By बहुरीति he refers to other verses in Vol. II. p. 378, l. 6, and Vol. III. p. 400, l. 13. He introduces verses with अत उच्यते पठति, Vol. I. p. 283; Vol. III. p. 181, 257, 410.

Bhāshyakṛit, not to the *Vārttikakṛit*.^{*} All this (whether right or wrong) is mere conjecture; and so is another statement of Nāgōjibhaṭṭa's, according to which the half-verse in Vol. II. p. 292 belongs either to the author of the *Bhāshya* or to another *Vārttikakāra*.^{*} Nāgōjibhaṭṭa evidently had no traditional knowledge as to the authorship of the verses, and even when he tells us that the verse *एषिकात्पुनः*[†] in Vol. II. p. 393, also found at Vol. II. p. 15, is taken from some Śāstra or other,^{*} which probably is true, he must be considered to state only his own opinion.

The case is different, when Kaiyaṭa volunteers the remark that the verse *अधिधिधि* in Vol. I. p. 484, which might be called a summary verse, has been composed by Vyāghrabhūti.^{*} A distinct statement like this cannot have been invented by Kaiyaṭa. It must have been copied from the works of older commentators, who may be supposed to have had good reasons for what they were reporting. It is the only important statement that we owe to the commentators, regarding the authorship of at least one verse in the *Mahābhāshya*.

A priori there is no reason why Kātyāyana should not have written some of his *Vārttikas* in verse. Among the few *Vārttikas* of the *Bhāradvājya*s, handed down to us in the *Mahābhāshya*, there is one, in Vol. III. p. 199, l. 19, which is in verse,^{*}—a sufficient proof, that a combination of prose *Vārttikas* and of *Vārttikas* in verse could not in itself be regarded as objectionable. But what we must demand of a work written partly in prose and partly in verse (supposing that work to have been composed by a scholar like Kātyāyana), is, that the several portions of it should form an harmonious whole; that there should be some connection between its verses and its prose statements, and that the former should not

^{*} Nāgōjibhaṭṭa on Vol. II. p. 229:—एते श्लोक भाष्यकृत एव न वार्तिककृतः संयुजीकरणमाद्यन्त.

[†] Nāgōjibhaṭṭa on Vol. II. p. 229:—परिगणनं भाष्यकृतो ऽप्यवार्तिककारस्य वेति विदितिवेषवार्तिककारस्तत्र आचार्योति भावः.

^{*} Nāgōjibhaṭṭa on Vol. II. p. 393:—एव चायं श्लोकः कस्यापि च्छास्त्रस्येति शोच्यते.

^{*} Kaiyaṭa on Vol. I. p. 484, l. 17:—अवनेवार्यो व्याघ्रप्रतिनायक इत्याह अधिधिधिधिति.

^{*} भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति । अस्मै रोपयोर्योर्ये आगमो रन्विधीयत इति ॥

contradict the latter; that a question, which has been fully discussed and disposed of in the prose, should not be raised and discussed again in the verses; that the terminology employed should be the same in both, and that at any rate its prose and metrical portions should contain evidence of having proceeded from one and the same school of grammar. We also might fairly expect that the prose portion should not entirely ignore that part of the work which is in verse.

If from such points of view we examine the verses which have been commented upon by Patañjali,—and it is only these verses that could possibly be regarded as *Vārttikas*,—we shall indeed discover many reasons why such verses should not be assigned to the writer of the prose *Vārttikas*, while it might be difficult to bring forward a single argument in favour of their having been composed by Kātyāyana. In a previous article, I have shown^{*} that about a hundred times Kātyāyana has referred us by the word *उक्तम्* or the phrase *उक्तं वा* to statements or arguments which occur in other parts of his work; in all these cases the reference is to prose *Vārttikas*; and there is not a single instance in which Kātyāyana has thus alluded to a statement in verse.[†] I have similarly already^{††} drawn attention to the circumstance, that Kātyāyana purposely has so worded the first *Vārttika* on a rule, as to indicate the rule to which such *Vārttika* must be understood to belong. Now it is a fact, that 27 times in the *Mahābhāshya* a first prose *Vārttika* is preceded by verses, many of which do contain some distinct reference to the rule of Pāṇini's to which they have been appended, and that nevertheless, in every one of these cases, the reference to Pāṇini's rules is repeated in the following prose *Vārttikas*.[‡] Those who

^{*} See p. 269 f. above.

[†] In Vol. III. p. 223, l. 15, Patañjali does also refer us to the verse on P. VI. 4, 127; but Kātyāyana's reference is solely to the *Vārttika* 13 (and 15) on P. VII. 1, 1.

^{††} See p. 264 above.

[‡] If the verse *प्रोभावे परस्मात्* on P. III. 2, 115 were Kātyāyana's, he would not have repeated *प्रोभावे क्तिञ्* in his *Vārttika* on that rule. If the verses on P. VI. 3, 45 were his, he would have omitted *महदात्से* from his first *Vārttika*. If the verse, with which the discussion on P. VII. 1, 73 opens, were Kātyāyana's, he would not have worded his first prose *Vārttika*, as he has done. In this last case, the very way in which Patañjali introduces the first *Vārttika*, shows that now only Kātyāyana is about to speak.

would assign the verses to Kātyāyana, must certainly admit that here again he himself would have completely and intentionally ignored those verses in his prose statements.

To adduce more direct proof, I would certainly deny that verses like those in Vol. I. p. 33, *अनुवर्तते विभाषा*, and p. 145, even though they have been fully explained by Patañjali, can by any possibility be ascribed to Kātyāyana. Those and similar verses stand in no connection whatever with preceding or following *Vārttikas*, and by themselves they are unintelligible. They receive a meaning only when taken as part of the discussions that have been started by Patañjali, and their presence cannot be accounted for unless we assume that they have been borrowed by Patañjali from elsewhere. Nor can we assign to Kātyāyana verses like those on P. I. 1, 19 or P. VI. 4, 74; for what we learn from the former is really nothing but what Kātyāyana has already told us in his *Vārt.* 5 on P. I. 1, 11, and the views propounded in the verses on P. VI. 4, 74 are contrary,—I should perhaps say, intentionally opposed,—to statements contained in the prose *Vārttikas* on P. I. 1, 21; VI. 1, 95; and elsewhere.[§] Similarly, it would be wrong to ascribe to Kātyāyana verses like those in Vol. I. p. 36 and Vol. III. p. 466; for the former of these verses raises a question which has been disposed of by Kātyāyana in the first *Śhukla*, and the latter merely repeats the substance of that scholar's *Vārttikas* on the first *Sivasūtra*. Again, it is impossible to admit that Kātyāyana would in Vol. II. p. 267 seriously have discussed a question which he had settled in his

Vārt. 26 on P. I. 4, 1; or that the same scholar, who in a prose *Vārttika* in Vol. II. p. 354 has taught us to form *एषुवत्* with the suffix *उ*, would in a verse in Vol. II. p. 378 have derived the same word by means of the suffix *उट्*; that in Vol. II. p. 301 he would have formed *मन्ववीच* with the suffix *च*, and on p. 310 with *मोच*; *मोच* and *वाच* on p. 236 with *चञ्*, and on p. 311 with *ञ्व*. Besides, I consider it altogether unlikely that Kātyāyana would, for no apparent reason, have used the term *स* for *सुञ्* in the verses in Vol. II. pp. 284, 378, and 425, or that he would have employed for *उत्तरवत्* the term *वु*^{||} in the verses in Vol. III. pp. 229, 247, and 318, when he has never employed those terms in his prose *Vārttikas*. It is also certain that a verse like that on P. V. 2, 39, which speaks of a suffix *डावत्*,^{||} cannot have proceeded from a scholar who elsewhere accepts Pāṇini's views of the formation of the words *डावत्*, *सावत्* etc.; the more so, when the concluding portion of that verse is distinctly directed against the prose *Vārttika* of that scholar on P. V. 2, 37. I might go on quoting other verses which are directed against the prose *Vārttikas*, others that try to improve on them, and again others intended to explain them;^{||} but will conclude these arguments by stating that in three instances (in Vol. I. p. 444, and Vol. II. pp. 86 and 117) Patañjali has distinctly intimated that the verses on which he happens to comment, are not by the author of the prose *Vārttikas*,^{||} and that Kātyāyana himself and his *Vārttika* are mentioned in the verses explained in Vol. II. pp. 121 and 176.^{||}

portions of verses introduced, after a prose *Vārttika*, by *अन्त्यविद्युत्पत्ते* in Vol. II. pp. 29, 399, and Vol. III. p. 352; and, as an explanatory verse, the verse in Vol. II. p. 72.

^{||} In the three instances given above Patañjali introduces verses, which are explained by him, by the words *अपर आह*, after prose *Vārttikas*. By the same phrase he introduces, after prose *Vārttikas*, a verse on which he does not comment, in Vol. II. p. 23. By *अपर आह* he introduces verses, after other verses or after remarks of his own, in Vol. I. pp. 13, 63, 226, 335; Vol. II. pp. 37, 217, 225; and Vol. III. p. 410. After a verse he introduces another verse by *एष एवायं*; *अपर आह* in Vol. I. p. 33; and by *एष एवायं* alone in Vol. I. p. 484 and Vol. III. p. 410. On Vol. I. p. 484 Nāgōjibhaṭṭa is in doubt as to whether the verse so introduced is by Patañjali or by another. We should have expected to find the words *एष एवायं* before the second verse in Vol. I. p. 500.

^{||} Besides, the Bhagavān Kātyāyana is mentioned in a so-called summary verse in Vol. II. p. 97.

[§] The verses on P. VI. 4, 74, try to show that Pāṇini's rule VI. 4, 72 may be dispensed with, which is not the opinion of Kātyāyana; they moreover suggest a new rule of which they maintain that it will render Kātyāyana's *Vārttika* on P. VI. 1, 95 superfluous. In note 3 I have shown that Patañjali does not regard those verses as his own: the verses themselves prove, that they are not Kātyāyana's.

^{||} It is really difficult to say whether this term should be read *वु* or *वुट्*. The authority of the MSS. is decidedly in favour of reading it *वु*, and I have read it *वु* mainly because this gives a correct verse in Vol. III. 318, l. 5. Perhaps I have attached too much importance to the metre, which, after all, is violated in many verses in the *Mahābhāshya*. In the MSS. of the Jaiminīya grammar, too, the term is read both *वु* and *वुट्*.

^{||} Kaiyaṭa on P. V. 2, 39: *डावनाकिति । पूर्वोच्चार्यपक्रिया-पेक्षो निर्देशः । इह नु वतुषु विभाषा सर्वनामः (P. VI. 3, 91) इत्यान्व विहितम् । पूर्वोच्चार्यस्तु डावत्तु विदधिरे ।*

^{||} Compare the verses in Vol. II. pp. 132, 210; Vol. III. p. 132; in Vol. II. p. 214, and Vol. III. p. 218; and the

My opinion then of the verses which have been explained in the Mahābhāṣya, is, that they do not belong to Kātyāyana at all, but have been borrowed or quoted by Patañjali from other works. There is every reason to believe that those works were composed after the *Vārtikas*. Though they were written in verse, their aim, so far as we can judge, was the same which Patañjali himself has had in view in writing his own work, to elucidate, or to correct and improve on, the *Vārtikas*, and to discuss matters connected with individual rules of Pāṇini's or with the system of Pāṇini's grammar, that had not been touched upon by Kātyāyana. Moreover, we shall probably be doing no injustice to Patañjali, when we maintain that he frequently has taken the substance of his discussions and many of his arguments from those older works, even where he has not actually and distinctly quoted from them. For, not to mention that such an opinion accords with what tradition tells us were the circumstances under which the Mahābhāṣya was composed, it is only by a supposition of this nature, that we can account for a curious fact which is sure to arrest the attention of the student of the Mahābhāṣya.

It sometimes happens that in the midst of Patañjali's prose discussions we meet with quarter-verses or smaller fragments of verses, which taken by themselves are unintelligible, but which fit exactly into the discussions of which they form part. They are not and cannot have been intended as quotations; nor can they be of Patañjali's own authorship, because there is no conceivable reason why Patañjali should suddenly have given utterance to part of a verse, and because he repeats their meaning in prose. In fact, they might have been omitted without the slightest loss. Now those portions of verses must have been taken from somewhere; where there were quarter-verses, there must have been whole verses; and when those quarter-verses fit into Patañjali's prose discussions, they must have fitted into discussions that were carried on in whole verses. I

¹⁰ In *पुत्राधेश्वरिणे* the adjective *अर्हन्* qualifies *पुत्र* in *पुत्राधेश्वरिणे*; the whole phrase is equivalent to *पुत्रवर्धनविधानम्*. I believe that all Patañjali's remarks on P. VII. 3. 107 are based on statements that were in verse.—For other ungrammatical expressions, that occur

believe, then, that in the cases alluded to Patañjali is merely reproducing, in prose, what was before him in verse, and that only by chance, and not intentionally, he has repeated in his own discussions fragmentary portions of his metrical originals. As typical instances of such portions of verses, that must have been taken from older works, I may quote the words in Vol. I. p. 14, l. 3, *किञ्चिदापि नु वदन्वापि*; the meaning of which in Patañjali's own language is *किञ्चिदापि सा तर्हि न विच्यति*; the words *विच्यति* *वा* in Vol. I. p. 49, l. 12; *सदृशान् चो वरि लदो वा* in Vol. II. p. 127, l. 11; *सन्नाथे चार्थिर्हर्षमात्* in Vol. II. p. 394, l. 5; *न स विच्यत्* in Vol. III. p. 229, l. 10; and *एकाचस्यो वतीति वा* in Vol. III. p. 280, l. 12; all of which might and should have been omitted from the Mahābhāṣya, and the accidental presence of which merely shows that Patañjali is indebted to his predecessors for the arguments which he happens to be propounding. The same conclusion may be drawn from the occurrence in the Mahābhāṣya of certain half-verses and of some complete verses, which resemble the smaller portions of verses spoken of in so far as they too, by themselves, are meaningless, and which must therefore likewise be considered to have been part originally of works that were discussing in verse the same questions which Patañjali happens to treat of in prose. Half-verses of this nature we find, e.g., in Vol. I. p. 16, l. 10, *त्यानी प्रकल्पयेत्तावन्पूर्वो वया यचन*, and p. 284, l. 6, *सहजुक्ते हतीवा स्वाहातिहारे तदो विधिः*; complete verses in Vol. I. p. 33, l. 16, *अनुवर्ते विनाषा*; p. 145, l. 11 *आरभ्यमाणे निवृत्तो ऽसौ*; and elsewhere.

That Patañjali sometimes has merely reproduced the information which he had obtained from works composed in verse, might be shown also in another way. When we examine, e.g., his remarks on P. VII. 3, 107, the quarter-verse *अन्वार्थे ह्यस्य वदि* of course shows us that, in this particular point, he is not giving us his own argument. But, more than by this, we shall be struck by the extraordinary construction *पुत्राधेश्वरिणे*,¹⁰ in the

in verse, compare e.g. Vol. I. p. 335 *त्वार्थिः* and *त्वार्थिः*; p. 336 *अपगतस्य* (for which Kaiyata records the various readings *अपगतस्य*); Vol. II. p. 138 *प्रकृतेः समुद्भूतेः*; and *कार्यस्योपविधिः*; 229 *चतुर्भूतकर्मस्य*; Vol. III. p. 53 *गुणवर्धनाय*.

last statement adduced by Patañjali. That neither he himself nor Kātyāyana would have written thus, is certain, and it is a relief to discover that the whole statement *पुत्राधेश्वरिणे* is really the end of a verse, and that the *bad Sanskrit* finds some excuse in the exigencies of the metre. It is not difficult to conjecture that the original verse belongs to the same writer to whom we owe the half-verse on P. VI. 1, 14. Similar proof is afforded, to mention only one other instance, by Patañjali's remarks on P. IV. 2, 60. The statement *सत्येयस्ववत्* *च* in the fifth line of these remarks is again the end of a verse, and the first line on p. 284 forms a correct half-verse, when we omit from it the word *विद्या*, which is unnecessary, because a special rule is given for it in the sequel. Besides, the term *इकत्* and the word *स्युतः* in the line prove that we have to do with verses,¹¹ not with the prose of either Kātyāyana or Patañjali.

Excepting, perhaps, the so-called *Saṅgraha-śūkas*, or summary verses, there is really no valid reason why any of the verses in the Mahābhāṣya should have been composed by either Kātyāyana or Patañjali. On the contrary, we have shown that many of the verses, which have been fully commented upon by Patañjali, can certainly not be ascribed to Kātyāyana. And having proved that Patañjali has undoubtedly borrowed from older works which were in verse, we shall regard those works as the source of those verses also to which he has appended an occasional remark only—verses like those in Vol. I. p. 96, l. 1-5, Vol. II, p. 137, l. 4-7,—or the meaning of which he has merely indicated in a general way—like those in Vol. I. p. 147, l. 12-13, p. 356, l. 9-10,—as well as of those verses which have been left without any comment and which clearly are meant to be regarded as quotations—verses such as those

¹¹ *इकत्* stands for *इक* as e.g. does *इकन्* for *इन्* in the verses on Vol. II. pp. 283 and 398; *विदन्* for *इन्* in Vol. II. p. 284; and *इय* for *इ* in the verses in Vol. II. p. 310; *स्युतः* stands at the end of verses, e.g. in Vol. II. pp. 258, 292; Vol. III. pp. 67, 146, and 426.

¹² A clear instance of how Patañjali is quoting from other works is furnished by the verse in Vol. II. p. 182. The question raised in the last words *गुणे कथम्* of that verse has nothing to do with the matter under discussion, but refers to P. III. 4, 93. It must have been answered in a verse following upon the verse that is cited by Patañjali (Kaiyata says: *श्लोकपूर्वायतदुक्तम्*).—Similarly

in Vol. I. p. 71, p. 75, p. 181, etc.¹² But it may appear doubtful, if even the so-called summary verses should be assigned to Patañjali. To me it seems at least possible, that the commentators may have misunderstood the nature of these verses. Their opinion is that Patañjali, probably to assist the memory of the student, has given in those verses a *résumé* of the arguments which he has stated before in prose.¹³ But if Patañjali had really been so kindly disposed, we might well ask, why in the whole of the Mahābhāṣya he should have given proof of such disposition at the utmost on twenty occasions only, and why he should not have appended summary verses to discussions far more lengthy and complicated than those are to which such verses have been attached. Nor can it escape the attention of the student, that occasionally the so-called summary verses contain arguments or statements, of which there are no traces in the prose by which the verses are preceded. The verse in Vol. II. p. 65 speaks of irregularities of accent, that have not been mentioned before. The first verse in Vol. I. p. 500 compares the case in hand with an analogous case, while the discussion in prose has omitted to do so. Besides, we have seen already that one summary verse—the *Dōdhaka* verse in Vol. I. p. 484—is reported to have been composed, not by Patañjali, but by Vyāghrabhūti. Why should the same Vyāghrabhūti not be the author of the *Dōdhaka* verse in Vol. II. p. 65, which contains distinct traces of not being a mere summary verse, and of the *Dōdhaka* verses in Vol. III. p. 423? I confess I can discover no reason why the verses spoken of should likewise not be regarded rather as the source of those arguments which Patañjali is propounding in his prose, than as summaries, repeating, for the benefit of an inattentive student, those arguments in verse.

the second half of verse 2 on P. VII. 1, 21 refers to P. VII. 1, 23.

¹³ See Nāgājibhatta on Vol. I. p. 273, उक्तमर्थं गायया संगृह्णाति; Kaiyata on Vol. I. p. 401, उक्तं एवार्थं आर्यया संगृह्णाति; on Vol. II. p. 97, उक्तार्थमप्यहो श्लोकाः; on Vol. II. pp. 383 and 416, पूर्वोक्तार्थस्य हर्षश्लोकाः; Nāgājibhatta on Vol. III. p. 435, उक्तार्थस्य ग्राहकश्लोकाः etc. On the second verse in Vol. I. p. 484, Nāgājibhatta makes the remark [इव एवार्थः] अन्येन निबद्ध इति शेषः। यथा निबध्यत इति वा।

NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

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(Continued from Vol. XV. page 233.)

5.—THE AUTHORITIES ON GRAMMAR QUOTED IN THE MAHABHASHYA.

In the preceding note I have tried to show, that the *Kārikās*, which we meet with in the Mahābhāṣya, are taken from grammatical works composed after the *Vārtikas*, and that Patañjali has probably used the same works, even where he does not actually quote from them. In the present note I intend to collect those passages or expressions, in which Kātyāyana and Patañjali, or the authors of the verses preserved in the Mahābhāṣya, are distinctly quoting or referring to authorities on grammar, other than Pāṇini or Kātyāyana.

Pūrvasūtra.

Grammars older than Pāṇini are referred to by the term *Pūrvasūtra*,¹ which is used by both Kātyāyana and Patañjali, as well as in the *Kārikās*, and which occurs six times in the Mahābhāṣya. According to Kātyāyana (Vol. II. p. 205), Pāṇini may have employed the word *upasarjana* in the rule IV. 1, 14, in the sense of *apradhāna*, in accordance with the usage of former grammars. According to Patañjali (Vol. I. p. 248), Pāṇini has similarly used *vridhā* for *gōtra* in I. 2, 65. In a *Kārikā* in Vol. I. p. 36, the term *akshara* is said to have been employed in former grammars in the sense of *varṇa*, 'a letter.' In Vol. III. p. 104, Patañjali refutes a suggestion of Kātyāyana's by intimating, that the term *चित्*: in P. VI. 1, 163, need not necessarily be the Genitive of *चित्*, but may be

¹ Kaiyata on P. IV. 1, 14:—पूर्वसूत्रसन्देहपूर्वभाष्यकृतन्याकरणमुच्यते.

² Kaiyata on P. VI. 1, 163:—पूर्वव्याकरणे प्रथमया कार्यो निर्दिश्यते; and on P. VIII. 4, 7:—पूर्वभाष्योः कार्यभाष्यः पठ्या न निर्दिष्टमित्यर्थः.

taken to be the Nominative of *चित्*, 'containing a suffix that has the Anubandha च्,' the Nom. having been employed by Pāṇini in accordance with the practice of former grammars, in which that which undergoes an operation was put in the Nom., not in the Gen. case.² According to Patañjali (Vol. III. p. 455), the word *अङ्*: in P. VIII. 4, 7, may, by the same reasoning, be taken to be the Nom. of *अङ्*, not the Gen. of *अङ्*. Lastly, in Vol. III. p. 247 it is suggested that Pāṇini may have taken the term *औङ्* which he uses in VII. 1, 18, from an older grammar, a suggestion intended to show, why the operation, which in Pāṇini's work usually takes place before a termination with the Anubandha ङ्, does not take place in the case of the terminations under discussion. This last passage has occasioned Patañjali's general remark, which has been made much of by the late Prof. Goldstücker,³ that Anubandhas used in former grammars have no effect in the grammar of Pāṇini.

From all this we learn little about the works of Pāṇini's predecessors. That some of their technical terms differed from those used by Pāṇini, is probable enough, but Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's remarks regarding the particular terms mentioned are hardly of more value than the similar statements concerning *Pūrvachārya-saivjñāh* or *Prāchān saivjñāh* of later writers. It may also be true that some ancient grammarians, like some modern ones,⁴ did use the Nom. in the way stated, and that they did

³ See Goldstücker's *Pāṇini*, p. 181; Burnell's *On the Aindra School of Sanskrit grammarians*, p. 40.

⁴ e.g. the author of the *Kātra*. Compare also in the *Kārikās* such constructions as *बालवायो विद्* (scil. आपवते), Vol. II. p. 318.—The use of the cases in the technical structure of Pāṇini's rules requires a separate and full investigation. In this respect, Pāṇini is most

employ other Anubandhas. I am quite aware too of the fact, that Pāṇini occasionally does use the Nom. case, where we should have expected the Gen.; and *अङ्*: in P. VIII. 4, 7, undoubtedly is the Nom. of *अङ्*, just as *अङ्* in VIII. 4, 4 is the Nom. of *अङ्*, and *वाङ्* in VIII. 4, 8 the Nom. of *वाङ्*. At the same time Patañjali's explanations look too much as if they had been invented for the occasion. At any rate, to take the word *चित्*: as a Nominative is impossible; and as regards the term *औङ्*, I cannot help thinking that Patañjali would have given his explanation in a more direct and positive manner, had he in this particular instance really been possessed of any authentic knowledge regarding the more ancient works, from which he supposes Pāṇini to have borrowed.

Āpisali and Śākātyāna.

Two only of the grammarians, who are mentioned by Pāṇini himself, are quoted in the Mahābhāṣya by name, Śākātyāna and Āpisali.⁵ But regarding the former all we are told (Vol. II. p. 138) is, that in his opinion all nouns are derived from verbs, a statement which has been copied from the *Nirukta*.⁶ And of Āpisali, only the single rule is referred to (Vol. II. p. 281), that *चेनु* takes the suffix *क*, provided it be not compounded with the negative *अ*. Thus much would appear to be certain, even from this solitary quotation, that

uncertain. He undoubtedly employs the Ablative and Genitive cases in a promiscuous manner, and he often has the Nominative, where we should least have expected it. Nor are the commentators wrong, when they speak of *anubandhika nirukta*. And from their point of view, I am quite ready to endorse the maxim *chhandivat sūtrāni bhāṣanti*.

⁵ Śākātyāna is mentioned also in Vol. II. p. 120.—In Vārt. 3. on P. IV. 1, 14, Kātyāyana has आपिसलपथिति. In Vol. I. p. 14, Patañjali gives the instance पाणिनीयम् आसितम् वासकृत्त्वम्; and in Vol. III. p. 125 आपिसलपथिनीयव्याधीयमितिपीया.

⁶ The passage of the *Nirukta* referred to in the above (Both's edition, p. 35) has not yet been satisfactorily explained; here I would only state that the term *सिचिदान* is used in the sense of *arvudpanna prātipadika* in the Mahābhāṣya, Vol. III. p. 486, l. 11, a meaning which is not given in our dictionaries. The grammar of the old Śākātyāna must have been lost in very early times; for, so far as I know, there is no reference to it in any grammatical work later than Pāṇini.

⁷ Regarding Āpisali see the preface of Vol. II. of my edition of the Mahābhāṣya, p. 20, note. On P. II. 3, 17, Kaiyata reports, that Āpisali's heading of that rule was चयकर्मण्यनन्दर उपपाने विभाषायाचित्. On P. V. 1, 31, he states, that for the word भवति of Pāṇini's rule Āpisali and Śākākritena read अयम्ये. Śākākritena is besides mentioned by Kaiyata on P. II. 1, 51, where

both the author of the *Kārikā*, who alludes to Āpisali's rule, and Patañjali, who more fully explains his remark, were really acquainted with the text of that grammarian's *Sūtra*.⁷

Anye Vaiyākaraṇāḥ; Anya Āchāryāḥ.

"Other Grammarians" are mentioned by Patañjali twice; "other Āchāryas" only once. In one of these passages (Vol. I. p. 87) the expression "other grammarians" may possibly denote Kātyāyana, whose Vārt. 1. on P. VI. 1, 144, teaches exactly what the *others* are stated to have taught. The two other passages are of some interest, because one of them (Vol. I. p. 48) contains the technical term *Saṅkrama*, 'a termination having the Anubandha, or ङ्ङ् which ordinarily prevent the substitution of *Gṇa* and *Vṛiddhi*,' a term which has not yet been met with anywhere else; while the other (Vol. III. p. 177), instead of *अन्तरङ्ग*, has the word *सर्वङ्ग* which in this technical sense is found in a *Kārikā* on P. VI. 4, 110, and in the quotation from Gōnardiya on P. I. 1, 29.

I may add here that Patañjali undoubtedly is quoting a rule of other grammarians, although he does not actually say so, in the words लक्षणं हि भवति योर्द्विव्यसङ्ग इवौ भवत इति in Vol. I. p. 310, and that very probably one or two more rules of others are alluded to elsewhere in the Mahābhāṣya.⁸

the rule *प्रत्ययोरुत्तरयोः* is ascribed to him. A rule of the Āpisali is given in the *Kārikā* on P. VII. 3, 95. And of the Āpisali and Śākākritani it is reported by Hārāja, in his commentary on the *Prākinakā*, that they had not given the rule तदहम् (P. V. 1, 117. Bhartrihari merely says तदहमिति नाम्ने सूत्रं व्याकरणान्तरे).

⁸ On the Vārt. 23 on P. I. 4, 2 (Vol. I. p. 310) Kaiyata has the remark—यस्यैतन् उपाकरणान्तरे लक्षणं विचारयित्वा ह यथादेहादिति. On the Vārt. 3 on P. II. 1, 86 (Vol. I. p. 385) Kaiyata calls the statement विकृतिः प्रकृत्या, with which the *Vārtika* begins, a *Pūrvachārya-sūtra*. From the remark in Vol. I. p. 100, l. 18, it appears, that the grammarians whose views are given there, instead of *अयं चो* (P. VII. 4, 33), had read the rule *अयं चानयम्यपत्*. (The modern Śākātyāna has the rule *चो चादानम्यपदेः*; see also *Gōnardinamahāśādhī*, p. 23). And from Patañjali's remark *मातिपादिकस्यायः* in Vol. II. p. 7 and Vol. III. p. 87, it would seem, that he knew some such rule as is given in the first *Philsūtra*. The *Philsūtra* IV. 6 *न्यहस्वरी स्वरितौ* would seem actually to occur in Vol. I. p. 262, l. 12, but I have strong reasons to suspect, that in that passage the text given by the MSS. has been interpolated.—I purposely have omitted here all references to the *Prāśāstīkya*, or *Chāndalāśāstrīnī*, as Patañjali calls them.

Ekā; in Vārtikas.

In the *Vārtikas*, as they are printed in my edition, Kātyāyana seven times introduces otherscholars by the word *Ekā*, 'Some,' which is always placed at the end of a *Vārtika*, and for which Patañjali generally supplies the verb *वृच्छन्ति* 'they maintain.' According to the Vārt. on P. I. 2, 38 (Vol. I. p. 211) only *some* agree with Pāṇini, the practical result of which is, that Pāṇini's rule may be regarded as optional. In Vārt. 1 on P. II. 1, 1, Kātyāyana explains *सामर्थ्येन* by *प्रयोग्यानामेकार्यानामः*; in Vārt. 4 (Vol. I. p. 365) he states, that *some* take it to be *परस्परव्यतिरेकः*. In Vārt. 1 on P. III. 1, 8, he teaches, that the suffix *इत्* must not be added to a base ending in *इ* nor to an indeclinable; in Vārt. 2 (Vol. II. p. 19) he adds, that, according to *some*, *इत्* is added to *गौ*, to a base ending in a simple vowel, and to bases ending in *न्*. In Vārt. 2 on P. III. 2, 146, Kātyāyana says, that Pāṇini has taught the addition of *इत्* to *निन्द्* etc., in order to show that the suffixes taught in P. III. 2, 134-177 necessarily supersede the suffix *इत्* of P. III. 1, 133; in Vārt. 3 (Vol. II. p. 133) he adds, that, according to *some*, what is shown by P. III. 2, 146, is, that the suffixes mentioned necessarily supersede, not merely *इत्*, but all suffixes taught in general rules. In Vārt. 1 on P. IV. 1, 39, Kātyāyana states that, contrary to Pāṇini's rule, *असिता* and *पलित* form *असिता* and *पलितः*; in Vārt. 2 (Vol. II. p. 216) he adds, that, according to *some*, they form *असिता* and *पलितः* in the Vēda. In Vārt. 4 on P. VII. 1, 72 he teaches that, contrary to Pāṇini's rule, the Nom. Plur. Nent. of *बहू* is *बहूः*; in Vārt. 5 (Vol. III. p. 265) he adds, that according to *some*, it is *बहूः*. Finally, in Vārt. 3 on P. VIII. 1, 51 (Vol. III. p. 377) he states, that *some* object to the interpretation of Pāṇini's rule by which the words *न चोत्कारकं सर्वान्तरं* are taken to mean *न चोत्कर्तव्यं सर्वान्तरं*.

To the above we must add three similar statements, which undoubtedly are *Vārtikas*, but which have disappeared from the MSS. because

* In the following I am merely giving the general import of the *Vārtikas* referred to, not an accurate and full translation of them.

† None of the MSS. compared by me give these statements as separate *Vārtikas*, but the stops put after two of them in some MSS. and the absence of *Samāhi* between *न चोत्कारकं* and *सर्वान्तरं* suggest, that the text of the

Patañjali's explanations of them happened to commence with identically the same words.¹⁰ The first is *सुमुखां निस्वार्थमेके*, which should be inserted before 1. 4 of Vol. II. p. 396; the second, *उपसप्तस्यार्थमेके*, which has to be added before the last line in Vol. III. p. 104; and the third, *समो वा लोपमेके*, which has disappeared before 1. 8 of Vol. III. p. 425. By the Vārt. 3 on P. V. 2, 97, the repetition of *अन्तरस्यात्* in P. V. 2, 109, merely indicates, that P. V. 2, 96 prescribes only the two suffixes *इत्* and *इत्*, in other words, the repetition of *अन्तरस्यात्* is regarded as a *jīvāpaka*; in the Vārt. *सुमुखां निस्वार्थमेके* Kātyāyana adds, that, according to *some*, the repetition of *अन्तरस्यात्* is not a *jīvāpaka*, but is necessary in order that the rule P. V. 2, 108 may not be taken to be an optional rule. In Vārt. 1 on P. VI. 1, 166, Kātyāyana shows that the term *जसः* of Pāṇini's rule is superfluous; in the Vārt. *उपसप्तस्यार्थमेके*¹¹ he adds, that, according to *some*, *जसः* is necessary because, without it, Pāṇini's rule would be applicable also in forms like *अतिनिन्ते*. Lastly, in the Vārt. *समो वा लोपमेके* on P. VIII. 3, 5, Kātyāyana states that, according to *some*, the final of *सम* may be elided before *इत्*, which is contrary to Pāṇini's and to Kātyāyana's own teaching.

From this, I fear, somewhat tedious exposition it is evident, that Kātyāyana was acquainted with the works of other scholars who, before him, had tried both to explain and to amend Pāṇini's grammar, and who had subjected the wording of the *Sūtras* to that critical examination, which is so striking a feature of Kātyāyana's own *Vārtikas*. Those who are familiar with the history of Indian grammar will probably be inclined to suspect, that Kātyāyana may have borrowed from his predecessors, even where he does not distinctly refer to them; certain it is, that he was not the first *Vārtikakāra*.

Vajapyāyana, Vyāḍi, and Paushkarasādi.

Compared with this, Kātyāyana's references to individual scholars are of slight importance; and it may even be doubted if the three scholars

Vārtikas has disappeared. The *Vārtika* *सर्वस्यस्त्वानन्वर्धमेके* may have disappeared before the words *सर्वस्यस्त्वानन्वर्धमेके* *वृच्छन्ति* in Vol. I. p. 61. 1. 21: at any rate, Patañjali nowhere else uses the phrase *एव वृच्छन्ति*, except when he is explaining a *Vārtika*.
¹¹ Nāgārbhatta considers this to be a remark of Patañjali's.

named by him were really all grammarians. According to Vārt. 35 on P. I. 2, 64 (Vol. I. p. 242), Vajapyāyana maintained, that words mean a genus, while according to Vārt. 45 (Vol. I. p. 244) Vyāḍi held the opposite doctrine, that words mean individual things.¹² In Vārt. 3 on P. VIII. 4, 48 (Vol. III. p. 465) the rule, that a tenuis before a sibilant is changed to the corresponding aspirate (*वसतः* to *वसः*), is ascribed to Paushkarasādi.¹³

Apara āha; Kēchid āhuh: Apara āha; or Apara āhuh.

Patañjali most usually introduces the opinions of other grammarians by the phrase *apara āha* 'another says,' which occurs no less than 83 times in the Mahābhāṣya. From an examination of the statements so introduced it appears, not only that Patañjali knew of grammarians whose views in individual cases differed from those of Kātyāyana, or who had tried to add to, to simplify, or to render more exact, and generally to improve on, the *Vārtikas* of that scholar, but also, and to this I would draw particular attention, that there had been those who, before Patañjali, had explained the *Vārtikas*. Patañjali's quotations certainly prove, that others had interpreted or even read certain *Vārtikas* differently; and more than once he even places before us two different explanations, by others, of one and the same *Vārtika*. Besides, he introduces, by *apara āha*, opinions that are at variance with his own, also where he is not explaining Kātyāyana; and he employs the same phrase before a number of *Kārikās*.

I shall not weary the reader by fully discussing here every one of the many passages which have occasioned these remarks. A few simple examples will, I trust, sufficiently illustrate what I have said above. According to Kātyāyana (Vol. III. p. 321) the word *संवत्सर* in P. VII. 3, 15 indicates merely, that P. VII. 3, 17 is not applicable, e. g., in the formation of *वैश्विक*; according to *another*, the same word indicates generally, that words denoting time are nowhere in Pāṇini's grammar included in the term *परिमाण*, and that accordingly we must, e. g., by P. IV. 1, 22 form *त्रिषष्ठी*, notwithstanding

¹² For Patañjali's reference to the *Samgraha*, which is reported to have been composed by Vyāḍi, see below.
¹³ Compare the *Ātharva-prātiśākhya* II. 6: *Taittirīya-prāt.* XIV. 13; *Vājasaneyi-prāt.* IV. 119; and *Rik-prāt.*

the fact that that rule contains an exception regarding words denoting a measure. On P. 1. 3, 25, Kātyāyana has the remark (Vol. I. p. 281), *उपाह्वयव्यासंगनकरणयोः*; *another* has *उपाह्वयव्यासंगनकरणविवक्षितकरणयि*. To the rule P. IV. 2, 7, Kātyāyana appends the note (Vol. II. p. 273) *कनेदेकः*; *another* gives the general rule *सर्वनामिकानिवां इत्*. In Vol. I. p. 367, Kātyāyana defines a sentence to be *आख्यातं* *साध्यकारकविशेषणम्*; *another*, simplifying that definition, merely says *आख्यातं सविशेषणम्*. In Vol. I. p. 468 *another* permits the two constructions *पौनरा ललु पाणिनेः* or *पाणिनिवा सुखस्य कृतिः*, which is contrary to the teaching of both Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.

In Vol. I. p. 179, Patañjali's reading of two *Vārtikas* is *सर्वेऽप्यह्यवपरिभाष्यवाकृतिग्रहणानन्वत्याः*; *another*, we learn, reads *अन्वत्याः*. In Vol. I. p. 192, Patañjali explains the reading *आपो गुणविधिः*, and he intimates, that *another* reads *आपो गुणविधिः*. In Vol. I. p. 314 he shows, that *another* reads the Vārt. 6 without the particle *च*; in Vol. I. p. 422, that *another* reads *इत्* instead of *अइत्*. In Vol. I. pp. 10, 20, 64, 237, 247, 357 and elsewhere, Patañjali gives us his own explanations of *Vārtikas* and also those of *another*. Regarding the Vārt. 2 on P. VI. 1, 3, he informs us (Vol. III. p. 8), that *some* supply for *द्वीवत्* the word *एकावः*; while *another* supplies *अवत्*; and regarding the Vārt. 2 on P. VI. 4, 106 (Vol. III. p. 215), that *some* supply *अन्वोवत्* *कर्त्तव्यम्*, and *others* *वाच्यत्* *कर्त्तव्यम्*. In a similar manner he records different explanations in Vol. I. p. 424 and Vol. II. pp. 92 and 171.

Again, in Vol. I. p. 390 Patañjali himself proposes to substitute *वचनीतिवित्तिभिः* for the one word *वचन* of P. II. 1, 37, and he tells us, that *another* would substitute *वचनित्तमुमुच्युभिः*. In Vol. III. p. 30 he explains the word *अपस्तुषेयात्* in P. VI. 1, 36, to be a reduplicated form of the word *वपु*, and he adds, that *another* derives the same word from *अव-वपु*. In Vol. III. p. 244, he tells us, that either the rule P. VII. 1, 8, or the rule P. VII. 1, 10, is superfluous, and he adds, that according to *another* the word *बहुलं* of P. VII. 1, 8, and the rule P. VII. 1, 10, may be dispensed with. In the same manner he mentions opinions of others, that differ from his

CDXXX. It may be noted that, contrary to his usual custom, Kātyāyana in his *Vārtika* puts the name *पौनरसादि* in the Gen., not in the Nom. case.

own, in Vol. I. pp. 172, 210, 290 and elsewhere; and he records the views of different scholars in Vol. I. p. 427, and Vol. II. pp. 19, 120, 151 and 254.

That Patañjali introduces some of the *Kārikās* by *apara āha*, I have already mentioned in a previous note.¹⁴ I will only add here, that the authors of the *Kārikās* themselves allude to the opinions of other scholars, who are referred to by the words *Ēkē* or *Kēchid*, in Vol. III. pp. 217 and 414.

The Bhāradvājīyah, Saunāgāh, and Krōshtrīyah.

Of individual grammarians or schools of grammarians those most frequently referred to by Patañjali are the *Bhāradvājīyas* and the *Saunāgās*. The former are actually quoted ten times (Vol. I. pp. 73, 136, 201, 291; Vol. II. pp. 46, 55, 70, 233; and Vol. III. pp. 199 and 230), and the latter seven times (Vol. I. p. 416; Vol. II. pp. 105, 228, 238, 325; and Vol. III. pp. 76 and 159), but it does not seem at all improbable that some of the statements, which are introduced by the phrase *apara āha*, or which would appear to contain suggestions of Patañjali himself, may likewise really belong to either of these schools.¹⁵ Both may be described as authors of *Vārttikas*, and both flourished after Kātyāyana. But, while to amend the *Vārttikas* of Kātyāyana appears to have been the main object of the *Bhāradvājīyas*, the *Saunāgās*, so far as we can judge, would seem to have criticized the text of Pāṇini's grammar more independently. This is indicated also by the manner in which both are quoted in the *Mahābhāshya*. Whereas Patañjali usually places the dicta of the *Bhāradvājīyas* by the side of those of Kātyāyana, as it were, to point out the differences between the two, and to show how the former have tried to improve on the latter,¹⁶ he generally cites the *Saunāgās* in support of his

own statements, and without any such distinct reference to Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas*.¹⁷ Thus it happens, too, that in six out of seven cases the remarks of the *Saunāgās* are introduced by the phrase *एवं हि सौनागाः पठन्ति*, preceded by *इदमेतस्संगृहीतम्* or some similar expression, while the dicta of the *Bhāradvājīyas* are always introduced simply by *भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति*. That of the *Vārttikas* of the *Bhāradvājīyas* which are cited in the *Mahābhāshya*, one (in Vol. III. p. 199) is in verse, I have already had occasion to state in my remarks on the *Kārikās*.¹⁸

A third school of grammarians, the *Krōshtrīyas*, is mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya* only once (Vol. I. p. 46). All we learn about them is, that they considered the two rules, P. I. 1, 3 and 52 to be quite independent of each other, and were of opinion, that in any case where both rules might happen to be simultaneously applicable, the former ought to supersede the latter, an opinion which is not shared by Patañjali.

Gōnikāputra, Gōnardiya, Kunaravādava, Sauryabhagavat, and Vādava.

The passages in which Patañjali quotes *Gōnikāputra* (Vol. I. p. 336) and *Gōnardiya* (Vol. I. pp. 78 and 91; Vol. II. p. 76; and Vol. III. p. 309), I have already discussed in my second note (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 81); and I have there tried to show, that *Gōnardiya* was a writer of grammatical *Kārikās*, who in all probability lived after Kātyāyana. About *Gōnikāputra* it is difficult to say anything. Later than Kātyāyana is also *Kunaravādava*, for the two statements ascribed to him by Patañjali (Vol. II. p. 100 and Vol. III. p. 317) are distinctly directed against Kātyāyana, whose *Vārttikas* they show to be superfluous. Whether this *Kunaravādava* is really the same as *Vādava*, who together with the *Sauryabhagavat* is mentioned by Patañjali in the difficult passage in Vol. III. p. 421, I have no means

ing of a *Vārttika* of Kātyāyana in Vol. I. p. 416, and they improve on another *Vārttika* in the statement alluded to in note 15 above. A *Vārttika* of the *Saunāgās*, which has not been taken from the *Mahābhāshya*, is given in the *Kārikās* on P. VII. 2. 17. In commenting on that passage, Haradatta explains *सौनागाः* by *पुनागस्याचार्यस्य शिष्याः*.

¹⁴ *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 280.

¹⁵ I purposely have omitted in the above *Vārshyāyani*, the passage, in which his name occurs (Vol. I. p. 258), has been copied by Patañjali from the *Nirukta* (Roth's edition, p. 31).

of deciding; nor do I know what scholar is meant to be denoted by the term *Sauryabhagavat*, 'the *Āchārya* of the town *Saurya*,' as *Kaiyata* explains it.¹⁹ Nāgōjibhatta takes *Vādava* to be the author of the *Vārt.* 3 on P. VIII. 2, 106, a statement, the correctness of which I doubt.

The Saṅgraha of Dākshyaṇa.

This work, on which Patañjali is reported to have based his own work, is cited in the *Mahābhāshya* only once, in connection with the first *Vārttika* (Vol. I. p. 6). From that passage we learn, that the question, as to whether words are *nitya* or *kārya*, had been fully discussed in the *Saṅgraha*, and that the science of grammar had been shown to be necessary, whichever view might be taken regarding the nature of words. Elsewhere we are told that the *Saṅgraha* was composed by *Vyāḍi*; Patañjali himself incidentally calls the author of it *Dākshyaṇa*, in Vol. I. p. 468.

Considering the great bulk of the *Mahābhāshya*, it is disappointing that we do not learn from it more regarding the history of Indian grammar, and particularly, that, what we are told in it of the predecessors of Pāṇini, is well-nigh valueless. But I trust, that my survey of the grammatical authorities referred to by Kātyāyana and Patañjali will at least make this much clear, that Kātyāyana cannot have been the first author of *Vārttikas*, and that between him and Patañjali there intervene a large number of writers, writers in prose and in verse, individual scholars and schools of grammarians, who all have tried to explain and to amend the works of both Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. To what extent Kātyāyana and Patañjali were indebted to those that went before them, we shall never know; judging from the analogy of the later grammatical literature of India we may, in my opinion, certainly assume, that, like Pāṇini himself, both have based their own works on, and have preserved in them all that was valuable in, the writings of their predecessors.

¹⁹ A town *Saurya* is mentioned in Vol. I. p. 474.

In conclusion, I would here draw attention to the fact, that instead of the regular terms of the *Pāṇinīya* and also in addition to them, occasionally, both in the *Vārttikas* and in the *Kārikās*, we meet with a number of other grammatical *termini technici*. Most of those terms had doubtless been in use already before Pāṇini, and they were generally adopted in several of the later grammars, in preference to the more artificial terms of Pāṇini. But a few are themselves highly artificial symbols, which may have been invented by grammarians later than Pāṇini, and which remind one of the terms used in the *Jainendra*, where indeed one of them actually occurs.

Thus, Kātyāyana occasionally employs the terms *stava* for Pāṇini's *अन्व* (Vol. I. pp. 59, 123, etc.), *vyañjana* for *हन्* (Vol. I. pp. 26, 42, etc.), *samīnākshara* for *अन्व* (Vol. I. p. 24 and Vol. II. p. 19), *samīdhyakshara* for *एन्* (Vol. I. pp. 22, 24, etc.); *sparsa* and *aghōsha* (Vol. I. p. 355); *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tritīya*, and *chaturtha* for the first, second, third, and fourth consonants of the five *Varjas* (Vol. III. pp. 218, 465, and Vol. I. p. 154); *ayōjavāha*, *jihvāmītiya*, and *upadhmanīya* (Vol. I. p. 28 and Vol. III. p. 431). For *लृट्*, *लृट्*, and *लृट्* he has *bhuvantī*, *śvaśantī*, *bhaviśhyantī* and *adyatantī* (Vol. I. p. 443; Vol. II. pp. 114, 123, 160; Vol. II. p. 143; Vol. I. p. 474; Vol. II. p. 114; Vol. III. p. 217). For the phrase *संज्ञान्तोः* he uses the artificial term *तप* (Vol. I. p. 488; Vol. II. pp. 99 and 221); and, strange to say, for Pāṇini's *śiash*, which he himself has, *e.g.* in Vol. II. p. 199 and Vol. III. p. 107, he employs *तु* in Vol. I. p. 304.

In addition to some of these terms we find in the *Kārikās*, *parōkshā* for *स्त्रि* (Vol. I. p. 199), *kārīta* to denote the Causal (Vol. II. p. 415), and *chēkrīyita* and *charkarīta* to denote the two forms of the Intensive (Vol. II. p. 232 and Vol. III. p. 359). In the *Kārikās* we also meet with *la* for *lōpa* (Vol. II. pp. 284, 378, and 425), and with *ghu*²¹ (or perhaps *dyu*) for Pāṇini's *ūtarapada* (Vol. III. pp. 229, 247, and 318).

²¹ See *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 281, note 14.

NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

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6.—THE TEXT OF PĀṆINI'S SŪTRAS, AS GIVEN IN THE KĀSIKĀ-VṚITTI, COMPARED WITH THE TEXT KNOWN TO KĀTYĀYANA AND PATANJALI.

Considering the almost unrivalled position which Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* holds in Indian literature, it may be interesting to inquire, what alterations, if any, the text of that work has undergone, and to collect those rules which can be shown to be additions to the original text, or the wording of which has in any way been altered, since the rules were first enunciated by Pāṇini. To contribute towards the solution of this question, I intend in the present note to show, so far as this may be possible, to what extent the text of the Sūtras which is given in the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*, the oldest extant commentary, differs from the text that was known to Kātyāyana and Patanjali. In attempting to do this, I shall be mainly guided by the remarks that have been appended to certain Sūtras by Kaiyata, Nāgōjibhaṭṭa,

and Haradatta, and I shall have only few occasions to go beyond, or to differ from, what has been already stated by those commentators.

But before entering upon the question with which I am more immediately concerned here, I cannot help drawing attention to the fact, that the text of Pāṇini's rules has neither in the editions of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* nor in that of the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*—however valuable those editions may be otherwise—received that critical care and attention, which it undoubtedly deserves. For years I have been content to regard the printed text of the Sūtras, allowing for some misprints, as trustworthy beyond doubt. It is only lately that I have become somewhat suspicious, and having compared such MSS. as were within reach, I have come to the conclusion, that in the case of a considerable

number of rules the printed text differs, more or less, from the text which is furnished by the best MSS., and that wrong readings have in succession crept from one edition into another. A few examples may show this:

P. III. 1, 109 all the printed texts have *एतिस्तुष्टात्*¹. Here three old and valuable MSS. of the *Kāśikā*, and an old MS. of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Bhandarkar, have *एतिस्तुष्टात्*²; the MSS. of the Mahābhāshya GA&K. which here as elsewhere give only the beginning of the rule, have *एतिस्तुष्टात्*³, and in the Mahābhāshya Vol. II. p. 2, where the rule is quoted, the MSS. &K have *सात्*⁴. From this there can be no doubt, that the right reading is *सात्*⁵. (*śāsu-ri*⁶, not, as in P. VII. 4, 2, *śāsu-ri*⁷).

P. III. 2, 21 all the printed texts have *विधाविधानिधा*⁸, and accordingly have *निधाकर* in the commentaries. In this case the MSS. of the Mahābhāshya are of no value, because they only give the commencement of the rule *विधाविधा*⁹, nor is the rule quoted anywhere in the Mahābhāshya. But all the three MSS. of the *Kāśikā* omit *निधा* from the rule and *निधाकर*: from the commentary, and the MS. of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has *निधा* added *secundā manu* in the margin. Accordingly there can in my opinion be no doubt, that Pāṇini has not taught the formation of the word *निधाकर*. Judging from the quotations in Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, *विधाकर*, which is taught by Pāṇini, is an old word, occurring twice in the *Aṅgarvāda*, but *निधाकर* is not.

P. IV. 1, 62 all the printed texts have *सङ्ख्यविकीर्ति*¹⁰. This rule is neither treated of nor quoted in the Mahābhāshya. The three MSS. of the *Kāśikā* and the MS. of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* have *सङ्ख्यविकी*, without *इति*¹¹, and so reads Chandra.

P. IV. 3, 119 all the printed texts have

पावपावम्. This rule is neither treated of nor quoted in the Mahābhāshya. The three MSS. of the *Kāśikā*, both in the rule and in the commentary, and the MS. of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* have *पावपावम्*. and Chandra has the rule *नामि पावपावम्*.

P. V. 4, 68 all the printed texts have *सवासान्ना*. The MSS. of the Mahābhāshya GA&K and originally A, as well as the three MSS. of the *Kāśikā*, both in the rule and in the commentary, and the MS. of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* read *सवासान्ना*, which singular form is supported by Mahābhāshya, Vol. II. p. 438, lines 23 and 25, and p. 443, l. 15, and is no doubt correct.

Not taking into account rules such as these, to which I might add a fairly large number of other rules for which the MSS. furnish a better text than the one printed, the Sūtras of the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*, which can be shown to differ from the Sūtras as known to either Kātyāyana or Patanjali, may be treated of under four heads. 1. Excepting as regards the observation of the rules of *Sandhi*, the wording of the text has remained unchanged, but several consecutive words, which originally were one rule, have been separated so as to form two or even three rules. The technical name for this proceeding is *Yōga-vibhāga*, 'the splitting-up of a rule (into two or more rules)'. 2. One or more words have been added to the original text of a rule. 3. The wording of rules has been altered otherwise than by the addition of one or more words. 4. Whole rules have been added to the original text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The particulars under each of these four heads are as follows:—

1. Yōga-vibhāga.

P. I. 1, 17 उमः¹² and 18 ऊः originally formed the one rule उम ऊः, and the splitting up of that rule into two was first suggested by

¹ I may perhaps draw attention here—as to a real gem of ingenious interpretation—to the manner, in which this word इति of the above rule has been explained by the author of the *Siddhāntakosha* (New Bombay Ed. No. 117). It is well known (although nothing is said about it in our Dictionary), that at any rate in works of the Indian middle ages इति sometimes conveys the sense of *पकार* or *इत्यादि* 'words like this: 'this and similar words.' When Hāmschandra in his *Siddhāntakosha* says *पाणिनीयैर्ज्ञेयं* that term means, and is by Hāmschandra himself explained to mean, —*पाणिनीयैर्ज्ञेयैः* 'words like

पाणिनीयैर्ज्ञेयैः and similar words': and when in his *Linginiśāna* he says *अपत्यमिति*, he himself tells us that he means *अपत्यादयः*. This use being well known to Bhāṭṭajīvalkya, that scholar connects the word इति of the above rule of Pāṇini's with, at 1 in construing the rule, wishes us to place it *after*, *भाषायाम्*, and he then explains *भाषायामिति* to mean *भाषादौ*, i.e., *भाषायां कन्दसि च*. Comment appears superfluous.

² This word, taken by itself, does not fit into Pāṇini's text, because it is in the Genitive case.

opinion of Bhaṭṭajīdhikṣita (*Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, new Bombay Ed. No. 963), which I now accept as correct. Haradatta, misled by the fact that the Vārttika आत्वनञ्च पूरणे in the MSS. of the Mahābhāṣya has been put under P. VI. 3, 5, and by Patañjali's explanation आत्वनञ्च पूरण उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्, instead of आत्वनञ्च पूरण इति वक्तव्यम्, takes the whole आत्वनञ्च पूरणे to be an addition to Pāṇini's original text (वार्तिकवेदेर्दूतकृत्वेण वृत्तित्); but the words आत्वनञ्च are necessary for the following rule P. VI. 3, 7, and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa (in the *Uddyōta* and *Laghukab-dēndusūkhara*) has not, in my opinion, been successful in proving that we can do without those words (अन्नात्वनञ्च पूरण इति विशिष्टं वार्तिकानि-त्वत्प्राधान्यत्वरसोपादानि वैक्याकरणात्क्यावाप्तित्वात् पर-त्वात् वेति चेन्न परस्यपतिहन्नितात्प्राधान्यत्वरत्वेव पर-त्वं ननु वैक्याकरणात्).

P. VI. 3, 40 स्वाङ्गाचैतोऽनादिनि originally was only स्वाङ्गाचैतः, and अनादिनि has been added from Kātyāyana's Vārttika स्वाङ्गाचैतोऽनादिनि (Vol. III. p. 156; compare also Vol. II. p. 193, l. 2 and Vol. III. p. 157, l. 11). Kaiyata has the note—स्वाङ्गाचैत इत्येतावत्स्वामिति नया वार्तिकारम्भः.

P. VI. 3, 83 प्रकृत्याधिपगोवत्सहनेषु originally was only प्रकृत्याधिपि, to which अगोवत्सहनेषु has been added in accordance with the suggestions of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. For Kātyāyana has amended Pāṇini's original rule by adding to it अगवादिषु, and Patañjali in explaining the Vārttika has given the example सगवे सवत्साञ्च सगत्वात् (Vol. III. p. 171). Kaiyata has the note—अगोवत्सहनेष्विति भाष्यवार्तिकरक्षणात्पूर्वे केनचित्-क्षिप्तम्.

P. VI. 4, 100 वसिन्सोर्दि च. Kātyāyana's Vārttika on the rule (Vol. III. p. 213) shows that the rule originally did not contain the particle च, which has been added for the very purpose of making the rule, in accordance with Kātyāyana's suggestion, more widely applicable. In Vol. III. p. 213, l. 19 some MSS. of the Mahābhāṣya read the rule without, others with च. Kaiyata appends the note—अन्वभाषीति वचनाद्दृष्टिकारणकारं न पाठेति लक्ष्यते.

P. VIII. 1, 67 वृज्जनात्पुनितनुशर्त्तं काष्ठारिचः originally did not contain the word काष्ठारिचः, which has been added in accordance with the suggestion of Kātyāyana (Vol. III. p. 379). Kaiyata has the note—काष्ठारिच इति सूत्रे वार्तिक-कर्मणान्तर्कोषित्याक्षिप्तम्.

P. VIII. 3, 118 सखिस्वच्छोः [such is the reading of the MSS. of the *Kāśikā*] परत्वं लिटि originally was only सखेः परत्वं लिटि. स्वच्छिञ्च which is given also by Chandra, has been added from Kātyāyana's Vārttika on the rule (Vol. III. p. 451).

P. VIII. 1, 73 नामन्विते समानाधिकरणे सामान्य-वचनम् and 74 विभाषिते विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् originally were 73 नामन्विते समानाधिकरणे and 74 सामान्यवचनं विभाषिते विशेषवचने. The new division of the two rules and the addition of बहुवचनम् are suggested by Patañjali (Vol. III. pages 383 and 394), but at the same time Patañjali himself adds that the word सामान्य-वचनं or, according to others, विशेषवचने may be omitted from the rules. Kaiyata on 73 re-marks—नामान्विते समानाधिकरणे इति सूत्रं पठितं ततः सामान्यवचनं विभाषिते विशेषवचने इति द्वितीयम्. and on 74—बहुवचनप्रत्ययवर्णनादिति.

Finally, it may appear doubtful, if the rule P. VIII. 2, 12 from the beginning did contain the word कक्षीवत्, because the formation of that word has been specially taught in Vārt. 7 on P. VI. 1, 37 (Vol. III. p. 33). The opinions of native scholars are divided on this point, for, while Kaiyata (on P. VI. 1, 37) rejects the Vārttika as superfluous (आसन्शीवरीवहिरवत् कक्षीवच्छब्दस्य निपातनात्पार्थिके नारथेभ्यम्), Nāgō-jibhaṭṭa reports that others consider the word कक्षीवत् to be spurious in P. VIII. 2, 12 (एवमा-व्ययानाम्प्राधान्यं, i.e. in P. VIII. 2, 12, कक्षी-वच्छब्दपाठोऽनार्थ इत्यन्वये).

3. The wording of rules altered otherwise than by the addition of one or more words.

P. V. 3, 5 एतसोऽञ्. Patañjali's remarks on this rule (Vol. II. p. 403) show that the reading known to him was एतसोऽञ्. Patañjali considers the ञ् superfluous, and by doing so suggests the reading एतसोः. Kaiyata has the note—इह केचिद्वचं पठन्ति केचिदन्व.

P. VI. 1, 115 प्रकृत्यान्तःपारमन्वपरे. Kātyāyana's reading of this rule was नान्तःपारमन्वपरे (Vol. III. p. 86). But from Vol. III. p. 89, lines 7 and 18, p. 91, l. 8, and other passages in the Mahābhāṣya it appears, that the reading प्रकृत्या, instead of न, was known already to Patañjali. In the *Kāśikā* we have the note—केचिद्विदं सूत्रं नान्तःपारमन्वपरे इति पठन्ति.

P. VI. 1, 124 इन्दे च निरवन्, and 125 वृत्तपृ-ष्ठा अधि. Patañjali's reading of these two rules was 124 इन्दे च, and 125 वृत्तपृष्ठा अधि निरवन् (Vol. III. p. 87, l. 24); but on p. 89, l. 18 he declares the word निरवन् to be altogether superfluous, and in Vol. I. p. 66 and Vol. III. p. 53 he cites the rule 125 without निरवन्. Kaiyata (on Vol. III. p. 87, l. 24) has the note—इन्दे वेति नै वृत्तं पठन्ति वृत्तपृष्ठा अधि निरवन् इति तु द्वितीयं सम्पत्तेरेव प्रः.

P. VI. 1, 137 संप्रत्ययः कर्तव्यो भूषणे, and 138 सुवचने च. In the place of these two rules Patañjali has had only the one rule संप्रत्ययं भूष-णवचनवचनोः कर्तव्यो, which is so quoted in Vol. III. p. 216, l. 1, and the first word संप्रत्ययं of which has been explained by Patañjali in Vol. III. p. 93, l. 13. (Compare the similar explanation of संप्रत्ययं in P. VII. 1, 68, in Vol. III. p. 262, l. 21.)

P. VI. 1, 150 विष्किरः सकुनिर्विक्रितो वा ori-ginally was विष्किरः सकुनो वा, a wording of the rule which was not approved of by Kātyāyana (Vol. III. p. 95). In his opinion, विष्किरः सकुनो वा would mean, that 'after वि, कृ takes the augment सु, —optionally, when one wishes to denote a bird,' whereas the real meaning of the rule is assumed to be that 'after वि, कृ may take सु in case one wishes to denote a bird'; in other words, the bird may be called विक्रि or विष्किर, while in the case of any other meaning the only right form would be विक्रि. (Differ-ently Goldstücker, *Pāṇini*, p. 125). Of the commentators, Kaiyata has the note—विष्किरः सकुनो वेति वृत्तपाठवार्तिके वार्तिकारम्भः; Haradatta—यथा तु नान्तं तथा विष्किरः सकुनो वेत्येतावत्सूत्रम् and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa—विष्किरःसकुनिर्विक्रितो वेत्यनार्थः वाच इति भावः.

P. VI. 4, 56 ऋषि लघुपूर्वात् originally was ऋषि लघुपूर्वत्. The substitution of the Ablative for the Genitive case has been suggested by Kātyāyana (Vol. III. p. 204). In the Mahābhāṣya the rule has been quoted in its original form in Vol. III. p. 288, lines 4 and 11, and in its altered form p. 191, l. 12, and p. 212, lines 1 and 14. Kaiyata has the remark—केचि-वाचार्थेन ऋषि लघुपूर्वत्वेति पद्यवचनमप्रापिता अन्ये तु लघुपूर्वादिनि पद्यवचनम्.

P. VII. 1, 25 अङ्गुतरादिचः पञ्चञ्चः originally was अङ्गु उतरादिचः पञ्चञ्चः. The addition to अङ्गु of the Anubandha ऋ has been suggested by Kātyāyana (Vol. III. p. 250). Compare also

Vol. I. p. 87, lines 17 and 18, and Vol. III. p. 48.

P. VII. 3, 75 विपुङ्गुवचनं [such is the read- ing of the MSS. of the *Kāśikā*] इति originally was विपुङ्गुवचनं इति. The alteration of the wording, of the rule has been suggested by Kātyāyana (Vol. III. p. 334). In Vol. III. p. 333, l. 15, where the rule is quoted, the best MSS. of the Mahābhāṣya give the altered form of it, which has been adopted also by Chandra- Kaiyata has the note—विपुङ्गुवचनं चित्वादि-सूत्रपाठस्य...अपवासे तन्वयाद् न तु अपाठेयिवाते-त्यनोपसङ्गोऽनन्वामिति परशनात् वार्तिकारम्भः.

P. VII. 3, 77 इषुगदिवचनं छः originally was इषुगदिवचनं छः, as may be inferred from Kātyāyana's Vārttika on the rule (Vol. III. p. 334): इषु is the reading also of Chandra. The *Kāśikā* has the remark—इषुगदिवचनं नाधीयते तेऽधीयन्व-तं वन्ति, and Kaiyata appends the note—इषुगदीनि पाठोऽनार्थ इत्याहेयेषु छत्त्वमन्वामिति.

P. VIII. 4, 28 उपसर्गाद्गुह्यम् originally was उपसर्गाद्गोत्परः, as may be seen from Patañjali's remarks on the rule. The reading उपसर्गाद्गुह्यम् has been suggested by Patañjali (Vol. III. p. 460).

4. Whole rules added to the original text of the *Ashṭādhyāyī*.

P. IV. 1, 166 वृद्धस्व च पूवावाच् is really a Vārttika of Kātyāyana's on IV. 1, 163, and P. IV. 1, 167 वृन्च कुत्सावाच् is based on the Vārt- tika जीवहृदव च कुरितान्त् on IV. 1, 162 (Vol. II. p. 265). As regards, however, the explanation of the two rules in the Mahābhāṣya and in the *Kāśikā*, there is the difference, that in the former they are considered obligatory, while in the latter, by supplying वा from IV. 1, 165, they are made optional. Owing to the employment of the (genitive cases वृद्धस्व and वृन्च, neither rule fits into the text of Pāṇini's *Ash- ṭādhyāyī*. On Kātyāyana's Vārttikas Kaiyata has the remarks—सूत्रेषु तु केचिद्वृद्धस्व च पूजायादिति वार्तिकदर्शनात्प्राप्तित्वात्, and वृन्च कुत्सावायिति सूत्र-मनार्थमिति वचनम्.

P. IV. 2, 8 कर्त्तव्यम् is really part of Kātyāyana's Vārttika on the preceding rule IV. 2, 7 (Vol. II. p. 273).

P. IV. 3, 132 कौपिञ्जलस्तित्पराश्च and 133 आयुषिकत्वेकानोपञ्च are really two Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, which in the Mahābhāṣya are placed under P. IV. 3, 131 (Vol. II. p. 329)

On 132 Kaiyata has the note—अपाणिनीयः सुविषु पाठः. Regarding 133 the opinions of the commentators differ; according to Kaiyata the rule is an original Sūtra, but Haradatta rightly remarks—पूर्व च सुविषु च वार्तिके वर्तमानसुविषु प्रतिपत्तम्, and on the margin of the MS. a of the Mahābhāṣya we have the note—इहमपि वार्तिके इदं सुविषु प्रतिपत्तम्.

P. V. 1, 36 विविधोऽर्थः is really a Vārttika of Kātyāyana's on the preceding rule. (Vol. II. p. 350). By Chandra the wording of that Vārttika has been altered to विविधोऽर्थः. Kaiyata has the note—विविधोऽर्थः इति वार्तिकेऽन्वयः.

P. VI. 1, 62 अवि वीर्यः is really a Vārttika of Kātyāyana's on the preceding rule (Vol. III. p. 41). Here, too, Kaiyata has the note—वार्तिके इदं कैशिकसुविषु प्रतिपत्तम्.

P. VI. 1, 100 निरवयवोऽपि वाचि is really a Vārttika of Kātyāyana's on P. VI. 1, 99 (Vol. III. p. 77). Kaiyata again has the note—वार्तिके इदं नान्यत्रैवैव्यतिपत्तम्.

P. VI. 1, 136 अङ्गवासव्यायेऽपि teaches the same as, and is clearly based on, Kātyāyana's Vārttikas 5 and 6, अङ्गवासव्याये च, on P. VI. 1, 135 (Vol. III. p. 92). Kaiyata has the note—अङ्गवासव्यायेऽपि न्युक्त्यापाठे वार्तिकप्रवृत्तिः, and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa adds—अन्वयः सुवि पाठः.

Finally, P. VI. 1, 156 कारस्करो वृषः has been taken from Patañjali's notes on P. VI. 1, 157 (Vol. III. p. 96). Here the *Kāśikā* itself has the remark—केशिके सुवि नाधीवते पारस्करवृत्तिष्वेव कारस्करो वृष इति पठन्ति.

The result of this inquiry then is as follows:—The text of the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, which is given in the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*, differs in the case of 58 rules (excluding here the somewhat doubtful case of P. VIII. 2, 12) from the text which was known to Kātyāyana or Patañjali. 10 of those 58 rules are altogether fresh additions to the original text (by which I mean here the text known to Kātyāyana or Patañjali). 17 rules were from the beginning part of the text, but in the original text those 17 rules did not form 17, but were only 8 separate rules. 19 rules, which also belong to the original text, have each had one or more words added to them. The wording of 19 original rules has been changed otherwise than by the addition

of one or more words, and one rule has been altered in addition to being split up into two rules (P. VI. 1, 137 and 138). Altogether the text given in the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti* (and that of the *Ashṭādhyāyī* in the editions) contains 20 more Sūtras than the original text.

The origin of the changes, which the text has undergone, can in most cases be traced in the Mahābhāṣya. Out of 8 cases of *Yogavibhāṣā*, 5 have been suggested by Kātyāyana and 2 by Patañjali. In the case of 19 rules, which have received additions, the words added have in 13 rules been taken from the Vārttikas, in 4 rules from Patañjali's notes, and in one rule jointly from Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's remarks; in the case of one rule the word added has not been actually taken from a Vārttika, but the addition has been made to comply with a suggestion of Kātyāyana's. In the case of 12 rules, which have been otherwise changed, the changes can in 5 rules be traced to Kātyāyana's and in one rule to Patañjali's suggestions. Of the 10 rules, which have been added to the original text, 7 are Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, 2 are based on Vārttikas, and one is a note of Patañjali's.

Have the rules of the *Ashṭādhyāyī* since the time of the composition of the Mahābhāṣya undergone any changes besides those which have been indicated in the preceding, and in particular, is there any reason to suppose that other new rules have been added to the original text? After the careful study which I have given to the Mahābhāṣya and the literature connected with it, I feel no hesitation in answering this question in the negative. Besides the 1,713 rules, which are actually treated of by Kātyāyana and Patañjali, nearly 600 rules are fully and about 350 other rules partly quoted in the Mahābhāṣya. And as a large number of other rules is absolutely necessary for the proper understanding of those rules for which we have the direct testimony of Patañjali, and for the formation of words used by that scholar in the course of his arguments—I refer to the numerous quotations at the foot of the pages in my edition—we may rest satisfied that our text of the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, or rather the text of the best MSS., does not in any material point differ from the text which was known to Patañjali.

NOTES ON THE MAHABHASHYA.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

7.—SOME DEVICES OF INDIAN GRAMMARIANS.

In the present note I intend to enumerate, and to illustrate by a few simple examples, some of the devices—other than regular *Paribhāṣās*—which the commentators on Pāṇini are in the habit of resorting to in the course of their discussions. The general aim of these devices is, to secure the right interpretation and proper application of Pāṇini's rules; to refute objections that might be raised to them; to extend the sphere of the rules of the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, so as to make them apply where at first sight they would seem to be inapplicable, and to render additional rules unnecessary; and sometimes also to shorten or simplify those rules. In the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana their number is comparatively small: it is greatly increasing already in the work of Patañjali; and, to a certain extent, one may perhaps venture to say that, the later an author, the greater is the number and the more artificial the nature of the devices with which he operates.

In accordance with the plan of these notes, I shall confine my remarks generally to the works of Kātyāyana and Patañjali; but I shall try to indicate by one or two examples, how the practice of those older writers has been more fully developed in the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*.

1. *Jñāpaka*'; *āchāryopavṛittir jñāpayati*; *jñāpayaty āchāryaḥ*.—In addition to what he teaches directly, Pāṇini teaches many things indirectly. Regarding the interpretation of P. I. 1, 45 इवचः संप्रसारणम्, there arises the question.—Is *Samprasāraṇa* a name f. the vowels *i, u*, etc., substituted for *y, v*, etc., or is it equivalent to the phrase '*i, u*, etc. take the place of *y, v*, etc.'? Pāṇini indirectly teaches (*jñāpayati*), that *Samprasāraṇa* has both meanings; for, when in VI. 3, 139 he says that *Samprasāraṇa* is lengthened, he shows that *Samprasāraṇa* denotes the vowels *i, u*, etc., substituted for *y, v*, etc., because only vowels can be lengthened; and, when in VI. 1, 13 he rules that

Samprasāraṇa shall be substituted for a certain suffix, he shows that the word *संप्रसारणम्* must also be equivalent to the phrase इवचः '*i, u*, etc., take the place of *y, v*, etc.' (Vol. I. p. 111). On P. III. 2, 16, it may be doubtful whether we should supply only अधिकरणे from the preceding rule, or also कर्मणि from P. III. 2, 1; in other words, whether a word like कुरुचर, which is formed by the rule, means only कुरुचु चरति, or means also कुचं चरति. Our doubt is solved by Pāṇini himself; by giving in III. 2, 17 a special rule for कुरुचरति, Pāṇini clearly intimates that in III. 2, 16 we are not to supply कर्मणि. Accordingly, कुरुचर can only mean कुरुचु चरति, not कुचं चरति (Vol. II. p. 101).

The idea, which underlies the notion of *jñāpaka*, is a perfectly sound one. We must, in the first instance, allow Pāṇini himself to explain his own work. But as Pāṇini does not speak out openly, there is the danger lest we should make him suggest more than he really meant to say. And this danger is greatly increased when the *Ashṭādhyāyī* is regarded as an absolutely perfect work,¹ in which every seemingly irregular or unaccountable proceeding must have been intentionally resorted to for the purpose of indirectly instructing the student. In IV. 2, 42, Pāṇini teaches that the suffix च्च् is added to certain bases enumerated in the rule. Patañjali here raises the question: 'Why this new suffix? Why is not the suffix च्च्, which in every respect would serve the same purpose as च्च्, valid from IV. 2, 40?' And his answer is, that Pāṇini has purposely employed a new suffix, in order to suggest that this new suffix shall be added to other bases besides those actually enumerated. Here it will be sufficient to point out that Patañjali, in the application of the principle of indirect teaching, is going far beyond Kātyāyana. Kātyāyana, instead of regarding the superfluous च्च् in P. IV. 2, 42 as a *jñāpaka*, makes a separate new rule for the

¹ Kātyāyana resorts to this device 44 times, Patañjali far more frequently. And since Patañjali has two *Āchāryas* to deal with, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, he is enabled to refer us also to the indirect teaching of Kātyāyana, and he has actually done so six times. As regards Pāṇini, it may be added that there are *jñāpakas* in his

Genapātha and *Dhātupāṭha*, as well as in his *Ashṭādhyāyī*.

² व हि केशिकेऽपि च्च् इति वदन्त्येव स्यात्. Vol. III. p. 54.

word which in his opinion should have been distinctly mentioned by Pāṇini (Vol. II. p. 279).

That *jūpaka*s are often and rightly made use of in the Mahābhāṣya to establish the validity for Pāṇini's grammar of certain general maxims or Paribhāṣas, I have had frequent occasions to show in my edition of the *Paribhāṣāśūlāśākhara*. Here, too, maxims may be deduced from some peculiar wording of the Sūtras, which possibly have never presented themselves to Pāṇini himself; and occasionally (as in Vol. I. p. 486, Vol. II. p. 64, and elsewhere) the commentators themselves differ both as regards the validity of a particular maxim and the *jūpaka* by means of which such maxim is sought to be established. It is strange, that Pāṇini should have employed the same Anubandha च् in the first and in the sixth of the so-called Śiva-sūtras, because by doing so he has made it difficult for us to decide whether the Pratyāhāras अच् and इच् are formed with the first or with the second च्. But did Pāṇini really adopt this stratagem in order to suggest, that in every doubtful case of this kind we should have recourse to the (traditional) interpretation of his rules (Vol. I. p. 35),—a maxim to which Patañjali draws our attention no less than a dozen times in the course of his discussions?

On P. V. 1, 115 Kātyāyana gives the special rule, placed in the Mahābhāṣya under V. 1, 118, that the suffix च् is added also to स्त्री and पुंस्, to form स्त्रीचच् and पुंस्चच्. Kātyāyana considers such a rule necessary, because without it the suffixes चच् and ङच्, taught for स्त्री and पुंस् in P. IV. 1, 87, would supersede the suffix चच् of P. V. 1, 115. According to Patañjali, on the other hand, Pāṇini himself shows that the suffixes taught in IV. 1, 87 do not supersede the suffix चच्, inasmuch as he uses the word पुंस्चच् in his rule VI. 3, 34. And when we object, that even so there would be no reason why we should form also स्त्रीचच्,

² Patañjali in Vol. I. p. 83; Vol. II. pp. 81, 239, 347, 365. Compare also *anabhidhāna jūpaka*s in Vol. II. p. 110. The expression *yogapēksha jūpaka*s has been curiously misunderstood in the late Prof. Goldstücker's Pāṇini, p. 116.

³ Kātyāyana in Vol. I. pp. 52, 86, 478; Vol. II. p. 408; Vol. III. pp. 103, 105, 133, 194, 255; (compare also 455). Patañjali twice as often. In Vol. III. p. 224

Patañjali refers us by the phrase निपातनादेतस्मिन् च् to a Vārttika of Kātyāyana's.

⁴ Compare Vol. II. p. 413 देव्याः मूलनिबन्धाः क्रियन्ते

we are told that our objection is futile, because (*yogapēksha jūpaka*) 'the *jūpaka* (पुंस्चच् in VI. 3, 34) has reference to the *whole* rule (IV. 1, 87),' i. e. Pāṇini, by employing पुंस्चच्, indirectly teaches that the whole rule IV. 1, 87 is superseded by V. 1, 115. This example of a *yogapēksha jūpaka*² naturally leads me on to—

2. *Nipātana*.—By incidentally employing a word or any form whatever, Pāṇini shows that that word or that form is correct;³ and if such a word or form should happen to be contrary to any rule of his, that rule must, in this particular instance, be understood to be superseded. The incidental employment of a word or form is thus like a special rule superseding a general rule. In सर्वनामन् the initial (dental) च् of नामन् should by P. VIII. 4, 3 be changed to the (lingual) च्; but that change does not take place, because Pāṇini in I. 1, 27 puts down सर्वनामन्, with a (dental) च् (Vol. I. p. 83). On P. III. 3, 90 Kātyāyana demands a special rule, to teach that the root मच् before the suffix चच्, is not by P. VI. 1, 16 changed to मच्; in other words, that प्रच् + चच् = मच्, not पुंस्. According to Patañjali, no such special rule is needed, because Pāṇini employs the word मच् in III. 2, 117. (Vol. II. p. 151). On P. I. 1, 47 Kātyāyana makes a special rule to account for चच्चा and चच्चि. Patañjali considers such a rule superfluous, because Pāṇini has the two words in his Gaṇas (Vol. I. p. 115).

3. *Anabhidhāna*.—Grammar is not to invent new words or new meanings, but has to concern itself with existing words only, to show which are right words, and to explain their formation and usage. The grammarian need not take into account any possible wrong words which nobody would think of employing; he does his duty if he gives his rules in such a manner as to account for the right words, and to exclude wrong words

i. e. देव्याः साधुत्वेन प्रतिपाद्या एते मूले निबन्धन्ते प्रसङ्गन साधुत्वप्रतिपादनाभ्यः

² Kātyāyana, in Vol. I. p. 424; Vol. II. pp. 12, 13, 94, 146, 384, 371, 325; Vol. III. p. 365; and in other passages, where *anabhidhāna* is referred to by the word चक्चच् or the phrase चक्चच्. Patañjali in Vol. I. p. 177; Vol. II. pp. 28, 250, 374, 307, 308, 309, 319, 334, 341, 351, 358, 392 (twice), 367, 395, 396, 399. I may perhaps draw attention to the fact, that most of these references are to Vol. II. of the Mahābhāṣya, which, generally speaking, treats of Kṛit and Taddhita-suffixes.

which people actually do use. Reasoning like this would appear to have led to the device of *anabhidhāna*, which has been frequently resorted to by Kātyāyana and Patañjali, especially in those chapters of Pāṇini's grammar which treat of the addition of suffixes, sometimes to show that Pāṇini has said more than he need have said, and sometimes to defend him from the charge of having said too little. If nobody thinks of using a particular word, or of using a word in a particular sense, it may be said that such a word would mean nothing, or would not convey the requisite meaning, and it may therefore seem unnecessary to forbid its use or its employment in that particular sense. According to P. IV. 2, 1, a certain suffix is added to a word denoting a colour to signify 'coloured by (or with) that.' The suffix is said to be added 'to a word denoting a colour,' apparently to prevent its addition, e.g., to देवदत्त, in the expression देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम् 'cloth coloured by Dēvadatta.' According to Kātyāyana, Pāṇini might have omitted the words 'to a word denoting a colour,' for the suffix taught by Pāṇini is added to denote the meaning 'coloured by (or with),' and that meaning would not be denoted by देवदत्त in देवदत्तं वस्त्रम्. Everybody will understand this phrase to mean 'cloth belonging to Dēvadatta,' and nobody would employ देवदत्तं वस्त्रम् in the sense of 'cloth coloured by Dēvadatta' (Vol. II. p. 271). In III. 2, 1, Pāṇini is not obliged to tell us that the suffix, which in accordance with his rule is added in कृष्णकार, must not be added to वृच्, to express the sense of आहित्वं वृचति, because the word आहित्ववर्च would not convey the requisite meaning, or in other words, because nobody would think of using the word आहित्ववर्च.' (Vol. II. p. 94). On P. V. 2, 65 Kātyāyana would wish to alter the wording of Pāṇini's rule, so as to make it quite clear that the words चक्चच् and चिक्चच्,

¹ The device of *anabhidhāna* may appear so strange, that it is perhaps advisable to quote the following from Kaiyata on P. IV. 2, 1: रक्तादीनां जन्दानां योऽर्थः स एव यदि लौकिके प्रयोगे प्रत्येवाभिधीयते तदा प्रत्ययो भवति वाच्यवा प्रयुक्तानां जन्दानां साधुसाधुवैक्याय सास्त्रागम्यात्। देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रमिति वाक्याद्योऽर्थोऽवगम्यते नासौ देवदत्तं वस्त्रमित्यतोऽवगम्यते स्वस्वामिसंबन्धस्त्वेवातः संपत्ययात्।

² See Kaiyata on P. III. 2, 1.—अभिधानादिति। भित्त्वात्

which are formed by the rule, mean 'a desire for wealth' and 'a desire for gold,' and do not mean 'desirous of wealth' and 'desirous of gold.' According to Patañjali, Pāṇini's rule need not be altered; the suffix taught by Pāṇini cannot be added in the sense of 'desirous of,'—(*anabhidhāna*), because चक्चच् and चिक्चच् would not convey that meaning (Vol. II. p. 387).

These instances will sufficiently prove, that the device of *anabhidhāna*, beyond acquainting us with the views of the commentators who happen to make use of it, is really of no value whatever. We know that a word cannot be used, or does not convey a particular meaning, and therefore we want no rule forbidding its use, or its employment in a particular sense. Why, we may well ask, do we study grammar at all, if we know beforehand what words cannot be used? It is right to add, that at any rate Kātyāyana, in general, has had recourse to *anabhidhāna* only as to an alternative proceeding, and that the weak point of the device has been clearly perceived by the Indian grammarians themselves. Haradatta, when commenting on P. III. 2, 1, says that *anabhidhāna* must be resorted to, only where the authorities tell us to do so, and that elsewhere we must simply follow the rules of grammar.

4. *Vivakshā*.—Similar to *anabhidhāna*, and liable to the same objection, is the device of *vivakshā*, which is a few times made use of in the Mahābhāṣya, and is more frequently employed in the *Kārikā-Vṛtti*. *Vivakshā* means 'the wish to say a thing,' and *vivakshā* or *laukikā vivakshā*, as understood here, is the desire of those who speak a language to convey certain meanings by certain words, the manner in which people employ the words of their language, the prevailing and generally understood usage of words (*prāyaya*, i. e. *likāya*, *sampratyaya*). According to Patañjali,

सन्धानादिदमन्वाख्यानवाच्यम् । न चादित्यं परमतीत्यायथेति-पादनात्तदित्यदसादयः सन्धा लोके प्रयुज्यन्त इति सास्त्रेणापि साधुत्वेन नानुक्तिव्यक्त इत्यर्थः।

³ Haradatta on P. III. 2, 1.—तत्राभिधानं यत्नातिरक्तं नक्षेव । अन्यत्र तु यथासंभवं भवत्येव । तथा च पठति यथासंभवं प्रयुक्त इति।

⁴ Kātyāyana in Vol. II. p. 282. Patañjali in Vol. II. pp. 276, 246, 392. See also *Kārikā-Vṛtti* on P. II. 2, IV. 2, 21, 55, 57, 58, 67; IV. 4, 125; V. 1, 16; V. 3, 46, 72, 94, 95, 107, 112, 115; V. 4, 10.

Pāṇini refers us to this common usage by the word इति, which he occasionally employs in a rule. By that इति Pāṇini, according to Patañjali, indicates that such a rule of his must not be observed generally and under all circumstances, but has its application limited by general usage. The rule must be observed only so far as it may lead to the formation of such words as are used by people, or of words which are really used in the particular sense indicated by the rule. We may by P. V. 1, 16 say प्रासादीर्षं वाद्, to convey the meaning प्रासादीर्षं स्व सत्यः स्यात्, but we cannot by the same rule form प्रासादीर्षो देवदत्तः in the sense of प्रासादीर्षो देवदत्तस्य स्यात्, because people would not understand this meaning from प्रासादीर्षो देवदत्तः (Vol. II. p. 343).

5. *Yogavibhāga* is the splitting up of a rule into two or more separate rules. This proceeding has been suggested about 25 times by Kātyāyana, and rather more than 70 times by Patañjali. Its general purport is, without altering the wording of the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, simply by a different division of that text, to obviate objections that might be brought against Pāṇini's rules, and to make those rules teach more than they would teach otherwise, or than Pāṇini has taught himself. Examples, both from the Vārtikas and from the Mahābhāṣya, have been already given in my last note.

I may add here that the commentators, without resorting to actual *yogavibhāga* and thus increasing the number of the Sūtras, occasionally meet objections by joining the first word or words of one rule on to a preceding rule, or by dividing the words of the text differently from what they themselves show to be the ordinary or generally accepted division of it. In Vol. I. p. 272 Kātyāyana suggests the possibility of dividing the text of the rule P. I. 3, 11 स्वतिनाधिकारः, usually divided into स्वतिनेन and अधिकारः, into the three words स्वतिने, न, and अधिकारः. In Vol. I. p. 271 Patañjali proposes to join the word स्वतिनेन of the same rule on to the preceding rule, which would then read न्याससंबन्धनद्वेषः स्वानां स्वतिनेन, and to make P. I. 3, 11 consist of only the one word अधिकारः.

In Vol. II. p. 228 Patañjali proposes to transfer the word सर्वेषु from the beginning of P. IV. 1, 18 to the end of the preceding rule IV. 1, 17. In Vol. II. p. 11 he meets an objection by dividing the words शीघ्रान्वासस्य of P. III. 1, 6, usually divided into शीघ्रं + अन्वासस्य, into शीघ्रं + आन्वासस्य. In Vol. III. p. 11 he divides ऋषित्वाद्यः (= ऋषिति + आद्यः) of P. VI. 1, 6 into ऋ + इत्याद्यः; in Vol. I. p. 152 'वरलोप' of P. I. 1, 58 into 'वे + सवलोप', etc.

6. *Ekayogah karishyatē*.—As a single rule may be split in two, so two rules may be joined together, so as to form one rule. The advantage sought to be derived from this device, which has been five times resorted to by Patañjali, may be seen from the following example. It may be argued that गुणवृद्धी in P. I. 1, 3 (इको गुणवृद्धी) is superfluous, because वृद्धिः and गुणः will be valid from P. I. 1, 1 वृद्धिरादेशः, and P. I. 1, 2 अदेः गुणः. The objection to this would be, that वृद्धिः of P. I. 1, 1 would be valid also in P. I. 1, 2, and that accordingly a, ē, ō would by P. I. 1, 2, be termed both *Guṇa* and *Vṛddhi*. But that objection is met by the suggestion, that P. I. 1, 1 and 2 should be made one rule, इद्धिरादेशदेः गुणः. In this single rule the term वृद्धिः, with which the rule opens, would not be valid in the concluding portion of the same rule, and from this rule both वृद्धिः and गुणः could then be supplied in the following rule (Vol. I. p. 44).

7. *Sambandham anuvartishyatē; sambandhānuciritti; sambandhaciritti*.—But the objection raised to the validity of the term वृद्धिः of P. I. 1, 1, in P. I. 1, 3, may be met also by another device, which Patañjali has resorted to more frequently. In P. I. 1, 2 the *śloka*-rule इद्धिरादेशः may be regarded as valid, and subsequently गुणः and वृद्धिः may be regarded as valid in P. I. 1, 3. The case in fact would stand thus,—

P. I. 1, 1 इद्धिरादेशः.
P. I. 1, 2 अदेः गुणः;—इद्धिरादेशः valid from the preceding.
P. I. 1, 3 इकः;—गुणः and वृद्धिः valid from the preceding.

8. *Maṇḍūkagatayo 'dhikārāḥ; maṇḍū-*

127, 151, 207, 290, 372; Vol. III. pp. 25, 52, 8, 149, 238, 271, 410, 425, 431, 433.
13 Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 44, 457, 482; Vol. II. p. 372; Vol. III. pp. 25, 161, 314.

kapluti.—And there is even a third way of meeting the same objection. There is no reason at all why वृद्धिः of P. I. 1, 1, should be valid in P. I. 1, 2. Like a frog, it may leap across P. I. 1, 2 and alight on P. I. 1, 3. This device has been resorted to by Patañjali seven times.

9. *Iṣṭāvācchī parasabdah*.—In I. 4, 2 Pāṇini prescribes that of two conflicting rules the subsequent (*para*) rule, in the order of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, shall take effect in preference to the preceding rule. Now Kātyāyana on various occasions shows that Pāṇini's rule is not universally true, and he points out a number of *pūrva-vipratishēdhas*, i.e. instances in which the preceding rule must take effect in preference to the subsequent rule. According to Patañjali, on the other hand, the special rules given by Kātyāyana are unnecessary, and the objections of that grammarian only show that he has not fully understood the word *para* in P. I. 4, 2. *Para*, amongst other things, also means 'desired' (*iṣṭā*), and what Pāṇini really teaches is, that of two conflicting rules it is the *desired* rule that should take effect, i.e. that rule, whatever be its position in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the application of which will lead to correct words. Here again, then, we ought to possess a perfect knowledge of the language, if we would rightly apply the rules of Pāṇini's grammar.

10. *Pratyahāragrahapa*.—A term ending with an Anubandha, which at first sight would appear to denote a single suffix, root, etc., is occasionally by Patañjali explained to be a collective term denoting a series of suffixes, roots, etc. Thus मात्तच् in P. IV. 1, 15 is not, as might be supposed, the suffix मात्तच् taught in P. V. 2, 37, but is taken to be a *Pratyādhāra* or collective term, formed of मात्त in P. V. 2, 37 and the Anubandha च् of अच् in P. V. 2, 43, and denoting, accordingly, all suffixes from अच् in the former up to and including अच् in the latter rule (Vol. I. pp. 106 and 138). The most interesting example occurs in Vol. I. p. 289, and again in Vol. II. p. 47. In the older works of Sanskrit literature the Periphrastic Perfect is formed only with कृ; and

14 Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 46, 194, 306, 404; Vol. II. pp. 237, 279, 337; Vol. III. pp. 18, 99, 134, 201, 238, 276.
15 Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 106, 138, 141, 289, 470, 498; Vol. II. pp. 47, 130, 368.
16 Kātyāyana in Vol. I. p. 501. Patañjali in Vol. I.

this is exactly what Pāṇini teaches in III. 1, 40, where he says, that कृच्, i.e. कृ which has the Anubandha च्, is employed in the Periphrastic Perfect. Patañjali, however, desirous of accounting by Pāṇini's rules for Perfects such as ईसात्स, ईसात्सूच, explains कृच् in P. III. 1, 40 to be a *Pratyāhāra*, formed of कृ in P. V. 4, 50 and the Anubandha च् of कृच् in P. V. 4, 58, and including therefore च् and अच्, which in P. V. 4, 50 follow immediately upon कृ.

11. *Prakīrtanirdeśa*.—A long or even a short vowel often results from the coalition of two or more vowels. How this simple fact may be turned to account in grammatical discussions, may be seen from the following examples. In Vol. I. p. 501, Kātyāyana states that the single vowel आ (डा), which by P. II. 4, 85 is substituted in the Periphrastic Future for the ordinary personal terminations ति and त्, takes the place of the *whole* original terminations (and not merely, according to P. I. 1, 52, of their *final* letters), because आ may be regarded as a combination of the two vowels आ + आ; and that for this reason Pāṇini is justified in not attaching the Anubandha ङ् to the substitute डा (compare P. I. 1, 55). According to Patañjali, Pāṇini might similarly have omitted the Anubandha ङ् of the term अच् in P. II. 4, 32 (Vol. I. p. 481), and of the sameterm अच् in P. VII. 1, 27 (Vol. III. p. 251), because even (short) अच् may be regarded as a combination of अ + अ. According to Patañjali, again, लोक् in P. II. 3, 69 may be regarded as the result of the combination of ल + उ + उक्, and no additional rule is required to teach that words like चिकीर्षु, which are formed with उ, are not construed with the Genitive case (Vol. I. p. 469).

12. *Īkasheshanirdeśa*.—Pāṇini, according to the commentators, also employs other terms once only, instead of repeating them. An instance is afforded by the same rule P. II. 4, 85, which has been mentioned under the last heading. In that rule Pāṇini teaches that इतिरेत्स, i.e. as one would say, इत्, री, and र्त्स, are substituted for the third personal terminations of the Periphrastic Future. Here it may be objected that, as there are six such termina-

pp. 47, 88, 139, 140, 469, 491; Vol. II. pp. 46, 52, 164, 406; Vol. III. pp. 151, 212, 261, 273, 312. Compare *vibhāṅgī* in Kātyāyana in Vol. I. p. 262.
17 Kātyāyana in Vol. I. pp. 261, 350, 369; Vol. III. pp. 167, 467. Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 66, 156, 212, 501.

tions, three in the Parasaimpada and three in the Ātmanāpada, and only three substitutes, the rule P. I. 3, 10, which determines the order in which substitutions take place, would not be applicable, and that Pāṇini therefore ought to have shown in some other way, how the substitution should take place. Such objection is met by the statement that इतिरसः is an *ekāśiṣa-nirdēśa*, for इतिरसः + इतिरसः i.e. इति रस + इति रस; and the number of substitutes having thus been shown to be six, the order of substitution is after all regulated by P. I. 3, 10 (Vol. I. p. 500). To P. I. 1, 27 सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि Kātyāyana wishes to append the note that सर्व etc., when used as proper names, are *not* termed *Sarvanāmāni*. Such a note, however, is by Patañjali regarded as superfluous, because सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि may be taken to stand for सर्वादीनि सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि सर्वनामानि. 'सर्व etc., are (termed) *Sarvanāmāni*; (and the) सर्व etc., (here spoken of) are nouns denoting anybody' (not proper names). (Vol. I. p. 88).

13. *Avibhaktikō nirdēśaḥ*.¹³—Pāṇini on rare occasions does put down in his Sūtras certain terms without the case-terminations, which we should have expected him to attach to them.¹⁴ But this will hardly be considered to justify the commentators in assuming an *avibhaktika nirdēśa*, 'the employment of a term without termination,' in instances like the following. The wording of P. VII. 3, 82 and 83 is निवेद्युः कृति च, or, when the two rules are joined according to the rules of euphony, निवेद्युःकृति च. To meet certain objections, Patañjali in Vol. I. p. 47 takes the first rule to consist of the three words निवेद्युः कृतिः, where the base निवेद्युः would stand for the Genitive case निवेद्युः ('Guna is substituted for the इ of निवेद्युः'); and in Vol. III. p. 335 he further divides कृतिः into कृत् + इति च, where the base कृत् would stand for the Nominative case कृत्:

¹³ Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 21, 25, 47; Vol. II. p. 46; Vol. III. pp. 242, 325, 414.

¹⁴ Compare e.g. P. III. 3, 17 च; III. 3, 30 कृ; III. 3, 48 कृ; VI. 1, 186 and VI. 4, 6 कृ; VI. 3, 63 कृ; VI. 4, 142 ति.

¹⁵ Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 49, 263 (twice); Vol. II. p. 52; Vol. III. pp. 43, 245, 257. The letters supposed to have been dropped are ए, इ, and once नृ.

¹⁶ Patañjali in Vol. I. p. 139; Vol. III. pp. 94, 274, 425; (*dvivāśāka nirdēśaḥ*);—Vol. I. p. 155; Vol. II. p. 88; Vol. III. pp. 37, 188, 208; (*dvivāśa*);—Vol. I. p. 170; (*dvivāśa*);—Vol. II. p. 90; (*dvivāśa*);—Vol. III. pp. 48, 250; (*dvivāśa*);—Vol. III. pp. 108, 410; (*dvivāśa*);

('Guna is also substituted before कृत्, when कृत् commences with इ').

14. *Luptanirdiśaḥ*.¹⁶—Occasionally a consonant (usually ह or ञ) is supposed to have been elided in the text of the Sūtras. Such consonant would of course have to be replaced, when explaining the text. On P. I. 3, 7, Kātyāyana demands a special rule, to teach that, contrary to Pāṇini's rule, the initial ह् of the suffixes कृत् and कृत् is *not* an Anubandha. According to Patañjali, no such rule is required because the two suffixes really begin with the letter ह्, which has been elided in the text (Vol. I. p. 263).

15. *Dvi-kāraḥ nirdēśaḥ*.¹⁷—More often Pāṇini is supposed to have employed a double consonant, where the actual text of the Sūtras has only a single consonant. On P. VIII. 3, 5, सन्ः कृति Kātyāyana suggests that, before the augment कृत् (in सन् + कृत्), स (not ह) should be substituted for the final of सन् (=सन्कृत्). According to Patañjali, Kātyāyana's remark is superfluous, because the substitution of स् has been taught in Pāṇini's own rule, the wording of which really is सन्ः कृति (or सन्कृत्), i.e. 'स' is substituted for (the final of) सन् before कृत्' (Vol. III. p. 425). Theoretically it is perfectly true that, by the rules of euphony, original सन्ः कृति might have been changed to सन्ः कृति, but how little importance can be attached to Patañjali's remark, may be seen from the fact that quite a different meaning has been assigned by him to the same rule सन्ः कृति in Vol. III. p. 94.

16. *Anvartasamjñā*.¹⁸—Technical terms are employed for the sake of economy or brevity. When, then, Pāṇini uses other than short technical terms, he does so to show that the application of those terms accords with their etymological meaning. On the rule I. 1, 23, in which Pāṇini teaches that ह्, ग्, etc. are termed *Saṅkhyā*, Kātyāyana would wish it to

Vol. III. p. 257; (*dvivāśa*);—Vol. III. p. 351 (*dvivāśa*, *trivāśa*). This is perhaps the right place for the remark that the wrong reading कृति च of the rule P. I. 1, 5 (कृति च) owes its origin to Patañjali's suggestion in Vol. I. p. 269 and Vol. II. p. 132, इकारे गकारचन्भूते निर्वचने. Compare a similar expression in Vol. III. p. 110.

¹⁷ Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 81, 89, 96, 215, 324, 346, 378; Vol. II. pp. 3, 76. Compare *anvartasamjñā* in Vol. I. pp. 89, 209, 227, 229, 237, 372; Vol. II. pp. 303, 416; Vol. III. pp. 96, 120, 415.

he distinctly stated that the ordinary numerals ह्, इ, etc. also are termed *Saṅkhyā*, because otherwise these numerals would not in Pāṇini's grammar be denoted by the term *Saṅkhyā*. But Kātyāyana's suggestion is rejected by Patañjali, on the ground that *Saṅkhyā* is an *anvartasamjñā*. The term *Saṅkhyā* denotes the ordinary numerals ह्, इ, etc., because ह्कृत् is derived from सन् + कृत् 'to count together,' which is exactly what the ordinary numerals do (Vol. I. p. 81).

17. *Tadvadāśidēśa*.¹⁹—Or it may be said, that in the rule mentioned Pāṇini has used the word संख्या in the sense of संख्यात्. Pāṇini does not say at all that ह्, ग्, etc., are termed *Saṅkhyā*; what he teaches is, that ह्, ग्, etc., are treated as if they were numerals²⁰ (Vol. I. p. 81).

18. *Prakarabhogi*.²¹—As in ordinary life, so here, sometimes the mere fact that Pāṇini employs a word is sufficient to show that particular stress is laid on such word; that the word has reference to things which under all circumstances, or in a high degree, or more than other things (*sūdkhyā*), are what the word means. When in I. 1, 56 Pāṇini uses the term *al-vidhi* 'an operation depending on a letter,' he means such operations as depend on letters as such, not operations which depend on suffixes that happen to be letters (Vol. I. p. 136). When in III. 1, 94 he speaks of *asarūpa* (i.e. not uniform) suffixes, he must mean suffixes which are *asarūpa* in the ordinary language as well as in the language of grammar, because in the latter *all* suffixes are *asarūpa* (Vol. II. p. 80). And when in I. 3, 3 he speaks of a *last* consonant, he must be understood to mean the final consonant of complete roots, suffixes, etc., and Kātyāyana need not have attempted to improve on Pāṇini's rule (Vol. I. p. 261).

19. *Akārō matvarthyah; matnūlopaḥ*.²²—To meet objections of various kinds, a noun ending in the vowel अ is occasionally regarded as a derivative noun formed with the possessive

¹⁹ Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 81, 191, 408. *Patañjalī* in Vol. III. p. 273.

²⁰ Accordingly, Hāmabandha in his rule I. 1, 39 has उन्वत् संख्यात्.

²¹ Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 136, 261, 263 (twice), 329, 365, 370, 380; Vol. II. pp. 80, 344; Vol. III. pp. 104, 269, 480.

²² Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 156, 208; Vol. II. pp. 104, 179, 376, 377; Vol. III. pp. 30, 97, 104, 171.

suffix अ; or it is stated that the possessive suffix कृत्, which should have been added, has been dropped. A simple instance is furnished by the word अनुसन्त in P. VI. 1, 158. As the meaning of that rule (अनुसन्तं पश्येकवचनं) is that 'with the exception of one vowel, a word contains only *anulāta* vowels,' one might have expected Pāṇini to say (not अनुसन्तं पश्य, but) अनुसन्तः परे or अनुसन्तः पश्यत्. The actual wording of the rule is nevertheless correct, because अनुसन्तं does not mean *anulāta*, but means 'containing *anulāta* vowels,' either the possessive suffix has been dropped, or the final अ of अनुसन्त is the possessive suffix अ. (Vol. III. p. 97).

20. *Tādarthyat tāchchhabdyam*; *sāha-charyat tāchchhabdyam*; *tātsthyat tāch-chhabdyam*.²³—Things subservient to something else, or things which are in company with something else, or things which are in a particular place, may be called by the names of the things to which they are subservient, or in company with which they appear, or of the place where they are. It is thus that the term सन्त in P. I. 2, 43, denotes *the rules which teach the formation of compounds (samāsārtham sāstram*; Kātyāyana, in Vol. I. p. 214); and that तस्युच्यते in P. I. 2, 42 means the words forming a Tatpuruṣa-compound (Patañjali, against Kātyāyana, in Vol. I. p. 214). Thus, too, the rule P. I. 1, 30 कृतीवासनासि is supposed to account for the fact that, e.g., in मानसि पूर्वाच वैहि the word पूर्व does not follow the pronominal declension. (Vol. I. p. 92.) And, by a similar reasoning, suggestions of Kātyāyana have been rejected by Patañjali in Vol. II. p. 382 and p. 437.

As might have been expected, most of these devices which I have collected from the Mahābhāṣya, have been made use of also in the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*. In addition to them, the compilers of that commentary have employed other devices among which the two following, with which I conclude this list, are perhaps those most commonly resorted to.

²³ Kātyāyana in Vol. I. p. 214; Vol. II. p. 312. Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 91, 92, 214, 225, 332, 452 (twice); Vol. II. pp. 283, 331, 338, 359; Vol. III. p. 32.

²⁴ Patañjali in Vol. I. pp. 180, 202; Vol. II. pp. 284, 299, 360, 538.

²⁵ Patañjali in Vol. II. p. 437. Compare also Vol. II. p. 218, l. 15. *Kāśikā-Vṛitti* on P. III. 1, 141.

21. *Vyavasthitavibhāṣā*.²⁰—When Pāṇini teaches that an operation takes place optionally, we naturally understand him to mean, that such operation may or may not take effect in every individual instance which may fall under the rule. This, too, is clearly the opinion of the earlier commentators, as may be seen from various critical remarks which they have appended to some of Pāṇini's optional rules. To obviate such remarks, and generally with a view to account by Pāṇini's own rules for the actual facts of the language as known to them, later grammarians have invented the device of *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. An optional rule need not be optional in every case, but may be taken to teach, either, that an operation in particular instances necessarily must take place, while in others it is not allowed to take place at all; or, that the operation is really optional in a limited number of instances only, while in other instances, as the case may be, it must necessarily take place or may not take place. In I. 2, 21 Pāṇini teaches that in certain forms roots with penultimate *उ* optionally take *Guṇa*;—*सु* thus forms *सुतित* or *सोतित*. According to Kātyāyana, Pāṇini's rule is too wide; it should have been limited to roots of the first class only. According to the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*, the rule affords an instance of *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*; the operation taught by it optionally takes place in roots of the first class; in the case of other roots it does not take place at all. By P. III. 1, 143 *बह* forms either *बह* or *बाह*; but, the rule being a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*, *बह* forms only *बह* in the sense of 'a planet,' and only *बाह* in the sense of a 'shark.' According to P. I. 4, 47 the verb *अभिनिविष्ट* governs the Accusative case; Jayāditya, in order to account by Pāṇini's rule for the Locative case which also is found occasionally with the same verb, makes the rule optional by supplying for it (by *manḍūkaphuti*) *अन्वतरस्वात्* from P. I. 4, 44, and he then declares P. I. 4, 47 to be a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. *अभिनिविष्ट* in some phrases governs only the Accusative, in others only the Locative. The interpretation of Pāṇini's rules is again dependent on and regulated by the actual usage of the language.

²⁰ See e.g. *Kāśikā-Vṛitti* on P. I. 2, 21; I. 3, 70; I. 4, 47; II. 3, 17; 60; III. 1, 11; 90; 143; III. 2, 124; III. 3, 14; III. 4, 88, 86; VI. 1, 37, 38, 51.—Compare also *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II. p. 165; III. p. 350.

22. *Anukṛtasamuchchayārthaḥ chakārah*.²¹—On P. I. 3, 93 *कृति च कृपः*, Patañjali shows that the *च* of that rule is superfluous, because even without it the term *स्वतन्त्रो*: of the preceding rule would be valid in the rule under discussion; and he adds the general remark that in like manner all the particles *च* of the *As-tūthyāyī* may be dispensed with (Vol. I. p. 215). In other places meanings have been assigned by him to *च*, which that particle does not convey ordinarily. Thus *च* is taken in the sense of *एव* (*avatlāraṇārtha*) in Vol. I. pp. 381 (P. II. 1, 17); 392 (P. II. 1, 48), 406 (P. II. 1, 72); in the sense of *इति* in Vol. I. p. 415 (P. II. 2, 14). More strange even Patañjali's proceeding must appear to us, when we see him refute certain criticisms of Kātyāyana by means of the particle *च* in P. II. 4, 9 and P. VI. 1, 90,—a proceeding which, I may add, has been imitated by Jayāditya on P. II. 3, 16 and P. III. 1, 2. But there is one meaning which Patañjali has never assigned to *च*, and which in grammar has to my knowledge been assigned to it first by the authors of the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*,—the meaning indicated in the above heading *anukṛtasamuchchayārthaḥ chakārah*. The word *च* serves the purpose of adding to the words actually enumerated in a rule others that have not been mentioned; or, in other words, Pāṇini indicates by the particle *च*, that his rule applies to other words besides those actually mentioned by him. On P. V. 1, 7 *सलवत्रमाचलितृषत्रहणच*, Kātyāyana has the note that *च* takes the same suffix as the words enumerated (Vol. II. p. 339). According to the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*, the particle *च* at the end of the rule is by Pāṇini meant to show that the suffix taught by the rule is added to other words besides those actually enumerated, and the word which Pāṇini had in view in thus employing *च* is said to have been *च*. On P. III. 2, 3 *नाडीमुद्रणेच*, Patañjali adds to the word given by Pāṇini *पटी* and others (Vol. II. p. 102); in the *Kāśikā* we are told that these very words *पटी* etc., are suggested by the particle *च* of Pāṇini's own rule. In P. IV. 4, 29 Pāṇini has *परिमुलं च*; the corresponding rule of Chandra's grammar is *परिमुलपाच*; according to the

²¹ See, e.g. *Kāśikā-Vṛitti* on P. II. 4, 18; III. 1, 126; III. 2, 30, 138, 189; III. 3, 119, 122; IV. 1, 74, 96, 123; IV. 2, 62; IV. 4, 29; V. 1, 7; V. 4, 25, 145; VII. 1, 12; VII. 2, 10.

Kāśikā, the particle *च* of Pāṇini's rule shows that the suffix taught by the rule is added to other words besides *परिमुल*, and the word which Pāṇini had in his mind, when thus employing *च*, is the very *परिमुलं* which is actually given by Chandra. According to the *Kāśikā*, the *च* of P. V. 4, 145 shows that one also says *सहित* or *अहित*, *सुषिक* or *सुषिक* etc.; *अहि*, *सुषिक* etc. are the very words which the corresponding rule of Chandra actually enumerates, in addition to the words *अप*, *अन्त* etc., which are enumerated by Pāṇini. Unluckily we do not possess yet a complete copy of Chandra's grammar; but judging from what we do pos-

sess of it, I feel little hesitation in saying that, wherever the device of which I am speaking is resorted to in the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*, the words which Pāṇini is supposed to suggest by the employment of the particle *च*, have invariably been taken by the compilers of the *Kāśikā* from the *Vārtikas*, or from the *Mahābhāṣya*, or from the grammar of Chandra. The compilers have invented nothing; not caring for, or having no notion of, the history of grammar, they have tried to show, how Pāṇini's own rules can be made to account for a number of words, for which Pāṇini's more immediate successors had given additional rules.²²

²² See a paper on *cha* and *iti* by Dr. Bühler in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. I. p. 13.

INDRAGOMIN AND OTHER GRAMMARIANS.

BY PROF. F. KIELHORN; GÖTTINGEN.

Professor Bühler's notice of Professor Peterson's Second Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 354) has again drawn my attention to Professor Peterson's discovery (*Report*, p. 65), that "the Indra grammar" commenced with the words सिद्धिरनुकानं कृते. "To light upon a passage"—so Professor Peterson says,—which actually quotes the first words of Indra's grammar, while as yet scholars are disputing as to whether such a work ever existed, is indeed a reward for much fruitless toil." And Professor Bühler adds:—"This discovery settles, indeed, the question, if an Aindra grammar really existed."

It would seem that, in the opinion of both scholars we have now at last got actually a quotation from that Aindra grammar which, according to the late Dr. Burnell, preceded the grammar of Pāṇini, and that, according to their views, such an Aindra grammar has really existed, or may, as Professor Bühler suggests, still be in existence. Much as I rejoice at Professor Peterson's discovery, I cannot but think that the conclusion drawn from it—supposing it to be as stated¹—is a somewhat hasty one.

I have indeed been long aware of the fact that a grammar composed by Indra must have existed, because I knew that that grammar had been used by Hémachandra. But as the fuller name of the author of that work is Indragōmin, just as Chandra's fuller name is Chandragōmin, I feel no inclination to make it older than Pāṇini. And my opinion as to its comparatively recent origin is confirmed by an examination of the statements that are ascribed to it,—a writer who copies from the Vārttikas on P. I. 4, 3 and VIII. 3, 1, cannot be older than Pāṇini,—as well as by the fact that Indra or Indragōmin is mentioned in company with grammarians or grammars like Chandragōmin or the Kalāpaka,² about whose relation to Pāṇini there can be no doubt.

Hémachandra mentions the views of other grammarians most frequently; but, un-

fortunately, instead of quoting those scholars by name, he introduces their statements by such vague expressions as Kaichit, Kēchit, Ēkē, Anyē, Aparē, etc. What grammarians were meant to be denoted by these terms, I first learnt from the marginal notes in a MS. of a small portion of Hémachandra's grammar which is in my possession, and I subsequently discovered that the names there given have been taken from a commentary, called Nyāsa, on Hémachandra's *Bṛihadupiti*. Of this Nyāsa I have now been able to read through a MS. of the Deccan College (No. 282 of 1873-74), which, I regret to say, does not go beyond the first Pāda of Adhyāya II. of Hémachandra's grammar; and from it I give the following names of grammarians or works on grammar, which Hémachandra is supposed to refer to:—

Indragōmin. Fol. 11b Indragōmi-Kālāpaka-prabhṛitayah [Hémachandra: केषिषु मन्त्र-गुणवपवता संबोधने सो परतोऽवगम्यत्वात् तकारस्य च ह्रस्व कृत्वा]. Fol. 12a Indragōmi-Chandra-prabhṛitayah; Fol. 15a Chandrēndragōmi-prabhṛitayah [Hémachandra: अन्वे तु पुरुषस्य समासायत्वे नेच्छन्ति। तन्मते त्रियसुबुधे विषयेने पुरुषाचयेव भवति।]. [Besides, my own MS. has Indra-Chāndrau Fol. 53a].

Utpala. Fol. 13b बुधस्यः। कर्मधारवा-स्यमासान्ते षचेताराः।; Fol. 18b;—Fol. 14b. Utpalādayah; Fol. 16a twice.

Kalāpaka; Fol. 25b, [and Kālāpaka in my own MS. Fol. 53a]; Fol. 3b Kālāpakāyāh; Fol. 11b Indragōmi-Kālāpaka-prabhṛitayah.

Kāśikākāra. Fol. 11b Kāśikākāra-dayah. Kshīrasvāmin. Fol. 13b नीपतिरिखल क्षीरस्वामिना भाग्युच्चारित्वात्परमिच्छते; Fol. 15a forms only भतियकृते, विषयेने पुरुषावः. Fol. 20a Chāndra-Bhōja-Kshīrasvāmi-prabhṛitayah.

Chandragōmin. Fol. 12a Indragōmi-Chandra-prabhṛitayah; Fol. 13a Chāndra-prabhṛitayah; Fol. 15a Chandrēndragōmi-prabhṛitayah; Fol. 18b Chandrādayah; Fol. 20a Chāndra-Bhōja-Kshīrasvāmi-prabhṛitayah; Fol. 23a Chandragōmi-Dēvanandy-ādayah; Fol. 24a

राः, or more commonly Kāmāra, composed by Śrī-Sarvarman, "after the Sūtra composed by Bhagavat-Kumāra, and at his command." See the extracts from the commentaries in Eggeling's edition.

¹ So far as I know, there is only one Indra grammar about which there has been any dispute, viz that Indra grammar which according to Dr. Burnell is older than Pāṇini.

² The Kalāpaka, or Kalāpasiitra, or Kāmāra-vyāka-

Chandragōmiya-matam; Fol. 24b Chāndra-Bhōjan. [Besides, my own MS. has Fol. 50b Chāndrāb, and Fol. 53a Indra-Chāndrau].

Durgasīma. Fol. 22b.—Fol. 15a Durga-sīma-Srūtapālādih; Fol. 24b Durgah.

Dēvanandin.³ Fol. 16a देवनादिना मृगेषु सि-लौकिक उक्तः scil. वातयनीयकः; Fol. 21a काराचयं तु देवानी, scil. इच्छति, in कारातु; Fol. 24b.—Fol. 8b Dēvanandyādayah; Fol. 16a;—Fol. 23a Chandragōmi-Dēvanandy-ādayah.

Pāṇini. Fol. 20a Pāṇini-prabhṛitayah; Fol. 18b Pāṇinīy-ādayah; Fol. 19a Pāṇinī-sū-trānusāriṇah.

Bhōja. Fōl. 16a;—Fol. 15b Bhōja-prabhṛi-tayah; Fol. 20a Chāndra-Bhōja-Kshīrasvāmi-prabhṛitayah; Fol. 24b Chāndra-Bhōjan.

Vāmana.⁴ Fol. 16a Vāman-ādayah [Héma-chandra says: केषिषु स्वन्तास्मत्प्रियादिषु च्छन्ति scil. अष्टौ त्रिपु; they form therefore कति, but not वति.].

Vīśāntavidyādhara. Fol. 11b [Héma-chandra says: कश्चिन्नु स्वस्वयोरपारिषयोयकार-कारकोर्वावस्वयोरपारिषयोऽपि लोपयिच्छति। अन्नाद-उत् इत्थं अन्तु स वातादिभ्यश्च भविन्तुः। वायोरी मी-जादी तत्त्वा उरवः साधुव्य वृत्तादि।, and the Nyāsa adds कश्चित्ति।। विधान्प्रियाद्यवः।]; Fol. 9b Vīśāntavidyādhara-ādayah [केचिषु स्वस्वयस्य-व्याऽनुवाचिते वापुनातिक्रियिच्छन्ति। एव ई इति-एव ई इति।]; Fol. 18a; [besides, my own MS. Fol. 44b].

Śakaṭa or Śakaṭāyana. Fol. 13b [and my own MS. Fol. 53a] Śakaṭa; Fol. 16a, Fol. 21a Śakaṭāyana; [my own MS. Fol. 50b Śakaṭāyānāh]; Fol. 12a, Fol. 13a, Fol. 15a, Fol. 18a Śakaṭāyan-ādayah.

Srūtapāla. [My own MS. Fol. 53a]; Fol. 15a Durgasīma-Srūtapālādih [Héma-

chandra says सको वको। एवावति कश्चि।, and the Nyāsa adds कश्चित्ति।। पुर्णविषयुत्प-लादि।].

[In addition to the above my own MS. Fol. 50b makes Hémachandra quote the opinion of Ratnamati,⁵ called Ratnamatir baddhah, in the words; राधीश्वर्यविषयविषयप्रवृत्तस्वः। लानाव राधति। लानाव राधति। लानाव राधति। लानाव राधति। And the Nyāsa cites, on its own account, the following: Upādhyāya (बहाव उपाध्यायः। अह इत्येतास्वययानापुनित्वेव भवति); Kaṭkala (इति ककलस्य व्याख्या); Jayāditya; the Dhātupāryāyikā; opposed to the Vaijā-karāyā; a Nyāsa and a Nyāsakāra; the Bhāshya, Bhāshyakāra, Bhāshyakṛit, Bhāshyakāra-Vārttikakāra, and Śrīśēshārāja (i.e. Patāñjali); Vāsa-Rishabhau (अतः छट्पस्यवान् नवति कं लानाविकं कष्टस्ववान् तु प्रतिपत्तकः। एव वस्वयव्याव्युः।); the Vīśānta (विशान्ता); the Vajjantikāra; and a marginal note explains the word अन्वे by Jinēdra-Bhōja-Pāṇini-prabhṛitayah].

Now from the above list it will appear, that Hémachandra in the compilation of his own grammar has used exactly those grammatical works which we might have expected him to use, viz, besides the Pāṇinīya and its commentaries, the grammars of Chandra, Śakaṭāyana (who, of course, has nothing to do with the old Śakaṭāyana), Bhōja, and Vāmana; the Jainēdra, the Kalāpaka, the writings of Kshīrasvāmin, and similar works. Certain it seems, that he has known nothing older than Pāṇini, and we shall probably not be far wrong, when we assume that the grammar of Indra or Indragōmin bore a somewhat close relation to either the grammar of Chandragōmin or the Kalā-

³ While I am obliged to Mr. Pathak for having set me right about Pūjyapāda (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 19), I still believe that Dēvanandin was the author of the original *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa*. If that grammar is correctly described by the term *andhāśāhā vyākaraṇam*, which even Prof. Peterson appears to admit (*Report*, p. 66), it follows with absolute certainty from the examples *Dēvanandinam andhāśāhā vyākaraṇam* and *Dhīpa-jāna andhāśāhā vyākaraṇam*, that Dēvanandin was the first who invented or proclaimed that grammar. Any Śāstri conversant with the rules of grammar can tell whether I am right or wrong. I may add, that that re-ension of the *Jainendra*, which has been commented upon by Śōmadēva, cannot be the original one, because it does contain the *Śakaṭa*-rules, and I have no objection to its being ascribed to Guṇasāndin. Lastly, I regret that Professor Peterson was unable to consult the Deccan College MSS. described by me (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 75), but they certainly had not gone to Germany (*Report*, note on p. 66), nor have they gone there even now.

⁴ In the *Guṇaratnamahādāhi* p. 2, Vāmana is described as the author of the *Vīśāntavidyādhara-vyākaraṇa*; the same work mentions, p. 187, a Nyāsa on the *Vīśānta*, and p. 131 a *Vīśāntāyāśākrī*. A *Bṛihadupiti* of Vāmana is quoted, *id.* p. 452; and Vāmana also composed a *Liṅgānusāna* in 34 *Āryas*, which seems still to exist. In the *Nyāsa*, from which I have quoted in the above, *Vīśāntavidyādhara* is certainly intended to be the name or the epithet of a man, not of a grammar; the name of the grammar appears to be *Vīśānta*. Compare *Kāśikā* as the name of Sarva-varman's grammar, and *Mūlah* as that of Malayāgiri's (*Mūlahkṛī*?).

⁵ Ratnamati is often quoted. The man here intended I suspect to be the same as Ratna-tripādāh, who appears to have composed a commentary on the *Chāndra-vyākaraṇa*, and who is cited (with Vimalamati) in *Ānanda-datta's Paddhāt*.

paks, together with which it is mentioned.* As regards the first Sūtra of it, for the discovery of which we are indebted to Professor Peterson, I believe that Hémachandra has imitated it in his own rule लोकार्ण, which in his grammar follows immediately upon the Sūtras अर्हन् विहिः स्वारासात् ।

I cannot conclude these remarks without two requests. In the first place, I would urge my fellow-students to cease speaking of an Aindra grammar, or of the Aindra school of grammarians, terms for which, so far as I know, there is no justification, and which are only apt to mislead. And secondly, I would earnestly request my former colleagues, Peter-

son and Bhandarkar, who already have done so much for the preservation of Sanskrit MSS., to purchase as many commentaries on Hémachandra's work as they can lay hold of, because I believe that such commentaries will furnish many valuable notes on the history of Sanskrit grammar. If the information at my command be correct, there must still be in existence a *Brihannīsa*, called *Sādamahārṇava*, a *Nyāsa* by Dharmaghōṣa, one by Rāmachandra, a *Laghunīya* by Kanakaprabha, and similar works. They will probably not be pleasant reading, but if Professors Bhandarkar and Peterson will give me the chance, I will try to make the best of them.

THE CHANDRA-VYAKARANA AND THE KASIKA-VṚITTI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN; GÖTTINGEN.

Tradition tells us that the *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa* is older than the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*. The kindness of Professor Oldenberg, who has placed at my disposal his copy of the fragments of Chandra's grammar which are at Cambridge, enables me to prove that the compilers of the *Kāśikā* have diligently used that grammar, although they never actually mention it.

On Pāṇini IV. 1, 54 the *Kāśikā* has the note मङ्गलकण्ठेभ इति वक्तव्यम्, which is not found in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The three words are taken from Chandra's rule, which corresponds to Pāṇini IV. 1, 55, नासिकोपदेशप्रदान्तकर्ण-मङ्गलकण्ठेभ इति वक्तव्यम्.

On Pāṇini IV. 1, 68 the *Kāśikā* has the note चतुर्वेदीकारकारलोपश्च वक्तव्यः । अशुः । which is not in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Chandra has the rule वज्रः अशुः ।

On Pāṇini IV. 1, 85 the *Kāśikā* has the note वनापेति वक्तव्यम्, which is not in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Chandra has वन, in his rule विसर्विस्वा-विसर्वगण्यः ।

On Pāṇini IV. 1, 156 the *Kāśikā* has the note स्वरादीनां वा फिञ्चकम्बः Chandra has the rules स्वरादीनां । स्वरादिचः ।

On Pāṇini IV. 2, 42 the *Kāśikā* has the note

वालात्, which is a rule of Chandra's. The addition of ऊत् to वात्, in the sense of समूह, is taught again in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini V. 2, 122, where the note to that effect is taken from the *Mahābhāṣya*.

On Pāṇini IV. 3, 8 the *Kāśikā* has the note आदिषेति वक्तव्यम् । आदिनः । Chandra's rule is न-प्रादिनां नः । In the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini IV. 3, 23 आदिन is formed (not with न, but) with डिमच्.

On Pāṇini IV. 3, 144 the *Kāśikā* has the note एकाचो नित्यं मवटनिष्ठान्ति, तर्हेन क्रियते. Chandra has the rules ववववसापटाद्वे । एकाचः ।

On Pāṇini IV. 4, 29 the *Kāśikā* has the note चकारोऽनुक्तसमुच्चयार्थः । पादिप्राधिकः । Chandra's rule is परिसुपाधांतः ।

On Pāṇini IV. 4, 78 the *Kāśikā* has the note ल इति बोगविभागः कर्तव्य इदमर्थार्थः । उन्नयुतीचः । विसिच्युतीचः । Chandra has the rule सर्वोन्नय-विसिच्येः लः ।

On Pāṇini IV. 4, 101 the *Kāśikā* has the note पयस्वबोऽन्वेतिष्यते । तर्ह्यं बोगविभागः क्रियते. It was Chandra who taught the addition of either suffix; for his rule is पयसो ऽन्वच्.

On Pāṇini V. 1, 12 the *Kāśikā* has the note केषिभ्यु तर्हे दिगितिष्वन्वत्त्वन्ति. It was Chandra

grammar of Pāṇini (ib. p. 54). See Barnell, *On the Aindra Grammar*, p. 5.

* Explained by him: बन्नातिकार्या क्रियमाणस्यजाति-कालिक्रमस्वाङ्गसंस्थापरिमाणान्यधीनस्तुगवर्णोदीनां संज्ञानां परोक्षिन्यं निर्यादन्तरेऽन्वत्त्वत्त्वेनावनवकासां वरुषि स्व्यादीनां न्यायानां च लोकार्णकरणसमयादिः मायाविकारैश्च ज्ञान-पञ्चमये (दिदिम्वतीति वेदिनम्पम्) ॥

who did so; for his rule is विकृतेः पक्षतो (with-out तर्ह्यं.)

The second explanation, which is given in the *Kāśikā* of Pāṇini V. 1, 94, was the one adopted by Chandra; for his wording of the rule is तस्व प्रक्षवर्त्त.

On Pāṇini V. 1, 126 the *Kāśikā* has the note लोपान्तरां चेति वक्तव्यम्. Chandra has the rule लोपान्तरां चेति वक्तव्यम्.

When on Pāṇini V. 1, 131 the compiler of the *Kāśikā* asks कथं कान्तिमिति, he shows that he knew Chandra's rule लोपान्तरां सक्वेः. And by his remark उन्नयुत्वात्संज्ञाप्रदानमनुकूल्यते on Pāṇini V. 2, 81, he indicates that he was acquainted with the wording which Chandra had given to the rules 81 and 82, कालहेतुफलमात्रेण च योऽनुकूल्यते.

On Pāṇini V. 2, 128 the *Kāśikā* has the note मङ्गलकण्ठेभ इति वक्तव्यम्. Chandra's wording of the rule is मङ्गलकण्ठेभ इति वक्तव्यम्.

On Pāṇini V. 3, 12 the *Kāśikā* has the note ब्रह्मवि केचिच्छन्ति । कुव । Chandra has the rule क कुवेहात्.

On Pāṇini VII. 2, 48 the *Kāśikā* has the note केषिभ्यु तर्हे दिगितिष्वन्वत्त्वन्ति. Chandra does read तीपुस-ह्युन्नयवार्थः.

On Pāṇini VII. 2, 49 the *Kāśikā* has the note केषिभ्यु अन्वयितिनितिनितिसिद्धिप्राप्ति पठन्ति. Chandra does read अन्वयितिनितिनितिसिद्धिः.

On Pāṇini VII. 3, 17 (see also on V. 1, 55) the *Kāśikā* has the note असंज्ञायापकुलिमानामिति केचिष्यन्ति. Chandra has कुलिञ्च, in his rule संज्ञायाः संस्वरपरिमाणस्यासंज्ञायापकुलिञ्चश्च.

These instances, to which I might add many others even from the incomplete copy of Chandra's grammar which is accessible to us in Europe, will sufficiently prove, that the

authors of the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti* knew that grammar and used it in the compilation of their own work. They will also show that Chandra has not, like some of the later grammarians, merely copied from the *Ashādhyāyī*, the *Vārttikas*, and the *Mahābhāṣya*; but that he also has either tried to improve on those works himself, or has in addition to them used other works, which do not seem to exist any longer.¹

Strange it appears that the compilers of the *Kāśikā* should never have mentioned Chandra and his grammar; that they should not have done so even in connection with rules such as Pāṇini II. 4, 21; IV. 3, 115; and VI. 2, 14, where by quoting the *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa* they would, one might say, have much more vividly illustrated Pāṇini's meaning, than by the examples which they have actually given.²

It is one of the characteristic features of Chandra's grammar, that,—while it retains the most artificial terms of Pāṇini's grammar, such as लट्, लिट्, लृट् and others, some of which have not met with general acceptance even in Pāṇini's own school,—it discards a large number of other terms, many of which have been found so appropriate or useful, that they have been adopted even by European grammarians. From *Guna* and *Vṛiddhi*, Chandra goes back to *adeñ* and *ādaich*; for *Saṅprasāraṇa* to *ṇaṇa ik* or *igyaṇak*; *Vṛiddha* of course had to become *ādaichādyaich*. For *Upasarga*, Chandra always employs *prāti*; for *Sarvaṇāman*, *sarvādi*; for *Taddhita*, *anādi*; *tan* or *tanāna* serve him for *Ātmané pada*; and the reverse, *atañ*, for *Paras-ṇaipada*. *Dvānta* is expressed by *chārtha* and *Bahuvrīhi*, by *anyārtha* and *Dvign*; by *sainkhyādi*; *Upādka* is *upānta*; *Upasarga*, *apra-*

¹ Tāranātha's account of the composition of the *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa* is as follows:—"Again come to the south of Jambudvīpa, he (i.e. Chandragomin) saw in the temple of the Itāhman Varasuchi the structure of the grammar, which had been heard by the Nāga, and the commentary on Pāṇini composed by the Nāga Śeṣha. A commentary must contain few words, but many thoughts; must contain no repetitions, and form a whole. But the Nāga is very silly, has many words and few thoughts, and is incomplete." After having expressed this censure, he composed, as a commentary on Pāṇini, the *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa* with the appendices." And again Tāranātha says:—"From that time till now, Chandragomin's work has spread widely, inasmuch as orthodox, as well as heterodox people, study by it; but the Sāmantabhadra (a grammar composed in Śikha by Chandrakṛti) soon disappeared, and it is not known whether any copy of it is still in existence."—Schieferer, p. 152 and 155.

² It does not seem quite unnecessary to repeat here, that the reading of the published edition of the *Kāśikā*

on Pāṇini II. 4, 21 पाणिन्युपसर्गात्कारकं व्याकरणम् is wrong. The right reading is पाणिन्युपसर्गात्कारकं व्याकरणम्. See *ante*, Vol. X. p. 77. Pāṇini's grammar was called the *akāśikā vyākaraṇa*, because it contains no definitions of expressions like अयत्न. See Pāṇini I. 2, 37. Haradatta explains आ न्याय्यादुन्यानादिस्वादिपालपरिभाषा-राहित्यम्, or पूर्वाणि व्याकरणाभ्यन्तवादिपालपरिभाषायास्तानि तद्विहितं व्याकरणम्; Jimēdrabuddhi स हि स्वस्वित्यकारणं कालविकारं न कुर्वन्; the *Mādhvivyāhūtvṛitti* काल-परिभाषाभ्यन्तं व्याकरणम्.—What innovations Vyādi and Āpī-ali made, it is difficult to say; regarding the former, Haradatta has the note ह्यति [or ह्यति?] संकेतज्ञानो यथात्त वृत्करणम्; Jimēdrabuddhi has आद्युपसर्गं द्वाहः-करणमिति । आदिरिति युगपत्कालमात्रेण मध्यद्वन्द्वकरणानि कृत्वा परिभाषितवान्युत्तरं काल इति ।

dhāna; Aryaya, asaukhyā; Karman, āpya; Sakarmaka, sāpya; Akarmaka, avyāpya; etc. After this we can well understand why the *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa*, by some kind of exaggeration, should have been termed the *asañjīkāmī vyākaraṇam*, "the grammar without technical terms;" and I repeat that the phrase *चानीयत-मसहकं व्याकरणम्* would have afforded a most appropriate example for Pāṇini II. 4, 21, etc.

Nor can I quite understand why Chandra's grammar, and those who studied it, should have been passed over in the commentary on

Pāṇini V. 1, 58 and IV. 2, 65. When the authors had occasion to speak of the *three* Adhyāyas of Kāśakṛtsna's Sūtra of the *right* of Pāṇini's, and of the *text* of Vyāghrapād's, they surely could not have helped thinking of the Sūtra of Chandra, which contains *six* Adhyāyas. Averse though I am to conjecture, I would venture to ask:—Was the *Chāndra-Vyākaraṇa* good enough to be copied from, but too modern a work to be honourably mentioned together with the Sūtras of sages like Kāśakṛtsna and others, of which Jayāditya and Vāmana probably knew very little more than we do?

² See the quotation from Kshirasvamin, Prof. Aufrecht in *Z. d. D. Morg. Ges.* Vol. XXVIII. p. 105.
³ To the poetical passages collected from the *Kāśikā-Vārtti*, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 327, I would now add:—
 On Pāṇini V. 2, 23. *सहयं जनाः शास्त्रदीपमाहः*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PĀNINI'S "ROOTS AND SUFFIXES."

Gottingen: February 20, 1887.

May I express my regret that Prof. Sayce, in the ACADEMY of February 19, should have repeated the old story of Pāṇini's "empty chatter of roots and suffixes"? Surely, Prof. Sayce knows as well as I do that the theory of roots and suffixes, and of the existence of words even apart from the sentence, is by Indian grammarians regarded as a mere device, resorted to "for the easy instruction of children"; and he can hardly wish to make Pāṇini responsible for the theories of *European* grammarians.

F. KIELHORN.

ON THE GRAMMAR OF SAKATAYANA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Considering that the search for Sanskrit MSS. has been carried on now for many years, it is strange that no complete and trustworthy copies of the grammar of *Sakatayana* should as yet have become generally accessible. This is the more to be regretted, because that grammar, in my opinion, holds an important place in the later grammatical literature of India. For, not to mention that *Sakatayana* is referred to again and again in the *Gaṇaratna-mahādadhī* and elsewhere, it is to him, more than to any-

body else, that *Hemachandra* has been indebted in the composition of his own grammar. In fact, excepting the circumstance that *Hemachandra* has adopted many of the technical terms of the *Kātantra*, his grammar (so far as I can judge at present) is hardly more than a revised and perhaps somewhat enlarged redaction of the grammar of *Sakatayana*. On the other hand, it appears to me that, among the works which are known still to exist, *Sakatayana* himself has used the grammar

of *Chandra*, in addition to the works of the School of Pāṇini, the *Ashādadhyaḥ*, the *Vārttikas*, and the *Mahābhāṣya*.

For those, then, who are investigating the history of Indian grammar, correct copies of the various treatises which form the *Sakatayana-mahāvyaākaraṇa*, and of the commentaries on them which no doubt still exist in different parts of India, are indispensable; and it is to interest scholars in India in the search for those works, that I venture to write these lines, even after the accounts already published of *Sakatayana's* grammar by other scholars.

The credit of having first prominently drawn attention to the grammar of *Sakatayana* certainly belongs to Dr. Bühler, who also has kindly placed at my disposal the various works, or rather fragments of works, belonging to that grammar, which were copied for him at Madras more than twenty years ago. After him, the late Dr. Burnell has given an account of *Sakatayana*, in his essay "On the Aindra School," and his copy of the text of the Sūtras, together with a rough alphabetical index of the latter, belongs now to the Library of the India Office. Lastly, I myself am in possession of a copy of a work based on *Sakatayana's* grammar and of a few leaves of a commentary, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Paranjpe at Kolapur. Owing to the fact of having been copied in *Dēvanāgarī* from originals written in South-Indian characters, most of these MSS. are exceedingly incorrect. They nevertheless enable one to form a fair estimate of the nature and value of the grammar of *Sakatayana*, and show at any rate that the following works belonging to that grammar are still in existence:—

1. The *Sabdānuśāsana*, or text of the Sūtras.
2. The *Paribhāṣitāsūtrāṇi* for the *Sabdānuśāsana*.
3. The *Gaṇapāṭha*, arranged in the order of the 16 Pādas of the *Sabdānuśāsana*.
4. The *Dhātu-pāṭha*.
5. The *Upāśisūtrāṇi*, in four Pādas.
6. The *Liṅgānuśāsana*, in 70 Āryū-verses, together with a commentary. *Hemachandra's Liṅgānuśāsana* is merely

¹ Dr. Burnell's statement that the *Sabdānuśāsana* contains about 2230 Sūtras, which has been repeated by others, looks like a misprint. The number of Sūtras of *Hemachandra's* Sanskrit grammar, according to my

an enlarged copy of this treatise of *Sakatayana's*.

7. A commentary, called *Chintāmaṇi*, on the *Sabdānuśāsana*, by *Yakshavarman*. In the introductory verses, which have been already published by Dr. Bühler, the author states that he has compiled his work from a more extensive commentary. *Yakshavarman* occasionally cites various readings of the text of the Sūtras; and his work appears to have been used by *Hemachandra* for his *Bṛihatsūtrī*.
8. A much more extensive commentary on the *Sabdānuśāsana*. Fragments of this occur in the midst of Dr. Bühler's MS. of a part of the *Chintāmaṇi*.
9. The *Pakriyāsaṅgraha*, by *Abhayachandrasiddhāntasūri* (?), an extract from the *Sabdānuśāsana*, together with a short and lucid commentary; compiled for practical purposes and arranged in the following order:—*Sañjñāsaṅgraha*, *Sanādhī-s.*, *Subanta-s.*, *Stripratyayānta-s.*, *Kāraṇa-s.*, *Samāsa-s.*, *Dvirukta-pleṭhaviḍhī-s.*, *Taddhīta-s.*, *Tri-anta-s.*, *Kṛit-s.*
10. A similar work, entitled *Rāpasiddhī*, by *Dayapāla*, and containing the following chapters:—*Sañjñā-siddhī*, *Sanādhī-s.*, *Nāma-s.*, *Stripratyayānta-s.*, *Vibhaktiyārtha-s.*, *Samāsa-s.*, *Aśtuk-s.*, *Taddhīta-s.*, *Dhātvishtakāryam* on conjugation and *Kṛit-suffixes*. This work appears to begin with a number of verses, which probably contain some valuable information on the history of *Sakatayana's* grammar.

The *Sabdānuśāsana* consists of four Adhyāyas, each Adhyāya containing four Pādas. The total number of Sūtras contained in these 16 Pādas is in one of the MSS. stated to be 3236; according to my own calculation, which, owing to the imperfect state of the MSS. may be wrong, it is only 3232, not counting the 13 *Pratyāhāra-sūtras* with which the work opens.¹ The arrangement of the matter in the 16 Pādas is as follows:—

Adhy. I. Pāda 1; 180 Sūtras: *Sañjñā*-rules and *Paribhāṣās*; rules of *Sanādhī*.

calculation, is 3563. The number of Sūtras of Pāṇini's grammar, not counting the rules on accents and on peculiarities of the Vedic idiom, would be about 3350.

- P. 2; 223 Sūtras: Declension; (changes of इ to ए, of इ to ए etc.)
- P. 3; 195 Sūtras: Formation of feminine bases; syntax of the cases.
- P. 4; 123 Sūtras: Use of the *Parasmai-* and *Ātmané-pada*; personal terminations.
- Adhy. II. P. 1; 229 Sūtras: Formation of compounds; *Ēkaiśśha*; gender of compounds and arrangement of their members; *Sauśānta*-suffixes.
- P. 2; 172 Sūtras: Terminations retained in first members of compounds; insertion of इ; *Puṣṣavābhāra*; substitution in compounds, etc.
- P. 3; 113 Sūtras: Doubling of words or bases; *Pluti*; changes in bases before suffixes.
- P. 4; 239 Sūtras: *Taddhita*-suffixes.
- Adhy. III. P. 1; 201 Sūtras; P. 2; 227 Sūtras; P. 3; 180 Sūtras; P. 4; 146 Sūtras: *Taddhita*-suffixes continued.
- Adhy. IV. P. 1; 270 Sūtras: Derivative verbal bases; reduplication; changes of roots before verbal terminations and *Krit*-suffixes; the past Pass. Partic. in इ, क्, etc.
- P. 2; 260 Sūtras: Strengthening, etc., of radical vowels; the augment; the intermediate इ; insertion of इ before roots; change of a radical इ to ए, of इ to ए etc.
- P. 3; 238 Sūtras: *Vikarāṇas*; *Krit*-suffixes; syntax of the tenses and moods.
- P. 4; 186 Sūtras; *Krit*-suffixes continued; participles, the Infinitive, the Gerunds, etc.

From this brief summary it will be apparent that Śākatāyana, differing in this respect from Pāṇini and Chandra, has to a certain extent already adopted that arrangement of

* A few examples may show this:—

P. I. 4, 36 teaches that इह governs the Dat.; Śākatāyana teaches that it governs the Dat. or Acc. [Hémachandra follows Śākatāyana].

P. II. 3, 44 teaches that मसिन् and उन्मुक् govern the Instr. or Loc.: Śāk. adds अथश्च [and so does Hém.]

P. II. 1, 18 पारे मये वड्वा वा; Śāk. पारे मये उन्तः वड्वा (वा); [Hém. पारे मये से उन्तः वड्वा वा].

P. IV. 4, 29 परिनुञ्च च; Chandra, Śāk. [and Hém.] परिनुञ्चपार्थम्.

the subject-matter which is followed in the *Kaṃmuḍi* and similar works. The summary will also show that, like Chandra, he has given no rules on accents; and I may add that, in like manner, he has omitted all reference to the language of the Vēda. For the rest, he has embodied in his work the teachings of Pāṇini, as amended or supplemented by Kītyāyana and Patañjali, and later on by Chandra; but on rare occasions he also has added to what those predecessors of his had taught before him.* The construction of his rules can offer no difficulties to any one acquainted with the Paribhāshās of Pāṇini's grammar, most of which indeed have found a place also in Śākatāyana's work. Many of his technical terms are Pāṇini's; while in avoiding terms such as *Guṇa*, *Vṛiddhi*, *Sauprasāraṇa*, *Upadhāti*, *Nipāta*, *Sarvanāman*, *Parasmaipada* and *Ātmanépada*, *Abhyāsa* and *Abhyasta*, and in using *nānni* for Pāṇini's *saujñāyām*, or *pāthē* for *upadhāti*, he follows Chandra.³ There is no doubt, that in the text of his Sūtras we may observe that tendency to economize which has been carried to an extreme in the *Jainendra* grammar; and to this tendency we may ascribe the use of terms like *sva* for *savarna*, *nap* for *napuṃsaka*, *ti* for *gati*, *du* for *vṛiddha*, *luch* for *lōpa*, *nyach* for *upasarjana*, etc., most of which we meet again in the *Jainendra* and other works. Like the author of the later redaction of the *Jainendra*, Śākatāyana has tried to improve on the Pratyāhāra-sūtras of Pāṇini, the number of which he has reduced to thirteen, and in which, following the suggestion of Kātyāyana, he has assigned a place to the *Anuvāra*, *Visarjanāya*, *Jihvāmūliya*, and *Upadhānāya*, while he has omitted from them the vowel *ri*; but it was a mistake to maintain that his Pratyāhāra-sūtras are the same as

P. V. 1, 126 लक्ष्यैः; Chandra लक्षित्वाणिभ्यो यः; Śāk., to save a syllable, लक्षित्वादिभ्यः; [Hém. the same]

P. V. 2, 133 हस्ताज्जातो; Chandra हस्तदन्ताज्जातो; Śāk. [and Hém.] हस्तदन्तकराज्जातो.

P. V. 2, 128 इन्द्रोपतापगदीत्यादिस्थादिभिः; Chandra कार्थारोगाहितान्यादिस्थादस्वाङ्गादिभिः; Śāk. इन्द्रमिन्द्रान्यादिस्थादस्वाङ्गात्; [Hém. प्रादिस्थादस्वाङ्गात् इन्द्रमिन्द्रान्].

* Like Chandra, Śākatāyana has *hādi* for *Nipāta*, *sarvādi* for *Sarvanāman*, *tan* or *tanāno* for *Ātmanépada*, *ata* or *atañān* for *Parasmaipada*, *Upānta* or *Upāntya* for *Upāda*. Pratyāhāras to denote *Guṇa*, *Vṛiddhi*, *Sauprasāraṇa*, etc. See ante p. 184.

those of the *Jainendra*-grammar.* The Anubandhas attached to case and personal terminations, and to primary and secondary suffixes, are on the whole the same as in Pāṇini's grammar. Not taking any account of the accent, Śākatāyana would naturally omit those of Pāṇini's Anubandhas which were intended merely to indicate the accent. Where any of these Anubandhas have nevertheless been retained, a different meaning has been assigned to them; thus the Anubandha इ, attached to a suffix, indicates that the noun formed by such suffix is feminine, and the Anubandha ए of a secondary suffix shows that the original base takes its masculine form. In these as in other respects Hémachandra has copied Śākatāyana.

I should have been glad to give together with these remarks a portion of the text of the *Sakāyana-sūtra* which I have been preparing for my own use; and to show more fully how Śākatāyana has borrowed from or imitated Chandra, and how Hémachandra again has copied Śākatāyana. But I abstain from doing so, because I fear that all this would interest a very small number of scholars only, and because the works of the grammarians named must, after all, be published in their entirety, when better MSS. and sufficient funds are available. I cannot, however, refrain from adding a few words on the authorities named by Śākatāyana in the text of his Sūtras.

In my remarks on the *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa* (ante, Vol. X. p. 77), I have drawn attention to the fact that the compiler of that work has invariably omitted the names of the grammatical authorities mentioned by Pāṇini, the rule for which an authority is quoted by Pāṇini being simply made optional in the

* Śākatāyana's Pratyāhāra-Sūtras are:—

अ इ उ ऋ ॥ १ ॥ ऋ ॥ २ ॥ ए ओ ऋ ॥ ३ ॥ ऐ औ ऋ ॥ ४ ॥
 इ य व र लृ ॥ ५ ॥ अ न ङ ञ नृ ॥ ६ ॥ ज ष ग ङ
 दृ ॥ ७ ॥ झ ष ङ ङ ॥ ८ ॥ क ङ ङ ॥ ९ ॥
 च ट नृ ॥ १० ॥ क पृ ॥ ११ ॥ ङ ष ल अ ङ
 उ ष ॥ १२ ॥ इ ॥ १३ ॥

Those of the earlier redaction of the *Jainendra* are Pāṇini's, while those of the later redaction are as follows:—

अ इ उ ऋ ॥ १ ॥ ऋ ॥ २ ॥ ऐ औ ऋ ॥ ३ ॥ ऐ औ ऋ ॥ ४ ॥
 इ य व र लृ ॥ ५ ॥ अ न ङ ञ नृ ॥ ६ ॥ झ ष ॥ ७ ॥
 च ङ ङ ॥ ८ ॥ क ङ ङ दृ ॥ ९ ॥ क ङ ङ ॥ १० ॥
 च ट नृ ॥ ११ ॥ क पृ ॥ १२ ॥ ङ ष ल अ ङ
 उ ष ॥ १३ ॥ इ ॥ १४ ॥

Jainendra; and that, on the other hand, the compiler has mentioned authorities of his own only in such rules as are optional in Pāṇini's grammar. I suggested, at the time, that the names so put in were simply added *prāthama*, and were of no value for the history of grammar. Now exactly the same practice, which has been followed in the *Jainendra*, has been observed also in the grammar of Śākatāyana. Śākatāyana too makes rules, for which Pāṇini happens to quote an authority, optional, by substituting the particle च for the name given by Pāṇini; and he too quotes authorities only in such rules as are optional with Pāṇini. It is in this manner, that, e.g., Pāṇini's rules III. 4, III and 112, लृः साकृदावनस्वैव द्विषच, in the grammar of our Śākatāyana have received the wording आदिषा सेयुस्वा,—a rule which teaches exactly what Pāṇini intended to teach, and does not teach what the ancient Śākatāyana, who is referred to by Pāṇini, is supposed to have taught. On the other hand, the three names,³ which happen to occur in Śākatāyana's grammar, Āryavajra, Indra, and Siddhanandin, have simply taken the place of the words वा, or विभाषा, or अन्वयारस्वात्, of the corresponding rules of Pāṇini's. Thus Śākatāyana's rule II, 1, 229 रोषास्तिद्वन्द्विनः teaches the same as P. V. 4, 154 रोषादिभाषा, the rule I. 2, 37 जरावा इति न्स्वाचि the same as P. VII. 2, 101 जरावा जरसन्वयारस्वात्, and the rules I. 2, 13 and 14 ततः प्रागात्तदस्व अङ्गेः सन्तः teach the same as P. VII. 1, 71 वा नृपुंसकस्व and Vart. 5 on P. VII. 1, 72 अन्वयात्पूर्व नृपुंसके. Śākatāyana in these cases has taken the substance of his rules from Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. What he intends to convey is, not that जरा before certain terminations is changed to जरन् according to the

Hémachandra has no Pratyāhāra-Sūtras, but employs, instead of Pratyāhāras, the terms *stara*, *nānni*, *samāna*, *sauśāntya*, *vyājanā*, *dhū* (for Pāṇini's ङ्ग), *aghāṣa*, *ghāṣavat*, *antahāṣa*, and *śi* (for Śākatāyana's शि). Malayagiri, again, uses Hémachandra's terms, but in that portion of his grammar, which has hitherto become accessible, he also employs Śākatāyana's Pratyāhāras अन्, इक, एह, एत् and यत् (for *y*, *v*, *r*, *l*).

³ In addition to the above, Śākatāyana twice refers to the opinions of others by the expression *anyāśāna*, and twice by *ekāśāna*. It seems to me very probable, that at any rate in one of these cases the scholar referred to is Chandra. While according to Pāṇini, a reduplicated form cannot be reduplicated again, Chandra by his rule पुनः does allow a second reduplication, and this view is alluded to by Śākatāyana in his rule द्विकेषात्. Hémachandra, copying from Śākatāyana, has पुनरेकेषात्.

teaching of Indra only; that certain compounds, according to Siddhanandin only, take a particular suffix, while according to other grammarians they do not do so; and that, according to Āryavajra only, वरुन् forms वरुन्ति and वरन् वरन्ति,—but that वरन् is optionally changed to वरन्, that certain compounds optionally take the suffix spoken of, and that वरुन् optionally forms वरुन्ति or वरुन्ति, and वरन् optionally वरन्ति or वरन्ति. The names employed by him are given solely pūjārtham, and they by no means prove that Śikāṭāyana, in these particular instances, knew anything whatever of the teachings of the scholars whom he mentions. One cannot help feeling some little curiosity

to know when this practice of quoting names merely honoris causis, which we find observed in Śikāṭāyana's grammar and in the Jainendra, was first started by Indian authors. I suspect that it is not a very modern invention.

I suspect too (if I may venture to say here, what I cannot yet prove with certainty), that, as was the case with the Jainendra, the real name of the author of the grammar, about which I am writing, is very different from what it is supposed to be, and I trust that my Indian friends will succeed in procuring the MSS. which are necessary to settle this as well as other questions concerning the so-called Śikāṭāyana-çyārikarāṇa.

The Maurya-passage in the Mahābhāshya (P. V, 3. 99).

By

F. Kielhorn.

Apaṇya ity uchyatē, tatrēdam na sidhyati, Śivaḥ Skandaḥ Viśākha iti. kiṃ kāraṇam? Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhir archāḥ prakalpitāḥ. Bhavēt tāsu na syāt; yās tv êtāḥ samprati pūjārthās tāsu bhaviṣyati.

It is with some reluctance, that I once more draw attention to this passage of the Mahābhāshya, which has been fully discussed by other scholars, in India and in Europe. My reason for doing so nevertheless is, not to put an interpretation of my own in the place of those which have already been given, but rather, to state the doubts of which I cannot quite free myself, and to give others an opportunity of removing my difficulties. In my opinion, an interpretation of a difficult passage will generally be accepted as satisfactory only, when it accords with the usage of the author in other passages, about the meaning of which there is no doubt; when to the words or phrases, which the passage contains, it assigns exactly those meanings which those words or phrases usually have elsewhere. If I have rightly apprehended the arguments advanced by others, there are in the passage under discussion mainly four expressions, about which there has been a difference of opinion, the word *maurya*, the verb *prakalpayati*, the phrase *yās tv êtāḥ*, and the word *samprati*. Of these, the word *maurya* occurs nowhere else in the Mahābhāshya. The others do occur, frequently; their meaning in other passages is not at all doubtful; and the same meaning, which they have elsewhere, they should be shown to have in the present passage, when we are asked

to accept an interpretation of it as the only possible and right interpretation.

1. I begin with the phrase *yās tv êtāḥ*. In the word *êtāḥ* Patañjali is made by the interpreters to refer to images mentioned in the previous part of the discussion, 'these before-mentioned images'. I doubt that this interpretation accords with the ordinary usage of Patañjali, and am certain that it does not give us the only possible, nor even the most probable sense of the original. The phrase *ya êshaḥ, yad êtad, ya êtê, yāny êtāni, yê tv êtê, yāni tv êtāni* is of most frequent occurrence in the Mahābhāshya, and (excepting, so far as my observation goes, a single passage) nowhere are we referred by the pronoun *êtad* in it to something which has been mentioned before by Patañjali. Judging from a large collection of passages, *êtad* here draws the attention of the reader to something which independently of the discussion, that happens to be going on, has come or may come under his observation; it reminds him of, and directs his attention to, something which is or may be considered to be well known to him. The word *êtad* in this connection I find it difficult to translate into English, but I may be able to show its force by a few examples taken from the Mahābhāshya. In vol. I, p. 278, l. 1 and elsewhere we read *ya êsha manushyaḥ prêkshâpûrvakârî bhavati sa . . .* 'the man who acts with foresight . . .'; p. 333, l. 15 *ya êsha manushyô duḥkḥartô bhavati sô . . .* 'the man who is distressed with pain . . .'. Here *êsha* does not point to a man mentioned before nor to any one particular man, but reminds the reader that he probably has seen or may see such a man as is spoken of, or that the fact stated is one that has come or may come within his cognizance. In *ya êtê sîlpinô nâma tê . . .* (vol. II, p. 36, l. 4), *yê tv êtê rājakarmiṇô manushyâs tê-shâm . . .* (vol. I, p. 333, l. 8), *yê tv êtê vaiyākaranêbhyô 'nyê manushyâḥ kathanî tê . . .* (vol. I, p. 95, l. 14), *yê 'py êtê rathakârâḥ . . . tê 'pi* (vol. II, p. 197, l. 7) the word *êtê* does not point to any before-mentioned artists, workmen, non-grammarians, or chariot-makers, but simply directs us to observe such persons and their doings in ordinary life. And the same is the case in numerous other passages. If

I were asked to explain this meaning of *êtad* in Sanskrit, I should say, that the word is used *prasiddhau*. And in accordance with this ordinary and most common usage of the Mahābhāshya I have always thought, that *yās tv êtāḥ* in the passage under discussion would naturally be taken to mean, 'but the (images)—images well known to you, or images which you may see if you look about—which', or, in Sanskrit, *yās tu lôkê prasiddhāḥ*.

2. *Samprati* means 'now', but I doubt if anywhere in the Mahābhāshya it has the meaning 'now' in the specific sense of 'now-days' or 'at the present day', and as opposed to 'in former days' or 'in past times'. The word which has this meaning in the Mahābhāshya is *adyatvê*, opposed to *purâkalpê*. The 'now' denoted by *samprati* is now as opposed to 'before' or 'afterwards', present as opposed to 'past' and 'future'. Pāṇini in I, 3, 72 says *abhiprāya*, and not simply *āya*, in order to show that the *Ātmanêpada* is used, not only when the fruit of an action accrues to the agent now, but also when it has accrued or will accrue to him (vol. I, p. 292, l. 25; similarly p. 330, l. 13). The possessive suffix *mat*, it may be argued, is added when somebody has a thing (*sampratisattâyām*), but not when he has had it or will have it (*bhâtabhavishyatsattâyām*. Vol. II, p. 391, l. 8). The Karmapravachanīyas do not express the action of a verb employed now, i. e. they express the action a verb which was there before but has now been omitted (vol. I, p. 346, l. 17). The person addressed 'ask me!' does not ask now, while he is being addressed so, but will ask after having been addressed so (vol. II, p. 33, l. 10). *Nivāsa* we call the place where people live now, *abhijana* that place where others, their ancestors, have lived before (vol. II, p. 314, l. 7). That first pigeon, from which all other pigeons are descended, does not live now, but has lived before (vol. II, p. 325, l. 17). From a comparison of such and similar passages I have hitherto translated *samprati pūjārthāḥ* by images 'used for worship now' (but not used so before), and have understood Patañjali to say that 'in the case of (images) — images well known to you — which are used for worship now (but were not so used before, the suffix *kan*) will be

(dropped)'. *Samprati pūjārthāḥ* to my mind certainly suggests the idea, that the images referred to, before they were *pūjārtha*, were not *pūjārtha*, were not used for worship. The shorter name belongs to the image now, when the image is used for worship; the longer name denoted the same image before, before the image was used for worship, when the image still was an article of sale, which now it has ceased to be. To mark the close connection of the words *samprati* and *pūjārthāḥ* I have in my edition printed the two words as a compound, which may seem unnecessary, but in support of which I might quote *sampratisattā* in vol. II, p. 391, l. 8, which undoubtedly is a compound, and *sampratipadānta* in vol. I, p. 151, l. 16.

3. *Prakalpitāḥ* is a difficult word, and for that very reason I would urge the necessity of assigning to it exactly that meaning which the causal form *prakalpayati* has elsewhere in the Mahābhāshya. *Prakalpayati* is most frequently employed in passages like the following: vol. I, p. 86, l. 22 *divādibhya uty ēshā pañchamī śab iti prathamāyāḥ shashṭhīṃ prakalpayishyati tasmād ity uttarasya* (P. I, 1, 67) *iti*, p. 170, l. 21 *halīty ēshā saptamy an iti prathamāyāḥ shashṭhīṃ prakalpayishyati tasmīn iti nirdiśṭē pūrvasya* (P. I, 1, 66) *iti*, by P. I, 1, 67 the Abl. *divādibhyaḥ* will make of the Nom. case *śap* a Gen. case, by P. I, 1, 66 the Loc. *halī* will make of the Nom. case *an* a Gen. case. Here *prakalpayishyati* is clearly equivalent to *nirvartayishyati*. The Gen. case *prathamāyāḥ*, with which it is construed, is similar to the Gen., which we have in *na mṛidūnām iva kārpaśūnām kṛitāḥ, asya sūtrasya śāṭakam vaya, taṇḍulānām ōdanam pachati* (i. e. *taṇḍulavikāram ōdanam nirvartayati*) etc., and the only meaning, which I accordingly can assign to *prakalpayati* is ,to fashion' or ,make' one thing out of another, ,to produce' a thing which did not exist before out of something else, ,to transform' one thing into another. At any rate, it will be admitted, that by the operation of the Paribhāshās P. I, 1, 66 and 67 the Gen. case will be *prakalpitā* out of the Nom. case, and that it would be impossible to translate this *prakalpitā* by ,introduced' or ,used' or any verb of similar import. — The verb *prakalpayati* we meet again in a verse and in Patañjali's explanation of that verse in

vol. I, p. 16, lines 10—13. Neither in the ordinary language nor in the language of the Vēda does there exist a long vowel or a pluta vowel, that is *saṃvṛita*. *Sihānī prakalpayēd ētāv anusvārō yathā yaṇam* ,the original (*saṃvṛita* short vowel) would produce these (*saṃvṛita* long or pluta vowels), just as an (original) Anusvāra (produces) the (nasal) semivowels', i. e. makes the semivowel substituted for it a nasal semivowel. Here again I cannot better express in Sanskrit the meaning of *prakalpayēt* than by *nirvartayēt*, and I should here also consider it impossible to translate the word by such expressions as ,to introduce' or ,to employ as a means for an end'. Nor would such a translation do for the Gerund *prakalpya* in the often quoted Paribhāshā *prakalpya vāpavādavishayam tata utsargō 'bhinivīsatē* ,after forming (or establishing) the sphere of the Apavāda, the general rule takes effect'. — Aware then of how *prakalpayati* is used elsewhere in the Mahābhāshya, I have hitherto translated *archāḥ prakalpitāḥ* by ,the images have been fashioned' or ,formed' or ,brought into existence' or ,produced' (out of some material or other), and have understood Patañjali to speak of the manual or mechanical fabrication of images, such as would be carried on by artizans in the course of their profession or trade.

With the fact, that the word *maurya*, taken in the only known sense of the word, would not suit such a translation, I have nothing to do here; for the word *maurya* occurs nowhere else, and my sole object in writing these lines is to show, in what respect the interpretations proposed do not seem to me to agree with the general usage of the Mahābhāshya. I shall be glad to be corrected by others, and would only wish to add here, that the word *maurya*, whatever be the meaning of it, and the whole passage in my opinion is of very slight importance for ascertaining the date of the Mahābhāshya.

Scheinbare Citate von Autoritäten in grammatischen Werken.

Ich darf als bekannt voraussetzen, dass die Erwähnung einer Autorität in einem grammatischen Sūtra in gewissen Fällen die Wirkung hat, die Befolgung des in der Regel Gelehrten dem Belieben anheim zu stellen. Wenn Pāṇini I, 1, 16 *sambuddhau Çākalyasyetāv anārśhe* lehrt, dass das auslautende *o* eines Vocativs Singularis nach Çākalya *pragrhya* sei, so folgt daraus, dass andere Gelehrte jene Meinung nicht teilten, und das praktische Resultat ist, dass wir sowohl *bhāno iti* wie *bhānav iti* sagen dürfen. Spätere Grammatiker konnten darum für den Eigennamen Çākalyasya der Pāṇineischen Regel entweder, wie Çākaṭāyana und Devanandin gethan haben, einfach *vā* »nach Belieben«, oder, was Hemacandra vorzieht, *na vā* »oder auch nicht« substituieren, ohne dadurch den Sinn der Regel zu verändern. Der Gebrauch von *vā*, *na vā* oder ähnlicher Ausdrücke und die Erwähnung einer Autorität wurden gleichbedeutend, und da es einfacher ist, *vā* oder *na vā* zu sagen, konnte die Nennung eines Namens nur dem Wunsche entspringen, irgend einem berühmten Manne der Vergangenheit Ehre erweisen zu wollen. Dass es hierbei gleichgültig war, ob der Erwähnte wirklich gelehrt hatte, was ihm zugeschrieben wurde, und ob er überhaupt ein Grammatiker war, und dass wir deshalb aus solchen (scheinbaren) Citaten nicht ohne weiteres Schlüsse für die Geschichte der Grammatik ziehen dürfen, lässt sich mit Sicherheit erweisen, und es scheint mir der Mühe wert, die Aufmerksamkeit meiner Fachgenossen auf diesen Gegenstand zu lenken.

Die unter dem Namen des Çākaṭāyana bekannte Grammatik beruht auf den Grammatiken Pāṇini's und Candra's, und den Werken ihrer Erklärer. Stimmt eine Regel Çākaṭāyana's dem Inhalte nach mit einer Regel Pāṇini's überein, so hat Çākaṭāyana von Pāṇini geborgt, mag der Wortlaut seiner Regel sein welcher er will. In V, 4, 154 *çeshād vibhāshā* lehrt Pāṇini, dass gewisse Bahuvrīhi-Composita das Suffix *kap* anfügen dürfen, und wir bilden demgemäss sowohl *bahumālaka* wie *bahumāla*. Çākaṭāyana giebt jener Regel, in II, 1, 229, die Fassung *çeshāt Siddhanandinah*, was wörtlich übersetzt bedeuten würde, dass die erwähnten Composita das Suffix *kap* nur nach der Ansicht des Siddhanandin, nach Anderen aber nicht anfügen. In VII, 2, 101 *jarāyā jaras anyatarasyām* lehrt Pāṇini, dass in schwachen Formen vor vocalischen Endungen für *jarā* beliebig *jaras* substituiert werden darf. Nach Çākaṭāyana I, 2, 37 *jarāyā nas Indrasyāci* soll *jaras* nach der Ansicht Indra's substituiert werden, nach Anderen nicht. In ähnlicher Weise nennt Çākaṭāyana Āryavajra in I, 2, 13 *tataḥ prāg Āryavajrasya*.

Für uns haben die drei erwähnten Namen nur den Wert, dass sie die Regeln, in denen sie erscheinen, facultativ machen. Sie beweisen aber nicht, dass Çākaṭāyana von den Grammatikern Āryavajra, Indra und Siddhanandin oder ihren Werken irgend welche Kunde hatte, und es würde ein Fehler sein, sie auf seine Autorität hin in einer Geschichte der Grammatik auch nur zu nennen.

Was für das Verhältnis der Grammatik des Çākaṭāyana zu der des Pāṇini gilt, gilt in noch stärkerem Masse für das Verhältnis des Jainendra zur Aṣṭādhyāyī. Devanandin, sein Verfasser, hat Pāṇini einfach copiert; und wenn er für die Worte *vā* oder *vibhāshā* oder *anyatarasyām* der Regeln P. II, 3, 25; III, 1, 113; 120; V, 1, 86; VI, 3, 72; VII, 1, 7 und VIII, 4, 62 die Namen Çridatta, Yaçobhadra, Bhūtibali, Prabhācandra, Siddhasena und Samantabhadra einsetzt, so thut er nichts anderes als was Çākaṭāyana mit Āryavajra, Indra und Siddhanandin gethan hat.

Haben Çākaṭāyana und Devanandin ihre Leser betrügen, sich selbst den Schein der Gelehrsamkeit geben wollen? Sicherlich nicht. Nach indischer Auffassung ist, was sie lehren, richtig, und die ehrende Erwähnung gewisser Celebritäten harmlos, wenn nicht verdienstvoll. Waren sie aber die Erfinder der von ihnen befolgten Methode, und lässt sich, was für die Grammatik sicher ist, auch für andere Çāstras nachweisen? Das erstere bezweifle ich; letzteres zu entscheiden überlasse ich den Kennern. Auf jeden Fall sind die in der angegebenen Weise citierten Namen überall mit Vorsicht zu behandeln, und liefert die hier angeregte Frage ein neues Element der Ungewissheit und des Zweifels bei historischen Untersuchungen.

Franz Kielhorn.

A brief account of Hēmachandras Sanskrit Grammar.

By

F. Kielhorn.

In my opinion, the history of Indian Grammar, so far as it is likely to interest European scholars generally, closes with the works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali. Excepting perhaps Bharṭṛihari, later grammarians have added little of importance to what those great scholars had achieved before them. Far from attempting to build up systems of their own by an examination of the facts of the language, as observable in the works of Sanskrit literature, they unhesitatingly have accepted the teachings of their predecessors, even where the usage of their own time had ceased to observe them. Their aim was, not, to adapt the rules of those that went before them to the changed conditions of the language, but mainly, each after his own fashion to rearrange those rules, and to alter their wording and terminology. Nevertheless, for the student of grammar their works, based as they are on Pāṇini, and showing what meaning his rules were understood to convey, are not without importance; nor could those who would expound the ground-work of the Hindū science of grammar, neglect them altogether with impunity.

Unfortunately, few of the later grammars are as yet accessible in printed editions; and of some of the most valuable, such as those of Chandra and Śākaṭyāyana, even MSS. are exceedingly rare. The case stands somewhat better with the grammar of Hēmachandra,

of which, at the suggestion of the Editors of this Journal, I have compiled the following brief account from MSS. in my possession.

The *Siddha-Hēmachandrābhīdhāna-svōpajñā-Śabdānuśāsana* contains eight Adhyāyas of which the last, with which we have no concern here, treats of the Prākṛit dialects and has been edited both in Europe and in India. The Sanskrit language is treated of in the first seven Adhyāyas, each of which is subdivided into four Pādas, with a total of 3563 Sūtras. In them the arrangement of the matter is as follows:

- Adhy. I., Pāda 1; 42 Sūtras: *Sanjñā*-rules. (Some MSS. give, as part of the commentary, the whole of the *Lingānuśāsana* after Sūtra 29).
 Pāda 2; 41 Sūtras: *Samdhi* of vowels.
 Pāda 3; 65 Sūtras: *Samdhi* of consonants.
 Pāda 4; 93 Sūtras: Declension.
- Adhy. II., Pāda 1; 118 Sūtras: Declension continued, intermixed with rules of internal *Samdhi*.
 Pāda 2; 124 Sūtras: Syntax of the cases (*Kāraka-prakaraṇa*).
 Pāda 3; 105 Sūtras: Changes of *Visarga* or *r* before *k*, *kh*, *p*, *ph* to *s* or *sh*; substitution of *sh* for *s*, of *ṛ* for *n*, of *l* for *r*, and of *v* for *p*. [= P. VIII, 3, 39 etc. and VIII, 4, 1 etc.].
 Pāda 4; 113 Sūtras: Formation of feminine bases (*Strī-pratyaya-prakaraṇa*). Changes of finals of bases before feminine and *Taddhita*-suffixes, in the formation of masculine and neuter bases, and in compounds before an *uttarapada*.
- Adhy. III., Pāda 1; 163 Sūtras: *Upasargas*, *Gatis*, Compounds (*Samāsa-prakaraṇa*), and *Ēkaśēsha*.
 Pāda 2; 155 Sūtras: Terminations retained in compounds etc.; *Puṁvadbhāva*; substitutions in compounds and before *Taddhita*-suffixes etc.
 Pāda 3; 108 Sūtras: Explanation of certain technical terms used in conjugation (*Vṛiddhi*, *Guṇa*, *Dhātu*, *dā*, *Vartamāna* etc.); employment of the *Ātmanēpadu* and *Parasmaipada*.

- Pâda 4; 94 Sûtras: Derivative verbal suffixes; *Vikaraṇas*.
 Adhy. iv., Pâda 1; 121 Sûtras: Rules of reduplication; Samprasâraṇa and other changes in roots; change of final *ch* and *j* to *k* and *g*.
 Pâda 2; 123 Sûtras: Changes of roots before causal and other suffixes, and changes of suffixes and terminations after roots. (Past Pass. Pple in *ta* and *na*).
 Pâda 3; 115 Sûtras: Substitution of Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, and other changes in verbal bases.
 Pâda 4; 122 Sûtras: Substitutions for roots; the augment, intermediate *i*, insertion of a nasal etc.
 Adhy. v., Pâda 1; 174 Sûtras: *Kṛit*-suffixes, beginning with the *kṛitya*.
 Pâda 2; 93 Sûtras: *Kṛit*-suffixes continued; use of the Past and Present tenses. (The last Sûtra is *uṇādayaḥ*, and after it all the Uṇādi-sûtras, to the number of 1001, are given as part of the commentary).
 Pâda 3; 141 Sûtras: *Kṛit*-suffixes continued; use of the Future and other tenses.
 Pâda 4; 90 Sûtras: *Kṛit*-Suffixes continued; use of the Gerunds and the Infinitive.
 Adhy. vi., Pâda 1; 143 Sûtras: *Taddhita*-suffixes; (explanation of the technical terms *Vṛiddha* and *Yuvan*; *du = vṛiddha*; *dri = tadrâja*).
 Pâda 2; 144 Sûtras: *Taddhita*-suffixes continued; (Sûtra 1, *râgâḥ ṭô raktê = P. iv, 2, 1*).
 Pâda 3; 219 Sûtras: *Taddhita*-suffixes continued; (Sûtra 1, *śêshê = P. iv, 2, 92*).
 Pâda 4; 185 Sûtras: *Taddhita*-suffixes continued; (Sûtra 1, *ikan*; 2, *têna jītajayaddīvyatkhanatsu = P. iv, 4, 1 and 2*).
 Adhy. vii., Pâda 1; 196 Sûtras: *Taddhita*-suffixes continued; (Sûtra 1, *yaḥ*; 2, *vahati rathayugaprâsaṅgât = P. iv, 4, 76*).
 Pâda 2; 172 Sûtras: *Taddhita*-suffixes continued; (Sûtra 1, *tad asyâsty asmīn itī matuḥ = P. v, 2, 94*).

Pâda 3; 182 Sûtras: *Taddhita*- and (69—182) *Samâsânta*-suffixes; (Sûtra 1, *prakṛitê mayat = P. v, 4, 21*; 69, *samâsântaḥ = P. v, 4, 68*).

Pâda 4; 122 Sûtras: Changes of bases before *Taddhita*-suffixes; doubling of words or bases, and *Pluti* (72—103); *Paribhâshâs* (104—122).

From this summary it will appear that, speaking generally, Hémachandra has treated his subject under the five heads of 1) Rules of euphony, 2) Declension (including the formation of feminine bases and compounds, and the syntax of the cases), 3) Conjugation, 4) Primary Suffixes (including the syntax of tenses, moods etc.), and 5) Secondary Suffixes. From the learner's point of view such an arrangement must have been a decided improvement on that adopted by Śākaṭāyana, not to mention Chandra and Pāṇini, and must have gone far to secure for Hémachandra's work the title of a practical grammar. — Like Chandra and Śākaṭāyana, Hémachandra has omitted all rules concerning the Vêdic idiom, and similarly, he nowhere has alluded to the accent. For the rest, he has collected in his work, in the fullest possible manner, the rules contained in the grammars of his predecessors, and sometimes even added to them.

The practical character of Hémachandra's grammar is shown also by the manner in which he chooses his technical terms. On the whole, he may be said to be averse to the employment of artificial symbols, and to give the preference to *anvartha samjñâs*, i. e. such terms as are employed in accordance with the etymological meaning which they happen to convey. Unlike Pāṇini, Chandra, and Śākaṭāyana, he has no Pratyâhâra-sûtras, and he therefore, instead of using Pratyâhâras, such as *ach*, *ich*, *ak*, *êch*, *hal* etc., employs the easily understood terms *svara*, *nâmin*, *samâna*, *samdhyaḥshara*, *vyañjana*, *aghôsha*, *ghôshavat*, and *antaḥsthâ*. All these are explained in the first chapter of his work, in which he also defines the terms *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, *pluta*, *anusvâra*, *visarga*, *dhuḥ* (denoting all the consonants except nasals and semivowels), *varga*, *śiṭ* (a collective term for the *anusvâra*, *visarga*, *jihvîmâlîya*, *upadhmânîya*, and the three sibilants

ś, sh, and s), *sva* (= *savarṇa*), *prathamā* etc., *vibhakti*, *pada*, *vākya*, *nāman* (= *prātipadika*), *ghuṭ* (= *sarvanāmashāna*), *avyaya*, *it*, *pratyaya*, and tells us that certain words such as *bahu*, *gaṇa* etc. are treated *saṁkhyāvat*, i. e. like numerals. In the second chapter of Adhy. III. he moreover explains the terms *vṛiddhi*, *guṇa*, *dhātu*, *dā* (denoting the roots *dā*, *dhā* and others which by Pāṇini are termed *ghu*), and the ten terms *varṭamānā* (Pres.), *parōkshā* (Perf.), *śvatanī* (Periph. Fut.), *bhaviṣyantī* (Simple Fut.), *pañchamī* (Imp.), *hyastanī* (Imperf.), *saptamī* (Pot.), *adyatanī* (Aor.), *kriyātipatti* (Condit.), and *āsish* (Bened.), most of which at once suggest the principal meanings of the tenses and moods of which they denote the terminations. Besides, in Adhy. VI., Pāda 1, he has occasion to define the terms *yuvan* and *vṛiddha*, *du* (= Pāṇini's *vṛiddha*), and *dri* (= *tadrāja*). In addition to all these he employs a large number of other well-known and generally used terms, such as *saṁyōga*, *kartṛi*, *karman* etc., *parasmaipada*, *ātmanēpada*, *samāsa*, *dvandva*, *tatpurusha* etc., *krīṭ*, *krīṭya*; *taddhita*, *upasarga*, *gati*, *lōpa* and others, some of which needed no special definition, because, by the rule 3 'lōkāt' of Hēmachandra's work, terms generally used in ordinary life or by grammarians were to have in his grammar the same meaning which they convey elsewhere.

By far the greater number of the above-mentioned terms have been taken from the *Kātantra*, while for a few only, such as *sva* and *du*, Hēmachandra is indebted to Śākaṭāyana. Like Śākaṭāyana, Hēmachandra avoids terms such as *upadhā*, *ṭi*, *pragrihya*, *samprasāraṇa*, *sarvanāman* and *nipāta* (for which he always has *sarvādi* and *chādi*), *karmapravachanīya*, *sambuddhi*, *abhyāsa* and *abhyasta*, *aṅga* and *bha*, and *asiddha*; and like him, he e. g. uses *anāpya* and *sāpya* for *akar-maka* and *sukarmaka*, *nāmnī* instead of *saṁjñāyām*, and employs, in such rules as *ṅasō 'patyē*, *rāgāt ṭō raktē*, *amō 'dhikṛitya granthē* the technical case-terminations instead of the terms *shashṭhī* or *shashṭhyanta*, *trīṭhyā* or *trīṭhyānta* etc.

As regards the employment of Anubandhas, Hēmachandra may in general be said to have followed Pāṇini, though, here too, he has tried to simplify matters. Not taking any account of the accent,

he would naturally omit those Anubandhas which were meant merely to indicate the accent of words. Occasionally, when such Anubandhas have nevertheless been made use of, a different meaning has been assigned to them. Thus Hēmachandra follows Śākaṭāyana in attaching to suffixes the Anubandha *l*, to show that the nouns formed by such suffixes are feminine; (*khalādībhyō lin*, *khalinā*). And similarly, by attaching to a secondary suffix the Anubandha *p*, he indicates that before such suffix the original base takes its masculine form; (*avyajāt thyap*, *ajābhyō hitā ajathyā*). But differing from both Pāṇini and Śākaṭāyana, he e. g. omits the three Anubandhas *t*, *k*, and *m*, which in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* and the *Śākaṭāyana-vyākaraṇa* are attached to augments, to indicate where those augments are to be added, just as he differs from them in employing the full suffixes *īna*, *ikā*, *āyana* etc. instead of the artificial symbols *kha*, *ṭha*, *pha* etc. On the other hand, while Śākaṭāyana, like the author of the *Kātantra*, seriatim enumerates all the *aniṭ* roots, Hēmachandra introduces the new Anubandha Anusvāra, and thus gives to Pāṇini's rule VII., 2, 12 *ēkācha upadēsē 'nudāttāt* the wording *ēkasvarād anusvārētaḥ*, meaning, that the intermediate *i* is not used after monosyllabic roots having Anusvāra for their Anubandha (e. g. *pām pātum*). In these and similar innovations which it would be tedious to enumerate, there is much that would recommend itself to a beginner and contribute to make Hēmachandra's grammar a popular handbook.

In the technical structure of his rules also Hēmachandra follows the principles laid down by Pāṇini, and the Paribhāshās collected at the end of his work are therefore exactly those which we meet with in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* and the *Mahābhāshya*, although their wording proves them to have been taken more immediately from the grammar of Śākaṭāyana. To any one familiar with Pāṇini's system, the explanation of Hēmachandra's rules would offer little difficulty, even were they not accompanied by a full and lucid commentary.

Hēmachandra neither in the text of his Sūtras nor, so far as I have observed, in the commentary appended to them, anywhere quotes other grammarians by name, and in the Sūtras he only once

introduces the opinion of others by the vague term *Ēkēshām*. But notwithstanding his silence regarding his predecessors, there can in my opinion be no doubt that the grammarian, to whom he was indebted more than to any other, is Śākaṭāyana. In fact, making allowance for a somewhat different arrangement of the matter, for the adoption of many technical terms of the *Kātantra* grammar, and for some discrepancies or innovations in the use of Anubandhas, Hēmachandra's work can hardly be called anything but an amended version of Śākaṭāyana's work. To show this in detail, it would be necessary to do here, what I have done for my own use, *i. e.* to put side by side corresponding portions of both grammars. As this is impossible, I can only say that a large number of rules is literally the same in both works, and that many other rules of Śākaṭāyana's have been altered so slightly by Hēmachandra as clearly to indicate the source from which he had taken them. It is hardly necessary to add that, for these reasons, Hēmachandra's work would render very valuable services in an edition of the *Śākaṭāyana-vyākaraṇa*, which, with the help thus afforded, it would indeed be possible to prepare even from the very inferior MSS. that have hitherto been discovered.

Admitting that Hēmachandra's grammar is by no means an original work, I nevertheless venture to call it the best grammar of the Indian middle-ages. Its author has carefully brought together the materials contained in the works of his predecessors, and by a judicious arrangement of the matter and a sparing employment of artificial symbols he undoubtedly has facilitated the study of Sanskrit among his countrymen. May these lines induce their descendants to furnish us soon with an edition of it, such as it deserves!

Malayagiri's Saṁskṛit Grammatik.

Von

F. Kielhorn.

In der *Chandrikā* zu *Kātantra*¹⁾ IV, 3, 84 werden neben einander angeführt die drei Beispiele *sāstrakṛit*, *bhāshyakṛit*, *mushṭikṛit*, „der Verfasser des *Sāstra*, der Verfasser des *Bhāshya*, der Verfasser der *Mushṭi*“. Daß *mushṭi* hier, ebenso wie *sāstra* und *bhāshya*, ein litterarisches Werk bezeichnet, ist mehr als wahrscheinlich, und wird zur Gewißheit durch folgende Notiz eines in meinem Besitze befindlichen ungedruckten Handschriftenverzeichnisses: *mushṭir vyākaraṇam Malayagirikṛitam*, „die *Mushṭi*, eine von Malayagiri verfaßte Grammatik“. Im Jahre 1881 habe ich ein unvollständiges auf 282 Palmenblättern geschriebenes Exemplar dieser Grammatik für die Regierung von Bombay erworben, das in der Bibliothek des Deccan College deponiert ist. Vorher war dies Werk Malayagiris gänzlich unbekannt, und auch seit jener Zeit scheint es den Bemühungen meiner früheren Collegen nicht gelungen zu sein, eine zweite Handschrift desselben in irgend einer der von ihnen sonst mit so großem Erfolge durchsuchten einheimischen Bibliotheken zu entdecken. Nachdem ich Malayagiris Grammatik sorgfältiger geprüft habe, muß ich gestehen, daß mich die Seltenheit der Handschriften nicht Wunder nimmt. Ich wundere mich vielmehr darüber, daß Malayagiri es überhaupt für nothwendig erachtet hat kurz nach Hēmachandra sein eigenes Handbuch der Saṁskṛit Sprache zu verfassen, und finde es begreiflich genug, daß man die bei weitem bessere und vollständigere Grammatik seines Vorgängers der seinigen vorgezogen und letztere nur selten abgeschrieben hat. Und ich hoffe durch die Mittheilung eines kurzen Abschnittes zu zeigen, daß, was auch immer der Werth anderer Werke Malayagiris sein möge, aus der Veröffentlichung seiner Grammatik der Wissenschaft schwerlich ein Vortheil erwachsen dürfte. Als Einleitung gestatte ich mir folgende Bemerkungen.

Nach der oben erwähnten unvollständigen Handschrift zu urtheilen, hat Malayagiri den Stoff gerade wie Hēmachandra angeordnet; und ich glaube nicht fehl zu gehen, wenn ich annehme,

1) *Eggelings Ausgabe*, S. 551.

daß seine Grammatik fünf Capitel enthielt. Das erste Capitel handelt vom *saṁdhi*, das zweite vom Nomen (*nāman*), das dritte vom Verbum (*ākhyāta*), das vierte von den primären oder *kṛit* Suffixen, und das fünfte muß die secundären oder *taddhita* Suffixe behandelt haben. Die Handschrift enthält vollständig nur das zweite und dritte Capitel, und das fünfte fehlt in ihr ganz. Das erste Capitel bestand aus fünf Pādas, von denen die drei letzten (*tritiyaḥ*, *chaturthaḥ*, und *pañcamaḥ saṁdhiḥ*) in der Handschrift vollständig erhalten sind. Vom vierten Capitel sind nur die vier ersten Pādas (*kṛiti prathamāḥ — chaturthaḥ pādaḥ*) vorhanden.

Das zweite Capitel enthält neun Pādas (*nāmi prathamāḥ — navamaḥ pādaḥ*). Pāda 1—4 handeln von der Declination; Pāda 5 lehrt die Bildung der Femininstämme; Pādas 6 und 7 handeln vom Gebrauche der Casus; Pāda 8 giebt die Regeln für die Bildung der Composita; und Pāda 9 handelt vom *ēkasēṣu*, vom Geschlechte der Composita, von der Stellung der einzelnen Glieder der Composita, von den in Compositis erhaltenen Casusendungen, und vom *puṁvadbhāva*.

Das dritte Capitel besteht aus zehn Pādas (*ākhyātē prathamāḥ — daśamaḥ pādaḥ*). Pāda 1 enthält Definitionen und giebt besonders die Namen und Endungen der Tempora und Modi, und die für die so gelehrten Endungen eintretenden Substitute. Pāda 2 handelt vom Gebrauche des Parasmaipada und Ātmanēpada. Pāda 3 lehrt die Bildung der Denominativa und handelt von der Reduplication. Pāda 4 giebt weitere Reduplicationsregeln und handelt vom *saṁprasāraṇa* und andern Veränderungen der Verbalstämme. Pāda 5 lehrt die Substitution von *guṇa* und *vṛiddhi*, den Eintritt des Augments *nam*, die Verwandlung von *s* in *sh*, *n* in *ṇ*, und *r* in *l*, und den Gebrauch des Augments *aṭ* im Imperfectum u. s. w. Pāda 6 behandelt die von Verben abgeleiteten Verbalstämme, die als *ñit* und *kit* zu betrachtenden Suffixe, und gewisse vor Suffixen eintretende Veränderungen der Verbalstämme. Pāda 7 handelt vom Augmente *it*, dem sogenannten Bindevocale *i*. Pāda 8 lehrt die Substitution von *na* für *ta* im Ptc. Praet. Pass., die vor *kit* und *ñit* Suffixen eintretenden Veränderungen, die Substitution von Gutturalen für finale Palatale u. s. w.; Pāda 9 die Substitution von *ā* für finale Diphthonge, die Anfügung des Augments *p* im Causativum, andre Veränderungen in Causativstämmen, den Verlust eines wurzelhaften Nasals u. s. w.; und Pāda 10 handelt hauptsächlich von den *vikarāṇa* in Praesensstämmen, im Aorist, u. s. w.

Vergleicht man hiermit die Anordnung des Stoffes in Hē-

machandras Grammatik¹⁾, so findet man, daß sich genau entsprechen —

M. Capitel	I und H. Adhyāya I, 1—3;
„	II und H. I, 4—III, 2;
„	III und H. III, 3—IV, 4;
„	IV und H. V;
„	V und H. VI—VII.

Der Unterschied beider Grammatiken von der des Śākaṭāyana²⁾ besteht hier hauptsächlich darin, daß Śākaṭāyana die *taddhita* Suffixe, gerade so wie dies z. B. in der *Siddhānta-kaumudī* geschieht, zwischen Nomen und Verbum behandelt hat.

Prüft man die Regeln Malayagiris im Einzelnen, so ergibt sich, daß der Verfasser Eigenes in der That nicht geliefert hat. Was den Inhalt der Regeln betrifft, so war dies zu erwarten. Aber auch in der Form derselben, in der Wahl der technischen Ausdrücke u. s. w., ist er fast überall und in allen Einzelheiten Śākaṭāyana und Hēmachandra gefolgt; und es ist besonders auf die offenbare Willkühr aufmerksam zu machen, mit der Malayagiri theils von diesem theils von jenem geborgt hat. Dies im Einzelnen hier auszuführen würde von geringem Interesse sein; das beobachtete Verfahren wird zur Genüge aus dem von mir mitgetheilten Abschnitte, welcher die ersten 36 Declinationsregeln enthält, klar werden, in dem ich unter Malayagiris Commentare zu jeder Regel die entsprechenden Regeln aus den Grammatiken Śākaṭāyanas und Hēmachandras citiert habe.

In den Regeln citiert Malayagiri, so viel mir bekannt, keine Autoritäten. In seinem Commentare führt er die Ansichten anderer Grammatiker bisweilen mit *anyē*, *aparē*, *ēkē* u. s. w. ein, und erwähnt mit Namen Vyāḍi, Gālava, und Śrutapāla, alle drei im ersten Capitel. Unter den von ihm gegebenen Beispielen verdienen Erwähnung *anu Śākaṭāyanam vaiyākaraṇāḥ*, *itī Śākaṭāyanam* und *āchāryaḥ śrī Hēmachandraḥ*.

Da Malayagiri gerade derjenige unter den Jaina Commentatoren zu sein scheint, über dessen Zeit Genaueres bis jetzt nicht ermittelt ist, so darf ich vielleicht noch bemerken, daß er selbst durch das Beispiel *adākad arātin Kumārapālaḥ*, welches er zu der bekannten Regel *khyātē dṛiṣyē* giebt, sich als einen Zeitgenossen

1) Vgl. meinen Aufsatz in der *Wiener Z. f. d. Kunde des Morg.* II, 18—24.

2) Vgl. meinen Aufsatz im *Indian Antiquary* XVI, 24—28.

des Chaulukya Kumārapāla (circa A.D. 1143—1173) zu erkennen giebt¹⁾.

Malayagiri's Śabdānuśāsana II, 1, 10—45²⁾.

Pañchatô napô 'nêkatarasyānyādêḥ syamôḥ daś || 10 ||
pañchaparimāṇasya napuṃsakalingasyānyādêḥ sambandhinôḥ syamôḥ
daśādêśô bhavaty êkatarasābdam varjayitvā | anyat anyatarat
itarat katarat katamat | hê 'nyat hê 'nyatarat | pañchata iti kim |
nêmam tishṭhati nêmam paśya | napa iti kim | anyah purushah |
anyādêḥ sambandhinôḥ iti kim | priyānyam tishṭhati priyānyam
paśya | śakārah sarvādêśārthah | akāra uchchāraṇārthah ||

[Ś. (I, 2, 1. napô 'chô hrasvah;) 2. pañchatô 'nêkatarasyānyādêḥ
dak svamôḥ. H. I, 4, 58. pañchatô 'nyādêḥ anêkatarasya
dah.]

Atô 'm || 11 ||

akārāntasya napuṃsakalingasya sambandhinôḥ syamôḥ amādêśô
bhavati | kuṇḍam tishṭhati kuṇḍam paśya | m ity anuktvāmvidhānam
jarasartham | atijarasam kulam | ata êvāmvidhānāt samnipāta-
ribhāshā nōpatishṭhatê ||

[Ś. 4. atô 'm. H. 57. atah syamô 'm.]

Śluk || 12 ||

napuṃsakalingasya sambandhinôḥ syamôḥ ślug bhavati | dadhi
tishṭhati dadhi paśya | payas³⁾ tishṭhati payah paśya | śakārah
sarvādêśārthah śluchīti kāryārthas cha | tat kulam yat kulam ||

[Ś. 5. śluk. H. 59. anatô lup.]

Jarasô vâ || 13 ||

jarasantasya napuṃsakalingasya sambandhinôḥ syamôḥ ślug vâ
bhavati | atijarasam atijarah⁴⁾ kulam ||

[Ś. 6. jarasô vâ. H. 60.]

1) Khyâtê driśyê || bhūtānadyatanê prayôktur darsanayogyê lōkavijñâtê
'rthê vartamānād dhātôḥ parā byastanī bhavati | adahad arātin Kumārapālah ||

2) Die vorhergehenden Regeln 1—9 handeln noch vom *samāhi*. Die hier ge-
gebenen 36 Regeln entsprechen den Regeln I, 2, 1—35 Śakāṭāyanas und den Regeln
I, 4, 17—34 und 55—67 Hémachandras. Malayagiri folgt im Allgemeinen Śaka-
ṭāyana, borgt aber auch, wie der Leser selbst bemerken wird, von Hémachan-
dra. — Die hier folgenden Anmerkungen geben die von meinem Texte abweichenden
Lesarten der Handschrift.

3) pas.

4) atijara.

Ikô lugvat || 14 ||

igantasya napuṃsakalingasya sambandhinôḥ syamôḥ ślug lugvad
vâ¹⁾ bhavati | hê vâre hê vâri | hê kartah hê kartri | priyatisri
priyatri kulam | ika iti kim | tat kulam ||

[Ś. 7 ikô luk. H. 61. nâminô lug vâ.]

Pumvach chānyatash ṭāḍau svarê || 15 ||

igantam²⁾ śabdarūpam anyatô viśeshyavaśân³⁾ napuṃsakārthan
ṭāḍau svarê parê vâ pumvad bhavati | grāmanya grāmaninâ kulēna |
chitraguṇê chitragavê kulāya | karṭṭinâ karṭṭrâ kulēna | anyata iti
kim | pilunê phalāya | ṭādāv iti kim | grāmaninī kulê | svara iti
kim | grāmanibhyām | ika iti kim | kilālapēna kulēna | chakārô
vānukarshañārthas tēnōttaratra nānuvartatê ||

[Ś. 8. pumâmê chānyatô 'chy āpi. H. 62. vānyataḥ pumâmsh
ṭāḍau svarê.]

Asthisakthyakshidadhno⁴⁾ 'nan || 16 ||

asthyādīnām napuṃsakalingānām igantānām ṭāḍau svarê parê 'nan
antādêśô bhavati | asthnâ sakthnâ akshnâ dadhnâ | priyāsthnyâ⁵⁾
śunyâ | svara iti kim | asthibhyām | napuṃsakānām iti kim | dadhir⁶⁾
nāma kâśchid dhānâśīlô vâ tasmai dadhayê ||

[Ś. 9. dadhyasthisakthyakshnô 'nan. H. 63. dadhyasthisakthy-
akshnô 'ntasyān.]

Nam syāḍau || 17 ||

igantasya napuṃsakalingasya tatsambandhini svarāḍau syāḍau parê
nam bhavati | vāriṇi vāriṇām | syādāv⁷⁾ iti kim | taumburavañ
chūrnam | tatsambandhinīti kim | nirvāri kûpau | svara iti kim | hê
trapô | ika iti kim | kuṇḍê ||

[Ś. 10. nam supi. H. 64. anāmsvarê nô 'ntah.]

Svarâch chhau || 18 ||

svarântān napuṃsakalingād vihité śau parê nam bhavati | vanāni |
karṭṭriṇi kulāni | svarād iti kim | chatvāri ahāni ||

[Ś. 11. śāv achah. H. 65. svarâch chhau.]

Dhujām || 19 ||

svarât parâ yâ dhujâtis tadantasya napuṃsakasya śau parê 'ntyât
svarât parô nam bhavati | udaśvinti⁸⁾ payāñsi kâshṭhatañkshi ku-

1) lugva bhavati. 2) igantam. 3) viśeshyevaśân. 4) 'sakti°.
5) 'sthyâ. 6) davér. 7) syādiv. 8) udasvinti.

lāni | svarād iti kim | bahūrji kulāni | bahuvachanaṁ dhuḍjātipra-
tipattiyartham ||

[Ś. 12. jalām. H. 66. dhuṭāṁ prāk.]

Tataḥ prāg vā || 20 ||

dhuḍjātyantasya napuṁsakasya śau parē tatô¹⁾ dhuḍjātēḥ prāg vā
nam bhavati | bahūrñji²⁾ bahūrji³⁾ kulāni | suvalñgi suvalgi kulāni ||
[Ś. 13. Tataḥ prāg Āryavajrasya. H. 67. rīō vā.]

Avarṇād aśnaḥ śatur vā nīgyōḥ || 21 ||

śnavarjitād avarṇāt parasya śatṛipratyayasya nīgyōḥ parayōr vā
nam bhavati | tudantī tudatī strī | tudantī tudatī kulē | karishyantī
karishyatī strī kulē⁴⁾ vā | bhāntī bhātī strī kulē vā | avarṇād iti
kim | sunvatī strī sunvatī kulē | aśna⁵⁾ iti kim | krīpatī strī krī-
patī kulē | ata ēvavarṇāt paraḥ śatā bhūtapūrvatayā drasṭavyaḥ ||
[Ś. (14. ajjhēḥ śatuḥ; 15. na nam;) 16. nīgyōr vād aśnaḥ.

H. II, 1, 115. avarṇād aśnō 'ntō vātūr inyōḥ.]

Śapśyāt || 22 ||

śapaḥ śyāch cha parasya śatṛipratyayasya nīgyōḥ parayōr nam
bhavati | bhavantī strī bhavantī kulē | divyantī strī divyantī kulē |
nityārtham vachanam ||

[Ś. 17. śapśyāt. H. 116. śyaśavaḥ.]

Na dvyuktija kshapañchatô nam || 23 ||

dviruktā] jakshapañchataś cha parasya śatṛipratyayasya sarvô 'pi
nam na⁶⁾ bhavati | dadatī strī dadatī kulē | dadat dadatau | dadhat
jakshat jāgrat⁷⁾ śāsat chakāsat | namy anuvartamānē punar nam-
grahaṇaṁ nammātrapratishēdhārtham ||

[Ś. 15. na nam. H. (IV, 2, 93. dvyuktajakshapañchataḥ;)
94. antô nô luk.]

Śau vā || 24 ||

dvyuktēr jakshapañchataś cha parasya śatṛipratyayasya śau parē
nam bhavati vā | dadanti dadati kulāni | jakshati jakshanti⁸⁾ ku-
lāni ||

[Ś. 14. ajjhēḥ śatuḥ. H. 95. śau vā.]

Parasmai antô 't || 25 ||

dvyuktēr jakshapañchataś cha parasya parasmaipadavishayasyānt

1) tētō. 2) vahūñji. 3) om. 4) kugalē. 5) śna. 6) om.
7) jagrat. 8) kshakshanti.

ity étasya at ity ādēsô bhavati | dadati dadat jakshat jakshati
jakshatu ||

[Ś. I, 4, 89. dvyuktijakshapañchatô 't. H. 94. antô nô luk.]

Idutô 'strēr autô¹⁾ gigu || 26 ||

ikārād ukārāch cha parasyaukārasya yathāsamkhyam gīgvādēsau²⁾
bhavataḥ strīśabdastham ikāram varjayitvā | munī tishṭhataḥ munī
paśya³⁾ | sādḥū tishṭhataḥ sādḥū paśya | iduta iti kim | nadyau
vadhvau | astrēr iti kim | atistriyau purushau | atīśastrī purushāv
ity arthavadgrahaṇē nānarthakasyēti pratishēdhō na bhavati | idam
ēva chāstrēr⁴⁾ iti jñāpakam iyuvapavādēnēdūtākāryam iti | tēnā-
tistrayaḥ sahastraya ityādi siddham | gākārō gid iti samdhipra-
tishēdhārthaḥ ||

[Ś. I, 2, 22. idutô gīgv autô 'strēr. H. I, 4, 21. idutô 'strēr idūt.]

Jasy ēñ⁵⁾ || 27 ||

ikārasyōkārasya cha jasi parē yathāsamkhyam ēnādēsô bhavati |
munayaḥ sādḥavaḥ⁶⁾ buddhayaḥ dhēnavaḥ ||

[Ś. 23. jasy ēñ. H. 22. jasy ēdōt.]

Sakhipatēr nīr aut || 28 ||

ābhyām parô nīr aud bhavati | sakhyau patyau ||

[Ś. 24. nīr⁷⁾ aut. H. 26. kēvalasakhipatēr au.]

Niya ām || 29 ||

nīśabdāt parô nīr ām bhavati | niyām grāmanyām ||

[Ś. 25. nyāmśād ām. H. 51. niya ām.]

Ghēr ḍauḥ⁸⁾ || 30 ||

ghisamjñakād ikārād ukārāch cha parô nīr ḍaur bhavati | munau
śādḥau buddḥau dhēnau ||

[Ś. 26. ghēr ḍaur anāt⁹⁾. H. 25. nīr ḍauḥ.]

Ṭô 'striyā nā || 31 ||

astrīlīngād ghisamjñakād ikārād ukārāch cha parasya [trītiyaika]-
vachanasya nādēsô bhavati | muninā sādḥunā | astriyā iti¹⁰⁾ kim |
buddhyā dhēnvā | puṁsa iti na kṛitam amunā kulēnēti napuṁsakē
nābhāvārtham | nami hy uvarṇō 'san bhavati | ghēr iti kim | sakhyā
patyā ||

[Ś. 27. nāstrīṭaḥ. H. 24. ṭaḥ puṁsi nā.]

1) autē. 2) gīgvādēsau. 3) paśa. 4) chāstrēr. 5) hrasōn.
6) sādḥanaḥ. 7) Andre Lesart: nēr. 8) ḍau. 9) Andre Lesart: anāṭi.
10) asighān ti.

Nīty adity êṅ || 32 ||
 adakārānubandhē nīti¹⁾ syādaṁ parē ghisamjñakasyēkārasyōkārasya
 cha yathāsāmkyam êṅ bhavati | munayē munēḥ²⁾ munēḥ | sādhanē
 sādhanē sādhanē | buddhayē dhēnavē | aditīti³⁾ kim | buddhyai bud-
 dhyāḥ | syādāv iti kim | paṭvī ||
 [Ś. 28. ny êṅ. H. 28. nity aditi.]

Napō jasāsōḥ śih || 33 ||
 napuṁsakasya sambandhinōḥ jassāsōḥ sthānē śir bhavati | vanāni
 tishṭhanti vanāni⁴⁾ paśya | śakārah sarvādēsārthaḥ ||
 [Ś. 18. jassāsah śih. H. 55. napuṁsakasya śih.]

Autō gī || 34 ||
 napuṁsakasya sambandhina aukārasya gī ity ādēsō bhavati | vanē
 tishṭhataḥ vanē paśya | payasī ||
 [Ś. 19. āḍas chautō gī. H. 56. aur ih.]

Āpaḥ || 35 ||
 ābantasya sambandhina aukārasya gī ity ādēsō bhavati | śālē tish-
 ṭhataḥ śālē paśya | ā āp āp ity ākārpraslēshād iha na bhavati
 priyāśālau purushau ||
 [Ś. 19. āḍas chautō gī. H. 20. autā.]

Ṭausy êṭ || 36 ||
 ābantasya tatsambandhinōḥ ṭausōḥ parayōr êkārō 'ntādēsō bhavati |
 mālayā mālayōḥ ||
 [Ś. 21. ṭausy êṭ. H. 19.]

Nēnasīnasnīnām yaiyāsyāsyāmāḥ || 37 ||
 ābantasya sambandhinām nēnasīnasnīnām sthānē yathāsāmkyam
 yai yās yās yām ity ādēsā bhavanti | mālayai mālayāḥ mālayāḥ
 mālayām ||
 [Ś. 20. nitō yāṭ. H. 17. āpō nitām yaiyāsyāsyām.]

Sarvādēr ḍaspūrvāḥ || 38 ||
 sarvādēr ābantasya sambandhinām nēnasīnasnīnām yaiyāsyāsyāmō
 ḍaspūrvā bhavanti | sarvasyai sarvasyāḥ sarvasyāḥ sarvasyām ||
 [Ś. 175. nas yāṭy asya. H. 18. sarvādēr ḍaspūrvāḥ.]

Idutaḥ striyā vā daidāsāsdāmāḥ || 39 ||
 strīlingād ikārād ukārāch cha parēshām nēnasīnasnīnām sthānē
 yathāsāmkyam dai dās dās dām ity ādēsā bhavanti vā | buddhyai

1) °rāvuvadhē diti. 2) munē. 3) aditi. 4) vanā.

buddhayē buddhyāḥ buddhēḥ buddhyāḥ buddhēḥ dhēnvai dhēnavē
 dhēnvāḥ dhēnōḥ dhēnvāḥ dhēnōḥ buddhyām buddhau dhēnvām dhē-
 nau | patyai patyē | priyabuddhyai priyabuddhayē striyai purushāya
 vā | striyā iti kim | munēḥ sādhanē ||
 [Ś. 29. striyā vāṭ. H. 28. striyā nitām vā daidāsāsdām.]

Yvō 'puṁsaḥ || 40 ||
 asaṁbhavipumarthāt strīlingād ikārāntād ukārāntāch cha parēshām
 nēnasīnasnīnām¹⁾ sthānē yathāsāmkyam dai dās dās²⁾ dām ity
 ādēsā bhavanti | nadyai nadyāḥ nadyāḥ nadyām vadhvai vadhvāḥ
 vadhvāḥ vadhvām | lakshmyai | ativadhvai striyai purushāya vā | yva
 iti kim | buddhayē | apuṁsa iti kim | grāmaṇyē khalapvē striyai ||
 [Ś. 30. yvō 'puṁsaḥ. H. 29. strīdūtaḥ.]

Vēyuvō 'striyāḥ || 41 ||
 iyuvādēsābhāvināu yāv ikārōkārāu tadantād asaṁbhavipumarthāt
 strīvṛittēḥ parēshām nēnasīnasnīnām sthānē yathāsāmkyam vā dai
 dās dās dām ity ādēsā bhavanti strīśabdām varjayitvā | śriyai
 śriyē śriyāḥ śriyāḥ śriyāḥ śriyām śriyai bhruvai bhruvē
 bhruvāḥ bhruvāḥ bhruvāḥ bhruvāḥ bhruvām bhruvi | atīśriyai atī-
 śriyē striyai purushāya vā | iyuva iti kim | ādhyai pradhyai |
 astriyā iti kim | striyai | apuṁsa³⁾ iti kim | yavakriyē kaṭapruvē
 striyai ||
 [Ś. 31. vēyuvō 'striyāḥ. H. 30.]

Nām āmaḥ || 42 ||
 iyuvādēsābhāvīkārōkārāntād asaṁbhavipumarthāt strīvṛittēḥ para-
 syāmāḥ shashṭhībahuvachanarūpasya sthānē nāmādēsō vā bhavati
 strīśabdām varjayitvā | śrīpām śriyām bhruvām bhruvām | pṛithu-
 śrīpām pṛithuśriyām lambabhrūpām lambabhruvām | astriyā⁴⁾ iti
 kim | strīpām ||
 [Ś. 32. nām āmaḥ. H. 31. āmō nām vā.]

Sadididūnna mhrasvāpaḥ || 43 ||
 yata ikārād ukārāch cha daidāsāsdāmāḥ tau saditau tadantān na-
 mantād hrasvāntād ābantāch⁵⁾ cha parasyāmāḥ sthānē nāmādēsō
 bhavati | nadīnām vadhūnām strīpām lakshmiṇām | nam | vārīpām
 trapūpām | hrasva | vṛikshāpām munīnām sādhanām pīṭṛīpām | āp |
 śālānām mālānām | namgrahāpām parān api vidhīn nam bādḥata
 iti jñāpānārtham tēna vārīpīyādi siddham ||
 [Ś. 33. namhrasvātsāṭaḥ. H. 32. hrasvāpāḥ cha.]

1) °nasdīnām. 2) om. 3) apuṁsaka. 4) astriyām. 5) avantāch.

Rashnām samkhyānām || 44 ||
rēphāntashakārāntanakārāntānām samkhyāvāchinām sambandhina
āmāṣ ssthānē nāmādēśō bhavati | chaturṇām paramachaturṇām
shaṇṇām pañchānām | rashnām iti kim | trimśatām | bahuvachanaṁ
shashṭhyabhivyaktyartham tēna tatsambandhina ēva bhavati nānya-
sambandhinaḥ | atichaturām ||

[Ś. 34. rashnām samkhyānām. H. 33. samkhyānām rshnām.]

Trēs trayāḥ || 45 ||
trīsabdasyāmsambandhinaḥ ssthānē traya ādēśō bhavati | trayāṇām
paramatrayāṇām | āmsambandhivijñānād¹⁾ iha na bhavati | priya-
trīṇām | tisriṇām ity atra spardhēna bādhā ||

[Ś. 35. trēs trayāḥ. H. 34.]

|| iti śrīMala[yag]irivirachitē śabdānuśāsane nāmni
prathamāḥ pādāḥ samāptaḥ ||

1) ātsām°.

MARCH, 1893.]

MISCELLANEA.

83

PAUSHA SAMVATSARA
IN THE KĀSIKA-VṚITTI ON P. IV, 2, 21.

A copper-plate inscription of the Kādamba king
Mṛigēśa, of about the 6th century A.D., published
by Dr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. VI. page 24, is dated in
line 10.—*avavajjayikō ashtānē Vaiśākhē sam-
vatsarē Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām*, 'on the day of
the full-moon of (the month) Kārttika, in the
Vaiśākhā year, the eighth of his victory.' And
another copper-plate inscription of the same king,
published by Dr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. VII. page 35, is
dated in line 7.—*ātmanah rājasya tṛtīyē varshē
Pauśhē samvatsarē Kārttika-māsa-bahula-pak-
shē dasamīyām tithau Uttarābhadrapadē nakshatrē*,
'in the third year of his reign, in the Pausha year,
on the tenth lunar day in the dark fortnight of
the month Kārttika, under the Uttarābhadrapadē
constellation.' The terms *Vaiśākhā samvatsara*
and *Pausha samvatsara* of these dates induce me
to draw attention here to what I cannot but
regard as a curious mistake, made by the gram-

marian Jayāditya, when explaining Pāṇini's rule
IV, 2, 21; and to give at the same time the proper
explanation of those terms, as furnished by Śāka-
tāyana and other grammarians.

In the rule IV, 2, 21, the original wording of
which is *adennis paurṇamāsyāi*, Pāṇini teaches
that certain suffixes are added to nominal bases
denoting full-moon *tithis*, to form other nominal
bases denoting periods of time which contain those
full-moon *tithis*; and the word *iti* of the rule
shows, what is more distinctly brought out by
Kātyāyana's addition of the word *sañjñāyā*, that
Pāṇini's rule should take effect only when the
words that would be formed by it are used by
people as *names*. Patañjali, commenting on Kā-
tāyāyana's Vārttikas, tells us that the names here
referred to are the names of the (twelve) months
or (the twelve) half-months (which end with the
full-moon *tithi*); and the *Prakriyā-kāumudī* and
the *Siddhānta-kāumudī* give the example *Pauśhē
māsah* 'the month Pausha,' i.e., of the twelve

months of the year that month which contains
the *Paushē paurṇamāsyā*, or, in other words, that
month of the calendar during which the moon is
full in the *nakshatra* Pushya. Differing from
Patañjali, the author of the *Kāśikā-vṛitti* on
P. IV, 2, 21, would permit us to form by that rule
not only names of months and half-months, but
also names of years, and accordingly, in addition
to the instances *Pauśhē māsah* and *Pauśhē rātra-
māsah*, he also gives the example *Pauśhah sam-
vatsarah*. When first I read the remarks of the
Kāśikā-vṛitti on Pāṇini's rule, I could not but
think that there might be some error in the
printed text; but I soon found out that the
published edition really gives the text which is
furnished by the MSS., and from a note of
Hemachandra's on his own rule VI, 2, 98, I became
convinced that he too was acquainted with,
although he apparently did not approve of, Jayā-
ditya's strange interpretation.

That Jayāditya is wrong in forming the word
Pausha of *Paushah samvatsarah* by P. IV, 2, 21,
seems certain. Explained by that rule, *Paushah
samvatsarah* would mean 'the year which contains
the *Paushē paurṇamāsyā*,' or that particular year
during which the moon is full in the *nakshatra*
Pushya; but, as almost all years have such a
full-moon, nearly every year would have to be
named *Pausha*, and since such a year would
ordinarily contain eleven other full-moon *tithis*,
it would, according to Jayāditya, have to receive
eleven similar names. To revert to our dates, the
year of the first of them undoubtedly contained
the *Kārttikē paurṇamāsyā*, but the year is named
Vaiśākhā, not *Kārttika samvatsara*.

The fact is, that neither the three great gram-
marians Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, nor the
grammarian Chandra, whose work was known to
Jayāditya, have given any rule by which we could
account for the words *Pausha* or *Vaiśākhā* in
phrases like *Paushah samvatsarah* or *Vaiśākhah
samvatsarah*; but we do find the requisite rule
in the later grammars of Śākatāyana and Hōma-
chandra, and in the *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa*.

Hemachandra's rule¹ VI, 2, 5, is—

udita-gurūr bhād yuktē 'bdē;

and his own commentary on this rule is—

uditō gurur bhāspuṭir yasmin bhē nakshatrē
tadrāshinas tṛtīyāntā yuktē 'rthē yathāvilāsin
pratyayō bhavati sa chēd yuktō 'rthē 'bhāh sam-
vatsarah syāt | pa-hyēgōditagururā yuktam
varṇam Pausham varṇam | phalgunibhir uditā-

¹ Hemachandra and Śākatāyana place this rule immo-
diately before the rule or rules which correspond to

gurubhir yuktah Phalgunah samvatsarah | uditā-
guror iti kim | uditā-śanaischarṇā pashyēna yuk-
tam varṇam ity atra na bhavati | bhād iti kim |
uditagururā pūrvaritṛēna yuktam varṇam | bhāda
iti kim | māse divasē vā na bhavati ||

Here we are on ground with which, thanks to
Mr. S. B. Dikshit,² we are now familiar. To form
the name of a year, we are directed to add a
certain suffix to the name of that particular *nak-
shatra*, belonging to that year, in which Jupiter
has risen. A year joined with (or containing) the
nakshatra Pushya in which Jupiter happens to
have risen is named *Paushah varṇam*. *Vai-
śākhah samvatsarah* is that year in which Jupiter
rises in Vaiśākhā. Hemachandra does not dis-
tinctly tell us what kind of year he is speaking of,
whether of the Jovian year or of the solar or
luni-solar year; but seeing how he opposes the
word *abda* to *māsa* and *divasa*, I would say that
(rightly or wrongly) the *Pausha* year, in his
opinion, would be the ordinary luni-solar year
during which Jupiter happens to rise in Pushya.
To take the word *abda* to denote (*pratyāyanti-
nyāyēna*) the Jovian year, would seem to me a
somewhat forced interpretation.

Of course, Hemachandra has not invented his
rule, but has here, as elsewhere, borrowed
from Śākatāyana whose wording of the rule
is—

gurūdayād bhād yuktē 'bdē,

while the *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa* has, similarly,
gurūdayād bhād yuktē 'bdah. Not possessing a
complete copy of a commentary on Śākatāyana's
grammar, I do not know how native scholars
would explain the word *gurūdaya* grammatically,
but we may, I think, be sure that Hemachandra
has correctly given its meaning by substituting
for it *uditaguru*.

On a previous occasion I have shown that the
authors of the *Kāśikā-vṛitti* frequently quote
from the grammar, or allude to the teaching, of
Chandra where that grammarian differs from
Pāṇini or has additional rules. The fact that
Jayāditya in no wise refers to the rule of Śāka-
tāyana's which I have given above, and which is
absolutely necessary for the proper explanation of
words like *Pausha* in *Paushah samvatsarah*, is
one more argument to prove that the *Śākatāyana-
vyākaraṇa* is more modern than the *Kāśikā-
vṛitti*.

F. KIELHOEN.

Gottingen.

P. IV 2, 3 and 4.

² See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 16.

Die Śākatāyana-Grammatik.

Von

F. Kielhorn.

Vorgelegt in der Sitzung vom 3. Februar 1894.

Professor Oppert in Madras hat vor kurzem den ersten Band eines Werkes veröffentlicht, dem er den Gesamttitel „Śākatāyana's Grammar“ gegeben hat. Dieser Band enthält auf 160 Seiten die Regeln der eigentlichen Grammatik Śākatāyana's, ohne Commentar oder sonstige Hilfen für das Verständniß, und auf 387 Seiten einen Auszug daraus, mit dem Commentare des Abhayachandrasiddhāntasūri und einem alphabetischen Verzeichnisse der hier behandelten Regeln. In einem zweiten Bande beabsichtigt Prof. Oppert die Amôghavṛitti, einen ausführlichen Commentar zu allen Regeln Śākatāyana's, zu publicieren.

Ich freue mich, daß die Grammatik des Śākatāyana einen Herausgeber gefunden hat. Aber bei aller Anerkennung des Verdienstes, das sich Prof. Oppert durch dies Unternehmen erwirbt, kann ich mein Bedauern darüber nicht verhehlen, dass er das, was er für den zweiten Band in Aussicht stellt, nicht gleich geliefert hat. Der Text der Regeln ist für fast jeden, der keinen Commentar dazu besitzt, werthlos, und muß im zweiten Bande doch nochmal gedruckt werden. Und der Prakriyāsaṅgraha ist ein Werk für Inder, die daraus Sanskrit lernen sollen, nicht für Gelehrte, die die Grammatik des Śākatāyana als Ganzes studieren und sich ein Urtheil über die Stellung dieses Śākatāyana in der Geschichte der indischen Grammatik bilden wollen. Ich kann also nur der Hoffnung Ausdruck geben, dass der Herausgeber sein in Betreff des zweiten Bandes gegebenes Versprechen bald erfüllen möge.

Was mich veranlaßt, über Prof. Opperts Publication jetzt zu schreiben, sind seine Bemerkungen über den Verfasser der von ihm veröffentlichten Grammatik. Prof. Oppert sagt in seiner kurzen Vorrede nicht ausdrücklich, daß dies der von Pāṇini genannte Śā-

Kgl. Ges. d. W. Nachrichten. Philolog.-histor. Klasse. 1894. No. 1.

katāyana sei, aber er betrachtet es als selbstverständlich. „Pāṇini refers to Śākatāyana as a previous grammarian and this supplies a reason why the latter makes no mention of the former.“ „Pāṇini repeatedly mentions Śākatāyana, and the places thus alluded to are also found in the Śabdānuśāsana.“ Ich war bisher der Meinung, daß der in diesen Sätzen vertretene Standpunkt nach dem, was in den letzten zwanzig oder dreißig Jahren für die indische Grammatik geschehen ist, als überwunden betrachtet werden könnte.

Meine eigene Ansicht über diese Śākatāyana-Grammatik und ihr Verhältniß zu den Werken Pāṇini's und späterer Grammatiker habe ich vor Jahren im 16. Bande des *Indian Antiquary* ausgesprochen und ich hätte, was mich selbst betrifft, keinen Grund, auf den Gegenstand zurückzukommen. Um aber denen, die sich weniger mit der indischen Grammatik beschäftigt haben, Gelegenheit zu geben, sich selbst leichter ein Urtheil zu bilden, habe ich jetzt eine fortlaufende Reihe von Regeln der Śākatāyana-Grammatik nochmal mit den Regeln Pāṇini's und den Lehren seiner Nachfolger verglichen und gebe hier das Resultat dieser Vergleichung. Die von mir untersuchten Regeln stehen am Ende des 4. Pāda des 2. Adhyāya, und ich habe gerade diese gewählt, weil sie sich mit den von Hēmachandra im 2. Pāda des 6. Adhyāya seiner Grammatik gegebenen Regeln decken, und mir daran lag, zu gleicher Zeit die von mir früher behauptete gänzliche Abhängigkeit Hēmachandra's von Śākatāyana möglichst klar zu stellen. Bei jeder Regel zeige ich, welcher Regel oder welchen Regeln oder Bemerkungen Pāṇini's oder seiner Nachfolger (der Verfasser der Vārtikas, des Mahābhāshya, der Chandra-Grammatik und der Kāśikā-Vṛitti¹⁾) sie entspricht, und gebe zugleich die entsprechenden Regeln Hēmachandra's, diese im Wortlaut, weil sie noch nicht gedruckt sind. Ich denke, daß eine solche tabellarische Uebersicht einen sicheren Schluß gestatten wird, auch ohne daß ich auf grammatische Spitzfindigkeiten eingehe.

Śākatāyana II, 4, 128—239.

128. Bhikshādés cha samūhê || P. IV, 2, 37 und 38. — H. VI, 2, 9 shashṭhyāḥ samūhê; 10 bhikshādêh.

1) Natürlich citiere ich von den oben genannten Werken immer nur dasjenige, in dem eine Lehre der Śākatāyana-Grammatik meines Wissens zum ersten Male erscheint.

129. Kshudrakamālavāt sēnānāmni || Vārt. 1 zu P. IV, 2, 45. — H. VI, 2, 11 = Ś.
130. Gōtrōkshavatsōshtrājōrabhravṛiddhamanushyarājanyarājaputrārājō vuñ || P. IV, 2, 39 und Mhbh. — H. VI, 2, 12 gōtrōkshavatsōshtravṛiddhājōrabhramanushyarājanyarājaputrād akañ.
131. Kēdārāṇ ṇyaś cha || P. IV, 2, 40. — H. VI, 2, 13 = Ś.
132. Kavachihastyachittāch cha ṭhaṇ || P. IV, 2, 41 und 47. — H. VI, 2, 14 kavachihastyachittāch chēkaṇ.
133. Dhēnōr anañāḥ || P. IV, 2, 47 und Mhbh. zu P. IV, 2, 45 (nach Āpīśali). — H. VI, 2, 15 = Ś.
134. Brāhmaṇamāṇavavāḍavād yaḥ || P. IV, 2, 42. — H. VI, 2, 16 = Ś.
135. Gaṇikāyā ṇyaḥ || Mhbh. zu P. IV, 2, 40. — H. VI, 2, 17 = Ś.
136. Kēśād vā || P. IV, 2, 48. — H. VI, 2, 18 = Ś.
137. Chhō 'śvāt || P. IV, 2, 48. — H. VI, 2, 19 aśvād ūyaḥ.
138. Pārśvam || Vārt. 3 zu P. IV, 2, 43. — H. VI, 2; 20 parśvā ḍvaṇ.
139. Pṛiṣṭhyāhīnau kratau || Vārt. 1 zu P. IV, 2, 42, und Vārt. 1 und 2 zu P. IV, 2, 43. — H. VI, 2, 21 inō 'hnaḥ kratau; 22 pṛiṣṭhād yaḥ.
140. Charaṇād dharmavat || P. IV, 2, 46. — H. VI, 2, 23 = Ś.
141. Gōrathavātāt trakaḍyōlam || P. IV, 2, 51 und Vārt. 9 zu P. V, 2, 122; Chandra und Kāsikā zu P. IV, 2, 42, vātād ūlaḥ. — H. VI, 2, 24 gōrathavātāt trakaḍyalūlam. (Auch Hss. der Kāsikā zu P. IV, 2, 51 lesen kaḍya statt kaṭya).
142. Pāsādēs cha yaḥ || P. IV, 2, 49 und 50. — H. VI, 2, 25 pāsādēs cha lyāḥ.
143. Grāmajanabandhugajasahāyāt tal || P. IV, 2, 43 und Mhbh. — H. VI, 2, 28 = Ś.
144. Śvakhalādibhyō 'ñin || P. IV, 2, 45 (khaṇḍikādibhyaś cha), IV, 2, 51 und 50, und Vārt. 1 zu P. IV, 2, 51. — H. VI, 2, 26 śvādibhyō 'ñ; 27 khalādibhyō lin.
145. Purushāt kṛitahitavadhaviḥkāre cha ḍhañ || P. V, 1, 10

- und Mhbh. — H. VI, 2, 29 purushāt kṛitahitavadhaviḥkāre chaiyañ.
146. Vikārē || P. IV, 3, 134 und Vārt. — H. VI, 2, 30 = Ś.
147. Prāṇyōshadhivṛikshēbhyō 'vayavē cha || P. IV, 3, 135. — H. VI, 2, 31 = Ś.
148. Tālād dhanushi || Gaṇa zu P. IV, 3, 152. — H. VI, 2, 32 = Ś.
149. Trapujatōḥ shak cha || P. IV, 3, 138. — H. VI, 2, 33 trapujatōḥ shō 'ntaś cha.
150. Śamyā lak || P. IV, 3, 142. — H. VI, 2, 34 śamyā laḥ.
151. Paraśavyasya yaluk || P. IV, 3, 168. — H. VI, 2, 40 paraśavyād yaluk cha.
152. Kaṁsīyāñ ṇyaḥ || P. IV, 3, 168. — H. VI, 2, 41 = Ś.
153. Hēmārthān mānē || P. IV, 3, 153. — H. VI, 2, 42 = Ś.
154. Drōr vayah || P. IV, 3, 162. — H. VI, 2, 43 = Ś.
155. Payōdrōr yaḥ || P. IV, 3, 160 und 161. — H. VI, 2, 35 = Ś.
156. Ēṇyā ḍhañ || P. IV, 3, 159. — H. VI, 2, 38 ēṇyā ēyañ.
157. Kauśēyam || P. IV, 3, 42 und Vārt. — H. VI, 2, 39 = Ś.
158. Ushṭrād vuñ || P. IV, 3, 157. — H. VI, 2, 36 ushṭrād akañ.
159. Vômōrṇāt || P. IV, 3, 158. — H. VI, 2, 37 umōrṇād vā.
160. Mānāt kṛitavat || P. IV, 3, 156. — H. VI, 2, 44 = Ś.
161. Hēmādibhyō 'ñ || P. IV, 3, 154 (°rajatādi). — H. IV, 2, 45 = Ś.
162. Vābhakshyāchchādānē mayaṭ || P. IV, 3, 143. — H. VI, 2, 46 abhakshyāchchādānē vā mayaṭ.
163. Śarādyēkāchaḥ || P. IV, 3, 144 (°sarādibhyaḥ), und Chandra's Regel ēkāchaḥ, auf die die Kāsikā zu P. IV, 3, 144 Bezug nimmt. — H. IV, 2, 47 śar. darbhakūtīṭṛiṇa-sōmavalvajāt, und 48 ēkasvarāt. (Jainendra: ēkāchchharādyaprāṇidōḥ; vgl. die folgende Regel).
164. Dōr aprāṇinaḥ || P. IV, 3, 144 und Vārt. 7 zu P. IV, 3, 156. — H. VI, 2, 49 = Ś.
165. Gōvrīhēḥ śakṛitpurōḍāsē || P. IV, 3, 145 und 148. — H. VI, 2, 50 gōḥ purīshē; 51 vrīhēḥ purōḍāsē.

166. Tilayavapishṭād anāṃni || P. IV, 3, 149 und 146. — H. VI, 2, 52 tilayavād anāṃni; 53 piṣṭāt.
167. Piṣṭikāhaiyaṅgavīnam || P. IV, 3, 147, und P. V, 2, 23 und Vārt. — H. VI, 2, 54 nāṃni kaḥ (auch H. bildet piṣṭikā, nicht piṣṭaka); 55 hyōdōhād īnañ hiyaṅguś chāśya.
168. Nātō 'phaladravayāt || Vārt. 5 und Mhbh. zu P. IV, 3, 155. — H. VI, 2, 61 na dvir adruvayagōmāyaphalāt. (Chandra: na dviḥ; Jainēndra = Ś.).
169. Bahulañ śluk pushpamûlê || Vārt. 2 zu P. IV, 3, 166. — H. VI, 2, 57 lub bahulañ pushpamûlê.
170. Phalê || P. IV, 3, 163. — H. VI, 2, 58 = Ś.
171. Plakshādêr aṇ || P. IV, 3, 164. — H. VI, 2, 59 = Ś.
172. Jambvâ vâ || P. IV, 3, 165. — H. VI, 2, 60 = Ś.
173. Bōddhradhyêtrōḥ || P. IV, 2, 59. — H. VI, 2, 117 tad vêtty adhîtê.
174. Nyâyādipadakalpalakṣhaṇāntakratvākhyānākhyāyikāt ṭhaṇ || P. IV, 2, 60 (ukthādi) und Mhbh. — H. VI, 2, 118 nyâyādêr ikaṇ; 119 padakalpalakṣhaṇāntakratvākhyānākhyāyikāt.
175. Akalpāt sūtrāt || P. IV, 2, 60 und Mhbh. — H. VI, 2, 120 = Ś.
176. Adharmakshatrasaṃsargāṅgatrêr vidyāyāḥ || Mhbh. zu P. IV, 2, 60 (meine Hs. K. hat saṃsarga). — H. VI, 2, 121 adharmakshatratrisaṃsargāṅgād vidyāyāḥ.
177. Yājñikaukthikalaukāyitikānubrāhmaṇī¹⁾ || (Prof. Oppert's Text giebt *laukāyatika*, aber es ist sicher *laukāyitika* zu lesen. Ueber dieses Wort, das zuerst von Ś. gelehrt wird, bemerkt H.: lōkāyataśabdād ikaṇ yakārākāśya chēkārō nipātyatê | lōkāyataṃ vêtty adhîtê vâ laukāyitikaḥ | laukāyatika iti tu nyâyādipāthāt (H. VI, 2, 118) siddham |). Mhbh. zu P. IV, 2, 60, und P. IV, 2, 62. — H. VI, 2, 122 yājñikaukthikalaukāyitikam; 123 anubrāhmaṇād in.
178. Śatashasṭhêḥ pathash ṭhaṭ || Mhbh. zu P. IV, 2, 60. — H. VI, 2, 124 śatashasṭhêḥ patha ikaṭ.

1) Ich kann nicht entscheiden, ob *hmani* oder *hmani* zu lesen ist.

179. Padōttarapadēbhyash ṭhaḥ || Mhbh. zu P. IV, 2, 60. — H. VI, 2, 125 padōttarapadēbhya ikaḥ.
180. Śikshāmīmāṃsāsāmakramapadād vuch || P. IV, 2, 61 und Gaṇa. — H. VI, 2, 126 padakramasikshāmīmāṃsāsmnō 'kaḥ.
181. Sasarvādēḥ śluk || Mhbh. zu P. IV, 2, 60. — H. VI, 2, 127 sasarvapūrvāl lup.
182. Saṃkhyākāt sūtrê || P. IV, 2, 65 und Mhbh. — H. VI, 2, 128 = Ś.
183. Prōktāt || P. IV, 2, 64. — H. VI, 2, 129 = Ś.
184. Vēdēnbrāhmaṇam || P. IV, 2, 66 und Mhbh. — H. VI, 2, 130 vēdēnbrāhmaṇam atraiva; (Com.: ... prōktapratyayāntaṃ vēdavāchi inantaṃ cha brāhmaṇavāchi atraiva vêtty adhîtê vety êtadvishaya ēva prayujyatê).
185. Mātṛipitur bhrātary ulaḍvyam || P. IV, 2, 36 und Vārt. 1. — H. VI, 2, 62 pitṛimātur vyaḍulañ bhrātari.
186. Pitṛōr dāmahaṭ || P. IV, 2, 36 und Vārt. 2 und 3. — H. VI, 2, 63 = Ś.
187. Dugdhe 'vēḥ sōḍhadūsamarīsam || Vārt. 5 zu P. IV, 2, 36. — H. VI, 2, 64 avêr dugdhê sōḍhadūsamarīsam.
188. Rāshtrê 'naṅgādibhyaḥ || P. IV, 2, 52 (vishayō dēśē) und Mhbh. zu Vārt. 1. — H. VI, 2, 65 = Ś.
189. Bhaurikyaishukāryādêr vidhabhaktam || P. IV, 2, 54. — H. VI, 2, 68 = Ś.
190. Rājanyādibhyō vuñ || P. IV, 2, 53. — H. VI, 2, 66 rājanyādibhyō 'kañ.
191. Vasātêr vâ || Vārt. 2 zu P. IV, 2, 52, und P. IV, 2, 53. — H. VI, 2, 67 = Ś. (Com.: Vasātīnām rāshṭraṃ Vāsātakaṃ Vāsātam).
192. Nivāsādūrabhavāv iti dēśē nāṃni || P. IV, 2, 69 und 70. — H. VI, 2, 69 nivāsādūrabhavê iti dēśē nāṃni.
193. Sō 'trāsti || P. IV, 2, 67. — H. VI, 2, 70 tad atrāsti.
194. Tēna nirvṛittam cha || P. IV, 2, 68. — H. VI, 2, 71 tēna nirvṛittê cha.
195. Nadyām matuḥ || P. IV, 2, 85. — H. VI, 2, 72 = S.

196. Madhvādēḥ || P. IV, 2, 86. — H. VI, 2, 73 = Ś.
197. Kumudanaḍavētasamahishād̄ dit || P. IV, 2, 87 und Mhbh. — H. VI, 2, 74 naḍakumudavētasamahishād̄ dit.
198. Naḍasādād̄ valaḥ || P. IV, 2, 88. — H. VI, 2, 75 = Ś.
199. Śikhāyāḥ || P. IV, 2, 89. — H. VI, 2, 76 = Ś.
200. Śirīshāṭ̄ ṭhakaḥ || Gaṇa zu P. IV, 2, 80. — H. VI, 2, 77 śirīshād̄ ikakaṇau.
201. Śarkarāyāsh ṭhaṇchhāṇ cha || P. IV, 2, 84 und 80. — H. VI, 2, 78 śarkarāyā ikaṇīyāṇ cha.
202. Rēnsēlavuṇīyēñyāñḍhaṇphaṇphīñchhakchhachhāṇkakaṇṭhaṭha-
ṇō 'śmaprēkshāṭ̄ṭṛiṇakāśārīhaṇasupanthisutaṅgamabalāhaḥ-
sakhīpanthīkarṇōṭkaranaḍakṛīśāsvarīyavarāhakumudāsva-
tthādībhyaḥ || (Prof. Oppert liest rēnsēlavuṇī^o). P. IV, 2,
80, 75, 90 und 91. — H. VI, 2, 79 rō 'śmādēḥ; 80 prē-
kshādēr in; 81 ṭṛiṇādēḥ sal; 82 kāśādēr ilaḥ; 83 arihaṇādēr
akaṇ; 84 supanthīyādēr ṇyaḥ; 85 sutaṅgamādēr iñ;
86 balādēr yaḥ; 87 aharādībhīyō 'ñ; 88 sakhyādēr ēyaḥ;
89 panthīyādēr āyanaḥ; 90 karṇādēr āyaniñ; 91 utkarādēr
īyaḥ; 92 naḍādēḥ kīyaḥ; 93 kṛīśāsṽdēr īyaḥ; 94 rīśyā-
dēḥ kaḥ; 95 varāhadēḥ kaḥ; 96 kumudādēr ikaḥ; 97 a-
śvatthādēr ikaṇ.
203. Śāsya paurṇamāsī || P. IV, 2, 21. — H. VI, 2, 98 = Ś.
204. Āgrahāyanyaśvatthāṭ̄ ṭhaṇ || P. IV, 2, 22. — H. VI, 2,
99 āgrahāyanyaśvatthād̄ ikaṇ.
205. Chaitrīkārttikīphālgunīśravaṇād̄ vā || P. IV, 2, 23. —
H. VI, 2, 100 = Ś.
206. Dēvatā || P. IV, 2, 24. — H. VI, 2, 101 = Ś.
207. Paingākshīputrādīśukrāch chhaghāṇ || Vārt. 1 zu P. IV,
2, 28, und P. IV, 2, 26. — H. VI, 2, 102 paingākshīpu-
trādēr īyaḥ; 103 śukrād̄ īyaḥ.
208. Śatarudrāpōnapādapāṇapātas ṭṛi chātaḥ || Vārt. 2 zu
P. IV, 2, 28, und P. IV, 2, 27 und 28. — H. VI, 2, 104
śatarudrāt̄ tau; 105 apōnapādapāṇapātas ṭṛi chātaḥ.
209. Mahēndrād̄ vā || P. IV, 2, 29. — H. VI, 2, 106 = Ś.
210. Dyāvāprithivīśunāsīrāgnīshōmamarutvadvāshṭōshpatigrihamē-
dhāch chhayau || P. IV, 2, 32. — H. VI, 2, 108 dyā-

- vāprithivīśunāsīrāgnīshōmamarutvadvāshṭōshpatigrihamē-
dhād̄ īyayau.
211. Vāyūshaḥpitṛitōr yaḥ || P. IV, 2, 31. — H. VI, 2, 109
vāyvrītipitṛushasō yaḥ.
212. Kasōmāt̄ ṭyaṇ || P. IV, 2, 25 und 30. — H. VI, 2, 107
kasōmād̄ yaṇ.
213. Mahārājapṛōshṭhapadāt̄ ṭhaṇ || P. IV, 2, 35. — H. VI, 2,
110 mahārājapṛōshṭhapadād̄ ikaṇ.
214. Kālād̄ bhavavat || P. IV, 2, 34. — H. VI, 2, 111 = S.
215. Ādēs chhandasaḥ pragāthē || P. IV, 2, 55. — H. VI, 2,
112 = S.
216. Yuddhē 'rthayōddhṛibhyaḥ || P. IV, 2, 56. — H. VI, 2,
113 yōddhṛiprayōjanād̄ yuddhē.
217. Bhāvaghaṇō 'syām̄ ṇaḥ || P. IV, 2, 58. — H. VI, 2, 114 = Ś.
218. Śyainampātātātailampātē || P. IV, 2, 53 und VI, 3, 71. —
H. VI, 2, 115 śyainampātā tailampātā.
219. Praharāṇāt̄ krīḍāyām̄ ṇaḥ || P. IV, 2, 57. — H. VI, 2,
116 = Ś.
220. Ṭō rāgād̄ raktē || P. IV, 2, 1. — H. VI, 2, 1 rāgāt̄ ṭō
raktē.
221. Lākshārōchanāt̄ ṭhaṇ || P. IV, 2, 2. — H. VI, 2, 2 lā-
kshārōchanād̄ ikaṇ.
222. Śakalakardamād̄ vā || Vārt. 1 zu P. IV, 2, 2 ohne vā;
Chandra mit vā, und auf seine Fassung der Regel be-
zieht sich die Bemerkung der Kāsīkā zu P. IV, 2, 2. —
H. VI, 2, 3 = Ś.
223. Nīlapītākam || Vārt. 2 und 3 zu P. IV, 2, 2. — H. VI,
2, 4 nīlapītād̄ akam.
224. Gurūdayād̄ bhād̄ yuktē 'bdē || Pāpini, Vārt., Mhbh., Chan-
dra und Kāsīkā haben die Regel nicht; und die Kāsīkā
setzt das dadurch zu erklärende Paushaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ
fälschlich unter P. IV, 2, 21. — H. VI, 2, 5 uditagurōr
bhād̄ yuktē 'bdē.
225. Chandrōpētāt̄ kālē || und
226. Ślug aprayuktē || P. IV, 2, 3 und 4, und Vārt. 1 zu P.

- IV, 2, 3. — H. VI, 2, 6 chandrayuktāt kālē lup tv aprayuktē.
227. Dvandvāch chhaḥ || P. IV, 2, 6. — H. VI, 2, 7 dvandvād fyaḥ.
228. Śravaṇāśvatthān nāmny aḥ || P. IV, 2, 5 und Mhbh. — H. VI, 2, 8 = Ś.
229. Dṛiṣṭhē sāmni || P. IV, 2, 7. — H. VI, 2, 133 dṛiṣṭhē sāmni nāmni.
230. Gôtrād ankavat || Mhbh. zu P. IV, 2, 7. — H. VI, 2, 134 = Ś.
231. Vāmadēvyam || P. IV, 2, 9. — H. VI, 2, 135 vāmadēvād yaḥ.
232. Jātē vāṇ dvir dīd vā || (Prof. Oppert liest chāṇ). Mhbh. zu P. IV, 2, 7. — H. VI, 2, 136 dīd vāṇ; 137 vā jātē dviḥ.
233. Chhannē rathē || P. IV, 2, 10. — H. VI, 2, 131 tēna chchannē rathē.
234. Pāṇḍukambalī || P. IV, 2, 11. — H. VI, 2, 132 pāṇḍukambalād in.
235. Tatrôddhritē 'matrēbhyah || (Prof. Oppert liest 'tam ama'). P. IV, 2, 14. — H. VI, 2, 138 tatrôddhritē pātrēbhyah.
236. Sthaṇḍilē sētē vratī || P. IV, 2, 15. — H. VI, 2, 139 sthaṇḍilāch chhētē vratī.
237. Saṁskritē bhakshyē || (Prof. Oppert liest bhakshē). P. IV, 2, 16. — H. VI, 2, 140 = Ś.
238. Śūlyôkhyakshairēyadādhikaudaśvitkaudaśvitam || P. IV, 2, 17, 20, 18 und 19. — H. VI, 2, 141 śūlôkhād yaḥ; 142 kshîrād ēyaṇ; 143 dadhna ikaṇ; 144 vōdaśvitah.
239. Kvachit || Kāśikā zu P. IV, 2, 92. — H. VI, 2, 145 = Ś. (Com.: apatyādibhyō 'nyatrāpy arthē kvachid yathāvihitam pratyayō bhavati | chakshushā grīhyata iti chākshusham rūpam ityādi).

Aus dieser Zusammenstellung ergibt sich, daß unter den aufgeführten 112 Regeln der Śākaṭāyana-Grammatik sich nur 67 befinden, die, mit Ausnahme der Accente, über die diese Grammatik schweigt, dasselbe lehren was Pāṇini uns lehrt. Im einzelnen zu

untersuchen, welche von beiden Grammatikern in diesen Fällen die betreffenden Lehren zuerst gegeben hat, scheint mir in Anbetracht dessen, was ich weiter unten zu zeigen habe, überflüssig. Nur darauf möchte ich aufmerksam machen, daß der Wortlaut der Regeln Śākaṭāyana's, verglichen mit dem der Regeln Pāṇini's, zweifellos jenes fast krankhafte Streben nach möglichster Kürze verräth, das die späteren Grammatiker zum Princip erhoben haben. Man vergleiche z. B. Ś. 216 *yuddhē 'rthayôddhribhyaḥ* mit P. IV, 2, 56 *saṅgrāmē prayôjanayôddhribhyaḥ*, Ś. 160 *mānāt kritavat* mit P. IV, 3, 156 *kritavat parimānāt*, Ś. 211 *vāyūshakpitritôr yaḥ* mit P. IV, 2, 31 *vāyvrītipitrushasô yat* (sieben Sylben gegen acht), Ś. 153 *hēmārthān mānē* mit P. IV, 3, 153 *jātarūpēbhyah parimānē*, Ś. 159 *vômōrnāt* mit P. IV, 3, 158 *umōrnayōr vā*, und Ś. 196 *madhvādēḥ* mit P. IV, 2, 86 *madhvādibhyas cha*. Daß, abgesehen von Śākaṭāyana's kürzerer Fassung dieser Regeln, z. B. das Fehlen des *cha* in der zuletzt erwähnten Regel zu einem erst von Patañjali ausgesprochenen Satze stimmt, daß der Ablativ *umōrnāt* der Regel 159 besser ist als Pāṇini's Genetiv *umōrnayōr*, daß das von Śākaṭāyana in 153 gebrauchte *artha* uns den Sinn der Regel deutlicher zeigt als Pāṇini's Plural *jātarūpēbhyah*, braucht kaum besonders hervorgehoben zu werden.

Weiter haben wir bei Śākaṭāyana 23 Regeln, für die bei Pāṇini Aequivalente nur dann sich finden, wenn wir seine Regeln so erweitern, beschränken oder anderweitig ändern, wie dies in den einzelnen Fällen von den Verfassern der Vārttikas oder des Mahābhāshya vorgeschrieben wird. Mit anderen Worten, Śākaṭāyana weiß, was Kātyāyana und Patañjali gelehrt haben, und hat es in seine Regeln aufgenommen. So tritt nach P. IV, 2, 51 das Suffix *in an khala*, nach Kātyāyana auch an andere Stämme; und dies lehrt Śākaṭāyana in 144. Dieselbe Regel Pāṇini's lehrt, daß gewisse Suffixe an *gō* und *ratha* treten, und Kātyāyana zu P. V, 2, 122 lehrt die Anfügung eines bestimmten Suffixes an *vāta*; die drei Stämme und die drei Suffixe erscheinen vereinigt in Śākaṭāyana's Regel 141. In IV, 3, 42 lehrt Pāṇini die Bildung des Wortes *kausēya*, aber erst Kātyāyana schreibt vor, daß dies Wort nur dann zu bilden ist, wenn ein *vikāra* (von *kōsa*) bezeichnet werden soll; Śākaṭāyana stellt *kausēya* in 157 unter den Adhikāra *vikārē* (146). In IV, 2, 39 schreibt Pāṇini für gewisse Stämme das Suffix *vuñ* vor, und Patañjali fügt jenen Stämmen *vridha* hinzu; Śākaṭāyana hat dies zusammen mit den von Pāṇini gegebenen Stämmen in seiner Regel 130. In IV, 2, 43 lehrt Pāṇini das Suffix *tal* für *grāma*, *janu* und *bandhu*, Patañjali außerdem für *gaja* und *sahāya*;

Śākaṭāyana hat alle fünf Stämme in seiner Regel 143. In V, 1, 10 lehrt Pāṇini, daß ein gewisses Suffix an *puruṣha* tritt in der Bedeutung *tasmai hitam*; Patañjali fügt hinzu, daß dasselbe Suffix in Verbindung mit demselben Stamme auch die Bedeutungen *vadha*, *vikāra*, *samūha*, und *tēna kṛitam* hat; Śākaṭāyana zählt alle diese Bedeutungen in seiner Regel 145 auf (in der *samūhē* aus einer früheren Regel fortgilt).

Ferner enthält der hier behandelte kurze Abschnitt der Śākaṭāyana-Grammatik nicht weniger als 14 Regeln, die uns allerdings aus den Vārttikas und dem Mahābhāshya, bisweilen fast dem Wortlaute nach, bekannt sind, nach denen wir aber in Pāṇini's Grammatik selbst vergeblich suchen würden. Das Vārttika zu P. IV, 2, 45 lehrt uns die Bildung des Wortes *Kṣhauḍrakamālavi*, *sēnāsamjñāyām*; Śākaṭāyana, der, wie Chandra, statt *samjñāyām* stets *nāmni* gebraucht, hat 129 genau dieselbe Regel, nur an Stelle von *sēnāsamjñāyām* *sēnānāmni*. Vārttikas zu P. IV, 2, 42 und 43 lehren die Bildung und Bedeutung der Stämme *prishṭhya*, *ahna* und *pārśva*; dasselbe thun Śākaṭāyana's Regeln 138 und 139. Ein Vārttika zu P. IV, 2, 36 lautet *avēr dugdhē sōḍhadūsamarisachāḥ*, ein anderes zu P. IV, 3, 166 *pushpamūlēshu cha bahulam* (lup); Śākaṭāyana hat die Regeln 187 *dugdhē 'vēḥ sōḍhadūsamarisum* und 169 *bahulam śluk pushpamūlē*. Patañjali zu P. IV, 2, 40 lehrt die Bildung des Wortes *gāṇikya* im Sinne von *gāṇikānām samūhaḥ*; Śākaṭāyana lehrt dasselbe in Regel 135; u. s. w.

Von den übrigbleibenden acht Regeln will ich die vier Regeln 148, 180, 200 und 239, für die ich ganz oder theilweise entsprechendes nur in den Gaṇas zu Pāṇini's Regeln oder in der Kāśikā Vṛitti nachweisen kann, aus nahe liegenden Gründen unberücksichtigt lassen. Besondere Beachtung verdienen die anderen vier Regeln, in denen Śākaṭāyana entweder mit Chandra übereinstimmt oder Lehren vorträgt, die sowohl Pāṇini und seinen Erklärern wie (meines Wissens) Chandra unbekannt sind. Ein Vārttika zu P. IV, 2, 2 lehrt die Bildung der Stämme *śākalika* und *kārdamika* von *śakala* und *kārdama*; Chandra gestattet durch seine Regel *śakalakardamād vā* auch *śakala* und *kārdama*, und dieselbe Regel giebt Śākaṭāyana in 222, *śakalakardamād vā*. Ferner lehrt Chandra in seiner Regel *ēkāchaḥ* die Anfügung des Suffixes *mayāṣ* an einsylbige Stämme, und dieselbe Lehre und dasselbe *ēkāchaḥ* finden wir in Śākaṭāyana's Regel 163. Śākaṭāyana eigenthümlich sind nur *laukāyitika* in 177 und die Regel 224 *gurūdayād bhād yuktē 'bdē*, die die richtige, bei Pāṇini und seinen Erklärern und in unseren Lezis fehlende Erklärung für Worte wie *Pausha* in *Paushaḥ sam-*

vatsaraḥ „das Jahr, in dem Jupiter im Nakshatra Pushya aufgeht“, darbietet.

Genau so wie bei obigen Regeln über gewisse secundäre Nominalsuffixe ist das Verhältniss der Śākaṭāyana-Grammatik zu den Werken der drei großen Grammatiker in jedem beliebigen anderen Abschnitte. Ueberall ist dieser Śākaṭāyana in vollem Besitze alles dessen, was Pāṇini, Kātyāyana und Patañjali gelehrt haben, manchmal weiß er mehr als sie, und bisweilen hat er Regeln Pāṇini's nicht gegeben, offenbar deshalb, weil sie von den Kritikern und Erklärern Pāṇini's für überflüssig erklärt werden. Wer dies weiter verfolgen will, braucht sich beispielsweise nur flüchtig einige Regeln aus dem Capitel über den Gebrauch der Casus in dem von Prof. Oppert gedruckten Prakriyāsaṅgraha anzusehen. Die erste Specialregel dieses Capitels, *hādhiksamayānikashōpariyuparyadhyadhōdhōtyantarāntarēnataspariyabhisarvōbhayaiśchāpradhānē 'mauṣās*, ist ein Gemisch von P. II, 3, 4 (*antarāntarēna*), dem Vārttika zu dieser Regel (*apradhāna*), dem Vārttika zu P. II, 3, 2 (*samayā, nīkashā* und *hā*), Patañjali's Bemerkungen zu derselben Regel, und eigener Zuthat (*ati*). Die Regel 17 bei Prof. Oppert, *kālādhvabhāvādēsam vā karma chākarmaṇām*, ist der Halbvers des Mahābhāshya (Bd. I, S. 336 meiner Ausgabe) *kālābhāvādhvagantavyāḥ karmasamjñāhy akarmaṇām*, vereinigt mit dem Satze Patañjali's *dēśaś chākarmaṇām karmasamjñō bhavati*, und verändert durch das hinzugefügte *vā*. Regeln wie 31 *utpātēna jñāpyē*, 34 *yadartham*, 43 *sṭhānipyakarmādhārē*, 49 *ktēnō nyōssup* und 50 *hētau karmaṇā* sind Vārttikas zu P. II, 3, 13, 28 und 36. P. I, 4, 36 lehrt in Verbindung mit *sprihayati* den Dativ, Śākaṭāyana 26 den Dativ oder Accusativ. P. II, 3, 44 lehrt den Instrumental oder Locativ bei *prasita* und *utsuka*, Śākaṭāyana 22 außerdem auch bei *avabaddha*. Abweichend von Pāṇini, aber in Uebereinstimmung mit Patañjali, hat Śākaṭāyana keine Regel für den Gebrauch des Ablativs bei Verben des Sichfürchtens, Schützens u. s. w.

Es versteht sich hiernach von selbst, daß die Śākaṭāyana-Grammatik jünger ist als das Mahābhāshya, und ich kann es mir ersparen, die widersinnigen Erklärungsversuche des Thatbestandes hier vorzuführen, zu denen die entgegengesetzte Annahme uns nöthigen würde. Den speciellen Nachweis zu führen, daß sie jünger ist als die Grammatik Chandra's, will ich, da dies Werk bald veröffentlicht werden wird, seinem Herausgeber überlassen. Ich will nur noch meine Ueberzeugung aussprechen, daß sie auch jünger ist als die Kāśikā-Vṛitti. Nirgends habe ich in diesem Werke die geringsten Spuren davon entdecken können, daß seinen

Verfassern die diesem Śākatāyana eigenthümlichen Vorschriften bekannt gewesen wären. Während sie die Gelegenheit nicht versäumen, auf das, was Chandra eigen ist, hinzuweisen, wäre es auch nur um dasselbe in spitzfindiger Weise in Pāṇini hinein zu interpretieren, nehmen sie niemals Bezug auf Śākatāyana, und sie unterlassen dies sogar da, wo er allein das richtige gelehrt hat, und wo sie, wie wir gesehen haben, einem sprachlichen Factum gegenüber stehen, das durch keine Regel Pāṇini's oder dessen Interpreten seine Erklärung findet.

Prof. Oppert macht in seiner Vorrede wieder darauf aufmerksam, daß Pāṇini Śākatāyana mehrere Male erwähnt, und behauptet, daß die dem Śākatāyana so zugeschriebenen Lehren sich in der veröffentlichten Śākatāyana-Grammatik vorfinden. Wenn dadurch das hohe Alter dieser Grammatik bewiesen werden soll, so möchte ich zunächst erwidern, daß dieselben Lehren ganz ebenso in anderen späteren Grammatiken enthalten sind, und daß, wenn der von Prof. Oppert angeführte Grund etwas zu bedeuten hätte, die Śākatāyana-Grammatik mit gleichem Rechte irgend einer anderen der von Pāṇini erwähnten Autoritäten zugeschrieben werden könnte. Betrachten wir die von Prof. Oppert citierten Regeln näher, so zeigt gleich seine erste Gleichung, daß die Śākatāyana-Grammatik in ihrer Regel *āddvishō jhēr jus vā* genau dasselbe wie Pāṇini lehrt, keineswegs das, was Pāṇini seinen Śākatāyana lehren läßt, und daß ihr Verfasser auch nicht im entferntesten daran gedacht hat, sich etwa für den von Pāṇini genannten Śākatāyana ausgeben zu wollen. Nach Pāṇini lauten die 3. Personen Plur. Impf. Par. von *yā* und *dvish ayān* und *advishan*, nach Śākatāyana sollen sie, wie Pāṇini III, 4, 111 und 112 berichtet, *ayuh* und *advishuh* lauten. Für die späteren Grammatiker bedeutet dies natürlich nur, daß man sowohl *ayān* und *advishan* wie *ayuh* und *advishuh* bilden darf, und dies ist es, was die Śākatāyana-Grammatik lehrt; ihr Verfasser hat für Pāṇini's *Śākatāyanasya* das Wort *vā* substituiert, gerade wie er in der Regel *sau vētau* das Wort *vā* an die Stelle des Namens *Śākatyasya* in P. I, 1, 16 gesetzt hat¹⁾. Wäre die Śākatāyana-Grammatik das Werk des alten Śākatāyana, so müßte die betreffende Regel *āddvishō jhēr jus*, und könnte nicht *āddvishō jhēr jus vā* lauten. Alles dies sind so einfache Dinge, daß ich um Verzeihung bitten muß, sie hier vorzutragen.

1) Umgekehrt verfährt Śākatāyana, wenn er für Pāṇini's *vā* die Namen *Ārya-vajra*, *Indra* und *Siddhanandin* substituiert, die nach Prof. Oppert von Śākatāyana citierte Autoritäten bezeichnen.

Betrachten wir zum Schluß an der Hand der oben aufgeführten Regeln noch kurz das Verhältniß Hēmachandra's zur Śākatāyana-Grammatik. Ich habe schon bemerkt, daß jene 112 Regeln den von Hēmachandra im 2. Pāda des 6. Adhyāya seiner Grammatik gegebenen Regeln entsprechen. Beide Grammatiker lehren hier genau dasselbe, mit der einzigen Ausnahme, daß Hēmachandra eine Regel (H. VI, 2, 56 *apō yañ vā*, zur Bildung von *āpya* oder *ammaya*, entsprechend der Regel Chandra's *āpyam vā*) hinzugefügt und in VI, 2, 61 = §. 168, in Uebereinstimmung mit den Bemerkungen des Mahābhāshya zu P. IV, 3, 155, Vārt. 5, das Wort *gōmaya* eingeschoben hat. Die Reihenfolge der Regeln Hēmachandra's, verglichen mit der Śākatāyana's, ist folgende: H. 1—8 = §. 220—228, H. 9—61 = §. 128—172, H. 62—116 = §. 185—219, H. 117—130 = §. 173—184, und H. 131—145 = §. 229—239. Der Unterschied in der Zahl der Regeln erklärt sich daraus, daß Hēmachandra einmal (H. VI, 2, 6 = §. 225 und 226) zwei Regeln Śākatāyana's zu einer vereinigt und je eine Regel zwölfmal in zwei, einmal in vier, und einmal (§. 222 = H. VI, 2, 79—97) in neunzehn Regeln zerlegt hat. Betrachtet man die einzelnen sich entsprechenden Regeln, so ergibt sich, daß Hēmachandra nicht weniger als 46 Regeln Śākatāyana's unverändert adoptiert hat. Vierzehn seiner Regeln unterscheiden sich von denen Śākatāyana's nur durch die Gestalt der Suffixe (Hēmachandra gebraucht *ikañ*, *ēyañ*, *akañ* u. s. w. statt Śākatāyana's *īhañ*, *dhāñ*, *vañ* u. s. w.), zehn nur in der Anordnung der gebrauchten Wörter, und in zehn Regeln hat Hēmachandra Etymologien gegeben, wo Śākatāyana das zu lehrende Wort in seiner fertigen Gestalt aufgeführt hat. Wo er eine Regel Śākatāyana's des leichteren Verständnisses wegen in zwei oder mehr zerlegt, bewahrt er fast stets die von Śākatāyana gegebene Reihenfolge der zu bildenden Wörter. Seine Abweichungen von Śākatāyana entspringen oft dem Bestreben, den Sinn einer Regel deutlicher zu machen, oder sind dadurch bedingt, daß gewisse Anubandhas von ihm nicht gebraucht werden oder einzelne von Śākatāyana verwendete Anubandhas durch ihn eine andere Bedeutung erhalten haben. Im ganzen wird man also nicht fehlgehen, wenn man Hēmachandra's Grammatik als eine verbessernde Bearbeitung der Śākatāyana-Grammatik bezeichnet. Ich bin noch immer der Ansicht, daß sie vor allen anderen späteren Grammatiken in ihrem vollen Umfange und zusammen mit ihrem großen Commentare herausgegeben zu werden verdient, und bedaure, daß die in Berlin lagernden Handschriften bisher bei uns keinen Benutzer gefunden haben.



Pāṇ. i, 3, 11: *Svaritenādhikārah.*



iese Paribhāṣā Pāṇinis ist für uns wertlos, weil unsere Texte der Aṣṭādhyāyī nirgends das Zeichen eines Svarita enthalten. Nicht besser ergeht es den indischen Kommentatoren. Sie gebrauchen oft genug den Ausdruck *svaryate* oder behaupten, ein Wort sei *svarita*, wollen damit aber nur sagen, dass das Wort aus einer früheren Regel zu ergänzen ist; und Gelehrte wie Nāgojibhaṭṭa, Kaiyaṭa oder die Verfasser der Kāśikā-Vṛtti lassen keinen Zweifel darüber, dass in jedem Falle die Interpretation zu entscheiden hat, ob ein Wort oder welches Wort als mit dem Svarita versehen zu betrachten ist.¹ Natürlich muss Pāṇini seine Schule darüber belehrt haben, welche Worte, Suffixe u. s. w. seiner Regeln er als mit dem Svarita versehen betrachtet wissen wollte, denn sonst hätte ja seine Paribhāṣā *svaritenādhikārah*, die über den Zweck des Svarita Auskunft giebt, keinen Sinn gehabt; aber die Überlieferung hat seine Vorschriften nicht bewahrt. Ich will durch eine freie Wiedergabe der Bemerkungen Kātyāyanas und Patañjalis zu P. i, 3, 11 zu zeigen versuchen, dass schon für sie dasselbe gilt wie für die späteren Erklärer; dass auch sie weder Texte vor sich hatten, in denen die Adhikāras mit dem Svarita bezeichnet waren, noch auch sonst eine für sie massgebende Kunde der speziellen Vorschriften besaßen, die Pāṇini für die Stellung des Svarita in den Regeln seiner Grammatik gegeben haben muss.

Die Paribhāṣā *svaritenādhikārah* lehrt, dass Pāṇini gewisse Worte, Suffixe u. s. w. seiner Regeln mit einem Svarita versieht um zu zeigen, dass jene Worte u. s. w. auch in der Folge zu ergänzen sind. Sein Verfahren entspringt dem Wunsche, sich die wiederholte Setzung ein und desselben Wortes in jeder der Regeln, in der das Wort gelten soll, zu ersparen.

Hiergegen liesse sich sagen, dass sich das, was durch den Gebrauch des Svarita und die Paribhāṣā, die seinen Zweck erklärt, angeblich erreicht werden soll, schon aus der Praxis des gewöhnlichen Lebens ergibt. Wenn man mir sagt ‚gieb dem Devadatta eine Kuh, dem Yajñadatta, dem Viṣṇumitra‘, so weiss ich, dass ich auch dem Yajñadatta eine Kuh geben soll, und ebenso dem Viṣṇumitra. Gerade so, könnte man sagen, ist es in der Grammatik. Wenn Pāṇini in iii, 3, 16 die Anfügung des Suffixes *ghañ* an *pad* u. a. lehrt, und dann in iii, 3, 17 fortfährt ‚an *sr*‘, so versteht es sich

¹ Man vergleiche Aussprüche wie *svaritatvam ācāryāṇām apy anumeyam eva, pratijñāsvaritatḥ Pāṇinīyāḥ, svaritapratijñānasya vyākhyānādhikāraṇāḥ, pratijñātasvaritatvam anuvartate, svaritatvaṃ na pratijñeyam bhavati*, u. a.

von selbst, dass ich *ghañ* auch an *sr* füge; *ghañ* gilt aus iii, 3, 16 in iii, 3, 17 fort, auch ohne dass es mit dem Svarita versehen wird und ohne die Paribhāṣā *svaritenādhikārah*.

Allein ein solcher Einwand wäre nicht stichhaltig. Wenn Jemand sagt ‚gieb dem Devadatta eine Kuh, ein Gewand dem Yajñadatta, und dem Viṣṇumitra‘, so meint er doch, dass Viṣṇumitra ein Gewand und keine Kuh erhalten soll. Wollten wir nun in der Grammatik wie im gewöhnlichen Leben verfahren, so würden wir, wenn Pāṇini z. B., nachdem er in iii, 3, 16 ff. die Anfügung des Suffixes *ghañ* gelehrt hat, in iii, 3, 44 die Anfügung des Suffixes *innu* vorschreibt, und dann in iii, 3, 45 kein Suffix ausdrücklich nennt, für die Regel 45 *innu* aus 44, und nicht *ghañ* aus 16 ergänzen. Das wäre aber nicht was Pāṇini will; und um einer solchen falschen Erklärung vorzubeugen hat er hier das Suffix *ghañ* mit dem Svarita versehen, und hat uns die Paribhāṣā *svaritenādhikārah* gegeben, nach der das so mit dem Svarita versehene *ghañ* trotz des dazwischen tretenden Suffixes *innu* aus iii, 3, 16 in iii, 3, 45 fortgilt. Die Praxis der Grammatik ist eben eine andere als die des gewöhnlichen Lebens.

Nachdem so die Notwendigkeit des Svarita und der Paribhāṣā gezeigt ist, wird darauf hingewiesen, dass wir darüber, wie weit ein Adhikāra gelte, durch den vorliegenden Text der Grammatik des Pāṇini nicht belehrt werden. Nun könnte man vielleicht behaupten, Pāṇini habe sich des Svarita bedient und die Paribhāṣā *svaritenādhikārah* gegeben, gerade um zu lehren, wie weit ein Adhikāra gelte. *Svaritenādhikārah* sei nämlich nicht in die zwei Worte *svaritena adhikārah*, sondern in die drei Worte *svarite na adhikārah* zu zerlegen, und bedeute demnach, ein Adhikāra höre auf zu gelten wo sich ein Svarita zeige.¹ Hiernach würde z. B. ein in der Regel v, 1, 32 gesetzter Svarita andeuten, dass die Worte *dvitripūrvāt* der Regel v, 1, 30 in v, 1, 32 nicht mehr gelten. Eine solche Erklärung der Paribhāṣā wäre aber nicht zulässig, denn, wie wir gesehen haben, ist die Paribhāṣā in dem ihr oben beigelegten Sinne, bei dem sie aus den zwei Worten *svaritena adhikārah* besteht und nach dem der Svarita das Fortgelten eines Wortes anzeigt, unentbehrlich. Sie kann deshalb nicht in drei Worte zerlegt werden, um etwas ganz anderes zu lehren.

Damit der Text von Pāṇini's Grammatik darüber belehre wie weit ein Adhikāra gilt, müssen gewisse Zusätze zu seinen Regeln gemacht werden. Entweder muss dem Adhikāra ein Buchstabe hinzugefügt werden, der der Zahl der Regeln entspricht, in denen der Adhikāra gilt; oder es muss da, wo die Hinzufügung eines geeigneten Buchstabens wegen der grossen Zahl solcher Regeln nicht möglich ist, ausdrücklich gesagt werden, bis zu welcher Regel der Adhikāra fortgilt. So muss z. B. der oben erwähnten Regel v, 1, 30 der Buchstabe *i* (für 2), und dem Adhikāra *āngasya* in P. vi, 4, 1, der für mehr als 600 Regeln gilt, *prāg dveḥ* (viii, 1, 1) hinzugefügt werden.

So weit Kātyāyana. Patañjali weist zunächst die von Kātyāyana verlangten Zusätze zu Pāṇini's Regeln mit der Bemerkung zurück, dass die Entscheidung darüber, wie weit ein Adhikāra gelte, Sache der Interpretation sei. Sache der Interpretation sei es aber auch, zu zeigen, welches Wort, Suffix u. s. w. aus einer früheren Regel in einer späteren zu ergänzen ist. In dem oben beigebrachten Falle

¹ Ich bemerke ausdrücklich, dass der Sinn nicht ist, ein durch den Svarita bezeichneter Adhikāra höre auf zu gelten, wo sich ein anderer Svarita zeige. Gemäss der hier vorgeschlagenen Erklärung wird der Adhikāra überhaupt nicht durch einen Svarita bezeichnet.

lehre die Interpretation, dass in iii, 3, 45 ff. das Suffix *ghañ* aus iii, 3, 16, und nicht *inuṇ* aus iii, 3, 44 fortgelte. Die Verwendung des Svarita zu dem angegebenen Zwecke und die Paribhāṣā in dem ihr zugeschriebenen Sinne seien darum ebenso überflüssig, wie Kātyāyana's Zusätze. Was dadurch erreicht werden solle, ergebe sich aus der Praxis des Lebens; wo ein Zweifel entstehe, müsse die Interpretation helfen.

Soll denn nun der Svarita überhaupt nicht verwendet und soll die Paribhāṣā *svaritenādhikārah* gestrichen werden? Keineswegs. Die Verwendung des Svarita ist zweckdienlich, wenn die Paribhāṣā auf folgende Weisen erklärt wird: (a) Ein Svarita zeigt, dass unter dem damit versehenen Worte u. s. w. einer Regel der so lautende Adhikāra in einer anderen Regel zu verstehen ist; (b) ein Svarita zeigt ferner, dass eine Operation in ausgedehnterem Masse eintritt, als der strenge Wortlaut der sie lehrenden Regel gestatten würde; (c) ein Svarita zeigt ausserdem, dass eine Regel oder Operation grössere Kraft besitzt als ihr sonst zukäme. Beispiele hierfür sind:

(a) In P. i, 2, 48 *gostriyora upasarjanasya* wird das Wort *stri* mit dem Svarita versehen um anzudeuten, dass unter diesem *stri* der Adhikāra¹ *striyam* (P. iv, 1, 3) zu verstehen ist; *stri* in i, 2, 48 bezeichnet demnach die mit Femininsuffixen gebildeten Stämme, nicht jedes Femininum.

(b) In P. i, 4, 45 *adhāro 'dhikāraṇam* wird ein Svarita gesetzt zur Erklärung des Locativs in *Gaṅgayam gavaḥ* 'die Kühe am Ganges', der sonst nicht unter die Regel fallen würde, weil man hier streng genommen den Gangesstrom nicht einen Behälter (*adhāra*) der Kühe nennen kann.

(c) In P. vii, 1, 54 *hrasvanadya po nuṭ* wird *nuṭ* mit einem Svarita versehen, um anzudeuten, dass z. B. in der Bildung des Gen. Plur. von *trapu* jenes Augment *nuṭ* gegen P. i, 4, 2, wonach eine spätere Regel grössere Kraft hat als eine frühere, grössere Kraft besitzt als das in der späteren Regel vii, 1, 73 gelehrte Augment *num*, und dass darum in *trapu + am nuṭ* an *am*, aber nicht *num* an *trapu* tritt. Wir erhalten so *trapu + nām*, und dann nach vi, 4, 3 *trapūṇam*; träte dagegen *num* an *trapu*, so könnte das *u* des Stammes (in *trapun + am*) nicht nach vi, 4, 3 verlängert werden.

Obigem ist noch hinzuzufügen die Schlussbemerkung Patañjalis zu P. i, 3, 10. In den Vārtikas zu dieser Regel zählt Kātyāyana mehrere Fälle auf, die gegen die Regel verstossen. Mit Rücksicht darauf schlägt Patañjali vor, i, 3, 10 zu lesen *yathāsamāṅghyam anudeśaḥ samānāṇi svaritena*, und dann in i, 3, 11, das nun einfach *adhikārah* lauten würde, das Wort *svaritena* aus i, 3, 10 zu ergänzen. Diejenigen Regeln Pāṇinis, in denen seine in i, 3, 10 gegebene Vorschrift wirklich gilt, sollen mit dem Svarita versehen werden.² Die Beantwortung der Frage, was nun eigentlich der Svarita in jedem einzelnen Falle bedeute, ist dann natürlich wieder Sache der Interpretation.

Diese Darlegung der Ansichten der beiden Grammatiker mag uns Patañjali in

¹ Auch hier bemerke ich, dass dieser Adhikāra *striyam* in P. iv, 1, 3 bei obiger Erklärung der Paribhāṣā nicht als mit dem Svarita versehen zu betrachten ist. Zu dem Beispiele vgl. auch das Mahābhāṣya zu P. iii, 1, 94; die Kāśīka-Vṛtti zu P. vi, 1, 169, *nityasabdāḥ svariyate tena nityādhikāraṇvhitāḥ samāśaḥ* (ii, 2, 17) *paryudasyate*; die Padamāñjarī zu P. i, 4, 23, *kāraḥ prakāśyate svariyate svaritēnādhikārahāvagatā bhavati bhāvah*.

² In ähnlicher Weise macht Kātyāyana zu P. vi, 1, 13 den Vorschlag, die Regeln, für die die Paribhāṣā *ananyavāṅkare 'nityasadrāśya* gilt, mit einem Udatta zu versehen. Man vergleiche auch die Kāśīka-Vṛtti zu P. ii, 3, 7, *saṅkhyātānudeśo na bhavaty asvaritāvāt*, und zu P. iii, 4, 61, *yathāsamāṅghyam*

wenig günstigem Lichte erscheinen lassen.¹ Aber je weniger wir seine verschiedenen Vorschläge billigen können, um so deutlicher muss es uns werden, dass Patañjali, was die Stellung des Svarita betrifft, sich durch keinen geschriebenen Text, durch keine auf Pāṇini selbst zurückgehende Überlieferung gebunden fühlte. Hätte der Svarita für ihn so zu sagen zum Bestande der Regeln Pāṇinis gehört, so würde er an dem Überlieferten festgehalten haben, gerade wie er die Worte der Paribhāṣā beibehält. Jedenfalls würde einer seiner Disputanten darauf aufmerksam gemacht haben, dass die vorgeschlagenen Erklärungen der Paribhāṣā sehr bedeutende Veränderungen des überlieferten Textes, also einen *sūtrabheda*, notwendig machen.² Und ebenso verhält es sich mit Kātyāyana. Er behält allerdings die Paribhāṣā *svaritenādhikārah* in der ihr gewöhnlich zugeschriebenen Bedeutung bei; aber daraus, dass er ihre Zerlegung in die drei Worte *svarite na adhikārah* mit der dadurch bedingten ganz veränderten Stellung des Svarita überhaupt für möglich hält, müssen wir schliessen, dass auch für ihn der Svarita keinen Teil des Textes bildete. Wäre es anders gewesen, so würde er die Ansicht, die er selbst nicht billigt, nach der der Svarita möglicherweise von Pāṇini gebraucht sein könnte, um zu zeigen, wie weit ein Adhikāra gelte, durch den einfachen Hinweis darauf zurückgewiesen haben, dass Pāṇini de facto den Adhikāra selbst mit dem Zeichen des Svarita versehen habe. Auf keinen Fall aber würde es Patañjali an einem *sidhyaty evam apāṇinīyam tu bhavati* haben fehlen lassen.

Wer diesen kurzen Aufsatz mit der teilweisen Übersetzung des Mahābhāṣya zu P. i, 3, 11 in Prof. Goldstücker's Pāṇini S. 47 ff. vergleicht, wird finden, dass ich sowohl in der Erklärung des Mahābhāṣya wie in meinen Schlussfolgerungen durchaus von Prof. Goldstücker abweiche. Hier möchte ich nur noch zwei Punkte berühren, die Prof. Goldstücker besonders betont hat. Wenn Kaiyaṭa behauptet, der zur Bezeichnung des Adhikāra dienende Svarita sei nicht *prayogasamavāyin*, so heisst das nicht, der Svarita werde nicht gesprochen (sondern nur geschrieben); es bedeutet vielmehr, dass jener Svarita, dessen Anwendung für Kaiyaṭa übrigens nur Sache des Interpreten ist, nicht mit in die Worte eintritt, die nach den Regeln der Grammatik gebildet werden. Daraus z. B., dass der Adhikāra *ghañ* in P. iii, 3, 16 als mit dem Svarita versehen betrachtet wird, darf nicht gefolgert werden, dass das *a* des mit jenem Suffixe gebildeten Stammes *pada* nun auch svarita sei. Ferner berechtigen die Worte Patañjalis *svaritanī dṛṣṭvādhikāro na bhavati* (Bd. i, S. 272, Z. 17 meiner Ausgabe) in keiner Weise zu dem Schlusse, dass Patañjali einen mit dem Zeichen des Svarita versehenen Text der Aṣṭādhyāyī vor sich gehabt oder an einen solchen gedacht habe; denn gerade der Svarita, von dem Patañjali hier spricht, ist kein Svarita Pāṇinis, sondern eine Fiction, die nie verwirklicht worden ist.

atra neṣyate 'svaritatvāt, wo der Erklärer also wirklich so thut als wenn P. i, 3, 10 lautete *yathāsamāṅghyam anudeśaḥ samānāṇi svaritena*.

¹ Das Verfahren Patañjalis wird verständlich durch seinen eigenen Ausspruch *nānīṣṭārthā śāstra-pravṛttir bhavītuṃ arhati*, die Regeln Pāṇinis dürfen nur so angewendet und müssen stets so erklärt werden, dass sie das Richtige lehren.

² Vielleicht darf ich noch darauf aufmerksam machen, dass, wenn die Adhikāras in Patañjalis Texte der Aṣṭādhyāyī mit dem Svarita bezeichnet gewesen wären, Diskussionen darüber ob eine Regel ein Adhikāra oder eine Paribhāṣā sei, wie wir sie z. B. zu P. ii, 1, 1 und vi, 1, 158 finden, ganz unmöglich gewesen wären.

FRANZ KIELHORN.

ART. III.—*The Jātakas and Sanskrit Grammarians.* By
Professor F. KIELHORN, M.R.A.S, Göttingen.

THE charming volumes which we owe to the distinguished “guild of Jātaka translators” have allured me to peruse the stories of the Buddha’s former births in the original. In the course of this reading, the Pāli text has reminded me of certain passages and phrases in the Mahābhāṣya. Occasionally, too, Pāṇini’s own rules have suggested an interpretation which differs from that of the Pāli commentary. Not being a Pāli scholar, I should hardly venture to submit the following observations of mine to the Society, were I not encouraged to do so by my friend Professor Cowell.

I begin with some verses of the Mahābhāṣya.

According to a Vārttika on Pāṇ., i, 3, 25, the verb *upa-sthā*, in the sense of “to worship,” takes the terminations of the Ātmanepada. In commenting on this Vārttika, Patañjali, to bring out more clearly the difference between the Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada, quotes the following dialogue :—

Bahūnām apy acittānām eko bhavati cittavān |
paśya vānara-sainye ’smin yad arkam upatiṣṭhate ||
Maivam mainsthāḥ sacitto ’yam eṣo ’pi hi yathā vayam |
etad apy asya kāpeyaṁ yad arkam upatiṣṭhati ||

“Among the senseless creatures all, endowed with sense is one :

Amidst this monkey troop, behold ! he’s worshipping
(*upatiṣṭhate*) the sun ! ”

“Don’t think he is endowed with sense ; he’s like us, that is clear :

To warm himself is apish, so the sun he draweth near
(*upatiṣṭhati*).”

J.R.A.S. 1898.

These verses apparently presuppose a story like the one in the Ādiccupaṭṭhāna-Jātaka (No. 175), and the wording of the second line, in my opinion, can hardly leave it doubtful that the grammarian knew some such verse as we read in that Jātaka (vol. ii, p. 73, v. 47)—

Sabbesu kira bhūtesu santi silasamāhitā,
passa sākhānigamāṁ jammāṁ, ādiccam upatiṣṭhati.¹

“There is no tribe of animals but has its virtuous one :

See how this wretched monkey here stands worshipping
the sun ! ”²

Again, a Vārttika on Pāṇ., ii, 3, 36, teaches that the locative case may be used to denote that to obtain which an action is performed, provided the thing sought after is joined with, or is found in, the object of the action. And Patañjali illustrates this rule by four examples, grouped together in the verse—

Carmaṇi dvīpinam hanti dantayor hanti kuñjaram |
keṣeṣu camarīm hanti sīmni puṣkalako hataḥ ||

“The tiger for his skin he slays, the elephant for his tusk ;
The camarī for her tail is slain, the musk-deer for its
musk.”³

Now, in the Mahājanaka-Jātaka (vol. vi, p. 61, v. 269) we read—

Ajinamhi haññate dīpī, nāgo dantehi haññati,
dhanamhi dhanino hanti aniketam asanthavaṁ,
phalī ambo aphalo ca te satthāro ubho mama ;

and again, in the Sāma-Jātaka (ibid., p. 78, v. 300)—

Ajinamhi haññate dīpī, nāgo dantehi haññati,
atha kena nu vaṇṇena viddheyaṁ mam amaññatha ?

¹ In the Rāmāyaṇa, Bo. Ed., vi, 27, 44, we have *ādityam upatiṣṭhati* in the sense of “he worships the sun.” In the so-called epic Sanskrit there are not a few forms and constructions which seem to me to be Pāli rather than Sanskrit.

² From Mr. Rouse’s translation.

³ Haradatta would take the last Pāda to mean : “The post is driven into the ground in order that the boundary may be known thereby.”

Here, then, the first line of either verse is identical in meaning with the first line of the verse of the Mahābhāṣya, and in *ajīnamhi haññate dīpī* we have the very construction that is taught by Kātyāyana—a construction which in Sanskrit, to say the least, is most unusual. Moreover, as the text stands,¹ the words *dhanamhi dhanino hanti* of the first verse are the exact counterpart of Patañjali's *carmaṇi dvīpinam hanti*, etc. This, surely, cannot be a mere accidental circumstance: either the authors of the Jātakas knew the verse of the Mahābhāṣya, or—and this seems to me rather more probable—Kātyāyana and Patañjali knew, and based their rule with its examples on, just such verses as we find in the Jātakas.

Turning to the prose, I should like to draw attention to a somewhat peculiar phrase of the Mahābhāṣya, which has often been misunderstood.

In the first Āhnika, after telling us what the course of study was in former days, Patañjali proceeds thus: *Tad adyatve na tathā; vedam adhītya tvaritā vaktāro bhavanti vedān no vaidikāḥ śabdāḥ siddhā lōkāc ca laukikā anarthakam vyākaraṇam iti*. The phrase *vaktāro bhavanti* in this passage has been variously translated by “they become teachers,” “they become speakers (of Sanskrit),” etc. But it really means “people are in the habit of saying,” “they will (or would) say,” or simply “they say,” and the sense of the whole passage is: “This is not so nowadays. After learning their Veda, being in a hurry (to marry, etc.), people will say: ‘We have got the Vedic words from the Veda, and the common ones from common usage; grammar is of no use to us.’” *Vaktāro bhavanti* occurs in the same sense in vol. i, p. 250, and vol. ii, pp. 272 and 417 of the Mahābhāṣya, and we have *sthātāro bhavanti*, “they are in the habit of staying,” “they will stay,” in vol. i, p. 391, lines 6 and 16.

¹ The learned editor of the Jātaka suggests the alteration of *dhanino* to *dhanī ko*.

Now, that among Sanskrit writers Kumāṛila also should have used *vaktāro bhavanti* and similar periphrastic expressions, cannot seem strange, considering that, deeply versed as he was in the Mahābhāṣya, this is not the only phrase which he has adopted from it. But I was not a little surprised when I came across the identical *vattāro honti* in the Jātaka, vol. i, p. 134, l. 21: *Tassa ādhāvītvā paridhāvītvā vicaraṇakāle keḷimaṇḍale kilantassa evam vattāro honti nippi-tiken 'amhā pahaṭā ti*—“And when he could run about and was playing in the playground, (his playmates) would say,¹ ‘This fatherless fellow has hit us.’” Here any doubt as to the meaning of *vattāro honti* would at once be removed by the fact that in vol. vi, p. 33, l. 16, in an analogous case, the writer, instead of *vattāro honti*, uses *vadanti*, just as in Sanskrit we might substitute *vadanti* for *vaktāro bhavanti*, wherever that phrase occurs.

I must leave it to Pāli scholars to say whether phrases like *vattāro honti* are common in Pāli.² They seem foreign to ordinary correct Sanskrit, and the question is whether Patañjali himself has followed here that common usage, to restrict and correct which is the object of grammar.

A priori, we may well suppose that Pāli has preserved certain idioms, lost in Sanskrit; and Pāli has been proved to yield instances for some of Pāṇini's rules which have not been verified yet from Sanskrit texts. On the other hand, an example may show that the interpretation of the more ancient Pāli texts may sometimes be benefited by the teachings of Sanskrit grammarians.

In the Jātaka, vol. v, p. 90, we have the verse—

Ahañ ca vanam uñchāya madhu maṁsam migābilam
yadāharāmi taṁ bhakkho, tassa nūn' ajja nādhati.

So far as I can make out, the commentator assigns to this verse the following meaning: “The honey and meat, left by

¹ Mr. Chalmers translates, more freely, “a cry would arise.”

² [Often in the Vinaya, and in such suttas as Majjhima, i, 469-472.—R.H.D.]

wild animals, which, gleaning in the forest, I bring, is (my husband's) food; surely now (when he does not obtain it) his (body) withers (*upatappati, milāyati*, like a lotus burnt by the sun's rays)."

Now *upatāpa* is indeed one of the meanings assigned to the root *nāth* or *nādh* in the Dhātupāṭha, but I feel sure that a Sanskrit grammarian, on seeing the last Pāda of this verse, would at once be put in mind of Pāṇini's rule, ii, 3, 55, *āṣiṣi nāthaḥ* (which teaches the employment of the genitive case in construction with *nāth*, "to long for"), and that, in accordance with that rule, he would unhesitatingly translate the words *tassa nūn' ajja nādhati* by "for that (food) he surely is now longing."

I have other verses for the interpretation of which, in my opinion, some assistance may be got from Pāṇini, though, perhaps, not always in so direct a manner. But for the present I must content myself with recording my belief that a close study especially of the metrical portions of the Jātakas will amply repay the student of Sanskrit grammar, and expressing my regret at being unable myself to enter upon a field of labour which seems so full of promise.

Drei Inschriften von Kanheri;

mitgetheilt von

Franz Kielhorn.

Für die drei Inschriften von Kanheri, welche ich hier mittheile, habe ich Abklatsche benutzt, welche mein Freund Professor Bühler von Dr. Burgess, dem Archaeological Surveyor for Western and Southern India, erhalten hatte. Ich habe außerdem die Copien verglichen, welche Dr. West im 6. Bande des Journals der Asiat. Ges. von Bombay veröffentlicht hat, und bezeichne im Anschluß an West die erste Inschrift mit No. 15; die beiden andern, welche früher für nur eine Inschrift gehalten wurden und bei West als No. 43 gegeben sind, mit No. 43 A und No. 43 B. Für die Situation der Inschriften verweise ich auf Burgess, Archaeol. Survey of Western India Vol. IV, p. 64 und 70, und Vol. V, p. 87. Ein Theil des Anfangs der Inschrift No. 15 und die beiden ersten Zeilen von No. 43 A sind gelesen von Pandit Bhagvanlāl Indrajī, dessen Uebersetzung sich im Journal der Asiat. Ges. von Bombay Vol. XIII, p. 11, und bei Burgess, Inscriptions from the Cave-temples of Western India p. 61 und 62 findet.

No. 15 enthält 6 Zeilen. Die drei ersten Zeilen sind jede 3,46 Meter, die beiden folgenden jede 5,26 Meter, und die letzte Zeile ist 3,47 Meter lang. Die Buchstaben sind 4 bis 5 Centimeter hoch; sie sind nicht so sorgfältig und regelmäßig eingehauen wie in 43 A, aber sie sind etwas tiefer und deshalb breiter. Die Inschrift ist ziemlich gut erhalten.

No. 43 A enthält 5 Zeilen, deren jede 2,17 Meter lang ist. Die Buchstaben haben eine Höhe von $3\frac{1}{2}$ bis 4 Centimeter; sie sind mit Sorgfalt und Geschick eingehauen, aber außerordentlich flach. Die Inschrift ist gut erhalten außer gegen das Ende der oberen drei Zeilen.

No. 43 B enthält ebenfalls 5 Zeilen, deren jede 2,28 Meter lang ist. Die Buchstaben sind ungefähr 3 Centimeter hoch; sie sind unregelmäßig eingehauen, und sehr flach. Die Inschrift hat sehr gelitten und viele Aksharas sind mehr zu errathen als zu lesen.

Alle drei Inschriften sind datirt; No. 15 Āśvina badi 2, Ś'aka 775 = September 12, A.D. 854; No. 43 A Ś'aka 799 = A.D. 877—8; und No. 43 B, wie ich glaube, Samvat (i. e. Ś'akasamvat) 765 = A.D. 843—4.

Die Sprache der Inschriften ist Sanskrit, in No. 15 recht incorrectes Sanskrit, und die Schrift altes Devanāgarī. Die Formen der Buchstaben sind im Wesentlichen dieselben wie in der Urkunde des Dantidurga vom Jahre Ś'aka 675 (*Indian Antiquary* XI, p. 110). Was insbesondere die Vocale betrifft, so dienen für auf Consonanten folgende \ddot{u} und \ddot{a} nicht die schon im 10. Jahrhundert allgemein üblichen Zeichen $\underset{\curvearrowright}{u}$ und $\underset{\curvearrowleft}{a}$, sondern es wird \ddot{u} durch einen an die linke Seite des verticalen Striches des Consonanten sich anlehenden nach unten gebogenen Strich bezeichnet, und ein ähnlicher nur etwas längerer Strich wird für \ddot{a} gebraucht. In der Bezeichnung der auf Consonanten folgenden Diphthonge erscheint nirgends der vor das Consonantenzeichen gesetzte verticale Strich (also nirgends $\overset{|}{त} = te$, $\overset{|}{ता} = to$ u. s. w.). E wird entweder durch ein über den Consonanten gesetztes $\underset{\curvearrowright}{e}$, oder dadurch bezeichnet, daß der horizontale obere Strich des Consonanten in der Mitte gesenkt und auf beiden Seiten etwas herabgezogen wird. Zur Bezeichnung von ai dient die Combination der beiden Zeichen für e ; und für o und au werden die Zeichen für e und ai unter Hinzufügung eines verticalen Striches auf der rechten Seite des Consonanten verwendet. Eingehendere Bemerkungen über die Schrift und die kleinen in den einzelnen Inschriften hervortretenden Eigenthümlichkeiten (— in No. 15 geht der \ddot{a} -Strich nicht so tief herunter wie in No. 43 A; das über einem Consonanten stehende r ist in 15 gebogen, in 43 A eckig; auf Consonanten folgendes

tha wird in 15 durch \ominus , in 43 A durch α bezeichnet; u. s. w. —) glaube ich mir hier um so eher ersparen zu dürfen als Dr. Burgess Photographien der Abklatsche veröffentlichten wird.

Was den Inhalt betrifft, so sind die Inschriften, Urkunden von Schenkungen an die Mönche des Klosters zu Kanheri, von allgemeinem Interesse als Zeugnisse für den Bestand des Buddhismus im westlichen Indien während der zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts. Sie haben außerdem einigen Werth für die Geschichte, weil sie uns für die Regierung des Rāshtrakūta Königs Amoghavarsha (Ś'arva, *Ind. Antiquary* XII, p. 180) die Daten Ś'aka 765(?), 775, und 799, für die Regierung des von jenem abhängigen Ś'ilāhāra Fürsten des Konkan Pullaśakti das Datum Ś'aka 765(?), und für dessen Nachfolger Kapardin (II, laghu) die Daten Ś'aka 775 und 799 liefern; und bestätigen daß Amoghavarsha der Nachfolger des Jagattunga (Govinda III), und Pullaśakti der Nachfolger des ältern Kapardin, ebenfalls eines Vasallen des Amoghavarsha, gewesen ist. Beachtung verdient auch daß der Name des zweiten der erwähnten Konkana-Fürsten in den vorliegenden Inschriften nicht, wie in der Urkunde des Chittarājadeva (*Ind. Antiquary* V, p. 277) und in der zu Khārepātan aufgefundenen Ś'ilāhāra Urkunde (*l. c.* IX, p. 33), पुलसक्ति, sondern पुलशक्ति geschrieben wird. Im Übrigen verweise ich auf Pandit Bhagvanlāl Indrajī, Journal der As. Ges. von Bombay Vol. XIII, p. 11—13; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 35; desselben Inschriften in Vol. XI und XII des *Ind. Antiquary*; Bühler ebendasselbst Vol. VI, p. 59 und V, p. 276; und Telang, IX, p. 33. — Ueber die in No. 43 B genannte Hauptstadt des Konkan Purī vergleiche man *Ind. Antiquary* V, p. 278, Plate II. A., Zeile 5, und IX, p. 35, Plate III, Zeile 64, und die Bemerkungen der Herausgeber der Inschriften.

Inscription No. 15.

- (1) श्री स्वस्ति शकनृपकालातीतसम्बत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु पंचसप्त-
तिघ्नंकतः अपि सम्बत्सरशः ७७५ तदन्तर्गतप्रजापतिसम्बत्स-
रान्तःपातिश्रान्विनवद्भुलद्वितीयायां बुधदिने अस्यां सम्बत्सर-
(2) मासपक्षदिवसपूर्वायां तिथौ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वरश्रीमज्जगत्तुंगदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराधिराजप-
रमेस्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवप्रवर्द्धमा-
(3) नविजयराज्ये तत्प्रसाकृतः अशेषकोंकाणवज्रभः श्रीपुल्लश-
क्तिः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्तशेखरः तत्पादानुध्यातस-
मधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्तशेखरः श्रीपैर्दिाराज्ञः प्रवर्द्ध-
(4) मानविजयराज्ये इहैव गौडविषयादागतः परमसैगतः गौमि-

- (1) अपि सम्बत्सरशः — Von अपि sind nur geringe Spuren erhalten und सम्ब
ist undeutlich. Das letzte Zeichen sieht auf der Vorderseite des Ab-
klatsches und bei West dem त ähnlich, aber auf der Rückseite des
Abklatsches ist Visarga zu erkennen.
श्रान्विन^० — Bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung könnte श्रान्वि^० gelesen wer-
den; eine genauere Prüfung zeigt, daß das erste Akshara श्र und das
letzte न ist; auch das व ist unter dem ण deutlich zu erkennen.
द्वितीयायां बुध^० — Der obere Theil der Aksharas वां बुध ist undeutlich.
सम्बत्सर^० — सम्ब ist sicher; das folgende त्स sieht wie तु aus, und र
könnte mit क verwechselt werden. Man vergleiche aber अस्यां संवत्स-
रमासपक्षवारपूर्विकायां तिथौ z. B. *Ind. Antiquary* VI, p. 195, und beson-
ders अस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षदिवसपूर्वायां तिथौ l. c. XII, p. 126 und 155.
(3) तत्प्रसाकृतः — Visarga ist sehr undeutlich, aber zu erkennen.
श्रीपुल्लशक्तिः — Das obere ल von ल्ल ist undeutlich, aber zu erkennen.
Visarga ist deutlich.
श्रीपैर्दिाराज्ञः प्रवर्द्ध^० — Auf der Vorderseite des Abklatsches sind ganz
deutlich nur die Aksharas श्री, दि, und रा; auf der Rückseite sind
auch व (vor दि), ञः, und प्रवर्द्ध zu erkennen. Das auf श्री folgende
Akshara ist ष; darüber steht das Zeichen ~, und darunter glaube
ich in kleinerer Schrift ein क zu erkennen.
(4) दामतः — Visarga ist undeutlich, aber zu erkennen.

नः अविघ्नाकरेण अस्मिन् श्रीकृष्णगिरिमहाराजमहाविहारे उपश-
मकोल्हिवेशिकाः सचीवरिकाः समेता अद्वैतीतिः द्राम्मशतै-
केन कारापिताः इयं चान्नयनीतीर्यावद्दृं जीवामि तावन्मो-
पभोगः ममोपरतौ न्नशलैः कारो निवृष्यानश्यं द-
(5) तव्या न परिपन्थना कार्या यः प्रलेपिष्यति स अवीचिपरी-
तापकुम्भीपाकादिषु नरकेषूपत्यस्यते श्रानोद्गीर्णगोमांसं स भ-
क्षयिष्यत्येव व्यवस्था चार्यसंघस्य पुरतो आरोच्य प्रतिष्ठाप्य
लिखापिता साक्षिणाश्चात्र पात्तियाणकयोगनामा चिख्यल्लपल्लि-
काश्चाचार्यश्चात्र साक्षी। पण्यं मन्त्री साक्षिणां भो

अस्मिन् — Anusvāra ist deutlich.

कोल्हिवेशिकाः सची^० — Ganz deutlich sind nur कोलि und का. Unter
ल sind Spuren eines Buchstaben erhalten, den ich für ह halte. Zwi-
schen लि und का glaube ich zu erkennen व, ष, und Spuren von ण
unter dem noch ein Buchstabe gestanden haben muß. Auch glaube
ich Visarga hinter का zu erkennen. Das auf का: folgende स ist nur
theilweise sichtbar, und das च von चो fast ganz verschwunden. Siehe
Inscription 43 A, Zeile 3.

वरिकाः — Visarga ist undeutlich, aber zu erkennen.

इयं — Anusvāra ist sichtbar.

भोगः — Der Seitenstrich des े ist fast ganz verschwunden.

न्नशलैः — न्न und ण sind deutlich; von लै ist nur der untere Theil (ल)
ganz sicher. Visarga glaube ich deutlich zu erkennen.

श्रयं दा^० — Anusvāra und der ā-Strich von दा sind undeutlich, aber zu
erkennen.

(5) स — Es ist möglich, daß auf dem Steine सो gestanden hat.

परीतापकुम्भी^० — ताप ist undeutlich, der u-Strich unter क ist nicht zu
erkennen, und von dem म unter ण ist nur ein Theil sichtbar.

चार्यसंघस्य — Von चा ist nur der untere Theil des च zu erkennen.

पुरतो — Der Seitenstrich des े ist undeutlich.

पल्लिका — Das zweite (untergeschriebene) ल ist undeutlich.

पण्यं मन्त्रीसाक्षिणां — Deutlich erscheint auf der Vorderseite des Abklat-
sches nur पुण्यमन्त्रीसाक्षिणा; ausserdem glaube ich sicher zu erkennen
Anusvāra über पण्य von पुण्य, und ष hinter साक्षिणा; dagegen bin ich
zweifelhaft über den r-Strich unter न्त्री in मन्त्री.

भो — े ist deutlich.

(6) भो दिव्य बुद्ध श्रो कदाचीदपात्रं सत्त्वाचारिणो साधुचार-
स्य प्रतिपादयिष्ये स पात्रेणोपतिष्ठेत्तस्य पापादर्शनादेवावश्यं
दातव्यं अत्र यत्किंचिद्द्वान्तरमधिकान्तरं यत्तत्सर्वं प्रमाणमिति

(6) भो दिव्य बुद्ध श्रो — Von *व्य* ist der untere Theil des *व* verschwunden, und der *y*-Strich sehr undeutlich, aber noch zu erkennen. Von *बुद्ध* ist nur die obere Hälfte ganz deutlich. Von *श्रो* ist nur soviel sichtbar, daß das Akshara fast wie *श्री* aussieht; (*श्री* ist in ähnlicher Weise verstümmelt in Zeile 5 der Inschrift 43 A). Ob Visarga hinter *श्री* gestanden hat, kann ich nicht entscheiden.

^१पात्रं — Anusvāra ist undeutlich, aber zu erkennen.

सत्त्वाचारिणो — Der untere Theil von *त्वा* und der *ā*-Strich des *त्वा* sind undeutlich.

^२पतिष्ठेत्तस्य — Von *ष्ठे* ist nur das untergeschriebene *ठ* ganz deutlich.

पापादर्शना^० — Von *पाद* sind nur geringe Reste sichtbar.

^३अं दातव्यं — Beide Anusvāras sind sehr undeutlich.

यत्किंचि^० — *किंचि* ist deutlich.

^४धिकान्तरं — Von *न्तरं* ist der untere Theil verschwunden.

प्रमाणमिति — Von *मिति* ist nur ein Theil des *f* sichtbar.

Uebersetzung.

Om! Heil! Am Mittwoch, dem zweiten der dunklen Hälfte des Monats *Āsvina* im laufenden Jahre *Prajāpati*, als siebenhundertfünfundsiebzig Jahre — ebenso in Zahlen, 775 Jahre — der Aera der *S'aka*-Könige verfloßen waren¹⁾, am vorbenannten (zweiten) lunaren Tage der genannten Hälfte des genannten Monats und Jahres; unter der glorreichen sieggewohnten Regierung des höchsten Herrn (*Parama-bhattāraka*), des Oberkönigs der Großkönige, des höchsten Herrschers²⁾, des erhabenen Königs **Amoghavarsha** (*Amoghavarsha-deva*), — der mit Ehrfurcht gedenkt des höchsten Herrn (*Parama-bhattāraka*), des Oberkönigs der Großkönige, des höchsten Herrschers, des erhabenen Königs **Jagattunga** (*Jagattunga-deva*); unter der glorreichen sieggewohnten Regierung des erlauchten Königs **Kapardin** (*Kapardi-rāja*), der Zierde der großen Vasallen, der sich der fünf mit *Mahā* 'Groß' anfangenden Titel erfreut, —

und der mit Ehrfurcht gedenkt des erlauchten **Pullasakti**, der Zierde der großen Vasallen, der sich der fünf mit *Mahā* 'Groß' anfangenden Titel erfreute, des Fürsten des gesammten *Konkana* in Gnaden ihm verliehen von (*Amoghavarsha*)³⁾; — da habe ich, der *Gomin Avighnākara*, ein eifriger Verehrer des *Sugata*, hierher gekommen aus dem Lande *Gauda*, in diesem großen Kloster am berühmten *Krishna*berge (zu *Kanheri*) für die religiöse Erbauung (der Mönche geeignete) Hallen-wohnungen errichten lassen, und habe als dauernde Stiftung einhundert *Drammas* geschenkt (aus deren Zinsen die Mönche) Kleidung erhalten sollen⁴⁾. Weiter (verfüge ich): so lange ich lebe, habe ich selbst den Nießbrauch dieser dauernden Stiftung; wenn ich nicht mehr bin, sollen erfahrene Männer einen Zins bestimmen der unter allen Umständen (zu obigem Zwecke) gegeben werden soll⁵⁾. Niemand suche dies zu hindern; wer (von dem Capital oder den Zinsen) sich selbst etwas aneignen sollte⁶⁾, der wird in den *Avīchi*, *Partāpa*, *Kumbhāpāka* und den andern Höllen wiedergeboren werden; wahrlich, der wird von Hunden ausgespieenes Kuhfleisch zur Nahrung haben.

Die Stiftung ist vor der ehrwürdigen Bruderschaft gebilligt⁷⁾, eingesetzt, und urkundlich niedergeschrieben. Zeugen dafür sind der *Pāttiyānaka* Namens *Yoga* und der *Āchārya* von *Chikhyallapallikā*⁸⁾. — Religiöses Verdienst [dem Stifter(?) und] den Zeugen⁹⁾.

Oh, Oh, himmlischer Buddha! Faustum sit! Nimmer sind würdige Empfänger die welche den Wesen Harm zufügen. Dem, der frommen Wandels ist, will ich geben; er nahe sich als würdiger Empfänger! Ihm soll sicherlich, weil er sündlos befunden, gegeben werden.

Was auch immer in dieser (Urkunde) zu wenige Buchstaben, und was zu viele Buchstaben enthält, Alles hat Gültigkeit¹⁰⁾.

Bemerkungen.

1) शकनृप^० . . . बुधदिने. — In der Bezeichnung des Datums sind ungewöhnlich der Ausdruck संवत्सराः und die Wendung तदन्तर्गतप्रजापतिसंवत्सरान्तःपात्याश्विन^०; für ersteres erwartete man संवत्, oder शकसंवत्, oder संवत्सराणाम्; und *tadantargata . . . samvatsarāntahpātīn* in letzterem scheint gleichbedeutend mit dem üblichen *pravartamāna-* (oder *vartamāna-*) . . . *samvatsarāntargata*. (Siehe die Sammlung von Beispielen bei Fleet im *Ind. Antiquary* XII, p. 207 ff.). — Das Prajāpati-jahr des Brihaspati-cyclus entspricht nach den von Warren und von Schram (Hilfstafeln für Chronologie pp. 48 u. 49) gegebenen Regeln und Tafeln nicht dem laufenden S'aka-jahre 776, sondern dem Jahre 774, und Fleet (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* p. 35) will darum für 775 in der Inschrift 773 setzen. Indessen wird die Richtigkeit der Zahl 775 dadurch bewiesen daß (nach der Berechnung meines Freundes Professor Jacobi) *dīvina ba di 2* weder im laufenden Jahre 774 noch in 775, wohl aber im Jahre 776 (oder 775 *atīteshu*) auf einen Mittwoch fiel. Das Datum entspricht dem 12. September 854 A. D.

2) Man verbessere in der Inschrift ^०महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर^०.

3) Ich stelle die Worte so: तत्पसादीकृताशेषकोऽङ्गपात्रल्लभसयधिगतप-
क्षमहाशब्दमहासामन्तशेषरश्मीपुल्लशक्तिपादानुध्यातसमधिगतपक्षमहाशब्दमहासामन्तशेषरश्मी-
कपर्दिराजप्रवर्धमानवित्तयराजे.

4) इहैव . . . कारापिताः — Der ganze Satz, über dessen Sinn ein Vergleich der ältern Inschriften von Junnar, Nāsik und namentlich von Kanheri selbst im Allgemeinen keinen Zweifel lassen kann, ist unklar gedacht und im Einzelnen ungrammatisch und nachlässig niedergeschrieben. Was den letzteren Punkt betrifft, so ist, wie mir scheint, das Wort महाराज vor महाविहारे zu streichen, und der Hauptsatz so zu verbessern: इहैव गौडविषयादागतेन गोमिनाविघ्नाकरेणास्मिन्श्रीकृष्णामिर्महाविहार उपशमकोल्लिह्वेप्रिमकाः कारापिताः. Der Sinn der Worte *शब्दोत्पत्तिः द्रव्यशक्तैकेन* würde dann nach dem Vorgange der ältern Inschriften wiederzugeben sein durch *शब्दयनीवी च दत्ता द्रव्याणां शतमेकम्*; und der

in den Worten *सचिवरिकाः समेताः* *) angedeutete Zweck des Capitals wäre entweder einfach durch *चौवरिकार्यम्* oder durch einen dritten die Worte *चौवरिकं दातव्यम्* enthaltenden besondern Satz auszudrücken. — Man vergleiche Burgess, *Archaeol. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV, p. 102, Nāsik 7 *ima lena niyāttitām* [1] *data chanena akshaya nivi*; p. 115, Nāsik 20; Vol. V, p. 79, Kanheri 15; p. 80, Kanheri 16, Z. 6, und 10 (*akhd nivi*); p. 81, Kanheri 17 *akhayanivi dind* [1] *eto chivarikam dātava*; p. 82, Kanheri 18; p. 83, Kanheri 21; p. 83, Kanheri 22 *lenāi podhi kodhi cha patithāpitā* [1] *akhaya nivi cha dind . . . eto cha bhikhusaghe chevarika dātava*; p. 84, Kanheri 26; p. 85, Kanheri 28. Man vergl. auch V, p. 76, Kanheri 5, Z. 4, 8, und besonders 10 *saghārāmo sa-akhayaniviko kārdāpito*. —

कोलिह् in ^०कोलिह्वेप्रिमकाः halte ich für das Wort *kodhi* der ältern Inschriften; *l. c.* Vol. IV, p. 88, Mahād 2; vol. V, p. 76, Kanheri 5; p. 79, Kanheri 15; p. 83, Kanheri 22. Das Compositum *उपशम^०* löse ich in Anschluß an Inschrift 43A, Z. 3 auf durch *उपशमसदृशः कोलिह्वेप्रिमकाः*.

5) Ich lese: इयं चाक्षयनीविर्यवदहं जीवामि तावन्ममोपभोगः । ममोपरतो कुशलैः कारो निरूप्यावयं दातव्या । Das Wort *कारो* in der Bedeutung 'Zins' kann ich durch keine andre Stelle belegen; man vergleiche aber *कारिका* für welches jene Bedeutung nach dem Pet. Wörterbuche von den Lexicographen angegeben wird. Wenn der Zins erst später bestimmt werden soll, so scheint dies dadurch begründet, daß der Stifter sich den Nießbrauch des Capitals für seine Lebenszeit reservirt hat.

6) Man verbessere in der Inschrift *यः प्रलोप्यति सोऽवोचि^०*, und vergleiche z. B. *l. c.* Vol. IV, p. 86, Kuda 10, *yo lopayet pamchamahāpātakasamyukto bhavet*.

7) Man verbessere *पुरत कारोच्य*, und vergleiche Inschrift 43 A, Z. 5.

*) Im Texte der Inschrift ist *सचौवरिकाः समेताः* nähere Bestimmung zu *वेप्रिमकाः*, und man erwartete dafür entweder einfach *सचौवरिकाः* oder *चौवरिकसमेताः*. Vergl. *चौवरिकादिल्लभसयन्वितां कोलिह्वेप्रिमकां* in No. 43 A, Zeile 3.

8) Man verbessere चिखल्लपल्लिकाचार्य⁰; das अत्र साक्षी hinter आचार्यश्च scheint mir überflüssig wiederholt. — Es liegt nahe zu vermuthen dass Chikhyallapallikā der Name eines benachbarten Dorfes war, in oder bei dem sich ein Kloster befand. Ortsnamen wie Chiklee, Chikhulthān etc. sind noch heute sehr gewöhnlich. (Man vergl. चिखल्ल = कर्म Desīnāmamālā III, 11; Hem. Prāk. III, 142; das Marāthī चिखल; und Ortsnamen wie Devabhadripallikā, Ind. Ant. VI, 10; Aśilāpallikā, Simhapallikā, Pangulapallikā l. c. VII, 71, 73, 76 etc.)

Der *Pattiyānaka* oder *Pattiyānaka* Yoga fungirt als Zeuge auch in der Inschrift 43 A, wo neben ihm als Zeugen erscheinen der in dieser Inschrift als Donor genannte *Gomin* Avighnākara und der *Āchārya* Dharmākaramitra. Für die Bedeutung von *Āchārya* verweise ich auf Kern's Buddhismus II, p. 37 Anm. und p. 72. Unter *Gomin* wird ein gelehrter Laie zu verstehn sein, der eine ansehnliche Stelle im Etablissement des Klosters bekleidet haben und so auch als respectabler Zeuge zur Hand gewesen sein mag. Wahrscheinlich war auch der *Pattiyānaka* ein Beamter des Klosters, und ich vermuthete, daß das Wort mit पत्रिका 'Schriftstück, Document' zusammenhängt. Mein Freund Bühler vergleicht das Wort *pattiyān*, für welches (Wilson, Revenue terms) die Bedeutungen 'heir, administrator' gegeben werden.

9) Der Satz पुण्यं . . . साक्षिणां entspricht dem Satze पुण्येन तिरेयं der Inschrift 43 A, und ich suche darin den Sinn, daß das durch die Stiftung erworbene religiöse Verdienst dem Geber und den Zeugen zu Gute kommen soll. Ich bin durchaus nicht sicher, daß मन्त्रिन् je die Bedeutung 'Stifter einer Schenkung' hat oder haben kann, weiß aber, da die Aksharas मन्त्री sicher sind, nichts anderes vorzuschlagen. *ḥ* könnte wie in कदाचीद्⁰ in Z. 6 für *i* stehn.

10) In der mit कदा⁰ anfangenden Nachschrift ist wenigstens zu verbessern कदाचिदपात्रं सत्त्वापाचारिणः und अत्र वक्तृचि⁰. Der Singular in कदाचिदपात्रं und der Instrumentalis in स पात्रेपापपिषेत् sind, falls ich die Worte richtig verstanden habe, ungram-

matisch. Zum Schlusse vergleiche man z. B. *Ind. Antiquary* V, p. 279, Z. 14.

Inschrift No. 43 A.

- (1) श्रीं स्वस्ति शकनृपकालातीतसम्बत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु नवनवत्यधिकेष्टकतः ७११ महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-
 (2) मदमोधवर्षदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये तत्प्रसादीकृतकौकणावल्लभमहासामन्तशेखरश्रीकपर्दिप्रवर्द्धमानाधिपत्ये श्रीमत्कृष्णगिरिमहावि-
 (3) हारे भद्रश्रीविष्णुभिन्नूणां तत्रस्थार्यसंघस्य द्रम्माणां शतमेकं द्वयोपशमनसदृशां चीवरिकादिलाभसमन्वितां कोल्लिवेशिमिकां ज्ञात्यां न्यवीविशत्सेयमार्यभिरे-

(1) श्रीं ist undeutlich, aber vorhanden,

⁰ष्टकतः — Anusvāra über ष्ट ist sichtbar.

(2) धिपत्ये श्री⁰ ist etwas undeutlich, aber sicher.

(3) हारे — Von हा steht auf dem Abklatsche nur der *a*-Strich; West hat हा. Der *e*-Strich über र ist deutlich.

भद्रश्रीविष्णुभिन्नूणां — भद्रश्री und भिन्नूणां ist sicher. An Stelle von विष्णु erscheint auf der Vorderseite des Abklatsches त्वेव oder etwas ähnliches; eine genauere Prüfung aber läßt das *f* des ersten Akshara deutlich erkennen, und zeigt, daß das zweite Akshara weder ष noch न gewesen sein kann und daß darunter ein ण gestanden hat. Man vergleiche (भद्र)श्रीविष्णु in Zeile 2 und 3 der Inschrift 43 B. Zwischen भद्रश्री und विष्णु erscheinen Spuren eines Visarga, welches von dem *i*-Strich des वि durchschnitten wird.

⁰संघस्य ist undeutlich, aber noch zu erkennen.

द्वयो⁰ — Das न von त्वो ist undeutlich, der Rest klar.

कोल्लिवेशिमिकां — Auf der Vorderseite des Abklatsches erscheint deutlich कोल्लिवेशिकां; die Rückseite läßt auch den *e*-Strich über ष und das *f* vor ण mit Sicherheit erkennen. Außerdem steht unter dem ष ein Zeichen das ich für ह halte, und eins unter ण in dem ich म erkenne. ज्ञात्यां न्यवीविश] — Sicher ist nur ष्ण und vielleicht त्यां. न्यवीविश⁰ scheint mir am besten zu den vorhandenen Resten der vier Aksharas zu passen, welche zwischen ⁰त्यां und ⁰सेयमा⁰ gestanden haben. Man ver-

- (4) वानुकम्पामुपादाय यावच्चन्द्रार्कादयः प्रतपन्वितास्तावत्प्र-
तिपाल्या यस्तु न प्रतिपालयिष्यति स पञ्चानन्तर्यकर्मका - -
र्यवीच्यादिषु महद्दुःखमुनभविष्यति व्यवस्थेयं
(5) चार्यसंघस्य पुरतो आरोच्य प्रतिष्ठाप्य लिखापिता। सान्नि-
णश्चात्राचार्यधर्माकर्म्मित्रः गोम्यविघ्नाकर्ः पत्तिया[एक]योगः
पुण्येन तिरेमेति श्री अ

gleiche *udāram nyavāśīad vāsma yatindra(sevya)* in Ajanta Inscip-
tions No. 3, Zeile 18; bei Burgess, Archaeol. Survey, Vol. IV, p. 125.

°मिरे° — Die vorhandenen Zeichen sind deutlich; ich vermute na-
türlich °मिरे°.

- (4) °न्वितास्ता° — Von स्ता ist der grössere Theil verschwunden.
यस्तु — Von स्तु ist nur der obere Theil des स und das untergeschrie-
bene u zu erkennen.
°कर्मका...र्य° — Ich kann nicht erkennen ob zwischen का und र्य noch
zwei Aksharas gestanden haben. Sollte es der Fall sein, so würde
ich कार्य vermuthen und annehmen daß diese Aksharas absichtlich
entfernt worden seien.
(5) °मित्रः, °कर्ः — In beiden Fällen ist Visarga undeutlich.
पत्तिया[एक]योगः — ण ist fast ganz verschwunden, und von क fehlt der
verticale Seitenstrich; möglicher Weise hat auf dem Steine को ge-
standen. Visarga hinter योग ist sehr undeutlich, und das ण von योग
selbst sieht dem modernen णु ähnlich.
पुण्येन तिरेमेति — Auf der Vorderseite des Abklatsches ist nur पुण्यनति
zu lesen; die Rückseite zeigt deutlich पुण्येन तिरे, und bei sorgfältiger
Prüfung auch die Aksharas मेति.
श्री sieht auf der Vorderseite fast wie श्री aus. Vielleicht hat Visarga
dahinter gestanden.

Uebersetzung.

Om! Heil! Als siebenhundert und neunundneunzig
— in Zahlen, 799 — Jahre der Aera der S'aka-Könige
verflossen waren; unter der glorreichen sieggewohnten Re-
gierung des Oberkönigs der Großkönige, des höchsten
Herrschers, des erhabenen Königs **Amoghavarsha** (*Amogha-
varsha-deva*); unter der glorreichen Herrschaft des erlauchten

Kapardin, der Zierde der großen Vasallen, des Fürsten
von *Konkana* (*Konkana-vallabha*) in Gnaden ihm verliehen
von (*Amoghavarsha*); — da schenkte¹⁾ im großen Kloster
am berühmten *Krishnaberge* (zu *Kanheri*) *Vishnu* —
möge das Glück ihm hold sein! — den Mönchen der da-
selbst weilenden ehrwürdigen Brüderschaft einhundert *Dram-
mas* und ließ in der Erde eine für religiöse Erbauung
geeignete Hallen-wohnung errichten, wo (die Mönche)
Kleidung und andere (Gaben) empfangen sollen. Diese
(Wohnung und die mit ihr verbundene Stiftung) soll man
aus Mitgefühl mit den ehrwürdigen Mönchen hüten so
lange Mond und Sonne und die übrigen (Gestirne am
Himmel) glänzen²⁾. Wer sie aber nicht hüten sollte, der
macht sich der fünf unsühnbaren Missethaten³⁾ schuldig
und wird in der *Avichi* und den andern (Höllen) grosses
Leid erdulden.

Diese Stiftung ist vor der ehrwürdigen Brüderschaft
gebilligt⁴⁾, eingesetzt, und urkundlich niedergeschrieben.
Zeugen dafür sind der *Acharya* Dharmakaramitra, der
Gomin Avighnâkara, (und) der *Pattiyânaka* Yoga. —
Möchten wir durch religiöses Verdienst selig werden! Quod
faustum sit⁵⁾!

Bemerkungen.

- 1) Man verbessere दृष्टोपशमनसदृशो.
- 2) Man verbessere प्रतापान्विता°.
- 3) पञ्चानन्तर्यकर्म°. — Nach Childers (s. v. *pañcānantariyakam-
mam*) genauer 'die fünf Sünden, denen die Strafe unmittel-
bar auf dem Fusse folgt', Muttermord u. s. w., die gewöhn-
licher als *mahāpātaka* bezeichnet werden.
- 4) Man verbessere पुरत आरोच्य.
- 5) Bei West stehn unter Z. 5 noch fünf Aksharas, die
mir im Abklatsche nicht vorliegen.

Inscription No. 43 B. *)

- (1) श्रीं (श्री) महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीमदमोघवर्षश्री-
महाराज्ञः प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये तत्प्रसादावाप्तमहा(सा)मन्त-
को-
- (2) इणवल्लभ (श्री) [कपर्दिपादानुध्या] त श्रीपुल्लशक्तिम (हृदिपे)
पुरीप्रभृतिकोङ्कणविषयं (सर्वतः) प्रशासति तत्पादानुजीवी पुरा-
णा(मा)त्यो (भद्र)-
- (3) श्रीवल्लु (पतो . . ध्य) क्षश्रीपू(र्ष) हरिसुतः श्रीकृष्णगिरौ श्रीम-
दर्यसंघं प्रणम्यातिकृपया . . ति (श्री) भगवत्प्रोत्यर्त्थं विंशतिं
(द्रम्मा)णां
- (4) ((इ)हास्मिन्नेव वि[हारे व्यस्तव्या]कीर्ष[परिष्कारणा]र्त्थं
द्रम्माणां) त्रयं चीवरी(भ्यो) आर्यसंघ(स्य द्रम्माणां) पञ्च दा(प)नी-
याः (पुस्तका[र्त्थमे]को द्रम्मः)
- (5) अक्षैनी(वि)र्द्रम्माश्चवारिंशच्चवारिंशत्(कांचन)द्रम्मशतं विं-
शत्युत्तरं (रचै)तेषां द्रम्माणां कल(त्रपुत्रव)त्प्रतिपालनीया सम्ब
(७६५)

Uebersetzung.

Om! Unter der glorreichen, sieggewohnten Regierung
des erhabenen Oberkönigs der Großkönige, des höchsten

*) Da diese Inschrift stellenweise sehr gelitten hat, so halte ich es
für angemessen, undeutliche Aksharas die ich richtig gelesen zu haben
glaube, in runde Klammern einzuschließen; sehr undeutliche oder fast ganz
verschwundene Aksharas, für deren Richtigkeit ich nicht in jedem Falle
einstehen kann, gebe ich in eckigen Klammern. In der Uebersetzung gebe
ich in eckigen Klammern alles was in der Inschrift undeutlich ist.

Herrschers, des Erdenfürsten (*Prithvi-vallabha*), des erhabenen
Amoghavarsha, des erhabenen Großkönigs; während der
erlauchte [große Oberherr] **Pullasakti Puri** und das [ganze]
übrige *Konkana*-land beherrscht, — (Pullaśakti) der [mit
Ehrfurcht gedenkt] des großen Vasallen, [des erlauchten
Kapardin], des Fürsten von *Konkana* (*Konkana-vallabha*)
[sein eigen] durch die Gnade des (Amoghavarsha)¹⁾; — da
. . . der dem (Pullaśakti) ehrfurchtsvoll untergebene alte
Minister *Vishnu* [. . .], — möge das Glück [ihm hold sein!]
— der Sohn des hochachtbaren Hari, [des Aufsehers . . .],
nachdem er der hochehrwürdigen Brüderschaft am berühmten
Krishnaberge (zu *Kanheri*) seine Verehrung bezeigt hat,
aus großer Herzensgüte . . .²⁾ die ehrwürdigen (Mönche)
zu erfreuen zwanzig [*Drammas*; hier in diesem Kloster ver-
fallenes und schadhafte auszubessern] drei [*Drammas*]. Für
Kleidung der ehrwürdigen Brüderschaft sind fünf [*Drammas*]
zu verausgaben, [für Bücher ein *Dramma*. (Das Capital
der) dauernden Stiftung (beträgt)] vierzig [*Drammas*], vierzig,
(und) hundert und zwanzig *Drammas* [in Gold³⁾]. Die Be-
stimmungen] (über die Verwendung der Zinsen) dieser *Dram-
mas* sollen wie Weib [und Kind] gehütet werden. Im
Jahre [765].

Bemerkungen.

1) Ich stelle die Worte so: तत्प्रसादावाप्तकोङ्कणवल्लभमहासामन्त-
श्रीकपर्दि°. Mit °महाधिपे vergleiche man आधिपत्ये in Z. 2 der vor-
angehenden Inschrift.

2) Hinter 'कृपया' muß ein Verbum wie ददाति 'er schenkt'
gestanden haben, von dem die folgenden Accusative विंशति
und त्रयं abhängen.

3) In den in Vol. IV und V der *Archaeological Reports*
of *Western India* mitgetheilten Inschriften werden die Be-
schaffung von Kleidung und Nahrungsmitteln für die Mönche
und das Instandhalten der Klostergebäude am häufigsten als
die Zwecke bezeichnet, für welche die Zinsen eines ge-

schenkten Capitals zu verwenden sind; daneben erscheinen vereinzelt Schuhe, der Almosentopf, Arzneien, Lichte, und *Kuśana* (?). In den Schenkungsurkunden von Valabhī (*Ind. Antiquary* I, p. 46; IV, 105; 175; V, 207; VI, 12; 15) werden genannt die Reparaturen der Klostergebäude (विहारस्य पत्तनविशोर्षप्रतिस्कारणा, विहारस्य खण्डस्फुटितविशोर्षप्रतिस्कारणा etc.); die Beschaffung von Blumen, wohlriechenden Substanzen, Räucherwerk, Oel etc. (गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपतैलादि^०, etc.); Kleidung, Almosen, Arzneien (चौवर्षिपउपात्तलानभैषज्यादि^० etc.); und in einer Urkunde des Guhasena (*l. c.* VII, 67) ausserdem der Ankauf von religiösen Büchern (सठमस्य पुस्तकोपक्र-). Zu allem diesem stimmt genau die in dieser Inschrift vorgeschriebene Vertheilung der Zinsen, denn ich nehme an, daß die zuerst genannte Summe von zwanzig *Drammas* für den Unterhalt und den Comfort ebenso wie für die gottesdienstlichen Handlungen der Mönche zu verausgaben war. Die Gesamtsumme der Zinsen, 29 *Drammas*, erfordert nach dem gesetzlichen Zinsfuße von 15 Procent per annum ein Capital von circa 200 *Drammas*. Den Umstand, daß dieses Capital in der Inschrift als 40+40+120 *Drammas* bezeichnet wird, kann ich nur so erklären, daß das Capital nicht einer, sondern (wie z. B. in Nāsik Inschrift No. 10, *Arch. Survey* IV, p. 104) getheilt mehreren Personen oder Gilden anvertraut war. — Für चौवर्षियो ist चौवर्षिय, für अन्नैनीवि^० अन्नयनीवि^० zu lesen; man vergleiche Inschrift No. 15, Z. 4.

A BUDDHIST STONE-INSCRIPTION FROM SRAVASTI,
OF [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1276.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I EDIT this inscription from two good rubbings supplied by Mr. W. Hoey, B.C.S., and forwarded to me by Mr. Fleet. The stone which holds the inscription was found by Mr. Hoey at *Sāt-Mahēt*,¹ the ancient *Srāvastī*; "in the Jētavana mound, in the ruins of an essentially Buddhist building with monastic cells; in a stratum which indicated that it had been placed in a restored building."

The inscription consists of 17 full lines, and one short line containing merely the date. The writing covers a space of about 2' 8½" broad by 1' 2¼" high, and is throughout well preserved.—The size of the letters is from ⅙" to ⅓".—The characters are Dēvanāgarī, and there is nothing remarkable about them except that the *anusvāra*, instead of being written *above* the *akshara* after which it is pronounced, is 11 times written *after* it, with the sign of *virāma* below the *anusvāra*.—The language is Sanskrit, and except for the introductory blessing and the date at the end, the inscription is in *verse*. The name of the composer of the verses is Udayin (line 17). From a grammatical point of view I may draw attention to the wrong form *avamanya*, line 1; to the wrong compound *śatpañchamah*, line 10; and to the unusual derivatives *janāma*, line 7, and *udaram-bharāna*, line 14.—In respect of orthography I would note the employment of the dental for the palatal sibilant in *sāhvara*, line 1, *sākya*, line 1, *vanśe*, line 3, *atisāyī*, line 3, *sakuni*, line 4, *vanśa* line 5, *subhrait*, line 5, *pañchasara*, line 10, *vahusō*, line 15, and *prasastim*, line 17; and the fact that *ba* is throughout denoted by the sign for *va*.

The inscription is dated in the year [of the Vikrama era] 1276, corresponding to A.D. 1219-20, and is of some interest as showing that Buddhism had not become extinct

¹ Ordinarily written *Sāhēt-Māhēt*; see e.g. *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. I, page 333; Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II, page 1; Legge, *Fu-hien*, page 55. The above spelling I owe to Mr. Hoey, who writes as follows: "Our earliest settlement inquiries found the Jētavana mound named *Sāt* सेट, and the city mound *Mahēt* महेट. This too is the spelling adopted by local Pāṇḍits, and by Patwārls who write Hindi. The form *Sāhēt-Māhēt*

in northern India in the first half of the 13th century A.D. For it records that a certain Vidyādharma, son of Janaka, and grandson of Bilvaśiva, of the Vāstavya family, established a convent for Buddhist ascetics at the town where the inscription was originally put up. Janaka, the father of Vidyādharma, is described (line 8) as the counsellor of Gōpāla, ruler of Gādhipura or Kānyakubja; and Vidyādharma appears to have held a similar position under the prince Madana (line 13), probably a successor of Gōpāla. The town where the convent was established, is called Jāvriṣha (or possibly Ajāvriṣha); it is said to have been built by Māndhātā, of the solar race, and to have had "its protection entrusted to Karkōta."

We know that Jayachandra of Kanauj was defeated and Kanauj taken by the Muhammadans in A. D. 1193; and it is therefore interesting that our inscription, like another inscription pointed out by Sir A. Cunningham, *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XI, page 128, should speak "of the Hindu kingdom of Kanauj as if it were still in existence."

The place Jāvriṣha (or Ajāvriṣha) mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify at present. In my opinion, there is just a possibility that it may be Jaunpur or some place close to it. According to Sir A. Cunningham, *loc. cit.* pp. 103 and 104, Jaunpur had an older name which is as yet unknown; there is near it a fort overhanging the river which was called Karārkōt; and "four miles to the south-east of Karārkōt, on the site of the present Zafarābād, stood the palace of the later kings of Kanauj, with whom this was a favourite residence." But my difficulty is that Jaunpur is about 130 miles distant from the place where the inscription was actually found.

(सहेट महेट) is a corruption for the sake of the rhyme. It is curious that some Nepalese who visited the ruins while I was excavating, called the place *Mahēs* (महेस). On the map of the ruins of Srāvastī, *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. I, Plate L, *Māhēt* is given as the name of the Jētavana Monastery mound, and *Sāhēt* as the name of the town.

TEXT.*

- 1 Ōm namō Vitarāgāya || Mārān⁸=aṣṭa niyama dikshv=adhīpatin=āyōya sat[t*]v-
ōdayē durlamghyāny(ny)=avamaṇya⁹ Sa(sa)mva(mba)ra-ripōr=ājñ-ākṣarāny=ādṛitaḥ |
uddhartum yatatē sma yaḥ karuṇayā śrī-Sā(śā)-
2 kya-simhō jagad-vō(bō)dhīm prāpya cha Vu(bu)ddhatām=abhogataḥ sa tvām
paritrāyātām || Samsār¹⁰=āmbhōdhi-tārāya Tārām=utāra-lōchanām | vandē
girvāṇa-vāpinām Bhāratīm=adhīdevatām ||
3 Māmdhit¹¹=ākhyāḥ śatru-jih=Chakra-tulyō vaṃsē(śē) Bhānōr=bhānu-tējō-tisā(śā)yi | nity-
ānandī sādhu bhōktā trilōkīm rājām=ādyas=chakravartī va(ba)bhūva ||
Svēchchham¹² bhrāmyan=kadāchit=sara-
4 siruba-rajō-rāji-chitrīkrīṭ-āmbhaḥ samyag=drishṭvā sarō=ntar-madakala-sa(sa)kuni-vrāta-
rāv-ābhīramyaṃ | karttūm kirttēr=vitānam sucharita-muditō mridbhir=āpūrya
yastāt=**Karkkōt**-ādhīna-ra-
5 ksham sva-puram=idam=sathō nirmamē Jāvriśh-ākhyām || Tasminn¹³=abhūvan=dhaninō-
tidhanyāḥ | śrī-pūrvva-Vastavya-kula-pradīpāḥ | ady=āpi yad-vaṃsa(śā)-bhavair=
yāśōbhir=jaganti su(su)bhair=dhavalī-
6 kriyantē || Tēshām¹⁴=sabhūd=abhijanē jaladhāv=iv=ēndur=imdu-dyutīḥ prathita-Vi(Bi)-
lvasiv-ābhīdhānaḥ | yasya Smarāri-charaṇām(vu(mbu)ja-vatsalasya lakshmir=
dvi-jāti-sujan-ārthījan-ōpabhō-
7 gyā || Saujanya¹⁵=ām(vu(mbu)midhēr=udāra-charita-pratyasyamān-sinasah sādūnām=uday-
aika-dhāma janani-sthānām śriyāḥ sat[t*]va-bhūḥ | tasy=āśj=Janakō janina-
hridayaḥ putrah satām=a-
8 granīr=mānyō Gādhipur-ādhīpasya sachivō Gōpāla-nāmaḥ sudhīḥ || Tēn¹⁶=ōchchakair-
abhījan-ām(vu(mbu)nidhēḥ prasūtā Lakshmir=iv=āchryuta-vibhōshapa-kānta-mūrtīḥ |
ānanda-kanda-ja-
9 nani janani-kulānām Jijī=ēti sambhṛita-kulasthitin=ōpayēmē || Tābhyām¹⁷=abhūvaṃs=
tanayāḥ shaḍ=eva shaḍbhir=mukhair=ēka-tanur=ya ēkaḥ | jyāyān=sutaḥ Pippaṭa-
nāmadhē-
10 yō dhīmān=iv=Āgni-prabhavaḥ Śivābhyām || Tat¹⁸=pāncchamaḥ Pāncchasa(śa)ra-ānukārī
tayōs=tanūjō=tanu-kirtti-kandaḥ | vidy-āvavō(bō)dhād= anukirttyatē yō Vidya-
dharō nāma yathārtha-
11 nāmā || Rasādhīkam¹⁹=abhivyāpi Girīsa-charaṇ-āsrītam | hams=iva mānasam yasya
jabāti sma na Bhāratī || Mādhuryam²⁰ madhunō mudhā himaruchēr=ānanda-
mēdhāvitā mi-
12 thy=ai=ām(vu(mbu)nidhēr=ggabhirima-guṇas=tuṅgatvam=adrēr=aham | yasy=ai=kaika-guṇ-
ādhīrōhaṇa-girēḥ saujanya-sāmdr-ō[l*]jasat-piyūsh-aika-nidhēr=guṇēna guṇināḥ
sarvvē=py=adhaś=chakkrirō || Yasmai²¹-
13 gaj-āgama-rahasya-vidē gajānām=ānandanīm kalayātē dhuram=uddhurāya | bhūpāla-
mauli-tilakō Madanaḥ pradāna-mān-ādibhiḥ kshitipatiḥ sriyabhām=va(ba)bhūva |
Dēvā-
14 layaiḥ prathayatā nija-kirttim=uchchahiḥ pushya[d*]-dviya-vrajam=udētum=alam=va(ba)-
bhūva | yēn=ārjitām dravinam=ārttajan-ōpakāri jīvātu-sambhṛita-mudām=udaram-
bharīṇam || Sat[t*]va²²=sārtha-pa-
15 ritrāpa-kṛita-kāyaparigrahaḥ | abhūd=a-bhūtapūrvō=yaṃ Vō(bō)dhīsat[t*]va iv=āparah |
Ātmajñāta(na)²³=kṛitōday[ē]na vīgalad-rāgādi-dōsh-āsraya-prōdgachchhan-manasā
vichārya va(ba)husō(śō)

* From the rubbing.

⁸ Metre, Sārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Read *avamaṇya*.¹⁰ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹¹ Metre, Śālini.¹² Metre, Sragdharā.¹³ Metre, Upajāti.¹⁴ Metre, Vasantatilakā.¹⁵ Metre, Sārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁶ Metre, Vasantatilakā.¹⁷ Metre, Vasantatilakā.¹⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁹ Metre, Sārdūlavikrīḍita.²⁰ Metre, Indravajrā.²¹ Metre, Upajāti.²² Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²³ Metre, Sārdūlavikrīḍita.²⁴ Metre, Vasantatilakā; and in the next verse.²⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²⁶ Metre, Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 16 madhyasthatām Saugatē[ī*] tēn=ārādhitā-satpathēna yaminām=ānanda-mūl-ālayō nirmm[ā*]
py=ōtasarijē vihāra-vidhinā kirttēr=iv=aik-āsrayaḥ || Sadvō(dō)dhā²⁷=vaṃdyā-
chari-
17 tasya nay-aika-dhāmnas=chāmdr-āvadāta-hṛidayāḥ sumatiḥ kalāvān | asya priyēshu
nirataḥ subhagamabhavi[sh]ṇuḥ samva(mba)ndha-va(ba)ndhur=Udayi vidadhē
prasa(sa)stim ||
18 Sānvat 1276[ī*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm!

Adoration to him
who is free from passions!

May the illustrious Śākya lion protect you!
—he who, having at the rising of truth (*first*)
restrained the eight Māras, (*and then*) attracted
to himself the lords over the regions,²⁸ having
treated with contempt the difficult-to-be-trans-
gressed words of command of the enemy Śam-
bara, full of zeal through compassion exerted
himself to deliver the world; and who, having
reached the Bōdhi-tree, attained the *status* of a
Buddha!

To cross the ocean of worldly existence, I
adore the saving Bhāratī, whose eyes have
protruding pupils,²⁹ the goddess presiding over
the utterances of the gods.

(L. 3).—In the race of the Sun there was,
surpassing the splendour of the sun, the univer-
sal sovereign, the first of kings, named Mān-
dhātā,³⁰ conquering the enemies, equal to In-
dra, evergladdening, well protecting the three
worlds.

Once upon a time roaming about at his plea-
sure, he saw a pleasant lake whose waters were
variegated with lines of the pollen of lotuses,
(*and which was*) charming with the cries of
flocks of sweetly singing birds in it; and having
strenuously filled it with earth, he, who de-
lighted in good conduct, to make a canopy for
his fame, then built this town of his, named

Jāvriśha,³¹ the protection of which was en-
trusted to Karkōṭa.

(L. 5).—In it there were wealthy (*and*) very
fortunate (*people*), lights of the illustrious³²
Vastavya family, by the splendid fame of
whose race the worlds are rendered white even
now.

As the moon (*is born*) from the ocean, so in
their family there was (*a personage*), shining
like the moon, whose name Bilvasiva was
famous; devoted as he was to the lotus-feet
of (Śiva) the enemy of the god of love, his wealth
was an object of enjoyment to the twice-born,
to virtuous people, and supplicants.

(L. 7).—He, an ocean of benevolence, who
was counteracting sin by his noble conduct, had
a son Janaka, a unique home of the elevation
of the good, a birthplace³³ of fortune, a site of
goodness, with a heart kind to people,³⁴ the
foremost of the good, the honoured wise coun-
sellor of the ruler of Gādhipura,³⁵ named
Gōpāla.

He, who well maintained the prosperity
of his family, married the daughter of a
noble race, named Jijī, who was causing joy³⁶
to her mother's family, (*and who*), inasmuch
as her lovely body possessed imperishable orna-
ments, was like Lakshmi, born from the ocean,
whose lovely body beautifies Achyuta (Vishṇu).

(L. 9).—From these two there were born no
less than six sons, just as the intelligent pro-
geny of fire called Pippaṭa, who one, with one

²⁷ Metre, Vasantatilakā.²⁸ Compare Kern, *Buddhismus*, German Ed. Vol. I. pp. 88, 89. It is difficult to say why the author of the verse should speak of eight Māras; the number eight would be more appropriate for the guardians of the four regions and the four intermediate regions.²⁹ The original contains a play on the word *itra*; and there is clearly an allusion to the *Tārās*, or wives (*śaktis*), of the Dhyāni-Buddhas, one of whom is called Lōhanā. See Kern, *ib. Vol. II.* pp. 215 and 216; and *e.g.*, *ante*, Vol. X. p. 187.³⁰ *Māndhātā*, of course, is the Nom. case of *Māndhā-
trī*; but we have the same form, instead of the base of the
word, in *Māndhātā-pura*.³¹ In the original, the name may be either *Jāvriśha* or
Ajāvriśha.³² *Śrī-pūrva*. I take in the sense of *śrī-yuta*, or simply*śrī*. A *śrī-Vastavya-mahāvārīśha* we find *e.g.* in the
Mahābha inscription, of Sānvat 1240. *Arch. Survey of
India*, Vol. XXI. Plate XXII. line 12, and in another
Mahābha inscription, *ib.* Plate XXIII. line 12; and a
Vastavya-varīśha in line 27 of an unedited Malhar in-
scription of [Chēdi] Sānvat 919.³³ *Janani-sthāna* I take to be used in the sense of
utpatti-sthāna.³⁴ The word *janitna* I cannot find anywhere else; it is
formed from *jana*, as *visvajantna* (*i.e.*, *visvajanēbhyaḥ
hitam*) is from *visvajana*. See Pāṇini V. 1.9.³⁵ Gādhipura is Kānyakubja. See *ante*, Vol. XV.
pp. 8, 41, etc.³⁶ One of the two words *kanda-janani* is superfluous,
Jijī may be called *ānanda-kandā* (see *e.g. ante*, p. 202,
line 1), or *ānana-a-janani*.

body, is endowed with six faces, (*was born*), as the elder son, from Śiva and his consort.²⁹

Their fifth son of those³⁰ (*sia*), resembling the five-arrowed (Kāma), (*and*) the root of no slight fame, who is celebrated for his knowledge of wisdom, is named, with an appropriate name, **Vidyadhara**, 'the holder of wisdom.'

(L. 11.)—Whose comprehensive mind, full of taste (*and*) attached to the feet of Śiva, Bhārati (the goddess of eloquence) never abandoned, just as the swan never leaves the extensive Mānasa lake, full of water (*and*) situated at the foot of the lord of mountains (Himālaya).

Vain is the sweetness of honey (*and*) the proficiency in (*creating*) joy of the cool-rayed (moon); a sham indeed is the quality of depth of the ocean (*and*) the height of the mountain; —(*but*) enough! by the excellent qualities of this mountain for the ascent of every single excellency, of this unique receptacle of the abundant sparkling nectar of benevolence, everything whatever that is endowed with excellent qualities has been surpassed!

Him, who knew the secret doctrine regarding elephants, (*and*) who, unrestrained, bore the burden of elephants that was causing pleasure (*to him*), the head-ornament of princes, the lord of the earth, **Madana**, sought to attach to himself by gifts, honours, and so forth.

²⁹ From this verse it appears that Pippaṭa is another name of Skanda or Kārttikēya. The writer, though he makes Kārttikēya the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, at the same time alludes to the legend according to which Kārttikēya was son of Śiva without the intervention of

(L. 13).—The wealth acquired by him, who spread his fame aloft by (*building*) temples,— (*wealth*) which gave relief to people in distress, (*and*) filled the bellies³¹ of those filled with joy at (*the receipt of*) food,—was sufficient to exceed the multitude of the twice-born supported (*by it*).

He was as it were another Bōdhissattva, such as had never existed before, having assumed a human body for the protection of the multitude of living beings.

(L. 15).—Elevated by the knowledge of the soul, (*and*) with a mind rising above the attachment to passion and other sins of which he was getting rid, having again and again pondered on the indifference towards the doctrine of Sugata, he, having resorted to the good path, caused to be built and granted to the ascetics, after the manner of convents, a dwelling causing joy, a unique home as it were of (*his own*) fame.

Taking delight in whatever is dear to him, the unique home of prudence, whose conduct is an object of adoration for people of true knowledge, **Udayin**, (*his*) kinsman by association, whose heart is pure like the moon (*and who is*) wise (*and*) accomplished (*and*) becoming prosperous, has composed (*this*) eulogy.

The year 1276.

his wife, Śiva's generative energy being cast into the fire.

³⁰ *Tat-pañchama* is an irregular compound.

³¹ *Udarambharṇa*, which is not found in the dictionaries, is used in the sense of *udarambhari*.

SANSKRIT PLAYS, PARTLY PRESERVED AS INSCRIPTIONS AT AJMERE.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHÖRN, C.L.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

A MONG the papers of General Sir Alexander Cunningham, transmitted to me by Mr. Fleet, I have found rubbings of two unique inscriptions, of which even an imperfect account cannot fail to interest my fellow-students. For these inscriptions contain portions of two unknown plays, one of which, entitled **Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka**, was composed in honour of the king **Vigraharājadēva** of **Sākambhari**, by the *Mahākavi* **Sōmadēva**, while the other, called **Harakēli-nāṭaka** has for its author no less a personage than the king **Vigraharājadēva** himself. Actual and undoubted proof is here afforded to us of the fact that powerful Hindu rulers of the past were eager to compete with Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti for poetical fame. And it shews the strange vicissitudes of fortune, that the stones, on which a royal author, who could boast of having repeatedly exterminated the barbarians and conquered all the land between the Viudhya and the Himālaya, made known to his people the products of his Muse, should have been used as common building-material for a place of Muhammadan worship, by the conquerors of his descendants.

According to a note on the back of the rubbings, the two inscriptions, which I shall call **A.** and **B.** are at the Arhai-din-kā Jhonpra, a mosque situated on the lower slope of the Tārāgaḥ hill, at Ajmere, the administrative head-quarters of the Ajmere-Mērwārā Division, Rājputānā. The inscription **A.** consists of 37 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' 5" broad by 1' 11" high. The writing of lines 1-18 and 21-32 apparently is in a state of perfect preservation, though in the rubbing the first line is very indistinct. Portions of the lines 19 and 20 have suffered by the peeling off of the surface of the stone; and at the commencement of lines 33-36 some *aksharas* are missing, owing to the lower proper right corner of the stone having broken away. The lines 1-36 cover the whole breadth of the inscribed surface; the line 37 measures only 9½" in length, and is placed below the centre of the preceding line. The size of the letters is about ⅜". The characters are Nāgarī of the 12th century A. D. They were well and regularly written and carefully engraved by the learned **Bhāskara**, the son of **Mahipati** (line 37). The languages employed in the inscription are Sanskrit and several Prākṛit dialects; and, as regards orthography, the only thing to note is that the consonant *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*. The inscription bears no date.

The inscription **B.** consists of 40 lines of writing which originally covered a space of about 3' 3½" broad by 1' 11½" high. But at the upper proper left corner a piece of the stone, measuring about 7" broad by 13" high, is now broken away, causing the complete loss of the concluding portions of lines 1-23. Besides, the rubbing of part of these lines is very faint. The writing of lines 24-40, on the other hand, is well preserved, and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters in lines 1-39 is about ⅜"; of those in the short line 40, which is placed below the centre of the preceding line, ¼". The characters are in every respect the same as those of the inscription **A.**, and they were written by the same writer, **Bhāskara**, of whose descent we have here (in lines 37 and 38) a somewhat fuller account. **Bhāskara's** father **Mahipati** was a son of the learned **Gōvinda**, who was born in a family of **Hūṇa** princes, and was, on account of his manifold excellencies, a favourite of a king **Bhōja**. The languages employed in this inscription are, again, Sanskrit and Prākṛit; and in respect of orthography we have only to note the use of the sign for *v* to denote the consonant *b*, and the occasional employment of the sign for the *jihvāmūlyā*. The inscription is dated (in lines 38 and 39) in the year 1210, on Sunday the 5th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa, while the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Sravaṇa** and in the sign **Makara**, during the *yōga* **Harṣaṇa** and *karāṇa* **Bālava**. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, I find that the corresponding date, for Vikrama 1210 expired, is **Sunday, the 22nd November A. D. 1153**, which satisfies all the requirements of the case.

Below I shall give nearly the whole of the text of the inscription **A.**, and the concluding

(really important) portion of B. As the language of the originals is generally plain and easy to understand, my own remarks on these texts need not be many.

The inscription A. contains the end of the third act and a large portion of the fourth act of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja*, a *nāṭaka* composed, evidently in honour of the king *Vigraharājadēva* of *Sākambhari*, by the *Mahākavi*, the learned *Sōmadēva*. It opens with a conversation between *Saśiprabhā* and the king (*Vigraharāja*), from which we may conclude that the king was in love with a daughter of a prince *Vasantapāla*.¹ The two lovers, one of whom apparently has seen the other in a dream, being separated, *Saśiprabhā*, a confidant of the lady, is sent to ascertain the king's feelings; and, having attained her purpose, she is about to depart to gladden her friend with her tidings, when the king confesses that he cannot bear to part with *Saśiprabhā*, and proposes to send *Kalyāṇavati* to the princess instead. Accordingly *Kalyāṇavati* is despatched with a love-message, in which the king informs the lady that his march against the king of the *Turushkas*, a battle with whom appears to be impending, will soon give him an opportunity of joining her. Suitable preparations having been made for making *Saśiprabhā*'s stay with the king comfortable, the latter goes to attend to his mid-day ceremonies. Thus ends the third act.

At the opening of the fourth act two *Turushka* prisoners appear on the scene, which represents the camp of the king (*Vigraharāja*) of *Sākambhari* or a place close to it, in search of the royal residence. In their perplexity they luckily meet with a countryman, a spy, sent to the camp by the *Turushka* king. This man tells them how he has managed to enter the enemy's camp, in the guise of a beggar, together with a crowd of people who went to see the god² *Sōmēśvara*. He also informs them that the army of the *Chāhamāna* (*Vigraharāja*) consists of a thousand elephants, a hundred thousand horses, and a million of men; in fact, that by the side of it the ocean would appear dry. And having pointed out the king's residence, he departs. The two prisoners take their places near the royal quarters; they meet with the king, who is thinking of his beloved, address him (in verses which unfortunately are greatly damaged in the text), and are sent away richly rewarded.

Vigraharāja now expresses his surprise that his own spy, whom he has sent to the camp of the *Hammitra*, has not returned yet. But just then the spy comes back and informs his master of what he has been able to learn regarding the enemy's forces and his movements. According to his account, the *Hammitra*'s army consists of countless elephants, chariots, horses and men, and his camp is well guarded. On the previous day it was three *yōjanas* distant from *Vavvēra*,³ the place where *Vigraharāja* then is, but it is now located at a distance of only one *yōjana*. There is also a rumour that the *Hammitra*, having prepared his forces for battle, is about to send a messenger to the king.

The spy having been dismissed, *Vigraharāja* sends for his maternal uncle, the *Rāja* *Sinhabala*, and, having explained the state of affairs, consults with him and his chief minister *Sridhara* as to what should be done. The cautious minister advises not to risk a battle with the powerful adversary. But the king, intimating that it is his duty to protect his friends, is too proud to enter upon peaceful negotiations, and is encouraged by *Sinhabala* to act according to his own views. While they are still consulting, the arrival of the *Hammitra*'s messenger is announced. The stranger is admitted into the royal presence, expresses his wonder at the

¹ I know of no prince *Vasantapāla* who lived in the 12th century A. D.; but the name looks as if it might belong to one of the *Tōmāra* princes of Delhi. See *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. I. p. 149.

² *Sōmēśvara*, of course, might also be the name of a prince, and it should be noted that the *Chāhamāna* *Prithvirāja* was a son of *Sōmēśvara*.

³ I give this name in its *Prākṛit* form, because I am not sure how to transcribe it in Sanskrit. An inscription published in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LV. Part I. p. 42, apparently in line 12 mentions a place *Vyāghrēnaka*, which possibly might be the place intended by the *Vavvēra* of the play. If this were really the case, the place would be the modern *Bāghēra*, about 47 miles to the south-east of Ajmera. See *Archæol. Survey of India* Vol. VI. p. 136.

splendour and the signs of power which surround the king, is struck with *Vigraharāja*'s own appearance, and cannot conceal from himself that the task entrusted to him will be a difficult one to perform.

Here the inscription ends. It may be assumed that *Vigraharāja* and the *Hammitra* on the present occasion did not fight, and that the king eventually was united with his lady-love. From the Delhi Siwalik pillar inscription⁴ we know that in reality *Vīśaladēva-Vigraharāja* repeatedly and successfully made war against the Muhammadan invaders by whom, it may be added, a successor of his was utterly defeated and put to death in A. D. 1193.

The inscription B. contains the concluding portion of the fifth act, called *Kraufūcha-vijaya*, of the *Harakēli-nāṭaka*, which in line 40, as well as in lines 32 and 35, is distinctly called the composition of the poet, the *Mahārājādhīrāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vigraharājadēva* of *Sākambhari* (line 37). It opens with a conversation, held by *Siva*, his wife *Gaurī*, the *Vidūshaka*, and a *Pratīhāra*, in which, so far as the fragmentary state of the inscription permits me to see, the worship rendered to *Siva* by *Rāvaṇa* is spoken of with approval. *Siva* and his attendants then, for reasons which are not apparent, turn into *Sābaras* or mountaineers. Noticing some fragrant smell, as of some oblation presented to him, the god despatches his attendant *Mūka* to ascertain the cause of it. *Mūka* returns and reports that *Arjuna* is preparing a sacrifice. He is told to assume the form of a *Kirāta*, to go near *Arjuna*, and there to await *Siva*. As soon as he has left, *Siva* perceives that *Mūka* and *Arjuna*, who were enemies before, begin fighting with one another. He therefore goes himself, as a *Kirāta*, to assist his attendant; and behind the scene a terrible battle ensues between the god and *Arjuna*, the progress of which is related to *Gaurī* by the *Pratīhāra*, and which ends with the god's acknowledging the valour of his opponent, and bringing him onto the stage.—It is hardly necessary to say that the poet here has imitated the *Kīrtārjunīya* of *Bhāravi*.

The remainder of the act is given in the original text below. The two deities, *Siva* and *Gaurī*, reveal to *Arjuna* their real nature; and *Arjuna* asks their forgiveness for whatever he may have done to offend them, and praises *Siva* as the most supreme divine being. *Siva*, pleased with *Arjuna*'s valour and piety, presents him with a mystical weapon and dismisses him. After *Arjuna*'s departure, *Siva* tells *Gaurī* that the poet *Vigraharāja* has so delighted him with his *Harakēli-nāṭaka* that they must see him too. *Vigraharāja* then himself enters, and after a short conversation, in which he pleads in favour of his *Harakēli*, and the god assures him of the pleasure which that play has afforded to him, and tells him that his fame as a poet is to last for ever, he is sent home to rule his kingdom of *Sākambhari*, while the god with his attendants is proceeding to *Kailāsa*.

The inscriptions have been executed with such minute care and accuracy that, in writing out the following texts for publication, I have had little else to do than to follow the rubbings before me. In the Sanskrit passages, I have taken the liberty of writing the letter *ḷ* for *v*, wherever it seemed necessary, and to use the nasal letters of the several classes instead of the sign for the *anusvāra* which is employed in the originals, just as if I were editing a text from a MS. The *Prākṛit* passages I have considered it necessary to give exactly as they appear on the stone.

It will be seen that the Sanskrit of our authors is throughout correct and fluent; and the only phrase which strikes me as unusual and for which I cannot quote an analogous example, is the sentence *sōḍhum kathani yāyati* 'how will it be borne?', in A., line 4, where the verb *yā* has apparently been employed simply to give to the infinitive *sōḍhum* a passive meaning. The metres of the 28 verses which my extracts contain are *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* (in 10 verses), *Vasanta-tīlakā* (in 7 verses), *Sikhariṇī* (in 4 verses), *Sragdharā* (twice), and *Anuśūbh*, *Āryā*, *Pushpitigrā*,

⁴ ante, Vol. XIX. p. 213.—It is very desirable that the various inscriptions relating to the history of the *Chāhamānas* should be properly re-edited.

Haripñ, and Mandākrāntā (once each). None of these verses⁵ occurs in either 'Sārūgadharā's *Paddhati* or Vallabhadēva's *Subhāshītāvatī*, and my friend, Professor Pischel, informs me that none is quoted in any of the works on Alākāra, accessible to him.

The Prakrit dialects employed in A. are, besides the ordinary Saṅgāṣṭī, Māhārāṣṭrī, in the two Āryā verses recited by the lady Saśiprabhā, in lines 2 and 3, and Māgadhī, spoken by the two Turushka prisoners and the Turushka spy, in lines 13-18. According to Professor Pischel, to whom I have submitted the Prakrit passages with my Sanskrit translations and to whom I am indebted for several suggestions, the Prakrit furnished by this inscription is highly interesting, because it agrees more closely with the rules laid down by Hēmachandra, than is the case with the Prakrit of any of the known plays. As Sōmadēva and Hēmachandra were contemporaries, the former, of course, may have been acquainted with the teaching of the industrious grammarian; but whether this was really the case, it is impossible to say. A few slight irregularities which the text contains will be pointed out in the notes.

Tradition has it that the *Hanuman-nāṭaka* originally was written on rocks. By a piece of good luck I am enabled to put before the reader portions of two plays which undoubtedly were engraved on stone. And I feel sure, that the able officers of the Indian services, to whose disinterested help scholars in Europe never appeal in vain, will endeavour to advise us soon of the existence of many more stones, with similar inscriptions.

[The confident tone in which, little more than three months ago, I wrote the preceding paragraph, has been justified already. For, through the kind offices of Mr. Fleet, I have received from Mr. Ramchandra Dube at Ajmere, not only additional rubbings of the inscriptions here described which have enabled me to amend my readings in one or two places, but also impressions of two other inscriptions, one of which contains a new portion of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*, while the other furnishes a new portion of the *Harakēli-nāṭaka*. And it is only from one of these new inscriptions that I have been able to insert in the above the proper title and the name of the author of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*, which do not occur in the inscription marked A. The impressions of these new inscriptions are not sufficiently clear to edit from at once, and I have therefore applied to Mr. Ramchandra Dube for additional copies. In the meantime I must confine myself to the following remarks:—

The new part of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka* consists of 38 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' broad by 1' 10'' high, and contains a large portion of the first act and the beginning of the second act of the play. The writing appears to be well preserved, but the stone has several cracks by which some *aksharas* may have been damaged or lost. In line 32 we have the words —

iti mahākavi-pañḍita-śrī-Sōmadēva-virachitē Lalita-Vigraharāj-ābhidhānē nāṭakē prathamō-
mkaḥ samāptaḥ ;

and from the commencement of the second act it appears that the name of Vasantapālā's daughter, with whom Vigraharājādēva is represented to be in love, was *Dēśaladēvi*; and from line 20, that this princess resided in the north, near or at the town of *Indrapura* (?).

The new part of the *Harakēli-nāṭaka* consists of 41 lines of writing (written by Bhāskara) which cover a space of about 3' 1½'' broad by 2' 2'' high and contain portions of the second and third acts of the play. Of this inscription too the writing appears on the whole to be well preserved. In line 23 we read —

iti mahārāja-śrī-Vigraharāja-kavi-virachitē Harakēli-nāṭakē Lingōdbhavō nāma dvit[iyō-
m]kaḥ ||]

⁵ The above remark equally applies to the fragmentary verses in that portion of B. which has not been edited here. — In the *Subhāshītāvatī*, the verse 1162 is stated to belong to Vigraharāja, who now need no longer be considered to be a prince of Kāśmīr.

A. — Extracts from Sōmadēva's *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*.

2. Saśiprabhā || *sūnandam* || (a) Deva diṭṭhiā pasañṇam bhaavadū vihiṇā va[lla]heya
a | achchhariam achchhariam |

Damsaṇa-suham pi apisam patthijjai jena dullaham jassa |
So vi hu jai tassa kae jhijjai tū kiṇṇa pejjattam ||⁶
Diṇi⁷ jam bhaṭṭidāriāe tārisa-kilesiṇala-santāva-parampariē e-

3. risassa a ṇa-ppasāa-vilasidassa apurūtam tam aieṇa jjeva kijjadu | jado |
Pavala-pavaṇoḥa-duddhara-dāvāṇala-kavalāṇam taru-varā vi |
Na sahamti chchia kiṃ ṇa somālam māladi-kusumam ||
Aham tu erisam deviyam⁸=anrūam⁹=cārisam cha siviṇṇa-samvihanāam ṇiveiya āśāsami sapa-

4. riapaṃ bhaṭṭidāriam ||
Rājā || *svagatam* ||
Sa prauḍha-prasara¹ priyī-viraha-jō duḥkh-augha-dāvānalō
vishvag=vāg-ampitair=mukh-āmbuda-tatair=yēn=ādyā nirvāpitaḥ |
Āḥ kashṭam sudhay=ēva nirmita-tanōs=tasy=ādhun=ōpasthitaḥ
kō=py=ōtasya sumānuhasya virahaḥ sōḍhuṃ katham yāsati ||⁸

prahāsam || Sakhi Saśiprabhē samprati pri-
5. yatamā-viraha-duḥkha-dāvānalas=tvad-viyōga-prabala-prahaṇjāna-vēga-śatamukhikṛitaḥ
kavalāṇam=imam dēha-viṭapinam katham śakanīyaḥ sōḍhuṃ | tatō yāvat=priyā-samāgamō
bhavati tāvad=atr=aiva tishṭhatu bhavati | tatra tu tvadīya-kalyāṇa-prāvṛitty-upabṛimhitam=
ātmanāḥ kuśala-vārttam nivēdayitum=ātmiyam sakala-viśram-

6. bha-bhuvanā Kalyāṇavatīm nāma prēshayishyamaḥ ||
Saśiprabhā || (b) Jam devo āṇavedi ||
Rājā || Kaḥ kō=tra bhōḥ kaḥ kō=tra ||
Praviśya puruṣhaḥ || (c) Āṇavedu bhaṭṭā ||
Rājā || Bhadra asamad-vachanād=abhidhīyatām mahāmātyō yathā samnidhāpit-āśēsha-śayan-
āśana-bhāḍ-ādy-upakaraṇam tāmbūla-kusuma-karpūra-vilēpana-vasa-

7. n-ādi-samast-ōpabhōgya-vastu-sampannaṃ sa-parijanīyaḥ Saśiprabhāyāḥ sthity-uchitam
sāmpāday-āvāsa-bhavanam=iti ||

Puruṣhaḥ || (d) Jam devo āṇavedi || *iti nishkrāntaḥ* ||
Rājā || Saśiprabhā ||
Sā kalpadruma-maṅjar=iva hi mama smēra-smarāgni-jvara-
jvālā-dhyāmalitair=manōrathasatāir=bhṛiṅgair=iv=āliūgitā |
Āḥ kashṭam ◡ ◡ ◡

(a) Dēva diṭṭhiā prasannaṃ bhagavatā vidhinā vallabhēna cha | āścharyam=āścharyam |
Darsana-sukham=apy-anisam prārthyatē yēna durlabham yasya |
Sō=pi khalu yadi tasya kṛitē kashyatē tat=kiṃ na paryāptam ||

Idāntū yad=bharṭṭidārikāyās=tādṛisā-klēśānala-santāpa-paramparīyā fdrīśasya cha nija-
prasāda-vilasitasya=anrūpaṃ tad=achirēṇ=aiva kriyatām | yataḥ |
Prabala-pavanaugha-durdhara-tāpānala-kavalāṇam taru-varā api |
Na saḥanta ēva kiṃ punal sukumāram māladi-kusumam ||

Aham tv=īdṛisam dēvasy=anurūgam=ētādṛisam cha svapna-saḥvidhānaṃ nivēdy=āśvāsāyami
sa-parijanām bharṭṭidārikām ||

(b) Yad=dēva āṇāpayati ||
(c) Āṇāpayatu bhartā ||
(d) Yad=dēva āṇāpayati ||

⁶ Metre, Āryā; and of the following verse.

⁷ See Professor Pischel's note on Hēmachandra IV. 277, according to which we should read *idāntū*.

⁸ The m has been retained through the influence of the Sanskrit. Read *devānaṃ apurūtam cārisam*.

⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīṭita; and of the next verse.

8. r=vidhēr=vilasitair=durvāta-vēgair=iva
krārir=vyākulatām balēna gamitā tanvi kathāi sthāsyati |
Vidūshakāh || prati || Vayasya samāhūyatām Kalyāṇavatī ||
Vidūshakāh || (e) Hi hi jāne vayasena vavasidam¹⁰ nīa-vivāha-kajjēnā | tā ambhāṇam
chira-vadḍhidā dāpi phalantu khamāḍa-laḍḍunām maḅoraha-ddu[mā] ||
9. ity=uktvā nishkrāmya Kalyāṇavatī sāha pravāsati ||
Rājā || Kalyāṇavati ih=āsana upaviśyatām ||
Kalyāṇavati tathā karōti ||
Rājā || Kalyāṇavatī Sāsīprabhā-svarūpam=dāgamana-prayō janānā chu sarvān nivrōḍya ||
Kalyāṇavati vraja tvam=avanipatēr=Vasantapālasya putrīm=asmad-vachanād=annamōdayitum=ā-
10. rūdhayitum cha | idam=ch=āsmat-samādishatām rājaputri śrāvayitavyā |
Drutataram=itah kāutē viśvaih samām bahir-indriyaih
kvachid=api manō=smūkām nītam tvayī prathamām haḥhāt |
Anujigamishōr=jīvasy=aitāny=ath=āsya Sāsīprabhā-
vachana vihītā=d=āsā-tantōr=abbūd=avalambanam ||¹¹
- Idam ch=igrataḥ kartavyam=asmadīyam |
11. vijūapanīyī rājaputri yathā Turushkēndra-vigraha-prasaṅgēna drutataram=ēv=āgatya
dēvi bhavati prasādāyishyamō yatas=Turushkarājō=py=asmān=prati prachalitaḥ śrūyatē ||
Kalyāṇavati || (f) Jām devo śūavedi ||
Rājā || Vayasya asmad-vachanid=uchyatām mahāmātyō yath=dam=idam=upāyan=ādy-
uchitōpakarāṇa-
12. sampannā kṛitvā sa-tvarām prēshyatām Kalyāṇavatī ||
Vidūshakāh || (g) Jām vayasō bhāṇēdi || iti Kalyāṇavatī sāha nishkrāntāh ||
Rājā || Sāsīprabhē āvasām gatvā vyapagat-ādha-śramā bhavatu bhavati | vayam=api
mādhāyānikām vidhātum=attishḥāmāh || iti sarvē nishkrāntāh ||

|| Tṛitīyō-ūkaḥ samāptah ||

Tataḥ pra-

13. viśatō vandīnau ||

Vandīnau || (h) Eśe śe Śiyāmbhālīśala-śivila-nivēśe | edāśīm alāśkiyyamāṇa-payyamde
kadham [lā]ulam yāpidavvam || purō=valōkya || Vayaśśa eśe ke vi chale vva dīśadi | tā imādo
edaśśa śivilāśśa śśalūvam¹² lāulam cha yāpīśśamha ||

Tataḥ pravāsati charaḥ ||

Charaḥ || (i) Āśchaliyam āśchaliyam | aho Viggahāśā-

14. nāśśala-śilīṇam avayyamādā || purō=valōkya || amhadēśya vva kevi puliśā
peśkiyyamdi | yā[ne] vāndīhīm edehīm huvidavvam ||

(e) Hi hi jānō vayasēna vvasitām nīa-vivāha-kāryēna(ryam) | tad=asmūkām chira-
vardhitā idānīm phalantu khamāḍa-laḍḍunāni manōratha-drumāh ||

(f) Yad=dēva ājūāpāyati ||

(g) Yad=vayasō bhāṇati ||

(h) Eśha sa Śikāmbharīśvara-śibira-nivēśā | ētasminn=alākshyamāṇa-paryantē lēthām
rājakulam jūātavyam || Vayasya eśha kō=pi chara iva dīśyatē | tad=asmād=ētasya śibirasya
svarūpām rājakulam cha jūāsyāvāh ||

(i) Āścharyam=āścharyam | aho Vighararāja-narēśvara-śrīṇām=aparyantatā || asmaddēśi-
yāv=iva kīv=api purushau prēshyētē | jānē vandibhyām=ētābhyām bhavitavyam ||

¹⁰ Read vavasidam; the word is construed with a double instrumental case.

¹¹ Metro, Haripl.

¹² Read śālūvam.

Vandīnau || (j) Bhadda ambhāṇam Tuluskāṇam deśīyē vva tumām peśkiyyasi | tā kadhehi
Chāhamāṇa-śivila-śālūvam lāulam cha ||

Charaḥ || (k) Śuṅāḍha le vāndīṇo śuṅāḍha | hage Tuluskāṇa

15. Śāmbhālīśalāśśa śivilam peśkidum peśide | tam cha dīśamchalam | yado
tatthastehim idale puśchamde¹⁴ vi nī[liśkam]de vi a palakiye tti yāṅiyadi | tadhāvi mae
kiṃpi kiṃpi pa[chcha]¹⁵kkhikadam ||

Vandīnau || (l) Āśchaliām āśchaliām | kadham bhadda tattha uvastidīṇam chādulide¹⁶
aṇam pi tae lāśkidam ||

Charaḥ || (m) [Śu]ṅāḍha le vāndīṇo ya-

16. dhā mae tam śivilam nīlūvidam | hage khu śīli-Someśalāevam peśkidum vānīśmāśśa
śāśtāśśa¹⁷ milide milia a ettha pavīśūṇa bhīśkam pāśtidum¹⁸ lagge | tado yam yam yāpidam
tam tam tumhāṇam yāhastam kadhiyadu | maa-vāli-nijhala-kalāla-kaḍastalāṇam kalimūḍam
dāva śahaśśam | tulamḅāṇam u-

17. nā lāśkam | nāḅāṇam upa yujha-śkamāṇam dāha lāśkāim ti | kiṃ vahūṇā yāmpideṇa |
taśśa kaḍāśśa pīśa-stide śāle vi śūśke bhodi || bāhum=utkshīpya || edam cha tam lāulam ||
iti darīśyati ||

Vandīnau || (n) Śāhule chalā śāhu ||

Charaḥ || (o) Ale le vāndīṇo chilam khu me nīa-stūḅādo nīśśalidāśśa | tā ha-

18. ge vānīāmī ||

Vandīnau || (p) Gaścha le chalā gaścha || iti charō nishkrāntāh ||

Vandīnau || puratō gatv=valōkya || (q) Tam nīdam lāula-duvālam tā idha stidā eva nīa-
lāa-pphāvām payāśemba || punar=avalōkya | śānandam || eśe śe Śāmbhālīśale aśāṇa-stide
pulado dīśadi ||

Tataḥ pravāsati rājā vibhavataś=cha pari-

19. vāraḥ ||

Rājā || svagatam || Ahō vaichitryam |

(j) Bhadda āvayōś=Turushkayōr=dēśīya¹³ iva tvām prēkshyāśē | tat=kathaya Chāha-
māna-śibira-svarūpām rājakulam cha ||

(k) Śrīṅṅtam rē vandīnau śrīṅṅtam | aham Turushkarājēna Śākambharīśvarasya śibi-
ram prēkshītum prēshitah | tach=cha duśśamcharam | yatas=tatrasthair=itarah prichchann=api
nirīkshamāṇō=pi cha parakiya iti jūāyatē | tathāpi mayā kim=api kim=api pratyakshīkṛitam ||

(l) Āścharyam=āścharyam | katham bhadda tatr=ōpasthitānām chatura-svabhāvē(?)=
nukam=api tvayā lakshitam ||

(m) Śrīṅṅtam rē vandīnau yathā mayā tach=chhibiram nīrūpitam | aham khalu śrī-Sōmē-
śvaradēvam prēkshītum vrajataḥ sārthasya militō militvā ch=ātra pravīśya bhīkshām prārthayitum
lagnah | tatō yad=yaj=jūātām tat=tad=yuvayōr=yathārtham kathyatām | mada-vāri-nirjhara-
karāla-kaḍasthalānām karīndrāṇām tāvat=sahasram | turāṅṅām punar=laksham | narāṅṅām
punar=yuddha-kshamāṇām daśa lakshāṅ=īti | kiṃ bahūṇā jalpitēna | tasya kaḍakasya
pārśva-sthitah sāgarō=pi śūśkō bhavati || ētach=cha tad=rājakulam ||

(n) Śādhu rē chara śādhu ||

(o) Arē rē vandīnan chiram khalu mē nīa-sthānān=niḅṛitasya | tad=aham vrajāmi ||

(p) Gachcha rē chara gachcha ||

(q) Tad=idam rājekula-dvāram tad=iha sthitāv=ēva nīa-rāja-prabhāvām prakāśāyavah ||
ēśha sa Śākambharīśvara āsthāna-sthitah puratō dīśyatē ||

¹³ The above is not proper Sanskrit; the two men mean *asmad-dēśīya iva*.

¹⁴ Originally *puśchamde* vi nī[liśkam]de, but the *o* has both times been altered to *e*.

¹⁵ Originally only a single *ch* was engraved, but it appears to have been altered to *chch*.

¹⁶ Prof. Piechel suggests to me that *chādulide* may stand for **chaturitē*, an abstract noun derived from *chatra*.

¹⁷ Originally *śāśtāśśa*, altered to *śāśtāśśa*. ¹⁸ Originally *pāśtidum*, altered to *pāśtidum*.

Ādāv=amṛitamay-āmbudhi-viśāhana-pratimam=avanipati-dhritul |
Smarāṇam davadhān-ōdara-nipāta-nibham-agratō bhavati ||¹⁹

21. Vigharājadēvaḥ ||

22. *prathāram=ākīrya* || Prathāra dāpyatām=ētayōr=yathā-diyamānaḥ kanaka-vasan-ādis-tyāgaḥ ||

Prathārah || Yad=ādisati dēvaḥ || *iti vandibhyām saha nishkrāntaḥ* ||

Rājā || Ahō n=ādy=āpy . . . py=āgatō Hammtra-katak-āvāsa-svarūpa . . . kaḥ ||

Praviśya charaḥ || (r) Jayadu jayadu devo | Deva deveṇa Hammtra-kaḍa-

23. a-vntāntām jāpidum parasiim dipe pesido smpadam ādo mhi ||

Rājā || Bhadra kathaya kiyat=Turushkēsvara-śibiram kutra ch=ēti ||

Charaḥ || (s) Deva agahida-gaa-raha-turaa-ppavira-samkham a[ṇā]a-peramānt amūnida-pavesa-niggama-maggaṁ riurāṇo kaḍaam | āvāso ūpa kalle ido Vavveraādo joa-

24. ṇa-ttae āsi | aija ūpa teṇa jjeva sivireṇa samaṁ āachchhiṇṇa taṁ ido joṇekkeṇa āvasidam pekkhiṇṇa ādo mhi ||

Rājā || Bhadra kidrīsi punas=tatra kimvadantī ||

Charaḥ || (t) Deva jujjhattham saśāim pi seṇṇāim saṇṇaddhāim kāriṇa ettomuham chalaṁteṇa Hammireṇa tumbāṇam pāse keṇa

25. vi vaaṇe dūdo pesidavvo tti kehiṁpi jāṇehiṁ jāmpijjadi ||

Rājā || Bhadra gaohchha tvaṁ viśrāmāya || *iti charō nishkrāntaḥ* ||

Rājā || Kaḥ kō=tra bhōḥ kaḥ kō=tra ||

Praviśya puruṣaḥ || (u) Eso mhi āṇavedu devo ||

Rājā || Āhūyatām mātulaḥ Siṁhabalō rājā ||

Puruṣaḥ || (v) Jām devo āṇavedi || *iti nishkrāntaḥ* ||

Tataḥ pra-

26. *viśati Siṁhabelaḥ* ||

Rājā || *sādaram=āsanāṁ pradāpya* || *sarvaṁ vṛttāntāṁ nivēdya* || Mātula kim=idāntīm vidhēyam ||

Siṁhabelaḥ ||

Tair=mātaṅgair=haribhir=api tais=tair=bhaṭ-aughair=anikaṁ

Hammtraśya prasaraḍ=akhilām mēdionim=āvṛṇōtu |

Vīrair=ētāis=tad=api samarāt=tvat=pratāpa=pravṛddhi-

prāpt-ōtsūhair=iha na hi bhavē-t=āvakaiḥ kṛityam=anyat ||²¹

27.

Rājā || *mantriṇaṁ Sṛidharaṁ prati* || Bhavatām=atra kim pratibhāti ||

Sṛidharaḥ || Dēva |

Vīraṇām cha vipāśhitām cha gaganāsv=ādyas=tvam=ēv=ādhunā

vidvadbhīr=gaṇitō=si tēna bhavataḥ kvāpy=asti na dvāparaḥ |

(r) Jayatu jayatu dēvaḥ | Dēva dēvēna Hammira-katakā-vṛttāntām jñātum parasmaṁ-dinē prēshitāḥ sāmpratam=āgatō=smi ||

(s) Dēva agrihita-gaja-ratha-turaga-pravira-samkhyam=a[jñāta?]paryantam=ajñāta-pravēsa-nirgama-mārgam ripurājasya katakam | āvāsaḥ punaḥ kalya itō Vavveraādo²⁰=yōjana-traya āsit | adya punas=tēn=āiva śibireṇa samam=āgamya tad=itō yōjan-aikēn=āvāsitaṁ prēkshya=āgatō=smi ||

(t) Dēva yuddhārtham sakalāny=api sainyāni samnaddhāni kārayitv=aitad=abhimukham chalatā Hammirēṇa yushmākam pārśvé kēn=āpi vaohanēna dūtaḥ prēshayitavya iti kair=api janaiḥ kathiyatē ||

(u) Ēshō=smi ājñāpayatu dēvaḥ ||

(v) Yad=dēva ājñāpayati ||

¹⁹ Metre, Āryā.

²⁰ See above, note 3.

²¹ Metre, Mandākrāntā.

Kimtv=ātmīyatayā vidhēyam=adhunā yat=prishṭam=asmādrīśām
sva-prajñām=anusṛitya tat=kathayātām

28. kshantavyam=īsa tvayā ||²²

Rājā || Mahāmatē asmākam tvam=ēva mantriṇām=agraṇis=tat=kim=ēvam=abhidhīyatē ||

Sṛidharaḥ || Dēva saty=upāyāntara-sambhavē yuddham=anupāya iti dharm-ārtha-śāstra-vidām samayaḥ ||

Rājā || Bhavēd=ēvaṁ yady=upāyāntaram=atra syāt | kimcha durātmanām Mīlech-charājām praty=upāyāntar=ānusaṇṇē ma-

29. hati vṛjā ||

Sṛidharaḥ || Dēva tathāpi jagad-ēkavireṇa Hammirēṇ=āsamkhyā-sainya-svāminā saba yuddh-āvataraṇam katham=anumanyāmahē ||

Rājā ||

Akirtih kāpy=nchehaiḥ snhrīd-abbayādāna-vrata-hatis=
tathā dhvāmsas=īrtha-dvija-su manasām vīrya-vigamaḥ |
Mam=aitēshu vyastēshv=api [a]sahyēshu sakalān=
imān=āṅgi-

30. kartuḥ kathayata vidhēyam kim=sambhīḥ ||²³

Siṁhabelaḥ || Mahārāja |

Svayam chēd=urvīśaiḥ samitishn mahā-sāhasa-rasair=
śasraṁ yōddhavyam tad=iha karaṇyam kim=aparaḥ |
Sasastair=niḥsamkhyair=viṇita-bahu-samkhyais=cha subhāṭair=
mad=āndhair=mātaṅgaiḥ pavana-javanair=vājibhir=api ||

Api [cha] |

Kshātrām dhāma tav=ēdam=adbhutatamāṁ tva-

31. t-samnidhi=sthāyinaṁ

vīraṇām tanushu dhruvam pariṇatām yāsyaty=asmakhyātātām |

Dipād=ēkata ēva [bha]dra timira-pradhvāmsa-dhīraṁ ma[ha]ḥ

svikurvann=iha hi pradīpa-nivahō dṛishṭāntatām=āsrītaḥ ||²⁴

Api cha |

Yudhyasē svayam=ēva tvaṁ samnidhi=sthē=pi chēn=mayi |

|| *dakṣiṇa-karṇa* *sva-bāhū ni[rā]ṭīya* ||

Tad=dōshpōr=dhig=imān bhāraṁ dhanushi śraṇ-

32. tayōr=vṛithi ||²⁵

Praviśya prathārah || Dēva Turushkarājōna prahitāḥ prasānta-vēshaḥ kō=pi viśiṣṭa iva pumān=saparichehadō dvāri samāgatās=tishṭhātī ||

Rājā || *Siṁhabala-Sṛidharāv=uddīya* || Kim=ih=āpi tēna pravēshṭavyam ||

Tau dvāv=api || Kō dōshō rāja-sadanām h=idam tat=prayōjan-ānūrōdhatāḥ sarvair=api pravēshṭavyam=ēva ||

33. [Rājā] || *prathārah* *prati* || Pravēśya tarhi drutam ||

Prathārah || Yad=ādisati dēvaḥ || *iti nirgaya dātēna saha praviśati* ||

Datsḥ || *samentāḥ=valīkya* | *sānandam* || Ahō sarv-āṅga-snddarābhīr=vibhūtibhīḥ sampūrṇam rāja-mandiraṁ | tathā hi |

Iha kari-nikarair=ih=āyudh-ādhyaiḥ puruṣa-varair=iha vārasandaribhīḥ |

Iha vi-

34. bhir=naṛendra-praṇayi-janair=iha rājatē nṛipa-śrīḥ ||²⁶
purō rājānam=avalōkya | *sānavatādbhutām* || Ahō sakala-jana-vilakṣaṇaḥ kō=py=ayam=apūrva

²² Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīta.

²³ Metre, Sīkharīpi; and of the next verse.

²⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīta.

²⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

²⁶ Metre, Pushpitāgrā.

êv=âsya nripatêḥ saṁnivêśaḥ || vimrīśya || athavâ | ayaṁ tûvad=akhilam=api rîja-maṇḍalam=
atiśêta êva prabhâvêṇa | kimtv=aparêśhâm=api rājâṁ kṛitê

35. êva paurâṅikah pravâdaḥ | katham=aparathâ têśhâm=idam
vaiśvarûpyam | tathâ hi |

Chârâlê kârya-vilôkana-êraṇaṇyôś=chakshuh-êrutî vâg=vayam
vaktum saṁdhi-virôdha-karma samara-kriđâsu virâlê karâḥ |

Kṛity-âkṛitya-vivêchana-vyatikarê san-mantriṇô m'inasam
haaty-asvâm kramitum payôdhiraśanâm=êtâm mahi-

36. — — — — — ||²⁷

. vyâhata-vidhêya-dvay-ôpasthânêna paryâkulô=smi | tathâ hi |

Sâmarthyam yadi na prabhôr=abhidadhê yâsyanti tad-vidvishah
saṁdhêyatvam=asâdhvasâḥ katham=atha prakhyâpayê

|| Vigharâjâam=udâśya ||

syât=tadâ |

Âkṛity=aiva vibhâvyamâna [kam] dhâm=êdam=âvirbhavat-
kôpam kasya vidhêyam=ity=ubhaya-

37. Mahîpati-sutêna paṇḍita-Bhâskarêṇa svayam=âlikhy=ôktîrṇâny=akshariṇi ||

B. — The Concluding Portion of Vigharâjadêva's Harakêli-nâṭaka.

25. Dêvau svarûpêṇ=âvirbhavataḥ ||

Arjunaḥ || drishṭvâ | sa-bhakti-praṇâmam ||

Samvartau tanu-chitta-

26. vânmaya-malsair=êuô mayâ yat=kṛitam .

yach=ch=âchyâvi dhiyâ kshaṇam kshaṇam=itô yushmat-pad-âmbhôrnhât |

Yan=n=âdhyaî pada-dvayam bhagavatôr=advaita-mudr-âṅkitam

tan=nâthau trijagat-êrijâv=asadṛisam sarvam kshamêthâm mama ||²⁸

Api cha |

Yat=kâyê niruji tvad-amhri-kamalam n=ârâdhitam Tryambaka
svintê śântatamê na bu-

27. ddham=ahaha tvad-dhâma tat=tâdṛisam |

Vâcham phalgu-vachal-prapañcha-chaturâm saṁyamya yan=na stutam

tan=mê śalyam=iva sphuraty=avirataṁ mam=ântarê Saṁkara ||

Api cha |

Dhâtuh kas=tvam Girîśa praṇavam=ajagavam tulyam=êtad=dadhânas=
tisorô bhittvâ puris=tâ ravi-śaśi-śikhinâm=antar=anyô bahis=cha |

Nirvâṇam bandha-vahnêr=Ditisuta-

28. subhaṭa-krôdha-vahuś=cha kurvañ=

jñân-âjñânê vitanvams=Tripuraraharatayâ môksha-samsâra-vîrah ||²⁹

Api cha |

Sva-pratyayâya jagataḥ parama-priyâya

prâlêya-bhânû-kalayâ kṛita-êkharâyâ |

Dêvâya durdama-tamaḥ-patal-âpahâya

svasmai Sivâyâ nirupâdhi-mudê namas=tê ||³⁰

Api cha |

Brahmâdi-viśva-gura-varga-

29. niyâmakâyâ

svâjñâ-vibhîshita-sur-âsura-nârakâyâ |

Yâvad-vidhâyaka-nishêdhaka-vigrahâyâ

tubhyam namas=Tuhinaśaila-sutâ-priyâyâ ||

²⁷ Metre, Sârdûlavikṛîṭa; and of the next verse. ²⁸ Metre, Sârdûlavikṛîṭa; and of the next verse.

²⁹ Metre, Sragdharâ. ³⁰ Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the two next verses.

Api cha |

Tat-pañchakâraṇatayâ jagatâm vidhâtrê

tad-bhâva-karma-kṛiti-sâkshitayâ niyantrê |

Bhâsvat-svachitta-nutayâ saha-jêchchhâyâ cha
traiguṇya-tanmayatayâ nama

30.

Îśvarâyâ ||

Api cha |

Namô yôga-sthâyâ sva-vidita-pada-sthâyâ mahasê

namal puṇya-sthâyâ prati-tana sukha-sthâyâ bhavatê |

Namal papa-sthâyâ prabhavad-asukha-sthâyâ bhavinê

namô jñâna-sthâyâ prasara-d-amrita-sthâyâ kṛitinê ||³¹

Api cha |

Namah kartrê dhâtrê tanushu visâtê saṁyamayatê

namô hartê bhartê chaturadhika-

31.

shashṭi-praṇayinê |

Namô vyakt-âvyakta-trijagad-âgha-vidhvamsa-ṇaṇvê

namah puṇy-âpuṇya-sthitishu mṛidu-ghôr-aika-vapushê ||

Îśah || Vatsa prîtô=smi tad-gṛihâṇa pâsupatam mantram || iti karṇê mantram dadâti ||

Vatsa anêna mantrêṇ=abhimantritam trîṇam=api pâsupatâstrâyâtê | idam=aparâṁ yâvad=astra-
sahitam nija-gaṇḍivam gṛihâ-

32. na ||

Arjunaḥ sa-vinayam gṛihṇâti ||

Îśah || Mṛitêkâ-liṅg-ârâdhanasya yuddhên=âsmad-ârâdhanasya cha phalam labdham tad-
yath-âgatam gachchha ||

Arjunaḥ || Yath=âjñâpayati dêvaḥ || iti nishkrântah ||

Îśah || Gaurîm prati || Anêna Harakêli-nâṭakêna sâdhu prîṭitô=smi Vigharâjâ-
kavinâ tad=ênam paśyâmas=tavat ||

Ta-

33.

tah pravîśati Vigharâjâḥ ||

Vigharâjâḥ || drishṭvâ dêvau pranamyâ kṛit-âñjalih ||

Smêr[âmu]khê prakāṣa-sarva-rasê=pi bâlê

samsâram=apy-amṛita-nirvṛitam=âdadhânê |

M=âstâm prabhô khala-durakshara-vahni-varshair=

abhyarthayê malinatâ Harakêli-kâyê ||³²

Ûrdhvan=avalôkya ||

Svar-vâsinô Bharata-śishya-janâś=chirêṇa

Sthâṇôḥ śirâmsi nam dhûna-

34.

yitum sa êshal |

Pratyakshara-srnta-ras-âmṛita-vâhinînâm

kallôla-kêlibhir=itô Harakêlir=âstâm ||

Punar=ûrdhvan=avalôkya || Api cha |

Stôtâ guṇân=abhidadhat=stutir=Indu-maulih

stutya sa êva phalarûpatayâ sa êva |

Ittham chaturmayatayâ Harakêlir=âstâm=

â-chandram=â-ravi mudê yasâsê śriyê vah ||

Îśah ||

Sarvam char-âcharam=idam kha-

³¹ Metre, Śikharîṇi; and of the next verse.

³² Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the three next verses.

35. In mām viditvā
 tvan-nātya-darśana-sukh-ōtsava-nīśchalānām |
 Maitrīm sukbin-y-asukhini pravaram kripām cha
 tanyid-bhav-ārti-hritayē **Harakēlīr-ēśah** ||
 Vatsa Vīgraharāja anēna **Harakēlī-nāṭakōn-ārādhitō**-ham kim te priyam-upakarōmi ||
 Vīgraharājah || *añjalīm badhivā* ||
 Yēśhām nīma na 'Sankar-ēti vadane na brahma pāpa dhanam
 ha-
36. etē n-āhar-ahar-nivāpa-salilām n-āakhgōh krip-āmbhah-kaṇṇā |
 N-āhimsā-ruchayō guṇās=tanu-manō-vāpīshu naisargikā |
 kāreshir-mā 'Sasi-chūḍā tāms=tanu-bhṛi[ta]h saṁsāra-kutsā-srijah ||²³
 Iśah || Idam=apy=astu |
 Yāvad=Viśhṇu=bibharti pramada-chiti-rasē bhōga-nirvāṇa-śakti
 Lakṣmīm Brāhmīm cha tāvad-dhavalayata jagat-tāvaki kīrtir-ēśhā |
 Prajñā-dugdhā-
37. bdi-jaumā nava-rasa-lahari-datta-bastāvalambā
 vidvach-chētās-chakōrī-kulam-akhilam=api priyatī chandrik=ēva ||²⁴
 Vatsa tvam **Sakambharī-rājyam** pālayitam gṛham gachchha | vajam=api sa-parivārāh
 Kailāsam=ēva vrajāmah || *iti nishkrāntīh sarvē* ||
 || Kraufcha-vijayō nāma pañchamō-ākah ||
 Asin-nirmala-Hūpa-pā-
38. rthiva-kulē Gōvinda-nāmā sudhīe=
 tais=taiḥ kōvīda-vandya-sadguṇa-gaṇair=yō Bhōjarāja-priyah |
 Taj-jaumā sukritī Mahipatīr-abhūt=teey=ātma-jō Bhāskarah
 sa śrī-Vīgraharāja-nirmitam=idam prājñō=likhan=nāṭakam ||²⁵
 Sāmvat 1210 Mārga-sudi 6 Āditya-dinē śravaṇa-nakṣatrē makara-sthē chandrē hareha-
39. ṇa-yōgē bālava-karṇē || **Harakēlī-nāṭakam samāptam** || Maḡalam mahā-śrīḥ ||
 40. || Kīrtir=tyam mahārājēdhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Vīgraharājādēvāya ||

²³ Metro, Śārdūlavikrīta.²⁴ Metro, Sragdharā.²⁵ Metro, Śārdūlavikrīta.

Eine Inschrift des Dichters Gangādihara aus dem
 Jahre 1137 n. Chr.

Von

F. Kielhorn.

Vor mehreren Jahren erhielt ich aus Indien einen Papierabdruck einer Steininschrift, die sich damals im Hause eines gewissen Narsingh Māli in Govindpur, im Nawādā Bezirke des Gayā Districts, befand. Ich sah, daß die Inschrift bekannt gemacht zu werden verdiente, versuchte jedoch nicht sogleich sie zu bearbeiten, weil der mir geschickte Abdruck sehr undeutlich war, und ich hoffen durfte, mit der Zeit einen besseren Abdruck zu erhalten. Diese Hoffnung hat sich nicht erfüllt; denn die Bemühungen der Herren Grierson und Macpherson haben nur constatieren können, daß der Stein, auf dem sich die Inschrift befindet, verschwunden ist. Es ist mir nun gelungen, die Inschrift bis auf wenige Worte, die für das Verständniß von keinem Belang sind, auch mit dem mangelhaften Abdrucke zu entziffern, und ich hoffe, Text und Uebersetzung in einer der nächsten Nummern der *Epigraphia Indica* zu veröffentlichen. Hier möchte ich nur kurz zeigen, daß die Inschrift auch für die indische Litteraturgeschichte von einigem Werthe ist.

Die Inschrift enthält auf einem Raume von etwa 52 × 39 cm 35 Zeilen Schrift, in dem im 11^{ten} und 12^{ten} Jahrhundert im östlichen Indien gebräuchlichen Alphabete, das uns aus Palmbblatt-

handschriften und Kupferplatten hinlänglich bekannt ist. Sie besteht aus 39 künstlichen Samskrit Versen und trägt in Worten und Ziffern das Datum Çaka 1059 = 1137—38 n. Chr. Ihr Inhalt ist folgender: —

Nachdem der Dichter in Vers 1 den Segen des Viçvambhara (Viṣṇu) erfleht hat, preist er in V. 2 den Gott Aruṇa, der durch seine Nähe den Milch-ocean-umschlungenen Çākadvīpa heiligt, wo die Brāhmanen den Namen Maga führen, und verherrlicht diese Magas selbst, die, aus dem Körper der Sonne hervorgegangen, von Çāmba nach Indien gebracht worden sind. Der erste der Maga Brāhmanen war der Seher Bhāradvāja (V. 3), von dem hundert fromme und gelehrte Familien abstammten (V. 4). In einer dieser Familien wurde im Laufe der Zeit einem gewissen Dāmodara ein Sohn Cakrapāṇi geboren, der als Dichter mit Vālmīki verglichen wird (V. 5). Er hatte zwei Söhne, Manoratha und Daçaratha (V. 7). Beide wurden von Varṇamāna, dem Könige von Magadha, an seinen Hof berufen, wo der eine die Stelle eines *Pratihāra* erhielt, während der andere mit der Aufsicht über die Eunuchen betraut wurde (V. 11). Manoratha, dessen Freigebigkeit, Frömmigkeit, Klugheit u. s. w. in sechs Versen (12—17) besungen werden, dem der König selbst den Namen Vyāsa beilegte, und den die Barden als einen neuen Kālidāsa priesen, heirathete eine Tochter des Devaçarman, die ihm nach langer Kinderlosigkeit durch Çiva's Gnade zwei Söhne gebar, Gaṅgādharma und Mahīdhara; und Daçaratha hatte ebenfalls zwei Söhne, Harihara und Purushottama (V. 21—22). Alle sechs, Manoratha und Daçaratha und ihre vier Söhne, waren ausgezeichnete Gelehrte und besonders vertraut mit den vedischen Schriften (V. 23). Der Rest der Inschrift handelt in dem gewöhnlichen Stile der *Praçastis* von Gaṅgādharma. Er war ein Freund und Rathgeber des Königs Rudramāna (V. 27), heirathete Pāsāladevī, eine Tochter des Jayapāṇi, eines Günstlings des Königs von Gauḍa (V. 29); und, was uns mehr interessiert, er hatte ein Gedicht *Advaitaçata* verfaßt und sich auch sonst als Kunstdichter einen Namen gemacht (V. 33). Er selbst verfaßte auch dieses Gedicht (V. 38), in dem er uns mittheilt, daß er für das Seelenheil seiner Eltern einen Teich hatte ausgraben und ausmauern lassen (V. 35), an dessen Mauern oder in dessen Nähe der Stein, der die Inschrift trägt, befestigt gewesen sein muß.

Auf die Frage, welchen Werth diese Inschrift für die Geschichte Magadha's hat, will ich hier nicht eingehen. Ihr Werth für die Litteraturgeschichte liegt meines Erachtens darin, daß durch sie

die Zeit von mindestens zwei, wahrscheinlich aber sechs Dichtern, deren Namen uns bekannt und von denen einige Verse erhalten sind, bestimmt wird. Was den Verfasser Gaṅgādharma und seine Verwandten betrifft, so berichtet die Inschrift ausdrücklich, daß Cakrapāṇi und Manoratha, Gaṅgādharma's Großvater und sein Vater, wie Gaṅgādharma selbst, Dichter waren; und wir dürfen gewiß annehmen, daß auch die anderen Verwandten, die alle als Gelehrte geschildert werden, gelegentlich Gedichte verfaßt haben. Nun enthält das *Saduktikarnāmṛita*¹⁾, eine im Jahre 1205 von Çrīdhara dāsa compilierte Anthologie, Verse von sechs Dichtern, die dieselben Namen tragen wie sechs der in dieser Inschrift genannten Maga Brāhmanen; und da diese Brāhmanen im östlichen Indien lebten und Çrīdharadāsa demselben Theile Indiens angehört und bei seiner Auswahl die Dichter des östlichen Indiens bevorzugt hat, so ist es in hohem Grade wahrscheinlich, daß jene sechs von ihm genannten Dichter mit Gaṅgādharma, dem Verfasser unsrer Inschrift, und seinen Verwandten Dāmodara, Cakrapāṇi, Daçaratha, Mahīdhara und Purushottama identisch sind. Bei dieser Identification würden jene Dichter, da unsere Inschrift im Jahre 1137—38 n. Chr. verfaßt ist, annähernd in das Jahrhundert von etwa 1050 bis 1150 n. Chr. zu setzen sein, oder, im Einzelnen, Dāmodara um 1050—75, Cakrapāṇi um 1075—1100, Daçaratha um 1100—1125, und Gaṅgādharma, Mahīdhara und Purushottama um 1125—50.

Die beiden Verse des Gaṅgādharma, die das *Saduktikarnāmṛita* enthält, sind schon von Prof. Aufrecht in der Zeitschrift d. D. M. G. XXXVI, 511 veröffentlicht worden. Prof. Aufrecht hat die Güte gehabt, mir auch die im *Saduktikarnāmṛita* enthaltenen Verse der anderen fünf Dichter nach seinen Abschriften mitzutheilen, und hat mir gestattet, sie hier zu veröffentlichen. Es sind folgende: —

Dāmodara (zwei Verse).

1. Skm. IV, 161.

Kailāça re Paçupatiṣṭhitipātramātra-²⁾
 samrūḍhagarvam iha parvata samtyajāçu |
 ḍṛiṣṭho 'si kiṃ na hi salīlasamutthitaika-
 Paulastyahastakamalopari pushkarābhāḥ ||

1) Siehe Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. III, 134.

2) Die HS. A hat *-mātrapātra-*.

2. Skm. V, 236.

Çīlam çātayati çrutam çamayati prajñānī nihanty ādarād
dānyam dīpayati kshamām kshapayati vṛīdām api vyasyati |
ceto jarjarayaty apāsyati dhṛitīm vistārayaty arthitām
puṁsah kshīṇadhasya kiṁ na kurute vairī kuṭumbagrahaḥ ||

Cakrapāṇi (vier Verse).

1. Skm. I, 27.

Tasyā nāma mayā katham katham api bhrāntīyā samuccāritam
jānāsy eva mamāçayam tava kṛite Gauri prasannā bhava |
kshāntiḥ svīkriyatām dayāvati mayi krodhaḥ parityajyatām
ity evam bahu jalpataḥ Smararipoḥ premāñjaliḥ pātu vaḥ ||

2. Skm. I, 219.

Yat kāṇḍam gaganadrūmasya yad api kshoṇitāḍāgodare
devasyaiva yaçambuçobhini mahāyashṭiḥ pratishṭhākariḥ |
tad Viṣṇoḥ padam antarājaladher ādhāvato bhūtalāt
pāram dyām upagantum udyatavatām setūbhavat pātu vaḥ ||

3. Skm. I, 269.

Arūḍhāntarayauvanasya parito gopīr anubhrāmyatas
tat tat tāsū manogataṁ sunibhṛitam svam vyācīkīṣhor Hareḥ |
rāgād ucchalitāsphuṭāksharadaçāgarbhās trapāgauravāt
pratyāñco vanitā bhavantu bhavatām hṛidyāya vāgūrmayaḥ ||

4. Skm. V, 12.

Agre vitatya caraṇau vinamayya kaṇṭham
utthāpya vaktram abhihatya muhuç ca vatsāḥ |
mātrā vivartitamukham sukhalihyamāna-¹⁾
paççārdhasusthamanasaḥ stanam utpibanti ||

Daçaratha (vier Verse).

1. Skm. IV, 31.

Ācchidya Lakshmīm ita eva pūrvam
atraiva viçrambhasukhaprasuptaḥ |
ekah param veda sa Kaiṭabhārir
mahāçayatvam Makarālayasya ||

2. Skm. V, 54⁴⁾.

Iyam sā Kāṇḍī kuvalayadalasnigdamadhurā
madāndhavyākūjattaralajalarānkupraṇayinī |

1) B hat *-īhyamānāḥ*, und A sec. m. *paççārdha-*.

2) Derselbe Vers, nach Prof. Aufrecht, in Rūpagosvāmin's *Padyāvalī*, 339.

purā yasyās tīre sarabhasasatṛiṣṇam Murabhido
gatāḥ prāyo gopīnidhuvanavinodena divasāḥ ||

3. Skm. V, 336.

Naikam janma tavaiva vatsa na param tulyā ca karmasthitir
bhoktavyeshu sukhesu hṛiṣhyasi mudhā duḥkhesu kiṁ tāmyasi |
bhrātāḥ sthairyam upaihi nanv iha bhavān saṁsāradīrghādhvagaḥ
succhāyās taravaḥ kvacin marubhuvaḥ kvāpi pracandātapāḥ ||

4. Skm. V, 353.

Vandyo 'sau vidhir eya yasya jagato nirmānam atyujjvalam
pratyākāram apūrvavasturacanāvaicitryam atyadbhutam |
kiṁcātyantam ito vicitram aparam Çakrasya yadvā krimer
trailokyodaravartikarmaphalayor¹⁾ driggocarākuñcīkā²⁾ ||

Mahīdhara (ein Vers).

Skm. I, 252.

Līlottānaçayo 'pi gopanivahair udgīyamāneshv ati-
prauḍhaprauḍhaMurārivikramakathāgīteshu dattaçravāḥ |
kasmīṁçcit kslubhitaḥ kuto 'pi calitaḥ kutrāpi romāñcītaḥ
kvāpi praspuritaḥ kuto 'pi hasitaprāpto³⁾ Hariḥ pātu vaḥ ||

Purushottama.

Çṛīdharadāsa hat einen Vers von Purushottama, einen von Purushotta-
mapādāḥ, und sechs Verse von einem çṛimat-Purushottamadeva.
Der erste Vers (Skm. III, 211) lautet:

Kāntāreshu karāvalambiçīçavaḥ pādaiḥ sravallohitair
arcantyaḥ padaviṁ vilocanajalair āvedayantyaḥ çucam |
dṛiṣṭitāḥ pānthajanair nivṛitya sakṛipam hāçabdagarbhair mukhair
yānty ahnā sakalena yojanaturīyāṁçam tavāristriyaḥ ||

Professor Aufrecht theilt mir außerdem mit, daß sich Skm. I, 278 die folgende Strophe findet, bei der die Handschrift A keinen Verfasser angiebt, während B *kasyacit* hat; und daß in Rūpagosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* dieselbe Strophe einem Cakrapāṇi zugeschrieben wird.

Kas tvam bho niçi Keçavaḥ çirasijaiḥ kiṁ nāma garvāyase
bhadre Çaurir aham guṇaiḥ pitṛigataiḥ putrasya kiṁ syād iha |
Cakrī candramukhi prayacchasi na me kuṇḍīm ghaṭīm dohanīm
ittham gopavadhūjitottaratayā duḥstho⁴⁾ Hariḥ pātu vaḥ ||

1) *Trailokyodara-* ist Prof. Aufrecht's Conjectur für *trailokyādara-* der HSS.

2) B liest *kañcīkā*.

3) Die HSS. geben *hasitāḥ prāpto*; A erwähnt die Lesart *hasitopātto*.

4) Die *Padyāvalī* liest *hrīço*.

2. timirê |
sudhâ-vîchi-snigdhaiḥ snapitam=api tan-nêtra-valitair=
vapur=mmê sarvv-âṅgaṃ kalayati cha saṃtâpam=adhikamḥ ||

Vidû || ^(a) Vayassa maha hiyaṃ tujjha a dâva ekkaṃ jjeva |
tuha uṇa bhûri-bhâvanâṇuvamḍha-paravvase hiae nichcha-saṇṇihida
jjeva sâ maachchhî | tâ tae pachchakkhîkadâ mae vi kâdavva

3. jjeva tti juttam bhodi | tadhâvi maha asaṃjâda-taddaṃsa-
nassa kade kaṃpi taddaṃsaṇovâyaṃ maṃtehi¹⁾ ||

Râjâ || Vayasya || yadi tē kautukam=asti tadâ samâlikhya dar-
sâyam=iti chitrê likhitvâ darsayati ||

Vidû || *chitra-phalakam-âdâya nirikshya* [||*]^(b) Vayassa tṭhâṇe²⁾
jâdâsaṃgosi || *punar=avalô-*

4. *kyâ* ||^(c) kadham siloo vi ṇimmâya lihido *iti vâchayati* ||
Svapnê prâg=avalôkit=âsi sutanu prâptair=mmay=ôjjâgaraiḥ
[sô]py=amtarvitat - ârativyatikaraiḥ paschâd = abhûd = dur-
llabhaḥ |
paśyaty=asta-rasâmtaram tu vidhṛita-dhyânapravam(bam)-
dham tvayi
svâmtam tvanmayam=êva viśvam=adhunâ dhattê tu nô nir-
vritim ||

5. Vidû ||^(d) Vayassa asachcha jjeva dâva atthâ siviṇae viloij-
jaṃti | kâṃpi uṇa jahatthâim pi vatthurûvâim siviṇae pekkhij-

(a) Vayasya mama hridayam tava cha tâvad=ekam=êva | tava
punar=bhûri-bhâvan=ânubandha-paravaśê hridayê nitya-saṃnihit=aiva
sâ mṛigâkshî | tasmât=tvayâ pratyakshîkrîtâ may=âpi kartavy=aiv-
êti yuktaṃ bhavati | tathâpi mam=âsaṃjâta-tad-darśanasya kṛitê
kam=api tad-darśan=ôpâyaṃ mantrayasva ||

(b) Vayasya sthânê jât=âsaṅgô=si ||

(c) Katham ślôkô=pi nirmâya likhitaḥ ||

(d) Vayasya asatyâ êva tâvad=arthâḥ svapnê vilôkyantê | kâ-
ny=api punar=yathârthâny=api vasturûpâni svapnê prêkshyantê |
Aniruddhêna khal=Ûsrâ tayâ cha sa satya êva svapnê dṛishta ity-
êvamvidhâ vṛittântâ aitihasikânâm kathâbhiḥ śrûyantê | tasmâd=ya-
dy=êsh=âpi sundarî satyâ sulabh=âbhâti tad=yuktâ tatra ta âsaktiḥ
| anyathâ punaḥ kimity=âtm=âyâsyatê | athavâ satyâ sulabhâ cha
s=âvaśyaṃ sambhâvyata êva | na khalu s=âsatyâ bhavanti tvayâ
suddha-hridayena nishkâraṇam svapnê prêkshyatê | idṛisâs=ch=ânu-
râgaḥ samarthasya tē katham nishphalaḥ sambhâvyatê ||

1) Ursprünglich *maṃtehiṃ*, geändert zu *maṃtehi*.

2) Lies *tṭhâṇe*.

jaṃti | Aniruddhêna khu Ûsâ tae a so sachcho jjeva siviṇae ditṭho
tti evaṃvihâ vuttamtâ edihâsiṇam kadhâim suṇiyanti | tâ jaṃ esâ

6. vi suṇdarî sachchâ sulahâ âbhâdi tâ juttâ tattha de âsatti |
appaḍhâ uṇa kitti appâ¹⁾ âyâsîyadi | adhavâ sachchâ sulahâ a sâ
avassam saṃbhâvîyadi jjeva | ṇa hu sâ asachchâ huvaṃtî tae sud-
dha-hiæṇa ṇikkâraṇam siviṇae pekkhîyadi | eriso a aṇurâo samat-
thassa de kadham

7. ṇipp halo saṃbhâvîyadi ||

Râjâ || Vayasya sâ saty=êti katham vijñâtuṃ paryatê ||

Vidû || *sôtpṛâsam* ||^(e) Vayassa | ṇam bhaṇâmi puhavîṭala-ṇi-
dâim dhaṇiṇam dhaṇiṃ tadhâ tamapasara-duppechchha-peraṃtesu
pura-vahiṭṭhidesu uvavaṇesu addharatta-vihidâim choriâ-suradâim
pi jâva tu-

8. mhârisaṇam châra-ṇayaṇaṇam mahîvadîṇam pachakkhâim²⁾
huṃti | kim uṇa ṇa saala-loa-loaṇaṇamḍaṇiṃ paaḍâim kâmiṇî-ra-
yaṇâim ||

Râjâ || Vayasya kim=ayam-upahâsaḥ samâśvâsanam vâ ||

Vidû ||^(f) Ṇam sachcham jjeva edam | tâ kim ettha uvahâseṇa
âsâsaṇeṇa vâ | (||)

Nêpathyê ||

Phalam ka-

9. rmm=ânusârêṇa bhâvayan=bhavinâm prabhuh |
Śambhuḥ śubhâya mē bhûyâd=bhaktânâm=abhaya-pradaḥ ||

Râjâ || *śrutvâ* || *vilôkyâ* | *saharsham* || [Va]yasya pâmtha iva kô-
pi dṛisyatê || yaḥ ||

Avirata-[pa]thi-prasthân=ôttâm=imâm kṛisatâ=sakhîm

dṛig-anabhimatâm kṛitsnam vyâpya sthitâm vapur=âsriyam |

(e) Vayasya | nanu bhaṇâmi pṛithivîṭala-nihitâni dhanikânâm
dhanâni tathâ tamaḥprasara-dushprêksha-paryantêshu pura-bahih-
sthitêsh-ûpavanêshv=ardharâtra-vihitâni chaurikâ-suratâny=api yâ-
vad=yushmâdṛisânâm châra-nayanânâm mahîpatînâm pratyakshâni
bhavanti | kim punar=na sakala-lôka-lôchan=ânandanâni prakatâni
kâmiṇî-ratnâni ||

(f) Nanu satyam=êv=aitat | tasmât=kim=atr=ôpahâsên=âśvâsanêna
vâ ||

1) Was auf dem Steine steht, sieht mehr wie *apyâ* aus.

2) Lies *pachchakkhâim*.

dadhad-api vahann-étad-vrâ(brâ)hmañ mahah
 10. sphuṭam=adbhutam
 jagad-api jayaty-ākṛity-aiva pratīta-guṇodayaḥ ||
 tad-duḥkhitam-api mē hṛidayam-étasya darśanēna sukhita[m-ē]va
 varttatē ||

Tataḥ pravṛitī pāmthaḥ ||

Pāmthaḥ || Śru[ta]m mayā yathā kila puraḥsthitam=idam-ēv-
 ôdyānam=alamkurvann-âstē Śākambharî-narēndrô Vighra-
 râja iti tatô yadya-

11. parichitatvân-na nivāryē tadā kṛitārthayāmi tad-avalôkanēna
 chakshushî || *purô-valôkya* || *sānamdam* || dishtyā dūrâpas[āri]ta-sama-
 sta-parijanô dvi-traiḥ prapayibhir-upē[tô]=sy-aiva samullasita-ku-
 sum-âmôda-mêdurita-Malayamâruta-samṛiddhêr-ghanatama-chehhâ-
 yâ-paripâha-manôhara-samunnatē-

12. r-nûtana-vakulasya talam-alamkurutē dēvô Vighrarâjah ||
 Ayam duḥprêkshyam¹⁾ cha prathita-jagad-ānamdam-api cha
 prabhûtam vi(bi)bhrâ[na]s-tad-idam-asamañ dhāma kim-api |
 satām samtrāṇāya vyat[i]karita-mārttamḍa-tuhina-
 dyuti-jyôtiḥ kām̄tam jayati jagatî-mamḍana-maṇiḥ ||
 Yam=utkô-smi drashṭum namad-amara-kôṭîra-

13. vilasan-
 maṇi-śrēṇî-śāṇ-ôjvala²⁾-charaṇapîṭh-ârppita-padañ |
 prabhôś-Chamḍîbharttus-tribhuvana-patēs-tasya kṛipayâ
 nripam sam[vi]kshy-ainam jani-phalam=avâptô-smi sakalam ||

Râjâ || [sam]jñayâ pratîhâram-âdisati | (||)

Pratîhârah [||*] Ârya ita itaḥ[||*]

Pāmthaḥ | (||) *upasṛitya* | Svasti samast-âvani-rakshâ-puṇya-
 bhâja-

14. nâya bhavatē bhûpâya ||

Râjâ || Namô vidushê ||

Pāmthaḥ || Śarad-imdu-dyuti-svachchhair-ddaś-âpi satatam
 di[śaḥ] |]

.³⁾ . . . d-yaśaḥ-pûrair-ddûram=unnamita-śriyaḥ ||

Râjâ || *svagatam* | Ahô sâtisaya-puṇya-paripatyâ mahatām-ēvañ-
 vidhânām-api darśanam na durllabham || *prakâsam* || *âsanam pradâ-
 nya* | sa-

1) Lies *duḥprêkshyam*.

2) Lies *-ôjvala-*.

3) Lies *bhavanti tvad-(?)*.

15. *vinayam* || vidvan-kuta iyam yâtrâ katham vâ sâtisaya-guṇ-
 ô[ttarê]-py-avatârê niḥ[parichchada]¹⁾ [tavyam] |

Vrâ(brâ)hmaṇaḥ || Mahârâja ||

Tarkkâr-îti prasiddham jagati nirupamañ sthānam=asti
 dvijānām

tasmin-niḥśēsha-vidyâ-vasatir-adhigata-vrahmatatv-âvavô-
 dhaḥ²⁾ |

tâtaḥ samjâtavân-mê di-

16. śi diśi sudhiyaḥ prakramē yat-ka-
 thānām

[sarvvê-py]=ānamda-vâshpa-prasara-bhara-bhṛit-âpāmga-
 bhâjô bhavanti ||

tasmimś-cha ||

Tâtê [ga]tavati svarggam-asēsha-vidushām gurau |

s-âpi kv-âpi śuch-ê[va] śrîḥ prayâtâ tasya vēsmanaḥ ||

aham tu tâta-śôka-samkubhir-nnirbhidyamāna-marmmâ ||

Vṛiddhām tām jananiñ sîśûn-api su-

17. tân-sâdhvîm-a[pi] — — —
 — — [na]nya-samâśrayân-api vahûn-³⁾ vañdhûn-vihây-â-
 dhunâ |

tañ drashṭum chalitô-smi viśva-bhuvana-prârāmbha-rakshâ-
 vyaya-

vyâpâra-prabhavam prabhûm sumanasām-îśam Prabhâ-
 sa-sthitam ||

Râjâ || Vidvan |

Virachitam=uchitaiḥ purâtanais-taiḥ

sukṛita-chayair=idam=atra darśanam tē |

niravadhi-śubha-

18. sampadam [nidānam]

[sa]phalayati sma mam=aitad-âdhipatyam ||

kimtv-ârya || tvad-abhidhāna-śravaṇēna śrôtra-vṛittim-api kṛitārtha-
 yitum-ichchhāmahaḥ ||

Viprah || *savriḍam* || Dēva ||

Viśv-ô[tsa]va-nidānasya sadyaḥ samdarśanât-tava |

prâpt-âśēsha-śubh-ānamdam Śubhānamdam pratîhi mām ||

Râjâ || Ârya || tatra

19. sad-dēsē sambhûtēna prabhû[tā]nām cha vidyānām bhājanēn-
 aitāvamtañ dēsam-âgatēna cha kiñ kim-apy-adbhutam-avalôkitam-
 iha bhavatâ ||

1) Lies *nishpari*°. 2) Lies *-brahmatattv-âvabôdhaḥ*. 3) Lies *bahûn-bamdhûm*.

Śubhānāmdaḥ || Jagad-vismayādāyi-guṇa-gaṇam bhavaṃtam-
ālōkyā kim nāma n-ādbhutam-avalōkitam || *smṛitim-abhinīya sānam-
dam* || mahārāja || dvitīyam ch-ādbhutam dṛi-

20. sṭam yathā [*] ast-īta uttarasyām diśi¹⁾ | Iṃ drapuraṃ
nāma nagaram | tatra cha tad-upānta-vartti vinidr-ēmdīvara-vanam-
udbhinn-āmbhōja-vraja-virājītam-apāram-aparam-iva pārāvāram va-
saṃta-samaya-sundaram sarōvaram-avalōkitam tatrasyasya rājñō
Vasāntapālasya putrī prachuratara-turaṃga-vāra-parivṛitām
gri-

21. hīta-vividh-āyudha-purusha-saṃgha-saṃrakshitām savīśha-
maṃdanām kariṇīm-ārūḍhā vividh-ālamkāra-bhūshit-ābhinavārambha-
yauvan-ōdbhāsīt-ādbhuta-rūpa-ramaṇīyābhir-bhūyasībbhiḥ sakhībhir-
upētā yatr-āham nitya-karma kurvann-asmi tatr-āgatavatī | āga-
tya che tīrē samuttīrya mām praṇanāma | a-

22. ham tu tasyās-tēna vinayēna pramudita-manā śīśham pra-
dāya [tām ni]pupataram chiram nirīkshitavān | kim va(ba)hunā ||
Mukhāt-tasyāḥ padmam niyatam-anukāmpām mṛigayate
dhruvam tal-lāvanyād-abhilashati bhāgam himaruchiḥ |
tad-aṃgānām kāṃtyāḥ kanakam-upamēyam tu bhavitum
sphuṭam bhūyō bhūyaḥ pra-

23. viśati hutāsasya jaṭharam ||
api cha

Suvyakta-stanamaṃḍala-dvayam-urō n-ā[dy-ā]pi na vrīḍayā
vā(bā)la-kṛīḍitam-āvṛitam smita-sudhā-siktā na [vā]chām
tatih |

na spashta-trivalī-ta[ra]m]ga-vibhavō madhya-pradēśas-tath-
āpy-

astram jaitram-iti Smarēṇa manasi nyastam tadīyam vapuḥ ||
atha kāchit-tad-anucha[rī]

24. mūrta-ēva Ratis-tvaritatara-turaṃgam-ādhirūḍhā paschād-
āgatya tām-uktavatī | bhartṛidāri[kē] tvām dēvī samāśīti yathā ||
abhinava-nirmmita-chitrasā(śā)likā-pravēsa-lagnaṃ pratyāsannaṃ
varttatē | tat-satvaram-āgamyatām-iti || tathā sā tad-ākarnṇya tath-
aiva nagaram pravīṣṭavatī ||

Rājā || *svagatam* | A-

25. hō nu khalv-āścharya-paramparā-va(ba)hulō jīvalōkaḥ | yatō
mayā tāvad-ākāra-jīta-jagatītalavartti-sakala-nārījanam-avalōkitam
svapnē kanyā-ratnam | ayam cha vivu(bu)dh-āgrā[ḥ] Śubhānāmdō-
pi tad-anūna-guṇam-aparam-api strī-ratnam-āchashṭē || manyē ch-
āsaṃsāram-asamāpta-prakarsha-parampar-aiva jaga-

1) Lies *diśi* *Indra*°.

26. ti srasṭuḥ sṛisṭih || *prakāsam* || vidvan || tvādṛisām-api dṛi-
śām-āścharya-dāyi nārī-rūpam-asmān-api dra[shṭum s]ōtkamṭhayati ||

Śubhānāmdaḥ || Mahārāja kim-atr-āpi durllabham-ānīyatām
sa-chitrōpakaraṇam tal-likhanāya phalakaṃ ||

Rājā || *tathā kārayati* ||

Śubhānāmdaḥ || *likhitvā darśayati* ||

27. Rājā || *vilōkyā svapna-dṛisṭām pratyabhijñāya* || *sānamād-
bhutam* || *svagatam* || Aścharyam-āścharyam ||

Sarvvēpi drutam-ētaḍ-aṃga-niviḍa-ślēsh-ābhilāsh-ām-kura-
vrātēn-ēva samāntatō-py-avayavā rō[mō]dgamēn-āmchitāḥ |
saṃprāpt-āvasarō mam-aisha bhajati vyaktim chirāt-samchitō
vāshpāmbhaḥ-prasara-chchhalēna cha dṛisōr-asyām di-

28. dṛikshā-rasaḥ ||
tad-idānīm sātīrēkayōḥ sukha-duḥkhyōr-amtarē tishṭhāmi || *prakā-
sam* || ahō k-āpy-apar-aiv-ēyam saundarya-rēkhā |

Sājātyē-py-upalāmtarāt-khalu janair-mmāṇikya-khaṃḍa[sya]
cha

śrīkhaṃḍasya cha yāvad-atra viditam kāshṭhāmtarād-am-
taram |

ślāghyād-apy-uchitair-ggūṇaiḥ kshiti-bhuvō niḥśēsha-nārījanāl-

29. lāvany-aika-vidhāv-ih-āpi vidadhē dhātrā tath-aiv-āmtaram ||
api cha ||

Smita-bhrūbhaṃg-ādyaiḥ kila harati chi[ttam] śāsīmukhī
svarūpākhyānatvād-īha tu na hi tē kē-pi likhitāḥ |

ta[th-ā]py-ākārō-yaṃ jita-Kusumavāṇa-praṇayinī-
vapuh-saundarya-śrīr-bhramayati munīnām-api manaḥ ||

ūrdhvam-ava-

30. *lōkyā* || vidvan-samvṛitō madhyābhaḥ || tathā hi ||

Samastasy-āpy-ūrdhvē vilasati dinānām-adhipatau

ksha[ra]m] māndībhavam nayati turaga-śrēṇim-Aruṇaḥ |

anushṭhāyan-mādhyāminam-atha [vi]dhiṃ śishya-nivahō

vihāya svādhyāyam namati cha gurōr-amhri-yugalaṃ ||

tatō bhavadbhir-apy-asmāt-parijana-samnidhā-

31. [pi]ta-samasta-sōpakaraṇa-parijanam-asman-nirddisṭa n pra-
tīhārēṇa nivēdayishyamāṇam-āvāsam-adhishṭhāya vimuchyatām-adh-
va-śramaḥ | kiyāntam-api kālam sva-samvāsēna ch-āsmāka[m-a]pi
śubh-ānāmdau pradāy-āsmad-anumatair-bhavadbhiḥ śrī-Sōmanā-
thadēvō drasṭavyaḥ ||

Śubhānāmdaḥ || Yad-āha mahīpa-

32. [ti]h ||

Rājā || *Vidūshakam prati* || Vayasya vrajāmō dēvārchechan-ādi-
krītyāya ||

Vidū || ^(g)Jam vayasso ānavedi || *iti niḥkrāntāḥ* ¹⁾ sarvā ||

|| Iti mahākavi-paṁḍita-śrī-Sōmadēva-virachitē
Lalitavigraharāj-ābhidhānē nāṭakē pratha-
mōmkah samāptaḥ ||

Tataḥ praviśatas-chētyau ||

33. Ekā || ^(a)Halā Nomālie | bhaṭṭidāriā Desaladevī kim karedi ||

Dvītīyā || ^(c)Sahi Suṁdarie | ahiṇava-ṇimmiḍam chitta-sā-
liam pekkhamtī chitṭhadi | (||)

Suṁdarikā || ^(a)Halā kiṁ kim ta[ttha] pekkhidavvam vatthu
ālihidam ||

Navamālikā || ^(c)Sahi jam kim pi sāmsāre sāraram āsi
vaṭṭadi ya ||

Suṁdarikā ||

34. ^(m)Nomālie | keṇa uṇa tārisam chittam ālihidam | (||)

Navamālikā | (||) ^(c)Suṁdarie kiṇṇa jāṇasi Niṇṇa-ṇāmam
chittaaram | so khu parisīlid-āsesa-desāntara-vvavahāro raṇṇa-
tta[ya]. i-gihīda-saala-purāṇa-vuttaṁto a ||

Suṁdarikā || ^(c)Sahi Nōmālie sampadam jarā-jajjarassa tassa
kadham nā-

(g) Yad-vayasya ājñāpayati ||

(h) Sakhi Navamālikē | bhartṛidārikā Dēsaladēvī kim karōti ||

(i) Sakhi Suṁdarikē | abhinava-nirmitam chitra-sālikam prēk-
shamāṇā tishṭhati ||

(k) Sakhi ki i kim tatra prēkshitavyam vastv-ālikhitam ||

(l) Sakhi yat-kim-api sāmsāre sāraram-āsīd-vartatē cha ||

(m) Navamālikē | keṇa punas-tādṛisam chitram-ālikhitam ||

(n) Suṁdarikē kim na jāṇasi Niṇṇa-nāmāna i chitrakaram | sa
khalu parisīlit-āsēsha-dēsāntara-vyavahārō ratna-traya . . grihīta-
sakala-purāṇa-vṛittāntas-cha ||

(o) Sakhi Navamālikē sāmpratam jarā-jarjarasya tasya katham
nāmn-ēva kāryeṇ-api nipuṇatā ||

1) Lies *niḥkrāntāḥ*.

35. meṇa vva kajjeṇa vi ṇiṇṇattapaṁ ||

Navamālikā || ^(p)Halā ṇam bhaṇāmi vālatṭapaṇō vi niraiṇ-
taravbhā(bbhā)sa-ppaarisō jarājanidaṁgavialattapaṇam pi taruṇo
jjeva bhodi ||

Suṁdarikā || ^(c)Sahi tumam dāṇi kahiṁ chalidāsi ||

Navamālikā || ^(c)Sahi bhaṭṭidāriattham Chamdasehara-ga-
riṇi-cha-

36. laṇachchā-ṇimittam champaa-kusumāim avachīḍum ||

Suṁdarikā || ^(c)Sahi pasīdadu se bhaavadī Sasisehara-vallahā
apuruva-vallaha-dāṇeṇa ||

Navamālikā || ^(c)Tumam uṇa kattha [chali]dāsi ||

Suṁdarikā || ^(c)Sahi aham pi bhaṭṭidāriāe guruṇa-pāavam-
dapaṁ kādum pesidā | tam kadua bhaṭṭi-

37. dāriam Desaladeviṁ datṭhum gachchhanitī chitṭhāmi ||

Navamālikā || ^(c)Halā tā gachchha tumam | aham pi patthu-
dam karemi ||

iti niḥkrāntē ¹⁾ [||*] *Viṣkamabhakaḥ* ||

Tataḥ praviśati chi[tram-avalō]kamānā sapā ²⁾ . . . *ladēvī*
chitrakaras-cha ||

Dēsala || ^(c)Mahābhāa kim uṇa paam louttara-suṁdarattapa-
ṇam diāse-

(p) Sakhi nanu bhaṇāmi bālatvād-api nirantar-ābhyāsa-pra-
karshō jarā-janit-āṅga-vikalatvānām-api taruṇa ēva bhavati ||

(q) Sakhi tvam-idānīm kva chalit-āsi ||

(r) Sakhi bhartṛidārik-ārtham Chandraśekhara-grihiṇi-chala-
ṇṇityā-nimittam champaka-kusumāny-avachētum ||

(s) Sakhi prasīdatv-asyai bhagavatī Śasiśekhara-vallabh-ānu-
rūpa-vallabha-dānēna ||

(t) Tvam punaḥ kva chalit-āsi ||

(u) Sakhi aham-api bhartṛidārikayā guruṇa-pādavandanam
kartum prēhitā | tat-kṛitvā bhartṛidārikām Dēsaladēviṁ drasṭum
gachchhantī tishṭhāmi ||

(v) Sakhi tad-gachchha tvam | aham-api prastutam karōmi ||

(w) Mahābhāga kim punaḥ padam lōkōttara-sundaratvānām dvi-
jāsē(?) dṛisyatē ||

1) Lies *niḥkrāntē*.

2) Lies *saparijānā Dēsaladēvī*.

38. dīsaī ||

Chitra || Bharṭṛidārikē | idam=anupama-rāmaṇīyakā . tridiva-
sadām=uchitam sadaḥ sudharmā | ayam=api sa

[Dēsala ||] *namasyati || anyatō-valōkya* || ^(a) Mahābhāa ko eso vi-
viha-raṇa-gaṇa-bhūsi . .

(x) Mahābhāga ka ēsha vividha-ratna-gaṇa-bhūsi . .

Platte II.

Z. 1. vāmchhitānām

vihita iva hitānām=antikē durllabhānām |
tad=abhayam=avivēkam śāsva[taṁ] svāvavô(bô)[dham]
○○○○○ — — — — — kṛitārthaḥ ||

atha ||

Kim=api nivi[ḍam] vṛidā=chchhannām prakāma-manôharam
[pra]kṛitavati s=āpi prēma prabhūtātama n mayi |
yad=āsanir=iva krūraḥ prauḍham jvalann=iva pāvakaḥ
skhalad=iva muhuḥ śa-

2. lyam svāmtē tanōty=adhunā rujam ||

Śāśi || *sānamdam* || ^(a) Deva ditṭhiā pasannam bhaavadā vihiṇā
va[lla]heṇa a || achchhariam 2

Damsaṇa=suham pi aṇisam patthijjai jeṇa dullaham jassa |
so vi hu jai tassa kae jhijjai tā kiṇṇa pajjattam ||
dāṇi jam bhāṭṭidāriāe tārisa-kilesāṇala-samtāva-paramparāe e-

3. risassa a ṇa=ppasāa-vilasidassa aṇurūam taṁ aṇṇeṇa jjeva
kijjadu || jado ||

(a) Dēva dishtyā prasannam bhagavatā vidhinā vallabhēna cha |
āscharyam=āscharyam |

Darsana=sukham=apy=aniṣam prārthyatē yēna durllabham
yasya |

sō=pi khalu yadi tasya kṛitē kshīyatē tat=kiṁ na paryāptam ||
idānīm yad=bharṭṛidārikāyās=tādṛisā=klēsānala-samtāpa-paramparāyā
īdṛisasya cha nijaprasāda-vilasitasy=ānurūpam tad=achirēṇ=aiva kri-
yatām | yataḥ |

Prabala-pavanaugha-durdhara-dāvānala-kavalanam taru-varā
api |

na sahanta ēva kiṁ punaḥ sukumāram mālatī-kusumam ||
aham tv=īdṛisam dēvasy=ānurāgam=ētādṛisam cha svapna-samvidhā-
nam nivēdy=āsvāsayāmi sa-parijanām bhartṛidārikām ||

Pavala-pavaṇoḥa-duddhara-dāvāṇala-kavalanam taru-varā vi |
ṇa sahamti chchia kim ṇa somālam māladī-kusumam ||
aham tu erisam devīyam=aṇurūam=eārisam¹⁾ cha siviṇa=samvihā-
nam ṇiveiya āsāsemi sapa-

4. rianam bhāṭṭidāriam ||

Rājā || *svagatam* ||

Sa prauḍha-prasarah priyā-viraha-jō duḥkh-augha-dāvānalō
vishvag=vāg-amṛitair=mukh-āmvu(bu)da-tatair=yēn=ādya nir-
vvāpitaḥ |

āḥ kasṭam sudhay=ēva nirmmita-tanōs=tasy=ādhun=ōpasthitaḥ
kō=py=ētasya sumānushasya virabaḥ sōdhum katham yā-
syati ||

prakāsam || sakhi Śāsīprabhē samprati pri-

5. yatamā-viraha-duḥkha-dāvānalas=tvad-viyōga-prava(ba)la - pra-
bhamjana-vēga-śatamukhikṛitaḥ kavalayann=imam dēba - viṭapinam
katham śakanīyah sōdhum || tatō yāvat=priyā=samāgamō bhavati tā-
vad=atr=aiva tishṭhatu bhavati || tatra tu tvadīya-kalyāṇa-pravṛitty-
pavṛimhitām=ātmanah kuśala-vārttām nivēdayitum=ātmīyām sa-
kala-viśram-

6. bha-bhuvam Kalyāṇavatīm nāma prēshayishyāmaḥ ||

Śāśīprabhā || ^(a) Jam devo aṇavedi ||

Rājā || Kaḥ kō=tra bhōḥ kaḥ kō=tra ||

Pravīśya puruṣaḥ || ^(c) Aṇavedu bhāṭṭā ||

Rājā || Bhadra asmad-vachanād=abhidhīyatām mahāmātyah ||
yathā samnidhāpit=āsēsha-śayan-āsana-bhāṇḍ-ādy-upakaranam tām-
vū(bū)la-kusuma-karppūra-vilēpana-vasa-

7. n=ādi=samast=ōpabhōgya-vastu-sampannam sa-parijanāyāḥ Śa-
śīprabhāyāḥ sthity-uchitam sampāday=āvāsa-bhavanam=iti ||

Puruṣaḥ || ^(a) Jam devo aṇaved= *iti niḥkrāntaḥ* ²⁾ ||

Rājā || Śāsīprabhē ||

Sā kalpadruma-manjar=īva hi mama smēra-smarāgni-jvara-
jvalā=dhyāmalitair=mmanōratha-śatair=bhṛimṅair=iv=ālimgitā |
āḥ kasṭam ○ ○ —

(b) Yad=dēva ājñāpayati ||

(c) Ājñāpayatu bhartā ||

(d) Yad=dēva ājñāpayati ||

1) Lies *devīyam aṇurūam eārisam*.

2) Lies *niḥkrāntaḥ*.

8. r-vvidhêr-vvilasitair-durvvâta-vêgair-iva
krûrair-vyâkulatâm va(ba)lêna gamitâ tanvî katham sthâsyati ||
Vidûshakam prati || vayasya samâhûyatâm Kalyânavatî ||

Vidû || ^(e) Hî hî jāne vayasseṇa vvasasidam¹⁾ nia-vivâha-kaj-
jeṇa | tâ ambhânam chira-vaḍḍhidâ dâni phalamtu khamḍa-laḍḍuam
maṇoraha-ddu[mâ] ||

9. *ity-uktvâ nishkramyâ* ²⁾ Kalyânavatyâ saha pravisati ||

Râjâ || Kalyânavatî ih-âsanê ³⁾ upavisyatâm ||

Kalyâṇa || *tathâ karôti* ||

Râjâ || *Kalyânavatyâh Śasiprabhâ-svarûpam-âgamana-prayôjanam*
cha sarvvanîvêdya [||*] Kalyânavatî vraja tvam-avanipatêr-V va-
santapâlasya putrîm-asmad-vachanâd-anumodayitum-â-

10. râdhayitum cha || idam-ch-âsmat-samdishtam râjaputrî śrâ-
vayitavyâ ||

Drutataram-itah kâmtê visvaiḥ samam vahir-imdriyaiḥ

kvachid-api manô-smâkam nîtam tvayâ prathamam haḥhât |

annjigamishôr-jjîvasy-aitâny-ath-âsya Śasiprabhâ-

vachana-vihitâd-âsâ-tamtôr-abhûd-avalamva(ba)nam ||

idam ch-âgrataḥ karttavayam-asmadîyam ||

11. vijñapanîyâ râjaputrî yathâ Turushkêndra-vigraha-pra-
samgêna drutataram-êv-âgatya dēvi bhavatîm prasadayishyamah ||
yatas-Turushkarâjô-py-asmân-prati prachalitaḥ sruyatê ||

Kalyânavatî || ^(c) Jam devo ānavedi ||

Râjâ || Vayasy-âsmad-vachanâd-uchyatâm mahâmâtîyô yath-
êdam-idam-upâyan-âdy-uchitôpakarâṇa-

12. sampannâ kṛtvâ sa-tvaram prêshyatâm Kalyânavatî ||

Vidû || ^(e) Jam vayasso bhapedi || *iti Kalyânavatyâ saha nishkrân-
taḥ* ⁴⁾ ||

Râjâ || Śasiprabhê âvâsam gatvâ vyapagat-âdhva-sramâ bha-

(e) Hî hî jānê vayasyêna vyavasitam nija-vivâha-kâryêna
(^oryam) | tad-asmâkam chira-varḍhitâ idânîm phalantu khamḍa-laḍḍu-
kâni manôratha-drumâḥ ||

(f) Yad-dêva ajñâpayati ||

(g) Yad-vayasyô bhapati ||

1) Lies *vavasidam*.

3) *âsana*.

2) Lies *nishkramyâ*.

4) Lies *nishkrântaḥ*.

vatu bhavatî | vayam-api mâdhyâhnikam vidhâtum-uttishṭhâma *iti*
sarvve nishkrântâḥ ¹⁾ ||

|| Tritîyô-nkaḥ samâptaḥ ||

Tataḥ pra-

visatô vandinau ||

13.

Vandinau || ^(h) Eṣe ṣe Śâyambhalîsâla-sivila-niveṣe | eḍa-
ṣim alaṣkiyyamaṇa-payyande kadham [lâ]ulam yânidavvam || *purô-
valôkya* || vayassâ eṣe ke vi chale vva diṣadi | tâ imâdo eḍaṣṣa si-
vilaṣṣa ṣṣâlûvam ²⁾ lâulam cha yâniṣsamha ||

Tataḥ pravisati charaḥ ||

Charaḥ || ⁽ⁱ⁾ Aśchaliyam 2 aho Viggahalâa-

14. ṇalesâla-silîṇam avayamdadâ || *purô-valôkya* || amhadeṣîya vva
kevi puliṣâ peṣkiyyamdi | yâ[ṇe] vandîhim edehim huvidavvam | (||)

Vandinau | (||) ^(j) Bhadda ambhânam Tuluskâṇam deṣîye
vva tumam peṣkiyyasi | tâ kadhehi Châhamâṇa-sivila-sâlûvam
lâulam cha ||

Charaḥ || ^(k) Śupâdha le vandipo supâdha | hage Tuluskâ-
lâeṇa

15. Śâambhalîsâlaṣṣa sivilam peṣkidum peṣide | tam cha
dûsamchalam | yado tatthastehim idale puṣchamde ³⁾ vi ni[liṣkam]de

(h) Êsha sa Śâkambharîśvara-sîbira-niveṣaḥ | êtasminn-
alakshyamâṇa-paryantê katham râjakulam jñâtavyam || vayasya eṣha
kô-pi chara iva dṛisyatê | tad-asmâd-êtasya sibirasya svarûpam râ-
jakulam cha jñâsyavaḥ ||

(i) Aścharyam-aścharyam | ahô Vighraharâja-narêśvara-srî-
ṇam-aparyantatâ || asmaddêṣîyâv-iva kav-api purushau prêkshyêtê |
jânê vandibhyâm-êtâbhyâm bhavitavyam ||

(j) Bhadrâ avayôs-Turushkayôr-dêṣîya ⁴⁾ iva tvam prêk-
shyasê | tasmât-kathaya Châhamâṇa-sîbira-svarûpam râjakulam
cha ||

(k) Śṛiṇutam rê vandinau śṛiṇutam | aham Turushkarâjêna
Śâkambharîśvarasya sibiram prêkshitum prêshitaḥ | tach-cha
duṣamcharam | yatas-tatrasthair-itarah pṛichchann-api niriksha-
mâṇô-pi cha parakîya iti jñâyatê | tathâpi mayâ kim-api kim-api
pratyakshîkṛitam ||

1) Lies *nishkrântâḥ*.

2) Lies *sâlûvam*.

3) Ursprünglich *puṣchamdo vi ni[liṣkam]do*, aber o beide Male zu e ver-
ändert.

4) Dies ist kein correctes Sanskrit.

vi a palakiye tti yāpiyyadi | tadhāvi mae kimpī kimpī pachakkhī-
kadam¹⁾ | (||)

Vam̄dināu | (||)^(l) Aśchaliām 2 kadham̄ bhadda tattha uvasti-
dāṇam̄ chadulide aṇuam̄ pi tae laśkidam̄ ||

Charaḥ ||^(m) Suṇādha²⁾ le vam̄diṇo ya-

16. dhā mae tam̄ sivilam̄ pilūvidam̄ | hage khu sili-Somesalae-
vam̄ peśkidum̄ vaññam̄daśśa śaśtaśśa³⁾ milide milia a ettha pavi-
siūṇa bhiskam̄ paśtidum̄⁴⁾ lagge | tado yaṁ yaṁ yāpidam̄ tam̄ tam̄
tumbāṇam̄ yahastam̄ kadhīyadu || maa-vāli-nijjhala-kalāla-kadasta-
lāṇam̄ kalim̄dāṇam̄ dāva śahaśśam̄ | tulaṁgāṇam̄ u-

17. ṇa laśkam̄ | ṇalāṇam̄ ṇa yujjha-śkamāṇam̄ daha laśkāim̄ ti
|| kim̄ vahūṇā yaṁpideṇa | taśśa kaḍaśśa pāsa-stide śāale vi śūske
bhodi || vā(bā)hum̄-vatshipyā [||*] edam̄ cha tam̄ lāulam̄⁵⁾ iti darsayati ||

Vam̄dināu ||⁽ⁿ⁾ Śāhu le chalā śāhu ||

Charaḥ ||^(o) Ale le vam̄diṇo | chilam̄ khu me pia-stāṇādo ṇiś-
śalidaśśa | tā ha-

18. ge vaññāmi ||

Vam̄dināu ||^(p) Gaścha le chalā gaścha (||) iti charō niḥkrān-
taḥ⁶⁾ ||

Vam̄dināu || puratō gatv-āvalokya ||^(q) Tam̄ ṇidam̄ lāula-duvā-

(l) Āścharyam-āścharyam | katham̄ bhadra tatr-ōpasthitānām̄
chatura-svabhāvē (?) ṇukam-āpi tvayā lakshitam̄ ||

(m) Śrīputam̄ rē vandinau yathā mayā tach-ehhibiram̄ nirūpi-
tam̄ | aham̄ khalu śrī-Somēsvaradēvam̄ prēkshitam̄ vrajataḥ sārtha-
sya militō militvā ch-ātra praviśya bhikshām̄ prārthayitum̄ lagnaḥ
| tatō yad-ya-j-jñātām̄ tat-tad-yuvayōr-yathārtham̄ kathyatām̄ | mada-
vāri-nirjhara-karāla-katasthālānām̄ karīndrāṇām̄ tāvat-sahasram̄ |
turaṅgāṇam̄ punar-laksham̄ | narāṇām̄ punar-yuddha-kshamāṇam̄ daśa
lakshāṇ-īti | kim̄ bahunā jalpitēna | tasya kaṭakasya pārśva-sthitaḥ
sāgarō-pi śushkō bhavati || étach-cha tad-rājakulam̄ ||

(n) Sādhu rē chara sādhu ||

(o) Arē rē vandinau | chiram̄ khalu mē nija-sthānān-niḥsrita-
sya | tasmād-aham̄ vrajāmi ||

(p) Gachchha rē chara gachchha ||

(q) Tad-idam̄ rājakula-dvarām̄ tasmād-īha sthitāv-ēva nija-rāja-

1) Lies *pachchakkhi*°.

2) Lies *suṇādha*.

3) Ursprünglich *śāśtaśśa*, aber zu *śaśtaśśa* verändert.

4) Ursprünglich *paśtidum*, aber zu *paśtidum* verändert.

5) Lies *lāulam*.

6) Lies *niḥkrāntaḥ*.

laḥ tā idha stidā eva nia-lāa-ppahāvam̄ payāsemha || *punar-avalokya*
|| *sānamdam* || eśe śe Śāam̄ bhālśāle astāṇa-stide pulado dīsadi ||
Tataḥ praviśati rājā vibhavataś-cha pari-

19. *vāraḥ* ||

Rājā || *svagatam* || Ahō vaichitryam̄ ||

Ādāv-amṛitamay-ām̄vu(bu)dhi-vigāhana-pratimam̄-avanipati-
duhituḥ |

smaraṇam̄ davadaha-ōdara-nipāta-nibham-āgratō bhavati ||¹⁾

21. *Vigraharājadēvaḥ* ||

22. *pratīhāram-ākārya* | Pratīhāra | dāpyatām-ētayōr-yathā-dīya-
mānaḥ kanaka-vasan-ādis-tyāgaḥ ||

Pratīhāraḥ || Yad-ādisati dēva iti *vam̄dibhyām saha niḥkrān-
taḥ*²⁾ ||

Rājā || Ahō n-ādy-āpy . . . py-āgatō Ham̄mīra-kaṭak-āvāsa-
svarūpa . . . kaḥ ||

Praviśya charaḥ ||^(r) Jayadu 2 devo | deva deveṇa Ham̄mī-
ra-kaḍa-

23. a-vuttam̄tam̄ jāpidum̄ parassim̄ diṇe pesido sampadam̄ āado
mhi ||

Rājā || Bhadra kathaya kiyat-Turushkēśvara-sīvi(bi)ram̄
kutra ch-ēti ||

Charaḥ ||^(s) Deva ||

Agahida-gaa-raha-turaa-ppavīra-sam̄kham̄ a[ṇā]ja-peram̄tam̄ |
amūṇida-pavesa-ṇiggama-maggaṁ riurāṇo kaḍaam̄ ||

āvāso ṇa kalle ido Vavveraādo joa-

prabhāvam̄ prakāśayāvah | ēsha sa Śākambharīśvara āsthāna-
sthitaḥ puratō dṛisīyatē ||

(r) Jayatu jayatu dēvaḥ | dēva dēvena Ham̄mīra-kaṭaka-vṛit-
tāntam̄ jñātum̄ parasmīn-dinē prēshitaḥ sām̄pratam-āgatō-smi ||

(s) Dēva

Agṛihīta-gaja-ratha-turaga-pravīra-sam̄khyam̄-ā[jñāta-]pary-
antam̄ |

ajñāta-pravēsa-nirgama-mārgam̄ ripurājasya kaṭakam̄ ||

āvāsaḥ punaḥ kalya itō Vavveraād-yōjana-traya āsīt | adya punas-
tēn-aiva sibirēṇa samam-āgamya tad-itō yōjan-aikēn-āvāsitam̄ prēk-
shy-āgatō-smi ||

1) Der Rest der Zeile 19 und die beiden folgenden Zeilen haben so arg ge-
litten, daß es unmöglich ist, einen auch nur einigermaßen verständlichen Text
herzustellen.

2) Read *niḥkrāntaḥ*.

24. na-ttae āsi | ajja uṇa teṇa jjeva sivireṇa samaṃ āachchhiṇṇa
taṃ ido joṇekkeṇa āvāsidaṃ pekkhiṇṇa āado mhi ||

Rājā || Bhadra kīdrīsī punas-tatra kimvadantī ||

Charaḥ || ^(t) Deva jujhattham saalāim pi seṇṇāim saṇṇaddhāim
kāriṇṇa ettomuham chalaṃteṇa Ham mīreṇa tumbhāṇaṃ pāse keṇa

25. vi vaṇeṇa dūdo pesidavvo tti kelimpi jaṇehim jaṃpijjadi ||

Rājā || Bhadra gachehha tvam viśrāmāy-ēti charō niḥkrāntaḥ ¹⁾ ||

Rājā || Kaḥ kō-tra bhōḥ kaḥ kō-tra ||

Praviśya puruṣaḥ || ^(u) Eso mhi āṇavedu devo ||

Rājā || Āhūyatām mātulaḥ Simhava(ba)lō rājā ||

Puruṣaḥ || ^(v) Jam devo āṇavedi || iti niḥkrāntaḥ ¹⁾ ||

Tataḥ pra-

26. visati Simhava(ba)laḥ ||

Rājā || sādaram-āsanam pradāpya | sarvvaṃ vṛittāntam nivēdya
[||*] Mātula kim-idānīm vidhēyam ||

Simhava(ba)laḥ ||

Tair-mmātamgair-haribhir-api tais-tair-bhaṭ-aughair-anīkam

Ham mīrasya prasaraḍ-akhilām mēdinīm-āvṛiṇōtu |

vīrair-ētais-tad-api samarāt-tvat-pratāpa-pravṛiddhi-

prāpt-ōtsāhair-iha na hi bhavē-

27. t-tāvakaiḥ kṛityam-anyat ||

Rājā || māntriṇam Śrīdharam prati || Bhavatām-atra kim pra-
tibhāti ||

Śrīdharaḥ || Dēva ||

Vīrāṇam cha vipaśchitām cha gaṇanāsv-ādyas-tvam-ēv-ādhunā

vidvadbhīr-ggaṇitō-si tēna bhavataḥ kvāpy-asti na dvāparaḥ |

kimtv-ātmiyatayā vidhēyam-adhunā yat-prīṣṭam-asmādrīṣām

sva-prajñām-anuṣṛitya tat-kathayatām

28. kshamtvayam-īśa tvayā ||

Rājā || Mahāmatē-smākam tvam-ēva māntriṇām-agraṇis-tat-
kim-ēvam-abhidhīyatē ||

(t) Dēva yuddhārtham sakalāny-api sainyāni saṃnaddhāni kā-
rayitv-aitad-abhimukham chalatā Ham mīreṇa yushmākam pārśvē
kēn-āpi vachanēna dūtaḥ prēshayitavya iti kair-api janaiḥ kathyatē ||

(u) Ēshō-smi ājñāpayatu dēvaḥ ||

(v) Yad-dēva ājñāpayati ||

1) Lies niḥkrāntaḥ.

Śrīdharaḥ || Dēva saty-upāyāntara-sambhavē yuddham-anu-
pāya iti dharm-ārtha-sāstra-vidām samayaḥ ||

Rājā || Bhavēd-ēvaṃ yady-upāyāntaram-atra syāt | kimcha ||
durātmanam Mlêchchharājāṃ praty-upāyāntar-ānusanāṇē ma-
29. hatī vrīḍā ||

Śrīdharaḥ || Dēva tathāpi jagad-ēkavīreṇa Ham mīreṇ-ā-
saṃkhyā-sainya-svāminā saha yuddh-āvatarāṇam katham-anumanyā-
mahē ||

Rājā ||

Akīrttiḥ kāpy-uchchaiḥ suhṛid-abhayadāna-vrata-hatis-
tathā dhvaṃsas-tīrtha-dviija-sumanasām vīrya-vigamaḥ |
mam-aitēshu vyastēshv-api [a]sahyēshu sakalān-
imān-amgī-

30. karttuḥ kathayata vidhēyam kim-asubhiḥ ||

Simhava(ba)laḥ || Mahārāja ||

Svayaṃ chēd-urvvisaiḥ samitishu mahā-sāhasa-rasair-

ajasarā yōddhavyam tad-īha karaṇīyam kim-aparaiḥ |

saśastrair-nniḥsaṃkhyair-vvijita-va(ba)hu-saṃkhyaiś-cha su-
bhatair-

mmad-āndhair-mmātamgaiḥ pavana-javanair-vvājibhir-api ||

Api [cha] |

Kshātram dhāma tav-ēdam-adbhutatamaṃ tva-

31. t-saṃnidhi-sthāyinām
vīrāṇam tanushu dhruvam pariṇatam yāsyaty-asamkhyā-
tatām |

dīpād-ēkata ēva [bha]dra timira-pradhvaṃsa-dhīram ma[ha]ḥ
svīkurvann-iha hi pradīpa-nivahō dṛiṣṭāntatām-āsritaḥ ||

Api cha |

Yudhyasē svayam-ēva tvam sannidhi-sthē-pi chēn-mayi |

dakṣiṇa-karēṇa sva-vā(bā)hū ni[rddi]śya |

tad-dōshṇōr-ddhig-imaṃ bhāram dhanushi śrām-

32. tayōr-vṛithā ||

Praviśya pratīharaḥ || Deva Turushkarājēna prahitaḥ
prasānta-vēshaḥ kō-pi viśiṣṭa iva pumān-saparichchhadō dvāri sa-
māgatas-tiṣṭhati ||

Rājā || Simhava(ba)la-Śrīdharāv-uddīśya || Kim-ih-āpi tēna pra-
vēshṭavyam ||

Tau dvāv-api || Kō dōshō rāja-sadanaṃ h-īdam tat-prayō-
jan-ānurōdhataḥ sarvvair-api pravēshṭavyam-ēva ||

33. [Rājā] || *pratīhāraṁ prati* || Pravēśaya tarhi drutaṁ ||
 Prati || Yad-ādīsati dēva itī *nirggatya dātēna saha praviśati* ||
 D ū t a ḥ || *samantatō-valōkya | sānamdam* || Ahō sarvv-āṅga-suṁ-
 darābhīr-vvibhūtibhiḥ saṁpūrṇaṁ rāja-maṁdiraṁ || tathā hi ||
 Iha kari-nikarair-ih-āyudh-āḍhyaiḥ
 puruṣa-varair-ihā vārasuṁdarābhīḥ |
 iha vi-
34. ○○○—○ bhir-nnarēndra-
 praṇayi-janair-ihā rājatē nṛipa-śrīḥ ||
purō rājānam-avalōkya || sānamdādbhutaṁ || ahō sakala-jana-vilaksha-
 naḥ kō-py-ayam-apūrvva ēv-āsya nṛipatēḥ sannivēśaḥ || *vimṛśīya* ||
 athavā || ayam tāvad-akhilam-api rāja-maṁḍalam-atīśēta ēva pra-
 bhāvēna | kiṁtv-aparēśhām-api rājñām kṛitē
35. ēva paurāṇikāḥ pravādaḥ || katham-aparathā tē-
 shām-idaṁ vaiśvarūpyam || tathā hi ||
 Chārāḥ kārya-vilōkana-śravaṇayōś-chakshuḥ-śrutī vāg-vayam
 vaktum saṁdhi-virōdha-karma samara-kṛīḍāsu virāḥ
 karāḥ |
 kṛity-ākṛitya-vivēchana-vyatikarē san-māntriḥ mānasam
 hasty-aśvam kramitum payōdhi-raśanām-ētām mahī-
36. —○— ||
 . . . vyāhata-vidhēya-dvay-ōpasthānēna paryākulō-smi || tathā hi ||
 Sāmartyam yadi na prabhōr-abbhidadhē yāsyanti tad-vi-
 dvishaḥ
 saṁdhēyatvam-asādhvasāḥ katham-atha prakhyāpayē
 || *Vigraharājam-uddīśya* ||
 syāt-tadā |
 ākṛitya-aiva vibhāvyamāna ○○ [kam] dhām-ēdam-āvīrbhavat-
 kōpaṁ kasya vidhēyam-ity-ubhaya-
37. Mahīpati-sutēna paṁdita-Bhāskarēṇa svayam-ālikhy-
 ōtkīrṇāni aksharāṇi ||

XXVI.—GOVINDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE POET GANGADHARA.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

About five years ago Dr. Fleet sent me a rubbing, received by him from Sir A. Cunningham in October 1883, of an inscription, described as being on a slab of stone in Narsingh Māli's house at Govindpur, in the Nawādā sub-division of the Gayā district of the Province of Bengal. And some time afterwards I received another rubbing of the same inscription from Dr. Burgess, to whom it had been made over by Mr. Beglar.¹ Both rubbings are very faint, and I know that, with a good impression, the wording of the text of this inscription which I now publish may be improved upon; but I feel confident that everything of importance has been made out correctly, and that a renewed examination of the original inscription will not add materially to what I now have to report regarding the contents of it.

The inscription contains thirty-five lines of writing which cover a space of about 1' 8½" broad by 1' 3½" high. At the upper proper left corner a small piece of the inscribed surface is broken away, causing the complete loss of altogether a dozen *aksharas* at the end of lines 1-6. Of the rest of the inscription nothing is actually lost, but, to judge from the rubbings, the proper right half of the writing, from about line 11 to 24, has suffered either from exposure to the weather or from careless treatment; and a few *aksharas* are more or less illegible on the left side. The size of the letters is between ⅙" and ⅛". The characters are the peculiar kind of Nāgarī which was used in parts of Eastern India during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., and the most characteristic feature of which is, that *r*, preceding another consonant, is written by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akshara* of which *r* forms part, not by the ordinary superscript sign. Essentially the same alphabet is used, e.g., in the Dinājpur plate of Mahipāla and in the Āngāchhī plate of Vīgrahapāla III., and the closest possible resemblance to the writing of the present inscription is shown by the writing of the Cambridge palm-leaf MS. Add., 1693,² which was written in A.D. 1165, and by that of the Hodgson's palm-leaf MS. 1 of the Royal Asiatic Society, written in the fourth year of the reign of Govindapāla.⁴ In the inscription here edited the sign for *r*, described above, is so small and so shallow that often it can hardly be recognized in the rubbings; and this, as well as the fact that the sign of *anusvāra* and the superscript strokes which turn *e* and *o* into *ai* and *au* are equally faint, and the close resemblance of the signs for *p* and *y*, *t* and *dh*, *m* and *s*,

¹ I saw at once that the inscription, of which these two rubbings had thus been sent to me, was of some value, but have long hesitated to attempt a full decipherment of the text, because the imperfect state of my rubbings suggested the advisability of waiting for a proper impression. To secure one, I applied in April 1893 to Mr. Grierson, and he again, having then left the Gayā District, kindly communicated my request to Mr. D. J. Macpherson, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Macpherson most readily at once sent two of his men to Narsingh Māli's house at Govindpur, but they were told there that two or three years ago a Sahib had come and examined the stone which contains the inscription, and that next day the same Sahib had returned on a camel, and taken the stone away. If this story is really true, I need hardly say that even now I should be grateful to the present owner of the stone for an impression.

² See Bendall's *Catalogue*, plate ii, 2.

³ See Cowell and Eggeling's *Catalogue* in the *Journal Royal As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. VIII, plate i, 2.

⁴ For Govindapāla we have the date Vikrama 1232 = A.D. 1175; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 358.

v and *dh*, and of the subscript *u* and *r*, have caused me no slight difficulty. The inscription never employs the signs of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhāntya*, and the sign of the *avagraha* is used only once, in *Gaṅgādharo 'bhūt* in line 24.

The language of the inscription is Sāṁskṛit, and, with the exception of the introductory *om om namaḥ Sarasvatyai* and the date *Śāka 1059* at the end, the whole is in verse. The writer and engraver have done their work with great care, so that, in respect of orthography, my remarks may be brief. As was to be expected, the letter *ḍ* is throughout written by the sign for *v*. The dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in *Kasyapād*, line 6, and *prārayaiḥ*, line 7; and the palatal instead of the dental in *śūribhīr*, line 29. Instead of *anusvāra* we find the guttural nasal in the word *vanśa*, in lines 2 and 5 (but not in line 4), and the dental nasal in *avatana*, line 4. Before *r*, *t* has been doubled in *mitra*, lines 7 and 24, *amitra*, line 21, *maitrī*, line 27, and *ātapatra*, line 31; and *dh* is similarly doubled in *avbhriyam* (for *abbhriyam*), line 30. As regards the rules of euphony, *i* is left unchanged before *ś* in *śrīmatśaṅkara*, line 17; and *m* before *y* and *v* in *somyattau*, line 18, *samvāsāya*, line 9, and *sarvasvam-vitātāra*, line 11; and the dental sibilant is wrongly employed instead of the lingual in *nispṛabhārdhan* (assuming this to be the right reading) in line 13, and *duskare* (for *dushkaro*) in line 30. Of words which according to von Böhtlingk's Dictionary have been hitherto found only in lexicographical works our inscription offers *girā* 'speech, song,' in line 5, *mahallaka* 'eunuch,' in line 10, and *ātman* in the sense of 'the sun,' in line 13. Besides we find *śivirī* for the neuter *śivira*, in line 9, and the word *rama* ('husband and wife') apparently employed in the sense of 'parents,' in line 19. To a few other points, having reference to the grammar and to the construction of some of the verses, attention will be drawn below.

The inscription is dated, in lines 34-35, both in words and in figures, in the Śāka year 1059, corresponding to A.D. 1137-38. It was engraved by the artisan Śūlapāṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharāṇa (verse 39). And its immediate object is, to record that a man named Gaṅgādharā, who has himself composed this poem, for the spiritual benefit of his parents, built a tank near which the inscription must have been put up (verses 34-38). But what is of more importance is, that the author has furnished a *prastāvi*,⁵ or eulogistic account, of himself and his family which enables us to fix the time of no less than six men who were known to us as poets from other sources, and some of whose verses have been preserved; and that he has given us the names of the rulers of Magadha, hitherto unknown, under whom he and some of his relatives lived and whose patronage they enjoyed. It may also be a matter of some interest to learn that the author's family belonged to the clan of the Maga or Śākadvīpiya Brāhmins.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Viśvambhara (Viṣṇu), the inscription, in verse 2, glorifies both Aruṇa (*i.e.* the dawn personified as the charioteer of the sun) 'whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmins are named Magas,' and the Magas themselves who here, as elsewhere,⁶ are said to have sprung from the sun's own body and to have been brought to India by

⁵ According to verse 37 of the text Gaṅgādharā composed two *prastāvi* which both must have been engraved and put up close to each other.

⁶ See Professor Weber's most interesting essay on the *Magavyakti* of Kṛishṇadāsa.

Śāmba (the son of Kṛishṇa and Jāmbavati). According to our author the first of these Maga Brāhmins was Bhāradvāja (verse 3), whose family had a hundred branches (verse 4). In one of these was born, as a son of a certain Dāmodara, Chakrapāṇi, who, compared as he is to Vālmiki, must have been considered a poet of some eminence (verse 5). He had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha (verse 7), who were induced to come to the court of the ruler of Magadha (verse 15), the prince Varṇamāna of the Māna family (verse 10), where one of them was appointed to the office of *pratihāra*, while the other was made superintendent of the eunuchs (verse 11). Daśaratha again had two sons, Harihara and Purushottama (verse 22). Of Manoratha, to the praise of whose liberality,⁷ piety, shrewdness, learning, etc., our author has devoted no less than six verses (12-17) and who is spoken of as a modern Kālidāsa (verse 15), we learn that he married a daughter of Devaśarman, a counsellor of the prince of the [Ghaudī⁸] country (verse 18); and that she bore to him also two sons, Gaṅgādharā, the author of the inscription, and Mahidhara (verses 21-22). All these six men, Manoratha and Daśaratha and their four sons, are especially eulogized for their learning and proficiency in vedic studies (verse 23). The rest of the inscription treats of Gaṅgādharā himself. Here it will be sufficient to say that he represents himself to have been a counsellor and friend of the Māna prince, the king Rudramāna (verse 24); that he married Pāsaladevi, a daughter of Jayapāṇi, an official of the king of Gaṇḍa, and his wife Subhagā (verse 29), and finally, that, according to his own account, he was the author of a poem entitled *Advaitōkata* and had shown his skill as a poet also in the composition of other poems (verse 33).

The princes of the Māna family, mentioned in the above, have not, so far as I am aware, become known yet from other inscriptions, and it may therefore suffice here to state that Varṇamāna and Rudramāna must have ruled over Magadha (or part of it) towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

As regards Gaṅgādharā and his relatives, the inscription tells us distinctly that, like Gaṅgādharā himself, Chakrapāṇi and Manoratha were poets, and it may reasonably be assumed that some of the other members of the family, learned men as they were, also were in the habit of writing poetry. Now it happens that the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta*,⁹ an anthology compiled by Śrīdharadāsa in A.D. 1205, contains verses of six poets bearing the same names as six of the Maga Brāhmins mentioned in this inscription, and, considering that these Brāhmins lived in Eastern India and that the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* also was compiled there,¹⁰ I have little doubt indeed as to the identity of the six poets mentioned by Śrīdharadāsa with Gaṅgādharā, the author of this inscription, and five of his relatives, *viz.* his great-grandfather Dāmodara, his grandfather Chakrapāṇi, his father's brother Daśaratha, his own brother Mahidhara, and his cousin Purushottama.

Of Gaṅgādharā himself the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* has two verses which were first published by Professor Aufrecht in *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 511,

⁷ See verse 12, according to which Manoratha on the occasion of a lunar eclipse went to the sacred place *Purushottama*, which was situated near the sea.

⁸ The reading of this name is doubtful; see below.

⁹ See Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notes*, vol. III, p. 134.

¹⁰ Professor Aufrecht states the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* to be an anthology, called chiefly from Bengal poets. The compiler's father, Baṅḍāsa, lived under Lakshmanasena.

and have afterwards been reprinted by Professor Peterson in his edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitāvalī*, Introduction, p. 32. Of Dāmodara the *Saduktikarṇāmrīta* contains two verses,¹¹ of Chakrapāṇi four, of Daśaratha also four, and of Mahīdhara one verse. As regards Gaṅgādharma's cousin, the author of the anthology assigns six verses to Śrīmat-Purushottamadeva, one verse to Purushottamapādāh, and one to Purushottama and it seems probable that only the last is the Purushottama of our inscription. All these verses have been kindly copied out for me by Professor Aufrecht and will be published elsewhere. The inscription being dated in Śāka 1059, the six poets may be assumed to have composed their verses—

- Dāmodara between about A.D. 1050 and 1075;
Chakrapāṇi between about A.D. 1075 and 1100;
Daśaratha between about A.D. 1100 and 1125;
Gaṅgādharma, Mahīdhara and Purushottama between about A.D. 1125 and 1150.

TEXT.¹²

- L. 1. श्री¹³[॥] श्री नमः सरस्वती ॥
एकद्वीक्षतगात्रगौरवभरात् प्राप्ते तथा नम्यता-
मम्यत त्रियसुहृद्व्यतिष्ठतुं तुङ्गे भुजङ्गेश्वरे ।
वचःसमुच्चसञ्चलननरटोषकोपर्यसुख
निद्रा[श्री] ॥¹⁴
2. द[या] दधातु दयितामास्त्रिष्व विश्वेश्वरः ॥¹⁵—[1].
देवो ज्ञोयान्निष्ठीकोमणिरयमश्चथो यच्चिवासेन पुष्यः
शाकदीपस्य दुग्धास्यु(स्तु)निधिवलयितो यत् विप्रे मगाख्या ।
वङ्गस्तत्र¹⁶द्विजानां भूमिलिखिततनोर्भा(र्भा)स्ततः स्नाङ्ग —¹⁷
3. शम्भो¹⁸यानानिनाय स्वयमिष्ट महितास्ते जगत्वां जयन्ति ॥¹⁹—[2].
तेषां स प्रथमः समस्तानिगमज्ञानात्मविद्यापदं
बु(स्तु)ष्टा व्यापृत एव नित्यजनन्यापारपारीक्षया ।
भारद्वाजसुनिर्व(र्ष)भूव भुवनोच्चारामिपाती²⁰तपः
— —
4. यस्मिन् सुखे मगद्विजमहावंशावतन्धोपमः²¹ ॥²²—[3].
नोत्रश्च तस्य शतश्राव्यमभूद्भूतपूर्वैस्तपोभिरय सपसरैर्यथोभिः ।
यत्रापरे प[र]मतञ्जविदोन्नवद्यविद्यावदातमतयः पतयो द्विजानां ॥²³—[4].
कालेना ॥ ॥ —

¹¹ The first words of these verses and of those mentioned below are: *Kailāsa ve paśupati; Śilāś śālayati; Tasyā nāma mayā; Yāś kāmāś gaganadrūmayā; Ārādhdātārayaṅvanāyā; Agre vitātya charānau; Āchchhidva Lakṣhmī; Iyāś śā Kāśidā; Nāikāś janma śaśaiva; Vandyosau vidhir eva; Lilottānāgopi; and Kāśāreshu kārdāśambī.*

¹² From Sir A. Cunningham's pencil-rubbings.

¹³ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁴ The *akṣhara*, here broken away, was probably न.

¹⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁶ Read वङ्गस्तत्र.

¹⁷ The *akṣhara*s, here broken away, were probably सुनः.

¹⁸ Read शम्भो for शम्भो.

¹⁹ Metre: Śragdharā.

²⁰ This is what was originally engraved, but the vowel of the *akṣhara* णि is clearly struck out, and I believe the intended reading to be "रावपाती."

²¹ Read तन्धोपमः.

²² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

²³ Metre: Vasantatīlakā.

- L. 5. विसुप्तविलसद्विद्याधने धन्विनां
वीराणां धुरि चक्रपाशिरभवहामोदरस्नात्मजः ।
यो वास्मीकिरिवावतारितगिराधारः स विश्वस्त्रि[ति]-
॥²⁴॥स्या ॥ — चतुर्मुख इव स्यातो शुचिग्रामधीः ॥²⁵—[5].
पतिस्त्रिरा द्यु . . .²⁶
6. लीर्त्तिर्नरि[मास]दं ।
दिक्कन्न यदि नारुडा तद्भ्रमस्त्वन्धया कथं ॥²⁷—[6].
जातो वासवलोचयाविव सुतो तस्मात्ससामरी
मारीचादिव कस्य(श्च)पादुपचितां धर्त्तुं कुले सद्भियां ।
ज्यायांस्तत्र मनोरथो दशरथस्तस्मात्सुजम्बा [ययो]-
7. विद्या[चा]रुचिस्त्वथीविलसत्कीर्त्ती पवित्रं जगत् ॥²⁸—[7].
मुख्यत्वेन सतां यथोभिरसिलोदीतीः स्वकर्णभ्रुतेः
सन्धिषोपगमेन तेरतिष्ठते नोभिरयदोप[गैः] ।
भ्रातोरत्र यथोभिरुद्रनिहितैः सप्रेमभिः प्रस(ञ्च)यै-
8. श्रामानि द्विषदाननामि विदधे शब्धोप्यदभ्यो गुणः ॥ —[8].
तो भ्रातरावतितरां सहजोदितेन प्रेम्णा परस्परमनोहरणाभिरामौ ।
सौहार्दंश्चचरितेयु ययोरधोरः कालोपि न खलितमाप कसिः कदाचित् ॥²⁹—[9].
9. पानीतो निजराज्यमुक्त्वलयितुं यद्वात् प्रतीतात्मना
सम्भासाय³⁰नरेखरेष शिविरी³¹श्रीवर्षमानेन तौ ।
तस्मान्नामवलम्ब्य(श्च)तल्लुलमिदं ताभ्यामपि प्रापितं
काश्चित् कौटिमनुतरां गुणशुभः कीर्त्तितभूतेरपि ॥³²—[10].
षा
10. सि[श्रीर्त्त]वनीयगौरवगुणेनैकेन [सि]श्वेनयो-
स्तस्मिन्मानपतेर्नैहीयसि दृष्टे प्रापि प्रतीहारता ।
चन्वेनापि पुनश्चेह[ह]कधुरा³³व्यस्तेति³⁴विस्तारिणा-
वेतौ सच्चनयैर्व्य(ञ्च)भूवतुरिह प्रसिद्धविज्ञानिकौ ॥ —[11].
गत्वा श्री-
11. पुरुषोत्तमं [भग]वयोद्वयः प्रतिष्ठापदं
पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रचहानेहसि ।
सर्वस्वस्त्रितार³⁵तर्पितपितृसुतोमः करोन्नासिते-
स्तोयैर्यः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाप चर्षं ॥ —[12].
सात[त्या]-

²⁴ Read वङ्गस्तत्र. The next three *akṣhara*s are quite blurred in the rubbings, and it is impossible to say confidently what they were.

²⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

²⁶ The *akṣhara*s, here broken away, were probably तराय-

²⁷ Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).

²⁸ Metre of verses 7 and 8: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

²⁹ Metre: Vasantatīlakā.

³⁰ Read संभासाय.

³¹ One would have expected the nenter शिविरी.

³² Metre of verses 10—12: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³³ The *akṣhara* in brackets is doubtful, and looks rather like व.

³⁴ This is clearly engraved, but I believe the intended reading to be "पुरावर्गित्ति."

³⁵ Read सर्वस्व वितार.

- L. 12. चित्तकल्या[ङ्]तिभिरपचितौ चन्द्रमौलिखिलाकालं
म्यस्ताभिर्यस्य यैवागममहितमहामन्त्रपूतान्तरस्य ।
एनः स्तेनोऽङ्गार त्रिजगति विदितादात्रया[ञ्]त्वदोषा-
दिह धूमच्छलेनीच्छलरुचिरचिराच्चिद्रुतं हो-
13. मवङ्कः ॥³⁸—[13].
क्षेतार्षे तं श्यति [पितृभो]त्वात्कनो [निस्पृ]र्षार्धे³⁷
धनेनन्तप्रमि[तिरमि]तां शक्तिमुष्णतकम् ।
यस्यैश्वर्यं प्रययति विभोः कर्तुरित्यहुतश्री-
र्षान्तिं लोकास्थितिषु भवते भूयसीश्वर्यकोत्तिः ॥³⁹—[14].
यस्य श्रीमन-
14. धेच्छरो [नयवशा]र्षोतिप्रयोगार्[ञ्]ल-
प्राग्भा[रा]नुभवैरपुम्बि[ञ्]तद्यतिर्वासाधिधानं व्यधात् ।
राजास्वानसरःसरोरुहमिति स्त्रीरं पुः स्नाद्यतां
गीतो नूतनकालिदास इति यः कालेषु वैतालिकैः ॥⁴⁰—[15].
यः सन्निवृत्तु चा-
15. तुरीपरि[च]येर्षाचक्षतिः प्रस्तुत-
प्रज्ञासम्भविद्विचित्ररुचरि[ते]रीचिस्वचिन्तामपिः ।
सद्भावप्रभो गभीरिमय्यर्षं र[ञ्]त्रयीताचिकी⁴¹
भाषासु प्रतिभाप्रभुः कविकतासञ्चर्गम्येष्टरः⁴² ॥—[16].
क्षेरापारपरोपका-⁴³
16. रपरमः प्रेमोपचारोत्तर-
व्याहारैर्लनतानुराग[र]चनाचातुर्यचर्यायुषः ।
धौरयः सुधियां सुधानिचिकषामौलिः सदारधन-
ध्याने जञ्च निजं निनाय सुजनः स्वान्तेन शान्तेन यः ॥ —[17].
पद्मी तस्य मनोरथस्य क-
17. तिनचारित्र्यसु[द्रा]पदं
[धी]डोदेयनरेयस्यसचिवश्रीदिवशर्मात्मजा⁴⁴ ।
मू[त्ता] स[स्त्र]मरुन्धतीव जग[तां] वन्द्या सतीनां धुति⁴⁵
श्रीमत्सङ्कर⁴⁶[भा?]वि[रं]कुर[वि]तुं सत्पुष्पनीजा[ञ्]भूत् ॥ —[18].
[ना]पत्यं चिरमापतुर्यदुचितं तेनैव तौ द-

³⁸ Metre: Śraṅgharā.

³⁹ This whole line and part of the following line are extremely indistinct in the rubbing.

⁴⁰ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

⁴¹ Metre of verses 15—19: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴² The *akṣhara* in brackets, in the origin I, is *स* rather than *र*.

⁴³ Read 'द्वयङ्गम्'.

⁴⁴ The reading is clear here, but I would alter it to क्षेरीप

⁴⁵ The first *akṣhara* of this line, according to the rubbing, can only be either धी or क्षी. Originally सचव was engraved, but it has been altered to सचि.

⁴⁶ I am not satisfied with the text of this line and of the next, which are quite blurred in the rubbings; but, with the exception of the bracketed letters the above seems to me to be the reading offered by the rubbings. In the place of the *akṣhara* चा another letter was originally engraved, but it has been altered subsequently.

⁴⁷ Read 'श्रीमन्'.

- L. 18. पती
सम्यक्तावपि⁴⁸ नूनमन्त्रभवतां सन्तापमन्त्रस्ततः ।
याधारपयनश्चधेयसरतिर्षोवी सुतस्तेन वां
गल्लेति स्वयमादिदेश गिरियः स्वप्ने समीपं ययोः ॥ —[19].
सुप्तोतयोर्भ्रं(भ्रं)गवतो मम नामधेयमाधेयमस्य पुन-
19. रिखनुशासनेन ।
क्षारापितच्छरहरस्वरधातुरूपो रूपानुमेयसुनयस्तनयोजनिष्ट ॥⁴⁹—[20].
गङ्गाधरास्यः स ततो जितान्ता यः शैशवादिस्वजननयुतः ।
विवर्द्धमानः परलोकभीत्या सदात्मनीनं नयमातता-
20. न ॥⁵⁰—[21].
षभवदनुजो मङ्गीधर इति पुत्री श्रीमनोरथादुदितौ ।
चाशीर्वराभिनन्दौ हरिहरप्ररुषोत्तमौ दशरथासु ॥⁵¹—[22].
सत्कल्पप्रवणाः श्रुतिप्रथयि[नः] शिवाभिरुहासिताः
सञ्च्योतिर्मातयो निरुक्तविशयाश्चन्दोवि-
21. धौ साधवः ।
[स्था]ता व्याकरणकमेण विदुषाम[त्युञ्ज]धीशील[ना]-⁵²
हेदाङ्कप्रतिमाः षडेव भुवने ते वि(वि)ञ्चति श्वातरः ॥⁵³—[23].
तदन्तरं माननरेन्द्रचन्द्रमाः स रुद्रमानोजनि येन भूभुजा ।
समेदिनीमण्डलमादिकोलवह(ष)लादमिञ्चा-
22. स्व(स्व)निधेः समुद्रुतं ॥⁵⁴—[24].
पाणि[र्]हानवणः प्रभौच[ल]ह[री] वल्लभ यस्य स्वयं
मर्यादास्त्रिमास एव जगतां जीवातवञ्चेलुताः ।
तस्मिं कल्पलतायज्ञीन्द्रकमठौ सा चिद्वभानुदयी
पद्मिन्द्र⁵⁵ निरयोश्चसामिति विधेर्षिक् प्रक्रि-
23. यागौरवं ॥⁵⁶—[25].
सुखं दिक्करिदन्तकोटिमटितुं का[न्ती] ? गि[री]षां ल[ङ्] [ङ्]
व्यासुं व्योम धृषुस्त्रिताविह दिशि प्रोतं वयि भ्रान्तिषु ।
क्षीराब्धौ[न्दु]सुधादिषु⁵⁷ प्रभवति त्र(त्र)प्राण्णगर्भा(र्भा)ह[हि]-
र्षिर्यात्यस्ति यथेत्[मो]खरगुणैरित्यङ्कृतं यद्यद्य-
24. : ॥ —[26].
शुद्धे व(व)शोत्सवरिपुभटत्रेणि[सिह]ः सदा यो
व(व)सुः शुद्धो विपदि विसरत्कार्यनिर्याससीमा ।
श्रेयान् सभ्यः सद्सि विद्यदे विश्वविष्णासपात्रं
पातुं मित्रं हृदयमितरत्तस्य गङ्गाधरो ऽभूत् ॥⁵⁸—[27].
आचाराम-

⁴⁸ Read संवत्तावपि.

⁴⁹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁵⁰ Metre: Upajāti.

⁵¹ Metre: Gītī.

⁵² Originally षि was engraved, instead of धी.

⁵³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁵⁴ Metre: Vamśastha.

⁵⁵ Read एकेन्द्री.

⁵⁶ Metre of verses 25 and 26: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁵⁷ Read क्षीराब्धौ.

⁵⁸ Read व(व)सु(सु).

⁵⁹ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

- L. 25. रथः सुभाषितचयः सतीतिरद्वापयः
 प्राग्वहीरमथः प्रयात्करथः काश्चपारायथः ।
 यः सौजन्यनिधिः स्वितायनुपधिः सख्यस्य सुख्यो विधि-
 र्द्विरेनवधिर्बिभूतचितयथाधिर्धियो सेवधिः ॥⁴⁰—[28].
26. गौ-
 उरावसुहृदो जयपाशेराधिकारिकपदोपपदस्य ।
 चाश्चवासुदवचकुभगायाः पेशकां स किञ्च पासलदेगीम् ॥⁴¹—[29].
 चाकात्तो न वृषः कदापि गतये यस्मिन् हीनाङ्गना
 रौद्री नाद्रियते स्मितिर्चं गणितास्ता
27. नोवभित्सहयाः ।
 पन्थोन्धास्वविनासवञ्चितदृशोरेकं वपुर्बि(म्बि)भृतो-
 स्तथायः यिषयोऽरपोदमनयोऽस्यत्समत्वादृतम् ॥⁴²—[30].
 सन्तोषार्ज्ववेर्यसंयमदमासुक्रोशयाम्निचमा-
 मेक्षोसत्समाधिमन्मन-
28. सो नारायणैकात्मनः ।
 दन्धद्रोहविमोहलोभममतामात्मर्यमायामद-
 द्वेषैर्चादिनिस्तदनस्य चरिते यस्मात्त साक्षी जनः ॥—[31].
 तेनात्र दुःशकमसीम सप्तसकलः क्लृप्तं सभर्तुश्चितोचतये समाप्य ।
29. आवा(वा)[स्व]यौवन[मसु]प्रतिरोधि व(व)सुलोकस्य चेतसि चमत्कृतिराचितैव ॥⁴³—[32]
 [य]स्वाहैतयते⁴⁴स्वयंविरोचिते किञ्चित्त्विल्वचमः
 स त्र(त्र)ज्ञोपनिषत्कथासधिगमः श्रुतो विरचोद्यवा ।
 भाव्यः श्रु(सु)रिभिरैव⁴⁵चिबकवि-
30. तायस्य सुतो दुस्कर⁴⁶
 भारत्याः कुर्वतेपरास्त्रिचयुषमस्तावनां जेन सः ॥⁴⁷—[33].
 धा[त्वा ?]वर्त्तवशादिहृत्वरतप्रसादसद्गादिः⁴⁸
 व्यक्ताकारकदम्(म्)मन्(म्)रमनु खेनोद्भवत्यम्बि(म्बि)यं ।
 स्त्रित्वा तत्त्वचतो विपचमपुनर्भा(म्भा)वा-
31. यथेदं तया
 मत्तैव त्रिचगन्ति येन जनितः सत्कर्मघर्षादरः ॥—[34].
 पुञ्छोत्पत्तिनिमित्तमव निजयोः पित्रोः पवित्रात्मना
 कीर्त्त्या तेन तयोश्चिरं रचयता यद्ग्रातपचं जगत् ।
 कासारोयमकारि पारदर-

⁴⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴¹ Metre: Svāgatā.⁴² Metre of verses 30 and 31: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. At the beginning of verse 30 I would suggest reading चाकात्मन इव⁴³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.⁴⁴ Originally वसि⁴⁴ was engraved, but the initial व may have been altered to व.⁴⁵ Originally वृ⁴⁵ was engraved, but the sign for i has been added afterwards.⁴⁶ Read दुस्कर.⁴⁷ Metre of verses 33-35: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴⁸ The second akṣara of this line originally was चार, but it seems to have been altered to वा.

- L. 32. सञ्ज्ञायाश्चतामश्वासां
 यस्मिन्निमिषाद्यस्तदमर्षं मूर्त्तं चरोन्मृत्ते ॥—[35].
 सकोर्त्सां सरसस्तस्य प्रतिष्ठासमयोत्सवे ।
 यद्भास्व(म्)रपरीचानं जगतेनात्र कारितं ॥⁴⁹—[36].
 चाकायः पवनः कृमानुबद्धं चात्रीति लोकात्र-
 यी-
 मूर्त्सां त्र(त्र)ञ्च विवर्त्तमानमयते यावद्विचित्राङ्गतिम् ।
 नेत्रचोन्नमनःप्रसादसदने तावत् सतामादरा-
 दुचिद्रां सुदमात्तरेषु⁵⁰कुचतां कीर्त्तिप्रयस्यो-इमे ॥⁵¹—[37].
 क्व यन्निव्युत्पत्तिव्यतिकरविरोधेन सुलभाः
 कवी-
 नां पन्थानस्तद्विह ननु केषामनुगमः ।
 स्वपूर्णे स्वेतस्मिन् सुजनजनितोनुग्रहयुषः
 प्रयस्यो प्रायस्त्वं वितरति स गङ्गाचरनिराम् ॥⁵²—[38].
 नन्देन्द्रियाम्बेन्दुसमे यकान्दे(न्दे) वद्राजवचोद्भवस्य गता ।
 इमां यि-
 सायिस्विवरः प्रयसिं स शूलपाणिः स्वयसुचक्षण ॥⁵³—[39].
 शक १०५८. [H⁵⁴]

TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Sarasvatī !

(Verse 1.) May the supporter⁵⁵ of the universe bestow [on us] his compassion !— who, embracing his beloved and thrilled with delight by the close contact of his breast with her bosom, is sleeping on the lord of serpents, on one side bent low by the weight of the god's lofty body, while on the other he remains upright under the very light burden of the goddess of fortune !

(2.) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruṇa,⁵⁶ whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmanas are named Māgas ! There a race of twice-born [sprang] from the sun's own body, grazed by the lathe,⁵⁷ whom Śāmba himself brought hither. Glorious are they, honoured in the world !

(3.) The first of them was an abode of all vedic lore and of the knowledge of the supreme soul, and wholly occupied in thoughts⁵⁸ familiar with every sacrificial rite, that

⁴⁹ Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).⁵⁰ Read चरुच.⁵¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵² i.e., the dawn, personified as the charioteer of the sun.⁵³ The story told in the Purāṇas is, that, to diminish the sun's intensity, Viśvakarman placed the luminary on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence (Viśvakarman-purāṇa III, 2); and the above verse appears to intimate that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the sun's body, which were taken away by this process of grinding it.⁵⁴ In connection with vyāpṛita one would have expected the Loc., not the Instr. case.⁵⁵ Metre: Śikharipi.⁵⁶ Metre: Upejāti.⁵⁷ i.e., Vishnu.

sage Bhāradvāja whose penance could both deliver and destroy the world, and in whose face there was . . . like a garland of the great race of the Maga twice-born.

(7. 4.) His family had a hundred branches, distinguished for unprecedented penances and endowed with far-spreading fame; and in it there were other lords of the twice-born, conversant with the highest truth, whose minds were purified by faultless knowledge.

(5.) In the course of time the heroes who lift their bows to conquer the brilliant treasure of knowledge, robbed by . . . , were headed by Chakrapāṇi, the son of Dāmōdara. Like Vālmiki in having made the streams of song to descend, he, a leader of the virtuous, became famous . . . of his family, as Brahman is of the continuance of the universe.

(6.) If his everlasting, widely spread and weighty renown had not mounted the wheel of the quarters,⁷⁵ how would that wheel turn round now?

(7.) As Indra and Vishṇu have sprung from Kaśyapa, the descendant of Marichi so to Chakrapāṇi were born, to sustain the homage heaped upon their family, two sons favoured by the immortals, an elder son named Manoratha and his younger brother Daśaratha, the bright renown of whose learning, purity of conduct and good disposition has purified the world.

(8.) Because these two brothers were the foremost of the good and had their fame sung by all people within their hearing, and by the facts that they made excellent friends and that plentiful enjoyment came to them unsought, and because princes treated them with loving kindness, their abundant bright excellence (*which caused all this*) rendered their enemies' faces dark (*with envy*).

(9.) These brothers gave extreme delight by captivating one another's hearts with their innate love; and even this capricious Kali age never saw anything to blame in their dealings (*with one another*) that were pleasing on account of their affection.

(10.) In order that they might render his reign illustrious, the wise prince Varṇamāna besought them both to come to his royal residence, to dwell with him; and they, abiding by his commands, raised this family of his to the highest pitch of excellence and renown and prosperity.

(11.) In that magnificent home of the Māna lord, which they then served, one of them, whose respectability was an object of esteem as far as the sea, received the office of *prāthāra*,⁷⁷ while the other was appointed superintendent of the eunuchs; and in these positions these learned and intelligent men became widely known for both their goodness and good management.

(12.) Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, Manoratha⁷⁸ went to the sacred Purushottama, and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon; (*and*) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon,⁷⁹ eclipsed at full-moon time.

(13.) The sacrificial fire of this man whose mind was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine, in consequence of the oblations duly thrown into it three

⁷⁵ The meaning of the verse is simply, that Chakrapāṇi's fame filled all the quarters of the compass.

⁷⁷ Literally 'door-keeper.'

⁷⁸ The verses 12-17 refer to Manoratha; see verse 18.

⁷⁹ The exact meaning of this is not clear to me. Altogether the construction is objectionable, because the two verbs *astādāra* and *āpa* are in no way connected with each other.

times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god, perpetually threw up of its own accord, under the guise of smoke, the sin kindled from the blindness of the organs which is the bane of the three worlds; but quickly hid it again with its bright lustre.

(7. 14.) In the bright fortnight the lustreless half of the sun resorts to him from fear of the manes. He, without doubt, possessed of infinite true knowledge, has unmeasured power. The fame of his piety, wonderfully glorious because it proclaims the might of the omnipresent creator, spreads far and wide in the abodes of men.⁸⁰

(15.) To him the illustrious ruler of Magadha gave the name of Vyāsa, because in consequence of his prudent management his own mind had not to attend to any matters whatever relating to the proper conduct of affairs. He also, even in the presence of princes, was at the appointed seasons freely sung of by the bards as the lotus in the lake of the king's audience hall, and as a modern Kālidāsa.

(16.) He was a Vāchaspati among good ministers on account of his familiarity with shrewd schemes, a very Brahman in creating due knowledge for whatever was propounded, in consequence of his noble conduct a gem fulfilling all desires in regard to propriety, a source of goodness, and a home of depth. He possessed the true knowledge of the jewel-triad,⁸¹ was quick in languages, and a master by birth of all the arts of poetry.

(17.) With a smiling face intent on doing endless good to others, most proficient in winning the affection of mankind by loving and civil speeches, and a leader of the wise, this excellent man with a mind free from passion always spent his life in worshipping and meditating on the god whose crest is the digit of the moon.

(18.) This fortunate Manoratha married the daughter of Devaśarman, the stainless counsellor of the prince of the [Ghauḍī] country, a lady on whom propriety of conduct had set its seal. Considering that she verily was Arundhati in mortal frame, to be revered by the worlds as the foremost of good wives, the holy Śaṅkara manifested himself to cause the seeds of piety to sprout.

(19.) As for a long time they did not obtain the desired-for offspring, both husband and wife, though not to blame, were naturally distressed in mind. Then Śiva himself came to them in a dream, and told them that their anxiety was groundless; they should worship him, and then they would have a son.

(20.) To them, well pleased by this and by the god's further command that they should give his own name to their son, a son was born who was like his parents⁸² who had well worshipped the destroyer⁸³ of Smara, and whose good conduct was proportionate to his beauty.

(21.) Him then they called Gaṅgadhara; and he, self-subdued, from childhood pleased every one by his behaviour, and growing up he always, from fear of the world to come, gave ample proof of his wisdom.

⁸⁰ Here again, assuming my reading of the text to be correct, the construction is unsatisfactory. In the first line of the verse we should have expected *gata* instead of *tan*, and in the second line we miss the relative *gaḥ*. The meaning of the first line of the verse, the reading of which is more or less conjectural, appears to me to be this that, when the moon is waxing, the sun at night resorts to Manoratha to share in his lustre, because it is afraid of being invaded by the manes whom it supposes to be anxious to get away from the bright moon.

⁸¹ I am not certain what *ratnatraya* the author is referring to. With Buddhists the term would denote *buddha*, *dharma* and *saṅgha*, with Jains *samyagdharma*, *samyagjñāna* and *samyakcāritra*.

⁸² The original has *rama*, which should mean 'husband and wife,' not 'parents.'

⁸³ i. e., Śiva, the destroyer of the god of love.

(V. 22.) After him came another son, named Mahādharma. These were the two sons of Manoratha. To Daśaratha, on the other hand, were born Harihara and Purushottama, blessing and fulfilment of desire.

(23.) Fond of the Vedas, devoted to the proper ceremonial, illustrious for their knowledge of the *Sikshās*, well acquainted with the *Jyotisha*, accurately understanding the *Nirukta*, proficient in the rules of metrics, famous for their progress in grammar, these six brothers, deeply engaged in the lofty course of study of the learned, well represent the *Vedāngas* in the world.

(24.) Meanwhile there was born that moon of the Māna princes, the king Rudramāna, who, like the primeval boar, powerfully recovered his realm from the sea of adversaries.

(25.) As his hand is famed for its liberality and his face a wave of the flood of light, and since he keeps himself within the bounds of propriety, and provides means of subsistence for the people,⁶⁴ of what account are the creeping-plant of paradise, the great serpent and the tortoise, those two bright luminaries yonder, and the lord of elephants and the seas? Fie on such cumbrous insignia of high rank of the Creator!

(26.) Marvellous indeed is his fame, because it shares the properties of the supreme lord. So subtle as to pervade the edges of the teeth of the elephants of the quarters, so light as to reach the heavens in its ascent of the mountains, it extends everywhere here in the broad regions and roams freely about at will; it predominates in the sea of milk as well as in the white splendour of the moon, and it goes out of the mundane egg, and stays in it as it pleases.

(27.) Of this (*king*) Gaṅgādharma was (*as it were*) a second heart to protect friends, (*Gaṅgādharma*), who always was in battle a magician (*in scattering*) the lines of exulting hostile warriors, in misfortune an honest friend, a check when affairs were getting beyond control, an excellent associate in a spotless assembly, and worthy to be trusted in everything.

(28.) (*Gaṅgādharma*), who was embellished by good behaviour, famed for his cleverness of speech, a market of the gems of prudent counsel, a lover of resoluteness, tranquil-minded, full of compassion, a store-house of benevolence, fraudless in obligations, a prime promoter of friendship, boundless in steadfastness, free from the failing of untruth, and a treasure of intelligence.

(29.) He married the charming Pāsaladevi, a daughter of Jayapāṇi who bore the title of *ādhipikārika*,⁶⁵ a friend of the king of Gauḍa, and of (*his wife*) Subhagā.

(30.) And their matrimonial union was universally esteemed even as that of Śiva and his consort, who are prevented from seeing the charm of each other's faces, because they have only one body; a union where the wife is never left behind when (*the husband*) mounts the bull to go abroad, and where (*the wife*) never notices the (*husband's*) fearful form, nor minds being addressed with the name of a rival.

(31.) The people here have witnessed the conduct of (*Gaṅgādharma*) whose mind is brimful of contentment, honesty, firmness, forbearance, self-restraint, tenderness, calmness, patience, friendship, truth and contemplation, whose only thought is Nārāyaṇa,

⁶⁴ Here, again, the two first lines of the original verse do not admit of a proper construction.
⁶⁵ i.e., 'a superintendent of affairs.'

and who destroys deceit, malice, folly, covetousness, selfishness, envy, fraud, infatuation, hatred, jealousy and other evil qualities.

(V. 32.) Having accomplished here a thousand times, ever since he was a boy and a youth, and even to the endangerment of his life, most difficult deeds without end for the due advancement of his master, he has indeed filled the minds of his kinsmen with wonder.

(33.) A man who in his *Advaitabata* has striven to prove that he has some poetic gift, whose knowledge, be it faultless or perhaps otherwise, of the treatises on the supreme soul is well known, and whose attempts in the way of artificial poetry, hard even for the goddess of eloquence and to be ventured on by scholars only, have met with applause, need he say more in praise of his merits?

(34.) The revolution of elementary matter gives rise to the diffused mass of trees, palaces, houses, and the rest of visible objects; the rain-cloud forms in the sky of its own accord; all this stays for a moment only and vanishes again, never to return.⁶⁶ Considering such too to be the case with the three worlds, (*Gaṅgādharma*) has devoted himself to virtuous and pious deeds.

(35.) To secure for his parents religious merit, that pure-minded man has founded here,—covering the world for ever with their fame as with a radiant umbrella,—this tank of water shining like quick-silver, in which their spotless renown in the guise of the waves dances about in visible form.

(36.) And at the festive inauguration of this lake he has made his own fame here envelop the world like a radiant garment.

(37.) As long as the supreme spirit in the shape of the three worlds, as ether, air, fire, water and earth, passing through a succession of existences, pursues its varied course, so long may these two eulogies of fame, pleasing the eyes and ears and the mind, vigorously cause lively joy in the hearts of the good!

(38.) How can the ways of poets be easily found in the absence of innate ability as well as of culture? And, accordingly, is it likely that the author of this should have discovered them? Yet, as this treats of himself, the favour shown to him by good men will find in this eulogy also something to applaud in Gaṅgādharma's words.⁶⁷

(39.) In the Śaka year equal to the Nandas (9), the organs of sense (5), the sky (0) and the moon (1), the excellent stone-mason Śūlapāṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharaṇa, himself engraved this eulogy.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

⁶⁶ Instead of the Abl. case *aprasa-hāndā* I should have expected the Dat. case.
⁶⁷ Literally 'will bestow on this eulogy also the excellence of Gaṅgādharma's words.'

No. 34.—KHALIMPUR PLATE OF DHARMAPALADEVA.

By F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This plate was discovered by Mr. Umes Chandra Batavyal, I.C.S., in November 1893, at the village of **Khālimpur**, near Gaur, in the Maldah district of the Bhāgalpur division of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. It had been found by a Muhammadan cultivator, while ploughing a paddy-field near the village, and was purchased by Mr. Batavyal from his widow. The inscription which it contains has already been published by Mr. Batavyal,¹ with a translation and a small but clear photo-etching, in the *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIII. Part I. p. 39 ff. I re-edit it from impressions taken by Dr. Hultzsch, to whom the original plate was kindly sent by Dr. Grierson.

This is a single plate which measures about $11\frac{3}{8}$ " broad by $1' 4\frac{3}{8}$ " high. Like the other plates of the same dynasty,² it is surmounted by a highly wrought ornament, soldered on the top of it, overlapping the upper portion of the plate where it causes a break of about 4" in the first three lines of the writing on either side, and projecting about $5\frac{1}{2}$ " above the plate. The main part of this ornament is a seal, formed by five concentric rings, the innermost of which is about $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. A horizontal line divides the space within this ring into two parts. Above the line is a wheel on a pedestal, with a deer facing it on either side; and immediately below it we have the legend *śrīmān=Dharmapālādēvaḥ*, written in one line. Below the legend is another horizontal line, and below this again there seem to be some flowers. The seal rests on a pedestal, and has all round it some projections, the shape of which may be seen from the Plate opposite page 244. The plate is inscribed on both sides. The first side contains 33 lines of writing, and the second 29 lines, the last of which is engraved quite at the bottom of the plate, about $5\frac{1}{4}$ " distant from the line preceding it. Both the writer and the engraver have done their work with great care, and, although the edges of the plate are not raised into rims, the writing, with the exception of three or four *akṣharas* on the second side, is in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters on the first side is about $\frac{1}{16}$ ", while on the second side it is only between $\frac{3}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ ".—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Like those of the short Gayā inscription of Dharmapāla (Sir A. Cunningham's *Mahā-Bōdhi*, Plate xxviii. 3), they hold an intermediate position between those of the Dēś-Baranārk inscription of Jivitagupta II. of the family of the Guptas of Magadha (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Plate xxix. B) and those of the Badāl pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyanapāla (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 160, Plate). In general, what strikes one, is that letters like *p*, *m*, and *s* are mostly open at the top, and that separate signs are employed to denote final *t*, *n*, and *m*, with the *virāma* written beneath or over the sign, or attached to the top

¹ Mr. Batavyal, by making this inscription known, has rendered a valuable service to Indian epigraphy, and I would leave those who are interested in the subject to find out for themselves where my text and translation differ from his. But I must just mention here that surely Mr. Batavyal has been rather rash in stating that the grant recorded in this inscription was made in favour of the poet Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. So far as I can see, his error is due, in the first instance, to a misapprehension of the meaning of the word *pādamāla* in line 51 of the text. According to Mr. Batavyal, the adjective *pādamāla-sambhā* means 'one who came to visit,' and the substantive *Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka*, which that adjective qualifies, therefore cannot denote the god Nārāyaṇa, but "plainly refers to some person whose name was Nārāyaṇa." Really *pādamāla* denotes the attendants of some god or idol, and *Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭārakaḥ pādamāla-sambhā* therefore literally can only mean 'the lord Nārāyaṇa, associated with his attendants.'

² These plates are the Mungir plate of Dēvapāla, *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 123 ff., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 253 ff.; the Phāgalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLVII. Part I. p. 384 ff., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 304 ff.; the Dinājpur plate of Mahāpāla, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXI. Part I. p. 77 ff.; and the Āngāchhī plate of Vīgrahapāla III., *As. Res.* Vol. IX. p. 484 ff., and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 166 ff. and Vol. XXI. p. 97 ff.

of it, or, in the case of final *t*, without the *virāma*.¹ As regards individual letters, the lower part of *m* throughout is formed by a straight arm, pointing in an upward direction to the left, and shows nowhere a loop or round knob.² The conjunct *rth*, which occurs only in the word *śādhyaśrīhān*³ in line 13, is denoted by a sign of its own, which has developed out of the sign for *rth* as it appears in line 12 of the Aphaṣ inscription of Ādityasēna (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Plate xxviii.), and which we find in nearly the same form in the Kōṭā Buddhist inscription of the *Sāmanta* Dēvadatta⁴ of Vikrama-Samvat 847(?). The sign for *ṣ* is similar to the sign for the same letter in the Deopara inscription of Vijayasēna (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 308, Plate), except that the vertical line on the right is drawn quite down to the bottom. The initial *i* is three times (in *iva*, ll. 3 and 4, and *īi*, l. 7) formed by a horizontal top line, such as is generally found in consonant-signs, with two circles below it; and three times (in *īi*, ll. 52, 56, and 58) by two circles, with a line which slants down from the left to the right below them.⁵ The sign of *vīarga* is sometimes expressed by a single circle, with a hook or curved line below it.⁶ The sign of *avagraha*⁷ is employed three times, in *grāmō śya*, l. 31, *taṭṭ śambhā*, l. 52, and *yathā śambhā*, l. 49; and numeral figures for 1, 2 and 3 are used in line 61. Having compared a large number of lithographs and impressions of other inscriptions, I have come to the conclusion that the alphabet here employed may fairly be described as a Magadha variety of the Nāgarī alphabet, and that, on palaeographical grounds, the inscription may confidently be assigned to the ninth century A.D.—The language is Sanskrit. The inscription, after the words *ōm svastī* with which it commences, has a verse invoking the protection of Buddha, who here, as in the Ghōsrāwā inscription, is called *Vajrāsana*, and, after that, twelve other verses in praise of the king Dharmapāla and his ancestors; and it contains five benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 56-60, and another verse, which gives the name of the engraver, in line 62. The rest of the text is in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout expressed by the sign for *v*; the palatal sibilant is used⁸ instead of the lingual in *vīvaga*, l. 12, and *vīvayā*, l. 31, and instead of the dental in the word *arddhatrōtikā*, l. 34 ff.; the dental *n* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in *yaśānsya*, l. 60;

¹ Final *m* is throughout denoted by a half-form of *m* (i.e. an *m* without the horizontal top-line) with the sign of *virāma* below (but not attached to) it; e.g. in *anasydam*, l. 14. Final *t* is five times denoted by a final form of *t*, without the *virāma*, e.g. in *vīkramat*, l. 26; once, in *antardāt*, l. 28, by a half-form of *t* with the *virāma* above it; once, in *anurovat*, l. 16, by a nearly full form of *t* with the *virāma* attached to the top of it; and once, in *vasat*, l. 57, by the ordinary form of *t* with the *virāma* attached to the foot of it. Final *n* is generally denoted by a half-form of *n*, with the *virāma* below it, and once, in *śrīmda*, l. 30, above it; four times by the full form of *n* with the *virāma* attached to the top of it, as in *śāśva*, l. 17; and once, in *sichitā*, l. 17, by the full form of *n* with the *virāma* below it.

² In the Ghōsrāwā Buddhist inscription of the time of Dēvapāla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 809, Plate) the *m* with the loop is still the exception, but in the Badāl pillar inscription and in the Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla it is used throughout.

³ Mr. Batavyal read this *śādhyaśrīhān*. The sign for *rth*, here used, of course owes its origin to the fact that the sign for *r* was written on the line, not above it.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 46. I owe excellent impressions of that inscription to Dr. Fleet.

⁵ The first form of *i*, described above, we find in the word *iva* in line 2 of the Aṣṭragadh seal of the Maukhari king Śarvarman (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Plate xxx. A), and it is used throughout in the Badāl pillar inscription (as well as in the Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla, the Dinājpur plate of Mahāpāla, the Gayā inscription of Yakṣhapāla, and in inscriptions at Sirpur, *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XVII. Plate xviii.); and the second form we have in the word *īi* in line 5 of the Dēś-Baranārk inscription of Jivitagupta II. of Magadha (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Plate xxix. B).

⁶ This sign is used 11 times, from *dēvaḥ* in line 30 to *prastidinaḥ* in line 48. In one or two cases I am doubtful whether it is meant for *vīarga* or for *anusvāra*.

⁷ The sign of *avagraha* occurs once (in line 8) in the Kōṭā inscription of Dēvadatta of Vikrama-Samvat 847 (?), and once (in line 5) in the Gwalior inscription of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj of Vikrama-Samvat 933, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 159. In the Ghōsrāwā inscription it is used no less than seven times, but in the Badāl pillar inscription only twice.

⁸ This use of the palatal sibilant may be accounted for by the influence of the Magadh Prakṛit.

and the word *ohaturshu* is written *ohaturushu* in line 44.¹ In respect of the observance of the rules of *sandhi*, it may be noted that *m* is several times retained before *v*, instead of being changed to *anusvara*, not only in *samvat*, l. 61, but also at the end of words, e.g. in *vapushdm=adhinadam=pidhatam*, l. 20; that *t* is doubled before *r* in *rājanputra*, l. 32, and *atra*, l. 60; that the conjuncts *dv* and *dhv* are incorrectly employed instead of *dāv* and *dāv* in *-krīdāpaḥ*, l. 41, and *vudhā*, l. 58 (but not in *vuddhā*, l. 60); and that *visarga* several times has been wrongly omitted, e.g. in *akīrti kshapayātm*, l. 59. The only other point of grammar that need be drawn attention to here is the employment of the word *uparilikhita*, for *uparilikhita*, in line 52, for which we now can quote numerous analogous instances from other inscriptions.² The prose (formal) part of the text offers a considerable number of words, some of them technical terms, which, so far as I know, have not yet been met with elsewhere, and the meaning of some of which is obscure. Thus, in the description of the boundaries of the villages in lines 31-43, we find *ardhaśrōtikā*, *khātaka*, *khāṭikā*, *jālaka*, *bhīshuka* (?), and *yānaka* or *yānikā*, (and perhaps some others, if they are not proper names), some of which may have been drawn from the writer's vernacular. In the long list of officials, enumerated in lines 44-47, we have the *Shashthādhiprita*, *Dandatakti*, *Khōla*, *Jyēshthakāyastha* and *Dātagrāmika*, who are not mentioned in other inscriptions which I have been able to compare. And revenue-terms peculiar to our text are *talapātaka*³ and *hastikā* in lines 51 and 52, and *piṇḍaka* in line 55.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Sūgata (Buddha), the *Paramēstvara Paramabhāṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Dharmapālādēva*, and records that the king, at the request of his *Mahāśamantādhipati Nārāyaṇavarman*, which was communicated to him by the *Dātaka*, the *Yuvarāja Tribhuvanapāla*,⁴ granted four villages to a temple of the god N[ar]ayana-Nārāyaṇa, which had been founded by Nārāyaṇavarman at Śubhasthāl. It is the earliest record of any extent that has yet been found of the Pāla⁵ dynasty, but, excepting that it gives us the names of the father and grandfather—*Vapyaṣa* and *Dayitavishnu*—of Gōpāla [I.], and relates that, to put an end to lawlessness and disorder, Gōpāla was induced by the people to assume the sovereignty, and that he married the Bhadrā⁶ king's daughter *Dēddadēvi*, it tells us nothing whatever that was not known before regarding that dynasty. About Gōpāla, its founder, we learn no more from it than what has just been stated. Of Dharmapāla, his and *Dēddadēvi*'s son, the only fact recorded is, that he installed a certain king of *Kanyakubja* (or *Kanauj*), to the joy of the people of *Pañchāla*, and with the ready approval of the *Bhōjas*, *Matsyas*, *Madras*, *Kurus*, *Yadus*, *Yavans*, *Avantis*, *Gandhāras* and *Kiras*. And of this even we already had a more specific account in the third verse of the *Bhāgalpur* plate of *Nārāyaṇapāla*, according to which Dharmapāla gave back again the sovereignty of *Mahōdaya* (or *Kanauj*), which he had acquired by defeating *Indrarāja* and other enemies, to the begging *Chakrāyudha*.

¹ Compare *śukāsi* for *śukāsi*, above, Vol. III. p. 148.

² Compare, e.g., *dhātaka* in line 10 of the *Madhuban* plate of *Harsha*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 78, and see *Gupta Inscri.* p. 69.

³ In a note on the translation I have drawn attention to the fact that the *Dād-Baranark* inscription of *Jivtagupta* II. of *Megadha* (*Gupta Inscri.* No. 46) contains the word *taladpāka* as the designation of some official. Perhaps I may mention here that that inscription, too, contains an unusually long list of officials—in line 10, what has been understood to be the name of a village, appears to me really to be *kīśra-vaśavaś-ś-mahishy-adhiprita*—and that in line 14 of it we have the same word *yathādēddadēvi* which we have in line 47 of the present inscription, and which, if my memory serves me rightly, is not of ordinary occurrence except in inscriptions from *Orissa*.

⁴ The *Dātaka* of the *Mungir* plate of *Dēvapāla* also was a *Yuvarāja*, the king's son *Rājyapāla*; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 268.

⁵ This designation of the family actually occurs in line 4 of the *Kanauj* plate of *Vaidyadēva*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 350.

⁶ The *Bhadrās* are variously placed in the middle country, or in the eastern or southern division of India; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 174.

No king *Chakrāyudha* of *Kanauj* is known to us from other inscriptions, and all that can be said with confidence regarding the event spoken of in the two copper-plates is, that, counting back eight generations from the date of the king *Mahipāla*, *Vikrama-Samvat* 1083 = A.D. 1026-27, it must have taken place about the middle or in the earlier part of the 9th century A.D.¹—The peoples or tribes, which in the present inscription are stated to have readily accepted the king installed by *Dharmapāla*, are mostly such as would be expected to have had dealings with *Kanyakubja*. *Kanyakubja* itself was in the country of the *Pañchālas* in *Madhyadēśa*. According to the topographical list of the *Brihatsamhitā*,² the *Kurus*³ and *Matsyas* also belong to the middle country, the *Madras* to the north-west, the *Gandhāras* to the northern, and the *Kiras*⁴ to the north-east division of India. The *Avantis* are the people of *Ujjayini* in *Mālava*. *Yadus*, according to the *Lakkhā Maṇḍal Prasasti*,⁵ were long ruling in part of the *Panjāb*, but they are found also south of the *Yamunā*; and south of this river and north of the *Narmadā* probably were also the *Bhōjas* who head the list. Of the *Yavans* it is difficult to speak with any certainty, but it seems not improbable that the word *Yavana* is used here simply in the sense of *Mlechchha*, and is put in, next to the word *Yadu*, rather for the sake of poetical ornamentation than with the object of conveying any very definite meaning.—*Dharmapāla*, when he made this grant, resided at *Pātāliputra*, the modern *Patnā*, on the *Ganges*. The orders of his successors *Dēvapāla* and *Nārāyaṇapāla* were issued from *Mudgagiri* (*Mungir* or *Monghyr*), and that of *Mahipāla* from *Vilāsapura*. In the plate of *Vigrahapāla* III. the name of the king's residence is illegible.

The grant, as already stated, was made to a temple of the god *N[ar]ayana-Nārāyaṇa*, or, more fully, 'to the holy lord *N[ar]ayana-Nārāyaṇa* (*bhagavan-N[ar]ayana-bhāṭāraka*), installed there (*tatra pratishthāpita*) [*vis.* at the temple founded by *Nārāyaṇavarman*], associated with (*i.e.* and to) the *Lāṭā*⁶ *Brāhmanas*, priests and other attendants who wait upon him.' The words of the text which thus describe the donee exactly correspond to the words *tatra pratishthāpitasya bhagavataḥ Śivabhāṭārakasya pāsupatāchārya-parishadaś-cha* in line 39 of the *Bhāgalpur* plate, by which a donation was made in favour of the god *Śiva*. Their general

¹ For a list of the *Pāla* kings from *Gōpāla* I. to *Vigrahapāla* III. see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 99. For the rulers of *Kanauj* we possess no date between that of the *Bengal As. Soc.*'s plate of the *Mahārāja Vinayakapāla*, [*Harsha*]-*Samvat* 188 = A.D. 788-84 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 140), and that of the *Dēgadh* inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja* *Bhōjadēva*, the successor of the *Mahārājādhirāja* *Rāmabhadradēva*, *Vikrama-Samvat* 919 = A.D. 862 (*Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 101). When treating of the verse of the *Bhāgalpur* plate on a former occasion (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 187), I suggested, with some diffidence, that the ruler who was placed on the throne of *Kanauj* by *Dharmapāla* might possibly have been *Bhōjadēva*. I was quite aware then of the statement in the *Jaina Harivansha-Purāna* (Dr. *Rajendralal Mitra's Notices*, Vol. VI. p. 80; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 141; Dr. *Bhandarkar's Early History*, 2nd ed., p. 65), that in *Saka-Samvat* 706 = A.D. 782-84, when that work was composed, the north was governed by a certain *Indrāyudha*, but did not venture to place *Dharmapāla* so early as to allow of his having had dealings with that king. I even then felt convinced that there must be some connection between the *Indrāyudha* of the *Harivansha-Purāna* and the king *Indra* and *Chakrāyudha* of the *Bhāgalpur* plate. What that connection was, I do not know; and I am unwilling to put forth another conjecture on a question which any day may be settled by the discovery of a properly dated inscription that may tell us something about the state of *Kanauj* in the first half of the 9th century A.D.

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 169 ff.

³ In *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 132, v. 23, the *Kurus* are reported to have been defeated by the *Chandēlla* *Yasovarman*.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 124, it will be seen that a king of *Kanauj* once received an image of the god *Vaikuṇṭha* from a king of *Kira*. *Ibid.* Vol. II. pp. 15 and 194, the *Kiras* are represented as having been held in check or defeated by the *Chēdi* *Karna* and the *Paramāra* *Lakshmadēva*; but in either case the writer probably thought more of his pun than of telling a real fact.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 10 ff. Dr. *F. E. Hall's* edition of this inscription, in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 462 ff., seems to have been quite lost sight of.

⁶ *Lāṭā* is central and southern *Gujarāt*, and it seems very appropriate that *Gujarāt* *Brāhmanas* should have been in charge of the temple of *Nārāyaṇa* (*Vishnu-Krishna*), whose own principal residence was *Dvārakā* in *Gujarāt*.

sense is perfectly plain, and all that by any chance might be considered to be open to discussion in them, is the exact meaning of the term *nanna* (or possibly *nanna*) which is prefixed to the name *Nārāyaṇa*. In other inscriptions we have *bhagavat(ch)-śrī-Nārāyaṇabhāṣṭrakāya*¹ or *bhagavantaṁ śrīman-Nārāyaṇabhāṣṭrakam = uddīya*,² but *nanna* (or *nanna*) conveys no such meaning as *śrī* or *śrīmat* do. Nor is it possible to form the compound *bhagavannanna*³ and make it qualify *Nārāyaṇabhāṣṭraka*; for that compound would not convey any appropriate sense, and *bhagavat* clearly goes together with the *bhāṣṭraka* whoever he may be. What remains then, in my opinion is, to take *N[anna-Nārāyaṇa]* together to be the name of the god for whom the temple had been built by *Nārāyaṇavarman*, and to assume that the god *Nārāyaṇa* was so called in honour of the founder's father, whose name, in that case, must have been *N[anna]*. Or, if the true reading of the text should be *Nanna-Nārāyaṇa*, it might also be possible to regard *Nanna*⁴ as another name of the founder of the temple, *Nārāyaṇavarman*, himself, and in this case *Nanna-Nārāyaṇa* would exactly correspond to *Kamala-Nārāyaṇa*, the name of the god *Nārāyaṇa* for whom a temple was built at *Dēgānve* by the *Kādamba* queen *Kamalādēvi*.⁵ However this may be, the general practice of naming gods or their temples in the manner described is notorious.⁶

The names of the four villages, granted at *Nārāyaṇavarman's* request by the king, are *Krañcōśavabhra*, *Māghasāmmall*, *Pālitaka*, and *Gōpipall*. The three first were in the *Vyāghrataṭṭi maṇḍala* of the *Mahantāprakāśa viśhaya*⁷ of the *Puṇḍravardhana bhukti*, while the last was in the *Āmrashaṇḍikā maṇḍala* of the *Sthālikkaṭṭa viśhaya*, clearly of the same *bhukti*. Their boundaries are fully given in lines 31-43; but, owing to the fact that this passage contains a number of obscure words and to the want of maps by which some of the places might perhaps be identified, I cannot give a proper account of them. Some localities here mentioned are the *Udragrāma maṇḍala*, the villages *Kālikāśavabhra*, *Gaḥṅinikā* and *Jēnandāyikā*, and the small island of *Kāpā*; besides, mention is made of the river *Kōṅṭhiyā*.

The inscription is dated, in lines 60-61, '12 days (i.e. on the 12th day) of *Mārga* of the year 32 of the increasing reign of victory' (of *Dharmapāla*).⁸—It was engraved by *Tātaṭṭa*, the son of *Subhata* and grandson of *Bhōgata*.

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Om¹⁰ svasti [[*] Sarvvajñātām¹¹ śriyam=iva sthiram=āsthitasya Vajrāsa-
2 nasya va(ba)hu-māra-kul-ōpalambhāḥ | dēvyā mahā-karūṇayā paripā-
3 litāni rakshantu vō daśa va(ba)lāni diśō jayanti || [1*] Śrīyā¹² iva subhagā-

¹ Line 20 of the *Pāṇḍukēśvar* plate of *Lalitāśtra*, *Proceedings, Beng. As. Soc.* 1877, p. 72.

² Line 46 of the *Tarpanighṭi* plate of *Lakshmanasēna*, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIV. Part I, p. 12.

³ I only mention this on account of Mr. *Bakervyl's* translation 'the God-guided *Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa*.'

⁴ The name *Nanna* occurs in the passage of the *Harivamśa-Purāṇa*, referred to in note 1 on page 246 above; and it is also found elsewhere. A name *Nanna* I have not met with elsewhere.

⁵ See Dr. *Fleet's Dynasties*, 2nd ed., p. 569.

⁶ *Alla*, the son of *Vāillabhaṭṭa*, built a temple of *Vishṇu* called *Vāillabhāṣṭarodmin*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 164; *Mathanadēva* founded a temple of *Śvara* (*Siva*), called *Lachchhukēśvara* after his mother *Lachchhukā*, *ibid.* Vol. III, p. 268. In other cases the idol or temple was called after the founder, e.g. *Nōbhāṭṭara* after *Nōbhāṭṭa*, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 270; or from the locality where it was, e.g. *Lōṇḍāyāśvō* from the place *Lavanpāṭaṭṭa*, *ibid.* Vol. III, p. 275. Names of the god *Nārāyaṇa*, with which *N[anna-Nārāyaṇa]* may be compared, (besides *Kamala-Nārāyaṇa*) are *Balidā-Nārāyaṇa*, *Kāpa-Nārāyaṇa*, and *Gōga-Nārāyaṇa*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 312, and Vol. X, p. 180.

⁷ See below, p. 253, note 8.

⁸ The other copper-plates of the same dynasty are also dated in regnal years, but omit the words 'of the increasing reign of victory.'

⁹ From impressions supplied by Dr. *Hultsch*.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol. ¹¹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹² Metre: *Mālinī*.

- 4 yāḥ sambhavō vārirāsīs=śāsadhara iva bhāsō viśvam=āhlādayantyāḥ | prakṛit=avanipānām santātēr=uttamāyā a-
5 jani *Dayitavishṇuḥ* sarvavidyā-avadātaḥ || [2*] ¹Āśid=ā sāgarād=urvvīm gurvvibhīḥ kirttibhīḥ kṛitī | maṇḍayan
6 khandit-ārātīḥ ślāghyāḥ śrī-Vapyatas=tataḥ || [3*] ²Mātsya-nyāyam=apōhitum prakṛitibhir=Lakshmyāḥ karaṅ=grāhitāḥ śrī-Gōpā-
7 la iti kshitīsa-sirasām chūḍāmaṇis=tat-sutaḥ | yasy=ānukriyatē sanātana-yasō-rāsir=diśām=āsāyē svētinnā ya-
8 di paurṇamāsa-rajanī jyōtsn-ātibhāra-śrīyā || [4*] ³Śītāmśōr=iva Rōhiṇī Huta-bhujaḥ Svāh=ēva tējō-nidhēḥ Śarvāṅ=i-
9 va Śivasya Guhyaka-patēr=Bhadr=ēva Bhadr-ātmaḥ | Paulōm=iva Purandarasya dayitā śrī-Dēddadēv=ity=abhūd=dēvi tasya vinō-
10 da-bhūr=Mura-ripōr=Lakshmir=iva kshamā-patēḥ || [5*] ⁴Tābhyām⁵ śrī-Dharmmapālah samajani sujana-stūyamān-avadānaḥ svāmi bhūmi-
11 ⁶patinām=akhila-vasumtī-maṇḍalam śāsad=ēkaḥ [1*] chatvāras=tīra-majjat.kari-gaṇa-charana-nyasta-mudrāḥ samudrā yātrām ya-
12 sya kshamantē na bhuvana-parikhā viśva(shva)g=śāś jigishōḥ || [6*] ⁷Yasmin=uddāma-lilā-chalita-va(ba)la-bharē dig-jayāya pravṛittē yāntyā-
13 [m=v]śivambharāyām chalita-giri-tiraśchinātām tad-vasēna | bhār=ābhugn-āvamajjan-maṇi-vidhura-sirasā-chakra-sāhyakārtham Śēshē-
14 ⁸ṇ=ōdasta-dōshṇā tvaritaram=adhō=dhas=tam=ēv=ānnyātām || [7*] ⁹Yat-prasthānē prachalita-va(ba)l-āśphālanād=ullaladbhir=dhūl-pūraiḥ pihī-
15 ta-sakala-vyōmabhir=bhūtadhātryāḥ | samprāptāyāḥ parama-tanūtām chakravālam phanānām magn-ōmīlan-maṇi Phanipatēr=lā-
16 ghavād=ullāśa || [8*] ¹⁰Viruddha-vishaya-kshōbhād=yasya kōp-āgnir=aurvatat | anirvṛitī¹¹ prajajvāla chatur-ambhōdhi-vāritāḥ || [9*]
17 ¹²Yē=bhūvan Prithu-Rāma-Rāghava-Nala-prāyā dharitribhujas=tān=ēkatra didṛikshuḥ=ēva nichitān sarvān samam=Vēdhasā¹⁰ | dhva-
18 st-āsēsha-narēndra-māna-mahimā śrī-Dharmmapālah kalau lōla-śrikarīṇi-niva(ba)ndhana-mahāstambhaḥ samuttambhitāḥ || [10*] ¹¹Yāsām¹¹
19 nāsira-dhūṭ-dhavalā-daśa-diśām drāg=apaśyann=iyattām dhattē Māndhātṛi-sainya-vyatikara-chakitō dhyāna-tandrim=Mahēndrah |
20 tāsām=apy=āhavēchchhā-pulakita-vapushām=vāhinām=vidhātūr¹² sāhāyyam yasya vā(bā)hvōr=nikhila-ripukula-dhvaṁsīnōr=n=ā-
21 vakāsāḥ || [11*] ¹³Bhōjair=Matsyair sa-Madrair Kuru-Yadu-Yavan-Āvanti-Gandhāra-Kirair=bhūpaur=vyālōla-mauli-pranati-paripatāḥ
22 sādhu saṅgīyamāṇāḥ | hrishyat-Pañchāla-vṛiddh-ōddhṛita-kanakamaya-svābhishēkōdakumbhō dattāḥ śrī-Kanyakujja(bja)s=sa-lalita-cha.¹³
23 lita-bhrūlatā-lakshma yēna || [12*] ¹⁴Gōpaiḥ¹⁴ simni vanēcharair=vanabhūvi grām-ōpakanṭhē janaiḥ kṛiḍadbhi[h*] pratichatvaram śiśn-gaṇaiḥ
24 pratyāpapa[m]=mānapaiḥ¹⁵ | līlā-vēsmani pañjarōdara-śukair=udgitam=ātma-stavam yasy=ākarnṇayatas=trapā-vivalit-ānamraṁ sa-

¹ Metre: *Ślōka* (Anushṭubh).

² Metre: *Sārdūlavikṛitā*; also of the next verse.

³ Metre: *Sragdharā*; also of the next verse.

⁴ Originally *patinām* seems to have been engraved.

⁵ Read *yānyām* vi?

⁶ Metre: *Mandākrūtā*.

⁷ Metre: *Ślōka* (Anushṭubh).

⁸ Read *anirvṛitī*.

⁹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikṛitā*.

¹⁰ Read *samam Vēdhasā*.

¹¹ Metre: *Sragdharā*; also of the next verse.

¹² Read *vapushām vāhinām vidhātūr*.

¹³ Instead of *Kanyakujja*, one would have expected *Kanyakujja*.

¹⁴ Metre: *Sārdūlavikṛitā*.

¹⁵ This appears to be the true reading of the original; possibly *mānapaiḥ* may be an error for *mānavaiḥ*.

- 25 d-aiv-ānanam || [13*] Sa khalu Bhāgīrathīpatha-pravarttamāna-nānāvīdha-
nauvātaka-sampādīta-sētuva (ba)ndha-nihita-śailāśi-
- 26 khara-śrēṇi-vibhramāt¹ niraśīya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghatā-śyāmāyama-vaśaralaksmbi-
samāravdha (bdha)-santata-jaladāsa-
- 27 maya-sandhāt² udchīṇ-ānēka-narapati-prābbṛitūkrīṭ-āpramēya-hayavāhīni-kharakbur-
ōtkhāta-dhūlī-dhūsarita-di-
- 28 gantarālāt paramēśvara-sēva-samāyāta-samasta-Jamvū (mbū) d vīpa-bhūpāl-ānanta-
pādāta-bhara-namad-avanēh Pāṭalipu-
- 29 tra-samāvāsita-śrīma-jayaskandhāvārāt paramasaugatō mahārājādhīrāja-śrī-Gōpāladēva-
pādānudhyātāh pa-
- 30 ramēśvaraḥ paramabhāṭṭārakō mahārājādhīrājāh śrīmān Dharmmapāladēvaḥ
kośālī || Śrī-Puṇḍravarddhanabhu-
- 31 kty-antahpāti-Vyāghrastaṭmaṇḍala-samva (mba)ddha-Mahantapṛakśāsaviśa (sha) yē³
Krauncheśvabhra-nāma-grāmō sya cha śīmā⁴ paśchi-
- 32 mēna Gaṅginikā | uttarēṇa Kādāmva (mba)ri-dēvakulikā kharjūra-vṛikshaś-
cha | pūrvvōttarēṇa rājaputtra-Dēvaṭa-kṛit-āliḥ | vi-
- 33 japrakān-gatvā pravishṭā | pūrvvēṇa Vīṭak-āliḥ khātaka-yānuikā[m] gatvā
pravishṭā | jamvū (mbū)-yānuikām-ākramya jamvū (mbū)-yānaka[m]

Second Side.

- 34 gatā | tatō nisṛitya⁵ puṇyārāma-vi (bi)lv-ārdhhaśrō (srō)tikā[m?] | tatō-pi
nisṛitya na-
- 35 lacharmma[ṭ-ō]ttarāntam gatā nala[cha]rmmatāt dakshīṇēna nāmūṇḍikāpi[hē]-
36 [sādūmī?]kāyāḥ | khaṇḍamūṇḍamukham khaṇḍamukhā vēdaśvi (bi)lvikā
vēdavi (bi)lvikātō rōhitavāṭīḥ piṇḍāravīṭījōtikā-śīmā
- 37 u[kt]jārajōtasya dakshīṇāntah⁶ grāma-vi (bi)lvasya cha dakshīṇāntah⁶ | dēvikā-
śīmā viṭi | dharmmayō-jōtikā | Ēvam-Mādhśāmmall nā-
- 38 ma grāmah [1*] asya ch-ōttarēṇa Gaṅginikā śīmā tataḥ pūrvvēṇa-
ārdhhaśrō (srō)tikayā śmrayānakōlārdhdayānikān-gataḥ⁷ ta-
- 39 tō-pi dakshīṇēna Kālikāśvabhrah | atō-pi nisṛitya śrīphala[bh]ish[n]kam yāvat-
paśchimēna tatō-pi vi (bi)lvāṅōrdhhaśrō (srō)ti-
- 40 kayā Gaṅginikām pravishṭā | Pālitakē śīmā dakshīṇēna Kāpā dvīpikā |
pūrvvēṇa Kōṇṭhiyā srōtāḥ [1*] uttarēṇa
- 41 Gaṅginikā | paśchimēna Jēnandāyikā | ētat-grāma-sampārīpa-parakarma-
kṛidvipah⁸ | Sthālikkaṭavishaya-
- 42 samva (mba)ddh-āmrahaṇḍikāmaṇḍal-āntahpāti-Gōpippall-grāmasya śīmāḥ |
pūrvvēṇa⁹ Udragrāma-maṇḍala-paśchima-śīmā | daksbi-
- 43 nēna jōlakah [1*] paśchimēna Vēsānik-ākhyā khāṭikā | uttarēṇa-ōdragrāma-maṇḍala-
śīmā-vyavasthitō gō-mārgah | Eshu cha-
- 44 turushu¹⁰ grāmēshu samnugatān sarvvān-ēva rāja-rājanaka-rājaputtra-rājāmātaya-
sēnāpati-vishayapati-bhōgapati-shashṭhādhi-

¹ Read -vibhramān-.² Read -sandhātā-.³ See below, p. 258, note 3.⁴ Originally śīmō was engraved.⁵ Read, here and below, nisṛitya. Some corrections no doubt are necessary in the following lines, but I do not understand the text properly.⁶ This might possibly both times be read dakshīṇāntam.⁷ The intended reading may be "yānuikā-gatā."⁸ Read -kṛid-vīpāḥ.⁹ Read pūrvvēṇa-ōdra.¹⁰ Read turushu.

- 45 kṛita-daṇḍāśakti-dāṇḍapāsika-chauroddharaṇika-daussādhāsād h a u i k a - d ū t a - k h ō l a -
gamāgamik-ābhīvaramāna-hastyaśvagōmahīshyājā-
- 46 vikādhyaksha-u[au]kādhyaksha-va (ba)lādhyaksha-tari ka-śaulika-gaulmika-tadāyuktaka-
viniyuktak-ādi-rājapādōpajīvinō-nyānās-oh-ākīrtti-
- 47 tān¹ chātābhāṭṭājātyān yathākāl-ādhyasīnō jyēshṭhākāyastha-mabāmahattara-
mahātara-dāśagrāmik-ādi-vishayavyavahāriṇāḥ
- 48 sa-karāṇān prativāsīnāḥ kshētrakarāmś-cha vrā (brā)hmaṇa-mānanā-pūrvvakām
yathārham-mānayati vō (bō)dhayati samājñāpayati cha | Matam-astu
- 49 bhavatām [1*] Mahāśāmantādhipati-śrī-Nārāyaṇavarmanāḥ dūtaka-yuvarājā-
śrī-Tribhuvanapāla-mukhēna vayam-ēvam-vijñāpitāḥ² yathā śmā-
- 50 bhīr-matāpitrō-ātmanāś-cha puṇy-ābhividdhayē Subhasthalyān dēvakulān-
kāritat(n)-tatra pratishṭhāpita-bhagavan-N[unna]Nārāyaṇa-bhāṭṭārakāyā³ tatpra-
- 51 tipālaka-Līṭadvīja-dēvārchohak-ādi-pādāmāla-samētāya pūj-ōpasthān-ādi-karmanāḥ
chaturō grāmān⁴ atratya-ḥaṭṭikā-talapātaka-
- 52 samētān-dadātū dēva iti | tatō śmābhis-tadīya-vijñāptiyā⁵ ētē upari-
likhitakās-cha tvārō grāmās-talapātaka-ḥaṭṭikā-samētāḥ sva-
- 53 śīmā-paryantāḥ sōddēśāḥ sadāśpachārāḥ⁶ akīñchitpragrāhyāḥ⁷ pariḥṛita-
sarvvapīḍāḥ⁸ bhūmichchidra-nyāyēna chandr-ārka-kshiti-samakālam
- 54 tath-aiva pratishṭhāpitāḥ⁹ | yatō bhavadbhis-sarvvair-ēva bhūmēr-ddāna-
phala-gauravād-āpaharāṇē cha mahānarakapāt-ādi-bhayād-dānam-idam-anumō-
- 55 dya pariḥānyam | prativāsibhiḥ kshētramarais-oh-ājñāśravaṇa-vidhēyair-bhūtvā
samuchita-kara-piṇḍak-ādi-sarvva-pratyāy-ōpanayāḥ kārya
- 56 iti || ¹⁰Va (ba)hubhīr-vvasundhā datā rājābhis-Sagar-ādibhiḥ [1*] yasya yasya
yadā bhūmīs-tasya tasya tadā phalam | (||) ¹¹Sbhasṭim-varaha-sabaśrāṇi
svargē mō-
- 57 dati bhūmidah [1*] ākahēptā oh-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakē vasēt ||
Sva-dattām-para-dattām-vā¹² yō harēta vasundharā[m] [1*] sa vishṭbāyān-
mimir-bhūtvā pitri-
- 58 bhis-saha pachyatē || Iti¹³ kamaladal-āmva (mbu)vindu-lōlān śrīyam-auuchintya
manushya-jivitañ-cha [1*] sakalam-idam-udāhṛitañ-cha vudhvā¹⁴ na hi
puru-
- 59 shaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā[h*] || ¹⁵Tadit-tulyā lakshmt[s=*]tanur-āpi cha
dīpānala-samā¹⁶ bhavō duḥkh-āikāntāḥ para-kṛitīm-ākīrtti[h*] kshapayatām
[1*] yasā¹⁷
- 60 nsy-āchandrārka[m*] niyatam-avatām-attra cha nripāḥ karishyantē vu(hu)ddhvā
yad-ābhiruchitām kim-pravāchanāṇi || Abhivarddhamāna-vijayarājyē

¹ Read tān-ohāṭṭā.² Read śmā vijñāpitā.³ In bhagavannāna the double s of the fourth akṣara is quite clear, but the sign of the vowel s is doubtful; and of the last akṣara only the first (upper) s is quite certain. A careful examination of the impressions, however, shows that the actual reading of the original is bhagavannāna or bhagavannāna, not bhagavannāna.⁴ Read grāmān-.⁵ Read *piy-ōta.⁶ Read *ohāṭṭā.⁷ This word is followed by a sign of punctuation which has been struck out.⁸ Read *piḍā.⁹ This is probably an error for pratishṭhāpitāḥ.¹⁰ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); also of the two next verses.¹¹ Read śbhasṭim varaha.¹² Read -dattām vā.¹³ Metre: Prahāpīṭāgrā.¹⁴ Read vudhvā.¹⁵ Metre: Śikharīṭ.¹⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.¹⁷ Read yadāyā.

61	samvat ¹	32	Mārga-dināni ²	12	³
62	Śrī-Bhōgaṣya pautrēṣa śrīmat-Subhāṣa-sūnūnā śrīmatā Tātaṣṭen-ēdam ⁴ utkirṇam gaṇa-sālinā				

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail!

(Verse 1.) May the ten powers of Vajrāsana who has firmly attained, as to fortune, to omniscience, (those powers) which, cherished by his consort—great compassion, conquer the regions where many hosts of the Evil one are seen, protect you!⁵

(V. 2.) As the sea is the birth-place of the blessed goddess of fortune, and the moon the source of that lustre which gladdens the universe, so Dayitavishṇu, bright with all learning, became the progenitor of the foremost line of kings.

(V. 3.) From him sprang the illustrious Vapyaṣa, who, full of piety, as far as the ocean embellished the earth with massive temples, and became famous as the destroyer of adversaries.

(V. 4.) His son was the crest-jewel of the heads of kings, the glorious Gōpāla, whom the people made take the hand of Fortune, to put an end to the practice of fishes;⁷ whose everlasting great fame the glorious mass of moonlight on a fullmoon-night seeks to rival by its whiteness in the sky.

(V. 5.) As Rōhiṇī is the beloved of the Moon, Svāhā of the Sacrificial Fire, Śarvāṇī of Śiva, and Bhadrā of the lord of the Gubhyakas;⁸ as the daughter of Pulōman is of Purandara, and Lakṣmī of Mura's foe, so the illustrious Dēddadēvī, a daughter of the Bhadra king, became the queen of that brilliant ruler of the earth, to him a source of joy.

(V. 6.) From them was born the glorious Dharmapāla, whose achievements are praised by the good, a master of kings who alone is ruling the entire orb of the earth; whose progress when he is about to conquer the quarters all round, the four oceans, marked by the foot-prints of the arrays of his elephants that bathe on their shores, patiently permit, being no longer fosses of the earth.

(V. 7.) When, with his ponderous army marching with unbounded glee, he proceeds to conquer the regions, and when the earth thereby slides down as if the mountains on it were

¹ Read *samvat*.² One would have expected *-dins*.³ After this about five letters may have been engraved, but, if they were, they are quite illegible now.⁴ Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).⁵ Read *=adam=ur*.

⁶ *Vajrāsana*, properly the Buddha's diamond throne, is here a name of Buddha himself (*vajrasanam āsanam yasya*); and the word, as I now see, is used in the same sense in line 3 of the Ghōsrāwā inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 309, where the reading should be *sa Vajrasanaḥ* instead of *sa-vajrasanaḥ*). On Buddha's ten powers (*daśa balaṇi*) see Kern's *Buddhismus*, Vol. I. p. 346. Like the verse at the commencement of the Mangir plate of Dēvapāla and the verse at the commencement of the Bhāgalpur, Dinājpur and Āmgāchhī plates of Nārāyaṇapāla, Mahīpāla and Vīrabhapāla III., the above verse admits of another interpretation with which it would apply to the king Dharmapāla. In this second sense I would translate the verse thus: 'May the forces of (Dharmapāla), seated on his diamond throne, who, as he has attained to fortune, has firmly attained to omniscience, (those forces) which, cherished by his most compassionate queen, conquer the ten regions where murderous hosts are seen in great number, guard you!' The word *bahumdrakulō paṭambhāḥ* must be taken as a Bahuvrīhi compound, qualifying *dīśaḥ*, but its formation is irregular.

⁷ Gōpāla was made king by the people to put an end to a lawless state of things in which everyone was the prey of his neighbour. For the phrase *matsya nyāya* compare v. 3942 of von Böhtlingk's *Ind. Sprüche*: *Parasparāmīhatayā jagatō bhīnnavartmanah; dandābhāḥ paridhōmāt matsya nyāyaḥ pravartate* ||—*Dīdmdāyab*, 'the sky'; is equivalent to *digavasthāna* which is given in von Böhtlingk's *Dictionary*.

⁸ The Gubhyakas, like the Yakshas, are attendants of Kuvēra, the god of wealth; Purandara is Indra, and Mura's foe Vishṇu-Ḥṛishṇa.

marching,¹ Śēsha hurriedly follows him, always exactly beneath him, with his arms raised to support the circle of his heads, hurt by the jewels that sink into them, bent down by the weight.

(V. 8.) When, on his setting forth, the whole sky is covered with the masses of dust, cast up by the stamping of his marching army, and the earth thereby is reduced to a minute size, then, on account of its light weight, the circle of the hoods of the serpent-king springs up, with the jewels, that had sunk into them, reappearing.

(V. 9.) The fire of his wrath, stirred up when he finds himself opposed, like the submarine fire, blazes up unceasingly, checked (*only*) by the four oceans.

(V. 10.) Desirous, as it were, of seeing collected together in one place such kings of old as Pṛithu, Rāma, the descendant of Raghu, and Nala, the Creator in this Kali-age set up the glorious Dharmapāla, who has humbled the great conceit of all rulers, as a mighty post to which to fasten that elephant—the fickle goddess of fortune.

(V. 11.) For those armies of his,—not seeing at once how large they are, because the ten regions are whitened by the dust of their van-guard, the great Indra, afraid of what might happen to the armies of Māndhātṛi,² exhausts himself in conjectures,—for them even, thrilled as they are with eagerness to fight, there is no chance of rendering assistance to his arms, which (*alone*) annihilate the whole host of his adversaries.

(V. 12.) With a sign of his gracefully moved eye-brows he installed³ the illustrious king of Kanyakubja, who readily was accepted by the Bhōja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kīra kings, bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling, and for whom his own golden coronation jar was lifted up by the delighted elders of Pañchāla.

(V. 13.) Hearing his praises sung by the cowherds on the borders, by the foresters in the forests, by the villagers on the outskirts of villages, by the playing groups of children in every courtyard, in every market by the guardians of the weights,⁴ and in pleasure-houses by the parrots in the cages, he always bashfully turns aside and bows down his face.

(Line 25.) Now—from his royal camp of victory, pitched at Pāṭaliputra, where the manifold fleets of boats⁵ proceeding on the path of the Bhāgirathī⁶ make it seem as if a series of mountain-tops had been sunk to build another causeway (*for Rāma's passage*); where, the brightness of daylight being darkened by densely packed arrays of rutting elephants, the rainy season (with its masses of black clouds) might be taken constantly to prevail; where the firmament is rendered grey by the dust, dug up by the hard hoofs of unlimited troops of horses presented by many kings of the north; and where the earth is bending beneath the weight of

¹ *Chalitagirītiracchātnatā* is an abstract noun derived from the Karmadhāraya compound *chalitagirī-tiracchātna*, the first member of which is a Bahuvrīhi; literally 'the state of one whose mountains are marching and who, in consequence of it, is sliding down sideways.' The Accusative *tam* towards the end of the verse is governed by *adhō-dhaḥ*; see the *Mahābhāshya* on Pāṇini, ii. 3. 2.—'The thousand-headed serpent-king Śēsha bears the earth on his heads, and, to keep it properly balanced, has to move along always exactly beneath the king, when it is pressed down by the weight of the king's army.'

² Māndhātṛi was an ancient king and friend of Indra's. The original may also mean 'afraid of their coming in (hostile) contact with the armies of Māndhātṛi.'

³ The word of the original text, *dattāḥ*, indicates that Dharmapāla had been requested (probably by the Pañchāla) to permit the installation of the king of Kanyakubja, and the sense of the original would therefore more accurately be expressed by 'he consented to the installation of.'

⁴ Or, it may be, 'by the people'; see above, p. 248, note 15.

⁵ *Navadvāpa* apparently is equivalent to *navatāna* in v. 22 of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasēna, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 309; instead of it, we have *navadvāpa*, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 351, l. 15, and in the Bhāgalpur plate of Arāyaṇapāla.

⁶ i. e. the Ganges.

the innumerable foot-soldiers of all the kings of Jambūdvīpa,¹ assembled to render homage to their supreme lord;—the devout worshipper of Sugata, the *Paramēstara Paramahatthāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Dharmapaladeva, who meditates on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Gōpāladēva, being in good health,—²

(L. 30.) In the Mahantāprakāśa district (*vishaya*), which belongs to the Vyāghratāṣṭi maṇḍala³ within the prosperous Puṇḍravardhana bhukti⁴, is the village named Krauñchāsabhara. Its boundary on the west is Gaṅginikā; on the north it is the small temple of Kādambarī and a date tree; on the north-east the dike made by the Rājaputra Dēvaṭa; it goes to and enters a citron grove (?); on the east it is the dike of Viṭaka,⁴ Also the village named Māqhsāmmall. On the north its boundary is Gaṅginikā; from there, on the east, from there again, on the south, it is Kālikāsabhara, proceeding thence as far as; on the west, from there again, it enters Gaṅginikā. At Pālitaka the boundary on the south is the small island of Kāpā; on the east the river Kōṇṭhiyā; on the north Gaṅginikā; on the west Jēnandāyikā. On the island the funeral rites of this village are performed⁵ (?). Of the village of Gōpippall, which is within the Āmrashaṇḍikā maṇḍala belonging to the Sthālikkaṭa district (*vishaya*), the boundaries are, on the east the western boundary of the Udragrāma maṇḍala, on the south a jōlaka (?), on the west the khāṭikā (?) named Vēsanikā, on the north the cattle-path running on the borders of the Udragrāma maṇḍala.

(L. 43.) To all the people assembled at these four villages, the Rājans, Rājanakas, Rājaputras, Rājāmātyas,⁶ Sēnāpatīs, Vishayapatis, Bhōgapatis, Shashthādhitikritas,⁷ Daṇḍatāktis, Daṇḍapāṭikas, Ohaurōddharanikas, Dauṣḍāhasādhanikas, Dūtas, Khōlas,⁸ Gamāgamikas, Abhitaramāṇas, inspectors of elephants, horses, cows, buffalo-cows, goats and sheep, inspectors of boats, inspectors of the forces, Tarikas,⁹ Śaulkikas, Gaulmikas, Taddiyuktakas, Vīmyuktakas and other dependants of the king's feet, and to the others not specially named, to those belonging to the irregular and regular troops as they may be present from time to time, to the Jyēshthakāyasthas,¹⁰ Mahāmahattaras, Mahattaras, Dāśagrāmikas¹¹ and other district

¹ i.e. India.

² This sentence is taken up again towards the end of line 43 (*lehu chaturshu grāmadāhu*), and ends in line 48 (*samājāpāyati cha*). The intermediate passage must be taken by way of parenthesis.

³ Since a maṇḍala forms part of a *vishaya*, the original text of which the above is the translation cannot be correct. See below, and line 30 of the Dīnāpur plate of Mahīpāla where the sequence is bhukti, *vishaya*, maṇḍala.

⁴ From here up to the end of the description of the boundaries of the village of Krauñchāsabhara I am unable to translate the text; nor do I understand part of what is said about the boundaries of the second village. Several of the untranslated words of the original apparently are names of villages; for others, such as khāṭika, yānikā or yānaka, ardhāsrōṭikā and bhīṣuka(?), I cannot suggest suitable meanings.

⁵ If this be the meaning intended, the construction of the text of course is wrong; besides, the word *sampādīna*, which is not found elsewhere, is used in the sense of *sampādyika*.

⁶ This and the following three words would literally mean 'king's ministers, chiefs of armies, chiefs of *vishayas* (or districts), chiefs of bhōgas,' where bhōga is perhaps equivalent to bhukti, denoting a larger extent of territory than a *vishaya*. The Bhōgapatis, Shashthādhitikritas and Daṇḍatāktis are not enumerated in the other copper-plates of the same family, but bhōgapati does occur, after *vishayapati*, in line 13 of the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of Lalitādēva. In line 8 of the Kāvi plate of Jayabhāta III. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 114) we have, immediately preceding *vishayapati*, bhōgika.

⁷ Shashthādhitikrita, a term which I have not met with elsewhere, apparently denotes a superintendent or controller of the shashthādhitā or shashthādhitāga, i.e. the sixth part of the produce, due to the king.

⁸ Khōlas is another unusual term. The meaning given for it by the dictionaries is 'limping, lame;' in the other copper-plates of the same family and in the plate of Lalitādēva its place is taken by *prāśastika* 'a messenger.'

⁹ i.e., probably, 'overscers of ferries, tolls, and forests.'

¹⁰ Literally 'the chief writers.'

¹¹ Probably 'the officers in charge of groups of ten villages.'

officers, including the *Karāṇas*,¹ and to the resident cultivators,—to all these, especially honouring the Brāhmaṇas, he² pays due respect, makes known, and issues these commands:—

(L. 48.) Be it known to you that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, the illustrious Nārāyaṇavarman, by the mouth of the Dātaka, the Yuvarāja Tribhuvanapāla, has preferred to us the following request: "For the increase of our parents' and our own merit we have had a temple built at Subhasthall. To the holy lord N[ar]ana-Nārāyaṇa³ who has been installed there (*by us*), and to the Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas, priests and other attendants⁴ who wait upon him, may it please your Majesty to grant four villages, with their *haṭṭikā* and *talapāṭaka*,⁵ for the performance of worship and other rites." Thereupon, at his request, we accordingly have assigned the above-written four villages, together with the *talapāṭaka* and *haṭṭikā*, up to their proper boundaries, with all their localities, with (*the fines for*) the ten offences,⁶ not in any way to be interfered with, exempt from all molestation, in accordance with the maxim of bhōmicohhādra, for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure. Wherefore all of you, out of respect for the merit resulting from a gift of land, and afraid of falling into the great hell and of other evils consequent on the resumption of it, should applaud and preserve this gift. And the resident cultivators, being ready to obey our commands, should make over (*to the donees*) the customary taxes, means of subsistence,⁷ and all other kinds of revenue.

(L. 56.) [Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.]

(L. 60.) In the increasing reign of victory, the year 32, 13 days of Mārga.

(L. 62.) This was engraved by the skilful Tātāṭa, the son of the worthy Subhāṭa and son's son of the worthy Bhōgaṭa.

¹ *Karāṇa* denotes a writer, scribe, or accountant.

² The subject of the sentence is *Dharmapaladeva* in line 30.

³ Or, perhaps, Nanna-Nārāyaṇa.

⁴ The word *pādamāṭa* of the original also occurs in line 20 of the plate of Lalitādēva, where we have *bhūtiya-pādamāṭa-bharanāya*. Synonymous with it, we have *pādamāṭa* in v. 74 of the Śābahu temple inscription of Mahīpāla, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 39. Compare also the Pāli word *pādamāṭika*, 'a man servant;' *Jātaka*, Vol. II. p. 328, l. 13.

⁵ Of the two words left untranslated, *haṭṭikā* must be derived from *haṭṭa*, 'a market,' and may mean 'market dues.' *Talapāṭaka* we have, in the form *talapāṭaka* (or *talapāṭaka*) in line 7 of the Dēv-Baraṇārka inscription of Jīvitagupta II, *Gupta Insur.* p. 216, where the word denotes an official, according to the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, 'the village accountant.' Perhaps the word, as used in the present inscription, is synonymous with or similar in meaning to the term *talapada* of some Chaulukya grants, which has been taken to denote 'land paying rent to Government'; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 389.

⁶ The original, like the Bhāgalpur plate, has here *sadāśpachdrāṭ* instead of the ordinary *sadāśpachdrāṭ*.

⁷ i.e. payments in kind; the term in the original is *piṇḍaka*, which seems to take the place here of the ordinary *bhōgabhōga*. The word *piṇḍaka* occurs, apparently in a different sense, in the phrase *vishayadāśpachdrāṭpiṇḍaka* in line 11 of the Madhuban plate of Harsha (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 73) and in line 21 of the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of Lalitādēva.

PANDUKESVAR PLATE OF LALITASURADEVA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

THIS plate is preserved in the temple of Yōga-badārī at Paṇḍukēśvar, in the Garhwāl district of the Kumān division of the North-Western Provinces.¹ A rough translation of the inscription which it contains was published, in 1875, by Mr. E. T. Atkinson, B. C. S., in a collection of inscriptions² from the temples of Kumān and Garhwāl, translated by a Calcutta Paṇḍit, and circulated with the object of endeavouring to identify the localities and personages mentioned in them. And the text of the inscription was afterwards edited, with a good photolithograph, by the late Dr. Rājēndralāl Mitra,³ in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1877, p. 71 ff. I now re-edit the inscription from the published photolithograph.

The plate is a single one, inscribed on one side only. It is said to measure 24" broad by 16" high, not including a handle-like projection, said to be 5" high, on the 'proper right side.'⁴ In the middle of the projection is let in a lead seal, 3" in diameter, which projects about $\frac{1}{4}$ " above the front and $\frac{1}{4}$ " above the back of the plate. This seal has, on a countersunk surface, the figure of a bull couchant, facing the proper left, and beneath it a legend in three lines the text of which will be given below. The projection, besides, contains the word śrī, which is engraved on the proper left of the seal, opposite to the head of the bull. The engraving apparently is very deep and most carefully executed, and the writing, which runs across the breadth of the plate, is in a perfect state of preservation. — The size of the letters must be between $\frac{1}{4}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ ". — The characters, which in line 23 include the ordinary numeral figures for 1, 2, and 3, belong to the northern class of alphabets. They are of the same type as those of the Aphaś inscription of Ādityasēna, and closely resemble those of the Dēś-Baraṇḍark inscription of Jvitagupta II.⁵ That they have to be assigned to comparatively early times is shown by the circumstance that such letters as p, m, y, and s throughout are open at the top, by the forms of the initial ś and the medial diphthongs, by the use of the final form of t (in *samvat*, l. 23, and *vasēśt*, l. 27), and by the fact that in the conjunct ry the sign for r is everywhere written on, not above, the line. They are undoubtedly more antique than the characters of the two British Museum inscriptions (from Northern India) of the [Vikrama] years 981 and 983,⁶ published *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 250 ff., and even than those of an unpublished British Museum inscription of the second year of the reign of Mahēndrapāladēva (of Kanauj); and they may, in my opinion, be assigned with confidence to about the middle or the second half of the 9th century A. D. — In respect of orthography, it will suffice to state that the letter b everywhere is denoted by the sign for v, that t throughout is doubled in conjunction with a following r, and that the sign of the *upadhmanīya* is employed in *Dhārījāśēh-prasādāt*, l. 3, and the letter n instead of *anusvāra* in *anyāns=cha*, l. 15. — Except for nine benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 24-30, the whole text is in prose, which is not wanting in the quality of *śjas*. It is remarkable for the long list of officials⁷ enumerated in lines 11-16, and contains several technical terms (pointed out in

¹ See Dr. Führer's *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p. 46.

² I owe a copy of this probably very rare publication to Dr. Hoernle. — It is a great pity that the texts of these inscriptions have not yet been made generally accessible. So far as I can see from the rough translations, the inscriptions are really of some importance, and they apparently contain sufficient data to enable one to calculate the times of the kings of whom they treat.

³ His text has been reprinted by Mr. Atkinson in his *Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces*, Vol. XI. p. 478 ff., and in the *Prachīnakāhmadā* of the *Kāryamālā*, Vol. I. p. 216 ff.

⁴ The shape of the plate is similar to that of the Gōrākhpur plate of Jayāditya; see *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 169.

⁵ See Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Plates xxviii. and xxix. B.

⁶ The ordinary superscript sign of ś is used 60 times, the more antique form of ś 17 times; the corresponding figures for ś are 44 and 14; for ai, 2 and 10; and for au, 9 and 4.

⁷ Not 781 and 783.

⁸ In this respect the inscription no doubt resembles the copper-plate inscriptions of the Pāla kings, but the agreement with the Dēś-Baraṇḍark inscription of Jvitagupta II. (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 216) is almost closer. That inscription (in line 9) also seems to have *pramātrī-sarabhāṅga*, like the Mungir plate of Dēvapāla, but *s. g.* in line 10 it certainly reads *kīśōravādāyōmahāśyahadhikīta*, differing in this from the Pāla plates, and agreeing exactly with the present inscription, line 14.

my notes) which are of rare occurrence or have not yet been met with at all in other inscriptions.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara Lalitāsūradēva*, the son, from the queen Vēgādēvī, of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara* Iśhāganaḍēva, who was the son, from the queen Nāsūdēvī, of Nimbara,⁹ who apparently was the founder of the family. And by it Lalitāsūradēva, from the city of Kārttikēyapura, (in lines 16-22) informs the officials and people concerned that on the day of the winter-solstice he gave three villages (*paḷḷikā*) in the Kārttikēyapura *viśaya* (*viz.*, a village in the possession of Khashiyāka and situated in Gōrunnasārī, and two villages in the possession of Guggula and situated in Palibhūtikā) to (a temple of) the god Nārāyaṇa that had been founded at Gōrunnasārī by the Mahādēvī Sāmadēvī.¹⁰ That this lady was Lalitāsūradēva's queen is not stated in the present inscription, but is proved by the fragmentary inscription from Bagēśvar, published¹¹ in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 1058. — The inscription is dated (in line 23) on the 3rd of the dark half of Māgha of the 21st year of the king's reign.

If this date refers, as it very probably does, to the *Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti* on which the donation was made, it will help to fix the time of Lalitāsūradēva, as soon as the other inscriptions of the same dynasty, which are dated in a similar manner, have been published. For the present, I can only say that in the second half of the 9th century A. D. the day which would best suit the requirements of the date of the present inscription, is the 22nd December A. D. 853. For on this day the *Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti* took place 9 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, during the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha, which ended 13 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise of the same day.¹²

Of the localities mentioned, Kārttikēyapura is reported to be the modern village of Baijanāth or Vaidyanāth in Kumān; Gōrunnasārī and Palibhūtikā have not been identified.

TEXT.¹³

The Plate.

1 Om¹⁴ svasti [11*] Śrīmat-Kārttikēyapurāt-sakal-āmara-ditannja-manuja-vibhu
bha[kt]ibhāva-bhara-bhār-ānamit-āmit-ōttamāṅga-saṅgi-vikata-m uk ṭ a - k i r i ṭ a -
viṭaṅka-kōṭi-kōṭi-ś[ṅ]ṭ-aiakatā-

⁹ The three names Nimbara, Iśhāganaḍēva and Lalitāsūradēva are also given on the seal.

¹⁰ According to the account in the *Proceedings Beng. As. Soc.* referred to above, the villages were given 'to a Brahman named Pārāyaṇa — apparently a misprint for Nārāyaṇa — Bhaṭṭāraka, for the worship of a goddess in the village Saurunoes.'

¹¹ The published text, after mentioning Nimbara (called *Nimbaratadēvat*), his wife Nāsūdēvī (called *Dāsūdēvī*) their son Iśhāganaḍēva (called *Iśhāganaḍēvat*) and his wife Vēgādēvī (called *Dharādēvī*), and their son Lalitāsūradēva, goes on: *tasya putrāḥ tatpādānuḍhyatā(tō) rājñi mahādēvī śrī-Sāyadēvī tasyām-utpanna[kt*]*. There can be no doubt that *Sāyadēvī* here is put wrongly for *Sāmadēvī*.

¹² In Mr. Atkinson's collection of rough translations, referred to above, there is another grant of Lalitāsūradēva's, which is dated in the 22nd year of his reign, on the 15th day — according to the printed copy, of the bright half, but, according to a manuscript correction of it — of the dark half of Kārttika, while the donation recorded in the grant, according to the translation, was made on the meritorious day of the vernal equinox. Considering that the date falls in the month Kārttika, it is exceedingly probable that the expression 'vernal equinox' has been erroneously used by the native translator for 'autumnal equinox,' and that the original has simply *viśvava-saṅkrāntau*. Now, if the date of the inscription here published, which is of the 21st year of Lalitāsūradēva's reign, fell in December A. D. 853, the date of the other inscription, of the 22nd year of the king's reign, would be expected to fall, in the first instance, in A. D. 854. And it is, at any rate, a curious coincidence that the date of the 22nd year does work out quite faultlessly for A. D. 854. For in that year the *Tulā-viśvava-saṅkrānti* took place 2 h. 44 m. before mean sunrise of the 25th September, and this day was wholly occupied by the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika. The two dates by themselves do not fix the time of Lalitāsūradēva with absolute certainty, but on palaeographical grounds the inscription here published might well have been written in A. D. 853, and in the whole of the 9th century A. D. there are no two consecutive years which would suit the two dates so well as A. D. 853 and 854 do.

¹³ From Plate i. in *Proceedings Beng. As. Soc.* 1877.

¹⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 n-ānyāka-pradīpa-dīpta-didhiti-pāna-mada-akta-charaṇakamal-āmala-vipula - va (ba) - hula-kirāṇa-kēsar-āsāra-sārit-āsēsha-viśēsha-mōshi-gba a-tamas-tējasas-Sva r d h u n f - dhautā-jaṭājū-
- 3 śasya bhagavatō Dhūrjjatēh-pras[ā]dān-nija-bhuj-ōparjīti-auryjītya-ni[r*]jjita-riputimira-lavdhō(bdhō)daya-prakāśa-dayā-dākshīṇya-satyā-sattvaśīla-śauca-śau r y - andārya-gāmbhīrya-maryād-āryavṛitt-śēcharya-
- 4 kāryavary-ādi-guṇa-gaḥ-ālamkṛita-sarfral¹⁵ mahā-sukṛiti-santāna-vij-āvatārah kṛitayug-śgama-bhūpāla-lalita-kṛtīh¹⁶ Nandā-bhagavati-charaṇakamala-kamalā-saṁsthā-mūrtīh śrī-Nimva(mba)ras-tasya ta-
- 5 nayas=tatpād-ānudhyātō rājūl mabādēvi śrī-Nāśūddēvi tasyām=utpannāh paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ śita-kṛipāpa-dhār-ōtkhāṇa-mattēbha-kumbh-ākṛiṣṭ-ōtkṛiṣṭa-muktāvāli-yaśahpatāk-ō-
- 6 chohrāya-chandrik-āpahastita-tārāgaṇaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraḥ-mahārājādhirāja-paramē śvara-śrīmad-Iahtagaṇadēvaḥ¹⁷ śasya putras=tatpād-ānudhyātō rājūl mahādēv śrī-Vēgādēvi tasyām=utpannāh paramamā-
- 7 hēśvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ kali-kālika-pāṅk-ātānka-magnā-dharaṇy-uddhāra-dhārita-dhaurēyavara-varāba-charitaḥ sahaḥ-mati-vibhava-vibhu-vibhūti-sthagit-ārāticakra-pratāpadahanal¹⁸ ativaibhava-sāmbhār-ārambha-sam-
- 8 bhṛita-bhīma-bhrukaṇi-kuṭīla-kēsarī-saṭā-bhūtabhī-ārāt-ībhakalabha-bharaḥ¹⁹ atunḍa-ṛaṇat-kṛipāpa-va(ba)ṇa-gaṇa-prāṇa-guṇa-haṭhāḥkṛiṣṭ-ōtkṛiṣṭa-sallīla-jayalakshmi - pra-thama-samāliṅgan-āvalō-
- 9 kana-vē(vai)lakshya-sakhēda-suraundarī-vidhūta-kāra-śkhalad-valaya-kusuma-p[r*]ja-kāra-prakīṇṇ-āvatāmsa-samvaddhita²⁰-kīrti-vijāḥ Pṛithur=iva dē(dō)rdḍaṇḍa-sādhita-dhanurmmaḍala-va(ba)l-āvasṭambha-vaśa-
- 10 vaśīkṛita-gō-pālanā-niśchalīkṛita-dharādharēndraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraḥ-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmal-Lalitāśradēva[h*] kuśali²¹ asminn-ēva śrīmat-Kārttikēyapura-viśayē samu-
- 11 pagatān=sarvān-ēva niyōgasthān-rāja-rājanaḥ-rājaputra-rā[j]āmātya-sāmantā-mahāsāmanta-ṭhakkura-mahāmanushya-mahāk[ā*]rttikṛitika-mahāpratihāra-ma h ā - danḍanāyaka-mahārājapramāṭara-śa-
- 12 rabhaṅga-kumārāmāty-ōparika-dussādhyaśādhnika-d[ā*]śūparādhika - chaurōddharaṇi-ka-śaulika-gaulmiḥ-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-paṭṭakāpachārik-āsē(ē)dhabb ā ṅ ḡ - dhikṛita-hastyā[v*]jōshṭra-
- 13 va(ba)lavāpṛitika-dūta-prēśaṇika-d[ā*]ṇḍīla-d[ā*]ṇḍapāsika-gamāgami-khāḍgik-ā - bhītvaramāpaka-rājasthānīya-viśayapati-bhōgapati-tarapaty-āśvapati-khaṇḍaraksha- pratiśūri-
- 14 mā-sthānādhikṛita-vartmapāla-kōṭṭapāla-ghaṭṭapāla-kshēttapāla-prāntapāla-kīśōravād a - vāgōmahishyadhikṛita-bhaṭṭa-mahattam-ābhira-vaṇik-śrēśṭhī-purōgān-ēśaṭṭā d ā ś a - prakṛi-
- 15 ²² yadhishṭhānīyān-Khasha(śa)-Kīrāta-Draviḍa-Kaliṅga-Gauḍa-Hūṇ-Ōḍra - Mēd - Ā n - dhra-chāṇḍāla-paryantān-sarvva-samvāsān-²³ samasta-janapadān- bhaṭṭa-ch[ā*]ṭa- sēvak-ādīn-ānyān-cha²⁴ kīrtitān-ākīrtitān-asma²⁵

¹⁵ Read *śarīrā*. ¹⁶ Read *kīrti*. ¹⁷ Read *śīva-sasya*.
¹⁸ Read *śaśōśī*. ¹⁹ Read *bharōśūnda*. ²⁰ Read *bharōśūnda*.
²¹ Read *śaśōśī*. ²² Read *śaśōśī*. ²³ Read *śaśōśī*.
²⁴ The actual reading of the original may possibly be *śāśā*. ²⁵ Read *śaśōśī*.
²⁶ Read *ānyān-cha*; the following *kīrtitān* appears superfluous. ²⁷ Read *śaśōśī*.

- 16 tpādapadm-ōpajīvināḥ prativāsinaś=cha vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān-yathārham m[ā*]- nayāi vō(bō)dhayati samājāpāty-astu²⁶ vas=samviditam-uparinirdiṣṭa- viśayē Gōrunnasāryaḥ²⁷ prativa(ba)ddha-Khashiyāka-
- 17 paribhujyamāna-pallikā tat[ā*] Palibhūtikāyām prativa(ba)ddha-Guggula- paribhujyamāna-pallikā-dvayaḥ²⁸ ētē mayā mātāpitrōr-ātmanāś=cha puṇya- yasō-bhivṛiddhayē pava a-vighaṭṭit-ā-
- 18 śvattha pattra-chañchala-taraṅga²⁹-jīvalōkam=avalōkya jala-vudvud-ākāram³⁰=asāram ch=āyur[r*]-dīpāṭvā gajakalabha-karṇāgra-chapalatān-cha lakshmyā [mā*]tvā paralōka-niḥśōryasārtha[m*] saṁsūr-ārṇava-taraṅārthān=cha
- 19 puṇyē=hami³¹[ut]tarā[ya]ṇa-sa[ā*]kr[ā*]ntō(ntau) gandha-pushpa-dhūpa-dīp-ōpālē- pana-naivēdyā-va(ba)li-charu-nṛitya-gēya-vādyā-sattr-ādi-pravarttanāya khaṇḍa- sphutita-saṁskaraṇāyā³² abhinava-karma-karāṇa-
- 20 ya cha bhṛitya-pādāmūla-bharaṇāya cha Gōrunnasāryaḥ mahādēvi-śrī- sāmādēvyā śva(sva)yamkārāpita-bhagavat-śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraḥ³³ śāsana- dānēna pratipaditāḥ prakṛiti-parihāra-yuktāḥ³⁴
- 21 a-chāṭa-bhaṭṭa-pravēśā³⁵ akiñchitpragrābyāḥ³⁶ anāchehḥēdyā³⁷ ā-chandr-ārka- kshiti-sthiti-samakālikāḥ³⁸ viśay[ā*]d-uddhṛita-piṇḍās=svasimā-gōchara-pra(pa)- ryā(rya)ntās=sa-vriṣh-ārām-ōdbhēda-prasavaṇ-ōpē-
- 22 tāḥ³⁹ dēva-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-bhukta-bhūjyamāna-varjītāḥ [i*] yatas-sukhān paramapryēṇa paribhūjyātās=ch=āsy-ōparinirdiṣṭair-ānyatarair=vvā dharaṇa- vidhāraṇa-paripantḥan-ādik-ōpadravō manāg-api na kartta-
- 23 vyē=tō=nyath=ājūā-hānu mahān-drōhas=syād=iti [i*] Pravardhamāna-vijaya- rāja-samvatsarē⁴⁰ ēkavīṣṭatimē samvat 21 Māgha-vadi 3 [i*] D[ā]takō-ttra mahādānakshapaṭalādihikṛita-śrī-Yījakāḥ | Li-
- 24 khitam=idaṁ mahāśandhivigrahākshapaṭalādihikṛita-śrīmad-Āryatavat[ē]n=ātān[ī]ke- ōtkīrṇā⁴¹ śrī-Gaḅgabhadrēṇa [i(i)]⁴² Va(ba)hbhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabbis= Segar-ādibhiḥ [i*] yaṇya yaṇya yadā bhūmis=ta-
- 25 sya tasya tadā phalaṁ [i(i)]⁴³ Sarvān-ētān-bhāvīnāḥ pārthiv-ēndrān-bhūyō bhūyō yāohatē Rāmabhadraḥ [i*] sāmān[y*]ō-yaṁ dharmma-sētu[r*]= nṛipāṇān kālā kālē pālanṭyō bhavadbhiḥ [i*] ⁴⁴ Sva-dattān-para-dattām=vā⁴⁵ yō ha-
- 26 rēta vasundharām [i*] ⁴⁶ shashṭim=varsha-sahasrāṇi śva-viśṭhāyā[m*]⁴⁷ jāyatē kṛimī[h*] [i(i)] ⁴⁸ Bhūmēr=d[ā*]tā yāti lōkē surāṇān hamsai[r*]= yuktān yānam=ārūhya divyaṁ [i*] laubhē(hē) kumbhē taila-pureṇā⁴⁹ sutaptē bhūmēr=ha-

²⁶ Read *yati* | *Asu vas-samviditam* | *Upary*.
²⁷ One would have expected here *śrī-prati*, and in the next line *ōtkī-prati*.
²⁸ Read *śaśōśī*.
²⁹ This is not quite grammatical. The writer perhaps meant to say *chañchalataraṅga jīvalōkam*, or *chañchalatō tarāṅgaśōjīvalōkam*.
³⁰ Read *śūndā*. ³¹ Read *śomy*. ³² Read *śāśōśī*.
³³ Read *bhagavach-ēhṛt*. ³⁴ Read *śūktā*. ³⁵ Read *pravēśā*.
³⁶ Read *śrīyā*. ³⁷ Read *chchēdyā*. ³⁸ Read *kālikā*.
³⁹ Read *id*. ⁴⁰ Read *śaśōśī*.
⁴¹ Read *śaśōśī* | *dān-ōtkīrṇā*. I am doubtful about the correctness of the word *dān* which I have not found elsewhere.
⁴² Metre : Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh). ⁴³ Metre : Ślōkī (Anuṣṭubh). ⁴⁴ Metre : Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).
⁴⁵ Read *dattām* | *id*. ⁴⁶ Read *śaśōśī* | *śaśōśī*. ⁴⁷ *Viśṭhī* for *viśṭhā* is most unusual.
⁴⁸ Metre : Ślōkī.

- 27 rttā pachyatē Kāla-dūtaiḥ 1(1) ⁶⁰Shashtim=varsha-sahasrāni svarggē tishṭh
bhūmi-dah [1*] āchchhētā [ch]=ānumant[ā*] [cha] tāny=ēva narakē
[1*] Gām=ēk[ā*] suvarṇā(rūpa)n=cha bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=āngulaṁ [1*]
hṛitvā nara-
- 28 kam=āyāti yavad-āhūti(ta)samplavaṁ [1*] ⁶¹Yān=iha dattāni purā narēndrai=
dānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśaskarāni [1*] nirmālyā-v[ā*]nta-pratimāni tāni kō
nāma sādhu[h*] punar=ādītaḥ⁶² [1*] ⁶³Asmat-kula-
- 29 kramam=idam⁶⁴ samudhāradbhīr=anyais=cha dānam=idam=abhyānumōdani(mī)yaṁ
[1*] lakshmyās=taḍit-salilavudvada-chañchalīyaḥ⁶⁵ dānam phala[m*] para-
yaśah-paripālanañ=chaḥ⁶⁶ 1(1) Iti⁶⁷ kamala-dal-āmva(mbu)-
- 30 vindu-lōlā[m*] śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvatāñ=cha 1 sakalam=idam=
udāhṛitāñ=cha vudhvā⁶⁸ na hi purushaiḥ para-kirttayō vilōpyā[h] [1*]

The Seal.

- 1 Śrī-Nimva(mba)ras=tatpādānudyātāḥ 11⁶⁹
- 2 śrīmad-Ishṭagaṇadēvaḥ⁶⁰=tatpādānudyāi[taḥ*]
- 3 śrīmal-Lalitaśradēvaḥ kshītēr=[bhartā 11?]

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail !

(Line 1.) From the prosperous (city of) Kārttikēyapura.⁶¹

By the grace of the holy Dhūrjati (Siva) who has destroyed the might of the dense gloom that robe of all discrimination, by assailing it with the abundant wide-spread pure rays — the filaments of the lotuses — his feet, which are red with intoxication from imbibing the bright beams of those lights that bring about a uniform white colour — the billions of handsome points of the beautiful crowns and coronets of the innumerable heads of all the lords of immortals, Daityas and men, bowed down under the weight of the burden of devotion; (and) whose matted hair is washed by the celestial stream; —

(L. 3.) (There was) the glorious Nimbāra, who had his body adorned with the splendour that shone forth, when, by the strength acquired by his arms, he overcame his adversaries, (as the sun overcomes) the darkness of night, with clemency, courtesy, truthfulness, virtuous disposition, purity, heroism, munificence, depth of character, rectitude, noble conduct, wonderful achievements, and a host of other excellencies; who was an incarnation of the seed of a long lineage⁶² of virtuous men; who was possessed of fame as pleasing as that of the rulers of the earth at the advent of the golden age; (and) whose person was endowed with fortune (derived) from (the worship of) the lotus-feet of the holy Nandā.⁶³

(L. 4.) His son, who meditated on his feet, born from the queen the glorious Mahādēvi Nābūdēvi, (was) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Siva), devoted to Brahma, the Paramahatīraha Mahārājādhīrāja Paramēśvara, the glorious Ishṭagaṇadēva, who, because he extracted excellent rows of pearls from the frontal globes of furious elephants, split open

⁶⁰ Metre: Ślōka (Anuashubh); and of the next verse. Read Shashṭim varsha-.

⁶¹ Metre: Indravajrā. ⁶² Read ⁶³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁶⁴ Read -iman. ⁶⁵ Read -chañchalīyā. ⁶⁶ Read -cha.

⁶⁷ Metre: Pushpitāgrā. ⁶⁸ Read buddhv.

⁶⁹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous. ⁷⁰ Read -dēva-.

⁷¹ In the original all the words from here up to the word samājīkṣayati in line 18 form really a single sentence.

⁷² The word santāna also denotes one of the trees of Indra's paradise; the king was 'an incarnation of the seed of the great santāna tree of the blessed.' For the double meaning of sukṛitīva compare ante, Vol. XX. p. 189; compare also the Jātakomā, p. 208, l. 21, sukṛitīva Nandanē.

⁷³ I. e., the goddess Durgā; after her one of the principal mountains in the Kāmān division is called Nandādēvi.

with the edge of his sharp sword, eclipsed the array of the stars by the moonlight — the elevation of his banner of fame.

(L. 6.) His son, who meditates on his feet, born from the queen the glorious Mahādēvi Vēgādēvi, (is) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Siva), devoted to Brahma, the Paramahatīraha Mahārājādhīrāja Paramēśvara, the glorious Lalitaśradēva, who, in lifting up the earth when it had sunk into the distressing mire of the sin of the Kali age, acted the part of the boar⁶⁴ most fit for the burden; who is a fire of prowess to the circle of his adversaries who vanish before the force of his natural genius and his omnipresent power; who, when preparations for war are made⁶⁵ of more than ordinary might, by the terrific frown of his brows again and again frightens the multitude of his enemies, as the lion does the elephant cubs by his curling mane; the seeds of whose fame were made to grow up into garlands, thrown on him in the shape of the wreaths of flowers of the bracelets which dropped from the trembling wrists of the damsels of heaven, distressed with bashfulness at seeing him first embrace the excellent wanton Fortune of victory, when she was forcibly drawn to him by the superior power of his mute, yet loudly ringing, sword and showers of arrows; (and) who has subjugated the earth by having recourse to the strength of his bow, bent by his massive arm, and by his rule of it has kept (other) kings of the earth at peace, resembling thus Prithu who, in order to tend the cow whom he had brought into subjection by means of his bent bow, firmly fixed the chief mountains in their places.⁶⁶

(L. 10.) He, being in good health, makes known and issues the following commands to all the functionaries assembled in this prosperous district (vishaya) of Kārttikēyapura, to the Rājās,⁶⁷ Rājānakas,⁶⁸ Rājaputras, Rājāmātyas, Sāmantas, Mahāsāmantas, Thakkuras, Mahāmanushyas,⁶⁹ Mahākārtīkīrīkikas, Mahāprathīrās, Mahādaḍḍanīyākas, Mahārājapramātīras,⁷⁰ Sarabhaṅgas,⁷¹ Kumārāmātyas, Uparīkas, Duḥśādhyaśādhnikas, Dāsāparādīhikas,⁷² Chaurōddharaṅīkas, Saulkīkas,⁷³ Gaulmīkas, Tādāyuktakas, Vinīyuktakas, Pañṣakāpachārīkas,⁷⁴ Asādhabhaṅgādīkīrītas,⁷⁵ to those engaged with the elephant, horse, and camel troops, to the Dātas, Prēshānikas, Dāṇḍīkas, Dāṇḍapāīkas, Gamgāmīns,⁷⁶ Khādīgīkas,⁷⁷ Abhitvaramāṅīkas, Rājasthānīyas,

⁶⁴ I. e., the god Viṣṇu in his boar incarnation.

⁶⁵ Viz., by his adversaries.

⁶⁶ The story is that Prithu uprooted the mountains and piled them upon one another, in order that the earth, who had assumed the form of a cow, might let her milk, the seed of all vegetation, flow everywhere around. — Our author may have had in his mind the words of the Kādambari: Vainya ita chāpakīti-samutārīta-sakalārātīkūlā-chalāk. — I have some doubts about the exact translation of the words pālānā-nīchālīkīrīta.

⁶⁷ For some of the more common of the following titles of officials, see Dr. Fleet's Gupta Inscr. pp. 15, 16, 52, 69, 148, 157, 169, 170, 217, 218, and 284.

⁶⁸ Rājānaka also occurs in line 44 of the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla (Ep. Ind. Vol. IV.) and in line 30 of the Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (ante, Vol. XV. p. 303). It may be equivalent to the term rājāka in line 31 of the Mungir plate of Dēvapāla (ante, Vol. XXI. p. 256).

⁶⁹ The title mahāmanushya, literally 'a great man, a noble,' I have not found elsewhere; the mention of the thakkuras also is unusual.

⁷⁰ Mahārājapramātīra would be 'the great rājapramātīra.' The Mungir plate of Dēvapāla in line 32 has pramātīrī, which also occurs in line 32 of the second Baijnāth prasasti (Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 115, nripa-pramātīrī=rāja-pramātīra), where it has been suggested 'to denote some kind of spiritual councillor.' And the Madhuban plate of Harshavardhana (ibid. p. 72) in line 9 has pramātīra, and in line 17 mahārāpramātīra which we also find in line 36 of the Benares plate of Karnadēva (ibid. Vol. II. p. 309).

⁷¹ Sarabhaṅga occurs, spelt sarabhaṅga, in line 32 of the Mungir plate of Dēvapāla, and very probably in line 9 of the Dēo-Baranārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II. I have not found the word elsewhere and am unable to explain its meaning.

⁷² As the chaurōddharaṅīka was an official who had to look after the catching of thieves, so the dāsāparādīhika apparently was one whose duty it was to inflict punishment for 'the ten offences'; see Gupta Inscr. p. 189.

⁷³ Superintendents of tolls (sulkas) and of woods (śulmas).

⁷⁴ Pañṣakāpachārīka is another term which I have not met with elsewhere; it may denote an official who had to investigate offences against royal edicts or copper-plate grants (pañṣaka).

⁷⁵ If my alteration of the text is correct, the asādhabhaṅgādīkīrīta probably was an official who had to prevent flight from prison or legal restraint.

⁷⁶ These are usually called gamgāmīkas.

⁷⁷ Khādīgīka, which may have been put erroneously for khādīgīka, would literally mean 'a swordman.'

Vishayapati,⁷⁸ *Bhōgapatis*, *Tarapati*, *Aivapati*, *Khaṇḍarakṣas*,⁷⁹ *Pratiśūrikas*,⁸⁰ *Sthānādhi-krītas*,⁸¹ *Varimāpālas*, *Kōṭṭāpālas*, *Ghaṭṭāpālas*, *Kehētrāpālas*, *Prāntāpālas*, to the superintendents of colts, mares, cows, and buffalo-cows, to the *Bhaṭṭas*, *Mahattamas*, cowherds, merchants, foremen of guilds, and to the remaining *Sāśhādāsa-prakṛityadhishṭhānīyas*⁸² down to the *Khaśas*, *Kirātas*, *Dravīdas*, *Kaliṅgas*, *Gauḍas*, *Hōṇas*, *Uḍras*, *Mēdas*, *Andhras*, and *Chāṇḍīlas*, to all habitations, to the entire people, to the regular and irregular soldiers, servants and others, and to others enumerated⁸³ (and) not enumerated who live in dependance on his lotus-feet, and to the neighbouring people, — paying due respect to all of them, especially to Brāhmaṇas: Be it known to you!

(L. 16.) Observing the living world, like a billow, to be as unsteady as the leaves of the holy fig-tree shaken by the breeze, and seeing that life, like a bubble of water, is void of substance, and knowing fortune to be as vacillating as the tip of an elephant cub's ear,— in order to attain beatitude in the next world and to cross the sea of this life, I, to increase the merit and fame of my parents and myself, on the auspicious day when the sun enters upon his northern course, have assigned by the grant of an edict, in the above-stated district, the village situated in *Gōrunnasāri* which is in the possession of *Khashiyāka*,⁸⁴ and also the two villages situated in *Palibhūtīkā* which are in the possession of *Guggula*, to the holy Lord *Nīrāyaṇa* who by the personal order of the glorious *Mahādēvi Sāmādēvi* has been set up at *Gōrunnasāri*, for providing perfumes, flowers, incense, lights, ointments, offerings of eatables, sacrifices, oblations of rice, &c., dancing, singing, music, charities, &c., for the repair of what may be damaged or broken, as well as for the execution of new work, and for the maintenance of servants and attendants; ⁸⁵ (the said villages) to be exempt from (the molestation of) officials,⁸⁶ not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers, not in any way to be seized, not to be resumed, (to belong to the donee) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure, as pieces taken out of the district (to which they belong),⁸⁷ as far as their proper boundaries and pasture land, together with and including their trees, gardens, springs of water and cascades, (but) without whatever has been or is in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas. Wherefore (the donee), enjoying (this grant) in comfort in regular succession, shall not in the slightest degree be troubled by the above-mentioned people or by others with seizure, restraint, robbery, or in any other way. Whoever may act contrary to this, will, in violating my order, commit a great offence. .

⁷⁸ 'Chiefs or superintendents of districts (*vishaya*), of subdivisions of districts (*bhūga*), of ferry-boats (*tara*), and of horses (*sīva*).' The term *tarapati* also occurs (in addition to *tarika*) in line 35 of the Mungir plate of *Dēvapāla*.

⁷⁹ *Khaṇḍarakṣas*, which I am unable to explain, also occurs in line 34 of the Mungir plate of *Dēvapāla* and in line 34 of the Bhāgalpur plate of *Nārāyaṇapāla*. Instead of it, the Dinājpur plate of *Mahipāla* (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXL. P. I. p. 85, l. 33) and the Amgābhi plate of *Vigrahapāla* (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 167, l. 29) have *aṅgarakṣas*; and the Chamba plate of *Sōmavarmadēva* and *Āsatadēva* (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 11, l. 14) has *khaḍgarakṣas*.

⁸⁰ *Pratiśūrika* is another term which I am unable to explain. I can only compare with it *pratiśaraka* which with *vartmāpāla*, occurs in line 29 of the Sorāth plates of *Dharmasena II.* of *Valabhi* (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 70), and *pratiśarika* in line 76 of the *Alinā plates* of *Śīlāditya VII.* (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 180).

⁸¹ Superintendents of places (? *sīhāna*), guardians of roads (*vartman*), of forts (*kṛīṭa*), of landing-places or steps on the side of a river (*ghaṭṭa*), of fields (*kshētra*), and of boundaries (*grānta*). The *ghaṭṭapālas* are not mentioned in other inscriptions which enumerate the other guardians.

⁸² This term, again, I cannot explain. The *sāśhādāsa-prakṛitis* are mentioned as officials in line 15 of the Chamba plate of *Sōmavarmadēva* and *Āsatadēva* (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 12); and the Saingamnēr plates of *Bhīllama II.* in line 89 have the expression *sāśhādāsa-prakṛity-*yūktam**, qualifying the land granted by the king. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 220).

⁸³ This word apparently is superfluous.

⁸⁴ I am somewhat doubtful whether the two words *Khashiyākas* and *Guggula* denote individuals or are names of tribes or castes.

⁸⁵ The term *pādamaṅga* occurs in the same sense in line 51 of the Khālimpur plate of *Dharmapāla*; in verse 74 of the Śāśabād temple inscription of *Mahipāla* (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 39) we have *pādakūla* instead of it.

⁸⁶ This appears to be the meaning of the phrase *prakṛiti-parihāra-yukta*, which is employed in the place of the more common *parihāra-sarvāpāda*.

⁸⁷ I am not sure that this is the exact meaning of *vishayā-uddhṛita-piṇḍa*, which hitherto I have only found in line 11 of the Madhuban plate of *Harshavarādhana* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 73).

(L. 23.) In the twenty-first year of the increasing reign of victory; the year 21, the 3rd of the dark half of Māgha. The *Dūtaka* in this matter is the *Mahādāndkeshapātāladhikṛita*,⁸⁸ the illustrious *Yijaka*. This is written by the *Mahāsandhivigrahākeshapātāladhikṛita*,⁸⁹ the illustrious *Āryaṭavata*. The engraving (?) is executed by the illustrious *Gaṅgabhadra*.

(L. 24.) [Nine benedictive and imprecatory verses.]

⁸⁸ I. e., 'the great record-keeper of gifts.'

⁸⁹ I. e., 'the great record-keeper of peace and war.'

No. 51.—DONEPUNDI GRANT OF NAMAYA-NAYAKA;
SAKA-SAMVAT 1259.

By F. KIELHOEN, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The plates which contain this inscription were received by Dr. Hultzsch from the Collector of the Gōdāvari district, and are deposited now in the Madras Museum. There is no information as to where or by whom they were discovered. I edit the inscription from excellent impressions, supplied to me by Dr. Hultzsch.

These are five copper-plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures 8½" broad by 4" high. They are numbered in Telugu figures, which are engraved near the proper right margin of the first inscribed side of each plate. The plates have raised rims, and are strung on a plain, unsoldered ring, which is ⅜" thick and from 4 to 4½" in diameter.—The writing is boldly and carefully engraved, and is well preserved throughout. The characters are Telugu. As regards individual letters, *bh* is distinguished from *b* only by the top-stroke (*talakattu*), except when (as in *bhā*, *bhī*, *bhā*, *bhō*, and *bhō*) a following vowel leaves no room for it. Where this is the case, *bh* sometimes is distinguished from *b* by a small opening in the lower part of the sign for *bh*, but just as often there is no difference at all between the two letters. The sign for *d*, also, differs from that for *dh* only by a slight opening on the right side, and the latter, in consequence, is several times employed by the writer instead of the former.¹ Similarly, there often is very little, if any, difference between the signs for the medial *i* and *ī*. The size of the letters is about ⅜".—The language is Sanskrit, except in the description of the boundaries of the village which was granted by this inscription, and in the signature of the donor,² in lines 42-54, where it is Telugu.³ The Sanskrit portion, with the exception of the first words in line 1, is entirely in verse. In line 34 it contains, as an epithet of the donee, the compound *pramāṣṭaka-vid*, about the meaning of the first part of which I am doubtful;⁴ and in line 28 the Telugu *biruda Pagamechuganāda*, the meaning of which is expressed in Sanskrit by *pratyarthi-garu-āpaha*.⁵ As regards orthography, the vowel *ṛ*, which is correctly used in *ākṛitīḥ*, l. 14, and *u[j*]jriṁbhātāḥ*, l. 16, is six times represented by the syllable *ru*, e.g. in *kruta-*, l. 2, and *-śruṅgam*, l. 9; the dental *ṃ* is employed instead of the lingual *ṃ* in the word *karṇa*, twice in line 3, and in *paurnamāsyāḥ*, l. 32, and *ṃ* instead of *ṃ* in *nīḥaṃna-*

¹ Instead of *bh* we have *bh* in *yadvāḍi-bāmir*, l. 39, and *tāvāḍi-bāyāḍi*, l. 40.

² In the words *Nāmi-Nēni vadaḥ*, 'the signature of Nāmi-Nēni (Nāmaya-Nāyaka),' in line 54, the engraver apparently has tried to imitate the actual writing of the donor.

³ For a transcript and translation of the Telugu passage I am indebted to Dr. Hultzsch's Assistant, Mr. Kriehna Sastri.

⁴ The epithet perhaps has reference to the donee's knowledge of astronomy or astrology.

⁵ The Telugu word *paṅga* means 'an enemy' and *mechaku* 'praise, applause.'

⁶ The manner in which this word is written in the original (with *j* instead of *jj*) appears to indicate that the vowel *ri* here also was pronounced as *ṛ*; compare the very common *vjvāla* for *vjavāla*.

l. 13; and a superfluous *anusvāra* is inserted by the writer before *ṃ* in *°bhyāṃ nāmāḥ* (for *°bhyāṃ-nāmāḥ*), l. 1, *vibhinn-ākṛitīḥ* (for *vibhinn-ākṛitīḥ*), l. 14, and *śrīmāṃna-Nāmaya-*, l. 30, before *ṃ* in *śaṣṭakarm-* (for *śaṣṭakarm-*),¹ l. 35, and *Vallepakommanā*, l. 44, and before *ṃ* in *-āṃvaya-* (for *-ānvaya-*), l. 40.

The inscription records a grant which on Sunday, the full-moon *tīthī* of Bhādrapada of the Śaka year measured by the Nandas (9), the arrows (5) and the suns (12), i.e. of Śaka-Samvat 1259, was made by Nāmaya-Nāyaka of Piṭhāpuri. After² the words 'adoration to the holy Umā and Mahēśvara,' and two verses invoking the protection of the gods Gaṇēśa and Vishṇu, it glorifies (in v. 3) the Āndhrakhaṇḍa-maṇḍala,³ rich in precious treasures, and extending from the banks of the Gaṇṭama river (i.e. the Gōdāvari) to Kaliṅga; and (in vv. 4 and 5) its city of Piṭhāpuri,⁴ of which the town of the gods was as it were an image, reflected in the sky, and where the faces of the women, seated on the palaces, looked so exactly like the moon that the creator, to distinguish this luminary from them, had to mark it with a dark spot. This city was taken care of by a family of feudatory chiefs (*sāmanta*, v. 6), in which, to one Koppulakāpa-Nāyaka, was born a son, named Prōlaya-Nāyaka (v. 7). To him, from Chōdamāmbā, was born a son, full of prowess (v. 8), 'whom women called the god of love, supplicants the tree of paradise, men of learning the serpent-king, and friends the full-moon; who, powerful, gently ruled the country nourished by the Ēlā river, and whom, since he was the destroyer of the pride of adversaries, people aptly called by the *biruda Pagamechuganāda*' (v. 9). This glorious Nāmaya-Nāyaka, while on the holy bank of the Gōdāvari, on the date given above, granted the village of Donepūṇḍi, which after his father he had called Prōlōra, as an *agrahāra*, together with the eight enjoyments (*bhōga*) and powers (*aishvarya*),⁵ to one Gaṇapati of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, who knew the *pramāṣṭaka*, and who was an ocean of the knowledge of the Vēdas and Śāstras, and fit for the six duties enjoined on Brāhmaṇas (vv. 10-14).

(L. 42.) 'The limits of the fields which are the four boundaries of this *agrahāra* (are):—In the east the boundaries (are) the Vallepakommanā river; thence the path to Dir[sa]m; thence the Būrgu[V]āya river at Eṇḍapalli. In the south the boundary (is) the Laṅka river; thence the path to the lands of the god Maṇḍenārāyaṇa. In the west the boundary (is) the path to the yard of Apparāju in the fields of Kondevuramu; thence the Dūsanēru (river). In the north the boundary (is) a path to the tamarind field of the god Kukkuṭēśvara. Ten *puṣṭi* of cultivated land in the Boḍḍalaḍḍilāṅka (island), (which belongs) to the fields of Piṭhāpuramu on the west of the Dūsanēru (river), were given to this *agrahāra* for the subsistence of the village.—Be it auspicious! — The signature of Nāmi-Nēni.— Bliss! Great fortune! Fortune! Fortune!'

Piṭhāpuri is the modern Piṭhāpuram, the head-quarters of the Piṭhāpuram *samāndāri* in the Gōdāvari district.⁷ The village, granted by this record, must have been situated between Kondevuramu and Eṇḍapalli.⁸ Kukkuṭēśvara, which occurs in the description of the

¹ In the original the *anusvāra* of course is written immediately before the double *ṃ*.

² Of lines 1-42 I consider it sufficient to give an abstract of the contents. The verses contained in them are very simple.

³ I take this to be equivalent to *Āndhra-maṇḍalaḥ*, which we have above, p. 41, l. 56.

⁴ In line 53 the place is called *Piṭhāpura*; the name is also written *Piṭhāpura* and *Piṭhāpura* (see above, p. 37, note 11), and *Piṭhāpuri* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 432, l. 97).

⁵ See above, Vol. III. p. 289, l. 31, *śaṣṭakarm-śaṣṭakarm*. The term, used in the original, may also be translated by 'together with the power over (or ownership of) the eight enjoyments.' On *aishvā-bhōga* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 214, and *Ep. Carn.* Part I. pp. 19, 23, 77, etc.

⁶ i.e. Nāmaya-Nāyaka.— [With Nāmi-Nēni compare the name Māchi-Nēni, above, p. 330.— E. H.]

⁷ See above, p. 32; Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 32, Cc.

⁸ [2 miles and 4½ miles, respectively, east of Piṭhāpuram.— E. H.]

boundaries, is the name of a Śiva temple at Piṭhāpuram itself, and Maṇḍenārāyaṇa the name of a Viṣṇu temple at Bhīmavaram, about six miles south-west of Piṭhāpuram.

The date of the inscription is irregular. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1259 current the full-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada ended on Friday, the 23rd August A.D. 1336, and in Śaka-Saṃvat 1259 expired³ on Wednesday, the 10th September A.D. 1337. Since in Śaka-Saṃvat 1260 expired the given *tithi* did end on the required weekday, *vis.* on Sunday, the 30th August A.D. 1338 (18 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise), it is not improbable that this is the day on which the grant was made, and that the Śaka year 1259 has been quoted by the writer erroneously instead of 1260.⁴

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 श्री-उम-महेश्वर-अभ्यामं ननामः⁶ ।(॥) ७Pāyād=vaḥ Kari.vadanaḥ
2 kru(kṛi)ta-nija-dāna-stutāv=iv-āli-gaṇē | ninadati mihur-a-
3 pidhattē karṇana(rṇṇa) yaḥ karṇa(rṇṇa)tālābhyām || [1*] 8Śrī-Viṣṇur=astu
bhava-
4 d-iṣṭa-phala-pradātā vārāha-mūrttir=akhiḥ-āga-
5 ma-gīta-kr̥tīḥ | yō dānashṭrayā sva-ramaṇīm=aram=abdhī-
6 magnām sambhōga-lamapaṭa-manāḥ kshitim=uddadhā-
7 ra || [2*] Asti prasāsta-midhi māṇḍalam-Ām̐dhra-khamḍam-ārabhya Gau-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 8 tama-nadī-taṭam-ā-Kalīṅgam | ālōkya yad=divihadasa=Surā-
9 saila-śrūm(śrīm)gam=ārōhapa-śrama-phalam kalayām-babhū-
10 vuḥ || [3*] Piṭhāpurī jayati tatra samasta-dēva-śakti-prayatna-
11 parikalpita-tōraṇa-śrīḥ | yasyā=sunirmāla-nabhō-
12 mukur-āntarālē dhattē Surēndra-nagarī pratibimbā-
13 māḥ || [4*] 9Yat-saudhāgra-nishāṇa(rṇṇa)-vāraṇitā-vaktreṇdu-ma-
14 dhya-sthitaḥ sv[ai]ram n-aisha vibhāyātō himaruchis=tēbyō(bhyō)
10vibim̐[n]-ākṛitīḥ |

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 15 ēvaṃ chētasi saṃkītēna rachitō dhātrā kaḥmka sphutaṃ nō
16 chēd=idru(dri)śi nirmmaḥē katham=idam mālinyam=u[j*]jrimbhatē || [5*] Vi-
17 khyātā¹¹ vira-sāmaṃta-saṃtatīsa=tām-aramjayat [1*]
18 pārijāta-prasūna-śrīr=iva Namādana-mēdinīm || [6*] 10Tad-anvayē
19 Koppulakāpa-nāyakaḍ= vibō(bhō)r= abhūt= Prōlaya-nāya-
20 ka-prabhūḥ | yaśō yadīyam vibhavam cha vikramam na va-
21 ktum=īahtē vachasām=ap=īvaraḥ || [7*] 11Tasmāj=jātō jayati vijayī

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 22 Chōḍamāmbā¹⁴ - k u m ā r a s = s a u d h a ś r ē ṇ i - m i l a d - a r i p u r i - s a m y a -
23 g-āhāra-dhā(dā)nāt | jāta-prīti śrayati satatām yat-pra-

¹ See Dr. Hultzsch's *Annual Report for 1893-94*, p. 5.

² In Śaka-Saṃvat 1259 expired the month of Śrāvaṇa was intercalary, and the full-moon *tithi* of the first Śrāvaṇa ended on Sunday, the 18th July A.D. 1337, 10 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise. I do not consider it likely that this is the day on which the grant was made.

³ For similar dates see *Ind. Ass.* Vol. XXV, p. 268. ⁴ From impressions supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

⁵ Read *śry-*. ⁶ Read *bhya-namaḥ* or *bhūdā namaḥ*. ⁷ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁸ Metre of verses 2-4: *Vasantatilakā*. ⁹ Metre: *Śārdūlavikṛitā*.

¹⁰ Read *vidhāna-*. ¹¹ Metre: *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh). ¹² Metre: *Vamātha*.

¹³ Metre: *Mandākrantā*. ¹⁴ This *akṣhara*, *ā*, looks rather like *āā* in the original.

- 24 tāpaṃ Kru(kṛi)śānur=nnō chēch=chētas-sa dahati katham vairi-vāmēksha-
25 pānām || [8*] Yam¹ kāmāḥ kathayanti Pushpa-viśikha-
26 m kalpadrumam yāchakā vidvāmsaḥ phaṇi-nāyakaṃ cha
27 suhrudhō² Bākā-sudhādīdhitim ||(।) dēsam yas=sadaya-
28 m prasāsti balavān=Āla-nadī-mātra(tri)kaṃ yaṃ prāhūḥ Paḡa-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 29 mechohugamḍa-birudam pratyarthi-garvv-āpāham || [9*] Ayam³ na-
30 ya-nidhir=vviraḥ⁴ śrīmānn=⁵ Nāmaya-nāyakaḥ | analpam phala-
31 m-anvichchann=ā-kalpam bō(bhō)ga-sādhanam || [10*] Śāk-ābdē Namda-
bāp-ārka-
32 mitē Bhādrapadē tathā | paurṇa(rṇṇa)māsyām Ravēr-vvārē puṇyē
33 Gōdāvāri-tatē || [11*] Pavitrīta-Bharadvāja-gōtrāya guṇa-sā-
34 linē | praśnāṣṭaka-vidē vēda-sāstra-vijñāna-simdhavē || [12*]
Gaṇapaty-a[ḥ]jīdhānā-
35 ya shaṭkaṃ(ṭka)rmā-ārḥ[ā]ya sādhavē | Prōlōram=iti nām=āsyā

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 36 nirdīya pitur-ākhyayā || [13*] Agrahāram=abl(bh)shṭ-āshṭa-bō(bhō)g-aīsvaryā-
37 samanvitam | Donepūṇḍim=imam grāmam prādād=ā-chaṃ-
38 dra-tāraḥ || [14*] 6Etad=dattam yāvad=arkk-āndu-tāram yā-
39 7vadh-būmir=yyāvad=ēshām vidhātā | yāvach=chhrimān=ā-
40 chyutō yāvad=īsas=tāvadh⁸=būyād=dātūr=asy=āmnvaya.⁹
41 ś=cha || [15*] 10Akhamḍ-Ākhamḍala-śrīkaḥ khamḍit-ārāti-maṇḍalāḥ | ā-
42 chāmra-tāraḥ bhūyād=ēsha Nāmaya-nāyakaḥ || [16*] ī agra-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 43 h[ā]rānaku chatus-simaluṃn=aina pola-mēralu | Terppu¹¹
44 simalu [1*] Vallepakom̐mansa ēru | ā taṇvātānu Dirā-
45 [sa]m pūnta | ā taṇvātānu Eṇḍapalli Būrgu-
46 [v]āya ēru || Dakshīpānaku sīma [1*] Lemka ēru [1] ā taṇu-
47 vātānu Maṇḍenārāyaṇa-dēvara krittula¹² pūnta || Pa-
48 ḍamaṭi sīma [1*] Koṇḍevurapūṃ bolam Apparāju doḍḍi

Fifth Plate.

- 49 pūnta | ā taṇvāta Dūsanēru || Ā¹³ uttarānaku
50 sīma [1*] Kukkuṭēsvāra-dēvara chīmchali-polaṃ pūnta |(।)
51 ī agrahārānaku grāma-grāsamugānu
52 Dū[sa]nēṭi paḍmaṭānu Piṭhāpurapu polamu¹⁴
53 lōnu Boddaladoḍḍilamkaṃ beṭṭim̐di paḍi puṭlu chē-
54 nu [11*] Śubham=astu [11*] Nāmi-Nēni vrālu [11*] Maṅgaḷa[m*] mahā-śrī śrī
55 śrī [11*]

¹ Metre: *Śārdūlavikṛitā*.

² Read *suhriddō*. The *akṣhara* *dō* may have been altered to *dō* already in the original.

³ Metre of verses 10-14: *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh). ⁴ This sign of *svarga* was originally omitted.

⁵ Read *śrīmān*.

⁶ Metre: *Śālini*.

⁷ Read *vad-bhā*.

⁸ Read *tāvad-bhā*.

⁹ Read *svaya-*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh).

¹¹ Read *terpu*.

¹² Read *vṛittula*(?).

¹³ This *d* is superfluous.

Die Mandasor Inschrift vom Málava Jahre 529
(= 472 n. Chr.) und Kálidása's Ritusamhára.

Von

F. Kielhorn.

Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar hat in einem der Asiatischen Gesellschaft von Bombay am 1. August 1889 vorgelegten Aufsätze über die Epoche der Gupta Aera einen Vers der Mandasor Inschrift des Kumāragupta und Bandhuvarman behandelt, der in Fleet's Texte also lautet¹⁾: —

Rāmā-sanātha-[ra]chane dara-bhāskar-āṁṇu-vahni-pratāpa-subhage jala-līna-mīne | chandrāṁṇu-harmyatala-chandana-tālavṛinta-hār-opabhodha(ga)-rahite hima-dagdha-padme ||

Die fünf Composita dieses Verses sind Adjective, die das im folgenden Verse stehende Substantivum *kāle* näher bestimmen, und sind zusammen mit diesem von Fleet übersetzt worden: —

„In that season which unites men with (*their*) lovely mistresses; which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the rays of the sun (*shining*) in the glens; in which the fishes lie low down in the water; which (*on account of the cold*) is destitute of the enjoyment of the beams of the moon, and (*sitting in the open air on*) the flat roofs of houses, and sandal-wood perfumes, and palmleaf fans, and necklaces; in which the water-lilies are bitten by the frost.“

Bhāṇḍārkar hat gezeigt, daß Fleet's Uebersetzung des ersten Compositums (rāmā-sanātha-[ra]chane) falsch ist, und daß die richtige Uebersetzung desselben keinen Sinn gibt. Er hat ferner darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß die von Fleet in jenem Worte *cha* gelesene Sylbe im Originale *va* ist, hat, statt der von Fleet ergänzten Sylbe *ra*, *bha* ergänzt, und das so von ihm restituirte

1) Corpus Inscr. Ind., Bd. III, S. 83, Zeile 17.

rāmā-sanātha-[bha]vane

übersetzt durch „that [time] in which there are lovely women in the houses, i. e. when there is no separation between husband and wife“. Außerdem hat er Einspruch erhoben gegen Fleet's Uebersetzung des ersten Wortes (*dara*) des zweiten Compositums durch „in the glens“, weil es nicht bloß die Thäler seien, die die Sonne in der kalten Jahreszeit erwärme. *Dara* sei vielmehr gleichbedeutend mit *ishad* „little, in a small degree, moderate“, und das zweite Compositum sei demnach zu übersetzen — „which is agreeable with the moderated heat of the fire of the rays of the sun“.

Auch ich halte Fleet's Text und Uebersetzung für falsch, und ich stimme mit Bhāṇḍārkar darin überein, daß wir im ersten Compositum *bha* statt *ra* ergänzen und die folgende Sylbe *va* lesen müssen. Aber Bhāṇḍārkar's Erklärung des zweiten Compositums befriedigt mich ebenso wenig wie Fleet's. *Dara* ist zu weit von *pratāpa* entfernt als daß wir es auf dies beziehen könnten; und es scheint mir unpassend die geringe Wärme der Sonnenstrahlen zu loben, gerade wenn wir uns wärmen wollen. Außerdem wäre bei Bhāṇḍārkar's (und Fleet's) Erklärung das Wort *vahni* überflüssig. Natürlicher wäre es zu sagen, daß uns im Winter die Strahlen der Sonne und die Wärme eines Feuers angenehm sind. Aber auch bei dieser Erklärung wäre *dara* unpassend, denn kein Dichter würde von kleinen (*svāpa*) Sonnenstrahlen reden.

Prüfen wir in der Photographie das (von Fleet und Bhāṇḍārkar *ne* gelesene) Zeichen für die letzte Sylbe des ersten Compositums sorgfältiger, so finden wir, daß dasselbe genau so aussieht wie das Zeichen für die zweite Sylbe des Wortes *manoharāṅ* in Zeile 20. Die Sylbe ist also *no*, nicht *ne*, und die richtige Lesung des Eingangs des Verses ist —

Rāmā-sanātha-[bha]vanodara-bhāskarāṁṇu-vahnipratāpa-subhage.

Hiermit ist jegliche Schwierigkeit entfernt. Die kalte Jahreszeit ist dem Manne dadurch angenehm daß sie ihn im Innern des Hauses hält wo er mit der Frau oder Geliebten zusammen ist; wenn es kalt ist, freut er sich der Strahlen der Sonne und der Wärme eines Feuers.

Der Vers der Inschrift lautet also —

Rāmā-sanātha-bhavanodara-bhāskarāṁṇu-
vahnipratāpa-subhage jala-līna-mīne |
Chandrāṁṇu-harmyatala-chandana-tālavṛinta-
hār-opahogarahite hima-dagdha-padme ||

Betrachten wir den Bau und den Wortlaut dieses Verses näher, so ergibt sich, denke ich, mit Sicherheit, daß der Dichter bei Abfassung desselben die folgenden Verse aus Kālidāsa's Ṛitusamhāra¹⁾ vor Augen hatte: —

Niruddhavātāyana-mandirodaram
 hutācano bhānumato gabhastayaḥ |
 Gurūṇi vāsāmsy-abalāḥ sayauvanāḥ
 prayānti kāle-tra janasya sevyatām ||
 Na chandanam chandramarīchi-çīṭalam
 na harṃyapriṣṭham çaradindu-nirmalam |
 Na vāyavaḥ sāndratuṣhāra-çīṭalā
 janasya chittam ramayanti sāmpratam ||

Es wäre überflüssig meine Fachgenossen auf die genaue Uebereinstimmung der Gedanken und des Ausdrucks im Einzelnen aufmerksam zu machen, und ich will nur bemerken, daß der Verfasser der Inschrift dem ersten Verse Kālidāsa's im Wesentlichen nur den durch *jala-līna-mine*, und dem zweiten Verse den durch *hima-dagdha-padme* ausgedrückten Gedanken hinzugefügt hat.

Das Resultat ist, daß Kālidāsa's Ṛitusamhāra vor dem Jahre 472 n. Chr. verfaßt sein muß.

1) Ṛitusamhāra, Sarga V, 2 und 3.

KAPITTHIKĀ.

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4. KAPITTHIKĀ; KAPITTHA.

DEAR SIR,—The Madhuban plate of the great king Maṛṣadeva of Kanauj was issued from *Kapitthikā*; for the reading of the original plate, in line 1, clearly is *mahā-nauhastyaśvajayaskandhāvārāt* = *Kapitthikāyāḥ*, and not, as Professor Bühler's published text (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 72) has it, *skandhāvārāt Pinthikāyāḥ*. *Kapitthikā* apparently is the *Kie-pi-tha* (*Kapittha*) of Hiuen Tsiang (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, vol. i, p. 202), which, again, is the same as *Sāmkāśya*, which by the late Sir A. Cunningham has been identified with the present *Sankāsa* on the Kālinādī river, about forty miles north-west of Kanauj. *Kapitthikā* very probably also is the *Kāpitthaka* of Varāhamihira; and it may be the *Kaviṭṭhaka* mentioned in the *Jātaka*, vol. iii, p. 463, ll. 7 and 11.

Possible Site of Kuṣināra.—Extensive excavations are now, we understand, being made into the mounds of ruins at Navandgarh, to the north of Bettiah, where stands the well-known Aṣōka-edict pillar. From an exploration of the country along the line of these pillars, which stretch north-westwards from Patna, Dr. Waddell, in 1893, formed the opinion that these pillars marked the route of Buddha's last journey to Kuṣināra, where he died; and also that many topographical reasons pointed to the possibility that the ruins at 'Navand' fort might prove, on digging, to be those of the 'Nirvāṇa' (or more properly Parinirvāṇa) stupas. On Dr. Waddell's recommendation Babu P. C. Mukerji, who has been making archaeological excavations at Patna for the Bengal Government, was recently sent to explore the country thereabouts for the site of Kuṣināra, and on making a few superficial incisions into the largest mound at Navandgarh, he disclosed the base of an enormous stupa about 300 feet in diameter, and exhumed some bricks with Aṣōka-like characters. As famine was prevailing there, Dr. Waddell asked the Commissioner, Mr. Bourdillon, whether he could not arrange to have the place fully excavated by famine-relief labour. This is now being done, and, as the ruins are undoubtedly very old and have been little disturbed for ages, the results are likely to prove highly interesting, even should the place turn out to be some other site than that of Buddha's death.

Royal Asiatic Society's Medal.—The Committee of Selection

PĀDAMŪLA PĀDAMŪLIKA.

GUIDED by the context, I have translated the Sanskrit word *pādamūla*, which occurs in line 20 of the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of Lalitāstūra (*avāṭa*, Vol. XXV, p. 180) and in line 51 of the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 250), by 'an attendant' or 'attendants.' I now find that in Pāli the derivative *pādamūlika* frequently occurs in exactly the same sense.

Thus we have *pādamūlika*, by itself, in the *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 438, l. 11; Vol. II, p. 328, l. 13; Vol. III, p. 417, l. 3; Vol. VI, p. 401, l. 10; *pādamūlika-purisa*, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 122, l. 4; *dovdrika-pādamūlik-ddayo*, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 439, l. 3; *rojapādamūlika*, *ibid.* Vol. II, p. 87, l. 17. and Vol. V, p. 128, l. 18, etc.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

No. 26.—A NOTE ON THE ALPHABET OF THE DONEPUNDI GRANT.

By F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Dr. Hultsch having kindly consented to publish the accompanying photolithograph, which has been prepared under Dr. Fleet's supervision, of the Donepūṇḍi grant of Śāka-Saṃvat 1259, edited by me above, Vol. IV. p. 356 ff., I take the opportunity of adding a few remarks on the writing of that most beautifully engraved inscription. I have already stated that the characters are Telugu. In general, they are the same as those of the Vānapalli plates of Anna-Vēma, published with a photolithograph above, Vol. III. p. 59 ff., which are only about forty years later; but there are one or two interesting differences between the characters of the two inscriptions.

Of initial vowels the Vānapalli plates contain *a*, *ā*, *i*, and *ī*; in the present grant *i* and *ī* do not occur, but, on the other hand, we here have also *ī*, in the word *ī* in lines 42 and 51; *u*, in *Uṃd*, l. 1; and *ē*, in *ēvaṃ*, l. 15, *ētaḍ*, l. 38, etc.

Of the ordinary Sanskrit consonants, *gh*, *ṅ*, *jh* and *ḍh* do not occur in the Donepūṇḍi grant; and the signs for *chh* and *ṣ* only occur in conjuncts, as subscript letters, in *anvichchhan*, l. 31, *yāvachchhrimān*, l. 39, and *vijñāna*, l. 34. The signs which may be specially drawn attention to are those for *k*, *ph*, and *bh*.

In the sign for *k* the horizontal line between the top-stroke (*talakaṭṭu*) and the circle is joined with the latter by a straight line, which forms a sharp angle with the horizontal line, as may be seen from *kari*, l. 1, *kruta*, l. 2, etc. This (cursive) sign for *k*, which does not occur in the Vānapalli plates and is not found in any of the published palæographic Tables, is also used in the Dibbida plates of Śāka-Saṃvat 1191, published with a photolithograph above, p. 106 ff., and in the three inscriptions of Kāṭyāya-Vēma³ of Śāka-Saṃvat 1313-38, published above, Vol. IV. p. 323 ff. It clearly is the immediate precursor of the *k* of the modern Telugu alphabet.

The sign for *ph* is distinguished from the sign for *p* by a separate semicircular line, placed below the sign for *p*; compare the *pha* of *phala*, l. 4, with the *pa* of *lāmpaḥa*, l. 6. The same sign for *ph* is used in the Vānapalli plates, e.g. in *phalaka*, l. 7. In a Chêbrôlu inscription of Jāya of Śāka-Saṃvat 1157, we still find the earlier sign in which the distinguishing semicircular line intersects the proper left vertical line of the sign for *p*.³

The sign for *bh*, in the *aksharas* *bha*, *bhu*, *bhū*, *bhya* and *bhyā*, is distinguished from the sign for *b* by the top-stroke of *bh*; compare the *bha* of *bhava*, l. 3, with the *ba* of *babhū*, l. 9. In *aksharas* where there is no room for the top-stroke, *bh* sometimes is distinguished from *b* by

¹ I owe excellent impressions of these inscriptions to the kindness of Dr. Hultsch.

² In the same inscription, of which I shall treat in Vol. VI., the sign for *ḍh* is distinguished from the sign for *ḍ* by a semicircle, open to the proper right, which is placed below, and attached to, the proper left curve of the sign for *ḍ*.

a small opening in the lower part of the sign for *bh*, as in *vibhāvayātē*, l. 14, and *nabhō*, l. 11; but just as often there is no difference at all between *bh* and *b*, as may be seen e.g. from a comparison of *vibōr* (for *vibhōr*), l. 19, with *bolam*, l. 48, or from *vibimnu* (for *vibhinu*), l. 14, *abishṭ* (for *abhishṭ*), l. 36, etc. It is interesting to observe that in all such cases (where in the Donepūṇḍi grant *bh* practically does not differ from *b*), in the Vānapalli plates, the sign for *bh* is generally distinguished from the sign for *b* by just such a separate semicircular line as above we have found to distinguish *ph* from *p*; compare in the Vānapalli plates *vibhātī*, l. 3, *Sambhōr*, l. 4, *nabhī*, l. 7, etc. Moreover it may be noted that in the inscription B. of Kāṭyāya-Vēma, above, Vol. IV. p. 329, in the *bh* of *Bhīmāsvara* in line 8, the distinguishing semicircular line has been changed into a downward stroke, so that the sign for *bh* looks exactly like the *bh* of the modern Telugu alphabet.

In addition to the signs of the ordinary Sanskrit consonants, the Donepūṇḍi grant also contains the sign for the Dravidian *ḷ*, e.g. in *sunirmaḷa*, l. 11, and the sign for *r*, e.g. in *ṛṇu*, l. 44. In the sign for the *r* of *taruvāta* in line 49 the engraver erroneously has omitted the horizontal line in the interior of the letter.

Regarding the signs of subscript consonants it may be noted that in the conjuncts *nn* and *ṇṇ* the same sign is used for both (the second) *n* and *ṇ*,³ as in *nnamaḷ*, l. 1, and *nishanna* (*ṇṇa*), l. 13. Attention may also perhaps be drawn to the form of the subscript *l*, e.g. in *Emḍapalli*, l. 45, and *puḷlu*, l. 53.—Of final consonants which are not joined with a following letter, only *t* occurs, in *aramjayat*, l. 17, and *dhd* (*dā*)*nāt*, l. 23.

As regards medial vowels, I have already indicated that there is hardly any difference between the signs for *i* and *ī*; compare e.g. *gīta-kīrtīh*, l. 5, and *dīdhītīm*, l. 27. In engraving the *akshara* *mī* of *ktum-iṣṭṣ* in line 21 the engraver has made a mistake, which, to judge from the impression, was subsequently corrected by him. Another mistake was made by him in engraving the *akshara* *nō* at the end of line 15, as may be seen by a comparison of the proper sign for *nō* in *śānur-nnō*, l. 24, or the *no* of *Jaganobbagamḍḍa* in line 27 of the Vānapalli plates.

That the plates, near the proper right margin of the first inscribed side of each plate, contain the numeral figures from 1 to 5, has been already stated.

¹ The *akshara* *bhḍ* of this very word is reproduced in Prof. Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, Table VIII. col. ix. No. 33, but without the characteristic semicircular line at the bottom, which is quite clear and distinct in the published photolithograph of the Vānapalli plates. The same column contains other similar errors which need not be specified here.

² The same practice is followed in some very much earlier inscriptions; compare e.g. in the Sātārā plates of the Eastern Chalukya *Fuorḍja* Vishnuvardhana I. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 309, and Plate) *saṃpannaḷ*, l. 4, and *paṇṇamdyāḷ*, l. 13.—It may be noted that both in the Donepūṇḍi grant and in the Vānapalli plates the conjunct *ṇṇ* is always written by the sign for *ṇṇ*.

Ein unbekanntes Indisches Metrum.

Von

F. Kielhorn.

Vorgelegt in der Sitzung vom 8. Juli 1899.

Die von B. Lewis Rice vor etwa fünf Jahren zu Tālgund in Mysore entdeckte, noch nicht veröffentlichte Inschrift des Kadamba Königs Kākusthavarman¹⁾ enthält 34 Verse. Die ersten 24 Verse bieten ein Versmaß, das, soviel ich weiß, in keiner indischen Metrik beschrieben wird, obwohl es auch in andern Inschriften und in wenigstens einem litterarischen Werke vorkommt, und sich vermuthlich auch in andern ältern Texten nachweisen lassen wird, wenn einmal die Aufmerksamkeit darauf gelenkt ist. Ich gebe zunächst einige Verse der Tālgund Inschrift²⁾:—

Jayati viśva-deva-saṃghāta-
nicit-aika-mūrtiḥ sanātanaḥ |
Sthāpur indu-raśmi-vicchurita-
dyutimaj-jaṭābhāra-maṇḍanaḥ || 1 ||

Anupadam surendra-tulya-vapuḥ
Kākusthavarmā viśāla-dhiḥ |
bhūpatiḥ Kadamba-senāni-
bṛhad-anvaya-vyoma-candramāḥ || 3 ||

Atithi-nityasaṃśrit-āvasatham
savanatray-āvandhya-naityakam |
gṛha-samipa-deśa-saṃrūḥa-
vikasat-kadamb-oru-pādapam || 7 ||

1) Vgl. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. IV, Introduction, p. 1. Ich verdanke eine Photographie und eine vorläufige Abschrift der Inschrift der Güte meines Freundes Fleet.

2) Ich lasse die der Inschrift eigenthümliche Orthographie unberücksichtigt.

Evam āgate Kadamba-kule
śrīmān babhūva dvij-ottamaḥ |
nāmato Mayūraśarmeti
śruta-śīla-śauc-ādy-alamkṛtaḥ || 9 ||

Aus diesen und ähnlichen Versen ergibt sich das Schema—

für Pādas 1 und 3: $\underline{\underline{u}}\underline{\underline{u}}-\underline{\underline{u}}-\underline{\underline{u}}-\underline{\underline{u}}\underline{\underline{u}}$,

und für Pādas 2 und 4: $\underline{\underline{u}}-\underline{\underline{u}}-\underline{\underline{u}}-\underline{\underline{u}}\underline{\underline{u}}$;

und es ist klar, dass wir es soweit mit einem *Mātrāsamaka* zu thun haben, in dem jeder der vier Pādas des Verses 15 Mātrās enthält. In den Pādas 2 und 4 wird das gefundene Schema in allen 24 Versen gleichmäßig durchgeführt. Das für die beiden ungeraden Pādas gefundene dagegen findet sich nur in 30 (von 48) ersten und dritten Pādas genau befolgt; in 14 andern Fällen wird statt der Kürze, die oben die sechste Mātrā des Pāda ist, eine Länge gebraucht, nach der dann die folgende Länge bisweilen (im Ganzen dreimal) durch zwei Kürzen vertreten wird; und in den vier übrig bleibenden Fällen stehn an Stelle derselben Kürze eine Länge und eine Kürze. Die Nebenformen des Schemas für Pādas 1 und 3 sind demnach—

$\underline{\underline{u}}\underline{\underline{u}}-\underline{\underline{u}}\underline{\underline{u}}-\underline{\underline{u}}\underline{\underline{u}}$, mit 16 Mātrās;

und $\underline{\underline{u}}\underline{\underline{u}}-\underline{\underline{u}}-\underline{\underline{u}}-\underline{\underline{u}}\underline{\underline{u}}$, mit 17 Mātrās.

Als Beispiele führe ich an—

V. 2, Pāda 3: yat-prasādas trāyate nityam;

V. 4, Pāda 1: atha babhūva dvija-kulaṃ prāmśu;

V. 5, Pāda 1: vividha-yaḥāvabhṛtha-puṇy-āmbu;

und V. 11, Pāda 3: kali-yuge'sminn aho bata kṣatrāt.

Dasselbe Metrum, genau übereinstimmend mit dem oben gegebenen Hauptschema, findet sich nun in den bisher als Prosa betrachteten Zeilen 1 und 2 der Tusām Felseninschrift (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 270), die nach Fleet etwa dem Ende des vierten oder dem Anfange des fünften Jahrhunderts nach Chr. angehört. Der Vers lautet:

Jitam abhikṣṇam eva Jāmbavati-
vadanāravind-orjit-ālinā |
dānavāṅganā-mukhāmbhoja-
lakṣmi-tuṣāreṇa Viṣṇunā ||

Das Metrum findet sich ferner in Z. 5—8 einer Vākāṭaka Inschrift zu Ajaṅṭā (Archæol. Surv. of West. India, Vol. IV, p. 125), und wir sehen aus den Versen, wie sie dort erscheinen, daß auch

an die Stelle der zweiten Länge (Matrās 3 und 4) der geraden Pädas zwei Kürzen treten können. Ich begnüge mich damit, den ersten Vers (den einzigen nahezu vollständig erhaltenen) hierher zu setzen:—

[Ari]narendra-mauli-vinyasta-
maṇi-kiraṇa¹⁾-liḍha-kramāmbujaḥ |
Pravarasenas tasya putro 'bhūd
vikasan-navendīvar-ekṣanaḥ ||

Endlich erscheint dasselbe Metrum auch im Bower Manuscript (Part I, p. 4), in einer Stelle, die vom Herausgeber zuerst für Prosa gehalten wurde, die er aber später als **einen** Vers (Vers 36) gedruckt hat, den er als unregelmäßig bezeichnet. In Wirklichkeit bietet die Stelle die **zwei** ganz richtigen Verse—

Iti sureyaṃ pañca-pañc-āhād
rasa-varṇṇa-gandhaiḥ samanvitā |
bhavati tailaṃ nāmataś cedam
undiram²⁾ atyartha-kārmukam ||
Tailam etad yaḥ surām api vā
puruṣaḥ prayujita yatnataḥ |
pariharamti tam gad-ānikāny
ājau kṛtāstrān ivetare ||

Die obigen Ausführungen zeigen, daß das besprochene Metrum etwa vom fünften bis zum siebenten Jahrhundert in den verschiedensten Gegenden Indiens (vom äußersten Nordwesten bis zum Süden) gebraucht wurde. Es ist darum sehr auffällig, daß kein indischer Schriftsteller über Metrik davon Notiz genommen hat.

1) So liest Bhagvanlal Indraji; Bühler las, gegen das Metrum, *kiraṇāliḍha*.

2) Das Metrum zeigt, daß für *undiram* nicht, wie Dr. Hoernle will, *udīrṇam* gelesen werden darf.

Epigraphic Notes¹⁾.

By

F. Kielhorn.

Presented on 22 December 1900.

1. — Verses in the Haidarābād Grant of Vikramāditya I.

In lines 18—27 of the Haidarābād grant of the Western Calukya Vikramāditya I., edited by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 76 f., there are five verses which are more or less corrupt. The same verses occur, in an even less satisfactory form, in the spurious Kurtakoṭi grant of the same king, edited by Dr. Fleet *ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 219 f.; and the first verse of the five is also found elsewhere. I shall give each of these verses here as we actually find them in the published photo-lithograph of the Haidarābād plates, and shall then state how I would propose to read and translate them. The photo-lithograph, unfortunately, has apparently been greatly manipulated.

V. 1. — Raṇa-śirasi ripu-narendrān-diśi diśi jītvā svavaśamjān
lakṣmī [*]

prāptaparamēśvaratām-anivāritam Vikramāditya [!*

Irrespectively of the metre, the chief fault found with this verse is that it contains no verb; and it has been suggested to supply *cakāra* or some similar expression. Everything becomes right if we read and translate thus:—

Raṇa-śirasi ripu-narendrān-diśi diśi jītvā svavaśamjān
lakṣmīm |

prāptaḥ paramēśvaratām-anivārita-Vikramādityaḥ ||

1) Under this heading I hope to publish from time to time some short notes concerning Indian inscriptions, which will be written in English for the sake of those native scholars who may be expected to take an interest in these matters.

“Having in the van of battle by his victory over hostile rulers in every direction gained Fortune that belonged to his own family, Vikramāditya, the unimpeded, attained the position of lord paramount”.

The verb *ji* is one of the verbs that govern a double accusative case, and when so used, is explained by *abhibhava-pūrvakam grahaṇam*. *Anivārīta*, which I have translated by ‘the unimpeded’, has all the appearance of being a *biruda* of the king’s; compare its occurrence in the names *Anivārīta-puṇyavallabha*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 360, and *Anivārīta-Dhanamjaya-puṇyavallabha*, *ibid.* Vol. V. p. 205, l. 76.

After the verse, the inscription has *api ca*, ‘moreover’, and then proceeds thus: —

V. 2. — Mr̥dita-Narasīhaṃ yaśasā vihite Mahendra-pratāpa-vilayena [!*

nayana-vijīteśvareṇa prabhuṇā śrī-vallabhena jītaḥ [!*

Here *Narasīhaṃ* and *vihite* are easily altered to *Narasīha* and *vihita*; but we require more changes. *Nayana* is not synonymous with *nīti*, and as it stands, the verse does not tell us who was conquered. Besides, as in each of the following verses we have a relative pronoun, correlated to the demonstrative *sa* which comes immediately after the verses, a relative pronoun in my opinion is required here also. I therefore would read and translate: —

Mr̥dita-Narasīha-yaśasā vihita-Mahendra-pratāpa-vilayena |
yena vijīteśvareṇa prabhuṇā śrīr-Vallabhena jītaḥ ||

“Having crushed the fame of Narasīha, having effected the destruction of Mahendra’s prowess, having defeated Īśvara, this lord, Vallabha (as he was), conquered Fortune”.

With regard to the alteration of *śrī* to *śrīr*, I would draw attention to the fact that in the photo-lithograph there is a faint mark over the *va* of *vallabhena* which may indicate the existence of the superscript *r* already in the original plate. The photo-lithograph of the Kurtakoṭi plates also appears distinctly to have a superscript *r* in the same place. For the rest, it suffices to mention that the Kurtakoṭi grant has *jīta* for the *jītaḥ* of the Haidarābād grant.

V. 3. — Kr̥ta-pallavamardda dakṣiṇadig-yuvatimattakāñcīkā [!*]
yo bhṛśam-abhirannāpi sutarā śrīvallabhatvam-
idaṃ [!*

The text is so full of mistakes that I give at once my own version: —

Kr̥ta-pallavāvamardo dakṣiṇadig-yuvatim-āṭṭa-kāñcīkaḥ |
yo bhṛśam-abhiramayann-api sutarāṃ Śrīvallabhatvam-
itaḥ ||

“Although, pressing her as a paramour, he gave great delight to the damsel ‘Southern Region’ whose girdle he had unfastened, he by doing so became in a higher degree even the favourite of Fortune”.

The verse furnishes an instance of the figure of speech called *virodha*, or ‘seeming contradiction’. In the preceding verse we have been told that the king gained Fortune. This verse tells us that he became even dearer to that lawful wife of his by amusing himself as a paramour (*pallava* = *veśyāpati*) with another young woman. The apparent inconsistency of this statement is removed by the other translation of the verse —

“Having crushed the Pallavas and taken possession of Kāñcī, and thereby giving great delight to the southern region, he in a higher degree even became the favourite of Fortune”.

The king was glorious before, but became more so by defeating the Pallavas and taking possession of their capital Kāñcīpura; and his conquest delighted the people of the south in the same way as the defeat of the Pallavas by Pulakeśin II. ‘caused great prosperity to the Coḷas, Keraḷas and Pāṇḍyas’ (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 11, verse 31).

Regarding one of my alterations of the original text, I may state that in the Kurtakoṭi grant, the text of which generally is even more corrupt, the verse ends with *itaḥ* instead of *idaṃ*.

V. 4. — Vahati svam-artthavanta Raṇarasika śrīmad-urubala-
skandha [!*

yo Rājamalla-śabda vihita-Mahāmalla-kula-pārājītasya [!*

In the Kurtakoṭi grant the last Pāda of this verse is *vihita-mahā-Pallava-kula-nāśaḥ*, which would be metrically impossible. Besides, *mahāmalla* would hardly have got into the text of the Haidarābād grant, if *mahā-Pallava* had been the original reading. *Mahāmalla* occurs, apparently as the name or *biruda* of a Pallava king¹⁾, perhaps of Narasīhavarman I., in line 2 of the Bādāmi fragmentary rock inscription published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 100; and the name survives in that of the village of *Māmalla*.

1) We have *birudas* of Pallava kings like *Satrumalla*.

*puram*¹⁾ which is famous for its Pallava remains. I am not absolutely confident about the true reading of the last word of the verse, but for the present I take the verse to be a Gīti, and read it thus: —

Vahati svam-arthavantam Raṇarasikaḥ śrīmad-urubala-
skandhaḥ |

yo Rājamalla-śabdama vihitā-Mahāmalla-kula-parājayataḥ ||

“He, Raṇarasika (‘the eager for war’), with splendid shoulders of great strength, bears his name Rājamalla (‘the wrestler of kings’) as a name full of meaning, because he has effected the defeat of the family of Mahāmalla (‘the great wrestler’)”.

My own objections to my reading of the verse would be that, at the end of the verse, instead of the Karmadhāraya compound in the ablative case, I should have preferred a Bahuvrihi in the nominative; and that it is somewhat difficult to account for the change of *parājayataḥ* to the actual reading of the plate, *parājitasya*. But about the correctness of the general meaning which I assign to the verse I have no doubt whatever. — Regarding *Raṇarasika*, as a *biruda* of Vikramāditya I., compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 12, v. 5, and p. 22, v. 2.

V. 5. — Dullagham-duṣkaravibheda-viśāla-sālā

durgādha-dustara-bṛhatparikhā-paritā [*]

agrāhi yena jayateśvarapotarāja

kāñcīva dakṣiṇa-diśā kṣitipena Kāñcī [**]

The proper reading of the verse of course would be: —

Durlagha-duṣkaravibheda-viśāla-sālā

durgādha-dustara-bṛhatparikhā-paritā |

agrāhi yena jayat-ēśvarapotarājam

kāñcīva dakṣiṇa-diśaḥ kṣitipena Kāñcī ||

“Defeating Īśvarapotarāja, this king took Kāñcī which is like a girdle of the southern region — Kāñcī, the extensive ramparts of which were difficult to be surmounted and difficult to be breached, and which was surrounded by a broad moat, difficult to be fathomed and difficult to be crossed”.

Īśvarapotarāja is the Pallava king Īśvara, already mentioned in verse 2. The Kaśākūḍi plates (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 73) call him Parameśvarapotavarman [I.], and the Kūram (*ibid.* Vol. I. No. 151) and Udayendiram (*ibid.* Vol. II. No. 74)

1) In the same way *Māvālī* occurs in inscriptions for *Mahāvālī*, and one or two similar instances could be quoted.

plates Parameśvaravarman [I.]. His father was Mahendravarman [II.] and his grandfather Narasiṃhavarman [I.], the Mahendra and Narasiṃha of verse 2.

Regarding these verses in general, it may perhaps be asked whether the state in which we actually find them would justify the suspicion that the plates might be a forgery. In my opinion this is not the case. Most of the mistakes committed by the writer or engraver are after all minor ones, and the ease with which the true reading of even the very corrupt verse 3 can be restored, tends to prove that the verses were taken from a correct copy of the grant. Whether the type of the characters would justify any suspicion is quite another question, that can be answered only when we are in possession of a really trustworthy facsimile of the plates.

2. — An unknown meaning of *ghaṭikā*.

The unpublished Tālgund inscription of the king Kākusthavarman relates that in the Kadamba family there was a Brāhman named Mayūraśarman, adorned with sacred knowledge, good disposition, purity, and other qualities. Concerning this personage, the inscription then, in verse 10, proceeds as follows: —

Yaḥ prayāya Pallavendra-purim

guruṇā samaṃ Virāśarmanā [**]

adhijigāmsuḥ-pravacanama nikhilama

ghaṭikāma viveś-āsu tat-pur[. . ?] ||

Possessing only an indifferent photograph of the inscription, I am not certain about the actual reading of the last syllable of this verse. It may be *ram* or — which practically would be the same — *raṃ*, or perhaps *re*. Leaving this point doubtful, I would translate thus: —

“Having set out for (or gone to) the town of the Pallava king with his preceptor Virāśarman, he, desirous of studying the whole scripture, quickly entered (either) his town (*tat-puram*) Ghaṭikā, (or) the *ghaṭikā* in his town (or) in that town (*tat-pure*)”.

The word *ghaṭikā* of the verse, therefore, must either be the name of a particular town, or denote a quarter or some establishment of a town — in this case, of Kāñcīpura, the capital of the Pallava kings — where Mayūraśarman would have been sure to attain the object of his journey, which was the study of the Veda. But according to the dictionaries *ghaṭikā* only means ‘a water-jar’, ‘a particular period of time (= 24 minutes)’, ‘the ghari

or Indian clock', and 'an ankle'. Had it been another name of the famous city of Kāñcīpura itself, the fact could hardly have remained unknown to us till now.

Searching for other passages where *ghaṭikā* might have been used in an hitherto unknown sense, I first came across a half-verse in lines 58 and 59 of the Kaśākūḍi plates (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 349), the actual reading of which is this: —

Deva-brāhmaṇa-sātkṛtātma-vibhāvo yaḥ kṣatra-cūlāmaṇi-
caturvaidyam-avivīdhan svasaṭikām bhūdevatām-bhaktitaḥ.

Here the editor, Dr. Hultzs ch, has already proposed the readings *vibhavo* and ^o*maṇiś-caturvaidyam-avivīśat*, about the correctness of which there can be no doubt. But going further than Dr. Hultzs ch¹⁾, I would read the whole half-verse thus: —

Deva-brāhmaṇa-sātkṛtātma-vibhavo yaḥ kṣatra-cūlāmaṇiś-
caturvaidyam-avivīśat sva-ghaṭikām bhūdevatā-bhaktitaḥ.

"Having given his wealth to gods and Brāhmaṇs, this crest-jewel of the Kṣatriyas (*viz.* the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman) in his devotion to the gods of the earth (*i. e.* to the Brāhmaṇs) caused the students of the four Vedas to enter into his *ghaṭikā*".

The king in his piety and munificence had given away all his wealth. What remained to him was only the *ghaṭikā* or 'water-jar' from which he had poured water into the hands of the donees, when making donations to them. Accordingly, when he could not bestow anything more, he made the students of the four Vedas enter into his *ghaṭikā*. Here it is clear at once that the word *ghaṭikā*, purposely chosen by the poet because it denotes the water-jar used at donations, at the same time must convey some other meaning. It must denote some edifice of the king's, or establishment founded by the king, where students of the Vedas were enabled to pursue their sacred vocation. And what immediately suggests itself is, that a *ghaṭikā* was such an establishment for holy and learned men as is so often mentioned in other inscriptions under the name *brahmapurī*.

With the above verse before us, it will not, I believe, be difficult to arrive at an agreement about the meaning of *ghaṭikā* in a similar verse, in lines 55 and 56 of the same inscription, which Dr. Hultzs ch (with some necessary corrections) reads and translates thus: —

1) For *svasaṭikām* Dr. Hultzs ch suggests *svavaśagām*, with a mark of interrogation.

Tasmād-ajāyata nijāyata-bāhudaṇḍa-
caṇḍāsanī ripu-kulasya Mahendravarmanā |
yasmāt-prabhṛty-alam-avarddhata dharmma-karmma
deva-dvijaṇma-viśayaṃ ghaṭikā ca dātuḥ ||

"From him was born Mahendravarman, whose long arms were fierce thunderbolts to the crowd of enemies, (*and*) beginning with whom, meritorious acts for the benefit of temples and Brāhmaṇs, and (*the use of*) the vessel of the donor have highly prospered".

What I would question in this translation is the necessity, or perhaps even permissibility, of the words put in brackets 'the use of'. The poet merely says that the king's *ghaṭikā* grew or prospered, and it is somewhat difficult to conceive how this could have been said of a water-jar. Besides, if *ghaṭikā* really meant here the water-jar used at donations and indirectly the latter, its presence would seem to be quite superfluous because the king's gifts to gods and Brāhmaṇs have been sufficiently mentioned in what precedes. I therefore arrive at the conclusion that *ghaṭikā* here also denotes such an establishment for holy and learned men as is spoken of in the other verse. That *ghaṭikā* did grow or prosper by the king's munificence.

In modern Kanarese the Sanskrit *ghaṭikā* is *ghaṭikē*. This word occurs as *ghaṭige* in line 8 of a Kāñcīpuram inscription published by Dr. Hultzs ch in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 360. There we are told that those who destroy the letters of the inscription and the stability of the king's charity shall enter the world of those 'who have killed the *Mahājanas* of the *ghaṭikā* of this village (*or town*)' where the inscription is (*ty-ūrā ghaṭigeyā mahājanaman-kondāra*). The *ghaṭikā* in this case is clearly stated to have been part of the village (*or town*), and since a most heinous sin is indicated by the curse pronounced, it must have been a residence or home of most holy men. According to Dr. Fleet (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 10, note 2) the *Mahājanas* were the collective body of the Brāhmaṇs of a village, and the *Mahājanas* of the *ghaṭikā* of a village therefore were a particular class or body of those Brāhmaṇs. Dr. Hultzs ch has suggested here for *ghaṭige* the meaning 'assembly'. This translation would come near to what I consider to be the true meaning of the word, but cannot be quite right because according to the Kaśākūḍi plates a *ghaṭikā* was something belonging to, or founded by, a king, a qualification that could hardly apply to 'an assembly' of men.

As the preceding passages all refer to the Pallava capital Kāñcīpura, it might be said that the word *ghaṭikā* denoted a particular quarter of, or establishment in, that city only; but such an inference would be unwarrantable.

Ghaṭikā occurs in another passage which at one time caused me some difficulty. In lines 13—15 of the Cikkulla plates of Vikramendravarman II. of the family of the Viṣṇukunḍins (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 196) we have, applied to Indrabhaṭṭāraka-varman, the two epithets —

yathāvidhi - viniryāpita - ghaṭik - āvāpta - puṇya - saṃcaṃyasya
satata - bhūmi - go - kanyā - hiraṇya - pradāna - pratilabdha - puṇyajīvit-
opabhogasya —

which, when editing the inscription, I translated by: 'who acquired a store of merit by emptying water-jars (at donations made) according to precept; who found a meritorious enjoyment of life in constantly bestowing land, cows, and gold, and giving girls in marriage'.

I confess, I always feel somewhat uncomfortable when, as has been done in this case, in translating I have to supply words which are not suggested readily by the wording of the original text; and in this instance I moreover have had to state in a note that *viniryāpita* appeared to be used in a sense for which I could not adduce any authority. Besides, here also we are met by the difficulty that, if *ghaṭikā* in the first epithet means 'water-jars', the two epithets practically convey one and the same meaning: both glorify the king for having made donations. On the other hand, the first epithet becomes really significant, and the word *viniryāpita* is used in a proper sense, and nothing need be supplied, as soon as in this case too we take *ghaṭikā* to denote an establishment or residence for men of holiness and learning: "he acquired a store of merit by devising, according to precept, establishments for men of learning". In the commentary on the *Bhāgavatapurāna*, IV. 3, 8, *niryāpita* is paraphrased by *pravartita*, and this, with my present translation, is the exact paraphrase of *viniryāpita* in the passage under discussion.

Nor is this all. In lines 38 and 39 of the Verāval (now Cintra) inscription of the Caulukya (Vāghelā) Sāraṅgadeva (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 284) we find the verse: —

Someśvarāyatana-maṇḍapam-uttareṇa
śribhāji jīrṇa-ghaṭikālaya-saṃnidhāne |

Śrīkaṃṭha-paṃcamukha-vāsam-adhiṣṭhitāni
yen-ākriyaṃta kṛtin-āyatanāni paṃca ||

Prof. Bühler, the editor of the inscription, has not translated this verse; but he has indicated the way in which he would have rendered the second line by the statement that the five temples founded were situated 'close to the splendid old water-clock (*ghaṭikālaya*)', and by the additional note that '*ghaṭikālaya* is the modern Gujarātī *ghaḍiāl*, the usual term for any kind of timepiece'. But in the original text the adjective *śribhāj*, translated by 'splendid', qualifies, not *ghaṭikālaya*, but the neighbourhood of the *ghaṭikālaya*, and I fail to see how an old water-clock could have conferred splendour or fortune on, or made auspicious or holy, the locality surrounding it. I therefore venture to assume that the word *ghaṭikā* here also has the meaning which I have claimed for it all along. *Ghaṭikālaya*, in my opinion, is a dwelling or asylum established for holy and learned men, and it is this fact that made its neighbourhood partake of auspiciousness or holiness.

The compound *ghaṭikālaya* leads me to draw attention to *Ghaṭikācala*, *Ghaṭikādri* and *Ghaṭikādhara*'), all meaning 'the *ghaṭikā*-mountain', and being Sanskrit names of a hill bearing a temple of Narasiṃha, in the neighbourhood of the town of Sholinghur in the North Arcot district. I feel strongly inclined to assume that this hill was so called from the fact that it was the site of a *ghaṭikā* or establishment for holy men, which, as is so often the case with a *brahmapurī*, was attached to the temple. However this may be, I have little doubt that the word *ghaṭikā*, as explained here, at any rate has given rise to the term *ghaṭika-sthāna**) which occurs in Kanarese inscriptions, e. g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 342, line 10 of the Kanarese text, and Vol. XIV. p. 19, lines 60 and 65, and which *ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. 25, has been translated by 'a religious centre'. On this point I would ask Kanarese scholars to express their opinions.

The last compound which I would mention here is *ghaṭikā-kṣetra*, which occurs in one of the Lakṣmeśvar inscriptions, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 106, line 59 of the text. That inscription records that a prince Durgasakti granted some land, and that

1) The names are given by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 221.

2) With *ghaṭika-sthāna* one may compare *brahma-sthāna* in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 22, 57, 63 and 70.

this land on the south was bounded by *ghaṭikā-kṣetra*, 'the field of the *ghaṭikā*'. Supposing my explanation of the word *ghaṭikā* to be correct, this term would imply that for the support of the occupants of such an establishment as in my opinion is denoted by the word *ghaṭikā* certain pieces of land or fields were assigned by its founder. Now this is just what we know to have actually been the case with the establishments called *brahmapurī* with which I have already compared the *ghaṭikās*. In the Haralahaḷli plates of the reign of the Devagiri-Yādava Siṅghaṇa (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. p. 386 ff.) we are told that Bīcirāya¹), in connection with the temple that he founded in honour of his father Cikkadeva, established a *brahmapurī* to the occupants of which he granted some land; and in line 90 of the inscription that land is called *brahmapurī-kṣetra*, which is the exact counterpart of the term *ghaṭikā-kṣetra* of the Lakṣmeśvar inscription.

Returning now to the verse of the Tālgund inscription which has occasioned this inquiry, I would maintain that the word *ghaṭikā* of that verse denotes an establishment founded at Kāñcīpura by some king for learned men, and that the word at the end of the verse ought to be *tat-pure*. Accordingly, I would translate the verse: —

"Having gone to the city of the Pallava king (*i. e.* to Kāñcīpura) with his preceptor Virāśarman, he, desirous of studying the whole scripture, quickly entered the *ghaṭikā* in that town".

3. — Purandara-nandana = Viṣṇu.

In *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 210, note 3, I had occasion to publish a short inscription of about the 8th century A. D., from Kālāñjar in Bundelkhand, North-Western Provinces. The first verse of that inscription runs thus: —

[Jayati] bhuvana-kāraṇam Svayambhur-
jjayati Purandara-nandano Murārira-
jjayati Girisutā-niruddha-deho

[du]rita-bhayāpaharo Haraś-ca devaḥ ||

I hear from Dr. Fleet that he has found the same verse, read in exactly the same way, also in a southern inscription. Omitting the second word of the second line, the translation would be: — "Victorious is the Self-existent (god Brahman who is) the cause of the world; victorious is Mura's foe (Viṣṇu); and victorious

1) My reading of the text differs from the published text of the inscription.

is the god Hara (Śiva) — whose body is entwined with (that of) the Mountain's daughter (Pārvati) — who taketh away the fear of evil".

The difficulty presented by the verse is, that in the second line the god Viṣṇu is described as *Purandara-nandana*. *Nandana* means 'a son', and *Purandara-nandana* therefore would be 'Purandara's (*i. e.* Indra's) son'; but the god Viṣṇu is known to us, not as the son of Indra, but as that god's younger brother. He is frequently called *Indrāmija*, 'the younger brother of Indra', and *Upendra*, a name which has the same meaning.

In order to show how the author of the verse may nevertheless have come to speak of Viṣṇu as *Purandara-nandana*, I venture to quote the following verse from the *Kirātārjunīya* (I. 24): —

Kathāprasāṅgena janair-udāhrtād-
anusmṛt-Ākhaṇḍalasūnu-vikramaḥ |
tavābhīdhānād-vyathate natānanaḥ
sa duḥsahān-mantrapadād-iv-oragaḥ ||

The verse is addressed to Yudhiṣṭhira to whom a spy describes the mental state of Duryodhana. The greater part of it has a double meaning. It may be translated thus: —

"When your name, which he bears with difficulty, is mentioned by people in conversation, he, with his face bent down, shakes with fear, remembering the valour of Ākhaṇḍala's (*i. e.* Indra's) son (Arjuna); just as a serpent is frightened when the spell with the names T[ārṣya] and V[āsuki] is recited by dexterous conjurers, remembering the ways of the bird of Ākhaṇḍala's (*i. e.* Indra's) younger brother (Viṣṇu)".

The word for which I quote the verse is *Ākhaṇḍala-sūnu*. Duryodhana remembers the valour of Indra's son Arjuna, the serpent the ways of its deadly enemy Garuḍa who is Viṣṇu's bird, being that god's vehicle. With respect to the serpent therefore *Ākhaṇḍala-sūnu* cannot mean 'Indra's son', but must have been used in the sense of 'Indra's younger brother'. The word *sūnu* must by Bhāravi have been employed both in the sense of 'a son' and in that of 'a younger brother'; and this is confirmed by the lexicographers. Mallinātha quotes from the *Viśva-kōṣa*: *sūnuḥ putre 'nuje ravau*, 'the word *sūnu* means a son, a younger brother, and the sun'; and the same statement is made by Hemacandra. With the question whether the Sanskrit word *ought* to mean 'a younger brother' we have nothing to do; it is sufficient

for us that a classical author does use the word in that sense.

The reader already perceives what I am aiming at. If a poet like Bhāravi could use *Ākhaṇḍala-sūnu* as a name of the god Viṣṇu, we cannot wonder that some petty poet should have employed its exact synonym, *Purandara-nandana*, in just the same sense.

4. — The amānta scheme of the lunar months and Harṣa's birth-day.

In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 272, I had occasion to state that the earliest epigraphic evidence for the use of the *amānta* scheme of the lunar months (*i. e.* that scheme according to which a lunar month begins and ends with the new-moon) is furnished by an inscription from Cambodia of Śaka-Saṃvat 548 = A. D. 626—27. In the southern part of India proper the earliest known date which proves the use of the *amānta* scheme is that of the Paiṭhāṇ plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govindarāja III. of Śaka-Saṃvat 716, corresponding to the 4th May A. D. 794 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 105). And in Northern India the earliest regular date of an inscription which proves the use of the same scheme is one of the dates in the large Sīyaḍoṇī inscription, of Vikrama-Saṃvat 994, corresponding to the 22nd April A. D. 938 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 181, No. 133). I now would draw attention to a date which appears to prove the use of the *amānta* scheme of the lunar months in Northern India, even before the time of the Cambodia date referred to above. It is no less a date than that of the birth of the great king Harṣa of Thānesar and Kanauj, whose reign commenced about A. D. 606.

According to Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, Bombay ed. p. 141, Harṣa was born *Jyeṣṭhāmūlīye māsi bahulāsu bahula-pakṣa-dvādāśyām*, "in the month Jyaiṣṭha, on the twelfth *tithi* of the dark half, (when the moon was) in (the *nakṣatra*) Bahulā, *i. e.* Kṛttikā".

This date does not admit of verification, but the statement that, on the 12th *tithi* of the dark half, the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Kṛttikā, proves beyond all doubt that the month Jyaiṣṭha in which Harṣa's birth is said to have taken place was the *amānta* month of that name, and could not possibly have been the *pūrṇimānta* Jyaiṣṭha. To show this by calculation would not be difficult; but it may suffice here to state that in nine native calendars for different years which I have inspected, the name of the *na-*

kṣatra Kṛttikā is nowhere placed opposite the 12th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Jyaiṣṭha, while everywhere it is found opposite the same *tithi* of the *amānta* month. And the calculation of individual dates yields the same result. In A. D. 605 the 12th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* Jyaiṣṭha ended about 10 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the 20th May, and on this day the moon by the Brahma-siddhānta was in Kṛttikā from about 2 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise. And in A. D. 604 the same *tithi* ended about 9 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise of the 31st May, when the moon was in Kṛttikā by the equal space system for 20 h. 21 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 8 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

In my opinion there is every reason to believe that Bāṇa has recorded the *data* regarding his patron's birth exactly as they were furnished to him; but even if such were not the case, the given *data* would prove that Bāṇa himself followed a calendar which gave the months in accordance with the *amānta* scheme.

5. — *Vikrama-kāla* in the Harṣacarita.

The admirable translation by Professor Cowell and Mr. Thomas of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* has made me consider anew the meaning of the term *vikrama-kāla* in a passage of Bāṇa's work to which I have already referred in my paper on the Vikrama Era, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 408. The passage occurs in the description of an aged general, and is given in the Bombay ed. p. 211, thus:—

dhavala-sthūla-guṅjāpiccha-pracchādita-kapolabhāga-bhāsvareṇa
vamaṇṇīva vikrama-kālam-akāle-pi vikāśi-kāśa-kānana-viśadaṃ
śarad-ārambhaṃ bhimena mukhena.

This the translators have rendered by —

"His terrible visage, brightened by a thick white moustache which hid his cheeks, seemed to pour forth an untimely war time in the shape of a commencing autumn white with blooming *Kāśa* groves".

In a note they have added that "there is perhaps a pun here, as the Sanskrit might mean 'an untimely Vikrama-era' commencing with autumn instead of the spring-month Caitra".

My own contention was that, instead of *vikrama-kālam-akāle-pi*, we ought to adopt the reading *vikramakāla-pītam-akāle-pi*; and that *vikrama-kāla* here meant war-time only, without any allusion to the technical meaning Vikrama-era which, in my opinion, was unknown to Bāṇa. — So far as I can see, the note of the Translators would tend to confirm rather than to

weaken, at any rate the second part of my contention. Since it is the year commencing with autumn that was from the beginning intimately connected with the Vikrama era, an expression such as 'an untimely Vikrama era', if it meant anything, would allude to a year commencing with the spring-month Caitra, an allusion that would be out of place here. And the translation itself would seem to suggest that in the text on which it is based *vikramakālam* is really redundant. The printed text, translated literally, would mean: "he seemed to pour forth, even out of season, the commencement of autumn . . . (which is) the time of war". But as Bāṇa's hearers undoubtedly knew that autumn is the proper time for war, it would seem unnecessary for him to tell them so.

Instead, however, of indulging in such speculations, I would rather draw the reader's attention to the manner in which Bāṇa uses the verb *vam* in some other passages. *Vam* is not a verb which an elegant writer would be likely to employ much in its literal sense of vomiting or spitting out; used in a figurative or metaphorical sense it is a favourite expression of Bāṇa's. In the *Harṣacarita*, p. 36, we read: *bahala-tāmbūla-kṛṣṇik-āndhakāriten-ādharasamputena mukhaśaṣi-pītam sa-saṃdhyārāgam timiram-iva vamantī*; "with her lips darkened by a deep black stain of betel, she seemed to pour forth the darkness of night mingled with the red colour of the twilight, which had been swallowed by her moon-like face". *Ibid.* p. 80: *sakala-nṛpati-mauli-mālāsṅv-atipītam¹) padmarāga-ratnātapam-iva vamantau*; his red feet "seemed to pour forth the rubies' radiance which they had drunk to excess on the rows of the diadems of all kings" (on which they had been placed). *Ibid.* p. 124: *śāstravraṇair-apy-amarṣa-svedacchalena-āneka-samara-pītam-asidhārā-jalam-iva vamaḍbhiv-avayavaiḥ*; "his limbs, albeit unwounded, seemed to pour forth, under the guise of a sweat of fury, the water of the sword-edge drunk by them in many a battle". *Ibid.* p. 79: *kāvya-kathāsṅv-apītam-amṛtam-udvamantam*; "in poetical contests he poured out a nectar of his own which he had not received from any foreign source". Lastly, I quote from Bāṇa's *Kadambārī*, p. 162 of the Nirṇaya-sāgar Press ed.: *anavarataparispurat-prothapuṭ-onmukta-sūtkāreṇ-atijav-apītam-anilam-iva nāsikāvivareṇ-odvamantam*; "by the snorts emitted from

1) In the published translation this passage is rendered differently, thus: 'they shed a very bright ruby-light on the crowded crests of the prostrate monarchs'. In the translation of some of the other passages I have adopted, as far as possible, the wording of the published translation.

its unceasingly quivering nostrils (the horse) seemed to pour forth through its nose the wind which it had drunk in its excessive speed".

Here then we have five passages from Bāṇa's works — I have not searched for more — where he uses *vam* in a metaphorical sense, in each case with the participle *pīta* as qualifying that which is poured forth. And it seems to me that in accordance with these passages we must adopt, in the passage under discussion also, the reading *vikramakāla-pītam-akāle-pi* (instead of *vikramakālam-akāle-pi*), the more so because it is only with this reading that the word *vikramakāla* becomes necessary and significant. "By his terrible visage which was brightened by a thick white moustache that hid his cheeks, he seemed to pour forth, even out of season, the commencement of autumn white with blooming *Kāśa* groves, which had been swallowed (by that visage) at war time". The time of war is autumn, and the visage therefore could have swallowed autumn only at war time; but the white moustache always covered the aged general's face, and that face accordingly seemed to pour forth autumn at all times, even when the season was not autumn. The words *akāle-pi* really qualify *vaman*; and to the Vikrama era there is no allusion whatever.

Additional note to page 346.

The Nausāri and Surat plates of the Gujarāt Calukya Yuvarāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 2, and *Vienna Or. Congress*, Arian section, p. 225) have each an epithet of Vikramāditya that contains the word *anivārīta*. The Nausāri plates, in line 8, describe the king as *anivārīta-pauruṣ-ākṛānta-Pallavānvaya*, "one who by his unimpeded might subdued the Pallava family"; and the Surat plates, in line 9, as *anivārīta-vīryya-vilāṅghit-ānyālaṅghy-āribhūpālabala*, "one who by his unimpeded valour conquered the forces of hostile kings, unconquerable by others".

Epigraphic Notes¹⁾.

By

F. Kielhorn.

Presented on 7th March 1903.

8. — A Kalacuri inscription from Kasiā²⁾.

This inscription is on a slab of black stone which in 1875 or 1876 was discovered by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle³⁾ near Kasiā, a village thirty-four miles east of the town of Gorākhpur in the Gorākhpur district of the United Provinces, and which is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. I have for some years been in possession of a rubbing of the inscription, which probably was made by Mr. Carlleyle; and several impressions of it have lately been sent to me by the Curator of the Lucknow Museum, with the request that I should give an account of the contents of the inscription.

According to the impressions, the inscription now contains 24 lines of writing which must have covered a space of about 2' 10" broad by 1' 2¹/₈" high; but a considerable part of the writing has disappeared through the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The first nine lines are fairly well preserved. In lines 10-18 a space about six inches long has become illegible at the end of the lines; and still greater portions of the writing have disappeared in the rest, so that *e. g.* of line 24 there remain only about six more or less illegible *akṣaras*. Judging from Mr. Car-

1) Continued from the *Nachrichten* for 1901, p. 528.

2) This place has been generally believed to be the ancient Kusinagara, Kusinārā, the scene of Buddha's death. But see now Dr. W. Hoey in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXIX. P. I. p. 74 ff., and Vol. LXX. P. I. p. 29 f.; and Mr. V. A. Smith's *The Remains near Kasia*, Allahabad, 1896.

3) See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVIII. p. 56.

lleyle's rubbing, there was more writing below line 24; but this has become quite illegible, and it is impossible to say how much of the original inscription may have been lost. — The size of the letters is between ³/₈" and ¹/₂". The characters are Nāgarī of about the 11th or 12th century A. D. The language is Sanskrit. Both the writer and the engraver have done their work carefully, so that what remains of the text is generally correct.

With the exception of the words *om namo Rudrāya | namo Vu(bu)ddhāya* |¹⁾ at the commencement of line 1, this record is entirely in verse. In lines 1-23 there are altogether 29 verses (or fragments of verses), the metres of which, together with the line of the inscription in which each verse ends (or would have ended), are as follows:—

- Verse 1. Sragdharā, line 2.
- V. 2. Śārdūlavikrīḍita, line 3.
- V. 3. Śārdūlavikrīḍita, line 4.
- V. 4. Vaṃśastha, line 5.
- V. 5. Mandākrāntā, line 6.
- V. 6. Śārdūlavikrīḍita, line 7.
- V. 7. Sragdharā, line 8.
- V. 8. Vasantatilakā, line 9.
- V. 9. Vasantatilakā, line 9.
- V. 10. Śārdūlavikrīḍita, line 10.
- V. 11. Vasantatilakā, line 11.
- V. 12. Śārdūlavikrīḍita, line 12.
- V. 13. Mandākrāntā, line 13.
- V. 14. Mandākrāntā, line 14.
- V. 15. Sragdharā, line 15.
- V. 16. Vasantatilakā, line 15.
- V. 17. Mandākrāntā, line 16.
- V. 18. Śikharinī, line 17.
- V. 19. Vasantatilakā, line 17.
- V. 20. Vasantatilakā, line 18.
- V. 21. Āryā, line 18.
- V. 22. Āryā, line 19.
- V. 23. Āryā, line 19.
- V. 24. Vasantatilakā, line 20.
- V. 25. Vasantatilakā, line 20.

1) According to Mr. Carlleyle the words would be "*Om namo Buddhāya, namo Buddhāya bhikshune*"; but this is incorrect. What has been read as '*bhikshune*', is really *gajjyotiḥ*, and is the commencement of verse 1.

- V. 26. Āryā (?), line 21.
 V. 27. Vasantatilakā, line 21.
 V. 28. Vamśastha (?), line 22.
 V. 29. Sragdharā, line 23.

As regards the contents — so far as the fragmentary state of the text enables me to give them — verses 1-5 glorify, and invoke the protection of, the god Śiva (Śaṃkara, verses 1 and 2), the Buddhist Tārā Trilokeśvarī (v. 3), and Buddha himself (Tathāgata, v. 4, and Munīndra, v. 5).

Verses 6-12 then give the following genealogy¹⁾ of mythical and legendary beings, commencing with the god Viṣṇu and ending with Kārtavīrya: Viṣṇu; Brahman (v. 6); Atri; the Moon (v. 7); Budha (v. 8); Purūravas and Urvaśī (v. 9); Āyus, Naghuṣa, Yayāti, his five sons Yadu etc., Yadu's son Sahasrada, Haihaya (v. 10); in his family, Kārtavīrya (vv. 11 and 12).

The remaining verses treat of a line of kings or chiefs who were born in the Kalacuri family (*Kalacuri-kule*) which had arisen in Kārtavīrya's race (*vamśa*). The names of one or two of them have apparently not been preserved; those which can be read with certainty are: Śaṃkaragaṇa (v. 13); his son Nannarāja (v. 14); his (?) son Lakṣmaṇa [I.] (v. 16); his (?) son Śivarāja [I.] (v. 18); his son Bhīmaṭa [I.] (v. 19); his (?) son Rājaputra (v. 20); his son Śivarāja [II.] (v. 21); a king whose name is illegible (v. 22); his wife Bhūdā²⁾ (v. 23); her son Lakṣmaṇarāja [II.] (v. 24); his wife, or the wife of a king whose name is illegible, Kāñcanā (v. 26); her son Bhīmaṭa [II.] (v. 27). — So far as I can see, the only specific fact recorded of any of these kings is, that Lakṣmaṇa I., after having occupied a certain fort the name of which is not apparent, also got possession of a mountainous place named Śaivaya, which is described as the sum total of the earth and the residence of (the legendary) Śivi Auśīnara (*aviśya durggam | paścād-īśaḥ śikhari-ṣaṃmam Śaivay-akhyam sa bheje kṣmā-sarvasvam tad-api hi Śiveḥ sthānam-Auśīnaryā* || v. 17).

What the exact object of the inscription may have been, it is impossible to say. For the present, the chief interest of this fragmentary record lies in the invocation of Buddha in the introductory part of it, and in the fact that we are made acquainted here with a new branch of the Kalacuri family,

1) Compare the mythical genealogies in other Kalacuri inscriptions, e. g. in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 5, and Vol. VII. p. 86.

2) This name is quite clear in the impressions, and is not *Bhudrā*.

a family whose presence in the Gorākhpur district had already become known to us through the Kahla plate of the Kalacuri Soḍhadeva¹⁾. — The place Śaivaya mentioned above is probably the Seweya of the maps, a few miles south or south-east of Kasiā.

The inscription, so far as I can see, furnishes no reason for identifying Kasiā with Kuśinagara.

9. — *Jyeṣṭha-pitr* and the Genealogy of the Kadambas.

The Bīrūr plates, published by Mr. Rice in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. p. 91, No. 162, record a grant by the Kadamba *Dharmamahārāja* Viṣṇuvarman who was the eldest son of the *āsvamedha-yājīn*, the *Dharmamahārāja* Kṛṣṇavarman, and was making this grant with the permission of his *jyeṣṭha-pitr*, the *Dharmamahārāja* Śāntivaravarmān. The word *jyeṣṭha-pitr* has been translated by Mr. Rice by 'grandfather', and in conformity with this interpretation Śāntivaravarmān (Śāntivarman), in the genealogical Table of the Kadamba chiefs given on page 4 of the Introduction of Mr. Rice's book, is put down as the father of Kṛṣṇavarman and grandfather of Viṣṇuvarman.

Irrespectively of this, Mr. Rice's Table contains two slight errors. According to the Table Kākusthavarman was a son of Raghu who was the son of Bhagīratha; verse 27 of the Tālgund pillar inscription calls him the brother (*bhrāta*) of Raghu and son of Bhagīratha (*Bhāgīrathi*). Moreover, in the Table Mṛgeśavarman is put down as a younger son of Śāntivarman; according to the Halsī plates of both Mṛgeśavarman himself (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 24) and of his son Ravivarman (*ibid.* p. 28), Mṛgeśavarman was the eldest son (*jyeṣṭha-tanaya*, *jyeṣṭha-sūnu*) of Śāntivarman²⁾.

But Mr. Rice's Table is mainly vitiated by the meaning which he has assigned to the word *jyeṣṭha-pitr* of the Bīrūr plates. This word does not mean 'a grandfather'. It is synonymous with *jyeṣṭha-tāta*, 'a father's eldest brother'³⁾, and is used in this sense

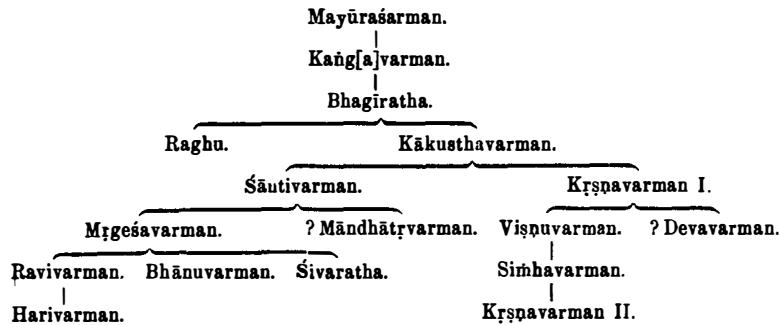
1) See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 86 ff. The Kahla plate also contains the names Śaṃkaragaṇa, Lakṣmaṇarāja, Śivarāja and Rājaputra, but the kings denoted by them are different from those of the present inscription.

2) Compare also the Kadamba pedigree in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 289.

3) See the *Vaijayantī*, Prof. Oppert's ed., p. 175, l. 63: *jyeṣṭha-tātaḥ pitṛ-jyeṣṭhaḥ kṣulla-tāto 'nujāḥ pituḥ*. Similarly, in Kanarese, *doḷḷappa*, lit. 'big-father', denotes 'a father's elder brother', and *cikkappa*, lit. 'little-father', 'a father's younger brother'.

Egl. Ges. d. Wiss. Nachrichten. Philolog.-histor. Klasse 1906. Heft 2.

in the Miraj plates of the W. Cālukya Jayasimha II. Jagadekamalla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 17 a, l. 4), where it is stated that Vikramāditya [V.], the son of Daśavarman who was the younger brother of Satyāśraya (Irivabeḍaṅga), ruled the earth after his *jyeṣṭha-pitr*, i. e. his father's eldest brother Satyāśraya¹). According to the Bīrūr plates, therefore, Śāntivarman was not the grandfather of Viṣṇuvarman, but the eldest brother of Viṣṇuvarman's father Kṛṣṇavarman, and the genealogy of the Kadamba chiefs would therefore stand thus: —



What I am not sure about in this Table is, whether I have correctly placed Mādhātṛvarman and Devavarman. Mṛgeśavarman was an eldest son, and Mādhātṛvarman may have been his younger brother²); but there is nothing to prove this with certainty. Devavarman, who is described as the son of a Kṛṣṇavarman, in my opinion more probably was a son of Kṛṣṇavarman I. (and younger brother of Viṣṇuvarman who was an eldest son) than of Kṛṣṇavarman II.³), but of this, again, we have no definite proof. It is also not absolutely certain that Śivaratha was a younger brother of Bhānuvarman. Of the three brothers, Bhānuvarman is described as the younger brother of Ravivarman, Śivaratha as the paternal uncle of Harivarman.

In the above I have assumed that the Bīrūr plates, for the discovery of which we are indebted to Mr. Rice, are a genuine document; but the writing on them, as exhibited in the published facsimile, would seem to render this somewhat doubtful, and I should not like to express a definite opinion on this point until I might have had the chance of examining a facsimile of the in-

1) Compare also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 19, and Vol. XVIII. p. 272.

2) Compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 18.

3) Compare *ibid.* p. 17.

scription, which is prepared without any manipulation. By the discovery of a large number of important records Mr. Rice has rendered great services to Indian epigraphy, and our obligation to him is not diminished by the fact that of the texts published under his superintendence many are only rough transcripts. But it seems a pity that the facsimiles given in his volumes apparently are not facsimiles in the true sense of the word, such as would alone have aided a critical study of the original texts¹). Much against my will I am forced to say this by Mr. Rice's own remarks in the note on page 1 of the Introduction of *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V. He there points to the facsimile of the Bannahalli plates given opposite to page 184 of the same volume as one which "shows the characters without any manipulation". What can be the possible meaning of this statement of Mr. Rice's, the reader may judge for himself by comparing with his facsimile the photo-lithograph of the same inscription in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. pp. 18-19. I would only say that Mr. Rice may comment on the characters of an inscription in any way he thinks proper, but that he should not make the photographer eliminate what he himself regards as "no part of the letters consciously so formed", while others would consider it a distinctive feature of the characters.

10. — The Jarta conquered the Hūṇas.

In *Wiener Ztschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* Vol. XIII. p. 313 Prof. Liebich has given from a Nāgarī copy of the Candra-Vṛtti the passage *ajayaj-Japto Hūṇān*. For reasons which need not be stated here, he believes that the writer of this passage has mistaken an original *dgu* in the Ms. from which he was copying for *ija*, and that therefore we ought to read *ajayud-Gupto Hūṇān*, 'Gupta conquered the Hūṇas'. A recent remark of Prof. Pischel's²) on this conjecture has led me to look through my extracts from Hemacandra's grammar, made many years ago, with the following result.

In V, 2, 4 of his grammar Hemacandra gives the general rule for the employment of the Aorist (Adyatani), which corresponds

1) The same remark applies to other 'facsimiles' which during the last ten years have been published at Calcutta and Bombay. Owing to the trouble which the photographer has taken with them, they are very clean pictures, but on that very account all but useless, and the money spent on their preparation has been wasted.

2) See *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1903, p. 80.

to Pāṇini III, 2, 110: the Aorist denotes past time. In V, 2, 7, which corresponds to P. III, 2, 111, he teaches that the Imperfect (Hyastanī) denotes past time preceding the current day; and in V, 2, 12, corresponding to P. III, 2, 115, that the Perfect (Parokṣā) is used of events preceding the current day which were not witnessed by the speaker.

As the two later rules would leave for the Aorist only past time of the current day, Hemacandra in V, 2, 5 sums up certain remarks of Kātyāyana's on P. III, 2, 110 and 111, in a special rule of his own which, with the commentary on it, runs thus:—

Viśeṣāvivaṅśā-vyāmiśre || anadyatanādi-viśeṣasy-āvivaṅśāyāṃ vyāmiśraṇe ca sati bhūte 'rtbe vartamānād-dhātor-adyatanī vibhaktir-bhavati | agamāma ghoṣān | apāma payaḥ | ajaiṣṭj-Jarto Hūṇān | Rāmo vanam-agamat | sato 'py: atra viśeṣasy-āvivaṅśā yathā anudarā kanyā alomik-aḍak-eti | vyāmiśre | adya byo v-ābhukṣmahi || viśeṣāvivaṅś-eti kim | agacchāma ghoṣān | apibāma payaḥ | ajayaj-Jarto Hūṇān | Rāmo vanam jagāma || hyastanyādi-viśaye 'py-adyatany-arthaṃ vacanam ||

The general meaning of this is that, instead of the Imperfect or Perfect, the Aorist is used of events which really *have* preceded the current day, but regarding which the speaker does not wish to specify that they have done so; and that it is besides used of events which have taken place on the current day *and* before it. My reason for giving the rule is solely to draw attention to the examples *ajaiṣṭj-Jarto Hūṇān* and *ajayaj-Jarto Hūṇān*, the reading of which is absolutely clear and certain in the two excellent MSS. which I have compared¹⁾.

That Hemacandra has taken these examples from the Cāndra grammar is very probable, and I feel sure that in accordance with them, in the Candra-Vṛtti also, instead of *ajayaj-Jarto Hūṇān* we must read *ajayaj-Jarto²⁾ Hūṇān*.

The word *Jarta*, denoting a particular people and their king, occurs again in Hemacandra VI, 1, 120: Śakādibhyo drer-lup || Śaka ityevamādibhyaḥ parasya dreḥ pratyayasya lub-bhavati |

1) In a MS. of Guṇaratnasūtri's *Kriyāratnasamuccaya* I have found Hemacandra's examples corruptly written thus: *ājaiṣṭj-jaitro 'yam Hūṇān* and *ajayaj-jaitro Hūṇān*. — The *Kriyāratnasamuccaya* is an extensive elementary work on conjugation, based on Hemacandra's grammar. An introductory chapter contains Hemacandra's rules on the use of the tenses and moods, with explanations and illustrations in both Sanskrit and Prākṛit.

2) Or *Jartto*, as native copyists would generally write the word, and as it is written in the MSS. of Hemacandra's grammar.

Śakānām rāja Śakasy-āpatyaṃ vā Śakaḥ | Yavanaḥ Jartaḥ Kambojaḥ Colaḥ Keralaḥ || It is similarly found in the *Ġanaratnamahodadhi*, v. 201, in the *Ġaṇa Kambojādi* which corresponds to Hemacandra's *Śakādi*. Moreover, in Hemacandra's *Unādivivṛti*, 200, we have *jartaḥ prajananam rājā ca*, '*jarta* (signifies) the generative organ and a king'¹⁾; and in his Prākṛit grammar II, 30 he gives, as an example for the change of *rt* to *ṭ*, *jaṭto*, equivalent to the Sanskrit *jarta*. Lastly, I find *jarta* put down in Candra's *Unādi* II, 52, where it is explained by *dirgharoma*, 'long-haired; a bear?' — I have not met the word elsewhere, and can only suggest that it may perhaps be the Sanskrit original of the well-known tribal names *Jaṭṭa*, *Jāṭ* of the Indian vernaculars.

I also do not know what historical event is referred to in the statement *ajayaj-Jarto Hūṇān*, 'the Jarta conquered the Hūṇas'; but it may not be out of place here to remind the reader of the frequency with which the tribe or people of the Hūṇas and their kings are mentioned as contemporaries in the Indian inscriptions of the Middle Ages. To give a few examples, the Kharḍa plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kakkarāja II. Amoghavarṣa of A. D. 972 mention Kakkarāja's battles with the lord (or lords) of the Hūṇas (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, l. 32); the Paramāra Utpala (Muṅja) took away the life of the Hūṇas (*ibid.* Vol. XVI. p. 23, l. 41); his younger brother Sindhurāja conquered the king of the Hūṇas (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 235, v. 16); the Pāla Devapāla humbled the pride of the Hūṇas (*ibid.* Vol. II. p. 163, v. 13); the Kākatīya Ġaṇapati was waited upon by the Hūṇa and other kings (*ibid.* Vol. V. p. 149); and the Kalacuri Karṇa, whose copper-plate is dated in A. D. 1042, married the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevi (*ibid.* Vol. II. p. 304). — Whether these later Hūṇas could possibly be referred to in the above passage would depend on the other question whether the Candra-Vṛtti is really by Candra himself or is the work of a later writer.

11. — *Aggala* = *argala* = *adhika*.

In Prof. Pischel's *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa*, p. 8 (341, 2) we find the word *aggalaṅṅi*, which the commentator paraphrases by *adhika*, and which Prof. Pischel, no doubt correctly, derives from the Sanskrit *agṛa* (*aggalaṅṅi* = **agralakam*). The word suggests the correct interpretation of the dates of two inscriptions edited by me.

1) I. e., probably, a particular king.

In the first place, *aggala* is used in the sense of *adhika* in the date of the Ghaṭayāla inscription of the Pratihāra Kakkuka which is written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭri; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1895, p. 518, l. 16: *varisasaesu a navasum aṭṭhārasa-m-aggalesu = varṣa-śateṣu ca navasu aṣṭādāśādhikeṣu*.

What is more interesting, we find the same word, wrongly Sanskritized, as *argala*, in the date of the Kaṇaswa inscription of Śivagaṇa; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 59, l. 15: *samvatsara-śatair-yātaiḥ sapamcanavaty-arggalaiḥ saptabhir-Mmūlaveśānam*, where *sapamcanavaty-arggalaiḥ = sapamcanavaty-adhikaiḥ*.

When editing the Kaṇaswa inscription, I already drew attention to the fact that *argala* is also used, as a synonym of *adhika*, in a Sanskrit date in Prof. Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, App. p. 9 (*dvyargala-catvarimśat-samadhika-vatsarasahasra = dvyadhika-ca*^o).

12. — A verse of the Khālimpur Plate of Dharmapāla.

In his valuable paper on the Cambay plates of Govinda IV. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 31, has treated of verse 12 of the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāla which was edited by me *ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 247 ff. My text of that verse, about the actual reading of which there is no doubt, and translation were: —

Bhojair-Matsyaiḥ sa-Madraiḥ Kuru-Yadu-Yavan-Āvanti-Gandhāra-
Kīrair-

bhūpair-vyālola-mauli-praṇati-pariṇataiḥ sādhu saṅgīryamaṇaḥ |
hr̥ṣyat-Pañcāla-vṛddh-oddhṛta-kanakamaya-svābhiṣek-odakumbho
dattaḥ śrī-Kanyakubja(bja)s-sa-lalitacalita-bhrūlatā-lakṣma
yena ||

“With a sign of his gracefully moved eye-brows he (*i. e.* Dharmapāla) installed the illustrious king of Kanyakubja, who readily was accepted by the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kīra kings, bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling, and for whom his own golden coronation jar was lifted up by the delighted elders of Pañcāla.”

In translating the word *dattaḥ* by ‘installed’, I wished to express that, in my opinion, Dharmapāla had been requested, probably by the Pañcālas, to permit the installation of the king of Kanyakubja, and that in accordance with the request that king was given to them by Dharmapāla as sovereign.

To Mr. Bhandarkar it is evident that the commencement of the last line of the verse should be corrected to

dattaḥ śrī-Kanyakubjāya lalita^o,

a reading at which he arrives by the following reasoning:—

‘Since we have *dattaḥ* in the nominative case, — that which is given, or in this particular case *abhiṣek-odakumbhaḥ*, which is in the nominative case, must go with *dattaḥ*. Further, the person to whom something is given must be in the dative case; but we have no such dative in the verse, and moreover the nominative *śrī-Kanyakubja* remains unconnected. The sense, however, requires that *śrī-Kanyakubja* should be considered the person to whom the coronation pitcher was given. Evidently, therefore, *śrī-Kanyakubjaḥ* requires to be corrected into *śrī-Kanyakubjāya*, even at the risk of the break of the *caesura*. With this emendation, the verse yields the following sense: — “With a sign of his eyebrows gracefully moved, he made over to the illustrious king of Kanyakubja his own golden water-pitcher of coronation, lifted up by the delighted elders of Pañcāla, and acquiesced in by the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kīra kings, bent down while bowing with their heads trembling.” What the verse means is, that Dharmapāla earned for himself the sovereignty of Pañcāla, and was consequently entitled to the coronation as king of Pañcāla, which was approved of by the neighbouring rulers, such as Bhoja, Matsya and other kings; but he declined it and assented instead to the installation of the king of Kanyakubja’.

I do not think that Mr. Bhandarkar's alteration of the verse will find favour with many Sanskrit scholars. A conjecture which involves a transgression of one of the ordinary rules of metrics can never be convincing. Besides, I do not see how *latitacalitabhrūlatā-lakṣma* should convey the sense of ‘with a sign of his eyebrows gracefully moved’¹, or how ‘the water-pitcher of coronation’ (which surely is not the coronation itself) could be described as ‘acquiesced in’ or ‘approved of’ by the neighbouring rulers? Moreover, it appears to me that the compound in the third line of the verse would more naturally be taken as a Bahuvrīhi than as a Karmadhāraya.

However this may be, I am obliged to Mr. Bhandarkar for having again drawn my attention to the verse. On re-examining

1) The above meaning, so far as I can see, would have been denoted by *latitacalitabhrūlatam* (compare *e. g.* *calitakabhru* in *Śiṣup.* XVI. 16) or by ^o*bhrūlatālakṣmaṇā*, which is equivalent to *salalitacalitabhrūlatālakṣma*.

it, I find that every difficulty vanishes if we simply place the sign of *visarga*, which stands before *śrī*, after that word, so that the last line of the verse would read —

datta-śrīḥ Kanyakubjas¹⁾-sa-lalitacalita-bhrūlatā-lakṣma yena ||
i. e. "with a sign of his gracefully moved eye-brows he granted the fortune (of sovereignty) to the king of Kanyakubja".

Compounds like *datta-śrīḥ* (= *dattā śrīr-yasmai*) are quite common²⁾, and the word *śrī* is frequently used in the sense of *rājyalakṣmī*³⁾. The clause *datta-śrīḥ Kanyakubjaḥ yena* is equivalent to *dattā śrīḥ Kanyakubjāyu yena*, and these words again would correspond to the words *yena* [*Mahodaya*]-*śrīḥ dattā Cakrāyudhāya* in the verse⁴⁾ of the Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla which relates to the same historical event that is recorded in the verse under discussion. In my opinion, it is highly probable that this verse was known to the author of the *prasasti* of the Bhāgalpur grant.

13. — A verse of Bāṇa's known to the author of a Pallava inscription from Amarāvati.

In the second of the introductory verses of the *Kādambarī*, Bāṇa glorifies the god Tryambaka (Śiva) thus: --

Jayanti Bāṇāsura-mauli-lālītā
Daśāsya-cūḍāmaṇi-cakra-cumbinaḥ |
surāsura-dhīśa-śikhānta-śāyino
bhavacchidas-Tryambaka-pāda-pāṃsavaḥ ||

"Glorious is the dust of the feet of Tryambaka which puts an end to⁵⁾ mundane existence — (that dust) which was cherished by the head of the Asura Bāṇa, which kissed the circle of the crest-jewels of the Ten-headed (Rāvaṇa), and lies on the crests of the lords of gods and demons."

A Pallava inscription from Amarāvati, published by Dr. Hultzsch in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 26 f., begins with a verse invoking the blessing of Śrīghana (Buddha), the actual reading of which is: —

1) In my notes on the text I have already stated that, instead of *Kanyakubjas*, one would have expected *Kānyakubjas*.

2) Compare e. g. *Meghadūta*, v. 32, *bhavana-śikhībhir-datta-nṛttopahārah*; v. 60, *Śambhunā datta-hastā*.

3) *Śrī* is paraphrased by *rājya-lakṣmī* e. g. by Mallinātha on *Raghuvamśa*, III. 36; XII. 2; 104; etc.

4) See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 187.

5) I. e. 'which frees people from'.

Śriyaṃ varāṃ vaś-ciram-ādiśantu te
bhavadviṣa[h*] Śrīghana-pāda-pāṃsavaḥ [|*]
surāsura-dhīśa-śikhāmaṇi-tviṣām-
anāntarayye vilasanti saṃcaye ||

In the last line of this verse, instead of the meaningless *anāntarayye*, Dr. Hultzsch reads *anantaraṃ ye*. My translation, which differs slightly from Dr. Hultzsch's, would be: —

"May the dust of the feet of Śrīghana, which is hostile to mundane existence, grant to you for long choicest bliss — (that dust) which closely glitters in the collection of the rays of the crest-jewels of the lords of gods and demons!"

In my opinion, the second and third Pādas of this verse are an adaptation of the fourth and third Pādas of Bāṇa's verse, and the Amarāvati inscription therefore could not have been composed before the middle of the 7th century A. D.

Epigraphic Notes.¹⁾

By

F. Kielhorn.

Presented on 19th May 1906.

19. — Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalāta of the [Vikrama] year 682; and the age of the poet Māgha.

Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Rājputāna again has kindly sent me impressions of a number of inscriptions which have lately been found in Rājputāna and Central India. So far as I can judge at present, the most important of them is one of the reign of a king Varmalāta, dated in the [Vikrama] year 682. When Mr. Ojha first informed me of the discovery of this inscription, by a letter of the 24th December 1905, he suggested that it would perhaps 'settle the date of the poet Māgha'. My subsequent examination having confirmed this view, I hasten to give a short account of the contents of the inscription, reserving the publication of the full text, for which the materials at hand are not quite sufficient, for another occasion.

The stone which bears this record was recently found near a temple of Dēvi (Durgā), on a hill in the proximity of Vasantgaḍh in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, and is now, I understand, at the town of Sirohi. It contains 16 lines of generally well preserved writing which covers a space of about 1' 1³/₄" long by 1' high. The characters, which are well engraved, are practically identical with those of the Udaipur inscription of the Guhila Aparājita of the [Vikrama] year 718, edited by me with a facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 29 ff. As in the inscription of Aparājita, we here, too, find the tridented form of the letter *y*, and

1) Continued from the *Nachrichten* for 1905, p. 471.

a separate sign for *b*. We also have the signs of the *jihvāmūṛya* and *upadhmanīya*, and special forms of final *k*, *t* and *n*, which do not occur in the other inscription. The language is Sanskrit, not always grammatically correct. Lines 1—12, after the words *om namah*, contain 12 verses in the Anushtubh, Rathōddhatā, Śardūlavikrīḍita, Sragdharā and Āryā metres; lines 13—16 seem to be throughout in prose, but the impressions of these four lines are not clear enough to allow me to speak with absolute confidence.

The inscription opens with two verses invoking the blessings of the goddess Durgā, who in verse 2 is called Kshēmakarī. The text then, in verse 3, proceeds thus: —

Jayati jayalakshmalakshita-vakshasthala-saṁśrita-śriy-
ādhāraḥ¹⁾ [*]

śrī-Varmmalāta²⁾-nripatiḥ-patir-avanēr-adhika-balaviryyaḥ ||

"Victorious is the king, the glorious Varmalāta, the holder of (the goddess of) Fortune who clings to his breast marked with the marks of victory, a lord of the earth of excessive might."

There is no indication here as to which family Varmalāta belonged to; and similarly verse 4, which also is devoted to his glorification, merely records, in general terms of double meaning, that he ruled the various kings in the manner of a sorcerer (*narēndra*)³⁾.

According to verse 5, Varmalāta had a subordinate or feudatory named Vajrabhāta Satyāśraya, able to guard 'the son of Himavat', *i. e.* the well-known mountain Arbuda⁴⁾ (the modern Abū). And his son, again, according to verses 6 and 7, was the chief (*nripa*) Rājijila, who by his generosity to Brāhmanas and others constantly at Vaṭa⁵⁾ 'played the part of the god of riches' (Vaiśravaṇa, *i. e.* Kubēra). During the rule of this

1) Incorrect for *-śry-ādhāraḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.

2) The *va* of *Varmmalāta* is quite distinct, so that the name cannot possibly be read *Charmmalāta*.

3) Compare *Śśūpālavadha* II. 88; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 60, note 49.

4) Compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 234, verse 5.

5) *Vaṭa* may be identical with Vasantgaḍh in the proximity of which the inscription was found, or may be a place very near it. It is mentioned several times, as *Vaṭapura* and *Vaṭanagara*, in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pūrapāla (of A. D. 1042), No. 64 of my *Northern List*. And the name *Vaṭanagara*, denoting apparently the same place, also occurs in an earlier unpublished inscription which was found at the village of Sāmoli in the Bhomaṭa district of Mēvād, and of which Mr. Ojha has sent me impressions. I regret that no good map of the Sirohi State is accessible to me.

chief (*rajan*) the *gōshṭhi*¹⁾ of the place at Vaṭākarasthāna²⁾ founded the temple of the goddess (Durgā) at which the inscription was engraved, entrusting the actual building of it to Satyadēva³⁾, the son of Pitāmaha, who by birth was a merchant. The time when this was done is recorded in verse 11, in the following terms: —

Dviraśīty-adhikē kālē shanṇām varshaśat-ōttarē [*]
jaganmātuḥ . . .⁴⁾ s[thā]nam sthāpitaṁ gōshṭh[i]-puṅgavaiḥ ||

The wording of the first half of this verse is curiously ungrammatical; but there can be no doubt whatever that the year intended is 682, and that this year must be referred to the Vikrama era and corresponds therefore roughly to A. D. 625.

According to verse 12, the eulogy here presented to us (*iyaṁ pūrvā*)⁵⁾ was composed by the Brāhmaṇ Dhūrtarāśi, the son of Divākara, and engraved by Nāgamaṇḍin. — Lines 13—16 contain a number of names which probably denote the individual members of the *gōshṭhī* by which the temple was founded⁶⁾; unfortunately the impressions at my disposal have not enabled me to make out the full text of these lines.

The value of this inscription chiefly consists in this, that it is of the reign of a king Varmalāta, who apparently was a ruler of some importance, and that for this king it furnishes an absolutely certain date in the Vikrama year 682. The name Varmalāta has not been found in any other epigraphic record, but is not altogether unknown to us. According to the concluding verses of the *Śiśupalavadha* Māgha⁷⁾, the author of that poem, was the son of Dattaka Sarvāśraya, the son of Suprabhadēva. This Suprabhadēva is stated by the poet to have been minister of a king whose name the published editions give as either *Dharmanābhū* or *Varmalāhīya* (Varmala), while the manuscripts of the

1) Compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 309, note 5.

2) This seems to be another name of *Vaṭa*, *Vaṭanagara*.

3) He is described as the *kārīpaka*; the same term occurs in the Kaṇaswa inscription, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 59, l. 15.

4) Two syllables are illegible here in the impressions. I would suggest *surasthānam*.

5) Compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 32, line 11 of the text and note 4.

6) The last words in line 16 seem to be *śvamēśhā gōshṭhī kārīpaya[tāmi?]*.

7) For the following compare especially the papers of Prof. Jacobi and the late Dr. Klatt in *WZKM.* Vol. III. p. 121 ff., and Vol. IV. p. 61 ff. and 236 ff. According to Prof. Jacobi Māgha must be placed in the middle of the 6th century A. D., according to Dr. Klatt at the end of the 9th century.

poem for these names yield the additional readings *Dharmalāta*, *Dharmalābha*, *Dharmanātha*, *Dharmadēva*, *Varmalāta*, *Varmanāma*, *Charmalāta* and *Nirmalānta*. Now that we have the name *Varmalāta* clearly engraved in a contemporaneous inscription, it becomes at once clear that of all the forms of the name in the manuscripts of the *Śiśupalavadha* only *Varmalāta* is the correct one, and it is easy to see how this unusual name should have given rise to the various forms employed by writers in different parts of India. It appears to me, moreover, reasonable to assume that the king Varmalāta of our inscription is the very king of whom Māgha's grandfather Suprabhadēva was minister. We have seen above that Varmalāta's feudatory Vajrabhaṭa Satyāśraya is described as guardian of the mountain Ābū, which must have belonged to the king's dominion; and Māgha is reported to have been an inhabitant of the town of Śrīmāla (Bhinmāl), which is only about 40 miles north-west of Ābū. The Varmalāta of the inscription may actually have been at the time the ruler of Śrīmāla¹⁾; however this may be, there can be no doubt that both he and Māgha belong to exactly the same part of India. And since the date furnished for the former corresponds to about A. D. 625, the inevitable conclusion in my opinion is, that Māgha, the grandson of a minister of his, must be placed in about the second half of the 7th century A. D.

1) It is well known that in the Śaka year 550 = A. D. 628 Śrīmāla was ruled by the Chāpa king Vyāghramukha.

BIJOLI ROCK INSCRIPTION: THE UTTAMA-ŚIKHARA-PURĀṆA.

In the neighbourhood of Bijoli (Bijaoli, Bijolia, Bijholi), a town in the Udaipur State of Rājputāna, forty-eight miles north-east of Chitorgaḍh and thirty-two miles west of Kotah, there are two large Sanskrit rock-inscriptions. One of them, of the Vikrama year 1226 and the reign of the Chāhamāna Sōmēśvara, has been roughly edited in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. lv, part 1, p. 40 ff. (No. 154 of my *Northern List*). To the other (unpublished) inscription Colonel Tod, in his "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan," vol. ii, p. 744, has given the title *Sankh Pūran*, at the same time informing us that it appertains to the Jaina creed, while according to the Progress Report of the Archæol. Survey of Western India for the year ending 30th June, 1905, p. 52, the inscription "is a Jaina poem entitled *Ummata śikhara Purāna*." Moreover, in the Annual Progress Report of the Archæol. Survey Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June, 1893, p. 21, the same inscription has been called a *praśasti*, and stated to give "a long list of the spiritual heads of the *Kharatara gachchha*." All these statements are more or less incorrect.

The inscription (which consists of forty-two lines of writing, covering a space of about 15' 2" long by 4' 9½" high) is a *kathā* in verse, entitled *Uttama-śikhara-purāṇa*. This poem was composed by Siddhasūri, and consists of five *svargas* (!), with a total of 294 verses. It was engraved on the rock in the Vikrama year 1232. The title, everywhere clearly engraved and well preserved, occurs in the following five passages:—

Line 5, after verse 33: iti Siddhasūri-rachita Uttama-sikharapurāṇē prathamahaḥ svarggaḥ.

Line 10, after verse 74: iti Siddhasūri-virach[i]ta Uttama-sikharapurāṇē dvitīyahaḥ svarggaḥ.

Line 23, after verse 160: iti Siddhasūri-virachitaḥ Uttama-sikharapurāṇē tṛitīya-s[v]arggaḥ.

Line 37, after verse 261: iti Siddhasūri-virachitaḥ Uttama-sikharapurāṇē chaturthaḥ svarggaḥ.

Line 42, after verse 294: iti Siddhasūri-virachita Uttama-sikharapurāṇē pañchama-svarggaḥ.

This *Uttama-śikhara-purāṇa* is sure to exist somewhere or other in manuscript, and I write this note to draw attention to the poem, and to urge scholars in India to search for it in Jaina libraries. To edit the text solely from the inscription would be a very troublesome task, because the writing on the rock in several places has been more or less effaced.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

TWO VERSES FROM INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

In the Bagumrā plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Indrarāja III (No. 86 of my *Southern List*) this king is eulogized in the verse—

Kṛita-Gōvarddhanōddhāraṁ hēlōnmūlita-Mēruṇā |
Upēndraṁ = Indrarājēna jivā yēna na vismitam ||

“Indrarāja did not boast, even though by uprooting with ease Mēru he had surpassed Upēndra (i.e. the god Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu), who (merely) lifted up (the mountain) Gōvardhana.”

The question here is, who that Mēru was that was uprooted by Indrarāja. An answer, in my opinion, is suggested by a passage in the Cambay plates of Gōvindarāja IV (ibid., No. 91), according to which Indrarāja completely uprooted his enemy's city Mahōdaya (*Mahōdayārinagara*), i.e. the well-known town of Kanauj.

According to the Purāṇas,¹ Mahōdayā is one of the towns on the fabulous mountain Mēru. The writer of the *praśasti* therefore, purposely confounding the terrestrial Mahōdaya with that mythical town, tells the reader that the king uprooted (the mountain) Mēru, and he leaves it to him to guess that, in accordance with the maxim *tātsthyāt tāchchhabāyam*, Mēru stands here for Mahōdayā, and that this is not the celestial town so named, but the terrestrial Mahōdaya.

In a Mount Ābū inscription, re-edited by Professor Lüders in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 208 ff., the Paramāra Dhāravarsha of Chandrāvati is eulogized in two verses, vv. 36 and 37.

¹ Cf. e.g. *Vāyu-purāna*, xxxiv, 90.

In the first of them it is said that, when Dhāravarsha firmly held his ground on the battlefield, the ladies of the lord of Kauṅkaṇa shed tears from their lotus-eyes. The other verse is—

Sō = yaṁ punar = Dāśarathiḥ pṛithivyām =
avyāhataujāḥ sphuṭam = ujjagāma |
Mārīcha-vairād = iva yō = dhunāpi
mṛigavyam = avyagra-matiḥ karōti ||

“In him there clearly has again appeared here on earth the son of Daśaratha, of unrepelled strength, who, from enmity to Mārīcha¹ as it were, even now is pursuing the chase (*mṛigavya*) with an eager mind.”

When I first read the two verses together, it appeared strange to me that the poet, after glorifying the king for his invincibility in battle, should have eulogized him as a sportsman; and the epithet ‘of unrepelled strength’ seemed to me little appropriate. A lucky coincidence now enables me to show that there is more in the verse than appears at first sight.

In an unpublished fragmentary inscription on Mount Ābū there occurs the verse—

Dhāravarshas = tat-sutaḥ prāpa lakshmiriṁ
lipta-kshōṇiḥ sōṇitaiḥ Kuṅkaṇēndōḥ |
sarvatrāpi svaiś = charitraiḥ pavitrair =
labdhā ślāghā Rāghavēṇēva yēna ||

“His (i.e. Yaśōdhavala's) son Dhāravarsha secured fortune, having smeared the earth with the blood of the moon of Kuṅkaṇa; he who, like the Rāghava, everywhere obtained fame by his pure conduct.”

Here ‘the moon of Kuṅkaṇa,’ with whose blood Dhāravarsha smeared the earth, clearly was a Kōṅkaṇa king named Sōma; in fact, he most probably was the Śīlāra Sōmēśvara

¹ Mārīcha was the demon who in the shape of a golden deer enticed Rāma to pursue him and thus to leave Sitā unprotected.

of the Northern Kōṅkaṇa of whom we have an inscription of A.D. 1259. And so the verse in my opinion at the same time reveals the hidden meaning of the verse quoted from the other inscription.

The moon (*sōma*) is *mṛiga-dhara*, 'the deer-holder,' *mṛigāṅika*, 'deer-marked,' etc.; the spot in it is a deer (*mṛiga*). The poet again has purposely confounded *sōma*, 'the moon,' with the king Sōma; and instead of telling us that Dhāravarsha pursued the king Sōma, he represents him as engaged in chasing the deer (*mṛigavya*). By this deer, however, he wishes us to understand, not the ordinary deer, but the deer in the moon (*sōma*), and leaves us to guess that *mṛiga* is put instead of *sōma*, denoting, not the luminary, but 'the moon of Kōṅkaṇa,' the Kōṅkaṇa king Sōmēśvara.

More than once I have asked myself whether these interpretations are not too artificial. They may seem to be so to a European of the twentieth century. But the poets wrote for their own people and their own contemporaries, who were well acquainted with the exploits of their kings. To them a hint would be as good as a plain statement of fact; and scholars as the readers of *praśastis* must have been, they in my opinion would have preferred the former, so long as the poet succeeded in rousing in them that feeling which the Hindu aptly denotes by the word *chamatkāra*.

Göttingen.

F. KIELHORN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE INITIAL POINT OF THE CHĒDI OR KULACHURI ERA.

Göttingen: Nov. 25, 1887.

In the Central Provinces of India there are found a large number of inscriptions which have reference to the Chēdi rulers of Tripuri, Ratnapur, and other places. A few of them have been edited by Dr. F. E. Hall; a list of the Ratnapur inscriptions was given as early as 1825, by Mr. (afterwards Sir) R. Jenkins; and the contents of most of them have been referred to in the volumes of the *Archaeological Survey of India*. Many are dated in years sometimes called Chēdi-samvat, or Kulachuri-samvatsara, which, on historical and palaeographical grounds, cannot be referred to the Vikrama, or to the Śaka Era; and it was Dr. Hall who first suggested that they should be referred to an unknown era, the initial point of which must be sought somewhere near the middle of the third century (A.D.). Afterwards, Sir A. Cunningham stated that the dates of these inscriptions referred "to a period close to A.D. 249 as the initial point of the Kulachuri, or Chēdi, Samvat"; and the same scholar subsequently, in his *Indian Eras*, felt satisfied that A.D. 249 = 0, and 250 = 1, is "the true starting-point of the Chēdi era."

Having prepared for publication editions of several of the Ratnapur inscriptions, I have for some time suspected the conclusion, thus arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham, to be slightly erroneous. At present, an examination of all the years from A.D. 201 to A.D. 255, by means of excellent tables, which have been constructed by Prof. Jacobi, of Kiel, and placed at my disposal before publication, enables me to state with confidence that the only equation which yields correct weekdays for the ten known Chēdi inscriptions in which the weekday is mentioned, is

A.D. 248 = 0, AND A.D. 249 = CHĒDI-SAMVAT 1.

Starting from this equation, I have obtained the following results:

1. A Benares copper-plate inscription, according to the *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. ix., p. 82, is dated: Samvat 793 Phālguna ba. di. 9 Sōmē, i.e. on a Monday. The corresponding English date is Monday, January 18, 1042.

2. The Ratnapur inscription of Jājalladēva is dated: Samvat 866 Mārga su. di. 9 Ravau, i.e.

on a Sunday. The corresponding English date is Sunday, November 8, 1114.

3. The Rājim inscription of Jagapāta is dated: Kulachurisamvatsarē 896 Māghē masi sukla-pakṣhī rathishamyaṁ Budha-dinē, i.e. on a Wednesday. The corresponding English date is Wednesday, January 3, 1143.

4. The Saurāṅgīyan inscription, according to Sir A. Cunningham, is dated: 898 Asvina su. di. 2, on a Monday. The corresponding English date is Monday, September 9, 1146.

5. The Bhera Ghāt inscription of Alhanadēvi is dated: Samvat 907 Mārga su. di. 11 Ravau, i.e. on a Sunday. The corresponding English date is Sunday, November 9, 1155.

6. Another Bhera Ghāt inscription, according to Sir A. Cunningham, is dated: 928 Māgha ba. di. 10, on a Monday. The corresponding English date is Monday, December 27, 1170.

7. A Sahaspur inscription, according to the *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. xvii., p. 43, is dated: Samvat 934 Kīrtika su. di. 15 Budhē, i.e. on a Wednesday. The corresponding English date is Wednesday, October 13, 1182.

While in the preceding inscriptions the figure for the year denotes the current year, in the following the figure for the year denotes, as so often is the case in Indian inscriptions, the years elapsed:

8. A Tēwār inscription, according to Sir A. Cunningham, is dated: 902 Ashādha su. di. 1, on a Sunday. The corresponding English date is Sunday, June 17, 1151.

9. The Bharhut inscription, according to the *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. ix., p. 94, is dated: Samvat 909 Śrāvana su. di. 5 Budhē, i.e. on a Wednesday. The corresponding English date is Wednesday, July 2, 1158.

10. The Tēwār inscription of Narasiṁbadēva is dated: 928 Śrāvana su. di. 6 Ravau Hastē, i.e. on a Sunday, the moon being in the asterism *Hasta*. The corresponding English date is Sunday, July 3, 1177, on which day the moon was in the asterism *Hasta*, as required.

In conclusion, I would only add that the calculation of the dates under (1) and (3) proves the Chēdi year to have been an ordinary northern year, i.e. a year in which the dark fortnight precedes the bright fortnight of the month.

F. KIELHORN.

THE CHÈDI ERA.

Göttingen: Dec. 18, 1837.

Since writing my letter of November 28, published in the ACADEMY of December 10, I have calculated the necessary new and full moons for the ten dates mentioned, also by the *Tables for calculating the Phases of the Moon*, published by P. Lehmann at Berlin in 1882, and I have found the results given by me confirmed in nine dates out of the ten. With regard to No. 5, the Bhîra Ghât inscription of Albanadevi, however, I find that I have not sufficiently taken into account the longitude and latitude of the place where the record is found. But this one exception rather proves the general result arrived at to be correct. For, taking 907 to be the number of years elapsed (as in the case of the inscriptions 8, 9, and 10), Mârgha su. di. 11 comes out to be November 25, 1156, which was a Sunday, as required. And this result, again, is confirmed by the circumstance that there was a new moon (and a solar eclipse) about two hours before sunrise of November 15, *i. e.*, on November 14, 1156 (November 14 + 11 = November 25).

F. KIELHORN.

THE CHÈDI ERA.

Göttingen: Jan. 2, 1838.

To few other books am I indebted for so much valuable information regarding the history of the Indian middle-ages, and there are none to which I have to refer so often, as to Sir A. Cunningham's *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*; and I have not overlooked the Besâni inscription in vol. xxi., p. 102, to which the author has kindly drawn my attention in the ACADEMY of December 31. I, too, am of opinion that the date of that inscription is recorded in the Chêdi Era, the epoch of which I consider to be A.D. 248; for, taking the figure 958 to denote the number of years elapsed, the corresponding year is A.D. 1207, in which the month Ashâdha was intercalary, as stated by General Cunningham.

The Initial Point of the Chêdi Era.

By

F. Kielhorn.

In the Central Provinces of India there are found a large number of inscriptions, which have reference to the Chêdi rulers of Tripurî, Ratnapur, and other places. A few of them have been edited by Dr. F. E. Hall¹⁾; a list of the Ratnapur inscriptions was given as early as 1825, by Mr. (afterwards Sir) R. Jenkins²⁾; and the contents of most of them have been referred to in the volumes of the *Archaeological Survey of India*. Many are dated in

1) *Journal, As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. XXX, p. 323; XXXI, p. 116; *Journal, American Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI, p. 499; p. 512.

2) *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 505.

Nachrichten von der K. G. d. W. zu Göttingen. 1838. Nr. 3.

years, sometimes called Chêdi-samvat, or Kulachuri-samvatsara, which, on historical and palaeographical grounds, cannot be referred to the Vikrama-, or to the S'aka-Era; and it was Dr. Hall who first suggested¹⁾ that they should be referred to an unknown era, the initial point of which must be sought somewhere near the middle of the third century A.D. Afterwards, Sir A. Cunningham stated²⁾ that the dates of these inscriptions referred „to a period close to A.D. 249 as the initial point of the Kulachuri, or Chêdi, Samvat“; and the same scholar subsequently, in his *Indian Eras*, felt satisfied that A.D. 249 = 0, and 250 = 1, is „the true starting-point of the Chêdi era“.

Having prepared for publication editions of several of the Ratnapur inscriptions, I have for some time suspected the conclusion, thus arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham, to be slightly erroneous. At present, an examination of all the years from A.D. 201 to A.D. 280, by means of excellent tables, which have been constructed by Prof. Jacobi, of Kiel, and placed at my disposal before publication, enables me to state with confidence that the only equation which yields correct weekdays for those Chêdi inscriptions in which the weekday is mentioned, is

$$\text{A.D. 248} = 0, \text{ AND A.D. 249} = \text{CHÈDI-SAMVAT 1.}$$

Starting from this equation, I have obtained the following results:

1. A Ratnapur inscription of Jâjalladêva I, of which a good rubbing has been supplied to me by Dr. Burgess, is dated — Samvat 866 Mârgha su. di. 9 Ravau, *i. e.*, 'the year 866, the 9th of the bright half of the month Mârghasîras, on a Sunday'. The corresponding date is Sunday, November 8, 1114. On that day, at sunrise, the 9th Tithi of the bright half was current, and it ended 19^h 54^m after mean sunrise. [Calculated by Paul Lehmann's *Tables for calculating the phases of the moon*, there was a new-moon, at Lankâ, on October 30, 1114, about 3 P.M.].

2. The Râjîm inscription of Jagapâla, of which a good rubbing has been supplied to me by Mr. Fleet, is dated — Kulachurisamvatsarê 896 Mâghê mâsi sukrapakshê rathâshṭamyâm Budhadinê, *i. e.*, 'in the Kulachuri year 896, on the eighth lunar day (called rathâshṭamî) in the bright half in the month Mâgha, on a Wednesday'. The corresponding date is Wednesday, January 3, 1145. On that day, at sunrise, the 8th Tithi of the bright half

1) *Journal, American Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI, p. 501.

2) *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX, p. 112 etc.

was current, and it ended 10^h 59^m after mean sunrise. [According to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, there was a solar eclipse, and consequently, a new-moon, on December 26, 1144, 6^h 59^m Greenwich time, or at Lanîâ, about noon].

3. A Sahaspur inscription, according to the photozincograph published in *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. XVII, plate XXII, is dated — Sainvat 934 Kârttika su. di. 15 Budhê, *i. e.*, 'the year 934, the 15th of the bright half of the month Kârttika, on a *Wednesday*'. The corresponding date is *Wednesday*, October 13, 1182. On that day, at sunrise, the 15th Tithi of the bright half was current, and it ended 13^h 57^m after mean sunrise. [Calculated by P. Lehmann's *Tables*, there was a full-moon, at Lanîâ, on October 13, 1182, in the evening].

4. A Sêôrinârâyan inscription, according to Sir R. Jenkins, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, page 505, is dated 'Samvat 898, Ashwin Shudh Saptami'; according to *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX, page 86, 'in the Kulachuri Samvat in the year 898, Aswin sudi some'; and page 111, '898 Aswina sudi 7, Monday'. A photozincograph in *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII, plate XXII, gives only part of the date, thus: 'Kalachurih saimvatsarê 898'; and Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Indian Eras*, page 61, states that 'a fresh examination has shown' the date to be 'Âsvina su. di. 2' (and not 'Âsvina su. di. 7'). I therefore take the date to be 'Kulachurisamvatsarê 898 Âsvina su. di. 2 Sômê', *i. e.*, 'in the Kulachuri year 898, the 2nd of the bright half of the month Âsvina, on a *Monday*'. The corresponding date is *Monday*, September 9, 1146. On that day, at sunrise, the 2nd Tithi of the bright half was current, and it ended 21^h 54^m after mean sunrise. [Calculated by P. Lehmann's *Tables*, there was a new-moon, at Lanîâ, about 2 hours before sunrise of September 8, *i. e.* on September 7, 1146].

5. Regarding the date of the Benares copper-plate inscription of Karîadêva, which was first brought to public notice by Wilford, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, page 108, Sir A. Cunningham, in *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX, page 82, writes as follows:

„The copper-plates, which were lost for a long time, were re-discovered about 1862, when, through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, Principal of the Benares College, I received a carefully made impression of the inscriptions, with a translation by one of the pupils of the College. During my stay in England, I made over to Professor Hall both the impression and the translation, and I have now with me only a few of my own notes to

refer to. From these I am able to state that the record was dated in „*Samvat 793 Phâlgun badi 9 Some*“, which were the last words on the plate. *This date was quite distinct, and it was not possible to read the figures ७९३ in any other way.*“

It is true that the same scholar, in order to obtain the proper week-day, in his *Indian Eras*, page 61, has come to the conclusion that he may perhaps have misread 793 for 792; but (disregarding the fact, that 792 *elapsed* would after all be 793 *current*) I believe that any one obliged to choose would certainly accept Sir A. Cunningham's first statement, and reject his subsequent conjecture. And assuming the plate to have really been dated Samvat 793 Phâlguna ba. di. 9 Sômê, *i. e.*, 'the year 793, the 9th of the dark half of the month Phâlguna, on a *Monday*', the corresponding date is *Monday*, January 18, 1042. On that day, at sunrise, the 9th Tithi of the dark half was current, and it ended 17^h 9^m after mean sunrise. [According to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, there was a lunar eclipse, and consequently, a full-moon, on January 9, 1042, 4^h 10^m Greenwich time, or at Lanîâ, about 9 A. M.].

6. According to Sir A. Cunningham, *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX, page 111, and *Indian Eras*, page 61, a Bhêra-Ghât inscription is dated '928, Mâgha ba. di. 10, *Monday*'. I confess that I have no means whatever of verifying this statement, but supposing it to be correct, the corresponding date would be *Monday*, December 27, 1176. On that day, at sunrise, the 10th Tithi of the dark half was current, and it ended 13^h 40^m after mean sunrise. [Calculated by P. Lehmann's *Tables*, there was a full-moon, at Bhêra-Ghât, about 2 A. M. of December 18, *i. e.* on December 17, 1176].

While in the preceding inscriptions the figure for the year denotes the *current* year, in the following the figure for the year should be taken to denote the years *elapsed*:

7. The Bhêra-Ghât inscription of Alhâna dêvî, which has been edited by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Journal, American Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI, page 499, and of which we have a photozincograph in *Archaeol. Survey of Western India*, No. X, page 107, is dated — Samvat 907 Mârgga su. di. 11 Ravau, *i. e.*, 'the year 907, the 11th of the bright half of the month Mârgasîras, on a *Sunday*'. The corresponding date is *Sunday*, November 25, 1156. On that day, at sunrise, the 11th Tithi of the bright half was current, and it ended 1^h 54^m after mean sunrise. [According to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, there was a solar eclipse, and consequently,

a new-moon, on November 14, 1156, 22^h 32^m Greenwich time, or, at Lañkâ, 3^h 35^m A. M. of November 15, *i. e.*, on November 14].

8. The Lâl-Pahâr rock inscription of Narasiñhadêva, according to the rough photozincograph published in the *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX, plate II, is dated — Samvat 909 S'râvaṇa su. di. 5 Budhê, *i. e.*, 'the year 909, the 5th of the bright half of the month S'râvaṇa, on a *Wednesday*'. The corresponding date is *Wednesday*, July 2, 1158. On that day, at sunrise, the 5th Tithi of the bright half was current, and it ended 16^h 26^m after mean sunrise. In A. D. 1158 the solar month S'râvaṇa lasted from about sunset of June 26 to about sunrise of July 28, and it contained two new-moons, one on June 27, 19^h 8^m after sunrise, and the other on July 27, 4^h 53^m after sunrise. The year therefore contained two lunar months S'râvaṇa, and July 2 was su. di. 5 of the *adhika* S'râvaṇa; su. di. 5 of the *nija* S'râvaṇa would have been Friday, August 1. [Calculated by P. Lehmann's *Tables*, there was a new-moon, at Lañkâ, shortly after midnight on June 28, *i. e.* on June 27, 1158].

9. The Têwâr inscription of Jayasiñhadêva, which has been edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, in the *Journal, American Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI, page 512, and of which we have a rough photozincograph in *Archaeol. Survey of Western India*, No. X, page 110, is dated — Samvat 928 S'râvaṇa su. di. 6 Ravau Hastê, *i. e.*, 'the year 928, the 6th of the bright half of the month S'râvaṇa, on a *Sunday, the moon being in the asterism Hasta*'. The corresponding date is *Sunday*, July 3, 1177. On that day, at sunrise, the 6th Tithi of the bright half was current, and it ended 7^h 39^m after mean sunrise. In A. D. 1177 the solar month S'râvaṇa lasted from about 2^h before sunrise of June 27 to about 3^h before sunset of July 28, and it contained two new-moons, one on June 27, 18^h 34^m after sunrise, and the other on July 27, 1^h 51^m after sunrise. This year too, therefore, contained two lunar months S'râvaṇa, and July 3 was su. di. 6 of the *adhika* S'râvaṇa, and on that day the moon was in the asterism *Hasta*. Su. di. 6 of the *nija* S'râvaṇa would have been Monday, August 1, when the moon was (not in *Hasta*, but) in Jyêshthâ. [Calculated by P. Lehmann's *Tables*, there was a new-moon, at Lañkâ, about 1 A. M. on June 28, *i. e.* on June 27, 1177].

10. A Têwâr inscription, according to Sir A. Cunningham, *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX, page 111, and *Indian Eras*, page 61, is dated — 902, Âshâḍha su. di. 1, *Sunday*, a statement, about which I am somewhat doubtful and which, at any rate, I am unable to verify. Supposing it to be correct, the corresponding

date would be *Sunday*, June 17, 1151. On that day, at sunrise, the first Tithi of the bright half was current, and it ended 2^h after mean sunrise. [Calculated by P. Lehmann's *Tables*, there was a new-moon, at Lañkâ, shortly before noon on June 16, 1151].

To the dates given under 6) and 10) I at present attach, for the reasons stated, very little value. Of the other dates, two have been taken from good impressions, four from photozincographs, and for the remaining two we have the somewhat emphatic statements of Sir A. Cunningham, the correctness of which I see no reason to doubt. And, if my calculations be at all correct, it is a fact, that of all the years from A. D. 201 to 280, only the year 248, taken as the initial point of the Chêdi era, yields correct week-days for every one of these eight dates, and at the same time places the moon in the asterism mentioned in one of these dates. Whether there are *historical* reasons for which the beginning of the Chêdi era should be placed *before* A. D. 201 or *after* A. D. 280, others will be more competent to say than I am; but I may mention one or two facts, which render either alternative extremely improbable, I may say, impossible.

From an Alha-Ghât inscription, of which we have a photolithograph in *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI, plate XXVIII, we learn that Narasiñhadêva was reigning in [Vikrama-]Samvat 1216 = A. D. 1159. The same Narasiñhadêva (together with his younger brother Jayasiñhadêva) is mentioned, as reigning prince, in Alhanadêvi's inscription of [Chêdi-]Samvat 907. Supposing, then, the Chêdi era to have commenced *e. g.* in or before A. D. 200, Narasiñhadêva would have reigned in or before A. D. 907 + 200 = 1107, *i. e.*, already at least 52 years before A. D. 1159, the year in which we know him to have reigned.

Again, from a Rêwa copperplate inscription which is mentioned in *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI, page 146, and of which I owe an impression to Mr. Fleet, we know that Vijayadêva was reigning in [Vikrama-]Samvat 1253 = A. D. 1197. And from a Têwâr inscription we learn that his father, Jayasiñhadêva, was reigning in [Chêdi-]Samvat 928. If, then, the Chêdi era had commenced as late as *e. g.* A. D. 270, not to mention A. D. 280, Jayasiñhadêva would have reigned in or after A. D. 928 + 270 = 1198, *i. e.*, *after* his own son, which clearly is impossible. On the other hand, starting from A. D. 248, we obtain for the three princes mentioned the following dates, which may speak for themselves:

Narasimhadêva, Chêdi-s. 1) 907+248 = A.D. 1155.

Chêdi-s. 2) 909+248 = A.D. 1157.

Vikrama-s. 3) 1216-57 = A.D. 1159.

His younger brother Jayasimhadêva, Chêdi-s. 4) 926+248 = A.D. 1174.

Chêdi-s. 5) 928+248 = A.D. 1176.

His son Vijayasimhadêva, Chêdi-s. 6) 932+248 = A.D. 1180.

Vikrama-s. 7) 1253-57 = A.D. 1196.

Narasimhadêva's father and predecessor was Gayakarṇadêva. That prince issued the Jabalpur copperplate grant, of which one plate, containing the date, unfortunately has now been lost, but regarding the contents of which we know from a transcript that Gayakarṇa made a grant of a certain village, „having bathed in the Narmadâ at the time of the Makara-saṁkrânti, on Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Mâgha in the year x x x “. Supposing Narasimhadêva to have reigned in 907 + 248, i. e., as I have shown above, A.D. 1156, the Makarasamkrânti must have taken place on a Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Mâgha, in some year before, but at such a distance from, A.D. 1156, as would suit the relation to each other of father and son. And it is again a fact that the year, which fulfils these conditions, is A.D. 1122. For in that year, the tenth of the waning moon of Mâgha, by the northern reckoning, fell on December 25, which was a Monday, and in the same year the Makarasamkrânti took place shortly before sunrise of, or, for practical purposes, on, Monday, December 25, as required. I may add that on that day the 10th Tithi of the dark half was current, and that it ended 9^h 43^m after mean sunrise.

In *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI, plate XXVII, Sir A. Cunningham has given a photolithograph of an inscription from Bêsâni, the date of which he reads „Saṁvat 958 prathama Âshâḍha su. di. 3“, and from the characters of which he concludes that the era used must be that of Kulachuri or Chêdi. The meaning of the date is ‘the year 958, the third of the bright half of the first month Âshâḍha’, which shows that in the year mentioned Âshâḍha was an intercalary month. If our equation A.D.

1) Alhaṇadêvi's inscription.

2) Lâl-Pahâr rock inscription.

3) Alha-Ghât inscription.

4) Réwa copperplate inscription, *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI, p. 145.

5) Têwâr inscription.

6) Kumbhi copperplate inscription, *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. XXXI, p. 116.

7) Réwa copperplate inscription, *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI, p. 146.

248 = 0 or A.D. 249 = Chêdi-Saṁvat 1 be correct, the month Âshâḍha must have been intercalary in either A.D. 1206 or A.D. 1207, according as the figure 958 of the inscription denotes the current year or the number of years elapsed. And Âshâḍha was intercalary in A.D. 1207. For in that year the solar month Âshâḍha lasted from May 26, about 1^h 40^m after sunset, to June 27, about 4^h after sunrise, and during that time there were two new-moons, one on May 28, 9^h 30^m after mean sunrise, and the other on June 26, 23^h 41^m after mean sunrise.

Three other inscriptions, the dates of which have been referred to the Chêdi era, are mentioned in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, page 77.

Of these, the Ilâô grant, which has been edited by Mr. Fleet, *ib.* page 115, is dated — S'akanripakâlâtita-saṁvatsarasâta-chatusṭayê saptadaśâdhikê Jyêshthâmâvâsyâ-sûryagrâhê, i. e., according to Mr. Fleet's translation, ‘in (the year) four hundred, increased by seventeen, of the centuries of years that have elapsed from the time of the S'aka king, at (the time of) an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of (the month) Jyêshṭha’. Assuming, for reasons which it is unnecessary to mention here, the date to have been recorded in the Chêdi era, and taking that era to commence in A.D. 248, the year corresponding to 417 would be A.D. 665. In that year, the new-moon day of the month Jyâishṭha fell on April 21, and on that day, according to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, there was a solar eclipse, 3^h 57^m Greenwich time, or, at Lankâ, at 9 A.M.

The Nausâri grant, which has been edited by Dr. Bhagvânâl Indraji, *ib.* page 70, is dated — 456 (expressed in numerical symbols), Mâgha-śuddha-pañchadaśyâm chandrôparâgê, i. e. ‘on the 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month Mâgha, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon’, on a day of the week which, owing to the damaged state of the plate, cannot now be given with any certainty. Assuming the date to have been recorded in the Chêdi era, and taking that era to commence in A.D. 248, the corresponding date must be either Wednesday, January 14, 705, or Tuesday, February 2, 706, according as the figure 456 denotes the current year or the number of years elapsed. According to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, there was no lunar eclipse on January 14, 705, but there was one on February 2, 706, 16^h 37^m Greenwich time, or, at Lankâ 9^h 40^m P.M.

For the date of the Kâvî grant, which has been edited by Dr. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, page 109, and of

which I owe a photograph to Dr. Bühler and an impression to Mr. Fleet, we have two data, one in lines 15 and 16, and the other in lines 24 and 25, of which the latter, unfortunately, owing to the state of the plate, is not absolutely certain. In lines 15 and 16 we read —

L. 15 Âshâdha-śud[dh]a-daśam[yâm?]

L. 16 Karkakataka-r[â*]śau sa[m]krânt[ê?] ravau *i. e.*, 'on the tenth [lunar day] of the bright half of (*the month*) Âshâdha, the sun having entered into the zodiacal sign of Cancer', *i. e.*, as I take it, after consultation with Dr. Bühler, on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Cancer, or, on the Karkatasamkrânti. In lines 24 and 25, of which the former is incomplete at the end and the latter at the beginning, we read —

L. 24 sa[m]vatsara-śatachatuṣṭayê[sha?] x x x x x

L. 25 x x x x [sa?]m 400. 80. 6. Âshâdha su [10?] Âditya-vârê ||

The *sha* at the end of line 24 is distinctly visible, but there are certain marks below it, both in the impression and, more clearly still, in the photograph, which would render it possible to read the whole Akshara *sh̄ta*, *i. e.*, to regard it as the beginning of the word '*sh̄tâs̄iti* 88, not of *shadâs̄iti* 86, were it not that in the following line the numerical symbol for the unit is distinctly 6, and not the similar symbol for 8. In line 25 the numerical symbol following upon *śu* is decidedly indistinct. What is clearly seen, both in the impression and in the photograph, is the symbol for 10, as it occurs *e. g.* at the end of the Valabhi grant of Dharaśena II, in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, page 303, *minus* the curved line on the right; but there are indications that that curved line had been engraved, and that therefore 10 was intended. It is more difficult to say, whether certain marks after the symbol for 10 are accidental scratches or intended to denote the unit 1 or 2. Here the actual mention of the tenth in line 15 is a *primâ facie* argument in favour of the former and against the latter alternative.

In all probability, then, the grant is dated — 486, on the 10th lunar day of the bright half of the month Âshâdha, on a Sunday, on the occasion of the sun's entering into the zodiacal sign of Cancer. But there is just the possibility, that the grant was *made* on the occasion of the Karkatasamkrânti, the 10th Tithi of the bright half of Âshâdha, and *recorded* on a Sunday, the 11th or 12th of the bright half of Âshâdha. Under any circumstances the date, if falling within the 8th century A.D., must, ge-

nerally speaking, fall on or after June 22, the approximate day of the Karkatasamkrânti.

Supposing the date to be recorded in the Chêdi era, and taking that era to commence in A.D. 248, the corresponding year would be either A.D. 734 or 735. But in A.D. 734 the Karkatasamkrânti took place about 7^h 30^m after sunset of *Tuesday*, June 22, while the 10th of the bright half of Âshâdha fell on *Tuesday*, June 15, *i. e.*, seven days *before* the Samkrânti. And in A.D. 735 the Karkatasamkrânti took place on *Thursday*, June 23, while the 10th of the bright half of Âshâdha had fallen already on *Sunday*, June 5, *i. e.* no less than eighteen days *before* the Samkrânti. And I may state here at once, that in the whole century from A.D. 676 to 775 there is *not a single year*, in which the Karkatasamkrânti fell on any *Sunday* which was *the tenth of the bright half* of Âshâdha or of any other month.

I believe, then, that, if (as appears to be the opinion of those best qualified to judge) the date must really be referred to the Chêdi era, which I take to commence in A.D. 248, we have to resort to the other possible interpretation of the date, which I have spoken of, and at the same time, however reluctant we may be, to assume an error in the numerical symbols for *the year* of the grant. And from this point of view, I may state that, after a careful examination of a considerable number of years on either side of A.D. 734, the year which would appear best to satisfy the requirements of the case, is A.D. 736 = Chêdi-samvat 488 current. In that year, the Karkatasamkrânti took place about 8 hours after sunrise of Friday, June 22. June 22, it is true, was civilly su. di. 9 of Âshâdha, but as the 9th Tithi ended already 21 or, in Gujarâth, about 45 minutes after sunrise, the Samkrânti did take place while the 10th Tithi was current. During that Tithi the grant may have been *made*, and it may have been *recorded* on the following Sunday, June 24, which was Âshâdha su. di. 12. I have shown above, that the last Akshara in line 24 of the grant may be *sh̄ta*, not *sha*, and that the figure for the day in line 25 may be 11 or 12, and I need hardly add that the substitution, by the also in other respects not very careful writer or engraver, of the unit 6 of 486 for the unit 8 of 488 would be accounted for by the great similarity of the symbols for the two units. At the same time, I confess that I am averse to all conjectures regarding dates, and I shall be glad if others will solve this difficulty in a more satisfactory manner.

Another date, the calculation of which has hitherto yielded

no satisfactory results, is that of the Rêwa copperplate grant of Jayasimhadêva, mentioned in *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI, page 145. Of that date I hope to treat, when editing the inscription.

In conclusion, I have to thank my friend Professor Jacobi for having allowed me the use of his tables, by the construction of which he has rendered a service of the utmost importance to all who take an interest in Indian inscriptions.

THE EPOCH OF THE KALACHURI OR CHEDI ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

IN the Central Provinces of India there are found a large number of inscriptions, which have reference to the Chédi rulers of Tripurî, Ratnapur, and other places. A few of them have been edited by Dr. F. E. Hall¹; a list of the Ratnapur inscriptions was given as early as 1825, by Mr. (afterwards Sir) R. Jenkins;² and the contents of most of them have been referred to in the volumes of the *Archæological Survey of India*. Many are dated in years, sometimes called Chédi-Saṃvat, or Kalachuri-Saṃvatsara, which, on historical and palæographical grounds, cannot be referred to the Vikrama, or to the Śaka era; and it was Dr. Hall who first suggested³ that they should be referred to an unknown era, the initial point of which must be sought somewhere near the middle of the third century A.D. Afterwards, Sir A. Cunningham⁴ stated that the dates of these inscriptions referred "to a period close to A.D. 249 as the initial point of the Kalachuri, or Chédi-Saṃvat"; and the same scholar subsequently, in his *Indian Eras*, felt satisfied that A.D. 249 = 0, and 250 = 1, is "the true starting-point of the Chédi era."

Having prepared for publication editions of several of the Ratnapur inscriptions, I have for some time suspected the conclusion, thus arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham, to be slightly erroneous. At present, from an examination of all the years from A.D. 201 to A.D. 280, by means of excellent Tables, which have been constructed by Prof. Jacobi, of Kiel, and placed at my disposal before publication, I am able to state with confidence that the only equation which yields correct weekdays for those Chédi

inscriptions in which the week-day is mentioned, is—

Chédi-Saṃvat 0 = A.D. 248-49
and

Chédi-Saṃvat 1 = A.D. 249-50;

and that, if we wish to work out the dates by a uniform process, we must take the Chédi year to commence with the month Bhādrapada, and must, accordingly, start from July 28, A.D. 249,⁵ = Bhādrapada śu. di. 1 of the northern Vikrama year 307, current, as the first day of the first current year of the Chédi era.

Starting from these propositions, I have obtained the following results:—

1.—Regarding the date of the Benares copper-plate inscription of Karṇadêva, which was first brought to public notice by Wilford, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. page 108, Sir A. Cunningham, in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. page 82, wrote as follows:—"The copper-plates, which were lost for a long time, were re-discovered about 1862, when through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, Principal of the Benares College, I received a carefully made impression of the inscriptions, with a translation by one of the pupils of the College. During my stay in England, I made over to Professor Hall both the impression and the translation, and I have now with me only a few of my own notes to refer to. From these I am able to state that the record was dated in 'Saṃvat 793 Phālgun badi 9 Some,' which were the last words on the plate. This date was quite distinct, and it was not possible to read the figures ७९३ in any other way."

¹ *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. XXX. p. 323; XXXI. p. 116; *Journal American Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 409; p. 513.

² *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 505.

³ *Journal American Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 501.

⁴ *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 112 etc.

⁵ The following ten dates give days from the months Āśvina (date No. 4), Kārttika (10), Mārgaśīras (2 and 6), Māgha (3 and 8), Phālguna (1), Āshāḍha (5), and Śrāvana (7 and 9) only; and for them, a year beginning with the month Āśvina (but not one beginning with Kārttika) would do as well as one beginning with Bhādrapada, and for the date of the Rêwah copper-plate grant of the *mal-d-râpaka*, Kirtivarman, which will be mentioned below, a year beginning with Āśvina might possibly appear to be even more suitable. But I do not know of any Hindu year having begun with Āśvina; whereas (according to a

communication, not connected with the present enquiry, which I have received from Mr. Fiesel) Al-Bîrûnî does mention a year commencing with the month Bhādrapada. So much is perfectly certain, that with the epoch A.D. 248-249, the following ten dates work out satisfactorily, and the years mentioned in them may uniformly be taken as current years, if the first day of the Chédi era was either July 28, 249 = Bhādrapada śu. di. 1, or August 26, 249 = Āśvina śu. di. 1, but not with any other initial day of the year. According to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, there was a solar eclipse, and consequently a new-moon, on July 27, 2^h 3^m, 6^h 2^m Greenwich time, and there was another solar eclipse, and another new-moon, on August 26, 249, 14^h 4^m Greenwich time. [In the same year, there was another solar eclipse on March 2, 3^h 8^m Greenwich time, or at Lanka 8^h 11^m a.m., which shows that the date for the initial day of the Vikrama year 306 (expired), viz. '1 Mar.,' given in *Indian Eras*, page 115, is wrong by two days].

It is true that the same scholar, in order to obtain the proper week-day, in his *Indian Eras*, page 61, has come to the conclusion that he may perhaps have misread 793 for 792; but (disregarding the fact that 792 expired would after all be 793 current) I believe that any one obliged to choose would certainly accept Sir A. Cunningham's first statement, and reject his subsequent conjecture. And assuming the plate to have really been dated — Samvat 793 Phālguna. ba. di. 9 Śōmē, i. e., 'the year 793, the 9th of the dark half of the month Phālguna, on a Monday,' the corresponding date is Monday, January 18, 1042. On that day, at sunrise, the 9th *tithi* of the dark half was current, and it ended 17h 9m after mean sunrise. [According to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, there was a lunar eclipse, and consequently, a full-moon, on January 9, 1042, 4h 10m Greenwich time, or at Lañkā about 9 A.M.].

2.—A Ratnapur inscription of Jājalla-dēva I. of which a good rubbing has been supplied to me by Dr. Burgess, is dated — Samvat 866, Mārga. su. di. 9 Ravaṇ, i. e., 'the year 866, the 9th of the bright half of the month Mārgasīras, on a Sunday.' The corresponding date is Sunday, November 8, 1114. On that day, at sunrise, the 9th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 19h 54m after mean sunrise. [Calculated by Paul Lehmann's *Tables for calculating the phases of the moon*, there was a new-moon, at Lañkā, on October 30, 1114, about 3 P. M.].

3. The Rājīm inscription of Jagapāla, of which a good rubbing has been supplied to me by Mr. Fleet, is dated — Kulachuri-samvat-sarē 896 Māghē māsi śukla-pakṣhē rathāsh-tamyaṁ Budhadinē, i. e., 'in the Kulachuri year 896, on the eighth lunar day (called *rathāsh-tamī*) in the bright half in the month Māgha, on a Wednesday.' The corresponding date is Wednesday, January 3, 1145. On that day, at sunrise, the 8th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 10h 59m after mean sunrise. [According to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, there was a solar eclipse, and consequently, a new-moon, on December 26, 1144, 6h 59m Greenwich time, or at Lañkā, about noon].

4.—A Śōrinārāyan inscription, according to Sir R. Jenkins, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol.

XV. page 505, is dated 'Samvat 898, Ashwin Shudh Saptami'; according to *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. page 86, 'in the Kulachuri Samvat in the year 898, Aswin sudi some'; and page 111, '868 Aswina sudi 7, Monday.' A photozincograph in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII. Plate xxii. gives only part of the date, thus: 'Kalachuri samvatsarē 898'; and Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Indian Eras*, page 61, states that 'a fresh examination has shown' the date to be 'Āsvina. su. di. 2' (and not 'Āsvina. su. di. 7'). I therefore take the date to be 'Kalachuri-samvatsarē 898 Āsvina. su. di. 2 Śōmē,' i. e., 'in the Kalachuri year 898, the 2nd of the bright half of the month Āsvina, on a Monday.' The corresponding date is Monday, September 9, 1146. On that day, at sunrise, the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 21h 54m after mean sunrise. [Calculated by P. Lehmann's *Tables*, there was a new-moon, at Lañkā, about 2 hours before sunrise of September 8, i. e. on September 7, 1146].

5.—A Tēwār inscription, according to Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. page 111, and *Indian Eras*, page 61, is dated — 902, Āshāḍha. su. di. 1, Sunday, a statement about which I am somewhat doubtful, and which, at any rate, I am unable to verify. Supposing it to be correct, the corresponding date would be Sunday, June 17, 1151. On that day, at sunrise, the first *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 2h after mean sunrise. [Calculated by P. Lehmann's *Tables*, there was a new-moon, at Lañkā, shortly before noon on June 16, 1151].

6.—The Bhēra-Ghāt inscription of Alha-nādēvi, which has been edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, in the *Journal American Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. page 499, and of which we have a photozincograph in *Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. X. page 107, according to the published version, is dated — Samvat 907, Mārgga. su. di. 11 Ravaṇ, i. e., 'the year 907, the 11th of the bright half of the month Mārgasīras, on a Sunday.' This reading of the date I have hitherto taken to be correct. At present, however, I strongly incline to accept the suggestion of Mr. Fleet, based upon a more careful examination of the lithograph than I had given to it, that the number of the day is 10, and either that the engraver first formed 11, and

corrected it into 10, or that, in forming the 0, his tool slipped, and thus gave to the C a partial appearance of 1. And taking the day to be the 10th, I find that the corresponding date is Sunday, November 8, 1155. On that day, at sunrise, the 10th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 2h 8m after mean sunrise. Should the number of the day on an examination of the stone itself, which is now in America, after all, prove to be 11, the year 907 would have to be regarded as an expired year, and the corresponding date would then be Sunday, November 25, 1156. On that day, at sunrise, the 11th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 1h 54m after mean sunrise. [According to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* there was a solar eclipse, and consequently, a new-moon, on November 26 (i. e. 20 days after November 6), 1155, 11h 22m Greenwich time, or at Lañkā, about 5 P. M. And there was another solar eclipse, and consequently, a new-moon, on November 14, 1156, 22h 32m Greenwich time, or, at Lañkā, 3h 35m A. M., of November 15, i. e. on November 14].

7.—The Lal-Pahār rock inscription of Narasimhadēva, according to the rough photozincograph published in the *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. Plate ii. is dated — Samvat 909 Śrāvāṇa. su. di. 5 Budhē, i. e., 'the year 909, the 5th of the bright half of the month Śrāvāṇa, on a Wednesday.' The corresponding date is Wednesday, July 2, 1158. On that day, at sunrise, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 16h 26m after mean sunrise. In A.D. 1158 the solar month Śrāvāṇa lasted from about sunset of June 26 to about sunrise of July 28, and it contained two new-moons, one on June 27, 19h 8m after sunrise, and the other on July 27, 4h 53m after sunrise. The year therefore contained two lunar months Śrāvāṇa, and July 2 was *su. di. 5* of the *adhika* Śrāvāṇa; *su. di. 5* of the *nija* Śrāvāṇa would have been Friday, August 1. [Calculated by P. Lehmann's *Tables*, there was a new-moon, at Lañkā, shortly after midnight on June 28, i. e. on June 27, 1158].

8.—According to Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. page 111, and *Indian Eras*, page 61, a Bhēra-Ghāt inscription is dated '928, Māgha. ba. di. 10, Monday.' I confess that I have no means whatever of verifying this statement, but sup-

posing it to be correct, the corresponding date would be Monday, December 27, 1176. On that day, at sunrise, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half was current, and it ended 13h 40m after mean sunrise. [Calculated by P. Lehmann's *Tables*, there was a full-moon, at Bhēra-Ghāt, about 2 A.M. of December 18, i. e. on December 17, 1176].

9.—The Tēwār inscription of Jayasimhadēva, which has been edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, in the *Journal American Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. page 512, and of which we have a rough photozincograph in *Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. X. page 110, is dated — Samvat 928 Śrāvāṇa. su. di. 6 Ravaṇ Hastē, i. e., 'the year 928, the 6th of the bright half of the month Śrāvāṇa, on a Sunday, the moon being in the asterism Hasta.' The corresponding date is Sunday, July 8, 1177. On that day, at sunrise, the 6th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 7h 39m after mean sunrise. In A.D. 1177 the solar month Śrāvāṇa lasted from about 2h before sunrise of June 27 to about 3h before sunset of July 28, and it contained two new-moons, one on June 27, 18h 34m after sunrise, and the other on July 27, 1h 51m after sunrise. This year too, therefore, contained two lunar months Śrāvāṇa, and July 3 was *su. di. 6* of the *adhika* Śrāvāṇa, and on that day the moon was in the asterism Hasta. *Su. di. 6* of the *nija* Śrāvāṇa would have been Monday, August 1, when the moon was (not in Hasta, but) in Jyēshthā. [Calculated by P. Lehmann's *Tables*, there was a new-moon, at Lañkā, about 1 A.M. on June 28, i. e. on June 27, 1177].

10.—A Sahaspur inscription, according to the photozincograph published in *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. XVII. Plate xxii. is dated — Samvat 934 Kārttika. su. di. 15 Budhē, i. e., 'the year 934, the 15th of the bright half of the month Kārttika, on a Wednesday.' The corresponding date is Wednesday, October 13, 1182. On that day, at sunrise, the 15th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 13h 57m after mean sunrise. [Calculated by P. Lehmann's *Tables*, there was a full-moon, at Lañkā, on October 13, 1182, in the evening].

To the dates given under 5 and 8, I at present attach, for the reasons stated, very little value. Of the other dates, two have been

taken from good impressions, four from photographs, and for the remaining two we have the somewhat emphatic statements of Sir A. Cunningham, the correctness of which I see no reason to doubt. And, if my calculations be at all correct, it is a fact, that of all the years from A.D. 201 to 280, only the year 248-49, taken as the epoch of the Chédi era, yields correct week-days for every one of these eight dates, and at the same time places the moon in the asterism mentioned in one of these dates. Whether there are historical reasons for which the epoch of the Chédi era should be placed before A.D. 201 or after A.D. 280, others will be more competent to say than I am; but I may mention one or two facts, which render either alternative extremely improbable, I may say, impossible.

From an Alha-Ghāt inscription, of which we have a photolithograph in *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. Plate xxviii. we learn that Narasimhadēva was reigning in [Vikrama-] Saṁvat 1216 = A.D. 1159.⁸ The same Narasimhadēva (together with his younger brother Jayasimhadēva) is mentioned, as reigning prince, in Alhapadēv's inscription of [Chédi-] Saṁvat 907. Supposing, then, the Chédi era to have commenced, e.g., in or before A.D. 200, Narasimhadēva would have reigned in or before A.D. 907 + 200 = 1107, i.e. already at least 52 years before A.D. 1159, the year in which we know him to have reigned.

Again, from the Bēwah copperplate inscription of the mahārājaka Salakhapavarmadēva which is mentioned in *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. page 146, and of which I owe an impression to Mr. Fleet, we know that Vijayadēva was reigning in [Vikrama-] Saṁvat 1253 = A.D. 1195.⁹ And from a Tēwār inscription we learn that his father, Jayasimhadēva, was reigning in [Chédi-] Saṁvat 928. If, then, the Chédi era had commenced as late as, e.g. A.D. 270, not to mention A.D. 280, Jayasimhadēva would have reigned in or after A.D. 928 + 270 = 1198, i.e. at least three years after his own son, which clearly is impossible. On the other

hand, starting from A.D. 248-49, we obtain for the three princes mentioned the following dates, which may speak for themselves:—

Narasimhadēva,—

Chédi-s.⁹ 907 + 248 = A.D. 1155.

Chédi-s.⁹ 909 + 248 = A.D. 1157.

Vikrama-s.¹⁰ 1216 — 57 = A.D. 1159.

His younger brother Jayasimhadēva,—

Chédi-s.¹¹ 926 + 248 = A.D. 1174.

Chédi-s.¹² 928 + 248 = A.D. 1176.

His son Vijayasimhadēva,—

Chédi-s.¹³ 932 + 248 = A.D. 1180.

Vikrama-s.¹⁴ 1253 — 58 = A.D. 1195.

Narasimhadēva's father and predecessor was Gayakarṇadēva. That prince issued the Jabalpur copper-plate grant, of which one plate, containing the date, unfortunately has now been lost, but regarding the contents of which we know from a transcript¹⁵ that Gayakarṇa made a grant of a certain village, "having bathed in the Narmadā at the time of the Makara-saṁkrānti, on Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Māgha in the year * * *." Supposing Narasimhadēva to have reigned in 907 + 248, i.e. as I have shown above, A.D. 1155, the Makara-saṁkrānti must have taken place on a Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Māgha, in some year before, but at such a distance from A.D. 1155, as would suit the relation to each other of father and son. And it is again a fact that the year, which fulfils these conditions, is A.D. 1122. For in that year, the tenth of the waning moon of Māgha, by the northern reckoning, fell on December 25, which was a Monday, and in the same year the Makara-saṁkrānti took place shortly before sunrise of, or, for practical purposes, on Monday, December 25, as required. I may add that on that day the 10th tithi of the dark half was current, and that it ended 9h 43m after mean sunrise.

In *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. Plate xxvii. Sir A. Cunningham has given a photolithograph of an inscription from Bē-sāni, the date of which he reads "Saṁvat 958 prathama Ashāḍha su. di. 3," and from the

⁸ *India*, Vol. XXI. p. 146.

⁹ Tēwār inscription.

¹⁰ Kumbhī copperplate inscription, *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. XXXI. p. 116.

¹¹ Bēwah copperplate inscription, *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 146.

¹² *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 88.

characters of which he concludes that the era used must be that of Kalachuri or Chédi. The meaning of the date is 'the year 958, the third of the bright half of the first month Āshāḍha,' which shows that in the year mentioned Āshāḍha was an intercalary month. If I am right in assuming that the Chédi era began about July-August A.D. 249, the month Āshāḍha must have been intercalary about June, A.D. 1207. And Āshāḍha was intercalary in A.D. 1207. For in that year the solar month Āshāḍha lasted from May 26, about 1h 40m after sunset, to June 27, about 4h after sunrise, and during that time there were two new-moons, one on May 28, 9h 30m after mean sunrise, and the other on June 26, 23h 41m after mean sunrise.

The Bēwah copper-plate inscription of the mahārājaka Kirtivarman, which is mentioned in *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. page 145, and of which I owe an impression to Mr. Fleet, is dated—saṁvat 926 Bhādrapada-māsē śukla-pakṣhē chaturthyaṁ tithau Gurudīnē, i.e. 'the year 926, in the month Bhādrapada, in the bright half, on the fourth tithi, on Gurudina or Thursday.' Judging from the style of the letters, and from the fact that the paramount sovereign of the grantor was the lord of Trikalīnga, Jayasimhadēva, whom from a Tēwār inscription mentioned above we know to have reigned in Chédi-Saṁvat 928, this date is clearly to be referred to the Chédi era. With the epoch A.D. 248-49, and a year commencing with any of the six months from Chaitra to Bhādrapada, the corresponding date must belong to A.D. 1174, or, if by chance the year 926 should be the year expired, to A.D. 1175. In 1174 the fourth tithi of the bright half of Bhādrapada ended 17h 9m after

mean sunrise of August 3, which was a Saturday, and therefore evidently not the day intended. And in 1175 the same fourth tithi commenced 8h 9m after mean sunrise of Thursday, August 21, and ended 10h 4m after mean sunrise of Friday, August 22. Looking to the wording of the date, I see no reason why the grant should not have been made during that portion of Thursday, August 21, 1175, when the fourth tithi was current; on the contrary, the tithi in question being the Gaṇēśa, chaturthī, the religious ceremonies and the gifts to Brāhmaṇs connected with them, certainly ought, so far as I know, since the tithi commenced about 8 hours after sunrise, to have been performed on the Thursday, although civilly that day was the third of the bright half of Bhādrapada.¹⁶ I therefore regard the result as satisfactory; and will only add, that the same result for the commencement of the tithi, Thursday, August 21, 1175, would be obtained, with the epoch A.D. 248-49, for the Chédi year 926 current, if there were any authority for making the year begin with the month Āśvina. (See note 5 above.)

Three other inscriptions, the dates of which have been referred to the Chédi era (whether rightly or wrongly, I must leave it to others to decide), are mentioned *ante*, Vol. XIII. page 77.

Of these, the Ilāḥ grant, which has been edited by Mr. Fleet, *ib.* page 115, is dated—Saka-nṛpa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-śata-chatusṭayē śap-tadaś-ādhikē Jyēshṭh-āmāvāsya-sūryagrāhē, i.e. according to Mr. Fleet's translation, 'in (the year) four hundred, increased by seventeen, of the centuries of years that have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, at (the time of) an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of

monies, to which the date refers, evidently were performed in that part of Thursday, Phālguna 6a. di. 9, during which the tenth tithi was current.

¹⁶ The rule on this point, given to me by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, is, that the worship of Gaṇēśa on the Gaṇēśa-chaturthī, and any ceremony connected with it, must be performed on that civil day on which there actually is the chaturthī or fourth tithi at noon. In the present instance, this was the case on the Thursday. And, if the grant was made specially to celebrate the Gaṇēśa-chaturthī, it must have been made on the Thursday; and so the chaturthī, as a current tithi, would for this purpose be properly coupled with the Thursday; though, in the almanac, it would be coupled in the ordinary manner, as an expired tithi, with the Friday. There ought to be an indication of the circumstances, in the record. And this may be found in the opening verse, which is an invocation of Gaṇēśa under the names of Īrāmba and Gaṇapāyaka. —J.F.F.]

⁸ Saṁvat 1216 Bhādra su. di. pratipadā Ravau = Sunday, August 16, 1159.

⁹ The exact date I shall give, when editing the inscription.

¹⁰ Alhapadēv's inscription.

¹¹ Lal-Pahār rock inscription.

¹² Alha-Ghāt inscription.

¹³ Bēwah copperplate inscription, *Archaeol. Survey of*

(the month) Jyēshtha.' Assuming, for reasons which it is unnecessary to mention here, the date to have been recorded in the Chēdi era, and taking that era to commence, as we have done hitherto, about July-August A.D. 249, the year corresponding to the Chēdi year 417 expired, would be A.D. 667. In that year, the new-moon day of the month Jyāishtha fell on April 29, and on that day there was no solar eclipse; nor was there one in April or May of the preceding year A.D. 666.¹⁴ On the other hand, taking the date to be recorded, as stated in the grant itself, in the Saka era, the corresponding date is May 10, A.D. 495 and on that day there was a solar eclipse 10h 39m Greenwich time.

The Nausāri grant, which has been edited by the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī, *ib.* page 70, is dated — 456 (expressed both in numerical symbols and in words), Māgha-śuddha-pāñchadaśyām chandr-ōparāgē, *i.e.* 'on the 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month Māgha, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon,' on a day of the week which, owing to the damaged state of the plate cannot now be given with any certainty. Assuming the date to have been recorded in the Chēdi era, and taking that era to commence about July-August A.D. 249, the corresponding date must be either Wednesday, January 14, 705, or Tuesday, February 2, 706, according as the figure 456 denotes the current year or the number of years expired. According to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* there was no lunar eclipse on January 14, 705, but there was one on February 2, 706, 16h 37m Greenwich time or at Lañkā, 9h 40m P.M.

For the date of the K&V1 grant, which has been edited by Dr. Bühler, *ante*, Vol. V. page 109, and of which I owe a photograph to Dr. Bühler and an impression to Mr. Fleet, we have two data, one in lines 15 and 16, and the other in lines 24 and 25, of which the latter, unfortunately, owing to the state of the plate, is not absolutely certain. In lines 15 and 16 we read

L. 15 Āshāḍha-śud[dh]a-
daśam[yām?]

L. 16 Karkkaṭaka-r[ā*]śau sa[m]krānt[ē?]

¹⁴ In A.D. 666 there were two solar eclipses, one on March 11, and the other on September 4; and in A.D. 667 there were also two solar eclipses, one on February 28, and

ravau puṇya-tithau *i.e.*, 'on the tenth [lunar day] of the bright half of (the month) Āshāḍha, the sun having entered into the zodiacal sign of Cancer, on (this) auspicious tithi' *i.e.*, as I take it, after consultation with Dr. Bühler, on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Cancer, or on the Karkkaṭaka-saṁkrānti. In lines 24 and 25, of which the former is incomplete at the end and the latter at the beginning, we read—

L. 24 sa[m]vatsara-sata-chatuṣ-
ṭayē [sha?] x x x x

L. 25 x x x x [sa?]m 400. 80. 6. Āshā-
ḍha śu [10?] Ādityavārē ||

The *sha* at the end of line 24 is distinctly visible, but there are certain marks below it, both in the impression and, more clearly still, in the photograph, which would render it possible to read the whole akshara *shīta*, *i.e.* to regard it as the beginning of the word 'shīdāiti' (88), not of *shadāiti* (86), were it not that in the following line the numerical symbol for the unit is distinctly 6, and not the similar symbol for 8. In line 25 the numerical symbol following upon *śu* is decidedly indistinct. What is clearly seen, both in the impression and in the photograph, is the symbol for 10, as it occurs, *e.g.* at the end of the Valabhi grant of Dharaśena II., *ante*, Vol. VIII. page 303, *minus* the curved line on the right; but there are indications that that curved line had been engraved and that therefore 10 was intended. It is more difficult to say, whether certain marks after the symbol for 10 are accidental scratches or intended to denote the unit 1 or 2. Here the actual mention of the tenth in line 15 is a *primā facie* argument in favour of the former and against the latter alternative.

In all probability, then, the grant is dated—496, on the 10th lunar day of the bright half of the month Āshāḍha, on a Sunday, on the occasion of the sun's entering into the zodiacal sign of Cancer. But there is just the possibility, that the grant was made on the occasion of the Karkkaṭaka-saṁkrānti, on the 10th tithi of the bright half of Āshāḍha, and recorded on a Sunday, the 11th or 12th of the bright half of Āshāḍha. Under any circumstances the

the other on August 25. In A.D. 665 there was a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the *nija* Jyāishtha, which was April 21.

date, if falling within the 8th century A.D., must, generally speaking, fall on or after June 22, the approximate day of the Karkkaṭaka-saṁkrānti.

Supposing the date to be recorded in the Chēdi era, and taking that era to commence on July 28 (or, possibly, on August 26), A.D., 249 the corresponding year would be either A.D. 735 or 736, according as the figure 486 denotes the current year or the number of years expired. In A.D. 735 the Karkkaṭaka-saṁkrānti took place on Thursday, June 23, which was the 13th of the dark half of a month, while the 10th of the bright half of Āshāḍha had fallen already on Sunday, June 5, *i.e.* no less than eighteen days before the Saṁkrānti. Neither of the two days can be the day intended.

In A.D. 736, on the other hand, the Karkkaṭaka-saṁkrānti took place about 8 hours after sunrise of June 22; and the tenth tithi of the bright half of Āshāḍha began 21 minutes after mean sunrise of June 22, and ended 1h 21m before mean sunrise of June 23. The tithi therefore, in all probability, was a *kshaya-tithi*, but, under any circumstances, the Karkkaṭaka-saṁkrānti, in A.D. 736, did take place during the tenth tithi of the bright half of Āshāḍha. June 22, however, was a Friday, not a Sunday; and the nearest Sunday, June 24, was the 12th of the bright half of Āshāḍha, because the 12th tithi of the bright half ended on it, 20h 37m after mean sunrise.

Now, taking into consideration that in the whole century from A.D. 676 to 775, there is not a single year in which the Karkkaṭaka-saṁkrānti fell on any Sunday which was the tenth of the bright half of Āshāḍha or of any other month, I believe that, if the date must really be referred to the Chēdi era, we have to resort to the other possible interpretation of the date which I have spoken of. And assuming the

grant to have been made on the occasion of the Karkkaṭaka-saṁkrānti, on the tenth tithi of the bright half of Āshāḍha, and recorded on a Sunday, the 12th of the bright half of the same month, June 22 and Sunday, June 24, A.D. 736, satisfy the requirements of the case; and if the tenth tithi was a *kshaya-tithi*, which I have good grounds for believing that it was, the reason why the grant should have been made and recorded on different days, is perhaps not far to seek.

Regarding the Chēdi year, I may finally state that the calculation of the only two available dates in dark fortnights, *viz.* that of the Benares copper-plate inscription of Karkkaḍva (above, No. 1), and that of the Bhēra-Ghāt inscription of the year 928 (above, No. 8, to which however I can attach only little importance), shows the Chēdi year to have been a northern year, with the regular *pūruimānta* northern arrangement of the months. This is also proved (as was first remarked to me by Mr. Fleet on Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's authority), by the record in the Jabalpur grant of Gayakardēva, mentioned above, of the occurrence of the Makara-saṁkrānti in the dark fortnight of Māgha. For, since the first day of the solar month Māgha must precede the first day of the bright half of the lunar Māgha, the Makara-saṁkrānti, which introduces the solar Māgha, may well take place in the dark half of the lunar Māgha when the latter, as is the case in the northern year, precedes the light half; but it cannot do so in the southern year where the dark half of the lunar Māgha follows upon the light half of the same month.

In conclusion, I have to thank my friend Professor Jacobi for having allowed me the use, before actual publication, of his Tables, by the construction of which he has rendered a service of the utmost importance to all who take an interest in Indian inscriptions.

THE EPOCH OF THE NEWAR ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

"The Nēwār era is peculiar to Nēpāl, where it was introduced in A.D. 880 by Rāja Rāghava Dēva." "The year begins in October, and 951 years had expired in 1831." From these statements of Sir A. Cunningham,¹ with the substance of which the incidental remarks of other scholars agree, it appears that the epoch of the era spoken of is considered to be A.D. 879-80, and that the first year of that era is supposed to have lasted from about October A.D. 880 to about October 881. The expression that the year begins in October suggests the idea, the correctness of which has not been hitherto proved by documentary evidence, that the Nēwār year begins with the month Kārttika; and stating more accurately the opinion of those who have written about the matter, the first day of the first current year of the era, according to their view, should be taken to be the day 2,042,759 of the Julian period, = 8th October A.D. 880 = Kārttika śukla 1 of the (northern) Vikrama year 938, current.

In order to arrive at some settlement of the question as to whether or to what extent the Hindus, during the middle ages, were in the habit of dating their documents in *expired* years, I have examined, amongst others, almost every available date recorded in the national era of Nēpāl; and in the course of the necessary calculations I have incidentally come to the following conclusions regarding the Nēwār era:—

(1.) **The epoch of the Nēwār era is A.D. 878-79, and the first day of the first current year of that era is really the day 2,042,405 of the Julian period, = 20th October A.D. 879 = Kārttika śukla 1 of the (northern) Vikrama year 937, current.**

(2.) As regards the arrangement of the two lunar fortnights, **the dark half of a month follows upon the bright half of the same month**, or, in other words, the scheme of the months is the *amānta* scheme of the southern Vikrama year. And from (1) and (2) together it follows that—

¹ *Indian Eras*, p. 74.

(3.) For calculating dates of the Nēwār era by means of Dr. Schram's most handy Tables,² in order first to obtain the current (northern) Vikrama year, we must add to the *expired* years of the Nēwār era 937, when a date falls within any of the five months from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 938, when a date falls within any of the seven months from Chaitra to Āśvina.

To prove these statements, I shall place before the reader twenty-five Nēwār dates, together with the corresponding European dates. Six of them are taken from the late Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī's Inscriptions from Nēpāl, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 163ff., two from Mr. Bendall's *Journey in Nēpāl and Northern India*, and the remaining seventeen from the same scholar's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts*. I shall begin with four dates (1-4), in which the years mentioned are distinctly described as *expired* years. After these I shall give nineteen dates (5-23), in which the figures for the years likewise denote *expired* years, although this is not actually stated in the dates themselves. And I shall conclude with two dates (24 and 25), in which the figures for the years must be taken to denote, exceptionally, *current* years.

A.—Dates in which the years mentioned are described as expired years.

1. Bendall's *Catalogue*, p. 187 :³—

Shaṭ-ttaré (*sic*) pañcha-śatē gatē sbdē Nēpālīkē māsi cha Chaitra-samjñē |

Kṛishṇa-pakshē Madan-ābhīdhāyām tithau Śaśānkātmaja-vāsarē cha ||

Data:—The year 506 *expired*, the month Chaitra, the dark half, the *tithi Madana*, i.e. the thirteenth lunar day, Śaśānkātmaja-vāsara, or **Wednesday**.

The corresponding northern Vikrama year is 506 + 938 = 1444 current; and the corresponding European date is **Wednesday**, March 28, 1386. On that day, at sunrise, the 13th *tithi* of the dark half was current, and it ended 20h 41m after mean sunrise. [If the epoch

² *Hilfsheft für Chronologie*, pp. 52 and 53. Dr. Schram professes to give, for the luni-solar calendar, approximate dates only, and the results obtained from his Tables have, therefore, in the following been verified or corrected by Professor Jacobi's Tables for calculating the *tithis*. But, as a matter of fact, Dr. Schram's Tables, in the majority of cases, do yield absolutely true results, and they are far more convenient and useful than any other similar Tables, and I feel sure that they will be generally adopted

were A. D. 879-80, the corresponding date would be Tuesday, April 16, 1387].

2. *Ib.*, p. 30 :—

Dvādas-ōttara-pañcha-śataim prayātē vihāyasē (?) |

Pausha-śuklē navamyān-cha saṃpūrṇa (!) Guru-vāsarē ||

Data:—The year 512 *expired*, the month Pausha, the bright half, the ninth lunar day, Guru-vāsara, or **Thursday**.

The corresponding (northern) Vikrama year is 512 + 937 = 1449 current; and the corresponding European date is **Thursday**, January 4, 1392. On that day, at sunrise, the 9th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 15h 22m after mean sunrise. [If the epoch were A.D. 879-80, the corresponding date would be Monday, December 23, 1392.]

3. *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 183 :—

Samvan=Nēpālak-ākhyē tribhuvana-dahanē Kāma-bāpē prayātē Māghē śuklē cha Kāmē tithi...viditē priti-yōgē cha puṇyē |

Vārē Pūsh-ābhīdhānē makara-ravi-gatē yugma-rāsan śaśānkē

It should be noted that the same year, 533, which here is called an *expired* year, immediately afterwards, p. 184, where the date is repeated in the more business-like manner—

Samvat 533 Māgha-sukla-trayōdaśī pñnarvasa-nakshatrē priti-yōgē Āditya-vārē— is called simply "the year 533."

Data:—The year 533 *expired*, the month Māgha, the bright half, the thirteenth lunar day, Āditya-vāra or **Sunday**, the *nakshatra Punarvasu*, and the *yōga Priti*.

The corresponding (northern) Vikrama year is 533 + 937 = 1470 current; and the corresponding European date is **Sunday**, January 15, 1413. On that day, at sunrise, the 13th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 1h 25m after mean sunrise. Moreover, at sunrise, the moon was in the *nakshatra Punarvasu*, and the current *yōga* was **Priti**. [If the epoch were A.D. 879-80, the corresponding date

when they become more widely known. It is for this reason that, in the following, I have first converted the Nēwār dates in *o* dates of the northern Vikrama year, instead of converting them, as might otherwise appear more natural, into dates of the southern Vikrama year.

³ In the following I shall give the dates exactly as given in the works from which I take them, and I shall not attempt any corrections except where it may be absolutely necessary.

would be Friday, February 2, 1414, *nakshatra* Pushya, and *yōga* Saunhāgya.]

4. Bendall's *Catalogue*, p. 147 :—

Yātē Naipālika-varshē tri-yugma-randhra-samyutē |

Mārgasīrahē sēita-pakshē dasāmyām Ravi-vāsarē ||

Data :—The year 923 expired, the month Mārgasīrsha, the dark half, the tenth lunar day, Ravi-vāsara or Sunday.

The corresponding (northern) Vikrama year is $923 + 937 = 1860$ current; and the corresponding European date is Sunday, December 19, new style, 1802. On that day, at sunrise, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half was current, and it ended 18 hours after mean sunrise. [If the epoch were A.D. 879-80, the corresponding date would be Thursday, December 8, new style, 1803.]

B.—Dates in which the years mentioned must be regarded as expired years, although they are not described as such in the dates themselves.

5. *Id.*, p. 151 :—

Pañchatrims-ādhikē sbdē śatatama prasā-tē(?) Chaitra-māsē himābhā |

Vikhyātē samin dasāmyām-Danujja(? Danuja)ripugurau vāsarē samprasastē ||

Data :—The year clearly is 135, but the expression *prasastē* following upon *śatatama* is unintelligible; Mr. Bendall hesitatingly suggests the reading *pragatē* ('elapsed,' see Palaeographical Introduction, p. xxv. note), which, he admits, offends against the metre. The remaining data are,—the month Chaitra, the bright half, the tenth lunar day, Danuja-ripuguru-vāsara or Thursday.

Taking 135 to be the year expired, the corresponding northern Vikrama year is $135 + 938 = 1073$ current. In that year, Chaitra was an intercalary month, and the corresponding European date, for the *adhika* Chaitra, would be Thursday, March 3, 1015, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4h 2m after mean sunrise; and for the *nija* Chaitra, Friday, April 1, 1015.

* Another date which must contain an intercalary month, is given in Mr. Bendall's *Catalogue*, p. 182.—"samosā 739 Śrāvana-nakṣatra-māsē kṛishṇa-pakṣe;" here the word *nakṣatra* appears to be corrupt, but the corresponding northern Vikrama year is 1677 current, when Śrāvana was an intercalary month.

† See below, date 16. According to the *Dharmasindhuśāra*, the birth (or descent) of the Gaṅgā took place on the *saptami* or 7th lunar day of the bright half of

As the former date is evidently the one intended, the result of the calculation suggests the reading—

Pañchatrims-ādhikē sbdē śatatama itarē Chaitra-māsē, "in the 135th year, in the other, i.e., *adhika* month Chaitra,"—

Which both from a grammatical and a metrical point of view is unobjectionable.* [Taking 135 to be the current year, the date corresponding to Chaitra śukla 10, with the epoch A.D. 878-79, would be Sunday, March 14, 1014; and in that year there was, of course, no intercalary month.]

6. *Id.*, p. 168 :—

Samvat 188 Bhādrapada-śukla-paurṇamāsyaḥ Śukra-dinē.

Data :—The year 188, the month Bhādrapada, the bright half, the full-moon day, Śukradina or Friday.

Taking 188 to be the year expired, the corresponding northern Vikrama year is $188 + 938 = 1126$ current; and the corresponding European date is Friday, August 15, 1063, when, at 22h 15m Greenwich time, there was a lunar eclipse. [With 188 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Monday, August 17, 1067, when, at 5h 31m Greenwich time, there also was a lunar eclipse.]

7. Bendall's *Journey*, p. 60 :—

Tribhir-varshaiḥ samāyuktē samvatsara-śata-dvayē |

Vaiśākha-śukla-śaptamyām Budhē pushy-ōdayē śubhā ||

Data :—The year 203, the month Vaiśākha, the bright half, the seventh lunar day, Budha or Wednesday, the *nakshatra* Pushya.

Taking 203 to be the year expired, the corresponding northern Vikrama year is $203 + 938 = 1141$ current; and the corresponding European date is Wednesday, April 26, 1083, when, at sunrise, the moon was in the *nakshatra* Pushya. Civilly, Wednesday, April 26, was śu. di. 6, but the 7th *tithi*, mentioned in the date, began as early as 4h 7m after mean sunrise.† [With 203 current, and the epoch

Vaiśākha, and ceremonies in honour of that event must be performed on that civil day on which the *saptami* is current at midday. The inscription, from which the above date is taken, simply records the setting up of an image in honour of the Sun, and contains no allusion to Gaṅgā.—According to a general rule given in the *Dharmasindhuśāra*, any rite whatever of the 7th *tithi* must be performed on that civil day on which the 7th *tithi* meets with the 6th *tithi*.

A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Friday, April 8, 1082, *nakshatra* Pushya.]

8. Bendall's *Catalogue*, p. 182 :—

Samvat 285 Śrāvana-śuktr-śaṣṭamyām-Āditya-dinē.

Data :—The year 285, the month Śrāvana, the bright half, the eighth lunar day, Ādityadina or Sunday.

Taking 285 to be the year expired, the corresponding northern Vikrama year is $285 + 938 = 1223$ current; and the corresponding European date is Sunday, July 18, 1165. On that day, at sunrise, the 8th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 12 hours after mean sunrise. [With 285 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Wednesday, July 29, 1164.]

9. *Id.*, p. 155 :—

Samvat [336] Pausa-kṛishṇa-śaṣṭamyām Vṛishaspati-vāsarē vaiśākha-nakshatrē.

Data :—The year 336 (?), the month Pausa, the dark half, the eighth lunar day, Brihaspati-vāsara or Thursday, the *nakshatra* Viśākha.

Taking 336 to be the year expired, the corresponding (northern) Vikrama year is $336 + 937 = 1273$ current; and the corresponding European date is Thursday, January 14, 1216. On that day, at sunrise, the 8th *tithi* of the dark half was current, and it ended 5h 32m after mean sunrise. Moreover, at sunrise, the moon was in the *nakshatra* Viśākha. The result of the calculation thus shows that the figures for the year, 336, about which Mr. Bendall is somewhat doubtful, because the date has been retouched, and because "the day of the week and month" were supposed "not to tally for the year 336," are quite correct. [With 336 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Friday, December 26, 1214, *nakshatra* Svātī.]

10. *Id.*, p. 84 :—

Samvat 505 Kārtika-śukla aṣṭamyām tithau Samimvara-vāsarē.

Data :—The year 505, the month Kārtika, the bright half, the eighth lunar day, Śanaīśchāra-vāsara or Saturday.

Taking 505 to be the year expired, the corresponding (northern) Vikrama year is $505 + 937 = 1442$ current; and the correspond-

* The published version has *śarākaramē*, supposed to be the Hindustani *مسر کولبی*, and rendered "by order of

ing European date is Saturday, October 22, 1384. On that day, at sunrise, the 8th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 16h 52m after mean sunrise. [With 505 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Tuesday, November 3, 1383.]

11. *Id.*, p. 191 :—

Samvata 509 Jyaishta-śukla dasāmyāyā tithau Śukra-vāsarē.

Data :—The year 509, the month Jyaishta, the bright half, the tenth lunar day, Śukra-vāsara or Friday.

Taking 509 to be the year expired, the corresponding northern Vikrama year is $509 + 938 = 1447$ current; and the corresponding European date is Friday, June 4, 1389. On that day, at sunrise, the 10th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 1h 8m after mean sunrise. [With 509 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Saturday, May 16, 1388.]

12. Bendall's *Journey*, p. 83 :—

Śrīman-Nēpalika-samvat 512 Vaiśākha-kṛishṇa-śaṣṭhyām tithau || gara-karaṇē | viśva-muhūrttē śrāvana-nakshatrē | aindra-yōgē | Āditya-vāsarē ||

Data :—The year 512, the month Vaiśākha, the dark half, the sixth lunar day, the *karaṇa* Gara, the *muhūrta* Viśva, the *nakshatra* Śrāvana, the *yōga* Indra, Āditya-vāsara or Sunday.

Taking 512 to be the year expired, the corresponding northern Vikrama year is $512 + 938 = 1450$ current; and the corresponding European date is Sunday, May 12, 1392. On that day, the 6th *tithi* of the dark half commenced about sunrise, and the first half of that *tithi*, i.e. the time from about sunrise to about sunset, was the 41st *karaṇa*, called Gara. And at sunrise, the moon was in the *nakshatra* Śrāvana, and the current *yōga* was Indra. [With 512 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Tuesday, April 25, 1391, the 42nd *karaṇa*, called Baṇi, *nakshatra* Uttarā Śhāḍhā, and *yōga* Śukla.]

13. Bendall's *Catalogue*, p. 155 :—

Samvata 532 Māgasira-śukla | saptamyām tithau śatavṛisha-nakshatrē | harashaṇa-pra-(para?)vajra-yōga | Āditya-vāsarē ||

Data :—The year 532, the month Māgasīras, Government." My calculation of the date renders it certain that the reading *para-karamē* is right.

the bright half, the seventh lunar day, *Āditya-vāsara* or **Sunday**, the *nakshatra* 'Sataṅṛiṣha,' i.e. evidently **Satabhishaj**, and the *yōga* **Harshana** and **Vajra**.

Taking 532 to be the year expired, the corresponding (northern) Vikrama year is $532 + 937 = 1469$ current; and the corresponding European date is **Sunday**, November 22, 1411. On that day, at sunrise, the 7th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 13h 36m after mean sunrise. Moreover, at sunrise, the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Satabhishaj**, and the current *yōga* was **Vajra**. [With 532 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Wednesday, December 3, 1410, *nakshatra* **Pūrvā-Bhadrapadā**, and *yōga* **Vyatipāta**.]

14. *ib.*, p. 180:—

Samvat 532 *Āshāḍha-kṛishṇa* | *ekādasyām* | *tithau* | *kārttika-ghaṭhī* 20 | *rōhiṇī-nakshatra* | *gaṇḍa-ghaṭhī* 6 | *vṛiḍi-yōgē* | *Sōma-vāsarē* |

Data:—The year 532, the month *Āshāḍha*, the dark half, the eleventh lunar day, *Sōma-vāsara* or **Monday**, the *nakshatras* **Krittikā** and **Rōhiṇī**, and the *yōgas* **Gaṇḍa** and **Vṛiddhi**.

Taking 532 to be the year expired, the corresponding northern Vikrama year is $532 + 938 = 1470$ current; and the corresponding European date is **Monday**, July 4, 1412. On that day, at sunrise, the 11th *tithi* of the dark half was current, and it ended 21 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. Moreover, calculated by Prof. Jacobi's tables, the moon at sunrise was in the *nakshatra* **Rōhiṇī**, and the current *yōga* was **Vṛiddhi**. [With 532 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Thursday, July 16, 1411, *nakshatra* **Mṛiga**, and *yōga* **Vyāghāta**.]

15. *ib.*, p. 183:—

Samvat 749 *Jyēshṭha-kṛishṇa* | *amāvāsya* | *sūrya-grāsa* . . .

Data:—The year 749, the month *Jyēshṭha*, the dark half, new-moon day, a solar eclipse.

Taking 749 to be the year expired, the corresponding northern Vikrama year is $749 + 938 = 1687$ current; and the corresponding European date is June 11, 1629. On that day, 3h 56m Greenwich time, or at Lanka about 9 a.m., there was a total solar eclipse, visible

in India. [With 749 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be June 21, 1628; and on that day there also was a solar eclipse; but this eclipse was not visible in India.]

16. *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 185:—

Nēpāla-varshē | *svara-śara-turagair* = *aṅkitē* | *Phālguniyē* | *paṁshē* | *prāptē* | *valakshē* = *maragura-divasē* | *śāṅhara-rkshē* | *daśam-yām* |; and on p. 186:—Samvat 757 *Phālguna-māsē* | *śukla-pakshē* | *daśamyām* | *tithanārdra-para-punarvasu-nakshatrē* | *āyushmān-yōgē* | *Bṛihaspati-vāsarē*.

Data:—The year 757, the month *Phālguna*, the bright half, the tenth lunar day, *Bṛihaspati-vāsara* or **Thursday**, the *nakshatras* **Ārdra** and **Punarvasu**, and the *yōga* **Āyushmat**.

Taking 757 as the year expired, the corresponding (northern) Vikrama year is $757 + 937 = 1694$ current; and the corresponding European date is **Thursday**, February 23, 1637, when, at sunrise, the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Ārdra**, and, from 13 to 14 hours later, in **Punarvasu**, and when the current *yōga* was **Āyushmat**. Civilly, Thursday, February 23, was *śu. di.* 9, but the 10th *tithi* mentioned in the date began 5h 49m after mean sunrise. [With 757 current and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Sunday, March 6, 1636, *nakshatra* **Pushya**, and *yōga* **Atigaṇḍa**.]

17. *ib.*, p. 188:—

Samvat 769 *Phālguna* | *śukla* | *shasṭhyām* | *tithau* | *anrādha-nakshatrē* | *harshana-yōgē* | *Bṛihaspati-vāsarē*.

Data:—The year 769, the month *Phālguna*, the bright half, the sixth lunar day, *Bṛihaspati-vāsara* or **Thursday**, the *nakshatra* **Anurādhā**, and the *yōga* **Harshana**.

Assuming these data to have been given correctly, the corresponding European dates are,—for 769 expired ($= 769 + 937 = 1706$ Vikrama current) Wednesday, February 7, 1649, the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ending 20h 6m after mean sunrise, *nakshatra* **Bharanī** (No. 2 instead of No. 17), and *yōga* **Brahman** (No. 25 instead of No. 14);—and for 769 current, Saturday, February 19, 1648, *nakshatra* **Bharanī** and *yōga* **Vaidhṛiti** (No. 27 instead of No. 14). These days evidently are

dhruvra, *faṣṭa*, etc., of the 10th *tithi* should take place on that day on which the 10th *tithi* meets with the 9th *tithi*.

* See above, date 7.—I cannot find that any religious ceremony is specially prescribed for the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of *Phālguna*. According to the *Dharmas-*

wrong; and a satisfactory result is obtained only, if we take the word *śukla* of the date to have been put, either in the original inscription or by the editor, erroneously for the word *kṛishṇa*. For the European date corresponding to the sixth lunar day of the dark half of *Phālguna*, 769 expired, is **Thursday**, February 22, 1649, when the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12h 7m after mean sunrise, and when, at sunrise, the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Anurādhā**, and the current *yōga* was **Harshana**.

18. *ib.*, p. 191:—

Nēpālē | *saivātā* = *smin* = *haya-giri-mnni-bhiḥ* | *saṁyutē* | *Māgha-māsē* | *saptamyām* | *śukla-pakshē* | *Ravidina-sahitē* | *rēvatī-ri-ksharājē* | *yōgē* | *śrī-siddhi-saṁjñē*.

Data:—The year 777, the month *Māgha*, the bright half, the seventh lunar day, *Ravidina* or **Sunday**, the *nakshatra* **Rēvatī**, and the *yōga* **Siddhi** (!).

Taking 777 to be the year expired, the corresponding (northern) Vikrama year is $777 + 937 = 1714$ current; and the corresponding European date is **Sunday**, January 11, 1657, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22h 11m after mean sunrise. Moreover, at sunrise, the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Rēvatī**. As to the *yōga*, the result calculated by Prof. Jacobi's tables would be *Sādhya*; and as this *yōga* (No. 22) is next to *Siddha* (No. 21), not to *Siddhi* (No. 16), I feel certain that the word *siddhi* of the date has been put by mistake for *siddha*. [With 777 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Wednesday, January 23, 1656, *nakshatra* **Āśvini**, and *yōga* **Śukla**.]

19. *ib.*, p. 192:—

Nēpāl-ābdē | *gagana-dharīṇī-nāga-yuktē* | *kil-Ōrjē* | *māsē* | *pakshē* | *vidhu-virahitē* | *su-dvitiyā-tithau* . . . *Ravan*.

Data:—The year 810, the month *Kārttika*, the dark half, the second lunar day, *Ravi* or **Sunday**.

Taking 810 to be the year expired, the corresponding (northern) Vikrama year is $810 + 937 = 1747$ current; and the corresponding European date is **Sunday**, October 20, 1689. On that day, at sunrise, the 2nd *tithi* of the

dark half was current, and it ended 7h 35m after mean sunrise. [With 810 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Tuesday, October 30, 1688.]

20. Bendall's *Catalogue*, p. 142:—

Samvat 820 *Kārttika-māsya-śukla-pakshē* | *trayōdasyām* | *tithau* | *rēvatī-nakshatrē* | *vajrayōgē* . . . *Vṛihaspati-vāsarē*, and other particulars which I omit here.

Data:—The year 820, the month *Kārttika*, the bright half, the thirteenth lunar day, *Bṛihaspati-vāsara* or **Thursday**, the *nakshatra* **Rēvatī**, and the *yōga* **Vajra**.

Taking 820 to be the year expired, the corresponding (northern) Vikrama year is $820 + 937 = 1757$ current; and the corresponding European date is **Thursday**, October 26, 1699. On that day, at sunrise, the 13th *tithi* of the bright half was current, and it ended 12h 45m after mean sunrise. Calculated by Prof. Jacobi's tables, the moon, at mean sunrise, was in the *nakshatra* **Āśvini**, the *nakshatra* following upon **Rēvatī**, and the current *yōga* was **Siddhi**, the *yōga* following upon **Vajra**. [With 820 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Sunday, November 6, 1698, *nakshatra* **Bharanī**, and *yōga* **Parigha**.]

21. *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 193:—

Abdē | *Rāma-prajēsvarāsya* | *vasubhir* = *Māghē* | *sitē* | *pakshakē* | *śūlē* | *ch-ōttaraphālgunē* | *śāsadhare* | *vārē* | *dvi-tiyā-tithau* |

Data:—The year 843, the month *Māgha*; the bright half, if the word following upon the word *Māghē* is taken (as it has been taken by the editor of the inscription) to be *sitē*, but the dark half, if the same word is taken to be *āsītē* (*Māghē* *śāsītē*); the second lunar day, *śāsadhara-vāra* or **Monday**, the *nakshatra* **Uttarā-Phālguni**, and the *yōga* **Sala**.

With 843 expired ($= 843 + 937 = 1780$ Vikrama current) the corresponding European date for the bright half of *Māgha* is Sunday, January 27, 1723; and with 843 current, the corresponding date, also for the bright half, is January 8, 1722, which was a Monday, but on which the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Śravishtā** (No. 23 instead of No. 12), and when the current *yōga* was **Vyatipāta** (No. 17 instead of No.).

* Not 778, as given by the editor of the inscription.

Both days clearly are wrong, and a satisfactory result is obtained only for the *dark* half of Māgha; for the date corresponding to the second of the *dark* half of Māgha, 843 expired,—is Monday, February 22, 11, 1723, when the 2nd *tithi*, of the *dark* half ended 6h 6m after mean sunrise, and when at sunrise the moon was in the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phālguni, and the current *yōga* was Śtūla. [With 843 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date, for the *dark* half of Māgha, would be Tuesday, January 23, 1722.]

22. Bendall's *Catalogue*, p. 5:—

Naipālik-ābdē bhujā-parvata-vasu-samyutē |
māṣe Āsvini sītē | trayōdāśiamita-titban |
tārā chitrā priti-yōgē . . . Bhāskaraputra-
vāsare . . .

Data:—The year 872, the month Āsvina, the *dark* half (*Āsvinē sītē*), the thirteenth lunar day, Bhāskaraputra-vāsara or Saturday, the *nakshatra* Chitrā, and the *yōga* Prīti.

Taking 872 to be the year expired, the corresponding northern Vikrama year is 872 + 938 = 1810 current; and the corresponding European date is Saturday, November 4, new style, 1752, when the 13th *tithi* of the *dark* half ended 17 minutes after mean sunrise. Calculated by Prof. Jacobi's Tables, the moon, at sunrise, was in the *nakshatra* Chitrā, and the current *yōga* was Āyushmat, the *yōga* following upon Prīti.—As the reading *Āsvinē sītē* might be considered doubtful, I have calculated also the 13th of the *bright* half of Āsvina, with the result—Saturday, October 21, new style, 1752, *nakshatra* Rēvati (No. 27 instead of No. 14), and *yōga* Vajra (No. 15 instead of No. 2), which shows that the day intended must be the 13th of the *dark* half. [With 872 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Sunday, October 6, 1751, *nakshatra* Haeta, and *yōga* Vaidhriti.]

23. *Ib.*, p. 40:—

Samvat 995 miti Vaiśākha kṛishṇa 2 Śanivāra-vāra.

Data:—The year 995, the month Vaiśākha, the *dark* half, the second, Śanivāra or Saturday.

Taking 995 to be the year expired, the corresponding northern Vikrama year is 995 + 938 = 1933 current; and the corresponding European date is Saturday, May 22, new

style, 1875, when the 2nd *tithi* of the *dark* half ended 9h 30m after mean sunrise. [With 995 current, and the epoch A.D. 878-79, the corresponding date would be Sunday, May 3, 1874.]

C.—Dates in which the years mentioned must be regarded, exceptionally, as current years.

24. *Ib.*, p. 172:—

Samvat 157 Vaiśākha-śukla-trītiyāyām Śukra-dinē.

Data:—The year 157, the month Vaiśākha, the *bright* half, the third lunar day, Śukra-dina or Friday.

Taking 157 to be the current year, the corresponding northern Vikrama year is 156 expired + 938 = 1094 current; and the corresponding European date is Friday, April 2, 1036, when the 3rd *tithi* of the *bright* half ended 9h 21m after mean sunrise. [With 157 expired and the epoch A.D. 878-79, or with 157 current and the epoch A.D. 879-80, the corresponding date would be Thursday, April 21, 1037; and with 157 expired, and the epoch A.D. 879-80,—Monday, April 10, 1038.]

25. *Ib.*, p. 148:—

Samvat 927 Vaiśākha-māyā-śukla-pakṣē chaturdāśyām tithau chitā-nakshatrē vāja-yōgē . . . Vṛihaspati-vāra.

Data:—The year 927, the month Vaiśākha, the *bright* half, the fourteenth lunar day, Vṛihaspati-vāra or Thursday, the *nakshatra* Chitrā, and the *yōga* Vajra.

Taking 927 to be the current year, the corresponding northern Vikrama year is 926 expired + 938 = 1864 current; and the corresponding European date is Thursday, May 1, new style, 1806, when the 14th *tithi* ended 19h 25m after mean sunrise. At sunrise, the moon was in the *nakshatra* Chitrā, and the current *yōga* was Vajra. [With 927 expired and the epoch A.D. 878-79, or with 927 current and the epoch A.D. 879-80, the corresponding date would be Wednesday, May 20, new style, 1807, *nakshatra* Svātī, and *yōga* Varīyas; and with 927 expired and the epoch A.D. 879-80,—Monday, May 9, new style, 1808, *nakshatra* Svātī, and *yōga* Vystīpāta.]

An examination of these 25 dates will show that, as regards the settlement of the true epoch of the Nēwār era, the most important of them

are the first four and the last two dates. If we had only the 19 dates, from 5 to 23, the years mentioned in them might of course be taken as current years, and in that case the results as regards week-days, etc., would be the same with the epoch A.D. 879-80. But that epoch will absolutely not do for the dates 1-4, which distinctly give expired years, nor for the dates 24 and 25; and, unless we are prepared to assume an error in every one of those six dates, the only epoch that leads to satisfactory results for them, and generally for every one of the 25 dates, is A.D. 878-79, or, more accurately, that epoch by which the era began on 20 October, A.D. 879. And this, again, shows that the years given in the dates 5-23, beginning with the Nēwār year 135 and ending with 995, must undoubtedly be taken as expired years, although the dates contain no such word as *atīta*, *gata*, *yāta*, or any other synonymous expression.

As regards the commencement of the Nēwār year, a comparison of date 22, which gives the 13th day of the *dark* half of the month Āsvina, with date 10, which gives the 8th day of the *bright* half of the month Kārttika,* and of which the former requires the addition of 938 and the latter the addition of only 937 for the obtainment of the current northern Vikrama year, clearly shows that the year commences on one of the ten days intervening between those two dates; in other words, that it undoubtedly does begin with the first day of the *bright* half of Kārttika, the day on which it is reported to begin.

And that the arrangement of the two

* Arranged in the sequence of the months, the 25 dates would stand as follows:—

Date 10, Kārttika, śukla 8.
Date 20, Kārttika, śukla 13.
Date 19, Kārttika, kṛishṇa 2.
Date 18, Mārgaśīra, śukla 7.
Date 4, Mārgaśīra, kṛishṇa 10.
Date 3, Pausha, śukla 9.
Date 9, Pausha, kṛishṇa 8.
Date 18, Māgha, śukla 7.
Date 3, Māgha, śukla 18.
Date 21, Māgha, kṛishṇa 3.
Date 16, Phālguna, śukla 10.
Date 17, Phālguna, kṛishṇa 6.

lunar fortnights is the *amānta* arrangement of the southern Vikrama year, is clearly proved by the dates 1, 4, 9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, and 23; for those eleven dates give days in *dark* fortnights, which, as I have taken care to ascertain, in every instance, work out satisfactorily only with the *amānta* scheme of the month.

Finally, I may draw attention to the dates 7 and 16, because in them the words *saptam-yām*, 'on the seventh (*tithi*),' and *daśam-yām tithau*, 'on the tenth *tithi*,' clearly do not mean 'on the day on which the 7th *tithi* ended' and 'on the day on which the 10th *tithi* ended;' but mean exactly what they signify, and thus happen to denote, in the first date, the 6th day, and in the other, the 9th day of the lunar fortnight. The fact is that, when a *tithi* begins on one day and ends on the next, the ceremonies prescribed for it must, under certain circumstances which are fully described in such works as the *Dharmasindhusāra*, be performed on the civil day on which the *tithi* commences, and not on the civil day on which the *tithi* ends; and it is highly desirable that somebody should compile, for easy reference, a short and clear tabular statement, showing the *tithis* which are liable to be treated in this way, and the exact conditions under which, for religious purposes, they must be connected with the civil day on which they commence. Anyhow, it is clear that, in calculating dates, it may sometimes be necessary to ascertain the beginning as well as the end of a *tithi*, a process which now has been rendered more than easy by Professor Jacobi's Tables.

Date 5, Chaitra adhika, śukla 10.
Date 1, Chaitra, kṛishṇa 13.
Date 24, Vaiśākha, śukla 3.
Date 7, Vaiśākha, śukla 7.
Date 25, Vaiśākha, śukla 14.
Date 23, Vaiśākha, kṛishṇa 2.
Date 12, Vaiśākha, kṛishṇa 6.
Date 11, Jyaiṣṭha, śukla 10.
Date 15, Jyaiṣṭha, kṛishṇa 15.
Date 14, Āshāḍha, kṛishṇa 11.
Date 8, Śrāvṇa, śukla 8.
Date 6, Bhādrapada, śukla 15.
Date 23, Āsvina, kṛishṇa 13.

VIKRAMA DATES IN A MANUSCRIPT OF
THE MAHABHASHYA.

In an excellent Manuscript of the Mahābhāshya, which I obtained from Gujārāt and purchased for the Government of Bombay in 1881, the copyist has recorded the days on which he finished various portions of his work, in the following seven dates:—

- (1).—On Fol. 7b:—Samvat 1545 varshē Śrāvāna śu. di. 10 Budhē; i.e. in the year 1545, on the 10th day of the bright half of Śrāvāna on Wednesday.
- (2).—On Fol. 58a:—Samvat 1545 varshē Bhādrapada-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē 3 tṛitīyān tithau Ravi-dinē; i.e. in the year 1545, in the month Bhādrapada, in the dark half, on the 3rd, on the third lunar day, on Sunday.
- (3).—On Fol. 80a:—Samvat 1545 varshē Ishē māsē sitē pakshē 10 Jāṣamān tithau Ravi-dinē; i.e. in the year 1545, in the month Jṣha (or Āśvina), in the bright half, on the 10th, on the tenth lunar day, on Sunday.
- (4).—On Fol. 107b:—Samvat 1546 varshē Kārttika śu. di. 4 Budhē; i.e. in the year 1546, on the 4th day of the bright half of Kārttika, on Wednesday.
- (5).—On Fol. 128a:—Samvat 1546 varshē Kārttika śu. di. 13 Śukrē; i.e. in the year 1546, on the 13th day of the bright half of Kārttika, on Friday.
- (6).—On Fol. 176b:—Samvat 1546 Mārga śu. di. 12 Śukrē; i.e. the year 1546, on the 12th of the bright half of Mārgaśirsha, on Friday.
- (7).—On Fol. 201b:—Samvat 1546 varshē Mārgaśirsha-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē 8 aṣṭamān Bhauma-dinē; i.e. in the year 1546, in the month Mārgaśirsha, in the dark half, on the 8th, on the eighth (lunar day), on Tuesday.

The interest of these dates lies in this, that they furnish sufficient data for calculating seven consecutive dates, given by one and the same careful writer, of which the latest date is not five months distant from the earliest; and the difficulty presented by them, and which induces me to make these dates public, is, that one of their number apparently does not work out properly, while for at least five of them the corresponding European dates may be given with absolute certainty.

A comparison of the dates (3) and (4), of which the former gives a day of the month Āśvina of the year 1545, and the latter a day of the month Kārttika of the following year 1546, shows at once that the years we are concerned with, are

southern Vikrama years, beginning with the month Kārttika. And a comparison of the dates (6) and (7), of which the former gives a day of the bright half of the month Mārgaśirsha, while the latter gives a day of the dark half of the same month Mārgaśirsha, would further prove, if such proof were at all necessary, that we have to deal with a southern year, with the regular amānta arrangement of the lunar fortnights. Considering that the MS. was written in Gujārāt, this is only what we should expect.

Taking the years 1545 and 1546 as expired years, the corresponding European dates for (2), (3), (5), (6), and (7) are:—

- (2). Sunday, September 13, A.D. 1489; the 3rd tithi of the dark half ended 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.
- (3). Sunday, October 4, A.D. 1489; the 10th tithi of the bright half ended 6 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise.
- (5). Friday, November 6, A.D. 1489; the 13th tithi of the bright half ended 4 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.
- (6). Friday, December 4, A.D. 1489; the 12th tithi of the bright half ended 20 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.
- (7). Tuesday, December 15, A.D. 1489; the 8th tithi of the dark half ended 22 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise (and it commenced 1 h. 25 m. before mean sunrise).

As regards (4), I find that the 4th tithi of the bright half of Kārttika, of 1546 expired, ended 30 minutes before mean sunrise of Wednesday, October 28, A.D. 1489; but considering that the tithi ended so near sunrise, and that the day required would come, under ordinary circumstances, nine days before Friday, November 6, the day of date (5), I have no doubt that, in Gujārāt, Wednesday, October 28, A.D. 1489, was the 4th of the bright half of Kārttika.

But I am unable to make out how the date mentioned under (1) should have fallen on a Wednesday. For in A.D. 1489, the 10th tithi of the bright half of Śrāvāna began 9 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, August 5th, and ended 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, August 6th, and the date corresponding to Śrāvāna śu. di. 10 accordingly should be Thursday, August 6th, not Wednesday, August 5th. Or can it be shown that, for any reason unknown to me, the case should have been otherwise?

F. KIELHORN.

THE DATES OF THREE COPPER-PLATE
GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

In the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVI. Part I. pp. 106-123, Dr. Führer has published, with photolithographs, three new copper-plate grants of Govindachandradēva of Kanauj. That Dr. Führer has adopted, without a word of acknowledgment, my translations of the grants of Jayaachandra, published *ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 6-13, as well as certain suggestions and conjectures of mine, is a matter which concerns only himself. Of more general interest are the dates of these grants.

According to Dr. Führer, the grant No. I. "was made on Monday, the full-moon day of the month Mārgaśirsha, in the (Vikrama) year 1180, answering it appears to Monday, the 21st November, 1123 A.D."—In reality, (1) the 21st November, A.D. 1123, was a Wednesday; (2) in A.D. 1123, the full-moon day of Mārgaśirsha was Tuesday, 4th December; (3) Dr. Führer's photolithograph, if it is worth anything, shows that the grant was made in 1187, not in 1180; and (4) Dr. Führer takes no notice whatever of the *samkrānti*, mentioned apparently in connection with the date.

According to Dr. Führer, the grant No. II. "is dated Thursday, the 4th lunar day of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada of the (Vikrama) year 1181, answering it appears to Thursday, the 9th September 1124 A.D."—Here again, (1) the 9th September, A.D. 1124, was a Tuesday; and (2) in A.D. 1124, the 4th of the bright half of Bhādrapada 'apparently' corresponds to Friday, 15th August.

And, according to Dr. Führer, the grant No. III. "is dated Friday, the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama) year 1185, answering it appears to Friday, the 20th March 1128 A.D."—And here again, (1) the 20th March, A. D. 1128, was a Tuesday; (2) in A.D. 1128, the 15th of the bright half of Chaitra was Sunday, 18th March; and (3) Dr. Führer has made no reference to the term *manvadda*, mentioned apparently in connection with the date; a term which, indeed, Dr. Führer takes to denote "the sun's entrance into another zodiacal sign after midnight."

Each of the three dates does present certain difficulties, which, using only the photolithographs for which we are indebted to Dr. Führer, I shall try to point out in the following remarks:—

No. I.

The date is contained in the following passage:—
(L. 18.) samvat 1187 Mārga su di
(L. 19.) paurṇamī(rṇa)māsyām tithau Soma-
dinē || ady-ēha śrīmad-Vārāṇasā[m*] sam-
krāntau

What first strikes us here, is that the term *su di* is followed by the expression *paurṇamīdyām tithau*, 'on the full-moon tithi,' an expression ordinarily made use of when a date is given in words, while, when the date is given in figures, *su di* is employed, followed by a numeral for the day, which, in the present case, might have been expected to be 15. Of this exceptional usage I shall treat on a future occasion. As regards the present inscription, there can be no doubt that the meaning intended to be conveyed is, that the grant was made 'in the year 1187, on the full-moon tithi or 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month Mārgaśraha, on a Monday.' On this day the king, when at Benares, made a certain grant, having, we are told, bathed in the Ganges 'on the occasion of a *samkrānti*, or entrance of the sun into a sign of the zodiac.' Since, under ordinary circumstances, the *samkrānti* here spoken of should coincide with the date mentioned before, we obtain for calculation:—the year 1187 of an unspecified era, the full-moon tithi or 15th lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśraha, being a Monday and also the day of a *samkrānti* (or,

possibly, the day immediately following or preceding a *samkrānti*).

Taking, as for reasons which need not be mentioned here we must do, 1187 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśraha would be:—

for the (northern or southern) year 1187, current,—

Wednesday, 27th November, A. D. 1129, when there was full-moon about 16 h. after mean sunrise; and

for the (northern or southern) year 1187, expired,—

Monday, 17th November, A. D. 1130, when there was full-moon about 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

The second of these two dates does furnish the week-day required, but on neither date was there a *samkrānti*; for the nearest *samkrānti* took place—

in A. D. 1129, on Monday, 25th November, which was the 13th of the bright half of Mārgaśraha; and

in A. D. 1130, on Tuesday, 25th November, which was the 8th of the dark half of a month; while the preceding *samkrānti* had taken place on Monday, 27th October, which was the 9th of the dark half of a month.

Unless there be some rule concerning *samkrāntis* which is unknown to me, there appears therefore to be some error in the recorded details of the date; and the possibilities seem to me, either that the grant was made on a Monday, the day of a *samkrānti*, the 13th (not the 15th) lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśraha,—in which case the true date would be Monday, 25th November, A. D. 1129; or, that the word *samkrāntau* has been wrongly inserted in the grant,—in which case the true date would be Monday, 17th November, A. D. 1130. In the former case the figures 1187 would denote the current year; in the latter, the year expired. In my opinion the probabilities are that the full-moon tithi is rightly quoted in the grant, and that the true date therefore is Monday, 17th November, A.D. 1130; and I may point to the grant of Chandradēva and Madanapāladēva of the year 1154, as a clear instance in which (similarly to what I suppose to have been done in the present grant) an *uttarayana-samkrānti* has been wrongly quoted, coupled as it is with the 3rd day of the bright half of Māgha, a day on which the *uttarayana-samkrānti* can never take place.

I may add that of all the years from Vikrama 1180, current, up to Vikrama 1190, expired, the

full-moon day of Mārgaśraha was a Monday, only in Vikrama 1187, expired; for that day was equivalent,—

in V. 1180, current, to Wednesday, 15 Nov., A.D. 1122;
 ,, 1181, ,, ,, Tuesday, 4 Dec., A.D. 1123;
 ,, 1182, ,, ,, Sunday, 23 Nov., A.D. 1124;
 ,, 1183, ,, ,, Thursday, 12 Nov., A.D. 1125;
 ,, 1184, ,, ,, Wednesday, 1 Dec., A.D. 1126;
 ,, 1185, ,, ,, Sunday, 20 Nov., A.D. 1127;
 ,, 1186, ,, ,, Saturday, 8 Dec., A.D. 1128;
 ,, 1187, ,, ,, Wednesday, 27 Nov., A.D. 1129;
 ,, 1188, ,, ,, Monday, 17 Nov., A.D. 1130;
 ,, 1189, ,, ,, Sunday, 6 Dec., A.D. 1131;
 ,, 1190, ,, ,, Thursday, 24 Nov., A.D. 1132;
 ,, 1191, ,, ,, Tuesday, 14 Nov., A.D. 1133.

And in all the years enumerated there was a *samkrānti* on 25th November, which was a Monday only in A.D. 1129.

No. II.

The date is given as follows:—

(L. 16.) samvat 1181 Bhādrapada su di [4?] Gurau.

In the photolithograph, the figure following upon *su di* looks as if, in the original grant, a 3 had been altered into 4, or a 4 into 3; and all that can be said with certainty, is that the grant was made on a Thursday, which was either the 3rd or 4th day of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada, of the year 1181; on the occasion, as we are told in line 21, of making the great gift of the *pañcha-lāngala* or 'five ploughs.'

Referring the date, again, to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for the 3rd and 4th days of the bright half of Bhādrapada would be:—

for the northern year 1181, current,—

Sunday, 26th August, } A.D. 1123;
 and Monday, 27th August, }

for the northern year 1181, expired, or the southern year current,—

Thursday, 14th August, } A.D. 1124;
 and Friday, 15th August, }

and for the southern year 1181, expired,—

Monday, 3rd August, } A.D. 1125.
 and Tuesday, 4th August, }

Of these, Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124, which was the 3rd of the bright half of Bhādrapada, would exactly suit us, if we could be quite sure that the figure following upon the term *su di* of the inscription were 3; but that figure may be 4, and it must be borne in mind that the

Bhādrapada-śukla-tritīyā is one of the *manvaddi-tithis*, being the anniversary of the fourth Manu Tāmasa, and that this would probably have been stated in the inscription (as it has actually been stated in No. III.), if the grant had been really made on the 3rd.—At the same time, it must be observed that, under certain circumstances, the same particular Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124, though civilly the 3rd day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, might also have been coupled with the fourth tithi, if namely (in the absence of any distinct statement on the subject) we were allowed to assume that the donation spoken of in the grant had been made in connection with the *Siddhivindya-kavṛata*, prescribed for the *Gaṇḍa-chaturthī*, i.e. the fourth tithi of the bright half of Bhādrapada. That tithi, in the present case, began at Benares 43 m. after midday of the Thursday in question, and it ended 5 m. after midday of Friday, i.e. it covered, so to say, a portion of the *madhyh-nakḍa* (which lasts 72 m. before and 72 m. after noon) of either day; and, such being the case, any ceremony in honour of Gaṇḍa would necessarily have had to be performed on the Thursday, not on the Friday, and the Thursday would, for the purpose of the attending religious ceremonies, have been correctly coupled with the 4th (running) tithi.

Under any circumstances, I consider it certain that the date is Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124, and that the figures for the year, 1181, accordingly denote the current southern Vikrama year.

No. III.

The passage containing the date runs thus:—

(L. 15) pañchāsti(st)ty-adhik-aiśāda-
 (sa) - sa(sa)jta - samvatsarēshu Chaitrē māsi
 su(su)kḷa-pakṣhē paurṇamāsyām tithau
 Su(su)kra-dinē ankē-pi samvat 1185 Chaitra
 su di 15 Su(su)krē [ady-ēha] śrīmad-Vārā-

(L. 16.) nāsyām manvādaṁ Gaṅgāyām snātṛā.
 The inscription, accordingly, is clearly dated—'in the year 1185, on the full-moon tithi or 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month Chaitra, on Friday.' On that day the king, when at Benares, made a certain grant, having bathed in the Ganges on a *manvādi*, i.e., apparently, on that particular *manvādi-tithi* which coincides

the queen, the illustrious *Dāhanadētī*" (*śrīmad-rājāśmanta-mahāmātrī-śrī-Dāhana-dēvī*); whereas it is quite clear that, in reality, it was made by the queen (whose name Mr. Fleet, I believe rightly, suggests to be *Alhapadēvī*) with the consent of the king (*śrīmad-rājāśmanta*).

² Compare, e.g., *Kālamādhava*, p. 110: *madhyh-nar-trimuhūrtāb syāt*.

with the full-moon *tithi* of the month Chaitra, which is the anniversary of the thirteenth Manu Rauchya.

Taking 1185, again, to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Chaitra sukla 15 would be :—

for the current northern year,—

Tuesday, 29th March, A.D. 1127;

for the expired northern or current southern year,—

Sunday, 18th March, A.D. 1128;

and for the expired southern year,—

Saturday, 6th April, A.D. 1129.

Of these, Saturday, 6th April, A.D. 1129, comes nearest the week-day we are in search of, and the question is whether the preceding day, Friday, 5th April, A.D. 1129, though civilly the 14th of the bright half of Chaitra, could by any possibility have been coupled with the 15th or full-moon *tithi* of the month. That *tithi*, at Benares, commenced about 40 m. before sunset of the Friday in question, and it ended about 60 m. before sunset of the next day; and if we could show that the religious ceremony with which the grant was connected had been performed very late in the

afternoon of Friday, or at any time up to sunrise of Saturday, every difficulty would be removed. The grant having been made on a *manvadi-tithi*, the ceremony performed on the occasion probably was a *śrāddha*. So far as I understand the somewhat intricate rules accessible to me, a ceremony of this kind may be performed late in the afternoon; and assuming this to have been done in the present case, it was right to say that the donation was made on Friday, during the (running) full-moon *tithi* of Chaitra. For the present, I therefore consider Friday, 5th April, A.D. 1129, to be the true equivalent of the date; and I accordingly take the figures 1185 to denote the southern expired year.

Lest the above should be objected to on the ground that the results in the case of Nos. I and III. are for expired southern years, while in the case of No. II. the result is for the southern current year, I may add that, similarly, out of four grants of Jayachandra lately sent to me by Mr. Fleet, three are dated in expired southern years, while one is dated in the current southern year.

Göttingen.

F. KIELROEN.

SUDI AND VADI.

As regards the true signification of the expressions *su. di.* and *va. di.*, and their use in ancient records, I, of course, entirely concur in the views expressed by Mr. Fleet, in a note on p. 147 of Vol. XVI. of this Journal. But there can, in my opinion, be no doubt that, in more modern times, the Hindus have looked upon *śudi* or *sudi*, and *vadi* or *badi*, as words, and have taken the former to be equivalent to *śukla-pakṣhē* 'in the bright half,' and the latter to *kṛishṇa-pakṣhē* 'in the dark half' of a month.

In grammar, one would naturally look for these terms, if they should have been regarded as independent words, in the *gaṇa svarādi*; and it is instructive to note that, while in the *Kāśika-Vṛitti*, composed about A.D. 650, there occurs neither *śudi* nor *vadi* among the *svarādi*, the *Gaṇaratnamahōdadhī*, which we know to have been compiled about A.D. 1140, does contain *sudi*, explained by *śukla-pakṣhē*, in that *gaṇa*; and the quite modern *Gaṇaratnāvalī* enumerates among the *svarādi* both *śudi* and *vadi*, explained by *śukla-pakṣhē* and *kṛishṇa-pakṣhē* respectively.

And I am even able to quote several dates in which the terms *sudi* and *vadi* have actually been coupled with a *tithi* or lunar day; a proceeding which may be utterly illogical, but which shows that the writers had altogether forgotten the original meaning of *sudi* and *vadi*, and that, to them, these terms were synonymous with *śukla-pakṣhē* and *kṛishṇa-pakṣhē*, and nothing else.

1.—From a photolithograph in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XX. plate xxii., we learn that on the pillar of a temple at 'Dubkund,' about 76 miles south-west of Gwalior, there is a short inscription, dated—

Samvat 1152 Vaiśāha(kha)-sudi-pañchamyām,—

i.e. 'on the fifth (lunar day) of *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) of Vaiśāha, of the year 1152.'

2.—In Professor Peterson's valuable *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 156, the date of the completion of a commentary on the *Bhavabhāvanā* is given in the following verse,—

Saptatyadhik-aiśādaśa-varṣaśatair=Vikramād=atikrāntaiḥ |
nīshpanā vṛittir-iyām Śrāvāṇa-vadi-pañchamī-divasē ||

i.e. 'this commentary was completed on the day (on which ended) the fifth (lunar day) of *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half) of Śrāvāṇa, when eleven hundred years increased by seventy had gone by since Vikrama.'

3.—From my own *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 46, it will be seen that a copy of Hēmachandra's *Śabdānuśāsana-laghuvṛitti* was completed, at Stambhatīrtha,—

Samvat 1315 varṣhē Chaitra-vadi-chaturthī-dinē Vu(bu)dha-vārē,—

i.e. 'in the year 1315, on the day (on which ended) the fourth (lunar day) of *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half) of Chaitra, on a Wednesday.'

4.—From Śīlaratnasūri's commentary on Mērutuṅga's *Mēghadūta*, an extract of which is given in Professor Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 249, we learn (verse 4) that the author completed his work, at Aṇahillapāṭaka,—

Varṣhē chaṇdra-nidhāna-pūrva-1491-kalitē śrī-Vikramārkāt=tathā

Chaitr-āntar=vadi-pañchamī-Budhadinē śrēṣṭh-Ānurādhā-yutē | —

i.e. 'in the year, (reckoned) from the glorious Vikramārka, (which is) made up of the moon (1), the treasures (9), and the *Pārvas* (14, *i.e.* in) 1491; in (the month) Chaitra, on a Wednesday, the fifth (lunar day) of *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half), coupled with the excellent (*nakshatra*) Anurādhā.'

5.—In Professor Peterson's *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1882-83, p. 94, we read—

Samvad=grah-āśva-muni-bhū-jñātē māśē Madhau sudi |

trayōdaśyām Sōma-vārē samāptō-yaṁ Sukh-ōdadhīḥ ||

i.e. 'this ocean of pleasure was completed on a Monday, on the thirteenth (lunar day) in *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) in the month Madhu (*i.e.* Chaitra), in the year known by the planets (9), the horses (7), the sages (7), and the earth (1; *i.e.* in 1779).'

These dates, the wording of three of which, at any rate, is proved by the metre to be indisputable (and the number of which might easily be increased), will suffice to show that from about A.D. 1100 *sudi* and *vadi* were really interchangeable with *śukla-pakṣhē* and *kṛishṇa-pakṣhē*, and that they were used in these senses both by themselves and also in composition with preceding or following words. And such being the case, we cannot be surprised to find *sudi* and *vadi* also coupled with the new-moon and full-moon *tithis*, and with the *tithi* called *pratipad* or *pratipadā*, as, *e.g.*, in the following dates :—

6.—A copper-plate grant of Virasimha, published by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Jour. Americ. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 542, is dated—

Samvat 1177 Kārttika-vadi amāvāsyaṁ Ravi-dinē,—

i.e. 'on Sunday, on the new-moon (*tithi* or lunar day, in) *vadi* (*i.e.* the dark half) of Kārttika, of the year 1177.'

7.—The 'Raiwān' plate of Gōvindachandraśva, published by Dr. Führer in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 109, is dated, in line 18,—

Samvat 1187 Mārgga-sudi paurṇī(rṇa)māsyaṁ tithau Sōma-dinē,—

i.e. 'on Monday, on the full-moon *tithi* (or lunar day, in) *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) of Mārggāśrīsha, of the year 1187.'

8.—The Alha-Ghaṭ inscription of Narasiṁhadēva, of which a photolithograph is given in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. plate xxviii., and of which I owe a rubbing to Mr. Fleet, is dated—

Samvat 1216 Bhādra-sudi-pratipadā Ravan,—

i.e. 'the first lunar day of *sudi* (*i.e.* the bright half) of Bhādrapada of the year 1216, on a Sunday.'

Although dates like these prove that the later grammarians certainly did not invent the meanings which they have assigned to *sudi* and *vadi*, in actual usage the connection of these terms with a *tithi* must nevertheless be regarded as exceptional; for, in the majority of cases *sudi* and *vadi* are even in later dates followed by a numeral figure, while the word denoting a

* Dr. Hall has altered *amāvāsyaṁ*, unnecessarily, to *amāvāsyaḍyāsi*.

* See page 57 above.

tithi is as regularly preceded by *śukla-pakṣa*, *kṛṣṇa-pakṣa*, *śukla*, *kṛṣṇa*, *sita*, *asita*, or some similar expression. And judging from the large number of dates before me, I feel little hesitation in saying that the two terms retained their original signification, and were felt to be what they really are, abbreviations of two separate words, up to about the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. At any rate, I may be permitted to point out that, if an expression like *sūdi-pañchamīyām*, which we have met with in the date No. 1 above, had been habitually employed in earlier times, we might certainly expect to read *sūdi-pañchamīyām*, instead of *sita-pañchamīyām*, in the following verse, which occurs in my *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 9, and in Professor Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 149 :—

Saivratsara-sata-navakē dvishasṭi-sahitē-tilaṅghitē ch-āsyāt |

Jyēshṭhē³ si(si)ta-pañchamīyām Punarvvasau Gura-dinē [samāptir-ahhāt ||]

i.e. 'and this (work) was completed when nine hundred and sixty-two years had gone by, in (the month) Jyāishṭha, on the fifth (lunar day) of the bright (half), on a Thursday, (the moon being) in (the *nakṣatra*) Punarvasu.'

In conclusion, I may add that some of the dates quoted above are of considerable interest, for various reasons, which I shall have occasion to state fully in a separate paper.

³ Not *Jyēshṭhēsitapañchamīyām*, i.e., *Jyēshṭhē asita-pañchamīyām*, as given in Professor Peterson's Report. The corresponding day, for the bright half of Jyāishṭha, of the southern Vikrama year 962, expired, is Thursday, 1st May, A.D. 906, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in Punarvasu up to about 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

WHILE engaged in calculating or verifying Hindu dates in which the year of one era or another is coupled with a year of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, I have had frequent occasion to resort to the third memoir of Warren's invaluable *Kāla-Saṅkalita*, pp. 197-216, and I have often admired the ingenuity and clearness with which that great scholar has treated his subject. At the same time, I cannot but confess that the use of Warren's Tables is somewhat troublesome; and it has appeared to me that the process of finding the exact beginning and end of a cycle-year, according to the different rules, might be simplified by giving certain fractions of days, etc., in decimals of days, and by expressing the epochs of the several eras, as well as other items, in days of the Julian period, a method which has been followed successfully by Dr. Schram in his *Hilfsstafeln für Chronologie*.¹ Besides, Warren's book is now difficult to obtain. The following simple rules and Tables may therefore not be altogether unwelcome to scholars who either do not possess a copy of the *Kāla-Saṅkalita* themselves, or have no large public library within easy reach.

A.—The beginning and end of the Cycle-year according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*.

(a)—According to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the epoch of the Kaliyuga, expressed in days of the Julian period, and in such a manner as to yield current days and hours, etc., after mean sunrise (at Ujjain), in the final results, is —
588 465-7500 days.²

(b)—The length of one solar year is—
365-2587565 days.³

(c)—The length of one year of Jupiter's cycle, without Bija or correction, is —
361-02672103 days.

(d)—The length of one year of Jupiter's cycle, with Bija or correction, is —
361-0346511 days.

Rules.

1. To find the beginning of any year of the Kaliyuga, in accordance with the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, multiply (b), i.e. the length of one solar year, by the number of years expired, and to the product add 588 463-6024 (i.e. the epoch of the Kaliyuga diminished by 2-1476, the time by which the apparent Mēsha-saṅkrānti at the commencement of the Kaliyuga, according to Warren, preceded the epoch). Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II.

Thus, for the beginning of Kaliyuga 4871, current, we find—

$$\begin{array}{r} 365-2587565 \times 4870 \\ 1778\ 810-1441550 \\ +\ 588\ 463-6024 \\ \hline 2367\ 273-7466 \text{ days of the Julian period, which by Tables I.} \end{array}$$

and II. correspond to

9th April, A.D. 1769, new style, 17 h. 55-1 m.

In other words, the solar year Kaliyuga 4871, current, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, commenced 17 h. 55-1 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 9th April, A.D. 1769, new style.

¹ That portion of Dr. Schram's work which has reference to the Hindu luni-solar calendar, has now been re-cast by the author, and will be published in a following number of this Journal. Dr. Schram's Table for converting a day of the Julian period into the European date, (the use of which will appear from the examples given at the end of this article) is, for the sake of ready reference, by the author's permission, appended also to the present paper (Table I.).

² i.e. midnight between the 17th and 18th February, 3102 B.C.

³ These figures (b), (c), and (d) are based on the following data:—The number of civil days in a Mahayuga is 1577917823; in the same period there are 4320000 revolutions of the sun; revolutions of Jupiter (without correction) 364220; and revolutions of Jupiter, as corrected by the Bija, 364212.

2. To find the end of any one year of Jupiter's cycle, without or with Bija, multiply either (c), i.e. the length of one cycle-year without Bija, or (d), i.e. the length of one cycle-year with Bija, by the number which that particular year holds in the series of Jupiter's years counted from the beginning of the Kaliyuga (and which, as will be shown under 3, below, in practice can be readily ascertained), and to the product add (a), i.e. the epoch of the Kaliyuga. Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II., as before.

Thus, assuming a year Vilamba to be the 4926th of Jupiter's years, counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, we find—

(a) for the end of Vilamba without Bija :—

$$\begin{array}{r} 361\cdot02672103 \times 4926 \\ 1778\ 417\cdot62779378 \\ +\ 588\ 465\cdot7500 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

2366 883·3778 days of the Julian period, which by Tables I. and

II. correspond to

15th March, A.D. 1768, new style, 9 h. 4 m.

In other words, the year Vilamba without Bija ended (and the following year Vikârin commenced) 9 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 15th March, A.D. 1768, new style.

(b) for the end of Vilamba with Bija :—

$$\begin{array}{r} 361\cdot0346511 \times 4926 \\ 1778\ 456\cdot6913186 \\ +\ 588\ 465\cdot7500 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

2366 922·4413 days of the Julian period, which by Tables I.

and II. correspond to

23rd April, A.D. 1768, new style, 10 h. 35·5 m.

In other words, the year Vilamba with Bija ended (and the following year Vikârin commenced) 10 h. 35·5 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 23rd April, A.D. 1768, new style.

Having found the end of Vilamba, we find the commencement of Vilamba by deducting the length of one cycle-year, without or with Bija, as the case may be, thus :—

end of Vilamba without Bija, 2366 883·3778
less one year without Bija, — 361·0267

remainder 2366 522·3511,

i.e. 20th March, A.D. 1767, new style, 8 h. 25·6 m., — beginning of Vilamba without Bija;

end of Vilamba with Bija, 2366 922·4413

less one year with Bija, — 361·0347

remainder 2366 561·4066,

i.e. 28th April, A.D. 1767, new style, 9 h. 45·5 m., — beginning of Vilamba with Bija.

3. How to find the number of any year of Jupiter, mentioned in a date, in the series of Jupiter's years counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, may be best shown by two examples :—

First Example.

An inscription on a Satî-pillar at 'Boram-Dêo' in the Central Provinces, (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII. Plate xxii.) is dated—

Saṁvat 1445 Bhâva-nâma-saṁvasa(tea)rê Âsvi(śvi)na-sudi 13 Sômê ;

i.e. 'the (Vikrama) year 1445, in (Jupiter's) year named Bhâva, the 13th of the bright half of Âsvina, on Monday;'—and the corresponding European date (for the northern expired Vikrama year 1445) is Monday, 14th September, A.D. 1388, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. after mean sunrise.

The question here is :— Which year of Jupiter, counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, was the year Bhâva (the 42nd year in the Sixty-Year Cycle, when counted from Vijaya as No. 1; see Table III.), which is mentioned in this date ?

To answer this question, we substitute for the Vikrama year (1445) of the date the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga (4489), obtained by adding 3044; this year of the Kaliyuga (4489) we divide by 85; and we add the quotient to the dividend, counting fractions exceeding $\frac{1}{2}$ as 1, thus (4489 divided by 85 = $52\frac{69}{85}$ = 53; 4489 + 53 = 4542); dividing the sum (4542) by 60, the remainder will be, approximately, the number which the year we are concerned with holds in the Sixty-Year Cycle, when counted from Vijaya as No. 1; (4542 divided by 60 leaves remainder 42). Where the remainder actually corresponds with the number of the year of the date in the Sixty-Year Cycle, counted from Vijaya, (as is the case in the present instance), the sum previously divided by 60 (here 4542), is the very number sought (here 4542). But where the remainder falls below or exceeds that number (which would have been the case here if the remainder had been 41 or 44), the difference (in the assumed case, either 1 or 2) must be either added to, or subtracted from, the sum (here 4542) divided by 60 (in which case the year sought would have been either 4543 or 4540, respectively).⁴

In the present date, then, Bhâva was the 4542nd year of Jupiter from the commencement of the Kaliyuga; and we now find, by the rule given under 2, —

(a) for the end of Bhâva without Bija :—

$$\begin{array}{r} 361\cdot02672103 \times 4542 \\ 1639\ 783\cdot36691826 \\ +\ 588\ 465\cdot7500 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

2228 249·1169, i.e. 12th August, A.D. 1388, 2 h. 48·3 m.;

(b) for the end of Bhâva with Bija :—

$$\begin{array}{r} 361\cdot0346511 \times 4542 \\ 1639\ 819\cdot3852962 \\ +\ 588\ 465\cdot7500 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

2228 285·1353, i.e. 17th September, A.D. 1388, 3 h. 14·8 m.

The result is, that the year Bhâva, whether without or with Bija, was current at the commencement of the solar year Kaliyuga 4489 (= V. 1445) expired; and that, with Bija, it actually included the day (the 14th September, A.D. 1388) which is mentioned in the inscription.

Second Example.

My manuscript of the *Kâshîh-Vrittî* is dated —

Saṁvat 1464 varshê Âshâdha-vadi tritîyâyâm tithau Manmatha-saṁvatsarê Budhê ;
i.e. 'in the (Vikrama) year 1464, on the third lunar day of the dark half of Âshâdha, in (Jupiter's) year Manmatha, on Wednesday.'

Here it so happens that, had the year Manmatha not been mentioned in the date, the corresponding European date might be either, —

for the northern expired Vikrama year 1464, by the *pûrnamîta* reckoning, Wednesday, 25th May, A.D. 1407, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise; or — for the southern expired Vikrama year 1464, by the *amânta* reckoning, Wednesday, 11th July, A.D. 1408, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

In fact, the question as to which of these two dates is the date on which the writing of my MS. was finished, must and can only be decided by the year Manmatha.

Manmatha is the 3rd year of the Sixty-Year Cycle, counted from Vijaya; and proceeding as before, we have :— Vikrama 1464 + 3044 = Kaliyuga 4508; 4508 divided by 85 = $53\frac{1}{5}$; 4508 + 53 = 4561; 4561 divided by 60 leaves remainder 1; this being 2 less than Manmatha

⁴ It will be clear from the above that the first thing to do is always to substitute for the year of the date the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga; and in this respect it makes no difference whatever whether, the Vikrama year of a date is a northern or southern year. Should the year of the date be a Śaka year, we should also first substitute the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga, obtained by adding 3179; and we should proceed similarly in the case of any other era.

(3), we have $4561 + 2 = 4563$ as the number (from the commencement of the Kaliyuga) of the year Manmatha of our date. We now find —

(a) for the end of Manmatha without Bija:—

$$\begin{array}{r} 361\text{-}02672103 \times 4563 \\ \hline 1647\ 364\text{-}92805989 \\ + 588\ 465\text{-}7500 \end{array}$$

2235 830·6781, i.e. 15th May, A.D. 1409, 16 h. 16·5 m.;

and for the beginning of Manmatha without Bija, by deducting one year without Bija:—

$$\begin{array}{r} 2235\ 830\text{-}6781 \\ - 361\text{-}0267 \end{array}$$

2235 469·6514, i.e. 19th May, A.D. 1408, 15 h. 38 m.

(b) for the end of Manmatha with Bija:—

$$\begin{array}{r} 361\text{-}0346511 \times 4563 \\ \hline 1647\ 401\text{-}1129693 \\ + 588\ 465\text{-}7500 \end{array}$$

2235 866·8630, i.e. 20th June, A.D. 1409, 20 h. 42·7 m.;

and for the beginning of Manmatha with Bija, by deducting one year with Bija:—

$$\begin{array}{r} 2235\ 866\text{-}8630 \\ - 361\text{-}0347 \end{array}$$

2235 505·8283, i.e. 24th June, A.D. 1408, 19 h. 52·8 m.

The year Manmatha, without Bija, therefore lasted from—

19th May, A.D. 1408, 15 h. 38 m., to 15th May, A.D. 1409, 16 h. 16·5 m.; and the same year, with Bija, from —

24th June, A.D. 1408, 19 h. 52·8 m., to 20th June, A.D. 1409, 20 h. 42·7 m.; and it is clear that of the two otherwise possible European equivalents of the Hindu date (Wednesday, 25th May, A.D. 1407, and Wednesday, 11th July, A.D. 1408) only the second can be the true date, because only this date falls in the year Manmatha.

4. It is apparent that the above rules may be combined to ascertain or verify the occasion of a *kshaya* or expunged year of Jupiter. Thus it may be shown that Subhakrit, the 10th year of the cycle, counted from Vijaya (inclusive), with Bija, was such a year in Kaliyuga 4873, current. By the above we find that Kaliyuga 4872 ended, and Kaliyuga 4873 began —

$$\begin{array}{r} 365\text{-}2587565 \times 4872 \\ \hline 1779\ 540\text{-}6616680 \\ + 588\ 463\text{-}6024 \end{array}$$

2368 004·2640680, i.e. 10th April, A. D. 1771, new style, 6 h. 20·3 m.;

and that Kaliyuga 4873 ended —

$$\begin{array}{r} 2368\ 004\text{-}2640680 \\ + 365\text{-}2587565 \end{array}$$

2368 369·5228, i.e. 9th April, A.D. 1772, new style, 12 h. 32·8 m.

We also find that (since Subhakrit in Kaliyuga 4873 must have been the 4930th year of Jupiter from the commencement of the Kaliyuga) Subhakrit with Bija commenced, or the preceding year Plava (4929) ended —

$$\begin{array}{r} 361\text{-}0346511 \times 4929 \\ \hline 1779\ 539\text{-}7952719 \\ + 588\ 465\text{-}7500 \end{array}$$

2368 005·5452719, i.e. 11th April, A.D. 1771, new style, 13 h. 5·2 m.;

and that Subhakrit with Bija ended —

$$\begin{array}{r} 2368\ 005\text{-}5452719 \\ + 361\text{-}0346511 \end{array}$$

2368 366·5799, i.e. 6th April, A.D. 1772, new style, 13 h. 55·1 m.

It is therefore clear that Subhakrit, since it commenced after the beginning of Kaliyuga 4873 current, and ended before the end of Kaliyuga 4873 current, was a *kshaya* or expunged year in 4873. And by deducting the sum of days for the commencement of Kaliyuga 4873 from the sum of days for the commencement of the year Subhakrit, we find that the commencement of Subhakrit with Bija was due 1 day, 6 h. 44 m. 54 s. after the commencement of Kaliyuga 4873 current.

5. By Warren's Rules and Tables the Jupiter's years will be found to begin and end about 2·1476 days, = 2 days 3 h. 32 m. 30 s., earlier than by the above rules. Thus, according to the *Kāla-Saṅkalita*, p. 201, the commencement of the year Vikārin (or the end of Vilamba), with Bija (above, 2), fell on 21st April, A.D. 1768, new style, instead of falling on the 23rd April; and the solar time of Vikārin expired, at the commencement of Kaliyuga 4871 current, according to Warren, was —

353 days 27 d. 10 p. 31·0640 c., i.e. about 353 days 10 h. 52·2 m. = 353·4529 days, whereas by my rule it was only 351·3053 = (353·4529 — 2·1476) days. Similarly, by Warren's Tables, the year Bhāva, with Bija, (above, 3, *First Example*), would end on the 14th September, A.D. 1388, 23 h. 42·2 m., whereas by my rule it ended on the 17th September, A.D. 1388, 3 h. 14·8 m., i.e. 2 days 3 h. 32·6 m. later. And according to the *Kāla-Saṅkalita*, p. 206, Plava, with Bija, was an expunged year in Kaliyuga 4872, current, while by the above rules Subhakrit was an expunged year in Kaliyuga 4873, current.

The reason of this difference is that Warren has calculated the Jupiter's years from the apparent Mēsha-saṅkrānti at the commencement of the Kaliyuga, whereas they should have been calculated from the mean Mēsha-saṅkrānti or the vulgar epoch of the Kaliyuga, which, according to Warren, was 2·1476 days later than the apparent Mēsha-saṅkrānti. This important correction I owe in the first instance to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, and I have found Mr. Dikshit's remarks on the subject confirmed by the practice of four MS. calendars in the Royal Library at Berlin. Thus, to give only one instance, in a calendar for the expired northern Vikrama year 1841 we read:—

Saṁvat 1841 Śikā 1706 Rākshasa-nāma-saṁvatsara-pravṛtitiḥ | Tasya guru-mānēna mēshāt prāg bhukta-māsādi 3 2 33 36 1;

i.e., at the commencement of the (expired) Vikrama year 1841 or the (expired) Saka year 1706 (= Kaliyuga 4885, expired), the Jupiter's year current is Rākshasa (the 4943rd year from the commencement of the Kaliyuga); and of this year there have elapsed at the time of the Mēsha-saṅkrānti (of Kaliyuga 4885 expired) 3 months, 2 days, 33 daṇḍas, 36 palaś, = 92·5600 days, of Jupiter's own time.

By my own rules, we have —

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{end of Kaliyuga 4885, current,} = 2372\ 752\text{-}6279 \\ - \text{beginning of Rākshasa, without Bija,} = 2372\ 659\text{-}8053 \\ \hline \text{remainder} \qquad \qquad \qquad 92\text{-}8226; \end{array}$$

i.e., the beginning of the year Rākshasa, without Bija, preceded the commencement of Kaliyuga 4885, expired, by 92·8226 solar days. To convert these into days of Jupiter's own time, say, as 361·0267 solar days (the length of the Jupiter's year without Bija) to 360 days of Jupiter's own time, so are 92·8226 solar days to 92·5586 days of Jupiter's own time. Deducting 92·5586 from 92·5600, the remainder will be 0·0014 days = 2 minutes, by which the year Rākshasa, according to my rule, will commence later than it does according to the MS. calendar. According to Warren, the commencement of Rākshasa, without Bija, would precede the commencement of Kaliyuga 4885, expired, by about 94·9721 solar days, i.e. Rākshasa would commence about 2 days 3 h. 33·3 m. earlier than it is made to begin by the MS. calendar.

B.—The beginning and end of the Cycle-year according to the Jyōtistattva.

- (a)—According to the *Arya-Siddhānta*, the epoch of the Saka era, expressed in days of the Julian period, and in such a manner as to yield current days and hours, etc., after mean sunrise (at Ujjain), in the final results, is —
1749 621-1979 days.
- (b)—The length of one solar year is —
365-25868055 days.

Rules.

1. To find the beginning of any year of the Saka era, in accordance with the *Arya-Siddhānta*, multiply (b), i.e. the length of one solar year, by the number of years expired, and to the product add (a), i.e. the epoch of the Saka era. Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II.

Thus, for the beginning of Saka 1680, current, we find—
365-25868055 × 1679

$$\begin{array}{r} 613\ 269\ 32464345 \\ +\ 1749\ 621\ 1979 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

2362 890-5225, i.e. 9th April, A.D. 1757 new style, 12 h. 32-4 m.,

which differs by six seconds from the commencement of Saka 1680, current, as given in Warren's First Chronol. Table, p. xxiv.

And similarly, for the beginning of Saka 1311 expired (or 1312 current) we find—

$$\begin{array}{r} 365\ 25868055 \times 1311 \\ \hline 478\ 854\ 13020105 \\ +\ 1749\ 621\ 1979 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

2228 475-3281, i.e. 26th March, A.D. 1389, 7 h. 52-5 m.

which agrees to the very second with the result obtained from Warren's Table XLVIII, Second Part.

2. The Jyōtistattva rule yields, for the commencement of any expired Saka year, the last expired Jupiter's year; and since it furnishes the means of determining what portion of the current Jupiter's year had elapsed at the commencement of the said Saka year, it enables us to calculate accurately the moment when the last expired Jupiter's year ended or the current one commenced. The rule is given by Davis (*Asiat. Res.* Vol. III, p. 214) and Warren (*Kāla-Saṅkalita*, p. 202), as follows:—

"The Saka year note down in two places. Multiply (one of the numbers) by 22. Add (to the product) 4291. Divide (the sum) by 1875. The quotient (its integers) add to the second number noted down, and divide (the sum) by 60. The remainder or fraction will show the year last expired, counting from Prabhava (inclusive) as the first of the cycle. The fraction, if any, left by the divisor 1875, may be reduced to months, days, etc., expired of the current [Jupiter's] year."

Applying this rule, e.g. to the expired Saka year 1311, we find—

$$\frac{1311 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 17 \frac{1259}{1875}; \text{ and } \frac{1311 + 17}{60} = 22 \frac{6}{60}.$$

Here the numerator of the second fraction ($\frac{6}{60}$) shows that at the beginning of Saka 1311, expired, the last expired year of Jupiter was the 8th, counted from Prabhava (inclusive), i.e. Bhāva. And the first fraction ($\frac{1259}{1875}$) indicates that the end of Bhāva occurred $\frac{1259}{1875}$ of one solar year⁶

⁶ This may be seen from the fact that 1875 reduced to days by Table IV. yields one solar year (in accordance with the *Arya-Siddhānta*):—

$$\begin{array}{r} 1000 = 194\ 80463 \text{ days.} \\ 808 = 153\ 84370 \text{ ,,} \\ 70 = 13\ 03632 \text{ ,,} \\ 5 = 0\ 97402 \text{ ,,} \\ \hline 1875 = 365\ 25867 \text{ days.} \end{array}$$

before the commencement of Saka 1311, expired, (or the end of Saka 1311, current). This fraction may be reduced to days by my Table IV. (which is based on Warren's Tables XIV. and XVI.), as follows:—

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{numerator } 1000 = 194\ 80463 \text{ days.} \\ \text{,, } 200 = 38\ 96093 \text{ ,,} \\ \text{,, } 50 = 9\ 74023 \text{ ,,} \\ \text{,, } 8 = 1\ 55844 \text{ ,,} \\ \hline \frac{1259}{1875} = 245\ 06423 \text{ days.} \end{array}$$

And deducting this amount from the commencement of the expired Saka year (which in the present instance has been found already under 1), we find exactly when the year Bhāva ended, or, which is the same, when the following year Yuvan began:—

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Saka 1311 expired } 2228\ 475\ 3281 \\ \text{--- } 245\ 0642 \\ \hline \text{remainder } 2228\ 230\ 2639, \end{array}$$

i.e. 24th July, A.D. 1388, 6 h. 20 m.,—end of Bhāva or commencement of Yuvan.

Or, to give another example (*Kāla-Saṅkalita*, p. 203), for the commencement of Saka 1 current, = Saka 0 expired, we find—

$$\frac{0 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 2 \frac{641}{1875}; \text{ and } \frac{0 + 2}{60} = 0 \frac{2}{60}; \text{ i.e. Jupiter's year expired } 2 = \text{Vibhava.}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{And numerator } 500 = 97\ 40231 \text{ days;} \\ \text{,, } 40 = 7\ 79218 \text{ ,,} \\ \text{,, } 1 = 0\ 19480 \text{ ,,} \\ \hline \frac{641}{1875} = 105\ 38929 \text{ days;} \end{array}$$

i.e., at the commencement of the Saka year 1 current, there had elapsed of the current Jupiter's year 3 = Sukla, 105 days 9 h. 20-6 m., which agrees with Warren's result to the very second; ⁶ and the year Sukla began—

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{epoch of Saka era } 1749\ 621\ 1979 \\ \text{--- } 105\ 3893 \\ \hline \text{remainder } 1749\ 515\ 8086, \end{array}$$

i.e. 19 h. 24-4 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 29th November, A.D. 77.

3. The working of the Jyōtistattva rule shows that, according to the rule, the length of the ordinary Jupiter's year is $\frac{1853}{1875}$ of a solar year, i.e. 360-9730 (or, more accurately, 360-972978706) days; and, having found the end of one Jupiter's year, we therefore find the beginning of the same year, or the end of the following year, by simply either deducting that amount from, or adding it to, the number of days previously found (without starting afresh from the preceding or following Saka year). For instance, —

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{end of Bhāva (under 2) } 2228\ 230\ 2639 \\ \text{--- } 360\ 9730 \\ \hline \text{remainder } 2227\ 869\ 2909, \end{array}$$

⁶ In a note on pp. 203 and 204 Warren has shown by an elaborate calculation that, by the *Sārya-Siddhānta* rule, there had elapsed of the year Sukla, at the end of Kaliyuga 3179 or the commencement of Saka 1 current — 70 days 8 d. 56 p. 30-9865 c. = 70 days 3 h. 34 m. 36 s. = 70-1490 days.

As the year Śukla (the 37th year of the cycle, when counted from Vijaya) in Kaliyuga 3179 was the 3217th year, and the preceding year Vibhava the 3216th year of Jupiter, from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, we find—

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{end of Kaliyuga 3179} = 1749\ 621\ 1893 \\ \text{less end of Vibhava} = 1749\ 553\ 1878 \\ \hline \text{remainder } 68\ 0015; \end{array}$$

i.e. the end of Vibhava or commencement of Śukla preceded the end of Kaliyuga 3179 really by only 68-0015 days (or by 2-1475 days less than was found by Warren).

rule (B 2, above), exactly as much as $\frac{8569}{3750}$ is larger than $\frac{4291}{1875}$. The difference between these two fractions amounts to $\frac{7}{3750} = \frac{3\frac{1}{2}}{1875} =$
 numerator 3 = 0.58441 days,
 " $\frac{1}{2}$ = 0.09740 "
 $\frac{7}{3750} = 0.68181$ days;

and this is the very difference between the results of the two rules; * for —
 end of Bhāva by Jyōt. t. rule 2228 230.2639;
 deduct " " " " Bri. S. rule 2228 229.5821;
 end of Bhāva by Jyōt. t. rule, later by 0.6818 days = 16 h. 21.8 m.

D.—The Cycle-year according to the so-called Tēlinga rule.

According to this rule, the Jupiter's year coincides with the luni-solar year; and the name of the current Jupiter's year may be found thus:—To the expired year of the Kaliyuga add 13; to the expired Saka year, 12; and from the expired Vikrama year subtract 3; divide (the sum or the remainder) by 60; the remainder gives the number of the current Jupiter's year, counting from Prabhava (inclusive).¹⁰ Thus—

for K. Y. 4490 expired, = S. 1311 expired, = V. 1446 expired, we have:—

4490	1311	1446
+ 13	+ 12	— 3
4503	1323	1443,

divided by 60 in every case the remainder is 3 = Sukla.

Simplification of a portion of the preceding Rules.

The working of the Sūrya-Siddhānta and Jyōtistattva rules, as described above, is rendered somewhat tedious by the various multiplications which have to be gone through to find the ends of the several years. To facilitate this part of the process, I append Tables V. and VI., from which the ends of the years may be found simply by addition. In these Tables the figures for the epochs of the eras have been included in the figures for the days corresponding to the units of the years; and, as regards their use, it need only be observed that the figures for the days corresponding to the year 0 must necessarily be added up with the rest, whenever the unit of the figures for the year is 0.

To show the working of these Tables,¹¹ we will ask:—

- (a) On what day of the Julian period, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta, did the solar year Kaliyuga 4870, current, end (or the year 4871, current, begin)?
- (b) When did Jupiter's year 4926 (Vilamba), without Bija, end?
- (c) According to the Ārya-Siddhānta, when did Saka 1311, expired, begin?

⁹ So far as I can see, the only important difference in the results obtained by the Brihat-Samhitā rule is that, in accordance with it, expunctions take place in the expired Saka years 230, 997, and 1333, instead of taking place, as is the case by the Jyōtistattva rule, in the expired Saka years 231, 998, and 1339.

¹⁰ When I wrote the above, I had not seen the following passage in Alberuni's India, Sachau's Translation, Vol. II. p. 129.—"This is the method for the determination of the years of the *shashyabda*, as recorded in their books. However, I have seen Hindus who subtract 3 from the era of Vikramāditya, and divide the remainder by 60. The remainder they count off from the beginning of the great *yuga*. This method is not worth anything. By-the-by: it is the same whether you reckon in the manner mentioned, or add 12 to the *Sakakāla*."

¹¹ The results obtained from Table VI. for the commencement of the Saka year, in accordance with the Ārya-Siddhānta, agree exactly with the beginnings of the years, as put down in Warren's First Chronological Table, pp. xxi—xxvi. As regards the results obtained from Table V., A., for the commencement of the solar year in accordance with the Sūrya-Siddhānta, I may state that they will be found to be uniformly later by 28 minutes 36 seconds than the results obtained from Professor Keru Lakshman's and Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's Tables, published ante, Vol. XVII., pp. 269-272. Professor Kern Lakshman's results being for Bombay time and my own for Ujjain time, the real difference is 15 minutes 36 seconds, by which my results are uniformly later, and by which, accordingly, Keru Lakshman has put the *Mēsha-samkrānti* at the commencement of the Kaliyuga earlier than I have done. Taking the difference between Ujjain time and Bombay time to be 13 minutes, Keru Lakshman's *Mēsha-samkrānti*, expressed in days of the Julian period, would be 583 463 591 6 days.

TABLE I.

For converting a day of the Julian period into the European date.

Old Style.	Year A.D.	Day of Julian period.	Year.											
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
			Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
		00	00	031	060	091	121	152	182	213	244	274	305	335
0	1721	057	000	031	060	091	121	152	182	213	244	274	305	335
100	1757	582	01	366	397	425	456	486	517	547	578	609	639	670
200	1794	107	02	731	762	790	821	851	882	912	943	974	1004	1035
300	1830	632	03	1096	127	155	186	216	247	277	308	339	369	400
400	1867	157	04	461	492	521	552	582	613	643	674	705	735	766
500	1903	682	05	827	858	886	917	947	978	1008	1039	1070	1101	1131
600	1940	207	06	2	192	223	251	282	312	343	373	404	435	465
700	1976	732	07	557	588	616	647	677	708	738	769	800	830	861
800	2013	257	08	922	953	982	1013	1043	1074	1104	1135	1166	1196	1227
900	2049	782	09	3	288	319	347	378	408	439	469	500	531	561
1000	2086	307	10	653	684	712	743	773	804	834	865	896	926	957
1100	2122	832	11	4	018	049	077	108	138	169	199	230	261	291
1200	2159	357	12	383	414	443	474	504	535	565	596	627	657	688
1300	2195	882	13	749	780	808	839	869	900	930	961	992	1022	1053
1400	2232	407	14	5	114	145	173	204	234	265	295	326	357	387
1500	2268	932	15	479	510	538	569	599	630	660	691	722	752	783
1600	2305	457	16	844	875	904	935	966	996	1026	1057	1088	1118	1149
1700	2341	982	17	6	210	241	269	300	330	361	391	422	453	483
			18	575	606	634	665	695	726	756	787	818	848	879
			19	940	971	999	1030	1060	1091	1121	1152	1183	1213	1244
			20	7	305	336	365	396	426	457	487	518	549	579
			21	671	702	730	761	791	822	852	883	914	944	975
			22	9	036	067	095	126	156	187	217	248	279	309
			23	401	432	460	491	521	552	582	613	644	674	705
			24	766	797	826	857	887	918	948	979	1010	1040	1071
			25	9	132	163	191	222	252	283	313	344	375	405
			26	497	528	556	587	617	648	678	709	740	770	801
			27	862	893	921	952	982	1013	1043	1074	1105	1135	1166
			28	10	227	258	287	318	348	379	409	440	471	501
			29	593	624	652	683	713	744	774	805	836	866	897
			30	958	989	1017	1048	1078	1109	1139	1170	1201	1231	1262
			31	11	323	354	382	413	443	474	504	535	566	596
			32	688	719	748	778	809	840	870	901	932	962	993
			33	12	054	085	113	144	174	205	235	266	297	327
			34	419	450	478	509	539	570	600	631	662	692	723
			35	784	815	843	874	904	935	965	996	1027	1057	1088
			36	13	149	180	209	240	270	301	331	362	393	424
			37	515	546	574	605	635	666	696	727	758	788	819
			38	880	911	939	970	1000	1031	1061	1092	1123	1153	1184
			39	14	245	276	304	335	365	396	426	457	488	518
			40	610	641	670	701	731	762	792	823	854	884	915
			41	976	1007	1035	1066	1096	1127	1157	1188	1219	1250	1280
			42	15	341	372	400	431	461	492	522	553	584	614
			43	706	737	765	796	826	857	887	918	949	979	1010
			44	16	071	102	131	162	192	223	253	284	315	345
			45	437	468	496	527	557	588	618	649	680	710	741
			46	803	834	861	892	922	953	983	1014	1045	1075	1106
			47	17	167	198	226	257	287	318	348	379	410	440
			48	532	563	592	623	653	684	714	745	776	806	837
			49	898	929	957	988	1018	1049	1079	1110	1141	1171	1202

¹² When calculating for one of the secular years 1700, 1800, 1900, new style, use the line 00 § K., not 00.

(a) End of Kaliyuga 4870 current, by Table V, A.	(b) End of Jupiter's year 4926, without Bija, by Table V, B.	(c) Commencement of Saka 1311, expired, by Table VI.
4000 = 1461 035-02600	4000 = 1444 106-88412	1000 = 365 258-68055
800 = 292 207-00520	900 = 324 924-04893	300 = 109 577-60416
70 = 25 568-11295	20 = 7 220-53442	10 = 3 652-58681
0 = 588 463-60240	6 = 590 631-91033	1 = 1749 986-45658

4870 = 2367 273-74655; 4926 = 2366 883-37780; 1311 = 2228 475-32810;
just as has been found above, pp. 1, 2, and 6, by multiplication and by the addition of
the epochs.

The Saṁkrāntis and Solar Months.

For those who would wish to use the Tables V. A. and VI. to ascertain the exact end of a
solar month or the occasion of a Saṁkrānti, I have added Table VII. which gives the collective
numbers of days of the solar months. To give an example for the use of this Table, we will ask :
—When did the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, take place in Vikrama
1234 = Kaliyuga 4278 expired (*Ind. Ant.* p. 138) ?

By Table V. A., 4000 = 1461 035-02600

200 = 73 051-75130

70 = 25 568-11295

8 = 591 385-67245

By Table VII., Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti = 275-65844

sum 2151 316-22114;

which by Tables I. and II. corresponds to 25th December, A.D. 1177, 5 h. 18.4 m. Accordingly,
in Vikrama 1234 expired, the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place, at Ujjain, 5 h. 18.4 m. after
mean sunrise of 25th December, A.D. 1177.

An Example for all Rules.

To show the working of the above rules, I select a date which is given in Professor
Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. II. p. 55, and which runs thus :—

Saṁvat 1531 Śakā 1396 pravarttamānē Subhakra(n)-nāmni saṁvatsarē.....Kārttika-
śudi 9 Budha-vāsarē Dhanishthā-nakṣatrē Vṛiddhi-yōgē Kanlava-karaṇē . . . i.e. 'while the
(Vikrama) year 1531 (and) the Saka year 1396 is proceeding, in (Jupiter's) year Subhakra(n),
on the 9th of the bright half of Kārttika, on Wednesday, the nakṣatra being Dhanishthā, the
yōga Vṛiddhi, and the karaṇa Kanlava' . . .

The corresponding European date (for the Vikrama year 1531 and the Saka year 1396,
both expired, notwithstanding the expression *pravarttamānē* in the date), undoubtedly is **Wednes-
day, 19th October, A.D. 1474**, when the 9th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karaṇa* Kanlava
ended 13 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in Dhanishthā up to 12 h. 29 m., and
the *yōga* was Vṛiddhi up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. And what concerns us now, is to
find the beginning or end, or both, of the year Subhakra(n) which is mentioned in the date, in
accordance with the different rules.

(a). The year Subhakra(n) according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta.

To find the commencement of Subhakra(n), is equivalent to finding the end of the preceding
year Plava, which is the 9th year of the cycle counted from Vijaya (inclusive). We now
have :—

Vikrama 1531 + 3044 = Kaliyuga 4575; divided by 85 = $53 \frac{70}{85} = 54$; 4575 + 54 =
4629; divided by 60 leaves remainder 9.

Accordingly Plava (the 9th year of the cycle, from Vijaya) was the 4629th year of Jupiter

TABLE II.

For converting the decimals of the day
into hours and minutes.

d	h	m	d	h	m	d	m	d	m	d	m
0.			0.			0'00	m	0'00	m		
00	0	0	0	0	0	00	0	0	0	50	7
01	0	14	51	12	14	01	0	1	51	7	3
02	0	28	52	12	28	02	0	3	52	7	5
03	0	42	53	12	42	03	0	4	53	7	6
04	0	57	54	12	57	04	0	6	54	7	8
05	1	12	55	13	12	05	0	7	55	7	9
06	1	26	56	13	26	06	0	9	56	8	1
07	1	40	57	13	40	07	1	0	57	8	2
08	1	55	58	13	55	08	1	2	58	8	4
09	2	9	59	14	9	09	1	3	59	8	5
10	2	24	60	14	24	10	1	4	60	8	6
11	2	38	61	14	38	11	1	6	61	8	8
12	2	52	62	14	52	12	1	7	62	8	9
13	3	7	63	15	7	13	1	9	63	9	1
14	3	21	64	15	21	14	2	0	64	9	2
15	3	36	65	15	36	15	2	2	65	9	4
16	3	50	66	15	50	16	2	3	66	9	5
17	4	4	67	16	4	17	2	4	67	9	6
18	4	19	68	16	19	18	2	6	68	9	8
19	4	33	69	16	33	19	2	7	69	9	9
20	4	48	70	16	48	20	2	9	70	10	1
21	5	2	71	17	2	21	3	0	71	10	2
22	5	16	72	17	16	22	3	2	72	10	4
23	5	31	73	17	31	23	3	3	73	10	5
24	5	45	74	17	45	24	3	5	74	10	7
25	6	0	75	18	0	25	3	6	75	10	8
26	6	14	76	18	14	26	3	7	76	10	9
27	6	29	77	18	29	27	3	9	77	11	1
28	6	43	78	18	43	28	4	0	78	11	2
29	6	57	79	18	57	29	4	2	79	11	4
30	7	12	80	19	12	30	4	3	80	11	5
31	7	26	81	19	26	31	4	5	81	11	7
32	7	40	82	19	40	32	4	6	82	11	8
33	7	55	83	19	55	33	4	8	83	12	0
34	8	9	84	20	9	34	4	9	84	12	1
35	8	24	85	20	24	35	5	0	85	12	2
36	8	38	86	20	38	36	5	2	86	12	4
37	8	52	87	20	52	37	5	3	87	12	5
38	9	7	88	21	7	38	5	5	88	12	7
39	9	21	89	21	21	39	5	6	89	12	8
40	9	36	90	21	36	40	5	8	90	13	0
41	9	50	91	21	50	41	5	9	91	13	1
42	10	4	92	22	4	42	6	0	92	13	2
43	10	19	93	22	19	43	6	2	93	13	4
44	10	33	94	22	33	44	6	3	94	13	5
45	10	48	95	22	48	45	6	5	95	13	7
46	11	2	96	23	2	46	6	6	96	13	8
47	11	16	97	23	16	47	6	8	97	14	0
48	11	31	98	23	31	48	6	9	98	14	1
49	11	45	99	23	45	49	7	1	99	14	3

TABLE III.

The Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

(The figures to the right refer to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule only.)

No.	Name.	No.	No.	Name.	No.
1	Prabhava	35	31	Hemalamba	5
2	Vibhava	36	32	Vilamba	6
3	Sukla	37	33	Vikārin	7
4	Pramōda	38	34	Sarvarin	8
5	Prajāpati	39	35	Plava	9
6	Angirasa	40	36	Subhakra(n)	10
7	Srimukha	41	37	Sōbhana	11
8	Bhāva	42	38	Krōdhin	12
9	Yuvan	43	39	Viśvāvasu	13
10	Dhātri	44	40	Parābhava	14
11	Īśvara	45	41	Plavanga	15
12	Bahudhānya	46	42	Kilaka	16
13	Pramāthin	47	43	Saunya	17
14	Vikrama	48	44	Sādhārana	18
15	Bhṛīya	49	45	Virōdhakra(n)	19
16	Chitrabhānu	50	46	Paridhāvin	20
17	Subhānu	51	47	Pramādin	21
18	Tāraṇa	52	48	Ānanda	22
19	Pārthiva	53	49	Rākeṣasa	23
20	Vyaya	54	50	Anala	24
21	Sarvajit	55	51	Pingala	25
22	Sarvadhārin	56	52	Kālayukta	26
23	Virōdhin	57	53	Siddhārthin	27
24	Vikṛita	58	54	Randra	28
25	Khara	59	55	Durmati	29
26	Nandana	60	56	Dundubhi	30
27	Vijaya	1	57	Rudhirōdgārin	31
28	Jaya	2	58	Raktāksha	32
29	Manmatha	3	59	Krōdhana	33
30	Durmukha	4	60	Kshaya	34

TABLE IV.

For converting the fraction of the first term of the
Jyōtistattva and Brihat-Saṁhitā rules into days.

Nume- rator.	Days.	Nume- rator.	Days.	Nume- rator.	Days.
1000	194-80463	100	19-48046	10	1-94805
900	175-32417	90	17-53242	9	1-75324
800	155-84370	80	15-58437	8	1-55844
700	136-36324	70	13-63632	7	1-36363
600	116-88278	60	11-68278	6	1-16883
500	97-40231	50	9-74023	5	0-97402
400	77-92185	40	7-79218	4	0-77922
300	58-44139	30	5-84414	3	0-58441
200	38-96093	20	3-89609	2	0-38961
100	19-48046	10	1-94805	1	0-19480
				½	0-09740

since the commencement of the Kaliyuga; and to find the end of Plava (or commencement of Subhakrit), without Bija, we proceed by Table V, B. :-

$$\begin{array}{r} 4000 = 1444\ 106\ 88412 \\ 600 = 216\ 616\ 03262 \\ 20 = 7\ 220\ 53442 \\ 9 = 591\ 714\ 99049 \end{array}$$

$$4629 = 2259\ 658\ 4416,$$

i.e. 10th August, A.D. 1474, 10 h. 35·9 m., — end of Plava, or commencement of Subhakrit, without Bija; and, to find the end of Subhakrit without Bija, by adding one year without Bija, —

$$2259\ 658\ 4416$$

$$+ 361\ 0267$$

$$2260\ 019\ 4683,$$

i.e. 6th August, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 14·4 m., — end of Subhakrit, without Bija.

Similarly, for the end of Plava (or commencement of Subhakrit) with Bija, we have by Table V, C. :-

$$\begin{array}{r} 4000 = 1444\ 138\ 60424 \\ 600 = 216\ 620\ 79064 \\ 20 = 7\ 220\ 69302 \\ 9 = 591\ 715\ 06186 \end{array}$$

$$4629 = 2259\ 695\ 1498,$$

i.e. 16th September, A.D. 1474, 3 h. 35·7 m., — end of Plava, or commencement of Subhakrit, with Bija; and, for the end of Subhakrit with Bija, by adding one year with Bija, —

$$2259\ 695\ 1498$$

$$+ 361\ 0347$$

$$2260\ 056\ 1845,$$

i.e. 12th September, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 25·7 m., — end of Subhakrit, with Bija.

Anyone who will take the trouble to calculate, e.g., the commencement of Subhakrit with Bija, by Warren's Tables, will find that, according to them, Subhakrit began 194 days 16 h. 4 m. 38 s. before the commencement of Kaliyuga 4576 expired; while according to my result it began only 192 days, 12 h. 32 m. 6 s. before the same moment, i.e. 2 days, 3 h. 32 m. 32 s. later (Kaliyuga 4576 expired having begun, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 27th March, A.D. 1475, 16 h. 7·8 m.,—though for us this is of no moment whatever). And in the present case, one disadvantage of the rules given in the *Kūla-Saṅkalita* is that, starting as we must from Vikrama 1531 = Kaliyuga 4575 expired, we do not find the beginning of Subhakrit at all, and that, after we have written out one set of figures and have discovered the uselessness of proceeding any further, we must start a new calculation and write out another set of figures, with the basis of Kaliyuga 4576 expired.

(b). The year Subhakrit according to the Jyōtistattva.

Here it must be borne in mind that Subhakrit is the 36th and Plava the 35th year of the cycle, counted from Prabhava inclusive.

Starting now from Saka 1396 expired, the year mentioned in the date, we have —

$$\frac{1396 \times 23 + 4391}{1875} = 18 \frac{1253}{1875} \text{ and } \frac{1396 + 18}{60} = 23 \frac{34}{60}$$

Here the numerator of the second fraction ($\frac{34}{60}$) at once shows that, at the commencement of Saka 1396 expired, the last expired year of the cycle was only 34 = Sarvarin; but (to avoid a fresh start with the basis of Saka 1397 expired) we shall nevertheless go on with our calculation, to find the end of Sarvarin; to which we shall then add one ordinary Jupiter's year to find the end of Plava (or commencement of Subhakrit); having found which, we shall add another year

TABLE V.

For finding the end of any solar year of the Kaliyuga, and of the Cycle-year without or with Bija, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*.

Years.	A.—Days for solar years.	B.—Days for cycle-years without Bija.	C.—Days for cycle-years with Bija.
5000	1826 293·78250	1805 133·60515	1805 173·25530
4000	1461 035·02600	1444 106·88412	1444 138·60424
3000	1095 776·26950	1083 080·16309	1083 103·95318
2000	730 517·51300	722 053·44206	722 069·30212
1000	365 258·76550	361 026·72103	361 034·65106
900	328 732·88085	324 924·04893	324 931·18595
800	292 207·00520	288 821·37682	288 827·72085
700	255 681·12955	252 718·70472	252 724·25574
600	219 155·25390	216 616·03262	216 620·79064
500	182 629·37825	180 513·36051	180 517·32553
400	146 103·50260	144 410·68841	144 413·86042
300	109 577·62695	108 308·01631	108 310·39532
200	73 051·75130	72 205·34421	72 206·93021
100	36 525·87565	36 102·67210	36 103·46511
90	32 873·28808	32 492·40489	32 493·11860
80	29 220·70052	28 882·13768	28 882·77208
70	25 568·11295	25 271·87047	25 272·42557
60	21 915·52539	21 661·60326	21 662·07906
50	18 262·93782	18 051·33605	18 051·72255
40	14 610·35026	14 441·06884	14 441·38604
30	10 957·76269	10 830·80163	10 831·03953
20	7 305·17513	7 220·53442	7 220·69302
10	3 652·58756	3 610·26721	3 610·34651
9	591 750·93121	591 714·99049	591 715·06186
8	591 385·67245	591 353·96377	591 354·02721
7	591 020·41370	590 992·93705	590 992·99256
6	590 655·15494	590 631·91033	590 631·95791
5	590 289·89618	590 270·88361	590 270·92326
4	589 924·63743	589 909·85688	589 909·88860
3	589 559·37867	589 548·83016	589 548·85395
2	589 194·11991	589 187·80344	589 187·81930
1	588 828·86116	588 826·77672	588 826·78465
0	588 463·60240	588 465·75000	588 465·75000

TABLE VI.

For finding the end of any solar year of the Saka era according to the *Ārya-Siddhānta*.

Years.	Days for solar years of the Saka era.
1000	365 258·68055
900	328 732·81249
800	292 206·94444
700	255 681·07638
600	219 155·20833
500	182 629·34027
400	146 103·47222
300	109 577·60416
200	73 051·73611
100	36 525·86805
90	32 873·28125
80	29 220·69444
70	25 568·10764
60	21 915·52083
50	18 262·93403
40	14 610·34722
30	10 957·76042
20	7 305·17361
10	3 652·58691
9	1752 908·52602
8	1752 543·26734
7	1752 178·00866
6	1751 812·74998
5	1751 447·49130
4	1751 082·23262
3	1750 716·97394
2	1750 351·71526
1	1749 986·45658
0	1749 621·19790

TABLE VII.

For collective days of Solar Months.

End of month	Samkrānti.	By <i>Sūrya-Siddhānta</i> .	By <i>Ārya-Siddhānta</i> .
1	Vaiśākha.	Vṛiṣha.	30·92557
2	Jyāishtha.	Mithuna.	62·32891
3	Ashāḍha.	Karkata; Dakṣiṇāyana.	93·93948
4	Srāvana.	Siṃha.	125·40949
5	Bhādrapada.	Kanyā.	156·44562
6	Āsvina.	Tulā.	186·90174
7	Kārttika.	Vṛiṣchika.	216·80370
8	Mārgasīras.	Dhanuḥ.	246·31038
9	Pauṣa.	Makara; Uttarāyana.	275·65844
10	Māgha.	Kumbha.	305·11290
11	Phālguna.	Mina.	334·91958
12	Chaitra.	Mēṣha.	365·25876

to find the end of 'Subhakrit (the next expunction being due only in 'Saka 1424 expired). We have then—

numerator	1000 = 194'80463	days
"	200 = 38'96093	"
"	50 = 9'74023	"
"	3 = 0'58441	"
<hr/>		
	$\frac{1253}{1876}$	= 244'09020 days;

and for the commencement of 'Saka 1396 expired, by Table VII. —

1000 =	365 258'68055
300 =	109 577'60416
90 =	32 873'28125
6 =	1751 812'74998

1396 = 2259 522'3159 commencement of 'Saka 1396 expired;
— 244'0902

2259 278'2257 end of Sarvarin (No. 34);

+ 360'9730

2259 639'1987 end of Plava (No.35) or commencement of 'Subhakrit;

+ 360'9730

2260 000'1717 end of 'Subhakrit (No. 36).

Converting now the days of the Julian period for the beginning and end of 'Subhakrit, we find:—

commencement of 'Subhakrit: 22nd July, A.D. 1474, 4 h. 46'1 m.;

end of 'Subhakrit: 18th July, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 7'2 m.

(c). The year Subhakrit by the Brihat-Samhitā rule.

Having already found the commencement and end of 'Subhakrit by the Jyōtistattva rule, we find the same, in accordance with the Brihat-Samhitā rule, by deducting from the sums of days found, in either case, 0'6818[1].

Commencement of 'Subhakrit by Jyōtistattva rule: 2259 639'1987

— 0'6818

2259 638'5169,

i.e. 21st July, A.D. 1474, 12 h. 24'3 m., — commencement of 'Subhakrit by Brihat-Samhitā rule.

End of 'Subhakrit by Jyōtistattva rule: 2260 000'1717

— 0'6818

2259 999'4899,

i.e. 17th July, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 45'5 m., — end of 'Subhakrit by Brihat-Samhitā rule.

(d). By the Tēlinga rule

the Jupiter's year for Vikrama 1531 and 'Saka 1396, both expired, would be the 28th year of the cycle, counted from Prabhava, i.e. Jays, and the year 'Subhakrit would not be due till Vikrama 1539 or 'Saka 1404, expired.

The result then is that the year 'Subhakrit, which is mentioned in the date, lasted, — by the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, —

without Bija, from 10th August, A.D. 1474, 10 h. 35'9 m., to 6th August, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 14'4 m.;

with Bija, from 16th September, A.D. 1474, 3 h. 35'7 m., to 12th September, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 25'7 m.;

by the Jyōtistattva rule, —

from 22nd July, A.D. 1474, 4 h. 46'1 m., to 18th July, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 7'2 m.;

by the Brihat-Samhitā rule, —

from 21st July A.D. 1474, 12 h. 24'3 m., to 17th July, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 45'5 m.

And accordingly, by every one of the three rules, the date, **Wednesday, the 18th October, A.D. 1474**, did fall in the year 'Subhakrit, and the writer of the date was strictly correct in quoting that year. — The result shows how necessary it may be to calculate exactly the commencement of a Jupiter's year; for, in accordance with the ordinary (and on the whole very useful) Tables, the writer certainly ought to have quoted the year Plava, because that year was current at the commencement of the solar year in which the date was written.

Illustration of the use of Table I.

(a) What was the European date (old style) for the day 2259 999 ?

Given the day... 2259 999

Deduct next lower figure in column of centuries... — 2232 407 = A.D. 1400 (old style);

Remainder 27 592

Deduct next lower figure in table of years..... — 27 575 = 75, July;

Remainder 17, A.D. 1475, July.

Answer:—17th July, A.D. 1475, old style.

(b) What was the European date (new style) for the day 2410 637 ?

Given the day... 2410 637

Deduct next lower figure in column of centuries (new style) — 2378 495 = A.D. 1800 (new style);

Remainder 32 142

Deduct next lower figure in table of years..... — 32 111 = 87, December;

Remainder 31, A.D. 1887, December.

Answer:—31st December, A.D. 1887, new style.

In order still further to facilitate the finding of the exact commencement (and end) of a Jupiter's year which may be mentioned in a Hindu date, I have constructed¹ the accompanying Tables from the data in my paper on the Sixty-Year Cycle, *ante*, pp. 193-209. Tables 1 and 2 serve for the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule; Tables 3 and 4 for the Jyōtistattva rule.

In Table 1 the last two columns give the day of the Julian period for the commencement (or end) of a complete cycle of sixty years, counted from Vijaya as the first year of the cycle, without and with Bija; and the first column gives the European date for the day put down in the same line under the heading 'without Bija,' while the second and third columns give the expired (northern) Vikrama and Saka years to which that European date belongs. Table 2, on the other hand, gives the number of days for the commencement of every year within the sixty-year cycle, also without and with Bija. And all that is necessary to find the European date for the commencement of any year, is, to add up one set of figures from Table 1, and another set of

figures from Table 2, and to convert the sum into the European date, and into hours and minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), as may be seen from the following example:—

According to *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XI. Plate xxxvii. 3, a stone inscription at Jaunpur is dated—

Jyē(jyai)shṭhē māśē sitē paśhē dvādasyā(śyā)-m-Budha-vāsarē Plava-vatsarē || Saṁvat 1353 ||. —

corresponding to Wednesday, 16th May, A.D. 1296. The cycle of sixty years, of which the year Plava, which is here coupled with the Vikrama year 1353, forms part, must be the one which by Table 1 commenced in Vikrama 1344 expired; and we accordingly have, for the commencement of this year Plava, without Bija, —

by Table 1, commencement of cycle, without Bija, for V. 1344, 2191 424'3914
+ by Table 2, commencement of Plava, without Bija, 2 888'2138

sum 2194 312'6052
i.e., the 13th September, A.D. 1295, 14 h. 31'5 m.

¹ The construction of these Tables has to some extent been suggested to me by the general practice of Dr. Sahram's *Hilfsregeln für Chronologie*, and by some MS.

Tables for the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without Bija, constructed on similar principles, though without reference to the Julian period, by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshī.

after mean sunrise; and similarly, for the commencement of Plava, with Bija,—

by Table 1,	2191 459-6007
+ by Table 2,	2 888-2772
sum	2194 347-8779

i.e., the 18th October, A.D. 1295, 21 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

Having found the commencement of a year, we find the end of the same year by adding to the sum found, for the year without Bija 361-0267 days, and for the year with Bija 361-0347 days, as shown in my former article, thus:—

Commencement of Plava, with-	
out Bija,	2194 312-6052
+	361-0267
sum.	2194 673-6319

i.e., the 8th September, A.D. 1269, 15 h. 9-9 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Plava without Bija; and

Commencement of Plava, with	
Bija,	2194 347-8779
+	361-0347
sum	2194 708-9126

i.e., the 13th October, A.D. 1296, 21 h. 54-1 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Plava, with Bija.

To show how to find by the Tables the Jupiter's year current at any given moment, and, at the same time, to test once more the accuracy of the Tables, we will ask:—What year, without Bija, was current, and what portion of that year had elapsed, at the time of the Mēsha-Samkrānti of the expired Saka year 1713?

By the Tables given in my paper on the Sixty-Year Cycle, the day of the Julian period for the commencement of the solar year Saka 1713 expired, = Kaliyuga 4892 expired, is—

	2375 309-4392 (Mēsha-Samkrānti).
Deduct next	
lower complete	
cycle, without	
Bija, in Table	
1,	2364 717-2175
remainder . .	10 592-2217;
deduct next	
lower figure,	
without Bija,	
in Table 2, . .	10 469-7749 (commencement of Dundubhi).
remainder	122-4468.

Accordingly, by the Tables, the year without Bija, current at the time of the Mēsha-Samkrānti of Saka 1713 expired, was Dundubhi, and of this year there had elapsed, at the same moment, 122-4468 days = 122 days, 10 h. 43-4 m. of solar time. Now, by a MS. calendar for Saka 1713 ex-

pired, which is in the Royal Library at Berlin, the Jupiter's year current at the commencement of the year was Dundubhi, as found above; and since of this year there are stated to have elapsed, at the time of the Mēsha-Samkrānti, 4 months, 2 days, 6 danḡas = 122 days, 2 h. 24 m. of Jupiter's own time, which are equal to about 122 days 10 h. 45-4 m. of solar time, the result obtained by the Tables for the actual commencement of the year Dundubhi differs from the statement in the MS. calendar by about two minutes.

Owing to the unequal length of the Jovian years, the Jyōtistattva rule requires another treatment, and the arrangement of Table 3 and 4 will therefore be found to differ considerably from that of Tables 1 and 2. Here, Table 3 gives in the last column the day of the Julian period for the end of the Jovian year, the number and name of which are given in the column immediately preceding the last. The first column gives the European date for the day of the Julian period put down at the end of the same line, the third column the expired solar Saka year in which that European date falls, and the second column the expired (northern) Vikrama year which approximately corresponds to that Saka year. It should be particularly noted that the Jovian years are here counted as shown in the auxiliary Table at the foot of Table 3. Table 4 gives the number of days for the commencement of a series of Jovian years, the numbers of which must not be confounded with the number of the years in Table 3. The use of the two Tables will appear from the following examples:—

According to Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. I. O.*, p. 23, a MS. of the *Kāṇḍānukramanā-vivarāṇa* is dated in the Vikrama year 1650, in the year Subhakrit. The year Subhakrit, — by the auxiliary Table the 36th year of a cycle, — which is here coupled with Vikrama 1650, must have followed upon the year 29, Manmatha, which in Table 3 is coupled with Vikrama 1644; and it is clear that, to find the day of the Julian period for the beginning of Subhakrit, we must add, to the day of the Julian period put down in Table 3 for the end of the said year Manmatha, from Table 4 the number of days for the commencement of the (36 — 29 =) 7th year, thus:—

Table 3, V. 1644, end of year	
29	2300 798-6897
+ Table 4, commencement of	
year 7	2 165-8379
sum, commencement of year 36	
(Subhakrit)	2302 964-5276
i.e., the 4th March, A.D. 1593, 12 h. 39-7 m. after mean sunrise.	

Above we have seen that an inscription at Jaunpur is dated in the Vikrama year 1353, in the year Plava. In Table 3 we find, in a line with Vikrama 1303, the day of the Julian period for the end of the year Sādhāraṇa, the 44th year of a cycle. The year Plava of our date is the 35th year of a cycle, and, coupled as it is with Vikrama 1353, it is clear that Plava does not fall in the same cycle with the year 44, Sādhāraṇa, of Table 3, but belongs to the next cycle. To find the commencement of Plava, we must therefore take from Table 3 the day of the Julian period put down for the end of the year 44, Sādhāraṇa, in a line with Vikrama 1303, and must add to it, from Table 4, the number of days for the commencement of the (16 + 35 =) 51st year, thus:—

Table 3, V. 1303, end of year	
44	2176 245-8692
+ Table 4, commencement of	
year 51	18 048-6490
sum, commencement of year	
95 = 60 + 35 (Plava)	2194 294-5182
i.e., the 26th August, A.D. 1295, 12 h. 26-2 m. after mean sunrise.	

Similarly, if we had to find the commencement of the year Khara, the 25th year of a cycle, which in Table 3 is coupled with Saka 912, we should start from the day of the Julian period put down in Table 3 for the end of the 59th cycle-year Krōdhana, in a line with Saka 827, and should add to it from Table 4 the number of days for the commencement of the (1 + 60 + 25 =) 86th year, because here the difference of 85 solar years between Saka 827 and Saka 912 would show us that there lies a complete cycle of 60 years between the end of the year 59, Krōdhana, which we know from Table 3, and the commencement of the year 25, Khara, which we are to find. Our calculation would accordingly stand thus:—

Table 3, Saka 827, end of year	
59	2051 693-0488
+ Table 4, commencement of	
year 86	90 682-7032
sum, commencement of year	
145 = 60 + 60 + 25 (Khara)	2082 375-7520

i.e., the 26th March, A.D. 989, 18 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

Having found the commencement of a year, we find the end of it by adding 360-9730 days. But the end of the years actually put down in Table 3 must always be ascertained from that Table itself. Thus, in the case of our two first examples, we find:—

Commencement of Subhakrit	2302 964-5276
+	360-9730
sum	2303 325-6006
i.e., the 28th February, A.D. 1594, 12 h. 0-9 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Subhakrit; and,	
Commencement of Plava	2194 294-5182
+	360-9730
sum	2194 655-4912

i.e., the 21st August, A.D. 1296, 11 h. 47-3 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Plava.

But the year Khara of the third example ended as put down in Table 3, on the day of the Julian period 2082 741-0107, i.e., on the 27th March, A.D. 990, 0 h. 15-4 m. after mean sunrise.

Finally, to show here also how to find by the Tables Jupiter's year current at any given moment, we will ask: What year was current, and what portion of that year had elapsed, on the 30th September, A.D. 1889, 8 hours after mean sunrise?

Expressed in days of the Julian period, the 30th September, A.D. 1889, new style, 8 hours after mean sunrise, is —

	2411 276-3333.
Table 3, — 2394 303-5483 = end of year 48.	
remainder	16 972-7850;
Table 4, — 16 965-7300 = commencement of year 48.	
remainder	7-0550; sum 96 = 60 + 36 (Subhakrit).

Accordingly, the current year is Subhakrit, and at the given moment there had elapsed of that year 7-0550 days = 7 days, 1 hour, 19-2 minutes.

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Göttingen.

TABLE 1.

Sārya-Siddhānta Rule.

Day of Julian Period for the commencement of a complete Cycle of Sixty Years, counted from Vijaya as the first year of the Cycle.

A.D.	Vikrama expired.	Śaka expired.	Without Bija.	With Bija.
O.S. 101, September 1 ...	158	23	1758 192·3261	1758 218·0194
160, December 21 ...	217	82	1779 853·9294	1779 880·0985
220, April 12	277	142	1801 515·5327	1801 542·1776
279, August 3	336	201	1823 177·1359	1823 204·2566
338, November 22 ...	395	260	1844 838·7392	1844 866·3357
398, March 14.....	455	320	1866 500·3424	1866 528·4148
457, July 3	514	379	1888 161·9457	1888 190·4938
516, October 23	573	438	1909 823·5490	1909 852·5729
576, February 13.....	632	497	1931 485·1522	1931 514·6519
635, June 4	692	557	1953 146·7555	1953 176·7310
694, September 24 ...	751	616	1974 808·3588	1974 838·8101
754, January 13	810	675	1996 469·9620	1996 500·8891
813, May 5	870	735	2018 131·5653	2018 162·9682
872, August 25.....	929	794	2039 793·1685	2039 825·0473
931, December 15 ...	988	853	2061 454·7718	2061 487·1263
991, April 6	1048	913	2083 116·3751	2083 149·2054
1050, July 26	1107	972	2104 777·9783	2104 811·2345
1109, November 15 ...	1166	1031	2126 439·5816	2126 473·3635
1169, March 7.....	1226	1091	2148 101·1848	2148 135·4426
1228, June 26.....	1285	1150	2169 763·7881	2169 797·5216
1287, October 17	1344	1209	2191 424·3914	2191 459·6007
1347, February 5	1403	1268	2213 085·9946	2213 121·6798
1406, May 23	1463	1328	2234 747·5979	2234 783·7588
1465, September 17 ...	1522	1387	2256 409·2012	2256 445·8379
1525, January 6.....	1581	1446	2278 070·8044	2278 107·9170
1584, April 23.....	1641	1506	2299 732·4077	2299 769·9960
1643, August 19.....	1700	1565	2321 394·0109	2321 432·0751
1702, December 8	1759	1624	2343 055·6142	2343 094·1542
N.S. 1762, April 10.....	1819	1684	2364 717·2175	2364 756·2332
1821, July 31.....	1878	1743	2386 378·8207	2386 418·3123
1880, November 20 ...	1937	1802	2408 040·4240	2408 080·3913

TABLE 2.

Sārya-Siddhānta Rule.

Number of days for the commencement of every year within the Cycle.

No.	Year.	Without Bija.	With Bija.	No.	Year.	Without Bija.	With Bija.
1	Vijaya	000·0000	000·0000	31	Rudhirōdgārin ...	10830·8016	10831·0395
2	Jaya	361·0267	361·0347	32	Raktāksha	11191·8284	11192·0742
3	Manmatha	722·0534	722·0693	33	Krōdhana.....	11552·8551	11553·1088
4	Durmukha	1083·0802	1083·1040	34	Kshaya.....	11913·8818	11914·1435
5	Hēmalamba.....	1444·1069	1444·1386	35	Frabhava.....	12274·9085	12275·1781
6	Vilamba	1805·1336	1805·1733	36	Vibhava	12635·9352	12636·2128
7	Vikārin	2166·1603	2166·2079	37	Śukla	12996·9620	12997·2474
8	Sarvarin	2527·1870	2527·2426	38	Pramōda	13357·9887	13358·2821
9	Plava	2888·2138	2888·2772	39	Prajāpati.....	13719·0154	13719·3167
10	Subhākrit	3249·2405	3249·3119	40	Āngiras.....	14080·0421	14080·3514
11	Sōbhana	3610·2672	3610·3465	41	Srimukha.....	14441·0688	14441·3860
12	Krōdhin	3971·2939	3971·3812	42	Bhāva	14802·0956	14802·4207
13	Vivāvasu	4332·3207	4332·4158	43	Yuvan	15163·1223	15163·4553
14	Parābhava	4693·3474	4693·4505	44	Dhātṛi	15524·1490	15524·4900
15	Plavaṅga.....	5054·3741	5054·4861	45	Īvara	15885·1757	15885·5246
16	Kilaka	5415·4008	5415·5198	46	Bahudhānya	16246·2024	16246·5593
17	Saumya	5776·4275	5776·5544	47	Pramāthin	16607·2292	16607·5939
18	Sādhārana	6137·4543	6137·5891	48	Vikrama	16968·2559	16968·6286
19	Virōdhakṛit.....	6498·4810	6498·6237	49	Bhṛiṣya.....	17329·2826	17329·6633
20	Paridhāvin	6859·5077	6859·6584	50	Chitrabhānu	17690·3093	17690·6979
21	Pramādin	7220·5344	7220·6930	51	Subhānu	18051·3361	18051·7326
22	Ānanda.....	7581·5611	7581·7277	52	Tāraṇa	18412·3628	18412·7672
23	Rākshasa.....	7942·5879	7942·7623	53	Pārthiva	18773·3895	18773·8019
24	Anala	8303·6146	8303·7970	54	Vyaya	19134·4162	19134·8365
25	Pingala.....	8664·6413	8664·8316	55	Sarvajit	19495·4429	19495·8712
26	Kālayukta	9025·6680	9025·8663	56	Sarvadhārin.....	19856·4697	19856·9058
27	Siddhārthin.....	9386·6947	9386·9009	57	Virōdhin	20217·4964	20217·9405
28	Raudra.....	9747·7215	9747·9356	58	Vikṛita.....	20578·5231	20578·9751
29	Durmati	10108·7482	10108·9702	59	Khara	20939·5498	20940·0098
30	Dundubhi	10469·7749	10470·0049	60	Nandanā	21300·5765	21301·0444

TABLE 3.

Jyōtistattva Rule.

Day of Julian Period for the end of the Jovian year which precedes an Expunged Year.

A.D.	Vikrama expired.	Śaka expired.	End of year.		Day of Julian Period.
			No.	Name.	
O.S. 138, March 18.....	195	60	3	Sukla	1771 539·4460
223, March 20.....	280	145	29	Manmatha	1802 587·4079
309, March 17	366	231	56	Dundubhi.....	1833 996·3427
394, March 19.....	451	316	22	Sarvadhārin.....	1865 044·3046
479, March 21.....	536	401	48	Ānanda.....	1896 092·2665
564, March 22.....	621	486	14	Vikrama	1927 140·2283
649, March 24.....	706	571	40	Parābhava	1958 188·1902
735, March 22.....	792	657	7	Sṛimukha.....	1989 597·1250
820, March 23.....	877	742	33	Vikārin.....	2020 645·0869
905, March 25.....	962	827	59	Krōdhana.....	2051 693·0488
990, March 27.....	1047	912	25	Khara	2082 741·0107
1076, March 23.....	1133	998	52	Kālayukta	2114 149·9455
1161, March 25.....	1218	1083	18	Tāraṇa	2145 197·9074
1246, March 27.....	1303	1168	44	Sādhāraṇa	2176 245·8692
1331, March 29.....	1388	1253	10	Dhātrī	2207 293·8311
1417, March 26.....	1474	1339	37	Sōbhana	2238 702·7660
1502, March 28.....	1559	1424	3	Sukla	2269 750·7278
1587, March 30.....	1644	1509	29	Manmatha	2300 798·6897
1672, March 31.....	1729	1594	55	Durmati	2331 846·6516
N.S. 1757, April 13	1814	1679	21	Sarvajit	2362 894·6134
1843, April 12	1900	1765	48	Ānanda	2394 303·5483

The Sixty-Year Cycle.

1. Prabhava.	11. Śvara.	21. Sarvajit.	31. Hēmalamba.	41. Plavaṅga.	51. Piṅgala.
2. Vibhava.	12. Bahudhānya.	22. Sarvadhārin.	32. Vilamba.	42. Klaka.	52. Kālayukta.
3. Śukla.	13. Pramāthin.	23. Virōdhin.	33. Vikārin.	43. Saumya.	53. Siddhārthin.
4. Pramōda.	14. Vikrama.	24. Vikṛita.	34. Śarvarin.	44. Sādhāraṇa.	54. Baudra.
5. Prajāpati.	15. Bhṛīṅya.	25. Khara.	35. Plava.	45. Virōdhakṛit.	55. Durmati.
6. Angiras.	16. Chitrabhānu.	26. Nandana.	36. Śubhakṛit.	46. Paridhāvin.	56. Dundubhi.
7. Sṛimukha.	17. Subhānu.	27. Vijaya.	37. Sōbhana.	47. Pramādin.	57. Rudhirōdgérin.
8. Bhāva.	18. Tāraṇa.	28. Jaya.	38. Krōdhin.	48. Ānanda.	58. Baktāksha.
9. Yuvan.	19. Pārthiva.	29. Manmatha.	39. Viśvāvasu.	49. Bākshasa.	59. Krōdhana.
10. Dhātrī.	20. Vyaya.	30. Durmukha.	40. Parābhava.	50. Anala.	60. Kshaya.

TABLE 4.

Jyōtistattva Rule.

Number of days for the commencement of Jovian years.

Year.	Days.	Year.	Days.	Year.	Days.
1	000·0000	30	10 468·2164	59	20 936·4323
2	360·9730	31	10 829·1894	60	21 297·4058
3	721·9460	32	11 190·1623	61	21 658·3787
4	1082·9139	33	11 551·1353	62	22 019·3517
5	1443·8919	34	11 912·1083	63	22 380·3247
6	1804·8649	35	12 273·0813	64	22 741·2977
7	2165·8379	36	12 634·0543	65	23 102·2707
8	2526·8109	37	12 995·0272	66	23 463·2436
9	2887·7838	38	13 356·0002	67	23 824·2166
10	3248·7568	39	13 717·9732	68	24 185·1896
11	3609·7298	40	14 077·9462	69	24 546·1626
12	3970·7028	41	14 438·9192	70	24 907·1356
13	4331·6757	42	14 799·8921	71	25 268·1085
14	4692·6487	43	15 160·8651	72	25 629·0815
15	5053·6217	44	15 521·8381	73	25 990·0545
16	5414·5947	45	15 882·8111	74	26 351·0275
17	5775·5677	46	16 243·7841	75	26 712·0004
18	6136·5406	47	16 604·7570	76	27 072·9734
19	6497·5136	48	16 965·7300	77	27 433·9464
20	6858·4866	49	17 326·7030	78	27 794·9194
21	7219·4596	50	17 687·6760	79	28 155·8924
22	7580·4326	51	18 048·6490	80	28 516·8653
23	7941·4055	52	18 409·6219	81	28 877·8383
24	8302·3785	53	18 770·5949	82	29 238·8113
25	8663·3515	54	19 131·5679	83	29 599·7843
26	9024·3245	55	19 492·5409	84	29 960·7573
27	9385·2975	56	19 853·5138	85	30 321·7302
28	9746·2704	57	20 214·4868	86	30 682·7032
29	10 107·2434	58	20 575·4598	87	31 043·6762

THE VIKRAMA YEAR COMMENCING WITH THE MONTH ASHADHA.

The existence of a Vikrama year commencing with the month Āshāḍha became first known to me, several months ago, through a note of Mr. Fleet's, on page 79 of the Introduction of his *Gupta Inscriptions*. Since then, Mr. Fleet has drawn more prominently attention to this curious year, page 93 above, and it is in response to the request expressed in his concluding paragraph, that I publish the following dates, which distinctly refer themselves to the *Āshāḍhādi samvat*. According to the information collected by Mr. Fleet, the *Āshāḍhādi* year is a Vikrama year which commences three months later than the northern (*Chaitrādi*), or, which is the same thing, four months earlier than the southern (*Kārttikādi*) year; and, assuming this to be true, any dates of the *Āshāḍhādi* year falling in any of the nine months from Āshāḍha to Phālguna must, for the purpose of calculation, be treated as northern dates, while such dates as fall in the three months Chaitra, Vaiśākha, and Jyāishṭha, must, for the purpose of calculation, be regarded as southern dates. My dates, which fall in the months Māgha, Śrāvana, Vaiśākha, and Phālguna, prove that on this point Mr. Fleet's information is correct; and the last date, belonging to a dark fortnight, shows that (in this instance) the arrangement of the lunar fortnights of the *Āshāḍhādi* year is the *amānta* (southern) arrangement. The dates are as follows:—

1.—In *Archaeol. Survey of Western India*, No. 2, *List of Antiquarian Remains*, pp. 264-265, there is (what appears to be) a rough transcript of an inscription at Aśālij, 12 miles north of Ahmadābād, which records the building of a well by the *Rānī Rūdā*, the wife of the Vāghēla chief Varasimha of the Dandāhi-dēsa, and of which the date is given in the following passages:—

L. 1. — Samvat 1555 varshē Māgha-māsē pañchami-dinē pādāsāha-śri-Mahimūdarājā(jyē ?);

L. 9. — Svasti śri-nripa-Vikramārka-samayātītē kālē (!) sāmpratam samvat=pañchadaśē tu pañcha-militē varshē chāpainsati (cha pañchāsati ?) | Kaubēritū diśam-śrītē dina-patau māsē cha Māgh-Abhidhē pakshē śuklatamē tithau phana-bhritō vārē Budhasy=Ōttarā-nakshatrē Bha(ba)va-samjñakē cha karānē yōgē va (cha) Siddhōparē(!) | ; and —

L. 21. — Svasti śrīman-nripa-Vikrama-samayātītē (!) Āshāḍhādi-samvat 1555 varshē Śāk[ē*] 1420 pravartamānē uttarāyana(pa) gatē śri-sūry[ē*] śisārutau(śisārtau) Māgha-māsē pañchamyām tithau Budhāvāsarē Ōttarābhadrāpad[ā*]-nakshatrē Siddhi-nānni yōgē Bava-karānē Minarāsau sthitē chandré pāsāsāha-śri-Mahimūda-vijayarājā(jyē) |.

There can be no doubt that the inscription was either carelessly executed, or, which appears more probable, negligently copied. However this may be, it is certain that it is dated in the reign of the Sultān Mahmud, in the *Āshāḍhādi* Vikrama year 1555, corresponding, so far as the day is concerned, to the Saka year 1420, on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of the month Māgha, on a Wednesday, under the *nakshatra* Ōttarā-Bhadrāpada, and when the *yōga* was either Siddha or Siddhi, and the *karāna* Bava. Calculating now for the ordinary (northern or southern) year, we obtain, as the possible equivalents of Māgha śukla 5, —

for Vikrama 1555 current, — Saturday, 27th January, A.D. 1498, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise; and when, at sunrise, the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī, the *yōga* Sādhya, and the *karāna* Bava;

for Vikrama 1555 expired, — Wednesday, 16th January, A.D. 1499, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, and when the *nakshatra* was Ōttarā-Bhadrāpada up to about 11 h. 10 m., the *yōga* Siddha up to about 18 h. 24 m., and the *karāna* Bava up to about 6 h., after mean sunrise.

The second of these two days is evidently the one mentioned in the inscription; and this date accordingly proves that the month Māgha of the ordinary (northern or southern) Vikrama year is also the Māgha of the same *Āshāḍhādi* year; or, more accurately, that, so far as the bright half of the month Māgha is concerned, there is no difference between the northern or southern, and *Āshāḍhādi* years. As might have been expected, the year 1555 of the date is the *expired* year; and so is the Saka year 1420, mentioned together with it, notwithstanding the term *pravartamānē*, by which it is qualified.

2. — According to Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue of the MSS. of the Bodleian Library*, page 348, a manuscript of the *Prabhasakshētrātritha-yātrānukrama* bears the following date:—

saṁvat 15 Āshāḍhādi 34 varshē (varshē) Śrāvana-sudi 5 Bhū(bhau)jmē ad[y*]=ēha śri-Kadanapurē sthānē pāsāsāha-śri(śri)-Mahimūda-vijayarājā(jyē)

i.e. "on Tuesday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvana in the *Āshāḍhādi* (Vikrama) year 1534, here, at the place Kadanapura, in the reign of victory of the Sultān, the illustrious Mahmud."

Calculating, again, for Śrāvana śukla 5 of the ordinary northern and southern Vikrama years, we obtain the following results:—
for the northern year 1534, current, — Friday, 26th July, A.D. 1476;

for the northern year 1534, expired,
or the southern year 1534, current, — Tuesday, 15th July, A.D. 1477, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended about 7 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise;

for the southern year 1534 expired, in which Śrāvana was intercalary,
for the first Śrāvana, — Saturday, 4th July, A.D. 1478;

for the second Śrāvana, — Monday, 3rd August, A.D. 1478.

Of these, Tuesday, 15th July, A.D. 1477, is clearly the day intended by the date; and since Indian dates, as a rule, are recorded in *expired* years, we are justified in assuming that the year 1534 of the date was the *expired* *Āshāḍhādi* year, and that the bright half of Śrāvana of this *Āshāḍhādi* year was also the bright half of the same month of the same northern year.

3. — According to Professor Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS.*, Vol. I, page 69, a manuscript of the *Tāṅyabrāhmaṇa*, which was evidently written in Gujarāt, is dated:—

svasti saṁvat Āshāḍhādi 83 varshē Vaiśākha(kha)-sita-dviti[yā*]yām Bhūmitanayē

i.e., apparently, "on Tuesday, the second lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the *Āshāḍhādi* (Vikrama) year 83."

Here the figures for the century have, either purposely or negligently, been omitted; but, learning from Professor Weber that the MS. is an old one, and "may well have been written about saṁvat 1583," I feel no hesitation in saying that the year of the date is 1583, and that the copyist, similarly to what we have seen in the preceding date, intended to write or should have written "saṁvat 15 Āshāḍhādi 83 varshē." And calculating for Vaiśākha śukla 2 of the ordinary northern and southern years, I find the following equivalents:—

for the northern year 1583, current, — Monday, 24th April, A.D. 1525;

for the northern year 1583, expired,
or the southern year 1583, current, — Friday, 13th April, A.D. 1526;

for the southern year 1583, expired, — Tuesday, 2nd April, A.D. 1527, when the second

tithi of the bright half ended about 22 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

The true day, therefore, clearly is Tuesday, 2nd April, A.D. 1527, and the date proves that the bright half of Vaiśākha of the *Āshāḍhādi* year is also the bright half of the same month of the same southern year.

4. — On page VII. of the Notes, Corrections and Additions to his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.* for 1883-84, Professor Bhandarkar has given the date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Śābhana-stutaya!*, evidently also written in Gujarāt, thus:—

saṁvat 16 Āshāḍha vadi 99 varshē Phālgunavadi 11 tithau Śōma-dinē.

Here the words *Āshāḍha vadi*, of course, are meaningless; and there can be no doubt that the writer, who was not copying from another MS., but wished to give the date on which he finished his own copy, meant to write or, and this appears more probable, actually has written —

saṁvat 16 Āshāḍhādi 99 varshē, —

i.e. "in the *Āshāḍhādi* (Vikrama) year 1699, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of Phālguna, on a Monday." And calculating, again, for Phālguna kṛishṇa 11 of the ordinary (northern or southern) Vikrama years, and for both the *pūrṇimānta* and the *amānta* schemes of the lunar fortnights, I obtain the following results:—

for Vikrama 1699 current,

pūrṇimānta — Tuesday, 15th February, A.D. 1642;

amānta — Wednesday, 16th March, A.D. 1642;

for Vikrama 1699 expired,

pūrṇimānta — Sunday, 5th February, A.D. 1643;

amānta — Monday, 6th March, A.D. 1643, when the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

The true day, therefore, clearly is Monday, 6th March, A.D. 1643, and the date proves that the arrangement of the lunar fortnights of this *Āshāḍhādi* year was the *amānta* arrangement of the ordinary southern Vikrama year.

As regards the above dates in general, it may be noted that out of several hundreds of Vikrama dates in inscriptions and MSS. which I have examined, they are the only dates hitherto discovered which mention the *Āshāḍhādi* year; that they are all from Gujarāt, and that three of them belong to about the same time (Vikrama 1534, 1555, and 1583). Moreover, attention deserves to be drawn to the peculiar manner in which the year of the date is expressed in the second, third and fourth dates, and in line 9 of the first date, by separating the figures for the century

from the figures for the year within the century, and altogether omitting the word for 'hundred.' And in this respect I may be permitted to quote here, from page 166 of Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the India Office*, as an even more instructive example, a date of about the same time and from the same part of India, which runs as follows:—

svasti saṃvat pañchadāsa 15 asitau 80 pravarttamānē uttarāyanē(nē) śrī-sūryē grishma-ṛitau mahāmāngalya-pradē Jyē. (jyāishṭha-māsē asita-pakshē dvādaśa-ghatikā-paryanta-paurṇamāsī tadanantara-pratipadāyān tithau Bhrigu-vārē ady=ēha Simhōdraḍā-sthānē

i. e., omitting useless details, "in the (Vikrama) year fifteen-eighty, in the month Jyāishṭha, in the dark half, on a Friday, when the full-moon tithi lasted twelve ghāṭikās (after sunrise) and was then followed by the first tithi (of the dark half), here at Simhōdraḍā" . . . ; corresponding (when referred to the southern Vikrama year 1580, current) to Friday, 29th May, A. D. 1523, when the full-moon tithi by Professor Jacobi's Tables ended 4 h. 28 m., and by Dr. Schram's Tables 4 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise, as near 12 ghāṭikās as can be expected.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

Kurze Mittheilungen zur Indischen Chronologie.

Von

F. Kielhorn.

1. — Das Āshāḍhādi Vikrama Jahr.

Auf Seite 79 seiner Einleitung zum dritten Bande des *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* erwähnt Herr Fleet, daß im westlichen Kāthiāwāḍ ein Jahr gebräuchlich sei, welches mit der hellen Hälfte des dem Monate Kārttika des gewöhnlichen Vikrama-Jahres vorausgehenden Monates Āshāḍha anfangt. Dies Jahr heiße, weil es der Hālār Unterabtheilung von Kāthiāwāḍ angehöre, das Hālārī Jahr. Ob dasselbe mit dem *amānta* oder dem *pūrnimānta* Schema des Monates zu verbinden sei, sei unbekannt¹⁾.

Die folgenden Daten zeigen, daß dies *Āshāḍhādi* Jahr schon im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderte der Vikrama Aera in einem Theile des westlichen Indiens im Gebrauche war. Die Berechnung derselben beweist, daß das über den Anfang des Jahres Bemerkte richtig ist; und zeigt außerdem, daß das Schema des lunaren Monates dieses Jahres das *amānta* Schema des sogenannten südlichen Vikrama Jahres ist. Um hierüber keinen Zweifel zu lassen, gebe ich für jedes der vier Daten alle möglichen europäischen Aequivalente, und mache das Datum unseres Kalenders, welches die Bedingungen des indischen Datums erfüllt und somit das wahre Aequivalent desselben ist, durch gesperrten Druck kenntlich. Wenn das *Āshāḍhādi* Jahr wirklich mit dem dem Anfange des südlichen (*Kārttikādi*) Jahres vorausgehenden oder dem Anfange des nördlichen (*Chaitrādi*) Jahres folgenden Monate Āshāḍha anfängt, so muß sich das wahre Aequivalent eines Datums aus den vier Monaten Āshāḍha, Çrāvāṇa, Bhādrapada, und Āṣvina durch die Berechnung des Datums für dasselbe nördliche Vikrama Jahr, das wahre Aequivalent eines Datums aus den drei Monaten Chaitra, Vaiçākha und Jyāishṭha durch die Berechnung des Datums für dasselbe südliche Vikrama Jahr ergeben, während ein Datum aus den fünf Monaten Kārttika — Phālguna allen drei Jahren gemeinsam sein muß. Zu erwarten ist ferner, daß die Inder auch beim *Āshāḍhādi* Jahre das abgelaufene (nicht in europäischer Weise das laufende) Jahr im Datum angegeben haben werden.

1) Man vergleiche jetzt *Ind. Antiquary*, 1889, S. 93.

1. — Nach Professor Aufrechts *Catal. Cod. MSS. Bibl. Bodl.*, Seite 348^b, trägt eine Handschrift des *Prabhāsakshêtrâtîrtha-yâtrâ-nukrama* das Datum —

Saṁvat 15 Āshāḍhādi 34 varashê¹⁾ Çrāvāṇa-çudi 5 Bhû-(bha u)mê ad[y*] = êha çrî-Kadanapurê sthânê pâtasâha-srî-(çrî)-Mahimûda-vijayarâjyê, —

d. i., am 5. der hellen Hälfte des Çrāvāṇa im *Āshāḍhādi* (Vikrama) Jahre 1534, an einem Dienstage. Die Aequivalente für Çrāvāṇa-çudi 5 sind —

für das nördliche laufende V. Jahr 1534: Freitag, 26 Juli, 1476;
für das nördliche verflossene (oder

südliche laufende) V. Jahr 1534: Dienstag, 15 Juli, 1477;
für das südliche verflossene V. Jahr 1534, in dem Çrāvāṇa ein Schaltmonat war: entweder Sonnabend, 4 Juli, 1478;
oder Montag, 3 August, 1478.

2. — Eine Inschrift von Adâlij bei Ahmadâbâd, in *Archaeol. Survey of W. India, List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, Seite 265, enthält (Zeile 21—24) das Datum —

Svasti çrîman-nrîpa-Vikrama-samayâtîtâ (!) Āshāḍhādi-saṁvat 1555 varshê çaka 1420 pravartamânê . . . Mâghamâsê çukla-pakshê pañchamyâm tithau Budha-vâsarê Uttarâbhadrâpada-nakshatrê Siddhi(!)-nâmnî yôgê Bava-karaṇê . . . , —

d. i., am fünften lunaren Tage der hellen Hälfte des Monates Mâgha, im *Āshāḍhādi* (Vikrama) Jahre 1555, oder dem Çaka Jahre 1420, an einem Mittwoch, unter dem *nakshatra* Uttarâ Bhadrâpadâ, dem *yôga* Siddhi (!), und dem *karaṇa* Bava. Hier sind die Aequivalente für Mâgha-çudi 5 —

für das (nördliche oder südliche) laufende V. Jahr 1555: Sonnabend, 27 Januar, 1498; und

für das (nördliche oder südliche) verflossene V. Jahr 1555: Mittwoch, 16 Januar, 1499; an diesem Tage endete die fünfte *tithi* der hellen Hälfte 17^h 34^m, und das *karaṇa* Bava etwa 6^h, und das *nakshatra* war Uttarâ Bhadrâpadâ bis 11^h 10^m, und der *yôga* Siddha (!) bis 18^h 24^m nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange.

(Die Berechnung zeigt, daß das Wort *pravartamânê* des Datums nicht gleichbedeutend mit unserem „laufend“, und daß für *Siddhi-nâmnî Siddha-nâmnî* zu schreiben ist.)

1) Lies *varshê*.

3. — Professor Webers *Verzeichniß der Sanskrit HSS. der Berliner Bibliothek*, Band I, Seite 69, gibt das Datum einer Handschrift des *Pañchaviṁṣabrahmana* —

Svasti saṁvat Āshāḍhādi 83 varshê Vaiçāsha(kha)-sitadvitīyā[yâ*]m Bhûmi-tanayê.

Vergleicht man dies Datum mit dem oben unter 1. gegebenen, so ersieht man, daß der Schreiber hinter dem Worte *saṁvat* die Zahl für die Jahrhunderte ausgelassen hat. Und da nach einer brieflichen Mittheilung Professor Webers die betreffende Handschrift etwa 300 Jahre alt ist, so hege ich keinen Zweifel, daß die für die Jahrhunderte zu ergänzende Zahl 15 ist, und daß der Schreiber demgemäß sein Werk beendigte —

am zweiten lunaren Tage der hellen Hälfte des Monates Vaiçākha, im *Āshāḍhādi* (Vikrama) Jahre 1583, an einem Dienstage.

Für Vaiçākha-çudi 2 sind die Aequivalente —

für das nördliche laufende V. Jahr 1583: Montag, 24 April, 1525;
für das nördliche verflossene (oder

südliche laufende) V. Jahr 1583: Freitag, 13 April, 1526;

für das südliche verflossene V. Jahr 1583: Dienstag, 2 April, 1527.

4. — Auf Seite VII der Notes, Additions, and Corrections zu seinem *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* für 1883/84 gibt Professor Bhânḍârkar das Datum einer Handschrift eines Commentars zu den *Çôbhana-stutayah*, wie folgt: —

Saṁvat 16 Āshāḍha vadi 99 varshê Phâlguna-vadi 11 tithau Sôma-dinê.

Hier geben die Worte *Āshāḍha vadi* natürlich keinen Sinn; und wer das Datum mit den obigen Daten vergleicht, wird zugeben, daß der Schreiber *Āshāḍhādi* schreiben wollte oder, was wahrscheinlicher ist, wirklich geschrieben hat. Die Handschrift wurde also beendigt —

am elften lunaren Tage der dunklen Hälfte des Monates Phâlguna, im *Āshāḍhādi* (Vikrama) Jahre 1699, an einem Montage.

Und hier sind die Aequivalente für Phâlguna-vadi 11 —
für das (nördliche oder südliche) laufende V. Jahr 1699, —

pûrṇimânta: Dienstag, 15 Februar, 1642;

amânta : Mittwoch, 16 März, 1642.

für das (nördliche oder südliche) verflossene V. Jahr 1699,—

pûrṇimânta: Sonntag, 5 Februar, 1643;

amânta : Montag, 6 März, 1643.

Mit der eigenthümlichen Weise, in welcher in drei der obigen Daten die Zahl für die Jahrhunderte von der Zahl für das Jahr innerhalb des Jahrhunderts getrennt ist, vergleiche man den Eingang des Datums einer Hds. der *Prakriyâ-kaumudî* in Eggelings *Catalogue of the Skr. MSS. I. O.*, Seite 166: samvat pañchadaça 15 açîtau 80 pravarttamânê „im (Vikrama) Jahre funfzehn-achtzig (1580)“.

2. — Çaka in der Bedeutung »Jahr« (= varsha).

Kein Lexicon gibt für *çaka* die Bedeutung »Jahr« (= *varsha*); und doch beweisen eine Anzahl von Daten, daß das Wort wenigstens seit dem Anfange des 13. Jahrhunderts gelegentlich auch in diesem Sinne gebraucht worden ist.

1. — Eine zuerst von Dr. F. E. Hall im *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Band XXVIII, Seite 2, herausgegebene und später in *Archaeol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, Seite 111, wieder abgedruckte Inschrift von Harsaudâ (oder Châr-wâ) enthält das Datum —

(Z. 4). — Samvat pañchasaptaty - adhika - dvâdaçaçatê = mkê 1275 Mârgga-sudi 5 Sa(ç)a nau . . . ; und

(Z. 7). — Adhikê pañchasaptatyâ dvâdaç-âvda(bda)-çatê çakê vatsarê Chitrabhânu tu Mârggaçîrshê çî(si)tê dalê || 4 || pañchamy-amtaka-[sam]yôgê nakshatrê Vishṇu-daivatê | yôgê Harshaṇa - samjñê tu tithy - arddhê Dhâtri-daivatê || 5 || ;

d. i., um mich kurz zu fassen, im Jahre 1275, in (Jupiters) Jahre Chitrabhânu, am 5. der hellen Hälfte des Monates Mârggaçîrsha, an einem Sonnabend, unter dem *nakshatra* Çravaṇa, dem *yôga* Harshaṇa, und während des *karana* Balava.

Dr. Hall hat das Wort *çakê* in Z. 7 im Sinne von »im Jahre der Çaka Aera« gefaßt, und demgemäß den in der Inschrift genannten Dêvapâla in das Jahr 1353 n. Ch. versetzt. Aber weder ergibt sich für Mârgga-sudi 5 des laufenden oder verflossenen Çaka-Jahres 1275 ein Sonnabend, noch kann eines dieser beiden Jahre auf irgend eine Weise mit dem Cyclus-Jahre Chitrabhânu verbunden werden. Nehmen wir dagegen *çakê* als gleichbedeutend mit *varshê* »im Jahre«, und beziehn das Datum auf die Vikrama Aera, so erhalten wir für 1275 Mârgga-sudi 5 ein Aequivalent, welches alle im Datum enthaltenen Bedingungen erfüllt. Denn dem Tage Mârgga-sudi 5 des verflossenen Vikrama Jahres 1275 entspricht Sonnabend, 24 November, 1218, mit dem *nakshatra* Çravaṇa und *yôga* Harshaṇa; und der Anfang des solaren Jahres, wel-

ches dem verflossenen Vikrama Jahre 1275 entspricht, fiel sowohl nach der Sûrya-Siddhânta wie nach der Jyôtistattva Regel in das Cyclus-Jahr Chitra bhânu¹⁾.

2. — Nach Professor Eggelings *Catalogue of the Skr. MSS. I. O.*, Seite 23, trägt eine Handschrift des *Kânḍânukramaṇikâ-vivaraṇa* das Datum —

Samvat 1650 çakê | Çubhakrit-samvatsarê Bhâdrapada-sudi-paurṇamâsyâm Bṛigu-vâsarê, —

d. i., im Jahre 1650, in (Jupiters) Jahre Çubhakrit, am Vollmondstage in der hellen Hälfte des Monates Bhâdrapada, an einem Freitage.

Auch hier entspricht das Wort *çakê* dem gewöhnlichen *varshê*, und das entsprechende Datum (für das verflossene nördliche Vikrama Jahr 1650) ist Freitag, 31 August, 1593, ein Tag des Cyclus-Jahres Çubhakrit, welches dauerte, —

nach der Sûrya-S. Regel, ohne Bîja, vom 19 März 1593 bis 15 März 1594;

nach der Sûrya-S. Regel, mit Bîja, vom 26 April 1593 bis 22 April 1594;

nach der Jyôtistattva Regel, vom 4 März 1593 bis 28 Februar 1594.

3. — Die im *Indian Antiquary*, Band IX, Seite 193, veröffentlichte Inschrift der Königin Lalitatripurasundarî enthält eine Anzahl von Daten, die alle, was ich nicht zu beweisen brauche, der Vikrama Aera angehören. In dieser Inschrift lesen wir, z. B., Seite 193, Z. 5 v. u., und Seite 194, Z. 6 v. o., *tasminn = éva çakê* »in demselben Jahre«; Seite 193, Z. 4 v. u., *bâna-svara-nâga-bhû-mitê 1875 çakê* »im (Vikrama) Jahre 1875«; und ähnlich Z. 6 v. u., *Vaikramê çakê* »im Vikrama Jahre«, ein Ausdruck, der sich, ebenso wie *Vikramâditya-çakê*, auch anderweitig nachweisen läßt.

Das Wort *çakê* in einem Datum beweist also nicht mit Nothwendigkeit, daß das Datum der Çaka Aera angehört. Eine andre Frage ist die von Professor Bhânḍârkar in seinem Report für 1883/84, S. 148, besprochene, ob in Daten der letzten Jahrhunderte das vor der Jahreszahl stehende *samvat* auch für *çaka-samvat* »im Jahre der Çaka Aera« stehn könne. Professor Bhânḍârkar verneint diese Frage; und da bei der zwischen ihm und Professor Bühler geführten Discussion das Datum einer von mir benutzten

1) Seit ich Obiges schrieb, sind mir zwei andre noch nicht veröffentlichte Inschriften desselben Dêvapâla, aus den Vikramajahren 1286 und 1289, bekannt geworden.

Handschrift des Mahâbhâshya als Beweis für das Gegentheil angeführt worden ist, theile ich hier mit, daß *dies* Datum der Rechnung nach ein Vikrama-Datum sein muß (Saṁvat 1513 varshê Pausshê mâsi sitê pakshê navamyâm tithau Saumyê = Mittwoch, 17 December, 1455).

3. — Çu.ti. und Va.ti.

Bekannt sind *çu.di.* oder *su.di.* und *ba.di.* oder *va.di.*, die, ursprünglich Abkürzungen, später (in der Form *çudi* oder *sudi*, und *badi* oder *vadi*) als nicht declinierbare selbstständige Wörter im Sinne von *çukla-pakshê* und *krishna-pakshê* verwendet und sowohl für sich wie in Zusammensetzungen mit vorhergehenden und folgenden Wörtern gebraucht werden. Weit seltener und bis jetzt unbeachtet geblieben sind die Bezeichnungen *çu.ti.* und *va.ti.* oder *çuti* und *vati*, in denen an die Stelle des *di* (für *divasa* oder *dina*) *ti* (für *tithi*) getreten ist. Diese Ausdrücke scheinen im Norden Indiens und besonders in Kaçmîr gebräuchlich zu sein. Als Beispiele gebe ich folgende Daten: —

1. — In den Inschriften des Visaladêva auf einer Säule zu Delhi, von welchen ich der Güte des Herrn Fleet Abdrücke verdanke, lesen wir, —

A., Z. 1: Saṁvat 1220 Vaiçākha çu.ti. 15; und

C., Z. 5: Saṁvat çrî-Vikramâdityê 1220 Vaiçākha çu.ti. 15 Gurau.

2. — Die Kaçmîr Handschriften der *Kâçikâ-vṛitti* und der *Çakuntalâ* des Deccan College, die ich selbst verglichen habe, wurden beendet, die erstere —

Çrî-nṛipa-Vikramâditya-râjyasya gat-âbdaḥ 1717 çrî-Saptarshi-matê saṁvat 36 Pau. va.ti. 3 Ravau Tishya-nakshatrê; und die zweite —

Saṁvat 33 Vai. çu.ti. saptamyâm.

3. — In *Z. D. M. G.*, Band XL, Seite 9, berichtet Dr. Hultzsch, daß eine Grabschrift in Çârada Charakteren auf dem Kirchhofe bei Hariparvat datiert ist —

Saṁ 60 Çrâ. va.ti. pra. Çukrê | Mahammada-çâha-râjyê || ; und daß eine Handschrift seiner Sammlung beendet wurde —

Saṁvat 24 Kârtika va.ti. trayôdaçyâm Budhê || Çrî-Çâkah 1570 || .

4. — Nach Professor Bühlers *Kaçmîr Report*, App. II, Seite LV, trägt eine Handschrift des *Chârâyanîya-mantra-bhâshya* das Datum —

Saṁvat 47 Srâ (çrâ). va.ti. pañchadaçyâm (?) parataḥ sha-shṭhyâm.

Endlich werden *çu.ti.* und *va.ti.* durchgängig in einem Kalender gebraucht, den ich unten erwähnen werde.

4. — Das Saptarshi- oder Çâstra-Jahr; und die Daten der Chambâ Kupferplatte des Sô mavarmadêva und Âsatadêva.

Sir A. Cunningham hat in seinem *Book of Indian Eras*, Seite 6—17, von der Saptarshi-Aera ausführlich gehandelt. Derselbe theilt in *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Band XXI, Seite 136, mit, daß die Jahre dieser Aera auch *çâstri-saṁvatsara* heißen. Die dort erwähnte Chambâ Kupferplatte, von der ich gleichfalls Herrn Fleet Abdrücke verdanke, zeigt indessen, daß der wirkliche Name des Jahres *çâstra-saṁvatsara* ist, denn wir lesen in ihr —

Z. 1. — çrîmad-Vikramâ[rka?]-saṁvatsarê 191[5] çrî-çâstra-saṁvatsarê 34;

Z. 7. — çrîmad-Vikramâditya-saṁvatsarê 1917 çâstra-saṁvatsarê 36;

Z. 8. — Vikramâditya-saṁvat 1915 çrî-çâstra-saṁvat 34;

Z. 18. — Vikramâditya-saṁvat 1917 çâstra-saṁvat 36.

Ein in der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin befindlicher Kalender, der entweder im nördlichen Indien oder in Kaçmîr geschrieben ist, und für die Zeit von Mittwoch, 13. März, 1793, (= Chaitra-çuti 1), bis Montag, 31. März, 1794, (= Chaitra-vati 15), gilt, beschreibt in den einleitenden Bemerkungen das Jahr für welches er bestimmt war, wie folgt:

Çrî-Saptarshichârânumatêna saṁvat 4869, tathâ cha saṁvat 69, . . . çrî-Çâkah 1715, . . . çrî-Vikramâditya-saṁvat 1850, . . . Kalêr = gata-varshâni 4894.

Da die hier angegebenen Jahre der Çaka- und Vikrama-Aeren und der Aera des Kaliyuga verflossene Jahre sind, die Zahlen für die Saptarshi-Jahre aber aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach laufende Jahre bezeichnen, so muß die Saptarshi-Aera angefangen haben als 26 Jahre des Kali-yuga verflossen waren. Dies würde mit dem von Professor Bhârḡarkar in seinem Report für 1883/84, Seite 84, gewonnenen Resultate übereinstimmen. Auf jeden Fall aber muß ein Jahr 0 oder 100 der Saptarshi Aera einem laufenden Jahre 82 der Vikrama Aera, einem laufenden Jahre 47 der Çaka Aera, und einem Jahre 24(—25) der christlichen Zeitrechnung entsprechen. Und dies wird durch die Berechnung der Daten, die mir zur Hand sind, bestätigt.

1. — Wie oben erwähnt, wurde die Kaçmîr Handschrift der *Kâçikâ-vṛitti* des Deccan College beendet —

Çrî-nṛipa - Vikramāditya-rājyasya gat-âbdah 1717 çrî-Saptarshi-matê 36 Pau. va.ti. 3 Ravau Tishya-nakshatrê;
das entsprechende Datum, für das laufende Vikrama Jahr 1718 und den *pūrṇimānta* Monat, ist Sonntag, 9 December, 1660, mit dem *nakshatra* Tishya bis 17^h44^m nach mittlerem Sonnenaufgange.

2. — Die Kaçmîr Handschrift der *Kâtantra - vṛitti bālabōdhini* des Deccan College enthält das Datum —

Çrî-Çākah 1591 saṁvatsarah 45 Bhādrapada-māsaḥ pakshas = sitētarah tithir = dvādaçī vārô (rah) Kāvya sy = êti;
das entsprechende Datum, für das laufende Çaka Jahr 1592 = Vikrama 1727 und den *pūrṇimānta* Monat, ist Freitag, 13 August, 1669.

3. — Das schon oben erwähnte Datum einer Handschrift des Dr. Hultzs ch ist —

Saṁvat 24 Kārtika va.ti. trayōdaçyām Budhê || Çrî-Çākah 1570 ||;
das entsprechende Datum, für das laufende Çaka Jahr 1571 = Vikrama 1706 und ebenfalls den *pūrṇimānta* Monat, ist Mittwoch, 4 October, 1648.

Schwierigkeit macht oft das Jahrhundert, für welches die Rechnung zu machen ist, weil es gewöhnlich durch außerhalb des Datums liegende Umstände bestimmt werden muß. Ich habe schon oben das Datum einer Grabschrift mitgeteilt, welches lautet —

Saṁ 60 Çrā. va.ti. pra. Çukrê | Mahammada-çāha-rājyê ||, d. i., im Jahre 60, am ersten lunaren Tage der dunklen Hälfte des Monates Çrāvaṇa, an einem Freitage, unter der Regierung des Muhammad Shâh. — Muhammad Shâh soll, wie Dr. Hultzs ch angibt, von 1487 bis 1537 regiert haben. Nehmen wir an, daß er um 1500 n. Chr. lebte, so müßte sich das richtige Aequivalent für unser Datum durch die Berechnung desselben für 60 + 1424 = 1484 n. Chr. ergeben. Und dies ist in der That der Fall; denn im Jahre 1484 n. Chr. fiel der 1. der dunklen Hälfte des *pūrṇimānta* Çrāvaṇa auf den 9. Juli, einen Freitag. (Muhammad Shâh hat also sicher wenigstens drei Jahre vor 1487 regiert.)

Die Beschäftigung mit der Saptarshi Aera hat mir die Frage nahe gelegt, ob etwa auch die beiden Daten der von mir im *Indian Antiquary*, Band XVII, Seite 11—13 herausgegebenen Inschrift des Sôma-varmadêva und Âsaṭadêva dieser Aera angehören könnten. Bei der Herausgabe der Inschrift habe ich die Jahre der Daten nach dem Vorgange Sir A. Cunnighams als Regierungsjahre

des Âsaṭadêva betrachtet und demnach die Abfassung der Inschrift in die Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts n. Ch. gesetzt; aber die Chronologie Kaçmîrs, welche dieser Annahme zu Grunde liegt, erscheint keineswegs derartig, daß wir uns in allen Einzelheiten mit absoluter Sicherheit auf sie verlassen könnten. Leider ist der Wortlaut des zweiten Datums nicht ganz sicher, weil die Kupferplatte hier eine schadhafte Stelle hat; und was sich überhaupt über die Lesung der beiden Daten sagen läßt, ist etwa Folgendes:

Das erste Datum, in Z. 27, lautet —

Pravardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyê çrîmad-Âsaṭadêvîyê saṁvatsarê prathamê Vaiçākha-sita-[dvitīyāyām Çukra-vārêṇa.

Das einzige in den Abdrücken etwas undeutliche *akshara* ist hier das erste *akshara* von *dvitīyāyām*, dessen Consonanten vielleicht *tr* gelesen werden könnten. Da aber die Lesung *dv* ebenso gut möglich und der Vocal *i* ganz deutlich ist, so hege ich keinen Zweifel, daß wir *dvitīyāyām* lesen müssen, und daß der Sinn der Worte demgemäß ist —

„während der siegreichen Regierung des Âsaṭadêva, im ersten Jahre, am zweiten lunaren Tage der hellen Hälfte des Monates Vaiçākha, an einem Freitage“.

Schwieriger ist das zweite Datum in Z. 30. Bei der Herausgabe der Inschrift habe ich es gegeben —

pa[ra?]-saṁvat 11 Bhādrapada-[çubhr?]-ê 12 [sa?]

Eine nochmalige Prüfung der Abdrücke zeigt mir, daß die Worte und Zahlen

saṁvat 11 Bhādrapada . . 12,

wie ich sie gegeben, absolut sicher sind, und daß das auf *Bhādrapada* folgende *akshara* wirklich *çu* ist und das auf die Zahl 12 folgende Wort unzweifelhaft mit dem Consonanten *s* anfing. Dagegen lese ich jetzt den Consonanten des auf *çu* folgenden *akshara* *t* (nicht *bhr*) und halte das darüber stehende Vocalzeichen für ein undeutlich geschriebenes *i* (nicht *ê*), lese also

pa[ra?]-saṁvat 11 Bhādrapada çu.t[i]. 12 S

Das letzte *S* muß der Anfang des Namens eines Wochentages sein; und da von den gewöhnlich gebrauchten Namen der Wochentage nur *Sôma-vāra* oder Montag mit *s* anfängt und Sir A. Cunningham, dem die Kupferplatte selbst vorgelegen zu haben scheint, in *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Band XXI, S. 136, wirklich *Sômê* gelesen hat, dürfen wir gewiß das ganze Datum mit einiger Sicherheit erklären durch —

„im folgenden Jahre 11, am 12. lunaren Tage der hellen Hälfte des Monates Bhâdrapada, an einem Montag“.

Daß die Inschrift aus dem 11. Jahrhunderte n. Ch. stammt, scheint sicher; und wenn die beiden Daten der Saptarshi Aera angehören sollten, so müßte das erste derselben nach dem, was oben über die Aera bemerkt ist, in das Jahr $1 + 1024 = 1025$ n. Ch., und das zweite in $11 + 1024 = 1035$ n. Ch. fallen. Und wirklich ergibt die Berechnung der Daten für diese beiden Jahre die erwünschten Wochentage. Denn in 1025 fiel Vaiçākha-sudi 2 auf Freitag, den 2. April; und ebenso fiel in 1035 Bhâdrapada-sudi 12 auf Montag, den 18. August.

Diese Uebereinstimmung scheint mir mehr als ein Spiel des Zufalls; und ich hoffe, daß diese Zeilen die Beamten des Archaeol. Survey Indiens veranlassen werden, wenn irgend möglich, die Lesung des zweiten Datums durch eine nochmalige Einsicht der Kupferplatte selbst mit Sicherheit festzustellen. Eine eingehende Prüfung der Chronologie Kaçmîrs dürfen wir ohnehin von Dr. Hultsch erwarten.

THE EPOCH OF THE LAKSHMANASENA ERA.

MR. H. BEVERIDGE'S valuable paper on 'the Era of Lachman Sen,' in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVII. Part I. pp. 1-7, which I regret to say has only very recently attracted my attention, induces me to discuss now, what I had intended to write on when I should be in a position to treat of a larger number of dates of the Lakshmanasena era than I have been able to collect hitherto. I indeed believe that I shall be able to fix the epoch of the era, even with the somewhat scanty materials which I have at my disposal at present; but I should have preferred presenting to the reader, and strengthening my case by, a longer series of dates, from the earliest to the most modern times. Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* show that in Bengal there are numerous MSS. which are fully dated in the Lakshmanasena era, but the dates actually given by him with sufficient data for verification are few; and in Europe there seem to exist only two or three MSS., the dates of which can be made use of for the present enquiry.

Up to the time when Mr. Beveridge wrote the paper mentioned above, all that had been published about the epoch of the Lakshmanasena era tended to show that that era commenced about A.D. 1106-1107; and the conclusion at which Sir A. Cunningham in his *Book of Indian Eras* arrived, was, that the year 1 of the era corresponded (approximately) to one of the five years from A.D. 1105 to A.D. 1109. Among the materials which furnished this rather vague result, the most valuable, in my opinion, was the date of a copper-plate inscription of king Sivasimha, in which the Lakshmanasena year 293, expressed in words and figures, is coupled with the Saka year 1321, and the details of which undoubtedly work out satisfactorily for the expired Saka year mentioned.¹ For, this date appeared to prove that between a year of the Lakshmanasena era and the corresponding Saka year, or at any rate between certain identical months of two such years, there is a difference of 1028 years, and that consequently the Lakshmanasena era began somewhere about Saka 1028 or A.D. 1106-1107.

Mr. Beveridge now has drawn attention to a passage in the *Akbarnâma* of Abu-l-Faâl, which says that "in the country of Bang (Bengal) dates are calculated from the beginning of the reign of Lachman Sen," and that "from that period till now there have been 465 years;" and which moreover contains the important statement that, at the point of time to which the writer refers, there had elapsed 1506 years of the Sâlivâhana (or Saka) era and 1641

¹ See *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 300; Vol. XIV. p. 390; Vol. XVIII. p. 80; *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XV. p. 160; and Sir A. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 77.

years of the era of Vikramâditya.³ That Abu-l-Faâl here was speaking of the Lakshmanasena era, there can be no doubt; and if what he reports is correct, the difference between a Lakshmanasena year and the corresponding Saka year (or between certain months of two such years) is, not 1028, but 1041 years, and the Lakshmanasena era must have commenced about Saka 1041 or A.D. 1119-20, and not about A.D. 1106-1107.

That there might be a difference of 1041 years between a year of the Lakshmanasena era and the corresponding Saka year, was not altogether unknown to me, even before I had seen Mr. Beveridge's article. For, in his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VI. p. 13, Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra reports that a MS. of the *Smṛiti-tattvâmrta* bears the date "La-sam (i.e. Lakshmanasamvat) 505 | Sâkê 1546." And in the same *Notices*, Vol. III. p. 141, ll. 23-24, there occurs another passage, which indeed is corrupt, but regarding which this much may be considered to be certain, that in it the Saka year 1127 was coupled with a Lakshmanasena year the unit of which was 6, expressed by the word *rasa*, — pointing again to a difference of [104], not of [102]8, years between the Saka and the Lakshmanasena eras.

However this may be, it is clear that according to Abu-l-Faâl, whose statement is supported by at least one MS. date, the Lakshmanasena era commenced about the Saka year 1041; while, by the copper-plate grant of Sivasimha and according to certain modern almanacs of Tirhut, the epoch of the same era would fall about Saka 1028. And since the era cannot have begun both in or about Saka 1028 and also in or about Saka 1041, one at least of the two epochs indicated by these figures must be wrong; and a decision as to which of the two is right, or whether either of them is correct, must be arrived at by an examination and calculation of a number of trustworthy dates, from which the date of the copper-plate of Sivasimha itself must of course be excluded.

At present, I have to offer six such dates; and I shall now in the first instance show what would be their European equivalents, if the Lakshmanasena era had commenced about Saka 1028, or, to put the case as suggested by Sir A. Cunningham, if the first year of the era had corresponded (approximately) to one of the five years from A.D. 1105 to A.D. 1109.

1. — An inscription from Buddha-Gayâ, first published in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 659, and afterwards republished, *ante*, Vol. X. p. 346, is dated—

Srimal-Lakshmanasênâdvapâdânâmsâtta-râjyê sam 74 Vaiçākha-vadi 12 Gurau, — i.e. 'on the 12th of the dark half of Vaiçākha of the year 74 since the (commencement of the) reign, (now) passed,³ of the illustrious Lakshmanasênâdêva, on a Thursday.'

The corresponding European dates would be:—

(a) for $74 + 1026 =$ Saka 1100 expired, —
pûrñimânta : Sunday, 16 April, A.D. 1178.
amânta : Tuesday, 16 May, A.D. 1178.

(b) for $74 + 1027 =$ Saka 1101 expired, —
pûrñimânta : Thursday, 5 April, A.D. 1179; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.
amânta : Saturday, 5 May, A.D. 1179.

³ In order that there might be no mistake about the above figures, they have been kindly verified for me by Dr. Flemming in the old MS. of the *Akbarnâma* presented by me to the University Library of Göttingen, and they have all three been found correct.

³ The phrase *atita-râjyê* has been variously translated, "after the conclusion of the reign," "in the expired reign" (which conveys no meaning to me), "the reign — having passed," "after the expiration of the reign," etc.; but I believe its true and original sense is given above. During the reign of Lakshmanasena the years of his reign would be described as *srimal-Lakshmanasênâdvapâdânâmsâtta-râjyê* (or *pravardhamâna-râjyê*) *satvat*; after his death the phrase would be retained, but *atita* prefixed to the word *râjyê*, to show that, although the years were still counted from the commencement of the reign of Lakshmanasena, that reign itself was a thing of the past. In the course of time *atita-râjyê* is apt to become a meaningless phrase, as may be seen from the *Srîmad-Vikramâditya-dâvopâdânâmsâtta-râjyê sam*, 1508 in Mr. Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddh. Scr. MSS.*, p. 70.

- (c) for 74 + 1028 = Saka 1102 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Monday, 24 March, A.D. 1180.
amānta : Wednesday, 23 April, A.D. 1180; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.
- (d) for 74 + 1029 = Saka 1103 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 12 April, A.D. 1181.
amānta : Tuesday, 12 May, A.D. 1181.
- (e) for 74 + 1030 = Saka 1104 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Friday, 2 April, A.D. 1182; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Saturday, 1 May, A.D. 1182.

2. — According to Mr. Bendall in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., Vol. XX. p. 552, a British Museum MS. of 'Sridhara's Commentary on Bk. X. of the *Bhāgavata-Purāna* is dated —

"in the 317th year of Lakshmana era, Chaitra-sudi pratipad **Guraṇa** diné," —

i.e. 'on the first day of the bright half of Chaitra of the Lakshmanasena year 317, on a **Thursday**.'

The corresponding European dates would be : —

- (a) for 317 + 1026 = Saka 1343 expired, —
Tuesday,* 4 March, A.D. 1421.
- (b) for 317 + 1027 = Saka 1344 expired, —
Monday,⁵ 23 March, A.D. 1422.
- (c) for 317 + 1028 = Saka 1345 expired, —
Saturday, 13 March, A.D. 1423.
- (d) for 317 + 1029 = Saka 1346 expired, —
Thursday, 2 March, A.D. 1424; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise.
- (e) for 317 + 1030 = Saka 1347 expired, —
Wednesday, 21 March, A.D. 1425; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

3. — According to Mr. Bendall, *ib.* p. 554, a British Museum MS. of the *Gaigū-kṛtya-vivēka* is dated —

La-saṁ 376 Pausha-badi 13 **Budhē**, —

i.e. 'on the 13th of the dark half of Pausha of the Lakshmanasena year 376, on a **Wednesday**.'

The corresponding European dates would be : —

- (a) for 376 + 1026 = Saka 1402 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : the 13th *tithi* of the dark half commenced 1 h. 38 m. and ended 23 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday**, 29 November, A.D. 1480.
amānta : Friday, 29 December, A.D. 1480.
- (b) for 376 + 1027 = Saka 1403 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : **Wednesday**, 19 December, A.D. 1481; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Thursday, 17 January, A.D. 1482; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.
- (c) for 376 + 1028 = Saka 1404 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 8 December, A.D. 1482.
amānta : Tuesday, 7 January, A.D. 1483; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

*⁵ The initial day for the luni-solar year, given in the *Book of Indian Eras*, is wrong.

- (d) for 376 + 1029 = Saka 1405 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Friday, 28 November, A.D. 1483.
amānta : Saturday, 27 December, A.D. 1483.
- (e) for 376 + 1030 = Saka 1406 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 16 December, A.D. 1484; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Friday, 14 January, A.D. 1485.

4. — A MS. of the *Mitāksharā*, of the last page of which a photolithograph is given in Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. V. Plate iii., bears the date, —
La-saṁ 399 Vaiśākha-kṛishṇa-pakshē chaturthyaṁ **Chandrē**, —
i.e. 'on the fourth (lunar day) in the dark half of Vaiśākha of the Lakshmanasena year 399, on a **Monday**.'

The corresponding European dates would be : —

- (a) for 399 + 1026 = Saka 1425 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 15 April, A.D. 1503.
amānta : **Monday**, 15 May, A.D. 1503; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.
- (b) for 399 + 1027 = Saka 1426 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 3 April, A.D. 1504.
amānta : Friday, 3 May, A.D. 1504.
- (c) for 399 + 1028 = Saka 1427 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 23 March, A.D. 1505; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Tuesday, 22 April, A.D. 1505; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.
- (d) for 399 + 1029 = Saka 1428 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 11 April, A.D. 1506.
amānta : **Monday**, 11 May, A.D. 1506; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.
- (e) for 399 + 1030 = Saka 1429 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 1 April, A.D. 1507.
amānta : Friday, 30 April, A.D. 1507.

5. — According to Mr. Bendall in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XX. p. 551, a Cambridge MS. of Bk. X. of the *Bhāgavata-Purāna* is dated —

Lakshmanasena-samvat 424 Pausha-śudi daśamī **Sukrē**, —

i.e. 'the tenth (lunar day) of the bright half of Pausha of the Lakshmanasena year 424, on a **Friday**.'

The corresponding European dates would be : —

- (a) for 424 + 1026 = Saka 1450 expired, —
Sunday, 20 December, A.D. 1528.
- (b) for 424 + 1027 = Saka 1451 expired, —
Friday, 10 December, A.D. 1529; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.
- (c) for 424 + 1028 = Saka 1452 expired, —
Thursday, 29 December, A.D. 1530; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.
- (d) for 424 + 1029 = Saka 1453 expired, —
Tuesday, 19 December, A.D. 1531.
- (e) for 424 + 1030 = Saka 1454 expired, —
Monday, 6 January, A.D. 1533.

6.—According to Dr. Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. V. p. 170, a MS. of the *Āchārachintāmaṇi* is dated —

Lakshmaṇa-bhūpa-sambandhi-trayastrīṃśad-adhika-śatachatushtay-ābdē Kārttika-kṛṣṇa-saptamyaṃ Sukrō, —
i.e. 'on the seventh (lunar day) of the dark half of Kārttika in the year four hundred and thirty-three of the prince Lakshmaṇa, on a Friday.'

And here the corresponding European dates would be :—

- (a) for 433 + 1026 = Saka 1459 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 25 September, A.D. 1537.
amānta : Thursday, 25 October, A.D. 1537; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.
- (b) for 433 + 1027 = Saka 1460 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Monday, 14 October, A.D. 1538.
amānta : Wednesday, 13 November, A.D. 1538.
- (c) for 433 + 1028 = Saka 1461 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 4 October, A.D. 1539; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Sunday, 2 November, A.D. 1539.
- (d) for 433 + 1029 = Saka 1462 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 22 September, A.D. 1540.
amānta : Friday, 22 October, A.D. 1540; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.
- (e) for 433 + 1030 = Saka 1463 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 11 October, A.D. 1541.
amānta : Thursday, 10 November, A.D. 1541; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

The result of my calculations of the above six dates, with assumed epochs ranging from Saka 1026 expired = A.D. 1104(-5) to Saka 1030 expired = A.D. 1108(-9) is then as follows :—

The dates 1 (the year 74, Vaiśākha), 3 (the year 376, Pausha), and 5 (the year 424, Pausha), would work out satisfactorily with the epoch Saka 1027 expired.

The dates 2 (the year 317, Chaitra), 4 (the year 399, Vaiśākha), and 6 (the year 433, Kārttika), would work out satisfactorily with the epoch Saka 1029 expired.

The five dates from 2 to 6 would work out satisfactorily, if we were to assume that the Lakshmaṇasēna year had commenced with the month Mārgasīra, and that the era had begun on Mārgasīra-sudi 1 of Saka 1028 expired, = the 29th October, A.D. 1106. For, with these assumptions we might explain the five dates thus :—

(a) Date 3; the year 376, Pausha-vadi 13 Budhē. The year 376 is a current year, and, with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date accordingly is Wednesday, 19 December, A.D. 1481.

(b) Date 5; the year 424, Pausha-sudi 10 Sukrō. The year 424 also is a current year, and the corresponding date is Friday, 10 December A.D. 1529.

(c) Date 2; the year 317, Chaitra-sudi 1 Gurau. The year 317 is an expired year, and the corresponding date accordingly is Thursday, 2 March, A.D. 1424.

(d) Date 4; the year 399, Vaiśākha-vadi 4 Chandrō. The year 399 also is an expired year, and, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date is Monday, 11 May, A.D. 1506.

(e) Date 6; the year 433, Kārttika-vadi 7 Sukrō. The year 433 again is an expired year, and the corresponding date, also with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, is Friday, 22 October, A.D. 1540.

And it may be added that, with the assumed epoch and a year commencing with Mārgasīra, the date of the copper-plate grant of king Sivasīmha (the year 293, Śrāvāṇa-sudi 7

Gurau) also would work out satisfactorily (Thursday, 10 July, A.D. 1399), if namely we were to take the year 293 as a current year. But in no way would it be possible to explain with the assumed epoch the first of our dates (the year 74, Vaiśākha-vadi 12 Gurau); for, with that epoch, the date should fall either in A.D. 1180 or in A.D. 1181, according as the year 74 might be considered a current or expired year, and we have seen that Vaiśākha-vadi 12 was a Thursday neither in A.D. 1180 nor in A.D. 1181. And besides, it may well be urged that a year commencing with Mārgasīra, though not altogether unknown,* would certainly be something very unusual, the actual existence of which in more modern times should be assumed only when thereby all independent dates are duly accounted for, and when no simpler course, that would account for all such dates, is open to us; that with the assumed epoch we are obliged to regard the dates in dark fortnights partly as *pūrṇimānta* and partly as *amānta* dates; and that the percentage of dates which with the above epoch we have to regard as dates in current years (3 out of 6), is larger than that we are accustomed to in this respect in the case of other eras. The main objection to the assumed epoch, however, would of course always be this, that it does not account for the week-day of the oldest date of the era which hitherto has become known to us.

If we now turn to the epoch suggested to us by Abu-l-Faṣl, according to whose account the difference between a Lakshmaṇasēna year and the corresponding Saka year would be 1041 years, and the correctness of whose figures would appear to be corroborated by the MS. date La-saṃ 505 = Śākē 1546, we shall find that with that epoch all the six dates which have been examined above, work out in the simplest manner possible. And judging from these six dates, I feel no hesitation in saying that the Lakshmaṇasēna year was an ordinary southern (Kārttikādi) year, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights; and that the first day of the first current year of the era was Kārttika-sudi 1 of the expired Saka year 1041, = the 7th October A.D. 1119,⁷ = the day of the Julian period 2,130,052. On the basis of these data, the results of my calculations are as follows :—

(a) Date 6; the year 433, Kārttika-vadi 7 Sukrō. The year 433 is a current year, and, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 433 + 1040 = Saka 1473 expired) is Friday, 20 November A.D. 1551, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

(b) Date 5; the year 424, Pausha-sudi 10 Sukrō. The year 424 is an expired year, and the corresponding date (for 424 + 1041 = Saka 1465 expired) is Friday, 4 January, A.D. 1544, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

(c) Date 3; the year 376, Pausha-vadi 13 Budhē. The year 376 is an expired year, and with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 376 + 1041 = Saka 1417 expired) is Wednesday, 13 January, A.D. 1496, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

(d) Date 2; the year 317, Chaitra-sudi 1 Gurau. The year 317 is an expired year, and the corresponding date (for 317 + 1042 = Saka 1359 expired) is Thursday, 7 March A.D. 1437. By Professor Jacobi's Tables, the first *tithi* of the bright half commenced 0 h. 43 m. before mean sunrise of Thursday, 7 March, and ended 0 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 8 March; but calculated by the *Brahma-Siddhānta* the *tithi* ended about one hour before mean sunrise of the Friday.

* See *Alberuni's India*, Sachau's Translation, Vol. II. p. 8.

⁷ To convert a year of the Lakshmaṇasēna era into an expired Saka year, we accordingly have to add —
1040 to a current La. year, when the date falls in Kārttika — Phālguna;
1041 to a current La. year, when the date falls in Chaitra — Āśvina;
1041 to an expired La. year, when the date falls in Kārttika — Phālguna
1042 to an expired La. year, when the date falls in Chaitra — Āśvina.

(e) Date 4; the year 399, Vaiśākha-vadi 4 Chandrē. The year 399 is an expired year, and, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 399 + 1042 = Saka 1441 expired) is Monday, 18 April, A.D. 1519, when the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

(f) Date 1; the year 74, Vaiśākha-vadi 12 Gurau. The year 74 is an expired year, and, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 74 + 1042 = Saka 1116 expired) is Thursday, 19 May, A.D. 1194, when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

These results may well speak for themselves; and all that I need say in regard to them is that, when, with the epoch A.D. 1118-19, we are obliged to take the year of one out of the six dates exceptionally as a current year, years must be *exceptionally* treated as current also in the case of other eras the dates of which are ordinarily recorded in expired years, and the epochs of which are settled beyond dispute.

Time will show whether I am right or wrong; but I put more faith in the way in which my dates work out with the epoch A.D. 1118-19, than in the modern almanacs of Tirhut, disagreeing as they do among themselves. And with the statement of Abu-l-Fazl, supported by the MS. date La-saṁ 505 = Sākē 1546 and by the results of my calculations, I would maintain that the equation (La-saṁ 293 = Sākē 1321) furnished by the copper-plate grant of king Sivasimha is wrong; and that that inscription itself, suspicious as it would seem to be also on other grounds,⁹ has either been tampered with or is a forgery, got up at a time when the true epoch of the Lakshmanasēna era had been forgotten, as in my opinion it has been forgotten by the almanac-makers of Tirhut.

At present I have neither the time nor the means of writing on the history of the Sēna kings. But I would ask: When we are told that, at the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyār, which by Mr. Blochmann⁹ is placed about A.D. 1198-99, the last Hindu king Lakhmaniya had been reigning for 80 years,¹⁰ does not this really mean that that conquest took place in the year 80 of the Lakshmanasēna era, — Srimad-Lakshmanasēna-dēvapādānām-atīta-rājyē saṁ 80?

⁹ See *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 300.

⁹ *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLIV. Part I. p. 277.

¹⁰ Sir H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 307.

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA.

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Since the time when I first turned my attention to the study of Indian inscriptions, there have presented themselves to me a number of questions regarding the dates of these documents, to some of which I have not been able to obtain satisfactory answers from other workers, or on which I have found different scholars to hold conflicting opinions. And this has been especially the case in regard to dates recorded in the Vikrama era; probably because the inscriptions with which I have been chiefly concerned, were from parts of India in which, and belonged to times when, that particular era was used in preference to other eras. Did the Hindus always record their dates in *expired* years? In what parts of India and at what period was the southern year used; and where and when the northern year? Must the northern year be necessarily connected with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, and the southern year with the *amānta* scheme? When may a civil day be coupled with a *running tithi*? Must an eclipse have been visible at the spot where the date which mentions it happens to be recorded? What was the exact practice with respect to *Samkrāntis*? What rules were observed in different parts of India and at different periods in regard to the years of the Brihaspati or Jovian cycle? What references are there in the dates to the origin of the era, or in what terms is its reputed founder spoken of? What are the earliest dates, hitherto met with, which contain sufficient *data* for verification? Such are some of the questions that have arisen. And, in order to arrive, if possible, at a settlement of one or other of them, I have from time to time collected and calculated such Vikrama dates as were within my reach; and, relying on the opinion of the Editors of this Journal, that what I have primarily done for myself, may be of some use or save trouble to others, I now begin to publish my list of dates together with the results of my calculations, reserving any remarks of a general nature which may be suggested by the practice of the dates themselves, for a subsequent part of these notes.

In this list I have tried to include all trustworthy Vikrama dates of the inscriptions published in this Journal and in the Journals of the Bengal Asiatic, American Oriental, and German Oriental Societies, as well as of those in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India which are accompanied by photo-lithographs, and of some found in the various publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, and elsewhere. And for a fair number of these dates I have been able to use impressions and photo-lithographs, kindly supplied to me by Mr. Fleet and by Dr. Burgess. As regards dates occurring in MSS., I have used the Catalogues of Professors Aufrecht, Bendall, Bhāṇḍārkar, Eggeling, Peterson, and Weber, and of Dr. Rājendralā Mitra and myself, and have from them selected chiefly such dates as are given in words, or contain one or more points of special interest; and I have also taken some dates from MSS. of my own. I have not included in my list every one of the dates from MSS. for which I have made the necessary calculations; but, since I have not intentionally suppressed any date the calculation of which has proved to be unsatisfactory, I trust that, for the Vikrama era, my list will, in a fairly complete manner, show the actual practice of dating, from the earliest to the most modern times. Should I have overlooked any dates of importance, I shall be glad to have this pointed out to me, in order that I may be able to complete or improve my list as soon as possible.

In calculating the *tithis*, *nakshatras* and *yogas*, I have used Professor Jacobi's Tables, with such (slight) modifications as have been suggested by the author himself; and for ascertaining the exact beginnings and ends of the solar months, chiefly required for determining the occurrence of intercalary months, I have used the Tables for the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, published *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 207. The results for new and full-moons I have mostly checked by Dr. Soham's Tables for the phases of the moon. For eclipses I have consulted von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*; and the duration of the *Bṛihaspati* years has been ascertained in the manner described by me *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 193 ff. In every case I have calculated all the possible European equivalents, and in the printed list those equivalents which satisfy the special requirements of the Indian dates will be distinguished from the rest by being printed in antique type.

All that I have taken for granted for the purposes of my calculations is that (disregarding for the present the *Ashāḍhādi* year about which as yet we do not know very much) there is one Vikrama year commencing with the month Chaitra, commonly called the northern Vikrama year, and another Vikrama year commencing seven months later, with the month Kārttika, commonly called the southern Vikrama year; and that the scheme of the two lunar fortnights may be either the *pūrṇimānta* scheme or the *amānta* scheme. But I have not regarded as proved that the *pūrṇimānta* scheme is necessarily always connected with the northern year, and the *amānta* scheme with the southern year. Accordingly, the five

¹ See *Errata*, *ante*, Vol. XVII.—Professor Jacobi's Tables can be applied so as to yield, not infrequently, two results for the ending-time of a *tithi*: (1) the ordinary approximate result (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 148 b, paras. 1 to 4); and (2) a closer result, to be worked out when the ordinary approximate result is not considered sufficient (*ib.*, last para.). The first process is sufficient for all ordinary purposes, and is the one usually applied by me. I generally apply the second process only when, by the first process, the *tithi* ends within about *three* hours before or after mean sunrise, because experience has shown me that this allows an ample margin for any possible corrections. In applying the second process, it often happens that A. finally comes out larger than the index of the *tithi* pointed out by the first process; in such cases, the difference of time (Table II) deduced from the difference between A. as thus finally determined and the index of the *tithi*, is to be subtracted from the ending-time determined by the first process; with the result that, by this refinement, the *tithi* really ended earlier than the time arrived at by the first process. In other cases, i.e. when A. as finally determined by the second process, still remains smaller than the index of the *tithi* pointed out by the first process, the difference of time is always additive, as in the example given by Prof. Jacobi; with the result that, by this refinement, the *tithi* really did end later than the time arrived at by the first process. When, by the second process, A. eventually comes out exactly the same with the index of the *tithi*, then of course there is no difference, additive or subtractive, from the ending-time determined by the first process.—My own experience is that, when by the first process the *tithi* ends late in the day (say, from 21 to 23 hours after mean sunrise), the second process will generally make the real ending-time earlier.

months from Kārttika to Phālguna being common to the northern and southern years, I have had to ascertain, for dates in bright fortnights of these months, merely the possible European equivalents for the current and expired Indian years, and for dates in dark fortnights, the equivalents for the current and expired years, according to both the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* schemes. In the case of the seven months from Chaitra to Āśvina, on the other hand, it was necessary to calculate, for dates in bright fortnights, the possible equivalents for the northern current, the northern expired (or southern current), and the southern expired years, and for dates in dark fortnights, the equivalents for the same three years, again according to both the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* schemes. In arranging the dates for my list, I have considered it best to begin with the dates in bright fortnights, and to place the dates of the months Kārttika to Phālguna before those of the months Chaitra to Āśvina, and generally to group together the dates according to the manner in which the results of my calculations have furnished European equivalents which satisfy the requirements of the Hindu dates.

All those dates for which calculations by the ordinary rules and Tables have yielded no satisfactory equivalents, I shall give separately, as irregular dates; but in using the expression "irregular," I merely wish to say that these dates require each of them a separate examination, and I would not be misunderstood to maintain that we have to do here, in every case, with errors or inaccuracies of the writers who have recorded the dates, or of the scholars who have copied them.

1.—REGULAR DATES.

A.—DATES IN BRIGHT FORTNIGHTS.

1.—Dates in the months Kārttika to Phālguna.

(a).—Dates in Current Years.

1.—V. 1304.—Dr. Peterson's *Third Report on Sanskrit MSS.* (1884-86), App. p. 239.

Date of the composition of Udayasāgara's *Sūtrīpāñchāśikā* :—

Varshē 3 bḍhi-kh-āgn-īndu-mitē su-ramyē

śrī-Panśha-māsē cha valaksha-pakshē 1

śrī-pūrṇimāyām Śani-vasarē cha

śrī-Pādalipt-ākhyā-purē Surāshtrē 11

V. 1304 current: Monday, 24 December, A.D. 1246; the full-moon *tithi* ended 2 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1304 expired: Friday, 13 December, A.D. 1247.

2.—V. 1397.—*Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 143, and Plate xxix. B.—D.

Inscriptions on pillars at 'Kevati-Kund' :—

(Line 1) . . . Saṃvat 1397 samayē [or, in D, varshē] Māgha-sudi 4 Śōma-dinē 11 tasmin kālē vartamānē saṃvarsarē 11 Lūkasthānē mahārājā(ja)-srī(śrī)-Hamirādēva-rājyē 11

V. 1397 current: Monday, 3 January, A.D. 1340; the 4th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1397 expired: Sunday, 21 January, A.D. 1341; the 4th *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

(Sir A. Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, p. 143, takes the corresponding date to be Monday, 22 January, A.D. 1341).

(b).—Dates in Expired Years.

3.—V. 1016.—*Proceedings Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 162, and *Kāvyamālā*, No. 38. Copper-plate inscription of the Mahārājādhirāja Mathanādēva, from Rājōrgadh near Alvar :—

. . . śrī-Vijayapālādēva-pādānām=abhipravarddhamāna-kalyāṇavijayarājyē saṃvatsara-śatēshu dāśsu shōḍaś-ōttarakēshu Māghamāsa-sitapaksha-trayōḍaśyām Śani-yuktāyām=ēvaṃ saṃ 1016 Māgha-sudi 13 Śanāv=advā śrī-Rājyapur-āvasthitō mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Mathanādēvō . . .

V. 1016 current : Tuesday, 25 January, A.D. 959.

V. 1016 expired : Saturday, 14 January, A.D. 960 ; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

4. — V. 1036. — *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 160. Copper-plate inscription of Vākpatirāja of Dhārā :—

(Line 11) . . . shattri(tri)mśa-sāhasrika-samvatsarē=smin Kārttika-śuddha-paurṇmāyām śoma-grahaṇa-parvvaṇi.

V. 1036 current : 18 October, A.D. 978 ; no eclipse.

V. 1036 expired : 6 November, A.D. 979 ; a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India, 21 h. 33 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 20 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

(The corresponding date, given by me, *loc. cit.* p. 159, 'the 26th October, A.D. 980,' being for the year V. 1037 expired, is wrong).

5.—V. 1055. — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 203. Nanyaurā copper-plate inscription of the Chandēlla Dhaṅgādēva :—

(Line 7) . . . samvatsara-sahasrē pañchapañchāsād-adhikē Kārttika-paurṇmāyām Ravidinē ēvaṁ samvat 1055 K[a*]rtti[ka]-śudi 15 Ravau ady=ēh=[ai]va Kāśikāyām Saiṅhikēya-graha-grāsa-pravṛṣṭikṛita-maṅḍalē ! Rōhini-hridaya-nanda-kanda-haripaḷāñchanē ||

V. 1055 current : Monday, 18 October, A.D. 997 ; no eclipse.

V. 1055 expired : Sunday, 6 November, A.D. 998 ; a total lunar eclipse, visible in India, 19 h. 43 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 18 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

6. — V. 1188. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 35, and Plate x. C ; (and *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII., Part I. p. 321, No. 4) ; and rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Rock inscription at Kālāñjar, of the reign of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadēva :—

(Line 9) . . . Samvat 1188 Kārttika-sudi 8 Sa(sa)n[au] ||

V. 1188 current : Sunday, 12 October, A. D. 1130 ; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 5 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1188 expired : Saturday, 31 October, A. D. 1131 ; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

7. — V. 1199. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 21. 'Gagahā' copper-plate inscription of Gōvinda-chandradēva and Rājyapālādēva of Kanauj :—

(Line 18) . . . samvatsarēshv=ēkādaśa-sa(sa)tēshu navanavaty-adhikēshu Phālgunē māsi [śn]kīa-pakshē ēkā[da]śyāyām³ tithau Sa(sa)ni-dinē tath=ānkē=pi samvat 1199 Phālguna-sudi 11 Sa(sa)nau ||

V. 1199 current : Sunday, 8 February, A.D. 1142 ; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. after mean sunrise.

V. 1199 expired : Saturday, 27 February, A. D. 1143 ; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. after mean sunrise.

8. — V. 1251. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 77. Date of a MS. of Hēmachandra's *Yogasāstra*, of the time of the Chanlukya Bhīmadēva II. :—

Svasti śri-Vikrama-nripatōḥ samvat 1251 varshē Kārttika-sudi 12 Sukrē Bēvatī-nakshatrē Siddha-yōgē mahārāja-śri-Bhīmadēva-vijayarājyē . . .

V. 1251 current : Sunday, 7 November, A.D. 1193.

V. 1251 expired : Friday, 28 October, A.D. 1194 ; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 3 m., and the *nakshatra* was Bēvatī up to 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise ; the *yōga* was Vajra up to 2 h. 30 m., when it was followed by Siddhi (No. 16, not Siddha, No. 21).

(The result of the calculation shows that the reading *Siddha-yōgē* in the date is erroneous, and should be *Siddhi-yōgē*.)

³ Read *ēkādaśyām*.

9. — V. 1266. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 112 ; also, Vol. XII. p. 294. Copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. :—

(Line 1) . . . Śrīmad-Vikrama-nripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-satēshu dvādaśasu śaṣa(t)-shashty-adhikēshu lankika^o Mārgga-māsaaya śukla-paksha-chaturdaśyām Guru-dinē atr-ānkātō=pi³ śri-Vikrama-samvat 1266 varshē śri-Simha-samvat 96 varshē lauki^o Mārgga-śudi 14 Gurāv-asyām samvatsara-māsa-paksha-dina-vāra-pūrvāyām tithāv=ady=ēha śrīmad-Āṇahillapātākē . . .

V. 1266 current : Sunday, 23 November, A.D. 1208.

V. 1266 expired : Thursday, 12 November, A.D. 1209 ; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

10. — V. 1267. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 379. Piplānagar copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Arjunavarmadēva :—

In the body of the inscription : . . . saptashashty-adhika-dvādaśa-sata-samvatsarē Phālgunē 1267⁴ śukla-daśmyām=abhiśhēka-parvvaṇi . . . ;

and at the end :— Samvat 1267⁴ Phālguna-śuddha 10 Gurau,

V. 1267 current : Friday, 5 February, A.D. 1210 ; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1267 expired : Thursday, 24 February, A.D. 1211 ; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

11. — V. 1275. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 2 ; and *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, No. 10, p. 111, with photozincograph. Harsaudā (or Chārwā) stone inscription of the reign of Dēvapālādēva of Dhārā :—

(Line 4). — Samvat pañchasaṁsaty-adhika-dvādaśa-satē=mkē 1275 Mārgga-sudi 5 Sa(sa)nau.

(Line 7). — Adhikē pañchasaṁsatyā dvādaś-āvda(bda)-satē śakē [1*]

vatsarē Chitrabhānau tu Mārggaśirshē śi(śi)tē dalē || 4 ||

Pañchamy-amṭaka-[sam]yōgē nakshatrē Vishṇu-daivatē ||

yōgē Harshapa-samjñē tu tithy-arddhē Dhātṛi-daivatē || 5 ||

V. 1275 current : Sunday, 5 November, A.D. 1217 ; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1275 expired : Saturday, 24 November, A.D. 1218 ; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karana* Bālava, presided over by Dhātṛi = Brahman, ended 15 h. 25 m., and the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, presided over by Vishṇu, up to 7 h. 53 m., and the *yōga* was Harshapa from about 11 h. after mean sunrise.

The year Chitrabhānu, No. 16, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 12 August, A.D. 1217, to 8 August, A.D. 1218, and with *bija*, from 16 September, A.D. 1217, to 12 September, A.D. 1218 ; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 25 July, A.D. 1217, to 21 July, A.D. 1218. Accordingly, Chitrabhānu was not actually current on the day of the date (24 November, A.D. 1218), but it was current at the commencement of the solar year (25 March, A.D. 1218). By the so-called Tēlinga rule, the date would fall in the year Bahudhānya, No. 12.

(Dr. Hall, misled by the word *śakē* in line 7, has referred this date to the Saka era, both when editing the inscription, in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXVIII., and subsequently, *ib.* Vol. XXXI. p. 126, note, and in *Jour. Americ. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 24. But, as intimated by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 21, the date in no way works out satisfactorily as a Saka date.⁵ And there is abundant proof to show that both *śaka* and *śāka* are not

³ Read *ānkātō=pi*.

⁴ The published version has, both times, 1267 ; but this is clearly a printer's error for 1267, and is shown to be so by the editor's reference to the inscription, in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 736.

⁵ The corresponding date, for Śaka 1275 current, would be Monday, 12 November, A.D. 1252 ; and for Śaka 1275 expired, Sunday, 1 December, A.D. 1253 ; and in no way could either of these dates be connected with the year Chitrabhānu.

infrequently employed in the sense of *varsha*, 'a year.' Compare, e.g., *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 193, line 6 from the bottom, *Vaikramé śākhé* 'in the Vikrama year' (No. 56 below); line 5, *tasmīn-ēva śākhé* 'in the same year,' &c.; Eggeling, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the I. O.*, p. 23, *Sainvat 1650 śākhé* = *Sainvat 1650 varshé* (No. 51 below); Rājendralāl Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. IV. p. 277, *śākhé Vikrama-pārthivasya*; and similar expressions.)

12. — V. 1280. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 197. Kaḍī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Jayantasimha : —

(Line 20) . . . Aśyām tithau saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-yuktāyām gata-saṁvatsara-dvādaśa-varsha-śatēshu aśīty-uttarēshu Pausha-māsē śukla-pakshē tritīyāyām tithau **Bhauma-vārē** samjāta uttarāgata-sūrya-saṁkrama-parvaṇi aṅkatō śpi samvat 1280 varshē Pausha-śudi 3 **Bhaumē** sdy=ēha samjāta [uttarānayaṇa-parvaṇi . . .

V. 1280 current : Wednesday, 7 December, A.D. 1222.

V. 1280 expired : Tuesday, 26 December, A.D. 1223; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 2 m., and the *Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti* took place 2 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

13. — V. 1283. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 199. Kaḍī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(Line 16) . . . Śrīmad-Vikramādī[ty-ō]tpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśaśu tri-[a]śīti-uttarēshu lauki[ka-Kārttika-pūrṇi]māyām Guru-vārē śtr=aṅkatō śpi samvat 1283 varshē lauki° Kārttika-śudi 15 Gurāv=a[dy=ēha] śrīmad-Anahilapātākē śayām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-pūrvvikāyām tithau . . .

V. 1283 current : Friday, 17 October, A.D. 1225; the full-moon *tithi* ended 20 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1283 expired : Thursday, 5 November, A.D. 1226; the full-moon *tithi* ended 18 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

14. — V. 1288. — *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. II. p. 170, and *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 293. Girmār stone inscription of Jayantasimha, the son of Vastupāda : —

(Line 1) . . . Svasti śrī-Vikrama-saṁvat 1288 varshē Phāguna-śudi 10 Budhē . . .

V. 1288 current : Thursday, 13 February, A.D. 1231; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1288 expired : Wednesday, 3 March, A.D. 1232; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

15. — V. 1292. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 23. Date of a MS. of a *Yogasūtra-vṛtti* : —

Saṁvat 1292 varshē Kārtika-śudi 8 Ravau Dhanishṭhā-nakshatrē.

V. 1292 current : Tuesday, 31 October, A.D. 1234.

V. 1292 expired : Sunday, 21 October, A.D. 1235; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 58 m., and the *nakshatra* was Dhanishṭhā up to 18 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

16. — V. 1337. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 52, and Plate xiv. G. Ajaygaḍh rock inscription of the reign of the Chandēlla Viravarmadēva (?) : —

(Line 19) . . . Śāgar-ānala-vēd-ēndu-yukt[ē] saṁvatsarē va[rē 1 ?].

Māghē māsi śi(si)tē pakshē trayōdaśyām Vidhō[r]-dinē ॥ 14 ॥

Saṁvat 1337 Māgha-sudi 13 Śomē ॥

V. 1337 current : Tuesday, 16 January, A.D. 1280; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1337 expired : Monday, 3 February, A.D. 1281; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

(*Śāgara* generally denotes 4; but *sapta śāgarāḥ* is a well-known expression, and the figures 1337 are perfectly clear in the lithograph; and the Prakṛit word *śāyara* is similarly used for

⁶ Read *uttarāyana*.

7 in Professor Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS.*, Vol. II. p. 178. The use of the word *vāda* for 3 in the above may also be drawn attention to.)

17. — V. 1365. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), p. 88. Date of the composition of Jinaprabha's *Lhayakarastava-vṛtti* : —

Saṁvat-Vikrama-bhūpatōḥ śara-ṛit-ūdarchir-mṛigāṅkair=mitē

Paushasy=ōjjvala-pakshi(ksha)-bhāji **Bavina** yuktē navamyām tithau ॥

śishyah śrī-Jinasimhasūri-sugurōsh=ṭik'am=a kārsbim(d)=imām

śrī-Sākētapurē Jinaprabha iti khyātō muninām prabhū ॥

V. 1365 current : Tuesday, 2 January, A.D. 1308.

V. 1365 expired : Sunday, 22 December, A.D. 1308; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

18. — V. 1384. — *Proceedings Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLII. p. 163; *Zeitschrift D. M. G.*, Vol. XL. p. 57; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 93; and a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Delhi Museum stone inscription of the time of Mahāmada 'Sāhi' : —

(Line 15) . . . Vēda-vasv-agni-chāndr-āṅka-saṁkhyē=vde(bdē) **Vikramārkkataḥ** ॥

pañchamyām Phālguna-sitē likhitām **Bhauma-vāsarē** ॥ 15 ॥*

Indraprastha-pratigāṇē grāmē Sāravālē-tra tu ॥

chiram tishṭhatu kūpō=yam kārakaś=cha sa-vā(bā)mdhavaḥ ॥ 16 ॥*

Saṁvat 1384 Phālguna-śudi 5 **Bhauma-dinē** ॥

V. 1384 current : Friday, 27 February, A.D. 1327.

V. 1384 expired : Tuesday, 16 February, A.D. 1328; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

19. — V. 1445. — *List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres. (Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, No. 11), p. 179. Stone inscription at Vanthali in Junāgaḍh : —

'Sara-yuga-manu-saṁvatsara-1445-varshē Phālguna-śudi-pañchamī-Śomē.

V. 1445 current : Tuesday, 14 January, A.D. 1388; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1445 expired : Monday, 1 February, A.D. 1389; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

20. — V. 1458. — From a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. See also *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XVII. p. 77. Rāypur stone inscription of Brahmādēva, now in the Nagpur Museum : —

(Line 9) . . . Svasti śrī sa[m]vat 1458 varshē sā(śū)kē 1322 samayē **Sarvajita(n)-nāma-saṁvatsarē** Phāglu(lga)na-su(śu)dha(ddha)-asṭami(mi)-**Su(su)krē** ady-ēha śrī Rīyapurē mahārāj[ā*]dhirāja-śrīmad-rāya-[Vra(bra)]hmadēva-rājyē.

V. 1458 current : Monday, 21 February, A.D. 1401.

V. 1458 expired : Friday, 10 February, A.D. 1402; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

The year **Sarvajit**, No. 21, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 22 June, A.D. 1400, to 18 June, A.D. 1401, and with *bija*, from 28 July, A.D. 1400, to 24 July, A.D. 1401; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 2 June, A.D. 1400, to 29 May, A.D. 1401. Accordingly, **Sarvajit** was not actually current on the day of the date (10 February, A.D. 1402), but it was current at the commencement of the solar year (26 March, A.D. 1401). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Bhṛīśya, No. 15.

(It may be noted that the Saka year, corresponding to V. 1458 expired, was 'Saka 1323 expired, not, as stated wrongly in the inscription, Saka 1322).

21. — V. 1490. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 167. Date of the composition of Rāmāchandra's *Paśchadaṇḍāta-pachchhatrabandha* : —

⁷ Muhammad bin Tughlak, A.D. 1324-1351; Thomas, *The Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 202.

Vikrama-kālāch—cha 1490 sham(kha)-nidhi-ratna-samshya(khya)kail(ké) |
varshé Māgha-sitē pakshé śukla-chaturdaśī-dinē || 34 ||
Pushyē Ravau Stambhatīrtihē . . .

V. 1490 current: Tuesday, 3 February, A.D. 1433.

V. 1490 expired: Sunday, 24 January, A.D. 1434; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** up to 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

22. — V. 1531. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 55. Date of a MS. of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*: —

Samvat 1531 śakē 1396 pravarttamānē **Subhakṛita(n)**-nāmni samvatsarē dakṣiṇāyana-gatē śrī-sūryē śarada rītau Kārttika-śudi 9 **Budha-vāsarē** **Dhanishṭhā**-nakshatrē **Vṛiddhi-yōgē** **Kaulava-karaṇē** kumbharāśi-sthitē chaṇdrē ady-ēcha Rājapura-vāstavyam . . .

V. 1531 current: Friday, 29 October, A.D. 1473.

V. 1531 expired: Wednesday, 19 October, A.D. 1474; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karaṇa* **Kaulava** ended 13 h. 15 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishṭhā** up to 12 h. 29 m., and the *yōga* **Vṛiddhi** up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

The year **Subhakṛit**, No. 36, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bīja*, from 10 August, A.D. 1474, to 6 August, A.D. 1475, and with *bīja*, from 16 September, A.D. 1474, to 12 September, A.D. 1475; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 22 July, A.D. 1474, to 18 July, A.D. 1475. Accordingly, **Subhakṛit** was actually current on the day of the date (19 October, A.D. 1474), but it had not begun yet at the commencement of the solar year (27 March, A.D. 1474). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year *Jaya*, No. 28.

(Here it may be noted that *samvat* 1531 and *śāka* 1396 are expired years, notwithstanding the word *pravarttamānē* by which they are qualified).

23. — V. 1555. — *List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres.*, p. 265. Stone inscription at Adālij well near Ahmadābād, of the time of the Pātasāha Mahamūda.⁹ This date having been fully given by me *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 251, I here repeat only a portion of it: —

(Line 21) . . . Svasti **śrīman-nṛipa-Vikrama**-samay-ātītā (sic) **Āshādhādi-samvat** 1555 varshē śāk[ē*] 1420 pravarttamānē uttarāyana(ṇa)-gatē śrī-sūry[ē*] śīsarutaṅ⁹ Māgha-masē śukla-pakshē pañchamyām tithau **Budha-vāsarē** **Uttarābhadrpad[ā*]**-nakshatrē **Siddhi-nāmni** yōgē **Bava-karaṇē** mina-rāśau sthitē chaṇdrē pātasāha-śrī-Mahamūda-vijayarājyam . . .

V. 1555 current: Saturday, 27 January, A.D. 1498.

V. 1555 expired: Wednesday, 16 January, A.D. 1499; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 13 m., and the *karaṇa* **Bava** about 6 h., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarā-Bhadrpadā** up to 11 h. 10 m., and the *yōga* **Siddha** (!) up to 17 h. 7 m., after mean sunrise.

(The calculation shows that the reading *Siddhi-nāmni* in the date is erroneous, and should be *Siddha-nāmni*. Compare No. 8 above. As in the preceding date No. 22, the word *pravarttamānē* is here also used in reference to an expired year.)

24. — V. 1681. — Rājēndrakīl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VI. p. 72. Date of the composition of Śīvarakṛishṇa's *Punyachandrōdaya-purāṇa*: —

Indv-ashta-shaṭ-chandra-mitē 5 tha varshē (1681)

śrī-Kārttik-ākhyē dhavalē cha pakshē |

Jivē trayōdaśy-aparāhṇa-yāmē

Krishṇēna saukhyāya vinirmmitō Śyam ||

V. 1681 current: Sunday, 26 October, A.D. 1623.

V. 1681 expired: Thursday, 14 October, A.D. 1624; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 8 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

25. — V. 1707. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 176. Date of a MS. of 'Sankara's *Śārīrakamānāśābhāshya*: —

⁹ Sultan Mahmūd Bigarha, A.D. 1459-1511; Bayley, *History of Gujardt*, pp. 161-227.

⁹ Read śīsarutaṅ.

Samvat 1707 samayē śakē 1572 **Vikāri**-samvatsarē dakṣiṇāyanē Kārttika-śuddha 3 **Gurau** Viśvēśvara-rājadhānyām (or, as stated in another part of the MS., Kāśyām).

V. 1707 current: Sunday, 28 October, A.D. 1649.

V. 1707 expired: Thursday, 17 October, A.D. 1650; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

The year **Vikāri**, No. 33, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bīja*, from 24 July, A.D. 1649, to 20 July, A.D. 1650, and with *bīja*, from 31 August, A.D. 1649, to 27 August, A.D. 1650; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 3 July, A.D. 1649, to 29 June, A.D. 1650. Accordingly, **Vikāri** was not actually current on the day of the date (17 October, A.D. 1650), but it was current at the commencement of the solar year (28 March, A.D. 1650). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year *Vikṛita*, No. 24.

26. — V. 1729. — Date of my MS. of Chandrakīrti's *Sārasvata-dīpikā*: —

Samvat 1729 varshē Mārggaśira-śudi 9 **Soma-vāsarē**.

V. 1729 current: Thursday, 30 November, A.D. 1671.

V. 1729 expired: Monday, 18 November, A.D. 1672; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 23 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

2. — Dates in the months Chaitra to Āsvina.

(a). — Dates in Northern Current Years.

27. — V. 1311. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 32. Stone inscription from Dabhoi in the Baroda territory, of the time of the Chalukya Visaladēva: —

(Line 59) . . . Samvat 1311 varshē Jyēshṭha-śudi 15 **Vu(bu)dha-dinē**.

Northern V. 1311 current: Wednesday, 14 May, A.D. 1253; the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1311 expired: Tuesday, 2 June, A.D. 1254; the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1311 expired: Saturday, 22 May, A.D. 1255.

28. — V. 1380. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone inscription at Udaypur in Gwālior: —

(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1380 varshē Bhādra[mva(vā) ?]-śudi 3 **Sōmē**, **Hastu(sta)-nakshatr[ē]** [Uda ?]pura-nagarē rāja-śrī-Vachchhaudēvasya sādhanika . . .

Northern V. 1380 current: Monday, 16 August, A.D. 1322; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 8 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Hasta** up to 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1380 expired: Friday, 5 August, A.D. 1323.

Southern V. 1380 expired: Thursday, 23 August, A.D. 1324.

29. — V. 1587. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the India Office*, p. 16. Date of a MS. of the *Āraṇya-gāna*: —

Samvat 1587 samayē Vaiśāṣha(kha)-śudi-pratipadā-**Sukrē**,

Northern V. 1587 current: Friday, 9 April, A.D. 1529; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1587 expired: Wednesday, 30 March, A.D. 1530.

Southern V. 1587 expired: Tuesday, 18 April, A.D. 1531.

(b). — Dates in Northern Expired (or Southern Current) Years.

30. — V. 919. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 101, and Plate xxxiii. 2; *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 23; and a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Dēḍgaḍh stone inscription of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj: —

(Line 6) . . . Samvat 919 Asva(śva)yuja-śuklapaksha-chaturdaśyam **Vṛi(bṛi)haspati-dinēna** **Uttarābhadrpadā**-nakshatrē . . .

(Line 10). — Sakakāl-ābda-saptaśatāni chaturāṣṭy-adhikāni 784.

Northern V. 919 current : Sunday, 21 September, A.D. 861.

Northern V. 919 expired : Thursday, 10 September, A.D. 862 ; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise. The *nakṣatra* was Uttarā-Bhadrapadā, according to the general table from 21 h. 1 m., according to Brahma-S. from 9 h. 51 m., and according to Garga-S. from 9 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 919 expired : Wednesday, 29 September, A.D. 863 ; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

(The expired northern Vikrama year 919 corresponds to the expired Śaka year 734).

31. — V. 1042. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 9. Date of the composition of Pārśvanāga's *Ātmānuśāsana* :—

Dvyargala¹⁰-chatviriṁśat-samadhika-vatsara-sahasra-saṁkhyāyām |

Bhādrapada-paurṇimāyām Budh-Ottarā-Bhādrapadikāyām ||

Northern V. 1042 current : Thursday, 14 August, A.D. 984 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1042 expired : Wednesday, 2 September, A.D. 985 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 1 h. 38 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Uttarā-Bhadrapadā up to 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1042 expired : Sunday, 22 August, A.D. 986.

32. — V. 1215. — *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. II. p. 167. Girnār stone inscription :—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1215 varṣe Chaitra-sudi 8 Ravau ady=ēha śrīmad-Ūrjjayānta-tirthē . . .

Northern V. 1215 current : Wednesday, 20 March, A.D. 1157.

Northern V. 1215 expired : Sunday, 9 March, A.D. 1158 ; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1215 expired : Saturday, 28 March, A.D. 1159 ; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

33. — V. 1216. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 115, and Plate xxviii. ; and *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 214. Alha-ghāt stone inscription of the time of the Kalachuri Narasiṁhadēva :—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1216 Bhādra-sudi-pratipadā-Ravau || Dhāhāliya-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Narasiṁhadēva-vijayarijyē ||

Northern V. 1216 current : Tuesday, 26 August, A.D. 1158.

Northern V. 1216 expired : Sunday, 16 August, A.D. 1159 ; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1216 expired : Thursday, 4 August, A.D. 1160.

34. — V. 1218. — *My Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 10. Date of a MS. of the *Kalpachirṇi*, of the time of the Chaulukya Kumārāpāladēva :—

Saṁvat 1218 varṣe dvi-Āshāḍha-śudi 5 Gurāv-ady=ēha śrīmad-Aṇahilapātākē samastarājāvall-virājita-samalamkṛita-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-Umap a t i v a r a l a b d h a - p r a s ā d a - m a h ā h a v a - s a m g r ā m a - n i r v [y *] ū d h a - p r a t i j ñ ā - p r a u d h a - n i j a b h u j a - r a p ā m g a ṇ a - v i n i r j i t a - Ś a k a m b h a r i - b h ū p ā - ś r i m a t - K u m ā r a p ā l a d ē v a - k a l y ā n a v i j a y a r ā j y ē . . .

Āshāḍha was intercalary in northern V. 1218 expired (or southern V. 1218 current) ; for in that year the solar Āshāḍha lasted from 5 h. 58 m. before mean sunrise of 26 May to 8 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of 26 June, A.D. 1161, and there were new-moons on 26 May, 17 h. 57 m., and on 25 June, 3 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise. The 5th of the bright half of the first Āshāḍha was Wednesday, 31 May, A.D. 1161, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise ; and of the second Āshāḍha, Thursday, 29 June, A.D. 1161, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

¹⁰ In dates, I have hitherto met this word *argala* only here and in line 14 of the Kapaswa inscription, (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 164, and see the next number of the Journal.)

35. — V. 1218. — *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 10. (Tod's 'Nadole' inscription), lithograph received from Mr. Fleet. Nadōl copper-plate grant of the Chāhūmāna Ālhapadēva.

(Line 18) . . . Saṁ 1218 varṣe | Śrāvapa-śudi 14 Ravau | asminn=ēva mahā-chaturddasī-parvvaṇi ||

Northern V. 1218 current : Tuesday, 19 July, A.D. 1160.

Northern V. 1218 expired : Sunday, 6 August, A.D. 1161 ; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1218 expired : Thursday, 26 July, A.D. 1162.

36. — V. 1232. — Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Second Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.* (1882-83), p. 220 ; (compare also p. 35). Date of the composition of Narapati's *Narapati-jaya-charyā*, of the time of the Chaulukya Ajayapāla :—

Vikramārka-gatē kālē pakṣ-āgni-bhānu-1232-vatsarē |

māsē Chaitrē sitēpakṣē pratipad-Bhauma-vasarē || 5 ||

Śrīmaty=Aṇahilanagarē khyātē śrī-Ajayapāla-nripa-rājyē |

śrīman-Narapati-kavinā rachitam=idam śākuṇam śāstram || 6 ||

Northern V. 1232 current : Wednesday, 6 March, A.D. 1174 ; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise (and it commenced 2 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise of the preceding day).

In northern V. 1232 expired Chaitra was intercalary ; for the solar Chaitra lasted from 22 February, 16 h. 57 m., to 25 March, 1 h. 5 m., and there were new-moons on 22 February, 20 h. 16 m., and 24 March, 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise, A.D. 1175. The first of the bright half of the first Chaitra was Sunday, 23 February, A.D. 1175 ; and of the second Chaitra, Tuesday, 25 March, A.D. 1175, when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1232 expired : Saturday, 13 March, A.D. 1176.

(It may be noted that the initial days of the expired Vikrama years 1231 and 1232 are given wrongly in the *Book of Indian Eras*.)

37. — V. 1232. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 131. Benares College copper-plate inscription of Jayachandradēva of Kanauj :—

(Line 23) . . . dvātrīṁśad-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁvatsarē Bhādrē māsi śukla-pakṣē trayōdaśyāntithau Ravi-dinē aṅkatō=pi saṁvat 1232 Bhādra-sudi 13 Ravau ady=ēha śrīmad-vijaya-Vārāpasyām . . .

Northern V. 1232 current : Monday, 12 August, A.D. 1174 ; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1232 expired : Sunday, 31 August, A.D. 1175 ; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1232 expired : Friday, 20 August, A.D. 1176.

38. — V. 1252. — *Zeitschrift D. M. G.*, Vol. XL. p. 54 ; and *Epigraphia Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 215, from impressions supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Baṭṭēśvar stone inscription of the Chandēlla Paramardidēva, now in the Lucknow Museum :—

(Line 24) . . . Pakṣa-[trya]kṣhamukh-āditya-saṁkhyē Vikrama-va[tsa*]rē |

Āśvina-śukla-pāuchamyām vasarē Vasar-śbituḥ ||

Northern V. 1252 current : Wednesday, 21 September, A.D. 1194.

Northern V. 1252 expired : Sunday, 10 September, A.D. 1195 ; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1252 expired : Saturday, 28 September, A.D. 1196 ; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

(Dr. Hultzsch, when editing the inscription, took the year to be 'Vikrama-saṁvat 11[8]2'.)

39. — V. 1263. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 194. Kaḍī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmādēva II. :—

(Line 13) . . . śrīmad-Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshn dvādaśasn tṛi(tri)-shashtī-nttarēshn lan° Srāvāna-māsa-śnka-paksha-dvitiyāyām Ravi-varē str-āmkatō=pi saṁvat [12]63 Srāvāna-sudi 2 Ravāv-asyām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-pūrvvikāyām tithāv-ady-ēha śrīmad-A[nahilapāta]kē śy=aiva Vyatipāta-pā(pa)rvvani . . .

Northern V. 1263 current: Tuesday, 19 July, A.D. 1205.

Northern V. 1263 expired: Sunday, 9 July, A.D. 1206; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 57 m., and the *nakshatra* was Āślēshā np to 4 h. 36 m., and the *yōga* was Vyatipāta np to 14 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1263 expired: Saturday, 28 July, A.D. 1207; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

40. — V. 1272. — *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. pp. 27 and 29. Bhōpāl copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Arjunavarmadēva: —

. . . śrīmad-Amarēśvaratīrth-āvasthitair-asmābhir-dvisaptaty-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁvat-sarē Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsyām Chandrōparāga-parvani Rēvā-Kapilayōḥ saṅgamē snātvā . . .
. . . saṁvat 1272 Bhādrapada-sandi 15 Budhē.

Northern V. 1272 current: Thursday, 21 August, A.D. 1214; no eclipse.

Northern V. 1272 expired: Wednesday, 9 September, A.D. 1215; a total lunar eclipse, visible in India, 16 h. 24 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1272 expired: Sunday, 28 August, A.D. 1216; a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India, 21 h. 41 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 20 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

41. — V. 1340. — From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Stone inscription at Kālañjar: —

(Line 3) . . . Chaitra-sandi 3 Vu(bu)dhē saṁ 1340.

Northern V. 1340 current: Saturday, 14 March, A.D. 1282.

Northern V. 1340 expired: Wednesday, 3 March, A.D. 1283; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1340 expired: Tuesday, 21 March, A.D. 1284; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

42. — V. 1353. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XI. p. 118, and Plate xxxvii. 3. Stone inscription at Jaunpur: —

(Line 8) . . . Jyēshthē māse sitē pakshē dvādasyā(śyā)m=Vu(bu)dha-vāsarē [*]

likhit-ēyam sadā bhāti praśastih Plava-vatsarē || Saṁvat 13[5]3 [11*]

Northern V. 1353 current: Friday, 27 May, A.D. 1295.

Northern V. 1353 expired: Wednesday, 16 May, A.D. 1296; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1353 expired: Monday, 3 June, A.D. 1297.

The year *Plava*, No. 35, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 13 September, A.D. 1295, to 8 September, A.D. 1296; and with *bija*, from 18 October A.D. 1295, to 13 October, A.D. 1296; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 26 August, A.D. 1295, to 21 August, A.D. 1296. Accordingly, *Plava* was current on the actual day of the date (16 May, A.D. 1296) and also at the commencement of the solar year (25 March, A.D. 1296). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year *Dnrmkha*, No. 30.

43. — V. 1439. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. VI. p. 79, and Plate xi. Māchādī (near Alvar) stone inscription of the time of the Sultān Pērōja Sāhī¹¹: —

(Line 6) . . . Saṁvatsarē=smin śrī-Vikramāditya-rājyē(?) saṁvat 1439 sā(śā)kē 1304 varshē | Vaisā(śā)sha(kha)-sudi 6 Ravi-dinē | Pushya-nakshatrē | śrī-anrat[r*]āna-Pērōja-sāhī-rājyē . . .

Northern V. 1439 current: Tuesday, 30 April, A.D. 1381.

¹¹ Firūz Shāh bin Bajab, A.D. 1351-1388; Thomas, loc. cit. p. 269.

Northern V. 1439 expired: Sunday, 20 April, A.D. 1382; the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise; and the *nakshatra* was *Pushya* from about sunrise to about sunrise of the next day.

Southern V. 1439 expired: Thursday, 9 April, A.D. 1383.

44. — V. 1445. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XVII. p. 41, and Plate xxii. Sati-pillar inscription at 'Boram-Deo' in the Central Provinces: —

(Line 1). — Saṁvat 1445 Bhāva-nāma-saṁva[tsa]rē Āsvi(śvi)na-sandi 13 Sōmē.

Northern V. 1445 current: Thursday, 26 September, A.D. 1387.

Northern V. 1445 expired: Monday, 14 September, A.D. 1388; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1445 expired: Sunday, 3 October, A.D. 1389; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

The year *Bhāva*, No. 8, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 17 August, A.D. 1387, to 12 August, A.D. 1388, and with *bija*, from 22 September, A.D. 1387, to 17 September, A.D. 1388; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 29 July, A.D. 1387, to 24 July, A.D. 1388. Accordingly, by the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, with *bija*, *Bhāva* was actually current on the day of the date (14 September, A.D. 1388), and by all the rules it was current at the commencement of the solar year (26 March, A.D. 1388). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year *Vibhava*, No. 2.

(In the *Book of Indian Eras*, Preface, p. ix., the date is given wrongly as 'Anvina badi: 13 Some').

45. — V. 1481. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LII. Part I. p. 71, and a rough rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Dēdgaḍh stone inscription: —

(Line 14) . . . saṁvatsarē=smin-nripa-Vikramāditya-gatāvda(bda) 1481 śākē śrī-Śalivāhanāt 1346 Vaisākha-māsē śukla-pakshē 15 pūrṇamāsyām Guru-vāsarē | Svāt-nakshatrē | sīnha-lagn-ōdayē || (and evidently repeated in a verse which I am unable to make out at present).

Northern V. 1481 current: Sunday, 25 April, A.D. 1423.

Northern V. 1481 expired: Thursday, 13 April, A.D. 1424; the full-moon *tithi* ended 22 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise; and the *nakshatra* was *Svāti* from about sunrise to about sunrise of the following day.

Southern V. 1481 expired: Wednesday, 2 May, A.D. 1425; the full-moon *tithi* ended 15 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

46. — V. 1496. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. p. 1225. Umgā (in Bihār) stone inscription of Bhairavēndra: —

(Verse 21): — Jātē tarka6-navā9-mbndhi4-ndu-gn(ga)nitē sambatsarē¹² Vaikramē

Vaisākshē Guru-vāsarē sitatarē pakshē tṛitīy[ā*]-tithan |

Rōhiyām Purnshōttamām Halabhṛitām Bhadrām Smbhadrān-tathā

pratyashthāpayad-ēkad-aika-vidhinā śrī-Bhairavēndrō nripah ||

And further on: — āmkatō=pi Vikramābdāḥ || 1496 || Vaisākha-sandi-tṛitīyā-Gurō(ran) ||

Northern V. 1496 current: Sunday, 27 April, A.D. 1438.

Northern V. 1496 expired: Thursday, 16 April, A.D. 1439; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 5 m., and the *nakshatra* was *Rōhini* np to 10 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1496 expired: Tuesday, 5 April, A.D. 1440.

(In *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XI. p. 141, the date is given wrongly as 'Wednesday, the 3rd of the waning moon').

47. — V. 1534. — Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 348; ante, Vol. XVIII. p. 251. Date of a MS. of the *Prabhāsakshētra-tīrthayātrānukrama*, of the time of the Pātasāha Mahimēda: ¹³—

¹² Read *saṁvatsarē*.

¹³ Sultān Mahmūd Bīgarha, A.D. 1459-1511. See note 8 above.

Saṁvat 15 Āshāḍhādī 34 varashē¹⁴ Śrāvāṇa-śudi 5 Bhū(bhau)ṁśē ad[y*]=ēha śrī-Kadana-purēsthānē pātasāha-srī(śrī)-Mahimūda-vijayarājyē . . .

Northern V. 1534 current : Friday, 26 July, A.D. 1476.

Northern V. 1534 expired : Tuesday, 15 July, A.D. 1477 ; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise.

In southern V. 1534 expired Śrāvāṇa was intercalary ; for the solar Śrāvāṇa lasted from 29 June, 9 h. 19 m., to 30 July, 20 h. 35 m., and there were new-moons on 30 June, 5 h. 19 m., and 29 July, 12 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise, A.D. 1478. The 5th of the bright half of the first Śrāvāṇa was Saturday, 4 July, A.D. 1478 ; and of the second Śrāvāṇa, Monday, 3 August, A.D. 1478, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

48. — V. 1555. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 452. Date of a MS. of the *Vidyā-pannatti*, of the time of the Sultān Gayāsādina¹⁵ : —

Saṁvat 1555 varshē śākē 1420 Kshayakṛin-nama-saṁvatsarē Aśvani-māsī¹⁶ śukla-pañchamīyām Vākya(kpa)ti-vārē . . . suratrāṇa-Gayāsādina-rājyē . . . śrī-Saukhyāśya-(spa)dē pattanē anu cha Māṅgalyapura-varē . . . likhitam=idam.

Northern V. 1555 current : Saturday, 30 September, A.D. 1497.

Northern V. 1555 expired : Thursday, 20 September, A.D. 1498 ; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1555 expired : Tuesday, 10 September, A.D. 1499.

The year Kshaya, No. 60, here called Kshayakṛit, lasted, according to the Śūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bīja*, from 1 May, A.D. 1498, to 27 April, A.D. 1499, and with *bīja*, from 6 June, A.D. 1498, to 2 June, A.D. 1499 ; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 10 April, A.D. 1498, to 6 April, A.D. 1499. Accordingly, Kshaya was actually current on the day of the date (20 September, A.D. 1498), but it had not begun yet at the commencement of the solar year (27 March, A.D. 1498). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Kālayukta, No. 52.

49. — V. 1580. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 166. Date of a MS. of the *Prakriyā-kaumudī* : —

Svasti saṁvat pañchadaśa 15 aśtau 80 pravarttamānē uttarāyanē(nē) śrī-sūryē grīshma-ṛitau mahāmāṅgalya-pradē Jyēshtha-māsē asita-pakshē dvādaśa-ghaṭikā-paryanta-paurṇamāsī tadanantara-pratipadāyām tithau Bhṛigu-vārē ady-ēha Śimhōdraḍā-sthānē . . .

Northern V. 1580 current : Monday, 9 June, A.D. 1522.

Northern V. 1580 expired : Friday, 29 May, A.D. 1523 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 4 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1580 expired : Tuesday, 17th May, A.D. 1524.

50. — V. 1630. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 355. Date of a MS. of the *Āyāraṅgasūta* : —

Saṁvat 1630 varshē prathama-Āś(sha)ḍha-śudi 3 dinē Māṅgala-vārē.

Āshāḍha was intercalary in northern V. 1630 expired (or southern V. 1630 current) ; for in that year the solar Āshāḍha lasted from 29 May, 8 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise, to 43 m. before mean sunrise of 30 June, A.D. 1573, and there were new-moons on 30 May, 20 h. 3 m., and 29 June, 5 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. The third of the bright half of the first Āshāḍha was Tuesday, 2 June, A.D. 1573, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise ; and of the second Āshāḍha, Thursday, 2 July, A.D. 1573.

51. — V. 1650. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 23. Date of a MS. of the *Kāṅḍānukramāṅkī-vivarāṇa* (written at Benares) : —

Saṁvat 1650 śākē 1 Subhakṛit-saṁvatsarē Bhādrapada-śudi-paurṇamāsyām Bhṛigu-vāsarē Kāśyām . . .

¹⁴ Read *varshē*.

¹⁵ Sultān Ghiāsu'd-dīn, son of Mahmūd Khiljī, ruler of Mālwa, A.D. 1482-1500. Thomas, *loc. cit.* p. 346 Bailey, *loc. cit.*, Index.

¹⁶ Read *Aśvina-māsē*.

Northern V. 1650 current : Monday, 11 September, A.D. 1592.

Northern V. 1650 expired : Friday, 31 August, A.D. 1593 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 17 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1650 expired : Tuesday, 20 August, A.D. 1594.

The year Subhakṛit, No. 36, lasted, according to the Śūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bīja*, from 21 March, A.D. 1593, to 17 March, A.D. 1594, and with *bīja*, from 28 April, A.D. 1593, to 24 April, A.D. 1594 ; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 4 March, A.D. 1593, to 28 February, A.D. 1594. Accordingly, Subhakṛit was actually current on the day of the date (31 August, A.D. 1593) ; and by the Śūrya-Siddhānta rule without *bīja* and the Jyōtistattva rule it was also current at the commencement of the solar year (28 March, A.D. 1593). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Vijaya, No. 27.

52. — V. 1664. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 337. Date of the composition of Rāmarshi's *Nalōdaya-tīkā*, of the time of Sultān Sāhi Salama¹⁷ : —

Vēd-āṅga-rasa-chāndr-āḍhyē varshē māsē tu Mādhavē |

śukla-pakshē tu saptamīyām Gurau Pushyē tath-ōḍuni || 13 ||[*].

Suratrāṇē tathā Sāhi-Salamē śāsati kshitim |

Patān-ākhyē mahā-durgē Rājasālyē cha rājani || 14 ||[*] Yuvarājē Bhōjarājē . . .

Northern V. 1664 current : Sunday, 4 May, A.D. 1606.

Northern V. 1664 expired : Thursday, 23 April, A.D. 1607 ; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 7 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya up to 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1664 expired : Monday, 11 April, A.D. 1608.

53. — V. 1686. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 82. Date of a MS. of an *Agnishōm-paddhati* (written at Benares) : —

Saṁvat 1686 Bahudhānya-nāma-saṁvatsarē Śrāvāṇa-śukla-saptamīyām Guru-vāsarē tad-dinē Kāśyām . . .

Northern V. 1686 current : Sunday, 27 July, A.D. 1628.

Northern V. 1686 expired : Thursday, 16 July, A.D. 1629 ; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1686 expired : Wednesday, 4 August, A.D. 1630 ; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

The year Bahudhānya, No. 12, lasted, according to the Śūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bīja*, from 20 October, A.D. 1628, to 16 October, A.D. 1629, and with *bīja*, from 27 November, A.D. 1628, to 23 November, A.D. 1629 ; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 1 October, A.D. 1628, to 27 September, A.D. 1629. Accordingly, Bahudhānya was current on the actual day of the date (16 July, A.D. 1629) and also at the commencement of the solar year (28 March, A.D. 1629). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Sukla, No. 3.

54. — V. 1779. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), p. 94. Date of the composition of Bhīmasēna's *Sukhōdadhī* : —

Saṁvad-grah-āśva-muni-bhū-jñātē māsē Madhan sudi |

trayōdaśyām Sōma-vārē samāptō-yaṁ Sukhōdadhīḥ ||

Northern V. 1779 current : Thursday, 30 March, A.D. 1721.

Northern V. 1779 expired : Monday, 19 March, A.D. 1722 ; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1779 expired : Sunday, 7 April, A.D. 1723 ; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 9 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

55. — V. 1785. — Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VII. p. 57. Date of the composition of Bhāskararāya's *Saubhāgya-bhāskara* (composed at Benares) : —

Mōdachchāyā-mitāyām śaradi śarad-jitāv-Āśvinē Kālayuktē

śuklē Sōmē navamīyām-atanuta Lalitā-nāmasāhasra-bhāshyam ||

¹⁷ I am unable to identify this Sultān. In Professor Bhāṅḍārkar's *Report* for 1882-83, p. 227, verse 8, we have the name *Sāhi-Salama*.

Northern V. 1785 current: Tuesday, 12 September, A.D. 1727; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1785 expired: Monday, 30 September, A.D. 1728; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1785 expired: Saturday, 20 September, A.D. 1729.

The year **Kālayukta**, No. 52, lasted, according to the Śūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 25 August, A.D. 1727, to 20 August, A.D. 1728, and with *bija*, from 3 October, A.D. 1727, to 28 September, A.D. 1728; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 5 August, A.D. 1727, to 31 July, A.D. 1728. Accordingly, Kālayukta was no longer actually current on the day of the date (30 September, A.D. 1728), but it was current at the commencement of the solar year (29 March, A.D. 1728). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Kilaka, No. 42.

(On the way in which 1785 is denoted here, by *mōdashchhāyā*, see e.g. Burnell's *Palaeography*, p. 59).

56. — V. 1874. — *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 193. Nepāl stone inscription of Lalitratipurāsundarī: — Vēda-sapta-gaj-ēndu-mitē 1874 Vaikramē sakē Suchi-śukla-navamyān Sōm-ānvitāyām.

Northern V. 1874 current: Wednesday, 3 July, A.D. 1816, new style.

Northern V. 1874 expired: Monday, 23 June, A.D. 1817, new style; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1874 expired: Sunday, 12 July, A.D. 1818, new style; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

(c). — Dates in Southern Expired Years.

57. — V. 898. — *Zeitschrift D. M. (t.)*, Vol. XL. p. 42. Dhōlpur stone inscription of the Chauhān Chaṇḍamahāsēna: —

(Line 21) . . . Vasu nava [a*]ṣṭau varshā gatasya kālasya Vikram-ākhyasya [1]

Vaiśākhasya sitāyā[m*] Ravivāra-yuta-dvitiyāyām ||

Chandrē Bōhīpi-samyuktē¹⁸ lagnē simghasya¹⁹ Sōbhanē yōgē |

sakala-kṛita-māṅgalasya hy=abhūt[*] pratishṭh=āya bhavanasya ||

Northern V. 898 current: Wednesday, 7 April, A.D. 840.

Northern V. 898 expired: Monday, 28 March, A.D. 841; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise; *nakshatra* Bharāṇi, and *yōga* Āyushmat.

Southern V. 898 expired: Sunday, 16 April, A.D. 842; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 49 m., and the *nakshatra* was Bōhīpi up to 21 h. 40 m., and the *yōga* Sōbhana up to 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

58. — V. 962. — My *Report* for 1880-81, p. 9; and Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 149. Date in a MS. of Siddharshi's *Upamitibhava-prapañchā Kathā*: —

Śrī-Bhillamāla-nagarē . . .

Samvateara-śata-navakē dvishasṭi-sahitē-tileṅghitē ch=āyāñ |

Jyēshṭhē śi(ṣ)ita-pañchamyām Punarvvasu Guru-dinē [samāptir=abhūt ||]

Northern V. 962 current: Tuesday, 22 May, A.D. 904.

Northern V. 962 expired: Sunday, 12 May, A.D. 905.

Southern V. 962 expired: Thursday, 1 May, A.D. 906; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 13 m., and the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu up to 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

59. — V. 1011. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 67, and Plate xvi. J; and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 136. Inscription from a Jaina temple at Khajurāhō: —

(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1011 samayē ||

(Line 10) . . . Vaisā(śā)sha(kha)-sudi 7 Sōma-dinē ||

Northern V. 1011 current: Saturday, 23 April, A.D. 953.

Dr. Hultzsch suggests *Bōhīpi-yuktē*, to suit the metre, Āryā.

¹⁹ Read *simghasya*.

Northern V. 1011 expired: Wednesday, 12 April, A.D. 954.

Southern V. 1011 expired: Monday, 2 April, A.D. 955; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. after mean sunrise.

(Sir A. Cunningham has taken the year of the date to be 1111; see my remarks in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 135).

60. — V. 1139. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 306. Date of the composition of Guruchandragaṇi's *Srīvira-charitra*: —

Naṁda-sihī-rudda-1139-saṁkhē vokkarātē Vikkamāu kalammi |

Jeṭṭhassa suddha-tāyā-tihimmi Sōmē samattam=imañ ||

Northern V. 1139 current: Friday, 14 May, A.D. 1081.

Northern V. 1139 expired: Tuesday, 3 May, A.D. 1082; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1139 expired: Monday, 22 May, A.D. 1083; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

61. — V. 1154. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 103, and Plate xxxiii. 3; *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 311, and Vol. XVIII. p. 237. Dēōgaḍh rock inscription of the time of the Chandēlla Kirtivarmadēva: —

(Line 8) . . . Samvat 1154 Chaitra-[śū]di 2 Ravau.

Northern V. 1154 current: Thursday, 28 February, A.D. 1096.

Northern V. 1154 expired: Wednesday, 18 March, A.D. 1097.

Southern V. 1154 expired: Sunday, 7 March, A.D. 1098; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

62. — V. 1220. — Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 232 and 233; and an impression and a photo-lithograph supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Delhi Siwālik pillar inscription of Vissaladēva of Śākambhari: —

(Line A, 1) . . . Samvat 1220 Vaiśākha-śūti 15.

(Line C, 5). — Samvat śrī-Vikramādityē 1220 Vaiśākha-śūti 15 Gurau.

Northern V. 1220 current: Monday, 30 April, A.D. 1162.

Northern V. 1220 expired: Saturday, 20 April, A.D. 1163.

In southern V. 1220 expired, Vaiśākha was intercalary; for the solar Vaiśākha lasted from 24 March, 4 h. 46 m., to 24 April, 2 h. 59 m., A.D. 1164, and there were new-moons on 24 March, 14 h. 57 m., and 23 April, 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise. The 15th of the bright half of the first Vaiśākha was Thursday, 9 April, A.D. 1164, when the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Vaiśākha, Friday, 8 May, A.D. 1164, when the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

63. — V. 1222. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone pillar inscription from Udaypur (in Gwālīor): —

(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1222 varshē Vaiśākha-śūdi 3 Sōmē sdy=ēha Udayapurē

akshaya-tṛitīyā-parvañi . . .

In northern V. 1222 current Vaiśākha was intercalary; for the solar Vaiśākha lasted from 24 March, 4 h. 46 m., to 24 April, 2 h. 59 m., and there were new-moons on 24 March, 14 h. 57 m., and 23 April, 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, A.D. 1164. The third of the bright half of the first Vaiśākha was Friday, 27 March, A.D. 1164; and of the second Vaiśākha, Sunday, 26 April, A.D. 1164, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1222 expired: Thursday, 15 April, A.D. 1165.

Southern V. 1222 expired: Monday, 4 April, A.D. 1166; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

64. — V. 1224. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 74, and Plate xxxiii. G. Inscription on pedestal of figure at Mahōba, of the time of the Chandēlla Paramardīdēva: —

(Line 1). — Samvat 1224 Āshāḍha-sudi 2 Ravau ||

Northern V. 1224 current: Wednesday, 1 June, A.D. 1166.

Northern V. 1224 expired: Tuesday, 20 June, A.D. 1167.

Southern V. 1224 expired: Sunday, 9 June, A.D. 1168; the second tithi of the bright half ended 7 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

65. — V. 1233. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 136. Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate inscription of Jayachchandrādēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 24) . . . trays[s*]trīmsa(sa)d-adhika-dvādāsa-śata-samvatsarē Vaisā(śā)khē māsi su(śu)kla-pakṣhē dsamyām tithau Sa(sa)ni-dinē aṅkatō=pi samvat 1233 Vaisā(śā)kha-sudi 10 Sa(sa)nau ady=ēha śrīmad-vijaya-Vārāṇasīyām . . .

Northern V. 1233 current: Friday, 2 May, A.D. 1175; the 10th tithi of the bright half ended 7 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1233 expired: Tuesday, 20 April, A.D. 1176.

Southern V. 1233 expired: Saturday, 9 April, A.D. 1177; the 10th tithi of the bright half commenced about mean sunrise, and ended 22 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

66. — V. 1236. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 140. Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate inscription of Jayachchandrādēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 21) . . . shattrīmsa(śa)d-adhika-dvādāsa-śata-samvatsarē Vaisā(śā)khē māsi śukla-pakṣhē purṇimāyām tithau Śukra-dinē aṅkat[ō*]=pi sam 1236 Vaisā(śā)kha-sudi 15 Śukrē ady=ēha śrī-Raṁḍavai-samāvāśē Gaṅgāyām . . .

Northern V. 1236 current: Wednesday, 3 May, A.D. 1178.

Northern V. 1236 expired: Monday, 23 April, A.D. 1179.

Southern V. 1236 expired: Friday, 11 April, A.D. 1180; the full-moon tithi ended 19 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

67. — V. 1240. — From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Rock inscription at Kālāñjar, of the time of the Chandēlla Paramardidēva:—

(Line 1) . . . Śrīmat-Paramardī[ḍēva]-vijayarājyē samvat 1240 . . . Vaisā(śā)kha-sudi 14 Gurau . . .

Northern V. 1240 current: Monday, 19 April, A.D. 1182.

In northern V. 1240 expired Vaisākha was intercalary; for the solar Vaisākha lasted from 25 March, 2 h. 46 m., to 25 April, 0 h. 59 m., and there were new-moons on 25 March, 11 h. 54 m., and 23 April, 20 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise, A.D. 1183. The 14th of the bright half of the first Vaisākha was Friday, 8 April, A.D. 1183, when the 14th tithi of the bright half ended 17 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Vaisākha, Sunday, 8 May, A.D. 1183.

Southern V. 1240 expired: Thursday, 26 April, A.D. 1184; the 14th tithi of the bright half ended 10 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

68. — V. 1243. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 50, and Plate xii. C. Inscription on jamb of the Upper Gate of Ajaygadh:—

(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1243 Jyēshtha-sudi 11 Vu(bu)dhē.

Northern V. 1243 current: Saturday, 11 May, A.D. 1185.

Northern V. 1243 expired: Friday, 30 May, A.D. 1186.

Southern V. 1243 expired: Wednesday, 20 May, A.D. 1187; the 11th tithi of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

69. — V. 1243. — *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 12. Faijābād copper-plate inscription of Jayachchan-drādēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 24) . . . trichatvārīmsa(śa)d-adhika-dvādāsa-śata-samvatsarē Āshāḍhē māsi su(śu)kla-pakṣhē saptamāyām tithau Ravi-dinē aṅkatō=pi samvat 1243 Āshāḍha-sudi 7 Ravau ady=ēha śrīmad-Vārāṇasīyām . . .

Northern V. 1243 current: Thursday, 6 June, A.D. 1185.

Northern V. 1243 expired: Wednesday, 25 June, A.D. 1186.

Southern V. 1243 expired: Sunday, 14 June, A.D. 1187; the 7th tithi of the bright half ended 19 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.

70. — V. 1253. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XI. p. 129, and Plate xxxviii. Bēlkhara stone-pillar inscription of one of the rulers of Kanauj(?):—

(Line 4) . . . samvat 1253 Vaisāsha(kha)-sudi 11 Bhaum[ō*]. . .

Northern V. 1253 current: Saturday, 22 April, A.D. 1195.

Northern V. 1253 expired: Wednesday, 10 April, A.D. 1196; the 11th tithi of the bright half ended 19 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1253 expired: Tuesday, 29 April, A.D. 1197; the 11th tithi of the bright half ended 20 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

71. — V. 1256. — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 254. Bhōpāl copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Udayavarmadēva:—

(Line 11) . . . śrī-Vikrama-kal-ātīta-shatpāñchāsa(śa)d-adhika-dvādāsa-śa(śa)ta-samvatsar-āntahprā(pā)ti aṅkē 1256 Vaisākha-sudi 15 paurṇamāsīyām tithau Visa(śa)khā-nakshatrē Parigha-yōgē Ravi-dinē mahā-Vaisā(śa)khyām parvvañi Guvāḍa-ghaṭṭē Rēvāyām snātvā . . .

Northern V. 1256 current: Thursday, 23 April, A.D. 1198.

Northern V. 1256 expired: Monday, 12 April, A.D. 1199; the full-moon tithi ended 20 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise; nakshatra Svāti, and yōga Siddhi.

Southern V. 1256 expired: Sunday, 30 April, A.D. 1200; the full-moon tithi ended 18 h. 37 m., and the nakshatra was Visākha up to 13 h. 47 m., and the yōga Parigha up to 20 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

72. — V. 1265. — *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 221. Mount Ābū stone inscription of the reign of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II.:—

Line 20. — Samvat 1265 varshē Vaisākha śu 15 Bhaumē Chauluky-ōddharaṇa-paramabhat-tārāka-Mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Bhīmadēva-pravarddhamāna-vijayarājyē . . .

Northern V. 1265 current: Saturday, 14 April, A.D. 1207.

Northern V. 1265 expired: Friday, 2 May, A.D. 1208.

Southern V. 1265 expired: Tuesday, 21 April, A.D. 1209; the 15th tithi of the bright half ended 17 h. after mean sunrise.

73. — V. 1500. — From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Stone inscription at Mahuva in Barōda (?):—

(Line 1) . . . Svasti svastimatī prasiddha-nripatī-śrī-Vikramātikramāt

samvad=Vishṇupadadvay-ē[shu]-jagatī-samkhyē Prajānāmpatēu

mitrē ch=ōttara-gē prachāṇḍa-kiraṇē dbanyē madhan Mādhavē

śuklē pūrṇa-tithau Gurau cha Guru-bhē sadyōga-bhōga-kshaṇē || 1 ||

(Line 16) . . . Svasti śrīman-nripa-Vikramārka-samy-ātīta-samvat 1500 varshē Prajāpati-nāmi samvatsarē | uttarīyaṇē | vasānta pīta | Vaisākha-śukla-pañchamāyām Gurau |

Northern V. 1500 current: Sunday, 15 April, A.D. 1442.

Northern V. 1500 expired: Friday, 5 April, A.D. 1443; the 5th tithi of the bright half ended 4 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1500 expired: Thursday, 23 April, A.D. 1444; the 5th tithi of the bright half ended 4 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise, and the nakshatra was Punarvasa np to 15 h. 46 m., when it was followed by Pushya, presided over by Guru (Bṛhaspati); yōgas Śūla and Gaṇḍa.

The year Prajāpati, No. 5, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 19 December, A.D. 1443, to 14 December, A.D. 1444, and with *bija*, from 25 January, A.D. 1444, to 20 January, A.D. 1445; and according to the Jyōtistatva rule, from 2 December, A.D. 1443, to 27 November, A.D. 1444. Accordingly, Prajāpati was current on the actual day of the date (23 April, A.D. 1444) and also at the commencement of the solar

year (26 March, A.D. 1444). By the Telinga rule the date would fall in the year Raktāksha, No. 58.

74. — V. 1516. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III. p. 131, and Plate xxxix. Inscription on jamb of temple of Gayāsūrī Dēvī at Gayā : —

(Line 26) . . . Varshē [śāstra?] -ku-vā[ṅa]-cham[dra-sa]hitē Mōsham gatē bhāskarē Chaitrē nāga-tithau sit[ē] Gurudinē . . .

(Line 30) . . . Saṃvat 1516 varshē Chaitra-sudi 5 Gur[u]-din[ē] ॥

Northern V. 1516 current : Sunday, 19 March, A.D. 1458.

Northern V. 1516 expired : Friday, 9 March, A.D. 1459; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1516 expired : Thursday, 27 March, A.D. 1460; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 11 h. 3 m. before, and ended 12 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise, and the Mōsha-Saṃkrānti took place 5 h. 1 m. before mean sunrise.

75. — V. 1534. — Date of my MS. of the *Prakriyā-kaumudī* : —

Svasti śrī saṃvat 1534 varshē dakṣiṇāyanē varshā-ṛitau prathama-Srāvāṇa-māsē śukla-pakṣhē aṣṭamyaṃ tithau Bhauma-vāsarē ady-ēha Munīndrapura-vāstavya-jyōtirvvij-Janārddan-ātma-jēna Iladurga-sthēna . . . Viśvanāthēna . . . liṣhi(khi)tā.

Srāvāṇa was intercalary in southern V. 1534 expired; for in that year the solar Srāvāṇa lasted from 29 June, 9 h. 19 m., to 30 July, 20 h. 35 m., A.D. 1478, and there were new-moons on 30 June, 5 h. 23 m., and on 29 July, 13 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise. The 8th of the bright half of the first Srāvāṇa was Tuesday, 7 July, A.D. 1478, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Srāvāṇa, Thursday, 6 August, A.D. 1478.

76. — V. 1645. — Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VIII. p. 321. Date of the composition of Puṅyasāgara's *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti-vṛitti* : —

Śrīmad-Jēsalamērdurgē (rgga)-nagarē śrī-Bhīma-bhūmipatan

rājyaṃ sā(śā)ṣati vāṇa-vāridhi-rasa-khaṇṇ-mitē vatsarē |

Pushy-ārke(rkshē) Madhu-māsa-śukla-dāsami-sad-vāsarē Bhāsu(ska)rē

tīk-āyaṃ vihītā sad-aiva jayatād-ā-chandra-sūryaṃ bhuvi ॥

Northern V. 1645 current : Thursday, 9 March, A.D. 1587.

Northern V. 1645 expired : Wednesday, 27 March, A.D. 1588.

Southern V. 1645 expired : Sunday, 16 March, A.D. 1589; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 26 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya up to 12 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

77. — V. 1654. — Dr. Peterson's *Second Report* (1883-84), p. 128, and Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 268. Date of the composition of Jñānavimalagaṇi's commentary on Mahēśvara's *Śabdaprabhāda* : —

Śrīmad-Vikramanagarē rājach-ḥhri-Rājasimha-nṛpa-rājyē |

sailōka-chakravāka-pramōda-sūryōdayē samyak ॥

Chatarānanavadan-ēndriya-rasa-vasudhā-saṃmitē lasad-varshē |

Śrīmad-Vikrama-nṛpatō Śtikrāntē Stīva kṛita-harshē ॥

Subh-ōpayōgē śubha-yōga-yuktē varē dvitīyā-divasē Stīsuuddhē |

Āshāḍha-māsasya viśuddha-pakṣhē Pushyarksha-samyukta-Gabhasṭivārē ॥ . . .

Northern V. 1654 current : Tuesday, 17 June, A.D. 1596.

Northern V. 1654 expired : Monday, 6 June, A.D. 1597; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1654 expired : Sunday, 25 June, A.D. 1598; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 20 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya up to 7 h. 13 m., and the *yōga* Vajra up to 21 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

(The result of the calculation shows that in the expression *śubha-yōga-yuktē* of the date the word *śubha* cannot be the name of a *yōga*, for Vajra is the 15th and Śubha the 23rd *yōga*).

78. — V. 1724. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 11. Date of a MS. of the *Sākhāyana-brāhmasūtra* : —

Saṃvat 1724 varshē prathama-A(a)ś(śhā)ḍha-śudya 7 Saṇau.

Āshāḍha was intercalary in southern V. 1724 expired; for in that year the solar Āshāḍha lasted from 29 May, 22 h. 25 m., to 30 June, 13 h. 14 m., A.D. 1668, and there were new-moons on 30 May, 12 h., and 29 June, 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise. The 7th of the bright half of the first Āshāḍha was Saturday, 6 June, A.D. 1668, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Āshāḍha, Monday, 6 July, A.D. 1668.

79. — V. 1746. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 195. Date of part of a MS. of Jinēdrabuddhi's *Kāikāvivarāṇa-pāñchikā* : —

Saṃvat 1746 varshē prathama-Vaiśākha-śudi 12 Gurau.

Vaiśākha was intercalary in southern V. 1746 expired; for in that year the solar Vaiśākha lasted from 29 March, 7 h. 19 m. to 29 April, 5 h. 32 m., A.D. 1690, and there were new-moons on 30 March, 9 h., and 28 April, 19 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise. The 12th of the bright half of the first Vaiśākha was Thursday, 10 April, A.D. 1690, when the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Vaiśākha, Friday, 9 May, A. D. 1690, when the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

(In another part of the same MS. there is the date —

Saṃvat 1746 varshē Vaiśākhasya sitē pakṣhē dvitīyā-Bhauma-vāsarē, — the month of which, though called simply *Vaiśākha*, is the *prathama-Vaiśākha* of the other date. The corresponding date here is Tuesday, 1 April, A.D. 1690, when the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 5 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise).

(d.) — A date mentioning a lunar eclipse which fell on the same day in the northern current, northern expired, and southern expired years.

80. — V. 1200. — *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 50, lithograph received from Mr. Fleet. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. p. 301. Ujjain copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Lakṣmīvarmadāva : —

(Line 6) . . . śrīmad-Dhārāyām mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Yaśovarmmadēvēna śrī-Vikrama-kal-ātita-samvatsar-aikanavaty-adhika-śat-aikādaśēshn Kārttika-śudi aṣṭamyaṃ . . . — but no details for verification.

(Line 15) . . . samvatsara-śata-dvādaśakēsh[u] Srāvāṇa-śudi-paṃchadaśyaṃ sōma-grahāṇa-parvāṇi . . .

The possible equivalents of this second date are, for —

Northern V. 1200 current : 8 August, A.D. 1142; a partial lunar eclipse, not visible in India, 12 h. 17 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise;

Northern V. 1200 expired : 28 July, A.D. 1143; a total lunar eclipse, not visible in India, 12 h. 38 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 11 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise;

Southern V. 1200 expired : 16 July, A.D. 1144; a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India, 16 h. 44 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 15 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

(This shows that Sir A. Cunningham's objection to Colebrooke's result in the *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 93, and note, was unnecessary.

(To be continued.)

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 40.)

B. — DATES IN DARK FORTNIGHTS.

1. — Dates in the months Kārttika to Phālguna.

(a). — Dates in Current Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

81. — V. 1209. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 97. Date of a MS. of the *Piṇḍaniryukti* : —

Saṁvat 1209 Kārttika-vadi 12 Sōmā.

V. 1209 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 8 October, A.D. 1151; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 7 November, A.D. 1151.

V. 1209 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 27 September, A.D. 1152.

amānta : Sunday, 26 October, A.D. 1152; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half began 0 h. 47 m. before, and ended 20 h. 55 m. after, mean sunrise.

82. — V. 1296. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 207. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(L. 19) Śrīmat(d)-Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasu śhatna(ṇa)vaty-uttarēshu Mārggamāsiya-kṛishṇa-chaturddasīyām Bavi-vārē śtr-sāmkatō spīll Vikrama-saṁvat 1296 varshē Mārgga-vadi 14 Bavāv-ady=śha śrīmad-Aṇahillapātakē

V. 1296 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 7 November, A.D. 1238; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 7 December, A.D. 1238.

V. 1296 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 27 October, A.D. 1239.

amānta : Saturday, 26 November, A.D. 1239; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

None.

(b). — Dates in Expired Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

83. — V. 1043. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 192. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Mūlarāja : —

(Plate i. L. 8) śrīmad-Aṇahillapātaka-sthān-āvasthitair = asmābbhiḥ sūryagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi

(Plate ii. L. 10) Saṁvat 1043 Māgha-vadi 15 Bavau,

V. 1043 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 13 January, A.D. 986; a total solar eclipse, not visible in India.

amānta : Thursday, 11 February, A.D. 986; no eclipse.

V. 1043 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 2 January, A.D. 987; a total solar eclipse, not visible in India, 18 h. 22 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 17 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 1 February, A.D. 987; no eclipse.

84. — V. 1177. — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 542. Copper-plate inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Virasimhadēva : —

Saṁvat 1177 Kārttika-vadi amāvāsīyām¹ Bavi-dinē Sdy = śha śrīman-Nalapura-mahādurgē . . . paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Virasimhadēvō vijayī . . .

V. 1177 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 6 October, A.D. 1119; the new-moon *tithi* ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 4 November, A.D. 1119.

V. 1177 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 24 October, A.D. 1120; the new-moon *tithi* ended 4 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. (A solar eclipse, visible in India).

amānta : Monday, 22 November, A.D. 1120; the new-moon *tithi* ended 18 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

85. — V. 1208. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 49, and Plate xii. A. Inscription on jamb of Upper Gate at Ajaygaḍh, of the reign of the Chandēlla Madanavarman : —

(L. 1) . . . Saṁvat 1208 Mārgga-vadi 15 Sa(śa)nau.

V. 1208 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 21 November, A.D. 1150.

amānta : Wednesday, 20 December, A.D. 1150.

V. 1208 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 10 November, A.D. 1151; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 9 December, A.D. 1151; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

86. — V. 1284. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 52. Date of a MS. of the *Daśavaikālika-sūtra*, &c., of the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Jaitrasimhadēva : —

Saṁvat 1284 varshē Phālgun-āmāvāsīyām Sōmā ady=śha śrīmad-Āghūṭadurgē samastarajāvālī-samalaṁkṛita-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Jaitrasimhadēva-kalyāṇavijayarājyē . . .

V. 1284 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 17 February, A.D. 1227.

amānta : Friday, 19 March, A.D. 1227.

V. 1284 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 7 February, A.D. 1228; the new-moon *tithi* ended 9 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 7 March, A.D. 1228; the new-moon *tithi* ended 16 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

87. — V. 1296. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. V. p. 183, and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 119. Inscription in the temple of Vaidyanātha at Kīragrāma : —

(L. 1) . . . Saṁvat 1296 varshē Phāgṇa-vadi 5 Bavau Kīragrāmē.

V. 1296 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 26 January, A.D. 1239.

amānta : Thursday, 24 February, A.D. 1239.

V. 1296 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 15 January, A.D. 1240; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : the 5th *tithi* of the dark half began 0 h. 26 m. and ended 23 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 13 February, A.D. 1240.

(Professor Bühler translates the word *varshē* of the date by 'in the (civil) year,' "because sometimes *laukika-varshē* appears in its stead after dates of the Vikrama era." — I have not found the expression *laukika-varshē* in any of the dates examined by me.)

¹ Dr. Hall has changed this unnecessarily to *amāvāsīyāditi*.

88. — V. 1372. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 54, and Plate xiv. O. Inscription on pillar of gate at Ajaygadh : —
(L. 14.) . . . Sa[m]vat 1372 P[an]sha-vadi 10 Sanau.
V. 1372 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 3 December, A.D. 1314.
amānta : Wednesday, 1 January, A.D. 1315.
V. 1372 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 22 November, A.D. 1315 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Monday, 22 December, A.D. 1315.
89. — V. 1451. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 50. Date of a MS. of the *Kammapayādi* : —
Sāmvat 1451 varshē Phāgaṇa-vadi 12 Budhē ady=ēha Stambhatirthē . . .
V. 1451 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 29 January, A.D. 1394 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Friday, 27 February, A.D. 1394.
V. 1451 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 17 February, A.D. 1395 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Thursday, 18 March, A.D. 1395 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.
90. — V. 1479. — *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S. Vol. XX. p. 553. Date of a MS. of Durgasimha's *Līngakārikā-vṛitti* (written in a Bengali hand) : —
Sri-Vikramasēnasy-ātita-saṁ 1479 Mārgasīrsha-badi 14 Sukrē Kapisā-grāmē likhitam.
V. 1479 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Monday, 24 November, A.D. 1421.
amānta : Tuesday, 23 December, A.D. 1421.
V. 1479 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Friday, 13 November, A.D. 1422 ; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Sunday, 13 December, A.D. 1422.
91. — V. 1503. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone inscription at Udaypur in Gwālior : —
(L. 1.) . . . Sāmvata 1503 varshē Phāgaṇa-vadi 10 Su(su)kra-di[va]śē.
V. 1503 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 22 January, A.D. 1446 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : the 10th *tithi* of the dark half began 0 h. 38 m. and ended 22 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 20 February, A.D. 1446.
V. 1503 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Friday, 10 February, A.D. 1447 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : the 10th *tithi* of the dark half began 2 h. 16 m. and ended 23 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 11 March, A.D. 1447.
92. — V. 1693. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 174. Date of a MS. of the *Praudhamānōramā* : —
Likhitam Vārāṇasī-sthānāt Vyāsamādhavaḥ || Saṁ 1693 varshē Māgha-vadi 1 Bavau.
V. 1693 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 13 January, A.D. 1636.

- amānta : Thursday, 11 February, A.D. 1636.
V. 1693 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 1 January, A.D. 1637 ; the first *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Tuesday, 31 January, A.D. 1637.
93. — V. 1715. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 22. Date of a MS. of the *Suparṇādhya* : —
Sāmvat 1715 Kārttika-vadi 4 Bhaumē Vārāṇasyām likhitam.
V. 1715 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Friday, 16 October, A.D. 1657.
amānta : Sunday, 15 November, A.D. 1657.
V. 1715 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 5 October, A.D. 1658 ; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Thursday, 4 November, A.D. 1658.
94. — V. 1717. — Date of the Deccan College Śārada MS. of the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti* : —
Sri-nṛipa-Vikramāditya-rājyasya gat-ābdāḥ 1717 śri-Saptarshi-matē saṁvat 36 Pan. [va.] ti. 3 Bavau Tishya-nakshatrē sampūrṇā.
V. 1717 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Monday, 21 November, A.D. 1659 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 23 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Wednesday, 21 December, A.D. 1659.
V. 1717 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 9 December, A.D. 1660 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 52 m., and the *nakshatra* was Tishya up to 17 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Tuesday, 8 January, A.D. 1661.
95. — V. 1747. — Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Third Report* (1883-84), p. 448. Date of a MS. of Vinayarāma's commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya* : —
Sāmvat 1747 varshē Phālguna(na)-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē ashtāmyām tithau Kuja-vāsarē likhitam . . . śri-Karṇapura-varē.
V. 1747 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 22 January, A.D. 1690 ; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Friday, 21 February, A.D. 1690.
V. 1747 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 10 February, A.D. 1691 ; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Thursday, 12 March, A.D. 1691.
96. — V. 1875. — *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 194. Nepāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurāsundari : —
Tasminn=ēva śakē (i.e. bāḥa-svara-nāga-bhū-mitē 1875 śakē) Mārga-kṛishṇa-pañchamām Budhē.
V. 1875 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 29 November, new style, A.D. 1817.
amānta : Sunday, 28 December, new style, A.D. 1817.
V. 1875 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 18 November, new style, A.D. 1818 ; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Friday, 18 December, new style, A.D. 1818.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

97. — V. 1303. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 40. Date of a MS. of the *Āchārāṅga-sūtra*, of the reign of the Chaulukya Visaladēva :—

Saṁvat 1303 varshē Mārga-vadi 12 Gurau ady=ēha śrīmad-Anahilapāṭakē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Visaladēva-rājyē mahāmātya-śrī-Tējāhpāla-pratipattan.

V. 1303 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 17 November, A.D. 1245; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 22 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 17 December, A.D. 1245.

V. 1303 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 6 November, A.D. 1246.

amānta : Thursday, 6 December, A.D. 1246; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.

98. — V. 1315. — *List of Antiquarian Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 186. Stone inscription at Siyāl Bēt, Bābariawād, Kāthiawād :—

Saṁvat 1315 varshē Phāguṇa-vadi 7 Śanau Anurādhā-nakshatrē sdy=ēha śrī-Madhu-matyām . . .

V. 1315 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 27 January, A.D. 1258; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 26 February, A.D. 1258.

V. 1315 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 17 January, A.D. 1259; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Saturday, 15 February, A.D. 1259; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā up to 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

99. — V. 1322. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 109. Date of a MS. of Āśada's *Vivēkamañjarī* :—

Chakshur-lōchana-viṣṭap-Ātrinayana-prōdbhūta-saṁvatearē
māsē Kārttika-nāmnī Chaṁdra-sahitē kṛishṇa-śṣṭami-vāsarē |

V. 1322 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 14 October, A.D. 1264; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 13 November, A.D. 1264.

V. 1322 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 4 October, A.D. 1265; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Monday, 2 November, A.D. 1265; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

100. — V. 1536. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 168. Date of a MS. of the commentary *Prasāda* on the *Prakriyā-kawmudī* :—

Saṁvat 1536 varshē Māgha-vadi ēkādaśī Ravau śrīmad-Ānandapura-sthānōttamē . . .

V. 1536 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 18 January, A.D. 1479; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 17 February, A.D. 1479.

V. 1536 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 8 January, A.D. 1480; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 6 February, A.D. 1480; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

101. — V. 1699.—Professor Bhāṅḍārkar's *Third Report* (1883-84), Notes, Corrections and Additions, p. vii.; *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 252. Date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Sōbhana-stutayah* :—

Saṁvat 16 Āshāḍhadi* 99 varshē Phāguṇa-vadi 11 tithau Sōma-dinē.

V. 1699 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 15 February, A.D. 1642; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 16 March, A.D. 1642.

V. 1699 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 5 February, A.D. 1643; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Monday, 6 March, A.D. 1643; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

102. — V. 1738. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 71. Date of a MS. of the *Ēzhi-brāhmaṇa* :—

Saṁvat 1738 varshē Phāguṇa-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē 9 Sōmē Avaraṅgāvāda-madhyē.

V. 1738 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 2 February, A.D. 1681.

amānta : Thursday, 3 March, A.D. 1681.

V. 1738 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 22 January, A.D. 1682; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Monday, 20 February, A.D. 1682; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

(c). — Dates which may be either pūrṇimānta dates of current years or amānta dates of expired years.

103.—V. 1229. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 34. Date of a MS. of Dharmōttarāchārya's *Nyāyavindu-tilak* :—

Saṁvat 1229 varshē Mārga-vadi 9 Sōmē.

V. 1229 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 25 October, A.D. 1171; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 23 November, A.D. 1171.

V. 1229 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 12 November, A.D. 1172.

amānta : Monday, 11 December, A.D. 1172; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

104. — V. 1253. — *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 229. Rēwah copper-plate inscription of the *Mahā-rāṇaka* Salakhaṣavarmadēva, of the time of the Chēdi ruler Vijayadēva :—

(L. 13) . . . saṁvatearāṇām sa[ṅ]vata(t)1253 Mārggaśira-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē saptamāyām tithau Sukra-dinē Kakarēdyām sthānē.

V. 1253 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 27 October, A.D. 1195; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Saturday, 25 November, A.D. 1195.

V. 1253 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 14 November, A.D. 1196.

* Professor Bhāṅḍārkar has informed me that this is the actual reading of the MS.

amānta : Friday, 13 December, A.D. 1196; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

(*Loc. cit.* p. 228 I have given only one of the possible European equivalents of the Indian date, probably the wrong one).

105. — V. 1359. — My Report for 1880-81. Date of a MS. of Jinadāsagaṇi's *Viśvanisīha-chuṅgi* : —

Saṁvat 1359 varshē Mārga-vadi 5 Sōma-vārē.

V. 1359 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 23 October, A.D. 1301; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 21 November, A.D. 1301.

V. 1359 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 11 November, A.D. 1302.

amānta : Monday, 10 December, A.D. 1302; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

106. — V. 1432. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 208. Date of a MS. of Prajñānānda's *Tattvālōka-tīkā* : —

Saṁvat 1432 varshē Mārgaśīrshē māsi kṛishṇa-pakshē navamīyām tithau Sōma-vasārē ady-ēha śrīmad-Aṇahillapattana-vāstavyēna Śrīpatinā pastakam=alēkhi.

V. 1432 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 30 October, A.D. 1374; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 28 November, A.D. 1374.

V. 1432 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 18 November, A.D. 1375.

amānta : Monday, 17 December, A.D. 1375; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

107. — V. 1535. — Date of a MS. of the *Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa* : —

Saṁvat 1535 varshē Pauṣha-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē 13 trayōdaśyām Budhē sdy-ēha śrī-Vṛiddhanagarē.

V. 1535 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 3 December, A.D. 1477; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 2 January, A.D. 1478.

V. 1535 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 22 December, A.D. 1478.

amānta : Wednesday, 20 January, A.D. 1479; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

2. — Dates in the months Chaitra to Āśvina.

(a). — Dates in Northern Current Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

108. — V. 1202. — *List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres.*, p. 180. Stone inscription at Māngrol in Kāthiāwād, of the reign of the Chaulukya Kumārāpāla : —

Śrīmad-Vikrama-saṁvat 1202 tathā śrī-Simha-saṁvat 32 Āśvina-vadi 13 Sōmē.

Northern V. 1202 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 28 August, A.D. 1144; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

¹ I would remind the reader that here I am merely giving the European equivalents of the Hindu dates which are yielded by the ordinary rules and tables. It will be matter for further inquiry, below, whether, in the case of dates like No. 106 and No. 109, the European dates printed in antique type are really the true equivalent of the Hindu dates.

amānta : Wednesday, 27 September, A.D. 1144.

Northern V. 1202 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 16 September, A.D. 1145.

amānta : the 13th *tithi* of the dark half began Monday, 15 October, A.D. 1145, 3 h. 58 m., and ended Tuesday, 16 October, 2 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1202 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 5 September, A.D. 1146.

amānta : Saturday, 5 October, A.D. 1146.

109. — V. 1256. — *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 71. Copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(L. 17) . . . Śrīmad-Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasu shatpāncchāsad-uttarēshu Bhādrapada-māsa-kṛishṇa-paksh-āmāvāsya-yām Bhō(bhau)ma-vārē śtr-āmkatō spi saṁvat 1256 lan° Bhādrapada-vadi 15 Bhaumē sśyām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-pūrvi-kāyām tithāv=ady-ēha śrīmad-Aṇahilapātakē smāvāyā-parvaṇi snātva . . .

Northern V. 1256 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 4 August, A.D. 1198; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise. (A solar eclipse, not visible in India).

amānta : Thursday, 3 September, A.D. 1198.

Northern V. 1256 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 23 August, A.D. 1199.

amānta : the 15th *tithi* of the dark half began Tuesday, 21 September, A.D. 1199, 0 h. 34 m., and ended Wednesday, 22 September, 0 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain).

Southern V. 1256 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 11 August, A.D. 1200.

amānta : Sunday, 10 September, A.D. 1200.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

None.

(b). — Dates in Northern Expired (or Southern Current) Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

110. — V. 960. — *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 202. Stone inscription from Tērahi : —

(L. 1). . . . Saṁ [H P] 960 Bhādrapad[a]-vadi 4 Sanau || Ady-ēha Madhuvēnyām . . .

Northern V. 960 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 27 July, A.D. 902.

amānta : Wednesday, 25 August, A.D. 902.

In northern V. 960 expired Bhādrapada was intercalary; for the solar Bhādrapada lasted from 26 July, 1 h. 45 m., to 26 August, 2 h. 37 m., A.D. 903, and there were new-moons on 26 July, 22 h. 48 m., and 25 August, 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise. The 4th of the dark half of the first Bhādrapada was, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 16 July, A.D. 903, when the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise;

amānta : Monday, 15 August, A.D. 903; and of the second Bhādrapada, —

amānta : Tuesday, 13 September, A.D. 903.

Southern V. 960 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 3 August, A.D. 904.

amānta : Sunday, 2 September, A.D. 904; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

⁴ In all cases like the above, the day put down for the first month, amānta, is of course also the day for the second month, pūrṇimānta.

111. — V. 1011. — Professor Bendall's *Journey*, p. 82. Stone inscription at Ambêr in Rājputāna: —

Saṁvat 1011 Bhādrapadē(da)-vadi 11 Su(su)kra-dina . . .

Northern V. 1011 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 8 August, A.D. 953.

amānta: Tuesday, 6 September, A.D. 953.

Northern V. 1011 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 28 July, A.D. 954; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Sunday, 27 August, A.D. 954.

Southern V. 1011 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 16 August, A.D. 955; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: the 11th *tithi* of the dark half began 2 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 14 September, and ended 0 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 15 September, A.D. 955.

112. — V. 1084. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 35. Copper-plate inscription of the *Mahārājā-dhīrāja* Trilōchanapādēva: —

(L. 8). . . . adya puṇyē=hani dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrāntau . . .

(L. 16). . . . Saṁ 1084 Srāvaṇa-vadi 4.

Northern V. 1084 current, —

pūrṇimānta: 6 July, A.D. 1026.

amānta: 5 August, A.D. 1026.

Dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti: 25 June, A.D. 1026.

Northern V. 1084 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: the 4th *tithi* of the dark half began 0 h. 55 m. before mean sunrise of 25 June and ended 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of 26 June, A.D. 1027; and the Dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti took place on 25 June, 16 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: 25 July, A.D. 1027.

In southern V. 1084 expired Srāvaṇa was intercalary; for the solar Srāvaṇa lasted from 24 June, 22 h. 44 m., to 26 July, 10 h. 1 m., A.D. 1028, and there were new-moons on 25 June, 6 h. 51 m., and 24 July, 15 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise. The 4th of the dark half of the first Srāvaṇa was, —

pūrṇimānta: 14 June, A.D. 1028;

amānta: 13 July, A.D. 1028; and of the second Srāvaṇa, —

amānta: 12 August, A.D. 1028.

Dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti: 24 June, A.D. 1028.

113. — V. 1194. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 36, and Plate x. E.; and a rubbing supplied by Dr. Burgess. Inscription in cell near Nilakaṇṭha temple at Kālañjar: —

(L. 7). . . . Saṁvat 1194 Chaitra-vadi 5 Gurau.

Northern V. 1194 current, —

amānta: Tuesday, 24 March, A.D. 1136.

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 12 February, A.D. 1137; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

In northern V. 1194 expired Chaitra was intercalary; for the solar Chaitra lasted from 21 February, 20 h. 58 m., to 24 March, 5 h. 6 m., A.D. 1137, and there were new-moons on 21 February, 21 h. 20 m., and 23 March, 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise. The 5th of the dark half of the first Chaitra was, —

amānta: Sunday, 14 March, A.D. 1137; and of the second Chaitra, —

amānta: Monday, 12 April, A.D. 1137.

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 3 March, A.D. 1138; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1194 expired, —

amānta: Saturday, 2 April, A.D. 1138.

(Sir A. Cunningham, *loc. cit.* p. 36, has read the name of the week-day *Budhau*; but the rubbing has distinctly *Gurau*).

114. — V. 1270. — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. pp. 32 and 33. Bhūpāl copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Arjunavarmadēva: —

. . . śrī-Bhṛigukacchha-samāvāsitaṛ=asmābhiḥ saptaty-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁvatsarē Vaiśākha-vadi amāvāsyaṁ sūryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi . . .

. . . . saṁvat 1270 Vaiśākha-vadi 15 Sōmē.

Northern V. 1270 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 3 April, A.D. 1212; no eclipse.

amānta: Wednesday, 2 May, A.D. 1212; a total solar eclipse, not visible in India.

Northern V. 1270 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 22 April, A.D. 1213; a total solar eclipse, visible in India, 11 h. 48 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 10 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Tuesday, 21 May, A.D. 1213; no eclipse.

Southern V. 1270 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 11 April, A.D. 1214; a solar eclipse, not visible in India.

amānta: Sunday, 11 May, A.D. 1214; no eclipse.

115. — V. 1306. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 81. Date of a MS. of Rāmachandra's *Nirbhayabhīna-vyāyoga*, of the reign of Udayasimhadēva: —

Saṁvat 1306 varshē Bhādravā-vadi 6 Bavāv=ady=ēha śrī-mahārājakula-śrī-Udaya-simhadēva-kalyāṇavijayarājyē.

Northern V. 1306 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 12 August, A.D. 1248.

amānta: Thursday, 10 September, A.D. 1248.

Northern V. 1306 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 1 August, A.D. 1249; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Tuesday, 31 August, A.D. 1249.

Southern V. 1306 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 21 July, A.D. 1250.

amānta: Saturday, 20 August, A.D. 1250; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.

116. — V. 1390. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 143, and Plate xxix. A. Inscription on pillar at 'Kevati-Kund': —

(L. 4).—Saṁvat 1390 samayē Bhādra[myai?]-vadi 4 Sa(sa)nau dinē.

Northern V. 1390 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 10 August, A.D. 1332.

amānta: Wednesday, 9 September, A.D. 1332.

Northern V. 1390 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 31 July, A.D. 1333; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Sunday, 29 August, A.D. 1333.

Southern V. 1390 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 20 July, A.D. 1334.

amānta: Friday, 19 August, A.D. 1334; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

* This would also be the proper equivalent for a pūrṇimānta Chaitra of Southern V. 1194 expired.

117. — V. 1581. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. V. p. 144, and Plate xli. H. Inscription on pillar at Delhi: —

(L. 1). . . . Sa[m*]vat 1581 va° Chaitra-vadi 13 Bhauma-dinē.

Northern V. 1581 current, —

amānta: Monday, 13 April, A.D. 1523.

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 3 March, A.D. 1524.

Northern V. 1581 expired, —

amānta: Friday, 1 April, A.D. 1524.

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 21 March, A.D. 1525; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1581 expired, —

amānta: Thursday, 20 April, A.D. 1525.

118. — V. 1652. — Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Second Report* (1882-83), p. 229. Date of the composition of Dēvavijayagani's *Dāma-charitra*, of the reign of the emperor Akbar: —

Samvat 1652 varshē Āsvina-masē kṛishṇa-pakshē daśamyām tithau Guru-Pushya-yōgē śrīman-Marusthalyām jyēshṭha-sthityām sthitēna pam° śrī-Dēvavijayēna śrī-Mālapura-nagarē śrīmad-Akabbara-rājyē virachitam śrī-Rāmāyaṇam.

Northern V. 1652 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 30 August, A.D. 1594.

amānta: Sunday, 29 September, A.D. 1594.

Northern V. 1652 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 18 September, A.D. 1595; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya up to 19 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Saturday, 18 October, A.D. 1595.

Southern V. 1652 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 7 September, A.D. 1596.

amānta: Wednesday, 6 October, A.D. 1596; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise; *nakshatra* Āślēshā.

119. — V. 1717. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet (Compare *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 136). Stone inscription at Chambā: —

(L. 1). . . . Śrīman-nripati-Vikramāditya-saṁvatsarē 1717 śrī-Salivāhana-sakē 1582 śrī-Sastra-saṁvatsarē 36 Vaiśāha(kha)-vadi trayōdaśyām Vu(bu)dha-vāsarē | Mēshē-rka-saṁkr[ā]ntau . . .

Northern V. 1717 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 9 April, A.D. 1659.

amānta: Sunday, 8 May, A.D. 1659.

Mēsha-saṁkrānti: Tuesday, 29 March, A.D. 1659.

Northern V. 1717 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 28 March, A.D. 1660; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 37 m., and the Mēsha-saṁkrānti took place 13 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Friday, 27 April, A.D. 1660.

Southern V. 1717 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 16 April, A.D. 1661.

amānta: Thursday, 16 May, A.D. 1661.

Mēsha-saṁkrānti: Thursday, 28 March, A.D. 1661.

120. — V. 1874. — *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 193. Nepāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurāsundarī: — Tasminn-ēva śakē (i. e. vēda-sapta-gaj-ēndu-mitē 1874 Vaikramē śakē) Bhādra-kṛishṇa-navamāyām Suklā.

* This would also be the proper equivalent for a pūrṇimānta Chaitra of Southern V. 1581 expired.

† A.D. 1656—1665.

Northern V. 1874 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 17 August, new style, A.D. 1816.

amānta: Monday, 16 September, new style, A.D. 1816.

Northern V. 1874 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 5 September, new style, A.D. 1817; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Saturday, 4 October, new style, A.D. 1817.

Southern V. 1874 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 25 August, new style, A.D. 1818.

amānta: Thursday, 24 September, new style, A.D. 1818; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

121. — V. 1877. — *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 194. Nepāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurāsundarī: — Pātāla-lōka-vasu-vasumatī-śakē Jyēshṭha(shṭha)-kṛishṇa-daśamyām Bavau.

Northern V. 1877 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 19 May, new style, A.D. 1819.

amānta: Thursday, 17 June, new style, A.D. 1819.

In northern V. 1877 expired Jyāishṭha was intercalary; for the solar Jyāishṭha lasted from 11 May, 20 h. 51 m., to 12 June, 6 h. 32 m., new style, A.D. 1820, and there were new-moons on 12 May, 8 h., and 10 June, 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. The 10th of the dark half of the first Jyāishṭha was, —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 7 May, new style, A.D. 1820, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise;

amānta: Tuesday, 6 June, new style, A.D. 1820; and of the second Jyāishṭha, —

amānta: Wednesday, 5 July, new style, A.D. 1820.

Southern V. 1877 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 26 May, new style, A.D. 1821.

amānta: Monday, 25 June, new style, A.D. 1821; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

122. — V. 1261. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 45. Date of a MS. of Mānatungasūri's *Siddhajayanti-charitra*,⁹ of the reign of the Chaulukya Bhimadēva II.: —

Svasti śrī-Vikrama-narēndra-saṁvat 1261 varshē Āsvina-vadi 7 Bavau Pushya-nakshatrē Subha-yōgē śrīmad-Anahilapātakē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Bhimadēva-kalyāṇavijaya-rājyē pravarttamānē . . .

Northern V. 1261 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 30 August, A.D. 1203; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Monday, 29 September, A.D. 1203; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1261 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 17 September, A.D. 1204.

amānta: Sunday, 17 October, A.D. 1204; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 57 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya up to 11 h. 50 m., and the yōga Subha up to 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1261 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 7 September, A.D. 1205.

amānta: Thursday, 6 October, A.D. 1205.

⁹ See below, No. 136.

123. — V. 1350. — Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Third Report* (1883-84), p. 326. Date of the composition of Jayanta's *Kavyaprakāśa-dīpikā*, of the reign of the Vāghēla Śāraṅgadhva : —

Śrīḥ samvat 1350 varshē Jyēshṭha-vadi 3 Ravau | ady-ēha Āsāpalli-samāvāita-śrīmad-vijayakāśakē sakal-ārātībhūpāla-maulimukūṭ-ālamkāra-bhūshita - pādapaṃkaja - mahārājādhīrāja-śrī-Śāraṅgadhva-kalyāṇavijayarājyē . . .

Northern V. 1350 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 6 May, A.D. 1292.

amānta : Wednesday, 4 June, A.D. 1292.

Northern V. 1350 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 25 April, A.D. 1293; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h.

19 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 24 May, A.D. 1293; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

In southern V. 1350 expired Jyāishṭha was intercalary; for the solar Jyāishṭha lasted from 25 April, 18 h. 28 m., to 27 May, 3 h. 59 m., A.D. 1294, and there were new-moons on 27 April, 1 h. 17 m., and on 26 May, 13 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise. The 3rd of the dark half of the first Jyāishṭha was —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 14 April, A. D. 1294;

amānta : Thursday, 13 May, A.D. 1294; and of the second Jyāishṭha, —

amānta : Saturday, 12 June, A.D. 1294, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

124. — V. 1553. — *List of Antiquarian Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 266. Stone inscription at Borsad stepwell, Khēḍā (Kaira) :—

(L. 1) . . . Samvat 1553 varshē Śrāvāṇa-vadi 13 Ravau ady-ēha śrī-Stambhatīrtha-vāstavya . . .

Northern V. 1553 current, —

pūrṇimānta : the 13th *tithi* of the dark half lasted from 2 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 19 July, to sunrise of Monday, 20 July, A.D. 1495.

amānta : Tuesday, 18 August, A.D. 1495.

Northern V. 1553 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 8 July, A.D. 1496.

amānta : Sunday, 7 August, A.D. 1496; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

In southern V. 1553 expired Śrāvāṇa was intercalary; for the solar Śrāvāṇa lasted from 29 June, 4 h. 54 m., to 30 July, 16 h. 11 m., A.D. 1497, and there were new-moons on 30 June, 5 h. 12 m., and on 29 July, 13 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise. The 13th of the dark half of the first Śrāvāṇa was, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 28 June, A.D. 1497;

amānta : Thursday, 27 July, A.D. 1497; and of the second Śrāvāṇa, —

amānta : Saturday, 26 August, A.D. 1497, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

(c). — Dates in Southern Expired Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

125. — V. 1192. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII., Part i., p. 322; and *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 35, and Plate x., D. Rock inscription at Kālāñjar : —

(L. 4) . . . Samvat 1192 Jyēshṭha-vadi 9 Ravau.

In northern V. 1192 current Jyāishṭha was intercalary; for the solar Jyāishṭha lasted from 24 April, 8 h. 41 m., to 25 May, 18 h. 22 m., A.D. 1134, and there were new-moons on 26 April, 1 h. 59 m., and on 25 May, 12 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. The 9th of the dark half of the first Jyāishṭha was, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 19 April, A.D. 1134;

amānta : Saturday, 19 May, A.D. 1134, when the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Jyāishṭha, —

amānta : Monday, 18 June, A.D. 1134, when the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise, —

Northern V. 1192 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 8 May, A.D. 1135.

amānta : Friday, 7 June, A.D. 1135.

Southern V. 1192 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 26 April, A.D. 1136; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 26 May, A.D. 1136.

126. — V. 1225. — From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Phulwariya (?) stone inscription of the Jāpiliya *Nāyaka* Pratāpadhavala :⁹ —

(L. 3). — Samvat 1225 Vaisā(śā)kha-vadi 12 Gursu Jāpiliya-nāyaka-śrī-Pratāpadhavalasya kī[r]jtir = iyam ||

Northern V. 1225 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 18 April, A.D. 1167.

amānta : Wednesday, 17 May, A.D. 1167; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1225 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 7 April, A.D. 1168.

amānta : Monday, 6 May, A.D. 1168.

Southern V. 1225 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 27 March, A.D. 1169; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 25 April, A.D. 1169; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

127. — V. 1240. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 72, and Plate xxii.; and a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Stone inscription from wall of Fort at Mahōba : —

(L. 15) . . . Vyōm-ārṇav-ārka-saṃkhyātē Sahasāṃkasya vatsarē . . .

(L. 17) . . . Samvat 1240 Āshāḍha-vadi 9 Sō[m]ē.

Northern V. 1240 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 28 May, A.D. 1182.

amānta : Saturday, 26 June, A.D. 1182.

Northern V. 1240 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 15 June, A.D. 1183.

amānta : Friday, 15 July, A.D. 1183.

Southern V. 1240 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 4 June, A.D. 1184; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. after mean sunrise.

amānta : the 9th *tithi* of the dark half began 1 h. 38 m. and ended 23 h. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 3 July, A.D. 1184.

128. — V. 1318. — From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Stone inscription from the walls of the Fort of Jhānsī : —

(L. 19). . . . Samvat 1318 Śrāvāṇa-vadi 2 Vu(bu)dha-dinē.

Northern V. 1318 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 26 June, A.D. 1260.

amānta : Sunday, 25 July, A.D. 1260.

⁹ See below, No. 143.

Northern V. 1318 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 16 June, A.D. 1261 ; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 15 July, A.D. 1261.

Southern V. 1318 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 5 July, A.D. 1262 ; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 3 August, A.D. 1262 ; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.

129. — V. 1320. — *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 242, and Vol. XVI. p. 147. Verāval stone inscription of the reign of the Vāghēla Arjunadēva : —

(L. 2). . . . Sri-Viśvanātha-pratīva (ba)ddha-tau(nau)janānām vō(bō)dhakara-sēla-Mahamā-mada-saṁvat 662 tathā śri-nripa-[V]ikrama-saṁ 1320 tathā śrimad-Valabhi-saṁ 945 tathā śri-Siṁha-saṁ 151 varshē Āshāḍha-vadi 13 Bavāv=ady=ēha śrimat(d). Arjunadēva-pravarddhamāna-kalyāṇavijayarājyē iha śri-Sōmanāthadēvapattanē . . .

Northern V. 1320 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Friday, 16 June, A.D. 1262.
amānta : Saturday, 15 July, A.D. 1262 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1320 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 5 June, A.D. 1263.
amānta : Wednesday, 4 July, A.D. 1263.

In southern V. 1320 expired Āshāḍha was intercalary ; for the solar Āshāḍha lasted from 26 May, 9 h. 41 m., to 27 June, 0 h. 20 m., A.D. 1264, and there were new-moons on 27 May, 1 h. 34 m., and on 25 June, 9 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise. The 13th of the dark half of the first Āshāḍha was, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 25 May, A.D. 1264, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise ;
amānta : Monday, 23 June, A.D. 1264, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise ; and of the second Āshāḍha, —
amānta : Tuesday, 22 July, A.D. 1264.

130. — V. 1490. — Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 351. Date of a MS. of Halāyudha's *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, of the reign of the Sultān Ahamada¹⁰ : —

Saṁvat 1490 varshē Vī(vai)śakha-vadi 9 navamyām tithaṁ Sa(sa)ni-dinē | ady=ēha śri-Vaṣapadra-maṁḍala-karaṇē | suratrāpa-śri-Ahamada-vijayarājyē | malika-śri-Mahamada-Ēdala-pratipattan ||

Northern V. 1490 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 26 March, A.D. 1432.
amānta : Thursday, 24 April, A.D. 1432.

Northern V. 1490 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 14 April, A.D. 1433.
amānta : Wednesday, 13 May, A.D. 1433.

Southern V. 1490 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 3 April, A.D. 1434 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Monday, 3 May, A.D. 1434.

131. — V. 1503. — Professor Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS.*, p. 70. Date of a MS. of the *Kālachakra-tantra* : —

Paramabhaṭṭarak-ētyadi-rājāvali pūrvavat śrimad-Vikramādityadēvapādānām=

¹⁰ Sultān Ahmad, A.D. 1410 — 1442 ; Bayley, *History of Gujardt*, Index.

atīta-rājyē saṁ 1503 Bhādra-vadi 13 Budhē . . . likhit-ēyam Magadhādēśīya-Kajhāragrāma-sā(sā)saṁika-karanakāyastha-śri-Jayarāmadattēn=ēti | Kērakī-grām-āvasthitēna ||

Northern V. 1503 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 1 August, A.D. 1445.
amānta : Tuesday, 31 August, A.D. 1445 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1503 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 20 August, A.D. 1446.
amānta : Monday, 19 September, A.D. 1446.

Southern V. 1503 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 9 August, A.D. 1447 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Friday, 8 September, A.D. 1447.

132. — V. 1538. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 217. Date of a MS. of an *Ākhyā-tāvacārī* on the *Haima-vyākaraṇa* : —
Saṁvat 1538 varshē Śrāvāna-vadi 1 Sōmē Sāraṅgapura-nagarē likhitam.

Northern V. 1538 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Friday, 23 June, A.D. 1480.
amānta : Saturday, 22 July, A.D. 1480.

Northern V. 1538 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 12 July, A.D. 1481.
amānta : Friday, 10 August, A.D. 1481.

Southern V. 1538 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : Monday, 1 July, A.D. 1482 ; the first *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta : Wednesday, 31 July, A.D. 1482.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

133. — V. 994. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 176. Stone inscription from Sfyāḍṇī : —
(L. 26). . . . Saṁvat 994 Vaisā(sā)kha-vadi 5 sa[m*]krāntau.

Northern V. 994 current, —
pūrṇimānta : 16 March, A.D. 936.
amānta : 14 April, A.D. 936.
Mēsha-saṁkrānti on 22 March, and Vṛisha-saṁkrānti on 22 April, A.D. 936.

Northern V. 994 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : 4 April, A.D. 937.
amānta : 3 May, A.D. 937.
Mēsha-saṁkrānti on 22 March, and Vṛisha-saṁkrānti on 22 April, A.D. 937.

Southern V. 994 expired, —
pūrṇimānta : 24 March, A.D. 938 ; Mēsha-saṁkrānti on 22 March, A.D. 938.
amānta : 22 April, A.D. 938 ; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise ; and the Vṛisha-saṁkrānti took place on the same day, 15 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

134. — V. 1100. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. VI. p. 52, and Plate vi. ; Vol. XX, Plate x. *Ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 10, and a photo-lithograph supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Byānā stone inscription of the prince Vijayādhirāja : —

(L. 6). . . . Nāsaṁ yātu śataṁ sahasra-sahitaṁ saṁvatcaraṇām drutaṁ | mā[yāf]-Bhādrapadaḥ sa bhādra-padavīm māśaḥ samārōhatu | s=āy=aiva kshayam=ētu Sōmā-sa[hi]tā kṛishṇā dvitīyā tithiḥ . . .

(L. 17). . . . Saṁ 1100 Bhādra-vadi 2 Chamdrō kalyāṇa-di[nē].
Northern V. 1100 current, —
pūrṇimānta : Friday, 6 August, A.D. 1042.

amānta : Saturday, 4 September, A.D. 1042.

Northern V. 1100 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 26 July, A.D. 1043; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 25 August, A.D. 1043.

In southern V. 1100 expired Bhādrapada was intercalary; for the solar Bhādrapada lasted from 26 July, 13 h. 23 m., to 26 August, 14 h. 15 m., A.D. 1044, and there were new-moons on 27 July, 4 h. 58 m., and on 25 August, 14 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise. The 2nd of the dark half of the first Bhādrapada was, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 15 July, A.D. 1044, when the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise;

amānta : Monday, 13 August, A.D. 1044, when the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Bhādrapada, —

amānta : Wednesday, 12 September, A.D. 1044.

(The date accordingly belongs to the *adhika* Bhādrapada, and this I understand to be indicated by my conjectural reading *mūyā-Bhādrapadaḥ* 'the false Bhādrapada').

135. — V. 1225. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XI. p. 125, and Plate xxxvii., 2. Pillar inscription at Jaunpur, of the reign of Vijayachandradēva of Kanauj (?): —

(Line 1). — Samvat 1225 Chaitra-vadi 5 **Vu(bu)dhē**.

Northern V. 1225 current, —

amānta : Tuesday, 11 April, A.D. 1167; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 29 February, A.D. 1168; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 23 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1225 expired, —

amānta : Saturday, 30 March, A.D. 1168.

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 18 February, A.D. 1169; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1225 expired, —

amānta : Wednesday, 19 March, A.D. 1169; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

136. — V. 1260. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 42. Date of the composition of Malayaprabhasūri's commentary on Mānatūgasāri's *Sūdhajayanti-charitra*: —

Dvādaśa-varsha-śatēshu **sri-Vikramatō** gatēshu shashṭitamē |
varshē Jyēshṭhē māsē **Śravaṇē** bhē kṛishṇa-pañchamyām ||
Jivādi-vishaya-samāsaya-tamō-pahār-aikatarani-ruchi-ruchirē |
yōgē ch-**Aimdrē** siddhāv-iyām Jayamti-kathā rachitā ||

Northern V. 1260 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 13 May, A.D. 1202.

amānta : Wednesday, 12 June, A.D. 1202.

Northern V. 1260 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 3 May, A.D. 1203.

amānta : Sunday, 1 June, A.D. 1203.

Southern V. 1260 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 21 April, A.D. 1204.

amānta : Thursday, 20 May, A.D. 1204; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 50 m., and the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa up to 17 h. 4 m., and the *yōga* Indra up to 14 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

(I believe that the day of Guru or Brihaspati, i. e. Thursday, is indicated by the first half of the second verse of the date).

137. — V. 1298. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 118. Date of a MS. of Hémachandra's *Saddānuśāsana*: —

Samvat 1298 varshē **dvitīya-Bhādrapada**-vadi 7 Gurau . . . Vijāpurē.

Bhādrapada was intercalary in southern V. 1298 expired; for in that year the solar Bhādrapada lasted from 28 July, 19 h., to 28 August, 19 h. 52 m., A.D. 1242, and there were new-moons on 29 July, 6 h. 37 m., and on 27 August, 18 h. after mean sunrise. The 7th of the dark half of the first Bhādrapada was, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 20 July, A.D. 1242;

amānta : Tuesday, 19 August, A.D. 1242; and of the second Bhādrapada, —

amānta : Thursday, 18 September, A. D. 1242, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

138. — V. 1317. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 210. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Visaladēva: —

(L. 1). . . Śrīmad-Vikrama-kal-ātita-saptadśādika-trayōdśasatika-samvatsarē laukika-Jyēshṭha(śhṭha)-māsasya kṛishṇapaksha-chaturthyām tithau Gurāv-ady-ēha śrīmad-Anahil-lapātakē . . . -mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Visaladēva-kalyāṇavijayi(ya)rājyē. . .

Northern V. 1317 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 12 May, A. D. 1259.

amānta : Tuesday, 10 June, A.D. 1259.

Northern V. 1317 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 30 April, A.D. 1260; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 30 May, A.D. 1260.

Southern V. 1317 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 20 April, A.D. 1261.

amānta : Thursday, 19 May, A.D. 1261; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

139. — V. 1327. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 38. Date of a MS. of the *Sugadhūga-vṛitti*: —

Samvat 1327 varshē Bhādrapada-vadi 2 **Ēavāv**-ady-ēha Vijāpurē.

Northern V. 1327 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 16 July, A.D. 1269.

amānta : Thursday, 15 August, A. D. 1269.

Northern V. 1327 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 4 August, A.D. 1270; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 3 September, A.D. 1270.

Southern V. 1327 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 25 July, A.D. 1271.

amānta : Sunday, 23 August, A.D. 1271; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

140. — V. 1485. — Date of a Deccan College MS. of Jinadēvasūri's *Kriyākalāpa*: —

Sam 1485 varshē Vaiśākha-vadi 9 **Budhē**.

In northern V. 1485 current Vaiśākha was intercalary; for the solar Vaiśākha lasted from 27 March, 6 h. 3 m., to 27 April, 4 h. 16 m., A.D. 1427, and there were new-moons on 28 March, 4 h. 1 m., and on 26 April, 18 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. The 9th of the dark half of the first Vaiśākha was, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 21 March, A.D. 1427;

amānta : Sunday, 20 April, A.D. 1427; and of the second Vaiśākha, —

amānta : Tuesday, 20 May, A.D. 1427.

- Northern V. 1485 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 8 April, A.D. 1428; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Saturday, 8 May, A.D. 1428.
- Southern V. 1485 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 29 March, A.D. 1429.
 amānta : Wednesday, 27 April, A.D. 1429; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.
141. — V. 1510. — Date of a Deccan College MS. of an *Avachārikā* on Hēmachandra's *Sabdānuśāsana-vṛttī*: —
 Saṃvat 1510 varshē Bhādravā-vadi 14 Saṇau.
 Northern V. 1510 current, —
 pūrṇimānta : Monday, 14 August, A.D. 1452.
 amānta : Tuesday, 12 September, A.D. 1452.
- Northern V. 1510 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : the 14th *tithi* of the dark half began 1 h. 25 m. and ended 23 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 3 August, A.D. 1453.
 amānta : Sunday, 2 September, A.D. 1453.
- Southern V. 1510 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 22 August, A.D. 1454.
 amānta : Saturday, 21 September, A.D. 1454; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.
142. — V. 1526. — Date of Deccan College MS. of Mōkshēśvara's *Kṛidvṛttī*: —
 Saṃ 1526 varshē Jyēshṭha-vadi 11 Saṇi-vārē.
 Northern V. 1526 current, —
 pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 18 May, A.D. 1468.
 amānta : Thursday, 16 June, A.D. 1468.
- Northern V. 1526 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 7 May, A.D. 1469; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Tuesday, 6 June, A.D. 1469.
- Southern V. 1526 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Friday, 27 April, A.D. 1470.
 amānta : Saturday, 26 May, A.D. 1470; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.
- (d). — Dates which may be either amānta dates of northern current years or pūrṇimānta dates of southern expired years.
143. — V. 1225. — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 548. Inscription of the *Mahānāyaka* Pratāpadhavaladēva,¹¹ upon a rock denominating Tārāchāndī, in the vicinity of Saḥasrām in South Bihār: —
 Saṃvat 1225 Jyēshṭha-vadi 3 Budhē Jāpīl-ādhipati-mahānāyaka-śrī-Pratāpadhavaladēva
- Northern V. 1225 current, —
 pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 9 May, A.D. 1167.
 amānta : Wednesday, 7 June, A.D. 1167; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.
- Northern V. 1225 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 27 April, A.D. 1168.
 amānta : Sunday, 26 May, A.D. 1168.

¹¹ Compare No. 126, above.

- Southern V. 1225 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 16 April, A.D. 1169; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Thursday, 15 May, A.D. 1169; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.
 (Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 295, gives the date — “Saṃvat 1229, Jyēshṭha bedi 3d, Wednesday.” If this were correct, the corresponding date, for southern V. 1229 expired, pūrṇimānta, would be Wednesday, 2 May, A.D. 1173, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise).
144. — V. 1390. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 343, and Plate ix. 1. Stone inscription from the Fort of Chunar near Benares: —
 (L. 10) . . . Saṃva[t*] 1390 Bhādra-vadi 5 Gurau.
 Northern V. 1390 current, —
 pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 11 August, A.D. 1332.
 amānta : Thursday, 10 September, A.D. 1332; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.
- Northern V. 1390 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 1 August, A.D. 1333.
 amānta : Monday, 30 August, A.D. 1333.
- Southern V. 1390 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 21 July, A.D. 1334; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Saturday, 20 August, A.D. 1334.
 (Prinsep, *loc. cit.* p. 342, gives Thursday, the 5th August, A.D. 1333, as the corresponding date).
- (e). — A date which may be either an amānta date of a northern current year or a pūrṇimānta date of a northern expired or southern expired year.
145. — V. 1315. — My *Report* for 1880-81, p. 46. Date of a MS. of Hēmachandra's *Sabdānuśāsana-laghuvṛttī*: —
 Saṃvat 1315 varshē Chaitra-vadi chaturthī-dinē Vu(bu)dha-vārē | Stambhatīrthē |
 Northern V. 1315 current, —
 amānta : Wednesday, 4 April, A.D. 1257; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.
 pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 23 February, A.D. 1258.
- Northern V. 1315 expired, —
 amānta : Sunday, 24 March, A.D. 1258.
 pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 12 February, A.D. 1259; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 22 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.
- In southern V. 1315 expired Chaitra was intercalary; for the solar Chaitra lasted from 23 February, 10 h. 36 m., to 25 March, 18 h. 44 m., A.D. 1259, and there were new-moons on 23 February, 17 h. 29 m., and on 25 March, 11 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise. The 4th of the dark half of the first Chaitra was, —
 pūrṇimānta : as before, Wednesday, 12 February, A.D. 1259;
 amānta : Friday, 14 March, A.D. 1259; and of the second Chaitra, —
 amānta : Saturday, 12 April, A.D. 1259.
- (f). — Dates which may be either pūrṇimānta dates of northern expired years or amānta dates of southern expired years.¹²
146. — V. 1332. — My *Report* for 1880-81, p. 4. Date of a MS. of the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*: —
 Saṃvat 1332 varshē Vaiśākha-vadi 3 Saṇau.

¹² As regards the date No. 149, this is not quite correct, or it is correct only so far as the week-day is concerned, for in reality that date must be regarded as an amānta date of a southern expired year.

- Northern V. 1332 current, —
 pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 27 March, A.D. 1274.
 amānta : Wednesday, 25 April, A.D. 1274.
- Northern V. 1332 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 16 March, A.D. 1275 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Sunday, 14 April, A.D. 1275.
- Southern V. 1332 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Friday, 3 April, A.D. 1276.
 amānta : Saturday, 2 May, A.D. 1276 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.
147. — V. 1337. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part i. p. 110, and Plate x.; and a rough rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. 'Pālam Bāoli' stone inscription from the village of 'Boher' in the Rohtak District, of the time of the Hammira Gayāsādīna¹³ : —
 (Line 21). — ~~Samvatsarē amin=~~ Vaikramādityē saṃvat 1337 Śrāvāṇa-vadi 13 Vu(bu)dhē.
- Northern V. 1337 current, —
 pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 8 July, A.D. 1279.
 amānta : Sunday, 6 August, A.D. 1279.
- Northern V. 1337 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 26 June, A.D. 1280 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Thursday, 25 July, A.D. 1280.
- Southern V. 1337 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 15 July, A.D. 1281.
 amānta : Wednesday, 13 August, A.D. 1281 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.
 (The published version of the inscription wrongly gives 'saṃvat 1333').
148. — V. 1437. — *List of Archæol. Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 181. Stone inscription at Dhāmlej, Junagadh, Kāthiāwāḍ : —
 Saṃvat 1437 varshē Āshāḍha-vadi 6 Sanau.
- Northern V. 1437 current, —
 pūrṇimānta : Monday, 6 June, A.D. 1379.
 amānta : Wednesday, 6 July, A.D. 1379.
- Northern V. 1437 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 26 May, A.D. 1380 ; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Sunday, 24 June, A.D. 1380.
- Southern V. 1437 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 13 June, A.D. 1381.
 amānta : Saturday, 13 July, A.D. 1381 ; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.
149. — V. 1464. — Date of my MS. of the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti* : —
 Saṃvat 1464 varshē Āshāḍha-vadi tṛitīyāyām tithau Manmatha-saṃvatsarē Budhē.
- Northern V. 1464 current, —
 pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 5 June, A.D. 1406.
 amānta : Sunday, 4 July, A.D. 1406.
- Northern V. 1464 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 25 May, A.D. 1407 ; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

¹³ Gīyās ud dīn Balban, A.D. 1286—1286.

- amānta : Thursday, 23 June, A.D. 1407.
- Southern V. 1464 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Monday, 11 June, A.D. 1408.
 amānta : Wednesday, 11 July, A.D. 1408, the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.
- The year Manmatha, No. 29, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 19 May, A.D. 1408, to 15 May, A.D. 1409, and with *bija*, from 24 June, A.D. 1408, to 20 June, A.D. 1409 ; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 29 April, A.D. 1408, to 25 April, A.D. 1409. Accordingly, Manmatha was actually current on the 11 July, A.D. 1408, but it had not begun yet at the commencement of the solar year (26 March, A.D. 1408) ; and the 11 July, A.D. 1408, is the true equivalent of the date. By the Tēlinga rule, the 11 July, A.D. 1408, would fall in the year Sarvadhāra, No. 22.
150. — V. 1570. — Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 351. Date of a MS. of Amarasimha's *Nāmalīṅgānuśāsana* : —
 Saṃvat 1570 varshē Jyēṣṭha(shṭha)-vadi 7 Budhē 1 ady=ēha Stambhatirtha-vāstavya . . .
- Northern V. 1570 current, —
 pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 8 May, A.D. 1512.
 amānta : Sunday, 6 June, A.D. 1512.
- Northern V. 1570 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 27 April, A.D. 1513 ; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Friday, 27 May, A.D. 1513.
- Southern V. 1570 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 16 May, A.D. 1514.
 amānta : Wednesday, 14 June, A.D. 1514 ; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

(To be continued.)

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 187.)

2. — IRREGULAR DATES.

(a). — Dates which, though irregular by the Tables,¹ are shewn to be regular, when calculated by one or other of the Siddhāntas.²151. — V. 1207. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 97, and Plate xxxii. 12. Inscription on pedestal of boar at Chāndpur : —

(Line 1). — Sa[m*]vat 1207 Jyēshtha-vadi 11 Bavau u

Northern V. 1207 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 5 May, A. D. 1149.

amānta : Friday, 3 June, A. D. 1149.

Northern V. 1207 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 25 April, A. D. 1150.

amānta : Wednesday, 24 May, A. D. 1150.

Southern V. 1207 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : By the Tables the 11th *tithi* of the dark half commenced 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 13 May, and ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 14 May, A. D. 1151. But by the *Brahma-siddhānta* the *tithi* commenced 0 h. 11 m. before mean sunrise of the Sunday, and ended 0 h. 10 m. before mean sunrise of the Monday, and accordingly, by that Siddhānta, the corresponding day is Sunday, 13 May, A. D. 1151.

amānta : Tuesday, 12 June, A. D. 1151.

152. — V. 1258. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII. Part I. p. 315; and *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 37. Kālañjar stone inscription of the Chandēlla Paramardidēva : —

Saṃvat 1258 Kārttika-sudi 10 Sōmē.

V. 1258 current : Thursday, 19 October, A. D. 1200.

V. 1258 expired : By the Tables the 10th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 33 m. and ended 23 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 8 October, A. D. 1201, which would make the Monday the 9th of the bright half, and the 10th *tithi* a *kshaya-tithi*. But by the *Brahma-siddhānta* the 10th *tithi* commenced 1 h. 12 m. before mean sunrise of the Monday, and accordingly, by that Siddhānta, Monday, 8 October, A. D. 1201, was really the 10th of the bright half.(In the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* the year of the date is wrongly given as 1298; and in *Archæol. Surv. of India*, *loc. cit.* p. 38, the corresponding date is stated to be, evidently by a misprint, Monday, the 28th October, A. D. 1201.)153. — V. 1365. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 231. Date of the composition of Jinaprabha's *Ajitaśāntistava-vṛtti* :³ —

Saṃvad-Vikrama-bhūpatēh śi(śa)ra-ṛit-ūdarochchih-śasānśkair-mitē

Paushasy-āsita-paksha-bhāji Sāsina yuktē dvitīyā-tithau t

śrīmān(ṛi)śrī-Jinasūhasūri-sugurōh pādābja-pushpaṃdhayaḥ

puryān Dāsarathēr-Jinaprabha-gurur-jagrāmtha tīkām-imām t

¹ The Tables here spoken of are Professor Jacobi's Tables. The results for the several Siddhāntas, mentioned below, have been worked out from other, unpublished, Tables, which were placed at my disposal by Professor Jacobi.² The above heading is strictly applicable only to the dates Nos. 151—158. About the proper equivalent for the date No. 159 there can in my opinion be no doubt, and I consider the date to be really regular, but am unable to prove this by calculation.³ Compare the date No. 17, p. 26 above, which shews that in the present date the year 1365 should be the expired Vikrama year 1365.

V. 1365 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 12 December, A. D. 1307; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 10 January, A. D. 1308.

V. 1365 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 30 November, A. D. 1308.

amānta : By the Tables the second *tithi* of the dark half commenced 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 29 December, and ended 0 h. 17 m. before mean sunrise of Monday, 30 December, A. D. 1308. But by the *Arya-siddhānta*, corrected, the same *tithi* ended 0 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise of the Monday, and accordingly, by that Siddhānta, the corresponding day is Monday, 30 December, A. D. 1308.

154. — V. 1394. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Of two stone inscriptions at Udaypur in Gwālior, one is dated : —

(Line 1). — Saṃ 1394 Māha-vadi 1 Vu(bu)dhē śrī-Ūdalēśvara-dēvatā-jā(yā)trā-sa[mayē]; and the other :—

(Line 1). — Saṃ 1394 varsh[ē] Māha-vadi 1 Vu(bu)dhē Ūdalēśvara-dēvatā-jā(yā)trāyā[m].

V. 1394 current, —

pūrṇimānta : the first *tithi* of the dark half commenced 1 h. 4 m., and ended 22 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 19 December, A. D. 1336.

amānta : Saturday, 18 January, A. D. 1337.

V. 1394 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : By the Tables the first *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 8 January, A. D. 1338. But by the *Brahma-siddhānta* the same *tithi* ended 2 h. 42 m. before mean sunrise of the Thursday, and accordingly, by that Siddhānta, the corresponding day is Wednesday, 7 January, A. D. 1338.

amānta : Friday, 6 February, A. D. 1338.

155. — V. 1452. — *List of Antiquarian Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 179. Stone inscription at Māngrol in Kāthiāwād, of the time of the Pātasāhi Nasaratha : —

Saṃvat 1452 varshē Vaiśāka(kha)-vadi 15 Bavau śrī-Yōginīpurē pātasāhi-śrī-Nasaratha-vijayarājyē tanniyukt[ē*] śrī-Gurjara-dharitryām śrī-Depharkhānē rājyām kurvati iha Surāshtrāyām śrī-Maṃgalapurē . . .

Northern V. 1452 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 1 April, A. D. 1394.

amānta : Thursday, 30 April, A. D. 1394.

Northern V. 1452 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 20 April, A. D. 1395.

amānta : Wednesday, 19 May, A. D. 1395.

Southern V. 1452 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 8 April, A. D. 1396; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 26 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.amānta : By the Tables the 15th *tithi* of the dark half commenced 1 h. 17 m. and ended 23 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 7 May, A. D. 1396, which would make the Sunday the 14th of the dark half, and the 15th *tithi* a *kshaya-tithi*. But by the *Brahma-siddhānta* the 15th *tithi* commenced 0 h. 56 m. before mean sunrise of the Sunday, and accordingly, by that Siddhānta, Sunday, 7 May, A. D. 1396, was really the 15th of the dark half.156. — V. 1466. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 18, and Plate xiv.; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone inscription at Rāsin :—

(Line 1). . . Saṃvat 1466 varshē Chaitra-sudi 7 Saṃ[au] t

⁴ i. e. Nusrat Shāh (of Yōginīpura, i. e. Delhi), A. D. 1396-98. See Thomas, *The Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 318 and 319; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. VIII. p. 544.

Northern V. 1466 current: the 7th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 8 m. and ended 23 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 4 March, A. D. 1408.

Northern V. 1466 expired: By the Tables the 7th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 0 h. 34 m. and ended 23 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 23 March, A. D. 1409, which would make the Saturday the 6th of the bright half, and the 7th *tithi* a *kshaya-tithi*. But by the *Brahma-siddhanta* the same *tithi* commenced 1 h. 23 m. before mean sunrise of the Saturday, and accordingly, by that *Siddhanta*, Saturday, 23 March, A. D. 1409, was really the 7th of the bright half.

Southern V. 1466 expired: Thursday, 13 March, A. D. 1410.

157. — V. 1489. — Date of my MS. of an *Avachārṇi* on Hēmachandra's *Līṅgānubāsana-ṅṛīti*: —

Saṁvat 1489 dvitīya-Śrāvaṇa-śudi 6.

There was an intercalary month in northern V. 1489 expired. Calculated in the manner which has been followed in preceding dates (and according to the *Book of Indian Eras*), that month was *Āshāḍha*; for the solar *Āshāḍha* lasted from 27 May, 20 h. 59 m., to 28 June, 11 h. 38 m., A. D. 1432, and there were new-moons on 29 May, 15 h. 5 m., and on 27 June, 22 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise. But by the *Brahma-siddhanta* and the *Siddhanta-śirōmaṇi* (and according to Dr. Schrau's Tables) the intercalary month was *Śrāvaṇa*. For, by the *Brahma-siddhanta* there were new-moons on 27 June, A. D. 1432, 21 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise, when the true longitude of the sun was 90° 31' 40", and on 27 July, 6 h. 24 m., when the true longitude of the sun was 118° 33' 34"; and by the *Siddhanta-śirōmaṇi* there were new-moons on 27 June, 22 h. 51 m., when the true longitude of the sun was 90° 40' 8", and on 27 July, 8 h. 0 m., when the true longitude of the sun was 118° 39' 12"; or, in other words, by both the works mentioned there were two new-moons during the solar months *Śrāvaṇa*.

158. — V. 1747. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 219. Date of a MS. of *Anubhūtiavarūpa's Śarasvatī-prakriyā*: —

Saṁvat 1747 varshē prathama-Vaiśāḥa(kha)-vadi dvitīya-Chatuṛthī-dinē Budhē Saurādhā-yōgē.

Vaiśāḥa was intercalary in northern V. 1747 expired; for in that year the solar *Vaiśāḥa* lasted from 29 March, 7 h. 19 m., to 29 April, 5 h. 32 m., A. D. 1690, and there were new-moons on 30 March, 9 h. 42 m., and 28 April, 19 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise. By the Tables the results for the ending-points of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th *tithis* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* first *Vaiśāḥa* would be as follows: —

the 3rd *tithi* ended on Monday, 17 March, A. D. 1690, 23 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise;

no *tithi* ended on Tuesday, 18 March;

the 4th *tithi* ended on Wednesday, 19 March, 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise; and on this day the *nakshatra* was *Anurādhā* up to 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise;

the 5th *tithi* ended on Thursday, 20 March, 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

By the Tables, therefore, we should have a *prathama-tritīyā* (Monday) and a *dvitīya-tritīyā* (Tuesday), but only one *chatuṛthī* (Wednesday). But by the *Brahma-siddhanta* the 4th *tithi* ended 22 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 18 March; no *tithi* ended on Wednesday, 19 March; and the 5th *tithi* ended 0 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 20 March; and accordingly, by that *Siddhanta*, Wednesday, 19 March, A. D. 1690, is properly called the *dvitīya-Chatuṛthī*.

(*Anurādhā-yōgē* in the date is a mistake for *Anurādhā-nakshatrē*.)

159. — V. 1404. — (See note 2, above). — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 19, and Plate xviii.; and Sir A. Canningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone inscription at the Fort of Marpha: —

(Line 3). — Saṁvat 1404 Kārtika-sudi 14 Gurau . . .

V. 1404 current: Sunday, 29 October, A. D. 1346.

V. 1404 expired: By the Tables the 14th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise of Thursday, 18 October, A. D. 1347, and ended 0 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 19 October. I have no doubt that Thursday, 18 October, A. D. 1347, which according to the Tables was wholly occupied by the 14th *tithi*, is the proper equivalent of the date; but by the *Siddhanta*s, for which I have made the calculations, the 14th *tithi* in every case ended shortly after mean sunrise of the following day.

(b). — Dates of which the reading is, or may appear to be, doubtful.

160. — V. 1181. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 115, and Plate vii. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindachandrādēva of Kanauj: —

(Line 16) . . . samvat 1181 Bhādrapada-sudi [4 ?] Gurau ady-ēha [Vārā]ṅasyā[m] Gaṅgāyām . . .

This date has been already treated by me, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 58. I have there stated that it is doubtful whether the figure after the word *sudi* is 3 or 4; that, if it be 3, the corresponding day, for northern V. 1181 expired, is Thursday, 14 August, A. D. 1124, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise; and that, if it be 4, the corresponding day is the same, but that, in that case, the day was coupled with the (fourth) *tithi* which commenced on it.

161. — [V. 1220 ?]. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 343. Stone inscription at Udaypur in Gwālīor, of the reign of the Chalukya Kumārāpālādēva: —

(Line 1) . . . sha-sudi 15 Gurau ||

(Line 11) . . . sōmagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi . . .

I have attempted to shew, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 342, that the full date, at the commencement of line 1, was —

Saṁvat 1220 varshē Pausha-sudi 15 Gurau;

and that the corresponding day, for V. 1220 expired, is Thursday, 12 December, A. D. 1163, when there was a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India, 13 h. 23 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 12 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

162. — [V. 1227 ?]. — In *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. Plate xii. B., Sir A. Canningham has given a photo-lithograph of a stone inscription at Ajaygaḍh, the date of which, *ib.* p. 49, he transcribes thus: —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1237 Āshāḍha-sudi 2 Sōmē Jayapuradurgīya . . .

Supposing this reading to be correct, the possible equivalents of the date would be: —

Northern V. 1237 current: Friday, 8 June, A. D. 1179.

In northern V. 1237 expired *Āshāḍha* was intercalary; for, the solar *Āshāḍha* lasted from 25 May, 16 h. 2 m., to 26 June, 6 h. 41 m., A. D. 1180, and there were new-moons on 26 May, 6 h. 44 m., and on 24 June, 19 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise. The 2nd of the bright half of the first *Āshāḍha* was Wednesday, 28 May, A. D. 1180; and of the second *Āshāḍha*, Thursday, 26 June, A. D. 1180.

Southern V. 1237 expired: Tuesday, 16 June, A. D. 1181; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

None of these equivalents satisfies the requirements of the date, and the date would therefore appear to be irregular. But, in the photo-lithograph, the third figure of the year of the date, in my opinion, is much more similar to 2 than it is to 3, and taking the year of the date to be 1227, I find that *Āshāḍha-sudi* 2 of southern V. 1227 expired, corresponds to Monday, 7 June, A. D. 1171, when the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

(Sir A. Canningham, *loc. cit.* p. 50, concludes "that *Sōmē*, or Monday, was a mistake of the writer for *Saunye*, or Wednesday.")

163. — V. 1232. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III. p. 125, and Plate xxxviii. No. 18. Inscription over a statue at Gayâ, of the reign of the Pâla Gôvindapâladêva :—

(Line 3) . . . Samvat 1232 Vikâri-samvatsarê | śrî-Gôvindapâladêva-gata-râjyê chatur-dâśa-samvatsarê Gayâyâm ||

(Line 12) . . . Āśvinê śukla-pañchamâ . . . (?)

The year Vikârin, No. 33, which is here coupled with the (Vikrama) year 1232, lasted, according to the Sôrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bija*, from 10 February, A. D. 1175, to 6 February, A. D. 1176, and with *bija*, from 16 March, A. D. 1175, to 11 March, A. D. 1176; and according to the Jyôtiṣatva rule, from 25 January, A. D. 1175, to 21 January, A. D. 1176. Accordingly, Vikârin was actually current during the bright half of Āśvina of northern V. 1232 expired (17 September to 1 October, A. D. 1175), and also at the commencement of the solar year (25 March, A. D. 1175). By the Tēlinga rule the bright half of Āśvina of northern V. 1232 expired would fall in the year Manmatha, No. 29.

The 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina of northern V. 1232 expired ended on Monday, 22 September, A. D. 1175, 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. I am unable to ascertain whether Monday is the day given in the original inscription, or whether the inscription mentions any week-day at all.

164. — V. 1264. — *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 337, Dr. Hultzsch has published, with a photo-lithograph, a copper-plate inscription, of the time of the Chalukya Bhîmadêva II., the date of which he reads thus :—

(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1264 varshê lan° Āshâḍha-śudi 2 Sômê.

Supposing this reading to be correct, the possible equivalents of the date would be :—

Northern V. 1264 current : Saturday, 10 June, A. D. 1206.

Northern V. 1264 expired : Wednesday, 30 May, A. D. 1207.

Southern V. 1264 expired : Tuesday, 17 June, A. D. 1208; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, none of these equivalents would satisfy the requirements of the date, and the date might therefore seem to be irregular. Referring, however, to the photo-lithograph, I find that the numeral for the day does not look at all like 2, but is very probably 7, or perhaps 8. And calculating for the 7th and 8th *tithis*, I obtain the following results :—

For northern V. 1264 expired, Āshâḍha-śudi 7 : Monday, 4 June, A. D. 1207, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise; and—

for southern V. 1264 expired, Āshâḍha-śudi 8 : Monday, 23 June, A. D. 1208, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 8 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise.

165. — V. 1288 or 1289 ? — In *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. II. p. 173, there is an inscription from Girnâr, the date of which is given thus :—

(Line 2). — Śrî-Vikrama-samvat 1288 varshê Āśvina-vadi 15 Sômê.

The same inscription is published in *Archæol. Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 315, where the date is given thus :—

(Line 2). — Śrî-Vikrama-samvat 1289 varshê Āśvina-vadi 15 Sômê.

The possible equivalents of the date for both the Vikrama years 1288 and 1289 would be :—

Northern V. 1288 current,—

pûrṇimânta : Sunday, 8 September, A. D. 1230.

amânta : Monday, 7 October, A. D. 1230; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 22 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

In northern V. 1288 expired Āśvina was intercalary; for the solar Āśvina lasted from 28 August, 21 h. 39 m., to 28 September, 8 h. 35 m., A. D. 1231, and there were new-moons on 29 August, 1 h. 25 m., and on 27 September, 11 h. 20 m., after mean sunrise. The 15th of the dark half of the first Āśvina was,—

pûrṇimânta : Friday, 29 August, A. D. 1231;

amânta : Saturday, 27 September, A. D. 1231; and of the second Āśvina,—

amânta : Sunday, 26 October, A. D. 1231, when the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1288 expired,—

pûrṇimânta : Thursday, 16 September, A. D. 1232.

amânta : Friday, 16 October, A. D. 1232.

Southern V. 1289 expired,—

pûrṇimânta : Monday, 5 September, A. D. 1233; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta : Wednesday, 5 October, A. D. 1233.

In my opinion, the probability is that the year of the date is 1289, and that the true equivalent of the date therefore is Monday, 5 September, A. D. 1233.

166.—V. 13[8]6. — *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 360. Hâthaspi stone inscription of the Mēhara chief Thêpaka :—

(Line 17). — Samvat 13[8]6 varshê || Bhâvê samvatsarê pûrṇê Āshâḍhê śhaḍasitikê saptamâm Sômasvârêṇa.

This date offers the following difficulties :— 1, According to the transcript the third figure of the year of the date (the 8) is doubtful; 2, the date does not specify the fortnight of the month; and 3, the exact meaning of the term *śhaḍasitikê*, which the editor of the inscription has taken to mean 'in the eighty-sixth (year),' is not apparent.

The first difficulty is much lessened by the statement that the date was recorded when the Jovian year Bhâva was completed, i. e. in the Jovian year which followed immediately upon the year Bhâva. For, this statement proves that the year of the date must be either 1326 or 1386, because in the 14th century of the Vikrama era⁵ the year Bhâva ended, by the Sôrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bija*,⁶—

on Pausha śukla 7 of V. 1326 expired = 31 December, A. D. 1269; and

on amânta Vaiśâkha kṛishṇa 8 of northern V. 1386 expired = 22 April, A. D. 1329.

Now, if the year of the date was V. 1326, the month Āshâḍha, mentioned in the date, must have fallen in southern V. 1326 expired; and if the year was V. 1386, the month Āshâḍha may have fallen in either northern V. 1386 expired or southern V. 1386 expired.

Calculating, then, the 7th of both the bright and the dark fortnights of Āshâḍha for the three possible years, we obtain the following results :—

For southern V. 1326 expired,—

pûrṇimânta, kṛishṇa 7 : Wednesday, 11 June, A. D. 1270.

śukla 7 : Friday, 27 June, A. D. 1270.

amânta, kṛishṇa 7 : Friday, 11 July, A. D. 1270.

For northern V. 1386 expired, in which Āshâḍha was intercalary,—

pûrṇimânta, kṛishṇa 7 of first Āshâḍha : Saturday, 20 May, A. D. 1329.

śukla 7 " " : Sunday, 4 June, A. D. 1329.

pûrṇimânta, kṛishṇa 7 of second Āshâḍha : Monday, 19 June, A. D. 1329, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

śukla 7 of second Āshâḍha : Tuesday, 4 July, A. D. 1329.

amânta, kṛishṇa 7 " " : Wednesday, 19 July, A. D. 1329.

⁵ The date cannot be referred to the Śaka era, because during the 14th century of the Śaka era the year Bhâva ended, by the Sôrya-Siddhânta rule, in Śaka 1310 expired and Śaka 1369 expired. Nor can the writer have followed the Tēlinga rule, because by that rule the years following immediately upon Bhâva were Vikrama 1332 and 1392 expired, and Śaka 1317 and 1377 expired.

⁶ By the Sôrya-Siddhânta rule with *bija*, and by the Jyôtiṣatva rule, the dates would be the 4th February, A. D. 1270, and the 15th December, A. D. 1239; and the 28th May and 2nd April, A. D. 1322. In the present case it is immaterial which of the three rules was followed by the writer.

⁷ The solar Āshâḍha lasted from 27 May, 5 h. 20 m., to 27 June, 20 h., A. D. 1329, and there were new-moons on 29 May, 7 h. 22 m., and on 27 June, 16 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

For southern V. 1386 expired,—

pūrpimānta, kṛishṇa 7 : Friday, 8 June, A. D. 1330.
śukla 7 : Saturday, 23 June, A. D. 1330.
amānta, kṛishṇa 7 : Sunday, 8 July, A. D. 1330.

Of all these possible equivalents only one, the 19th June, A. D. 1329, would so far meet the requirements of the date. For that day fell in northern V. 1386 expired, one of the three years to which the date is restricted; it fell in the Jovian year which followed immediately upon Bhāva, which had ended on 22 April, A. D. 1329; on that day one of the seventh *tithi*s of Āshāḍha ended, 13 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise; and the day was a Monday, as required. It remains to shew, how far or in what sense the term *śaḍaśītikā* may be applicable to it.

Although the word *śaḍaśītika*, so far as I know, has not itself been met with elsewhere, it is clear that it is used here in a technical sense, the exact nature of which may be suggested to us by the sense of the better known terms *śaḍaśīti-mukha* and *śaḍaśīti*. According to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, xiv. 3-5,—

“By solar time are determined . . . the *śaḍaśītimukhas* . . .

“Beginning with Libra, the *śaḍaśītimukha* is at the end of the periods of eighty-six (*śaḍaśīti*) days, in succession: there are four of them, occurring in the signs of double character (*dvivabdhāva*);

“Namely, at the twenty-sixth degree of Sagittarius, at the twenty-second of Pisces, at the eighteenth of Gemini (*Mithuna*), and at the fourteenth of Virgo.”

But according to the *Kālamādhava*, Calcutta Ed. pp. 331-3, and the authorities cited in that work, *śaḍaśītimukha*, as well as the simple *śaḍaśīti*, denote both the signs Mithuna, Kanyā, Dhanu, and Mīna, and also the *saṁkrānti*s of the sun into those signs.⁸

Now, as regards our date, it is clear that the term *śaḍaśītimukha*, in the sense in which the word is explained in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, would in no way be applicable to the 19th June, A. D. 1329; for in A. D. 1329 the sun was in the eighteenth degree of Mithuna already on the 14th and 15th June. Nor would *śaḍaśītimukha* or *śaḍaśīti*, denoting the Mithuna-*saṁkrānti*, be applicable to the above-mentioned 19th June, because that *saṁkrānti* had taken place as early as the 27th May, A. D. 1329. But the two terms would be applicable to the 19th June, A. D. 1329, if, in accordance with the alternative allowed by the *Kālamādhava*, they are taken to denote the whole sign Mithuna, for in the present case the sun was in the sign Mithuna up to the 27th June, A. D. 1329. And such being the case, I take the word *śaḍaśītikā* of the date to be used, for the sake of the metre, for *śaḍaśītan*, denoting the sign Mithuna, and consider it to be simply synonymous with the phrase *mithuna-rāśau sthītā sūrye*. And I accordingly regard Monday, 19 June, A. D. 1329, which strictly fulfils every one of the conditions of the date, to be its true equivalent,

By a curious coincidence Monday, 19 June, A. D. 1329, was the 86th day, counted from the preceding Mēsha-*saṁkrānti*, which took place on 25 March, A. D. 1329, 21 h. 26-9 m. after mean sunrise.

167. — [V. 1583 P]. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 69. Date of a MS. of the *Tārāya-brāhmaṇa* : —

Svasti saṁvat Āshāḍhādi 83 varshē Vaiśāṣha(kha)-sita-dviti[yā*]yām Bhāmi-tanayē . . .

This date has been treated⁹ by me *ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 252. I have there shewn that the writer in all probability intended to write—

saṁvat 15 Āshāḍhādi 83 varshē,—

and that, for southern V. 1583 expired, the date corresponds to Tuesday, 2 April, A. D. 1527, when the second *tithi* of the bright half ended about 22 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

⁸ See particularly *Kālamādhava*, p. 333 : — Tair-ētaih saṁjāśā-bhādāi rāśayō vyavahriyantē | tad-rāśi-sambandhit-tad-rāśi-saṁkrāntinām-āpi tēny-ēva nāmāni ||

⁹ I now find that the 'Hālāri Saṁvat, which commences in Āshāḍha,' had been already mentioned, *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 188.

(c). — Dates which work out satisfactorily only when the day of the date is taken to have been joined with the *tithi* commencing on it.

168. — V. 1050. — Professor Bhāṅḍārkar's *Second Report* (1882-83), p. 228. Date of the composition of Amitagati's *Subhāshita-ratna-sandhā*, of the reign of Muñja of Dhāra :—

Saṁkrāṅhē pūta-tridasa-vasatīh Vikrama-nripē
sahasrē varshāpām prabhavati hi pañchāśad-adhikē |
samāptam pañchamyām-avati dharapām Muñja-nripatau
sitē pakshē Paushe budha-hitam-idaṁ śāstram-anagham ||

Although the author does not actually say that he completed his work on Budha or Wednesday, yet by the expression *budha-hitam* he undoubtedly suggests that such was really the case; and calculating the possible equivalents of the date, we find :—

V. 1050 current : Friday, 2 December, A. D. 992.

V. 1050 expired : the 5th *tithi* of the bright half commenced on Wednesday, 20 December, A. D. 993, 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Thursday, 21 December, 2 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

Amitagati therefore completed his work on Wednesday, 20 December, A. D. 993 (civilly Pausa-śudi 4), after the commencement of the 5th *tithi*.

169. — V. 1078. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 53. Copper-plate inscription of the Mahārājādhirāja Bhōjadēva of Dhāra :—

(Line 8) atit-āṣṭasaptaty-adhika-sahasrika-samvatsarē Māgh-āsita-tritīyāyām |
Ravay-udagayana-parvvaṇi . . . śrīmad-Dhārāyām-avasthitair-samābhīh . . .

V. 1078 current, pūrpimānta :¹⁰ Wednesday, 4 January, A. D. 1021; Uttarāyana-*saṁkrānti* on 23 December, A. D. 1020.

V. 1078 expired, pūrpimānta : the third *tithi* of the dark half commenced on Sunday, 24 December, A. D. 1021, 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Monday, 25 December, 4 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise. And the Uttarāyana-*saṁkrānti* took place on Saturday, 23 December, 20 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise.

There can be no doubt that Sunday, 24 December, A. D. 1021, is the proper equivalent of the date, and that the ceremonies connected with the Uttarāyana-*saṁkrānti*, which took place late on Saturday, had to be deferred to the Sunday, and were permitted to be performed on that day even after the commencement of the third *tithi*; and the Sunday may, therefore, have been joined here with the (third) *tithi* which commenced on it. At the same time, considering that the Uttarāyana-*saṁkrānti* took place during the second *tithi* and that the Sunday also was civilly the second, I cannot suppress the suspicion that the word *tritīyāyām* of the date may have been put erroneously for *dvitīyāyām*.

(In lines 30 and 31 the same inscription contains the date—
Samvat 1078 Chaitra-śudi 14.

This date does not admit of verification, but it clearly fell later than the other date; and it may be pointed out that, if the figures for the year of the second date are correctly given, the year in which the first date fell must have commenced with the month Kārttika.)

170. — V. 1145. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XX. p. 99, and Plate xxii. Stone inscription from a temple at 'Dubbkund' (south-west of Gwālior), of the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Vikramasimha(P) : —

(Line 61) . . . Saṁvat 1145 Bhādrapada-sudi 3 Śōma-dinē ||

The possible equivalents for V. 1145 and the surrounding years are : —

Northern V. 1144 current : Saturday, 15 August, A. D. 1086.

Northern V. 1145 current : Wednesday, 4 August, A. D. 1087.

¹⁰ In Māgha, the Uttarāyana-*saṁkrānti* can take place only during the dark half of the pūrpimānta month.

Northern V. 1145 expired: the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Monday**, 21 August, A. D. 1088, 3 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Tuesday, 22 August, 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1145 expired: Saturday, 11 August, A. D. 1089.

Southern V. 1146 expired, in which Bhādrapada was intercalary, —

first Bhādrapada: Thursday, 1 August, A. D. 1090;

second Bhādrapada: Friday, 30 August, A. D. 1090.

Southern V. 1147 expired: Wednesday, 20 August, A. D. 1091.

Here the probability is that **Monday, 21 August, A. D. 1088**, is the true equivalent of the date; but, unable to make out the object of the inscription from the published lithograph, I can give no reasons why the day should have been joined with the (third) *tithi* which commenced on it.

171. — V. 1173. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 147. Date of the renewal, by the Chandālla Jayarmadēva, of the Khājūrah inscription of Dhaṅgadēva:—

(Line 34) . . . Saṃvat 1173 Vaisā(śā)kha-sudi 3 Sukrē ṅ

The possible equivalents for V. 1173 and the surrounding years are:—

Northern V. 1172 current: Thursday, 9 April, A. D. 1114; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1173 current: Tuesday, 30 March, A. D. 1115.

Northern V. 1173 expired: Monday, 17 April, A. D. 1116.

Southern V. 1173 expired: the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Friday**, 6 April, A. D. 1117, 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Saturday, 7 April, 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1174 expired: Thursday, 25 April, A. D. 1118; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1175 expired: Monday, 14 April, A. D. 1119.

Here, again, the probability is that **Friday, 6 April, A. D. 1117**, is the true equivalent of the date, but no reason is apparent why the day should have been joined with the (third) *tithi* which commenced on it.

172. — V. 1185. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 120, and Plate viii. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindschandrādēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 15) . . . pañchāsi(śi)ty-adhik-aikādasā(sa)-sa(śa)ta-saṃvatsarēshu Chaitrē māsi su(śu)kṣa-pakṣhē paurṇamāsyām tithau Su(śu)kra-dīnē aṅkē-pi saṃvat 1185 Chaitra-sudi 15 Su(śu)krē [ady-ēha] śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām manvādau Gaṅgāyām snātvā . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1185 and the surrounding years are:—

Northern V. 1184 current: Wednesday, 10 March, A. D. 1126.

Northern V. 1185 current: Tuesday, 29 March, A. D. 1127.

Northern V. 1185 expired: Sunday, 18 March, A. D. 1128.

Southern V. 1185 expired: the full-moon *tithi* commenced on **Friday**, 5 April, A. D. 1129, 10 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Saturday, 6 April, 10 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1186 expired: Wednesday, 26 March, A. D. 1130.

Southern V. 1187 expired: Sunday, 15 March, A. D. 1131.

I have already stated, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 59, that I consider **Friday, 5 April, A. D. 1129**, to be the true equivalent of the date, and that I believe the ceremonies connected with the *manvādi* festival to have been performed late in the afternoon of that day, after the commencement of the full-moon *tithi*.

173. — V. 1220. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 347. Udaypur(in Gwālior) stone inscription of the reign of the Chaulukya Ajayapālādēva:—

(Line 1) . . . Saṃvat 1229 varshē | Vaisākha-sudi 3 Sōmē ṅ

(Line 3) . . . -Ajaya[pā]ladēva-kalyāṇavijayarājyē . . .

(Line 7) . . . akshayatriṭiyā-yugādi-parvvaṇi . . .

Northern V. 1229 current: Saturday, 10 April, A. D. 1171.

Northern V. 1229 expired: Wednesday, 29 March, A. D. 1172.

Southern V. 1229 expired: the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Monday**, 16 April, A. D. 1173, 1 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Tuesday, 17 April, 2 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

I have shewn, *loc. cit.* p. 346, that the ceremonies connected with the *yugādi* had necessarily to be performed on **Monday, 16 April, A. D. 1173**, because the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced before the 13th *ghaṭikā* of that day, and ended before the 13th *ghaṭikā* of the next day, and that the **Monday**, therefore, is the true equivalent of the date.

174. — V. 1234. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 139. Copper-plate inscription of Jayachchandrādēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 24) . . . chatustrimsaty¹¹-adhika-dvādasā-sa(śa)ta-saṃvatsarē Paushē māsi su(śu)kṣa-pakṣhē chaturthyan=tithau Ravi-dīnē aṅkatō-pi saṃvat 1234 Pausha-sudi 4 Ravau uttarāyana(ṅa)-saṃkrāntau ady-ēha śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāyām snātvā . . .

V. 1234 current: Tuesday, 7 December, A. D. 1176; and Uttarāyana-saṃkrānti on 25 December, A. D. 1176.

V. 1234 expired: the 4th *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Sunday**, 25 December, A. D. 1177, 4 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Monday, 26 December, 6 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise; and the **Uttarāyana-saṃkrānti** took place on Sunday, 25 December, 5 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

The true equivalent is **Sunday, 25 December, A. D. 1177**, and the meaning of the date appears to be, that the donation spoken of in the inscription was made at the Uttarāyana-saṃkrānti which took place during the 4th *tithi* on that Sunday.

175. — V. 1877. — Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 61. Date of a MS. of the *Vārāha-purāna*, written at Benares:—

Saṃvat 1877 Khara-nāma-saṃvatsarē adhika-Jyēshṭhē(śhṭhē) māsē śuklē pakṣhē sapṭamāyām¹² Guru-vāsarē tad-dīnē . . .

Jyāishṭha was intercalary in northern V. 1877 expired;¹³ for, in that year the solar Jyāishṭha lasted from 11 May, new style, 20 h. 51 m., to 12 June, 6 h. 32 m., A. D. 1820, and there were new-moons on 12 May, 8 h., and 10 June, 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. The 7th *tithi* of the bright half of the **first or adhika Jyāishṭha** commenced on **Thursday**, 18 May, 8 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Friday, 19 May, 10 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise; and the 7th of the bright half of second Jyāishṭha was Sunday, 18 June.

In my opinion, **Thursday, 18 May, new style, A. D. 1820**, is the true equivalent of the date, and the writer finished his work in the afternoon or evening of that day, after the commencement of the 7th *tithi*.

The year **Khara**, No. 25, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 9 August, new style, A. D. 1819, to 4 August, A. D. 1820, and with *bija*, from 18 September, A. D. 1819, to 13 September, A. D. 1820; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 19 July, A. D. 1819, to 14 July, A. D. 1820. Accordingly, **Khara** was current on the actual day of the date (18 May, A. D. 1820) and also at the commencement of the solar year (10 April, A. D. 1820). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Vikrama, No. 14.

(d). — A date with a wrong week-day.

176. — V. 1161. — *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 103. Basāhi copper-plate inscription of Gōvindschandrādēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 8) . . . Saṃvat sahas[r*]-aikē śkashashṭy-uttara-śat-ābhyadhikē Pausha-māsē śukla-pakṣhē pañchamāyām Ravi-dīnē Śikē saṃvat 1161 Pausha-sudi 5 Ravau | . . .

¹¹ Read *chatustrimsad*.

¹² Read *sapṭamāyām*.

¹³ See No. 121 above, p. 177.

(Line 16) . . . mahārījaputra-śrīmad-Gōvīndachandradēvāna **uttarāyana(ṇa)-saṁkrānti**

V. 1161 current: **Sunday**, 6 December, A. D. 1103; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended, 1 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise. Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti on 25 December, A. D. 1103.

V. 1161 expired: **Saturday**, 24 December, A. D. 1104, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise, and when the **Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti** took place 7 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

In my opinion, **Saturday, 24 December, A. D. 1104**, which is the day of the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti (which actually took place during the 6th *tithi*), and on which also the 5th *tithi* ended, is the true equivalent of the date, and the words *Eavi-dinē* and *Eavau* of the date have been put erroneously for *Sani-dinē* and *Sanau*.

(e). — **Dates which yield no satisfactory equivalent for the year of the date, but which would work out properly for the immediately following year.**

177. — V. 1049. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 783; Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 324, *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. I. p. 355; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 81; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Dēwal stone inscription of Lalla, the Chhinda:—

(Line 26) . . . Samvatsara-sahasra 1049 Mārgga-vadi 7 **Guru-dinē** ||

The possible equivalents for V. 1049 and V. 1050 are:—

V. 1049 current,—

pūrṇimānta: **Sunday**, 1 November, A. D. 991,

amānta: **Monday**, 30 November, A. D. 991,

V. 1049 expired,—

pūrṇimānta: the 7th *tithi* of the dark half commenced on **Thursday**, 20 October, A. D. 992, 6 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on **Friday**, 21 October, 3 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: **Saturday**, 19 November, A. D. 992.

V. 1050 expired,—

pūrṇimānta: **Thursday**, 9 November, A. D. 993; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: **Friday**, 8 December, A. D. 993.

Here, either the **Thursday** was joined with the (7th) *tithi* which commenced on it, and in that case the proper equivalent of the date would be **Thursday**, 20 October, A. D. 992; or the year 1049 has been put erroneously for 1050. As no reason is apparent why the former course should have been adopted (the date not being connected with any religious ceremony), I would decide in favour of the second alternative, and accept **Thursday, 9 November, A. D. 993**, as the true equivalent of the date.

(According to Prinsep in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 786, the date corresponds to 'Thursday, 5th November, A. D. 992.' But the 5th November, A. D. 992, was a Saturday, and was the 8th of the bright half of Mārgaśīra.)

178. — V. 1107. — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 205. Nanyaurā copper-plate inscription of the Chandēlla Dēvavarmadēva:—

(Line 7). — Saṁvat 1107 Vaiśākha-māsē kri[shṇa]-pakshē tritīyāyām **Sōma-dinē** Suhavāsa-māvāsē . . . ātmiya-mātūlī rājñī-śrī-Bhuvanadēvyāḥ sāmvasari(ri)kē . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1107 and V. 1108 are:—

Northern V. 1107 current,—

pūrṇimānta: **Saturday**, 25 March, A. D. 1049

amānta: **Sunday**, 23 April, A. D. 1049.

Northern V. 1107 expired,—

pūrṇimānta: **Wednesday**, 14 March, A. D. 1050.

amānta: **Thursday**, 12 April, A. D. 1050.

Southern V. 1107 expired,—

pūrṇimānta: the third *tithi* of the dark half commenced on **Monday**, 1 April, A. D. 1051, 6 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on **Tuesday**, 2 April, 7 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise. amānta: **Wednesday**, 1 May, A. D. 1051.

Southern V. 1108 expired,—

pūrṇimānta: **Saturday**, 21 March, A. D. 1052.

amānta: **Monday**, 20 April, A. D. 1052; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, either the **Monday** was joined with the (third) *tithi* which commenced on it, and in that case the proper equivalent of the date would be **Monday**, 1 April, A. D. 1051; or the year 1107 has been put erroneously for 1108. And I would here, too, decide in favour of the second alternative, and therefore accept **Monday, 20 April, A. D. 1052**, as the true equivalent of the date.

179. — V. 1182. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII. p. 243. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvīndachandradēva of Kananj:—

. . . dvyasīty-adhik-aiśādasā-śata-samvatsarē Mārgga-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē shashṭhyām tithāv-śakataḥ samvat 1182 Māgha-vadi 6 **Sukrē** Śrīsa-Pratishṭhānē Gaigāyām snātvā . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1182 and V. 1183 are:—

V. 1182 current,—

pūrṇimānta: **Sunday**, 28 December, A. D. 1124.

amānta: **Monday**, 26 January, A. D. 1125.

V. 1182 expired,—

pūrṇimānta: **Thursday**, 17 December, A. D. 1125.

amānta: the 6th *tithi* of the dark half commenced on **Friday**, 15 January, A. D. 1126, 14 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on **Saturday**, 16 January, 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1183 expired,—

pūrṇimānta: **Thursday**, 6 January, A. D. 1127.

amānta: **Friday**, 4 February, A. D. 1127; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.

Considering that on **Friday**, 15 January, A. D. 1126, the 6th *tithi* commenced so late as to render the performance of religious ceremonies after the commencement of the *tithi* on that day impossible, I here, too, take the year 1182 of the date to have been put erroneously for 1183, and accordingly regard **Friday, 4 February, A. D. 1127**, as the true equivalent of the date.

180. — V. 1231. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 83. Copper-plate inscription of the reign of the Chaulukya Ajayapālādēva:—

(Line 11) . . . nṛīpa-Vikrama-kālād-arvvāk śkatrīśad-adhika-dvādasā-śata-samvat-sar-āntarvarttiui Kārttikē māsi śukla-pakshē śkādasāyām **Sōma-dinē** upōshya **Kārttik-ōdyapana-parvvaṇi** . . .

(Line 31) . . . Saṁvat 1231 varshē Kārttika-śudi 13 **Vu(bu)dhē** ||

The possible equivalents of these two dates for V. 1231 and V. 1232 are:—

Of the first date (Kārttika-śudi 11):—

V. 1231 current: **Thursday**, 18 October, A. D. 1173.

V. 1231 expired: the 11th *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Monday**, 7 October A. D. 1174, 17 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on **Tuesday**, 8 October, 14 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1232 expired: **Monday**, 27 October, A. D. 1175; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

Of the second date (Kārttika-śudi 13):—

V. 1231 current: **Saturday**, 20 October, A. D. 1173.

V. 1231 expired: the 13th *tithi* of the bright half commenced on **Wednesday**, 9 October, A. D. 1174, 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on **Thursday**, 10 October, 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1232 expired: **Wednesday**, 29 October, A. D. 1175; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, either the *tithis* of both dates were joined with the days on which they commenced, or the year 1231 has been put wrongly for 1232. And I would again decide in favour of the second alternative, and accordingly take **Monday, 27 October**, and **Wednesday, 29 October**, A. D. 1175, as the true equivalents of the two dates; for, in the second date, a so-called current *tithi* would be altogether out of place, and in the case of the first date, too, no religious ceremony could have been performed during the 11th *tithi* on **Monday, 7 October**, A. D. 1174 (when that *tithi* commenced as late as 17 h. 21 m. after sunrise); and I can find no reason why the ceremonies connected with the *śkādāsi* should not have been performed on the day on which the *tithi* ended, i. e. on **Tuesday, 8 October**, A. D. 1174.

181. — V. 1288. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 203. Kaḍī copper-plate inscription of the Chalukya Bḥmadēva II. : —

(Line 16) . . . Śrīmat(d-)Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasu aṣṭā-śīty-uttarēshu Bhādrapadamāsīya-śukla-pratipadāyām Sōma-vārē śr-āmkatō-pi saṁvat 1288 varshē Bhādravā-śudi 1 Sōmē śyām saṁvatsara-māsa paksha-vāra-pūrvvikāyām tithāv-ady-ēha śrīmad-Āṇahillapātākē . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1288 and V. 1289 are : —

Northern V. 1288 current : **Saturday**, 10 August, A. D. 1230.

Northern V. 1288 expired : **Thursday**, 31 July, A. D. 1231.

Southern V. 1288 expired : **Wednesday**, 18 August, A. D. 1232.

Southern V. 1289 expired : **Monday**, 8 August, A. D. 1233; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

Since the *tithi*, for V. 1288, can in no way be combined with a **Monday**, I take the year 1288 to have been erroneously put for 1289, and accordingly consider **Monday, 8 August**, A. D. 1289, to be the true equivalent of the date.

182. — V. 1491. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1885-86), App. p. 249. Date of the composition of Śīlaratnasūri's commentary on Mērutuṅga's *Mēghadūta* : —

Varshē chaṁdra-nidhāna-pūrva-1491-kalitē śrī-Vikramarkat-tathā

Chaitr-āntar-vadi-paṁchamī-Budhadinē śrēṣṭh-Ānurādhā-yutē |

śrī-jainōjjvala-Mēghadūta suvrihat-kāvyaśya pūrp-ābhavaṭ-

ṭīkā śrī-Āṇahillapātaka iti khyatē kshītau pattanē ||

The possible equivalents for V. 1491 and V. 1492 are : —

Northern V. 1491 current, —

amānta : **Friday**, 10 April, A. D. 1433; *nakshatra* at sunrise, Māla (19).

pūrvimānta : **Sunday**, 28 February, A. D. 1434; *nakshatra* at sunrise, Viśākhā (16).

Northern V. 1491 expired, —

amānta : **Tuesday**, 30 March, A. D. 1434; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise; *nakshatra* at sunrise, Māla (19).

pūrvimānta : **Thursday**, 17 February, A. D. 1435; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise; *nakshatra* Svātī (15), up to 13 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1491 expired, —

amānta : **Saturday**, 19 March, A. D. 1435; *nakshatra* at sunrise, Jyēṣṭhā (18).

Southern (or northern) V. 1492 expired, —

pūrvimānta : **Wednesday**, 7 March, A. D. 1436; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise; and the *nakshatra* was Viśākhā (16) up to 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise, when it was followed by **Anurādhā** (17).

Since in V. 1491 there is no **Wednesday** which could in any way be joined with the *tithi* and at the same time with the *nakshatra* **Anurādhā**, I take the year 1491 to have been erroneously put for 1492, and accordingly consider **Wednesday, 7 March**, A. D. 1436, to be the true equivalent of the date.

(f). — A date which yields no satisfactory equivalent for the year of the date, but which would work out properly for both the immediately preceding year and the immediately following year.

183. — V. 1174. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 20. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindachandra-dēva of Kanauj : —

(Line 13) . . . chaṭṭasaptaty-adhik-aikādaśa-sa(sa)ta-saṁvatsarē Phālgunē māsi kṛishṇa-pakshē ṭṭīṭyāyān-tithau Sukra-dīne-ñkē-pi saṁvat 1174 Phālgu[na-vadi 3(?)] Sukrō . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1174 and the surrounding years are : —

V. 1173 current, —

pūrvimānta : **Thursday**, 3 February, A. D. 1116.

amānta : **Friday**, 3 March, A. D. 1116; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1174 current, —

pūrvimānta : **Monday**, 22 January, A. D. 1117.

amānta : **Wednesday**, 21 February, A. D. 1117.

V. 1174 expired, —

pūrvimānta : the third *tithi* of the dark half commenced 12 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise on **Friday**, 11 January, A. D. 1118, and ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise of **Saturday**, 12 January.

amānta : **Sunday**, 10 February, A. D. 1118.

V. 1175 expired, —

pūrvimānta : **Friday**, 31 January, A. D. 1119; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : **Saturday**, 1 March, A. D. 1119.

Since, on **Friday**, 11 January, A. D. 1118, the third *tithi* commenced so late as to render the performance of religious ceremonies on that day, after the commencement of the *tithi*, almost impossible, I consider the year of the date to be wrong. And, in my opinion, the probability is that, of the two surrounding Vikrama years, which would yield the proper week-day, the true year of the date is V. 1173 current or 1172 expired, because that year yields the **Friday** by the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, which has been apparently followed in other dates of Gōvindachandra and his successor. I would therefore take **Friday, 3 March**, A. D. 1116, to be the proper equivalent of the date.

(g). — Dates which yield no satisfactory equivalent for the year of the date, but which would work out properly for both the immediately preceding year and the next year but one.

184. — V. 1208. — From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindachandrādēva of Kanauj : —

(Line 16) . . . saṁvatsarāṇām aṣṭ-ādika-dvādaśa(sa)-sa(sa)tēshu Kārttikē māsi su(śu)kla-pakshē paurnamāsyaṁ tithau Bh[au]jma-dīnē sūkē-pi saṁvat 1208 Kārttika-śudi 15 Bhaumē . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1208 and the surrounding years are : —

V. 1207 current : **Tuesday**, 18 October, A. D. 1149; the full-moon *tithi* ended 16 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1208 current : **Monday**, 6 November, A. D. 1150.

V. 1208 expired : Saturday, 27 October, A. D. 1151.

V. 1209 expired : Wednesday, 16 October, A. D. 1152.

V. 1210 expired : Tuesday, 3 November, A. D. 1153; the full-moon *tithi* ended 4 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

For V. 1208, the *tithi* can in no way be joined with a Tuesday; and all that can be said is, that the date would work out satisfactorily for either V. 1206 expired, or V. 1210 expired.

185. — V. 1295. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 205. Kaḍī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(Line 17) . . . [śrīmat(d)]-Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasaṁ pañchanavaty-uttarēshu Mārggaśāyī-śukla-chaturdaśyām Guru-vārē str-āṁkatō-pi saṁvat 1295 varshē Mārggē(rgga)-śudi 14 Gurāv-asyām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-pūrvvikāyām tithāv-ady=ēha śrīmad-Anahillapātakē . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1295 and the surrounding years are :—

V. 1294 current : Thursday, 13 November, A. D. 1236; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1295 current : Wednesday, 2 December, A. D. 1237.

V. 1295 expired : Monday, 22 November, A. D. 1238.

V. 1296 expired : Saturday, 12 November, A. D. 1239.

V. 1297 expired : Thursday, 29 November, A. D. 1240; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended, at Anhilwād, 0 h. 6 m. before mean sunrise of the following day.

Here, again, the *tithi* can in no way be combined with a Thursday in V. 1295; but the date would work out satisfactorily for either V. 1293 expired or V. 1297 expired.

186. — V. 1512. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 281. Date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Ashṭāṅgahridaya* :—

Saṁvat 1512 pravartamānē sādharāṇa-Phālaguṇa-śuddha-pratipa Bhauma-vāra . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1512 and the surrounding years are :—

V. 1511 current : Tuesday, 29 January, A. D. 1454; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1512 current : Monday, 17 February, A. D. 1455.

V. 1512 expired : Saturday, 7 February, A. D. 1456.

V. 1513 expired : Friday, 25 February, A. D. 1457.

V. 1514 expired : Tuesday, 14 February, A. D. 1458; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, too, the *tithi* can in no way be combined with a Tuesday in V. 1512; but the date would work out satisfactorily for either V. 1510 expired or V. 1514 expired.

(h). — Dates which yield no satisfactory equivalent for the year of the date, but which would work out satisfactorily for the next year but one.

187. — V. 1190. — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 208. Bāndā copper-plate inscription of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadēva :—

(Line 10) . . . Bhailasvāmi-saṁp-āvāsē navaty-adhika-sa(śa)taik-ōpēta-sahasratamē saṁvatsarē Māghē māsi su(śu)kla-pakshē pūrvvimāyām Śōma-vārē āṁkatō-pi saṁvat 1190 Māgha-sudi 15 Śōmē ||

The possible equivalents for V. 1190 and the surrounding years are :—

V. 1189 current : Wednesday, 3 February, A. D. 1132.

V. 1190 current : Sunday, 22 January, A. D. 1133; the full-moon *tithi* ended 17 h. after mean sunrise.

V. 1190 expired : Friday, 12 January, A. D. 1134.

V. 1191 expired : Thursday, 31 January, A. D. 1135.

V. 1192 expired : Monday, 20 January, A. D. 1136; the full-moon *tithi* ended 22 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

Here the *tithi* can in no way be combined with a Monday in the years V. 1189, 1190, and 1191; but the date would work out satisfactorily for V. 1192 expired.

188. — V. 1287. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 201. Kaḍī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. :—

(Line 11). . . Śrīmat(d)-Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasaṁ saptāśīty-uttarēshu Āshāḍhamāśīya-śukla-śeṣṭamāyām Sukra-vārē str-āṁkatō spi saṁvat 1287 varshē Āshāḍha-śudi 8 Sukrē Seyām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-pūrvvikāyām tithāv-ady=ēha śrīmad-Anahillapātakē . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1287 and the surrounding years are :—

Northern V. 1286 current : Sunday, 11 June, A. D. 1228.

Northern V. 1287 current : Saturday, 30 June, A. D. 1229; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1287 expired : Wednesday, 19 June, A. D. 1230.

Southern V. 1287 expired : Monday, 9 June, A. D. 1231.

Southern V. 1288 expired : Sunday, 27 June, A. D. 1232.

Southern V. 1289 expired : Friday, 17 June, A. D. 1233; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, the *tithi* cannot be combined with a Friday in the years V. 1286, 1287, and 1288; but the date would work out satisfactorily for southern V. 1289 expired.

189. — V. 1724. — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 13; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Rāmnagar stone inscription of the kings of Maṅḡala :—

(From the rubbings, line 64) . . . Vēda-nētra-hay-ādv-abdē Jyēshthē Vishṇu-tithan [ś]itau ||() Sadśīvēna likhitam-utkīrṣam taiḥ suśīlpiḥ || 52 || Saṁvat 1724 varshē Jyēshthā-śuddha || Sukra-vāsar[ā] ||

The possible equivalents for V. 1724 and the surrounding years are :—

Northern V. 1723 current : Monday, 15 May, A. D. 1665.

Northern V. 1724 current : Sunday, 3 June, A. D. 1666.

Northern V. 1724 expired : Thursday, 23 May, A. D. 1667; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1724 expired : Tuesday, 12 May, A. D. 1668.

Southern V. 1725 expired : Monday, 31 May, A. D. 1669.

Southern V. 1726 expired : Friday, 20 May, A. D. 1670; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 9 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, the *tithi* can in no way be combined with a Friday in the years V. 1723, 1724, and 1725; but the date would work out satisfactorily for southern V. 1726 expired.

(Dr. F. E. Hall has read the figures, after the words *Jyēshthā-śuddha*, as 12; but the 11 is quite clear in both my rubbings, and has been so read also by Captain Fell, *As. Res.* Vol. XV. p. 437. Moreover, Dr. Hall (*Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 22) has given, as the corresponding date, "the fifth of June, A. D. 1667, N.S.;" but the 5th June, new style, A. D. 1667, was a Sunday.)

(i). — Dates which contain other errors.

190. — V. 794. — *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 155, and Vol. XVI. p. 197; and the *Book of Indian Eras*, pp. 47 and 48. Dhīnīki copper-plate inscription of Jāikadēva :—

(Line 1) . . . Vikrama-saṁvatsara-śatēshu saptasū chaturnavaty-adhikēshv-āṁkataḥ [79]4 Kārttika-mās-āpara-pakshē amāvāsyāyām Āditya-vārē Jyēshthā-nakshatrē ravigrāhāna-parvvaṇi | asyām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-divasa-pūrvvāyām tithāv-ady=ēha Bhāmi-likāyām . . .

Calculating again, as in the case of the preceding dates, for Kārttika-vadi 15 both of V. 794 current and expired, and also of the surrounding years V. 793 current and V. 795 and 796 expired, we obtain the following results:—

V. 793 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 20 October, A. D. 735; no eclipse.

amānta: Saturday, 19 November, A. D. 735; no eclipse.

V. 794 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 9 October, A. D. 736; no eclipse.

amānta: Wednesday, 7 November, A. D. 736; no eclipse.

V. 794 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 28 September, A. D. 737; no eclipse.

amānta: Monday, 28 October, A. D. 737; *nakshatras*, Viśākhā and Anurādhā; **an altogether invisible solar eclipse**, 8 h. 13 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 795 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 17 October, A. D. 738; **a total solar eclipse, not visible in India**, Greenwich time 0 h. 11 m. of 18th October, or, at Ujjain, 23 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise of 17th October.

amānta: Sunday, 16 November, A. D. 738, when the new-moon *tithi* ended 10 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was Jyēshthā up to 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise; no eclipse.

V. 796 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 7 October, A. D. 739; **a solar eclipse, not visible in India**.

amānta: Friday, 6 November, A. D. 739; no eclipse.

From the above it is at once clear that there is no day in V. 794, either current or expired (nor in V. 793 current or V. 796 expired), which would at all satisfy the requirements of the date. In V. 795 expired, which is one year later than the year of the date, Kārttika-vadi 15, by the *amānta* scheme, the adoption of which by the writer is clearly suggested by the term *aparāpakshē* of the date, did fall on a Sunday, — the 16th November, A. D. 738, — and on that day the moon was in the *nakshatra* Jyēshthā, as required; but there was no solar eclipse. There was, however, such an eclipse, not visible in India, on the preceding new-moon day, the 17th October, A. D. 738. And taking these two facts together, Professor Bühler, when editing the inscription, arrived at the conclusion that the grant was actually made on the occasion of the (calculated) eclipse, *i. e.* on Friday, 17th October, A. D. 738, which was the new-moon day of the *amānta* Āśvina, and that the document was drawn up *exactly one month later*, on the new-moon day of the *amānta* Kārttika, *i. e.* on Sunday, 16th November, A. D. 738. But it may be objected, that the new-moon day of Kārttika, on which Professor Bühler supposes the scribe to have written the date, belonged all over India to the year 795 expired, and not to V. 794, either current or expired, and that therefore even the adoption of Professor Bühler's views would not remove all the difficulties of the date. And besides, from the wording of the date it seems quite certain that the writer distinctly desired to couple the eclipse with the new-moon day of Kārttika and with a Sunday; and I fail to perceive that the present date is at all similar, *e. g.* to that of the Morbi copper-plate, where an eclipse is spoken of in an early part of the document, while at the end of it a date is given on which that eclipse cannot possibly have taken place.

Sir A. Cunningham, in the *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 48, proposes that we should substitute *Āśvina* for the word *Kārttika* of the date, — an alteration by which the date would fall on the last day of southern V. 794 expired, = Friday, 17th October, A. D. 738, the day of the solar eclipse, — and that we should then assume the writer to have put down in the date the following Sunday, — the 19th October, A. D. 738, — because the day of the eclipse, which Sir A. Cunningham assumes to have been Saturday, was a very inauspicious day. Against this proposal it may be said, that the day of the eclipse in India was a Friday; that, even if it had been a

Saturday, no aversion is felt to Saturday in other grants; that the moon was in the *nakshatra* Jyēshthā, neither at the time of the eclipse, nor during day-time of the following Sunday; and that, if we must alter the wording of the date, and besides resort to artificial explanations which after all would not set right all the details of the date, we might as well at once alter the year of the date to 795, and assume that the writer had made a mistake about the eclipse. But, being averse to assuming such an accumulation of errors, I see no way of setting the date right; and I concur in the views of Mr. Fleet, that the unsatisfactory nature of the date is one of the reasons for regarding the inscription in which the date occurs as a forged document.¹⁴

191. — V. 1154. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 11. Copper-plate inscription of Chandradēva and Madanapāladēva of Kanauj: —

(Line 11) . . . chatuḥpa(śha)pa(m)chāsa(śa)d-adhika-sa(śa)taikādasā(śa)-sāvatsarē Māghē māsi su(su)kṣa-pakshē tṛtīyāyām Sōma-dinē Vārāṇasyām uttarāyana(ṇa)-samkrāntau ankataḥ samvat 1154 Māgha-sudi 3 Sōmē Vārāṇasyām . . .

I have already stated, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 10, that the *Uttarāyana-samkrānti*, which introduces the solar month Māgha, must necessarily precede the new-moon which introduces the bright half of the lunar Māgha, and that therefore it cannot possibly take place on the third of the bright half of the lunar Māgha; and that, accordingly, I must regard the quotation of the *Uttarāyana-samkrānti* in connection with Māgha-sudi 3 as erroneous.¹⁵ Irrespectively of the *samkrānti*, the equivalents of the date would be:—

V. 1154 current: Monday, 19 January, A. D. 1097, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. after mean sunrise. (*Uttarāyana-samkrānti* on Wednesday, 24 December, A. D. 1096.)

V. 1154 expired: Friday, 8 January, A. D. 1098. (*Uttarāyana-samkrānti* on Thursday, 24 December, A. D. 1097.)

192. — V. 1166. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 16. Copper-plate inscription of Madanapāla and Gōvindachandradēva of Kanauj: —

(Line 17) . . . saṁ 1166 Pausha-vadi 15 Bavau # . . .

(Line 18) . . . Bahugrastē savitari . . .

The possible equivalents for Pausha-vadi 15 of V. 1166, current and expired, are:—

V. 1166 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 4 December, A. D. 1108; **a solar eclipse, not visible in India**, 13 h. 38 m., Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 12 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Sunday, 3 January, A. D. 1109; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise; no eclipse.

V. 1166 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 23 December, A. D. 1109; no eclipse.

amānta: Saturday, 22 January, A. D. 1110; no eclipse.

None of these equivalents satisfies all the requirements of the date, because, although the 15th of the dark half of the *amānta* Pausha of V. 1166 current did fall on a Sunday, there was no eclipse on that day. As regards the immediately surrounding years, there was a solar eclipse, visible in India, on the 15th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Pausha of V. 1165 current, = 16th December, A. D. 1107, but the day was a Monday; and generally, in all the years from A. D. 1100 to 1120, the 15th of the dark half of Pausha never fell on a Sunday on which there was a solar eclipse. I therefore am inclined to assume that the solar eclipse has been erroneously put down in the inscription, and that the proper equivalent of the date is Sunday, 3 January, A. D. 1109.

¹⁴ See *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 198; and compare also the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII. p. 275.

¹⁵ The error would under any circumstances shew great want of thought on the part of the writer; but, as an extenuating circumstance, it may be stated that the date refers to a donation which was made by the predecessor of the king under whom the document was drawn up, and not to a contemporaneous event.

193. — V. 1187. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 109, and Plate vi. Raiwān copper-plate inscription of Gōvindachandrādēva of Kanauj: —

(Line 18) . . . saṁvat 1187 Mārgga-sudi paurṇī(ṛaṇa)māsyām tithau Sōma-dinē || ady-ēha śrīmad-Vārāṇasāyā[m*] saṁkrāntau . . .

The possible equivalents for Mārgga-sudi 15 of V. 1187, current and expired, and the days of saṁkrāntis are: —

V. 1187 current: Wednesday, 27 November, A. D. 1129. There was a saṁkrānti on Monday, 25 November, 10 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1187 expired: Monday, 17 November A. D. 1130; the full-moon tithi ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise. There was a nirayama saṁkrānti on Tuesday, 25 November, 17 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and a sāyana saṁkrānti on Saturday, 15 November, 20 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, none of the possible equivalents satisfies all the requirements of the date; and since, as I have shewn (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 58), the full-moon day of Mārgasīrsha in all the years from V. 1180 current to V. 1190 expired fell on a Monday only in V. 1187 expired, and never on the day of a saṁkrānti, I assume that the saṁkrānti has been wrongly put down in the date, and that the proper equivalent of the date is Monday, 17 November, A. D. 1130.

194. — V. 1299. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 208. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Tribhuvanapālādēva: —

(Line 14) . . . Śrīmad-Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-sātēshu dvādaśasu navanavaty-uttarēshu Chaitramāsiya-śukla-shashṭhyām Sōma-vārē Śtr-āṅkatō Spi saṁvat 1299 varshē Chaitra-śūdi 6 Sōmē Śayām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-pūrvvikāyām sām° lau° Phāgūna-māsiya-amāvāsya(syā)yām samjāta-sūryyagrahāna-parvvaṇi saṁkalpitāt tithāv-ady-ēha śrīmad-Aṇahillapātākē . . .

This date gives us for calculation Chaitra-śūdi 6 of V. 1299, which should be a Monday; and a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the month Phālguna, preceding the previously mentioned Chaitra-śūdi 6. For Chaitra-śūdi 6 the possible equivalents would be: —

Northern V. 1299 current: Wednesday, 20 March, A. D. 1241.

Northern V. 1299 expired: Sunday, 9 March, A. D. 1242, when the 6th tithi of the bright half ended 15 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1299 expired: Saturday, 28 March, A. D. 1243, when the 6th tithi of the bright half ended 9 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

None of the three possible years, therefore, yields the desired week-day; nor, I may add, did the 6th tithi of the bright half of Chaitra end on a Monday in the surrounding years, northern V. 1298 current and southern V. 1300 expired, or in southern V. 1301 expired.

As regards the other item of the date, there was no solar eclipse in the month Phālguna, either pūrṇimānta or amānta, which immediately preceded the 20th March, A. D. 1241, and the 9th March, A. D. 1242; but there was a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the amānta Phālguna (of V. 1299 expired) immediately preceding the 28th March, A. D. 1243. This eclipse took place on Sunday, 22 March, A. D. 1243, 2 h. 2 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 1 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and it was not visible in western India.

In my opinion, there can be no doubt that some at least of the recorded details of this date are incorrect; and the probabilities are that the eclipse, although it was not visible, has been rightly quoted, but that either the tithi of Chaitra referred to in the date was really the 8th, or the week-day a Saturday. In the former case the proper equivalent of the date would be Monday, 30 March, A. D. 1243, in the latter, Saturday, 28 March, of the same year.

195. — V. 1597. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1885-86), App. p. 214. Date of the composition of Pārāvachandra's *Vārṭhika* on Virabhadrasādhu's *Chatuhāraṇa-prakīrṇaka*: —

Muni-nāmd-ēshn-chāṁdr-ābdē vyatitē Vikramārkataḥ |
subhāsi Phālgunē māsi trayōdāsyām Ravēr-dinē ||
pavitṛē Mūla-nakhatrē . . .

Here the possible equivalents for V. 1597 and the surrounding years would be: —

V. 1596 current: Sunday, 2 March, A. D. 1539; the 13th tithi of the bright half ended 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise; nakshatra Maghā (10), not Mūla (19).

V. 1597 current: Friday, 20 February, A. D. 1540; nakshatra Āślēshā (9).

V. 1597 expired: Wednesday, 9 February, A. D. 1541; nakshatra Pushya (8).

V. 1598 expired: Monday, 27 February, A. D. 1542; the 13th tithi of the bright half ended 6 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise; nakshatra Maghā (10).

V. 1599 expired: Friday, 16 February A. D. 1543; nakshatra Āślēshā (9).

These equivalents shew that some of the recorded details of the date must be incorrect; for it appears from them that the moon is never anywhere near the nakshatra Mūla on the 13th of the bright half of Phālguna, and that this particular tithi of Phālguna cannot in any way be joined with a Sunday in V. 1597 current or expired. The proper year of the date may be V. 1596 current, but even so the quotation of the nakshatra would be incorrect.

APPENDIX.

ADDITIONAL REGULAR DATES.

196. — V. 811. — In his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. II. p. 764, Colonel Tod reports that at Chitōr in Rājputānā he found an inscription which was dated¹⁴ —

'Sambut 811, Māgha-sudi 5th, Vriśhatvar (Thursday).'

Assuming this statement to be correct, the possible equivalents of the date would be: —

V. 811 current: Thursday, 3 January, A. D. 754; the 5th tithi of the bright half ended 20 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 811 expired: Wednesday, 22 January, A. D. 755; the 5th tithi of the bright half ended 15 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

(For Saka 811, current and expired, the equivalents would be Friday, 10 January, A. D. 889, and Tuesday, 30 December, A. D. 889.)

197. — V. 1244. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XX. p. 90, and Plate x. Inscription on pillar of the entrance gateway of the fortress of Tabangadh in Rājputānā: —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1244 [Jyē]shṭha-su 15 Gurō(rau).

Northern V. 1244 current: Tuesday, 3 June, A. D. 1186.

Northern V. 1244 expired: Sunday, 24 May, A. D. 1187.

Southern V. 1244 expired: Thursday, 12 May, A. D. 1188; the 15th tithi of the bright half ended 12 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

198. — V. 1317. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 51, and Plate xiii; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Ajaygadh rock inscription of the Chandēlla Virarman: —

(Line 14) . . . Sagar-ēniv-agni-sudhāmsu(śu)-mitē Vikrama-vatsarē . . . Saṁvat 1317

. . . Vaiśāha(kha)-śūdi 13 Gurau.

Northern V. 1317 current: Tuesday, 6 May, A. D. 1259.

Northern V. 1317 expired: Sunday, 25 April, A. D. 1260.

Southern V. 1317 expired: Thursday, 14 April, A. D. 1261; the 13th tithi of the bright half ended 21 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

¹⁴ I give this date here because, if correctly copied, it is the earliest known regular date of the Vikrama era which admits of verification.

199. — V. 1510. — From a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Borgeas. Gwālior stone inscriptions of the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Daṅgarēndradēva.¹⁷ —

(Line 1) . . . Saṃvat 1510 varshē Mīgha-sudī 8 Sōmē śrī-Gōpagirau mahārājādhirāja-rājā[ja]-śrī-Daṅgarēndradēva-rājy[é*] pravarttamānē ।

V. 1510 current: Thursday, 18 January, A. D. 1453.

V. 1510 expired: Monday, 7 January, A. D. 1454; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

200. — V. 1814. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 341. Date of a MS. of Chiraṃjīva-bhaṭṭa's *Kāvya-vilāsa* : —

Saṃvat 1814 Saka 1679 Īsvara-nāma-saṃvatsarē Kārttikē māsi śukla-pakshē 6 Guru-vāsarē shashṭhyām tithau Kārnātaka-dēśē Muhabihād-ākhyā-grāmē likhitam . . .

V. 1814 current: Friday, 29 October, new style, A. D. 1756; the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1814 expired: Thursday, 17 November, new style, A. D. 1757; the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.

By the so-called Tēlinga rule, the year Īsvara (No. 11) coincided with Saka 1679 expired or northern V. 1814 expired. By the Sārya-Siddhānta rule, without or with *bija*, and by the Jyōtistattva rule, the date (the 17th November, new style, A. D. 1757) would fall in the year Sarvadhārin (No. 22).

(To be continued.)

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. XIX. p. 374.)

To facilitate the use of the preceding lists, I have compiled the following general list of Vikrama dates which gives all the calculated dates in their natural sequence, without

¹⁷ By Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II. p. 333, the above date was read thus: — Saṃvat 1510 varshē Mīgha-sudī 8 (a)shṭamasi(myāsh).

reference to classification by results. But in this chronological list I have included also a number of other dates, — chiefly dates which do not admit of verification, — because it appeared desirable to collect in one place, especially for the more early times, all trustworthy Vikrama dates which have hitherto become known to us.¹ Dates which have not been previously calculated will here be given in full; for the rest, the principal items of each date only will be repeated, sufficient for identification, together with a reference to the page of Vol. XIX. of this Journal, where the full wording of the date may be found, together with the calculated results.

GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF VIKRAMA DATES.

1. — V. (?) 428. — *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 253. Bijayagaḍh (in Rājputānā) stone pillar inscription of Vishṇuvardhana: —

(Line 1) . . . Kṛitēshu chaturshu varsha-śatēshv=ashtāvinēśhu 400 20 8 Phālguna(na)-bahulasya pañchadaśyām=ētasyām-pūrvvāyām [1*]

2. — V. 480 (?). — *Ib.* p. 75. Gaṅgdhār² stone inscription of Viśvavarman: —

(Line 19) . . . Yātēshu chatu[r]shu kri(kṛ)itēshu sausaishvā(?shṭhā)śīta-sōttara-padēshv=iha vatsa[rēshu] ॥(1) śuklē trayōdaśa-dinē bhūvi Kārttikasya māsasya sarvva-jana-chitta-sukh-āvahasya ॥

3. — V. 493 and 529. — *Ib.* p. 83. Mandasōr³ stone inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman: —

(Line 19) . . . Malavānām gaṇasthityā yāt[ē] śata-chaturshayē । trinavaty-adhikē=bdānām=ri(ri)tau sēvya-ghana-stauē ॥ Sahasya-māsa-śuklasya praśastē=hai trayōdaśē ।

(Line 21) . . . Vatsara-śatēshu pañchāsu viśamty⁴-adhikēshu navasu ch=ābdēshu । yātēshv=abhiramya-Tapasya-māsa-śukla-dvītyāyām ॥

4. — V. 589. — *Ib.* p. 154. Mandasōr stone inscription of Yasodharman-Vishṇu-wardhana: —

(Line 21) . . . Pañchāsu śatēshu śaradām yātēshv=ekānnavati-sahitēshu । Mālava-gaṇasthiti-vaśāt=kāla-jānāya likhitēshu ॥

5. — V. 746. — *ante*, Vol. V. p. 181. Jhālrapāṭaṇ stone inscription of Durgagaṇa: —

(Line 16) . . . Saṃvatsara-śatēshu saptasu shatchatvarimēad-adhikēshu [1*]

6. — *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 369, No. 190. — Vikrama 794, Kārttika-vadi 15, Āditya-vārē, a solar eclipse. Dhiniki copper-plate inscription of Jāikadēva.

7. — V. 795. — *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 59. Kaṇaswa stone inscription of Sivagaṇa: —

(Line 14) . . . Saṃvatsara-satair=yātaiḥ sa-pañcha-navaty-arggalaiḥ [1*] saptabhir= Mmalav-śśānām . . .

8. — P. 373, No. 196.⁵ — V. 811 (?), Māgha-śudī 5, Bṛihaspati-vārē. Inscription at Chitōr in Rājputānā.

9. — V. 879 (?). — *ante*, Vol. XIV. pp. 46 and 351. Kōṭā Buddhist inscription of the Sāmanta Dēvadatta: —

(Line 20) . . . Saṃvat 800 70 9 Māgha-śudī 20 (?).

¹ The list will be found to contain all Vikrama dates of the inscriptions published in this Journal, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, and in Mr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, and all important dates from the facsimiles in the *Reports of the Archaeol. Survey of India*, and from such impressions and rubbings as are in my possession. Some early dates from inscriptions in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* have not been included in the list, because their readings appeared to me uncertain. Such are, e. g., the dates in the Shēkhavati inscription (V. 1018 and 1030) in Vol. IV. p. 382, and the dates of an inscription 'from a Baolee at Busantgarh' (V. 1099 and apparently the year Chitrahānu) and of an inscription from the neighbourhood of Mount Ābū (V. 1053 and 978 (?)) in Vol. X. pp. 873 and 819.

² According to Mr. Fleet, a village about 52 miles south-west of Jhālrapāṭaṇ, the chief town of the Jhālwad State in the Western Mālwa division of Central India.

³ In the Western Mālwa division of Central India.

⁴ Read *visisatya*.

⁵ The references by page and number, here and in a similar manner under other dates, are all to Vol. XIX. of this Journal.

10. — P. 35, No. 57. — **Vikrama 898**, Vaiśākha-śudi 2, Ravi-vārē. Dhōlpur stone inscription of the Chāhūmāna **Chañḍamahāsēna**.

11. — P. 28, No. 30. — **V. 919** (Saka 784), Aśvayuja-śudi 14, Bṛihaspati-dinē. Dēgadh stone inscription of **Bhōjadēva** of Kanauj.

12. — **V. 932**. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 157. Gwālior stone inscription of **Śrīmad-Ādivarāha (Bhōjadēva)** of Kanauj : —

(Line 7) . . . Navasu śatēshv=avdānām dvāttrimśat-samyntēshu Vaiśākhē |

13. — **V. 933**. — *Ib.* p. 159. Gwālior stone inscription of **Bhōjadēva** of Kanauj : —

(Line 1) . . . Samvatsara-śatēshu navasu ttrayastrīṅśad-adhikēshu Māgha-śukla-dvitiyāyām saṁ 933 Māgha-śudi 2 ady=ēha śrī-Gōpagirau svāmini paramēśvara-śrī-Bhōjadēvē . . .

(Line 5) . . . asminn=ēva samvatsarē Phālguna-vahula-paksha-pratipadi . . .

(Line 11) . . . asminn=ēva samvatsarē Phālguna-vahula-paksha-navamyām . . .

14. — **V. 936**. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 33, and Plate xi. Fragmentary stone inscription at Gyārispur : —

. . . Mālava-kālāch=chharadām śhaṭṭrimśat-samyntēshv=atītēshu | navasu śatēshu . . .

15. — P. 173, No. 110. — **V. 960**, Bhādrapada-vadi 4, Śanau. Tērahi stone inscription of the **Mahāsāmāntādhipatis Guṇarāja and Undabhaṭa**.

16. — **V. 960**. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 173. Siyaḍōṇī stone inscription; date of the reign of **Mahēndrapālādēva** of Kanauj : —

(Line 1) . . . [ma*]hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-[Ma*]hēndrapālādēva-pādānām mahi-pravarddhamāna-kalyāṇavijayarājyē saṁ[vatsa*]ra-śatēshu nava-sata śhashty-adhikēshu Śrāva- samvat 960 Śrāvāṇa . . .

17. — P. 35, No. 58. — **V. 962**, Jyēshṭha-śudi 5, Guru-dinē. Date in a MS. of Siddharshi's *Upamītibhava-prapañchā Kathā*.

18. — **V. 964**. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 173. Siyaḍōṇī stone inscription; date of the reign of **Mahēndrapālādēva** of Kanauj and of the **Mahāsāmāntādhipati Undabhaṭa** : —

(Line 4) . . . Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Bhōjadēva-pādānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Mahēndrapālādēva-pādānām mahi-pravarddhamāna-kalyāṇavijayarājyē samvatsara-śatēshu nava-sata [sha*]shṭy-adhikēshu chatur-anvitēshu Mārggasira-māsa-vahula-paksha-tṛtīyāyām samvat 964 Mārgga-vadi 3 ady=ēha Siyaḍōṇī . . .

19. — **V. 965**. — *Ib.* p. 174. Date in the Siyaḍōṇī stone inscription : —

(Line 8) . . . samvatsara-śatēshu nava-sata pañchashashty-adhikēshu Aśvina-māsē pratipadāyām samvat 965 Aśvina-śudi 1 . . .

20. — **V. 967**. — *Ib.* p. 174. Date in the Siyaḍōṇī stone inscription : —

(Line 11) . . . samvatsara-śatēshu nava-sata sapta[sha*]shṭy-adhikēshu Phālguna-māsa amāvāyām samvat 967 Phālguna-vadi 15 . . .

21. — **V. 969**. — *Ib.* p. 175. Siyaḍōṇī stone inscription; date of the **Mahārājādhirāja Dhūrbhaṭa** : —

(Line 18) . . . samvatsara-nava-śatēshu ēkōnasaptaty-adhikēshu Māgha-māsē pañchamyām samvat 969 Māgha-śudi 5 ady=ēha śrīmat-Siyaḍōṇyām mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dhū[r]bha[ṭa]c-paribhujyamānē . . .

22. — **V. 974**. — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 174. Asni stone inscription of **Mahipālādēva** of Kanauj : —

(Line 1) . . . Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj[ā*]dhirāja-pramēśvara-śr[ī]-Mahi[ndra]pālād[ē*]-va-pādānudhyāt[ā*]-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Mahip[ā*]lādēva-pādā-

* Read -Dhūrbhaṭa-

n[ām*] mahi(h)pravarddhamāna-kalyāṇavijā(ja)varājy[ā*] samvatsara-śatēsu(shu) navashu-(su) chatu[h*]saptaty-adhikēsu(shu) Māgha-māsa-śuklapakshya⁷-saptamyām=ēvaṁ samvat 974 Māgha-vadi 7 . . .

23. — **V. 981**. — *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 252; and a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Date of a stone inscription in the British Museum : —

(From the rubbing, line 9) : Samvat 981⁸ Kārttika-śudi 13 niḥpanam=iti ||

24. — **V. 983**. — *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 251; and a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Date of another stone inscription in the British Museum : —

(From the rubbing, line 16) . . . Samvat 983⁹ Chaitra-śudi-pañchamyāḥ niḥpanam=iti |

25. — **V. 991**. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 177. Date in the Siyaḍōṇī stone inscription : —

(Line 33) . . . sa[mvat] 991 Māgha-śudi 10.

26. — P. 181, No. 133. — **V. 994**, Vaiśākha-vadi 5, saṁkrāntau. Date in the Siyaḍōṇī stone inscription.

27. — **V. 1005**. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 177. Siyaḍōṇī stone inscription; date of the reign of **Dēvapālādēva** of Kanauj, and of the **Mahārājādhirāja Nishkalaṅka** : —

(Line 28) . . . Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Kaḥitipālādēva-pādānudhyātā¹⁰-paramabhaṭṭāraka[m*]-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Dēvapāla-pādānām mahi-pravarddhamāna-kalyāṇavijayarājyē samvatsarānām sahasr-aikam pañch-ōttarām Māgha-māsa-śuklapaksha-pañchamyām samvat 1005 Māgha-śudi 5 ady=ēha śrīmat-Siyaḍōṇī-pattānē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Nishkalaṅkaḥ¹¹-paribhujya[mā*]nē . . .

28. — **V. 1005** (?). — In the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. p. 284, Charles Wilkins has published a translation of a Sanskrit inscription (copied by Mr. Wilmot in A. D. 1785 from a stone at Buddha-Gayā), the date of which he has rendered thus : —

"On Friday, the fourth day of the new moon in the month of *Madhoo*, when in the seventh or mansion of *Ganisa*, and in the year of the *Era of Veekramādēvya* 1005."¹²

29. — **V. 1008**. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 177. — Siyaḍōṇī stone inscription; date of the **Mahārājādhirāja Nishkalaṅka** : —

(Line 30) . . . samvat 1008 Māgha-śudi 11 ady=ēha Siyaḍōṇī-pattānē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Nishkalaṅka= . . .

30. — P. 35, No. 59. — **V. 1011**, Vaiśākha-śudi 7, Sōma-dinē. Khajurāhō Jain temple inscription of the Chandēlla **Dhaṅga** (?).

31. — P. 174, No. 111. — **V. 1011**, Bhādrapada-vadi 11, Śukra-dinē. Stone inscription at Ambēr in Rājputānā.

32. — **V. 1011**. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 129. Khajurāhō stone inscription of the Chandēllas **Yasōvarman and Dhaṅga** : —

(Line 28) . . . samvatsara-daśa-śatēshu ēkādaś-adhikēshu samvat 1011 . . .

33. — P. 22, No. 3. — **V. 1016**, Māgha-śudi 13, Śanau. Rājōrgadh copper-plate inscription of the **Mahārājādhirāja Mathanādēva**; of the reign of **Vijsyapālādēva**, the successor of **Kaḥitipālādēva**.

34. — **V. 1025**. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 178. Siyaḍōṇī stone inscription; date of the **Mahārājādhirāja Nishkalaṅka** : —

(Line 36) . . . Samvat 1025 Māgha-vadi 9 ady=ēha Siyaḍōṇī-pattānē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Nishkalaṅka-paribhujyamānē . . .

⁷ Read -māsa-śuklapaksha- (?).

⁸ The published version has 781.

⁹ The published version has 783.

¹⁰ Read -pādānudhyāta- .

¹¹ Read -Nishkalaṅka- .

¹² Supposing the date of the original to have been V. 1006, Chaitra-śudi 4, Śukrē, the corresponding date, for northern V. 1005, expired, would be Friday, 17th March, A. D. 948.

35. — V. 1081. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 51. Copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Vākpātrāja of Dhārā :—
(Line 13) . . . ēkatrīṃśa-sāhasrika-samvatsarē=smin Bhādrapada-śukla-chaturdasyām pavitraka-parvvanī śrīmad-Ujjayāni-samāvāsitaḥ . . .
(Line 32) . . . sam 1031 Bhādrapada-śudī 14 . . .
36. — P. 23, No. 4. — V. 1086, Kārttika-śudī 15, a lunar eclipse. Copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Vākpātrāja of Dhārā.
37. — P. 29, No. 31. — V. 1042, Bhādrapada-śudī 15, Budhē. Date of Pārśvanāga's *Atmānuśāsana*.
38. — P. 166, No. 83. — V. 1043, Māgha-vadi 15, Ravau, a solar eclipse. Kaḍī copper-plate inscription of the Chalukya Mūlārāja.
39. — P. 364, No. 177. — V. 1049, Mārḡa-vadi 7, Guru-diné. Dēwāl stone inscription of Lalla the Chhinda.
40. — P. 361, No. 168. — Vikrama 1050, Pausha-śudī 5, (Budhē). Date of Amitagati's *Subhāshita-ratna-samādōha*, of the reign of the Paramāra Mufja of Dhārā.
41. — P. 23, No. 5. — V. 1055, Kārttika-śudī 15, Ravau, a lunareclipse. Nanyaurā copper-plate inscription of the Chandēlla Dhaṅgadēva.
42. — V. 1058. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 150. Khajurāhō stone inscription of Kōkkala :—
(Line 22) . . . Samvat 1058 Kārttikyām.
43. — V. 1059. — *Ib.* p. 147. Khajurāhō stone inscription of the Chandēlla Dhaṅgadēva :—
(Line 32) . . . Samvat 1059 śrī-Kharjūravā[ha]kē rāja-śrī-[Dham]gadēva-rājyē . . .
44. — P. 361, No. 169. — V. 1078, Māgha-vadi 3, Ravau, udagayana-parvvanī. Copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Bhōjadēva of Dhārā.
45. — V. 1083. — *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 140. Sārṇāth stone inscription of the Gauḍa Mahipāla :—
(Line 3) . . . Samvat 1083 Pausha-diné 11 [†*].
46. — P. 174, No. 112. — V. 1084, Srāvāṇa-vadi 4, dakṣiṇāyana-samkrāntau. Copper-plate inscription of the Mahārājādhirāja Trilōchanapāladēva.
47. — V. 1086. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 193. Rādhānpur copper-plate inscription of the Chanukya Bhīmadēva I. :—
(Line 1) . . . Vikrama-samvat 1086 Kārttika-śudī 15 ady=ēha śrīmad-Aṇahilapātākē . . .
(Line 5) . . . adya Kārttikī-parvvanī . . .
48. — V. 1093. — *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. p. 432; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 731; Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 278. 'Kurrah' stone inscription of the Mahārājādhirāja Yasahpāla :—
(Line 1). — Samvat 1093 Āshāḍha-śudī 1 ady=ēha śrīmat-Katē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Yasahpālah Kauśāmba-maṇḍalē . . .
49. — V. 1093. — *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 185 (Vol. XIV. p. 352). Date in the Udayagiri Amṛita cave inscription :—
(Line 4). — Samvat 1093.
50. — P. 181, No. 134. — V. 1100, (adhika-)Bhādra-vadi 2, Chandrē. Byānā stone inscription of Vijayādhirāja.
51. — P. 364, No. 178. — V. 1107, Vaiśākha-vadi 3, Sōma-diné. Nanyaurā copper-plate inscription of the Chandēlla Dēvavarmadēva.

52. — V. 1136. — From a rough copy, supplied to me by Dr. Hoernle. Arthūnā inscription of the Paramāra Chāmunḍarāja (the son of Maṇḍanadēva) :¹³ —
(Line 53) . . . Samvat 1136 Phālguna-sudī 7 Sukrē . . .
53. — V. 1137. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Udaypur (in Gwālīor) stone inscription of the Paramāra Udayāditya of Mālava :—
(Line 5) . . . Samvat 1137 Vaiśā(śā)kha-sudī 7.
54. — P. 36, No. 60. — Vikrama 1139, Jyēshṭha-śudī 3, Sōmē. Date of Garuchandraganī's *Srīvīra-charitra*.
55. — P. 361, No. 170. — V. 1145, Bhādrapada-śudī 3, Sōma-diné. 'Dubkund' (south-west of Gwālīor) stone inscription of the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Vikramasimha (P).
56. — V. 1145. — My *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 22. Date of a MS. of the *Nītihasātra-chūrṇi* of the time of the Chalukya Karṇadēva :—
Samvat 1145 Jyēshṭha-vadi 14 . . . mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Karna(rṇa)dēva-rājyē ॥
57. — V. 1148. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 317. Sūnak copper-plate inscription of the Chalukya Karṇadēva :¹⁴—
(Line 1) . . . Vikrama-samvat 1148 Vaiśākha-śudī 15 Sōmē | ady=ēha śrīmad-Aṇahilapātākē . . .
(Line 6) . . . Adya sōmagrahaṇa-parvvanī . . .
58. — V. 1150. — *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 41. Gwālīor Śāsbahū temple inscription of Mahipāla :—
(Line 40) . . . Ēkādaśasy=atītēshu samvatsara-śatēshu cha | ēkōna-paṅchāsa(śa)ti cha gatēshv=advē(bdē)shu Vikramāt ॥ Paṅchāśē(śē) ch=Āsvi(śvi)nē māśē kṛishṇa-pakshē
amkatō=pi 1150 ॥ Āsvi(śvi)na-va(ba)hula-paṅchamyām [†*]
59. — V. 1152. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XX. p. 102, and Plate xxii. Inscription on pillar of temple at 'Dubkund' :—
(Line 1). — Samvat 1152 Vaiśāsha(kha)-sudī-paṅchamyām |
60. — P. 36, No. 61. — V. 1164, Chaitra-śudī 2, Ravau. Dēogaḍh rock inscription of the Chandēlla Kirtivarmadēva.
61. — P. 371, No. 191. — V. 1164, Māgha-śudī 3, Sōmē, uttarāyāṇa-samkrāntau. Copper-plate inscription of Chandradēva and Madanapāladēva of Kanauj.
62. — P. 363, No. 176. — V. 1161, Pausha-śudī 5, Ravau, uttarāyāṇa-samkrāntau. Basāhi copper-plate inscription of (the Mahārāja-putra) Gōvindachandradēva of Kanauj.
63. — V. 1161. — *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 203. Gwālīor stone inscription (of the successor of Mahipāla, 58, above) :—
(Line 9) . . . Sri-Vikramārkanripa-kāl-atīta-samvatsarāṇām=ēkaśashty-adhikāyām=ēkādaśa-śatyām Māgha-śukla-shashṭhyām . . .
64. — V. 1161. — *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morg.*, Vol. VII. p. 306. Nāgpur stone inscription of the Paramāra Naravarmadēva :—
Samvat 1161.
65. — V. 1164. — In the *Transactions of the Royal As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 226, Colonel Tod has given the "substance of an inscription from Madhucara-ghar, in Harouta," apparently of

¹³ The 7th of the bright half of Phālguna of V. 1136, expired, would correspond to Friday, 31 January, A. D. 1080.

¹⁴ The 15th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of northern V. 1148, expired, would correspond to Monday, 5 May, A. D. 1091, when there was a lunar eclipse, 22 h. 23 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 21 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

the reign of the Paramāra Naravarman, which is said to mention an eclipse of the sun (!), and the date of which is rendered :¹⁵ —

"On the full moon of Pansha, Samvat 1164."

66. — P. 371, No. 192. — V. 1166, Pansha-vadi 15, Ravau, a solar eclipse. Copper-plate inscription of Madanapāla and Gōvindaohandradēva of Kanauj.

67. — P. 362, No. 171. — V. 1173, Vaiśākha-śudi 3, Sukrē. Date of the renewal, by the Chandēlla Jayavarmadēva, of the Khajurāhō inscription of Dhaṅgadēva (43, above).

68. — P. 367, No. 183. — V. 1174, Phālguna-vadi 3, Sukrē. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindaohandradēva of Kanauj.

69. — P. 167, No. 84. — V. 1177, Kārttika-vadi 15, Ravi-dinē. Copper-plate inscription of the Mahārājādhirāja Virasimhadēva.

70. — V. 1177. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI. p. 124. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindaohandradēva of Kanauj, regarding a transfer of land which had been previously granted by (the Kalachuri?) Yasahkarnadēva : —

Samvat 1177 Kārttika-śukla-chaturdaśyām . . .

71. — V. [117]9. — My *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 25. Date of a MS. of the *Pañchavastuka*, of the time of the Chaulukya Jayasimhadēva : —

Samvat [117]9¹⁶ Phālguna-vadi 12 Ravau || samasta-rājāvali-virājita-mahārājādhirāja-śrīmat-Tribhuvanagaṇḍa-śrī-Jayasimhadēva-ka[lyāṇa]vijayarājyē . . .

72. — P. 357, No. 160. — V. 1181, Bhādrapada-śudi [4?], Gurau. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindaohandradēva of Kanauj.

73. — P. 365, No. 179. — V. 1182, Māgha-vadi 6, Sukrē. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindaohandradēva of Kanauj.

74. — P. 362, No. 172. — V. 1185, Chaitra-śudi 15, Sukrē, manvādan. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindaohandradēva of Kanauj.

75. — V. 1186. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 34, and Plate x., A. Kālañjar stone pillar inscription of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadēva : —
(Line 3) . . . Sam 1186 mahārājā śrī-Madanavarmadēva ||

76. — P. 372, No. 193. — V. 1187, Mārga-śudi 15, Sōma-dinē, samkrāntau. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindaohandradēva of Kanauj.

77. — V. 1187. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 34, and Plate x., B. Kālañjar stone pillar inscription of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadēva : —
(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1187 Jyēshtha-śudi 9 śrīmad-Madanavarmadēva ||

78. — P. 23, No. 6. — V. 1188, Kārttika-śudi 8, Śanau. Kālañjar rock inscription of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadēva.

79. — V. 1188. — *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 252. Rēn copper-plate inscription of Gōvindaohandradēva of Kanauj :¹⁷ —

Samvad=ashtāśīty-adhikē ēkādasā(sa)-śatē Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām tithau Śukra-dinē-ñkatō=pi sam 1188 Kārttika-śudi 15 Sukrē ||

80. — P. 368, No. 187. — 1190, Māgha-śudi 15, Sōmē. Bāndā copper-plate inscription of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadēva.

¹⁵ Pansha-śudi 15 of V. 1164, expired, would correspond to the 31st December, A. D. 1107, when there was a lunar eclipse, 16 h. 21 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 15 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise. And there was a solar eclipse, visible in India, on the 16th December, A. D. 1107, 6 h. 18 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 5 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise, corresponding to the pūrpimānta Pansha-vadi 15 of V. 1164 expired.

¹⁶ A continuation of the same MS., ib. No. 42, is clearly dated in Samvat 1179.

¹⁷ The date corresponds, for V. 1188 expired, to Friday, 6 November, A. D. 1181, when the full-moon tithi ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

81. — V. 1190. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 55. Ingnōḍa stone inscription of the Mahārājādhirāja Vijayapālādēva : —

(Line 1) . . . Samvatsara-śatēshv=ēkādasāsu navaty-adhikēshu Āshāḍha-śuklapaksh-aikā-daśyām samvat 1190 Āśā(śhā)ḍha-śudi 11 ady=ēha Iṅgaṇapatē . . . =mahārājādhirāja-paramēvara-śrī-Vijayapālādēvā . . .

(Line 6) . . . Āśā(śhā)ḍha-śuklapaksh-ē(ai)kādaśyām parvvaṇi . . .

82. — V. 1191. — *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 353. Date of the Paramāra Yaśovarmadēva, in the copper-plate inscription of the Mahākumāra Lakshmiavarmadēva (89, below) : —

(Line 6) . . . śrīmad-Uhārāyām mahārājādhirāja-paramēvara-śrī-Yaśovarmadēvā śrī-Vikrama-kāl-ātita-samvatsar-aikanavaty-adhika-śat-aikādaśēshu Kārttika-śudi aṣṭamāyām samjāta-mahārāja-śrī-Naravarmadēva-samvatsarikē . . .

83. — P. 178, No. 125. — V. 1192, Jyēshtha-vadi 9, Ravau. Rock inscription at Kālañjar.

84. — V. 1192. — *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 349. Copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Yaśovarmadēva : —

(Line 12) . . . Samvat 1192 Mā[rgga]-vadi 3 [11*]

85. — P. 174, No. 113. — V. 1194, Chaitra-vadi 5, Gnrau. Inscription in cell near Nilakaṇṭha temple at Kālañjar.

86. — V. 1196. — *ante*, Vol. X. p. 159. Dōhad stone inscription of the Chaulukya Jayasimhadēva(?) : —

(Line 8) . . . Śrī-nripa-Vikrama-samvat 1196.

87. — P. 23, No. 7. — V. 1199, Phālguna-śudi 11, Śanau. 'Gagahā' copper-plate inscription of Gōvindaohandradēva and (the Mahārāja-putra) Rājyapālādēva of Kanauj.

88. — V. 1199. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III. pp. 58-60, and Plate xxi. Inscriptions on temple pillars at Gaḍhwā, dated : — Samvat 1199; sam 1199; and 1199.

89. — P. 40, No. 80. — V. 1200, Srāvāna-śudi 15, a lunar eclipse. Ujjain copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Mahākumāra Lakshmiavarmadēva.

90. — P. 172, No. 108. — Vikrama 1202 (Simha 32), Āśvina-vadi 13, Sōmē. Māngrol stone inscription of the Chaulukya Kumārāpālādēva.

91. — P. 354, No. 151. — V. 1207, Jyēshtha-vadi 11, Ravau. Inscription on pedestal of boar at Chāndpur.

92. — V. 1207. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XX. p. 46, and Plate x.; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 293. Mahāban stone inscription of the Mahārājādhirāja [Aṅ]jayapālādēva : —

(Line 29) . . . Samvat 1207 Kā . . . paurṇamāsyām mahārājādhirāja . . . jayapālādēva-vijayarājyē . . .

93. — V. 1207. — In *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. I. p. 96, Sir A. Cunningham mentions an inscription at 'Hatliya-dah' of the time of 'Gōsalladēvi,' the queen of Gōvindaohandradēva of Kanauj, which, he says, is dated :¹⁸ —

"on Thursday, the 5th of the waning moon of Āshāḍha, in Samvat 1207."

94. — P. 167, No. 85. — V. 1208, Mārga-vadi 15, Śanau. Ajaygaḍh inscription of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadēva.

95. — P. 367, No. 184. — V. 1208, Kārttika-śudi 15, Bhaumē. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindaohandradēva of Kanauj and the Mahārājā Gōsalladēvi.

¹⁸ The 5th of the dark half of the amānta Āshāḍha of southern V. 1207, expired, would correspond to Thursday, July, A. D. 1161.

96. — V. 1208. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 300. Date of the Vaṅnagar Prasasti of the reign of the Chalukya Kumārapāladēva :—
(Line 43) . . . Śrīpāla-nāmā kavi-chakravartī prasastim-ētām-akarōt-prasastām ||
Sāmvata(ṭ) 1208 varshē Āsvina-śudi[5?] Gurau likhitam . . .
97. — P. 166, No. 81. — V. 1209, Kārttika-vadi 12, Sōmē. Date of a MS. of the *Piṇḍa-niryukti*.
98. — V. 1210. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Date of the Ajmere stone-inscription containing *Vigraharājadēva's Harakēli-nāṭaka* :¹⁹—
Sāmvat 1210 Mārgga-śudi 5 Āditya-dinē Sravaṇa-nakshatrē | Makara-sthē chaṇḍrē |
Harshaṇa-yōgē | Vā(bā)lava-karaṇē || Harakēli-nāṭakaṁ samāptaṁ ||
99. — V. 1211. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 73, and Plate xxiii. D. Mahōba image inscription of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadēva :—
(Line 2). — Śrīman-Madanavarmmadēva-rājyē saṁ 1211 Āshāḍha-śudi 3 Sa(śa)nan (?).
100. — P. 29, No. 32. — V. 1215, Chaitra-śudi 8, Ravau. Gīrnār stone inscription.
101. — V. 1215. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 153. Khajurāhō image inscription of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadēva :—
(Line 1) . . . Sāmvat 1215 Māgha-śudi 5 śrīman-Madanavarmmadēva-pravaraddhamāna-vijayarājyē ||
102. — P. 29, No. 33. — V. 1216, Bhādra-śudi 1, Ravau. Alha-ghāt stone inscription of the Kalachuri (Chēdi) Narasimhadēva.
103. — P. 29, No. 34. — V. 1218, dvi^oĀshāḍha-śudi 5, Gurau. Date of a MS. of the *Kalpachūri*, of the time of the Chalukya Kumārapāladēva.
104. — P. 30, No. 35. — V. 1218, Srāvaṇa-śudi 14, Ravau, mahāchaturdaśī-parvaṇi. Nādōl copper-plate inscription of the Chāhumāna Ālhaṇadēva.
105. — P. 36, No. 62. — Vikrama 1220, Vaiśākha-śuti 15, Gurau. Delhi Siwālik pillar inscription of the Chāhumāna Visaladēva of Śākambharī.
106. — P. 357, No. 161. — [V. 1220, Pau]sha-śudi 15, Gurau, a lunar eclipse. Udaypur (in Gwālior) stone inscription of the Chalukya Kumārapāladēva.
107. — P. 36, No. 63. — V. 1222, Vaiśākha-śudi 3, Sōmē, akshaya-tṛitīyā-parvaṇi. Stone pillar inscription from Udaypur (in Gwālior).
108. — P. 36, No. 64. — V. 1224, Āshāḍha-śudi 2, Ravau. Mahōba image inscription of the Chandēlla Paramaridēva.
109. — V. 1224. — In the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. pp. 443-446, is a translation, by Captain E. Fell, of an inscription from Hānsi, apparently of the reign of (the Chāhumāna) Prithvirāja, the date of which is given thus :²⁰—
“In the year of Sumbut 1224 (A. D. 1168), on Saturday, the seventh of the white fortnight of the month Māgha.”
110. — P. 179, No. 126. — V. 1225, Vaiśākha-vadi 12, Gurau. Phulwariya (?) stone inscription of the Jāpiliya Nāyaka Pratāpachavala.
111. — P. 182, No. 135. — V. 1225, Chaitra-vadi 5, Budhē. Jaunpur stone pillar inscription of Vijayachandradēva of Kanauj (?).

¹⁹ The 5th of the bright half of Mārgasīra of V. 1210, expired, would correspond to Sunday, 22 November, A. D. 1153. On that day, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karaṇa* Bālava ended 9 h. 17 m., and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Sravaṇa up to 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise; the *yōga* Harshaṇa began 9 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

²⁰ Compare also *Transactions, Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 154. — The above date does not work out satisfactorily for, Māgha-śudi 7 would correspond, for V. 1224 current, to Sunday, 29 January, A. D. 1167; and for V. 1224 expired, to Friday, 19 January, A. D. 1168.

112. — P. 184, No. 143. — V. 1225, Jyēshṭha-vadi 3, Budhē. Tārāchāndī rock inscription of the Mahānāyaka Pratāpachavaladēva, containing a reference to Vijayachandradēva of Kanauj.
113. — V. 1225. — *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 8. Copper-plate inscription of Vijayachandradēva and Jayachandradēva of Kanauj :—
(Line 17) . . . pañchavimsaty-adhika-dvādaśa-[śa*]ta-sāmvatsarē-mkē-pi saṁ 1225 Māghī-paurṇamasyām . . .
114. — V. 1226. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LV. Part I. p. 46. Bijhōl rock inscription of the Chāhumāna Sōmēsvara :²¹—
(Line 27) . . . Prasiddhim-agamad=dēva(!)kālē Vikrama-bhāsvataḥ shaḍvimsā-dvādaśa-śatē Phālgunē kṛishṇa-pakshakē || 91 || Tṛitīyāyām tithau vāre Gurau tāre cha Hastakē Vriddhi-nāmani yōgē cha karaṇē Taitalē tathā || 92 || Sāmvat 1226 Phālguna-vadi 3 . . .
115. — V. 1226. — *Id.* p. 46. Mēnālgadh stone pillar inscription of the Chāhumāna Prithvirāja :—
Mālavēsa-gata-vatsara-śataih dvādaśais=cha shaṭvimsā-pūrvakail . . .
116. — P. 357, No. 162. — V. 1227 (?), Āshāḍha-śudi 2, Sōmē. Stone inscription at Ajaygadh.
117. — P. 171, No. 103. — V. 1229, Mārga-vadi 9, Sōmē. Date of a MS. of Dharmōtta-rāchārya's *Nyāyavindu-tīkā*.
118. — P. 362, No. 173. — V. 1229, Vaiśākha-śudi 3, Sōmē, akshaya-tṛitīyā-yugādi-parvaṇi. Udaypur (in Gwālior) stone inscription of the Chalukya Ajayapāladēva.
119. — P. 365, No. 180. — Vikrama 1231, Kārttika-śudi 11, Sōmē, Kārttikōdyāpana-parvaṇi; and Kārttika-śudi 13, Budhē. Copper-plate inscription of the Chalukya Ajayapāladēva.
120. — V. 1231. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. VI. Plate xxi. Inscription in temple at Visalpur :—
(Line 7) . . . Saṁ 1231 Pausa-su 15.
121. — P. 30, No. 36. — Vikrama 1232, Chaitra-śudi 1, Bhaumā. Date of Narapati's *Narapati-jayacharyā*, of the time of the Chalukya Ajayapāladēva.
122. — P. 30, No. 37. — V. 1232, Bhādra-śudi 13, Ravau. Copper-plate inscription of Jayachandradēva of Kanauj.
123. — P. 358, No. 163. — V. 1232 (Vikāri-sāmvatsarē), Āsvina-śudi 5. Gayā image inscription of the Gauḍa Gōvindapāladēva.
124. — P. 37, No. 65. — V. 1233, Vaiśākha-śudi 10, Śanau. Copper-plate inscription of Jayachandradēva of Kanauj.
125. — P. 363, No. 174. — V. 1234, Pausa-śudi 4, Ravau, uttarāyana-samkrāntan. Copper-plate inscription of Jayachandradēva of Kanauj.
126. — V. 1235 and 1236. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 737. Copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Mahākumāra Harīschandradēva :—
Śrī-Vikrama-kāl-ātīta-1235-pañchatrimsad-adhika-dvādaśasāta-sāmvatsar-āntaḥpātī-Pausa-vadi amāvāsya-yām sanjāta-sūrya-parvaṇi²² . . . tathā 1236 shaṭtrimsad-adhika-dvādaśasāta-sāmvatsar-āntaḥpātī-Vaiśākha-māsi paurṇamasyām.
127. — P. 37, No. 66. — V. 1236, Vaiśākha-śudi 15, Śukrē. Copper-plate inscription of Jayachandradēva of Kanauj.

²¹ The 3rd of the dark half of the pūrṇimānta Phālguna of V. 1226, expired, would correspond to Thursday, 5 February, A. D. 1170.

²² There was no solar eclipse on Pausa-vadi 15, pūrṇimānta or amānta, of V. 1235, current or expired.

128. — V. 1239. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. Plate xxxii. 9 and 10, and Vol. XXI. pp. 173 and 174. Madanpur inscription on the defeat of the Chandëlla Paramardidëva by the Châhumâna Prithvirâja : —
(10, line 4) . . . Saṃ 1239.
129. — P. 37, No. 67. — V. 1240, Vaiśakha-śudi 14, Gurau. Kâlâñjar rock inscription of the Chandëlla Paramardidëva.
130. — P. 179, No. 127. — *Sahasâṅka* 1240, Āshâḍha-vadi 9, Sômë. Stone inscription from Mahôba.
131. — P. 37, No. 68. — V. 1243, Jyêshṭha-śudi 11, Budhë. Inscription at Ajaygaḍh.
132. — P. 37, No. 69. — V. 1243, Āshâḍha-śudi 7, Ravau. Copper-plate inscription of Jayachohandradëva of Kanauj.
133. — P. 373, No. 197. — V. 1244, Jyêshṭha-śudi 15, Gurau. Stone pillar inscription at Tahanggaḍh.
134. — V. 1244. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. VI. p. 156, and Plate xxi. Visalpur stone pillar inscription of the Châhumâna Prithvirâja : —
(Line 1) . . . Samasta-râjâvall-sa[ma]lâṅkṛita-paramabhattâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramâ-
[śva]ra-śri-Prithvirâjadëva-râjyë tatra tasmin kâlë saṃvat 1244 . . .
135. — V. 1247 (?). — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 49. Ratnapur stone inscription of the Kalachuri (Chëdi) Prithvidëva : —
(Line 24) . . . Saṃvat 1247 (?).
136. — P. 23, No. 8. — Vikrama 1251, Kârttika-śudi 12, Sukrë. Date of a MS. of Hëma-chandra's *Yôgâśâstra*, of the time of the Chaulukya Bhîmadëva II.
137. — P. 30, No. 38. — Vikrama 1252, Āsvina-śudi 5, vâsarë Vâsarësituh (Ravau). Baṭës-var stone inscription of the Chandëlla Paramardidëva.
138. — P. 38, No. 70. — V. 1253, Vaiśakha-śudi 11, Bhaumë. Bëlkhara stone pillar inscription of one of the rulers of Kanauj (?).
139. — P. 171, No. 104. — V. 1253, Mârgha-vadi 7, Sukrë. Rëwah copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâjaka Salakhnavarmadëva*, of the time of the Kalachuri (Chëdi) Vijayadëva.
140. — P. 38, No. 71. — Vikrama 1256, Vaiśakha-śudi 15, Ravau. Bhôpâl copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra Mahâkumâra Udayavarmadëva.
141. — P. 173, No. 109. — Vikrama 1256, Bhâdrapada-vadi 15, Bhanmë. Copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadëva II.
142. — P. 354, No. 152. — V. 1258, Kârttika-śudi 10, Sômë. Kâlâñjar stone inscription of the Chandëlla Paramardidëva.
143. — P. 182, No. 136. — Vikrama 1260, Jyêshṭha-vadi 5, (Gurau). Date of Malaya-prabhasûri's commentary on Mânatungasûri's *Siddhajayanti-charitra*.
144. — P. 177, No. 122. — Vikrama 1261, Āsvina-vadi 7, Ravau. Date of a MS. of Mânatungasûri's *Siddhajayanti-charitra*, of the time of the Chaulukya Bhîmadëva II.
145. — P. 30, No. 39. — Vikrama 1263, Śrâvâṇa-śudi 2, Ravau. vyatipâta-parvaṇi. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadëva II.
146. — P. 358, No. 164. — V. 1264, Āshâḍha-śudi [2?], Sômë. Copper-plate inscription of the time of the Chaulukya Bhîmadëva II.
147. — P. 38, No. 72. — V. 1265, Vaiśakha-śudi 15, Bhaumë. Mount Âbd stone inscription of the reign of the Chaulukya Bhîmadëva II.

148. — P. 24, No. 9. — Vikrama 1266 (Sinhâ 96), Mârgha-śudi 14, Gurau. Copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadëva II.
149. — P. 24, No. 10. — V. 1267, Phâlguna-śudi 10, Gurau, abhishëka-parvaṇi. Pipliâ-nagar copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra Arjunavarmadëva.
150. — V. 1269. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 50, and Plate xii, D. Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of the Chandëlla Trailôkyavarmadëva : —
(Line 1) . . . Saṃvat 1269 Phâlguna-vadi . . . Sanau râja-śri-Trailôkyavarmadëva-vijayarâjyë . . .
151. — P. 175, No. 114. — V. 1270, Vaiśakha-vadi 15, Sômë, a solar eclipse. Bhôpâl copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra Arjunavarmadëva.
152. — P. 31, No. 40. — V. 1272, Bhâdrapada-śudi 15, Budhë, a lunar eclipse. Bhôpâl copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra Arjunavarmadëva.
153. — P. 24, No. 11. — V. 1275 (Cbitrabhânu-saṃvatsarë), Mârgha-śudi 5, Sanau. Harsaudâ (or Chârâ) stone inscription of Dëvapaladëva of Dhârâ.
154. — V. 1276. — *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 63. Buddhist stone inscription from Śrâvasti, with references to the rulers of Kanauj Gôpâla and Madana : —
(Line 18). — Saṃvat 1276 [11*]
155. — P. 25, No. 12. — V. 1280, Pausha-śudi 3, Bhaumë, uttarâyâna-parvaṇi. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Jayantasinhâ.
156. — P. 25, No. 13. — Vikrama 1283, Kârttika-śudi 15, Gurau. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadëva II.
157. — P. 167, No. 86. — V. 1284, Phâlguna-vadi 15, Sômë. Date of a MS. of the *Daśavakdlika-sûtra*, etc., of the reign of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja Jaitrasinhadëva*.
158. — V. 1286. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Udaypur (in Gwâlîor) stone inscription of Dëvapaladëva of Dhârâ : —
(Line 1) . . . Saṃvat 1286 varshë Kârtti[ka*]-śudi . . . Su(śu)krë . . . śri-Dëvapâla-
[dëva]-kalyâṇavijayarâjyë . . .
159. — P. 369, No. 188. — Vikrama 1287, Āshâḍha-śudi 8, Sukrë. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadëva II.
160. — P. 25, No. 14. — Vikrama 1288, Phâlguna-śudi 10, Budhë. Girnâr stone inscription of Jayantasinhâ, the son of Vastupâla.
161. — P. 366, No. 191. — Vikrama 1288, Bhâdrapada-śudi 1, Sômë. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadëva II.
162. — P. 358, No. 165. — Vikrama 1288 or 1289 (?), Āsvina-vadi 15, Sômë. Stone inscription from Girnâr.
163. — V. 1289 [9?]. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Udaypur (in Gwâlîor) stone inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja Dëvapaladëva* of Dhârâ : —
(Line 1) . . . Saṃvat 1289 [9?] varshë Mârgha-vadi 3 Gurau . . .
164. — P. 25, No. 15. — V. 1292, Kârttika-śudi 8, Ravau. Date of a MS. of a *Yôgâśâstra-vritti*.
165. — P. 368, No. 185. — Vikrama 1295, Mârgha-śudi 14, Gurau. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadëva II.
166. — P. 166, No. 82. — Vikrama 1296, Mârgha-vadi 14, Ravau. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadëva II.

* The 3rd of the dark half of the amânta Mârghâira of V. 1289, expired, would correspond to Thursday, December, A. D. 1232.

167. — P. 167, No. 87. — **V. 1296**, Phālguna-vadi 5, Ravan. Inscription in the temple of Vaidyanātha at Kīragrāma.
168. — **V. 1297**. — *ante*, Vol. XVII, p. 233. Rēwah copper-plate inscription of the *Mahārājaka Kumārāpālādēva*, of the time of (the Chandēlla) *Trailōkyavarmadēva*: — (Line 35). . . saptanavaty-adhi ē dvādāsa-śata-samvatsarē amkē-pi 1297 Kārtti yā[ñ]. . .
169. — P. 183, No. 137. — **V. 1298**, dvitīya-Bhādrapada-vadi 7, Gurau. Date of a MS. of Hēmachandra's *Śabdānuśāsana*.
170. — **V. 1298**. — *ante*, Vol. XVII, p. 236. Rēwah copper-plate inscription of the *Mahārājaka Harirājādēva*, of the time of (the Chandēlla) *Trailōkyamalla*: — (Line 36). . . Samvata(t) 1298 Māghē māsi . . .
171. — P. 372, No. 194. — **Vikrama 1299**, Chaitra-śudi 6, Sômē, (and a solar eclipse on the preceding Phālguna-vadi 15). Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya *Tribhuvanapālādēva*.
172. — P. 170, No. 97. — **V. 1303**, Mārga-vadi 12, Gurau. Date of a MS. of the *Āchārān-gasūtra*, of the reign of the Vāghēla *Viśalādēva*.
173. — P. 22, No. 1. — **V. 1304**, Pauṣa-śudi 15, Sasi-vāsarē. Date of Udayasāgara's *Snatrīpanchāhikā*.
174. — P. 175, No. 115. — **V. 1306**, Bhādra-vadi 6, Ravan. Date of a MS. of Rā a-chandra's *Nirbhayabhīma-vyāyoga*, of the reign of *Udayasīrnhadēva*.
175. — P. 28, No. 27. — **V. 1311**, Jyēshtha-śudi 15, Budhē. Dabhoi stone inscription of the time of the Vāghēla *Viśalādēva*.
176. — **V. 1312**. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 31; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Rahatgaḍh stone inscription of the *Mahārājādāhīrājya Jaya[sīrnha]dēva* of Dhārā: ³⁴ — (Line 1). . . Samvat 1312 varshē Bhādrapada-su 7 [Sō]ma . . . śrīmad-Dhārāyām mahārājādhirāja-śrīmaj-Jaya[sīrnha]-vijayarājyē . . .
177. — P. 170, No. 98. — **V. 1315**, Phālguna-vadi 7, Sanau. Stone inscription at Siyāl Bēt.
178. — P. 185, No. 145. — **V. 1315**, Chaitra-vadi 4, Budhē. Date of a MS. of Hēmachandra's *Śabdānuśāsana-laghuvṛitti*.
179. — P. 183, No. 138. — **Vikrama 1317**, Jyēshtha-vadi 4, Gurau. Kaḍi copper-plate inscription of the Vāghēla *Viśalādēva*.
180. — P. 373, No. 198. — **Vikrama 1317**, Vaiśākha-śudi 13, Gurau. Ajaygaḍh rock inscription of the Chandēlla *Viravarmān*.
181. — P. 179, No. 128. — **V. 1318**, Srāvaṇa-vadi 2, Budhē. Stone inscription from the fort of Jhānsī.
182. — P. 180, No. 129. — **Vikrama 1320** (Mahatmāda 662, Valabhī 945, Simha 151), Āshāḍha-vadi 13, Ravan. Verāval stone inscription of the Vāghēla *Arjunsādēva*.
183. — P. 170, No. 99. — **V. 1322**, Kārttika-vadi 8, Chandrē. Date of a MS. of Āśaḍa's *Vivēkamañjarī*.
184. — **V. 1324**. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LV. Part I. p. 46. Chitōr stone inscription of the reign of *Tājāsīrnha* of Mēwād: —
Samvat 1324 varshē . . .

³⁴ The 7th of the bright half of Bhādrapada of southern V. 1312, expired, would correspond to Monday, 28 August, A. D. 1266.

185. — **V. 1325**. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 51, and Plate xiv., F. Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of the reign of the Chandēlla *Viravarmān*: —
(Line 2). . . Viravarma-[rājyē] samvat 1325.
186. — **V. 1325**. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III. p. 127, and Plate xxxviii., 23. Gayā stone inscription of *Vanarājādēva* (?) of the time of *Giyās-ud-dīn Balban* (?): ²⁵ —
(Line 1). . . Samvat 1325 Phālguna-śudi 1 Ravan ||
187. — P. 183, No. 139. — **V. 1327**, Bhādrapada-vadi 2, Ravan. Date of a MS. of the *Sugaḍānga-vṛitti*.
188. — P. 185, No. 146. — **V. 1332**, Vaiśākha-vadi 3, Sanau. Date of a MS. of the *Uttarā-dhyāyana-sūtra*.
189. — **V. 1335**. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LV. Part I. p. 48. Chitōrgaḍh stone inscription of the reign of *Samarasīrnha* of Mēwād: ²⁶ —
Samvat 1335 varshē Vaiśākha-śudi 5 Gurau.
190. — **V. 1335**. — From a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. British Museum stone inscription of the Vāghēla *Saraṅgadēva*: ²⁷ —
(Line 1). . . Samvat 1335 varshē Vaiśākha(kha)-śudi 5 Sômē ṣḍy=śha śrīmad-Anahillavātak-ādhishtita. Saraṅgadēva-kalyāṇa-vijayarājyē . . .
191. — P. 25, No. 16. — **V. 1337**, Māgha-śudi 13, Sômē. Ajaygaḍh rock inscription of the reign of the Chandēlla *Viravarmadēva* (?).
192. — P. 186, No. 147. — **Vikrama 1337**, Srāvaṇa-vadi 13, Budhē. 'Pālam Bāoli' stone inscription of the time of *Giyās-ud-dīn Balban*.
193. — P. 31, No. 41. — **V. 1340**, Chaitra-śudi 3, Budhē. Stone inscription at Kālañjar.
194. — **V. 1342**. — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 351. Mount Ābā stone inscription of *Samarasīrnha* of Mēwād: —
(Line 48). . . Sam 1342[2] varshē Mārgga-śudi [1].
195. — **V. 1343**. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 287. Date of the Cintra Prasasti, of the reign of the Vāghēla *Saraṅgadēva*: ²⁸ —
(Line 66). . . Sri-nripa-Vikrama-sam 1343 varshē Māgha-śudi 5 Sômē . . .
196. — **V. 1344**. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LV. Part I. p. 19. Udaypur stone pillar inscription of the reign of *Samarasīrnha* of Mēwād: —
(Line 1). — Samvat 1344 Vaiśākha-śudi 3 adya śrī-Chitrakṛtē samasta-mahā-Rāvala-(?) kula-śrī-Samarasīrnhadēva-kalyāṇa-vijayarājy[ē*] . . .
197. — **V. 1345**. — *Ib.* Vol. VI. p. 884. Ajaygaḍh stone inscription (apparently) of the time of the Chandēlla *Bhōjavarmān*: —
Khaṇad-śśēkshāṇa-gata-śruti-hhūta-samanvitē 1 samvatsarē śubhē=lēkhi Vaiśākha-māsa-sad-dinē || aṅkē-pi 1345 samayē Vaiśāk[khē*].
198. — P. 178, No. 123. — **V. 1350**, Jyēshtha-vadi 3, Ravan. Date of Jayanta's *Kāvya-prakāśa-dīpikā*, of the reign of the Vāghēla *Saraṅgadēva*.
199. — P. 31, No. 42. — **V. 1353** (Plava-vatsarē), Jyēshtha-śudi 12, Budhē. Stone inscription at Jaunpur.

²⁵ The 1st of the bright half of Phālguna of V. 1325, expired, would correspond to Sunday, 3 February, A. D. 1269.

²⁶ The 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of northern V. 1335, expired, would correspond to Thursday, 28 April, A. D. 1278.

²⁷ The 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of southern V. 1335, expired, would correspond to Monday, 17 April, A. D. 1279.

²⁸ The 5th of the bright half of Māgha of V. 1343, expired, would correspond to Monday, 20 January, A. D. 1287.

200. — P. 172, No. 105. — V. 1359, Mārga-vadi 5, Sômē. Date of a MS. of Jinadāsaganī's *Viśvanīśtha-chuṣṭi*.
201. — P. 26, No. 17. — Vikrama 1365, Pausha-śudi 9, Ravau. Date of Jinaprabha's *Bhāyāharastava-vṛitti*.
202. — P. 354, No. 153. — Vikrama 1365, Pausha-vadi 2, Sômē. Date of Jinaprabha's *Ajitaśāntistava-vṛitti*.
203. — V. 1366. — Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Udaypur (in Gwālior) stone inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja Jayasimhadēva* [of Dhārū ?] :—
(Line 1) . . . [Sam] 1366 Śrāvāṇa-vadi 12 [Sukrē ?] Udayapur[re] samasta-rājāvali mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Jayasimhadēva-rājyē . . .
204. — P. 168, No. 88. — V. 1372, Pausha-vadi 10, Sanau. Inscription at Ajaygaḍh.
205. — P. 28, No. 28. — V. 1380, Bhādra-śudi 3, Sômē. Stone inscription at Udaypur (in Gwālior).
206. — P. 26, No. 18. — Vikrama 1384, Phālguna-śudi 5, Bhamē. Delhi Museum stone inscription of the time of Muhammad bin Tughlak.
207. — V. 1384. — *Proceedings, Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 105-106. Another Delhi Museum stone inscription of the time of Muhammad bin Tughlak :³⁰ —
Kṛitir-Madanadēvasya turyya-śaṣṭ-āgni-niśākarē |
Vikram-ābdē saite Bhādrē tṛtīyāyām Gurō-dinē || 17 ||
Samvat 1384 miti Bhādra-vadi 3 Gura-dinē . . .
208. — P. 359, No. 166. — V. 13[8]6 (Bhāvē samvatsarē pūrṇē), Ashāḍha 7, Sômē. Hāthasī stone inscription of the Mēhara chief Thēpaka.
209. — P. 175, No. 116. — V. 1390, Bhādra-vadi 4, Sanau. Inscription on pillar at 'Kevati-Kund.'
210. — P. 185, No. 144. — V. 1390, Bhādra-vadi 5, Gurau. Stone inscription from the Fort of Chunar.
211. — P. 355, No. 154. — V. 1394, Māgha-vadi 1, Budhē. Stone inscriptions at Udaypur (in Gwālior).
212. — P. 22, No. 2. — V. 1397, Māgha-śudi 4, Sômē. Inscriptions on pillars at Kevati-Kund, of the reign of the *Mahārāja Hamiradēva*.
213. — P. 356, No. 159. — V. 1404, Kārttika-śudi 14, Gurau. Stone inscription at the Fort of Marpha.
214. — V. 1412. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. IX, Plate ii., 3. 'Kāri-Tālai' stone inscription of the *Mahārāja Virāmadēva* :—
(Line 1) . . . Samvatu 1412 samaē || Uchahaḍa-nagara-mahārū[ja]-śrī-Virāmadēva-rājyē . . .
215. — V. 1429. — From a rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Compare *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III, p. 123; and *ante*, Vol. X, p. 341. Gayā stone inscription of the reign of Sultan Firōz Shāh :³⁰—
(Line 6) . . . Paramabhaṭṭarak-ētyādi-rājāvali pūrvavāt śrīmad-Vikramādityadēva-nripatēr-atit-āvdē(bdē) samvata(t) 1429 Māgha-kṛishṇa-trayōdāyām tithau Sanivāsaraṅvitāyām pāśchātya-suratrāṇa-śrī-Piyarōjasāhā-rājyē . . .

³⁰ The 3rd of the dark half of the pūrṇimānta Bhādrapada of northern V. 1384, expired, would correspond to Thursday, 6 August, A. D. 1327.

³⁰ The 13th of the dark half of the pūrṇimānta Māgha of V. 1429, expired, would correspond to Saturday, 22 January A. D. 1373.

216. — P. 172, No. 106. — V. 1432, Mārga-vadi 9, Sômē. Date of a MS. of Prajñānanda's *Tattvālōka-ṭīkā*.
217. — P. 186, No. 148. — V. 1437, Ashāḍha-vadi 6, Sanau. Stone inscription at Dhāmlej.
218. — P. 31, No. 43. — Vikrama 1439 (Saka 1304), Vaiśākha-śudi 6, Ravau. Māchādī (near Alwar) stone inscription of the reign of Sultan Firōz Shāh.
219. — P. 26, No. 19. — V. 1445, Phālguna-śudi 5, Sômē. Stone inscription at Vantthali in Junāgaḍh.
220. — P. 32, No. 44. — V. 1445 (Bhāva-samvatsarē), Āśvina-śudi 13, Sômē. Satī pillar inscription at 'Boram-Deco.'
221. — P. 168, No. 89. — V. 1451, Phālguna-vadi 12, Budhē. Date of a MS. of the *Kanmapayadi*.
222. — P. 355, No. 155. — V. 1452, Vaiśākha-vadi 15, Ravau. Māngrol stone inscription of the time of Nusrat Shāh.
223. — P. 26, No. 20. — V. 1458 (Saka 1322, Sarvajit-samvatsarē), Phālguna-śudi 8, Sukrē. Rāypur stone inscription of Brahmadēva.
224. — P. 186, No. 149. — V. 1464 (Manmatha-samvatsarē), Ashāḍha-vadi 3, Budhē. Date of a MS. of the *Kāśīkā-Vṛitti*.
225. — P. 355, No. 156. — V. 1466, Chaitra-śudi 7, Sanau. Stone inscription at Rāsin.
226. — P. 168, No. 90. — Vikrama 1479, Mārga-vadi 14, Sukrē. Date of a MS. of Durgasimha's *Līngakṛīkā-vṛitti*.
227. — P. 32, No. 45. — Vikrama 1481 (Saka 1346), Vaiśākha-śudi 15, Gurau. Deōgaḍh stone inscription.
228. — P. 183, No. 140. — V. 1485, Vaiśākha-vadi 9, Budhē. Date of a MS. of Jinadēva-sūri's *Kṛiyākālāpa*.
229. — P. 356, No. 157. — V. 1489, dvitīya-Śrāvāṇa-śudi 6. Date of a MS. of an *Avachārī* on Hēmachandra's *Līngānuśāsana-vṛitti*.
230. — P. 26, No. 21. — Vikrama 1490, Māgha-śudi 14, Ravau. Date of Rāmachandra's *Pañchadaṇḍātapachchhatrabandha*.
231. — P. 180, No. 130. — V. 1490, Vaiśākha-vadi 9, Sanau. Date of a MS. of Halāyudha's *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, of the reign of Sultan Ahmad.
232. — P. 366, No. 182. — Vikrama 1491, Chaitra-vadi 5, Budhē. Date of Śilaratna-sūri's commentary on Mērutuṅga's *Mēghadūta*.
233. — P. 32, No. 46. — Vikrama 1496, Vaiśākha-śudi 3, Gurau. Umgā (in Bihār) stone inscription of Bhairavēndra.
234. — P. 38, No. 73. — Vikrama 1500 (Prajāpati-samvatsarē), Vaiśākha-śudi 5, Gurau. Stone inscription at Mahuva in Barōda (?).
235. — P. 168, No. 91. — V. 1503, Phālguna-vadi 10, Sukrē. Stone inscription at Udaypur (in Gwālior).
236. — P. 180, No. 131. — Vikrama 1503, Bhādra-vadi 13, Budhē. Date of a MS. of the *Kālachakra-tantra*.
237. — P. 184, No. 141. — V. 1510, Bhādra-vadi 14, Sanau. Date of a MS. of an *Avachārī* on Hēmachandra's *Saddānuśāsana-vṛitti*.
238. — P. 374, No. 199. — V. 1510, Māgha-śudi 8, Sômē. Gwālior stone inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja Puṅgarēndradēva*.

239. — P. 368, No. 186. — V. 1512, Phālguna-śudi 1, Bhaumē. Date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Ashāṅgharīdaya*.
240. — P. 39, No. 74. — V. 1518, Chaitra-śudi 5, Gurau, Mēsha-saṅkrāntau. Inscription in temple of Gayāsuri Dēvi at Gayā.
241. — P. 184, No. 142. — V. 1526, Jyēshtha-vadi 11, Sanau. Date of a MS. of Mōkshē-svara's *Kṛīḍarīti*.
242. — P. 27, No. 22. — V. 1531 (Saka 1396, Subhākrit-saṁvatsarē), Kārttika-śudi 9, Budhē. Date of a MS. of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*.
243. — P. 32, No. 47. — **Āshāḍhādi V. 1534**, Srāvaṇa-śudi 5, Bhaumē. Date of a MS. of the *Prabhāsakshētra-itṛtheyātrānukrama*, of the time of Sultān Mahmūd Bigarha.
244. — P. 39, No. 75. — V. 1534, prathama-Srāvaṇa-śudi 8, Bhaumē. Date of a MS. of the *Prakriyā-kaumudī*.
245. — P. 172, No. 107. — V. 1535, Pausha-vadi 13, Budhē. Date of a MS. of the *Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa*.
246. — P. 170, No. 100. — V. 1536, Māgha-vadi 11, Ravau. Date of a MS. of the commentary *Prasāda* on the *Prakriyā-kaumudī*.
247. — P. 181, No. 132. — V. 1538, Srāvaṇa-vadi 1, Sōmē. Date of a MS. of an *Ākhyātāvachāri* on the *Haima-vyākaraṇa*.
248. — P. 178, No. 124. — V. 1553, Srāvaṇa-vadi 13, Ravau. Stone inscription at Borsad step-well, Khēḍā (Kairā).
249. — P. 27, No. 23. — **Āshāḍhādi Vikrama 1555** (Saka 1420), Māgha-śudi 5, Budhē, Stone inscription at Aḍālij well near Ahmadābād, of the time of Sultān Mahmūd Bigarha.
250. — P. 33, No. 48. — V. 1555 (Saka 1420, Kshayakrit-saṁvatsarē), Āsvina-śudi 5, Vākpāti-vārē (Gurau). Date of a MS. of the *Viyāha-pannati*, of the time of Sultān Ghiāsu'd-dīn of Mālvā.
251. — P. 187, No. 150. — V. 1570, Jyēshtha-vadi 7, Budhē. Date of a MS. of Amara-siṁha's *Nāmalingānusāsana*.
252. — P. 33, No. 49. — V. 1580, Jyēshtha-śudi 15, Bhṛigu-vārē. Date of a MS. of the *Prakriyā-kaumudī*.
253. — P. 176, No. 117. — V. 1581, Chaitra-vadi 13, Bhaumē. Inscription on pillar at Delhi.
254. — P. 360, No. 167. — **Āshāḍhādi V. [15]83**, Vaiśākha-śudi 2, Bhaumē. Date of a MS. of the *Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa*.
255. — P. 28, No. 29. — V. 1597, Vaiśākha-śudi 1, Sukrē. Date of a MS. of the *Āraṇyagāna*.
256. — P. 373, No. 195. — **Vikrama 1597**, Phālguna-śudi 13, Ravau. Date of Pārva-chandra's *Vārttika* on Virabhadrasādhu's *Chatuṣsaraṇa-prakīrnaka*.
257. — P. 33, No. 50. — V. 1630, prathama-Āshāḍhā-śudi 3, Maṅgala-vārē. Date of a MS. of the *Āyāraṅgasūtra*.
258. — P. 39, No. 76. — V. 1645, Madhu-(Chaitra)-śudi 10, Bhāskarē (Ravan). Date of Punyasāgara's *Jambūdvīpaprājñapti-vṛitti*.
259. — P. 33, No. 51. — V. 1650 (Subhākrit-saṁvatsarē), Bhādrapada-śudi 15, Bhṛigu-vāsarē. Date of a MS. of the *Kāṇḍānukramanikā-vivaraṇa*.

260. — V. 1651. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 323. Date in the Prasāsti of the temple of Vāḍipura-Pārśvanātha at Aphilwad, of the reign of the emperor Akbar.³¹ — (Line 3) . . . Pātisāhi-śri-Akabbāra-rājyē | **Sri-Vikrama-nripa-samayāt-samvati 1651** Mārggāsīrsha-sita-navamī-dinē Sōma-vārē | Pūrva-bhadrapada-nakshatrē |
261. — V. 1652. — *Ib* p. 324. Another date in the same.³² — (Line 47) . . . Kara-karaṇa-kāya-ku-pramita-saṁvat **Allāi 41** varshē | Vaiśākha(kha)-vadi dvādaśī-vāsarē Guru-vārē Rēvatī-nakshatrē |
262. — P. 176, No. 118. — V. 1652, Āsvina-vadi 10, Gurau. Date of Dēvavijayagani's *Rāma-charitra*, of the reign of the emperor Akbar.
263. — P. 39, No. 77. — **Vikrama 1654**, Āshāḍhā-śudi 2, Gabhasti-vārē (Ravau). Date of Jñānavimalagani's commentary on Mahēsvara's *Sabdaprabhēda*.
264. — P. 34, No. 52. — V. 1664, Mādhava-(Vaiśākha)-śudi 7, Gurau. Date of Rāmarshi's *Naiḍāya-ṭikā*, of the time of Sultān Shāh Salem (Jehangir).
265. — P. 27, No. 24. — V. 1681, Kārttika-śudi 13, Jivē (Gurau). Date of Śvarakṣiṣha's *Punyachandrōdāya-purāṇa*.
266. — P. 34, No. 53. — V. 1686 (Bahudhānya-saṁvatsarē), Srāvaṇa-śudi 7, Gurau. Date of a MS. of an *Agnishṭhna-paddhati*.
267. — V. 1689. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I., p. 301. Date of the renewal of the Vād-nagar Prasāsti³³ (96, above) : — (Line 45) . . . Chaitra-māsē śubhrē pakshē pratipad-Guruvāsarē | Nāmd-āshṭa-nripē 1689 varshē prasāsti[r*]=likhitā punah |
268. — P. 168, No. 92. — V. 1693, Māgha-vadi 1, Ravau. Date of a MS. of the *Praudha-manōramā*.
269. — P. 171, No. 101. — **Āshāḍhādi V. 1699**, Phālguna-vadi 11, Sōmā. Date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Sōbhana-stutayā*.
270. — P. 27, No. 25. — V. 1707 (Saka 1572, Vikīri-saṁvatsarē), Kārttika-śudi 3, Gurau. Date of a MS. of Saṅkara's *Sōrirakamimānāsā-bhāshya*.
271. — P. 169, No. 93. — V. 1715, Kārttika-vadi 4, Bhaumē. Date of a MS. of the *Supar-nādhya*.
272. — P. 169, No. 94. — **Vikrama 1717** (Saptarshi 36), Pausha-vadi 3, Ravau. Date of a MS. of the *Kāikā-Vṛitti*.
273. — P. 176, No. 119. — **Vikrama 1717** (Saka 1582, Saptarshi 36), Vaiśākha-vadi 13, Budhē, Mēsha-saṅkrāntau. Stone inscription at Chambā.
274. — P. 40, No. 78. — V. 1724, prathama-Āshāḍhā-śudi 7, Sanau. Date of a MS. of the *Sāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra*.
275. — P. 369, No. 189. — V. 1724, Jyēshtha-śudi 11, Sukrē. Rāmnagar stone inscription of the kings of Maṅḍala.
276. — P. 28, No. 26. — V. 1729, Mārga-śudi 9, Sōmā. Date of a MS. of Chandrakīrti's *Sārasvata-dīpikā*.

³¹ The 9th of the bright half of Mārgaśrāha of V. 1651, expired, would correspond to Monday, 11 November, A.D. 1594, when the 9th tithi of the bright half ended 13h. 15m., and the moon was in the nakshatra Pūrva-bhadrapadā up to 19h. after mean sunrise.

³² The 12th of the dark half of the amānta Vaiśākha of southern V. 1652, expired, would correspond to Thursday, 13 May, A.D. 1596, when the 12th tithi of the dark half ended 19h. 3m., and the moon was in the nakshatra Rēvatī up to 2h. 38m. after mean sunrise.

³³ The date in all probability corresponds, for southern V. 1689 expired, to Thursday, 28 February, A.D. 1688, though by the Tables the 1st tithi of the bright half ended 0 h. 17m. after mean sunrise of the following day.

277. — P. 171, No. 102. — V. 1738, Phālguna-vadi 9, Sômé. Date of a MS. of the *Rishi-brāhmana*.

278. — P. 40, No. 79. — V. 1746, prathama-Vaiśākha-śudi 12, Gurau. Date of a MS. of Jinēdrabuddhi's *Kārikāvivarāṇa-pañchikā*.

279. — P. 169, No. 95. — V. 1747, Phālguna-vadi 8, Kuja-vāsaré (Bhanmé). Date of a MS. of Vinayarāma's commentary on the *Kīrtīrjunīya*.

280. — P. 356, No. 158. — V. 1747, prathama-Vaiśākha-vadi dvitīya-chaturthī-diné, Budhē. Date of a MS. of the *Sārasvatī-prakriyā*.

281. — P. 34, No. 54. — V. 1779, Madhūn-(Chaitra)-śudi 13, Sômé. Date of Bhīmasēna's *Sukhōdadhī*.

282. — P. 34, No. 55. — V. 1785 (Kālayukta-saṁvatsaré), Āśvina-śudi 9, Sômé. Date of Bhāskaraśya's *Saubhāgya-bhāskara*.

283. — P. 374, No. 200. — V. 1814 (Saka 1679, Īvara-saṁvatsaré), Kārttika-śudi 6; Gurau. Date of a MS. of Chiramjīva-bhaṭṭa's *Kāvya-vilāsa*.

284. — P. 35, No. 56. — Vikrama 1874, Suchi-(Āshāḍha)-śudi 9, Sômé. Nēpāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurāsundarī.

285. — P. 176, No. 120. — V. 1874, Bhādra-vadi 9, Śukrē. Nēpāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurāsundarī.

286. — P. 169, No. 96. — V. 1875, Mārga-vadi 5, Budhē. Nēpāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurāsundarī.

287. — P. 177, No. 121. — V. 1877, Jyēshṭha-vadi 10, Ravau. Nēpāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurāsundarī.

288. — P. 363, No. 175. — V. 1877 (Khara-saṁvatsaré), adhika-Jyēshṭha-śudi 7, Gurau. Date of a MS. of the *Vārāha-purāṇa*.

(To be continued.)

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C. I. E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Concluded from page 142.)

I TRUST that my lists of dates will show, in a fairly accurate manner, the practice of dating followed in connection with the Vikrama era from the earliest to the most modern times, and that the materials brought together will be regarded as sufficiently full and trustworthy, to warrant their being used in an attempt to answer some of the questions which have been indicated in an earlier part of these notes.

In the following I shall first endeavour to show what conclusions are suggested by the dates, regarding the questions of current and expired years, of northern and southern years, and of the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* schemes of the lunar months. I shall then indicate in what part of India we find the Vikrama era first employed, and where and by which dynasties it was used during the millennium succeeding the earliest known date. I shall examine and try to account for the names under which the era has been known at various times. And I shall conclude these notes with some matters of detail which either concern the Vikrama era only or have reference to the practice of dating generally.

Current and Expired Years; Northern and Southern Years; Pūrṇimānta and Amānta Schemes.

As any conclusions under these heads should, in the first instance, be drawn only from regular dates, I would here summarize the results of my calculations of the 150 dates, the details of which have been given *ante*, Vol. XIX. pp. 22-40 and 166-187, as follows:—

Total number of dates examined: 150.

A.—Dates in bright fortnights.

Number of dates: 80 (from V. 898 to V. 1874).

1.—Dates in the months Kārttika to Phālguna.

Number of dates: 26 (from V. 1016 to V. 1729).

Results:

(a).—Dates in current years: 2 (V. 1304 and V. 1397); i.e. 7·7%.

(b).—Dates in expired years: 24 (V. 1016 to V. 1729); i.e. 92·3%.

2.—Dates in the months Chaitra to Āśvina.

Number of dates: 54 (from V. 898 to V. 1874).

Results:

(a).—Dates in northern current years: 3 (V. 1311, 1380, and 1587); i.e. 5·6%.

(b).—Dates in north. exp. (or south. curr.) years: 27 (V. 919 to V. 1874); i.e. 50%.

(c).—Dates in southern expired years: 23 (V. 898 to V. 1746); i.e. 42·6%.

(d).—Uncertain, but probably in south. exp. year: 1 (V. 1200); i.e. 1·8%.

B.—Dates in dark fortnights.

Number of dates: 70 (from V. 960 to V. 1877).

1.—Dates in the months Kārttika to Phālguna.

Number of dates: 27 (from V. 1043 to V. 1875).

Results:

(a).—Dates in current years: 2 (V. 1209 and V. 1296); i.e. 7·4%.

[pūrṇimānta: 2; amānta: 0.]

(b).—Dates in expired years : 20 (V. 1043 to V. 1875) ; *i.e.* 74¹/₁₀%.
[pūrṇimānta : 14 ; amānta : 6.]

(c).—Pūrṇimānta dates of current years or amānta dates of expired years : 5 (V. 1229 to V. 1535) ; *i.e.* 18⁵/₁₀%.

2.—Dates in the months Chaitra to Āṣvina.

Number of dates : 43 (from V. 960 to V. 1877).

Results :

(a). — Dates in northern current years : 2 (V. 1202 and V. 1256) ; *i.e.* 4⁷/₁₀%.
[pūrṇimānta : 2 ; amānta : 0.]

(b). — Dates in north. exp. (or south. curr.) years : 15 (V. 960 to V. 1877) ; *i.e.* 34⁹/₁₀%.
[pūrṇimānta : 12 ; amānta : 3.]

(c). — Dates in southern expired years : 18 (V. 994 to V. 1538) ; *i.e.* 41⁹/₁₀%.
[pūrṇimānta : 8 ; amānta : 10.]

Uncertain : 8 ; *i.e.* 18⁶/₁₀% ; *viz.* —

(d). — North. curr. amānta, or south. exp. pūrṇimānta : 2 (V. 1225 and V. 1390) ;

(e). — North. curr. amānta, or north. exp. or south. exp. pūrṇimānta : 1 (V. 1315) ;

(f). — North. exp. pūrṇimānta, or south. exp. amānta : 5 (V. 1332 to V. 1570).

Current and Expired Years.

The result obtained under A. 1, by which the years of only two dates out of 26 are current years, shows at once that it has been at all times the rule to quote the Vikrama years as expired years, and that current years were quoted only exceptionally. And this conclusion is supported by the combined results under A. 1 and 2, and B. 1 and 2, which show that only nine dates out of the total number of 150 must necessarily be regarded as dates in current years. Now this result, though it would not permit us to speak with confidence about any one individual date, may certainly be used, for statistical purposes, to pronounce an opinion on the nature of a whole set of dates, the years of which our calculations would permit us to regard as either current or expired.

Thus, the five dates under B. 1, c, which in accordance with our calculations might be regarded as either pūrṇimānta dates of current years, or amānta dates of expired years, may with little chance of error all be put down as amānta dates of expired years. And similarly may the two dates under B. 2, d, be safely regarded as pūrṇimānta dates of southern expired years, and the date under B. 2, e, as a pūrṇimānta date of either a northern or southern expired year. Occasionally our proceeding in this manner may indeed be shown to be correct by independent arguments. This is the case *e.g.* with the date of the year V. 1225 in an inscription of the *Mahānāyaka* Prastāpādavalādēva, which by the result of the calculation falls under B. 2, d, (No. 143) ; for this date cannot be separated from another date of the same year V. 1225 in an inscription of the same chief (No. 126), which we know for certain to be a pūrṇimānta date of a southern expired year.

As regards the 27 dates under A. 2, b, and the 15 dates under B. 2, b, the years of which theoretically might be regarded as either northern expired or southern current years, it may safely be assumed that nearly all are dates in northern expired years, and they will all be classed as such below. But it cannot be denied that one or two of their number may really be dates in southern current years ; and I mention this here at once to show that, in treating these dates as I do, I am not showing any undue favour to the southern year. The year of the single date under A. 2, d, may be taken to be the southern expired year, because the eclipse mentioned in the date was visible in India in that year only. As to the five dates under B. 2, f,

it is impossible to say from general considerations,¹ whether their years should be regarded as northern or southern expired years.

Since current years are quoted only exceptionally, it may be questioned whether we should, in every case, at once accept as correct the result of the calculation of a date, where such calculation would lead us to regard the year of the date as a current year. As to the dates treated of under A. 1, a and 2, a, and B. 1, a, no choice is left to us.² But the case may well seem to be different with the dates No. 108 and No. 109, under B. 2, a. By the strict results of our calculations these dates would indeed be pūrṇimānta dates of northern current years. But in regard to both, good reasons, — partly connected with the Simha era on which we expect Mr. Fleet to enlighten us, and partly based on a consideration of the exact ending-time of the *tithi*, — might probably be adduced for rejecting the seemingly correct results and taking the two dates as amānta dates of northern expired years.

Northern and Southern Years.

In accordance with preceding remarks, and disregarding as exceptional the dates in current years, we may count³ as dates in northern (expired) years the dates under A. 2, b (with the exception of No. 47 which professes to belong to an *Aśhāḍhādī* year), and those under B. 2, b ; *i.e.*, altogether 41 dates ; and as dates in southern (expired) years the dates under A. 2, c, and B. 2, c, the date under A. 2, d, and the two dates under B. 2, d ; *i.e.*, altogether 44 dates.

For reasons given above, and because the two dates No. 113 and No. 117 under B. 2, b, might equally well be considered as dates in southern years, this classification perhaps hardly does full justice to the southern year ; but taking it to be approximately correct, I find that the numbers of dates of either kind were :—

up to V. 1200 :	6	in northern years ;	9	in southern years ;
„ V. 1300 :	17	„ „ ;	26	„ „ ;
„ V. 1400 :	22	„ „ ;	31	„ „ ;
„ V. 1500 :	26	„ „ ;	34	„ „ ;
„ V. 1600 :	30	„ „ ;	40	„ „ ;
„ V. 1877 :	41	„ „ ;	44	„ „ .

Accordingly, the total number of dates in southern years for all times slightly exceeds the total number of dates in northern years. In the earliest centuries of which we possess dates which admit of verification, the dates in southern years are decidedly more numerous than those in northern years ; but in later times the northern year has been gaining considerably on the southern year. In fact, it may be said that, while even down to V. 1400 the proportion of northern to southern years remained about 2 : 3, this proportion has just been inverted afterwards. The general conclusion to which these figures would seem to point, is, that the reckoning by southern (Kārtikādī) years was from the beginning intimately connected with the Vikrama era, just as the reckoning by northern (*Chaitrādī*) years has always been characteristic of the Saka era ; and it may fairly be assumed that the change, which has gradually taken place towards a more general employment of the northern year in connection with the Vikrama era, is owing to the influence of the Saka era.

¹ The year of one of the five dates (No. 149) is shown to be a southern expired year by the Jupiter year which is quoted along with it.

² A week after the proof of this paper was returned by me to Mr. Fleet, I was informed by Dr. Klatt, that the reading of my date No. 1, as taken from Professor Peterson's *Report*, must be wrong, because, according to the *Aīchala-pañjāvali*, Udayasāgara was *Sāri* from V. 1797 to V. 1823 ; and that the correct reading therefore would probably be *abdhikā-indu* = 1804, not 1304. And calculating for V. 1804, expired, I find that the corresponding European date, as required, is Monday, the 4th January, A. D. 1743, when the full-moon *tithi* ended 15 h. after mean sunrise. Accordingly, of the 26 dates treated of under A. 1, the year of only a single date was really a current year.

³ It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the following remarks on northern and southern years are necessarily confined to dates in the months Chaitra to Āṣvina.

Here again, if from this point of view we look at the results of our calculations of some of the early dates, it may perhaps seem doubtful whether our calculation has yielded in every case the only possible or the true equivalent of the original date. The year 898 of our earliest regular date (No. 57) undoubtedly is a southern year. The year 919 of the second date (No. 30) is a northern expired year, but here it may be noted that this year is also described as the Saka year 784, a fact which will appear the more remarkable, when I say that down to V. 1439 this is the only instance in which the corresponding Saka year is mentioned by the side of the Vikrama year in any date of my lists, and which might well be taken to account somehow or, other for the employment of the northern year. The third date, of the year 960 (No. 110) would by the strict results of my calculations be a *pūrṇimānta* date of a northern expired year; but when we consider that in the southern expired year, with the *amānta* scheme, the *tithi* of the date commenced exactly at sunrise of the weekday mentioned by the date and ended only 51 min. after mean sunrise of the next day, we may well ask whether such a result, for the southern expired year, should not be regarded as satisfying the requirements of the case equally well. The 4th, 5th and 6th dates, of the years 962, 994 and 1011 (Nos. 58, 133 and 59), are all dates in southern years. The 7th date, again of the year 1011 (No. 111), is by the results of my calculations a *pūrṇimānta* date of a northern expired year; but here too the *tithi* of the date, with the *amānta* scheme, ended in the southern expired year only 26 minutes after sunrise of the day following the weekday of the date, so that what has been said above of the third date, would here also be applicable. The 8th and 9th dates, of the years 1042 and 1084 (Nos. 31 and 112), are dates in northern expired years; and the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th dates, of the years 1100, 1139, 1154 and 1192 (Nos. 134, 60, 61 and 125), all belong again to southern expired years. I need not continue this enumeration further; enough has been said to show that the number of early dates in northern years is perhaps even smaller than appears at first sight. Besides, it must not be forgotten that, so far as the present question is concerned, the northern expired year is really equivalent to the southern current year, and that there is no stringent reason why, in one or other of the above dates which are here taken as dates in northern expired years, the writer should not be considered to have quoted, exceptionally, a current southern year.

The terms 'southern' and 'northern' years, which are usually employed to denote years commencing with the months Kārttika and Chaitra, would naturally lead one to suppose that the Kārttikādi reckoning had always been prevalent in the south and the Chaitrādi reckoning in the north of India. To show how entirely wrong such a supposition would be, and to prove that, whatever may be the practice of quite modern times, down to about the 14th century of the Vikrama era both kinds of years have been used over exactly the same tracts of country, I put before the reader all regular dates, the nature of whose years we are able to determine, from rocks and stones, most of which undoubtedly have always remained at the places where the dates were first engraved on them. What I would conclude from these lists, is, that the use of the so-called southern year was indeed discontinued in northern India about the end of the 14th century, but that before that time the southern year was used in the north much more frequently than the northern year. In my opinion it would be well to discard the terms 'southern' and 'northern' years altogether, and to call the years, what they really are, Kārttikādi and Chaitrādi years.

Dates on rocks and stones,

in southern (Kārttikādi) years:	in northern (Chaitrādi) years:
V. 898 (No. 57) Dhōlpur, Northern Rājputānā.	V. 919 (No. 30) Dēogaḍh, Gwālior; [Saka 784].
V. 994 (No. 133) Sīyadōni, N. W. Provinces.	V. 960 (No. 110) Tērahi, Gwālior;
V. 1011 (No. 59) Khajurāhō, Bundelkhand.	[perhaps southern].
V. 1100 (No. 134) Byānā, Northern Rājputānā.	V. 1011 (No. 111) Ambēr, North. Rājputānā;
V. 1154 (No. 61) Dēogaḍh, Gwālior.	[perhaps southern].
V. 1192 (No. 125) Kālanjar, Bundelkhand.	V. 1194 (No. 113) Kālañjar, Bundelkhand.

V. 1220 (No. 62) Delhi Siwālik pillar.	V. 1215 (No. 32) Gīrnār, Kāthiāwād.
V. 1222 (No. 63) Udaypur, Gwālior.	V. 1216 (No. 33) Alha-ghāt, Central India.
V. 1224 (No. 64) Mahōba, Bundelkhand.	V. 1252 (No. 38) Batésvar, N. W. Provinces.
V. 1225 (No. 126) Phulwariya, Bihār (?).	V. 1340 (No. 41) Kālañjar, Bundelkhand.
V. 1225 (No. 135) Jaunpur, N. W. Provinces.	V. 1353 (No. 42) Jaunpur, N. W. Provinces.
V. 1225 (No. 143) Tārāchāndi, Bihār.	V. 1390 (No. 116) 'Kevati-kund,' Bundelkhand.
V. 1240 (No. 67) Kālañjar, Bundelkhand.	V. 1439 (No. 43) Māchādi, Northern Rājputānā
V. 1240 (No. 127) Mahōba, Bundelkhand.	V. 1445 (No. 44) 'Boram-Deo,' Central Provinces
V. 1243 (No. 68) Ajaygaḍh, Bundelkhand.	V. 1481 (No. 45) Dēogaḍh, Gwālior.
V. 1253 (No. 70) Bālkhara, N. W. Provinces.	V. 1496 (No. 46) Umga, Bihār.
V. 1265 (No. 72) MountĀbā, Southern Rājputānā.	V. 1553 (No. 124) Kaira, Gujaraṭ.
V. 1318 (No. 128) Jhānsi, N. W. Provinces.	V. 1581 (No. 117) Delhi, Panjāb.
V. 1320 (No. 129) Verāval, Kāthiāwād.	V. 1717 (No. 119) Chambā, Panjāb.
V. 1390 (No. 144) Chunar, N. W. Provinces.	V. 1874 (No. 56) Nepāl.
V. 1500 (No. 73) Mahuva, Barōda.	V. 1874 (No. 120) Nepāl.
V. 1516 (No. 74) Gayā, Bihār.	V. 1874 (No. 121) Nepāl.

The Pūrṇimānta and Amānta Schemes.

Proceeding as before, and omitting as doubtful whether they should be considered as *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* the dates under B. 2, *a* and *f*, and the dates No. 110 and No. 111 under B. 2, *b*, I find that of 61 dates 37 may be regarded as *pūrṇimānta* and 24 as *amānta* dates; and that the numbers of either kind of dates were:—

up to V. 1200:	5 <i>pūrṇimānta</i> ;	2 <i>amānta</i> ;
" V. 1300:	14 "	8 "
" V. 1400:	21 "	15 "
" V. 1500:	24 "	17 "
" V. 1600:	28 "	22 "
" V. 1877:	37 "	24 "

Accordingly, the percentage of *pūrṇimānta* dates up to V. 1200 was about 71, between V. 1200 and 1400 about 55, between V. 1400 and 1600 about 50, and between V. 1600 and 1877 about 82. This may be taken to show that in early times the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the lunar months was more commonly followed in connection with the Vikrama era than the *amānta* scheme, that afterwards the *amānta* scheme has been gaining considerably on the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, and that a change in favour of a more general employment of the *pūrṇimānta* scheme has again taken place in quite modern times.

Of the 61 dates to which these remarks refer, 20 can be shown to be dates in southern (Kārttikādi) and 13 in northern (Chaitrādi) expired years. Of the former, 10 are *amānta*, and 8 undoubtedly and two others most probably *pūrṇimānta* dates; of the latter, 10 are *pūrṇimānta*, and 3 *amānta* dates. These figures show that, while the southern (Kārttikādi) year has been joined with the *pūrṇimānta* as often as with the *amānta* scheme, the northern (Chaitrādi) year is more commonly joined with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme only; and they prove with certainty that neither scheme of the lunar months is necessarily and exclusively connected with either the southern (Kārttikādi) or the northern (Chaitrādi) year.

Locality and Names of the Era.

In order to ascertain where the era has been principally used and what names have been applied to it, it will probably be considered sufficient to examine the first 200 dates in the chronological list which I have given above, pp. 125 to 142, down to about A. D. 1300. The more recent dates are naturally of less importance and many of them are from MSS. and literary works regarding the locality of which I possess no exact information. Such is the case, too, with a few of the earlier dates, chiefly dates taken from MSS., which therefore will also be omitted in the following.

In my chronological list I have put queries against four of the earliest dates (Nos. 1, 2, 8, and 9), to show that doubts may possibly be entertained regarding their reading or exact interpretation. As these dates in no way affect my conclusions, I shall here take them to have been correctly given and explained by others. But I shall omit the date No. 6, of the Dhinki copper-plate inscription of Jāikadēva, which apparently is a forged document.⁴

Where and by which Dynasties was the Era used up to about A. D. 1300 ?

The date No. 1 (V. 428) is from Bijayagaḍh, in north-eastern Rājputānā ;

No. 2 (V. 490) from Gaṅgdhār, in south-eastern Rājputānā ;

Nos. 3 and 4 (V. 529 and 589) are from Mandasōr, on the borders of south-eastern Rājputānā ;

No. 5 (V. 746) is from Jhālrapāṭan, in south-eastern Rājputānā ;

No. 7 (V. 795) from Kapaswa, in south-eastern Rājputānā ;

No. 8 (V. 811) from Chitōr, in southern Rājputānā ;

No. 9 (V. 879) from Kōlā, in south-eastern Rājputānā ; and

No. 10 (V. 898) from Dhōlpur, in north-eastern Rājputānā.

The earliest known dates, from V. 428 to 898, are therefore all from eastern Rājputānā, chiefly from that part of eastern Rājputānā which borders on, or is included in, Mālava.—From the same part of India, and from Rājputānā generally, we also have the following later dates : No. 17 (V. 962) from Bhīllamāla (Bhīnmāl); No. 31 (V. 1011) from Ambēr; No. 33 (V. 1016) from Rājōrgaḍh; No. 59 (V. 1100) from Byānā; No. 52 (V. 1136) from Arthūnā; No. 120 (V. 1231) from Visalpur; No. 133 (V. 1244) from Tahangaḍh; Nos. 184 and 189 (V. 1324 and 1335) from Chitōr; No. 194 (V. 1342) from Mount Ābū; and No. 196 (V. 1344) from Udaypur.

The last of the above early dates, No. 10, is from an inscription of the Chāhumāna Chaṇḍamahāsēna; and later dates of Chāhumāna princes are: No. 98 (V. 1210) of Vīgraharājādēva; No. 104 (V. 1218) of Āhaṇadēva; No. 105 (V. 1220) of Visaladēva; No. 109 (V. 1224) of Prithvirāja; No. 114 (V. 1226) of Sōmēsvara; and Nos. 115, 128, and 134 (V. 1226, 1239, and 1244) of Prithvirāja.

From Rājputānā the list takes us in an eastern direction, first to the neighbouring State of Gwālīor, and afterwards through Bundelkhand and Rēwah as far as Gayā in Bihār.

No. 11 (V. 919), from an inscription of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, is from Dēogaḍh in the Gwālīor State; Nos. 12 and 13 (V. 932 and 933), are from inscriptions of the same king in the Fort of Gwālīor; No. 14 (V. 936) is from Gyārispur, and No. 15 (V. 960) from Tērāhi, both in the Gwālīor State; and Nos. 16, 18-21, 25-27, 29, and 34 (V. 960, 964, 965, 967, 969, 991, 994, 1005, 1008, and 1025), of the reigns of Mahēndrapālādēva and Dēvapālādēva of Kanauj, are from Sīyāḍōṇi in Bundelkhand.

No. 30 (V. 1011), from an inscription of the Chandēlla Dhaṅga, is the first of a long series of dates of the Chandēllas of Bundelkhand, to which also belong: No. 32 (V. 1011) of Yaśōvarman and Dhaṅga; Nos. 41 and 43 (V. 1055 and 1059) of Dhaṅgadēva; No. 51 (V. 1107) of Dēvavarmadēva; No. 60 (V. 1154) of Kīrtivarmadēva; No. 67 (V. 1173) of Jayavarmadēva; Nos. 75, 77, 78, 80, 94, 99, and 101 (V. 1186, 1187, 1188, 1190, 1208, 1211, and 1215) of Madanavarmadēva; Nos. 103, 129, 137, and 142 (V. 1224, 1240, 1252, and 1258) of Paramardidēva; Nos. 150, 168, and 170 (V. 1269, 1297, and 1298) of Trailōkyavarmadēva; Nos. 180, 185, and 191 (V. 1317, 1325, and 1337) of Vīravarmān; and No. 197 (V. 1345) of Bhōjavarman.

Other dates from Gwālīor and Bundelkhand are: No. 42 (V. 1058) from Khajurāhō; No. 49 (V. 1093) from Udayagiri; Nos. 55 and 59 (V. 1145 and 1152) from 'Dubbkund'; Nos. 58 and 63 (V. 1150 and 1161) from Gwālīor; Nos. 83, 85, and 193 (V. 1192, 1194, and 1340) from Kālañjar; No. 91 (V. 1207) from Chāndpur; No. 107 (V. 1222) from Udaypur in Gwālīor; Nos.

⁴ See ante, Vol. XIX. p. 371. I would now also say that in V. 794 the Vikrama era was not used yet in the locality to which the inscription belongs.

116 and 131 (V. 1227 and 1243) from Ajaygaḍh; No. 130 (V. 1240) from Mahōba; and No. 181 (V. 1318) from Jhānsī.

From the tracts of country east of Bundelkhand as far as Gayā, and those north of Bundelkhand and Rēwah up to the Jumna and the Ganges, and north of these rivers as far as Jaunpur, we have the following dates: No. 102 (V. 1216) from Alha-ghāt; No. 139 (V. 1253) from Rēwah; No. 110 (V. 1225) from Phulwariya (?); No. 112 (V. 1225) from the Tārāchāndī rock; Nos. 28, 123, and 186 (V. 1005, 1232 and 1325) from Gayā; No. 22 (V. 974) from the Asnī inscription of Mahīpālādēva of Kanauj; No. 48 (V. 1093), from 'Kurrah'; No. 88 (V. 1199) from Gaḍhwā; No. 45 (V. 1083) from Sārnāth; and No. 199 (V. 1353) from Jaunpur.

To the south-east of Rājputānā, and adjoining it, is Mālava. Of the Paramāra princes of this country and their successors we have the following dates: Nos. 35, 36, and 40 (V. 1031, 1036, and 1050) of Vākpatirāja-Muñja; No. 44 (V. 1078) of Bhōjadēva; No. 53 (V. 1137) of Udayāditya; Nos. 64 and 65 (V. 1161 and 1164) of Naravarmadēva; Nos. 82 and 84 (V. 1191 and 1192) of Yaśōvarmadēva; No. 89 (V. 1200) of Lakshmīvarmadēva; No. 126 (V. 1235 and 1236) of Hariśchandrādēva; No. 140 (V. 1256) of Udayavarmadēva; Nos. 149, 151 and 152 (V. 1267, 1270, and 1272) of Arjunavarmadēva; Nos. 153, 158, and 163, (V. 1275, 1286, and 1289) of Dēvapālādēva; and No. 176 (V. 1312) of Jayasīmhādēva. To Mālava also belongs No. 81 (V. 1190) from Ingṇōḍa.

Adjoining Rājputānā on the south, and west of Mālava, was the kingdom of Anhilvād (including Kāthiāvād), the Chaulukya and Vaghēla rulers of which furnish us with the following long list of dates: No. 38 (V. 1043) of Mūlarāja; No. 47 (V. 1086) of Bhīmadēva I.; Nos. 56 and 57 (V. 1145 and 1148) of Karpadēva; Nos. 71 and 86 (V. 1179 and 1196) of Jayasīmha, dēva; Nos. 90, 96, 103 and 106 (V. 1202, 1208, 1218, and 1220) of Kumārāpālādēva; Nos. 118, 119, and 121 (V. 1229, 1231, and 1232) of Ajaypālādēva; Nos. 136, 141, 144-148, 156, 159, 161, 165, and 166 (V. 1251, 1256, 1261, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1283, 1287, 1288, 1295, and 1296) of Bhīmadēva II.; No. 155 (V. 1280) of Jayantasīmha; No. 171 (V. 1299) of Trībhuvanapālādēva; Nos. 172, 175, and 179 (V. 1303, 1311, and 1317) of Visaladēva; No. 182 (V. 1320) of Arjunadēva; and Nos. 190, 195, and 198 (V. 1335, 1343, and 1350) of Sāraigadēva.—From Kāthiāvād we have, besides, the dates Nos. 100, 160, and 162 (V. 1215, 1288, and 1288 or 89) from Gīrnār; and No. 177 (V. 1315) from Sīyā Bēt.

A few early dates of some of the rulers of Kanauj, north-east of Rājputānā, have been already given above. Of the later Raṅghōr princes of Kanauj we have the following dates: No. 61 (V. 1154) of Chandradēva and Madanapālādēva; Nos. 62 and 66 (V. 1161 and 1166) of Madanapāla and Gōvindachandradēva; Nos. 68, 70, 72-74, 76 and 79 (V. 1174, 1177, 1181, 1182, 1185, 1187, and 1188) of Gōvindachandradēva; No. 87 (V. 1199) of Gōvindachandradēva and Rājapālādēva; Nos. 93 and 95 (V. 1207 and 1208) of Gōvindachandra's queen Gōsaladēvī; Nos. 111 and 113 (V. 1225) of Vijayachandradēva; and Nos. 122, 124, 125, 127, and 132 (V. 1232, 1233, 1234, 1236, and 1243) of Jayachandradēva.—To some of the later chiefs of Kanauj apparently belong Nos. 138 and 154 (V. 1253 and 1276). And from places north-east of Rājputānā we have, besides, the dates No. 39 (V. 1049) from Dēwal; No. 92 (V. 1207) from Mahāban; and No. 192 (V. 1337) from Rōhtak.

With the exception of two or three dates from inscriptions and about a dozen dates from MSS. about the locality of which I am not certain, the above are all the dates in my chronological list down to the year V. 1359 or about A.D. 1300; and the result of this examination may be stated thus:—

Our earliest known dates, to about V. 900, are all from eastern Rājputānā, especially from that part of eastern Rājputānā which borders on, or is included in, Mālava. From there, if we may judge by the dates collected, the era spread first towards the north-east and east, to Kanauj and to Gwālīor and Bundelkhand, and afterwards towards the south-east and south, to Mālava

proper and Anhilvād (including Kāthiāvād). And, speaking generally, down to about A.D. 1300 the use of the era was confined to that comparatively small portion of India which would be included by straight lines drawn from the mouth of the Nerbada to Gayā, from Gayā to Delhi, and from Delhi to the Rann of Catch, and by the line of coast from the Rann of Catch back to the mouth of the Nerbada. Within these limits and down to the time mentioned the era was officially employed especially by the Chanukya and Vāghēla princes of Anhilvād, the Paramāras of Mālava, the Chandēllas of Bndelkhand, the earlier and later dynasties of Kanauj, and the chiefs of Rājputānā.

Names of the Era.

By far the greater number of dates contain nothing to show what era was followed by the writer. It is true that from early times the word 'year,' in dates of this era, has been mostly expressed either by the full word *sāhvatsara* or by the abbreviated terms *sāhvāt* or *sāhi*, and that in consequence the term *sāhvāt* has been supposed to denote exclusively a year of this particular era, and that the era itself has been described as the 'Sāhvāt-era.' But in reality *sāhvāt* and *sāhi* may be used of the years of any era, and only in quite modern times are those terms by the Hindus themselves employed to distinguish Vikrama from Saka years.⁶

Irrespective of this modern usage, the years of only 63 dates of my chronological list are qualified by certain words or phrases which were intended to specify the era used; and it is in consequence of the employment of such words or phrases that the era is spoken of as either the **Mālava** or the **Vikrama** era. The number of dates which have given rise to the former designation is only five; 58 dates of my list are expressly referred to the Vikrama era.

The Mālava Era.

The five dates (Nos. 3, 4, 7, 14, and 115), the years of which are qualified by phrases containing the word *Mālava*, occur all in inscriptions which are in verse, and are from places close to, or included in, Mālava. The expressions actually used by the poets are three: in the Mandasār inscriptions of V. 493-529 and V. 589, *Mālavānān gaṇasthityā* and *Mālava-gaṇa sthiti-vasūt*, years 'according to the reckoning of the Mālavas'; in the Kaṇaswa inscription of V. 795 and the Mēnālgadh inscription of V. 1226, *Mālav-śśānān sāhvatsara-* and *Mālavāśśa-gata-vatsara-*, 'years of the Mālava lords' or 'years elapsed of the Mālava (lord or) lords'; and in the Gyārispnr inscription of V. 936, *Mālava-kālāch=chharadān*, 'years (elapsed from (the commencement of) the Mālava time (or era).' As regards these phrases, the poet who recorded the late date of V. 1226 probably took the expression which he employed from some earlier poem; and altogether the phrases need not necessarily be considered to contain an indication regarding the origin of the era; but they show that from about the 5th to the 9th century this era was by poets believed to be especially used by the princes and people of Mālava, while another era or other eras were known to be current in other parts of India. At the same time, considering that our earliest dates are actually from south-eastern Rājputānā and the parts of Mālava adjoining it, the employment of the word *Mālava* in connection with the era may be taken to point out fairly accurately the locality in which the era was first employed. What special circumstances may have given rise to its establishment, I am unable to determine at present.

The Vikrama Era.

When we examine the dates of my list to about V. 1400, the first thing to strike us is that while among the first fifty dates (down to V. 1100) we find only three which the writers expressly refer to the Vikrama era, there are seven such dates among the dates 51-100 (from V. 1100 to V. 1215), fourteen among the dates 101-150 (from V. 1215 to V. 1269), and seventeen among the dates 151-207 (from V. 1269 to V. 1384). For these figures would seem to indicate that the

⁶ See Professor Bhāṇjārkar's Report for 1883-84, pp. 158-160.

connection of Vikrama with the era grew up gradually, or was an innovation which took centuries to become generally adopted. And here it may be stated at once that the earliest date (of the year V. 898) which contains the word *vikrama* at all, describes the era somewhat vaguely as 'the time called *vikrama*,' and that only about 150 years later, in a poem composed in V. 1050, we hear for the first time of a prince or king Vikrama, in connection with the era.

The next point to arrest our attention is that, with one slight exception which would rather prove the rule, down to V. 1400 the only princes who used expressions containing the word *vikrama* in the dates of their documents, were the **Chaulukya** and **Vāghēla** rulers of Anhilvād, and that the phraseology employed in the inscriptions of these princes clearly shows a gradual advance from the simple 'year' to 'the year (of the era) established by the illustrious Vikramāditya.' The earliest Chaulukya copper-plate (date No. 38), a grant of the king Mūlarāja, is dated *sāhvāt*, 'in the year,' 1043. In the copper-plates of Mūlarāja's successors, and in other inscriptions and MSS. the dates of which are referred to the reign of one or other of them, we find in the place of the simple *sāhvāt* the following phrases:—

vikrama-sāhvāt, in a copper-plate of Bhīmadēva I. of the year 1086, and in a copper-plate of Karṇadēva of the year 1148 (dates No. 47 and 57);

Śrī-nṛipa-Vikrama-sāhvāt, in a stone inscription of Jayasīmhadēva of the year 1196 (No. 86);

Śrīmad-Vikrama-sāhvāt, in a stone inscription of the reign of Kumārapāladēva of the year 1202 (No. 90);

Nṛipa-Vikrama-kālād=arvāk, in a copper-plate of the reign of Ajayapāladēva of the year 1231 (No. 119);

Śrī-Vikrama-nṛipatēh sāhvāt and *śrī-Vikrama-narēndra-sāhvāt*, in MSS. of the reign of Bhīmadēva II. of the years 1251 and 1261 (Nos. 136 and 144);

Śrīmad-Vikramāditya-śrīpādita-sāhvatsara- in copper-plates of Bhīmadēva II. of the years 1256, 1263, 1283, 1297, 1288, 1295, 1296, and in a copper-plate of Tribhuvanapāladēva of the year 1299 (Nos. 141, 145, 156, 159, 161, 165, 166, and 171);

Śrīmad-Vikrama-nṛipa-kāl-ātita-sāhvatsara- and *śrī-Vikrama-sāhvāt*, in a copper-plate of Bhīmadēva II. of the year 1266 (No. 148);

Śrīmad-Vikrama-kāl-ātita-sāhvatsarē, in a copper-plate of the Vāghēla Visaladēva of the year 1317 (No. 179);

Śrī-nṛipa-Vikrama-sāhi, in stone inscriptions of the reigns of Arjunadēva and Sāraṅgadēva of the years 1320 and 1343 (Nos. 182 and 195).

Besides, *śrī-Vikrama-sāhvāt* also occurs in two inscriptions of the years 1288 and 1288 or 89 (Nos. 160 and 162) at Girnār in Kāthiāvād which belonged to Anhilvād; and we find *śrī-Vikrama-kāl-ātita-sāhvatsara-* exceptionally in three copper-plates, of the years 1191, 1235, and 1256 (Nos. 82, 126, and 140), of the later Paramāras of Mālava who, in employing a phrase of this kind, may well be supposed to have imitated their neighbours, the kings of Anhilvād, who more than once had conquered portions of Mālava.

Now, what I would lay particular stress on in regard to the above expressions, is the gradual change which may be observed in the phraseology of the dates from the time of Mūlarāja to that of Bhīmadēva II. In the copper-plate of Mūlarāja the year of the date is simply called *sāhvāt*, 'the year.' In the grants of Bhīmadēva I. and Karṇadēva the year becomes 'the *vikrama*-year.' This expression, under Jayasīmhadēva, Kumārapāladēva and Ajayapāladēva, is changed to 'the year of the illustrious Vikrama,' or 'the year of the illustrious prince Vikrama,' or 'the year reckoned from the time of the prince Vikrama.' And finally, under Bhīmadēva II., about A. D. 1200, we have 'the year (of the era) established by the illustrious Vikramāditya.' In fact, that phrase which, supposing the era to have been established by or

invented in memory of a king Vikramāditya, we should have expected to find in the very earliest dates, we actually meet with only in some of the latest dates.

In addition to the dates enumerated we have, down to V. 1400, altogether seventeen dates which are expressly referred to the Vikrama era; and these seventeen dates again have this in common, that (exactly like the dates which are referred to the Mālava era), all occur in inscriptions or literary works which are in verse. And in fourteen out of these seventeen dates the date itself is in verse and forms part of the poem, while in three instances it is in prose and has been added at the end of a poem. The exact terms in which the poets refer to the era in these dates, are as follows:—

No. 10 (V. 898), from a Chāhumāna inscription at Dhōlpur: *gatasya kālasya vikramākhyasya*, 898 years 'of the time called *vikrama*, gone by';⁶

No. 40 (V. 1050), from Amitagati's *Subhāshita-ratna-saṁdōha*: *samāruṣhē pūta-tridāsa-vasatiḥ Vikrama-nṛipē*, 'after king Vikrama had ascended to the pure dwelling of the immortals';

No. 54 (V. 1139), from a *prāśasti* by Guruchandragani: *Vikkamāu kālammī* 'in the time from Vikrama';

No. 58 (V. 1149), from an inscription at Gwālior: *gatēshv=abdēshu Vikramāt*, 'years gone by from Vikrama';

No. 114 (V. 1226), from a Chāhumāna inscription at Bijhōli: *kālē Vikramabhāsvataḥ*, 'in the time of Vikramāditya';

No. 121 (V. 1232), from the *Narapati-jayacharyā*: *Vikramārka-gatē kālē*, 'in the time gone by from Vikramārka';

No. 130 (V. 1240), from an inscription at Mahōba: *Sāhasānkasya vatsarē*, 'in the year of Sāhasānka (i. e. Vikramāditya)';

Nos. 137 (V. 1252) and 180 (V. 1317), from Chandēlla inscriptions at Baṭṭēśvar and Ajygaḍh: *Vikrama-vatsarē*, 'in the Vikrama year';

No. 143 (V. 1260), from a *prāśasti* by Malayaprabhasūri: *īri-Vikramatō gatēshu*, years 'gone by since the illustrious Vikrama';

Nos. 201 and 202 (V. 1365), from Jinaprabha's *Bhāyakarastava-vṛitti* and *Ajitaśāntistava-vṛitti*: *sahvād=Vikrama-bhūpatīḥ*, 'in the year of the king Vikrama';

Nos. 206 and 207 (V. 1384), from Delhi Museum inscriptions: *abdē Vikramārkaḥ* and *Vikram-ābdē*, 'in the year from Vikramārka,' or 'of Vikrama.'

The above are all from verses; the following are from dates in prose, added at the end of poems:—

No. 63 (V. 1161), from an inscription at Gwālior: *īri-Vikramārka-nṛipa-kāl-ūtīta-sahvatsara-*;

No. 105 (V. 1220), from the Delhi Siwālik pillar inscription: *sahvat īri-Vikramādityē*; and

No. 192 (V. 1337), from the 'Pālam Bāoli' inscription: *sahvatsarē=smin=Vikramādityē..*

Now, considering that eleven of these seventeen dates are from inscriptions in Rājputānā and districts north of Rājputānā, and in Gwālior and Bundelkhand, the result of our examination may be stated thus:—

The earliest known instance of the word *vikrama* occurring in a date we find in an inscription in verse, by which the year 898 is referred to 'the time called *vikrama*;' a prince or a king Vikrama is for the first time spoken of in connection with the era in a poem composed in V. 1050; and over the largest part of the territories in which the era was used

⁶ In verse 276 of Dhanapāla's *Pāyatalchōhī* the year 1029 also is referred to the *vikrama-kāla*. This date I had overlooked when compiling my chronological list.

it was, down to V. 1400, styled the Vikrama era by poets only. In official documents the description of the era as Vikrama era is practically confined to the kingdom of Aṅghilvād, and the inscriptions of the rulers of that kingdom show how the original expression *sahvat*, 'the year,' (in V. 1086) first became the *vikrama-sahvat*, and was afterwards further amplified until about A. D. 1200, it had become 'the year (of the era) established by the illustrious Vikramāditya.' In the language of both poetry and prose, what we may call the technical expressions 'Vikrama era' and 'year of the king Vikrama' were preceded by the simpler or vaguer terms '*vikrama-time*' and '*vikrama-year*;' and my chronological list shows that, the later the dates, the more frequently were their years expressly referred to the Vikrama era.

This state of the case, in my opinion, certainly tends to show that the era was neither established by, nor designedly invented in memory of, a king Vikramāditya. Had it been founded by a king Vikramāditya in 58 B. C., or had there existed any tradition to that effect, it would indeed be more than strange that no allusion should ever have been made to this for more than a thousand years afterwards. And had it been invented in memory of some great king, the name of that king would surely have been prominently mentioned in the earliest dates, and would not have been brought to our notice gradually and, as it were, hesitatingly, when the era had already been in use for at least five hundred years. Besides, it must be borne in mind (though on this I would lay little stress) that, independently of the fact that this era commences in 58 B. C., nothing has yet been brought forward to prove the existence of a king Vikramāditya in the century preceding the birth of Christ. And as regards the late Mr. Fergusson's theory, according to which the Brāhmins, during the tenth or eleventh century A. D., in memory of a king Vikramāditya, invented this era which they made to commence in A. D. 544, but for convenience of reckoning antedated 600 years, that theory, highly artificial as it was in itself, can no longer be upheld, because we now possess at least two (contemporaneous) dates which are anterior to A. D. 544.⁷

The reason why the era in later times was joined with the name of a king Vikrama, has therefore still to be sought; and, as suggested by the dates, the question in the first instance would appear to be, how and in which sense the word *vikrama* originally came to be connected with the years of the era.

We have seen above that the greater number of early dates which admit of verification belong to southern (*Kārttikādi*) years, and have arrived at the conclusion that this reckoning by *Kārttikādi* years was a distinguishing feature of the Vikrama era. While the Śaka year began with the month Chaitra (March-April), the Vikrama year originally commenced with the month Kārttika (October-November);⁸ the former began in spring, the Vikrama year began in autumn.

Now autumn (*śarad*) in India was the season when kings went out to war; autumn was pre-eminently the **Vikrama-kāla**. This the poets knew as well as the authors of the *Nīti-* and *Dharma-śāstras*, and are never tired of impressing on us.⁹ In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Rāma says to Sugrīva:¹⁰—

This is the month of Śrāvāṇ, first
Of those that see the rain-clouds burst.

⁷ See Professor Max Müller's *India, what can it teach us?*, p. 284:—"The whole theory would collapse if one single coin or stone could be produced dated (contemporaneously) A. D. 543."

⁸ See Mr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 66, note 2:—"It can hardly be doubted that the original scheme of the Vikrama years is the one commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika." I cannot quite concur in the remark of Mr. Fleet that the counting of the era by autumns is worth noting "as being one of the points which identify the Mālava era with the Vikrama era;" for the word *śarad* also occurs in dates of other eras, and its employment is due to the fact that the writers of the dates were poets.

⁹ Professor Geldner draws my attention to the fact that already in the *Rigveda* Indra destroys the strongholds of the demons in autumn. Compare *Rigveda*, i, 131, 4; 174, 2; ii, 12, 11; vi, 20, 10.—According to Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-samhitā*, xiv, 1 and 2, the lustration of horses, elephants, and troops (preparatory to going out to war), is to take place on the eighth, twelfth, or fifteenth of the bright half of Kārttika or Śrāvāṇa.

¹⁰ See the *Kāshikāndhikāya*, xxvi, 14-17, and xxx, 60-61. I quote above from Mr. Griffith's Translation.

Four months, thou knowest well, extends
The season when the rain descends.
No time for deeds of war is this :
Seek thou thy fair metropolis,
And I with Lakshman, O my friend,
The time upon this hill will spend.

When Kārttik's month shall clear the skies,
Then tempt the mighty enterprise.

And later on he thus laments over the inactivity of his ally
Lord Indra thousand-eyed has sent
The sweet rain from the firmament,
Sees the rich promise of the grain,
And turns him to his rest again.
The clouds with voices loud and deep,
Veiling each tree upon the steep,
Upon the thirsty earth have shed
Their precious burden, and are fled.
Now in kings' hearts ambition glows :
They rush to battle with their foes ;
But in Sugriva's sloth I see
No care for deeds of chivalry.¹¹

In the *Raghuvansha* Raghu undertakes his *śigvijaya* in autumn. Autumn, decorated with lotna-flowers, approaches him like a second Rājalakshmi, and invites him to set out before Raghu himself is resolved ; in autumn the bulls even seek to equal him in *vikrama*.¹² Similarly Bhāravi speaks of autumn at the marching out of Arjuna.¹³ In the *Rāvanavahā* and in the *Bhāṣikāvya* Rāma sets out in autumn to slay Rāvaṇa and regain Sītā.¹⁴ In the *Gaṇḍavahā* Yaśōvarma starts at the end of the rainy season, in autumn, to subject the whole earth to his sway.¹⁵ In the *Harshacharita*, Bāṇa speaks of the grey beard of an aged warrior as the beginning of autumn (*śarad-ārambhā*), white with flowering grasses, ejected again from the mouth after it had been drunk at war-time (*vikrama-kālā*).¹⁶ In the third act of the *Mudrārākshasa* the poet devotes several stanzas to the description of autumn, solely to intimate to the audience

¹¹ The original text, in the Bombay edition, is :—

Anyōna-baddha-vairāṇān jīghrōṣān nripātmaja ||
udyōga-samayaḥ saumya pāthivānām upasthitah ||
Iyam aś prathamā yātrā pāthivānām nripātmaja ||
na cha paśyāmi Sugrīvam udyōgaṁ cha tathāvidham ||

¹² See *Raghuvansha*, iv, 14, 22, and 24.

¹³ See *Kirdārjunīya*, iv.

¹⁴ See *Rāvanavahā*, ed. by S. Goldschmidt, i, 14 and 16 :—

"With difficulty passed for Dāśarathi the rainy season,—the evening twilight for the sun of his energy, the strong fetter for the elephant of his anger, the cage of the lion of victory.

"Then there came,—for the monkey chief the path of glory, the prime support of the life of Rāghava, for Sītā the stoppage of her tears, for the Ten-headed the day of death,—there came the autumn."

And compare also i, 34, where the commentary has the note : *śarad-samayaḥ bhājānām yudhā udyōgō bhavati*.—See also *Bhāṣikāvya*, vii, 14; and compare particularly ii, 1, with the remarks of the commentators.

¹⁵ See *Gaṇḍavahā*, verse 192.

¹⁶ The passage of the *Harshacharita*, referred to in the above, occurs in the 6th *uchchhvaṣa* (on p. 156 of the Calcutta edition), and has been already cited by Mr. S. P. Pandit in the Introduction of his edition of the *Gaṇḍavahā*, p. 102, but explained altogether differently, probably because Mr. Pandit's text was corrupt and yields no sense at all. My own reading of the text is : *vamāna eva vikrama-kāla-pāṭam akālāpi vikāra-kāla-kāmanā-vāśadath śarad-ārambhām*. In my opinion Bāṇa would never have used the expression *vikrama-kāla* in the way he does, if it had been already in his time a technical term denoting an era.

that, as Chāṇakya puts it, the time is one for warlike exertion, not for festivities.¹⁷ In the prologue of a play which treats of war, it is the season of autumn that must be sung about.¹⁸

From autumn, the true *vikrama-kāla*, it is but a short step to the year being called *vikrama-kāla*, and in my opinion the Hindus did take this step, and the *vikrama-kāla* of the dates originally is nothing else than the poets' 'war-time,' from autumn transferred to the year. Since poets were accustomed to speak of *śarad* as *vikrama-kāla*, it was but natural that this expression should have become connected also with *śarad* in the sense of 'year,' especially as *śarad* has always been with poets a most common word for year ; and to describe the year as *vikrama-kāla* must have seemed the more appropriate as suggesting that which was the characteristic feature of the year which people were using, namely the fact that that year commenced in autumn, the season of war. Thus the usage of the poets would first have led to the employment, in connection with the years of the era, of the terms *vikrama-kāla* and *vikrama-sainvatsara* or *vikrama-saṁvāt*, the very terms which we meet with in the earliest dates that contain the word *vikrama*.

Afterwards, when the origin and the true meaning of the terms *vikrama-kāla* and *vikrama-year* had been forgotten, people would seek to interpret those terms after the manner of their time, and, Vikrama being a well-known name of famous kings, they would naturally connect the era with a king of that name who would be supposed, either, like their own kings, to have counted the years from his accession, or to have otherwise given occasion for the establishment of the era. The manner in which the change actually took place, is clearly indicated by the dates which we have examined. The *vikrama-time* and the *vikrama-year* became 'the time of the illustrious Vikrama' and 'the year of the illustrious Vikrama.'

The name thus created for the era could not of course at once have been used everywhere, but would only have been adopted gradually ; and accordingly, when we see it occur rarely in the earlier and more and more frequently in the later dates, this is exactly what, in conformity with my views, might have been expected. And curiously enough we find that even down to V. 1400, in general only poets described the era by the new name, just as the usage of poets had first suggested its invention, and just as it is the poets who, at an earlier stage, had described the same era as the Mālava era, — a name whose direct connection with the later name appears to be only this, that both are essentially poetical names of the era with which we are dealing.

Others have intimated that the Vikrama era was invented by the Brāhmins to get rid of the Saka era, supposed to have been obnoxious as being the era of the Buddhists. I have not been able to discover anything which would support such a theory. What an examination of the dates teaches, would rather appear to be this, that the (*Kārttikādi*) Vikrama year was peculiarly the year of the warriors or Rājaputras, while the Brāhmins who were responsible for the making of the calendars would naturally have been reckoning by *Chaitrādi* (Saka) years, as we must do now when calculating or verifying a Hindu date. And it is at any rate a fact that the Vikrama era has been adopted, more than by others, by the non-Brāhminical Jains, just as the official description of it as Vikrama era, in early times, is especially peculiar to the kingdom of Anhilvād, the stronghold of the Jaina religion.

Some matters of detail regarding the calculated dates.

Irregular dates : — Returning now to the list of calculated dates, I would first obviate a misunderstanding for which my own classification of the dates might possibly, to some extent, be held responsible. I have sometimes heard it stated that the Hindus in recording their dates have never been very accurate, and anybody holding such views would probably, in support of them,

¹⁷ See Mr. Telang's Edition, p. 116, line 3 of the commentary : *anēna śaradgūṇa-kathānēna svaya jaitra-yātrā-saṁvāda-samaya itī dhvanītam | vakshyati cha Chāṇakyaḥ | svayaḥ vyōyama-kālō nōśava-kāla itī ||* Compare p. 138, l. 3.

¹⁸ Professor S. Lévi's *Théâtre Indien*, Appendix, p. 27.—Allusions to the fact that autumn (*śarad*) is the season of war are also met with in inscriptions : see e. g. M. Barth's *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 13, 6, and p. 16, 4.

point to my lists in which, out of 200 dates, no less than 45 (Nos. 151-195) have been put down as irregular. But a more careful examination will show that the case is not as bad as it appears, at first sight. For of what I have called irregular dates, two (Nos. 158 and 159) are really regular,¹⁰ and seven others (Nos. 151-157) are shown to be regular, when calculated by the proper *Siddhānta* which the writer of the date must be supposed to have followed; and in the case of eight other dates (Nos. 160-167) the irregularity is simply owing to the facts that the dates either are partly illegible or that they were misread by those who first deciphered them. Thus the number of irregular dates would already be reduced from 45 to 28. And out of these again eight (Nos. 168-175) are termed irregular solely because the *tithi* apparently is joined in them, not with the day on which it ended, but with the day on which it commenced. Now we know that a *tithi* often *must* be joined with the day on which it commences, and in the case of some of these so-called irregular dates we can already now point out the exact rule by which it has actually been so treated. The whole subject of what may be called current *tithis* is indeed so intricate and offers to the Hindus themselves so great difficulties that it cannot be treated here incidentally and for the Vikrama dates alone; but what I have seen of it would certainly for the present make me suspend my judgment in cases where the civil day would seem to have been joined with the *tithi* commencing on it, and I would therefore not venture to say that any of the dates 168-175 are really incorrect.

Accordingly there remain altogether 20 dates (Nos. 176-195) which there seem to be good reasons for considering as wholly or partly faulty. Out of this number no less than fifteen dates occur in copper-plate inscriptions, two (Nos. 177 and 189) are dates of stone inscriptions, two (Nos. 182 and 195) are in verses recording the times when certain literary works were composed, and one (No. 186) is a date of a MS. Here the comparatively large number of apparently incorrect dates met with in copper-plate grants — 15 out of 45 dates of copper-plate inscriptions which my list contains — must strike us as very remarkable and, considering the general correctness of other dates, cannot help suspecting that some at least of the documents which contain those incorrect dates must be forgeries.

Years of other eras, quoted along with the Vikrama years:—In addition to the Vikrama year, ten of the calculated dates (Nos. 20, 22, 23, 25, 30, 43, 45, 48, 119, and 200) also quote the corresponding Saka year, once (in No. 20) incorrectly. I have already mentioned that the earliest and only ancient date of this description occurs in the Dēogaḍh stone inscription of Bhōjadēva of Kanaḅ of V. 919 (No. 30), and that after that time the Saka year is not quoted again along with the Vikrama year till V. 1439 (No. 43). One of the ten dates (No. 119 of V. 1717) quotes, besides the Saka year, also the corresponding Saptarshi year, here described as the Śastra year; and the same Saptarshi year is quoted also with the Vikrama year only, in the date No. 94. Two dates, of V. 1202 and 1266 (No. 108 and No. 9) quote the Siḅha year; and the well-known Verāval date of V. 1320 (No. 129) quotes not only the Siḅha, but also the Muhammadan (Hijra) and Valabhi years. Besides, the date No. 261 of the chronological list, of V. 1652, quotes the Allāi (or Ilāhi) year to which the day of the date belonged. — As regards the Vikrama year itself, it may be mentioned here that the four dates Nos. 23, 47, 101, and 167 of the list of calculated dates are expressly referred to the Āshāḅhādi Vikrama year, of which I have treated separately *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 251.¹⁰

Jupiter years quoted along with the Vikrama years: — Jupiter years are quoted in only sixteen dates of my list, and it is a remarkable fact and one which well accords with the original practical character of the Vikrama era, that none of these dates is earlier than V. 1232 (No. 163). With the exception of one quite modern date from the Kanarese country (No. 200 of V. 1841), the systems followed are the so-called northern systems. In three dates, of V.

¹⁰ On the dates Nos. 158 and 159 see my remarks on 'repeated *tithis*,' below.

¹¹ The Āshāḅhādi Vikrama year 1574 is quoted in the date of a MS., described by Professor A. A. Macdonell in the preface of his edition of Kātyāyana's *Sarvāḅkramas*, p. xiii.

1464, 1531, and 1555 (Nos. 149, 22, and 48) the Jovian year was actually current on the day of the date, but had not begun at the commencement of the solar year (mean-sign system). In six dates, of V. 1275, 1386, 1445, 1458, 1707, and 1785 (Nos. 11, 166, 44, 20, 25, and 55) the Jovian year was no longer current on the day of the date, but was current at the commencement of the solar year (northern luni-solar system). And in six other dates, of V. 1232, 1353, 1500, 1650, 1686, and 1877 (Nos. 163, 42, 73, 51, 53, and 175) the Jovian year was current both on the day of the date and also at the commencement of the solar year (either mean-sign system or northern luni-solar system). — Regarding the wording of the dates attention may be drawn to the phrase *Bhāvē saivatsarē pūrṅē* in the date No. 166, by which the year Bhāva is distinctly described as, what it really was, an expired year. And in general it may be observed that in no less than five out of the above sixteen dates (Nos. 20, 22, 25, 48, and 200) the Saka year is quoted along with the Vikrama year.

Intercalary months: — Turning now from the years to the months, we find that intercalary months are distinctly quoted as such in ten dates. With a single exception, all these dates are dates of MSS. In five of them, of V. 1534, 1630, 1724, southern V. 1746 and northern V. 1747 (Nos. 75, 50, 78, 79, and 158), the name of the month is qualified by the word *prathama*; in three, of V. 1218, 1298, and 1489 (Nos. 34, 137, and 157), by the word *dvitīya* — or the abbreviated term *dvī*; and in only one quite modern date (No. 175 of northern V. 1877) by *adhika* — which in this instance has reference to the first of the two bright fortnights of the intercalary month. The exception mentioned is the date of a stone inscription of V. 1100 (No. 134) in which the month is poetically described as *māyā-Bhādrapada*, 'the false Bhādrapada,' an expression which my calculation of the date shows to denote the first of the two *amānta* months Bhādrapada. — It may be added that one of the ten dates (No. 157 of V. 1489) furnishes an instance for the well-known fact that calculations by several *Siddhāntas* do not always yield the same intercalary month.

Under the date No. 79 I have shown that the writer has called the same month, which in one place he describes as *prathama-Vaiśākha*, in another place simply *Vaiśākha*, though referring both times to the same lunar fortnight. And my list contains several other dates the months of which were intercalary, though this is not indicated by the wording of the dates. Thus Chaitra was intercalary in the date No. 36 of V. 1232, and Vaiśākha in No. 62 of V. 1220, and the bright half of the first date was the second bright half (of the proper Chaitra), and the bright half of the second date the first bright half (of the intercalated Vaiśākha). Similarly Jyēshṅha was intercalary in the date No. 121 of V. 1877, and Āshāḅha in No. 129 of V. 1320, and the dark halves of both months were the first dark halves (of the *pūrṅimānta* proper Jyēshṅha and Āshāḅha). Of the two dates No. 110 of V. 960 and No. 145 of V. 1315 it is impossible to speak with confidence; and the date No. 166 of V. 1386 is altogether so peculiarly worded that the absence of any reference to the fact that the month of it was intercalary possesses little significance.

Laukika months: — In seven dates of copper-plate inscriptions of the Chaulukyas of Aḅhilvād, the earliest of which is of the year V. 1256 and the latest of V. 1317, the word *laukika* — and the abbreviated terms *lau* and *lau* are prefixed to the names of the months. Thus, in the dates Nos. 9, 13, 39, and 109, of V. 1266, 1283, 1263, and 1256, where the date is first given in words and afterwards repeated in figures, we find *laukika* *Mārgga* and *lauki* *Mārgga*, *laukika* *Kārttika* and *lauki* *Kārttika*, *lau* *Srāvāḅa* and *Srāvāḅa*, *Bhādrapada* and *lau* *Bhādrapada*. Besides we have in No. 138 of V. 1317 *laukika* *Jyēshṅha*, in No. 164 of V. 1264 *lau* *Āshāḅha*, and in No. 194 of V. 1299 *lau* *Phāguḅa*. Here the circumstance that the simple *Srāvāḅa* is in the same date employed in the place of *lau* *Srāvāḅa* and *lau* *Bhādrapada* in the place of the simple *Bhādrapada*, as well as the manner in which the dates work out, would almost suffice to prove that the *laukika* months are nothing else than the ordinary lunar months. But the matter is placed beyond all doubt by certain passages in Jaina literary

works²¹ which tell us that the Jainas had two kinds of names for the months, the *laukika* or ordinary names, Śrāvāṇa, Bhādrapada, etc., and the *lōkōttara* names abhinandita (or abhinanda), pratishbhita (or supratishbha), vijaya, prativardhana, śrēyaḥ, śiva, śiśira, himavat, vasantamāsa, kusumasāmbhava, midāgha, and vanavirōha (or vanavirodhin). *Laukika-Śrāvāṇa* would thus mean 'the month which is ordinarily called Śrāvāṇa (but whose *lōkōttara* name is *abhinandita*),' and this Jaina usage has been followed in the above dates; and it is plain now why the word *laukika*, which some scholars have erroneously taken as qualifying the year, occurs in this manner just in inscriptions from Aṣṭhivāḍ. — In the place of *laukika* and in the same sense the word *sādhāraṇa* appears to be used in the date No. 186 of V. 1512, which is from a MS. of which I do not know where it was written.

Nakshatras, Karaṇas, and Yōgas : — If we now turn to the days of the dates, it must strike us that, compared with the dates of the Śaka era, the Vikrama dates, especially in more early times, rarely furnish any *data* besides the *tithi* and weekday. Thus, down to V. 1250, out of seventy dates of my list of calculated dates only one (No. 57 of V. 898) gives the *nakshatra* and *yōga*, and four (Nos. 190, 30, 58, and 31, of V. 794, 919, 962, and 1042), two of which are from literary works and the earliest of which is from a forged copper-plate, give the *nakshatra*. And altogether, of the 200 calculated dates, three (Nos. 11, 22, and 23) give the *nakshatra*, *karaṇa*, and *yōga*, five (Nos. 8, 57, 71, 122, and 136) the *nakshatra* and *yōga*; 20 the *nakshatra* only, and one (No. 39) gives the *yōga* (Vyatipāta) only. Of these 29 dates ten are from stone inscriptions, ten from literary works, six are dates of MSS., and three of copper-plates. All the items thus furnished are correct, except those given in the dates Nos. 190 and 195.

Lunar and solar eclipses : — Five dates from copper-plate inscriptions mention lunar eclipses, and five, also from copper-plates, solar eclipses. The lunar eclipses all work out satisfactorily. Two of them (in Nos. 5 and 40, of V. 1055 and 1272) were total eclipses, visible in India, and two (in Nos. 4 and 161, of V. 1036 and 1220) partial eclipses, also visible in India. Of the eclipse mentioned in No. 80 of V. 1200 it is impossible to speak quite positively, because it so happens that there were lunar eclipses on each of the three possible European equivalents of the Hindu date, but as only one of these eclipses was visible in India, it is highly probable that this is the eclipse referred to by the inscription. — Of the five solar eclipses only two work out satisfactorily. One of these (in No. 83 of V. 1043) was a total eclipse, which was not visible in India, and the other (in No. 114 of V. 1270) a total eclipse, visible in India. The three other solar eclipses are mentioned in the dates Nos. 190, 192, and 194; of V. 794, 1166, and 1299, which do not work out properly. — What deserves to be drawn special attention to here, is, that one of the solar eclipses, as already remarked, was not visible in India.

Saṁkrāntis : — The date No. 133 of V. 994 quotes an unspecified *saṁkrānti* (really the Vṛisha-saṁkrānti) which took place during the *tithi* of the date, 3 h. 30 m. after mean sunset; and another unspecified *saṁkrānti* is quoted, wrongly, as it appears, in the date No. 193 of V. 1187. — Two dates, No. 74 of V. 1516 and No. 119 of V. 1717, mention the *Mēsha-saṁkrānti*, which in both cases took place during the *tithi* of the date, in the one date 5 h. 1 m. before mean sunrise, and in the other 1 h. 1 m. after mean sunset. — A *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti* which also took place during the *tithi* of the date, 4 h. 32 m. after mean sunset, is quoted in connection with the date No. 112 of V. 1084. — Besides, the *Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* is mentioned in five dates. In two of them, No. 12 of V. 1280 and No. 174 of V. 1234, the *saṁkrānti* took place during the *tithi* of the date, in day-time, but the dates differ from each other in this that in the second date the *tithi* is joined with the week-day on which it commenced. In the date No. 169 of V. 1078 (assuming the reading of it to be correct) the *saṁkrānti* took place 3 h. 29 m. before the commencement of the day on which the *tithi* commenced 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise; and in No. 176 of V. 1161 it took place 7 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise, between

²¹ Compare e.g. *Indische Studien*, Vol. X. p. 298, and Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 592.

three to four hours after the end of the *tithi* of the date. Finally, in No. 191 of V. 1154 the *Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* is wrongly quoted, because it cannot possibly take place on the third of the bright half of the month Māgha, the day given by the date. — The general result is, that in six out of eight cases in which a *saṁkrānti* may be supposed to have been correctly quoted, it took place during the actual *tithi* of the date; and taking this to be the rule, I have little doubt that the same was the case in the date No. 169, and that the reading of that date should be altered in the way already suggested by me under the date.²²

Other holy or festive times : — Occasions, other than eclipses and *saṁkrāntis*, on which donations were made, are mentioned in connection with the dates in the following terms : — *manvādau*, in connection with Chaitra-śudi 15, in the date No. 172 of V. 1185; *akṣaya-tritīyā-parvaṇi* and *akṣaya-tritīyā-yugādi-parvaṇi*, with Vaiśākha-śudi 3, in No. 63 of V. 1222 and No. 173 of V. 1229; *mahā-Vaiśākhyāni-parvaṇi*, with Vaiśākha-śudi 15, in 71 of V. 1256; *mahāchaturdaś-parvaṇi*, with Śrāvāṇa-śudi 14, in No. 35 of V. 1218; *pana-parvaṇi*, with Kārttika-śudi 11, in No. 180 of V. 1231; *amāvāsya-parvaṇi* in No. 109 of V. 1256; *vyatipāta-parvaṇi* (denoting here the *yōga* Vyatipāta) in No. 39 of V. 1263; *abhiśhēka-parvaṇi* in No. 10 of V. 1263; and *ātmiya-mātuḥ-sūnvasarikē* in No. 178 of V. 1107. Among these dates special attention may be drawn to Nos. 63, 172, and 173, which quote the *manvādi*, *yugādi*, and *akṣaya-tritīyā* festivals.

Repeated tithis : — An instance of a repeated *tithi* is distinctly furnished by the date No. 158 of V. 1747 in which the day is described as *dvitīya-chaturthī-dina*; and I would here draw particular attention to that date because my previous remarks on it are not quite correct. When they were written, I had been misled to believe that a day on which no *tithi* ends receives the number of the *tithi* which ends on the preceding day, and I accordingly stated that in the date under discussion we should by Professor Jacobi's Tables have two days numbered 3, and only one fourth day. But as in reality, and most naturally, a day on which no *tithi* ends receives the number of the *tithi* which is current during the whole of that day and ends on the following day, the result obtained from Professor Jacobi's Tables quite accords with the wording of the date No. 158, and Wednesday, 19th March, A.D. 1690, was by those Tables really a *dvitīya-chaturthī-dina*. A proper understanding of the rule regarding *adhika tithis* also shows the date No. 159 of V. 1404 to be quite correct by the Tables. For since in that case the 14th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise of Thursday, 18 October, and ended 0 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 19 October, A. D. 1347, both the Thursday and the Friday must have been numbered 14 in the calendar, and the Thursday, which more fully might be described as *prathama-chaturdaśī-dina*, is properly denoted in the date by *śudi* 14.

²² Attention may be drawn here to the occurrence of the term *śaḍśhītika*, denoting one of the solar months, in No. 166 of V. 1386.

²³ Some interesting dates collected since the publication of my lists will be published hereafter.

tion should first be made for either the northern or the southern expired year, and the northern current year should be tried only when neither of the two other years has yielded a satisfactory equivalent of the original date.

A *tithi* of the dark fortnight never ends on the same weekday more than once in three consecutive years for the same scheme of a lunar month, i. e., either the *amānta* scheme, or the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. But not infrequently such a *tithi* in the *amānta* month of one year may end on the same weekday on which it ended in the *pūrṇimānta* month of the same name of the preceding year. Accordingly, in verifying a date of the dark fortnight of the months Kārttika to Phālguna, one should begin by calculating for the *pūrṇimānta* month of the expired year. If thereby the desired weekday is found (as, e. g., in No. 83), the result may be regarded as final, and no further calculations are necessary. On the other hand, if the *pūrṇimānta* month yields no satisfactory result, the *amānta* month of the expired year should be tried (as, e. g., in No. 97); and here it should be remembered that, even when the proper weekday has thus been obtained, the result is not necessarily the only one possible, because the *pūrṇimānta* month of the current year may perhaps yield the same weekday (as, e. g., in No. 103). The verification of dates in dark fortnights of the months Chaitra to Āśvina is more troublesome still, and it seems impossible to suggest any particular line of procedure beyond saying that the necessary calculations should here too always first be made for the expired (northern or southern) years. But in addition to what has been already stated concerning the weekdays of the *pūrṇimānta* month of one year and the *amānta* month of the same name of the following year, it may finally be mentioned here that sometimes the *amānta* month of the northern current year, too, yields the same weekday for the end of a *tithi* as the *pūrṇimānta* month of the same name of the southern expired year (as, e. g., in No. 143).

THE MĀLAVA ERA.

Some little time ago I came across a date, — hitherto overlooked,¹ — of the Mālava era, which is of particular interest, (1) because its surroundings would prove, quite irrespectively of the Gupta era, that the Mālava era is no other than the Vikrama era; and (2) because it shews that the Vikrama era was known by the name of the era of the Mālava lord or lords,² as late as the second half of the 12th century A. D. The date occurs in an inscription on a pillar over the northern gateway of a palace at Mēnālgadh in Mēwād, a rough reading of which was published by Kavirāj Śyāmalādas about four years ago, in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 46. The inscription refers itself in the concluding lines to the reign of the Chauhān Prithvirāja, and the date with which it opens, in the published version, runs thus: —

Mālavēsa-gata-vatsara-śataih dvādaśaiś=cha
śaṭvīmśa-pūrvakaiḥ, —

words which, though incorrect, apparently are intended to mean —

“when twelve hundred and twenty-six years
of (the era of) the Mālava lord or lords
had gone by.”

Since for the Chauhān Prithvirāja we possess other dates, of the Vikrama years 1239 (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. Plate xxxii. 10, and Vol. XXI. p. 174) and 1244 (*ibid.* Vol. VI. Plate xxi.), the year 1226 of our new Mālava date must also, of course, be referred to the Vikrama era.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

¹ See *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 66.

² The word *Mālavēsa* being compounded with the following *gata*, it is impossible to say, whether the writer of the date under discussion took it in a singular or plural sense.

Die Vikrama Aera.

Von

F. Kielhorn.

Die Entdeckungen der letzten Jahre haben gezeigt, daß die von James Fergusson aufgestellte und durch Max Müller berühmt gewordene Hypothese, nach welcher die Vikrama Aera erst im sechsten Jahrhundert, oder genauer, nach dem Jahre 543 n. Chr. von einem Könige Vikramāditya erfunden sein sollte, unhaltbar ist. Mit Recht schrieb Max Müller im Jahre 1883, daß die ganze Theorie Fergussons zusammenbrechen würde, wenn sich ein einziger Stein finden sollte, der (zeitgenössisch) von 543 n. Chr., d. i. vom Vikrama Jahre 600, oder früher datiert wäre. Solche Steine, aus den Vikrama Jahren 529 und 589, um nur die in jeder Hinsicht sichern Daten hier zu erwähnen, haben sich gefunden¹); und wir wissen jetzt, daß die Vikrama Aera in der That vor 543 n. Chr. im Gebrauche war, daß die Jahre derselben aber als Jahre nach der Zählung der Mālavas, Jahre der Mālava Herrscher u. s. w. bezeichnet wurden. Kann die Aera somit nicht erst im sechsten Jahrhundert von einem Könige Vikramāditya gestiftet sein, so tritt von Neuem die Frage an uns heran, wie es zugeht, daß sie in späterer Zeit mit einem Könige jenes Namens in Verbindung gebracht wurde. Ich will mit wenigen Worten zu zeigen versuchen, wie ich mir die Lösung dieses Räthsels denke.

Das älteste bekannt gewordene Datum, in dem das Wort *vikrama* erscheint, findet sich auf der Dholpur Steininschrift des

¹) Vgl. meine chronologische Liste der Vikrama Daten im *Ind. Antiquary*, Band XX, S. 125.

Chauhân Chaṇḍamahâsena¹⁾, in der das Jahr 898 durch die eigenthümliche Wendung —

vasu nava [a]shṭau varshâ gatasya kâlasya vikramâkhyasya „898 Jahre der *vikrama*-benannten (verflossenen) Zeit“ — bezeichnet wird. Auch sonst ist gerade dieses Datum für uns von ganz besonderem Interesse. Es ist das früheste sichere Datum der sogenannten Vikrama Aera, dessen Correctheit wir beweisen können; und seine Berechnung zeigt, daß das in ihm erwähnte Jahr mit dem Monate Kârttika (October-November), nicht, wie das Śaka Jahr, mit Chaitra (März-April) angefangen haben muß. Anzunehmen, daß der Schreiber des Datums mit dem Worte *vikrama* eine Person bezeichnen wollte, die er sich als Stifter der Aera dachte, liegen zwingende Gründe nicht vor. Die älteste Steininschrift, deren Datum von einem Manne Vikrama spricht, ist die Gwâlîor Sâsbahû Tempel Inschrift des Mahîpâla²⁾ vom Jahre V. 1150.

Die älteste echte Kupferplatte, deren Datum das Wort *vikrama* enthält, ist die Râdhanpur Urkunde³⁾ des Chaulukya Bhîmadeva I., deren Jahr als *vikrama-samvat* 1086 „das vikrama Jahr 1086“ bezeichnet wird. Ihr folgt die Sûnak Kupferplatte⁴⁾ des Chaulukya Karṇadeva von *vikrama-samvat* 1148. Auch bei diesen Daten würde keine Nothwendigkeit vorliegen das Wort *vikrama* auf eine Person zu beziehen; doch darf ich hierauf kein Gewicht legen, weil wir aus dem Datum von Amitagati's Subhâshita-ratna-saṁdoha⁵⁾ wissen, daß die Aera, von der ich spreche, schon in V. 1050 mit einem Fürsten Vikrama in Verbindung gebracht war. Sicher aber ist, daß sich bis jetzt kein Datum vor V. 1050 gefunden hat, das einen König Vikrama erwähnt, und daß das früheste sichere Datum vom Jahre V. 898 zwar die Zeit, zu der es gehört, als die *vikrama-Zeit* bezeichnet, eine Beziehung auf einen persönlichen Vikrama aber nicht enthält.

Fragen wir, wodurch sich das Vikrama Jahr von dem Jahre der viel allgemeiner gebräuchlichen Śaka Aera in besonders auffälliger Weise unterschied, so kann die Antwort nur die sein, daß das Vikrama Jahr mit dem Monate Kârttika (October-November), das Śaka Jahr dagegen mit dem Monate Chaitra (März-

1) Vgl. *Ind. Antiquary*, Band XIX, S. 35, wo ich die Berechnung des Datums gegeben habe.

2) *Ib.*, Band XX, S. 129, No. 58.

3) *Ib.*, S. 128, No. 47.

4) *Ib.*, S. 129, No. 57.

5) *Ib.*, Band XIX, S. 361.

April) anfang. Auf diesen ursprünglichen Unterschied der Jahre der beiden großen Aeren haben schon Andere aufmerksam gemacht, und ich habe oben bemerkt, daß das Jahr des ältesten berechenbaren Vikrama Datums unzweifelhaft ein *Kârttikâdi*, nicht ein *Chaitrâdi* Jahr war. Das Vikrama Jahr fing im Herbst, das Śaka Jahr im Frühling an.

Nun ist der Herbst (*śarad*) die Zeit des Auszugs zum Kriege; er ist in eminentem Grade der *vikrama-kâla*. Das wissen die Dichter ebenso gut wie die Verfasser der Nîti- und Dharmasâstras. Raghu unternimmt seinen *digvijaya* im Herbst. Der Herbst, geschmückt mit Lotusblumen, naht sich ihm wie eine zweite Râjalakshmi; er läßt ihn ein auszuziehen, noch ehe Raghu selbst einen Entschluß gefaßt hat; im Herbst suchen selbst die Stiere es ihm an *vikrama* gleich zu thun¹⁾. Wie Kâlidâsa hier, so spricht Bhâravi vom Herbst beim Auszuge Arjunas²⁾. Im Herbst zieht Râma aus Râvaṇa zu erschlagen und Sitâ wiederzugewinnen³⁾. Im Gâiḍavaho bricht Yaśovarman am Ende der Regenzeit, im Herbst, auf, sich den ganzen Erdkreis botmäßig zu machen⁴⁾. Im Harshacharita erklärt Bâṇa die graubärtigen Wangen eines greisen Feldherrn dadurch, daß er den Besitzer den mit seinen blühenden Gräsern weißen Herbstanfang (*śarad-ârambha*) wieder von sich geben läßt, den er zur Kriegszeit (*vikrama-kâle*) getrunken hatte⁵⁾.

Vom Herbst (*śarad*), als dem eigentlichen *vikrama-kâla*, zum Jahre (*śarad*) als *vikrama-kâla* ist nur ein kurzer Schritt; und ich glaube, daß die Inder in der That diesen Schritt gethan haben, und daß die spätere Bezeichnung der Mâlava Aera

1) *Raghuvaṁśa* IV, 22.

2) *Kirâtârjunîya* IV.

3) Vgl. *Setubandha* I, 14 und 16; Goldschmidts Uebersetzung: —

„Mühsam gieng dem Dâçarathi dahin die Regenzeit — die Verfinsterung für die Sonne seines Entschlusses, die starke Fessel für den Elefanten seines Zornes, der Käfig für den Löwen seines Sieges.“

„Da naht — für den Affenfürsten der Weg des Ruhms, für das Leben des Râghava die erste Stütze, für Sitâ die Hemmung der Tränen, für den Zehnköpfigen der Tag des Todes — es naht der Herbst.“

Vgl. auch I, 34, mit der Erklärung des Scholiasten.

4) *Gâiḍavaho* 192.

5) Die Stelle, welche im 6ten uchchhvâsa (auf S. 156 der schlechten Calcuttaer Ausgabe) steht, ist schon von S. P. Paṇḍit, Gâiḍavaho, Introduction, S. 102 Anm., erwähnt, aber von ihm in ganz anderer Weise erklärt worden. Auch der Text, den er citiert, giebt keinen Sinn. Ich lese: *vamann iva vikramakâlapitam akâlepi vikâsikâsakânanavisâdam śaradârambham*.

als der eines Königs Vikrama ihren Ursprung einem Mißverständnisse verdankt. War man gewohnt vom Herbste (*sarad*) als *vikrama-kāla* zu sprechen, so war durch das Wort *sarad* die Beziehung auf das Jahr gegeben; und die Bezeichnung des Jahres als *vikrama-kāla* lag um so näher als man dadurch zunächst gerade das zum Ausdruck brachte was das Mālava Jahr vom Śaka Jahre unterschied: das Factum nämlich, daß das Mālava Jahr im *Herbste* anfang. Hatte man sich aber gewöhnt von Jahren als *vikrama-kāla* oder von *vikrama*-Jahren zu reden, so war Nichts natürlicher als daß spätere Geschlechter sich diese Bezeichnung im Sinne ihrer Zeit zu deuten suchten und so die Stiftung der Aera einem Könige Vikrama zuschrieben, der die Jahre, wie ihre eignen Könige, von seinem Regierungsantritte¹⁾ gezählt hatte.

1) Was die Śaka Aera betrifft, so möchte ich hier bemerken, daß ich in den Worten *Śaka-nripati-rājyābhisheka-samvatsareshu* der Bādāmi Inschrift des Maṅgalīśvara in keiner Weise mit meinem Freunde Fleet eine Spur einer alten Tradition über den Anfang der Śaka Aera entdecken kann. Mir sagen die betreffenden Worte nur, — was uns aus der Haidarābād Urkunde des Pulikeśin II. bekannt ist —, daß es *zur Zeit des Schreibers* üblich war die Jahre vom *rājyābhisheka* eines Königs zu zählen.
