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Tree and serpent worship

Fergusson, James

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Appendix.

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APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

THE following two extracts are taken from a work entitled "Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche Weisen und Gewohnheiten, von Johann Wolfgang Boecler, weiland Pastor zu Kusal in Ehstland und des Consistorii in Reval Assessor. Mit auf die Gegenwart bezüglichen Anmerkungen beleuchtet von Dr. Fr. R. Kreutzwald. St. Petersburg, Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1854."

The first is curious, not only as showing the prevalence of Tree Worship in Esthonia at a very recent date, but more so as containing a form of prayer addressed to the Tree God which I have not met with elsewhere.

Dr. Kreutzwald's account of the Serpents, and their annual parliaments, accords with that reported by Castrén as occurring in Sweden (vide supra, p. 25). He does not profess to have seen snakes worshipped himself, but he quotes the late Provost Masing (I. 39.) as having in his boyhood seen tame snakes (unterirdische Hauswirth), who were fed and nourished by the peasantry, and honoured as household gods:—

"Die *Baumverehrung* der Esten lässt sich aus der jüngsten Vergangenheit nachweisen und wird ohne Zweifel auch heutiges Tages manche Anbeter finden, obzwar — seit die ungläubige Spottsucht unter den Nationalen selbst grösseren Spielraum gewonnen, und durch Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft manche frühere Verhältnisse verändert worden, die Zahl der baum- und quellgläubigen Seelen jährlich mehr einschmelzen und bei Ausübung ihrer alten Gebräuche noch vorsichtiger werden dürfte, wodurch nach wenigen Jahren vielleicht alle sichtbaren Spuren verschwinden. Indessen möchten wir nicht verbürgen, dass bei dieser spiegelglatten Oberfläche auch der Meeresgrund überall ein ungetrübter sei. In den beiden ersten Decennien des laufenden Jahrhunderts, wo in solchen Dingen weniger Zurückhaltung herrschte, haben wir in Allentacken, Wierland, Jerwen und Harrien heilige Bäume mehrfach gesehen; sie standen unweit des Wohnhauses an einem geschützten Orte, genossen eine sorgfältige Pflege und wurden gegen Beschädigungen in Acht genommen. Es waren in der Regel alte Linden, Eichen oder Eschen, erstere am häufigsten. Nach der Mittheilung eines glaubwürdigen bejahrten Nationalen wurden solche Bäume wenigstens einmal im Jahre mit frischem Thierblut begossen, desgleichen musste, wenn eines geschlachteten Thieres Herzschlag zur sogenannten "frischen Suppe" *würske teem* — benutzt worden war, bevor ein Mensch davon gekostet hatte, eine Portion über des heiligen Baumes Wurzeln verschüttet werden, damit der Viehstand besser gedeihe. Am Johannis — Abend hing man in Wierland einen mit "Glücksblumen" *önne lilled* — durchwundenen Farrenkraut-Kranz in des heil. Baumes Zweige. Am folgenden Morgen wurden die "Glücksblumen" aus dem Kranze genommen und auf jegliches Hausgenossen Glück ein Blümchen zwischen Wandritzen gesteckt, um zu erfahren, wessen Glück in diesem Jahre am schönsten sich entfalten werde. — Der Farrenkraut-Kranz blieb am Baum hängen bis er verwelkte, dann erst ward er abgenommen und bis zur Neujahrsnacht sorgfältig aufgehoben, wo der Abends unter das Kopfkissen gesteckte welke Kranz die Träume dieser Nacht ominös machte. Zu gleichem Zweck streute man in der Johannis-Nacht blühende Blumen unter das ruhende Haupt, die hier, wie der welke Kranz am Sylvester-Abend, für den Schläfer weissagende Vorbedeutung gewinnen sollten. Die Auslegung der Traumorakel besorgten hier — wie's auch anderweitig geschieht — alte Weiber, denen selbst im Volksliede das Prädikat "*targad*" (weise)

beigefügt wird, wenn's etwas zu raten giebt, was über den kleinen hausbackenen Verstand hinausgeht. Es ist uns nicht erinnerlich, Steine unter den heiligen Bäumen bemerkt zu haben, auch wussten wir damals keine besondere Aufmerksamkeit diesem Gegenstande zu widmen, daher, falls wirklich welche vorhanden gewesen, sie leicht unbeachtet können geblieben sein. Nach den Mittheilungen des *Herrn Lagus* aus der Fellinschen Gegend, soll unter dem "Linden-Altar" — *pärna altari al* — immer ein Stein gestanden haben, auf den der Opferbringer seine Gaben hinstellte, nachdem er vorher auf blossen Knien drei Mal von Osten nach Westen, und drei Mal wieder zurück gerutscht war, wobei er sprechen musste: "Empfange die Speise zur Opfergabe." Dann wurden dem Stein zur Besiegelung des Bundes noch drei Küsse gegeben und nun konnte man fortgehen. Auch sollen die Fellinschen Linden — was in Estland nicht der Fall war — auf einem "Hügelchen" gestanden haben. In einem darauf bezüglichen Volksliede hören wir den Opferbringer sprechen:

Saada öne sarwikuile,
Kaitse meie kabjajalad,
Warja meie warwaskannad,
Sörgaliste sigidusta.

Sende Glück du den Gehörnten,
Wahre unsre Hufenfüßler,
Schirme unsre Zehenhacken,
Das Gedeihen auch der Klauer.

Wir wollen hier einen Estnischen "Opfergebrauch" ausführlicher beschreiben. Der Opferbringer musste aus seinem Zeigefinger einige Blutstropfen ritzen und dabei sprechen: "Ich nenne Dich mit meinem Blute und verlobe Dich mit meinem Blute, und bezeichne Dir meine Gebäude zum Segnen, als Pferdeställe und Viehstadeln und Hühnerstangen; lasse sie gesegnet sein durch mein Blut und deine Macht."

"Sei mir zur Freude, Du Allermächtigster, meiner Eltern Erhalter, mein Beschützer und meines Lebens Beschirmer! Ich flehe zu Dir aus Fleisches und Blutes Kraft: Empfange die Speise, die ich Dir darbringe zu Deinem Unterhalt und zu meines Leibes Freude; bewahre mich als Dein gutes Kind, und ich werde Dich dankend preisen. Bei des allmächtigsten, meines eigenen Gottes Hilfe, erhöre mich! Was ich aus Nachlässigkeit etwa Unvollkommenes gegen Dich gethan habe, das vergiss! Aber bewahre es treu im Gedächtniss, dass ich meine Gaben auf ehrbare Weise meinen Eltern zu Ehren und zur Freude und zur Vergeltung abgetragen habe, Ueberdies küsse ich drei Mal niederfallend die Erde. Sei mit mir schnell im Thun und Friede sei mit Dir bis hierher."*

In Wierland wurden die heil. Bäume *Hie*- oder *Pelgepuud*, in Harrien *warjo-puud* — "Schutzbäume" genannt. Das *hie* wird von unsern Sprachkennern gemeinlich durch *heilig* übersetzt, andere wollen darunter einen Hain verstehen; von unserm Nichtkennersstandpunkte müssen wir bemerken, wie letztere Erklärung bezüglich auf den einzelnen Baum durchaus unstatthaft erscheint. † *Pely* ‡ soll nach *Herrn Lagus Taara's* Namen in der Kindersprache bedeuten."

The following two invocations to the Serpent are translations from the Finnish, which is given in the original work in parallel columns.

"O du Schlange, Unterird'sche,
Erdkuchen, Erdbrötchen,
Unter die Erd' hinab neun Klaftern,
In den Fels hinein acht Ellen!
Hülfe, Kehl', Hülfe, Seel',
Hülfe, lieber Herr Gott!
Hülfe, Hülfe helfe dir,
Den gesund *Taara* geschaffen
Von der Mutter Leib bis zum Lebensend!
Silber auf des Argen Zipfel,
Weisses Silber sei dem Feinde!

Spruch gegen den Unterirdischen.

Erdväterchen,
Erdmütterchen,
Erdjüngferchen,
Rasengrossmütterchen,
Euch des Silbers Weisses bring' ich:
Gebt mir Helle gegen Schmerzen,
Gebt Gesundheit ihr dem Siechen,
Bringe dann euch meinen Dank dar!

* Wortgetreu aus dem Estnischen übersetzt, wie Hr. Lagus das Opfergebet aus dem Munde eines Fellinschen Esten niedergeschrieben.

† Das Wort *Hie* hängt mit dem Finnischen *Hiisi* zusammen. Vgl. *Neus*, Estnische Volkslieder S. 208. *Sj.*

‡ *Pely* bedeutet eigentlich "Furcht," im Dorpater Dialekt. *S.*

Streckt sich jemand erhitzt auf den feuchten Erdboden, oder setzt er sich oder ein Glied seines Leibes im heissen Dampfbaide dem kalten Luftzuge aus, so entsteht nicht selten ein feiner, brennend juckender Hautausschlag, der ausschwitzt und später eine Kruste bildet. Mit dem Abfallen dieser ist die Krankheit beendet und ohne weiteres Genesung eingetreten (vgl. *Hupel*, nord. Miscel. III. 227). Diese Krankheit schreibt aber der Ehste dem Anhauche der Unterirdischen zu, die er gestört zu haben vermeint, und soll sie nach ihnen *maa, alused* oder *maa hingamine* (Erdhauch; das norweg. *alvgust*, Elbbauch, s. *Grimm* a. a. O. S. 430) benennen (s. *Rosenpl.* a. a. O. I. 33 f.). Um den Zorn der Unterirdischen zu besänftigen und von ihnen Heilung zu erlangen, schabt er nun als Opfer auf die Stätte etwas von seinem Silberschmuck oder einer Silbermünze, nachdem er sie dreimal mit der Sonne um den erkrankten Theil bewegt (vgl. unten die Anmerkung zu No. 31, welches letztere jedoch auch scheint unterlassen zu werden (s. *Hupel*, topogr. Nachricht, II. 141). Dazu spricht er dann die Formel. Dieses Opfer geschabten Silbers ist bei ähnlichen Anlässen auch in Schweden üblich; der Opfergebrauch indess umständlicher, s. E. M. *Arndt*, Reise durch Schweden III. 15 f.

Dass aber zu diesem Opfer das edle Silber genommen wird, scheint sich aus der Vorstellung zu erklären, welche Ehsten und Schweden von den Unterirdischen haben. *Lagus* erhielt von den felliner Ehsten folgendes Bruchstück:

Sie, die kleinen Unterird'schen,
Die geheimen Schmid' Allvaters,
Schafften ihr Geschäft in Nächten,
In den Nächten Mühgeschäfte;
Tags, da war der Ruhe Weile.

Nach anderer Angabe hört man in schweigsamer Mitternacht, hält man das Ohr an die Erde, das Schneiden der Unterirdischen in den sieben Nächten von Weihnachten bis zum Neujahr und kann selbst unterscheiden, ob unter den Hämmern Eisen, Silber oder Gold erklingt. Nach einer dritten Angabe, die auch als Lied vorhanden war, waren es wieder die Unterirdischen, welche dem Schlangenkönige seine Krone geschmiedet hatten. Der blendende Glanz dieser Krone lockte sämtliche Schlangen heran, dass sie in dem Sirtosoo westlich vom Peipussee um den König einen Haufen von der Höhe eines grossen Heuschobers bildeten, aus welchem das Haupt des Königs gleich der Sonne hervorleuchtete."

APPENDIX B.

ABSTRACT OF THE NÍLA-MATA, BY PROFESSOR E. B. COWELL.

It is mentioned in the *Rájatarangíní* that "the Baudhas, in their hatred of the *Sástras*, abolished the ceremonial laid down by the *Níla-purána*;" but the work entitled the *Níla-Mata* can hardly be the *purána* there alluded to.* It is written in a very modern style, but, like other similar recent compilations, it may be founded on old materials. Much of it is occupied with the instructions of the Snake-king *Níla* to the people of Kashmir; but it is singular that Snake Worship is hardly alluded to in the copious list of offerings there enjoined throughout the Hindu year. The earlier portion of the work wears a partially Vaishnava character, but some *Saiva* legends occur in the latter portion.

* Similarly the *Nandi-purána* mentioned in the *Rajat.* I. 123., can hardly be the work described by Professor Aufrecht, in his Catalogue of the Bodleian MSS. p. 81.

The two manuscripts used for the present analysis contain respectively 81 pages and 312 pages; each manuscript has 15 lines in a page, but in the latter manuscript the pages are much smaller and the letters much larger. Both are very inaccurately written, and there are many variations in their respective texts. The poem seems to contain about 1,450 ślokas. It is written in the ordinary Anuṣṭubh metre, and is supposed to be a continuation of the Mahābhārata, and consequently to be recited by Vaiśampāyana to Janamejaya, the great-grandson of Arjuna.

The poem opens with Janamejaya's asking Vaiśampāyana why the king of Kashmir is not represented as joining in the Mahābhārata war, although the maṇḍala of Kashmir was the principal one in the world. Vaiśampāyana replies by relating that the king of Kashmir, Gonanda, had been slain by Kṛiṣṇa among the Gāndhāras on the Indus. Kṛiṣṇa appoints his rival's widow as regent, and her son (Gonanda according to one manuscript, Govinda according to the other,*) did not join either Pāṇḍavas or Kauravas on account of his youth. This leads to some questions on the mythological history of Kashmir, and Vaiśampāyana then repeats a dialogue which had taken place between King Gonanda II. and the sage Bṛihadaśwa. This dialogue is properly the Nīla-Mata.

Bṛihadaśwa commences with an account of the destruction of the world by water at the end of the previous Manwantara, the preservation of Manu and his seeds in a ship which is fastened to the mountain now called Nau-bandhana, in the west of Kashmir; and when the world of living creatures is created again, Devī, as Kaśmīrā, becomes the land of Kashmir. The snakes, persecuted by Garuḍa, take refuge in the lake Satīdeśa, and anoint Nīla as their king. Kashmir is subsequently ravaged by a demon named Jalodbhava, who is at length killed by Viṣṇu. Kaśyapa then asks Viṣṇu that the country may be inhabited by gods and men, but the Snake-king demurs. Kaśyapa threatens him with Piśāchas as his neighbours, and tells him that there is an island in "the sea of sand" inhabited by Piśāchas, Daityas, and Yakshas. Their king, Nikumbha, always sets out on the full moon of the month Chaitra, for an annual expedition of six months against his rebellious subjects; he passes the remaining six months in peace on the Himālaya. In future, he threatens, these six months will be passed with the snakes. Nīla is in great distress, until at last Viṣṇu, pitying him, promises that the arrangement shall only last one set of four ages, and after that time the snakes shall be allowed to have only men as their neighbours. "In whatever place belonging to any snake men shall dwell, men shall honour him with flowers, incense, and unguents, with various offerings of food and dances. And whatever people shall keep the good customs declared by thee, they shall dwell in this country, blessed with cattle, corn, and wealth." The country is thenceforward inhabited for six months in every year by men who come in on the full moon of Chaitra, and sow and reap their corn, but clear off in Āśwayuja, when the country is again given over to the Piśāchas. The various deities become the different rivers; thus Umā becomes the Vitastā, Lakṣmī the Viśokī, &c.

This predicted occupation of Kashmir by the Piśāchas continues for four ages. At the end of that time the human inhabitants had, as usual, reaped their grain and cleared off from the country before the full moon of Āśwayuja; but a certain Brahmin named Chandradeva remained with the Piśāchas. One day he wanders disconsolate, till he comes to the place in the mountains where Nīla holds his court. He propitiates the Snake-king by a hymn of praise, and Nīla grants him a boon. He asks that Kashmir may thenceforth be inhabited by men without fear of perpetual emigrations. Nīla grants it: "Thus be it, O best of Brahmins; let men always dwell here, but observing my words, revealed to me by Keśava." The Brahmin dwells at his court until the month Chaitra comes round, and the human inhabitants flock in from all sides with their king, Vīryodaya. Chandradeva goes to him and declares what he has seen and heard, and the king and his people agree to observe the words of Nīla, and thenceforth they dwell undisturbed in Kashmir (cf. Rājat. I. 182), which gives a somewhat different legend.

* This is the Gonarda II. of the Rājat. I. 62-82.

Gonanda then asks Bṛihadaśwa what "the words of Nīla" were. The sage then repeats the lesson as it was uttered by Nīla himself to the Brahmin. Here follows a long list of the principal rites and ceremonies throughout the year, beginning with the full moon of Āśwayuja; it contains some curious matter, but the Nāgas are hardly ever mentioned.

At the close, Vaiśampāyana interrupts the original dialogue by the remark that Gonanda did not obey these laws, and consequently fell at Mathurá, being slain by Balabhadra (cf. Rājāt. I. 59-63).

Gonanda then asks for some account of the principal Nāgas who dwell in Kashmir. A long list of names follows, and some legends; and also a list of the principal deities worshipped there, and the benefits derived from visiting their shrines. Bṛihadaśwa then relates some legends connected with several holy places in Kashmir.

The poem winds up with a return to the original interlocutors. Janamejaya asks Vaiśampāyana to eulogize the glory of the river Vitastá, which closes the work.

APPENDIX C.

THE following translations of the rock-cut edicts of Aśoka are reproduced here without note or comment, but literally, as they have already appeared several times in print. None of those yet given to the public can be considered as either perfect or complete, but the sense can in all cases be gathered from them, and they are sufficient for our present purposes. Two other copies of these edicts have been discovered since these translations were made,—one at the foot of the Himalayas, north of Meerut, and another in Cuttack. When these are published a more perfect translation may be possible. Those who desire further information are referred to Prinsep's translation, J. A. S. B., VII. p. 219. et seqq.; to Professor Wilson's J. R. A. S., XII. 153, et seq.; to Burnouf, "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," Appendix, p. 659, et seqq.; and to Mrs. Speir's Life in Ancient India, p. 230, et seqq. The object for which they are introduced here, is neither to explain their text nor to comment on their doctrines, but to afford the reader of the previous pages a picture of Buddhism as it existed B.C. 250, in the words of its most ardent devotee and its principal promoter. This is done in order that he may compare it with Buddhism as presented 300 years afterwards in the sculptures at Sanchi; or as it appears 300 years after that time, in A.D. 350 at Amravati. This completes the means of comparison in so far as this work is concerned; but, as already mentioned, the frescoes at Ajanta afford a fourth picture 200 years more modern than Amravati; and again, 300 after that we have the Thibetan Lalita-Vistara. Unfortunately we still want, and it is feared are little likely to obtain, any contemporary record at the beginning of our series, 300 years before Aśoka, but it is satisfactory to know that materials now exist for illustrating the other five epochs of Buddhism.

TABLET I.

This is the Edict of the beloved of the Gods, the Raja Piyadasi. The putting to death of animals is to be entirely discontinued, and no convivial meeting is to be held, for the beloved of the Gods, Raja Piyadasi, remarks many faults in such assemblies. There is but one assembly, indeed, which is approved of by the Raja, * * * which is that of the great kitchen of Raja Piyadasi; every day hundreds of thousands of animals have been slaughtered for virtuous purposes, but now, although this pious Edict is proclaimed that animals may be killed for good purposes, and such is the practice, yet as the practice is not determined, these presents are proclaimed, that hereafter they shall not be killed.

TABLET II.

In all the conquered territories of the Raja Piyadasi, even unto the ends of the earth, as in Chola, in Pida (the kingdom of Satyaputra), in Keralaputra (or Malabar), and in Tambapanni (or Ceylon), and to Antiochus the Yona Raja, and to those Princes who are allied with him, it is proclaimed that two designs have been cherished by Piyadasi,—one regarding men, and one relating to animals,—that everywhere wholesome vegetables, roots, and fruit-trees shall be cultivated, and that on the roads wells shall be dug and trees planted, to give enjoyment for both men and animals.

TABLET III.

King Piyadasi says:—This was ordained by me when I had been twelve years inaugurated in the conquered country; that amongst those united in the law, whether strangers or my own subjects, quinquennial expiation shall be held for the enforcement of moral obligations, as—duty to parents, friends, children, relations, Brahmins, and Sramans. Liberality is good, non-injury of living creatures is good, abstinence from prodigality and slander is good. The Assembly itself will instruct the faithful in the virtues here enumerated, both by explanation and by example.

TABLET IV.

In past times, during many hundreds of years, there have prevailed destruction of life and the injury of living beings, want of respect for kindred, Brahmins and Sramans. But now King Piyadasi practises the Law, the drum sounds, and the Law is proclaimed by processions of cars and elephants, and displays of fireworks. That which had not been seen for centuries, is now seen * * * in consequence of King Piyadasi's commands that the Law be practised * * * And Piyadasi will cause the observance of the Law to increase; and the sons and grandsons and great-grandsons of Piyadasi will cause its observance to increase until the *Kalpa* of destruction.

TABLET V.

They (the Mahâmâtra) shall also be spread among the warriors, the Brahmins, the mendicants, the destitute, and others, without any obstruction, for the happiness of the well-disposed, in order to loosen the bonds of those who are bound, and liberate those who are confined, through the means of holy wisdom disseminated by pious teachers, and they will proceed to the outer cities and fastnesses of my brother and sister, and wherever are any other of my kindred; and the ministers of morals, those who are appointed as superintendents of morals, shall, wherever the moral law is established, give encouragement to the charitable and those addicted to virtue. With this intent this Edict is written, and let my people obey it.

TABLET VI.

Hitherto attention has not been given to reports and affairs incessantly, or at all times, and on this account I decree that at all times,—even when I take recreation in the apartments of the women and children, or in conversation, or in riding, or in gardens, in all places,—there shall be informers (*Prativedaka*) to make known to me the wishes of the people; and everywhere I will occupy myself with the welfare of the people; and whatever I declare, or whatever the Mahâmâtra shall declare, shall be referred to the Council for decision. Thus shall reports be made to me. This have I everywhere and in every place commanded, for to me there is not satisfaction in the pursuit of worldly affairs; the most worthy pursuit is the prosperity of the whole world. My whole endeavour is to be blameless towards all creatures, to make them happy here below, and enable them hereafter to attain *Swarga*. With this view this moral Edict has been written: may it long endure; and may my sons and great-grandsons after me also labour for the universal good; but this is difficult without extreme exertion.

TABLET VII.

The beloved of the Gods, the Raja Piyadasi, desires that the ascetics of all the different beliefs (the *Pāshanda*) may everywhere dwell (unmolested): they all aim at moral restraint and purity of disposition; but men have various opinions and various desires, and the ascetics obtain either all or merely a part (of what they want). However, even for him who does not obtain a large gift or alms, purity of disposition, gratitude, and steady devotion is desirable.

TABLET VIII.

In past times Kings were addicted to travelling about, to companions, to going abroad, to hunting, and similar amusements; but Piyadasi, the beloved of the Gods, having been ten years inaugurated, by him easily awakened, that moral festival is adopted (which consists) in seeing and bestowing gifts on Brahminas and Sramanas, in seeing and giving gold to Elders, and overseeing the country and the people; the institution of moral laws and the investigation of morals. Such are the devices for the removal of apprehension, and such are the different pursuits of the favourite of the Gods, King Piyadasi.

TABLET IX.

The beloved of the Gods, the Raja Piyadasi, thus says:—Every man that is, celebrates various occasions of festivity, as,—on the removal of incumbrances, on invitations, on marriages, on the birth of a son, or on setting forth on a journey,—on these and other occasions a man makes various rejoicings. Such festivals are fruitless—are vain; but the festival that bears great fruit is the festival of duty (the *dharma mangala*), such as the respect of the servant to his master; reverence for holy teachers is good; liberality to Brahmins and Sramanas is good. These and other such acts constitute verily the festival of duty, and this is to be cherished as a father by a son, or a dependant by his master; * * * for the establishment of this object virtuous donations are made, for there is no donation equal to the gift of duty; * * * benevolence contracted between friends * * * is mere chaff; * * * by these means let a man seek *Swarga*.

TABLET X.

The beloved of the Gods, the Prince Piyadasi, does not esteem glory and fame as of great value; and besides, for a long time it has been my fame and that of my people that the observance of moral duty and the service of the virtuous should be practised, for this is to be done. This is the fame that the beloved of the Gods desires; and inasmuch as the beloved of the Gods excels (he holds) all such reputation as no real reputation, but such as may be that of the unrighteous,—pain and chaff; for it may be acquired by crafty and unworthy persons, and by whatever further effort it is acquired it is worthless and a source of pain.

TABLET XI.

Thus says the beloved of the Gods, King Piyadasi: There is no gift like the gift of virtue, whether it be the praise of virtue, the apportionment of virtue, or relationship of virtue. This (gift) is the cherishing of slaves and dependants, pious devotion to mother and father, generous gifts to friends and kinsmen, Brahminas and Sramanas.

Respect for the life of creatures is good; this is what ought to be said by a father, by a son, by a brother, by a friend, by an acquaintance, by a relation, and even by mere neighbours: this is well; this is to be done. He who acts thus is honoured in this world, and in the other world infinite merit results from this gift of the Law.

TABLET XII.

Piyadasi, the beloved of the Gods, honors all forms of religious belief, whether professed by ascetics or by householders, both by giving alms and by other modes of showing respect. But the beloved of the Gods does not esteem alms and marks of respect so highly as the increase of that which is the essence of renown. Now the increase of that which is essential for all forms of belief is of many kinds, but nevertheless the base of it is, for each of them, praise in words. Further, a man must honor his own faith without blaming that of another, and thus will but little that is wrong occur. There are even circumstances under which the faith of others should be honoured, and in acting thus, according to circumstances, a man increases his own faith and injures that of others. He who acts differently diminishes his own faith and injures that of others; he, whoever he may be, who honours his own faith and blames that of others out of devotion to his own, and says, moreover, Let us make our faith conspicuous; that man, I say, who acts thus merely injures the faith he holds: concord alone therefore is desirable. Further, let men listen to each law and follow it with submission, for such is the desire of the King, beloved of the Gods. Further, may men of all faiths abound in knowledge and prosper in virtue! And those who have faith in this or that religion should repeat this:—The King, beloved of the Gods, does not value alms or marks of respect so much as the increase of that which is the essence of renown and the multiplication of all beliefs. To this end great ministers of law, and superintendents of women * * * and other officers are appointed, and the fruit of this institution will be the speedy increase of all religions, as well as the illumination of the law.

Extract from Tablet XIII., the rest being so injured that it does not admit of continuous translation:—

“ There is not in either class of the heretics of men, a procedure marked by such grace * * * nor so glorious, or friendly, nor even so extremely liberal as Devánampiyō's injunction for the non-injury and content of living creatures; * * * and the Greek king besides, by whom the kings of Egypt, PTOLEMAIOS and ANTIGONOS and MAGAS, * * * both here and in foreign countries, everywhere wherever they go, the religious ordinances of Devánampiyō effect conversion. Conquest is of every description, but the conquest which bringeth joy, springing from pleasant emotions, becometh joy itself. The victory of virtue is happiness * * * such victory is desired in things of this world and things of the next world. (J. R. A. S., XII. 233.)

TRANSLATION OF THE BHAIRA INSCRIPTION, BY PROFESSOR WILSON.

Piyadasi, the King, to the venerable Assembly of Magadha, commands the infliction of little pain and indulgence to animals.

It is verily known, I proclaim, to what extent my respect and favour (are placed) in Buddha, and in the Law, and in the Assembly.

Whatsoever (words) have been spoken by the divine Buddha, they have all been well said, and in them verily I declare that capability of proof is to be discerned; so that the pure law (which they teach) will be of long duration, as far as I am worthy (of being obeyed).

For these I declare are the precepts of the Law of the principal discipline (Vinaya), having overcome the oppressions of the Aryas and future perils, (and refuted) the songs of the Munis, the Sūtras of the Munis, (the practices) of inferior ascetics, the censure of a light world, and (all) false doctrines.

These things, as declared by the divine Buddha, I proclaim, and I desire them to be regarded as the precepts of the Law.

And that as many as there may be, male and female mendicants, may hear and observe them, as well also as male and female followers (of the laity).

These things I affirm, and have caused this to be written (to make known to you) that such will be my intention.

APPENDIX D.

THE Hindu races worship three classes of deities,—the Grāma devatā, or village god; the Kula devatā, or household god; and the Ishta devatā, the personal or patron god.

Snake Worship is general throughout peninsular India, both of the sculptured form and of the living creature. The sculpture is invariably of the form of the Nag or Cobra, and almost every hamlet has its Serpent deity. Sometimes this is a single snake, the hood of the Cobra being spread open. Occasionally the sculptured figures are nine in number, and this form is called the "Nao nag," and is intended to represent a parent snake and eight of its young, but the prevailing form is that of two snakes twining in the manner of the Esculapian rod.

Some Hindus hold that the living snake is not worshipped as a devatā by any Hindu sect, but is revered in commemoration of some ancient event. If this be correct, it has, perhaps, relation to some astronomical occurrence. Others, however, maintain that it is as a devatā that it is worshipped; but whatever be the origin of the adoration, the living snake is worshipped everywhere throughout Southern India. On these occasions the worshippers resort to the snake's residence, called in Urdu the سانپ کی ہوت Sāmp kī hūt, which they ornament with streaks of vermilion and daubs of turmeric, and of wheat flour, and they hang garlands of flowers near, strung on white cotton thread, and laid over wooden frames. Also, in the ninth Sravan, which occurs in the rainy season, the "Nāg panchamī" festival occurs, on which Hindus go in search of snakes, or have them brought to their houses by the "Sanpeli," the snake charmers who snare them. The snakes are then worshipped, and offerings are made to them of milk, and in nearly every house figures of snakes, drawn on paper, are fixed on the walls and worshipped. Those who visit the snakes' hūts, plant sticks around the hole, and wind white cotton thread around and over the sticks. The Mahratta women go, a number together, to the snakes' hūt, and, joining hands, circle five times round and round it, singing songs, and then prostrate themselves. They pour milk into the hole (they ought to give it to the snake). They hang festoons of Chernhela flowers and cucumber fruit, and sprinkle a mixture of sugar and flour (Sakr Suji).

On the 25th January 1868 I halted in the temple of the Grāma devatā of Assaye, where Sir A. Wellesley defeated the Bhonslah. I there saw Hanuman with a lingam, and Basava, the bull, and the tulsi plant, and on the western wall of the temple was a cobra snake, drawn in white, which the worshippers said was travelling to Ceylon or Lankā. They laughed when I said he would be long on his journey.

In Southern India the deity under whose name the snake is worshipped is Subrāmānī, whose shrine is said to be in the western part of Mysore, and the image there is described as a shapeless lump of earth.

I have only once seen living snakes in the form of the Esculapian rod. It was at Ahmednuggur, in 1841, in a clear moonlight night. They dropped into the garden from over the thatched roof of my house, and stood erect. They were all cobras, and no one could have seen them without at once recognizing that they were in congress. Captain Havelock, to whom I showed these remarks, mentioned in reply that he once, in broad daylight, in the jungles, saw pythons, just as I have sketched them,* in the singular form of the Esculapian rod, but many natives mention having seen this sight. Natives of India believe that it is most fortunate to witness snakes so engaged, and they believe that if they can throw a cloth at the pair to touch them with it, the cloth becomes a representative form of Lakshmi of the highest virtue, and is taken home to their houses and preserved as such.

* A sketch of the serpents in this attitude accompanied the letter, but not sufficiently perfect to enable a woodcut to be made from it.—J. F.

No Hindu, ordinarily, will kill a snake, but turns aside on seeing it. Young men who have been educated at English schools, however, have no such reserve, and a Mahratta Brahmin has informed me that he has killed three of them.

Snakes are kept in houses in Ceylon and Guzerat, partly seemingly as objects of worship, and partly to destroy rats, but no similar practice prevails in the south-eastern parts of peninsular India.

CH. ED. BALFOUR, M.D.

Secunderabad, 23d January 1868.

MEMORANDUM ON SNAKE WORSHIP.

On the Nág Panchmee festival, which occurs, I think, on the fifth day of the Hindu month Bhadoon, in the rainy season, Nágs (Cobras) are worshipped by most of the lower classes of the people in the Deccan, and more particularly in the Shorapore country. The principal of those classes in Shorapore are the Beydars, who are decidedly an aboriginal tribe, which is numerous in Mysore and in the southern Mahratta country. The Shorapore class came from Mysore and settled in Shorapore and the Rachore Doab, under chieftains who were originally servants of the Rajahs of Beejanugger, but who became subjects of the Kings of Golburgah and Beeder, and of Beejapoor after the fall of the Beejanugger state. The Beydars have not mingled with other Hindu castes, and though they profess to be Hindus, they adhere to many of their original superstitions and ceremonies, which have nothing to do with Hinduism; they have little or no reverence for Brahmins, what there is indeed being sparingly afforded, except by the higher classes among them, who have adopted them as priests. The Snake festival, therefore, has very little of the elements of Brahminism in it, if there are any. The ceremonies are very simple: the worshippers bathe, mark their foreheads with red colour, and in small parties, generally families who know each other, go to places where Cobras (Nágs) are known to live or to frequent. There are generally sacred stones in such places, to which offerings of flowers, ghee, &c., are made, and the stones are anointed with red colour and ground turmeric, prayers and invocations being made to the local spirit of the place and to the Serpents. Small new earthen saucers, filled with milk, are then placed near the stones, or near the Snake's hole, if there be one. Cobras are fond of milk, and are believed to watch the ceremony, coming out of their holes and drinking the milk, even while the worshippers are near, or sitting at a little distance to see if their offering is received. Should the Snake appear and drink, it is esteemed a very fortunate circumstance for the worshippers. Should the Snake not appear, the worshippers, after waiting awhile, depart, and visit the place next morning, when the result is anxiously examined; if the milk has disappeared, the rite has been accepted, but not in so marked a degree as if the reptile had come out at once. These ceremonies end with a feast.

Snake Worship is especially resorted to on behalf of children; and the women and children of a family invariably accompany the male head, not only at the annual festival, but whenever a vow has been made to a Serpent Deity. The first hair of a child which is shaved off when it has passed teething, and other infantine ailments, is frequently dedicated to a Serpent. On such occasions the child is taken to the locality of the vow, the usual ceremonies are performed, and with other offerings of flowers, &c., the child's hair is combined. In every case a feast follows, cooked near the spot, and Brahmins who attend receive largess and alms, and relations and friends receive invitations.

In the Shakti ceremonies, Poorna-abliskék, which belong, I think, to aboriginal customs, the worship of the Snake forms a portion, as emblematical of energy and wisdom. Most of these ceremonies are, however, of an inconceivably obscene and licentious character. They are not confined to the lowest classes, though rarely perhaps resorted to by Brahmins; but many of the middle class sects, of obscure origin and denomination, practise them in secret, under a strange

delusion that the divine energy of nature is to be obtained thereby, with exemption from earthly troubles.

Although Snake Worship ordinarily belongs professedly to the descendants of aboriginal tribes, yet Brahmins never or rarely pass them over, and the Nâg Panchmee is observed as a festival of kindly greeting and visiting between families and friends—as a day of gifts of new clothes or ornaments to wives or children, &c.

The worship of Grâm Deotas, or village divinities, is universal all over the Deccan, and indeed I believe throughout India. These divinities have no temples nor priests. Sacrifice and oblation is made to them at sowing time and harvest, for rain or fair weather, in time of cholera, malignant fever, or other disease or pestilence. The Nâg is always one of the Grâm Deota, the rest being known by local names. The Grâm Deota are known as heaps of stones, generally in a grove or quiet spot near every village, and are smeared some with black and others with red colour.

Nâg is a common name both for males and females among all classes of Hindus, from Brahmins downwards to the lowest classes of Sudras and Mlêchhas. Nâgo Rao, Nâgojee, &c., are common Mahratta names, as Nâgappa, Nâgowa, and the like among the Canarese and Telugoo population.

No Hindu will kill a Nâg or Cobra willingly. Should any one be killed within the precincts of a village, by Mahomedans or others, a piece of copper money is put into its mouth, and the body is burned with offerings to avert the evil.

It is, perhaps, remarkable that the Snake festival is held after the season or at the season of casting the skin, and when the Snake, addressed or worshipped, is supposed to have been purified. Some Brahmins always keep the skin of a Nâg in one of their sacred books.

In reference to the lower castes alluded to, I may mention those who practise Snake Worship with the greatest reverence:—1. Beydars. 2. Dhungars or shepherds, Aheers or milkmen, Waddiwars or stone-masons, Khungins or rope-makers, Brinjaras and other wandering tribes, Mangs, Dhêrs, and Chumars, Ramoosees, Bhils, Gonds, and Koles, all which I believe, with many others, to be descendants of aboriginal tribes, partly received within the pale of Hinduism.

Lingayets, who are schismatics from Hinduism, and who deny *in toto* the religious supremacy of the Brahmins, are nevertheless Snake worshippers, many of them bearing the name Nâg, both male and female.

I cannot speak of the North of India, but in the whole of the South of India, from the Nerbudda to Cape Comorin, Snake Worship is now existent.

MEADOWS TAYLOR, Col. M. N. I.

The festival of the Moonsa Poojah takes place each year about the end of August.

The tribes that I have seen present at it were Bhowries, Dhangas, and Santhals, and the locality was at a large jungle village beside a range of low hills, to the west of the hill Beharinath, and to the south of the hill of Pachete.

The snake catchers and charmers, at this period of the year, assemble and make a tour of the neighbouring villages, carrying snakes twisted around their necks and bodies, the chief of the procession being either carried on men's shoulders, or riding on a buffalo. He generally has a rock boa or python hanging over his shoulders. The usual amount of beating of the Nagara, playing the flute, and singing, attends the procession, and large quantities of the favourite spirit "Mowha" and sweetmeats are consumed.

Presents are also made to the snake bearers, and general dissipation prevails.

A. VANS BEST, M.D.

Bengal Establishment.

NOTE.

In August last, when this work was going to press, Professor Goldstücker brought me a note on the Naga tribes of Cashmere which he had received from H.S.H. Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein, who was then residing in the valley. My intention was to have added this note to this Appendix, but it now turns out most unfortunately that it has been mislaid and cannot be found. This is to be regretted, not only because it was an account of the Nāgas of the present day by a most intelligent and competent observer, but also because the Prince insisted most strongly on the medical qualities of the tribe, and their possession of nostrums which had been handed down from remote antiquity. This retention of the Esculapian character by the snake worshippers is one of the most curious points connected with the subject, but it is one that, now that attention is directed to it, will I trust meet with full elucidation from some inhabitant of the valley.

J. F.

APPENDIX E.

THE Amravati inscriptions are similar to those on the Railings and Gateways of the Buddhist Stupas and Monasteries at Bhilsa and other places. They are all written in the Pali language; and, where not injured by weather or breakage, they are generally clear and legible. With two exceptions they have been all copied by myself from the sculptured slabs, and have since been compared with the photographs. The two exceptions are Nos. II. and XI., which have been taken from Colonel Mackenzie's drawings. The former is a good copy, and is mostly legible; but the latter is unfortunately a very corrupt transcript of the most important of all the Amravati records, as it certainly contains the name of a King, which, if it had been faithfully copied, would most probably have enabled us to fix the date of the inscription.

The following translations are not offered as critical renderings of the inscriptions, but simply as free versions conveying their general meaning, which is usually confined to the specification of certain gifts made to the sacred edifice by various individuals, both priests and laymen, in which they were frequently joined by their wives and children. The same practice is still common in Burmah and in other Buddhist countries.

Some of the words which are of unusual occurrence require explanation. In No. IV. I have rendered *gharami*, by "wife," that is, the mistress of the house. The present Hindi form is *gharvāṭī*. The word *paṭā* occurs three times in Nos. II., XI., and XX., and the word *pataka* three times in Nos. IV., XIV., and XX. As both words are combined with figures in No. XX., I take them to be the names of the particular gifts thus recorded, and consequently that they refer to the sculptured stones themselves. *Paṭā* is most probably the same word as the present Hindi *Paṭao*, which means a "broad stone slab," and is specially applicable to the Amravati railing stones, in which the breadth is equal to three times the depth. Both names are derived from the Sanskrit *pāṭa*, breadth, from the root *paṭa*, to spread or extend. The word *pataka*, or in No. XX. *bataka*, is spelt with the dental *t*, and is most probably therefore not connected with *paṭa*, which invariably has the cerebral *ṭ*. I conclude that it must be the name for a railing pillar, because it is found in Nos. IV. and XIV. recorded on the tops of two of them. The name used for a square or octagonal pillar is *ṭhabho* (see No. III.) from the Sanskrit *stambha*. In No. XX. we have a record of two *Paṭas* and three *Patakas*, which I believe to refer to three broad slab pillars of the railing, and the two architrave slabs that covered them. I cannot suggest any explanation of the word *vetika*, which occurs in No. XI., but I conclude that it is the name of some one of the sculptured slabs, as it is coupled with *paṭa*.

Nº I - PL, LXIV, FIG. 1.

ಗೌರವದೊಡನೆ ಸಿಂಹದೊಡನೆ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº II - PL, LXXXIII, FIG. 1.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº III - PL, XC, FIG. 7

ಗೌರವದೊಡನೆ ಸಿಂಹದೊಡನೆ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº IV - PL, LIII, FIG. 2.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº V - PL, LXXXIX.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº VI - PL, XC, FIG. 2.

Nº VII - PL, XC, FIG. 1.

Nº VIII - PL, LXXVII.

Nº IX - A. S. BENGAL, 1337, PL, MACKENZIE, M. S.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº X - PL, XCV, FIG. 3.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº XI - PL, LXXXII, FIG. 6

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº XII - PL, LXXV,

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº XIII - PL, LXI, FIG. 1.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº XIV - PL, LVIII, FIG. 2.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº XV - PL, LIII, FIG. 1.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº XVI - PL, XCII, FIG. 1.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº XVII - PL, LVIII, FIG. 1.

Nº XVIII - PL, LXXXVII, FIG. 5

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

Nº XIX - PL, XCV, FIG. 4.

Nº XX - PL, LXXXII, FIG. 1.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸಮಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೂಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

INSCRIPTIONS.

The small figures in the text mark the beginnings of the lines of the different inscriptions.

I. gabapatisa Maditisa duhutuya Uvasikāya, Sagha-Rakhitāya, Sabhāsakāya, Sabhāgirināya, tina ka putana cha Dāsa Ajunasa, cha Dāsa Ghasa, bhatiyāna

II. Bodhiya Nāgamuliya cha Balinada Bodhiya Pusiliyayam deya dhama. Bhagineyānam, Jāmātukānam, cha natitam natukānam, cha savasa cha hidāsava, ghatha Bhagavata mahāchetiye yaghā paṭā sabada kosa dantisa dānam.

III. tara giha rega nadera vathadi parachitikaya (2) ghadhayaya hālikaya napachitika hodiya (3) nāgiyatama dhāmateri thapita (6 letters) ta deya (4) dhama d(—?)— thabho.

IV. Sidham! Tunulaurakasa Cahapatisa Pusilisa-putasa, Sethivadi-cha Sasivakasa, (2) gharaniya cha Munuriya, Jāmātukasa-cha Vachitasa, jāmātukasa-cha Vichitasa, jāmātuka-(3)sa cha Mahajevasa, Bālikaya Budhāya, Bālikaya Chandapusaya, Bālikaya Chamaya, deya-dhama (4) pataka ba.

V. Gadhikasa haghasa, (2) sapatukasa, saduhu (3)-tukasa chetiya thabho (4) dānam.

VI. . . . (Nā) rāyana dhama latiputasa gabapatisa Dhana Mi(trasa) (j)āmātrika sa saduhu(trika)sa putana dhisa prapuri putra.

VII. Mostly illegible.

VIII. Kabu 5 ravatha vasa Budhi sama ya putasa mulihiri Sagha-Mitrakasa Akhatisa Dhava Siriya Ba- siriya Saghaya Ayabaniga sava.

IX. Munākala kumudaputa rakasa Vāhilasa Kanhiya putasa ta ye Budhika sa Bhāriya sa Kusuma dhudu Kanayatasa dāsadati mita badavasa deya dhama. Maharaja Yādnya Siri Sadakani vatha.

I. (Gift) of the householder *Maditi's* daughters *Urvāsika*, *Sangha-Rakshitā*, *Sabhāsakā*, (and) *Sabhāgirinā*, together with their sons, and the slave *Arjuna*, and the slave (*Saṅgha*,

II. Pious gift of the Buddhist *Nāgamuli*, and of the Buddhist *Balinanda*, Pusiliyas (? descendants of Pusili).

Gift of their sisters, of their sons-in-law, and of their (—?)—, and of all friends, to the great Chaitya of Bhagavata of a slab enshrined tooth (?)

III. Pious gift of a pillar (the remainder is unintelligible).

IV. Be it auspicious! Pious gift of two slab-pillars of *Tunulauraka*, the householder, son of *Pusili*, and of *Sasivaka*, the chief Banker, and of his wife *Munuri*, and of his son-in-law *Vachita*, and of his son-in-law *Vichita*, and of his son-in-law *Mahajeva*; his daughter *Budhā*, his daughter *Chandrapusa*, (and) his daughter *Charmā*.

V. Pillar gift to the Chaitya of *Hagha* of Gadhika, together with his son and his daughter.

VI. Imperfect,—but enough remains to show that the inscription is of the usual form, and records the gift of the householder *Dhana-mitra*, and of his son-in-law, his daughter, &c.

VII. At the end of the last line but one I read the word *Mahāchetiya*.

VIII. This inscription is engraved on five small pillars or stelæ, on one of the sculptured representations of a Stupa. Many of the letters are quite clear and distinct; but no part can be read with certainty.

IX. This is the most valuable of all the Amravati inscriptions; but unfortunately the slab has not come to England, and there is only a copy made by a draughtsman to refer to. The title of Maharaja is distinct in the last line but one, and the name following it appears to be *Yādnya*, who was one of the last of the Andhra kings.

- X. radabapachepaya . . . kasayanadha . . . X. Not read.
kasapanoraya.
- XI. . . patiputasa gahapatino Hahasabbhaya XI. Pious gift to the Chaitya of a *Vetika* and
cha Savanaya Chetiya vetika cha paṭā deya a slab, of the householder — *patiputra*, and of
dhama. *Hahasabhā*, and of *Savand*.
- XII. Rakhadiya cha Datiya padaka pata pati- XII. Not read.
tatha.
- XIII. Lonavalavakasa, Saghirakhitasa-cha, Ma XIII. Gift of *Lonavalavaka*, and *Sanghīrak-*
ritisa-cha, Bhāriyayo Saghaya-cha, Sagha-dāsiya- *shita*, and *Mariti*, and of their wives *Sanghā*, and
cha, Kumadaya-cha, danam. *Sanghadāsi*, and *Kumādri*.
- XIV. Akarā Mātriya dānam patika. XIV. Gift of Akarā's mother of a slab-pillar.
- XV. . . daki chasa galaṭatisa rana aswas, XV. Pious gift of — *dakicha*, the householder,
putasa . . . na, saBhariyasa, sa-Putakasa son of *Rana-Aswa*, . . . together with his wife,
sakhatakasa deya dhama. and his son, and his (—?—).
- XVI. Akhasavādi cha Samariti gahapatina XVI. Nineteen pious gifts of *Akhasavādi* and
tuno Ajunasa deya dhama unisa. *Samariti*, householders.
- XVII. Valikachakasa gahapatino Pāpino bhā- XVII. Gift of *Pāpi*, householder of *Valikachaka*,
riya-cha Kanhāya paputikasa dānam. and of his wife the grand-daughter of *Kanhā*.
- XVIII. Therasa Chetiavadakasa Bhayata Bud- XVIII. Pious gift of a Lion-pedestal of the
hino, Bhaginiya Bhikhuniya Budhaya-cha dana *Thera* (*Sthāvira* or Elder) *Bhayata Budhi*, the
deya dhama Siha-thāna. enlarger of the Chaitya, and of his sister the Nun
Budhā.
- XIX. . . . virapurakana puma devaputana XIX. — (first part not read.)
dulena krita. Pious gift of *Agheya Vachakita Vira*, pupil of
Agheya Vachakiṭa Vira Budharakhitasa atevasi- Budha Rakshita.
naya deya dānam.
- XX. Bālikāhi sahina tihisa nitya sanigama XX. Parts of this inscription are not intelligible;
Khatana gena sahadama deya dhamana Dhanka- but enough has been made out to show that it
kata mahachetiya chetiya paṭā be 2, bataka 3, records the gift of two slabs and three slab-pillars
datisa pupha gatiya paṭasa . . . cha . . . hā cha by certain persons of *Rājagiri*, the ancient capital
nebatasa tha . . . tha Rājagiriyānam nata vadāre of Bihār.
paditha pita sanasa dānam chahitasa pathati.

A. CUNNINGHAM,
Major-General R.E.

NOTE.

The principal points of interest in these inscriptions, with reference to the preceding text, are the allusions to the Tooth relic in No. II., to Yādnya Śrī in No. IX., and to the Mahā Chaitya of Dhanakakata in the last. If on further investigation their correctness should be established, the history of the monument can hardly be considered doubtful.—J. F.

APPENDIX F.

THE two following tables contain the results of my lucubrations in the chronology of the principal Indian dynasties who are recorded to have reigned for seven centuries before and as many after the Christian era. As mentioned in the body of the work (page 63), it is my intention to submit a paper embodying these facts, together with the data on which they are founded, to the Royal Asiatic Society, and perhaps it would have been prudent to have awaited the remarks and criticisms which might arise in discussing it before printing it in the naked form in which it is here given. It was absolutely necessary, however, in a work involving so much history as this, that some system of chronology should be adopted, and as my investigations have led me to results in many cases widely different from any published tables, the work must either have been left incomplete in this respect, or my views stated in some form or other. All I ask of the reader, at present, is to believe I have a reason to give for every date and every synchronism in these tables; whether it is a good reason or not must be determined hereafter. The whole, however, appears to me to hang so well together and to accord so well with what we learn from coins or inscriptions, or from the architectural remains, and historical traditions, that I feel confident that the scheme will be found correct within very narrow limits of error.

All the dynasties here quoted will be readily recognized as those published by Prinsep,* Wilson,† Thomas,‡ and others. No novelty in this respect has been attempted. It is only the arrangement that is, in some instances, somewhat different from that usually accepted. The newest list is that of the Sâh kings, which is copied with its dates from one by Mr. Justice Newton, which appeared in the "Bombay Times of India" in July last.

There are several of the dates in these tables which I would like to adjust arbitrarily to the extent of four or five years, and when I can give my reasons I shall probably do so. For the present I prefer leaving them as I have found them. They are near enough the truth for the purposes of the present work.

* Useful Tables, Calcutta, 1834.

† Vishnu Purâna. London, 1840.

‡ Prinsep's Indian Antiquities. London, 1858.

20 DESCENTS FROM KALIYUGA.	37 DESCENTS IN 600? YEARS FROM YUDHISHṬIRA.	
Kritanjaya, 1st emigrant from Kośala.	ŚAISUNĀGA DYNASTY.	
Rañajaya.	Śisunāga - - - - 691	
Sanjaya.	Kākavarṇa.	
Śākya.	Kshemadharman.	Buddha born, 623.
Śuddhodana.	Kshetrajās.	" attained Buddhahood sixteenth year of this king.
	Bimbisāra - - - - 603	
Rāhula, son of Śākya Muni.	<i>Kaṇḍyana, 9.</i>	
	<i>Bhāmiputra, 14.</i>	
Prasenajit.	Ajātaśatru - - - - 551	" died eighth year of this reign 543. First Convocation held that year.
Kshudraka.	Udayāśwa - - - - 519	
Kuṇḍaka.	Daśaka - - - - 503	
Suratha.	Nāgadāśoka - - - - 495	
Sumitra.	Śisunāga - - - - 471	
	Kālāśoka - - - - 453	Second Convocation 100 years after Buddha's death.
	Mahā Nanda - - - - 425	
	Sumālya.	
	7 Nandas.	Alexander in India, 327.
	<i>Interregnum, Kauṭilya.</i>	
	MAURYA DYNASTY, 137 years.	
	Chandragupta - - - - 325	
	Bimbisāra - - - - 301	Third Convocation, 255 B.C. in 17th year after his inauguration. Stūpa at Sanchi.
	Aśoka - - - - 276	
	Suyāśas - - - - 240	
	Daśaratha - - - - 230?	Caves at Behar.
	Sangata - - - - 220?	
	Indrapālita - - - - 212?	
	Somaśarman - - - - 210	
	Śaśadharman - - - - 203	
	Vrihadratha - - - - 195	
	ŚUNGA DYNASTY, 112 years.	Caves in Cuttack ? No. 2 Tope at Sanchi ?
	Pushpamitra - - - - 188	
	Agnimitra - - - - 152	
	Sujyeshṭha - - - - 144	
	Vasumitra - - - - 137	
	Ādraka - - - - 129	
	Pulindaka - - - - 127	Caves at Bājā ?
	Ghoshavasū - - - - 124	
	Vajramitra - - - - 121	
	Bhāgavata - - - - 112	
	Devabhūti - - - - 86	Great Cave at Kārlee.
	KĀṆWA DYNASTY, 45 years.	
	Vāsudeva - - - - 76	
	Bhūmimitra - - - - 67	
	Nārāyaṇa - - - - 53	
	Suśarman - - - - 41	
	" died - - - - B.C. 31	

ANDHRA DYNASTY.	SĀH KINGS.	KINGS OF MAGADHA.	KINGS OF CASHMERE.	
Śīpraka - B.C. 31	Nahapana - - - B.C. 57		Hushka } Tartar Jushka } Princes Kanishka } established Buddhism	Great Caves at Karlee.
Krishṇa - A.D. 8	Ushavadāta - - - 11	Śakrāditya.		Nāgārjuna.
Śātakarṇi I. - 10	Swāmi Chastana - - - A.D. 10			
Pūrṇotsanga - 28	Jīva Dama - - - 38		Abhimanya, A.D. 21	Gateways at Sanchi.
Śrīvaswāmi - 46	Rudra Dāman.		GONARDAYA DYNASTY.	
Śātakarṇi II. - 64	Rudra Sinha - - - 45-47	Buddhagupta.	Gonarda. <i>Naga wor-</i> <i>shipped.</i>	
Lambodara - 120	Rudra Sāh.		Vibhishana.	Śālivāhana, A.D. 78.
Apītaka - - 138	Śrī Sāh.		Indrajita.	
Sangha - - 150	Sangha Dāman.		Rāvāna.	Early Caves at Ajanta.
Śātakarṇi III. - 168	Dāman Sāh.		Vibhishana.	
Skandhaswātī - 186	Yaśa Dāman.		Nara.	
Mrigendra - 193	Dāmājāta Śrī - - - 97		Siddha.	
Kuntalawātī - 196	Vīra Dāman.		Utpalāksha.	
Swātīkarṇa - 204	Īśvara Datta.	Tathāgatagupta.	Hiranyāksha.	
Pulomāvit - 205	Vijaya Sāh. - - - 115		Hiranyākula.	
Gorakshāśwasrī 241	Dāmājāta Śrī.		Vāsūkulo.	
Hāla - - 266	Rudra Sāh - - - 131, 141	Balāditya.	Mihirakula, 200?	Central building, Amravati.
Mantalaka - 271	Viśva Sinha - - - 143		Vaka.	
Purindra sena - 276	Atri Dāman - - - 153, 157	Vajra.	Kshitinanda.	
Rājādaswātī - 6 ms.	Viśva Sāh - - - 160, 168		Vasunanda.	
Sīvaswātī - 281	22. Rudra Sinha - - 173 or 213		Nara.	
Gautami putra - 309	Āśā Dāman.		Aksha.	
Vāsithi putra 330	Swāmi Rudra Sāh - - 223, 235		Gopāditya, 290?	Built Takht i Sulciman? Cave at Nassick.
Pulomat - - 355	Swāmi Rudra Sāh II. - - 223, 235		Gokarna.	Outer rail, Amravati.
Śīvaśrī - - 383	Swāmi Rudra Sāh.		Narendrāditya.	
Skandaswātī - 390		Kings of OUGEIN and CANOUGE.	Yudhishthira.	
Yajnaśrī - - 397	GHAṬOTKACHA.	Vasudeva.	ĀDITYA DYNASTY.	
Vijaya - - 406	Chandra gupta I. - - 400, 411		Pratāpāditya, 350?	
Vadaśrī - - 412	Samudra gupta - - - 420?	<i>Bahram-gour.</i>	Jalaukas.	Inner Rail, Amravati.
Pulomat - - 422	Chandra gupta II. - - 430?	Ramadeva.	Tunjina.	Buddha ghosha.
„ died - 429			Vijaya.	Great Cave at Kenheri.
or 436			Jayendra.	
			Ārya Rāja.	
			GONARDAYA LINE	
			<i>restored.</i>	
			Meghavāhana, 434?	
CHĀLUKYA KINGS.			Śreshtasena.	
Jaya Sinha Vijayāditya - 430?	Buddha gupta - - - 463	Vikramāditya - 490?	Hiranya } 498	Buildings at Eran.
Rāja Sinha.	Toramāṇa - - - 498	Śilāditya - - 530	Toramāṇa }	
Vijayāditya II.		Prabhākara.	Mātrigupta, 525	Zodiac Cave, Ajanta.
Pulakeśi I. - 489	BALABHI KINGS.		Pravara sena, 530	
Kirtti Varman I.	Nine kings from Bhaṭārka Senāpati 493?	Rāja varddhana 607?	Yudhishthira II.	
Mangaliśa.	Śrīdhara Sena.	Śilāditya - 610	Nandravat.	Temple at Martand.
Vishṇu Vardhana		„ died - 650	Ranāditya.	
founds Vengi 605	Dhruva Sena II. - - - 628		Vikramāditya,	Temple at Bhuvanēs-
Pulakeśi II.	Dhruva Sena III. - - - 640		30th year, 622	war.
founds Kalyān 607	Śilāditya - - - 656		Balāditya, cotem.	
	Śilāditya - - - 666		Yezdigerd and	
			Hiouen Thsang.	

APPENDIX G.

BIRTH OF ŚĀLIVĀHANA.

THE following two extracts from a paper by Colonel Wilford in the ninth volume of the "Asiatic Researches" are of little value from any historical point of view, but being derived from Brahmanical sources, they are curious as an unconscious testimony to the prevalence of Nāga traditions at the time the Sanchi Gateways were being erected.*

"Towards the end of his reign, Vicramarca sent secret messengers through all the world to inquire whether a child were born of a virgin one and half year old. The messengers returned to Ujjayini with the news that a male child was born of a virgin, the daughter of a potmaker, begot by the King of Snakes (called Tacshaca or the Carpenter in the original), while she was in her cradle. They informed him also that the child named Śālivāhana had attained the age of five years, and that his grandfather had made numberless figures of soldiers to amuse him.

"Vicramarca marched at the head of an army, but the protecting Snake came to the assistance of the Child, and inspired the figures of clay with life, who started up as able warriors, attacked Vicramarca and his army, and defeated them" (p. 120).

"There were two Brahmans, who had a sister who lived with them in a state of widowhood—her husband having died while she was yet very young. She conceived by a Nāga Cumāra (or Tacshaca), and the brothers, ashamed of this seemingly disorderly behaviour of their sister, left the country. The unfortunate young widow thus deserted found an asylum in the humble cottage of a pot maker, where she was delivered of a male child, whom she called Śālivāhana."

After some irrelevant matter, the story reaches the battle, and goes on thus:—"They fought on both sides with courage, but the Nāga Cumāra, or son of the Great Serpent, stupefied Vicramarca's army, who, finding his soldiers asleep, implored the assistance of the Serpent, Vāsuki, who gave him some Amrit, with which he revived his troops, and Śālivāhana, hearing of this, sent two of his men for some of it, and Vicramarca complied with his request, and here ends the legend" (p. 130).

* Śālivāhana died A.D. 78. His capital was situated 300 miles south-west from Sanchi, but his kingdom extended to the eastward of Nagpore (vide supra, p. 154). If I am not very much mistaken, Nāgārjuna, Kanishka, and Śālivāhana are the three persons who had the greatest share in engrafting on Buddhism that Serpent Worship which gave rise to those forms which it has been the object of the preceding pages to develop.

NOTE.

The following footnote was inadvertently omitted on page 94:—

Professor Wilson, quoting from the Mahā Bhārata, says, "The King Sagara, in obedience to his Guru, Vasishta, deprived the Ml̥chchhas of their institutes, and imposed on them these marks: the Sacas had half the head shaved, the Yavanas and Cambojas the whole of the hair taken off, the Paradas were ordered to wear beards."—Asiatic Researches, XV. 49.