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# THE JINIST STUDIES

BY

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To

*The Sacred Memory*

of the late

**S'RĪ KESHAVLAL PREMCHAND MODI,  
OF AHMEDABAD**

a pioneer Jain scholar, and a founder member of the

*Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka Samiti*

*Jina Vijaya Muni.*



## FOREWORD

Before I was asked by Mahatma Gandhi, the late, lamented father of the Indian Nation and the greatest saint of today's world, to join and offer my services to the **Gujarat Vidyapith**—the National University—which was founded by him in 1920 A.D., at Ahmedabad, I was associated, during my residence at Poona, with the activities of establishing and developing the **Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute** and **Bharat Jain Vidyalaya**. In the December of 1919, the **first Oriental Conference** of the Indian Orientalists was convened under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which was attended also by many Jain and non-Jain scholars who took keen interest in Jain literature and culture. Having been inspired and strengthened by the concrete sympathy of such non-Jain and Jain scholars as the late Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan, himself a lover and a student of Jain literature as well as the late Mansukhlal Ravji, a renowned public worker of Kathiawar and the brother of the reputed spiritualist, Śrīmad Rajachandra, and Devendra Kumar Jain of Arrah, a very enthusiastic and promising worker in the field of Jain literature, who had come to attend the conference, I founded on that very occasion a Society named **Jain Sahitya Samshodhak Samiti** (the **Jain Literary Research Society**) with a view to facilitate research in Jainology, and publishing of the Jain literature and I made a plan to start through it, first of all, a research quarterly Journal entitled **Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka**. Its object was to publish research articles and essays written in Hindi, Gujarati, and English.

I was able to secure, from the very beginning, a good amount of co-operation in this work, from many friends, one of whom was the late Vakil Keshavlal Premchand Modi, of Ahmedabad, a pioneer Jain scholar—to the sacred memory of whose good name I have dedicated this book—who was much enthusiastic for publishing Jain literature and who himself took deep interest in the work of editing. He had been of help to me, in many ways, in my activities of writing, editing, and making research. Whenever he could spare time for rest and retirement from his professional undertakings, he used to come to Poona and stay with me for months. He gave due co-operation to me on these occasions. I had been able to put forth efforts to publish, through the Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka Karyalaya, many Prakrit, Sanskrit and Gujarati works like the *Jitakalpacūrnṇi*, *Vijayadevamāhātmya* and *Taraṅgavati* (a Gujarati translation). Shriyut Modi had established through correspondence a good contact with the European scholars interested in the researches of Jain literature and he showed excessive pleasure and preparedness to provide them with necessary books, manuscripts, and informations from India. It was due to his inspiration that the research articles written even in English were published in the Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka. He made proper attempts to procure articles and essays from the learned public. It was he who had given to me the valuable dissertation of Dr. Otto Stein, published in the form of this book, for publication in the above-named quarterly. After bringing out the first volume of this quarterly, my headquarters were shifted to Ahmedabad from

Poona, and I decided, on account of the inconveniences of the Press etc. to postpone the publication of English articles in the quarterly.

After some time, I went to Europe. Having returned from there to India, I had the luck to be the guest of the jails of the British Government for the so-called crime of having actively participated in the political movement started by Mahatmaji in 1930 for getting *Swaraj*. Having come out from the jail as I got associated with founding and developing a chair for the Jain studies in **Vishva-bharati Shantiniketan** and after that as I was unsparingly engaged in the great activity of publishing the **Singhi Jain Series**, the progress of the Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka Karyalaya, had practically come to a stop.

Just as I have mentioned in the preface of "**The Jainas in the History of Indian Literature**" by M. Winternitz, published as a second number of the **Jain Sahitya Samshodhaka Studies**, also the present dissertation of Dr. Otto Stein, got through my departed friend Mr. K. P. Modi, lay hidden somewhere in many a dozens of my files during my uncertain stays at Ahmedabad, Shantiniketan, and Bombay and hence it could not be easily traced out. It suddenly came up to my hand along with other similar essays and articles when I minutely looked into my books and files, one by one, which were brought, three years back, to the **Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan** at Bombay.

After a careful perusal and keen reflection of the essay I could find that the informations stored in it were very useful and illuminating to the



students of Jain literature. No scholar has done uptill now a special study of the Indian civilization as it is found outlined in the Jain Canon, has systematically portrayed it and has assessed its real value in the manner in which Dr. Otto Stein, the writer of this essay, has done.

In a brief Prefatory Note of the present essay, Dr. Stein has himself stated that this was his meagre attempt in the direction and he has shifted only "some cultural remarks" from the vast canonical literature, but a study of even these "some cultural remarks" will make abundantly clear to a zealous student that they are sufficiently illuminating "to show the treasures hidden in Jinist writings".

Dr. Otto Stein had been a celebrated professor of Indology in the University of Prague in Czechoslovakia. I am very much grieved to state that he had been an untimely victim of the last world war. As the report goes he and his wife were slaughtered by the Germans in about the month of April, 1945, in the concentration camps of Poland. May God give eternal peace to their souls!

\*

I take it as a pleasant duty to express my thanks, in conclusion, to my learned friend and colleague, Dr. A. S. Gopani, to whose efforts and labours, the publication of this book is mainly due and who, in addition to its editing, saw the book through the press from the beginning to the end and prepared the Index exhaustively.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, }  
Bombay,  
15th, March, 1948.

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

## Prefatory Note

The following lines, as meagre as their results may be, have a programmatical tendency: to show the treasures hidden in Jinist writings. Though only the combination of their indications with those of the Brahmanical and Buddhist literature, controlled as possible by epigraphical and not Indian records, gives a reasonable result: already for a description of the culture of ancient India, the literature, both religious and profane, of the Jinist is an inestimable source.

Inquiries of the present form are able to offer only some more or less probable results, but the occurrence of a term in a work of record, possible to be dated, destines (is destined) as the undated work. Without chronology no comprehension of India's past is possible, and therewith of her present time. The more dates we get on this way, the more the line will be completed: the line which shows the history of India and is at the same time the bond between this cultural centre and its periphery.

English is not the author's mother-tongue, as the reader will see very soon. May he be pardoned for all the weakness which the author has committed in the aim to be understood by Indian students.

PRAGUE,  
20, February, 1923. }

Dr. OTTO STEIN.

## Abbreviations.

*AKM*—Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

*Ep. Ind.*—*Epigraphia Indica*.

*ERE*—Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

*Grdr.* or *Grundriss*—Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.

*HOS*—Harvard Oriental Series.

*Incl. Ant.*—The Indian Antiquary.

*Incl. Stud.*—Indische Studien herausgegeben von A. Weber.

*JA*—Journal Asiatique.

*JAOS*—Journal of the American Oriental Society.

*JRAS*—The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

*JASB*—The Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.

*JBBRAS*—The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

*Lüders' List*—A List of Brahmi Inscriptions—by H. Lüders, *Ep. Ind.* X Appendix.

*PTS*—Pali Text Society.

*P. W.*—Sanskrit-Wörterbuch herausg. von der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von O. Boehtlingk und R. Roth.

*SBE*—Sacred Books of the East.

*SPA*—Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

*SWA*—Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse.

*Zachariae*, Beiträge—Beiträge zur indischen Lexikographie von Th. Zachariae, Berlin 1883.

*ZDMG*—Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

*Kalpas. I.*—*Kalpasūtra* ed. W. Schubring, Indica Heft 2, Leipzig 1905.

*Kalpas. II.*—*Kalpasūtra* ed. H. Jacobi, AKM VII, 1881.

*Pkt.*—Prākṛt.

*Skt.*—Samskr̥t.

# JAINIST STUDIES

## Some Cultural Remarks From Jaina-Works.

\*

THE INCOMPLETENESS of Indian history we get in literature, compels the student to look for means of obtaining reasonable results of determining a fact or the time of a poetical or scientific work. When the most important proofs, viz., the inscriptions, are missing, perhaps one possibility would be to study in detail institutions, both public and private, customs, and ritual prescriptions, in short, the indications of cultural life.

In the following lines there is a slight attempt of an investigation from Jain works in the above-mentioned sense.

### I

#### 1. SETTLEMENTS.

In many places of the Jaina-canon, there occurs an enumeration of settlements, more or less changed in number and order, but always the same expressions, a so called *gāma*.

It is evident that *Ācār.*, *Sūtrakṛt.*, and *Kalpas*. I go together in the first five places, but differ in the others; *Aup.* I. agrees well in the first five with *Kalpas*. II. The longest list is given in *Utt.*; in *Aup.* II. we have twice *āgara*, but it is hardly meant to be an independent word. *First a synopsis of these expressions is wanted.*

*Ācar.*<sup>1</sup>

- 1 gāma
- 2 nagara
- 3 kheda
- 4 kabbada
- 5 madamba
- 6 pattana
- 7 donamuha
- 8 āgara
- 9 āsama
- 10 samnivesa
- 11 nigama
- 12 rāyahāṇi

*Sūtrakṛt.*<sup>2</sup>

- 1 gāma
- 2 nagara
- 3 kheda
- 4 kavvada
- 5 madamba
- 6 donamuha
- 7 pattana
- 8 āsama
- 9 sannivesa
- 10 nigama
- 11 rāyahāṇi

*Kalpas. I.*<sup>3</sup>

- 1 gāma
- 2 nagara
- 3 kheda
- 4 kavvada
- 5 madamba
- 6 pattana
- 7 āgara
- 8 donamuha
- 9 nigama
- 10 rāyahāṇi
- 11 āsama
- 12 samnivesa
- 13 samvāha
- 14 ghosa
- 15 amsiya
- 16 pudabheyana

*Kalpas. II*<sup>4</sup>

- 1 gāma
- 2 āgara
- 3 nagara
- 4 kheda
- 5 kabbada
- 6 madamba
- 7 donamuha
- 8 pattana
- 9 āsama
- 10 sambāha
- 11 sannivesa

1 *Āyāraṃgasūtra*, ed. H. Jacobi, PTS London 1882, I, 7, 6.

2 *Sūyagaḍaṃgasūtra*, ed. Nirṇayasāgara, Bombay 1880, II, 9, 12.

3 *Kalpasūtra*, ed. W. Schubring, Indica, Heft 2, Leipzig 1905, I, 6.

4 *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, ed. H. Jacobi, *ASB* VII (1879), 89.

<i>Asp. I.<sup>5</sup></i>	<i>Asp. II<sup>6</sup></i>
1' gāma	1 gāma
2' āgara	2 āgara
3' nagara	3 nagara
4' kheda	4 nigama
5' kabbada	5 rāyahāṇi
6' doṇamuha	6' kheda
7' maḍamba	7 kabbada
8' paṭṭana	8 doṇamuha
9' āsama	9' maḍamba
10' nigama	10' paṭṭana
11' samvāha	11 āgara
12' sannivesa	12 samvāha
	13' sannivesa

*Utt.<sup>7</sup>*

1' gāma	12 sambāha
2' nagara	13 āsama
3' rāyahāṇi	14 vihāra
4' nigama	15 sannivesa
5' āgara	16 samāya
6' palli	17 ghosa
7' kheda	18 thala
8' kabbada	19 senākhaṇḍāra
9' doṇamuha	20 sattha
10' paṭṭana	21 samvattakotta
11' maḍamba	

1. gāma. The *Dipikā* on *Sūtrakṛt.* explains gāma with *virtyāvṛtaḥ*; the *Utt.-Comm.* has: *bhikṣārthaṃ sādhuṃ bhramati grāme guṇān grasatiti grāmas tasmin grāme athavā grasati sahate aṣṭādaśavidhaṃ karam iti grāmas tasmin athavā kaṇṭaka-vāṭakāvṛto janānāṃ nivāso grāmaḥ.* (भिक्षार्थं साधु भ्रमति

<sup>5</sup> *Aspapakṣa Sūtra* ed. E. Leumann, AKM VIII (1883), § 53.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* § 69.

<sup>7</sup> *Uttarādhyayanastūtra*, ed. Calcutta, samvat 1936 = 1879 A. D.,

ग्रामे गुणान् ग्रसतीति ग्रामस्तस्मिन् ग्रामेऽथवा ग्रसति सहतेऽष्टादशविधं करमिति ग्रामस्तस्मिन्नथवा कण्टकवाटकावृतो जनानां निवासो ग्रामः). From these three explanations only the third is right, the first two seem to be vague etymologies.<sup>1</sup>

The grāma is known to the Veda,<sup>2</sup> but its character is different from that of the Dharmaśāstra and naturely also from its developed form, about which we are informed now by inquiries<sup>3</sup> belonging to a time which is too far from the period here considered. The boundaries of a village are of two kinds : prakāśa (visible) or aprakāśa (invisible), and they are natural and artificial. The *Dharmas.* enumerate the boundary-marks (*Manu* VIII, 246-251; *Yājñ.* II, 151); the *Mitākṣarā* on the verse just cited speaks from the pañcalakṣaṇā śīmā in the *Nāradaśmṛti* which is found in J. Jolly's translation *SBE* XXXIII, p. 266, 22 and which occurs according to the references by Jolly

- 1 Because nagara is explained by na + kara "not paying taxes", the contrary of a nagara, the grāma, pays eighteen kinds of taxes (kara). Karam sah (करं सह) "suffer the tax" is a quite clear, but uncommon expression; the common is karam dā (करं दा).
- 2 See *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* by A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, 2 vols., London 1912, I. p. 244-247.
- 3 Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, London 1911, p. 158 ff., H. Krishna Shastri in commemorative Essays presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Poona 1917, p. 223 ff.; Radhakumud Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, Second Edition, Oxford 1920, p. 164 ff.; Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Second Edition, revised and enlarged, Calcutta 1922, p. 135 ff.

in the *Vivādaratnākara* p. 214 and in *Viramītrodaya* p. 452. Further references for the village-boundaries are: *Nārada* XI, 5 f.; *Bṛhasp.* XIX, 3/5; *Kauṭ. Arthas.* p. 46, l. 1 f. The eighteen kinds of taxes which the Comm. mentions are epigraphically proved by the inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandhavarman, who speaks from the aṭṭhārasajātīparihārehi ( अट्टारसजतिपरिहारेहि ) some of which are named in the record (*Ep. Ind.* I, p. 6, l. 34f; cf. XV, p. 251, l. 12 f.); thirteen kinds are mentioned in *Rājatar.* V, 174.

2. nagara. As stated above n. 1 the *Utt.* Comm. explains nagara = nakara: nātra karāḥ santi ( नात्र कराः सन्ति ) while the Comm. on *Kalpas.* II. gives: karādigamyā grāmāḥ<sup>4</sup> ( करादिगम्या ग्रामाः ). The *Dīpikā* on *Sūtrakṛt.* offers not a much better elucidation of the expression nagara: urucaturgopurodbhāsisobhana ( उरुचतुर्गोपुरोद्भासिशोभन ); all that is little in comparison with the details in the *Arthas.* II, 36, 56. There are mentioned vapra, prākāra (p. 146, 16.); the gates of a nagara are named dvāra (p. 145, 19), whereas a fortress has gopura (53, 18).<sup>5</sup> The etymology of nagara is not

4 The *Kalpas.* II.—Comm. has in the same way: naiteṣu karo' stiti nakarāṇi ( नैतेषु करोऽस्तीति नकराणि ).

5 Th. Aufrecht cites ZDMG 28 (1874), p. 111 Bṛhaspati Rāyamukutaṃ on *Amarakośa* II, 2, 1: somanamdī tvevaṃ nagaralakṣaṇamāha:—

(devatāyatanaścitraiḥ prāsādāpaṇaveśmabhiḥ.  
nagaraṃ darśayedvidvānrājamārgaiśca śobhanaiḥ.  
ityarthaśāstram (सोमनन्दी त्वेवं नगरलक्षणमाह—

देवतायतनैश्चित्रैः प्रासादापणवेष्टमभिः ।

नगरं दर्शयेद्विद्वान् राजमार्गैश्च शोभनैः ॥)

इत्यर्थशास्त्रम् ).



clear, the supposed one is *agāra* with Indo-European\*en.<sup>6</sup> In *Aup.* II. *gāmāgara* has an analogy in *paṭṭanāgara*; *āgara* to take here, as Leumann does, as Skt. *ākara* is doubtful; *āgara* occurs in the *Atharvaveda* IV, 36, 3 perhaps as “domicile”, but in *Aup.* it could be the second part of a compound (cf. also § 70–72). The correct reading offers evidently *Aup.* I; here *āgara* corresponds to a Skt. *ākara* (mine); while the second *āgara* in *Aup.* II. must be read as *āsama sa Sūtrakṛt.*, *Kalp.* II. do it.

3. *kheda*. *Utt.*–Comm. understands under a *kheda* Skt. (*kheṭa*): *dhūliprākāraparikṣiptam*, (धूलिप्राकारपरिक्षिप्तम्) as the *Kalpas.* II–Comm.: *dhūliprākāropetam*. (धूलिप्राकारोपेतम्). *dhulikuttima* is a floor of earth; *prākāra* in its proper sense is a wall a *kheṭa* therefore would be surrounded with an earthen wall.<sup>7</sup> The *Dīpikā* on *Sūtrakṛt.* explains the word as follows: *nadyadriveṣṭam parivṛtamaḥ bhitaḥ* (नद्यद्विष्टं परिवृतमभितः). *Pāṇini* VI, 2, 126 states that *kheṭa* expresses a blame, a detraction, and the Scholiast gives *nagarakhēṭa* “a poor town”.<sup>8</sup> *Hemac. Dhātup.* I, 178 has *grāmodhama*, cf. X, 294 and *Anekārthas.* II, 85. The P. W. cites from Wilsons’ Dictionary the meaning “armed”. In Lüders’ *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* the word does

6 C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache*, Amsterdam 1898–1899, s. v. p. 141.

7 More literally it would be “a wall of dust”; cf. *Arthas.* 46, n. 1 *pāms’uprākāranibaddha* (पांशुप्राकारनिबद्ध).

8 Also *Halāy. Abhidh.* II, 182 gives the rule; *Hemac. Abhidh.* 972: *kheṭaḥ purārdhavistarah* (खेटः पुरार्धविस्तरः).

not occur and the passages cited in P. W. are of relatively recent date.<sup>9</sup>

4. kavvaḍa. The Comm. on *Utt.* and *Kalpas.* II. explain the word kavvaḍa with : kunagara ; the *Dipikā* on *Sūtrakṛt.* gives “surrounded by a hill.” The Skt. equivalent sounds karvata,<sup>10</sup> *Yājñ.* II, 167 shows the form kharvaṭa, explained by the *Mitākṣarā* as a village, from whose boundary to that of the next village is an untilled ground, full of thorn-hedges, with a distance from each other of 200 dhanus. The authorities, named s. v. kharvaṭa in P. W. give the explanation catuḥśatagrāma-madhyasthala (चतुःशतग्राममध्यस्थल) and in the *Arthas.* in a similar way kharvaṭika appears as the centre of 200 villages. *Vācaspati* in the Scholia to *Hemac. Abhidh.* 972 shows different words and meanings :

Tadardhe<sup>11</sup> tu kāvaṭikā syāttadardham tu kāvaṭam (तदर्धे तु कावटिका स्यात्तदर्धं तु कावटम्). Karvaṭa would be therefore the central place of 400 villages, kāvaṭikā of 200 and kāvaṭa of 100 villages. *Hemac. Dhātup.* I, 355 gives kṣudrapattanam; in *Divyāvad.* 87, 13; 498, 17 the word runs as karpaṭaka.<sup>12</sup>

9 The meaning “phlegm” is attributed to kheṭa in *Avadānaśataka* (*Bibl. Buddhica*) III. I, 279, 7; II, 113, 1 (cf. the Index II, p. 226).

10 R. Pischel, *Prakrit-Grammatik*, § 287.

11 So may be the reading, instead of karvaṭārdhe (कर्वाटार्धे).

12 The clerk of the MS. of the *Tantrākhyāyikā* (ed. Joh. Hertel, p. 6, 13) gives this gloss: khetāḥ kārṣika-grāmāḥ (खेतः कर्षिकग्रामाः) and cites two ślokas: vipraśca viprabhrtyāśca yatra caiya vāsanti te. sa grāma iti vai proktās sūdrāṇāṃ vāsa eva ca.

5. maḍamba. Of this word a Skt. equivalent does not exist; in the *Utt.-Comm.* the meaning is stated as: *yasya sarvadiḥṣu sārḍhatṛṭīyayojanāntargrāmo na syāt*, ( यस्य सर्वदिक्षु सार्धतृतीययोजनान्तग्रामो न स्यात् ) whereas the *Comm. on Kalpas. II.* gives: *sarvatorḍhayojanāt parato' vasthita-grāmāṇi*. ( सर्वतोऽर्धयोजनात्परतोऽवस्थितग्रामाणि ). The Scholion to *Anuyogad-vārasūtra* ( *Ind. Stud.* XVII, p. 26, n. 1 ) explains: *yasya pārśvata āsannam aparaṃ grāmanagarāḍikam nāsti tat sarvataśchinna-janāśrayaviśeṣarūpaṃ maḍambam ucyate*. ( यस्य पार्श्वत आसन्नमपरं ग्रामनगरादिकं नास्ति तत्सर्वतश्छिन्नजनाश्रयविशेषरूपं मडम्बमुच्यते ). The insertion of the word among the settlements permits no doubt, that maḍambam is a sort of village or town. Similar to the first explanation of *Utt.-Comm.* in a note to the *Arthas.* ( p. 46 ) we find from the *Rājaprasn.-Comm.*: *ardhagavyūtatṛṭīyantarhitam maṇṭapam*<sup>13</sup> ( अर्धगव्यूततृतीयान्तर्हितं मण्डपम् ). Maṇṭapa is not found in the Dictionaries, and the word maṇḍapa means "porch," "hall." The *Prāśnavyākaraṇasūtra* has: *maṇḍapāṇi dūrasthalasīmāntarāṇi* ( मण्डपानि दूरस्थलसीमान्तराणि ). Nevertheless we must accept the meaning of "village". or "town" in a peculiar sense for maḍamba. The proof is an inscription, no. 1200 in Lüders' *List*, which has been used already for interpretation by E. Leumann, *Ep. Ind.* II,

( विप्राश्च विप्रभृत्याश्च यत्र चैव वसन्ति ते ।

स ग्राम इति वै प्रोक्तः शुद्धाणां वास एव च ॥ )

ekato yatra tu grāmo nagaram caikatassthitam.

miśram tu kharvaṭam nāma nadīgirisamāśrayam.

( एकतो यत्र तु ग्रामो नगरं चैकतः स्थितम् ।

मिश्रं तु खर्वटं नाम नदीगिरिसमाश्रयम् ॥ )

13 The gavyūta is *Hemac. Abhidh.* 887 a krośa, the fourth part of a vojana.

(1894), p. 484, cf. G. Bühler, *ibid.* p. 485. The translation of maḍamba is uncertain; it seems to designate the central place of a district of a certain size.<sup>14</sup>

6. pattana. Here the *Utt.-Comm.* finds again an occasion to etymologise: yatra sarvadigbhyo janāḥ patanti āgacchanti iti pattanam athavā pattanam ratnakhanir iti lakṣaṇam tadapi dvividham jalamadhyavartti sthalamadhyavartti ca (यत्र सर्वदिग्भ्यो जनाः पतन्त्यागच्छन्तीति पत्तनमथवा पत्तनं रत्नखनिरिति लक्षणं तदपि द्विविधं जलमध्यवर्त्ति स्थलमध्यवर्त्ति च). The first explanation, which is found in a shortened form in the *Rāmāśramī* on *Amarak.* II, 2, 1, can be overlooked; the second is similar to that of the *Dipikā* on *Sūtrakṛt.*: pattanam ratnayoniṁ (पत्तनं रत्नयोनिम्). Ratnayoni again is a definition, which becomes probable as the epithet of a sea-trade-town as well of a place for pearl-fishers. This suggestion is supported by the *Arthas* 126, 6, 10, 13, 15; but in the *śloka*, cited on p. 46, 4 a distinction seems to be constructed between pattana and paṭṭana:

Pattanam śakatairgamyam,  
ghāṭikairnaubhireva ca.  
naubhireva tu yadgamyam,  
paṭṭanam tatpracakṣate.  
(पत्तनं शकटैर्गम्यं घाटिकैर्नौभिरेव च ।  
नौभिरेव तु यद्गम्यं पट्टनं तत् प्रचक्षते ॥ )

14 The *Sūtrakṛt.-Dipikā* offers: grāmairyuktam maṭambam dalitadaśaśataih (ग्रामैर्युक्तं मटम्बं दलितदशशतैः) "a maṭamba is supplied with thousand dispersed villages".—The date of the inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandhavarman is unknown; it belongs (*Ep. Ind.* VI, p. 89) to a time prior to the eighth cent. A. D.

"A place which can be entered by carriages, ghāṭikas<sup>15</sup> or ships, as a pattana, but as a paṭṭana<sup>16</sup> is declared a place, which can be entered only by ships." In accordance with that the *Kalpas*.-Comm. says: pattanāni yeṣu jalasthalapaṭṭhāyoraṇyatarena paryāhārapraveśah (पत्तनानि येषु जलस्थलपथयोरन्यतरेण पर्याहारप्रवेशः). Perhaps a peculiar sense may be attributed to the words: pattane sati grāme ratnaparīkṣā? (पत्तने सति ग्रामे रत्नपरीक्षा?) in *Māla-vikāgnim*. (ed. F. Bollensen, p. 15, 4f., first act) in respect to pattane as pearl-fisher-station and harbour. Pattana is a word occurring in texts relatively not of very high age.

7. droṇamukha. The term droṇamukha is explained differently by the Comm. on Jain-works

15 Ghaṭikā seems to be a kind of boat; cf. ghaṭikāsthāna in *Arthas*. 110, 6 and the Comm. I. J. Sorabji's Notes on the *Adhyakṣa-Pracūra*, Diss. Würzburg, Allahabad 1914, p. 51. According to J. F. Fleet, *JRAS* 1915, p. 213, n. 1, ghaṭikā, ghaṭi and ghaṭīyāntṛa are names for the water-clock. cf. *SWA* 192, 5 p. 240, n. 1. Supattana occurs in *Dhammap*. Comm. IV, 108.

16 A rather superficial explanation is that of Vācaspati in the Scholion to *Hemac. Abhidh.* 972, when he says; that pattana, paṭṭana and paṭabhedana are the central places of 50 villages. *Hemac. Dhātup*. I, 962 has only: puraviśeṣah. That pattana has in general the sense of "town" and not by itself the meaning "trade-place", shows the *Arthas*. 300, 8; 311, 17, where in both passages stands paṇyapattana, or paṇyapaṭṭana, which would be out of place. On the other hand here exists no difference between pattana and paṭṭana, whereas the *Vaijayanṭī* p. 159, l. 6f. mentions the two terms.

and, on the other hand, by the lexicographical literature as well by the *Arthaśāstra*.

The *Sūtrakṛt-Comm.* says: *dronākhyam sindhuvelāvalayitam* (द्रोणाख्यं सिन्धुवेलावलयितम्) and quite similarly the *Tikā* on *Utt.* says: *dronamukham jalasthalanirgamanapraveśam tat Bhṛgukacchādikam* (द्रोणमुखं जलस्थलनिर्गमनप्रवेशं तत् भृगुकच्छादिकम्). A similar explanation is found in the *Kalpas. Comm*: *dronamukhāni yatra jalasthalapathāvubhāvapi stah* (द्रोणमुखानि यत्र जलस्थलपथावुभावपि स्तः). *Bhṛgukaccha* is the well known harbour on the western coast, the name of which is given also in the form *Bharukaccha*, *Bhṛgupura*, *Bhṛgukṣetra*.<sup>17</sup> The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and *Ptolemaios* in his *Geography* VII, 1,62 speak about this place. The flowering of this harbour, though old as indicated by Pāli literature (cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 31) belongs to the first centuries A. D. The *Comm.* on *Rājaprasn.* explains: *dronamukham jala-nirgama-praveśam paṭṭanam* (द्रोणमुखं जलनिर्गमप्रवेशं पट्टनं) whereas the *Praśnavyākaraṇasūtravyākhyāna* (both cited in the *Kauṭ. Arthaś.* p. 46, n. 1.) only gives: *dronamukhāni jalasthalapathopetāni* (द्रोणमुखानि जलस्थलपथोपेतानि). There probably is but little difference between a *dronamukha* and a *pattana* or *paṭṭana*, the difference consisting in one being approachable by waterways, the other by landways. The Dictionaries cited in P. W. declare *dronamukha* as the central place of 400 villages; these sources are of later times (*Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*,

17 The modern Bharoach, Broach, the Gulf of Kham-bhat.—About the origin of the name see *Ind. Ant.* XIII (1884), p. 359.

*Hārāvali*, *S'abdakalpādruma*); in the Scholion on *Hemac. Abhidh.* 972 Vācaspati in the same way declares a droṇamukha as the centre of 400 villages. From other works the Comm. on the *Maṅkhakośa* 651<sup>18</sup> a passage from the *Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra* p. 147, 11f., as the learned editor Th. Zachariae (Vienna 1898, p. 91, 28) already suggested. With the above-mentioned explanation the *Arthas.* agrees well on p. 46, 3; in none of these sources, Dictionaries and *Arthasāstra*, droṇamukha passes for a harbour; in *Divyāvad.* 620, 13f. the Brahman Puṣkarasārīn receives a droṇamukha as brahmadeya.

8. ākara. Except the *Sūtrakṛt.* the term āgara, Skt. ākara, occurs in all the texts. The *Utt.* -Comm. offers this explanation: svarṇādyutpattisthānam (स्वर्णद्युत्पत्तिस्थानम्), similarly the *Kalpas.* -Comm.: lohādyutpattibhūmayah (लोहाद्युत्पत्तिभूमयः). But it would be hardly correct to accept this as a full explanation, because ākara in the connexion with settlements must be of the same kind, that is, a place, where or in the neighbourhood of which an ākarkarmānta (आकरकर्मन्त) is in action. Ākarakarmānta is the term of the *Arthas.* II, 12, 31 the description of which gives a vivid illustration of the whole staff of officials and workmen of such a mine.<sup>19</sup>

18 With the undoubtedly wrong reading 'trayo mānya (त्रयो मांया) instead of trayo' mātyā (त्रयोमात्या).

19 Ākara is also the name of a town, perhaps today Āgar, cf. *Ind. Ant.* XLVII (1918), p. 151 and *ibid.* II. (1920), Supplement p. 3 s. v. Ākarāvanti.

9. *āśrama*. A thorough investigation of the foregoing terms we must conclude, that the last, *ākara*, does not mean the same as the others; because while the former are towns, villages in the proper sense, *ākara* evidently means an undertaking, where the people have to dwell in consequence of their special occupation; the occupation creates the settlement. The same character must be attributed to each of the following terms; these are not places in the topographical sense, they are places for certain purposes, settlements in fact.

*āsama*, Skt., *āśrama*, needs no further explanation. *Tāpasasthānam* says the *Sūtrakṛt.-Dīpikā*, *tāpasāśramopalakṣite sthāne* (तापसाश्रमोपलक्षिते स्थाने). The *Utt.-Tikā*, and the *Kalpas.-Comm.* has: *tīrtha-sthānāni munisthānāni vā* (तीर्थस्थानानि मुनिस्थानानि वा).

10. *sanniveśa*. *sanniveśa* is explained by the *Sūtrakṛt.-Dīpikā* as: *sārthakataḥkādīvāsaḥ* (सार्थकतदिवसः), by the *Tikā* on *Utt.* with: *yātrādyarth-asamāgatajanāvāso* (यात्राद्यर्थसमागतजनावासे), the *Kalpas.-Comm.* has: *sanniveśaḥ sārthakataḥkādēh* (सन्निवेशः सार्थकतदिवसः) A. F. R. Hoernle cites (in his transl. of the *Uvāsagaulasāo* p. 8, n. 15) a *Sanskrit-Comm.*, according to which *sanniveśa* is *ghoṣaprabhṛtiḥ*. The Gujarati paraph. (to Ov. [= *Aupapātikas.*] §§53, 69, 70) describes it as a place where shepherds (*bharuvāḍī*), and cowherds (*gosī, gawālī, gokālī*) live, and travellers (*rawārī*) put up. That seems to be a good explanation.

11. *nigama*. The *Prākṛit* form of *nigama* is quite the same as in *Pāli* and *Sanskrit*; but there exist derivations in *Pāli*, scil. *negama* Skt,



naigama, and it will be necessary to say a little more about these two terms.

No doubt, nigama here in the list is a settlement, as the Comm. on *Sūtrakṛt.* says: bahuvani-  
gnivāsaḥ (बहुवणिग्निवासः) or the same is expressed  
by the *Utt.-Tīkā*: bhūtavanignivāse (भूतवणिग्निवासे);  
the *Kalpas.* II. omits the word altogether. *Vācaspati* in the Scholion on *Hemac. Abhidh.*  
972 declares the nigama to be the half of a pattana,  
that is to say, the central place of 25 villages;  
how mechanical such an explanation is, shows the  
definition of the niveśa as the half of a nigama,  
that is to say, the centre of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  villages, if we  
take *Vācaspati* at his word. The authorities  
cited in the P. W. s. v. (nigama 6.) give "town"  
as the meaning, but under the same title 8. the P.  
W. states the meaning "Handelsmann" (trader),  
citing under other references *Rāmāyaṇa* (ed.  
Gorr.) II, 123, 5: sayodhaśreṇinigamaḥ.....sarvaḥ  
prarudito janaḥ (सयोधश्रेणिनिगमः.....सर्वः प्ररुदितो जनः).  
That nigama here cannot be "town" is evident;  
on the other hand, when naigama means  
"trader", nigama must be the "body of traders", as  
P. W. states itself s. v. naigama f, correcting the  
statements above.

nigama is an old word, which occurs in liter-  
ature as well in inscriptions. In *Āpastamba's*  
*Dharmasūtra* I, 3, 9, 4 the study of the Veda is  
forbidden in nigamas; the Comm., *Haradatta*,  
belonging to the 13.-14. cent. A. D., explains: niga-  
māścatvarādinigamanamārgāḥ nigamanena gam-  
yate iti.....(निगमाश्चत्वारदिनिगमनमार्गाः निगमनेन गम्यन्ते इति.....)  
In *Dasakumārac.* (ed. Bühler-Peterson, Part

II, p. 17, 16) occurs: nigame naigamānām (निगमे नैगमानाम्); the *Padacandrikā* explains: nigamo vaṇiggrāmaḥ. nigamaḥ sure vede vaṇikpathe mārga iti Mahīpaḥ; naigamānām vaṇijām. ( निगमो वणिक्पथः । निगमः सुरे वेदे वणिक्पथे मार्ग इति महीपः । नैगमानां वणिजां ). *Hemac. Dhātup.* I, 396 explains nigama with puṭabhedanam śāstram vā, (पुटभेदनं शास्त्रं वा) and in the *Dhammapada* -Comm. I, 133 Anupiya is a nigama in the *Malla* country. Nigama has to be interpreted as "town", better perhaps "trader's place", in an inscription, where a gift of the nigama of Karahakaṭa<sup>20</sup> is mentioned (Lüders' *List* No 705).

Two recent books, both dealing with valuable treatises of their kind the same matter, interpret the term nigama on the seals found at Basārḥ in different

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20 Cf. E. Hultzsch ZDMG XL (1886), p. 62, n. 2; *Ind. Ant.* XXI (1892), p. 228, n. 20.—I cannot but express my doubt, whether nigama in both cases has not the meaning "body of traders". First it is clear that inhabitants of Karahakaṭa are the donors, secondly it is a custom to announce the occupation of the donor; therefore I prefer to translate: "A donum by the traders-body of Karahakaṭa". In No. 1335 nigamaputa is quite analogous to rājaputra, vaṇikputra etc.; putra in compounds has a collective meaning, nigamaputa therefore are "traders-body-sons", i. e. "the traders-body". Cf. also goṭhī which is a committee of the body of traders and hardly that of the place. For the word cf. *JA* s. X, t. IV (1904), p. 230; *Avadānaśataka* I, 93, 6; 377, 14; II, 53, 9f.; 55, 9 and n. 8; 100, 13. G. Bühler remarks (*Ep.*; *Ind.* II, p. 92) that pious donations made by villages or towns do not occur frequently in the inscriptions. for the last interpretation see H. Lüders *SPA* 1912, p. 822f.

way. While Radhak. M'ookerji<sup>21</sup> sees here an important proof for the existence of guilds, R. Ch. Majumdar<sup>22</sup> agrees with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in declaring here nigama as town. Before deciding this question attention may be paid to the term naigama.

There is no doubt that naigama means a trader. So is found in inscriptions negama—also nekama—representing Skt. naigama in Lüders' *List* No 1337, where 20 names are enumerated, hardly inhabitants of a hamlet. Naigama is a vṛddhi-formation from nigama. Now, if naigama means a trader, nigama as the primary word must designate collective, that is the body of traders. Thereby we shall not forget that the the local unity may have created the meaning "body". In No 1335 of Lüders' *List* we find nigamaputa; here an interpretation like "sons of the town" seems to be quite impossible, whereas the translation members of the nigama ("traders' body") seems preferable. Assuming therewith the meaning "traders' body" for nigama one must take the above mentioned seal-inscriptions as a further proof; I cannot understand the interpretation of śreṣṭhi-sārthavāha-kulika-nigama as "town of the śreṣṭhis" etc., but rather as the "body of the śreṣṭhis" etc. But D. R. Bhandarkar and R. Ch. Majumdar are right inasmuch as they deny the meaning "guild" of the word nigama; that comes just so true as the modern board of trade would be a guild. But naigama again is not only the

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21 *Local Government*, p. 112f.

22 *Corporate Life*, p. 43 ff.

trader, but also the inhabitant of a nigama. In the *Nāradaśmṛti* X. 1 naigama is explained by the Comm. with paurāḥ, while the *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñ.* II, 192 understands "sects as the Pāsupatas" and J. Jolly again gives at *S. B. E.* XXXIII, p. 153 "followers of the Veda."

Summarizing one could say :

nigama:	a) traders' place;	b) traders' body
naigama:	a) inhabitant	b) trader (member
	of a nigama.	of the nigama).

12. r ā y a h ā ṇ i. The last term in *Sūtrakṛt.* is rāyahāṇi, which is explained by the *Dīpikā* with: rājakulasthānam; a more complete explanation is given in *Utt.-Comm.*: rājadhānyāṃ rājādhiyate yasyāṃ sā rājadhānī, tasyāṃ rājadhānyāṃ rājapīṭhasthāne (राजधान्यां राजाधीयते यस्यां सा राजधानी, तस्यां राजधान्यां राजपीठस्थाने). The word is occurring in works which are of a relatively late date (so Ayodhyā is often mentioned as rājadhānī *Rāmāy.* II, 52, 55; II, 28, 24; *Rājatar.*, *Kathūsarits.* etc.) and means the residence of a king. In the *Moharājaparaṇaya* by Yaśaḥpāla 13. cent. occurs Caulukyarājadhānī.<sup>23</sup>

13. saṃvāha. The word is found in *Kalpas.* I. and II., twice in *Utt.* and in *Aup.* The Comm. on *Kalpas.* I. explains: samabhūmau kṛṣiṃ kṛtvā yeṣu durgabhūmiṣu dhānyāni kṛṣivalāḥ saṃvahanī rakṣārtham (समभूमौ कृषिं कृत्वा येषु दुर्गभूमिषु धान्यानि कृषीवलाः संवहन्ति रक्षार्थम्) the fortified places,

23 E. Hultsch, *Gottinger Gelehrte Nachrichten* 1921, p. 40, n. 2. For the occurrence of this word in the Buddhist literature see below p. 15 and n. 41.

where "the country-people after having reaped their crops in the open country bring the grain for safety." There is not much difference in the explanation of the *Aup.-Comm.*, when he says: parvatanitambādīdurge sthāpanī (पर्वतनितम्बादिदुर्गे स्थापनी) "a depository place in a fortified place behind a slope of a hill" etc<sup>21</sup>. The *Tikā* on *Utt.* does not agree with these former explanations but says as follows: sambādhaḥ prabhūta-caturvarṇya-nivāsaḥ (सम्बाधः प्रभूतचतुर्वर्ण्यनिवासः). When deciding between the different opinions it must be considered that the texts of *Kalpas.* II. and *Aup.* offer also samvāha like *Utt.*; samvāha represents a Skt. sambādha and sambāha a Skt. sambādha; therefore we understand the explanation for the first "bringing together" and that of the *Utt.-Tikā* "crowding together." That the meaning here can be only that of a place is evident; in none of the Dictionaries the word samvāha in such a sense is found. In the *Arthas.* X, 2, 150, 152, p. 367, 3, 4 occurs the word, as it seems, in the above mentioned sense: sārthavrajaskandhāvārasamvāhavilopapramattam: apramatto'bhīhanyāt (सार्थव्रजस्कन्धावारसंवाहविलोपप्रमत्तमप्रमत्तोऽभिहन्यात्). "He (the king or the general-in-chief) shall diligently attack the enemy while he (the enemy) is devoting himself in carelessness

21 Perhaps durga here is simply a locality of difficult approach, situated behind a slope. Parvata durga is one of the six kinds, enumerated in *Manu* VII, 70 (*Mhbh.* XII, 86, 5; *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñ.* I, 321; *Viṣṇu* III, 6); *Arthas.* 51, 2-5. sthāpinyah is explained also by the *Paraśnavyākaraṇasūtravyākhyāna*, see *Kauṣ.* *Arthas.* p. 46, n. 1.

to robbery of caravans, a hurdle, an encampment and of a *saṃvāha*." No doubt that *saṃvāha* means here a sort of a place in some way fortified.<sup>25</sup>

14. *ghoṣa*. A term which causes no difficulty is *ghoṣa*, "a herdsman-station"; it is sufficient to remember the *goharaṇaparvan* of *Mhbh.* III. Here, at III, 35, 7 is mentioned a *gopādhyakṣa* who hastens into the town (*nagarāya*); at *Rām.* II. 83, 15 occur *grāmaghoṣamahattarāḥ* (ग्रामघोषमहत्तराः). Also the Purāṇic sources and *Bhāsa's Bālacarita* give a full illustration of *ghoṣa*-life. The *Utt.-Tīkā* may still be cited: *Ābhīrapallīsamāja* (आभीर-पल्लिसमाज), expressions which must be considered below.<sup>26</sup>

15. *pallī*. It is no doubt that the enumeration descends from the bigger and general settlements to the smaller and specific ones. The foregoing explanation of *ghoṣa* says that a number of *pallīs* forms the *ghoṣa*; *pallī* again is explained by the same source as follows; *vr̥kṣavaṃśūdigahanāś-ritapraṇtajanasthānam* (वृक्षवंशादिगहनाश्रितप्रान्तजनस्थानम्).

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25 The parallel passage of the *Kāmand. Nitis.* XIX, 62 has:

*skandhāvārapuragrāmasasyasārthavrajādiṣu*;

(स्कन्धावारपुरग्रामसस्यमार्थव्रजादिषु)

That *sasya* here is inserted instead of *saṃvāha* is probable; may be that *Kāmandakī* did not understand the expression or that he did so *metri causa*.

26 *Grāma*, *ghoṣa* and *nagara* occur in *Vāyupur.* (ed. *Bibl. Ind.*) vol. II, adhy. 33, 10 and *pura*, *ghoṣa*, *grāma*, *pattana* *ibid.* 32, 40. In vol. I, adhy. 8, 96 are mentioned *kheṭa*, *pura*, *grāma* and *kheṭa*, *nagara*, *grāma* in 8, 106. For the question of the *Ābhīras* cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Ind. Ant.* XLVII (1918), p. 35 ff.

Palli is therefore a place in a pasture-land, in the huts of which people of the *ghoṣa* are living or a place in the forest on the boundaries of a realm with an independent people, nearly related to the *ātavikas* of the *Arthas*. Philostratos in his *Biography of Apollonios of Tyana* speaks in a similar way of such clans II, 26; and V. A. Smith names these highlanders "the ancestors or predecessors of the modern Afrīdis and similar clans."<sup>27</sup> A good impression the reader receives by the 10. *tarāṅga* of *Kathāsaritsāgara*, where also a *pallipati* (v. 137), called *Śavarādhīpa* (v. 133), is mentioned. *Yaugandharāyaṇa*'s friend, *Pulinda* (XII, 45), is living in a *pallī* (XIII, 42).

16. *aṃsiyā*. No term is so little known as *aṃsiyā* of *Kalpas*. I. It is possible that Pkt. *aṃsiyā* as maintained by W. Schubring<sup>28</sup> represents a Skt. *aṃsikā*, but its translation "hamlet" (Weiler) seems doubtful. The literal meaning would be, "aṃsikā-adopting", having a share, a part; uncertain. The real meaning may be comprehended as soon as the word would be found in another work. For another suggestion we have to consider the next term.

17. *puṭabhedana*. This word does occur as well in *Kalpas*. I., in *Utt.* XX, 18 as it is mentioned often in Buddhist literature and in the Dictionaries. J. Charpentier has<sup>29</sup> fully discussed this term; his suggestion is that the original meaning must be "breaking through (a bank, a sandbank);

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27 *ZDMG* LXVIII (1914), p. 337.

28 *Kalpas*. I., p. 48.

29 *ZDMG* LXX (1916), p. 237-242.

then the place where it happens". The latter meaning "town" cannot be attributed to the word here, because a specified designation is needed. But, if it is permitted to make another suggestion, it is done only with all reservation.<sup>30</sup>

It seems to be hardly a hazard, when in *Kalpas*. I. the text runs: aṃsiyaṃsi vā puḍabheyanaṃsi vā (अंसियंसि वा पुडभेयणंसि वा) and when the *Arthaś.* 51, 10 reads: panyapuṭabhedanamamsavāripathābhyāmu-petam [sthāniyaṃ niveśayet]<sup>31</sup> (पण्यपुटभेदनमंसवारीपथा-

30 For puṭabhedana in *Hemac. Dhātup.* I, 396 cf. above p. 8; Nīlakaṇṭha gives *Mhbh.* II, 32, 14 pattana for the term.

31 In *Vaijayanṭī* (p. 159, 1) puṭa as a synonym of nagara occurs. Puṭam (v. l. panyapuṭam) bhitvā is found in the *Arthaś.* 111, 6 f.; for interpretation see *SWA* (191, 5, p. 145). Bhānudiḥṣita on *Amarak.* II, 2, 1 explains: puṭāni pātrāni bhidyante'tra (पुटानि पात्राणि भिद्यन्तेऽत्र) and a similar explanation Dharma-pāla (?) has in his Comm. on *Udānam* VIII, 6 (ed. p. Steinthal p. 88, n. 6): puṭabhedanaṭṭhānanti bhaṇḍapuṭabhedanaṭṭhānam bhaṇḍakānam moana-ṭṭhānan ti vuttam hoti (पुटभेदनद्वाराणं ति भंडपुटभेदनाद्वाराणं भंडकाणं मोचनद्वाराणं ति वुत्तं होति ।). These two passages seem to speak for the interpretation that the bags etc. have to be opened for inspection. The baggage has been carried on the shoulder, i. e. puṭāmsa; cf. *Dīgha-Nik.* IV, 7 (*SoṇadandaSutta*); V, 8 (*Kūṭadanta-Sutta*); *Majjh.-Nik.* III, 80 (with the reading, accepted in the text, puṭosenāpi); the new Pali Text Society-Dictionary p. 1 s. v. aṃsa gives "with a knap-sack for provisions" and refers to the Comm. on *Dīgha-Nik.* I, 268. Should there exist some connexion between puṭāmsa and puṭabhedana? Aṃsikās seem to be the settlement on an aṃsapathe, on the end of which, in the puṭabhedana, the baggage has to be opened. In this way puṭabhedana become a town as trade-place (cf. *SBĀ* XI, p. XVI, n. 1; R. O. Franke, *Dīgha-Nik.* transl. p. 190 f., n. 3).



भ्यामुपेतम् [स्थानीयम् निवेशयेत्]). Aṃsapatha occurs again in the *Arthasā.* 300, 19. Shāmasāstry's interpretation as "trade-routes traversed by men alone" (aṃsapatha, shoulder-path, i. e. a path traversed by men carrying merchandise on their shoulders), is not unlikely. Then paṇyapuṭābhedaṇamamṣavaripathābhyām (पण्यपुटभेदनमंसवारिपथाभ्याम्) would be a sthānīya as a puṭābhedaṇa with mule-tracks and water ways; puṭābhedaṇa would be originally a place, where the loads have to be opened, not only for toll but also for inspection. Aṃsiyā would represent a Skt. aṃśikā, a widened place to allow of the passage of people going in opposite direction, situated on an aṃsapatha—a place, in mountains perhaps, for the travellers, consisting only of a collection of few houses.

The remaining terms are found only in *Utt.*

18. vihāra. This word is explained by the Tīkā as devagrhaḥ, a remarkable explanation by a Comm. on a Jain-work.

19. samāja. The Prākṛit form is samāya<sup>32</sup>; in Pāli samājo, samajjā. Samājiko is translated in Childer's Pāli-Dictionary as "assembly", or "member of an assembly". The Comm. gives pariṣat which agrees with this meaning. In his article<sup>32</sup>; F. W. Thomas expounds from Aśoka's first Rock-edict the meaning "celebration of games, or rather contests". But here, in the enumeration, it must mean a place, not an occasional festival. If, however, Thomas in agreement with E.

32. *JRAS*, 1914, p. 392-394.

Hardy, *Album Kern* p. 61-66, has shown<sup>33</sup>, that a samāja takes place “in an arena (samāja-vaṭa), or amphitheatre, surrounded by platforms (mañca) for spectators” (p. 393) and is frequently regarded as taking place on the top of a hill (giragga) (p. 394). According to Buddhist sources (cf. also *ibid.* p. 752), samāya seems to designate such a locality for amusements. N. G. Majumdar<sup>34</sup> pointed out that “samāja was primarily a technical word for theatre<sup>35</sup>.” Be that as it may: in the enumeration in *Utt.* samāya = Skt. samāja is a place where some festivals are celebrated. And it is, in accordance with the remarks made by Thomas, probable that

20. sthala belongs to samāya; it is explained by the Tīkā as: uccabhūmibhāga (उच्चभूमिभाग). The compound word would therefore mean the high place where samājas are celebrated.<sup>36</sup>

21. senāskandhāvāra. This term is quite clear; the Tīkā says: senācaturaṅgakaṭaksamūhaḥ skandhāvārah kaṭakottaraṇanivāsaḥ (सेनाचतुरङ्गकटक-

33. For Childers quotations see E. Hardy *Album Kern*, Leiden 1913, p. 62, n. 5.

34. *Ind. Ant.* XLVII (1918), p. 221, 223; V. A. Smith, *ibid.* XLVIII (1919), p. 235; cf. also *Dhammap.-Comm.* IV, 59.

35. For the care of Governments for theatres see as the reverse the *Arthoś.* 48, 12-14.

36. sthala is the complement to nimna (*Arthoś.* 140, 5) or the opposite to jala, [cf. *Aup.* § 118: jalayarā (jalacarā), thalayarā (sthalacarā), khahayarā (khacarā), the continent]; H. Jacobi takes it with the following word “camp on high ground” (*SBE* XLV, p. 177).

समूहः स्कन्धावारः कटकौत्तरणनिवासः) the headquarters of an army.<sup>87</sup>

22. sārtha. The *Ṭikā* explains: sārthakra-yāṇakabhṛtām samūhapratīta eva (सार्थक्रयाणकभृतां समूह-प्रतीत एव), a "caravan-place".

23. samvartakoṭṭa. The last word in *Utt.* is a compound, and the Comm. gives this explanation: sambartto bhayatrastajanasamavāyah, koṭṭo durgah (सम्बर्तो भयत्रस्तजनसमवायः, कोट्टो दुर्गः). The same explanation of koṭṭa<sup>88</sup> is given in *Hemac. Abhidh.* 973 and that of samvarta is found in *Nīlakaṇṭha's* Comm. on *Mhbh.* IX, 57, 19: samvartam śatrupra-saraṇāvarodhanam (सम्बर्तं शत्रुप्रसरणावरोधनम्). Samvartakoṭṭa must be therefore a citadel or fort prohibiting the advance of an enemy. According to the *Ṭikā* it would mean a fort where the frightened people are gathered.

The question which now arises is that: of which value is such an enumeration? Jacobi says<sup>89</sup> that the "gamas form a rather questionable ornament of the Sūtra style." The suggestion that any author could have written such a list of settlements by himself is impossible. Firstly we

37. kṛtakottaraṇanivāsaḥ (कटकौत्तरणनिवासः) seems to be a remark.—For the camp cf. *SWA* 191, 5 p. 100 ff.

38. Koṭṭa as "fort" is also today known. Cf. the word koṭ in the Darel-district, *Ind. Ant.* XLVI (1917), p. 114. For the names *ibid.* p. 43, 46 f., 276. It is hardly an Aryan word, though we have in younger texts koṭṭapāla, koṭṭarāja, cf. *Divyāv.* 61, 16; 267, 23; *Avadānaś.* I, 108, 7; *Mahāvvyutp.* 186, 8, 35; see *KZ* 44 (1911), p. 100.

39. *SBE* XXII, p. 72, n. 2.

find the list in six texts<sup>40</sup> seven times with some alterations; then these alterations again show that there existed a list, and this list again could not be the work of a pious writer, but that of a pedant or of a scholar. Of which kind in reality the source was is not possible to decide. What we see is a certain affinity existing between *Ācār.* and *Sūtrakṛt*; *Kalpas.* I. II; and *Aup.* I., II. The prolongation of the list in *Utt.* is hardly an argument for its originality. One cannot conclude from such instances anything relating to the chronology. But to look for the source and to conclude something from the age of the same or of the words occurring in the list is permissible.

There exists little doubt, that the whole science of the list is taken from a non-canonical text. That in the Vedic literature no hint is found of such settlements, is not surprising. A step forward shows the interesting fact that in Pāṇini Grammar occur *grāma* and *nagara*, whereas his Commentator Patañjali knows already II, 4, 10 (ed. F. Kielhorn I, p. 475) and VII, 3, 14 (III, p. 321) the different *saṁstyāyas* (settlements): *grāma*, *ghoṣa*, *nagara* and *saṁvāha*, which are *āryanivāsas*, dwelling-places for *Āryas*. *Kheṭa* was, as it seems, unknown in the abovestated sense, because *Pāṇini* VI, 2, 126 knows only the use of the word, when any detraction is to be expressed.

A slight similarity, a short list, we find in the Buddhist literature, e. g. in the *Kaṇavera-Sūṭaka*

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40. I had no other texts at my disposal.

(ed. Fausbull II, III, p. 61, 22): *gāmanigamarājadhāniyo* (गामनिगमराजधानियो).<sup>41</sup>

From the Epic already we get to know of larger numbers of dwelling-places. *Grāma* and *pura* prove nothing; but *kheṭa* occurs here (*Mhbh.* III, 193, 10); *ghoṣa*, explained with *vanasthāna*, is also found (*Mhbh.* II, 69, 35). Of other expressions we meet *pattana*, *nagara*, *grāma*, *pallighoṣa* in *Mhbh.* (XII, 325, 17-20). E. W. Hopkins,<sup>42</sup> who mentioned these settlements, remarks (p. 78, n.) that the term *kharvaṭa* is unknown to the Epic; when we find these and other terms in sources of a date, according to the *opinio communis*, rather late, and when *Mhbh.* (XII, 325, 17-20) does not mention these settlements, where the occasion is given for such an enumeration and seldom omitted; can that be only a hazard?

In the *Purāṇas* the terms occur in a quite similar form as they are in the works of the *Siddhānta*. *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (V, 5, 30): *tatra tatra puragrāmākarakheṭavataśiviravrajaghoṣasār-*

41. The same expression occurs in the *Lūgha-Nik.* IV, 7 (but the Ms. Bm has *gāmanigamajana-pa-darājadhāniyo* (गामनिगमजनपदराजधानियो), of. *simha-sthāniya* in *Pūrṇabhadra's Pañcākhyānaka* p. 4, 23; XXVI, 23; XXVI, 22). Conforming to the passages above from the *Jātakas* in *Divyāv.* (344, 14 f.) we read: (*grāmanigamarājaraṣṭradhāniṣu*) ग्रामनिगमराजराष्ट्रधानीषु). *Gāmaghāta*, *nigamaghāta*, *nagaraghāta* is found in the *Dhammap.-Comm.* (IV, 108). *Nigama* we meet in *Jāt.* (I, 360; II, 209 and III, 79) *nigamāgamo* (II, 209) it is a *gavyūta* and half a *yojana* far way from the *Jetavana*.

42 *JAOS* XIII (1888), p. 77. ff.

**thagirivāśrama** (तत्र तत्र पुरग्रामाकरखेटवदक्षिविराजचोवत्तर्ध-  
विरिवनाग्रम.....(VII, 2, 14): **puragrāmavrajodyānak-**  
**ṣetrārāmāśramākarān** (पुरग्रामव्रजोद्यानक्षेत्रारामाश्रमाकरार): **khe-**  
**ṭakharvataghoṣāmsca dadahuḥ pattanāni ca**  
(खेटखर्वटघोषांश्च ददहुः पत्तनानि च).<sup>43a</sup> In a more detailed  
form the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* speaks about the  
terms (XLIX, 42-54). There are found these terms:  
**pura**, **khetaka**, **droṇimukha**, **sākhānagara**, **karvataka**,  
**grāma**, **saṃghoṣa**; in verse 44f. the measures of  
the area of a **pura**, **kheṭa** and **kharvata** are settled.  
In the *Agni-Purāṇa* are found (XCIII, 33):  
**nagara**, **grāma**, **kheṭa**; (CV, 1): **nagaragrāma-**  
**durgādi**; (CCXIII, 9): **grāma**, **pura**, **khetaka**;  
**kharvata** occurs in (CCLVIII, 18).

The *Tantrākhyāyikā* (ed. Joh. Hertel, p. 6, 1.  
13) mentions: **grāma**, **nagara**, **pattana**, **adhiṣṭhāna**,  
**kheṭa** and **kharvata**.<sup>43b</sup>

More stress can be laid upon that kind of  
literature, which can be dated with more or  
less certainty, the Dictionaries.

To begin with one of the oldest, *Dhanapāla*  
mentions in his *Pāṇiyalacchī* (belonging to the  
year 972-3 according to G. Bühler in his edition  
p. 6) **gāmahanam**, **khadayam**, **paṭṭam**, **grāmadhā-**  
**nam**, **khetakam**, **paṭṭa** (गामहणं खडयं पटं ग्रामधानं, खेटकं, पटं),  
v. 152). *S'āśvata*, also one of the older *kośas*,  
knows **grāma** (V. 464), **pura** (710), **nigama** (256),  
**kheṭa** (406), **saṃniveśa** (450), **vraja** (626); but

43a The P. W. informs us that the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* has  
the term in connexion again with **pura**, **grāma**, **vraja**,  
**ākara**, **kheṭa** (I, 6, 11) or with **grāma**, **pura**, **pattana**,  
**durga**, **ghoṣa**, **vraja**, **ākāra**, **kheṭa** (IV 18, 31).

43b Cf. also Pūrṇabhadra's *Pañcākhy.* 4, 22 ff.

there is not found a term like puṭabhedana, droṇamukha, etc. Halāyudha<sup>44</sup> who belongs to the 10. cent., mentions (II, 129-131) the following words: grāma, pattana, nigama, puṭabhedana, nagara, nagarī, draṅga, sthāniya, skandhāvāra, rājadhānī. The *Maṅkha-kośa*<sup>45</sup> of the 12. cent. is a homonymous kośa (anekārtha) and therefore of less abundance than a synonymous; he has grāma (577), nigama (591), khetṭa (169), skandhāvāra in the Comm. on 418.<sup>46</sup> So we find in Hemacandra's *Anekārthas*. only grāma (II, 314), nigama (III, 459), khetṭa (II, 85), whereas the other terms occur in another Dictionary of Hemacandra. That is the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*; here, 971-3 we read:

nagarīpūḥ purī draṅgaḥ pattanam puṭabheda  
nam ॥ (971) ॥

Niveśanamadhiṣṭhānam sthāniyam nigamo'  
pi ca ।

śākhāpuram tūpapuram khetṭaḥ purārdhavista-  
raḥ ॥ (972) ॥;

skandhāvāro rājadhānī koṭṭadurgaḥ punaḥ  
samaḥ<sup>47</sup> ॥ (973) ॥

(नगरी पूः पुरी द्रङ्गः पत्तनं पुटभेदनम् ॥ 971 ॥

निवेशनमधिष्ठानं स्थानीयं निगमोऽपि च ।

शाखापुरं तूपुरं खेटः पुरार्धविस्तरः ॥ (972) ॥

स्कन्धावारो राजधानी कोट्टदुर्गः पुनः समः ॥ 973 ॥).

44 Th. Zachariae, Die indischen Wörterbücher (Grdr. I, 3 B.), p. 26, §16.

45 Ibid. p. 30, §20.

46 The Comm. is for a certain part perhaps the own work of Maṅkha. Not even the word nagara is found in this Dictionary.

47 Cf. also the Scholia on 972.

Ten words occur here and in the *Amara-kosa* (II, 2, 1) we find beyond others not mentioned in the list: nagarī, pattana, puṭabhedana, sthānīya, nigama; (II, 2, 2,) nagara and (II, 2, 19) grāma and ghoṣa. In the purādhyāya of Yāda v a p r a k ā ś a's *Vaijayanti* (ed. G. Oppert) (p. 159, 11 ff.) occur: nagarī, nagara, pn-rī, sthānīya, puṭa, kheṭa, grāma, karveṭa, karvaṭika, karvaṭa, droṇamukha, paṭṭana, puṭabhedana, pattana, skandhāvāra, rājadhānī and many others. In the Buddhist Dictionary, finally, the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, these words are enumerated; koṭṭa (226, 1), grāma (11), nagara (13), nigama (17), rājadhānī (17), pura (18), pattana (38).

The word samāja can be traced to the the time of Aśoka it being well known. On the other hand, maḍamba is not found in the P. W., while we meet it in an inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandhavarman, which certainly is of later times.<sup>48</sup> By the foregoing remarks we are entitled to make the statement: the further we progress in the epochs of literature the more we meet a developed list of settlements. And some general remarks support this view.

It is impossible that each author or compiler of each text should have invented these terms; all

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48. He is also known as yuamahārāja, successor to the throne, in Lüder's List No. 1205. For the residence of the Pallava kings, Kāñcīpura, cf. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Ind. Ant.* XLIV (1915), p. 127-9. Another Śivaskandhavarman belongs to the Śātaka-rpi-family, cf. A. Venkatasubbiah, *Ind. Ant.* XLVI (1917), p. 154 f.



of them go back evidently to a common source, whereby the list in *Utt.* for instance may represent the increased volume of it.<sup>49</sup> The assumption of a latter insertion would only confirm the view that the texts are not the original or the unaltered writings. Finally, only a high developed state of life, especially of the commercial and of city life, would be found worthy of being taken in such a list in a holy text-book.

When we risk to express our opinion for a nearer limitation, based on the arguments adduced above, we can establish three to four epochs: 1. Patañjali; 2. *Tantrākhyāyikā*; 3. the Purāṇas; and 4. the lexicographical literature. Only with these latter two categories the list in the Jaina works can be compared: the list, resuming all the arguments, can therefore be dated back to a time hardly prior to the eighth century A. D., but an age of one or two centuries more, that is to say, the ninth or tenth century, seems thoroughly not inadequate.

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49 The common source could have been a Dictionary or a formularium, what would be again a sign of the assumed late date. Such schematas seem not to have been unknown in Indian literature; perhaps also the kāvyas in their pictures and comparisons may have used them (cf. Otto Walter, *Indica* III, p. 32); for the Buddhist literature cf. R. O. Franke's translation of the *Dīgha-Nik.*, p. 7, n. 2.—That the kośas had taken the words from the Jain works is impossible, because the more or less similar lists occur in other works, because the character of the list points at a Dictionary and because also in the Dictionaries appears a certain development.

## 2. FORTIFICATIONS.

In *Acār.* (II, 3, 2, 14) there are enumerated some fortifications: vappāṇi, phalihāṇi, pāgārāṇi, toraṇāṇi, aggalāṇi, aggalapāsagāṇi, gaḍḍao, darīo, in Skt.: vapra, parikhā, prākāra, toraṇa, argala, argalapāsaka, garta, darī (cf. also II, 3, 3, 1). *Aup.* §1 describes the town Campaka as adorned with pāgārāparikkhattā. kavisīsaga.....aṭṭālaycariya-dāragopuratoraṇa.....rāyamaggā.....phaliha-indakkhīlā (पागारपरिकिखत्त । कविसीसग.....अट्टालयचरियदारगोपुर-सौरण.....रायमगग.....फलिहइंदखील). Parts of fortress and weapons occur in *Utt.* (IX, 20, resp. 18).

There is no difficulty to explain the terms, especially in connexion with the durgavidhāna-Adhyāya of the Kauṭīliya *Arthasāstra* (II, 3. 21, p. 51-54). We meet there the words: vapra (51, 16f.), parikhā (51, 11/15), prākāra (52, 3f.); while *Aup.* has the following terms in common with the *Arthas.*: kapiśīrṣaka (52, 5), aṭṭālaka (52, 9) rathacaryā (52, 5) and cāryā (52, 15), gopura (53, 18), rājamārga (54, 12), indrakīla (53, 15), dāra is found (404, 15), argala (53, 1) and toraṇa (53, 14) in toraṇasīraḥ.

Enumerations of the fortifications are quite common in the Epic and conventional, therefore this fact alone would not deserve further notice. But the following moments are worthy of short consideration: the affinity of expressions in the Jaina Sūtras and in the *Arthas.*, and on other hand the history of some words,

The material of the Epic is collected for a great part in Hopkins' most valuable paper<sup>50</sup>; "we

have one set of phrases constantly repeated with slight variations." There occur *prākāra*, *toraṇa*, *aṭṭa*, and *vapra*; *argala* is mentioned in *Raghuv.*, *Mṛcch.*, *Rām.* etc. That as well as *parikhā* (cf. *Pāṇ.* V, 1, 17) and *prākāra* ( *Paṭaṇjali*, *Mahābh.* Vol. II, p. 342 ff. on *Pāṇ.* V, 1, 16) are such general words that nothing can be concluded from them. But not so with the terms, *kapiśīrṣaka* and *indrakīla*.

*Kapiśīrṣaka* is, as the P. W. informs us, found in Hemac. *Abhidh.* (981) and in *Trikāṇḍas.* (II, 26). Besides these the word is cited in Halāyudha *Abhidh.* (V, 2): *prākārāgre pi kapiśīrṣam* (प्राकाराग्रेऽपि कपिशीर्षम्) just as in Hemac's. *prākārāgram kapiśīrṣam*<sup>51</sup> (प्राकारग्रामं कपिशीर्षम्). In the *Manikhaḥosa* (915) *kapiśīrṣa* is explained with *bhittiśṛṅge* "the top-edge of a wall." In the *S'abdakalpad.* cited in P. W. s. v. regarding *drumaśīrṣa* (cf. also *kravyaśīrṣa*) the *S'abdacandrikā* says:

*Kapiśīrṣam drumaśīrṣam tathā cākheṭaśīrṣakam* ।

*iti kuṭṭimabhedāḥ syuḥ śābdikāḥ samudāhṛtāḥ ॥*

(कपिशीर्षं द्रुमशीर्षं तथा चाखेटशीर्षकम् ।

इति कुट्टिमभेदाः स्युः शाब्दिकैः समुदाहृताः ॥).

When P. W. explaining the word, translates *ākheṭaśīrṣaka* with "a kind of mine" it is inconsistent with the common meaning of *kuṭṭima* "floor." But the reading *ākheṭaśīrṣaka* must be wrong. *Ākheṭa*-(ka) also seems to need a correction

51 It deserves to be noted that the Ms. of Halāyudha have instead of *kapiśīrṣam*...: *prakīrtitam* and those of Hemacandra *kampiśīrṣam*, which seems to indicate how little the term was known.

to khoṭa-(ka). The reason for this correction is given by two sources: *Trikāṇḍas.* (11, 2, 6) notes as synonymous with kapiśīrṣa: khoḍaka-īrṣaka and krayaśīrṣaka; in the Vienna-Ms. of the kośa the reading ghoṭaka is found. The *Divyāvadāna* again, (p. 220, 21) has shoḍaka. In the Index it is corrected by the editors (Cowell-Neil, p. 692) to khoḍaka. Th. Zachariae already remarked<sup>52</sup> the doubtful sense of this word occurring also in the modern compilation by Galanos as koṭaśīras. In the *Mahāvīryūtpatti* (226, 36) under the parts of a fortress is found khoṭaka, with the various readings khāṭaka and khoṭhaka. There can be little doubt that all these forms go back to a common khoṭakaśīras, khoṭaśīrṣa or forms like that. The proof for this statement is in *Divyāvadāna* (220, 21); the text runs as follows: teṣu prākāreṣu caturvidhāḥ ṣoḍakā (read: khoṭakā) māpitāḥ suvarṇamayā rūpyamayā vaidūryamayāḥ sphatikamayāḥ, तेषु प्राकारेषु चतुर्विधाः षोडका (खोटका) मापिताः सुवर्णमया रूपमया वैडूर्यमयाः स्फटिकमयाः): It is evident on a prākāra there could be only cornices, here of fourfold kind. But I think, we also must accept a second emendation in the above cited text of the *śabdak.*; in note 2 on *Divyāv.* (220, 21) stands: AD read kramacīrshāṇipitā; the suggestion of the editors would be supported by *Trikāṇḍas.* (II, 2, 6.) But Zachariae (1. c.) expressed his opinion that kramaśīrṣa seems to be the correct reading. If it is right there is little probability of a third reading as drumaśīrṣaka instead of which we therefore have to read kramaśīrṣaka.<sup>53</sup>

52 *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1888, p. 851f.

53 To explain the mistake is perhaps not difficult in respect of the ligatures dru and kra. Because of

Kapisīrṣa is known also in the Buddhist literature. Kapisisaka is found in *Cullavagga* (V, 14, 3), *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (V, 32); *Mahāsudassanasutta* (II, 24); *Pātimokkha* (Pāc. 19). It is evident from the context of these passages, as noted also by T. W. Rhys Davids<sup>54</sup> and H. Oldenberg,<sup>55</sup> that kapisīsa is a part of the door-posts, but not the lintel, because it is mentioned as having been leaned against. These passages belong to the old Buddhist literature, in which kapisīsa has another meaning. When we, however, meet in the late Sanskrit Dictionaries and in Jain works kapisīrṣa as the coping of a wall there must be a certain difference of period between them. And also the congruence between the Jain-texts and the *Arthaś.* must be noted; here we find (p. 52, 5) kapisīrṣa on the top of the prākāra, which is made of stone.<sup>56</sup>

In the same work, *Arthaś.* p. 53, 15. occur indrakila, explained by the Comm. on *Rājaprasaṇ.* (*ibid.*, n. 5):.....indrakilaśca sampāṭitakavāṭadva-yādhārabhūtaḥ praveśamadhyabhāgi.....(इन्द्रकीलश्च सम्पाटितकवाटद्वयाधारभूतः प्रवेशमध्यभागी). The word is mentioned very often in Buddhist literature<sup>57</sup> in the meaning "threshold." That is clear not only from passages

the little acquaintance with such rare terms the precise meaning of khotā(-ka)śīrṣa as well as that of kramaśīrṣa is unknown. They were—it seems—architectural terms.

54 *SBE* XX, p. 106, n. 3.

55 *SBE* XI, p. 95, n. 1; here is the Comm. by Buddhaghosa cited. Cf. *SBE* XIII, p. 35.

56 Cf. the note under the text.

57 Cf. the *Dictionary of the Pāli Text Society* s. v.

as *Jāt.* (I, 89); *Suttavibhaṅga* (85, 1, 3), but also from the Buddhist Sanskrit literature: *Avadānaśataka* (*Bibl. Buddhica* XIII, I, 109, 1): *yadā ca bhagavatā indrakile pādo nyastah tadeyaṃ mahāpr̥thivī śadvi-kāraṃ prakampitā bhagavataḥ purapraveśe* (यदा च भगवता इन्द्रकीले पादो न्यस्तः तदेयं महापृथ्वी षड्विकारं प्रकम्पिता भगवतः पुर-प्रवेशे); in extenso we read the āścaryāni, when the Bhagavān crosses a city's threshold, in *Divyāv.* (250, 19; 251, 12; 364, 27); 365, 15 (*nagaradvāram indrakile*, 365, 1; cf. *nagarapraveśe* (365, 16); 544, 6ff. where are enumerated three indrakilas, that of the town (*nagare indrakilo*), that of the king's palace (*rājakule indrakilo*) and that of the harem (*antaḥpura (!) indrakīlaśca*).<sup>58</sup> In none of the Sanskrit-Dictionaries—as far as I know—occurs the word *indrakila*; by the Comm. on *Aup.* §1 it is explained by: *gopurāvayavaviśeṣaḥ* “a special part of the gopura.” The *Mahāvvyutpatti* mentions (286, 88) the term on side of *argaḍa*. In the Brahmnical literature the P. W. cites (vol. V additions, cf. VII, 1713 s. v.) Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā* (33, 22; 46, 74; 89, 19); the passage of the *Rām.* (II, 80, 18) has the reading *indranīla*; the Comm. explains the v. l. *indrakila* with *parvatasadr̥śaḥ*, because *Indrakila* is the name of the *Mandara* (e. g. *Hemac. Abhidh.* 1030). Another text, where *indrakila* is found, is the *Pūrṇabhadra-Recension* of the *Pañcatantra* (*Tantrākhyāna*, ed. by Joh. Hertel, HOS XI), p. 3, 5–7 in a long phrase,

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58 In *Visuddhimagga* by Buddhaghosa (ed. PTS.) I, p. 72 *Anurādhapura* has two *indrakilas*. The word is frequently used in comparison, to denote the physical and moral steadiness.

dealing with the different specialities of a fortified town, which may be cited : nagaram vividhayantrapraharanācaranaparipūrṇagopurātṭālakam viṣamkaṭkatadr̥dhaparighakapātatoranārgalopagatendra-kilavipuladvāram suvihitaśṛṅgāṭakacatuspathapratisthītānekadevāyatanam parikhāparikaritoccharitahimagirisadr̥śākāraprākāravālayapariveṣṭitam (नगरं विविधयन्त्रप्रहरणाचरणपरिपूर्णगोपुराट्टालकं विसङ्कटोत्कटदृढपरिघकपाटतोरणार्गलोपगतेन्द्रकीलविपुलद्वारं सुविहितशृङ्गाटकचतुष्पथप्रतिष्ठितानेकदेवायतनं परिखापरिकरितोच्चरितहिमगिरिसदृशाकारप्राकारवलयपरिवेष्टितम् ॥).

It would be useless to infer from the date of the texts, where indrakila occurs, as to the age of the word, because its technical character could have restricted the occurrence. Nevertheless is it not significant that we meet it (although it is in *Dhammanada* and *Theragāthā*) in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, but not in the Brahmanical before the 6th. cent.? And again we have to assert the congruence between the Jain works and the *Arthasāstra*.

### 3. TOWN AND VILLAGE AUTHORITIES.

(a) In *Aup.* (§45) is the nagaraguttiya = Skt. nagaraguptika mentioned. It is quite uncertain, whether this word is a technical term, an official title, or a general designation for a town-officer. But it may be noted that we meet this word also in Buddhist literature as nagaraguttika.<sup>59</sup>

(b) gāmarakkhā is found in *Ācār.* (I, 8, 2, 8); also concerning the word, Skt. grāmarakṣa, it is doubtful whether it represents an official title.

59 R. Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung*, Kiel 1897, p. 28, 103 f.—Besides in the *Jātakas* I have nowhere found the title.

## 4. HOUSES.

Already H. Jacobi remarked in his translation of *Utt.* (IX, 24<sup>60</sup>) that a vardhamānagrha is the best kind of house according to *Varāham. Brhats.* (53, 36): śreṣṭhaṃ nandyāvartam sarveṣāṃ vardhamānasañjñam ca (श्रेष्ठं नन्दावर्त सर्वेषां वर्धमानसंज्ञं च ।). Verse 33 says that the door should not be made facing the south: dvārālindo'ntagataḥ pradakṣiṇo'ṅgaḥ śubhastataścānyaḥ tāvacca vardhamāne dvāram tu na dakṣiṇam kāryam (द्वारालिन्दोऽन्तगतः प्रदक्षिणोऽङ्गः शुभस्ततश्चान्यः तावच्च वर्धमाने द्वारं तु न दक्षिणं कार्यम् ॥). The passage of the *Matsyapurāṇa* 254, 3<sup>61</sup> agrees with that: dakṣiṇadvārahīnam tu vardhamānamudāhṛtam (दक्षिणद्वारहीनं तु वर्धमानमुदाहृतम् ।). From Dictionaries<sup>62</sup> the word is found only in *Halāy. Abhidh.* II, 150:

Svastiko vardhamānaśca nandyāvartādayastathā,  
vicchamḍakaviśeṣāḥ syuramī bhūpativeśmanah.

स्वस्तिको वर्धमानश्च नन्दावर्तादयस्तथा ।

विच्छन्दकविशेषाः स्युरमी भूपतिवेश्मनः ॥

*Rām.* V, 4, 8 (ed. *Gorr.* V, 10, 4) describes the vardhamānagrhas of Laṅkā; the Comm. cites these two ślokaś: vardhamānairgrhairvardhamānanāma-kaśamsthānavadgrhaiḥ (वर्धमानैर्गृहैर्वर्धमाननामकसंस्थानवद्गृहैः ).

Catuṣśālam caturdvāram sarvatobhadrāsamjñitam,  
paścimadvārarahitam nandyāvartāhvayaṃ tu tat.

चतुःशालं चतुर्द्वारं सर्वतोभद्रसंज्ञितम् ।

पश्चिमद्वाररहितं नन्दावर्ताह्वयं तु तत् ॥

60 *SBE* XIV, p. 38, n. 1.

61 ed. *Ānandāśrama* S. vol. 54, 1907.

62 The reference in P. W. for *Hemac. Anekārthas.* IV, 189 is wrong; it is clear that Vardhamāno vīrajine (वर्धमानो वीरजिने) is the name of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra.



daḥṣṇinadvārarahitaṃ vardhamānaṃ dhanapradam,  
prāgdvārarahitaṃ svastikākhyam putradhana-  
pradam.

दक्षिणद्वाररहितं वर्धमानं धनप्रदम् ।  
प्राग्द्वाररहितं स्वस्तिकाख्यं पुत्रधनप्रदम् ॥

ityukteḥ ( इत्युक्तेः ).

The source cannot be traced; for the age of the word the occurrence in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*<sup>63</sup> has no importance, and the *Brhatsaṃhitā* remains therefore—besides the *Aup.*—for this term the earliest proof.

Houses are beautiful and painted, filled with jasmine and perfume, have a door (kapāṭa) and a white ceiling.<sup>64</sup> But there must be laid less stress on such passages as *Kalpas.* II, 32; thereself (?) 100 the festival decorations of a town are described.

## 5. ESTABLISHMENTS.

For the picture of a town and for city-life the passage *Acār.* II, 2, 2, 8 is of some importance. There are mentioned 18 or 19 different buildings or kinds of establishments, the names of which may be given first in Sanskrit, in brackets the Prākṛit form, and when the Skt.—equivalent is uncertain, only the latter :

1. āveśana (āesaṇāṇi)
2. āyatana (āyatanāṇi)
3. devakula (devakulāṇi)

63 Cf. H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, Bonn 1893, p. 124.

64 *Utt.* XXXV, 4; for ulloca (ulloya) in *Kalpas.* II. 32 and 100 see Th. Zachariae, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie*, Berlin 1883, p. 58.

4. sabhā( sabhāo )
5. pavākaraṇāṇi
6. paṇyagrha ( paṇiyagihāṇi )
7. yānasālā ( jāpasālāo )
8. sudhākarmānta ( sudhākammamṭāṇi )
9. dabbhakammamṭāṇi
10. vaddhakammamṭāṇi
11. pappakammamṭāṇi
12. aṅgārakarmānta ( iṅgālakammamṭāṇi )
13. kāṣṭhakarmānta ( kaṭṭhakammamṭāṇi )
14. śmaśānakarmānta ( susāṇakammamṭāṇi )
15. śānti ( saṃti )
16. śūnyāgāra ( suṇṇāgāra )
17. girikandara ( girikaṃdara )
18. śānti ? ( saṃti )
19. śailopasthānakarmānta ( selovaṭṭhāṇakammamṭāṇi ).

1. āveśana, known to the Lexicographers, as to *S'āśvata* 587 (āveśe śālāyāmapī śilpinām); *Mañkhakośa* 510 (the same); *Amarak.* II, 2, 7 (śilpasālā);<sup>65</sup> *Ha'āy*, II, 141 (the same); *Vaijāyantī* p. 160, 44 (the same); *Hemac. Abhidh.* 1000 (the same); *Hemac. Anekārthas.* IV, 161 (śilpiveśmani). Kllūka on *Manu* IX, 265 says śilpagrhaṇi; the same may be meant in *Kaṇṭ Arthas.* 141, 19. The meaning "workshop" is therefore quite certain, but the word is not of high age.

2. āyatana; and

3. devakula are common designations for smaller or bigger sanctuaries, or temples.

65 So to read instead of śilpas°.



and paṇyaśālā (paṇiyasālāsu). In the *Arthas.* (e. g. 57, 9) paṇyagrha and (e. g. 143, 4) paṇyāgāra occur. The former is described on p. 58, 8f. and seems to represent a store-house, in analogy to the other buildings, whereas the paṇyāgāra is perhaps the ware-house. As in the inscription one paṇyaśālā is mentioned, which involves the existence of several, so the *Arthas.* (310, 5) mentions the paṇyāgāra of the king, of the queen or queens, and that of the princes; also the expression paṇyāgārika p. 132, 2 and paṇyāgāra p. 143, 4 seem to support this interpretation. Paṇyaśālā also may be a covered market or a ware-house, according to the Dictionaries and according to the cited inscription, where the paṇyaśālā for the enjoyment of Śiva (śivasya bhogārtham) is destined. A difference between the two terms in the *Arthas.* seems also to exist in regard to the material, inasmuch as the paṇyagrha is evidently a brick-building, the paṇyāgāra a timber-construction. With the latter assumption agrees then well the expression paṇyaśālā indicating the wooden structure.

7. yānaśālā. The same passage, *Aup.* §38. mentions by the side of jāṇagihesu also jāṇasālāsu. In none of the *Kośas* the term yānaśālā is found, P. W. cites only *Rām.* III, 35, 3f. (ed. Gorr. III, 39, 3f.); here Rāvaṇa goes in the yānaśālā and orders the chariot to be got ready : rathaḥ samyuḥyatām (रथः संयुज्यताम् ।). For the elucidation of this building the reader has to have recourse to *Aup.* §§ 43 and 44.<sup>70</sup>

70 See below p. 56.

8. *sudhākarmānta*. H. Jacobi translates (*S. B. E.* XXII, p. 126) this word by "distilleries", assuming the meaning "nectar" or *sudhā*. But it seems little probable that a distillery in so progressed times as the other establishments indicate, should be named from *sudhā*, whose one meaning according to the Dictionaries is *amṛta*; one must rather expect *surākarmānta*, e. g. *Upās.* VIII, 240 (cf. A. F. R. Hoernle's transl., *Bibl. Ind.*, p. 156f., n. 323). Against *sudhā* as liquor speaks also the unlikelihood of such an establishment for the lodging of a mendicant. *Sudhā* is an *anekārtha*; the Comm. on *Amarak.* III, 4, 104 cites Ajaya and the meanings adduced there are found in *S'āśvata* 334, 761; *Hemac. Anek.* II, 252 and some of them in *Halāy. Abhidh.* II, 139; *Maṅkhak.* 413; the *Mahāvvyutpatti* knows 231, 3 in the P-Ms. *Sudhā* as synonymous with *amṛta*, in 234, 24 it is a plant. Another meaning of *sudhā* as a tree was hitherto misunderstood, which also Oppert in his *Vocabulary* s.v. *gaṇeṣṭi* in *Vaijayanti* p. 223, 89 has omitted. It is due to Th. Zachariae<sup>71</sup> who designates the meaning of *sudhā* as a tree "Guilandina Bonducella." Well known is the meaning "whitewash" and we could therefore explain *sudhākarmānta* as an "establishment for whitewashing."<sup>72</sup> But there cannot be denied that there exists another possibility of explanation; *sudhā* has also the meaning of *mūrvā* and *snuhī*, "spurge;" *mūrvā* is *Sansevieria Roxburghiana* Schult. and was used for the girdle (*mekhalā*) of *kṣatriyas* and for bow-

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71 *Beiträge* p. 17 f.

72 Cf. Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka* p. 39-41.

strings.<sup>73</sup> While the former explanation on the whole seems preferable, the latter possesses some degree of probability in respect of the next term.

9. *dabbhammaṃta* represents a Skt. *darbhakarmānta*;

10. *vaddhakammaṃta* is probably a Skt. *vrddhakarmānta*;

11. *pappakammaṃta* is difficult to explain. Jacobi (*l. c.*) translates these three words by: "houses where Darbha-grass, bark, trees..... are worked." For *vaddha*° exists a *v. l.* *vabbha*°, for *pappa*° again *puvva*° and *vaṇa*°; the latter seems to be an attempt to supply the unknown or less known expression by a better known. For an explanation, only suggestive, we must refer to the whole lesson. It speaks about the lodging of mendicants and also in II, 2, 3, 18 there are enumerated sorts of grass, on which a couch can be prepared. Under these sorts there occurs a *paccaka*-grass, in *Sūtrakṛt.* II, 2, 7 *pappaka*. It is very likely that our *pappa*° is identical with *pappaka* in *Sūtrakṛt.* II, 2, 7; if it is true, that *dabbha* = *darbha*, *pappa* is a sort of grass<sup>74</sup> and the same as *pappaka*, then *vaddha* must also be a sort of grass, perhaps "high-grass", "reed-grass"<sup>75</sup>. If, however, this explanation is correct there remains still that of *karmānta*; the use of *darbhagrass* for religious ceremonies

73 Cf. Kullūka on *Manu* II, 42; Hopkins, *JAOS* XIII, p. 271 and n.

74 P. W. knows *parpa* "young grass".

75 But *vrddha* as neutrum is the benzoe plant, *Amarak.* II, 4, 4, 10; Hemac. *Anekārthas.* II, 247.

cannot be taken here in consideration ; perhaps the employment in medicine could be meant<sup>76</sup>.

12. aṅgārakarmānta explains itself as a "coal-establishment", perhaps "charcoal-burning".

13. kāṣṭhakarmānta can be only "wood-works"; the *Kauṭ. Arthas.* gives in the kupyādhyakṣa (p. 99-101) a good impression of such a karmānta; and the śloka (p. 101, 1f) says:

Bahirantaśca karmāntā vibhaktāssarvabhāṇḍikāḥ,  
ājivapurarakṣārthāḥ kāryāḥ kupyopajivinā[m].

( बहिरन्तश्च कर्मान्ता विभक्तस्सर्वभाण्डिका ।

आजीवपुररक्षार्थाः कार्यः कुप्योपजीविनाम् ॥ )

14. śmaśānakarmānta. That again is a term not easily to be understood. An "establishment on a burial-ground" can be explained only in regard to the cremation and burial of corpses. So we find in the Sanskrit-literature the śmaśāna as the play-ground of all sorts of demons, especially in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*<sup>77</sup>, and as the field of working for exorcisers and sorcerers. Mṛtapā is explained by Nīlakaṇṭha on *Mhbh.* XIII, 48, 21 with śmaśānādhikārin and by Rāma on *Rām.* I, 59, 19 with śavavastrādhīhāriṇaḥ. In the Comm. on *Dhammap.* (P. T. S. I, p. 68-70 we read from a susānagopikā, who instructs a follower of the Tathāgata about the rules on a burial-ground<sup>78</sup>.

76 U. Ch. Dutt, *Materia Medica*, Calcutta 1877, p. 266.

77 Cf. *AKM* VIII (1881), p. 6, 38 ff. A full description of a śmaśāna is given in *Śatapatha-Br.* XIII, 8, 1, 1 f.

78 This story is found now translated in the Buddhist Legends by E. W. Burlingame, *HQS* XXVIII, p. 185 ff.

Those persons, living on a burial-mound<sup>79</sup>, must announce the fact to the *susānagopakas* (*śmaśā-nago°*), to the oldest monk (*mahāthera*) and to the *gāmabhojaka* (*grāmabho°*), the freeholder of the village. About the work, which he has to perform, he is instructed that the corpses are to be placed on the funeral pyre and honored by perfumes and garlands and the performance of rites to be practised. King Hariścandra saw himself in a dream as a *pukkasa* performing the obsequies of the corpses on the burning-ground, for which duty he is paid (*Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* VIII, 132-134); here, VIII, 205-208 the *śmaśāna* is described, but in *S'atap.-Brāhm.* XIII, 8, 1ff. a full description is given.

All that is little for a sufficient explanation of a *śmaśānakarmānta*; it remains only probable that it means the burning of corpses and supplying of the necessary material and works.

In the next terms *upasthānakarmānta* has to be added<sup>80</sup>, the whole sentence forms a *tatpuruṣa*; the translation must be "establishments for lodging in,....." *upasthāna* has therefore here the meaning as P. W. s. v. 3 states: "stay".

15. *śāntyāgāra*, to be read with regard to *sūnyāgāra*, is a hall or temple for ceremonies, e. g. for the *nīrājana*-ceremony as described by *Varāham. Brhats.* 44, 1ff.

79 The *śmaśāna* as a dwelling-place is mentioned *Ācār.* I, 7, 2, 1. *Susānagopaka* corresponds with a Skt. *śmaśāna-pāla* in *Kathāsarits.* XVIII, 107,

80 The reading of the Mss. is not uniform. One Ms. has after each word *kammantāpi*.



16. *śūnyāgāra* "an empty house" is occurring also in Buddhist literature, but-as it seems-in different sense. To dwell in an empty house is interdicted by the Brahmanical religious law (*Manu* IV, 57; *Viṣṇu* LXX, 13). In Buddhist literature again the monks are repeatedly directed to meditate in a *suññāgāra*; there occurs often the expression: *etāni bhikkhave* (or *Ānand*, in *Majjh.-Nik.* I, 118; III, 332) *rukkhamūlāni etāni suññāgārāni*<sup>81</sup> *jhāyatha bhikkhave mā pamādattha mā pacchāvippatisārino ahuvattha* (एतानि भिक्खवे रुक्खमूलानि एतानि सुञ्जागाराणि ज्ञायथ भिक्खवे मा पमादत्थ मा पच्छाविप्पतिसारिनो अहुवत्थ) (*Ang.-Nik.* IV, 139; 392; *Samy.-Nik.* IV, 133; *Divyāv.* p. 344, 8-11). Different meanings are to be attributed to the word in *Dīgha-Nik.* VIII, 22 and XVI, 25.<sup>82</sup>

17. *girikandara* are "hill-caves;" in the rules, prescribed by Buddha, *Cullav.* VI, 1, 2; cf. *Mahāv.* I, 30, 4 *leṇas* are allowed to the *bhikṣus* and the inscriptions (cf. the Index in Lüders' *List* p. 221 s. v. *leṇa*) as well as the explorations

81 In connexion with *rukkhamūla* we find *suññāgāra* *Ang.-Nik.* III, 53 (45, 3); V, 109 (60, 4); V, 207 (99, 7); V, 323 (*Ekādasaka Nipāta* X, 3). Further cf. *Majjh.-Nik.* I, 33, 213; *Ang.-Nik.* V, 131 f. and *Mahāvvyutpatti* 126, 88: *br̥mhayitā śūnyāgārāṇām* (ब्रम्हयिता शून्यागाराणां) *Ang.-Nik.* V, 88 the monk shall be delighted in a *suññāgāra*. Cf. Monier-Williams, *Dictionary* s. v. *śūnyālaya*; according to the second edition the references are found in the first edition according to which "the sleeping in such a house is forbidden".

82 Cf. Franke's translation of the *Dīgha-Nik.* p. 189, n. 3.—*suññāgāra* occurs *Aup.* § 38; *Ācār.* I, 7, 2, 1; *Sūtrakṛt.* I, 2, 2, 13.

in Eastern Turkestan give the best testimonies for the part which caves played as dwelling-places for monks.

18. śānti? That a second śānti is impossible, cannot be denied; one Ms. omits it altogether, and in a similar passage in *Kalpas*. II. 89 we read girikaṃdarasaṃtisaṃdhi°, (गिरिकंदरसंतिसंधि) to each of these words-according to the Comm.-giha has to be added. The Comm. explains also saṃdhi-gr̥ha with bhittiyorantarāle pracchannasthānam (भित्तयोरन्तराले प्रच्छन्नस्थानम् ।).

19. śaila must again be read together with upasthānakarmānta and means therefore a lodging-place on hills.<sup>83</sup>

The interesting items of this enumeration are the public and probably royal establishments like sabhā, prapā, paṇyagr̥ha, yānaśālā; uncertain is the character, whether royal or private, of the karmāntas with sudhā, aṅgāra, kāṣṭha and the mysterious grass-sorts. Then the enumeration goes back to public buildings and places, fitted for the retirement of mendicants. Similar passages are found in *Acār*. I, 7, 2, 1; *Aup*. §38, *Kalpas*. II. 89. In the Buddhistic Sanskrit literature we meet

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83 A śailagr̥ha has been erected for the teacher: *Ajanta-Inscr.* (Report Arch. Survey W. I, IV 1884) p. 134, l. 6 and is mentioned in a *Karle-Inscription* (*Ep. Ind.* VII, p. 48 f. Ng. 1). E. Senart (p. 49) remarks: "In spite of the general meaning of selaghara it seems.....that the expression gr̥ha or ghara was habitually restricted to the halls used for worship, those which are generally styled chaitya caves."

in *Divyāv.* p. 344, 8f. the following passage: etāni bhikṣavo'raṇyāni śūnyāgārāni parvatākandaragīriguhāpalālapuñjābhyavakāśa śmaśānavanaprasthāni (एतानि भिक्षवोऽरण्यानि शून्यागाराणि पर्वतकन्दरगिरिगुहापलालपुञ्जाभ्यवकाशश्मशानवनप्रस्थानानि ॥) In *Ang.-Nik.* IV, 436f. we read: So vivittam senāsanam bhajati araṇṇam rukkhamaḷam pabbatam kandaram giriguham susānam vanapattam abbhokāsam palālapuñjam, so' raṇṇagato vā rukkhāmaḷagato vā suṇṇāgāragato vā nisidati. (सो विवित्तं सेनासनं भजति अरण्यं रुक्खमूलं पव्वतं कंदरं गिरिगुहं सुसाणं वनपत्तं अब्भोकासं पलालपुंजं सोऽरण्यागतो वा रुक्खमूलागतो वा सुन्नागारगतो वा निसीदति ॥). Such sets of words occur also in Brahmanical literature; e. g. *Manu* IX, 264-266 asks the king to watch over: sabhā, prapā, apūpaśālā, (veśamadyānnavikraya, catuṣpatha, caitya-vṛkṣa, samāja, prekṣaṇa, jīrṇodyāna), aranya, kārūkāveśana, śūnyāni āgārāni.

In such a phrase the enumeration can be well understood, because the places give occasion enough for the handicraft of robbers and thieves. But in the passage considered above we find different circumstances: there are different establishments, public, royal and private, only to be enumerated. It cannot be proved, but made probable that such a list must be an interpolation taken from another source, perhaps again from a lexicon. *Hemac. Abhidh.* 989 ff. gives such material (āveśana 1000, prapā 1001, paṇyāśālā 1002); *Amarak.* has II, 2, 6 ff.: sabhā, āyatana, vājisālā, āveśana, prapā; cf. *Halāy. Abhidh.* II, 138 f.; *Vaijayantī* 160, 39 f. We cannot conclude from these premises with certainty, but that there existed some connexion is hardly possible to be denied.

## II.

## 1 GEOGRAPHY.

## Names of towns.

In *Kalpas. II.* 122 these names of towns are found in the following list given in Skt. :

- |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Asthikagrāma | 7. Nālanda      |
| 2. Campā        | 8. Mithilā      |
| 3. Prṣṭhicampā  | 9. Bhadrīkā     |
| 4. Vaiśālī      | 10. Ālabhikā    |
| 5. Vāṇijagrāma  | 11. Paṇitabhūmi |
| 6. Rājagṛha     | 12. Śrāvastī    |
|                 | 13. Pāpā.       |

1. Asthikagrāma. In his translation (*SBE XXII*, p. 264. n. 2) H. Jacobi cites the Comm. according to which "it was formerly called Vardhamāna, but it has since been called Asthikagrāma, because a Yaksha Śūlapāṇi had there collected an enormous heap of bones of the people whom he had killed. On that heap of bones the inhabitants had built a temple." Accepting this story we must look for the town Vardhamāna.

In *Mhbh.* (I, 126, 9 ; III, 1, 10) occurs Vardhamānapura, a village according to Nilakaṇṭha on the second passage, which cannot be in connexion with the other places identified with our Vardhamāna. In Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā* we find a people Vardhamāna mentioned in XIV, 7 next to Tāmaliptika and Kośalaka,<sup>84</sup> located in

84 Cf. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn 1920, p. 107 and 117. Vardhamānapura is found also as a town in the West in the Jaina—*Harivaṃśa*, s. *Ind. Ant.* XV (1886), p. 141 f. Cf. Nundelal Dey, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), *Suppl.*, p. 25

the East, in the Bardwān region. The passages as XVI, 3; LXXIX, 21; XCIV, 2 speak from the mountain Vardhamāna, of which two occur in the Purāṇas; more to say seems impossible as long as the story alleged by Jacobi cannot be shown elsewhere.

2. Campā. A city, well known from Buddhist literature, four miles to the west of Bhagalpur, the capital of the Aṅga-kingdom.<sup>85</sup>

3. Prṣṭhicampā. There is no other explanation possible than the assumption to see in the name not the suburb, a certain part of the town Campā. In *Aup.* § 38 for instance Mahāvira stays not in the town Campā; but bāhhiṃ; the meaning of Prṣṭhicampā seems to be something like "High-Campā" or the "Acropolis of Campā." The ruins of a fort, Kaṇagaḍ, exist till today.<sup>86</sup>

4. Vaiśālī, and 5. Vāṇijagrāma. Few (places of India, besides Pāṭaliputra perhaps none), attract and deserve the interest of students of Ancient India in such a high degree as it is the case with Vesālī, one of the central places in

s. v. Barddhamāna 2. In *Aṅg.-Nik.* V, 342, 346, f. occurs Atṭhakanāgara on the way to Pāṭalimitra; should there exist a connexion between Atṭhakanāgara and Atṭhiyaggāma?

85 Cf. Mark Collins, *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa*,.....*Dissertation* Leipzig 1907, p. 23 ff.; V. A. Smith, *Early History*, third ed. 1914, p. 31; N. Dey, *l. c.* P. 44-46.

86 Cf. N. Dey, *l. c.* p. 44.

the history of Buddhism as well as in that of the religion of Mahāvīra.

It is not possible, without autopsy, even without a good map of India, to discuss the problems connected with the ancient site of Vaiśālī; therefore the few remarks are given here in a tentative form; a future inquiry which must be based on the whole Indian literature, especially on the Buddhist and Jinist, down to the records of the Chinese pilgrims.

Three theories about the site of Vaiśālī have been made: 1. That which is expressed by A. Cunningham and completed by V. A. Smith,<sup>87</sup> locating the town at the modern village of Basār (basād) and the neighbouring villages in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihār. 2. In a letter to Prof. Rhys Davids, W. Vost expressed his opinion "that Vaiśālī city was situated in the Chaparā District of Bengal, and is represented by the extensive remains of the undescribed walled city of Mānjhī, on the left bank of the Ghāgharā (Gogrā) river, opposite to the confluence of this river with the old bed of the Ganges."<sup>88</sup> 3. A third, similar to the former, is dealt with by W. Hoey in *JASB* XLIX 1900 77 ff., (shortly repeated *JRAS* 1907, p. 46), assuming the site of Vaiśālī eighteen miles to the west from Paleza Ghāt, at Cherand, seven miles towards the south-east by east of Chaparā.

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87 *JRAS* 1902, p. 267/288 with a map.

88 *JRAS* 1903, p. 583. The promised paper has—as far as I see—never been published.

The indications for the topography of Vaiśālī, as laid down in Jain works, are discussed by A. F. R. Hoernle in his translation of the *Uvāsagadāsā*.<sup>89</sup> He pointed out that Vāṇiyagāma is another name of the well known city of Vesālī, that Kuṇḍagāma or Kuṇḍapura is an equivalent for Vesālī. Vāṇiyagāma may be found in the existing modern place of Baniyā (Buneean), lying north-west of Basār.<sup>90</sup> Should this identification be correct, then Vāṇiyagāma could not be another name of Vaiśālī, and *Kalpas*. (II. 122) explains that Mahāvīra is said to have stayed twelve years in Vaiśālī and Vāṇijagrāma. A further proof against the view held by Hoernle is the analogous connexion between Rājagrha and its suburb Nālanda. Kuṇḍapura cannot be equivalent to Vaiśālī, because it in *Kalpas*. (100) has again suburbs and is described as nagara. An argument against this view is also the name of Mahāvīra as Vaiśālian.

A. Weber and H. Jacobi<sup>91</sup> have remarked that the Indian Comm. did not understand the term, found in *Sūtrakṛt*. (I, 2. 3); *Utt.*, (VI, 17.) But a closer consideration will show that the term is without value. Jacobi stated himself (*SBE* XLV, p. 261 n. 1) that the passage (evam se udāha...arahā Nāyaputte bhagavaṃ Vesālie (एवं से उदाह अरहा नायपुत्ते वेसालिए ॥) is a contradiction to the supposition that the whole lesson was pronounced by Rṣabha; Mahāvīra, on the other hand, could not have said about his own person (*Sūtrakṛt*. I, 2,

89 *Bibl. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 3 ff., n. 3.

90 Smith, *l. c.*, p. 272 f.

91 Cf. *SBE* XXII, p. XI.

26) mahayā mahesiṇā (महया महेसिणा). In *Utt.* (VI, 17) we find the term only in prose annexed to a metrical chapter and neither the Comm. on *Sūtrakṛt* nor that on *Utt.* knows anything about the origin of the name Vaiśālīka.<sup>92</sup>

In the following lines may be shown from another standpoint the inconsistency of the historical circumstances respecting Mahāvīra's birth-place and family with the geographical data.

The father of the founder of the Jain religion was the kṣatriya Siddhārtha (*Ācār.* II, 15, 4), to which two other names (*Ācār.* II, 15, 15), are assigned: Sejjaṃsa and Jaṣaṃsa.<sup>93</sup> According to the remarks made by Hoernle he was "the chief of Nāya-clan, resident in the Kollāga suburb of the city of Vesālī or Kuṇḍagāma."<sup>94</sup> Kollāga is situated in a north-easterly direction of Vāṇija-grāma, whose king was Jiyasattū (*Uvās.* I. 3). The king of Videha was Ceṭaka, while Jiyasattū is also mentioned as king of Śrāvastī.<sup>95</sup> But we know from Buddhist sources that there existed in Vaiśālī the oligarchy of the Licchavis. Now we have the following relations between the residences:

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92 33): Cf. A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XVI (1883), p. 261; *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prākṛit-Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek.* Zu Berlin, II, 3 p. 424 n. 1, 434, n. 5.

93 Probably Śreyāṃsa and Yaśaṃsa.

94 *Uvās. transl.* p. 5, note.

95 Hoernle, *l. c.* p. 103, n. 246.



## VIDEHA: KING CETAKA

Śrāvastī,	Mithilā,	Vāṇijagrāma,
Ālabhiyā <sup>96</sup>	Vaiśālī = Kuṇḍagrāma	
Licchavis	suburb: Kollāga <sup>97</sup>	Jiyasattū
	king: Siddhārtha	

It is quite impossible that such a complicated ruling of the Videha country and the city of Vaiśālī has any degree of likelihood; and the assumption of the identity of Jiyasattū with Cetaka is based on nothing. Cetaka is mahārāja, (*Kalpas.* -Comm. 128), king of Vaiśālī and of Videha;<sup>98</sup> his daughter Triśalā is Mahāvira's mother (*Ācār.* II, 15, 15); she is named therefore Videhadattā and Mahāvira therefore again Videha (*Ācār.* II, 15, 17; *Kalpas.* 110). And because Vaiśālī was in this time the capital of Videha, Mahāvira is named also Vaiśālian.

Buddhist writings give another picture of Vesālī. The Koṭigāma is mentioned, near the city (*Mahāvagga* VI, 30); another village is Beluva. In *Dīgha-Nik.* (XVI, 2, 21; XVI, 3, 2) are described the cetiyas of Vesālī: Udena-, Gotamaka-<sup>99</sup> Sattambaka-, Bahuputra-, Sārandada- and Cāpāla-cetiya. Less importance can be laid on the des-

96 Cf. *Uvās. l. c.* p. 6. n. 9 and *Uvās. text* IV, 155.

97 Perhaps the modern Kolluā (*JRAS* 1902, p. 283).

98 *Uvās. transl.* p. 6, n. 9.

99 R. O. Franke, *Dīgha-Nikāya, transl.* p. 204, n. 5, is right to say that the cetiyas are sometimes trees; *Divyāv.* 201, 5 and 14 the Gautamanyagrodha is mentioned as a cetiya of Vaiśālī.

cription in *Dulva* (III, fol. 80<sup>100</sup>); it may be connected with *Mahāvagga* (VIII, 1) in any way.

So much about Vaiśālī and Vāṇijagrāma; but the chapter of the "history of Vaiśālī" is not yet written.<sup>101</sup> It seems that the coincidence between Buddhist and Jini-st literature respecting Vaiśālī is not great and it seems further that the Licchavis do not play the same role in the time of Mahāvīra as in Buddha's time.<sup>102</sup>

6. Rājagṛha and 7. Nālanda. According to the *Bhagavati*<sup>103</sup> Nālanda was a bāhiriya of Rāyagiha (p. 1206) and the same expression we meet in *Kalpas* (II, 122); from *Sūtrakṛt.* (II; 7, 1) we learn that it was situated in a north-eastern direction. In *Dīgha-Nik.* (I, 1, 1; XI, 1) Nālanda is represented as a greater town, near Rājagṛha. It is possible that the growth of villages, former suburbs, led to independent towns; in the *Mahāvūtpatti* (193, 18) Śrīnālandaḥ is mentioned, separate from Rājagṛha. This town is the modern Rājgir, NE from Gāya, SE from Patnā.<sup>104</sup> The monastery of Nālanda, according to I-tsing, was

100 W. W. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, London 1907, p. 62.

101 A short article has been published by V. A. Smith in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics* XII, p. 567 f.: cf. *JRAS* 1905, p. 152-154.

102 to p. 34: Cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 26.

103 Cited by Hoernle, *Uvās. transl. App.* I, p. 1.

104 V. A. Smith, *Early History*, p. 31, n. 1.

distant from Rājagṛha 5 krośa; today Nālanda may be Bargaon.<sup>105</sup>

8. Mithilā, known by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, has not yet been identified; it was a city of Videha.<sup>106</sup>

9. Bhadrīkā. This place runs in Pkt. Bhaddiyā and is found under the same form in Pāli. According to *Mahāvagga* (V, 8, 1) Buddha comes from Bārāṇasī to Bhaddiyā and goes (V, 9, 1) from here to Śrāvastī (Sāvatthi); from Sāvatthi he comes to Bhaddiyanagara (*Jāt*, II, 331 [264]). It must have, therefore, been situated in a northern direction from Benares on the way to Śrāvastī. Bhaddiyanagara is its name in *Mahāvagga* (VI, 34, 1); here it is represented as a city under the regime of the Magadha king Seṇiya Bimbisāra;

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105 *JA s.* XI, t. XI (1918), p. 157. For the importance of Nālanda in archæological respect cf. V. A. Smith, *ÆRÆ* IX, p. 126 f. The Correct spelling of the modern name is, according to T. Bloch, *JRAS* 1909, p. 440 Bargaṇ, who p. 441-3 informs about his own, but short journey therewith. Known only by the brief notice by V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1917, p. 154 f.; *ibid.* 1919, p. 239 f. are to me the undertaken explorations, for which see L. B. Spooner, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Eastern Circle, for 1916-1917. About the distance between Rājagṛha and Nālanda s. *JA s.* XI, t. XI (1918), p. 157.

106 According to T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 37 in the district Tirhut. I do not know the source, from which H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 68, n. 1 argues that Mithilā and Viśālā have grown together in Buddhist times. Rhys Davids, on the contrary, *l. c.* p. 26 says that Mithilā was about thirty-five miles north-west from Vesālī. For the size of the Videha-country and of Mithilā cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *JRAS*, 1907, p. 642-649.

he says (VI, 34,) 3 : ambhākaṃ kira vijite Bhaddiy-anagare...(अम्हाकं किर विजिते भदियनगरे ।). In *Divyāvad.* (125, 11 ff.) the Buddha determines on going to Bhadrāṃkaranagara, while staying at Śrāvastī (126, 16). Bhaddiyā is according to *Dhammap.-Comm.* (I, 384); Sp. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, (first edition; 220) in the Aṅga-country; inasmuch as Śreṇika Bimbisāra conquered and annexed the kingdom of Aṅga,<sup>107</sup> the two indications do not contradict the historical facts. The Mahāmāyūrī, which belongs to a time prior to the fourth or fifth cent. A. D.,<sup>108</sup> mentions (66, 3)<sup>109</sup> the city Bhadrīkā and as the next, Pāṭaliputra (67, 1); it is, because Pāṭaliputra appears (1, 2), very probable to assume with Silvain Lévi the identity of Bhadrāpura (in 2, 2).<sup>110</sup> The twice mentioned neighbourhood of Pāṭaliputra would agree well with the notice that Bhadrīkā belonged to the Aṅga-kingdom, respecting the Magadha empire, but

107 Sp. Hardy, l. c., p. 163, n. \*; Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 70, where Campā (s. above) is already in the Magadha kingdom, cf. p. 90. The close relation of the Aṅga and Magadha kingdom is indicated also by the expression Aṅga-Magadhā, *Majjh-Nik.* II, 2; *Paramatthaj.* I, p. 115; II, p. 326, 384.

108 Cf. S. Lévi *JA* s. XI, t. V (1915), p. 19; M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur* II, p. 271 and 380.

109 *JA*, l. c. p. 48.

110 S. Lévi is not right in declaring (l. c. p. 99) in the Sāñchi-Stūpa-inscription N 187 (Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* II, p. 377) Bhaddikiyasa as the inhabitant of Bhaddikiyā; we must rather expect Bhaddiyakasa, further No. 306 (*Ep. Ind.* II, p. 389) names a bhikkhu Bhaddika from Kuraghara. Bhaddiya is a name of bhikkhus, theras and khattiyas, very often occurring.

it does not agree with the situation concluded from *Mahāvagga* (V, 8 ff). The explanation can only be to interpret the *Mahāvagga*-passages in another way or to give up the identification. The latter possibility is less admissible, except that there existed two cities with the same name. The first way is also only practicable by the interpretation that the Buddha was not going directly from Benares to Bhaddiyā and from here to Śrāvastī, but that these are only points of his travelling; going from Rājagṛha (*Mahāvagga* V, 7, 1) to Benares, then back to Bhadrīkā and from here in a northern direction to Śrāvastī. We learn from the *Dhammap.-Comm.* (I, 384 f.) that king Pasenadi comes, travelling from Bhaddiyana-gara, to a place which is distant from Pasenadi's capital, Sāvattī, seven yojanas; here he founds the town Sāketa. In this connexion it may be remembered that Fa-Hian knows the place Shā-che eight yojanas north from Śrāvastī, which is an error, because the latter town lay in a north-eastern direction from Shā-che.<sup>111</sup> Shā-che has been identified by A. Cunningham with Sāketa; In spite of the objection by V. A. Smith<sup>112</sup> we will see that there is still another point which speaks for identification. The monastery of the Jātiyāvāna is mentioned on frequent passages in the Buddhist literature, near Bhaddiyā.

10. Ālabhikā. In his note on *Uvās.* (IV. 155) Hoernle<sup>113</sup> made the attempt to identify

111 V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1898, p. 523.

112 *JRAS*, 1900, p. 3; cf. W. Vest, *JRAS*, 1905, p. 437-449.

113 *Uvās. transl. App.* III, p. 51-53,

the here-mentioned town Ālabhiyā with Alow in Sp. Hardy's, *Manual of Buddhism* (p. 261 cf. p. 356),<sup>114</sup> and with Ā-le in Fa-Hian's *Travels*. He saw in this place the modern Newal, called Navadevakula by Hiuen-Tsiang.

The town Ālavi is familiar to Buddhist literature with the story of the Yakṣa Ālavaka, residing there and converted by Buddha. V. A. Smith<sup>115</sup> points out that Ā-le (in Legge's transcription) must be either Bāṅgarmāu or Jogī Koṭ, four and a half miles east of Newal. While the Chinese text of Fa-Hian gives the distance from Ā-le to Shā-che in south-eastern direction as ten yojanas, the Korean text has only three. For our purpose it is irrelevant whether the distance is ten or three yojanas, it is sufficient to know that Ā-le must be located near Shā-che and Śrāvastī. A proof for this view is *Cullav.* (VI, 17, 1); the Buddha comes from Kiṭāgiri<sup>116</sup> to Ālavi and goes from here to Rājagṛha (VI, 21, 1).

114 The book must be cited in the edition of the year 1860, because the newer edition of the year 1880 is not here in the Library.

115 *JRAS*, 1898, p. 520 f.; cf. also N. Dey, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), Suppl. s. v. Ālavi, p. 3, who gives Airwa.

116 The situation of Kiṭāgiri is generally clear from *Cullav.* I, 13, 1 ff. The followers of Assaji and Punabbasu are dwelling in Kiṭāgiri. A bhikkhu arrives at this place, coming from Kāsi, and goes on to visit the Buddha, then staying at Śrāvastī. Kiṭāgiri must therefore be placed on the way from Benares to Śrāvastī. I, 13, 5 the bhikkhu declares to be arrived from the land of Kāsi, after dressing in the morning, at Kiṭāgiri; whether the same day, is uncertain, but it seems so.

That is the argument, mentioned above (p. 35. f.) that all the towns: Shā-che, Ālavi and Bhadrīkā must be placed in the northern portion of the triangle, formed by Rājagṛha, Benares and Śrāvastī.

According to Fa-Hian (p. 54 in Legge's translation) Ā-le is situated three yojanas south from the northern bank of the Ganges, near Kanauj. From here three yojanas to south-east he reached Shā-che and Shā-che lay eight yojanas south-east<sup>117</sup> from Śrāvastī. There is no question that the text is wrong declaring Shā-che in a northern direction from Śrāvastī; we have, I think, one proof for this emendation in the passage of the *Dhammap.-Comm.* (I, 384), where Shā-che (Sāketa) is founded at a place distant seven yojanas south from Pasenadi's capital Śrāvastī, and a second in *Majjh.-Nik.* (I, 149); here king Pasenadi uses, staying in Sāvatthi, and going to Sāketa, seven rathavinitas, that is to say, seven relay-posts, an institution known from Persia (cf. *SWA* 191, 5 p. 21, 323 f.). In this region, south or south-east, we must look for Bhaddiyā, in the northern corner of Bihār.<sup>118</sup> But who is to

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117 V. A. Smith assumes, *JRAS*, 1898, p. 523, eighteen or nineteen.- There is a difference in *Dhammap.-Comm.* I, p. 387 in comparison with Sp. Hardy, *Manual* p. 221, where the king says, his city is only seven yojanas in size and Dhanañjaya thinks it therefore too small for his retinue. That Sāketa was on the way to Sāvatthi is also evident from *Mahāvagga* I, 66, 1; 67, 1; VI, 1, 1 f.; cf. W. Vest, *JRAS* 1905, p. 437 ff., esp. p. 440-445.

118 Could the modern Bettiah be the ancient Bhaddiya-Bhadrīkā?

reconcile such a result with the statement that Bhaddiyā lay in the Aṅga-kingdom?

It is true that in the *Dhammap.*-Comm. (I, 384) the Aṅgaratṭha is mentioned, in which Bhaddiyā was situated. But in *Dhammap.*-Comm. (III, 363) we read: Satthā kira Aṅguttarāpesu cārikaṃ caranto...Bhaddiyanagaram gantvā...(सत्था किर अंगुत्तरापेसु चारिकं चरतो.....भद्धियनगरं गत्वा...). This country Aṅguttarāpa occurs in *Mahāvagga* (VI, 34, 17), wherein Buddha comes from Bhaddiyā and also in *Suttanipāta* (1917 ed. Fausboll p. 99, ed. PTS p. 102). The Comm., *Paramatthajotikā* (II, p. 102), remarks: Aṅguttarāpesū ti Aṅgā eva so janapado, Gaṅgāya pana yā uttarena āpo tāsam avidūratā Uttarāpā ti vuccati (अंगुत्तरापेसु ति अंगा एव सो जनपदो गंगाय पन या उत्तरेन आपो तासं अविदुरत्ता उत्तरापाना ति वुच्चति । cf. p. 439 and 440, where Aṅguttarāpānam ratṭham (अंगुत्तरापानं रट्ठं) is mentioned). This explanation based on etymology, may be little satisfying, but it shows the affinity between Aṅguttarāpa and Aṅga.<sup>119</sup> Should it now be impossible that this country Aṅguttarāpa, whose nigama was Āpaṇa, is the Aṅga-kingdom of the *Dhammap.*-Comm. (I, 384) or did there exist a second, northern Aṅga?

Ālavi is, according to the *Paramatthajotikā* (II, 217) on *Suttanip.* (10), a kingdom and a town: ratṭham pi nagaram pi vuccati, tadubhayam pi idha vaṭṭati (रट्ठं पि नगरं पि वुच्चति तदुभयं पि इध वट्ठति); therefore the Comm. speaks Ālavinagara an Ālavaratṭham. The name of Ālavi is found further in the *Paramatthaj.* (II, 265, 269,

119 Buddha is staying in Aṅguttarāpa: *Majjh-Nik.* I, 359 (54.); 447 (59.).



344); in the *Suttanip.* (1917 ed. Fausboll p. 34, ed. *PTS* p. 33) Ālavī is probably identical with Aṭavi, whose Yakṣa is Āṭavaka (cf. Ālavaka<sup>120</sup>) in the *Mahāmāyūri* (15 1); the foundation of this town is narrated in the *Mūla-Sar-Vāstivādin-Vinaya* and falls, according to this source, under the king Bimbisāra.<sup>121</sup> In the *Bhagavatī*<sup>122</sup> the caitya Pannakālaga outside Ālabhiyā is mentioned.

11. Paṇiyabhūmi or Paṇitabhūmi, as Jacobi renders the Pkt.-form, is a town, whose identification has not yet been found. Hoernle<sup>123</sup> is right to say that in *Kalpas* the proper name is natural, but in the *Bhagavatī*<sup>124</sup> the meaning is unclear and also the number of years inconsistent with that of *Kalpas*. According to the Comm. Paṇiyabhūmi was a place in Vajrabhūmi.

From the context in *Kalpas*, as well as in *Bhagavatī* it is quite unclear where Paṇiyabhūmi

120 The demon Ālavaka is well known; in the Fe-shing-tsan-king by Dharmarakṣa (a Chinese form of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, written between 414-421 A. D.) occurs Verse 1695 a demon Alava on the mount Ala (*SBE* XIX, p. 244). The cetiya is named Aggālava, e. g. *Suttanipāta* 12; *Dhammap-Comm.* III, p. 170; *Jāt.* I, 160 (16.); II, 282 (253.); III, 18 (323.); *Aṅg.-Nik.* IV, 216; *Samy.-Nik.* I, 185; *Paramatthaj.* II, 2 ff.; (F, Spiegel, *Anecdota Pālica* p. 83 ff.).

121 S. Lévi, *JA* s. XI, t. V (1915), p. 64; cf. H. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism* (Grundriss III, 8) p. 37, n. 2-

122 Transl. by E. Leumann in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, App. p. 255:- The town Aṭavi in *Mhbh.* II, 31, 72 has nothing to do with Ālavī.

123 *Uvās. transl.* App. III, p. 54.

124 E. Leumann in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, App. p. 250.

should be located. But it seems to be logical to assume that the enumeration of the towns could be hardly arranged topsy-turvy that Śrāvastī in the north and Ālabhikā, probably also Bhadrīkā should include a place not lying in the north. And further it seems probable that Paṇiyabhūmi was near Śrāvastī. Now there exists an inscription of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāladeva (Dighwā-Dubaulī plate<sup>125</sup>); in line 8 there is mentioned a village Pāṇiyakagrāma in the Śrāvastī-bhukti and Vālayikā-ṣaṣaya.<sup>126</sup> The Skt.-form, however, of Paṇiyabhūmi is not quite certain; Paṇyabhūmi is also possible; but perhaps for the proposed identification the difference in the quality of the vowels is of less importance.

12. Śrāvastī. It is a sad fact that regarding the correct identification of Śrāvastī there is no agreement between the archaeologists and historians of India. The statements of Cunningham and Hoey have been twice rejected by V. A. Smith.<sup>127</sup> J. Ph. Voey<sup>128</sup> has attempted to justify Cunningham's view, supported by new discoveries of inscriptions.

13. Pāpā. The last of the towns, here considered, is Pāpā or Pāvā, playing a great

125 *Ind. Ant.* XV (1886), p. 112 f., Kielhorn's *List Ep. Ind.* VIII, Appendix p. 74, No. 542.

126 *ṣaṣaya* is, it seems, the administrative district, bhukti the centre of the reign; cf. *Ind. Ant.* XV, p. 306, l. 29: *tīrabhuktau Kakṣavaiṣayikasvasambaddhā°* (तीरभुक्तौ कक्षवैषयिकस्वसम्बद्धा°).

127 *JRAS* 1898, p. 520-531; 1900, p. 1-24; cf. *ibid.* 1905, p. 441, n. 1.

128 *JRAS* 1908, p. 971-975.

role in the Buddhist literature as being the place where Buddha,—according to *Dīgha-Nik* (XVI, 4, 13 f.)—took his fateful meal.

This Pāvā is represented by the modern village Papaur or Pappaur (Pāvāpura), three miles east of Aliganj Sewan, between Gogra and Gandak, both the tributaries of the Ganges on the left side.<sup>129</sup> The determination of this place is dependent on that of Kuśinagara. But there is a *petitio principii* inasmuch as the site of Kuśinagara or Kusinārā is again the object of controversies. It seems, however, that the view, held by V. A. Smith,<sup>130</sup> that Kasiā is Vethadīpa, is correct and Kuśinagara must be located at 84°51' E. L. and 27°32' N. L., in Nepal at the confluence of the Little Raptī with the Gandak.

Assuming such a statement—and the records of the Chinese pilgrims exclude another one—Pāvā must be sought in a region, not too far off Kuśinagara. There is no doubt that we must place all the mentioned towns: Bhadrīkā, Ālabhikā, Kuśinagara in a more or less close vicinity of Śrāvastī. In *Dīgha-Nik*. IV, 1 (= *Mahā-parinibbāna*) the Buddha comes via Vesālī to Bhaṇḍa-gāma, Hatthigāma (5), Ambagāma, Jambugāma, and Bhoganagara (6) to Pāvā (13). (IV,

129 Hoey's statement in *JASB* LXIX, Part I, (1900), p. 80 cited by R. O. Franke, *Dīghanikāya*, transl. p. 222, n. 1.

130 *JRAS*, 1902, p. 139–163; *RR*, VII, p. 761–763; the further literature is given on the latter place. For Vethadīpa s. also *JRAS* 1908, p. 164 and Smith's article.

33) a Mallian Pukkusa is passing the high-road from Kusinara to Pāvā. And from there Buddha comes to Kusinārā *Dīgha-Nik.* (XVI, 4, 20,<sup>131</sup>) From Pāvā To Kusinārā led another way from Vesālī (*Mahāvagga* VI, 30, 6) via Āpaṇa, which is in the *Āṅguttarāpa Mahāvagga* (VI, 35, 36,) and via Atumā from Śrāvastī *Mahāvagga* (VI, 37, 38). The east-direction of all these places cannot be in question.

In *Dīgha-Nik.* (XXIX, 1) the Buddha receives the news from Mahāvīra's death in Pāvā, while staying in the Sakka-country. Franke<sup>132</sup> remarked in connexion with *Dīgha-Nik.* (XXXIII, 1, 66) that Buddha was at the same time in the Sakka-country and in Pāvā. Such a conclusion is wrong. In *Majjh.-Nik.* (II, 243 1041) we read: Ekam samayaṃ Bhagavā Sakkesu viharati Sāmagāme. Tena kho pana samayena Nigaṇṭho Nātaputto Pāvāyaṃ adhunā kālagato hoti...(p. 244). Atha kho Cundo samaṇuddeso Pāvāyaṃ vassavuttho yena Sāmagāmo yen āyasmā Ānando ten upasaṃkami...(एकं समयं भगवा सक्केसु विहरति सामगामे तेन खो पन समयेन निगंठो नातपुत्तो पावायं अधुना कालगतो होति...अथ खो चुंदो समणुद्देशो पावायं वस्सवुत्थो येन सामगामो येन आयस्मा आनंदो तेन उपसंकमि।) The conclusion is possible that Pāvā must be near Sāmagāma in the Sakka-country, but never that Buddha was in Pāvā. And also the identity of this samaṇuddesa Cunda with the kammāraputta of *Dīgha-Nik.* (XVI, 4,13) is not plausible, because this latter can be the son of the older Cunda of *Dīgha-Nik.* (XXIX) and *Majjh.-Nik.* (II, 244).

131 Cf. *Cullav.* XI, 1, 1.

132 In his *Dīghanikāya-transl.* p. XLII, n. 1.

But that does not involve the necessity that Pāvā must be situated in the Sakka-country; latter, on the foot of the Nepal hills, "to the north of the modern Bastī and Gorakhpur Districts"<sup>133</sup> is near the region, where Pāpā has to be sought. It was necessary to state that, because there could arise the problem of another Pāvā; for in *Digha-Nik.* (XXXIII, 1, 1) Pāvā is named Mallānaṃ nagaram (मल्लनं नगरं) XXXIII, 1, 2, the Mallas are named Pāveyyaka. Because the Sakka-territory was in the neighbourhood of the Malla-territory,<sup>134</sup> the identity of these two Pāvās is out of question. Now there existed still a second Pāvā, says J. Charpentier,<sup>135</sup> near Rājagrha and this scholar denies that this Pāvā could be the same where Mahāvīra died. It is quite correct that Mahāvīra did not pass away in the Pāvā near Rājagrha, but not, because the two are not identical, rather because there did not exist a second Pāvā.

First no source is known where such a statement will be found; further the above cited passages from Buddhist works and the place of Pāvā in the list make it clear that Pāvā could only be the Malla-Pāvā.<sup>136</sup> Only later sources

133 Smith, *Early History* p. 29 and n. 2.

134 T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* p. 26.

135 *The Cambridge History of India I*, Cambridge 1922, p. 163.

136 J. Charpentier, *Ind. An.t.* XLIII (1914), p. 228, cf. p. 177.- The attribute majjhimā (*Kalpos.* II. 122, 123, 147) does not involve that there existed three Pāvās nor does it mean a Pāvā in the madhyadeśa; the meaning is that Mahāvīra died midden (?) in the city in the king's palace, the

give the information of Mahāvīra's death in consequence of the discourse with Upālī.<sup>137</sup> But-it seems to me-here is a problem: we hear that Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta died sixteen years before Mahāvīra<sup>138</sup> in consequence of an attack against the latter; the whole story of Upālī seems to be a doublet of the Gosāla-episode, inasmuch as the old texts know nothing about that.<sup>139</sup> The invention of a second Pāvā is due to the rencontre between Upālī and Mahāvīra, because the first visited Buddha, while staying in Nālanda; and if in the Amāvatāra Sp. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, P. 271 stands: "In consequence of these things the tirttika declared that his rice-bowl was broken, his subsistence gone; and he went to the city of Pāvā and there died", it is like a doublet of Gosāla's end. But to conclude from this passage that Pāvā was near Nālanda or Rājagṛha is, considering the other indications, quite inadmissible.<sup>140</sup> Finally according to some passages in Jain-works there shall exist a Pāvā in the Bhamgi-country or Gambhi-territory;<sup>141</sup> from other sources nothing is known about such a town.

rajjusabhā, while he otherwise-as Buddha-atayed out of the city in caityas.

137 J. Charpentier, *l. c.*, p. 128.

138 *Uvās. transl.* App. p. 6 (from the *Bhagavatī* p. 150 a).

139 J. Charpentier, *l. c.*, p. 128.

140 Pāvā has been placed by H. T. Cole-brooke, *Miscellaneous Essays* (ed. by E. D. Cowell, London 1873) II, p. 193, n. 2. Near Rājagṛha, in Bibār. Cf. Fr. Koeppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, Berlin 1906, I, p. 114 f., n. 3.

141 In Nemicandra's *Pravacanas*. (Weber, *Verzeichniss* No. 1939, p. 854 f.) Pāvā is located in the Bhamgi-country; cf. A. Weber, *Ind. stud.* XVI, d. 398 and n. 3; *Verzeichniss* II, 2, No. 1837, p. 562.

If Pāvā has been a town in the Malla-territory, then Hastipāla was a Malla-knight, a rājā in the sense of Suddhodana, Siddhārtha etc.

The foregoing remarks have shown how abundant the material is, met with in Jain-works as well as in Buddhist literature and how the combination of both is able to elucidate some problem of geography, but also problems of general interest.

In *Suttanip.* (1011-1013) is found a short list of towns: Sāketa, Sāvatti, Kapilavatthu, Kusinārā, Pāvā, Bhoganagara. For the age of our list it seems probable to assume a higher one; an argument for this view is already the coincidence of the Jainist and Buddhist writings, in which latter the oldest parts of the canon offer indication. An argumentum ex silentio - of course with all its weakness - is the missing of some of the towns in works of later times, like the Purāṇas or the kośas (*Hemac. Abhidh.* 973-980; *Halāy Abhidh.* II, 132; *Mahāvvyutpatti* 193).

### III. MAGISTRATES.

#### 1. State-officials.

In *Aup.* § 38 we read that the inhabitants of Campā are in excitement: Mahāvīrā is coming in the Pūrṇabhadra-caitya and the people want to worship the Saint. There wander the whole people, but also the high class of the residence to the place. A fuller list of the official persons is found in *Aup.* § 15, while *Aup.* § 48 shows a greater number, but never so a large one as § 15. This list occurs again in *Kalpas.* II. 61. (Cf. the synopsis).

*Aup.* § 15

- 1 gaṇanāyaga
- 2 daṇḍanāyaga
- 3 rāṣara
- 4 talavara
- 5 māḍambiya
- 6 koḍumbiya
- 7 manti
- 8 mahāmanti
- 9 gaṇaya
- 10 dovāriya
- 11 amacca
- 12 ceda
- 13 piḍhamadda
- 14 nagara- } setṭhi
- 15 nigama }
- 16 seṇāvai
- 17 satthavāha
- 18 dūya
- 19 sandhivāla

*Aup.* § 38

- 1 bhada
- 2 joha
- 3 pasatthar
- 4 rāṣara
- 5 talavara
- 6 koḍumbiya
- 7 māḍambiya
- 8 setṭhi
- 9 seṇāvai
- 10 satthavāha

*Aup.* § 23

- 1 bhada
- 2 joha
- 3 seṇāvai
- 4 pasatthar

*Aup.* § 48

- 1 gaṇanāyaga
- 2 daṇḍanāyaga
- 3 rāṣara
- 4 talavara
- 5 māḍambiya
- 6 koḍumbiya
- 7 setṭhi
- 8 seṇāvai
- 9 satthavāha
- 10 dūya
- 11 sandhivāla

*Kalpas.* II. § 61

- 1 gaṇanāyaga
- 2 daṇḍanāyaga
- 3 rāṣara
- 4 talavara
- 5 māḍambiya
- 6 koḍumbiya
- 7 manti
- 8 mahāmanti
- 9 gaṇaya
- 10 devāriya

- 11 amacca
- 12 ceda
- 13 piḍhamadd
- 14 nagara- } setṭhi
- 15 nigama }
- 16 seṇāvai
- 17 satthavāha
- 18 dūya
- 19 sandhipāla



To consider first the passage *Aup.* § 38 the names rājanya, kṣatriya and brāhmaṇa offer no interest; there may be discussed those terms which are missing in the other lists.

bhaḍa. The bhaḍa, bhaṭa in Skt., is a kind of soldier; the nextstanding yodha (johā) makes it probable that he was of a higher degree. In the dramatic works by Bhāsa the bhaṭa, often occurring, has the employment to bring reports to the king and officials and from them. There is little doubt that the word is a Prākṛitism of Skt. bhr̥ta; the meaning may be "sergeant."<sup>142</sup>

pasatthar. Leumann cites in his *Glossary* s. v. p. 136: dharmasāstrapāṭhaka. It is very doubtful what a scholar in law-books had to do in the neighbourhood of soldiers. In *Aup* § 23 occur bhaḍā johā seṇāvai pasatthāro (भडा जोहा सेणावई पसत्थारो); that here so peaceful a man like a dharmasāstra-scholar could be meant is impossible, the context compels rather to the explanation of of the word as a military term. Indeed, the praśāstr̥ of the *Kauṭ.* *Arthas.* is the commander-in-chief of the technical body of an army.<sup>143</sup>

The following names of knights: Mallas, Licchavis and Licchaviputras would deserve a historical digression, which, however, restricted only to this passage, would be valueless. Therewith the terms are attached which are found in the fuller list.

142 In the *Deśināmamālā* 289 the word goho "man" is explained by bhaṭa; cf. J. Charpentier, *Indo germanische Forschungen* XXIX (1911-1912) p. 380 f.

143 Cf. *SWA* 191, 5 p. 157 f.

1. gaṇanāyaga is Skt. gaṇanāyaka, the "leader of a gaṇa". Few terms are so ambiguous like gaṇa; the different meanings are discussed by R. Mookerji and R. Ch. Majumdar.<sup>144</sup> The Comm. on *Kalpās* II. 61 explains prakṛtinahattarā, an insignificant expression, the higher officials of the people; or, if prakṛti means here one of the fundamental elements of the government, the higher officials of the amātya-prakṛti. But such an explanation is hardly correct, because the special resorts of the government are represented by individual persons as daṇḍanāyaga, mahāmanti, amacca and others. The common meaning of gaṇa, "corporation," in any sense, political, mercantile, seems also to be less plausible, in consequence of the titles, enumerated in the list. And in the same way there must be rejected an explanation of gaṇa in the sense of a religious community.<sup>145</sup> Gaṇa has originally the meaning of attendents, gaṇanāyaka could be therefore the leader of the attendents; but that is proved for the attendents of a deity (cf. P. W. s. v.) and not for those of a king. In Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā* (XV, 15) gaṇanāyaka occurs, but also here the meaning is doubtful; if the foregoing śauryasametā can be attached to the substantive, then the gaṇanāyaka would mean the leader of a military corps. The P. W.<sup>146</sup> cites the meaning of a tactic part of an

144 *Local Government*, p. 31, 34 f. and passim; *Corporate Life* p. 230 ff., cf. the Index s. v.

145 Nearly all the meanings of gaṇa occur in Kulluka's Comm. on *Munu*; cf. I, 118; III, 164; IV, 209, 219.

146 s. v. gaṇa 4., cf. E. W. Hopkins, *JAOS* XIII, p. 196 f.

army, consisting of 3 gulmas with 27 chariots and elephants, 81 horses and 135 footmen. But an objection cannot be suppressed: that such a comparatively low officer should rank before others, evidently higher officers? But with these remarks the possibilities of an explanation of gaṇa are not yet exhausted. *Kalpas*. (II. 128) speaks from the nava Mallāi nava Lecchāi Kāsi-Kosalagā aṭṭhārasa vi gaṇa-rāyāṇo (नव मल्लइ नव लेच्छई कासीकोसलगा अट्ठारस वि गणरायाणो) and the Comm. says, that these knights formed a gaṇa : gaṇaṃ melakaṃ<sup>147</sup> kurvantiti gaṇarājāno... Cetakamahārājasya sāmantaḥ śrūyante te. (गणं मेलकं कुर्वन्तीति गणराजानो... चेटकमहाराजस्य सामन्ताः श्रूयन्ते ते). Here gaṇa means also a corporation, but in political sense, the vassals of king Cetaka. In our passage, however, this meaning is unlikely because gaṇarājas were eighteen in number, while in *Aup* (15), and *Kalpas*, (II. 61) are mentioned aneka (many) gaṇanāyakas. Therefore it remains the most plausible explanation to take gaṇanāyaka as military title "commander of a gaṇa".<sup>148</sup>

147 Cf. melāpaka in *Pañcatantra*, ed. Kielhorn-Bühler (6th ed.) Part III, p. 48, 18. For the political meaning of gaṇa cf. R. Ch. Majumdar, *l. c.* p. t. 223, §3 and H. K. Deb, *ZII I* (1922), p. 289 f.

148 An official bears the title gaṇapaka in inscription (*Report Arch. Survey W. India* IV, 1883, No 12, p. 103 f., cf. p. 104, n. 2); but E. Senart (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 89) prefers to translate "accountant.-" Perhaps gaṇapālaka in Kṣemendra's *Samayamātṛkā* VI, is affiliated with the term gaṇanāyaka; next comes gaṇamukhya *Mhbh.* XII, 107, 23, where the "gaṇas are śūrajanastoma" a multitude of heroic men, correspond to the śreṇī-soldiers of the *Arthasā.*, cf. H. K. Deb *l. c.* p. 291; *SWA* 191, 5 p. 151 f.

2. *daṇḍanāyaga*, in Skt. *daṇḍanāyaka*, is explained by the Comm. on *Kalpas*. (II. 61) with *tantrapāla*. *Rājyatantra* is the government, like *rājyacintā*—the political administration.<sup>149</sup> In *Tantrākhy*. (6, 14) we have the quite adequate term *tantradhāra*. The real explanation of the term has to go another way, because such general renderings are only the expression of the Comm.'s ignorance. *Daṇḍam nī* or *praṇī*, from which phrase *daṇḍanāyaka* is derived, is the duty of the king, viz. to punish and therewith to exercise his power *Manu* (VII, 14 ff.); an exponent of this power is the judge, the head of a village or other substitutes of the king. But, as remarked above, the meaning of *daṇḍanāyaka* here is hardly that of a police-master,<sup>150</sup> because we will meet a term to which must be attributed this sense.

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149 Cf. Th. Zachariae, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexikographie*, Berlin 1883, p. 44 f.; A. Hillebrandt, *Ueber das Kauṣṭhīlyasāstra*, Breslau 1908 (sep.) p. 18.

150 *Hitopadeśa* (ed. Peterson) II, p. 71, l. 6, 13 ff. occurs the *daṇḍanāyaka* of a *grāma*. A policeman or police-master is the *daṇḍapāsika* in the *Śukasaptati* (ed. R. Schmidt *AKM* X, 1, p. 139, 12); *Kathākośa* (transl. by C. H. Tawney) p. XXIII, n. \* Similar expressions for this office are *daṇḍādhipatya* in Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* I, 186 or *daṇḍavāsika* *ibid.* I, 3, 83, 95, 138, 185; another title is said to be *caṇḍapāsika* in Vādirājasūri's *Yasodhacarita* (Joh. Hertel, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Bd. 69, 4. Heft, 1917-p. 91, n. 3). In the Gupta period we find a *daṇḍapā*,  
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The P. W. s. v. *daṇḍanāyaka* cites already. *Hemac. Abhidh.* (725); *Varāham. Brhats.* (LXXIII, 4) mention this term by the side of *senāpati*, and in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatar.* the word is found on several places.<sup>151</sup> In the *Jñātādharmaśūtrapaṭha*<sup>152</sup> occur a *daṇḍanāyaka* and a *senānāyaka*. We meet it on a coin identified with those of Devarāya from Vijayanagara (15. cent. A. D.); in Kanarese it is spelt *ḍaṇāyaka*<sup>153</sup> in the form *ḍaṇāyakaru*. *Daṇḍanāyaka* was also the title of the Hoysala chiefs *Ep. Ind VII, App.* p. 68 ff., No 383 ff.); in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (186, 15 f.) are enumerated *daṇḍamukhya*, *daṇḍanāyaka* and (186, 17) *senāpati*. In the *Kauṭ. Arthas.*<sup>154</sup> the officer bears the title *nāyaka* as in Kāmandaki's *Nītisāra* (XIX, 45); *Varāham. Brhats.* (XXXV, 7) etc. (cf. P. W. s. v.). About the military character of this officer there cannot exist a doubt; his degree is evidently a high one; he is in the list apparently the first military functionary, From the sources,

*śādhikaraṇa* "the chief of police" (J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, London 1914, p. XLI).

- 151 The term *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* we meet on clay seals, belonging circa to the 3.-5- cent. A. D.; cf. J. H. Marshall, *JRAS* 1911, p. 136, 139. J. Allan l. c. p. XLI gives "judge"; that is in no way convincing, because the *balādhikaraṇa* seems to be more an administrative official so that there would be missing the leading chief of the military forces.

- 152 *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of Calcutta Skt. College*, vol. X. (1909), No 82, p. 165.

- 153 *Ind. Ant.* XX, (1891), p. 304 and n. 7.

- 154 *SWA* 191, 5 p. 156-158.

cited in P. W. and above, the deduction is permitted that the title is not of high age.<sup>155</sup>

3. *rāisara*, corresponding to a Skt. *rājesvara*, caused already to the Comm. difficulties. The *Kalpas*.-Comm. explains, separating the compound: *rājāno māṇḍalikāḥ*, *īśvarā yuvarājāḥ*, *aṇimādyaiśvaryayukta ityanyo*<sup>156</sup> (राजानो मण्डलिकाः, ईश्वरा युवराजाः, अणिमाद्यैश्वर्ययुक्ता इत्यन्ये ।). The literal sense of the word, taken as a compound, would be “lord of kings”; that is here impossible, because the king, surrounded by these *rāisaras* and other personalities, is himself the lord of kings. Therefore the separating of the two parts of the compound is the single possible way of interpretation. *Māṇḍalika* is quite intelligible: it is a king, who belongs to the *maṇḍala*, the political circle consisting of the neighbouring kings.<sup>157</sup> The word *māṇḍalika* is found four times in *Varāham. Br̥hats.* (IV, 15; XLVI, 11; XLVIII, 47; LXIX, 23); *Kathāsarits.* (XCVIII, 5); *Kāmaṇḍ. Nītis* (VIII, 54) explained by: *svamaṇḍalādhipatin rājñah* (स्वमण्डलाधिपतीन् राज्ञः ।). *Mahāvvyutpatti* has by the side of *yuvarāja* (186, 4) *maṇḍalikarāja*. Less simple is the explanation of *isara* (*īśvara*). The Comm. says *yuvarāja*, but other authorities take it as “lords trusted with the lordship over a small territory (*aṇimādi*?).” *īśvara* is found in a Nāsik-cave-inscription of Vāsīṭhīputa Siri Puṣumāyi *Ep. Ind.* (VIII, p. 60., 1. 11), but the interpretation of “lord” (p. 62) for the grandson

155 The references in the Epic are generally worthless in this connexion.

156 The Comm. on *Aup.* has *matāmtareṇāpi*°

157 Cf. N. N. Law, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), p. 121-136; 145-152; 167-173.

offers no further elucidation than that *isvara* must have been a high degree, perhaps a governor, in the official-career, and occupied by relatives.

4. *talavara*. *isara*, *talavara* and some of the following terms occur again in the *Jñātā-dharmakathās*;<sup>158</sup> in the *Jambudvīpaprajñapti-sūtra*;<sup>159</sup> *talavara* is found in many works, not even belonging to the Siddhānta, but for the most part to the profane Jinist literature. In a Ms. (it seems of recent date) of Hāla's *Sattasāi*<sup>160</sup> we meet the word *talāraputta*; *talāra* in the *Sukasaptati*,<sup>161</sup> *talārika* in the *Kathākośa*;<sup>162</sup> *Hemacandra Arhannīti* (p. 14, verse 75; p. 198, verse 6) knows the word *talārakṣa* like the *Campakaśreṣṭhikathānaka*<sup>163</sup> (74). While the Comm. on *Kalpas.* explains: *parituṣṭa-narapatipradattapaṭṭa-bandhavibhūṣitā rājasthānīyāḥ* (परितुष्ट-नरपतिप्रदत्तपट्टबन्धविभूषिता राजस्थानीयाः) -king's substitutes which are adorned with head-bands bestowed upon them by the king who is well minded to them. The Scholion on *Jambudvīpapr.* (fol. 98 b Weber l. c. p. 581, n. 3) says quite similar: *talavaraḥ saṃtuṣṭanarapatipradattasauvarṇapaṭṭālaṃkr̥tasīraskah* (तलवरः

158 A. Weber, *Verzeichnis* No 1792, p. 471; cf. *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 313.

159 A. Weber, *Verzeichnis* No 1844, p. 581.

160 In the Ms. Rm. it means perhaps the Skt. paraphrase; *AKM* VII, 4, p. 13, Verse 30.

161 ed. R. Schmidt, *AKM* X (1897), p. X, 104, 6,

162 Transl. by C. H. Tawney, p. XXIII, n.\*

163 *ZDMG* LXV (1911), p. 28; further references are cited by the editor and translator of the text, Joh. Hertel, *ibid.* p. 46 and 464, n. 6.

संतुष्टनरपतिप्रदत्तसौवर्णपट्टालङ्कृतशिरस्कः ). The profane works, on the contrary, admit no doubt that the talārakṣa was either the head of the police in a town or village, or an ordinary watchman; also the talayāris of the 16. cent. in the Naik-kingdom (*Ind. Ant.* XLIV [1915], p. 72. f.) or of the 18. cent. (*ibid*; XLIX [1920], p. 36) have the latter meaning. From lexicographical literature the word talavara is cited in the form talavāri or taravāri (*Hemac. Abhidh.* 782); according to the P. W. s. v. and A. Weber<sup>164</sup> the Skt. karabālikā should be derived from tarabālikā, and appears in an etymologised form as karapāla etc., all these words, however, have the meaning "sword." For the last statements the view held by Weber seems to go too far, because *Hemac. Abhidh.* (792) knows karabāla and taravāri, (785) karabālikā, so that there must have existed some differences. R. Pischel<sup>165</sup> explained the word talāra as a derivation from Marāṭhī talvār = \*Skt. talavāra, tala = "ground," in Marāṭhī also the "place of encampment" or a "camp" and a "tract of ground"; vāra from the the root var = "guardian, watchman." This etymology seems to be hardly correct, because in Gujarātī taravāra is feminine and means "sword," what would be impossible, when the original Skt.-word would be tala-vāra. One fact is undeniable: that talavara is not an Indian, or better, not an Āryan word; for the Scholion on *Hemac. Abhidh.* (795) says already: turuṣkāyudh-

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164 *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 38 f.

165 *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* hg. von A. Bezzenberger, III (1879), p. 261.



am karabālikā, tarabāliketyanye (तुरुष्कायुधं करवालिका तरवालिकेत्यन्ये ।). Weber referred (l. c. p. 39) to the Persian tarwāl; to accept his semasiological explanation, is too much for the standpoint of a grammarian, because this word has only the meaning "a blade of green," but, on the other hand, the Scholiast would never have referred to the foreign (Turkish) origin of the word, if it would not correspond to the views of his own time. The word talavara has certainly a long history in vernacular speeches as in Pkt and Skt.<sup>166</sup>

None of the works, in which the form taravāri occurs, can be assigned to a certain time; but karavāla and forms like this must be attributed to later times, because the assumed reception and the process of etymologising needs some time; Dhanapāla seems to be the oldest proof for this term.

5. māḍaṃbiya. The term, coming next in the list, corresponds to a Skt. māḍambika; the character of this official is clear inasmuch as he must be the head of one or of a number of maḍambas. The Comm. on *Kalpas.* says: māṇḍalikāśchinn<sup>167</sup> amaḍambādhipāḥ (माण्डलिकाच्छिन्नमडम्बाधिपाः।),

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166 Besides the references in the P. W. the kośas know one or the other form of the word: Dhanapāla 37: karavāla; Hemac. *Uṇādigarṇasūtra* 480 Comm.: karavāla; Halāyudha *Abhidh.* II, 317: karabāla; *Amarakośa* II, 8, 57: karapāla; 59: karapālikā (v. l.: karabālikā); *Viajay.* 117, 324: taravāri; *Mahāvī-utpatti-* 186, 50: kāravālika.— I am not sure, whether Taravara on the seals, mentioned by Allan, l. c, is a proper name or the title of an official.

167 Read: māḍambikāś°

and of the same tenor runs the explanation of the *Aup.*-Comm. There is today no place for Bühler's suggestion to bring the word in connexion with maṇḍapa-maṇḍapikā or the modern māṇḍavī for whose occurrence, see *Ep. Ind.* (I, p. 101, 117, 166, 270), since the correction by Leumann (*ibid.* II, p. 484 f., cf 485). A conclusion about the degree of a māḍambika is not possible; he stands, indeed, between the raṭṭhika (rāṣṭrika<sup>168</sup>) and deśādhikāṭa (deśādhikṛta) what would speak for the rank of a governor of a middle-sized territory. But it must be remarked that the amaccas (amātya) rank between herdsmen and guards, so that the order in the list gives no hold for the determination of the rank. Nevertheless the term māḍambika belongs hardly to a high age, though only the record of the eight cent. A. D. can be adduced.

6. koḍumbiya, in Skt. kauṭumbika, is explained by the Comm. on *Kalpās.*: kauṭumbikāḥ katipayakuṭumbaprabhavo valagakāḥ, grāmamahattarā vā कौटुम्बिकाः कतिपयकुटुम्बप्रभवो वलगाः, ग्राममहत्तरा वा ॥). There is no doubt that the term cannot be the ordinary husbandman in a list of functionaries of a pronounced official character. The term is known by an inscription of Vāsīthiputa Siri Puṣumāyi (Lüders' *List* No 1147); the opinion<sup>169</sup> has been expressed "that the middle

168 Cf. *Ind. Ant.* XLIII (1919), p. 80, n. 4.

169 By D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.* XLVIII (1919), p. 80.—None or little stress can be laid on koḍumbiya, which is said to be the younger form of the older koḍambiya. Cf. A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XVII, p. 26, n. 1.

class, which consisted chiefly of cultivators and mercantile people, was split up into a number of gr̥ihās, i. e. homesteads, or kuṭumbas or kulas, i. e. families, the head of each one of which was considered to be so important a personage as to require to be designated Gr̥ihapati or Kuṭumbin." This view can be hardly accepted in general, and still less in particular here. There is nothing surprising that a kuṭumbika, Dhanama with name, has excavated a cave; it is rather very common, from the standpoint of epigraphy, that a founder or giver of pious investments or gifts immortalizes his name and, for distinction, denounces his profession. The special argument against the view held by Bhandarkar is the list itself, in which officials occur. Therefore an explanation of the rare word avalagaka must be attempted.

Avalagaka is found in an inscription from Dudhpani (in the Hazāribāgh District, Bengal) which must on palaeographical reasons be assigned to about the eight cent. A. D. In line 6 f. the reader is informed that the king of Magadha, Ādisimha, came once for hunting elephants, as it seems, in the aṭavi, in the forest. He assembled the people of the third part of the palli and ordered "Give, you, me, today an avalagaka, quickly!" At this time three brothers, merchants with great property, spent (?) in this palli. The people asked the oldest of them for an avalagana for the king; he sent it and became in consequence of it a favourite of the king and after other honours he became the rāja

of the pallī Bhramaraśālmali.<sup>170</sup> The suggestion is probable that a king or knight, when he comes in a distant part of his dominion and asks the people for anything in the words: "give me it quickly," can ask in this manner only for a tax. This view is further supported by the consideration that the people, poor as it may have been, went to the merchants, about the wealth of which it has heard, and asked the oldest for an avalagana; through avalagana he reached his position. A merchant has merchandise and money; the king asked for a certain thing; that can be only money, because merchandise is not the property of a pallī, which can be sent quickly. Avalagana is found in *Tantrākhy.* p 18, 2;<sup>171</sup> *Hemac. Parisiṣṭaparvan* (VIII,12); the corresponding passage in *Pañcatantra* (sixth edition by Kielhorn-Bühler I, p. 28) shows that a person, to win the confidence of another person, honours the second in each manner. Translated in the relation between a king and his subjects it means to give present to the first. Such presents are known from peoples of the ancient world as from Indian literature. Though H. Zimmer's view<sup>172</sup> about bali, a voluntary tribute to the king, has

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170 The further events are not of interest here.

171 Hertel refers to Munisundara, *Upadeśaratnākara* (v. the Glossary in his *Tantrākhyādyika*-edition s. v. p. 170).

172 *Altindisches Leben* p. 166.—For analogies in Babylonian cf. B. Meissner *Babylonien und Assyrien* (*Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek* I, 3,) Heidelberg 1920 p. 143.

been rejected by Keith-Macdonell,<sup>173</sup> the existence of voluntary offerings for later times cannot be denied. Besides with references in the Epic<sup>174</sup> may be compared an epigraphical testimony from Rudradāman's inscription<sup>175</sup> and the *Dharmaśāstra*.<sup>176</sup>

So we are entitled to translate avalagana "love-tax" and avalagaka-n. is evidently the same, while the masculine is the donor-an avalagana ('ka°). Kauṭumbika would be therefore the representatives of the middle-class, which had the duty to present to the king voluntary presents, taxes.

7. mantrin and 8. mahāmantrin, the Skt.-equivalents of manti and mahāmanti, are explained by the Comm.: mantriṇaḥ sacivāḥ, resp. mahāmantriṇo mahāmātyā mantrimanḍalapradhānā hastisādhanādhyakṣā vā (मन्त्रिणः सचिवाः, महामन्त्रिणो महामात्या मन्त्रिमण्डलप्रधाना हस्तिसाधनाध्यक्षा वा ॥). The first explanation, that of mantrin with saciva, is nothing but a superficial tautology,<sup>177</sup> because in Indian literature there is never drawn a strict difference between saciva, mantrin and amātya. The best proof for

173 *Vedi. Index* II, p. 62 s. v. bali. W. Foy, *Die königliche Gewalt nach den altindischen Rechtsbüchern*, Leipzig 1895, p. 38. Cf. also the Comm. on *Arthaś.* 93, 17 in I. J. Sorabji's Notes p. 39.

174 E. W. Hopkins, *JAOS* XIII, p. 91.

175 J. F. Fleet, *JRAS* 1909, p. 761 f.

176 W. Foy, *l. c.* p. 52.

177 Perhaps saciva is used here in the sense of buddhisaciva, the antitheses to karmasaciva as in *Kāmand. Nitis.* Comm. IV, 80; cf. Rudradāman's inscription l. 17: matisaciva and karmasaciva. *SWA* 191, 5 p. 176 ff.

this statement is the explanation of mahāmantrin with mahāmātya, while amātya occurs itself in the list. The mantrin is the councillor of the king; the number of these councillors is variable. Mahāmantrin may be either the president of the mantrins<sup>178</sup> or only a higher degree of a mantrin. But never he can be understood as the official who trains the king's elephants; the statement of the Comm. is due to a confusion of mahāmantrin and mahāmātra.<sup>179</sup> The mahāmantrin may correspond to the mukhyamantrin, occurring also in the *Rājatar*.<sup>180</sup>

9 gaṇaya = Skt. gaṇaka; according to the *Kalpas*-Comm., who says: gaṇakā jyotiṣikā bhāṇḍāgārikā vā (गणका ज्योतिषिका भाण्डागारिका वा ), the gaṇaka is an astrologer or the official of the king's store-house. The latter explanation is inaccurate, because generally the term means an accountant. So Somadevasūri in his *Nītivā-kyāmrta* (printed Bombay, Grantharatnamālā p. 56, l. 1) explains the spy in the disguise of a gaṇaka as follows: saṅkhyāviddāivajño vā (संख्याविद्वैज्ञो वा ). The gaṇaka is known to the *Yajurveda*<sup>181</sup> in the sense of "astrologer". It is more likely that an astrologer appears in the list of officials

178 Perhaps the mantripariṣadadhykṣa of the *Arthaś.*, for which view the first explanation of the *Kalpas*-Comm. can be adduced.

179 Cf. *SWA* l. c. p. 191 f.

180 Cf. J. Jolly, *Gurupūjākaumudī* p. 85.—The title mahāmantrin is found in a Ms. of *Jñātādharmaśūtra-pāṭha* (*Catalogue of the Skt. College Calcutta*, X, p. 165, No. 82).

181 Cf. Keith-Macdonell, *Vedic Index* s. v. I, p. 218.

and notabilities than an accountant. On the other hand the king's astrologers are known under the names *kārtāntika*, *naimittika* and *mauhūrtika*.<sup>182</sup>

10 *dovāriya*, *dauvārika* in Skt., is explained by the *Aup.*-Comm.: *pratihārā rājadvārikā vā* (प्रतीहारा राजद्वारिका वा ।). In the *Jātakas* the rank which is occupied by the *devārika* seems to be low;<sup>183</sup> but it is difficult to say, whether there are not meant subjects of the *dauvārika*, strictly speaking. At least the position of the *dauvārika* in the *Arthas*<sup>184</sup> is such a high one that quite changed circumstances or a long development have to be assumed, for he is a member of the *tīrthas*, therewith one of the highest functionaries of the government. An epigraphical proof for this term *dauvārika* seems to be unknown; in the *Rājatar.* (V, 28) he occurs more exceptionally; the common designation is *pratihāra*, also *mahā-pratihāra*, both mentioned in inscriptions.<sup>185</sup>

11 *amacca*, Skt. *amātya*, is so common a word that all the kinds of councillors and officials bear it in the literature. But as shown elsewhere<sup>186</sup> *amātya* is not the designation for the functionary of a certain board, rather that of a class, sc. of the highest officials, the ministry of the middle

182 *SWA* 191, 5 p. 288 f. The *bhāṇḍāgārika*, though the *gaṇaka* is not identified with him, is found in an inscription of Jayacandra of Kanauj (1187 A. D.), s. *Ind. Ant.* XV (1886), p. 1. 15 a *raṇabhāṇḍāgārādhi-karaṇa* occurs on clay-seals, s. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* p. XLI.

183 R. Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung* p. 102.

184 *SWA* l. c. p. 77.

185 J. Jolly, *Gurupūjāk.* p. 85.

186 *SWA* l. c. p. 184.

age. The Comm. says therefore correctly: rājyād-hiṣṭhāyikāḥ, "which have the care for administration of the kingdom." Therefore also here the amaccas must be understood as the highest officials of the defferent departments.

12 ceḍa The Comm. on *Kalpas* (II.) explains this word as follows: ceṭāḥ pādamūlikā dāsā vā (चेटः पादमूलिका दासा वा ।). Pādamūlika means probably a valet; but also with this assumption it is at least remarkable that a servant, may he be as familiar to the person of the king as possible or an ordinary slave, ranks in the list before the seṭṭhis and senāvais etc. No less remarkable is the following term.

13 piḍhamadda, is the piṭhamarda of the poetical works.<sup>187</sup> This person is not found in the dramatical literature; should his existence be ascribed only to the theoretical literature of Indian drama? The Comm. on *Kalpas*. explains: piṭhamardā āsthāne (!) āsanasevakā vayasyā ityarthaḥ, veśyācāryā vā (पीठमर्दा आस्थाने (!) आसनसेवका वयस्या इत्यर्थः, वेश्याचार्या वा ॥); the Comm. on *Aup.* has: viṭāḥ<sup>188</sup> pādamūlikāḥ piṭhamardāḥ āsthāne...ityarthaḥ (विटः पादमूलिकाः पीठमर्दाः आस्थाने...इत्यर्थः ॥). This explanation seems to have been taken from the conception of a pīṭha, bank, seat in the audience-hall of the king; the second, that of a veśyācārya, is borrowed from the poetical literature.<sup>189</sup> Here the pīṭhamarda is

187 Cf. Sten Konow, *Das indische Drama* (Grundriss II, 2 D), p. 14.

188 Should viṭa be another reading for ceti?

189 Cf. R. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, 2. (ed., Berlin 1911, p. 142, 144) where the texts are collected.



described as the companion of the nāyaka, but only as the reconciliator of angry women;<sup>190</sup> V ā t s y ā y a n a states in *Kāmasūtra* (p. 57 f.,) that he is a teacher, but by mere of the nāyaka; because he is well-versed in the arts of the gaṇikās Kṣemendra describes in the *Samayamātrkā* (I, 8) the nāpita as a gaṇikāguru and kāmīpāṇ narmasuhrd<sup>191</sup> (कामिणी नर्मसुहृद्); in *Arthas.* (125, 13 ff.) seem to have existed special schools for teaching the gaṇikās in their 64 kalās or arts. But in *Hemac. Abhidh.* (330) we find veśyācāryah pīṭhamardaḥ (वेद्याचार्यः पीठमर्दः) like in the *Vaijayaṇtī* (141, 139), differing from *Anekārthas.* (IV, 143); perhaps from this source the Comm. has borrowed his science.

Unable to explain the occurrence of the ceṭa and pīṭhamarda in this list there the assumption is possible, either that these terms are taken from the poetical literature<sup>192</sup> or that these two persons really existed. If the latter assumption is correct, then they must have had a high degree and cannot be understood as ordinary servants. King Virāṭa has in his palace rathins, pīṭhamardas, hastyārohas and naigamas. Nīlakaṇṭha explains pīṭhamarda here with rājapriyaḥ, but cites then the *Medinikośa* with the common explanation.

14 nagara-, 15 nigama-setṭhi. The Comm. on *Kalpās.* (II.) takes in his explanation

190 *Ibid* No. 7, 9, 10.

191 This is, indeed, the office of the pīṭhamarda on the side of the nāyaka.

192 Cf. the reading of the *Aup.-Comm.* and n. 188 (above).

of these three words each for an independent term, as follows: *nāgarā* *nagaravāsiprakṛtayo* *rājadeyavibhāgāḥ*; *nigamāḥ* *kāraṇikā* *vaṇijo vā*, *śreṣṭhinaḥ* *śrīdevatādhyāsitasauvarṇapaṭṭabhūṣito-ttamaṅgāḥ* (नागरा नगरवासिप्रकृतयो राजदेयविभागाः; निगमाः कारणिका वणिजो वा; श्रेष्ठिनः श्रीदेवताध्यासितसौवर्णपट्टभूषितोत्तमाङ्गाः ॥). Apart from the real interpretation there exists a grammatical doubt in adopting the view held by the Comm. Pkt. *nagara* shall be here *Kalpas*. (II. 61) a Skt. *nāgara*, a *vr̥ddhi*-form of *nagara*. The latter must be exactly *ṇaara* or, with *yaśruti*, *ṇayara* or *nayara*.<sup>193</sup> In *Kalpas*. (II. 89) stands *nagara-tṭhāṇaesu-nagarastāneṣu*, therefore a Pkt. *nagara* represents in this text a Skt. *nagara*; and the Comm. himself has attempted an etymology of *nagara* in *Kalpas*. 89 (cf. n. 4). *Nigama*, as also shown before does never mean a “trader,” rather “trader’s place,” “town,” or “traders’ body;” here the last meaning is impossible. The juxtaposition of *nagara* and *nigama* is the best proof that both stand on the same step as the parts of a *tatpuruṣa*-compound, whose base-ward is *seṭṭhi*. The same formation in *nagaraguttiya* in *Aup.* (§45 f.); therefore *nagara* in *Kalpas* (61) can also be only Skt. *nagara*. Then we have to interpret “the *śreṣṭhins* of *nagaras* (towns) and *nigamas* (traders’ places).”

The guild has been in the past time a favourite theme of Indian scholars, though already some years before R. Fick,<sup>194</sup> E. W. Hopkins<sup>195</sup>

193 Cf. *Kalpas*. II. 15, n. 3; 122, n. 3; R. Pischel, *Prākṛit Grammatik* § 187; for *ṇaara* § 186; for *nagara* § 256, 366 a.

194 *Die sociale Gliederung* p. 172 ff.

195 *Yale Review* 1898, p. 24 ff. — *India Old and New*, New York 1902, p. 169 ff.

and Mrs. A. C. F. Rhys Davids<sup>196</sup> have furnished valuable contributions. Here only the position of the setṭhi is of interest; he has to be taken as the representative of the tradership in the nagara and nigama, whereby the question may be put aside, whether he was identical with the headman of the guild, though it may have been generally the case. Namely the title setṭhi has been attributed to a certain class of rich merchants, also to whole families.<sup>197</sup> The nagara-śreṣṭhin has till to-day his descendant in the modern Nagar-Sheth,<sup>198</sup> "a title of honour given to the head-man of the city." And the nigama-śreṣṭhin can also be tested by an epigraphical record (Lüders' *List* No 1261), where a sethipamukha of the pious nigama is mentioned; he was probably the representative of the setṭhis in the nigama.<sup>199</sup> Conforming to these relations also today exists "a distinction

196 *JRAS* 1901, p. 865 ff.

197 Cf. R. Fick, *l. c.* p. 167 f., n. 1. In *Aup.* § 38 and 48 the text reads *ibbha* (*ibhya*, rich) for *nagaranigama*°.

198 E. W. Hopkins, *l. c.* p. 32 f. (= p. 179 f.). The same scholar remarks (p. 32, resp. p. 179) that also Nagar-Sheth is a title applied to wealthy traders, "but properly it is bestowed upon a prominent civilian who may or may not be a merchant."

199 E. Hultsch gives *ZDMG* XXXVII (1883), p. 557, No. 29 the following translation of this Amarāvati-inscription: "The pure gift of Chadakica, of the head of the merchants, of the pious trader." *Ibid* XL (1886), p. 344, No. 29: "A sūci, the gift of Chadakica, the head of the merchants, of the pious townsman". Nigama is never a merchant; bhadanigama is the pious nigama, because another inscription, as noted already

between the village-guild and the guild of a large town;<sup>200</sup> without doubt the nagaraśreṣṭhin<sup>201</sup> had a higher degree than his colleague of the nigama.

For these reasons the explanation of the Comm. must be rejected; interesting is that of the śreṣṭhin, if understood correctly: "the śreṣṭhins bear their heads adorned with golden head-bands, on which the goddess Śrī stays."

16 *seṇāvai*, Skt. *senāpati*, commonly translated by "general", is explained by the Comm.: *senāpatayo nṛpanirūpitāścaturāṅgasainyanāyakāḥ* (सेनापतयो नृपनिरूपिताश्चतुरङ्गसैन्यनायकाः।). Though this rendering is generally correct, the fact that the *senāpati* is inserted between the śreṣṭhins and *sārthavāhas* (below 17), remains remarkable.<sup>202</sup> If there would not be found in all passages *seṇāvai*, without a various reading, the reading *seṇivai-śreṇīpati* "guild-head" could be conjectured. Though *śreṇī* is rendered in Pkt. with *seḍhi* (cf. R. Pischel, *Prakrit-Grammatik* §66, n. 1; *Aup.* §16, 33), Pischel is right in deriving *seḍhi* from \**seṭṭhi* for *siṭṭhi-śiṣṭi*; *śreṇī* has to be in Pkt. *seṇi* or *seṇī*, both of which forms appear in Pkt.-inscriptions (Lüders' List No 1162, 1165,

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by Hultzsöh, *l. c.* XXXVII, p. 557, in Lüders' List No. 1153, has *dharmmanigama*. H. Kern (*Ind. Stud.* XIV, p. 395), interprets the expression "confessor of the Dharma," literally: "One for whom the Dharma is authoritative" ("Einer, für den der Dharma Autoritätsquelle ist").

200 Hopkins, *l. c.* p. 31, resp. p. 178.

201 Cf. Joh. Hertel, *Geist des Jstems* I (1914), p. 187.

202 If the *daṇḍanāyaka* and *gaṇanāyaka* have been correctly interpreted, there are two officers; the separation of the *senāpati* from these is quite unintelligible.

1180),<sup>203</sup> and the cognomen of Bimbisāra was Seniya-Śreṇika e. g. *Uvās.* (VIII, § 231). On the other haad it is uncertain whether the term senīvai = śreṇīpati in the meaning "head of a guild" is found elsewhere; certain is the absolute difference between the assumed sense here and the term śreṇīmukha in the *Arthas.*

Adopting the reading senāpati this officer must be understood as one of a lower rank than the daṇḍanāyaka mentioned above. While in the *Arthas.* senāpati means the general-in-chief, the word here cannot have the same meaning. For he would never be placed nearly at the end of the list; therefore it is probable that he was a general, the leader of one of the four aṅgas of the army.<sup>204</sup> In the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* (186, 16 f.) occur daṇḍanāyaka, senāpati in a list beginning with the king and ending with a fisher. In *Aup.* (§ 23) senāvai stands before pasatthāro, indicating perhaps, because the foregoing soldiers are bhaḍā, jodhā, the lower degree; in inscriptions are found senāpati, mahāsenāpati.

17 satthavāha, in Skt. sārthavāha, explained by the Comm. with sārthanāyakāḥ, "the leaders of caravans," has to be understood as the designation of a certain class of merchants. In the *Jātakas* are found indications<sup>205</sup> justifying

203 Should there exist some connexion between the nouns: setṭhi = śreṣṭhin, and setṭhi = seḍhi = śreṇī? It means that seḍhi is derived from śreṇī, but a misunderstood analogous form to setṭhi, the "head of a śreṇī."

204 There exists, it seems, a second kind of senāpati in the *Arthas.*, cf. *SWA* l. c. p. 160.

205 Cf. R. Fick, *Die soc. Gliederung* p. 176-178; *SWA* l. c. p. 146.

the assumption that the satthavāhas were "whole-sale merchants," "exporting merchants," which are known also from the narrative literature. In Lüderś *List* (No 1062) the founder of a cave is styled as sathavāha and gahapati; a proof that the sārthavāhas were a class for themselves; here, in the list, the representative of this class is intelligible.

18 dūya, dūta in Skt.; the Comm. explains: dūtā anyeṣāṃ gatvā rājādeśavedakāḥ (दूता अन्येषां गत्वा राजदेशवेदकाः ।). The Comm. on *Aup.* has deśanivedakāḥ. He is the ambassador, known from the Besnagar-inscription (Lüderś *List*. No 669) as well as from the *Arthas.* Kāmandaki etc. In a condensed form in prose the *Nitivākyāmṛta* in chapter 13 (pp. 50-53) informs about the duties of an ambassador, still shorter *Hemac. Arhanniti* (p. 19 f., V. 97-101).

19 sandhipāla, the last term of the list, is evidently minister of peace; he is explained by the Comm.: sandhipālā rājyasandhirakṣakāḥ. (सन्धिपाल राज्यसन्धिरक्षकः ।) This term is of special interest, because he, no doubt, is a title of a minister, and this title is not found elsewhere. From the *Rājatar.* and from inscriptions is the sāndhivigrāhaka or sāndhivigrāhika known, the minister of peace and war.

Considering this list no exact answer is possible on the question about the age of the terms. Though it would be of importance to

determine the age of one or another term, more stress has to be laid upon the whole impression, the accumulated personage which is a difference in comparison with the more simple conditions in the *Epic*, and *Jātakas*. Rather the conditions of the narrative literature can be drawn near, whereas the *Arthasā.* remains back for some terms. But, further, single titles speak for progressed times. Talavara can hardly be dated at least before the 7th or 8th cent. A. D., when the turuṣka-origin of the word is correct. Titles like mahāmantrin show a developed state of honours; noteworthy is also the occurrence of a term like māḍambika, found only in an inscription of not too removed time. Pīṭhamarda, though used in the list evidently in another sense than in the poetical literature, seems to stand in some connexion with the latter, which is again of relatively recent date. Titles as daṇḍanāyaka, mahāmantrin, are not found in works of early date; the crowd of the personalities alone does not allow to assume a high age of the list. And the existence of the list itself in canonical work is an argument that we have to see in it an interpolation of times which can be supposed to be the 7th or 8th cent. A. D., if not higher numbers seem preferable.

## 2 COURTS-OFFICIALS.

The assumption, that the list of officials, treated above, would represent the whole staff of the civil and military officials in Jain-texts, would be wrong. There exists a set of courts-officials of the king and attendants of the queen, which are of historical and ethnological interest.

## 1 THE KING'S OFFICIALS.

1 In *Aup.* (§ 40) Ajātaśatru with the surname Kūṇika commands the balavāyua to get ready the army for the procession to Mahāvira.

Balavāyua corresponds to a Skt. balavyāpṛta. This is, no doubt, a title; the officer has the duty to bring the commands of the king, as far as they touch (?) the army, to the specials, chiefs.<sup>206</sup>

2 So the balavyāpṛta passes on to the hatthivāyua, hastivyāpṛta in Skt., the overseer oversee of the king's elephants; after executing the order the hastivyāpṛta announces it to the balavāpṛta (§ 41).

3 In the same manner the balavyāpṛta brings the order of the king to the jāṇasāliya, i. e. yānaśālīka, the official of the vehicles. He is not only the chief of the jāṇasāla = yānaśālā, but also of the vāhanasāla = vāhanaśālā. Yānas here mean the coaches of the queens, which are adorned; they are drawn by vāhanas, which again are decorated and are supplied in the vāhanaśālā with pratodayaṣṭis<sup>207</sup> and pratodadhārakas.<sup>208</sup> Vāhana here must be understood as bullocks, as the harnessing of elephants is described in § 41 and the Comm. also explains balivardādayaḥ.

After receiving the report of the nagara-guttiya, the nagaraguptika, the Campā is decor-

206 In modern paraphrase: the head of the military office of the king.

207 pratodayaṣṭi is the prickle-staff, *Divyāv.* 7, 5; 463, 10; in comparison; 76, 22; 465, 21.

208 Should that mean bins for the staffs? But in *Mhbh.* V, 155, 17 are mentioned ankuśadharau, dhanurdharau, asidharau.



ated, the balavyāpṛta announces it to the king (*Aup.* § 42-46).

4 From *Aup.* (§ 17) we get knowledge of the existence of another courts-official.

The pavittivāyā, in Skt. pravṛtti-vyāpṛta, reports to the king the advent of Mahāvira. The ceremony of greeting the king is as follows: he touches with the inner handplain his head and makes the añjali with round-folded hands also on the head, then he wishes hail and victory. Ending his report he says: "that even delightful thing I announce to your Majesty, well, delightful may it be! (§ 18)." The king offers in consequence of this delightful event presents to the pravṛttivyāpṛta: eight hundred thousand karṣāpaṇas? as a prītidāna (§ 20). This official is attached to a special employment for the king; he receives the whole livelihood (§ 13) and, as it seems, presents at the occasion of delightful reports; so (§ 39) the king gives to him 1,205,000 (karṣāpaṇas?). But the pravṛttivyāpṛta holds again many people, the pavittivāyā = pravṛttivyāpṛtas, which receive the maintenance (with cloths, lodging etc. perhaps), eating and wages (bhati = bhṛti; bhatta = bhakta; vedāṇa = vetana. § 13 f.) by him; it may be the same like between the dauvārika, the first door-keeper and member of the tīrthas, and his subjects, the ordinary dauvārikas; both the chief and the subordinated people, bear the same name.

This official and his subjects have to report the devasiyā = daivasikī, sc. pravṛtti; according to

the Comm. it means:<sup>209</sup> sa cāsau vivakṣitāmutra nagarādāvāgato viharati ca Bhagavān ityādikā daivasikī (स चासौ विवक्षितामुत्र नगरादावागतो विहरति च भगवान् इत्यादिका दैवसिकी ॥) i. e. therefore that which happens a day, where the Bhagavān will be preaching, or that he was coming from a city etc., that he stays there and events like them. From this explanation as well as from the expression: Bhagavato pavittivānya (भगवतो पवित्तिवाण्य—*Aup.* § 13) it could be concluded that he had only the duty to report the activity of the Bhagavān. But it is possible that he originally is an official of general reports, only here in the Jain-text represented as specially entrusted with the reports about Mahāvira; the explanation of the Comm. says nothing: pravṛttivyāpṛto vārttāvyāpāravān vārttām nivedakaḥ<sup>310</sup> (प्रवृत्तिव्यापृतो वार्त्ताव्यापारवान् वार्त्ता-निवेदकः ॥).

Finally is noteworthy the address of the king and of this official: there exists only one address: Devānuppiyā, the plural, in Skt. Devānām priyaḥ. It has been assumed that the plural of devānām priyaḥ has been the common title of His Majesty in the Maurya-epoch;<sup>211</sup> it is found in the *Aup.*-text, used not only for the king, but also for the official and for one not of high rank; the title must have lost his once distinctive

209 Cited by E. LEUMANN S. V. in the Glossary.

210 The Comm. on the Ms. or. fol. 1001 Berlin (A. WEBER, *Verzeichnis* II, 3 No. 1826), p. 24 b, l. 17, 25 a, l. 1.

211 Cf. G. BUHLER, *Ind. Ant.* VIII (1878), p. 144; *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Asoka-Inschriften*, Leipzig 1909, p. 55; E. SENART, *Ind. Ant.* XX (1891), p. 231, n. 9; V. A. SMITH, *JRAS* 1901, p. 577 f.

sense; he must have become obsolete. His occurrence here would speak for later times, at least for a pietism, may it be also only in literature.<sup>212</sup>

For deciding the question of the age of these officials and terms, no handle (clue) is given; only the *Kauṭ. Arthaś.* could be compared, and there we see not the slightest resemblance in the courts-officials. Though arguments on general reasons are not of great weight, the fact that such a staff of officials had existed in the time of Ajātaśatru seems to be unlikely.

#### OFFICIALS OF THE QUEEN AND HER ATTENDANTS.

In *Aup.* (55) the queens come out from their palace; they are surrounded by humpbacked and other girls from different countries; in the retinue appear eunuchs (*varisavara* = *varṣavara*), chamberlains (*kañcuijja* = *kañcukiya*) and mahattaras, probably courtiers. These officials must be understood in plural, because each of the queens had certainly her own personal (*niyagapariyālasaddhim*); one, here Dhāriṇī or Subhadrā with name, is the first consort of the king (cf. § 12 and 40, 43 etc.); their title is *devī*, but also Dhāriṇī is named only *devī* (§ 12); In *Kalpas.* (II. 14) Indra (Sakka) has an *aggamāhiṣī*, Skt. *agramāhiṣī*; *mahiṣī* is found also in Brahmanical sources (e. g. *Arthaś.* 16, 18; 247, 5 f.). The attendants of a queen are

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212 There exists still another meaning of the singular *devānām priyaḥ*, which supports the view that already in the post-Mauryan times the word had a ridiculous sense, cf. about *Mahābh.* II, 4, 56; A. WEBER, *Ind. Stud.* XIII, p. 337 f., n. 1.

similar, but not identical<sup>213</sup> with those of the king described in the *Arthas*.

THE SERVANT-GIRLS FROM DIFFERENT PEOPLES.

The servant-girls (cetikā) of a queen come from different peoples, territories; the list given below shows their names.

5. aṅga Bhagavatī.

- 1 Cilatiyā
- 2 Vaḍabhiyā
- 3 Babbariyā
- 4 Isigaṇiyā
- 5 Vāsaganiyā
- 6 Palhaviyā
- 7 Hlāsiyā
- 8 Laüsiyā
- 9 Ārabī
- 10 Damilā
- 11 Siṁthali
- 12 Pulimḍī
- 13 Pukkali
- 14 Bahali
- 15 Muramḍī
- 16 Saṁvari
- 17 Pārasī

6. aṅga Jñātādharmak.

- 1 Cilāiyā
- 2 Vaḍabhi
- 3 Babbari
- 4 Vaüsī
- 5 Joṇiya
- 6 Palhavi
- 7 Isiṇi
- 8 Thārugiṇī
- 9 Lāsiyā
- 10 Lauaiyā
- 11 Damili
- 12 Siṁhali
- 13 Āravī
- 14 Pulimḍi
- 15 Pakkaṇi
- 16 Bahali
- 17 Murumḍi
- 18 Sabari
- 19 Pārasī

1. upāṅga Aup.

- |             |            |
|-------------|------------|
| 1 Cilāt     | 11 Damili  |
| 2 Vaḍabhi   | 12 Siṁhali |
| 3 Babbari   | 13 Ārabī   |
| 4 Paüaiyā   | 14 Pulimḍi |
| 5 Joṇiyā    | 15 Pakkaṇi |
| 6 Palhaviya | 16 Bahali  |
| 7 Isiṇiyā   | 17 Marumḍi |
| 8 Cāruṇiya  | 18 Sabari  |
| 9 Lāsiyā    | 19 Pārasī  |
| 10 Lausiya  |            |

213 Cf. *SWA* l. c. p. 74 ff.

6. *upāṅga Jambudvīpapr.*

- 1 Cilātī
- 2 Vaḍabhi
- 3 Babbārī
- 4 Vaūsiyā
- 5 Joṇiyā
- 6 Palhaviyā
- 7 Isiṇiyā
- 8 Tharuniyā
- 9 Lāsiyā
- 10 Laūsiyā
- 11 Damilī
- 12 Sihalī
- 13 Āravī
- 14 Pulimḍī
- 15 Pakkaṇī
- 16 Vahali
- 17 Maṛumḍī
- 18 Savarī
- 19 Pārasī

*Kalpāntarav.*

- 1 Cilātī
- 2 Vaḍabhi
- 3 Babbārī
- 4 Paūsiā
- 5 Joṇiā
- 6 Palhaviā
- 7 Isiṇiā
- 8 Cāruṇiā
- 9 Lāsiā
- 10 Lausiā
- 11 Demalī
- 12 Siṃhalī
- 13 Ābarī
- 14 Pulimḍī
- 15 Pakkaṇī
- 16 Maṛumḍī
- 17 Bahali
- 18 Saḥarī
- 19 Pārasī

4. *upāṅga Prajñāpanā.*

- 1 Sagā
- 2 Javanā
- 3 Cilāya
- 4 Savarā
- 5 Papparā
- 6 Kāyā
- 7 Murumḍā
- 8 Bhaḍagā
- 9 Niṇṇaḥḥā
- 10 Pakkaṇiyā
- 11 Kulakkhā
- 12 Koṇḍā
- 13 Siharā
- 14 Pārasā
- 15 Godhovā
- 16 Damilā
- 17 Villalā
- 18 Pulimḍā
- 19 Hārosā

- 20 Domvā
- 21 Boṭṭhakāṇā
- 22 Gaṇḍhahāravā
- 23 Pahaliliyā
- 24 Ayyalā
- 25 Rāmā
- 26 Pāsā
- 27 Paūsā
- 28 Nalayā
- 29 Baṇḍhuyā
- 30 Sūyalī
- 31 Koṇkaṇā
- 32 Moyā
- 33 Palhavā
- 34 Mālavā
- 35 Maggarī
- 36 Ābhāsiyā
- 37 Nakvaviṇā
- 38 Lhasiyā

39 Khagga	46 Kvokvatā
40 Ghāsiyā	47 Arakāgā
41 Nohā	48 Hūpā
42 Ramadhā	49 Romagā
43 Dombilagā	50 Bharu
44 Laūsā	51 Maruyā
45 Paosā	52 Visālāpavāsī

Nemicaandra, *Pravacanas*.

1 Saga	20 Pulimda
2 Javana	21 Kumca
3 Sabara	22 Phamararuyā
4 Vavvara	23 Kevāya
5 Kāya	24 Cīṇa
6 Marumda	25 Camouya
7 Udda	26 Mālava
8 Goḍa	27 Damilā
9 Pakkanayā	28 Kulagghā
10 Aravāga	29 Kekaya
11 Hoṇa	30 Kirāya
12 Romaya	31 Hayamuha
13 Pārasa	32 Kharamuha
14 Khasa	33 Gaya
15 Khāsiyā	34 Turaya
16 Duṇvilaya	35 Miṇḍhayamuhā
17 Laūsa	36 Hayakannā
18 Bhokkasa	37 Gayakannā
19 Bhillimda, Bhilās and Amdhrā	

Candrasūri on *Nirayāvalī*.

1 Cilātī	10 Draviḍī
2 Vaḍabhā	11 Siṃhali
3 Varvari	12 Āravī
4 Vakuśikā	13 Pakvaṇī
5 Yenakā	14 Vahali
6 Paṇhavikā	15 Murumḍī
7 Isinikā	16 Śavari
8 Cārukinikā	17 Pārasī
9 Lāsikā	( Contd. )

## NOTES

1 A. WEBER, *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 302.

2 *Ibid.* p. 313.

3 E. LEUMANN, *AKM* VIII (1833), § 55.

4 A. WEBER *l. c.* p. 412.

5 A. WEBER *l. c.* p. 476.

6 *Ibid.* p. 396 f.

7 *Ibid.* p. 396 f., n. 3.

8 *Ibid.* p. 422, n. 1.

1 Cilāī, cilā(i)yā or cilātiyā. According to Hemacandra's *Pkt.-Grammar* (I, 183) Cilāya represents Skt. Kirāta;<sup>214</sup> E. Leumann s. v. cilāya cites in his *Glossary* (p. 118) a gloss in a Ms. of the *Rājaprasn.*,<sup>215</sup> where stands: cilātikā dāsī; the Comm. on *Aup.* explains: ceṭikā anāryadesotpannā vā (चेटिका अनार्यदेशोत्पन्ना वा ॥) so that these Comm. did not know the statement of Hemacandra. A scholion on *Jambudvīpapr.* explains the Cilāti: Cilātyaḥ Cilātadesotpannāḥ (चिलात्यचिलातदेशोत्पन्नाः ॥). The Kirātas are known as the followers of the Indian king, probably in wartime, as noted already by Ktesias in the 5th cent. B. C.<sup>216</sup> As dhanurgrahāṇīs we meet the girls of the Kirātas in the dramatic literature, and the *Medinikośa*, cited in a gloss on *Śākuntala* says:<sup>217</sup> Kirāti cāmaradhārī (किराती चामरधारी). The Kirātas are placed by *Varāham. Brhats.* (XIV, 18) in a southern, and (XIV, 30) in a northern direction;

214 Cf. R. PISCHEL, *Prākṛit-Grammatik* § 230, 257.

215 A. WEBER, *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 412, n. 2.

216 Cf. *SWA l. c.* p. 76 f., 324 f. Megasthenes does not mention them in this position, but in the *Arthas.* they appear as attendants of the king.

217 C. BOHTLINGK's edition (Bonn 1842) p. 177 on p. 20, 16.

they form a stereotyped part of mleccha-peoples in the *Bṛhats*, as well as in the *Epic* and *Purāṇas*.<sup>218</sup> The occurrence of this people cannot be therefore an argument in any way.

2 Vaḍabhi, in *Bhagavati* Vaḍahiya; they are explained by Abhayadeva with: maḍaha-koṣṭhābhiḥ<sup>219</sup> (मडहकोष्ठभिः); by the Comm. on *Aup.* with: vakrādhahkoṣṭhā, or by the *Jñātādh.* with: mahākoṣṭhā.<sup>220</sup> If any identification is permitted, it seems probable to see in these women the Vallabhiyā; Valabhi plays a role in the Jain-community as the place of the council under Devarddhi Kṣamāśramaṇa.

3 The Barbariyā are known from the *Epic*, *Purāṇas* and the lexicographical literature as well as from the *Bṛhats*. (V, 42; XIV, 18).

4 Isiganiyā, Isinī (cf. Weber l. C. p. 476), or Isinīyā; the first part of this name represents a Skt. ṛṣi°; from *Mhbh.* (V, 4, 18); *Rām.* (IV, 41, 16 ed. Gorr.) we get knowledge of a people Rṣika, where as the ed. Bomb. (IV, 41, 10) reads Anuṣṭika, but the Comm. remarks: Rṣṭikāniti pāṭhaḥ. This people occurs in the *Purāṇas*, and Alberuni mentions the same in the list, taken from the *Bṛhats*. (XIV, 15). They are placed in a southern direction, on the ocean, but it seems as if the name Rṣika would be an etymology of a similar, perhaps Rṣṭika; for the tāpaśāśrama of a people is too suspicious. Therefore the question, put by

218 Cf. P. W. s. v. and F. E. PARGITER in his translation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, *Bibl. Ind.* 1005, p. 322f.

219 A WEBER l. c. p. 302, n. 4.

220 E. Leumann in the *Glossary*, s. v.



Fleet,<sup>221</sup> whether the Rṣikas have any connexion with the Ristika or Rastika in Aśoka's fifth Rock-edict, is worthy of notice, though their evidently southern situation makes difficulty. Also the second part of the word causes doubt, when we take the form, given on first place, unless we explain it as Skt. °gaṇikā.

5 The possibility to take this second part as gaṇikā is increased by the return of the ending in the name Vāsagaṇiyā. Abhayadeva<sup>222</sup> has Vārugaṇiyāhiṃ, and adds Joṇiyāhiṃ. Neither in the *Jñātādh.*, nor in *Aup.*, nor in the other lists a name of half-way similar phonetical shape is found; only in the *Jñātādh.* Vausī would correspond, and it is remarkable that this name is followed by Joṇiya; in *Aup.* the place is occupied by the Pausiyā (with v.l. Bau°) followed by the Joṇiya again like that in the *Kalpāntaravācyāni* (Weber l. c. p. 476). Therewith these four forms would exist: Vāsa-, Vārugaṇiyā, Vausī and Pausī. None of these names are known from other works; also the explanation of the Comm. on *Jñātādh.*:<sup>223</sup> Vakusikā does not help further. In the *Purāṇas* a western people, the Vasikas or Nāsikyās, occur; whether there exists a connexion is, according to the conditions of the readings, impossible to say.

221 *Ind. Ant.* XXII (1893), p. 188; cf. *ibid.* XX (1891), p. 248 – Candrasūri (Weber l. c. p. 422, n. 1) has: Isinikābhiḥ – For Rṣika cf. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* p. 74 and 79, who gives lists of the peoples in the *Purāṇas*; Pargiter l. c. p. 332, 366.

222 A. Weber l. c. p. 302, n. 6.

223 E. Leumann in the *Glossary* s. v. Vausaya and A. Weber *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 332, 412.

6 The Joṇiyā, mentioned above, are the Yavanikās; inasmuch as these follow the foregoing unidentified people and are again followed by non-Indian peoples, the assumption is possible that the Pausī were non-Indians.

7 For the name Pahlava Weber has<sup>224</sup> attempted to state a fixed date based on remarks by J. Olshausen<sup>225</sup> and Th. Noldke,<sup>226</sup> that the alteration of pahlava from parthava belongs to the first cent. A. D. and therefore the reception of the form Pahlava in Indian writings must be dated at the end of the first or better in the second cent. A. D. When also the historical objections, advanced by G. Bühler,<sup>227</sup> today have lost their weight, the importance in general of such a statement in Indian literature is too little. But in an other direction the occurrence of the Pahlavas has its value: it shows the inconsistency with the historical conditions that Pahlavis had that they can be slaves in the time of Mahāvīra or Ajātaśatru, say in the 5th cent. B. C.

8 In *Bhagavatī* occurs Hlasiyā; in the fourth Upāṅga, *Prajñāpanā*, the form runs Lhasiya or Lhāsiya; in *Jñātādh.* appears Lasiyā like that in *Aup.*, *Jambudvīpapr.* and in the *Kalpāntarav.*<sup>228</sup>

224 In the second edition (German) of his *History of Indian Literature* p. 338.

225 *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1874), p. 708; Parthava und Pahlav, Māda and Māh, Berlin 1876.

226 *ZIMG XXXI* (1878), p. 558.

227 *SBE XXV*, p. CXV f.—Cf. E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, London 1908, p. XXXVII, n. 2.

228 A. Weber *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 302, 313, 397, 412 resp.

9 Cāruṇiṇiyā in *Aup.*, is quite uncertain; there exists a set of various readings: Thāruṇiṇiyā in *Jñātūdh.*, *Jambudvīpapr.*; the latter has also Thārukiṇiā, in the transcription Thārukinikābhīh,<sup>229</sup> further Cārubhaṇiyā, Cāruṇiṇiyā, Cārukiṇiā, Vāruṇiṇiyā, Vāruṇiṇiyā. In the *Prajñāpanā* we meet a town Varanā in the Atthā-country, or Acchā-country; Nemicandra in his *Pravacanasāroddhāra* reads Varuṇa and explains: Varuṇo nagaram Acchā deśaḥ anye tu Varuṇe Acchāpurī-tyāhuḥ<sup>230</sup> (वरुणो नगरं, अच्छा देशः, अन्ये तु वरुणे अच्छापुरीत्याहुः ॥). Though both seem to be unknown otherwise, perhaps the town Rkṣapuri has existed in a Varuṇa-country, from which the girls came. A town Varuṇā occurs in Jinist cosmography and in the Mahāmāyūrī.<sup>231</sup>

10 Conforming to the Lauṣiyās in the other sources the *Prajñāpanā* reads Lauṣā; in Skt. the name would correspond to a \*Lakuśā,<sup>232</sup> unknown, as it seems, otherwise.

11 the Ārabīs or Āravīs, occurring in many texts,<sup>233</sup> are the Arabians; they are found in the *Brhats.* (XIV, 17). The conjecture by N. N. Law,<sup>234</sup> that Vanāyu in the *Arthas.* (133, 16) is Arabia, is quite unintelligible; these places, from

229 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 412 and E. Leumann, *Aup.* § 55, n. 1.

230 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 398 and n. 3.

231 W. Kirfel *l. c.* p. 257, 305; S. Lévi *JAS.* XI, t. v (1915), p. 95 f.

232 Cf. A. Weber *l. c.* p. 397, n.

233 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 302, 313, 380, 412, 476.

234 *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, London (1914), p. 40, n. 2.

which the horses came, are common to the *Mhbh.* (VIII 7-11 cf. VI,9,56) and *Rām.* (I,6,22; the Comm. says: *deśaviśeṣaḥ*) and to the lexicographical literature (*Halāy. Abhidh.* II,284; *Hemac. Abhidh.* 1235; *Amarak.* II,8,13; *Vaijay.* 111,189). For there exists little probability that the Indians would have named the people otherwise, when already in the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes, Arabāya is found.<sup>235</sup> Therefore the occurrence of the word in *Varāham. Brhats.* seems to be the first in Brahmanical literature, which can be dated with certainty.

12 *Damiḷī*, once<sup>236</sup> found in the form *Demalio*, are the representatives of South India; the first notice of southern peoples is found in the XIII. Rock-edict of Aśoka. *Damiḷa* appears in Skt. as *Draviḍa* (cf. Pischel, *Pkt.-Grammatik* § 261, 387); the latter is in Brahmanical literature not of high age. The time of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, where (p. 133) the women of the *Draviḍas* are mentioned, is uncertain;<sup>237</sup> in *Manu* they occur in a stereotyped enumeration (X, 44) like those in *Epic*. *Varāhamihira* shows an advanced knowledge of the country, speaking from the *Draviḍādhipāḥ* in (IV,23); the passage (LVIII,4) shows a connexion between a *Draviḍan* measure and sculpture. According to the P. w. s. v. *Draviḍa* means five peoples:

235 Behistun-inscription I, 1. 15; cf. also the other inscriptions, e. g. Persepolis (Weissbach-Bang, *Assyriologische Bibliothek* X, 1, 2, Leipzig 1893-1908), p. 34, l. 11, -Cf. N. Dey, *Ind. Ant.* XLIX (1920), Suppl. p. 22, s. v. *Banāyu*.

236 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 476.

237 M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* III Leipzig (1922), p. 540 supposes the fourth cent. A. D.

Āndhrāḥ Karṇāṭakāścaiva Gurjarā Draviḍāstathā,  
Mahārāṣṭrā iti khyātāḥ pañcaite Draviḍāḥ smṛtāḥ.

(आन्ध्राः कर्णाटकाश्चैव गुर्जरा द्रविडास्तथा ।

महाराष्ट्रा इति ख्याताः पञ्चैते द्रविडाः स्मृताः ॥ )

or *ibid.* s. v. Drāviḍa ) :

Karṇāṭāścaiva Tailangā Gujjarā Rāṣṭravāsināḥ,  
Āndhrāśca Draviḍāḥ pañca Vindhyadakṣiṇavā-  
sināḥ<sup>238</sup>

( कर्णाटाश्चैव तैलङ्गा गुर्जरा राष्ट्रवासिनः ।

आन्ध्राश्च द्रविडाः पञ्च विन्ध्यदक्षिणवासिनः ॥ )

13 Siṃhalī in *Jñātādh.*, Siṃthalī in *Bhagavatī*, occurs also in Candrasūri's *Comm.*<sup>239</sup> and in the *Kalpāntarav.*<sup>240</sup> Though the P. W. cites Siṃhala works of a relatively late date, stress cannot be laid thereon; for the connexion of northern India with Ceylon must be dated back in the time of the flourishing Buddhism. But Greek testimonies make it probable that the name Siṃhaladvīpa belongs to the first cent. A. D., whereas the elder name seems to have been Tāmbapaṇṇi (Tāmrapaṇṇī), as is shown also by the Aśoka-inscriptions.<sup>241</sup>

14 The Pulindīs, occurring often in the texts (cf. Weber *l. c.* XVII, *Index* s. v.) are not only known from Aśoka's XIII. Rock-edict, but also from the *Aitareya-Brahmaṇa*.<sup>242</sup>

238 In the *Kalpāntarav.* occurs under other kinds the Draviḍa lipi (A. Weber *l. c.* p. 440); but no historic value can be attributed to this passage.

239 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 422, n. 1.

240 *Ibid.* p. 476.

241 Cf. H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa* p. 91 f.; *The Cambridge History of India* I, p. 605 f.; *Ind. Ant.* XII. 1884, p. 33 f.

242 Macdonell-Kelth, *Vedic Index* II, p. 8 s. v.

15 The Pakkaṇīs of *Aup.* appear in the other texts in different forms: Pukkali (Pakka°) in *Bhagavatt*, Pakvaṇī in *Jambudvīpapr.* and in Candrasūri's *Comm.*,<sup>243</sup> while the form like that in *Aup.* occurs also in *Jñātādh.* and *Kalpāntarav.*<sup>244</sup> It would be an easy thing to identify the Pakkaṇī etc. with a people, whose name is given again in different forms: Pukkasa, Pulkasa, Pukkasa, Bukkasa, Pakkaśa; but there remains the difficulty in appearing of the cerebral dental sibilant. The word pakkaṇa, resp. pakvaṇa, is known only in the meaning "hut" of a savage people; in consequence of these two reasons the identification is doubtful; the Pulkasa are found in *Vedic texts*<sup>245</sup>

16 The Bahalī are to be identified with the Bāhlikas, Bālhikas etc. the *Epic*.<sup>246</sup> Though on the one hand the statements expressed by Weber,<sup>247</sup> that works containing this name cannot be dated back before the Christian era, may be correct in general, it is on the other hand doubtful whether the Baktrians are meant by the name or rather peoples of the west.

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243 A. Weber *l. c.* p. 302 and n. 7; 412, 422.

244 *Ibid.* p. 313, 476; cf. p. 332, 397.

245 Macdonell-Keith *l. c.* II, p. 27 s.v. Paulkasa; cf. Halāyudha (ed. Th. Aufrecht) Notes p. 112 on II, 443.

246 Cf. P. W. s. v. Bāhlika and Bālhika; S. Sørensen, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, Part III, London 1907, p. 110 s. v.

247 SPA 1892, p. 985-995; A. Ludwig, *Sitzungsberichte der königl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 1896, p. 46 ff.; Macdonell-Keith *l. c.* II, p. 63 s. v. Balhika; Pargiter *l. c.* p. 311, n.\*

17 For Muruṇḍī the alternative form Murāṇḍī is found; this people is well known from Samudragupta's *Allahabad-prasasti*, where (CII III, p. 8, l. 23) they appear between Śakas and Saimhalas.<sup>248</sup> The people, if the identification with the Ou-lun of the *Chinese Encyclopaedia Ma-teuan-lin* is correct, are proved for the seventh cent. A. D., although they are not found in *Varāham. Brhats*.

18 Of no significance are the Śabarīs which people appears in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 18) as the Dasyus together with the Āndhra, Puṇḍra, Pulinda and Mūṭiba.<sup>249</sup> They belong to the south-eastern division (*Varāham. Brhats*. XIV, 10), and pass generally for a tribe of savage as also *Varāham.* (LXXXVII, 10) indicates, where he speaks from the Śabaravyādhacaurasāṅga.

19 The last women are the Pārasīs, the the Persian; the quotations in P. W. s. v.

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248 S. Lévi, *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, Leyde 1896, p. 179-185 remarked that muruṇḍa may be the title of the king, a view which has been adopted by Sten Konow, *SPA* 1916, p. 790 f., *Das indische Drama* p. 49. Hemac. *Abbhidi*. 960 ahd *Vaijay*. 37, 50 show the Muruṇḍas or Murāṇḍas on the west frontier (for Lampāka see S. Lévi *J l. c.* p. 89 f.); the Marundai of Ptolemaies (VII, 2, 14; Oppian, *Kyngest*. IV, 165) are situated on the Ganges, where already Megasthenes (fg. inc. LVI, 9; Plinius *NH* VI, 6f.) knows the Molindae. Lévi stated himself (*Mélanges* p. 180) that 'śaka in the title daiva-putra' is an ethnic; and why not 'muruṇḍa? The Chinese records may give a vrddhi-form of Muruṇḍa as the title of the kings of the Muruṇḍas. (Cf. J. Allan, *Catalogue* p. XXIV ff).

249 Macdonell-Kelch l. c. II, p. 354.

Pārasika and Pārasika would not allow the acceptance of high age of this name in Indian literature. Though it would be a priori probable to assume an early connection between the Indians and Persians (naturally in post-Aryan periods) dating from the time of Darius at least, the views of the scholars concernig Parśu are not unanimous;<sup>250</sup> in spite of Alberuni's equation of the Pāraśavas = Persians, the fact that Brahmanical theory declares the Pāraśava as the son of a Brahman and Śūdra (e. g. *Manu* IX, 178) speaks against this identification. Further, if Paraśava would mean the persians, Pārasika seems to be unintelligible.

The question of the date of the whole list is rendered more difficult by the impossibility to locate and to identify a good deal of them. Also the arrangement gives no handle (clue) to infer their site; for the Kirātas, Pahlavas, Arabians belong to the west, but they are interrupted by unknown peoples. Then follow those of the South, as Draviḍas, Siṃhalas, Pulindas, while those, coming next, have to be placed again in a western direction: Baktrians, Persians, to enumerate only the more certain peoples.

Comparing the non-Indian literature, Plinius in his *Naturalis Historica* (VI, 64 ff) does not mention the name of a people, which is found in the list, except the Kirātas. Ptolemaies, the geographer of the second cent. A. D., knows from the peoples, occuring in the list, the Śabarās (Sabarai VII, 1, 80), near the Ganges. In that

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250 Cf. Moedonell-Keith l. c. I, p. 504 f.



(VII, 1, 64) he mentions the Pulindai Agriop-hagoi which are to be located in a western direction. South of the Ganges-valley are to be placed the Marundai of VII, 2, 14. No more can be gathered from Ptolemaies' *Geography*, and also the Chinese pilgrims do not help further, because they were not thoroughly acquainted with the peoples of India. First in Alberuni's *Indica* a full list of peoples is found, but that is not the description by a foreign geographer, rather, the compilation by a learned Arabian from Hindu works.

Alberuni<sup>251</sup> takes his geographical division of India as well from the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* as from Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā*. Common with our list the former source has the Śabaras, Kirātas, Vāhlikas, Pahlavas; while the latter has the following peoples: Śabaras, Ṛṣikas, Siṃhalas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Pāraśavas, Draviḍas, Yavanas; the Vokkāṇa, located by Varāhamihira in the West (XIV, 20; XVI, 35) have hardly to do anything with the Pakkaṇa. In the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (II, 3; Wilson's transl. Works vol. VII, p. 129) we meet the Kirātas, Yavanas; in *Mhbh.* (II, 52), and (VI, 9, 38 ff), where Sañjaya enumerates the peoples of Bhāratavarṣa, only some of the list are mentioned. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* occur these tribes: Vāhlikas (LVII, 35), Pahlavas (36-LVIII, 30), Kirātas (LVII, 40), Śabaras, Pulindas (47), and Ṛṣikas (LVIII, 27; cf. Pargiter's transl. p. 332, n. †), Siṃhalas (27), Pāraśavas (32), Draviḍas (33), and Yavana (52; cf. Pargiter l. c. LVII, 8, and 36 with n. §).

<sup>251</sup> Alberuni's *India* (transl. by E. C. Sachau), London 1910, I, p. 299 ff.

In spite of the much more complete enumeration in the Purāṇas the different character of the list in the Jinist works is undeniable. It is not only the circumstance that all the girls are from non-Āryan tribes, because, as shown just above, also in the Purāṇas the Mlecchas are included in the inhabitants of Bhāratavarṣa rather the difference is in the form of the names, unknown from the Brahmanical literature.

Only one hint we get from Nemicaṇḍra's *Pravacanasāroddhāraprakaraṇa*;<sup>252</sup> his list of the peoples is evidently enlarged and of a more recent date than that of the other texts. The time of Nemicaṇḍra is determined by the *Comm.* of Siddhasenasūri<sup>253</sup> who belongs to Saṃvat 1242 = 1185 A. D. There is no doubt that the lists in all the texts represent interpolations which are shown by their more or less conforming character. The peoples must be understood not even as peoples in the strict sense, rather as tribes of India at the locality and time of the interpolater. The lists in the *Brhats.* and the Purāṇas on the one hand, and those of the texts of the *Siddhānta* on the other, make it probable, that the latter belong to a time nearer the approximate date of Nemicaṇḍra, say the 10. or 11. cent. A. D.; to a time, not too far from this date, the origin of the list may belong. The

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252 Cf. p. Peterson, *Report (JBBRAS XVI Extr. Number) on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle, 1882-83*, p. 66 ff., Appendix I, p. 88 f.; A. Weber, *Verzeichnis* II, 3 p. 844, No. 1936.

253 A. Weber *Ind. Stud.* XVI, p. 211, n. 3.

supposition that the slave-girls could be from peoples under the dominion of Ajātaśatru, is an anachronism, is out of question.

Summarizing the results of the inquiry we have seen an affinity between the gamas and the Brahmanical literature. But the character of the gamas, technical expressions in holy texts, and their probable source, for a certain part, the Dictionaries, show that they represent interpolations. And if the kośas of the end of the first millenary offer the most striking parallels, or the Purāṇas of a certainly relatively recent date stand next, the conclusion that the lists also must be of a recent date is possible. Though the cities are occurring in texts of early times, the list can be borrowed from them, because these places formed the local back-ground of the founders of the two most important religious non-Brahmanical movements, and because they were fixed by tradition. Not so with the titles of officials: here we had occasion to refer to analogies in inscriptions and in works of later times. The status of the court-officials, differing in a high degree from that known from other sources, can hardly serve as an argument of an early date; and, finally, the women, used in the suite of the queens, permit us to assume a date of the end of the first millenary rather than that of earlier times. Arguments of general reasons possess little vigour of evidence; but the developed conditions of settlements, officials and of the ceremonial may serve as a supporting proof.

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