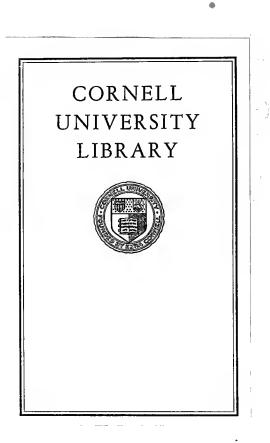


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The modern vernacular of Hindustan.

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R. C. Temple.



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MODERN VERNACULAR LITERATURE

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(HINDUSTAN.)

By GEORGE A. (GRIERSONS)B.A., B.C.S.

Mer den Pichter will verstehen, Auss in Pichters Lande gehen.

[Printed as a Special Number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, for 1888.]

CALCUTTA:

Published by the Asiatic Society, 57, Park Street. 1889.

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RĀMA'S CHILDHOOD.

THE MODERN VERNACULAR LITERATURE

OF

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PREFACE.

In the year 1886 it was my privilege to read, at the International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna, a paper on the Mediæval Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān with special reference to Tul'sī Dās. The preparation of this necessitated the arrangement of the notes on the entire vernacular literature of Northern India, which I had collected through a long series of years, although the essay itself dealt with only a portion of the literature which existed before the 17th century.

Encouraged by the attention with which this paper was received, I have endeavoured to give in the present work a more complete view of the vernacular literature of Hindūstān from the earliest times to the present day. It does not pretend to be more than a list of all the vernacular writers whose names I have been able to collect, nine hundred and fifty-two in number, of whom only some seventy have been previously noticed by Garcin de Tassy in his Histoire de la litérature hindouie et hindoustanie.

It will be observed that I deal only with modern vernacular literature. I therefore give no particulars concerning authors of purely Sanskrit works, and exclude from consideration books written in Prākrit, even when it may have been a vernacular, as not connoted by the term modern. Nor do I record the names of Indian writers in Arabic or Persian, or in the exotic literary $\overline{U}rd\bar{u}$, and

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I have been the more willing to exclude these last from our present consideration as they have been already exhaustively dealt with by Garcin de Tassy. I may add that by Hindūstān I mean Răj'rutānā and the valleys of the Jamunā and of the Ganges as far east as the river Kosi, and that I do not include under that term either the Panjāb or Lower Bangāl. The vernacular languages dealt with may roughly be considered as three in number, Mār'wārī, Hindī, and Bihārī, each with its various dialects and sub-dialects. One omission must be mentioned with regret. I have refrained from including the large number of anonymous folk-epics and of folk-songs (such as kaj rīs, jat sārs, and the like) current throughout Northern India. These can only be collected on the spot from the mouths of the people, and, so far as I am aware, that has only been systematically done in the province of Bihār. I have therefore, after some hesitation, determined to exclude all mention of them from the work, as any attempt to describe them as a whole could only have been incomplete and misleading.

The introduction will explain the principle of arrangement adopted in this work. Many of the entries are mere names of authors and nothing more, which I have included to make the book as complete as possible. When any information was available, I have entered it against the author's name referred to; and in some cases I have, I believe, been able to present information which has not hitherto been placed at the disposal of European scholars. As examples of this, I would refer the reader to the articles on Sūr Dās (No. 37) and on Tul'sī Dās (No. 128). I do not pretend to have read all or even a considerable portion of the large

PREFACE. ix

body of literature catalogued in these pages, but I have seen and studied specimens of the works of nearly all the nine hundred and fifty-two authors whose names are mentioned. Nor do I pretend to have understood all I have studied; for many of the specimens are so difficult that it is hopeless to attempt their interpretation without the aid of a commentary, either oral or documentary. For this reason I do not venture to call this book a formal History of Literature. The subject is too vast, and the present state of our knowledge is too limited to allow such a task to be attempted. I therefore only offer it as a collection of materials which will form a foundation upon which others more fortunate than I am, and with more time at their disposal than a Bengal District Collector, may build.

Regarding the spelling of vernacular words, I have adhered to the system followed by Dr. Hoernle and myself in our Comparative Dictionary of the Bihārī Language, to which the reader is referred for particulars. It may be briefly stated as spelling every word rigidly as it is pronounced. I have only deviated from this rule in the case of the names of a few living gentlemen, natives of India. On the principle that every one has a right to spell his own name as he likes, I have spelt their names as they sign themselves when writing in the English character. The chief difficulty experienced has been in the division of groups of words forming proper names. It has been found by no means an easy task to secure uniformity without leading to results which were too strange and too variant from actual use to be adopted. Present custom in this respect, though convenient, has no system, and the adoption of any system X PREFACE.

must consequently lead to a certain amount of confusion. I have endeavoured to divide the same name in the same way whenever it occurred in the book, but I regret that amongst the four thousand and odd names which occur there have been some *lapsus calami*.

Apologies for dealing with the Neo-Indian vernaculars are not now so necessary as they would have been twenty years ago. At first, oriental scholars devoted themselves to Sanskrit alone, and then, under the guidance of Burnouf, attacked Pāli. In later years the classical Prākrits have attracted students, and thus the age of the object of our researches has become more and more modern in its character. I now ask my readers to take again one step over the very short gap which separates the latest Prākrit from the earliest Gaudian literature. Hēmachandra flourished about 1150 A.D.,¹ and Chand Bar'dāī, the first of the Gaudian poets of whom we have at present any certain remains, died in 1193.

It is possible, however, that some oriental students may still cling to the old love for Sanskrit, and these I must ask to test the rich ore found in the following pages, which contain the names of several vernacular commentaries on difficult Sanskrit books,² and of numerous technical works on such subjects as Grammar, Prosody, Vocabulary,³ Composition, and the like. The student of inscriptions will also find a productive mine in the literature of Hindūstān, owing to the custom which vernacular poets had of dating their works and of naming their patrons. Besides this the muse

¹ He died 1172 A.D.

² For instance, Gumān Jī (No. 349) wrote a commentary of great reputation on the Nāṣadha. He lived early in the 18th century.

⁴ For instance, Daya Ram (No. 387) wrote a useful anëkarthakosa.

of History, so silent in Sanskrit literature, has been assiduously cultivated by these authors, and we have still extant historical works founded on materials which were written so far back as the ninth century. I therefore venture to put forward claims for attention not only from those scholars who have hitherto devoted themselves to Prākrit literature, but also from those who love to wander amid the intricacies of the Nānsadha, or to apply themselves to the copper-plate grants of The Indian Antiquary.

There is another claim which I would mention, and that is the intrinsic merit of the Neo-Gaudian literature. After all that is said, the later Sanskrit and the Prākrit poems are but artificial productions, written in the closet by learned men for learned men; but the Neo-Gaudian poets wrote for unsparing critics,—the people. Many of them studied nature and wrote what they saw. They found 'tongues in trees,' and as they interpreted what they heard successfully or not, so was their popularity great or small, and so their works lived after them or not. Several works exist whose authors' names we do not even know; but they have remained living voices in the people's hearts, because they appealed to the sense of the true and of the beautiful.'

It is hoped that the three indexes will be found useful. Considerable trouble has been expended in order to make them as accurate as possible.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

¹ I refer to the folk epics, $b\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ $m\tilde{a}s\bar{a}s$ (songs of the seasons), $kajar\bar{\imath}s$, and other songs current throughout India which are referred to above.



INTRODUCTION.

(a.) The sources from which the information contained in this work is derived.

The work is founded in great measure on notes collected by myself from innumerable texts bought in the bazārs. It is derived almost entirely from native sources. Wilson's Religious Sects of the Hindūs and Garcin de Tassy's various works, especially his History of Hinduī and Hindūstānī Literature, have been frequently consulted as checks; and when the information given by them differed from that which I had collected, I have spared no trouble in order to ascertain the correct facts. The only English work which I have taken as an authority has been Tod's Rājāsthān, which contains much information not readily available elsewhere concerning the bards of Răj'putānā. I have endeavoured to check Tod, as far as possible, by reference to competent native authorities, and in this respect I have specially to thank Paṇḍit Mōhan Lāl Viṣṇu Lāl Paṇḍiā, of Udānpur, for much assistance most kindly given to me.

A native work on which I have largely depended, and to which I am indebted for the information given regarding nearly all the minor poets, and many of the more important ones, is the very useful Sib Siygh Sarōj, by Sib Singh Segar, published by Munshi Nawal Kishor, of Lakh'naū (2nd edition, 1883). This is a compilation from former anthologies, including most of those named below. In addition to the Sarōj, I have myself consulted all the available anthologies which I have been able to collect, including many When any poet's works already worked through by Sib Singh. are found in one or more of the principal of these, I have pointed out the fact against his name, by commencing the article with an abbreviation of the name of the anthology. I have not always done this in the case of minor anthologies, and in the case of one or two which came into my hands while the book was passing through the press. A work of this kind crescit eundo.

With regard to the dates given for the various authors, I have taken some trouble to verify them as far as I could. Vernacular poets had a laudable practice of dating their works, which has been useful in many cases. They also frequently mentioned their patrons;

and when these could be identified, they often gave a useful clue. When all other methods failed, I had in many cases the Sarōj as a guide. Sib Singh continually gives dates, and I have generally found them fairly accurate,—with this proviso, that he always gives his date as that of the birth of the poet referred to, when in reality it is not seldom the date of his principal work. The Sarōj's dates have, at any rate, this value, that, in default of any other authority, we may be pretty certain that the author referred to was alive on the date which Sib Singh gives as that of his birth. In the present treatise any dates depending only on his authority have been printed in italics. I would draw attention to the addenda, which give some dates which I have been able to fix while the work was passing through the press.

The following is a list of the anthologies and other works which form the basis of this book:—

No.	Name of anthology.	Abbreviation.	Author's name.	Date.
1	Bhakt Mālā	Bhakt	Nabhājī Dās (No. 51)	About 1550 A.D.
2	Gosāi Charitr'	Go	Bēnī Mādhab Dās (No. 130).	
3	Kabi Mālā	Māl	Tul'sī (No. 153)	1655.
4	Hajārā	Нај	Kālidās Tribēdī (No. 159)	
5	Kābya Nir'nay	Nir	Bhikhārī Dās (No. 344)	
6	Sat-kabi-girā Bilās	Sat	Bal Deb (No. 359)	1746.
7	List of poets praised by Sūdan.		Sūdan (No. 367)	About 1750.
8	Bidwan Mod Taran-	Bid	Subbā Singh (No. 590)	1817.
9	Räg-Sägarödbhab Räg-Kalpadrum.	Rāg	Krish'nānand Byās Dēb (No. 638).	1843.
10	Sringar Sangrah		Sar'dār (No. 571)	1848.
11	Ūrdū translation of Bhakt Mālā.	U. Bhakt.	Tul'si Ram (No. 640)	1854.
12	Ras Chandroday	Ras	Thakur Par'sād Tripāṭhī (No. 570).	1863.
13	Dig-bija Bhūkhan	Dig	Gōkul Par'sād (No. 694)	1868.
14	Sundarī Tilak	Sun	Harishchandr' (No. 581)	1869.
15	Kabya Sangrah	Kāb	Mahes Datt' (No. 696)	1875.
16	Kabi Ratnakar	Kab	Mātā Dīn Misar (No. 698).	1876.
17	Sib Singh Saroj	Sib	Sib Singh Segar (No. 595)	1883.
18	Bichitropades ²	Bich	Nak chhēdī Tiwārī	1887.

¹ Sometimes, e.g. in the case of Man Singh (No. 599), he gives the date of the poet's death as that of his birth.

² This book is not mentioned in the body of the work, which only goes down to 1883. It is published at the Kāshikā Press, Banāras. The author's name is Nak'chhēdī Tiwārī alias Ajān Kabi, of Dum'rāw. He worked in collaboration with Sudhākar Kabi. It is an anthology of didactic pieces in a comic style. About fifty well-known poets are quoted.

It will be useful to insert here explanations of the Hindi terms corresponding to a few English technical terms used by me. The nine rasas or styles are as follows:—

1. Sringar Ras, trans	slated by me	e as "the erotic style."
2. Hāsya Ras,	ditto	"the comic style."
3. Karunā Ras,	ditto	"the elegiac style."
4. Bīr Ras,	ditto	"the heroic style."
5. Rāūdr' Ras,	ditto	"the tragic style."
6. Bhayānak Ras,	ditto	"the terrible style."
7. Bibhatsa,	ditto	"the satiric style."
8. Shānti Ras,	ditto	"the quietistic style."
9. Adbhut Ras,	ditto	"the sensational style."

These translations do not pretend to be exact. Each is simply a convenient representation of one Hindī word by one English one.

An explanation of the terms Nakh'sikh, Nāyak Bhēd, and Nāyikā Bhēd will be found in the foot-note to No. 87.

The word $S\bar{a}mayik$, when used with reference to a work, I have, not without hesitation, rendered by "occasional." Chetāonī I have translated by "didactic." By "emblematic" verses (in Hindī drisht $k\bar{u}t$) I mean those fanciful enigmatic tours de force which are familiar to Sanskrit scholars who have studied the $Nal\bar{o}daya$ and the $Kir\bar{a}t\bar{a}rjun\bar{\imath}ya$.

(b.) Principles of Arrangement of the Contents.

Endeavour has been made to arrange the contents as much as possible in chronological order. This has not always been easy, and in some cases it has been found to be impossible. Hence those poets whose dates I have been unable to fix, ever so tentatively, I have grouped together in alphabetical order in the last chapter. While the work was passing through the press I found myself unexpectedly in possession of the approximate dates of a few of these when it was too late to introduce them into their proper places. They have therefore remained in the last chapter, but, to prevent mistakes, I have drawn attention to them in the addenda.

The work is divided into chapters, each roughly representing a period. The sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the Augustan age of Indian vernacular poetry, occupy six chapters, not strictly divided according to periods of time, but according to groups of poets, commencing with the romantic poetry of Malik Muḥammad, and including amongst others the Kriṣṇa cult of Braj, the works of Tul'sī Dās (to whom a special chapter has been allotted), and the technical school of poets founded by Kēsab Dās.

After each chapter are given addenda in small type, showing particulars of the minor poets belonging to the period or to the group dealt with. For most of the information contained in these addenda I am indebted to the Sib Siygh Sarôj.

(c.) A Brief Account of the Vernacular Literature of Hindustan.

As far as my information goes, the earliest vernacular literature of Hindūstān is the bardic chronicles of Răj'putānā. The first bard of whom we have any certain information was the well-known Chand Bar'dāī, who celebrated, towards the end of the twelfth century, the fortunes of Prithwī Rāj, the Chāūhān, of Dillī, in the famous Prithī Rāj Rāy'sā. Contemporary with him was the bard Jag'nāyak, who attended the court of Prithwī Rāj's great rival, Paramardī of Mahōbā, and who was probably the author of the Ālhā Khand, a work equally famous in Hindūstān with the Prithī Rāj Rāy'sā, but which has had the misfortune of being preserved by oral tradition instead of in manuscript.

To continue the history of these bardic chronicles, we may mention Çārŋgadhara, or Sāraŋg Dhar, who sung, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the prowess of the heroic Hammīr of Ran'thambhōr (fl. 1300). Passing over Keh'rī (fl. 1580) of Bur'hān'pur, we come to two brilliant groups of bards who adorned the courts of Mēwār and Mār'wār in the 17th century. To these may be added names like that of Lāl (fl. 1650), who wrote a valuable history of Bundēl'khand, and those of other minor poets. After the 17th century the Rāj'pūt bards lost their distinctive character, and while the greater number became merged in the sea of the other vernacular poets of India, the few that remained degenerated into mere compilers of facts derived from older records.

It is hardly necessary to do what Tod bas already done in such glowing language, and to point out how completely these Răj'pūt bards wash away the reproach so often levelled against Indian literature, that it contains no historical works. The value of these bardic chronicles, some of which are derived from older works dating as far back as the 9th century A.D., can hardly be over-estimated. It is true that they contain many legends which are of doubtful authenticity; but what contemporary European chronicle does not contain the same? They also embody the history of Răj'putānā during the whole of the struggles between India and its Musalmān invaders, written by a series of contemporary authors extending over at least

six centuries. Is it unreasonable to hope that some enlightened prince of Rāj'putānā will rescue these documents from the undeserved obscurity in which they lie, and publish the texts of all of them, with English translations?

Turning aside from these bardic historians we may now revert to the growth of vernacular literature in the Gangetic valley, coincident with the rise of the Vaishnava religion at the commencement of the 15th century. Rāmānand, the popularizer of the worship of Rāma, flourished about the year 1400; and even greater than he was his famous disciple Kabīr, who succeeded in founding a still existing sect, which united the salient points of Muhammadanism and Hinduism. Here we first touch upon that marvellous catholicity of sentiment of which the key-note was struck by Rāmānand, which is visible in the doctrines of all his successors, and which reached its truest height in the lofty teaching of Tul'sī Dās two centuries later. The worship of the deified prince of Audh, and the loving adoration of Sītā, the perfect wife and the perfect mother, have developed naturally into a doctrine of eclecticism in its best form—a doctrine which, while teaching the infinite vileness of mankind before the Infinitely Good, yet sees good in everything that He has created, and condemns no religion and no system of philosophy as utterly bad that inculcates, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.1

Far different has been the fate of that other great branch of the Vaishnava religion which is founded on mystic interpretations of the love which Kriṣṇa bare to Rādhā. Beautiful in itself, paralleled, also, by the teaching of many Christian doctors, and rendered more beautiful by the magic poetry of Mīrā Bāī (fl. 1420) in the west, and of Bidyāpati Thākur (fl. 1400) in the east, its passionate adoration, whose inner meaning was too esoteric for the spirits of the common herd of disciples, in many cases degenerated into a poetry worthy of only the baser sorts of Tāntrik Çiva worshippers. But at its best the Kriṣṇa cult is wanting in the nobler elements of the teaching of Rāmānand. Its essence is almost selfish—a soul-absorbing, nay all-absorbing, individual love cast at the feet of Him who is Love itself.

¹ Mr. Growse (e.g. in the note to Rām. Bā. Dōhā, 24) has pointed out, in his translation of the Rām-charit-mānas, several points of resemblance between the doctrines of the Christian Church and those of Tul'sī Dās. There are hymns in our Church hymnals which might be literal translations of passages written by this great poet.

It teaches the first and great commandment of the Christian law, but the second, which is like unto it—Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself—it omits.

Leaving these two sects aside for a moment, we must pause at one remarkable man, who in some respects was an offshoot from the Raj'pūt bards, while on the other hand his writings bear strong marks of the influence of Kabīr's teaching. Malik Muḥammad (fl. 1540) studied under both Musalman and Hindu doctors, and wrote, in the purest vernacular of his time, the fine philosophic epic entitled the Padmāwat. This work, while telling in vivid language the story of Ratan Sēn's quest for the fair Padmāwat, of Alāu'd-dīn's siege of the virgin city of Chitaur, of Ratan's bravery, and of Padmawat's wifely devotion which culminated in the terrible sacrifice of all in the doomed city that was true and fair, to save it from the lust of the conqueror, is also an allegory describing the search of the soul for true wisdom, and the trials and temptations which assail it in its course. Malik Muhammad's ideal is high, and throughout the work of the Musalman ascetic there run veins of the broadest charity and of sympathy with those higher spirits among his Hindu fellow-countrymen who were groping in the dark for that light of which so many of them obtained glimpses.

To the mere student of language the Padmāwat possesses, by a happy accident, inestimable value. Composed in the earlier portion of the 16th century, it gives us a representation of the speech and of the pronunciation of those days. Hindū writers, tied by the fetters of custom, were constrained to spell their words, not as they were pronounced, but as they were written in the old Sanskrit of their forefathers. But Malik Muhammad cared not for Hindū customs, and wrote his work in the Persian character, thus giving necessarily a phonographic representation of every word he wrote. The system was not perfect, for, as was customary, vowels were seldom indicated, but in the Padmāwat we have the consonantal framework of each word put down as it was pronounced at the time of writing.

With Malik Muhammad, the period of the apprenticeship of vernacular literature in Hindūstān may be said to have come to a close. The young giant had bestirred himself, and found that he was strong; and, young and lusty as an eagle, he went forth rejoicing to run his course. The earlier Rāj'pūt bards wrote in a time of transition, in a language which it would be difficult to define accurately, either as a late Prākrit or as an old form of the modern language of

Răj'putānā. This was the period of infancy. Then came that of youth, when, with the revival of a popular religion to fill the place once taken by Buddhism, the teachers of the new doctrine had to write in a tongue 'understanded of the people.' Malik Muhammad and the apostles of the two Vaishnava sects had to feel their way, and walked with uncertainty. When they wrote, the language spoken was practically the same as that spoken now in the rural parts of India, and they must have felt the same hesitation which Spenser and Milton felt in writing in their vernacular. Spenser chose the wrong method and cast his Faërie Queene into an antique mould, but Milton, though he once thought of writing his Paradise Lost in Latin, dared to be right, and thenceforward the English language was made. So was it in India,—the first vernacular authors dared greatly, and succeeded.

The 16th and 17th centuries form the Augustan age of Hindū-stanī vernacular literature. Nearly every great writer of the country lived during this period. Its greatest writers were contemporaries with our masters of the reign of Elizabeth, and, to us English, it is interesting to note that when our country first came into contact by its ambassadors with the Mughal court, and when the East India Company was first founded, each of the nations, separated so widely by sea and land, was at its culminating point of literary glory. We must consider separately the various groups of authors who flourished during this age.

It was in Braj, the country of the cowpens and the scene of the childhood of Krisna and of his early amours with the herdmaidens of Gokula, that the Krisna cult naturally took its strongest root; and during the 16th century it was the home of a school of poets devoted to the worship of that god, founded by the great apostle Ballabhāchār'i and his son Bitthal Nāth. Of their eight principal disciples, grouped under the name of the Ashta Chhāp, Krish'n Dās and Sūr Das were the ones most celebrated. The latter is considered by his fellow-countrymen to share with Tul'sī Dās the throne of absolute perfection in the art of poesy; but European critics will be inclined to award the latter poet alone the supreme crown, and to relegate the blind bard of Ag'ra to a lower, though still an honourable, place. One more poet of this group may here be noticed for his fame as a singer. I allude to Tan Sen, who besides being an author was chief court-singer to the Emperor Ak'bar. The principal native authority for the Krisna poets of the 16th century is the enigmatical Bhakt Mālā of Nābhā Dās, with its various commentaries.

While the successors of Ballabhāchār'j were filling Braj with their music, the not distant Mughal Court at Dillī had collected a group of state poets, some of whom were of no mean reputation. Tōḍar Mall, who besides being a great finance minister was the immediate cause of the acceptance of the Ūrdū language, Bīr'bal, Ak'bar's friend and author of many witty impromptus, 'Abdu'r Raḥīm Khān'khānā, and Mān Singh of Amēr, were more famous as the patrons of authors than as vernacular writers themselves; but Nar'hari, Hari Nāth, Karan, and Gang, are justly celebrated as poets of a high rank.

Tul'sī Dās (fl. 1600, d. 1624), the greatest poet of the deeds of Ram, occupies a position amongst these authors peculiar to himself. Far different from the founders of the Braj school, who were surrounded by numerous imitators and successors, he lived in Banāras, unapproachable and alone in his niche in the Temple of Fame. Disciples he had in plenty,---to-day they are numbered by millions,--but imitators, none. Looking back along the vista of centuries we see his noble figure standing in its own pure light as the guide and saviour of Hindustan. His influence has never ceased—nay, it has increased and is still increasing; and when we reflect on the fate of Tantra-ridden Bengal or on the wanton orgies which are carried out under the name of Krisna worship, we can justly appreciate the work of the man who first in India since Buddha's time taught man's duty to his neighbour and succeeded in getting his teaching accepted. His great work is at the present day the one Bible of a hundred millions of people; and fortunate has it been for them that they had this guide. It has been received as the perfect example of the perfect book, and thus its influence has not only been exercised over the unlettered multitude, but over the long series of authors who followed him, and especially over the crowd who sprung into existence with the introduction of printing at the beginning of the present century. As Mr. Growse well says in the introduction to his translation of the Rāmāyan of this author, "the book is in every one's hands, from the court to the cottage, and is read or heard and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindū community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old." further particulars concerning him the reader is referred to the body of this work.

This Augustan age was not only a period of the erotic poetry of Sūr Dās and of the nature-poetry of Tul'sī, but was also signalized by the first attempts to systematize the art of poetry itself. The

young growth had shown a tendency to shoot forth too luxuriantly, and even Malik Muḥammad wrote verses which were quaintly unmusical. Sūr Dās and Tul'sī Dās possessed the strength of giants, and were far beyond their contemporaries in polish and in a sense of proportion; but the works of the other early writers of this period jarred upon the senses of scholars brought up in the strictly classical schools of Sanskrit philology. So, after one or two earlier attempts by minor authors, such as the poet Khēm (No. 87), Kēsab Das (fl. 1580) stepped forward and settled for ever the canons of poetic criticism. A romantic story connects him with the poetess Par'bīn Rāï, and it is said that it was for her sake that he composed his great work the Kabi-priyā. Seventy years later, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Chintamani Tripathi and his brothers amplified and developed the rules laid down by him. This group of critical poets is fitly closed at the end of the 17th century by Kālidās Tribedi, the author of the Hajārā, the first great anthology of extracts from the works of the Augustan age of Hindustan.

The latter half of this period, that is to say the 17th century, saw the rise of some remarkable religious sects, which gave birth to a considerable body of literature. The principal reformers who may be mentioned were Dādū (fl. 1600), founder of the Dādū Panthī sect; Prān Nāth (fl. 1650), the founder of the Pran'nāthīs; and Gōbind Singh (fl. 1698), the founder of the militant Sīkh religion and compiler of the Granth, or holy book of that sect.

The Răj'pūt bards of this Augustan period have been already referred to, and, passing by the lubric but popular Nazīr, the only other great poet of the time who need be mentioned is the graceful Bihārī Lāl Chāūbē (fl. 1650), nick-named "the mine of commentators." Never was a description more accurate. He was the author of seven hundred verses, for each of which he received a gold ashrafi as a reward from his patron Jāī Singh. Each verse is a perfectly polished jewel, designedly made as artificial as possible and capable of a double meaning. The greatest authors have not disdained to write commentaries elucidating the marvellous difficulties of this tour de force.

With this graceful writer our survey of the Augustan age of Hindūstānī vernacular literature is concluded. From the early years of the 18th century commences a comparatively barren period. It was the period of the decline and fall of the Mughal empire and of the supremacy and fall of the Marāthā power. Raj'putānā itself was torn by intrigues, prince struggling with prince to rob his neighbour

in the general loss of authority coincident with the cessation of Mughal supremacy. Bards there were few, and, as these could only sing of bloodshed and treachery, they preferred to remain silent. In other branches of literature there was a similar decay. No original authors of the first rank appeared, and the only great names we meet are those of commentators on the works of the preceding two centuries, and of men who further developed the critical laws founded by Kēsab Dās. Of the last, the best known were Uday Nāth Tribēdī and Jas'want Singh, the authors of the Ras-chandrāday and of the Bhākhā Bhūkhan respectively. Similarly there appeared a number of anthologies, such as the Sat-kabi-girā Bilās of Bal Dēb, the Kābya Nir'nay of Bhikhārī Dās, and others. The end of the century is redeemed from barrenness by the Prēm Ratna, the work of one of the few poetesses of India—Bībī Ratan Kūar.

The first half of the 19th century, commencing with the downfall of the Marāthā power and ending with the Mutiny, forms another well-marked epoch. It was the period of renascence after the literary dearth of the previous century. The printing-press now for the first time found its practical introduction into Northern India, and, led by the spirit of Tul'sī Dās, literature of a healthy kind rapidly spread over the land. It was the period of the birth of the Hindī language, invented by the English, and first used as a vehicle of literary prose composition in 1803, under Gilchrist's tuition, by Lallū Jī Lāl, the author of the Prēm Sāgar. It was also a period of transition from the old to the new. The printing-press had not yet penetrated to Central India, and there the old state of affairs continued. Poets, of whom Padmakar Bhatt was the most famous. not unworthily wore the mantle which had descended from Kēsab Dās and Chintāmani Tripāthī, while Bikram Sāhi wrote an ingenious Sat Sai in imitation of the more famous one of Bihārī Lāl.

In Banāras, on the contrary, the art of printing gave a new audience to the learned; and to supply the demand thus created, several works of the first importance appeared. The chief of these was the translation of the *Mahābhārata* into Hindī by Gōkul Nāth. Critical writers of a new school also came to the front, of whom the best, longo intervallo, was Harishchandr', the author of the Sundarī Tilak and many other excellent works; while in Rājā Siva Prasād the cause of education received an enlightened friend, and a pioneer in that most difficult work, the writing of good school-books. Lallū Jī Lāl, the author of the *Prēm Sāgar*, has already been mentioned;

and another product of Calcutta civilisation, of a very different kind, was the huge anthology of Krish'nānand Byās Dēb, called the $R\bar{a}g$ - $S\bar{a}gar\bar{o}dbhab$ $R\bar{a}g$ -Kalpadrum, written in emulation of the better known Sanskrit lexicon, the Cabda-Kalpadruma.

The same period saw the rise of the Hindī drama, which is now firmly established, and gives a hope of achieving considerable excellence in the near future.

The post-Mutiny days this sketch will not touch upon. A brief imperfect account will be found in the body of this work. It may further be noted that more extended reviews of the literature of the principal periods will also be found in the introductions to chapters VII to XI. All that has been attempted in the present note has been to show the most salient points of a not inglorious past in the vernacular literary history of Hindūstān.

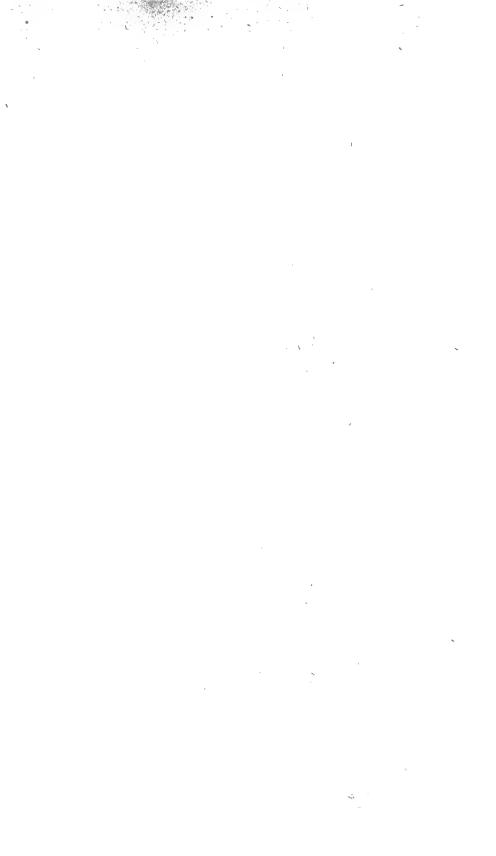
(d.) Description of the Plates.

The frontispiece represents Rāma's childhood in Kāūsalyā's house. I am indebted for it to the kindness of Rājā Siva Prasād, c.s.r., who procured the original photograph of one of the illustrations in the magnificently-illuminated M.S. belonging to the Mahārāj of Banāras.

To the kindness of the same gentleman I am indebted for the other plates, which are photographs of ten pages of the $R\bar{a}j'pur$ $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yan$, described on page 45, believed to be in the poet's handwriting, of three pages of the old Banāras M.S. referred to on the same page, and of a deed of arbitration said to be in the poet's own handwriting. A transliteration and translation of the first two will be found on page 51 of this work, and of the last in the Addenda.

The frontispiece has already appeared, I believe, in one edition of Mr. Growse's excellent translation of the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yan$; but as this work appeals to quite a different class of readers, and as the picture is itself a worthy specimen of Hindū art, I do not hesitate to give it here again.

¹ See also section 706 in the body of the work.



ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Note.—In pointing out misprints, I have not taken the trouble to correct instances of unsystematic division of compound words. Such mistakes will in no case lead to difficulty, and they will be found corrected in the indices.

- 4. Kumār Pāl reigned 1088—1172 A.D. The famous Hēmachandra flourished at his court.
 - 20. Mira Bai. Note1. Read Tod, ii, 21.
 - 23. Charan Das. Read Gyan Swardday.
- 34. Ballabhāchār'j. P. 19, l. 6 from bottom, read Harisbchandr'; p. 20, l. 9, read Aņubhāṣya. Add 'This work is being published in the Bibliotheca Indica.'
 - 37. Sur Das. Read सूर दास, not सूरदास.
 - 51. Nābhā Dās. P. 28, l. 8, read Hitopadēça.
 - 54. Byas Swami. Read Sukal. So also in 56, Hit Haribans.
 - 70. Keh'rl. Read Tod, ii, 76.
 - 71. Ās'karan Dās. Read Tod, ii, 353.
- 72. Chētan Chandr. The Ashwa Binōd is dated Sambat 1616 (1559 A.D.), which Sib Singh gives as the date of the poet's birth.
 - 73. Prithwi Rāj. Read Tod's Rājāsthān, i, 343.
 - 76. Uday Singh. Read and ii, 29.
 - 92. Read घन सत्राम मुक्तल Ghan Syam Sukal.
 - 105. Todar Mall, see addenda to No. 128, below.
 - 106. Bir'bal. P. 35, l. 11 from bottom, read Bijaur.
- 108. Khān'khānā. He patronised the poet Gang (No. 119). The latter in one of his works praises him and his son Turāb Khān.
- 119. Gangā Par'sād, or Gang. A verse of the poet Khūb Chand (No. 809) states that on one occasion Khān'khānā (No. 108) made Gang a present of 36 lākhs. Khān'khānā was certainly praised by Gang in one of his works.
 - 127. Mukund Singh. Read Tod, ii, 506.
- 128. Tul'si Dās, p. 43, last line, read Rājāpur and Bāndā; p. 44, l. 7, add a comma after Kuru Chhēttr'; p. 45, l. 15, read Rājāpur; so also elsewhere; p. 46, l. 11 from bottom, read Kuṇḍaliyā.

As promised in the Introduction, I here give a transliteration and translation of the deed of arbitration in the handwriting of Tul'sī Dās, dated Sam. 1669 (A.D. 1612). I take this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgments to my old friend and teacher Mīr Aulād 'Alī, Professor of Arabic, Persian, and Hindūstānī at Trinity College, Dublin, for much assistance rendered in transcribing and translating the Persian and Arabic portions of the deed.

TRANSLITERATION.

Çrī-Jānakī-vallabhō vijayatē.

Dviç çaram nābhisamdhattē dvis sth	apayati nāçritān Dvir dadāti
na	$\cdots \cdots $
chārthibhyō Rāmō dvir naīva bhāṣatē	1 Tulasī jānyō Daçarathahī
dha	2
ramu na satya samāna Rāmu tajō	jehi lägi binu Rāma pariharē
prāna 1	3
Dharmō jayati nādharmas satyam jaya	ti nānritam Kshamā jayati na
krōdhō	4
Vișņur jayati nāsurāḥ 1	
Allīhu A	lan.n
ALLAHU	akbag.
Chữ Anad Răm bin Todar bin Đếo Rãy	y wa Kanhāē bin Rām Bhadar
bin Tōdar mazkūr	6
dar huzur āmada qarār dādand ki da	
dar Hindwī mazkūr ast	
bilmunāṣafa batarāẓī i jānibāīn qa	
pinjāh (?) bīghā zamīn ziyāda (?) qi	
dar māuza'i Bhadāinī Anand Rām	mazkūr ba Kanhāē bin Rām
Bhadar mazbūr tajwīz namūda.	9
bari ma'anī rāzī gashta i'tirāf sahīl	n shar'i namudand banabari & 10
muhr karda shud	
(Seal) ? Sādullāh	bin * * *
QISMATI ANAD RAM.	Qismati Kanhar. 12
Qariy ā Qariy ā	Qariy ā Qariy ā
Bhadanī, dō hiṣṣa, Lahartārā,	Bhadaīnī, sih hissa. Shiūpūr. 13
darōbast	darōbast.
Qariy ā Qariy ā	Qariyā
Naīpūra, hissa i Chhitūpūra, hissa i	Nadēsar ķiṣṣa i Tōdar tamām 14
Tödar tamām. Tödar tamām.	(?) Ittala'a'alāīh (illegible).
Srī Param	ĒSWAR.
Sambat 1000 samaa luutu suuli teen	# 1.21.1 3 1917 (1. c.)
Sambat 1669 samae, kuār sudi tēras	• •
patra Anand	
māgā	•
	· · · · · · · · . 16
Jē āgya bhāī sē pramān mānā. Du	
Ţōḍar Malu	
kē mah jē bibhāg padu hōt rā (?hā)	. 18

Ans Aannd Rām. Manjē Bhadanī	nī Ans Kanhaï. Mātījē Bhadāīnī		
mah an-	mah ans pāch, tehī 19		
-a pāch, tehī mah ans dui Ānand	mah tīnī ans Kanhaï. Tathā		
Rāmu.	m aū jē Sīpurā 20		
Tathā Lahar'tārā sagarē u. Tathā	Tathā Nades'rī ans Ţōḍar		
Chhītu-	Malu ka. Hīl(ā) 21		
-purā ans Ţōḍar Malu ka. Tathā	hujatī nāstī 22		
Nāīpurā an			
-s Țōḍar Malu ka. Hīl(ā) hujatī	23		
nāstī			
Līkhītam Anand Rām, jē upar	Līkhītam Kanhaï, jē upar		
līkhā, sē sahī.	līkhā sē sahī 24		
(Here follow the witness	ses' signatures, ending—)		
Cl -l - l-	Shahada		
Shahada			
bimāfīhi Jalāl Ma qbūlī.	bimāfīhi Ţāhir ibni Khwāja 26		
bikhattihi.	Daulatī Qānungoī 27		

TRANSLATION.

(Sanskrit.) Victory to the lord of Çrî Jānakī.

Two arrows cannot be shot at one time. Twice one does not support refugees. Twice over benefits are not given to applicants. Rāma does not speak in two ways.

(Old Bais'wārī.) O Tul'sī, Das'rath knew no virtue equal to the truth. He gave up Rām for it, and without Rām he gave up his life.

(Sanskrit.) Virtue conquers and not vice; truth and not falsehood. Mercy conquers and not anger. Visnu conquers and not the Asuras.

(Persian.) God is great.

Whereas Anand Rām, son of Todar, son of Dēō Rāy, and Kanhāē, son of Rām Bhadar, son of Tōdar aforesaid, appeared before me and acknowledged that with their mutual consent the inheritance, viz. the villages as detailed in Hindwī, have been equally divided, and the said Anand Rām has given to the said Kanhāē, son of Rām Bhadar, 150 bighās of land in village Bhadānī more than his own half share; they are satisfied, and have made correct acknowledgment according to law. Their seals have been affixed hereto.

Share of Anand Ram.

Village Bhadānī, 2 shares.
Village Lahar'tārā, whole.
Village Nāīpūra, the whole of
Tōdar's share.

Village Chhitupura, the lesser, the whole of Todar's share.

Share of Kanhāē.

Village Bhadanī, 3 shares.
Village Shiūpūr, the whole.
Village Nadēsar, the whole of
Tōdar's share.

(?) I am informed of this (?) (illegible).

(Old Bais'wārī.) To The Most High God.

In the Sambat year 1669, on the 13th of the bright half of Kuār, on the auspicious day of the week, was this deed written by Anand Rām and Kanhaïā. By way of partition of shares, we two formerly asked for a decision (translation doubtful), and the decision which has been passed, that we recognise as authoritative. Both parties admit the list. The division of the share of Tōdar Mal, which has been made

The rest is unintelligible, and partly illegible.

Share of Anand Rām.—In village Bhadāīnī, out of five shares, two to Anand Rām. Also the whole of Lahar'tārā. Also Tōḍar Mal's share in Chhitūpūrā and in Nāīpūrā. There is no evasion or reservation. Signed Anand Rām. What is written above is correct.

Share of Kanhaï.—In village Bhadannī, out of five shares, three to Kanhaï. Also the village of Sīpūrā; also Ṭōḍar Mall's share in Nades'rī. There is no evasion or reservation. Signed Kanhaï. What is written above is correct.

Witnesses (to Anand Rām's signature): Rāghab Rām, son of Rām Dat; Rām Sēnī, son of Ūdhab; (U)dān Karn, son of Jagat Rāy; Jamunī Bhān, son of Paramānand; Jānakī Rām, son of Srī Kānt; Kāwalā Rām, son of Bāsudēb; Chand Bhān, son of Kēsān Dās; Pāndē Harīballabh, son of Purusōtam; Bhāwarī, son of Kēsān Dās; Jadu Rām, son of Nar'harī; Ājodhyā, son of Lachhī; Sabal, son of Bhīkham; Rām Chand, son of Bāsudīw (sic); Pītāmbar Das'wadhī, son of Puran; Rām Rāï and Garīb Rāï (?), sons of Makuṭirī Karn (?). (Arabic) Witness to whatsoever is in this, Jalāl Maqbūlī, by his own hand.

Witnesses (to Kanhai's signature): Rām Sigh, son of Uddhab; Jādāu Rāē, son of Gahar Rāē; Jagadīs Rāē, son of Mahōdadhī; Chakrapānī, son of Sīwā; Mathurā, son of Pīthā; Kāsī Dās, son of Bāsudēwā (by the hand of Mathurā); Kharag Bhān, son of Gosāi Dās; Rām Dēw, son of Bisa(m)bhar; Srī Kānt Pāṇḍē, son of Rāj'baktra (?); Bīṭhal Dās, son of Harihar; Hīrā, son of Das'rath; Lōhāg, son of Kīshnā; Man(ī) Rām, son of Sītal; Krishn Dat, son of Bhag'wan; Bin'rāban, son of Jāī; Dhanī Rām, son of Madhu Rāē. (Arabio) Witness to whatsoever is in this, Tāhir, son of Khwājah Dāūlatī, the Qānūngōī.

In connexion with the above it is interesting to speculate who this Todar Mall, the father of Anand Rām and grandfather of Kanhaï, was. Can he have been Ak'bar's great Finance Minister (No. 105)? He died in 1589, and his son might well be alive in 1612. He was born at Lāhar'pur, in Audh, and one of the villages above mentioned, Lahar'tārā, has a somewhat similar name. In India contiguous villages have often very similar names.

128-133 Add., p. 57. Other versions of the Rāma legend.

- (9) Read Iswari Par'sād Tripāţhi (712).
- (10) For 686 read 702.
 - (11) For 689 read 695.

- (12) For 711 read 725.
- (13) For 829a read 858.
- 134. Kēsab Dās. The Bigyān Gitā was written in Sambat 1600 (1543 A.D.) and was dedicated to Madhukar Shāh. The Rasik-priyā is dated Sambat 1648 (1591 A.D.).
 - 142. Sundar Das. The Sundar Sringar is dated Sambat 1688 (1631 A.D.).
- 145. Bhūkhan Tripāthī. From a short poem of Mati Rām Tripāthī (No. 146), the name of the Rājā of Kumāō appears to have been Udot Chand.
 - 146. Mati Ram Tripathi. Read Tod, ii, 481 and Fat'h Sahi.
- 149. Par'tāp Sāhi. I know of two rājās called Ratān or Rat'nēs in Bundē!khand. One is praised by Bhikhari Das (No. 344) in the preface to the Prem Ratnākar, which was written in 1685 A.D. This may possibly be the father of Par'tap Sāhi. The other succeeded Bikram Sāhi (No. 514) as Rājā of Char'khārī in 1829 A.D. He was born 1816 A.D. and died 1860. He is referred to in Nos. 519-522 and 524. Bikram Sāhi was born 1785 and died 1828 A.D.; and if Par'tap Sahi was the son of this Rat'nes, he would probably be Bikram Sahi's grandson, but could not have been his contemporary, for his father was only twelve years old at the latter's death. Yet, again, I hear from Char'khārī (though on what authority I cannot ascertain) that a Par'tap Sahi did live in Char'khārī in Bikram Sāḥi's reign. Regarding the Bhākhā Bhūkhan, which is usually considered as written at the end of the eighteenth century, I find a Bombay edition of the work identifying Jaswant Singh, its author, with Jas'want Singh (1638-1681) of Mar'war. This would tally with the date given in the body of the work; but on the whole I am inclined to reject Sib Singh's statement that this poet attended Chhattr' Sāl's court, and would place him as flourishing about the year 1830 A.D., after No. 518. His relationship to the Rat'nes of No. 519 must remain an open point. There was also a poet called Ratan. See No. 155.
 - 152. Sib Nath. Read Tod's Rajasthan, ii, 481.
- 159. Kalidās Tribēdī. In his Badhū-binōd, which he dates Sambat 1749 (1692 A.D.), he mentions that Jōgājīt Siygh's father was Britti Siygh.
 - 160. Sukh Deb Misar. Read Ar'jun Singh and Britt Bichar.
 - 164. Sundar Das. Read Sundar Sankhya.
 - 171. Najīr. Reaa Nazīr, not Nazīr, throughout.
 - 173. Thakur. Read Gosai.
 - 177. Read Iswar.
 - 195. Ajīt Siggh. For 91n read 89n.
 - 196. Bihārī Lāl Chāubē. P. 76, l. 4, for 364 read 355. Also read Zū'lfaqār.
 - 199. Rat'nës, See No. 149, Add. Cf. No. 155.
 - 213. Chandr'. Read Sul'tan.
 - 226. Biharī Das. Read विद्वारी.
 - 251. Read Par'bin.
 - 326. Sūrati Misar. The Alagkar Māla is dated Sambat 1766 (1709 A.D.).
 - 331. Bhōj Misar. Read Sringar.
- 344. Bhikhāri Dās. Read Chhandārnab. The Prēm Ratnākar is dated Sambat 1742 (1685 A.D.) and the Chhandārnab Sambat 1799 (1742 A.D.). In the former work he praises a Rājā Rat'nēs. Cf. No. 519. See also No. 149, Add.

- 346. Karan. His Sahitya Chandrika is dated Sambat 1794 (1737 A.D.), which the Sib Singh Sarōj gives as the date of his birth. With regard to Hir'da Sāhi, see also No. 503.
- 349. Guman Ji Misar. Read Naisadha. The Kaja Nidhi is dated Sambat 1805 (1848 A.D.). The work is rather a translation than a commentary.
 - 351. Prēm Nāth. Read Khīrī.
- 355. Hari Nath. The Alapkar Dar'pan is dated Sambat 1826 (1796 A.D.), which Sib Singh gives as the date of the poet's birth.
 - 357. Sambhu Nath. The Ram Bilas is dated Sambat 1798 (1741 A.D.).
 - 361. Kēsab. Read Nārāyan.
- 664. Hathi. The date of his birth (1830 A.D.) given by Sib Singh is certainly wrong, for the Rādhā Satak is dated Sambat 1847 (1790 A.D.).

THE MODERN VERNACULAR LITERATURE

OF

HINDŪSTĀN.

CHAPTER I.

THE BARDIC PERIOD. [700-1300 A.D.]

1. युद्ध कवि, the poet Puşya, of Ujāin. Fl. 713 A.D.

This is the earliest vernacular poet of whom I have found any mention in Native authors. The Sib Siygh Sarōj states that he flourished in the year 713, and that he is the "root of the vernacular" bhikhā kī jar. It is not clear from this account whether his name was Puṣya, Puṣpa, or Puṇḍa. It states categorically that he wrote both in Sanskrit and in the vernacular, and that he is mentioned by Col. Tod in his Rājāsthān. If by vernacular we are to understand a stage of language later than that of the Prākrits, this seems a most improbable statement; nor can I find that it is borne out by Tod. The only allusion apparently bearing on this point in the Rājāsthān is a reference (i, 229; Calcutta edition, i, 246) to a Puṣya, the author of an inscription (translated i, 799). I can find no mention in Tod regarding the language in which he wrote.

2. जुमान सिङ्कः, Khumān Singh alias Khumān Rāut Guh'lāūt, king of Chitāūr, in Mēwār. Fl. 830 A.D.¹

In his honour was written the Khumān Rāy'sā. This is the most ancient poetic chronicle of Mēwār, and was written in the ninth

¹ See Tod's Rājāsthān, i, 240; Calc. ed., i, 258.

century.¹ It gives a history of Khumān Rāut and of his family. It was recast during the reign of Par'tāp Singh (fl. 1575), and, as we now have it, carries the narrative down to the wars of that prince with Ak'bar, devoting a great portion to the siege of Chitāur by Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī in the thirteenth century.² We may therefore presume that the copies now extant are in a dialect of Mēwār not later than the end of the sixteenth century.

3. anet ane the poet and bard Kedar. Fl. 1150 A.D.

Mentioned in the Sib Singh Sarōj as attending the court of Alāu'd-dīn Ghōrī. He therefore flourished about 1150 A.D., and if any of his works can be found, they will probably be the oldest specimens of vernacular literature obtainable. I have never seen any of his writings, and I fear they are lost, unless they have been preserved in the Tod manuscripts. He is possibly mentioned by Tod, but I have not been able to find his name.

4. कुमार पाल, king Kumār Pāl, of An'hal. Fl. 1150 A.D.

Towards the end of the same century an anonymous poet of Răj'putānā wrote a bardic chronicle, entitled the Kumār PāI Charitra, 3 detailing the line of descent of the Buddhist⁴ Rājā Kumār PāI, of An'haI, from Brahmā downwards. The manuscript exists in the Tod collection, being No. 31 in the Royal Asiatic Society's list.

We now come to the time of *Pithāurā* or *Prithwī Rāj*, the *Chāuhān*, of *Dillī*, who was born 1159 A.D. and died 1193 A.D. He was not only a valiant hero,⁵ but was a great patron of literature. If we may believe Sib Singh, the works of two at least of the bards who attended his court have come down to us. These were Nos. 5 and 6.

5. ञ्रनगढ ट्रास, Ananya Dās, of Chaked'wā, district Göḍā. B. 1148 A.D.

The only authority for this poet is the Sib Singh Sarōj, which states that he was author of a work called Ananya Jōg, from which

¹ Tod, ii, 757; Calc. ed., ii, 814.

² Tod, i, 214; ii, 757; Calc. ed., i, 231; ii, 814.

³ Tod, i, 81, 80n, 241n, 256; ii, 242n; Calc. ed., i, 86, 87n, 259n, 275; ii, 266.

⁴ See Tod, i, 98; Calc. ed., i, 106.

⁵ For a history of his life and times, see Tod, i, 95, 256; Calc. ed., 102, 275.

it gives an extract. I suspect that he was really a contemporary of another *Prithwī Rāj* (of *Bīkānēr*), who lived in the sixteenth century (Tod, i, 343 and ff.; ii, 186; Calc. ed., i, 363 and ff.; ii, 203). See No. 73.

6. বকু কৰি, the poet and bard Chandr' or Chand Bar'dāī. Fl. 1191 A.D.

Rāg., ? Sun. He belonged to the family of an ancient bard named Bīsal Dēb, the Chāuhān (cf. Tod, ii, 447 and ff.; Calc. ed., ii, 492 and ff.), of Ran'thambhor, and, according to the account of his descendant, the poet Sūr Dās, belonged to the Jagāt clan. He came to Prithwī Rāj's court and was appointed his minister and poet-laureate (kavīçvara). His poetical works were collected by Amar Singh (cf. No. 191), of Mēwār,2 in the early part of the seventeenth century. They were not improbably recast and modernised in parts at the same time, which has given rise to a theory³ that the whole is a modern forgery. His principal work is the famous Prithi Rāj Rāy'sā (Rāg.), or life of his patron. According to Tod4 it is a universal history of the period in which he wrote, and is in 69 books, comprising 100,000 stanzas, of which Tod has translated 30,000—certainly more than any other European has succeeded in doing. Chand and Prīthwī Rāj were both killed in battle fighting against the Muhammadans in the year 1193. As already mentioned, one of his descendants was the poet Sūr Dās, and another was the poet Sārang Dhar (No. 8), who is said to have written the Hammīr Rāy'sā and the Hammīr Kābya.⁵ A portion of the text of the Prithī Rāj Rāy'sā has been edited by Mr. Beames, and another portion edited and translated by Dr. Hoernle. The excessively difficult character of the task has prevented both scholars from making much progress. Pandit Mohan Lal Visnu Lal Pandia has just commenced editing a critical edition of the whole text, of which the first two fasciculi have been published (Medical Hall Press, Banāras, 1887). The Mahōbā

¹ See the account of Sūr Dās's genealogy given in No. 37.

² Reigned 1597—1621. See Tod, i, xiii (Introd.); 350 and ff.; Calc. ed., i, xii; 371 and ff.

³ See J. A. S. B., 1886, p. 5, "On the antiquity, authenticity, and genumeness of Chand Bar'dāi's epic the Prithirāj Rāsāū," by Kavirāj Syāmal Dās, in which our poet is attacked, and "The Defence of Prithirāj Rāsā of Chanda Bar'dāi" by Pandit Mōhan Lāl Viṣṇu Lāl Paṇdiā (Banāras, Medical Hall Press, 1887), which is a reply to the former paper.

⁴ Tod, i, 254; Calc. ed., i, 273.

⁵ Tod, ii, 452n; Calc. ed., ii, 497n.

Khand of the poem, which, however, is probably spurious, or at least not by Chand, has been more than once translated into Hindi.1 It deals with the famous heroes Alha and Udan (or Alha and Rudal, according to the tradition of Eastern Hindustan), and the translation with which I am best acquainted (without, however, being in a position to vouch for its accuracy) is that by Thākur Dās. of Fatihgarh, under the name of the Alkhand. This is not the same as the A/hā Khand which will be found described under the head of the poet Jag'nik (No. 7), though it deals with the same heroes. According to Garcin de Tassy (Histoire, etc., i, 138), a Russian sarant. Robert Lenz by name, translated a portion of Chand's poem, which he intended to have published in 1836 on his return to St. Petersburg. but the premature death of this scholar deprived orientalists of this interesting work. Col. Tod printed a translation of an episode under the title of 'The Vow of Sanjogta'2 in the 25th volume of the Asiatic Journal, pp. 101-112, 197-211, 273-286.

My own studies of this poet's work have inspired me with a great admiration for its poetic beauty, but I doubt if any one not perfectly master of the various Răj'putānā dialects could ever read it with pleasure. It is, however, of the greatest value to the student of philology, for it is at present the only stepping stone available to European explorers in the chasm between the latest Prākrit and the earliest Gaudian authors. Though we may not possess the actual text of Chand, we have certainly in his writings some of the oldest known specimens of Gaudian literature, abounding in pure Apabhrança Çāūrasēnī Prākrit forms.

According to Garcin de Tassy (l.c.), we owe to this poet another work, entitled $J\bar{a}i$ Chandra Prakās, or history of $J\bar{a}i$ Chand, which is written in the same dialect as the Rāy'sā, and is quoted by Ward.

7. जार्निक, the bard Jag'nik or Jag'nāyak, of Mahōbā, in Bundēl'khand. Fl. 1191 A.D.

Contemporary with *Chand* was the bard *Jag'nik*. I am not certain that I have ever seen any of this poet's works. He attended the court of *Par'mā!* (*Paramardī*), of *Mahōbā*, in Bundēl'khaṇḍ, and chronicled the wars of that prince with *Prithwī Rāj*. There is a not impossible

¹ For an English translation of an episode in the Mahōbā Khaṇḍ, see Tod, 614 and ff.; Calc. ed., i, 648 and ff.

² Cf. Tod, i, 623 and ff.; Calc. ed., i, 657 and ff.

tradition that the \$\bar{A}\$/h\bar{a}\$ Khand, of which we possess many versions, and which has sometimes been described as a spurious canto of \$Chand's\$ epic, was originally written by this poet. The \$\bar{A}\$/h\bar{a}\$ Khand is, so far as I am aware, only current in oral versions sung all over Hindustān by professional singers. As might be expected, these versions differ considerably in language, and each is modernised to suit the dialect of the reciter. For a full account of the \$\bar{A}\$/h\bar{a}\$ Khand, see Indian Antiquary, vol. xiv, pp. 209, 255. For an account of \$\bar{A}\$lh\bar{a}\$'s share in the war between Prithwi R\bar{a}j\$ and Par'm\bar{a}l, see Report of the Arch. Sur. Ind., vii, pp. 13—20.

The Mahōbā Khand has already been mentioned under the head of Chand (No. 6). It and other Western recensions of the poem give the names of the heroes as $\bar{A}/h\bar{a}$ and $\bar{U}da/l$ or $\bar{U}dan$, the latter being short for Uday Singh; but the Eastern recensions give the names as $\bar{A}/h\bar{a}$ and Rūdal. Two versions of the Western recension have been printed—one edited by Chāūdh'rī Ghāsī Rām, of Bhatipurā, and the other, under the supervision of Sir C. (then Mr.) Elliott, by Thakur Das, of Fatingarh, already mentioned. The latter edition was, I believe, taken down1 by him as recited by three illiterate professional bards of Kanāūj, being respectively by caste a Josī, a Tēlī, and a Brāhman, and pieced together with additions of his own and some extracts or adaptations from different manuscripts that he borrowed. It is thus rather a heterogeneous composition. Portions of this recension have been translated into English ballad metre by Mr. Waterfield in vols. lxi, lxii, and lxiii of the Calcutta Review under the title of "The Nine-Lakh Chain, or the Maro feud." The Eastern recension only exists in the mouths of itinerant singers, and is nearly always couched in the Bhoj'pūrī dialect of Bihārī. According to the tradition of Eastern Hindūstān, the poem was originally written by Jag'nik in the Bundel'khandi dialect. Mr. Vincent Smith has presented me with a number of short poems in that dialect, many of which appear to be fragments of a larger work. In them the second hero is called $\bar{U}dal$.

8. सार्ङ्ग घर कवि, the poet and bard Sarang Dhar, of Ran'thambhōr. Fl. 1363 A.D.

We have now a gap of a century and a half, and in the year 1363 find flourishing the Sārang Dhar already mentioned as a descendant of Chand. According to Tod, he attended the court of the heroic Rājā

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Growse for this information.

Hammīr Dēb (Fl. 1300 A.D.), the Chāuhān, of Ran'thambhōr, who belonged to the family of Bīsal Dēb, the ancestor of Chand. Hammīr's dogged valour and heroic death at the hands of Alāu'd-din Khiljī have given rise to innumerable proverbs, and have been celebrated in poetical works in many languages of India. None, however, is so popular as Sārang Dhar's two works known as the Hammīr Rāu'sā and the Hammir Kābya. 1 M. Barth has suggested to me that this poet is the same as the Garngadhara, author of the Sanskrit anthology entitled the Çārngadhara Paddhati, described by Mr. FitzEdward Hall in the preface to his edition of the Vāsavadattā, and by Prof. Aufrecht in ZDMG., xxvii, 2. A reference to Pandit Mohan Lāl Visnu Lāl Paṇḍiā has confirmed the accuracy of this suggestion, and I am indebted to this gentleman for quotations showing that it was not Sārang Dhar or Çārngadhara, but his grandfather Raghu Nāth. who was spiritual guide to Hammīr. The Çārngadhara Paddhati was written in 1363 A.D.

I have only seen detached extracts from this poet's works, and hence am unable to say whether the other two poems were certainly by him or not. What gives rise to doubt is the existence [in the J. A. S. B., vol. xlviii (1879), p. 186] of a translation of a Hammīr Rāsā, or "History of Hammir, Prince of Ran'thambhor," by Bābū Brajanātha Bandhopādhyāya, of Jāipur. According to the Introduction of this work, the original was written by one Jodh' Rāj, of Nim'rānā, in Al'war. He attended the court of a Chauhan prince named Chandr' Bhān, a descendant of Prithwī Rāj, and was by birth a Gaur Brāhman, born at Bijāwar. There is a copy of the Carngadhara (or Sārang Dhar) Paddhati in the Tod collection of manuscripts (No. 32) in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. I have only had an opportunity of a very cursory examination of the work, which is 299 fol. long. Prof. Peterson has published an edition of it in Bombay. No. 42 in the same collection is entitled the Hammira Charitra. but I am unable to say if it is the same as any of the works above mentioned.

9. जोध राज, the poet Jōdh Rāj, of Nim'rānā in Al'wār. Fl. 1363 (?) A.D. See No. 8 above.

¹ Tod, ii, 452n, 472n; Calc. ed., ii, 497n, 517n.

² There was a Jōdh Kabi (No. 118) who attended the court of the Emperor Ak'bar, who may be the same as this author.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

10. रामानन्द खामी, the master Rāmānand. Fl. c. 1400 A.D.

Rāg. We now leave the era of the bards, and, emerging from the mists of antiquity, come upon a great revival of literature coincident with the rise of the Vaishnava religion, at the commencement of the fifteenth century. The first name we meet is that of Rāmānand (fl. cir. 1400 A.D.). He was much more of a religious reformer (see Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, i, 47) than an author, but I have collected hymns written, or purporting to have been written, by him, which had travelled in the people's mouths as far east as Mithilā.

11. **Haif-**, Bhawānand. Fl. c. 1400 A.D.

One of Rāmānand's immediate disciples (Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, i, 56). He is the reputed author of an explanation in Hindī of the Vēdānta system of philosophy in fourteen chapters, entitled Amrit Dhār. See Mack. Cat. ii, 108, quoted by Garcin de Tassy, i, 140.

12. सेन किंब, the poet Sēn, of Bāndhō. Fl. c 1400 A.D.

Haj. One of $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}nand's$ immediate disciples, a barber by caste. Poems by him are also in the Sīkh Granth. He and his descendants were for some time the family gurus of the $R\bar{a}j\bar{a}s$ of $B\bar{a}ndh\bar{o}$ ($R\bar{\imath}w\tilde{a}$). See Wilson, Religious Sects of the $Hind\bar{u}s$, i, 118, for a legend concerning him.

13. विशेष दास, Kabīr Dās, the Jolāhā (weaver) of Banāras. Fl. c. 1400 A.D.

Haj., Rāg. He was the most famous of Rāmānand's disciples. His principal works are included in the well-known Sabdābalī, Ramāinīs, Sākhīs, and the Sukh Nidhān, which are everywhere known and quoted at the present day. According to tradition, he was the son of

a virgin Brāhman widow. He was exposed by her, and was found on a lotus in Lahar Talāo, a pond near Banāras, by the wife of a Jolāhā or Musalmān weaver named Nīmā, who with her husband Nūrī was there in attendance on a wedding procession. He is said to have lived 300 years, or from 1149 to 1449 A.D., and in fact he flourished about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

A complete list of a voluminous mass of writings attributed to Kabīr, as preserved in the collection called the Khās Granth, will be found in Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, i, 76, and is here reproduced for ready reference. Cf. also Garcin de Tassy (Histoire, etc. i, 274).

- (1) Sukh Nidhān.
- (2) Görakh Nāth kī Göshţhī.
- (3) Kabīr Pāñjī.
- (4) Balakh kī Ramāinī.
- (5) Rāmānand kī Gōshţhī.
- (6) Ānand Rām Sāgar.
- (7) Sabdābalī, containing 1,000 sabdas, or short doctrinal expositions.
- (8) Mangal, 100 short poems, amongst which is the account of Kabīr's discovery given as above.
- . (9) Basant, 100 hymns in that $R\bar{a}g$.
 - (10) Hōlī, 200 of the songs called Hōlī.
 - (11) Rēkh'tās, 100 odes.
 - (12) Jhūl'nās, 500 odes in a different style.
 - (13) Khas'rā, 500 odes in a different style.
 - (14) Hindōls, 12 ditto. The subject of all these odes or hymns is always moral or religious.
 - (15) Bārah Māsā, the 12 months from a religious point of view, agreeably to Kabīr's system.
 - (16) Chañchars, 22.
 - (17) Chautīsās, 2; the 34 letters of the Nāgarī alphabet, with their religious signification.
 - (18) Alifnāmah, the Persian alphabet in the same manner.
 - (19) Ramāinīs, short doctrinal or argumentative poems.
 - (20) Sākhīs, 5,000. These may be considered as texts, consisting of one stanza each.
- (21) The Bijak (Rāg) (the greater and the lesser), in 654 sections. There is also a variety of stanzas, called Agams, Bānīs, etc., composing a very formidable course of study to those who wish to go deep into the doctrine of this school.

For further particulars see Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, i, 73.

14. भगो दास, Bhagō Dās. Fl. 1420 A.D.

One of Kabīr's immediate disciples, and author or compiler of the shorter Bījak. See Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, i, 79; Garcin de Tassy, i, 118.

15. सुत गोपाल, Srut Gopāl. Fl. 1420 A.D.

Another of $Kab\bar{\imath}r's$ immediate disciples, and author of the Sukh Nidhān. See Wilson as above, page 90.

16. कमाल किंव, the poet Kamāl, of Banāras. Fl. 1450 A.D.

Haj., Rāg. He was Kabīr's son. He spent his time making couplets in refutation of his father's sayings. Hence the proverb बूरा बन्स कबीर के कि उपचा पून कमाज,—An unlucky family was Kabīr's, in which the son Kamāl was born. See Fallon's Hd. Dy. s.v. Upaj'nā, page 13.

17. विदापति ठाकुर, Bidyāpatí Țhākur, of Bisapī, in Dar'bhangā district. Fl. 1400 A.D.

Retracing our steps, and leaving for a time the Central Hindustan, made famous by Ramanand and Kabir, we find flourishing in the year 1400 one of the most famous of the Vaishnava poets of Eastern India. Bidyāpatí Thākur was founder of the school of mastersingers, which in after years spread over the whole of Bangal, and his name is to the present day a household word from the Kar'm'nāsā to Calcutta. He has been translated into and imitated in most of the dialects falling between these limits. Little is known of his life. He was the son of Gan'pati Thakur, who was the son of Jai Datt' Thākur. The founder of the family was Viṣṇu Çarman, who lived seven generations before Bidyapati in the village of Bisapi, the modern Bis'phī. This village was given to the poet as a rentfree gift by king Sib Singh (then heir apparent) of Sugāonā in the year 1400 A.D. The deed of endowment is still extant. Bidyāpati was author of many Sanskrit works, the principal of which are the well-known Puruşa Parīkşa, the Durgābhakti Taranginī, the Dānavākyāvali, the Vivāda Sāra, and the Gayā Pattana; but his chief glory consists in his matchless sonnets (pada) in the Maithili dialect dealing

allegorically with the relations of the soul to God under the form of the love which Rādhā bore to Krish'n. These were adopted and recited enthusiastically by the celebrated Hindu reformer Chaitanya, who flourished at the beginning of the sixteenth century (b. 1484 A.D.), and, through him, became the house-poetry of the Lower Provinces. Numbers of imitators sprung up, many of whom wrote in Bidyāpati's name, so that it is now difficult to separate the genuine from the imitations, especially as the former have been altered in the course of ages to suit the Bangālī idiom and metre. Bidyāpati was a contemporary of the Bangali poet Chandi Das, and of Umapati and Jai Deb, and was, we know, on terms of intimate friendship with the first. was, we have seen, a famous poet in A.D. 1400, and a copy of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in his handwriting, dated L.S. 349 (A.D. 1456), still exists, so that he lived to a good old age. These are the only two certain dates we have in his life. The following dates depend upon the dates mentioned in Ajodhyā Par'sād's Gulzār-Bihār as those of the accessions of the various kings. Ajodhyā Par'sād's dates are as follows:-King Dēva Simha (Dēb Singh) came to the throne A.D. 1385; Giva Simha (Sib Singh) 1446; two queens reigned 1449—1470; Nara Śimha Dēva (Nar Singh Dēb) 1470; Dhīra Simha (Dhīr Singh) 1471.

Now the Puruṣa Parīkṣa was according to its colophon written during the lifetime of Dēb Siŋgh, i.e. before 1446, and the Durgā-bhakti Taraŋgiṇī was written during the reign of Nar Siŋgh Dēb, i.e. in the year 1470. We therefore can arrange the dates which we have of Bidyāpati Ṭhākur's life as follows, giving those which depend upon Ajodhyā Par'sād in italics:—

	A.D.
Granted the village of Bisapi, and therefore	
already a learned man	1400
Wrote Purusa Pariksa before	1446
Wrote the numerous songs dedicated to Sib	
Singh before	1449
Copied the Bhāgavata Purāna	1456
Wrote Durgābhakti Tarangiņī	1470

Assuming the above dates to be correct, he must have been at least ninety years old when he completed his last work. Rājā Sib Singh, Bidyāpati's great patron, was also named Rūp Nārāyan, which seems to have been a general title of many members of the family. He had several wives, of whom the poet has immortalised Lakhimā Thakurāin.

Prān'batī, and Mōd'batī. There is a tradition that the emperor Ak'bar' summoned Sib Singh to Dilli for some offence, and that Bidyapati obtained his patron's release by an exhibition of clairvoyance. The emperor locked him up in a wooden box and sent a number of courtezans of the town to bathe in the river. When all was over he released him and asked him to describe what had occurred, when Bidyapatí immediately recited impromptu one of the most charming of his sonnets which has come down to us, describing a beautiful girl at her bath. Astonished at his power, the emperor granted his petition to release king Sib Singh. Another legend is that the poet, feeling his end approaching, determined to die on the banks of the holy Ganges. On the way he remembered that the stream was the child of the faithful, and summoned it to himself. The obedient flood immediately divided itself into three streams, and spread its waves up to the very spot where Bidyāpati was sitting. Joyfully gazing on its sacred waters, he laid himself down and died. A Civa linga sprang up where his funeral pyre had been, and it and the marks of the river are shown there to the present day. It is close to the town of Bazit'pur, in the Darbhanga district. Such is the fitting legend of the passing away of the great old master-singer.

Bidyāpati's influence on the history of the literature of Eastern Hindūstān has been immense. He was a perfect master of the art of writing those religious love-sonnets which have since become in a much degraded form the substance of the Vaishnava bibles. Subsequent authors have never done anything but, longo intervallo, imitate him. But while the founder of the school never dealt with any subject without adorning it with some truly poetical conceit, his imitators have too often turned his quaintness into obscurity, and his passionate love-songs into the literature of the brothel.

18. SATUA, Umāpati. Fl. 1400 A.D. He was one of the great poets of Mithilā, and according to tradition he attended the court of king Sib Singh and was a contemporary of Bidyāpati. See J. A. S. B., vol. liii, page 77. Cf. ZDMG, vol. xl, page 143, where Professor Aufrecht fixes the date of an Umāpati, whom Maithil tradition claims as being the same as the one mentioned, as in the first half of the eleventh century.

¹ It is hardly necessary to point out that the real hero of this story (if it is to be believed) cannot have been Ak'bar, who lived in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

19. जेंदेब, Jāidēb. Fl. 1400 A.D.

A Maithil poet, said to be distinct from Jayadēva, author of the Gīta Gōvinda. He attended the court of Sib Singh, of Sugāonā, and was a contemporary of Bidyāpati. See J. A. S. B., vol. liii, page 88.

20. मोरा बाई, Mīrā Bāī, the Mār'wārī. Fl. 1420 A.D.

Rag. Leaving Bidyapati and his successors, we may now turn to the extreme west of Hindustan, where, in Mewar, Mira Bai, the one great poetess of Northern India, was pouring forth her passionate hymns to Krish'n Ran'chhōr. This remarkable woman, who flourished in the year 1420 A.D., was the daughter of Rājā Ratiyā Rānā, the Rațhaur, of Mer'ta, and was married in Sambat 1470 (A.D. 1413) to Rājā Kumbh'karan (No. 21), son of Mōkal Dēb, of Chitaur.2 husband was killed in Sambat 1534 (A.D. 1469) by his son Ūdā Rānã. Her great work is the Rag Gobind, and she also wrote a much-admired commentary on the Gītā Gōvinda of Jayadēva. She was devoted to that form of the god Krish'n known as Ran'chhōr, and the tradition is that she worshipped his image with such fervour that it came to life, and the god, descending from his shrine, embraced her, crying 'Welcome Mîrā." On hearing these words, overcome with rapture, she died in his arms. 'According to Wilson's she was much persecuted by her husband's family on account of her religious principles. She became the patroness of vagrant Vaishnavas, and visited in pilgrimage Brindābān and Dwārikā. Previous to leaving the latter place she visited the temple of her tutelary deity to take leave of him. when on the completion of her adoration the image opened, and Mīrā leaping into the fissure it closed and she finally disappeared. Some idea of the popularity of her writings may be gained from the fact that I have collected from the mouths of the people of Mithila songs purporting to be by her.4

21. जुन्म-कार्न, Kumbh'karan, king of Chitaur (Mēwar), husband of Mīrā Bāī. Fl. 1419 A.D.

¹ According to Tod, ii, 23 (Calc. ed. ii, 24) her father's name was Dūdoh (?).

² According to Wilson, Udaipur.

³ Religious Sects of the Hindūs, p. 137.

⁴ Cf. Tod, i, 289; ii, 760; Calc. ed. i, 309; ii, 818.

- ? Rāg. He came to the throne about 1400 A.D., and was killed by his son $\bar{U}d\bar{a}$ in the year 1469 A.D. According to Tod (i, 289; Calc. ed. i, 308,) he was a skilled poet, and wrote a commentary to the $G\bar{\imath}t\bar{a}$ $G\bar{o}vinda$. He is said to have been originally instructed in poetry by his wife, the famous $M\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}$ $B\bar{a}\imath$ (No. 20).
- 22. ITA, Nānak the Bēdīkhatrī, of Til'warī (see Wilson, Essays, ii, 123) in the Panjāb. B. 1469 A.D.; d. 1539 A.D.

Rāg. The celebrated founder of the Nānak-panthī sect, and part author of the Granth (Rāg.) (see No. 169). The Granth (see Wilson, I. c.) is said by Sib Singh to contain poems by (1) Nānak, (2) Aŋgad, (3) Amar Dās, (4) Rām Dās, (5) Hari Rām Dās, (6) Tēg Bahādur, (7) Gōbind Siŋgh, (8) Kabīr Dās, (9) Trilōchan Dās, (10) Dhanā Bhagat, (11) Rāy Dās, (12) Sēn, (13) Shēkh Farīd, (14) Mīrā Bāī, (15) Nām Dēb (Rāg.), (16) Balibhadr'. (Cf. Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, i, 274, for a different list.)

The first seven of these names are the names of seven of the ten gurus or apostles of the religion. The other three apostles were, (8) Hari Gōbind, (9) Hari Rāy, (10) Hari Kishun. Some idea of Nānak's popularity may be gathered from the fact that I have collected unwritten songs purporting to be by him in the heart of Mithilā. (See also Garcin de Tassy, i, 385.)

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER II.

23. चरन दास, Charan Dās, the Brāhman of Paṇḍit'pur, district Fāizābād. B. 1480 A.D.

Rāg. The author of a work entitled the Gyān'swarāday.

24. सजनेस प्राचीन, Ajabës, the old poet of that name. B. 1513 A.D. Sun. He attended the court of king Bīr Bhān Siŋgh (1540—1554), of Bāndhō (Rīwā),¹ and seems to have resided as a professional bard in that country. Cf. No. 530.

¹ The Sib Singh Sarōj gives Jōgh'pur, which is apparently a misprint for Jōdh'pur; but I can find no reference to a prince of Jōdh'pur named Bīr Bhān. Ajabēs in one of his poems states that this prince protected Ak'har when a child. Bīr Bhān was, therefore, the prince of that name in Bāndhō (Rīwā), with whom Humāyūn took refuge. See art. Rewah in Imperial Gazetteer of India, where the dates are given incorrectly, and Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind. xvii, 101, and xxi, 109. Cf. Nos. 113 and 530.

25. गदा घर मिसर, Gadā Dhar Misar, of Braj. B. 1523 A.D.

Rāg.

26. माधन दास, Mādhab Dās, the Brāhman. B.1523.

Rāg. He was father of Bhag'wat Ramit (No. 61). He is probably the same as a Mādhō Dās, the author of a song in praise of the Ammonite, which I collected in Mithilā.

27. गोपा किन, the poet Göpä. B. 1533 A.D. He wrote the Rām Bhūkhan and the Alaykār Chandrikā. 28. नरमिया कवि, the poet Naramiyā alias Narami, of Jūnāgarh, in Guj'rāt. B. 1533 A.D.

Rāg.

29. भगन्वान दास, Bhag'wān' Dās, of Mathurā. B. 1533 A.D.

Rāg.

30. मोती लाल कबि, the poet Mōtī Lāl, of Bāsīrāj. B. 1533.

Rāg. He translated the Gaṇēça Purāṇa into the vernacular.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROMANTIC POETRY OF MALIK MUHAMMAD. [1540 A.D.]

31. सिलिक सुइसाट जायसी, Malik Muḥammad, of Jāyas, in Audh. Fl. 1540 A.D.

He flourished under Shēr Shāh in the year 1540 A.D. He was the author of the Padmāwat (Rāg.), which is, I believe, the first poem and almost the only one written in a Gaudian vernacular on an original subject. I do not know a work more deserving of hard study than the Padmāwat. It certainly requires it, for scarcely a line is intelligible to the ordinary scholar, it being couched in the veriest language of the people. But it is well worth any amount of trouble, both for its originality and for its poetical beauty.

Malik Muḥammad was a Musalmān faqīr of great sanctity. The rājā of Amēṭhī, who believed that he owed a son and his general prosperity to the saint, was one of his principal devotees. When the poet died he was buried at the gate of the rājā's fort at Amēṭhī, where his tomb is still worshipped. He tells us himself, in the introduction to his poem, that he was a disciple of Sayyad Ashraf Jahān'gīr and of Shekh Bur'hān,¹ and that he subsequently studied under Hindū pandits. He is said not to have been a man of great learning, but was famed for his wisdom, and for the fact that he wrote for the people in the people's tongue. According to the text of the Banāras edition of the Padmāwat, which is very incorrect,² the poet commenced to write it in A.H. 927 (A.D. 1520); but this is probably a misreading, for he says in the preface that Shēr Shāh of the Sūr dynasty, who

¹ Shekh Bur'hān resided at Kāl'pī, in Bundēl'khand, and is said to have died at 100 years of age in A.H. 970, or A.D. 1562-63. See Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind. xxi, 131.

² My friend Pandit Chhōṭū Rām Tiwārī, Professor of Sanskrit at Bāykīpur College, has undertaken to translate and edit a correct text of this important work for the Bibliotheca Indica. (Alas, since the above was written, a learned and humble scholar, who never said an unkind word of anyone, and one of the most upright gentlemen with whom it has been my privilege to be on terms of intimacy, has gone to his long home. By his untimely death I have lost a true friend and a respected teacher.)

came to the throne in A.H. 947 (A.D. 1540), was then the ruling king. 927 is therefore probably incorrect for 947.

The outline of the story of Padmāwat is as follows:-There was a king named Ratan Sen, of Chitaur, who was informed by a parrot of the great beauty of Padmāwat or Padminī, daughter of the king of Singhal Dip (Ceylon). He journeyed to Ceylon as a mendicant. married her there, and returned with her to Chitaur. After this one Rāghō, a dismissed astrologer of Ratan's court, informed Alāu'd-dīn Khilii, then reigning at Dilli, of the great beauty of Padmini. Alāu'd-dīn in consequence attempted, but unsuccessfully, to capture Chitaur in order to obtain possession of her. He nevertheless, by a stratagem succeeded in capturing Ratan's person, and held him as a hostage for her surrender. During her husband's imprisonment proposals of an insulting nature were made to her by one Deb Pal. Rājā of Kambhal'nēr, which she repelled with scorn. Ratan was subsequently released from his dungeon by the valour of two heroes, Gōrā and Bādal, the former being killed fighting bravely in the battle which ensued. As soon as Ratan was again seated on his throne, he attacked Kambhal'ner in revenge for the insult offered to his wife, and killed Deb Pal. He was, however, himself sorely wounded, and only arrived at Chitaur in time to die. His two wives Padmini and Nāg'matī became satī for him, and while their ashes were still warm the advance guard of Alau'd-din's army appeared at the gates of the city. It was nobly defended by Badal, who fell fighting in the gate, but was finally taken and sacked, "and Chitaur became Islam." In the final verses of his work the poet says that it is all an allegory. By Chitaur he means the body of man; by Ratan Sen the soul; by the parrot the guru or spiritual preceptor; by Padmini wisdom; by Rāghō Satan; by Alāu'd-dīn delusion, and so on.

The story of the Padmāwat is founded on the historical facts of the siege of Chitāūr, which is described by Tod [Rājāsthān i, 262 (Calc. ed. i, 281), and ff.]. The substance is as follows:—Lakam'sī, the minor king of Chitāūr, came to the throne A.D. 1275. His uncle Bhīm'sī ruled during his minority. He had espoused Padminī, the daughter of Hammīr Saŋkh (Chāūhān), of Ceylon. Alāu'd-dīn besieged the city in order to obtain possession of her, and after a long and fruitless siege he restricted his desire to a mere sight of her extraordinary beauty, and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of mirrors. Relying on the faith of the Rāj'pūt he entered Chitāūr, slightly guarded, and having gratified his wish returned.

The Raj'put, unwilling to be outdone in confidence, accompanied the king to the foot of the fortress. Here Ala had an ambush waiting. Bhīm'sī was made prisoner, and his liberty made to depend on the surrender of Padmini. She being informed of this, agreed to give herself up as a ransom for her husband; and having provided wherewithal to secure her from dishonour, she designed, with two chiefs of her own kin of Ceylon—her uncle Gorā and her nephew Bādal—a plan for the liberation of the prince without hazarding her life and fame. She was accompanied into Ala's camp by a procession of litters, borne by, and filled with, armed men disguised as females and handmaids, some of whom returned, taking Padmini and Bhim'si with them in disguise; the rest remained in the enemy's camp till the ruse was discovered, when they covered the retreat of their master and were cut down to a man in doing so. Bhīm'sī and Padminī escaped into Chitāur, and after an unsuccessful attempt at storming the citadel (in which Gorā was killed) Alāu'd-dīn raised the siege. He returned again to the siege in 1290 (Firishta says thirteen years later), and one by one eleven out of twelve sons of Bhīm'sī were slain. Then, having made arrangements for the escape of Ajāisī, his second son, to continue the family line, the Rānā himself, calling around him his devoted clans, for whom life had no longer any charms, threw open the portals and carried death into, and met it in the crowded ranks of Ala. 'But another awful sacrifice preceded this act of self-devotion, in that horrible rite the Jauhar. where the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity. The funeral pyre was lighted within the great subterranean retreat, in chambers impervious to the light of day, and the defenders of Chitaur beheld in procession its queens, their own wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. The fair Padmini closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tatar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element.' The Tatar conqueror took possession of an inanimate capital, strewed with the bodies of its brave defenders, the smoke yet issuing from the recesses where lay consumed the once fair object of his desire.

Malik Muhammad has changed the name of the hero from Bhīm'sī to Ratan, the name of the king of Mēwār who ruled at Chitāur at about the time that the poem was written (Tod, i, 309; Calc. ed. i, 328).

¹ It is worthy of note that the second sack of Chitaur, that by Bahadur of Guj'rat, took place in 1533 (Tod, i, 311; Calc. ed. 331).

He has also borrowed part of his story from that of another Padmāwat, the Padmāvatī of Udayana and the Ratnāvali. He makes his hero turn a mendicant devotee in order to gain his beloved, and the scene of the burning together of the two queens, though suggested by the terrible real tragedy, seems also to bear marks of the somewhat similar situation in the Ratnāvali.

From the date of the Padmawat the literature of Hindustan became, so to speak, crystallised into two grooves. This was due to the Vaishnava reformation of Rāmānand and Ballabhāchār'j. The first of these, who has been already mentioned, founded the modern worship of Visnu in his incarnation of Ram (Rama), and the other the worship of the same god in his incarnation of Krish'n (Krisna). From this date all the great poetical works of the country were devoted to either one or other of these two incarnations, and Malik Muhammad's work stands out as a conspicuous, and almost solitary, example of what the Hindu mind can do when freed from the trammels of literary and religious custom. It is true that there are examples of didactic, grammatical, and medical works in the long roll of authors which follows; but the fact remains that from the middle of the sixteenth century to the present day all that was great and good in Hindustānī¹ literature was bound by a chain of custom or of impulse, or of both, to the ever-recurring themes of Ram and Krish'n. Rāmānand has already been dealt with, and his only conspicuous follower was Tul'sī Dās, concerning whom I shall hereafter deal at length. Before considering Ballabhāchār'j and the great school of Braj authors founded by him, it will be convenient to clear the way by enumerating two minor writers.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER III.

B. 1548 A.D. No particulars.

32. दोस्ह कवि, the poet Dilh (?). the Brahman of Bari, district Sitapur. B. 1553 A.D.

33. नरोत्तम दास, Naröttam Dās,

Rag. The author of the Sudama Charitr' (Rāg.).

¹ I use this word here, as elsewhere, as the adjective corresponding to the substantive Hindustan, and not as meaning the so-called Hindustani language.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KRISNA-CULT OF BRAJ. [1500-1600.]

34. बस्भाचार ज, Ballabhāchār'j, of Gōku'l, in Braj. B. 1478 A.D.

Rāg. Although Ballabhāchār'j was more of a religious reformer than a literary character, I shall deal with him at greater length than I have done with Rāmānand, both because of his greater importance, and because I am able to give some particulars concerning him which have not hitherto been made available to European scholars. Ballabhāchār'i (Vallabhāchārya) was the celebrated founder of the Rādhāballabhi sect.1 According to Harishchandr',2 his father's name was Lachhman Bhaṭṭ (a Tailinga Brāhman of Madras) and his mother's name was Illamgārū. His father had three sons—Rām Krish'n, Ballabhāchār'j, and Rām Chandr'. Both his brothers were Vaishnava authors of repute. Lachhman Bhatt lived at Ajodhyā, and was paying a visit to Banāras when on the way, near the village of Chāurā, in the vicinity of Betiyā, in the district of Champāran, in Bihār, on Sunday, the 11th of the dark half of Basakh, Sambat 1535 (A.D. 1478), Ballabhachar'i was born.3 At Banāras he commenced studying under the celebrated Mādhi'wāchār'j (Rāg.) at the age of five years, and remained there till the death of his father, after which he led a wandering life and visited the court of Krish'n Dēb, king of Bijānagar, apparently the same as Krish'n Rāyalū, who reigned about the year 1520 A.D. Here he overcame the Smārta Brāhmans in controversy (see Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, p. 120). According to Harischandr', however, this took place before Sambat 1548 (A.D. 1491), when he was only thirteen years of age. In this year he made a tour to Braj, where he studied the Bhāgavata Purāņa, and subsequently returned to Banāras, preaching Vaishnava doctrines as he went along. From Banāras he went to Gayā, Jagannāth, and the Deckan, spreading his doctrines

¹ See Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, p. 120.

² Prasiddh Māhātmā5 kā Jīban Charitr', ii, 28.

³ See the third khand of the Ballabh Digbijāi, सम्बत १५३५ शाके १६४० बैसाख मास कृष्ण पद्म रिववार मध्यान. See also a hymn by Dwārikēs quoted by Harishchandr', l.c.

everywhere. He finished his first tour (technically called his Digbijāī, or conquest of the world) in Sambat 1554 (A.D. 1497) at the age of nineteen. He then made Braj his head-quarters and established an image of Shrī Nāth at Gōbardhan. From this as his head-quarters he made his second missionary tour throughout India. He died in Banāras in Sambat 1587 (A.D. 1530) at the age of fifty-two years, leaving two sons—Gōpī Nāth and Biṭṭhal Nāth. He was a voluminous author. His most admired works are a commentary on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa entitled Subōdhanī, the Anubhāsya, and the Jāminīya Sūtra Bhāṣya. The two latter are in Sanskrit. Harishchandr' (l.c.) gives a complete list of his works. The authorship of a vernacular work of considerable authority, the Bishnu Pad, or stanzas in honour of Viṣṇu, is also attributed to him. Many verses by him are included in the anthology entitled Rāg-Sāgarōdbhab of Krishnānand Byās Dēb. For further particulars see No. 35.

35. बिहुल नाथ गोसाँईँ, the holy master Biṭṭhal Nāth, of Braj. Fl. 1550 A.D.

Rāg. Ballabhāchār'j was succeeded as leader of the Rādhā-ballabhī sect by his son Biṭṭhal Nāth, of Braj (Fl. 1550). Biṭṭhal Nāth had seven sons, all of whom became Gosāīs, or leaders of the sect. The descendants of two of these (Gir'dhar and Jadunāth)³ still exist in Gōkul. Many of his verses are included in the Rāg-Sāgarōdbhab, and he is possibly the same as a Biṭṭhal Kabi mentioned in the Sib Siŋgh Sarōj as an erotic poet.

Ballabhāchār'j had four famous pupils, viz. Krish'n Dās Pay Ahārī (No. 36), Sūr Dās (No. 37), Par'mānand Dās (No. 38), Kumbhan Dās (No. 39); and Biṭṭhal Nāth had also four pupils, named Chatur'bhuj Dās (No. 40), Chhīt Swāmī (No. 41), Nand Dās (No. 42), Gōbind Dās (No. 43). The first four may be considered as flourishing in the year 1550, and the second four as flourishing about 1567 A.D. These eight all lived in Braj and wrote in Braj Bhākhā, and are named the Ashṭa Chhāp, or eight acknowledged masters of the literature of that dialect. Wilson and others speak of a work entitled the Ashṭa Chhāp, giving the lives of these poets; and I once believed in the existence of such

¹ This is the date quoted by Harishchandr'.

² According to Wilson, Subodhini.

³ See Harishchandr' (l.c.), ii, 36.

⁴ For further information cf. Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, i, 125, where he is wrongly called Vitala Nath.

a work myself, but I now know that by the term Ashta Chhāp is simply meant this list, which, so far as I can make out, was first given and so named in some verses of Sūr Dās (translated in No. 37) and next noted by me in a work entitled the Tul'sī Sabdār'th Prakās, by Gōpal Singh, of Braj, whose date I have been unable to give.

I now proceed to mention these eight authors in detail.

36. क्रियान दास पय ऋहारी, Krish'n Dās, surnamed Pay Ahārī, or 'he whose food was milk,' of Gōhul, in Braj. Fl. 1550 A.D.

Rag. He was a disciple of Ballabhāchār'j and a member of the Ashta Chhāp,—see No. 35. He was a graceful and sweet poet, many of whose verses will be found in the Rag Sagarodbhab. There is a legend that Sūr Dās in his poetry had exhausted all that could possibly be said concerning the god Krish'n, and that hence, when Krish'n Das wrote anything, it was always found to be identical with something that Sūr Dās had already written. One day the latter challenged him to produce a single stanza which did not comply with this disagreeable necessity, and he failed to do so. He then promised to bring an original verse next day, and going away spent the whole night in vain endeavouring to concoct one. In the morning he found a verse mysteriously written upon his pillow, which he took to Sūr Dās, who at once identified it as one which had been written by their master, Ballabhāchār'i. In spite of this legend, which seems to point to a rivalry between the two poets, Krish'n Dās is always graceful and as original as his subject will admit. His best known work is the Prēm-ras-ras. His most famous disciples were Agr' Dās (No. 44), Kēwal Rām (No. 45), Gadā Dhar (No. 46), Dēbā (No. 47), Kalyān (No. 48), Haţī Nārāyan (No. 49), and Padum Nāth (No. 50). Agr' Dās had Nābhā Dās (No. 51), the author of the Bhakt Mālā, of whom more anon, for his disciple.

37. सूर्हास, Sūr Dās, the Bhāt, of Braj. Fl. 1550 A.D.

Nir., Rāg. Sūr Dās deserves a more extended notice. He was, with his father Bābā Rām Dās (No. 112), a singer at the court of the emperor Ak'bar (see Āīn-i-Akbarī, Blochmann's translation, p. 612). He and Tul'sī Dās are the two great stars in the firmament of Indian vernacular poetry. Tul'sī was devoted to Rām (ēkānt Rām-sēbak), while Sūr Dās was devoted to Krish'n (ēkānt Krish'n-sēbak), and between them they are considered to have exhausted all the possibilities of poetic art.

According to a tradition preserved in the glosses of the *Bhakt* $M\bar{a}/\bar{a}$ and to the $Ch\bar{a}\bar{u}r\bar{a}s\bar{i}$ $B\bar{a}rt\bar{a}$, he was a Sāraswat Brāhman, and his father and mother were beggars who lived at $Ga\bar{u}$ $Gh\bar{a}t$ or at $Dill\bar{i}$. The fact that books of the authority of these two works countenance this theory is typical of the tendency of mediæval Indian authors to trust to tradition instead of to independent research. Subsequent writers, English and foreign, have followed the Bhakt $M\bar{a}/\bar{a}$, and have all been led wrong in consequence, for we have the very best authority, that of $S\bar{u}r$ $D\bar{a}s$ himself, that he was not a Sāraswat Brāhman, and that his father was not a beggar and did not live at $Ga\bar{u}$ $Gh\bar{a}t$.

 $S\bar{u}r D\bar{a}s$ wrote a collection of emblematic verses ($drisht k\bar{u}t$) with the accompanying necessary commentary,² and in the latter the author gives the following account of himself³:—

'The founder of my family was $Brahm R\bar{a}\bar{o}$, first of the $Jag\bar{a}t$ (or of the $Prath Jag\bar{a}t$) clan. In his famous family was born the handsome famous Chand. To him $Prithw\bar{l} R\bar{a}j$ (Fl. 1190 A.D.) gave the country of $Jw\bar{a}/\bar{a}$. He had four sons, of whom the eldest succeeded him as king $(nar\bar{e}s)$. The second was Gun Chandr', whose son was $S\bar{\imath}l Chandr'$, whose son was $B\bar{\imath}r Chandr'$. This last used to sport with $Hamm\bar{\imath}r$, king of $Ran'thambh\bar{o}r$. In his family was born Hari Chandr', who dwelt at $\bar{A}g'r\bar{a}$. Hari Chandr's heroics son dwelt in $G\bar{o}p'chal$ and had seven sons, viz. (1) Krish'n Chand, (2) $Ud\bar{a}r Chand$, (3) Jurup Chand (or possibly $R\bar{u}p Chand$), (4) Buddhi Chand, (5) $D\bar{e}b Chand$, (6) (?) Sansrit Chand, and (7) myself $S\bar{u}raj Chand$. My six brothers were

^{&#}x27; It must not be forgotten that Priyā Dās, the author of the gloss to the Bhakt Mālā, collected the traditions more than a century after Sūr Dās's death.

² The work has been printed at the Light Press, Banaras.

³ The late lamented Harishchandr', of Banāras, the greatest, I had almost said the only, critic of Hindūstān, was the first to draw attention to this in his magazine the Harishchandra Chandrikā, vol. vi, No. 5, pp. 1—6. The article has been subsequently reprinted in the collection known as Prasiddh Mahātmāō kā Jīban Charitr'. (Bankipur. Sāhib Prasād Singh. Khadg Bilās Press. 1885.)

⁴ The title Rāō renders it probable that he was either a rājā (of royal stock) or a Bhāṭ or panegyrist.

 $^{^5}$ This clan is not mentioned in the list of clans of Sāraswat Brāhmans drawn up by Paṇḍit Rādhēs Misar. Jagāt or jagatiyā means a panegyrist.

[°] Or perhaps Bhāō Chand, if we take $bh\bar{a}\bar{u}$ (= $hu\bar{a}$, 'was') as a contraction of $bh\bar{a}\bar{o}$.

⁷ The famous king of Ran'thambhōr, who was attacked by Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī, and for whom 1,000 wives became satī. The date of his death was about 1300 A.D.

⁸ His son's name was probably Rām Chandr', which he subsequently changed, according to Vaishnava custom, to Rām Dās. But a possible translation of the passage gives his name as Bir (Chandr').

killed in battle with the Musalmāns; I alone, Sūraj Chand, blind¹ and worthless, remained alive. I was fallen into a well,² and though I called for help, no one saved me. On the seventh day Jadupati (Krish'n) came and pulled me out³ and, making himself visible to me (or giving me my eyesight), said "Son, ask what thou desirest as a boon." I said, "Lord, I ask for the boon of perfect devotion, for the destruction of the enemy,⁴ and that now that I have seen the form of my God, mine eyes may never see aught else." As the Ocean of Compassion heard me, he said. "So let it be. Thine enemy will be destroyed by a mighty Brāhman of the Deckan." Then named he me Sūraj Dās, Sūr, and Sūr Syām, and disappeared, and thereafter all was darkness to me.⁶ I then went to live in Braj, where the holy master (Biṭṭhal Nāth) entered my name in the Ashṭa Chhāp." We thus get the following genealogy:—

Brahm Rāō, the Jagāt.

Chandr'. (Fl. 1190 A.D.)

Second son, Gun Chandr'.

Sīl Chandr'.

Bīr Chandr'. (Fl. 1300 A.D.)

Hari Chandr' (of Āg'rā).

Descendants unknown.

Rām Chandr' (of Gōp-chal).

Sūraj Chand (Fl. 1550) and six others.

It is evident that he was not of a Brāhman, but of a royal stock.⁸ According to tradition he was born about Sambat 1540 (1483 A.D.),

² This may by taken literally, i.e. fallen into a dry well (andhā $k\bar{u}\bar{a}$), or figuratively that he was a sinner.

Either literally or figuratively. Owing to the undoubted fact of his blindness, every blind singing mendicant is nowadays called a Sūr Dās.

³ Or, taken figuratively, after seven days of internal conflict I became converted and obtained salvation.

⁴ I.e. of his evil passions, or perhaps of the Musalmans.

⁵ I.e. Ballabhāchār'j.

⁶ I.e. he became literally blind,—the fulfilment of his third request, dusarō nā dēkhō rūpa, dēkhī Rādhā-Syāma. The line may also be translated, 'he disappeared in the last watch of the night.'

⁷ The list of the eight great poets of Braj. See No. 35.

⁸ He calls Chand'r's eldest son nares.

and was instructed by his father at $\bar{A}g'r\bar{a}$ in singing, in Persian, and the vernacular. On his father's death he took to writing hymns (bhajans), and gained many disciples. At this time he signed his verses Sūr Swāmī, and under that title wrote a poem dealing with the story of Nala and Damayanti.1 He was then in the prime of his youth, and is said to have lived at Gaū Ghāt, a village nine kōs from $\bar{A}g'r\bar{a}$ on the road to $Mathur\bar{a}$. About this time he himself became a disciple of Ballabhāchār'j, and signed his poems with the name of Sūr Dās, Sūr, Sūraj Dās, or, as before, Sūr Syām.2 At this time he translated the Bhāgavata Purāṇa into verse in the vernacular. and he also collected his hymns into the compilation entitled the Sūr Sāgar (Rāg.).3 In his old age his fame reached the ears of the emperor Ak'bar, who summoned him to his court. He died in Gōkul about Sambat 1620 (1563 A.D.). The above tradition is certainly wrong so far as regards dates and as regards Sur Das's father, for the Ain-i-Akbari, which was completed in 1596-97 A.D., mentions both Sūr Dās and Bābā Rām Dās as (apparently) then alive. Abū'l Fazl says that Rām Dās came from Gwāliyar, but Badāonī (ii, 42) says he came from Lakh'naū.

Another legend current throughout India concerning Sūr Dās may be mentioned. Subsequently to his becoming blind, during the absence of his amanuensis, Krish'n came himself and wrote down for him the words which welled forth from the unsuspecting poet's mouth. At length Sūr Dās perceived that the writer was outstripping his tongue, and was writing down his thoughts before he had uttered them. Recognising the Antarajāmī God by this, Sūr Dās seized him by the hand, but Krish'n thrust him away and disappeared. Sūr Dās then uttered a poem still extant, and in my opinion by far his highest flight, the leading idea of which is that though a mortal might thrust him away, no one but God could tear himself from the poet's heart.4

Regarding Sūr Dās's place in literature, I can only add that he justly holds a high one. He excelled in all styles. He could, if occasion required, be more obscure than the Sphynx and in the next verse be as

¹ No copies of this are known to exist.

² Also possibly Sant Das. (See No. 235.)

^{*} Said to contain 60,000 verses.

Kara chhaţakāi jātu hāu, durabala jānī möhi Hiradaya sē jāu jāhugē, marada bakhānö tōhi.

Thou thrustest away my hand and departest, knowing that I am weak (and pretending that thou art but a man),

But not till thou depart from my heart will I confess thee to be a mortal.

clear as a ray of light. Other poets may have equalled him in some particular quality, but he combined the best qualities of all. Natives of India give him the very highest niche of fame, but I believe the European reader will prefer the nobility of character of all that $Iul's\bar{\imath}$ $D\bar{a}s$ wrote to the often too cloying sweetness of the blind bard of $\bar{\Lambda}g'r\bar{a}$.

38. पर्नानन्द दास, Par'mānand Dās, of Braj. Fl. 1550 A.D.

Rāg.

39. जुन्सन दास, Kumbhan Dās, of Braj. Fl. 1550 A.D.

Rāg. These two were pupils of $Ballabh\bar{a}ch\bar{a}r'j$ (No. 34), and are included in the Ashta $Chh\bar{a}p$.

40. चतुर•सूज दास, Chatur'bhuj Dās. Fl. 1567.

Rāg. He is included in the Ashṭa Chhāp as a pupil of Biṭṭha! Nāth, of Gōkul (No. 35). He is probably the same as another Chatur'-bhuj mentioned by Sib Singh. Garcin de Tassy (i, 142), quoting the preface to the Prēm Sāgar, mentions a Chatur'bhuj Misar, author of a Braj translation of the 10th book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in dōhās and chāupās.

41. छीत खामी, Chhīt Swāmī. Fl. 1567 A.D.

Rāg. He is included in the Ashṭa Chhāp as a pupil of Biṭṭhal Nāth (No. 35). He is possibly the same as a Chhīt Kabi included in Haj., whom Sib Singh dates as 1648 A.D.

42. नन्द हास, Nand Dās the Brāhman, of Rām'pur. Fl. 1567.

Rāg. He was a pupil of Biṭṭhal Nāth (No. 35), and his name is included in the Ashṭa Chhāp. A proverb about him is चौर धव गढ़िया, नन्द दास जड़िया,—All others are simply founders (or melters),

¹ As an anonymous poet of Ak'bar's court says, "Gang excels in sonnets and Bīr'bal in the Kabitta metre. Kēsab's meaning is ever profound, but Sūr possesses the excellences of all three."

but Nand Dās is the artificer (who joins the pieces of cast metal into a composite whole). His principal works are (1) Nām Mālā, (2) Anēkārth, (3) Paňchādhyāyī (Rāg.) (printed. It is a poem in imitation of the Gīta Gōvinda, see Garcin de Tassy, i, 387), (4) Rukmīnī Maŋgal (Rāg), (5) Dasam Skandh, (6) Dān Līlā, (7) Mān Līlā. He is also the author of numerous detached verses.

43. गोबिन्ट दास, Göbind Dās, of Braj. Fl. 1567 A.D.

Rāg. He was a disciple of Biṭṭhal Nāth (No. 35) and a member of the Ashṭa Chhāp.

44. त्रग्र दास, Agr' Dās, of Gal'tā, in Amēr (Jāipur). Fl. 1575 A.D.

Rāg. He was a disciple of Krish'n Dās Pay Ahārī (No. 36), who together with $S\bar{u}r$ Dās was a disciple of Ballabhāchār'j. He himself was preceptor of Nābhā Dās (No. 51), the celebrated author of the Bhakt Mālā. Many of his songs are included in Rāg. He is possibly the same as another poet mentioned by Sib Singh as being born in 1569 A.D., and the author of Kunḍaliyā, Chhappā, and Dōhā verses on morals.

45. क्वंचल राम कबि, the poet Kēwal Rām, of Braj. Fl. 1575 A.D.

Rāg. Mentioned in the Bhakt Mālā. A disciple of Krish'n Dās Pay Ahārī (No. 36).

46. गदा घर दास, Gadā Dhar Dās. Fl. 1575 A.D.

He was a pupil of Krish'n Dās Pay Ahārī (No. 36). He is probably the same as a Gadādhar mentioned by Sib Singh as a quietistic (मानि रस) poet.

- 47. देवा कवि, the poet Dēbā of Udānpur (Mēwār). Fl. 1575 A.D.
 - 48. काल्यान ट्रास, Kalyān Dās, of Braj. Fl. 1575 A.D. Rāg.

49. इटी नारायन, Hati Nārāyan, of Braj. Fl. 1575 A.D.

50. पदुम नाभ, Padum Nābh, of Braj. Fl. 1575 A.D.

Rāg. These four were all disciples of Krish'n Dās Pay Ahārī (No. 36).

51. नाभा दास किंव, the poet Nābhā Dās alias Nārāyan Dās, of the Deccan. Fl. 1600 A.D.

We shall now anticipate the course of time a little in order to complete the history of this famous group of Braj poets. Krish'n Dās Pay Ahārī (No. 36) had a pupil, Agr' Dās (No. 44), of Gal'tā, who in turn was preceptor of Nābhā Dās alias Nārāyan Dās, of the Deckan, who flourished about 1600 A.D. and was a Dom by caste. According to tradition he was born blind, and when but five years old was exposed by his parents, during a time of scarcity, to perish in the woods. this situation he was found by Agr' Dās and another Vaishnava named Kil. They had compassion upon his helplessness, and Kil sprinkled his eyes with the water of his kamandal, or water-pot, and the child saw. They carried Nabha to their Math, where he was brought up and received the initiatory mantra from Agr' Das. When arrived at maturity, under the direction of Agr' Dās he wrote the Bhakt Mālā (Rāg.) or "Legends of the Saints," consisting of 108 verses in Chhappan metre.1 It is one of the most difficult works in the Braj dialect, and, as we have it now, was avowedly edited, and perhaps rewritten, by a disciple (?) of Nābhā Dās entitled Nārāyan Dās who lived in the reign of Shāh Jahān (1628-1658). Mr. Growse, to whom I am indebted for this last piece of information, adds :- 'A single stanza is all that is ordinarily devoted to each personage, who is panegyrised with reference to his most salient characteristics in a style that might be described as of unparalleled obscurity were it not that each separate portion of the text is followed by a gloss written by one Priyā Dās (No. 319) in the Sambat year 1769 (1712 A.D.), in which confusion is still worse confounded by a series of most disjointed and inexplicit allusions to different legendary events in the saint's life.' Priyā Dās's gloss is in the Kabitta metre. He was followed by Lāl Jī (No. 322), a Kāyasth of Kadhala, who in Hij'ri 1158 (A.D. 1751) wrote a further commentary, entitled Bhakt Urbasī. In the year 1854 Tul'sī Rām

¹ The above is mainly taken from Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, i, 60. Cf. Garcin de Tassy, i, 378.

Agar'wālā (No. 640), of $M\bar{\imath}r\bar{\alpha}pur$, translated the Bhakt $M\bar{\alpha}l\bar{\alpha}$ into $\bar{U}rd\bar{u}$, calling his translation the Bhakt $M\bar{\alpha}l$ Prad $\bar{\imath}pan$.

The name Nārāyan Dās, which Mr. Growse attributes to a disciple of Nābhā Dās, was, according to Native writers, really the actual name of Nābhā Dās, the latter being his nom de guerre. Nābhā Dās is possibly the same as a Nārāyan Dās Kabi mentioned in the Sib Siŋgh Sarōj as born in 1558 A.D. and author of a translation of the Hitōpādēça and Rājanīti into the vernacular, and as another Nārāyan Dās, a Vaishnava author of an undated prosody describing 52 metres, entitled Chhand Sār.

52. कान्हर ट्रास किंव, the poet Kānhār Dās, of Braj. Fl. 1600 A.D.

Rāg. He was son of Biṭṭḥal Dās Chāubē, of Mathurā. At a meeting held at his house Nābhā Dās (No. 51) received the title of Gosā̂.

53. सी भट्ट कबि, the poet Sri Bhatt. B. 1544 A.D.

Rāg. He is said to have excelled in describing the actions of a lover and his beloved. Possibly the same as Kēsab Bhaṭṭ (see Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, i, 151), one of the pupils of Nīmāditya.

54. व्यास खामी, Byās Swāmī alias Hari Rām Suk'l, of Ur'chhā, in Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1555 A.D.

Rāg. He was a Gāur Brāhman of Dēb'band, and joined the Rādhā-ballabhī sect. In the year 1555 A.D., when he was forty-five years of age, he settled in Brindāban and founded a new Vaishnava religion, entitled the Haribyāsī sect. According to Wilson (Religious Sects of the Hindūs, p. 151), he and Kēsab Bhaṭṭ were pupils of Nīmāditya (Rāg.), the founder of the Nimāwat sect.

55. पर्सु राम Parasử Rām, of Braj. B. 1603 A.D.

Rāg., Dig. He was a follower of Srī (Kēsab) Bhaṭṭ and Haribyās (see Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, p. 151). It is not certain that the poets quoted in Rāg and Dig. are the same person.

56. हित हरिबन्स खामी गोसाँई, the very holy master Hit Haribans. Fl. 1560 A.D.

Rāg. His father was Byās Swāmī alias Hari Rām Suk'l (No. 54). He is a much esteemed author. In Sanskrit he wrote the Rādhā Sudhānidhi, and in the vernacular the Hit Chāurāsī Dhām. Amongst his pupils was the poet Nar Bāhan (No. 57). See Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, p. 177, and Growse, J. A. S. B., vol. xlvii (1878), p. 97, where specimens of both his works are given and translated.

57. नर बाहन जी किंबि, the poet Nar Bāhan Jī, of Bhāugāw. Fl. 1560 A.D.

He was a disciple of Hit Haribans (No. 56). He is mentioned in the Bhakt $M\bar{a}l\bar{a}$.

58. ध्रुव ट्रास, Dhrub Dās. Fl. 1560 A.D.

Rāg. A pupil of *Hit Haribans* (No. 56), and a voluminous writer. A complete list of his works is given by Mr. Growse in J. A. S. B., vol. xlvii (1878), p. 113.

59. इरि हास खामी, the master Hari Dās, of Brindāban, in Braj. Fl. 1560 A.D.

Rāg. His Sanskrit works are considered equally good with those of Jayādēva, and his vernacular poems rank next after those of Sūr Dās and Tul'sī Dās. His best known works are the Sādhāran Siddhānt and the Ras kē pad. He had many celebrated pupils, amongst whom may be mentioned Tān Sēn (No. 60), Bipul Biṭṭhal (No. 62) (his uncle), and Bhag'wat Ramit (No. 61). He is said by Wilson to have been a pupil of Chātanya, who disappeared about A.D. 1527 (Religious Sects of the Hindūs, p. 159). This, however, is doubtful. See Growse, J. A. S. B., vol. xlv (1876), p. 317, where the matter is discussed at length, and where (p. 318) the text of the Sādhāran Siddhānt is given and translated.

60. तान सेन कबि, the poet Tān Sēn, of Gwāliyar. Fl. 1560.

Rāg. He was son of Mak'rand Pārē, a Gaur Brāhman. He was a disciple of Hari Dās (No. 59), from whom he learned the art of poetry. He then repaired to Shēkh Muḥammad Ghāus, of Gwāliyar, a famous teacher of singing. The legend is that Muḥammad Ghāus

simply touched Tān Sēn's tongue with his own, and thenceforth Tān Sēn became the most famous singer of his age.

He became enamoured of $D\bar{a}\bar{u}lat$ $Kh\bar{a}n$, son of the famous $Sh\bar{e}r$ $Kh\bar{a}n$, and wrote many poems in his honour. When $D\bar{a}\bar{u}lat$ $Kh\bar{a}n$ died he went to the court of $R\bar{a}m$ Chand Singh, the Baghēlā king of $B\bar{a}ndh\bar{o}$ ($R\bar{i}w\bar{a}$). From thence he was summoned (A.D. 1563) by the emperor Ak'bar, where he became one of the court singers and a close friend of $S\bar{u}r$ $D\bar{a}s$ (see $\bar{A}\bar{i}n$ -i- $Akbar\bar{i}$, Blochmann's translation, pp. 403, 612). The first time that $T\bar{a}n$ $S\bar{e}n$ performed at court the emperor is said to have made him a present of two $l\bar{a}khs$ of rupees. Most of his compositions are written in Ak'bar's name, and his melodies are even nowadays everywhere repeated by the people of Hindustān. His most famous work on music is the $Sang\bar{i}t$ $S\bar{a}r$ ($R\bar{a}g$.).

61. भगवत रिमत, Bhag'wat Ramit, of Brindaban, in Braj. Fl. 1560 A.D.

He was son of Mādhab Dās (No. 26) and pupil of Hari Dās (No. 59). He is the author of some admired Kunḍaliyās.

62. बिमुल बिहुल, Bipul Biţṭhal, of Gōkul, in Braj. Fl. 1560 A.D.

Rāg. He was uncle and pupil of Hari Dās (No. 59). He attended the court of the rājā of Madhuban, and many of his verses are included in Rāg.

- 63. कसव दास, Kēsab Dās, of Kāshmīr. Fl. 1541 A.D.
- Rag. After acquiring a great reputation he came to Braj, and was conquered in discussion by Krish'n Chaitanya.
- 64. স্থান বান কৰি, the poet Abhay Rām, of Brindāban, in Braj., B. 1545 A.D.
 Haj., Rāg.
- 65. चतुर बिहारी कबि, the poet Chatur Bihārī, of Braj. B. 1548 A.D.
- Rāg. He is probably the same as two other poets, Chatur Kabi and Chatur Bihārī, mentioned by Sib Singh without dates.

66. नारायन भट्ट, the master Nārāyan Bhaṭṭ, of Ūch Gāw Bar'sānā, in Braj. B. 1563 A.D.

Rāg. He was a very holy man.

67. द्वाहीस, Sayyad Ibrāhīm alias the poet Ras Khān, of Pihānī, district Har'dōī. B. 1573 A.D.

Sun. He was originally a Musalmān, but turned a Vaishnava and dwelt in *Braj*. He is mentioned in the *Bhakt Mālā*. His poems are said to be full of sweetness. One of his pupils was *Qādir Bakhsh* (No. 89).

68. नाथ कवि, the poet Nāth. B. 1584 A.D.

Rāg.,? Sun. He was son of Gōpāl Bhaṭṭ, and dwelt in Braj. Poems by him on the seasons and other subjects are included in Rāg.

69. बिद्या दास, Bidyā Dās, of Braj. B. 1593 A.D. Rāg.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER IV.

70. वेहन्दी कबि, the poet Keh'ri. B. 1553 A.D.

He attended the court of king Ratan Siygh, and was a skilled poet. This was probably Rāw Ratan, of Bur-hān'pur, district Nimār, who flourished A.D. 1579. (See Tod, ii, 485; Calc. ed. ii, 522.)

71. धास-करन दास, Ās'karan Dās, the Kachh'wāhā Rǎj'pūt of Nar'war Garh, in Gwāliyar. Fl. c. 1550 A.D.

Rāg. He was son of king Bhim Singh. See Tod, ii, 362; Calc. ed. ii, 390.

72. चेतन चन्द्रः किन, the poet Chētan Chandr'. B. 1559 A.D.

He wrote a treatise on veterinary surgery (মালি-ছান্ধ) entitled Ashwa Binād for king Kusal Singh, of the Sēgar family.

73. प्रिश्वी राज कवि, the poet and prince Prithwi Rāj. Fl. 1567 A.D.

Haj., Rāg. He was prince of Bīkānēr, and wrote both in Sanskrit and in the vernacular. He was son of Kalyān Siŋgh and brother of Rājā Rāy Siŋgh. See Tod's Rājāsthan, i, 337 and ff.; ii, 186; Calc. ed. i, 363 and ff.; ii, 203.

74. परन्वत कवि, the poet Par'bat. Fl. 1567 A.D.

Haj.

75. क्ला किल, the poet Chhattr'. B. 1568 A.D.

The author of a work entitled the Bijān Muktāball, which is an abstract of the Mahābhārata in verse. It is

extremely condensed, being little more than a table of contents. He is possibly the same as a Chhattr' Pati Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh.

76. चदय सिङ्ग, Mahārāj Uday Siŋgh, of Mār'wār. Fl. 1584 A.D.

In his name an unknown bard wrote a work called Khyāt, in which are detailed the histories of Uday Singh, of his grandson Gaj Singh, and of his great grandson Jas'want Singh. See Tod, ii, 4 (where Gaj is incorrectly called Uday's son), and ii, 30; Calc. ed. ii, 32.

77. जीवन कवि, the poet Jiban. B. 1551 A.D.

Haj., Rāg.

78. ATTen Tex ate, the poet Manik Chand. B. 1551 A.D.

Rāg.

79. कथी राम किंब, the poet Ūdhō Rām. B. 1553 A.D.

Haj., ? Rag. Cf. No. 495.

80. नन्द लाख कर्बि, the poet Nand Lal. B. 1554 A.D.

Haj.

81. गनेस जी निसर, Ganes Ji Misar. B. 1558 A.D.

82. जलाल उद्दीन कवि, the poet Jalālu'd dīn. B. 1558 A.D.

Haj.

83. चोली राम कवि, the poet Oli Ram. B. 1564 A.D.

Haj.

84. दामीदर दास, Dāmödar Dās, of Braj. B. 1565.

Rāg. Possibly the same as a Dāmodar Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh, without date.

85. जमाल उद्दीन, Jamalu'd din, of Pihānī, district Hardoī. B. 1568

No particulars. He is possibly the same as a Jamāl Kabi, whom Sib Singh gives as born in 1545 A.D., and as being skilled in emblematic verses ($\mathbb{R}^{\mathbb{Z}}$).

86. नन्दन कवि, the poet Nandan. B. 1568 A.D.

Haj.

87. खेम कवि the poet Khēm, of Braj. B. 1573 A.D.

Rāg. He wrote on lovers. He is possibly the same as a poet *Chhēm*, of the *Dōāb*, mentioned by Sib Singh. Cf. Nos. 103 and 311.

88. सिंब किंब, the poet 8ib. B. 1574.

Haj., Sun.

89. कादिर वखर, Qādir Bakhsh, the Musalmān, of Pihānī, district Har'dōī. B. 1578 A.D.

A skilled poet. He was a pupil of the elegant author Sayyad *Ibrāhīm*, of Pihānī (No. 67).

90. चमन्रेस कवि, the poet Am'rēs. B. 1578 A.D.

Reputed as a very excellent poet, many of whose poems are in Haj.

When it is said that a poet wrote on lovers, it is to be understood as a translation of a statement made by a Native authority that he wrote a Nāyak $Bh\bar{e}d$ or a Nāyikā [or Nāyakā (sic)] $Bh\bar{e}d$. These are technical names for those works in which the various kinds of heroes $(n\bar{a}yak)$ or heroines $(n\bar{a}yik\bar{a})$ are described and classified to an extreme, and often absurd, minuteness. A further development is the Nakh'sikh, which will be frequently met with further on, in which all the portions of the body and features of a possible hero or heroine, from the toe-nails (nakh) to the top-knot (sikh), are similarly classified.

- 91. निहाल, Nihāl, the elder. B. 1578 A.D.
- 92. घन स्थाम सुकन्त, Ghan Syam Suk'l, of As'ni, district Fatih'pur. B. 1578 A.D.

Haj., Sun. He attended the court of the king of Bāndhō (Rīwā).

93. चन्द सखी, Chand Sakhī, of Braj. B. 1581 A.D.

Rāg. He is possibly the same as a Chand Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh and included in Haj., and as a Chand Kabi quoted in Sun.

94. सुबारक खर्जी, Sayyad Mubā-rak 'Alī, of Bil'grām, district Har'dōī. B. 1583 A.D.

Sun. He is the well-known author of hundreds of short verses current in the mouths of the people.

95. नागर कवि, the poet Nagar. B. 1591 A.D.

- Haj. Possibly the same as a Nagari Das mentioned in the preface to Rag.
- 96. दिखन्दार कवि, the poet Dil'dar. B. 1593 A.D.

Haj.

- 97. दौरात किन, the poet Daulat. B. 1594 A.D.
 - 98. जगन कवि, the poet Jagan. B. 1595 A.D.

An erotic writer.

99. ताज कवि, the poet Taj. B. 1595.

Haj.

100. ৰাজন হাৰ, Lālan Dās a Brāhman of Dal'maū, district Rāy Barēlī. B. 1595.

Haj. A quietistic (शान्ति रस) poet.

- 101. ৰাবে কৰি, the poet Bārak. B. 1598 A.D.
- 102. विखानाथ किन, the poet Biswa Nath the elder. B. 1598.

CHAPTER V.

THE MUGHAL COURT.

103. इसे किंब, the poet and bard Chhēm, of Dal'maū, district Rāy Barēlī. Fl. 1530.

He attended the court of the emperor Humāyūn (1530—1540). He is possibly the same as a poet Khēm of Bundēl'khaṇḍ mentioned by Sib Singh. Cf. Nos. 87 and 311.

104. श्रवा•वर बाद्•शाह, the emperor Ak'bar. Reigned 1556 to 1605 A.D.

We may now glance at the brilliant court of the emperor Ah'bar (B. 1542) and the constellation of poets which shone there. Most of the foregoing authors, from Malik Muhammad (No. 31) downwards, were contemporaries of this king, who was so celebrated a patron of learning. It may be noted that the reign of the emperor Ak'bar nearly coincided with that of the English queen Elizabeth, and that the reigns of both these monarchs were signalised by an extraordinary outburst of literary vigour; nor, indeed, if Tul'sī Dās and Sūr Dās were compared with Shakespeare and Spenser would the Indian poets be found very far behind. In addition to the following poets, Tān Sēn (No. 60) and Sūr Dās (No. 37) also attended his court. Particulars about them have been given in the previous chapter.

Ak'bar's claim as a Hindī author is founded only on a few detached verses, in which he signs himself as Akabbar Rāy. Possibly these were really written by Tān Sēn. (See No. 60.)

105. टोडर मल खत्नी, Rājā Ṭōḍar Mal, the Khattrī. B. 1523.

The celebrated minister of the emperor Ak'bar. He is wrongly called a Pañjābī, because the Ma'āsiru'l Umarā says he was born at Lahāūr. He was, however, really born at Lāhar'pur, in Audh. (See Āin-i-Akbarī, Blochmann's translation, p. 620.)

He translated the *Bhāgavata Purāna* into Persian. His best known vernacular verses are on morals (नीति). He died in Hij'rī 998 (1589 A.D.). For his life see *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, p. 351. His influence in making Hindūs learn Persian is especially noteworthy, as it accounts for the formation and acceptance of $\overline{\mathbf{U}}$ rdū.

106. बीर-बल, Rājā Bīr'bal, alias Bīr'bar, alias Mahēs Dās, alias Brahm Kabi, alias Kabi Rāy. Born cir. 1528 A.D.

Nir., Sun. The celebrated minister and poet-laureate (Kabi Rāy) of Ak'bar's court. He was as much renowned for his liberality as for his musical skill and poetical talent. His short verses, bon-mots, and jokes, are still in the mouths of the people of Hindustan. He was much hated by pious Musalmans, owing to the belief that he had influenced Ak'bar to abjure Islām. According to Sib Singh he was born in Sambat 1585 (A.D. 1528), but Blochmann in the Ain-i-Akbari (p. 404 and ff.) leaves the matter in obscurity. His original name was Mahēs Dās, and he was a Kanaūj Dūbē Brāhman of Kāl'pī, in the district of Hamīr'pur. He was at first one of the court poets of Bhag'wān Dās.1 Rājā of Amēr, who gave him as a nazar to Ak'bar shortly after the latter's accession. At this time he used to sign himself in his poems as Brahm Kabi. At Ak'bar's court he was at first very poor but quickheaded, and remarkable for his powers of apprehension. His bon-mots in a short time made him a general favourite. His Hindī verses were also much liked, and Ak'bar conferred on him the title of Kabi Rāy (above mentioned), and gave him other important state offices near his person. Nagar'kōt was given to him as his jāgīr, but it is doubtful if he ever really got it. In A.H. 990 (A.D. 1583) Bīr'bal was sent by Ak'bar to reinforce Zāin Khān Kōkah at Bijāūr against the Yūsufzaīs, and was there killed in battle. Badāonī (translation of Aīn-i-Akbarī, l.c., and p. 204) says 'Bīr'bal also, who had fled from fear of his life, was slain, and entered the row of the dogs in hell, and thus got something for the abominable deeds he had done during his lifetime. * * * His Majesty (Ak'bar) cared for the death of no grandee more than for that of Bīr'bal. He said, "Alas! they could not even get his body out of the pass, that it might have been burned." But at last he consoled himself with the thought that Bīr'bal was now free and independent of all earthly fetters, and as the rays of the sun were sufficient for him, there was no necessity that he should be cleansed by

¹ Tod, ii, 362; Calc. ed. ii, 390.

fire. * * * Among the silly lies—they border on absurdities—which during this year (A.D. 1588) were spread over the country was the rumour that Bir'bal, the accursed, was still alive, though in reality he had then for some time been burning in the seventh hell. Hindus, by whom his Majesty is surrounded, saw how sad and sorry he was for Bīr'bal's loss, and invented the story that Bīr'bal had been seen in the hills of Nagar'kot walking about with Jogis His Majesty believed the rumour, thinking that Bīr'bal was ashamed to come to court on account of the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of the Yūsufzaīs; and it was. besides, quite probable that he should have been seen with Jogis, inasmuch as he had never cared for the world. An Ahadī was therefore sent to Nagar'kot to inquire into the truth of the rumour, when it was proved that the whole story was an absurdity. Soon after his Majesty received a report that Bīr'bal had been seen at Kāliñjar (which was the jāgīr of this dog), and the Collector of the district stated that a barber had recognised him by certain marks on his body, which the man had distinctly seen when one day Bir'bal got him to rub his body with oil. From that time, however, Bīr'bal had concealed himself. His Majesty then ordered the barber to come to court, and the Hindu Krori (Collector) got hold of some poor innocent traveller, charged him with murder, and kept him in concealment, giving out that he was Bīr'bal. The Krōrī could of course send no barber to court. He therefore killed the poor traveller to avoid detection, and reported that it was Bīr'bal in reality, but that he had since died. His Majesty went actually through a second mourning, but he ordered the Krori and several others to come to court. They were for some time tortured as a punishment for not having informed his Majesty before, and the Krori had, moreover, to pay a heavy fine.'

Bīr'bal founded the town of Ak'bar'pur and dwelt there, and in the $N\bar{a}r'n\bar{a}ul$ quarter of that town his descendants still exist.

No complete work by Bīr'bal has come down to us, but numerous verses and bon-mots attributed to him are still in every Hindū's mouth. An anonymous work, entitled the Bīr'bar-nāmā, can be bought for a few pice in any Bihār bazār. It is a collection of facetious tales, of which the heroes are Ak'bar and Bīr'bal, and in which the latter always gets the better by some witty or indecent retort. It is, in fact, the Indian Joe Miller's Jest Book. Some of the stories are the common property of all nations.

107. सनोहर दास कवि, the poet and Rājā Manōhar Dās, the Kachh'wāhā. Fl. 1577 A.D.

He was son of Rājā Lōŋkaran, the Kachh'wāhā, and was one of Ak'bar's commanders of 400. (See $\bar{A}\bar{\imath}n$ -i-Akbar'i, trans., p. 494.) He wrote in Persian, in Sanskrit, and in the vernacular. In the first language he wrote under the name of $T\bar{o}san\bar{\imath}$.

108. স্থান্ত হৈছিন, 'Abdu'r Raḥīm Khān'khānā Nawāb, commonly called Khān'khānā, the son of Bāṇram Khān. B. 1556.1

He was not only learned in Arabic, Persian, Tur'kī, etc., but Nir. also in Sanskrit and Brai Bhākhā. He was much loved by Ak'bar. (See Blochmann's translation of \bar{Ain} -i-Akbari, p. 334 and ff. He wrote under the nom de guerre of Rahīm, ib. p. 338.) His father was the famous Barram Khan, to whom may justly be ascribed Humāyūn's conquest of India. (See Blochmann, p. 315.) Full particulars of his life will be found in the places above cited. Sib Singh adds that he was not only a great patron of poets himself, but that also he wrote extremely learned (and difficult) clokas in Sanskrit, and that his kabittas and dohās in all styles in the vernacular are admirable. Best of all are his dohās on morals (नीति). Here his Persian works are not dealt with. It will be sufficient to mention his best known Persian work, a translation of Babar's Chaghtai Memoirs (Wāqi'āt-i-Bābarī). Amongst the poets who attended his court may be mentioned Lachh'mī Nārāyan (No. 124), of Mithilā.

109. सान सिङ्कः, Mahārāj Mān Singh, the Kachh'wāhā of Amēr. B. 1535.

He was a great patron of learned men, and used to give Hari Nāth (No. 114) and other poets a lākh of rupees for a single verse. He was son of Bhag'wān Dās. (See Āīn-i-Akbarī, translation, p. 339, where a full account of his life is given.) He was a general of Ak'bar's, at first on the Kābul frontier, and subsequently in Bihār. He died in the Deccan in 1618 A.D., when sixty of his fifteen hundred wives burned themselves. The ground on which the Tāj at Āg'rā stands belonged to Mān Singh.

¹ I.e. A.H. 964, which is the date given by Blochmann in passage cited below. Sib Singh gives the date Sambat 1580, i.e. A.D. 1523.

The poets at his court wrote the *Mān Charitr*, which is a very full account of his life and times. (See also Tod's *Rājāsthan*, i, xv, and ii, 353; Calc. ed. ii, 390.)

110. श्रुबुल फेंज, Abū'l Fāiz alias Fāizi. B. 1547 A.D.

This is the famous son of Shekh Mubārak, brother of Abū'l.Fazl and friend of Ak'bar. He was born A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547). See Blochmann's translation of the $\bar{A}\bar{\imath}n$ -i-Akbar $\bar{\imath}$, p. 490.

He was an excellent Sanskrit scholar, and is the author of many detached verses $(doh^2 r\bar{a})$ in the vernacular.

111. फहीम, Fahim. B. cir. 1550 A.D.

According to Sib Singh he was a younger brother of $F\bar{a}nz\bar{i}$ and $Ab\bar{u}'l Faz\bar{l}$. I can, however, find no mention of him in the $\bar{A}\bar{i}n-i-Akbar\bar{i}$. He is the author of many detached verses $(doh'r\bar{a})$ in the vernacular.

112. राम दास, Bābā Rām Dās, of Gōp'chal. Fl. 1550 A.D.

Rāg. He was father of $S\bar{u}r\ D\bar{a}s$ (No. 37), and was one of the court singers to the emperor Ak'bar. See $\bar{A}\bar{\imath}n$ -i- $Akbar\bar{\imath}$ (Blochmann's translation), p. 612. According to $Bad\bar{a}on\bar{\imath}$ he came from $Lakh'na\bar{u}$. He appears to have been with $B\bar{a}\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}m\ Kh\bar{a}n$ during his rebellion, and he received once from him one $l\bar{a}kh$ of $t\bar{a}nkahs$, empty as $B\bar{a}\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}m's$ treasure chest was. He was first at the court of $Is'l\bar{e}m\ Sh\bar{a}h$, and he was looked upon as second only to $Ian\ S\bar{e}n$ (No. 60,) the most celebrated singer of $Ian\ S\bar{e}n$ (No. 60,) the

113. नर्ट्स सहाय, the bard Nar'hari Sahāy, entitled Mahapātr', of As'nī, district Fatih'pur. Fl. 1550 A.D.

? Rāg. He attended the court of the emperor Ak'bar, and was endowed by him with the village of As'nī. According to a curious tradition, when Shēr Shāh (fl. 1540) defeated Humāyūn the latter fled to the west, leaving a Bēgam named Chōlī at Dillī, who was captured by the conqueror. Shortly afterwards, Shēr Shāh being pleased with some verses of Nar'hari, told him to ask a boon. The bard accordingly asked that Chōlī Bēgam might be given to him, which the king granted. Nar'hari carried off Chōlī to Bāndhō (Rīwā), where, soon

after, she gave birth to Ak'bar. The details of this tradition are certainly incorrect, as Ak'bar was born at Amar'kōt, in Mār'wār. He seems, however, to have been befriended as a boy by the king of Bāndhō. Cf. No. 24. See Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind. xvii, 101; xxi, 109. One of Nar'hari's sons was the poet Hari Nāth (No. 114). Descendants of Nar'hari still survive in Banāras and in Bētī, district Rāy Barēlī, and are scattered about in other parts of India. The village of As'nī is no longer in possession of his family, and his original house has been washed away by the Ganges. The ruins of the latter are now sold as rubble, and have become the day-haunts of jackals and other impure animals. Although no complete work of this poet has survived, numerous detached verses by him are still quoted.

Ak'bar gave him the title of $Mah\bar{a}p\bar{a}tr'$, saying that other bards were vessels of virtue $(gun\ k\bar{a}\ p\bar{a}tr')$, but he was a great vessel $(mah\bar{a}p\bar{a}tr')$.

He is possibly the same as a Nar'hari $D\bar{a}s$ mentioned in the preface to $R\bar{a}g$.

114. इरि नाथ किंव, the bard Hari Nāth, entitled Mahāpātr', of As'nī, district Fatih'pur, Fl. 1587 A.D.

A celebrated poet, and son of Nar'hari (No. 113), the court poet of the emperor Ah'bar. He made a tour from court to court, receiving rich presents for his verses; thus king $N\bar{e}j\bar{a}$ $R\bar{a}m$, the Baghēl of $B\bar{a}ndh\bar{o}$ ($R\bar{\imath}w\tilde{a}$), gave him a lākh of rupees for a single $d\bar{o}h\bar{a}$, and $M\bar{a}n$ Siggh (No. 109) of Amēr gave him two lākhs for two $d\bar{o}h\bar{a}s$. On his way home he met a mendicant of the Nāgā sect, who recited a $d\bar{o}h\bar{a}$ to him, at which he was so pleased that he gave the beggar all the presents he had collected, and returned home empty handed. Arrived there he passed the remainder of his life squandering his father's savings in a similar manner.

115. कर•नेस कबि बन्दीजन, the poet and bard Kar'nēs, or Karan. B. 1554 A.D.

He used to visit the emperor Ak'bar's court in company with the poet Nar'hari (No. 113). He wrote three important works—the Karnābharan, the Sruti-bhūkhan, and the Bhūp-bhūkhan.

¹ This king's name is not mentioned in the list given in vol. xxi of Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind.

- 116. सान राय, the bard Mān Rāy, of As'nī, district Fatih'-pur. B. 1523 A.D.
 - 117. जग•दीस कवि, the poet Jag'dīs. B. 1531 A.D.
 - 118. जोव कवि, the poet Jodh. B. 1533 A.D. These three all attended the court of the emperor Ak'bar.
- 119. गङ्गा पर•साद, Gangā Par'sād, the Brāhman. Commonly known as Gang Kabi, or the poet Gang. B. 1538.

Sun. He was a Brāhman of $Ek'n\bar{a}\bar{u}r$, district $/t\bar{a}w\bar{a}$. He was a bard attached to the court of Ak'bar. He received many presents from $B\bar{\imath}r'bal$, $Kh\bar{a}n'kh\bar{a}n\bar{a}$, and others. He is not mentioned in Mr. Blochmann's translation of the $\bar{A}\bar{\imath}n-i-Akbar\bar{\imath}$. He is mentioned by Captain Price as having written on rhetoric in 1555 (Hindee and Hindoostanee Selections, Pref., p. x). Cf. Garcin de Tassy, i, 182.

120. जैत कवि, the poet Jat. B. 1544 A.D.

He attended the court of the emperor Ak'bar. He is possibly the same as a Jāit Rām Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh, without date, as a quietistic (यानि रस) poet.

- 121. श्रमित वि , the poet Amrit. B. 1545 A.D.
- 122. जगन्तज, Jagannaj. Fl. (?) 1575 A.D.
- 123. जगासन, Jagāmag. Fl. (?) 1575 A.D.

 These three all attended the court of the emperor Ak'bar.
- 124. लक्टनी नारायन, Lachh'mī Nārāyan, of Mithilā. Fl. 1600 A.D.
- 125. **पर**•सिड कवि, the poet Par'siddh, the elder. B. 1533. These two attended the court of 'Abdu'r Raḥīm Khān'khānā (No. 108).

126. होल राय किंब, the poet and bard Hōl Rāy, of Hōl'pur, district Bārābaŋkī. Fl. 1583 A.D.

His patron was Rājā Haribans Rāy, Dīwān of the emperor Ak'bar, who gave the poet a tract of land, on which he founded the village of Hōl'pur. Once Tul'sī Dās (No. 128) passed through that village and gave Hōl Rāy his brass vessel or lōtā, which the latter set up as a god and worshipped. It is there still, and is worshipped to this day. The village is still owned by Hōl Rāy's descendants. Giri Dhar (No. 483), Nīl Kaṇth (No. 132), Lachhirām (No. 723), and Sant Bak's (No. 724), were all natives of Hōl'pur.

127. सुकुन्ट सिङ्ग हाड़ा, Rājā Mukund Singh, the Hārā, of Kōṭā. B. 1578.

The ally of Shāh Jahān (1628—1658). He was himself a poet besides being a patron of poets. See Tod ii, 514; Calc. ed. ii, 553.

CHAPTER VI.

TUL'SI DAS.

128. गोसाँई तुलन्सी दास, the holy master Tul'sī Dās. Fl. 1600 A.D.; D. 1624 A.D.

Rāg. We now come to the greatest star in the firmament of mediæval Indian poetry, *Tul'sī Dās*, the author of the well-known vernacular *Rāmāyan* (Rāg.), which competes in authority with the Sanskrit work of *Vālmīki*.

I much regret that the materials available are so scanty; and it is the more tantalising to me that I have received information of a very full account of his life, entitled Gosãi Charitr', by Bēnī Mādhab Dās, of Pas'kā, who lived in the poet's companionship. I have never been able to obtain a copy of this work, though I have long searched for it, and I have been compelled to base my account principally on the enigmatic verses of the Bhakt Mālā aided by the glosses of Priyā Dās and others. The text and literal translation of these will be found in the introduction to Mr. Growse's translation of the Rāmāyan, from which I have freely drawn.

The importance of Tul'sī Dās in the history of India cannot be overrated. Putting the literary merits of his work out of the question, the fact of its universal acceptance by all classes, from Bhāgal'pur to the Pañjāb and from the Himālaya to the Nar'madā, is surely worthy of note. "The book is in every one's hands,¹ from the court to the cottage, and is read or heard and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindū community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old." It has been interwoven into the life, character, and speech of the Hindū population for more than three hundred years, and is not only loved and admired by them for its poetic beauty, but is reverenced by them as their scriptures. It is

¹ Mr. Growse (from whom this quotation is taken) states that the professional Sanskrit Paṇḍits profess to despise Tul'sī Dās's work as an unworthy concession to the illiterate masses, but this has not been my experience.

the Bible of a hundred millions of people, and is looked upon by them as as much inspired as the Bible is considered inspired by the English clergyman. Pandits may talk of the Vēdas and of the Upaniṣads, and a few may even study them; others may say they pin their faith on the Purāṇas: but to the vast majority of the people of Hindūstān, learned and unlearned alike, their sole norm of conduct is the so-called Tul'sī-krit Rāmāyan. It is indeed fortunate for Hindūstān that this is so, for it has saved the country from the tantric obscenities of Shaivism. Rāmānand was the original saviour of Upper India from the fate which has befallen Bengal, but Tul'sī Dās was the great apostle who carried his doctrine east and west and made it an abiding faith.

The religion he preached was a simple and sublime one,—a perfect faith in the name of God. But what is most remarkable in it, in an age of immorality, when the bonds of Hindū society were loosened and the Mughal empire being consolidated, was its stern morality in every sense of the word. Tul'sī was the great preacher of one's duty towards one's neighbour. Vālmīki praised Bharat's sense of duty, Lachhman's brotherly affection, and Sītā's wifely devotion, but Tul'sī taught them as an example.

So, too, in an age of license no book can be purer in tone than his $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yan$. He himself justly exclaims,—"Here are no prurient and seductive stories, like snails, frogs, and scum on the pure water of $R\bar{a}m$'s legend, and therefore the lustful crow and the greedy crane, if they do come, are disappointed." Other Vaishnava writers, who inculcated the worship of Krish'n, too often debased their muse to harlotry to attract their hearers; but Tul'sī $D\bar{a}s$ had a nobler trust in his countrymen, and that trust has been amply rewarded.

Tul'sī Dās was a Sar'bariyā Brāhman. He was born early in the sixteenth century and died at a good old age in 1624 A.D. As the old rhyme says:—

Sambata sõraha sāī asī, Asī Gayga ke tīra, Sāwana sukalā sattamī, Tulasī tajeu sarīra :

—on the 7th of the light half of Çrāvana, in Sambat 1680, Tul'sī left his body at Asī, on the bank of the Ganges.

According to the Bhakt Sindhu and the Brihad Rāmāyan Māhātmya his father's name was Ātınā Rām, his mother's name was Hulasī, and he was born at Hastināpur; but according to other authorities he was born at Hājīpur, near Chitrakut. The usual tradition is, however, that Rāj'pur, in the district of Bādā, on the banks of the Jamunā, has

the honour of being his birthplace. As a child he lived at Sūkar'khēt-(vulgo Sōrō), where he was first imbued with devotion to Rām. According to Priyā Dās (see Nos. 51 and 319) his wife first persuaded him to exchange an earthly for a divine love, and, incited by her remonstrances, he left her and went to Banaras, where he spent the greater part of his life, visiting frequently Ajodhyā, Mathurā, Brindāban, Kuruchhēttr' Prayāg (Allāhābād), Purukhōttam'puri. and other holy places. The only other fact in his life about which there is any reasonable certainty (beyond the dates of some of his works) is that he was appointed arbitrator in a land dispute between two men, Anand Ram and Kanhay. The deed of arbitration in his handwriting is still in existence, and is dated Sambat 1669, or eleven years before his death. A photograph, transliteration, and translation of it, are appended to this work. A few legends mentioned by Priyā Dās, and given in full by Mr. Growse in the introduction to his translation of the Rāmāvan, may be briefly noted here. A grateful ghost introduced him to Hanuman, through whom he obtained a vision of Ram and Lachhman. He recognised a murderer. who piously uttered the name of Ram, as a saved man, and when challenged to prove his statement he did so by making the guilty man's offering accepted by Civa. Some thieves came to rob him, but his house was guarded by a mysterious watchman, who was no other than Ram himself, and, instead of stealing, the thieves became converted and pure of heart. He restored a Brāhman to life.2 His fame reached Dilli, where Shah Jahan (1628-1658; but the poet died in 1624) was emperor. The monarch called upon him to perform a miracle and to produce the person of Rām, which Tul'sī Dās refusing to do, the king threw him into confinement. He was, however, speedily compelled to release him, for myriads of monkeys having collected about the prison began to demolish it and the adjacent buildings. Shah Jahan having set the poet at liberty desired him to solicit some favour as a reparation for the indignity he had suffered. Tul'sī Dās accordingly requested him to quit ancient Dillī. which was the abode of Ram; and in compliance with this request the emperor left it and founded the new city, thence named Shah-Jahān-ābād. After this Tul'sī went to Brindāban, where he had an interview with $N\bar{a}bh\bar{a}$ $D\bar{a}s$ (the author of the Bhakt $M\bar{a}/\bar{a}$). There he strenuously advocated the worship of Ram in preference

¹ Rām., Bā., Dōhā, 87.

² The following is nearly in Wilson's words.

to that of Krish'n, though the latter god appeared in person and assured him that there was no difference between the two. Out of this tissue of childish legends it is perhaps possible to extract a few threads of fact; but till we can find a copy of the Gosãi Charitr' there does not appear to be much hope of our being able to do so.

His most famous work is the Rām-Charit-Mānas, 'the Lake of the Gests of Ram,' which he commenced to write in Ajodhyā on Tuesday, the 9th Chartra, Sambat 1631 (A.D. 1574-75).1 It is often incorrectly called the Rāmāyan, or the Tul'sī-krit-Rāmāyan, (alluding to its metre) the Chaupai Ramayan, but, according to the forty-fourth chāupāī of the Bāl Kāṇḍ of the poem, the above is its full and proper name. Two copies of this work are said to have existed in the poet's own handwriting. One of them, which was kept at Rāj'pur, has disappeared, all but the second book. The legend is that the whole copy which existed was stolen, and that the thief being pursued flung the manuscript into the river Jamuna, whence only the second book was rescued. I have photographs of ten pages of this copy, and the marks of water are evident. The other copy exists in Malihābād (so Sib Singh; Growse says in the temple of Sītā Rām at Banaras), of which only one leaf is missing. I am in possession of an accurate literatim copy of so much of the Raj'pur manuscript as exists. I have also a printed copy of the poem carefully compared with, and corrected from, a manuscript in the possession of the Mahārāj of Banāras, which was written in Sambat 1704 (A.D. 1647), or only about twenty-four years after the author's death.

Little as the Rām-Charit-Mānas is known to European students, still less is known of the poet's other works. Those which I have seen and read are the following:—

- (1) The Gītābalī (Rāg.).—This is the story of Rām told in the form of sonnets adapted for singing. There are several incorrect editions of it in print, some of which have commentaries of varying excellence.
- (2) The Kabittābalī or Kabitta Rāmāyan (Rāg.).—It deals with the same subject, and is in the Kabitta metre.
- (3) The Dōhābalī or Dōhā Rāmāyan (Rāg.).—As its name imports, it is in the dōhā metre. It is rather a moral work than an epic poem. I am not sure that it is not a collection of dōhās from his other works by a later hand. I have, at any rate, been able to identify many of them.

¹ Rām. Bā. ch. 42.

- (4) The Chhappāi Rāmāyan.—In the chhappāi metre. I have only seen one incorrect and unintelligible manuscript of this work, from which an edition of the same character has been printed.
- (5) Sat Saī (Rāg.).—A collection (Sapta Çatikā) of seven hundred emblematic dōhās.
- (6) The Pañch Ratan (Rāg.), or five jewels.—A set of five short poems, usually grouped together. They are (a) the Jānakī Maŋgal, (b) the Pārbatī Maŋgal, (c) the Bārrāgya Sandīpinī, (d) Rām Lālā kar Nah'chhū, (e) the Bar'wē Rāmāyan (Rāg.). The first two of these are songs celebrating the marriages of Sītā and Gāūrī respectively; the third is a didactic treatise; the fourth is a song in honour of the Nah'chhū or ceremonial nail-paring of Rām at his wedding; and the fifth, a short history of Rām in the Bar'wā metre.
- (7) The Srī Rām Agyā, also called the Rām Sagunābalī.—A collection of seven books of seven chapters, each of seven dōhās to each chapter. It is a collection of omens connected with the life of Rām. I suspect it is spurious, and partly made up of extracts from the poet's other works. I have met with one very inferior commentary upon it.
- (8) The Sankat Mochan.—A short didactic work. I have only seen it in one vilely-printed edition.
- (9) The Binay Pattrikā (Rāg.).—A collection of 279 hymns to Rām: much admired, and deservedly so. It has often been printed, and has a very fair commentary by Sib Par'kās (No. 643).
- (10) The Hanumān Bāhuk (Rāg.).—A collection of sonnets in honour of Hanumān, who according to tradition gave him a vision of Rām and Lachhman.

In addition to these the Sib Siggh Saroj mentions the following:—

- (11) Rām Salākā (Rāg.).
- (12) The Kundaliyā Rāmāyan.
- (13) The Kar'kā Rāmāyan.
- (14) The Rola Ramayan.
- (15) The Jhūl'nā Rāmāyan, none of which I have seen. The last four are named after the metres in which they are written.
- (16) A Krishnābalī (Rāg.) in the Braj dialect is also printed and sold in the bazārs. It deals with the life of Krish'n, and I do not believe that it is by the $Tul's\bar{\imath}$ $D\bar{a}s$ whom we are now considering.

Many of these have been printed, always most incorrectly, and some with commentaries. One of the most highly esteemed commentaries on the Rām-Charit-Mānas is that of Rām Charan Dās. The best on the

रालिहिनारिकागानी॥ वरहिषि व विहित्सासाकिदानिनामिखेनीत नन्दासा॥विदलिसिगापना बङ्गलानी। नर्दान्तन्त्रमास्त्रणानी। व्यान जार दस्तागलोगार्दाग्रेथमञ्जूपहिन्द्रणासार्द्र॥ स्वान्यस्त्रमाने वर्षाने व ्रिचितिह्ववहिष्वरक्षंत्रस्थात्रीयेवावितायेव्यामात्रीयावितार्थः ज्ञान्वद्वित्रामात्रीयाद्वित्राह्यः । ज्ञान्वद्वित्रामात्रीयाद्वे । इत्यान्वद्वित्रामात्रामात्रम् । ज्ञान्वद्वे । ज्ञान्

विश्व गिर्द्रश्याण्याण्यतप्रेम्म् मम्बयः सहार्षाः अधिवार्ये विश्व हिर्द्धाः स्थाप्य स्थाप स्थाप्य स्थाप्य स्थाप्य स्य स्थाप्य स्थाप्य स्थाप्य स्थाप्य स्थाप्य स्थाप्य स्थाप्य स्थाप्य

शतिक्व हता। जवसनेह्भुनतरकेहत्वाम्य वदारस्य निश्च क्लांकित्वा स्थानिक्व क्लांकित्वा स्थानिक्व क्लांकित्व क्लांकित क्लांकित्व क्लांकित्व क्लांकित्व क्लांकित्व क्लांकित्व क्लांकि

म् एत्वववडान्स्यकाई॥॥होहा॥॥स्यावानते हिम्मेद एवसी स्व विशेष्ट विशेष्ट विशेष्ट विशेष्ट विशेष्ट विशेष्ट विशेष्ट व कालाइ॥नाइकास परक्षण काला विशेष्ट विशेष्ट वाराण श्री विशेष्ट विशेष्ट वाराण श्री विशेष्ट विशेष

तः विभिन्नवासपरेणवस्य विभावति वाहकस्य देवीयम् । स्ति के वाह्य प्रमाणका क्ष्य स्वति। श्रिकाति। अन्य स्ति प्रमाणका विभावति व्यवस्य स्वति। श्रिकाति। स्वति के विद्यापका स्वति । स्वति के विद्यापका स्वति । स्वति

विनाममहत्वाभी॥तातस्य तद्वित्वस्य त्वात्वात्वव्य मानी। मास्मस्य विद्यानित्व त्वाति स्वात्वात्व व्यवस्य विद्यानित्व वित्व विद्यानित्व विद्यानित्य विद्यानित्व विद्यानित्व विद्य

तक्रिक्तनाह्न। दहेगीत उन्हों क्या विवास सम्मान क्या है। अस्मान क्या है। अस्मान हो अस्

से इतियुवल्वस् हित्वस्याया(आवेस् काह्होइन्डनारा॥ नेहिन्दात्र स्मितिक्वत्रामी मातवा । सम्मितिक्वानी । सिहि। हिति (देवन्वनिह्न से सिहार स्मितिक्वानी । सिही। स्मितिक्विम् देवापण्डी । स्मितिक्विम् स्मितिक्वानी । सिहार से स्मितिक्वानी । स्मितिक्वानी स्मितिक्वानी स्मितिक्वानी । स्मितिक्वानिक्वानी स्मितिक्वानिक्वानी । स्मितिक्वानिक्वा

Gītābalī, the Kabittābalī, and the Sat Saī are by Bāij'nāth. Rām Charan Dās's commentary has been printed by Nawal Kishōr, of Lakh'nau, but is now out of print. The other commentaries can be bought in any Indian bazār. All the commentators have a great tendency to avoid difficulties, and to give to simple passages mystical meanings, which Tul'sī Dās never intended. They are unfortunately utterly wanting in the critical faculty. Though there are abundant materials for obtaining an absolutely accurate text of at least the Ram-Charit-Manas, the commentators have never dreamed of referring to them, but have preferred trusting their inner consciousness. As an extreme example, I may mention one who drew up a scheme of the number of verses which each section of each canto ought to have, in a numerically decreasing order, after the pattern of the steps of a bathing ghat, because the poem is called a lake (manas). Nothing could be prettier than this idea; and so he hacked and hewed his unfortunate text to fit this Procrustean bed, and then published it with considerable success. It never occurred to him or his readers to see if this was what Tul'sī Dās had written; and if they had done so, the ludicrous nature of his theory would have been evident at the first glance.

Regarding Tul'sī Dās's style, he was a master of all varieties, from the simplest flowing narration to the most complex emblematic verses. He wrote always in the old Bais'wārī dialect, and, once the peculiarities of this are mastered, his Rām-Charit-Mānas is delightful and easy reading. In his Gītābalī and Kabittābalī he is more involved, but still readable with pleasure; in his Dohābalī he is sententious; and in his Sat Sai as difficult and obscure as any admirer of the Nalodaya could wish. The Sat Saī is a veritable tour de force, and I am glad that -this, almost the oldest specimen of a kind of writing which was brought to perfection fifty years later by Bihārī Lāl (No. 196) (the mine of commentators), is being edited with a commentary by Professor Bīhāri Lāl Chāubē in the Bibliotheca Indica.2 The Binau Pattrikā is again in another style. It is a book of prayers, often of the most elevated description, but its difficulties are very unsatisfactorily elucidated by either of the two commentaries on it which I have seen.

¹ It was written (Sat. i. 21) in Sambat 1642, i.e. A.D. 1585. Bidyāpati's emblematic verses were written about A.D. 1400.

² Since this was written an edition of this work, with a commentary by Bāīj'nāth, the editor of the Gītābalī and Kabittābalī, has been published in 1886 by Nawal Kishōr, of Lakh'naū.

Regarding his poetic powers I think it is difficult to speak too highly. His characters live and move with all the dignity of a heroic age. Das'rath, the man of noble resolves which fate had doomed to be unfruitful; Rām, of lofty and unbending rectitude, well contrasted with his loving but impetuous brother Lachhman; Sītā, the 'perfect woman nobly planned;' and Rāban, like Das'rath, predestined to failure, but fighting with all his demon force against his fate, almost like Satan in Milton's epic, the protagonist of half the poem,—all these are as vividly before my mind's eye as I write as any character in the whole range of English literature. Then what a tender devotion there is in Bharat's character, which by its sheer truth overcomes the false schemes of his mother Kānkēyī and her maid. His villains, too, are not one black picture. Each has his own character, and none is without his redeeming virtue.

For sustained and varied dramatic interest I suppose the Rām-Charit-Mānas is his best work; but there are fine passages in his other poems. What can be more charming than the description of Rām's babyhood and boyhood in the commencement of the Gītābalī, or the dainty touches of colour given to the conversation of the village women as they watch Rām, Lachhman, and Sītā treading their dreary way during their exile. Again, what mastery of words is there in the Sundar Kānd of the Kabittābalī throughout the description of the burning of Lapkā. We can hear the crackling of the flames and the crash of the falling houses, the turmoil and confusion amongst the men, and the cries of the helpless women as they shriek for water.

Still even Tul'sī Dās was not able to rise altogether superior to the dense cloud which fashion had imposed upon Indian poetry. I must confess that his battle descriptions are often luridly repulsive, and sometimes overstep the border which separates the tragic from the ludicrous. To Native minds these are the finest passages which he has written; but I do not think that the cultivated European can ever find much pleasure in them. He was hampered, too, by the necessity of representing Rām as an incarnation of Vishnu, which leads him into what, although only meet adoration to the pious believer, sounds to us *Mlēchehhas* as too gross hyperbole.

The reasons for the excellence of this great poet's work are not far to seek. The most important of all was the great modesty of the man. The preface to the $R\bar{a}m$ -Charit-M $\bar{a}nas$ is one of the most remarkable portions of the book. $K\bar{a}lid\bar{a}sa$ may begin his $Raghuva\dot{m}ca$ with

a comparison of himself to a dwarf, and of his powers over language to a skiff on the boundless ocean; but from under this modest statement there gleams a consciousness of his own superiority. His modesty is evidently a mock one, and the poet is really saying to himself all the time, 'I shall soon show my readers how learned I am, and what a command I have over all the nine rasas.' But (and this is another reason for his superiority) Tul'sī never wrote a line in which he did not himself believe heart and soul. He was full of his theme, the glory and love of his master; and so immeasurably above him did that glory and that love seem, that he was full of humility with regard to himself. As he expresses it :-- 'My intellect is beggarly, while my ambition is imperial. May good people all pardon my presumption and listen to my childish babbling, as a father and mother delight to hear the lisping prattle of their little one.' Kālidāsa took Rām as a peg on which to hang his graceful verses; but Tul'sī Dās wove wreaths of imperishable fragrance, and humbly laid them at the feet of the god whom he adored. One other point I would urge, which has, I believe, escaped the notice of even Native students of our author. He is, perhaps, the only great Indian poet who took his similes direct from the book of Nature and not from his predecessors. He was so close an observer of concrete things, that many of his truest and simplest passages are unintelligible to his commentators, who were nothing but learned men, and who went through the beautiful world around them with eyes blinded by their books. Shakespeare, we know, spoke of the white reflection of the willow leaves in the water, and thus puzzled all his editors, who said in their wisdom that willow leaves were green. was, I think, Charles Lamb who thought of going to the river and seeing if Shakespeare was right, and who thereby swept away a cloud of proposed emendations.2 So, too, it has been reserved for Mr. Growse to point out that Tul'sī Dās knew far more about Nature than his commentators do.

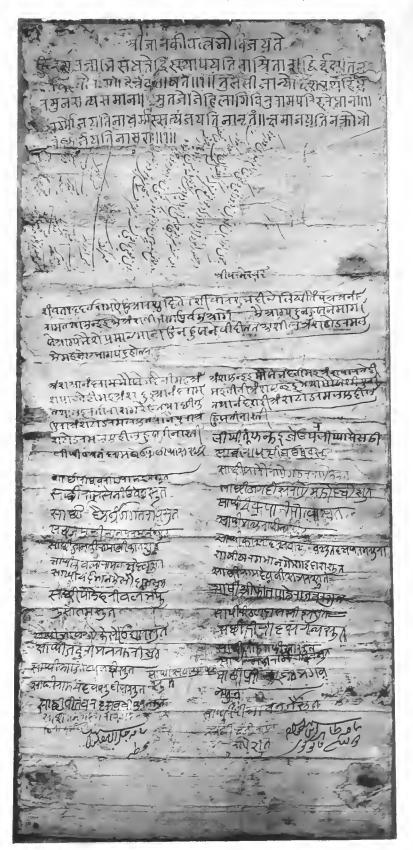
It remains now to point out the necessity there is of printing a correct text of this poet's works. At present the printed bazār editions

¹ Bābū Jawāhir Mall, of Dāūd'nagar, in the district of Gayā, informs me that he knew an old man whose ancestor knew the poet, and that Tul'sī Dās told the ancestor that he had never written a line of poetry into which either the letter $\forall r$ or the letter $\forall m$ (the first and last letters of the word Rām) did not come. This (if found to be true) is a valuable test for deciding whether doubtful passages are genuine or not.

² The under surface, and therefore the reflection, of the willow-leaf is white.

available are very deficient. The best of them is that by Pandit Rām Jasan; but he, like all the other editors, has printed only a modernised copy of the textus receptus. I have carefully compared the latter with the original text, and am in a position to state that anything more misleading can hardly be imagined. Tul'sī Dās wrote phonetically the words as they were pronounced at his time, and in an archaic dialect. In the printed books the dialect is altered to the standard of the modern Hindi, and the spelling improved (?) according to the rules of Pānini. Examples of the modernisation of the dialect are the following: -Tul'sī Dās uses the short u as the termination of the nominative singular, leaving the crude base in a for its legitimate purposes in composition, thus following the rules of the Apabhrainca Prākrit. Thus he wrote kapi-kaṭaku, an army of monkeys; prabalamoha-dalu, a powerful band of delusions; and so on: but all the modern editions give -kataka and -dala, according to the modern pronunciation. So also modern editors write prasada, 'favour,' for the original pasau; bhujanginī, 'snake,' for original bhuanginī; yajñavalkya for jagabaliku; bandau, 'I revere,' for bandau; bhakti, 'faith,' for bhagati, and so on. Examples can be gathered in almost every line. Instances of alteration of spelling are equally numerous. One example must suffice. Tul'sī Dās evidently pronounced the name of Ram's father as Dasarathu, for that is the way he wrote it; but modern editors write the Sanskrit Daçaratha, which is not even the way it is pronounced nowadays. But there are other and greater errors than these in the textus receptus. It abounds in lacunæ. Whole pages are sometimes omitted, and minor changes occur in every page. In short, opening the printed edition at random, I count no fewer than thirty-five variations from the original, some most important ones, in one page of twentythree lines. I am glad, therefore, to be able to record that an enterprising publisher of Patna (Bābū Rām Dīn Singh, of the Khadg Bilās Press, Bānkīpur) is now engaged in publishing a text of the Ram-Charit-Manas founded on the old manuscripts I have already mentioned.

In the Addendum to this chapter I give samples of the true text of the Rām-Charit-Mānas, founded on the Banāras and Rāj'pur manuscripts, already alluded to, together with photographs of the originals. The footnotes show the readings of the textus receptus. I am indebted to the kindness of Rājā Siva Prasād, C.S.I., for these photographs.



तः वासः नीशिवसप्रसमिदिधियमाई रोहा अधमिति विकासिक विकास द्रामप्रमृतिकार सुनिसेवक सुक्षामक पिक्सिक विकास १-४ मेनानातुमारय नसी ना कही समझ्यान सुप्रतिनी ता सुनुसुनिका सुमामनी रे कहिनका स्वास सुप्रतिनी रे सम्बद्धिक प्राप्ति स्वास कहिनका स्वास स्वास सिक्सिक प्रमुख होसा तरियं वाक्सिक स्वासी राष्ट्रस्व अस्त्राम्य हुन्। नुस्य स्वास्त्र स्वास स्वास

काः राज्येषध्याह्मत्वस्यस्योः यह ग्रानगीचरित्रणक्रम्ण्यः इस्तरः ज्यादिवरित्रः ग्रुक्तस्यितः प्रतिग्रादेश्यः । देशः ए स्मिर्गतिकार्द्धाने स्मित्रके हित्रस्य क्षिण्यः स्मित्रके विद्याने के स् विदेशिक्षण्याम् यहेक क्षिण्याम् स्वत्रक्षात्र्याः स्वित्रार्थिकार्ये स्कान्यः स्वत्रक्षात्र्याः स्वत्रक्षात्र्यः । स्वित्रार्थिकार्ये स्स्कान्यः स्वत्रक्षात्र्यः । स्वत्रक्षात्र्यः । स्वत्रार्थिकार्ये स्वत्रक्षात्र्यः स्वत्रक्षात्रम् । स्वत्रक्षात्रम् । स्वत्रमानस्य स्वत्रक्षात्रम् । स्वत्रक्षात्रम् । स्वत्रक्षात्रम् । स्वत्रमानस्य स्वत्रक्षात्रस्य स्वत्रम् । स्वत्रिक्ष्यास्य स्वत्रम् ।

truck vor Affic oert, a.

129. निषट निरञ्जन खामी, the master Nipat Nirahjan. B. 1593 A.D.

Nir. According to Sib Singh this master ranks as a holy man with $Tul's\bar{\imath}$ $D\bar{\alpha}s$. Besides hundreds of short poems which have not been collected, he is the author of the $S\bar{\alpha}nt$ $\Im \alpha r's\bar{\imath}$ and the $Nira\bar{n}jan$ Sangrah.

180. बेनी साधव दास, Bēnī Mādhab Dās, of Pas'hā, district Göḍā. Fl. 1600 A.D.

He was a disciple of the holy master $Tul's\bar{\imath}$ $D\bar{a}s$, and was his constant companion. He wrote a biography of him entitled $Gos\tilde{a}\bar{l}$ Charitr' (quoted in this work as ' $G\bar{o}$.') and died in 1642 A.D.

131. निधि कवि, the poet Nidhi. Fl. 1600. Go., (?) Rāg.

132. नील कपढ सिसर, Nil Kaṇṭh Misar, of the Dōāb. Fl. 1600 A.D.

Go., Nir.

133. नीला धर किंब, the poet Nīlā Dhar. Fl. 1600 A.D. Gō., Nir.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER VI.

I.—THE TEXT OF TUL'SI DAS.

In order to show how the text of Tul'sī Dās's works has been altered in the course of centuries, the following extracts from the Rāmāyan are given, exactly as taken from the oldest manuscripts in existence. In the footnotes are given the variations of the best printed editions. The manuscripts used are those referred to in Chapter VI, namely the Rāj'pur copy of the Ajodhyā Kāṇḍ, said to be in the poet's own handwriting, and the Banāras copy, made only twenty-four years after his death.

FROM THE Bal Kand (Banaras MS.).

(The footnotes show the variations of the textus receptus.)

Chāupā ī.

Kō Shiwa¹ sama Rāmahi² priya bhāĭ ||. *Dōhā*.

Prathamahi māī kahi Shiwa-charita
Būjhā maramu tumhāra | ³
Suchi sēwaka tumha⁴ Rāma kē
Rahita samasta bikāra || 104 ||⁵
Chāūpā ē.

Māī⁶ jānā tumhāra guna sīlā | Kahāū sunahu⁷ aba Raghu-pati-līlā || | Sunu muni āju samāgama tōrē^s Kahi na jāi⁹ jasa sukhu¹⁰ mana mōrē ||¹¹

Rāma-charita ati amita munīsā | Kahi na sakahi¹² sata kōṭi ahīsā || Tadapi jathā shruta¹³ kahāū bakhānī | Sumiri Girā-pati Prabhu dhanupānī ||

Sārada dāru-nāri-sama, Swāmī | Rāmu¹⁴ sūtra-dhara antara-jāmī || Jehi para kṛipā karahi janu¹⁵ jānī | Kabi-ura ajira nachāwahi¹⁶ Bānī ||

FROM THE Ajodhyā Kānd (Rāj'pur MS.).

Chāupāì.

(Dēhī ku)chālihi kōṭi ka¹⁷ gārī ||
Jarahī bikhama jara¹⁸ lēhi usāsā |
Kawani¹⁹ Rāma binu jīwana-āsā ||
Bipula²⁰ biyōga prajā akulānī |
Janu²¹ jala-chara-gana sūkhata pānī ||
Ati bikhāda-basa lōga logāī²² |
Gayē mātu pahī²³ Rāmu²⁴ gosāī²⁵ ||

1 Siwa.

 ${
m Mukhu^{26}}$ prasanna chita ch ${
m \overline{au}}$ -guna chāŭ

Miṭā sōchu²⁷ jani rākhai²⁶ rāŭ || *Dōhā*.

Nawa gayandu Raghu-bīra-manu²⁹ Rāju²⁰ alāna samāna | Chhūṭa jāni bana-gawanu³¹ suni Ura-anandu²² adhikāna || 51²³ ||

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<sup>2</sup> Rāmahī.

<sup>2</sup> Prathama kahē māi Siwa-charita būjhā marama tumhāra |

<sup>4</sup> tuma.

<sup>6</sup> 112.

<sup>6</sup> māi.

<sup>7</sup> sunahū.

<sup>8</sup> tōrē.

<sup>9</sup> jāya.

<sup>10</sup> sukha.

<sup>11</sup> mōrē.

<sup>12</sup> sakahī.

<sup>13</sup> sruta.
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¹⁷ hu.
¹⁸ jwara.

¹⁹ kawana. ²⁰ Bikula.

²¹ Jimi. ²² lugā**i**.

²⁸ pahā.

25 gusāl.

²⁶ Mukha. ²⁷ Ihaī sōcha.

²⁸ rākhahī.

²⁹ gayanda Raghu-bansa-mani.

30 Rāja. 31 gawana.

³² ānāda. ³³ 50.

¹⁴ Rāma.
15 karahī jana.
16 nachāwahī. One edition of text.
rec, gives anī for bānī.

Chaupa î.

Raghu-kula-tilaka jöri doü¹ hāthā | Mudita mātu-pada nāyeu² māthā [[Dīnhi³ asīsa lāi ura līnhē | Bhūkhana basana nichhāwari kīnhē || Bāra bāra mukha chumbati4 mātā | Nayana nēha-jalu⁵ pulakita gātā || Goda rākhi puni hridaya lagāē⁶ | Shrawata⁷ prēma-rasa payada suhāë⁸ || Prēmu pramodu9 na kachhu kahi jāī ļ Ranka Dhanada-padawi janu pāi || Sādara sundara badanu¹⁰ nihārī [Bolī madhura bachana mahatārī || 'Kahahu, Tāta, jananī bali-hārī | Kabahī lagana muda-mangala-kārī || Sukrita-sīla-sukha-sīwa11 suhāī | Janama-lābha kaï awadhi12 aghāī ||

$D\bar{o}h\bar{a}$.

Jehi chāhata nara-nāri saba Ati ārata ehi13 bhāti | Jimi chātaka-chātaki trikhita14 Bristi sarada-ritu15 swāti | 5216 ||

Chaupai.

Tāta jāŭ bali bēgi nahāhū17 | Jō mana bhāwa madhura kachhu khāhů ||

Pitu samīpa taba jāyehu bhaīā | Bhaï badi¹⁸ bāra jāi bali mājā' || Mātu-bachana suni19 ati anukūlā | Janu sanēha-sura taru kē phūlā || Sukha-makaranda-bharē Shriya20-mūlā | Nirakhi Rāma-manu bhawaru²¹ na bhūlā ||

Dharama²²-dhurīna dharama²³. gati jānī | Kaheu mātu sana ati mṛidu bānī || 'Pitā dīnha mohi kānana-rājū | Jahā saba bhāti mōra baḍa²⁴ kājū || Āyesu dēhi25 mudita mana mātā ! Jēhi²⁶ muda mangala kānana jātā [] Jani sanēha-basa darapasi bhorē27 | Ānādu amba²⁸ anugraha tōrē²⁹ ||

Döhā.

Barakha³⁰ chāri-dasa bipina basi Kari pitu-bachana-pramāna | Āï³¹ pāya puni dēkhihāu Manu³² jani karasi malāna' | 53³³ |

Chaupāi.

Bachana binīta madhura Raghubara kē 🕴 Sara sama lagē mātu-ura kara kē || Sahami sükhi suni sītali34 bānī | Jimi jawāsa pare³⁵ pāwasa-pānī || Kahi na jaï kachhu hridaya-bikhādū [Manahū mṛigī suni³⁶ kēhari-nādū || Nayana sajala,³⁷ tana³⁸ thara thara kāpī³⁹ |

Mājahi khāi mīna janu māpī40 ||

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1 dwau.
² nāyaü.
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³ Dīnha. 4 chūmati.

⁵ jala. ⁶ lagāi.

⁷ Srawata. 8 suhāī.

⁹ Prēma-pramoda.

¹⁰ badana. 11 sīwa.

¹² Janma-lābha kahi (or lahı) awadha.

¹⁴ chātaki chātaka trisita.

¹⁵ ritu. ¹⁶ 51.

¹⁷ anhāhū.

¹⁸ bari.

¹⁹ Here ends leaf 28 of the MS.

²⁰ Shrī.

²¹ Rāma-mana bhāwara.

²² Dharma.

²³ dharma.

²⁴ bara.

²⁵ Ayasu dehu.

²⁶ Jehi.

²⁷ bhōrē.

²⁸ Ānāda mātu.

²⁹ tōrē.

³⁰ Barkha.

³¹ **Ду**а.

⁵² Mana.

³³ 52,

³⁴ sītala.

³⁵ para.

³⁶ janu sahame kari. ³⁷ Salila.

³⁸ tanu.

⁸⁹ kāpī.

⁴⁰ Mājā manahū mina kahā bvānī.

Dhari dhīraju¹ suta-badanu² nihārī |
Gadagada³-bachana kahati mahatārī ||
Tāta pitahi tumha⁴ prāna-piārē |
Dēkhi mudita nita eharita tumhārē ||
Rāju⁵ dēna kahū⁶ subha dina sādhā |
Kaheu jāna bana kehi aparādhā ||
Tāta sunāwahu mōhi nidānū |
Kō dina-kara-kula bhayeu² kṛisānūʻ||

Dohā.

Nirakhi Rāma-rukha sachiwa-suta. Kāranu⁸ kaheu bujhāi | Suni prasaŋgu⁹ rahi mūka jimi¹⁰ Dasā barani nahi¹¹ jāi || 54¹² ||

Charipa ?.

Rākhi na sakai¹³ na kahi saka jāhū |
Duhū bhāti ura dāruna dāhū ||
Likhata sudhā-kara, gā¹⁴ likhi Rāhū |
Bidhi-gati bāma sadā saba kāhū ||
Dharama¹⁶ -sanēha ubhaya mati ghērī ||
Bhaï gati sāpa chhuchhundari kērī ||
Rākhāū sutahi karāū¹⁶ anurōdhū ||
Dharamu¹⁷ jāï aru bandhu-birōdhū ||
Kahāū jāna bana tāū baḍi¹⁸ hānī |
Saŋkaṭa sōcha bibasa¹⁹ bhaï rānī ||
Bahuri sumujhi tiya-dharamu²⁰ sayānī ||
Rāmu Bharatu doü²¹ suta-sama jānī ||

Sarala subhāü²² Rāma-mahatārī | Bōlī bachana dhīra dhari bhārī || ' Tāta, jāŭ bali, kīnhehu²³ nīkā | Pitu-āyesu²⁴ saba dharama ka²⁵ ṭīkā||

Dohā.

Rāju²⁶ dēna kahi,²⁷ dīnha banu²⁸ Mōhi na sō²⁹ dukha-lēsa | Tumha³⁰ binu Bharatahi bhū-patihi Prajahi prachanda kalēsa || 55³¹ ||

Prajahi prachanda kalēsa || 5531 || Chaupai. Jāū̃³² kēwala pitu-āyesu³³ tātā | Taū jeni jāhu jāni badi mātā³⁴ || Jāū³⁵ pitu-mātu kaheu³⁶ bana jānā [Tāu kānana sata Awadha samānā || Pitu bana dēwa, mātu bana-dēwī | Khaga mriga charana-sarōruha-sēwī || Antahu uchita nripahi bana-bāsū | Baya bilōki hiya hōï³7 harāsū || Bada⁸³ bhāgī banu,³⁹ Awadha abhāgī l Jö⁴⁰ Raghu-bansa-tilaka tumha⁴¹ Jan 2 suta kahan sanga mohi lehu | Tumharē hṛidaya hōï sandēhū || Pūta⁴³ parama priya tumha⁴⁴ saba-hī kē | Prāna prāna kē jīwana jī ke || Tē tumha45 kahahu mātu bana jātī | Māī⁴⁶ suni bachana bāīthi pachhitātī ||

```
1 dhīraja.
 <sup>2</sup> badana.
 <sup>3</sup> Gadgada.
 4 tuma.
 <sup>5</sup> Rāja.
 6 kahã.
 7 bhayau.
 <sup>8</sup> kārana.
 9 prasanga.
10 muka-gati.
<sup>11</sup> nahī.
<sup>12</sup> 53.
13 sakahī. Here ends leaf 29 of MS.
14 likhi gā.
15 Dharma.
16 hōï.
17 Dharma.
18 bari.
19 bikala.
20 dharma
21 Rāma Bharsta dwāū.
22 subhāwa.
```

23 kinheü

⁴⁵ Tuma. ⁴⁶ Ma.

²⁴ āyasu. ²⁵ dharma ke. 26 Rāja. ²⁷ kahā. 28 bana. ²⁹ muhi na söcha. 30 Tuma. ³¹ 54. 32 Jan. ³³ āyasu. 34 jāï bali mātā ³⁵ Jaπ. ³⁶ kahaា៍. 37 hõta. ³⁸ Bara. ³⁹ bana. 40 J**āū.** 41 tuma. 42 Jan. 43 Putra. 44 tuma.

Dohā.

Ehil bichāri nahil karaŭ hatha. Jhūtha sanēhu badhāïl | Māni mātu karal nāta bali Surati bisari jani jāï || 565 ||

Chāupāi.

Dēwa pitara saba tumhahi gosāf⁶ | 'Rākhahū⁷ palaka nayana kī nāf || Awadhi ambu, priya parijana mīnā |
Tumha⁸ karunā-"kara dharama⁹-dhurīnā ||

Asa bichāri soī karahu upāī |
Saba-hi jiata jēhi¹º bhēṭahu āī ||
Jāhu sukhēna banahī bali jāŭ |
Karī anātha jana parijana gāŭ ||
Saba kara āju sukrita phala bītā |
Bhayeu karālu kālu¹¹ biparītā' ||
Bahu-bidhi bilapi charana lapaṭānī |
Parama abhāgini āpuhi jānī ||
Dāruna dusaha dāhu¹² ura byāpā |
Barani na jāhī¹³ bilāpa-kalāpā ||
Rāma uṭhāï mātu ura lāī¹⁴ |
Kahi mṛidu bachana bahuri
samujhāī¹⁵ ||

Döhā.

Samāchāra tehi samaya sun Sīya uṭhī akulāi | Jāi sāsu-pada-kamala-juga¹⁶ Bandi bāthi siru¹⁷ nāī || 57¹⁸ ||

Chāupā ī.

Dīnhi¹⁹ asīsa sāsu mṛidu bānī | Ati sukumāri dēkhi akulānī | Bathi namita mukha sõchati Sītā |
Rūpa-rāsi pati-prēma-punītā ||
'Chalana chahata bana jīwana-nāthū²²² ||
Kehi sukritī²¹ sana hõihi sāthū²² ||
Kī tanu-prāna, ki kēwala prānā |
Bidhi karatabu²³ kachhu jäï²⁴ na
jānā' ||
Chāru charana-nakha lēkhati dharanī |
Nūpura mukhara madhura kabi
baranī ||
Manahū prēma-basa binatī karahī |
'Hamahī Sīya-pada jani
pariharahī' ||
Mañju bilōchana mōchati bārī |
Bölī dēkhi²⁵ Rāma-mahatārī ||

$Dar{o}har{a}$

'Tāta sunahu Siya ati sukumārī |

Sāsu sasura parijanahi piārī²⁶ ||

Pitā Janaka bhūpāla-mani Sasura bhānu-kula-bhānu | Pati rawi-kula-kāīrawa-bipina Bidhu guna-rūpa-nidhānu || 5827 ||

Chaupai.

Māi puni putra-badhū priya pāī |
Rūpa-rāsi guna-sīla suhāī ||
Nayana-putari kari²² prīti badhāī²² |
Rākheū prāna Jānakihi lāī ||
Kalapa-bēli³⁰ jimi bahu bidhi lālī |
Sīchi sanēha-salila pratipālī ||
Phūlata phalata bhayeu³¹ bidhi bāmā |
Jāni na jāi kāha parināmā ||
Palāga-pītha taji gōda hīdōrā |
Siya na dīnha³² pagu awani kathōrā ||

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<sup>1</sup> Yaha.
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² nahī. Here ends leaf 30 of the MS.

^{*} sanēha barhaï.

⁴ kē.

^{6 5}**5.**

⁶ tumahi gusāf.

⁷ Rākhahu.

⁸ Tuma.

⁹ dharma.

¹⁰ jiyata jehi.

¹¹ Bhayê karāla kāla.

¹² dāha.

¹³ jāï.

¹⁴ lāwā.

¹⁵ bahuta samujhāwā.

¹⁶ paga-kamala-yuga.

¹⁷ sira.

¹⁸ 56.

¹⁹ Dinha.

²⁰ nāthā.

²¹ Kawana sukrita.

²³ sāthā.

²³ karataba.

²⁴ jāta.

²⁵ Here ends leaf 31 of MS

²⁶ parijanahī pyārī

^{27 57.}

²⁸ iwa.

²⁹ barhāī.

⁸⁰ Kalpa-bōli.

³¹ bhaye.

³² dīna.

Jiana-mūri¹ jimi jogawata² rahaū³ |
Dīpa-hāti nahi⁴ ṭārana kahaū⁵ ||
Soï⁵ Siya chalana chahati bana sāthā |
Ayesu⁷ kāha⁵ hōi Raghu-nāthā ||
Chanda⁹-kirana-rasa-rasika chakōrī |
Rawi-rukha nayana sakāī kimi jōrī ||

Dōhā.

Kari kēhari nisi-chara charahī Duṣṭa jantu bana bhūri | Bikha-bāṭikā ki sōha suta Subhaga sājīwani¹⁰ mūri || 59¹¹ ||

Chāupā ī.

Bana hita köla kirāta-kisörī |
Rachī Birańchi bikhaya-sukha¹²-bhörī ||
Pāhana-kṛimi jimi kathina subhāū |
Tinahi kalēsu¹³ na kānana kāū ||
Kāī tāpasa-tiya kānana jōgū¹⁴ |
Jinha¹⁶ tapa-hētu tajā saba bhōgū ||
Siya bana basihi tāta kehi bhātī¹⁶ |
Chitra-likhita kapi dēkhi derātī ||
Sura-sara-subhaga-hanaja-bana-chārī |
Dābara-jōgu¹⁷ ki hansa-kumārī'

Conclusion of the Kis'kindhā Kānd18 (Banāras MS.).

(The two following extracts are given for the sake of the colophons.)

Chhand.19

(Jō annata gāwata kahata sa)mujhata parama pada nara pāwaī | Raghu-bīra-pada-pāthōja madhu-kara Dāsa Tulasī gāwaī |

Dohā.

Bhawa-bhēkha-ja-Raghu-nātha-jasu²⁹ Sunahi jē nara aru nārī | Tinha kara sakala manōratha Siddha karahī Trisirā-'ri²¹ || Sõrathā.

Nīlōtpala tana²² syāma Kāma kōṭi sōhhā adhika | Sunia²³ tāsu guna-grāma

Jāsu nāma agha-khaga-badhika || 30°4
Iti Çrī²⁵-Rāma-charita-mānasē sakala-kali-kalusa-vidhvamsanē, Visuddha
(sic)-santōṣa-sampādinī²⁶-nāma chaturthas sōpānah samāptah || Çubham
astu²⁷ || Sambat 1704 samaē, Pāūkhashūdi-dwārasi²⁸ likhitam Raghutīvārī
Kāsyām ||

- 1 Jīwana-mūri.
- ² jugawati.
- ³ raĥeū.
- ¹ nahĩ.
- * kaheti.
- 6 Sō.
- 7 Ayasu.
- ⁸ kahā.
- 9 Chandra.
- ¹⁰ sajīwana.
- ¹¹ 58.
- 12 rasa.
- 13 Tinahī kalēsa.
- 14 yōgū. 16 Jina.
- 16 bhātī.
- 17 yōga.
- 18 These are the names of the kands as given in the printed edition. Tulsī-Dās, it will be seen, gave other names.

- ¹⁹ Passages in the Chland metres are always in highly Sanskritized style, and hence are seldom altered in the printed texts.
 - ²⁰ jasa.
 - ²¹ Tripurā-'ri.
 - 22 tanu.
 - ²³ Suniya.
- 24 System of numbering different from that of the printed text, which here has 2.
- ²⁶ In Sanskrit passages, I transliterate \mathfrak{A} by G; in Gaudian passages, by Sh.
 - vimala-vaīrāgya-sampādanō.
 Cuhham astu | Siddhir astu.
- ²⁸ A very interesting form. This date is of course omitted in the printed editions.

Conclusion of the Layka Kand (Banaras MS.).

· Chhand.

(Mati-manda Tulasī) Dāsa sō Prabhu mōha-basa bisarāïyō ||

Yaha Rāwanā-'ri-charitra pāwana Rāma-pada-rati-prada sadā |

Kāmā-''di-hara bigyāna-kara surasiddha-muni gāwahī mudā ||

Dohā.

Samara-bijaya Raghu-mani-charita¹ Sunahī je sadā sujāna² | Bijaya bibēka bibhūti nita Tinhahī³ dēhī Bhagawāna || Yaha Kali-kāla malā-"yatana Mana kari dēkhu bichāra ļ Shrī Raghu-nāyaka-nāmu⁴ taji

Nahi kachhu āna adhāra⁵ || 120⁶ ||
Iti Çrī-Rāma-charita-mānasē sakala kali-kaluṣa-vidhvaṁsanē, Vimala-vij-ñāna-sampādinī⁷-nāma ṣaṣṭhas sōpānaḥ samāptaḥ⁸ || Çubham astu || Samba 1704 samaē || Māgha-sūdi pratipad likhītaṁ Raghutīvārī Kāsyāṁ (?) Lōlā-(r)ka samipē (sic) || Çrī-Rāmō jayati || Çrī-Viçva-nāthāya namaḥ || Çrī-Vindu-mādhavaē (? sic) namaḥ ||

II.—OTHER VERSIONS OF THE RAMA LEGEND.

In addition to the various poems of Tul'sī Dās, a number of works have been written by later authors dealing with the same subject. The following are those with which I am acquainted:—

- (1) A Rāmāyan was written by Chintāmani Tripāṭhī (143).
- (2) Mān Dās (172) wrote the Rām Charitr', founded on the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki and on the Hanuman Nāṭaka.
 - (3) Bhag'want Rāy, the Khichi (333), wrote a Rāmāyan.
- (4) Sambhu Nāth (357) wrote a Rāmāyan entitled Rām Bilās.
- (5) Gulāb Siŋgh (486) wrote a Vedantic Rāmāyan (whatever that may mean).
- (6) Gaj'rāj Upādhyā (585) wrote a Rāmāyan.
 - (7) Sahaj Rām (592) wrote a

Rāmāyan, founded on the Raghuvamça and on the Hanuman Nātaka.

- (8) Sankar Tripāṭhī (613) wrote a Rāmāyan in Kabitta metres.
- (9) Iswarī Par'sād Tripāṭhī (675) wrote a translation of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki.
- (10) Chandr' Jhā (686) wrote a a Rāmāyan in the Maithilī dialect.
- (11) Jānakī Par'sād (689) wrote a Rām-nibās Rāmāyan.
- · (12) Samar Singh (711) wrote a Rāmāyan,
- (13) Pūran Chand Jūth (829a) wrote the Rām Rahasya Rāmāyan.

The above list does not include the many works dealing with one or more detached episodes of the Rāma legend; nor does it include the countless Rāmāyans in prose and verse which have been issued of late years. Of these the best in language and style is the (14) Rām Kathā of the late Pandit Chhōṭū Rām Tiwārī (No. 705).

¹ Samara-bijaya Raghubīra kē.

² Charita je sunahī sujāna.

³ Tinahī.

^{4 -}nātha-nāma.

⁵ Nāhi na na.

⁶ 118.

⁷ vimala-jñāna-sampādanō.

⁸ Printed editions omit all after this.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ARS POETICA. [1580-1692 A.D.]

The end of the sixteenth century and the whole of the seventeenth century, a period corresponding closely with the supremacy of the Mughal empire, presents a remarkable array of poetic talent. Within this period the most prominent figures not already dealt with are Kēsab Dās, Chintāmani Tripathī, and Bihārī Lāl. Kēsab and Chintāmani are the most salient examples of a school founded by the first of these authors which devoted itself to the technical development of the art of poetry; and this group will alone be considered in the present chapter. The next chapter will deal with the remaining poets of the seventeenth century.

134. केसब दास सनाढाः किसर, Kēsab Dās Sanāḍhya Misar, of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1580 A.D.

Nir., Sun., Sat., Rāg. His original home was in Teh'rī, but he visited king Madhukar Shāh, of Ur'chhā, and received much honour from him. Subsequently king Indar'jīt (No. 136), Madhukar's son, endowed him with twenty-one villages, whereupon he and his family finally settled in Ur'chhā. He was the first poet to describe in the vernacular (in his Kabi-priyā (Rāg.), a work which subsequent writers have frequently imitated), the ten constituents (T) of a poem. His first important work was the Bigyān Gītā, which he wrote under the name of Madhukar Shāh. Then he wrote the Kabi-priyā for Par'bīn Rāi Pāturī (No. 137). This was followed by the Rām-chandrikā (Rāg.) under the name of king Indar'jīt. He also wrote the learned Rasik-priyā (Rāg.) on composition (T) and the Rām-alagkrit-mañjarī on prosody.

Commentaries on the Kabi-priyā were written by (1) Sar'dār (571), (2) Nārāyan Rāy (572), (3) Phāl'kā Rāw (678), (4) Hari (761); on the Rām-chandrikā by (1) Jānakī Par'sād (577), (2) Bhanī Rām (578); and on the Rasik-priyā by (1) Sūrati Misar (326), (2) Ya'qūb Khān (394), (3) Īsuf Khān (421), (4) Sar'dār (571), (5) Hari Jan (575).

When the emperor Ak'bar fined king Indar'jīt ten million rupees for disobedience and revolt because Par'bīn Rāl Pāturī did not appear in his (Ak'bar's) court, Kēsab Dās had a secret audience with Rājā Bīr'bal (No. 106), the emperor's minister, and recited the well-known lines ending दियो करवारी दुई करवारी (given in Sib Siygh Sarōj, pp. 31, 32). Rājā Bīr'bal was much pleased with them and got the fine remitted, but Par'bīn Rāï Pāturī had nevertheless to appear in court.

135. बलिभद्र सनाद्धाः सिसर, Balibhadr' Sanāḍhya Misar, of Ur'chhā, in Bundēl'khāṇḍ. Fl. 1580 A.D.

He was brother of Kēsab Dās. His Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87) is admitted by all poets to be a standard work. He also wrote a commentary on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. His Nakh'sikh has a commentary by Par'tāp Sāhi (No. 149), and another by an anonymous poet of Uniyārā (No. 660).

136. इन्द्र-जीत सिङ्घः, Rājā Indar'jīt Siŋgh, the Bundēlā of Uṛ'chhā, in Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1580 A.D.

Rāg. As a poet he wrote under the name of Dhīraj Narind. Kēsab Dās Sanāḍhyā Misar (No. 134) the poet, and Par'bīn Rāi Pāturī (No. 137) the poetess, attended his court. See these names for the account of an adventure he had with the emperor Ak'bar.

137. परकीन रादू पातुरी, Par'bīn Rāi Pāturī, the courtezan of Ur'chhā, in Bundēl'khāṇḍ. Fl. 1580 A.D.

Kēsab Dās (No. 134) composed his Kabi-priyā in honour of this courtezan, and in its dedication highly honoured her. She was authoress of numerous short poems which have a great reputation. She attended the court of king Indar'jīt (No. 136), and the emperor Ak'bar, hearing of her fame, summoned her to him. Indar'jīt refused to allow her to go, and thereupon Ak'bar fined him ten million rupees as a rebel. Kēsab Dās repaired to Ak'bar's court, and interceding through Bīr'bal (No. 106) got the fine remitted. Par'bīn had, however, to appear before Ak'bar, and after giving a sample of her learning was allowed to depart. The whole interview is poetically described by Sib Singh, p. 448.

138. बाल क्रिश्न चिपाठी, Bāl Krish'n Tripāṭhī. FL 1600 A.D.

He was son of Balibhadr', nephew of Kēsab Dās, and brother of Kāsī Nāth. He was the author of a good prosody entitled Raschandrikā.

There is another poet of the name $B\bar{a}l$ Krish'n, of whom I know no particulars.

139. कासी नाथ किन, the poet Kāsī Nāth. Fl. 1600 A.D.

A graceful poet. He was son of Balibhadr', nephew of Kēsab Dās, and brother of Bāl Krish'n Tripāṭhī.

140. देव दत्तः, Dēb Datt' alias Dēb Kabi, the Brāhman of Samānēgāw, district Māin'purī. B. 1604 A.D.

According to Native opinion he was the greatest poet of his time, and indeed one of the great poets of India. He is said to have written no less than seventy different works. The following are those which are best known:—(1) Prēm Tarang, (2) Bhāw-bilās, (3) Ras-bilās, (4) Rasānand-laharī, (5) Sujān-binōd, (6) Kābya-rasāyan [a treatise on prosody (pingal) and rhetoric (alaykār)], (7) Ashṭa-jām (Rāg.) (printed), (8) Dēb-māyā Prapañch (a play), (9) Prēm-dīpikā, (10) Sumil-binōd, (11) Rādhikā-bilās. Garcin de Tassy (i, 157), quoting from Ward, (ii, 480), calls him Dēb Rāj, and says that he is author of a Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87), which is probably one of the abovementioned works.

141. हरी राम, Harī Rām. B. 1623 A.D.

The author of a Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87). Possibly the same as a Harī Rām Kabi, the author of a Pingal (Rāg.), or treatise on prosody, mentioned by Sib Singh as B. (? Fl.) 1651 A.D.

142. सुन्दर दास कवि, the poet Sundar Dās, a Brāhman of Gwāliyar. Fl. 1631 A.D.

Nir., Sun. He attended the court of the emperor $Sh\bar{a}h Jah\bar{a}n$. He was first given the title of $Kabi R\bar{a}y$, and afterwards of $Mah\bar{a} Kabi R\bar{a}y$. His principal work is on composition, and is entitled $Sundar Sring\bar{a}r$, a work on lovers. He was also author of a Braj Bhākhā translation of the $Singh\bar{a}san Batt\bar{i}s\bar{i}$ (Rāg.), the origin of $Lall\bar{a} J\bar{i} L\bar{a}l's$

Hindustānī version, and of a philosophical work entitled Gyān Samudra. Garcin de Tassy (i, 482) suggests that he may also have been the author of a work entitled Sundar Bidyā.

143. चिन्तामनि चिपाठी, Chintāmani Tripāṭhī, of Ţik'māpur, district Kānh'pur. Fl. 1650 A.D.

Nir., Sat. He is counted as one of the great masters of vernacular composition (साहित्य). The legend in the Doab is that his father used continually to visit a shrine of Devi and worship her. The shrine is still shown at a distance of a mile from Tik'māpur. One day the goddess, being pleased at his devotion, appeared to him, and showing him four skulls promised that they should all be born as sons to him. As a matter of fact so it turned out, and he obtained four sons, viz. (1) Chintamani, (2) Bhukhan, (3) Mati Ram, and (4) Jata Sankar alias Nil Kanth. Of these, the last obtained the blessing of a saint and became a poet. The other three studied Sanskrit and became so learned that it is said that their fame will remain to the end of the world. From Mati Rām were descended Sītal and Bihārī Lāl, who were alive in 1844 A.D., and Ram Din. Chintamani attended for a long time the court of Bhōmalā Makarand Shāh, of the solar race at Nāg'pur. Under his name he composed an important treatise on prosody entitled Chhand-bichār. He also wrote the (2) Kābya-bibēk. (3) Kabi-kul Kalpa-taru, (4) Kābya-par'kās, and (5) a Rāmāyan. The last is an excellent work in Kabitta and other metres. Amongst his patrons were Rudr' Sāhi, the Sulanki, the emperor Shāh Jahān (1628-1658), and Jain Din Ah'mad (No. 144). He often wrote under the nom de guerre of Mani Lal. He is possibly the same as another Chintamani, also mentioned by Sib Singh.

144. जैन दौन ऋह•मद, Jāin Dīn Aḥ'mad. B. 1679 (?) A.D.

He was a poet himself, and also a great patron of poets. Amongst his proteges may be mentioned Chintamani Tripathi (No. 143), of Jih'mapur.

145. सूखन विपाठी, Bhūkhan Tripāṭhī, of Ṭik'māpur, district Kānh'pur. Fl. 1660 A.D.

Nir., Haj., Rāg. He was brother of Chintāmani Tripāṭhī (No. 143), and excelled in the tragic, heroic, and terrible styles. At first he

attended for six months the court of king Chhattr' Sāl (No. 197), of Par'nā (Pannā). Thence he went to Sib Rāj, the Sulankī, of Sitārā, where he was much honoured and received many times enormous presents for his works. On one occasion he got as much as five elephants and twenty-five thousand rupees for a single poem. His poems in honour of Sib Raj are the most famous of their class. Having exploited this monarch he returned home, and on his way passed through Par'nā. Chhattr' Sāl, feeling himself quite unable to reward the poet as Sib Raj had done, instead of giving him money. helped with his own shoulder to carry him in his palankeen on his way. This occurrence is the origin of some of the poet's most famous verses. After resting at home Bhūkhan set out on a tour through Răj'putānā, proclaiming the glory of Sib Raj. He finally found himself at Kumāb. and recited a verse in honour of the king of the place. The king imagined that Bhūkhan had come to look for a reward, and that all the story of his having been enriched by Sib Raj was pure invention: so he offered him a handsome present of elephants, horses, and money. To this Bhūkhan replied:—"I hunger¹ not for this. I came only to learn if Sib Rāj's fame had penetrated here or not."

His principal works are (1) Sib Rāj Bhūkhan, (2) Bhūkhan Hajārā, (3) Bhūkhan Ullās, and (4) Dūkhan Ullās. Seventy short pieces by him in all styles are included in the Hajārā of Kālidās Tribēdī.

146. सति रास त्रिपाठी, Mati Rām Tripāthī, of Tik'mā-pur, district Kānh'pur. Fl. cir. 1650—1682 A.D.

Nir., Rāg., Sun., Sat. He was brother of *Chintāmani Tripāṭhī* (No. 143). He led a wandering life, going from one royal court to another.

His best works are (1) Lalit Lalām, a work on rhetoric, which he wrote in the name of Rāw Bhāw Siŋgh, of Būndī (1658—1682; cf. Tod, ii, 489; Calc. ed ii, 527); (2) Chhand Sār, a treatise on prosody, in the name of Fatih Sāhi, the Bundēlā of Srinagar; and (3) Ras Rāj (Rāg.), a treatise on lovers. See Garcin de Tassy, i, 332.

147. सम्भ नाथ सिङ्गः, Rājā Sambhu Nāth Singh Sulankī alias Sambhu Kabi, alias Nāth Kabi, alias Nrip Sambhu, of Siṭārā. Fl. cir. 1650.

¹ This (इस की ग्रब सूख नहीं) is a pun on the poet's name सूखन।

Sun., Sat. Not only a patron of poets, but author of an admired work. It is in the erotic style, and is called Kābya Nirālī. It is considered the best work on lovers extant. He was a great friend of Mati Rām Tripāṭhī (No. 146).

148. नील कप्ट चिपाठी, Nīl Kaṇṭh Tripāṭhī, alias Jaṭā Saŋkar, of Ṭik'mpāur, district Kānh'pur. Fl. cir. 1650 A.D.

Nir., Sat. A brother of *Chintāmani Tripāṭhī* (No. 143). No complete works by him are known to be extant.

149. पर्नाप साहि, the bard Par'tāp Sāhi, i of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1633 (?) A.D.

He was son of the poet Rat'nes (No. 199), and attended the court of king Chhattr' Sāl (No. 197), of Par'nā (Pannā). He wrote a work on vernacular composition (भाषा साहित्य) entitled Kābya Bilās. At the suggestion of Bikram Sāhi he wrote a commentary to the Bhākhā Bhūkhan and to the Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87) of Balibhadr' (No. 135). Another work of his is entitled the Bigyārthakāumudī. I do not know the work here entitled Bhākhā Bhūkhan. The only work of that name with which I am acquainted was written by Jas'want Singh (No. 377) at the end of the eighteenth century, and has been frequently commentated on. Who the Bikram Sāhi referred to above is I do not know. He cannot be the well-known Bikram Sāhi of Char'khārī (No. 514) if the account given above, which is that given in the Sib Siygh Sarōj, is correct. Bikram of Char'khārī flourished in 1804 A.D. If he is the man referred to, then the poet cannot have attended the court of Chhattr' Sal (fl. 1650), and the Bhākhā Bhūkhan referred to was probably that by Jas'want Singh. The matter being doubtful, I place Par'tāp provisionally here.

150. सीपति कवि, the poet Srīpati, of Par'yāg'pur, district Bahirāīch. B. 1643 A.D.

¹ This word $S\bar{a}h\hat{i}$ or $Sh\bar{a}h\hat{i}$ is the same as $Sh\bar{a}h$, but is an older form, preserving in its final i a trace of the ending ya in the Zend $ksh\bar{a}yathiya$, which has disappeared in the modern Persian $Sh\bar{a}h$. See Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythic Coins, by A. Stein, reprinted from The Oriental and Babylonian Record, August 1887, p. 9.

Sūd., Sun. He is counted as one of the masters of vernacular composition. His most famous works are (1) the Kābya Kalpa-drum, (2) Kābya Sarōj, (3) Srīpati Sarōj.

151. सरस्ती कबीन्द्र , Saraswatī, the poet-laureate, a Brāhman of Banāras. Fl. 1650 A.D.

He was learned in Sanskrit composition ($\pi \pi \bar{\epsilon} \pi$), and at the instance of the emperor $Sh\bar{a}h Jah\bar{a}n$ (1628—1658) he took to writing poems in the vernacular. His principal work of this nature was the Kabīndra-kalpa-latā, in which there are many poems in praise of prince $D\bar{a}r\bar{a} Shuk\bar{o}h$ and the $B\bar{e}gam S\bar{a}hib$.

152. सिंब नाथ कवि, the poet Sib Nāth, of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1660 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā Jagat Singh Bundēlā, the son of Chhattr' Sāl (No. 197), of Par'nā (Pannā), and was the author of a work on poetry entitled Ras Rañjan. The above is Sib Singh's account; but, according to Tod, Chhattr' Sāl, the Bundēlā, had no son named Jagat. See Tod's Rājāsthān, ii, 491; Calc. ed. ii, 527. Hunter's Gazetteer, s.v. Jaitpur, mentions a Jagatrāj, son of Chhattr' Sāl. The Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind. xvii, 106, gives some verses by a poet named Sib (or Shiu) Pati, who lived about the same time.

153. तुलान्सी कवि, the poet Tul'sī, the son of Jadu Rāy.

He was only a mediocre poet himself, but he compiled in 1655 A.D. an excellent anthology, entitled the *Kabi-mālā*. It includes poems by seventy-five different poets, dating from Sambat 1500 (A.D. 1443) down to Sambat 1700 (A.D. 1643).

154. सर्डन किंव, the poet Maṇḍan, of Jāit'pur, in Bundēl'khaṇḍ. B. 1659.

Nir., Sun. He attended the court of king Mangad Singh. He wrote three works on composition (साहित्य), entitled (1) Ras Ratnābalī, (2) Ras Bilās, and (3) Nām Pachāsā.

155. रतन कवि, the poet Ratan. B. 1681 A.D.

He attended the court of Sabhā Sāhi, (cf. No. 346), Rājā of Par'nā (Pannā), and translated the Rasa Mañjarī into the vernacular. Probably the same as the poet Ratan, of Srīnagar, in Bundēl'hhand, who attended the court of Rājā Fat'h Sāhi, the Bundēlā of Srīnagar. Under this king's name he composed two works on vernacular composition, entitled Phatēshāh Bhūkhan and Phatē Par'hās respectively. Mr. Whish, Deputy Comissioner of Hamīr'pur, informs me that Fat'h Sāhi was a descendant of Chhattr' Sāl (No. 197), but never came to the throne.

156. सुरन्ली घर किन, the poet Mur'lī Dhar. B. (?FI.) 1683 A.D.

Haj., Sun. Probably the same as a Mur'lī Kabi in Rāg., and as a Mur'lī Dhar Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh (without date) as joint author with Srī Dhar (No. 157) of a work on prosody entitled Kabi Binōd.

157. सी घर कवि, the poet Srī Dhar. Fl. (?) 1683 A.D. Sun. Joint author with Mur'lī Dhar (No. 156) of a prosody entitled Kabi Binād.

158. बारन कवि, the poet Bāran, of Bhūpāl. B. 1683 A.D.

He attended the court of Shujāu'l Shāh Nawāb, of Rāj'garh. He wrote a highly esteemed work on composition (साहित्य) entitled Rasik Bilās.

159. कालिटास चिबेटी, Kālidās Tribēdī, of Ban'pūrā, in the Dōāb. Fl. cir. 1700 A.D.

Nir., Sat. He was an excellent and famous poet of the $D\bar{o}\bar{a}b$. At first he remained for many years in attendance on the emperor $\overline{Aurang'z\bar{e}b}$ in $G\bar{o}kul'kund\bar{a}$ and other places in the Deccan. Thereafter he lived with king $J\bar{o}g\bar{a}j\bar{\imath}t$ Singh Raghubansī, of Jambū, and under his name composed a fine work entitled the Badhū-binōd. His best known work is an anthology entitled the Kālidās Hajārā (quoted in this work as 'Haj.'), in which he has included a thousand poems by two hundred and twelve poets dating from A.D. 1423

down to A.D. 1718. Sib Singh states that he has derived great assistance from this work in writing his Sarōj (which indeed appears to be the fact). He adds that he has in his library a splendid work by the same author entitled Jañjīrāband.

His son was *Uday Nāth Kabīndr'* (No. 334), and his grandson the poet *Dūlah* (No. 358), both celebrated authors.

160. चुल देव सिसर, Sukh Dēb Misar, the Kabirāj or poet-laureate, of Kampilā. Fl. cir. 1700 A:D.

Nir., Sat., Sun. He is counted as one of the masters of vernacular composition. He attended the court of Rājā Rāj Singh, son of Rājā Arjun Singh, of Gāūr, and obtained from him the title of Kabirāj or poet-laureate. There he wrote a treatise on prosody entitled Brit Bichār, which is considered to be the best of all works of its kind. Thence he went to the court of Rājā Himmat Singh, of Amēṭhī, where he wrote another prosody entitled Chhand Bichār. Thence he repaired to Nawāb Fāzil 'Alī Khān, minister of Āūrang'zēb, where he wrote a famous work on vernacular composition (भारित्य) entitled Phājil Alī Par'kās (attributed by Garcin de Tassy, i, 479, but with hesitation, to one Sukdēb, quoting from Ward, A View, etc., ii, 481). He was also author of the Adhyātma Par'kās and the Das'rath Rāy. His most famous pupil was Jāī Dēb (No. 161), of Kampilā. Cf. No. 661.

161. जैदेव कवि, the poet Jāi Dēb, of Kampilā. Fl. cir. 1700 A.D.

He attended the court of Nawāb Fāzil 'Alī Khān, and was a pupil, of Sukh Dēb Misar (No. 160), of Kampilā.

162. नाथ, Nāth. Fl. cir. 1700 A.D.

? Sun. He attended the court of Fāzil 'Alī Khān. He is possibly the same as a Nāth Kabi who attended the court of Bhag'want Rāy, Khichī (No. 333), who died 1760. (Cf. Nos. 68, 147, 440, 632, and 850.)

CHAPTER VIII.

OTHER SUCCESSORS OF TUL'SI DAS. [1600-1700 A.D.]

Part I.—Religious Poets.

[Arranged as far as possible in order of date.]

163. दादू, Dādū, the cotton-carder, of Narain, in Ai'mēr. Fl. 1600 A.D.

The founder of the Dadu Panthi sect. He was born at Ahmadabad. but in his twelfth year removed to Sāmbhar. He finally settled at Narām, a place about four kos from Sāmbhar, where he received his inspiration. His principal works are the $D\bar{a}d\bar{u}$ $k\bar{\imath}$ $B\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}$ and the Dādū Panthī Granth. The latter has been translated by Lieut. G. R. Siddons in the J. A. S. B., vi, pp. 480 and 750. See Wilson. Religious Sects of the Hindus, i, 103, and Garcin de Tassy. One of his disciples was Sundar, the author of the Sundar Sankhyā. The Bānī extends to 20,000 lines. Dādū's life by Jan Gōpāl runs to 3,000 lines. Fifty-two disciples spread his doctrines throughout Răi'putānā and Āj'mēr, each of them leaving a large collection of religious verse. Thus, the poems and hymnology of Garib Das are said to amount to 32,000 lines; Jāisā is stated to have composed 1.24.000 lines; Par'yāg Dās, 48,000 lines; Rajab Jī, 72,000; Bakh'nā Jī, 20,000 lines; Sankar Dās, 4,400; Bābā Ban'wārī Dās, 12,000 lines; Sundar Dās, 1,20,000 lines; and Mādhō Dās, 68,000 lines. See Memorandum on Bhāshā Literature by John Traill, of Japur: 1884.

164. सुन्दर हास कवि, the poet Sundar Dās, of Mēwār. cir. 1620 A.D.

He was a disciple of Dādū (No. 163) and wrote a quietistic work entitled Sundar Sankhya.

165. सेनापति कवि, the poet Sēnāpati, of Brindāban, in Braj. B. 1623 A.D.

Haj., Sūd. He was a devotee at Brindāban, and was the author of a standard work entitled Kābya Kalpadrum.

166. सी घर किन, the poet Srī Dhar, of Răj'putānā. B.1623 A.D.

Sūd (?). The author of a work dealing with Durgā, entitled Bhawānī Chhand.

167. प्रान नाथ, Prān Nāth, the Chhattrī of Par'nā (Pannā), in Bundēl'khand. Fl. 1650.

The founder of the *Prān'nāthī* sect, an attempt at uniting the Hindū and Musalmān religions. He attended the court of *Chhattr' Sāl* (fl. 1650), of *Par'nā* (*Pannā*) (No. 197). See Growse, J. A. S. B., xlviii, p. 171, where a specimen of one of his works (the *Qiyāmat Nāmā*) is given and translated. Mr. Growse is wrong in putting him at the beginning of the eighteenth century, for Chhattr' Sāl died in 1658. Prān Nāth was the author of fourteen works, of which a list is given by Mr. Growse, l.c. The language is peculiar, the grammatical structure being purely Hindī while the vocabulary is mainly supplied from Persian and Arabic.

168. बीर भान, Bīr Bhān, of Brijhasīr. FL 1658 A.D.

The founder of the sect of Sādhs, the doctrines of which he taught in consequence of a miraculous communication received from one Uday Dās, According to others he was a disciple of one Jōgī Dās. The doctrines taught by his superhuman instructor were communicated in the form of Sabds and Sākhīs, detached Hindī verses like those of Kabīr. They are collected into manuals and read at the religious meetings of the Sādhs. See Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, i, 354, and Garcin de Tassy, i, 125.

169. गोविन्द सिङ्घ, Srī Guru Göbind Singh. B. 1666 A.D.

The celebrated founder of the militant Sīkh religion. He was a Panjābī¹ of the Sōdī Khattrī caste, and was born in Anand'pur, in

¹ I am indebted for most of this information to Rāy Jā Krish'n, of Pat'nā, who is a trustee of the Sikh temple there.

Pat'nā City, on the seventh of the light half of Pūs, Sambat 1723 (1666 A.D.). His father was Guru Tēg Bahādur, who was summoned by Aurang'zēb to Delhī and there compelled to embrace Muhammad-Teg Bahadur died in 1675 A.D. (fifth of light half of Ag'han, Sam. 1732). Some say that he committed suicide, others that he was murdered by Aurangzeb. When that monarch began to oppress the Hindus, Gobind Singh felt himself to be commissioned by god to appear in this world in human form to destroy tyrants. In the summer of 1697 A.D. (first of light half of Chart, Sam. 1754), he commenced a severe penance, and offered sacrifices to the goddess Kāli on the hill of Nāinā Dēbī, in the district of Hushiar'pur, in the Panjab. After a year's penance, on the ninth of light half of Chart, Sam. 1755 (A.D. 1698), the goddess appeared to him and commanded him to ask a boon. He exclaimed,—"Goddess, grant me the boon that I may always be engaged in good works, and that when I go forth to fight the enemy I may always be victorious and never terrified." goddess disappeared, saying "Be it so."

After he had convinced his disciples of the truth of his mission, he made a collection of works containing not only poems by himself, but also selections from the works and prophecies of other authors. It is called the *Granth Sāhib* (see No. 22), and is in four parts, all in verse:—

- (1) The Sunīti Par'kās, a treatise on morals.
- (2) The Sarb Lōh Par'kās, a commentary on Nānak's (No. 22) writings.
- (3) The Prēm Sumārg, dealing with the Sīkh religion. It contains a section entitled the Bachitra Nāṭak, which is a short account of Gōbind's life and mission.
- (4) The Buddh Sagar, consisting of hymns and invocations.

Gōbind Singh wrote well in Braj Bhākhā, Panjābī, and Persian, and was altogether a famous poet.

Of. Garcin de Tassy, i, 191. According to Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, i, 274, the chief work of the sect is known as the Das Pādshāh kā granth.

170. खुसान, the bard Khumān, of Char'khārī, in Bundēl'khaṇḍ. B. 1683 A.D.

He was born blind and was quite uneducated. It happened that a holy man came to his house, and after staying there four months was

escorted out of Char'khārī by many respectable and learned men of the place. When they had gone a little way the others returned, but Khumān stayed by him, in spite of the saint advising him to go home. Khumān's argument was, "Why should I return to my home? I am blind, ignorant, and of no use in the house. As the proverb says, I am like the washerman's donkey, who belongs neither to the house nor to the washing place." Pleased at this the saint wrote the mantra of Saraswatī on his tongue, and told him first to compose a poem in honour of his (the saint's) gourd pot. Khumān immediately composed twenty-five verses in its honour, and after worshipping the saint's feet returned home. There he began to compose epics in Sanskrit and in the vernacular.

Once he was attending the court of Rājā Sendhiā (Scindia), of Gwāliyar, who commanded him to spend the whole night in writing a work in Sanskrit. Khumān agreed to do this, and in one night composed seven hundred çlōkas.

He is considered to have been truly an inspired poet. His best known works are the Lachhman Satak and the Hanuman Nakh'sikh.²

He is possibly the same as a poet named Khumān Kabi (date unknown), who metrically translated a section of the Amara Kōça (Rāg.) into the vernacular.

Part II.-Other Poets.

[These are grouped as far as possible according to their patrons or the states to which they were attached.]

171. **नजीर,** Najīr (Nazīr), of Āg'rā. Fl. before 1600 A.D.

Rāg. A poet of considerable fame, first prominently introduced to European readers by Mr. Fallon in the preface to his Hindūstānī Dictionary. Mr. Fallon says that he is the only poet whose verses have made their way to the people, and that there is scarcely an indifferent line in all that he has written. To these very wide statements I am quite unable to subscribe. His writings (quoted as Nazīr kī Shāir in Rāg.) certainly are popular among certain classes, but they have nothing like the general acceptance of the works of poets like Tul'sī Dās, Sūr Dās, Malik Muḥammad Jāyasī, and other giants

¹ Le., he is always going backwards and forwards between them.

² See note to No. 87.

of the period. Neither can I agree with Mr. Fallon's estimate of the literary value of his works, which, although couched in popular language, are so filthily indecent as to be unreadable by any person of European training and taste.

172. **मान** हास कवि, the poet Mān Dās, of Braj. B. 1623 A.D.

Rāg. A favourite poet. His principal work was a vernacular poem entitled $R\bar{a}m$ Charitr', founded on the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ of $V\bar{a}lm\bar{i}k\bar{i}$ and on the $Hanuman\ N\bar{a}taka$.

173. ठाकुर कवि, the poet Thākur the elder. Fl. 1643 A.D.

Haj., Sun. According to one account he was a bard of the village As'nī, district Fatih'pur, and lived about the time of Muḥammad Shāh (1719-1748.). Others say he was a Kāyasth of Bundēl'khand. There is a legend in Bundel'khand that one time the Bundelas were assembled at Chhattr'pur in order to murder Himmati Bahādur (No. 378), the Gosai, and that Thakur sent them a poem commencing कहिने सनिन की कहू न हियाँ, 1 on receipt of which they dispersed. Himmati Bahādur rewarded the poet for this service with a present of money. But Himmati Bahādur flourished in 1800, while this poem is included in the Hajārā of Kālidās Tribēdī, No. (159), which was completed in or about the year 1708. It is probable, therefore, that there were two poets of this name, who have been confounded. Moreover, Sib Singh states that he has in his possession hundreds of excellent short poems by a Thākur Kabi who was alive in Sambat 1700 (A.D. 1643), and hence the present poet's date is fixed as above.

174. बेटाङ्ग राय, Bēdāng Rāy. Fl. cir. 1650.

Author of the Pār'sī Par'hās, a work describing the manner of counting the months, etc., by Hindūs and Musalmāns, which was compiled under orders of Shāh Jahān. See Garcin de Tassy, i, 519.

175. कासी राम कवि, the poet Kāsī Rām. B. 1658 A.D.

¹ The whole poem in given in the Sib Singh Sarōj, p. 124.

He attended the court of Nizāmat Khān, Subēdār of Aurang'zēb (1658—1707). His poems are said to be graceful.

176. इन्टर-जीत विपाठी, Indar'jīt Tripāṭhī, of Ban'pūrā, in the Dōāb. B. 1682 A.D.

A servant of $\overline{Au}r\alpha\eta g'z\bar{e}b$ (1658—1707).

177. देखर किन, the poet iswar. B. 1673 A.D.

He attended the court of $\overline{Aurang'z\bar{e}b}$ (1658—1707). His poems are said to be full of taste.

- 178. सामन्त कवि, the poet Sāmant. B. 1681.
- Haj. He attended the court of Aurang'zēb (1658—1707).
- 179. श्रव•दुल जलील, 'Abdu'l Jalīl, of Bil'grām, district Har'doī. B. 1682 A.D.

He originally wrote in Arabic and Persian, and was an attendant at the court of the emperor $\overline{Aurang'z\bar{e}b}$ (1658—1707). He subsequently studied vernacular poetry under $Haribans\ Misar$ (No. 209), of $Bil'gr\bar{a}m$, and wrote some good-vernacular verses.

180. क्रियान कवि, the poet Krish'n. B. 1683 A.D.

He attended the court of the emperor $\overline{Aurang'z\bar{e}b}$ (1658—1707). Possibly the same as Krish'n Kabi, of $J\bar{a}ipur$ (No. 327).

Nir, Sun. He was originally a Sanādhya Brāhman, but falling in love with a Muhammadan woman, a dyer by trade, he turned Musalmān, and was for a long time in the service of prince Mu'azzam Shāh, son of the emperor Aurang'zēb (1658—1707) and afterwards the emperor Bahādūr Shāh (1707—1712). His poems are said to be very beautiful.

182. स्व•द्रुल रहिमान, 'Abdu'r Raḥimān, of Dillī. B. 1681 A.D.

He attended the court of Mu'azzam Shāh, afterwards the emperor Bahādūr Shāh (1707—1712), and wrote an ingenious work entitled Jamak-Satak, or a century of puns.

183. परन्साद काबि, the poet Par'sād. B. 1623 A.D.

He attended the court of the king of Udānpur (Mēwār), and is said by Sib Singh to be a well-known poet.

184. जगत सिङ्कः, Rānā Jagat Siŋgh, of Mēwār. Fl. 1628—

One of the most famous of the kings of Mēwār, and founder and rebuilder of $Ud\bar{a}ipur$. A bard, name unknown, wrote the Jagat $Bil\bar{a}s$, a chronicle of his times (Tod's $R\bar{a}j\bar{a}sth\bar{a}n$, i, xiv; Calc. ed. i, xiii). He reigned during the above years (Tod. i, 372; Calc. ed. i, 394).

185. राज सिङ्क, Rānā Rāj Singh, of Udānpur in Mēwār. Reigned 1654—1681 A.D.

The celebrated opponent of $\overline{Aurang'z\bar{e}b}$. (See Tod's $R\bar{a}j\bar{a}sth\bar{a}n$, i, 374; Calc. ed i, 396.) A poet, name unknown, wrote a chronicle of his name, entitled the $R\bar{a}j$ $Par'k\bar{a}s$ (Tod, i, xiv; Calc. ed. i, xiii).

186. सान कांचर, the poet-laureate and bard Mān, of Răj'putānā. Fl. 1660 A.D.

At the suggestion of Rānā Rāj Singh, of Mēwār (No. 185), he wrote the Rāj Dēb Bilās, which deals with the fights between Aurang'zēb and Rāj Singh. Cf. Tod, i, 214, 374, and ff., and 391; Calc. ed. i, 231, 396, and ff., and 414.

187. सदासिव कवि, the poet and bard Sadāsib. Fl. 1660 A.D.

He lived at the court of Rānā Rāj Siŋgh, of Mewār (No. 185), the enemy of Aurang'zēb, and wrote his patron's life under the title of Rāj Ratnākar. Cf. Tod, i, 214, 374, and ff; Calc. ed. i, 231, 396, and ff.

188. जे सिङ्घ, Rānā Jāi Singh, of Udāipur in Mēwār. Reigned 1681—1700 A.D.

He was son of Rānā $R\bar{a}i$ Siŋgh (No. 185), and was a patron of poets. He had written a work, entitled the $J\bar{a}i$ $D\bar{e}b$ $Bil\bar{a}s$, which is a series of lives of the kings whom he had conquered. Cf. Tod, i, xiv, 214, and 391-94; Calc. ed. i, xiii, 231, and 414-418.

- 189. **THE EXITY AND.** His date is doubtful. He was author of the Rāj Pattanā, a bardic chronicle of Mēwār. Cf. Tod, i, 286; ii, 59; Calc. ed. i, 305; ii, 65.
- 190. जीजा घर कवि, the poet Līlā Dhar. Fl. 1620 A.D. He attended the court of Mahārāj Gaj Singh (1620—1638), of Jōdh'pur, in Mār'wār. Cf. Tod, ii, 41; Calc. ed ii, 46.
- 191. श्रमर सिङ्घः, Amar Singh, of Jōdh'pur, in Mār'wār. Fl. 1634 A.D.

The grandson of Mahārāj Sūr Siŋgh, who in one day distributed 6,00,000 rupees amongst six 'lords of verse' (see Tod, ii, 39; Calc. ed. ii, 43), and son of Gaj Siŋgh (see No. 190), who was a great patron of poets. Amar Siŋgh was praised by the poet Ban'wārī Lāl. He was exiled in A.D. 1634 by his father, and repaired to the court of the emperor Shāh Jahān, whom he subsequently attempted to murder in open court in revenge for a slight. He was cut down after killing a number of courtiers. Cf. Tod, ii, 45; Calc. ed. ii, 49. He should be distinguished from Amar Siŋgh of Mewār (fl. 1600 Å.D., cf. Tod, i, 346; Calc. ed. i, 371), who collected the works of the poet Chand (No. 6). Cf. Tod, i, xiii; Calc. ed. i, xii.

- 192. बन वारी लाल कवि, the poet Ban'wārī Lāl. Fl. 1634.
- Haj. A panegyrist at the court of Prince Amar Singh (No. 191), of Jodh'pur.
- 193. रघु नाथ राय किन, the poet Raghu Nāth Rāy. Fl. 1634.
- Sun. He attended the court of Prince Amar Singh (No. 191), of Jōdh'pur. Cf. Tod, ii, 44; Calc. ed. ii, 49.

194. सूजा Sūjā (Shujā'). Fl. 1681.

A bard at the court of Jas'want Singh (1638—1681), of Mār'wār. Cf. Tod, ii, 59; Calc. ed. ii, 62.

195. শ্বজীন सিङ্क, Mahārāj Ajīt Singh, the Rathāur, of Jādh'pur, in Mār'wār. Lived 1681—1724 A.D.

This king got written a work entitled the $R\bar{a}j$ $R\bar{u}pah\bar{a}khy\bar{a}t$. This contains a history of events from A.D. 469, when Nayana $P\bar{a}la$ conquered Kanā $\bar{u}j$ and killed Ajaya $P\bar{a}la$, its king, to the time of king $J\bar{a}l$ Chand. In a second part the history is carried on to the death of Mahārāj Jas'want Singh in A.D. 1681; and again, in a third part, is related the history from the commencement of the solar race to the year 1734 A.D. Cf. Tod, ii, 2, 4, 58, and ff., 91n, and 107n; Calc. ed. ii, 2, 4, 64, and ff., 99n, and 117n.

196. विहारी लाल चौबे, Bihārī Lāl Chāūbē, of Braj. Fl. 1650 A.D.

Sat., Nir., Rag. One of the most celebrated authors of India, his fame resting on his Sat Saī (Rāg.), or collection of seven hundred dohās, for each line of which he received a reward of a gold ashrafi from king Jāi Singh. The elegance, poetic flavour, and ingenuity of expression in this difficult work, are considered to have been unapproached by any other poet. He has been imitated by numerous other poets, but the only one who has achieved any considerable excellence in this peculiar style is Tul'sī Dās (No. 128), who preceded him by writing a Sat Saī (treating of Rām, as Bihārī Lāl's treated of Krish'n) in the year 1585 A.D. Other good Sat Sais are those of Bikram and Chandan. Bihārī's poem has been dealt with by innumerable Its difficulty and ingenuity are so great that it is commentators. called a veritable akṣara-kāmadhēnu. The best commentary is that by Sūrati Misar (No. 326), Agar'wālā. The verses were arranged in the order in which they now stand for the use of prince A'zam Shāh, and hence this edition is called the Āzim Shāhī recension. It has been translated into elegant Sanskrit verse by Pandit Hari Praçāda, under the auspices of Chēt Singh, Rājā of Banāras. Little is known about this great poet's life. His patron was a Rājā Jān Singh Kachh'wāhā, of Amer. In 1600 A.D. Raja Man Singh reigned at Amer, and between him and the year 1819 there were three Jan Singhs. The

most probable patron of Bihārī Lāl was Jān Singh Mirzā, the grandson of Jagat Singh, brother of Mān Singh, and this would fix Bihārī Lāl as flourishing in the first half of the seventeenth century, or as a successor of Tul'sī Dās. (See Tod's Rājāsthān ii, 364; Calc. ed. ii, 392.) Garcin de Tassy (i, 123) makes him contemporary with Kabīr (about 1400 A.D.), and states that the English call him the Thompson of India. He also, however, states that he lived in the sixteenth century, which is nearer the truth. Amongst those who have commentated on the Sat Saī may be mentioned Chandr' (No. 213), Gōpāl Saran (No. 215), Sūratí Misar (No. 326), Krish'n (No. 327), Kāran (No. 346), Anwar Khān (No. 397), Zū'lfaqār (No. 409), Yūsuf Khān (No. 421), Raghu Nāth (No. 559), Lāl (No. 561), Sar'dār (No. 571), Lallū Jī Lāl (No. 629), Gangā Dhar (No. 811), Rām Bahhsh (No. 907).

197. ছমেন ধাৰে, Chhattr' Sāl, Rājā of Par'nā (Pannā), in Bundēl'khand. Fl. 1650 A.D.

He was a great and famous patron of learning. He ordered Lāl Kabi to write the Chhattra Par'hās (Rāg.), in which is contained the whole history of the Bundēlās, from the beginning down to his time. See No. 202. He was killed in 1658 A.D. Cf. Tod, ii, 481; Calc. ed. ii, 526.

198. বিবাস, Niwāj (Nawāz), the Brāhman, of the Dōāb. Fl. 1650 A.D.

Sun. He attended the court of Rājā Chhattr' Sāl (No. 197), the Bundēlā of Par'nā. Under orders from A'zam Shāh he translated the Çahuntalā into the vernacular.

The similarity of names has led to his being confounded with Niwāj (No. 448), the Muhammadan weaver, so that there is a general false impression that this poet turned a Musalmān.

199. रतन्त्रेस काबि, the poet Rat'nēs. Fl. ? 1620 A.D.

He was father of the bard Par'tāp Sāhi (No. 149). He was author of many admired erotic verses.

200. प्रत्वोत्तम कवि, the poet and bard Purukhōttam, of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1650 A.D.

Rāg.

201. विजयाभिनन्द्न, Bijayābhinandan, of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1650 A.D.

These two attended the court of Raja Chhattr' Sal (No. 197), the Bundēlā of Par'nā (Pannā).

जाल कवि, the poet Lāl. Fl. 1658 A.D.

He attended the court of Raja Chhattr' Sal (No. 197), the Bundēlā. He was present at the battle of Dhōl'pur between Dārā Shukōh and Aurang'zēb, in which Chhattr' Sāl was killed (1658). He wrote a treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87), entitled Bishnu Bilās; but he is most famous for the Chhattra Parkās (Rāg.), or History of Chhattr', in Hindī or Braj Bhākhā verse. Garcin de Tassy (i, 304) gives the following account of this work, which I have not myself seen :- 'It deals with the wars and order of succession of the ancient Rajas of Bundel'khand, and with the valour of the warrior nation of the Bundelas. It contains minute details of the life of Chhattr' Sāl and of his father, Rājā Champati Rāy.1 * * * Capt. Pogson has given a translation of Lal's work, under the title of "A History of the Bundelas," and Major Price has given the text of that portion of the work which refers to Chhattr' Sal under the title of the "Chhatra Prokash, or Biographical Account of Chhatra Sāl."

203. हरि केस कबि, the poet Hari Kēs, of Jahāngīrābād Senudā, in Bundēl'khand. Fl. 1650 A.D.

Sun.

- 204. हरि चन्द, the bard Hari Chand, of Char'khārī, in Bundēl'khand. Fl. 1650.
- पञ्चम काबि, the bard Pancham the elder, of Bundēl'-Fl. 1650 A.D.

These three attended the court of Raja Chhattr' Sal (No. 197), the Bundēlā.

¹ According to Tod, Chhattr' Sal's father's name was Gopi Nath. -G.A.G.

206. गसीर राय, Gambhīr Rāy, of Nūr'pur. Fl. 1650.

The bard who celebrated the rebellion of Jagat Singh, of Maū, against Shāh Jahān (1628—1658). Text and translation of portion by Mr. Beames in J. A. S. B., vol. xliv (1875), p. 201. Interesting and important.

207. **राव रतन,** Rāw Ratan, the Raṭhāūr. Fl. 1650 A.D.

He was great grandson of Rājā Uday Singh, of Rat'lām. In his honour an anonymous bard wrote a famous history entitled Rāy'sā Rāw Ratan. Cf. Tod, ii, 49; Calc. ed. ii, 55.

- 208. गोपाल क्वि, the poet Gōpāl the elder. B. 1658 A.D. He attended the court of Mitrajīt Singh.
- 209. हिंदिनस निसर, Haribans Misar, of Bil'grām, district Har'dēī. Fl. 1662.

According to a copy of the Padmāwat in his handwriting, he attended the court of Rājā Hanumant Singh, of Amēṭhī. He is a well-known poet, and was vernacular teacher of 'Abdu'l Jalīl (No. 179), of Bil'grām.

210. सबल सिङ्घ चौहान, Sabal Singh, the Chauhan. B. 1670 A.D.

The author of a condensed metrical translation of 24,000 verses of the Mahābhārata. There are various traditions as to who he was. Some say he was Rājā of Chand'garh, others that he was Rājā of Sabal'garh. Sib Singh considers that he was a zamindār of some village in district Iṭāwā. He is possibly the same as another Sabal Singh Kabi mentioned also by Sib Singh as author of two works on composition (चरित्र)—(1) Khaṭ Ritu (Rāg.), (2) Bhākhā Ritūpasanghār.

211. सी गोबिन्द काबि, the poet 8rī Gōbind. B. (? Fl. Cf. No. 145) 1673 A.D.

He attended the court of Sib Rāj, the Sulanki, of Sitārā.

212. देवी दास काबि, the poet Dēbī Dās, of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1685 A.D.

In the above year he was already a prolific author, and went to the court of king Ratan Pāl Singh, of Karāulī, where he remained till his death. He wrote under that king's name a moral work entitled Prēm Ratnākar, which is said to be of rare excellence.

213. चन्द्र काबि, the poet Chandr' the younger. B. 1692 A.D.

He attended the court of $Bandan\ B\bar{a}b\bar{u}$, of $Bh\bar{u}p\bar{a}l$, brother to $Sul't\bar{a}n\ Path\bar{a}n$, Nawāb of $R\bar{a}j'garh$. He wrote a commentary on the $Sat\ Sa\bar{\imath}$ of $Bih\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$ (No. 196) in the $Kundaliy\bar{a}$ metre under the name of Sul'tan Pathān.

There is another mediocre poet of the same name, about whom Sib Singh gives no particulars.

214. मुहस्सद् जान, Sul'tan Nawab Muhammad Khān alias Sul'tān Pathān, of Rāj'garh, in Bhūpāl. B. 1704 A.D.

He was a patron of poets, and the poet *Chandr'* the younger (No. 213) wrote in his name a commentary to the *Sat Saī* of *Bihārī* (No. 196) in the *Kuṇḍaliyā* metre.

215. गोपाल सरन, Rājā Gōpāl Saran. B. 1691 A.D.

His principal work is a commentary on the Sat Saī of Bihārī (No. 196), entitled Prabandh Ghaṭ'nā.

216. मोती राम काबि, the poet Mōtī Rām. B. 1683 A.D.

Haj. Author of the Braj version of the novel Mādhōnal, translated into Hindustānī by Lallū Jī Lāl (No. 629) and Maz'har 'Alī Khān Wilā. See Garcin de Tassy, i, 351, for further particulars.

217. বাব, Ghāgh, of Kanāuj, in the Dōāb. B. 1696 A.D.

He was an agricultural poet, whose aphorisms have a wide authority all over Northern India. A number of them are inserted in *Bihār Peasant Life*. Poets in the same style, but of a more local (Eastern) reputation, were *Bhaddar* and *Dāk*.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER VIII.

218. ভাষা নাৰ কৰি, the poet Jag Nand, of Brindaban. B. 1601 A.D. Hai.

219. जोयसी कबि, the poet Jõyasi. B. 1601 A.D.

Haj.

220. खड़ग सेन, Kharag Sēn, the Kāyasth, of Gwāliyar. B. 1603 A.D.

He wrote two esteemed works, entitled Dān-Līlā and Dīp-Mālikā Charitr'.

221. गोक्कच बिहारी, Gökul Bihārī. B. 1603 A.D.

222. परम्मेस कवि, the poet Par'mēs the elder. B. 1611 A.D.

Haj., Sun. (? cf. No. 616).

223. गोबिन्द चटल कवि, the poet Göbind Ațal. B. 1613.

Haj.

224. खहामद कवि, the poet Ah'mad. B. 1613 A.D.

He was a Sufi by religion, and sympathised with the Vēdānta system of belief (so Sib Singh; but judging from his writings, he appears to have been rather a Vaishnava). His verses in the $d\bar{o}h\bar{a}$ and $s\bar{o}r'th\bar{a}$ metres are said to be very voluptuous.

225. गोप नाथ कबि, the poet Gop Nath. B. 1613 A.D.

226. विचारि दास कवि, the poet *Bihārī Dās*, of *Braj*. B. *1613*. Rāg.

227. त्रिन्दाबन दास, Brindāban Dās, of Braj. B. 1613 A.D.

Rāg.

I have collected in Mithilä songs (apparently belonging to the Kabīr Panthi sect) by a Brindāban. I do not know if he is the same poet as he who is quoted in $R\bar{a}g$.

228. कला निधि कबि, the poet Kalā Nidhi the elder. B. 1615 A.D.

229. चिभिमन्यः किन, the poet Abhimanya. B. 1623 A.D.

His poems are said to deal expertly with the passion of love.

230. घासी राम कवि, the poet Ghasi Ram. B. 1623 A.D.

Haj. A poem by him is given in Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind. xvii, 107.

231. तत्त्वर वेता कृबि, the poet Tattwa Bētā. B. 1623 A.D.

Haj.

232. ब्रज पति कवि, the poet Braj Pati. B. 1623 A.D.

Rāg.

233. राजा राम कवि, the poet Raja Ram. B. 1623 A.D.

Haj. Cf. No. 396.

234. सदानन्द किन, the poet Sadanand. B. 1623 A.D.

Haj., Dig.

235. सन्त दास, Sant Das, of Braj. Fl. 1623 A.D.

Rāg. However all the poems given under his name are identical with others by $S\bar{u}r D\bar{a}s$ (No. 37).

236. सेख कवि, the poet, Sēkh. B. 1623. A.D.

Haj., Sūd.

237. हीरा मिन कबि, the poet Hīrā Mani. B. 1623 A.D.

Haj.

238. जदुनाय कवि, the poet Jadu Nath. B. 1624 A.D.

Māl.

239. बन्नभ रसिक कवि, the poet Ballabh Rasik. B. 1624 A.D.

Haj., Rāg. He is possibly the same as a Ballabh Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh as the author of much admired $d\bar{o}h\bar{a}s$.

240. भीखम कवि, the poet Bhikham. B. 1624 A.D.

Haj. He is possibly the same as a poet of the same name also in Haj., whom Sib Singh dates as B. 1651 A.D. He is also possibly the same as a Bhikham Dās in Rāg.

241. मधु स्ट्रन किंब, the poet Madhu Sūdan. B. 1624 A.D.

Haj.

242. व्यास जी कवि, the poet By as Ji. B. 1628 A.D.

Rāg. The author of many celebrated $d\bar{o}h\bar{a}s$ on morals. Many of them are included in Haj.

243. मजून दास, Malūk Dās, a Brāhman of Karā Mānik'pur. B. 1628 A.D.

Rāg.

244. गोवरन्धन कवि, the poet Göbar'dhan. B. 1631 A.D.

245. भगन्वती दास Bhag'wati

A Brāhman who composed a work entitled Nām'kētōpākhyān.

246. घन राय किन, the poet Ghan Ray. B. 1633 A.D.

247. बेनी कबि, the poet Bēnī the elder, of As'nī, district Fatih'pur. B. 1633 A.D.

? Sun. The author of a treatise on lovers. (See note to No. 87.)

248. सकल किं, the poet Sahal. B. 1633 A.D.

Haj.

249. इरिजन कबि, the poet Hari Jan. B. 1633 A.D.

Haj.

250. **चनका कबि**, the poet Anant. B. 1635 A.D.

Sun. A poem by him, entitled the Anantanand, deals with the subject of lovers. (See note to No. 87.)

251. परन्बीन कविराय, Parbin, the poet-laureate. B. 1635 A.D.

Haj. The author of quietistic (शान्ति रस) poems on morals (नीति).

252. राम जी कवि, the poet Ram Ji. B. 1635 A.D.

Haj.

253. मदन मोहन, Madan Mohan. B. 1635 A.D.

Rāg.

254. नियान काबि, the poet Nidhān the elder. B. 1641 A.D.

Haj.

255. ससि सेखर कबि, the poet sasi Sekhar. B. 1642 A.D.

Haj.

256. भूघर कवि, the poet Bhū Dhar, of Banāras. B. 1643 A.D. Haj.

257. चतुर सिङ्घ राना, king Chatur Singh. B. 1644 A.D.

He wrote peems in a simple style.

258. पति राम कबि, the poet Pati Rām. B. 1644 A.D.

Haj.

259. पहन्लाद कनि, the poet Pah'lad. B. 1644 A.D.

Haj.

260. अञ जा जा का की, the poet Braj Lai. B. 1645 A.D.

Haj.

261. देव दत्तः, Dēb Datt', the Brāhman of Kus'marā (?), district Kanāuj. B. 1646 A.D.

No particulars. Possibly the same as a Dēb Datt' Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh as born 1648 A.D., and as another Dēb Datt' mentioned by the same as B. (? fl.) 1695 A.D. and author of a work entitled Jōg-Tattwa.

262. सिरोमनि कवि, the poet Siromani. B 1646.

Haj. Cf. No. 267.

263. बल देव कवि, the poet Bal Dēb the elder. B. 1647 A.D.

Haj., Sun.

264. जग जीवन कवि, the poet Jag Jiban. B. 1648 A.D.

Haj.

265. तोख किंब, the poet Tōkh. B. 1648 A.D.

Māl., Haj., Sun.

266. सुकुन्द किन, the poet Muhund the elder. B. 1648.

Haj.

267. रसिक सिरोमनि कबि, the poet Rasik Sirōmani. B. 1648 A.D. Hai. Cf. No. 262.

268. रूप नारायन कवि, the poet Rūp Nārāyan. B. 1648 A.D.

Haj. Possibly the same as a Rūp Kabi mentioned by Sib Siggh without particulars.

269. स्थाम जाज कवि, the poet Syam Lal. B. 1648 A.D.

Sūd. (?) Possibly the same as a Syām Kabi in Haj. Cf. No. 341.

270. इर जू किन, the poet Har Jū. B. 1648 A.D.

Haj.

271. तेग पानि कवि, the poet Teg Pani. B. 1651 A.D.

Haj.

272. बजीदा किन, the poet Bajidā. Fl. 1651 A.D.

Haj.

273. भरन्मी कवि, the poet Bhar'mi. B. 1651 A.D.

Haj.

274. धिङ्क कवि, the poet Bhring. B. 1651 A.D.

Haj.

275. संही राम किब, the poet 8ahī Rām. B. 1651 A.D.

Haj.

276. हुसेन कवि, the poet · Husen. B. 1651 A.D.

Haj.

277. अच्छर अनन्यत कवि, the poet Achchhar Ananya. B. 1653 A.D.

Has written quietistic (মান্দি বয়) poems.

278. जमञ्च किन, the poet Kamaneh, of Răj'putānā. Fl. before 1653 A.D.

Sib Singh states that he has met some poems by him in a Mār'wārī anthology dated Sambat 1710 (A.D. 1653).

279. रचु नाय, Raghu Nāth the elder. B. 1653 A.D.

Haj.

280. उदय नाथ बन्दीजन, Uday Nāth, the bard of Banāras. B. 1654 A.D.

281. जानर दास कवि, the poet Amar Dās. B. 1655 A.D.

Sib Singh describes him as having written some commonplace verses, and adds that he has neither seen nor heard of any complete work of his.

282. कुलन्पति मिसर, Kul'pati Misar. B. 1657 A.D.

Haj., Rāg.

283. ग्वाच, Gwāl the elder. B. 1658 A.D.

Haj.

284. मीइन किब, the poet Mohan. B. 1658 A.D.

Haj., Rāg. Cf. No. 329.

285. रस राम किन, the poet Ras Rām. Fl. 1658 A.D.

Haj. An erotic poet.

286. बनन्माची दास गोसाँई, the master Ban'māli Dās. B. 1659 A.D.

He was learned in Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. His Vedantic döhās are much admired.

287. चनाथ दास कवि, the poet Anath Das. B. 1659 A.D.

The author of poems in the quietistic style (शान्ति रस), and also of a complete work entitled the Bichar Mala.

288. जनादेन किन, the poet Janardan. B. 1661 A.D.

An erotic writer.

289. बिं जू कवि, the poet Bali Jū. Fl. 1665 A.D.

Haj.

290. बुध राम कवि, the poet Budh Rām. Fl. 1665 A.D.

Haj.

291. कल्यान किन, the poet Kalyān. B. 1669 A.D.

Haj., Rāg.

- 292. बिद्या नाथ कवि, the poet Bidyā Nāth of the Dōāb. B. 1673 A.D.
- 293. **खाल विदारी** कवि, the poet *Lāl Bihārī*. B. 1673 A.D.
- 294. मीर रुखन किन, the poet Mir Rustam. B. 1678 A.D.

Haj.

295. मीरी माधब कबि, the poet Miri Mādhab. B. 1678 A.D.

Haj.

296. सुइमाद कवि, the poet Muhammad. B. 1678 A.D.

Haj.

297. गोपाल दास, Göpāl Dās, of Braj. B. 1679 A.D. Rãg.

298. विद्वारी कवि, the poet Bihārī. B. 1681 A.D.

Haj.

299. चासिफ खाँ कबि, the poet Āsiph (Āṣaf) Khān. B. 1681 A.D. 300. विसव राय बाबू, Kēsab Rāy Bābū, of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. B. 1682 A.D.

Sat. He has written an excellent work on lovers. (See note to No. 87.)

301. anna anna, the poet Kanak. B. 1683 A.D.

An erotic poet.

302. मनन्दुख किन, the poet Man'sukh. B. 1683 A.D.

Haj.

303. मिसर किन, the poet Misar. B. 1683 A.D.

Haj.

304. रिव दत्तः कार्बि, the poet Rabi Datt' alias Bābū Sabitā Datt'. B. 1685 A.D.

Sat.

305. गोबिन्द जी कबि, the poet Göbind Ji. B. 1693 A.D.

Haj.

306. देवी बन्दीजन, the bard Dēbī. B. 1693 A.D.

He wrote a $S\bar{u}r S\bar{a}gar$ in the comic style.

307. देवी राम कवि, the poet Dēbi Rām. B. 1693 A.D.

A commonplace quietistic (মান্ধি ব্য) poet.

308. कुन्दन किंब, the poet Kundan, of Bundel'khand. Fl. 1695 A.D.

Haj. He has written a good treatise on lovers. (See note to No. 87.)

309. स्थाम सरन किब, the poet Syām Saran. B. 1696 A.D.

The author of a work entitled Swarōday (Rāg.).

310. गोंघ कवि, the poet Gōdh. B. 1698 A.D.

311. ईस कवि, the poet Chhēm. B. 1698 A.D.

No particulars. He is possibly the same as a *Chhēm Karan*, of the *Dōāb* mentioned by Sib Singh. Cf. Nos. 87 and 103.

312. केंच कबि, the poet Chhāl. B. 1698 A.D.

Haj.

313. **খ্যুৰ কৰি,** the poet Jugul. B. 1698 A.D.

Rāg. He is said to have written some very ingenious verses. He is possibly the same as a Jugul Dās Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh without date.

314. द्विज चन्द्र कवि, the poet Dwij Chandr'. B. 1698 A.D.

315. দ্বৰ হাম, 8raj Dās the elder. B. 1698 A.D.

Haj., P Rāg.

316. स्थाम दास कबि, the poet 8yam Das. B. 1698 A.D.

Rāg.

317. कारे बेग फकीर, Kārē Bēg, the mendicant. B. 1699 A.D. Haj.

318. सन्त कवि, the poet 8ant. B. 1702 A.D.

An erotic poet.

11

CHAPTER IX.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The period embraced in the present chapter includes two series of events of capital importance in the history of India,—the decline and fall of the Mughal empire and the supremacy and fall of the Marāthā power. Bahādur Shāh succeeded to the throne of Aurang'zēb in 1707, and Shāh'Ālam was rescued from the hands of the Marāthās by Lord Lake in 1803. He died in 1806, his son Ak'bar II succeeding only to the nominal dignity of emperor. On the other hand Bālājī Vishwanāth, the first pēshwā, rose to power with the accession of Sāhu to the Marāthā throne in 1707, and the last pēshwā was overthrown in the second Marāthā war in 1803-4.

Such times were favourable neither to the founding of new religions nor to the cultivation of the arts. A few religious reformers, it is true, sprung up, but their efforts, though crowned with a certain temporary success, have had none of the abiding effect on Hindustan which was left by Rāmānand and Ballabhāchār'i. Raj'putānā, the home of the bards, was no longer a nation united against the Mughals. but was torn by intestine strife. As one of these bards himself exclaimed at a feast given by the two princes, 'Jodh'pur and Amber can dethrone the enthroned; but the latter slew his son, and the former murdered his father.' In the scramble for the curée no relationship, no tie of friendship, was allowed to interfere. The same haste to seize upon the plunder of the decaying empire attacked the greatest and best of the kings of Rajasthan. Even Jai Singh, of Jaipur, the royal historian and astronomer, one of the most learned scientific men that India has ever produced, did not disdain to wrest the sovereignty of Būndī from his own sister's husband. Such actions the bards could not approve, and so they remained silent. Only two bardic chronicles appear to have been written in the eighteenth century. and of these, one, the Bijāi Bilās, records the fratricidal warfare between Bijāi and Rām Singh of Jodh'pur.

In other branches of literature no name of the first class appears. Some of the great writers on the ars poetica of the seventeenth century left pupils, who carried on their style with some success, but the century now under consideration shone most as an age of commentators. Nearly all the great poets of the preceding period found their best annotators and explainers in the eighteenth century. Perhaps this, too, was a natural sequence. Kēsab Dās and his followers laid down and fixed for ever the canons of Indian poetic criticism, and the next generation adopted these lines and applied them to already existing acknowledged poetic masterpieces. *

Part I.—Religious Poets.

[Arranged as far as possible in order of date.]

319. प्रिया दास, the master Priyā Dās, of Brindāban, in the Dōāb. Fl. 1712 A.D.

In the above year he wrote his well-known gloss on the Bhakt Mālā of Nābhā Dās (see No. 51). He is possibly the same as the author of a Bhāgavat in the dialect of Bundēl'khaṇḍ mentioned by Ward (View of the History of the Hindūs, vol. ii, p. 481). See Garcin de Tassy, i, 405.

320. गङ्गा पति, Gangā Pati. Fl. 1719 A.D.

Author of a work entitled Bigyān Bilās, written in Sambat 1775. It is a treatise on the different philosophical doctrines of the Hindūs, and recommends the Vedantic system and a mystic life. It is written in the form of a dialogue between a preceptor and his disciple. There is a copy of the work in the Mack. Coll. See Garcin de Tassy, i, 182.

321. सिंब नारायन, Sib Nārāyan, the Răj'pūt of the Nērivāna tribe, of Chandāwan, near Ghāzīpur. Fl. cir. 1735 A.D.

The founder of the sect of Sib Nārāinīs. He flourished in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719—1748). He was a voluminous writer in the inculcation of his doctrines, and eleven books in Hindī verse are ascribed to him. These are entitled (1) Laō or Law Granth, (2) Sānt Bilās, (3) Bhajan Granth, (4) Sānt Sundar, (5) Guru Nyās, (6) Sāntāchārī, (7) Sāntōpadēs, (8) Sabdābalī, (9) Sānt Par'wān, (10) Sānt Mahimā, (11) Sānt Sāgar. There is also a twelfth, the seal of the whole, but it has not yet been divulged, remaining in the

exclusive possession of the head of the sect. Cf. Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, i, 359, quoted by Garcin de Tassy, i, 475.

322. তাত জী, Lāl Jī, the Kayasth of Kādhalā, district Muzaffar'nagar. Fl. 1751 A.D.

In the above year he wrote a commentary to the Bhākt Mālā (see No. 51) entitled Bhakt Urbasī.

323. जग जीवन दास, Jag Jīban Dās, the Chandēlā of Koṭ'wā, district Bārābaŋkī. Fl. 1761 A.D.

He was founder of the Satya Nāmī sect, and also wrote poems in the vernacular. Amongst his successors and disciples may be mentioned Jalālī Dās, Dūlam Dās, and Dēbī Dās (No. 487), all of whom were poets. He and they excelled in the quietistic style. Amongst his works may be mentioned the Gyān Par'hās, the Mahā-par'lāi, and the Pratham Granth. See Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, p. 357; Garcin de Tassy, i, 256.

324. **ट्ला राम**, Dulhā Rām. Fl. 1776 A.D.

He became a Rām Sanēhī in 1776, and died in 1824. He was third spiritual teacher of the sect. He left about 10,000 Sabads and 4,000 Sākhīs. See Garcin de Tassy, i, 161.

Part II.-Other Poets.

[Arranged as far as possible according to their patrons, or the states to which they were attached.]

325. जे सिङ्घ सवाई, Rājā Jāi Siŋgh Sawāī, the Kachh'wāhā, of Amēr. Reigned 1699—1743 A.D.

He was not only a patron of poets, but wrote his own autobiography, entitled Jāi Singh Kalpadrum, which is a valuable historical work. He was one of the most remarkable men of his time. See Tod's Rājāsthān, ii, 356-68 (Calc. ed. 393—407).

326. सूरति मिसर, Sūrati Misar, of Āg'rā. Fl. 1720 A.D.

Sūd. The author of an esteemed commentary on the Sat Saī of Bihārī Lal (No. 196), also of a work entitled Saras Ras (Rāg.), a Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87), a commentary to the Rasik Priyā (see No. 134), and a work on rhetoric entitled Alaykār Mālā. During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719—1748) he translated the Bāītāl Pachīsī (Rāg.) into Braj Bhākhā under orders of Jāī Siŋgh Sawāī (No. 325, 1699—1743) from the Sanskrit Vētāla Pañchavimçatikā of Çiva Dāsa. The Braj Bhākhā version is the foundation of the wellknown Hindūstānī version of Lallū Jī Lāl (see No. 629). See Garcin de Tassy, i, 306, 484, and also preface to the last-named work.

327. क्रिय•न किंब, the poet Krish'n, of Jaipur. Fl. 1720 A.D.

He was a pupil of the poet Bihārī Lāl (No. 196), and entered the service of Rājā Jān Singh (No. 325) Sawāī. He wrote a poetical commentary on Bihārī Lāl's Sat Saī together with a supplementary gloss. Cf. No. 180.

328. त्रिपा राम कवि, the poet Kripā Rām, of Jāipur. Fl. 1720 A.D.

He was one of the astronomers of Rājā $J\bar{a}i$ Singh Sawāī (No. 325). He wrote an astronomical work in the vernacular called Samay-bōdh (? Samay-ōgh).

329. मोहन कवि, the poet Mohan. Fl. 1720 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā Jāi Siŋgh Sawāi (No. 325). Cf. No. 284.

330. बुद्ध राव, Buddh Rāw, the Hārā. Fl. 1710—1740 A.D.

He was rājā of Būndī, and was married to the sister of Jāi Siŋgh Sawāī, of Āmēr (No. 325). Bahādur Shāh (1707—1712), the emperor, owed him in great measure his throne in the contest with his brother 'Ālam. Buddh also saved him in the rebellion of Sayyad Bar'hānā in 1724 and restored him to power. For his signal services in the contest for the emperor's throne he was granted the title of Rāw Rājā. He was conquered and deposed about 1740 by his brother-

in-law Jan Singh. He was himself a poet and a patron of poets. See Tod, ii, 482 and ff. (Calc. ed. ii, 528 and ff.).

331. भोज सिसर कबि, the poet Bhōj Misar the elder. Fl. 1720 A.D.

He attended the court of Buddh Rāw (No. 330), and was the author of a work entitled Misar Sirngār.

332. गुर् इत्तः सिङ्कः, Rājā Gur Datt' Singh alias Bhūpati Kabi, of Amēṭhī, in Audh. Fl. cir. 1720 A.D.

Sat., Sun. He was not only a poet himself, but was a great patron of poets. In Sun. he is called *Chhitipāl*. Garcin de Tassy, i, 121, mentions a *Bhūpati* or *Bhū Dēo*, but a Kāyasth by caste, the author of a work in Hindī verse entitled *Srī Bhāgawat*. Cf. No. 604.

333. भगवन राय खीँची, Bhag'want Rāy the Khichi, of Asōthar, district Fatih'pur. Fl. 1750 A.D.

? Sun. He was son of one Arārū, founder of the Asōthar family. He maintained his independence for several years, and successfully opposed the emperor's troops, but finally, in 1760, was killed by treachery, and was succeeded by his son Rūp Rāy. See Growse, Supplement to the Fatih'pur Gazetteer, pp. 5, 8, where 1860 is a misprint for 1760. He was author of a Rāmāyan, and ancestor of Kām'tā Par'sād (No. 644). He is possibly the same as Bhag'want Kabi and as a Bhag'wān Kabi, both mentioned by Sib Singh; and as a Bhag'-want Kabi quoted in Sun.

334. उदय नाथ निबंदी काबीन्द्र•, Uday Nāth Tribēdī, the poet-laureate, of Ban'pūrā, in the Dōāb. Fl. cir. 1720 A.D.

Sat. He was son of Kālidās Tribēdi (No. 159), the author of the Hajārā, and was as famous a poet as his parent. At first he attended the court of king Himmat Siŋgh, of Amēṭhī (cf. No. 160), and usually signed his poems as by Uday Nāth. Subsequently the king gave him the title of Kabīndr' or poet-laureate, and thereafter he signed himself Kabīndr'. He got the title as a reward for writing a work entitled Ras-chandrōday, or Rati-binōd or Chandrōday, or Ras-chandrikā. It deals with vernacular composition (NIGI HIGA), and was written

Sambat 1804 (A.D. 1747). Subsequently he stayed a short time with king Gur Datt' Singh (No. 332), of Amēṭhī, with Bhāg'want Rāy (No. 333), Khīchī, of Asōthar (d. 1760), with Gaj Singh, Rājā of Āj'mēr, and with king Buddh Rāw, Hāṛā, of Būndī (1710—1740) (No. 330). By all these was he highly honoured.

It may be mentioned that there was another Kabīndr' Tribēdī, of Bētī, in the district of Rāy Barēlī, who also was a poet of repute.

335. सुख देव कवि, the poet Sukh Dēb, of the Dōāb. Fl. cir. 1750 A.D.

He is possibly the same as the Sukh Dēb Misar, of Dāūlat'pur (No. 356), or as the other poet of the same name of Kampilā (No. 160). He attended the court of Bhag'want Rāy, Khīchī (No. 333) (d. 1760), of Asōthar, in Fatih'pur.

336. H at afa, the poet Bhū Dhar, of Asothar, district Fatih'pur. Fl. cir. 1750 A.D.

He attended the court of Bhag'want Rāy, Khichī (No. 333) (d. 1760), of Asōthar, in Fatih'pur.

337. मञ्ज किंच, the poet Mall. Fl. cir. 1750 A.D.

He attended the court of Bhag'want Rāy, Khīchī (No. 333) (d. 1760), of Asōthar, in Fatih'pur.

338. सम्भ नाथ सिसर निर्देश the poet 8ambhu Nāth Misar, of Asōthar, district Fatih'pur. Fl. cir. 1750 A.D.

Sat. He attended the court of Bhag'want Rāy, Khĩchī (No. 333) (d. 1760), of Asōthar, in Fatih'pur. He was author of (1) Ras Kallōl, (2) Ras Taranginī, (3) Alankār Dīpak. He was preceptor of the poet Sib Ar'sēlā (No. 339), and of many other poets.

339. सिंब श्ररक्सेला कवि, the poet and bard Sib Ar'sēlā, of Deutahā, district Göḍā. Fl. cir. 1770 A.D.

¹ I can find no mention of this Rājā in Tod.

He was a pupil of Sambhu Nāth Misar (No. 338), of Asōthar, in Fatih'pur, and became teacher of Jagat Singh Bisēn (No. 340). He wrote a work on vernacular composition (साहित्य) entitled Rasik Bilās. He also wrote (2) Alankār Bhūkhan; (3) a prosody.

340. जगत सिङ्घ Jagat Singh, the Bisen. Fl. cir. 1770 A.D.

He belonged to the family of the Rājā of Gōḍā and Bhin'gā. He was ta'alluq'dār of Deutahā, in which village resided the bard Sib Arsēlā (No. 339). He became a pupil of his in the art of poetry, and wrote a treatise on prosody named Chhand Sringār. He also wrote a treatise on rhetoric (चन्हार) entitled Sāhitya Sudhā-nidhi. Cf. No. 605.

- 341. स्थास लाल निं, the poet Syām Lāl, of Jahānābād. Fl. cir. 1750 A.D.
- Sūd. (?) He attended the court of Bhag'want Rāy, Khichī (No. 333) (d. 1760), of Asōthar, in Fatih'pur. Cf. No. 269.
- 342. বিৰাজ, Niwāj (Nawāz), the Brāhman of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. cir. 1750.

He attended the court of Bhag'want Rāy Khichī (d. 1760), of Asōthar, in Fatih'pur. Possibly the same as No. 448.

343. HITS and, the poet Sārang, of Asōthar, district Fatih'pur. Fl. cir. 1750 A.D.

He attended the court of Bhawānī Singh, Khichī, nephew of Bhag'-want Rāy, Khichī (No. 333) (d. 1760), of Asōthar, in Fatih'pur.

344. भिखारी दास, Bhikhārī Dās, the Kāyasth, of Ar'wal, in Bundēl'khaṇḍ. B. 1723.

He is counted as one of the masters of vernacular composition. Amongst his works may be mentioned (1) a treatise on prosody entitled Chhandōrnab, (2) Ras-sārāns, (3) Kābya-nir'nay, (4) Sringār-nir'nay, (5) Bāg Bahār, (6) Prēm-ratnāhar. In No. 3 a number of poets are mentioned. It is quoted in this work as 'Nir.'

345. गिरि घर किंदाय, the poet-laureate Giri Dhar, of the Dōāb. B. 1713.

Rāg. He was the famous author of verses on morals and occasional pieces in the *Kundaliyā* metre. He is considered the greatest master of this metre. See Kellogg's *Hindī Grammar*, *Prosody*, p. 25. Possibly the same as No. 483.

346. वार्न मह, the bard Karan, of Par'nā (Pannā), in Bundēl'- khand. B. 1737.

He composed under the patronage of Rājās Sabhā Singh (cf. No. 155) and Hir'dāī Sāhi, the Bundēlās of Par'nā (Pannā), a commentary on the Sat Saī of Bihārī (No. 196) entitled the Sāhitya Chandrihā. He was skilled at impromptu versification, and at completing unfinished verses given to him suddenly as a test of skill, and this gained him many gifts and honours. The date given is taken from Sib Singh, but I can find no trace of any king of Par'nā called Sabhā Singh. The Report of the Arch. Sur. Ind. xxi, 112, mentions a Hir'dāī Sāhi of Pannā who succeeded his father Chattr' Sāl in A.D. (? Sambat) 1718. Cf. No. 504.

347. **शनन्द धन कवि**, the poet Anand Ghan, of Dillī. Fl. 1720; D. 1739 A.D. 504.

Rāg., Sun. Sib Singh states that his poems are as brilliant as the sun. He has never seen any complete work of his, but has as many as five hundred short pieces by him. According to the Sāhitya Bhūkhan of Mahādēo Par'sād he was a Kāyasth by caste, and was Muḥammad Shāh's (1719—1748) Munshī. Before his death he retired to Brindāban, and was killed in the capture of Mathurā by Nādir Shāh. His best known work is the Sujān Sāgar. He is possibly the same as another Ānand Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh as born in 1654 A.D., and the author of a work on sexual intercourse entitled Kōh Sār (Rag.). He sometimes signed himself Ghan Ānand.

348. ज्युल किशोर भट्ट, Jugul Kishōr Bhaṭṭ, of Kāithal, district Kar'nāl, in the Pañjāb. Fl. 1740 A.D.

He was a prominent figure among the attendants at the court of the emperor Muhammad Shāh (1719—1748). In Sambat 1803 (A.D.

1746) he wrote a first-rate work on rhetoric (चारा) entitled the Alaykār-nidhi, in which he has described ninety-six alaykāras with examples. He states in this work that there were four principal poets attending his own court, named, respectively, Rudr' Mani Misar (No. 352), Sukh Lāl (No. 354), Sant Jīb (No. 353), and Gumān Jī Misar (No. 349). A number of detached poems by him are included in a compilation entitled the Kishōr Sangrah. He is possibly the same as a Jugul Kishōr Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh (without date) as an erotic writer.

349. **रामान** जी मिसर, Gumān Jī Misar, of Sāṛī, district Har'dōī. Fl. 1740 A.D.

He was skilled in composition and in Sanskrit. He attended the court of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1719—1748) of Dillī, under the protection of Jugul Kishōr Bhaṭṭ (No. 348). Subsequently he attended the court of 'Alī Ak'bar Khān Muḥammadī, who was himself an excellent poet, and who had in his service Nidhān (No. 350), Prēm Nāth (No. 351), and other great poets. Gumān Jī wrote the Kalā Nidhi, which is an excellent line-for-line commentary in various metres on the Hāṇṣadha of Ģrī Harṣa. He also wrote a special commentary named Salīl¹ on the Pañchanalīya, which is the name of a difficult portion of the Nāṇṣadha. He is possibly the same as another Gumān Kabī mentioned by Sib Singh as born în 1731, and author of a work entitled Krish'n Chandrikā.

350. निधान, Nidhān, the Brāhman. Fl. 1751 A.D.

He attended the court of 'Alī Ak'bar Khān Muḥammadī, where he had great repute. He wrote a highly poetical Sālihōtr' or treatise on veterinary surgery in the vernacular. He was a fellow courtier of Gumān Jī Misar (No. 349) and Prēm Nāth (No. 351).

351. प्रम नाय, Prēm Nāth the Brāhman of Kaluā, district Khērī, in Audh. Fl. 1770 A.D.

Sun. He attended the court of 'Alī Ak'bar Khān Muḥammadī, and translated the Brahmōttarakhaṇḍa into the vernacular. He was a

¹ Or Sib Singh, from whom this is taken, may mean that he made the Panchanaliya as clear as water.

fellow courtier with Gumān Jī Misar (No. 349) and Nidhān (No. 350). He is possibly the same as a Prēm Kabi quoted by Sib Singh.

352. रहर सनि सिसर, Rudr' Mani Misar, the Brāhman. Fl. 1740 A.D.

He attended the court of Jugul Kishōr Bhaṭṭ (No. 348) at Dillī.

- 353. सन्त जीव कवि, the poet Sant Jīb. Fl. 1740 A.D. He attended the court of Jugul Kishōr Bhaṭṭ (No. 348).
- 354. चुख जांच कवि, the poet Sukh Lāl. Fl. 1740 A.D. Sūd. He attended the court of Jugul Kishōr Bhaṭṭ (No. 348).
- 355. हरि नाय, Hari Nāth, of Guj'rāt, afterwards of Banāras. B. 1769 A.D.

The author of a treatise on rhetoric entitled Alankār Dar'pan. He is possibly the same as a Hari Nāth mentioned by Garcin de Tassy (i, 218) as author of the Pōthī Shāh Muhammad Shāhī or History of Muḥammad Shāh (1719—1748), of which a manuscript is preserved in the British Museum, No. 6651E, Additional Manuscripts.

356. चुख देव सिस्र किंव, the poet Sukh Dēb Misar, of Dāulat'pur, district Rāy Barēlī. Fl. 1740 A.D.

He attended the court of Rāw Mar'dan Singh Bāis, of Dāŭṛiyā Khērā, in Aūdh, and wrote in his name a treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87) entitled Rasār'nab (Rāg.). The bard Sambhu Nāth (No. 357) was his pupil. See Garcin de Tassy, i, 479. Cf. No. 335.

357. सम् नाध कवि, the poet and bard Sambhu Nāth. Fl. 1750 A.D.

He was pupil of Sukh Dēb Misar (No. 356), of Dāūlat'pur, and was author of a Rāmāyan entitled Rām Bilās. Cf. No. 366.

358. दूलह चिवेदी, Dūlah Tribēdī, of Ban'pūrā, in the Dōāb. Fl. 1746 A.D.

Sat. He was son of *Uday Nāth Tribēdī* (No. 334), and grandson of *Kālidās Tribēdī* (No. 159), the celebrated compiler of the *Hajārā*. He wrote a work of great authority on vernacular composition (भाखा साहित्य) entitled *Kabi-kul Kaṇṭhābharan*.

359. बल देव कवि, the poet Bal Dēb, of Baghēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1746 A.D.

He attended the court of king Bikram Shāh, the Baghēl of Dewarā-nagar.¹ In the above year, at the suggestion of this prince, he compiled an anthology entitled Sat-habi-girā Bilās (quoted in this work as 'Sat.') which contains poems by seventeen different authors, viz.—

- (1) Kēsab Dās (No. 134).
- (2) Chintāmani (No. 143).
- (3) Mati Ram (No. 146).
- (4) Sambhu Nāth, Sulankī (No. 147).
- (5) Nil Kanth (No. 148).
- (6) Kālidās Tribēdī (No. 159).
- (7) Sukh Dēb Misar, of Kampilā (No. 160).
- (8) Bihārī Lāl (No. 196).
- (9) Kēsab Rāy (No. 300).
- (10) Rabi Datt' (No. 304).
- (11) Gur Datt' Singh, of Amēthī (No. 332).
- (12) Uday Nāth Tribēdī (No. 334).
- (13) Sambhu Nāth Misar (No. 338).
- (14) Dūlah (No. 358).
- (15) Himmati Bahādur (No. 377).2
- (16) Biswa Nāth Atāi (No. 410).
- (17) Mukund Lāl (No. 560).

He also wrote poetry himself.

¹ This must be a different person from the well-known Bihram Sāhi (No. 514), of Char'hhāri, who was born 1785 A.D. Curiously enough a Bal Dēb also attended his court.

² Himmati Bahādur flourished in 1800 A.D., but he must have been an old man then.

360. सन्बोध भा, Man'bōdh Jhā alias Bhōlan Jhā, of Jam'sam, district Dar'bhangā. Fl. 1750 A.D.

One of the most celebrated poets of Mithilā. Little is known about him beyond the facts that he married the daughter of one Bhikhārī Jhā, and that his only child, a daughter, was ancestress of the present Mahārāj of Dar'bhangā. He composed a version of the Harivamça in the Maithilī dialect, entitled Haribans. Only ten adhyāyas have come down to us, but these enjoy great popularity. See J. A. S. B., 1882, p 129, and 1884, Sp. No.

361. केस्व, Kēsab. Fl. 1775 A.D.

A Maithil poet, who attended the court of Rājā Par'tāp Singh, who was himself a poet, under the alias of Mōd Nārāyan (No. 362). See J. A. S. B., vol. liii, p. 89.

362. मोद नारायन, Mōd Nārāyan alias Rājā Par'tāp Singh. Fl. c. 1775 A.D.

A king of Mithilā, who was a poet. He was son of Narēndra Singh, of Dar'bhangā the victor of Kanar'pī Ghāṭ (see Lāl Jhā, No. 363), and was the fifth in ascent before the present Mahārāj. See J. A. S. B., vol. liii, p. 82. The poet Kēsab attended his court (No. 361).

363. जाज भा, Lāl Jhā or Kabi Lāl, of Māg'rāunī, district Dar'bhangā. Fl. 1780 A.D.

One of the most famous poets of Mithilā. The author of the poem entitled Kanar'pī Ghāṭ Lāṛāī. See J. A. S. B., vol. liv, p. 16.

His patron was $Narendra\ Singh$, who gave him the village of $Kan\bar{\alpha}il$ as a reward for the poem. This village is now owned by his descendants.

364. तौर्थ राज, Tīrath Rāj, the Brāhman, of Bais'wārā. B. 1743 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā Achal Singh Bāis, of Dāuriyā Khērā, in Audh, and at his command he translated in the year 1750 A.D. the Samara Sāra into the vernacular.

365. द्या निधि कवि, the poet Dayā Nidhi, of Bais'wārā. B. 1754.

He wrote a treatise entitled Sālihōtr', dealing with veterinary surgery, at the instance of Rājā Achal Singh Bāis, of Dāuriyā Khērā, in Audh. Cf. No. 787.

366. ससु नाथ कवि चिपाठी, the poet Sambhu Nāt Tripāṭhī. Fl. 1752 A.D.

Rāg. He is possibly the same as Sambhu Nāth (No. 357), author of the Rām Bilās. He attended the court of Rājā Achal Singh Bāis, of Dāuriyā Khērā, in Audh. Under the name of Rāw Raghu Nāth Singh he wrote in the above year a vernacular translation of the Sanskrit Vētāla Panchavimçatikā of Ģiva Dāsa under the title of Bāntāl Pachīsī (Rāg.). He also translated the astrological Muhūrta Chintāmani into the vernacular in various metres.

367. सूटन कवि, the poet Sadan. B. 1753 A.D.

He attended the court of Sujān Singh, son of Badan Singh. In one poem ten verses mentioned by Sib Singh containing the names of several poets are praised by him. Nine of these verses have been lost, and Sib Singh is only able to give the last, which (quoted in this work as 'Sūd') contains the following names:—Sanēhī, Sabal Singh, Sar'b Sukh, Sib Dās, Sib Rām, Sukh Lal, Sunām (?), Sumērů, Sūraj, Suratí, Sēnāpatí, Sēkh, Sōm Nāth, Syām Lāl, Srī Dhar, Srī Patí, Hari, Hari Dās, Hari Bans, Harī Har, Hīras (?), Hit Rām, Husēn.

368. रङ्ग लाल किन, the poet Rang Lal. B. cir. 1750. He attended the court of Sujan Singh, the son of Badan Singh.

369. ब्रज बासी दास, Braj Bāsī Dās, of Brindāban, the

Rāg., Sun., ? Srigg. Sib Singh says he was born 1753 A.D. He wrote in the year 1770 A.D. a work entitled Braj Bilās (Rāg.), descriptive of Krish'n's life during his residence at Brindāban. (See Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs, p. 132, and Garcin de Tassy,

i, 131.) He is possibly the same as another *Braj Bāsī Dās alias Dās Braj Bāsī* mentioned (without date) by Sib Singh as having translated the play *Prabōdha Chandrōdaya* into the vernacular (Rāg.).

370. करन कवि बन्दीजन, the poet and bard Karan, of Jödh'pur in Mār'wār. Fl. cir. 1730 A.D.

A poet of the Rathaur Mahārājs. He wrote a work entitled the Sūrya Par'hās under the patronage of Mahārāj Abhay Singh (1724—1750), the Rathaur, son of Ajīt Singh (No. 195). It is 7,500 çlōkas in length, and gives a history of the time from Mahārāj Jas'want Singh (1638—1681) down to Abhay Singh (1731 A.D.). Cf. Tod, i, xiv; ii, 4, 91, 107; Calc. ed. i, xiii; ii, 4, 99, 117. Tod gives an anecdote and quotation from this poet in ii, 120; Calc. ed. ii, 131.

371. विजे सिङ्कः, Bijāi Slygh, Mahārāj of Jōdh'pur, in Mār'wār. Reigned 1753—1784 A.D.

He was an author himself, and got written the Bijān Bilās, a historical work of 1,00,000 couplets, narrating the war between Bijān Singh and his cousin Rām Singh, the son of Abhay Singh. It was in consequence of this war that the Marāṭhās entered the state of Mār'wār. Sib Singh wrongly states he was king of Udānpur, in Mēwār. See Tod's Rājāsthān, i, xiv; ii, 4, 121 (Calc. ed. i, xiii; ii, 4; 134 and ff.).

372. सान कवि, the poet Mān, Brāhman, of Bais'wārā. Fl. 1761 A.D.

He wrote in the above year a vernacular translation of the Kṛṛṣṇa Khanda entitled Kṛṛṣṇa Kallōl. The commencement of this work contains an important genealogy from Çālivāhana to Champati Rāy (? the father of Chhattr' Sāl, No. 197).

373. इस करन किंव, the poet Chhēm Karan, the Brāhman of Dhanāulī, district Bārābaŋkī. B. 1771 A.D.

He was author of (1) Rām Ratnākar, (2) Rāmāspad (?), (3) Gurā Kathā, (4) Āhnik, (5) Rām-Gīt Mālā, (6) Krish'n-Charitāmrit, (7) Pad Bilās, (8) Raghu-rāj Ghanāchharī, (9) Britt-Bhāskar, and other excellent works. He died in 1861, at the age of ninety.

374. चन्दन राय कवि, the poet and bard Chandan Rāy, of Nāhii (? Māhii) Puwāwā, district Shāh-Jahān-pur. Fl. 1773 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā Kēsarī Singh, of Gāur. Under his name he wrote the Kēsarī Par'kās. Amongst his other works may be mentioned an important poem entitled the Sringār-sār, the Kallōl Taranginī (dated 1789 A.D.), the Kābyābharan, the Chandan Sat Saī, and the Pathikbōdh. All these are highly esteemed. He had twelve pupils, all of whom became successful poets. The most celebrated was the poet Man Bhāwan (No. 375). A descendant of his was Mak'rand Rāy (No. 610).

375. ਜਜ भावन, Man Bhāwan, a Brāhman, of Mūṛiyā, district Shāh-Jahān-pur. Fl. 1780.

Rāg. He was the most successful of the twelve pupils of Chandan Rāy (No. 374). His best work is the Sringār Ratnābalī.

376. रतन कुँग्रर, Bibi Ratan Küar, of Banaras. B. cir. 1777 A.D.

Authoress of an account of devotees of Krish'n, entitled Prēm Ratna. She was grandmother of Rājā Shiva Prasād, C.S.I. (No. 699). This gentleman writes to me as follows concerning her:—'My grandmother, Bībī Ratan Kūar, died some 45 years ago' (written in 1887), 'when I was only 19 years old, attending the court of Colonel Sutherland, the Governor-General's Agent at Āj'mēr, as Wakīl of the late Mahārāj of Bharat'pur. Her age was between 60 and 70 when she left this world, but I regret I cannot give you exact dates. Besides the Prēm Ratna, she composed many padas. I have a manuscript book, called Pad kī Pōthī, in which she has written here and there with her own hands her padas. She was a good musician, and wrote a beautiful hand. She was well versed in Sanskrit, and knew a little Persian too. She knew medicines, and the best part of the little knowledge I may be credited with, I acquired from her.'

377. जस्बन सिङ्ग, Jas'want Singh, the Bhagela, of Rājātir'wā, in Kanāūj. Fl. 1797 A.D.

He was learned in Sanskrit and Persian. He compiled from other works on composition (साहित्य) a work on lovers (see note to No. 87) entitled *Sringār Sirōmani*. He also wrote a famous treatise on

rhetoric (Nagrit), founded on the Sanskrit Chandralōha, entitled Bhākhā Bhūkhan (Rāg.), and a treatise on veterinary surgery entitled Sālihōtr' (Rāg.). All these are excellent works. He died in 1814 A.D. The Bhākhā Bhūkhan has had numerous commentators, amongst whom the following may be mentioned:—Par'tāp Sāhi (?) (No. 149), Nārāyan Rāy (No. 572), Giri Dhar Banār'sī (No. 580), Dal'pati Rāy (No. 635), Bansī Dhar (No. 636), an anonymous poet of Uniyārā (No. 660), Hari (No. 761). It has been printed at Banāras in Sambat 1943 (1886) by Ambikā Charan Chaṭṭōpadhyāya. A Bombay edition identifies the author with Jas'want Singh (1638—1681) of Mār'wār, but this is very doubtful. See No. 149 and No. 149 Add.

378. हिमाति बहादुर, Gosat Nawab Himmati Bahadur. Fl. 1800 A.D.

Sat. His court was attended by many poets, including *Thākur* (who saved his life; see No. 173) and *Rām Saran. Askand Giri* (No. 527) was descended from him.

He was a military guru or soldier-saint, who commanded a large force of $gos\tilde{a}\bar{i}s$ or religious devotees in the army of Sendhiyā. He instigated 'Alī Bahādur to attempt the conquest of Bundēl'khand, but ultimately went over to the English during the second Marāṭhā war (1803—1806). He must have been an old man then, as poems by him are quoted in Sat., which was written in 1746.

379. राम सरन किंब, the poet Rām Saran, of Hamīr'pur, district Iṭāwā. Fl. 1800 A.D.

380. राम सिङ्घ काबि, the poet Rām Singh, of Bundēl'khand. Fl. 1800 A.D.

These two attended the court of Himmati Bahādur.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER IX.

381. चादिल कवि, the poet 'Adil. B. 1703 A.D.

Sib Singh has seen detached pieces by him, but no complete work.

382. श्रज चन्द कवि, the poet Braj Chand. B. 1703 A.D.

383. भीन किब, the poet Bhaun the elder, of Bundel'khand B. 1703 A.D.

An erotic poet.

384. महन्बूब काबि, the poet Mah'būb (Mahbūb). B. 1705 A.D.

385. किमोर सर कबि, the poet Kishor Sur. B. 1704 A.D.

Sring., Sun. He has written many poems in the chhappān metre.

386. मदन कियोर कबि, the poet Madan Kishor. Fl. 1710 A.D.

He attended the court of Bahadur Shah (1707-1712). Cf. No. 50.

387. दया राम किब विपाठी, the poet Dayā Rām Tripāṭhī. B 1712.

A quietistic (মালিব হা) poet. Possibly the same as a Dayā Rām mentioned by Sib Singh (without date) as author of a lexicographical work entitled Anēkārth.

388. पर्डरीक कबि, the poet Pandurik. B. 1712.

389. गड़ कवि, the poet Gadu, of Răj'putānā. B. 1713.

The emblematic (क्र) and occasional verses by him in the chhappan metre are famous.

390. नन्द खाल, Nand Lal. B. 1717 A.D.

391. ভাৰ মুকুন্দ কৰি, the poet Lai Mukund. B. 1717.

An erotic poet. Possibly the same as Mukund La! (No. 560).

392. दन्दू **क**वि, the poet *Indů*. B. 1719 A.D.

A commonplace poet.

393. बच राज कवि, the poet Braj Rāj, of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. B. 1718 A.D.

394. याकून खाँ कनि, the poet Yakūb Khān (Ya'qūb). B. 1718 A.D.

He wrote a commentary to the Rasik-priyā (see No. 134).

395. बीरन्बल, Bir'bal alias Bir'bar, a Kāyasth of Dilli. Fl. 1722 A.D.

The author of a work on composition (साहित्य) entitled Krish'n Chandrikā, written in the above year. 396. राजा राम कवि, the poet Raja Ram. B. 1721 A.D.

An erotic poet. Cf. No. 233.

397. धनन्वर खाँ कि ब, the poet

He wrote a commentary on the Sat Sal of Bihārl (No. 196), and a work called the An'war Chandrikā, or possibly this last is the title of the commentary.

398. ग्रजान सिङ्ग, Gulāl Singh. B. 1723.

399. ৰিঘু কৰি, the poet Bēchā. B. 1723.

400. ब्रज नाथ कवि, the poet Braj Nath. B. 1723 A.D.

The author of an admired work entitled Rag Mā/ā (Rāg.). Cf. No. 904.

401. मधु नाथ कबि, the poet Braj Nath. B. 1723 A.D.

402. मनोचर कवि, the poet Manohar. B. 1723.

403. महा कवि, the poet Maha (P the great poet). Fl. 1723 A.D. Sun.

404. रस राज कवि, the poet Ras Rāj. B. 1723 A.D.

The author of a good Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87).

405. रसिक विचारी, Rasik Bihari. B. 1723 A.D.

Rāg.

406. चंद्रः मनि, Rudr' Mani, the Chanhan. B. 1723.

407. दन सिङ्घः, Rājā Dal Siŋgh, of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. B. 1724 A.D.

The author of a work entitled *Prem* Payonidhi, dealing with the loves and sports of Rādhā and Krish'n.

408. प्रान नाथ, Pran Nath. of Kōṭā. B. 1724.

He attended the court of the Raja of Koţa.

409. श्रुलाग्फेकार किन, the poet Jul'phekar (Zū'lfaqar). B. 1725 A.D.

He wrote a good commentary on the Sat Sai of Bihari (No. 196).

410. कमल नयन कवि, the poet Kamal Nayan, of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. B. 1727 A.D.

He was a prolific erotic writer, but no complete work of his is known. His poems are said to possess merit.

- 411. विस्तृ नाथ खताई, Biswa Nath Atai, of Bundel'khand. B. 1727. Sat.
- 412. मचित कवि, the poet Mañchit. B. 1728.
- 413. विद्वारी कवि, the poet Bihari, of Bundel'khand. B. 1729 A.D.
- 414. नरिन्द कवि, the poet Narind. B. 1731 A.D.
- 415. रस इंप किन, the poet Ras Rup. B. 1731 A.D.
- 416. सिव राम कवि, the poet 8ib Ram. B. 1731 A.D.

Sūd. An erotic writer.

- 417. सिव सिङ्घ, Sib Singh. B. 1731 A.D.
- 418. খনন্ত কৰি, the poet Ananya. B. 1733 A.D.

Many poems of his, dealing with the Vēdānta religion and morals, are extant. He also wrote didactic (ব্ৰাৰে) poems and vers d'occasion. He is possibly the same as another Ananya Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh as of date unknown, and the author of poems in honour of Durgā.

419. तारा पति कवि, the poet Tara Pati. B. 1733 A.D.

Sring. A writer of a Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87). He is possibly the same as a Tārā Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh as B. (? Fl.) 1779 A.D.

420. रचु राय किन, the poet and bard Raghu Ray, of Bundël'khand. B. 1733.

His best known work is the Jamuna Satah. He is possibly the same as a Raghu Ray Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh as B. (? Fl.) 1773 A.D.

421. देशप खाँ कवि, the poet Isuph (Yūsuf) Khān. B. 1734 A.D.

He wrote commentaries to the Sat Sal of Bihari (No. 196) and to the Rasik-priya, of Kēsab Dās (No. 134).

- 422. धन सिङ्घ कवि, the poet and bard *Dhan Singh*, of *Maurawa*, district *Unao*. B. 1734 A.D.
- 423. प्रेम सखी, Prem Sakhī. B. 1734 A.D.
- 424. सरम्ब सुख खाख, 8arb 8ukh Lai. B. 1734. Sūd.
- 425. रिव नाथ कवि, the poet Rabi Nath, of Bundel'khand. B. 1734 A.D.

An erotic poét.

- 426. नब खान निब, the poet Nab Khān, of Bundēl'khand. B. 1735.
- **427.** जग देव कवि, the poet Jag Dēb. B. 1735 A.D.
- 428. रस खाख किन, the poet Ras Lal, of Bundel'khand. B. 1736

An erotic poet.

429. इरी इर कबि, the poet Hari Har. B. 1737 A.D.

430. देस कवि, the poet 7s. B. 1739 A.D.

His erotic and his quietistic poems are said to be very charming.

431. Rea as a the poet and bard Sib, of Bil'gram, district Har'dol. B. 1739.

Sun. The author of a work in the erotic style entitled Ras Nidhi.

432. तीख निधि, Tōkh Nidhi, a Brāhman, of Kampila Nagar. B. 1741 A.D.

The author of three works—(1) Sudha Nidhi, (2) Byangya Satak, (3) a Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87).

433. प्रेमीयमन, Prēmīyaman, the Musalmān of Dillī. B. 1741 A.D.

Rāg. He wrote an excellent lexicographical work in two parts entitled Anēkārth (Rāg.) and Nām Mālā (Rāg.) respectively.

434. टाकुर कवि, the poet Thakun Fl. 1743 A.D.

See the poet Thakur, who fl. 1643
A.D. (No. 173).

435. मीर चहन्मद, Mir Aḥ'mad, of Bil'grām, district Har'doi. B. 1743 A.D.

436. चनूप दास कवि, the poet Anup Das. B. 1744 A.D.

Several poems in the kabitta and dōhā metres, and songs in the quietistic style (प्रान्ति रस), are extant.

437. कुमार मनि भट्ट, the bard Kumār Mani, of Gökul, in Braj. B. 1746 A.D.

A skilled poet, who wrote an esteemed work on composition (বাহিল) entitled Rasik-rasāl.

438. जीवन कवि, the poet Jiban. B. 1746 A.D.

He attended the court of Muhammad 'All.

439. तालिब अली, Tālib 'All alias Ras Nāyak, of Bil'grām, district Har'dōl. B. (f Fl.) 1746 A.D.

An erotic poet. Possibly the same as a Talib 'All mentioned by Sib Singh as B. 1711 A.D.

440. नाथ, Nath. B. 1746 A.D.

P Sun. He attended the court of one Manik Chand, whose son appears to have been named Ichhan. Cf. No. 162.

441. पद्मेस किन, the poet Padmës. B. 1746 A.D.

442. पूर्वी किन, the poet Pükhi, a Brāhman of Māin'puri, in the Doab. B. 1746 A.D.

Sring.

443. ब्राह्मन नाथ, Brāhman Nath, of Bhōg Sārī, district Har'doī. B. (f Fl.) 1746 A.D.

Mentioned by Sib Singh in connection with Som Nath (No. 447).

444. राम परन्सार, the bard Rām Par'sād, of Bil'grām, district Har'dōi. B. (? Fl.) 1746 A.D. Rāg. Cf. No. 639.

445. राम भड़, Rām Bhatt, of Purukhābād. B. 1746 A.D.

He attended the court of Nawab Qiyam Khan, and was the author of (1) Sringar Saurabh, (2) Bar'wau Nayika Bhēd. (See note to No. 87.)

446. सुखानच कांब, the poet and bard Sukhānand, of Chachēri. B. 1746 A.D.

447. सीम नाथ, 8öm Nāth, of Bhog 8arī, district Har'doī. B. (१ Fl. 1746 A.D.

Sūd. Mentioned by Sib Singh in connection with Brāhman Nāth (No. 443).

448. निवाज कवि, the poet Niwāj (Nawāz), a Muhammadan weaver of Bil'grām, district Hardol. B. 1747.

An erotic poet. Possibly the same as No. 342. To be distinguished from No. 198,

449. बीधा कवि, the poet Bödha. B. 1747 A.D.

Sring., Sun. Cf. No. 500.

450. मदन किशोर कवि, the poet Madan Kishör. Fl. 1750 A.D. Cf. No. 386.

451. जाज गिरि घर, Lal Giri Dhar, of Bais'wara. B. 1750 A.D.

The author of a learned treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87). Perhaps the same as Giri Dhar (No. 346).

452. कला निधि कबि, the poet Kala Nidhi the younger. B. 1750 A.D.

His Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87) is said to be good.

453. सखी सख, Sakhī Sukh, a Brāhman of Nar'war, in Bundēl'khang. B. 1750 A.D.

He was father of Kabindr' (No. 496), and wrote himself.

454. नारायन, the bard Nārāyan, of Kākūpur, district Kānh'pur. B. 1752 A.D.

The author of a metrical history of the Chandela kings of Sib'raj'pur.

455. विद्वार गीविन्द, Kinhar Göbind, of Bundel'khand. B. 1753 A.D.

His poems in the quietistic style (शान्ति रस) are said to be excellent.

456. क्रियान लाल कवि, the poet Krish'n Lal. B. 1757 A.D.

Sring. He has written some admired love songs.

457. मकर् किंब, the poet Mak'rand. B. 1757.

Sring., Sun. An erotic poet.

458. जदेस भाट, Udēs, the bard, of Bundēl'khand. B. 1758 A.D.

A writer of occasional verses.

- 459. के देव कवि, the poet Jan Deb. B. 1758 A.D.
- 460. নিছাল, Nihāl, a Bṛāhman of Nigōhā, district Lakh'ṇaū. B. 1763 A.D.
- 461. धीर किन, the poet Dhir. Fl. 1765 A.D.

Sring. He attended the court of the emperor Shāh 'Ālam (1761—1806).

462. रस धाम कबि, the poet Ras Dhām. B. 1768 A.D.

The author of a work entitled Alaykār Chandrikā.

- 463. सिरन्तान कवि, the poet Sir'taj, of Bar'dhānā. B. 1768.
- 464. काली राम कबि, the poet Kali Ram, of Bundel'khand. B. 1769.

His poems are said to be good.

465. जसीदानन्द कवि, the poet Jasõdānand. B. 1771 A.D.

He wrote a treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87) entitled the Bar'wā Nāyikā Bhēd. It is in the Bar'wā metre. It is dated Sambat 1822 (1765 A.D.), if I read the passage (बिविदारिका) correctly. In this case Sambat 1828 (1771 A.D.), which Sib Singh gives as the date of the poet's birth, is wrong.

- 466. लच्चू किन, the poet Lachchhū. B. 1771 A.D.
- 467. बाजेस कबि, the poet Bājēs, of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. B. 1774.

A poet who wrote in praise of Anūp Giri.

468. মল্পন কৰি, the poet Bhañjan. B. 1774 A.D.

Sring.

469. जाजा पाटक कवि, the poet Lalā Pāṭhak, of Rukum'nagar. B. 1774 A.D.

The author of a 8ālihōtr' (Rāg.) or treatise on veterinary surgery.

470. खतीम कवि, the poet Latiph (Latif). B. 1777.

An erotic poet.

471. समान नान, the poet Samman, a Brāhman of Malāwā, district Har'dōi. B. 1777.

The author of admired $d\bar{o}h\bar{a}s$ on morals.

472. सन्तन कवि, the poet Santan, the Brāhman of Binduhī, district Fatih'pur. B. 1777 A.D.

Sring.

473. सन्तन किन, the poet Santan, a Brāhman of Jāj'maū, district Unāo. B. 1777.

474. सिङ्घ कवि, the poet Singh. B. 1778.

Sring. He is probably identical with some other poet whose name ends in Singh.

475. कवि दत्तर, Kabi Datt'. B. 1779 A.D.

Sring., Dig. He is probably the same as Deb Datt' (No. 508).

476. नघु सदन दास, Madhu Sūdan Dās, the Māthur Brāhman of Ishṭakāpurī. B. 1782 A.D.

He translated the Rāmāçvamēdha into the vernacular.

477. मिन राम किन मिसर, the poet Mani Rām Misar, of Kanāuj. B. 1782.

Sring. He has written one of the best works on prosody, the Chhand Chhappani.

478. राम दास किन, the poet Ram Das. B. 1782 A.D.

479. सिव जाल दूवे, Sib Lāl Dūbē, of Dauriyā Khērā, district Unāū. B. 1782 A.D. The author of several works, amongst them may be mentioned a Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87), Khat Ritu (Rāg.) (a treatise on the six seasons), verses on morals, and comic verses.

480. सङ्गम कवि, the poet 8angam. B. 1783 A.D.

Sring. He attended the court of one Singh Raj.

481. गङ्गा पति कवि, the poet Gangā Pati. B. 1787 A.D.

Said to be a tasteful poet.

482. सागर कवि, the poer Sagar, a Brahman. B. 1786.

The author of an erotic work entitled Bama Man Rañjan. He attended the court of Tikart Ray. See No. 484.

483. गिरिधर किन, the poet and bard Giri Dhar, of Höl'pur, district Bārābaŋkī. B. (PFL) 1787 A.D.

Possibly the same as No. 345. See No. 484.

484. बेनी कबि, the poet and bard Bēnī the younger, of Bētī, district Rāy Barēlī. B. (१ Fl.) 1877 A.D.

These three attended the court of Tihāit Rāy, Dīwan of Nawāh Aṣafu'd-dāula (Fl. 1775—1797), of Lakhnaū. Bēnī (? Sun.) died at an old age in or about 1835 A.D.

485. जनाहिर कवि, the poet and bard Jawāhir, of Bil'grām, district Har'dōī. B. 1788 A.D.

He wrote a book entitled the Jawahir Ratnakar.

486. गुलाव सिङ्घ, Gulāb Singh, the Panjābi. B. 1789. A.D.

He wrote several Vēdānta works, such as a Rāmāyan, the play Chandra Prabōdh, Mōchh Panth, Bhāwar Sāwar, etc. 487. देवी दास, Debi Das. Fl. cir. 1790 A.D.

A quietistic poet, a pupil of Jag Jiban Dās (No. 323).

488. बालम दास कबि, the poet Balam Das. Fl. 1793.

He wrote in the above year a treatise on geomancy (रमज) entitled Ramal Bhākhā. It is an authority on the subject.

489. यो जाज, 8ri Lai, the Guj'rātī, of Bāḍēr, in Răj'putānā. B. 1793 A.D.

. The author of a Bhākhā Chandroday and other works.

490. प्रान नाथ कवि, the poet Pran Nath, a Brāhman of Bais'wara. Fl. 1793 A.D.

He wrote in the above year an itihāsa entitled Chakābyūh.

491. बान्ह कबि, the poet Kanh the elder. B. 1795. A.D.

The author of a work on lovers. (See note to No. 87.)

492. गुन देव, Gun Dēb, of Bundēl'khand. B. 1795 A.D.

Said to have written some good poetry.

493. गोपाल जाल किन, the poet Göpal Lal. B. 1795 A.D.

Said to have written some good quietistic (शान्ति रह) poems.

494. जमेद कवि, the poet Umed. B. 1796 A.D.

His Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87) is much admired. He appears to have lived in some village in the Dōāb or near Shāh-Jahān-pur.

495. जधो किंब, the poet Ūdhō. B. 1796 A.D.

Sring., P Rag. Cf. No. 79.

496. कवीन्द्रः, Kabindr', a Brāhman of Nar'war, in Bundēl'khaņḍ, B. 1797 A.D.

He was son of Sakhi Sukh (No. 453), and was author of a work entitled the Ras-dip.

497. रचा राम चनकी, Ichchha Rām Abasthī, of Pacharuā, district Bārābaŋkī. Fl. 1798 A.D.

A very pious poet, who wrote in the above year a treatise on the Vēdānta philosophy named the Brahm Bilās.

498. साघर किन, the poet Sadhar. B. 1798 A.D.

499. स्कृति क्वि, the poet Sukabi. B. 1798.

An erotic poet.

500. बीघ कवि, the poet Bodh. B. 1798 A.D. Cf. No. 449.

501. नरोत्तम, Naröttam, of Bundël'khang. B. 1799 A.D.

CHAPTER X.

HINDUSTAN UNDER THE COMPANY. [1800-1857.]

THE years commencing with the downfall of the Marāthā power and ending with the Mutiny form another convenient period in dealing with the literary history of Hindustan. It was the period of renascence, of the practical introduction of the printing-press into Northern India, and of the foundation of the modern school which now shows such commendable activity. It was, moreover, the period of the birth of that wonderful hybrid language known to Europeans as Hindī, and invented by them. In 1803, under Gilchrist's tuition. Lallū Jī Lāl wrote the Prēm Sāgar in the mixed Ūrdū language of Akbar's camp-followers and of the market where men of all nations congregated, with this peculiarity, that he used only nouns and particles of Indian, instead of those of Arabic or Persian, origin. The result was practically a newly-invented speech; for though the grammar was the same as that of the prototype, the vocabulary was almost entirely changed. This new language, called by Europeans Hindī, has been adopted all over Hindūstān as the lingua franca of Hindus, for a want existed which it fulfilled. It has become the recognised medium of literary prose throughout Northern India, but as it was nowhere a vernacular it has never been successfully used for poetry. The greatest geniuses have tried, and it has been found wanting at their hands. Northern India therefore at the present day presents the following unique state of literature,—its poetry everywhere written in local vernacular dialects, especially in Braj, in Bais'wārī, and in Bihārī, and its prose in one uniform artificial dialect, the mother tongue of no native-born Indian, forced into acceptance by the prestige of its inventors, by the fact that the first books written in it were of a highly popular character, and because it found a sphere in which it was eminently useful.

The star of literature during the half-century under notice shone brightest in Bundēl'khaṇḍ and Baghēl'khaṇḍ, at Banāras, and in Āuḍh, but it shone with marked differences in the quality of its light. In Bundēl'khaṇḍ and Baghēl'khaṇḍ the poets were the legitimate continuators of the traditions of the eighteenth century. Pannā, the capital

of the heroic Chhattr' Sāl, Char'khārī made famous under milder auspices by Bikram Sāhī, and Rīwā, illustrious for its art-patrons from the days of Nējā Rām to those of Biswanāth Siŋgh, each formed a centre from which issued well-known standard works on the art of poetry. The writers, of whom perhaps Padmākar was the most famous, were those on whom the mantles of Kēsab Dās and Chintāmanī Tripāthī fell. They were the last survivors of the learned writing for the learned. Bundēl'khand remained during the whole half-century a country of semi-independent chiefs warring amongst themselves, with whom the printing-press found little favour.

Far different was the case of Banāras. The end of the eighteenth century saw that city a British possession; and with the pax Britannica came the introduction of printed books. This had its natural effect. The limitless multiplication of copies by the art of printing gave a new audience to the learned,—an audience that had hitherto been satisfied with the rough Doric of the folk-epic, and which in the earlier days of India's chivalry had been successfully addressed by Raj'pūt bards. What an opportunity for making or marring a nation's character! And here again the pure and noble figure of Tul'sī Dās stands forward as the saviour of his fellow-countrymen. Hindūstān, happily in this differing from Bangal,1 had that figure to go back to as an example. His popularity gave its tone to the demand, and with characteristic acuteness the Banāras Pandits fostered the supply. In 1829 was completed and printed for the Mahārāj of Banāras Gokul Nāth's great translation of the companion epic to the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata. This alone was sufficient to make our present period noteworthy, but it is only one early instance of the many valuable works issuing from the Holy City. Other authors, of a vounger generation, of whom one of the greatest is happily still alive, endowed with a wider and more catholic mental vision, no longer bounded by the horizon of Pauranik cosmology, came to the front, and the benefit done to the intellect of Hindustan by such men as Raja Siva Prasād and Harishchandr' cannot easily be calculated.

The Ta'alūqdārs of Audh also worthily upheld their reputations as encouragers of poetry. Although eclipsed by Banāras in this respect (for is not the Sundarī Tilak deservedly the most popular work of its

¹ It is needless to say that I am not referring to the great revival of Bangāli literature inaugurated by *Ishwar Chandra* (Bidyāsāgar) in later years, but to the insipid indecencies of Bharat Chandra and his imitators, which up to then were so popular.

*kind in existence?), Audh may boast of having produced an excellent anthology in the Bidwan-Mōd-Taraŋginī. These anthologies, of which Kālidās'āHajārā, written at the end of the seventeenth century, is the earliest important example, appeared in considerable numbers during the first half of the nineteenth century, and did much to extend the knowledge of sound vernacular literature of the preceding generations. As already said, one of the most popular, as it was one of the best, was the Sundarī Tilah; but the most important of all, both in bulk and in contents, was the Rāg-Sagarōdbhab Rāg-Kalpa-drum, published in 1843.

For convenience of classification I divide this chapter into four parts, referring to Bundēl'khand and Baghēl'khand, to Banāras, to Audh, and to other places respectively. As a rule, only those poets who were born or who flourished between 1800 and 1857 are given, but in a few instances, in order to complete groups, poets who belonged to an earlier period have been kept back for inclusion in this period, or history has been anticipated by including a few of a later date.

Part I.-Bundel'khand and Baghel'khand.

502. मोइन भइ, Mohan Bhatt, of Banda. Fl. cir. 1800 A.D.

He is a well-known poet. He attended first the court of the Bundēlā Mahārāj Hindūpati, of Par'nā (Pannā), and subsequently those of Par'tāp Siŋgh Sawāī (1778—1803) and Jagat Siŋgh Sawāī of Jāipur (1803—1818) (Tod's Rājāsthān, ii, 375; Calc. ed., ii, 414). His son was the celebrated Padmākar (No. 506), whose grandson was Gadā Dhar (No. 512). He also praises one Sujān Siŋgh; cf. Nos. 367, 368. Regarding Hindūpati, see No. 503.

503. THE Rup Sāhi, a Kāyasth of Bāg'mahal, near Par'nā (Pannā), in Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. cir. 1800 A.D.

He attended the court of the Bundēlā Mahārāj Hindūpati (cf. No. 502) of Par'nā (Pannā). He was author of a work entitled Rūp Bilās (written, 1756 A.D.), in which he states that Chhattr' Sāl's (No. 197) son was Hir'dāi Singh or Hir'dēs (cf. No. 346), whose son was Sabhā Singh (cf. Nos. 155 and 346), whose son was Hindūpati (cf. No. 502).

504. वार्न ब्राह्मन, Karan, the Brāhman of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. cir. 1800 A.D.

He attended the court of the Bundēlā Māhārāj Hindūpati (cf. No. 502) of Par'nā (Pannā), and composed two important works—the Ras Kallōl and the Sāhitya Ras.

505. हर देव कवि, the poet Har Dēb. Fl. 1800 A.D.

He attended the court of Raghu Nāth Rāw, of Nāg'pur (1816—1818).

506. पद्माकार भट्ट, Padmākar Bhaţţ, of Bāndā. Fl. 1815 A.D.

Rāg., Sun., Sring. He was son of Mōhan Bhatt, of Bāndā (No. 502). Padmākar at first attended the court of Raghu Nāth Rāw, of Nāg'pur, commonly known as the Appā Sāhib (reigned 1816—1818), where he received great rewards for his poetry. Subsequently he went to Jāipur, where he compiled, in the name of Jagat Singh Sawāī (1803—1818), a work entitled Jagad Binōd (Rāg.). Being richly rewarded for this, he devoted the rest of his life to the worship of the Ganges, and wrote a work entitled Gangā Laharī. Amongst his grandsons may be mentioned Gadā Dhar Bhatt (No. 512).

507. क्वाल क्वि, the poet and bard Gwāl, of Mathurā. Fl. 1815 A.D.

Sun. He was skilled in composition (चादिन). His principal works were (1) Sāhitya Dūkhan, (2) Sāhitya Dar'pan, (3) Bhakti Bhāw, (4) Sringār Dōhā, (5) Sringār Kābitta. He also wrote minor works, such as a Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87), Gōpī Pachīsī, Jamunā Laharī (written 1822 A.D.), etc. He was a rival of Dēb Datt' (No. 508) and of Padmākar (No. 506).

508. ইব হল, Dēb Datt' the Brāhman, of Sāṣhi, district Kānh'pur. Fl. 1815 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā Khumān Singh, the Bundēlā of Char'hhārī. He was a contemporary and rival of Padmākar (No. 506)

and of Gwā! (No. 507). He is probably the same as the Kabi Datt' mentioned in Dig.

509. भान दास कवि, the poet and bard Bhān Dās, of Char-khārī, in Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1815 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā Khumān Singh, of Char'khārī, and wrote a prosody entitled Rūp Bilās.

510. पजन्नेस कवि, the poet Paj'nēs, of Bundēl'khaṇḍ. B. 1816 A.D.

Sring. He resided in Par'nā (Pannā), and wrote a good work on vernacular composition (भाषा साहित्य), entitled Madhu Priyā. His poems are famous for their conceits and difficulties. The best specimen of his work is his Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87). He was also a good Persian scholar.

511. विलागेहर, Bal'bhadr' the Kāyasth, of Par'nā (Pannā), in Bundēl'khand. B. 1844.

He attended the court of Rājā Nar'pati Singh, the Bundēlā of Par'nā (Pannā).

Possibly the author of the Bal'bhadra Charitra, quoted by Garcin de Tassy, i, 104, from Ward, ii, 480.

512. गहा घर भट्ट, Gadā Dhar Bhatt, of Bāndā. B. 1855.

Rāg. His paternal great grandfather was the well-known Mōhan Bhatt (No. 502), whose son was Padmāhar (No. 506), who had two sons, named Mihī Lāl (? No. 623) and Ambā Par'sād. The former's sons were Bansī Dhar, Gadā Dhar, Chandr' Dhar, and Lachhmī Dhar. The last had a son named Bidyā Dhar. These were all poets, but Gadā Dhar was the best and attended the court of Rājā Bhawānī Siŋgh Datiyā, son of Bijāi Siŋgh Datiyā. His best known work is the Alaŋkār Chandrōday.

513. पहर्वाद, the bard Pah'lad, of Char'khārī, in Bundēl'-khand. Fl. 1810.

He attended the court of Raja Jagat Singh, of Char'khari.

514. विश्रास साहि, Rājā Bikram Sāhi alias Bijān Bahādur, the Bundēlā, of Char'khārī, in Bundēl'khand. Born 1785; D. 1828 A.D.

Rāg. The author of two much-admired works—(1) Bihram Biradā-balī, (2) Bihram Sat Saī. Sib Singh gives another Rājā Bijāī Bahādur, a Bundēlā of Ţeh'rī, about whom he mentions no particulars, giving the date as B. 1823, which is the same as that which he wrongly gives for Bijāī of Char'khārī. Ṭeh'rī and Char'khārī are both in Bundēl'-khand.

515. बैताल काबि, the poet and bard Bāltāl. Fl. 1820

He attended the court of Bikrām Sāhi (No. 514), and wrote moral and occasional pieces. A selection from his poems will be found in the Bhkāhā Sār of Sāhib Prasād Siŋgh. According to Garcin de Tassy, i, 118, his full name was Santōkh Rāy Bētal, and he wrote in Ūrdū. He appears to have been a contemporary and disciple of Muḥammad Qiyām.

516. बीर किंब the poet Bir Bāj'pēyī alias Dāu Dādā, of Mandilā. Fl. 1820.

The author of a work entitled Prēm Dīpikā, written in answer to a challenge given by his brother Bikram Sāhi (No. 514).

517. **बान कवि**, the poet and bard Mān, of Char'khārī, in Bundāl'khand. Fl. 1820 A.D.

He attended the court of Bikram Sāhi (No. 514). He is possibly the same as a Mān Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh as a quietistic poet.

518. बल देव काबि, the poet Bal Dēb, of Char'khārī, in Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1820.

He attended the court of Bikram Sāhi (No. 514). Cf. No. 543.

519. बिहारी लाल, the bard Bihāri Lāl alias Bhōj Kabi, of Char'khārī, in Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā Ratan Singh alias Rat'nēs (cf. No. 149 Add. and No. 344 Add.), the Bundēlā of Char'khārī. His two principal works, the Bhōj Bhūkhan and the Ras Bilās, are much admired. His love for a courtezan named Shar'fō led him to compose a number of very popular verses in her honour.

520. श्रवधेस, Awadhēs, the Brāhman of Char'khārī, in Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He was an old poet at the court of Ratan Singh, of Char'khārī, the Bundēlā. His poems are said to possess taste, but Sib Singh states that he has never been able to obtain copies of any complete work of his. Cf. No. 542.

521. Tia Tial afa, the poet and bard Rāw Rānā, of Char'khārī, in Bundēl'khand. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He was descended from ancient Bundēlā poets, and attended the court of Rājā Ratan Siŋgh, where he was shown great honour.

522. गोपाल बन्दीजन, the bard Göpāl, of Char'khārī, in Bundēl'khand. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā Ratan Singh, of Char'khārī.

523. बिहारी लाल निपाठी, Bihārī Lāl Tripāṭhī, of Ţik'māpur, district Kānh'pur. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He is the most famous of the descendants of Mati Rām Tripāthī (No. 146). He was a greater poet than Rām Dīn (No. 524) or Sītal (No. 525).

524. राम दीन चिपाठी, Rām Dīn Tripāṭhī, of Ṭik'mā-pur, district Kānh'pur. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He was a descendant of Mati Rām (No. 146), and attended the court of Mahārāj Ratan Singh, of Char'khārī.

525. सीतल निपाठी, Sital Tripāţhī, of Jik'māpur, district Kānh'pur. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He was a descendant of *Mati Rām* (see No. 146) and father of the poet *Lāi* (No. ? 561, 919). He attended the courts at *Char'khārī* and other places in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*.

526. नवल सिङ्घः, Nawal Singh the Kāyasth, of Jhānsī. B. 1841.

Sring. He was a servant of the Rājā of Santhar. He had a great reputation, and was the author of (1) Nām Rāmāyan and (2) Hari Nāmābalī.

527. श्रास्तान्द गिरि, Askand Giri, of Bāndā. B. (? Fl.) 1859 A.D.

This poet belonged to the family of *Himmati Bahādur* (No. 378), and was an excellent love-poet. His best work is the *Askand-Binōd*, dealing with that subject.

528. समज्ञेस कवि, the poet Sam'nēs, a Kāyasth of Bānhō (Rīwā), in Baghēl'khand. Fl. 1810.

He attended the court of Māhārāj Jān Singh (succeeded 1809, abdicated 1813), father of Mahārāj Biswanāth Singh, of Bāndhō. He was author of a work entitled Kābya Bhūkhan.

529. বিহ্বনাথ মিছু, Mahārāj Biswanāth Singh, of Bāndhō (Rīwā), in Baghēl'khaṇḍ. Reigned 1813—1834 A.D.

Rāg. The descendant of a line of kings famous for its patronage of poets. His ancestor Nējā Rām Siŋgh, who was a contemporary of Ak'bar, gave the poet Hari Nāth (No. 114) a hundred thousand rupees for a single dōhā. This king not only sustained the traditional liberality of his family, but was also the author of a Sanskrit work entitled Sarvasaŋgraha. He also wrote vernacular commentaries on the Bījak of Kabīr (see Nos. 13, 14), and on the Binay Pattrikā of Tul'sī Dās (No. 128). Another good vernacular work of his is entitled Rām Chandr' kī Sawārī.

530. अजबेस नबीन भाट, Ajabēs, the modern bard of that name. Fl. cir. 1830 A.D.

Sun. He attended the court of Mahārāj Biswanāth Singh (No. 529), of Bāndhō (Rīwā) (1813—1834)—see Ajabēs (No. 24). I question the existence of this earlier poet. Not impossibly, the poem referred to him in No. 24 is by the poet now under consideration.

531. गोपाल कवि, the poet Gōpāl, a Kāyasth of Bāndhō (Rīwā), in Baghēl'khaṇḍ. Fl. cir. 1830 A.D.

He was minister of Mahārāj Biswanāth Singh (No. 529) of Bāndhō (Rīwā) (1813—1834). His principal work is the Gōpāl Pachīsī.

532. TI HE: Mahārāj Raghu Rāj Singh, the Baghēl of Bāndhō (Rīwā), in Baghēl'khaṇḍ. B. 1824, succeeded 1834, alive in 1883.

Sun. The author of a much-admired translation of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, entitled Ānandāmbudhi; also of a history of Hanumān entitled Sundar Satah (written 1847 A.D.), and other works.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER X. PART I.

533. परम कवि, the poet Param, of Mahobā, in Bundēl'khand. B. 1814 A.D.

The author of a Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87).

534. रसिक लाल कवि, the poet Rasik Lal, of Banda. B. 1823.

An erotic poet.

535. युन सिन्धु कवि, the poet Gun Sindhů, of Bundël'khand. B. 1825 A.D.

A clever erotic poet.

536. खण्डन कवि, the poet Khandan, of Bundel'khand. B. 1827 A.D.

He has written an excellent treatise on lovers. Sib Singh states that copies of the work exist in Jhānsi, and gives the names of the possessors.

537. मद्न मोइन किन, the poet Madan Möhan, of Char'khārī, in Bundēl'. khand. B. 1823 A.D.

Rāg. A minister of the Rājā of Charkhāri. He was an erotic poet.

538. राम किश्चन चौबे, Ram Kishun Chaubē, of Kalinjar, district Banda. B. 1829.

The author of a quietistic work entitled Bingy Pachisi. He is probably the same as a Rām Kishun Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh without particulars.

539. इरि दास कवि, the poet and bard Hari Dae, of Banda. B. 1834 A.D.

He was father of the poet Nane (No. 545). He wrote an erotic peem entitled Radha Bhūkhan.

- 540. गङ्ग राम कवि, the poet Gang Rām, of Bundel hhand. B. 1837.
 A commonplace poet.
- 541. परन्मानन्द खन्ना पुरानीक, Par'mānand Lallā Purānīk, of Ajāīgarh, in Bundēl'khaṇd. B. 1837 A.D.

The author of a Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87).

542. ঘৰষ্টা, Awadhēs, the Brāhman, of Bhūpā, in Bundēl'khand. B. 1838 A.D.

This poet is said to have been skilled in composing many beautiful poems, but Sib Singh states that he has never been able to obtain copies of any complete work of his. Cf. No. 520.

543. बल देव कवि, the poet Bal Deb, of Char'kharl, in Bundël'khand. B. 1839 A.D.

Probably the same as No. 518.

- 544. भोना सिङ्घ कनि, the poet Bhöla Singh, of Par'na (Panna), in Bundel'khand. B. 1839.
- 545. नीने कबि, the poet and bard None of Banda, in Bundel'khand. B. 1844 A.D.

He was son of the poet Hari Dās (No. 539). He was learned in vernscular composition (সাজো বাছিল).

546. हरि दास कवि, the poet Hari Das, a Kāyasth of Par'nā (Pannā), in Bundēl'khand. B. 1844 A.D.

The author of a work on vernacular composition (মাজা বাছিল) entitled Ras Kāumudī. He also wrote twelve other similar works.

547. इर्न्ट्स कवि, the poet and bard Hir'des, of Jhansi, in Bundel'-khand. B. 1844 A.D.

Sring. The author of a work entitled Sringar Nab Ras.

548. नीच सखी, Nil 8akhi, of Jant'pur in Bundēl'khand. B. 1845.

549. बन्द गीपादा, the bard Bans Gōpāl, of Jālāun, in Bundēl'khand. B. 1845 A.D.

No particulars. He is possibly the same as a Bans Göpäl mentioned by Sib Singh without date as a bard.

- 550. नैस्त किन, the poet Naisuk, of Bundel'khand. B. 1847 A.D. An erotic poet.
- 551. খৰুৰ মাত, the bard Ambar of Chāujit'pur, in Bundēl'khand. B. 1853 A.D.
- 552. दीन नाथ, the poet Din Nath, of Bundel'khand. B. 1854 A.D.
- 553. पद्म ज्ञि, the poet and bard Pañcham, the younger, of Bundël'-khand. B. 1854 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā Gumān Siŋgh, of Ajāngarh.

- 554. राधे जाज, Rādhē Lāl, a Kāyasth of Rāj'garh, in Bundēl'khand. B. 1854 A.D.
- 555. ক্সন্ত আৰ কৰি, the poet and bard Kuñj Lāl, of Maū Rānīpurā, district Jhānsi, in Bundēl'khand. B. 1855 A.D.

Some detached verses by him are

556. जनक्तेस, the bard Jan'kēs, of Maū Rānīpurā, district Jhānsī, in Bundēl'khaṇḍ. B. 1855 A.D.

He was a member of the suite of the Rājā of Chhattr'pur. His poems are said to be sweet.

557. कान्द कवि, the younger poet Kānh alias Kanhāl Lāl, Kāyasth of Rāj'nagar, in Bundēl'khand. B. 1857 A.D.

He has written some admired poems. His Nakh'sikh (see note, No. 87) is said to be worth looking at.

558. অবাছিং কৰি, the poet and bard Jawahir, of Srinagar, in Bundel'khand. B. 1857 A.D.

Part II.-Banaras.

559. रवु नाथ किन, the poet and bard Raghu Nāth, of Banāras. Fl. 1745 A.D.

Sring. He was a fellow pupil of Mukund Lāl (No. 560), and father of Gōkul Nāth (No. 564), the translator of the Mahābhārata. He was court poet to Mahārāj Baribaṇḍ Siŋgh,¹ of Banāras, and lived at Chāūrāgāw, which is within the Pañchakrōsh or five-kōs circle round Banāras. He is counted as one of the masters of vernacular composition. He wrote.(1) the Rasik Mōhan, (2) Jag Mōhan, (3) Kābya Kalādhar (written 1745 A.D.), (4) Ishk Mahōtsab, and a commentary on the Sat Sal of Bihārī Lāl (No. 196). These are all especially admired.

560. सुकुन्द जाल किंव, the poet Mukund Lāl, of Banāras. B. (? Fl.) 1746 A.D.

Sat. He was a fellow pupil of the poet Raghu Nāth (No. 559). Possibly the same as Lāl Muhund (No. 391).

561. जाल क्रि, the poet and bard Lāl, of Banāras. Fl. cir. 1775 A.D.

Sun. He attended the court of Rājā Chēt Singh (1770—1781), of Banāras. He wrote a treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87) entitled Anand Ras, and a commentary on the Sat Saī of Bihārī Lāl (No. 196) entitled Lāl Chandrihā. Cf., however, No. 629.

562. इरि पर•साद, Hari Par'sād, of Banāras. Fl. cir. 1775 A.D.

He translated the Sat Sai of Bihārī (No. 196) into elegant Sanskrit verse at the instance of Rājā Chēt Siŋgh (1770—1781), of Banāras.

563. बलम्बान सिङ्घ-, Prince Bal'bān Singh, of Banāras. Fl. cir. 1800 A.D.

He was son of Rājā Chēt Singh (D. 1810). The Sib Singh Sarōj names him as an author, but does not mention what he wrote.

¹ So Sib Singh, but I can find no trace of any Rājā of Banāras of this name. Possibly Bal'want Singh (reigned 1740—1770) is meant.

564. गोकुल नाथ बन्दीजन, the bard Gökul Nath, of Banarsa. Fl. cir. 1820.

Rāg., Sun. He was son of the poet Raghu Nāth (No. 559), of Banāras. His home was in the village of Chāurāgāw, which is in the Pañchakrōsh or five-kōs circle round Banāras. His Chēt-Chandrikā is a work of great authority amongst poets. He has described in it the family history of Rājā Chēt Singh (Fl. 1776, D. 1810) of Banāras, who was his patron. Another excellent work of his is the Gōbind Sukhad Bihār. The Mahābhārata (Rāg.) was translated into the vernacular at the instance of Rājā Udit Nārāyan (1795—1835), of Banāras, and in this work Gōkul Nāth, together with his son Gōpī Nāth (No. 565), and the latter's pupil, Mani Dēb (No. 566), had a principal share. The full name of the translation is the Mahābhārat Dar'pan, and of its supplement the Haribans Dar'pan, published in Calcutta in 1829 A.D. Garcin de Tassy (i, 158) says:—"There are other Hindustānī translations of the Mahābhārata; those with which I am acquainted are—

- (1) Kitāb-i-Mahābhārata, or book of the Mahābhārata, of which a portion is contained in the Farzada Cieli collection.
 - (2) The copy of which Sir E. Ouseley has also only a portion.
- (3) There is also among the manuscripts of Sir W. Ouseley a volume which contains a portion of the Mahābhārata in Sanskrit and Hindustānī.
- (4) Among the numbers of the Hindustānī manuscripts of the Prince of Borgia described by Paulin de Saint Barthélemy there is a portion of the Mahābhārata entitled Bālak Purān, or the Legend of the Child (Krishna). The original manuscript is accompanied by an Italian translation by P. Marcus a Tomba.

Besides the Persian translation of the Mahābhārata attributed to Abū'l Fazl, minister of Ak'bar, there is another more recent one by Najīb Khān ban 'Abdū'l Latīf, made at the command of, and in the palace of, Nawāb Mahāldār Khān Nazā in the year 1782-83 A.D. The translator says that it was made according to the verbal interpretation of the Sanskrit text given to him in Hindūstānī by many Brāhmans.

Among the Persian manuscripts of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is found a third Persian translation by the Hindū Bapās."

To these may be added (1) the Bijāi Muktābalī of the poet Chhattr' (No. 75), which is a condensed abstract of the Mahābhārata;

(2) Sabal Singh, the Chanhan (No. 210), who translated 24,000 verses of the same work; and (3) Chirahjib (No. 607), who is said to have done the same to the whole.

565. गोपी नाथ बन्दीजन, the bard Gopi Nath, of Banaras, Fl. cir. 1820 A.D.

At the instance of Rājā Udit Nārāyan, of Banāras, the whole Mahā-bhārata was translated into the vernacular. Gōpī Nāth (who was son of Gōkul Nāth) (No. 564), and his pupil Mani Dēb (No. 566), took an important part in this work. The greater part of Gōpī Nāth's life was spent in this work. The rest of his time was spent in composing short pieces of various kinds. He is, however, most famous for the translation.

566. सनि देव, the bard Mani Dēb, of Banāras. Fl. cir. 1820 A.D.

Sun. He was a pupil of Gōpi Nāth (No. 565), and with him and Gōkul Nāth (No. 564) took a prominent part in the famous translation of the Mahābhārata.

567. पराग कवि, the poet Parāg, of Banāras. Fl. cir. 1820 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā Udit Nārāyan Singh (1795—1835), of Banāras. He translated the Amara Kōça (? Rāg. Cf. Nos. 170, 589, 761) into the vernacular.

568. राम सहाय, Rām Sahāy, a Kāyasth of Banāras. Fl. cir. 1820.

Rāg. He attended the court of Rājā Udit Nārāyan Singh (1795—1835), of Banāras. He wrote a treatise on prosody entitled Brittataranginī Sat Saī.

569. देव कवि, the poet Dēb, of Banāras, alias Kāshṭh Jihwā Swāmī. Fl. cir. 1850 A.D.

Sun., Sring. He studied Sanskrit in Banāras. On one occasion he quarrelled with his preceptor, and afterwards, to show his penitence,

cut out his tongue, inserted a false wooden one instead, and carried on communications with others by means of a board, on which he wrote. He was an instructor of Mahārāj Īswarī Nārāyan Siŋgh (succeeded 1835, alive in 1883), of Banāras, who settled him in Rām'-nagar, where he composed the Binayāmrit (a collection of hymns), the Rāmāyan Parichāryā (see Harishchandr', Prasiddh Mahātmāð hā Jīban Charitr', ii, 30), and other works. His hymns are still sung at the Banāras court.

570. ठाकुर परन्साद निपाठी, Thākur Par'sād Tripāṭhī, of Kishun'dās'pur, district Rāy Barēlī. B. 1825; Fl. 1863 A.D.

He was learned in Sanskrit composition, and in 1863 A.D. completed a work of great labour, entitled the Ras Chandrōday, a collection of poems by 242 poets, which he had collected mainly by house-to-house visitation in Bundēl'hhand. He afterwards went to Banāras, where he became a friend of the poets Ganēs (No. 573) and Sar'dār (No. 571), and received much honour from the nobles of Audh. He died in 1867, leaving a large and valuable library, which was sold by his sons.

571. सरन्दार कवि, the poet and bard Sar'dar, of Banaras. Alive in 1883.

Sun., Sring. He attended the court of Mahārāj Īswarī Nārāyan Siygh, of Banāras, and was son of the poet Hari Jan (No. 575). He has a great name. He was a friend of Thāhur Par'sād Tripāthī (No. 570), and a teacher of Nārāyan Rāy (No. 572). He is author of (1) Sāhitya Sarasī, (2) Hanumat Bhūhhan, (3) Tul'sī Bhūhhan, (4) Mānas Bhūhhan, (5) a commentary to the Kabi-priyā (No. 134), (6) a commentary to the Rasih-priyā (No. 134), (7) a commentary to the Sat Saī of Bihārī (No. 196), (8) Sringār Sangrah, and (9) a commentary on 380 emblematic couplets by Sūr Dās (No. 37). No. 8 (printed by Nawal Kishōr, at Lahh'naū), is a deservedly popular work on rhetoric, and deals with all the branches of the art of poetical composition. It was written in 1848 A.D., and is quoted in this work as 'Sring.' It contains quotations from the following poets:—

Chatur'bhuj (No. 40). Nārāyan Dās (No. 51).

Parasů Rām (No. 55).

Ras Khān (No. 67).

Keh'rī (No. 70).
Par'bat (No. 74).

Krish'n Jiban (? Nos. 77, 438). Sib (? No. 88). Am'rēs (No. 90). Ak'bar (No. 104). Brahm (No. 106). Rαḥīm (No. 108). Khān'khānā (No. 108). Gang (No. 119). Nidhí (No. 131). Kēsab Dās (No. 134). Balibhadr' (No. 135). Par'bīn Rāl (No. 137). Sundar (No. 142). Chintāmaní (No. 143). Bhūkhan (No. 145). Mati Rām (No. 146). Nrip Sambhu (No. 147). Nīl Kanth (No. 148). Par'tāp (No. 149). **Srīpati** (No. 150). Sib Nāth (No. 152). Mandan (No. 154). Ratan (No. 155). Mur'lī (No. 156). 8rī Dhar (No. 157). Kālidās (No. 159). Kabirāj (No. 160). Sēnāpati (No. 165). Thākur (No. 173). Kāsī Rām (No. 175). Iswar (No. 177). Alam (No. 181). Par'sād (No. 183). Niwāj (? Nos. 198, 448). Hari Kēs (No. 203). Srī Göbind (No. 211). Mōtī Rām (No. 216). Par'mēs (? Nos. 222, 616). Abhimanya (No. 229). Ghāsī Rām (No. 230).

Sēkh (No. 236). Ballabh (No. 239). Bēnī (? Nos. 247, 484). Hari Jan (No. 249). Rām Jū (? No. 252). Bhū Dhar (? Nos. 256, 336). Sirōmaní (No. 262). Bal Dēb (? Nos. 263, 359). Tōkh (No. 265). Mukund (No. 266). Rūp Nārāyan (No. 268). Bhar'mī (No. 273). Kul'patí (No. 282). Sūratí (No. 326). Kripā Rām (? Nos. 328, 797). Bhag'want (No. 333). Uday Nāth (No. 334). Kabīndr' (No. 334). Giri Dhar Dās (No. 345). Ghan Anand (No. 347). Dūlah (No. 358). Dās (? No. 369). Kishōr (No. 385). Tārā (No. 419). Pūkhī (No. 442). * Bōdhā (No. 449). Krish'n Lāl (No. 456). Mak'rand (No. 457). Dhīr (No. 461). Bhañjan (No. 468). Santan (No. 472). Singh (? No. 474). Datt' (No. 475). Mani Rām (No. 477). Sangam (No. 480). Ūdhō (No. 495). Padmākar (No. 506). Pai'nēs (No. 510). Nawal (No. 526). Hir'dēs (No. 547).

Raghu Nāth (No. 559). Dēb (No. 569). Sar'dār (No. 571). Sib Datt' (No. 588). Giri Dhārī (No. 625). Chāin Rāy (No. 627). Deokī Nandan (No. 630). Gur Datt' (No. 631). Dinēs (No. 633). Gulāl (No. 657). Bali Rām (No. 768). Dhurandhar (No. 782). Nāyak (No. 783). Mahārāi (No. 793). Rikhi Nāth (No. 794). Dayā Dēb (No. 836). Dēbī Singh (No. 843). Nabi (No. 848). Nāth (cf. No. 850). Man'sā Rām (No. 885).

Mīran (No. 892). Rajjab (No. 898). Ramāpati (No. 900). Sasi Nāth (No. 931). Sib Rāj (No. 932). Hari Lāl (No. 946). Hēm (No. 950). $Bh\bar{\imath}m^*(?)$. Chhatt' (?). Dēban (?). Dhanēs (?). Dhar'm (?). Mak'sūdan (?). Man Rāj (?). Mithilēs (?). Rati Nāth (?). Sāhab Rām (?). Samādhān (?). Tulā Rām (?).

572. नारायन राय, the bard Nārāyan Rāy, of Banāras. Alive in 1883.

He was a pupil of the poet Sar'dār (No. 571). He wrote a metrical commentary on the Bhākhā Bhūkhan (No. 377) and a gloss on the Kabi-priyā (No. 134). He is also author of a number of erotic verses.

573. गनेस कवि, the poet and bard Ganes, of Banaras. Alive in 1883.

He attended the court of Mahārāj Īswarī Nārāyan Siŋgh. He was a friend of Thākur Pār'sad (No. 570), the author of the Ras Chandrōday.

574. बन्सी धर किंब, the poet Bansī Dhar, of Banāras. B. 1844 A.D.

He was son of the bard Ganes (No. 573), who was alive in 1883. He is author of a work on composition entitled Sāhitya Bansīdhar, and of a translation of the Rājanīti of Chāṇakya

entitled Bhākhā Rāj'nīti (? Rāg. Cf. Nos. 840 and 919). He is also the author of two works on morals, entitled Bidur Prajāgar and Mitra Manōhar. He is possibly the same as a Bansī Dhar and as a Bansī Dhar Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh, both without date.

575. इरिजन किंव, the poet Hari Jan, of Lalit'pur. B. (? FL) 1851.

He wrote a commentary to the Rasik-priyā (No. 134) under the name of Mahārāj Īswarī Nārāyan Singh, of Banāras. He was father of the poet Sar'dār (No. 571).

576. बन्दन पाठक, Bandan Pāṭhak, of Banāras. Alive in 1883.

He wrote one of the best existing commentaries on the Rāmāyan of Tul'sī Dās (No. 128), at the suggestion of Mahārāj Īswarī Nārāyan Siŋgh, of Banāras. It is entitled Mānas Saŋkābalī.

577. जानकी पर•साट् कवि, the poet Jānakī Par'sād, of Banāras. Fl. 1814 A.D.

In 1814 A.D. he wrote a commentary on the Rām-chandrikā of Kēsab Dās (No. 134). He also wrote a work entitled the Jukti Rāmāyan, on which the poet Dhanī Rām (No. 578) wrote a commentary. Either he or the other Jānakī Par'sād (No. 695) may possibly be the same as a third poet of the same name mentioned by Sib Singh without date.

578. धनी राम कवि, the poet Dhanī Rām, of Banāras. B. 1831 A.D.

At the request of Bābū Deokī Nandan, brother of the Mahārāj of Banāras, he translated the Bhāṣā Prahāça from Sanskrit into the vernacular, and wrote a commentary to the Rām-chandrikā of Kēsab Dās (No. 134). He also wrote a commentary to the Juhti Rāmāyan of the poet Jānahī Par'sād (No. 577).

579. संबक कार्डि, the poet and bard Sebak, of Banāras. Alive in 1883 A.D.

Sun. An erotic poet, who attended the court of Bābū Deokī Nandan, brother of the Mahārāj of Banāras. Possibly the same as No. 677.

580. गोपाल चन्द्र साहू, Gōpāl Chandr' Sāha, alias Giri Dhar Banār'sī, alias Giri Dhar Dās. B. 1832 A.D.

Sun. He was son of Kālī Harakh Chandr' and father of the famous poet Harishchandr' (No. 581), of Banāras. His principal works are the Dasābatār and the Bhāratī Bhūkhan. The last is a commentary on the Bhākhā Bhūkhan (No. 377). Harishchandr' only died in the year 1885. Cf. Garcin de Tassy, i, 191.

581. ছবিষ্ট্, Bābū Harishchandr', of Banāras. Born 9th September 1850.

Sun. The most celebrated of the native poets of the present day. He has done more for the popularisation of vernacular literature than almost any living Indian. He himself was a prolific author in many styles, and he excelled in all. He conducted for many vears an excellent vernacular magazine entitled the Harishchandrikā. He was son of Gopal Chandr' Sahū alias Giri Dhar Banar's (No. 580). who was a prolific author, but who died at the early age of 27, in the year 1859, leaving Harishchandra an orphan only 9 years old. The boy was educated at Queen's College, Banāras, and commenced to write at an early age. In the year 1880, so greatly had his fame extended that he was given the title of Bhāratēndu, or Moon of India, by the unanimous consent of all the editors of the vernacular papers of India. He died in the year 1885, universally regretted, being by general consent one who was 'ajāta-çatru.' He is best known (see also No. 706) for the Sundari Tilak (quoted in this work as 'Sun.'), published in 1869 (Sam. 1926), which is an anthology of poems in the Sawaīyā metre from the works of 69 poets. This work is by some said to have been compiled under his instructions by Purukhottam Sukal, and has been frequently printed. One of his latest works was a series of excellent lives of great men, European and Indian, entitled Prasiddh Mahātmāš kā Jīban Charitr'. He was certainly the best critic which Northern India has as yet produced. A short account of his life is given in the Chandrast of Byas Ram Shankar Sharmā, printed at the Hari Par'kās Press in Banāras in 1885,

after the poet's death. Also at the end of Harishchandr's Kāshmīr Kusum (or history of Kāshmīr)' there is a short account of the author, and a list of about a hundred works by him. One work, not mentioned in this list, is a play entitled Kāshī kā Chhayā-chittra, in which there are several examples of the peculiar slang of Banāras. Another very popular work of his is the Kabi Bachan Sudhā, which is a collection of poems dealing with the rainy season. A complete collection of this author's works is now in course of publication by Bābū Rām Dīn Siŋgh, of the Khadga Bilās Press, Baŋkīpur, under the title of the Harishchandra Kalā.

The following is a list of the poets quoted in the Sundari Tilak:—

Ajabēs (Nos. 24, 530).

'Alam (No. 181).

Aliman (No. 784).

Anant (No. 250).

Bal Dēb (No. 263). Bēnī (Nos. 247, 484, 671).

De 7 Dunth - (No. 200)

Bēnī Par'bīn (No. 608). Bhag'want (No. 333).

Bōdhā (No. 449).

Brahm (No. 106).

Chand (No. 6 or ? No. 93).

Chhitipāl (No. 332).

Dās (No. 369).

Dayā Nidhi (? Nos. 365, 787).

Dēb (No. 569).

Deoki Nandan (No. 630).

Gang (No. 119).

Ghan Anand (No. 347).

Ghan Syām (No. 92).

Gōkul Nāth (No. 564).

Gopāl Chandr' alias Giri Dhar Banār'sī (No. 580).

Gwāl (No. 507).

Hanumān (No. 796).

Hari Kēs (No. 203).

Harishchandra (No. 581).

Kabirāj (No. 661).

Kālikā (No. 780).

Kishōr (No. 385).

Lāl (No. 561).

Mah \bar{a} (No. 403).

Mαh'rāj (No. 793).

Mak'rand (No. 457).

Maṇḍan (No. 154).

Mani Dēb (No. 566).

Mannā Lāl alias Dwij (the Sundarī Tilak Nāmābalī

Sundarī Tilak Nāmābalī gives Munnā Lāl) (No, 583).

Mān Singh alias Dwij Dēb (No. 599).

Mati Rām (No. 146).

Mubārak (No. 94).

Mur'lī Dhar (No. 156).

Nabīn (No. 790).

Nab Nidhi (No. 789).

Najīb Khān alias Rasiyā (No. 788).

Narēndra Siŋgh (No. 690),

Narēs (No. 791).

Nāth (? Nos. 68, 147, 162, 440, 632, 850).

Nawāz (No. 198).

Nrip Sambhu (No. 147).

Padmākar (No. 506).

¹ Banāras. Mallika Chandra & Co. 1884.

Pāras (No. 792).
Par'mēs (? Nos. 222, 616).
Prēm (No. 351).
Raghu Nāth of Jōdh'pur (No. 193).
Raghu Rāj (No. 532).
Rām Nāth (No. 785).
Ras Khān (No. 67).
Rikhi Nāth (No. 794).
Sambhu (? No. 147).
Sar'dār (No. 571).

Sēbak (Nos. 579, 677).

Sēkhar (No. 795).

Sib (No. 88).

Srī Dhar (No. 157).

Srī Pati (No. 150).

Sukh Dēb Misar (No. 160).

Sumerů Singh (No. 759).

Sundar Dās (No. 142).

Țhākur (No. 173).

Tōkh (No. 265).

Tul'sī Srī Ōjhā (No. 786).

582. दीन द्यांच गिरि, Dīn Dayāl Giri, of Banāras. Fl. 1855.

Besides being learned in Sanskrit, he wrote a treatise on composition (साहित) in the above year, entitled Anyōkti-Kalpadrum. He is also the author of two works, entitled Anurāg Bāg and Bāg Bahār respectively.

583. सन्ता लाल, Paṇḍit Mannā Lāl, of Banāras, alias Dwij Kabi. Alive in 1883.

Sun. He is possibly the same as Mān Singh Shāk'dwīpī (No. 599). At least both take the nom de guerre of Dwij. On the other hand, however, he is called Munnā Lāl in the Sundarī Tilak l'āmābalī of Gōbardhan Nāth.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER X, PART II.

584. मनियार सिङ्घ, Maniyar Singh, the Chhattri, of Banaras, B. 1804.

His best works are the Hanumat Chhabisi and the Bhākhā Saundar'j Lah'ri.

585. गुजाराज खपाधा, Gaj'rāj Upādhyā, of Banāras. B. 1817.

He has written a prosody entitled Brittahār, and a Rāmāyan.

586. बन्स रूप कवि, the poet Bans Rup, of Banaras. B. 1844.

A panegyrist of the Mahārāj of Banāras.

587. माधवानन्द भारती, Madhabanand Bharati, of Banaras. B. 1845 A.D.

The author of a translation of the Gagkara Diguijaya into the vernacular.

588. বিৰ ব্যা, Sib Datt', a Brāhman, of Banāras. B. 1854 A.D. Sring. Possibly the same as another Sib Datt' Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh without particulars.

Part III.-Audh.

589. ব্ৰন্থ ব্ৰুক্ত, Subans Sukal, of Bigah'pur, district Unão. B. 1777 A.D.

Rāg., Bid. He at first attended the court of Rājā Um'rāw Singh Bandhal'gōtī, of Amēṭhī, district Farukhābād, and there translated from the Sanskrit the Amara Kōça (? Rāg. Cf. Nos. 170, 567, 761), Rasatarangiṇī, and Rasamañjarī into the vernacular. He then went to Rājā Subbā Singh (No. 590) of Ōel, and assisted him in the compilation of the Bidwan Mōd Taranginī.

590. 世紀 祖雲, Rājā Subbā Singh, the Chānhān, alias the poet Srī Dhar, of Ōel, district Khīrī. Fl. 1817 A.D.

He was author of an important work on vernacular composition entitled Bidwan Mōd Taranginī (written 1817 A.D., and quoted in this work as 'Bid.'), which deals with the whole subject-matter of lovers, confidants, messengers, the seasons, the various styles, etc. But the most important aspect of the work is that it forms an anthology of extracts from works by the author's preceptor, Subans Sukal (No. 589), and forty-four other poets.

591. घोषा सिङ्क, Dhaukal Singh, the Bais, of Nyāwā, district Rāy Barēlī. B. 1803.

He wrote a number of short works, of which the best known is the Ramal Prashna, a report of conversations on geomancy between Umā and Çambhu.

592. ব্যাদ, Sahaj Rām, a Baniyā of Pāitēpur, district Sītāpur. B. 1804 A.D.

He wrote a Rāmāyan, which is a translation of the Raghuvamça and of the Hanuman Nāṭaha (? Rāg.).

593. रिखि राम मिसर, Rikhi Rām Misar, of Paṭṭī. B. (? Fl.) 1844 A.D.

He attended the court of $B\bar{a}l$ Krish'n, Dīwān of $A\bar{u}dh$, and was author of a work entitled Bansī Kalpalatā.

594. जीव नाथ, the bard Jib Nāth, of Nawal'gaħj, district Unāo. B. 1815 A.D.

He belonged to the family of Bāl Krish'n, Dīwān of Audh. He wrote a work of merit entitled the Basant Pachīsī.

595. सिंब सिङ्घ, Sib Singh, Segar, of Kantha, district Unao. B. 1821 A.D.

He is the author of the Sib Singh Sarōj, on which this work is principally founded. He also translated the Bṛihachchhivapurāṇa both into the vernacular and into Ūrdū, and the Brahmōttarakhaṇḍa into the vernacular. He has a great collection of Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, and vernacular manuscripts, which he delights in cataloguing. He was son of Mahārāj-kumār Ṭhākur Ran'jīt Singh, Sēgar, Ta'alūq'dār of Kānthā, and is himself an Inspector of Police.

596. सदन गोपाल सुकल, Madan Gōpāl Sukal, of Phatūhābād (Fatuḥābād). B. 1819 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā Ar'jun Singh, of Balirām'pur (district $G\bar{o}d\bar{a}$), for many years. At his suggestion he wrote two works—the Arjun Bilās and a simple treatise on medicine entitled $B\bar{a}idya$ Ratan. Sib Singh mentions two other poets—(1) Madan $G\bar{o}p\bar{a}l$ of Char'khārī, in Bundēl'khand, and (2) Madan $G\bar{o}p\bar{a}l$, without any particulars. Neither of these are dated by him.

597. IFT UCITE, Gangā Par'sād, commonly known as Gang Kabi, or the poet Gang, the Brāhman of Supāulī, district Sītāpur. B. 1833 A.D.

He was given the village $Sup\bar{a}ul\bar{\imath}$ rent-free on account of his poems. His son is also a poet, and is now alive in $Tihar'n\bar{a}$. Gangā Par'sād wrote a work entitled $D\bar{u}t\bar{\imath}$ $Bil\bar{a}s$, in which the various kinds of lovers' go-betweens $(d\bar{u}t\bar{\imath})$ are described in a series of punning verses.

598. जै कवि, the poet and bard Jāi, of Lakh'nau. Fl. 1845 A.D.

He was a pensioner of Nawāb Wājid 'Ālī (1847—1856), of Lakh'-naū. He wrote many poems in Ūrdū and in the vernacular. He is esteemed by all for his poems on morals (नीत), his occasional (सामयिक) pieces, his didactic poems (चेताकोनी), etc. He had many religious controversies with the Musal'māns.

599. मान सिङ्कः, Mahārāj Mān Singh, the Shāk'dwīpī, alias Dwij Dēb, of Audh. Fl. 1850.

Sun. He was skilled in Sanskrit, in the vernacular, in Persian, and in English. About the year 1850 A.D. he composed a work entitled Sringār Latikā, together with a commentary to it. In his latter years he gave up poetry and studied English law. He died in 1873. Amongst others, Thākur Par'sād (No. 600), Jagannāth (No. 601), and Bal Dēb Singh (No. 602) attended his court. His poetical nom de guerre was Dwij Dēb, and he is possibly the same as Mannā Lāl (No. 583), who also wrote under the title Dwij. According to Ṭhākur Par'sād, he had a son named Dar'san Singh.

600. ठाकुर परन्साद पथासी मिसर, Thākur Par'sad Payāsī Misar alias Paṇḍit Par'bīn, of Audh. Fl. 1850 A.D.

He wrote under the name of *Paṇḍit Par'bīn*. He attended the court of Mahārāj *Mān Siŋgh* (No. 599), and lived near *Paliyā Shāh'gañj*.

601. जगन्ताथ कवि श्रवस्थी, the poet Jagannāth Abasthī, of Sumērupur, district Unāo. Alive in 1883.

He formerly attended the court of Mahārāj Mān Singh (No. 599), of Audh. He subsequently obtained the patronage of Mahārāj Sib Dīn Singh, of Al'war. He has a great name for his knowledge of Sanskrit composition (साहित्य). He has written detached verses in the vernacular.

602. बज देव सिङ्घ, Bal Deb Singh, the Chhattri, of Audh. Fl. 850 A.D.

He attended the court of Mahārāj Mān Siŋgh (No. 599), and was the teacher of Rājā Mādhab Siŋgh (? No. 604) in composition (साहित्य).

- 603. चाडी दत्ताः कवि, the poet Chaṇḍī Datt'. B. 1841 A.D. He attended the court of Mahārāj Mān Siŋgh (No. 599), of Audh.
- 604. साधव सिङ्कः, Rājā Mādhab Singh, of Gōchī Amēthī, district Sul'tān'pur. Alive in 1883.

He belongs to a family whose members have always been great patrons of learning. He is so himself. Among his ancestors may be named Himmat Singh (cf. Nos. 160 and 334), Gur Dutt' Singh (No. 332), Um'rāw Singh (cf. No. 589). He is author of the Manōj Latikā, the Dēbī-charitr' Sarōj, and the Tridīp (a vernacular translation of the Bhar'tharī (Bhartrihari) Shatak). He appears to be the son of Mān Singh (No. 599). (See No. 602.)

605. क्रियान्न दत्तः सिङ्घः, Krish'n Datt' Singh, the Bisën Răj'put, Rājā of Bhin'gā, district Bahirāich. B. 1852 A.D.

This Rājā was not only a skilled poet himself, but also encouraged the patronage of poets in his dominions. A member of his family was the famous *Jagat Singh* (No. 340), and the poet Sib Dīn (No. 606) and others less known attended his court. At the present day members of his family are great patrons of poets.

606. सिंब दीन कार्बि, the poet Sib Dīn, of Bhin'gā, district Bahirāich. B. 1858 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā Krish'n Datt' Singh, of Bhin'gā, and in his name wrote a work on poetry entitled Krish'n Datt' Bhūkhan.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER X, PART III.

607. चिरझीन, Chirañjib, the Brāhman, of Bais'wārā. B. 1818 A.D. े Rāg. He is said to have translated the Mahābhārata into the vernacular

608. बेनी परबीन, Benl Par'bln, Bāj'pēyī of Lakh'naū. B. 1819. A.D. Sun. The author of several works. His best, a treatise on lovers. (See note to No. 87.) 609. **এজন বাব,** the bard Aygan Lal alias the poet Rasāl, of Bil'grām, district Har'dōī. B. 1823 A.D.

The author of a treatise on rhetoric entitled Bar'wāi Alaŋkar.

610. मकर्रन्ड राय, the bard Mak'rand Ray, of Puwawa, district Shah-Jahan-pur. B. 1823 A.D.

A descendant of Chandan Rāy (No. 374), and was the author of an admired work entitled Hāsya Ras.

611. भौन कवि, the poet and bard Bhaun of Bëti, district Ray Bareli. B. 1824 A.D.

An admired erotic poet, who was the author of a treatise on rhetoric entitled *Sringār Ratnākar*. His son, the poet *Dayāl* (No. 720), was alive in 1883.

612. बादे राय किन, the poet and bard Bādē Rāy, of Pal'maū, district Rāy Barēlī. B. 1825.

He attended the court of Daya Kishun, Dīwān of Lakh'naū.

613. सङ्गर कवि चिपाठों, the poet 8aŋkar Tripāṭhī, of Bis'wā, district Sītāpur. B. 1834 A.D.

In conjunction with his son, the poet Sālik, he wrote a Rāmāyan in Kabitta metres. He is possibly the same as another Saykar mentioned by Sib Siggh, without date, as an erotic writer.

614. जोने सिङ्घ, Löne Singh, of Bachhil Titauli, district Khiri. B. 1835 A.D.

He translated the tenth book of the Bhāgavata Purāņa (Rāg.) into the vernacular.

615. सीतल राय, the bard Sital Ray of Badiri, district Bahiraich. B. 1837. He attended the court of Rājā Gumān Singh, Jan'war, of Ekauna, district Bahirāich.

616. परनेस, the bard Par'mēs, of Satāwā, district Rāy Barēlī. B. 1839 A.D.

Sun. (? Cf. No. 222.)

617. बन्ती घर बाजापेयी, Bansi Dhar Bāj'pēyī, of Chintā Khērā, district Rāy Barēli. B. 1844 A.D.

A prolific author of many works. His vedantic dohās are much admired.

618. भवानी परन्साद पाठक, Bhawani Par'sād Pāṭhak alias Bhāwan Kabi, of Māurāwā, district Unāo. B. 1844 A.D.

He is the author of an admired treatise on poetry called Kābya Sirōmani, or Kābya Kalpadrum. It treats of poetry, rhetoric, lovers, gobetweens, the passions, seasons, etc.

619. महानन्द बाजन्पेयी, Mahā. nand Bāj'pēyī, of Bais'wārā. B. 1844 A.D.

Rāg. He was a votary of Çiva worship, and translated the Bṛihach-chhiva Purāṇa into the vernacular.

- 620. रस रङ्ग कवि, the poet Ras Rang, of Lakh'naū. B. 1844 A.D. An erotic poet.
- 621. ससु नाथ मिसर कबि, the poet Sambhu Nāth Misar, of Bais'wārā. B. 1844 A.D.

He attended the court of Rānā Jadu Nāth Siŋgh, Bāis, of Khajūr'gāw. While still young he wrote a history entitled Bāis Bansābali, and translation of the fourth chapter of the Çiva Purāṇa.

622. खनोधा परन्साद सुकल, Ajodhyā Par'sād Sukal, of Gölā Gokarannāth, district Khiri. B. 1845 A.D. Not a poet of high rank, but a voluminous writer. He wrote under the name of *Jōdhī*. He was much esteemed in the court of a Rājā *Būr*.

623. मिही चार्च, the bard Mih! Lai alias Malind, of Pal'mau, district Ray Barell. B. 1845 A.D.

Cf. No. 512. He praised one Bhūpāl Singh.

624. राम नाथ परन्धान, Ram Nath Par'dhan, of Audh. B. 1845 A.D.

The author of the $R\bar{a}m$ Kal $\bar{e}w\bar{a}$ and other books.

625. गिरि धारी, Giri Dhārī the Brāhman, a Bais'wārā of Satan'-pur. B. 1847 A.D.

Sring. His poems either deal with Krisna's sports or are in the quietistic style. He was not a learned poet, but wrote elegantly.

626. इसाचल राम कवि, the poet Himāchal Rām, a Brāhman of Bhaṭāull, district Fāizābād. B. 1847 A.D.

A simple writer.

627. चैन सिङ्घ, Chāin Singh alias Har Charan, the Khattrī, of Lakh'naū. B. 1853 A.D.

Sring. He has written the Bhārat Dīpikā and the Sringār Sārāball. He is possibly the same as another Chām Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh.

Part IV.-Miscellaneous.

628. जै चन्द, Jāi Chand, of Jāipur. Fl. 1806.

Author of a Sanskrit and vernacular work dealing with the doctrines of the Jain community, written in Sambat 1863 (1806 A.D.), and entitled Swāmi Kārttikēyānuprēkṣa.

629. जन जो जाज, Lalla Ji 'Lāl of Guj'rāt, Āg'rāwalā. Fl. 1803 A.D.

The well-known author of-

- (1) The Prēm Sāgār (Rāg.), which was written in the above year under the Marquis of Wellesley's Government, and under Dr. John Gilchrist's direction. In the preface he says it is a translation into Hindī from the Braj Bhākhā version of the 10th book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Braj version was by Chatur'bhuj Misar (? No. 40). The Prēm Sāgar was not printed till 1809, in Lord Minto's Government, under the direction of Mr. Abraham Lockitt. It has frequently been printed since, the best edition being Eastwick's (Hertford, 1851), which has an excellent vocabulary.
- (2) The Laţāīf-i-Hindī, a collection of 100 stories in Ūrdū, Hindī, and Braj Bhākhā. According to Garcin de Tassy (i, 306) it was printed in Calcutta under the title of "The new Cyclopædia Hindustanica, etc.," and Carmichael Smith reprinted a large portion of it in London under its true name.

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- (3) The Rāj'nīti, or Bārttik Rāj'nīti, a Braj Bhākhā translation of the Hitōpadēça. It was written in Sambat 1869 (A.D. 1812), and should be distinguished from translations of Chāṇakya's Rājanīti. (Cf. Nos. 574, 840, 919.)
- (4) The Sabhā Bilās (Rāg.), a collection of poetical extracts from famous writers in the Braj Bhākhā dialect.
 - (5) The Mādhab Bilās (? Rāg.). Cf. No. 896.
- (6) The Lāl Chandrikā, an excellent commentary on the Sat Saī of Bihārī Lāl, frequently printed. Cf., however, No. 561.
- (7) The Mαçārdir-i-Bhākhā, a grammatical work on the Hindī language, in prose and in the Nāgarī character. Garcin de Tassy says that a copy exists in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- (8) The Singhāsan Battīsī (Rāg.), which was translated in 1804 by him and Mirzā Kāzim 'Alī from an older Braj Bhākhā translation by Sundar Dās (No. 142).
- (9) The Bāltāl Pachisī (Rāg.). Garcin de Tassy gives the following particulars concerning this work, which I have not been able to check, as in the copies now available in the bazār the preface is not printed. This work has also been translated from Sanskrit into Braj Bhākhā by Sūrati Misar (No. 326). Lallū translated this version into Hindūstānī, assisted by Maz'har 'Alī Khān Wilā; or rather, it was Wilā who was assisted by the former. Mr. James Mouat, then Professor of Hindūstānī in the College of Fort William, charged Tārinī Charaṇa Mittra with the task of looking over the work and expunging the Braj Bhākhā words not current in ordinary Hindūstānī.

I may mention, in addition to the above, that other translations of the same work, and bearing the same name, were made by Sambhu Nāth (No. 366) and by Bhōlā Nāth (No. 883).

(10) The novel of Mādhōnal or Mādhabānal (cf. No. 872), in the editing of which he was again assisted by Maz'har 'Ali Khān Wilā (see Garcin de Tassy, l.c.). This was translated from the work by Mōtl Rām (No. 216), bearing the same name. The legend of Mādhavānala and Kāma Kandalā is a very old one. There is a copy of the Sanskrit version in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, which was written as far back as Sambat 1587, or 1530 A.D. (Rājēndra Lāl Mittra, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, ii, 137.) The story is as fellows. In Puphāvatīnagarī (the old name of Bilharī, in the Central Provinces) reigned Rājā Gobind Rāo in the Sambat year 919, or A.D. 862. He had a very handsome Brāhman attendant named Mādhavānal, who was specially skilful in singing and dancing, as well as an adept in

all arts and sciences, so that all the women fell in love with him. The husbands complained to the Rājā, and Mādhavānal was banished from Puphāvatī. He retired to Kam'vati, the capital of Rājā Kām Sēn, who was fond of music and singing, and gave the Brāhman a place in his court. This Rājā had a most beautiful woman (a vēçya) named Kām Kandalā, with whom Mādhavānal fell in love, for which he was expelled from Kām'vatī. He then went to Ujānn, and asked a boon from Rājā Vikramāditya, who was famed for granting every request that was made to him. The promise was duly made, and the Brāhman claimed to have Kām Kandalā given up to him. Vikramāditya accordingly besieged Kām'vatī and captured Kām Kandalā, who was at once made over to Mādhavānal. After some time, with Vikrama's permission, the happy pair retired to Puphāvatī, where Mādhavānal built a palace for Kām Kandalā, the ruins of which are still shown. (See Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind. ix, 37.)

(11) The novel of Sakuntalā, in the editing of which he was associated with Kāzim 'Alī Jawan (see Garcin de Tassy, l.c.).

In connexion with the Prem Sagar, the following note on Hindi translations of the Bhagavata Purana may be of use. Sur Das (No. 37) is said to have translated the whole, but his translation has not come down to us. According to Ward, View, etc., ii, 481, Priyā Dās (cf. No. 319) was the author of a Bhagavad in the dialect of Bundel'khand (see Garcin de Tassy, i, 405). The last-named author (i, 121) also mentions a Bhūpati (cf. No. 332), a Kayasth, who was author of a Bhāgavat in Hindī verse entitled Srī Bhāgavat. There is a copy of it in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Ward quotes from it. I do not know if this copy is the same as one which exists in the British Museum, in Halhed's collection, No. 5620. The last is composed of verses of nine lines each, and is written in the Persian character. The dialect is unintelligible. There is also a Bhagavat in Hindī verse in the India Office Library, entitled Pothī Bhāgavat, but according to the catalogue it is only a portion of the Bhagavata Purana translated from the Sanskrit.' Maharai Raghu Rai Singh (No. 532) of Bandhō (Rīwā) was author of a much-admired translation of the Bhagavata Purana, entitled Anandambudhi. Kripa Ram (No. 797) may also be mentioned as having translated the whole Purāņa into dohās and chāupāis in simple language.

The tenth book of the Purāṇa, dealing with Kṛiṣṇa's life, is the most popular, and has been frequently translated. The *Prēm Sāgar* is the best known version, and those of *Chatur'bhuj Misar* (? No. 40) and

Nand Dās (No. 42) may also be mentioned. The latter is known as the Dasam Skandh. The Krish'n Kallōl of the poet Mān (No. 372) also appears to belong to this group. Another translation is by Lōnē Siŋgh (No. 614). Garcin de Tassy (i, 121) says a work entitled Pōthī Dasam Iskandh is mentioned in the catalogue of the Library belonging to a person named Farzāda Qulī, a copy of which is in the Fort William College Library. 'In the same Library there is a third copy, entitled Srī Bhāgawat Dasam Iskandh; and a fourth, in Bhākhā, exists in the India Office Library under the same title' According to the same author (i, 404), Prēm Kēswar Dās (No. 859) translated the twelfth book of the Purāṇa, a copy of the work being in the India Office Library. A commentary on this Purāṇa was written by Balibhadr' (No. 135).

630. देश्रोकी नन्दन स्वक्त, Deoki Nandan Sukal, of Mak'rand'pur, district Kānh'pur. B. 1813 A.D.

Sun., Sring. He was brother of Gur Datt' Suka! (No. 631) and of Sib Nāth (No. 632). The first is author of the Pachchhī Bilās, and Deokī of a Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87) and of a number of short poems, of which two or three hundred are extant. None of Sib Nāth's poems have as yet been identified.

631. गुर् ट्ता सुकाल, Gur Datt' Sukal, of Mak'rand'pur, district Kānh'pur. B. 1807.

Sring. He was brother of *Deoki Nandan* (No. 630) and *Sib Nāth* (No. 632). All three were good poets. His principal work was the *Pachehhī Bilās*.

- 632. सिव नाथ सुकाल, Sib Nāth Sukal alias Sambhōg Nāth, of Mak'rand'pur, district Kānh'pur. B. 1813 A.D.
- ? Sun. He was brother of Gur Datt' (No. 631) and Deokī Nandan (No. 630), and was an admired poet. It is difficult to identify his poems owing to his habit of signing himself simply Nāth.
- 633. दिनेस काबि, the poet Dinës, of Tikārī, in district Gayā. Fl. 1807.

Sring. In the above year he wrote a well-known and much-admired Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87), entitled Ras Rahasya. (Printed by Rām Dīn Singh, Khadga Bilās Press, Bānkipur.)

634. बख-तावर, Bakh'tāwar, of Hāth'ras, district Alīgaṛh. Fl. 1817 A.D.

A religious mendicant, author of an atheistical work in Hindī verse, entitled Sūnīsār, the essence of emptiness, the purport of which is to show that all notions of man and God are fallacies, and that nothing is. His patron was Dayā Rām, Rājā of Hāth'ras, when that fortress was destroyed by the Marquis of Hastings. See Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus, i, 360, and Garcin de Tassy, i, 102.

635. द्ला-पति राय, Dal'pati Rāy, of Am'dābād. B. (? Fl.) 1828 A.D.

In conjunction with another Brāhman named Bansī Dhar Srī $M\bar{a}/\bar{i}$ (No. 636) he wrote an excellent commentary on the Bhākhā Bhūkhan (No. 377).

636. बनी धर स्त्री माली, Bansī Dhar Srī Mālī, of Am'dābād. B. (? Fl.) 1828 A.D.

In conjunction with another Brāhman named Dal'pati $R\bar{a}y$ (No. 635) he wrote an excellent commentary on the $Bh\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ $Bh\bar{u}khan$ (No. 376).

637. गुर दीन पाँड़े किन, the poet Gur Din Parē. B. (? Fl.) 1834 A.D.

He wrote an important work, entitled the Bāh Manōhar Pingal (written 1803 A.D.), which treats not only of prosody, but of rhetoric, the six seasons, Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87), and composition.

638. क्रिश्रन्नानन्द व्यास देव, Krish'nānand Byās Dēb. Fl. 1842 A.D.

He is best known for his $R\bar{a}g$ - $S\bar{a}gar\bar{o}dbhab$ $R\bar{a}g$ -Kalpadrum (quoted in this work as 'R $\bar{a}g$.'), which is an anthology of selections from the works of more than two hundred poets who were followers of Krisna.

It was finished in Sambat 1900 (A.D. 1843), and was written in emulation of Rājā Sir Rādhāhānta Dēb's well-known Sanskrit Encyclopædia entitled the Çabda-Kalpadruma. Some years ago this work, which was printed in Calcutta, sold for a hundred rupees a copy, but it is now out of print.

Dr. Rājendra Lāl Mittra, who as a boy was personally acquainted with him, gives me the following information regarding this author:-'The book was in three volumes. The author, I remember, told me that he would make his work extend to seven volumes, the same as Rājā Rādhākānta Dēb's Çabda-Kalpadruma, but I do not think he had materials ready at hand for the purpose. He carried about with him a huge bundle of MS. notes, but I never had an opportunity to examine them, and I was too young then to care for them. The author was a Brāhman, and his great pretension was that he could sing in three octaves, the ordinary compass of the human voice being two and a half octaves. He pretended also that he could sing in all the Ragas and Raginis with absolute accuracy, and without ever mixing up the latter; but I never studied music myself, and in my youth cared nothing about it, so I never could get any proof of the man's pretensions. He was always singing, but was not a professional musician, that is, he never let himself out on hire. He received presents from the rich people of the town frequently, but never accepted anything as wages . or remuneration for singing.'

It would be a work of too great labour to collect the names of all the poets whose works are quoted in this great work. The author, however, in his preface gives a list of all the poets with whom, and all the works (Hindī, Kar'nāṭī, Marāṭhī, Telugu, Gujrātī, Baŋgālī, Uriyā, English, Arabic, Peguan (sic), Persian, and Sanskrit) with which he is acquainted. From this preface the names of the following Hindī authors and works are abstracted. Several I have been unable to identify, and especially several works mentioned herein are not referred to elsewhere in this book:—

A.-HINDŪSTĀNĪ AUTHORS.

Chand (No. 6).

Pirthwī Rāj (cf. Nos. 6, 73).

Rāmānand (No. 10).

Kabīr (No. 13).

Kamāl (No. 16).

Bidyāpatí (No. 17). Mīrā Bāī (No. 20). Rājā Karan (? No. 21). Nānak (No. 22). Nām Dēb (cf. No. 22).

¹ The first chapter is dated 19th March 1842; the second chapter, 1843.

Charan Dās (No. 23). Gadādhar Misar (No. 25). Mādhab Dās (No. 26). _Bhag'wān Dās (No. 29). Ballabhāchār'j (No. 34). Madh'wāchār'j (cf. No. 34). Krish'n Dās (No. 36). Sūr Dās (No. 37). Par'mānand Dās (No. 38). Kumbhan Dās (No. 39). Chatur'bhuj Dās (No. 40). Chhīt Swāmī (No. 41). Nand Dās (No. 42). Gōbind Dās (No. 43). Agr' Dās (No. 44). Kēwal Rām (No. 45). Kalyān Dās (No. 48). Kānhar Dās (No. 52). Srī Bhaţţ (No. 53). Byās Swāmi (No. 54). Nīmāditya (cf. No. 54). Hit Haribans (No. 56). Dhrub Dās (No. 58). Hari Dās (No. 59). Tān Sēn (No. 60). Abhay Rām (No. 64). Chatur Bihārī (No. 65). Mānik Chand (No. 78). Ūdhō Dās (Nos. 79, 495). Dāmōdar Dās (No. 84). Chand Sakhī (No. 93). Nāgarī Dās (? No. 95). Rām Dās (No. 112). Nar'hari Dās (? No. 113). The Holy Master (Tul'sī Dās) (No. 128). Braj Nidhi (? No. 131). Dhiraj (? No. 136). Bhūkhan (No. 145).

Mati Rām (No. 146.)

The Holy Master Purukhottam (No. 200). Bihārī (No. 226). Ballabh Dās (? No. 239). Malūk Dās (No. 243). Madan Mohan (No. 253). Kul'patí Misar (No. 282). Gopāl Dās (No. 297). Jugul Dās (No. 313). Braj Jīban Dās (? No. 315). Syām Dās (No. 316). Giri Dhar (No. 345). Anand Ghān (No. 347). Man Bhāwan (No. 375). Rasik Bihārī (No. 405). Rām Par'sād (No. 444). Padmākar (No. 506). Gadā Dhar Bhatt (No. 512). Bikram (No. 514). Rājā Biswanāth Singh (No. 529). Gōkul Nāth (No. 564). Rām Sahāy (No. 568). Jānakī Dās (No. 577). Mannū Lāl (Nos. 583, 599). Subans (No. 589). Jagannāth (? No. 601, 764). Chir Jū (? No. 607). Mahānand (No. 619). Gyān Dās (? No. 651). Brindāban Jīban (? No. 722). Lachhirām (? No. 723). Lōk Nāth (No. 753). Jug Rāj Dās (? No. 765). Dhodhē (No. 766). Bali Rām Dās (? No. 768). Bish'n Dās (No. 769). Lachchhan Dās (? No. 775). Baksū (? No. 861). The Holy Master Brajādhīs (? No. 878).

Hit Anand (? No. 947). Āsu Tōkh. Bāijū Bāwarē. Bhar'tharī. Dayā Sakhī. Deb 'Alam. The Holy Master Giri Dhar. Gopāl Nāyak. Jitaū. Kālī Mir'jā. Kam'lākar (? Padmākar, No. 506). Kar'tāliyā. Karunā Nidhān. Krish'n Jīban. Mōhan Dās. Nar'sī Mah'tā. Nar'singh Dayal. Nasī Rām.

Nīl Mani. Nīl Ratan. Raghu Mahāsay. Rām Gulām. Rām Jas. Rangīlā Prītam. Rangili Sakhi. Rasik Göbind. Rasik Rāu. Rāy Mōhan. Rūp Sanātan. Sah'jō Bāī. Sāmā Sakhī. Sāūdā. Sāwarī Sakhī. Sib Chandr'. Sõnā Dāsī. Syām Sundar. Thaṇḍī Dās.

B.—HINDŪSTĀNĪ WORKS.1

Prithī Rāj Rāy'sā (No. 6). The Bijak of Kabir (No. 13). The Granth of the Sikhs (No. 22). Padminī Kathā (? No. 31). Padmāwat (No. 31). Sudāmā Charitr' (No. 33). The twelve books of the Bhagavata Purāņa (Nos. 37, 40, 532, 614, 629, 797, 859). Sūr Sāgar (No. 37). Rukmini Mangal (No. 42). Rās Panchādhyāyī (? No. 42). Bhakt Mālā (No. 51). Sangīt Sār of Tān Sēn (No. 60). Rāmāyan of Tul'sī Dās (No. 128). Gītābalī (No. 128).

Kabitta Rāmāyan (No. 128). Dōhābalī (No. 128). Rām Sat Saī (No. 128). Pañch Ratan (No. 128). Bar'wē Rāmāyan (No. 128). Binay Pattrikā (No. 128). Hanumān Bāhuk (No. 128). Rām Salākā (No. 128). Srī Krish'nābalī (No. 128). *Kabi-priyā* (No. 134). Rasik-priyā (No. 134). Rām-chandrikā (No. 134). Ashţa-jām (No. 140; cf. No. 694). Bhākhā Pingal (No. 141). Singhāsan Battīsī (Nos. 142. 629).

¹ I would draw the attention of scholars to the huge list of Sanskrit works mentioned in the preface of this valuable work.

Awadh Bilās.

Bhākhā Amar Kōs (Nos. 170, 567, 589, 761). The Shairs of Nazīr (No. 171). Bihārī Sat Saī (No. 196). Chhattra Par'kās (No. 202). Khat Ritu (by many poets) (Nos. 210, 479, 648). Sib Swarōday (? No. 309). Saras Ras (No. 326). Bāitāl Pachīsī (Nos. 326, 366, 629, 883). Kōk Sār (No. 347). Rasārnab (No. 356). Prabodh Chandroday (the play) (No. 369). Brai Bilas (No. 369). Bhākhā Bhūkhan (No. 377). Sālihōtr' (Nos. 365, 376, 469, 657, 854, 949). Rāg Mālā (Nos. 400, 904). Anēkārth and Nām Mālā (No. 433). Jagat Binōd (No. 506). Anand Ras (Nos. 561, 668). The Mahābhārata in Braj Bhākhā (No. 564, etc.). Rāj Nīti (Nos. 574, 629, 840, 919). The Shairs of Mannu Lal (Nos. 583, 599). Hanumān Nāţak (No. ? 592). Prēm Sāgar (No. 629). Sabhā Bilās (No. 629). Hitōpadēs (No. 629). Mādhō Bilās (Nos. 629, 896).

Rāg-Sāgarōdbhab Rāg-Kalpa-

Lilāvatī (translation) (No. 912).

drum (No. 638).

Ābhās Rāmāyan (?).

Ab'tār Charitr'.

Bāīdya Manōtsab. The Bhagavad Gitā (translation). Bēdararī Kathā. Bhākhā Bāidak. Bhākhā Chhand. Bhākhā Indrajāl. Bhākhā Kāyadā. Bhākhā Kōkh. Bhākhā Sābar. Bhūgōl Brittānt. Bidyābhyās kā phal. Bikh Parīchhā. Brai Jātrā. Brindāban Sat. Chār Dar'wēsh. Dāktarī (doctery, i.e. the art of medicine!!). Dayā Bilās. Dhyān Mañiarī. Ganitāŋk. Gar'bhābalī Rāmāyan. The Ghazals of Sauda. Gōpī Chand Gān. Gōrakh Machhēndr' Samāi. Gyān Upadēs. The Har Mala of Nar'sī. Hātam Tāī. Hīrā Rānjhā. Kāsī Khand. Kautuk Ratnabali. Krish'n Gītābalī. Lūnā Chamārī kā Mantr'. Mān Mañjarī. Manōrañjan Itihās. Nāin Sukh. Nīti Kathā. Phar'mākōpīyā (!!). Rājā Bhar'tharī Gān.

Rām Binōd.
Rām Charan Chinh.
Ras Rāj.
Rōgāntak Sār.
Sāmudrikā (translation).
Sangīta Darpana (translation).
Sangīta Ratnākara (translation).
Sangīt Pachīsī.

Sarpādi Jantun kī Pōthī.
Sisu Bōdh.
Slōkābalī Rāmāyan (? by Tul'sī
Dās).
Snēh Sāgar.
Strī Sichehhā Bidhāyak.
Sugā Bahattarī.
Up'dēs Kathā.

639. THE UTOHIE, Ram Par'sād, the Agar'wālā, of Mīrāpur. B. (? Fl.) 1844 A.D.

Rāg. Father of *Tul'sī Rām* (No. 640) and author of some quietistic poems (cf. No. 444). Garcin de Tassy (i, 420) mentions an author of this name who wrote a Vaishnava work entitled *Dharma-tattwasār*. It was written at *Ahmadābād*.

640. तुलांसी राम, Tul'sī Rām, the Agar'wālā, of Mīrāpur. Fl. 1854.

In the above year he translated the Bhakt Mālā of Nābhā Dās (No. 51) into Ūrdū. He was son of No. 639.

641. भार नाथ भा, Bhānu Nāth Jhā. Fl. 1850 A.D.

He attended the court of Mahārāj Mahēswar' Singh, of Dar'-bhangā. He wrote in Maithilī. See J. A. S. B., vol. liii, p. 86. His best known work is a play in Sanskrit, Prākrit, and Maithilī, entitled Prabhāvatī Harana.

642. **ECOG FIU HT.** Har'kh Nāth Jhã, the Sōtī Brāhman, of Dar'bhangā. B. 1847 A.D.

A Maithil poet of the first rank, who is chief Paṇḍit at the court of the Mahārāj of Dar'bhaŋgā. He is the author of numerous Maithilī songs and of more than one play (*Prabandha*) in mixed Sanskrit, Prākrit, and Maithilī. The best known of the last is the *Uṣā Haraṇa*. See J. A. S. B., vol. liii, p. 92.

He is also author of several Sanskrit works. He was a pupil of $M\bar{o}d$ $N\bar{a}th$ $Jh\bar{a}$ and $G\bar{o}p\bar{a}l$ $Th\bar{a}hur$, and afterward studied at Banāras College. He was born at $Uj\bar{a}ln$, in the Dar'bhaygā district.

643. सिंग पर-कास सिङ्गः, Bābū Sib Par'kās Siŋgh, of Dum'rāw, district Shāhābād. B. 1844 A.D.

The author of a commentary on the Binay Pattrikā of Tul'sī Dās (No. 128), entitled Rām Tattwa Bōdhanī.

644. वाम-ता पर्-साद, Kām'tā Par'sād, the Asōthar, of Lakh'purā, district Fatih'pur. B. 1854 A.D.

Ras. He belonged to the family of Bhag'want Rāy, the Khichī, of Asōthar (No. 333), and is said to have been learned in the study of composition (साहित्य). He wrote in Sanskrit, in Prākrit, in the vernacular, and in Persian. Sib Singh in his Sarōj (p. 57) gives a specimen of his powers, which consists of a verse of four lines—the first in Sanskrit, the second in Prākrit, the third in vernacular, and the fourth in Persian. Sib Singh mentions a good Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87) by a poet of this name, who is probably the same person.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER X, PART IV.

645. सूप नारायन, the bard Bhap Narayan, of Kahapur, district Kanh'pur. B. 1801 A.D.

He wrote a metrical genealogy of the Chandela Chhattri kings of 8ib'rāj'pur.

646. दुरन्गा कवि, the poet Dur'ga. B. 1803 A.D.

647. चुड़ामनि कबि, the poet Chūrāmani. B. 1804 A.D.

A poet who praised in his works two patrons, named Guman Singh and Ajit Singh.

648. खाजम कवि, the poet Ājam (A'zam). B. 1809 A.D.

This Musalman was a friend of other good poets, and himself composed poems. His best works are a Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87) and the Khat Ritu (Rāg.) (or description of the six seasons).

649. मेघा काबि, the poet Mēdhā. Fl. 1810 A.D.

The anthor of a work entitled Chittrabhūkhan, written in the above year.

650. बमन्त्रेस कबि, the poet Kam'les. B. 1813 A.D.

Has written an excellent work on lovers. (See note to No. 87.)

651. म्यान चन्द्रः खती, Gyan Chandr' Jati, of Raj'putana. B. 1813 A.D.

? Rag. He was Colonel Tod's preceptor.

652. सम्पति कवि, the poet Sampati. B. 1813 A.D.

653. भोज किन, the poet Bhaj the elder. B. 1815 A.D.

654. रिखि जू किन, the poet Rikhi Jū. B. 1815 A.D.

An erotic poet.

655. चानुज कवि, the poet Ambuj. B. 1818 A.D.

His poems on morals and his Nakh'aikh (see note to No. 87) are said to possess taste.

656. कविराय कवि, the poet Kabiray. B. 1818 A.D.

He has written some ingenious verses on morals (नीति) \

657. যুবাৰ কৰি, the poet Gulāl B. 1818 A.D.

Sring. His principal work is a $8\bar{a}$ lihōtr' (Rāg.), a treatise on veterinary surgery.

658. दीना नाथ चध्वर्यंड, Dina Nath Adhwarya, of Möhar, district Fatih'pur. B. 1819 A.D.

He wrote a vernacular commentary to the Brahmöttara Khanda.

659. बेनी परन्गट, Bēnī Par'gat, a Brāhman, of Nar'wal. B. 1823 A.D.

660. Anonymous.

A rājā of Uniyārā. Fl. 1823 A.D. Sib Singh states that he is the author of very excellent commentaries to the Bhākhā Bhūkhan (No. 376) and the Nakh'aikh of Balibhadr' (No. 135), and that the name of the author is missing in his copies. Uniyārā is a division of Jāipūr.

661. कविराम कवि, the poet and bard Kabirāj. B. 1824 A.D.

Sun. A mediocre poet. Not to be confounded with Sukh Dēb Misar of Kampilā (No. 160), who sometimes describes himself as a kabirāj or poet-lsureate.

662. भीग जी कवि, the poet and hard Mōg Jī, of Rǎj'putānā. Fl. 1829 A.D.

The author of a genealogy and history of the kings of the Khlchi

branch of the Chauhans.—See Tod's Rajasthan, i, 81, and ii, 454; Calc. ed. i, 87, and ii, 499.

Sib Singh calls him Muk Ji.

663. गुर दत्तः कबि, the poet Gur Datt' the elder. B. 1830 A.D.

He attended the court of Sib Singh Sawāi, son of $J\bar{a}i$ Singh. I do not know who these princes were.

664. इंटी कबि, the poet Hathl, of Braj. B. 1830 A.D.

The author of a work entitled Radha Satak.

665. टेर किन, the poet Ter, of district Main'purl. B. 1831 A.D.

666. क्रिशन किन, the poet Kriah'n. B. 1831 A.D.

He has written some detached verses on morals (नीति).

667. ভাই লাভ মাত, the bard Achhe Lal, of Kanauj. B. 1832 A.D.

668. दया नाथ दूबे, Daya Nath Dube. Fl. 1832 A.D.

In the above year he commenced a work entitled Anand Ras (Rag.), dealing with the subject of lovers.

669. राम दौन, the bard Rām Dīn, of Alīgañj, district Īṭā. B. 1833 A.D.

670. माखन खंखेरा, Makhan Lakhērā. B. 1834 A.D.

No particulars. Probably the same as a Mākhan Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh as born in 1813 A.D.

671. बेनी दास कबि, the poet and bard Bēni Dās, of Mēwār. B. 1835 A.D.

? Sun. He was one of the public historians of Mewar.

672. केरी राम कबि, the poet Chhēdi Rām. Fl. 1837 A.D. The author of a treatise on prosody, entitled $Kabi-n\bar{e}h$, written in the above year.

673. चातुनैन कवि, the poet Anunan. B. 1839 A.D.

The Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87) by him is said to be a good poem.

674. श्रीय किंब, the poet Audh. B. 1839 A.D.

Sib Singh knows nothing about this poet, a specimen of whose poetry he gives. He suspects that he may be the same as Ajodhyā Par'sād Bāj'-pēyī (No. 693).

675. नरीत्रम, Naröttam, of the Dōāb. B. 1839 A.D.

676. मनी राम मिसर, Mani Ram Misar, of Sathi, district Kanh'pur. B. 1839 A.D.

No particulars. He is possibly the same as a Mani Rām Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh, without date, as an erotic poet.

677. सेंबक कबि, the poet 8ēbak. Fl. 1840 A.D.

? Sun. He attended the court of Rājā Ratan Siŋgh, of Chakr'pur. Possibly the same as No. 579.

678. फालन्का राव, Phai'ka Raw, of Gwaliyar. B. 1844 A.D.

He was minister of Lachhiman Raw, and wrote a good commentary to the Kabi-priyā (No. 134).

679. मीतू दास गौतम, Mitā Dās Gāutam, of Har'dhāur'pur, district Fatih'pur. B. 1844 A.D.

The author of numerous Vedantic works.

680. रधु नाथ उपाधा, Raghu Nath Upadhya, of Jaun'pur. B. 1844 A.D. The author of a work entitled Nir'nay Mañjari.

681. एख दीन कबि, the poet Sukh Din. B. 1844 A.D. An erotic poet.

682. দ্ধেৰল কৰি, the poet 8ūkhan. B. 1844 A.D.

An erotic poet.

683. Hairl site the poet Bhawani Das. B. 1845 A.D.

No particulars. Jāi Krish'n (No. 830) was the son of a Bhawānī Dās, but it is doubtful if it is this poet or not.

684. बल देव दास काबि, the poet Bal Deb Das, of Jauhari Häth'ras. B. 1846 A.D.

He translated the Krisna Khanda, line for line, into the vernacular.

685. खनध बनस, Awadh Bakas (Bakhsh). B. 1847 A.D.

His poems possess taste. Sib Singh does not know the name of his country or village.

686. सम्झ राम सनाबार, Sahaj Rām Sanāḍhya, of Bandhuā. B. 1848 A.D.

The author of a history of Prahlada entitled Prahlad Charitr'.

687. खनीस कवि, the poet Anis. B. 1854 A.D. Dig.

688. धूमी देव कवि, the poet Bhūmi Dēb. B. 1854 A.D.

689. খুৱাৰ কৰি, the poet Bhūsur. B. 1854 A.D.

690. जैनरिन्द सिङ्घ, Mahārāj Jāi Narind Singh alias Narēndra Singh of Paṭiyālā. Fl. 1857, D. 1862 A.D. Sun.

CHAPTER XI.

HINDŪSTĀN UNDER THE QUEEN. [1857—1887.]

The present chapter concludes the proper historical portion of this work. It deals entirely with the "India of the Queen,"—with a period free from internal commotion, and in which every inducement and encouragement has been offered for the spread and for the acquisition of knowledge. One consequence of this has been the wide extension of the art of printing. Large Native publishing-houses have risen in Lakh'naū, Banāras, and Pat'nā, from which have issued floods of printed works, old and new, good, bad, and indifferent. At the same time a mushroom growth of smaller establishments has sprung up all over Hindūstān, and there is now scarcely a town of importance which does not possess its printing-press or two. Every scribbler can now see his writings in type or lithographed for a few rupees, and too often he avails himself of the power and the opportunity.

The rise of the Vernacular Press has been a prominent feature of the period under review. Hundreds of sheets have sprung into an ephemeral existence and have died in turn, while a few have lived through their childhood and deservedly survive as exceptions to the general fate. This is not the place to allude to the tone of the Indian Vernacular Press, and I purposely avoid doing so, beyond calling attention to the fact that as a rule the Hindi newspapers offer a favourable comparison with the more disloyal and scurrilous contemporaries which disgrace Bangali journalism.

It has been impossible for me, face to face with such a mass of literature, to attempt to describe it with anything like completeness. I have only selected a few names which appeared to me worthy of notice, and even this selection I cannot pretend to be satisfactory. Hindūstān at present is practically without any independent review which I could take as a guide, and I have been compelled to trust to my own, necessarily limited, reading, aided by the lists of names given in the Sib Singh Sarōj. For earlier periods I have had the winnowing basket of time, which has dissipated the chaff and collected the grains ready for examination; but for the present not only is the proportion of chaff to grain infinitely greater, but the two are as yet unseparated.

Such as it is I give the following list, which contains all the names mentioned in the Sib Singh Saroj, together with those of other writers whom I have met in the course of my reading, and which I think worthy of preservation. I must add that many writers belonging to this period as well as to the preceding one (some of whom are happily still alive) will be found entered in the last chapter. Some of these, e.g. Harishchandr', really belong to the post-Mutiny days, but have been deliberately included in the earlier period in order to complete the convenient consideration of groups or families of authors.

691. उमापति निपाठी, Pandit Umāpati Tripāṭhī, of Ajodhyā, district Fāizābād. D. 1874.

He was a deeply-read pandit in all branches of Sanskrit learning. He at first lived in $Ban\bar{a}ras$, but afterwards settled in $Ajodhy\bar{a}$ ($\overline{Au}dh$), where he occupied himself with compositions and teaching. He died A.D. 1874. His most celebrated works are in Sanskrit, but he wrote a few short books in the vernacular, such as the $Doh\bar{a}bal\bar{i}$, $Ratn\bar{a}bal\bar{i}$, etc. He wrote under the nom de guerre of Kobid.

692. रघु नाथ दास, Mahant Raghu Nāth Dās, of Ajodhyā, district Faizābād. Alive in 1883 A.D.

He was originally a Brāhman of *Pāitēpur*, district *Fatih'pur*, but, abandoning all worldly possessions, he became a devotee of Rām, and wrote hundreds of admired hymns in that deity's honour. See No. 693.

693. श्रजोध्या परमाद बाजन्पेयी, Ajodhyā Par'sād Bāj'pēyī, of Sātan'pur'wā, district Rāy Barēlī. Alive in 1883.

This poet is well known as being extremely learned both in Sanskrit and the vernacular. His poems are said to be full of taste, and of uncommon excellence. Amongst his works may be mentioned—

- (1) Chhandānand.
- (2) Sāhitya Sudhāsāgar.
- (3) Rām Kabittābalī.

Sib Singh says he generally resides with Raghu Nāth Dās, the Mahant (No. 692), or with Rājā Jag'mōhan Singh in Chandāpur. (Cf. No. 709.) He wrote under the name of $\overline{Au}dh$ (cf. No. 674).

694. गाञ्चल परमाइ, Lālā Gōkul Par'sād, a Kāyasth, of Balirām'pur, district Gōḍā. Alive in 1883.

He wrote in the year 1868 A.D., in honour of the late Rājā Dig-bijāī Siŋgh (succeeded 1836), an anthology entitled Dig-bijāī Bhūkhan (quoted in this work as 'Dig.'), containing selections from the works of 192 poets. He is also author of works entitled Ashtajām (Rāg.), Chitrakalādhar, Dūtī Dar'pan, and others. He wrote under the nom de guerre of Braj.

695. जानको पर्नाइ, the bard Jānakī Par'sād, of Jānabēnakaṭī, district Rāy Barēlī. Alive in 1883.

He is son of Thāhur Par'sād (No.? 570), and is learned both in Persian and in Sanskrit. In Ūrdū he has written a history of India entitled Shād Nāmā. In the vernacular he is author of (1) Raghubīr Dhyānābalī, (2) Rām Naba-ratan, (3) Bhag'batī Binay, (4) Rām-nibās Rāmāyan, (5) Rāmānand Bihār, (6) Nīti-bilās. This poet excels in picturesqueness and in the quietistic style. Either he or the other Jānakī Par'sād (No. 577) may possibly be the same as a third poet of the same name mentioned by Sib Singh without date, who wrote an ingenious acrostic asking one Singh Rāj for a shawl (dusālā).

696. सहस दल Mahēs Datt', of Ghanāulī, district Bārābaŋkī. Alive in 1883.

He was author of a useful anthology named Kābya Sangrah (quoted in this work as 'Kāb.'), which was printed in Sambat 1932 (1875 A.D.). Possibly the same as a Mahēs Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh as born in 1803 A.D.

697. नन्द कियोर सिसर, Nand Kishōr Misar alias the poet Lēkh'rāj, of Gandhāuli, district Sītāpur. Alive in 1883.

The author of (1) Ras Ratnākar, (2) Laghu Bhūkhan Alankār, (3) Gangā Bhūkhan. He is lambar'dār of the village of Gandhāulī.

He is possibly the same as two other poets mentioned by Sib Singh, viz. Nand Kabi and Nand Kishōr Kabi. The latter is author of a work entitled Rām Krish'n Gun-Māl.

698. HIAT ETA FHET Mātā Dīn Misar. Alive in 1883. He translated the Shāh Nāma into the vernacular. In Sambat 1933 (A.D. 1876) he published the Kabi Ratnākar (quoted in this work as 'Kab.'), an anthology containing poems by twenty poets.

699. Ta a utic, Rājā śiva Prasād, c.s.i., of Banāras. B. 1823. Alive in 1887.

This gentleman, the well-known friend of education in India, is the grandson of Bībī Ratan Kūar (No. 376). He is also well-known for his efforts to popularise a style of the Hindūstānī language, which he calls the colloquial speech of Āg'rā, Dillī, and Lakh'naū, or of Hindūstān proper, midway between the Persian-ridden Ūrdū and the Sanskrit-ridden Hindī. These efforts have given rise to a lively and not yet decided controversy amongst the natives of India. He is a most prolific author of works on education, and a complete list of his books, communicated by himself, is appended to this section.

The following account of his life is compiled partly from the Modern History of the Indian Chiefs, Rājās, Zamīndārs, etc., by Lokenath Ghose, and partly from materials kindly furnished to the author by the Rājā himself. Towards the end of the 11th century there was a man named Dhāndhal, of the Pāwar (Pramara) tribe, in Ran'thambhōr (Jāīpur territory). Having obtained a son through the blessing of a Jain pontiff, he embraced that religion and was included in the Os'wāl caste. Ran'thambhōr being taken and plundered by Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī late in the 13th century, the family migrated successively to Ahmadābād and Champānēr, and settled finally in Khambhāt. Amar Datt', twenty-sixth in descent from Dhāndhal, presenting a diamond to Shāh Jahān (1628—1658), pleased him so much, that the emperor conferred on him the title of Rāy, brought him to Dillī, and made him court jeweller. Rāy Amar Datt' died leaving one son, who married a

¹ The name is transliterated thus because it is the way he spells it himself. According to the system of transliteration adopted in this book it would be *Qiva Prasāda*, Sib Par'sād, or Siv Par'sād.

sister of Sēth Mānik Chand, of Murshidābād. The youngest son of this marriage, Jagat Sēth Fatah Chand, was adopted by his uncle the Sēth, and two of his elder brothers having been killed in the sack of Dillī by Nādir Shāh, the family settled in Murshidābād. Fatah Chand's grandson Jagat Sēth Mah'tāb Rāy was arrested with his cousin Rājā Dāl Chand by Nawāb Kāsim 'Alī Khān for taking up the cause of the British and joining Lord Clive. Rājā Dāl Chand escaped and reached Banāras, where he ended his days under the protection of the Nawāb Wazīr of Aūdh.

Rājā Śiva Prasād is the son of Bābū Gōpī Chand and great grandson of Rājā Dāl Chand. He lost his father when only eleven or twelve years of age, and was brought up by his mother and grandmother, the latter of whom, Bibi Ratan Kuar (No. 376), was one of the most learned women of her age. He partly owes his education, though very slightly, to Banāras College, then only an English Seminary, but he is emphatically an example of a self-made and self-instructed man. Of his grandmother he says, with characteristic modesty, "the best part of the little knowledge I may be credited with, I acquired from her." In his youth he was strongly anti-European in his ideas, and hence in his seventeenth year he accepted the post of Wakil to the late Mahārāj of Bharat' pur to attend the court of Colonel Sutherland, the then Governor-General's Agent at Āj'mēr. He says :—"My expenses under the Maharajah were somewhat about Rs. 5,000 per mensem, but I found the Dar'bar there rotten to the core, and as hopeless as anything can be on earth. I became disgusted, resigned, returned. and wanted to become an ascetic; but my friends commenced taunting me. They called me a fool and a mad man. They said 'Patang achchhā charhā thā, lēkin gōt khā gayā,'—'a paper kite had got fine and high, but was swooping down again, or 'Andhē kē hāth batēr lag gaī thī,'—'a quail had fallen into the hand of a blind man." I could not bear this, and I made up my mind again to serve, but some one who was greater than the Maharajah of Bharat'pur. ioined Lord Hardinge's camp before Firoz'pur. Mud'kī had been fought, and Sobrāon was about to be fought. There the treatment I received opened my eyes. I vowed I would never serve a Native again." He rose to be Mir Munshi of the Simla Agency when Mr. Edwards became Superintendent of the Protected Hill States there, and he looks back to that period as the best part of his life. When

¹ That is, excessive luck. It usually takes several men in full possession of their eyes to net a single quail.

Mr. Edwards in 1851 or 1852 went home on furlough, Rājā Siva Prasād resigned, and on account of the old age of his mother, intended to live a private life in Banāras; but Mr. Tucker, the then Governor-General's Agent at Banāras, prevailed on him to accept the Mir Munshiship of that Agency, and afterwards obtained for him the post of Joint-Inspector in the Department of Public Instruction. Sir W. Muir made him a full Inspector, and after serving the Government for thirty years he retired on a well-earned pension, and is now living He has received many honours from Government, amongst which may be mentioned the hereditary title of Raja and the Companionship of the most exalted Star of India. The following extract from a letter written by him to the author will fitly conclude this notice:- "I have just written to a friend in England that if he ever has to name a man who at least claims to be contented, thankful, and happy, he can name Siva Prasad. I have one son and three grandsons * * My occupation now is culture of land and culture of mind."

The following is a list of Rājā Siva Prasād's vernacular works:--

No.	Names of Books.	Subject.	Remarks.		
	HINDI.				
1	Bar'n Mālā	Primer	With stories and engravings.		
2	Bāl Bōdh	Easy Reader	Originally written in English by Mr. W. Edwards.		
3	Bidyāŋkur	An adoption of Chambers's Rudiments of Knowledge and a few pages of Introduction to Sciences.	With illustrations. Originally written for Mr. Edwards' schools in the hills. Its Ūrdū version is called Huqāiqu-'I-māujūdāt.		
4	Bāmā-man Rafijan	Some celebrated women of the East and West.	Taken from English and Bangāli books for Mr. H. C. Tucker. Its Ūrdū version is called Hikāyātu'l- Sālihāt.		
5	Hindl Byākaran	Hindi Grammar	Its counterpart in Ūrdū is called Sarf-ō-Nahw-i-Ūrdū (No. 19).		

No.	Names of Books.	Subject.	Remarks.
·	HINDI.		
6	Bhūgōl Hastā- malak, Part I. (Asia.)	Geography	Compiled from no less than a hundred books of reference, with coloured maps. Its Urdū version is called Jām-i-Jahān Numā (No. 20).
7	Chhōta Bhūgōl Hastāmalak	Abridgment of the Bhūgōl Hastāmalak (No. 6).	Its Ūrdū version is called Chhōṭā Jām-i-Jahān Numā.
8		History of India from the earliest ages to the Queen's Proclama- tion, 1858. Selections.	In English, History of Hindustan; in Urdū, Aina-i- Tārīkh Numā.
10	Mānava Dharma-	Extracts from the Institutes of Manu.	With original Sanskrit.
11	Ditto	Ditto	With Sir William Jones's English translation.
12	Sandford āur Mer- ton kī kahānī.	Hindī version of Qissa-i- Sandford-o-Merton (No. 25).	
13	Sīkhō kā Uday Ast.	Rise and fall of the Sikh nation.	Compiled from authentic and official records. Its Urdū version, Sikhō kā Tulū' āūr Ghurūb, is in the Press.
14	Swayambŏdh Ūrdū.	Ūrdū Primer and Self- Instructor.	Out of print.
15	Aŋgrēzī Achchharð kē sīkh'nē kī Upāy.	Roman characters	Ditto.
16	Bachchő kā In'ām	A little prize-book for children.	
17	Rājā Bhōj kā Sap'nā	A story	Written for Mr. H. C. Tucker.
18	Bīr Siŋgh kā Brit- tānt.	Against infanticide	Written for Mr. W. Edwards. Out of print.
i	URDU.		
19	8arf-ō-Nahw-i-Ūrdū	Ūrdū Grammar.	
20	Jām-i-Jahān Numā	Geography.	
21	Chhōṭā Jām-i- Jahān Numā.	Abridgment of Jām-i- Jahān Numā (No. 20).	

No.	Names of Books.	Subject.	Remarks.
	URDU.		
22	Mazāmin	Selections.	
23	Kuchh Bayān ap'nī	A lecture on the vernac-	
	Zubān kā.	ulars, delivered be-	
		fore the Banāras In-	
	, , ,	stitute.	
24	Dil Bah'lāð (in three parts).	Miscellany	Written for Mr. H. C. Tucker.
25	Qissa-i - Sandford - o-Merton.	Translation, or rather adaptation, of Sandford and Merton.	Ditto.
26	Dunnallan	Beauties of Christianity, or life of a Methodist Christian gentleman. Abridged from Grace Kennedy.	Translated for Mr. H. C. Tucker. Out of print.
27	Gulāb dur Chamēli kā Qissā.	Adaptation of the above.	
28	Sachchī Bahādurī	True heroism	Translated for Mr. H. C. Tucker.
29	Miqraʻatu'l-kāhilīn.	Life in earnest	Written for Mr. H. C. Tucker
30	Shahādat-i- Qurānī bar Kutub-i-Rab- bānī,		Written for a gentleman.
31	Tārīkh-i-kalīsā	History of the early church.	Ditto.
32	Fārsī Sarf-ō-Nahw	Persian Grammar in Ūrdū.	

700. जाक्यी नाथ ठाकुर, Lachhmī Nāth Thākur, of Mithilā. Fl. 1870 A.D.

A prolific and much-admired writer in the Bais'wārī dialect.

701. फत्री जाज, Phatūrī (or Fatūrī) Lāl, a Kāyasth, of Tir'hut. Fl. 1874 A.D.

The author of a very popular poetical account of the famine of 1873-74, entitled Kabitt' Akālī, written in the Maithilī dialect. See

J. A. S. B., extra No., 1881, p. 24 (Maithil Chrestomathy, by G. A. Grierson).

702. 耳葉 新了, Chandr' Jhā. Alive in 1883.

A living poet of *Mithilā* of considerable eminence. He attends the court of Mahārāj *Lachh'mīshwar Siŋgh* Bahādur of *Dar'bhaŋgā*, and is author of a much-admired *Rāmāyan* in the Maithilī dialect of Bihārī.

703. जान साहिब, Jān Sāhib. Died about 1883 A.D.

This is the poetical name of Mr. John Christian, the only European writer with whom I am acquainted whose vernacular poetry has made its way to the masses. He was a prolific writer of Christian hymns, which are known to all the singers of Tirhut, most of whom recite them without any idea of their original meaning. His most admired work is the Mukti-Muktābalī, a metrical life of Christ.

704. श्रक्तिका इत्तः व्यास, Ambikā Datt' Byās, of Banāras. Alive in 1888 A.D.

A rising author. He has written several plays, which will be found mentioned in No. 706. His Bhārat Sāubhāgya was written in honour of her Majesty's Jubilee. Amongst his other works may be mentioned Madhumatī, a translation of the well-known Baŋgālī novelette of that name.

705. होटू राम तिवारी, Paṇḍit Chhōṭū Rām Tiwārī, of Banāras. B. cir. 1840 A.D.; D. 1887 A.D.

This gentleman was for many years Professor of Sanskrit at Pat'nā College, and it was the author's privilege to number him amongst his more intimate friends. His knowledge of the earlier vernacular poetry of his country was profound and accurate, and his reputation extended over a wide area. As a writer of his own language his fame rests on his Rām Kathā, of which, I believe, no authorised edition was ever published. It is admittedly a model of the very purest and best modern Hindī, free alike from vulgarisms and from pedantry. He kept the proofs of the work by him for several years, incessantly polishing

it and repolishing it, till the day of his death. So much was the work admired that there was a large sale of these proof-sheets, which achieved great popularity, and extracts from them have been given prominent situations in the many Readers and Anthologies which have been issued of late years.

He was son of Dēbī Dayāl Tripāṭhī, and had two brothers—an elder, named Sītal Par'sād, author of a play entitled Jānakī Maŋgal, the first Hindī play ever acted, and a younger, called Gōpī Nāth, who was father of Kālī Par'sād Tiwārī (No. 739).

NOTE ON THE HINDI! AND ON THE BIHARI DRAMA.

706. The Hindī drama is a plant of very recent growth. It is true that some of the earlier writers wrote what they called nāṭaks, for instance Niwāj (No. 198) wrote a Sakuntalā, and Braj Bāsī Dās (No. 369) and others translations of the Prabādha Chandrādaya; but these were plays only in name, being without entrances and exits of the characters. Similarly, the Dāb Māyā Prapaāch of the celebrated poet Dāb (No. 140), the Prabhāwatī written for the Mahārāj of Banāras, and the Ānand Raghunandan written for Mahārāj Biswanāth Siŋgh (No. 529) of Rīwā, are wanting in the essentials of dramatic poetry.

The first Hindī play in which there are regular exits and entrances for the characters was the Nahukh Nāṭak of Giridhar Dās (Gōpāl Chandr') (No. 580), which deals with Indra's expulsion from his throne by Nahuṣa and his subsequent reinstatement. Harishchandr', the son of the author, was seven years old at the time it was written, which was therefore the year 1857.

The next Hindī play in a really dramatic form was the Sakuntalā of Rājā Lachhman Singh, which has in later years been edited by Mr. Pincott. It was followed by Harishchandra's (No. 581) Bidyā Sundar, founded on the well-known Bangālī poem of that name, but happily free from its obscenities. The fourth was the Taptā Sambaran of Srīnibās Dās, the fifth Harishchandra's Bāidikī Hinsā, and the sixth Tōtā Rām's Kētō Kritānt. These examples found many imitators.

The first Hindī play ever performed was the Jānakī Mangal of Sītal Par'sād Tiwārī, elder brother of Chhōṭū Rām Tiwārī (No. 705).

¹ Partly abridged from Harishchandra's 'Nāṭak;' Shrī Harishchandra Kalā, p. 38.

This took place in the Banāras theatre in the Sambat year 1925 (1868 A.D.), and was very successful. It was followed by the Ran Dhīr Prēm Mōhinī of Srīnibās Dās and the Satya Harishchandr' of Harishchandr' at Allāhābād and Kānh'pur.

In Bihār, on the contrary, a dramatic tradition has existed for nearly five centuries. Bidyāpati Thākur (1400 A.D.) (No. 17) was the author of two plays—the Pārijāt Haran and the Rukminī Swayambar. Manuscripts of these plays exist, I believe, to the present day, but I have never seen them. Lāl Jhā (No. 363) was author of the Gāūrī Parinay. At the beginning of the present century Bhānu Nāth Jhā (No. 641) wrote the Prabhābatī Haran. Har'kh Nāth Jhā (No. 642) is author of the Ukhā Haran or (in Sanskrit) Uṣā Harana. All these poets were Maithil Brāhmans. It must be admitted that their works hardly come under the name of vernacular plays, as the characters speak in Sanskrit and in Prākrit, only the songs being in Maithilī.

The following is a list of Hindi plays given by Harishchandr', l.c.

Name of play.		Author.
Nahukh Nāṭak		Giridhar Dās.
Sakuntalā		Lachhman Singh.
Mudrā Rāchhas		Harishchandr'.
Satya Harishehandr'		Ditto.
Bidyā Sundar		Ditto.
Andhēr Nagarī	•••	Ditto.
Vişasya Vişamāuşadham	• • • •	Ditto.
Satī Pratāp		Ditto
Chandrābalī		Ditto.
Madhurī		Ditto.
Pākhaṇḍ Biṛamban		Ditto.
Nab Mallikā	•••	Ditto.
Durlabh Bandhu	•••	Ditto.
Prēm Jōginī	•••	Ditto,
Jāisā Kām Wāisā Parinām		Ditto.
Karpūr Mañjarī		Ditto.
Nīl Dēbī		Ditto.
Bhārat Durdasā		Ditto.
Bhārat Jananī	•••	Ditto.
Dhanañjay Bijay		Ditto.
Bāīdikī Hinsā		Ditto.
Būrh Müh Muhāsē, Log C	_	
Tamāsē	•••	Gōkul Chand.

Grih

Name of play.

Author.

Adbhut Charitr'. or Chandī Taptā Sambaran Ran Dhīr Prēm Mōhinī Kētō Kritānt Sajjād Sumbul Sham'shād Sāūsan

Jay Nar'singh kī

Hōlī Khagēs Chachchhu Dān

Pad'māwatī Sarmishthā

Chandr' Sēn Sarōjinī

Sarōjinī

Mrichchhakatikā Bārānganā Rahasya

Bigyān Bibhākar Lalitā Nāţikā

Dēb Purukh Drishya Bēnī Sanghār Gō Saŋkaţ

Bhārat Sāubhāgya Jānakī Mangal

Dukkhinī Bālā **Padmāwatī**

Mahā Rās

Rām Līlā

Mrichchhakatikā Bāl Khēl

Rādhā Mādhab

Wēnis kā Sāūdāgar (Merchant of Venice)

Mrichehhakatikā

Wēnis kā Sāūdāgar

Tōtā Rām.

Srī Matī.

Kēshō Rām Bhatt.

Srīnibās Dās.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Deokī Nandan Tiwārī.

Ditto. Ditto.

Bāl Krish'n Bhatt.

Ditto. Ditto. Ganēs Datt'.

Rādhā Charan Gosāi.

Gadā Dhar Bhatt.

Bad'rī Nārāyan Chāudh'rī.

Jānī Bihārī Lāl. Ambikā Datt' Byās. Ditto.

Ditto. Ditto. Ditto.

Sītal Par'sād Tiwārī. Rādhā Krish'n Dās.

Ditto.

...

Mahārāj Kumār Kharag Lāl ٠.. Bahādur Mall.

Dāmodar Shāstrī.

Ditto. Ditto.

Ditto.

Balēswar Par'sād. Thākur Dayāl Siŋgh.

Ditto.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER XI.

707. पश्चम कवि, the poet and bard Pancham, of Dal'maū, district Ray Bareli. B. (PFl.) 1867 A.D.

Phūl Chand, a फल चन्द. Brāhman, of Bais'wārā. B. (? Fl.) 1871 A.D.

Sib Singh gives two poets of this name; the second without date.

709. सुद्रात्सन सिङ्घ, Kumār Sudar'san Siggh, of Chandāpur. (Cf. No. 693.) B. (? Fl.) 1873.

He has published a collection of his own poems.

- 710. मानिक चन्द, Manik Chand the Kayasth, of district 8itapur. B. (f Fl.) 1873 A.D.
- 711. খনন্থ বিস্তু, Anand Singh alias Dur'gā Singh, of Ahawanadi Koliyā, district Sītāpur. Alive in 1883 A.D.
- 712. ईखरी परन्साद, चिपाठी Tewari Par'sād Tripāṭhī, of Pir'nagar, district Sitāpūr. Alive in 1883.

He has written a translation of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki in the form of an epic poem in various metres under the name of the Rām Bilās.

- 713. जमन्दाव सिङ्घ पँवार, the bard Um'rāw Singh, of Sāid'pur, district Sītāpur. Alive in 1883.
- 714. गुर दीन राय बन्दीजन, the bard Gur Din Ray, of Paiteya, district Sitapur. Alive in 1883.

He attended the court of Rājā Ran Jīt Siŋgh Sāh Jāg'rē (No. 716), of Īsānagar, district Khīrī.

715. बन्त देव किन खनस्थी, the poet Bal Deb Abasthi, of Dasapur, district Sitapur. Alive in 1883.

Under the name of Rājā Dal Thambhan Siŋgh Gāur Sawāiyā, of Hathiyā, he wrote a work on lovers entitled Sriŋgār Sudhākar.

716. रन जीत सिङ्घ साद जाँगारे, Rājā Ran Jit Singh Sāh Jāg'rē, of Īsānagar, district Khīrī. Alive in 1883.

The author of a translation of the Hrivamça.

717. ठाकुर परन्धाद निवेदी, Thākur Par'sād Tribēdī, of Alīgañj, district Khīrī, Aliye in 1883. 718. इजारी खाल चिनेदी, Hajāri Lāl Tribēdī, of Alīgañj, district Khīrī. Alive in 1883,

A quietistic and moral poet.

719. बङ्गा दयाल दूबे, Gangā Dayāl Dūbē, of Nis'gar, district Rāy Barēll. Alive in 1883.

Said to be skilled in Sanskrit and the vernacular.

720. दयाल किन, the poet and bard Dayal, of Betl, district Ray Barell. Alive in 1883.

He is son of the poet $Bh\bar{\alpha}un$ (No. 611).

721. बिसनाथ, the bard Biswanāth, of Ţikaī, district Ray Barēli. Alive in 1883.

He praised one Ran'jit Singh (P No. 716). He is possibly the same as a Biswanāth Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh as born 1844 A.D., who has written a number of poems on the manners and customs of the people of Lakh'naū.

722. बिन्दाबन, Brindaban, a Brāhman, of Sem'rāutā, district Rāy Barēlī. Alive in 1883.

PRāg. No particulars. He is possibly the same as a Brindāban Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh.

723. बिक्राम किन, the poet and bard Lachhiram, of Höl'pur, district Bārābaŋkī. Alive in 1883.

He wrote a treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87) under the name of Sib Siygh (the author of the anthology), and called it Sib Siygh Sarōj. Cf. No. 126.

724. सन्त बकास, the bard Sant Bah's, of Höl'pur, district Barabanki. Alive in 1883.

Cf. No. 126.

725. समर सिङ्ग, Samar Singh, a Chhattrī, of Har'hā, district Bārābaŋhī. Alive in 1883.

The author of a Rāmāyan.

726. सिव परन्सन्न किन, the poet Sib Par'sann, a Sāk'dwīpī Brāhman, of Rām'nagar, district Bārābaŋkī. Alive in 1883.

727. सीता राम दास, Sita Ram Das, a Baniyā, of Birāpur, district Bārābaŋkī. Alive in 1883.

728. गुनाकर चिपाठी, Gunākar Tripāthi, of Kānthā, district Unão. Alive in 1883.

He writes in Sanskrit and in the vernacular. His family is famed for its knowledge of astronomy.

729. सुख राम, Sukh Rām, a Brāhman, of Chāuhattari, district Unāo. Alive in 1883.

He is possibly the same as a Suhh Rām Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh as B. (? Fl.) 1844 A.D. and as an erotic poet.

730. देबी दीन, the bard Dēbī Dīn, of Bil'grām, district Har'doī. Alive in 1883.

His best works are a Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87) and the Ras. dar'pan.

731. माता दीन सुकल, Mata Din 8uhal, of Aj'gara, district Par'tap'garh. Alive in 1883.

He attends the court of Rājā Ajīt Singh, of Par'tāp'garh. Some verses by him, entitled Gyān Dōhābalī, will be found in the Bhākhā Sār of Sāhib Prasād Singh.

732. कन्हेया बख्य, Kanhāiyā Bahhah the Bas, of Baia'wārā (Āudh). Alive in 1883.

His best work is in the quietistic style.

733. गिरिधारी भार, Giri Dhārī Bhāt, of Maū Rānīpurā, in district Jhānsī, Bundēl'khaṇḍ. Alive in 1883. 734. जनग्रेस, the bard Jab'rës, of Bundël'khand. Alive in 1883.

735. रन घीर सिङ्घ, Rājā Ran Dhīr Siŋgh, Sir'māūr, of Siŋg'rā Maū. Alive in 1883.

Besides being a patron of poets, he is author of the Kābya Ratnākar (written 1840 A.D.) and the Bhūkhan Kāumudī (written 1860 A.D.). There are many towns of the name of Maū in India, but I have been nnable to identify that named as above by Sib Siggh.

736. सिंब दीन, Paṇḍit 81b Dîn alias Raghu Nāth, a Brāhman, of Rasūlābād. Alive in 1883.

The author of the Bhābāmahimna and other works. Possibly the same as a Sib Din Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh without particulars. There are several towns of the name of Rasūlābād in India. I do not know which is the one above referred to.

737. राम नारायन, Rām Nārāyan, a Kāyasth. Alive in 1883.

An erotic poet. He is Munshi to Mahārāj Mān Singh (No. 599).

738. चिनिका परन्साद, Ambika Par'sād. Alive in 1883 A.D.

He belongs to the Shāhābād district, and is the author of numerous songs in the Bhoj'pūrī dialect, which are not of great merit, but are valuable as samples of the author's mother tongue. A number are given in Part II of Seven Grammars of the Bihār Dialects.

739. काली परन्साद तिवारी, Kālī Par'sād Tiwārī, of Banāras. Alive in 1888.

This gentleman is Head Pandit of the Jhauganj City School, in Pat'na. He is the author of several schoolbooks, and of a Bhakha Ramayan, in mixed Hindi prose and verse, in a simple style, which is much admired. He is nephew of Pandit Chhota Ram Tiwari (No. 705).

740. ৰিছাবী আল দীৰ Bihari Lai Chaube, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit at Pat'na College, Alive in 1888. This gentleman, besides writing a large number of useful school-books, is author of a useful work on rhetoric entitled Bihārī Tul'sī Bhūkhan Bōdh. He is also editing a good edition of the Bat Saī of Tul'sī Dās (No. 128) in the Bibliotheca Indica.

CHAPTER XII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE following chapter contains the names of a number of minor poets, whose dates I have not been able to fix.

I.—Poets mentioned in the Kabi-mala of Tul'si (No. 153), and therefore earlier than 1655 A.D.

741. सङ्घ किंब, the poet Sankh.

742. चाइब कबि, the poet 8āhab.

743. सिंह कवि, the poet 8iddh.

744. দুৰ্দ্ধি কৰি, the poet Subuddhi 745. खी कर कबि, the poet 8ri Kar.

746. सी इंड क्बि, the poet 8ri Hath.

II.—Poets mentioned in the Hajara of Kalidas Tribedi (No. 159), and therefore earlier than 1718 A.D.

747. जसन्वन कवि, the poet Jas'want the younger.

748. तीखी कबि, the poet Tikhi.

If I understand Sib Singh aright,
poems by him are included in Haj.

749. तेही कवि, the poet Tehl.
If I understand Sib Singh aright,
poems by him are included in Haj.

750. दिखा राम कवि, the poet Dilā Rām.

751. राम रूप कवि, the poet Ram Rap.

I have collected several songs by him in Mithila.

752. खीधे कबि, the poet Lodhe.

III,—Poets mentioned in the Kabya-nir'nay of Bhikhari Das (No. 344), and therefore earlier than 1723 A.D.

753. लोक नाथ कवि, the poet Löh Nath.

Also in Rag.

754. युखाम नवी, Sayyad Gulām Nabī alias the poet Ras Līn, of Bil'grām, district Har'dōī.

Besides being learned in Arabic and Persian, he was also a master of the vernacular. He wrote a nakh'-sikh called Ang Dar'pan (dated 1637 A.D.), and a treatise on rhetoric, entitled Ras Par'bōdh (dated 1741 A.D.)

There is something wrong about these dates. The latter is probably the correct one.

755. बिंख किन, the poet Ball. An erotic poet.

756. रहीम काबि, the poet Rahim.

He is distinct from 'Abdu'r Raḥīm Khān'hhānā (No. 108). It is difficult to distinguish between the works of this poet and those of his illustrious namesake.

IV.—Poets mentioned by the poet Sudan (No. 367), and therefore earlier than 1753 A.D.

757. सने ही कबि, the poet Sanēhi. 758. सिव दास कबि, the poet Sib Dās.

Garcin de Tassy (I, 474) mentions an author of this name who came from Jāipur, to whom we owe the Sib Chāupāi, a work quoted by Ward in his History of the Hindūs (II, 481). He was also author of a book the name of which Garcin de Tassy gives as Pōthi lōk ūhat ras jagat, which he confesses he does not understand.

759. सुमेव सिङ्घ साहेबन्जादा, Prince Sumerá Singh.

Also in Sun.

760. सूरज कबि, the poet Sūraj.

761. इरि कवि. the poet Hari.

The author of a commentary on the Bhākhā Bhūkhan (No. 377), entitled Chamatkār Chandrikā, and of a metrical commentary on the Kabi-priyā (No. 134) entitled Kabi-priyābharan. He also translated the Amara Kōça (? Rāg. cf. Nos. 170, 567, 589) into the vernacular.

762. हित राम कबि, the poet Hit Ram.

V.—Poets mentioned in the Rag-Sagarodbhab Rag-Kalpadrum of Krishnanand Byas Deb (No. 638), and therefore earlier than 1843 A.D. 1

763. æबीले कबि, the poet Chhabile, of Braj.

764. ভাগলায বাম, Jagnnath Das. He is possibly the same as one Jagannath Kabi the elder, mentioned by Sib Siggh. Cf. No. 601.

765. चुग राज कवि, the poet

Said to be the author of some tasteful poems.

766. धाँचे दास, Dhödhe Das, of Braj.

767. नाम देव, Nam Dēb.

Poems by him are also included in the Sikh Granth (see Nos. 22, 169).

768. बलि राम दास, Bali Rām Dās, of Braj.

Also Sring. Possibly the same as a Bali Rām quoted by Garcin de

Tassy (I, 105) from Mack. (II, 108) as author of the Chit Bilās, a treatise on the creation of the world, in which are described the objects and end of human existence, the formation of gross and ethereal bodies, and the means of acquiring salvation.

769. विश्-न दास, Bish'n Das.

Also the name of the author of a number of emblematic dohas.

770. भगग्वान व्हित राम राय, Bhag'wan Hit Ram Ray.

771. मन निधि कवि, the poet Man Nidhį.

772. मिन कण्ड किन, the poet Mani Kanth.

773. मुरारि दास, Murari Das, of Braj.

774. रसिक दास, Rasik Dās, of Braj.

¹ See also many other names mentioned in the preface of the same work extracted out in No. 638.

775. राम राय, Rām Rāy, the Rathaur.

776. लच्चन दास कवि, the poet Lachehhan Dās.

I have found a poem in the Braj dialect, and bearing his name, in Mithila.

He was son of Rājā Khēm Pāl the Rathāur.

777. जकुमन सरन दास, Lachhuman Saran Das.

778. सगुन दास कवि, the poet 8agun Dās.

779. स्थाम मनोहर कवि, the poet Syam Manöhar.

VI.—Poet mentioned in the Ras Chandroday of Thakur Par'sad (No. 570), and therefore earlier than 1863 A.D.

780. कालिका कवि, the poet and bard Kālikā, of Banāras. Alive in 1883. Also in Sun.

VII.—Poets mentioned in the Dig-bijai Bhukhan of Gokul Par'sad (No. 694), and therefore earlier than 1868 A.D.

781. खान कबि, the poet Khān. 782. धुरन्बर कबि, the poet Dhurandhar.

Also Sring.

783. नायक कवि, the poet Nayah.

Also Sring.

VIII.—Poets mentioned in the Sundari Tilak of Harishchandr' (No. 581), and therefore earlier than 1869 A.D.

784. भानीमन कवि, the poet Aliman.

785. कवि राम, Kabi Rām alias Rām Nāth, the Kāyasth.

Sib Singh gives two poets of this name. One he puts down as alive in 1883, and the other as born in 1841. Probably they are the same.

786. तुन्तन्ती सी बोका जी, Tul'sī 8rī Ōjhā Jī, of Jödh'pur (Mār'wār).

He is said to be an elegant erotic poet.

787. दया निधि, Dayā Nidhi, a Brāhman, of Paţ'nā.

Possibly the same as a Daya Nidhi Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh, also without date. Cf. No. 365.

788. नजीव खान, Najib Khān alias the poet Rasiyā, councillor of the Mahārāj of Paṭiyālā.

789. नव निधि तबि, the poet Nab Nidhi.

790. नबीन कवि, the poet Nabin.

An erotic poet.

791. नरेस कवि, the poet Narēs.

It appears from a reference in one of his detached poems that he was the author of a treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87).

792. पारस कवि, the poet Paras.

793. महन्राज कबि, the poet Mah'rāj.

Also Sring.

794. रिखिनाथ कवि, the poet Rikhi Nath.

Also Sring. An erotic poet.

795. सेखर कबि, the poet Sēkhar.

An erotic poet.

796. इनुमान क्वि, the poet and bard Hanuman, of Banaras.

IX.—Poets mentioned in the Kabya Sangrah of Mahes Datt' (No. 696), and therefore earlier than 1875 A.D.

797. क्रिपा रास, Kripā Rām, the Brāhman, of Narāmāpur, district Göda.

He translated the whole Bhāgavata Purāņa into simple language in dōhās and chāupāīs. Cf. No. 328.

He is probably the same as a Kripā Rām Kabi (date unknown) who was the author of a poem in the Champū style, entitled Mādhab Sulōchanā, and

as another Kripā Rām Kabi (date also unknown), author of an erotic poem in the dōhā metre, entitled Hit Tarangini.

798. मनल दास, Nawal Das, the Chhattrī, of Gūr Gāw, district Bārābaŋ৸ī.

He is the author of a work entitled Gyān Sarōbar. His date is (certainly incorrectly) put by Sib Singh at Sambat 1316 (A.D. 1259).

X.—Miscellaneous poets whose dates I have been unable to fix. Collected from various sources, principally the Sib Singh Saroj.

799. चमर जी कवि, the poet

According to Sib Singh he is mentioned by Tod in his Rājasthān, but I have been unable to find the place.

800. कच्यान सिङ्घ भट्ट, Kalyān Singh Bhaṭṭ.

801. काली चरन बाजन्पेयी, Kalī Charan Bāj'pēyī, of Bigah'pur, district Unão.

Said to have been a skilled poet.

802. का सी दीन कबि, the poet

He translated poems in honour of Durgā.

803. कुछ गोपी, Kunj Gopi, the Gang Brahman, of Jaipur.

An erotic writer.

804. वेसन्वर राम कवि, the poet Kēs'war Rām.

Author of a work entitled Bhramargit, or songs of a bee, which however, according to Garcin de Tassy (I, 302), was written by Krish'n Das, No. 806.

805. क्रिपाल कबि, the poet Kripal.

An erotic writer.

806. क्रियन्न दास, Krish'n Das. Author of a commentary on the

Bhaht Mālā (see No. 51). See Garcin de Tassy, I, 302. Garcin de Tassy makes him also possibly the author of a Bhramar-git (see No. 804), and of a religious treatise entitled Prēm Sattwa Nirūp.

807. खान मुखन्तान कवि, 'the poet Khān Mul'tān.

808. खुसाल पाठक, Khusāl Pāthah, of Rāy Barēlī.

He wrote on lovers (see note to No. 87).

809. खूब चन्द किन, the poet Khūb Chand, of Mār'wār.

He composed a poem in honour of Rājā Gambhīr Sāhī, of Īdar.

810. खेतल कबि, the poet Khētal.

He wrote on lovers (see note to No. 87).

811. गङ्गा घर काबि, the poet Gangā Dhar.

He has written a commentary on the Sat Sai of Bihāri (No. 196) in the kuṇḍaliya and dōhā metres, named the Up'sat'sāŋyā. 812. যজ सিङ্घ, Gaj Singh.

The author of the Gaj Singh Bilas. (Cf., however, No. 190.)

- 813. गोध किंग, the poet Gidh. Some detached chhappकs and döhās by him are extant.
- 814. गुमानी कबि, the poet Gumani, of Pat'na.

He wrote a number of verses, which are in every one's mouth in Bihār. The first three lines are in Sanskrit, and the fourth of each is a Hindī proverb. Specimens have been published in the *Indian Antiquary*. An example is

यावद्रामः शक्तवारी नायाती इ लखं हारी तावत्तकों देया नारी कों भीं जे त्यों कम्बल मारी

(Mandōdarī addresses Rāvaṇa). (Sanskrit) Before Rāma come armed here to fight with thee, do thou return his wife to him, for (Hindī proverb) 'The longer a blanket moisteneth (in the dew), the heavier it is.'

815. गुलाम राम कबि, the poet Gulam Ram.

His poems are said to be good.

816. गुलामी कबि, the poet Gulami.

His poems are said to be good.

817. गोसाँई कबि, the poet Bosal, of Raj'putana.

His occasional $d\bar{o}h\bar{a}s$ and those on morals are excellent.

818. गोपाल राय किन, the poet Göpāl Rāy.

He wrote some verses in praise of Narendr' Lal Sahi and 'Ādil Khān.

819. शीपान सिङ्घ, Göpāl Singh, of Braj.

He wrote the Tul'si Sabdarth Par'kās. In it he describes the Ashta Chhāp (see No. 35).

820. गोबिन्द राम, the bard Göbind Rām, of Răj'putānā.

He was author of a work entitled the Hārāwatī, which is a history of the Hārā family (cf. Tod's Rājāsthān, II, 454; Calc. ed. ii, 499).

821. घासी भ ह, Ghāsi Bhāṭṭ.

822. चन्ना पानि, Chākr' Pānî. A Māīthil poet (see J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 91).

823. ব্রুক্ডেল, Chatur'bhuj.

A Mathil poet (see J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 87).

824. चोखे कनि, the poet Chākhē.

Sib Singh says that his poems are clever (चोक्ती).

825. इसन कबि, the poet Chhattan.

826. जगन्नेस कवि, the poet Jag'nēs.

827. जनारन्दन भट्ट, Janar'dan Bhatt.

He wrote a treatise on medicine entitled Bāidya Ratan.

828. जयानन्द, Jayanand.

He was a Mathil poet, a Karan Kayasth by caste (see J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 85).

829. चुगुल परन्साद चौने, Jugul Par'sād Chāubē.

He has written a good Dohābalī.

830. जै क्रियन कवि, the poet Jai Krish'n.

He was son of the poet Bhawani Das. Cf. No. 683. He wrote a treatise on prosody entitled Chhand Sar.

831. জ মিত্ব কৰি, the poet Jāi Singh.

An erotic writer.

832. टहन्तन कवि, the poet Tah'han, of the Pahjab.

He has translated the episode of the Sacrifices of the Pandavas (Pandavo kē yajña) from Sanskrit into the vernacular.

833. टाकुर राम कवि, the poet Thakur Ram.

A quietistic poet.

834. জাল, pāk, an agricultural poet (see Ghāgh (No. 217) and cf. Bihār Peasant Life).

835. Gran and, the poet Phakan.

836. दया देव काबि, the poet Dayā Dēb.

Sring.

837. दान किन, the poet Dan. An erotic poet.

838. दिलीप कार्ब, the poet Dilip.

839. देव नाथ क्बि, the poet Deb Nath.

840. देव मनि कवि, the poet Deb Mani.

He wrote a commentary in the vernacular to the first 16 adhyāyas of Chāṇakya's Rājanīti (Rāg. Cf. Nos. 574 and 919).

841. देवी कवि, the poet Debi.
An erotic poet. Probably the same as one of the many other poets whose names commence with Debi.

842. देबी दत्तः किन, the poet

A writer of quietistic and occasional pieces.

843. देवी सिङ्घ कवि, the poet Debl Singh.

Sring.

844. হিজ নব্দ কৰি, the poet Dwij Nand.

845. नजामी, Najami.

I know nothing about this poet, except one short poem in praise of Sib, bearing his name, in the Bais'wārī dialect, which I collected orally in Mithilā.

846. नन्द राम किन, the poet Nand Ram.

A quietistic poet.

847. नन्दीपति, Nandipati.

A Maithil poet. See J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 79.

848. नबी कबि, the poet Nabl.

Sring. The author of an excellent Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87).

849. नवल किमोर किन, the poet Nawal Kishör.

No particulars. He is possibly the same as one of the other poets whose name commences with Nawal, and as a poet mentioned by Sib Singh, without date, as Nawal Kabi.

850. नाथ, Nath.

Sring. Many poets, such as Kāsl Nāth (No. 139), Uday Nāth (No. 334), Sib Nāth (No. 632), &c., often call themselves, as nom de guerre, simply Nāth, which has given rise to great confusion. Cf. Nos. 68, 147, 162, 440, 632.

851. नेही कवि, the poet Nehl.

852. नैन कबि, the poet Nam.

853. पखाने किब, the poet

854. परन्धान केसब राय कबि, the poet Par'dhān Kēsab Rāy.

He wrote a treatise on veterinary surgery entitled Sālihōtr' (Rāg). He is possibly the same as a Par'dhān Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh, without date or particulars.

855. परमञ्ज, Par'mall.

He was son of Saykar, and was author of a Jain work entitled Sripal Charitr'. See Garcin de Tassy, I, 401. Cf. id. I, 520.

856. पुरान कवि, the poet Puran. 857. पुरात कवि, the poet Pushkar.

The author of a work on composition (साहित्य) entitled Ras-ratan.

858. पूरन चन्द जूथ, Pūran Chand Jūth.

He wrote a work entitled the Rāmrāhasya Rāmāyan.

859. प्रेम केखर दास, Prem Keswar Das.

Author of a translation into the vernacular of the 12th book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The India Office Library is said by Garcin de Tassy (I, 404) to possess a copy.

860. फोरन काब, the poet

861. बकन्सी कवि, the poet Bak'sī.

Possibly the same as a Bah'sū mentioned in the preface to Rāg.

862. वर्जन्रङ्ग कवि, the poet Baj'rang.

863. बदन कवि, the poet

864. बन्दी घर मिसर, Bansī Dhar Misar, of Sandīlā.

A quietistic poet.

865. बरम राय, Bar'g Rāy. Author of a work entitled Göpāchalakathā, or History of Gwāliyar. See Garcin de Tassy, I, 518.

866. बाबू भट्ट कबि, the poet Baba Bhatt.

867. विदुख कवि, the poet Bidukh.

A poet who dealt with the sports of Krisna.

868. বিদ্যাহন্ত কৰি, the poet Binda Datt'.

An erotic poet.

869. विसमार कवि, the poet Bisambhar or Biswāmbar.

An erotic poet.

870. विसेषर कवि, the poet Bisēsar.

871. बुद सेन कबि, the poet Buddh Sēn.

872. ड्रंघ सिङ्घ, Budh Singh, the Pañjābī.

Author of an elegant translation into the vernacular of the story of Mādhavānala or Mādhānal. (Cf. Nos. 216, 629.)

873. बुलाकी दास, Bulaki Das.

A prolific writer of ghātos or songs peculiar to the month of Chāt in the Bhoj'pūrī dialect. See Some Bhoj'pūrī Folk-songs, J. R. A. S., vol. xviii.

874. बेनी माधब सह, Beni Madhab Bhatt.

875. बैन कवि, the poet Bain.

876. बीधी राम काब, the poet Bödhi Rām.

877. ब्रज मोहन कबि, the poet Braj Möhan.

An erotic poet.

878. ब्रजेस कवि, the poet Brajës, of Bundël'khand.

879. जिन्द किन, the poet Brind.

880. भगन्वान दास निरञ्जनी, Bhag'wān Dās, Nirahjani.

He translated the Bhartrihari Çataka into the vernacular under the name of Bhrityahari Sat.

881. मञ्जन, Bhañjan.

A Mathil poet. See J. A.S. B., vol. LIII, p. 90.

882. HJT, Bhaddar, an agricultural poet. See Ghāgh (No. 217) and cf. Bihār Peasant Life.

He was by tradition a noted astrologer, and is said to have belonged to the Shāhābād district. Many folktales are current concerning him.

883. भीला नाथ, Bhola Nath, a Brāhman, of Kanāuj.

He wrote a metrical version of the Bāntāl Pachlsi (Rāg.).

884. मङ्गद कवि, the poet Mangad.

885. मनग्सा राम कवि, the poet Man'sā Rām.

Sring. A writer on lovers (see note to No. 87). He is possibly the same as a *Man'sā Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as a great master of alliteration.

886. मनी राय कवि, the poet Mani Ray.

An erotic poet.

887. मन्यन कवि, the poet Manya. An erotic poet:

888. मनोचर दास निरम्ननी, Manohar Das, Nirahjani.

The author of a Vedantic work entitled Gyān-chūran Bachanikā.

889. महन्ताब कवि, the poet Mah'tab.

The author of an admired Nakh'-sikh (see note to No. 87).

890. महिपति, Mahipati.

A Mathil poet. See J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 84.

891. मानित दास कवि, the poet Mānih Dās, of Mathurā.

The author of a work entitled Manik-bödh, treating of Kṛiṣṇa's sports.

892. मीरन किंब, the poet

Sring. The author of an admired Nakh'sikh (see note to No. 87).

893. मुनि लाल कवि, the poet

894. मुसाहिब, Musāhib, Rājā of Bijāur.

He wrote commentaries on the Binay Pattrika (see No. 128) and on the Ras Raj (see No. 146).

895. স্থল, Mūn, the Asōthar, a Brāhman, of Ghāzīpur. The author of many works. Amongst them the Rām Rāban kā juddh may be mentioned.

896. रचु राम, Raghu Rām, the Guj'rātī, of Ah'madābād.

The author of a play entitled Madhab Bilas (? Rag. Cf. No. 629).

897. रचु लाल कबि, the poet Raghu Lal.

An erotic poet.

898. रज्जब किब, the poet Rajjab.

Sring. An esteemed author of $d\bar{o}h\bar{a}s$.

899. रतन पाल कबि, the poet Ratan Pal.

The author of various $d\bar{o}h\bar{a}s$ on morals,

900. रमापति, the poet Ramā-

P Sring. A Manthil poet. See J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 83.

901. रस पुञ्च दास, Ras Puñj Dās, the Dādū Panthī.

The author of two good works on prosody, entitled Prastar Prabhakar and Brittya Binod.

902. राम चरन, Rām Charan, a Brāhman of Ganēs'pur, district Bārābaŋkī.

The author of a Sanskrit work entitled Kāyastha-kula Bhāskara, and of a vernacular work entitled Kāyasth-dhar'm Dar'pan.

903. राम दत्तः काबि, the poet Ram Datt'.

904. राम दया किन, the poet Ram Daya.

The author of a work entitled Rāg Mālā (Rag.). Cf. No. 400.

905. राम देव सिङ्घ, Ram Deb Singh, a Chhattrī of the Solar race, of Khaṇdāsā.

906. राम नाथ मिसर, Ram Nath Misar, of Āzam'garh, 907. राम नख्र, Rām Bakhsh alias Rām Kabi.

He attended the court of the Rānā of Sir'māur. He is the author of a treatise on vernacular composition (ডাছিঅ) and of a commentary to the Sat Sal of Bihārī Lāl (No. 196).

908. राम खाल कवि, the poet Ram Lal.

909. राम सेख कबि, the poet Ram Sekh, a Brahman.

The author of a play entitled Nritya Raghab Milan.

910. राम सेवन कवि, the poet

The author of a work entitled Dhyan Chintamani.

911. रामा कन, Rama Kant. I have collected songs in the Braj dialect in Mithila, purporting to be by this poet.

912. राय चन्द काबि, the poet Ray Chand, of Nagar, in Guj'rat.

According to Sib Singh he attends the dar'bār of Rājā Dāl Chand, Jagat Sēth in Murshidābād, and is the author of two displays of learning, entitled (1) Gīt'gōbindādarshan (a translation of the Gīta Gōvinda) and (2) Lilāvatī (Rāg.). There was a Rājā Dāl Chand of Murshidābād who was greatgrandfather of Rājā Siva Prasād (No. 699, q.v.), who may possibly be the person referred to by Sib Sīngh.

913. राय जू कवि, the poet $Ray J\bar{u}$.

An erotic poet. Possibly the same as a Ray Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh, also as an erotic poet.

914. लाडुमन काबि, the poet Lachhuman.

He wrote a Sālihōtr', or treatise on veterinary surgery.

915. खकुमन सिङ्घ, Lachhuman Singh.

An erotic poet.

916. लक्क्षी किन, the poet Lachhmi.

Sib says he is mentioned by Saran (P)

917. चाजित राम काब, the poet Lalit Rām.

918. लाजब कवि, the poet Lajab.

919. ভাৰ কৰি, the poet Lai. He translated Chāṇakya's Rājanīti (Rāg.) into the vernacular. Cf. Nos. 525, 574, and 840.

920. जाल चन्द किंब, the poet Lal Chand.

The author of emblematic kabittas and kuṇḍaliyās.

921. खोक मनि कवि, the poet

Sib Singh says that he is mentioned by Saran (?)

922. जीने किन, the poet and bard Lone, of Bundel'khand.

An erotic poet.

923. वजान्हन, Waz'han.

A quietistic Vedantic author of $d\bar{o}h\bar{a}s$.

924. वहाब, Wahāb.

The author of a well-known Bara Māsā, or song descriptive of the 12 months.

925. वाहिद कवि, the poet Wāhid.

An erotic poet.

926. सन्जीत सिङ्घ, Rājā Satru Jit Singh, the Bundēlā of Datiyā, in Bundēl'khand.

The author of a treatise on rhetoric, &c., under cover of a commentary to the Ras Rāj (No. 146).

927. सबल स्थाम कवि, the poet Sabal Syām.

- 928. तसु नाथ मिसर, Sambhu Nath Misar, of Muradabad, district Unao.
- 929. सन्धु परन्ताद कवि, the poet Sambhu Par'sād.

An erotic poet.

930. सरस राम, Saras Ram.

A Mathil poet, who attended the court of a King Sundar. See J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 87. Possibly this King was the Raja Sundar Thahur of Tir'hut, who came to the throne 1641 A.D. and died 1666 A.D.

931. ससिनाथ कवि, the poet Sasi Nath.

Sring. An erotic poet.

932. सिब राज, 8ib Rāj of Jāpur.

? Sring. A writer of whom Garcin de Tassy (I, 476) speaks as follows:—
"We owe to him a work entitled Ratan-mā/ā, quoted by Ward in his History of the Hindūs, II, 481. I do not know if it is the same work which Mr. Wilson has made use of for his dictionary. This last is a list of the names of vegetable and mineral drugs in Sanskrit and Hindī. We owe to the same author the Sib-Sāgar, a work also cited by Ward." The author is also mentioned in the Sib Singh Sarāj.

933. सुजान कवि, the poet Sujān.

An erotic poet.

934. सन्दर किन, the poet and bard Sundar, of As'n1, district Fatih'pur.

The author of a work entitled Ras-Par'bodh.

935. सुलन्तान कवि, the poet Sul'tan.

An erotic poet.

- 936. सीभ कवि, the poet Sobh. An erotic poet.
- 937. सीम नाथ किन, the poet Sobh Nath.
- 938. इतुमना किंब, the poet Hanumant.

He attended the court of Rājā Bhānu Par'tāp Singh.

939. इर घरन दास कवि, the poet Har Charan Das.

The author of a good work on vernacular composition (चाहिन्छ) entitled Brihat Kabi-ballabh.

940. इर जीवन कवि, the poet Har Jiban.

941. इर दयाल किन, the poet Har Dayal.

An erotic poet.

942. इरि चन्द किंब, the poet Hari Chand, of Bar'sana, in Braj.

The author of a prosody entitled Chhand Swarupini.

943. इरि देव कवि, the poet Hari Deb, a Baniyā, of Brindaban, in Braj.

The author of a prosody entitled Chhand Payonidhi.

944. 'हरि बक्षंम कवि, the poet Hari Ballabh.

A quietistic poet.

945. इरि भात किन, the poet Hari Bhaná.

The author of a treatise on vernacular composition (বাছিল) entitled Narind Bhūkhan.

946. इरि लाल कबि, the poet Hari Lal.

Sring. Possibly the same as another Hari Lal Kabi, also mentioned by Sib Singh without date, as an erotic poet.

947. Eta नन्द किन, the poet Hit Nand.

Possibly the same as a Hit Anand mentioned in the preface to Rāg.

948. द्वीरा लाल कवि, the poet Hira Lal.

An erotic poet.

949. इलास राम कवि, the poet Hulas Ram.

The author of a treatise on veterinary surgery entitled Sālihōtr' (Rāg). Possibly the same as a Hulās Kabi mentioned by Sib Singh as an erotic poet.

950. हैन कवि, the poet Hēm. Sring. An erotic poet.

951. हेम गोपाल कनि, the poet Hēm Gōpal.

The author of an emblematic verse, which is all that is known to have survived of his work.

952. ऐस नाथ किन, the poet Hem Nath.

He attended the court of Kalyan Singh, of Keh'ri.

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