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VOL. LXIII.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &c.)

NOS. I TO IV.—1894: WITH 6 PLATES.

EDITED BY THE

HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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CONTENTS.

OF THE

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

VOL. LXIII, PART I. FOR 1894.

No. I.

No. 2.

No. 3.

No. 4.

LIST OF PLATES

IN

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, VOL., LXIII, PART I,

FOR 1894.

Plate I—(p. 22). Comparative Table of Pāli Alphabets.

Plate II—(p. 35). Seated Buddha found near Rājgir.

Plate III—(p. 53). Copper-plate grant of Dharmapāla.

Plate IV—(p. 64); Plate V—(p. 67). Pathān Coins.

Plate VI—(p. 168). Coins of the Gupta Period.

ERRATA.

Page	25,	line	9 from bottom,	for	*Upaṁpadā,*	read	*Upasaṁpadā.*
,,	37,	,,	14 from top,	,,	Vajrapāṇī,	,,	Vajrapāṇi.
,,	45,	,,	9 from bottom,	,,	Pūṛā,	,,	Pũṛā.
,,	,,	,,	last,	,,	*Pūṛātulī,*	,,	*Pũṛātulī.*
,,	49,	,,	3 from bottom,	,,	Rājas,	,,	Rājās.
,,	51,	,,	6 from top,	,,	Yavarāja,	,,	Yuvarāja.
,,	61,	,,	8 from bottom,	,,	Yudhiṣṭira,	,,	Yudhiṣṭhira.
,,	65,	,,	last,	,,	ين	,,	بن
,,	78,	,,	7 from bottom,	,,	chaitya,	,,	caitya.
,,	89,	,,	27 and elsewhere,	,,	Çāntipārā,	,,	Tāntipārā.
,,	90,	,,	2,	,,	Ditto,	,,	Ditto.

JOURNAL

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1894.

Note on a Chinese inscribed slab lately dug out of St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta.—*By* THE REV. H. B. HYDE, M. A.

[Read, December, 1893.]

The Chinese inscription, of which I exhibit a transcription, and also a paper-rubbing, occurs on a slab of agglomerate lava in St. John's Churchyard. Mr. T. H. Holland, A.R.C.S., F.G.S., of the Geological Survey, has lately read a paper to us upon this piece of stone,[1] geologically considered, and tells us that it belongs to a formation found in the neighbourhood of the Corea, and elsewhere on the Chinese coast. The slab measures 2 ft. 8½ in. by 2 ft. 5 inches, and is 6 in. thick. It was recently dug out of the ground on excavating the earth around the Speke monument.

I am informed by the Verger of St. John's that he had seen the slab before its present discovery. In the year 1886, in the process, he thinks, of preparing flower-beds at a spot on the north side of the Church, within the limits of the old burying-ground, four brick graves were

[1] Vide *Journal*, Vol. LXII, Part II, p. 164.

discovered at a depth of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. These graves, he said, lay side by side, and were covered by large square tiles of great thickness, and upon these tiles were lying a number of flat stones. The Chaplain ordered all to be covered up at once, but one of the flat stones being displaced was removed to the place where the inscribed slab recently was found. A flower bed being about that time made around the Speke monument, the stone was buried where it lay, to get rid of it. No one at the time took any particular notice of the stone, and certainly the existence of an inscription upon it was unsuspected. He says that the slab now unearthed was the one then buried.

The face of the stone still retains the remains of an original high polish, and upon this has been incised with a chisel an inscription of about 270 Chinese characters, arranged, as it were, in two pages or two series of columns. Of this inscription the following translation has been made by Mr. E. F. Taylor, Commissioner of Customs at Shanghai, and at present with the Chinese Commission at Darjeeling.

It shows that the slab must have been the Foundation stone of a fort erected by the Manchu Tartars on the Island of Chusan while they were subduing the Chinese of the Ningpo District.

"Record (of the building) of the coiled dragon and crouching tiger fortification :—

"In the 8th year of the 1st Emperor (Shunchih) of the Ching (present Manchu) dynasty (*i.e.*, about 1652 A. D.), the Imperial troops marched to the conquest of Wêng Chon, and in the first battle Juan Chin (probably the Chinese chief or general of the district) was captured. In the second engagement the city of Chon (on the island of Chusan) was reduced. At that time our ships were in such numbers that they spread to the horizon, and our banners obscured the sky. The Governor Ch'ên [leading the Manchu troops] with Ku-sai[1] Chin and Liu, Beileh[2] wu, Marshal T'ien and General Chang, having offered oblations of wine on the shore, ascended the two hills and gazed around them; when H. E. Ch'ên said—'This is a remarkable spot specially designed by heaven; 'how unlucky for our foe that he did not observe its advantages. Had 'he posted troops in ambush on these two hills, and defended them on 'every side with big guns, our soldiers, though brave, could never have 'passed over. But we must profit by the experience of his disaster. 'The whole conditions of the locality mark it out as a place to be 'defended with fortifications and guns in position.' H. E. Ch'ên then turning to Chang said: 'You must draw up the necessary plans.'

[1] Manchu title. (?) 'Guardians of the passes.'

[2] Manchu title.

Then turning back and speaking to Ch'iên (that is the writer of the inscription), he said, 'You will take charge of this work.'

"In two months the fortification was completed. The hill to the east is wavy in outline (the coiled dragon), and with eminences and depressions, while that to the west is gently sloping (the crouching tiger). On these two hills, then, was built the Tai fortification, which may be likened to a coiled dragon and crouching tiger. When the dragon is coiled and the tiger crouched, all is quiet, the whole universe is at peace. But their power to move and act is latent, though concealed. Restrained potentiality and hidden might, such is the outward appearance of the fortification: to intimidate the enemy from afar is its function. Soldiers may not be called into action for 100 years, but no day must pass without their being in readiness. Only have your troops ready and you may never have occasion to employ them. This is the idea (conveyed by the imagery) of the coiled dragon and the crouching tiger. Written by the Pacificator (Manchu title) of Chusan and Ningpo, Senior Brigadier (Manchu title) of the Banner troops (*i. e.*, Manchus from Peking) Jui Ch'ien."

Mr. Taylor, writing from Darjeeling, remarks: "I have no means here of giving the proper translations of the Manchu titles." He says, "The Chinese is good and classical, and evidently composed by a scholar."

In the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society for 1853, is a plan, and a detailed description by Sir J. F. Davis, Bart., of the Island of Chusan, but it contains no mention of the fort to which the Inscription relates. It is only to be conjectured that the fort, evidently an earthwork, was demolished by the British troops during our occupation of the island from 1840 to 1846; while we held the island as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the stipulations of the Treaty and that the battalion of native troops from Bengal, which formed part of our expedition, which attacked the island in 1840, brought back with them, on their return, this foundation stone. But if they did so, how it came to be buried in the Cathedral Churchyard, instead of being exhibited in some public place, or lodged in the Asiatic Society's Museum, is a question not yet solved.

On the Relationship between Tibetan Orthography and the Original Pronunciation of the Language.—*By* The Rev. F. B. Shawe, *Moravian Missionary in Ladak.*

[Read, November, 1893.]

[*Note.*—In the MS. of this paper Jaeschke's system of transliteration was followed. For typographical reasons, however, some slight changes proved necessary, which will, I hope, not be confusing to the student accustomed to use Jaeschke's system, and which are not intended to be understood as a new system of my own. For scientific purposes I consider Jaeschke's system to be the best of all I have hitherto met with.

The transliterations are shown in the following table :—

ཀ *ka*, k or c.	ཙ *tsa*, ts (parts).
ཁ *k'a*, aspirated *k*.	ཚ *ts'a*, aspirated *tsa*.
ག *ga*, hard English g; when a mute prefix represented by γ.	ཛ *dza*, ds (guards).
ང *ña*, ng (pang).	ཝ *wa*, w.
ཅ *ca*, ch.	ཞ *zha*, s (leisure).
ཆ *c'a*, aspirated *ca*.	ཟ *za*, z (zeal).
ཇ *ja*, j.	འ .*a*, (basis for vowels).
ཉ *nya*, French gn (campagne).	ཡ *ya*, y (yard).
ཏ *ta*, t.	ར *ra*, r.
ཐ *t'a*, aspirated *ta*.	ལ *la*, l.
ད *da*, d.	ཤ *śa*, sh.
ན *na*, n.	ས *sa*, s (some).
པ *pa*, p.	ཧ *ha*, h.
ཕ *p'a*, aspirated *pa*.	ཨ 'a (basis for vowels).
བ *ba*, b.	ḍ, ṭ, etc., are cerebrals.
མ *ma*, m.	Pronunciations spelled phonetically are enclosed by asterisks.]

It is well-known that one of the great difficulties presented to the student of the Tibetan language is the pronunciation. Whilst there is no essential difference of opinion as to the articulation of each letter when taken individually, the greatest possible variety of pronunciation prevails as soon as letters are combined into words. The dialectical divisions and sub-divisions are almost all apparently more or less at variance with the orthography, most of all in the central provinces U-Tsang (དབུས་གཙང་). When, *e. g.*, སྤྱོད་པ་ *spyod-pa* is pronounced * *ċö-pa*,* སྨྱོན་པ་ *smyon-pa* is pronounced * *nyöm-pa*,* དབྱར་ *dbyar* is pronounced * *yar*,* བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ *bċom-ldan-ོdas* is pronounced * *ċom-dän dä*,* as is the case in the central provinces, the student can easily get the idea, that the orthography, which now stands in the remotest possible relationship to the pronunciation, never did to any reasonable extent correspond to the spoken word. This opinion has indeed been expressed, of late years—unless I misunderstand him—by Babu Sarat Chandra Dás,[1] who is acquainted particularly with the central dialects just referred to.

Inquiries into the phonetics of the Tibetan language have been made, besides by Schiefner, Lepsius, and Czoma de Körös, notably by Jaeschke, who brought to bear on the matter an ear trained by the study of many languages to distinguish the smallest variations of pronunciation, coupled with an infinite patience in continually revising and comparing apparently well-ascertained facts. Jaeschke embodied the results of his observations in an essay "Ueber die Phonetik der Tibetischen Sprache"[2] and in the "Introduction" to his "Tibetan-English Dictionary."[3] The following remarks are based upon these two essays.

My object, however, is not, as was Jaeschke's, to enquire into the whole question of Tibetan phonetics, but simply to bring together what evidence we seem to have, especially in the western dialects, as to the original relationship of Tibetan spelling and pronunciation. An absolutely conclusive argument on this point cannot at present be given. To attempt it would pre-suppose an exhaustive practical and scientific acquaintance with the whole system of Tibetan dialects, besides Chinese and

[1] S. Ch. D., "The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet," *J. A. S. B.*, 1888, Pt. I, No. 2, p. 43 :—"It does not appear to me, that the Tibetans ever pronounced their words as they wrote them."

[2] In the "Monatsbericht der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin," 1866. Re-printed as a pamphlet.

[3] London, 1881.—The labour involved in compiling the invaluable "Phonetic Table" on pp. XVI—XXI can only be appreciated by those who have attempted to trace a few words through dialectical variations often quite imperceptible to the untrained ear of a newly arrived foreigner.

Sanskrit, in order to be able to follow the influences exerted by these languages, especially by the former. At the present stage of our acquaintance with Tibetan, such comprehensive knowledge is an impossibility. I confine myself therefore chiefly to the western dialects and the internal evidence of the classical book-language, referring to the eastern and central dialects only when comparison is necessary.

Briefly expressed, the peculiarities of the usual modern pronunciation are:—1. A quite abnormal number of mute consonants, both at the beginning and end of the syllable. 2. Modulation of vowels, apparently dependant on the elision of consonants. 3. A large number of compositions of consonants pronounced identically, many of them becoming cerebrals.

As the tendency of all languages is to tone down or elide all harsh sounds, the fact that there are many mute consonants need not *in itself* cause surprise. We know from European languages, *e. g.*, French and English, that such apparent vagaries in modern pronunciation are quite explicable, and present no reason for surprise to the student of the history of these languages. The modification of vowel sounds is also a well-known process. But the wholesale smoothing away and elision of consonants, which has taken place in Tibetan pronunciation, is, to say the least, of a sufficiently startling character. The rules which have governed such changes in other languages do not seem to hold good in this case. In numberless cases the consonants seem to have quite lost the power they originally appear to have had, so that the pronunciation now affords scarcely any clue to the orthography. Still, arguing by analogy, it must be granted, that the probability is in favour of the original orthography really representing the original pronunciation. Very cogent reasons must be brought forward to induce us to abandon this position, indicated as it is alike by common sense and our knowledge of the development of other languages.

In dealing with this question two great peculiarities of the Tibetan language must be borne in mind. One is, that the Tibetan language stands quite isolated, and allows of no comparison with other languages from a common stock. The other peculiarity is, that for us the Tibetan language not only suddenly comes into existence as a written language, but that since the invention of the alphabet by *T'on-mi Sam-bho-ṭa* in the 7th century A.D., it has undergone no alteration in its character as a written language.[1] This is no doubt owing to the fact, that Tibetan

[1] This does not imply that absolutely no change or development has taken place, for it is possible to make three or four broad distinctions in style and construction. But a student of Tibetan can read an ancient and a modern book with the aid of one and the same grammar and dictionary, whilst, *e. g.*, the "Brut" and even the "Canterbury Tales" require special study with special appliances.

literature had its beginning in the translations of the Buddhist canon, nominally the religious norm, even at the present day, for the overwhelming majority of the Tibetan-speaking race.[1] The restraining influence on the language exerted in Christian countries by a universally accepted translation of the Bible is well-known; in Tibetan we have a similar work standing at the very beginning of literature. Consequently, whilst in most languages the gradual development of orthography and pronunciation can be traced by a more or less complete chain of literary productions, Tibetan orthography has remained stationary, whilst the pronunciation has undergone great modifications. For, so far from finding any remarkable facts pointing to an original discrepancy between orthography and pronunciation, we have a series of observations which all point to the conclusion that the latter has, either gradually, or suddenly, divorced itself from the former.

These observations are made both in the literary language (ཚོས་སྐད་ *ch'os-skad*) and in the popular dialects (ཕལ་སྐད་ *p'al-skad*).

Turning our attention first to the *literary language*, we can conveniently enquire into the original relationship between orthography and pronunciation by investigating the homophones and the grammatical particles or post-positions, which supply the place of flexions.

On hearing Tibetan spoken, the student cannot fail to be struck by the large number of homophones. In some cases the homophonous appearance is genuine, *i. e.*, there are a number of words identical in spelling and pronunciation, but differing in meaning. In the majority of cases, however, an enquiry into the orthography reveals the fact, that many apparent homophones need not necessarily be homophonous. Whilst identical to the ear, they are orthographically clearly distinguished to the eye. These homophones resolve themselves into two classes:—those having an identical or similar root, and those having differing or dissimilar roots.

The first class consists mainly of verbs. In the literary language the active and neuter forms of the verb are rarely identical, whilst no difference is at present made in pronunciation. We have, *e. g.*, the neuter verb འགྲུབ་པ་ ˚*grub-pa* "to be accomplished," with Perf. གྲུབ.

[1] It is also interesting to note that the influence of Buddhism has secured the adoption of Buddhist terms for the commonest things, *e. g.*, the only words in use for "world" are སྲིད་པ་ *srid-pa*, (*i. e.*, "*bhava*"—of very rare occurrence) and འཇིག་རྟེན་ ˚*jig-rten*, (*i. e.*, "receptacle of the perishable,"—the common term), both of which are evidently of Buddhist origin. What word was in use previous to the introduction of Buddhism?

grub; the corresponding active verb "to complete" is སྒྲུབ་པ་ *sgrub-pa*, with the Perf. བསྒྲུབས་ *bsgrubs*, the Fut. བསྒྲུབ་ *bsgrub*, and the Imper. སྒྲུབ(ས)་ *sgrub(s)*. Here we have at least five different orthographical forms, all derived from the same root and all pronounced alike **ḍup.** Again: འབྱོར་བ ₒ*byor-ba*, neut. "to adhere to," and སྦྱོར་བ་ *sbyor-ba*, act, "to affix," both pronounced **jor-wa** (or sometimes **ǰor-wa**). The neuter form has the alternative reading འབྱར་བ་ ₒ*byar-ba*, whilst the Perf. and Fut. of the active form is སྦྱར་བ་ *sbyar-ba*, both pronounced **jar-wa.** Again:—འདུ་བ་ ₒ*du-ba*, neut. "to come together;" Perf. འདུས་ ₒ*dus*; སྡུད་པ་ *sdud-pa*, act "to assemble," Perf. བསྡུས་ *bsdus*, Fut. བསྡུ་ *bsdu*, Imper. བསྡུ་ *bsdu* or བསྡུས་ *bsdus*. The pronunciation in central Tibet of five of these forms is identical, **dü.** Slightly different is the case of the verb འཇུག་པ་ ₒ*jug-pa*, which is both neuter "to enter" and active "to put into." The neuter verb has Perf. ཞུགས་ *zhugs*, whilst the active verb has Perf. བཏུག་ *bčug*, Fut. གཞུག་ *gzhug*, Imper. ཅུག་ *č'ug*. In this case the identical orthography of the Present gives way to a marked difference in the Perfects, whilst the neuter Perf. (*zhugs*) and the active future (*gzhug*) are identical in pronunciation, ** gzhuk.** Again slightly different is གཏོང་བ་ *gtoṅ-ba* "to give," Perf. བཏང་ *btaṅ*, Fut. གཏང་ *gtaṅ*; both Perf. and Fut. are pronounced "*taṅ*."

Such examples could easily be amplified; the "list of the more frequent verbs" in Jaeschke's Grammar[1] suggests many more. But the above will suffice to illustrate the remarkable fact, that though homophonous verbal forms are frequent, they are almost invariably carefully differentiated by the orthography. The question at once arises, what the reason of this peculiarity may be. Do these detailed orthographical distinctions rest upon the basis of actual articulation current at the time the language became literary, or are they merely grammatical refinements? Though not probable, it is certainly possible, that the latter may be the case. The intricacies of Buddhist philosophy require for their correct expression accurately distinguishable verbal forms, and it is not impossible that the translators, accustomed to the rich structure of Sanscrit, found themselves obliged to make artificial distinctions, where the language at their disposal did not supply them. They might therefore have adopted the use of mute prefixed and superscribed letters to

[1] 2nd Ed., p. 99 and ff.

make such distinctions perceptible at least to the eye, whilst they were then, and have since usually remained, imperceptible to the ear. At the same time it must be remarked, that neuter and active verbs are otherwise almost always distinguished by the use of two of the three forms of the guttural, palatal, etc., letters, *e. g.*, འདོན་པ་ *ₒdon-pa*, act. "to cause to come forth;" འཐོན་པ་ *ₒt'on-pa*, neut. "to come out." It seems therefore probable that such distinctions were originally inherent in the language.

Turning to the second class, homophones from different or dissimilar roots, we find some verbs here also, *e. g.*, འབྱིན་པ་ *ₒbyin-pa* "to draw out" and སྦྱིན་པ་ *sbyin-pa* "to give," both pronounced alike in most dialects as **jin-pa,** whilst they are derived from totally different roots, the neuter form of *ₒbyin-pa* being *ₒbyuń-ba*. Further རྨོ་བ་ *rmo-ba* "to plough," སྨོན་བ་ *smo-ba* "to say," both pronounced **mo-wa;** ཁད་པ་ *k'ad-pa* "to approach," འཁད་པ་ *ₒk'ad-pa* "to stumble," both pronounced **k'at-pa** or **k'ä-pa.** Very striking are བྱེད་པ་ *byed-pa* "to do," རྗེད་པ་ *rjed-pa* "to forget," འབྱེད་པ་ *ₒbyed-pa* "to open;" all three are quite distinct in etymology, but the pronunciation of all is usually identical, *viz.* **jet-pa** or **jĕ-pa.** The greater number of homophones of this class are, however, found amongst the substantives. So ལྟན་ *ltań* "bale of goods," སྟངས་ *stańs* "gesture," both usually pronounced **tań;** རྟེའུ་ *rte-u* "foal," སྟེའུ་ *ste-u* "small adze," both pronounced **teu;** བཙའ་ *btsa* "rust," རྩྭ་ *rtswa* "grass," རྩ་ *rtsa* "root," all pronounced **tsa.** Also: ཡང་ *yań* "again," གཡང་ *γyań* "happiness," both pronounced **yań;** ཡར་ *yar* "upwards," དབྱར་ *dbyar* "summer," both pronounced **yar;** ལུང་ *luń* "precept," ཀླུང་ *kluń* "river," རླུང་ *rluń* "wind," ཀླུངས་ *kluńs* "cultivated land," all usually pronounced **luń;** ལོག་ *log* "back" (adv.), གློག་ *glog* "lightning," ལྟོགས་ *logs* "side," གློག་པ་ *klog-pa* "to read," རློག་པ་ *rlog-pa* "to destroy," སློག་པ་ *slog-pa* "to turn," all pronounced **lok** or **lö;** ནམ་ *nam* "when?" གནམ་ *γnam* "heaven" རྣམས་ *rnams* (sign of the plural), all pronounced **nam.** In all these cases it can hardly be maintained, that there was any absolute necessity for introducing a different spelling for the same sounds, as the context would clearly show which signification was intended.

Still more important are a few homophones, which may be used in addressing superiors or signify something common, according to the manner of spelling. Such is, *e. g.*, ཆག་ *č'ag* "dry fodder, grain" and ཕྱག

p'yag "hand," both pronounced **č'ak.** ཕྱག་ *p'yag* is used in numerous expressions of politeness, the Buddhas and saints being reverenced with the phrase: *p'yag ₀t'sal-lo.* The original absolute identity of these words can scarcely be considered probable. Still less is the identity probable in the case of རྗེ་ *rje* "lord" and མཇེ་ *mje* "penis," both now pronounced alike, **je.** The former word is applied only to deities, higher lamas, and laics of a very high rank. Can we suppose that such a word can originally (contemporaneously with the introduction of the alphabet) have been homophonous with a word having an obscene signification?

In considering the grammatical particles or post-positions a few examples will suffice. According to rule, the post-position of the instrumental case is to be spelled *kyis* after the letters *d*, *b*, *s*, and *gyis* after *n*, *m*, *r*, *l*. Similarly the genitive case is indicated by *kyi* after *d*, *b*, *s*, and by *gyi* after *n*, *m*, *r*, *l*. The reason for these changes in the ending is evident. According to Tibetan pronunciation final *d*, *b*, *s* are essentially hard, and consequently occasion a hard pronunciation of the initial consonant of the following syllable; *n*, *m*, *r*, *l* are soft, causing a corresponding softening of the following letter. At the present day མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ *mi-rnams-kyi* "of the men," and མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ *mi-rnams-kyis* "the men" (instrum.) are pronounced **mi-nam-gyi** and **mi-nam-gyis,** *i. e.*, the elision of the *s* and consequent appearance of a soft consonant at the close of the previous syllable at once occasions a corresponding softening of the following letter. But although this is always the case in speech, it is practically never the case in writing. On the contrary, the accuracy with which these forms are written is remarkable, and a MS. in which they are not correctly written will show other marks of being the work of an unusually illiterate copyist. In close analogy, the word ཡང་ *yaṅ* "and" becomes གྱང་ *kyaṅ* after the letters *g*, *d*, *b*, *s*, a change rigorously observed in writing, although, *e. g.*, an educated man unhesitatingly reads ཟུར་ནས་གྱང་ *zur-nas kyaṅ* as **zur-nä yaṅ.** Similar variable endings in connection with verbal forms are as regularly adhered to in writing as they are discarded in reading and daily speech.

The above observations on the literary language may be summed up in the following:—Whilst many identically pronounced words are spelled identically, many more are spelled in a more or less widely differing manner in accordance with the differing significations; and whilst certain rules of the language cause a modification in pronouncing certain syllables, the identical rule prevents the modification from taking place in writing. This seems to speak most strongly in favour

of the theory, that the orthography corresponds to the actual pronunciation of the language at the time of the invention of the alphabet. Or is it probable, that the language originally contained such a large proportion of pure homophones, and was reduced to the necessity of naming the most widely different things by the same sound? Such is to some extent the case in Chinese, where, however, the practice of intoning or singing pronunciation has made a way out of ensuing difficulties. In Tibetan, however, only the rudiments of this method can be traced and seem to be due to Chinese influence.[1] Nor do the high and low tones now in use in the Central Provinces materially reduce the number of homophones. Or is it, thirdly, conceivable, that *T'on-mi Sam-bho-ṭa* and his successors deliberately introduced all these multitudinous variations in spelling? The language existed before the alphabet, and an arbitrary fixation of the orthography would have been a failure. An attempt has lately been made in Germany to approximate, by Act of Parliament, the orthography to the modern German pronunciation (a very much simpler task than that of the early Tibetan literati), but the experiment can hardly be considered a success. The experts were unable to agree, and the result is, that what is orthographically correct in Prussia is possibly wrong in Bavaria. This would have been the case to a much greater degree in Tibet, where each translator would have been at perfect liberty to form his own orthography. Such arbitrary attempts to regulate a language cannot succeed, unless all learning is in the hands of a small and select caste, bent on securing its own privileges. We find no traces of any such attempt on the part of the early propagators of Buddhism in Tibet; on the contrary, they seem to have encouraged popular education by all means in their power. And even supposing that the *lo-tsa-ba* had introduced differentiating orthography, why were not all the homophones thus treated? What ideas could have governed the choice they made? Again, the usage of grammatical forms as shown above, is evidently the result of actual observation and not of theory. Tibetan grammarians were not sufficiently schooled to make this probable.[2] There seems to be only one way of extricating ourselves from these difficulties, *viz.*, by acknowledging that the orthography as it stands did at the time of its introduction represent the actual pronunciation.

[1] Jaeschke. Phonetik, p. 166 ff. Dictionary, p. xiii, and Phonetic Table.

[2] A Tibetan Reader in my possession classes the letters as follows:—Guttural: *k, k', g, ṅ, .a, h, 'a.* Palatal: *c', ć', j, ny, ts, t's, dz, zh, y, s'.* Dental: *t, t', d, n, z, l, s.* Labial: *p, p', b, m, w.* Lingual: *r*——a classification that seems very rude and singular to our ideas. Tibetan grammarians also assign either the masculine, feminine or neuter gender to each of the consonants—a piece of mere childish pedantry. V. Jaeschke, Dictionary, s. v. *p'o.*

But against this view is urged, that Tibetans were "unaccustomed to pronounce polysyllables and combinations of several consonants with one vowel."[1] I do not think that this is really the case. At any rate it is hard to see how we are to know this. At the present day inhabitants of the central provinces certainly do not pronounce a combination of several consonants with one vowel, but have reduced nearly all combinations to simple forms. This is, however, only habit, for I have convinced myself by actual experiment, that Tibetans of U and Tsang can pronounce most complicated combinations. Nor can it be said, that some combinations are absolutely unpronounceable. Jaeschke[2] cites quite as difficult combinations from the Polish language, and the Welsh language offers similar parallels. Finally, we have the curious fact, that in some dialects a more or less literal pronunciation actually does take place at the present day, as will be presently shown.

We now turn, therefore, to the *dialects* with all the more confidence, as we know what very valuable materials European dialects have supplied to the philologist. Nor are we disappointed, for a slight attention to them reveals some very interesting facts.

Taking first the Central Tibetan dialects, which at present stand more at variance with the orthography than any others, we find peculiarities, which seem to be remnants of a former literal pronunciation. According to ordinary usage, the affix *p* in verbs and adjectives is softened into *b*—pronounced * *w* *—after a vowel. In Central Tibet, however, when a final consonant of the root is elided, thus leaving a vocalic tone at the end of the syllable, the *p* is usually not softened, but retains its original form. Thus: གཅེས་པ་ *gcès-pa* "beloved" is pronounced **cē-pa** and not, as would be expected, * *ce-wa* * (but ཆེ་བ *ce-ba* "great" is **ce-wa**); རྗེད་པ་ *rjed-pa* "to forget" is pronounced * *je-pa**; whilst འབྱེ་བ་ ₀*bye-ba* "to open" is pronounced * *je-wa* ;* འདོད་པ་ ₀*dod-pa* "to wish" becomes * *dö-pa*,* not * *dö-wa*.* This persistency of the hard form of the affix is all the more striking as we have seen above that the usual tendency is to soften down such endings in speech, whilst retaining the original hard form in writing.

We have, further, a few names which correspond in pronunciation to the orthography. I have several times heard the monastery of འབྲས་སྤུངས་ ₀*bras-spuńs* called * *brä-puń*,* whilst according to modern pronunciation * *ḍä-puń* * is the only correct form. Then the name of the celebrated lama འབྲོམ་སྟོན་ ₀*brom-ston* is usually pronounced * *brom-ton** although * *ḍom-ton** would be correct, and is indeed said by the

[1] S. Ch. Das, loc. cit.

[2] Dictionary, p. xv.

uneducated class of Ladaki lamas.[1] Very interesting is the Tibetan name of Vajra-pani ཕྱག་ན་རྡོ་རྗེ་ *p'yag-na rdo-rje.* In this name the second and fourth syllables are usually discarded, and the name is then pronounced ** c̀'ak-dor.** The final *r* is evidently the *r* superscribed on the *j*, which was originally pronounced and has remained attached to the previous syllable. At present all knowledge of this etymology is so thoroughly lost, that the name is now often written ཕྱག་རྡོར་ *p'yag-rdor.* Exceedingly common in names is the pronunciation **gyam-t'so** for རྒྱ་མཚོ་ *rgya-mt'so*, usually pronounced **gya-t'so**.

The central dialects contain other examples of cases, when the first syllable of a composite word ends in a vowel, and in consequence a mute prefix belonging to the second syllable becomes audible as part of the first syllable. Thus དབུ་མཛད་ *dbu-mdzad* "precentor" should be pronounced ** u-dzat,** but is just as often pronounced ** um-dzat.** This pronunciation is considered vulgar in U and Tsang.

Examples of this kind are, however, of more frequent occurrence in the western dialects, especially in Ladak, where they are not at all vulgar. Most numerals are invariably treated in this way, *e. g.*, བཅུ་གསུམ་ *bc̀u-gsum* "13" is ** c̀ug-sum ;** བཅུ་བཞི་ *bc̀u-bzhi* "14" is **c̀ub-zhi ;** ལྔ་བཅུ་ *lńa-bc̀u* "50" is ** ńab-c̀u ;** དགུ་བཅུ་གོ་བརྒྱད་ *dgu-bc̀u-go-brgyad* "98" is ** gub-c̀u-gob-gyat.** The same thing is common in nouns and adjectives, *e. g.*, སྣ་མཚུལ་ *sna-mt'sul* "nose" is pronounced ** nam-t'sul ** instead of ** na-t'sul,** as would be required by present-day usage; ཀ་ལྤགས་ *k'a-lpags* "lip" is ** kal-pak(s) ** instead of ** k'a-pak ;** བཀའ་བཀྱོན་ *bka-bkyon* "blame" is ** kap-kyon ** as well as ** ka-kyon ;** ཡ་མཚན་ *ya-mt'san* "wonderful" is ** yam-t'san ** as well as ** ya-t'san; ** མཆོད་རྟེན་ *mc̀'od-rten* "stupa, tope" is **c̀'or-ten,** etc. The last mentioned word is important, as at the present day *rten* is always pronounced ** sten ** in Ladak, and we should therefore expect a contraction into ** c̀'os-ten.** That the *r* has maintained itself under such circumstances is strong evidence, that *rten* was originally pronounced as spelled.

It is in such compounds that the letter འ is still discernible in pronunciation, although it has otherwise completely disappeared from

1 S. Ch. Das in the "Journ. Buddh. Text. Soc." 1893, pts. 1 & 2, always writes "Bromton," and has informed me that he usually adopts the phonetic spelling of names.

the Ladaki and most other western dialects. Jaeschke[1] mentions དགེ་འདུན་ *dge-ₒdun* "the sangha," བཀའ་འབུམ་ *bka-ₒbum* "the 100,000 Precepts" (name of a book), and བཀའ་འགྱུར་ *bka-ₒgyur* "the translated word" (*i. e.*, the Buddhist canon), pronounced respectively * *gen-dun,** * *kam-bum,** and * *kaṅ-gyur,** as probably the only examples. To these, however, must be added: མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ *mk'a-ₒgro-ma* "Dakini," pronounced * *k'an-ḍo-ma* *; ཨོ་འཐུང་ *.o-ₒt'uṅ* "suckling child," pronounced * *om-t'uṅ* ;* ལྷ་འདྲེ་ *lha-ₒdre* "hobgoblin," pronounced * *lhan-ḍe* ;* སྐེ་འཇུས་ *ske-ₒjus* "embrace," pronounced * *skyen-jus* ;* སྐུ་འདྲ་ *sku-ₒdra* "image," pronounced * *skun-ḍa** ; བ་འགྱལ་ *sa-ₒgul* "earthquake," pronounced **sam-gul** or **saṅ-gul** ; སྡིག་རྭ་འབུ་ *sdig-rwa-ₒbu* "scorpion," pronounced *(*s*) *dig-ram-bu* ;* ཆུ་འབུ་ *č'u-ₒbu,* "water-insect," pronounced **č'um-bu.** A few more instances may still exist, in which འ has become *m* or *n* in the western dialects, thus showing that it is neither a mere orthographical sign nor simply a basis for a vowel,—this latter want being supplied by ཨ་[2]—but that it formerly had a distinctly audible pronunciation.

In connection with this appearance of otherwise mute letters it is worthy of note that in the Ladaki dialect the stem of the Perf. tense in the literary language has become the sole stem of the verb, and is used for the Present and Future, as well as for the Perfect. In many cases this peculiarity is not noticeable in pronunciation, and scarcely any, even educated, Ladaki are aware of it. But it occasionally becomes apparent in compounds, *e. g.*, མགོ་སྐོར་ *mgo-skor* "deceit," is usually pronounced * *go-(s)kor.** In writing Ladaki dialect, however, *mgo-bskor* would have to be written and though the prefix *b* indicating the Perf. tense is not ordinarily heard, it becomes audible in the compound substantive, which is pronounced * *gob-skor.**

In all the cases cited the mute consonant re-asserts itself in compounds. In Ladak, however, many consonants, mute in the central dialects, are distinctly heard even in simple words. Foremost amongst these is initial *s*, which is almost invariably pronounced in Ladak.[3]

[1] Phonetik, p. 172.

[2] Jaeschke, Dictionary, p. xiv.

[3] The Ladaki go so far in their preference for *s* as to pronounce it even where the orthography does not authorize it. རྟ་ *rt* is almost always, and གཏ་ very often pronounced * *st**. Hence the Ladaki says: * *sta* * "horse;" * *stags* * "sign; * *stat-čes* * "to deliver;" **ma-stogs-te** "besides." Final *s* is also rarely mute.

So : སྨན་ *sman* "medicine," སྤུ་ *spu* "hair," སྟར་ག་ *star-ga* "walnut," are all pronounced with an audible *s* in Ladak, whilst the *s* is usually mute in Lahaul. The same takes place with other initials, *e. g.*, བརྡུངས་ཅེས་ *brduńs-ces* "to beat," བལྟ་ཅེས་ *blta-ces* "to look," ལྕགས་ *lcags* "iron," ལྕེ་ *lce* "tongue," are often pronounced * *rduńs*, *lta* (sometimes *sta !*) *lcak, lce** respectively, instead of * *duń*, *ta*, *cak*, *ce* * as would be usual.

Another observation is connected with consonants having subscribed *y*, the so-called *ya-tags*. In the ordinary pronunciation both of the central and western dialects, པ་ *py*, ཕ་ *p'y* and བ་ *by* become respectively * *c'*, *c'*, and *j*.* In Ladak and Lahaul however, ཕྱེད་ *py'ed* "half" is not * *c'et** but * *p'et ;* * ཕྱིས་ *p'yis* "duster, rag" is not * *c'is* * but * *p'is ;* * also in compounds as ལག་ཕྱིས་ *lag-p'yis* "towel," སྣ་ཕྱིས་ *sna-p'yis* "handkerchief," etc., which are pronounced * *lak-p'is*, *(s)na-pis,** etc. Similarly ཕྱི་པ་ *p'yi-pa* "heathen, non-Buddhist," is not * *c'i-pa* * but * *p'i-pa ;* * བྱི་མ་ *bye-ma* "sand," is not * *je-ma* * but * *be-ma ;* * བྱེད་པ་ *byed-pa* "to make," is not **jet-pa** but * *bet-pa.**[1] The verb ཕྱིན་པ་ *p'yin-pa* "to arrive," is unknown in Ladak and Lahaul (?), but is used in Spiti as * *p'in-pa,** not as * *c'in-pa,** which would be the regular pronunciation. A similar usage prevails with some words with subscribed *r*, the so-called *ra-tags*, *e. g.*, the root བྲང་ *bran* is correctly pronounced * *ḍań.** So in Ladak in the word ཐང་ས་ *bran-sa* "dwelling," pronounced * *ḍań-sa.** But ཕོ་བྲང་ *p'o-bran* "residence," is pronounced in Ladak very often * *p'ob-rań,** and ལྷ་བྲང་ *lha-bran* "idol-house," is often pronounced * *lhab-rań.**[2] All the examples cited from the Ladak dialect are not a peculiarity of educated people, who might affect an artificial and refined mode of speech, but are in daily use amongst the illiterate mass of the people.

[1] This word is rather interesting on account of its widely spread use, for * *bet-pa* * is in common use in Kunawur, seldom (I believe) heard in Lahaul, and quite unknown in Ladak, except in two or three villages in which it is in constant use.

[2] The two examples given are certainly compound nouns, but it will be observed that the analogy with the compounds noted above is not exact. In the former mute letters become audible ; in these latter cases the labial *b*, has assumed a dental from *d*, and cannot therefore be said to be mute. It is just as easy to say * *p'o-drań*, *p'o-ḍań* or *p'o-rań** as to say * *p'ob-rań*, * and would be in accordance with modern pronunciation. The same irregularity occurs in a place-name in Sikkim. See J. A. S. B. 1891. Part 1, No. 2, p. 69.

The tendency to pronounce usually mute letters is most marked in the most westerly provinces. In Purig superscribed and subscribed letters are pronounced exactly as written. Hence we have ཕྱག་པོ་ *p'yug-po* "rich," ཁང་མོ་ *graṅ-mo* "cold," ཕྲུ་གུ་ *p'ru-gu* "child," སྒྲོམ་ *sgrom* "box," གྲི་ *gri* "knife," ཇི་ཅས་ *bri-càs* "to write," སྙིང་ *snyiṅ* "heart," ཁྲག་ *k'rag* "blood," the pronunciation of which is * *p'yuk-po, graṅ-mo, p'ru-gu, sgrom, gri, bri-càs, snyiṅ, k'rak,** whilst * *c'uk-po, ḍaṅ-mo, ṭ'u-gu; ḍom, ḍi, ḍi-càs, nyiṅ, ṭ'ak* * would be the usual pronunciation. Of Baltistan it can be said that every letter is pronounced in one way or another. Thus[1] བདུན་ *bdun* "7" is * *vdun** instead of * *dun ;** དཔེ་ཅ་ *dpe-ca* "book" is * *χpe-ca* * instead of * *pe-ca** (Ladak :* *spe-ca* *). དངུལ་ *dṅul* "silver" is * *χṅul* * instead of * *ṅul* * (Ladak : * *mul* *). In Baltistan and Purig the sign ཝ (*wa-zur*), which has otherwise quite disappeared, but is supposed to be equivalent to *w* [2] has remained in the word རྩྭ་ *rtswa* "grass," which is pronounced **rtsoa* * or * *stsoa*, * [3] the usual pronunciation being * *tsa.* *

The evidence of the Purig and Balti dialects appears to me to be of the greatest importance, for the following reasons:—Firstly, both districts accepted Mohammedanism in lieu of Buddhism at a very early date[4] and by so doing emancipated themselves from the influence of Lhasa and cut themselves off from the development of the other Tibetan races. Secondly, from the introduction of Islam probably dates the neglect of literature. Tibetan literature was almost entirely Buddhist and was necessarily driven out by the change of religion, whilst Islam had no vernacular literature to offer and made no attempts to provide any.[5] At present the inhabitants of Purig and Baltistan are absolutely

1 Jaeschke, Dictionary, p. xix f.

2 Jaeschke, Phonetik, p. 162 f.

3 Jaeschke, Dictionary, p. xix. writes * *rtsoá* * I have, however, usually heard * *rtsóa*, * with a distinct accent on the o which represents the lost *wa-zur*.

4 The exact or even approximate date is not yet ascertained as far as I am aware. Cunningham (Ladak, p. 30 f), gives a list of Mohammedan rajahs of Khapalor in Baltistan, the 39th of whom is dated about A. D. 1410. Cunningham points out that this date coincides with the death of Sikander Butshikan of Kashmir, and is inclined to put the conversion of Baltistan at this date. He also points out that some of the persons named amongst the first 39 rajahs are palpably fabulous, and that, therefore, the list is open to objections.

5 The Purig people are well acquainted with the *pre-Buddhistic* legend of King Gesar (cf. J. A. S. B. 1891, Pt. 1, No. 3, p. 116, Note 13.), although they have no written copies of the epic but rely on oral transmission only. The folk-lore

illiterate.[1] Thirdly, Jaeschke has already drawn attention to the fact, that the dialect of Khams and that of Baltistān are very similar. He says:[2] "The prefixes and the superscribed consonants, for the most part, are still sounded at each extremity of the whole territory, within which the language is spoken, both on the western and the eastern frontier, alike in Khams, which borders on China, and in Balti, which merges into Kashmir. Moreover, in both localities the same minor irregularities occur, transgressions against an exact rendering of the pronunciation according to the letters, the same frequent transformations of the tenues into the aspiratal, *g* and *d* becoming γ or χ, *b* becoming *w*. Now, about twenty degrees of longitude separate Balti from Khams."

On reviewing the observations made as to the dialects spoken by various Tibetan tribes, we find that cases, where spelling and pronunciation are closely allied, in opposition to current rules of pronunciation, are of frequent occurrence. They occur, not in the language of the higher classes, but of the ordinary peasant, and cannot therefore be explained as the result of artificial education. They are found in least numbers in the central dialects, and increase in the dialects east and west of Lhasa in proportion to the distance from that centre of Buddhism. Certainly the simplest explanation of these apparent vagaries is, that we have in them relics of a former universal pronunciation, which has in course of time been greatly modified, sometimes out of all recognition. We are therefore led to precisely the same view as was arrived at after considering the literary language, *viz.*, that the orthography as it stands represents the pronunciation current at the time of its introduction.

But there is yet another piece of evidence as to the original pronunciation of Tibetan, which adds its weight to the arguments already advanced. Jaeschke has noted some most remarkable points of agreement between the supposed original pronunciation of Tibetan and the Bunan language, spoken besides Tibetan and Hindī in Lahaul. I give his remarks in an abbreviated translation.[3] "According to the assertion of the inhabitants Bunan has had a much greater extension

of Purig and Baltistan has not yet been thoroughly explored, but the present generation are quite ignorant of the fact that their ancestors were once Buddhists.

[1] They know infinitely more about King Gesar than about Muḥammad, and a Purig man once informed me, that Jesus Christ and Muḥammad would shortly descend from heaven, and, proclaiming a Jihad, would prepare the world for the second advent of Gesar!

[2] Dictionary, p. xii.

[3] Phonetik, p. 174 ff.

than it at present has, even within the memory of living man. In a slightly different dialectical form it occurs again in a small district in Kunawur, being separated from Lahaul by large districts where Hindī or Tibetan dialects are spoken. This is the so-called Tibarskad, *v.* Cunningham, Ladak, *p.* 397 *ff.* As regards grammatical construction and the majority of vocables (especially such primitive words and ideas, which every language must possess previous to the development of civilisation) it certainly does not belong to the Tibetan family. But it has accepted a large number of Tibetan words; and whilst part of these has the original pronunciation corresponding to the old orthography, another part has the now usual pronunciation. The dialect of Tibetan (now) spoken in Lahaul by the same persons (as those who speak Bunan) *is more nearly related by far to the dialects of the surrounding districts and to that of central Tibet than the first class of Tibetan words which have found their way into Bunan.* These latter point to a much earlier period of the language. In speaking Tibetan the Lahauli uses, *e. g.*, * *c̀'ug-po* * for "rich;" if speaking Bunan he says * *p'yug-po* * without knowing that both are one and the same (Tibetan) word ཕྱུག་པོ *p'yug-po.*" Of further examples given by Jaeschke the following are the most striking. In speaking Bunan the Lahauli says: * *kres* * "hunger" (Tibetan བཀྲེས་ *bkres*, usually pronounced * *ṭes* *), and * *log-c̀um* * "to read" (Tibetan སྐྱོག་པ་ *klog-pa*, usually pronounced * *lok-pa* *); he is, however, unaware that these Bunani words are borrowed from Tibetan, and therefore when speaking Tibetan he uses ལྟོགས་རི་ *ltogs-ri* (pronounced * *tog-ri* *) for "hunger" and གཞིལ་ཟེས་ *γsil-c̀es* (pronounced * *sil-c̀e* *) for "to read." In speaking Bunan he says * *gram-pa* * "cheek" (Tibetan: ཨགམ་པ་ *ₒgram-pa*), * *gyogs-pa* * "quick" (Tibetan: མཇོགས་པ་ *mgyogs-pa*), * *p'yag-p'ul-c̀um* * "to adore" (Tibetan: ཕྱག་འཚལ་བ་ *p'yag-p'ul-ba*); in speaking Tibetan he says: * *ḍam-pa, gyok-pa, c̀'ak-p'ul-c̀e.**

Against all this mass of evidence tending to prove that Tibetan orthography was intended to represent the spoken word, we have really, as far as I know, only two arguments, firstly, some peculiarities in the transcription of Sanscrit words, and secondly, that the dialect especially of U-Tsang, has lost all traces of this original pronunciation. This fact is certainly very striking, and is probably almost, if not quite, without a parallel. Still, considering all that must be said on the other side, it would seem that we must really accept the present orthography as a fairly correct representation of Tibetan pronunciation of the 7th or 8th century A. D. Indeed the great variety of prefixes, etc., employed

leads us to conclude further, that the orthography was carefully and accurately fitted on to the pronunciation, that in short we have a practically phonetical transcript of the language as spoken by *T'on-mi Sam-bho-ṭa* and his immediate successors.

This does not preclude the possibility that the powers of certain letters, more especially *d*, *b*, *g*, have undergone some changes. It seems not quite improbable that these three letters were originally pronounced θ, v, χ, and even then we have no explanation for the fact that the juxtaposition of *d* and *b*, (དབ) has the effect of mutually neutralizing the letters, so that the letter ཨ *'a* is the result, *i. e.*, a spiritus lenis [1]. It is, however, not possible now to trace these changes. Those interested in the matter will find hints in Jaeschke's essays. But Jaeschke himself did not venture to express any decided opinion on the materials he had to go upon, and it cannot be said that our knowledge of Tibetan has been materially increased since his time. A careful examination of the peculiarities of dialects spoken in secluded valleys of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhotan would no doubt produce more material. The dialects of Khams and of the nomads of the plateaus in northern Tibet have also not been explored.

In a mountainous country dialectical variations are as a rule numerous, and in Tibetan-speaking countries not only every valley, but even neighbouring villages in the same valley have slightly diverging pronunciations and expressions. These minutiæ are most important for a study of the development of the dialects and of the phonetics of the Tibetan language. They are, however, only obtainable during the course of many years' residence in the country. When Tibet is to open to Europeans for free travelling and permanent residence, we may hope to gain much fuller information, and our present views may possibly require to be totally changed.

1 Jaeschke. Dictionary p. xv. This is not, however, always the case, for དབང་ *dbaṅ* "power" is usually pronounced **waṅ**; and in the Ladak dialect དབུལ་པོ་ *dbul-po* "poor" is pronounced **bul-po*,* certainly very rarely, but the word is not commonly used.

A Note on the Buddhist Golden Book exhibited by the President, the Honourable Sir Charles Elliott, K. C. I. E. By Çarat Candra Dās, C. I. E.

(Read January, 1894.)

In February last the President exhibited a Manuscript called the Buddhist Golden Book containing the *Kamma-vācā* written on thick gilt lacquer leaves which he had brought from Cox's Bazār, Chittagong. On that occasion Dr. Hoernle gave an account of its contents based on a Latin translation of the *Kamma-vācā*, published by Spiegel in 1841. As both the text and translation of the *Kamma-vācās* had been published by Dickson in 1881 and by Dr. Frankfurter in 1883, and lastly by Mr. Herbert Baynes in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Golden Book which possessed such an attractive and glittering appearance, seemed to be of little value. In page 53, of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for January 1892, Mr. Herbert Baynes wrote as follows:—

"Having recently received from Mandalay through the kindness of an uncle, several interesting and important Buddhist MSS. in Pali, Burmese and Shan, I venture to lay before the Society a collection of *Kamma-vācās*, some of which, though known to European scholars, have hitherto remained unedited. The first Manuscript is a very handsome copy of the *Kamma-vācaṁ* in Burmese ritual, or 'tamarind-seed' letters, printed with a thick black resinous gum on 16 leaves of royal discarded *pasohs*, each leaf containing 6 lines each side."

This announcement and the translations of the different editions of the text, including that made by Mr. Clough in 1834, impressed me with the importance of the subject. It seemed to me unlikely that a book which was held in unlimited veneration by the entire Buddhist clergy of Burma, Siam, and Ceylon could be an object only of passing notice to the literary world. Shortly after the meeting, Sir Charles Elliott handed over to me the Manuscript for further examination of its contents. In obedience to his wish I have made minute inquiries regarding the contents of the *Kamma-vācās* and language, and the character used in the Manuscript. I am glad to be able to say that

the work when published with its commentary, will be of the highest value to all who inquire into the history of the art of writing and the study of religion, and particularly to the student of Buddhism.

No ancient work either in Sanskrit or Pāli written in the form of *Sūtra* (aphorisms) can be of any value when published without its commentary. As all the editions of the *Kamma-vācā* that have come to my notice are without their commentaries, it is no wonder that little importance should be attached to them. I have been informed that there are in a certain Buddhist library at Colombo, two commentaries on the *Kamma-vācās*, one of which is very elaborate and the other brief. If we obtain a copy of these two, it will be easy to edit the Manuscript before us. No work on Buddhism that has yet been issued by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, can have higher claims to literary and historical, as well as sacerdotal importance, than this book of the rules for admission into the holy order of the Buddhist monks, as prescribed by the founder of Buddhism himself. The *Kamma-vācā* is in fact the basis of Buddhist monkhood, and contains the entire history of the order from its foundation by the Buddha to its maturity during the course of his ministry, which extended over forty-five years.

This Manuscript is written in a missing form of the ancient *Pāli* character. It resembles what is called the square *Pāli*, but differs from the latter just as the Dēvanāgarī differs from the Bengali, or the Russian from the Roman character. The Burmese call it the 'tamarind-seed character' on account of the resemblance of the lines forming the letters to tamarind-seeds. Whether this was the earliest sacred character of the Buddhists of India, or the square *Pāli;* and in which of these the early *Pāli Gāthas* were written, are points which require careful examination. The *Pāli* books of Ceylon are written in Singhalese, those of Siam and Cambodia in Cambodian, and those of Burma in Burmese, with the exception of the *Kamma-vācās* which are invariably to be found in the so-called tamarind-seed character.

The *Kamma-vācās*, in the shape they are embodied in the Golden Book, are not to be found in any Buddhist country except Burma. The Burmese who obtained their religion directly from India got the golden book from Magadha—the central and the earliest seat of Buddhism. It is prized by the Burmese for its writing, though many among them can hardly read the character used in it. The learned priests of Burma believe that the writing of the golden book is, in fact, the last vestige of the ancient *Pāli* character in which the sacred books of the Buddhists were written in very early times. It is for these reasons that the golden book is more worshipped than read by the Burmese people. In Siam the priests read the *Kamma-vācās* from the Vinaya text

and at the time of ritualistic service recite from memory in the manner of the Ceylonese Buddhists. The Siamese got Buddhism from Cambodia where it was introduced from Ceylon. Their sacred *Pāli* books are written in the Cambodian character which is a modification of the square *Pāli* The Golden Book is not to be found in Siam, Cambodia or Ceylon. Dr. Frankfurter, the author of the *Pāli* grammar, has published a table of the various characters in which the sacred *Pāli* books are written. In his list no mention is made or specimen given of the character of the Golden Book. Mr. Herbert Baynes the latest writer on the *Kamma-vācā* has not given any description of the tamarind-seed character in which the Burmese manuscript on ritual is written. In the subjoined plate (Plate I) I have arranged the three characters, *viz.*—the characters of the Açōka inscriptions ; the ancient *Pāli* obtained from Sir Charles Elliott's manuscript, the Golden Book ; and the square *Pāli* character as given by Dr. Frankfurter in his *Pāli* Grammar. Comparing the character of the Golden Book with the first and the last, I find it bears a closer resemblance to the Açōka character than to the square *Pāli* which has hitherto been considered to be the character in which the early Buddhist books were written. Moreover, the entire absence of the vowel long *ī*, either as a letter or a vowel sign in the Golden Book, shews that its characters belong to an earlier stage than the square *Pāli*, in which the long *ī* is a prominent feature. The square *Pāli* is in fact an ornamental form derived from the ancient *Pāli* character of the Golden Book brought by Sir Charles Elliott. The long *ī* exists in the Burmese, Cambodian and Ceylonese characters which owe their origin to the square *Pāli*. There is one more peculiarity in the Golden Book which deserves notice. The letter which is absent in the Açōka character, is to be found in the Golden Book, from which circumstance I may conclude that the Açōka character was older than the character of the Golden Book.

The name *Pāli*, according to the Southern Buddhists, has two significations ; first, the sacred books and treatises which emanated from the Buddha and were delivered to the world by his disciples like the Christian Gospels. These were arranged in serial order and were called *Pāli*. In this sense the name *Pāli* signifies only the books or series of treatises, and not the language or character to which it is now ordinarily applied.

Secondly, the name *Pāli* signifies anything that is formed in rows, like the lines of birds flying in the air. This meaning is significant on account of its agreeing with the rows of letters as well as the lines of writing in a book. It is therefore probable, if we are to believe the account of the Buddhists, that the earliest name that was given to the second stage of the written character of India was *Pāli*. According to them, the classical or ancient *Māgadhī*, known as the language of the *Pāli*, *i.e.*, of

the sacred books, was the *Mūla Bhāṣā* of India, in short the basis of Sanskrit. The ancient *Māgadhī* refined was Sanskrit, and the later *Māgadhī* corrupted became the Prākrit. Prākrit continued to be the language of Magadha till the time of the Pāla dynasty, when the revival of the study of Sanskrit in Bengal, first at Gauḍa and subsequently on the banks of the Bhāgīrathī, formed the Bengali language, which is indeed a mixture of Sanskrit and Prākrit. I here annex a short introduction to the *Kamma-vācā* which I have compiled from the Vinaya Text published in the series of *Sacred Books of the East*, and from the Manuscript, which I have deciphered with the help of Mr. Dharmarāj Barua.

Introduction to the Kamma-vācā.[1]

The Origin of the Buddhist Church.

Çākya Muni dwelt at Uruvēlā, on the bank of the river Nairañjana (Phālgū) at the foot of the *Bōdhi* tree (tree of wisdom), just after he had become Buddha (gained supreme intelligence.) Having sat uninterruptedly for seven days at the foot of the *Bōdhi* tree, he enjoyed the bliss of *nirvāṇa* (emancipation from misery and sorrows). Then he arose from that state of meditation and moved to the foot of the *Ajapāla* (banyan tree[2]) and enjoyed the bliss of emancipation for seven days. From there he moved to the foot of a *Mucalinda* tree (Barringtonia Acutangula), where he meditated for seven days, enjoying the same bliss. He then moved to the foot of the tree called *Rajāyatana*. At this time two merchants, called Tapussa and Bhallika, came travelling on the road from Orissa to that place. They took rice-cakes and lumps of honey, and went to the place where the Blessed One was. Having approached him, they reverentially addressed him: "May the Blessed One accept from us these rice-cakes and lumps of honey!" The Buddha received the offerings in four stone bowls that lay near him and ate from them. As soon as he had finished eating, the two merchants bowed down in reverence at his feet, and thus addressed him: "We take our refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One and in the *Dharma;* may the Blessed One receive us as his disciples."[3] Afterwards the Blessed One thought, "To whom shall I preach the doctrine first? Who will understand this doctrine easily? The five Bhikkhus (who were formerly my companions) have done many services to me. What if I were to preach the doctrine first to them: where do they dwell now?" So thinking; he saw by the power of his divine, clear vision, that the five Bhikkhus were living at

[1] Mahāvagga I, 1 & ff. Ed.

[2] *I. e.*, Banyan tree of the goatherds.

[3] It may be noted here that these two were the first lay disciples of the Buddha. Even then no *saṁgha* (priesthood) was formed.

Benares, in the deer-park, called Ṛṣipatana. He proceeded to Benares. Now Upaka, a man belonging to the *Ājīvaka* sect (*i.e.*, the sect of naked ascetics) saw the Blessed One travelling on the road, between the Bōdhi tree (Bōdh Gayā[1]) and Gayā (city), and addressed him saying: "Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? Whose doctrine do you profess?" To this the Buddha replied: "I have overcome all foes, I am all wise; I am free from stains in every way; I have left everything, and have obtained emancipation by the destruction of desire. Having myself gained knowledge, whom should I call my master? I have no teacher, no one is equal to me; in the world of men and of gods no being is like me. I am the Holy One in this world, I am the highest teacher. I alone am the absolute Saṁbuddha; I have gained coolness (by the extinction of all passions) and have obtained Nirvāṇa. To found the Kingdom of Truth I go to the City of the Kāçī (Benares). I will beat the drum of the Immortal in the darkness of this world." Upaka replied: "You profess then, friend, to be the Holy, Absolute Jina, the Victorious One." Buddha said: "Like me are all Jina who have reached extinction of sensuality, individuality, delusion and ignorance. I have overcome all states of sinfulness, therefore, Upaka am I the Jina, the Victorious." When he had spoken thus, Upaka replied: "It may be so, friend;" shook his head, took another road and went away.

And the Blessed One, wandering from place to place came to Benares, to the deer-park Ṛṣipatana, to the place where the five Bhikkhus were. When he gradually approached near them, they went forth to meet him; one took his bowl and his robe, another prepared a seat, a third one brought water for the washing of the feet, a foot-stool, and a towel. Thus reverentially received, the Buddha addressed the five Bhikkhus:—"There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus which he who has given up the world ought to avoid. What are these two extremes? A life given to pleasures, devoted to pleasures and lusts; this is degrading, sensual, vulgar, ignoble and profitless: and a life given to mortifications; this is painful, ignoble and profitless. By avoiding these two extremes the Buddha has gained the knowledge of the Middle Path which leads to insight and to wisdom; which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to *Saṁbōdhi* (true enlightenment), and to *Nirvāṇa*. This is the Middle Path, the Holy Eightfold Path, which consists of Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavour, Right Memory, Right Meditation.

[1] I may take this opportunity of pointing out that the correct spelling of this name is Bōdh Gayā, not Buddha Gayā. Ed.

"This is the Noble Truth of Suffering. Birth is suffering; decay is suffering; illness is suffering; death is suffering. Presence of objects we hate, is suffering; Separations from objects we love, is suffering; not to obtain what we desire, is suffering. Briefly, the fivefold clinging to existence is suffering."

"This is the Noble Truth of the Cause of Suffering: Thirst, that leads to re-birth, accompanied by pleasure and lust, finding its delight here and there.

"This is the Noble Truth of Cessation of Suffering: it ceases with the complete cessation of this thirst—a cessation which consists in the absence of every passion,—with the abandoning of this thirst, with the doing away with it, with the destruction of desire.

"As long as I did not possess this true knowledge and insight into the four Noble Truths, so long I knew that I had not yet obtained the highest absolute *Saṁbōdhi*. But since I possessed with perfect purity this true knowledge, then I knew that I had obtained the highest universal *Saṁbōdhi* in the world of men and gods. The emancipation of my mind cannot be lost: this is my last birth: hence I shall not be born again."

Origin of the Great Order of Bhikkhus.[1]

The five Bhikkhus were delighted, and they rejoiced at the words of the Blessed One. And when this exposition was propounded, the Venerable Kauṇḍinya obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth:—Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination, is subject also to the condition of cessation. And the Blessed One pronounced this solemn utterance: "Truly, Kauṇḍinya has perceived it (*Aññāsi*)." Hence the Venerable Kauṇḍinya received the name of Aññātakōṇḍiñña (Ājñāta-kauṇḍinya, Kauṇḍinya who has perceived the doctrine). He then spoke to the Blessed One: "Lord, let me receive from Thee the *Pravrajyā* and *Upasaṁpadā* ordinations." "Come, O Bhikkhus," said the Blessed One, "well taught is the doctrine: lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering." Thus the Venerable Kauṇḍinya received the *Upaṁpadā* ordination.

Thus originated the custom of initiating one who has taken the *Pravrajyā* vow of renunciation into the Order of the Perfected, called *Upasaṁpadā*. The Blessed One was the first to renounce the world and to become perfected in Supreme Knowledge, *i. e.*, *Upasaṁpanna*.

Then the four remaining *Bhikkhus*, having mastered the Truth, spoke to the Blessed One; "Lord, let us receive the *Pravrajyā* and *Upasaṁpadā* ordinations from the Blessed One." "Come, O Bhikkhus," said the Blessed One, "well taught is the doctrine: lead a holy life for

[1] Mahāvagga I, 6, 29. Ed.

the sake of the complete extinction of suffering." Thus these venerable persons became ordained into the "Order of the Perfected," which henceforth, with the Buddha at its head, became known as the "*Saṁgha*," the Holy Communion. And for the first time the Buddhist triad, *i e.*, *Buddha*, *Dharma*, and *Saṁgha*, the Supreme Perfected Being, his doctrine and priesthood was formed. Before this there existed the two, *i. e.*, the Buddha and his doctrine (*Dharma*). There was no Buddhist priesthood till then.

When the Blessed One had converted the five Bhikkhus into his doctrine, Yasa, the noble youth, the son of a rich merchant of Benares, being satiated with the pleasures of the world, happened to visit him in the grove of Ṛṣipatana. Shortly after Yasa's arrival, his father came in search of him. The Blessed One convinced both the father and the son of the excellence of his doctrine. And Yasa, the noble youth, soon after the Çrēṣṭhin (merchant) was gone, said to the Buddha: "Lord, let me receive the *Pravrajyā* and *Upasaṁpadā* ordinations." Said the Buddha, "Well taught is the doctrine: lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering." Yasa was accordingly admitted into the Holy Order of Bhikkhus. In the evening of that day Buddha visited the house of the Çrēṣṭhin, when Yasa's former wife and mother came, and reverentially saluting, sat down near him to hear the *Dharma*. The Blessed One talked about the merits obtained by alms-giving. The ladies, having seen the Truth, said: "We take our refuge, Lord, in Thee and in the *Dharma* and in the fraternity of Bhikkhus. May the Blessed One receive us from this day forth, while our life lasts, as disciples who have taken their refuge in Him." These were the first females in the world who became lay disciples by the formula of taking refuge in the holy triad. Thereafter fifty-four lay persons, friends of the venerable Yasa, belonging to the highest families in the country, were admitted into the Holy Order, in consequence of which the number of *Arahats* then rose to sixty-one. At this stage the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus—

Origin of the Buddhist Propaganda.[1]

"Go ye now, O Bhikkhus, and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world; for the good, for the gain, and for the welfare of the gods and men. Let not two of you go the same way. Preach the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious at the end, in the spirit and in the letter; proclaim a consummate, perfect and pure life of holiness. There are beings whose mental eyes are covered by scarcely any dust; but if the doctrine is not preached to them, they cannot attain salvation.

[1] Mahāvagga, I, 11, 1. Ed.

They will understand the doctrine. And I will go, also, to Uruvēlā, to Sēnāninigama, in order to preach the doctrine."

While charging them with this commission, the Buddha said: "I grant you, O Bhikkhus, this permission: Confer henceforth in the different regions, and in the different countries the *Pravrajyā* and *Upasaṁpadā* ordinations yourself on those who desire to receive them. And you ought to confer the *Pravrajyā* and *Upasaṁpadā* ordinations in this way:—Let him who desires to receive the ordination, first have his hair and beard cut off; let him put on yellow robes, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the Bhikkhus with his head, and sit down squatting; then let him raise his joined hands, and tell him to say: 'I take my refuge in the Buddha; I take my refuge in the *Dharma*; I take my refuge in the *Saṁgha*.' In three times repeating this declaration of taking refuge in the holy triad consist the *Pravrajyā* and *Upasaṁpadā* ordinations."

Thereafter the Buddha leaving Benares proceeded to Uruvēlā. Here while residing in a certain grove, he admitted thirty young men into the order of Bhikkhus. He then went to the hermitage of the three leaders of the *Jaṭila* sect of *Sannyāsīs* who wore matted hair, and converted them, with their followers, about 1,000 in number, to his doctrine, and admitted them into the Holy Order. From Uruvēlā the Buddha proceeded to Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, and there took his residence in *Laṭṭhivana*. The conversion of Uruvēlā Kaçyapa, the most famous leader of the *Jaṭila* ascetics spread the fame of the Buddha and his doctrine far and wide. Being informed of this marvellous success, Bimbisāra, the King of Magadha, with twelve myriads of Magadha Brāhmans and householders went to the place where the Blessed One was. They thought within themselves: "How now is this? Has the great Çramaṇa (the Buddha) placed himself under the spiritual direction of Uruvēlā Kaçyapa, or has Uruvēlā Kaçyapa placed himself under the great Çramaṇa?"

Hearing from the lips of Uruvēlā Kaçyapa the real story of his conversion, King Bimbisāra with ten thousand men imbibed faith in the doctrine of the Buddha and became his lay disciples. The King now reverently offered the Buddha his pleasure-grove called Vēṇuvana for his residence. The Blessed One accepted the grove (Ārāma) and took his residence there. Here he admitted into the Holy Order two friends, named Kōlita and Upatiṣya. This auspicious pair of his disciples, who also bore respectively the names of Maudgalyāyana and Çāriputra played an important part throughout the whole course of the Buddha's ministry. Soon after their conversion two hundred and fifty disciples of Saṁjaya, the Brāhman *Parivrājaka*, entered the holy order. Thereafter many distinguished young Magadha noblemen led a religious life under the

direction of the Buddha. At this people were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying, "The Çramaṇa Gautama causes fathers to beget no sons, wives to become widows, and families to be extinct. Now he has ordained one thousand *Jaṭila Sannyāsīs* (ascetics), and he has ordained these two hundred and fifty *Parivrājaka* (wandering ascetics) who were the followers of Saṁjaya." And, moreover, when they saw the Bhikkhus, they reviled them.

The reason was evident. The Bhikkhus went on their rounds for alms, wearing their under and upper garments improperly. While people were eating, they held out their alms-bowl in which were held leavings of food. They asked for soup and boiled rice themselves and ate it; in the dining hall they made a great and loud noise. The Buddha now perceived that the order of Bhikkhus had already grown too large, and that discipline was necessary for its regulation. He addressed the Bhikkhus, saying:—"I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that young Bhikkhus choose a preceptor (*Upādhyāya*). The *Upādhyāya* ought to consider the pupil as a son, and the pupil ought to consider the *Upādhyāya* as a father. Thus these two, with united confidence and communion of life, will progress, advance, and reach a high stage in this doctrine and discipline."

The origin of the Kamma-vācās.[1]

At that time a certain Brāhmaṇa came to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the *pravrajyā* ordination. The Bhikkhus were not willing to ordain him. He became lean and emaciated from disappointment and the Blessed One saw him, and said:—"Now, O Bhikkhus, who remembers anything about this Brāhmaṇa?" The Venerable Çāriputra said to the Blessed One: "This Brāhmaṇa, Lord, one day, when I went through Rājagṛha for alms, ordered a spoonful of food to be given to me; this is what I remember of him, Lord." The Buddha said, "Good, good, Çāriputtra; therefore confer you the *pravrajyā* and *upasaṁpadā* ordinations on that Brāhmaṇa."

"Lord, how shall I confer the *pravrajyā* and *upasaṁpadā* ordinations on this Brāhmaṇa?" The Blessed One said, "I abolish from this day the *upasaṁpadā* ordination by the threefold declaration of taking refuge, which I had formerly prescribed. I now prescribe that you confer the *upasaṁpadā* ordination by a formal act of the Order in which the announcement is followed by three questions[2]:—Let a

[1] Mahāvagga, I, 28, Ed.

[2] The forms for bringing a formal motion before the Order is the following: The mover first announces to the assembled Bhikkhus what resolution he is going to propose; this announcement is called *Jñapti*. After the *Jñapti* follows the question put to the Bhikkhus present, if they approve the resolution. This question is put three times.

learned, competent *Bhikkhu* proclaim the following *jñapti* (announcement) before the *Saṁgha* (Chapter).

'Let the *Saṁgha*, Reverend Sirs, hear me. This person *N. N.*, desires to receive the *upasaṁpadā* ordination from the Venerable *N. N.*, as his *Upādhyāya*, (preceptor). If the *Saṁgha* is ready, let the *Saṁgha* confer on *N. N.*, the *upasaṁpadā* ordination. Let any one of the venerable brethren who is in favour of the ordination of N. N., be silent, and any one who is not in favour of it, speak.' This announcement should be recited thrice. Then let him say:—

'*N. N.*, has received the *Upasaṁpadā* ordination from the *Saṁgha* with *N. N.* as *Upadhyāya*. The *Saṁgha* is in favour of it, therefore it is silent. Thus I understand.'"

KAMMA-VĀCĀ.

Paṭhamaparicchēdō.

UPASAMPADA-KAMMAVĀCĀ.

Namō tassa Bhagavatō Arahatō Sammāsaṁbuddhassa.[1]

Paṭhamaṁ upajjhaṁ gāhāpētabbō. Upajjhaṁ gāhāpētvā pattacīvaraṁ ācikkhitabbaṁ.

'Ayaṁ tē pattō?' 'Āma bhantē.'

'Ayaṁ saṁghāṭi?' 'Āma bhantē.'

'Ayaṁ uttarāsaṁgō?' 'Āma bhantē.'

'Ayaṁ antaravāsakō?' 'Āma bhantē.'

'Gaccha amumhi, ōkāsē tiṭṭhāhi.'

'Suṇātu mē bhantē saṁghō. *Nāgō* āyasmatō *Tissassa* upasampadāpēkkhō. Yadi saṁghassa pattakallaṁ, ahaṁ *Nāgaṁ* anusāsēyyaṁ.

'Suṇāsi *Nāga*, ayaṁ tē saccakālō bhūtakālō. Yaṁ jātaṁ, taṁ saṁghamajjhē puccha taṁ tē. Santaṇ atthīti vattabbaṁ. Asantaṁ natthīti vattabbaṁ. Mā khō vitthāsi. Mā khō akusalōsi.

'Ēvaṁ taṁ pucchissanti.

'Santi tē ēvaṁrūpā ābādhā?'

'Kuṭṭhaṁ?' 'Natthi bhantē.'

'Gaṇḍō?' 'Natthi bhantē.'

'Kilāsō?' 'Natthi bhantē.'

'Sōsō?' 'Natthi bhantē.'

'Apamārō?' 'Natthi bhantē.'

'Manussōsi?' 'Āma bhantē.'

'Purisōsi?' 'Āma bhantē.'

'Bhujissōsi?' 'Ama bhantē.'

[1] Cf. Mahāvagga, 1, 76, 1. Ed.

'Aṇaṇōsi?' 'Ama bhantē.'
'Nasi rājabhaṭō?' 'Āma bhantē.'
'Anuññātōsi mātāpitūhi?' 'Āma bhantē.'
'Paripuṇṇa-vīsati-vassōsi?' 'Āma bhantē.'
'Paripuṇṇaṁ tē patta-cīvaraṁ?' 'Ama bhantē.'
'Kiṁnāmōsi?' 'Ahaṁ bhantē *Nāgō* nāma.'
'Kō nāma tē upajjhāyō?' 'Upajjhāyō mē bhantē āyasmā *Tissatthērō* nāma.'
'Suṇātu mē bhantē saṁghō, *Nāgō* āyasmatō *Tissassa* upasampadāpēkkhō. Anusiṭṭhō sō mayā.
'Yadi saṁghassa pattakallaṁ, *Nāgō* āgacchēyya.'

Kamma-vācā (*Formal acts of Buddhist ritual*).

Chapter I.

Ritual for the Ordination of Monks.

Reverence to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Fully Enlightened One.

First (the candidate) should be made to have an *Upādhyāya* (Spiritual tutor).

Having been made to accept an *Upādhyāya*, [1] he should be asked, if he has got his alms-bowl and (religious) robes [2].

1 At that time the Bhikkhus conferred the *Upasaṁpadā* ordination on a person that had no *Upādhyāya*. They told this thing to the Blessed One who said: 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who has no *Upādhyāya* receive the *Upasaṁpadā* ordination, (*Mahāvagga*, I, 69).

2 The Buddha prescribed the stuff of which the religious robes of the Buddhist monks should consist, while speaking of the four Resources of a *Bhikkhu*: 'The religious order has the robe made of rags taken from a dust-heap or from a cemetery for its resource. Linen, cotton, silk, woollen garments, coarse cloth, hempen cloth, are extra allowances.' As to the manner of sewing in patches, the instruction contained in the following discourse will be interesting.

"Now, on one occasion the Buddha set forth on his journey towards *Dakkhinagiri* (the Southern hills of Bihār). On the way he beheld how the Magadha rice-fields were divided into short pieces, and in rows, and by outside boundaries or ridges, and by cross boundaries. On seeing this Buddha thus spoke to the Venerable Ānanda. 'Dost thou perceive, how the rice-fields are divided into short pieces, and in rows?'

'Even so, Lord.'

'Could you, Ānanda, provide robes of a like kind for the Bhikkhus?'

'I could, Lord.'

"Then Ānanda provided robes of a like kind for many Bhikkhus, and addressing the Buddha said, 'May the Blessed One be pleased to look at the robes which I have provided.' Buddha was pleased with what he saw, and addressing the Bhikkhus said.

'Is this your alms-bowl'? 'Yes, Venerable Sir.'

'Is this your *Saṁghāṭī* (wrapper for the body)? 'Yes, Venerable Sir.'?

'Is this your *Uttarāsaṇga* (upper robe)'? 'Yes, Venerable Sir.'

'Is this your *Antaravāsaka* (under robe)'? 'Yes, Venerable Sir.'

'Go to that place and wait (standing).'

'Let the *Saṁgha* (Chapter), Reverend Sirs, hear me. This person, Nāga, desires to receive the *Upasaṁpadā* ordination with the Venerable Tiṣya as his *Upādhyāya*. If the *Saṁgha* is ready, let me instruct Nāga accordingly. Do you hear, Nāga? This is the time for you to speak the truth, and to say that which has been. When I ask you before the Assembly about that which is, you ought, if it is so, to answer: "It is;" if it is not so, you ought to answer: "It is not." Be not disconcerted, be not perplexed. I shall ask you thus (in the presence of the *Saṁgha*): 'Are you afflicted with the following diseases—[1] leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, and fits?' 'No, Venerable Sir.'

'Are you a man[2]'? 'Yes, Venerable Sir.'

'O Bhikkhus, Ānanda is an able man, he can make the cross seams, and the intermediate cross seams, and the greater circles, and the lesser circles, and the turning in, and the lining of the turning in, and the collar-piece, and the knee piece, and the elbow-piece. And it shall be of torn pieces, roughly sewn together suitable for a *Çramaṇa* (monk), a thing which his enemies cannot court. I enjoin upon you O Bhikkhus, the use of an under robe of torn pieces, and of an upper robe of torn pieces, and of a waist cloth of torn pieces.' "

[1] At that time the five diseases—Leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption and fits prevailed among the people of Magadha. The people who were affected with them went to the physicians Jīvaka and said, 'Pray, doctor, cure us.' 'I have too many duties, Sir, and am too occupied. I have to treat the Magadha King Bimbisāra, and the royal seraglio, and the fraternity of Bhikkhus, with the Buddha at their head. I cannot cure you.' Now these people thought, 'Indeed, the precepts which these monks keep and the life they live are commodious; they have good meals and lie down on beds protected from the wind. What if we were to embrace the religious life among them, then the Bhikkhus will nurse us and Jīvaka will cure us.' Thus these persons went to the Bhikkhus who conferred on them the *Pravrajyā* (Buddhist) ordination. Some of them becoming free from the sickness returned to the world leaving off their monkish life. Now Jīvaka saw them and said 'Had you not embraced the religious, life, Sirs, among the Bhikkhus?' 'Yes, doctor.' 'And why have you adopted such a course, Sirs?' Then they told him the whole matter. And Jīvaka went to the place where the Blessed One was, and representing to him all about the sick men, said. 'Pray, Lord, let their Reverences not confer the *Pravrajyā* ordination on persons afflicted with the five diseases.' In consequence of that the Blessed One addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who is affected with the five diseases, receive the *Pravrajyā* ordination.'

[2] At that time there was a serpent who was ashamed of and conceived aversion for his having been born as a serpent. Now this serpent thought, 'What am I to

'Are you a male[1]?' 'Yes, Venerable Sir.'
'Are you a free man[2]?' 'Yes, Venerable Sir.'
'Have you no debts[3]?' 'I have no debts, Venerable Sir.'

do in order to become released from being a serpent, and quickly to obtain human nature?' Then this serpent gave himself the following answer: 'These monks of Çākya lead indeed a virtuous, tranquil, holy life; they speak the truth; they keep the precepts of morality, and are endowed with all virtues. If I could obtain the *Pravrajyā* ordination with them, I should be released from being a serpent and quickly obtain human nature.' Then that serpent, in the shape of a youth, went to the Bhikkhus, and asked them for the *Pravrajyā* ordination; the Bhikkhus conferred on him the ordination. At that time that serpent dwelt together with a certain Bhikkhu in the Jētavana *Vihāra* near its boundary wall. When his companion had gone out of the *Vihāra* for a walk at dawn, the serpent, who thought himself safe from discovery, fell asleep in his natural shape. The whole *Vihāra* was filled with the snake's body; his winding jutted out of the window. When the Bhikkhu returned to the *Vihāra* he saw the snake's body and became terrified, and cried out. The Bhikkhus ran up to him and made a noise when they saw the snake's body. The serpent awoke from that noise and sat down on his seat. The Bhikkhus said to him 'Who are you.' 'I am a serpent, Reverend Sirs.' 'And why have you done such a thing'? Then the serpent told the whole matter to the Bhikkhus. The Bhikkhus told it to the Blessed One.

In consequence of that, and on this occasion, the Blessed One, having ordered the fraternity of Bhikkhus to assemble, said to that serpent: 'You serpents are not capable of spiritual growth in this doctrine and discipline. However, serpent, go and observe fasts on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half-month in the name of the Trinity. Thus will you be released from being a serpent and quickly obtain human nature.' Then the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus. 'There are two occasions on which a serpent who has resumed human shape manifests his true nature: When he has sexual intercourse with a female of his species; and when he thinks himself safe from discovery and falls sleep.'

[1] At that time a certain hermaphrodite had received *Pravrajyā* with the Bhikkhus. The hermaphrodite being possessed of the nature of both the sexes committed sexual intercourse with the Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhunī's.

They told this thing to the Blessed One. 'Let not a hermaphrodite, O Bhikkhus, receive the ordination.'

[2] At that time a slave ran away, and was ordained with the Bhikkhus. When his masters saw him, they said: 'There is our slave; come let us lead him away, back to our house.' They told this thing to the Blessed one. 'Let no slave, O Bhikkhus, receive the *Pravrajyā* ordination.'

[3] At that time a certain person who was in debt, ran away, and was ordained with the Bhikkhus. When his creditors saw him, they said, 'There is our debtor; come let us lead him to prison?' But some people replied: 'Do not say so, Sirs. A decree has been issued by the Magadha King. No one is to do harm to those who are ordained as the monks of Çākya.' 'How can they ordain a debtor?' They told this to the Blessed One. 'Let no debtor, O Bhikkhus, receive the *Pravrajyā* ordination.'

'Are you not in the royal service[1]'? 'I am not, Venerable Sir.'

'Have your father and mother[2] given their consent to your entering the *Pravrajyā*'? 'Yes, Venerable Sir.'

[1] At that time the border provinces of the kingdom of Magadha were agitated. Then the Magadha king, Bimbisāra, gave order to the officers who were at the head of the army: 'Well now, go and search through the border provinces.' The officers bore his command saying 'Yes, your Majesty.'

Many warriors among them thought, 'We who go to war and find our delight in fighting, do evil and produce great demerit. What shall we do that we may desist from evil doing and may do good?'

Then they thought, 'The monks of Çākya lead indeed a virtuous, tranquil, holy life; they speak the truth; they keep the precepts of morality, and are endowed with all virtues.' Thus these warriors went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the *Pravrajyā* ordination, and were admitted into the Order.

The officers at the head of the army asked the royal soldiers, 'Why, how is it that the warrior N. N. and N. N. are nowhere to be seen?' 'The warrior's N. N. and N. N., Lords, have embraced religious life among Bhikkhus.' The officers told this thing to the King, who asked the Officers of Justice; 'Tell me, my good Sirs, what punishment does he deserve who ordains a person in the royal service?'

'The *Upādhyāya*, Your Majesty, should be beheaded; to him who recites the *Kamma-vācās*, the tongue should be torn out; to those who form the Chapter, half of their ribs should be broken.' Then the Magadha King went to the palace where the Blessed One was, and addressing him said: 'Lord, there are unbelieving Kings who are disinclined to the faith; these might harass the Bhikkhus even on trifling occasions. Pray, Lord, let their Reverences not confer the *Pravrajyā* ordination on persons in royal service.'

Then the Blessed One thus addressed the Bhikkhus: 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, who is in the royal service, receive the *Pravrajyā* ordination. He who confers it on such a person is guilty of *Duṣkṛta*, offence.'

[2] Then the Blessed One, went forth to Kapilavāstu and dwelt in the Çākya country, in the Banyan grove. And in the fore-noon having put on his under-robes, took his alms-bowl, and with his robes on went to the residence of his father. Having gone there, he sat down on a seat laid out for him. Then the Princess, (Buddha's former wife) said to young Rāhula, her son, 'This is your father, Rāhula; go and ask him for your inheritance.' Then young Rāhula went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him he said—'Father, your shadow is a place of bliss.' Then the Blessed One rose from his seat and went away, and young Rāhula followed the Blessed One from behind and said. 'Give me my inheritance, father; give me my inheritance father.'

Then the Blessed One said to the Venerable Çāriputra: 'Well Çāriputra, confer the *Pravrajyā* ordination on young Rāhula.' The Venerable Çāriputra conferred the *Pravrajyā* ordination on young Rāhula. Then the Çākya Çuddhōdana (Buddha's father) went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him and having respectfully saluted him, said, 'Lord I ask one boon of thee.' The Buddha replied, the perfect ones are above granting boons before they know what they are.

Çuddhōdana said: 'Lord, it is a proper and unobjectionable demand.' 'Speak.'

'When the Blessed One gave up the world, it was a great pain to me, so it was

'Are you full twenty years[1] old'? 'Yes, Venerable Sir.'

'Are your alms-bowl and your robes[2] in due state?' 'Yes, Venerable Sir.'

'What is your name'? 'My name is Nāga, Venerable Sir.'

'What is your (spiritual) teacher's name?' 'The name of my tutor is Tiṣya, Venerable Sir.'

'Let the *Saṁgha* (Chapter), Reverend Sirs, hear me. This person, Nāga, desires to receive the *Upasaṁpadā* (ordination) from the Venerable Tiṣya (as his *Upādhyāya*).

'If the *Saṁgha* is ready, let Nāga come here (in the presence of the *Saṁgha*).'

when Nanda did the same: my pain was excessive when my grandson Rāhula too, did so. The love for a son cuts the heart. Pray, let their reverences not confer the *Pravrajyā* ordination on a son without his father's and mother's permission.' The Blessed One then said to the Chapter. 'Let no son, O Bhikkhus, receive the *Pravrajyā* ordination without his father's and mother's permission.'

[1] There was at Rājagṛha a company of seventeen boys, friends of each other. Thinking that they could live a life of ease and without pain, they went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the *Pravrajyā* ordination. The Bhikkhus admitted them into the holy order.

In the night, at dawn, these boys rose and began to cry, 'Give us rice, and milk. Give us soft food, give us hard food!' The Bhikkhus said, 'Wait, friends, till day time. If there is rice and milk you will drink; if there is food, soft and hard, you shall eat.' When they were thus spoken to the young Bhikkhus threw their bedding about and made it wet, calling out, 'Give us rice, milk, and food, &c.'

Then the Blessed One, having arisen in the night, heard the noise which those boys made, and said to Ānanda. 'Now, what noise of boys is that?' The Venerable Ānanda told the thing to the Blessed One. 'It is true, that the Bhikkhus knowingly confer the *Upasampadā* ordination on persons under twenty years of age.'

Then the Blessed One rebuked those Bhikkhus, and said, 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, knowingly confer the *Upasampadā* ordination on a person under twenty years of age.'

[2] At that time the Bhikkhus conferrred *Upasampadā* ordination on persons that had no alms-bowl, or they went out for robes and alms naked, and received alms with their hands. People were annoyed, murmured, and became angry, saying that they behaved shamelessly like the *Tīrthika Sannyāsīs* The Bhikkhus told this thing to the Blessed One. 'Let no one, O Bhikkhus, receive the *Upasampadā* ordination without having an alms-bowl or the proper robes.'

On a Stone Image of the Buddha found at Rājagṛha.—By G. A. Grierson, C. I. E., I. C. S.

(With Plate II.)

[Read, April, 1894.]

The image, of which a photograph accompanies this paper, was dug up by me some five years ago on the summit of Çaila-giri, a mountain about five miles to the S.-E. of the modern town of Rāj'gir. The mountain is one of those which surround the old valley of Rājagṛha, and is undoubtedly the same as the Gṛdhra-kūṭa of the Chinese pilgrims. It has been visited by Mr. Broadley and by Mr. Beglar (*vide* Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., Vol. VIII), but has never been thoroughly investigated. The site would well repay judicious excavation. Owing to the thorny jungle with which the hill is covered, and the steepness of the ascent, a visit to the spot is no easy climb.

Fa Hian thus describes it:[1]—"Entering the valley and striking the mountains to the south-east, ascending 15 *li*, we arrive at the hill called Gṛdhra-kūṭa. Three *li* from the top is a stone cavern facing the south. Buddha used in this place to sit in meditation. Thirty paces to the north-west is another stone cell in which Ānanda practised meditation.[2] The Dēva Māra Piçuna, having assumed the form of a vulture, took his place before the cavern and terrified Ānanda. Buddha by his spiritual power pierced the rock, and with his outstretched hand patted Ānanda's shoulder. On this his fear was allayed, the traces of the bird and of the hand-hole are still quite plain. On this account the hill is called 'The Hill of the Vulture-Cave' * * * * Here, also, when Buddha was walking to and fro from east to west, in front of his cell, Dēvadatta, from between the northern eminences of the mountain, rolled down athwart his path a stone which wounded Buddha's toe; the stone is still there. The hall in which Buddha preached has been destroyed, but the foundations of the brick walls still exist."

[1] Beal's translation, xxix.

[2] Both these caves still exist, and can be readily identified by a cleft in the rock which unites them.

Hiuen Tsiang[1] gives further particulars:—"When Tathāgata had guided the world for some fifty years, he dwelt much on this mountain, and delivered the excellent law in its developed form. King Bimbisāra, for the purpose of hearing the law, raised a number of men to accompany him from the foot of the mountain to its summit. They levelled the valleys and spanned precipices, and with stones made a staircase about ten paces wide and five or six *li* long. In the middle of the road are two small *stūpas*, one called the 'Dismounting from the Chariot,' because the king, when he got here, went forward on foot; the other is called 'Sending back the crowd,' because the King, separating the common folk, would not allow them to proceed with him. The summit of the mountain is long from east to west, and narrow from north to south." The pilgrim then describes the caves mentioned by Fa Hian, and from his account, the ruined brick *Vihāra* must have been re-built after Fa Hian's departure.

There are other details given which I need not quote. Suffice it to say that the spot was one of considerable sanctity, and it was here that the Buddha dwelt during much of the later portion of his life, and is said to have delivered many of his most developed *sūtras*. Though there has never been any serious doubt as to the identity of the spot, and though it had been twice visited by enthusiastic archæologists, it is curious that till I visited it, no attempt seems to have been made to exploit its treasures. I had only a few hours available, but a very little examination showed the remains of important buildings, and gave me the beautiful image of the Buddha, shown in Plate II. It is of a black stone, which stone-carvers of the neighbourhood told me came from Monghyr, and is in a state of excellent preservation, though there is no doubt as to its having lain for centuries safely buried in the ground.

The descriptions of the Chinese pilgrims are, as usual, accurate. There are, as I have said, two large caves, joined together by a cleft in the rock, besides a number of smaller ones. The massive staircase of king Bimbisāra, with the ruins of its two *stūpas*, is still in existence, and I used it myself in clambering up to the site of the cave. The top of the mountain is simply a mass of buried ruins, and may contain unnumbered treasures.

As regards the sculptured image itself,—for an excellent heliograph of which I have to thank Col. Waterhouse,—Babu Çarat Candra Dās, C.I.E., has been good enough to give me the following note, which he has drawn up with the assistance of Lama Çerab Gya-tsho:—"The image belongs to the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. The Buddha is represented in

[1] Beal's translation, ii, 153.

the *dhyānī āsana*, or attitude of meditation, seated on a lotus. The lotus, which grows in mud, is symbolical of purity born of a vile origin, and intimates that the Buddha was not tainted by the mire of worldly existence, of suffering, and of sin, though he was spiritually evolved out of the world. This *Padmāsana* is placed on a *Vajra*,—the essence of the thunderbolt,—the diamond, which is symbolical of unchangeableness. Hence the whole throne is called a *Vajrāsana*. This *Vajrāsana* is again placed on the back of two lions, to denote that the Buddha is supremely fearless.[1] Beside each lion there is an *upāsaka*, or Buddhist devotee, and the whole is surmounted by the *Kalpavṛkṣa*, or Wishing-tree of Heaven.

"The image belonging to the Mahāyāna school, the Buddha is not accompanied by the Arhats, Çāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, but by the Bōdhisattvas Avalōkitēçvara, and Vajrapāṇī. Avalōkitēçvara stands on the right in the *mahāmudrā* posture of meditation. The particular *mudrā* is determined by the position of the fingers of his right hand. He wears a tapering crown, such as those used by kings of early India during the Greek period. The crown indicates that he is in this world looking both to the temporal as well as to the spiritual interests of all living creatures. A lotus flower touches his left arm on which he is slightly reclining. This lotus is symbolical of his pure birth, like Padmayōni, *i.e.*, Brahmā. He wears ornaments to show his royal birth.

"On the left of the Buddha stands Vajrapāṇi, the Bōdhisattva of mystical theology, and therefore called Guhyapati, the Lord of Mysticism. In appearance he is exactly like Avalōkitēçvara. These two Bōdhisattvas are called the *Upaputras* of the Buddha: to them he delivered, respectively, the Mahāyāna Sūtras, and the Tantras.

"A little above their heads are two Caityas, called the Stūpas of accumulated flowers. The representation of a Caitya, or monument containing relics of the Buddha, was considered as equally effective as making an image of his person. Images were difficult to make without unintentional irreverence in the result, and hence it was ordained that Caitya might be used to serve their purpose.

"Above the Caityas are the images of two holy goddesses, Tārā the Fair and Tārā the Green.[2]

"The White Tārā (*Liberatrix*) represents pure transcendental wisdom, which secures *nirvāṇa* to its possessor. She is the mother of all Buddhas and Bōdhisattvas, because, without Prajñā Pāramitā no one can become Buddha. She (Tārā) liberates all *sattvas* from the worldly

[1] Perhaps also with a reference to his race. He was Çākya Siṁha—*G. A. G.*

[2] See Dr. Waddell's account of Tārā in J. R. A. S. for 1894, pp. 51 & ff. G. A. G.

bondage. She is white, a colour which is symbolical of perfect purity. She is gained by the practice of the *Sūtra*, the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidharma*.

"Tārā the Green, represents the Çakti, or Prakṛti, the green nature symbolising the divine energy, or *Diva Natura*. Figuratively, she is married to Vajrapāṇi Bōdhisattva, the symbolical *puruṣa*. It is therefore held in the Mantrayāna (Tāntrik) section of Mahāyāna Buddhism, that when a man has studied or perceived the true secrets of nature, *i.e.*, the all-pervading law of procreation, being duly initiated into the mystical doctrine taught by Vajrapāṇi, under miraculous inspiration of the Buddha, while in the *saṁbhōgakāya*, he will become one with a holy woman or goddess, and in that union vanish for ever from worldly existence, and enter into *Nirvāṇa*."

The inscription at the foot of the image is the ordinary Buddhist creed.

On a new Copper-plate Grant of Dharmapāla.—*By* Umes Chandra Batavyal, I. C. S.*

(With Plate III.)

[Read, April, 1894.]

The copper-plate inscription, recording a grant of four villages by king Dharma Pāla to Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, of which a transcript and an English translation are annexed, was discovered by me in the month of November, 1893, at Khālimpur, near Gauṛ, in the District of Malda. An illiterate Muhammadan cultivator found it in a paddy field, at the northern extremity of the village, while employed in ploughing it, about two years ago. He is since dead. The Plate was with his widow, Mōrī Bēwā. I have purchased it from her.

The importance of this copper-plate to all students of Indian History, and particularly to Brāhmans and Kāyasthas in Bengal, who trace their descent from the five Brāhmans and the five Kāyasthas of Kannauj invited to this country by king Ādiçūra, cannot be over-estimated; while to those among the Bengal Brāhmans, who claim their descent from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa himself, the interest attaching to the record is that of a piece of family history.

It is, so far as I know, the oldest copper-plate grant of the Pāla dynasty yet discovered. Unfortunately it only gives the date of the grant, "In the year of the king's reign," and leaves the date of the reign itself in uncertainty. The latter is yet more or less conjectural.

General Cunningham assigned to Gōpāla, father of Dharma Pāla, the latter part of the 8th century of the Christian Era; while Dr. Rājēndra Lāla Mitra placed him nearly a century later. I think the former estimate to be the more correct. The Lāhiris, among the Bārēndra Brāhmans, who claim their descent from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, have preserved a genealogical record which shows that Pītāmbar Lāhiri, the contemporary of Ballāla Sēna, was 14th in descent from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. Taking Pītāmbar as alive in 1150 A. D., and giving 25 years to

* [Owing to the importance of the copper-plate grant it has been thought advisable to publish Mr. Batavyal's paper as it stands, without delay. Ed.]

each generation, we obtain 800 A. D., as the date of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. This closely agrees with Cunningham's conclusions deduced from other sources of information.

The date of the copper-plate record, may, therefore, be roughly put down, in the present state of our knowledge, as 800 A.D. It is thus nearly 1100 years old.

In external appearance it closely resembles the Plate of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, described on page 217, Volume II., of Rājēndra Lāla Mitra's "*Indo-Aryans*," though it is older than the latter.[1]

The Plate is about $\frac{1}{4}$th of an inch thick, and is oblong in shape, and has 33 lines of inscription in front, and 29 lines on the reverse. The whole has been deciphered by myself. In one or two places the reading is a tentative one—subject to revision: but upon the whole it may be taken as a correct re-production. The letters mark the stage of the transition of the Dēvanāgarī into the Bangālī. Some of the strokes are obsolete at the present day.

The current traditions about Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa were a puzzle to the historical student in more respects than one. According to some writers, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was invited to Bengal by king Ādiçūra: but according to the older genealogists—as for instance the famous *Dēvīvara*, the contemporary of *Caitanya*,—the name of the Brāhman of the Çāṇḍilya *gōtra*, who came at the invitation of Ādiçūra, was Kṣitīça. Then, again; while some writers state that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was a contemporary of Ādiçūra, and place Ādiçūra in the end of the 10th century of the Çāka Era, another tradition makes Ādigāĩ Ōjhā, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, a contemporary of king Dharma Pāla, who, as we have seen, lived at the end of the 8th century of the Christian Era. This last tradition[2] says that king Dharma Pāla made the grant

[1] It measures $1'\ 4\frac{3}{8}'' \times 11\frac{3}{8}''$ inches, and has a scalloped top of brass 7 inches high, and 4 inches long at the base, bearing what seems to be an impression of the royal seal. The centre of the top is enclosed in a ring of 4 circles, the innermost of which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the outermost 4 inches in diameter. Around these circles are six projections representing, probably, lotus petals, the two uppermost of which enclose what seems to be the effigy of a human head. The emblem in the centre is a wheel mounted on a stand, and supported by a deer *rampant* on each side.

Below this is written between two parallel lines *Çrīmān Dharmapāla Dēvaḥ*, and below this writing is a sprig formed of a flower and two leaves.

[2] It has been preserved in the genealogical record of the Lāhiris, to which allusion has been made above. It runs as follows:—

गुम्फोत्फुल्लास्य पद्मे स्फुरति सचकितं वेदवेदाङ्गवाणी
मानौ कोदण्डपाणिः पवनगतिहयः कौञ्चिकोष्णीष मौलिः।

of the village Dhāmasăra on the bank of the Ganges to Ādigāĩ Ōjhā, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, and this specific statement has an appearance of authenticity about it. Its authenticity, however, is now confirmed by the copper-plate, at least incidentally; for we now know beyond doubt that Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was a contemporary of Dharma Pāla, and his son Ādigāĩ Ōjhā, too, appears to have been patronized by that king.

Up to date no authentic account of Ādiçūra has been obtained. The oldest writers on brāhmanical genealogy, whose writings have come down to us—I refer particularly to Hari Miçra and Ēru Miçra—place Ādiçūra shortly before the Pālas; and they state that shortly after the arrival of the five Brāhmaṇas from Kannauj, the kingdom of Gauṛ became subject to the Pálas. These writers expressly mention Dēva Pāla, the successor of Dharma Pāla, as the most famous king of the Pāla dynasty, which succeeded the dynasty of Ādiçūra.[1]

Now this account seems to be borne out by the evidence of the copper-plate.

कण्ठे श्रीशैलचक्रं मलयजतिलकैरेति कोलाश्च देशात्
साक्षान्नारायणश्रीः स निज परिकरैर्भट्टनारायणोऽयं ॥
राजा श्रीधर्म्मपालः सुखसुरधुणीनीरदेशे विधातुं
नाम्नादिगाञीं विप्रं गुणयुतनयं भट्टनारायणस्य ।
यज्ञान्ते दक्षिणार्थं सकनकरजतैर्धामसाराभिधानं
ग्रामं तस्मै विचित्रं सुरपुरसदृशं प्राददत्पुण्यकामः ॥
शाण्डिल्यगोत्रजातानां वरेन्द्रेऽसौ द्विजन्मनां ।
आदिसूतो जयमाणिर्भट्टोजज्ञे तु नन्दनः ॥

See p. 117 of "*Gaurē Brāhmaṇa*," by Bābū Mahimā Chandra Mazumdār. Edition 1886.

[1] Thus Hari Miçra writes:—

क्ष्मापालप्रतिभूर्भूवः पतिरभूद् गौडे च राष्ट्रे ततः
राजाभूत् प्रबलः सदैव शरणः श्रीदेवपालस्ततः ।
प्रज्ञावाक्यविवेकशीलविनयैः शुद्धाशयः श्रीयुतो
धर्म्मे चास्य मतिः सदैव रमते स खौयवंशोद्भवे ॥

See "*Viçva Kōṣa*" by Nāgēndra Nātha Ghōsh, article *Kulīna*, page 308. In this verse we have evidence that the religion of the Pālas was a mixture of the Vedic and the Buddhistic doctrines. In fact, a fusion of the two religions was taking place at this period, the result of which was the total absorption of the Buddhists in the ranks of the "Hindūs," by which name the followers of the mixed religion came to be designated by their Musalmān conquerors.

According to this evidence, certain pious Brāhmaṇas of the *Lāṭa* country were already established in the territory of Pauṇḍravardhana, as the guardians of a temple, and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa came to them as a friend.

To students of classical Sanscrit, *Lāṭa* is known as a seat of learning, which gave its name to a peculiar style of alliterative composition, known as *Lāṭ-ānuprāsa*. I think it was a district of Kannauj, the same as the country of *Kōlāñca*, of our tradition, whence the five Brāhmaṇas came to Bengal (then Puṇḍra) at Ādiçūra's invitation.[1]

Thus the five Brāhmaṇas preceded Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa into this country by some time. They came at the invitation of the traditional Ādiçūra (that probably was his title) whose dynasty shortly afterwards was overthrown by the Pālas.

The Pālas are known in history as kings of Gauḍa. We are all familiar with the name of the great city of Gauṛ, the capital of Bengal down to the time of Akbar, of which the ruins [2] can still be seen in the district of Malda. But we are not equally familiar with the fact that in the earlier centuries of the Christian Era, there were, on the north of the Ganges, as many as five kingdoms, or principalities, of the name of Gauḍa, or Gauṛ, extending from Oudh (Ayōdhyā) on the west, to Puṇḍra, or Pauṇḍravardhana on the east. These were collectively known as *Pañca Gauḍa*. The kings of these five Gauḍas had political relations with the great king of Kannauj on the west, sometimes even with the kings of Kāçmīr still further west, and with the king of Pauṇḍravardhana on the east. Harṣavardhana, or Çīlāditya, of Kannauj, the contemporary of Hiuen Tsiang, is said to have invaded Gauḍa, and some of the kings of Kāçmīr also are recorded to have done the same thing and to have carried off a number of their people into Kāçmīr as captives. Then in the history of Kāçmīr we read of an interesting event. In the middle of the 8th century, a king of Kāçmīr, Jayāditya or Jayapīḍa, visited Pauṇḍravardhana *incognito*. The king of Pauṇḍravardhana, Jayanta, however, came to know who he was, and secured his friendship by giving him his daughter in marriage. With the assistance of his powerful son-in-law, king Jayanta, it is said, conquered the kings of the five Gauḍas.

It is conjectured by some writers that this Jayanta was no other than the Ādiçūra of our traditions. If there be any truth in the ac-

1 [It has hitherto been considered as corresponding to central and southern Gujarāt, see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII (1893), p. 183. Ed.]

2 To the east of the ramparts of the old city is an extensive swamp locally known as Bhatiār Bīl. The village of Khālimpur, where the copper-plate under notice was discovered, is on the eastern edge of this swamp.

counts of the early genealogical writers, who place the reign of Ādiçūra shortly before the rise of the Pāla dynasty, the conjecture would seem to be well founded.

We learn from the copper-plate that a time of great commotion and political turmoil preceded the rise of the Pāla dynasty. The country was torn with internecine war, and the people everywhere longed for a strong ruler who would restore peace and order. The sceptre of Çīlāditya had fallen into weaker hands, and in the midst of these disorders Gōpāla rose to supreme power in Gauḍa, in the latter part of the 8th century, and was everywhere welcomed by the subject people as a great deliverer. By Gauḍa here we must understand the five Gauḍas, comprising North Bihār and Oudh. Gōpāla was succeeded by his son Dharma Pāla, who threw a bridge of boats across the Ganges, and with a host of cavalry, "Supplied by the many vassal kings of the North," overran the country on the south bank of the great river, and established himself at Pāṭalīputra. Towards the west his victories extended over Kannauj, which, it would seem, was at that time, reduced to a state of subjection to foreign princes, *viz.*, the Bhōjas, the Madras, &c., and which he liberated from them, restoring its king to his paternal throne.

The kingdom of Pauṇḍravardhana had, we find, become absorbed into the dominions of Dharma Pāla: for the villages to which the grant relates were all situated within that kingdom which now became part and parcel of Gauḍa.

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the grantee, is well-known to the learned as the author of the drama *Vēṇī Saṁhāra*, the last great work of the imaginative art in classical Sanskrit, in point of time. The drama is largely quoted in the *Avalōka* of Dhanika—the commentator of the *Daça-rūpaka*—who according to Dr. Hall was living about the middle of the 10th century. At the end of this drama there is a verse, in which the poet deplores the decay of poetry in his age. The royal patrons of poetry he writes, "have flown away like swans."[1] Is this an allusion to Harṣa Vardhana, the royal patron of Bhaṭṭa Vāṇa? The *Vēṇī Saṃhāra*, itself, may be nothing more or less than a patriotic though covert appeal to the poet's countrymen, the Pāñcālas, to remember their disgrace, as the daughter of the old king of Pāñcāla, the heroine of the

[1] The entire verse runs as follows :—

काव्यालापसुभाषितव्यसिनिस्ते राजहंसागता-
स्ता गोष्ठ्यः क्षयमागता गुणलवस्पर्धा न वाचः सतां।
सालङ्कार-रस-प्रसन्न-मधुराकाराः कवीनां गिरः
प्राप्ताः नाशम्—अयन्तु भूमिवलये जीयात् प्रवन्धो महान्॥

Mahābhārata, remembered her own disgrace at the hands of Duḥçāsana. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was a learned man and a genius. But there was no reward for his learning, and no recognition of his genius in the land of his own birth. Some of his countrymen had gone to Pauṇḍravardhana at the invitation of its king: and in search of fortune, he too, seems to have followed in their wake. Such, it seems to me, was the real history of this great Brāhman, the list of whose descendants in modern times includes such names as the late Rājā Rām Mōhan Rāy, the late Paṇḍit Īçvara Chandra Vidyāsāgar, the Mahārāja Sir Jōtēndra Mōhan Tagore, Kt., Bābū Hēm Chandra Banerjee, the poet, the Honorable W. C. Bonnerjea, the Advocate, the Honorable Dr. Guru Dās Banerjee, the judge, the Honorable Surēndra Nāth Banerji, the orator, and last, though not least, Mahāmahōpādhyāya Mahēśa Chandra Nyāyaratna, C.I.E., one of the most eminent of our living Paṇḍits.

Having come into Pauṇḍravardhana, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa found a patron, not in Ādiçūra, as has been hitherto believed, but in one Nārāyaṇa Varman, who in the copper-plate grant is described as the *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, of Dharma Pāla. *Sāmanta* means a vassal prince or chief. Nārāyaṇa Varman would therefore seem to have been the head of the Imperial Department in which the Emperor's business relations with Sāmantas was transacted.

It was at the recommendation of Nārāyaṇa Varman that Dharma Pāla, while encamped at Pāṭalīputra, in the 32nd year of his reign, issued this copper-plate grant in favour of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. It was a princely gift which, valued in the currency of our day, would be worth more than a lakh of rupees, and shows in what great esteem the Bhaṭṭa was held in the land of his adoption. It is remarkable that the grant was made by a Buddhist king to a Brāhman, on the recommendation of a high officer of State whose name shows that he was a Kṣatriya.

For administrative purposes the territory of Pauṇḍravardhana was divided into a number of *Maṇḍalas*, or circles: and these again were sub-divided into a number of *Viṣayas*. The copper-plate mentions the *Maṇḍalas* and the *Viṣayas* in which the four villages, the subject matter of the grant, were situated. There was a Record Office in each *Viṣaya*, the President of which was the *Viṣaya-pati*. Now it is most important to note that this officer had nothing to do with the collection of the revenues. The "Collector" appears in the copper-plate grant as the *Ṣaṣṭhādhikṛta*: and the "Magistrate" as the *Daṇḍa-çakti*. The *Viṣayapati* was the keeper of the Revenue Records of his charge: he was in fact the officer who under the Muhammadans became the *Qānungo*. The head ministerial officer of the *Viṣaya* office, was the *Jyēṣṭhakāyastha*; and the *Viṣayapati*, it would seem, took cognizance of all

judicial questions relating to land and land revenue. Under him was an officer, named *Dāçagrāmika*, or the superintendent of ten villages: which shows that there was a further administrative sub-division of ten-village groups, the village, or *grāma*, being then, as now, the lowest unit in the chain of administrative division.

The office of the *Jyēṣṭha-kāyastha* shows that there were inferior *Kāyasthas*, or writers (or Paṭwārīs, as we now call them), in the villages within the jurisdiction of the *Viṣaya*.[1] In other words, Kāyasthas must have been numerous in Bengal when Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa came. Thus the tradition about the Kāyasthas of Bengal being the descendants of the five Kāyastha servants of the five Kānnaujiā Brāhmans now seems to be a pure myth. It may be true that Ādiçūra invited five Brāhmans as well as five Kāyasthas from the civilized and advanced province of Kannauj, to introduce spiritual and secular reforms in Bengal; but it does not follow that at that time there were no Brāhmans or no Kāyasthas in Bengal at all.

As regards the territory of Pauṇḍravardhana, or Puṇḍra, there can be no doubt that originally it meant North Bengal, and may have included Baṇga proper, or Eastern and Deltaic Bengal also. The capital was at the place now occupied by the extensive ruins of Paṇḍuā, properly *Pāṛuā*, in the district of Maldah, on the east of the Mahānanda. A great branch of the Ganges (now known as the Kālindī) originally joined the Mahānanda river, close to the ancient city of Puṇḍra, which being thus at the confluence of two great rivers rapidly rose in wealth and power. It existed as the capital of an independent kingdom down to the latter part of the 8th century, when, as the copper-plate shows it became absorbed in the dominion of the Pālas. A new and a rival capital on the west bank of the Mahānanda, near its junction with the Kālindī, appears to have arisen under the Pālas, or shortly before the rise of that dynasty, and this ultimately became the Gauṛ of Muhammadan history.

In the district of Malda we still have an important caste called Puṇḍarī, or Pũṛá, the members of which were returned at the last census at 9,000 in round numbers. They seem to be the descendants of the ancient Puṇḍras—at one time the ruling caste in the country. They are a pushing race, numbering in their ranks pleaders, Government clerks, money-lenders, and traders. Many of them work as rearers of silk-worms and weavers of silken fabrics. They form a rich and influential caste; but even to this day they have not succeeded in securing the services of pure Brāhmans as priests. They have a quarter of their own in the town of English-bazār, known as *Pūṛātulī*.

[1] These inferior officers are the *Karaṇas* of the copper-plate.

Dharma Pāla's successors after a time seem to have been driven more and more towards the East, as Kannauj, we find, gradually recovered much of its lost ground. The last king of the Pāla dynasty—according to a Sanskrit Manuscript which I have unearthed from the Muhammadan Mosque at Paṇḍuā,—was *Rāma Pāla*, and the manuscript gives the date of his death, as the year 922 of the Çaka Era. I think this is a mistake for 977 Çaka Era, which would correspond to 1055 A. D. The wording of the chronogram is शाके युग्म-रेणु रन्ध्रगते (written in Bangālī character)—where रेणु I think, is a clerical mistake for वेणु.[1]

This slight clerical mistake being corrected, the result is 977 Çaka. Thus the Pālas reigned for nearly three centuries: at first over a wide empire spreading from the borders of Kannauj to East Bengal, but latterly over Northern and Eastern Bengal mainly, with their capital very near to the present town of English-bazār, where the remains of the palace of Ballāla Sēna are still pointed out. The Muhammadan city of Gauṛ sprung up a little to the south of the old Hindū capital.

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity—

May the Ten Forces of Vajrāsana,[2] who has steadfastly accepted omniscience as the greatest good, protected by the Great Queen, Benevolence, and victorious over the ten quarters of the globe, where numerous hosts of Māras are seen,—protect you!

[1] The *Çlōka* containing this date (as corrected above) runs thus:—

शाके युग्म-वेणु-रन्ध्र-गते कन्यां गते भास्करे
क्षष्णे वाक्पतिवासरे यमतिथौ यामद्वये वासरे।
जाह्नव्यां जलमध्यतस्त्वनशनैर्ध्यात्वा पदं चक्रिणो
हा पालान्वयमौलिभण्डनमणिः श्रीरामपालो मृतः॥

Chapter XI of the MS. वेणु is a flute, expressing the 7 notes of the gamut. It thus stands for 7. युग्म-वेणु yields 77. रन्ध्र refers to the 9 openings of the human body, and thus stands for 9. Following the principle अङ्कस्य वामा गतिः the whole thing means 977. The exact date, as above given, is year 977 Çaka: month *Kārttika* (when the sun enters the sign of *Virgo*): the 14th day of the waning moon. Thursday: noon.

[2] Vajrāsana is a name of the Buddha. The Ten Forces are thus enumerated: * Charity, good character, mercy, bravery, meditation, prudence, strength, means of performance, attention, and knowledge. The *Māras* are the evil passions personified.

* दानशील-क्षमा वीर्य्य-ध्यान-प्रज्ञा बलानि च।
उपायः प्रणिधिज्ञानं दश बुद्धबलानि वै॥

Dayitaviṣṇu, adorned with all kinds of learning, was the progenitor of the excellent race of *Avanipālas*, just as the ocean is the progenitor of the beautiful Goddess Çrī, and as the moon is the progenitor of that light which delights the whole earth.

From him sprung *Çrī Vapyata*, the highly honoured, the successful, who overthrew his enemies, and adorned the earth as far as the sea with great deeds.

His son was *Çrī Gōpāla*, the crown jewel on the head of all rulers of the earth. The subjects made him take the hand of *Lakṣmī*,[1] to put an end to the practice of fishes. Even the whiteness of the full-moon night but faintly imitates, in the several quarters of the globe, the splendour of his great and lasting reputation.

Even as Rōhiṇī is of the moon, and Svāhā is of the resplendent God of Fire, as Çarvāṇī is of Çiva, and Bhadrā is of Kuvēra, as Çaci is of Indra, and as Lakṣmī is of Viṣṇu—so was *Çrī Dēdda Dēvī*, the daughter of the king of the Bhadras, the Queen of that Lord of Earth, in whose company he sought for the relaxation of his mind.

From these two sprung *Çrī Dharmapāla*, honoured by hosts of good men. The Lord of all Rulers of Earth, alone he ruled over the circle of the whole earth. The four oceans—the ditches of the earth, whose shores bear the foot-prints of his war elephants plunging into their waters, even they cannot stop his march, when he goes forth to conquer the four quarters.

When with exuberant glee his armies move to conquer the four quarters of the globe, and the earth in consequence loses her balance, as if with her mountains moving to and fro, the Snake-god Çēṣa, underneath the Earth with his circle of heads, smarting under the great pressure, which makes the jewels sink in their sockets, has to follow his march with uplifted hands.

When his armies depart, and with their movements fill all the regions of the sky with heaps of dust, the Earth grows extremely light, and the hoods of the Snake-god, with their jewels emerging again, feel a great relief.

When he invades a hostile territory, his anger burns like the ocean fire, unquenchable, knowing no other limit than the four seas.

There were great rulers of the earth in ancient times, such as Pṛthu, Rāma, the descendant of Raghu, Nala, and so forth. The Creator wish-

[1] To 'take the hand of Lakṣmī' is to assume the sovereign power. 'Practice of fishes' means civil war, where men kill each other as one fish devours another. It would appear that Gōpāla's father, Vapyata, was a chief of some sort, but Gōpāla himself became a great king, and put an end to the anarchy and civil war which then distracted Northern India.

ing to see all of them put together, has in the Kali-yuga raised this pillar of a king, *Çrī Dharmapāla*, who has surpassed the honour and greatness of innumerable kings, to which the fickle Goddess of Prosperity, like a she-elephant, is tied for ever.

The God Indra, when suddenly he sees the ten quarters of the globe whitened by the dust raised by the vanguard of his army, and fancies it to be the approach of the army of Māndhātā, shuts his eyes and ponders. But there is no occasion to-day for his all-conquering arms rendering the assistance of his warlike troops to Indra.[1]

Who, unto the king of Kannauj gave his own (the king's) golden coronation vessel, of excellent make, uplifted by the delighted elders of the Pāñcālas, the water wherefrom was all at the same time poured out by the kings of the Bhōjas, the Matsyas, the Madras, the Kurus, the Yadus, the Yavanas, the Avantis, the Gāndhāras and the Kīras, doing obeisance to him with their moving crowns while his own face bore the mark of beautiful quivering eyebrows.[2]

He constantly hears his praises sung by cowherds moving about in forests, while tending their cattle in the jungles on the out-skirts of villages; by the children playing in every house-court; by the keepers of the market-places; by the parrots in cages in the house of pleasure; and his face therefore is always downcast with modesty.

From his victorious encampment established at Pāṭalīputra, where a bridge constructed across the stream of the Bhāgīrathī, with boats of various kinds, is mistaken for the row of hills of the Sētubandha, where countless troops of war-elephants blackening the light of day, produce the impression of the rainy season; where the horizon is grey with the dust raised by the sharp hoofs of the hosts of cavalry contingents supplied by many kings of the North; where the earth sinks under the weight of the endless array of foot-soldiers of all the kings of Jambudvīpa assembled for rendering service to the highest amongst kings, the devout follower of Sugata, always thinking of the feet of the Mahārājādhirāja *Çrī Gōpāla Dēva*, the highest among kings, the highest among lords, the prosperous *Dharmapāla* (thus sayeth):—

[1] Māndhātā used to assist Indra in his war with the enemies of the Gods. The meaning of the text is that, under the sway of Dharmapāla, the enemies of the Gods had ceased to exist.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. Grierson for pointing out to me that, according to the Bhagalpur Copper-plate Grant of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, Dharmapāla conquered the Bhōjas, the Matsyas, the Madras, &c., and thereby liberated the Pāñcāla country. The meaning of the words **सललित-चलित-भ्रूलतालक्ष्म** is somewhat obscure. I have construed it thus: **ललित-चलित-भ्रूलतालक्ष्मणा सह यथा स्यात् तथा** making it thus an adverb to **दत्तः**।

The village named *Krauñca-Çvabhra*, in the *Viṣaya* of *Mahantā-prakāça*, in the *Maṇḍala* of *Vyāghrataṭī*, in the territory of *Puṇḍra Vardhana*.

Its boundary:—On the west, *Gaŋginikā;* on the north, *Kādambarī's* temple, and a date tree; on the north-east, the embankment constructed by the Rājaputra *Dēvaṭa*, extending to the grove of lemons; on the east, the embankment *Viṭaka*, extending to the artificial water-course; skirting the water-course lined with Jambu trees, the boundary line proceeds as far as the said water-course. Emerging thence it extends as far as the minor stream near the Vilva tree of the sacred grove emerging whence again * * * * * * [1].

Also the village named *Māṭhā-Çāmmralī*.

Of this also the boundary on the north is *Gaŋginikā;* thence on the east, passing along the minor stream, is the water-course lined with mango trees, extending to the * * * * water-course.[2] Emerging thence again on the south, is the village *Kālikā Çvabhra*. Emerging thence it goes so far as *Çrī-phalabhi-ṣuka* on the west, whence again, along the minor stream near the Vilva tree, it enters *Gaŋginikā*.

In the village *Pālitaka*, the boundary on the south is the *Kāṇā* island; on the east, the stream of the *Kauṇviyā*; on the north, *Gaŋginikā;* on the west, the *Jainanyāyikā:* the said island (*Kāṇā*) is the burning-ground of this village.

The boundaries of village *Gōpippallī*, in the *Viṣaya* of *Sthālīkkaṭa*, in the *Maṇḍala* of *Āmraṣaṇḍikā:* On the east, the western boundary of the lands of *Uḍragrāma*; on the south, a marsh; on the west, an old river-bed named *Vaiçānikā*; on the north, a cattle-path marking the boundary between it and *Uḍragrāma*.

To all (in authority) assembled in these four villages, Rājas,[3] Rājanyas,[4] Rājaputras,[5] Rājāmātyas,[6] Sēnāpatis,[7] Viṣayapatis,[8] Bhōgapatis,[9] Ṣaṣṭhādhikṛtas,[10] Daṇḍaçaktis,[11] Daṇḍapāçikas,[12] Cau-

1 The translation of the boundaries of this village is to be taken as tentative.
2 The text is here somewhat illegible.
3 *Rāja* = subordinate chiefs, who under the Muhammadans became Zemindars.
4 *Rājanya* = the followers and dependants of Rājas.
5 *Rājaputra* = persons of royal lineage.
6 *Rājāmātya* = ministers of the king.
7 *Sēnāpati* = commanders of troops.
8 *Viṣayapati* = presidents of the *Viṣaya* office.
9 *Bhōgapati* = purveyors.
10 *Ṣaṣṭhā-'dhikṛta* = collectors of revenue.
11 *Daṇḍa-çakti* = magistrates.
12 *Daṇḍa-pāçika* = executioners of sentences on criminals.

rōddharṇikas,[1] Dōssādhasādhanikas,[2] Dūtas,[3] Khōlas,[4] Gamāgamikābhitvaramānas,[5] Hastyaçvagōmahiṣyajāvikādhyakṣas,[6] Nākādhyakṣas,[7] Valadhyakṣas,[8] Tarikas,[9] Çaulkikas,[10] Gaulmikas,[11] all persons holding either temporary or permanent commissions, and other servants of the king not named herein of the Cāṭa[12] and Bhaṭa tribes: (in particular) to the Jyēṣṭha Kāyastha,[13] Mahāmahattara,[14] Dāçagrāmika,[15] and other incumbents of the *Viṣaya* office, appointed from time to time, with all their subordinate writers and accountants,[16] and to all resident cultivators: (to all persons above

[1] *Caur-'ōddharaṇika* = discoverers of thieves, or police officers.

Dōs-sādha-sādhanika = executors of all works to be done by manual labour, nswering to Public Works officers of our day.

[3] *Dūta* = political agents.

[4] *Khōla* = ? spies. (The word means a lame man; in vulgar language it also means a jackal.)

[5] *Gamāgamikā-'bhitvaramāna* = the expediter of messengers: the head of the staff of peons.

[6] *Hasty-açva, &c.* = superintendent of elephants, horses, kine, buffaloes, goats and sheep.

[7] *Nākā-'dhyakṣa* = chiefs of police stations. (This is conjectural; the word *Nākā* is locally used to denote a police out-post.)

[8] *Valā-'dhyakṣa* = Commander-in-Chief of land forces.

[9] *Tarika* = commander of naval forces.

[10] *Çaulkika* = customs officers.

[11] *Gaulmika* = commanders of garrisons or military stations.

[12] *Cāṭa* and *Bhaṭa* seem to have been menial officers of the Intelligence Department, who moved about the country for collecting secret information and became in course of time the pests of society. The word *Cāṭa* became the synonym for a deceiver.

[13] *Jyēṣṭha Kāyastha* = the head-writer, or head ministerial officer of the *Viṣaya* office.

[14] The word *Mahattara* seems to be twice engraved by mistake. The *Mahattara* was the officer whose name still survives in the grants known as *Mahāttran.*

[15] *Dāça-grāmika* = superintendents of ten villages. The ten-village administrative divisions were included in the jurisdiction of the *Viṣayas*, which I think answered the same purpose as parganas under the Muhammadans.

[16] The original for this is *sa-karaṇān. Karaṇa*, was but another name of *Kāyastha*, the great caste of Writers and Accountants under the Hindū kings, and of Paṭwārīs of our own times, from whose oppressive dealings and sharp practices the kings were particularly enjoined to protect their subjects. Thus we have an ancient text:

चाटतस्करदुर्व्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः।
पीड्यमाना प्रजा रक्षेत् कायस्थेभ्यो विशेषतः॥ याज्ञवल्क्य॥

About the identity of the *Karaṇa* with the *Kāyasthas* it may be noted, that in social gatherings of *Kāyasthas* now-a-days, it is customary first of all to salute

enumerated) the king, after paying his respects to the Brāhmaṇas,[1] conveys his greetings, sends his message, or issues his commands (as may be appropriate in each case) :—

Be it known unto you :—

Our Mahāsāmantādhipati,[2] Çrī Nārāyaṇa Varman, by the mouth of the Yavarāja Çrī Tribhuvana Pāla, the messenger, addresses us as follows :—

"We, for increasing the merit of our father and mother, as well as of self have caused a House of God to be erected at *Çubhasthalī*. There have we established the God-guided Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, who came to visit the Brāhmaṇas of the *Lāṭa* country, whom we appointed as the guardians and worshippers of the said House of God.

"For the performance of the offices of religion in the said House, may your Majesty be pleased to grant to the said Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa four villages, together with their markets, roads, and everything on the surface."

Then we, in pursuance of his recommendation, have in the terms of his address, established and granted these above-written four villages, with markets, roads, and everything on the surface, as far as their respective boundaries, as also with everything above them, together with the ten *apacāras*, free of all tribute, and free from all coercive measures. May this grant last, like the pores of the earth, as long as the sun and the moon!

Wherefore, all of you, out of respect for the merit attaching to grants of lands, and out of fear of falling into the great hell that awaits those who deprive people of their lands, should respect this grant, after giving your assent to the same.[3] And all resident cultivators are hereby commanded to submit to these orders, and to pay their appropriate rents, food supplies, and all other tributes (to the grantees).

Many kings, like Sagara and others, made grants of lands; whoever rules the earth, at any one time, to him, for that time, belongs the merit of these grants.

Brāhmaṇas with the words ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नमः, and afterwards to salute *Kāyasthas* with श्री करणेभ्यो नमः।

[1] The Brāhmaṇas, it must be remembered were the repositories of the law in those days: whence their mention here.

[2] The *Sāmantas* were the subordinate chiefs under the Hindū kings. A royal officer, superintended the king's business relations with his *Sāmantas*: and it was this officer, whose title was the *Mahā-sāmantā-'dhipati*.

[3] The words "after giving your assent to the same" would indicate that the grant had to be registered in the *Viṣaya* office.

The grantor of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty-thousand years: the robber of land, and he who assents to the robbery, go to hell for the same period.

Whoever robs lands granted by himself or by another rots as a worm in hell with his ancestors. Wherefore, let no man who understands all this destroy the reputation of others who grant lands, after pondering that life and prosperity are unstable like the drop of water on a lotus leaf.

Prosperity is like the flash of lightning; this body of ours is like the flame of a lamp. Life is hedged in by sorrow. Those who destroy the good deeds of others, reap nothing but bad repute; while the fame of those who maintain them is lasting as the sun and the moon. But what use of quoting texts? In this matter kings will do what appears to them best after reflection.

In the prosperous and victorious reign, year 32; days of Mārga, 12.

This plate has been engraved by the skilful Tātaṭa, son of Subhaṭa, grandson of Bhōgaṭa.[1]

[1] In translating the text, where it refers to the grantee, I have assumed Bhaṭṭa and Bhaṭṭāraka to be the same.—As regards the country of Lāṭa, it is interesting to note—that it is referred to in the Mandasōr Inscription of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarman (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 196). There we are told that the famous guild of silk-weavers who built the temple of the Sun at Daçapura originally came from the province of Lāṭa, which is described in these words :—

कुसुमभरानतनद्दवर
देवकुलसभाविहाररमनीयात् ।
लाटविषयान्नगाद्दतमैलाज्
जगति प्रथितशिल्पाः ॥
ते देशपार्थिवगुणापहृताः प्रकाश
मध्वादिजान्यविरलान्यसुखान्यपास्य ।
जानद्दरा दशपुरम्प्रथमम् मनोभिः
रन्वागनाः ससुत बन्धुजनाः समेत्य ॥

This description seems to be applicable to Kannauj. Hiuen Tsiang saw a large temple of the Sun, built of blue stone, in Kannauj, on the bank of the Ganges, and it was probably in imitation of the same that the *Lāṭa* weavers built the temple of the Sun at Daçapura.

श्रीमान्धर्म्मपालदेवः ।

OBVERSE.

L. 1 स्वस्ति
सर्व्वज्ञतां श्रियमिवस्थिरमास्थितस्य वज्रास

L. 2 नस्य बङ्गमारकुलोपलम्भाः ।
देव्या महाकरुणया परिपा

L. 3 लितानि
रक्षन्तु वो दशबलानि दिशो जयन्ति ॥ [1]
श्रियइव सुभगा

L. 4 याः सम्भवो वारिराशि
शुशुभ्रधरइव भासोविश्वमाक्लादयन्त्याः ।
प्रकृतिरवनिपानां सन्ततेरुत्तमाया
अ

L. 5 जनिदयितविष्णुः सर्व्वविद्यावदातः ॥ [2]
आसीदासागरादुर्व्वीं गुर्व्वीभिः कीर्त्तिभिः कृती ।
मण्डयन्

L. 6 खण्डितारातिः श्लाघ्यः श्रीवप्यटस्ततः ॥ [3]
मात्स्यन्यायमपोहितुं प्रकृतिभिर्लक्ष्मीः करग्राहितः
श्रीगोपा

L. 7 ल इति क्षितीशशिरसां चूडामणिस्तत्सुतः ।
यस्यानुक्रियते सनातनयशोराशिर्दिशामाशये
श्वेतिम्ना य

L. 8 दि पौर्णमासरजनीज्यो त्स्नातिभारश्रिया ॥ [4]
शीतांशोरिवरोहिणीऊतभुजः स्वाहेव तेजोनिधेः
शर्व्वाणी

L. 9 वशिवस्य गुह्यकपतेर्भद्रेव भद्रात्मजा ।

पौलोमीव पुरन्दरस्य दयिताश्रीदेद्ददेवीत्यभूत्
देवीतस्य विनो

L. 10 दभूर्मुररिपोर्लक्ष्मीरिवक्ष्मापतेः ॥ [5]
ताभ्यां श्रीधर्म्मपालः समजनिसुजनस्तूपमानावदानः
स्वामी भूमी

L. 11 पतीनामखिलवसुमती मण्डलं शासदेकः ।
चत्वारस्तीरमज्जत्करिगणचरणान्यस्तमुद्राः समुद्रा
यात्रां य

L. 12 स्य क्षमन्ते न भूवनपरिखाविश्वगाशाजिगीषोः ॥ [6]
यस्मिन्नुद्दामलीलाचलितवलकरे दिग्जयायप्रवृत्ते
यान्त्या

L. 13 म्विश्वम्भरायां चलितगिरितिरश्चीनतां तद्वशेन ।
भाराभुग्नावमज्जन्मनिविधुरशिरश्चक्रसाहायकारं
शेषे

L. 14 णोदस्तदोष्णात्वरितरमधोधस्तमेवानुयातम् ॥ [7]
यत्प्रस्थाने प्रचलितवलास्फालनादुल्ललद्भि
र्धूलीपूरैः पिहि

L. 15 तसकलव्योमभिर्भू तधात्र्याः ।
सम्माम्नायाः परमतनुतां चक्रवालं फणानां
मग्नोन्मीलन्मणिफणिपतेर्ल्लीं

L. 16 घवादुल्ललास ॥ [8]
विरुद्धविषयक्षोभाद् यस्य कोपाग्निरौर्ववत् ।
अनिर्वृति प्रजज्वालचतुरम्भोधिवारितः ॥ [9]

L. 17 येऽभुवन्पृथुरामराघवनलप्रायाधरित्रीभुज
स्तान्वेकत्रदिदृक्षुणेव निचितान्सर्व्वान्समग्रेधसा ।
ध्व

L. 18 स्तप्रेष नरेन्द्रमानमहिमा श्रीधर्म्मपालः कलौ
लोल श्रीकरिणीनिवन्धनमहास्तम्भः समुत्तम्भितः ॥ [10]

यासां

L. 19 नासीरधूलीधवलदशदिशां द्रागपश्यन्नियत्तां
धत्ते मान्धाटसैन्यव्यतिकरचकितो ध्यानतन्द्रीम्महेन्द्रः ।

L. 20 तासामद्याहवेच्छापुलकितवपुषाम्वाहि नीनाम्विधातुं
साहाय्यं यस्य वाच्चोर्निखिलरिपुकुलध्वंसिनोर्ना

L. 21 वकाशः ॥ [11]
भोजैर्मत्स्यैः समद्रैः कुरुयदयवनावन्ति गंधारकीरै
र्भूपैर्य्यालोलमौलिप्रणतिपरिणतः

L. 22 साधुसङ्कीर्यमाणः ।
हृष्यत्पंचालवृद्धोद्धृतकनकमयस्वाभिषेकोदकुम्भो
दत्तः श्रीकन्यकुब्जस्सललितच

L. 23 लितभ्रूलतालक्ष्म्येन ॥ [12]
गोपैः सीम्निवनेचरैर्वनभूविग्रामोपकण्ठेजकैः
क्रोडङ्किः प्रतिचत्वरंशिशुगणैः

L. 24 प्रत्यापनस्थानपैः ।
लीलावेश्मनिपञ्जरोदरशुकैरुद्गीतमात्मस्तवं
यस्याकर्ण्यतस्त्वपाविचलितानम्रंस

L. 25 दैवाननं ॥ [13]
स खलु भगीरथीपथप्रवर्तमाननानाविधनौवाटकसम्पादितसेतुबन्धनि
हितशैलशि-

L. 26 खरश्रेणीविभ्रमात् निरतिशयघनघनाघनघटाश्यामायमानवासरलक्ष्मी
समारब्धसन्नतजलदस-

L. 27 मयसन्देहात् उदीचीनानेकनरपतिप्रभृतीक्षताप्रमेयहयवाहिनीखरखु
रोत्वातधूलीधूसरित दि-

L. 28 गन्तरालात् परमेश्वरसेवासमायातसमस्तजम्बुद्वीपभूपालानंतपादातभर
नमद्वनेः पाटलीपू-

L. 29 त्रसमावासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमसौगतोमहाराजाधिराजश्री
गोपालदेवपादानूध्यातः प-

L. 30 रमेश्वरः परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराज श्रीमान्धर्मपालदेवः कुशली ॥ श्रीपुण्ड्रवर्द्धनभु-

L. 31 क्त्यन्तःपातिव्याघ्रतटीमण्डलसम्बद्धमहत्ताप्रकाशविषये कौश्चश्वभ्रनाम ग्रामोऽस्य च सीमा पश्चि-

L. 32 मेन गङ्गिनिका उत्तरेण कादम्बरीदेवकुलिका खर्ज्जूरवृक्षश्च। पूर्व्वोत्तरेण राजपुत्र देवटङ्कतालिः। वी-

L. 33 जपूरकङ्कत्वाप्रविष्टा पूर्व्वेण विटकालिः खातक यानिकांगत्वाप्रविष्टा जम्बु-यानिकामाक्रम्य जम्बूयानकं

REVERSE.

L. 34 गता। ततो निस्रत्य पुण्यारामविल्वार्द्ध श्रोतिका। ततो पि निस्रत्य न-

L. 35 लचर्म्मटोत्तरान्तं गता। नलचर्म्मटात् दक्षिणेन नामुण्डिकायिके

L. 36 ··· कायाः खण्डमुण्डमुखं खण्डमुखावेदसविल्विका वेदविल्विकान्तो रोहितवादिः पिन्डारविटि जोटिका सीमा-

L. 37 कारजोटस्य दक्षिणान्तः ग्रामविल्वस्य च दक्षिणान्तः देविका सीमा विटि। धर्म्मा योजोटिका। एवम्माठाग्राम्मूलीना-

L. 38 मग्रामः अस्य चोत्तरेण गङ्गिनिकासीमा ततः पूर्व्वेनार्द्धश्रोतिकया आम्र-यानकोलर्द्धयानिकङ्कतः त-

L. 39 तोपि दक्षिणेन कालिका श्वभ्रः। अतोपि निस्रत्य श्रीफलभिषुकं यावत् पश्चिमेन ततोपि विल्वङ्कोर्द्ध श्रोति-

L. 40 कया गङ्गिनिकां प्रविष्टा। पालितके सीमा दक्षिणेन काणाद्वीपिका। पूर्व्वेण कौशिक्यास्रोतः उत्तरेण

L. 41 गङ्गिनिका। पश्चिमेन जैनन्यायिका। एतद् ग्रामसंपारीण परकर्म्मदद्वीपं। स्थालीक्कटविषयस-

L. 42 म्बद्धाम्रषण्डिकामण्डलांत पाति गोपिप्पल्लीग्रामस्य सीमा पूर्व्वेण उड्रग्राम-मण्डलपश्चिमसीमा। दक्षि-

L. 43 णेन जोलकः पश्चिमेन वैणानिकाख्याखाटिका। उत्तरेनोड्रग्राममण्डलसीमाव्यवस्थितो गोमार्गः एषु च-

L. 44 तुरुषुग्रामेषुसमुपागतान्सर्व्वानेव राजराजनकराजपुत्र राजामात्य सेनापति विषयपति भोगपति षष्ठाधि-

L. 45 क्षतदण्डशक्ति दण्डपाशिकचौरोद्धरणिक दौस्साधसाधनिक दूतखोलगमा-गमिकाभित्वरमान हस्त्यश्वगो महिष्यजा-

L. 46 विकाध्यक्ष नाकाध्यक्ष वलाध्यक्ष तरिक शौल्किक गौल्मिक तदायुक्तक विनियुक्तकादि राजपादो पजीविनोऽन्यांश्चाकीर्त्ति-

L. 47 तान् चाटभटजातीयान् यथाकालाध्यासिनो ज्येष्ठकायस्थ महामहत्तर महत्तर दाशग्रामिकादि विषय व्यवहारिणः

L. 48 सकरणान् प्रतिवासिनः क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्राह्मणाननापूर्व्वकं यथार्हमानयति वोधयति समाज्ञापयति च । मतमस्तु

L. 49 भवतांमहासामन्ताधिपति श्रीनारायणवर्म्मणा दूतक युवराज श्रीत्रिभुवन पालमुखेनवयमेवम्विज्ञापिताः यथाऽस्मा-

L. 50 भिर्म्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धयेशुभस्थल्यां देवकूलं कारितन्तत्र प्रतिष्ठापितभगवन्नुन्न*नारायणभट्टारकाय तत्प्र-

L. 51 तिपालकलाटद्विजदेवार्च्चकादि पादमूलसमेताय पूजोपस्थानादिकर्म्मने चतुरोग्रामान् अत्रत्य हट्टिका तल(पा)वाटक-

L. 52 समेतान् ददातु देव इति । ततोऽस्माभिस्तदीय विज्ञप्त्याएते उपरिलिखितकाश्चत्वारोग्रामास्तल(पा)वाटकहट्टिकासमेताः स्व-

L. 53 सीमापर्य्यन्ताः सोद्देशाः सदशापचाराश्च किंचित्प्रग्राह्याः परिहृतसर्व्वपीडाः भूमिक्षिद्न्यायेनचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं

L. 54 तथैव प्रतिष्ठापिताः । यतोभवद्भिस्सर्व्वैरेव भूमेर्द्दानफलगौरवादपहरणे च महानरकपातादिभयात् दानमिदमनुमो-

L. 55 द्यपरिपालनीयं प्रतिवासिभिः क्षेत्रकरैश्चाज्ञाश्रवण विधेयै भूत्वा समुचितकरपिण्डकादिसर्व्वप्रत्यायोपनयः कार्य्य

L. 56 इति ॥

वज्रभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [1]
षष्ठिम्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मो

L. 57 दति भूमिदः।
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [2]
स्वदत्तान्परदत्तान्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम्।
सविष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पित
L. 58 भिः सह पच्यते ॥ [3]
इतिकमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्यमनुष्यजीवितं च।
सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्चबुध्वा नहि पुरु
L. 59 षैः परकीर्त्तयोविलोप्याः ॥ [4]
तडित्तुल्या लक्ष्मी तनुरपि च दीपानलसमा
भवोदुःखैकान्तः परकृतिमकीर्त्तिं कृपयताम्।
यश्च
L. 60 स्वाचन्द्रार्कं नियतमवतामत्र च नृपाः
करिष्यन्ते बुद्धा यदभिरुचितं किम्पवचनैः ॥ [5]
अभिवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये
L. 61 सम्वत् ३२ मार्गदिनानि १२ ॥

(At bottom of reverse.)

L. 62 श्रीभोगटस्य पौत्रेन श्रीमत्सुभटसूनुना।
श्रीमतातातटेनेदं उत्कीर्णंगुणशालिना ॥ [1]

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The preceding note was written on the assumption that the grantee, whose name appears in the copper-plate as Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka, was the same person as Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa the author of the Vēṇī Saṁhāra. As doubts have been expressed about the correctness of this identification, I proceed briefly to state the reasons on which it is based.

The proper name of the author of the Vēṇī Saṁhāra was Nārāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭa was his title. Thus, in a genealogical work, called Bārēndra Kula Pañjī, we find him described as follows :—

नारायणाख्यो यस्तेषां
शाण्डिल्य गोत्र एव सः

In another genealogical work called Kula Rāma, he is called **शाण्डिल्य गोत्रज श्रेष्ठो भट्टनारायणः कविः ।**

The title Bhaṭṭa could be added either at the beginning or at the end of the name proper, and it would be correct to speak of him either as Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa or Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. Indeed in some MSS. of the Vēṇī Saṁhāra the author is called **नारायण भट्ट**, while in others he is called **भट्ट नारायण.** Numerous instances can be cited where the title Bhaṭṭa comes after the name proper. Thus, **बेताल भट्ट, बाण भट्ट, कुल्लूक भट्ट**, &c., &c. The third in descent from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was a personage who bore the name of **जयमणि भट्ट.**

Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, the famous commentator of the Institutes of Manu, in describing his own genealogy, writes as follows :—

गौडे नन्दनवासि नाम्नि सुजनैर्वन्द्ये वरेन्द्र्यां कुले

श्रीमद् भट्ट दिवाकरस्य तनयः कुल्लूकभट्टोऽभवत् ।

Thus, while the father was called Bhaṭṭa Divākara, the son was called Kullūka Bhaṭṭa.

The next point is the connection between Bhaṭṭa and Bhaṭṭāraka. Here I may quote the authority of Dr. Rājēndra Lāla Mitra, that Bhaṭṭa and Bhaṭṭāraka are really interchangeable terms. That learned scholar in translating the copper-plate grant of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, rendered the **शिव भट्टारक** of that plate as Çiva Bhaṭṭa. See Indo-Aryans, Vol. II, p. 274. I however, do not follow him blindly. **भट्ट, भट्टार, भट्टारक** and **भट्टिनी** form a group of words with a common root. Grammarians by no means agree about the correct root. About the signification of the words, however, there is no difference of opinion. Bhaṭṭa means a Paṇḍit learned in the Vēda: it also means a lord. The late Professor Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati defined the meaning thus: **स्वामिवे वेदाभिज्ञे पण्डिते च ।** The same authority derives **भट्टार** thus: **भट्टं स्वामित्वम् ऋच्छति** which means one who obtains lordship, and he gives the meaning as **पूज्ये.** The word **भट्टारक** is the same as **भट्टार** with a **स्वार्थे क**, *i. e.*, with a **क** which does not change its meaning at all. According to the Amara Koṣa **राजा भट्टारको देवः** are synonymous words. Professor Tarkavācaspati adds that this use of the word is mostly confined to dramatic speech, and we find that in this sense, it has been applied to the grantor Dharma Pāla in our copper-plate. According to the Mēdinī (as quoted by the same learned Professor) **भट्टारक** also means a **तपोधन** or a pious Brāhmaṇa; and therefore, in the copper-plate we find it equally applied to the grantee Nārāyaṇa. The real connection between the words **भट्ट** and **भट्टारक** however is disclosed by the feminine form **भट्टिनी** which is thus described by Professor Tarkavācaspati: **भट्टिनी स्त्री० भट्टं**

स्वामित्वमस्यास्ति इति ङीप्। विप्र भार्य्यायाम्, नाट्योक्तौ अक्षताभिषेकायां राज्ञः स्त्रियां च। Thus the feminine form is applied indifferently to a king's wife or to a Brāhman's wife.

I am inclined to think that the words भट्ट and भट्टार are really the Prākrit forms of the Sanskrit word भर्त्ता (vocative भर्त्त) or भर्त्तर. They seem to be radically connected with the Bangālī word भातार husband. That they were really Prākrit words is indicated by the fact that they were mostly used in dramatic speech. Being in common use, the words forced recognition even from Paṇḍits and were sanskritized. The derivation points to an individual who "supported" others. A learned Brāhmaṇa, who supported a host of pupils or dependants was a भट्ट or भट्टार or भट्टारक; and a Rājā who supported many people was a भट्टारक or lord: and the wife of both was a भट्टिनी।

It will thus appear that philologically there is no difference between Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka.

The question still remains whether the author of the Vēṇī Saṁhāra is identical with our Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka. If we looked to the copper-plate alone the point might remain doubtful: but as pointed out in the preceding note, fortunately we possess independent evidence, from which we know that the author of the Vēnī Saṁhāra was really a contemporary of Dharma Pāla. The value of the copper-plate lies in confirming this evidence.

The copper-plate shows that very intimate relations subsisted between Dharma Pāla, and the king of Kannauj, the former having restored the latter to his throne. That a poet of the Pañcāla country as Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was, should be patronized by Dharma Pāla need not therefore surprise us. There are one or two points in the Vēṇī Saṁhāra itself, that deserve mention in this connection. We have already alluded to the Çlōka in which the poet deplores the decay of the poetic art through want of royal patronage in his own native country. I think the Vēṇī Saṁhāra was composed in the native land of the poet. In the concluding verse he pointedly solicited the patronage of his king in the following lines:—

दयित-भुवनो विद्वद्बन्धुर्गुणेषु विशेषवित्।
सतत सुहृती भूयाद् भूपः प्रसाधितमण्डलः॥

He hoped that his own king, the king of Kannauj, would be a विद्वद्बन्धु and befriend a learned man like himself; that he would be a गुणेषु विशेषवित् and appreciate the special merit of his own work, which was evidently composed to rouse the martial spirit of his countrymen. Kannauj we know was then laid low at the feet of enemies; and the

patriotic Bhaṭṭa wished that the Pāñcālas should rise against their enemies, and make an effort to regain their freedom. He was, however, disappointed in his hopes: and when he came to a foreign country to seek that royal patronage which was denied to him in his own, he pathetically exclaimed **काव्यालापसुभाषित व्यसनिनस्ते राजहंसा गताः** &c!

Many MSS. of the drama end with the verse **सततसुकृती भूयाद् भूपः प्रसाधितमण्डलः ॥** I think the drama as originally composed, ended here: but in the MSS. current in Bengal we have the following additional verse:

अपि च,

अवनिमवनिपालाः पान्तु दृष्टिं विधत्तां
जगति जलधरालो शस्य पूर्णास्तु भूमिः।
त्वयि सुरनरकारौ भक्तिरद्वैतयोगाद्
भवतु ममसुदीर्घं हव्यमश्नन्तु देवाः ॥

It is a remarkable fact that in the MSS. current in Western India this verse is wanting.

Now the words at the beginning of this verse seem distinctly to refer to the Pālas. We know that the Pālas were frequently called **भूपाल, क्षापाल,** or **अवनिपाल.** The dynasty being called **भूपालवंश** the founder of it **गोपाल** even came to be called **भूपाल** by many authors. In the copper-plate itself Dayita Viṣṇu, the progenitor of the family, is called **प्रकृति-अवनिपानां.** The words **अवनिभवनिपालाः पान्तु** therefore, seem to mean "May the Pāla princes continue to rule over this earth;" otherwise if we understand by the words "May *kings* rule over the earth" the meaning would be most trivial. I am of opinion that this very interesting verse, the full meaning of which now dawns upon us for the first time, was composed after the poet settled in Bengal. It was, in fact, his benediction to the Pāla king who bestowed on him the four villages.

And as to the grant of the four villages there is a very significant passage in the drama. Thus, in the first act, in the message of peace of which Kṛṣṇa was the bearer, Yudhiṣṭira thus addresses the Kaurava monarch—

इन्द्रप्रस्थं वकप्रस्थं जयन्तं वारणावतम्।
देहि मे चतुरो ग्रामान् पञ्चमं कञ्चिदेव तु ॥

Now, when the drama was acted in Bengal, it was this characteristic passage which, it seems to me, suggested the grant of four villages to the poet. **देहि मे चतुरो ग्रामान्** was interpreted by the patrons of the poet as the expression of his own desire. And, what is also very striking,—

we find that among the villages granted to the poet the very first village is called क्रौञ्चश्रभ which sounds much like वकप्रस्थ, क्रौञ्च and वक meaning the same thing.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka in the copper-plate cannot from the adjectives attached to it mean the God Nārāyaṇa. It plainly refers to some person whose name was Nārāyaṇa, who was deemed a holy man, and who had come as a guest to the Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas. Everything therefore points to the identity of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka with Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Vēṇī Saṁhāra.

I am aware that some think Lāṭa to have been in Gujarāt. In Dr. Bühler's article on Inscriptions from Kāvī, see *Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 145, we read that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Govinda II made over the Lāṭēçvara Maṇḍala to his brother Indra. Govinda II seems to have been a conqueror, and he seems to have led a Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Gujarāt. That need not make us think that Lāṭa was in Gujarāt. The Lāṭēçvara Maṇḍala above referred to, was probably the kingdom of Kannauj itself: and Indra who received the Lāṭēçvara Maṇḍala from Govinda II, was probably the very Indra Rāja whom Dharma Pāla conquered, according to the copper-plate of Nārāyaṇa Pāla.—Govinda II was alive in Çāka 730 = 808 A. D., and was thus a contemporary of Dharma Pāla. I am strongly inclined to think that the Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas to whom Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa came were really Kannauj Brahmaṇas.

Coins Supplementary to Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli, No. V.—By C. J. Rodgers, *Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India.*

(With Plates IV and V.)

I began drawing the coins in the accompanying plates when on a visit to Sir Alexander Cunningham, at Simla, in 1885. During the time I was Archæological Surveyor, I had but little leisure for drawing coins, though I came across many novelties in my tours and saw many in the collection made by the Afghan Boundary Commission. Since the Archæological Survey was closed, my time has been fully taken up with work on coin catalogues. In this work, I again saw many coins new to numismatics, but they did not often belong to the period or the portion of the empire treated of in Mr. Thomas' "Chronicles." Sometimes I came across coins accidentally, and sometimes while making a catalogue of the coins I had previously collected and had afterwards sold to the Panjāb Government, I discovered that there were coins to which I had not previously paid sufficient attention. Meanwhile some of the coins I had drawn were edited, but not in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The last coin I drew was finished in the last week of March 1894.

The coins in the plates are without arrangement. They were drawn as they came under my notice.

This is the last supplement I shall be able to give to Mr. Thomas' excellent work. There are, I know, many coins now known which were not known to Mr. Thomas and which I have seen but not noted. For example, the copper coins of the Sūrī Islām Shāh, with mint names on them, are now somewhat numerous, but they have not been edited. Again the many varieties of the coins of 'Alāu-d-dīn of Khwārizm have not been drawn. It is a pleasure to me, however, to know that all these coins are in the museums of India. They will give employment to future numismatists.

It must not be supposed that our knowledge of the coins of the kings who ruled over India for about 300 years before the time of

Bābar is complete. It is far from being so. There are coin stores in India which have never been examined. There are many bāzārs which have never been visited once by any numismatist. New small finds are constantly being made, and are finding their way into the bāzārs. I never make a visit to any town without getting some novelties. It is my conviction that were the bāzārs of all the towns of Northern India to be carefully examined, a vast number of coins hitherto unknown might be obtained. In Amritsar the other day, I found a coin of Humāyūn's struck at Champānīr. It had on it, however, the singular legend فتح چنپانیر ۹۴۲ "The conquest of Champānīr, 942." Again in the same city, I lately obtained a mohur of Ḥasan Shāh ibn Ḥaidar Shāh of Kashmīr, dated 876 Ḥ. This is as yet unique. Coin No. 19 of the present supplement is another case in point. It was purchased by me in the bāzār at Sōnpat. The beautiful coin No. 36 was given me as a medical fee by a coin dealer in Dehlī, although all I told the man was to send his son at once to an eye-hospital.

Uncatalogued collections pay for being examined. I had had coins Nos. 37–40 for many years. It was only when I examined each coin with a view to describing it accurately, that I discovered what they were. Since I drew No. 4 I have come across another type of the coins of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khusrau Shāh in the collection of an amateur. It is the smallest type and has on it, on the obverse خسرو شاہ, and on the reverse بحضرت دهلي Again of the coins of Naṣrat Shāh I have lately discovered a new type. It is one weighing 138 grs., but has on it only نصرت شاہ سلطانے and دارالملک دهلي It is double the weight of the coins on which these legends usually occur.

It is quite true that old coins are being bought up with avidity, and that many are annually being taken or sent out of the country, but nevertheless, annually, many novelties are coming to light. All that is wanted is that some one who knows what they are, should be appointed to go round and collect them. Then our museums would annually be enriched with many treasures. This means, however, that the museums should have an annual grant made to them for coin purchases. I cannot conceive of public money being better spent, for all museum collections are for the use of the public.

I proceed to describe the coins drawn in the accompanying plates IV and V. Their metal and weights are shown on the plates. Each coin is drawn equal to its actual size.

PLATE IV—

(1) Obv. السلطان الا
عظم غياث الدنيا
و الدين

Rev. Horseman to right.

This coin was in the collection of the late Sir Alexander Cunningham. It is the last coin on which the horseman appears. I ascribe it to Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Balban.

(2) Obv. In six foil :— سلطاني فيروز

Rev. In six foil خليفه ابو الفتح

(3) Obv. In square, inscribed in a circle :— السلطان الشهيد

Rev. In square, inscribed in a circle :— عبده الملک

This is a coin of Yalduz with Mu'izzu-d-dīn as the Martyr-sulṭān. Nos. 2 and 3 were also in the cabinet of Sir Alexander Cunningham.

(4) Obv. السلطان الا عظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر

Rev. خسرو شاه السلطان ولي امير المو منين ٧٢٠

This is from my own cabinet. It is a new type of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khusrau Shāh.

(5) Obv. سلطانے تغلق شاه

Rev. المومنين نائب امير ٧٩٠

A new coin of Tughlaq Shāh II, 790 H.

(6) Obv. نصرت شاه ے سلطا

Rev. المومنين نائب امير

(7) Obv. شـــاه شيـــر السلطان خلد الله ملكه ٩٤٩(؟)

Rev. The Kalima. .....

Probably "Shēr Shāhī" in Hindī.

(8) Obv. سيف الملک الا عظم ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

Rev. Horseman to left.

(9) Obv. In circle :—
السلطان
الشهيد محمد
ابن سام
غزنه في شهور سنه احدي عشر و ستمايه
(Ghaznih, 611 H.)

Rev. عبده
الملک المعظم
سلطان الشرق تاج
الدنيا و الدين
(يلدز) السلطان

This is again a coin of Yalduz with his master's name and his own on it.

(10) Obv. الملک المعظم
ناصر الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر محمد بن
ابوالفتح

Rev. In a square inscribed in a circle :—
The Kalima.
Margin :— في محرم سنه

Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10 were in the cabinet of Sir Alexander Cunningham. No. 10 he assigned to Nāṣiru-d-dīn Muḥammad Qarlugh.

(11) Obv. In a square :—
السلطان الاعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين السلطان
المعظم ركن الدنيا و الدين
فيروز شاه

Rev. In a square :—
في عهد الامام
المستنصر امير المومنين
في شهور سنه ثلث
و ثلثين و ستمايه
Above in margin دهلي

This is from the same cabinet as No. 10. It is peculiar. It has the name of father and son on the obverse. On the reverse only the name of the mint *Dehlī* is in the margin. The year comes along with the name of the Khalīfah in the square area. This is a unique arrangement. The whole coin indeed is unique.

(12) Obv. In a circle :—
السلطان الاعظم
معز الدنيا و الدين
ابوالمظفر كيقباد

Rev. In a circle :—
الامام
المستعصم امير
المومنين
Margin:— ...ضرب دهلي في سنه
ثمان ثمانين و ستمايه السلطان
(Dehlī, 688 H.)

Traces of margin.

Thomas gives no mohur of Kaiqubād. This one is in the cabinet of L. White King, Esq. Others are known.

(13) Obv. الواثق بتائيد
الرحماني نصرت شاه
سلطاني خلد
ملكه

Rev. في زمن الامام
امير المومنين
خلدت خلافته
٨٠٠

This is from my own cabinet. It is now in the Lahore Museum.

(14) Obv. محمد شاه / فريـــد شاه / خضر شاه / (ضرب) حضرت دهلي / (Dehlī)

Rev. خلدت / المومنين / ٨٤٢ / امير / (842 Ḥ.)

From my own cabinet. I believe all coins of this size of Muḥammad Shāh bin Farīd have the name of Khiẓr Shāh also on them.

(15) Obv. In double circle:— محمد تعلق / Traces of margin.

Rev. الراجي / الرحمة الله / الكريم

This new type of Muḥammad Tughlaq's coin was discovered by me on one of my tours.

(16) Obv. In a rayed circle:— تاجى

Rev. Over a bull some of the letters of *Çrī Sāmanta* in Hindī.

I ascribe this coin to Tāju-d-dīn Yalduz, تاجى forms from تاج just as معزے and شمسى from معز and شمس This new coin is from my cabinet.

(17) Obv. In a rayed circle:— رضيه inverted as in type.

Rev. Standing bull and over it *Çrī Sāmanta Dēva* in Hindī.

I was the first to bring to notice coins of Raẓia with her name رضيه in a rayed circle. This second type of the same coin I also discovered.

Plate V—

(18) Obv. السلطان الا عظم / غياث الدنيا و الدين / تغلق شاه / سلطاني

Rev. في زمن الامام / امير المومنين / ابي عبد الله / خلدت خلافته / In margin.....دهلي.....

The margin reads from outside.

This unique mohur of Tughluq II, was sent to me by Dr. Hoernle.* The Khalīfah's name being عبد الله assigns it to Tughlaq Shāh II.

(19) Obv. السلطان الا عظم / غياث الدنيا و الدين / ابو المظفر تغلق شاه / السلطان

Rev. السلطان المعظم / ناصر الدنيا و الدين / ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه / السلطان ابن السلطان

* [It belonged to the Hōshangābād find; see *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for December, 1888. It is described and figured in Dr. Hoernle's paper "On some new or rare Muhammadan and Hindū Coins," *ante*, Vol. LVIII, p. 31, and pl. IV, fig. 2. It is now in the British Museum.—Ed.]

This unique coin, which is now in the British Museum, was obtained by me at Sōnpat, near Dehlī, in my third archæological tour together with a hemi-drachma of Agathokleia. It was struck in Bengal. It has on it the name of Tughlaq Shāh I of Dehlī, and of the Nāṣiru-d-dīn whom he conquered in Bengal. From this coin we learn that his name was Ibrāhīm Shāh. This is not recorded in any history to which I have had access. Unfortunately neither side has room for a margin.

(20) Obv. غياث
شاه السلطانے
الخلجي ٦٦(٨)

Rev. السلطان
ابن السلطان
ولي عهد

I have not met with any other coin of this type. It seems to reveal to us the fact that Ghiyāṣ Shāh Khiljī struck coins in the reign of his father. 866 is 14 years before the time of his father's death and his own accession. The use of the term *Walī'ahd*, or heir, is common on such occasions.

(21) Obv. السلطان
المعظم

Rev. ناصر الدنيا
و الدين

This beautiful silver anna of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd is the second one I have discovered. I have one in my fourth Supplement. I gave a silver anna of Ghiyāṣu-d-din Balban in the third Supplement. I believe these three are the only ones known.

(22) Obv. في زمان الامام
المستكفى با لله امير المومنين ابو الربيع
سليمان خلد الله خلافته

Rev. In double circle :—
و الله
الغني و انتم
الفقرا

This mohur seems to have been struck from odd dies. The obverse is the same as the reverse of the mohur No. 328 of the B. M. Catalogue, and the reverse is the same as the obverse of No. 276 of the same catalogue.

(23) Obv. سيف
الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر حسن
قرلغ

Rev. In a circle :—لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
الظاهر بامر الله
امير المومنين
Margin :—ثلث

This unique rupee is in the cabinet of General M. Gossett, C.B. It has two peculiarities. On the obverse instead of الحسن is حسن only. On the reverse the Khalīfah's name is الظاهر who was Khalīfah from Ramẓān 622 to Rajab 623 Ḥ. As in the margin we have the unit figure ثلث-3, we may conclude that this coin was struck in 623 Ḥ. This is the only known coin on which the name of the Khalīfah is found.

This fact speaks well for the communications between India and Baghdād.

(24) Obv. شمس (الدنيا) Parts of a horseman to right.
و الدين
السلطان

This is a new type of Shamsu-d-dīn Iltimish.

(25) Obv. عدل Rev. عدل
السلطان السلطان
Six-rayed star. Six-rayed star.

I assign this to Shamsu-d-dīn Iltimish.

(26) Obv. شمس Rev. Horse to right.
الدنيا و الدين Instead of horseman a six-rayed
ايلتمش star or sun.
السلطان Above, remains of Hindī letters.

Nos. 24, 25 and 26 are from my cabinet.

(27) Obv. In a circle :— Rev. An elephant to left.
السلطان
الاعظم ابو
الفتح محمود
بن محمد بن سام

This coin I ascribe to Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Muḥammad bin Sām.

(28) Obv. In double square, inscribed in a circle :— Rev. In double square, inscribed in a circle—

لا اله الا الله الناصر لدين الله
محمد رسول الله السلطان المعظم
السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا و
غياث الدنيا و الدين الدين ابو المظفر
ابو الفتح محمد بن سام محمد بن سام

Margin :— Margin :—

&c. هو الذي ارسل رسوله ضرب هذا الدينار في شهور سنة تسع
و تسعين و خمسماية

This beautiful gold coin, bearing the names of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn and Mu'izzu-d-dīn, is from the Boundary Commission collection, as is No. 27.

(29) Obv. In a circle :—

السلطان
الاعظم غيا
ث الدنيا و الدين
ابو الفتح محمو
د بن محمد سام

Rev. In a circle :—

An elephant to left.

(30) Obv. In hexagon made by two equilateral triangles intersecting each other :—

محمد بن
سام

Rev. In hexagon as on obv.

ابو الفتح

Nos. 29 and 30 are assigned to the same as No. 27.

(31) Obv. ابو بكر
بن ظفر بن فيروز شاه
سلطانے حضرت دهلي

Rev. الخليفه
عبد الله خلد
خلافته ٧٩١

On this coin of Abū Bakr's we have the mint "Dehlī" plain. The mint is on no other known coin of this king.

(32) Obv. دهلي
السلطان
الاعظم معز
الدنيا و الدين

Rev.
Horseman to right.
Above him, بهرام شاه

This small coin of Mu'izzu-d-dīn Bahrām Shāh is unique.

(33) Obv. تغلق (شاه)
سلطانے ضرب
بحضرت دهلي

Rev. لخليفه
امير المومنين
خلد خلافته

This is a new type of the copper coins of Tughlaq II.

(34) Obv. (ابو المظفر)
ابراهيم (شاه)
سكندر (شاه)
السلطان

Rev.
امير المومنين
خلد خلافته ٩٢٦

Dated coins of Ibrāhīm Lodī, over 80 grs. in weight, are extremely rare.

(35) Obv. In hexagon made by two interlacing equilateral triangles :—

شاه
فيروز

In an octagon :—

بحضرت
دهلي

These small coins of Fīrōz Shāh have generally عدل above the obverse. Here it is omitted. It is a coin of Jalālu-d-dīn Fīrōz Shāh.

(36) Obv. In a circle :— الله الكافي
A knot.
Rev. A knot. الخليفه المستكفى
A knot.

This beautiful coin of Muḥammad Tughlaq's was found by me at Dehlī. It is now in the British Museum.

(37, 38, 39, 40) Obv. In a rayed circle or rayed area :— قطبى
Rev. Bull and remains of Hindī letters.

These coins I ascribe to Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak, but with some diffidence. قطبى forms from قطب as معزي from معز, شمسى from شمس, and تاجى from تاج. If I am correct, then these four coins are the only ones of Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak known. They were all in the cabinet I sold to the Panjāb Government two years ago. I did not myself know of their existence, till I was compelled to examine each coin carefully for the purpose of entering it in the Catalogue. These coins are all from different dies : they are now in the Lahore Museum.

Catalogues of the coins in the Lahore Museum, the Indian Museum, and the Museum of the Asiatic Society are now in different stages of progress. When they are completed, we shall see what coins are in these museums. From what we know at present, the coins of India itself are but poorly represented ; while the coins of Asia, of Central, and Western Asia, the very cradles of mankind and of civilization and the fountains of all Indian History, are but very imperfectly shown. The truth is that we are only beginning to find out what vast fields of history are capable of being illustrated by coins. Coins, however, being themselves intrinsically valuable, money is required at every stage of the enquiry. Unfortunately, one of the most enthusiastic of our collectors and one who possesses extensive knowledge about everything that has hitherto been obtained, is an excessively poor man, and he often has to pass by, to let slip out of his hands, precious and new coins, simply because he has not the means wherewith to purchase them. This should not be the case.

Just lately, the collections of Dr. Stülpnagel, late Principal of the Lahore Government College, of Thomas Higgens, Esq., Pleader, Lahore, and of Eugene Leggett, Esq., of Kurrachee, have been dispersed. They all contained precious and unique things. The first collection has gone to Chicago, where it is a wonder, and nothing more ; the second and third collections are simply scattered, but not one coin has gone to any Indian Museum. The collection of the late Pandit Ratan Narain, of Delhi, was full of unique coins, chiefly of the Sultans of Delhi. It has gone whole to America. The vast collection of Dr. Da Cunha, of Bombay,

was sold by Sotheby in London. No coins, therefore, out of both these came to any Indian Museum. There is now in the market, the collection of General Gossett, which has many unique coins in it, and some which though not unique are very rare. This will, we fear, share the same fate as the others. Now, the British Museum secured some of Dr. Da Cunha's coins. That institution has an annual grant made to it for the sole purchase of coins. Hence, when coins are sold which they are in want of, they can always get specimens of them. But it is not so in India. I would ask to be allowed to plead for our museums on behalf of their coin collections. I would ask those native gentlemen who are interested in the future of their own land, to come forward and assist in putting our museums on a sound financial footing. Money cannot be better spent than by bestowing it in grants to the Trustees of Museums for the purchase of objects of interest. We have now well-educated natives of India who are also rich men. It is to them we must look for the future prosperity of our museums. Many of these gentlemen are members of different learned societies. They would, I feel sure, if asked, take a prominent part in the management of our museums. This seems one of the objects we should aim at. Englishmen are always coming and going. India is not our home. It is for those to whom India is a home, to adorn that home with the relics of by-gone days; and from no series of relics can so much information be obtained as from coins.

Notes on early local silver coinages in North-Western India and in the Konkan.—*By* W. Theobald, *Member of the Num. Soc. Lon., and Royal As. Soc.*

[Read December, 1893.]

Among the few articles recovered from the wreck of the steamer wherein the Archæological treasures, books, and manuscripts of Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham were lost beneath the waters of the Bay of Bengal, were some bags of coins, which the owner obligingly presented to me, in the hope that some of the coins might be so cleaned from the crust which had overspread them during their submergence in the sea, as still to be of value: and this proved to be the case with many specimens, though a large number were too corroded by the water to be worth keeping. The majority of the coins, which amounted to several pounds in weight, were of copper, or that mixture of silver and copper issued by the Dehlī mint, but among them were a few silver coins, which I propose to describe in the present paper. These silver coins numbered eighteen in all, of which number sixteen may be referred to a type of great antiquity and intermediate in character between the well-known 'punch-marked' coins and those of later date impressed by a single 'die.' The coins are impressed from a single die, and thereby connected with modern coinage; but from the simplicity of design, the character of some of the symbols on them, and above all, by their weight, they are evidently closely related to punch-marked coins, and form as it were a local coinage, *sui generis*, which, as far as is at present known, was confined to the North-West of India, or to speak more particularly, to the neighbourhood of Mathurā. Collectively speaking, these sixteen coins may be referred to one class, but thirteen of them have the reverse, either blank, or with two or three small 'punch' marks impressed thereon, whilst three of them have the reverse also rudely and imperfectly impressed by a 'die.' Of the above thirteen coins, eleven are stamped on the obverse with a peculiar collection of symbols, with such slight variation as resulted from the employment of different dies, not identical in minor particulars; whilst two present an entirely

different design, neither design being very clear as regards its import, or easy to describe, so as to convey any precise idea by words to the reader. The coins are square or polygonal, or even partly rounded. The square ones are eight millimeters broad, and three in thickness. The heaviest coin weighed 27 grains, whilst the average of eleven coins is a trifle under 26. These pieces, therefore, are half *kārṣāpaṇas*, the calculated weight of which equals sixteen *ratis*, or 28·8 grains, though coins rarely attain the full standard of weight and not unfrequently, through wear, fall much below it. (See General Sir A. Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 44).

One of the leading peculiarities of the *purāṇas*, or old silver *kārṣāpaṇas*, is that no two are ever seen exactly alike, the result of course of the symbols, or devices, on them being struck independently from different 'punches' at different times. With 'die'-struck coins, however, this is not so, though different dies may vary somewhat in the details of the devices on them.

The device on the obverse of eleven of the coins is made up of two principal symbols, and four or five smaller or accessory ones. The first and uppermost of the two principal symbols resembles a nine-pin, placed horizontally, with its head to the right and the body slightly tapering towards the left. The head is conical, and demarked from the body by a constriction, or neck, on the left of which, in some coins, is a circular impression or groove, which, were it not behind the head, might be thought to represent an eye.

The lower side of the object is very slightly convex and quite plain, but above and inclined at an angle of 45° to the axis of the body are three or four parallel straight or slightly curved lines, having a rayed or fin-like character, whilst two shorter lines terminate the body and impart a fanciful fish-like appearance to the whole symbol. What this symbol is intended to represent I have not the faintest idea, nor does it resemble any of the numerous symbols met with on the silver *kārṣāpaṇas*, or 'punch-marked' coins. On these 'punch-marked' coins fish are very conventionally portrayed, but there is no doubt respecting the object the artist had in view. On each side of the body two fins are symmetrically arranged, the anterior pair representing the pectoral, whilst the others stand for the dorsal and ventral fins. Behind the fins comes the more or less bifid tail, which leaves no doubt of the nature of the object in question. See *Numismata Orientalia*, Part I, plate I, fig. 10, on which a pair of fishes is seen in an 'incused' area; and in the same plate, fig. 8, where a turtle is represented between two fishes, and the third figure on the right on the seventh line, where two pairs of fishes are represented in a tank facing one another. In the

symbol, however, on the coins I am dealing with, there is a complete want of symmetry in the fin-like rays, and above all, the marked constriction behind the head is quite conclusive that no fish is intended. It has occured to me that a 'dug-out' or fishing canoe, made from the hollowed stem of a 'Borassus' palm may be the object intended. In that case the fin-like lines above would represent the supports for the net, either of bamboo or rope. This mode of fishing, which may be still noticed on the rivers of India, is no doubt very ancient. The method adopted is to fix two long bamboos over the side of the boat, as a 'fulcrum,' so that they can be tilted downwards beneath the water and afterwards raised above it. Between these bamboos a net is stretched, which by being lowered into the water by means of its supports, often captures fish which may have drifted over it. This suggestion is merely hazarded for want of a better; but we may be sure the design represents some object or idea familiar enough in the daily life of those among whom these pieces circulated. Below the last symbol is another, equally puzzling at first sight, and respecting which all that can be safely said is that it is intended to represent some quadruped or other, with its head to the right hand. On seven of the coins the form of the animal is sufficiently well preserved for a general description. The legs are short and merely represented in a conventional manner. The head presents the only character to guide us. It is destitute of horns, and therefore no bovine or other ruminant. It is massive and set squarely on to the neck, the line of the back and the plane of the forehead forming an angle clearly less than a right angle. There are no tusks, and it is therefore pretty certain an elephant is not intended. This almost reduces our choice to the horse, and the tail which is preserved on one or two specimens quite supports this conclusion. The horse does not occur (to my knowledge) on any silver 'punch-marked' coin, but occurs on the later die-struck copper coins of the Satrap Hagamasha, figured by General Sir A. Cunningham among Mathurā coins. (*Coins of Ancient India*, plate VIII., fig. 7). In some cases, on this symbol likewise, a small punch-marked depression may be noticed, which might be supposed to represent an eye, as was noticed in the case of the first-described symbol; but these marks are produced by a 'punch,' and occur on both sides of the coin, and are most probably 'shroff marks' or marks of attestation put on coins by money-changers through whose hands they have chanced to pass. This system of 'shroff-marking' all 'rupees' which pass through a money-changer's hands is in fact nothing more than a survival of the earliest mode of attesting current money by impressing a 'punch-mark' thereon, though the 'punches' used by private individuals were smaller and

less intricate in character than those used on the earliest coins or *kārṣāpaṇas*. The rupees of the great Kooch-Behar 'find' of 1863, were 'shroff-marked' with a variety of 'punches,' and many Bengal coins are completely defaced by the process; and I may here testify to what has often struck me in the early 'punch-marked' coins,—the wonderful capacity the engravers of these 'punches' displayed in conveying the idea of the object or animal intended, which can be identified, where only a fragment of the impression remains.[1]

In fact the determination of the animal is really a question of 'heads and tails'! The tail certainly resembles that of a horse, and if as much cannot be said of the head, there is no animal, whose head it more closely resembles. On the whole, the probability is that a horse is intended.

Whilst on the subject of the identification of animals represented on old coins, (a subject claiming for its elucidation the knowledge of the sportsman and naturalist rather than the antiquarian and numismatist), I would make what I believe to be a correction of an opinion expressed in my paper 'On the Symbols on the Coins of Kuninda,' (*ante*, Vol. LV, page 163), and repeated in my paper 'On Punch-marked Coins' (*ante*, Vol. LIX, page 218), to the effect that the animal represented on coins of Amōghabhūti, king of the Kunindas, was intended for a Yak. A capital figure of the animal in question is given in '*Coins of Ancient India*,' plate V, fig. 2, and I now consider the animal on these coins to be a buffalo and not a Yak. It was my friend Sir Alexander Cunningham who first drew my attention to the fact that the 'Yak' was an animal unknown in the region occupied by the Kunindas, that is, Kullu and Sirhind, and unlikely therefore to be selected to appear on their coins. The buffalo, on the other hand, is an animal which has pastured on the banks of the Sutlej as early as the Aryan occupation, and probably earlier, and as the most important type of *pecuniary* wealth, it might well be selected, apart from mythological symbolism, to occupy the prominent position it does on the money of a pastoral and agricultural people. The first writer (if I mistake not) to suggest the 'Yak,' in con-

[1] On the Bengal coins in my own cabinet the following marks or symbols occur, placed always on the obverse of the coin. 1, A watchful goose to r., that is with its head and neck upraised. 2, A duck at-roost to l. 3, A crocodile asleep, to l. 4, A peacock (?) 5, A conch shell. 6, A Maltese cross. 7, A 4-petalled flower. 8, A 7-pointed star. 9, A hollow square. 10, Two dots in an oval. 11, A horseshoe, or 'yōni' symbol. 12, A wheel (solar). 13, A ball. 14, A cross made of five dots, one being central. 15, A conventional tree, perhaps the 'Tulsī' (Ocymum.) 16, A dagger, 'Kaṭār.' 17, An S with open ends, like the letter S. 18, A Bengali B, and 19, perhaps an N; and others too obscure to specify.

nection with the animal on the coins of the Kunindas, was Mr. Edward Thomas, who thus describes the animal in *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I., New Series, page 441. "The central figure represents the conventional form of the sacred deer of the Buddhists. The horns are fancifully curved, and the tail is imitated from that of the Himalayan Yak." I have in my above first-quoted paper disposed of the error Mr. Thomas here falls into, in describing the horns as "fancifully curved." The two snakes, described as "fancifully curved," are not horns and do not form part of the animal above which they are displayed. The tail is the tail of a 'bovine' ruminant, as distinguished from that of the 'cervine' ruminant, or deer, and there exists not the slightest ground for saying it is imitated from another animal than that represented on the coin. Zoologically considered, there is no great reason why the figure might not be intended for a Yak; but as the 'Yak' is not an inhabitant of the country in which the coin was current, the figure is probably meant for a buffalo, which it suits better than any other animal. Two silver coins and three copper coins, with the figure on them of the so-called 'deer,' are figured in the *Coins of Ancient India*, plate V, page 70. The two silver coins are beautifully distinct and fully support my contention that the animal is no 'deer.' In both these coins the animal is seen in profile, with the head turned round so as to exhibit a pair of crescentic horns, and the tail moreover in both coins is long and bushy, reaching to the 'hocks.' No deer whatever has either crescentic horns or a tail reaching to its 'hocks,' whereas the design is a very spirited one of a buffalo, with its head lifted up, as is the manner of the beast when in a threatening or inquisitive mood, and we may even identify the animal as pertaining to the short-horned race of the '*Arna bhainsa*,' as distinguished from the long straight-horned race of Assam and the Eastern Provinces.[1]

1 There is also in the Panjāb a straight-horned race of domestic buffalo (whose horns are sometimes loose and attached to the skin only), but these are a very degenerate breed, and not the type displayed on the coin. A buffalo head, however, of this type is seen on some Sassanian and Indo-Sassanian coins. The buffalo type cannot be mistaken, the convex forehead, knotty horns and square muzzle, and yet on a coin of Hormisdas III., it is merely described as "une tête de taureau," by Longpérier in his *Essay on Sassanian Coins*, page 59. If Mr. Thomas erred in not recognising the buffalo as the animal on the coins of the Kunindas, he committed a still more serious error when describing the helmet of the king on a coin of Huvishka as defended by buffalo's horns (*Jainism*, pl. II, fig. 16.). Accepting Mr. Thomas's statement that the helmet is defended by 'horns;' yet how preposterous is the notion that buffalo's horns could be so used! A coin, identical no doubt with that before Mr. Thomas is in my possession, and on it the horns are arranged with their bases joined in front, or approximating, whilst the

I will now describe a coin in my possession whereon the animal usually termed a deer is unusually well seen, and because the coin is of a novel and rare type and a distinct variety of that figured in *Coins of Ancient India*, pl. V, fig. 4. The coin figured (l. c.) is thus described by General Sir. A. Cunningham :—" Weight 131 grains. Obverse : the god Çiva standing to front, with battle-axe-trident in right hand, and leopard-skin hanging from left arm. Indian legend : *Bhāgavatō Chatrēçvara Mahātanā.* Reverse : deer in middle, with symbol between horns, snake below to right, tree, star and vase to left, chaitya and symbols.

My own coin weighs 261 grains and may be described thus :—Obverse : the god Çiva standing to front, with battle-axe trident in right hand, and the left hand resting akimbo on the left hip. A sort of bow or loop below left wrist, but apparently no skin of an animal over the arm ; a small crescent on the forehead, above and behind which spreads a mass of thick short curls. Body naked to the waist, loins girt with a capacious *dhōtī*, loose folds from which fall down almost to the knees. Above the left shoulder a six-rayed star identical with that ofen seen behind the figure on the reverse of coins of Aspa Varma. (*Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Greek and Scythic Kings*, pl. XX., fig. 2). All that remains of the legend is *Bhāgavatō*, as in the above coin. Reverse : a buffalo in the field, in side profile to the left, with very convex (bubaline) forehead, a bushy tail reaching to the hocks, and a single crescentic horn, from the base of which the ear is seen to protrude. Over the head an upright staff separating two serpentine bodies intended probably for a pair of cobras. On the silver coins figured on plate V (l. c.), figs. 1 and 2, the snakes are well seen, but the central staff or lingam symbol is absent. Above the muzzle of the buffalo are three balls, the obvious symbol of the masculine triad whether viewed in a sexual or theistic sense. In front of the buffalo's chest is a ' stūpa,' or ' chaitya ' of six chambers, surmounted by a small ⊤, the equivalent of the ' Chatra,' or umbrella, seen on the punch-marked coins, and representing perhaps the form taken by that symbol when wrought in stone, as seen in Burma at the present day. Below the ' stūpa ' occurs the ' food receptacle ' as I interpret its import (see *ante*, Vol. LIX, pl. IX, fig. 119), and at the bottom of the field a snake, with its head elevated a little from

points of the horns project behind the king's helmet, just clear of his head. Of course the horns which thus encircle the helmet cannot be those of a buffalo, being relatively too small, but are most indubitably those of the ravine deer (*Gazella bennettíi*) which measure some ten inches in length, and are, by their size and shape, very well adapted for such a defensive purpose, as well as being ornamental likewise.

the ground, and in the act of progressing to the right. Beneath the belly of the buffalo is a curved object like a crooked cucumber, with a ⊤ above it. Behind the buffalo is the sacred tree standing on a square base, and above the animal's back an unfamiliar symbol, which has much the appearance of a monogram. It consists of the Greek letter 'phi' with the top limb removed, and standing on a short cross-bar for a base, with a similar bar attached like a semaphore arm, on the left, a little above the base. A beaded margin surrounds the coin.

To return now to the consideration of the half *kārṣāpaṇas* from Mathurā, there are, besides the two very obscure principal symbols, several subordinate ones of smaller size. On five coins the 'triskelis' occurs in the upper right-hand corner, a little above and in front of the fish-like symbol previously described. This 'triskelis' is small, very neatly formed and revolving from right to left (see *ante*, Vol. LIX, pl. X, fig. 131). This form of the 'triskelis' forms part of the obverse die from which the coin has been struck, and stands in relief above the surface of the field; but on one coin, a small reversed 'triskelis' (see l. c., fig. 130) has been impressed by a 'punch,' on the reverse of the coin, and may perhaps be regarded as a 'shroff mark' put on to it after it was in circulation.

Another very obscure symbol is of occasional occurrence. It represents a straight object tapering to a point above, and ending below in a short lateral arm also pointed, which forms an obtuse angle with the body of the symbol. This side arm is deflected either to the right or left, and the only suggestion I can offer as to its meaning is, that the symbol is intended to represent a rude wooden plough, the short basal arm being the 'coulter.' Ploughs of this character, with only a few inches of iron, to form the point of the 'share' are still used in India, and the simplest form perhaps of the instrument was a straight piece of some tough wood, with a bend at one end; where a branch had been given off, to form the 'share,' such as the Poet must have had in view when attributing agriculture to the Silver Age of the Earth, and before the use of iron had come in vogue.

"Semina tum primum longis cerealia sulcis
Obruta sunt, pressique jugo gemuere juvenci—

Ovid. Met. Lib. I, 123.

Another symbol on these coins is the 'taurine' (*Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1890, Pl. X, fig. 128). On four coins a pair of 'taurines,' one inverted over the other, occupies the place of the 'triskelis,' in front of the principal symbol on the right of the coin, and on a fifth coin, in addition to the 'triskelis,' a 'taurine' is added under the head (if we may so consider it) of the lower of the two principal symbols.

Lastly, on two coins, traces are seen of a 'caitya,' whereon the horse (if this attribution is correct) is standing, but which from the small size of the coin, has fallen outside its area; if this be so, coins may yet be discovered to clear up this point. The reverse of all these thirteen coins is blank, but on three of them a punch-mark, or shroff-mark as I consider it, has been stamped, a 'triskelis' a 'taurine,' (?) or circle, a mark like the letter R, the upright limb being shorter than the oblique one, and two short parallel strokes or bars.

Adverting now to the three coins whereon an impression has been made by a reverse die, the ninepin-like symbol occurs on the obverse of all of them, only rather more fish-like than usual. On one of them the lower symbol may be fairly construed to represent a horse with a flowing tail; on another the design is too blurred for recognition; whilst on the third the animal may be intended for a horned bovine. On two of these coins the reverses are too imperfectly preserved for description, but on one the design consists of a central boss round which three equidistant half-circles or crescents are ranged with their cusps outwards. Some rude ornament occupies the concavity of the crescents which are separated from each other by a Y-shaped mark, having the arms directed outwards. These three coins are round (not square like the others) of very rude fabric, and weigh 69 grains, or 23 grains each, and do not appear to have suffered loss through wear.

Two square coins with blank reverse, and weighing together forty-eight grains, have an entirely different symbol on them from any above described. The 'dies' are not identical, as on one of them a 'taurine' is present, and a rhomboidal arrow-head or dwarf 'thyrsus' alongside of it, both of small size, the arrow-head being identical with the similar mark on the 'Taxila' gold coin figured in *Coins of Ancient India*, plate II, fig. 18, where it forms one of the segments or elements which constitute the 'thunderbolt' symbol (as it may be called) which occupies the reverse of that coin, and it would be interesting if a link could be traced between this symbol and the "dorje" used in Buddhist worship at present in Tibet.

The symbol which occupies the area of the coin is one as difficult to describe as it is unintelligible. The object is sub-symmetrical and sub-polygonal with four or five projecting angles, and bounded in part by a slightly convex line. From the convex line, rise four slightly radiating strokes followed to the left hand by one or two much longer ones which curve over to the left. Though not quite identical, the object represented on both coins is the same, though obscure to a degree. It once occurred to me that the design might be intended for a human hand, and have reference to the idea recorded on a gem procured by Conelly

in Khorasān, and figured in *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for 1842, page 142, only on one coin the strokes, which in that case would represent fingers, are six in number. In the gem in question, which may be of Gnostic significance, a human hand is seen lightly grasping a human ear, as though designed to illustrate the lines of Virgil:

"Quum canerem reges et prœlia, Cynthius aurem
Vellit et admonuit."—*Ecloga*, VI, 3.

Whilst, therefore, it cannot be confidently asserted that a human hand is the object represented, it is not wholly impossible that this fantastic and obscure symbol may be the outcome of a crude effort to reproduce the subject of the above gem. Perhaps a larger series of these coins may clear the matter up.

I would now offer a few remarks on a class of coins, only, I believe, hitherto recorded from the Konkan, and described by Sir Walter Elliot in *Numismata Orientalia*, 'Coins of Southern India,' Vol. I, pages 66 and 152c. The following is the description of one of these coins figured on plate II, fig. 61:—"No. 61, weight 12·8 grains. Transition punch-coin, found with others in the Konkan, with a bull, erroneously called a lion at pp. 50 and 66, superimpressed on the punch-marks." Now this description is a very erroneous and misleading one. The coin figured seems imperfect, though they are all very rudely shaped, but with two specimens of my own and six lent to me by Dr. Codrington, I am able to fix the full weight of one of these pieces at 15 grains or more, and the average weight of these eight coins as a trifle over 14 grains. At page 50 (l. c.) we read,—"A find in the Konkan displayed pieces, on which an animal, perhaps a lion, had been impressed in the centre, and above all the others," and again at page 66 "We have nothing of an earlier date of which we can speak with any confidence, unless it be a hoard of eldlings found in the Konkan with the figure of a lion (?) superimposed on the earlier punch-marks." Now this is all wrong. The author himself has corrected the error of taking a lion for a bull, but there are no punch-marks whatever on these coins, and although some have been double-struck, yet only on a single coin of my own is there any appearance which would lead to the conclusion of the 'die' having been applied over an older design; and as regards this one coin, I believe, such was not the case. The term 'eldling' used by Sir Walter Elliot for the 'punch-marked' coins, or 'purāṇas,' is also misleading, as these coins from the Konkan are not 'punch-marked' at all, but struck from dies which, though rude and not all alike, were certainly not 'punches,' nor was one device struck over another, save in the case of coins which have been 'double struck' from the same die, as of course occasionally happens through

accident. For purposes of description I have before me eight coins, all probably from the same find, as six of them are the property of of Dr. Codrington, who supplied Sir W. Elliot with the coin figured by him. On seven of these coins the device is the same, though there are slight variations of detail due to the different dies employed. The principal figure on all the coins is a humped bull walking to the left. The horns form a crescent on the top of the head, and the hump is clearly marked. Beneath the bull is a solid square which with the other minor symbols forms part of the 'die' and is not a 'punch-mark' or independantly produced. Below the square is a hollow parallelogram, bounded by four lines and representing probably a 'tank.' This figure is twice as broad as the square above it, but not quite equal to it in height. Above the rump of the bull is a small 'triskelis,' and behind the 'triskelis' on the right a small 'svastika' with the open angle or concavity formed by the arms facing to the right. On each side of the solid square is a 'taurine' pointing outwards or to the right and left respectively, and between the 'taurine' and 'svastika' a hollow or lined square. On some coins a circle with a dot in the centre is also seen near the margin, but not sufficiently well preserved in any coin to say if the 'lingam-yōni' symbol is intended. The reverses of these coins differ somewhat from each other: On one is a tree, with bifid and trifid leaves or branches, possibly intended for a 'cactus' or 'Euphorbia.' On another a rude 'caitya.' Some reverses seem blank, but most of these seem to have had a different design. On one is a small animal, probably a hare, standing within a circle, strongly recalling the symbol on punch-marked coins termed by myself 'Hare in the moon,' and surrounded by an inscription, one of the letters strongly resembling the Gandharian character for '*ri*.'

All the above coins present essentially the same device, but on one coin in my possession there is introduced behind the bull a large twelve-rayed sun, larger than the bull and partly hidden by it. At first sight it appears as though the 'die' with the bull had been counterstruck on a piece with the 'sun' on it, but I am by no means sure that such was really the case, and it is equally probable that the 'die'-sinker first engraved the bull very deeply, and then in a shallower manner the sun behind it; and this is confirmed by the fact that the small 'svastika' which is usually close behind the bull, in this coin appears well outside the 'sun,' instead of counterstruck over it, as would seem to be what would have happened if two dies had been employed. Till however, a second example turns up, the question must remain unsettled. No coin, moreover, with the solitary symbol of a twelve-rayed sun on it is known of this series.

On two or three coins an upright staff is seen in front of the bull which sometimes seems supported by a tripod. On one coin this staff seems replaced by a ⊤, but being on the extreme left of the coin, the symbol often falls outside the field. The coins themselves, too, are of very rude make and often double-struck, and the design thereby injured, and on this account I think the bull came to be mistaken for a lion. Besides the above coins two square ones remain of a different character; one weighs 25 grains, the other 18. They are both die-struck. The first has a circle, a crozier-like pot-hook, and some other unintelligible marks on the obverse, and some obscure crooked parallel marks on the reverse. The smaller coin has what may be intended for the rude figure of a man kneeling to the right, with a 'taurine' and two other symbols behind him, made of a circle with an inverted half-circle over it. The reverse is blank. These coins probably come from the same locality as those above described, but belong to a totally distinct issue of which no more can be said, till other specimens are available for comparison and description.

In my paper 'On Punch-marked Coins' (*ante*, Vol. LIX, page 258), I remark that "the '*triratna*,' strange to say, does not appear to occur on these coins." Since this was written I have acquired a polygonal silver coin of this class, with a symbol on it which I interpret as the prototype of the 'triratna,' and which may be thus described. In the centre is a good-sized globe. Below the globe are two 'taurines' ranged horizontally with their 'cusps' opposed to each other. On either side of the central globe is a taurine with the cusps pointing upwards, and above the central globe is a crescent, or perhaps a smaller globe, as the margin of the coin cuts across and renders this point uncertain. Supporting this crescent, but not touching each other, are two crescents with their cusps pointing upwards, whilst each outer cusp supports another crescent.

Now, if these crescents are viewed from above, by the symbol being turned upside down, they would present a certain resemblance to the lower tiers of a 'stūpa' or 'caitya,' but with the important difference, that each crescent (or chamber, as we should say in the case of the 'stūpa'), is separated from its fellow and not tangential thereto, as is always the case, so far as my experience goes, with regard to the chambers of the 'stūpa.' I regard, therefore, the symbol as having no relation to the 'stūpa,' but as a combination of several crescents.

Now, if we turn to Mr. Robert Sewell's paper on 'Early Buddhist Symbolism' (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1886, p. 364), it is easy to conceive how the 'scarab' (p. 398, l. c.) can be converted, by

what I may describe by the term 'heraldic metamorphism' into not only the 'triçūl' as Mr. Sewell contends, but into the 'triratna' also. The central globe represents the body of the 'scarab'; the legs are indicated by 'taurines,' the lower or posterior pair being represented as opposed to each other, as they are so frequently seen to be, when the animal is engaged in the domestic operation of 'pill-rolling.' The lateral legs are represented by a pair of 'taurines' directed forwards. The anterior crescent in the middle represents the head of the 'scarab,' whilst the pair of crescents on either side represent the strongly curved anterior legs of the insect. The symbol in this form, built up as it is of the meagre materials of 'bull' and 'crescent,' can of course, only be viewed as the prototype of the perfected 'triratna,' but the germ of that symbol is there, and later developments have merely arisen by the process of addition of a floreated ornamentation having for its aim a higher artistic conception and effect.

Note on Major Francklin's Manuscript description of Gaur.—*By* H. Beveridge, I. C. S., (Retd.)

(Read February, 1894.)

The existence of this manuscript seems to have been first brought to notice by Mr. Grote, who recommended Mrs. Ravenshaw to use it in editing her husband's work on Gaur. Afterwards, Mr. Grote took upon himself the task of annotation, and added many notes from Francklin to Ravenshaw's text.

A few years ago, our Society applied to the India Office for the manuscript, with the view of printing it, if this should seem worth while. The Secretary for India referred the matter to Dr. Burgess, who gave it as his opinion that all the valuable information in Francklin's report had been extracted by Mr. Grote. In consequence of this, the manuscript was not sent to our Society.

Since then, I have examined the report, and compared it with Ravenshaw's Gaur, and I have found that Dr. Burgess's opinion was correct. All, or nearly all, that is of value in the report has been put into Mr. Grote's notes. I therefore cannot recommend that the report should be published, though it does seem hard that a paper submitted to the Court of Directors, so long ago as April 1812, should have been neglected till 1878, and then be superseded by the pith of it being put into another book. Had it been used at the time, the map and drawings which accompanied the journal might have been preserved. In his letter to the Court of Directors, dated Bhāgalpur, 12 April 1812, Francklin speaks of forwarding a journal, map, drawings, &c., and in the journal there are frequent references to drawings by their numbers. The journal is in the Map-room of the Registry and Record Department of the India Office, but the map [1] and drawings have disappeared, and

[1] The loss of the map is of small moment, for Francklin mentions that he procured it from Mr. Ellerton, and that it was constructed by Creighton. It must, therefore, have been the same as that published in Creighton's Gaur.

App. D. p. 90.

Mr. Grote's letter to Mrs. Ravenshaw shows that they were not forthcoming about twenty years ago.

William Francklin was, like Warren Hastings and Impey, a Westminster boy, and was an officer in the Army of the East India Company. He was the son of a clergyman named Thomas Francklin, who was a man of some note in the literary world, but who unhappily got confounded with his more celebrated namesake, Benjamin Franklin. Macaulay corrects the mistake, and then impales his unoffending countryman on the point of a Greek quotation. The son is well known as the biographer of George Thomas, and as the author of a work on the site of Palibothra, in which he endeavours to identify it with Campānagar, a village about four miles to the west of Bhāgalpur. He was mistaken, no doubt, but the book is still worth reading. His principal point was that there was a river near Campānagar, called the 'Errun Bhowah,' which certainly resembled in sound, but not in size, the Greek Eranoboas. He seems to have converted Major Wilford to his opinion, for he speaks of him as having given up the Rājmahal site in favour of the Bhāgalpur one. Referring to this, Francklin speaks with stately courtesy of Wilford, as a man "with whom to be associated, is to be associated with learning itself." But the most picturesque circumstance in Francklin's life was a tour which he made in Persia in 1786, when he was an Ensign and only three-and-twenty years of age. On this occasion he lived for about six months in Shirāz as a member of a Persian family. He became a Major in 1810, and a Lieut.-Colonel in 1814. For seven years he was Regulating Officer at Bhāgalpur, and in that capacity had, I believe, to do with the invalided sepoys who were at that time settled in the Jungle Tarāī. We are told that he himself was invalided in 1815, but Bishop Heber, who met him at Bhāgalpur in 1824, describes him as being then inspecting field-officer of Bhāgalpur. The Bishop describes him as being a very agreeable and communicative old man, and as the possessor of curious and interesting collections. Francklin retired from service in 1825, and died in April 1839, at the age of 76. At the time of his death he was Librarian to the Royal Asiatic Society. From a casual reference in his book on Palibothra[1] we learn that he was married, and that his wife accompanied him on a visit to Dēōgaṛh. There is an account of him in the National Dictionary of Biography; but the author of it has not always verified his references, and has made some mistakes: as for example, when he speaks of Francklin's having lived *eight* months with a Persian family in Shirāz.

The report on Gauṛ is entitled "Journal of a Route from Rājmahal

[1] The 'Muhudipur' of Pemberton's Map, and the 'Mahdípur' of Cunningham.

to Gauṛ, A. D. 1810: by Major William Francklin, Regulating Officer at Bhágalpur." The first entry is "11th December, 1810.—Left Rájmahál and in four marches reached the village of Aurangábád, the south-eastern boundary of the Bhágalpur district." From Auraŋgābād (now in the Jaŋgīpur Subdivision of Murshidābād), he went to Sutī, crossed the Bhāgīrathī at a ford into the Cossimbāzār island, then crossed the Ganges to Sibganj, and proceeded towards Mōdhīpur. "After winding through the forest we passed the village of Chandy, where are erected some indigo works belonging to Mr. Ellerton, of Goamalty, pleasantly situated in the woods and near the river. At 9-30 A. M., encamped at the village of Mōdhīpur; at about 20 yards from this village the Ganges branches out to the southward, and you enter the Bhāgīrathī river, on which is situated the city of Gaur. This river must not be confounded with that which bounds the Cossimbazar island to the N.-W., bearing the same name, distance 9 miles. (See the map.)"

The report is not a long one, for it is contained in a thin folio of about eighty pages. The second part of it is occupied by an account of Paṇḍuā and a historical memorandum. From the dates in the Paṇḍuā Journal it would appear that the '11th December, 1810,' of the first entry of the Gauṛ Journal, is a clerical error for "11th November."

The Journal before noticing the buildings in detail gives the following general description of Gauṛ:—

"What remains of the ancient city of Gaur is situated on the banks of the Bhágíráthí river, enclosed in deep and thick jungles. The river runs east and west, and formerly skirted the walls of the royal palace, though it has in the course of time considerably receded.

It is situated 100 miles east-by-south of Bhagalpore, 28 miles S. E. from Rajmahal, and 11 miles distant from Maldah. You enter from the eastward through the Katwali Gate. The extent of the city of Gaur, without including the suburbs, is about ten miles in length, but in no place is it broader than $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 miles. It is surrounded on all sides by a stupendous mound of earth, 250 ft. wide at the base, and from 30 to 40 ft. high; the top of this embankment is now planted with rows of lofty trees. This embankment was no doubt intended to protect the city, which is situated on low ground, from the destruction occasioned by the overflowing of the rivers, at the season of the periodical rains. Two grand roads led through the whole of the city, raised with earth and paved with brick, commencing at the Katwali Gate and terminating at the N.-W. entrance. Within this extent the remains of bridges which have been cut (?) over the low grounds, are still visible. Over every part of this city large tanks have been formed, with innumerable drains and ditches, to carry off the water, the earth of which, being thrown up, has elevated the ground considerably from the level country. The ground about Gaur is everywhere scattered over with bricks, which are turned up, and mix with the soil, which is very rich, and in those parts that

are cultivated, highly productive. About half a mile from the Katwali Gate is a bridge regularly paved with brick, with stones underneath. It has a gentle ascent and descent, and appears to be of great antiquity. At the western extremity are two stone pillars having Sanscrit inscriptions.[1] On each side of the road leading to the royal palace are several mosques built in the Pathan style of architecture, like those to be seen at Delhi. They are entirely round, and have arched windows of brick. In the neighbourhood are many tanks, and the cultivation is considerable and the appearance of the surrounding scenery picturesque. Nearly opposite the fort, in which is situated the royal palace, is a lofty column of Pathan architecture. It is circular in form, has several windows, and is surrounded at the top by a cupola.

"This column was built by Firoz Shah, one of the Pathan princes of Gaur, and in the style of its architecture resembles the columns built by Firoz Shah which are still to be seen at Allahabad and Delhi."

Then follows the description of the Minār, which Mr. Grote has extracted. (p. 28, l. c.) It may be noted that Francklin prefixes to the fragmentary inscription, obtained[2] by him at Goamalty, these words in Persian :—

نقل کتابه دروازه منارهٔ فیروز شاه من احاطهٔ قلعهٔ گوڑ

That is, "Copy of the inscription on the door of the Minār of Fīrōz Shāh, in the Fort of Gauṛ."

These words show that the tradition that the Minār was built by Fīrōz Shāh existed before Francklin's time. We know too that it was in existence when the *Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn* was written, *i.e.*, about 1787. See Persian text of that work, p. 126. In his note, p. 28 of Ravenshaw's Gauṛ, Mr. Grote refers to Fīrōz Shāh as having only reigned from 893 to 895, but the inscription from the Murshidābād district, of which a translation appears in the *Proceedings* of our Society for February 1893, p. 55, shows that Fīrōz Shāh's reign extended to at least the beginning of 896 (2, Muḥaram). Mr. Blochmann also states that Fīrōz Shāh reigned till 1491, or 896, *vide* historical note in Ravenshaw's Gauṛ, p. 100. The coin, however, to which Mr. Grote refers, as fixing the chronology of Fīrōz Shāh II, only gives the date 893, and Blochmann prefers 895 for the last year of his reign. At p. 56, *l. c.*, Mr. Grote gives an inscription stated by Francklin to belong to the Golden Mosque at Paṇḍuā. The quotation is correct, and in Francklin's journal, p. 25, the inscription is preceded

[1] Cunningham does not notice these inscriptions.

[2] Francklin uses the word 'found,' but this merely means, that he saw it there after it had been removed to the factory by Mr. Ellerton or Mr. Creighton. The Chānd Darwāzā inscription was also 'found' at Goamalty. Ravenshaw, p. 18, note.

by Persian words indicating that it is a copy of an inscription from the Golden Mosque of Paṇḍuā. But I think that Francklin or the Munshī must have made some mistake. An inscription bearing the date 885, and referring to Yūsuf Shāh, can have nothing to do with the Paṇḍuá mosque, and in fact no such inscription now appears there. Two inscriptions belonging to this mosque are given in Ravenshaw, p. 56, and their dates are 990 and 993, *i. e.*, more than a hundred years after the date of Francklin's inscription. The inscription, too, comes into Francklin's Journal at an odd place, if it belongs to Paṇḍuā, for it occurs in his account of Gauṛ, and not in the subsequent account of Paṇḍuā. After describing the Golden Mosque at Gauṛ (pp. 4 and 15 of Ravenshaw's Gauṛ), and giving its inscription, which is of the year 932, or 1526 A. D., Francklin proceeds as follows (p. 25 of Journal): "There is another Golden Mosque at the village of Chandy, near the south-eastern entrance of the city, and a third at Purrooah once the capital of the kings of Bengal. They are of similar architecture, but those of Chandy and Purrooah are much smaller in size to the one above described." "The following inscription appears in front of the Golden Mosque at Purrooah." He then gives the inscription and translation, which Mr. Grote has quoted at p. 56, *l. c.*

On referring to the map in Creighton's Gauṛ it appears that the Chandy Golden Mosque must be the small golden mosque described at p. 38 of Ravenshaw's Gauṛ. Francklin's inscription then cannot belong to it, for the small golden mosque was erected in the reign of Ḥusain Shāh, *i. e.*, in the early part of the 10th century, A. Ḥ. Nor can it, as we have just seen, belong to the Paṇḍuā golden mosque. Most probably the inscription belonged to the Çāntipārā mosque at Gauṛ. We have it from Creighton (quoted by Mr. Grote, p. 30, *l. c.*), that an inscription was found near the Çāntipārā mosque which gave the date of Francklin's inscription, *viz.*, 885. Mr. Grote conjectures that the inscription referred to by Creighton is that now at the Qadam Rasūl mosque, and published at p. 22 of Ravenshaw's book. But Mr. Ravenshaw says that this inscription is supposed to have belonged to a mosque not far distant, and now in entire ruins. The latter part of this description, at least, does not apply to the Çāntipārā mosque, *vide* Ravenshaw, p. 30. It is also mentioned there that an inscription said to have been taken from the Çāntipārā mosque contains the name of Yūsuf Shāh. This is just what Francklin's inscription does. Of course the inscription alluded to by Ravenshaw at p. 30, may be that given by him at p. 22; but if so, one would have expected at the latter passage an express mention of Çāntipārā. As Mr. Grote has remarked, Francklin nowhere mentions the Çāntipārā mosque by that name, and it is probable

enough that the mosque called by him the "Mahajan Talah Mosque" is really the Çāntipārā one.

Immediately after giving the inscription said by him to belong to the Golden Mosque of Paṇḍuā, Francklin proceeds as follows:—

"A large space of ground formerly constituted the area, or outer court of this mosque, which is scarcely visible from the excessive high and thick jungle that encompasses the whole of the building. There are, however, evident marks of adjoining buildings displayed in a mass of ruins and rubbish; these were most probably the kitchen and other offices, for the use of the attendants belonging to the mosque, and places for the Maulavies, or readers of the Koran, the Muazzins, or criers to prayers, and other persons attached to the institution.

"Being situated on the summit of a pretty steep ascent, were the surrounding jungle cleared away, it would command a delightful prospect of the adjacent country. The column of Fíróz Sháh being in sight, the remains of the royal palace, the numerous tanks in the neighbourhood."

If this description relates, as grammatically it should, to the mosque of which he has just given the inscription, it is clear that the word 'Paṇḍuā' must be a mistake, for the Minār and the tanks of Gauṛ cannot be visible from Paṇḍuā. But I am not sure if Francklin, after giving the inscription, does not revert to the Golden Mosque of Gauṛ. There are parts of the description just quoted which might apply to the ruins of the Madrasah, as described at p. 34 of Ravenshaw. The Madrasah is marked in Pemberton's Survey-Map of 1847-49, of which there is an enlargement in Ravenshaw, on the north bank of the smaller Sagar tank. On the west of the tank there is a mosque marked at a place called "Soonar Gong." Possibly this is the golden mosque from which Francklin got the inscription. The village of Chandy, or Chāndnī, mentioned by Francklin, is not marked in the enlargement of Pemberton. Creighton's map, however, shows it. It was on the Pagla, and was once the factory of Mr. William Grant, the friend of Creighton.

Francklin speaks of the tomb of Ḥusain Shāh as being still in existence, and calls it the "Bādshāh-kī-qabr." His description is quoted by Mr. Grote, p. 24 *l. c.*, in a note to the photograph of Fatḥ Khān's tomb. But it is evident from the anonymous * account in Glazier's report on Raŋgpur, Appendix A., p. 107, that the tomb had been despoiled many years before Francklin's visit, and that he was probably in error

* From Creighton's account of Orme's remarks, especially those about the block lying by the river, it seems probable that the Raŋgpur MS. is a copy of Orme's remarks. The question might be set at rest by examining the Orme papers, which fill part of a press in the India Office Library.

in speaking of the bodies of Ḥusain Shāh and his family as still lying there. The following is the account given in Glazier :—

"The Maqbara is a burying-place, built of bricks, the gates and walls of which are very curiously ornamented with figures and flowers impressed in the bricks when they are burned and . . . . . similar to the Dutch tiles in Europe, and which to this day appear to have received very little detriment from time or weather. From this place Captain Adams removed the two finest tombs in the city, said to contain two kings, named Husain Shāh and Nasrat Shāh. What became of the most principal parts of these tombs, I cannot learn, but I believe they are in Calcutta, and there are now by the waterside five pieces of black marble polished on two sides, twelve feet in length, two feet high, and two feet thick, which were part of them."

Probably it is one of these pieces which is described at p. 3 of Ravenshaw's Gauṛ, where we are told that, "On the road-side, between the palace and the Bhāgīrathī river, there now lies, split in twain, a vast block of hornblende, which, having been carried thus far, has been dropped and left, as broken, on the highway, to bear its testimony against the spoilers."

From a note to the translation of the *Siyaru-l-muta'akhirín*, p. 184, we learn that Captain Adams's spoliation took place about 1766, and that when the royal tomb was opened by him, an ūd-dān (عوددان), or censer, was found at the foot of the body.

Francklin's description of the palace follows immediately after that of Ḥusain Shāh's tomb. The material portion of it, including the inscription of Barbak Shāh, has been given by Mr. Grote, *l. c.*, pp. 18, 19.

Francklin visited Mr. Ellerton at Goamalty, and notices the remains there of "a very handsome mosque built of stone and brick; the only minaret remaining has a fanciful appearance. The remains of marble columns in the outside of the verandah of the building are still to be seen."

Although Mr. Grote's extracts have been carefully made, and have perhaps made the publication of Francklin's journal unnecessary, there is an Appendix to the latter which deserves notice. It contains a Chronological Table of the Muḥammadan rulers of Gauṛ, and a Historical Memorandum regarding them. The interest of the memorandum consists in the fact that it is, word for word, the same as that given by Buchanan, and which is printed in Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. II, 616–21. Even the spelling of the proper names is the same. For instance, in both, the name of the Hindū usurper, commonly called Rājā Kāns, appears as Gones, and he is described in both as Hākim of Dynwaj, with the parenthetical suggestion that he was perhaps a petty Hindū

chief of Dināj pur. So far as I can see, the only difference between Francklin and Buchanan is that Francklin ends with the word "province," whereas Buchanan adds the words, "as I shall afterwards have occasion to show." The Chronological Table too, given by Francklin, is, word for word, the same as that given in Appendix N., p. 28, of the 2nd Vol. of *Eastern India*. Even the heading and the memorandum at the foot are the same. The very mistakes are the same in both. For instance, in both, the Hindū king is called Rae Lukhmeesey, and the duration of his reign is given as eight years, though in the column of dates he is said to have reigned from 510–590, H. S. In Francklin's table the *eight* has been corrected into *eighty*, but this has been done in pencil, and apparently at some subsequent time. In order to clear the matter up I have referred to the Buchanan MSS. The account of the Muḥammadan rulers of Gauṛ is to be found there in the Dināj pur volume, I, pp. 72–83. It is headed, "Part 2nd. Muḥammadan Government," and is word for word as in Montgomery Martin. There is no reference to Buchanan having borrowed it from Francklin or from any one else. The Chronological Table is in the 2nd volume of the Dināj pur MSS., and is in the Appendix, pp. 2–10. It, too, is word for word the same as Francklin, except such insignificant changes, as putting the word "Memorandum" for Francklin's phrase "Conclusive remark." There is no reference to its having been obtained from Francklin, but there can be no doubt of the fact, for at the end of the Memorandum (in the Buchanan MS.) we have the words "True Copy," and the initials "W. F." in Francklin's own handwriting. It is clear then that Buchanan got the table from Francklin, and I have no doubt that he got the descriptive account also. But I do not suspect Buchanan of plagiarism. He was an honest man, and a friend of Francklin. They must have explored Gauṛ at about the same time, though I do not think that they visited it together; for in a note to his journal, Francklin remarks that after his return he was informed by his friend Dr. Francis Buchanan, that what he called 'black marble' was in reality hornblende. It is very likely that the circumstance of their being engaged in the same line of enquiry has led to the appearance of Francklin's papers in the Buchanan MS. Francklin tells us at the end of Section I, of his account of Gauṛ, that the historical memorandum "is translated from some MSS. materials procured through the kindness of Mr. Ellerton, of the factory at Goamalty, a gentleman who unites business with science and a love of the arts, and whose polite hospitality to us during our stay at his mansion entitles him to every consideration and thanks."

To the Table is appended, what is called, a "Conclusive remark," and which, with unimportant verbal differences, is the same as Buchanan's "Memorandum."

Francklin attests his Historical Memorandum as being a "True translation," but it is evident that it is not merely a translation from the Persian, but contains comments of his own, or of Mr. Ellerton's. The opening paragraph refers to "A manuscript account which I procured at Pandua;" but I do not feel sure who the *I* is. Ellerton lived at Goamalty in Gaur, but perhaps it was he who procured the MS. at Paṇḍuā. Or the *I* may refer to the Persian Munshī.[1]

Francklin also writes the words "True translation" at the end of his Chronological Table, though that is a compilation from various authorities, and is described by him, and also in Buchanan's *Eastern India*, II, App. N., p. 28, as "Selected from native historians." It may be however, that Ellerton's Munshī drew up the Table and that Francklin only translated it.

The point of the origin of the Historical Memorandum and of the Chronological Table is an interesting one, and I am unable to clear it up entirely. It is something to be able to trace it back to Gauṛ and to Mr. Ellerton. What I imagine to have occurred is that Ellerton got the Persian materials and made them over to Francklin, that Francklin translated them, and gave copies to his friends Ellerton and Buchanan, and that the latter by an oversight failed to note from whom he had received them. Though the Memorandum agrees pretty closely with the *Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn*, it differs from it about Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, or Ibrāhīm Shāh. The *Riyāz* makes him the Sulṭān of Jaunpur, but the Memorandum describes him as the grandfather of Ḥusain Shāh, and as having been put to death by Jalālu-d-dīn.[2]

[1] Francklin was an accomplished Persian scholar, but Buchanan was not, and so could not have made any direct use of a Persian MS.

[2] It may be noted for the benefit of future inquirers, that at the beginning of the Dināǰpur Volume I, of the Buchanan MSS., pp. 5–8, eight Arabic inscriptions from Paṇḍuā are given, including that on the Adīna Mosque, which gives the inexplicable date 707. The inscriptions are, I think, all known ones, and have been already published, but it may be worth while to examine transcripts which are now some 90 years old.

Three Documents relating to the History of Ladakh : Tibetan Text, Translation and Notes.—*By the late* Dr. Karl Marx, *Moravian Missionary at Leh, Ladakh.*

(Read January, 1894.)

Introductory remark by the Rev. Dr. Gustaf Dalman, of Leipzig, Germany.

Under the above title, in Vol. LX of this *Journal*, *ante*, p. 97–135, there was published only the first of those Three Documents, with an 'Introduction.' Dr. Karl Marx, my ever-lamented brother, who was born at Niesky, in Silesia, a province of Prussia, on January 9, 1857, and died on May 29, 1891, at Leh, was no more alive, when this first part of his paper came out. He left behind him a translation of what he called the B-MS. in his Introduction, beginning with king De-ldan-nam-gyal, and of the first part of C-MS. from the same point of the history. His intention was (*vide* Vol. LX, p. 100), in his next publication to commence with this De-ldan-nam-gyal, and to take for its basis 'the rest of B-MS. with such additions as may be derived from C-MS.' In a third publication he intended to give the second part of C-MS. For this last one, however, no translation has been found among his papers. I hope, the friends of the history of Ladakh will be thankful to get at least the translation from B-MS., designed for the second publication, together with some additions from the translation of the first part of C-MS., chosen by me as the present editor, who only feels too much that he cannot supply the place of the Author.

(Seng-ge-nam-gyal.) His sons were: De-ldan-nam-gyal, Indra-Bhodhi-nam-gyal, (and) De-ch'og-nam-gyal. (These) three were born.

(XXIII) *De-ldan-nam-gyal* was made king. Indra-Bhodhi-nam-gyal was admitted (to the brotherhood of Lamas) at Stag-na, by the Ch'os-je Mug-dzin, and came to be the most prominent amongst the disciples of Stag-(ts'ang) ras-(ch'en). At the time of the erection of the He-mi and T'eg-ch'og-(Lamaseries), he acted as superior (? super-

intended the building), and became the most excellent amongst the clericals who delight in the doctrine. He was made ruler of Gu-ge. To the youngest son De-ch'og-nam-gyal, Spi-ti and Zangs-kar were allotted as his portion; he ruled there. De-ldan-nam-gyal resided in Ru-t'og in summer, and in Ladakh in winter. He united under his sway (all the country) from Pu-rig to the Mar-yum pass. In memory of his father, he erected at Sheh an image of (Shākya-) T'ub-pa,[1] made of copper and gilt, three storeys high; also a Chorten, five storeys high, of which the thirteen wheels,[2] the canopy and the crowning-piece[3] were again made of copper and gilt. In memory of his mother he built at the head of the Te-war-gorge[4] a Ma-ñi-ring-mo,[5] at either end a Chorten, one of the Great-Jang-ch'ub-, the other of the Great-Nam-gyal-(type).[6] (Also) at Leh-palace he put up an image of Shākya-T'ub-pa out of copper and gilt, and two storeys high. As it had been customary with his father, so he likewise appointed permanently for Nub-ra, Zangs-k'ar, Bab-go, Ting-gang, and other places 108 Lamas each, who were to perform the 100 millions of O-mañi-padme-huṅ-incantations there once a year. Furthermore, for the sake of his own reputation with posterity he erected at Leh an image of Chan-ras-zigś out of copper and gilt, two storeys high, an assembly-hall, and a silver-Chorten two storeys high.

At that time, he appointed his minister Shākya-gya-ts'o Field-marshal. In the female Water-Ox-year the Ladakh army took the field. Many men and women of Kar-bu they carried away captive. He-na-ku and Stag-tse were reduced and brought into subjection. Next, Chig-dan and Sha-kar were taken (broken). Then he led his army on to Sod-pa-sa-ri; he took Sod-castle, and (also) gathered in the harvest of the fields. On his way back, he sent his army against Sum-ṭ'ang and conquered it, then attacked Kar-tse and again was victorious. He brought with him the chieftain (of that place) Ṭ'i-Sulṭān. In the male

1 Buddha. The image is still there, and the Chorten as well.

2 In Ladakh, wherever they are, there are always 13 of these wheels, but many Chortens are entirely without these. They are almost always red, and decrease in size from below upwards, so as to form a slender cone. In this case they are of copper and gilt. I believe their number is in some way connected with Shamanism. Radloff, in speaking of the Shamanists in Siberia, mentions (if I remember right, the book is not within my reach at present) 13 worlds, through which the man who strives to obtain perfection has to press upwards.

3 The top-ornament of the Chorten, like a large open flower (lotus), is called Zarrazag.

4 Gorge is half-way between Leh and the bridge. (Road to Tshushod.)

5 'Long Mañi,' in contradistinction from the 'round Mañi,' the Mañi driven by waters and others. This is the most conspicuous Mañi in the whole country.

6 There are eight types of Chortens. The Jang-ch'ub is distinguished by square-steps, the Nam-gyal by circular steps.

Wood-Tiger-year he marched against K'a-pu-lu and conquered Ch'or-bar and T'or-tse-k'ar. These districts he apportioned to He-tan-khān (and) Sulṭān-khān, these three (?). The chieftain of Skar-do and all the Baltis were unanimous in their complaints to the Nawāb (of these high-handed proceedings). (Consequently), an army of Turks numbering 200,000 men arrived at Pa-sa-ri, but the minister Ḍug-nam-gyal of Ladakh and the forces occupying (the castle) delivered a battle against the Turkish army and killed many Turks. They took away their flags and kettle-drums and (thus) carried off a complete victory over the enemy.

His son was (XXIV) *Lha-ch'en-de-legs-nam-gyal.*

At his time the Bhutān state and the Bod-pa had a dispute. Now, the (pope of) Bhutān was the patron-Lama of the king of Ladakh. (Hence), the latter sent a letter to Tibet, saying, that he was prepared to take up his quarrel. The Bod-pa carefully considered the matter: "Supposing," they said, "the king's succour should arrive here first, it would no doubt be in accordance with the king's name, a nice affair indeed. Would it not, therefore, be well to raise an army (here) first?" To this suggestion they all agreed.

There happened to be at that time at Ga-ldan-Lamasery a Lama, a Mongol, called Tsang. The calculations pointed out him (as the destined leader). He, accordingly, turned layman, and heading the Mongol tribe and a powerful army of Bod-pa he (soon) reached (Ladakh). At the commencement (of actual warfare) it came to an engagement at Zha-mar-ting.[1] In time, the Mongol army arrived at Bab-go. The king then stayed at Ting gang castle, whilst the Ladakh captain and a garrison held Bab-go castle. Although they succeeded in holding their own for three years, yet they were unable to drive the Mongol army back again. So the king of Ladakh despatched a messenger to the Nawwāb of Kashmir. (The desired object was obtained:) an immense army appeared on the scene. A battle ensued on the Ja-gyal plain near Bab-go. The Bod army was routed; they left behind them a large quantity of armour, bows, and arrows. Their rout continued until they reached Spe-t'ub. The Mongol army in their flight (eventually) reached Ṭa-shis-gang. There they built a fort, shut it in with a wall, and surrounded it with water. Into (the fort) soldiers were placed to occupy it.

Upon this, the De-pa-zhung,[2] apprehending that (now after all) the king of Ladakh might come and bring succour, and that thus (may be)

[1] Halfway between Ṭa-shis-gang and Garkun-sa (Walker's map).

[2] The name of the palace of the Dalai-Lama has usually the meaning of the 'Supreme Government.'

another war might ensue, desired the Ḍug-pa Omniscient (Mi-pa'm-wang-po) to go and negotiate for peace. In compliance with his injunctions the Ḍug-pa Omniscient (undertook the journey) and arrived at Ting-gang. Simultaneously some other messengers of the Bod-pa reached there as well. (The result of their deliberations was as follows:—)[1]

"The Bod-pa have come to consider that: whereas Tibet is a Buddhistic and Kāçmīr a non-Buddhistic country; and whereas Buddhistic and non-Buddhistic religions have nothing in common and are hostile to each other: (it follows, that) if at the frontier the king of Ladakh does not prosper, Bod also cannot enjoy prosperity." (This being so), the occurrences of the recent war should be considered things of the past." The king, (on the other hand), undertook in future to keep watch at the frontier of Buddhistic and non-Buddhistic (Faith), and out of regard for the doctrine of Sangs-gyas would not allow the army from India to proceed to an attack (upon Bod).—(As to) merchandize in demand in Kāçmīr (the following agreement was come to): the fine-wool of Nga-ris-skor-sum shall not be sold to any other country; that the price of fine and coarse wool mixed shall be fixed at eighty Nyag[2] to two Rupees, to be paid in both money and kind; that the Jang-(-t'ang) people shall not be allowed to use the Nyag of the people of the (Indus-) gorge; that it shall not be said of the wool of Jang (-t'ang) men that it contains soil, (or) stones, (or) moisture; also that to Ru-t'og itself none but the court-merchant[3] shall be admitted. Regarding the fine-wool-(trade): four Kāçmīrī merchants shall reside at Spe-t'ub and do the trading with the Kāçmīrīs of Kāçmīr; this shall be the only way by which it shall go to Kāçmīr. No Kāçmīrī of Kāçmīr shall be allowed to go to Jang-t'ang. Those Ladakh-Kāçmīrīs, who go to Jang-t'ang, shall not be allowed themselves to go down to Kāçmīr with loads of fine-wool. Regarding Nga-ris-skor-sum Mi-p'am-wang-po's stipulations were to this effect: it shall be set apart to meet the expenses of sacred lamps and prayers (offered) at Lha-sa, but at Menser the king shall be his own master, so that the kings of Ladakh may have wherewithal to pay for lamps and other sacrifices at the Kailāsa and the lake; it shall be his private domain. With this exception, the boundary shall be fixed at the Lha-ri stream at De-ch'og.—From Tibet the Government trader shall come with two-hundred loads of tea, and nowhere but by Ladakh shall rectangular tea-bricks be sent across the frontier. Should the Government trader fail to come every year, then the

1 The treaty is still in force to this day, only a few slight alterations in favour of Ladakh have been made.

2 12 Nyag = 1 Batti (4 lb.).

3 From Ladakh.

above stipulations shall no longer be binding. The king of Ladakh, (on the other hand,) shall send [once in three years] a Mission conveying presents to the clergy of Bod. As regards presents to ordinary Lamas the quality (and quantity) is not fixed, but to the La-brang steward [1] shall be given: 10 Zho [2] of gold, [3] 10 sḥang of scent, 6 pieces of calico, (and) 1 piece of soft cotton-cloth. (Again) throughout their sojourn (the members of the Mission) shall receive daily rations. For the road (shall be supplied:) (beasts of burden to carry) 200 loads, [4] 15 baggage ponies, and 10 riding-ponies; (and) three men to act as groom, cook, and servant; private ponies shall have fodder as much as they like, (also) for the steppe-districts: One large tent, (and) small tents for the leader, the head-cook (and) the treasurer, etc. The pony-loads shall be carried along by double stages, and further on, from district to district both going and coming. It also had been stipulated that with every Mission one of the three provinces should be made over (to Lha-sa), but the king entered a request with the De-pa-zhung that he, begging to disagree with Mi-p'am-wang-po's decision, would prefer to renounce his rights to the provinces entirely, if they would give to Mi-p'am-wang-po in the room of Ngāris-skor-sum three districts in Bod itself. Accordingly the De-pa-zhung made over to Mi-p'am-wang-po three villages." [5]

Then also the king of Ladakh had to send [his wife and children to Kāçmīr to stay there as hostages for three years], and along with them 18 piebald ponies, 18 pods of musk (and) 18 white yák-tails, whilst it was also settled, that the 500 bags of rice, being the revenue accruing to the king of Ladakh from his Jagīr Na-gu-shar should (regularly) every year be sent up from Kāçmīr.—This rice ceased to be sent since the Ladakh empire was overthrown by the Sikhs.—Other-

[1] An official of the Dalai Lama, see Koeppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, II, p. 334.

[2] 'Delicate pair of scales,' gold-weights.

[3] Manuscript C here inserts '10 rose-fruit-weights of gold,' *i. e.*, the weight of the red fruit of the ordinary *Rosa canina*.

[4] Now 260 loads.

[5] In Manuscript C there are 9 articles of this treaty. Article 1 is altogether wanting in Manuscript B —Articles 8 and 9 are slightly alterated. We therefore give them here. I. As in the beginning the king Skyid-lde-nyi-ma-gon (*vide* Vol. LX, p. 114) gave to each of his sons a separate kingdom, the same (delimitations) shall obtain now.—8. Ru-t'og, Gu-ge elī shall be annexed to Lha-sa in order (that from the revenue derived from these districts) the expenses of sacrificial lamps and (of the reading of) prayers may be defrayed.—9. Mon-ts'er (near the holy lakes,—not on Walker's map) shall remain a domain of the king himself, whereof he shall be sole lord (and master). The revenue (of Mon-ts'er district) shall (in part) be used to pay for sacrificial lamps at the Kailāsa and the Lakes.

wise prosperity was soon restored. The king indeed, in all his doings, had none to surpass him, and State and Church both made progress.

His sons were Lha-ch'en-nyi-ma-nam-gyal and Ngag-wang-nam-gyal, Wang-ch'ug-nam-gyal, Ga-ldan-nam-gyal; of these 5 (*sic*!) brothers (XXV) *Nyi-ma-nam-gyal* was made King. In accordance with the rule, to act on the principles as described in the biographies of the ancient Kings of the Faith, he lauded the virtuous and suppressed evil-doers, etc. In pronouncing judgment, also, he never merely followed his own desires, but (always) in the first place, consulted his state-officers. He appointed elders of superior intelligence from every village to assist him, and such as wanted his decision in rescripts, questions relating to field or house-(property) he did not leave at the mercy of interlopers or partial advisers, but having instituted (the councils of) state-officers and elders, he introduced the oath on the (three) symbols, (and defined the rule) that first the primary origin (of any dispute) must be traced, and then found out what verdict is to be given. This edict surpasses in excellence any of those that were passed by all the dynastic kings (of Tibet).—This same King of the Faith presented to all the Colleges in Bod, but especially to Lha-sa and Sam-yas, and similar Lamaseries, gold-water (and) sacrificial lamps. To all the great Lamas without distinction he made presents, whilst the brotherhoods were invited to Tea-generals. (Also) the Congregations that were under his own sway received honours without distinction. (He erected) images of the Lha, that he himself worshipped, out of gold and silver, (caused) holy books (to be written, and built) the Za-nang-Mañi-ring-mo.[1] Printing-blocks of Dharaṇī of different kinds, such as were used at the erection of the symbols of Body, Word, and Spirit, were engraved (*e.g.*), of the Jam-dud-zang-sum, Jam-yangs-stod-pa-gang-lo-mon-lam, Shes-ja-k'a-yings, Ser-od-yang-skyabs, Ka-gyur-ro-chog, and the blocks of the Le-dun. All these having been satisfactorily completed, he distributed sacred books amongst all the laity. He (also had) a Mañi-t'en-skor put up, made of gold, silver and copper. Again, amongst all the people there did occur neither strife, nor robbery, nor theft, it was a life passed in such happiness as that of a child with his fond mother.

After this when the king's wife had given birth to a son, Lha-ch'en-de-skyong-nam-gyal, she died. He afterwards married Zi-zi-k'a-t'un of Purig. She bore a son, Ṭa-shis--nam-gyal and a daughter Ṭa-shis-wang-mo; in all two children. Later on (XXVI) *De-skyong-nam-gyal* married Nyi-da-wang-mo of Lho-mon-dang,[2] and himself was appointed

[1] Near the Leh-bridge over the Indus. It is generally asserted that it was built by the Mongols, which is an error.

[2] A district in the south of Tibet proper, near Sikkim.

to the Government. A son, Sa-skyong-nam-gyal, having been born, (the two), on account of disagreement of temper, separated, and the queen returned to the South. Subsequently he married another wife, and a son, P'un-t'sogs-nam-gyal, was born. The state-officials, council of elders, and the people, having entered a petition that Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal should be ordained and become a Lama, or else reside at Ting-gang-palace, the father, Nyi-ma-nam-gyal (himself), turned King of the Faith. The prince De-skyong-nam-gyal's mother having died whilst he was yet an infant, Zi-zi-k'a-t'un took care of him; consequently, whatever his dear mother said, was all right and could not be refused. So by persuasion the queen-mother (obtained it from him, that) Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal was appointed to rule from Po'-t'ok-sa over all Pu-rig. From Ngul-dog palace at Mul-bhe he built [the bridge?] He married a daughter of the Stog-ka-lon, but had no children. Princess Ṭa-shis-wang-mo was taken by the king of Kiṣṭwār as his consort. Although (everyone) prayed not to give her away, because the language as well as the religion of the people of Hindūstān were different, yet (the queen) said: a child's rulers are father and mother, and would not listen, but gave her away. (Soon after, however,) the steward, Gha-p'el, amongst others of his servants, informed the father that she was not even allowed to see the light of day, upon which (the king) ordered him to bring the girl back by fair means or foul, and despatched an army. When the girl was being carried off, the king and queen of Kiṣṭwār, who were both very fond of her, said: "Let us also go to Ladakh." With the captain and a few attendants they got under weigh. But Zi-zi-k'a-t'un here (in Ladakh) gave secret orders to this effect: "If the king of Kiṣṭwār should arrive here, and not be killed in some clever way (beforehand), then it might injure my son Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal's rule (over Pu-rig)."—So without the knowledge of the authorities at Ladakh, a servant of the queen went (on his errand), and at a bridge on the frontier, between Kiṣṭwār and Paldar, the servant approaching the king in the manner of one who has a petition, threw the king into the water. The fatal rumour soon spread all over the country.

Although Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal and the elder son Sa-skyang ought to have been made Lords of the Palace, the younger brother P'un-ts'ogs-nam-gyal, through treachery of his mother, made him (Sa-skyang) Lama at Hemi. (XXVII) *P'un-ts'ogs-nam-gyal* reigned; but his uncle Ṭá-shis-nam-gyal tyrrannized the Kashmīr traders and his Ladakh subjects. From this resulted a quarrel as to who really had the power. Now this state of things was reported to the Dalai Lama, *viz.*, that a disturbance with the frontier king had arisen, and that this might be made an occasion for an Indian army to 'break out.' At that inden-

tical time, just when he was in contemplation as to whom amongst the Ḳar-gyud-pa Lamas he should give the order to act as peace-maker, it happened that the great Ka-tóg[1] Rig-dzin[2] Táe-wang-nor-bu arrived from Kamś on his way (to Nepāl), where he intended to exchange the Wood of Life on the great Chorten of Nepāl. The Gyalwa-Omniscient sent word to the Great Rig-dzin: "You should undertake to go and make peace in Ladakh". He, magnifying openly the word of the Gyalwa, promised to go to Ladakh. He arrived at Gar. There, following the suggestion of king Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal and his ministers, the Lord Chamberlain and the Lonpas from Zangskar and Ḍang-skar attended. They had been sent to meet the Saviour, the Great Rig-dzin. They explained to him the condition of Upper and Lower Ladakh. Thereupon he arrived with messengers of the two Gar-spon at Wamle Lamasery. There he and the king and ministers of Ladakh met. In time also the king and ministers of Purig arrived, and the proceedings began. They all agreed to the decisions and obligations imposed upon them by the Saviour, the Great Rig-dzin. The results arrived at through these deliberations were: "Whatever the number of sons born at Ladakh-Kár may be, the eldest only shall reign. The younger ones shall become Lamas at Spe-t'ub, Ṭis-tse, etc, but there shall be no two kings. The king of Zangs-kar, being (?) at the frontier against Hindūstān, shall remain king as before. The He-na-ku (rulers), obviously being of royal descent, and their kingdom of little importance, shall also remain as before. With these two exceptions it shall not be permitted that in one kingdom exist two kings." In accordance with these decisions the son (XXVIII) *Ts'e wang-nam-gyal* was elected king. P'un-ts'ogs-nam-gyal, mother and son equally divided the property in Le-k'ar and appropriated it. They afterwards resided at Ser-ṭ'i-k'ar (Bang-k'a). Sa-skyang entered at Hemi the order of the Rig-pa-dzin-pa and the queen Kun-zoru bore (him?) a son Skyab-gon-gyal-sḳas-mi-p'am-t'se-wang-ṭ'in-los. Clerical authority increased. Another son was born, and became very clever in medicine; he went to Lhasa. There (also) was a daughter. She was taken to Tibet as a wife of a Hor-k'ang-sar[3]. The king Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal, as long as he lived, remained ruler of Purig. Afterwards it was united with Ladakh.

By this settlement and agreement all the noblemen and the council of elders[4] and merchants first, but the whole empire as well, were ren-

[1] District in Tibet.

[2] Name of the order of married Lamas.

[3] Name of an important family at Lha-sa.

[4] The lowest grade of councillors to the king in Ladakh polity. The 'Council of Elders' consisted of about 3 or 4 persons of some standing and experience,

dered happy and contented. The princes were reconciled, and Lamas and Lords (? the highest Lords) went to Shal-k'ar.

At that time messengers of the Nawwāb of Kāçmīr arrived with the request, that the Abhit'ang should be cleared of water. On the occasion when the messengers had their audience, through a blessing, from one silver tea-pot tea was poured out to all the men who took part in the banquet. The messengers believed and went home.

After that, the great Rig-dzin deposited one copy of the settlement at Lel-k'ar, one at Mul-bhe-kar, one in Zangs-k'ar, and one in Hemis Lamasery, and thereupon he again returned to Bod.

Later on a wife was sought for Ts'e-wang-nam-gyal from Zang-la-k'ar.[1] About that time it happened that the Evil One entered the king's mind, and giving way to the influence of bad servants, he took a Bhemo[2] to his royal chambers. The Zang-la queen consequently returned to Zang-la and became the wife of the king of Zangs-k'ar. His doings were not as before, unusual and strange; and he had for 500 horses one groom each, and a lamp (at night) in grander style; the horses' feet and genitals, (?), etc., were paid much attention to. The princes, (nobles) and the people could not endure such doings (for long), and once when the king, through his royal prestige, made the taxes payable by the people three times (in one year), they dismissed the Stok-ka-lon[3] office and evicted the Bhemo. Then they asked Bhe-k'yim-wangmo of Sod[4] to become queen. She had three daughters and two sons. The name of the elder son was Lha-ch'en-mi-gyur-ts'e-stan-nam-gyal; of the younger one, Ts'e-pal-mi-gyur-don-ḍub-nam-gyal. The lesser queen K'a-t'un-ts'e-ring had one son, Jigs-med-nam-gyal. Then the king died. As the sons were yet minors, the Hemi-Sku-cho'g took counsel with the princes and the nobles, and asked on behalf of the prince (XXIX) *Ts'e-stan-nam-gyal* for a queen at Pal-k'yum-k'ar[5] in Purig. The prince Don-ḍub became Lama at Hemis. The son of K'a-t'un-ts'e-ring became Lama at Ṭ'i-tse. One daughter was given in marriage at Pal-k'yum-k'ar, another to Ka-lon-Ts'e-wang-don-ḍub, the

especially elected. The 2nd grade were the hereditary Lon-pos, also a small number, the 1st grade, the Ka-lons, likewise 4 or 5 only, and also hereditary.

1 In Zangsk'ar. Drew's map: Zang-la.

2 A woman of the lowest cast, Muhammadan, *masc.* Bhe-da. According to manuscript C she was from Tsang-ra (in Pu-rig).

3 Stok, village opposite Leh, south of the Indus The king of Ladakh usually resides at Stok, where he has a fine palace, which he keeps in excellent repair. To this palace the king seems to have taken the Bhe-mo, and the Ka-lon probably connived.

4 In Pu-rig.

5 Near Kargil.

third went and stayed as ? ?. Afterwards, when the king Ts'e-wang-(stan) nam-gyal was grown up, his personal appearance was like that of a Lha. He was diligent and obtained proficiency in Tibetan grammar and mathematics, Persian letters and speech, Kāçmīr speech, and other such languages.[1] In memory of his father he built the Kyin-mañi-ring-mo[2] with Chortens at either end of the great Nam-gyal and the Jang-ch'ub types. He also knew well how to govern. But in a neighbouring district some "defect" became apparent, and in consequence of want of merit in the people an epidemic of small-pox broke out, and he died in his 24th year at Kar-zu.[3] Then the Ḍug-pa Omniscient Kun-zigs-ch'os-kyi-ṅang-wa[4], being present at Hemi Lamasery, performed the funeral rites in grand style.

Thereupon (XXX) *Ts'e-pal-mi-gyur-don-ḍub-nam-gyal* of Hemi was induced to turn layman, and was invested with royal power, and administered his kingdom, after having in common with the former as wife the Pal-kyum lady. During Ts'e-stan-nam-gyal's lifetime one daughter was born. With this king a daughter Bhil-ch'ung, and a prince Ts'e-wang-rab-stan-nam-gyal were born. Through the activity of the Kalon T'se-wang-don-ḍub provinces and frontiers, everybody living in affluence, and works that were all and one on the side of virtue, enjoyed peace and happiness. Then, at one time, some deleterious influence took possession of the king's mind. All the servants in his presence were upstarts, and with them he took counsel. In the country many fields and houses 'went wrong.' In judgment also he regarded (the face of) riches and of men. The private servants in the palace also had to promise daily not to sleep at night. The king also did not sleep at night. He rose when the sun grew hot. In the morning when washing his hands, he required 413 buckets[5] (?) full of cold and hot

[1] Manuscript C adds: he was devout and knew well the duties of kings. Before the enemy he was fearless. His solicitude for the welfare of his people was (exceedingly) great. Between himself and another he saw no difference. As there, thus far, had been no principle regulating taxes and revenue, he (made a rule) that henceforth taxes should be raised only (in accordance with the income), measure for measure.

[2] Opposite Leh. At its foot is the Muhammadan grave-yard.

[3] Now the British Joint Commissioner's compound (at Leh).

[4] According to manuscript C king Ts'e-stan-nam-gyal in his lifetime had made him, when he came to Hemis, a present of 50 ponies, 50 yák-bulls and cows, 1,000 goats and sheep, 25 ingots of silver, 3,000 Nānak-Shāhī Rupees, 100 Zhos of gold one string of coral-beads, 15 pieces of brocade, 1 piece of red broadcloth, 1 piece of yellow (broadcloth), 25 pieces of calico, 25 pieces of silk taffeta (handkerchiefs ?), etc.

[5] According to manuscript C 12 or 13 basins.

water mixed to wash his hands. When he travelled about in the provinces, he went at night with lamps and torches (?). With the men of the old regime he could not agree. He took the Privy Seal from the Kalon to the palace. The king himself, and the head-men of villages, Lords, etc., all new-fashioned men, took counsel with each other. The noble families he did not attend to. The king of Zangs-k'ar and the Pu-rig Ka-lon he kept in prison. The new-fashioned servants that stood before him he made governors of the palace, and everywhere the old customs were destroyed.

At that time, having passed through Nyungti and Gar-zha, the Baṛā Ṣāḥib and the Chōṭā Ṣāḥib, with great wealth, came to Leh. They gave all sorts of rich presents to the noblemen of Ladakh and others. "We must see the king" they said, "what evil there is in Indians, one cannot know," was all that was said in reply, and an audience for consultation was refused for several months. At last they saw the king. They presented a pen-knife, scissors, a gun, and a variety of things, but the best were a pen-knife, scissors and a gun. They said: "We have come to see the way in which your ministers and people are 'carrying it on,' and your Majesty's wisdom, and as there is a likelihood of this country being conquered, if we built a tower (fort) here, it would prove useful to the king." The king and ministers, in considering the case, said: "If they build a fort, no one knows, what means of doing harm it may be," and did not allow them to build the fort. Then they gave him (the king) a letter in a box and said: "Accept this; it may cure the king's mind!" They stayed through both summer and winter and then departed. These were the first European Ṣāḥibs who came.

Thereupon the army of Nyung-ti invaded Spi-ti and after having destroyed the villages and carried away all the property, they returned home. They petitioned (the king) that he should wage a war of revenge, but he said: "You have not tried your best," and punished them.

Later on, the Nyung-ti and Gar-zha conspired against Zangs-k'ar, and laid waste Pal-dum-k'ar and the central districts. The symbols of Body, Word and Spirit they destroyed. Ponies and Yaks, whatever there was of mammon, they robbed, and again returned home. Later on, Paldar brought the Sher army of Ratanpas (?). From A-ring to Pa-dum every village they destroyed. Throughout Kar-sha and the central districts, on both sides of the river, they fought, and although afterwards a peace was made and they went back, yet the king said: "You Zangs-kar people have not tried your best," and punished them. One year later a Man-ḍe and Wa-ran army came and devastated Upper Zangs-k'ar up to Dung-ring. They burnt the villages with fire; what of wealth and cattle they got they carried back with them.

But he (the king) did neither see nor perceive, and he never asked whether they fared well or ill; he took interest in what concerned his own pocket only. At that time that treasure (?) (had increased so much) that it was beyond redressing. The king as a memorial for himself built the new palace of Stok. At the Kar-zru at Leh he built a palace and a K'a-t'un-bhan — — (?). The queen sent a messenger to Tibet to ask for a wife for her — (?) prince from there. He addressed himself to the Sde-pa at Lha-gya-ri. The same intended to make it her (his) residence, and therefore built at Leh the new palace above the Lamasery of Chan-ras-zigs. In the end, however, through some misfortune happening in Tibet, the Lha-ri girl could never be asked to come here. The king erected an image of his own patron deity, Ch'ag-na-ḍorje, in size like the king himself, made of timber of gold-willow up to the throat, that was of silver. He also erected a Chorten of silver, adorned with copper and gold and precious stones, one story high.

In the Water-tiger year (1782) he erected in the Upper Banquetting Hall an image of the Guru Padma-od-bar, made of 13 maunds of silver. In Shel he erected a Ts'e-pag-med, out of 7 maunds of silver. At Stok palace he erected an image of the queen White Ḍolma Kar (?) out of 9 maunds of silver.

Then after a while in the Wood-ox year (1805) the Master of Perfect Insight, Yang-dzin-nga-pa, realized that the prince was an incarnation of the Hemi Sku-ch'og Bhil-wa dorje, [or: the Yang-dzin-nga-pa, said, "that the prince was etc."; after having obtained perfect insight he cared only for himself] he then stayed at both Hemi and T'eg-ch'og. Having thus become so important a personage, he found it difficult to obey father and mother. The queen travelled in Nubra, Purig and Ladakh, never remaining at one and the same place. She also asked the prince to join her and took him with her. 'It is for the prince's amusement,' she said, and they passed their time, both day and night, with dancing and singing. What the king said, he did not account for much, but he listened to what the queen's own steward, Sod-nam-wang-ch'ug, told him. The prince Ch'og-sḳul took their part.

The king and ministers and others for some time had attempted to induce him for the sake of the dynasty to marry, but he would not. He replied: "I have to be at Hemi," and would not relent. But as there was no other son, the king, minister, lords, council of elders, and the steward of the twin (reciprocal) Lamaseries, Dub-ch'en-a-tsar, and others, making intercession, and in order to preserve the dynasty, he (consented and) married the younger daughter of the Ka-lan T'se-wang-don-ḍub, Skal-zang-ḍol-ma by name. Before one year had elapsed

the princess conceived. He afterwards married yet another lady, the T'sun-mo Pal-Kyid of Pal-kyum, and yet a third, Zora-k'a-t'un. It was in the Water-horse year (1822) that he took these three wives, and it was in the same Water-horse year also, that the king of Jammū's, Gulāb Singh's Wazīr, Zōrāwar, with some Ra-ya-si-yi, arrived in Kar-t'se. The Ladakh captain and army were sent. At Kar-tse they met and three engagements ensued, in which many sipoys were killed. Immediately a report was sent in (giving an account) of how matters stood, but the king and dowager-queen only replied: "If you don't do your best, you will be censured!" (or: If you do your best, you will not be censured!) kind words they gave none ("We will be gracious," they could not prevail upon themselves to say). Now as there was much snow in Pu-rig, and the Indians not accustomed to the cold, the Wazīr changed his mind and sent a messenger to the captain to say: "If you will give to the Mahārāja Gulāb Singh a present of about 10,000 Rupees, we will make peace and go back." Upon this the Ladakh Lon-po and captain of the army took council and they sent in a petition worded thus: "If the king should be kind enough to give this money, then his kindness really would betray true solicitude for his people. If not, then truly every one of the soldiers, as so many chickens (?) are assembled here, and stand praying before him (? and beg) that peace be made." The king also received (this message) graciously. He gave command that the sum should be paid from the Ka-wa-chu-pa treasury; but the queen's influence being the greater (the queen's counsel prevailing over his), it was impossible. He instead sent a rescript saying: "We do not see fit to give the money, and unless you bring Zōrāwar's head, neither head, nor life, nor fields, houses, property, or food will be left to you!" (When) the captains and soldiers (heard this message), their courage fell (heart failed them). Although they continued to fight, yet it was only a half-hearted sort of business. The captains also did no longer agree. When the next engagement came off, the Ya-ra-?-nu with 500 sipoys attacked the right wing of the Ladakh army. On the left wing the Ladakh men felt dejected and did not stir. A surprise force suddenly appeared on the scene and broke into their ranks. So the soldiers of all fled in confusion. The Stok Ka-lon, 18 years of age, who was at the head of the army, was shot by an unlooked-for arrow and died. The other head-captain Gyur-med and the Lonpo of Nubra survived. Now also the Leh-Lonpo Ngos-ḍub-stan-dzin, who commanded the right wing, gave way. After this, those of the nobility who had formerly been kept in prison by the king turned traitors. Showing the Wazīr the way they reached Basgo. The king also went there and they met. Although the Wazīr made it conditional

that 20 horsemen should come into Leh, yet altogether, though singly, about a hundred came. Having stayed there for seven days, during which time he also met the prince Ch'og-sḳul, they came to a mutual agreement, that to the Government the money should be paid as a present. Then they returned.

But the queen and the Bang-ka-pa (again played him foul) and did not pay the money. Their plan was to send an army in his rear, whilst he was still on his way back. But the Wazīr heard of this treachery. By way of Rang-dum, Zangs-k'ar, and Gya he (suddenly) returned. The prince and queen fled, they passed through Ḍang-ts'e. The greater queen, having just been delivered of a son, was left behind in Shel-k'ar, but the two lesser queens went with the prince. By way of Wam-le they safely reached Spi-ti.

Abstract of the Contents of one of the Āhōm Puthis, By E. A. Gait, C. S.

Although, it is well known that the Āhōms, the Shān invaders of Assam, who obtained a foothold in the eastern extremity of the Brāhmaputra valley about the beginning of the 13th century, brought with them from the valley of the Irawadi a written character [1] and a literature of their own, very little has hitherto been done in the direction of examining their records, or of obtaining an insight into their traditions. This is the more to be regretted in that the language, as a spoken one, has practically disappeared, and the knowledge of it is now confined to a few families of Dēōdhāīs (priests) and Bāilongs (astrologers), who still retain a lingering belief in the form of worship which was professed by their race before they fell under the influence of Çākta priests, and abandoned their national language and religion for that of the Hindūs whom they had subjugated. [2] An examination of their historical writings is said to have been made by the late Kāçīnāth Tāmulī Phukan, in connection with the Assam history, or *Buranji*, which was published in 1844 at the Baptist Mission Press, Sibsāgar, under the auspices of Purandar Singh, the last of the Āhōm Rājas, but none of the purely social or religious writings have, so far as I am aware, ever been noticed.

These writings, or *puthis*, are all inscribed on oblong strips of

[1] The character is derived from the Pālī, and is said by Forbes to resemble the Mōn rather than the Cambodian type.

[2] For the past twenty years even these sections of the Āhōms have been taking Gōsāīns, the alleged reason being that all their countrymen have become orthodox Hindūs, and refuse to associate with them unless they also conform outwardly to the same religion. But they assert that their faith in Indra remains as strong as ever, and that they still make him offerings of ducks, goats, fowls, &c. Any educated person was capable of becoming a *báilong*, but the office of *Dēōdhāī* was hereditary. In the days of Āhōm rule, the heads of the *dēōdhāīs* were sacred, and they were exempted from the liability to pay revenue. Some of them still possess small *nisfkhirāj* estates. They are still called in to tell omens, but for no other purpose.

Sācī bark,[1] which are written over on both sides, and are protected at the ends by somewhat thicker strips of the same material. They are very carefully preserved, wrapped up in pieces of cloth, and every family of the two sections mentioned above, is in possession of a certain number, which are handed down from father to son. The labour of preparing the bark and of inscribing the writing is considerable, and apart from this, much greater value is attached to an old *puthi* than to a new copy of it. New copies were therefore very seldom made, and in any case, it is very many years since the copies in possession of the modern representatives of the old priests and astrologers were prepared. I saw a number of these *puthis* recently when in Sibsāgar; some of them were black with age, and the characters had in places almost disappeared. The owners set great store by them, and my efforts to become the purchaser of one of them were altogether fruitless. But although they will not sell them, they are quite ready to communicate their contents. My time was limited, and I was only able to make a few rough notes of two. The first described Cukāphā's invasion of Assam, about 1228 A.D., and agreed in the main with the account given in Kāçīnāth's *buranji*; the second dealt with the creation, and a short notice of the order of events, as there narrated, is reproduced below.

[1] The *Sācī* tree is the same as that known in Bengal as *Agar* (Aquilaria Agallocha), the Aloes wood of the Bible, from which are obtained the perfumed chips which are so largely exported from Sylhet for use as incense in temples, &c. Although its bark was widely used as a writing material throughout Assam, prior to the introduction of paper, its employment as such seems to have escaped notice. The following description of the manner of preparing the bark for this purpose. for which I am indebted to Bābū Phani Dhar Chaliha, of Sibsāgar, may therefore be found interesting. A tree is selected of about 15 or 16 years' growth and 30 to 35 inches in girth, measured about 4 feet from the ground. From this the bark is removed in strips, from 6 to 18 feet long, and from 3 to 27 inches in breadth. These strips are rolled up separately with the inner or white part of the bark outwards, and the outer or green part inside, and are dried in the sun for several days. They are then rubbed by hand on a board, or some other hard substance, so as to facilitate the removal of the outer or scaly portion of the bark. After this, they are exposed to the dew for one night, and next morning the outer layer of the bark (নিকরি) is carefully removed, and the bark proper is cut into pieces of a convenient size, 9 to 27 inches long and 3 to 18 inches broad. These are put into cold water for about an hour and the alkali is extracted, after which the surface is scraped smooth with a knife. They are then dried in the sun for half an hour, and when perfectly dry are rubbed with a piece of burnt brick. A paste prepared from *mātīmāh* (Phaseolus aconitifolius) is next rubbed in, and the bark is dyed yellow by means of yellow arsenic. This is followed again by sun-drying, after which the strips are rubbed as smooth as marble. The process is now complete, and the strips are ready for use.

I hope in time to be able to give a similar account of some of the folk-lore locked up in other *puthis.* Some educated Assamese gentlemen in Sibsāgar are taking a tardy, but none the less welcome, interest in these relics of a bygone age, and it is to be hoped that their efforts will culminate in some tangible result. As a preparatory step, a register is being prepared, showing the *puthis* in the possession of each family, with a short abstract of the subjects dealt with. When this register has been completed, it will be possible to take steps to procure more detailed information regarding the contents of each *puthi.*

The Āhōm Story of the Flood.

Once upon a time, there was intense heat from the sun, which dried up all the water on the face of the earth, so that many people died of thirst. At length the intense heat caused the earth to crack, and an immense volume of boiling water flowed out and killed all remaining living things, except an old man named Thāolīpling, and a cow, who were in a boat made of stone. As the waters rose, this boat was carried by the flood to the summit of a high mountain, the name of which is Ibā, which lies far away to the North-East. The old man and the cow stayed on this mountain, while the water gradually subsided, leaving the bodies of the dead men and animals to decay. From them, such an evil smell arose, that it reached the abode of the Gods, who sent fire down from heaven to burn them. The heat caused by the conflagration was so intense, that the old man, being unable to endure it, killed the cow and took refuge inside its body. There he found the seed of a pumpkin. When the fire had died away, he planted this seed, and a tree grew up which threw out four branches in the direction of the four points of the compass. The northern branch was killed by the cold, the southern branch fell into the fire and died, the western branch was destroyed by the remains of the flood, and only the eastern branch remained. This branch grew and flourished exceedingly, and at last produced a giant gourd, inside of which were men, and every kind of animal, bird and fish, and every kind of plant. The living creatures tried hard to get out, and at length their cries and struggles reached the ears of Indra, who sent a messenger, named Pānthoi, to ascertain what was inside the gourd. Pānthoi went and listened, and heard the cries of men, cattle, elephants, and all sorts of animals. He returned and reported this to Indra, who sent his eldest son Āiphālān to break open the gourd with a flash of lighting. Āiphālān descended to earth to carry out his father's instructions, and at first aimed at the point of the gourd where the men were. The men however implored him to aim elsewhere, and entreated him not to destroy them, saying that if

they were only allowed to live and to escape from the gourd, they would settle down and cultivate. Āiphālān then aimed at the place where the cattle were, but they likewise begged to be spared, saying that they would be required by the men for ploughing. Indra's son again changed the direction of his aim, but was again met by entreaties to discharge his fiery missile at some other part of the gourd. At last, the old man Thāolīpling, who was sitting at the point where the flower had died off from the gourd, offered to sacrifice himself for the men if they agreed first to feed him, and promised to worship him ever afterwards. This they did, and Āiphālān thereupon discharged the lightning towards the part of the gourd on which the old man was sitting. Thāolīpling was killed, but the gourd was split open and everything inside it escaped. Āiphālān then taught the men different occupations. He also taught the birds how to build their nests, and the other animals how to support themselves.

Thāolīpling is still worshipped by the Dēōdhāīs, who make him offerings of sweets, grain, &c. Indra is their main and supreme God, but this does not prevent their also doing homage to the man, but for whose act of self abnegation the gourd might have remained unbroken until the present day.

Guru Gōbind Siŋgh and Bandah.—By Wm. Irvine, C. S. (retired).

The following paper, dealing with an episode in the history of the Later Mogul Empire, is an extract from a longer work which has been planned to cover the period from 1707, the year of 'Ālamgīr Auraŋgzīb's death, to 1803, the year in which Lord Lake occupied Dihlī. For the most part this work will be based directly on manuscript authorities in the Persian language. The special points in the following passages are:—(1) An attempt to get rid of the fable mixed up with the Sikh legends, and to work the residue of fact into some sort of historical order; (2) to clear the story, as far as possible, from numerous discrepancies and obscurities of place and date; (3) the introduction of new matter from contemporary Muhammadan sources; (4) new first-hand evidence for the date of Gōbind Siŋgh's death; and lastly (5) the identification of the places referred to in the course of the narrative.

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19. *Shamsher-i-Khālṣah*, by Gyān Singh, Gyānī, and Bābū Rāj Indar Singh. (Urdū) 4to. Litho., Siālkoṭ, 1891.

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21. *Dānishmand Khān.*—Bahādur Shāh Nāmah, by Dānishmand Khān, 'Ālī (1122 H.). B. M., Or. 24, and my copy. See also Elliot, VII, 568.
22. *Anonymous Fragment of a "Farrukhsīyar Nāmah"* (*c.* 1131 H.).—My copy. [I find on further comparison and study that this is a portion of Mḥd. Iḥsān Ījād's History, of which another fragment is in the B. M., Or., 25.]
23. *Mīrzā Mḥd.*—A memoir or *Tazkirah* (called in some places *'Ibrat-nāmah*), by Mīrzā Muḥammad, Ḥāriṣī, (1133 H.). My copy, and India Office, No. 50.
24. *Qāsim.*—*'Ibratnāmah*, by Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhōrī (*c.* 1133 H.). My copy, and I. O. Library, No. 194, [also in B. M.]. See also Elliot, VII, 569.
25. *Fatūḥāt Nāmah-i-Ṣamadī*, by Ghulām Muḥīu-d-dīn (composed 1135 H.) B. M., Or., 1870.
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of Mḥd. Shāh) [Also in Library R. Asiatic Society (to 7th year of Mḥd. Shāh), and I. O. Library (only to second year of Mḥd. Shāh.) There is no copy of the second vol. in the B. M.] See also Elliot, VIII, 17.

27. *Wārid.*—Mirāt-i-Wāridāt, by Mḥd. Shafī', Wārid, (up to 1147 H.). B. M. 6579. See also Elliot, VIII, 21.
28. *Rustam 'Alī.*—Tārīkh-i-Hindī, by Rustam 'Alī, Shāhābādī (1149. H.). B. M., Or., 1628. See also Elliot, VIII, 40.
29. *Yaḥyā Khān.*—Taẕkiratu-l-Mulūk, by Yaḥyā Khān, Mīr Munshī, (1149 H.). I. O. Lib., 1149 (Ethe No. 409).
30. *Khushāl Cand.*—Nādiru-z-Zamānī (after 1161 H.). B. M. Additional, 24,027. See also Elliot, VIII, 70.
31. *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, by Mīrzā Muḥammad, Hāriṣī (author of No. 23), (*c.* 1163 H.). B. M., Or., 1824, and my copy.
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Bahādur Shāh (1707–1712)

Guru Gōbind Siygh (1675–1708).

We come now to our more particular subject, the life and doings of Guru Gōbind, and the events which followed on his death. Gōbind, the son of the ninth Guru, Tēgh Bahādur, was, we are told,[1] born at Paṭnā in Bihār, during his father's temporary exile from the Panjāb, and at his father's death was fifteen years of age. Adopting the usual chronology, the death of Tēgh Bahādur having taken place in 1675, the birth of Gōbind must be placed in 1660 A. D.[2] We are told that he remained in obscurity for twenty years. About 1695, then, when he was some thirty-five years of age, he took the field against constituted

[1] Sakhī Book, 2, 169.

[2] J. D. Cunningham, 81, says he was born in Pōh, 1718 S. (November 1661); Mu'īnu-d-dīn, Butā Shāh, on the authority of one Shaṇkar Jyōtishī, has Sunday, Māgh 13th, 1718 S. (January or February 1662). Again, in the "Sakhee Book," 37, it is given as a prophecy that Gōbind would die at the age of forty-three years. Assuming, as we may safely do, that such a prophecy was made after the event, a belief is raised that Gōbind may have been born in 1665 A. D., his death having taken place in 1708. This would in a great measure dispose of the discrepancy in Dr. Trumpp's chronology (*Ādī-granth*, introduction, lxxxviii and lxxxix).

authority.[1] His first campaign was made as the ally of one hill rājā, Bhīm Cand, Rājā of Nādōn, against another, the Rājā of Jammū, who had been incited by Miyān Khān, Mughal, to make an attack on his neighbour.[2] Where the interval of twenty years, between 1675 and 1695, was passed, we cannot say with any certainty. In one place,[3] we hear of his leaving a village called Pāotah, just before he fought the Muhammadans. This village, where there is now a Sikh temple, lies close to the west or right bank of the Jamunā, in the Kiyārdā *dūn*, or valley, which is now part of the hill state of Sirmūr or Nāhan[4]. From after events, such as the building of a Sikh fort on the outer hills in Nāhan territory, and the vengeance taken by Bahādur Shāh on the Nāhan rājā, we may infer some close connection between Gōbind and the ruler of that state. His period of obscurity, in which he is said to have occupied himself with hunting, shooting, and the chase, may have been spent in the Kiyārdā *dūn*, or the adjoining hills.[5]

An early adventure was his pursuit by the Muhammadans.[6] He fled to a jungle called Nārāyanpur, thence he took refuge in a grove at Manī Mājrā.[7] His next assailants were the hill rājās, the original ground of quarrel being obscure.[8] Probably its chief cause was the natural hostility of the Rājpūt ruler and his Brāhman counsellor to the head of a heterodox sect. Gōbind's baggage appears to have been plundered.[9] In at least one battle Gōbind won the day and triumphed over the Hindūr, Kahlūr, and Nāhan leaders.[10]

1 Browne's dates (p. 4) are quite different. He makes Gōbind a posthumous child, and places his first outbreak in 1114 H. (1704), when he was twenty years of age. In that case, he must have been born in 1684.

2 Malcolm, 58.

3 Sakhī Book, 41.

4 J. D. Cunningham, 74, and Indian Atlas, sheet No. 48.

5 See also the quotation from the *Vicitra Nātak*, in Malcolm, 55, where Gōbind says he went, on his father's death, to the Kālīādī, or Jamunā river.

6 Sakhī Book, 41.

7 Perhaps the Nārāyangaṛh, about 18 m. N. E. of Ambālā: Manī Mājrā is about 22 m. N. of the same place.

8 McGregor, I, 80, attributes it to an attempt by the Rājās to appropriate some valuable presents—an elephant, a horse, a tent, a sword, and a hawk—that had been sent to Gōbind Siŋgh.

9 Sakhī Book, 46.

10 Cunningham, 75, says his first contest was with Nāhan, aided by the Rājā of Hindūr. Gōbind was victorious, and he killed Hari Cand, of Nālāgaṛh (capital of Hindūr, see Thornton, 681) with his own hand. This is the same story as in Malcolm, 55, and note. Hindūr and Kahlūr are hill states, lying just north of Ānandpur, the Sikh Guru settlement on the bend made by the Satlaj, just as it enters the plains.

We hear next[1] of an expedition against Gōbind, commanded by Saida Bēg, but we cannot fix the year. The traditions state that the commander was won over to the Guru's side, while the next in command, Ramẓān Bēg, was killed. The Muhammadans, who had been encamped at Thānēsar, then moved towards Sirhind. The next day their baggage was plundered by the Sikhs during the march to Shams-ābād. The Muhammadans returned to Dihlī.[2]

The hill rājās were still hostile,[3] and Rājās Bhīm Cand, Madan Pāl, Bīr Siŋgh and others combined with Dīnā Bēg, Mughal, to attack the Guru. In the ensuing battle the Sikhs were victorious, and they pursued the Muhammadans as far as the village Khiḍarābād, plundering them as they fled. On another occasion,[4] however, they were less successful. The Guru was besieged in Ānandpur[5] by all the hill rājās. The siege lasted for fifteen days, and the extremity was so great that Gōbind threw all his treasures into the Satlaj, and his followers began to die of starvation. Pammā, the minister of Rājā Bhīm, was sent to negotiate, and as the Sikh story goes, lulled the Guru into fancied security by pretending to become a disciple. His real object was to gain time for the arrival of the Muhammadans, for whom he had sent.[6]

Apparently there was now a combined attack by the hill rājās and the Muhammadans commanded by a Khwājah.[7] Terms of some sort were made with the rājās, after which the Guru, with two wives and forty followers, fled into the Mālwā, or country south and east of the Satlaj. The Muhammadans attacked him again near the village of Ghanaulā, in the Ambālā district. One follower, Udē Siŋgh, who

[1] Sakhī Book, 59.

[2] Malcolm, 59, 60, names Dilāwar Khān and Rustam Khān as commanders of expeditions sent against Gōbind Siŋgh. Thānēsar is 28 m. S. of Ambālā, and Sirhind 28 m. N.-W. of the same place.

[3] Sakhī Book, 71.

[4] *Idem*, 73.

[5] In the Kōhlūr State, in a bend of the Satlaj (Thornton, 34). The town was founded by Tēgh Bahādur, Gōbind's father. Makhavāl and Kīratpur, the homes of previous Gurus, are not far off.

[6] Sakhī Book, 77. Cunningham, 75, says "He (Gōbind) became the ally of Bhīm Cand of Kahlūr, then in rebellion against the imperial authorities at Kōṭ Kākūngrā," or perhaps this refers to an earlier event.

[7] Sakhī Book, 98. McGregor, I, 85, says that Zabardast Khān, Subahdār of Lāhōr, and Shams Khān, of Sirhind, were the Muhammadan commanders. The hill rājās had asked 'Ālamgīr for aid. The siege of Makhavāl (*i. e.*, Ānandpur) lasted seven months. Malcolm, 66, gives the names of the leaders as Khwājah Muḥammad and Nāhar Khān.

resembled the Guru in features, placed himself in the front of the fight and fought on till he was killed, allowing Gōbind Siŋgh time to escape. After plundering the Sikh camp, which was near Rūpar on the Satlaj, the Muhammadans made diligent search for the Guru, of whose escape they now heard. Gōbind fled into the forest, and his wives received shelter in the house of a secret adherent. Next day the Guru reached Chamkaur, a place lower down the Satlaj than Rūpar.[1] He was then alone. The pursuit continuing, he went on with two disciples, who now joined him, and they walked southwards for fifteen miles. He halted to rest at Machīvārā, a town with a ferry over the Satlaj, twenty-two miles east of Lūdhiānā. Disguised as a Muhammadan, he gave himself out as a Hājī, or pilgrim from the Arabian holy places, and in this character received assistance from some Paṭhāns. His flight was then continued on a horse brought to him by a disciple, and he was lost sight of for three months.[2] At length a man of village Kangir, in the Fīrūzpūr district, found him and took him to his house.[3] Gōbind lived there a year, and afterwards passed nearly three years at Damdamā, where he composed his *Granth*, known as "The Book of the Tenth King."[4]

At the time of Gōbind's investment in Makhavāl-Ānandpur, he sent away his mother, Gujarī, and his two sons, Fatḥ Siŋgh and Zorāwar Siŋgh.[5] They took shelter in the town of Sirhind; or as one account says,[6] they were captured by a force sent out by Wazīr Khān, the

[1] Seven miles S.-W. of Rūpar (Thornton, 215). Cunningham, 76, and Malcolm 65, say that there was a siege at Chamkaur, and that two sons, Ajīt Siŋgh and Jajārh Siŋgh, were killed there.

[2] Cunningham, 77, gives Bahlōlpur as one stage in the flight, and the final refuge was, he says, in the wastes of Bhatindā (about 60 m. S.-E. of Fīrūzpūr, and 120 m. S.-W. of Rūpar; it has now a railway station.) He adds that the Sikhs place these events in 1705-6. McGregor, 1, 87, has 'Belalpore.' Thence Gōbind went to Machīvārā (91), thence to Kanījā, three miles from Lūdhiānā (92), then to Jālpurā, ten miles from Rāy Kōṭ (92). His followers now assembled, and he went to Kōṭ Kapurā (92), then to Muktsar (93). The Muhammadans followed and Gōbind defeated them. Being unable to obtain water, they were forced to retreat.

[3] Sakhī Book, 103.

[4] E. Trumpp, xcii, Damdamā, a residence built by the Guru in a village of the Mālwā country. Cunningham, 77, says it is half-way between Hānsī and Fīrūzpūr. The "*Fīrūzpūr Gazetteer*" (Lahore, 1883-4), p. 41, describes it as "the breathing place, at which Guru Gōbind halted in his flight from Bhatindā before the battle of Muktsar." A *mēlā* or fair is held there. Malcolm, 186, note, quoting a Sikh author, not named, states that the *Granth* above referred to was completed on the 8th Bhādwan 1753 S. (August 1696, A. D).

[5] Browne, 6, 7 who says, that the boys were aged six and five years Malcolm, 65. McGregor, I, 86, Sakhī Book, 102.

[6] Browne, 6.

faujdār of Sirhind, under the command of Khizr Khān, Mālner, and his own Bakhshī or chief officer. At first, Wazīr Khān is said to have treated the prisoners with kindness. But, at the suggestion of his chief subordinate, Saj Ānand, Brāhman, who frightened him by a picture of the Emperor's possible displeasure at his mildness, he resolved to put them to death. He asked Khizr Khān to do the deed, but he refused with scorn to undertake an executioner's work. One Karakcī Bēg, Mughal, accepted the office, and although the children clung round their grandmother's neck, he tore them away and cut their throats in the poor woman's presence.[1] Overcome with grief and horror, she fell down and expired on the spot.[2]

The Muhammadan authors assert[3] that Guru Gōbind now sent in petitions to 'Ālamgīr, offering to make his submission, coupled with a promise to accept Islām. If this is true, no prospect could be more pleasing to such a bigot as that emperor: and, as we are told, a confidential messenger, or mace-bearer, was sent to bring the suppliant to the Court. The messenger produced Gōbind Siŋgh, in the first instance, before Mun'īm Khān, then *Nāẓim* or governor of Lāhōr, and *Dīwān*, or chief revenue officer, to Prince Mu'aẓẓam (afterwards, as emperor, known as Bahādur Shāh). Gōbind Siŋgh was forwarded by the governor to the Dakhin. On the way the party heard of 'Ālamgīr's death, which took place at Aḥmadnagar, in the Dakhin, on the 28th Ẕūl Ka'dh, 1118 (2nd March 1707); and Gōbind, believing his star was again in the ascendant, turned his face and hastened back to Hindūstān. The story, as it stands, with these details, is not quite credible. Was Gōbind Siŋgh at all likely to surrender? If in the custody of a Muhammadan mace-bearer, would he be allowed to return home, at his own pleasure, because 'Ālamgīr was dead? All we can say is that there may be some foundation for the story.

Of the next part of Gōbind's life we know a little, though not very much, more than of that which had gone before. Dr. Trumpp[4] seems to look on the evidence for the following facts as slightly doubtful; but I think there is partial confirmation of them from the official history of Bahādur Shāh's reign, compiled at the time. It seems certain that Gōbind Siŋgh joined Bahādur Shāh at some point, when that prince was on his

[1] Browne, 8, and Sakhī Book, 102.

[2] One version is that they were built-up alive in a wall (McGregor, I, 86), Wārid, fol. 29, says that the mother, wife, two sons, and one daughter of the Guru were captured. The two sons and the daughter were subjected to indignities, paraded in derision, and then executed.

[3] Wārid, fol. 116, b.

[4] Ādīgranth, xciii.

march down country from Lāhōr to Āgrā, to contest the throne with his brother, A'ẓām Shāh. Gōbind Siŋgh must have received some rank but what it was is not stated by the Muhammadans. A *manṣab* of 5,000, as stated by the Sikhs, is preposterous, the greatest leaders, at the head of thousands of soldiers, having no higher rank, whereas Gōbind Siŋgh is reported as having no more than two or three hundred men.[1] In the same way the Sikhs make the battle, fought at Jājau, between Āgrā and Dhōlpur, on the 18th Rabī' I, 1119 (18th June, 1707), to be won solely by the marvellous feats of Gōbind Siŋgh and his Sikhs. This is absurd, and may be summarily rejected. But there is, I think, evidence that Gōbind Siŋgh was in the Emperor's army at Āgrā immediately after the battle. I think that he is to be identified in the entry of the *Bahādur Shāh Nāmah*[2] of the 4th Jamādi I, 1119 (2nd August 1707), when "a jewelled scarf was presented to Gōbind Siŋgh."

The same doubt surrounds the place and time of Gōbind Siŋgh's death. The Sikhs assign it to Nādēr, on the Gōdāvarī, where they have a shrine called Acalnagar, or the Immovable City.[3] I think that this tradition must be accepted as historically correct, and the time of death must be taken as November 1708.[4] Bahādur Shāh was then on his march from Burhānpur to Ḥaidarābād, as already related, and the Guru was in his train. The tradition says that Gōbind Siŋgh's death happened on the fifth day of some lunar month.[5] Now, in the *Bahādur Shāh Nāmah*, on the 5th Ramẓān, 1120 (17th November 1708) we find that a report was made to the Emperor "as to the disposal of the movable property left by Guru Gōbind Nānak.[6] It was of considerable value, and according to rule ought to be confiscated. The Emperor, with the remark that he was not in want of the goods of a *Darvesh*, ordered the whole to be relinquished to the heirs." The death might have just occurred; at any rate, it must have happened quite recently. Unfortunately, Dānishmand Khān, in his contempt for all narrative, tells us nothing of the mode of death. One Ajīt (or Ajīb) Siŋgh, who passed as the Guru's son, was brought to the Emperor, was invested with a robe of honour, and taken into the Imperial service.[7]

[1] Khāfī Khān, II, 652.

[2] Dānishmand Khān, fol. 18.

[3] E. Trumpp, *Ādigrānth*, xcvi.

[4] McGregor, I, 100, says Sāwan 1765 S., which would be July 1708. Cunningham, 81, note, has "towards the end of 1708," and Mu'īnu-d-dīn fixes it on Kātik, Sudi 5th, 1765 S. (November 1708).

[5] Sakhī Book, 200.

[6] As to the use of the name *Nānak* by each Guru, see Cunningham, 57.

[7] Mīrzā Mḥd. This Ajīt Siŋgh was apparently an adopted son (Rāe Chatarman's *Chahār Gulshan*, my copy, fol. 143.) He was executed at Dihlī in 1137 H. (*Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*).

There are several accounts of Guru Gōbind Siŋgh's death, but the two more usually received agree in stating that it was a death by violence.[1] Of these stories, one is that an Afghan horse-dealer had sold some horses to the Guru. Payment was delayed. One day, the dealer clamoured for his money with angry gestures. Provoked by the man's words, Gōbind Siŋgh cut him down. Some time afterwards the Afghan's sons found their opportunity and stabbed the Guru mortally, when asleep or unguarded. This story is also slightly varied. The Guru, in this version, is supposed to have repented of his violence and showed favour to the murdered man's son. One day, when they were alone together, the Guru taunted the youth for his cowardice in not revenging his father. The boy struck him with his dagger, inflicting a slight wound, through which the entrails protruded. The wound was sewn up and was healing, when Gōbind Siŋgh, in attempting to string his bow, burst the stitches, the bowels again protruded, and he died almost immediately.

The tradition in the Sikh books[2] is somewhat different. The murderer is stated to be the son of Saīd Khān, and the grandson of Pāindah Khān. Possibly the latter was the opponent whom Guru Har Gōbind slew. In opposition to his own precept, which prohibited all friendship with Muhammadans, Gōbind Siŋgh allowed this boy to come about him. One day, after they had played at *chaupaṛ*, a sort of draughts, Guru Gōbind lay down to rest, two daggers recently given to him being by his side. The boy took up one of the daggers and inflicted three wounds. Gōbind Siŋgh sprang up, crying out, "The Paṭhāns have attacked me." One Lakhā Siŋgh ran in and cut off the boy's head. The wounds were sewn up, and for fifteen days all went well. Then, on the 2nd of some lunar month, two bows were brought to the Guru. In trying to bend them, the Guru's wounds opened, during the 3rd and 4th he was insensible, and on the 5th of that month he expired.[3]

Gōbind Siŋgh had three wives, Jītū, Ṣāḥib Kũar, and Sundarī.[4] He had four sons; one, Jhujhār Siŋgh, by Jītū; two, Zorāwar Siŋgh and Jīt Siŋgh, by Ṣāḥib Kũar; and one, Fatḥ Siŋgh, by Sundarī. According to the Sikh writings, all his sons pre-deceased him, and according to them he left no male descendants. There was, however, the adopted son, Ajīt Siŋgh, of whom we learn from Muhammadan sources.[5]

[1] McGregor, I, 99, Cunningham, 79. The *Sairu-l-Mutākharīn* (Briggs, 114) says that Gōbind died of grief for his children

[2] Sakhī Book, 198.

[3] Kātik, Sudi 5th, 1765 S., see *ante*, p. 119, note 4.

[4] Sakhī Book, 97.

[5] See *ante*, p. 119, note 7.

Bandah, the False Guru.

On the death of Gōbind, his family and followers brought forward a man, who exactly resembled the deceased.[1] It is not very clear who this man was; he is generally spoken of either as Bandah (the slave), or as the False Guru. Two contemporaries[2] call him Fatḥ Shāh, and if this be correct, it points perhaps to his passing as Fatḥ Siŋgh, the son of Gōbind. Some say he was a Bairāgī faqīr, a native of a village, Pandōr, in the Baiṭh Jalandhar *dūābah*, who for many years had been the intimate friend of Guru Gōbind.[3] A more recent account calls him Mādhū Dās, *alias* Nārāyan Dās, and tells us he was born on Kātik, Sudi 13th, 1727 S. (October 1670) being the son of Rām Dēo, Rājpūt, of Rājaurī-garh in Punchh.[4] The name given to him at birth was Lachmī Dēo. He formed a friendship with Jānkī Parshād, Bairāgī, with whom he went to the monastery (*maṭh*) of Bābā Rām Thamman. This *maṭh* is in a place not far from Qasūr, which is itself a little way south of Lāhōr. Authority was at that time exercised there by the Bābā's grandson, of whom Lachmī Dēo became a *cēlā*, or disciple, receiving the name of Lachman Bālā, *alias* Nārāyan Dās. In the end, he found his way as a pilgrim to the Dakhin, there met Gōbind Siŋgh, and became his disciple.[5]

Whatever may be the truth as to his origin and antecedents, this man was now sent off secretly from the Dakhin to Hindūstān. At the same time letters were written to the Panjāb, informing the disciples that their Guru had been slain in the Emperor's camp by the dagger of an Afghan. But just before his death, their leader had announced that in a short time, through the power of transmigration, he would appear again clothed with sovereignty, and whenever he should raise the standard of independence, they would by joining him secure prosperity in this world and salvation in the next. Immediate collections of cash and goods must be made. Expectation was thus aroused, and the new manifestation awaited.

Suddenly there appeared in the town of Kharkhōdā, thirty-five miles west of Dihlī, a man who gave himself out to be Guru Gōbind Siŋgh.[6] According to some accounts, he asserted that he had recovered from his wounds and returned to the Panjāb; others believed that he

1 Wārid, fo. 117 a.

2 Kāmwar Khān and Yaḥyā Khān, *Taẓkiratu-l-Mulūk* (1149 *H.*)

3 Browne, 9.

4 Punchh, a district in the west of Kashmīr (Thornton. 788). Rājaurī lies between Naushahrah and Punchh.

5 *Shamshēr-i-Khālṣah*, 183.

6 Wārid, fol. 117 a, Qāsim fol. 24.

had been restored to life by God's power.[1] Personating thus Gōbind Siŋgh, the new leader, became notorious under the deceased's title of the Guru, or Spiritual Director. The zamindars of the village where he appeared had become, several years before this time, followers of Guru Gōbind, and knew his appearance. As the pretender had copied Gōbind Siŋgh's exterior, and resembled him in features, these zamindars believed in him, adopted his cause, and wrote in all directions to the Sikhs, telling them that their lost leader had returned to earth. In response to this call many armed men assembled, and as soon as there were five hundred of them, they marched for Sōnpaṭ, about twenty-five miles north of Dihlī. The faujdār of Sōnpaṭ came out utterly unprepared, was routed, and fled to Dihlī.

Elated by this victory, Bandah made his way to the foot of the hills north-east of Sirhind, where Gōbind Siŋgh early in life had taken shelter. Soon he had forty thousand armed men gathered round him, recruited chiefly from the lower caste Hindūs.[2] His chief object was to attack Wazīr Khān,[3] the murderer of Gōbind's children and still faujdār of Sirhind, before he had time to make sufficient preparations. The Guru began operations by encamping near the town of Sādhaurā, about twenty-six miles east of Ambālā, where there was a celebrated Muhammadan shrine, the tomb of Shāh Faiẓ, Qādirī.[4] Neither officials nor towns-people interfered with him, and by friendly overtures he lulled their suspicions to sleep. Then he attacked the town, killed many of the inhabitants, and plundered their houses.[5]

[1] No astonishment need arise at the acceptance in those days of such inventions; for we have an almost exact parallel in the modern case of the Panjābī pretender to the Rāj of Landhaurā, in the Sahāranpur district, who appeared at Rurkī in 1874.

[2] Khafī Khān, II, 562, says that at first there were 4,000 to 5,000 men on ponies and 7,000 to 8,000 infantry, increasing first to 19,000, and in the end to 40,000 well-armed men.

[3] Muḥammad Jān, entitled first Kār Ṭalab Khān, then Wazīr Khān, rank 3,000 (*Tārīkh-i-Mḥdī*, year 1122). The *Shamshēr-i-Khālṣah*, 186, states that he was a native of Kunjpurā, a town in the Karnāl district.

[4] Thornton, 891, Lat. 30° 23′, Long. 77° 16′, a town near the foot of the Sub-Ḥimālaya, close to the left bank of the Mārkandā torrent; it has a wall pierced for musketry, and tall towers. See also George Forster, "Journey," I, 236, and the "Āīn-i-Akbarī" (translation) II, 105, 296. The *Shamshēr-i-Khālṣah*, 187, calls the Sādhaurā saints Bahāu-l-Ḥaq and Ḳuṭbu-d-dīn, Jaison.

[5] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 215. The *Shamshēr-i-Khālṣah*, 187, places the attack on Sādhaurā in Māgh 1764 S. (November-December 1707). The month may be right, but the year *must* be wrong.

Wazīr Khān, as soon as he heard of the pretender's rising, hurried off from Sirhind with the three thousand to four thousand men then present.[1] The Sikhs were then on their way to attack him. Both forces met on a plain between Alwān Sarāe and the town of Banūr, some ten to twelve miles north-east of Sirhind.[2] This was on the 24th Rabī' I, 1122 (22nd May 1710). At the first shock the Sikhs, after a feeble resistance, turned and fled. Wazīr Khān's force appeared to have already gained the day, when suddenly a crowd of men were led by the Guru to an attack on the Muhammadan rear. This bold movement put heart into the flying Sikhs and, with loud cries of "Sachā Pādshāh" and "Fatḥ Darās," they fell in a compact body on the Muhammadans, who for a time held their ground. The Sikh swordsmen attacked several elephants and wounded them. Shēr Muḥammad and Khwājah 'Alī of Kotilah Malēr[3] were killed, and confusion arose in the Muhammadan ranks. Wazīr Khān, then fully eighty years of age, made no attempt to escape, but tried to rally his men, and continued to shoot his arrows at the enemy. At length he, too, was killed by a musket shot. The baggage was plundered, the elephants captured, and the body of Wazīr Khān dishonoured and hung to a tree. Not a single Muhammadan escaped with anything but the clothes upon his back.

Alarm spread through the streets of Sirhind, an old and prosperous town, inhabited by wealthy bankers and traders and many well-born Muhammadans of the learned class.[4] Those who could do so fled, one of the first being Wazīr Khān's eldest son, who, leaving all his father's hoards behind him, made off to Dihlī with all his family. After a feeble defence of two days, the town was taken. Every one who, for want of carts or other conveyance, had been left behind, was made prisoner. Only those Muhammadans who disguised themselves and hid in the houses of the Hindūs, escaped injury. The scavengers and leather-dressers and such like persons, who were very numerous among

[1] Mīrzā Muḥāmmad, 215, Qāsim, 84, Wārid, 117 b, *Khāfi Khān*, II, 653, The last gives the Muhammadan force as 5,000 to 6,000 horse, 7,000 to 8,000 foot, matchlockmen and bowmen, with cannon and elephants. Sirhind is a corruption of the original name, Sihrind.

[2] Browne, 9, places the battle at Alwān Sarāe, which is 12 m. S. E., of Sirhind. Wārid, 117 b, says "near Banūr." The Anonymous Fragment of a *Farrukhsiyar nāmah* (in my possession), fol. 15 a, states that the fight was near Chapparcharī. There are two villages of this name, C. Kalān and C. Khurd, on Sheet No. 48 of the Indian Atlas. They lie about 16 m. N. E, of Sirhind, on the Patiyālī Rāo, and are 10 m. N. by W. of Banūr.

[3] Malēr is about 36 m. S.-W. of Sirhind.

[4] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 215, 217, Qasim, 24, Khāfī Khān, II, 654 Sirhind, now in the Patiālā territory, is about 28 m. N--W., of Ambālā.

the Sikhs, committed excesses of every description. For the space of four days the town was given up to pillage, the mosques were defiled, the houses burnt, and the Muhammadans slaughtered; even their women and children were not spared. Some say that unborn children were taken from the womb and killed before their dying mothers' eyes. Hindus even were not respected. One of the principal objects of the Sikh vengeance was, of course, Saj Ānand, Brāhman, Wazīr Khān's chief revenue official and his adviser in taking the life of Gobind's sons. Even Muhammadan writers have nothing to say in this man's favour; he had been, no doubt, like most men in his position, exacting and haughty in his days of prosperity. All power was now usurped by the Sikhs, and one Bār Siŋgh, a man of poor origin, belonging to parganah Ḥaibatpur Paṭṭī in the Bārī Dūāb, was appointed *Ṣūbahdār*, or governor of Sirhind. It is said that two kroṛs of rupees (about two millions sterling) in money and goods belonging to Wazīr Khān' and several hundred thousand rupees belonging to Saj Ānand and others, fell into the hands of Bandah.[1]

The atrocities of which Bandah and his agents were guilty aroused horror in the breasts of the Muhammadans. They forgot too readily, perhaps, that rulers of their own faith had formerly committed equal excesses. But, though the ways of the Muhammadan government were never gentle in the suppression of rebellion, many generations must have passed since such wholesale and unjustifiable destruction of life and property had been done by them. Wārid can only compare the doings of the Sikhs to the cruelties committed by Pharaoh upon the people of Israel, or to the massacres that followed the fall of Jerusalem. Even in those two instances, though the living were destroyed, the dead were spared. But "those infidels," the Sikhs, did not even spare the dead! The descendants of Shāh Faiẓ, Qādirī, of Sādhaurā, were summoned before the Guru and told that their only chance of life lay in destroying with their own hands their mosque and the tomb of their ancestor. The wretched men complied. Thereupon the Guru declared that to sweep from the face of the earth men who could destroy their own holy places would be a righteous act, bringing full reward in a future world. He then directed them to be tortured and executed. When the tomb of the saint was dug up, there was no trace of the body to be found beyond a handful of dust. Instances of Muhammadans abandoning their faith were not unknown.[2] Dīndār Khān, a man belonging to the neighbourhood of Sirhind, joined

[1] Kāmwar Khān, entry of 2nd Rabī' II, 1122 H. Bār Siŋgh also appears as Bāz, Tāj, and Bāj Siŋgh.

[2] Yār Muḥammad, *Dastūru-l-Inshā*, 8.

the false Guru and assumed the name of Dīṅdār Siŋgh; while Mīr Naṣīru-d-dīn, the imperial news-writer of Sirhind, became known as Mīr Naṣīr Siŋgh, a curious and incongruous combination of titles.

From Sirhind as a centre, Bandah sent out parties to occupy the country to the south, the east, and the west.[1] In the first two directions nearly the whole of Sirkār Sirhind (of Ṣūbah Dihlī) was occupied. Every mosque was thrown down. Sāmānā, Sunām, Musṭafābād, Kaiṭhal, Kuhrām, Būriyā, Sādhaurā, Chath, Ambālā, Shāhābād, Thānēsar, Pāel, Sūpar, Phalvalpur, Māchīvārā, Lūdhiānā, all parganahs in the north of the Sirhind *Sirkār*, between the Sātlaj (popularly called the river of Lūdhiānā) and the Jamunā, fell into the possession of the Sikhs. The Lakhī jungle,[2] was the only country not taken. Their further progress southwards from Thānēsar was opposed by Sardār Khān, a Muhammadan Rājpūt zamindar. If it had not been for his exertions, there was nothing really to stop their advancing against Dihlī. It is true that Asad Khān, the *wakīl-i-mutlaq*, or Vice-Gerent, was there, and as governor of the province in which Sirhind was included, it was his duty to have taken active measures to restore order. But he was very old and probably indifferent: in any case, he did nothing.

In all the parganahs occupied by the Sikhs, the reversal of previous customs was striking and complete. A low scavenger or leather-dresser, the lowest of the low in Indian estimation, had only to leave home and join the Guru, when in a short space of time he would return to his birth-place as its ruler, with his order of appointment in his hand. As soon as he set foot within the boundaries, the well-born and wealthy went out to greet him and escort him home. Arrived there, they stood before him with joined palms, awaiting his orders. A scavenger, from the nature of his duties, is intimately acquainted with the condition of every household. Thus, the new ruler had no difficulty in exacting from every one their best and most valuable belongings, which were confiscated for the use of the Guru, or for his treasury. Not a soul dared to disobey an order, and men, who had often risked themselves in battle-fields, became so cowed that they were afraid even to remonstrate. Hindūs who had not joined the sect were not exempt from these oppressions.

One party of Sikhs was sent across the Sātlaj to take Sulṭānpur

[1] Khāfi Khān, II, 662, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 215, Wārid, 118, a.

[2] On the map between pp. 64 and 65, in J. Rennell's "Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan" (London, 1793), this tract is shown as directly south of Fīrūzpūr, between it and Bhatnēr. To the south of this, again, was the desert country of Bhattī.

and other places, in the *dūābah* of Baiṭh Jalandhar. They wrote in the form of a *parwānah* (that is, as if he were their subordinate) to Shams Khān, the faujdār, calling on him to submit, to send such supplies as they needed, and to come out to escort them in, bringing with him such money as he might have in his treasury. Shams Khān, by the advice of the chief men of the town, gave the messengers the answer, that he could not send the powder and lead they asked for, as he required the necessary carriage for his friends and followers. The shops in the bāzār were full of lead, and he had store-house upon store-house full of powder. If they furnished means of conveyance, a supply would be sent.

Shams Khān then took the field at the head of four thousand to five thousand horsemen, and thirty thousand matchlockmen and bowmen, partly old troops and partly newly-raised men sent in by the zamindars. The better classes of all kinds, also the poorer classes, and many artisans, chiefly weavers, joined his standard, resolved to defend their homes and sell their lives dearly. Contributions in money were also given. Altogether more than one hundred thousand men had collected, and a start was made from Sulṭānpur.[1] As soon as the Sikhs heard that Shams Khān was coming, they moved at the head of 70,000 horse and foot, with the cannon taken at Sirhind, much siege *matériel* in the shape of planks and sand-bags for preparing batteries, with cart-loads of powder and lead. Plundering as they moved, they drew near to the town of Rāhūn, about fifty miles east of Sulṭānpur, before which they encamped. They occupied the mounds formed by some brick-kilns, and with the bricks and *débris* built a sort of fort, placed entrenchments round their camp, and awaited an attack. They sent out foraging parties in all directions with menacing letters to the head revenue payers (*chaudhrīs*), and revenue officers (*qānūngōs*) of the parganahs, demanding their submission.

Shams Khān's supporters well knew that if he were defeated, their lives, families, and property would be sacrified. Therefore they advanced boldly till they were about the distance of a musket-shot from the Sikh entrenchment. The cannonade began at three hours after sunrise. Thousands of balls and stones from slings fell like hail on the Muhammadans, but without causing much loss. Shams Khān had warned his troops against too hasty an advance and a useless expenditure of powder. They bore onward slowly and steadily. After two volleys from the Sikhs, the Muhammadans, reinforced by a number of their co-religionists from the country around, rushed on their foes with loud cries of *Allāhu-Akbar* (God is Great). Many of the Sikhs were killed and wounded; their efforts at resistance were fruitless, and in a panic, they

[1] About 40 m. W. of Lūdhiānā and over 80 m. W. of Sirhind.

took refuge within the fort near Rāhūn, which they had prepared before the battle. There they were invested and could only reply by musketry-fire and the firing of rockets. They had a supply of the munitions of war and of food, which they had brought together from the houses in Rāhūn, the inhabitants having fled for their lives, leaving everything behind. Thus they were able to hold the position for several days, and at night parties issued forth to harass the outlying posts of the Muhammadans, destroying many a horse and man. Both sides suffered, but especially the Sikhs. After a time they evacuated their entrenchments during the night, and Shams Khān pursued for some miles, capturing one gun and several loaded camels and oxen. He then returned in triumph to Sulṭānpur. The next day, however, about one thousand men came back, ejected Shams Khān's officer, and re-occupied Rāhūn; but beyond this no hold was then obtained by the Sikhs upon the Jālandhar Dūāb.[1]

Let us next trace the Sikh fortunes in another direction. As soon as the Sikh expedition eastwards had crossed the Jamunā, 'Alī Ḥāmid Khān, faujdār of that part of the country, took fright, and in spite of offers by the Afghan and other leading Muhammadans to repair the walls and stand on the defensive, that very night marched away from Sahāranpur, and took the road to Dihlī. The Sikhs, learning that the imperial officer had abandoned the town, made all haste to the spot, soon overcame the resistance of the inhabitants, and plundered it as they had done Sirhind. The whole country, far and near, was in a panic. Those people, who were rich enough or lucky enough to obtain means of conveyance, carried off their goods and families. The rest, taking their wives and children by the hand, fled on foot. Women who had rarely been outside the courtyard of their own house, and had never gone one step outside of it on foot, were forced to walk distances of thirty and forty miles. Many women threw themselves into wells to avoid outrage. In this way, half of the *sirkār* of Sahāranpur fell into the hands of the Sikhs.[2]

Next, the Sikhs wrote to Jalāl Khān,[3] former faujdār, calling upon

[1] The report of Shams Khān (entitled Shamsu-d-dīn Khān) was received by the Emperor on the 18th Sha'bān, 1122 (11th Oct., 1710) (Kāmwar Khān, entry of that date). He was a nephew of Ḥusain Khān of Qasūr (*Fatūḥat Nāmah-i-Ṣamadī* fol. 24 a.)

[2] Mīrzā Muḥammad, and Khāfī Khān, II, 654. The latter calls the faujdār 'Alī *Muḥammad* Khān.

[3] Jalāl Khān, son of Hazār Mīr, Warakzai Afghān, Mīrānzai *Khail*, died about the 22nd Muḥarram, 1130, Farrukhsiyar's sixth year (Kāmwar Khān, entry of that date). He is there described as *Thānādār* of Thānā Bhīm, the parganah capital, three miles south of Jalālābād. Dost Muḥammad Khān, founder of the Bhōpāl State, in Central India, was of the same tribe. (Rustam 'Alī, *Tarīkh-i-Hindī*, fol. 279 a).

him to submit. He lived at a town founded by him, and called Jalālābād; it lies about thirty miles south of Sahāranpur and about twenty miles west of Dēōband. The town is surrounded by a wall, and many Afghan soldiers had their homes there. When the Sikh messengers came before Jalāl Khān, he ordered them to be paraded derisively through the streets and ejected from the town. Immediate preparations were made for its defence. Soon word was brought that the Sikhs had surrounded two large villages, dependent on and situated four or five miles from Jalālābād. The chief sent out a strong force to relieve these villages, putting at its head Ghulām Muḥammad Khān, his grandson, and Hizbar Khān, his cousin. Encouraged by the arrival of reinforcements, the villagers, four or five hundred men, armed with matchlocks or bows, and a number of their tenantry armed in various ways, many with only slings and stones, came out boldly to disperse the Sikhs. In the fight, Hizbar Khān and a number of both Muhammadans and villagers lost their lives. But, in the end, pressed by repeated onslaughts from the Afghāns, the Sikhs gave way.[1]

Other contests followed between the Sikhs and Jalāl Khān, and the former were repulsed two or three times. In spite of these reverses, they persisted in their attempts against the town. Seventy to eighty thousand men had collected from all parts. The assailants prepared two or three hundred movable batteries, formed of planks and mounted on cart-wheels. Jalālābād was closely invested. When these batteries were brought to the foot of the walls and close to the town gate, the Sikhs showered from them bullets and arrows and stones upon the Afghāns, then with cries of *Fatḥ Darās* four or five hundred men, carrying mattocks and other tools, rushed forward, intending to dig through the earthen wall, to affix ladders, and to set fire to the gates. At such moments, the Afghāns threw open the gates and, sword in hand, with their shields raised before their faces, made a rush upon the foe. At each sally they cut down two or three hundred of the Sikhs, at the same time losing many lives on their own side. At night-time other sallies were made, when the besiegers were caught unawares and put to the sword. For twenty days the besieged found no proper leisure to eat their food or to take rest. In the end, after losing some thousands of men, the Sikhs withdrew without having been able to take the town.[2]

When the outbreak in Sirhind and the defeat of Wazīr Khān

[1] Khāfī Khān, II, 655.

[2] Khāfī Khān, II, 656. The Emperor received Jalāl Khān's report of these events on the 15th Jamādī I, 1122 (11th July, 1710),—Kāmwar Khān, (entry of that date).

became known at Lāhōr, the Sikhs collected at their holy place, Amritsar, or the Nectar Lake, in the village of Chak Guru, about forty miles north of Lāhōr, already renowned for its gardens and lake, and for the great gathering, or *melá*, held there in Phālgun (February) of every year. In this conclave, the Sikhs resolved to make an attempt on Lāhōr, hoping to have the same success as at Sirhind. The imperial governor was then Sayyad Aslam Khān, a *maulvī* from Kābul. He was the deputy for Prince Mu'izzu-d-dīn, Jahāndār Shāh, the Emperor's eldest son. This man made no effort to repel an attack from outside, though in one way or another he prevented any outbreak within the city of Lāhōr itself. But parganahs such as Baṭālā and Kālānaur (where Akbar was crowned), both in Sirkar Baṭālā, were completely ravaged.[1] The Sikh depredations extended even to the suburbs and to the Shālihmār garden, only three miles from the city. The Muhammadans of Lāhōr now took the matter into their own hands. Muḥammad Taqqī, a relation of the late Shāh Sa'dullah (*i. e.*, Shāhjahān's greatest *wazīr*, Sa'dullah Khan, 'Allāmī), and Mūsā Bēg, Lōhānī, son of Khudā Wirdī Bēg, Āghar-Khānī, specially exerted themselves to collect men and obtain supplies. Many traders made contributions in money. Others joined in person, such as the son of Sayyad Isma'il, Ḥājī Yār Bēg, Sayyad 'Ināyat, and Mullā Pīr Muḥammad, the preacher. The rallying point was the plain near the 'Idgāh mosque.[2]

Hearing that among the populace he had earned the reputation of a coward, Sayyad Aslam Khān, the governor, sent out a force of five hundred horse and foot, commanded by Mīr 'Aṭāullah, a man from down country, and Muḥabbat Khān, Karal, zamīndār of Farīdābād. This expedition caused the Sikhs to retreat to parganah Tappā Bharlī;[3] where there was a small brick fort, built by Bhagwant Rāy, the qanūngō of the parganah. The fort was put in a state of defence and supplies to last a siege were collected. After some delay, the imperialists arrived and invested the place. The Sikhs were unable to come out into the open, but they made a good defence from the bastions and walls. After a time they lost heart and decamped under cover of night. The Muhammadans returned to Lāhōr, signalizing their return by insulting the Hindūs of the city and threatening their own rulers.[4]

Once again, the Sikhs gathered at Kōtilā Bēgam, a place near the

1 Baṭālā, about 60 m. N.-E., and Kālānaur, about 70 m. N.-E. of Lāhōr. Details of the attack on Baṭālā are given in McGregor, I, 108.

2 Qāsim, fol. 27.

3 In Sirkār Bārī Dūāb, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, II, 110. For Karal, or Kharral, see, Ibbetson, Census, 470, 471.

4 Qāsim, fol. 95.

town of Jamārhi.[1] The Lāhōr Muhammadans a second time took the field. On the march, their undisciplined force plundered the villages near the road. When the Muhammadans reached the small fort, the Sikhs came out boldly and met them in the open. Treachery was at work among the Muhammadans. The Afghans of Saurī village, who were secretly disaffected owing to the governor's exactions, are said to have come to an understanding with the Sikh leaders, who were their neighbours. While the fortune of the day was doubtful, and the result still hung in the balance, these Afghāns turned their bridle-reins and made for their homes. The remaining Muhammadans were unable to hold their own, and some of their leaders fell, among others Sayyad 'Ināyat, of Bhatdyan village, the Muḥammad Taqqī already mentioned, and Muḥammad Zamān, a Rānghar Rājpūt. By a great effort the Sikhs were driven back to the walls of the fort, and thus many Muhammadans were enabled to escape from the battle. High wind and heavy rain were obstacles in the way of both combatants, and night fell before a decisive victory had been gained by either side. As the daylight disappeared the fighting died down, and during the night the Muhammadan force melted away into nothing.[2]

The Emperor marches against the Sikhs.

The first news of the Sikh outbreak was brought to Bahādur Shāh on the 2nd Rabī' II, 1122 (30th May, 1710), when he was approaching Ajmēr on his return march from the Dakhin. A peace was forthwith patched up with the Rājpūts and attention was turned to the new trouble. Some difference of opinion seems to have arisen between Bahādur Shāh and Mun'īm Khān, his wazīr. The Emperor wished to make a rapid march with such troops as could keep up with him. Mun'īm Khān, arguing that it would be derogatory to the Emperor's dignity thus to rush in haste to suppress an enemy that had never been heard of before, preferred a more deliberate advance. If it were thought that delay would enable the rebel Guru either to make his position impregnable or to escape, Mun'īm Khān would bind himself by solemn oaths to be answerable for the capture of the rebel. Some state that Bahādur Shāh's unwonted eagerness arose from the chance of conducting what he looked on as a *jahād*, or holy war against the infidel, such as had not been the good fortune for many years of any Emperor in Hindūstān.[3]

The plundered inhabitants of Sirhind and Thānēsar, with the

[1] In Sirkār Baṭālā, "*Āīn*," II, 110, 318.

[2] Qāsim, fo. 97.

[3] Kāmwar Khān, 68, Wārid, 119 a.

Pīrzādahs of Sirhind and Sādhaurā, arrived at the camp in a destitute condition, raising loud cries about the oppression that they had suffered, and making many grievous complaints. Ajmēr was quitted on the 1st Jamādī I, 1122 (27th June, 1710), urgent orders being sent to Khān Daurān (afterwards Niẓāmu-l-Mulk) the Subahdār of Audh; Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Cīn, faujdār of Murādābād; Khān Jahān, Subahdār of Allahābād, and Sayyad 'Abdullah Khān, Bārha, calling on them to march without delay and join Asad Khān, Subahdār of Dihlī and *Wakīl-i-mutlaq*, in his advance against the Sikhs. Meanwhile the Emperor's camp moved on, *viâ* Rūpnagar, Sāmbhar, Rasūlpur, Prāgpurā and Nārnaul; the capital, Dihlī, being passed on their right hand at a considerable distance.[1] In order to prevent desertions, proclamation was made on the 1st Rajab, 1122 (25th August, 1710), that no man should visit Dihlī without permission, nor should any man's family come out to camp to see him. Another precautionary measure was an order for all Hindūs employed in the imperial offices to shave off their beards. As the Sikhs had many well-wishers among the Khatrī clerks, these men were thus forced to choose between losing their appointments, or committing an act that excluded them from the Sikh sect. The order was carried out, it seems, in a very harsh manner. Petty officers perambulated the streets and bāzārs of the camp, followed by barbers bearing dirty water in a scavenger's vessel. Whenever a Hindū was met wearing a beard, he was seized and his beard shaved off. The clerks in the imperial offices hid in their quarters, and did not appear again in public, until they had been shaved.[2]

From Prāgpurā, on the 12th Jamādī II, 1122 (7th August, 1710), a force was sent on in advance, under the command of Fīrūz Khān, Mēwātī, Sulṭān Qūlī Khān, a nephew of Rustam Dil Khān, Shākir Khān, and others; an allowance of 50,000 rupees being granted to Fīrūz Khān for the payment of levies. Muḥammad Amīn Khān and his son, Qamru-d-din Khān, arrived about the same time from Murādābād (27th Jamādī II, 1122 (22nd August, 1710). A week or two after the first force had started, another was sent off under Sayyad Wajīhu-d-dīn Khān, Bārha. On the 4th Rajab (28th August) Khān Daurān [3] reached the camp; and when the Emperor was at the town of Pātodhī,[4] (17th

[1] Rūpnagar, about 28 m. N. of Ajmēr, about 200 m. S.-W. of Dihlī; Sāmbhar, about 55 m. N.-E. of Ajmer; Rasūlpur, (not traced); Prāgpurā, 120 m. N.-E. of Ajmēr, about 100 m. S.-W. of Dihlī; Nārnaul, 150 m. N-E. of Ajmēr, 80 m. S.-W. of Dihlī.

[2] Qāsim, 32, Kāmwar Khān, 73. Khāfī Khān, II, 669, 674. *Dastūru-l-Inshā*, 13.

[3] Formerly Cīn Qilīc Khān, afterwards Niẓāmu-l-Mulk.

[4] About 35 m. S.-W. of Dihlī.

Rajab, 10th September), Saifu-d dīn 'Alī Khān, Najmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, and Sirāju-d-dīn 'Alī Khān, younger brothers of Sayyad 'Abdullah Khān, Bārha, came in from their home across the Jamunā. Khān Jahān (Sipahdār Khān) did not arrive till the 4th Ramẓān, 1122 (26th October, 1710). Curāman, Jāṭ, joined when the camp was nearer Dihlī.[1]

After a halt to celebrate the Emperor's birth-day, followed by several days' delay from heavy rain, and a hunting excursion of a few days in the preserves of Jyūntī, the army at length, on the 29th Sha'bān 1122 (22nd October, 1710), reached the town of Sōnpaṭ, some thirty miles beyond Dihlī. Here, on the 4th Ramẓān (26th October), a letter was received from Shamsu-d-dīn Khān, faujdār of the Jālandhar Dūāb, reporting that he had, on the 19th Sha'ban, 1122 (12th October, 1710), gained a victory over the enemy. On the 8th Ramẓān (30th October 1710), at the next stage, Sarāe Kunwar, Rustam Dil Khān reported to His Majesty that four days before (26th October), Fīrūz Khān, Mēwātī, had fought the enemy between Indrī and Karnāl, and he now sent in three hundred heads. Fīrūz Khān was rewarded with the appointment of faujdār of Sirhind, and six robes of honour were sent for him and his companions. The next marches were to Sarāe Sambhālkā, Pāṇīpaṭ, Kharōndā, then near a brick bridge close to Karnāl, next to Karnāl itself, 'Aẓīmābad-Talāōrī (*alias* 'Ālamgīrpūr), and then Thānēsar, which was reached on the 22nd Ramẓān, 1122 (13th November, 1710). At Karnāl a further fight was heard of; it had taken place at Thānēsar and the Sikhs had been again defeated. Fīrūz Khān, after clearing Thānēsar, had gone on to Shāhābād, ten miles further to the north. Such Sikhs as had been made prisoners were strung up to the road-side trees, their long hair being twisted to perform the office of a rope.[2]

Before these successes were obtained, the road from Dihlī had been barred for many months. Bayāzīd Khān, an Afghan of Qasūr near Lāhōr, and then faujdar of the Jammū hill country, was on his march up-country with a retinue of several thousand men. On reaching Pāṇīpaṭ his further progress was stopped. But on the advance of Fīrūz Khān, he took the initiative and drove the Sikhs before him. He was also assisted by his nephew, Shamsu-d-dīn Khān,[3] faujdār of the Jalandhar Dūāb, already spoken of, who came now from Bājvārā, in that jurisdiction, as far as Sirhind. Bayāzīd Khān, 'Umr Khān, and

1 Kāmwar Khān, 72, 73, 75; Browne, 11; Khāfī Khān, II, 668.

2 Kāmwar Khān, 75, 76; Qāsim, 100; for Shamsu-d-dīn Khān see the next note.

3 Shamshēr, Khweshgī, was made Shamsu-d-dīn Khān, and on joining the imperial service was given the rank of 500, 150 horse. (Dānishmand Khān, entry of 24th Ẕū,l Ḥajj, 1119, 2nd year of Bahādur Shāh.)

Shamsu-d-dīn Khān encountered the Sikhs at a grove known as Ya'qūt Khān's, and drove them in disorder towards Sirhind, where they took refuge in the fort, and were there invested. The first success of these leaders was gained on the 19th Sha'ban, 1122 (12th October, 1710),[1] and it was followed by a further victory, of which a report was received on the 6th Shawwāl (27th November, 1710). Good service was also done within the Baiṭh Jalandhar Dūāb, by 'Īsé Khān, Mā'in. Muḥammad Amīn Khān, who had been appointed to command a detached force, was now directed to march with all speed and take measures for the reduction and occupation of Sirhind.

Leaving Thānēsar on the 4th Shawwāl, 1122 (25th November, 1710), Bahādur Shāh, in five marches by way of Shāhābād and Aukālā, reached Sādhaurā on the 13th of the same month. Sādhaurā is about thirty-six miles north-east of Thānēsar. A few days before this date, it had been reported that the Sikhs had moved southwards from Sādhaurā, with 3,000 horsemen and 10,000 infantry,[2] and had entrenched themselves on the road. Subsequently, they must have thought it wiser not to risk an encounter, for the imperial march was not molested. The Sikhs fled even from Sādhaurā, and took refuge in the hills to the north-east of that place. Sādhaurā itself is a town on a high hill of steep ascent, standing on the edge of the Mārkhandā torrent, in a hilly and, in those days, well-wooded country.[3]

The Guru's head-quarters were not at Sādhaurā, but farther on, within the first hills, in a region called by the native writers both Mukhliṣpūr and the Ḍābar. Their use of the first name raises some difficulties of identification. They confound the site of the Guru's fort with Mukhliṣpūr, the name for the hunting lodge, now called Bādshāhī Maḥal, built by Shāhjahān close to the left bank of the Jamunā, and a few miles below the heads of what are now called the Eastern and Western Jamunā Canals. Some lands, which had been detached from parganah Muẓaffarābād, of Sirkār Sahāranpur, were assigned to it and called Faiẓābād.[4] This is, at the very least, twelve miles too far to the east for the Mukhliṣpūr that we want, for which we must make search somewhere between Sādhaurā on the west, Nāhan on the north, and the Jamunā river on the east. That there was such a place, is shown by our finding Moklespore (Mukhliṣpūr) on J. Rennell's map[5] of 1792, exactly

1 Report received on the 4th Ramzān.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, 669, says 30,000 to 40,000 men.

3 Kāmwar Khān, 77.

4 *Ma'aṣiru-l-Umarā*, printed text, II, 867, III, 157. 'Ālamgīr visited this place in 1073 H. (*Ma'aṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 42).

5 Rennell, "Memoir," 3rd Edition, "Map of Countries between Dehlī and Candahar."

where we want it, namely, half-way between Nāhan and Sādhaurā. Ḍābar (with the Hindī, or cerebral *ḍ*) must have been the name of the region round Mukhliṣpūr. It is described as "a place seven or eight *kōs* "from Sādhaurā, near the northern hills, and on the edge of it is a "small hill, difficult of access, on which Islām Khān, son of Shēr Khān, "Sūr, in his day of brief authority, began to build a strong fortress, "under the name of Pāvāgaṛh. It was left unfinished at his death, "and fell into ruins, parts of which still remain. Bandah restored "and extended these ruins.[1]"

Here the Sikhs had built a strong fort as a place of refuge, apparently the first to resort to this quarter having been Guru Gōbind Siŋgh, in the period of seclusion succeeding his father, Tēgh Bahādur's, death. The name given to the stronghold was Lōhgaṛh, or Iron Fort, either in allusion to the prominence of iron in the Guru's new ritual, or with reference to the fort's supposed impregnability. Its exact situation cannot be determined, but it was about half-way between the towns of Nāhan (in Sirmūr) and Sādhaurā (Sirkār Sirhind); probably it stood on some spur of the hills over-looking one of the dry, stony, torrent beds, or *rāōs*, which form such a peculiar feature of the hill country and its border-land, both there and in the north of the Sahāranpūr district. The fort may have been on the Sōm *rāō*, or more probably, on the *rāō* still bearing the name of Lōhgaṛh.[2] Roughly speaking, it lay some twelve miles to the north-east of Sādhaurā. Here the Guru stood at bay, having the walls of the fort mounted with small cannon and pierced for musketry.[3]

At Lōhgaṛh, Bandah tried to assume something of regal state. He was the *Sacā Pādshāh*, or Veritable Sovereign, his disciples all *Siŋghs*, or lions. A new form of greeting, *Fatḥ darās* (May you behold victory!), was invented, and Muhammadans were slightingly called *Maslah*. Coin was struck in the new sovereign's name. One side bore the lines:

Sikkah zad bar har dō 'ālam tēgh-i-Nānak wāhib ast,
Fatḥ Gōbind Shāh-i-shāhān faẓl-i-Sacā Ṣāḥib ast.

If we are to judge by this halting, obscure verse, Bandah was a better warrior than he was poet. The lines, an obvious imitation of the inscriptions on the Mughal coins, seem to mean "Fatḥ Gōbind, "king of kings, struck coin in the two worlds, the sword of Nānak is "the granter of desires, by grace he is the veritable Lord." On the

[1] "Anonymous Fragment," fol. 14 *b*. This work is tract No. 4, in a miscellaneous volume, formerly in the library of Dr. Lee, now owned by me. Salīm Shāh (Islām Khān) reigned 1545–1553.

[2] Indian Atlas, sheet No. 48.

[3] Kāmwar Khān, 79.

reverse were these words, *Ẓarb ba Amanu-d-dahr, Maswarat-shahr, Zīnatu-t-takht-i-mubārak-bakht.* "Coined at Refuge of the World, the Walled City, Ornament of the Fortunate Throne." These were the titles and epithets assigned by him to Lōhgaṛh, just as each imperial city had its appropriate honorific name. On his letters he impressed a seal, bearing the following rhyming inscription:

Tēg, dēg, o fatḥ, nuṣrat-i-bē-diraŋg,
Yāft aẓ Nānak, Guru Gōbind Siŋgh.

"Guru Gōbind Siŋgh found in Nānak, sword, pot, and conquest, help "without hindrance or delay."[1] Not content with supremacy in the state, he also claimed, as other sovereigns have done, to be above grammar. By his order all nouns in Hindī and Persian having feminine terminations were changed into the masculine form. For instance, *sawārī* (a retinue) and *kacaharī* (a court-house or office) were pronounced by him and his Sikhs, *sawārā* and *kacaharā!*[2]

The campaign which the Emperor had undertaken was rendered more arduous by the nature of the country and the season of the year. It happened that much rain fell that year in December and January, and the imperialist army, largely composed of men who had served in the Dakhin only, and were accustomed to a much milder climate, suffered severely from the almost incessant rain and the bitterly cold wind, which blew with great force every night. Supplies were also deficient, and the muddy state of the country was an additional obstacle. The losses among the horses and cattle were very heavy. Added to these material difficulties were others of a more imaginary but hardly less potent nature. According to the popular voice the Guru was a most powerful magician, greater even than he who made a calf to talk; he could turn a bullet from its course and could work such spells that spear and sword had little or no effect upon his followers. Owing to these idle rumours the Emperor and the nobles and the soldiers were much disturbed in mind and disheartened. The Sikhs, on the other hand, were encouraged by the belief instilled into them by Bandah that all who lost their lives in this war would be re-created at once in a higher rank of life.[3]

[1] These words were used by the Sikhs on the coins they made at Lāhōr in 1765. See C. J. Rodgers, *Journal, Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, LVII, Part I, 30. For the seal, bearing the same inscription, still used by the Sikhs at Abcalnagar (Nādēr) and elsewhere, see Sayyad Muḥammad Latīf, *History of the Panjāb*, 270. *Dēg*, literally "pot," means, I believe, the contributions levied from the faithful. Cunningham, 103, note, and App. IX, thinks it a metaphor for abundance or prosperity.

[2] Anonymous Fragment of *Farrukhsiyar Nāmah*, fol. 16 a.

[3] Kāmwar Khān, 78, *Dastūru-l-Insha*, 11, and Khāfī Khān, II, 671.

On the 13th Shawwāl, 1122 (4th December, 1710), Rustam Dil Khān, in his capacity of *Mīr Tōzak*, or quarter-master-general, was directed to go forward with the advance tents and select an appropriate site for the next encampment, taking care to protect the tents from any attack by the other side. Mun'īm Khān, the wazīr, and his son, Mahābbat Khān, escorted the tents with their own troops, re-inforced by those of the third prince, Rafī'u-sh-Shān, which were commanded by his Bakhshī, or general, Afẓal Khān. Next day it was ascertained that when Rustam Dil Khān had gone about two *kōs* from camp, the enemy began to show in the jungle, commencing the attack with a shower of arrows, rockets, and musket balls. Without pausing, Rustam Dil Khān rushed upon them. The Sikhs stood their ground bravely and on their coming to close quarters, many on both sides were killed. Soon the rest of the imperial troops arrived.[1] About fifteen hundred Sikhs were slain, including two of their leaders, and of the imperialists, a nephew of Fīrūz Khān, Mēwātī, was killed, and his son wounded. Just before night-fall the Sikhs lost heart and made off into the ravines between the hills.[2]

The imperialists beat their drums in honour of the victory, and, advancing another one-and-a-half *kōs*, they set up the imperial tents. Mun'īm Khān and his son remained to protect them, while Rustam Dil Khān, Afẓal Khān and other employés proceeded half a *kōs* farther and took up a position on the bank of the Sōm, in which stream there was a small quantity of running water. On the other side of the stream stretched a wilderness full of trees. All night long there was a dreadful noise, and the whole time was passed in watching and on the alert. The Emperor gave Rustam Dil Khān the credit for this first success. This was no more than his due, for when most of his followers had retreated, he stood firm with only forty or fifty horsemen, who were his own relations, and continued the fight till the rest of the division came up to reinforce him and dispersed the enemy. He received the title of Ghāzī Khān, Rustam Jang, and his rank was raised to 4,000 *zát*, 3,000 horse. Valuable gifts were sent off to him by the hand of Ḥaiyāt Khān, and trays of food from the imperial kitchen were forwarded to the wazīr and his son.[3]

On the 18th Shawwāl 1122 (9th December, 1710), Bahādur Shāh reached his camp on the banks of the Sōm, where Mun'īm Khān and his son, Mahabbat Khān, were received in audience. The Emperor expressed his intention of inspecting the next day the entrenchments prepared by

1 Kāmwar Khān himself was present with Rafī'u-sh-Shān's troops.
2 Kāmwar Khān, 78.
3 Kāmwar Khān, 79.

the Sikhs at the foot of the hills, and Prince Rafi'u-sh-Shān received orders to provide for His Majesty's protection during the reconnaisance.[1]

Next morning, the 19th Shawwāl 1122 (10th December, 1710), Prince Rafi'u-sh-Shān led out the imperial troops towards the foot of the Ḍābar hills. A quarter of a *kōs* in advance came the Prince, leading the imperial vanguard. Rājā Udait Siŋgh, Bundēlā (of Orchā), was at the head of Ẕū,lfiqār Khān's contingent; while Mun'īm Khān, the minister, accompanied by his two sons, Mahābbat Khān aud Khān Zamān, bore away to the right by a route pointed out to him by men with knowledge of the locality. The most forward part of Mun'īm Khān's force was led by Rājā Cattarsāl, Bundēlā, and Islām Khān, general of artillery. Mun'īm Khān was also supported by the troops of Ḥamīdu-d-dīn Khān and the contingents of the Princes 'Aẓīmu-sh-Shān and Jahān Shāh.[2]

Before a fourth of the day had passed, Mun'īm Khān and his force came upon the Sikh entrenchments, strongly constructed on the tops of the hills. A heavy artillery and musketry fire was commenced, and in time the enemy were dislodged from the top of a small hill. The contending parties then came to closer quarters and many Sikhs lost their lives. About mid-day Mun'īm Khān's troops made good their approach to the Lōhgaṛh fort, the Guru's home and head-quarters. A severe struggle ensued. By this time the imperial troops (under Rāfi'u-sh-Shān) had quitted the open plain and were distant about a quarter of a *kōs* from the walls of Lōhgaṛh. From time to time shots from the walls fell in the prince's ranks, but luckily none of them did any harm. Ẕū,lfiqār Khān halted and at intervals sent messages to the Prince that a slow advance was advisable. Although this advice was in appearance full of prudence, the clearer-sighted were aware that this desire to delay was wholly due to old quarrels and differences of opinion with Mun'īm Khān. The Prince, to please Ẕū,lfiqār Khān, gave orders to halt, and alighting, he entered a light field-tent to eat some breakfast.[3]

A little after mid-day, at the time of the *Ẓuhr* prayer, a great smoke and much noise arose within the Sikh enclosure. Kāmwar Khān with one or two companions, then left the Prince's division and went towards the position of the Sikhs. When they arrived within an arrow's flight of the earthen fortification, they drew rein, and at that moment a cannon ball from the top of the hill struck a tamarind tree,

1 Kamwar Khān, 79.

2 Kāmwar Khān, 79, 80. He here notes that he now quits the reports of others and records what he saw with his own eyes.

3 Kāmwar Khān, 80.

then glancing off grazed slightly the neck of the horse ridden by one of the party, and passed on without doing further damage, beyond having thrown the group into some disorder. Shortly after this happened, some plunderers who had made their way into the fort, passed carrying on their backs an Afghān, who had been hurt by a gunpowder explosion. From these men Kāmwar Khān learnt that the imperialists had reached the hill-top and had begun to slay and plunder, but the enemy still continued to defend several other of the small hills, and some of them had taken refuge in a fort that they had named Satārah-garh, or the Star fort.[1]

Kāmwar Khān went on to the entrenched post of the Sikhs and found it in the hands of the plunderers, Rōhillā Afghāns, Bilōch, and others, who had taken crowds of women and children prisoners. The heavy goods and baggage they had set fire to, taking only cash and articles of value. Through the carelessness of these men several magazines of powder took fire, by which many of them were blown up. One heart-rending spectacle was the dead body of Saj Anand's son, and those of many Muhammadan men and women, slain by the Sikhs before they had taken to flight. The bodies lay half-hidden by a few stones hastily thrown over them.[2]

One Mīrzā Ruku now arrived from the front, and informed them that the struggle still continued in the passes of the hills. Rustam Dil Khān, he said, had gained the foot of a small hill, on which stood a white building. It was believed that the Guru, in person, was in that house. The Mīrzā added that, so far as he had ascertained, the Sikh leader was seated under a particular awning on a particular hill, looking on at the action, and that all way of escape from that hill was cut off. This conversation had hardly ended, when Rājā Udait Siŋgh, stung by the taunts of his fellow countryman, Cattarsāl, Bundēlā, rode off towards that hill, and his matchlock-men, quickly occupying an eminence which commanded it, poured their fire upon it. It seems that the Guru, who with several of his chief men was in that tent, was disconcerted by this firing, and moving down to the other side of the hill made good his escape. His departure caused the evacuation of several of the other hill-tops. The Rājā and other commanders of Mun'īm Khān's force cleared the other eminences of their defenders, and by the time of evening-prayer none of their Sikh opponents were left, except those in the white building. Many women and children, horses and camels, were captured. Mun'īm Khān was now recalled and he returned to the imperial camp, leaving Rustam Dil Khān and his troops

1 Kāmwar Khān, 81.

2 Kāmwar Khān, 80.

round the hill on which the building stood. Mun'īm Khān reported to His Majesty the course of events, and in the confusion of the fight the escape of the Guru having remained unnoticed, he added that the leader was surrounded and would shortly be brought in a prisoner. One story is that Ẕū,lfiqār Khān, long at enmity with Mun'īm Khān, purposely spread the false report through his spies that the Guru was a prisoner. Mun'īm Khān's own spies believed the story and brought in the news as true, whereupon Mun'īm Khān intimated the fact to the Emperor.[1]

Prince Rafi'u-sh Shān and Ẕū,lfiqār Khān camped for the night at the place where they had halted in the morning. Up till midnight the sounds of fighting were brought on the wind to the imperial camp, which was at a very little distance. Between midnight and daybreak there was a loud report, which made the ground under the tents tremble; and scouts brought word that it was caused by the explosion of a cannon made out of the trunk of a tamarind tree, which the Sikhs had filled with powder and blown to pieces just as they were about to retreat.[2]

In the morning (20th Shawwāl, 1122=11th December, 1710) Rustam Dil Khān appeared with the prisoners and spoil, the latter including five elephants, three cannon, seventeen light pieces (*ṛahklah*) and some other things. He was rewarded with a gift of two of the elephants. The prisoners, ten or twelve in number, were made over to the police officer, Sarbarāh Khān, for execution. The chief man among them was one Gulābū Khatrī, a tobacco seller, who had passed himself off as the Guru, in order to facilitate the real man's escape. As the proverb says "The hawk had flown and the owl was netted."[3] Khāfī Khān, with reference to this event, comments[4] on the zeal and self-sacrificing spirit shown by the Guru's followers. They were all equally devoted to his cause. What a contrast to the imperial armies, where, out of two or three thousand men, it was wonderful if one or two hundred were really prepared to fight to the death!

Bahādur Shāh's displeasure at the escape of the Guru could not be concealed, and his calm temper was disturbed in a very unusual degree. There was a stormy scene between him and the chief minister. Bahādur Shāh reproached him with being the cause of delay of every kind. At length, when the quarry had been driven into the net, it had, by his want of care and precaution, sprung away again, leaving no trace

1 Kāmwar Khān. 82, *Ma,āṣiru-l-Umarā*, III, 673–4.
2 Kāmwar Khān, 82.
3 *Bāz parīdah o būm, ba dām uftādah ast. Ma,āṣiru-l-Umarā*, III, 673.
4 II, 672, 673.

behind it but a little dust. It mattered not where the "dog" had fled to, whether he were drowned in the river or hiding in a cave in the hills; in any case, the wazīr had bound himself to produce the rebel, and produce him he must. He (Bahādur Shāh) claimed the man from him. Overwhelmed with these fierce reproaches, Mun'īm Khān left the council-chamber with hanging head and dejected mien. His death, which followed soon after, is partly attributed to the untoward result of the campaign against the Guru.[1]

On the 22nd Shawwāl, 1122 (13th December, 1710) orders were sent to the Rājās of Sirīnagar (that is, Garḥvāl) and Nāhan[2] to seize the Guru wherever they found him. The escape had been made into, or through, Nāhan territory. That Rājā's crime was therefore the more patent, and unfortunately for him, his chief town was only a few miles away, and to it Ḥamīd Khān was sent to seize him. A few days afterwards (2nd Ẕū,l Ka'dh, 1122=22nd December, 1710), that noble returned bringing Bhūp Pargāsh, the son of Harī Pargāsh, the ruler of Nāhan. He was kept in confinement, and thirty or more men who had been sent by his mother to plead for his release, were executed (4th Safar, 1123=23rd March, 1711). Finally, he was put into the iron cage constructed for the reception of the false Guru, and forwarded to Dihlī, where he was kept a prisoner in Salīmgaṛh until, during the confusion in Jahāndār's time, he was set at liberty. Fatḥ Siŋgh, of Sirīnagar, was not so easily accessible. He was prudent enough to make his peace by sending presents (20th Muḥarram, 1123 =8th March, 1711), but he could not be seized. Although the principal object of the campaign, the capture of the Guru, was not attained, it was not altogether fruitless, for treasure amounting to about twenty lakhs in rupees and *asharfīs* (gold coins) was recovered, by digging up the whole surface of the ground in Lōhgaṛh, the Guru's fort (25th Shawwāl, 1122=16th December, 1710).[3]

It will conduce to clearness if, discarding a strict chronological order, we here carry the story of the Sikh revolt up to Bahādur Shāh's death and the reign of Jahāndār Shāh, leaving the final overthrow and capture of the Guru in Farrukh Siyar's reign, to be related hereafter. To resume, then:—On the 22nd Ẕū,l Ka'dh, 1122 (11th January, 1711)

[1] Wārid, 119 b, 120 a.

[2] These are generally styled by the Muhammadan writers *Barfī Rājā*, or Snowy Kings. For instance, in Khāfī Khān, II, 671, and *Ma,āṣiru-l-Umarā*, III, 673. Khushāl Cand, *Nādiru-z-Zamānī* (B. Museum, Addl. No. 24,027, fol. 214 b.) tells us that the name was given because the Nāhan Rājā used to send boatloads of ice (colloquially *barf*) as presents to the Emperors and nobles of Dihlī.

[3] Kāmwar Khān, 83, 87, Wārid, 120 b.

Muḥammad Amīn Khān returned to head-quarters and reported the re-occupation of Sirhind. He was received with honour, and escorted into camp by Khān Zamān Bahādur, the wazīr's second son. Shortly after this date, Saf Shikan Khān, Bahādur, with his sister's son, Himmat Dalēr Khān, was despatched against the Sikhs in the direction of Lāhōr. He was followed on the 18th Muḥarram, 1123 (7th March 1711), by Ḥamīd Khān, Bahādur, at the head of 5,000 horsemen. Three months had hardly passed from the taking of Lōhgaṛh, when, in the early part of 1123 H., the Guru issued from the hills and appeared further to the west, in the parganahs of Rāepur and Bahrāmpur,[1] thus raising a fresh disturbance in the Bārī Dūāb. On the 7th and 14th Rabī' II, 1123 (24th and 31st May, 1711), Rustam Dil Khān and Muḥammad Amīn Khān were sent to restore order, and were directed to construct a bridge of boats across the Biāh river. Meanwhile, by a report which arrived on the 18th Rabī' II, 1123 (4th June, 1711) the Emperor learnt the death of Shams Khān, Khweshgī.[2]

Shams Khān, Khweshgī, who had shortly before this time lost his appointment as faujdār of Baiṭh Jalandhar, was on his way to his home at Qasūr, south of Lāhōr, accompanied by one hundred horsemen. The party was attacked by the Sikhs, who had gathered together to the number of some 20,000 men, horse and foot. In spite of the disparity of numbers, the Muhammadans, disdaining to flee, offered a stout resistance. Many of the Sikhs were killed, but at the same time, Shams Khān himself was among the slain. As the Guru did not know of this leader's death, he and his men left the field. By the time he heard the news and returned, the Afghāns had removed Shams Khān's body and with it escaped to his home. The Emperor appointed 'Īse Khān, Ma,īn, to be Deputy Faujdār of Baiṭh Jalandhar, with the rank of 1,500, *zāt*, 1,000 horse.[3]

Owing to the death of Shams Khān, the inhabitants of the Bārī Dūāb, especially of Baṭālā and Kalānaur, two important towns, fled from their homes, with their families and such property as they could remove, taking refuge in Lāhōr or other places of safety. As soon as the Sikhs found that the towns and villages were not defended, they placed in them armed posts and slaughtered all those upon whom they could lay hands. A force was also sent by them across the river Rāvī to devastate the Rachnau Dūāb; Auraŋgābād, Parsarōr, and other places were taken and many houses burnt.[4]

1 Rāepur (not traced). Bahrāmpur, N. of Gurdāspur.
2 Kāmwar Khān, 84, 85, 87, 91, 92; Mirzā Muḥammad, 215, 217.
3 Mīrzā Muḥammad, 215, 237.
3 *Ibidem.* Auraŋgābād (not traced), Parsarōr, a few miles S. of Siālkōṭ.

On the 23rd Rabī' II, 1123 (9th June, 1711) Ḥāmid Khān, Bahādur, returned to head-quarters, then at Hushyārpūr, and at the same time it was reported that 'Īse Khān, Ma,īn, had inflicted a severe defeat on the Sikhs. As the victor was a *protégé* of the eldest Prince, Jahāndār Shāh, that Prince received robes of honour as a compliment for the victory. Five days later (28th Rabī 'II, 1123 (14th June, 1711), Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Chīn, and Rustam Dil Khān, wrote that, near Parsūr (or Parsarōr), they had also defeated the Guru, who had fled without any followers into the hill-country of Jammū. In these operations against the Sikhs, Rustam Dil Khān is said to have committed great excesses against the inhabitants of Kāthōthā, Barvāl,[1] and other parganahs, seizing many persons on the wrongful accusation of being Sikhs, and giving them to his soldiers in lieu of pay. These latter sold the poor wretches in the horse-market (*Nakhkhās*) at 'Lāhōr.[2]

Soon, the two commanders, Muḥammad Amīn Khān and Rustam Dil Khān, began to quarrel and send in complaints against each other. From this cause the pursuit relaxed. The charge against Rustam Dil Khān was that, after he had learnt the Guru's hiding-place in the hills, and had resolved to surround it, the fugitive made overtures of humble submission, and on several occasions sent large presents of money to his pursuer. These presents caused Rustam Dil Khān to delay his advance. By this remissness the Guru succeeded in effecting his escape. Muḥammad Amīn Khān's story was believed, and Rustam Dil Khān was recalled to Lāhōr. From that time the operations slackened.[3]

One account states that Rustam Dil Khān's offence was leaving his troops and returning to Lāhōr without orders. Whichever is the true version, it is certain that on the 19th Rajāb, 1123 (1st September, 1711), Islām Khān, General of Artillery, Mahābbat Khān, Mukhliṣ Khān and Sarbarāh Khān, the koṭvāl, were sent to arrest him. He was brought in during the night, seated on the carriage of a field-piece. Orders issued to put fetters on his feet and convey him to the citadel of Lāhōr. On his way to prison, a number of men who had suffered at his hands, cursed him and threw dust at him; but true to his reckless character, he was not in the least dejected, and occupied himself in interchanging witticisms with the men in charge of him, who were seated on the same elephant. Some of the bystanders shouted out,

[1] Kāthōthā (in Rachnau Dūāb, *Āīn*. II, 321); Barwal (not traced).

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 92; Qāsim, 103.

[3] Wārid, 125 b. Rustam Dīl Khān was the grandson of Allah Wirdī Khān, Shāhjahānī.

"Pimp! Pimp!" Now, as Islām Khān was following his prisoner on another elephant, Rustam Dil Khān retorted unabashed, "Which do you mean? The pimp in front or the one behind?" His office of *Mīr Tōzak* was given to another man, and 'Ināyatullah Khān, the Khānsāman, or Lord Steward, was directed to confiscate his property. The amount reported was 500 gold coins (*asharfī*) 1,36,000 rupees, 11 elephants, 70 horses, 18 camels, some jewels, and forty cart-loads of tents. After a few months the culprit was released, and received the name of Ghazanfar Khān in place of his old titles (20th Shawwāl, 1123 = 30th November, 1711).[1]

On the 14th Zū,l Ḥajj, 1123 (22nd January, 1712), barely a month before Bahādur Shāh's death, Muḥammad Amīn Khān reported a severe fight with the Sikhs, and with his letter he sent in five hundred heads. But, on the Emperor's death, Muḥammad Amīn Khān left that part of the country and returned to the imperial camp with the object of taking part in the fight for the succession. The Guru saw his opportunity and once more took possession of the town of Sādhaurā, and restored the fort of Lōhgaṛh. Here he remained undisturbed for about two months. When Jahāndār Shāh's accession had taken place, Muḥammad Amīn Khān was sent back to continue the campaign, and Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, faujdār of *Chaklā* Sirhind, was ordered to put himself under that general's orders. For several months the investment of Sādhaurā was maintained without result. Then, towards the end of the year 1124 (December, 1712), when Jahāndār Shāh left Dihlī for Āgrā to oppose the advance of Farrukh Siyar, he recalled Muḥammad Amīn Khān to head-quarters. Subsequent events will fall within the reign of Farrukh Siyar.[2]

[Note.—Another extract relating the capture and execution of Bandah, and giving an account of the Sikh spiritual succession up to 1173 H., has already appeared in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1894, pp. 420–431.]

[1] Kāmwar Khān, 95, 98, and Dastūr-ul-'Aml, B. M., Oriental MSS., 1690, for 155 b.

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 100; Mīrzā Muḥammad, 215–237.

On the Hypothesis of the Babylonian Origin of the so-called Lunar Zodiac—*By* G. Thibaut.

That the lunar zodiac, or system of lunar mansions, which we find in use since an early time among several Asiatic nations, notably the Arabs, Hindus and Chinese, had originally been established in Babylon, was a conjecture, first thrown out by Professor A. Weber.[1] Direct proofs of such a zodiac having been recognised by the Chaldean astronomers were, indeed, not given by that scholar. A few facts were quoted which seemed to lend some countenance to the hypothesis in question; but that these facts had by themselves little proving force was admitted by the author of the hypothesis himself. That, under these circumstances, the hypothesis was put forth at all, was due to the conviction that the striking similarities displayed by the lunar zodiacs of the three nations mentioned, could be satisfactorily accounted for, only on the assumption of there having been a true historical connexion between them, while, at the same time, difficulties of various kinds seemed to preclude the assumption of the zodiac having been first devised by one of the three nations, and later on, borrowed by the other two. It thus presented itself as a not unlikely way out of the difficulty, to assign the invention of the lunar zodiac to the centrally situated Babylon, which, moreover, was known to have been one of the earliest seats of astronomical observation and speculation, and to suppose that from thence were derived at a very early period the different lunar zodiacs positively known to us.

Viewed in this way, the hypothesis was indeed by no means destitute of plausibility. It did not enter into conflict with any known facts, and seemed to offer openings for the removal of certain difficulties which attached themselves to other theories. Hence it was, if not adopted, at least referred to as not improbable by several competent enquirers. That others again, less cautious, and perhaps less fully acquainted with the intricate character of the evidence, proceeded to

[1] See Weber's History of Indian Literature (first German Edition, 1852, p. 21), and the first of his Essays on the Nakshatras, 1860, *passim*.

state as an undoubted fact, what certainly was only a fairly plausible conjecture, was what generally happens in such cases, and can in no way be laid to the fault of the distinguished author of the hypothesis.

At the time when Professor Weber first formulated his views on the probable origin of the Nakshatras (to use the term by which the Hindus designate the constituent asterisms of their lunar zodiac), hardly anything was known about the astronomical doctrines of the Babylonians, but what we learn from Greek and Roman authors. These writers do not indeed say anything about a lunar zodiac; but as their accounts cannot be considered as in any way exhaustive, no great stress could be laid upon this absence of testimony on a particular point. During the last forty years, however, rapid progress has been made in the decipherment of the original records of Babylonian and Assyrian literature, *i.e.*, the very numerous inscriptions in cuneiform characters engraved on stone and clay tablets, which have been excavated from the heaps of ruins covering ancient Chaldean soil, and are at present preserved in the great Museums of Europe, principally the British Museum. Among these records of the past, numerous texts of astronomical and astrological character came to light, some of which have been published—chiefly in the 'Inscriptions of Western Asia,' edited by the authorities of the British Museum,—and several scholars, soon after, attempted to elucidate the meaning of those difficult documents. Of the scope and value of these earlier attempts to re-construct the system of Chaldean astronomy we cannot speak here in detail. To the general difficulties besetting all interpretation of cuneiform documents, there are added, in the case of astronomical texts, special difficulties of a truly formidable nature, and we, therefore, need not be astonished, when finding, that, for some time, no results were reached that could be accepted with any confidence. As far as the question of the lunar zodiac is concerned, nothing was discovered that favoured the hypothesis of its Chaldean origin. But owing to the fragmentary nature of the texts interpreted, and the doubts attaching to the interpretations, there was, after all, no reason for giving up the hope that evidence confirming that hypothesis might be traced at some future time.

A few years ago, however, an enormous advance in our knowledge of Babylonian Astronomy was effected by the publication of the results of the researches which two distinguished scholars, Fathers Epping and Strassmaier, had carried on in co-operation.[1] F. Strassmaier had succeeded in discovering, among the treasures of the British Museum, some astronomical tablets which were distinguished from the mass of

[1] F. Epping S. J., Astronomisches aus Babylon. Freiburg, 1889.

similar documents by being clearly dated in a known era, so that astronomical calculation could be resorted to for the interpretation of their contents. I cannot, interesting as it would be, give in this place an account of the steps by which F. Epping, throughout assisted by the vast philological and palæographic learning of F. Strassmaier, arrived at a convincing and almost complete interpretation of the contents of those tablets; how, by calculations and reflections continued through many years, he succeeded in eliminating one unknown quantity after the other; and thus in the end establishing a firm basis for all future research in this field. Nor can I here undertake to give a full account of the nature of the results worked out. Of these so much only will be concisely stated as may be considered to bear on the question treated of in this paper.

It appears from the astronomical tablets interpreted, that the Babylonian astronomers were in the habit of referring the positions of the five planets to a certain number of fixed stars situated near the Ecliptic. The tablets explained, in the book above referred to, are supposed by Professor Epping to contain what he calls planetary ephemerids, *i.e.*, methodical statements of the places of the planets, as calculated before hand for a certain period of time. Other tablets of a generally similar nature, which Professor Epping has since published and translated in the 'Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,' are supposed by him to embody the results not of previous calculation but actual observation. It may in some cases be difficult of decision whether a certain tablet contains a statement of calculations or of observations; for, so far, we do not know with what degree of accuracy the Babylonians either were able to predict the positions of the planets, or cared to observe and record their actual positions. Professor Epping naturally supposes that, wherever the statements are very nearly accurate, *i.e.*, very nearly agree with the positions of the planets, as determined for that time by the methods of modern astronomy, we have to do with records not of calculation but actual observation. The decision of this important question does not, however, concern us here.

A few examples quoted from Professor Epping's book will serve to illustrate the Babylonian method of stating the places of planets. One of the tablets says, that in the night of the 20th of the month Airu (April to May) of the year 189 of the Seleucidan Era (—122) Venus appeared (or was to appear) in the eastern sky, and above her the western star of the head of the Ram, at a distance of four yards. Again we read that in the night of the 26th of the month Abu (July to August) of the same year, Mars appeared (or was to appear) in the eastern sky, and above it the western star of the mouth of the

Twins, at the distance of eight inches. A. S. O. The observations—or calculations—recorded, comprise positions of all the five planets. We cannot in this place dwell at length on the elaborate and ingenious processes by which F. Epping succeeded in identifying the planets and the fixed stars—normal stars, as F. Epping calls them—to which the places of the planets are referred, nor can we discuss the methods employed by the Babylonian astronomers in determining and expressing these places. We are concerned only with the results arrived at by F. Epping, and these seem so well assured, that we need not hesitate to accept his identifications *in toto*, so that we have trustworthy information about a number of stars—none of them far from the Ecliptic—which the Babylonian Astronomers used as their fundamental stars. The planetary tables analysed in Epping's book mention twenty-eight such stars (or rather twenty-nine, if we take into account γ Cancri, mentioned in the Note to Epping's Constellation xiii, p. 126). But since the publication of that book, Epping and Strassmaier have continued their researches and succeeded in explaining some further planetary tablets—constructed on much the same lines—which supply a few more normal stars, so that a list published in the December part of the *Assyriological Review* for 1892, contains altogther thirty-three normal stars. Whether just so many normal stars were recognised by the Babylonian Astronomers, or whether the future decipherment of further tablets will add to that number, we are not at present able to say. Taking into account that the Babylonians manifestly aimed at a considerable degree of accuracy in their observations, and possibly predictions, the former alternative would not, *a priori*, appear improbable. But the fact, on the other hand, that so far, in all the Tablets explained, only thirty-three stars have been met with, while, most probably, there would have been more than once an opportunity of mentioning other stars also, seems to indicate that for some reason or other a limited number of stars had been singled out once for all, and that to them only the positions of the planets were referred. The number of these stars may, of course, have exceeded thirty-three to some extent. A conjecture made by Professor Hommel with reference to this point does not lack plausibility. According to a well-known passage in Diodorus, the Chaldeans taught that thirty stars, called the 'Counsellor Gods,' were ranged under the planets,—fifteen above and fifteen below the earth—one of which went every ten days from the upper to the lower regions. From the last mentioned item of doctrine, Professor Hommel concludes that we have to read, in the text of Diodorus, 'thirty-six' instead of 'thirty,' 36×10 being equal to 360, the approximate number of the days of the year; and seems inclined—if I rightly apprehend

his meaning—to identify those thirty-six Counsellor Stars with the normal stars selected by the astronomers. This is a not unlikely conjecture, and we, therefore, may expect to meet, by and bye, in Babylonian texts, with three further stars employed as normal stars.

We now come to the special topic of the present paper, *viz.*, a critical examination of the views set forth not long ago by the distinguished Assyriologist, Professor F. Hommel, of Munich, on the connexion of the series of normal stars employed by the Chaldean Astronomers, with the lunar zodiacs acknowledged by the Arabs, Hindus, and Chinese.[1]

Professor Hommel is of opinion that the results of the researches carried on by Epping and Strassmaier suffice to raise beyond doubt, the truth of the conjecture first hazarded by Professor Weber, as to Babylon having been the place where a series of lunar stations was first established, and from which that series, more or less modified, was borrowed by the other nations. But as the Babylonian series on the one hand, and the series acknowledged by the Arabs, Hindus and Chinese, on the other hand, are by no means altogether identical—as indeed sufficiently appears from what has been said, so far, about the Babylonian normal stars,—there arises the necessity of accounting for the various discrepancies, and showing that they have to, or may, be viewed as later variations. We will follow Professor Hommel through the different steps of the argumentation by which he attempts to effect this.

The point in which the series of Babylonian normal stars most obviously differs from the well-known lunar zodiacs is, of course, that the latter comprise twenty-seven or twenty-eight stars, or groups of stars, while the Babylonian series numbers thirty or more stars. This discrepancy—Professor Hommel attempts to remove by undertaking to show—that the Babylonian series, as well as the lunar zodiac of the Arabs and other nations, originally comprised, all of them, twenty-four members only. First, as to the Babylonian series. Professor Hommel has compiled from Epping's book, a series of thirty-one stars,[2] (of which one, however, *viz.*, No. 26, is not actually met with in the Tablets, but due to an hypothesis of Professor Hommel's); while, as remarked above, the list published by Epping and Strassmaier in the *Z. F. Ass.*

[1] 'Ueber den Ursprung und das Alter der Arabischen Sternnamen und insbesondere der Mondstationen' von Fritz Hommel; Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. 45, pp. 592–619.

[2] Pp. 610–12; of Professor Hommel's paper.—The list numbers thirty stars only, but this is due to the mistake of one star (*Pulukku* = α Cancri) having received no running number.

contains thirty-three stars. Strictly speaking, Professor Hommel, or any one espousing his views, would, therefore, have to show that not only the series of thirty-one stars, but also that which comprises two further stars, admits of being reduced to a series of twenty-four members. The difference of the two series is, however, of no great importance as far as the matter in question is concerned: for on the point of view adopted by Professor Hommel, the larger as well as the smaller list doubtless admits of reduction. This plan is to combine into one asterism (or station, to use the term employed by Professor Hommel) all those stars which are shewn by their names to have been viewed by the Babylonians as closely connected. The Babylonian list no doubt comprises a number of stars which were considered to constitute pairs: the two stars which Professor Epping by his calculations has identified as, β and ζ, Tauri, are designated on the tablets as the northern and southern *šur narkabti* (translated by Professor Hommel as 'ox of the wain'); η and μ, Geminorum, are called the western and the eastern star of the mouth of the Twins; α and β, Geminorum, appear as the eastern and western Twins; γ and δ, Cancri, are called the southern and the northern one of *pulukku* (translated 'Spindle' by Professor Hommel); α and β, Librae, are called the southern and the northern one of the Balance; γ and d, Capricorni, appear as the western and the eastern one of—according to Professor Hommel's translation—the goat-fish; α and β, Arietis, are called the eastern and western one of the head of the Ram. Fourteen single stars thus being combined into seven pairs of stars, the list of thirty-one stars is reduced to one of twenty-four members, part of them pairs of stars, and part single stars. Epping's list of thirty-three stars appears to comprise eight pairs of stars, the counting of which as single stars would bring the number down to twenty-five. But it would probably not be difficult, by some further combination, to reduce this latter total by another unit, and thus again to arrive at what might be called a zodiac of 24 asterisms or stars.

Next, as to the lunar zodiacs of the Arabs, Hindus and Chinese. Here also Professor Hommel labours to show that these zodiacs, in their original form consisted of no more than twenty-four members. This argumentation concerns itself with the Arabic Zodiac chiefly, and the means by which he undertakes to reduce the twenty-eight stations of that zodiac to an earlier series of twenty-four is as follows:—

He in the first place, assumes the two stations *al-Fargh al-awwal* (α and β, Pegasi) and *al-Fargh aṣ-ṣānī* (γ, Pegasi, and α, Andromedæ) to have originally constituted one station only, on the ground that in all the older passages which mention those stations, they are spoken of as

one only, called *ad-dalwu.*[1] He further maintains the twelfth station—*aṣ-Ṣarfah*—(*β* Leonis)—to have been a later insertion, chiefly for the reason that also the corresponding Indian Station, *viz.*, *Uttara Phalgunī* appears, to judge from its name, to have originally formed one station with the preceding one, *viz.*, *Pūrva Phalgunī.* He next suggests that No. 17—*al-iklīl* (*β δ π* Scorpionis) was not originally separated from the preceding station—*az-Zubānay*—, for the reason that the name of the corresponding Indian Station, *viz.*, *Anurādhā*, indicates that station to have once been one with the preceding station, which, in addition to its ordinary name, *viçākhā* is sometimes called *rādhā.* And he finally throws a doubt on the originality of the 21st station *al-Baldah*, with reference to the fact that the corresponding Indian Station may, on account of its name, *Uttarāshāḍhās*, be suspected to have originally constituted one station with the one immediately preceding (*Pūrvāshāḍhās*).

The lunar zodiac of the Arabs is thus reduced to a series comprising twenty-four stations. And as the four rejected stations are rejected for reasons derived from the nomenclature of the corresponding Hindu Nakshatras, it, of course, follows that those four Nakshatras also must be viewed as later additions to an original Hindu series of twenty-four members only. Professor Hommel makes some remarks tending to show that also some of the Chinese *Sieu* are later insertions in an original less extended series, he does not, however, attempt to prove that just four members of the Chinese zodiac were not original. This, however, is a point of no great importance.

Professor Hommel, thus, has established two series of asterisms—a Babylonian one and an Arab one—each of which comprises twenty-four members, and next proceeds to enquire how far the constituent members of the two series are identical. In the comparative statement of the two lists, however, given by him on page 613, he exhibits, not the reduced Arabic list, but the ordinary list of twenty-eight stations. We may follow him therein (since, in a comparison of the individual stars of the two lists, it does not make much difference whether we arrange them in twenty-eight or twenty-four stations), and, therefore, here re-produce the list as drawn up by Professor Hommel *in extenso.*

	Babylonian Series.		*Arabian Series*
1.	timinnu, *η* Tauri ...	...	aṭ-ṭuraiyā, *η* Tauri.
2.	pidnu, *α* Tauri ...	...	al-debarān, *α* Tauri.

[1] To this we must add—following a line of reasoning adopted by Professor Hommel in three other cases—that also the names of the corresponding Nakshatras (*Pūrva-Bhadrapadās* and *Uttara-Bhadrapadās*) point to the fact of there having originally been one station, which, later on, was divided into two.

	Babylonian Series.		*Arabian Series.*
3.	šur narkabti, β α. ζ Tauri	...	al-haq'a, λ, ϕ,[1] ϕ^2 Orionis.
4.	pū tu'āmi, η, μ Geminorum	}	al-han'a, η, μ, ν, γ, ξ Geminorum.
5.	tu'āmi, ša re'i, γ Geminorum	}	
6.	tu'āmi, α, β Geminorum	...	aḍ-ḍirā, α, β Geminorum.
7.	pulukku, γ, δ Cancri	...	an-naṭra, γ, δ Cancri.
8.	rīs arī, ϵ Leonis ...	...	aṭ-ṭarf, λ Leonis.
9.	šarru, α Leonis ...	...	al-gabha, α Leonis.
10.	māruša rību arkat, šarri ρ Leonis		az-zubra, δ, θ Leonis.
11.	zibbat arī, β Leonis	...	aṣ-ṣarfa, β Leonis.
12	šīpu arkū ša arī, β Virginis	}	al-'awwā, β η, γ Virginis.
13.	šur ardati, γ Virginis	}	
14.	nābū ardati, α Virginis	{	as-simāk, α Virginis. al-ghafr, ι, κ, λ Virginis.
15.	zibānītu ; α, β Libræ	...	az-zubānay α, β Libræ.
16.	rīs aḳrabi ; δ, β Scorpionis	...	al-iklīl ; δ, π, β Scorpionis.
17.	ḫabrud ; α Scorpionis	...	al-qalb, α Scorpionis.
18.	mātu ša kasil, θ Ophiuchi	...	as-saula, λ, υ Scorpionis.
			an-na 'āyim. Sagitt.
			al-balda. Sagitt.
19.	ḳaran sug'ur ; α, β Capricorni	...	aḍ-ḍābih ; α, β Capricorni.
			bula ; ϵ, μ, ν Aquarii.
20.	sug'ur ; γ δ Capricorni	...	as-su'ūd ; β, ξ Aquarii.
21.			al-aḫbiya ; α, γ, ζ, η Aquarii.
22.			ad-dalwu ; α, β, γ Pegasi, α Andromedæ.
23.	rikis nūni ; η (Piscium)	...	al-ḫūt ; β Andromedæ.
24.	rīs kuṣariḳḳi ; α, β Arietis	...	an-naṭḫ ; β, γ Arietis.
			al-buṭain : a, b, c Muscæ.

Observing that in the above two lists the stars constituting sixteen stations are absolutely identical, while there is an approximate agreement in six further cases, Professor Hommel considers himself justified in concluding that 'there cannot be any doubt that the planetary stations made use of by the Babylonians at the time of the Arsacide Kings, and the Arabic (as well as the Indian and Chinese), lunar stations are based on one and the same more ancient original.

Now this conclusion I feel altogether unable to accept.—In the first place there arises the difficulty of accounting for the acceptation of a zodiac of twenty-four asterisms, and its later transformation into one of twenty-eight members, by the Hindus, Arabs and Chinese alike. That the Babylonians who manifestly possessed from old times a real solar zodiac of twelve signs should at some later time have subdivided

each station of that zodiac into two parts, is intelligible; for divisions comprising thirty degrees each naturally would, for many purposes, be found inconveniently large. For the same reasons we can understand the establishment of a series of thirty-six stars, three for each sign of the zodiac. I do not see any proof of a series of twenty-four stations having ever actually been employed by the Babylonians; but as said just now, a motive for its formation is at any rate imaginable, in the case of those who, as a matter of fact, started with a zodiac consisting of twelve parts. But for what purposes should we imagine that hypothetical zodiac of twenty-four members to have been borrowed by the other nations? What we positively know is that the Hindus, Arabs and Chinese possessed zodiacs comprising twenty-eight or twenty-seven members, *i.e.*, zodiacs having a special reference to the moon's motion. Professor Hommel would have us believe that the Chinese, Arabs and Hindus independently borrowed from the Babylonians a zodiac of twenty-four asterisms; that this zodiac was afterwards expanded by the Chinese into one of twenty-eight members; that the Hindus independently did the same; and that the Arabs finally added four members to their zodiac at the time when they became acquainted with Hindu astronomy. Now the zodiac of the Hindus is from the earliest time at which it appears a decidedly lunar one; the *nakshatras* are primarily those asterisms with which the moon in her periodic revolution successively enters into conjunction, and that the Hindu Series of twenty-eight or twenty-seven asterisms should have been preceded by one of twenty-four members, is therefore, *ā priori*, quite improbable. The same may be said of the Arab *manzils*; and also of the Chinese *sieu*. The lunar character of the *sieu* is not so clearly apparent as that of the *nakshatra* and *manzil*. But just for that reason an amplification of an earlier list of 24 asterisms—which would have fully satisfied all practical requirements—into one of twenty-eight members is all the less probable.

Professor Hommel speaks in several places of the twenty-four 'lunar' stations. But a series of twenty-four stations can in no way be called 'lunar.' A 'lunar' zodiac—whether we understand thereby a zodiac of lunar origin or one of prevailingly lunar application—can be constituted only by a series of either twenty-seven or twenty-eight asterisms.

There are further considerations which render improbable the hypothesis of the Babylonian Series of normal stars having been the prototype of the different lunar zodiacs. With the Arabs as well as the Hindus and Chinese, the twenty-eight or twenty-seven members of their zodiacs appear from the very outset as stations, *i.e.*, sections of

the ecliptic, dividing the course of sun, moon, and planets into a number of parts. These sub-divisions may be viewed either as abstract fractional parts of the ecliptic, irrespective of any stars or asterisms; or else they may be conceived as marked by certain stars or groups of stars. In ancient Arabic literature the latter aspect prevails on the whole; the different seasons of the year are discerned and distinguished according to the successive risings of the stars or groups of stars that mark the stations. But at the same time there are other passages which refer to the moon or sun as being within a station, and in which therefore the character of the stations as sub-divisions of the ecliptic appears very clearly. In Sanskrit literature the *nakshatras* came at a very early period to be prevailingly viewed as subdivisions of the path of the moon and sun, although the more sensuous character of the stations as asterisms was by no means forgotten.

Among the Chinese finally the *sieu* although defined by groups of stars are generally used only as subdivisions of the ecliptic: they in fact hold in Chinese astronomy a position strictly analogous to that of the signs of the zodiac among Western nations. It is true that in one point the Chinese zodiac has preserved a more unmistakable mark of its origin than the zodiacs of the more Western nations, *viz.*, in the inequality of extent of the twenty-eight *sieu*. For this inequality can be explained only by the fact that the twenty-eight subdivisions of the ecliptic were made to correspond to twenty-eight groups of stars of, naturally, unequal extent.

It thus appears that Arabs, Hindus, and Chinese alike used the stations of their lunar zodiacs in the same way as we use the signs of our zodiac, *i.e.*, as subdivisions of the sphere, and thereby of the path of sun, moon and planets. If, therefore, the lunar zodiacs of those three nations were mere adaptations of an original Babylonian zodiac of twenty-four or more asterisms, we should expect that also the asterisms constituting that Babylonian zodiac should have been employed for the purpose of subdividing the ecliptic into as many parts, to which the motions of sun, moon and planets are referred. But, as an examination of the Babylonian planetary tablets teaches, this is by no means the case. As stated above, those tablets when intending to fix the position of a planet with accuracy, refer it to one of the normal stars. When on the other hand the Babylonian astronomers could not—or else did not care to—define the place of a planet very exactly, they merely say in which of the twelve zodiacal constellations it was at the time. The tablets say, *e.g.*, that on the evening of the 4th Airu—122, Mercury heliacally set in *te-te* (Taurus); and that on the 8th Tishritu—110, Mars heliacally rose in

nūru (Libra). The Babylonian names of the twelve constellations of the zodiac are given in Epping's work, p. 149, (*cf.* also the discussion of these names by Strassmaier, pp. 170–173), and a second rectified list is furnished in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* for December 1892, p. 223. We may also compare on this point Professor Hommel's paper under discussion, pp. 610–12; and Professor Jensen's '*Kosmologie der Babylonier*,' pp. 57–95 and 495–501.

According to the results arrived at by these scholars, the Babylonian names of the zodiacal constellations agree, on the whole, with the Greek ones; the most striking exception being that, in the place of Cancer, the Babylonians have a term *Pulukku* which is said to mean a 'spindle.' And there seems no longer to prevail any doubt that the solar zodiac, with its twelve signs, was first invented by the Babylonians, and employed by them from a very early period. The need, therefore, which, in the case of other nations, supplied the chief reason for the establishment of a lunar zodiac, *viz.*, the need of some subdivision of the zodiac into parts to which the motions of the heavenly bodies could be referred, did, as far as we can see back, not exist for the Babylonians, who already possessed a subdivision of the zodiac into twelve parts.

A comparison of the designations of the Babylonian normal stars with the names of the lunar stations among the Arabs, Hindus, and Chinese, suggests similar conclusions. The names of these latter point throughout to an independent series of asterisms, *i.e.*, the name of each station indicates a star or group of stars, considered to constitute an independent whole by itself, not forming part of a larger group or constellation. We must modify this general statement with reference to those Arab and Hindu stations which, by their designations, as 'first' and 'second,' or 'earlier' and 'later,' are shewn to have been viewed as parts of one more extensive constellation. But this qualification does not affect the contrast which the lunar mansions of the three nations form, in this respect, to the series of Babylonian normal stars. For it is clear [1] that by far the greater number of the names of those stars point to the fact that the stars were viewed as belonging to one or other of the twelve zodiacal constellations. We have the head of the Ram, the mouth of the Twins, the head of the Lion, the tail of the Lion, the hind-foot of the Lion, the anterior bull of the Virgin, the 'messenger' (?) of the Virgin, the Balance, the head of the Scorpion, the horn of the Goat-fish, the head of the Pourer (of water; Aquarius), the foot of the Pourer; the head of the Fish. A few stars only have special names not directly pointing to any connexion of theirs with the

[1] I here have to accept the interpretations of the Babylonian names given by Professor Hommel.

zodiacal constellations; so, *e.g.*, *pidnu* (Aldebaran) and *šarru* (Regulus). The Babylonian nomenclature of the stars near the Ecliptic thus seems, on the whole, to have been faithfully reproduced by the Greek Astronomers, who have special names for some few of the most conspicuous stars, while the great majority are simply referred to their places in the zodiacal constellations.

In spite of the preceding reflections, which tend to shew that the Babylonian series of normal stars, and the lunar zodiacs of the three nations, differ in general character, it might be maintained that the Babylonians had for some reason or other singled out a certain number of—let us say, twenty-four—ecliptical stars or asterisms, which series was later on borrowed by the other nations and variously adapted to their own purposes. This, in fact, is, as explained above, the thesis advocated by Professor Hommel. We, therefore, must now examine in detail the steps of his argumentation.

That the normal stars of the Babylonians—whether 31 or 33 or 36; or in fact any approximate number—may without much difficulty be arranged, as is done by Professor Hommel, in a series of twenty-four members has been admitted before. But it appears very much more doubtful whether we can follow Professor Hommel in the second step of his argumentation, *viz.*, the attempt to show that, also, the different lunar zodiacs in their primitive form comprised twenty-four stations only. We will no longer dwell on the circumstance of a zodiac of twenty-four stations not being a lunar one at all; for the originally lunar character of the zodiacs under discussion might be called into question. But what positive evidence is there for any of the three zodiacs concerned ever having comprised less than twenty-eight or twenty-seven members?—Professor Hommel does not attempt to show that the Chinese originally acknowledged twenty-four stations only; following G. Schlegel, he merely remarks (Note 5, p. 606), that α and β Pegasi, and γ Pegasi and δ Andromedæ, which constitute the two *sieu* Tschi and Pi originally formed one station only.[1]

Concerning the Arab and Hindu Stations, Professor Hommel thinks, as shown above, that there are reasons for singling out four of them as later additions, and further conjectures that the addition was independ-

[1] We need not, of course, with reference to the point under discussion, pay attention to J. B. Biot's opinion that the Chinese Stations were originally twenty-four only, to which four more were added, at about 1100 B. C. For that opinion has long been shown to have no historical foundation whatever; and would, even if found to be true, hardly help to confirm Professor Hommel's views, since the four stations which Biot declares to be later additions (*viz.*, *Nu*, *Oey*, *Lieou* and *Ti*), are all included in Professor Hommel's hypothetical original series.

ently made by the Hindus only, and merely borrowed by the Arabs when they first became acquainted with Indian astronomy. We also have seen that Professor Hommel draws his reason for suspecting four Indian *Nakshatras* from their names. But the very indefinite indication supplied by the nomenclature certainly does not suffice to make up for the total absence of positive evidence as well as general probability. The Hindu Series, at any rate, appears from its very beginning as intimately and specially connected with the moon, [1] and we, therefore, neither expect to find, nor do we actually find, any trace of there having ever been less than twenty-seven or twenty-eight *nakshatras*. That in three cases two consecutive *nakshatras* are specially connected by having the same name—only differentiated by the addition of 'earlier' and 'later'—certainly does not suffice to prove that there originally existed a list of twenty-four stations, but can very well be accounted for by the supposition that when a series of twenty-seven or twenty-eight stations was established, there either already existed such names as *pūrva-* and *uttara-phalgunī*; or that existing names such as *phalgunī* were, for the purposes of the lunar zodiac, to be established, differentiated by the addition of *pūrva* and *uttara*; or else, the asterisms then being named for the first time, that two stations were united by a common name because they struck the eye as constituting one whole as it were. The fact is, that in each case the stars of which the three pairs of *pūrva* and *uttara* consist, form an obvious and conspicuous square, so that nothing was more natural than to comprise them under one name, even on the part of those who distinctly viewed them as two stations. But even if there should have originally been an asterism called simply *phalgunī*, this would not prove that such an asterism ever formed a member in a series of twenty-four *nakshatras*.

The name *anurādhā* finally, meaning 'that which follows on *rādhā*,' has no force whatever, to prove that the two stations were originally considered as one only, not any more than the name of the Arab *Manzil al-Debarān*, *i.e.*, 'the following one,' proves that station to have been at first one with the preceding station, *viz.*, *Thurayyā*, the Pleiades. Had *rādhā* and *anurādhā*, *i.e.*, α, β, δ, ι Libræ and β, δ, π, Scorpionis, ever constituted one primitive station, we might, moreover, reasonably expect to meet with the same stars combined in one group in the primitive Babylonian series assumed by Professor Hommel. But this is distinctly not the case, for we there find α and β Libræ as *Zibānītu*

[1] As has been raised beyond doubt by Professor Weber, in the course of the lengthy controversies carried on by him with several other scholars, concerning the original character of the *nakshatras*.

(Balance), and δ and β Scorpionis as *Rīš-akrabi.* (Head of the Scorpion). It would be of interest, could we apply this latter test also to the three *pūrva* and *uttara* pairs of the Hindu series. The Babylonian list, however, exhibits not any stars either of Sagittarius—in which the two *Ashāḍhās* of the Hindus are situated—nor of Pegasus, and Andromeda, to which the two *Bhadrapadas* belong. Of the three stars, on the other hand, which constitute *pūrva* and *uttara-phalgunī* (*viz.*, θ and δ Leonis; β Leonis) one only, indeed, *viz.*, β, occurs in Professor Hommel's list; but another (*viz.*, θ) is added in Epping's list (*Z. f. A.*, December 1892), and as the names of the two are *zibbat-arū* (tail of the Lion) and *zibbat-kalab* (?) *arū*, it seems that here the Babylonians also viewed the stars of two stations, as forming one group only.

There is, of course, no better positive historical evidence for the *Menāzil* of the Arabs ever having been less than twenty-eight, than there is in the case of the *nakshatras.* In one case (*viz.*, that of the two *Fargh*) we have a designation which, in a manner analogous to that of the Hindus, points to two stations being viewed as parts of one large constellation; but the case is the most striking one of the three mentioned above, in which this mental combination is almost inevitably provoked by the configuration of the group. In the case of the three other *menāzil* (*aṣ-Ṣarfa; al-Iklīl; al-Balda*), which Professor Hommel is inclined to view as having sprung from the later subdivision of large groups of stars into two stations, there is no other reason than the hypothetical later bi-partition of the corresponding asterisms of the Hindu Series. Professor Hommel wishes to connect the amplification of the assumed original series of twenty-four *menāzil* into the known one of twenty-eight, with the introduction of Hindu astronomical doctrines into Islamitic countries. But this hypothesis has absolutely nothing to rest on.

We now advance to the last step in Professor Hommel's argumentation, *viz.*, the attempt to show that the series of asterisms composing the different lunar zodiacs is fundamentally identical with the stars and groups of stars which the Chaldean Astronomers employed as their normal stars. This is clearly the most important link in the chain of attempted proof. What we have considered so far might indeed be termed merely preliminary, or even comparatively irrelevant. It does not, after all, greatly matter—an advocate of the Babylonian origin of the lunar zodiacs might say—whether the stations of the Hindus, Arabs, and Chinese were originally twenty-four or not; nor whether the Babylonian normal stars can be shown, or not, to fall into twenty-four groups; nor what the exact historical relation of the stations of the Arabs and Hindus may have been; nor how far the star groups of

the Babylonians on the one side and those of the three nations on the other side, agreed or differed, as far as practical use is concerned. As long as it can be shown that the two series of asterisms comprise, on the whole, the very same stars or groups of stars; it remains the most probable hypothesis that the selection of the asterisms was originally made in one place, and that the zodiac thus established was later on borrowed by the other nations. Various differences,—which need not be minor ones only—may have sprung up later on; one or more nations may for purposes of their own have subdivided some of the primitive asterisms into parts, so as to increase the total number; one nation may have regarded the stations chiefly in so far as announcing, by their successive risings, the seasons of the year; another nation may have used them, prevailingly, as marking certain subdivisions of the Ecliptic which were required for facility of astronomical computation; the asterisms may have come to be viewed as mansions of the moon in one place and as mansions of the sun in another place; and in a third place they may have come to be practically used only as affording fixed points of reference for the ever-moving planets. All this does not suffice to refute—or even appreciably to diminish the probability of—the view that four zodiacs which are identical, as far as the majority of their constituent groups is concerned, are nothing but modifications of one and the same prototype. Nor can we in the present case look for that original zodiac anywhere else than in Babylon, which we now view with even much better reason than twenty years ago as the cradle of all astronomical science.

The reply to this is that, as a closer examination of the facts will show, the agreement of the Babylonian Series of stars with the lunar zodiacs of the other nations is by no means so close as to compel or even to render probable the derivation of the latter from the former. In attempting to decide the question whether the partial identity of the two series of asterisms entitles us to infer a historical connexion between them, we must take care clearly to represent to ourselves the conditions of the problem, so as to distinguish what has true proving force from what has not. In doing so, we may, as Professor Hommel does in that part of his enquiry which here immediately concerns us, confine our attention to the Babylonian normal stars on the one hand, and the Arabian *menāzil* on the other hand; as the latter approximate most closely to the Babylonian Series, the whole argument may, indeed, with advantage be confined to them Now, what we positively and certainly know about the two series to be compared is, that the Arabs had a kind of zodiac comprising twenty-eight stars or groups of stars, to which they referred the motions of the moon and sun, and whose

risings indicated to them the different seasons; while the Babylonians had a series of stars, to which they referred the motions of the planets. In addition, we may allow, that the normal stars of the Babylonians may—following certain indications given by their nomenclature—be combined in a number of groups, let us say, twenty-four, as Professor Hommel thinks. The question then is whether the similarity of the two series of asterisms extends so far as to render it more probable that the two series go back to one and the same original, than that they were formed independently. Now it is clear that people, bent on establishing on the one hand, a series of what we may call luni-solar Mansions, and on the other hand, Astronomers wishing to select a series of stars to which the places of the planets can be referred, work under conditions from which the partial identity of the stars or star-groups selected follows with absolute necessity. In both cases, asterisms had to be selected which lay within the track of sun, moon, or planets, *i.e.*, asterisms lying on, or not far from, the Ecliptic. It, therefore, was in each case inevitable that specially brilliant stars which had the required position should be included within the Series. To this class belong α Tauri (*Al-Debarān*; *pidnu*); α Leonis (*al-Gabba*; *šarru*); α Virginis (*as-Simāk*; *nābū ardati*); α Scorpionis (*al-Ḳalb*; *ḫabrud*); all of them stars of the first magnitude, and either on, or quite close to, the Ecliptic. The presence of these stars in two series, of course, proves nothing whatever as to their historical inter-dependence.

The same remark may safely be extended to certain well-defined and conspicuous groups of stars which lie close to the Ecliptic, even if they do not contain stars of the first magnitude. To this class belong the Pleiades (*al-ṭurayyā*; *timinnu*); α and β Geminorum (*aḍ-ḍirā*; *tu'āmi*), a conspicuous pair of stars of the second magnitude; and perhaps also, α and β Libræ, two stars of the third magnitude, one of which lies on the Ecliptic. These groups also could not be omitted by any one who in selecting asterisms was bound to follow the track of sun, moon, and planets. In order to be convinced that two zodiacs are historically connected, we require to meet with coincidences of an altogether different kind, *viz.*, with coincidences in cases where the absence of coincidence would not be surprising or possibly even *à priori* probable. This point may be well illustrated by reference to the lunar zodiacs of the Arabs, Hindūs and Chinese. What has, one may ask, driven the majority of scholars who have given that subject their attention, to the conclusion that those three zodiacs have not been formed independently of one other? In the first place, no doubt, the mere fact that they comprise each twenty-eight or twenty-seven members, and are thus marked out as lunar zodiacs. This circumstance

however, would by itself be hardly sufficient to establish the conclusion in question; for the idea of laying out a zodiac in special connection with the periodic revolution of the moon is, if not an obvious one, at any rate such as may possibly occur to different individuals or nations independently. The argument, therefore, really hinges on a second circumstance, *viz.*, the identity or partial identity of the asterisms constituting the different zodiacs. But here also the distinction made above, has to be kept in view, and has actually been kept in view by all competent enquirers. That the Arabs, Hindūs and Chinese alike, include within their zodiacs, stars like Aldebarān and Spica, and groups of stars like the Pleïades, and α and β Geminorum, can convince, and has convinced, nobody of the original connection of the three series; for in all such cases the selection was a matter of necessity rather than choice. But something like conviction begins to form itself when we meet with cases where the three nations although free to take different lines, agree in following one and the same track. The coincidences falling under this head are not numerous; but some of them are highly striking. There is, in the first place, the choice of three faint stars in Orion's head (λ, θ,[1] θ^2) to constitute the *al-haḳa* of the Arabs, the *Mṛigaçiras* of the Hindūs, the *Tse* of the Chinese. There next is the choice of certain stars in the tail of the Scorpion, which lie at a considerable distance south of the Ecliptic to mark the *aš-šaula* of the Arabs, the *Mūla* of the Hindus, and the *Wēi* of the Chinese. There further is the fact that all the three zodiacs agree in marking two of their stations by the stars constituting the so-called square in Pegasus, although all those stars have a high northern latitude (the two *Bhadrapadās* of the Hindūs, the two *Farghs* of the Arabs, *She* and *Pi* of the Chinese). To the same class of cases belongs the selection—met with, however, in the Hindu and Arab zodiacs only—of two stars of the third magnitude (δ and θ Leonis), which both have a high northern latitude, to constitute the *Pūrva Phalgunī* of the Hindus, and the *Chang* of the Chinese. We may also, I think, mention, under this heading, the inclusion within the series of the small stars 35, 39 *a.* 41 *Arietis*—which form the *Bharaṇī* of the Hindus, the *al-Buṭain* of the Arabs, and the *Wei* of the Chinese; and perhaps, also, the fact that certain little conspicuous stars in Hydra—which, moreover, do not lie very close to the Ecliptic—were selected to constitute the *Açleshās* of the Hindus and the *Lieu* of the Chinese. In this last case, however, the Arab Zodiac deviates from the two others, in keeping close to the Ecliptic. But, even if we abstract from the less striking cases, there remain a number of coincidences so remarkable that the hypothesis of a common origin of the three lunar zodiacs suggests itself almost inevitably. If, on the

other hand, these striking coincidences were absent, the whole theory of a primitive connexion of the three zodiacs would enormously lose in probability. Of the selection of the three faint stars in Orion's head, Professor Whitney says,[1] that 'it is not a little strange that the framers of the system should have chosen for marking the third station, this faint group, to the neglect of the brilliant and conspicuous pair, β, and ζ, Tauri. There is hardly another case where we have so much reason to find fault with their selection.' The choice is indeed an unaccountable, apparently irrational one; but it, of course, is just this agreement in apparent irrationality which most strongly supports the view of the three zodiacs being derived from one original.

If, therefore, the series of Babylonian normal stars was originally connected with the lunar zodiacs, we should expect to find that it agrees with them in the striking peculiarities just enumerated, or, at least, in some of them. But on an examination of the actual state of things, our expectations are totally disappointed. From Aldebarān, the Babylonian Series advances, not to the stars in the head of Orion, but just to those stars which form the natural next link in an ecliptical series, *viz*, β and ζ Tauri. In Leo, again, it keeps to the ecliptic, in taking in ρ before going up to θ; the brilliant star β, Leonis, it leaves aside. It does not go to the south of the Ecliptic, to take in the stars in the Scorpion's tail, but has, in their stead, θ Ophiuchi, which is situated close to the Ecliptic. It does not go up to the north, to take in stars from Pegasus and Andromeda. It comprises none of the stars which constitute the *Bharaṇī* of the Hindus, and the corresponding stations of the two other nations. In short, wherever the three lunar zodiacs coincide in a striking and characteristic way, the series of Babylonian normal stars deviates from them and follows its own track.

We might add to this list of characteristic deviations of the Babylonian Series if we look for one member of the comparison in an hypothetical primitive lunar zodiac, as *e.g.*, construed by Professor Whitney, (Lunar Zodiac, p. 357). We should in that case, have to point out that where the primitive zodiac—as represented by *Āçleshās* and *Lieu*—goes down to the south, so as to take in stars from Hydra, the Babylonian Series sticks to the Ecliptic, selecting stars from Cancer. But as in this case the Arab Zodiac agrees with the Babylonian Series, it is more advisable to omit all reference to the hypothetical primitive zodiac.

There now certainly remains a small number of cases in which the Babylonian Series agrees with the lunar zodiac, and where, at the same time, the agreement cannot exactly be called an inevitable one. But I do

[1] *The Lunar Zodiac; Oriental and Linguistic Essays*, p. 351.

not think that anybody who carefully examines these agreements will consider them sufficiently strong, especially when remembering the absence of agreement in all truly characteristic cases, in what, in fact, may be called test cases of the hypothesis of original connexion. I rather think it probable that any one following, in a Stellar Map, the track of the Babylonian normal stars and of the Arabian *menāzil* will be inclined to include in the list of inevitable coincidences several cases not thus classed by me above. At the same time, there are minor discrepancies which might be urged. It was, *e.g.*, as good as inevitable that a series of stars, bound not to wander too far from the Ecliptic, should contain some of the more conspicuous stars of Aries. Accordingly, β Arietis appears both in the Babylonian and the Arab Series; but while the Babylonians add the brilliant star α Arietis, the Arabs omit α and join β and γ, as *Sharaṭān*. In Gemini η and μ, a pair of stars of the third magnitude, lying quite close to the Ecliptic, could hardly be omitted. Nor could δ and γ Cancri, or at least the former of these two stars, be absent from an Ecliptic Series.

The same remark applies to β η γ, Virginis. It is, on the other hand, surprising that neither κ nor λ, Virginis—which appear in the station *al-ghafr*—are included in the Babylonian Series. For Scorpio δ and β, two stars lying close to the south and north of the Ecliptic could hardly be overlooked. In the region where α and β Capricorni are situated, there are absolutely no other stars but these two, which could be included in an Ecliptic Series. A choice, on the other hand, was possible a little further on; and there we meet again with a noteworthy discrepancy, the Babylonian Series taking the stars closest to the Ecliptic, *viz.*, γ and δ Capricorni, while the corresponding *manzil*—*as-su'ūd*—comprises β and ξ Aquarii, which are situated more to the north. Where finally the Babylonian list has η, Piscium, not very far from the Ecliptic, the Arab *manzil* goes as far north as β Andromedæ.

With regard to some of the discrepancies here noted, Professor Hommel directs attention to the circumstance that the stars comprised in the Babylonian Series, on the one hand, and the Arab Series on the other hand, have, at any rate, nearly the same longitude; and seems to consider this as a sign of the original identity of the two series. But this circumstance really proves nothing. That the groups of stars actually chosen occasionally have almost the same longitude, naturally follows from the conditions of the task the Babylonians as well as the Arabs had set themselves, *viz.*, of dividing the Ecliptic by stars, or star groups, into 28 or, let us say, 30–36 parts.

The various considerations set forth in what precedes, render it in my opinion, altogether impossible to look on the normal stars of the

Babylonian Tablets as the original of the different lunar zodiacs. As said at the outset of this paper, the hypothesis of Babylon having been the place where such a zodiac was first established was not an unlikely one, at a time when hardly any thing authentic was known about Babylonian Astronomy. But at present that hypothesis has greatly lost in probability. We now know, from authentic Babylonian sources, that the Chaldeans, from an early time, distinguished twelve zodiacal constellations, and referred to them, or else to certain definite stars in them, the positions of the planets. The number of those definite stars, or star-groups, amounted, in later times at any rate, to more than thirty, perhaps thirty-six. It is possible that an earlier series, used for the same purposes, consisted of twenty-four members only. But there are no traces of any series consisting of that number of stations which is characteristic of a lunar zodiac, *viz.*, twenty-seven or twenty-eight. Nor is there anything like a characteristic agreement between the stars and star-groups, constituting the lunar zodiacs of the Hindus, Arabs and Chinese, and the series of normal stars used by the Babylonian Astronomers. The conclusion to be drawn from all this, is that the hypothesis of the Babylonian origin of the *Nakshatras*, *Manzils* and *Sieu* has, for the present at least, to be set resolutely aside.

Further Observations on the History and Coinage of the Gupta Period.—*By* Vincent A. Smith, *Indian Civil Service.*

(With Plate VI.)

(Read December, 1894.)

Contents:—

Part I.—General Observations.

Although no very long period has elapsed since the publication of my last work on the Gupta Coinage,[1] sufficient material has accumulated in the interval to warrant the preparation of another Supplement. The elaborate papers by the late Sir Alexander Cunningham on the coinages of the Later Indo-Scythians, and of the Ephthalites, or White Huns, have thrown much light on the history and coinages of dynasties closely connected with the Guptas, and have tempted me to wander a little beyond the confines of the Gupta field which I have hitherto cultivated.

Since I have been stationed at Gōrakhpur, I have had the opportunity of examining the large and varied collection of coins formed by my friend, Dr. William Hoey, I.C.S. The most remarkable coins of the Gupta Period in his cabinet are noticed in this paper. On other occasions I hope to publish some of the novelties in other departments which he possesses. Dr. Hoey's cabinet has supplied me with a large proportion of my material on the present occasion, though I have not neglected other sources of information.

[1] *Observations on the Gupta Coinage;* read at the International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892, and published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, for 1893. In the following pages this work is cited as *Observations*.

My remark (*Observations*, p. 80) that 'the year of the Gupta Era appears, according to the most recent calculations, to have been A. D. 319-20,' is somewhat obscure. It means, as stated in the Synoptic Table, that the year 0 was 318-19, and the year 1 was 319-20. The statement rests on the *dictum* of Dr. Bühler (*On the Origin of the Gupta Valabhi Era*, p. 3), that 'the weight of the evidence is in favour of the year 318-19, as the true beginning of the Gupta Era.'[1] Dr. Fleet is, or was, of opinion (*Indian Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 388) that the Gupta Era, as used in Central India and Nēpāl, and all northern inscriptions, is to be expressed by the formula,—Year 0 = 9 March, A.D. 319—25th Feb., A.D. 320. Year 1 (current) = 26th Feb., A.D. 320—15th March, A. D. 321. According to Dr. Fleet, the equations for the Valabhi variety of the era, are year 0 = 11th Oct., A.D. 318—30th Sept., A.D. 319. Year 1 (current) = 1st Oct., A.D. 319—18th Oct., A.D. 320. I presume that this western, or Valabhi Era, is to be used in interpreting the coins and inscriptions from Gujarāt, though this detail does not seem to be yet determined. I am quite incapable of understanding the elaborate calculations about Hindū dates in which Dr. Fleet and some of his coadjutors delight, and must content myself with expressing the hope that the experts who do understand them will soon be able to complete their labours, and settle definitely the exact era to be used in the calculation of Gupta dates, both for Western and Northern India.

The copper-plate inscription found at Pālī, near Kōsam (Kauçāmbī) in the Allāhābād District, in 1891, is dated in the year 158, which is probably to be referred to the Gupta era. This plate is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, and has been described in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II., p. 363.

Another newly-discovered inscription of the Gupta Period has been briefly noticed by Dr. Hoernle in the *Indian Antiquary* for February, 1892, Vol. XXI., p. 45. This record, which may be called the Farīdpur Inscription, was found in the Farīdpur district of Eastern Bengal. It is a copper-plate bearing an inscription in early Gupta characters of the North-Eastern class. The purport of it is to record a gift of land to a Brāhman in the reign of *Çrī Maharājādhirāja Dharmāditya.* The seal bears the device of Lakṣmī, standing, with an elephant on each side, besprinkling her. Dr. Hoernle suggests that this device may have been the early seal of the Gupta kings before they adopted the Garuḍa device. The inscription begins in the style usual in the Gupta inscriptions, and

[1] Kielhorn (*Trans. Intern. Congress of* 1892. I, 429) holds that, according to the prevailing custom of the Hindus, the dates are given in *expired* years, and that "a similar conclusion is forced on us in regard to the Gupta era, the true epoch of which I believe to be A.D. 318-319, not 319-320."

applies to king Dharmāditya the epithet '*Apratiratha*,' 'unsurpassable,' which is the special epithet of Samudra Gupta, both in coins and inscriptions. These circumstances naturally suggest to Dr. Hoernle the hypothesis that Dharmāditya may be merely a title of Samudra Gupta. This suggestion is plausible, though not convincing. I doubt if the Lakṣmī device can ever have been the family device of the Guptas. The use of the Garuḍa cognizance was well established in the time of Samudra Gupta, who used it on his 'Javelin' and 'Archer' coins, in the form of the standard, and on a seal. The seal referred to is that of the spurious Gayā grant (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 255, pl. xxxvii). I agree with Dr. Fleet in believing that, though the grant is a forgery, the seal is perfectly genuine. The "Garuḍa-marked tokens" (*i.e.*, probably, gold coins) are mentioned in the Allāhābād inscription, as having been offered to Samudra Gupta (*Fleet*, p. 14, *note*) by the subject nations. It is, therefore, improbable that this sovereign changed the family cognizance from the Lakṣmī to the Garuḍa device. The Farīdpur record unfortunately is not dated. If it was not executed on behalf of Samudra Gupta himself, it certainly seems to be approximately contemporary with him, and may very probably be a record of Kācha, whom I believe to have been the brother and predecessor of Samudra Gupta.

I observe that Dr. Führer, in his label on the seal of Kumāra Gupta II, in the Lucknow Museum, definitely adopts the reading *Sthira* for the name of the predecessor of Nara Siṁha Gupta, and interprets it as a synonym for Skanda.[1] I adhere to the opinion (*Observations*, p. 83, *note*) that it is more probable that Sthira Gupta was the brother of Skanda Gupta, and that Skanda Gupta was omitted from the genealogy of the seal inscription, owing to his having died, leaving no male issue. Dr. Führer reads the name of the queen of Nara Siṁha Gupta as being Mahā Lakṣmī Dēvī.

The palæography of the Gupta Period is discussed by Dr. Hoernle in his paper on the Weber Manuscripts, in *J. A. S., Bengal*, for 1893, Vol. LXII., Part I., p. 4; and in the *Indian Antiquary* for February, 1892, Vol. XXI, p. 40 *seqq*. The subject is further illustrated by the same scholar's publications on the Bower Manuscript.

[1] In reply to a reference, Dr. Führer writes under date 3rd December, 1894:—"I have looked again at the disputed reading on the Bhitarī seal of Kumāra Gupta II, and cannot agree with Dr. Hoernle's reading of Pura Gupta, or Cunningham's Puru Gupta. There is no doubt it is Sthira Gupta, as Bühler reads. I sent Bühler *a cast* of the seal for the Vienna Oriental Institute at the time, and feel sure you would agree to the reading, if you saw the original with a magnifying glass. When you next pass through Lucknow, I shall be glad to show it to you." [See a note by Dr. Hoernle at the end of this paper.—Ed.]

An interesting hoard of Gupta gold coins, which may be referred to as "the Hājīpur hoard," has been recently described by Dr. Hoernle. The deposit is said to have been found by a boy "among brick rubbish in a small walled enclosure near Kunahrā Ghāṭ, in the bāzār of Hājīpur on the 2nd or 3rd of August, 1893." Altogether, 22 coins were found, though only 14 of these were recovered through the Collector of Muzaffarpur. (*Proc., A. S. Bengal*, March 1894, p. 5.)

The details, are :—

King.	*Type.*	*No. of Specimens.*	*Reference.*
Candra[1] Gupta I,	King & Queen	1	*Coinage*,[2] Pl. I. 1
Samudra Gupta II,	Archer	1	,, ,, ,, 10
,, ,, ,,	Javelin	2	,, ,, ,, 7
,, ,, ,,	Battle-axe, var. α	1	,, ,, ,, 11
Candra Gupta II,	Archer, Class I, var. α	2	*Not figured.*
,, ,, ,,	,, ,, II	1	*Coinage*, Pl. I. 16
,, ,, ,,	Combatant Lion	3	,, ,, II. 5
,, ,, ,,	Umbrella, var. β	2	,, ,, II. 8
,, ,, ,,	,, new var.	1	*Not figured.*

My friend Mr. C. S. Delmerick has been successful in collecting a good many gold and copper Gupta coins in the Badāon District, which lies between the ancient capital cities, Ahichatra (Rāmnagar) in the Barēlī District and Kanauj in the Farrukhābād District. Mr. D. Ernst of Calcutta has a nice set of eleven gold Gupta coins, collected chiefly at or near Cawnpore. The set includes some rare, but no new coins.

PART II.—Gupta Gold Coins.

Kācha or Kacha.

Standard Type—(*Coinage, p.* 74; *Observations, p.* 95.)

A coin obtained by Dr. Vost from the Hardōī district in Oudh, distinctly gives the name as *Kācha*, with the long vowel, in both places. On the margin the long vowel is indicated by a short horizontal line to the right, on a level with the head of the *K*. Below the arm it is indicated by a similar short line above the head of the *K*. This coin closely resembles the B. M. Prinsep specimen, figured in *Coinage*, Pl. I, 3, and the vowel mark for *ā*, under the arm, is formed the same way in both coins.

[1] I particularly dislike using the English *c* instead of *ch*, as the equivalent of च, but am obliged to conform to the system recently sanctioned by the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[2] The reference *Coinage* is to my treatise on *The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty*, with five plates (*J. Roy. As. Soc.* for 1889).

SAMUDRA GUPTA.

Tiger Type.—(*Coinage*, *p.* 64; *Observations*, *p.* 96.)

Until recently this extremely rare type was known from a single coin only, the Eden specimen in the British Museum. (*Coinage*, Pl. I, 2.) In 1891, Mr. Rapson published a notice of a "poor specimen" in Mr. Wilmot Lane's cabinet.

Dr. Hoey possesses a third example, in very fine condition. (See Pl. VI, fig. 1.) This coin agrees with my description, except that a standard, or sceptre, surmounted by a crescent, and adorned with ribbons, is inserted in the field between the bow and the tiger. This object resembles the standard on the obverse, but is shorter. The obverse legend is damaged, though the characters व्याघ्र × × क्र × *Vyāghra* [*parā*]*kkra*[*ma*] are recognizable.

SAMUDRA GUPTA.

Battle-axe Type.—(*Coinage*, *p.* 72; *Observations*, *p.* 102.)

Variety *β* (*Coinage*, *p.* 73), characterized by the syllable कृ *kṛ* under the king's arm, has hitherto been known from a single specimen, that from the Eden cabinet in the British Museum.

Dr. Hoey possesses a second example in good condition, which seems to be struck from the same die as the British Museum coin.

CANDRA GUPTA II.

Archer Type.

The sub-variety of Class II, var. *α* (*Observations*, p. 105), which is characterized by the absence of the usual personal name *Candra*, under the king's arm, was until now known only from Mr. Rivett-Carnac's example.

Mr. C. S. Delmerick, who has recently been collecting Gupta coins with considerable success in the Badāon district, has obtained a second fine specimen. This piece is a broad coin, diameter ·875 inch. Instead of the name under the arm, the king's sword is very distinctly shown. The figure of the king is upright. Lakṣmī on the reverse has her left hand resting on her hip.

CANDRA GUPTA II.

Umbrella Type.—(*Coinage*, *p.* 91; *Observations*, *p.* 113.)

The above-cited publications describe only two varieties, namely, *α*, in which the reverse goddess stands to left on a pedestal (or, in one instance, on a curved line), and *β*, in which she stands, facing front, on the back of a monster.

A third variety, γ, must now be added, in which the goddess, turned to left, walks or stands on the ground. The existence of this variety was first indicated by Dr. Hoernle, in *Proc., A. S. B.*, for April, 1893, p. 95, when describing a coin presented to the Indian Museum by Mr. Rivett-Carnac. (See Plate VI, fig. 2). The reality of this new variety is now fully established by an excellent specimen in Dr. Hoey's possession. (See Pl. VI, fig. 3.) The reverse of this coin is in perfect condition, and the marginal circle of dots is immediately below the feet of the goddess. The obverse legend seems to be *Candra Gupta*, with traces of *Mahārājādhirāja*, which words do not occur on other specimens.

A coin in the Hājīpur hoard and marked No. 13,815 in the Indian Museum (*ante, p.* 167), described by Dr. Hoernle (*Proc., A. S. B.* for 1894), exhibiting the "goddess walking to left, with fillet in right hand," constitutes a sub-variety. (Pl. II, fig. 4.) It will be observed that the attitude of the obverse figures on the several coins varies slightly. The legends are imperfect.

Kumāra Gupta I.

Swordsman Type.

This type, heretofore known from two specimens, both found in the bed of the Ganges, near Patna, of which one is in the British Museum, and the other in the Bodleian Library, is now represented by a third example, given to the Indian Museum by Mr. Rivett-Carnac. "Where this coin, now belonging to the Indian Museum, was found is not known; but it is a genuine specimen, and has a gold loop soldered to its rim, showing that it was used as an amulet, or ornament." (Dr Hoernle, in *Proc., A. S. B.*, April, 1893, p. 95.)

Kumāra Gupta I.

Archer Type—(*Observations, p.* 116.)

A poor specimen of variety 1 of this type, in Dr. Hoey's cabinet, is remarkable for having the rare trefoil monogram, No. 25, which occurred on two specimens from the hoard of Bharsar, near Benares. (*Coinage*, p. 96.) The gold is poor and alloyed. (Pl. VI, fig. 5.)

Skanda Gupta.

King and Queen Type.

My Catalogue (*Coinage, p.* 111) mentions only two specimens of this type, one from Kanauj in the British Museum, and the other, said to be in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I have recently bought a third specimen, which was found at Bhitarī in the Ghāzīpur district. (Pl. VI, fig. 6.)

This coin is in good condition. In my description of the obverse of the type (*Coinage*, *p.* 110) the remark that the bird, or Garuḍa, standard is furnished "with pennons" is erroneous; there are no pennons either on the Kanauj or the Bhitarī coin. The Bhitarī coin shows no trace of any obverse marginal legend, but has distinct remains of names over each figure. The name स्क्न्द *Skanda* is placed vertically between the king's head and the Garuḍa; the first letter स *s* being deficient. The queen's name is, unluckily, illegible. It is placed over the queen's head, and the letters प्रिया *priyā* may be doubtfully read as the concluding element of the name. This defect is unfortunate, because the name of Skanda Gupta's queen is not recorded in any of the known inscriptions. The discovery of this Bhitarī specimen makes it certain that the type is rightly named the King and Queen type. The queen on this coin holds behind her back a long stem, probably that of a lotus flower. The reverse legend श्री स्कन्द गुप्तः *Çrī Skanda Guptaḥ* is distinct. The monogram is indistinct. Mr. D. Ernst possesses a fourth specimen, not quite so good as mine.

Çaçāṅka (Narēndra Gupta.)

Bull Type.—(*Observations*, *p.* 147.)

Only two specimens of this type are described in *Observations*, and the paucity of specimens at my command led me into some errors of description. By the kindness of Dr. Hoernle I have been enabled to inspect several examples in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and to correct the errors and supply the omissions in the descriptions published by Cunningham and myself.

The amended technical description is as follows:—

Obv.—King, facing front, mounted on recumbent bull, which is to l.; king's r. hand, or elbow, resting on bull's hump; his l. hand raised. Disk (moon) over bull's head. Marginal legend on r., imperfect, श्री श *Çrī Ça*[*çāṅka*]. Below bull two characters, which vary.

Rev.—Lakṣmī on lotus seat, in debased style, though the legs are separate, and not combined into a bar, as in the debased Gupta coins. Her r. hand is extended, her l. arm grasps a stalked lotus bud. On each side, in upper field, a minute elephant, sprinkling the goddess.

Legend on r. margin, श्री शशाङ्कः *Çrī Çaçāṅka.* No mon.

The coins are of coarse, thick fabric, and very rude execution. Some specimens have large dots round the margins. The gold is extremely impure, and according to Cunningham's analysis (*Coins of Med. India*, p. 16), contains 58 p. c. of alloy. The proportion of alloy

seems to vary in different specimens. The highest weight noted is 147 grains. Diameter varies considerably. The elephants are often so debased as to be unrecognizable.

References and Remarks.

B. M.—(*Observations*, Pl. III, 11). The first of the two characters below the bull is certainly स *sa*, and the second seems to be क *ka*.

C.—The first of the two characters below the bull is स *sa*. From Gayā.

A. C.—(*Coins of Med. India*, p. 19, Pl. II, 5). The characters below the bull are distinct, and read by Cunningham as *jaya*. The first character is certainly ज *ja*, and the second seems to be य *ya*. From Gayā.

A. S. B.—Six or seven specimens. On one the characters below the bull are plainly सज *saja*. Three of these coins are figured in Plate VI (figures 8, 9, 10).

Hoey.—The gold in this coin seems to be less impure than that of the others. (Plate VI, 7).

The name Çaçāṅka means "marked with the hare," which is an epithet of the moon. The name is, therefore, in meaning equivalent to Candra. I presume that the disk over the bull's head on the coins is intended for the moon, rather than for the sun.

The references to passages in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports* concerning Çaçāṅka, given in *Observations*, are not quite correct. They should be as follows:—I, 5, 10; III, 80, 138; VIII, 71, 72, 191–193; IX, 157; XV, 102.

The reference to Vol. VII, Plate VI, given both in *Observations* and in my *General Index* to the *Reports* for Çaçāṅka's seal-matrix at Rohtās, is a blunder for which I am quite unable to account. The only reference to the seal-matrix, which I can find in the *Reports*, is a passing allusion to its existence in Vol. IX, p. 157.

The inscription of this seal-matrix has been published by Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 283, Pl. xliii, B). It consists merely of the words *Çrī Mahāsāmanta Çaçāṅkadēvasya*, surmounted by the figure of the bull. There can be no doubt, that this record, and the gold coins, must be assigned to the king of Karṇa Suvarṇa, in Central Bengal, who reigned at the beginning of the seventh century, A.D. Dr. Fleet is of opinion, that the term "*Mahāsāmanta*, *lit.*, 'a great chief of a district,' is a technical official title, which seems to denote the same rank as *Mahārāja*."

The position of Çaçāṅka's kingdom of Karṇa-Suvarṇa has recently been discussed by several writers.

Mr. Hewitt believes that the portion of that kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsiang is now the district of Mānbhūm, which is held by the Rājas of Pachete, whose crest is a bull, and that the capital of the kingdom was Campā, the modern Bhāgalpur.[1]

Dr. Waddell seeks to identify the capital with Kancannagar, a suburb of Bardwān.[2]

Both these identifications are certainly wrong, and based on false etymologies or other insufficient grounds.

Mr. Beveridge gives excellent and substantial reasons for placing the capital of Karṇa-Suvarṇa at Raṅgamāṭī, in the Murshīdābād district.[3] He is mistaken in supposing his identification to be a novelty.[4] It had been made many years ago, and forgotten. A note in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1878, explains that in Hiuen-Tsiang's text the word *Kin-eul*, 'golden-eared,' or 'having gold in the ears,' corresponding to the Sanskrit Karṇa-Suvarṇa, refers to "the town of Rangāmaṭṭī, 12 miles south of Murshīdābād [which] stands on the site of an old city called *Kurusoṇa-ka-gadh*, supposed to be a Bengālī corruption of the name in the text: *Jour., As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol XXII. (1853), pp. 281, 282; *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (*N.S.*), Vol. VI., p. 248."[5] The discovery of the site of Karṇa-Suvarṇa is due to Captain L. P. Layard, whose paper entitled *The ancient city of Kansonapuri, now called Rungamutty*, was published in the *Journal* of this Society for 1853.

It would seem to be true that Çaçāṅka was also known by the name of Narēndra Gupta, though the evidence for the alleged fact is not conclusive. In 1879, Cunningham observed that "Professor Hall has suggested that his full name may have been Sasângka Gupta; but I learn from Dr. Bühler, that in the Jain books Sasângka is called Narēndra Gupta."[6] Dr. Bühler informs me that Cunningham's reference to the Jain books is due to a misreading of a communication from Dr. Bühler, who really wrote that Çaçāṅka is called Narēndra Gupta by Bāṇa. The word Bāṇa seems to have been misread as Jaina.

A year earlier, in 1878, the anonymous writer in the *Indian Antiquary*, who has already been quoted, boldly made the assertion that Çaçāṅka is called Narēndra Gupta in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa. His words

1 *J., R. As. Soc.*, for 1893, pp. 294, 300.

2 *Proc., A. S. B.*, Dec. 1892, p. 184; Appendix to *Discovery of the Exact Site of Açōka's Capital of Pāṭaliputra.* (Calcutta, published by Government of Bengal, 1892).

3 *Proc., A. S. B.*, Dec. 1893, p. 172; *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXII., Part I (1893), pp. 315–325. *The Site of Karṇa-Suvarṇa.*

4 *Ut supra, J., A. S. B.*, p. 326.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII., p. 197, *note* 5.

6 *Reports*, Vol. IX., p. 157.

are "In Chinese *Yuĕī*, 'moon.' This is Śaśâṅka Narendra Gupta of Bâṇa's *Harshacharita*;" and again, "Râjyavardhana.....himself was defeated and killed by Śaśâṅka Narendra Gupta, king of Gauḍa or Bengal and succeeded by his younger brother Harsha, whom his officers urged to avenge his brother's death. But the Hindu epic breaks off on the recovery of Râjyaśrî among the Vindhya mountains—See Hall's Vâsavadattâ, pp. 51, 52; *Jour., Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., pp. 38-45."[1]

The English authorities quoted do not support the assertion that Çaçāṅka is called Narēndra Gupta by Bāṇa, and none of the writers referred to cites any passage from Bāṇa's text. The manuscript used by Hall apparently gave Çaçāṅka the cognomen of Gupta, because Hall states (p. 52) that Gupta, king of Gauḍa, slew Rājyavardhana. Hiuen Tsiang relates that Rājyavardhana was treacherously slain by Çaçāṅka, king of Karṇasuvarṇa in Eastern India.[2] Assuming both writers to be stating the truth, it follows that Çaçāṅka, king of Karṇasuvarṇa, is identical with Gupta, king of Gauḍa. The fact of the treacherous murder of Rājyavardhana is confirmed by the Madhuban copper-plate of Harṣavardhana.[3] Dr. Bühler states that one manuscript of the *Harṣa-carita* does give the full name of Narēndra Gupta to Çaçāṅka.

The translation of the *Harṣa-carita*, which Professor Cowell and Mr. Thomas have undertaken for the Oriental Translation Fund, will probably do much to clear up the history of Northern India at the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

PART III.—Gupta Copper Coins.

Candra Gupta II.

Mahārāja Type. (New).

Obv.—Bust of king, bareheaded, to l., with flower held between finger and thumb of r. hand, as in the Vikramāditya Bust type

[1] *Hiwan Thsang's account of Harshavardhana, Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII., (August 1878), p. 197, *notes* 4, 6. The paper in the *Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal* referred to is one by the late Dr. Bhāu Dājī, entitled *The Harsha-charita of Bāṇa*, which was read on 10th August, 1871.

[2] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I., p 210.

[3] This inscription states that the prince "gave up his life in the mansion of his foe, owing to his adherence to a promise." (Bühler on *The Madhuban Copper-Plate of Harṣa, dated Samvat* 25, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I., p 70.) Two other inscriptions of Harṣavardhana are now known, namely, the Sōnt seal (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 231, Pl. xxxi., B.), and the Banskhēra copperplate, dated 32 (=A.D. 638), recently discovered twenty-five miles from Shāhjahānpur (*Pioneer*, September 21st, 1894).

(*Coinage*, p. 140.) The bust occupies the entire field, so that there is neither exergue nor legend.

Rev.—Garuḍa standing on horizontal line, which does not extend to either margin. In lower half of field is the legend महाराज चन्द्र ग *Mahārāja Candra Ga;* the vowel mark over the र being deficient. The character च *Ca* is distinct, but the following characters are not. (Plate VI, fig. 11.) Diameter ·875. Wt. 105.

This coin was obtained by Mr. J. P. Rawlins, District Superintendent of Police, at a remote village in the Jhelam District of the Pañjāb, and was communicated to me through Mr. C. J. Rodgers. The kindness of the owner has enabled me to examine the coin, and have it photographed.

The obverse bust of this type and of the Vikramāditya Bust type seems to be a rude imitation of the device of the gold coins of Huvishka on which the king is represented holding an ear of corn. (Gardner, *Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings*, Pl. xxvii, 9, etc.)

The weight (105 grains) of this piece, which is in fairly good condition, is, perhaps an indication that the coin was struck to the standard of the contemporary gold *dīnārs*, that is to say, to a standard of about 125 grains. It can hardly be intended for a ¾ *paṇa* of 108 grains. I take the *ratī* as equivalent to 1·8 grains.

Kumāra Gupta I, (or ? II).

Garuḍa Type (New).

Obv.—The letters श्रीकु, *Çrī Ku*, in large, bold characters of the period, occupy the greater part of the field. Above, Garuḍa standing on horizontal line. Dotted circle.

Rev.—Lakṣmī seated, executed in a very rough and degraded way, so that details are indistinct. A peculiar symbol in l. field. Dotted circle. Diameter about ·7 inch. wt. 52 grains. Condition good.

This coin, which was bought by Mr. C. J. Rodgers at Sahāranpur, is now in the cabinet of Mr. W. Theobald at Budleigh-Salterton, Devon. I sent a drawing of the coin last year to Mr. Rapson for publication, but, as the coin has not yet been published, I insert this notice of it.

Kumāra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta.

Fantail Peacock Type.

I venture to think that the arguments in *Observations*, (pp. 137-144) have sufficiently established the fact that both Kumāra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta struck copper coins similar in device and size to the silver hemidrachms. The northern specimens of this copper coin-

age, like the contemporary silver hemidrachms, bear the reverse device of a peacock with expanded tail.

In addition to the few examples of this northern copper coinage, noted in *Observations*, p. 138, I may now add the following.

Lucknow Museum.—Two specimens of Kumāra Gupta from Sañcānkōṭ in the Unāō district. Two specimens of Skanda Gupta from Kōsam (Kauçāmbī), near Allāhābād. One specimen of Skanda Gupta from Ajōdhyā.

Hoey.—One worn specimen, probably of Kumāra Gupta, from Oudh.

None of these coins show any signs of plating.

Addendum to Parts I, II, and III

Sir Alexander Cunningham's valuable posthumous work on the *Coins of Mediæval India* came to hand too late for me to make use of it in the preceding text. But it contains a considerable amount of novel matter concerning the Guptas, which must be noticed in an essay professing to bring Gupta numismatics up to date.

Cunningham, without giving any reasons, has adopted the reading Puru Gupta, as that of the name of the son of Kumāra Gupta I, in the Bhitarī Seal record. He never saw the original, and his reading cannot be accepted for reasons already stated (*ante*, *p.* 166).

Cunningham fixes Skanda Gupta's accession to undisputed power in the Gupta year 134, or A.D. 452 (misprinted 152 in text, p. 11). This date, which I also had adopted (*Observations*, p. 83), is too early. Dr. Vost has lately acquired a hemidrachm of Kumāra Gupta I, with a well preserved date, which is 136.

Cunningham figures (Plate II, 1) a coin of Nara Bālāditya to show that the character between the king's feet must be read *Gu*, not *grē*, and he interprets the character read *Gu*, as a contraction of *Gupta*. But he overlooks the very distinct vowel mark for *ē*, shown in his plate, and in mine (*Coinage*, Pl. iii., 11). This mark is equally plain on a coin from Bhitarī in my possession. With all respect, therefore, for Cunningham's opinion, I adhere to my reading *grē*. On Gupta coins the word *Gupta* is never abbreviated, and never placed between the king's feet. The form of the character which Cunningham reads as *Gu*, and I read as *gr*, is identical with one of the forms of the numeral 7 in some of the Gupta inscriptions.[1]

[1] See Bhagwān Lāl Indrajī's paper on *Ancient Indian Numerals* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 42.)

The coin of Kumāra Gupta II, Kramāditya (Pl. ii., 2), figured as "a novelty," has been already published by me twice. (*Coinage*, Pl. ii., 12; *Observations*, p. 129.)

The Archer coin (Pl. ii., 3), with the name *Jaya* under the king's arm, and sun standard to his proper right, has not, I think, been before published. The reverse device is that of the lotus-seated Lakṣmī, and the legend, which is quite illegible on the plate, is read doubtfully as *Çrī Prakālāya*, which cannot be right. I am unable to define Jaya [Gupta's] dynastic place, but he is certainly one of the later local kings subsequent to Skanda Gupta. The coin belongs to the class of heavy (*suvarṇa*) coins, its weight being 140 grains.

The coin of Viṣṇu Gupta Candrāditya (Pl. ii., 4) was long ago figured in *Ariana Antiqua* (Pl. xviii., 24), and was again described by Thomas in his paper, entitled *Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindī Legends* (*Indian Antiquary* for 1883). Cunningham places the accession of Viṣṇu Gupta in A.D. 680, which date cannot be far wrong. In figure 5 of the same plate a coin of Çaçāṅka is depicted. The letters under the bull are clearly **जय** *jaya*.

Figure 8 represents the obverse only of a Gupta copper coin, thus described :—

"Weight 87 grains. Diameter ·85 inch. Author; from Ahichhatra. The largest copper coin of the Guptas yet found.

"Female bust to left, with flower in right hand.

"*Garuḍa* symbol or standard of the Guptas; legend lost."

This coin appears to be an inferior specimen of the new type, which I have described from Mr. Rawlins' coin, and named the Mahārāja type. The bust is that of the king, not of a female. It is to be observed that the king's face is turned to the left in all Gupta copper coins, and to the right in the silver coins.

Figure 9 represents a silver hemidrachm of Candra Gupta II which Cunningham believes to be dated in the year 80 odd. For the reasons given in *Coinage*, pp. 122, 123, I do not believe that this coin is dated. The character which looks like a numeral symbol is probably a remnant of a corrupt Greek legend.

The coin now figured by Cunningham is from Ajōdhyā.

My treatment of the Gupta coinage has always been defective in one important respect. I had no opportunities for procuring assays or analyses of the metal, and consequently could not give any definite facts concerning the degree of its purity. Cunningham has caused the necessary experiments to be made, and has compiled (p. 16) an interesting table showing the weight and purity of the Gupta gold coinage, as compared with the *aureus* of Augustus and the Great Kuṣān and

Little Kuṣān (Indo-Scythian) coins. The general result may be given in the author's words:—"The coins of all the earlier kings give an average weight of 123 grains, of which 107 grains are pure;[1] while 64 coins of the Kuṣān kings Wema Kadphises, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and the earlier specimens of Vasu Dēva, give exactly the same average. The later coins of Vasu Dēva show a falling off in the pure contents of nearly 10 grains. But towards the end of Skanda Gupta's reign,[2] the Gupta gold coins became much heavier, reaching an average of from 144 to 146 grains, while the pure contents were decreased to less than 70 grains. The coins of Nara Siŋha Gupta of this standard are thus only one-half gold, and are, therefore, worth only two-thirds of the earlier Gupta *dīnārs*. A singular exception is the money of Prakāçāditya, of a bright yellow colour, which contains 121·7 grains of pure metal out of 146·4.[3] At present I cannot even guess the reason of this strange freak. The single coin of Jaya Gupta is still more debased, the pure contents being only one-fifth of its weight. I take it to belong to a much later date."

The purity of the coinage of Prakāçāditya shows that the revival of the ancient Hindū *suvarṇa* standard of 144 to 146 grains was a reality, and that the extra weight of the heavy coinage initiated by Skanda Gupta was not merely a compensation for excess of alloy.

PART IV.—The Coinage of the Later Kuṣāns (Indo-Scythians).

Section I. Great Kuṣāns.

Section II. Little Kuṣāns.

Essays, replete with learning, prepared by the late Sir Alexander Cunningham towards the close of his life, and published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1893, and the *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists* (London, 1892), have done much to elucidate the very obscure and perplexing history and coinage of the so-called Later Indo-Scythians.

The term Later Indo-Scythians is vague and inconvenient, and has come into use merely as a cloak for ignorance. It will, I hope,

[1] The coins of Kācha are the worst among the issues of the earlier kings. The figures for him are:—Full weight about 123; highest weight 118·5; pure gold 102·5; alloy 20·5, equivalent to 16·66 per cent. (V. A. S.)

[2] Skanda Gupta's King and Queen coins are *dīnārs*; his Kramāditya coins are *suvarṇas*. [V. A. S.]

[3] Equivalent to 16·64 per cent. of alloy, a return to the standard of Kācha. Th e personal name and date of Prakāçāditya are not known. [V. A. S.]

be superseded in time, as knowledge advances, by more definite and suitable terms. The adjective Later is intended to distinguish the minor Indian dynasties of Central Asian origin during the period A. D. 200 to 600[1] from the Early Indo-Scythians—the great imperial line of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vasudēva, and their forerunners.

The Later Great Kuṣān chiefs, who are included among the Later Indo-Scythians, seem to extend from about A.D. 200 to A.D. 425 or 430.

The Little Kuṣāns occupied the throne of Gāndhāra from about A. D. 430 to 500, and seem then to have been driven by the White Huns back into Chitrāl and the neighbouring territories.

The Ephthalites, or White Huns, are first heard of in India during the reign of Skanda Gupta, about A.D. 470, and seem to have been the dominant power in Northern India during the first half of the sixth century.

Cunningham's essays are extremely difficult reading, and are not universally accessible. I have, therefore, thought it worth while to try and present some of his principal results in a convenient and intelligible form. My special subject, the Gupta Dynasty from Candra Gupta I to Skanda Gupta, can no longer remain isolated. It must be considered in connection with its contemporaries and successors.

In a restricted sense the term "Gupta Period" may be interpreted to mean only the period extending from the accession of Candra Gupta I to the death of Skanda Gupta, or about A.D. 320 to 480. In a more extended sense it may be taken to comprise the three centuries from A. D. 300 to 606, when Harṣa Vardhana became the chief power in Northern India and founded his era. When the term is taken in this more extended sense, all the coinages of the Later Indo-Scythians, except the earlier issues of the Later Great Kuṣāns, fall within the Gupta period.

During the whole of these three centuries coins form almost our sole authority for the history of the Pañjāb, the chief supplementary sources of information being the meagre notes of Fa-Hian and Sung-yun. The Pañjāb seems never to have been included in the Gupta Empire.

For the history of the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Bihār the materials are considerably more ample, inasmuch as the numerous Gupta inscriptions on stone and metal supply a record more detailed than that which coins can furnish. The culminating point of the Gupta Empire may be placed approximately in the year A. D. 410, when Candra Gupta II had completed his conquest of Mālwā and

[1] Dates are given in round numbers without any pretension to minute accuracy.

Gujarāt. No indications of decline, so far as I am aware, are discernable in our records of the reign of Kumāra Gupta I. The fierce conflicts with the Huns recorded in the Bhitarī inscription of Skanda Gupta appear to have been the immediate cause of the break up of the Empire.

These preliminary observations will, it is hoped, help to make more easily intelligible the perplexing coinages of the Later Indo-Scythians.

Cunningham classes the Later Indo-Scythians in three main groups:—

I. The Later Great Kuṣāns.
II. The Later Little Kuṣāns.
III. The Ephthalites, or White Huns.[1]

Coins of all these three groups exist in considerable number and variety.

Section I. The Later Great Kuṣāns.

The coins of the later kings of the Great Kuṣān tribe (Ta-yue-ti of the Chinese, Tuṣāra of the Hindu, and Τόχαροι of the Greek writers), "formed the money of the Kābul valley and the Pañjāb from the time of Vāsudēva's death, or about A. D. 180 or 200, down to the settlement of *Kidāra Shāh*, or *Ki-to-lo*, in Gāndhāra, about A.D. 425.

Ki-to-lo, the king of the Great Kuṣāns, established his son in *Purushāwar*, or Peshāwar, and thus formed the kingdom of the *Little Yue-ti*, or Lesser Kuṣāns."[2]

The coins of the Later Great Kuṣāns are divided by Cunningham into two classes, characterized as follows:—

Class A.

A numerous series of gold coins bearing the names of Kaniṣka or Vasudēva[3] in Greek letters on the margin, always accompanied by Indian (Nāgarī) letters in the field outside the king's spear or trident,

[1] Cunningham's papers on the Later Indo-Scythians include one on the Scytho-Sassanians (*Num. Chron.* for 1893, p. 166), but the connection of the Scytho-Sassanian coins there described by him with India is so remote that I pass them over.

[2] *Num. Chron.* for 1893, p. 115.

[3] Cunningham invariably writes *Vāsu* with the long vowel. The coins figured by him, and every coin which I have seen, give the name under the king's arm as वसु *Vasu*. The full name *Vasudēva* does not occur in Nāgarī characters. I use the term Nāgarī to mean any form of the Sanskrit alphabet. Cunningham uses the inconveniently vague term "Indian." The general description of each class of coins is compiled from several passages in Cunningham's essay.

and generally by other Nāgarī letters on the left, near the king's right foot, aud in the middle between the king's feet.

Obverse. King standing, as in the earlier coins, with his right hand extended over a small altar, and holding in his left hand either a spear or a trident.

Marginal legend in modified Greek characters, *Ṣaonano Ṣao Kaneṣko* (or *Bazodēo*) *Koṣano*, 'The Kuṣān King of Kings, Kaneṣko (*or* Bazodēo.)'

Reverse. Either the throne-seated goddess Ardokhṣo (Lakṣmī), with her name, or the god Okṣo (Çiva), standing in front of the bull, with his name. The reverse name legend is always in modified Greek characters. Monogram. Nāgarī letters occasionally occur on the reverse.

When the reverse has the Okṣo device the king carries the Çaiva trident. When the reverse device is Ardokhṣo, the king carries a spear. The Lakṣmī coins are those of the eastern provinces, and are found chiefly in North-Western India. The Çiva coins are found chiefly in the Western Pañjāb and the Kābul valley.

The interpretation of the brief Nāgarī legends on this class of coins is quite uncertain. Cunningham has classified the known forms, but concerning their interpretation can only say that "On these gold coins I think it probable that we have the names in monogram of some of the first successors of the great Kushān princes, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudēva. On some coins the names may perhaps be those of the satraps or governors of particular provinces. In this case I should expect to find the name of the province, or city of the satrap, in addition to his name."[1]

These legends include sixteen monosyllables, namely, *Bha*, *Bhṛ*, *Cu*, *Chu*, *Ga*, *Ha*, *Khu*, *Nya*, *Pa*, *Pu*, *Ru*, *Sa*, *Si*, *Thā*, *Vai*, and *Vi*; and three dissyllables, namely *Mahi*, *Vasu*, and *Vīru*, in the Ardokhṣo reverse class; and seven monosyllables, namely *Auṁ*, *Ga*, *Ghō*, *Ha*, *Hu*, *Phri*, *Pri*, and *Thā*; and two dissyllables, *Rada*, and *Raju* in the Okṣo class.

Dr. Hoey possesses a specimen in good condition similar to Cunningham's Plate viii, 8. The reverse device is *Ardokhṣo*, and the obverse legends in field are *Vasu* outside spear, *Ga* between king's legs, and *Bha* at his right foot.

Another coin in the same cabinet (Plate VI, fig. 12), though not represented in Cunningham's lists, would seem to belong to Class A of the coinage of the Later Great Kuṣāns.

Obverse.—Over king's left shoulder a wheel or disk, which may perhaps, be the top of a standard. Marginal legend in Greek characters,

[1] *Num. Chron.* for 1893, p. 119.

Nono ṣao koṣono. Outside spear, vertically, a name in Nāgarī characters which seems to be *Magra.*

Reverse. Throned goddess, and remains of illegible legend.

I cannot find any published notice of a coin like this.

The coins of Class A are evidently earlier than those of Class B, about to be described, and probably are to be ascribed for the most part to the third century A.D. The mechanical execution is good and clear, though the style is stiff and conventional.

Later Great Kuṣāns—*Class B.*

The coins of this class are chiefly of gold, and some of the scarce copper specimens are ancient forgeries of gold coins.

Greek letters, if present at all on the obverse, are reduced to a meaningless repetition of *O.* They have completely disappeared from the reverse. Frequently, there is no trace of Greek letters. The obverse Nāgarī legends occur in three places, *viz.*, (1) outside spear, (2) under king's arm, (3) near the altar, below his right-hand. There is no letter between the king's feet.

The reverse device is invariably that of the throned goddess. Her name is not given, as it is in Class A. In some cases, one or two Nāgarī characters are inserted between her left arm and the margin.

The name under the king's arm must be that of the issuing prince, probably, in general, a local governor or satrap. It is often a monosyllable, *e.g.*, *Mi*, *Bha*; but is sometimes a Hindū name, *e g.*, *Samudra.* The coins with monosyllabic Tartar names may be considered earlier than those with Hindū names. It must have required a considerable time to Hinduize the invaders. Cunningham believes the names outside the spear to be those of provinces. Thomas preferred to interpret them as names of tribes. At present, it seems impossible to prove either interpretation.[1] Cunningham remarks that "all these coins are found in the Northern Pañjāb." They are also found in the North-Western Provinces, if we may class in this group the numerous *Kidara Kaṣana* coins, of which 62 were found in the Bijnor District in 1888.[2]

These coins, which are of a common type, occur both in gold and copper (? brass). The name under the arm may be read as क द *Kada*, क दि *Kadi*, कि दु *Kidu*, and कि द ा *Kidara*, on various specimens. The word outside the spear is certainly क ष ण *Kaṣana*, which Cunningham interprets

1 *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1893, p. 120; *Indian Antiquary* vol. xii, pp. 6–11.

2 Described by Dr. Hoernle in *Proceedings, A. S. B.,* for 1888, p. 205.

as *Kuṣāṇa*. The letter near the altar is often ष *ṣa*. Occasionally there is a character on the reverse, which on a specimen in my possession (brass) may perhaps be read as *Lō*.

The name *Kidara* [1] under the king's arm seems to require the classification of these coins with those of the Little Kuṣāns, or Kidarites, which will presently be noticed; but the coins now under discussion seem to be of much earlier date. Cunningham figures one of these coins (*Num. Chron.* for 1893, Pl. XV, 3), and describes it (*p.* 199) as follows —"*Æ*. Diam. ·85. Wt. 118.

Obv. King standing to left, as on the earlier Kushān coins of Kanishka and his successors. Indian letters or monograms in three places. To right, *Kushāna*; under king's arm, *Kidāra*; to left, *Kapan* (? for *Kophene*). I conclude 'The Kushān king Kidāra of Kapan.'

Rev. The goddess *Ardokhsho* (Lakshmī) seated on throne with cornucopiæ in her left hand. I found a duplicate of this coin in the Baotipind Stūpa, to the north of Hadon (*sic.* ? Hasan) Abdāl."

Cunningham includes this coin in his Little Kuṣān plate.

The other Kidarite coins, which he describes and figures, are much ruder in execution and have different legends.

Cunningham also describes Later Great Kuṣān, Class B, coins, which have the name *Kirada* (not *Kidara*) under the arm, but these coins have the word *Gaḍahara*, and not *Kaṣaṇa*, outside the spear. The *Kidara-Kaṣaṇa* coins appear to me to belong to the same class as the *Bha Ṣaka*,[2] *Samudra Gaḍakhara*, and other pieces which Cunningham groups together as Class B of the Later Great Kuṣāns. The devices are executed in sharp, clearly-cut relief, and show little or none of the degradation which characterizes the other Kidarite coins in Cunningham's plate XV. I do not think it possible that the well-executed *Kidara* coins can be so late as A. D. 430, the approximate date of the occupation of Gāndhāra, by *Ki-to-lo*, the Little Kuṣān Chief. Cunningham always assumes that the Chinese name *Ki-to-lo* is identical with the *Kidara* of the coins. But the identity does not seem to be proved. Even if the names are identical, it is quite possible that the name or title *Kidara* may have been in use among the Kuṣāns long before A. D. 430.

I am inclined to think that the well-executed *Kidara-Kaṣaṇa* coins

[1] Cunningham writes *Kidāra*. I cannot find the long *a*. Thomas writes *Kidara*.

[2] Cunningham writes *Ṣāka*, but I cannot find any trace of the long vowel. Thomas writes the word with the vowel short.

are as early as A. D. 300 or 350, and that they are approximately contemporaneous with the *Bhṛ-Ṣaka*, *Kirada-Gaḍahara*, *Bhadra-Pakalh-dhi*, and similar coins grouped together by Cunningham as Class B of the Later Great Kuṣāns.

The question of the date of these coins requires further investigation.

Section II. Little Kuṣāns (*Kidaritai*).

The Little Kuṣāns were a branch of the Great Kuṣāns, and occupied Gāndhāra in or about the years A.D. 425–30,[1] under a leader called *Ki-to-lo* by the Chinese, who is supposed to be the *Kidara* of the coins.

About the end of the fifth century, the Little Kuṣān chiefs of Gāndhāra were driven out by the White Huns or Ephthalites, under Lae-lih, and obliged to retreat into neighbouring regions. They probably ruled in the country to the west of Kāçmīr — in Shāh-dhērī and Mansērā, to the east of the Indus, and in Yasin and Chitrāl to the west of the river.[2]

The Kidarite, or Little Kuṣān, coins of the fifth century occur in gold, silver and copper.[3]

The rare silver coins are broad, thin pieces, resembling the Sassanian coins of Persia. Some bear a date, read by Cunningham as 339, probably equivalent, according to the Çaka reckoning, to A.D. 417, a little before the conquest of Gāndhāra.

The gold, and most of the copper coins, are rude imitations of the ordinary Kuṣān coinage, with the sacrificing king on the obverse, and the seated goddess on the reverse.

Greek legends have completely disappeared.

The word *Kidara*, more or less complete, is always found below the king's left arm, and seems to be used as a general dynastic name.

In some cases, letters occur below the king's right hand, but there is no vertical legend outside the spear.

The reverse margin presents various names, *Kidara*, *Kṣatrapa Tarīka*, *Çrī Viçva*, *Çrī Kṛtavīrya*, *Çrī Silāditya*, *Çrī Kusala*, and *Çrī Prakāça ;* as read by Cunningham.

Dr. Hoey has a coin which seems to belong to this series, though not included in Cunningham's lists.

[1] Von Gutschmid (quoted by Stein, *Zur Geschichte der Çahis von Kābul*, Stuttgart, 1893) gives the date as A.D. 430.

[2] *Numismatic Chronicle* (1893) p. 190.

[3] The detailed catalogue is given, *ibid.*, pp. 199–202.

The name under the king's right hand is clearly कच *Kaca*, with doubtful traces of two preceding characters.

The symbol S, which may be the numeral 100, is near the right reverse margin. It is possible to read this character, or symbol, as स *sa*.

It will be useful to give the principal references for the Later Kuṣān Coins, in addition to Cunningham's paper.

Prinsep's Essays (*Thomas.*) :—

Plate xxii, 4. Later Great Kuṣān, Class A, Okṣo rev.
Do. do. 11. ditto ditto Lakṣmī (Ardokhṣo) rev.
Do. do. 12. ditto ditto ditto.
Do. do. 13. Little Kuṣān (or ? Great Kuṣān, Class B).
Do. do. 14. Later Great Kuṣān, Class B.
Do. do. 15. Little Kuṣān, rude, late.
Do. xxix, 10. Later Great Kuṣān, Class A.
Do. xxx, 16, 17, 19, 20. Little Kuṣān.
Do. do. 18. Later Great Kuṣān, Class B. (?)
Do. xxxi, 4. ditto ditto ditto.
Do. do. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9. Little Kuṣān, rude, late.

Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal :—

1885, p. 129. 5 Little Kuṣān coins from Gurdāspur District. One *Vasu*, Later Great Kuṣān, Class A, from Bhāgalpur District.
1888, p. 132. Pl. iv, 7, 8. Later Great Kuṣān, Class B.
Do. 9. Little Kuṣān.
Ib. p. 180, and woodcut, p. 183. 57 very debased Little Kuṣān-type coins of Yaçōvarmman, *circa* A.D. 532.
Ib. p. 205. 62 Later Great Kuṣān coins, Class B, from Bijnōr District (or ? Early Little Kuṣān.)
1890, p. 178. 25 Little Kuṣān coins from Rāwalpindī, (similar to the Bijnōr coins).
Ib. p. 179. Ditto ditto from Hardōī, in Oudh, (same as Prinsep, Pl. xxx, 19).
1891, p. 65. Three more Little Kuṣān coins from Hardōī, apparently, like the others, of Kṛtavīrya.
One ditto of *Çrī Cacca* (श्रीचच.)

Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII. p. 6, *Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindī Legends*,[1] with wood cuts (Thomas).

Twelve Kuṣān coins are described in the paper by Thomas. No. 1

[1] By the odd phrase "Hindi legends" Thomas meant legends in the ancient Sanskrit (Nāgarī) character.

is a *Vasu* coin of the Later Great Kuṣāns, Class A, Ardokhṣo or Lakṣmī device. No. 11 *a*, a *Mahi* coin, is to some extent intermediate in character between Class A and Class B. Cunningham (*Num. Chron.* for 1893, p. 121) classes it in A.

The remaining coins, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, belong to Class B of the Later Great Kuṣāns, if the *Kirada Kaṣana* coins (No. 8) may be so classed.[1] (See *ante*, p. 181).

The later Indo-Scythian coins are further discussed from an historical point of view by Thomas in his short paper, entitled *Extracts from Chinese Authors concerning the History of the Kushans*, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, p. 19, which is based on M. Edouard Specht's treatise, entitled *'Etudes sur l'Asie Centrale, d'après les Historiens Chinois*, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1883. Further references to the *Ariana Antiqua* and other books will be found in the papers cited above.

The heading *Coins, Indo-Scythian (later)*, in my *General Index to the Archæological Reports*, is unfortunate, though not altogether erroneous. It is used there to distinguish the Indo-Scythian coins proper, from the coins described by Cunningham in pages 58–60 of Volume II of the *Reports*, which include the coins of Azes, Vonones, Gondophares, and others. These princes may be called "Early Indo-Scythians," and so distinguished from the Kadphises kings, and the line of Kaniṣka, who may be called "Later Indo-Scythians." This is the sense in which the term "Later Indo-Scythians" is used in my *Index*. The references under this heading mostly, if not all, refer to coins of Wema Kadphises, Kaniṣka, etc., and not to the coins now under discussion.

The term Indo-Scythian has become an encumbrance and a hindrance to exact knowledge. It is a pity that Sir Alexander Cunningham has given the sanction of his great name to the continued use of such a misleading and confusing term.

PART V.—The Indian Coinage of the Ephthalites or White Huns, and the Gupta Silver Coins.

Section I.—The White Huns.

The important part played by the White Huns in the history of Northern India during the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era has only lately been recognized by historical students. This Central Asian tribe, which first appeared in the countries on the Oxus in the beginning of the fifth century, is known by a most inconvenient variety

[1] The paper treats of 14 coins in all. One is a coin of Nara Bālāditya, and another is a coin of Viṣṇu Candrāditya.

of names. The Chinese writers call them Yuan-yuan, Yetha-i-lito, Yetha, or Himatala (Hiuen Tsiang). The Greek historians knew them as Οὖννοι, Λευκοὶ Οὖννοι, Εφθαλίται, or Νεφθαλίται. The Armenians call them Hunk, and in Sanskrit authors they are named Hūṇa (or Hūna), Sita Hūṇa (*Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, xi, 61), Çvēta-Hūṇa (*ibid.*, xvi, 38), or Hāra-Hūṇa.[1]

The earliest Indian inscription which mentions the Huns is the Bhitarī inscription of Skanda Gupta, *circa* A.D. 470, which records (l. 15), the fact that the king "joined in close conflict with the Hūṇas." (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 56.) The Mandasōr inscription of Yaçōdharman, king of Northern India, *circa* A.D. 535, alleges that his prowess was displayed by invading those parts of the earth, "which the command of the chiefs of the Hūṇas, that established itself on the tiaras of many kings, failed to penetrate." (*ibid.*, p. 148.) The inscription of Ādityasēna, king of Magadha, mentions the defeat by Dāmōdara Gupta (*circa* A.D. 565), of the Maukharīs, who had themselves defeated the Hūṇas. (*ibid.*, p. 206.)

These records show that, during the first half of the sixth century and the latter part of the fifth, the invading and aggressive Huns were in constant conflict with the Gupta and other native kings of Northern India.

The Indian history of the White Huns begins with a chief called Lae-lih by the Chinese, who established himself on the Indus near the close (*circa* A.D. 470–480) of the fifth century.

The son of Lae-lih appears to have been Tōramāṇa.[2] Two inscriptions of this king are known. The inscription on the boar statue at Ēraṇ in the Sāgar District of the Central Provinces is dated in the first year of his reign (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 159.) The second inscription, which was found recently at Kura in the Salt Range, calls him Mahārāja Tōramāṇa Ṣāha Jaūvla, and has been edited by Dr. Bühler (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 238). Dr. Bühler denies the identity of this prince with the Tōramāṇa of the Eraṇ record, but Cunningham has no doubt of the identity, and I think he is right.

Tōramāṇa succeeded in extending his dominion over a wide area,

1 Most of the above synonyms are given by Cunningham (*Trans. Intern. Congress of Orientalists*, 1892, Vol. I, p. 222), but he makes a slight error in asserting that "by the Indians they are always called *Hūṇa* or *Hāra Hūṇa*." The references to the Bṛhat Saṁhitā of Varāha Mihira are given in Dr. Fleet's valuable paper entitled *The Topographical List of the Bṛhat Saṁhitā* (*Indian Ant.*, Vol. XXII (1893), pp. 169–195). Hūna हून is a various reading for Hūṇa हूण.

2 The name Tōramāṇa is not Indian. It is supposed to be connected with the Turkish word *turamān*, meaning a 'rebel' or 'insurgent.' (*Epigr. Ind. l. c.*).

including the Pañjāb, Kāçmīr, Mālwā, and a considerable portion of the North-Western Provinces.

He was succeeded about the year A.D. 515, by his son Mihirakula (Mihirgul),[1] who is mentioned under that name by Hiuen-Tsiang and the author of the Rāja Taraṇgiṇī. He must be identified with Gollas the king of the Indian White Huns mentioned by Kosmas Indikopleustes (A.D. 522–530), and with the unnamed Ephthalite king of Gāndhāra visited by the Chinese envoy Sung-yun in A.D. 520. He seems also to be the person called Hunimanta, king of Persia, and ruler over Lāhōr and Multān, by Tārānāth, the historian of Buddhism.

The Mandasōr inscription of Yaçōdharman, already referred to, asserts that Mihirakula did homage to Yaçōdharman, and an inscription at Gwāliōr is dated in the fifteenth year of Mihirakula, the son of Tōramāṇa (*Gupta Inscr.*, pp. 148, 150, 161.)

The reign of Mihirakula ended about A.D. 544–550. I will not at present stop to examine critically the conflicting, and in great part mythical, accounts of the alleged events of his reign. It seems to be the fact that about A.D. 544 he was defeated by a coalition of Indian princes, driven out of India proper, and compelled to retire to Kāçmīr and the neighbouring regions.

The above sketch will suffice for its purpose on this occasion, which is merely to indicate approximately the dates and historical position of the coinage of Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula.

The coins of both these princes require much further examination and elucidation before they can be arranged satisfactorily. The leading and most recent authority on the subject is Cunningham's already cited paper in the Transactions of the Congress of 1892. Unfortunately, it has been published without the plates which were intended to accompany and illustrate the text.[2] The notices of the coins in Cunningham's dissertation are mixed up with much extraneous matter. I shall endeavour to make the subject somewhat clearer and more intelligible by disentangling the numismatic facts, and adding what I can from other sources. But my readers will please clearly understand that the present attempt to describe the Indian coinage of Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula is merely preliminary and tentative.

The coins of both kings occur in both silver and copper, and are not

[1] This date is certainly approximately correct. (Fleet, *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. XV., p. 252).

[2] I understand that it is likely that the plates will appear in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. (During the passage of this paper through the press, the plates have appeared in the *Num. Chron.* for 1894). Many of the White Hun coins are figured in Plates xxxiii. and xxxiv. of Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*.

certainly known in gold, though it is probable that many of the rude imitations of the Gupta gold Archer coins are of White Hun origin. The main characteristic of the White Hun coinage is its want of originality. The White Huns were a rude and unlettered people,[1] and they were generally content to imitate as well as they could the coins of the various countries which they over-ran. The result is that the Hun coinage occurs in widely varying forms, Persian, Parthian, Indian and Indo-Roman.[2]

Section II.—Tōramāṇa, Silver Coins.

In one passage Cunningham divides the silver coins of Tōramāṇa into two classes as follows :—

I.—Broad thin pieces of Sassanian type.

Obv. King's head, with a club in front of the face. Legend in Gupta characters, *Ṣāhi Jabubla* or *Jabula*.

Rev. Traces of fire-altar and its attendants.

II. Small hemidrachms, exactly like those of the Fantail Peacock type of Kumāra Gupta I, Skanda Gupta, Budha Gupta, Bhīma Sēna, and Īçāna Varman, except that Tōramāṇa's head is turned to the left.

But this division of Tōramāṇa's silver coins is not exhaustive. In a later page Cunningham gives details which show that three main types of Tōramāṇa's silver coinage are known. These are—

i. Horseman.
ii. Sassanian Bust.
iii. Fantail Peacock hemidrachms.

I proceed to describe each class.

I.—Horseman Type.

Obv. Horseman to right. Discus and shell of Viṣṇu, or (?) vase, in field. Ephthalite symbol behind horseman. Marginal legend in Gupta characters *Ṣahi Jabula* on one specimen, and apparently *Ṣahi Janabula* on the other.

Rev. The usual fire-altar and supporters, rudely executed. Diam. ·90 and ·80. Wt. 53 and 50·5.[3]

[1] So Cunningham: "the illiterate White Huns" (*Trans.*, p. 234). Gibbon, whom he cites, gave them the epithet of "polite" (*Ch.* 42); but their rudeness is vouched for by Sung-yun, who visited them both in Central Asia and Gāndhāra.

[2] The silver coins follow Persian and Parthian models; the copper pieces are mainly Indian; and the gold (if any gold coins are Hun issues) copy the Gupta coinage, which may be concisely characterized as Indo-Roman.

[3] Cunningham's coins, each of which he believed to be unique, are figured in *Num. Chron.* for 1894, Pl. ix (vii), fig. 8, 9.

The coins described by Cunningham, appear to be the only two specimens known. But a very similar coin is described and figured in Prinsep's *Essays*, Pl. xxxiii., 1. The description of this piece is as follows:—

Obv. Horseman to right; crescent over head; Ephthalite symbol behind horseman; vase over horse's head. Marginal legend supposed to be Pahlavī, but probably Greek (*Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 277).

Rev. Indistinct, probably fire-altar and supporters.

This coin was in Prinsep's cabinet. The find-spot is not stated. Weight not stated. Diam. 1 inch. It closely resembles Cunningham's fig. 9.

Cunningham's coins are ascribed to Tōramāṇa the White Hun, on account of the legend *Jabula* or *Janabula*, which seems to be identical with the Jaūvla (जऊव्लः) of the Kura inscription of Mahārāja Tōramāṇa Ṣāha Jaūvla. But the title Jaūvla may be "a tribal name or *biruda*," [1] and its occurrence on a coin does not necessitate the ascription of that coin to Tōramāṇa. The coin might possibly be his father's, or his son's. But it is, most probably, assigned rightly to Tōramāṇa.

II.—Sassanian Bust Type.

Obv. Bust of king to right; with a cap adorned with a crescent in front. Marginal legend in Gupta characters, षाहि जबूव्लः, *Ṣāhi Jabūvlaḥ*, or जबुल *Jabula*.

Rev. Indistinct; the coin in one instance being *repoussé*. Diam. 1 and 1·10. Wt. 56 and 50·5.

Cunningham describes four or five coins of this class (*Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 278, Pl. ix (vii), figs. 10, 13). Similar coins are known of *Dēva Ṣāhi Khiŋgila* and of *Rājā La[khana] Udayāditya*.[2]

Dēva Ṣāhi Khiŋgila is identified with Khiŋkhila, who is mentioned in the *Rāja Taraŋgiṇī* as one of the kings who succeeded Mihirakula, and is said to have been also known by the Hindū title of *Narēndrāditya*.[3] Copper coins of the period with the legend *Jayatu Çrī Narēndra* exist, and may have been issued by the same chief.

[1] Bühler, *Epigraph. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 239.

[2] Cunningham possessed only one coin of Khiŋgila. (*Coins of Med. India*, p. 26). He dates him in A.D. 580. He had four specimens of Udayāditya, and Mr. Theobald has one.

[3] Cunningham describes and figures two rude gold coins of a king of Kāçmīr bearing the legend *Çrī Narēndra*, whom he identifies with the *Narēndrāditya* of the Rāja Taraŋgiṇī. These coins are of the ordinary debased Kidarite type, with *Kidara* under the king's arm. (*Coins of Med. India*, p. 43, Pl. iii, fig. 5). This *Çrī Narēndra* seems to be distinct from *Khiŋgila Narēndrāditya*.

The obverses of two specimens of Udayāditya's coinage are depicted in very clear woodcuts (Nos. 3 and 4, Vol. I, p. 411) in Prinsep's *Essays*. The legend is perfectly legible and unmistakeable, except for the second and third character of the second word. Prinsep read the word as *Lamata*. Cunningham reads it doubtfully as *Lakhana*. The first character is certainly ल *La*, and, in the woodcuts; the third character seems to be त *ta*, not न *na*. The medial character is dubious. It is unfortunate that the second word of the legend, which must be the real personal name, is doubtful. *Udayāditya* appears to be a mere title, similar to the *Vikramāditya*, *Bālāditya*, and other titles of like formation assumed by the Gupta kings.

Cunningham suggests that the Udayāditya coins may have been struck by Lae-lih, the father of Tōramāṇa.[1]

A large class of anonymous coins, devoid of any kind of legend, should probably be arranged as a sub-division of the Sassanian Bust coins of Tōramāṇa.

A hoard of 175 silver Indo-Sassanian coins found somewhere in Mārwāṛā was examined by Dr. Hoernle. The coins were of the ordinary Indo-Sassanian pattern, the obverse device being that of the king's bust to right, and the reverse that of a fire-altar with supporters. These coins copy so closely the issue of Fīrūz, king of Persia from A.D. 459–486,[2] while they omit his name, that they must be regarded as nearly contemporary imitations of his coinage. Dr. Hoernle shows that the coins found in Mārwāṛā reproduce "every one" of the details which characterize the later period (*circa* A.D. 471–486) of the reign of Fīrūz, "though in somewhat cruder execution." The only exception is that the Mārwāṛā coins have no legend whatsoever. These coins are readily divisible into two classes, one with the king's head of distinctly Sassanian type, and the second, much less numerous, with a king's head of rude, thick-lipped, barbarian type.

Dr. Hoernle's assignment of these uninscribed Indo-Sassanian coins to Tōramāṇa having been ignored by Cunningham, I had better give Dr. Hoernle's very cogent arguments in his own words:—

"The age of the coins may be determined by their remarkably close imitation of Fīrūz's coins.

They cannot be genuine coins of Fīrūz for two reasons, (1) be-

[1] *Trans.*, p. 228. The coin of Pūrvāditya (woodcut No. 2) and others belong to the same class (Prinsep's *Essays*, *l. c.*; *Num. Chron.* for 1894, pp. 285 *seqq.*)

[2] Cunningham places the death of Fīrūz and his defeat by the Huns in A.D. 483. Gibbon (*chap.* xl), gives the date as A.D. 488, and observes in the note that "the chronology has been ably ascertained by Asseman (*Biblio. Orient.* iii, p. 396)."

cause their execution does not quite come up to the standard of Fīrūz's known genuine coins; and (2) because they do not bear any Pahlavī legend. At the same time they must be of Fīrūz's time, that is, of the latter part of the fifth century, A.D.; they cannot be of a later date, for in that case they would rather imitate Sassanian coins of Fīrūz's successors. From the absence of any Pahlavī legend and Sassanide king's name, it may be concluded that the coins were not issued either by a Sassanide king, or by any of his vassals or governors. They must be the issue of some hostile king, who adopted Fīrūz's coinage, but omitted Fīrūz's name.

It is known from history that during the latter part of his reign Fīrūz was engaged in calamitous campaigns against the White Huns in which he lost his life. The Huns annexed the eastern districts of the Sassanide kingdom (Khorāsān and Kābul), and then passed on to the invasion of India.

It was probably their leader, who about this time (A.D. 470–486) adopted Fīrūz's coinage. He naturally omitted Fīrūz's name, though he at first retained Fīrūz's likeness on the obverse (Class I). Subsequently he appears to have substituted his own likeness for that of Fīrūz (Class II).

At the time of the Hunnic invasion of India, their leaders were Tōramāṇa and his son Mihirakula. The latter succeeded his father about A.D. 515; and Tōramāṇa appears to have had a rather long reign, so that he may have succeeded to the leadership of the Huns about A.D. 470, or perhaps even earlier. (See Fleet's Introduction to Vol. III., of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, pp. 10–12). His Indian campaigns, during which he conquered Kāçmīr, the Pañjāb, Sindh, Rājpūtānā and a portion of Central India, probably fell within the period A.D. 490–510.

In India it is known that he imitated the contemporary Gupta [silver] coinage, and he appears to have observed a similar practice in Kāçmīr. It is, therefore, probable that he followed a similar course during the period of his conquest of portions of the Sassanide kingdom, and that the coins of the present find, the age of which coincides with that of Tōramāṇa, are issues of the latter king. They may have been carried by his advancing army into India, and thus be brought to the place where they have now been discovered.

It is curious that these coins should bear no legend whatsoever, though Tōramāṇa's Indian, as well as Kāçmīrian, imitated coins are inscribed with his name.

Perhaps the fact may be accounted for by the circumstance that his Sassanian imitations were his first attempt at coining money of his

own. If my suggestion that these coins are issues of Tōramāṇa should prove to be correct, the barbarian head on the obverse of Class II, may be a portrait of Tōramāṇa himself." [1]

I think it probable that these anonymous coins were really issued by Tōramāṇa, as suggested by Dr. Hoernle. The king's head is so rudely executed in all the varieties that to call it a "portrait" is rather an exaggeration. It seems to me a merely conventional delineation. Multitudes of rude coins of Sassanian type without legends have been found in Northern India, of which many may have been struck by leaders of the Huns. The coins of the hoard described by Dr. Hoernle in detail are only remarkable because they imitate so closely the coins of one Persian king issued within the limits of a period of about sixteen years, and can, consequently, be dated with approximate accuracy, and assigned with probability to a particular Hun chief.

I have some small size anonymous Indo-Sassanian coins which were found at Bhitarī between Ghāzīpur and Benares. Some obtained at that place by Cunningham were assigned by him to the eighth or ninth century,[2] but I am inclined to think that they must be earlier. Similar coins have been found at Indōr Khērā in the Bulandshahr District, associated with ruins of the Gupta period.[3] A rude reminiscence of the Sassanian reverse device is found as late as A.D. 900 on the coins of Vigraha Pāla of Magadha.[4]

Like most branches of Indian numismatics, the Indo-Sassanian series requires much more study and elucidation than it has yet received.

To return to Tōramāṇa.

III.—Fantail Peacock Hemidrachm Type.

His hemidrachms with Fantail Peacock reverse exactly copy the Gupta coins of the same type, except that the king's head is turned to the left, instead of the right. The only two specimens hitherto

[1] *Proc., A. S. B.*, for 1889, p. 229. Figures of typical specimens of each variety of the hoard will be found in *Jour., A. S. B.*, Pt i, Vol. LIX, (1890), Pl. v. Some specimens from the hoard are now in the British Museum.

[2] *Arch. Rep.*, Vol. I, p. 97.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 44, 68.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 175, 181, Pl. xliii. The coins with the Sassanian device evidently belong to the first Vigraha Pāla. His namesake lived about a century later. See *Coins of Mediæval India*, pp. 49 to 52.

known, which are in the British Museum, have been repeatedly described and figured.[1]

Dr. Hoey has been fortunate enough to acquire a third specimen, (now, I am sorry to say, mislaid). This coin is (or was) in good, though not brilliant, condition, and the legend (without vowel marks) is quite distinct, **वजतावनरवनपत श्री तारमण**, *vijitāvanir-avanipati Çrī Tōramāṇa.* The date is lost.

Three interesting coins in Dr. Hoey's cabinet, which are of the same type as the hemidrachms of Tōramāṇa and the Guptas, deserve notice.

No. 1. (Pl. VI, fig. 13). *Obv.* Head to left, as in Tōramāṇa's coins. Date, apparently in same era as Tōramāṇa's, 54.

Rev. Fantail Peacock device. Legend, with vowel marks **विजितावनिरवनिप** *vijitāvanir-avanipa.*—The rest, including the king's name, is, unfortunately, completely obliterated. This coin is probably one of Īçāna Varman, (whose date, according to Cunningham, is *circa* A.D. 560). A specimen of his coinage with the same date as Dr. Hoey's coin is figured in *Coins of Mediæval India*, Pl. ii, 12. Although the date is quite plain, Cunningham notes it as "not read." This date in the unknown era for Īçāna Varman is of importance, both for determining the close of Tōramāṇa's reign in Magadha, and for fixing the era.

No. 2. (Pl. VI, fig. 14). *Obv.* Head to left, as in No. 1, but the head differs. On this No. 2 coin, the king has a hooked nose. Date, in same era, 58.

Rev. Fantail Peacock device. Legend, with vowel marks, **विजितावनिरवनिपति श्री श्र्व्व वम्म देव जयति,** *vijitāvanir-avanipati Çrī Çarvva Varmma dēva jayati.*

These two coins are closely related to three coins in the British Museum, concerning which nothing has been published except my brief remark (*Coinage*, p. 136)—"There are three similar [*scil.* to Tōra-

[1] The references are :—

Archæological Survey of W. India (Thomas), Vol. II, p. 36, Pl. vii, 27, 28. This notice is reprinted in the volume entitled *Records of the Gupta Dynasty* (Trübner, 1876).

Archæological Survey of India (Cunningham), Vol. IX, p. 26, Pl. v, 18, 19.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVIII, p. 225 (Fleet).

J. Roy. As. Soc. for 1889 (V. A. Smith), p. 136.

Trans. of Intern. Congress of Orientalists (Cunningham), London, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 228, 229. *Coins of Mediæval India* (Cunningham), p. 20, Pl. ii, 11. The author repeats the old error of reading *dēva janita* for *dēvō jayati.*

māṇa's] coins with head to left, in B.M., presented by Miss Baring, on two of which the date seems to be 54, but I could not decipher the king's name. It did not appear to be Tōramāṇa." I regret that I did not examine these pieces more closely when I had the opportunity.

The two British Museum coins of Tōramāṇa are both certainly dated in the year 52. Dr. Hoey's coins now published add the dates 54 and 58. The legend on the coin dated 58 is damaged, and every letter of the king's name cannot be read with certainty. But the name begins with श *Ça*, and I have no doubt that the reading above given is correct. Çarvva Varman (Varmmā) Maukharī was the son and successor of Īçāna Varman. The coin now published is the first which has been recognized as belonging to Çarvva Varman. Dr. Fleet has published a seal of Çarvva Varman (श्री शर्व्व वर्म्मा मौखरिः) in *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 220, Pl. xxx.

The era in which all three coins are dated is as yet undetermined.

Dr. Fleet's theory as to the 52 date is that it is a regnal year. "It is plain, therefore," he observes, "that Tōramāṇa did exercise sovereign sway in the Pañjāb; at the beginning of his career, and before he commenced the campaign in the course of which he eventually reached Mālwā. If, now, we interpret the year on his coins as a regnal year, it certainly indicates a long reign. But analogous instances could be quoted for this; and no special exception need be taken to it.

"And this interpretation of the date is at any rate better than the assumption that it is reckoned from some period, anterior to Tōramāṇa's accession, at which his own branch of the Hūṇas first rose to power; for that would mean that, not satisfied with the Çaka era, which was the hereditary and national era of that part of the country, and probably of his own ancestors also, he sought to establish a new era, dating from that event.

"This, accordingly, is the interpretation that I place upon the date. And, reckoning back from A.D. 515, which is very closely the latest terminal date that can be applied, it follows that the commencement of his reign, at his own capital in the Pañjāb, is to be placed approximately in A.D. 460."[1]

This interpretation, never satisfactory, is rendered impossible by the discovery of coins of other kings dated evidently in the same era, and must, in my opinion, for that, and for other good reasons, be rejected.

A suggestion of Cunningham's that the era used is the Çaka, with the hundreds omitted, is, for several reasons, equally untenable.

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII (1889), p. 229.

The best solution of the problem yet offered seems to me to be Cunningham's alternative guess that the date is expressed in a special White Hun Era. "The only remarkable date in the history of the White Huns which I can suggest is the final expulsion of the Sassanians from the countries to the north of the Oxus by Chu-Khān in A.D. 456 or 457. If the year 52 be reckoned from this point, we get A.D. 508 or 509 for the establishment of Tōramāṇa's rule in Mālwā." [1]

I think it is tolerably clear that an era otherwise unknown is used on these coins, and it may be provisionally named the White Hun Era. The limiting dates for Tōramāṇa appear to be fixed with tolerable precision. Īçāna Varman has been provisionally dated by Dr. Hoernle in A. D. 564. This date must apparently be moved back. If the Hun Era is taken as A. D. 456, then Īçāna Varman's date (456+54) is A. D. 510. If the Hun Era is taken as A. D. 448, Īçāna Varman's date will be A. D. 502. The subject requires further discussion, which I cannot at present undertake.

Dr. Hoey's third coin resembles the Gupta coins in having the king's head turned to the right, and in being evidently dated in the Gupta Era.

No. 3. (Pl. VI, fig. 15). *Obv.* Head to right; execution coarse, and in high relief. Date in three characters, of peculiar form which may perhaps be read as 166. The date of Budha Gupta's coin is 174 of the Gupta Era.

Rev. Fantail peacock device. The legend, which is difficult to read, seems to begin with बिजि *viji*—, and to end with the name श्री हरिकान्त *Çrī Harikānta.*

Section III. Copper Coinage of Tōramāṇa.

The arrangement of the copper coins of Tōramāṇa presents many difficulties, which I am not yet in a position to solve. Some of the coins bearing the name of Tōramāṇa (or at least its first syllable, or first two syllables) may belong to a king of Kāçmīr of perhaps later date than the White Hun chief. The exact date of this Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr is not known. In *Coins of Mediæval India* (p. 391), he is dated A.D. 520 and made to be contemporary with the White Hun chief.

Cunningham's remarks on the subject of the two Tōramāṇas are as follows:—

"With regard to the supposed identity of the Tōramāṇas of Eraṇ and Gwalior [*scil.* the White Hun chief] with the Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr, which was originally advocated by Rājēndralāl and Bhāu Dājī,

[1] *Trans.*, p. 228. See *post*, p. 208, M. Drouin dates the Hun Era from A. D. 448.

I may say that I cannot conceive it to be possible for the following reasons:—

1. The Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr, according to the Rāja Taraṇgiṇī, was never a king, but died in prison, where he was put by his brother for striking the coins which we now possess. The Scythian [*i.e.*, White Hun] Tōramāṇa was a powerful king, who ruled over the valley of the Indus, both Pañjāb and Sindh, and afterwards conquered Mālwā, where small silver coins of Gupta type were struck in his name[1] and a colossal boar set up in the first year of his reign. Eventually he left his kingdom to his son Mihirkul, who held it for at least fifteen years.

2. The son of the Kāçmīr Tōramāṇa was Pravarasēna, who is always described as a great conqueror; but if the two Tōramāṇas were the same, then Pravarasēna must have been Mihirakula himself.

But there is this difference between the two that Mihirkul was eventually defeated by Yaçōdharman, king of Mālwā, whereas Pravarasēna re-established on his throne Silāditya, the expelled son of the king of Mālwā.

3. The coins of Pravarasēna, both in gold and silver, show him to have belonged to the Kidāra Kuṣāns, as they present the name of Kidāra in beautifully formed letters written perpendicularly, as on all the Kidarite coins.

Lastly, I may observe that the earlier Tōramāṇa, like all the White Huns, has his hair cut short, while the Kāçmīr Tōramāṇa has bushy hair like his ancestor Kidāra, as copied from the Sassanian kings.

4. I may also note that the characters of the Kāçmīr coins are of a later date than the others. This is most clearly shown in the attached $\bar{a}$ and $\bar{o}$, which are simple prolongations of the *mātrās* of the *t* and *m*, instead of marks placed above those letters, as in the Kyura [Kura] and Eraṇ inscriptions of the other Tōramāṇas.

I note also that the letter *r* has a turn up at the foot of the Kāçmīr coins of Tōramāṇa and his son Pravarasēna, which is not found on the others."[2]

Some of the proposed tests are open to criticism, but I will not stop to examine them minutely. Cunningham, it will be observed, regards the Tōramāṇa coins which he ascribes to Kāçmīr as the unauthorized issue of a pretender. I confess that I feel sceptical as to the existence of two contemporary Tōramāṇas in Northern India in A. D. 520.

[1] I doubt if the Tōramāṇa hemidrachms were struck in Mālwā. The Gupta coins of the Fantail Peacock type seem to have been struck in the Gangetic valley.

[2] *Trans.*, p. 232.

The same author has discussed the coins of the Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr at greater length in another place. "There are other coins," he observes, "with the name of Kidāra which undoubtedly belong to Kāçmīr. The earliest are the well-known copper pieces of Tōramāṇa, and the gold and silver coins of his son Pravarasēna..... As the existing coins of Tōramāṇa, which are found in considerable numbers in Kāçmīr, are confined to one class of copper pieces, ranging from 100 to 120 grains in weight, it seems not improbable that what Tōramāṇa did was to collect the old coins called *Bāla-hats*, and to re-coin them as *Dīnārs* in his own name. ... The money thus re-coined, I take to have been the barbarous pieces of the later Kuṣān princes, whose names are unknown. These pieces vary in weight from 100 to 125 grains, with the king standing on the obverse, and Çiva and his bull on the reverse. The coins of Tōramāṇa and his son Pravarasēna are so superior in execution to these coins and to all the contemporary coins of North-West India, that I look upon them as the first real issue of the Kāçmīr mint. ... I much doubt whether there was any previous coinage in Kāçmīr."[1]

Two of these Tōramāṇa coins of Kāçmīr are noticed and figured in Thomas' Prinsep, p. 389, Pl. xxxi, pp. 13, 14.

Obv. Rude standing figure of king, with legend श्री तोरमा[ण] *Çrī Tōramā[ṇa]*.

Rev. Rude Lakṣmī, with legend जय *jaya*. These coins are said to be common. The king's figure is filled out in considerable detail, though roughly.[2]

Certain *Tōra* coins, collected by Mr. Rodgers, which are now in the cabinet of Mr. W. Theobald of Budleigh Salterton, exhibit a much more degraded form of the Standing King device, and cannot well be assigned to the White Hun Tōramāṇa, A.D. 500.

The Standing King of these coins (Nos. 1 and 2) is reduced to the barest skeleton of a rude diagram. I annex sketches and descriptions.[3]

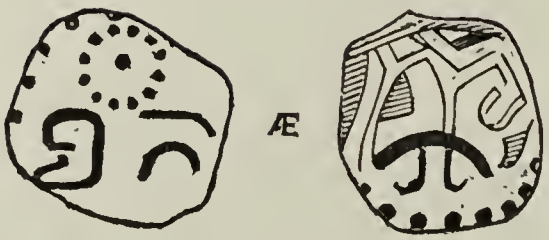
[1] *Num. Chron.* for 1893, pp. 190–193.

[2] One of these coins is in the Lahore Museum. Weight 96·8, diam. 8. Mr. Rodgers also says that coins of this class are common. (*Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum*, p. 54). In *Coins of Mediæval India* Cunningham has described and figured two varieties of the Kāçmīr copper coinage of Tōramāṇa, of which one is very rare, and the other common. Pravarasēna's coinage also is found in two forms, one in gold, and the other in silver (*Coins of Mediæval India*, pp. 42, 43, Pl. iii, 1–4.)

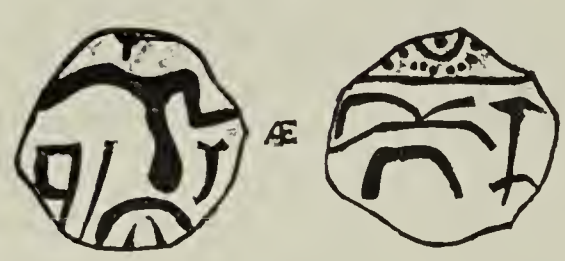
[3] A coin very similar to No. 1 has been published by Dr. Hoernle (*Proc. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1885, p. 5, Pl. I, 14.) Among 60 coins from the Pañjāb, nearly all coins of Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula, there was only one specimen with the skeleton figure. Dr. Hoernle's description is as follows:—

"*Obv.* Crude standing figure of king, facing to the front with left arm akimbo, its right resting on a spear or staff, somewhat resembling the figure on the later Indo-Scythian coins.

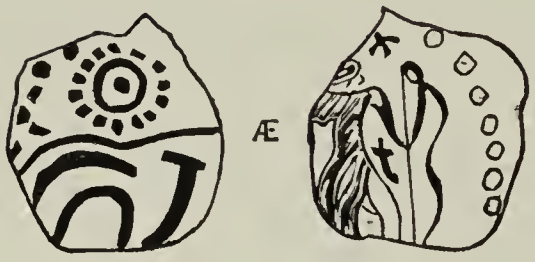
No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 1. *Obv.* A very degraded standing figure. Weight 41.

Rev. Sun in upper field: *Çrī Tō.* in lower field.

No. 2. *Obv.* A very degraded standing figure, and the letters (?) **बर**. Weight 62.

Rev. Sun above horizontal line. Below, *Tōra* in large letters.

These two pieces must, I think, be classed with Kāçmīr coins.

Another *Tōra* coin (**No. 3**), sent home with the above, looks to me of earlier date.

Obv. King standing, holding bow in left hand, as in Gupta coins. The only legend consists of two minute characters, **तो** *Tō* above the king's left shoulder, and **रा** *rā* or **र** *ra* below his left arm.

Rev. Sun above horizontal line. Legend below line **तोर** *Tōra*, in peculiar bold characters. Weight 56.

I am inclined to attribute this piece to the father of Mihirakula.[1]

Mr. Theobald's fourth piece is a larger coin than the last.

Rev. Wheel as in No. 5 [Sassanian Bust *Tōra* coins], with some large marks looking like letters (perhaps **बोधि** *bōdhi*)."

Another coin in this style is figured in *Coins of Mediæval India*, Pl. vi., 1, and vaguely assigned to a large class of "copper coins, which show Çiva and his bull on one side, and on the reverse a very rude representation of what appears to be a fire-altar with its two attendant priests. Many of them bear single letters or names in early mediæval letters. ... A large find of these coins was made at Rohtak, between the Satlaj and Delhi, ten years ago. They probably formed the common copper currency of the Pañjāb and Rājputāna between A.D 500 and 800."

[1] This coin has also been described and figured by Cunningham in his posthumous paper on the *Coins of the White Huns* in *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 280, Pl. ix (vii), fig. 17. His description is inaccurate, omitting all mention of the minute characters on the obverse, which are quite plain on the original coin, and giving the reverse legend as *Tō*, instead of *Tōra*. Cunningham agrees with me in ascribing this coin to the White Hun Tōramāṇa. The paper in the *Num. Chron.* appeared while these

No. 4. *Obv.* Standing king to left, sacrificing at altar with right hand, resting on spear with left arm. Legend on left margin illegible.

Rev. Lakṣmī seated. The only legible letters are रम *ram*, on right margin. Weight 98.

This coin is evidently of comparatively early date, and may belong to the White Hun Tōramāṇa.

The fifth coin is similar in type to the last. Mr. Rodgers reads *Tōramāṇa* on left *obverse* margin, but this legend was not fully legible on the specimen submitted to me. The only letter visible on the *reverse* is *y*, probably part of *jaya*. The form of the *y* is early.

I am doubtful to whom to ascribe this piece.

Cunningham's notices of the copper coinage of Tōramāṇa, the White Hun, are unfortunately very brief. They are as follows:—

"The small copper coins attributed to Tōramāṇa are found both in the Pañjāb and in the country between the Satlaj and Jamna.

"Their attribution is based on the type of the sun with the abbreviated name of *Tora* in large letters.

"The same sun-type is found on the copper coins of Mihirakula, of which a few specimens show the bull struck over the solar emblem." [1]

"There is also a small class of copper coins which I would assign to Toramāṇa Jabula.

"They bear a king's head of Sassanian aspect on the *obverse* and a *chakra*, or sun-wheel, on the *reverse*, with the Indian legend *Tora* in bold letters.

"The same legend is found on some of the smaller silver coins, with the name of *Zoboa*, or *Jabula*. ....:. I observe that the peculiar symbol, which is rarely absent from any of the broad silver coins of these Ephthalite kings, does not appear on any of their undoubted Indian coins which are found in the Eastern Pañjāb and Rājputāna." [2]

These passages do not make it clear whether or not the learned author attributed to Tōramāṇa Jabula any coins other than those with the Sassanian head on the obverse.

I have shown above that the sun symbol occurs on several types of *Tōra* coins.

Other variations of the Standing King obverse, combined with a solar reverse, and characters of rather late type, which may be read as *Çrī Tōra*, will be found engraved in Plate xxxiv., 17, 18 of Thomas'

sheets were passing through the press. It is a reprint of the paper in the *Transactions*, with plates and a catalogue of coins added.

[1] *Trans.*, p. 229. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

edition of Prinsep's *Essays.* Cunningham (*Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 280) reads the legend on fig. 17 as *Shuta.*

These coins, other than the Sassanian-head pieces, seem to me to present many difficulties.

The coins with the Sassanian-head obverse, alluded to by Cunningham in the second quotation above, must certainly be assigned to the White Hun Tōramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula.

They have been described and figured by Prinsep, whose note may be quoted in full.[1] "Figs. 15 and 16 of this Plate [xxxiii], and 6 of the ensuing one [xxxiv], are types of a distinct group of copper coins, plentiful in the Swiney and Stacy cabinets. The appendage to the shoulder decides the Sassanian origin, and the wheel on the reverse seems to be borrowed from the emblem above the fire-altar. I incline to think it the solar effigy, rather than the symbol of a *Chakravarttin*, or ruler of universal dominion. It is probable that the common emblem is still preserved in the Ujjain and Indor coins on the present day.

There is the appearance of a letter in front of the face, but it is ill-defined.

On the opposite side, however, the two large letters under the wheel are, most distinctly, तोर *Tōra*, the meaning of which remains a mystery. They are not in the same alphabet as that of the preceding coins, but of the more ancient *lāṭ* character, which accords, so far, with the comparative superiority of the engraving."

I am not fortunate enough to possess any of these coins. I annex a formal description of them, based on Prinsep's and Cunningham's plates and descriptions.

Tōramāṇa (White Hun.)

Sassanian Bust Type.—Æ.

Obv. Modified Sassanian Bust, facing right. An indistinct letter before face, read by Cunningham as बु, *Bu.* Dotted circle. The king seems to wear a close-fitting skull-cap.

Rev. In upper field a sun (wheel). In lower field तोर *Tōra*, in bold, splayed characters. Dotted circle. Diam., about ·75 inch. Weight of Cunningham's specimen, 57 grains.

The collection of 60 coins from the Pañjāb already referred to

[1] *Thomas' Prinsep*, Vol. I, p. 416, Pl. xxxiii, 15, 16, and Pl. xxxiv, 6. The tail of the र *r* in these coins is turned up to the left, so that, according to Cunningham, they should be classed as issued by the later Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr. I do not believe in the validity of the test.

contained six of these pieces, which are described as follows by Dr. Hoernle.

"No. 5. Six specimens. Plate I, figs. 6, 7.

Obv. King's head or bust, facing right, with fillet behind, as on No. 1, [*viz.*, 15 Bull coins of Mihirakula.] In front of face, a symbol, resembling an angular shaped 9, which, if it be a graphic sign, may be read as *bra* or *pra*.

Rev. Circular area, divided into two halves by a straight line; in the upper half a wheel within a circle of dots; in the lower half the two letters [characters] तोर *tōra*, in large bold Gupta characters of a late type."[1]

Circular dotted margins on both sides. Weight not stated. Diam. of fig. 7 is ·75 inch. Fig. 6 represents a somewhat smaller coin.

It is, I think, impossible to doubt that these Sassanian Bust coins were struck by Toramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula. The division of the field into two portions by a horizontal line, with a symbol above, and the king's name below, is copied from the Gupta copper coinage. The Gupta kings inserted as the symbol their family crest, the Garuḍa bird; the White Hun, a sun-worshipper, uses his special emblem or crest, the sun's disk. Cunningham observes (*Trans.*, p. 229,) that "Tōramāṇa's preference for solar-worship is shown by his building a temple to the sun in Multān, and by naming his son Mihirkul."[2]

If it be admitted, as I think it must be, that the Sassanian Bust coins above described were struck by Tōramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula, it follows that Dr. Hoernle must be mistaken in supposing that, in the case of certain double-struck pieces, the emblems of Tōramāṇa are superimposed on those of his son. Dr. Hoernle makes the admission that "on one specimen the emblems of No. 1, [*scil.* Bull type of Mihirakula] seem to be superimposed on those of No. 5, [*scil.* Sassanian Bust coins of Tōramāṇa], but this, being an exceptional case, may be an illusion."[3]

[1] *Proc. A. S. B.*, for 1885, p. 5, Pl. i.

[2] Cunningham identifies Tōramāṇa Jaūvla with the prince called Jabūīn, جبويه, in the *Chach-Nāma*, a history of Sindh, which states that Jabūīn built the temple of the sun at Multān. Cunningham holds that this Jabūīn was the first of the *Ṣāhi* dynasty, and he obtains A.D. 505, as the date for the foundation of the sun-temple at Multāu, by deducting 137 years, the duration of the *Ṣāhi* dynasty, from A.D. 642, the date when *Chach Brāhman* became king of Sindh. (*Trans.*, pp. 226, 228, 229.) For an account of the sun-temple at Multān, and Sassanian coins connected with it, see *Arch. Rep.* Vol. V, pp. 115–121, Pl. xxxvii; and *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 268, Pl. x.

[3] *Proc. A. S. B.*, for 1885, p. 6.

In 1885, when this remark was written, the relationship of the earlier Tōramāṇa to Mihirakula was not known, and Dr. Hoernle was influenced by the statements of the *Rāja Taraṇgiṇī* concerning Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr and his son Pravarasēna.

Dr. Fleet is clearly correct in the observation:—"Toramāṇa was the father and predecessor of the great Mihirakula himself. This will explain the double-struck coins published by Dr. Hoernle. The Tōramāṇa of these coins must be the father of Mihirakula, not as was thought at the discussion of them, the later Tōramāṇa of Kāçmīr; and I feel sure that a re-examination of these coins will show that in every case the name and emblems of Mihirakula lie over those of Tōramāṇa."[1]

The result of this prolonged discussion is that only a single type of copper coins—that which I have named the Sassanian Bust, can with perfect certainty be ascribed to Tōramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula.

I believe that the Archer coin (Theobald, No. 3, *ante*, p. 197) is also his. The other *Tōra* coins must for the present remain doubtful.

Section IV.—Mihirakula or Mihiragula, (*circa* A.D. 515–544.)

Silver Coinage.

The silver coins of Mihirakula are exceedingly rare; in fact, only three specimens seem to be known.

Sassanian Bust Type.

Obv. Bust of King to right, beardless, with crescent on front of head-dress. Bull, or bull-standard, in front; trident behind. Marginal legend either *Jayatu Mihirakula*, or *Jayatu vṛṣadhvaja*.

Rev. Fire-altar and attendants, more or less distinct.

Variety 1.

Broad coin, about 1 inch in diameter; weight, according to Cunningham, 36·5 (which may be a misprint for 56·5). Standard in front of bust is an umbrella decorated with pennons, having a bull to left, recumbent on the top. Obverse legend जयतु मिहिरकुल *jayatu Mihirakula*, 'may Mihirakula be victorious.'

References and Remarks:—

This coin was included in the Abbott collection, which was chiefly formed in the Hazāra country, and it is now in the British Museum. Thomas published a good woodcut of the obverse (*P. E.*,

[1] *Ind. Antiquary*, Vol. XV (1886, p. 245.) Mr. Rivett-Carnac, who sent the coins, also noticed that the bull was struck "above some former design." Cunningham, too, had no doubt that the bull was "struck over the solar emblem."

p. 411, woodcut No. 5). The obverse is in good preservation, and has again been figured in autotype by Cunningham in *Num. Chron.* for 1894, Pl. X (VIII), fig. 3. The reverse shows only the remains of fire-altar and attendants nearly obliterated, and has, consequently, never been figured. This coin, which seems to be unique, is also described by Cunningham in *Transactions*, pp. 231, 236; and in *Coins of Mediæval India*, p. 27.

Variety 2.

Smaller than variety 1, diam. about ·90 inch; weight 56. Only bull in front of bust, the standard not being visible. Legend जयतु वृषध्वज, *jayatu vṛṣadhvaja*, 'may the bull-standard be victorious.'

References and Remarks:—

Two specimens of this variety are known, both in Cunningham's cabinet. The better of the two is figured in *Num. Chron.* for 1894, Pl. VIII (X), fig. 4. The coins are also noticed in *Transactions*, pp. 231, 236; and *Coins of Mediæval India*, p. 27. It is not known where they were found.

Thomas mentions a coin in Mr. (Sir E. C.) Bayley's cabinet, with the legend *jayatu* and a trident, which was probably another specimen of Mihirakula's coinage. Several other closely related coins are described by Cunningham in the *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 281, *seqq.*

Section V.—Mihirakula.

Copper Coinage.

The copper coins of Mihirakula, unlike his silver ones, are tolerably common, and are known in several sizes and types.

Cunningham's account of them is as follows:—

"The small copper coins which are found in the Eastern Pañjāb and in Rājputāna are also [like the silver coins] of Sassanian type.

On the obverse is the king's head with the legend in Indian characters *Çrī Mihirakula*; on the reverse a humped bull with the Indian legend *jayatu vṛṣa*, 'may the bull be victorious.'

The middle sized copper coins are copies of the previous Kuṣān types—the king standing with a spear in left hand, and right hand held downwards over a small altar; legend in Indian letters, *Ṣāhi Mihiragula*, or simply *Mihirakula*. *Reverse*, the goddess Lakṣmī seated, with cornucopiæ.

The large copper coins present the Rāja on horseback with the Indian legend *Mihirakula; reverse*—the goddess Lakṣmī." [1]

[1] *Trans.*, p. 231.

"Both peoples [*scil.* Kuṣāns and White Huns] adhered to the old Kuṣān types for their copper money."...[1]

"There are two distinct types of legend even in the Indian inscriptions. Thus, some coins of Mihirkul give him the simple title of *Çrī* preceding his name, while others have *jayatu Mihirakula.* Others bear the Scythian form of *Ṣāhi Mihiragula.*" "The former, I conclude, were struck in Kāçmīr, the latter either in Gandhāra or in Taxila."[2]

"His copper coins are not uncommon. The copper coins of the Western Pañjāb are all of the Kuṣān type, with the standing king and seated goddess Lakṣmī; but the few silver coins, and all the Eastern Pañjāb copper pieces bear a Sassanian looking bust of the king, with the bull and trident of Çiva. His devotion to Çiva is also strongly marked by the legends of *jayatu vṛṣa dhvaja* and *jayatu vṛṣa.* In the *Rāja Tarayginī* he is described as a persecutor of Buddhists."[3]

Facsimiles of two of the legends on Mihirakula's copper coins are given in Pl. xiv, D. E., of *Num. Chron.* for 1893. These legends read (D), *Ṣāhi Mihiragula;* and (E), *Çrī Mihirakula.*

The above quoted extracts show that Mihirakula's copper coinage occurs in three main forms, namely:—

I.—Horseman Type.

Obv. King on horseback to right. Legend **मिहिरकुल** *Mihirakula,* "sometimes written in the wrong direction from right to left." (*Coins of Med. India,* p. 27).

Rev. The seated goddess Lakṣmī. Diam., ·90; weight 110.

The coins of this type seems to be very rare. Cunningham possessed five specimens. (*Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 282, Pl. VIII (X), fig. 7.)

II.—Standing King Type.

Obv. Standing King with spear in left hand, and right hand held downwards over a small altar. Legend either **षाहि मिहिरगुल** *Ṣāhi Mihiragula,* or simply **मिहिरकुल** *Mihirakula.*

Rev. Seated goddess Lakṣmī, with cornucopiæ.

These coins are described as "middle-sized," and are said to come from the Western Pañjāb. Cunningham had five specimens of the *Ṣāhi* variety, weight 121 (*Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 281, Pl. VIII (X), fig. 5). He

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 235. The foregoing extract shows that *all* the copper coins are not Kuṣān in type.

[2] *Coins of Med. India,* p. 27.

[3] *Trans.*, p. 237.

describes and figures (*ibid.*, fig. 6) a single specimen of the *Mihirakula* variety, the legend on which is written from right to left. There is a star or sun above the left shoulder of Lakṣmī.

III.—Sassanian Bust Type.

Obv. Modified Sassanian bust of king, generally to right.

Rev. Humped bull.

The varieties of this type being numerous, further details will be given in the descriptions of the several varieties. The materials at the moment accessible to me do not suffice for the preparation of an absolutely exhaustive list of varieties, though I can indicate the principal variations. Perhaps the best leading line of division is furnished by the presence or absence of legends.

Class I.—With legends.

Variety 1.—*Obv.* Legend श्री मिहिरकुल *Çrī Mihirakula*, or श्री मिहिरगुल *Çrī Mihiragula*, in front of king's face.

Rev. Legend जयतु वृष *jayatu vṛṣa*, in exergue below bull. Trident, or standard, in front of bull. Crescent over bull's rump. Bull to left.

References and Remarks :—

P. E., Pl. xxxiv, 4, 5.[1] *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 280, Pl. VIII (X), fig. 1.

Proc. A. S. B. for 1885. No. 1, pp. 4, 5; Plate i, figs. 1–4. Fifteen specimens, of which six are double-struck, apparently on coins of Tōramāṇa.

Lahore Museum. Several specimens; see Rodgers' *Catalogue*, pp. 141, 142. The details given by him do not permit of minute classification of the minor varieties. I have one specimen of this variety, bought from Mr. Rodgers, and it seems to be by far the commonest variety of Mihirakula's coinage. Two of the fifteen specimens from the Pañjāb described by Dr. Hoernle gave the king's name as *Mihiragula*, proving that the prefix *Çrī* is found with both forms of the name.

Variety 2.—Similar to variety 1, but the legend *jayatu vṛṣa* is above the bull, instead of below it in an exergue.

References and Remarks :—

P. E. Pl. xxxiv, 3 (Stacy.) *Num. Chron.* for 1894, p. 280, Pl. VIII (X), fig. 2.

Proc. A. S. B., *l. c.*, No. 4; 1 specimen.

[1] *P. E.* stands for Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, *l.* stands for left; and *r.* for right.

Variety 3.—*Obv.* Legend श्री मिहिरगुल *Çrī Mihiragula.*

Rev. No trident before bull. Crescent replaced by a symbol resembling the letter *y*. Legend below bull as in No. 1.

References and Remarks :—

Proc. A. S. B., l. c., No. 2, fig. 5; 2 specimens.

"On one of them the bull is represented in the attitude of running or jumping. The dots on both coins are much smaller [than in variety 1], and the letter म *m* is formed peculiarly, being hardly distinguishable from a प *p*."

Some of the coins in the Lahore Museum may belong to this variety, because in the case of No. 2 (weight 53·3; diam. ·75), Mr. Rodgers notes that there is a "post in front" of the bull. I presume, therefore, that there is no "post" in front of the coin No. 1. That is a small coin, weight 21·9, diam. ·65, and on obverse only *Çrī Mihira* is legible.

Variety 4 :—

Obv. As in Variety 1.

Rev. Wheel (sun) below bull's feet. No legend.

References and Remarks.—

P. E., Pl. xxxiv, 1, 2. (Stacy). Though Prinsep and Thomas failed to read the obverse legend correctly, there is no doubt that the coins are Mihirakula's. On fig. 2, the syllables *Mihira* are perfectly plain.

Cunningham had two specimens of this variety.

Variety 5 :—

Obv. Legend, presumably *Çrī Mihirakula*, below the king's head, instead of being in front of it. Ephthalite symbol 卐 in front of face.

Rev. As in Variety 1.

References and Remarks.—

Proc. A. S. B., l. c., No. 3, not figured. 1 specimen.

Variety 6 :—

Obv. Legend षाहि मिहिरगुल *Ṣāhi Mihiragula* in front of king's face.

Rev. No legend.

References and Remarks.—

Proc. A. S. B., l. c., No. 8, fig. 12, as corrected by Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, p. 249, *note.*

I append textually Dr. Fleet's remarks (*l. c.*) on the inscribed coins. They do not fit into my detailed classification of varieties, and indicate that some other varieties, or sub-varieties, exist.

"Mihirakula's coins ... come in large numbers, in copper, from the neighbourhood of Rāwalpiṇḍī and Kāçmīr. ...

I have had the advantage of examining those in General Cun-

ningham's collection, and I found them to give two varieties of his name, Mihirakula, and Mihiragula; out of twenty-two of the best specimens, ten gave the termination as *gula*.

What the termination *kula* or *gula* may mean, I must leave Persian scholars to decide.[1] But there can be no doubt that his name, as preserved by Hiuen Tsiang, and in the *Rājatarayginī* and the inscriptions, is simply the Sanskritised form of a foreign word *mihrkul*, which in the sense of a certain kind of cotton-cloth, actually does occur in the *Aīn-i-Akbarī*.[2]

Further, on his coins, his name as *Mihirakula* is coupled with the Hindū title *Çrī;* whereas the other form, *Mihiragula* is coupled with the purely foreign name or title of *Ṣāhi*." [3]

"His coins ... shew clearly his religious or sectarian tendencies, both foreign and Hindū. Nine of the coins examined by me with the Sanskrit legend *Çrī Mihirakula* on the obverse, have as the principal symbol on the reverse, a bull, the emblem of Çiva and the Çaiva worship; coupled in the seven cases with the legend *Jayatu vṛṣa* [*ḥ*], 'victorious be the bull.'

Another leading symbol of his coins is an eight-rayed sun or planet, usually with a periphery or circle round it; this appears on the obverse of three of the same set of coins, and in two instances on the reverse, below the fore-feet of the bull.

And a third leading symbol is the crescent moon, which occurs in eight instances in the same set on the reverse, over the back of the bull.

Also, two coins, of the same set, and one of the set that has the Sanskritized foreign legend *Ṣāhi Mihiragula*, have on the obverse a standard, the top of which is either the eight-rayed sun, or a crescent moon, or perhaps a *triçūla*, another emblem of the Çaiva faith." [4]

1 Turkish scholars would be more likely to decide the question. (V. A. S.)

2 "Blochmann's translation, Vol. I, pp. 95, 617."

3 "Only the second syllable, *hi*, actually falls within the edges of the specimens examined by me. But other coins of the Kaçmīr series give the complete word *Ṣāhi*, and leave no doubt that this was the title on the Mihirakula dies.—The same explanation, and not that it is a coin of Hiraṇya, has to be applied to No. 8 of the coins published by Dr. Hoernle in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LIV, Part i [*sic*, read *Proc.* for 1885], p. 4, f. f."

4 It has been shown above that Dr. Fleet was mistaken in supposing that the prefix *Çrī* is always coupled with the *kula* form of the name, and the prefix *Çāhi* with the *gula* form. *Çrī* is found associated with both forms of the name on the copper coins. The Sanskrit verb *jayatu* is coupled with the name *Mihirakula* on the silver coins. Probably, the variation in spelling was regarded at the time as trivial, though the *gula* form may be older than the *kula* form which produces a legitimate Sanskrit compound. That compound, meaning 'the solar race,' is, of course, not suitable for a personal name. The wheel, or sun, the crescent moon, and the trident, are all found on Gupta coins.

Class II.—Without legends.

Variety 1 :—

Obv. Bust to right. In front of face, the Ephthalite symbol, monogram, No. 163, of the *Ariana Antiqua*, or other symbol.

Rev. Running bull, with turned-up tail, to left.

References and Remarks :—

Proc. A. S. B., *l. c.*, No. 6, figs. 8, 9. Fourteen specimens, one being double-struck, mostly in "very poor" condition.

These coins have the "Ephthalite symbol," (mon. 163 of *Ariana Antiqua*, and 373 of Rodgers' *Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum*), *Lahore Museum*, No. 4. (*Rodgers' Catalogue*, p. 141.)

The monogram in front of king's face is Rodgers' No. 374, a leaf-shaped symbol. The average weight of 5 coins is 31·8. Diam. ·7.

Variety 2 :—

As Variety 1, but bull to right.

References and Remarks :—

Proc. A. S. B., *l. c.*, No. 7, fig. 10. Dr. Hoernle groups together the coins figured as 10 and 11, and says that there are 11 specimens of this variety. Figure 10 agrees with his description, but figure 11 represents a coin roughly square in shape, with a sun and the syllable तो *Tō* on obverse. It is evidently a coin of Tōramāṇa.

Variety 3 :—

Obv. Bust of King to left. In front of face, the monogram No. 375 of Rodgers ✠.

Rev. Bull to right, as in Variety 2.

References and Remarks :—

Lahore Museum, No. 5. Weight 26·1. Diam. ·8.

There can, I think, be very little doubt that these three varieties of anonymous coins are rightly assigned to Mihirakula, though it is of course, just possible that they were struck by some contemporaneous Hun chief, of whom we know nothing.

I cannot attempt at present to pursue further the subject of the White Hun coinage, or to treat of the issues of chieftains more obscure than Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula. My discussion, though avowedly incomplete, will, it is hoped, introduce a certain amount of order into a subject which has hitherto, when discussed at all, been treated in a desultory and confused fashion. Any numismatist who is fortunate enough to have access to well-stocked cabinets can easily fill in the omissions and complete my rough outline. During the passage of these pages through the press the reprint of Cunningham's paper, with plates, has appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1894. I have worked into

my text the necessary references to that reprint for the Indian coinages of Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula. The obscure cognate issues are described and figured by Cunningham.

Addendum to Part V.

When looking through a mass of pamphlets, I have come across a short paper by M. E. Drouin entitled *Quelques Noms de Princes Touraniens qui ont régné dans le Nord de l' Inde aux VI^e^ et VII^e^ Siècles*, which I had forgotten and overlooked.[1]

M. Drouin prefers the term Turanian to any other as a general term to include the Central Asian invaders of India, and gives the reason for his preference as follows: "A défaut de terme précis pour désigner l' ensemble des divers peuples tartares venus de l' Haute-Asie qui ont régné en Sogdiane, à Kaboul, et dans le Pendjâb, je me sers de l' expression de *Touranien*, qui est celle même employée par les Perses, dans leurs épopées comme dans leur histoire, pour designer les peuples anariens, leur ennemi héréditaire. Ce mot est préférable a ceux de *Scythe* ou *Tartare*, qui sont, l' un trop ancien et l' autre trop moderne."

Some of the coins referred to by M. Drouin are those in the British Museum, described by Cunningham, and some are in Berlin.

The king's name on the Udayāditya coins, which was read by Thomas as *Lamata*, and by Cunningham as *Lakhana*, is read by M. Drouin as *Latona* or *Lanona*.

Concerning the *Tōra* coins he is cautious, and says, "Tora est peut-être une abréviation de Toramâṇa (cf. Hoernle, *Proceedings J. Asiatic Soc., Bengal*, janv. 1885.) Tora est un vieux mot tartare qui signifie 'prince' et qui est resté dans l'ouigour et le turc oriental (تورا). Les monnaies qui ont les noms de Tora et Mihirakula ont sur leur revers, en place du pyrée, ou le nandi ou la roue solaire."

As to the era of the Huns, M. Drouin suggests that it dates from about the year A.D., 448, and refers to a paper of his on the subject in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1890.

He mentions a paper on the *Gadhiâ coins of Gujarât and Mâlvâ* by the late Bhagwân Lâl Indrajî, which appeared in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1876.

M. Drouin finally observes that the 'Turanian' princes sometimes made use of a peculiar alphabet composed both of Greek and Pahlavī letters, read from right to left. To this alphabet he gives the name Irano-Scythic.

[1] The extract which I possess is paged 546–550, and is, I believe taken from the *Journal Asiatique*, Mai–Juin, 1893.

Note on the Preceding Paper. — *By* Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle.

There is one point in the preceding admirable survey of the coinage of the Gupta period, on which, as it concerns myself more nearly, I wish to add a remark. It is the name of the predecessor of Nara Simha Gupta on the Bhitarī seal.

It has been read Pura Gupta by myself (*Journal*, A. S. B., for 1889, vol. lviii, p. 90) and by Dr. Fleet (*Indian Antiquary*, for 1890, vol. xix, p. 226), Sthira Gupta by Professor Bühler (Smith's *Observations*, p. 83, footnote 2, and *ante*, p. 166, footnote), and Puru Gupta by General Sir A. Cunningham (*Coins of Mediæval India*, pp. 10, 13).

As to Sthira Gupta, Professor Bühler, so far as I am aware, has nowhere published that reading *himself*. The footnote, *ante*, p. 166, will be apt to convey the impression, that Professor Bühler arrived at his reading after an examination of the *cast* which Dr. Führer says he sent him "at the time," (when ?). This would not be correct. The reading was originally based on an examination of the *collotype* of the seal published by me in the *Journal* for 1889. Immediately after the receipt of a copy of my paper and the collotype, Professor Bühler wrote to me to suggest the reading Sthira Gupta. His reasons, as explained in his letter, were : 1, that Pura Gupta was an unsuitable name ; 2, that the traces of the first akshara, shown in the collotype, could be read as *sthi* ; 3, that Sthira was another name of Skanda, and that accordingly the reading Sthira had the advantage of eliminating a new king.

With regard to reason No. 2, Professor Bühler laid special stress on the fact, that the collotype showed a slight trace of a superscript *i*. This, indeed, is the only reason of any cogency ; for the other two points are mere *a priori* considerations, which, at best, may confirm a case already proved, but cannot be evidence themselves.

Now that trace of a superscript *i* owes its existence solely to the character of the collotype. It has no existence on the original seal. There the space over the first akshara is as smooth and clear, as any one can wish. The unfortunate trace on the collotype is due to a slight

indentation on the seal, not to any *elevation*. The *cast*, of which Dr. Führer speaks, if well-made, should show this fact; and it is for this reason, that I do not believe that Prof. Bühler's opinion (if he still holds it) is based on the cast. However, casts are not altogether serviceable. I may, therefore, mention here that there exist three electrotype facsimiles, made at my request in the Survey of India Offices in Calcutta. One of them was presented by me to the British Museum in London, and the two others to the Museums in Berlin and Calcutta respectively. These are in every respect as good as the original, and any one who cares may examine them to verify the reading Pura Gupta. On these facsimiles, as well as on the original seal, this particular name is legible enough to the naked eye; but as the note, *ante*, p. 166, appeals to the "magnifying glass," I may add that I did make use of a magnifying glass, when I first read the name, and so (I have no doubt) did Dr. Fleet.

In the *Indian Antiquary* (*l. c.*) Dr. Fleet has explained the whole case so clearly, that I can do no better than quote his words:—

> "In line 6, the name of the son of Kumâragupta I. is undoubtedly Puragupta, as read by Dr. Hoernle. The suggestion has been made to me that the text has Sthiragupta, as a variant of the name of Skandagupta, who is the known son of Kumâragupta I., mentioned in the other records that we have. It is unnecessary to point out other objections to this suggestion, because Sthiragupta is most certainly not the name that we have here. The mark below the consonant in the first syllable is distinctly the subscript *u*, formed as in the case of *mu* throughout; and the smooth surface of the plate here shews that nothing over and above this mark was engraved: the subscript *th* was most certainly not formed. The consonant itself is a little rubbed; but it is distinctly *p*. The idea of a superscript *i*, derived from the collotype, is due, partly, to the fact that the up-stroke of the *p* runs a trifle too high, and partly to an indentation in the surface of the seal, above the first part of the *p*, which, in the collotype, has appeared in such a way as to justify the supposition of a superscript *i*; the vowel, however, was not engraved. On the analogy of the names of the other early Guptas, my own idea, before seeing the original seal, was that the name here might be Suragupta, "protected by the gods." It is, however, indisputably Puragupta; which must mean "protected by a city, or by cities," and is not to be taken as an abbreviation of Purârigupta, Puramdaragupta, or any such appellation."

Sir A. Cunningham reads Puru Gupta. He does not explain his reasons. But though he says that the reading Pura Gupta is "quite inadmissible" (*l. c.*, p. 13, footnote), I note that he agrees with Dr. Fleet and myself in reading the first akshara as *pu*, which is the only point in dispute. His reading of the second akshara as *ru* is opposed to Professor Bühler, who agrees with Dr. Fleet and myself in reading *ra*; and indeed, this particular akshara is on the seal as plain as it well can be.

Moreover the name *Puru Gupta* is not a whit more suitable than the name Pura Gupta. But I must confess my inability to quite understand the force of this objection of unsuitability. Pura Gupta does "give sense"; it means (as Dr. Fleet points out) "protected by a city, or by cities." And why is it necessary that it should be "the name of a deity"? (For the objections, see *Observations*, p. 83, footnote 2.) That may seem to us, perhaps, to have been more symmetrical; but who is to judge those who gave or assumed the name? Any how, considerations of this kind, do not make evidence, to settle a dispute. I am free to confess, that I should have preferred reading Sura Gupta or Sûra Gupta, if the case had permitted it; and if we are to have recourse now to emendations of the text as it stands, and to admit an error of the engraver, I certainly prefer Sura Gupta to Sthira Gupta, for which latter the seal offers no support.

The Tribes, Clans, and Castes of Nepāl. *By* Captain Eden Vansittart, *5th Gurkhas.*[1]

[Read, February, 1894.]

Population.—The population of Nepāl is estimated at about 2,000,000, which, if we calculate the area at 54,000 square miles, gives 37 per square mile. This, though a low density of population, is as much as we should expect, considering the mountainous nature of the country.

I consider this estimate as to population a very low one. Nepalese authorities give the population as over 5,000,000, and the Resident, Col. Wylie, considers this about the correct figure.

Aboriginal inhabitants.—The great aboriginal stock of Nepāl is Turanian. The fact is inscribed in characters so plain on their faces, forms, and languages, that it is unnecessary to trace their origin historically. The different tribes, as they occur, in a tolerably regular series, from the Kālī river on the west to the Michi river on the east, are —

1*st.*—Cis-Himalayan Bhoṭiyās[2] or Tibetans.	5*th.*—Murmī.
2*nd.*—Sunwar.	6*th.*—Newār.
3*rd.*—Gurung.	7*th*—Kirontī.
4*th.*—Magar.	8*th.*—Limbū.
	9*th.*—Lepchas.

The cis-Himalayan Bhoṭiyās are found pretty generally diffused throughout the whole extent of the limits of the Michi and the Kālī rivers, but are confined to the higher Alpine regions under the snows.

The Gurungs and Magars (military tribes), having participated in the Gurkhā conquest, spread east and west, in no scanty numbers, to the Michi and the Kālī. The rest of the tribes have a more restricted fatherland or *janma bhūmi*, and the *locale* of the Gurungs and Magars was similarly circumscribed before the Gurkhā conquest, for their real habitat is to the west of the great valley of Nepāl. The valley of Nepāl

[1] [The transcription of most of the Tribe-names in this article is that given by the author. The Society has, as yet, no authorised system of transliteration for Tibeto-Burman words. Ed.]

[2] The name of the country known to us as Tibet is "Bhōṭ."

and its whole vicinity is the region of the Murmīs and Newārs. The Newārs constitute the largest section of the inhabitants of the main valley, but are to be found beyond its limits. They were the owners of the country prior to the Gurkhā invasion, and they still form the bulk of the population of Paṭan, Bhāṭgāõ, and most of the smaller towns. The inhabitants exhibit a list of princes for several thousand years back, which is given in Colonel Kirkpatrick's work, but without much evidence of its authenticity. They are in general a shorter and stouter built set of men than the Gurkhās, and their features are more of a Mongolian type. They perform almost all the agricultural and mechanical works of the valley, and many of them are very skilful carpenters, and workers in metal, painters, and embroiderers.

The Newārs are divided into two grand divisions—

1*st*.—The Çiva-Mārgī Newārs, who are worshippers of Çiva, and Hindūs in religion.

2*nd*.—The Buddha-Mārgī Newārs, who are worshippers of Buddha. Of the whole Newār population, one-third is probably purely Hindū in religion, the remaining two-thirds being Buddhists.

There are in all 68 hereditary classes—

Çiva-Mārgī Newārs	...	...	...	...	14
Buddha-Mārgī	...	...	...	...	16
Heterodox Buddhists, or mixed Çiva-Mārgī or Buddha-Mārgī				...	38

The Sunwars are found west of the valley and north of the Gurungs, and the Magars near and among the Bhoṭiyās. To the east of the valley, in the basin of the Sapta Kōsī, is the abode of the Kirontīs and Limbūs. These sub-Himalayan races inhabit all the central and temperate parts of these mountains, the northernmost tracts being occupied by the Bhoṭiyās, and, towards Sikhim, by Lepchas. The southernmost region, as well as the low valley of the interior and central region, is inhabited by the following tribes:—Kuswar, Boṭiyā, Kumhā, Bhramū, Denwar, and Darī. These tribes inhabit, with impunity, the lowest and hottest valleys of Nepāl, just as the Thārūs and Boksās do the Tarāī. They appear to have perfect immunity from the malaria common to the region they inhabit—an immunity unknown as an attribute of any other people whatever.

Wherever malaria rages, from March to November, beyond the sâl forest and within the hills, we find Denwars, Darīs, Bhramūs, and Mānjhīs, and these only, sometimes collected in villages, but usually in scattered cottages of unhewn stone. They follow the avocations of agriculture, potters, fishermen, and ferrymen. These men do not all, if any, belong to the ordinary Tartar stock, but probably to the aboriginal or ordinary stock of Indian population. They are quite distinct from the

dominant Tartar breeds of the mountains, and possibly emigrated from the plains countless generations back.

The Thārūs and Boksās [1] inhabit the malarious districts of the Tarāī, generally along the foot of the sandstone range. Here and there small patches of cultivation are scattered about, where the jungle has been cleared and little hamlets and villages formed. They grow a little gram, but hardly enough for their own consumption, and live from hand to mouth, eking out their subsistence by hunting and fishing. They are puny, badly developed, and miserable looking races, live almost in a state of nature, and never appear to suffer from any exposure. Though they look half-starved, they are capable of undergoing considerable fatigue. They supply the class of ḍāk runners, and also mahāuts, and others, who, during the hot and rainy months, are employed in catching wild elephants. They seem to combine the activity of an animal with the cunning and craftiness so characteristic of the human savage. In addition to the aboriginal tribes mentioned, we find living amidst the dense forests of the central region of Nepāl, to the westward of the great valley, three broken tribes, *viz.*, the Chepong, Kusunda, and Hayus. These are few in numbers, and live nearly in a state of nature; they have no apparent affinity with the civilised races of the country, and seem like fragments of an earlier population. They pay no taxes, acknowledge no allegiance, and live entirely on wild fruits and the produce of the chase. They hold no intercourse with the people about them, but are inoffensive; they appear to be gradually dying out, and will probably be extinct in a few generations.

The Mundās and Urāons, originally emigrants from Chutiya (Cuteyā) Nāgpur, also inhabit the Tarāī, and enjoy the same immunity from malaria as the Thārūs and Boksās.

Military Tribes.—The Military tribes of Nepāl, from which the fighting element in our army is almost exclusively drawn, are the following:—

Khas.	Gurung.
Magar.	Ṭhākur.

There are also a few Limbūs and Rais to be found in most of our Gurkhā regiments. They are residents of Eastern and North-Eastern Nepāl. A few Nagarakōṭīs (Newārs) are also found in most of the regiments.

Gurkhās.—The district of Gurkhā is situated in the north-east portion of the basin of the Gaṇḍak, occupying the country between the Triçūlgaṇgâ and the Swētī Gaṇḍak.

Gurkhā.—The chief town is called Gurkhā, and is about 55 miles to

[1] Guides would probably be obtained from these classes.

the west of Kāṭhmāṇḍū. This town, and eventually the district is said to have obtained its name from a very famous saint called Gōrkhānāth, or Gōrakhānāth, who resided in a cave, which still exists, in the hill on which the city of Gurkhā was built. The ancestors of the present race of Gurkhās derived their national name of Gurkhā from this district, in which they first established themselves as an independent power. The term Gurkhā is not limited to any particular class or clan; it is applied to all those whose ancestors inhabited the country of Gurkhā, and who from it, subsequently, extended their conquests far and wide over the eastern and western hills.

The men of Dotī, Jumlā, and other western portions of Nepāl and the Kumaon hills, are Parbatiyās (highlanders), but they are not Gurkhās, and never were so, while certain Damais and Sarkhis are recognized as "Gurkhālīs," notwithstanding their very low social standing, from the mere fact of their ancestors having resided in the Gurkhā district. In 1802, Dr. F. Hamilton wrote:—

"The first persons of the Gurkha family, of whom I have heard, were two brothers, named Kancha[1] and Mincha, words altogether barbarous, denoting their descent from a Magar family, and not from the Pamars, as they pretend."

Khancha (Khañca) was the founder of the imperial branch of the family, *viz.*, they remained Magars. Mincha (Miñca) was the chief of Nayakōṭ. He adopted the Hindū rules of purity, and his descendants intermarried with the best families, although not without creating disgust. To these were granted the lofty rank and honour of the Kshatriya order, *viz.*, they became Khas.

The Khancha family possessed Bhirkōṭ, Gharhung, and Dhōr.

Bhirkōṭ seems to have been the head of the whole, as its chief was at the head of a league containing Nayakōṭ.

Mincha, the Rājā of Nayakōṭ, and the chiefs of this place, although they lived pure, continued to the last to follow in war the impure representatives of Khancha. A branch of the Mincha family ruled at Kaskī. The chief of Lamzung was descended from a younger son of the Kaskī ruler, and in time became very powerful, and he was followed in war not only by his kinsman, the chief of Kaskī, but by the Rājā of Tanahung.

One of the Lamzung Rājās had a younger brother, Darbhā Sāhi[2]

[1] "Kañca" is the Khus Khura for "younger brother."

[2] It should be noted that a descendant of Mincha, the converted Mangar, appears within a few generations as a Ṭhākur of the Sāhi clan in Darbha Sāhi. It is also interesting to note how Mincha, the Rājā of Nayakōṭ, and the chiefs of this place, although they lived pure, nevertheless to the last followed in war the impure representatives of Khancha; but a few generations later we see this invert-

who rebelled and seized Gurkhā, which then formed the southern part of the principality. The capital, Gurkhā, is situated on a very high hill, and contains the temple of Gōrakhānāth. From this we may infer that the proper name of the place is Gurakhā, and that previous to having adopted the doctrine of the Brāhmans, this family had received the "jōgīs," or priests, of Gōrakhānāth as their spiritual guides.

The first chief of Gurkhā was Darbha Sāhi, and his descendants were as follows :—

1. Rāma Sāhi.
2. Pūrṇa Sāhi.
3. Chatra Sāhi.
4. Ḍambara Sāhi.
5. Vīra-bhadra Sāhi.
6. Pṛthvī-pati Sāhi.
7. Nṛ-bhū-pāla Sāhi.

These chiefs entered into none of the leagues formed by their neighbours, but trusted entirely to their own vigour.

Nṛ-bhū-pāla Sāhi procured in marriage, first, a daughter of the Palpa family, and secondly, a daughter of the chief of Malibam. His eldest son, Pṛthvī-nārāyaṇa Sāhi, was a person of insatiable ambition, sound judgment, great courage, and unceasing activity. He was practically the great founder of the house of Gurkhā.

Khas.—The original seat of the Khas, to whom by general usage the name of the "Parbatiyā" (highlander) is given, appears to have been Gurkhā, where, as has been shewn, they had been established for seven generations before they marched, under Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa, to conquer the kingdom of the Newārs in 1768 A. D.

Although Gurkhā was the original seat of the Khas, yet their king was a Ṭhākur, and it may be added that from the earliest history of Gurkhā as a kingdom, *viz.*, from the time of Darbha Sāhi to the present year of 1892, every king has been a Ṭhākur and of Sāhi clan ; Sāhi and Sāh are the same, *vide* Brian Hodgson.

Now owing to the conversion of many Magar chieftains to Hinduism, who, although converts, were nevertheless followed by their clans, whether converted or not, and owing to the marriages of the rulers of Gurkhā for generations with the daughters of various Magar and Gurung chieftains, by the time that Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa ascended the throne, the fighting element of the kingdom of Gurkhā consisted almost entirely of Magars, Gurungs, Khas, and Ṭhākurs. To these tribes, therefore, the term Gurkhā should apply. The original home of the Gurungs was the country about Lamzung, Ghandrung, and Siklis. The Magars were south of the Gurungs, and about Gulmi, Argha, Kachi, and Palpā.

ed, and we find the descendants of the converts with the rank of Kshatriya proudly ruling the country, and followed in war by the descendants of Khancha and his impure representatives.

The Rais and Limbūs inhabited the whole of the country to the north and to the east of the Nepāl valley. The Lepchas are the inhabitants of Sikhim. About the ancient history of these tribes nothing is known. We know, however, that Nepāl never was subjected by the Delhī Emperors, or by any other of the great Asiatic conquerors.

Advent of Rājpūts.—It is stated by Colonel Tod that the Gurkhā dynasty was founded towards the end of the 12th century by the third son of the Rājpūt Rājā Samarsī, ruler of Citōr,[1] who settled in Palpā.

A Nepālese tradition exists, which says that the Rājā of Udaipur probably Hari Siŋgh, was besieged by the Muḥammadans in his capital. He made a long and gallant defence, but at last food and water began to fail him, and, foreseeing the horrors of famine, he destroyed all the women and children within the city, to the number of 70,000, set fire to the town, and with his garrison attacked and cut his way through the Muḥammadan hosts, and took refuge in the hills of Nepāl to the west of the Gaṇḍak river, where he was hospitably received by the aborigines.

Whatever truth there may be in the above traditions, there can be no doubt that large numbers of Rājpūts and Brāhmans did make their appearance in Western Nepāl about the twelfth century, and it can easily be understood how, in time, from their superior intelligence and civilization, they obtained positions of influence and importance amongst the barbarians who inhabited the land.

In time it would appear that a number of the Magar mountaineer princes were persuaded to follow the doctrines of the Brāhmans, and many of the subjects and clans of these princes were induced to follow the example set them, but a large number also refused to be converted.

To the former the Brāhmans granted the sacred thread, whilst they denied it to the latter, and hence have sprung up tribes called Thapas, Ghartis, Ranas, etc., etc., some of whom wear the thread and are called Khas, whilst the others do not wear the thread and remain merely Magars.

The Brāhmans, to completely reconcile their most important converts, worked out marvellous pedigrees for them, and gave them the right to claim descent from various famous origins, such as "Sūrya-vaṁçī," ("born of the sun"), "born of the moon," "born of a king," etc., etc.

The progeny of the women of the country by Bráhmans were, as a term of reproach called "Khas,"[2] or the "fallen," from *khasnu*, "to fall," but the Brāhmans invested this progeny with the sacred

[1] This would account for the numerous Citōriyā clans.

[2] Dr. Francis Hamilton in his introduction to his book, published in 1819, says:—"The country between Nepal (valley) and Kasmir, in the ancient Hindu writings, is called Khas, and its inhabitants Khasiyas. I am told.....the Khasiyas are considered as abominable and impure infidels."

thread also, and thereby gave them a higher social standing than the Magars and Gurungs. This is most clearly and graphically described by Brian Hodgson. After describing how the Muḥammadan conquest and bigotry continued to drive multitudes of Brāhmans from the plains of Hindūstān to the proximate hills, which now form the western territories of Nepāl, Brian Hodgson says—

"The Brahmans found the natives illiterate, and without faith, but fierce and proud. They saw that the barbarians had vacant minds, ready to receive their doctrines, but spirits not apt to stoop to degradation, and they acted accordingly. To the earliest and most distinguished of their converts they communicated, in defiance of the creed they taught, the lofty rank and honours of the Kshatriya order.

"But the Brahmans had sensual passions to gratify, as well as ambition. They found the native females—even the most distinguished—nothing loth, but still of a temper, like that of the males, prompt to resent indignities.

"These females would indeed welcome the polished Brahmans to their embraces, but their offspring must not be stigmatized as the infamous progeny of a Brahman and a Mlechha. To this progeny also, then, the Brahmans, in still greater defiance of their creed, communicated the rank of the second order of Hinduism; and from these two roots (converts and illegitimate progeny), mainly spring the now numerous predominant and extensively ramified tribe of Khas, originally the name of a small clan of creedless barbarians, now the proud title of Kshatriya, or military order of the kingdom of Nepal. The offspring of the original Khas females and of Brahmans, with the honours and rank of the second order of Hinduism, got the patronymic titles of the first order; and hence the key to the anomalous nomenclature of so many stirpes of the military tribes of Nepal is to be sought in the nomenclature of the sacred order.

"It may be added, remarkably illustrative of the lofty spirit of the Parbattiahs (highlanders), that, in spite of the yearly increasing sway of Hinduism in Nepal, and the various attempts of the Brahmans in high office to procure the abolition of a custom so radically opposed to the creed both parties now profess, the Khas still insist that the fruit of commerce (marriage is out of the question) between their females and males of the sacred order, shall be ranked as Kshatriyas, wear the thread and assume the patronymic title."

Now, as has been shown, from the advent of these thousands of foreigners, and their numerous progeny, sprang up a new race, called Khas, and with this new race also came a new language, a kind of Hindī patois, which was called the language of the Khas, or Khaskhura and is now-a-days the *lingua franca* of Nepāl.

Dr. F. Hamilton, in his book published in 1819, says that the Magars who resided in the hills to the west of the Gaṇḍak river, seem to have received the Rājpūt princes with much cordiality.

They have submitted to the guidance of the Brāhmans, but formerly had priests of their own, and seem to have worshipped chiefly ghosts.

The Khas are sprung from two sources: (1) from the first converts

to Hinduism to whom the Brāhmans gave the rank and honours of the Kshatriya order, (2) from the offspring of Brāhman intercourse with hill-women, to whom the rank of Kshatriya was also given.

The Khas are the predominant race of Nepāl. They are generally slighter, more active, and more intelligent than either the Magar or Gurung. They are Hindūs, wear the thread, and are more liable to Brāhmanical prejudices than the Magar or Gurung. They, however, make little of the ceremonial law of the Hindūs in regard to food and sexual relations. Their active habits and vigorous characters could not brook the restraint of ritual law. Their few prejudices are rather useful than otherwise, inasmuch as they favour sobriety and cleanliness. They are temperate, hardy, and brave, and make good soldiers. They intermarry in their own castes, and have a high social standing in Nepāl.

In the Nepalese army almost all the officers above the rank of Lieutenant are Khas, and so are by far the greater proportion of officers below the rank of Captain. They are intensely proud of their traditions, and look down upon Magars and Gurungs. In their own country any Khas who runs away in a battle, becomes an outcast, and his very wife is unable to eat with him. They are very national in their feelings.

In the Nepalese "Rifle Brigade," which consists of the picked men of all classes, are to be found numbers of Khas of 5 feet 9 inches and over, with magnificent physique.

Colonel Bahādur Gambar Siŋgh, who at present commands the "Rifles," served as a Private under Sir Jang Bahādur at Lucknow during the Mutiny. He there greatly distinguished himself by single-handed capturing three guns and killing seven mutineers. He received an acknowledgment from the British Government for his bravery, and the Prince of Wales presented him, in 1875, with a claymore, with an inscription thereon. In this fight Colonel Gambar Siŋgh had no other weapon than his kukri, and he received 23 wounds, some of which were very dangerous, and to this day his face is scarred with huge sword cuts He also lost some fingers, and one of his hands was nearly cut off. Sir Jang Bahādur had a special medal struck for him, which the gallant old gentleman wears on all great parades.

None of our Gurkhā regiments enlist Khas now, although in most regiments a few are to be still found, who were enlisted in olden days.

Experience would seem to prove that Magars and Gurungs are undoubtedly better men than Khas, yet a regiment of Khas would make a very fine body of soldiers, and in the present days, when men of good fighting class are so much needed, it seems a pity that Government

makes no use of this material, out of which a regiment or two could easily be raised.

Khattrīs.—About Khattrīs, Dr. L. Hamilton says :—

"The descendants of Brahmans by women of the lower tribes, although admitted to be Khas (or impure), are called Kshattris or Khattris, which terms are considered as perfectly synonymous."

It would seem, however, that some proper Khattrīs, called "Deokōṭās," from Bareilly, did settle in the country, and intermarried with the Khas Khattrīs. All the Khattrīs wear the thread, and are considered as belonging to the military tribes.

Since the return of Jang Bahādur from England, a number of Gurkhā Khas have taken to calling themselves Chattrīs. There is no such man in the whole of Nepāl as a Gurkhā Chattrī.

Khas there are, and Khattrīs there are also, but Chattrīs there are none, and it is merely a title borrowed latterly from India.[1]

Brian Hodgson also mentions a tribe called Ekthāriyās, the descendants of more or less pure Rājpūts and other Kṣatriyas of the plains. They claimed a vague superiority to the Khas, but the great tide of events around them has now thoroughly confounded the two races in all essentials, and therefore they will not be shown as a separate tribe, but be included with Khas. Brian Hodgson says :—

"The Khas were, long previously to the age of Pṛthvi Nārāyaṇa extensively spread over the whole of the Chaubisia, and they are now to be found in every part of the existing kingdom of Nepāl, as well as in Kumaon, which was part of Nepāl until 1816. The Khas are more devoted to the house of Gurkhā, as well as more liable to Brahmanical prejudices than the Magars or Gurungs, and on both accounts are perhaps somewhat less desirable as soldiers for our service than the latter tribes.[2] I say somewhat, because it is a mere question of degree, the Khas having certainly no religious prejudices nor probably any national partialities which would prevent their making excellent and faithful servants-in-arms ; and they possess pre-eminently that masculine energy of character and love of enterprise which distinguish so advantageously all the military races of Nepāl.

Matwala Khas—To the north and to the west of Sallian numbers of Matwala Khas are to be found. They are rarely if ever found to the east of the Gandak river. There can be no doubt that this race found its origin somewhere about Sallian, or perhaps still further west.

The Matwala Khas is generally the progeny of a Khas of Western Nepal with a Magar woman of western Nepal. If the woman happens

[1] Khattrī and Chattrī are really the same word, both being corruptions of *Kṣatriya*. Ed.

[2] This was written in 1832, namely, only sixteen years after our war with Nepāl and it is on that account that Brian Hodgson says the Khas are somewhat less desirable as soldiers for our service—not for want of bravery or soldierly qualities.

to belong to the Rana clan of the Magar tribe, the progeny is then called a Bhat Rana. The Matwala Khas does not wear the thread. He eats and drinks, and in every way assimilates himself with the Magars and Gurungs. He invariably claims to be a Magar. Among the Matwala Khas are to be found those who call themselves Bohrā, Rōkā, Chohān, Jhankī, etc. These are easy to identify, but it is more difficult to find out a Matwala who calls himself a Thapa. His strong Magar appearance, his not wearing the thread, and his eating and drinking freely with the real Magars, all tend to prove him to be what he almost invariably claims to be, *viz.*, a real Magar. I have found men in the ranks who for years had served as, and been considered, Magars, but who really were Matwala Khas. Some very excellent recruits are obtained amongst the Matwala Khas, although the greater proportion are coarse-bred and undesirable.

KHAS.

Adikhari Clans.

Dhami.	Musiyā.	Thami.
Khadsena.	Pokrial.	Tharirai.
Man.	Thakuri.	

Baniyā Clans.

Sinjapati.

Basnayrt Clans.

Khaptari.	Puwar.	Sripali.
Khulal.	Rakmi.	

Bhandari Clans.

Lama.	Raghubangsi.	Sinjapati.

Bhist Clans,

Dahal.	Kalikotia.	Pawar.

Gharti Clans.

Bagalia.	Khanka.	Khulal.
Kalikotia.		

Karkhi Clans.

Khulal.	Mundala.	Rumi.
Lama.	Rukmel.	Sutar.

Khanka Clans.

Kalikotia.	Lakangi.	Palpali.
Khaptari.	Lamchania.	Partial.
Khulal.	Maharaji.	Powar.

Khattrī Clans.

(Progeny mostly of Jaici or Bráhmans with Khas).

Acharja.	Ghimiria.	Pekurel.
Adikhari.	Gothami.	Phania.
Arjal.	Karkha.	Poryal.
Barla.	Katiora.	Remi.
Bhatari.	Khaptari.	Rigal.
Bhusal.	Khulal.	Sakhtila.
Dal.	Kirkiseni.	Sapkotia.
Dangali.	Koniel.	Silwal.
Deokota.	Lamchania.	Suveri.
Dhakal.	Pande.	Tandan.
Dhamal.	Panth.	Tewari.
Dital.	Parajuli.	

Kanwar Clans.

Arjal.	Khanka.	Khulal.
Bagialia.		

Thapa Clans.

Bagalia.	Kalikotia.	Parajuli.
Bagial.	Khaptari.	Puwar.
Deoga.	Khulal.	Sanial.
Gagliya.	Lamchania.	Suyal.
Ghimiria.	Maharaji.	Thakurial.
Gudar.	Palami.	

Other true Khas, but not classified yet.

Alphaltopi.	Dhongial.	Osti.
Am Gaif.	Dhungana.	Parijai Kawale.
Baj Gai.	Ganjal.	Parsai.
Palia.	Gartola.	Paurial.
Bamankoti.	Gilal.	Porseni.
Batial.	Hamia Gai.	Pungial.
Bhat Ojha.	Kadariah.	Regmi (Khattri).
Bhat Bai.	Kala Khattri.	Rupakhetti.
Bhirial.	Kanhal.	Satania.
Bikral.	Khatiwata.	Sati.
Chalatani.	Kilathani.	Satia Gai.
Chanial.	Kukrial.	Seora.
Chanvala Gai.	Layal.	Sikhimial.
Dahal.	Lamsal.	Sijal.
Danjal.	Mari Bhus.	Tewari (Khattri).
Deokōṭā (Khattri).	Naopania.	Tumrakal.

Magars and **Gurungs**.—These are by common consent recognised as the *beau ideal* of what a Gurkha soldier should be.

As these tribes have submitted to the ceremonial law of purity and to Brāhman supremacy, they have been adopted as Hindūs; but they have been denied the sacred thread, and take rank as a doubtful order below the Kṣatriya. and above the Vaiçya and Sūdra grades. The offspring of a Khas male and a Magar or Gurung mother is a titular Khas, but a real Magar or Gurung; the descendants fall into the rank of the mother, retaining only the patronymic.

Magars and Gurungs are excluded from political employ and high military commands, and have less community of interest and sympathy with the Government than the Khas; but they are still very loyal, and, like all Parbatiyās, very national in their feelings. In the Gurung and Magar corps the officers, up to Captains, are Gurungs and Magars. The Gurungs lent themselves less early and heartily to Brahmanical influences; they have retained to a much greater extent than the Khas tribe, their national peculiarities of language, physiognomy, and, in a less degree, of habits. In stature the Gurungs are generally larger and more powerful than either the Magar or Khas.

The language of the Magar differs from that of the Gurung only as remote-dialects of one great tongue, the type of which is the language of Tibet. Their physiognomies have peculiarities proper to each, but with the general Calmuk caste and character in both. The Gurungs are less generally, and more recently, redeemed from Lamaism and primitive impurity than the Magars, and are considered much below them in point of caste. Gurungs eat buffalo meat and village pig also. Magars eat neither the one nor the other; but though both Magars and Gurungs still retain their own vernacular tongues, Tartar faces and careless manners, yet from constant intercourse with, and military service under, the predominant Khas, they have acquired the Khas language, though not to the exclusion of their own, and adopted Khas habits and sentiments with, however, several reservations. Both Magars and Gurungs are Hindūs, only because it is the fashion; they have gone with the times, and consequently their Hindūism is not very strict.[1]

The Magars and Gurungs have already been referred to as being of the Tartar race; they, in Nepāl, follow agricultural pursuits; they are square-built, sturdy men, with fine, muscular, and large chest and limb development, low in stature, and with little or no hair on face or body, and with fair complexions. They are a merry-hearted race, eat animal

[1] After the Nepāl War of 1816, Sir D. Ochterlony expressed an opinion, confidentially to Lord Hastings, that "the Company's sepoys, then Hindūstānīs, could never be brought to resist the shock of these energetic mountaineers on their own grounds."

food, and in Nepāl drink a kind of beer made from rice, called *janr* and a kind of spirit called *raksi*. In our battalions they will drink any English wine, spirits or beer. They are intensely fond of soldiering. They are very hardy and extremely simple-minded. They are kind-hearted and generous, and, as recruits, absolutely truthful. They are very proud and sensitive, and they deeply feel abuse or undeserved censure. They are very obstinate, very independent, very vain, and in their plain clothes inclined to be dirty. They are intensely loyal to each other and their officers in time of trouble or danger.

Near the Magars was settled a numerous tribe named Gurungs, whose manners are in most respects nearly the same with those of the Magars. This tribe was very much addicted to arms.

It would appear that a Gurung chief, who was Rājā of Kaskī, settled in Ghandrung, where the Gurungs were most predominant. These people were strongly attached to his descendants, by whom they were not disturbed in their religious opinions or customs, and in their own homes they practically still continue to follow the doctrines of Sakya as explained to them by Lamas of their own tribe.

No Gurungs have as yet been admitted to the dignity of Khas, but with their constant intercourse with the Khas, who are Hindūs, their original faith is getting weaker, aud in time will disappear.

It may here be pointed out that none of the high-sounding titles which are to be found amongst the Magars, and which were evidently brought in by the Bráhmans from Hindustan, are to be found among the Gurungs.

Amongst the thousands of Gurkhās I have seen, I have never met a Surajbansī Gurung, and doubt the existence of any.[1]

The Gurung tribe consists of two great divisions—

1. The Chārjāt (Cārjāt).	2. The Sōlahjāt.

The Chārjāt, as its name implies, is composed of four castes, *viz.* :—

1. Ghallea.	3. Lama.
2. Ghotani (sometimes Ghundani).	4. Lamchania.

Each of these four castes comprises a number of clans, and some of these are again sub-divided into families. The Chārjāt Gurung might be called the Gurung nobility.

Every Gurung recruit knows perfectly well whether he belongs to the Chārjāt or to the Sōlahjāt, but numbers of the latter will try to claim the former. A little trouble will almost invariably bring out the truth.

[1] The Gerlen, Rilten, and Samri clans are the best of the Ghalleas. The Samundar, Kialdung, and Khagi clans I have also met. I have never met a single case of a Sinjali or Surjabansī Gurung of any kind. Nor do I believe in their existence after careful enquiry. Sinjali and Surjabansī are continually met amongst Magars, but never amongst Gurungs..

The Chārjāt Gurung is very much looked up to by the Sōlahjāt.

A Sōlahjāt Gurung cannot marry a Chārjāt, nor can he ever by any means become a Chārjāt.

Questioning a Chārjāt Gurung would be much as follows :—

"What is your name?"	"Jasbīr Gurung."
"What Gurung are you?"	"Chārjāt."
"Which of the Chārjāt?"	"Lamchania."
"Which Lamchania clan?"	"Plohnian."
"What Plohnian?"	"Atbai,"

Of the Chārjāt Gurungs the Ghallea is by far the most difficult to obtain. The Plohnian and Chenwari clans of the Lamchania are both subdivided into families; the best Plohnian family is the Atbai, and the best of the Chenwari is the Charghari. It will be noticed that nearly all Ghotani clans end with "ron."

Some excellent recruits are also obtained from the Sōlahjāt.

In older days the Ghalleas ruled the country about Lamzung and had their own king, a Ghallea according to Gurung traditions. Their kingdom nominally exists to this day.

The following tradition regarding the birth of Chārjāt exists :—

A Ṭhākur king asked the king of Lamzung for his daughter's hand in marriage. The Ghallea king accepted the proposal favourably, and sent a young and beautiful maiden as his daughter to the Ṭhākur king, who duly married her, and by her begot several children. Some years afterwards it transpired that his young maiden was no king's daughter, but merely one of her slave attendants; whereupon the Ṭhākur king was very angry, and sent a message threatening war, unless the Ghallea king sent him his real daughter. The king of Lamzung thereupon complied, and this time sent his real daughter, whom the Ṭhākur king married, and by whom he begot three sons. (From these three sons are descended the Ghotani, Lama, and Lamchania clans.) It was then ruled that these three sons and their descendants should rank equal to the Ghállea clan, and that they should be called the Chārjāt Gurungs, whilst the descendants of the children of the slavemother should be called Sōlahjāts, and should for ever be servants to the Chārjāt. From this it would appear that the Ghallea Gurung is the oldest and the purest of all Gurung clans. They certainly are splendid men of the purest Gurkha type.

The Gurungs have for centuries kept up their history, which is called in Khaskura "Gurung kō Baŋgsāolī."

When the famous case of Colonel Lachman Gurung took place, Sir Jang Bahādur, being anxious to elucidate, if possible, the difference between Chārjāt and Sōlahjāt Gurungs, had the history of the Gurungs

brought to him, and having read the same, declared that the Sōlahjāt Gurung must remain satisfied with his present position, and be for ever the servant of the Chārjāt. The Sōlahjāt Gurung will always make obeisance to the Chārjāt, and when travelling in their own country, the Sōlahjāt will generally carry the Chārjāt's load.

It is said that Colonel Lachman Gurung offered his daughter's weight in gold to any Chārjāt who would marry her. A poor man of the Ghotani clan, being sorely tempted by the bribe, offered himself as a husband but was at once out-casted and reduced to a Sōlahjāt, and so the marriage never came off.

Many centuries ago, it is said, a landslip occurred which buried a whole village, and destroyed all the inhabitants, except one small boy, who was found by a Lamchania Gurung, amongt the débris. He took the boy home and adopted him, but as he did not know who the father of the boy was, a difficulty arose in time as to what clan this boy should belong to.

The Lamas, on being consulted, ruled that the child and all his descendants should be called Ṭuṭiā Lamchanias (*Ṭuṭiā* means broken, rugged), because he had been found on broken, rugged ground.

A boy that had been deserted was found by a Lamchania Gurung amongst some reeds. It was settled that this boy and all his descendants should be called Plohnian Lamchanias (*Plohn* means reeds), because he had been found among reeds.

There are two regiments of Gurungs in the Nepalese army—the Kālī Bahādur and the Kālī Parsād. The former is absolutely a Gurung regiment, and most of the men are Chārjāt Gurungs. They are a magnificent body of men, consisting of all the picked Gurungs of Nepāl. They must average over 5 feet 6 inches in height, with splendid physique.

GURUNG CHĀRJĀT.

Ghallea Clans.

Gerlen.	Pyling.	Samuuder
Gyapsing.	Rajvansi or Rajbangsi.	Singjali.
Kialdung.	Rilten.	Surjabansi or Surja-
Khagi.	Samri.	vansi.

Ghotani Clans.

Adunron.	Kamjai.	Logon.
Chomron.	Kelonron.	Lamkunia.
Gholron.	Kilat.	Mazuron,
Harpu.	Kongron.	Migiron.
Kaliron.	Kudlron.	Mlogron.

Morlon.
Nagiron.
Naikron.
Pachron.
Pochkiron.
Rijoron.
Singoron.
Tagren or Tagron.
Tari.
Thakuron.
Tenron or Tengron
Walron.

Lama Clans.

Chelen.
Chenwari.
Fache.
Karki.
Kelung.
Khimu.
Kib.
Kurungi.
Megi.
Muktan.
Nakchia.
Pachron.
Pengi.
Pipro.
Pungi.
Tengi.
Tidun or Titun.
Timji.
Tonder.
Urdung.
Yoj.

Lamchania Clans.

Adi.
Chen.
Chenwari.
Chingi.
Chomron.
Kaliron.
Kroko.
Kurbu.
Lem.
Lengra.
Lunam.
Narenu.
Nasa.
Naikron.
Nasuron.
Pachen.
Pajji Lem.
Pangi.
Plitti.
Plohnian.
Purani.
Silangi.
Sinjoron.
Toson.
Tutia or Twidian.
Tasuron.

GURUNGS OF THE SŌLAHJĀT.

Allea.
Bhaju.
Bhuj or Bhujia.
Chagli or Chakli.
Chime.
Chohomonu.
Choru.
Chumaru.
Darlami.
Dial.
Dingial.
Durial.
Ghabbu.
Ghorenj.
Gnor.
Gulangia.
Ghiabring. { Ko. / Sil. / Siuri. / Tu.
Hinj.
Hurdun.
Jhimal.
Jimiel.
Jumreli.
Kepchen.
Khaptari.
Khatrain.
Khulal.
Kinju.
Kiapchain.
Kokia.
Kongi Lama.
Kubchen.
Kumai.
Kromjai.
Lahor.
Leghen.
Lenghi.
Lohon.
Lyung.
Main.
Mapchain.
Masrangi.
Mobjai or Mahbrijai.
Mor or Mormain.
Murum.
Nanra.
Nansing.
Pajju or Pachuu.
Palma.
Phiwali, Piwali, or Phiuyali.
Plen.
Ploplo.
Pomai.
Ponju.
Pudusa.
Pulami.
Rilah.
Rimal.
Sarbuja.
Tahin.

Tamain.	Tenlaja.	Tolangi.
Tame.	Thar	Torjain.
Telej.	Tingi Lama,	Tuti.
Tendur.	Tol.	Uze.

Several Gurungs clans, both of the Chārjāt and Sōlahjāt, are called by a certain name in Khaskhura, and by a different one in Gurung Khusa :—

Dingial	is Khaskhura—	Kepchen	is Gurung Khura.
Darlami	,,	Plen	,,
Chenwari	,,	Pacharon	,,
Pajji Lem	,,	Kroko—Lem	,,

Allea is Khaskhura for a clan, whose Gurung Khura name they have forgotten.

Several clans are no doubt repeated twice, once in Khaskhura and once in Gurung Khura, but for facility of reference it is considered best to leave them thus alphabetically arranged.

Magars.—The Magars are divided into six distinct tribes, and no more, although the following all claim to be Magars and try in every way to establish themselves as such :—

Bhora	(really a Matwala Khas of Western Nepal).
Roka	(,, ,, ,,).
Chohan	(,, ,, ,,).
Jhankri	(,, ,, ,,).
Konwar	(progeny of mendicant).
Uchia	(,, ,, Ṭhākur).

In days of old a certain number of Magars were driven out of their own country, and settled in Western Nepal among strangers. From the progeny of these sprang up many clans of mixed breeds, who now claim to be pure-bred Magars, but are not recognised as such.

In addition to the few mentioned above, are some others who also claim to be Magars, such as Rāwats, Dishwās, etc., but as they have no real relationship to Magars, it is considered unnecessary to enter a list of them here.

The real and only Magars are divided into the following six tribes which are here entered alphabetically :—

1. Allea.	3. Gharti.	5. Rana.
2. Burathoki.	4. Pun.	6. Thapa.

Brian Hodgson divides the Magars into three tribes only, *viz.*, Rana, Thapa, and Allea.

So many tribes now-a-days claim to be Magars that to definitely settle which are, and which are not, entitled to the name, becomes a matter of great difficulty.

These tribes all intermarry with each other, have the same customs and habits, and are in every way equal as regards social standing, with perhaps a slight preference in favour of the Rana.

The original home of the Magars was to the west of the Gaṇḍak river (Kālī-war), and, roughly speaking, consisted of that portion of Nepal which lies between and round about Gulmi, Argha, Khachi, and Palpa.

This bit of country was divided into twelve districts (Bārah Mangranth[1]), and the residents of the same in time came to be spoken of as the Magars of the Bārah Mangranth.

Brian Hodgson and Captain T. Smith both give the following as the Bārah Mangranth:—Satung, Pyung, Bhirkot, Dhor, Garhung, Rising, Ghiring, Gulmi, Argha, Khachi, Musikot, and Isma.

By the term "Bārah Mangranth Magars" no particular set of tribes was meant. The term had a purely local meaning, and referred to all such Magars, of whatever tribe they might be, whose ancestors had resided for generations within the Bārah Mangranth.

Each of these twelve districts had its own ruler, but it would appear that the most powerful kings were those of Gulmi, Argha, Khachi, and that the remaining princes were more or less tributary to these three.

Since the rise of the house of Gurkhā, towards the close of the eighteenth century, the country has been re-divided, aud the twelve districts no longer exist as such, and the term "Bārah Mangranth Magar" has no signification now, and is therefore falling into disuse. Not one recruit out of five hundred knows what the term means.

As mentioned before, the original home of the Magars was to the west of the Gaṇḍak river, but it would seem that some clans had for ages occupied certain portions of Nepāl on the east bank.

The city of Gurkhā was originally the residence of the Chitoria (Citōriā) Rāṇās. It is supposed the city was built by them, and to this day numbers of Chitoria Rāṇās are found there.

The Magars having participated in the military conquests of the house of Gurkhā, spread themselves far and wide all over Nepāl, and numbers are now to be found to the east of the Gaṇḍak river.

Allea.—The Alleas in appearance seem a very pure-bred race. As a rule, they are very fair, well-made men. The Allea tribe must, however, be rather a small one, as the percentage of Alleas enlisted yearly is very small. They are most desirable men to get.

Burathoki.—Burathokis are also apparently very limited in number. Some excellent specimens of Gurkhās are, however, every year obtained from this tribe. They are very desirable men to get.

Gharti.—The Ghartis are pretty numerous, but care should be taken in enlisting from this tribe, as they seem to be far more mixed

[1] The Sardā on the west and the Gaṇḍak in the centre of Nepāl are both spoken of as the Kālī.

than any of the other five pure Magar tribes. By careful selection, however, excellent Ghartis can be obtained. The Bhujial Gharti lives in the valleys and high mountains to the north of Gulmi, above the Puns, but immediately below the Karantis. Their tract of country runs along both sides of the Bhuji Khola (river), from which they probably derive their name.

The Bhujial Gharti is generally a shepherd. He lives principally on the milk of sheep, and is almost invariably a man of very good physique and heavy limbs. He is remarkably dirty when first enlisted.

Amongst the Gharti clans are two that should not be confounded, although from their similarity in pronunciation one is very apt to do so. The Pahare or Pahariā is a good Magar. Pare or Pariā (from *par*, outside) should never be enlisted. He is, as his name indicates, an out-caste, or a descendant of out-castes.

Pun.—The Pun tribe seems a small one, as but a small percentage of them is obtained annually. They are generally men of heavy limbs and excellent physique. They much resemble Gurungs. They live about Gulmi principally, although, of course, they are found in other places also. They are most desirable men.

Rana.—Of all Magars there is no better man than a Rana of good clan. In former days any Thapa who had lost three generations of ancestors in battle became a Rana, but with the prefix of his Thapa clan. Thus a Reshmi Thapa would become a Reshmi Rana.

An instance of this is to be found in the 5th Gurkhās, where a havildar, Lachman Thapa, and a naick, Shamsher Rana, are descended from two Thapa brothers; but three generations of descendants from one of these brothers having been killed in battle, Shamsher Rana's ancestors assumed the title of Rana; Lachman Thapa's ancestors not having been killed in battle for three generations, he remains a Thapa.

From this custom many Rana clans are said to have sprung up, and this would lead one to believe that the Rana tribe was looked up to amongst Magars. The original Rana clans were few, amongst them being the following:—Chitoria, Maski, Ruchal, Hunchun, Thara, Laye, Tharali, Surjabansī or Surajvansī, Hiski, and Masraugi.

Thapa.—The Thapa tribe is by far the greatest of all, and amongst them, yearly, hundreds of excellent recruits are obtained. Care should, however, be exercised in the selection of Thapas, as a very large number of men adopt the title of Thapa, although they have no right to the same.

The Saru, Gaha, Bagalia and Darlami clans of the Thapa are each sub-divided into families, and the Kala family is the best in the first two.

The Purānā Gōrakh regiment in Nepāl consists entirely of Magars,

and is a splendid body of men. All the finest Magars of Nepāl, excepting those in the rifle regiments, are put into this regiment. They must be nearly, if not quite, as big as the "Kālī Bahādur."

The Siris clans of the Ranas and Thapas are the descendants of children who were brought up from babyhood on the milk of goats, their mothers having died in childbirth. No Rana or Thapa of the Siris clans will eat goat's flesh.

MAGAR.

Allea Clans.

Arghuli or Arghounle.
Biri.
Changi.
Charmi.
Chidi.
Dhoreli.
Dukchaki or Durchaki.
Dura.
Gar.
Gonda.
Gyangmi.
Hunchun.
Kalami.
Khali.
Khaptari.
Kharri.
Khichman.
Khulai.
Kilung.
Khulangi.
Kiapchaki.
Lahakpa.
Lamchania.
Lamjal.
Limial.
Lungchia.
Magiam.
Maski.
Meng.
Pachain.
Pulami.
Pangmi.
Panthi.
Pungi.
Phiwali Piwali or Phiuyali.
Rakhal.
Ramial.
Ro.
Sarangi.
Sarbat.
Sarthung.
Silthung.
Sinjapati.
Sithung.
Sirpali
Surjavansi or Surjabansi.
Suyal.
Tarokche or Torokchaki.
Thakchaki.
Yangmi.

Burathoki Clans.

Palkoti.
Parkwanri.
Darlami.
Deobal.
Gamal
Karmani.
Lamchania.
Pahare.
Ramjali.
Ramkhani.
Ranju.
Sialbang.
Sinjapati.
Ulangia.

Gharti Clans.

Arghuli or Arghounli.
Baima.
Bainjali.
Bhujial.
Bulami.
Chanchal or Chantial.
Lamchania.
Masrangi.
Nishal.
Pahare or Paharia.
Fare or Paria.
Paza or Paiza.
Phukan
Purja.
Ramjali.
Rangu.
Dagami.
Darlami.
Galami.
Gamal.
Garbuja.
Gial.
Rawal.
Rijal.
Rankhani.
Salami.
Samia.
Saru.
Sawangi.
Senia.

Sinjali.
Sinjapati.
Hunjali.
Kagja.
Kahucha.
Kalikotia.
Kengia.
Konsa.
Sirasik.
Sunari.
Sutpahare.
Talaji.
Thein.
Theri.
Tirgia.
Ulangia.
Walia.

Pun Clans.

Paijali.
Balami.
Bapal.
Barangi.
Dagami.
Darlami.
Dagain.
Dud.
Hunjali.
Jagonlia.
Kami.
Naya.
Pahare.
Pajansi.
Phungali.
Poingia.
Rakaskoti.
Ramjali.
Ramkam.
Rangu.
Ratuwa.
Sahi.
Samia.
Sarbuja.
Sinjali.
Sinjapati.
Sutpahare.
Tajali.
Takalia.
Tamia.
Thani.
Tendi.
Tirkhia.
Ulangia.

Rana Clans.

Allea.
Archami.
Arghuli or Arghoule.
Aslami.
Bangling.
Baral or Balal.
Barkwanri.
Parathoki.
Bhusal.
Byangnasi.
Charmi.
Chitoriah.
Chumi.
Darlami.
Dud or Dut.
Durungcheng.
Gacha.
Gagha.
Gaha.
Gandharma.
Garancha.
Galang.
Gomul.
Gyandris.
Gyangmi.
Hiski.
Hunchun.
Jargha.
Jhiari.
Jiandi.
Kamchaki.
Kanoje.
Kanka.
Kiapchaki.
Khiuyali.
Lamchania.
Lungeli.
Laye.
Makim.
Maski.
Masrangi.
Merassi.
Namjali.
Pachain.
Pachrai.
Palli.
Panti.
Parta.
Phiwali-Piwali or Phiuyali.
Pulami.
Pusal or Bhusal.
Rangu.
Reshmi.
Ruchal.
Sarangi.
Saru.
Sartungi.
Sinjali.
Siris.
Suiel.
Sunari
Surjavansi or Sujrabansi.
Thara or Thada.
Uchai.
Yahayo.

Thapa Clans.

Allea.
Arghuli.
Aslami.
Bachia or Bachio.
Bagalia { Atghari. Darlami. Palungi. Satighari.
Baigalia.
Bailick.
Bakabal.
Balal or Baral.

Balami.
Bankabaral.
Baola.
Baraghari.
Bareya.
Barkwanri.
Begnashi.
Bhomrel.
Biangmi.
Birkhatta.
Bopal.
Burathoki.
Chahari.
Chantial.
Charti.
Chohan.
Chidi.
Chitoriah.
Chumi.
Dala or Dalia.
Damarpal.
Darlami.
- Bagalia.
- Kala.
- Palungi.

Denga or Dhenga.
Dengabuja.
Dengal.
Dhanpali.
Dishwa or Disuwa.
Durel.
Fal or Phal.
Gagha.
Rokim.
Ruchal.
Sami.
Salami.
Sanmāni.
Sarangi.
Sarbuja.
Sartungi.
Saru.
- Gora.
- Japarbuk.
- Jhenri.
- Kala.
- Malengia.
- Paneti.

Gaha.
- Badcha.
- Barda.
- Chidi.
- Gora.
- Kala.
- Kan.
- Malangi.

Gahab.
Ganchake.
Garja.
Garanja.
Gejal.
Gelung.
Giangmi.
Gidiel or Gindil.
Giangdi or Giami.
Gianris.
Gurmachang.
Gyal
Hiski.
Hitan.
Hunchun.
Ismala.
Jargah.
Jehare or Jhiadi.
Jhankri or Jhangdi.
Jhenri.
Kaikala.
Kamcha.
Kamu.
Kangmu.
Kanlu or Kanluk.
Kanojia
Kanrdlu
Kasu.
Kejung.
Keli.
Khanga.
Khaplari.
Konwar.
Koral.
Kulal.
Lamchania.
Lamtari.
Satighari.
Sinjali.
Sinjapati.
Sirnia.
Siris.
Somare.
Sonwanri.
Sothi.
Suhnakhari
Sumai or Some.
Sunial.
Sunari.
Surajvansi or Surjabansi.
Lanchia.
Langakoti.
Langkang.
Laye.
Lingjing.
Lungeli.
Makim.
Mamring.
Mandir.
Marpa.
Masrangi.
Maruncha.
Maski.
Medun.
Mobchan.
Mogmi.
Namjali.
Niar.
Niduu.
Nimial.
Pachbaya.
Pajangi.
Palli.
Pata.
Pengmi.
Phal.
Phunjali.
Phiwali-Piwali or Phiuyali.
Pitakoti.
Powan.
Puanri.
Pulami.
Rajvansi or Rajbansi.
Rai.
Rakaskoti.
Ramjali.
Ramkhani.
Rehari.
Reshmi.
Regami.
Rijai.
Rilami.

Roka.	Thagnami.	Uchai.
Susaling.	Thamu.	Untaki or Wantaki.
Surpak.	Thara or Thada.	Yangdi.
Swial.	Tharun.	
Tarbung.	Thurain.	

Ṭhākurs.—Of all Gurkhās, excepting the Brāhmaṇ, the Ṭhākur has the highest social standing, and of all Thākurs the Sāhi is the best. The Mahārājadhirāj (king of Nepāl) is a Sāhi. The Ṭhākur claims royal descent, and even to this day a really pure-bred Sāhi Ṭhākur is not charged rent for land in Nepāl.

Ṭhākurs, on account of their high social standing, intelligence, cleanliness, and soldierly qualities, should invariably be taken if belonging to good clans. As soldiers they are excellent, and they can be obtained in small numbers, with quite as good physique and appearance as the best Magar or Gurung.

A Ṭhākur who has not adopted the thread, which until marriage is with him an entirely voluntary action, has no more prejudices than the ordinary Magar or Gurung, and even after adopting the thread his caste prejudices are not so very great, nor does he ever allow them to obtrude.

The Hamal Ṭhākur should not be enlisted by any regiment.

The best Ṭhākur clans are the following :—Sāhi, Malla, Siŋgh, Sēn Khān, and Sumal.

The "Singala Uchai" is really a Sāhi by descent, and is excellent, but all other Uchais and the balance of Ṭhākur clans are not up to those above mentioned, although all Ṭhākur clans claim to be equal, with the exception of the Hamal. The Hamal is not Ṭhākur at all, but the progeny of an Opadhiā Brahman with a Ṭhākur woman.

A Ṭhākur king, it is said, in the course of his conquests came to a very high hill called Singala. This he captured from his enemies, and on the top of the same he established a garrison of Sāhi Ṭhākurs. These in time came to be spoken of as the "Uchai (Ucāī) Ṭhākurs," from the fact of their living at a high elevation. The clan Uchai will be found amongst many tribes, and is supposed to be derived from a similar reason

With the exception of the Singala Uchai, all other Ṭhākur Uchais are the progeny of a Ṭhākur with a Magar.

ṬHAKUR.

Bam.	Jiva.	Ruchal.
Bansi.	Khan.	Sahi or Sah.
Chand	Malla or Mal,	Sen.
Chohan (doubtful).	Man.	Sing.
Hamal.	Raika.	Sumal.
Jiu.	Rakhsia.	Uchai.

The Sāhi clan is sub-divided into the following :—

Sāhi or Sah.

Surjabangsi.	Kallian.
Bhirkōṭī [1]	Nawakōṭī.
Galkōṭī.[1]	

Newārs.—The Newārs are not a warlike or military race, but there can be no doubt that they occasionally produce good soldiers.

The best Newār caste is the Sirisht, and one, Subadar Kishnbīr Nagarkōṭī, of the 5th Gurkhās, belonging to this caste, won the Order of Merit three times for gallantry displayed during the Kabul War, and was given a gold clasp when recommended a fourth time for conspicuous gallantry displayed at the time of Major Battye's death, in the Black Mountains, in 1888. The Newārs also fought most bravely and in a most determined way against the Gurkhā conquerors—a fact proved by their twice defeating Pṛthvī Nārāyāṇa, as before mentioned.

They have letters and literature, and are well skilled in the useful and fine arts, having followed the Chinese and also Indian models; their agriculture is unrivalled in Nepāl, and their towns, temples and images of the gods are beautiful, and unsurpassed in material and workmanship.

The Jaicis are their priesthood, and should never, on any account, be enlisted in our regiments.

Rais and **Limbūs.**—Roughly speaking the Limbūs inhabit the eastern portion of Nepāl, and the Rais the country between the Limbūs and the valley of Nepāl. They are mostly cultivators or shepherds.

Their physique is good, and in appearance they are much like an ordinary Magar or Gurung. They are very brave men, but of headstrong and quarrelsome natures, and, taken all round, are not considered as good soldiers as the Magar or Gurung.

There is one regiment of Limbūs in the Nepalese army, called the "Bhairōnāth," but on account of their quarrelsome nature they were always quartered apart. The Limbūs are born shikaris, and most of the Mahārāja's tiger-trackers are Limbūs.

RAIS.

Kiranti Rais.

Bantawar.	Hondui.	Matwali.
Butepa.	Kaling.	Potrin.
Debu.	Kamtal.	Puwal.
Dilipa.	Khambu.	Tanglua.
Dobali.	Kulapacha.	Thulung.
Hatwali.	Kulungia.	Waling.

[1] Derived from name of cities in which they resided.

Line-boys.—The progeny of Gurkhā soldiers, who are born and brought up in the regiment, are called line-boys, and these might be divided into two distinct classes—

(1) The progeny of purely Gurkhā parents.
(2) The progeny of a Gurkhā soldier with a hill-woman.

From the first class, if carefully selected, some excellent soldiers can be obtained.

The second class should be avoided. The pure-bred line-boy is just as intelligent as the half-bred, and if boys are required for the band, or men as clerks, etc., it would be better to select them from out of the first class. Only a small percentage of line-boys, even of the first class, should be enlisted.

The claims of line-boys to be provided for in the service are undoubtedly very great, as Government has always, and very wisely, too, encouraged Gurkhā colonies, and their fathers and grandfathers, having in many cases been all their lives in British employ, they have no other home than their regimental lines.

In their first generation their physique does not deteriorate much, and they almost invariably grow up to be extremely intelligent men and full of military ardour. Their military education begins with their perceptive powers, as they commence playing at soldiers as soon as they can toddle about. The worst point against line-boys is that unfortunately they often prove to be men of very loose habits.

Sir Charles Reid, K.C.B., mentions that out of seven men who obtained the Order of Merit for the battle of Aliwal and Sobraon, five were line-boys; and out of twenty-five Order of Merit men for the siege of Delhi, twelve were line-boys.

Kamara.—The Kamara is a slave. Most of the higher officials in Nepal retain Kamaras as attendants. The offspring of a Magar, Gurung, or Khas with a Kamara would be a Kamara.

Khawās.—Khawās is the offspring of a slave-mother with a Ṭhākur. The children of this union become Khawās, and their posterity retains the name. Khawās is also the name given to the illegitimate children of the king or royal family.

Konwar.—A Konwar who claims to be a Magar is the offspring of the connexion between a mendicant and any women. He is generally an ill-bred-looking man, and should not be enlisted The Khas Konwar is all right.

Dhotiās.—The Dhotiās live in the extreme west in Nepāl, and south of Jumla. They are not Gurkhās at all, and should never be enlisted.

Bandā.—Any man can become a Bandā, which practically means a bondsman. For instance, *A* will go to *B* and say—"Give me sixty

rupees cash and I will be your bandā for two years." On receipt of money he becomes a *bandā*, and is bound to work for the two years for nothing beyond his food, but at the expiration of his two years, if he has contracted no fresh debt, he becomes free again.

Menial Classes.—The following is a list of some of the menial classes of Nepāl. No man belonging to any of these should be enlisted as a soldier.

If it is found necessary to enlist any of them on account of their professional acquirements, they should be given separate quarters, and, as far as possible, be kept entirely away from all military duties:—

Chamakhala	Scavenger.
Damai	Tailor, musician.
Drai	Seller of pottery.
Gain	Bard.
Kamara	Slave.
Kami or Lohār	Ironsmith.
Kasai (Newār)	Butcher.
Kumhal	Potter.
Manji	Boatman.
Pipa	Khalasi.
Pore	Sweeper.
Sarkhi	Worker in leather.

Sarkhi Clans.

Workers in leather—a menial class.

Basiel.	Gaire.	Ramtel.
Bhomrel.	Hamalia.	Rimal.
Bilekoti.	Hitung.	Sirketi.
Chitoria.	Madkoti.	Sirmal.
Dankoti.	Mangranti.[1]	

Kami or Lohār Clans.

Ghotami.	Ghartibewanri.	Kanal.
	Rashāli.	

Religion, Arms, Dress and Characteristics.—About 600 years before Christ it is said that Çākya Siṁha (Buddha—the wise one) visited the Nepāl valley, and found that the fundamental principles of his religion had already been introduced amongst the Newārs by Manjasri from China. To Manjasri by the Buddhists, and to Viṣṇu by the Hindūs, are assigned, respectively, the honour of having by a miracle converted the large mountain lake of Naga Vasa into the present fertile Nepal valley, by cutting with one blow of a sword the pass by which the Bāgmatī

[1] This clan is derived from the fact of the ancestors of the same having resided within Bārah Mangranth.

river leaves the valley of Nepāl. To this day this pass is called "Kot bar," "sword-cut."

It is known as a fact that 300 years before Christ Buddhism flourished in Nepāl, and it is still nominally the faith of the majority of Newārs (some Newārs have been Hindūs from time immemorial); yet it is steadily being supplanted by Hinduism, and before another century it will have entirely disappeared.

The Khas are Hindūs. The Magars and Gurungs are so also nominally, but their Hinduism is not very strict.

The Gurungs in their own country are really Buddhists, though they would not admit it in India. To this day their priests in their own homes are Lamas and Giabrings, but when serving in our regiments they submit to the Brāhmaṇs and employ them for all priestly functions.

The fashionable religion is Hinduism, and it may therefore be said that Gurkhās are Hindūs, and with them, therefore, Brāhmaṇs are the highest caste, from whose hands no impurity can come. The Brāhmans wear the thread (*janeo*).

Connection of higher with lower castes.—In the case of Brāhmaṇ with Khas, or Khas with lower grades, there can be no marriage. Neither can a Magar marry a Gurung, or *vice versâ*, nor can a Sōlahjāt Gurung marry into the Chārjāt, or *vice versâ*.

The offspring of an Opadhiā Brāhmaṇ with a Brāhmaṇ's widow is called "Jaici." That of a Jaici and certain Brāhmaṇs with a Khas, is called Khattrī. The Khattrī wears the thread, but is below the Khas.

The offspring of a Khas with a Magarin or Gurungin is a titular Khas, but his very father will not eat with him, nor any pure Khas.

The progeny of an Opadhiā Brāhman with a Ṭhākur woman, or a Ṭhākur with a Brāhmaṇ woman of Opadhiā class, gives a Hamal.

That of a Ṭhākur with a Magarin gives an Uchai Ṭhākur.

Religious rites.—On the occasion of the birth of a child a rejoicing takes place for 11 days, and no one except near relatives can eat or drink with the father for 10 days. On the eleventh day the Brāhmaṇ comes, performs certain ceremonies, after which the father is supposed to be clean, and all friends are feasted and alms are given. The same ceremony exactly takes place for a daughter as for a son, but the birth of the latter is hailed with joy, as he has to perform the "Kiriyā," or funeral rites, of the parents. The girl is looked upon more or less as an expense.

In our regiments 11 days' leave is always granted to a man when a child is born to him.

The Brāhmaṇ (Opadhiā) selects a name for the child on the eleventh day. Boys up to the age of six months, and girls up to five months, are allowed to suck their mother's breast only.

On arriving at that age a grand dinner is given, and the Brāhmaṇs are feasted and propitiated. Every friend and relation that has been invited is supposed to feed the child with grain, but this is merely a form, each man just putting a grain in the child's mouth. The ceremony is called "Bhāt khilānā," "to feed with rice.

Betrothals.—All the friends and relations are also supposed to give the child presents, which generally take the shape of bangles of silver or gold. Betrothals (called Mangnī) take place at any age over five years.

When a marriage is agreed upon, the parents of the boy give a gold ring to the girl as a sign of betrothal. This is called "Sahi Mundrī."

Five or six friends of the parents of the boy, and these must belong to the same clan as the boy, and five or six friends of the parents of the girl, and these must belong to the same clan as the girl's father, assemble to witness the agreement in the presence of a Brāhmaṇ. A dinner is then given to the friends and relations of the contracting parties by the father of the girl, but the father of the boy is supposed to take with him some *dahī* (sour milk) and plantains as his share towards the dinner.

After a betrothal, except by breaking off the engagement, which can be done by going through a certain ceremony before witnesses, but which is considered very bad form, neither party can marry any one else, except on the death of one of them, when, if the real marriage has not taken place, or been consummated, they can do so.

Marriages.—Marriages can take place at any time after the age of 7. It is considered good to get a girl married before she reaches the age of 13. A widow cannot marry a second time, but it is not considered disgraceful for her to form part of another man's household. A widower can marry again.

If a boy, without being engaged to her, meets a girl, falls in love, runs away and marries her, he and his bride cannot approach the girl's father until called by him. When the father-in-law relents, he will send word telling the boy that he may present himself with his wife at his home on a certain hour of a certain day. On their arrival the father-in-law will paint a spot on their foreheads with a mixture of rice and *dahī* (*ṭīkā dinnu* or *garnu*) and then the boy and girl will have to make submission by bending down and saluting him. This is called "*Dhōk Dinnu.*"

Amongst Magars it is customary for marriages to be performed by Brāhmaṇs, and the ceremony is conducted in much the same way as the ordinary Hindū marriage. There is the marriage ceremony, *Jantī*, which is so timed as to reach the bride's house after midday, and which is first greeted with a shower of rice-balls, and then feasted by the parents

of the bride. The actual marriage takes place at night, when the ceremony of *Phērā* (circum-ambulation round the sacred fire) is performed and afterwards the *Añcal Gaṭhā* (knotting a cloth which is stretched from the bridegroom's waist over the bride's shoulder). The latter ceremony is said to constitute the essential marriage tie.

After marriage a divorce can be obtained by a Gurung (and often amongst Magars, too) by going through a ceremony called "Sinko Dago" or "Sinko Pangra," but both the husband and wife must agree to this. A husband has to pay ₹40 for his divorce, and the wife ₹160. Two pieces of split bamboo are tied together, placed on two mud balls, and the money is put close by. If either party takes up the bamboos, breaks them, and picks up the money, the other party can go his or her way in peace and amity, and marry again legally.

In Nepāl, Lamas, assisted by Giabrings, fulfil the priestly function of the Gurungs, both of the Chārjāt and the Sōlahjāt, but in our regiments Gurung marriage ceremonies are performed by Brāhmaṇs. They say with true philosophy, "*Jaisā dēs, waisā bhēs,*" which might be translated as "Do in Rome as the Romans do."

In Nepāl no ceremony, whether that of marriage, burial, or naming a child at birth, is performed until the officiating Lama has determined the propitious moment by consultation of astrological tables, and by casting the horoscope. On this much stress is laid. In the marriage of Gurungs some ceremony resembling the *Añcal Gaṭhā* is performed by the Lamas, and red lead is sprinkled by the bridegroom over the head of the bride. This completes the actual ceremony. All friends and relations are supposed to look away from the bride whilst the red lead is actually being sprinkled. This ceremony is called "*Sindūr halnu*," "to sprinkle red lead."

A Magar will not allow his daughter to marry into the clan from which he may himself have taken a wife, but Gurungs have no objection to this. Neither Magars nor Gurungs, however, will take wives from the clan they may belong to themselves.

Deaths and mourning.—*Dukkhā baknu*, "to mourn."—In our regiments, on the death of a near relative, leave is granted for 13 days. For a father the son mourns 13 days. If an unmarried daughter dies, the father mourns 13 days, unless she is still sucking her mother's breasts, when he would only mourn for 5 days. If a married daughter dies, the father mourns her for one day only, but the father-in-law will mourn for 13 days. Men shave their heads, lips, cheek, chins, and eyebrows for parents; also for an elder brother if both parents are dead, but not otherwise.

Men only shave their heads for sons, younger brothers, and daughters if unmarried.

On the death of a Gurung in his own country he is buried. The following ceremony takes place:—The body is wrapped round with many folds of white cloth, pinned together by splinters of wood; it is then carried by friends and relations to the graveyard. At the entrance of the cemetery it is met by the officiating Lama, who, dressed in a long white garment, walks round the cemetery, singing a dirge, and the body is carried behind him until he stops opposite the grave. It is next lowered into the grave, and then all friends and relations are supposed to throw a handful of earth upon the body, after which the grave is filled up, and stones placed above.

In our service Magars and Gurungs on death are either buried or burned (but nearly always buried), according to the wish of the nearest relative. If they die either of cholera or of small-pox, they are invariably buried. Every regiment, if possible, should be provided with a cemetery. The men much appreciate this.

Magars and Gurungs are exceedingly superstitious. The most ordinary occurrences of every-day life are referred by them to supernatural agency, frequently to the malevolent action of some demon. These godlings have in consequence to be continually propitiated. Among the minor Hindu deities, Diorali, Chaṇḍī, and Dēvī, are those specially worshipped in Gurkhā regiments. Outbreaks of any epidemic disease, such as cholera or small-pox, are invariably regarded as a malign visitation of Diorali or Dēvī. When going on a journey no one will start on an unlucky day of his own accord. After the date has been fixed, should any unforeseen occurrence prevent a man from starting, he will often walk out a mile or two on the road he intended taking and leave a stick on the ground, as a proof of his intention having been carried out.

In March 1889 a Gurkhā woman died of cholera in the Gōrakhpur recruiting depôt. Every Gurkhā officer, non-commissioned officer, and man at the depôt at once subscribed. The recruiting officers gave their share, and with the proceeds three goats, three fowls, four pigeons, and food of sorts, were purchased. Of these, one goat and the four pigeons were let loose, and the food thrown away in the name of Dēvī, and the balance of animals were sacrificed to her, and then divided and eaten. Before killing the animals, they all prayed together—"Oh, mother Dēvī, we kill these beasts in thy name; do thou in return keep away all sickness from us."

As no fresh case occurred, although there was some cholera about in the district, all the Gurkhās in the depôt were more firmly convinced than ever that this was due entirely to their having propitiated Dēvī.

Every Gurkhā regiment has a shrine to Diorali, and on the seventh

day of the Dasahrā this is visited by the whole battalion in state procession.

Festivals.—The following is a table of the festivals observed by Gurkhās in our service, with the leave allowed :—

Basant Pañcamī (in honour of Spring)	1 day.
Çivarātrī	1 „
Hōlī (carnival)	9 days.
Snān Saŋkrānti	1 day.
Rikhī Tarpan	1 „
Janam Aṣṭamī (called Janmāṣṭamī)	1 „
Dasahrā (called Dasin)	10 days.
Diwālī (called Tiwār, the feast of lamps in honour of the goddess Bhawānī, at new moon of month of Kārttik) .	4 „
Maghiā Saŋkrānti (Hindū New Year)	1 day.

The ceremonies at these festivals and their observance are, with a few minor points, the same as in Hindustan.

These holidays should not in any way be curtailed or interfered with but should be granted in full.

The Dasahrā is the chief festival of the Gurkhās, and they endeavour to celebrate it whether in quarters or the field. Great preparations are made for it in procuring goats, buffaloes, etc., for the sacrifice. Every man in the regiment subscribes a certain amount towards the expenses. The commanding officers often give a buffalo or two, and every British officer subscribes a certain amount also. The arms of the regiment are piled, tents erected, and spectators invited to witness the dexterity of the men in severing the heads of buffaloes, the children performing the same office on goats. The period of this festival is considered an auspicious time for undertaking wars, expeditions, etc.

Caste rules with regard to food only apply to one description, *viz.*—"dāl and rice." *All* other food, excepting "dāl and rice," *all* Gurkhās will eat in common. With Magars, unmarried Ṭhākurs, and with Gurungs, it is not necessary to take off *any* clothes to cook, or to eat *any* kind of food including "dāl and rice." In Nepāl the Khas need only remove their caps and shoes to cook or eat their food. Should a Brāhmaṇ of the Opadhiā class prepare "dāl and rice," all castes can eat of it. Magars and Gurungs will not eat the above if prepared by a Jaici Brāhmaṇ. Superior castes will not eat dāl and rice with inferior ones.

In our regiments men generally form little messes of their own varying in size from two or three to a dozen. As long as they are unmarried, Gurkhās of the same caste will eat everything together. All Gurkhās will eat "shikār" in common, a word they use for all description of meat.

No Gurkhās, except some menial classes, will eat cows, nīlgāi, or female goats. Gurungs eat buffaloes in their own country, though they will stoutly deny it if accused. All kinds of game are prized by Gurkhās, deer of all varieties, pigs, porcupines, pea-fowl, pigeons, pheasants, etc., etc., but beyond all things a Gurkhā likes fish.

Food cooked in ghee, including "rice," but not "dāl," is eaten by all classes in common.

Ṭhākurs who have not adopted the thread will eat everything with Magar and Gurung.

All classes will drink water from the same masak, which, however, should be made of goat-skin.

Brian Hodgson gives the following true and graphic account of the contrast between the way the Gurkhā eats his food and the preliminary ceremonies which have to be observed by the orthodox Hindū :—

"These highland soldiers, who despatch their meal in half an hour, and satisfy the ceremonial law by merely washing their hands and face and taking off their turbans before cooking, laugh at the pharisaical rigour of the Sipāhīs, who must bathe from head to foot, and make pūjā ere they can begin to dress their dinners, must eat nearly naked in the coldest weather, and cannot be in marching trim again in less than three hours.

In war, the former readily carry several days' provisions on their back: the latter would deem such an act intolerably degrading. The former see in foreign service nothing, but the prospect of glory and spoil: the latter can discover in it nothing, but pollution and peril from unclean men and terrible wizards, goblins, and evil spirits. In masses the former have all that indomitable confidence, each in all, which grows out of national integrity and success: the latter can have no idea of this sentiment, which yet maintains the union and resolution of multitudes in peril better than all other human bonds whatsoever, and once thoroughly acquired, is by no means inseparable from service under the national standard.

In my humble opinion they are, by far, the best soldiers in Asia; and if they were made participators of our renown in arms, I conceive that their gallant spirit, emphatic contempt of *madhēsiās* (people residing in the plains), and unadulterated military habits, might be relied on for fidelity; and that our good and regular pay and noble pension establishment would serve perfectly to counterpoise the influence of nationality so far as that could injuriously affect us."

The above was written by Mr. Brian Hodgson in 1832, and 25 years later, namely, in 1857, he wrote :—

"It is infinitely to be regretted that the opinions of Sir Henry Fane, or Sir Charles Napier, and of Sir John Lawrence, as to the high expediency of recruiting largely from this source, were not acted upon long ago."

On service the Gurkhās put aside the very small caste prejudices they have, and will cook and eat their food, if necessary, in uniform, and with all accoutrements on.

Gurkhās will eat all and every kind of vegetables and fruit. They have a great partiality for garlic and pepper, and are very fond of

potatoes, cabbages, cucumbers, and squash (kadū). They will smoke any English or Indian tobacco, and are very fond of cheroots. They will smoke out of any English-made pipe, even if with a horn mouth-piece, although they are likely to make a little fuss over the latter, just to save their consciences.

Arms.—The kukrī, a short, curved, broad-bladed, and heavy knife, is the real national weapon of the Gurkhās, and it is worn by all from the highest to the lowest. In our regiments they are carried in a frog attached to the waist-belt. From the beginning of the handle to the end or point of the blade it averages about 20 inches in length.

Where wood is plentiful, they are very fond of practising cutting with the kukrī, and they will cut down with one blow a tree the size of an ordinary man's arm. A really skilful cutter will cut off slice after slice from the end of a piece of green wood, each slice being not thicker than an ordinary piece of shoe leather. They call this "chinnu," to slice off.

They are also skilful with the *gulēl*, (pellet bow) knocking down and killing the smallest birds with ease. All who can manage to raise the funds endeavour to possess themselves of some sort of fire-arm.

Dress.—The national dress of the Gurkhās of the poorer class, such as we enlist, is one that shows them off to the greatest advantage, and consists of the following :—

A piece of cloth (*langōṭī*) worn, as natives of India do, round the loins, etc. A thin waistcoat fitting tight and buttoned all the way up to the throat. A long piece of cloth, which is often a pagrī, and is wrapped round the waist, and by which the kukrī is carried. A pair of brown Gurkhā shoes, as described further on.

A black round cap, high on one side and low on the other, and finally, a kind of thin blanket or thick sheet, called Khadi, which is worn as follows :—The two corners of the breadth are first taken. One is carried over the right shoulder and the other is brought up under the left arm, and the two corners tied together about the centre of the chest.

A third corner, the one diagonally opposite No. 1, is now taken, and brought over the left shoulder and tied in a knot with the fourth corner, which is brought up under the right arm and opposite the centre of the chest.

This dress leaves the arms quite bare from above the elbows, and the legs are naked from halfway down to the knees, thus showing off his grand limbs.

The blanket, by being tied as described above, forms a kind of large bag, which extends all the way round the back, and in this Gurkhās very often carry their goods and chattels.

The Gurkhā shoe is square-toed, fits well up over the instep, passes just under the ankle, and then round and pretty high up above the heel It is made of rough-looking but good brown leather, and all sewing in it is done with strips of raw hide. It is an excellent, durable shoe, is not affected by water in the same way that an ordinary native shoe of India is, and it is much less liable to come off in boggy ground.

When the sun is very hot, Gurkhās will often unwind their waist-belt and tie the same over their heads in the shape of a pagrī, taking it off again in the afternoon, when it begins to cool down again.

The upper classes of Nepāl and most of the residents of Kāṭhmāṇḍū wear the following :—

The above-mentioned national cap, or one much like it.

A kind of double-breasted frock-coat, called *caubandī*, fitting tight everywhere, especially over the arms, fastened inside and outside by means of eight pieces of coloured tape, four inside and four outside. The four outside pieces of tape when tied show two on the left breast and high up, and the other two on the left side about level with the waist.

A white or coloured waist-cloth or pagrī, with the invariable kukrī, a pair of pyjamas very loose down to just below the knee, and from thence fitting the leg down to the ankle, and a pair of the national shoes.

Under the coat is worn a shirt, of which three or four inches are invariably allowed to show. They never tuck their shirts inside their pyjamas.

The frock-coat and pyjamas above mentioned are made of a double layer of a thin shiny cotton cloth. Between the two layers a padding of cotton wool is placed, and these secured by parallel lines of sewing which run close to each other. To make this still more secure, diagonal lines of sewing are also resorted to. This makes a very comfortable and warm, but light, suit.

Amusements and sports.—Gurkhās delight in all manly sports,—shooting, fishing, etc.,—and are mostly keen sportsmen and possess great skill with gun and rod. They amuse themselves in their leisure hours either in this way in the field, or in putting the shot, playing quoits or foot-ball, and they are always eager to join in any game with Europeans.

General Sir Charles Reid, K. C. B., says :—

"All Gurkhās are keen sportsmen and are never so happy as when they are on a tiger's track. A man I lost at Delhi, had killed twenty-two on foot; they never waste a shot; they call ammunition 'Khazānā,' 'treasure.'"

They are good gardeners, but very improvident, as they never will save up seed for the next season's sowing. They are very fond of flowers, and will often go a long distance to procure some. They often

make necklaces of flowers, which they wear, and will also put flowers away in a glass of water in their barracks.

General character.—As compared with other orientals, Gurkhās are bold, enduring, faithful, frank, very independent, and self-reliant; in their own country they are jealous of foreigners and self-asserting. They despise the natives of India, and look up to and fraternize with Europeans, whom they admire for their superior knowledge, strength, and courage, and whom they imitate in dress and habits.

They have the following saying:—"*Ṭōpīwār kāmwār, Luŋgīwār khannēwār*"—"The cap-wearer works, the *lungi*-wearer eats,"

They are very jealous of their women, but are domestic in their habits, and kind and affectionate husbands and parents. As a consequence, their wives are less shy and reserved, and have more freedom, and reciprocate their affection, carefully looking after their uniform and all culinary and domestic matters.

As a rule, recruits on joining are very unsophisticated, very truthful, but dirty, and the first lesson that has to be taught them is that "cleanliness is next to godliness."

The great vice of Gurkhās is gambling, to which they are greatly addicted. Though hot-tempered and easily roused, they are in general quiet, well-behaved men, and extremely amenable to discipline. With a firm just hand over them, punishments are rare.

Gurkhās are capable of being polished up to a degree of smartness that no native troops can approach, and which cannot be much surpassed even by British troops. No officer can be too strict with them in parades, but they hate being "nagged at."

Education.—In Kāṭhmāṇḍū good schools exist, in which English and Hindī are taught, but our recruits, being almost entirely drawn from the agricultural classes, are quite ignorant of reading or writing. In our battalions schools exist for their instruction in reading, writing, and doing accounts, both in English and vernacular, and these are generally well attended. Numbers of men learn to read and write from friends in their barracks. It may seem strange, but it is an undoubted fact, that a number of recruits are yearly obtained who profess to enlist merely for the sake of learning to read, write, and do accounts.

Traditions.—The Gurkhā, from the warlike qualities of his forefathers, and the traditions handed down to him of their military prowess as conquerors of Nepāl, is imbued with, and cherishes, the true military spirit.

His physique, compact and sturdy build,, powerful muscular development, keen sight, acute hearing, and hereditary education as a sportsman, eminently capacitate him for the duties of a light infantry soldier on the

mountain side, while his acquaintance with forest lore makes him as a pioneer in a jungle almost unrivalled, whilst his national weapon, the kukrī, has in Burma and other places proved itself invaluable.

The bravery displayed by the Gurkhās in their contests with the British has already been alluded to, and their own traditions afford ample proof of the dogged tenacity with which they can encounter danger and hardship.

The return of the Nepāl army from Diggarcheh in the year 1790, amongst other instances, affords a distinguished proof of their daring and hardihood. The following extracts from Captain T. Smith's book are very characteristic :—

"At Bhartpur it was an interesting and amusing sight to witness the extreme good-fellowship and kindly feeling with which the Europeans and the Gurkhās mutually regarded each other. A six-foot-two grenadier of the 59th would offer a cheroot to the "little Gurkhee," as he styled him; the latter would take it from him with a grin, and when his tall and patronising comrade stooped down with a lighted cigar in his mouth, the little mountaineer never hesitated a moment in puffing away at it with the one just received, and they were consequently patted on the back and called "prime chaps."

At the assault of Bhartpur, the Goorkhas were ordered to follow in after the 59th.

These directions were obeyed, with the exception of going in with them instead of after them; for when the British grenadiers with a deafening "hurrah" made their maddening rush at the breach, at that glorious and soul-stirring moment it was impossible to restrain them, and they dashed into the thick of it.

In the morning after the storming of Bhartpur, when being praised for their gallantry by their British comrades, they returned the flattering partiality of the latter by the following characteristic remark : "The English are brave as lions; they are splendid sepoys, and *very nearly* equal to us!"

The following story is given as illustrative of their coolness and amenability to discipline :—

"A tiger had been seen within a few miles of Dehra, and Colonel Young (then Captain and the gallant commanding officer of the Simoor battalion), accompanied by Colonel Childers, of Her Majesty's 11th Dragoons, mounted an elephant and hastened to the spot. They, however, were unsuccessful in rousing him, and after a long and tedious search were returning home.

A Gurkhā sepoy was following the elephant with his gun on his shoulder, when he suddenly dropped on one knee and presented his rifle as if in the act to fire. Having, however, roused the attention of the sportsmen, he did not pull the trigger but kept his gun fixed in the same position. He had suddenly caught sight of the fiery eyes of the tiger who was crouching among the underwood, within three paces of his gun in this situation they steadily regarded each other. The elephant was immediately pushed up close to the kneeling Gurkhā, but neither of the sportsmen could succeed in catching a glimpse of the animal. In order, if possible, to observe the direction more accurately, Captain Young called out 'Recover arms.' The sepoy came to the 'Recover' as calmly and collectedly as if on his own parade. 'Present.' Down went the gun again; this was repeated, but still the tiger was invisible.

Captain Young exclaimed 'That gallant fellow shall not be left unassisted,' and in a moment dropped from the elephant and placed himself close to the sepoy. He looked along the levelled barrel, but to no purpose; the brute was not to be distinguished.

Cocking his gun, therefore, he told the Gurkhā to fire; there was a terrific roar, a rush forward for one instant, and all was still. When the smoke had just cleared away, there lay the tiger perfectly dead. The ball had struck the centre of his forehead and entered his brain."

Dr. Oldfield in his book points out that there is not a single instance of a Nepāl chief taking bribes from, or selling himself for money to the British or any other State. This loyalty to themselves is only equalled by their loyalty to us during the fiery ordeal of the Mutiny, the records of which, as well as of Ambeyla, of the Kabul campaign, and many other wars and battles, amply testify the value of the services rendered us by our Gurkhā regiments since incorporation in our army in 1815.

Their fighting qualities, whether for sturdy, unflinching courage or enduring *élan*, are *nulli secundus* amongst the troops we enrol in our ranks from the varied classes of our Indian Empire, and no greater compliment can be paid to their bravery than by quoting one of their sayings—

Kafar human bhandā mannu ramrō!
"It is better to die than to be a coward!"

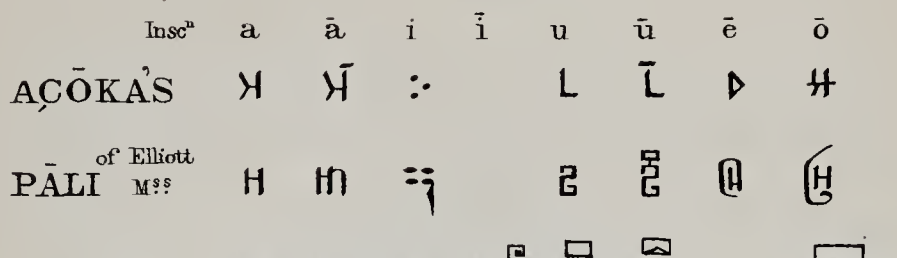
INDEX

TO

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

Vol. LXIII, Part I, for 1894.

VOWELS.



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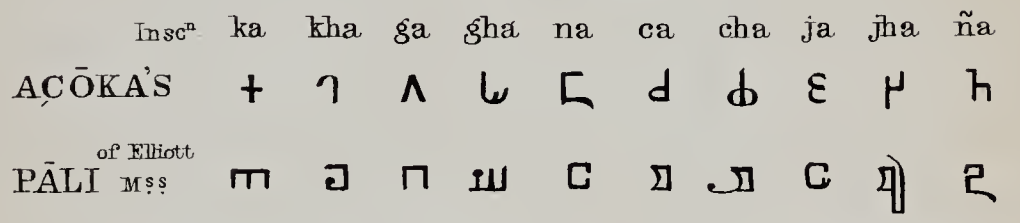

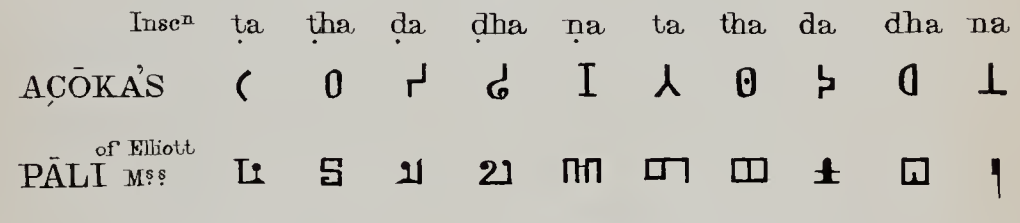

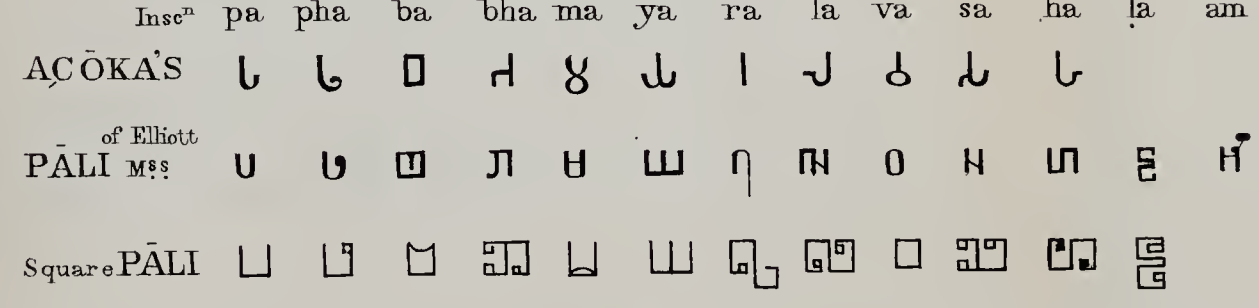

Printed at the Indian Art Cottage, Calcutta.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PĀLI ALPHABETS.

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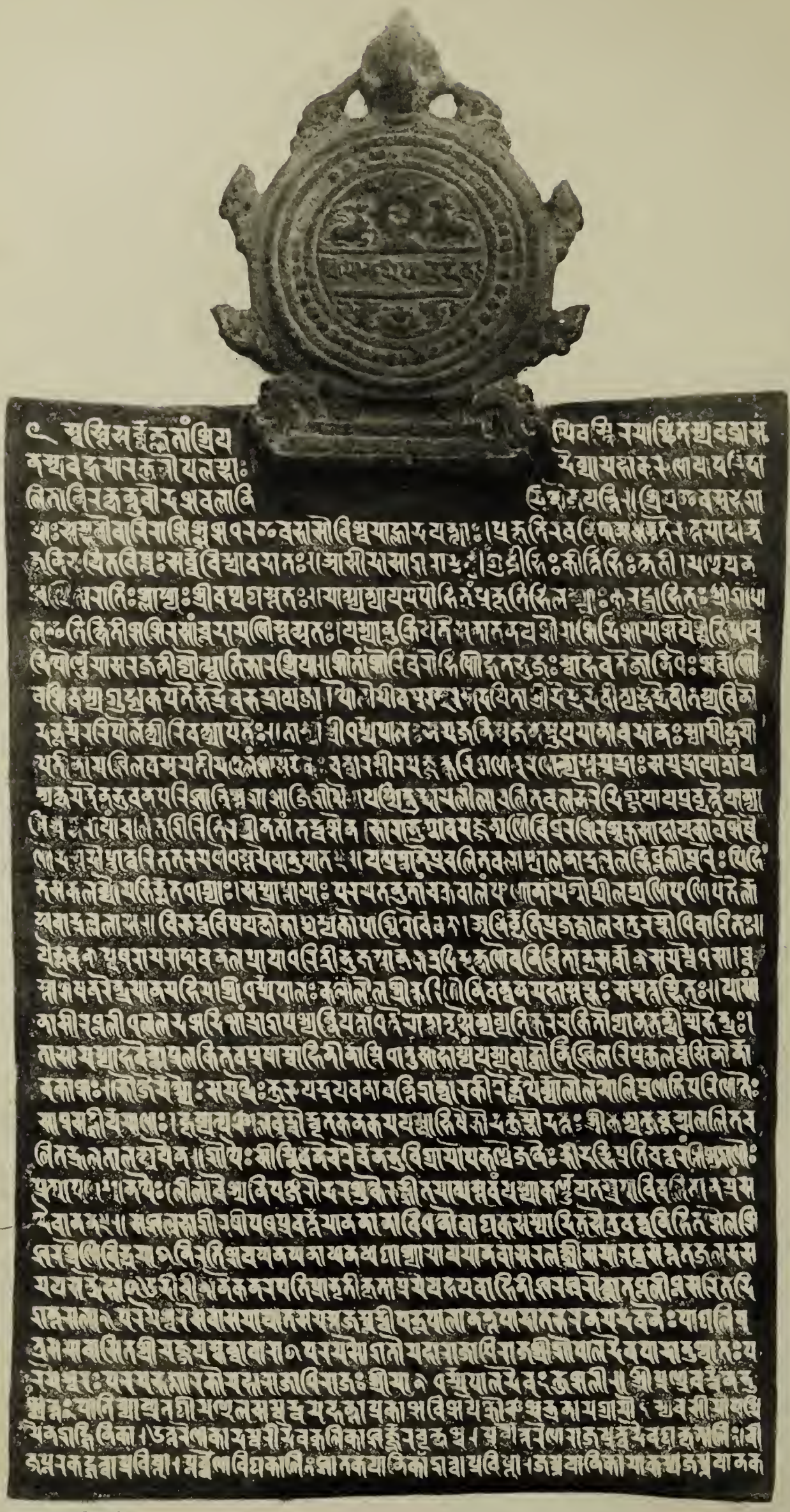

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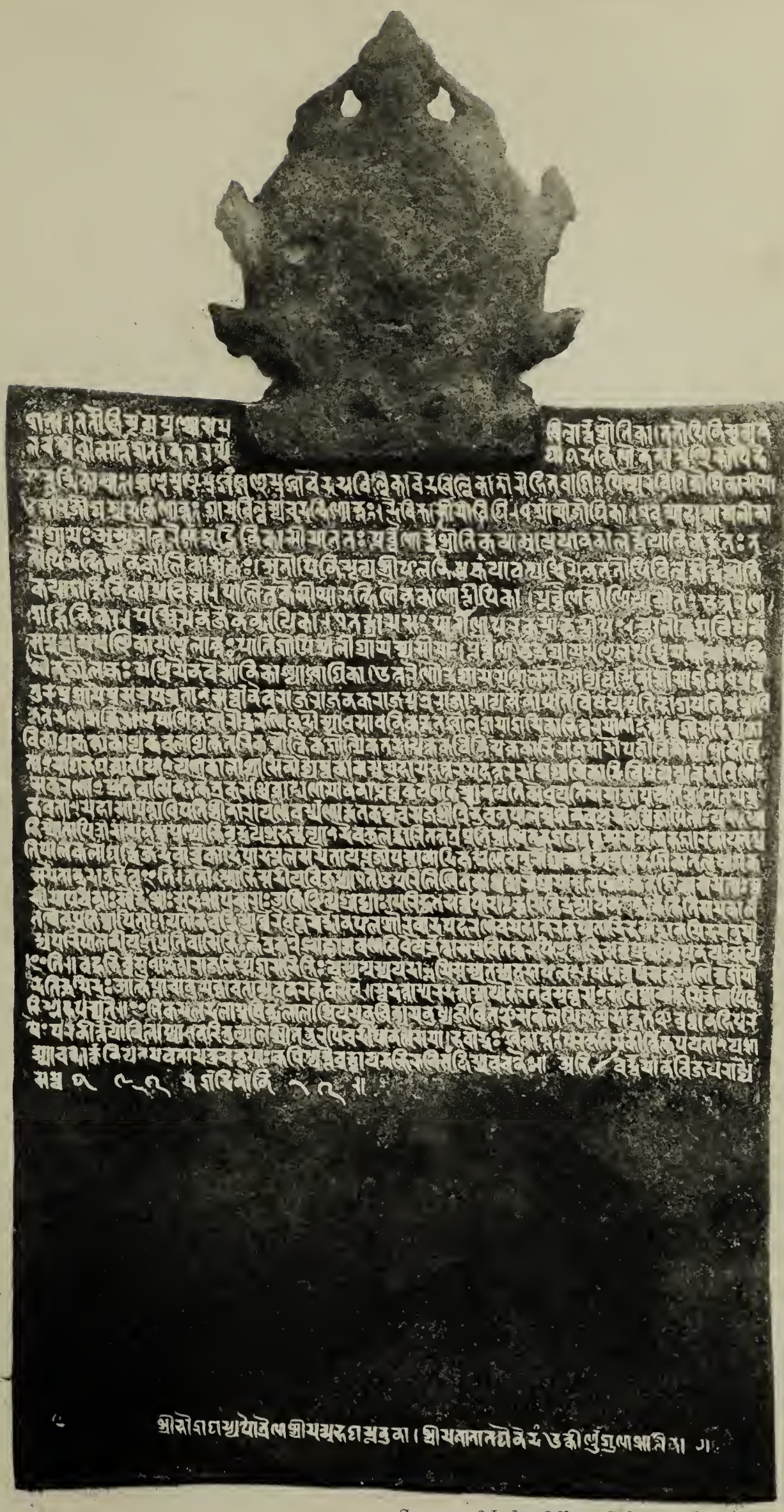

Survey of India Offices Calcutta June 1894.

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SUPPLEMENT TO THOMAS'S CHRONICLES OF PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLĪ. NO. V.

LITHOGRAPHED BY A L PAIN, CALCUTT

18 Æ 169·2

19 Æ 169·2

20 Æ 140

21 Æ 13·2

22 Æ 172·3

23 Æ 172

24 Æ 57·7

25 Æ 45·6

26 Æ 54

27 Æ 37

28 Æ 115·5

29 Æ 40

30 Æ 35

31 Æ 136

32 Æ 50·8

33 Æ 55

34 Æ 88·5

35 Æ 33·8

36 Æ 77

37 Æ 43

38 Æ 35

39 Æ 39

40 Æ 48

SUPPLEMENT TO THOMAS'S CHRONICLES OF PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLĪ. NO. V.

LITHOGRAPHED BY A. L. PAIN, CALCUTTA

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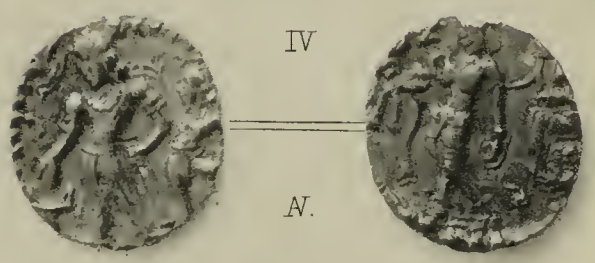

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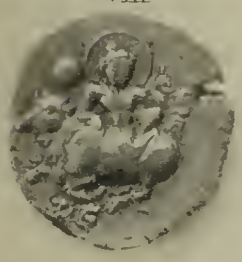

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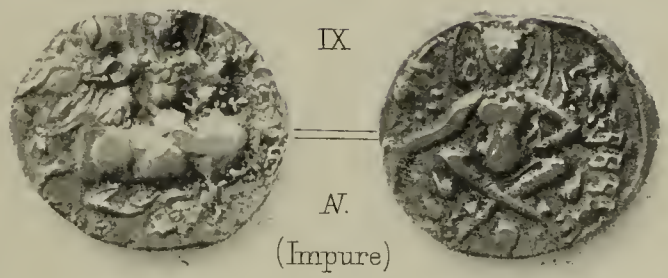

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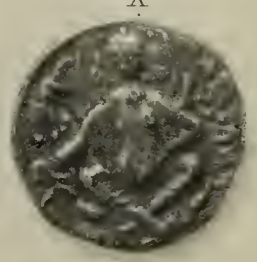

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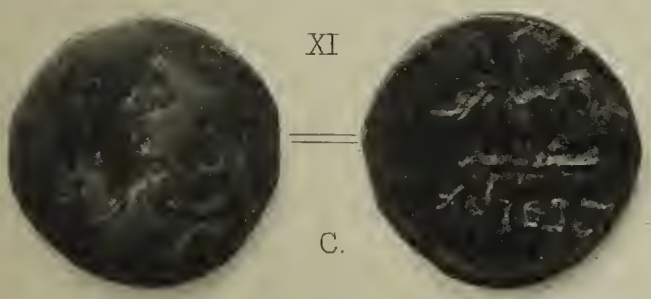

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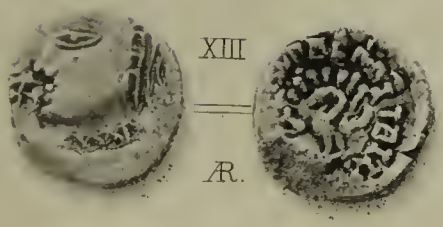

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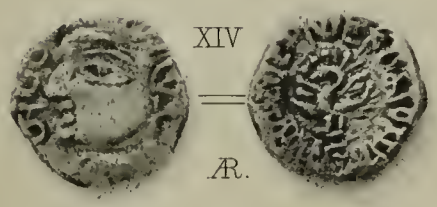

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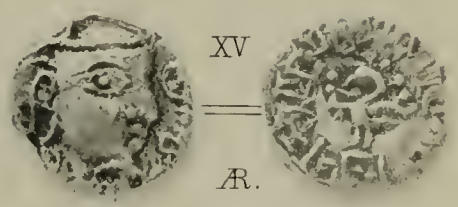

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Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, April 1895.

COINS OF THE GUPTA PERIOD.