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JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. LVII.

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

(Nos. I and II with eleven plates, and an Extra-Number with 3 plates.)

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THE PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

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"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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JOURNAL

OF THE

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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1888.

The Era of Lachhman Sen.—By H. BEVERIDGE, ESQ., C. S.

The object of this paper is to draw attention to the facts that the era of Lachhman Sen is mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl in the Akbarnáma, and that according to him it began in 1119 A. D.

The era has been discussed by more than one scholar, but it appears that its date, or even the event denoted by it, has not yet been positively ascertained.

According to Dr. Mitra the era began in 1106-7 and dates from the accession of Lachhman Sen I, the grandfather of the Lachhman who was dethroned by Bakhtiyár Khiljí. According to General Cunningham the era began with the death of Lachhman Sen I, and the first year of it is 1108 or 1109.

The first European scholar who mentions the date is, according to Cunningham, Colebrooke who alluded to it in 1796. Afterwards it was referred to by Mr. Prinsep in 1836. But none of these writers refer to the Abkarnáma. Apparently it was thought that the only mention of the chronology of Bengal was to be found in the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, that being the only work of Abu-l-Fazl which had been translated into English. There is indeed a reference to Abu-l-Fazl's mention of the Lachhman era in a note on the last page of Price's *History of the Muhammadans*, but the date given to it is wrong by a thousand years, and the era is wrongly called that of Lachhman Singh.

The way in which the era comes to be mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl is as follows: Akbar, as is well known, invented a new era which he called the *Taríkh Iláhí* or the Divine Era. It is usually stated that it began with his accession, but this is not quite correct. Akbar ascended the throne at Kalanor on 2 Rabíu-ş-şaní, 963 A. H., corresponding to

14th February 1556, old style. He made his *Taríkh Iláhí* begin with the first year of his reign, but he took for its commencement the period of the vernal equinox or the time when the sun enters. This Aries was the Nauroz of the Persians and the first day of their month of Farwardín. This Nauroz began on 10th March, old style, or 21st March, new style, and so the Divine Era began on 21st March 1556. But though it was made to begin then, the era was not invented or at least not promulgated till 992 A. H., corresponding to 1584 A. D. In that year a farmán or edict was issued by Akbar. This farmán was probably drafted by the eminent astronomer and philosopher, called Mír Fath 'Alí of Shiráz, for it was he who corrected the Tables of Ulagh Beg for the purpose of the new era. The farmán is given at pp. 10-13 of Vol. II of the Akbarnáma, Ed. Bibliotheca Indica. In it the other eras in use in the world are referred to, and at p. 12, 7 lines from top, we have the important words

در ولایت بنگ تاریخ از ابتدای حکومت لچهن سین
است - و ازان باز تا حال چهار صد و شصت و پنج سال شده است

“In the country of Bang (Bengal) dates are calculated from the beginning of the reign of Lachhman Sen. From that period till now there have been 465 years.”

Then the farmán goes on to mention the Sáliváhan and Vikramá-ditya eras, and states that 1506 years of the Sáliváhan, and 1641 of the Vikramá-ditya era have elapsed. If we deduct these periods, we get $1584 - 465 = 1119$ A. D. for the beginning of the Lachhman Sen era, $1584 - 1506 = 78$ A. D. for the beginning of the Sáliváhan era, and $1584 - 1641 = - 57$, *i. e.*, 57 B. C. for the beginning of the Vikramá-ditya era. These two last dates are right according to chronologists, so that we may place reliance on the Lachhman Sen one. But if Abu-l-Fazl is right, and it is likely that he is right, for the date is given in a solemn public document and at a time when the Lachhman Sen era was in use, Dr. Mitra and the almanac-makers of Tirhut are wrong about the beginning of the era; and General Cunningham is wrong both about the date and the event commemorated by the era.

According to Abu-l-Fazl the era began in 1119 A. D., *i. e.*, about twelve years after the date given by the Tirhut almanac-makers.

Possibly Abu-l-Fazl is wrong, and possibly too there is a misprint* in the Bibliotheca Indica edition, but there is a circumstance which seems to me to corroborate Abu-l-Fazl. This is that the *Ṭabaqát-i-Násirí* says that Lachhman had been on the throne for eighty years, when he was expelled by Bakhtiyár *Khiljí* (Raverty's translation of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Násirí*, p. 554).

* Major Price's MS., however, must have given also the figures 465.

Now Bakhtiyár Khiljí took Nadiyá apparently in 590 A. H. = 1194 A. D. (Raverty's translation, p. 559 note), or in 1195 A. D. according to General Cunningham. If then Lachhman began to reign in 1119 and reigned eighty years, this would bring the termination of his government to 1199 A. D., which is a tolerably close approximation to the dates of the capture of Nadiyá given by Raverty and Cunningham. If we take Mr. Blochmann's date for that event, *viz.*, 1198 or 1199 then there is an almost complete coincidence between Abu-l-Fazl's date of 1119 for the commencement of Lachhman Sen's reign and the statement in the Ṭabaqát of Minháj-u-d-dín that Lachhman reigned eighty years. That is, if the eighty years be taken to be calendar years. If, on the other hand, they are taken to be Muhammadan or lunar years, they will amount to somewhat less than seventy-eight calendar years. Major Raverty, in a note at p. 558 of his translation of the Ṭabaqát, quotes one Munshí Shám Parsád as saying in an account of Gaur that Rai Lachhman ruled from 510 to 590 A. H. Major Raverty adds that this is correct, but it can only be made to agree with the Ṭabaqát by reckoning the eighty years of the reign as lunar years; for 510—590 A. H. is equal to 1116—1195 or 1194 A. D.

General Cunningham's idea, that the Lachhman Sen era was established on the death of that prince, is opposed to the statement of Abu-l-Fazl, and also seems to be improbable. It is not common either in the East or West to begin an era with a death. Men generally date from a birth or from an accession to a throne. Akbar, it is true, ordered that the Taríkh Alfí, or history of a thousand years, should begin from the death of Muḥammad, but this was a freak of despotism, occasioned apparently by a superstitious aversion to the word Hijrah, which was ill-omened from its meaning "flight."

If, however, we adopt General Cunningham's view and also hold that the Lachhman Sen of the era is the father of Lakhmania, the last king of Bengal, then we find that the death of the father and the birth of the son occurred almost at the same time, and in this way Abu-l-Fazl's statement and General Cunningham's may be reconciled. Lakhmania, the last king of Bengal, was a posthumous son. When his father died, his mother was far advanced in her pregnancy, and the nobles put the crown on her womb and did homage to her and the unborn child. She had herself hung up head downwards for two hours, in order that the birth might be delayed till an auspicious moment. He was born, and the poor mother expired, and then the infant was laid on the throne.

It is in this way that he is said to have reigned eighty years. If this horrible story is true, we need not wonder at Lakhmania's misfortunes. He was emphatically one *cui non risere parentes*. Thus then

it may be almost equally correct, so far as the initial year is concerned, to say that the era began with the death of Lachhman Sen, as that it began with the birth of his son Lakhmania. I prefer, however, Abu-l-Fazl's statement that it began with the commencement of the reign of Lachhman Sen. Even if we take this Lachhman Sen to be the father of Lakhmania, and not Lakhmania himself, still Abu-l-Fazl's date may be correct. We do not know how long the father reigned and if, as Lassen conjectures, he was an usurper, his duration of power is likely to have been short. Abu-l-Fazl's omission to say that he ever reigned at least implies that he did not rule long. There would therefore be no difficulty in supposing that his reign began about 1119 A. D. Perhaps an argument in favour of the view, that the last king of Bengal or his father gave his name to the era, may be derived from the fact that one of them founded a new dynasty and a new capital. This was a circumstance likely to be marked by the introduction of a new era. Stewart in his *History of Bengal*, p. 42, describes Lachhman, the last king of Bengal, as succeeding his father Lachhman, but the authority whom he seems to have followed, *viz.*, the author of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, does not mention the father's name. The Persian original will be found, quoted at p. 135 of our *Journal*, Part I for 1865, in Dr. Mitra's paper on the *Sena Rájás*.

Abu-l-Fazl in his *Áín*, p. 414, mentions Lakhman (qu. Lachhman ?) as the father of Lakhmania, but he does not describe him as having ever reigned. In his list at p. 413, Rájá Nojah is the last king of Bengal. He is the last of the sixty-one kings who, according to him, ruled Bengal for 4544 years. Nojah reigned three years, and then, says Abu-l-Fazl, the country came under the dominion of Dehlí.

It is curious that he should say nothing here of Lakhmania, and that in the very next page he should tell us that he succeeded Rájá Nojah. Three suggestions may be made to reconcile the discrepancy, though none of them is quite satisfactory.

1st. The list, at p. 413, may be that of a particular family and so not include Lakhmania, who at all events was not a direct descendant of Nojah. Possibly he was not even a Kayasth.

2nd. The list may be that of the kings of Gaur or Lakhnautí and so not include Lakhmania who had his capital at Nadiyá.

3rd. Lakhmania may not be included, because his reign did not come to a natural end, but was violently interrupted by Bakhtiyár Khiljí.

Though the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* does not mention the father's name, it represents the father as having reigned, and possibly Stewart combined the statements of Abu-l-Fazl and the *Ṭabaqát*.

The *Ṭabaqát* is the better authority of the two probably, and so

putting it and Abu-l-Fazl's statement together, we may take it that Lachhman the father of Lakhmania ruled Bengal.

Dr. Mitra, in the paper already quoted, describes Abu-l-Fazl as saying that Lachhman ascended the throne in 1116 and reigned eight years. But I have not been able to find either of these statements in Abu-l-Fazl. Apparently the Lachhman to whom Dr. Mitra refers is the Lakhan Sen who succeeded Balál Sen. But Abu-l-Fazl makes him reign only seven years. I submit too that clearly this Lakhan Sen or Lachhman Sen has nothing to do with the era we are considering. He succeeded Balál Sen the builder of the Fort of Gaur, and was in his turn succeeded by Mádhava Sen who, according to Abu-l-Fazl, reigned ten years. Then came Kesava Sen who reigned fifteen years, then Suda Sen (no doubt the Sura Sen of the Rájávalí, quoted by Dr. Mitra at p. 134 of his paper) who reigned eighteen years, and finally Nojah who reigned three years. Thus we have from Lachhman Sen or Lakhan Sen, the son of Balál, to Lakhmania, the son of Lachhman, a period of forty-six years. Four princes too intervened, so that Lakhmania can hardly have been the grandson of Lakhan the son of Balál. As Lakhmania reigned eighty years, his accession must date from 1114 or 1119, according as we take 1194 or 1199 as the date of the capture of Nadiyá. If then the Lakhmania era took its rise with Lakhan Sen, the son of Balál, its first year would be in 1068 or 1073 A. D., if we count from his death, and in 1061 or 1066, if we count from the beginning of his reign. Such dates, however, would be contrary to all the authorities. I venture, therefore, to think that the view of Dr. Mitra and of General Cunningham that the Lachhman Sen who gave his name to the era was the son of Balál Sen, is one which cannot be sustained.

In connection with this part of my subject I wish to caution my readers against accepting the lists of kings of Bengal given in Gladwin's translation as a correct rendering of the lists of Abu-l-Fazl. A reference to the original will show that Gladwin's translation is not quite accurate.

The last Hindú king of Bengal mentioned in Abu-l-Fazl's list, *Aín* p. 413 Bibliotheca Indica edition, is Rájá Nojah who ruled three years. This is the Rájá Noe or Noujah of Gladwin, for he has both spellings, and the Rájá Bhoja of Lassen. Abu-l-Fazl says that when Rájá Nojah died, the kingdom passed to Lakhmania the son of Rai Lachhman. He also says that Lakhmania ruled at Nadiyá and was expelled by Bakhtiyár *Khiljí* (*Aín*, p. 414).

In my humble opinion this Lakhmania is the Lachhman Sen of the Akbarnáma, and the prince who gave his name to the Lachhman era.

The point is, I submit, a most interesting one; for it concerns the

date of the accession of the last Hindú king of Bengal. I trust, therefore, that some one will take up the inquiry, and, if possible, reconcile Abu-l-Fazl with the almanac makers of Tirhut.

Colebrooke's date of 1104 A. D., *i. e.*, 1796—692, does not agree with the almanacs, and it would appear that Halayudha was the spiritual adviser of Lachhman, the son of Balál. In that case it seems almost certain that the date 1104 is wrong. The only thing apparently that stands in the way of the acceptance of Abu-l-Fazl's date is the Tirhut almanacs. But it seems that they do not agree with one another, and also that the compilers of them are ignorant of the origin of the era.

It strikes me as strange that the era should be permanent in Tirhut and not in other districts. Lakhmania reigned at Nadiyá, latterly at all events, and I beg to suggest that inquiry should be made among the pandits and almanac-makers of Nadiyá as to whether they know of and make use of the era.*

I have consulted Tieffenthaler, but I do not find that he throws any light on the matter. In one place he gives the months as well as the years of the Sen Rájá's reigns, and speaks of Kesava Sen as being the son of Balál Sen and the father of Mádhava. This is against the notion that Lakhmania was the grandson of Lachhman. In another place, p. 473 of the account of Bengal, Tieffenthaler gives the same list as Abu-l-Fazl, but adds that after Rájá Nodja there reigned seven Hindú princes whose names are not known, and who ruled for 106 years. But it seems that this is merely a corrupt version of Abu-l-Fazl's statement. The seven princes of Tieffenthaler are really not the unknown descendants of Rájá Nojah, but are the seven Sen kings ending with Nojah. Abu-l-Fazl's list of them shows that they reigned 106 years.

Tieffenthaler apparently did not get his information direct from Abu-l-Fazl's book, but from some later compilation.

One important point remains to be noticed.

At p. 397 of Dr. Mitra's second article on the Sena Rájás, he gives a Sanscrit inscription from Buddha Gaya, and translates it as follows :

“On Thursday the 12th of the wane, in the month of Vaiśákha Samvat or year 74 *after the expiration of the reign* of the auspicious Lakshmana Sena Deva.”

But is it not possible that the Sanscrit words mean the 74th year of the reign of Lachhman Sena? In other words that the date is a Julús or regnal era.

If so, all our difficulties seem to be at an end, for no king is recorded to have reigned eighty years except the last Sena king, *i. e.*, Lachhman.

* [The suggested enquiry is being made, and its result will subsequently be communicated. ED.]

The 74th year must, therefore, be the year of his reign, and it follows that the era originated with him. If Abu-l-Fazl is correct, and my reading of the Sanscrit inscription admissible, then the date of the inscription is $1119 + 47 = 1193$ A. D.

My knowledge of Sanscrit is exceedingly small, but it looks to me as if the words of the inscription might bear the above interpretation.

Possibly it was because it never occurred to any one that a reign could last seventy-four years, that it was taken for granted that the seventy-four years must mean years after the expiry of the reign.

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*Notes on some Kolarian tribes.—By W. H. P. DRIVER.\**

*The Asurs.*

*Habitat.*—The Asurs, a small tribe, speaking a dialect of the Kolarian language, are to be found only in the extreme west of the Lohardagá district. They are iron-smelters by profession.

*Origin and history.*—They appear to have considerable traditions in connection with their former history. The following is the story regarding their origin, and general history. In ancient times they were a great people and inhabited the Dhaulagir and Mainagir Hills on which there were two large lakes. They were clever artisans, travelled about in palkís, and used to eat red-hot iron. They did not cultivate the land, but had large herds of cattle. Then the Uráons, called Lodhás, appeared and took all their cattle, and they had to go into the jungles. (The saying with reference to the Uráons being stronger is *báro bhái Asur, terá bhái Lodhá, i. e., 'the Asurs are twelve brothers, but the Lodhás are thirteen brothers.'*) This drove them to desperation and they took to cattle-lifting and preying on the Uráons. (The mythology of the various Kolarian tribes always refers to the Asurs as robbers and fire-eaters.) These Uráons, unable to attack them in the jungles, called in the assistance of Bhag'wán, who built a great fort and invited all the Asurs to attend. Being afraid to refuse, they all came at the summons, and were told to enter the fort by Bhag'wán, who to allay their fears went in first. After they were all in, Bhag'wán shut the gate and disappeared from the top. He then filled the fort up with charcoal. When he got outside,

\* [All names, terms and words quoted in this paper are spelled by the author as he heard them from the people. The system of spelling, or transliteration, is the usual one; but it should be noted that *ñ* indicates the nasalisation of the preceding vowel, and that *õ* indicates the Eastern Gauḍian, or Bengálí, pronunciation of *a*; thus *gotõr* is the Hindí *gotar*, Skr. *gotra*; *bõr* corresponds to Hindí *bar* or *bará* 'great.' ED.]

he found two Asurs (a brother and sister) who had not gone in with the rest, and he made these two fix up a bellows (such as the Asurs use for smelting iron) and immolate the whole tribe. These two were then carried away by the Uráons, and left in the jungles, where their descendants are now found, being condemned for ever to use the bellows. They say that the Uráons brought their two ancestors in palkís from the far East, but they have not the slightest idea how far, nor where Dhaulagir and Mainagir are situated.

In different parts of the Lohardagá and Chaibásá districts are found well finished stone, clay, glass, and metal beads, and also small silver coins (of the kind called 'old Hindú punch coins') which are attributed by the people to the Asurs, but it is difficult to say whether the present Asurs are descendants of the people who used these coins and beads or not. I am credibly informed that beads similar in every way to these are, at the present day, worn by the Bhutiyás about Darjiling, and this fact taken in conjunction with the legend about Dhaulagir appears to me very suggestive of the true origin of these people. The Bhagavat Purána (1, 3, 24) refers to the people of Kikāṭa (Bihár), who were in those days mostly Kols, as Asurs; and these Asurs of Lohardagá (who are also Kols) state that they have borne this name from ancient times. We, therefore, seem to have connecting links for tracing the present day Asurs from the Himálayan mountains to the hills of Chutiyá Nágpur.

*Titles, sub-tribes and septs.*—The Asurs assume the title of Mánjhi. They are divided into the following sub-tribes: Jaít Asurs and Lohará-Asurs, who smelt iron and make ploughs, &c.; Soënká or Agariyá-Asurs and Goṇḍ-Asurs, who smelt iron, but do not make ploughs, &c. All these sub-tribes have innumerable *gotōrs* such as Roṭe, Sikṭa, Aind, Ṭopo, Kerketá, Kachhuwá, Tirkí, Nág, Chitri, Gundri, and Sujúr, &c.

*Festivals and religious customs.*—They observe the following festivals and religious customs: *Mágh-parab* in January; *Phágund* in February; at this festival they offer a sacrifice of a fowl to *Andhariyá Devatá* (the Earth God). The fowl is held by a pair of pincers, its head is placed on an anvil, and it is struck with a hammer, a prayer being offered with a request to be preserved from the sparks, that fly from red-hot iron. *Hariyári* in May, when a fowl is sacrificed to their parents; *Daliyá* (the God of Plenty), a sacrifice in June; *Sendrá*, the hunting festival, in June; *Karam* in August; *Soharái* in October. A sacrifice is offered to 'Bōṛ Pahári Bongá' (great hill God) of a brown goat, and to 'Pand'rá Devatá' (the sun) of a mottled fowl. These two are yearly sacrifices,



but may be offered at any time. All the above sacrifices are offered by the people themselves, without the assistance of *páhans*. The *páhan*\*, or priest, who must be either an Asur or a Muṇḍá, offers sacrifices at the *Sarhul* in May, and at the *Khaniyári* or harvest festival in November. Tuesday and the change of the moon are considered good times to offer these sacrifices. The *Dárhá* and *Churáil* are evil spirits who afflict people, and when they make their presence felt, they have to be propitiated with a sacrifice, by the *páhan*, and politely turned out.

*Dances*.—Asurs dance the *jhúmar*, *ḍomkaít*, *ṭhariyá*, *luchgí*, *desaóli*, and *jatrá* or *khariyá*. They use only the *ḍhol* and *máandar*, and they have no horns, flutes, cymbals &c.

*Food*.—They eat cows, pigs, buffaloes, tigers, rats, and lizards, and also poisonous snakes, such as the *nág* and *jára* for the cure of lumbago. The snakes' heads are cut off, and the flesh is separated from the bones and fried.

*Marriage customs*.—The marriage ceremonies of the Asurs are peculiar. The parents supply the trousseau, but the bridegroom gives his share towards the feast, and also gives a *dálí* of Rs. 5 to the parents. Parents arrange marriages and the ceremony takes place at the bridegroom's father's house. The following preparations are made for a wedding. In front of the house a shed of *Sál* branches is erected, and at some little distance all round this a temporary *Sál* fence is put up. This enclosure is called the *maruá-ṭánd*, and in the centre of it are planted a long bamboo and a mangoe branch, and alongside of these is placed a *biṇḍ*, or basket, for storing grain, which is filled with earth and planted with a few grains of corn. The bride and bridegroom dine with the rest of the party. After dinner they anoint each other all over with oil and turmeric and then retire, while the rest of the party enjoy themselves drinking and dancing in the *maruá-ṭánd*. At dawn the couple are brought forth and made to stand at the front door on a yoke covered with *kher* grass, while two girls (relatives of both parties) fetch two small *gharás* of water and splash the happy pair, using twigs from the mangoe branch. The family party then go into the house, and the pair sitting together mark each other on the foreheads with *sindur*, using their right-hand little fingers. They all then go out and join the rest of the party dancing in the *maruá-ṭánd*. After the sun is well up, the married couple go home, and the wife commences to cook to show that she has undertaken her household duties.

\* [This term is spelled sometimes *páhan* पाहन, sometimes *páham* पाहं. Possibly it may be a corruption of the Hindí *bráhmaṇ* or *bámhan*. Compare the Burmese 'paunha' for *bráhmaṇ*, in Bigandet's *Legend of Gaudama*, vol. I, p. 29, footnote 18. Ed.]



Marriages usually take place in January, and the pair go to visit their parents in a year's time. Asurs usually marry only one wife, and widows can re-marry. They must marry in their own tribe, but the parties must be of different *gotörs*. Married people can separate but it is considered a disgrace to do so. Property descends to male heirs.

*Customs regarding children.*—A mother is considered unclean for fifteen days after the birth of a child. After this time both she and the child are anointed with oil and turmeric, the child's head is shaved, and it is named often after grandparents, or after the day on which it was born. Before deciding upon a name, they throw two grains of rice into a bowl of water; when the propitious name is called, both grains will sink and keep together. A dinner is given to all relatives on such occasions. The boys have their forearms burnt, but the girls are not tattooed. Every large village has a *Dhamkuriyá* or a bachelors' hall, in front of which the boys and girls dance. If the elders catch girls in the *Dhamkuriyá* the boys are heavily fined, and their fathers have to pay if they cannot.

*Death customs.*—The ceremonies for the dead are as follows:—Those who die a natural death or are killed by accident or by violence, are burnt on the banks of a river. Those who die of any disease are buried and three or four large stones are placed over the grave. It is customary to feed all relatives after a death.

The Asurs, like all Kolarian tribes, are very black, and have nothing to boast of in the way of features, but they are of good physique and have hardy constitutions, although they appear to be dying out.

### *The Birijiyás.*

*Habitat.*—The Birijiyás are a small Kolarian tribe to be found in the pargánas of Bar'we and Chheclhári in the Lohardagá district, and also in the neighbouring Native State of Sir'gujá. In appearance they are black with flat faces, but of good physique, and many wear the hair in matted locks. They are quiet, unwarlike people (even those who live on the hills), and live by cultivation of rice, *urid*, *ráhar*, *bodí*, *marudá*, &c. They say they come from the Mahádeo Hills, and the following is the story of their origin.

*Origin.*—The god Mahádeo made the figure of a horse out of clay, but he was not pleased with it; he then made a dog, but this also did not take his fancy; so he finally found a scarecrow and put life into it, when it was turned into a man. He liked his appearance, and so made a wife for him in the same way by animating another scarecrow.

*Titles and connections.*—The Birijiyás sometimes take the title of

Májhí or Ganjhu. Those living on the hills are called Pahariyás, and those settled on the plains are known as Dánd-Birijiyá. They appear to be nearly allied to the Agariás and more distantly to the Asurs.

*Religion.*—Their gods are *Debí*, *Sing'bongá* or the Sun, *Nind-Bongá* or the Moon, and *Mahádeo*, and they have three priests of their own tribes to attend to these deities. The head priest, *Baigá Páhan*, and his assistant, the *Dewar*, offer the sacrifices, and the *Pujár* is the consulting priest who decides as to what the sacrifice is to be. The people themselves offer sacrifices to their dead ancestors whom they call *Muá*.

*Festivals.*—They keep the following festivals, *viz.*, the *Phaguá* in February, the *Sarhul* in April, the *Chíná-Parab* (at the sowing season) in June or July, the *Karmá* in October, and the *Arwá* or *Khar'waj* (or harvest festival) in November. At this season they sacrifice to Mahádeo. Like all other Kolarians they are fond of dancing and drinking.

*Marriage Customs.*—Marriages are arranged between parents by a male go-between or *bisut*. The hill Birijiyás have no *gotörs*, but marry from neighbouring villages. They only marry after coming of age. It is customary to buy their wives, the usual price being Rs. 4, which is paid to the parents. The bridegroom supplies the trousseau, which consists of a new cloth dyed yellow, brass bangles, earrings, and as many ornaments as he can afford. The chief feature of the ceremony is a big dinner at the bride's father's house, to which the bridegroom has to contribute his share in the shape of two or three maunds of rice and several *gharás* of rice-beer. All the relations of both parties and numerous friends are invited to the wedding feast, and after the dinner drinking and dancing go on all night. The hill Birijiyás anoint each other with oil at the marriage, but those of the plains have adopted the use of *sindur* instead.

*Divorce.*—A man may marry up to three wives; and divorcees, widows and widowers can re-marry. A divorce or separation is formally accomplished by the return of the Rs. 4 and marriage expenses, but the said expenses are seldom returned, and the matter generally ends in a compromise.

*Customs regarding children.*—After child-birth the mother is considered unclean for ten days, and she has to live and eat apart from her husband in a corner of the house, a door being cut at the back of the house for her special use. After the expiry of the proper time she washes, puts on a clean dress, and comes in at the front door, and the husband then blocks up the back door, until it is again required. Twins are very uncommon, and one or both usually die. Children are named after dead grandparents or great-grandparents. Boys' fore-



arms are burnt, but girls are not tattooed like Muṇḍás and Khaṛiyás. Every village has a *Dhamkuriyá*' or bachelors' hall for the bigger boys.

*Customs concerning the dead.*—Birijiyás can either burn or bury their dead. They bury them deep and cover the surface with thorns and large stones in order to keep off jackals and hyenas. (Perhaps this was the real origin of monumental stones in other countries.)

*Food.*—Birijiyás are allowed to eat buffaloes, cows, and the *dháman* snake, but they are forbidden to eat monkeys, frogs and ordinary snakes. They effect cures by charms, mesmerism, and sacrifices. Disputes are settled by *pancháyats* or consultation by elders.

#### *The Birhors.*

*Habitat.*—The Birhors, a small tribe speaking a dialect of the Kolarian language, chiefly lead a wild nomadic life among the hills and jungles of Chuṭiyá Nágpur. They travel about in small communities, earning a precarious living by making string from the *chop* (*Bauhinia scandens*) bark. A few of their number have, however, settled down in different parts of the district amongst their more civilised neighbours and taken to cultivation. Those living in the jungles are usually very poor, their huts being made of leaves and branches, and measuring 8 or 10 feet in length by 6 feet in breadth by 6 feet in height, the doors being only 2 feet in height by 1½ feet in breadth. These huts are placed in a circular form, with the doors facing towards the inside of the circle, of which the open space in the centre is kept clean and used for dancing. In appearance the Birhors are amongst the most degraded looking of Kolarian tribes. They are usually very short, black, and dirty-looking, some of the men wearing the hair matted. They do not use bows and arrows, and their only weapons are small axes.

*Food.*—The jungle Birhors keep neither cattle, goats, nor pigs, but buy them when required for a feast or sacrifice. They eat cows, buffaloes, goats, pigs, fowls, rats, and monkeys, but not bears, tigers, jackals, dogs, snakes, lizards, &c. For vegetables they are dependent mostly on the jungles and the following is a list of the commonest kinds, *viz.* :

*Leaves.*—Koínár, Káná, Maṭhá, Kaṭai, Sári, Sáruberá, Síl'wer, Pich'kí, Chátom, Muchurí, Háru, Singh, Rong. *Roots.*—Háser, Đurá, Piská, Kulu, Kund'rí, Gethí, Bír, Semar, Karíl, Chakond. *Fruits.*—Laṛiyá, Kudá, Poḍho, Kanduwer, Bel, Đumar, Bar, Pípar, Sarai, Piṭhor, Dau, Tiril, Kaṭ'kar'jí, Sir'ká. Their women help them to make the *chop* string, and also carry this and the monkey skins to the small



village markets situated nearest the jungles, and there either sell or barter their articles for rice, salt, and oil. The skins of monkeys are used for making Kol drums.

*Hunting.*—The following is the system in which they hunt. Strong nets about 4 feet wide, which they make of *chop*, are stretched against upright posts or trees in a line along the ground, for a distance of several hundred yards. They then beat up towards their nets, and the forests being almost denuded of large trees, the monkeys (small, brown and long-tailed) take to the ground, and so get snared along with other game.

*Titles and sub-tribes.*—The Birhors can tell you nothing of their origin or history beyond the fact that they have been ‘Birhors’, or jungle-men, from prehistoric times. They are commonly known amongst the people of these parts as *chopdárs* (chop string makers). They are divided into two sub-tribes, namely Bhuliyá or wanderers, and Jaghí or settlers.

*Religion and superstitions.*—Their religion is a peculiar mixture of Hindú and Kolarian ideas. They worship Debí-máy, a Hindú goddess; Mahá-máy (represented by a piece of wood painted red); Darhá-Bongá, river bank god (represented by a piece of bamboo stuck in the ground); Kudrí-Bongá, river god; Bahí-máy, jungle goddess (represented by a small piece of wood with some *sindur* on it, stuck in the ground); Lugu-máy, earth goddess; Dhuká-Bongá, air god; Bir’ku or Biru-Bongá, hill god; Burí-máy (represented by a white stone painted red on the top); Dadhá-máy (represented by an arrow head); Hanumán (represented by a trident painted red). Kap’sí and Jilingá are not represented by any images. They see no anomaly in worshipping ‘Hanumán’ and eating monkeys. The various representatives of their gods and goddesses are placed in a small cleared spot fenced in with thorns. The sun is sacrificed to once in four or five years. The larger communities have their own *páham* or priest, who attends to all the above-mentioned worthies, but the smaller camps have to content themselves with the services of the *Munḍá páhan* of some neighbouring village. The Birhors offer sacrifices to their parents every three years, taking care to avoid the month or months in which they died, and offering separate fowls to the father and mother.

*Witchcraft.*—They also have *Ojhás* or diviners, besides others who practise the ‘black art.’ Such persons are feared and disliked, and yet often employed by these superstitious people. If an aggrieved person wishes to have revenge, he or she (practising under the instructions of the *Ojhá*) puts a devil on the enemy or on his or her household, and very soon some one falls ill. The head of the afflicted house refers to the

*Ojhá*, who lights a *chiráq*, goes through some mummary, and discovers the instigators of the obsession. Amongst the Muṇḍás the result is usually a free fight, but the Bihors take things more calmly, and the matter is amicably arranged by the party causing the devilment, giving the *Ojhá* a fowl to sacrifice, with a request to withdraw the devil.

*The healing art.*—The *Ojhá* is referred to on all occasions of sickness, when he goes through the performance of feeling the wrist and looking wise, just like our own quacks. His prescription is nothing so nasty as physic, but simply the sacrifice of a fowl, white, red or black, according to the occasion, and large or small according to the means of the patient. Light sicknesses, such as headache or stomach-ache, are cured by the *Ojhá* putting some ‘*ar’wá cháül*’ into the right hand of the patient, and turning it five times round his (the patient’s) head.

*Festivals.*—Bihors keep the following Kolarian festivals, *viz.*, Mágh-Parab in January; Phaguá, the hunting festival, in February; Sarhul in March; Karam and Jiṭṭiyá in September; Dasaí and Soharái in October.

*Dances.*—They dance the *Lujh’rí* at the Karam and the Jiṭṭiyá, the *Jargá* at the Phaguá and Sarhul, and the *Sauntárí* at other times.

*Friendships.*—The men make *karam’dál* friendships by putting a *karam* leaf in each other’s hair, and giving each other a new piece of cloth; the women give pieces of cloth, but do not exchange *karam* leaves. The women also form other friendships among themselves by going to a river and splashing each other with water. They then call each other Gangájal.

*Marriage customs.*—The Bihors do not marry until full grown. They have only one wife, and widows are allowed to re-marry. They are not allowed to marry out of their tribe, but they cannot marry into the same gotra, *i. e.*, people of the same family name. They have such surnames as Sing’puriyá, Nág’puriyá, Jag’sariyá, Liluar, Beharwár, Siruwár, Hem’rom, Mahalí, &c. Parents arrange matrimonial matters, the price of a wife being from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5, and the bridegroom goes to the house of his future father-in-law to get married. After eating and drinking, the *páhaṃ* or priest (one of their own tribe) cuts the right hand little fingers of both bride and bridegroom. They then mark each other on the breastbone with their blood, or put their blood on small pieces of cloth which they exchange and for three days wear round their necks. After this ceremony they anoint each other’s heads with oil. Then the man takes some *sin-dur* in his right hand which, with an upward motion, he rubs on



the centre of her forehead. She then returns the compliment by putting five spots of *sindur* in a perpendicular line on the centre of his forehead. The *lokunḍí* or bridesmaid (generally a young relative of the bride) then comes forward and ties the end of the bride's *sárí* to the bridegroom's *gam'chhá*. The ceremony is concluded with drinking and dancing which is kept up all night, and next morning the whole party adjourn to a river or tank and bathe. After allowing the newly married wife to remain with her husband for a few days, the parents or guardians take her away and keep her for a week or so, during which time she is feasted and well-treated, and she is then made over to her husband. They usually marry in February, and at the following *karam* pay a visit to the wife's parents. Birhors do not appear to have any definite customs as to divorce. Such occurrences are very uncommon among them, but they say that if married people wished to separate, there was nothing to hinder their doing so.

*Customs regarding children.*—After the birth of a child, a door is cut at the back of the house for the use of the mother. When the child is six days' old, its head is shaved, its whole body is rubbed with oil and turmeric, and it is then named either after its grandparents or after the day on which it was born. The parents then offer a sacrifice after consulting the *Ojhá*. The hair is shaved by one of their own people who acts as barber for the whole community, and who is paid a *paila* (about 2 pounds) of rice for his services. All males, both young and old, have their heads shaved (with the exception of a top knot) at regular intervals. The boys, at the age of 10 or 12, have the backs of both forearms burnt, the operation being performed with lighted wicks made from oiled rags. The girls, at about the same age, are tattooed on the wrists, biceps, and ankles. This operation is performed by *ghásí* women who make a profession of it. The month of November is always chosen as the most fitting time for the operations of tattooing and burning. Children of both sexes remain with their parents until they marry.

*Death customs.*—The Birhors first burn and then bury their dead near a stream, placing a stone of any sort over the spot. At a parent's death the youngest son has his head shaved clean. At the death of a child all male relatives shave the forepart of the head, and dine with the bereaved parents, and the parents themselves offer a sacrifice of a goat to *Debí* or *Mahá-máy*.

#### *The Kharīyás.*

*Habitat.*—The Kharīyás, a tribe speaking a dialect of the Kol language, are chiefly to be found in the South-west corner of the Lohardagá



district in the parganás of Païlkoṭ, Bíru, Keselpur, and Sasiá, and they also extend into the neighbouring native states of Gangpur, Jaspur, and Raigarh, some few being also found in the Northern portions of the Sambhalpur district. A few people bearing this name are said to exist in a most savage condition in small communities in the Mán'bhúm and Sing'bhúm Districts; but no one has yet ascertained if these people speak the Khariyá language.

*History.*—The Khariyás of Païlkoṭ and Bíru do not know any thing whatever about the Singbhúm Khariyás, and state that they came originally from the North, by way of Roïdás (Rohtas), Paṭná, Khariyá-ghát (in Torí parganá), and Lohardagá. This story is, I think, got from the Uráons; for another tradition says they came from the South. Their earliest traditions refer back to the days of *Phen mátuk* Muṇḍá who was the father of *Bhel bhadar* and grandfather of *Madrá*. They were evidently from the earliest times a good deal mixed up with Muṇḍás, whom they look upon as elder brothers.

*Divisions.*—They are divided into the following sub-tribes *viz.*: Dudh-Khariyá, Ber'gá-Khariyá, Dhel'kí-Khariyá, Khariyá-Muṇḍá, Perai-Muṇḍá, and Khariyá-Uráon. The Dudh-Khariyás rank first. They may drink with the others, but are forbidden to eat or marry with them. They will not eat animals that have died of disease. They can eat the buffalo, but not the cow. The others can eat cows, and the Perai-Muṇḍas are said to eat cattle that have died of disease.

*Religion.*—The religion of the Khariyás consists of the worship of the elements in the Sun and Air, the Hills and the Rivers, and also the spirits of their ancestors. They also propitiate various evil spirits, of whom they are in constant dread, and they have priests called *páhams* or *Baigás* who go through the ceremonies of offering up sacrifices. The *Páhám* or *Baigá* is generally himself a Khariyá, but in villages with a largely mixed population the priest may belong to any other Kolarian tribe. No Hindú or Musulmán can hold this office. The sacrifices may consist of goats, pigs, fowls or buffaloes.

*Marriage ceremonies.*—The marriage ceremony consists chiefly of eating, drinking, and dancing. The bride is taken to the house of her future father-in-law, where she and her intended are anointed. The bride and bridegroom are carried about by their friends, while the rest of the party are dancing, and the songs (in which the names of the happy pair are introduced) are specially composed for such occasions. The festivities are kept up all night, and the next morning the whole party adjourns to the nearest tank or river, where they all bathe and wash their clothes, the bride and bridegroom being carried there by their friends; they are, however, allowed to walk home. Marriages are

usually arranged by the parents, and the children are wonderfully dutiful, as there is nothing to prevent their choosing for themselves. However when parents make the choice they generally marry them at a somewhat early age. The marriage present, consisting (amongst the wealthier people) of seven head of cattle, is given by the bridegroom's father to the father of the bride; and a month after the marriage the bridegroom receives a present of an ox from his father-in-law. January and February are the months to marry in. A *Khariyá* may marry four wives, the 1st is called *Bar'kí*, the 2nd, *Majh'lí*; the 3rd, *Sajh'lí*; and the 4th *Chhot'kí*; but besides these he may, according to his wealth, have various concubines called *Sagai's* and *Dhukkús*. Widows and divorcees can remarry, but their price is only two head of cattle as compared with seven for a virgin. A *Khariyá* man must marry in his own tribe, but from a different *gotör*. A *Khariyá* woman can marry a man of any Kolarian tribe, but then she is *out* of her own tribe, and can not eat with them. A *Khariyá* can marry his sister-in-law while his wife is alive, if she is lame, blind, or unfruitful, and if his wife leaves him he can legally claim her younger sister.

*Laws of divorce.*—Dissolution of marriage is effected by both parties going before the *Zamindár* and headmen of the village, and declaring themselves willing to separate. The formula is worded "If I call him (or her) I will pay a fine of Rs. 20 and receive twenty strokes from a shoe." If a woman leaves her husband, he may convoke a 'Pancháyat,' and recover the oxen and buffaloes, he or his father paid for her, either from her father if she returns to him, or else from the man whom she goes to live with. A woman seems to have no redress against her husband for desertion, but she is then allowed to live with any one else she may choose. If a husband lives happily with his wife for any length of time, his father-in-law makes him a present of an ox or buffalo. This is called a *dáj* and is considered a great honour. Either idiocy or infidelity can warrant a divorce.

*Customs regarding children.*—First children are named after their grandparents and omens and auguries are consulted on these as well as on all other occasions of any moment. A week after birth the child's head is shaved, and the father and mother having fasted give a big dinner to their friends and relatives, spending more money for a boy than for a girl. The child is named a month after its birth. The boys have their fore arms burnt, and girls are tattooed on the forehead and temple.

*Festivals and dances.*—The *Khariyás* keep all the usual Kolarian festivals. In January they dance the *Khariyá* which is peculiar to themselves and the *Uráons*. This is also the chief dance during the



Sarhul festivals which is kept in February. Some advanced Kha-riyás wear the *Janao* or sacred thread at this festival. The *Bisu* festival kept in March is peculiar to the Kha-riyás. The names of their dances are *Khariá*, *Gená*, *Lahasuá* and *Thá-riyá*; and they are more energetic in their execution than the Muñdás and other Kolarian tribes. Their usual stimulant is the rice beer of the country which they prepare for themselves.

*Ceremonies for the dead.*—The Kha-riyás of the Lohardagá district are a well-to-do and advancing people, and the result is that they have acquired a number of customs which did not belong to them originally. Thus I believe that formerly they used only to bury their dead, but now they have learnt to burn them. The most approved ceremony now is as follows:—The body is buried with a vow that it will be burnt within a certain time (sometimes as much as two or three years). At the time appointed, the body is exhumed and burnt, and the bones and ashes are put into an earthen pot and thrown into the chasm of any rock in the vicinity of the village or near a river. In such cases they believe that the body waits intact for the burning ceremony, even though it be for years. These customs refer entirely to the Kha-riyás of the Lohardagá district, little or nothing being known about the small and degenerate branches inhabiting the most jungly parts of Mán'bhúm and Sing'bhúm, and who are said to be in habits and appearance more like the Birhors and Juángs.

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*Couplets or 'Baits' on the coins of Sháh Núru-d-dín Jahángír, the son of Akbar, collected by CHAS. J. RODGERS, M. R. A. S., Associate Member, Asiatic Society of Bengal.\**

So far as I can ascertain there are no coins before the time of Akbar which bear couplets or *baits* of Persian poetry. I know only of two coins of Akbar which have couplets on them. One of these is a rupee struck at Alláhábád in the 44th and 45th years of his reign. I have seen this rupee also without a year or month. It is said to have been struck by Jahángír when in rebellion against his father. The couplet runs thus:—

Obv. همیشه چوز مهر و ماه رائج باد  
 Rev. بغرب و شرق جهان سكه اله اباد

*i. e.* 'May the coin of Alláhábád be always current like the golden disk of the sun and the moon in the East and in the West of the world.'

\* [The translations of the couplets have been supplied by Maulawí Mirza Ashraf Ali of the Calcutta Madrasah. ED.]

The month *Abán* comes under the first line and the year 44 under the second one in one rupee I have. Another one has *Farwardín* month and year 45. A third I have has neither year nor month.

There is a mohur extant, but very rarely met with, of Akbar's. It was struck at *Agrá* towards the latter end of his reign. Mr. Theobald of Bedford has one of the 44th *iláhi* year. I have one of *Isfandármuz*, 49th year *iláhi*. Mr. Delmerick\* edited one of 50th year *iláhi*, month *Khurdád*, but which he reads "*jalús* 5." Now Akbar began to use the *Iláhi* year and Persian months in his 30th year on his coins, and he never used the word *jalús*. This word began to be used by Jahángír (see Marsden Pl. XL and XLI). Akbar uses *iláhi* instead of *jalús*. I have seen Mr. Delmerick's mohur. It reads distinctly ۵۰ that is 50.

The couplet on the mohur is:—

Obv. ضرب اگرم مهر مهر شاه اكبر آبروي اين زر است

Rev. اسفندارموز وع الهى تا زمين و اسمان را مهر انور زيور است

*i. e.*, 'The sun of the seal of Akbar Sháh is the honour of this gold (coin) as long as the earth and the sky is adorned with the luminous sun. Struck at *Agrá*. *Isfandármuz*—49 *Iláhi*.'

The mint occupies the lowest line and is no part of the couplet. On the reverse the month and year are out of the poetry.

When Jahángír came to the throne the Amírū-l-Omará composed a couplet, which I have seen on round and square rupees struck in *Láhor* and on round rupees of *Akbarnagar*, *Kashmír*, and *Qandahár*. It is as follows:—

Obv. روي زرا ساخت نوراني برنگ مهر و ماه

Rev. شاه نورالدين جهانگير ابن اكبر باد شاه

*i. e.*, 'Sháh Núru-d-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Bádsháh, has rendered the face of gold shining like the sun and the moon.'

In the *Tuzak-i-Jahángírí* we are told that *Aṣaf Khán* was ordered to make the following couple of *baits* on large gold coins, one on the obverse and one on the reverse:—

Obverse { بخط نور بر زر كلك تقدير  
رقم زد شاه نورالدين جهانگير

*i. e.*, 'The divine pen has written on (this) gold (coin) in bright characters Sháh Núru-d-dín Jahángír.'

Reverse { شد چو خور زين سكه نوراني جهان  
آفتاب ممالك تاريخ آن

*i. e.*, 'The world became illuminated by this coin as by the sun, (consequently). *Aftáb-i-mamlakat* is the date.'

\* Journal A. S. B. Vol. XLV, Pt. I, 1876, p. 292, and Pl. V, fig. 6.



Between the lines of the obverse inscription the Kalimah was written, while between the lines of the reverse were to come the name of the mint and the year of *jalús* and the Hijrî year. These gold coins were of 100, 50, 20, and 10 tolahs. I have never seen one, and never heard of one being in existence. The words *Áftáb-i Mamlakat* give the date 1014 A. H., the date of Jahángír's 1st year.

The first mention of a Persian month I find on a beautiful mohur (square) of Jahángír's. The month is *Ábán* and the year 5. Mint *Ágra*.

Obv. درمه آبان باگرة سكه زد ظل اله      سنه ۵  
Rev. شاه نور الدين جهانگير ابن اکبر بادشاه      ۱۰۱۹

*i. e.*, 'In the month of *Ábán* the shadow of God, Sháh Núru-d-dín, son of Akbar Sháh, stamped this coin at *Ágrá*. 1019 A. H., the 5th year of *jalús*.'

This mohur is in my cabinet. Mr. Theobald of Bedford has a duplicate.

Another couplet of the same year has the month *Bahman* and mint *Láhor*. My coin is a round rupee, several duplicates are known.

Obv. زر لاهور شد در ماه بهمن چون مه انور      سنه ۵  
Rev. بدور شاه نور الدين جهانگير ابن شاه اکبر      ۱۰۱۹

*i. e.*, 'In the month of *Bahman* the gold of *Láhor* became like the luminous moon, in the reign of Sháh Núru-d-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh. 1019 A. H., 5th year.'

Two square rupees in my cabinet have the month *Isfandármuz* of the 5th year. The first is of the *Ágrá* mint, the second of *Láhor*, both of 1019.

Obv. در اسفندارموز اين سكه را در اگرة زد برزر      ۵  
Rev. شهنشاه زمان شاه جهانگير ابن شاه اکبر      ۱۰۱۹

*i. e.*, 'In the month of *Isfandármuz* the Monarch of the age, Sháh Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, has stamped this coin on gold at *Ágrá*. 1019 A. H., 5th year.'

Obv. در اسفندارموز اين سكه در لاهور زد برزر      ۵  
Rev. شهنشاه امم شاه جهانگير ابن شاه اکبر      ۱۰۱۹

*i. e.*, 'In the month of *Isfandármuz* the Monarch of the people, Sháh Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, stamped this coin on gold at *Láhor*. 1019 A. H., 5th year.'

I have two other square rupees of *Láhor* mintage. The months are *Tír* and *Urdibihisht*, the years 6 and 1020.

Obv. بماه تیر در لاهور زد این سکه را بر زر

Rev. پناه دین ملک شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

*i. e.*, 'In the month of Tír the king, the Defender of the faith, Sháh Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, stamped this coin on gold at Láhor.'

Obv. مه اوردي بهشت این سکه در لاهور زد بوزر

Rev. شهنشاه زمان شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

*i. e.*, 'In the month of Urdibihisht the Monarch of the age, Sháh Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, stamped this coin on gold at Láhor.'

One beautiful mohur which is in my cabinet has the month *Farwardín*. It is of the *Ágrá* mint and the years 6 and 1020.

Obv. بفروردین زر آگره فروزان گشت چون اختر ۶

Rev. ز نور سکه شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر ۱۰۲۰

*i. e.*, 'In the month of *Farwardín* the gold of *Ágrá* became luminous like a star by the light of the stamp of Sháh Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh. 1020 A. H., 6th year.'

Thus it will be seen that the names of six of the Persian months are here woven into the couplets. I daresay the other six months are to be found. These are all I have as yet seen after twenty years of search.

Some of the finest rupees and mohurs of Jahángír have on them the following couplet:—

Obv. سکه زد در شهر آگره خسرو گیتی پناه ۱۰۱۸

Rev. شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه ۵

*i. e.*, 'The king who is the refuge of the world, Sháh Núru-d-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, stamped this coin in the city of *Ágrá*. 1018 A. H., 5th year.'

This is on a mohur. On a rupee I have the years are 4 and 1017. The mint is *Ágrá* on both. The following substitutes *Kábul* for *Ágrá*, and the years are 6 and 1020. This is in my cabinet.

Obv. سکه زد در شهر کابل خسرو گیتی پناه ۱۰۲۰

Rev. شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه ۶

*i. e.*, 'The king who is the refuge of the world, Sháh Núru-d-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, has stamped this coin on gold in the city of *Kábul*. 1020 A. H., 6th year.'

A remarkably fine rupee has

Obv. بدهر باد روان تا فلک بود در دور ۱۳

Rev. بنام شاه جهانگیر سکه لاهور ۱۰۲۷

*i. e.*, 'May the coin of Láhor be current in the world in the name of Jahángír Sháh, as long as the sky is revolving. 1027 A. H., 13th year.'



A rupee in the possession of J. D. Tremlett, Esq., has the following unique couplet. The mint is Láhor, and the years are 6 and 1020.

Obv. بفروردین زر لاهور شد رشک مه انور ۱۰۲۰

Rev. ز نور سکه شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر ۶

*i. e.*, 'In the month of Farwardín the gold of Láhor became an object of jealousy to the bright moon through the light of the stamp of Jahángír Sháh, the son of Akbar Sháh.'

Three rupees in my small collection have the following couplet. Zarb-i-Ahmadábád comes along with the first line, and Tír 2, Dí 5 and Ázar 5 along with the second, one month and year on each rupee.

Obv. ضرب احمدآباد مالم الملمك سكه زد در زر

Rev. آذر ۵ - دی ۵ - تیر ۲ شاه سلطان سلیم شاه اکبر

*i. e.*, 'The lord of the kingdom, Salím Sháh, Sultán (son of) Akbar Sháh, put a stamp on gold.'

The following is common enough. I have four or five rupees with it.

Obv. سكه زد در احمدآباد از عنایات اله

Rev. شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه

*i. e.*, 'Sháh Núru-d-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, stamped the coin through the blessings of God, at Ahmadábád.'

My cabinet has only one rupee with the following couplet, without a year, the mint is Allahábád.

Obv. همیشه نور زر و سکه اله آباد

Rev. ز نام شاه جهانگیر شاه اکبر باد

*i. e.*, 'May the brightness of the gold and the coin of Allahábád be lasting in the name of Jahángír Sháh, (son of) Akbar Sháh.'

The following is also in my cabinet. It is of the Ajmír mint, and the years are 9 and 1023.

Obv. جهان فروز با جمیر گشت سکه زر

Rev. ز نور نام جهانگیر شاه اکبر

*i. e.*, 'The gold coin became the light of the world at Ajmír by the light of the name of Jahángír Sháh, (son of) Akbar Sháh.'

The Qandahár rupees of Jahángír are of two kinds: those with Iláhí years and Persian months, and those with the following:—

Obv. سکه قندهار شد دلخواه

Rev. از جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه

*i. e.*, 'The coin of Qandahár became pleasant through Jahángír Sháh, (son of) Akbar Sháh.'

I have rupees of several years. They are all coarsely but deeply cut. A round mohur struck at Ahmadábád is given by Marsden. I obtained a similar one for Government last year, but the years were different. Marsden's Pl. xli, fig. DCCCLXXI, has 14 and 1028. The couplet is as follows:—

Obv. الهی تاجہان باشد روان باد  
Rev. بشرق و غروب مہر احمد آباد  
۱۱ سنہ جلوس  
سنہ ۱۰۲۸

*i. e.*, 'Oh God, may the coin of Ahmadábád be current in the East and the West as long as the world exists. 1028 A. H., year 14.'

A small Dehlí mohur in my cabinet has this couplet:—

Obv. زر فتح و نصرت جہانگیر شاہ ۲۱  
Rev. بدہای زد از فیض لطف اللہ ۱۰۳۵

*i. e.*, 'Jahángír Sháh stamped the coin of triumph and victory at Dehlí through the abundance of the favour of God.'

My cabinet furnishes another Ahmadábád rupee of great beauty. Years are 12 and 1027. The couplet is:—

Obv. بہفت کشور این زر ہمیشہ باد روان  
Rev. ز نقش نام جہانگیر بادشاہ جہان ۱۰۲۷ ۱۲ سنہ جلوس

*i. e.*, 'May this gold (coin) be always current in the seven climes of the world through the impression of the name of Jahángír Sháh, the monarch of the world. Stamped at Ahmadábád, 1027, year 12.'

I have also a poor one without years and with only portions of the couplet on it.

The town of Mandú in the 12th year of Jahángír, *i. e.*, in 1026 A. H., had mohurs struck in it with the following *bait*, which I fail to arrange properly:—

Obv. سکہ مندو ز نام جہانگیر شاہ ۱۰۲  
Rev. پرتو دہد بنور جہانی چو مہر و ماہ ۱۲

*i. e.*, 'May the coin of Mandú through the name of Jahángír, give light to the world like the sun and the moon. 1026, year 12.'

Ajmír figures largely as a mint in Jahángír's time. Here is another couplet from a mohur of that mint:—

Obv. زد بزر این سکہ در اجہیر شاہ دین پناہ  
Rev. شاہ نور الدین جہانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاہ ۱۱ ۱۰۲۵

*i. e.*, 'The king Núru-d-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, the defender of the faith, stamped this coin on gold at Ajmír, 1025, year 11.'



Some of the most beautiful coins of Jahángír were struck in Láhor. The following couplet is on several rupees in my cabinet :—

Obv. همیشه باد ابر روی سکه لاهور ۱۰۲۹  
Rev. ز نام شاه جهانگیر شاه کبیر نور

*i. e.*, 'May there always be brightness on the face of the coin of Láhor through the name of Jahángír Sháh, (son of) Akbar. 1029, year 15.'

I have two rupees of Ágrá with the following couplet :—

Obv. یافت در آگره روی زر زیور  
Rev. از جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر

*i. e.*, 'The face of gold received adornment at Ágrá through Jahángír Sháh, (son of) Akbar Sháh.'

The years are 17 and 18, but with the same A. H. 1032.

This is the couplet which occupies one side of the zodiacal coins of Jahángír struck in Ágrá. There is, however, one exception. The mohur with Taurus on it (the full sized one) has the following :—

سکه آگره داد زینت زر  
از جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر

*i. e.*, 'The coin of Ágrá gave adornment to gold through Jahángír Sháh, (son of) Akbar Sháh.'

The Aḥmadábád zodiacal coins have a somewhat different couplet :—

زر احمد اباد را داد زیور  
جهانگیر شاه شهنشاه اکبر

*i. e.*, 'Jahángír Sháh, son of Akbar Sháh, gave adornment to the gold of Aḥmadábád.'

The couplet on the mohurs and rupees of Núr Jahán, the beautiful wife of Jahángír, is well-known. I give it a place in this collection :—

Obv. بحکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور  
Rev. ب نام نور جهان بادشاه بیگم زر

*i. e.*, 'By the order of Jahángír Sháh gold received a hundred adornments through the name of Núrjahán the chief Queen.'

My cabinet contains rupees of his struck at Aḥmadábád, Paṭná, Láhor, and Ágrá. A mohur I have of her's has on each side a *mahrábí* lozenge, one of which contains ضرب احمد اباد and the other سنه ۱۰۳۷ سنه جلوس ۲۳. One line of the couplet occupies the spaces above and below the lozenge.

For the following couplet I am indebted to the author of *Mukhtasar Sair-i-Gulshan-i-Hind*, p. 67. It is on a rupee of Burhánpúr. I have only Iláhí rupees with Persian months of this mint.

Obv. سكهٔ زد در شهر برهان پور شاه دین پناه

Rev. شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه

*i. e.*, 'The king Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, the defender of the faith, stamped the coin in the city of Burhánpúr.'

On the Bacchanalian mohur of Jahángír are two couplets. The one along with the enthroned drinking king is as follows :—

شبیہ حضرت شاه جهانگیر  
قضا بر سكهٔ زر کرد تصویر

*i. e.*, 'Fates have drawn the picture of his Majesty, the king Jahángír, on the coin of gold.'

The other side of the coin has the sun in a square in the centre. To the right is *ضوب اجمیر ۱۰۲۳* To the left is *یا معین سنہ ۹*

Above is the first line of the following couplet, and below the second one :—

حروف جهانگیر و الله اکبر  
ز روز ازل در عدد شد برابر

*i. e.*, 'The letters in the word Jahángír and those in Alláhu Akbar, are equal in number since the first day.'

The meaning of this last couplet is that the letters in the word *Jahángír* جهانگیر and those in *الله اکبر* have the same numerical value in reckoning by the Abjad system. Thus ج = 3, ح = 5, ا = 1, ن = 50, گ = 20, ی = 10, ر = 200. Total 289. Again ا = 1, ل = 30, ل = 30, ح = 5, ا = 1, ک = 20, ب = 2, ر = 200. Total 289.

The couplet may be freely translated thus :—

The letters in Jahángír's name,  
And in that of God the Greatest  
From the first day have one value had,  
And shall have to the latest.

There is, I suspect, more than one sees on the surface here ;—a sly attempt to make himself equal with God, seeing the letters of the name of the king and of God were of the same numerical value. This coin was struck in Ajmír probably during the time Sir Thomas Roe was resident there. Sir Thomas tells us how Jahángír lived and how, when he was very drunk, he could discuss religious subjects. Probably this couplet was made for the king by some of his flattering courtiers. As the manufacture of *Tárikhs* has always been a favourite one with poets, it need not surprise us that this couplet was made. The poet must have known the numerical value of every word.

I have given above about 30 coin couplets. They are as a rule pure poetic rubbish. But they show how the penny-a-liner of the day



(I strongly suspect they got more than a penny a line) could patch up into a couplet the king's name and titles, and that of the mint town, and sometimes of the month. They show culture of a certain kind, though certainly not of a high or elevating order. They are pure oriental flattery. I daresay there are in other collections rupees and mohurs bearing other couplets. I have had access to few cabinets other than my own, which represents the meagre collection made by me in twenty years.

I wish I could have given figures of the coins. They (the coins) are in my opinion better made than those of any other Muhammadan country, except perhaps the coins of the early Khalífahs and those of Muḥammad Tughlaq. As a rule each side of the coin has one line of the couplet on it. There was ample room. In some cases, however, both the lines come on one side. Even then every letter is perfect. It is evident die-sinking and seal-cutting were arts in which the artists of Jahángír's time excelled.

The couplet went out of fashion on coins in the time of Sháh Jahán. Aurangzíb revived it and Jahándár Sháh and Rafí'u-d-Daraját and 'Azím Sháh, and Kám Bakhsh and the blind Sháh 'Álam used couplets, as did the Durránís.

On a zodiacal rupee of Jahángír, an imprint of which was made by General Cunningham at Lucknow in 1840, and which is now in my possession I find the following quite new couplet:—

بفتحه پور فروزنده گشت سكه زر  
ز نور نام جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر ۱۰۲۸

*i. e.*, 'The gold coin became bright at Fathpúr through the light of the name of Jahángír Sháh, (the son) of Akbar Sháh, 1028.'

The reverse has under the sign of the zodiac—the goat, Capricornus,  
سنه ۱۴ جلوس

This coin is in every way remarkable. It is the only zodiacal coin struck at Fathpúr that I know of. All given in Marsden were struck at either Ágra or Aḥmadábád. It is not a forgery, for the letters, the weak point in forgeries, are as beautiful as those on the very best coins of Jahángír.

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*Couplets on coins of kings after the time of Jahángír\**—By CHAS.

J. RODGERS.

The custom inaugurated by Akbar and continued by Jahángír of striking couplets on coins was kept up by succeeding kings, but not to so large an extent as by Jahángír. When Sháhjahán had built new Dehlí or Sháhjahánábád, he seems to have moved his mint into the new city. Coins of his early years, struck in Dehlí, have simply *دهلي* on them, but after the new city was built we have this couplet on mohurs and rupees :—

سكۀ شاه جهان آباد رايچ در جهان  
جاودان بادا بنام ثاني صاحبقران

*i. e.*, “May the coin of Sháh-i-Jahán-ábád be ever current in the world, by the name of the second Sáhīb-qirán.”

This couplet I take from a rupee of mine struck in 1065 A. H., the 28th of Sháhjahán’s reign. In Marsden a mohur is given on Pl. XLII, No. DCCCLXXIV, but the word *جاودان* is spelt *حوال*. As the coin seems from the drawing to have been in good order, I cannot account for this. My coin has all the dots required.

In the “Proceedings” of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for January 1883 is given a figure of a 200 mohur piece of Sháhjahán’s. On the obverse of this was a *rubái* or quatrain which is not exactly a couplet and so does not belong to this paper.

Aurangzíb ’Alamgír had on most of his rupees the following couplet :—

سكۀ زد در جهان چو بدر منير  
شاه اورنگ زيب عالم گير

*i. e.*, “The emperor Aurangzíb ’Alamgír struck coins in the world like the bright full-moon.”

On his mohurs and on rupees of the Akbarnagar and Zafarábád mints *بدر* was changed to *مهتر* thus :—

سكۀ زد در جهان چو مهتر منير  
شاه اورنگ زيب عالم گير

*i. e.*, “The emperor Aurangzíb ’Alamgír struck coins in the world like the bright sun.”

The rupees of A’azam Sháh have on them :—

سكۀ زد در جهان بدولت و جاه  
پادشاه ممالك اعظم شاه

*i. e.*, “The monarch of the dominions A’azam Sháh struck coins in the world with prosperity and grandeur.”

\* [The translations of the couplets have been supplied by Maulawí Abdul Hak Abid of the Calcutta Madrasah. ED.]



From a comparison of two rupees I have drawn and the one given in Mr. Delmerick's paper in the "Proceedings" for May 1884, I build up the following couplet on the rupees and mohurs of Kám Bakhsh:—

۱۱۲۰ در دکن زد سکه بر خورشید و ماه  
بادشاه کام بخش دین پناه

*i. e.*, "The emperor Kám Bakhsh, the protector of the religion, put (his) stamp on the sun and the moon, in the Dakkan, 1120."

I have not seen a coin of Bahádur Sháh with a couplet on it. Jahándár Sháh's rupees have the following:—

(1) در آفاق زد سکه بر مهر و ماه  
ابوالفتح غازي جهاندار شاه

*i. e.*, "Abu-l-Fath-i-Ghází Jahándár Sháh put (his) stamp on the sun and the moon, throughout the world."

(2) Same as above with چون instead of بر in first line.

(3) بزد سکه بر زر چو صاحبقران  
جهاندار شه بادشاه جهان

*i. e.*, "Jahándár Sháh, the monarch of the world, put (his) stamp on gold (or silver) like the Şahib-qirán."

(4) Beale in his *Miftáhu-t-Tawárikh* gives the following:—

بزد سکه در ملك چون مهر و ماه  
شهنشاه غازي جهاندار شاه

*i. e.*, "The victorious emperor Jahándár Sháh struck coins in his dominion like the sun and the moon."

The author of the *Mukhtasar Sair-i-Gulshan-i-Hind* gives the following variant of the first line of No. (1):—

بزد سکه نقره چون مهر و ماه

*i. e.*, "Struck silver coins like the sun and the moon."

Farrukhsiyar adhered steadily to one couplet:—

سکه زد از فضل حق برسیم و زر  
بادشاه بحر و بر فرخ سیر

*i. e.*, "The monarch of water and land, Farrukhsiyar, put (his) stamp on silver and gold through the grace of God."

Rafí'u-d-Daraját, during his short reign of a few months, adorned his rupees with the following high flown *baít*:—

زد سکه بهند با هزاران برکات  
شاهنشاه بحر و بر رفیع الدرجات

*i. e.*, "The monarch of water and land, Rafí'u-d-Daraját, struck coins in India, with thousands of blessings."

Sháh Jahán II. and Muḥammad Sháh never used any couplets, so far as I can ascertain, on their coinage, but there is a rupee of the Súrat mint, without date, bearing the following :—

سکه زد در جهان بلطف اله  
بادشاه زمان محمد شاه

*i. e.*, “The monarch of the universe, Muḥammad Sháh, struck coins in the world, through the favour of God.”

I do not think this is a coin of Muḥammad Sháh, but of some rebel king. The style is not that of Muḥammad Sháh. بادشاه زمان is a common title to give to a temporary king. Nádir Sháh who invaded India during the time of Muḥammad Sháh has on his Dehlí rupee :—

هست سلطان بوسلاطين جهان  
شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران

*i. e.*, “The monarch of the monarchs, Nádir, of auspicious birth, is a Sultán over the Sultáns of the world.”

Aḥmad Sháh Durrání had on all his mohurs and rupees, struck in India and elsewhere, the following :—

حکم شد از قادر بیچون باحمد پادشاه  
سکه زن برسیدم وزر از اوج ماهی تا بماه

*i. e.*, “Orders issued from the almighty incomparable Being to Aḥmad Sháh to put (his) stamp on silver and gold, from the *fish* to the *moon*,” (*i. e.*, from the bottom of the abyss to the pinnacle of heaven).

On one rupee of his struck in Kashmír, in my possession, he was content with the following :—

سکه بر زر بزد بفضل اله  
شاه عالم پناه احمد شاه  
۱۱۶۲  
سنه ۲

*i. e.*, “The king, the protector of the world, Aḥmad Sháh, put (his) stamp on gold (or silver) through the grace of God.”

His son, Tímúr Sháh, when acting under his father as Nizám of the Panjáb, struck on his own rupees the following couplet :—

سکه تیمور شاه بعالم نظام  
یاوت بحکم خدا و رسول انام

*i. e.*, “The coin of Tímúr Sháh got current in the world by the order of God and the prophet of the people.”

But, when he came to the throne, after his father's death, he went in for this extravagance :—



چرخ می آرد طلا و نقره از خورشید و ماه  
تا زد بر چهره نقش سکه تیمور شاه

*i. e.*, “The heaven brings in gold and silver from the sun and the moon, so that it may receive the impression of the stamp of Tímúr Sháh.”

When the power of the Durránís began to wane in the Panjáb, and when the Sikhs began to rise under the brewer Jassa Singh, then this couplet is said to have been stamped on rupees :—

سکه زد در جهان بفضل اکال  
ملك احمد گرفت جسا کلال

*i. e.*, “The brewer Jassa seized the territories of Ahmad, and struck coins in the world through the grace of the Eternal (God).”

When the Sikh commonwealth at Láhor struck rupees in 1765 A. D., they were content with this doggrel\* :—

دیگ تیغ فتح و نصرت بی درنگ  
یافت از نانک گرو گویند سنگه

What the atrocity was on the rupees of Ranjít Singh, I have not yet been able to ascertain. It was not the above. I have examined some thousands of rupees, since I wrote my paper on “the coins of the Sikhs,” but cannot yet get a clue to the couplet in its entirety and full resonant beauty.

The rebel king Muḥammad Ibráhím, who coined in 1132 A. H. at the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad Sháh, thought the following correct :—

سکه زد در جهان بفضل کریم  
شاه شاهان محمد ابراهیم

*i. e.*, “The king of the kings, Muḥammad Ibráhím, struck coins in the world through the grace of the merciful (God).”

Bídár Bakht, a gentleman of similar type in 1203 A. H., regarded as an exact description of his position and power :—

بزر سکه زد والی تاج و تخت  
محمد جهان شاه بیدار بخت

*i. e.*, “The master of crown and throne, Muḥammad Jahán Sháh, Bídár Bakht, put (his) stamp on gold (or silver).”

\* [The couplet, as it stands, neither rhymes nor scans. Maulawí Abdul Hak Abid suggests to read it thus ;

یافت تیغ فتح و نصرت بی درنگ \* از گرو گویند نانگ سنگه رنگ

*i. e.*, “The sword of victory and triumph received colour (*i. e.*, red colour) without delay, from Guru Gobind Nának Singh.” Ed.]

According to Beale 'Alamgír II had this simple couplet on his coins :—

بزرزد سكه صاحب قراني  
عزیزالدین عالم گیر ثانی

*i. e.*, “Azízu-d-dín, 'Alamgír the second, put (his) stamp, like that of the Şáhib-qirán, on gold (or silver).”

But a coin of mine, struck at Akbarábád, gives the following variant of the second line :—

بہادر شاہ عالم گیر ثانی

*i. e.*, “Bahádur Sháh 'Alamgír the second.”

The *Mukhtasar-i-Sair-i-Gulshar-i-Hind* says that 'Alamgír the second was guilty of the following vanity on his coins :—

سكه زد بر هفت کشور هفت تابان مهر و ماه  
شہ عزیزالدین عالم گیر غازی بادشاہ

*i. e.*, “Sháh Azízu-d-Dín 'Alamgír, the victorious emperor, put (his) stamp on the seven climes, like the shining sun and moon.”

As he gives the mint Sháhjahánábád and the year ۱۰۱۵, I suppose he must have copied it from the coin.

I follow the same writer in stating that the coins of Sháh 'Alam II. had the following couplets on them :—

سكه صاحب قراني زد ز تائید اله  
حامی دین محمد شاه عالم بادشاہ

*i. e.*, “The defender of the religion of Muḥammad, Sháh 'Alam, the emperor, through the aid of God, struck coins, like those of the Şáhib-qirán, (or, as being in the position of the Şáhib-qirán).”

or (2) سكه زد بر هفت کشور سایه فضل اله  
حامی دین محمد شاه عالم بادشاہ

*i. e.*, “The shadow of the divine favour, the defender of the religion of Muḥammad, Sháh 'Alam, the emperor, put (his) stamp on the seven climes.”

The naughty children of Dehlí, when poor Sháh 'Alam was blind, and when the English held possession of the empire, parodied this couplet thus :—

سكه زد بر جهان و چہرہ کرد قلعه را تباہ  
حامی دین نصارا شاه نکہتو بادشاہ

*i. e.*, “The defender of Christianity, the emperor Nikhaṭṭú Sháh, (*nikhaṭṭú* = idle, earning nothing) struck (his) stamp on thatch-roof and thatched house and made the fort desolate.”



I strongly suspect they were big children who made this parody, and not only big but bigotted. (N. B.—No pun is intended.)

On a good many of the rupees of Sháh 'Álam II. there is no couplet. Akbar II., according to the author just quoted, had this modest couplet :—

سکه زد در جهان بفضل اله  
حامی دین محمد اکبر شاه

*i. e.*, “The defender of the religion, Muḥammad Akbar Sháh, struck coins in the world through the grace of God.”

I have not as yet met with this couplet on any of the coins of the king; but his coins are rare, as his territory consisted of the Fort of Dehlí only.

The coins of Zamán Sháh Durrání had this couplet on them :—

قرار یافت بحکم خدای هر دو جهان  
رواج سکه دولت بنام شاه زمان

*i. e.*, “The use of the imperial coin was established in the name of Zamán Sháh by the order of the lord of both the worlds.”

I am indebted to the author\* of the *Tárikh-i-Sultání* for the following *bait* from the coins of Sháh Shujá' :—

سکه زد برسیم و زر روشنتر از خورشید و ماه  
نور چشم در دران شه شجاع الملک شاه

*i. e.*, “The light of the eyes, the pearl of the Durrání tribe, the king Shujá'u-l-mulk put (his) stamp on gold and silver more brightly than the sun and the moon.”

The following is from the pages of the same author, but could never have been struck by the king's permission :—

سکه زد برسیم و طلا شه شجاع ارمني  
نور چشم لارده برنس خاک پای کمپني

*i. e.*, “The *Armanian* Sháh Shujá' the light of the eyes of lord Burnes, the dust of the foot of the company, put (his) stamp on silver and gold.”

This couplet beats the Dehlí parody hollow.

On some new rare rupees of Ranjít Deo of Jummún, struck a hundred years ago, we have the following :—

لچھي نرآين دل شاد کرد  
خانه رنجیت دیوآباد کرد

\* Sultán Muḥammad Khán, son of Músá Khán Durrání.

This *bait* I have before translated thus :—

Ranjit Deo peopled this part,  
Lachhmí Narain made glad its heart.

I am aware that many more coin couplets exist, but I think the above and those on the coins of Jahángír give a very fair idea of this kind of literature. It is somewhat amusing, and it is curious. It is somewhat helpful in the assigning of coins to their proper strikers. Aḥmad Sháh Durrání used his coin couplet nearly everywhere, but Aḥmad Sháh of Dehlí used no coin couplet, but styled himself on his coins *دولت*. Both these Aḥmads began to reign in the same year. Of course the couplet coins belong to the Durrání. On some coins only part of the inscription comes. A few words from the couplet enable us to assign the coin to the proper king. Besides all this these couplets are historical compositions. They show us the vanity and ignorance of the kings who used them, and the flattery and ignorance of those who made them.

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*Father Jerome Xavier.*—By H. BEVERIDGE, ESQ., C. S.

In looking over our Library Catalogue I noticed the entry of a book by Father Jerome Xavier, called *Historia Christi Persica*, and printed at Leyden in 1639. On getting it out I found that it was a diglot, having Persian and Latin on alternate pages, and that its full title was *Historia Christi persice conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata, ap. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jesu, latine reddita et animadversionibus notata a Ludovico de Dieu*. The author of this work is said to have been a native of Navarre in Spain, and a near relative of the great St. Francis. According to one account he was his nephew. It appears, however, that he ordinarily wrote in Portuguese. He came to Goa in 1571, and there held the office of *Goanæ domus praepositus* (prior?). In 1594 he went on a mission to the emperor Akbar.

This was the third Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court. The first\*

\* There was an embassy to Akbar in 1578 under Antony Cabral, and there were priests with it, but I do not know if they were Jesuits. Mr. Rehatsek has a valuable article on the Jesuit missionaries in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1886. He quotes Bartoli's work, which I have not seen, though I have read some extracts from it in the *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani delle India Orientali* of Angelo de Gubernatis. Mr. Rehatsek had apparently only access to the Lucknow edition of the *Akbar-náma*, and so states that the only priest mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl is one Padre Farmalyun. The account of Padre Radif, *i. e.*, Father Ridolfo Aquaviva, will be found in Vol. III, pp. 254, 255, ed. Bib. Ind. Padre Farmalyun is mentioned



went from Goa in January 1580 under the leadership of Ridolfo Aquaviva, an Italian, and a nephew of Claude Aquaviva, the head of the Jesuit order. Ridolfo Aquaviva is the Padre Radif of Abu-l-Fazl. He seems to have been a noble-minded man, and when he departed from Agra in 1532, he would take no gift from the emperor except that of the liberty of a Christian slave. He died a martyr's death in July 1583, having been slain at Salsette in a fanatical rising of the Hindús. In 1582 Akbar wrote to the Jesuits at Goa, styling them Dánáyán Farang, or 'the wise men of the Franks,' and asked them to send him translations of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospels, and also some one who could explain the mysteries of religion. It was probably in consequence of this letter\* that another mission was sent in 1591. The members of it did not stay long, and came away without effecting anything. Akbar was displeased at their withdrawal, and so a third and last mission was sent under Xavier. He had two companions, Benedict of Goes, a town in Beira-Baxia Portugal, and Emmanuel Pignero. They joined the emperor at Láhor, in May 1595, and stayed with him for several years. Two of them, Xavier and Benedict, accompanied the Emperor and his son, Prince Salím, to Kashmír. On returning Xavier went on with the emperor to Agra, while the other two missionaries appear to have remained behind at Láhor. It was at Agra that Xavier composed his life of Christ. In his preface he tells us that he drew it up at the request of the emperor, who was desirous of having an account of the acts of Jesus Christ. Xavier thought that as he had been forty years engaged in religious work, and had spent seven or eight in learning Persian, he might be able to comply with the emperor's wishes. He finished it, he says, on the 15th Urdi-

at p. 577 of the same volume. I cannot make out who he was, but possibly the name is a corruption of Fra Emmanuel (Pignero). In that case he must have gone twice to Akbar's Court, for the visit recorded by Abu-l-Fazl was in 1589. At p. 669 of vol. III of the Akbarnáma, mention is made of the arrival of a large caravan from Goa on 19th Urdibihist 1003 (28th April 1595), and it is stated that there were several Christian priests along with it. No doubt this refers to Xavier's Mission. At p. 243, vol. III, *l. c.*, there is a curious reference to the arrival at Court of a European and his wife, named respectively Partáb Tár or Bár, and Nasurna or Nasurta. Partáb, we are told, was a leading merchant in Bengal, and there is a further reference to him at p. 320, where it is said that one of the Bengal rebels, Mírzá Naját Khán, went to Salímábád and took refuge with Partáb Bár. Elliot, VI, 59 says that the names of Partáb and his wife (he gives the name of the latter as Basúrbá) are very doubtful. I would suggest that Partáb Tár is perhaps a mistake for Tavarez, who is described by Manrique as a Portuguese captain who went from Hooghly on a mission to Akbar and was kindly received by him at Agra. (*Murray's Discoveries in Asia*, II, 90.)

\* Published and translated by Mr. Rehatsek in the *Indian Antiquary* for April 1887.



bihist, 1602 A. D. In a note at the end, he mentions that the Persian version was made by him in conjunction with Mauláná 'Abdu-s-Sanarín Qásim of Láhor. A final note, which was probably added by some Muhammadan, says that the manuscript was accurately written out on the 8th of the blessed month of Ramazán 1027 A. H. (1617). Xavier's work consists of four parts. It is chiefly taken from the Bible, but many legends are introduced. For instance he tells the story of Agbarus, the king of Edessa, relates the legend of St. Veronica, and quotes two letters, one of Pontius Pilate and another of Lentulus, giving an account of the personal appearance of Jesus Christ, etc. I do not think, however, that Xavier acted with bad faith. He tells his readers that he has used other sources than the Bible, and no doubt he believed all that he wrote. His work fell into the hands of Lewis De Dieu, a learned Belgian, who was professor in the Walloon College at Leyden. De Dieu was a somewhat violent Protestant, as one whose father had been driven out of Brussels by the prince of Parma might be expected to be. He himself was born at Flushing, and in dedicating his book to the magistrates of that city, he says that he glories in having sprung from a town which was the first to shake off the Spanish yoke, which sent a relative of the Duke of Alva to the scaffold, and was the origin of the Belgian liberties. "Quæ prima tyrannidis Hispanicæ jugum excutere ausa, Ducis Albani consanguineum patibulo decoravit, et Belgicæ libertatis, qua adhuc felices vivimus, fons exstitit atque origo." A reference to Motley shows that Flushing was the first town to rebel after the conquest of Brill. I do not know who the relative of Alva was, unless he was one of the two Spanish officers who were hanged alongside of the unfortunate engineer, Pacheco, in 1572. De Dieu was a man of worth and learning, and the Jesuit Alegambe admits that his translation of Xavier's Persian is a good one, though he says that he has added heretical notes which deserve to be burnt. There is a notice of De Dieu in Bayle's Dictionary. He is very bitter in his remarks on Xavier, and his object in making the translation and in publishing the work appears to have been to show how the Jesuits adulterated the pure milk of the Word. But still all must feel grateful to him for having been the means of preserving a knowledge of Xavier's curious work.

Xavier was the author of some other Persian works, of which the best known, perhaps, is the *Áínah-i-Ḥaq-Numá*, or 'the truth reflecting mirror.' This work was a controversial one, treating of the superiority of the Christian religion to the Muhammadan. An abridgement of this work fell into the hands of a learned Muhammadan of Persia, Sayyid Aḥmad bin Zainu-l-Ábadín, and he composed a refutation of it, entitled *Miṣqal-i-Şafadar taḥliyah-i-Áínah-i-Ḥaq-Numá*, or 'the polisher for the cleansing of the



truth reflecting mirror.' This again was followed by two rejoinders, one by a father Malvalia, and another and fuller one by father Gadagnol, a Franciscan monk, and published at Rome in 1631. There is something pathetic in the thought of this controversial literature, long so quietly at rest. An account of Xavier's works will be found in the valuable catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, vol. I, pp. 3, 4, and 28.

The Asiatic Society has another of Xavier's works, though it is wrongly entered in the catalogue under only the name of De Dieu. This is a life of the Apostle Peter. De Dieu published a Latin translation of it, with notes, in the same year that he published the *Historia Christi*, and appended two letters written from Akbar's Court by Xavier and Pignero in 1598. These are the valuable part of the book, for they give a very interesting account of Akbar and his son Jahángír. De Dieu took them from a Jesuit work published in 1601. As they appear to be little known, I proceed to give an abstract of them. Xavier's letter begins with an account of Kashmír, which he and Benedict had visited along with Akbar and Salím. He describes a dreadful famine which they saw there, and tells how mothers exposed their children in the streets from inability to give them any food. He then gives an account of Salím's hunting parties, and after this comes an account of the splendour with which Benedict had celebrated the incunabula, that is the representations of the birth of Christ. This leads him to describe the affection which Salím had for the Christian religion. He says that Salím publicly professed his devotion, and had pictures of Jesus Christ and the Virgin in his bedroom. The prince declared that if the Gospel did not prohibit polygamy, it would be embraced by many, for in all other respects it was a holy doctrine and conformable to reason. On this Xavier remarks that it is not wonderful that the prince should find the doctrine of monogamy a stumbling block as, though he is not yet 36, he has already twenty wives. Then comes the following very interesting account of Akbar:

“Rex a natura rara quadam et felicissima memoria donatus est, quo fit ut, tametsi legere et scribere nesciat, nihilominus, quod prudentiores et doctiores quosdam disserentes vel aliorum libros legentes audiverit, nulla sit res cujus aliquam non habeat notitiam. Pauci est et levis somni, bonamque noctis partem in audienda historiarum lectione impendit. Si quis extraneus ad Aulam accedit, subito ad se venire imperat, praesentem minutatim interrogat, quae et quanta viderit, qua transierit. Circa noctis medium horae dimidiatae spatio alio se ad orandum recipit, interim conferunt, et disputant inter se quos apud se habet doctiores, in quos quum aliquando incidissem, inveni examinantes quaestionem

Mauris novam atque insolentem, et ad credendum perdifficilem: Num Deus filium habeat? Curavit mecum disputare quem habet temporum notatorem et observatorem; Chronicum quidam nominant; quem cum paucis convictum repressissem, jussit adesse doctiorem, qui haerentem adjuvaret. Ad quartum lunae importata sunt musica instrumenta quibus plurimum delectatur, et diversa simulacra quorum unum Solis erat, quod diebus singulis primo diluculo veneratur. Sed secum reputans, me posse objicere, Solem non Deum esse, sed rem creatam Deique opus, curavit auferri; confestimque ex oculis evanuit idolum. Allata est postea Salvatoris nostri ad columnam alligati imago, quam vertici (quod Solis simulacro non fecerat) imposuit in signum quoddam reverentiæ et cultus. Grati illi fuerunt de S. Paulo et Constantino Magno ad Christi fidem conversis sermones.

“Narravit viginti prope annos fluxisse, quum 30 infantes, priusquam voces primas formarent, certo loco concludi fecerit, adhibitis custodibus, ne nutrices in earum gremio lactentes ad loquendum pusiones provocantes propriam et nativam linguam edocerent; ut hoc experimento disceret, quo idiomate jam adultiores facti uterentur; quod illius gentis ritus et leges sequi vellet, cujus lingua loquerentur; sed vanas has fuisse suas cogitationes et studia, quod nullus eorum distincte et intelligenter verba formaverit; quare eo tempore nullam aliam a sua legem admississe.

“Post multam tergiversationem et contradicentium conatus, potestatem nobis fecit Cambaiae templum erigendi; idem pro Sindo tentatum impetrari non potuit, ob acres et vehementes quas experti sumus adversantium reclamaciones.”

“The king is gifted with a wonderful memory so that, although he can neither read nor write, he knows whatever he has heard learned men discoursing about, or whatever has been read to him. He sleeps little and lightly, and spends a good part of the night in hearing history read to him. If any stranger comes to Court, he at once sends for him, and minutely interrogates him as to what he has seen, and by what road he has travelled. At about midnight he retires for half an hour for his devotions, and then his learned men assemble and dispute with one another. One night I chanced upon them, and found them discussing the point so new and incredible to Muhammadans, “Can God have a son?” The king set his chronologist\* to dispute with me, and when I soon vanquished him, he ordered a more learned man to help the non-plussed one. On the fourth day of the moon, musical instruments, in which he much delights, were brought in, and also some images and among them the

\* Perhaps Mír Fathulláh of Shiráz.



likeness of the sun which he worships each day at dawn. But thinking that I might object that the sun was not God, but only a created thing and the work of God, he ordered it to be removed, and straightway the idol vanished. There was then brought in the likeness of our Saviour bound to a pillar, and this he placed on his head as a sign of reverence and worship, (a thing which he did not do to the image of the sun). He took pleasure in hearing the narratives of the conversions of St. Paul and Constantine the Great.

“He told me that nearly twenty years ago he had thirty children shut up before they could speak, and put guards over them so that the nurses might not teach them their language. His object was to see what language they would talk when they grew older, and he was resolved to follow the laws and customs of the country whose language was that spoken by the children. But his endeavours were a failure, for none of the children came to speak distinctly. Wherefore, at this time he allowed no law but his own.

After much vacillation and many attempts of opponents, he authorised us to build a church at Cambay, but we could not get permission to build one in India proper (?) ”

The Latin is apparently a translation of a Portuguese original, and perhaps does not always convey Xavier's meaning. If the words *ad quartum lune* had been *ad quartam (horam) noctis*, the account would have agreed better with that in the *Aín* (see Blochmann, p. 156). Still the resemblance between Abu-l-Fazl's and Xavier's accounts is striking. It is interesting to have the tradition confirmed that Akbar could not read or write.

The story about the children is curious, and shows that Akbar repeated the experiment of Psammetichus, the king of Egypt, (see Herodotus) on a larger scale. There seems no doubt that Akbar really made the experiment, for Badaoní tells us that he did so in 988 A. H., *i. e.*, 1580, which would be nearly twenty years before 1598 when Xavier was writing. Badaoní's account is very circumstantial. He says that at the end of three or four years all the children who survived were found to be dumb.

The rest of Xavier's letter is taken up with the account of an Armenian who wanted to marry his late wife's niece, and of the danger that the fathers fell into for refusing to celebrate such a marriage. There is also an account of the Hindú Avatárs and of their four ages.

Pignero's letter is written from Láhor and describes some conversions, but does not contain anything of interest at the present time. Xavier's letter shows that Akbar continued to worship the sun down to 1598. It thus adds something to our knowledge of Akbar's religious

views, and Mr. Blochmann's statement, *Áin*, p. 212, that we have no means of following up Akbar's religious ideas after 1596, requires modification. Xavier remained at Court till some years after Jahángír's accession. He eventually returned to Goa and died there in 1617.

I conclude with the following extract from a letter of Sir Thomas Roe. It gives the English version of the Jesuits' successes, and it is also interesting as confirming Jahángír's statement that his father died a pious Muhammadan.

Sir Thomas Roe's letter from Ajmír of 30th October, 1616, page 586 of Purchas, Part I.

“In this confusion they (the Muhammadans) continued until the time of Akbar Sháh, father of this king, without any noise of Christian profession, who being a prince by nature, just and good, inquisitive after novelties, curious of new opinions and that excelled in many virtues, especially in piety and reverence towards his parents, called in three Jesuits from Goa whose chief was Jerome Xavíer, a Navarrais. After their arrival he heard them reason and dispute with much content on his, and hope on their part, and caused Xavíer to write a book in defence of his own profession against both Moors and Gentiles, which finished he read over nightly, causing some parts to be discussed, and finally granted them his letters patent to build, to preach, teach, convert and to use all their rites and ceremonies as freely and amply as in Rome; bestowing on them means to erect their churches and places of devotion, so that in some few cities they have gotten rather Templum than Ecclesiam. In this grant he gave grant to all sorts of people to become Christians that would, even to his Court or own blood, professing that it should be no cause of disfavour from him.

“Here was a fair beginning to a forward spring of a lean and barren harvest. Akbar Sháh himself continued a Muhammadan, yet he began to make a breach into the law, considering that as Muḥammad was but a man, a king as he was, and therefore revered, he thought he might prove as good a prophet himself. This defection of the king spread not far, a certain outward reverence detained him, and so he died in the formal profession of his sect.

“Jahángír his son, the present king, being, they say, of this new fancy and never circumcised, brought up without any religion at all, continues so to this hour and is an atheist.”









Photo-Collotype.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1833.

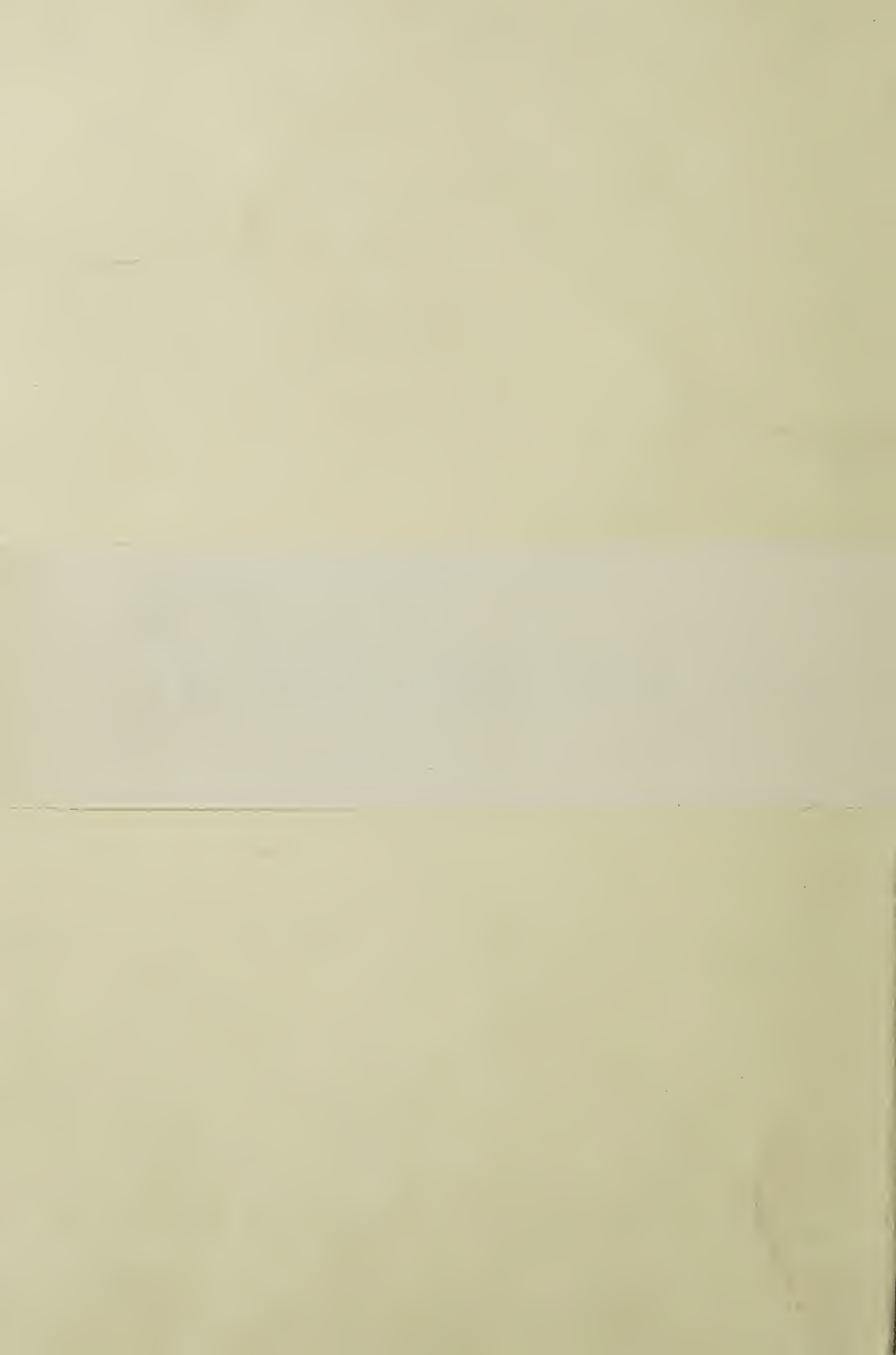
BRONZE FIGURE OF HERCULES, FOUND IN THE QUETTA MIRI.





Instead of the ordinary Nos. III and IV of the Journal, Part ~~II~~<sup>I</sup>, an  
Extra Number will be issued towards the end of the year.





# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1888.

*The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet.\*—By SARAT CHANDRA DÁS.*  
(With nine plates.)

It is a well known fact that Thon-mi, the son of Anu, who was one of the chief ministers of king Sroñ-tsan Gampo, introduced the art of writing in Tibet. He studied Sanskrit under several eminent Buddhist professors of Magadha for many years, and after acquiring a thorough knowledge of the sacred literature of the Buddhists, returned to Tibet, where he was cordially welcomed by his illustrious sovereign. During his residence in Magadha (A. D. 630—650) he enjoyed high reputation as a scholar and holy man, and was called by the name Sambhoṭa or the excellent Bhoṭa, *i. e.*, a native of Bhoṭ (Tibet). He wrote seven treatises on the newly formed written language, besides his celebrated grammar in verse which all beginners in Tibet commit to memory.

During the reign of king Sroñ-tsan Gampo and his immediate successors translations of Sanskrit books were occasionally made in Magadha by Tibetan students studying at Śri Nálendra (Nálanda), but no regular attempt was yet made to translate the sacred books into Tibetan. At this period the thirty-four letters, which Sambhoṭa had introduced from Magadha and which he had shaped partly after the form of some of the 'Wartu' characters of Magadha (see Plate I), were found adequate for the conveyance of thought in writing. Then the language of Tibet was in its infancy and free from words either of Indian or Chinese origin.

\* [With this paper may be compared Mr. Hodgson's account of the various Newári and Bhoṭiyá characters, published with numerous plates, in the XVth volume of the Asiatic Researches, 1828. Ed.]



During the reign of king Thisroñ Deu-tsan, Buddhism was made the state religion of Tibet, and the Pon religion was suppressed by royal edicts, and the country of snows attracted the attention of the Indian Buddhists. Sánta Rakshita, one of the professors of Śrí Nálendra, visited Tibet where he was appointed the spiritual adviser to the king. Thisroñ embraced Buddhism with that earnest devotion to religion which marked the character of Aśoka. He was determined to follow that monarch's footsteps in the propagation of his adopted creed. At the advice of Sánta Rakshita he founded many religious institutions in central Tibet. Not satisfied with the religious works of minor importance which he had already done, the king desired the Indian pandit to introduce Buddhist monachism in his kingdom. In order to help Sánta Rakshita in this important work, the king invited Áchárya Padma Sambhava, a native of Udyána, who was at this time travelling in Magadha. With the help of these two Indian pandits the king founded the famed monastery of Sam-yea after the model of the monastery of Uddanḍapurí of Magadha. He richly endowed this monastery, and provided it with spacious accommodation in buildings designed in the Indian fashion for the residence of one hundred and eight Indian pandits.

The two Indian pandits commenced the introduction of Buddhist monachism by initiating seven Tibetan young men into the order of Bhikshu. After the completion of Sam-yea the king invited many Buddhist scholars from Magadha to conduct the work of translating Buddhist sacred scriptures into Tibetan. During the reign of this king and his successors, down to the accession of the apostate Lang Darma to the throne of Tibet, the work of translation was carried on with vigour. With a view to make Sanskrit accessible to the Tibetans, and also to save the Tibetan students, desirous of learning Sanskrit, the trouble of an Indian journey and residence, the Tibetan Lochavas (Sanskrit scholars and interpreters) wrote commentaries on Sanskrit grammars and translated Sanskrit dictionaries into Tibetan. The works of the best authors of ancient India, including those of Kapila, Válmíki, Vyása, Páñini, Kálidása, &c., were also translated. The thirty-four Tibetan letters of the alphabet, that were introduced by Sambhoṭa to form the basis of the Tibetan language, were now found insufficient for this kind of work. To facilitate the transliteration of Sanskrit words into Tibetan, additional letters were required. These they supplied by the simple method of inversion and duplication of some of the existing Tibetan, letters.

It is worthy of remark that a tongue which in its nature was monosyllabic, when written in the characters of a polysyllabic language like the Sanskrit, had necessarily to undergo some modification. The

result of these two opposite forces, operating on the Tibetan, was its conversion into a dissyllabic language. The tongue of the Tibetans being unaccustomed to pronouncing polysyllables and combinations of several consonants with one vowel, phonetic rules to help in pronunciation were formed; and though they were not written down by the Tibetan authors for the guidance of students, they were handed down orally. It does not appear to me that the Tibetans ever pronounced their words as they wrote them.

The thirty-four letters were now increased to fifty (see Plate II, No. b), and henceforth the Tibetan alphabet became capable of more extended use by the addition of aspirates, long vowels, and compounds.

The Chinese professor Ssan than S'an Si, who visited Sam-yea at the invitation of king Thisroñ Deu-tsan, was so much struck with the capacity of the Tibetan characters to express Chinese words with their curious intonation and phonetic peculiarities, that he undertook both to transliterate and translate some of the Chinese works into Tibetan and certain Tibetan works into the Chinese language. In an inscription found at Sam-yea it is mentioned that he (Ssan than S'an Si) compared the two languages and shewed their resemblances at the great monastery of (Gssan yañ mi-hgyur Lhun gyis-grub) Sam-yea. I here give a copy of the inscription (see Plate VI, No. 1).

The written language of Tibet has undergone slow but gradual changes from the time of its formation between 640 and 650 A. D. to the present time, but a description of these changes does not fall within the scope of this short paper. I shall, therefore, only confine myself to dividing this long period into five divisions, having regard to the nature of the changes the language has undergone.

The first or the earliest period extends from the time of king Sroñ tsan Gampo to the accession of king Thisroñ Deu-tsan to the throne of Tibet.

The second period extends from the reign of king Thisroñ to the assassination of Thi Ralpachan.

The third or dark period, during which both literature and Buddhism collapsed, is the gap between the reign of Langdarma and the revival of Buddhism by Atiśa and Brom-tan under the auspices of king Yeśe *hod* in the beginning of the 11th century.

The fourth period, during which the study of Sanskrit was considered a necessary accomplishment for the scholars of Tibet, began with Atiśa and Brom-tan and terminated with the downfall of the Sakya hierarchy.

The fifth period, which commenced with the rise of the Gelug-pa (yellow cap) school, continues to the present day.



The Tibetan authors have divided the age of their language into two parts according to its grammatical variations: 1, Dag-ñiñ, or the old grammar period, which belongs to the age of the compilation of the Kahgyur and Tangyur as well as to the Sakya hierarchy; 2, the Dag-sar, or the modern grammar period, which properly dates from the time of Tsoñ khapa and continues to the present day.

In the third or dark period the Pons did not adopt the newly formed language for writing their mystical mantras and charms. It is said that in that dark age the Pons used to make their amulets and charms of coloured bark of trees, rags and thread, and consecrate them by the hands of their priests without written charms.

In the second and fourth periods greater use of the Sanskrit characters was made, mostly in ornamental and mystical writings. In the grand sanctuary of Sam-yea, Lan-tsha characters were written and painted and engraved on prayer cylinders, walls, tapestries, doors, and chapels. On chaityas and votive piles there were numerous inscriptions written in the Lan-tsha character, which exist up to the present time round the central sanctuary of Sam-yea, (see Plates VIII and IX).

During the fourth period when the study both of Sanskrit and Chinese was encouraged by the rulers of Tibet, the Svayambhu or Rañjuñ characters of Magadha were introduced into Tibet. This form of characters, as its name Svayambhu or 'self-existing' signifies, is the most sacred of all the characters known to the Tibetans. When any mark resembling the Svayambhu letter, is found on any rock, place or thing, it becomes an object of veneration to the Tibetans.

Atiśa on his way to Central Tibet is said to have seen the mystic 'Om' miraculously inscribed in Svayambhu characters on a rock at the site of the great monastery of Sakya, and from that he predicted that it would in time to come be the scene of a great hierarchical government. This prediction was fulfilled to the very letter. Svayambhu characters are said to be observable on the leaves of the celebrated tree of Kumbum (*ku-bum* ལྷ་འབྲས་ or hundred thousand images), the birthplace of Tsoñ-khapa. Abbé Huc who visited Kumbum has given, in his travels in Tibet and Mongolia, a very graphic account of the result of his examination of the leaves of that famous tree.\* The pious

\* "It is called *kounboum*, because, according to the legend, it sprang from Tsong-kaba's hair, and bears a Tibetan character on each of its leaves.

"It will here be naturally expected that we say something about this tree itself. Does it exist? Have we seen it? Has it any peculiar attributes? What about its marvellous leaves? All these questions our readers are entitled to put to us. We will endeavour to answer as categorically as possible.

"Yes this tree does exist, and we had heard of it too often during our journey

pretend to find Svayambhu characters on rocks, caverns, human skulls, &c. (see Plate V, *h*).

In Plate V, *c* are specimens of the S'a-chhen (*i. e.*, corpulent or fleshy) form of a second kind of ornamental sacred writing, probably introduced in Tibet during the Sakya hierarchy. There is a form of the U-chan characters, called Khoñ señ or the 'lion-hearted' character, so called on account of their inside being very narrow. This, too, was invented by some of the Sakyapa hierarchs (see Plate V, *b*).

The specimen in Plate V, *e*, called the S'intu Jod-pa or the 'finished or well described' characters, with the vowel *o* inherent in them, were probably introduced both in Tibet and Mongolia by some of the early Sakya hierarchs. These resemble the Yugur (Oigyur) characters, called the 'Gyaser yige' by the Tibetans. This form is found in almost all the old seals of Tibet. I am unable to name the letters individually, but I have obtained a transliteration of the sentences with their translation in Tibetan. I here attach both, with the English translation of the Tibetan version written in S'intu Jod-pa characters.

not to feel somewhat eager to visit it. At the foot of the mountain on which the Lamasery stands, and not far from the principal Buddhist temple, is a great square enclosure, formed by brick walls. Upon entering this we were able to examine at leisure the marvellous tree, some of the branches of which had already manifested themselves above the wall. Our eyes were first directed with earnest curiosity to the leaves, and we were filled with absolute consternation of astonishment at finding that, in point of fact, there were upon each of the leaves well-formed Tibetan characters, all of a green colour, some darker, some lighter, than the leaf itself. Our first impression was suspicion of fraud on the part of the Lamas; but, after a minute examination of every detail, we could not discover the least deception, the characters all appeared to us portions of the leaf itself, equally with its veins and nerves, the position was not the same in all; in one leaf they would be at the top of the leaf; in another, in the middle; in a third, at the base, or at the side; the younger leaves represented the characters only in a partial state of formation. The bark of the tree and its branches, which resemble that of the plane tree, are also covered with these characters. When you remove a piece of old bark, the young bark under it exhibits the indistinct outlines of characters in a germinating state, and, what is very singular, these new characters are not unfrequently different from those which they replace. We examined everything with the closest attention, in order to detect some trace of trickery, but we could discern nothing of the sort, and the perspiration absolutely trickled down our faces under the influence of the sensations which this most amazing spectacle created.

"More profound intellects than ours may, perhaps, be able to supply a satisfactory explanation of the mysteries of this singular tree; but as to us, we altogether give it up. Our readers possibly may smile at our ignorance; but we care not so that the sincerity and truth of our statement be not suspected."

Abbé Huc's travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, Vol. II, page 53.



*Translation of Yugur Sentences.\**

(1.) Jampal yañ (Manju Ghosha) is the Lord of speech and elocution.

(2.) The goddess Yañchan-ma (Sarasvatí) milched the wishing cow of science.

(3.) The noble Tshañ-pa (Brahma) holds the treasures of the four-fold classes.

(4.) The chief of the Dharañís can send forth fortune and bliss to the dead.

(5.) Thus the holy ones are not liberal in promises ;

(6.) But if their promises with difficulty once can be gained,

(7.) Those remain certain as figures cut on rocks.

(8.) These they do not gainsay even to death.

The specimens in Plate VII, No. 1, also a form of Gya-ser-yige, are wholly unintelligible to me. This kind of character was used by the successors of Chinghis Khán and Qúblái in golden tablets. I believe some specimens resembling this form of Yugur characters, are given in Yule's Marco Polo.†

During the decline of the Sakya hierarchy Rin-chhen Puñpa, one of the most powerful chiefs of Central Tibet, became the patron of learning. He invented the curious form of symbolical writing for secret state correspondence, which is called after his name, *i. e.*, Rin puñ yige. I have obtained a copy of some of the Rin puñ yige and have illustrated them in Plate IVa.

The specimen in Plate Va was invented by Sakya Pañdita Kungah Gyal-tshan, who was appointed spiritual guide of Goyug and Gotan, the grandsons of Chinghis Khán. Kungah gave the square form to the Tibetan characters, a modification of which he introduced in Mongolia prior to the invention of the modern Mongolian characters.

The two forms of characters, contained in Plate Vf and g, were probably designed by the Kahgyud and Gelugpa hierarchies. One of these is a modification of the Lan-tsha characters, and the other that of the ordinary Tibetan characters written with rounded corners.

- \* (1.) S'bra ma gad di namag pyuñ yañab naphar na myag śa.  
 (2.) Ta byak ajath sś tsho ka dsuk sak sha tot sha choshi tabs.  
 (3.) Ñamah h ñat shakar ña rñe nayili nah hassoña la ssit.  
 (4.) Dajiya nadi ñamad gahb syañr tsyir in kas rchoh.  
 (5.) Ssi bmal be, lak sa thśakb śi tsa ñshe ki ay chhi dsa.  
 (6.) Tshad ye lam ña ap tsap śi añ dsab tshyn th śa.  
 (7.) Thlod thiko irb sa ssi achhi ślu.  
 (8.) Nitads tsha chh ś be athiss l sath tshad ñtshyutt.

Transliterated Yugur Mongolian sentences.

† [See his vol. I, pp. 14, 29, 30, 169, 344 ; and the plates at pp. 342 and 472. ED.]

The monograms in Plate Vd, are in Lan-tsha characters. It is not easy to ascertain the date when this design was made in Tibet. They are found engraved on rocks, or slabs of stone, in votive piles, and on boards used in caves and corners of temples. I conjecture they were designed and matured by the five Sakya hierarchs who are recognised as the successive manifestations of Manju Ghosha, the god of science and learning.

In Plate VI, Nos. 2 and 3, there are two forms of Khando yige, *i. e.*, 'the letters of fairies.' These characters were used in the old Niñma works, said to have been discovered under rocks by some of the Tertons or 'discoverers of sacred treasure.'

In Plate VII there are six specimens of ornamental characters, of which :—No. 1 is used in seals and tablets.

No. 2 is the modified form of the Tibetan characters, called Chhag-lohi yig gsar, *i. e.*, 'the letters invented by Chhag Lochava,' a celebrated translator of Buddhist works. His name is mentioned in Sumpa's chronological list of Tibet.

No. 3 is the form that was given to the Tibetan characters by the historian of Tibet, called Hgos Lochava or Lama Shonnu dpal. He wrote the history of Tibet called Debther Ñon-po. This form is called Hgos lohi yig gsar, *i. e.*, 'the new letters of Hgos Lochava.'

No. 4 is the form of Tibetan characters introduced by Skyogs Lochava. These letters are called Skyogs lohi yig gsar, *i. e.*, 'the new letters of Skyogs Lochava.'

No. 5 is called Ño-mtshar-yig gsar or 'the curious new letters.'

No. 6 is the form of ornamental Tibetan used in the monastery of Rdorje-gdan.

The symbols, preceding each set of letters (Plates I—VIII) are called mgo-yig (lit. head-letter), and are always used to introduce writing. They represent the sacred invocation 'Om.'

In the appendix of Csoma's Tibetan grammar there are specimens of three forms of Tibetan characters and one form of ornamental Sanskrit; *viz.*, 1, U-chan (or headed); 2, U-me (headless); 3, Dutsha (round or granular), and 4, the Lan-tsha Sanskrit. These four forms being known to the Cis-Himálayan Buddhists, both Csoma and Jäschke obtained specimens of them.

I. The U-chan is confined to printing, and sacred writings, on paper, stone and wooden blocks; to inscriptions on cloth and paper for flags, amulets, charm boxes, and prayer wheels, &c.; and to inscriptions for casting lots.—Plate II, a.

II. The U-me form is in general use, all over the country, it being the chief medium of conducting business in the writing of every day life.



of the Tibetans. It has four subforms; *viz.*, Plate II, *c, d*, and Plate III, *a, b, c*.

(1.) Pema tshug-chhuñ :—small roundish letters, used in elegant writings, epistles, and love-letters.—Plate III, *a, b*.

(2.) Khyug yig :—running hand letters, used entirely in business and correspondence.—Plate III, *c*.

(3.) Ka-dpé or Khugs yig rKañ riñ :—long-legged letters for copy-writing, exercises in penmanship, &c.—Plate II, No. *c*.

(4.) Dpe yig rKañ thuñ :—short-legged letters for manuscripts, books, &c.—Plate II, *d*.

III. The third form called Du-tsha (*Hbru-tshag*), which is seldom used for the above four purposes, is used in public notices, placards, signboards, names of books on covers, and in making covers of goods, bales, furniture, &c., (see Plate III, *d*). Almost all the Pon books are written in this form. It appears to me that the Pons, out of their antagonism to Buddhism, were averse to adopt the Lan-tsha form of Sanskrit in their sacred writings and inscriptions. They, therefore, gave the ornamental shape to the U-me characters, and thereby formed the Du-tsha, (see Plate III, *e*). As in course of time the Pon religion declined, it (Du tsha) fell into disuse. Still the largest use is made of it only in Pon monasteries. The U-me form is now-a-days taking its place in the writing of notices and signboards. The three forms of characters are, however, modifications of that form of the Devanāgarī which was current in Magadha during the 7th and 8th centuries A. D.\* The U-chan, U-me, and Du-tsha run parallel to each other in their shape.—Plates II and III.

IV. The Lan-tsha (*Ranja*) form of Sanskrit is exclusively used in writing title-pages, headings of books, ornamental inscriptions, tapestries, painting, sacred objects and symbols, &c., &c. It was introduced in Tibet from Magadha.—Plates VIII and IX.

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*Some Pre-historic Burial-places in Southern India.*—By A. REA, M. R. A. S.

(With two plates.)

*Megalithic and earthenware tombs at Pallāvaram.*

These remains, consisting of groups of dolmens, and round and oblong earthenware sarcophagi, are found around and over a range of hills to the east of the village of Trisulūr about a mile to the east of the

\* “The Tibetan alphabet itself, as has been noticed in other places, is stated to have been formed from the *Devanāgarī*, prevalent in Central India in the seventh century. On comparing the forms of its letters with those of various ancient Sanskrit inscriptions, particularly that at Gya, translated by Mr. (now Sir Charles) Wilkins, and that on the column at Allahabad, translated by Captain Trover and Dr. Mill, a striking similitude will be observed.” Csoma’s Tibetan grammar, page 204.

cantonment of Pallávaram. A rock-cut cave on an adjoining hill shows that the place was in existence in the days of the Pallavas, or probably about or before the 7th century A. D. The name itself shows the origin of the town, and, from the extensive nature of these burial-places, the settlement was probably a large one. Like all this part of the country, included in the kingdom of Tondaimandalam, it would finally be wrested from the Pallavas and fall under the sway of the conquering Cholas in the 11th century. That it did so, is proved by the existence of a Chola temple in the village of Triśulúr. The tombs themselves most probably belong to the earlier settlement of the Pallavas, for they seem to be anterior in date to the 11th century. Stone circles similar to these exist near Amarávati, and at various places once part of the Pallava kingdom. Oblong earthenware sarcophagi have been found in the districts of Chingleput Nellúr and North Arkát; and the more common round or globular earthen tombs exist at places in the Chingleput Salem, Madura, Malabar and most other districts. Sir Walter Elliot believed that the dolmens were erected by the Pallavas, and this view seems to be to a certain extent borne out by subsequent observers, in so far as it relates to the fact that the Pallavas may have erected dolmens; it is very doubtful if they could have erected all of them. In the dolmens themselves, however, there is great variety of form observable in the various districts, and if these were all the work of one race of people, the differences would have to be accounted for by the forms adopted or practised by the various sects or castes. The problem is one not so easily solved, for dolmens with a greater or less similarity to each other exist, not only over the whole of India, but also over a great portion of the world. If we assume that the Pallavas or Kurumbar erected those in India, how is the resemblance to these in others, found out of India, to be accounted for? But even in India itself, though the Pallavas were undoubtedly a powerful dynasty, there is no proof that they had sway over anything like the whole of India. This being so, those megalithic remains, found outside the limits of the ancient Pallava kingdom, must have been erected by a different race or races from the Pallavas. Carrying the point still further, when considerable difference of plan, design, or arrangement is found—for example, circles, squares, and the almost infinite variety of classes of megalithic remains,—not only over wide areas within the limits of the Pallava kingdom, but even in those in close proximity to each other, how can it be proved that they were all erected by the Pallavas? If it is admitted that they may have erected certain of them, it must be qualified by the inferred supposition that the differences in arrangement must be due to the forms used by different castes or sections of the tribe; for, in a conservative people



like the Hindús, it would be an anomaly to find one caste practising a plurality of methods in the disposal of its dead. The Pallavas probably erected one or more classes of megaliths or other tombs in common with other races of the time. They could not have used all the different varieties we find existing. To ascertain which they really did use, we must find which forms are the commonest around the remains of the principal of their settlements. It has been suggested, originally I think by Fergusson, that the distribution of the dolmens might be due to the wanderings of a primeval tribe over the different parts of the globe. It is to be feared, however, that any such primeval remains must not be looked for on the present surface of the earth, but in one or more of the strata at some distance below it. The present level cannot by any possibility be such as was the surface in primeval times, else we must assume, that if primeval remains are now found on the earth's present surface, high above the strata which, each successively, formed the surface in early times, then the earth in those days must have been uninhabited; but, I think this is hardly asserted. The dolmens now seen cannot be much more than a thousand years old, else they would have been silted up long ere this. They cannot therefore be such as were erected by primeval tribes, though it is quite possible they may be the descendants or copies of dolmens which really were erected in such early times, and which may now exist with other fossilized remains of the time at some considerable depth underground. This might be expected; for, from the very earliest times, man must have had a reverence for his dead, and taken steps to mark the spot of its burial by the erection of some such rude monuments. Fergusson, in his *Rude Stone Monuments* has treated this part of the subject very clearly, going into the earliest forms of sepulture practised by primitive tribes, and showing how they developed under the effects of a more advanced civilization.

At Pallávaram, the stone circles occupy a position by themselves on the tops and sides of the hills, whereas the oblong and round earthen tombs stand on the sloping ground around and at some distance from the base; and all close to or on the surface. As the earthenware tombs are found scattered over one and the same piece of ground, they must have been used by one race, and by one section of it. They have all, certainly at one time, had high lids or covers, and had they been sunk in the earth till these were below the surface,—as the tops are now all away, and the rims of the tombs themselves are now above or on the surface of the ground—it would lead to the inference that the ground line in those days had been from three to four feet *higher* than it is now-a-days. Had there been no mounds, it would require to have been so, to cover the high semi-globular lids of the round tombs. This of course

would be absurd, for except in cases where the surface earth is washed away by rain or in similar exceptional instances, it will be found that the tendency is for the surface to *rise* by continual accumulations of soil, rather than fall. Ancient remains continue to sink below ground, or more strictly become covered up in proportion to their age. This will be found to be always the case, except in cases where there is some counteracting cause at work. Now the most probable explanation of the position of these tombs is, that they would seem to have been placed in the earth with their rim about or near the surface, and the lids above it: this was then covered up by a mound. The mound would gradually wash down, and as it went, the lids of the tombs would disappear also, leaving the tombs themselves exactly as we find them or just about the surface of the ground, and without their covers. It is out of the questions to suppose that the surface could have been so much higher than it is now; and the only possible way by which the high lids of the tombs could be protected or covered would be by a mound.\* We have endeavoured to show that the practices of modern burying castes may be referred to as elucidating some of the ancient customs connected with these tombs; and in this instance the placing of the tomb partly above the natural surface of the ground, has its counterpart in the burying of the body up to its waist in the grave. (See subsequent remarks on the subject.)

Regarding the foregoing remarks on the gradual silting up of ancient remains, it may be observed that the fact, if properly investigated, might be the means of settling many disputed questions regarding the age of megalithic and other remains. Very little really is known as to the actual age of such tombs. Various dates have of course been assigned, but only on surmise; nothing certain has yet transpired to definitely fix their actual age. Now this silting of the soil goes on steadily from year to year, and, if the total accumulation in a century be known, we would have an important factor in ascertaining their date, from their position above or below ground. Various other matters would of course have to be taken into consideration, such as any peculiarities of the locality. For instance, remains on the sides of a hill, may silt up but gradually or not at all, through the water rushing down the sides and carrying away the accumulations of soil. These are exceptions; but in ordinary circumstances, the process must go on with ceaseless regularity. Most of the ancient remains now hidden by mounds, have been covered by this natural process; very few can have been artificially concealed. It can certainly be used as an auxiliary to

\* See further remarks on the mounds, under the article on the Paravai tombs, also Plate X.



other means of fixing the date of certain remains, if not always with certain exactness, at least approximately. If we examine the section of a mound covering a building whose date is known, such as the stupa at Amarávati, several distinct former surfaces can be seen, marked in different instances by bricks or marbles which have fallen off, and are now lying on the level, several feet below the present surface. By proportionally dividing the height of the section of the earth bank, the accumulations of each century, which has elapsed since the erection of the building, can be almost exactly fixed. In this instance the application of the theory proves an important fact, namely, that the destruction of the stupa had been going on from the time it was deserted till it was completely covered up by the mounds; and disproves the supposition that the building must have remained complete till it was discovered at the beginning of the present century. This is proved by the finding of marble slabs at different levels. Some were lying about the level of the floor; these could only have fallen off when there was little or no accumulation of soil. Others again, were at varying levels above the floor line, these must have fallen when the ground line had risen or been silted up to the height at which they were found. This is alluded to simply as an exemplification of the application of the theory. It can undoubtedly be applied to aid in solving the problem of the age of these megalithic remains. It has been asserted that these earthenware tombs at Pallávaram were once enclosed by stone circles, though now no trace of them remains. It may have been so in certain cases, though from observations of similar examples at other places they would seem to have been simply covered by mounds. The stone circles even yet existing in the vicinity seem to enclose an entirely different class of tomb. It would be curious that these circles on the adjoining hills, enclosing the megalithic tombs, should even still exist in almost perfect condition, while no traces remain of circles at the earthen sarcophagi.

The round tombs are pointed on the bottom, and terminate in one leg. They are all near the surface, and, in most cases, their upper rim has been broken away, through projecting above ground; and for the same reason their covers are now away. On excavating one of these, I found a portion of an outer and separate rim remaining around the tomb itself, and advanced the theory that they must have been covered by a semi-globular lid, like an inverted chatty placed on the top. From some complete examples which I subsequently examined in the Madura District, I found this theory entirely borne out, for in those cases in which the lid still remained, its form was almost exactly a replicate of the tomb itself, only of a slightly greater diameter, so that it might be easily placed over and enclose the tomb proper (see Plate X, fig. 2). None of

the former observers of those remains at Pallávaram found any traces of iron, or other metal weapons or utensils ; nor were there any bones. In one of a number which I opened, some bones were found ; these were in a very decayed condition and uncalcined. A number of small earthen vessels have been found, principally in the round tombs : the oblong sarcophagi seem particularly devoid of such relics. In one of these latter I found a small oblong tomb placed inside the larger one, and from this I suggested that this oblong form may have been used for the females of the tribe : for, in certain cases with the Hindús at the present day it is the practice to bury the infant along with the mother. The bodies in the round tombs would be the males, placed in a crouching or sitting position. Certain tribes or castes among the Hindús still bury their dead in this position, though of course not in a receptacle, or enclosed tomb. The female is buried in a horizontal posture, and the male in a sitting position. In an interesting article\* on pre-historic tombs in Malabar, it has been stated that the protuberance on the bottom of such round sepulchral urns probably signifies a representation of the *os uteri* ; being emblematic of the religious ideas connected with the earth-goddess, and that such a burial was emblematic of the return of the individual to the womb of Mother Earth. The same idea was afterwards advanced in reference to the Pallávaram tombs.

The chief sect which adopts the custom of burying, (*uttara-kriyá*), is the Lingadháris or certain followers of S'iva,—who, in most cases, bury their dead in a sitting position. The grave is partly filled up to the waist of the deceased, when, after the saying of mantras and other ceremonies have been gone through, the friends who are present, throw in handfuls of earth till they raise a low mound over it. Sanyásis are always buried ; they are considered so holy that they have no need of the ceremonies necessary for baser mortals. Boys who have not undergone the ceremony of *upanayanam* (similar to the Anglican confirmation) ; by some castes, all unmarried girls ; with the Sudras, those under the age of ten ; those who die of small-pox, and soldiers who die in battle, all are buried. A relic of the ancient custom of placing food with the deceased (*pretáháram* or food for the spirit) still exists in the practice of cooking different kinds of food, and taking it to the burial-place, scattering it there. The remains at Pallávaram are evidently those of a burying people, and not of those who first cremate, and afterwards collect and place the burnt bones in the ground.

Dr. Burgess had suggested that one or more of the earthen tombs should be removed to Madras, but from the brittle condition in which

\* Logan, *Malabar*, 1887, Vol. I, p. 181.



they all were, it had been stated that it was impossible to remove any of them in their entirety. This certainly seemed to be so; the tombs were bulky, and the earthenware had so little cohesion, that it could be easily powdered between the fingers. The work thus seemed to be, if not altogether impossible, at least one of considerable difficulty, and requiring great care in execution. In addition, none of them were in a perfect condition; they were all cracked throughout, and it seemed that on any attempt to move one, it would instantly fall to pieces. As the removal therefore, of such a large unwieldy mass of cracked earthenware presented some rather peculiar difficulties, it may not be uninteresting to recount the method successfully adopted. On inspection, I first decided that it would be useless to attempt their removal if the earth had been taken from the inside. Though this added greatly to the weight, it was unavoidable, as the only cohesion the tombs had, rested in the hard earth which filled the interior. The tomb removed (see Plate X, fig. 1) is 6 feet long, 1 foot 8 inches deep, and 1 foot 6 inches broad, and has two rows of five legs. Like all the others it had a number of cracks over its surface, these were cemented, as, had this not been done, every piece would inevitably have separated whenever touched. The earth was cleared from around it, leaving it standing free on the ten legs. It was then lightly wrapped round with straw ropes; and bamboos were placed longitudinally above and below. Some packing-case planks were then cut to the necessary size, so as to form an enclosing box. Two planks were placed along each side, with upright supports fixed so that one would be nearly opposite each leg of the tomb; the wooden legs were cut so as to stand about 9 inches longer than the earthen ones. The box—open above and below—was then slipped over the top, and a hole dug in the ground below each wooden support, so that the box could be lowered till its lower plank was level with the under surface of the tomb. The space between the tomb and the sides of the box was then packed with straw, and a tarpaulin laid over as a cover. Cross bamboos were then inserted below, between each of the legs, and supported by ropes lashed around and over the top of the box. To ensure the safe lifting of the whole, the earth was cleared from under the tomb legs, thus leaving it suspended in the box. Large bamboos were then lashed over the top, and it was safely lifted to the surface. From thence it was removed to my tent half a mile distant. Before removing it further, it was considered desirable to put on some additional supports, as at that time the whole weight rested on the transverse bamboos below. Brackets of wood were therefore cut to fit the curve of the earthenware under surface; these were put underneath and fixed to the box sides. A longitudinal plank was then placed be-

low each row of the tomb legs, and, after the necessary cross-supporting pieces had been attached, the whole was removed by rail and cart to the Madras Government Museum. On its arrival, the two longitudinal planks, and cross wooden brackets were removed from under the large case, leaving the weight of the tomb resting on the bamboos as on its first removal. The legs of the box were then cut nearly level with those of the tomb, and it was lowered to the floor. As the earthen legs were not all of one equal length, wedges of varying thickness were fixed in below each; the ropes supporting the bamboos were then unwound, and the packing case lifted off. On removing the wrapping of straw rope, the tomb was found to be all right, without any new cracks, even in spite of the shaking it must have got in the journey to Madras.

A pyriform tomb was also removed to the Museum without much difficulty. The earth was left inside; the tomb wrapped round with straw rope, and placed point upwards in an ordinary packing case. (See Plate X, fig. 2.)\*

In addition to the two large sarcophagi, a number of smaller articles were also unearthed and removed to the Museum. These are—

No. 1.—A round lid, broken in seven pieces; was probably meant as a cover for No. 2; colour a reddish brown with black on the surface, (Tam. *Channake.*)

No. 2.—A pot, unbroken; evidently intended for rice or rice water. It is not dissimilar in shape to some chatties used by the people now-a-days; colour a reddish brown;  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter. (Tam. *Kanji-chattí.*)

No. 3.—Small, nearly round chatty, unbroken; probably intended for some liquid; red colour; 5 inches diameter. (Tam. *Kuduví.*)

No. 4.—Lota, partly broken, by being crushed against the under side of the tomb; red colour;  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter. (Tam. *Kuduví.*)

No. 5.—A small cup or chatti; probably for curry or similar food; red colour;  $3\frac{1}{8}$  inches diameter. (Tam. *Kattara.*)

No. 6.—Similar to No. 5;  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches diameter.

No. 7.—A round piece of earthenware, broken in two pieces; concave on one side, with a groove around its rim; convex on the other, with a piece broken away from the apex; colour red, but black on the surface. It has most probably been a lid, as the groove on the rim would seem to show;  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter. (Tam. *Chánnake.*)

No. 8.—A variety of No. 7;  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter.

No. 9.—Similar to No. 5;  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter.

\* None of the pyriform tombs as yet seen at Pallávaram have their covers complete. The majority of them have lost all trace of it: the one removed has none.



Nos. 1 to 7 were found in a pyriform tomb; and Nos. 8 and 9 in another, with fragments of other chatties.

I think there seems a probability that some at least, if not all, of the utensils which we find in these tombs were originally placed, not in, but over them. In almost every case traces of a pottery lid remain; with the pyriform tombs this was an inverted chatty with a large head moulding on the rim. With the oblong tombs, a flat slab of earthenware has, I believe, covered them in every case: some of these have disappeared, but fragments are always found inside. Now, in some tombs, there is simply an accumulation of soil, which has broken through the lid by its weight, and in these, the contents are usually in good preservation, and not lying on the bottom, but scattered about the inside. In others again the tomb is filled with earth and large stones, and in these, the chatties are usually broken, and the pieces are not on the bottom of the tomb, but are at different depths such as we would expect them, if they had fallen in with the mass of earth and stones through the broken lid. If the tomb had been intentionally filled with earth, which is very unlikely, the people would have shown some discrimination in filling it, and not used blocks of stone for the purpose. Then, if the small chatties had been originally placed inside, we would find them all on the lowest surface of the earth which fills the tomb; but in no case are they all so. On one of the oblong tombs which I partially exposed, I found a piece of its flat lid remaining at one end, and resting on it were the remains of a few broken chatties. These would thus seem to have been placed over and not in the tomb: if this portion of the lid had been broken, the small chatties would have found their way inside as in other excavated examples. All these facts are confirmatory of the theory of a mound having once covered each tomb. The earthenware would resist the superincumbent weight for a time, but becoming cracked by the expansion and contraction of the surrounding earth, would give way, and a mass of earth would fall in. This again, would cause a hollow in the core or centre of the mound itself, and so hasten its being washed down by the weather.

The first seven articles enumerated above, are exactly those which the ideas of those early people would suggest as necessary for the providing of meat, drink and lights for the spirit of the deceased. In some parts of China this custom still prevails. They believe that the hills—which they use for burial places,—are inhabited by spirits which protect the graves of the dead. They therefore offer to them a sacrifice of food, wine, and incense or candles. The graves at Pallávaram are all either on the hills, or on the sloping ground immediately below them. This may have been the result of the ancient edict which forbade the

use of fertile land for burial; or it may have been that the same idea which the Hindús, along with other nations, have of the sacredness of the hills, induced them to choose such places for the deposit of their dead. The ancient Jews had such a belief; we see the Chinese and other nations have it; and that such is not foreign to the traditions of the Hindús is evinced by some of their finest carvings of deities and most sacred shrines being placed on the hills. The custom now-a-days of placing a pot of food at a grave may be the lingering traces of the earlier custom. Even with castes which bury their dead,—and, the evidences point to these relics being the work of an aboriginal people who used burial in preference to cremation, as the bones I found are not calcined—no custom of placing such a number of utensils seems to prevail now, nor do any of them use any such receptacle for the body. With such a conservative race as the Hindús, who take ages to change any of their customs, it seems a very sufficient reason for assigning these antiquities to a very early period in the history of this country.

These ancient burial-places in South India are known to the people by various names which indicate the belief that they are temples, and not places of sepulture, for example, *Pandava kavil*, or temple of the Pandavas. It is curious that this should be the same idea once firmly believed in by Antiquaries in Europe, till dispelled by Fergusson, who conclusively proved that they could only be temples in the sense that they were shrines of the dead, and might be shrines of the votaries of ancestor worship.

*Megalithic remains at Perianattam near Chingleput.*

These consist of some fine groups of kistvaens and stone-circles. On the Villiyin hill, there are three or four tombs; and on the northern face of the Vallarí hill are from sixty to seventy examples. At least four classes of remains exist on the Villiyin hill; they are—

- (1.) Stone-circles, with kistvaens or dolmens in the centre,
- (2.) Circles, with no surface remains in the centre,
- (3.) Kistvaens or dolmens, without circles,
- (4.) Pottery sarcophagi, without stone enclosures.

The remains generally are much the same as the megalithic tombs at Pallávaram; but whereas at that place only one or two examples of the dolmens—in the centre of circles—occur, at Perianattam a large number exists in almost complete preservation. Of the first class, above noted, over a dozen were noted. They are formed of a number of large stones laid together, roughly forming three sides of a square, leaving the fourth side open, and the inside clear. A large flat slab is laid over the top of these as a roof. Close around the central group is a pile of



smaller stones, gradually rising towards the centre in a sort of cairn or mound. At a distance of a few feet from this first or inner circle is an outer concentric one, formed of blocks of stone, each stone about two or three feet in diameter; this outer ring encloses the tomb. Some of these stone-circles are quite complete, others have only a few of the central stones and outer circle remaining. A few stones from some of the circles had evidently been quite recently removed.

The majority of the remains consists of those noted under class 2. Some of these circles are quite complete, without a stone out of place, and they have no trace of anything remaining or having been in the centre. If there had been dolmens in the centre, their removal would have disturbed some of the stones in the outer circle: but in numbers of cases I observed no displacement. The earth level inside the circle is sometimes about two feet above the surrounding soil, forming a raised circular platform of earth; this may be due to a mound having been inside the circle and gradually washed down. One of these had a circle of 27 feet in diameter with 27 stones laid closely together: the inside level was 2 feet above the surrounding ground.

Of class 3, there are a number of examples. For classification, they might be included under those of the first, for they are simply the kistvaens or dolmens with their surrounding circles either wholly or partially removed. One had nine large stones laid together, with a flat slab, 6 feet by 5 feet and a foot thick, laid on the top.

Of class 4, only one partially complete example was seen projecting above the ground surface, but broken pieces of thick pottery at different places shewed that others did or still do exist there. The one referred to, was almost identical with the pyriform tombs at Pallávaram, and measured 1 foot 6 inches in diameter and 2 feet in depth. It was badly cracked, and had only some broken pieces of earthenware and large stones in the earth inside. This tomb, and the megaliths occupy the same relative positions on the hill as do the same classes of remains at Pallávaram. The stone circles are on the knolls and higher slopes, and the earthen urns lower down at the very base of the hill. No indications of the long earthenware coffins were observed, but it is quite probable they may also exist here.

An excavation was made in the centre of one of the simple stone circles, to ascertain what class of tomb it enclosed. The circle was incomplete, and without central dolmens. I only found two bones, and several broken pieces of small chatties. The shaft was carried down to a depth of 4 feet, but nothing else was found; these relics were 2 feet from the surface. Other remains there may once have been, but possibly they have been intentionally removed at one time or other;

or it might point to there having been a tumulus or mound inside the circle, in which case the funeral urn would be close to the ground surface, and when the mound disappeared, the relics would go also. The fragments of pottery may be of service in a classification of such articles found at other places: they are quite different from the chatties found in the Pallávaram earthenware sarcophagi; the pieces are moulded and have rude attempts at ornament. The contents of the Pallávaram tombs are all quite plain, and, with the exception of the crude notchings around the top of some of the larger tombs, there is no ornament of any sort: nor is there absolutely any on any of the small chatties yet found. As far as can be made out from these fragments, the outline also would seem to have differed from the others. The rim around the earthen sarcophagus seen at Perianattam, instead of being a bead-moulding as in some at Pallávaram, is moulded in a sort of spear-shaped section.

Another circle, which had only one of the centre stones remaining, was examined; but this had the appearance of having already been dug into at some previous time or other, and nothing was found but broken pottery. Could time have been had for an examination of one of the complete kistvaens, some relics, no doubt, would have been revealed.

#### MEGALITHS AND EARTHENWARE SARCOPHAGI AROUND MADURA.

##### *Dadampattí.*

At Dadampattí, on the eastern outskirts of the village, are traces of about a dozen megalithic tombs. Some have been at one time or other partly excavated, probably for the treasure they were supposed to contain, or for the large slabs of stone of which they were formed. Those remaining show a large stone kist underground, formed of stone slabs on the top, sides and bottom. These have once on a time been enclosed by stone circles, but in only one case does this remain, and that, only partially.

Close to these, a large stone covered a round earthenware tomb. I removed the slab and came to the tomb itself at over 3 feet below the ground surface: it was shaped like the pyriform earthen tombs at Pallávaram. The semi-globular earthen lid, which had once covered it, and which would extend up to the stone slab on the surface, was broken, but a few portions of it remained. Arranged around the outside of the rim was a series of chatties, but all broken; from the different fragments, there seem to have been about half a dozen of them: they were all very soft and brittle. One of a reddish material is shown in Plate XI, fig. 1. It is semi-globular, broken,  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep, with moulded rim and groove around the outside. Another was a portion of a black-glazed double-ringed stand for supporting the other



(Pl. XI, fig. 2). It is a fragment only, but the production of the curves gives a diameter of  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches with a depth of  $2\frac{1}{4}$ ; similar articles complete are shown in figs. 60, 61. Another fragment (fig. 3) is pear-shaped, of a thin material, red below, but black inside, and also black on the exterior where the rim had been; another of the same kind, more complete, is shown by fig. 27. The tomb had a bead-moulded rim; and the portions of the cover which remained, overlapped it by 10 inches; the edge of the cover rim was plain without moulding. I cleared the inside, and found a few bones and an iron spear head (fig. 4). The ground around the exterior was extremely hard, and in digging it out—at 6 feet from the surface—the men turned out a large frog, which had been embedded in the solid clay. The animal had a semi-transparent look, and died a few minutes after being brought to light.

Mr. Turner found a similar tomb at Paravai, the contents of which were some bones and chatties (figs. 5 to 8) and a large number of beads. Fig. 5 is a fragment of a ring-stand, similar to figs. 2, 60 and 61, it is black-glazed,\*  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter, and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches deep. Fig. 6 is a chattí of a reddish colour,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep, and 7 inches at the widest diameter. Fig. 7 is a chattí; brownish red, slightly mottled with dark spots, and glazed; moulded rim; notched ornament round body of pot; 8 inches deep, and 9 inches in diameter. Fig. 8 is a chattí; reddish colour; slightly different in shape from the above; no ornament; 6 inches deep and 6 inches in diameter. The beads found in this are peculiar and interesting. Some are of a reddish semi-transparent material, with milky streaks through them; a few are of a greenish hue, and others of white crystal; most of them have a design in white inlaid work, the lines seeming to have been graved on the surface, and the white enamel filled in. These are important, among other respects, in that they resemble beads found at the seven Pagodas. Sir Walter Elliot states,† that such articles have been picked up near some mounds there. Mr. Loventhal of Vellore showed me a number he had collected himself. The mounds, referred to, were supposed to cover remains of buildings, but excavations revealed nothing in the shape of masonry. From a comparison of the beads from the seven Pagodas with those found in the Madura tomb, I am convinced the former came from burial places also, which would explain the absence of buildings expected by the excavators. The other articles mentioned as being found by Sir Walter Elliot seem to completely confirm this theory.

A few of the most typical of the beads from the Paravai tomb are illustrated in Plate X, fig. 3. Those marked *a* are red, *b* are red or

\* See further remarks on this "glaze" or gloss.

† Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, p. 119.

various shades, *c* is red with white streaks, *d* is green, and *e* are red crystals.

These seem to be rather unusual, for I found none in any of the tombs I examined.

Another tomb removed from Paravai to Madura, was opened by myself. Inside were a quantity of human bones, evidently those of a large-sized person. An unusually large number of utensils were also found, fifteen in all. (Pl. XI, figs. 9 to 23.)

Figs. 9 to 14 are bowl-shaped, with a double curvature on the body. They have, as all the others, a slight glaze, and are of a rich red colour speckled with black spots. They vary in size from  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches to  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter, by  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep.

Figs. 15 to 21 are also bowl-shaped; but, with the exception of fig. 18, which has a slight hollow round its outer upper surface, are of a plain convex curve. They are black inside, and black on the upper surface of the exterior, merging into red on the under side. They vary in size from  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, by  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep.

Fig. 22 is a *chattí*, similar to fig. 7; 8 inches in diameter and  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep.

Fig. 23 is a small vessel, semi-egg-shaped; broken. It is black inside, and on the exterior has the beautiful merging of the two colours, black and red, so characteristic of the pottery found in this neighbourhood; 5 inches in diameter and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep.

#### *Paravai.*

At Paravai the tombs are of earthenware, pyriform-shaped. They occupy a level piece of waste land to the east of the village. A great many appear above the soil, covering an area of several acres. I excavated one, and found it to be completely filled with hard compact earth and stones; there was neither trace of bones nor *chatties*, not even a fragment: the interior was coated with lime. Probably it may have been emptied at some previous time or other.

Another I excavated, and found a number of bones and a skull, the latter being very nearly perfect (lower right of Plate XI), and two small broken vessels (figs. 24, 25). The bone forming the skull mostly remains in position, and the other broken fragments could, I doubt not, be fitted on: it is in very good preservation.

Fig. 24 is bowl-shaped; black inside, and black and red outside:  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep.

Fig. 25 is similar to fig. 23.

The last tomb examined here was perfectly complete, with cover in position. The tomb and cover were cracked in different places, but no



piece was out of place. The contents might therefore be expected to be complete. The cracks were sufficiently wide to admit of soil finding its way inside along with moisture. This tomb and others I have since examined, perfectly corroborate the theory I previously advanced in a report to Government, that all such tombs as these seemed to have had a lid on the top. I find also on comparing their proportions, that those pyriform tombs at Pallávaram are all broken off nearly midway down their original depth. This may have been the result of their having been placed half their depth in the earth (see Pl. X, fig. 4), the upper portion above the ground level being covered with a mound. As the mound was washed down, the portion of the tomb above the ground level would disappear also. We might account for others remaining perfect, with their covers complete, through having—tomb and mound—been placed in a hollow depression in the ground. The tumulus silting-down would not disperse, but remain and fill up the hollow ground. In these burial-places, a considerable silting-down has undoubtedly been in progress since the time they were first used; for, though they now mostly present a uniformly level appearance, tombs at one place may be several feet below the present surface, while at others the broken middle circumference of a tomb only appears. This would argue irregularity of the ancient surface. The contents of the tomb referred to above were four articles and other fragments of glazed earthenware (Pl. XI, figs. 26 to 29), and a large quantity of crumbling human bones, all embedded in loose fine-grained earth.

Fig. 26 is a large bowl-shaped vessel,  $10\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter by 5 inches deep; black inside, black and red on the exterior; with rim mould externally and internally. It is the only one of its class found among all the examples I examined.

Fig. 27 is a conical-shaped vessel, 6 inches in diameter by  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 28 is cup-shaped,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter and 5 inches deep; black inside, and black and red outside. On the black surface, next the rim, is a peculiar attempt at ornament, met with on a few of the articles found in this district; I have as yet seen it nowhere else. It seems to have been put on in another colour, and this, coming off, has left a dull mark on the glazed surface. Some portions of the colour still adhere, and it appears of a whitish tinge. The marks are shown as small spots or short lines, arranged in groups of seven curved concentric lines, pointing diagonally downwards from the rim. (See Plate X, fig. 5.)

Fig. 29 is a large chattí,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and depth; colour red. It is similar to figs. 7 and 22.

*Anapanádi.*

The tombs at Anapanádi, on the south-east outskirts of Madura, are all of earthenware and pyriform in shape; they stand in a piece of waste ground to the east of the village. The ground in its extent and general appearance exactly resembles that at Paravai. The tombs appear above the ground singly and in groups. They vary considerably in size. One, which I dug out and removed, contained the bones of a child. It measures 1 foot  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, by 1 foot 7 inches deep. Others I saw, evidently broken off about their middle circumference, measured 3 feet 6 inches in diameter. These were the largest of any. All these were of a coarse red earthenware material, of a very different clay from the finely-grained light material of the enclosed smaller articles. Some few tombs, however, always small, which I noticed most particularly at this place, were made of a thin black and red glazed earthenware like that of the small vessels, about three-sixteenths of an inch thick. This species of tomb was comparatively limited in number; they were evidently used by a superior class, and—from the bones found inside—seemingly by females. One of this latter form of tomb, on examination, was found to contain three nicely-shaped little vessels. (Plate XI, figs. 30 to 32).

Fig. 30, small pear-shaped lota,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and 2 inches deep; colour, black inside, black and red outside.

Fig. 31, small-necked chatty, with painted bottom;  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter and depth; colour, black and red.

Fig. 32, double ring or stand, probably for fig. 31;  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches deep; colour, black.

A tomb of the more ordinary earthenware I next dug out, remained with its globular cover complete. It measured 3 feet in diameter, and 4 feet deep including the lid. As usual, it was cracked in different places. The expansion and contraction of the moist earth which had found its way inside through the cracks could hardly leave it otherwise. It stood deep in the ground, with none others appearing on the surface within a considerable distance of it. In this I found one solitary vessel (Fig. 33)  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter and 5 inches deep, similar in shape to Fig. 28. There were no other fragments, and as the tomb was complete, none could have previously been taken out. Very different is this from the fifteen articles found in the one from Paravai (with figs. 9 to 23). Doubtless there were reasons for the difference—perhaps the poverty or wealth of the deceased, his surviving family, or some custom peculiar to these people. This one may have been the last of his family; the grave was apart from the others and buried deeply in the ground. In this one, I found a skull with some of the bone remaining; and the rest in



almost perfect outline, through having been filled in with the clayey soil. Its outline should be of importance in pointing to the class of people who originated these remains. The bones of the skeleton are large-sized, and evidently those of a person over the ordinary height. The proportions of these and most others found in the ordinary-sized tombs should, I am afraid, throw some discredit on the popular native legend, that people lived to a great age, shrunk into pigmies, and were then so buried. This fiction seems to be very general, for I heard it related by people at all these places I visited. None of the bones, found in any of these graves, were calcined. In another tomb, of thick earthenware, I found some bones and three vessels, besides broken fragments of others. (Figs. 34 to 36.)

Fig. 34, a necked chattí,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 35, similar to figs. 28 to 33;  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 36, semi-oval vessel, 5 inches in diameter and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep; colour, black and red.

In a broken specimen of one of the small sarcophagi—of thin fine glazed material—four articles were found (figs. 37 to 40). It was about 18 inches high and was simply an enlarged example of fig. 27, with a series of grooves on the outer surface, parallel to and near the rim.

Fig. 37 is a small cup-shaped vessel,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep; colour, black and red. It has the peculiar dotted, diagonal-lined ornament I previously remarked in fig. 28; in this case the groups are of four lines each.

Fig. 38, a necked chattí,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter and  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches high, colour red.

Fig. 39, similar to fig. 36; colour, black and red.

Fig. 40, small bowl-shaped vessel,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep; colour, black and red.

In some fragments close to the tomb, in which were the above, I found a small semi-globular pot nearly complete; size, 4 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep: colour, black and red, with the ornament on the black, before described. The small tomb found at this place, and which I removed complete to Madras, was opened after my return. Removing the soil, I found fragments of two small chatties, and also figs. 42, 43 and 62.

Fig. 42 is a small cup-shaped article,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter and depth; colour, black and red.

Fig. 43, a small-necked chattí, 7 inches in diameter and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep. Its colour is red, but on one side is an irregular patch of glazed

black colour, similar to that on others described. It would seem as if some of the organic substance which causes the black had been unintentionally mixed with the red clay, out of which the chattí had been made; or it may be due to the burning, as I shall note further on.

Fig. 62, a small semi-egg-shaped cup,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter, and  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep: colour, black and red. It is similar in shape to one I found at Pallávaram; this other has no glaze, however. In addition to these, I found a number of bones and a skull. The skull had been somewhat crushed against the inside by the chatties, but I was able to remove it in as complete a condition as it was found. Its bone lining is very thin. It is shown at the left foot of plate XI. The bones—as were to be expected from the size of the tomb—are small-sized, and those of a child. The tomb itself is shown—reversed—in the upper centre of plate XI.

Figs. 44 to 61 are articles previously collected from various tombs at Paravai by Mr. Bartells, Inspector of Police.

Fig. 44, a small bowl-shaped vessel,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 45, a lid with moulded handle on top;  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and 4 inches high; colour, black. It is very similar to another I found at Pallávaram.\* The checked rim for fitting the top of the vessel, which they were intended to cover, is the same in both cases. This one is slightly higher in proportion to its diameter than the other.

Fig. 46, a double-curved bowl, with moulded rim;  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and 2 inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 47, a bowl,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 48, a bowl,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, 3 inches deep; colour, same.

Fig. 49, a bowl,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep; colour, same.

Fig. 50, fragment of a similar vessel: colour, same.

Fig. 51, bowl, 6 inches in diameter,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep; colour, same.

Fig. 52, bowl,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, 2 inches deep; colour, same.

Fig. 53, a very small vessel,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep; colour, black: is of a heavier material than the others.

Fig. 54, a small double-curved vessel, similar to, but larger than Fig. 53; 4 inches in diameter,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep.

Fig. 55, a small double-curved vessel, similar to, but larger than Fig. 53; 4 inches in diameter, 1 inch deep.

Fig. 56, a small lotí, similar to Fig. 30;  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches deep; colour, black.

Fig. 57, cup-shaped vessel,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches deep; colour, black and red. The material is particularly thin and light.

\* See No. 7 under description of articles found at Pallávaram.



Fig. 58, semi-egg-shaped cup, similar to Figs. 23, 36 and 39;  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, 4 inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 59, double-moulded ring stand, with necking between the rings pierced through;  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches deep; colour, black. The surfaces are all smooth, black and glazed, with the exception of the under inner surface, which has been left rough, and wants the glaze.

Fig. 60, Do. Do., but larger, with the ring opening wider,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep; colour, black.

Fig. 61, Do. Do.,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches deep; colour, black.

The two preceding articles are complete examples of the fragments, Figs. 2 and 5.

One striking peculiarity in all these articles is the surface glaze, if it might be so called. It might be more properly described as a gloss, as it has little or no hardness or brittleness, but has more the appearance of polish on wood-work or horn. It might be the result of some organic matter in the clay, or probably may have been put on the surface only. This latter hypothesis finds credence for instance in Fig. 59, where the material is black throughout. The portions intended to be seen when the vessel was in use, *i. e.*, the top and exterior, are smooth and glazed, while the bottom side has been left rough by the potter, and is unglazed. In one fragment, the outside is the usual black and red glaze, while the inside is dull black. A slight portion of the inner upper surface has the glaze, and it has exactly the streaked appearance of having been laid on with a brush or rubbed with some material till polished,—almost certainly the latter. Had the glaze been caused by some material in the clay, it would have appeared equally on all sides. I showed one of these to Dr. Wilson, of the Presidency College, who thought it was not a true glaze. One other peculiarity is the difference in colour of material in the same vessel. One fragment shews this perfectly—the black, the full thickness at the top, tapering down towards the bottom centre of the inside, where its thickness is a mere line; while the red is thickest on the bottom, thinning up the outside, till it fades into the black at two-thirds of the height, (see plate X, fig. 6). This may be due to different clays, but it would be difficult to run the one into the other as shown on the section. If different, the red clay would be first turned on the wheel, the black afterwards gradually added to the upper surfaces. The most probable hypothesis, however, is, that there is simply the one clay, and the different colours are due to the degree of heat applied in the burning. In the large terra cotta images so common in certain districts, the material used in burning was straw; with this they were stuffed, and the fire applied left the inside a perfect

black, and the outside red. Straw is commonly used for the burning of some potter's work, and it may possibly have been used for those now under notice. Most of these articles are either round or pointed on the bottom, and, if kept upright in the kiln, would require a support to steady them. If so, they might have been placed in the kiln in some sort of soil or clay bed; this would partially protect the lower portion of their outer surface from the heat. The fire in burning would play freely on the inner exposed surface and the upper outer surface; these would thus be subjected to a more intense heat than the partially-protected bottom. Burned in this way, a certain heat would give the red colour, and a greater would burn black; the exact proportion of heat would leave the bottom red, the other flame-exposed portions black, as we now find them. One chattí already referred to (Pl. XI, fig. 43) would seem to bear out this theory. It is a red colour almost throughout, with two small portions of the upper surface showing black blotches. It appears as if the heat had not been sufficiently intense to fully blacken the top, and the fire had been banked or gone out, just as the black was beginning to appear, or before the temperature had been sufficiently high to give it the required shades. In regard to this matter I made inquiries of some native potters in Madras, as to the black and red colours and glazing of the pottery. I showed them a specimen, and asked if they could explain the colours and glazing, and produce something like it. I was told they could do so, and that the black colour was caused by a nut rubbed on the surface; a greater or less coating of the nutty substance giving a more or less thickness of black in one material, hence the merging of the black into the red.\* The glaze was said to be produced by a species of nut likewise rubbed on the surface, and a certain degree of fineness could be given by burning the material with paddy husks or seed chaff. To test these statements, I asked a man to come and make a piece of pottery before me, which should have all the peculiarities of that from Madura. He offered to come, and did come, but I regret the wetness of the weather prevented his attempting it.

I have since been favoured by Government with the loan of a pamphlet† on some investigations conducted in the Salem District. Mention is therein made of red, and also black pottery;‡ some are said to have been black outside and red inside, and *vice versâ*; but it is not clearly stated, if the two colours occur on one side of the same piece of pottery, as in the Madura examples. They had a glossy surface, and some were “ornamented with transverse lines” similar, I presume, to

\* *Ib.*

† *Report on Tumuli in the Salem District*, by the Rev. Mr. Philips, 1872.

‡ *Ib.* p. 5, paragraph II, 1.



those from Madura. A few were submitted to Dr. Hunter, then in charge of the School of Arts at Madras. His opinion on the "glaze" or "gloss" was that "the surface is not glazed, but is merely polished by rubbing it with the juice of Toothee or *Abatilon Indicum*, a mucilaginous juice, somewhat like gum, that is used by the natives at the present day to give a gloss to black earthenware. The surface can be scratched with a knife, though it resists water. After rubbing the surface with the juice, the vessel is again fired, and a species of smear is thus produced which resists acids and water....." "Another method of producing a smear is in use in India, *viz.*, rubbing the vessel with mica ground in water, and exposing it to heat." This last method may, I believe, very possibly have been adopted in Madura, for most of the articles show small pieces of mica adhering to various parts of the surface. The beads found in these Salem tumuli would seem—from the description Dr. Hunter gives\* of them—to also resemble those before mentioned. He says: "They are made of carnelian, ornamented with a pure white enamel of considerable thickness, which has been let into the stone by grinding the pattern, filling in probably with oxide of tin and exposing to heat. The enamel is very hard, cannot be touched with a knife, and is not acted on by a strong nitric acid. The small beads are made of white carnelian and icespar."

No description of the designs engraved on the surfaces is given,† so I cannot compare them in this respect; but the material and method of inserting the enamel would seem to have been the same in both cases. The large urns excavated at Salem were of the common round kind, and many swords and other iron weapons were found in the tombs. They had thus probably been used by warriors or hunters. In only one of the Madura examples, at Dadampatti, did I find a portion of an iron sword. The absence of such weapons from their sepulchres would thus seem to show that the people in these parts of Madura had been a pastoral race.

#### MEGALITHIC REMAINS NEAR KODAIKANAL.

##### *Palmi Hills Kistvaens.*

There are quite a number of groups of kistvaens scattered about the sides of the valley west from the Perumál Peak; these have been generally noticed in Mr. Sewell's *Topographical Lists of Antiquities* (Volume I, p. 288). In company with Mr. Turner, I visited one, which had been referred to by Bishop Caldwell. It is known as Arasi Parai,

\* *Ib.*, p. 6, para, II, 3.

† They may probably be in the photographs, but the copy I had did not have these.

is about 3,500 feet lower than Kodaikanal, and stands on a level outcrop of rock midway up the east side of the valley west from Perumál hill. It consists of a group of kistvaens, enclosed by a regularly-built masonry basement, measuring about 42 feet square. The stones forming the square are rough blocks, square-dressed on the exterior and fitted together without mortar. Many of them have fallen out of position, and the blocks lie heaped up outside; but the square can still be distinctly traced. The soil is only a few inches in depth, and the walls have been built on the solid rock. Inside the enclosure are a number of kistvaens, in various stages of preservation—placed regularly side by side. These are formed by four upright slabs resting on the rock, with a large slab laid on the top. The kists and the rest of the space in the square enclosure have been filled up to the depth of a few feet with earth and stones. The remains stand north-east and south-west. We examined a few of them, but found nothing but small pieces of broken pottery; they seem all to have been rifled at some previous time or other; I heard that some others in the vicinity had lately been privately opened, and beads found inside. The side stones of the tombs stand generally in proper position, but the top slabs are very dilapidated, and one—that in the west corner—has evidently been lifted bodily, and thrown outside. The slab lies in a position where it could by no possibility have fallen naturally; this does not, however, seem to have been done at all recently. The state of this group is one of general ruin.

A mile to the north of the previous one, and a few yards down from the path, is another fine group of kistvaens in very complete preservation. It was first discovered by Mr. Turner. This has also the same peculiarity of a square enclosing basement. Being built on a very decided slope of rock, and the stones of the basement not placed vertically, but at right angles to the rock surface, many of them have fallen out of position. On the north side, most of the stones of the wall have fallen out of place and rolled partly down the hill. The kistvaens themselves lie over at the same angle, but stand complete, with the top slabs in their proper positions. Some of these are very large, and one of them must weigh at least five tons. The position of this group is different from the other, standing north-west by south-east. It has not been altogether free from attempts at destruction, for one slab, at the west corner, has a piece four feet by two feet broken out of it by crow-bars, the marks of which are distinctly visible. Some one had evidently tried to throw the stone out of position, but it being too heavy, they had commenced to break it up. When we saw it, it was in rather a dangerous position, for the side stone had been removed; I therefore placed some stone supports under it. The attempted destruction may



have taken place many years ago, when the roadway was being constructed, or it may have been through natives searching for treasure. The contents of this have, at one time or other, been cleared out, and we only found a few pieces of broken pottery. These were interesting, however, in that they shewed the peculiar black and red glazed colours of the pottery found in the plains near Madura. If this does not show that these megaliths were erected by migratory sections of the tribes who used the others on the plains, it would at least prove they must have had some connexion with them, when they used the same kinds of pottery. It is curious that this should have been so; the one class of megalithic remains have an enclosure of stone circles whereas the others are erected in a square enclosure.

The square built basement of these kistvaens is a peculiarity in its way, and is but one of the many varieties of megalithic remains, pertaining to different parts of the country. Cromlechs and dolmens are found, with slight variations in their character, all the world over; and it is also interesting to find that funeral jars, seemingly such as these we have lately been examining, are found in other countries besides India. Between Carthagen and Almeria, the remains of a pre-historic colony have lately been found, which are believed to have been inhabited by some unknown race previous to the Aryans. Numbers of utensils, ornaments, and arms have been found, some without trace of metal, and others in stone, iron, and bronze. Remains of bodies were found buried in large jars and in tiled square enclosures. This in Spain; and in Africa also, an aboriginal tribe—in Taveta—have burial customs which are similar in some respects to those remaining in India. From a recent traveller and explorer\* we learn that “after death the body is buried in a sitting posture, the left arm resting on the knee, and the head supported by the hand, the contrary arm and hand being used by the women. When they have remained sufficiently long to be reduced to skeletons, the skulls of the man and his chief wife are taken out, and placed in deep, oval-shaped pots. These are laid on their sides at the base of dracsena trees in the centre of his plantation, where in the shape of good spirits they keep watch and ward over the welfare of the crops.”

When we find cromlechs, stone circles, and other megalithic remains in different parts of the world, presenting a wonderful similarity in design and arrangement to each other, it would argue either a wandering tribe in early periods of ancient society, or different races having connexion with each other. We find in India megalithic and various forms of earthenware receptacles for the dead, which have evidently

\* Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, 3rd edition, 1885, p. 110.

been used contemporaneously with each other. The probability therefore is, that these earthen tombs may perhaps be as widespread as the megaliths are known to be. Those buried in these ancient Indian jars could only have been placed in a sitting posture, similar to that practised by certain modern burying castes. It is certainly curious to find the same jars and a similar custom at the present day in Africa. A wider investigation might reveal a more widespread practice still prevailing in other countries.



*The Mother of Jahángír.*—By MAHÁMAHOPÁDHYÁYA KAVIRÁJA SHYÁMAL DÁS, M. R. A. S., F. R. H. S., *Court Poet and Historian, Udaipur.* Translated from the *Hindí* by BÁBÚ RÁM PRASÁD.

“It is curious that there should be any uncertainty about the name and family of Jahángír’s mother,” is the opening line of a paper by H. Beveridge, Esq., C. S., published in the Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, No. 3 for 1887, page 164.

A careful perusal of the paper, instead of removing the *uncertainty*, gives rise to several fresh doubts and suspicions, which shall be treated in this paper, in the order in which they occur.

Q. 1. Was Jahángír’s mother a Hindú lady?

This question must be answered in the affirmative, and of this reply proofs are given below.

Q. 2. Was *ignorance* or *prejudice* the reason why the Muhammadan historians did not record the name of Jahángír’s mother?

There should be no wonder if they were guided by religious or national prejudice in withholding her name from their works, few of which are totally free from prejudice—a fact that needs no confirmation.

Q. 3. Was a Jodh Báí Jahángír’s mother?

No. The only lady of Jodh’pur wedded to Akbar (Jahángír’s father) was *Rukmáwatí*, the daughter of Ráo Mall Dev by his concubine\* Típú. She had been given away in marriage to Akbar by Chandra Sen, the son of Mall Dev; and *she had no issue*.

Another Jodh’pur princess Mán’matí, the daughter of Motá Rájá Udai Singh, was married in the Samvat year 1645 (A. D. 1588) to Jahángír himself, who named her *Jagat Gosáyin* or ‘Mistress of the World.’ Prince Khurram, afterwards the emperor Sháh Jahán, was born of her.

\* The Hindú Rájás had no scruple in giving away girls of illegitimate birth in marriage to the Muhammadan emperors, who had not the least objection to accepting matches of this nature.



Q. 4. Was a sister of Pahár Khán, uncle of Rájá Mán Singh and a brother of Bhag'wán Dás, the mother of Jahángír?

No. I second the statement of my learned friend Mr. Beveridge, that, granting a sister of Pahár Khán was in Akbar's haram, she was not Jahángír's mother.

Then, as regards Pahár Khán himself, Rájá Bhag'wán Dás (of Jaipur) had no brother of that name, as none of the eight sons of the latter's father, Rájá Bhár\* Mall, bore it. Perhaps by the word *brother*, Jahángír meant only a *relative*; as relatives of the Ráj'púts, removed even by ten generations, are called *brothers*.

Q. 5. Was Jahángír's mother (a) the daughter or (b) the granddaughter of Bhár Mall?

(a) Jahángír's mother was the elder daughter of Rájá Bhár Mall Kachhwáhá of Amber (Jaipur). She had been married to Akbar, according to Abu-l-Fazl,† at Sámbar in H. 969 (A. D. 1562).

Like Abu-l-Fazl, the other Muhammadan authors have, through prejudice, omitted the name of this lady in their narrative of Jahángír's birth.

But Munshí Suján Rái who is considered a reliable authority by the Persian authors, and most likely derived the information relating to Jahángír's birth from the contemporaries of Akbar and Jahángír, plainly says in his *Khuláṣatu-t-Tawárikh*.‡ that Jahángír was born of the daughter of Rájá Bhár Mall Kachhwáhá, in H. 977 (A. D. 1570), which is also the uniform statement of the *Mirát-i-Aftáb Numá*,§ the *Siyaru-l-Mutakhirín*,|| and the *Tárikh-i-Rashídu-d-dín Khání*.¶ The historians of Ráj'pútáná likewise agree in stating Jahángír to have been born of an Amber princess.

(b) The granddaughter of Bhár Mall (and daughter of Bhag'wán Dás) was married to prince Jahángír, and their nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and splendour by Akbar. Prince Khusrau was the result of the union.

Jahángír writes in his Memoirs that, when this Begam committed suicide by swallowing a dose of opium at Alláhábád, he married another

\* In the paper under discussion the form *Bihári Mall* is an error. Trans. [What proof is there for this statement? ED.]

† Akbarnáma, Vol. II, p. 198. The page in the Bib. Ind. edition is 157.

‡ MSS. p. 221. Written in the 40th year of 'Alamgír's reign H. 1107 (A. D. 1697).

§ MSS. p. 216. Written in the 45th year of Sháh 'Alam II.'s reign, H. 1225 (A. D. 1811), by Sháh Nawáz Khán Háshimí of Delhi.

|| Luck. Ed. p. 116. Written in H. 1195 (A. D. 1781) by Munshí Sayyid Ghulám Husain.

¶ p. 71. Hyderabad, 1880 A. D. By Munshí Ghulám Imám Khán.

Jaipur princess, the daughter of Jagat Singh (son of Mán Singh and grandson of Bhag'wán Dás).

Q. 6. Jahángír's mother was not a Hindú lady, but a Muhammadan, the widow of Bairám Khán.

This affirmation is contradicted by the statements made in answering the last question.

The widow of Bairám Khán, named Salímah Sultán Begam, was a very intelligent lady, possessing many virtues and accomplishments;\* she had certainly been married to Akbar, and was the most distinguished of his wives, as Mr. Beveridge says, and commanded the respect of all the ladies in the zanána: but the lady, who had the honour of giving birth to Jahángír, was a Jaipur princess—a princess, Hindú by origin.†

Q. 7. Was Núr Jahán entrusted by Jahángír to Ruqiyyah Begam or to Salímah Sultán?

Núr Jahán, when brought to Court after the assassination of her husband Sher Afgan, was kept in the charge of *Ruqiyyah Begam* (the daughter of Mírzá Hindál, one of Bábar's sons), the Begam of Akbar, next to Salímah Sultán in respect.

Q. 8. Is the word *Ruqiyyah* or *raqabah* in the *Iqbálnáma*?

The *Iqbálnáma*‡ has the word *Ruqiyyah*, the name of the daughter of Khalífah 'Alí, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet—which being regarded as a blessed one, is given by the Moslems to their daughters.

The word *raqabah*§ would make no sense in the passage in question.

Q. 9. What is the correct meaning of the words *wálidah sabab-i-khesh*?

This expression does not mean “own mother,” but a lady regarded as a mother for some reason (*sabab*).

Q. 10. What authority is there for the statement that Salímah had adopted Jahángír, after his own mother's death?

Salímah Sultán was considered the guardian of Akbar's zanána, and all the children of Akbar and Jahángír were tended by her: it was for this very reason that she mediated on Jahángír's behalf, when he had fallen out with Akbar, and brought him to Court from Alláhábád. Jahángír regarded her as his mother, and she in turn looked upon

\* The *Mirát-i-'Álam* and the *Tárikh-i-Khurshíd Jáhí* give the details of her noble attributes. Her metrical compositions were signed *Makhfí* (*hidden, anonymous*).

† It was impossible that a Hindú lady could, when married to a Muhammadan king, continue a *Hindú*, at least in the eyes of the Hindús; in that sense, it can be said that Jahángír's mother was *not a Hindú lady*. Trans.

‡ Lucknow Ed. 1870, p. 529.

§ Evidently there is a misprint in the *Bib. Ind. Ed.*, the letter **ي** having lost a dot, we read *raqabah* ( **وقبه** ), instead of *ruqiyyah* ( **رؤيعة** ). Trans.



him as her son. But it should be borne in mind that there was no system of adopting children among the Muhammadans, if the word *adoption* is taken in its *legal* sense.

Q. 11. Can there be any doubt that Salímah was Jahángír's mother?

Salímah was only a step-mother of Jahángír. His own mother was the daughter of Bhár Mall.\*

Q. 12. Was Sháhzáda Khánam, the daughter of Salímah Sultán, Jahángír's full sister?

As Salímah Sultán was not Jahángír's *own mother*, her daughter was not his *full sister*.

Before concluding this paper, I must criticise a statement of Abu-l-Fazl, implying flattery to the Muhammadan emperors. He says that, a certain Hindú Rájá *offered* his daughter in marriage to the emperor Akbar, beseeching His Majesty to honour him, by keeping her in his haram.

This statement is totally incorrect. The Hindú Rájás did not give away their daughters voluntarily to the Muhammadan emperors; the origin of the practice is given in the following paragraphs.†

When Humáyún had been expelled from India by the Paṭhán Sher Sháh Súr, and in his flight reached Irán, he was taken to task by the Persian king *Tahmásp*, that he could not have lost his hold on India, had he been prudent enough to have contracted marriage-ties with the Hindú Rájás, as Bábar had done. In that case, he said, the Hindú Rájás would have assisted him in times of need.

Humáyún perceived the value of the important political dodge suggested by *Tahmásp*, and was determined to act up to its very letter, on his return to India, but he died no sooner than he returned.

His son Akbar was fully alive to the advantages likely to accrue by adopting such a policy; and once he told Rájá Bhár Mall, that the relatives of the Imperial family, equal to them in rank and nobility, had been left in Turkístán, and it would be a good thing if the Hindú Rájás, belonging to ancient independent royal families, were to contract marriage relationship with the imperial household.

Rájá Bhár Mall, looking upon it as objectionable, on religious grounds, for Hindú Rájás to marry Muhammadan princesses, preferred the alternative of giving his daughter to the emperor in marriage, as stated by Suján Rái.‡

\* Vide ante Q. 5.

† [It would be interesting to know the Kaviráj's authority for his statements in those paragraphs regarding *Tahmásp's* advice and Humáyún's and Akbar's attitude towards it. ED.]

‡ See Q. 5 of this paper.

In his Memoirs, Jahángír says that he solicited the hand of the daughter of Jagat Singh Kachhwáhá, son to Rájá Mán Singh of Jaipur, but his suit having been rejected by Ráo Bhoj of Búndí, the girl's maternal grandfather, he had a mind to return from Kábul to India, to punish the Ráo for his insolence, who, however, was dead before Jahángír's return.

When the Búndí Rájás threw off the allegiance to the Maháránás of Udaipur and entered into the Imperial service in S. 1625 (A. D. 1568), they had made a contract with Akbar, not to marry their daughters to the Moslem emperors; and like the Udaipur House they looked down upon those Rájás who had done so; and it was for this reason that Ráo Bhoj objected to his granddaughter being made a Begam.

*Summary.*

An attempt has been made in this paper to show that Jagángír's mother was a lady, Hindú by origin, having been the daughter of Rájá Bhár Mall of Jaipur; that Salímah Sultán was Jahángír's step-mother, and that the Hindú Rájás did not offer their daughters voluntarily to the Muhammadan emperors, but they gave their daughters, when solicited by the emperors, to contract marriage ties with them.

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*Remarks on the above paper.—By H. BEVERIDGE, ESQ., C. S.*

I am very glad that the subject has been taken up, and I am much obliged to Kaviráj Shyámál Dás for pointing out that the *Khuláshatu-t-Tawárikh* gives Bihári Mall's daughter as the mother of Jahángír. The question is, if this is a sufficient authority. The *Khuláshatu-t-Tawárikh* has not, I believe, ever been printed, but the MS. in the Society's Library is in accordance with the Kaviráj's statement. Munshí Subhán Rái (the name given him by Elliot) wrote at the end of the 17th century, in the time of Aurangzáb and some seventy years after Jahángír's death. He is therefore not a contemporary historian, and we do not know whence he got the fact about Bihári Mall's daughter. According to Colonel Lees, Subhán Rái is a good writer, but Sir Henry Elliot speaks very disparagingly of him. Many, however, may think his statement sufficient to determine the point. The other authorities, quoted by the Kaviráj, do not, I think, strengthen Subhán Rái's evidence, as they are very modern. Ghulám Husain Khán, the earliest of them, wrote about a century ago, and his statement seems to have been merely copied from



Subhán Rái. It seems that, as regards the times before his own, this writer is a mere plagiarist from Subhán Rái or some other munshí. Besides he clearly is not accurate, for he describes the marriage of Bihárá Mall's daughter as having taken place after the capture of Chitor, whereas it occurred six years previously.

I still think the silence of all the leading historians remarkable. Neither Abu-l-Fazl, nor Nizámu-d-dín, nor Badáoní, nor Firishtah nor Kháfi Khán mentions Bihárá Mall's daughter as Jahángír's mother. This cannot have been the result of bigotry; for Abu-l-Fazl, at least, was no bigot, and he and some of the others mention the marriage of Bihárá Mall's daughter with approval. If they approved of the marriage, why should they not have approved of its resulting in the birth of a son? They distinctly mention that Bhag'wán Dás' daughter was the mother of Khusrú. The Mu'áşiru-l-Umará, now being printed by the Society, is a modern book, but it is an elaborate one, and was highly thought of by Professor Blochmann. It has biographies of Bihárá Mall and his sons, but it nowhere mentions that Bihárá Mall's daughter gave birth to Jahángír.

I have consulted the MS. of the Tawárikh-i-Salím in our library. The statement there is exactly as Price (p. 19) translates it, that Jahángír married a *daughter* of Bihárá Mall, and had by her his son Khusrú. This daughter might possibly be a younger sister of the one who married Akbar, but the statement that she was the mother of Khusrú is certainly wrong. Undoubtedly his mother was the daughter of Bhag'wán. As for the passage about Pahár Khán, or Bahádur Khán, as it is in our MS., the Kaviráj's remark, about the lax use of the word brother, is irrelevant as the word in the autobiography is uncle and not brother. The statement (Price, p. 34) is that Pahár Khán was a dignitary of 2000 and the uncle of Rájá Mán Singh, and that his sister was in Akbar's haram, but no favourite with destiny. A Bahár Khán or Bahádur Khán is mentioned in Abu-l-Fazl's list of Akbar's grandees. He is No. 87, and is described as one of the ghuláms or slaves of Humáyún, so that he may have been originally a Hindú, like I'timád Khán of Gujrát, but how he came to be Rájá Mán Singh's uncle, I do not know. There is a curious statement in the Tawárikh-i-Salím (Price, p. 47), that Akbar had a son by BÍbí Maryam who was placed under the care of Rájá Bihárá Mall. Could this be the BÍbí Maryam about whom there seem to be traditions at Fathpúr Síkrí?

The Kaviráj speaks of traditions and of the historians of Ráj-pútáná, but Tod and others do not mention any tradition about Bihárá Mall's daughter. On the contrary, Tod tells us that the name of Bhag'wán Dás is execrated in Rájputáná, because he was the first who

allied himself with the Moghul. This statement is repeated in the Political History of Jaipur by Col. Brooke. (Government Selections, No. 65, p. 14.) It is, however, certainly wrong, for there is no doubt that his father had previously given his daughter in marriage to Akbar. I admit, fully, that if a Rájput lady was the mother of Jahángír, there is better authority for her having been Bihárí Mall's daughter, than for her having been of the Jodhpur family. I cannot find that Udai Singh, or the Moṭá Rájá gave his sister to Akbar, though he gave his daughter to Jahángír, and it would appear that Chandra Sen's introduction to Akbar and the marriage of his sister or other relative to Akbar did not take place till the 15th year of the reign, that is, after Jahángír's birth. I also admit that there are great difficulties in the way of holding that either Salímah or Ruqiyyah Begam was the mother of Jahángír. But I still think it not established that his mother was Bihárí Mall's daughter. Perhaps the *Tárikh-i-Alfí* would throw light on the subject, but our Society's copy of that work is incomplete, and does not come down to Akbar's time. Possibly too, if discreet inquiries were made at the Court of Jaipur, the truth might be ascertained.

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Kudarkoṭ Inscription of Takshadatta.—By A. FÜHRER, PH. D.

This inscription is on a white sandstone slab, which was found, in 1875, amongst the ruins of the old fort of Kudarkoṭ, a small village in tahsíl Bidhúna, 24 miles north-east of Etáwah, in the North-Western Provinces. That Kundarkoṭ was once a place of some importance, is evident from the rise and height of the mound upon which it is built, and the number of large bricks and sculptured stones scattered about the place. That it is a place of great antiquity, is proved by this inscription. The original slab is now in the Lucknow Museum, having been presented by Dr. W. Hoey, C. S., in December 1886, who found it at Etáwah in the Collector's godown, an open shed affording no proper protection for such a treasure.

The slab measures 2' 6½" × 1' 5" × 3". The most interesting point about this inscription is the character of the letters. On the whole they show the later *Gupta* type; but the mason has taken out the *kānas*, *i. e.*, the vertical strokes for the long *á*, and placed them above the letters after which they are to be read. The medial *i* is also highly ornamented. In this respect, as well as in the form of letters, the inscription resembles the Asígarh seal of S'arvavarman, published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol.

III, p. 377, and *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 483; the two Jhálrápáthan inscriptions of Samvat 746 (A. D. 689 or 824), published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, p. 180; the mutilated inscription of Íśvaravarman on the south gate of the Jámi' masjid at Jaunpur, published in General Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, Vol. XI, Plate XXXVII; and two rock inscriptions which I lately found in the north scarp of the Kálinjar fort, and which will shortly be published in this Journal.

The preservation of the slab is perfect. With the exception of about four letters at the end of line 15, and one single letter in line 16, every letter is perfectly clear and distinct; so that, with the exceptions referred to, there can be no doubt whatever about the actual readings of the slab. The mistakes made by the engraver are few and unimportant and admit of easy correction. In respect of orthography we have to notice:—(1) the persistent doubling of *g, j, m, y, v, t*, in conjunction with a preceding *r* and, in the case of *t*, also with a following *r* (viz. च्च); (2) the occasional use of the dental sibilant for the palatal; (3) the constant occurrence of final *s* remaining unchanged before initial *s*.

The inscription records the erection of a residence for Bráhmaṇas by one Takshadatta, the son of Harivarman, *alias* Mamma, son of Haridatta, and apparently mentions the names of the first six Bráhmaṇas who resided there. Unfortunately the inscription is not dated; but, according to the alphabet in which it is written, it belongs to the 9th or 10th century A. D. Of Haridatta, Harivarman, and Takshadatta nothing of any historical value is mentioned.

On p. 365 of Volume IV of the *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer* is given what purports to be a correct transcript and translation of this inscription, made by a Benares pandit. But it is evident that the pandit cannot have seen the original slab and had to rely on an apparently imperfect paper rubbing. It will, therefore, not be considered unnecessary to re-edit and translate afresh this interesting document.

*Text.**

- [1] च्चोꣳ नमः ॥ †सन्निहितनीलकण्ठा नितम्बतटा शोभिनी ससिङ्ग्हा । जयति प्राले-
याचलभूरिव दुर्गा सदा सुसुखा ॥ [१॥] ‡आसीच्छ्रीहरिदत्ताख्यः
- [2] ख्यातो हरिवापरः । श्रीहर्षेण समुत्कर्षं नीतोपि विद्वतो नयः ॥ [२॥] §अवि-
चलितरत्नसंचयमक्षुभितं भूभृदवधृतभुजङ्गं । पुरुषोत्तमस्य विसदृशमासी-

* From the original slab.

L. 1. † Metre : Aryá. Read ससिंह०. ‡ Metre : S'loka (Anuṣṭubh).

L. 2. § Metre : Aryá.

- [3] स्रक्ष्यार्जनं यस्य ॥ [३ ॥] *तस्याभवत्सुतनयो हरिवर्म्नामा श्रीमन्म इत्यपरनामकृत-
प्रतीतिः । यस्मिन् रवाविव तपत्यखिलस्वबन्धुस्त्रीवक्त्रपङ्कजवनानि विकासमीयुः ॥ [४ ॥]
- [4] †यस्याद्यापि हंतारातिमन्दिरोद्यानपादपान् । दावव्याजेन दहति प्रकामं कोप-
पावकः ॥ [५ ॥] ‡विशालवक्षः फलकाभिलक्ष्य प्ररुढखङ्गव्रणसन्निवेशः । अनेकसंप-
द्विजयाङ्गसंख्या निखातरेखा इव यस्य राज्ञः ॥ [६ ॥] §सरागयापि यस्यासीद्द्वयं द्रष्टुं
न पारितं । यत्पृष्ठमरिवाहिन्या यच्च वक्षः परस्त्रिया ॥ [७ ॥] ||प्रजापतिं निर्मित-
सप्तसागरक्षमाधरं यो लघयन्सिंहक्षया । महाहृदानम्बुनिधीनकल्पयत्सुराधिवासान-
चलांश्च कोटिसः ॥ [८ ॥] ¶महान्तः कर्कशात्मानो बद्धमूला अपि क्षितौ । सावज्ञ-
माज्ञया येन नतिं नीता महीभृतः ॥ [९ ॥] **स्वप्रसादमहाभारगुरुभूततनयोरिव । यः
कूपखननव्याजैस्त्रिरा भूमेरमोचयत् ॥ [१० ॥] ††मार्गणाभिमुखा लुब्धास्समेताः
फलकाङ्क्षया । विमुखा येन रिपवः कृता न पुनरर्थिनः ॥ [११ ॥] ††लोके प्रार्थ-
यता पूर्वं व्यवहारेषु कौशलं । येनार्थित्वमगत्त्रैव जिताः प्रत्यर्थिनः सदाः ॥ [१२ ॥]
§§जनयामास
[9] यः पुत्रं त्रयीरक्षणदीक्षितं । श्रीतक्षदत्तनामानं नमितारिशिरोधरं ॥ [१३ ॥] |||सर्वे-
षामभयप्रदेन सहजास्सन्तस्तथानेकशो [।] यद्धनेन यशोर्थिना तृणमिव त्यक्त्वा
वयं केवलं ॥ [१४ ॥] ¶¶इत्युच्चैः परिवृद्धमन्यव इव प्राप्यावसानान्तरं [।] लब्धा
स्त्रवणरन्ध्रनिर्गमपथं यस्यासवो निर्ययुः ॥ [१५ ॥] ***रम्यगविषमतिसंततवेदविद्या-
व्याख्यान-
[11] घोषबधिरीकृतदिङ्मुखोस्मिन् । उच्चैरच्छीकरदुरस्थिरचारचित्तं त्रैविद्यमन्दिरमुदा-
रमिदं स साधुः ॥ [१६ ॥] †††यावद्गुणास्ससिकरा इव तस्य लोकमाह्लादयन्ति
[12] हतसान्द्रतमस्समूहाः । एतद्विजातिभवनं भुवनाभिराममव्याहतादिकृतसम्बिधि ताव
दास्तां ॥ [१७ ॥] †††भद्रेणैते रचिता वामनतनयेन सुचरितश्लोकाः ।
[13] ऐशानिनापि लिखिता [:] सूत्रधृता देवदेवेन ॥ [१८] ॥ ० ॥ बह्वृचचरिणो
साङ्ख्यसगोत्रस्सूर्यदत्तपुत्रो महासेनदत्तः । काण्वयचरणो वत्सगोत्रः

L. 3. * Metre ; Vasantatilaka.

L. 4. † Metre : S'loka (Anushtubh). ‡ Metre : Upendravajrá.

L. 5. § Metre : S'loka (Anushtubh). || Metre : Drutavilambitakam.

L. 6. Read कोटिशः ¶ Metre : S'loka (Anushtubh).

L. 7. ** Metre : S'loka (Anushtubh). †† Metre : S'loka (Anushtubh).

L. 8. †† Metre : S'loka (Anushtubh). Read सदा. §§ Metre : S'loka (Anush-
tubh).

L. 9. ||| Metre : Áryá. Read अनेकशः ।

L. 10. ¶¶ Metre : Áryá. *** Metre : Vasantatilaka.

L. 11. ††† Metre : Vasantatilaka. Read गुणाः शशि०

L. 12. ††† Metre : Áryá.

L. 13. Read बह्वृचचरणः साङ्ख्यसगोत्रः

- [14] गोवत्ससोमपुत्रो जातवेदसोमः । इन्दोगचरणो कुहलसगोत्रः कुलदीपकीर्त्तिपुत्रः
वैश्वानरकीर्त्तिः । बकृचचरणो वासिष्ठगोत्रः उदितचरपुत्रः
- [15] श्रीचन्द्रधरः । काण्वचरणो श्रीपमन्यवसगोत्रो वसुस्वामिपुत्रः बडरूपशर्मा । इन्दो-
गचरणो गालवसगोत्रो धृतिगुप्तस्वामिपुत्रः क + + + + [।]
- [16] एतैर्महत्तमे श्रीमत्त्रैविद्याज्ञानुपालनेः कारितं धाम धर्मस्ये श्रीमम्मस्य सम [ज्य-]
या ॥ ० ॥

Translation.

Om ! Adoration ! (V. 1.) Durgá, placed near Nílakanṭha (S'iva), slender-waisted, the lion* and Skanda sitting by her side, shining like the snowy mountain (Himálaya), ever pleasing, is victorious !

(V. 2.) There was one named *S'ri Haridatta*, renowned like a second Hari (Vishṇu), whose conduct was uncorrupted, though Lakshmi lavished her smiles upon him ;

(V. 3.) Whose gain of riches, immoveable in gems, undisturbed, [and exclusive alone of] the gems which serpents hid [in their heads] beneath the mountains, was like the lotus-stalk of the best of men (Vishṇu) ;

(V. 4.) Whose virtuous son was named *Harivarman*, known also by the name of *S'ri Mamma*, under whose sunshine of glory, as it were, the lotus-forests, made by the faces of the damsels of his whole household, flourish.

(V. 5.) And even now, alas ! the fire of his fury consumes, as it were, to his heart's content the trees, parks, and palaces of his enemies.

(V. 6.) The number of wounds inflicted by the sword, aimed successfully at his broad chest, are like an incised series [counting] the marks of the many successful victories of this king.

(V. 7.) Though desired, two objects could not be accomplished, *viz.*, by the army of his foe to see his back, and by the wife of another man his chest.

(V. 8.) He excelled even Prajapati (the Progenitor), the creator of the seven oceans, the earth and the mountains, by his own power of creation in forming large lakes like oceans, and temples like mountains, by tens of millions.

L. 14. Read °चरणः कुहल° ; °पुत्रो वैश्वानर° ; °गोत्र उदित°.

L. 15. Read °चरण श्रीप° ; °पुत्रो बड°.

L. 16. Read एतै°, अनुपालने.

* *i. e.* Durgá's vehicle.

(V. 9.) The great supporters of the earth (*i. e.*, mountains or kings), with hardened hearts and roots fixed within the ground, were caused by him to bow down at his command with all indignity.

(V. 10.) He opened the veins of the earth under the pretence of sinking wells, the outward form of which had been, as it were; surfeited with his graciousness.

(V. 11.) His foes who, approaching with arrows and determined, came against him with a desire of success, were [sure to be] disappointed, but the suppliants were never so, who came soliciting, needy, and with a desire of gaining their object.

(V. 12.) In his policy he, being extremely anxious for the welfare [of his subjects], was never known to yield, but always put down his enemies with force.

(V. 13.) He begot a son, named *Takshadatta*, educated in the reverence of the three Vedas, and who bent down the necks of his enemies.

(V. 14.) “We, whose inborn virtue had repeatedly been the preservative of all [subjects], have entirely been forsaken like a blade of grass by that gift, desirous of glory.”

(V. 15.) Thus (speaking) loudly the spirits of that [monarch], being now, as it were, at the top of their patience and having obtained some other residence, found out their way through the openings of some wounds which he had received with the sword.

(V. 16.) This venerable person, who had by the noise [caused] by the delightful, fervent and continual interpretation of the Vedas deafened the quarters of the heavens, built this lofty, large, lasting and very beautifully decorated institution for the instruction of the three Vedas.

(V. 17.) As long as his virtues, like the rays of the moon, gladden the world, free of thick darkness, so long let this institution of a different kind, the delight of the world, remain undisturbed in all its original designs.

(V. 18.) These well-composed verses have been written by *Bhadra*, the son of *Vámana*, and by *Aisáni*, and have been engraved by the mason *Devadeva*.

(L. 13.) *Mahásenadatta*, the son of *Súryadatta*, of the *Sánkritya* family, follower of the *Bahvricha* branch [of the *Ṛigveda*]; *Játavedasoma*, the son of *Govatsasoma*, of the *Vatsa* family, follower of the *Káṅva* branch [of the *Ṛigveda*];

(L. 14.) *Vaiśvánarakírtti*, the son of *Kuladípakírtti*, of the *Kuhala* family, follower of the *Chhandoga* branch [of the *Sámaveda*]; *S'ri Chandradhara*, the son of *Uditachara* of the *Vásishṭha* family, follower of the *Bahvricha* branch [of the *Ṛigveda*];

(L. 15.) Bahurúpaśarman, the son of Vasusvámin, of the Aupaman-
yava family, follower of the Kánva branch [of the Ṛigveda]; K * *
* * the son of Dhṛitaguptasvámin, of the Gálava family, follower
of the Chhandoga branch [of the Sámaveda]:—

(L. 16.) By these [persons] was this institution built for the
mightiest and lawful protection of those versed in the knowledge of
the illustrious three Vedas through the fame of S'ri Mamma.



The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet.

འཇུག་མའོ།།

34 letters

(Tshug's-ma)

(a) ཀ་ཀྲ་གཤམ། ཇམ་ཇམ་ཇམ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ་ཏྲ། པཤམ་པཤམ། བཤམ་བཤམ། མཤམ་མཤམ། རཤམ་ལཤམ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ། ཀི་ཀུ་ཀེ་ཀོ། འི་འུ་འེ་འོ།
 ka,kha,g'a,nā, cha,chha,ja,nā, ta,tha,da,na, pa,pha,va,ma, tsa,tsha,dsa,wa, sha,ssa,ha,ya, rala,sā.sa, ha,a, ki,ku,ke,ko, a,i,u,e',om,

པདྨ་མཇུག་མའོ།།

34 letters

(Padma (Pema) khyug-Chhun)

(b) ཀ་ཀྲ་གཤམ། ཇམ་ཇམ་ཇམ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ་ཏྲ། པཤམ་པཤམ། བཤམ་བཤམ། མཤམ་མཤམ། རཤམ་ལཤམ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ། ཀི་ཀུ་ཀེ་ཀོ། འི་འུ་འེ་འོ།
 ka,kha,g'a,nā, cha,chha,ja,nā, ta,tha,da,na, pa,pha,va,ma, tsa,tsha,dsa,wa, sha,ssa,ha,ya, rala,sā.sa, ha,a, ki,ku,ke,ko, i u e' om

འཇུག་

34 letters

(H. khyug,) Running hand,

(c) ཀ་ཀྲ་གཤམ། ཇམ་ཇམ་ཇམ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ་ཏྲ། པཤམ་པཤམ། བཤམ་བཤམ། མཤམ་མཤམ། རཤམ་ལཤམ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ། ཀི་ཀུ་ཀེ་ཀོ། འི་འུ་འེ་འོ།
 ka,kha,g'a,nā, cha,chha,ja,nā, ta,tha,da,na, pa,pha,va,ma, tsa,tsha,dsa,wa, sha,ssa,ha,ya, r,la,sā,sa, ha,a, ki,ku,ke,ko, i, u, e', om,

འཇུག་མའོ།།

34 letters,

H,bru-tshag, (as used in writing.)

(d) ཀ་ཀྲ་གཤམ། ཇམ་ཇམ་ཇམ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ་ཏྲ། པཤམ་པཤམ། བཤམ་བཤམ། མཤམ་མཤམ། རཤམ་ལཤམ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ། ཀི་ཀུ་ཀེ་ཀོ། འི་འུ་འེ་འོ།
 ka,kha,g'a,nā, cha,chha,ja,nā, ta,tha,da,na, pa,pha,va,ma, tsa,tsha,dsa,wa, sha,ssa,ha,ya, rala,sā.sa, ha,a, ki,ku,ke,ko, i, u, e', om,

(འཇུག་མའོ།།)

H,bru-tshag, (as used in printing.)

(e) ཀ་ཀྲ་གཤམ། ཇམ་ཇམ་ཇམ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ་ཏྲ། པཤམ་པཤམ། བཤམ་བཤམ། མཤམ་མཤམ། རཤམ་ལཤམ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ། ཏཱ་ཏྲ། ཀི་ཀུ་ཀེ་ཀོ། འི་འུ་འེ་འོ།
 ka,kha,g'a,nā, cha,chha,ja,nā, ta,tha,da,na, pa,pha,ba,ma, tsa,tsha,dsa,wa,va, sha,ssa,ha,ya, rala,sā,sa, ha,a, ka,ki,ku,ke,ko, ku,khu,gu,nū, chu,chhu,ju,nā, tu,thu,du,mu, pu,phu,bu,mu, tsu,tshu,dsu,wu, chu,su,hu,yu, ru,lu,su,su,hu,u, kya,khya,gya,spya,phyabya,mya, kya,kyi,kyu,kye,kyo, kyu,khyu,gyu,spyu,phyu,byu,myu, kra,khra,gratra,thra,dra,nra,praphra,bra,mra, sra,sra,hra, kra,kri,kru,kre',kro,

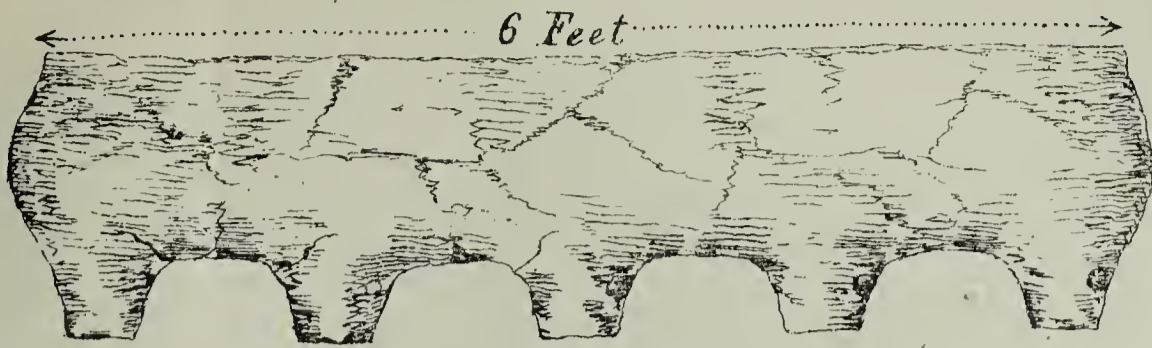


Fig. 1.

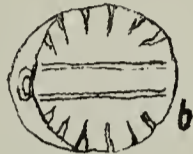
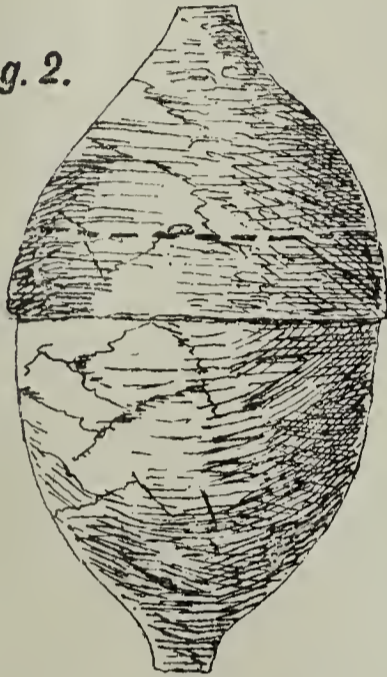


a



a

Fig. 2.

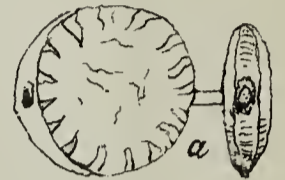


b

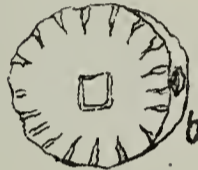


b

Fig. 3.



a



b



b



d



a



e



e



e



e

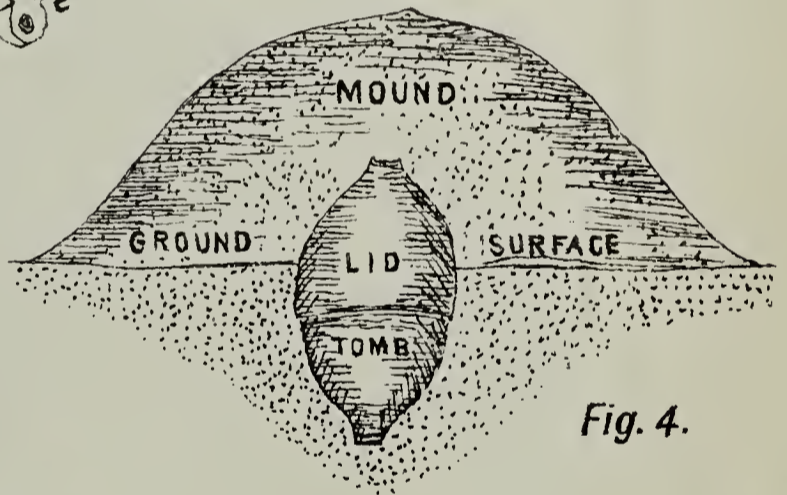


Fig. 4.

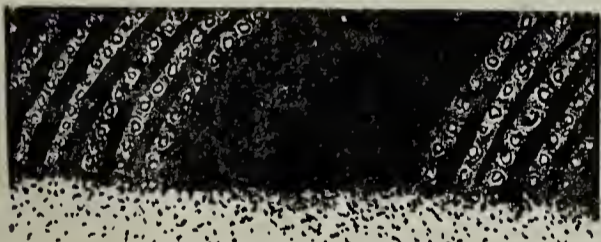


Fig. 5.

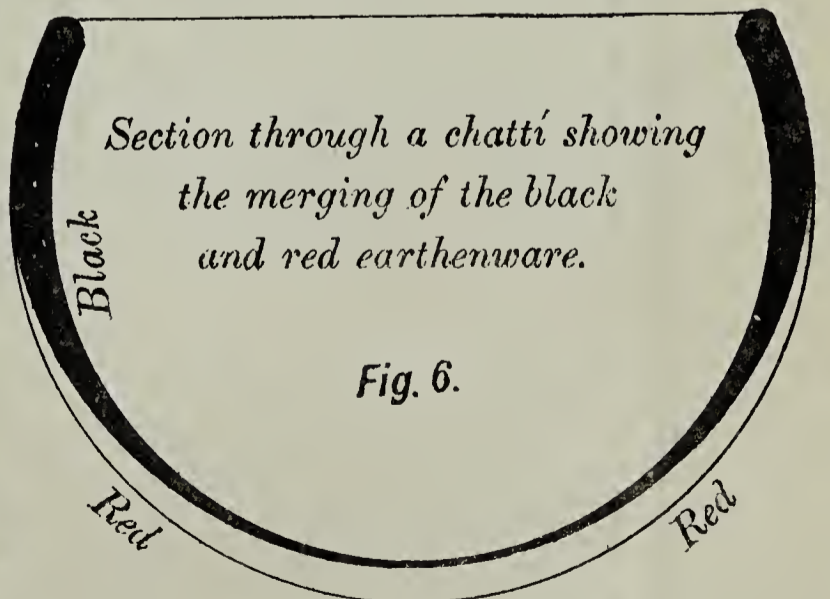


Fig. 6.

LITHOGRAPHED BY A. L. PAIN, CALCUTTA, AUGUST, 1888.

LITHOGRAPHED BY A. L. PAIN, CALCUTTA, AUGUST, 1888.



PREHISTORIC POTTERY from TOMBS in the MADURA DISTRICT.



Lichtdruck von E. Jaffé & A. Albert, Wien.

RAMA'S CHILDHOOD.

THE MODERN VERNACULAR LITERATURE

OF

HINDUSTAN.

BY GEORGE A. GRIERSON, B.A., B.C.S.

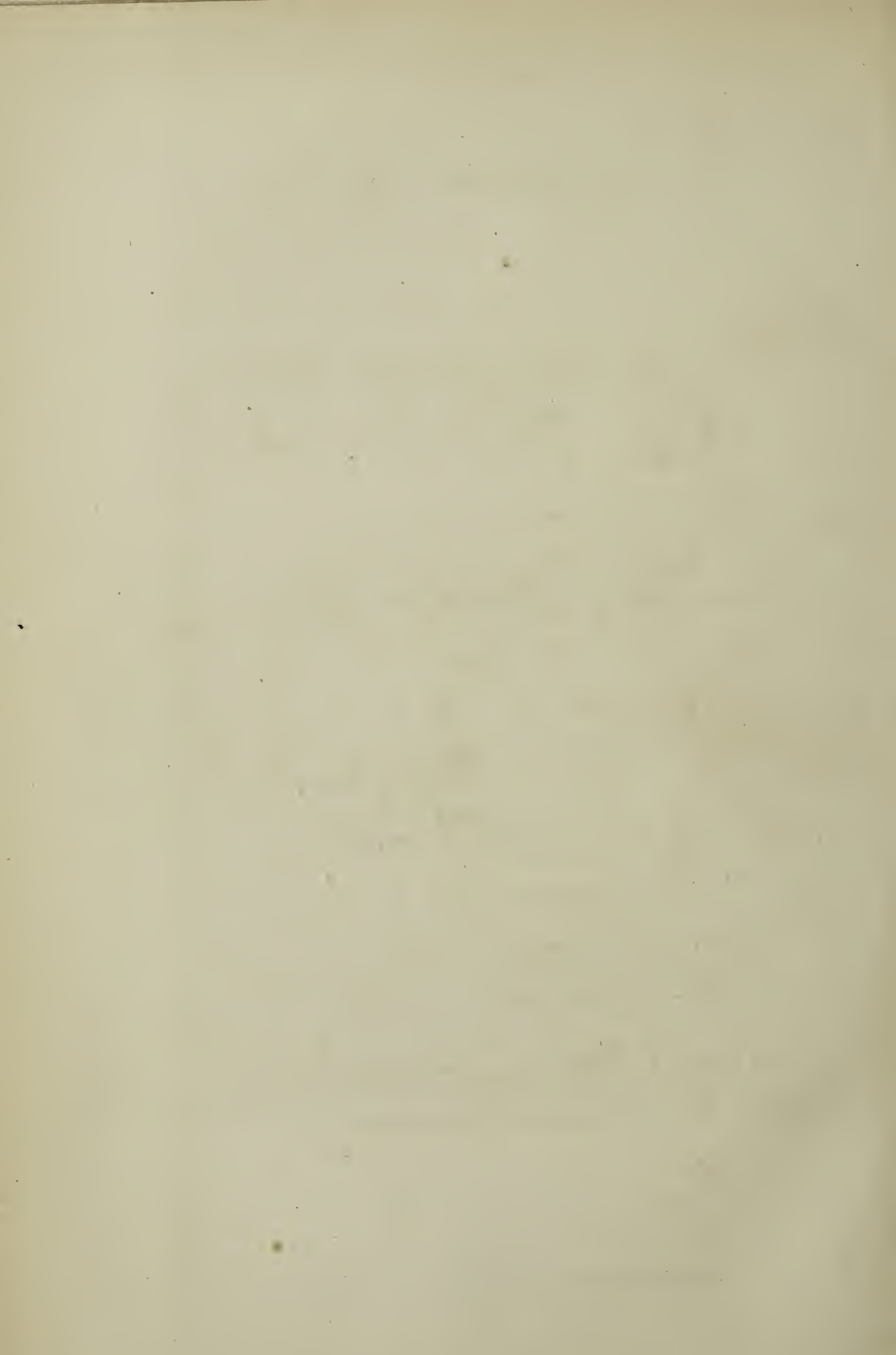
Der den Dichter will verstehen,
Muss in Dichters Lande gehen.

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

CALCUTTA:

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1889.



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PREFACE.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Apologies for dealing with the Neo-Indian vernaculars are not now so necessary as they would have been twenty years ago. At first, oriental scholars devoted themselves to Sanskrit alone, and then, under the guidance of Burnouf, attacked Pāli. In later years the classical Prākritis have attracted students, and thus the age of the object of our researches has become more and more modern in its character.

I now ask my readers to take again one step over the very short gap which separates the latest Prākrit from the earliest Gaudian literature. Hēmachandra flourished about 1150 A.D.,¹ and Chand Bar'dāī, the first of the Gaudian poets of whom we have at present any certain remains, died in 1193.

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

¹ He died 1172 A.D.

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

³ For instance, Dayā Rām (No. 387) wrote a useful *anēkārthakōṣa*.

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

There is another claim which I would mention, and that is the intrinsic merit of the Neo-Gaudian literature. After all that is said, the later Sanskrit and the Prākṛit poems are but artificial productions, written in the closet by learned men for learned men; but the Neo-Gaudian poets wrote for unsparing critics,—the people. Many of them studied nature and wrote what they saw. They found ‘tongues in trees,’ and as they interpreted what they heard successfully or not, so was their popularity great or small, and so their works lived after them or not. Several works exist whose authors’ names we do not even know; but they have remained living voices in the people’s hearts, because they appealed to the sense of the true and of the beautiful.¹

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

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

¹ I refer to the folk epics, *bārā māṣās* (songs of the seasons), *kajarīs*, and other songs current throughout India which are referred to above.

INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

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

and when these could be identified, they often gave a useful clue. When all other methods failed, I had in many cases the *Sarōj* as a guide. Sib Singh continually gives dates, and I have generally found them fairly accurate,—with this proviso, that he always gives his date as that of the birth of the poet referred to, when in reality it is not seldom the date of his principal work.¹ The *Sarōj*'s dates have, at any rate, this value, that, in default of any other authority, we may be pretty certain that the author referred to was alive on the date which Sib Singh gives as that of his birth. In the present treatise any dates depending only on his authority have been printed in italics. I would draw attention to the addenda, which give some dates which I have been able to fix while the work was passing through the press.

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

No.	Name of anthology.	Abbreviation.	Author's name.	Date.
1	Bhakt Mālā ...	Bhakt. ...	Nabhājī Dās (No. 51) ...	About 1550 A.D.
2	Gosāi Charitr' ...	Go. ...	Bēnī Mādhab Dās (No. 130).	About 1600.
3	Kabi Mālā ...	Māl. ...	Tul'sī (No. 153) ...	1655.
4	Hajāra ...	Haj. ...	Kālidās Tribēdī (No. 159)	1718.
5	Kābya Nir'nay ...	Nir. ...	Bhikhārī Dās (No. 344)	About 1725.
6	Sat-kabi-girā Bilās...	Sat. ...	Bal Dēb (No. 359) ...	1746.
7	List of poets praised by Sūdan.	Sūd. ...	Sūdan (No. 367) ...	About 1750.
8	Bidwan Mōd Taraṅginī.	Bid. ...	Subbā Singh (No. 590) ...	1817.
9	Rāg-Sāgarōdbhab Rāg-Kalpadrum.	Rāg. ...	Krish'nānand Byās Dēb (No. 638).	1843.
10	Sringār Saṅgrah ...	Sring. ...	Sar'dār (No. 571) ...	1848.
11	Ūrdū translation of Bhakt Mālā.	U. Bhakt.	Tul'si Rām (No. 640) ...	1854.
12	Ras Chandrōday ...	Ras. ...	Thākur Par'sād Tripāṭhī (No. 570).	1863.
13	Dig-bijāi Bhūkhan...	Dig. ...	Gōkul Par'sād (No. 694)	1868.
14	Sundarī Tilak ...	Sun. ...	Harishchandr' (No. 581)	1869.
15	Kābya Saṅgrah ...	Kāb. ...	Mahēs Datt' (No. 696)...	1875.
16	Kabi Ratnākar ...	Kab. ...	Mātā Dīn Misar (No. 698).	1876.
17	Sib Singh Sarōj ...	Sib. ...	Sib Singh Sēgar (No. 595)	1883.
18	Bichitrōpadēs ² ...	Bich. ...	Nak'chhēdī Tiwārī ...	1887.

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

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

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

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>Sringār Ras</i> , | translated by me as | “ the erotic style.” |
| 2. <i>Hāsya Ras</i> , | ditto | “ the comic style.” |
| 3. <i>Karunā Ras</i> , | ditto | “ the elegiac style.” |
| 4. <i>Bīr Ras</i> , | ditto | “ the heroic style.” |
| 5. <i>Rāudr’ Ras</i> , | ditto | “ the tragic style.” |
| 6. <i>Bhayānak Ras</i> , | ditto | “ the terrible style.” |
| 7. <i>Bibhatsa</i> , | ditto | “ the satiric style.” |
| 8. <i>Shānti Ras</i> , | ditto | “ the quietistic style.” |
| 9. <i>Adbhut Ras</i> , | ditto | “ the sensational style.” |

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

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

The word *Sāmayik*, when used with reference to a work, I have, not without hesitation, rendered by “occasional.” *Chetāonī* I have translated by “didactic.” By “emblematic” verses (in Hindī *drishṭ kūt*) I mean those fanciful enigmatic *tours de force* which are familiar to Sanskrit scholars who have studied the *Nalōdaya* and the *Kirātārjunīya*.

(b.) *Principles of Arrangement of the Contents.*

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

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

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

(c.) *A Brief Account of the Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and another product of Calcutta civilisation, of a very different kind, was the huge anthology of Krish'nānand Byās Dēb, called the *Rāg-Sāgarōdbhab Rāg-Kalpadrum*, written in emulation of the better known Sanskrit lexicon, the *Çabda-Kalpadruma*.

The same period saw the rise of the Hindī drama,¹ which is now firmly established, and gives a hope of achieving considerable excellence in the near future.

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

(d.) *Description of the Plates.*

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

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

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

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

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

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

4. *Kumār Pāl* reigned 1088—1172 A.D. The famous *Hēmachandra* flourished at his court.

20. *Mirā Bāi*. Note¹. Read *Tod*, ii, 21.

23. *Charan Dās*. Read *Gyān Swarōday*.

34. *Ballabhāchār'j*. P. 19, l. 6 from bottom, read *Harishchandr'*; p. 20, l. 9, read *Aṇubhāṣya*. Add 'This work is being published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.'

37. *Sūr Dās*. Read *सूर दास*, not *सूरदास*.

51. *Nābhā Dās*. P. 28 l. 8, read *Hitōpadēṣa*.

54. *Byās Swāmi*. Read *Sukal*. So also in 56, *Hit Haribans*.

70. *Keh'rī*. Read *Tod*, ii, 76.

71. *Ās'karan Dās*. Read *Tod*, ii, 353.

72. *Chētan Chandr'*. The *Ashwa Binōd* is dated *Sambat* 1616 (1559 A.D.), which *Sib Singh* gives as the date of the poet's birth.

73. *Prithwī Rāj*. Read *Tod's Rājāsthān*, i, 343.

76. *Uday Singh*. Read and ii, 29.

92. Read *घन राम सुकल Ghan Syām Sukal*.

105. *Ṭōḍar Mall*, see addenda to No. 128, below.

106. *Bīr'bal*. P. 35, l. 11 from bottom, read *Bijāur*.

108. *Khān'khānā*. He patronised the poet *Gang* (No. 119). The latter in one of his works praises him and his son *Turāb Khān*.

119. *Gangā Par'sād*, or *Gang*. A verse of the poet *Khūb Chand* (No. 809) states that on one occasion *Khān'khānā* (No. 108) made *Gang* a present of 36 lākhs. *Khān'khānā* was certainly praised by *Gang* in one of his works.

127. *Mukund Singh*. Read *Tod*, ii, 506.

128. *Tul'sī Dās*, p. 43, last line, read *Rājāpur and Bāndā*; p. 44, l. 7, add a comma after *Kuru Chhēttr'*; p. 45, l. 15, read *Rājāpur*; so also elsewhere; p. 46, l. 11 from bottom, read *Kuṇḍaliyā*.

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

TRANSLITERATION.

ŚRĪ-JĀNAKĪ-VALLABHŌ VIJAYATĒ.

Dviç çaram nābhisamdhattē dvis sthāpayati nāçritān Dvir dadāti	
na	1
chārthibhyō Rāmō dvir nāiva bhāṣatē 1 Tulasī jānyō Daçarathahī	
dha-	2
ramu na satya samāna Rāmu tajō jehi lāgi binu Rāma pariharē	
prāna 1 	3
Dharmō jayati nādharmaṣ satyaṁ jayati nāñritaṁ Kshamā jayati na	
krōdhō	4
Viṣṇur jayati nāsurāḥ 1 	5

ALLĀHU AKBAR.

Chū Anad Rām bin Tōdar bin Dēō Rāy wa Kanhāē bin Rām Bhadar	
bin Tōdar mazkūr	6
dar huzūr āmada qarār dādand ki dar mawāzi'i matrūka ki tāfšili ā	
dar Hindwī mazkūr ast	7
bilmunāṣafa batarāzi i jānibāin qarār dādēm. Wa yak ṣad ō	
pinjāh (?) biḡhā zamīn ziyāda (?) qismati munāṣafa khūd ¹	8
dar māūza'i Bhadāinī Anand Rām mazkūr ba Kanhāē bin Rām	
Bhadar mazbūr tajwiz namūda	9
barī ma'anī rāzi ḡashṭa i'tirāf ṣaḡīḡ shar'ī namūdand banābari ā	
muhr karda shud.	10

(Seal) ? Sādullāh bin * * *

QISMATI ANAD RĀM.	QISMATI KANHĀĒ.	12
<i>Qariyā</i>	<i>Qariyā</i>	
Bhadāinī, dō ḡiṣṣa, Lahartārā,	Bhadāinī, siḡ ḡiṣṣa. Shiūpūr.	13
darōbast	darōbast.	
<i>Qariyā</i>	<i>Qariyā</i>	
Nāipūra, ḡiṣṣa i Chhitūpūra, ḡiṣṣa i	Nadēsar ḡiṣṣa i Tōdar tamām	14
Tōdar tamām. Tōdar tamām.	(?) Ittala'a'alāih (illegible).	

SRĪ PARAMĒSWAR.

Sambat 1669 samae, kuār sudi tērasī, bār subh dīnē likhatim (sic)	
patra Anand	15
Rām tathā Kanhaiā. Ans bībhāḡ purbak āḡē kāi āḡya dunahu janē	
māḡā	16
Jē āḡya bhāi sē pramān mānā. Dunahu janē bīdīt taph'sīlu. Ans	
Tōdar Malu	17
kē mah jē bibhāḡ padu hōt rā (? hā) * * *	18

¹ Or (?) az ḡiṣṣa qismati munāṣafa.

Ans Ānand Rām. Māūjē Bhadānī
mah an-
-s pāch, tehī mah ans dui Ānand
Rāmu.
Tathā Lahar'tārā sagarē u. Tathā
Chhītu-
-purā ans Tōḍar Malu ka. Tathā
Nāipurā an
-s Tōḍar Malu ka. Hīl(ā) hujatī
nāstī
Līkhītaṁ Anand Rām, jē upar
līkhā, sē sahī.

Ans Kanhai. Māūjē Bhadānī
mah ans pāch, tehī . . . 19
mah tīnī ans Kanhai. Tathā
māūjē Sipurā . . . 20
Tathā Nades'rī ans Tōḍar
Malu ka. Hīl(ā) . . . 21
hujatī nāstī . . . 22
. 23
Līkhītaṁ Kanhai, jē upar
līkhā sē sahī . . . 24

(Here follow the witnesses' signatures, ending—)

Shahada
bimāfihi Jalāl Maqbūli.
bikhattīhi.

Shahada 25
bimāfihi Tāhir ibni Khwāja 26
Dāulatī Qānūngōi. 27

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

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

(Persian.) God is great.

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

Share of Anand Rām.

Village Bhadānī, 2 shares.
Village Lahar'tārā, whole.
Village Nāipurā, the whole of
Tōḍar's share.
Village Chhitūpūra, the lesser,
the whole of Tōḍar's share.

Share of Kanhāē.

Village Bhadānī, 3 shares.
Village Shiūpūr, the whole.
Village Nadēsar, the whole of
Tōḍar's share.
(?) I am informed of this (?)
(illegible).

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

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

The rest is unintelligible, and partly illegible.

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

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

Witnesses (to Anand Rām's signature): Rāghab Rām, son of Rām Dat; Rām Sēnī, son of Ūdhab; (U)dāi Karn, son of Jagat Rāy; Jamunī Bhān, son of Paramānand; Jānakī Rām, son of Srī Kānt; Kāwalā Rām, son of Bāsudēb; Chand Bhān, son of Kēsāu Dās; Pāṇḍē Harīballabh, son of Purusōtam; Bhāwarī, son of Kēsāu (*sic*) Dās; Jādu Rām, son of Nar'harī; Ājodhyā, son of Lachhī; Sabal, son of Bhikham; Rām Chand, son of Bāsudīw (*sic*); Pītāambar Das'wadhī, son of Puran; Rām Rāi and Garīb Rāi (?), sons of Makuṭirī Karn (?). (*Arabic*) Witness to whatsoever is in this, Jalāl Maqbūli, by his own hand.

Witnesses (to Kanhaï's signature): Rām Sīgh, son of Uddhab; Jādāu Rāē, son of Gahar Rāē; Jagadīs Rāē, son of Mahōdadhī; Chakrapānī, son of Sīwā; Mathurā, son of Pīthā; Kāsī Dās, son of Bāsudēwā (by the hand of Mathurā); Kharag Bhān, son of Gosāi Dās; Rām Dēw, son of Bisa(m)-bhar; Srī Kānt Pāṇḍē, son of Rāj'baktra (?); Bīṭhal Dās, son of Harihar; Hirā, son of Das'rath; Lōhāg, son of Kīshnā; Man(i) Rām, son of Sītal; Krishn Dat, son of Bhag'wan; Bin'rāban, son of Jāi; Dhanī Rām, son of Madhu Rāē. (*Arabic*) Witness to whatsoever is in this, Tāhir, son of Khwājah Dāulātī, the Qānūngōi.

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

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

(9) *Read Īswarī Par'sād Tripāṭhī (712).*

(10) *For 686 read 702.*

(11) *For 689 read 695.*

(12) *For 711 read 725.*

(13) *For 829a read 858.*

134. *Kēsab Dās.* The *Bigyān Gitā* was written in *Sambat 1600 (1543 A.D.)* and was dedicated to *Madhukar Shāh.* The *Rasik-priyā* is dated *Sambat 1648 (1591 A.D.)*.

142. *Sundar Dās.* The *Sundar Sringār* is dated *Sambat 1688 (1631 A.D.)*.

145. *Bhūkhan Tripāṭhī.* From a short poem of *Mati Rām Tripāṭhī (No. 146),* the name of the Rājā of Kumāṭh appears to have been *Udōt Chand.*

146. *Mati Rām Tripāṭhī.* *Read Tod, ii, 481 and Fat'h Sāhī.*

149. *Par'tāp Sāhī.* I know of two rājās called *Ratān* or *Rat'nēs* in *Bundēl-khaṇḍ.* One is praised by *Bhikhārī Dās (No. 344)* in the preface to the *Prēm Ratnākar,* which was written in 1685 A.D. This may possibly be the father of *Par'tāp Sāhī.* The other succeeded *Bikram Sāhī (No. 514)* as Rājā of *Char'khārī* in 1829 A.D. He was born 1816 A.D. and died 1860. He is referred to in Nos. 519—522 and 524. *Bikram Sāhī* was born 1785 and died 1828 A.D.; and if *Par'tāp Sāhī* was the son of this *Rat'nēs,* he would probably be *Bikram Sāhī's* grandson, but could not have been his contemporary, for his father was only twelve years old at the latter's death. Yet, again, I hear from *Char'khārī* (though on what authority I cannot ascertain) that a *Par'tāp Sāhī* did live in *Char'khārī* in *Bikram Sāhī's* reign. Regarding the *Bhākhā Bhūkhan,* which is usually considered as written at the end of the eighteenth century, I find a Bombay edition of the work identifying *Jaswant Singh,* its author, with *Jas'want Singh (1638—1681)* of *Mār'wār.* This would tally with the date given in the body of the work; but on the whole I am inclined to reject *Sib Singh's* statement that this poet attended *Chhatr' Sāl's* court, and would place him as flourishing about the year 1830 A.D., after No. 518. His relationship to the *Rat'nēs* of No. 519 must remain an open point. There was also a poet called *Ratan.* See No. 155.

152. *Sib Nāth.* *Read Tod's Rājāsthān, ii, 481.*

159. *Kalidās Tribēdī.* In his *Badhū-binōd,* which he dates *Sambat 1749 (1692 A.D.),* he mentions that *Jōgājit Singh's* father was *Britti Singh.*

160. *Sukh Dēb Misar.* *Read Ar'jun Singh and Britt Bichār.*

164. *Sundar Dās.* *Read Sundar Saṅkhyā.*

171. *Najir.* *Reaa Nazīr, not Nazīr, throughout.*

173. *Ṭhākūr.* *Read Gosāī.*

177. *Read Īswar.*

195. *Ajit Singh.* *For 91n read 89n.*

196. *Bihārī Lāl Chāubē.* *P. 76, l. 4, for 364 read 355. Also read Zū'lfaqār.*

199. *Rat'nēs.* *See No. 149, Add. Cf. No. 155.*

213. *Chandr'.* *Read Sul'tān.*

226. *Bihārī Dās.* *Read बिहारौ.*

251. *Read Par'bin.*

326. *Sūratī Misar.* The *Alaṅkār Mālā* is dated *Sambat 1766 (1709 A.D.)*.

331. *Bhōj Misar.* *Read Sringār.*

344. *Bhikhārī Dās.* *Read Chhandārnab.* The *Prēm Ratnākar* is dated *Sambat 1742 (1685 A.D.)* and the *Chhandārnab Sambat 1799 (1742 A.D.)*. In the former work he praises a Rājā *Rat'nēs.* Cf. No. 519. See also No. 149, Add.

346. *Karan*. His *Sāhitya Chandrikā* is dated *Sambat* 1794 (1737 A.D.), which the Sib Singh Sarōj gives as the date of his birth. With regard to Hir'dā Sāhī, see also No. 503.

349. *Gumān Ji Misar*. *Read Nāṣadha*. The *Kalā Nidhi* is dated *Sambat* 1805 (1848 A.D.). The work is rather a translation than a commentary.

351. *Prēm Nāth*. *Read Khirī*.

355. *Hari Nāth*. The *Alaṅkār Dar'pan* is dated *Sambat* 1826 (1796 A.D.), which Sib Singh gives as the date of the poet's birth.

357. *Sambhu Nāth*. The *Rām Bilās* is dated *Sambat* 1798 (1741 A.D.).

361. *Kēsab*. *Read Nārāyan*.

664. *Haṭhī*. The date of his birth (1830 A.D.) given by Sib Singh is certainly wrong, for the *Rādhā Satak* is dated *Sambat* 1847 (1790 A.D.).

THE MODERN VERNACULAR LITERATURE

OF

HINDŪSTĀN.

CHAPTER I.

THE BARDIC PERIOD. [700—1300 A.D.]

1. पुष्य कवि, the poet *Puṣya*, of *Ujāin*. Fl. 713 A.D.

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

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

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

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

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

3. केदर कवि, the poet and bard *Kēdar*. Fl. 1150 A.D.

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

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

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

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

5. अनन्यदास, *Ananya Dās*, of *Chaked'wā*, district *Gōḍā*. B. 1148 A.D.

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

¹ Tod, ii, 757; Calc. ed., ii, 814.

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

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

⁴ See Tod, i, 98; Calc. ed., i, 106.

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

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

6. चन्द्र कवि, the poet and bard *Chandr'* or *Chand Bar'dāi*. Fl. 1191 A.D.

Rāg., ? Sun. He belonged to the family of an ancient bard named *Bīsal Dēb*, the *Chāuhān* (cf. Tod, ii, 447 and ff.; Calc. ed., ii, 492 and ff.), of *Ran'thambhōr*, and, according to the account of his descendant, the poet *Sūr Dās*, belonged to the *Jagāt* clan.¹ He came to *Prithwī Rāj's* court and was appointed his minister and poet-laureate (*kaviçvara*). His poetical works were collected by *Amar Singh* (cf. No. 191), of *Mēwār*,² in the early part of the seventeenth century. They were not improbably recast and modernised in parts at the same time, which has given rise to a theory³ that the whole is a modern forgery. His principal work is the famous *Prithī Rāj Rāy'sā* (Rāg.), or life of his patron. According to Tod⁴ it is a universal history of the period in which he wrote, and is in 69 books, comprising 100,000 stanzas, of which Tod has translated 30,000—certainly more than any other European has succeeded in doing. *Chand* and *Prithwī Rāj* were both killed in battle fighting against the Muhammadans in the year 1193. As already mentioned, one of his descendants was the poet *Sūr Dās*, and another was the poet *Sārang Dhar* (No. 8), who is said to have written the *Hammīr Rāy'sā* and the *Hammīr Kābya*.⁵ A portion of the text of the *Prithī Rāj Rāy'sā* has been edited by Mr. Beames, and another portion edited and translated by Dr. Hoernle. The excessively difficult character of the task has prevented both scholars from making much progress. Pandit *Mōhan Lāl Viṣṇu Lāl Paṇḍiā* has just commenced editing a critical edition of the whole text, of which the first two fasciculi have been published (Medical Hall Press, Banāras, 1887). The *Mahōbā*

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

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

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

⁴ Tod, i, 254; Calc. ed., i, 273.

⁵ Tod, ii, 452n; Calc. ed., ii, 497n.

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

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

According to Garcin de Tassy (l.c.), we owe to this poet another work, entitled *Jāi Chandra Prakās*, or history of *Jāi Chand*, which is written in the same dialect as the Rāy'sā, and is quoted by Ward.

7. जगन्निक्, the bard *Jag'nik* or *Jag'nāyak*, of *Mahōbā*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1191 A.D.

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

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

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

tradition that the *Ālhā Khaṇḍ*, of which we possess many versions, and which has sometimes been described as a spurious canto of *Chand's* epic, was originally written by this poet. The *Ālhā Khaṇḍ* is, so far as I am aware, only current in oral versions sung all over Hindūstān by professional singers. As might be expected, these versions differ considerably in language, and each is modernised to suit the dialect of the reciter. For a full account of the *Ālhā Khaṇḍ*, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xiv, pp. 209, 255. For an account of Ālhā's share in the war between Prithwī Rāj and Par'māl, see *Report of the Arch. Sur. Ind.*, vii, pp. 13—20.

The *Mahōbā Khaṇḍ* has already been mentioned under the head of *Chand* (No. 6). It and other Western recensions of the poem give the names of the heroes as *Ālhā* and *Ūdal* or *Ūdan*, the latter being short for *Uday Singh*; but the Eastern recensions give the names as *Ālhā* and *Rūdal*. Two versions of the Western recension have been printed—one edited by Chāudh'rī *Ghāsī Rām*, of *Bhaṭipurā*, and the other, under the supervision of Sir C. (then Mr.) Elliott, by *Ṭhākur Dās*, of *Fatihgarh*, already mentioned. The latter edition was, I believe, taken down¹ by him as recited by three illiterate professional bards of *Kanāuj*, being respectively by caste a *Jōsī*, a *Tēlī*, and a *Brāhman*, and pieced together with additions of his own and some extracts or adaptations from different manuscripts that he borrowed. It is thus rather a heterogeneous composition. Portions of this recension have been translated into English ballad metre by Mr. Waterfield in vols. lxi, lxii, and lxiii of the *Calcutta Review* under the title of "The Nine-Lākh Chain, or the *Mārō* feud." The Eastern recension only exists in the mouths of itinerant singers, and is nearly always couched in the Bhoj'pūrī dialect of Bihārī. According to the tradition of Eastern Hindūstān, the poem was originally written by *Jag'nik* in the Bundēl'khaṇḍī dialect. Mr. Vincent Smith has presented me with a number of short poems in that dialect, many of which appear to be fragments of a larger work. In them the second hero is called *Ūdal*.

8. सारङ्ग धर कवि, the poet and bard *Sāraṅg Dhar*, of *Ran'thambhōr*. Fl. 1363 A.D.

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

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

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

I have only seen detached extracts from this poet's works, and hence am unable to say whether the other two poems were certainly by him or not. What gives rise to doubt is the existence [in the J. A. S. B., vol. xlvi (1879), p. 186] of a translation of a *Hammīr Rāsā*, or "History of Hammīr, Prince of Ran'thambhōr," by Bābū *Brajanātha Bandhōpādhyāya*, of *Jāipur*. According to the Introduction of this work, the original was written by one *Jōdh² Rāj*, of *Nim'rānā*, in *Al'wār*. He attended the court of a *Chāūhān* prince named *Chandr' Bhān*, a descendant of *Prithwī Rāj*, and was by birth a *Gāūr Brāhman*, born at *Bijāwar*. There is a copy of the *Çārṅgadhara* (or *Sāraṅg Dhar*) *Paddhati* in the Tod collection of manuscripts (No. 32) in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. I have only had an opportunity of a very cursory examination of the work, which is 299 fol. long. Prof. Peterson has published an edition of it in Bombay. No. 42 in the same collection is entitled the *Hammīra Charitra*, but I am unable to say if it is the same as any of the works above mentioned.

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

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

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

CHAPTER II.

THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

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

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

11. **भवानन्द**, *Bhawānand*. Fl. c. 1400 A.D.

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

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

Haj. One of *Rāmānand's* immediate disciples, a barber by caste. Poems by him are also in the *Sīkh Granth*. He and his descendants were for some time the family gurus of the Rājās of *Bāndhō* (*Rīwā*). See Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindūs*, i, 118, for a legend concerning him.

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

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

a virgin Brāhman widow. He was exposed by her, and was found on a lotus in *Lahar Talāo*, a pond near *Banāras*, by the wife of a Jolāhā or Musalmān weaver named *Nīmā*, who with her husband *Nūrī* was there in attendance on a wedding procession. He is said to have lived 300 years, or from 1149 to 1449 A.D., and in fact he flourished about the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹

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

- (1) *Sukh Nidhān*.
- (2) *Gōrakh Nāth kī Gōshṭhī*.
- (3) *Kabīr Pāñjī*.
- (4) *Balakh kī Ramāinī*.
- (5) *Rāmānand kī Gōshṭhī*.
- (6) *Ānand Rām Sāgar*.
- (7) *Sabdābalī*, containing 1,000 *sabdas*, or short doctrinal expositions.
- (8) *Maṅgal*, 100 short poems, amongst which is the account of *Kabīr's* discovery given as above.
- (9) *Basant*, 100 hymns in that *Rāg*.
- (10) *Hōlī*, 200 of the songs called *Hōlī*.
- (11) *Rēkh'tās*, 100 odes.
- (12) *Jhū'nās*, 500 odes in a different style.
- (13) *Khas'rā*, 500 odes in a different style.
- (14) *Hiṇḍōls*, 12 ditto. The subject of all these odes or hymns is always moral or religious.
- (15) *Bārah Māsā*, the 12 months from a religious point of view, agreeably to *Kabīr's* system.
- (16) *Chañchars*, 22.
- (17) *Chāūtīsās*, 2; the 34 letters of the Nāgarī alphabet, with their religious signification.
- (18) *Alifnāmah*, the Persian alphabet in the same manner.
- (19) *Ramāinīs*, short doctrinal or argumentative poems.
- (20) *Sākhīs*, 5,000. These may be considered as texts, consisting of one stanza each.
- (21) The *Bījak* (Rāg) (the greater and the lesser), in 654 sections.

There is also a variety of stanzas, called *Āgams*, *Bānīs*, etc., composing a very formidable course of study to those who wish to go deep into the doctrine of this school.

¹ For further particulars see Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindūs*, i, 73.

14. भगो दास, *Bhagō Dās*. Fl. 1420 A.D.

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

15. सुत गोपाल, *Srut Gōpāl*. Fl. 1420 A.D.

Another of *Kabīr's* immediate disciples, and author of the *Sukh Nidhān*. See Wilson as above, page 90.

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

Haj., Rāg. He was *Kabīr's* son. He spent his time making couplets in refutation of his father's sayings. Hence the proverb बुरा बन्ध कबीर के कि उपजा पूत कमाल,—An unlucky family was *Kabīr's*, in which the son *Kamāl* was born. See Fallon's *Hd. Dy.* s.v. *Upaj'nā*, page 13.

17. विद्यापति ठाकुर, *Bidyāpatī Ṭhākur*, of *Bisapī*, in *Dar'bhāṅgā* district. Fl. 1400 A.D.

Rāg. Retracing our steps, and leaving for a time the Central Hindūstān, made famous by *Rāmānand* and *Kabīr*, we find flourishing in the year 1400 one of the most famous of the Vaishnava poets of Eastern India. *Bidyāpatī Ṭhākur* was founder of the school of master-singers, which in after years spread over the whole of Baṅgal, and his name is to the present day a household word from the *Kar'm'nāsā* to *Calcutta*. He has been translated into and imitated in most of the dialects falling between these limits. Little is known of his life. He was the son of *Gan'patī Ṭhākur*, who was the son of *Jāi Datt' Ṭhākur*. The founder of the family was *Viṣṇu Ḍarman*, who lived seven generations before *Bidyāpatī* in the village of *Bisapī*, the modern *Bis'phī*. This village was given to the poet as a rentfree gift by king *Sib Singh* (then heir apparent) of *Sugāonā* in the year 1400 A.D. The deed of endowment is still extant. *Bidyāpatī* was author of many Sanskrit works, the principal of which are the well-known *Puruṣa Parīkṣa*, the *Durgābhakti Tarāṅgiṇī*, the *Dānavākyaṅvalī*, the *Vivāda Sāra*, and the *Gayā Pattana*; but his chief glory consists in his matchless sonnets (*pada*) in the Maithilī dialect dealing

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

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

	A.D.
Granted the village of <i>Bisapī</i> , and therefore	
already a learned man	1400
Wrote <i>Puruṣa Parīkṣa</i> before	<i>1446</i>
Wrote the numerous songs dedicated to <i>Sib</i>	
<i>Singh</i> before	<i>1449</i>
Copied the <i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i>	1456
Wrote <i>Durgābhakti Tarangiṇī</i>	<i>1470</i>

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

Prān'batī, and *Mōd'batī*. There is a tradition that the emperor *Ak'bar*¹ summoned *Sib Singh* to *Dillī* for some offence, and that *Bidyāpatī* obtained his patron's release by an exhibition of clairvoyance. The emperor locked him up in a wooden box and sent a number of courtezans of the town to bathe in the river. When all was over he released him and asked him to describe what had occurred, when *Bidyāpatī* immediately recited impromptu one of the most charming of his sonnets which has come down to us, describing a beautiful girl at her bath. Astonished at his power, the emperor granted his petition to release king *Sib Singh*. Another legend is that the poet, feeling his end approaching, determined to die on the banks of the holy Ganges. On the way he remembered that the stream was the child of the faithful, and summoned it to himself. The obedient flood immediately divided itself into three streams, and spread its waves up to the very spot where *Bidyāpatī* was sitting. Joyfully gazing on its sacred waters, he laid himself down and died. A *Çiva liṅga* sprang up where his funeral pyre had been, and it and the marks of the river are shown there to the present day. It is close to the town of *Bāzīt'pur*, in the *Darbhāṅgā* district. Such is the fitting legend of the passing away of the great old master-singer.

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

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

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

19. जैदेब, *Jāidēb*. Fl. 1400 A.D.

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

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

Rāg. Leaving *Bidyāpatī* and his successors, we may now turn to the extreme west of Hindūstān, where, in *Mēwār*, *Mīrā Bāī*, the one great poetess of Northern India, was pouring forth her passionate hymns to *Krish'n Ran'chhōṛ*. This remarkable woman, who flourished in the year 1420 A.D., was the daughter of Rājā *Ratīyā Rānā*,¹ the *Rathāūr*, of *Mer'tā*, and was married in Sambat 1470 (A.D. 1413) to Rājā *Kumbh'karan* (No. 21), son of *Mōkal Dēb*, of *Chitāūr*.² Her husband was killed in Sambat 1534 (A.D. 1469) by his son *Ūdā Rānā*. Her great work is the *Rāg Gōbind*, and she also wrote a much-admired commentary on the *Gītā Gōvinda* of *Jayadēva*. She was devoted to that form of the god *Krish'n* known as *Ran'chhōṛ*, and the tradition is that she worshipped his image with such fervour that it came to life, and the god, descending from his shrine, embraced her, crying 'Welcome *Mīrā*.' On hearing these words, overcome with rapture, she died in his arms. According to *Wilson*³ she was much persecuted by her husband's family on account of her religious principles. She became the patroness of vagrant *Vāishnavas*, and visited in pilgrimage *Brindābān* and *Dwārikā*. Previous to leaving the latter place she visited the temple of her tutelary deity to take leave of him, when on the completion of her adoration the image opened, and *Mīrā* leaping into the fissure it closed and she finally disappeared. Some idea of the popularity of her writings may be gained from the fact that I have collected from the mouths of the people of *Mithilā* songs purporting to be by her.⁴

21. कुम्भकरन, *Kumbh'karan*, king of *Chitāūr (Mēwār)*, husband of *Mīrā Bāī*. Fl. 1419 A.D.

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

² According to *Wilson*, *Udāipur*.

³ *Religious Sects of the Hindūs*, p. 137.

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

? Rāg. He came to the throne about 1400 A.D., and was killed by his son *Ūdā* in the year 1469 A.D. According to Tod (i, 289 ; Calc. ed. i, 308,) he was a skilled poet, and wrote a commentary to the *Gītā Gōvinda*. He is said to have been originally instructed in poetry by his wife, the famous *Mirā Bāī* (No. 20).

22. नानक, *Nānak* the *Bēdikhatrī*, of *Til'warī* (see Wilson, *Essays*, ii, 123) in the Panjāb. B. 1469 A.D.; d. 1539 A.D.

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

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

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER II.

23. चरन दास, *Charan Dās*, the *Brāhman* of *Paṇḍit'pur*, district *Fāiz-ābād*. B. 1480 A.D.

Rāg. The author of a work entitled the *Gyān'swaroday*.

24. अजबेस प्राचीन, *Ajabēs*, the old poet of that name. B. 1513 A.D.

Sun. He attended the court of king *Bir Bhān Singh* (1540—1554), of *Bāndhō (Riwā)*,¹ and seems to have resided as a professional bard in that country. Cf. No. 530.

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

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

Rāg.

26. माधव दास, *Mādhav Dās*, the Brāhman. B. 1523.

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

27. गोपा कवि, the poet *Gōpā*. B. 1533 A.D. He wrote the *Rām Bhūkhan* and the *Alaṅkār Chandrikā*.

28. नरमिया कवि, the poet *Naramiyā alias Naramī*, of *Jūnāgarh*, in *Guj'rāt*. B. 1533 A.D.

Rāg.

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

Rāg.

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

Rāg. He translated the *Gaṇēṣa Purāṇa* into the vernacular.

CHAPTER III.

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

31. मलिक मुहम्मद जायसी, *Malik Muḥammad*, of *Jāyas*, in *Āudh*. Fl. 1540 A.D.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Malik Muḥammad has changed the name of the hero from *Bhīm'sī* to *Ratan*, the name of the king of *Mēwār* who ruled at *Chitāūr* at about the time that the poem was written (Tod, i, 309; Calc. ed. i, 328).¹

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

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

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

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER III.

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| <p>32. दीरुह कवि, the poet <i>Dilh</i> (?).
B. 1548 A.D. No particulars.</p> | <p>the Brāhman of <i>Bārī</i>, district <i>Sitāpur</i>.
B. 1553 A.D.
Rāg. The author of the <i>Sudāmā Charitr'</i> (Rāg.).</p> |
| <p>33. नरोत्तम दास, <i>Narōttam Dās</i>,</p> | |

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

CHAPTER IV.

THE KRISHNA-CULT OF BRAJ. [1500—1600.]

34. बल्लभाचारज, *Ballabhāchār'j*, of *Gōkul*, in *Braj*. B. 1478 A.D.

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

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

² *Prasiddh Māhātmaō kā Jīban Charitr'*, ii, 28.

³ See the third khaṇḍ of the *Ballabh Digbijāi*, सम्बत १५३५ शाके १४४० बैसाख मास कृष्ण पक्ष रविवार मध्याह्न. See also a hymn by *Dwārikēs* quoted by *Harishchandr'*, l.c.

everywhere. He finished his first tour (technically called his *Digbijā*, or conquest of the world) in Sambat 1554 (A.D. 1497) at the age of nineteen.¹ He then made *Braj* his head-quarters and established an image of *Shrī Nāth* at *Gōbardhan*. From this as his head-quarters he made his second missionary tour throughout India. He died in *Banāras* in Sambat 1587 (A.D. 1530) at the age of fifty-two years, leaving two sons—*Gōpī Nāth* and *Biṭṭhal Nāth*. He was a voluminous author. His most admired works are a commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* entitled *Subōdhanī*,² the *Anubhāṣya*, and the *Jāminīya Sūtra Bhāṣya*. The two latter are in Sanskrit. Harishchandr' (l.c.) gives a complete list of his works. The authorship of a vernacular work of considerable authority, the *Bishnu Pad*, or stanzas in honour of Viṣṇu, is also attributed to him. Many verses by him are included in the anthology entitled *Rāg-Sāgarōdbhab* of *Krishnānand Byās Dēb*. For further particulars see No. 35.

35. बिट्टल नाथ गोसाँई, the holy master *Biṭṭhal Nāth*, of *Braj*. Fl. 1550 A.D.

Rāg. Ballabhāchār'j was succeeded as leader of the *Rādhā-ballabhī* sect by his son *Biṭṭhal Nāth*, of *Braj* (Fl. 1550). *Biṭṭhal Nāth* had seven sons, all of whom became *Gosāīs*, or leaders of the sect. The descendants of two of these (*Gir'dhar* and *Jadunāth*)³ still exist in *Gōkul*.⁴ Many of his verses are included in the *Rāg-Sāgarōdbhab*, and he is possibly the same as a *Biṭṭhal Kabi* mentioned in the *Sib Singh Sarōj* as an erotic poet.

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

¹ This is the date quoted by Harishchandr'.

² According to Wilson, *Subōdhinī*.

³ See Harishchandr' (l.c.), ii, 36.

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

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

I now proceed to mention these eight authors in detail.

36. क्रिशन्न दास पय अहारी, *Krish'n Dās*, surnamed *Pay Ahārī*, or 'he whose food was milk,' of *Gōkul*, in *Braj*. Fl. 1550 A.D.

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

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

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

According to a tradition preserved in the glosses of the *Bhakt Mālā* and to the *Chāūrāsī Bārtā*, he was a Sāraswat Brāhman, and his father and mother were beggars who lived at *Gaū Ghāṭ* or at *Dillī*. The fact that books of the authority of these two works countenance this theory is typical of the tendency of mediæval Indian authors to trust to tradition instead of to independent research. Subsequent writers, English and foreign, have followed the *Bhakt Mālā*, and have all been led wrong in consequence, for we have the very best authority, that of *Sūr Dās* himself, that he was not a Sāraswat Brāhman, and that his father was not a beggar and did not live at *Gaū Ghāṭ*.¹

Sūr Dās wrote a collection of emblematic verses (*driṣṭ kūt*) with the accompanying necessary commentary,² and in the latter the author gives the following account of himself³ :—

‘The founder of my family was *Brahm Rāō*,⁴ first of the *Jagāt* (or of the *Prath Jagāt*)⁵ clan. In his famous family was born the handsome famous *Chand*.⁶ To him *Prithwī Rāj* (Fl. 1190 A.D.) gave the country of *Jwālā*. He had four sons, of whom the eldest succeeded him as king (*narēs*). The second was *Gun Chandr*’, whose son was *Sīl Chandr*’, whose son was *Bīr Chandr*’. This last used to sport with *Hammīr*,⁷ king of *Ran’thambhōr*. In his family was born *Hari Chandr*’, who dwelt at *Āg’rā*. *Hari Chandr*’s heroic⁸ son dwelt in *Gōp’chal* and had seven sons, viz. (1) *Krish’n Chand*, (2) *Udār Chand*, (3) *Jurup Chand* (or possibly *Rūp Chand*), (4) *Buddhi Chand*, (5) *Dēb Chand*, (6) (?) *Sansrit Chand*, and (7) myself *Sūraj Chand*. My six brothers were

¹ It must not be forgotten that *Priyā Dās*, the author of the gloss to the *Bhakt Mālā*, collected the traditions more than a century after *Sūr Dās*’s death.

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

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

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

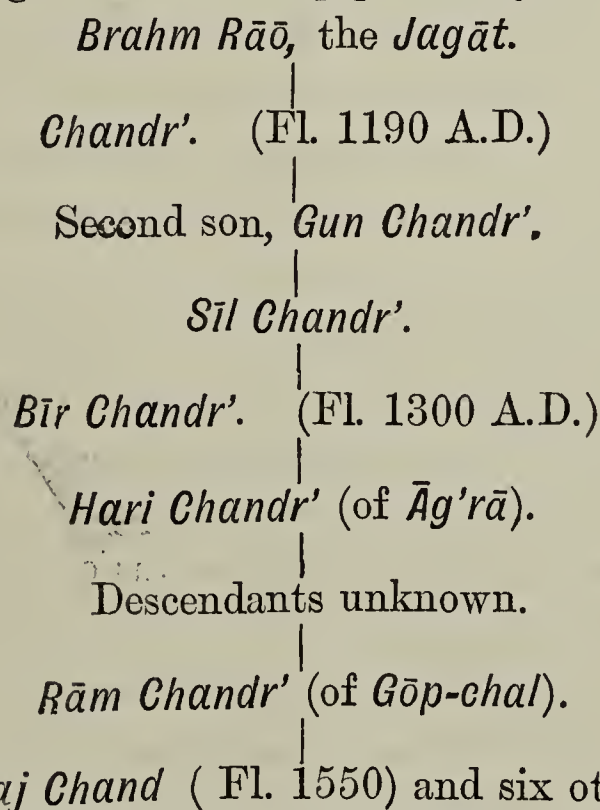
⁵ This clan is not mentioned in the list of clans of Sāraswat Brāhman drawn up by Paṇḍit *Rādhēs Misar*. *Jagāt* or *jagatiyā* means a panegyrist.

⁶ Or perhaps *Bhāō Chand*, if we take *bhāū* (= *huā*, ‘was’) as a contraction of *bhāō*.

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

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

killed in battle with the Musalmāns; I alone, *Sūraj Chand*, blind¹ and worthless, remained alive. I was fallen into a well,² and though I called for help, no one saved me. On the seventh day Jadupati (Krish'n) came and pulled me out³ and, making himself visible to me (or giving me my eyesight), said "Son, ask what thou desirest as a boon." I said, "Lord, I ask for the boon of perfect devotion, for the destruction of the enemy,⁴ and that now that I have seen the form of my God, mine eyes may never see aught else." As the Ocean of Compassion heard me, he said. "So let it be. Thine enemy will be destroyed by a mighty Brāhman of the *Deckan*." Then named he me *Sūraj Dās*, *Sūr*, and *Sūr Syām*, and disappeared, and thereafter all was darkness to me.⁶ I then went to live in *Braj*, where the holy master (*Biṭṭhal Nāth*) entered my name in the *Ashta Chhāp*.⁷ We thus get the following genealogy:—



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

¹ Either literally or figuratively. Owing to the undoubted fact of his blindness, every blind singing mendicant is nowadays called a *Sūr Dās*.

² This may be taken literally, *i.e.* fallen into a dry well (*andhā kūā*), or figuratively that he was a sinner.

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

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

⁵ *I.e.* *Ballabhāchār'j*.

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

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

⁸ He calls Chand'r's eldest son *narēs*.

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

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

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

¹ No copies of this are known to exist.

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

³ Said to contain 60,000 verses.

⁴ *Kara chhatakāi jātu hāū, durabala jānī mōhi*
Hiradaya sē jāū jāhugē, marada bakhānō tōhi.

Thou thrustest away my hand and departest, knowing that I am weak
(and pretending that thou art but a man),
But not till thou depart from my heart will I confess thee to be a mortal.

clear as a ray of light. Other poets may have equalled him in some particular quality, but he combined the best qualities of all.¹ Natives of India give him the very highest niche of fame, but I believe the European reader will prefer the nobility of character of all that *Tul'sī Dās* wrote to the often too cloying sweetness of the blind bard of *Āg'rā*.

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

Rāg.

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

Rāg. These two were pupils of *Ballabhāchār'j* (No. 34), and are included in the *Ashta Chhāp*.

40. **चतुरभुज दास**, *Chatur'bhuj Dās*. Fl. 1567.

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

41. **छीत स्वामी**, *Chhīt Swāmī*. Fl. 1567 A.D.

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

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

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

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

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

43. गोविन्द दास, *Gōbind Dās*, of *Braj*. Fl. 1567 A.D.

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

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

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

45. केवल राम कवि, the poet *Kēwal Rām*, of *Braj*. Fl. 1575 A.D.

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

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

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

47. देवा कवि, the poet *Dēbā* of *Udāipur* (*Mēwār*). Fl. 1575 A.D.

48. कल्याण दास, *Kalyān Dās*, of *Braj*. Fl. 1575 A.D.

Rāg.

49. हट्टी नारायण, *Haṭī Nārāyan*, of *Braj*. Fl. 1575 A.D.

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

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

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

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

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

Agar'wālā (No. 640), of *Mīrāpur*, translated the *Bhakt Mālā* into *Ūrdū*, calling his translation the *Bhakt Māl Pradīpan*.

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

52. कान्हर दास कवि, the poet *Kānhār Dās*, of *Braj*. Fl. 1600 A.D.

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

53. स्त्री भट्ट कवि, the poet *Srī Bhaṭṭ*. B. 1544 A.D.

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

54. ब्यास स्वामी, *Byās Swāmī* alias *Hari Rām Suk'l*, of *Uṛ'chhā*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1555 A.D.

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

55. परसु राम *Parasú Rām*, of *Braj*. B. 1603 A.D.

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

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

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

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

He was a disciple of *Hit Haribans* (No. 56). He is mentioned in the *Bhakt Mālā*.

58. ध्रुव दास, *Dhrub Dās*. Fl. 1560 A.D.

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

59. हरि दास स्वामी, the master *Hari Dās*, of *Brindāban*, in *Braj*. Fl. 1560 A.D.

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

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

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

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

He became enamoured of *Dāulat Khān*, son of the famous *Shēr Khān*, and wrote many poems in his honour. When *Dāulat Khān* died he went to the court of *Rām Chand Singh*, the *Baghēlā* king of *Bāndhō (Rīwā)*. From thence he was summoned (A.D. 1563) by the emperor *Ak'bar*, where he became one of the court singers and a close friend of *Sūr Dās* (see *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Blochmann's translation, pp. 403, 612). The first time that Tān Sēn performed at court the emperor is said to have made him a present of two *lākhs* of rupees. Most of his compositions are written in *Ak'bar's* name, and his melodies are even nowadays everywhere repeated by the people of Hindūstān. His most famous work on music is the *Sangit Sār (Rāg)*.

61. भगवत रमित, *Bhag'wat Ramit*, of *Brindāban*, in *Braj*. Fl. 1560 A.D.

He was son of *Mādhav Dās* (No. 26) and pupil of *Hari Dās* (No. 59). He is the author of some admired *Kuṇḍaliyās*.

62. बिपुल बिट्ठल, *Bipul Biṭṭhal*, of *Gōkul*, in *Braj*. Fl. 1560 A.D.

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

63. केसव दास, *Kēsab Dās*, of *Kāshmīr*. Fl. 1541 A.D.

Rāg. After acquiring a great reputation he came to *Braj*, and was conquered in discussion by *Krish'n Chāitanya*.

64. अभय राम कवि, the poet *Abhay Rām*, of *Brindāban*, in *Braj*. B. 1545 A.D.

Haj., *Rāg*.

65. चतुर बिहारी कवि, the poet *Chatur Bihārī*, of *Braj*. B. 1548 A.D.

Rāg. He is probably the same as two other poets, *Chatur Kabi* and *Chatur Bihārī*, mentioned by *Sib Singh* without dates.

66. **नारायण भट्ट**, the master *Nārāyan Bhatt*, of *Ūch Gāw Bar'sānā*, in *Braj*. B. 1563 A.D.

Rāg. He was a very holy man.

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

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

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

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

69. **विद्या दास**, *Bidyā Dās*, of *Braj*. B. 1593 A.D.

Rāg.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER IV.

70. **केहरी कवि**, the poet *Keh'ri*. B. 1553 A.D.

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

71. **आसकरन दास**, *Ās'karan Dās*, the *Kachh'wāhā Rāj'pūt* of *Nar'war Garh*, in *Gwāliyar*. Fl. c. 1550 A.D.

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

72. **चेतन चन्द्र कवि**, the poet *Chētan Chandr'*. B. 1559 A.D.

He wrote a treatise on veterinary surgery (शालि-होत्र) entitled *Ashwa*

Binōd for king *Kusal Singh*, of the *Sēgar* family.

73. **प्रिथ्वी राज कवि**, the poet and prince *Prithwī Rāj*. Fl. 1567 A.D.

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

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

Haj.

75. **इक्ष्वाक कवि**, the poet *Chhatr'*. B. 1568 A.D.

The author of a work entitled the *Bijāi Muktabālī*, which is an abstract of the *Mahābhārata* in verse. It is

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

76. उदय सिद्ध, *Mahārāj Uday Singh*, of *Mār'wār*. Fl. 1584 A.D.

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

77. जीवन कवि, the poet *Jīban*. B. 1551 A.D.

Haj., Rāg.

78. मानिक चन्द कवि, the poet *Mānik Chand*. B. 1551 A.D.

Rāg.

79. जघी राम कवि, the poet *Ūdhō Rām*. B. 1553 A.D.

Haj., ? Rāg. Cf. No. 495.

80. नन्द लाल कवि, the poet *Nand Lāl*. B. 1554 A.D.

Haj.

81. गनेस जी मिसर, *Ganēs Jī Misar*. B. 1558 A.D.

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

Haj.

83. ओली राम कवि, the poet *Ōli Rām*. B. 1564 A.D.

Haj.

84. दामोदर दास, *Dāmōdar Dās*, of *Braj*. B. 1565.

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

85. जमाल उद्दीन, *Jamālu'd dīn*, of *Pihānī*, district *Hardōi*. B. 1568 A.D.

No particulars. He is possibly the same as a *Jamāl Kabi*, whom Sib Singh gives as born in 1545 A.D., and as being skilled in emblematic verses (कूट).

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

Haj.

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

Rāg. He wrote on lovers.¹ He is possibly the same as a poet *Chhēm*, of the *Dōāb*, mentioned by Sib Singh. Cf. Nos. 103 and 311.

88. सिब कवि, the poet *Sib*. B. 1574.

Haj., Sun.

89. कादिर बखस, *Qādir Bakhsh*, the Musalmān, of *Pihānī*, district *Har'dōi*. B. 1578 A.D.

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

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

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

¹ When it is said that a poet wrote on lovers, it is to be understood as a translation of a statement made by a Native authority that he wrote a *Nāyak Bhēd* or a *Nāyikā* [or *Nāyakā (sic)*] *Bhēd*. These are technical names for those works in which the various kinds of heroes (*nāyak*) or heroines (*nāyikā*) are described and classified to an extreme, and often absurd, minuteness. A further development is the *Nakh'sikh*, which will be frequently met with further on, in which all the portions of the body and features of a possible hero or heroine, from the toe-nails (*nakh*) to the top-knot (*sikh*), are similarly classified.

91. निहाल, *Nihāl*, the elder.
B. 1578 A.D.

92. घन स्याम सुकल, *Ghan Syām Suk'l*, of *As'ni*, district *Fatih'pur*.
B. 1578 A.D.

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

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

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

94. सुबारक अली, *Sayyad Mubārak 'Alī*, of *Bil'grām*, district *Har'dōl*.
B. 1583 A.D.

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

95. नागर कवि, the poet *Nāgar*.
B. 1591 A.D.

Haj. Possibly the same as a *Nāgarī Dās* mentioned in the preface to Rāg.

96. दिलन्दार कवि, the poet *Dil'dār*. B. 1593 A.D.

Haj.

97. दौलत कवि, the poet *Dāulat*.
B. 1594 A.D.

98. जगन कवि, the poet *Jagan*.
B. 1595 A.D.

An erotic writer.

99. ताज कवि, the poet *Tāj*.
B. 1595.

Haj.

100. लालन दास, *Lālan Dās* a Brāhman of *Ḍal'maū*, district *Rāy Barēli*. B. 1595.

Haj. A quietistic (शान्ति रस) poet.

101. बारक कवि, the poet *Bārak*.
B. 1598 A.D.

102. बिस्व नाथ कवि, the poet *Biswa Nāth* the elder. B. 1598.

CHAPTER V.

THE MUGHAL COURT.

103. छेम कवि, the poet and bard *Chhēm*, of *Ḍal'maū*, district *Rāy Barēli*. Fl. 1530.

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

104. अकबर बादशाह, the emperor *Ak'bar*. Reigned 1556 to 1605 A.D.

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

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

105. टोडर मल खत्री, *Rājā Ṭoḍar Mal*, the *Khattri*. B. 1523.

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

He translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* into Persian. His best known vernacular verses are on morals (नैति). He died in Hij'ri 998 (1589 A.D.). For his life see *Āin-i-Akbarī*, p. 351. His influence in making Hindūs learn Persian is especially noteworthy, as it accounts for the formation and acceptance of Ūrdū.

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

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

¹ Tod, ii, 362; Calc. ed. ii, 390.

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

Bīr'bal founded the town of *Ak'bar'pur* and dwelt there, and in the *Nār'nāul* quarter of that town his descendants still exist.

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

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

He was son of Rājā *Lōṅkaran*, the Kachh'wāhā, and was one of *Ak'bar's* commanders of 400. (See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, trans., p. 494.) He wrote in Persian, in Sanskrit, and in the vernacular. In the first language he wrote under the name of *Tōsanī*.

108. **अबदुल रहीम**, 'Abdu'r *Raḥīm Khān'khānā Nawāb*, commonly called *Khān'khānā*, the son of *Bāiram Khān*. B. 1556.¹

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

109. **मान सिङ्घ**, *Mahārāj Mān Singh*, the Kachh'wāhā of *Amēr*. B. 1535.

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

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

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

110. **अबुल फ़ैज**, *Abū'l Fāiz alias Fāizī*. B. 1547 A.D.

This is the famous son of Shekh *Mubārak*, brother of *Abū'l Faẓl* and friend of *Ak'bar*. He was born A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547). See Blochmann's translation of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, p. 490.

He was an excellent Sanskrit scholar, and is the author of many detached verses (*doh'rā*) in the vernacular.

111. **फ़हीम**, *Fahīm*. B. cir. 1550 A.D.

According to Sib Singh he was a younger brother of *Fāizī* and *Abū'l Faẓl*. I can, however, find no mention of him in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*. He is the author of many detached verses (*doh'rā*) in the vernacular.

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

Rāg. He was father of *Sūr Dās* (No. 37), and was one of the court singers to the emperor *Ak'bar*. See *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann's translation), p. 612. According to *Badāonī* he came from *Lakh'naū*. He appears to have been with *Bāirām Khān* during his rebellion, and he received once from him one *lākh* of *tānkahs*, empty as *Bāirām's* treasure chest was. He was first at the court of *Is'lēm Shāh*, and he was looked upon as second only to *Tān Sēn* (No. 60,) the most celebrated singer of *Ak'bar's* time.

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

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

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

Ak'bar gave him the title of *Mahāpātr'*, saying that other bards were vessels of virtue (*gun kā pātr'*), but he was a great vessel (*mahāpātr'*).

He is possibly the same as a *Nar'harī Dās* mentioned in the preface to *Rāg*.

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

A celebrated poet, and son of *Nar'harī* (No. 113), the court poet of the emperor *Ak'bar*. He made a tour from court to court, receiving rich presents for his verses; thus king *Nējā' Rām*, the Baghēl of *Bāndhō* (*Rīwā*), gave him a lākh of rupees for a single *dōhā*, and *Mān Singh* (No. 109) of *Amēr* gave him two lākhs for two *dōhās*. On his way home he met a mendicant of the *Nāgā* sect, who recited a *dōhā* to him, at which he was so pleased that he gave the beggar all the presents he had collected, and returned home empty handed. Arrived there he passed the remainder of his life squandering his father's savings in a similar manner.

115. करनेस कवि बन्दीजन, the poet and bard *Kar'nēs*, or *Karan*. B. 1554 A.D.

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

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

116. **मान राय**, the bard *Mān Rāy*, of *As'nī*, district *Fatih'-pur*. B. 1523 A.D.

117. **जगन्दीस कवि**, the poet *Jag'dīs*. B. 1531 A.D.

118. **जोध कवि**, the poet *Jōdh*. B. 1533 A.D.

These three all attended the court of the emperor *Ak'bar*.

119. **गङ्गा परंसाद**, *Gangā Par'sād*, the Brāhman. Commonly known as *Gang Kabi*, or the poet *Gang*. B. 1538.

Sun. He was a Brāhman of *Ek'nāūr*, district *Itāwā*. He was a bard attached to the court of *Ak'bar*. He received many presents from *Bīr'bal*, *Khān'khānā*, and others. He is not mentioned in Mr. Blochmann's translation of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*. He is mentioned by Captain Price as having written on rhetoric in 1555 (*Hindee and Hindoostanee Selections*, Pref., p. x). Cf. Garcin de Tassy, i, 182.

120. **जैत कवि**, the poet *Jāit*. B. 1544 A.D.

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

121. **अम्रित कवि**, the poet *Amrit*. B. 1545 A.D.

122. **जगन्नज**, *Jagannaj*. Fl. (?) 1575 A.D.

123. **जगामग**, *Jagāmag*. Fl. (?) 1575 A.D.

These three all attended the court of the emperor *Ak'bar*.

124. **लछ्मी नारायण**, *Lachh'mī Nārāyan*, of *Mithilā*. Fl. 1600 A.D.

125. **परंसिद्ध कवि**, the poet *Par'siddh*, the elder. B. 1533.

These two attended the court of 'Abdu'r Raḥīm Khān'khānā (No. 108).

126. **होल राय कबि**, the poet and bard *Hōl Rāy*, of *Hōl'pur*, district *Bārābankī*. Fl. 1583 A.D.

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

127. **मुकुन्द सिङ्घ हाड़ा**, Rājā *Mukund Singh*, the *Hārā*, of *Kōṭā*. B. 1578.

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

CHAPTER VI.

TUL'SI DAS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Sambata sōraha sār asī, Asī Gaṅga ke tīra,
Sāwana sukalā sattamī, Tulasī tajeu sarīra :*

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

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

the honour of being his birthplace. As a child he lived at *Sūkar'khēt* (*vulgo Sōrō*),¹ where he was first imbued with devotion to Rām. According to *Priyā Dās* (see Nos. 51 and 319) his wife first persuaded him to exchange an earthly for a divine love, and, incited by her remonstrances, he left her and went to *Banāras*, where he spent the greater part of his life, visiting frequently *Ajodhyā*, *Mathurā*, *Brindāban*, *Kuruchhētr' Prayāg* (Allāhābād), *Purukhōttam'purī*, and other holy places. The only other fact in his life about which there is any reasonable certainty (beyond the dates of some of his works) is that he was appointed arbitrator in a land dispute between two men, *Ānand Rām* and *Kanhāy*. The deed of arbitration in his handwriting is still in existence, and is dated Sambat 1669, or eleven years before his death. A photograph, transliteration, and translation of it, are appended to this work. A few legends mentioned by *Priyā Dās*, and given in full by Mr. Growse in the introduction to his translation of the Rāmāyan, may be briefly noted here. A grateful ghost introduced him to Hanumān, through whom he obtained a vision of Rām and Lachhman. He recognised a murderer, who piously uttered the name of Rām, as a saved man, and when challenged to prove his statement he did so by making the guilty man's offering accepted by Śiva. Some thieves came to rob him, but his house was guarded by a mysterious watchman, who was no other than Rām himself, and, instead of stealing, the thieves became converted and pure of heart. He restored a Brāhman to life.² His fame reached *Dillī*, where *Shāh Jahān* (1628—1658; but the poet died in 1624) was emperor. The monarch called upon him to perform a miracle and to produce the person of Rām, which Tul'sī Dās refusing to do, the king threw him into confinement. He was, however, speedily compelled to release him, for myriads of monkeys having collected about the prison began to demolish it and the adjacent buildings. Shāh Jahān having set the poet at liberty desired him to solicit some favour as a reparation for the indignity he had suffered. Tul'sī Dās accordingly requested him to quit ancient *Dillī*, which was the abode of Rām; and in compliance with this request the emperor left it and founded the new city, thence named *Shāh-Jahān-ābād*. After this Tul'sī went to *Brindāban*, where he had an interview with *Nābhā Dās* (the author of the *Bhakt Mālā*). There he strenuously advocated the worship of Rām in preference

¹ Rām., Bā., Dōhā, 87.

² The following is nearly in Wilson's words.

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

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

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

(1) The *Gītābalī* (Rāg.).—This is the story of Rām told in the form of sonnets adapted for singing. There are several incorrect editions of it in print, some of which have commentaries of varying excellence.

(2) The *Kabittābalī* or *Kabitta Rāmāyan* (Rāg.).—It deals with the same subject, and is in the *Kabitta* metre.

(3) The *Dōhābalī* or *Dōhā Rāmāyan* (Rāg.).—As its name imports, it is in the *dōhā* metre. It is rather a moral work than an epic poem. I am not sure that it is not a collection of *dōhās* from his other works by a later hand. I have, at any rate, been able to identify many of them.

¹ Rām. Bā. ch. 42.

(4) The *Chhappāi Rāmāyan*.—In the *chhappāi* metre. I have only seen one incorrect and unintelligible manuscript of this work, from which an edition of the same character has been printed.

(5) *Sat Sai* (Rāg.).—A collection (*Sapta Çatikā*) of seven hundred emblematic *dōhās*.

(6) The *Pañch Ratan* (Rāg.), or five jewels.—A set of five short poems, usually grouped together. They are (a) the *Jānakī Maṅgal*, (b) the *Pārbatī Maṅgal*, (c) the *Bāirāgya Sandīpinī*, (d) *Rām Lālā kar Nah'chhū*, (e) the *Bar'wē Rāmāyan* (Rāg.). The first two of these are songs celebrating the marriages of Sītā and Gāūrī respectively; the third is a didactic treatise; the fourth is a song in honour of the *Nah'chhū* or ceremonial nail-paring of Rām at his wedding; and the fifth, a short history of Rām in the *Bar'wāi* metre.

(7) The *Srī Rām Agyā*, also called the *Rām Sagunābalī*.—A collection of seven books of seven chapters, each of seven *dōhās* to each chapter. It is a collection of omens connected with the life of Rām. I suspect it is spurious, and partly made up of extracts from the poet's other works. I have met with one very inferior commentary upon it.

(8) The *Saṅkaṭ Mōchan*.—A short didactic work. I have only seen it in one vilely-printed edition.

(9) The *Binay Pattrikā* (Rāg.).—A collection of 279 hymns to Rām: much admired, and deservedly so. It has often been printed, and has a very fair commentary by *Sib Par'kās* (No. 643).

(10) The *Hanumān Bāhuk* (Rāg.).—A collection of sonnets in honour of *Hanumān*, who according to tradition gave him a vision of Rām and Lachhman.

In addition to these the *Sib Singh Sarōj* mentions the following:—

(11) *Rām Salākā* (Rāg.).

(12) The *Kundaliyā Rāmāyan*.

(13) The *Kar'kā Rāmāyan*.

(14) The *Rōlā Rāmāyan*.

(15) The *Jhūl'nā Rāmāyan*, none of which I have seen. The last four are named after the metres in which they are written.

(16) A *Krishnābalī* (Rāg.) in the Braj dialect is also printed and sold in the bazārs. It deals with the life of Krish'n, and I do not believe that it is by the *Tul'sī Dās* whom we are now considering.

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

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

Regarding Tul'sī Dās's style, he was a master of all varieties, from the simplest flowing narration to the most complex emblematic verses. He wrote always in the old Bais'wārī dialect, and, once the peculiarities of this are mastered, his *Rām-Charit-Mānas* is delightful and easy reading. In his *Gītābalī* and *Kabittābalī* he is more involved, but still readable with pleasure; in his *Dōhābalī* he is sententious; and in his *Sat Saī* as difficult and obscure as any admirer of the *Nalōdaya* could wish. The *Sat Saī* is a veritable *tour de force*, and I am glad that this, almost the oldest specimen¹ of a kind of writing which was brought to perfection fifty years later by *Bihārī Lāl* (No. 196) (the mine of commentators), is being edited with a commentary by Professor *Bihārī Lāl Chāubē* in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.² The *Binay Patirikā* is again in another style. It is a book of prayers, often of the most elevated description, but its difficulties are very unsatisfactorily elucidated by either of the two commentaries on it which I have seen.

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

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

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

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

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

The reasons for the excellence of this great poet's work are not far to seek. The most important of all was the great modesty of the man. The preface to the *Rām-Charit-Mānas* is one of the most remarkable portions of the book. *Kālidāsa* may begin his *Raghuvamṣa* with

a comparison of himself to a dwarf, and of his powers over language to a skiff on the boundless ocean ; but from under this modest statement there gleams a consciousness of his own superiority. His modesty is evidently a mock one, and the poet is really saying to himself all the time, 'I shall soon show my readers how learned I am, and what a command I have over all the nine *rasas*.' But (and this is another reason for his superiority) Tul'sī never wrote a line in which he did not himself believe heart and soul. He was full of his theme, the glory and love of his master ; and so immeasurably above him did that glory and that love seem, that he was full of humility with regard to himself. As he expresses it :—'My intellect is beggarly, while my ambition is imperial. May good people all pardon my presumption and listen to my childish babbling, as a father and mother delight to hear the lisping prattle of their little one.' *Kālidāsa* took Rām as a peg on which to hang his graceful verses ; but *Tul'sī Dās* wove wreaths of imperishable fragrance, and humbly laid them at the feet of the god whom he adored.¹ One other point I would urge, which has, I believe, escaped the notice of even Native students of our author. He is, perhaps, the only great Indian poet who took his similes direct from the book of Nature and not from his predecessors. He was so close an observer of concrete things, that many of his truest and simplest passages are unintelligible to his commentators, who were nothing but learned men, and who went through the beautiful world around them with eyes blinded by their books. Shakespeare, we know, spoke of the white reflection of the willow leaves in the water, and thus puzzled all his editors, who said in their wisdom that willow leaves were green. It was, I think, Charles Lamb who thought of going to the river and seeing if Shakespeare was right, and who thereby swept away a cloud of proposed emendations.² So, too, it has been reserved for Mr. Growse to point out that Tul'sī Dās knew far more about Nature than his commentators do.

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

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

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

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

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

129. निपट निरञ्जन स्वामी, the master *Nipaṭ Nirañjan*.
B. 1593 A.D.

Nir. According to Sib Singh this master ranks as a holy man with *Tul'sī Dās*. Besides hundreds of short poems which have not been collected, he is the author of the *Sānt Sar'sī* and the *Nirañjan Saṅgrah*.

130. बेनी माधव दास, *Bēnī Mādhab Dās*, of *Pas'kā*,
district *Gōḍā*. Fl. 1600 A.D.

He was a disciple of the holy master *Tul'sī Dās*, and was his constant companion. He wrote a biography of him entitled *Gosāī Charitr'* (quoted in this work as 'Gō.') and died in 1642 A.D.

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

132. नील कण्ठ मिसर, *Nil Kaṅṭh Misar*, of the *Dōāb*.
Fl. 1600 A.D.
Go., Nir.

133. नीला धर कवि, the poet *Nilā Dhar*. Fl. 1600 A.D.
Gō., Nir.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER VI.

I.—THE TEXT OF TUL'SĪ DĀS.

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

FROM THE *Bāl Kāṇḍ* (*Banāras MS.*).(The footnotes show the variations of the *textus receptus*.)*Chāūpāī.*Kō Shiwa¹ sama Rāmahi² priya bhāī ||.*Dōhā.*

Prathamahi māī kahi Shiwa-charita

Būjhā maramu tumhāra | ³Suchi sēwaka tumha⁴ Rāma kēRahita samasta bikāra || 104 ||⁵*Chāūpāī.*Māī⁶ jānā tumhāra guna silā |Kahāū sunahu⁷ aba Raghu-pati-lilā ||Sunu muni āju samāgama tōrē⁸Kahi na jāī⁹ jasa sukhu¹⁰ mana
mōrē ||¹¹

Rāma-charita ati amita munīsā |

Kahi na sakahi¹² sata kōṭi ahīsā ||Tadapi jathā shruta¹³ kahāū bakhānī |Sumiri Girā-pati Prabhu dhanu-
pānī ||

Sārada dāru-nāri-sama, Swāmī |

Rāmu¹⁴ sūtra-dhara antara-jāmī ||Jehi para kṛipā karahi jānu¹⁵ jānī |Kabi-ura ajira nachāwahi¹⁶ Bānī ||FROM THE *Ajodhyā Kāṇḍ* (*Rāj'pur MS.*).*Chāūpāī.*(Dēhī ku)chālihi kōṭi ka¹⁷ gārī ||Jarāhī bikhama jara¹⁸ lēhi usāsā |Kawani¹⁹ Rāma binu jīwana-āsā ||Bipula²⁰ biyōga prajā akulānī |Jānu²¹ jala-chara-gana sūkhata pānī ||Ati bikhāda-basa lōga logāī²² |Gayē mātu pahī²³ Rāmu²⁴ gosāī²⁵ ||Mukhu²⁶ prasanna chita chāū-guna
chāū |Miṭā sōchu²⁷ jāni rākhāī²⁸ rāū ||*Dōhā.*Nawa gayandu Raghu-bīra-manu²⁹Rāju³⁰ alāna samāna |Chhūṭa jāni bana-gawanu³¹ suniUra-anandu³² adhikāna || 51³³ ||¹ Siwa.² Rāmahi.³ Prathama kahē māī Siwa-charita
būjhā marama tumhāra |⁴ tuma.⁵ 112.⁶ māī.⁷ sunahū.⁸ tōrē.⁹ jāya.¹⁰ sukha.¹¹ mōrē.¹² sakahī.¹³ sruta.¹⁴ Rāma.¹⁵ karahī jāna.¹⁶ nachāwahī. *One edition of text.*
*rec. gives anī for bānī.*¹⁷ hu.¹⁸ jwara.¹⁹ kawana.²⁰ Bikula.²¹ Jimi.²² lugāī.²³ pahā.²⁴ Rāma.²⁵ gusāī.²⁶ Mukha.²⁷ ihāī sōcha.²⁸ rākhahī.²⁹ gayanda Raghu-bansa-mani.³⁰ Rāja.³¹ gawana.³² ānāda.³³ 50.

Chāūpāī.

Raghu-kula-tilaka jōri doū¹ hāthā |
 Mudita mātu-pada nāyeu² māthā ||
 Dīnhi³ asīsa lāi ura līnhē |
 Bhūkhana basana nichhāwari kīnhē ||
 Bāra bāra mukha chumbati⁴ mātā |
 Nayana nēha-jalu⁵ pulakita gātā ||
 Gōda rākhi puni hṛidaya lagāē⁶ |
 Shrawata⁷ prēma-rasa payada
 suhāē⁸ ||
 Prēmu pramōdu⁹ na kachhu kahi jāi |
 Raṅka Dhanada-pada-wī janū pāi ||
 Sādara sundara badanu¹⁰ nihārī |
 Bōlī madhura bachana mahatārī ||
 ‘Kahahu, Tāta, janani bali-hārī |
 Kabahī lagana muda-mangala-kārī ||
 Sukṛita-sīla-sukha-sīwa¹¹ suhāi |
 Janama-lābha kai awadhi¹² aghāi ||

Dōhā.

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

Chāūpāī.

Tāta jāū bali bēgi nahāhū¹⁷ |
 Jō mana bhāwa madhura kachhu
 khāhū ||
 Pitu samīpa taba jāyehu bhāā |
 Bhaī baḍi¹⁸ bāra jāi bali māā’ ||

Mātu-bachana suni¹⁹ ati anukūlā |
 Janu sanēha-sura-taru kē phūlā ||
 Sukha-makaranda-bharē Shriya²⁰-mūlā |
 Nirakhi Rāma-manu bhawaru²¹ na
 bhūlā ||
 Dharama²²-dhurīna dharama²³.gati jānī |
 Kaheu mātu sana ati mṛidu bānī ||
 ‘Pitā dīnha mohi kānana-rājū |
 Jahā saba bhāti mōra baḍa²⁴ kājū ||
 Āyesu dēhi²⁵ mudita mana mātā |
 Jēhi²⁶ muda-mangala kānana jātā ||
 Jani sanēha-basa darapasi bhōrē²⁷ |
 Ānādu amba²⁸ anugraha tōrē²⁹ ||

Dōhā.

Barakha³⁰ chāri-dasa bipina basi
 Kari pitu-bachana-pramāna |
 Āi³¹ pāya puni dēkhihāū
 Manu³² jani karasi malāna’ || 53³³ ||

Chāūpāī.

Bachana binīta madhura Raghubara kē |
 Sara sama lagē mātu-ura kara kē ||
 Sahami sūkhi suni sītali³⁴ bānī |
 Jimi jawāsa pare³⁵ pāwasa-pānī ||
 Kahi na jāi kachhu hṛidaya-bikhādū |
 Manahū mṛigī suni³⁶ kēhari-nādū ||
 Nayana sajala,³⁷ tana³⁸ thara thara
 kāpī³⁹ |
 Mājahi khāi mīna janū māpī⁴⁰ ||

¹ dwāū.² nāyāū.³ Dīnha.⁴ chūmati.⁵ jala.⁶ lagāi.⁷ Srawata.⁸ suhāi.⁹ Prēma-pramōda.¹⁰ badana.¹¹ sīwa.¹² Janma-lābha kahi (or lahī) awadha.¹³ ihi.¹⁴ chātaki-chātaka trīṣita.¹⁵ ritu.¹⁶ 51.¹⁷ anhāhū.¹⁸ baṛi.¹⁹ Here ends leaf 28 of the MS.²⁰ Shri.²¹ Rāma-mana bhāwara.²² Dharma.²³ dharmā.²⁴ baṛa.²⁵ Āyasu dēhu.²⁶ Jehi.²⁷ bhōrē.²⁸ Ānāda mātu.²⁹ tōrē.³⁰ Barkha.³¹ Āya.³² Mana.³³ 52.³⁴ sītala.³⁵ para.³⁶ janū sahame kari.³⁷ Salila.³⁸ tanu.³⁹ kāpī.⁴⁰ Mājā manahū mīna kahā bvānī.

Dhari dhīraju¹ suta-badanu² nihārī |
 Gadagada³ bachana kahati mahatārī ||
 Tāta pitahi tumha⁴ prāna-piārē |
 Dēkhi mudita nita charita tumhārē ||
 Rāju⁵ dēna kahū⁶ subha dina sādha |
 Kaheu jāna bana kehi aparādhā ||
 Tāta sunāwahu mōhi nidānū |
 Kō dina-kara-kula bhayeu⁷ kṛisānū ' ||

Dōhā.

Nirakhi Rāma-rukha sachiwa-suta.

Kāranu⁸ kaheu bujhāi |
 Suni prasangu⁹ rahi mūka jimi¹⁰
 Dasā barani nahi¹¹ jāi || 54¹² ||

Chāūpāī.

Rākhi na saka¹³ na kahi saka jāhū |
 Duhī bhāti ura dārūna dāhū ||
 Likhata sudhā-kara, gā¹⁴ likhi Rāhū |
 Bidhi-gati bāma sadā saba kāhū ||
 Dharama¹⁵ -sanēha ubhaya mati ghērī |
 Bhaī gati sāpa chhuchhundari kērī ||
 Rākhāū sutahi karāū¹⁶ anurōdhū |
 Dharamu¹⁷ jāi aru bandhu-birōdhū ||
 Kahāū jāna bana tāū baḍi¹⁸ hānī |
 Saṅkaṭa sōcha bibasa¹⁹ bhaī rānī ||
 Bahuri sumujhi tiya-dharamu²⁰ sayānī |
 Rāmu Bharatu doū²¹ suta-sama jānī ||

Sarala subhāū²² Rāma-mahatārī |
 Bōlī bachana dhīra dhari bhārī ||
 ' Tāta, jāū bali, kīnhehu²³ nīkā |
 Pitu-āyesu²⁴ saba dharama ka²⁵ ṭīkā ||

Dōhā.

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

Chāūpāī.

Jāū³² kēwala pitu-āyesu³³ tātā |
 Tāū jeni jāhu jāni baḍi mātā³⁴ ||
 Jāū³⁵ pitu-mātu kaheu³⁶ bana jānā |
 Tāū kānana sata Awadha samānā ||
 Pitu bana dēwa, mātu bana-dēwī |
 Khaga mṛiga charana-sarōruha-sēwī ||
 Antahu uchita nṛipahi bana-bāsū |
 Baya bilōki hiya hōi³⁷ harāsū ||
 Baḍa³⁸ bhāgī banu,³⁹ Awadha abhāgī |
 Jō⁴⁰ Raghu-bansa-tilaka tumha⁴¹
 tyāgī ||
 Jāū⁴² suta kahāū saṅga mohi lēhū |
 Tumharē hṛidaya hōi sandēhū ||
 Pūta⁴³ parama priya tumha⁴⁴ saba-hī kē |
 Prāna prāna kē jīwana jī ke ||
 Tē tumha⁴⁵ kahahu mātu bana jāū |
 Māi⁴⁶ suni bachana bāṭhi pachhitāū ||

¹ dhīraja.
² badana.
³ Gadgada.
⁴ tuma.
⁵ Rāja.
⁶ kahā.
⁷ bhayāū.
⁸ kārana.
⁹ prasanga.
¹⁰ mūka-gati.
¹¹ nahī.
¹² 53.
¹³ sakahī. Here ends leaf 29 of MS.
¹⁴ likhi gā.
¹⁵ Dharma.
¹⁶ hōi.
¹⁷ Dharma.
¹⁸ baṛi.
¹⁹ bikala.
²⁰ dharmā.
²¹ Rāma Bharata dwāū.
²² subhāwa.
²³ kīnheū

²⁴ āyasu.
²⁵ dharmā ke.
²⁶ Rāja.
²⁷ kahā.
²⁸ bana.
²⁹ muhi na sōcha.
³⁰ Tuma.
³¹ 54.
³² Jāū.
³³ āyasu.
³⁴ jāi bali mātā
³⁵ Jāū.
³⁶ kahāū.
³⁷ hōta.
³⁸ Bara.
³⁹ bana.
⁴⁰ Jāū.
⁴¹ tuma.
⁴² Jāū.
⁴³ Putra.
⁴⁴ tuma.
⁴⁵ Tuma.
⁴⁶ Māi.

Dōhā.

Ehi¹ bichāri nahi² karaū haṭha.
 Jhūṭha sanēhu baḍhāi³ |
 Māni mātu kara⁴ nāta bali
 Surati bisari jani jāi || 56⁵ ||

Chāūpāi.

Dēwa pitara saba tumhahi gosāi⁶ |
 Rākhahū⁷ palaka nayana kī nāi ||
 Awadhi ambu, priya parijana mīnā |
 Tumha⁸ karunā-'kara dharama⁹-
 dhurīnā ||
 Asa bichāri soi karahu upāi |
 Saba-hi jiata jēhi¹⁰ bhēṭahu āi ||
 Jāhu sukhēna banahī bali jāi |
 Kari anātha jana parijana gāi ||
 Saba kara āju sukṛita phala bitā |
 Bhayeu karālu kālu¹¹ biparītā' ||
 Bahu-bidhi bilapi charana lapaṭānī |
 Parama abhāgini āpuhi jānī ||
 Dārūna dusaha dāhu¹² ura byāpā |
 Barani na jāhī¹³ bilāpa-kalāpā ||
 Rāma uṭhāi mātu ura lāi¹⁴ |
 Kahi mṛidu bachana bahuri
 samujhāi¹⁵ ||

Dōhā.

Samāchāra tehi samaya sun
 Sīya uṭhī akulāi |
 Jāi sāsū-pada-kamala-juga¹⁶
 Bandi bāiṭhi siru¹⁷ nāi || 57¹⁸ ||

Chāūpāi.

Dīnhi¹⁹ asīsa sāsū mṛidu bānī |
 Ati sukumāri dēkhi akulānī ||

Bāiṭhi namita mukha sōchati Sītā |
 Rūpa-rāsi pati-prēma-punītā ||
 'Chalana chahata bana jīwana-nāthū²⁰ |
 Kehi sukṛiti²¹ sana hōihi sāthū²² ||
 Kī tanu-prāna, ki kēwala prānā |
 Bidhi karatabu²³ kachhu jāi²⁴ na
 jānā' ||
 Chāru charana-nakha lēkhati dharanī |
 Nūpura mukhara madhura kabi
 baranī ||
 Manahū prēma-basa binatī karahī |
 'Hamahī Sīya-pada jani
 pariharahī' ||
 Mañju bilōchana mōchati bārī |
 Bōli dēkhi²⁵ Rāma-mahatārī ||
 'Tāta sunahu Siya ati sukumārī |
 Sāsū sasura parijanahi piārī²⁶ ||

Dōhā.

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

Chāūpāi.

Māi puni putra-badhū priya pāi |
 Rūpa-rāsi guna-sīla suhāi ||
 Nayana-putari kari²⁸ prīti baḍhāi²⁹ |
 Rākheū prāna Jānakihi lāi ||
 Kalapa-bēli³⁰ jimi bahu bidhi lāli |
 Sīchi sanēha-salila pratipālī ||
 Phūlata phalata bhayeu³¹ bidhi bāmā |
 Jāni na jāi kāha parināmā ||
 Palāga-pīṭha taji gōda hīḍōrā |
 Siya na dīnha³² pagu awani kaṭhōrā ||

¹ Yaha.² nahī. Here ends leaf 30 of the MS.³ sanēha barhāi.⁴ kē.⁵ 55.⁶ tumahi gusāi.⁷ Rākhahu.⁸ Tuma.⁹ dhama.¹⁰ jiyata jehi.¹¹ Bhayē karāla kāla.¹² dāha.¹³ jāi.¹⁴ lāwā.¹⁵ bahuta samujhāwā.¹⁶ paḡa-kamala-yuga.¹⁷ sira.¹⁸ 56.¹⁹ Dīnha.²⁰ nāthā.²¹ Kawana sukṛita.²² sāthā.²³ karataba.²⁴ jāta.²⁵ Here ends leaf 31 of MS²⁶ parijanahī pyārī²⁷ 57.²⁸ iwa.²⁹ barhāi.³⁰ Kalpa-bōli.³¹ bhayē.³² dīna.

Jiana-mūri¹ jimi jogawata² rahañ³ |
 Dīpa-bāti nahi⁴ țārana kahañ⁵ ||
 Soī⁶ Siya chalana chahati bana sāthā |
 Āyesu⁷ kāha⁸ hōi Raghu-nāthā ||
 Chanda⁹-kirana-rasa-rasika chakōrī |
 Rawi-rukha nayana sakāi kimi jōrī ||

Dōhā.

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

Chāūpāī.

Bana hita kōla kirāta-kisōrī |
 Rachī Birañchi bikhaya-sukha¹².
 bhōrī ||
 Pāhana-kṛimi jimi kațhina subhāū |
 Tinahi kalēsu¹³ na kānana kāū ||
 Kāi tāpasa-tiya kānana jōgū¹⁴ |
 Jinha¹⁵ tapa-hētu tajā saba bhōgū ||
 Siya bana basihi tāta kehi bhātī¹⁶ |
 Chitra-likhita kapi dēkhi đerātī ||
 Sura-sara-subhaga-banaja-bana-chārī |
 Đābara-jōgu¹⁷ ki hansa-kumārī'

Conclusion of the Kis'kindhā Kāṇḍ¹⁸ (Banāras MS.).

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

Chhand.¹⁹

(Jō sunata gāwata kahata sa)mujhata
 parama pada nara pāwai |
 Raghu-bīra-pada-pāthōja madhu-kara
 Dāsa Tulasī gāwai ||

Dōhā.

Bhawa-bhēkha-ja-Raghu-nātha-jasu²⁰
 Sunahi jē nara aru nārī |
 Tinha kara sakala manōratha
 Siddha karahī Trisirā-'ri²¹ ||

Sōrațhā.

Nilōtpala tana²² syāma
 Kāma kōṭi sōbhā adhika |
 Sunia²³ tāsū guna-grāma
 Jāsu nāma agha-khaga-badhika || 30²⁴
 Iti Çrī²⁵-Rāma-charita-mānasē saka-
 la-kali-kalușa-vidhvamsanē, Visuddha
 (sic)-santōșa-sampādinī²⁶-nāma chatur-
 thas sōpānaḥ samāptaḥ || Çubham
 astu²⁷ || Sambat 1704 samaē, Pāūkha-
 shūdi-dwārasi²⁸ likhitam Raghutivārī
 Kāsyām ||

¹ Jīwana-mūri.

² jugawati.

³ raheñ.

⁴ nahī.

⁵ kaheñ.

⁶ Sō.

⁷ Āyasu.

⁸ kahā.

⁹ Chandra.

¹⁰ sajiwana.

¹¹ 58.

¹² rasa.

¹³ Tinahī kalēsa.

¹⁴ yōgū.

¹⁵ Jina.

¹⁶ bhātī.

¹⁷ yōga.

¹⁸ These are the names of the *kāṇḍ*s as given in the printed edition. Tulsī-Dās, it will be seen, gave other names.

¹⁹ Passages in the Chhand metres are always in highly Sanskritized style, and hence are seldom altered in the printed texts.

²⁰ jasa.

²¹ Tripurā-'ri.

²² tanu.

²³ Suniya.

²⁴ System of numbering different from that of the printed text, which here has 2.

²⁵ In Sanskrit passages, I transliterate ऋ by Ç; in Gaudian passages, by Sh.

²⁶ vimala-vāīrāgya-sampādanō.

²⁷ Çubham astu | Siddhir astu.

²⁸ A very interesting form. This date is of course omitted in the printed editions.

*Conclusion of the Laykā Kāṇḍ (Banāras MS.).**Chhand.*

(Mati-manda Tulasī) Dāsa sō Prabhu
mōha-basa bisarāiyō ||
Yaha Rāwanā-'ri-charitra pāwana
Rāma-pada-rati-prada sadā |
Kāmā-'di-hara bigyāna-kara sura-
siddha-muni gāwahī mudā ||

Dōhā.

Samara-bijaya Raghu-mani-charita¹
Sunahī je sadā sujāna² |
Bijaya bibēka bibhūti nita
Tinahī³ dēhī Bhagawāna ||

Yaha Kali-kāla malā-'yatana
Mana kari dēkhu bichāra |
Shrī Raghu-nāyaka-nāmu⁴ taji
Nahi kachhu āna adhāra⁵ || 120⁶ ||
Iti Çrī-Rāma-charita-mānasē sakala
kali-kaluṣa-vidhvānsanē, Vimāla-vij-
ñāna-sampādinī⁷-nāma ṣaṣṭhas sōpānaḥ
samāptaḥ⁸ || Çubham astu || Samba
1704 samaē || Māgha-sūdi pratipad
likhītam Raghutivārī Kāsyām (?) Lōlā-
(r)ka samipē (*sic*) || Çrī-Rāmō jayati ||
Çrī-Viṣva-nāthāya namaḥ || Çrī-Vin-
du-mādhavaē (?) *sic* namaḥ ||

II.—OTHER VERSIONS OF THE RĀMA LEGEND.

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

(1) A Rāmāyan was written by *Chintāmanī Tripāṭhī* (143).

(2) *Mān Dās* (172) wrote the *Rām Charitr'*, founded on the *Rāmāyaṇa* of *Vālmiki* and on the *Hanuman Nāṭaka*.

(3) *Bhag'want Rāy*, the *Khīchī* (333), wrote a Rāmāyan.

(4) *Sambhu Nāth* (357) wrote a Rāmāyan entitled *Rām Bilās*.

(5) *Gulāb Singh* (486) wrote a Vedantic Rāmāyan (whatever that may mean).

(6) *Gaj'rāj Upādhyā* (585) wrote a Rāmāyan.

(7) *Sahaj Rām* (592) wrote a

Rāmāyan, founded on the *Raghu-vaṃṣa* and on the *Hanuman Nāṭaka*.

(8) *Ṣaṅkar Tripāṭhī* (613) wrote a Rāmāyan in Kabitta metres.

(9) *Iswarī Par'sād Tripāṭhī* (675) wrote a translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of *Vālmiki*.

(10) *Chandr' Jhā* (686) wrote a Rāmāyan in the Maithilī dialect.

(11) *Jānakī Par'sād* (689) wrote a *Rām-nibās Rāmāyan*.

(12) *Samar Singh* (711) wrote a Rāmāyan.

(13) *Pūran Chand Jūth* (829a) wrote the *Rām Rahasya Rāmāyan*.

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

¹ Samara-bijaya Raghubīra kē.

² Charita je sunahī sujāna.

³ Tinahī.

⁴ -nātha-nāma.

⁵ Nāhi na na.

⁶ 118.

⁷ vimāla-jñāna-sampādanō.

⁸ Printed editions omit all after this.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ARS POETICA. [1580—1692 A.D.]

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

134. **केसव दास सनाढ्य मिसर**, *Kēsab Dās Sanāḍhya Misar*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1580 A.D.

Nir., Sun., Sat., Rāg. His original home was in *Ṭeh'rī*, but he visited king *Madhukar Shāh*, of *Ur'chhā*, and received much honour from him. Subsequently king *Indar'jīt* (No. 136), *Madhukar's* son, endowed him with twenty-one villages, whereupon he and his family finally settled in *Ur'chhā*. He was the first poet to describe in the vernacular (in his *Kabi-priyā* (Rāg.), a work which subsequent writers have frequently imitated), the ten constituents (अङ्ग) of a poem. His first important work was the *Bigyān Gītā*, which he wrote under the name of *Madhukar Shāh*. Then he wrote the *Kabi-priyā* for *Par'bīn Rāi Pāturī* (No. 137). This was followed by the *Rām-chandrikā* (Rāg.) under the name of king *Indar'jīt*. He also wrote the learned *Rasik-priyā* (Rāg.) on composition (साहित्य) and the *Rām-alankrit-mañjarī* on prosody.

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

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

135. बलिभद्रः सनाढ्यः मिसर, *Balibhadra' Sanādhyā Misar*, of *Ur'chhā*, in *Bundēl'khāṇḍ*. Fl. 1580 A.D.

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

136. इन्द्रजीत सिङ्घ, *Rājā Indar'jīt Singh*, the *Bundēlā* of *Ur'chhā*, in *Bundēl'khāṇḍ*. Fl. 1580 A.D.

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

137. परबीन राइ पातुरी, *Par'bīn Rāi Pāturī*, the courtesan of *Ur'chhā*, in *Bundēl'khāṇḍ*. Fl. 1580 A.D.

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

138. बाल क्रिष्णन त्रिपाठी, *Bāl Krish'n Tripāṭhī*. Fl. 1600 A.D.

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

There is another poet of the name *Bāl Krish'n*, of whom I know no particulars.

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

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

140. देब दत्त, *Dēb Datt' alias Dēb Kabi*, the Brāhman of *Samānēgāw*, district *Mān'purī*. B. 1604 A.D.

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

141. हरी राम, *Harī Rām*. B. 1623 A.D.

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

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

Nir., Sun. He attended the court of the emperor *Shāh Jahān*. He was first given the title of *Kabi Rāy*, and afterwards of *Mahā Kabi Rāy*. His principal work is on composition, and is entitled *Sundar Sringār*, a work on lovers. He was also author of a Braj Bhākhā translation of the *Singhāsan Battīsī* (Rāg.), the origin of *Lallū Jī Lāl's*

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

143. चिन्तामनि त्रिपाठी, *Chintāmanī Tripāṭhī*, of *Ṭik'māpur*, district *Kānh'pur*. Fl. 1650 A.D.

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

144. जैन दीन अहमद, *Jāin Dīn Aḥ'mad*. B. 1679 (?) A.D.

He was a poet himself, and also a great patron of poets. Amongst his *protegés* may be mentioned *Chintāmanī Tripāṭhī* (No. 143), of *Ṭik'māpur*.

145. भूखन त्रिपाठी, *Bhūkhan Tripāṭhī*, of *Ṭik'māpur*, district *Kānh'pur*. Fl. 1660 A.D.

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

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

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

146. मति राम त्रिपाठी, *Matī Rām Tripāṭhī*, of *Tik'māpur*, district *Kānh'pur*. Fl. cir. 1650—1682 A.D.

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

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

147. सम्भु नाथ सिङ्घ, *Rājā Sambhu Nāth Singh Sulaṅkī* alias *Sambhu Kabi*, alias *Nāth Kabi*, alias *Nrip Sambhu*, of *Sitārā*. Fl. cir. 1650.

¹ This (इस की अब भूख नहीं) is a pun on the poet's name भूखन ।

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

148. नील कण्ठ त्रिपाठी, *Nil Kaṅṭh Tripāṭhī*, alias *Jaṭā Saṅkar*, of *Ṭik'mpāur*, district *Kānh'pur*. Fl. cir. 1650 A.D.

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

149. परन्ताप साहि, the bard *Par'tāp Sāhī*,¹ of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1633 (?) A.D.

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

150. स्रीपति कवि, the poet *Srīpatī*, of *Par'yāg'pur*, district *Bahirāich*. B. 1643 A.D.

¹ This word *Sāhī* or *Shāhī* is the same as *Shāh*, but is an older form, preserving in its final *i* a trace of the ending *ya* in the Zend *kshāyathiya*, which has disappeared in the modern Persian *Shāh*. See *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythic Coins*, by A. Stein, reprinted from *The Oriental and Babylonian Record*, August 1887, p. 9.

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

151. सरस्वती कवीन्द्रः, *Saraswatī*, the poet-laureate, a Brāhman of *Banāras*. Fl. 1650 A.D.

He was learned in Sanskrit composition (साहित्य), and at the instance of the emperor *Shāh Jahān* (1628—1658) he took to writing poems in the vernacular. His principal work of this nature was the *Kabīndra-kalpa-latā*, in which there are many poems in praise of prince *Dārā Shukōh* and the *Bēgam Sāhib*.

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

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

153. तुलसी कवि, the poet *Tul'sī*, the son of *Jadu Rāy*. Fl. 1655.

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

154. मण्डन कवि, the poet *Maṇḍan*, of *Jāt'pur*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1659.

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

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

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

156. **मुरली धर कवि**, the poet *Mur'li Dhar*. B. (? Fl.) 1683 A.D.

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

157. **स्री धर कवि**, the poet *Srī Dhar*. Fl. (?) 1683 A.D.

Sun. Joint author with *Mur'li Dhar* (No. 156) of a prosody entitled *Kabi Binōd*.

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

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

159. **कालिदास त्रिबेदी**, *Kālidās Tribēdī*, of *Ban'pūrā*, in the *Dōāb*. Fl. cir. 1700 A.D.

Nir., Sat. He was an excellent and famous poet of the *Dōāb*. At first he remained for many years in attendance on the emperor *Āurang'zēb* in *Gōkul'kuṇḍā* and other places in the Deccan. Thereafter he lived with king *Jōgājīt Singh* Raghubansī, of *Jambū*, and under his name composed a fine work entitled the *Badhū-binōd*. His best known work is an anthology entitled the *Kālidās Hajārā* (quoted in this work as 'Haj.'), in which he has included a thousand poems by two hundred and twelve poets dating from A.D. 1423

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

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

160. सुख देव मिसर, *Sukh Dēb Misar*, the Kabirāj or poet-laureate, of *Kampilā*. Fl. cir. 1700 A.D.

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

161. जै देव कवि, the poet *Jāi Dēb*, of *Kampilā*. Fl. cir. 1700 A.D.

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

162. नाथ, *Nāth*. Fl. cir. 1700 A.D.

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

CHAPTER VIII.

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

Part I.—Religious Poets.

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

163. दादू, *Dādū*, the cotton-carder, of *Narāin*, in *Āj'mēr*. Fl. 1600 A.D.

The founder of the *Dādū* Panthī sect. He was born at *Aḥmadābād*, but in his twelfth year removed to *Sāmbhar*. He finally settled at *Narāin*, a place about four *kōs* from *Sāmbhar*, where he received his inspiration. His principal works are the *Dādū kī Bānī* and the *Dādū Panthī Granth*. The latter has been translated by Lieut. G. R. Siddons in the *J. A. S. B.*, vi, pp. 480 and 750. See Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindūs*, i, 103, and Garcin de Tassy. One of his disciples was *Sundar*, the author of the *Sundar Saṅkhyā*. The *Bānī* extends to 20,000 lines. *Dādū's* life by *Jan Gōpāl* runs to 3,000 lines. Fifty-two disciples spread his doctrines throughout *Rāj'putānā* and *Āj'mēr*, each of them leaving a large collection of religious verse. Thus, the poems and hymnology of *Garīb Dās* are said to amount to 32,000 lines; *Jāīsā* is stated to have composed 1,24,000 lines; *Par'yāg Dās*, 48,000 lines; *Rajab Jī*, 72,000; *Bakh'nā Jī*, 20,000 lines; *Saṅkar Dās*, 4,400; *Bābā Ban'wārī Dās*, 12,000 lines; *Sundar Dās*, 1,20,000 lines; and *Mādhō Dās*, 68,000 lines. See *Memorandum on Bhāshā Literature* by John Traill, of Jāipur: 1884.

164. सुन्दर दास कवि, the poet *Sundar Dās*, of *Mēwār*. Fl. cir. 1620 A.D.

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

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

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

166. **स्त्री धर कवि**, the poet *Srī Dhar*, of *Rāj'putānā*. B. 1623 A.D.

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

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

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

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

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

169. **गोबिन्द सिङ्घ**, *Srī Guru Gōbind Singh*. B. 1666 A.D.

The celebrated founder of the militant *Sīkh* religion. He was a *Panjābī*¹ of the *Sōdī* *Khattrī* caste, and was born in *Anand'pur*, in

¹ I am indebted for most of this information to *Rāy Jāī Krish'n*, of *Paṭ'nā*, who is a trustee of the *Sīkh* temple there.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

escorted out of Char'khārī by many respectable and learned men of the place. When they had gone a little way the others returned, but Khumān stayed by him, in spite of the saint advising him to go home. Khumān's argument was, "Why should I return to my home? I am blind, ignorant, and of no use in the house. As the proverb says, I am like the washerman's donkey, who belongs neither to the house nor to the washing place."¹ Pleased at this the saint wrote the *mantra* of Saraswatī on his tongue, and told him first to compose a poem in honour of his (the saint's) gourd pot. Khumān immediately composed twenty-five verses in its honour, and after worshipping the saint's feet returned home. There he began to compose epics in Sanskrit and in the vernacular.

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

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

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

Part II.—Other Poets.

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

171. नजीर, *Najir (Nazir)*, of *Āg'rā*. Fl. before 1500 A.D.

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

¹ *I.e.*, he is always going backwards and forwards between them.

² See note to No. 87.

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

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

Rāg. A favourite poet. His principal work was a vernacular poem entitled *Rām Charitr'*, founded on the *Rāmāyaṇa* of *Vālmīki* and on the *Hanuman Nāṭaka*.

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

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

174. **बेदाङ्ग राय**, *Bēdāṅg Rāy*. Fl. cir. 1650.

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

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

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

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

176. **इन्द्रजीत त्रिपाठी**, *Indar'jit Tripāṭhī*, of *Ban'pūrā*, in the *Dōāb*. B. 1682 A.D.

A servant of *Āurang'zēb* (1658—1707).

177. **ईस्वर कवि**, the poet *īswar*. B. 1673 A.D.

He attended the court of *Āurang'zēb* (1658—1707). His poems are said to be full of taste.

178. **सामन्त कवि**, the poet *Sāmant*. B. 1681.

Haj. He attended the court of *Āurang'zēb* (1658—1707).

179. **अबन्दुल जलील**, '*Abdu'l Jalīl*, of *Bil'grām*, district *Har'dōī*. B. 1682 A.D.

He originally wrote in Arabic and Persian, and was an attendant at the court of the emperor *Āurang'zēb* (1658—1707). He subsequently studied vernacular poetry under *Haribans Misar* (No. 209), of *Bil'grām*, and wrote some good vernacular verses.

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

He attended the court of the emperor *Āurang'zēb* (1658—1707). Possibly the same as *Krish'n Kabi*, of *Jāipur* (No. 327).

181. **आलम कवि**, the poet '*Ālam*. B. 1700 A.D.

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

182. **अबन्दुल रहिमान**, '*Abdu'r Raḥimān*, of *Dillī*. B. 1681 A.D.

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

183. **परसाद कवि**, the poet *Par'sād*. B. 1623 A.D.

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

184. **जगत सिद्ध**, *Rānā Jagat Singh*, of *Mēwār*. Fl. 1628—1654 A.D.

One of the most famous of the kings of *Mēwār*, and founder and rebuilders of *Udāipur*. A bard, name unknown, wrote the *Jagat Bilās*, a chronicle of his times (Tod's *Rājāsthān*, i, xiv; Calc. ed. i, xiii). He reigned during the above years (Tod. i, 372; Calc. ed. i, 394).

185. **राज सिद्ध**, *Rānā Rāj Singh*, of *Udāipur* in *Mēwār*. Reigned 1654—1681 A.D.

The celebrated opponent of *Āurang'zēb*. (See Tod's *Rājāsthān*, i, 374; Calc. ed. i, 396.) A poet, name unknown, wrote a chronicle of his name, entitled the *Rāj Par'kās* (Tod, i, xiv; Calc. ed. i, xiii).

186. **मान कबीखर**, the poet-laureate and bard *Mān*, of *Rāj'putānā*. Fl. 1660 A.D.

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

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

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

188. **जै सिद्ध**, *Rānā Jai Singh*, of *Udāipur* in *Mēwār*. Reigned 1681—1700 A.D.

He was son of Rānā Rāj Singh (No. 185), and was a patron of poets. He had written a work, entitled the *Jāi Dēb Bilās*, which is a series of lives of the kings whom he had conquered. Cf. Tod, i, xiv, 214, and 391-94; Calc. ed. i, xiii, 231, and 414-418.

189. रन छोर कवि, the poet *Ran Chhōr*. Fl. 1680 A.D.

His date is doubtful. He was author of the *Rāj Pattanā*, a bardic chronicle of Mēwār. Cf. Tod, i, 286; ii, 59; Calc. ed. i, 305; ii, 65.

190. लीला धर कवि, the poet *Līlā Dhar*. Fl. 1620 A.D.

He attended the court of Mahārāj *Gaj Singh* (1620—1638), of *Jōdh'pur*, in *Mār'wār*. Cf. Tod, ii, 41; Calc. ed. ii, 46.

191. अमर सिद्ध, *Amar Singh*, of *Jōdh'pur*, in *Mār'wār*. Fl. 1634 A.D.

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

192. बनवारी लाल कवि, the poet *Ban'wārī Lāl*. Fl. 1634.

Haj. A panegyrist at the court of Prince *Amar Singh* (No. 191), of *Jōdh'pur*.

193. रघु नाथ राय कवि, the poet *Raghu Nāth Rāy*. Fl. 1634.

Sun. He attended the court of Prince *Amar Singh* (No. 191), of *Jōdh'pur*. Cf. Tod, ii, 44; Calc. ed. ii, 49.

194. **सूजा** *Sūjā (Shujā')*. Fl. 1681.

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

195. **अजीत सिद्ध**, *Mahārāj Ajit Singh*, the *Raṭhāūr*, of *Jōdh'pur*, in *Mār'wār*. Lived 1681—1724 A.D.

This king got written a work entitled the *Rāj Rūpakākhyāt*. This contains a history of events from A.D. 469, when *Nayana Pāla* conquered *Kanāūj* and killed *Ajaya Pāla*, its king, to the time of king *Jāi Chand*. In a second part the history is carried on to the death of *Mahārāj Jas'want Singh* in A.D. 1681; and again, in a third part, is related the history from the commencement of the solar race to the year 1734 A.D. Cf. Tod, ii, 2, 4, 58, and ff., 91_n, and 107_n; Calc. ed. ii, 2, 4, 64, and ff., 99_n, and 117_n.

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

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

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

197. छत्र-साल, *Chhattr' Sāl*, Rājā of *Par'nā* (*Pannā*), in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1650 A.D.

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

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

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

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

199. रतनेस कवि, the poet *Rat'nēs*. Fl. ? 1620 A.D.

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

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

Rāg.

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

These two attended the court of *Rājā Chhattr' Sāl* (No. 197), the *Bundēlā* of *Par'nā* (*Pannā*).

202. **लाल कवि**, the poet *Lāl*. Fl. 1658 A.D.

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

203. **हरि केस कवि**, the poet *Hari Kēs*, of *Jahāngīrābād Sehudā*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1650 A.D.

Sun.

204. **हरि चन्द**, the bard *Hari Chand*, of *Char'khārī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1650.

205. **पञ्चम कवि**, the bard *Pañcham* the elder, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1650 A.D.

These three attended the court of *Rājā Chhattr' Sāl* (No. 197), the *Bundēlā*.

¹ According to Tod, Chhattr' Sāl's father's name was *Gōpi Nāth*.—*G.A.G.*

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

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

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

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

208. गोपाल कवि, the poet *Gōpāl* the elder. B. 1658 A.D.

He attended the court of *Mitrajīt Singh*.

209. हरिवन्स मिसर, *Haribans Misar*, of *Bil'grām*, district *Har'dōi*. Fl. 1662.

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

210. सबल सिद्ध चौहान, *Sabal Singh*, the *Chāūhān*. B. 1670 A.D.

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

211. स्त्री गोविन्द कवि, the poet *Srī Gōbind*. B. (? Fl. Cf. No. 145) 1673 A.D.

He attended the court of *Sib Rāj*, the *Sulanḡī*, of *Sitārā*.

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

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

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

He attended the court of *Bandan Bābū*, of *Bhūpāl*, brother to *Sul'tān Paṭhān*, Nawāb of *Rāj'garh*. He wrote a commentary on the *Sat Saī* of *Bihārī* (No. 196) in the *Kuṇḍaliyā* metre under the name of *Sul'tān Paṭhān*.

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

214. मुहम्मद खान, *Sul'tān Nawāb Muḥammad Khān alias Sul'tān Paṭhān*, of *Rāj'garh*, in *Bhūpāl*. B. 1704 A.D.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER VIII.

218. जग नन्द कवि, the poet
Jag Nānd, of *Brindāban*. B. 1601 A.D.
Haj.

219. जोयसी कवि, the poet
Jōyasī. B. 1601 A.D.
Haj.

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

He wrote two esteemed works, en-
titled *Dān-Lilā* and *Dip-Mālikā Charitr'*.

221. गोकुल बिहारी, *Gōkul*
Bihārī. B. 1603 A.D.

222. परमेश कवि, the poet
Par'mēs the elder. B. 1611 A.D.
Haj., Sun. (? cf. No. 616).

223. गोविन्द अटल कवि, the
poet *Gōbind Aṭal*. B. 1613.
Haj.

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

He was a Sufi by religion, and
sympathised with the Vēdānta system
of belief (so Sib Singh; but judging
from his writings, he appears to have
been rather a Vaishṇava). His verses
in the *dōhā* and *sōr'thā* metres are
said to be very voluptuous.

225. गोप नाथ कवि, the poet
Gōp Nāth. B. 1613 A.D.

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

227. ब्रिन्दावन दास, *Brindāban*
Dās, of *Braj*. B. 1613 A.D.
Rāg.

I have collected in *Mithilā* songs
(apparently belonging to the *Kabīr*
Panthī sect) by a *Brindāban*. I do not

know if he is the same poet as he who
is quoted in *Rāg*.

228. कला निधि कवि, the poet
Kalā Nidhī the elder. B. 1615 A.D.

229. अभिमन्यु कवि, the poet
Abhimanya. B. 1623 A.D.

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

230. घासी राम कवि, the poet
Ghāsī Rām. B. 1623 A.D.

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

231. तत्त्व वेता कवि, the poet
Tattwa Bētā. B. 1623 A.D.

Haj.

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

Rāg.

233. राजा राम कवि, the poet,
Rājā Rām. B. 1623 A.D.

Haj. Cf. No. 396.

234. सदानन्द कवि, the poet
Sadānand. B. 1623 A.D.

Haj., Dig.

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

Rāg. However all the poems
given under his name are identical
with others by *Sūr Dās* (No. 37).

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

Haj., Sūd.

237. हीरा मनि कवि, the poet
Hirā Manī. B. 1623 A.D.

Haj.

238. जडु नाथ कवि, the poet
Jadu Nāth. B. 1624 A.D.

Māl.

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

Haj., Rāg. He is possibly the same as a *Ballabh Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as the author of much admired *dōhās*.

240. भौखम कवि, the poet *Bhīkham*. B. 1624 A.D.

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

241. मधु सूदन कवि, the poet *Madhu Sūdan*. B. 1624 A.D.

Haj.

242. व्यास जी कवि, the poet *Byās Jī*. B. 1628 A.D.

Rāg. The author of many celebrated *dōhās* on morals. Many of them are included in Haj.

243. मलूक दास, *Malūk Dās*, a Brāhman of *Kaṛā Mānik'pur*. B. 1628 A.D.

Rāg.

244. गोबरधन कवि, the poet *Gōbar'dhan*. B. 1631 A.D.

245. भगवती दास *Bhag'wati Dās*. B. 1631 A.D.

A Brāhman who composed a work entitled *Nām'kētōpākhyān*.

246. घन राय कवि, the poet *Ghan Rāy*. B. 1633 A.D.

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

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

248. सकल कवि, the poet *Sakal*. B. 1633 A.D.

Haj.

249. हरि जन कवि, the poet *Hari Jan*. B. 1633 A.D.

Haj.

250. अनन्त कवि, the poet *Anant*. B. 1635 A.D.

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

251. परन्वीन कविराय, *Parbīn*, the poet-laureate. B. 1635 A.D.

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

252. राम जी कवि, the poet *Rām Jī*. B. 1635 A.D.

Haj.

253. मदन मोहन, *Madan Mōhan*. B. 1635 A.D.

Rāg.

254. निधान कवि, the poet *Nidhān* the elder. B. 1641 A.D.

Haj.

255. ससि सेखर कवि, the poet *Sasi Sēkhar*. B. 1642 A.D.

Haj.

256. भू धर कवि, the poet *Bhū Dhar*, of *Banāras*. B. 1643 A.D.

Haj.

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

He wrote poems in a simple style.

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

Haj.

259. पहलाद कवि, the poet *Pah'lād*. B. 1644 A.D.

Haj.

260. ब्रज लाल कवि, the poet *Braj Lāl*. B. 1645 A.D.

Haj.

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

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

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

Haj. Cf. No. 267.

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

Haj., Sun.

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

Haj.

265. तोख कवि, the poet *Tōkh*.
B. 1648 A.D.

Māl., Haj., Sun.

266. मुकुन्द कवि, the poet
Mukund the elder. B. 1648.

Haj.

267. रसिक सिरोमनि कवि,
the poet *Rasik Sirōmanī*. B. 1648 A.D.

Haj. Cf. No. 262.

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

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

269. स्याम लाल कवि, the poet
Syām Lāl. B. 1648 A.D.

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

270. हरजू कवि, the poet
Har Jū. B. 1648 A.D.

Haj.

271. तेग पानि कवि, the poet
Tēg Pānī. B. 1651 A.D.

Haj.

272. बजीदा कवि, the poet
Bajīdā. Fl. 1651 A.D.

Haj.

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

Haj.

274. धिङ्ग कवि, the poet *Bhring*.
B. 1651 A.D.

Haj.

275. सही राम कवि, the poet
Sahī Rām. B. 1651 A.D.

Haj.

276. हुसेन कवि, the poet
Husēn. B. 1651 A.D.

Haj.

277. अचर अनन्य कवि, the
poet *Achchhar Ananya*. B. 1653 A.D.

Has written quietistic (शान्ति रस)
poems.

278. कमञ्च कवि, the poet *Kam-
añch*, of *Rāj'putānā*. Fl. before 1653
A.D.

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

279. रघु नाथ, *Raghu Nāth* the
elder. B. 1653 A.D.

Haj.

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

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

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

282. कुलपति मिसर, *Kul'patī
Misar*. B. 1657 A.D.

Haj., Rāg.

283. ग्वाल, *Gwāl* the elder.
B. 1658 A.D.

Haj.

284. मोहन कवि, the poet
Mōhan. B. 1658 A.D.

Haj., Rāg. Cf. No. 329.

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

Haj. An erotic poet.

286. बनमाली दास गोसाँई, the
master *Ban'mālī Dās*. B. 1659 A.D.

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

287. अनाथ दास कवि, the poet *Anāth Dās*. B. 1659 A.D.

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

288. जनार्दन कवि, the poet *Janārdan*. B. 1661 A.D.

An erotic writer.

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

Haj.

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

Haj.

291. कल्याण कवि, the poet *Kalyān*. B. 1669 A.D.

Haj., Rāg.

292. विद्या नाथ कवि, the poet *Bidyā Nāth* of the *Dōāb*. B. 1673 A.D.

293. लाल बिहारी कवि, the poet *Lāl Bihārī*. B. 1673 A.D.

294. मीर रुस्तम कवि, the poet *Mir Rustam*. B. 1678 A.D.

Haj.

295. मीरी माधव कवि, the poet *Mirī Mādhav*. B. 1678 A.D.

Haj.

296. मुहम्मद कवि, the poet *Muhammad*. B. 1678 A.D.

Haj.

297. गोपाल दास, *Gōpāl Dās*, of Braj. B. 1679 A.D.

Rāg.

298. बिहारी कवि, the poet *Bihārī*. B. 1681 A.D.

Haj.

299. आसिफ खाँ कवि, the poet *Āsiph (Āṣaf) Khān*. B. 1681 A.D.

300. केसव राय बाबू, *Kēsab Rāy Bābū*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1682 A.D.

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

301. कनक कवि, the poet *Kanak*. B. 1683 A.D.

An erotic poet.

302. मनसुख कवि, the poet *Man'sukh*. B. 1683 A.D.

Haj.

303. मिसर कवि, the poet *Misar*. B. 1683 A.D.

Haj.

304. रवि दत्त कवि, the poet *Rabi Datt' alias Bābū Sabitā Datt'*. B. 1685 A.D.

Sat.

305. गोविन्द जी कवि, the poet *Gōbind Jī*. B. 1693 A.D.

Haj.

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

He wrote a *Sūr Sāgar* in the comic style.

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

A commonplace quietistic (शान्ति रस) poet.

308. कुन्दन कवि, the poet *Kundañ*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1695 A.D.

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

309. स्याम सरन कवि, the poet *Syām Saran*. B. 1696 A.D.

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

310. गोध कवि, the poet *Gōdh*. B. 1698 A.D.

311. हेम कवि, the poet *Chhēm*. B. 1698 A.D.

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

312. क्वैल कवि, the poet *Chhāl*.
B. 1698 A.D.

Haj.

313. जुगुल कवि, the poet
Jugul. B. 1698 A.D.

Rāg. He is said to have written some very ingenious verses. He is possibly the same as a *Jugul Dās Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh without date.

314. द्विज चन्द्र कवि, the poet *Dwij Chandr'*. B. 1698 A.D.

315. ब्रज दास, *Braj Dās* the elder. B. 1698 A.D.

Haj., ♪ Rāg.

316. स्याम दास कवि, the poet
Syām Dās. B. 1698 A.D.

Rāg.

317. कारे बेग फकीर, *Kārē Bēg*, the mendicant. B. 1699 A.D.

Haj.

318. सन्त कवि, the poet *Sant*.
B. 1702 A.D.

An erotic poet.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE period embraced in the present chapter includes two series of events of capital importance in the history of India,—the decline and fall of the Mughal empire and the supremacy and fall of the Marāṭhā power. *Bahādur Shāh* succeeded to the throne of *Āurang'zēb* in 1707, and *Shāh 'Ālam* was rescued from the hands of the Marāṭhās by Lord Lake in 1803. He died in 1806, his son *Ak'bar* II succeeding only to the nominal dignity of emperor. On the other hand *Bālājī Vishwanāth*, the first *pēshwā*, rose to power with the accession of *Sāhu* to the Marāṭhā throne in 1707, and the last *pēshwā* was overthrown in the second Marāṭhā war in 1803-4.

Such times were favourable neither to the founding of new religions nor to the cultivation of the arts. A few religious reformers, it is true, sprung up, but their efforts, though crowned with a certain temporary success, have had none of the abiding effect on Hindūstān which was left by *Rāmānand* and *Ballabhāchār'j*. Rāj'putānā, the home of the bards, was no longer a nation united against the Mughals, but was torn by intestine strife. As one of these bards himself exclaimed at a feast given by the two princes, 'Jōdh'pur and Ambēr can dethrone the enthroned; but the latter slew his son, and the former murdered his father.' In the scramble for the *curée* no relationship, no tie of friendship, was allowed to interfere. The same haste to seize upon the plunder of the decaying empire attacked the greatest and best of the kings of Rājāsthān. Even *Jāi Singh*, of *Jāipur*, the royal historian and astronomer, one of the most learned scientific men that India has ever produced, did not disdain to wrest the sovereignty of *Būndī* from his own sister's husband. Such actions the bards could not approve, and so they remained silent. Only two bardic chronicles appear to have been written in the eighteenth century, and of these, one, the *Bijāi Bilās*, records the fratricidal warfare between *Bijāi* and *Rām Singh* of *Jōdh'pur*.

In other branches of literature no name of the first class appears. Some of the great writers on the *ars poetica* of the seventeenth century

left pupils, who carried on their style with some success, but the century now under consideration shone most as an age of commentators. Nearly all the great poets of the preceding period found their best annotators and explainers in the eighteenth century. Perhaps this, too, was a natural sequence. Kēsab Dās and his followers laid down and fixed for ever the canons of Indian poetic criticism, and the next generation adopted these lines and applied them to already existing acknowledged poetic masterpieces.

Part I.—Religious Poets.

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

319. प्रिया दास, the master *Priyā Dās*, of *Brindāban*, in the *Dōāb*. Fl. 1712 A.D.

In the above year he wrote his well-known gloss on the *Bhakt Mālā* of *Nābhā Dās* (see No. 51). He is possibly the same as the author of a *Bhāgavat* in the dialect of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ* mentioned by Ward (*View of the History of the Hindūs*, vol. ii, p. 481). See Garcin de Tassy, i, 405.

320. गङ्गा पति, *Gaṅgā Patī*. Fl. 1719 A.D.

Author of a work entitled *Bigyān Bilās*, written in Sambat 1775. It is a treatise on the different philosophical doctrines of the Hindūs, and recommends the Vedantic system and a mystic life. It is written in the form of a dialogue between a preceptor and his disciple. There is a copy of the work in the Mack. Coll. See Garcin de Tassy, i, 182.

321. सिव नारायण, *Sib Nārāyan*, the Rāj'pūt of the Nēri-vāna tribe, of *Chandāwan*, near *Ghāzīpur*. Fl. cir. 1735 A.D.

The founder of the sect of *Sib Nārānīs*. He flourished in the reign of *Muḥammad Shāh* (1719—1748). He was a voluminous writer in the inculcation of his doctrines, and eleven books in Hindī verse are ascribed to him. These are entitled (1) *Laō* or *Law Granth*, (2) *Sānt Bilās*, (3) *Bhajan Granth*, (4) *Sānt Sundar*, (5) *Guru Nyās*, (6) *Sāntāchārī*, (7) *Sāntōpadēs*, (8) *Sabdābalī*, (9) *Sānt Par'wān*, (10) *Sānt Mahimā*, (11) *Sānt Sāgar*. There is also a twelfth, the seal of the whole, but it has not yet been divulged, remaining in the

exclusive possession of the head of the sect. Cf. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindūs*, i, 359, quoted by Garcin de Tassy, i, 475.

322. **लाल जी**, *Lāl Jī*, the Kayasth of *Kādhalā*, district *Muzaffar'nagar*. Fl. 1751 A.D.

In the above year he wrote a commentary to the *Bhākt Mālā* (see No. 51) entitled *Bhakt Urbasī*.

323. **जग जीवन दास**, *Jag Jīban Dās*, the Chandēlā of *Koṭ'wā*, district *Bārābankī*. Fl. 1761 A.D.

He was founder of the *Satya Nāmī* sect, and also wrote poems in the vernacular. Amongst his successors and disciples may be mentioned *Jalālī Dās*, *Dūlam Dās*, and *Dēbī Dās* (No. 487), all of whom were poets. He and they excelled in the quietistic style. Amongst his works may be mentioned the *Gyān Par'kās*, the *Mahā-par'lāi*, and the *Pratham Granth*. See Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindūs*, p. 357; Garcin de Tassy, i, 256.

324. **दुल्हा राम**, *Dulhā Rām*. Fl. 1776 A.D.

He became a *Rām Sanēhī* in 1776, and died in 1824. He was third spiritual teacher of the sect. He left about 10,000 *Sabads* and 4,000 *Sākhīs*. See Garcin de Tassy, i, 161.

Part II.—Other Poets.

[Arranged as far as possible according to their patrons, or the states to which they were attached.]

325. **जै सिद्धु सवाई**, *Rājā Jāi Singh Sawāi*, the *Kachh'wāhā*, of *Amēr*. Reigned 1699—1743 A.D.

He was not only a patron of poets, but wrote his own autobiography, entitled *Jāi Singh Kalpadrum*, which is a valuable historical work. He was one of the most remarkable men of his time. See Tod's *Rājāsthān*, ii, 356-68 (Calc. ed. 393—407).

326. **सूरति मिसर**, *Sūratī Misar*, of *Āg'rā*. Fl. 1720 A.D.

Sūd. The author of an esteemed commentary on the *Sat Saī* of *Bihārī Lal* (No. 196), also of a work entitled *Saras Ras* (Rāg.), a *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87), a commentary to the *Rasik Priyā* (see No. 134), and a work on rhetoric entitled *Alaṅkāra Mālā*. During the reign of *Muḥammad Shāh* (1719—1748) he translated the *Bāitāl Pachīsī* (Rāg.) into Braj Bhākhā under orders of *Jāi Singh Sawāī* (No. 325, 1699—1743) from the Sanskrit *Vētāla Pañchaviṃṣatikā* of *Çiva Dāsa*. The Braj Bhākhā version is the foundation of the well-known Hindūstānī version of *Lallū Jī Lāl* (see No. 629). See Garcin de Tassy, i, 306, 484, and also preface to the last-named work.

327. क्रिश्न कवि, the poet *Krish'n*, of *Jāipur*. Fl. 1720 A.D.

He was a pupil of the poet *Bihārī Lāl* (No. 196), and entered the service of Rājā *Jāi Singh* (No. 325) *Sawāī*. He wrote a poetical commentary on *Bihārī Lāl's Sat Saī* together with a supplementary gloss. Cf. No. 180.

328. क्रिपा राम कवि, the poet *Kripā Rām*, of *Jāipur*. Fl. 1720 A.D.

He was one of the astronomers of Rājā *Jāi Singh Sawāī* (No. 325). He wrote an astronomical work in the vernacular called *Samay-bōdh* (? *Samay-ōgh*).

329. मोहन कवि, the poet *Mōhan*. Fl. 1720 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā *Jāi Singh Sawāī* (No. 325). Cf. No. 284.

330. बुद्ध राव, *Buddh Rāv*, the *Hārā*. Fl. 1710—1740 A.D.

He was rājā of *Būndī*, and was married to the sister of *Jāi Singh Sawāī*, of *Āmēr* (No. 325). *Bahādur Shāh* (1707—1712), the emperor, owed him in great measure his throne in the contest with his brother *Ālam*. *Buddh* also saved him in the rebellion of *Sayyad Bar'hānā* in 1724 and restored him to power. For his signal services in the contest for the emperor's throne he was granted the title of *Rāv Rājā*. He was conquered and deposed about 1740 by his brother-

in-law Jāi Singh. He was himself a poet and a patron of poets. See Tod, ii, 482 and ff. (Calc. ed. ii, 528 and ff.).

331. भोज मिसर कवि, the poet *Bhōj Misar* the elder. Fl. 1720 A.D.

He attended the court of *Buddh Rāw* (No. 330), and was the author of a work entitled *Misar Sirṅgār*.

332. गुर दत्त सिङ्घ, *Rājā Gur Datt' Singh alias Bhūpatī Kabi*, of *Amēṭhī*, in *Āudh*. Fl. cir. 1720 A.D.

Sat., Sun. He was not only a poet himself, but was a great patron of poets. In Sun. he is called *Chhitipāl*. Garcin de Tassy, i, 121, mentions a *Bhūpatī* or *Bhū Dēo*, but a Kāyasth by caste, the author of a work in Hindī verse entitled *Srī Bhāgawat*. Cf. No. 604.

333. भगवन्त राय खींची, *Bhag'want Rāy* the *Khīchī*, of *Asōthar*, district *Fatih'pur*. Fl. 1750 A.D.

? Sun. He was son of one *Arārū*, founder of the *Asōthar* family. He maintained his independence for several years, and successfully opposed the emperor's troops, but finally, in 1760, was killed by treachery, and was succeeded by his son *Rūp Rāy*. See Growse, *Supplement to the Fatih'pur Gazetteer*, pp. 5, 8, where 1860 is a misprint for 1760. He was author of a *Rāmāyan*, and ancestor of *Kām'tā Par'sād* (No. 644). He is possibly the same as *Bhag'want Kabi* and as a *Bhag'wān Kabi*, both mentioned by Sib Singh; and as a *Bhag'want Kabi* quoted in Sun.

334. उदय नाथ त्रिबेदी कबीन्द्र, *Uday Nāth Tribēdi*, the poet-laureate, of *Ban'pūrā*, in the *Dōāb*. Fl. cir. 1720 A.D.

Sat. He was son of *Kālidās Tribēdi* (No. 159), the author of the *Hajārā*, and was as famous a poet as his parent. At first he attended the court of king *Himmat Singh*, of *Amēṭhī* (cf. No. 160), and usually signed his poems as by *Uday Nāth*. Subsequently the king gave him the title of *Kabīndr'* or poet-laureate, and thereafter he signed himself *Kabīndr'*. He got the title as a reward for writing a work entitled *Ras-chandrōday*, or *Rati-binōd* or *Chandrōday*, or *Ras-chandrikā*. It deals with vernacular composition (भाखा साहित्य), and was written

Sambat 1804 (A.D. 1747). Subsequently he stayed a short time with king *Gur Datt' Singh* (No. 332), of *Amēṭhī*, with *Bhāg'want Rāy* (No. 333), *Khīchī*, of *Asōthar* (d. 1760), with *Gaj Singh*, Rājā of *Āj'mēr*,¹ and with king *Buddh Rāw*, *Hārā*, of *Būndī* (1710—1740) (No. 330). By all these was he highly honoured.

It may be mentioned that there was another *Kabīndr' Tribēdī*, of *Bēṭī*, in the district of *Rāy Barēlī*, who also was a poet of repute.

335. सुख देव कवि, the poet *Sukh Dēb*, of the *Dōāb*. Fl. cir. 1750 A.D.

He is possibly the same as the *Sukh Dēb Misar*, of *Dāulat'pur* (No. 356), or as the other poet of the same name of *Kampilā* (No. 160). He attended the court of *Bhag'want Rāy*, *Khīchī* (No. 333) (d. 1760), of *Asōthar*, in *Fatih'pur*.

336. भू धर कवि, the poet *Bhū Dhar*, of *Asōthar*, district *Fatih'pur*. Fl. cir. 1750 A.D.

He attended the court of *Bhag'want Rāy*, *Khīchī* (No. 333) (d. 1760), of *Asōthar*, in *Fatih'pur*.

337. मल्ल कवि, the poet *Mall*. Fl. cir. 1750 A.D.

He attended the court of *Bhag'want Rāy*, *Khīchī* (No. 333) (d. 1760), of *Asōthar*, in *Fatih'pur*.

338. सम्भु नाथ मिसर कवि, the poet *Sambhu Nāth Misar*, of *Asōthar*, district *Fatih'pur*. Fl. cir. 1750 A.D.

Sat. He attended the court of *Bhag'want Rāy*, *Khīchī* (No. 333) (d. 1760), of *Asōthar*, in *Fatih'pur*. He was author of (1) *Ras Kallōl*, (2) *Ras Taranginī*, (3) *Alaṅkār Dīpak*. He was preceptor of the poet *Sib Ar'sēlā* (No. 339), and of many other poets.

339. सिब अरसेला कवि, the poet and bard *Sib Ar'sēlā*, of *Deutahā*, district *Gōḍā*. Fl. cir. 1770 A.D.

¹ I can find no mention of this Rājā in Tod.

He was a pupil of *Sambhu Nāth Misar* (No. 338), of *Asōthar*, in *Fatih'pur*, and became teacher of *Jagat Singh Bisēn* (No. 340). He wrote a work on vernacular composition (साहित्य) entitled *Rasik Bilās*. He also wrote (2) *Alaṅkārah Bhūkhan*; (3) a prosody.

340. जगत सिङ्घ *Jagat Singh, the Bisēn.* Fl. cir. 1770 A.D.

He belonged to the family of the Rājā of *Gōḍā* and *Bhin'gā*. He was ta'alluq'dār of *Deutahā*, in which village resided the bard *Sib Arsēlā* (No. 339). He became a pupil of his in the art of poetry, and wrote a treatise on prosody named *Chhand Sringār*. He also wrote a treatise on rhetoric (अलङ्कार) entitled *Sāhitya Sudhā-nidhi*. Cf. No. 605.

341. स्याम लाल कवि, the poet *Syām Lāl*, of *Jahānābād*. Fl. cir. 1750 A.D.

Sūd. (?) He attended the court of *Bhag'want Rāy, Khīchī* (No. 333) (d. 1760), of *Asōthar*, in *Fatih'pur*. Cf. No. 269.

342. निवाज, *Niwāj (Nawāz)*, the Brāhman of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. cir. 1750.

He attended the court of *Bhag'want Rāy Khīchī* (d. 1760), of *Asōthar*, in *Fatih'pur*. Possibly the same as No. 448.

343. सारङ्ग कवि, the poet *Sāraṅg*, of *Asōthar*, district *Fatih'pur*. Fl. cir. 1750 A.D.

He attended the court of *Bhawānī Singh, Khīchī*, nephew of *Bhag'want Rāy, Khīchī* (No. 333) (d. 1760), of *Asōthar*, in *Fatih'pur*.

344. भिखारी दास, *Bhikhārī Dās*, the Kāyasth, of *Ar'wal*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1723.

He is counted as one of the masters of vernacular composition. Amongst his works may be mentioned (1) a treatise on prosody entitled *Chhandōrnab*, (2) *Ras-sārāns*, (3) *Kābya-nir'nay*, (4) *Sringār-nir'nay*, (5) *Bāg Bahār*, (6) *Prēm-ratnākar*. In No. 3 a number of poets are mentioned. It is quoted in this work as 'Nir.'

345. गिरि धर कबिराय, the poet-laureate *Giri Dhar*, of the *Dōāb*. B. 1713.

Rāg. He was the famous author of verses on morals and occasional pieces in the *Kuṇḍaliyā* metre. He is considered the greatest master of this metre. See Kellogg's *Hindī Grammar, Prosody*, p. 25. Possibly the same as No. 483.

346. करन भट्ट, the bard *Karan*, of *Par'nā* (*Pannā*), in *Bundēl'-khaṇḍ*. B. 1737.

He composed under the patronage of Rājās *Sabhā Singh* (cf. No. 155) and *Hir'dāi Sāhī*, the Bundēlās of *Par'nā* (*Pannā*), a commentary on the *Sat Saī* of *Bihārī* (No. 196) entitled the *Sāhitya Chandrikā*. He was skilled at impromptu versification, and at completing unfinished verses given to him suddenly as a test of skill, and this gained him many gifts and honours. The date given is taken from Sib Singh, but I can find no trace of any king of *Par'nā* called *Sabhā Singh*. The *Report of the Arch. Sur. Ind.* xxi, 112, mentions a *Hir'dāi Sāhī* of *Pannā* who succeeded his father *Chattr' Sāl* in A.D. (? Sambat) 1718. Cf. No. 504.

347. आनन्द घन कबि, the poet *Ānand Ghan*, of *Dillī*. Fl. 1720 ; D. 1739 A.D. 504.

Rāg., Sun. Sib Singh states that his poems are as brilliant as the sun. He has never seen any complete work of his, but has as many as five hundred short pieces by him. According to the *Sāhitya Bhūkhan* of *Mahādēo Par'sād* he was a *Kāyasth* by caste, and was *Muḥammad Shāh's* (1719—1748) *Munshī*. Before his death he retired to *Brindāban*, and was killed in the capture of *Mathurā* by *Nādir Shāh*. His best known work is the *Sujān Sāgar*. He is possibly the same as another *Ānand Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as born in 1654 A.D., and the author of a work on sexual intercourse entitled *Kōk Sār* (Rag.). He sometimes signed himself *Ghan Ānand*.

348. जुगुल किशोर भट्ट, *Jugul Kishōr Bhaṭṭ*, of *Kāithal*, district *Kar'nāl*, in the *Pañjāb*. Fl. 1740 A.D.

He was a prominent figure among the attendants at the court of the emperor *Muḥammad Shāh* (1719—1748). In Sambat 1803 (A.D.

1746) he wrote a first-rate work on rhetoric (अलङ्कार) entitled the *Alaṅkāra-nidhi*, in which he has described ninety-six *alaṅkāras* with examples. He states in this work that there were four principal poets attending his own court, named, respectively, *Rudr' Mani Misar* (No. 352), *Sukh Lāl* (No. 354), *Sant Jib* (No. 353), and *Gumān Jī Misar* (No. 349). A number of detached poems by him are included in a compilation entitled the *Kishōr Saṅgrah*. He is possibly the same as a *Jugul Kishōr Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh (without date) as an erotic writer.

349. गुमान जी मिसर, *Gumān Jī Misar*, of *Sārī*, district *Har'dōi*. Fl. 1740 A.D.

He was skilled in composition and in Sanskrit. He attended the court of the emperor *Muḥammad Shāh* (1719—1748) of *Dillī*, under the protection of *Jugul Kishōr Bhaṭṭ* (No. 348). Subsequently he attended the court of 'Alī Ak'bar Khān *Muḥammadī*, who was himself an excellent poet, and who had in his service *Nidhān* (No. 350), *Prēm Nāth* (No. 351), and other great poets. *Gumān Jī* wrote the *Kalā Nidhi*, which is an excellent line-for-line commentary in various metres on the *Hāiṣadha* of *Çrī Harṣa*. He also wrote a special commentary named *Salil*¹ on the *Pañchanaliya*, which is the name of a difficult portion of the *Nāiṣadha*. He is possibly the same as another *Gumān Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as born in 1731, and author of a work entitled *Krish'n Chandrikā*.

350. निधान, *Nidhān*, the Brāhman. Fl. 1751 A.D.

He attended the court of 'Alī Ak'bar Khān *Muḥammadī*, where he had great repute. He wrote a highly poetical *Sālihōtr'* or treatise on veterinary surgery in the vernacular. He was a fellow courtier of *Gumān Jī Misar* (No. 349) and *Prēm Nāth* (No. 351).

351. प्रेम नाथ, *Prēm Nāth* the Brāhman of *Kaluā*, district *Khērī*, in *Āudh*. Fl. 1770 A.D.

Sun. He attended the court of 'Alī Ak'bar Khān *Muḥammadī*, and translated the *Brahmōttarakhaṇḍa* into the vernacular. He was a

¹ Or Sib Singh, from whom this is taken, may mean that he made the *Pañchanaliya* as clear as water.

fellow courtier with *Gumān Jī Misar* (No. 349) and *Nidhān* (No. 350). He is possibly the same as a *Prēm Kabi* quoted by Sib Singh.

352. **रुद्र मनि मिसर**, *Rudr' Mani Misar*, the Brāhman. Fl. 1740 A.D.

He attended the court of *Jugul Kishōr Bhaṭṭ* (No. 348) at *Dillī*.

353. **सन्त जीव कबि**, the poet *Sant Jīb*. Fl. 1740 A.D.
He attended the court of *Jugul Kishōr Bhaṭṭ* (No. 348).

354. **सुख लाल कबि**, the poet *Sukh Lāl*. Fl. 1740 A.D.
Sūd. He attended the court of *Jugul Kishōr Bhaṭṭ* (No. 348).

355. **हरि नाथ**, *Hari Nāth*, of *Guj'rāt*, afterwards of *Banāras*. B. 1769 A.D.

The author of a treatise on rhetoric entitled *Alaṅkāra Dar'pan*. He is possibly the same as a Hari Nāth mentioned by Garcin de Tassy (i, 218) as author of the *Pōthī Shāh Muhammad Shāhī* or History of *Muḥammad Shāh* (1719—1748), of which a manuscript is preserved in the British Museum, No. 6651E, Additional Manuscripts.

356. **सुख देव मिसर कबि**, the poet *Sukh Dēb Misar*, of *Dāulat'pur*, district *Rāy Barēli*. Fl. 1740 A.D.

He attended the court of *Rāw Mar'dan Singh Bāis*, of *Dāūriyā Khērā*, in *Āudh*, and wrote in his name a treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87) entitled *Rasār'nab* (Rāg.). The bard *Sambhu Nāth* (No. 357) was his pupil. See Garcin de Tassy, i, 479. Cf. No. 335.

357. **सम्भु नाथ कबि**, the poet and bard *Sambhu Nāth*. Fl. 1750 A.D.

He was pupil of *Sukh Dēb Misar* (No. 356), of *Dāulat'pur*, and was author of a *Rāmāyan* entitled *Rām Bilās*. Cf. No. 366.

358. **दूलह त्रिबेदी**, *Dūlah Tribēdī*, of *Ban'pūrā*, in the *Dōāb*. Fl. 1746 A.D.

Sat. He was son of *Uday Nāth Tribēdī* (No. 334), and grandson of *Kālidās Tribēdī* (No. 159), the celebrated compiler of the *Hajāārā*. He wrote a work of great authority on vernacular composition (भाखा साहित्य) entitled *Kabi-kul Kaṇṭhābharan*.

359. **बल देब कवि**, the poet *Bal Dēb*, of *Baghēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1746 A.D.

He attended the court of king *Bikram Shāh*, the *Baghēl* of *Dewarā-nagar*.¹ In the above year, at the suggestion of this prince, he compiled an anthology entitled *Sat-kabi-girā Bilās* (quoted in this work as 'Sat.') which contains poems by seventeen different authors, viz.—

- (1) *Kēsab Dās* (No. 134).
- (2) *Chintāmanī* (No. 143).
- (3) *Matī Ram* (No. 146).
- (4) *Sambhu Nāth, Sulāṅkī* (No. 147).
- (5) *Nīl Kaṇṭh* (No. 148).
- (6) *Kālidās Tribēdī* (No. 159).
- (7) *Sukh Dēb Misar, of Kampilā* (No. 160).
- (8) *Bihārī Lāl* (No. 196).
- (9) *Kēsab Rāy* (No. 300).
- (10) *Rabi Datt'* (No. 304).
- (11) *Gur Datt' Singh, of Amēṭhī* (No. 332).
- (12) *Uday Nāth Tribēdī* (No. 334).
- (13) *Sambhu Nāth Misar* (No. 338).
- (14) *Dūlah* (No. 358).
- (15) *Himmatī Bahādur* (No. 377).²
- (16) *Biswa Nāth Atāī* (No. 410).
- (17) *Mukund Lāl* (No. 560).

He also wrote poetry himself.

¹ This must be a different person from the well-known *Bikram Sāhī* (No. 514), of *Char'khārī*, who was born 1785 A.D. Curiously enough a *Bal Dēb* also attended his court.

² *Himmatī Bahādur* flourished in 1800 A.D., but he must have been an old man then.

360. मनबोध भा, *Man'bōdh Jhā alias Bhōlan Jhā*, of *Jam'sam*, district *Dar'bhāṅgā*. Fl. 1750 A.D.

One of the most celebrated poets of *Mithilā*. Little is known about him beyond the facts that he married the daughter of one *Bhikhārī Jhā*, and that his only child, a daughter, was ancestress of the present *Mahārāj* of *Dar'bhāṅgā*. He composed a version of the *Harivaṁṣa* in the *Maithilī* dialect, entitled *Haribans*. Only ten *adhyāyas* have come down to us, but these enjoy great popularity. See *J. A. S. B.*, 1882, p. 129, and 1884, Sp. No.

361. केसव, *Kēsab*. Fl. 1775 A.D.

A *Maithil* poet, who attended the court of *Rājā Par'tāp Singh*, who was himself a poet, under the *alias* of *Mōd Nārāyan* (No. 362). See *J. A. S. B.*, vol. liii, p. 89.

362. मोद नारायण, *Mōd Nārāyan alias Rājā Par'tāp Singh*. Fl. c. 1775 A.D.

A king of *Mithilā*, who was a poet. He was son of *Narēndra Singh*, of *Dar'bhāṅgā* the victor of *Kanar'pī Ghāṭ* (see *Lāl Jhā*, No. 363), and was the fifth in ascent before the present *Mahārāj*. See *J. A. S. B.*, vol. liii, p. 82. The poet *Kēsab* attended his court (No. 361).

363. लाल भा, *Lāl Jhā* or *Kabi Lāl*, of *Māg'rāunī*, district *Dar'bhāṅgā*. Fl. 1780 A.D.

One of the most famous poets of *Mithilā*. The author of the poem entitled *Kanar'pī Ghāṭ Lārāī*. See *J. A. S. B.*, vol. liv, p. 16.

His patron was *Narēndra Singh*, who gave him the village of *Kanāl* as a reward for the poem. This village is now owned by his descendants.

364. तीरथ राज, *Tīrath Rāj*, the *Brāhman*, of *Bais'wārā*. B. 1743 A.D.

He attended the court of *Rājā Achal Singh Bāis*, of *Dāūriyā Khērā*, in *Āudh*, and at his command he translated in the year 1750 A.D. the *Samara Sāra* into the vernacular.

365. **दया निधि कवि**, the poet *Dayā Nidhī*, of *Bais'wārā*.
B. 1754.

He wrote a treatise entitled *Sālihōtr'*, dealing with veterinary surgery, at the instance of *Rājā Achal Singh Bāis*, of *Dāūriyā Khērā*, in *Āudh*. Cf. No. 787.

366. **सम्भु नाथ कवि त्रिपाठी**, the poet *Sambhu Nāth Tripāthī*. Fl. 1752 A.D.

Rāg. He is possibly the same as *Sambhu Nāth* (No. 357), author of the *Rām Bilās*. He attended the court of *Rājā Achal Singh Bāis*, of *Dāūriyā Khērā*, in *Āudh*. Under the name of *Rāw Raghu Nāth Singh* he wrote in the above year a vernacular translation of the Sanskrit *Vētāla Pañchavimṣatikā* of *Çiva Dāsa* under the title of *Bātāl Pachīsī* (Rāg.). He also translated the astrological *Muhūrta Chintāmaṇi* into the vernacular in various metres.

367. **सूदन कवि**, the poet *Sūdan*. B. 1753 A.D.

He attended the court of *Sujān Singh*, son of *Badan Singh*. In one poem ten verses mentioned by *Sib Singh* containing the names of several poets are praised by him. Nine of these verses have been lost, and *Sib Singh* is only able to give the last, which (quoted in this work as 'Sūd') contains the following names:—*Sanēhī*, *Sabal Singh*, *Sar'b Sukh*, *Sib Dās*, *Sib Rām*, *Sukh Lal*, *Sunām* (?), *Sumērū*, *Sūraj*, *Suratī*, *Sēnāpatī*, *Sēkh*, *Sōm Nāth*, *Syām Lāl*, *Srī Dhar*, *Srī Patī*, *Hari*, *Hari Dās*, *Hari Bans*, *Harī Har*, *Hīras* (?), *Hit Rām*, *Husēn*.

368. **रङ्ग लाल कवि**, the poet *Rang Lāl*. B. cir. 1750.

He attended the court of *Sujān Singh*, the son of *Badan Singh*.

369. **ब्रज बासी दास**, *Braj Bāsi Dās*, of *Brindāban*, the *Dōāb*. Fl. 1770 A.D.

Rāg., Sun., ? Sring. *Sib Singh* says he was born 1753 A.D. He wrote in the year 1770 A.D. a work entitled *Braj Bilās* (Rāg.), descriptive of *Krish'n's* life during his residence at *Brindāban*. (See *Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindūs*, p. 132, and *Garcin de Tassy*,

i, 131.) He is possibly the same as another *Braj Bāsī Dās alias Dās Braj Bāsī* mentioned (without date) by Sib Singh as having translated the play *Prabōdha Chandrōdaya* into the vernacular (Rāg.).

370. करन कबि बन्दीजन, the poet and bard *Karan*, of *Jōdh'pur* in *Mār'wār*. Fl. cir. 1730 A.D.

A poet of the Rathāūr Mahārājs. He wrote a work entitled the *Sūrya Par'kās* under the patronage of Mahārāj *Abhay Singh* (1724—1750), the Rathāūr, son of *Ajīt Singh* (No. 195). It is 7,500 *clōkas* in length, and gives a history of the time from Mahārāj *Jas'want Singh* (1638—1681) down to *Abhay Singh* (1731 A.D.). Cf. Tod, i, xiv; ii, 4, 91, 107; Calc. ed. i, xiii; ii, 4, 99, 117. Tod gives an anecdote and quotation from this poet in ii, 120; Calc. ed. ii, 131.

371. बिजै सिङ्घ, *Bijāi Singh*, Mahārāj of *Jōdh'pur*, in *Mār'wār*. Reigned 1753—1784 A.D.

He was an author himself, and got written the *Bijāi Bilās*, a historical work of 1,00,000 couplets, narrating the war between *Bijāi Singh* and his cousin *Rām Singh*, the son of *Abhay Singh*. It was in consequence of this war that the Marāthās entered the state of *Mār'wār*. Sib Singh wrongly states he was king of *Udāipur*, in *Mēwār*. See Tod's *Rājāsthān*, i, xiv; ii, 4, 121 (Calc. ed. i, xiii; ii, 4; 134 and ff.).

372. मान कबि, the poet *Mān*, Brāhman, of *Bais'wārā*. Fl. 1761 A.D.

He wrote in the above year a vernacular translation of the *Kṛiṣṇa Khaṇḍa* entitled *Krish'n Kallōl*. The commencement of this work contains an important genealogy from *Çālivāhana* to *Champatī Rāy* (? the father of *Chhattr' Sāl*, No. 197).

373. छेम करन कबि, the poet *Chhēm Karan*, the Brāhman of *Dhanāulī*, district *Bārābaṅkī*. B. 1771 A.D.

He was author of (1) *Rām Ratnākar*, (2) *Rāmāspad* (?), (3) *Gurū Kathā*, (4) *Āhnik*, (5) *Rām-Gīt Mālā*, (6) *Krish'n-Charitāmrit*, (7) *Pad Bilās*, (8) *Raghu-rāj Ghanāchharī*, (9) *Britt-Bhāskar*, and other excellent works. He died in 1861, at the age of ninety.

374. चन्दन राय कवि, the poet and bard *Chandan Rāy*, of *Nāhil* (? *Māhil*) *Puwāwā*, district *Shāh-Jahān-pur*. Fl. 1773 A.D.

He attended the court of *Rājā Kēsari Singh*, of *Gāur*. Under his name he wrote the *Kēsari Par'kās*. Amongst his other works may be mentioned an important poem entitled the *Sringār-sār*, the *Kallōl Taranginī* (dated 1789 A.D.), the *Kābyābharan*, the *Chandan Sat Saī*, and the *Pathikbōdh*. All these are highly esteemed. He had twelve pupils, all of whom became successful poets. The most celebrated was the poet *Man Bhāwan* (No. 375). A descendant of his was *Mak'rand Rāy* (No. 610).

375. मन भावन, *Man Bhāwan*, a Brāhman, of *Mūriyā*, district *Shāh-Jahān-pur*. Fl. 1780.

Rāg. He was the most successful of the twelve pupils of *Chandan Rāy* (No. 374). His best work is the *Sringār Ratnābalī*.

376. रतन कुँअर, *Bībī Ratan Kūar*, of *Banāras*. B. cir. 1777 A.D.

Authoress of an account of devotees of Krish'n, entitled *Prēm Ratna*. She was grandmother of *Rājā Shiva Prasād*, C.S.I. (No. 699). This gentleman writes to me as follows concerning her:—'My grandmother, *Bībī Ratan Kūar*, died some 45 years ago' (written in 1887), 'when I was only 19 years old, attending the court of Colonel Sutherland, the Governor-General's Agent at *Āj'mēr*, as *Wakil* of the late *Mahārāj* of *Bharat'pur*. Her age was between 60 and 70 when she left this world, but I regret I cannot give you exact dates. Besides the *Prēm Ratna*, she composed many *padas*. I have a manuscript book, called *Pad kī Pōthī*, in which she has written here and there with her own hands her *padas*. She was a good musician, and wrote a beautiful hand. She was well versed in Sanskrit, and knew a little Persian too. She knew medicines, and the best part of the little knowledge I may be credited with, I acquired from her.'

377. जसवन्त सिङ्घ, *Jas'want Singh*, the *Bhagelā*, of *Rājātir'wā*, in *Kanāuj*. Fl. 1797 A.D.

He was learned in Sanskrit and Persian. He compiled from other works on composition (साहित्य) a work on lovers (see note to No. 87) entitled *Sringār Sirōmani*. He also wrote a famous treatise on

rhetoric (अलङ्कार), founded on the Sanskrit *Chandralōka*, entitled *Bhākhā Bhūkhan* (Rāg.), and a treatise on veterinary surgery entitled *Sālihōtr'* (Rāg.). All these are excellent works. He died in 1814 A.D. The *Bhākhā Bhūkhan* has had numerous commentators, amongst whom the following may be mentioned:—*Par'tāp Sāhī* (? (No. 149), *Nārāyan Rāy* (No. 572), *Giri Dhar Banār'sī* (No. 580), *Dal'patī Rāy* (No. 635), *Bansī Dhar* (No. 636), an anonymous poet of *Uniyārā* (No. 660), *Hari* (No. 761). It has been printed at Banāras in Sambat 1943 (1886) by Ambikā Charaṇ Chatṭōpadhyāya. A Bombay edition identifies the author with *Jas'want Singh* (1638—1681) of *Mār'wār*, but this is very doubtful. See No. 149 and No. 149 Add.

378. हिम्मत बहादुर, Gosāī Nawāb *Himmatī Bahādur*. Fl. 1800 A.D.

Sat. His court was attended by many poets, including *Thākur* (who saved his life; see No. 173) and *Rām Saran*. *Askand Giri* (No. 527) was descended from him.

He was a military guru or soldier-saint, who commanded a large force of *gosāīs* or religious devotees in the army of Sendhiyā. He instigated 'Alī Bahādur to attempt the conquest of Bundēl'khaṇḍ, but ultimately went over to the English during the second Marāṭhā war (1803—1806). He must have been an old man then, as poems by him are quoted in Sat., which was written in 1746:

379. राम सरन कवि, the poet *Rām Saran*, of *Hamīr'pur*, district *Iṭāwā*. Fl. 1800 A.D.

380. राम सिद्ध कवि, the poet *Rām Singh*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1800 A.D.

These two attended the court of *Himmatī Bahādur*.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER IX.

381. आदिल कवि, the poet *'Ādil*. B. 1703 A.D.

Sib Singh has seen detached pieces by him, but no complete work.

382. ब्रज चन्द कवि, the poet *Braj Chand*. B. 1703 A.D.

383. भौन कवि, the poet *Bhāun* the elder, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ* B. 1703 A.D.

An erotic poet.

384. महबूब कवि, the poet *Mah'būb* (*Maḥbūb*). B. 1705 A.D.

385. किशोर सूर कवि, the poet *Kishōr Sūr*. B. 1704 A.D.

Sringg., Sun. He has written many poems in the *chhappān* metre.

386. मदन किशोर कवि, the poet *Madan Kishōr*. Fl. 1710 A.D.

He attended the court of *Bahādur Shāh* (1707—1712). Cf. No. 50.

387. दया राम कवि त्रिपाठी, the poet *Dayā Rām Tripāṭhī*. B. 1712.

A quietistic (शान्ति रस) poet. Possibly the same as a *Dayā Rām* mentioned by Sib Singh (without date) as author of a lexicographical work entitled *Anēkārth*.

388. पण्डरीक कवि, the poet *Paṇḍurīk*. B. 1712.

389. गडु कवि, the poet *Gaḍu*, of *Rāj'putānā*. B. 1713.

The emblematic (कूट) and occasional verses by him in the *chhappān* metre are famous.

390. नन्द लाल, *Nand Lāl*. B. 1717 A.D.

391. लाल सुकुन्द कवि, the poet *Lāl Mukund*. B. 1717.

An erotic poet. Possibly the same as *Mukund Lāl* (No. 560).

392. इन्द्र कवि, the poet *Indū*. B. 1719 A.D.

A commonplace poet.

393. ब्रज राज कवि, the poet *Braj Rāj*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1718 A.D.

394. याकूब खाँ कवि, the poet *Yākūb Khān* (*Ya'qūb*). B. 1718 A.D.

He wrote a commentary to the *Rasik-priyā* (see No. 134).

395. बीरबल, *Bir'bal* alias *Bir'bar*, a *Kāyasth* of *Dilli*. Fl. 1722 A.D.

The author of a work on composition (साहित्य) entitled *Krish'n Chandrikā*, written in the above year.

396. राजा राम कवि, the poet *Rājā Rām*. B. 1721 A.D.

An erotic poet. Cf. No. 233.

397. अनवर खाँ कवि, the poet *An'war Khān*. B. 1723 A.D.

He wrote a commentary on the *Sat Sai* of *Bihāri* (No. 196), and a work called the *An'war Chandrikā*, or possibly this last is the title of the commentary.

398. गुलाल सिद्ध, *Gulāl Singh*. B. 1723.

399. बेचू कवि, the poet *Bēchū*. B. 1723.

400. ब्रज नाथ कवि, the poet *Braj Nāth*. B. 1723 A.D.

The author of an admired work entitled *Rāg Mālā* (*Rāg*). Cf. No. 904.

401. मधु नाथ कवि, the poet *Braj Nāth*. B. 1723 A.D.

402. मनोहर कवि, the poet *Manōhar*. B. 1723.

403. महा कवि, the poet *Maha* (the great poet). Fl. 1723 A.D. Sun.

404. रस राज कवि, the poet *Ras Rāj*. B. 1723 A.D.

The author of a good *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87).

405. रसिक बिहारी, *Rasik Bihārī*. B. 1723 A.D. *Rāg*.

406. रुद्र मनि, *Rudr' Manī*, the *Chāṭhān*. B. 1723.

407. दल सिद्ध, *Rājā Dal Singh*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1724 A.D.

The author of a work entitled *Prēm Payōnidhi*, dealing with the loves and sports of *Rādhā* and *Krish'n*.

408. प्रान नाथ, *Prān Nāth*, of *Kōṭā*. B. 1724.

He attended the court of the *Rājā* of *Kōṭā*.

409. जुलफेकार कवि, the poet *Jul'phekār (Zū'lfagār)*. B. 1725 A.D.

He wrote a good commentary on the *Sat Saī* of *Bihāri* (No. 196).

410. कमल नयन कवि, the poet *Kamal Nayan*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1727 A.D.

He was a prolific erotic writer, but no complete work of his is known. His poems are said to possess merit.

411. बिखठ नाथ अताई, *Biswa Nāth Atāi*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1727. Sat.

412. मञ्चित कवि, the poet *Mañchit*. B. 1728.

413. बिहारौ कवि, the poet *Bihāri*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1729 A.D.

414. नरिन्द कवि, the poet *Narind*. B. 1731 A.D.

415. रस रूप कवि, the poet *Ras Rūp*. B. 1731 A.D.

416. सिब राम कवि, the poet *Sib Rām*. B. 1731 A.D.

Sūd. An erotic writer.

417. सिब सिङ्घ, *Sib Singh*. B. 1731 A.D.

418. अनन्य कवि, the poet *Ananya*. B. 1733 A.D.

Many poems of his, dealing with the Vēdānta religion and morals, are extant. He also wrote didactic (चेतावन) poems and *vers d'occasion*. He is possibly the same as another *Ananya Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as of date unknown, and the author of poems in honour of *Durgā*.

419. तारा पति कवि, the poet *Tāra Patī*. B. 1733 A.D.

Sring. A writer of a *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87). He is possibly the same as a *Tāra Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as B. (P Fl.) 1779 A.D.

420. रघु राय कवि, the poet and bard *Raghu Rāy*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1733.

His best known work is the *Jamunā Satak*. He is possibly the same as a *Raghu Rāy Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as B. (P Fl.) 1773 A.D.

421. ईसुफ खाँ कवि, the poet *Īsufh (Yūsuf) Khān*. B. 1734 A.D.

He wrote commentaries to the *Sat Saī* of *Bihāri* (No. 196) and to the *Rasik-priyā*, of *Kēsab Dās* (No. 134).

422. धन सिङ्घ कवि, the poet and bard *Dhan Singh*, of *Maurāwā*, district *Unāo*. B. 1734 A.D.

423. प्रेम सखी, *Prēm Sakhī*. B. 1734 A.D.

424. सरन्ब सुख लाल, *Sar'b Sukh Lāl*. B. 1734. Sūd.

425. रबि नाथ कवि, the poet *Rabi Nāth*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1734 A.D.

An erotic poet.

426. नब खान कवि, the poet *Nab Khān*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1735.

427. जग देव कवि, the poet *Jag Dēb*. B. 1735 A.D.

428. रस लाल कवि, the poet *Ras Lāl*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1736 A.D.

An erotic poet.

429. हरी हर कवि, the poet *Harī Har*. B. 1737 A.D.

Sūd.

430. ईस कवि, the poet *Īs*. B. 1739 A.D.

His erotic and his quietistic poems are said to be very charming.

431. सिब कवि, the poet and bard *Sib*, of *Bil'grām*, district *Har'dōl*. B. 1739.

Sun. The author of a work in the erotic style entitled *Ras Nidhi*.

432. तोख निधि, *Tōkh Nidhi*, a Brāhman, of *Kampilā Nagar*. B. 1741 A.D.

The author of three works—(1) *Sudhā Nidhi*, (2) *Byangya Satak*, (3) a *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87).

433. प्रेमोयमन, *Prēmīyaman*, the Musalmān of *Dilli*. B. 1741 A.D.

Rāg. He wrote an excellent lexicographical work in two parts entitled *Anēkārth* (Rāg.) and *Nām Mālā* (Rāg.) respectively.

434. ठाकुर कवि, the poet *Ṭhākur*. Fl. 1743 A.D.

See the poet *Ṭhākur*, who fl. 1643 A.D. (No. 173).

435. मीर अहमद, *Mir Ah'mad*, of *Bil'grām*, district *Har'dōi*. B. 1743 A.D.

436. अनूप दास कवि, the poet *Anūp Dās*. B. 1744 A.D.

Several poems in the *kabitta* and *dōhā* metres, and songs in the quietistic style (शान्ति रस), are extant.

437. कुमार मनि भट्ट, the bard *Kumār Mani*, of *Gōkul*, in *Braj*. B. 1746 A.D.

A skilled poet, who wrote an esteemed work on composition (साहित्य) entitled *Rasik-rasāl*.

438. जीवन कवि, the poet *Jiban*. B. 1746 A.D.

He attended the court of *Muḥammad 'Alī*.

439. तालिब अली, *Tālib 'Alī* alias *Ras Nāyak*, of *Bil'grām*, district *Har'dōi*. B. (? Fl.) 1746 A.D.

An erotic poet. Possibly the same as a *Tālib 'Alī* mentioned by Sib Singh as B. 1711 A.D.

440. नाथ, *Nāth*. B. 1746 A.D.

? Sun. He attended the court of one *Mānik Chand*, whose son appears to have been named *Ichhan*. Cf. No. 162.

441. पद्मेस कवि, the poet *Padmēs*. B. 1746 A.D.

442. पूखी कवि, the poet *Pūkhī*, a Brāhman of *Māin'purī*, in the *Dōāb*. B. 1746 A.D.

Sring.

443. ब्राह्मन नाथ, *Brāhman Nāth*, of *Bhōg Sāri*, district *Har'dōi*. B. (? Fl.) 1746 A.D.

Mentioned by Sib Singh in connection with *Sōm Nāth* (No. 447).

444. राम परसाद, the bard *Rām Par'sād*, of *Bil'grām*, district *Har'dōi*. B. (? Fl.) 1746 A.D.

Rāg. Cf. No. 639.

445. राम भट्ट, *Rām Bhatt*, of *Purukhābād*. B. 1746 A.D.

He attended the court of *Nawāb Qiyām Khān*, and was the author of (1) *Sringār Sāurabh*, (2) *Bar'wāi Nāyikā Bhēd*. (See note to No. 87.)

446. सुखानन्द कवि, the poet and bard *Sukhānand*, of *Chachēri*. B. 1746 A.D.

447. सोम नाथ, *Sōm Nāth*, of *Bhōg Sāri*, district *Har'dōi*. B. (? Fl.) 1746 A.D.

Sūd. Mentioned by Sib Singh in connection with *Brāhman Nāth* (No. 443).

448. निवाज कवि, the poet *Niwāj* (*Nawāz*), a Muhammadan weaver of *Bil'grām*, district *Har'dōi*. B. 1747.

An erotic poet. Possibly the same as No. 342. To be distinguished from No. 198.

449. बोधा कवि, the poet *Bōdhā*. B. 1747 A.D.

Sring., Sun. Cf. No. 500.

450. मदन किशोर कवि, the poet *Madan Kishōr*. Fl. 1750 A.D. Cf. No. 386.

451. लाल गिरि धर, *Lāl Giri Dhar*, of *Bais'wārā*. B. 1750 A.D.

The author of a learned treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87). Perhaps the same as *Giri Dhar* (No. 345).

452. कला निधि कवि, the poet *Kalā Nidhī* the younger. B. 1750 A.D.

His *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87) is said to be good.

453. सखी सुख, *Sakhī Sukh*, a Brāhman of *Nar'war*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1750 A.D.

He was father of *Kabindr'* (No. 496), and wrote himself.

454. नारायण, the bard *Nārāyan*, of *Kākūpur*, district *Kānh'pur*. B. 1752 A.D.

The author of a metrical history of the *Chandēlā* kings of *Sib'rāj'pur*.

455. किङ्कर गोविन्द, *Kiṅkar Gōbind*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1753 A.D.

His poems in the quietistic style (शान्ति रस) are said to be excellent.

456. क्रिष्ण लाल कवि, the poet *Krish'n Lāl*. B. 1757 A.D.

Sring. He has written some admired love songs.

457. मकरन्द कवि, the poet *Mak'rand*. B. 1757.

Sring., Sun. An erotic poet.

458. उदेस भाट, *Udēs*, the bard, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1758 A.D.

A writer of occasional verses.

459. जै देव कवि, the poet *Jāi Dēb*. B. 1758 A.D.

460. निहाल, *Nihāl*, a Brāhman of *Nigōhā*, district *Lakh'naū*. B. 1763 A.D.

461. धीर कवि, the poet *Dhīr*. Fl. 1765 A.D.

Sring. He attended the court of the emperor *Shāh 'Ālam* (1761—1806).

462. रस धाम कवि, the poet *Ras Dhām*. B. 1768 A.D.

The author of a work entitled *Alaṅkār Chandrikā*.

463. सिरन्ताज कवि, the poet *Sir'tāj*, of *Bar'dhānā*. B. 1768.

464. काली राम कवि, the poet *Kālī Rām*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1769.

His poems are said to be good.

465. जसोदानन्द कवि, the poet *Jasōdānand*. B. 1771 A.D.

He wrote a treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87) entitled the *Bar'wāi Nāyikā Bhēd*. It is in the *Bar'wāi* metre. It is dated *Sambat* 1822 (1765 A.D.), if I read the passage (बिबिकरिब्रह्म) correctly. In this case *Sambat* 1828 (1771 A.D.), which *Sib Singh* gives as the date of the poet's birth, is wrong.

466. लच्छू कवि, the poet *Lachchhū*. B. 1771 A.D.

467. बाजेस कवि, the poet *Bājēs*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1774.

A poet who wrote in praise of *Anūp Giri*.

468. भञ्जन कवि, the poet *Bhañjan*. B. 1774 A.D.

Sring.

469. लाला पाठक कवि, the poet *Lālā Pāṭhak*, of *Rukum'nagar*. B. 1774 A.D.

The author of a *Sālihōtr'* (Rāg.) or treatise on veterinary surgery.

470. लतीफ कवि, the poet *Latiph (Laṭīf)*. B. 1777.

An erotic poet.

471. सम्मन कवि, the poet *Samman*, a Brāhman of *Malāwā*, district *Har'dōi*. B. 1777.

The author of admired *dōhās* on morals.

472. सन्तन कवि, the poet *Santan*, the Brāhman of *Bindukī*, district *Fatih'pur*. B. 1777 A.D.

Sring.

473. सन्तन कवि, the poet *Santan*, a Brāhman of *Jāj'maū*, district *Unāo*. B. 1777.

474. सिङ्घ कवि, the poet *Singh*. B. 1778.

Sring. He is probably identical with some other poet whose name ends in Singh.

475. कवि दत्त, *Kabi Datt'*. B. 1779 A.D.

Sring., Dig. He is probably the same as *Dēb Datt'* (No. 508).

476. मधु सूदन दास, *Madhu Sūdan Dās*, the Māthur Brāhman of *Ishtakāpurī*. B. 1782 A.D.

He translated the *Rāmāṣvamēdha* into the vernacular.

477. मनि राम कवि मिसर, the poet *Mani Rām Misar*, of *Kanāuj*. B. 1782.

Sring. He has written one of the best works on prosody, the *Chhand Chhapanī*.

478. राम दास कवि, the poet *Rām Dās*. B. 1782 A.D.

479. सिब लाल दूबे, *Sib Lal Dūbē*, of *Dāūriyā Khērā*, district *Unāū*. B. 1782 A.D.

The author of several works, amongst them may be mentioned a *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87), *Khaṭ Ritu* (Rāg.) (a treatise on the six seasons), verses on morals, and comic verses.

480. सङ्गम कवि, the poet *Ṣangam*. B. 1783 A.D.

Sring. He attended the court of one *Singh Rāj*.

481. गङ्गा पति कवि, the poet *Gangā Patī*. B. 1787 A.D.

Said to be a tasteful poet.

482. सागर कवि, the poet *Sāgar*, a Brāhman. B. 1786.

The author of an erotic work entitled *Bāmā Man Rañjan*. He attended the court of *Ṭikāit Rāy*. See No. 484.

483. गिरि धर कवि, the poet and bard *Giri Dhar*, of *Hōl'pur*, district *Bārābaṅkī*. B. (? Fl.) 1787 A.D.

Possibly the same as No. 345. See No. 484.

484. बेनी कवि, the poet and bard *Bēnī* the younger, of *Bēti*, district *Rāy Barēli*. B. (? Fl.) 1877 A.D.

These three attended the court of *Ṭikāit Rāy*, Diwan of Nawāb *Aṣafu'd-dāūla* (Fl. 1775—1797), of *Lakhnaū*. *Bēnī* (? Sun.) died at an old age in or about 1835 A.D.

485. जवाहिर कवि, the poet and bard *Jawāhir*, of *Bil'grām*, district *Har'dōi*. B. 1788 A.D.

He wrote a book entitled the *Jawāhir Ratnākar*.

486. गुलाब सिङ्घ, *Gulāb Singh*, the Pañjābi. B. 1789. A.D.

He wrote several Vēdānta works, such as a *Rāmāyan*, the play *Chandra Prabōdh*, *Mōchh Panth*, *Bhāwar Sāwar*, etc.

487. देवी दास, *Dēvi Dās*. Fl. cir. 1790 A.D.

A quietistic poet, a pupil of *Jag Jiban Dās* (No. 323).

488. बालम दास कवि, the poet *Bālam Dās*. Fl. 1793.

He wrote in the above year a treatise on geomancy (रमल) entitled *Ramal Bhākhā*. It is an authority on the subject.

489. श्री लाल, *Srī Lāl*, the *Guj'rātī*, of *Bāḍēr*, in *Rāj'putānā*. B. 1793 A.D.

The author of a *Bhākhā Chandrōday* and other works.

490. प्रान नाथ कवि, the poet *Prān Nāth*, a Brāhman of *Bais'wārā*. Fl. 1793 A.D.

He wrote in the above year an *itihāsa* entitled *Chakābyūh*.

491. कान्ह कवि, the poet *Kānh* the elder. B. 1795. A.D.

The author of a work on lovers. (See note to No. 87.)

492. गुन देव, *Gun Dēb*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1795 A.D.

Said to have written some good poetry.

493. गोपाल लाल कवि, the poet *Gōpāl Lāl*. B. 1795 A.D.

Said to have written some good quietistic (शान्ति रस) poems.

494. उमेद कवि, the poet *Umēd*. B. 1796 A.D.

His *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87) is much admired. He appears to have lived in some village in the *Dōāb* or near *Shāh-Jahān-pur*.

495. उधो कवि, the poet *Ūdhō*. B. 1796 A.D.

Sring., ? *Rāg*. Cf. No. 79.

496. कबीन्द्र, *Kabindr'*, a Brāhman of *Nar'war*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1797 A.D.

He was son of *Sakhī Sukh* (No. 453), and was author of a work entitled the *Ras-dip*.

497. इच्छा राम अबस्थी, *Ichchhā Rām Abasthī*, of *Pacharuā*, district *Bārābaṅkī*. Fl. 1798 A.D.

A very pious poet, who wrote in the above year a treatise on the *Vēdānta* philosophy named the *Brahm Bilās*.

498. साधर कवि, the poet *Sādhar*. B. 1798 A.D.

499. सुकवि कवि, the poet *Sukabi*. B. 1798.

An erotic poet.

500. बोध कवि, the poet *Bōdh*. B. 1798 A.D. Cf. No. 449.

501. नरोत्तम, *Narōttam*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1799 A.D.

CHAPTER X.

HINDŪSTĀN UNDER THE COMPANY. [1800—1857.]

THE years commencing with the downfall of the Marāṭhā power and ending with the Mutiny form another convenient period in dealing with the literary history of Hindūstān. It was the period of renascence, of the practical introduction of the printing-press into Northern India, and of the foundation of the modern school which now shows such commendable activity. It was, moreover, the period of the birth of that wonderful hybrid language known to Europeans as Hindī, and invented by them. In 1803, under Gilchrist's tuition, *Lallū Jī Lāl* wrote the *Prēm Sāgar* in the mixed Ūrdū language of Akbar's camp-followers and of the market where men of all nations congregated, with this peculiarity, that he used only nouns and particles of Indian, instead of those of Arabic or Persian, origin. The result was practically a newly-invented speech; for though the grammar was the same as that of the prototype, the vocabulary was almost entirely changed. This new language, called by Europeans Hindī, has been adopted all over Hindūstān as the *lingua franca* of Hindūs, for a want existed which it fulfilled. It has become the recognised medium of literary prose throughout Northern India, but as it was nowhere a vernacular it has never been successfully used for poetry. The greatest geniuses have tried, and it has been found wanting at their hands. Northern India therefore at the present day presents the following unique state of literature,—its poetry everywhere written in local vernacular dialects, especially in Braj, in Bais'wārī, and in Bihārī, and its prose in one uniform artificial dialect, the mother tongue of no native-born Indian, forced into acceptance by the prestige of its inventors, by the fact that the first books written in it were of a highly popular character, and because it found a sphere in which it was eminently useful.

The star of literature during the half-century under notice shone brightest in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ* and *Baghēl'khaṇḍ*, at *Banāras*, and in *Āudh*, but it shone with marked differences in the quality of its light. In *Bundēl'khaṇḍ* and *Baghēl'khaṇḍ* the poets were the legitimate continuators of the traditions of the eighteenth century. *Pannā*, the capital

of the heroic *Chhatr' Sāl*, *Char'khārī* made famous under milder auspices by *Bikram Sāhī*, and *Rīwā*, illustrious for its art-patrons from the days of *Nējā Rām* to those of *Biswanāth Singh*, each formed a centre from which issued well-known standard works on the art of poetry. The writers, of whom perhaps *Padmākar* was the most famous, were those on whom the mantles of *Kēsab Dās* and *Chintāmanī Tripāthī* fell. They were the last survivors of the learned writing for the learned. Bundēl'khaṇḍ remained during the whole half-century a country of semi-independent chiefs warring amongst themselves, with whom the printing-press found little favour.

Far different was the case of *Banāras*. The end of the eighteenth century saw that city a British possession; and with the *pax Britannica* came the introduction of printed books. This had its natural effect. The limitless multiplication of copies by the art of printing gave a new audience to the learned,—an audience that had hitherto been satisfied with the rough Doric of the folk-epic, and which in the earlier days of India's chivalry had been successfully addressed by Rāj'pūt bards. What an opportunity for making or marring a nation's character! And here again the pure and noble figure of *Tul'sī Dās* stands forward as the saviour of his fellow-countrymen. Hindūstān, happily in this differing from Bangāl,¹ had that figure to go back to as an example. His popularity gave its tone to the demand, and with characteristic acuteness the Banāras Paṇḍits fostered the supply. In 1829 was completed and printed for the Mahārāj of Banāras *Gōkul-Nāth's* great translation of the companion epic to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*. This alone was sufficient to make our present period noteworthy, but it is only one early instance of the many valuable works issuing from the Holy City. Other authors, of a younger generation, of whom one of the greatest is happily still alive, endowed with a wider and more catholic mental vision, no longer bounded by the horizon of Paurānik cosmology, came to the front, and the benefit done to the intellect of Hindūstān by such men as Rājā *Siva Prasād* and *Harishchandr'* cannot easily be calculated.

The Ta'alūqdārs of *Āudh* also worthily upheld their reputations as encouragers of poetry. Although eclipsed by Banāras in this respect (for is not the *Sundarī Tilak* deservedly the most popular work of its

¹ It is needless to say that I am not referring to the great revival of Bangālī literature inaugurated by *Īshwar Chandra (Bidyāsāgar)* in later years, but to the insipid indecencies of *Bharat Chandra* and his imitators, which up to then were so popular.

kind in existence?), Āudh may boast of having produced an excellent anthology in the *Bidwan-Mōd-Taraṅginī*. These anthologies, of which *Kālidās'Āhajārā*, written at the end of the seventeenth century, is the earliest important example, appeared in considerable numbers during the first half of the nineteenth century, and did much to extend the knowledge of sound vernacular literature of the preceding generations. As already said, one of the most popular, as it was one of the best, was the *Sundarī Tilak*; but the most important of all, both in bulk and in contents, was the *Rāg-Sagarōdbhab Rāg-Kalpadrum*, published in 1843.

For convenience of classification I divide this chapter into four parts, referring to Bundēl'khaṇḍ and Baghēl'khaṇḍ, to Banāras, to Āudh, and to other places respectively. As a rule, only those poets who were born or who flourished between 1800 and 1857 are given, but in a few instances, in order to complete groups, poets who belonged to an earlier period have been kept back for inclusion in this period, or history has been anticipated by including a few of a later date.

Part I.—Bundel'khāṇḍ and Baghel'khand.

502. मोहन भट्ट, *Mōhan Bhaṭṭ*, of *Bāndā*. Fl. cir. 1800 A.D.

He is a well-known poet. He attended first the court of the Bundēlā Mahārāj *Hindūpatī*, of *Par'nā (Pannā)*, and subsequently those of *Par'tāp Singh Sawāī* (1778—1803) and *Jagat Singh Sawāī* of *Jāipur* (1803—1818) (Tod's *Rājāsthān*, ii, 375; Calc. ed., ii, 414). His son was the celebrated *Padmākar* (No. 506), whose grandson was *Gadā Dhar* (No. 512). He also praises one *Sujān Singh*; cf. Nos. 367, 368. Regarding *Hindūpatī*, see No. 503.

503. रूप साहि, *Rūp Sāhī*, a Kāyasth of *Bāg'mahal*, near *Par'nā (Pannā)*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. cir. 1800 A.D.

He attended the court of the Bundēlā Mahārāj *Hindūpatī* (cf. No. 502) of *Par'nā (Pannā)*. He was author of a work entitled *Rūp Bilās* (written, 1756 A.D.), in which he states that *Chhatr' Sāl's* (No. 197) son was *Hir'dāī Singh* or *Hir'dēs* (cf. No. 346), whose son was *Sabhā Singh* (cf. Nos. 155 and 346), whose son was *Hindūpatī* (cf. No. 502).

504. करन ब्राह्मन, *Karan*, the Brāhman of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. cir. 1800 A.D.

He attended the court of the Bundēlā Māhārāj *Hindūpatī* (cf. No. 502) of *Par'nā* (*Pannā*), and composed two important works—the *Ras Kallōl* and the *Sāhitya Ras*.

505. हर देव कवि, the poet *Har Dēb*. Fl. 1800 A.D.

He attended the court of *Raghu Nāth Rāw*, of *Nāg'pur* (1816—1818).

506. पद्माकर भट्ट, *Padmākar Bhaṭṭ*, of *Bāndā*. Fl. 1815 A.D.

Rāg., Sun., Sring. He was son of *Mōhan Bhaṭṭ*, of *Bāndā* (No. 502). *Padmākar* at first attended the court of *Raghu Nāth Rāw*, of *Nāg'pur*, commonly known as the *Appā Sāhib* (reigned 1816—1818), where he received great rewards for his poetry. Subsequently he went to *Jāipur*, where he compiled, in the name of *Jagat Singh Sawāī* (1803—1818), a work entitled *Jagad Binōd* (Rāg.). Being richly rewarded for this, he devoted the rest of his life to the worship of the Ganges, and wrote a work entitled *Gaṅgā Laharī*. Amongst his grandsons may be mentioned *Gadā Dhar Bhaṭṭ* (No. 512).

507. ग्वाल कवि, the poet and bard *Gwāl*, of *Mathurā*. Fl. 1815 A.D.

Sun. He was skilled in composition (साहित्य). His principal works were (1) *Sāhitya Dūkhan*, (2) *Sāhitya Dar'pan*, (3) *Bhakti Bhāw*, (4) *Sringār Dōhā*, (5) *Sringār Kābitta*. He also wrote minor works, such as a *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87), *Gōpī Pachīsī*, *Jamunā Laharī* (written 1822 A.D.), etc. He was a rival of *Dēb Datt'* (No. 508) and of *Padmākar* (No. 506).

508. देव दत्त, *Dēb Datt'* the Brāhman, of *Sārhi*, district *Kānh'pur*. Fl. 1815 A.D.

He attended the court of *Rājā Khumān Singh*, the Bundēlā of *Char'khārī*. He was a contemporary and rival of *Padmākar* (No. 506)

and of *Gwāl* (No. 507). He is probably the same as the *Kabi Datt'* mentioned in Dig.

509. भान दास कवि, the poet and bard *Bhān Dās*, of *Char'khārī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1815 A.D.

He attended the court of *Rājā Khumān Singh*, of *Char'khārī*, and wrote a prosody entitled *Rūp Bilās*.

510. पञ्जनेस कवि, the poet *Paj'nēs*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1816 A.D.

Sring. He resided in *Par'nā (Pannā)*, and wrote a good work on vernacular composition (भाखा साहित्य), entitled *Madhu Priyā*. His poems are famous for their conceits and difficulties. The best specimen of his work is his *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87). He was also a good Persian scholar.

511. बलभद्र, *Bal'bhadr'* the *Kāyasth*, of *Par'nā (Pannā)*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1844.

He attended the court of *Rājā Nar'patī Singh*, the *Bundēlā* of *Par'nā (Pannā)*.

Possibly the author of the *Bal'bhadrā Charitra*, quoted by *Garcin de Tassy*, i, 104, from *Ward*, ii, 480.

512. गदा धर भट्ट, *Gadā Dhar Bhaṭṭ*, of *Bāndā*. B. 1855.

Rāg. His paternal great-grandfather was the well-known *Mōhan Bhaṭṭ* (No. 502), whose son was *Padmākar* (No. 506), who had two sons, named *Mihī Lāl* (? No. 623) and *Ambā Par'sād*. The former's sons were *Bansī Dhar*, *Gadā Dhar*, *Chandr' Dhar*, and *Lachhmī Dhar*. The last had a son named *Bidyā Dhar*. These were all poets, but *Gadā Dhar* was the best and attended the court of *Rājā Bhawānī Singh Dātiyā*, son of *Bijāi Singh Dātiyā*. His best known work is the *Alaṅkār Chandrōday*.

513. पहलाद, the bard *Pah'lād*, of *Char'khārī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1810.

He attended the court of *Rājā Jagat Singh*, of *Char'khārī*.

514. **बिक्रम साहि**, Rājā *Bikram Sāhī* alias *Bijāi Bahādur*, the Bundēlā, of *Char'khārī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Born 1785; D. 1828 A.D.

Rāg. The author of two much-admired works—(1) *Bikram Biradā-balī*, (2) *Bikram Sat Saī*. Sib Singh gives another Rājā *Bijāi Bahādur*, a Bundēlā of *Ṭeh'rī*, about whom he mentions no particulars, giving the date as B. 1823, which is the same as that which he wrongly gives for *Bijāi* of *Char'khārī*. *Ṭeh'rī* and *Char'khārī* are both in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*.

515. **बैताल कवि**, the poet and bard *Bāitāl*. Fl. 1820 A.D.

He attended the court of *Bikrām Sāhī* (No. 514), and wrote moral and occasional pieces. A selection from his poems will be found in the *Bhkāhā Sār* of *Sāhib Prasād Singh*. According to Garcin de Tassy, i, 118, his full name was *Santōkh Rāy Bētal*, and he wrote in *Ūrdū*. He appears to have been a contemporary and disciple of *Muḥammad Qiyām*.

516. **बीर कवि**, the poet *Bīr Bāj'pēyī* alias *Dāū Dādā*, of *Maṇḍilā*. Fl. 1820.

The author of a work entitled *Prēm Dīpikā*, written in answer to a challenge given by his brother *Bikram Sāhī* (No. 514).

517. **मान कवि**, the poet and bard *Mān*, of *Char'khārī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1820 A.D.

He attended the court of *Bikram Sāhī* (No. 514). He is possibly the same as a *Mān Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as a quietistic poet.

518. **बल देव कवि**, the poet *Bal Dēb*, of *Char'khārī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1820.

He attended the court of *Bikram Sāhī* (No. 514). Cf. No. 543.

519. **बिहारी लाल**, the bard *Bihārī Lāl* alias *Bhōj Kabi*, of *Char'khārī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā *Ratan Singh* alias *Rat'nēs* (cf. No. 149 Add. and No. 344 Add.), the Bundēlā of *Char'khārī*. His two principal works, the *Bhōj Bhūkhan* and the *Ras Bilās*, are much admired. His love for a courtesan named *Shar'fō* led him to compose a number of very popular verses in her honour.

520. अवधेस, *Awadhēs*, the Brāhman of *Char'khārī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He was an old poet at the court of *Ratan Singh*, of *Char'khārī*, the Bundēlā. His poems are said to possess taste, but Sib Singh states that he has never been able to obtain copies of any complete work of his. Cf. No. 542.

521. राव राना कवि, the poet and bard *Rāw Rānā*, of *Char'khārī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He was descended from ancient Bundēlā poets, and attended the court of Rājā *Ratan Singh*, where he was shown great honour.

522. गोपाल बन्दीजन, the bard *Gōpāl*, of *Char'khārī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā *Ratan Singh*, of *Char'khārī*.

523. बिहारी लाल त्रिपाठी, *Bihārī Lāl Tripāṭhī*, of *Ṭik'māpur*, district *Kānh'pur*. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He is the most famous of the descendants of *Mati Rām Tripāṭhī* (No. 146). He was a greater poet than *Rām Dīn* (No. 524) or *Sītal* (No. 525).

524. राम दीन त्रिपाठी, *Rām Dīn Tripāṭhī*, of *Ṭik'māpur*, district *Kānh'pur*. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He was a descendant of *Mati Rām* (No. 146), and attended the court of Mahārāj *Ratan Singh*, of *Char'khārī*.

525. सीतल त्रिपाठी, *Sītal Tripāṭhī*, of *Ṭik'māpur*, district *Kānh'pur*. Fl. 1840 A.D.

He was a descendant of *Mati Rām* (see No. 146) and father of the poet *Lāl* (No. ? 561, 919). He attended the courts at *Char'khārī* and other places in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*.

526. नवल सिद्ध, *Nawal Singh* the Kāyasth, of *Jhānsī*. B. 1841.

Sring. He was a servant of the Rājā of *Santhar*. He had a great reputation, and was the author of (1) *Nām Rāmāyan* and (2) *Hari Nāmābalī*.

527. अस्कन्द गिरि, *Askand Girī*, of *Bāndā*. B. (? Fl.) 1859 A.D.

This poet belonged to the family of *Himmatī Bahādur* (No. 378), and was an excellent love-poet. His best work is the *Askand-Binōd*, dealing with that subject.

528. समनेस कवि, the poet *Sam'nēs*, a Kāyasth of *Bānhō* (*Rīwā*), in *Baghēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. 1810.

He attended the court of Māhārāj *Jāī Singh* (succeeded 1809, abdicated 1813), father of Māhārāj *Biswanāth Singh*, of *Bāndhō*. He was author of a work entitled *Kābya Bhūkhan*.

529. बिखनाथ सिद्ध, Māhārāj *Biswanāth Singh*, of *Bāndhō* (*Rīwā*), in *Baghēl'khaṇḍ*. Reigned 1813—1834 A.D.

Rāg. The descendant of a line of kings famous for its patronage of poets. His ancestor *Nējā Rām Singh*, who was a contemporary of *Ak'bar*, gave the poet *Hari Nāth* (No. 114) a hundred thousand rupees for a single *dōhā*. This king not only sustained the traditional liberality of his family, but was also the author of a Sanskrit work entitled *Sarvasaṅgraha*. He also wrote vernacular commentaries on the *Bījak* of *Kabīr* (see Nos. 13, 14), and on the *Binay Pattrikā* of *Tul'sī Dās* (No. 128). Another good vernacular work of his is entitled *Rām Chandr' kī Sawārī*.

530. अजबेस नबीन भाट, *Ajabēs*, the modern bard of that name. Fl. cir. 1830 A.D.

Sun. He attended the court of Mahārāj *Biswanāth Singh* (No. 529), of *Bāndhō* (*Rīwā*) (1813—1834)—see *Ajabēs* (No. 24). I question the existence of this earlier poet. Not impossibly, the poem referred to him in No. 24 is by the poet now under consideration.

531. गोपाल कवि, the poet *Gōpāl*, a Kāyasth of *Bāndhō* (*Rīwā*), in *Baghēl'khaṇḍ*. Fl. cir. 1830 A.D.

He was minister of Mahārāj *Biswanāth Singh* (No. 529) of *Bāndhō* (*Rīwā*) (1813—1834). His principal work is the *Gōpāl Pachīsī*.

532. रघु राज सिद्ध, Mahārāj *Raghu Rāj Singh*, the Baghēl of *Bāndhō* (*Rīwā*), in *Baghēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1824, succeeded 1834, alive in 1883.

Sun. The author of a much-admired translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, entitled *Ānandāmbudhi*; also of a history of Hanumān entitled *Sundar Satak* (written 1847 A.D.), and other works.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER X, PART I.

533. परम कवि, the poet *Param*, of *Mahōbā*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1814 A.D.

The author of a *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87).

534. रसिक लाल कवि, the poet *Rasik Lāl*, of *Bāndā*. B. 1823.

An erotic poet.

535. गुन सिन्धु कवि, the poet *Gun Sindhū*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1825 A.D.

A clever erotic poet.

536. खण्डन कवि, the poet *Khaṇḍan*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1827 A.D.

He has written an excellent treatise on lovers. Sib Singh states that copies of the work exist in *Jhānsī*, and gives the names of the possessors.

537. मदन मोहन कवि, the poet *Madan Mōhan*, of *Char'khāri*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1823 A.D.

Rāg. A minister of the Rājā of *Char'khāri*. He was an erotic poet.

538. राम किशुन चौबे, *Rām Kishun Chāubē*, of *Kālīñjar*, district *Bāndā*. B. 1829.

The author of a quietistic work entitled *Binay Pachīsī*. He is probably the same as a *Rām Kishun Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh without particulars.

539. हरि दास कवि, the poet and bard *Hari Dās*, of *Bāndā*. B. 1834 A.D.

He was father of the poet *Nōne* (No. 545). He wrote an erotic poem entitled *Rādhā Bhūkhan*.

540. गङ्ग राम कवि, the poet *Gang Rām*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1837.
A commonplace poet.

541. परमानन्द लल्ला पुरानीक, *Par'mānand Lallā Purānīk*, of *Ajāigarh*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1837 A.D.

The author of a *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87).

542. अवधेस, *Awadhēs*, the Brāhman, of *Bhūpā*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1838 A.D.

This poet is said to have been skilled in composing many beautiful poems, but Sib Singh states that he has never been able to obtain copies of any complete work of his. Cf. No. 520.

543. बल देव कवि, the poet *Bal Dēb*, of *Char'khāri*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1839 A.D.

Probably the same as No. 518.

544. भोला सिङ्घ कवि, the poet *Bhōlā Singh*, of *Par'nā (Pannā)*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1839.

545. नोने कवि, the poet and bard *Nōnē* of *Bāndā*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1844 A.D.

He was son of the poet *Hari Dās* (No. 539). He was learned in vernacular composition (भाखा साहित्य).

546. हरि दास कवि, the poet *Hari Dās*, a Kāyasth of *Par'nā (Pannā)*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1844 A.D.

The author of a work on vernacular composition (भाखा साहित्य) entitled *Ras Kāumudī*. He also wrote twelve other similar works.

547. हिर-देस कवि, the poet and bard *Hir'dēs*, of *Jhānsī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1844 A.D.

Sring. The author of a work entitled *Sringār Nab Ras*.

548. नील सखी, *Nil Sakhi*, of *Jāt'pur* in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1845.

549. बन्ध गोपाल, the bard *Bans Gōpāl*, of *Jālāun*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1845 A.D.

No particulars. He is possibly the same as a *Bans Gōpāl* mentioned by Sib Singh without date as a bard.

550. नैसुक कवि, the poet *Nāisuk*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1847 A.D.
An erotic poet.

551. अम्बर भाट, the bard *Ambar* of *Chāujit'pur*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1853 A.D.

552. दीन नाथ, the poet *Dīn Nāth*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1854 A.D.

553. पञ्चम कवि, the poet and bard *Pañcham*, the younger, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1854 A.D.

He attended the court of *Rājā Gumān Singh*, of *Ajāigarh*.

554. राधे लाल, *Rādhē Lāl*, a Kāyasth of *Rāj'garh*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1854 A.D.

555. कुञ्ज लाल कवि, the poet and bard *Kuñj Lāl*, of *Maū Rānīpurā*, district *Jhānsī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1855 A.D.

Some detached verses by him are known.

556. जनकेस, the bard *Jan'kēs*, of *Maū Rānīpurā*, district *Jhānsī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1855 A.D.

He was a member of the suite of the *Rājā* of *Chhattr'pur*. His poems are said to be sweet.

557. कान्ह कवि, the younger poet *Kānh alias Kanhāi Lāl*, Kāyasth of *Rāj'nagar*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1857 A.D.

He has written some admired poems. His *Nakh'sikh* (see note, No. 87) is said to be worth looking at.

558. जवाहिर कवि, the poet and bard *Jawāhir*, of *Srinagar*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. B. 1857 A.D.

Part II.—Banaras.

559. रघु नाथ कवि, the poet and bard *Raghu Nāth*, of *Banāras*. Fl. 1745 A.D.

Sring. He was a fellow pupil of *Mukund Lāl* (No. 560), and father of *Gōkul Nāth* (No. 564), the translator of the *Mahābhārata*. He was court poet to Mahārāj *Baribaṇḍ Singh*,¹ of *Banāras*, and lived at *Chāurāgāw*, which is within the *Pañchakrōsh* or five-kōs circle round *Banāras*. He is counted as one of the masters of vernacular composition. He wrote (1) the *Rasik Mōhan*, (2) *Jag Mōhan*, (3) *Kābya Kalādhar* (written 1745 A.D.), (4) *Ishk Mahōtsab*, and a commentary on the *Sat Sai* of *Bihārī Lāl* (No. 196). These are all especially admired.

560. मुकुन्द लाल कवि, the poet *Mukund Lāl*, of *Banāras*. B. (? Fl.) 1746 A.D.

Sat. He was a fellow pupil of the poet *Raghu Nāth* (No. 559). Possibly the same as *Lāl Mukund* (No. 391).

561. लाल कवि, the poet and bard *Lāl*, of *Banāras*. Fl. cir. 1775 A.D.

Sun. He attended the court of Rājā *Chēt Singh* (1770—1781), of *Banāras*. He wrote a treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87) entitled *Ānand Ras*, and a commentary on the *Sat Sai* of *Bihārī Lāl* (No. 196) entitled *Lāl Chandrikā*. Cf., however, No. 629.

562. हरि परसाद, *Hari Par'sād*, of *Banāras*. Fl. cir. 1775 A.D.

He translated the *Sat Sai* of *Bihārī* (No. 196) into elegant Sanskrit verse at the instance of Rājā *Chēt Singh* (1770—1781), of *Banāras*.

563. बलवान सिद्ध, Prince *Bal'bān Singh*, of *Banāras*. Fl. cir. 1800 A.D.

He was son of Rājā *Chēt Singh* (D. 1810). The *Sib Singh Sarōj* names him as an author, but does not mention what he wrote.

¹ So *Sib Singh*, but I can find no trace of any Rājā of *Banāras* of this name. Possibly *Bal'want Singh* (reigned 1740—1770) is meant.

564. गोकुल नाथ बन्दीजन, the bard *Gōkul Nāth*, of *Banārsa*. Fl. cir. 1820.

Rāg., Sun. He was son of the poet *Raghu Nāth* (No. 559), of *Banāras*. His home was in the village of *Chāurāgāw*, which is in the *Pañchakrōsh* or five-kōs circle round *Banāras*. His *Chēt-Chandrikā* is a work of great authority amongst poets. He has described in it the family history of Rājā *Chēt Singh* (Fl. 1776, D. 1810) of *Banāras*, who was his patron. Another excellent work of his is the *Gōbind Sukhad Bihār*. The *Mahābhārata* (Rāg.) was translated into the vernacular at the instance of Rājā *Udit Nārāyan* (1795—1835), of *Banāras*, and in this work *Gōkul Nāth*, together with his son *Gōpī Nāth* (No. 565), and the latter's pupil, *Mani Dēb* (No. 566), had a principal share. The full name of the translation is the *Mahābhārat Dar'pan*, and of its supplement the *Haribans Dar'pan*, published in *Calcutta* in 1829 A.D. *Garcin de Tassy* (i, 158) says:—"There are other *Hindustānī* translations of the *Mahābhārata*; those with which I am acquainted are—

(1) *Kitāb-i-Mahābhārata*, or book of the *Mahābhārata*, of which a portion is contained in the *Farzada Cieli* collection.

(2) The copy of which *Sir E. Ouseley* has also only a portion.

(3) There is also among the manuscripts of *Sir W. Ouseley* a volume which contains a portion of the *Mahābhārata* in *Sanskrit* and *Hindustānī*.

(4) Among the numbers of the *Hindustānī* manuscripts of the *Prince of Borgia* described by *Paulin de Saint Barthélemy* there is a portion of the *Mahābhārata* entitled *Bālak Purān*, or the Legend of the Child (*Krishna*). The original manuscript is accompanied by an *Italian* translation by *P. Marcus a Tomba*.

Besides the *Persian* translation of the *Mahābhārata* attributed to *Abū'l Fazl*, minister of *Ak'bar*, there is another more recent one by *Najīb Khān ban 'Abdū'l Latīf*, made at the command of, and in the palace of, *Nawāb Mahāldār Khān Nazā* in the year 1782-83 A.D. The translator says that it was made according to the verbal interpretation of the *Sanskrit* text given to him in *Hindustānī* by many *Brāhmans*.

Among the *Persian* manuscripts of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* is found a third *Persian* translation by the *Hindū Bapās*."

To these may be added (1) the *Bijāi Muktabalī* of the poet *Chhattr'* (No. 75), which is a condensed abstract of the *Mahābhārata*;

(2) *Sabal Singh*, the Chāūhān (No. 210), who translated 24,000 verses of the same work; and (3) *Chirañjīb* (No. 607), who is said to have done the same to the whole.

565. गोपी नाथ बन्दीजन, the bard *Gopī Nāth*, of *Banāras*. Fl. cir. 1820 A.D.

At the instance of Rājā *Udit Nārāyan*, of *Banāras*, the whole *Mahābhārata* was translated into the vernacular. *Gōpī Nāth* (who was son of *Gōkul Nāth*) (No. 564), and his pupil *Mani Dēb* (No. 566), took an important part in this work. The greater part of *Gōpī Nāth's* life was spent in this work. The rest of his time was spent in composing short pieces of various kinds. He is, however, most famous for the translation.

566. मनि देब, the bard *Mani Dēb*, of *Banāras*. Fl. cir. 1820 A.D.

Sun. He was a pupil of *Gōpī Nāth* (No. 565), and with him and *Gōkul Nāth* (No. 564) took a prominent part in the famous translation of the *Mahābhārata*.

567. पराग कवि, the poet *Parāg*, of *Banāras*. Fl. cir. 1820 A.D.

He attended the court of Rājā *Udit Nārāyan Singh* (1795—1835), of *Banāras*. He translated the *Amara Kōṣa* (? Rāg. Cf. Nos. 170, 589, 761) into the vernacular.

568. राम सहाय, *Rām Sahāy*, a Kāyasth of *Banāras*. Fl. cir. 1820.

Rāg. He attended the court of Rājā *Udit Nārāyan Singh* (1795—1835), of *Banāras*. He wrote a treatise on prosody entitled *Britta-taranginī Sat Saī*.

569. देब कवि, the poet *Dēb*, of *Banāras*, alias *Kāshṭh Jihwā Swāmī*. Fl. cir. 1850 A.D.

Sun., Sring. He studied Sanskrit in *Banāras*. On one occasion he quarrelled with his preceptor, and afterwards, to show his penitence,

cut out his tongue, inserted a false wooden one instead, and carried on communications with others by means of a board, on which he wrote. He was an instructor of Mahārāj *Īswarī Nārāyan Singh* (succeeded 1835, alive in 1883), of Banāras, who settled him in *Rām'nagar*, where he composed the *Binayāmrit* (a collection of hymns), the *Rāmāyan Parichāryā* (see *Harishchandr', Prasiddh Mahātmāō kā Jīban Charitr'*, ii, 30), and other works. His hymns are still sung at the Banāras court.

570. **ठाकुर परसाद त्रिपाठी**, *Ṭhākur Par'sād Tripāṭhī*, of *Kishun'dās'pur*, district *Rāy Barēlī*. B. 1825; Fl. 1863 A.D.

He was learned in Sanskrit composition, and in 1863 A.D. completed a work of great labour, entitled the *Ras Chandrōday*, a collection of poems by 242 poets, which he had collected mainly by house-to-house visitation in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. He afterwards went to *Banāras*, where he became a friend of the poets *Ganēs* (No. 573) and *Sar'dār* (No. 571), and received much honour from the nobles of *Āudh*. He died in 1867, leaving a large and valuable library, which was sold by his sons.

571. **सरदार कवि**, the poet and bard *Sar'dār*, of *Banāras*. Alive in 1883.

Sun., Sring. He attended the court of Mahārāj *Īswarī Nārāyan Singh*, of Banāras, and was son of the poet *Hari Jan* (No. 575). He has a great name. He was a friend of *Ṭhākur Par'sād Tripāṭhī* (No. 570), and a teacher of *Nārāyan Rāy* (No. 572). He is author of (1) *Sāhitya Sarasī*, (2) *Hanumat Bhūkhan*, (3) *Tul'sī Bhūkhan*, (4) *Mānas Bhūkhan*, (5) a commentary to the *Kabi-priyā* (No. 134), (6) a commentary to the *Rasik-priyā* (No. 134), (7) a commentary to the *Sat Saī* of *Bihārī* (No. 196), (8) *Sringār Saṅgrah*, and (9) a commentary on 380 emblematic couplets by *Sūr Dās* (No. 37). No. 8 (printed by Nawal Kishōr, at *Lakh'naū*), is a deservedly popular work on rhetoric, and deals with all the branches of the art of poetical composition. It was written in 1848 A.D., and is quoted in this work as 'Sring.' It contains quotations from the following poets:—

Chatur'bhuj (No. 40).

Nārāyan Dās (No. 51).

Parasū Rām (No. 55).

Ras Khān (No. 67).

Keh'rī (No. 70).

Par'bat (No. 74).

Krish'n Jiban (? Nos. 77, 438).
Sib (? No. 88).
Am'rēs (No. 90).
Ak'bar (No. 104).
Brahm (No. 106).
Raḥīm (No. 108).
Khān'khānā (No. 108).
Gang (No. 119).
Nidhī (No. 131).
Kēsab Dās (No. 134).
Balibhadra' (No. 135).
Par'bīn Rāī (No. 137).
Sundar (No. 142).
Chintāmanī (No. 143).
Bhūkhan (No. 145).
Matī Rām (No. 146).
Nrip Sambhu (No. 147).
Nīl Kaṅṭh (No. 148).
Par'tāp (No. 149).
Srīpatī (No. 150).
Sib Nāth (No. 152).
Maṅḍan (No. 154).
Ratan (No. 155).
Mur'lī (No. 156).
Srī Dhar (No. 157).
Kālidās (No. 159).
Kabirāj (No. 160).
Sēnāpatī (No. 165).
Ṭhākura (No. 173).
Kāsī Rām (No. 175).
Iswar (No. 177).
'Ālam (No. 181).
Par'sād (No. 183).
Niwāj (? Nos. 198, 448).
Hari Kēs (No. 203).
Srī Gōbind (No. 211).
Mōtī Rām (No. 216).
Par'mēs (? Nos. 222, 616).
Abhimanya (No. 229).
Ghāsī Rām (No. 230).

Sēkh (No. 236).
Ballabh (No. 239).
Bēnī (? Nos. 247, 484).
Hari Jan (No. 249).
Rām Jū (? No. 252).
Bhū Dhar (? Nos. 256, 336).
Sirōmanī (No. 262).
Bal Dēb (? Nos. 263, 359).
Tōkh (No. 265).
Mukund (No. 266).
Rūp Nārāyan (No. 268).
Bhar'mī (No. 273).
Kul'patī (No. 282).
Sūratī (No. 326).
Kripā Rām (? Nos. 328, 797).
Bhag'want (No. 333).
Uday Nāth (No. 334).
Kabīndra' (No. 334).
Giri Dhar Dās (No. 345).
Ghan Ānand (No. 347).
Dūlah (No. 358).
Dās (? No. 369).
Kishōr (No. 385).
Tārā (No. 419).
Pūkhī (No. 442).
Bōdhā (No. 449).
Krish'n Lāl (No. 456).
Mak'rand (No. 457).
Dhīr (No. 461).
Bhañjan (No. 468).
Santan (No. 472).
Singh (? No. 474).
Datt' (No. 475).
Mani Rām (No. 477).
Sangam (No. 480).
Ūdhō (No. 495).
Padmākar (No. 506).
Paj'nēs (No. 510).
Nawal (No. 526).
Hir'dēs (No. 547).

Raghu Nāth (No. 559).
Dēb (No. 569).
Sar'dār (No. 571).
Sib Datt' (No. 588).
Giri Dhārī (No. 625).
Chāin Rāy (No. 627).
Deokī Nandan (No. 630).
Gur Datt' (No. 631).
Dinēs (No. 633).
Gulāl (No. 657).
Bali Rām (No. 768).
Dhurandhar (No. 782).
Nāyak (No. 783).
Mahārāi (No. 793).
Rikhi Nāth (No. 794).
Dayā Dēb (No. 836).
Dēbī Singh (No. 843).
Nabī (No. 848).
Nāth (cf. No. 850).
Man'sā Rām (No. 885).

Mīran (No. 892).
Rajjab (No. 898).
Ramāpatī (No. 900).
Sasi Nāth (No. 931).
Sib Rāj (No. 932).
Hari Lāl (No. 946).
Hēm (No. 950).
Bhīm (?).
Chhatt' (?).
Dēban (?).
Dhanēs (?).
Dhar'm (?).
Mak'sūdan (?).
Man Rāj (?).
Mithilēs (?).
Rati Nāth (?).
Sāḥab Rām (?).
Samādhān (?).
Tulā Rām (?).

572. नारायण राय, the bard *Nārāyaṇ Rāy*, of *Banāras*.
 Alive in 1883.

He was a pupil of the poet *Sar'dār* (No. 571). He wrote a metrical commentary on the *Bhākhā Bhūkhan* (No. 377) and a gloss on the *Kabi-priyā* (No. 134). He is also author of a number of erotic verses.

573. गनेस कवि, the poet and bard *Ganēs*, of *Banāras*.
 Alive in 1883.

He attended the court of Mahārāj *Īswarī Nārāyaṇ Singh*. He was a friend of *Thākur Pār'sad* (No. 570), the author of the *Ras Chandrōday*.

574. बन्सी धर कवि, the poet *Bansī Dhar*, of *Banāras*.
 B. 1844 A.D.

He was son of the bard *Ganēs* (No. 573), who was alive in 1883. He is author of a work on composition entitled *Sāhitya Bansīdhar*, and of a translation of the *Rājanīti* of *Chāṇakya*

entitled *Bhākhā Rāj'nīti* (? Rāg. Cf. Nos. 840 and 919). He is also the author of two works on morals, entitled *Bidur Prajāgar* and *Mitra Manōhar*. He is possibly the same as a *Bansī Dhar* and as a *Bansī Dhar Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh, both without date.

575. हरि जन कवि, the poet *Hari Jan*, of *Lalit'pur*. B. (? Fl.) 1851.

He wrote a commentary to the *Rasik-priyā* (No. 134) under the name of Mahārāj *Īswarī Nārāyan Singh*, of *Banāras*. He was father of the poet *Sar'dār* (No. 571).

576. बन्दन पाठक, *Bandan Pāṭhak*, of *Banāras*. Alive in 1883.

He wrote one of the best existing commentaries on the *Rāmāyan* of *Tul'sī Dās* (No. 128), at the suggestion of Mahārāj *Īswarī Nārāyan Singh*, of *Banāras*. It is entitled *Mānas Saṅkābalī*.

577. जानकी परसाद कवि, the poet *Jānakī Par'sād*, of *Banāras*. Fl. 1814 A.D.

In 1814 A.D. he wrote a commentary on the *Rām-chandrikā* of *Kēsab Dās* (No. 134). He also wrote a work entitled the *Jukti Rāmāyan*, on which the poet *Dhanī Rām* (No. 578) wrote a commentary. Either he or the other *Jānakī Par'sād* (No. 695) may possibly be the same as a third poet of the same name mentioned by Sib Singh without date.

578. धनी राम कवि, the poet *Dhanī Rām*, of *Banāras*. B. 1831 A.D.

At the request of *Bābū Deokī Nandan*, brother of the Mahārāj of *Banāras*, he translated the *Bhāṣā Prakāṣa* from Sanskrit into the vernacular, and wrote a commentary to the *Rām-chandrikā* of *Kēsab Dās* (No. 134). He also wrote a commentary to the *Jukti Rāmāyan* of the poet *Jānakī Par'sād* (No. 577).

579. सेबक कवि, the poet and bard *Sēbak*, of *Banāras*. Alive in 1883 A.D.

Sun. An erotic poet, who attended the court of Bābū *Deoki Nandan*, brother of the Mahārāj of *Banāras*. Possibly the same as No. 677.

580. गोपाल चन्द्र साहू, *Gōpāl Chandr' Sāhū*, alias *Giri Dhar Banār'sī*, alias *Giri Dhar Dās*. B. 1832 A.D.

Sun. He was son of *Kālī Harakh Chandr'* and father of the famous poet *Harishchandr'* (No. 581), of *Banāras*. His principal works are the *Dasābatār* and the *Bhāratī Bhūkhan*. The last is a commentary on the *Bhākhā Bhūkhan* (No. 377). *Harishchandr'* only died in the year 1885. Cf. *Garcin de Tassy*, i, 191.

581. हरिश्चन्द्र, Bābū *Harishchandr'*, of *Banāras*. Born 9th September 1850.

Sun. The most celebrated of the native poets of the present day. He has done more for the popularisation of vernacular literature than almost any living Indian. He himself was a prolific author in many styles, and he excelled in all. He conducted for many years an excellent vernacular magazine entitled the *Harishchandrikā*. He was son of *Gōpāl Chandr' Sāhū* alias *Giri Dhar Banār'sī* (No. 580), who was a prolific author, but who died at the early age of 27, in the year 1859, leaving *Harishchandra* an orphan only 9 years old. The boy was educated at Queen's College, *Banāras*, and commenced to write at an early age. In the year 1880, so greatly had his fame extended that he was given the title of *Bhāratēndu*, or Moon of India, by the unanimous consent of all the editors of the vernacular papers of India. He died in the year 1885, universally regretted, being by general consent one who was 'ajāta-ṣatru.' He is best known (see also No. 706) for the *Sundarī Tilak* (quoted in this work as 'Sun. '), published in 1869 (Sam. 1926), which is an anthology of poems in the *Sawāyā* metre from the works of 69 poets. This work is by some said to have been compiled under his instructions by *Purukhōttam Sukal*, and has been frequently printed. One of his latest works was a series of excellent lives of great men, European and Indian, entitled *Prasiddh Mahātmāō kā Jīban Charitr'*. He was certainly the best critic which Northern India has as yet produced. A short account of his life is given in the *Chandrāst* of *Byās Rām Shaṅkar Sharmā*, printed at the *Hari Par'kās* Press in *Banāras* in 1885,

after the poet's death. Also at the end of *Harishchandr's Kāsh-mīr Kusum* (or history of Kāshmir)¹ there is a short account of the author, and a list of about a hundred works by him. One work, not mentioned in this list, is a play entitled *Kāshī kā Chhayā-chittra*, in which there are several examples of the peculiar slang of Banāras. Another very popular work of his is the *Kabi Bachan Sudhā*, which is a collection of poems dealing with the rainy season. A complete collection of this author's works is now in course of publication by Bābū Rām Dīn Singh, of the Khadga Bilās Press, Ban̄kīpur, under the title of the *Harishchandra Kalā*.

The following is a list of the poets quoted in the *Sundarī Tilak* :—

<i>Ajabēs</i> (Nos. 24, 530).	<i>Kālikā</i> (No. 780).
<i>Ālam</i> (No. 181).	<i>Kishōr</i> (No. 385).
<i>Alīman</i> (No. 784).	<i>Lāl</i> (No. 561).
<i>Anant</i> (No. 250).	<i>Mahā</i> (No. 403).
<i>Bal Dēb</i> (No. 263).	<i>Mah'rāj</i> (No. 793).
<i>Bēnī</i> (Nos. 247, 484, 671).	<i>Mak'rand</i> (No. 457).
<i>Bēnī Par'bīn</i> (No. 608).	<i>Maṇḍan</i> (No. 154).
<i>Bhag'want</i> (No. 333).	<i>Mani Dēb</i> (No. 566).
<i>Bōdhā</i> (No. 449).	<i>Mannā Lāl</i> <i>alias</i> <i>Dwij</i> (the
<i>Brahm</i> (No. 106).	<i>Sundarī Tilak Nāmābālī</i>
<i>Chand</i> (No. 6 or ? No. 93).	gives <i>Munnā Lāl</i>) (No. 583).
<i>Chhitipāl</i> (No. 332).	<i>Mān Singh</i> <i>alias</i> <i>Dwij Dēb</i>
<i>Dās</i> (No. 369).	(No. 599).
<i>Dayā Nidhī</i> (? Nos. 365, 787).	<i>Mati Rām</i> (No. 146).
<i>Dēb</i> (No. 569).	<i>Mubārak</i> (No. 94).
<i>Deokī Nandan</i> (No. 630).	<i>Mur'lī Dhar</i> (No. 156).
<i>Gang</i> (No. 119).	<i>Nabīn</i> (No. 790).
<i>Ghan Ānand</i> (No. 347).	<i>Nab Nidhī</i> (No. 789).
<i>Ghan Syām</i> (No. 92).	<i>Najīb Khān</i> <i>alias</i> <i>Rasiyā</i> (No.
<i>Gōkul Nāth</i> (No. 564).	788).
<i>Gopāl Chandr' alias Giri Dhar</i>	<i>Narēndra Singh</i> (No. 690).
<i>Banār'sī</i> (No. 580).	<i>Narēs</i> (No. 791).
<i>Gwāl</i> (No. 507).	<i>Nāth</i> (? Nos. 68, 147, 162, 440,
<i>Hanumān</i> (No. 796).	632, 850).
<i>Hari Kēs</i> (No. 203).	<i>Nawāz</i> (No. 198).
<i>Harishchandra</i> (No. 581).	<i>Nrip Sambhu</i> (No. 147).
<i>Kabirāj</i> (No. 661).	<i>Padmākar</i> (No. 506).

¹ Banāras. Mallika Chandra & Co. 1884.

Pāras (No. 792).
Par'mēs (? Nos. 222, 616).
Prēm (No. 351).
Raghu Nāth of *Jōdh'pur*
 (No. 193).
Raghu Rāj (No. 532).
Rām Nāth (No. 785).
Ras Khān (No. 67).
Rikhi Nāth (No. 794).
Sambhu (? No. 147).
Sar'dār (No. 571).

Sēbak (Nos. 579, 677).
Sēkhar (No. 795).
Sib (No. 88).
Srī Dhar (No. 157).
Srī Patī (No. 150).
Sukh Dēb Misar (No. 160).
Sumerū Singh (No. 759).
Sundar Dās (No. 142).
Thākur (No. 173).
Tōkh (No. 265).
Tul'sī Srī Ōjhā (No. 786).

582. दीन दयाल गिरि, *Dīn Dayāl Girī*, of *Banāras*. Fl. 1855.

Besides being learned in Sanskrit, he wrote a treatise on composition (साहित्य) in the above year, entitled *Anyōkti-Kalpadrum*. He is also the author of two works, entitled *Anurāg Bāg* and *Bāg Bahār* respectively.

583. मन्ना लाल, Paṇḍit *Mannā Lāl*, of *Banāras*, alias *Dwij Kabi*. Alive in 1883.

Sun. He is possibly the same as *Mān Singh Shāk'dwīpī* (No. 599). At least both take the *nom de guerre* of *Dwij*. On the other hand, however, he is called *Munnā Lāl* in the *Sundarī Tilak Nāmābalī* of *Gōbardhan Nāth*.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER X, PART II.

584. मनियार सिङ्घ, *Maniyār Singh*, the Chhattī, of *Banāras*, B. 1804.

His best works are the *Hanumat Chhabīsī* and the *Bhākhā Sāundar'j Lah'ri*.

585. गजराज उपाध्या, *Gaj'rāj Upādhyā*, of *Banāras*. B. 1817.

He has written a prosody entitled *Brittahār*, and a *Rāmāyan*.

586. बन्स रूप कबि, the poet *Bans Rūp*, of *Banāras*. B. 1844.

A panegyrist of the Mahārāj of Banāras.

587. माधवानन्द भारती, *Mādha-bānand Bhāratī*, of *Banāras*. B. 1845 A.D.

The author of a translation of the *Çaṅkara Digvijaya* into the vernacular.

588. सिब दत्त, *Sib Datt'*, a Brāhman, of *Banāras*. B. 1854 A.D.

Sring. Possibly the same as another *Sib Datt' Kabi* mentioned by *Sib Singh* without particulars.

Part III.—Audh.

589. **सुबन्स सुकल**, *Subans Sukal*, of *Bigah'pur*, district *Unāo*. B. 1777 A.D.

Rāg., Bid. He at first attended the court of Rājā *Um'rāw Singh Bandhal'gōtī*, of *Amēthī*, district *Farukhābād*, and there translated from the Sanskrit the *Amara Kōṣa* (? Rāg. Cf. Nos. 170, 567, 761), *Rasatarangiṇī*, and *Rasamañjarī* into the vernacular. He then went to Rājā *Subbā Singh* (No. 590) of *Ōel*, and assisted him in the compilation of the *Bidwan Mōd Tarangiṇī*.

590. **सुब्बा सिङ्घ**, Rājā *Subbā Singh*, the *Chāūhān*, *alias* the poet *Srī Dhar*, of *Ōel*, district *Khīrī*. Fl. 1817 A.D.

He was author of an important work on vernacular composition entitled *Bidwan Mōd Tarangiṇī* (written 1817 A.D., and quoted in this work as 'Bid.'), which deals with the whole subject-matter of lovers, confidants, messengers, the seasons, the various styles, etc. But the most important aspect of the work is that it forms an anthology of extracts from works by the author's preceptor, *Subans Sukal* (No. 589), and forty-four other poets.

591. **धौकल सिङ्घ**, *Dhāūkal Singh*, the *Bāis*, of *Nyāwā*, district *Rāy Barēli*. B. 1803.

He wrote a number of short works, of which the best known is the *Ramal Prashna*, a report of conversations on geomancy between *Umā* and *Ḡambhu*.

592. **सहज राम**, *Sahaj Rām*, a *Baniyā* of *Pāitēpur*, district *Sītāpur*. B. 1804 A.D.

He wrote a *Rāmāyan*, which is a translation of the *Raghuvamṣa* and of the *Hanuman Nāṭaka* (? Rāg.).

593. **रिखि राम मिसर**, *Rikhi Rām Misar*, of *Paṭṭi*. B. (? Fl.) 1844 A.D.

He attended the court of *Bāl Krish'n*, *Dīwān* of *Āudh*, and was author of a work entitled *Bansī Kalpalatā*.

594. जीव नाथ, the bard *Jīb Nāth*, of *Nawal'gañj*, district *Unāo*. B. 1815 A.D.

He belonged to the family of *Bāl Krish'n*, *Dīwān* of *Āudh*. He wrote a work of merit entitled the *Basant Pachīsī*.

595. सिब सिङ्घ, *Sib Singh*, *Sēgar*, of *Kānthā*, district *Unāo*. B. 1821 A.D.

He is the author of the *Sib Singh Sarōj*, on which this work is principally founded. He also translated the *Bṛihachchhivapurāṇa* both into the vernacular and into *Ūrdū*, and the *Brahmōttarakhaṇḍa* into the vernacular. He has a great collection of Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, and vernacular manuscripts, which he delights in cataloguing. He was son of *Mahārāj-kumār Thākur Ran'jit Singh*, *Sēgar*, *Ta'alūq'dār* of *Kānthā*, and is himself an Inspector of Police.

596. मदन गोपाल सुकल, *Madan Gōpāl Sukal*, of *Phatū-hābād* (*Fatuḥābād*). B. 1819 A.D.

He attended the court of *Rājā Ar'jun Singh*, of *Balirām'pur* (district *Gōḍā*), for many years. At his suggestion he wrote two works—the *Arjun Bilās* and a simple treatise on medicine entitled *Bāidya Ratan*. *Sib Singh* mentions two other poets—(1) *Madan Gōpāl* of *Char'khārī*, in *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*, and (2) *Madan Gōpāl*, without any particulars. Neither of these are dated by him.

597. गङ्गा परन्साद, *Gaṅgā Par'sād*, commonly known as *Gaṅg Kabi*, or the poet *Gaṅg*, the *Brāhman* of *Supāulī*, district *Sitāpur*. B. 1833 A.D.

He was given the village *Supāulī* rent-free on account of his poems. His son is also a poet, and is now alive in *Tihar'nā*. *Gaṅgā Par'sād* wrote a work entitled *Dūtī Bilās*, in which the various kinds of lovers' go-betweens (*dūtī*) are described in a series of punning verses.

598. जै कबि, the poet and bard *Jāi*, of *Lakh'naū*. Fl. 1845 A.D.

He was a pensioner of Nawāb *Wājīd 'Ālī* (1847—1856), of *Lakh'-naū*. He wrote many poems in *Ūrdū* and in the vernacular. He is esteemed by all for his poems on morals (नीति), his occasional (सामयिक) pieces, his didactic poems (चेताचोनी), etc. He had many religious controversies with the Musal'māns.

599. मान सिद्ध, *Mahārāj Mān Singh*, the *Shāk'dwīpī*, *alias Dwij Dēb*, of *Āudh*. Fl. 1850.

Sun. He was skilled in Sanskrit, in the vernacular, in Persian, and in English. About the year 1850 A.D. he composed a work entitled *Sringār Latikā*, together with a commentary to it. In his latter years he gave up poetry and studied English law. He died in 1873. Amongst others, *Ṭhākur Par'sād* (No. 600), *Jagannāth* (No. 601), and *Bal Dēb Singh* (No. 602) attended his court. His poetical *nom de guerre* was *Dwij Dēb*, and he is possibly the same as *Mannā Lāl* (No. 583), who also wrote under the title *Dwij*. According to *Ṭhākur Par'sād*, he had a son named *Dar'san Singh*.

600. ठाकुर परसाद पयासी मिसर, *Ṭhākur Par'sad Payāsī Misar alias Paṇḍit Par'bīn*, of *Āudh*. Fl. 1850 A.D.

He wrote under the name of *Paṇḍit Par'bīn*. He attended the court of *Mahārāj Mān Singh* (No. 599), and lived near *Paliyā Shāh'gañj*.

601. जगन्नाथ कवि अबस्थी, the poet *Jagannāth Abasthī*, of *Sumērupur*, district *Unāo*. Alive in 1883.

He formerly attended the court of *Mahārāj Mān Singh* (No. 599), of *Āudh*. He subsequently obtained the patronage of *Mahārāj Sib Dīn Singh*, of *Al'war*. He has a great name for his knowledge of Sanskrit composition (साहित्य). He has written detached verses in the vernacular.

602. बल देव सिद्ध, *Bal Dēb Singh*, the *Chhattrī*, of *Āudh*. Fl. 850 A.D.

He attended the court of *Mahārāj Mān Singh* (No. 599), and was the teacher of *Rājā Mādhab Singh* (? No. 604) in composition (साहित्य).

603. चण्डी दत्त कवि, the poet *Chañḍī Datt'*. B. 1841 A.D. He attended the court of Mahārāj *Mān Singh* (No. 599), of *Āudh*.

604. माधव सिङ्घ, *Rājā Mādhab Singh*, of *Gōchī Amēṭhī*, district *Sul'tān'pur*. Alive in 1883.

He belongs to a family whose members have always been great patrons of learning. He is so himself. Among his ancestors may be named *Himmat Singh* (cf. Nos. 160 and 334), *Gur Dutt' Singh* (No. 332), *Um'rāw Singh* (cf. No. 589). He is author of the *Manōj Latikā*, the *Dēbī-charitr' Sarōj*, and the *Tridīp* (a vernacular translation of the *Bhar'tharī (Bhartrihari) Shatak*). He appears to be the son of *Mān Singh* (No. 599). (See No. 602.)

605. क्रिष्ण दत्त सिङ्घ, *Krish'n Datt' Singh*, the *Bisēn Rāj'put*, *Rājā* of *Bhin'gā*, district *Bahirāich*. B. 1852 A.D.

This *Rājā* was not only a skilled poet himself, but also encouraged the patronage of poets in his dominions. A member of his family was the famous *Jagat Singh* (No. 340), and the poet *Sib Dīn* (No. 606) and others less known attended his court. At the present day members of his family are great patrons of poets.

606. सिब दीन कवि, the poet *Sib Dīn*, of *Bhin'gā*, district *Bahirāich*. B. 1858 A.D.

He attended the court of *Rājā Krish'n Datt' Singh*, of *Bhin'gā*, and in his name wrote a work on poetry entitled *Krish'n Datt' Bhūkhan*.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER X, PART III.

607. चिरञ्जीव, *Chirañjib*, the *Brāhman*, of *Bais'wārā*. B. 1813 A.D. ? *Rāg*. He is said to have translated the *Mahābhārata* into the vernacular

608. बेनी परब्वीन, *Bēnī Par'bīn*, *Bāj'pēyī* of *Lakh'naū*. B. 1819. A.D. Sun. The author of several works. His best, a treatise on lovers. (See note to No. 87.)

609. अङ्गन लाल, the bard *Angan Lāl* alias the poet *Rasāl*, of *Bil'grām*, district *Har'dōi*. B. 1823 A.D.

The author of a treatise on rhetoric entitled *Bar'wāi Alaykār*.

610. मकरन्द राय, the bard *Mak'rand Rāy*, of *Puwāwā*, district *Shāh-Jahān-pur*. B. 1823 A.D.

A descendant of *Chandan Rāy* (No. 374), and was the author of an admired work entitled *Hāsyā Ras*.

611. भौन कवि, the poet and bard *Bhāun* of *Bētī*, district *Rāy Barēli*. B. 1824 A.D.

An admired erotic poet, who was the author of a treatise on rhetoric entitled *Sringār Ratnākar*. His son, the poet *Dayāl* (No. 720), was alive in 1883.

612. बादे राय कवि, the poet and bard *Bādē Rāy*, of *Ḍal'maū*, district *Rāy Barēli*. B. 1825.

He attended the court of *Dayā Kishun*, *Dīwān* of *Lakh'naū*.

613. सङ्कर कवि त्रिपाठी, the poet *San'kar Tripāṭhī*, of *Bis'wā*, district *Sitāpur*. B. 1834 A.D.

In conjunction with his son, the poet *Sālik*, he wrote a *Rāmāyan* in *Kabitta* metres. He is possibly the same as another *San'kar* mentioned by *Sib Singh*, without date, as an erotic writer.

614. लोने सिङ्घ, *Lōnē Singh*, of *Bāchhil Titāulī*, district *Khīri*. B. 1835 A.D.

He translated the tenth book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (*Rāg*.) into the vernacular.

615. सीतल राय, the bard *Sital Rāy* of *Bāūri*, district *Bahirāich*. B. 1837.

He attended the court of *Rājā Gumān Singh*, *Jan'wār*, of *Ekāunā*, district *Bahirāich*.

616. परमेस, the bard *Par'mēs*, of *Satāwā*, district *Rāy Barēli*. B. 1839 A.D.

Sun. (? Cf. No. 222.)

617. बन्सी घर बाजपेयी, *Bansī Dhar Bāj'pēyī*, of *Chintā Khērā*, district *Rāy Barēli*. B. 1844 A.D.

A prolific author of many works. His vedantic *dōhās* are much admired.

618. भवानी परसाद पाठक, *Bhawāni Par'sād Pāṭhak* alias *Bhāwan Kabi*, of *Māūrāwā*, district *Unāo*. B. 1844 A.D.

He is the author of an admired treatise on poetry called *Kābya Sirōmani*, or *Kābya Kalpadrum*. It treats of poetry, rhetoric, lovers, go-betweens, the passions, seasons, etc.

619. महानन्द बाजपेयी, *Mahānand Bāj'pēyī*, of *Bais'wārā*. B. 1844 A.D.

Rāg. He was a votary of *Çiva* worship, and translated the *Brihachchhiva Purāṇa* into the vernacular.

620. रस रङ्ग कवि, the poet *Ras Raṅg*, of *Lakh'naū*. B. 1844 A.D.
An erotic poet.

621. सम्भु नाथ मिसर कवि, the poet *Sambhu Nāth Misar*, of *Bais'wārā*. B. 1844 A.D.

He attended the court of *Rānā Jadu Nāth Singh*, *Bāis*, of *Khajūr'gāw*. While still young he wrote a history entitled *Bāis Bansābali*, and translation of the fourth chapter of the *Çiva Purāṇa*.

622. अजोध्या परसाद सुकल, *Ajodhyā Par'sād Sukal*, of *Golā Gokaranāth*, district *Khīri*. B. 1845 A.D.

Not a poet of high rank, but a voluminous writer. He wrote under the name of *Jōdhi*. He was much esteemed in the court of a *Rājā Būr*.

623. मिही लाल, the bard *Mihī Lāl alias Malind*, of *Ḍal'maū*, district *Rāy Barēli*. B. 1845 A.D.

Cf. No. 512. He praised one *Bhūpāl Singh*.

624. राम नाथ परन्धान, *Rām Nāth Par'dhān*, of *Āudh*. B. 1845 A.D.

The author of the *Rām Kalēwā* and other books.

625. गिरि धारी, *Giri Dhārī* the Brāhman, a Bais'wārā of *Satan'pur*. B. 1847 A.D.

Sring. His poems either deal with *Kṛiṣṇa's* sports or are in the quietistic style. He was not a learned poet, but wrote elegantly.

626. हिमाचल राम कबि, the poet *Himāchal Rām*, a Brāhman of *Bhaṭāuli*, district *Fāizābād*. B. 1847 A.D.

A simple writer.

627. चैन सिद्ध, *Chāin Singh alias Har Charan*, the *Khattri*, of *Lakh'naū*. B. 1853 A.D.

Sring. He has written the *Bhārat Dipikā* and the *Sringār Sārāballi*. He is possibly the same as another *Chāin Kabi* mentioned by *Sib Singh*.

Part IV.—Miscellaneous.

628. जै चन्द, *Jāi Chand*, of *Jāipur*. Fl. 1806.

Author of a Sanskrit and vernacular work dealing with the doctrines of the Jāin community, written in *Sambat 1863* (1806 A.D.), and entitled *Swāmi Kārttikēyānuprēkṣa*.

629. लल्लु जी लाल, *Lallū Jī 'Lāl* of *Guj'rāt*, *Āg'rāwalā*. Fl. 1803 A.D.

The well-known author of—

(1) The *Prēm Sāgār* (Rāg.), which was written in the above year under the Marquis of Wellesley's Government, and under Dr. John Gilchrist's direction. In the preface he says it is a translation into Hindī from the Braj *Bhākhā* version of the 10th book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The Braj version was by *Chatur'bhuḡ Misar* (? No. 40). The *Prēm Sāgār* was not printed till 1809, in Lord Minto's Government, under the direction of Mr. Abraham Lockitt. It has frequently been printed since, the best edition being *Eastwick's* (Hertford, 1851), which has an excellent vocabulary.

(2) The *Laṭāif-i-Hindī*, a collection of 100 stories in *Ūrdū*, Hindī, and Braj *Bhākhā*. According to *Garcin de Tassy* (i, 306) it was printed in *Calcutta* under the title of "The new Cyclopædia Hindustanica, etc.," and *Carmichael Smith* reprinted a large portion of it in *London* under its true name.

(3) The *Rāj'nīti*, or *Bārttik Rāj'nīti*, a Braj Bhākhā translation of the *Hitōpadēṣa*. It was written in Sambat 1869 (A.D. 1812), and should be distinguished from translations of *Chāṇakya's Rājanīti*. (Cf. Nos. 574, 840, 919.)

(4) The *Sabhā Bilās* (Rāg.), a collection of poetical extracts from famous writers in the Braj Bhākhā dialect.

(5) The *Mādhav Bilās* (? Rāg.). Cf. No. 896.

(6) The *Lāl Chandrikā*, an excellent commentary on the *Sat Sat* of *Bihārī Lāl*, frequently printed. Cf., however, No. 561.

(7) The *Maṣārdir-i-Bhākhā*, a grammatical work on the Hindī language, in prose and in the Nāgarī character. Garcin de Tassy says that a copy exists in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(8) The *Siṅghāsan Battisī* (Rāg.), which was translated in 1804 by him and *Mirzā Kāzīm 'Alī* from an older Braj Bhākhā translation by *Sundar Dās* (No. 142).

(9) The *Bāitāl Pachisī* (Rāg.). Garcin de Tassy gives the following particulars concerning this work, which I have not been able to check, as in the copies now available in the bazār the preface is not printed. This work has also been translated from Sanskrit into Braj Bhākhā by *Sūrati Misar* (No. 326). Lallū translated this version into Hindūstānī, assisted by *Maz'har 'Alī Khān Wilā*; or rather, it was Wilā who was assisted by the former. Mr. James Mouat, then Professor of Hindūstānī in the College of Fort William, charged *Tāriṇī Charaṇa Mittra* with the task of looking over the work and expunging the Braj Bhākhā words not current in ordinary Hindūstānī.

I may mention, in addition to the above, that other translations of the same work, and bearing the same name, were made by *Sambhu Nāth* (No. 366) and by *Bhōlā Nāth* (No. 883).

(10) The novel of *Mādhōnal* or *Mādhavānal* (cf. No. 872), in the editing of which he was again assisted by *Maz'har 'Alī Khān Wilā* (see Garcin de Tassy, l.c.). This was translated from the work by *Mōtī Rām* (No. 216), bearing the same name. The legend of *Mādhavānala* and *Kāma Kandalā* is a very old one. There is a copy of the Sanskrit version in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, which was written as far back as Sambat 1587, or 1530 A.D. (*Rājendra Lāl Mittra, Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, ii, 137.) The story is as follows. In *Puphāvatinagarī* (the old name of *Bilharī*, in the Central Provinces) reigned *Rājā Gobind Rāo* in the Sambat year 919, or A.D. 862. He had a very handsome Brāhman attendant named *Mādhavānal*, who was specially skilful in singing and dancing, as well as an adept in

all arts and sciences, so that all the women fell in love with him. The husbands complained to the Rājā, and Mādhavānal was banished from Pūphāvātī. He retired to *Kām'vatī*, the capital of Rājā *Kām Sēn*, who was fond of music and singing, and gave the Brāhman a place in his court. This Rājā had a most beautiful woman (a *vēçya*) named *Kām Kandalā*, with whom Mādhavānal fell in love, for which he was expelled from Kām'vatī. He then went to *Ujāin*, and asked a boon from Rājā *Vikramāditya*, who was famed for granting every request that was made to him. The promise was duly made, and the Brāhman claimed to have Kām Kandalā given up to him. Vikramāditya accordingly besieged Kām'vatī and captured Kām Kandalā, who was at once made over to Mādhavānal. After some time, with Vikrama's permission, the happy pair retired to Pūphāvātī, where Mādhavānal built a palace for Kām Kandalā, the ruins of which are still shown. (See *Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.* ix, 37.)

(11) The novel of *Sakuntalā*, in the editing of which he was associated with *Kāçim 'Alī Jawan* (see Garcin de Tassy, l.c.).

In connexion with the *Prēm Sāgar*, the following note on Hindī translations of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* may be of use. *Sūr Dās* (No. 37) is said to have translated the whole, but his translation has not come down to us. According to Ward, *View, etc.*, ii, 481, *Priyā Dās* (cf. No. 319) was the author of a *Bhāgavat* in the dialect of *Bundēl'-khaṇḍ* (see Garcin de Tassy, i, 405). The last-named author (i, 121) also mentions a *Bhūpatī* (cf. No. 332), a Kāyasth, who 'was author of a *Bhāgavat* in Hindī verse entitled *Srī Bhāgavat*. There is a copy of it in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Ward quotes from it. I do not know if this copy is the same as one which exists in the British Museum, in Halhed's collection, No. 5620. The last is composed of verses of nine lines each, and is written in the Persian character. The dialect is unintelligible. There is also a *Bhāgavat* in Hindī verse in the India Office Library, entitled *Pōthī Bhāgavat*, but according to the catalogue it is only a portion of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* translated from the Sanskrit.' Mahārāj *Raghu Rāj Singh* (No. 532) of *Bandhō (Rīwā)* was author of a much-admired translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, entitled *Ānandāmbudhi*. *Kripā Rām* (No. 797) may also be mentioned as having translated the whole *Purāṇa* into *dōhās* and *chāupāis* in simple language.

The tenth book of the *Purāṇa*, dealing with Kṛiṣṇa's life, is the most popular, and has been frequently translated. The *Prēm Sāgar* is the best known version, and those of *Chatur'bhuj Misar* (? No. 40) and

Nand Dās (No. 42) may also be mentioned. The latter is known as the *Dasam Skandh*. The *Krish'n Kallōl* of the poet *Mān* (No. 372) also appears to belong to this group. Another translation is by *Lōnē Singh* (No. 614). Garcin de Tassy (i, 121) says a work entitled *Pōthī Dasam Iskandh* is mentioned in the catalogue of the Library belonging to a person named *Farzāda Qulī*, a copy of which is in the Fort William College Library. 'In the same Library there is a third copy, entitled *Srī Bhāgawat Dasam Iskandh*; and a fourth, in *Bhākhā*, exists in the India Office Library under the same title' According to the same author (i, 404), *Prēm Kēswar Dās* (No. 859) translated the twelfth book of the *Purāṇa*, a copy of the work being in the India Office Library. A commentary on this *Purāṇa* was written by *Balibhadra* (No. 135).

630. देओकी नन्दन सुकल, *Deokī Nandan Sukal*, of *Mak'rand'pur*, district *Kānh'pur*. B. 1813 A.D.

Sun., Sring. He was brother of *Gur Datt' Sukal* (No. 631) and of *Sib Nāth* (No. 632). The first is author of the *Pachchhī Bilās*, and *Deokī* of a *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87) and of a number of short poems, of which two or three hundred are extant. None of *Sib Nāth's* poems have as yet been identified.

631. गुर दत्त सुकल, *Gur Datt' Sukal*, of *Mak'rand'pur*, district *Kānh'pur*. B. 1807.

Sring. He was brother of *Deokī Nandan* (No. 630) and *Sib Nāth* (No. 632). All three were good poets. His principal work was the *Pachchhī Bilās*.

632. सिब नाथ सुकल, *Sib Nāth Sukal alias Sambhōg Nāth*, of *Mak'rand'pur*, district *Kānh'pur*. B. 1813 A.D.

? Sun. He was brother of *Gur Datt'* (No. 631) and *Deokī Nandan* (No. 630), and was an admired poet. It is difficult to identify his poems owing to his habit of signing himself simply *Nāth*.

633. दिनेस कवि, the poet *Dinēs*, of *Ṭikārī*, in district *Gayā*. Fl. 1807.

Sring. In the above year he wrote a well-known and much-admired *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87), entitled *Ras Rahasya*. (Printed by *Rām Dīn Singh*, Khadga Bilās Press, *Bāṅkipur*.)

634. बखन्तावर, *Bakh'tāwar*, of *Hāth'ras*, district *Alīgarh*. Fl. 1817 A.D.

A religious mendicant, author of an atheistical work in Hindī verse, entitled *Sūnīsār*, the essence of emptiness, the purport of which is to show that all notions of man and God are fallacies, and that nothing is. His patron was *Dayā Rām*, Rājā of *Hāth'ras*, when that fortress was destroyed by the Marquis of Hastings. See Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, i, 360, and Garcin de Tassy, i, 102.

635. दलपति राय, *Dal'patī Rāy*, of *Am'dābād*. B. (? Fl.) 1828 A.D.

In conjunction with another Brāhman named *Bansī Dhar Srī Mālī* (No. 636) he wrote an excellent commentary on the *Bhākhā Bhūkhan* (No. 377).

636. बन्सी धर स्त्री माली, *Bansī Dhar Srī Mālī*, of *Am'dābād*. B. (? Fl.) 1828 A.D.

In conjunction with another Brāhman named *Dal'patī Rāy* (No. 635) he wrote an excellent commentary on the *Bhākhā Bhūkhan* (No. 376).

637. गुर दीन पाँडे कवि, the poet *Gur Dīn Pāṅṛē*. B. (? Fl.) 1834 A.D.

He wrote an important work, entitled the *Bāk Manōhar Piṅgal* (written 1803 A.D.), which treats not only of prosody, but of rhetoric, the six seasons, *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87), and composition.

638. क्रिष्णानन्द व्यास देव, *Krish'nānand Byās Dēb*. Fl. 1842 A.D.

He is best known for his *Rāg-Sāgarōdbhab Rāg-Kalpadrum* (quoted in this work as 'Rāg.'), which is an anthology of selections from the works of more than two hundred poets who were followers of Kriṣṇa.

It was finished in Sambat 1900 (A.D. 1843),¹ and was written in emulation of Rājā Sir *Rādhākānta Dēb's* well-known Sanskrit Encyclopædia entitled the *Çabda-Kalpadruma*. Some years ago this work, which was printed in Calcutta, sold for a hundred rupees a copy, but it is now out of print.

Dr. Rājendra Lāl Mittra, who as a boy was personally acquainted with him, gives me the following information regarding this author:— ‘The book was in three volumes. The author, I remember, told me that he would make his work extend to seven volumes, the same as Rājā *Rādhākānta Dēb's Çabda-Kalpadruma*, but I do not think he had materials ready at hand for the purpose. He carried about with him a huge bundle of MS. notes, but I never had an opportunity to examine them, and I was too young then to care for them. The author was a Brāhman, and his great pretension was that he could sing in three octaves, the ordinary compass of the human voice being two and a half octaves. He pretended also that he could sing in all the *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* with absolute accuracy, and without ever mixing up the latter; but I never studied music myself, and in my youth cared nothing about it, so I never could get any proof of the man's pretensions. He was always singing, but was not a professional musician, that is, he never let himself out on hire. He received presents from the rich people of the town frequently, but never accepted anything as wages or remuneration for singing.’

It would be a work of too great labour to collect the names of all the poets whose works are quoted in this great work. The author, however, in his preface gives a list of all the poets with whom, and all the works (Hindī, Kar'nāṭī, Marāṭhī, Telugu, Gujrātī, Baṅgālī, Uṛiyā, English, Arabic, Peguan (sic), Persian, and Sanskrit) with which he is acquainted. From this preface the names of the following Hindī authors and works are abstracted. Several I have been unable to identify, and especially several works mentioned herein are not referred to elsewhere in this book:—

A.—HINDŪSTĀNĪ AUTHORS.

<i>Chand</i> (No. 6).	<i>Bidyāpatī</i> (No. 17).
<i>Pirthwī Rāj</i> (cf. Nos. 6, 73).	<i>Mirā Bāī</i> (No. 20).
<i>Rāmānand</i> (No. 10).	Rājā <i>Karan</i> (? No. 21).
<i>Kabīr</i> (No. 13).	<i>Nānak</i> (No. 22).
<i>Kamāl</i> (No. 16).	<i>Nām Dēb</i> (cf. No. 22).

¹ The first chapter is dated 19th March 1842; the second chapter, 1843.

Charan Dās (No. 23).
Gadādhār Misar (No. 25).
Mādhav Dās (No. 26).
Bhag'wān Dās (No. 29).
Ballabhāchār'j (No. 34).
Madh'wāchār'j (cf. No. 34).
Krish'n Dās (No. 36).
Sūr Dās (No. 37).
Par'mānand Dās (No. 38).
Kumbhan Dās (No. 39).
Chatur'bhuḡ Dās (No. 40).
Chhīt Swāmī (No. 41).
Nand Dās (No. 42).
Gōbind Dās (No. 43).
Agr' Dās (No. 44).
Kēwal Rām (No. 45).
Kalyān Dās (No. 48).
Kānhar Dās (No. 52).
Srī Bhaṭṭ (No. 53).
Byās Swāmī (No. 54).
Nīmāditya (cf. No. 54).
Hit Haribans (No. 56).
Dhrub Dās (No. 58).
Harī Dās (No. 59).
Tān Sēn (No. 60).
Abhay Rām (No. 64).
Chatur Bihārī (No. 65).
Mānik Chand (No. 78).
Ūdhō Dās (Nos. 79, 495).
Dāmōdar Dās (No. 84).
Chand Sakhī (No. 93).
Nāgarī Dās (? No. 95).
Rām Dās (No. 112).
Nar'harī Dās (? No. 113).
 The Holy Master (*Tul'sī Dās*)
 (No. 128).
Braj Nidhī (? No. 131).
Dhīraj (? No. 136).
Bhūkhan (No. 145).
Mati Rām (No. 146.)

The Holy Master *Purukhōttam*
 (No. 200).
Bihārī (No. 226).
Ballabh Dās (? No. 239).
Malūk Dās (No. 243).
Madan Mōhan (No. 253).
Kul'patī Misar (No. 282).
Gopāl Dās (No. 297).
Jugul Dās (No. 313).
Braj Jīban Dās (? No. 315).
Syām Dās (No. 316).
Giri Dhar (No. 345).
Ānand Ghān (No. 347).
Man Bhāwan (No. 375).
Rasik Bihārī (No. 405).
Rām Par'sād (No. 444).
Padmākar (No. 506).
Gadā Dhar Bhaṭṭ (No. 512).
Bikram (No. 514).
Rājā Biswanāth Singh (No. 529).
Gōkul Nāth (No. 564).
Rām Sahāy (No. 568).
Jānakī Dās (No. 577).
Mannū Lāl (Nos. 583, 599).
Subans (No. 589).
Jagannāth (? No. 601, 764).
Chir Jū (? No. 607).
Mahānand (No. 619).
Gyān Dās (? No. 651).
Brindāban Jīban (? No. 722).
Lachhirām (? No. 723).
Lōk Nāth (No. 753).
Jug Rāj Dās (? No. 765).
Dhōdhē (No. 766).
Bali Rām Dās (? No. 768).
Bish'n Dās (No. 769).
Lachchhan Dās (? No. 775).
Baksū (? No. 861).
 The Holy Master *Brajādhīs*
 (? No. 878).

Hit Ānand (? No. 947).
Āsu Tōkh.
Bāijū Bāwarē.
Bhar'tharī.
Dayā Sakhī.
Dēb 'Ālam.
 The Holy Master *Giri Dhar.*
Gōpāl Nāyak.
Jitaū.
Kālī Mir'jā.
Kam'lākar (? *Padmākar,*
 No. 506).
Kar'tāliyā.
Karunā Nidhān.
Krish'n Jīban.
Mōhan Dās.
Nar'sī Mah'tā.
Nar'singh Dayāl.
Nasī Rām.

Nīl Manī.
Nīl Ratan.
Raghu Mahāsay.
Rām Gulām.
Rām Jas.
Raṅgīlā Pritam.
Raṅgīlī Sakhī.
Rasik Gōbind.
Rasik Rāy.
Rāy Mōhan.
Rūp Sanātan.
Sah'jō Bāī.
Sāmā Sakhī.
Sāudā.
Sāwarī Sakhī.
Sib Chandr'.
Sōnā Dāsī.
Syām Sundar.
Ṭhaṇḍī Dās.

B.—HINDŪSTĀNĪ WORKS.¹

Prithī Rāj Rāy'sā (No. 6).
 The *Bījak of Kabīr* (No. 13).
 The *Granth* of the Sikhs
 (No. 22).
Padminī Kathā (? No. 31).
Padmāwat (No. 31).
Sudāmā Charitr' (No. 33).
 The twelve books of the *Bhāga-*
vata Purāṇa (Nos. 37, 40,
 532, 614, 629, 797, 859).
Sūr Sāgar (No. 37).
Rukminī Maṅgal (No. 42).
Rās Pañchādhyāyī (? No. 42).
Bhakt Mālā (No. 51).
Saṅgīt Sār of *Tān Sēn* (No. 60).
Rāmāyan of *Tul'sī Dās* (No. 128).
Gītābalī (No. 128).

Kabitta Rāmāyan (No. 128).
Dōhābalī (No. 128).
Rām Sat Saī (No. 128).
Pañch Ratan (No. 128).
Bar'wē Rāmāyan (No. 128).
Binay Pattrikā (No. 128).
Hanumān Bāhuk (No. 128).
Rām Salākā (No. 128).
Srī Krish'nābalī (No. 128).
Kabi-priyā (No. 134).
Rasik-priyā (No. 134).
Rām-chandrikā (No. 134).
Ashta-jām (No. 140 ; cf.
 No. 694).
Bhākhā Piṅgal (No. 141).
Singhāsan Battisī (Nos. 142,
 629).

¹ I would draw the attention of scholars to the huge list of Sanskrit works mentioned in the preface of this valuable work.

Bhākhā Amar Kōs (Nos. 170, 567, 589, 761).
 The *Shāirs* of *Nazīr* (No. 171).
Bihārī Sat Sai (No. 196).
Chhattra Par'kās (No. 202).
Khaṭ Ritu (by many poets) (Nos. 210, 479, 648).
Sib Swarōday (? No. 309).
Saras Ras (No. 326).
Bāitāl Pachīsī (Nos. 326, 366, 629, 883).
Kōk Sār (No. 347).
Rasārnab (No. 356).
Prabōdh Chandrōday (the play) (No. 369).
Braj Bilas (No. 369).
Bhākhā Bhūkhan (No. 377).
Sālihōtr' (Nos. 365, 376, 469, 657, 854, 949).
Rāg Mālā (Nos. 400, 904).
Anēkārth and *Nām Mālā* (No. 433).
Jagat Binōd (No. 506).
Ānand Ras (Nos. 561, 668).
 The *Mahābhārata* in *Braj Bhākhā* (No. 564, etc.).
Rāj Nīti (Nos. 574, 629, 840, 919).
 The *Shāirs* of *Mannū Lāl* (Nos. 583, 599).
Hanumān Nāṭak (No. ? 592).
Prēm Sāgar (No. 629).
Sabhā Bilās (No. 629).
Hitōpadēs (No. 629).
Mādhō Bilās (Nos. 629, 896).
Rāg-Sāgarōdbhab Rāg-Kalpadrūm (No. 638).
Lilāvati (translation) (No. 912).
Ābhās Rāmāyan (?).
Ab'tār Charitr'.

Awadh Bilās.
Bāidyā Manōtsab.
 The *Bhagavad Gītā* (translation).
Bēdararī Kathā.
Bhākhā Bāidak.
Bhākhā Chhand.
Bhākhā Indrajāl.
Bhākhā Kāyadā.
Bhākhā Kōkh.
Bhākhā Sābar.
Bhūgōl Brittānt.
Bidyābhyās kā phal.
Bikh Parīchhā.
Braj Jātrā.
Brindāban Sāt.
Chār Dar'wēsh.
Ḍāktarī (doctery, *i.e.* the art of medicine !!).
Dayā Bilās.
Dhyān Mañjarī.
Ganitāṅk.
Gar'bhābalī Rāmāyan.
 The *Ghazals* of *Sāudā*.
Gōpī Chand Gān.
Gōrakh Machhēndr' Samāj.
Gyān Upadēs.
 The *Hār Mālā* of *Nar'sī*.
Hātam Tāī.
Hīrā Rāñjhā.
Kāsī Khaṇḍ.
Kāūtuk Ratnābalī.
Krish'n Gītābalī.
Lūnā Chamārī kā Mantr'.
Mān Mañjarī.
Manōrañjan Itihās.
Nāin Sukh.
Nīti Kathā.
Phar'mākōpiyā (!!).
Rājā Bhar'tharī Gān.

Rām Binōd.

Rām Charan Chinh.

Ras Rāj.

Rōgāntak Sār.

Sāmudrikā (translation).

Saṅgīta Darpaṇa (translation).

Saṅgīta Ratnākara (translation).

Saṅgīt Pachīsī.

Sarpādi Jantun kī Pōthī.

Sisu Bōdh.

Slōkābalī Rāmāyan (? by *Tul'sī Dās*).

Snēh Sāgar.

Strī Sicchhā Bidhāyak.

Sugā Bahattarī.

Up'dēs Kathā.

639. **राम परसाद**, *Rām Par'sād*, the *Agar'wālā*, of *Mirāpur*. B. (? Fl.) 1844 A.D.

Rāg. Father of *Tul'sī Rām* (No. 640) and author of some quietistic poems (cf. No. 444). Garcin de Tassy (i, 420) mentions an author of this name who wrote a Vaishnava work entitled *Dharmatattwasār*. It was written at *Ahmadābād*.

640. **तुलसी राम**, *Tul'sī Rām*, the *Agar'wālā*, of *Mirāpur*. Fl. 1854.

In the above year he translated the *Bhakt Mālā* of *Nābhā Dās* (No. 51) into *Ūrdū*. He was son of No. 639.

641. **भानु नाथ झा**, *Bhānu Nāth Jhā*. Fl. 1850 A.D.

He attended the court of *Mahārāj Mahēswar' Singh*, of *Dar'bhāṅgā*. He wrote in *Maithilī*. See *J. A. S. B.*, vol. liii, p. 86. His best known work is a play in *Sanskrit*, *Prākṛit*, and *Maithilī*, entitled *Prabhāvati Harāṇa*.

642. **हरख नाथ झा**, *Har'kh Nāth Jhā*, the *Sōtī Brāhman*, of *Dar'bhāṅgā*. B. 1847 A.D.

A *Maithil* poet of the first rank, who is chief *Paṇḍit* at the court of the *Mahārāj* of *Dar'bhāṅgā*. He is the author of numerous *Maithilī* songs and of more than one play (*Prabandha*) in mixed *Sanskrit*, *Prākṛit*, and *Maithilī*. The best known of the last is the *Uṣā Harāṇa*. See *J. A. S. B.*, vol. liii, p. 92.

He is also author of several *Sanskrit* works. He was a pupil of *Mōd Nāth Jhā* and *Gōpāl Thākur*, and afterward studied at *Banāras College*. He was born at *Ujāin*, in the *Dar'bhāṅgā* district.

643. **सिब परकास सिद्ध**, *Bābū Sib Par'kās Singh*, of *Dum'rāw*, district *Shāhābād*. B. 1844 A.D.

The author of a commentary on the *Binay Pattrikā* of *Tul'sī Dās* (No. 128), entitled *Rām Tattwa Bōdhanī*.

644. **कामन्ता परसाद**, *Kām'tā Par'sād*, the *Asōthar*, of *Lakh'purā*, district *Fatih'pur*. B. 1854 A.D.

Ras. He belonged to the family of *Bhag'want Rāy*, the *Khīchī*, of *Asōthar* (No. 333), and is said to have been learned in the study of composition (साहित्य). He wrote in Sanskrit, in Prākṛit, in the vernacular, and in Persian. Sib Singh in his *Sarōj* (p. 57) gives a specimen of his powers, which consists of a verse of four lines—the first in Sanskrit, the second in Prākṛit, the third in vernacular, and the fourth in Persian. Sib Singh mentions a good *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87) by a poet of this name, who is probably the same person.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER X, PART IV.

645. **भूप नारायण**, the bard *Bhūp Nārāyan*, of *Kākūpur*, district *Kānh'pur*. B. 1801 A.D.

He wrote a metrical genealogy of the *Chandēlā Chhattṛī* kings of *Sib'rāj'pur*.

646. **दुरंगा कवि**, the poet *Dur'gā*. B. 1803 A.D.

647. **चूड़ामनि कवि**, the poet *Chūrāmanī*. B. 1804 A.D.

A poet who praised in his works two patrons, named *Gumān Singh* and *Ajit Singh*.

648. **आजम कवि**, the poet *Ājam* (*A'zam*). B. 1809 A.D.

This Musalmān was a friend of other good poets, and himself composed poems. His best works are a *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87) and the *Khaṭ Ritu* (Rāg.) (or description of the six seasons).

649. **मेधा कवि**, the poet *Mēdhā*. Fl. 1810 A.D.

The author of a work entitled *Chittrabhūkhan*, written in the above year.

650. **कमलेस कवि**, the poet *Kam'lēs*. B. 1813 A.D.

Has written an excellent work on lovers. (See note to No. 87.)

651. **ग्यान चन्द्र जती**, *Gyān Chandr' Jati*, of *Rāj'putānā*. B. 1813 A.D.

? Rāg. He was Colonel Tod's preceptor.

652. **सम्पति कवि**, the poet *Sampatī*. B. 1813 A.D.

653. **भोज कवि**, the poet *Bhōj* the elder. B. 1815 A.D.

654. **रिखि जू कवि**, the poet *Rikhi Jū*. B. 1815 A.D.

An erotic poet.

655. अखुज कवि, the poet *Ambuj*. B. 1818 A.D.

His poems on morals and his *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87) are said to possess taste.

656. कबिराय कवि, the poet *Kabirāy*. B. 1818 A.D.

He has written some ingenious verses on morals (नीति) ।

657. गुलाल कवि, the poet *Gulāl* B. 1818 A.D.

Sring. His principal work is a *Sālihōtr'* (Rāg.), a treatise on veterinary surgery.

658. दीना नाथ अध्वर्यु, *Dinā Nāth Adhwarya*, of *Mōhār*, district *Fatih'pur*. B. 1819 A.D.

He wrote a vernacular commentary to the *Brahmōttara Khaṇḍa*.

659. बेनी परगट, *Bēnī Par'gaṭ*, a Brāhman, of *Nar'wal*. B. 1823 A.D.

660. Anonymous.

A rājā of *Uniyārā*. Fl. 1823 A.D.

Sib Singh states that he is the author of very excellent commentaries to the *Bhākhā Bhūkhan* (No. 376) and the *Nakh'sikh* of *Balibhadr'* (No. 135), and that the name of the author is missing in his copies. *Uniyārā* is a division of *Jāipūr*.

661. कबिराज कवि, the poet and bard *Kabirāj*. B. 1824 A.D.

Sun. A mediocre poet. Not to be confounded with *Sukh Dēb Misar* of *Kampilā* (No. 160), who sometimes describes himself as a *kabirāj* or poet-laureate.

662. भोग जी कवि, the poet and bard *Mōg Jī*, of *Rāj'putānā*. Fl. 1829 A.D.

The author of a genealogy and history of the kings of the *Khīchī*

branch of the *Chāuhāns*.—See Tod's *Rājāsthān*, i, 81, and ii, 454; Calc. ed. i, 87, and ii, 499.

Sib Singh calls him *Mūk Jī*.

663. गुर दत्त कवि, the poet *Gur Datt'* the elder. B. 1830 A.D.

He attended the court of *Sib Singh Sawāī*, son of *Jāī Singh*. I do not know who these princes were.

664. हठी कवि, the poet *Haṭhī*, of *Braj*. B. 1830 A.D.

The author of a work entitled *Rādhā Satak*.

665. टेर कवि, the poet *Ṭēr*, of district *Māin'purl*. B. 1831 A.D.

666. क्रिशन्न कवि, the poet *Krish'n*. B. 1831 A.D.

He has written some detached verses on morals (नीति).

667. आक़े लाल माट, the bard *Āchhē Lāl*, of *Kanāuj*. B. 1832 A.D.

668. दया नाथ दूबे, *Dayā Nāth Dūbē*. Fl. 1832 A.D.

In the above year he commenced a work entitled *Ānand Ras* (Rāg.), dealing with the subject of lovers.

669. राम दीन, the bard *Rām Dīn*, of *Alīgañj*, district *Īṭā*. B. 1833 A.D.

670. माखन लखेरा, *Mākhan Lakhērā*. B. 1834 A.D.

No particulars. Probably the same as a *Mākhan Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as born in 1813 A.D.

671. बेनी दास कवि, the poet and bard *Bēnī Dās*, of *Mēwār*. B. 1835 A.D.

? Sun. He was one of the public historians of *Mēwār*.

672. क्खेदी राम कवि, the poet *Chhēdī Rām*. Fl. 1837 A.D.

The author of a treatise 'on prosody, entitled *Kabi-nēh*, written in the above year.

673. अनुनेन कवि, the poet *Anunāin*. B. 1839 A.D.

The *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87) by him is said to be a good poem.

674. औध कवि, the poet *Āudh*. B. 1839 A.D.

Sib Singh knows nothing about this poet, a specimen of whose poetry he gives. He suspects that he may be the same as *Ajodhyā Par'sād Bāj'-pēyī* (No. 693).

675. नरोत्तम, *Narōttam*, of the *Dōāb*. B. 1839 A.D.

676. मनी राम मिसर, *Manī Rām Misar*, of *Sāthi*, district *Kānh'pur*. B. 1839 A.D.

No particulars. He is possibly the same as a *Manī Rām Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh, without date, as an erotic poet.

677. सेबक कवि, the poet *Sēbak*. Fl. 1840 A.D.

? Sun. He attended the court of *Rājā Ratan Singh*, of *Chakr'pur*. Possibly the same as No. 579.

678. फालका राव, *Phāl'kā Rāv*, of *Gwāliyar*. B. 1844 A.D.

He was minister of *Lachhiman Rāv*, and wrote a good commentary to the *Kabi-priyā* (No. 134).

679. मीठू दास गौतम, *Mitū Dās Gāutam*, of *Har'dhāūr'pur*, district *Fatih'pur*. B. 1844 A.D.

The author of numerous Vedantic works.

680. रघु नाथ उपाध्या, *Raghu Nāth Upādhyā*, of *Jāun'pur*. B. 1844 A.D.

The author of a work entitled *Nir'nay Mañjarī*.

681. सुख दीन कवि, the poet *Sukh Din*. B. 1844 A.D.

An erotic poet.

682. सूखन कवि, the poet *Sūkhan*. B. 1844 A.D.

An erotic poet.

683. भवानी दास कवि, the poet *Bhawānī Dās*. B. 1845 A.D.

No particulars. *Jāi Krish'n* (No. 830) was the son of a *Bhawānī Dās*, but it is doubtful if it is this poet or not.

684. बल देब दास कवि, the poet *Bal Dēb Dās*, of *Jāūhari Hāth'ras*. B. 1846 A.D.

He translated the *Kriṣṇa Khaṇḍa*, line for line, into the vernacular.

685. अवध बकस, *Awadh Bakas* (*Bakhsh*). B. 1847 A.D.

His poems possess taste. Sib Singh does not know the name of his country or village.

686. सहज राम सनाढ्य, *Sahaj Rām Sanādhyā*, of *Bandhuā*. B. 1848 A.D.

The author of a history of *Prahlāda* entitled *Prahlād Charitr'*.

687. अनीस कवि, the poet *Anīs*. B. 1854 A.D.

Dig.

688. भूमी देब कवि, the poet *Bhūmi Dēb*. B. 1854 A.D.

689. भूसुर कवि, the poet *Bhūsur*. B. 1854 A.D.

690. जै नरिन्द सिङ्घ, *Mahārāj Jāi Narind Singh* alias *Narēndra Singh* of *Paṭiyālā*. Fl. 1857, D. 1862 A.D. Sun.

CHAPTER XI.

HINDŪSTĀN UNDER THE QUEEN. [1857—1887.]

THE present chapter concludes the proper historical portion of this work. It deals entirely with the "India of the Queen,"—with a period free from internal commotion, and in which every inducement and encouragement has been offered for the spread and for the acquisition of knowledge. One consequence of this has been the wide extension of the art of printing. Large Native publishing-houses have risen in Lakh'nāū, Banāras, and Pat'nā, from which have issued floods of printed works, old and new, good, bad, and indifferent. At the same time a mushroom growth of smaller establishments has sprung up all over Hindūstān, and there is now scarcely a town of importance which does not possess its printing-press or two. Every scribbler can now see his writings in type or lithographed for a few rupees, and too often he avails himself of the power and the opportunity.

The rise of the Vernacular Press has been a prominent feature of the period under review. Hundreds of sheets have sprung into an ephemeral existence and have died in turn, while a few have lived through their childhood and deservedly survive as exceptions to the general fate. This is not the place to allude to the tone of the Indian Vernacular Press, and I purposely avoid doing so, beyond calling attention to the fact that as a rule the Hindī newspapers offer a favourable comparison with the more disloyal and scurrilous contemporaries which disgrace Bangālī journalism.

It has been impossible for me, face to face with such a mass of literature, to attempt to describe it with anything like completeness. I have only selected a few names which appeared to me worthy of notice, and even this selection I cannot pretend to be satisfactory. Hindūstān at present is practically without any independent review which I could take as a guide, and I have been compelled to trust to my own, necessarily limited, reading, aided by the lists of names given in the Sib Singh Sarōj. For earlier periods I have had the winnowing basket of time, which has dissipated the chaff and collected the grains ready for examination; but for the present not only is the proportion of chaff to grain infinitely greater, but the two are as yet unseparated.

Such as it is I give the following list, which contains all the names mentioned in the Sib Singh Sarōj, together with those of other writers whom I have met in the course of my reading, and which I think worthy of preservation. I must add that many writers belonging to this period as well as to the preceding one (some of whom are happily still alive) will be found entered in the last chapter. Some of these, *e.g.* Harishchandr', really belong to the post-Mutiny days, but have been deliberately included in the earlier period in order to complete the convenient consideration of groups or families of authors.

691. उमापति त्रिपाठी, Paṇḍit *Umāpatī Tripāṭhī*, of *Ajodhyā*, district *Fāizābād*. D. 1874.

He was a deeply-read paṇḍit in all branches of Sanskrit learning. He at first lived in *Banāras*, but afterwards settled in *Ajodhyā* (*Āudh*), where he occupied himself with compositions and teaching. He died A.D. 1874. His most celebrated works are in Sanskrit, but he wrote a few short books in the vernacular, such as the *Dohābalī*, *Ratnābalī*, etc. He wrote under the *nom de guerre* of *Kōbid*.

692. रघु नाथ दास, Mahant *Raghu Nāth Dās*, of *Ajodhyā*, district *Faizābād*. Alive in 1883 A.D.

He was originally a Brāhman of *Pāitēpur*, district *Fatih'pur*, but, abandoning all worldly possessions, he became a devotee of Rām, and wrote hundreds of admired hymns in that deity's honour. See No. 693.

693. अजोध्या परसाद बाजपेयी, *Ajodhyā Par'sād Bāj'pēyī*, of *Sātan'pur'wā*, district *Rāy Barēllī*. Alive in 1883.

This poet is well known as being extremely learned both in Sanskrit and the vernacular. His poems are said to be full of taste, and of uncommon excellence. Amongst his works may be mentioned—

- (1) *Chhandānand*.
- (2) *Sāhitya Sudhāsāgar*.
- (3) *Rām Kabittābalī*.

Sib Singh says he generally resides with *Raghu Nāth Dās*, the Mahant (No. 692), or with Rājā *Jag'mōhan Singh* in *Chandāpur*. (Cf. No. 709.) He wrote under the name of *Āudh* (cf. No. 674).

694. गोकुल परसाद, *Lālā Gōkul Par'sād*, a Kāyasth, of *Balirām'pur*, district *Gōḍā*. Alive in 1883.

He wrote in the year 1868 A.D., in honour of the late Rājā *Dig-bijāi Singh* (succeeded 1836), an anthology entitled *Dig-bijāi Bhūkhan* (quoted in this work as 'Dig.'). containing selections from the works of 192 poets. He is also author of works entitled *Ashta-jām* (Rāg.), *Chitrakalādhār*, *Dūtī Dar'pan*, and others. He wrote under the *nom de guerre* of *Braj*.

695. जानकी परसाद, the bard *Jānakī Par'sād*, of *Jōhabēnakaṭī*, district *Rāy Barēlī*. Alive in 1883.

He is son of *Ṭhākur Par'sād* (No. ? 570), and is learned both in Persian and in Sanskrit. In *Ūrdū* he has written a history of India entitled *Shād Nāmā*. In the vernacular he is author of (1) *Raghubīr Dhyānābalī*, (2) *Rām Naba-ratan*, (3) *Bhag'batī Binay*, (4) *Rām-nibās Rāmāyan*, (5) *Rāmānand Bihār*, (6) *Niti-bilās*. This poet excels in picturesqueness and in the quietistic style. Either he or the other *Jānakī Par'sād* (No. 577) may possibly be the same as a third poet of the same name mentioned by Sib Singh without date, who wrote an ingenious acrostic asking one *Singh Rāj* for a shawl (*dusālā*).

696. महेश दत्त *Mahēs Datt'*, of *Ghanāulī*, district *Bārā-baṅkī*. Alive in 1883.

He was author of a useful anthology named *Kābya Saṅgrah* (quoted in this work as 'Kāb.'). which was printed in Sambat 1932 (1875 A.D.). Possibly the same as a *Mahēs Kabī* mentioned by Sib Singh as born in 1803 A.D.

697. नन्द किशोर मिसर, *Nand Kishōr Misar* alias the poet *Lēkh'rāj*, of *Gandhāulī*, district *Sītāpur*. Alive in 1883.

The author of (1) *Ras Ratnākar*, (2) *Laghu Bhūkhan Alaṅkār*, (3) *Gaṅgā Bhūkhan*. He is *lambar'dār* of the village of *Gandhāulī*.

He is possibly the same as two other poets mentioned by Sib Singh, viz. *Nand Kabi* and *Nand Kishōr Kabi*. The latter is author of a work entitled *Rām Krish'n Gun-Māl*.

698. माता दीन मिसर *Mātā Dīn Misar*. Alive in 1883.

He translated the *Shāh Nāma* into the vernacular. In Sambat 1933 (A.D. 1876) he published the *Kabi Ratnākar* (quoted in this work as 'Kab.'), an anthology containing poems by twenty poets.

699. शिव प्रसाद, *Rājā Śiva Prasād*,¹ c.s.i., of *Banāras*. B. 1823. Alive in 1887.

This gentleman, the well-known friend of education in India, is the grandson of *Bībī Ratan Kūar* (No. 376). He is also well-known for his efforts to popularise a style of the Hindūstānī language, which he calls the colloquial speech of *Āg'rā*, *Dillī*, and *Lakh'naū*, or of Hindūstān proper, midway between the Persian-ridden *Ūrdū* and the Sanskrit-ridden *Hindī*. These efforts have given rise to a lively and not yet decided controversy amongst the natives of India. He is a most prolific author of works on education, and a complete list of his books, communicated by himself, is appended to this section.

The following account of his life is compiled partly from the *Modern History of the Indian Chiefs, Rājās, Zamīndārs*, etc., by *Lokenath Ghose*, and partly from materials kindly furnished to the author by the *Rājā* himself. Towards the end of the 11th century there was a man named *Dhāndhal*, of the *Pāwar* (*Pramara*) tribe, in *Ran'thambhōr* (*Jāipur* territory). Having obtained a son through the blessing of a Jain pontiff, he embraced that religion and was included in the *Ōs'wāl* caste. *Ran'thambhōr* being taken and plundered by *Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī* late in the 13th century, the family migrated successively to *Ahmadābād* and *Champānēr*, and settled finally in *Khambhāt*. *Amar Datt'*, twenty-sixth in descent from *Dhāndhal*, presenting a diamond to *Shāh Jahān* (1628—1658), pleased him so much, that the emperor conferred on him the title of *Rāy*, brought him to *Dillī*, and made him court jeweller. *Rāy Amar Datt'* died leaving one son, who married a

¹ The name is transliterated thus because it is the way he spells it himself. According to the system of transliteration adopted in this book it would be *Śiva Prasāda*, *Sib Par'sād*, or *Siv Par'sād*.

sister of *Sēṭh Mānik Chand*, of *Murshidābād*. The youngest son of this marriage, *Jagat Sēṭh Fatah Chand*, was adopted by his uncle the Sēṭh, and two of his elder brothers having been killed in the sack of Dillī by *Nādir Shāh*, the family settled in *Murshidābād*. *Fatah Chand*'s grandson *Jagat Sēṭh Mah'tāb Rāy* was arrested with his cousin *Rājā Dāl Chand* by *Nawāb Kāsim 'Alī Khān* for taking up the cause of the British and joining Lord Clive. *Rājā Dāl Chand* escaped and reached *Banāras*, where he ended his days under the protection of the *Nawāb Wazīr of Āudh*.

Rājā Śiva Prasād is the son of *Bābū Gōpī Chand* and great grandson of *Rājā Dāl Chand*. He lost his father when only eleven or twelve years of age, and was brought up by his mother and grandmother, the latter of whom, *Bībī Ratan Kūar* (No. 376), was one of the most learned women of her age. He partly owes his education, though very slightly, to *Banāras College*, then only an *English Seminary*, but he is emphatically an example of a self-made and self-instructed man. Of his grandmother he says, with characteristic modesty, "the best part of the little knowledge I may be credited with, I acquired from her." In his youth he was strongly anti-European in his ideas, and hence in his seventeenth year he accepted the post of *Wakīl* to the late *Mahārāj of Bharat'pur* to attend the court of *Colonel Sutherland*, the then *Governor-General's Agent* at *Āj'mēr*. He says :— "My expenses under the *Maharajah* were somewhat about *Rs. 5,000* per mensem, but I found the *Dar'bār* there rotten to the core, and as hopeless as anything can be on earth. I became disgusted, resigned, returned, and wanted to become an ascetic ; but my friends commenced taunting me. They called me a fool and a mad man. They said '*Patayṅ achchhā charhā thā, lēkin gōt khā gayā,*'—'a paper kite had got fine and high, but was swooping down again,' or '*Andhē kē hāth baṭēr lag gayē thī,*'—'a quail had fallen into the hand of a blind man.'¹ I could not bear this, and I made up my mind again to serve, but some one who was greater than the *Maharajah* of *Bharat'pur*. I joined *Lord Hardinge's* camp before *Firōz'pur*. *Mud'kī* had been fought, and *Sobrāon* was about to be fought. There the treatment I received opened my eyes. I vowed I would never serve a *Native* again." He rose to be *Mīr Munshī* of the *Simla Agency* when *Mr. Edwards* became *Superintendent* of the *Protected Hill States* there, and he looks back to that period as the best part of his life. When

¹ That is, excessive luck. It usually takes several men in full possession of their eyes to net a single quail.

Mr. Edwards in 1851 or 1852 went home on furlough, Rājā Śiva Prasād resigned, and on account of the old age of his mother, intended to live a private life in Banāras; but Mr. Tucker, the then Governor-General's Agent at Banāras, prevailed on him to accept the Mīr Munshīship of that Agency, and afterwards obtained for him the post of Joint-Inspector in the Department of Public Instruction. Sir W. Muir made him a full Inspector, and after serving the Government for thirty years he retired on a well-earned pension, and is now living at Banāras. He has received many honours from Government, amongst which may be mentioned the hereditary title of Rājā and the Companionship of the most exalted Star of India. The following extract from a letter written by him to the author will fitly conclude this notice:—"I have just written to a friend in England that if he ever has to name a man who at least claims to be contented, thankful, and happy, he can name Śiva Prasād. I have one son and three grandsons * * * My occupation now is culture of land and culture of mind."

The following is a list of Rājā Śiva Prasād's vernacular works:—

No.	Names of Books.	Subject.	Remarks.
<i>HINDI.</i>			
1	<i>Bar'n Mālā</i> ...	Primer ...	With stories and engravings.
2	<i>Bāl Bōdh</i> ...	Easy Reader ...	Originally written in English by Mr. W. Edwards.
3	<i>Bidyāṅkur</i> ...	An adoption of Chambers's Rudiments of Knowledge and a few pages of Introduction to Sciences.	With illustrations. Originally written for Mr. Edwards' schools in the hills. Its Ūrdū version is called <i>Huqāiqu-'l-māujūdāt</i> .
4	<i>Bāmā-man Rañjan</i>	Some celebrated women of the East and West.	Taken from English and Bangālī books for Mr. H. C. Tucker. Its Ūrdū version is called <i>Hikāyātu'l-Sālihāt</i> .
5	<i>Hindī Byākaran</i> ...	Hindī Grammar ...	Its counterpart in Ūrdū is called <i>Sarf-ō-Nahw-i-Ūrdū</i> (No. 19).

No.	Names of Books.	Subject.	Remarks.
<i>HINDI.</i>			
6	<i>Bhūgōl Hastāmalak, Part I. (Asia.)</i>	Geography	Compiled from no less than a hundred books of reference, with coloured maps. Its Ūrdū version is called <i>Jām-i-Jahān Numā</i> (No. 20).
7	<i>Chhōṭā Bhūgōl Hastāmalak.</i>	Abridgment of the <i>Bhūgōl Hastāmalak</i> (No. 6).	Its Ūrdū version is called <i>Chhōṭā Jām-i-Jahān Numā</i> .
8	<i>Itihās Timir Nāshak</i> (in three parts).	History of India from the earliest ages to the Queen's Proclamation, 1858.	In English, History of Hindūstān; in Ūrdū, <i>Āina-i-Tārīkh Numā</i> .
9	<i>Guṭ'kā</i>	Selections.	
10	<i>Mānava Dharmasār.</i>	Extracts from the Institutes of <i>Manu</i> .	With original Sanskrit.
11	<i>Ditto</i>	Ditto	With Sir William Jones's English translation.
12	<i>Sandford āur Merton kī kahānī.</i>	Hindī version of <i>Qissa-i-Sandford-o-Merton</i> (No. 25).	(In the Press.)
13	<i>Sikhō kā Uday Ast.</i>	Rise and fall of the Sikh nation.	Compiled from authentic and official records. Its Ūrdū version, <i>Sikhō kā Tulā' āur Ghurūb</i> , is in the Press.
14	<i>Swayambōdh Ūrdū.</i>	Ūrdū Primer and Self-Instructor.	Out of print.
15	<i>Angrēzī Achchharō kē sikh'nē kī Upāy.</i>	Roman characters ...	Ditto.
16	<i>Bachchō kā In'am.</i>	A little prize-book for children.	
17	<i>Rājā Bhōj kā Sap'nā</i>	A story	Written for Mr. H. C. Tucker.
18	<i>Bīr Singh kā Brit-tānt.</i>	Against infanticide ...	Written for Mr. W. Edwards. Out of print.
<i>URDU.</i>			
19	<i>Sarf-ō-Nahw-i-Ūrdū</i>	Ūrdū Grammar.	
20	<i>Jām-i-Jahān Numā</i>	Geography.	
21	<i>Chhōṭā Jām-i-Jahān Numā.</i>	Abridgment of <i>Jām-i-Jahān Numā</i> (No. 20).	

No.	Names of Books.	Subject.	Remarks.
<i>URDU.</i>			
22	<i>Mazāmin ...</i>	Selections.	
23	<i>Kuchh Bayān ap'nī Zubān kā.</i>	A lecture on the vernaculars, delivered before the Banāras Institute.	
24	<i>Dil Bah'lāō</i> (in three parts).	Miscellany ...	Written for Mr. H. C. Tucker.
25	<i>Qissa-i-Sandford-o-Merton.</i>	Translation, or rather adaptation, of Sandford and Merton.	Ditto.
26	<i>Dunnallan ...</i>	Beauties of Christianity, or life of a Methodist Christian gentleman. Abridged from Grace Kennedy.	Translated for Mr. H. C. Tucker. Out of print.
27	<i>Gulāb āur Chamēli kā Qissā.</i>	Adaptation of the above.	
28	<i>Sachchī Bahādurī</i>	True heroism ...	Translated for Mr. H. C. Tucker.
29	<i>Miqra'atu'l-kāhilin.</i>	Life in earnest ...	Written for Mr. H. C. Tucker.
30	<i>Shahādat-i-Qurānī bar Kutub-i-Rab-bānī.</i>	Testimony borne by the Qurān to the Bible.	Written for a gentleman.
31	<i>Tārikh-i-kalisā ...</i>	History of the early church.	Ditto.
32	<i>Fārsī Sarf-ō-Nahw</i>	Persian Grammar in Ūrdū.	

700. लक्ष्मी नाथ ठाकुर, *Lachhmī Nāth Ṭhākur*, of *Mithilā*. Fl. 1870 A.D.

A prolific and much-admired writer in the Bais'wārī dialect.

701. फतूरी लाल, *Phatūrī* (or *Fatūrī*) *Lāl*, a Kāyasth, of *Tir'hut*. Fl. 1874 A.D.

The author of a very popular poetical account of the famine of 1873-74, entitled *Kabitt' Akālī*, written in the Maithilī dialect. See

J. A. S. B., extra No., 1881, p. 24 (*Maithil Chrestomathy*, by G. A. Grierson).

702. चन्द्र भा, *Chandr' Jhā*. Alive in 1883.

A living poet of *Mithilā* of considerable eminence. He attends the court of Mahārāj *Lachh'mishwar Singh Bahādur* of *Dar'bhāngā*, and is author of a much-admired *Rāmāyan* in the Maithilī dialect of Bihārī.

703. जान साहिब, *Jān Sāhib*. Died about 1883 A.D.

This is the poetical name of Mr. *John Christian*, the only European writer with whom I am acquainted whose vernacular poetry has made its way to the masses. He was a prolific writer of Christian hymns, which are known to all the singers of Tir'hut, most of whom recite them without any idea of their original meaning. His most admired work is the *Mukti-Muktābalī*, a metrical life of Christ.

704. अम्बिका दत्त व्यास, *Ambikā Datt' Byās*, of *Banāras*. Alive in 1888 A.D.

A rising author. He has written several plays, which will be found mentioned in No. 706. His *Bhārat Sāubhāgya* was written in honour of her Majesty's Jubilee. Amongst his other works may be mentioned *Madhumatī*, a translation of the well-known Bangālī novelette of that name.

705. छोटू राम तिवारी, Paṇḍit *Chhōṭū Rām Tiwārī*, of *Banāras*. B. cir. 1840 A.D.; D. 1887 A.D.

This gentleman was for many years Professor of Sanskrit at Paṭ'nā College, and it was the author's privilege to number him amongst his more intimate friends. His knowledge of the earlier vernacular poetry of his country was profound and accurate, and his reputation extended over a wide area. As a writer of his own language his fame rests on his *Rām Kathā*, of which, I believe, no authorised edition was ever published. It is admittedly a model of the very purest and best modern Hindī, free alike from vulgarisms and from pedantry. He kept the proofs of the work by him for several years, incessantly polishing

it and repolishing it, till the day of his death. So much was the work admired that there was a large sale of these proof-sheets, which achieved great popularity, and extracts from them have been given prominent situations in the many Readers and Anthologies which have been issued of late years.

He was son of *Dēbī Dayāl Tripāṭhī*, and had two brothers—an elder, named *Sītal Par'sād*, author of a play entitled *Jānakī Mangal*, the first Hindī play ever acted, and a younger, called *Gōpī Nāth*, who was father of *Kālī Par'sād Tiwārī* (No. 739).

NOTE ON THE HINDĪ¹ AND ON THE BIHĀRĪ DRAMA.

706. The Hindī drama is a plant of very recent growth. It is true that some of the earlier writers wrote what they called *nāṭaks*, for instance *Niwāj* (No. 198) wrote a *Sakuntalā*, and *Braj Bāsī Dās* (No. 369) and others translations of the *Prabōdha Chandrōdaya*; but these were plays only in name, being without entrances and exits of the characters. Similarly, the *Dēb Māyā Prapañch* of the celebrated poet *Dēb* (No. 140), the *Prabhāwatī* written for the Mahārāj of Banāras, and the *Ānand Raghunandan* written for Mahārāj *Biswanāth Singh* (No. 529) of *Rīwā*, are wanting in the essentials of dramatic poetry.

The first Hindī play in which there are regular exits and entrances for the characters was the *Nahukh Nāṭak* of *Giridhar Dās (Gōpāl Chandr')* (No. 580), which deals with Indra's expulsion from his throne by Nahuṣa and his subsequent reinstatement. Harishchandr', the son of the author, was seven years old at the time it was written, which was therefore the year 1857.

The next Hindī play in a really dramatic form was the *Sakuntalā* of Rājā *Lachhman Singh*, which has in later years been edited by Mr. Pincott. It was followed by *Harishchandra's* (No. 581) *Bidyā Sundar*, founded on the well-known Bangālī poem of that name, but happily free from its obscenities. The fourth was the *Taptā Sambaran* of *Srīnibās Dās*, the fifth *Harishchandra's Bādikī Hinsā*, and the sixth *Tōtā Rām's Kētō Kṛitānt*. These examples found many imitators.

The first Hindī play ever performed was the *Jānakī Mangal* of *Sītal Par'sād Tiwārī*, elder brother of *Chhōṭū Rām Tiwārī* (No. 705).

¹ Partly abridged from *Harishchandra's 'Nāṭak'; Shri Harishchandra Kalā*, p. 38.

This took place in the *Banāras* theatre in the Sambat year 1925 (1868 A.D.), and was very successful. It was followed by the *Ran Dhīr Prēm Mōhinī* of *Srīnibās Dās* and the *Satya Harishchandr'* of *Harishchandr'* at *Allāhābād* and *Kānh'pur*.

In *Bihār*, on the contrary, a dramatic tradition has existed for nearly five centuries. *Bidyāpatī Ṭhākur* (1400 A.D.) (No. 17) was the author of two plays—the *Pārijāt Haran* and the *Rukminī Swayambar*. Manuscripts of these plays exist, I believe, to the present day, but I have never seen them. *Lāl Jhā* (No. 363) was author of the *Gāūrī Parinay*. At the beginning of the present century *Bhānu Nāth Jhā* (No. 641) wrote the *Prabhābatī Haran*. *Har'kh Nāth Jhā* (No. 642) is author of the *Ukhā Haran* or (in Sanskrit) *Uṣā Harana*. All these poets were Maithil Brāhmans. It must be admitted that their works hardly come under the name of *vernacular* plays, as the characters speak in Sanskrit and in Prākrit, only the songs being in Maithilī.

The following is a list of Hindī plays given by *Harishchandr'*, *l.c.*

Name of play.	Author.
<i>Nahukh Nāṭak</i>	... <i>Giridhar Dās.</i>
<i>Sakuntalā</i>	... <i>Lachhman Singh.</i>
<i>Mudrā Rāchhas</i>	... <i>Harishchandr'.</i>
<i>Satya Harishchandr'</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Bidyā Sundar</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Andhēr Nagarī</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Viṣasya Viṣamāuṣadham</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Satī Pratāp</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Chandrābalī</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Madhurī</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Pākhaṇḍ Bīṛamban</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Nab Mallikā</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Durlabh Bandhu</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Prēm Jōginī</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Jāīsā Kām Wāīsā Parinām</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Karpūr Mañjarī</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Nīl Dēbī</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Bhārat Durdasā</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Bhārat Jananī</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Dhanañjay Bijay</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Bāidikī Hinsā</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Būrh Mūh Muhāsē, Lōg Chalē</i>	...
<i>Tamāsē</i>	... <i>Gōkul Chand.</i>

Name of play.	Author.
<i>Adbhut Charitr', or Grih Chandī</i>	... <i>Srī Matī.</i>
<i>Taptā Sambaran</i>	... <i>Srīnibās Dās.</i>
<i>Ran Dhīr Prēm Mōhinī</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Kētō Kritānt</i>	... <i>Tōtā Rām.</i>
<i>Sajjād Sumbul</i>	... <i>Kēshō Rām Bhaṭṭ.</i>
<i>Sham'shād Sāusan</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Jay Nar'singh kī</i>	... <i>Deokī Nandan Tiwārī.</i>
<i>Hōlī Khagēs</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Chachehhu Dān</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Pad'māwatī</i>	... <i>Bāl Krish'n Bhaṭṭ.</i>
<i>Sarmishthā</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Chandr' Sēn</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Sarōjinī</i>	... <i>Ganēs Datt'.</i>
<i>Sarōjinī</i>	... <i>Rādhā Charan Gosāī.</i>
<i>Mrichchhakatīkā</i>	... <i>Gadā Dhar Bhaṭṭ.</i>
<i>Bārāṅganā Rahasya</i>	... <i>Bad'rī Nārāyan Chāudh'rī.</i>
<i>Bigyān Bibhākar</i>	... <i>Jānī Bihārī Lāl.</i>
<i>Lalitā Nāṭikā</i>	... <i>Ambikā Datt' Byās.</i>
<i>Dēb Purukh Drishya</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Bēnī Saṅghār</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Gō Saṅkaṭ</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Bhārat Sāubhāgya</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Jānakī Maṅgal</i>	... <i>Sītal Par'sād Tiwārī.</i>
<i>Dukkhinī Bālā</i>	... <i>Rādhā Krish'n Dās.</i>
<i>Padmāwatī</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Mahā Rās</i>	... <i>Mahārāj Kumār Kharag Lāl Bahādur Mall.</i>
<i>Rām Līlā</i>	... <i>Dāmōdar Shāstrī.</i>
<i>Mrichchhakatīkā</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Bāl Khēl</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Rādhā Mādhab</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>
<i>Wēnis kā Sāudāgar (Merchant of Venice)</i>	... <i>Balēswar Par'sād.</i>
<i>Mrichchhakatīkā</i>	... <i>Ṭhākur Dayāl Singh.</i>
<i>Wēnis kā Sāudāgar</i>	... <i>Ditto.</i>

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER XI.

707. पञ्चम कवि, the poet and bard *Pañcham*, of *Ḍal'maū*, district *Rāy Barēli*. B. (? Fl.) 1867 A.D.

708. फूल चन्द, *Phūl Chand*, a Brāhman, of *Bais'wārā*. B. (? Fl.) 1871 A.D.

Sib Singh gives two poets of this name ; the second without date.

709. सुदरसन सिङ्घ, Kumār Sudar'san Singh, of Chandāpur. (Cf. No. 693.) B. (? Fl.) 1873.

He has published a collection of his own poems.

710. मानिक चन्द, Mānik Chand the Kāyasth, of district Sitāpur. B. (? Fl.) 1873 A.D.

711. अनन्द सिङ्घ, Anand Singh alias Dur'gā Singh, of Ahawanadi Koliyā, district Sitāpur. Alive in 1883 A.D.

712. ईश्वरी परसाद, त्रिपाठी *Īswarī Par'sād Trlpāthī*, of Pir'nagar, district Sitāpur. Alive in 1883.

He has written a translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of *Vālmiki* in the form of an epic poem in various metres under the name of the *Rām Bilās*.

713. उमराव सिङ्घ पँवार, the bard *Um'rāw Singh*, of *Sāid'pur*, district Sitāpur. Alive in 1883.

714. गुर दीन राय बन्दीजन, the bard *Gur Din Rāy*, of *Pāitēya*, district Sitāpur. Alive in 1883.

He attended the court of *Rājā Ran Jit Singh Sāh Jāg'rē* (No. 716), of *Īsānagar*, district *Khiri*.

715. बल देव कवि अबस्थी, the poet *Bal Dēb Abasthī*, of *Dāsāpur*, district Sitāpur. Alive in 1883.

Under the name of *Rājā Dal Thambhan Singh Gāur Sawāiyā*, of *Hathiyā*, he wrote a work on lovers entitled *Sringār Sudhākar*.

716. रन जीत सिङ्घ साह जाँगरे, *Rājā Ran Jit Singh Sāh Jāg'rē*, of *Īsānagar*, district *Khiri*. Alive in 1883.

The author of a translation of the *Hrivam̃ṣa*.

717. ठाकुर परसाद त्रिबेदी, *Thākur Par'sād Tribēdī*, of *Aligañj*, district *Khiri*. Alive in 1883.

718. हजारी लाल त्रिबेदी, *Hajāri Lāl Tribēdī*, of *Aligañj*, district *Khiri*. Alive in 1883,

A quietistic and moral poet.

719. गङ्गा दयाल दूबे, *Gaṅgā Dayāl Dūbē*, of *Nis'gar*, district *Rāy Barēli*. Alive in 1883.

Said to be skilled in Sanskrit and the vernacular.

720. दयाल कवि, the poet and bard *Dayāl*, of *Bētī*, district *Rāy Barēli*. Alive in 1883.

He is son of the poet *Bhāun* (No. 611).

721. बिखनाथ, the bard *Biswanāth*, of *Ṭikai*, district *Rāy Barēli*. Alive in 1883.

He praised one *Ran'jit Singh* (? No. 716). He is possibly the same as a *Biswanāth Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as born 1844 A.D., who has written a number of poems on the manners and customs of the people of *Lakh'naū*.

722. ब्रिन्दाबन, *Brindāban*, a Brāhman, of *Sem'rāūtā*, district *Rāy Barēli*. Alive in 1883.

? Rāg. No particulars. He is possibly the same as a *Brindāban Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh.

723. लखिराम कवि, the poet and bard *Lachhirām*, of *Hōl'pur*, district *Bārābañkī*. Alive in 1883.

He wrote a treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87) under the name of *Sib Singh* (the author of the anthology), and called it *Sib Singh Sarōj*. Cf. No. 126.

724. सन्त बकस, the bard *Sant Bak's*, of *Hōl'pur*, district *Bārābañkī*. Alive in 1883.

Cf. No. 126.

725. समर सिङ्घ, *Samar Singh*, a Chhattī, of *Har'hā*, district *Bārābañkī*. Alive in 1883.

The author of a *Rāmāyan*.

726. सिव परन्सन्न कवि, the poet *Sib Par'sann*, a Sāk'dwīpī Brāhman, of *Rām'nagar*, district *Bārābaṅkī*. Alive in 1883.

727. सीता राम दास, *Sitā Rām Dās*, a Baniyā, of *Birāpur*, district *Bārābaṅkī*. Alive in 1883.

728. गुनाकर त्रिपाठी, *Gunākar Tripāṭhī*, of *Kānthā*, district *Unāo*. Alive in 1883.

He writes in Sanskrit and in the vernacular. His family is famed for its knowledge of astronomy.

729. सुख राम, *Sukh Rām*, a Brāhman, of *Chāuhattarī*, district *Unāo*. Alive in 1883.

He is possibly the same as a *Sukh Rām Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as B. (? Fl.) 1844 A.D. and as an erotic poet.

730. देबी दीन, the bard *Dēbī Dīn*, of *Bil'grām*, district *Har'dōī*. Alive in 1883.

His best works are a *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87) and the *Ras-dar'pan*.

731. माता दीन सुकल, *Mātā Dīn Sukal*, of *Aj'garā*, district *Par'tāp'garh*. Alive in 1883.

He attends the court of *Rājā Ajit Singh*, of *Par'tāp'garh*. Some verses by him, entitled *Gyān Dōhābalī*, will be found in the *Bhākhā Sār* of *Sāhib Prasād Singh*.

732. कन्हैया बख्श, *Kanhāiyā Bakhsh* the Bāis, of *Bais'wārā (Āudh)*. Alive in 1883.

His best work is in the quietistic style.

733. गिरि धारी भाट, *Giri Dhārī Bhāt*, of *Maū Rānīpurā*, in district *Jhānsī*, *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Alive in 1883.

734. जबरेस, the bard *Jab'rēs*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*. Alive in 1883.

735. रन घौर सिङ्घ, *Rājā Ran Dhīr Singh*, *Sir'māūr*, of *Sing'rā Maū*. Alive in 1883.

Besides being a patron of poets, he is author of the *Kābya Ratnākar* (written 1840 A.D.) and the *Bhūkhan Kāūmudī* (written 1860 A.D.). There are many towns of the name of *Maū* in India, but I have been unable to identify that named as above by Sib Singh.

736. सिब दीन, *Paṇḍit Sib Dīn* alias *Raghu Nāth*, a Brāhman, of *Rasūl-ābād*. Alive in 1883.

The author of the *Bhābāmahimna* and other works. Possibly the same as a *Sib Dīn Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh without particulars. There are several towns of the name of *Rasūlābād* in India. I do not know which is the one above referred to.

737. राम नारायण, *Rām Nārāyan*, a Kāyasth. Alive in 1883.

An erotic poet. He is *Munshī* to *Mahārāj Mān Singh* (No. 599).

738. अम्बिका परन्साद, *Ambikā Par'sād*. Alive in 1883 A.D.

He belongs to the *Shāhābād* district, and is the author of numerous songs in the *Bhoj'pūrī* dialect, which are not of great merit, but are valuable as samples of the author's mother tongue. A number are given in Part II of *Seven Grammars of the Bihār Dialects*.

739. काली परन्साद तिवारी, *Kālī Par'sād Tiwārī*, of *Banāras*. Alive in 1888.

This gentleman is Head *Paṇḍit* of the *Jhāūgañj* City School, in *Paṭ'nā*. He is the author of several school-books, and of a *Bhākhā Rāmāyan*, in mixed *Hindī* prose and verse, in

a simple style, which is much admired. He is nephew of Paṇḍit *Chhotū Rām Tiwārī* (No. 705).

740. बिहारी लाल चौबे *Bihārī Lal Chāubē*, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit at *Paṭ'nā* College. Alive in 1888.

This gentleman, besides writing a large number of useful school-books, is author of a useful work on rhetoric entitled *Bihārī Tul'sī Bhūkhan Bōdh*. He is also editing a good edition of the *Sat Sai* of *Tul'sī Dās* (No. 128) in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

CHAPTER XII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE following chapter contains the names of a number of minor poets, whose dates I have not been able to fix.

I.—Poets mentioned in the Kabi-mala of Tul'si (No. 153), and therefore earlier than 1655 A.D.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>741. सङ्घ कवि, the poet <i>Saṅkh</i>.
742. साहब कवि, the poet <i>Sāhab</i>.
743. सिद्ध कवि, the poet <i>Siddh</i>.
744. सुबुद्धि कवि, the poet <i>Subuddhi</i>.</p> | <p>745. श्री कर कवि, the poet <i>Srī Kar</i>.
746. श्री हठ कवि, the poet <i>Srī Haṭh</i>.</p> |
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II.—Poets mentioned in the Hajara of Kalidas Tribedi (No. 159), and therefore earlier than 1718 A.D.

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|--|--|
| <p>747. जसवन्त कवि, the poet <i>Jas'want</i> the younger.
748. तीखी कवि, the poet <i>Tikhī</i>.
If I understand Sib Singh aright, poems by him are included in Haj.
749. तेही कवि, the poet <i>Tēhī</i>.
If I understand Sib Singh aright, poems by him are included in Haj.</p> | <p>750. दिला राम कवि, the poet <i>Dilā Rām</i>.
751. राम रूप कवि, the poet <i>Rām Rūp</i>.
I have collected several songs by him in Mithilā.
752. लोधे कवि, the poet <i>Lōdhē</i>.</p> |
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III.—Poets mentioned in the Kabya-nir'nay of Bhikhari Das (No. 344), and therefore earlier than 1723 A.D.

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|---|--|
| <p>753. लोक नाथ कवि, the poet <i>Lōk Nāth</i>.
Also in Rāg.
754. गुलाम नबी, Sayyad <i>Gulām Nabī</i> alias the poet <i>Ras Līn</i>, of <i>Bil'grām</i>, district <i>Har'dōī</i>.
Besides being learned in Arabic and Persian, he was also a master of the vernacular. He wrote a <i>nakh'sikh</i> called <i>Ang Dar'pan</i> (dated 1637 A.D.), and a treatise on rhetoric, entitled <i>Ras Par'bōdh</i> (dated 1741 A.D.)</p> | <p>There is something wrong about these dates. The latter is probably the correct one.
755. बलि कवि, the poet <i>Balī</i>.
An erotic poet.
756. रहीम कवि, the poet <i>Rahīm</i>.
He is distinct from 'Abdu'r <i>Rahīm Khān'khānā</i> (No. 108). It is difficult to distinguish between the works of this poet and those of his illustrious namesake.</p> |
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IV.—Poets mentioned by the poet Sudan (No. 367), and therefore earlier than 1753 A.D.

757. सनेही कवि, the poet *Sanēhl*.

758. सिब दास कवि, the poet *Sib Dās*.

Garcin de Tassy (I, 474) mentions an author of this name who came from *Jāipur*, to whom we owe the *Sib Chāupāl*, a work quoted by Ward in his *History of the Hindūs* (II, 481). He was also author of a book the name of which Garcin de Tassy gives as *Pōthī lōk ūkat ras jagat*, which he confesses he does not understand.

759. सुमेरु सिङ्घ साहेबजादा, Prince *Sumērú Singh*.

Also in Sun.

760. सूरज कवि, the poet *Sūraj*.

761. हरि कवि, the poet *Harī*.

The author of a commentary on the *Bhākhā Bhūkhan* (No. 377), entitled *Chamatkār Chandrikā*, and of a metrical commentary on the *Kabi-priyā* (No. 134) entitled *Kabi-priyābharan*. He also translated the *Amara Kōṣa* (? Rāg. cf. Nos. 170, 567, 589) into the vernacular.

762. हित राम कवि, the poet *Hit Rām*.

V.—Poets mentioned in the *Rag-Sagarodbhab Rag-Kalpadrum* of Krishnanand Byas Deb (No. 638), and therefore earlier than 1843 A.D.¹

763. छबीले कवि, the poet *Chhabilē*, of *Braj*.

764. जगन्नाथ दास, *Jagannāth Dās*.

He is possibly the same as one *Jagannāth Kabi* the elder, mentioned by *Sib Singh*. Cf. No. 601.

765. जुग राज कवि, the poet *Jug Rāj*.

Said to be the author of some tasteful poems.

766. धौंधे दास, *Dhōdhē Dās*, of *Braj*.

767. नाम देव, *Nām Dēb*.

Poems by him are also included in the *Sikh Granth* (see Nos. 22, 169).

768. बलि राम दास, *Bali Rām Dās*, of *Braj*.

Also *Sring*. Possibly the same as a *Bali Rām* quoted by Garcin de

Tassy (I, 105) from Mack. (II, 108) as author of the *Chit Bilās*, a treatise on the creation of the world, in which are described the objects and end of human existence, the formation of gross and ethereal bodies, and the means of acquiring salvation.

769. बिशन्न दास, *Bish'n Dās*.

Also the name of the author of a number of emblematic *dōhās*.

770. भगवान हित राम राय, *Bhag'wān Hit Rām Rāy*.

771. मन निधि कवि, the poet *Man Nidhī*.

772. मनि कण्ठ कवि, the poet *Mani Kaṅṭh*.

773. मुरारि दास, *Murāri Dās*, of *Braj*.

774. रसिक दास, *Rasik Dās*, of *Braj*.

¹ See also many other names mentioned in the preface of the same work extracted out in No. 638.

775. राम राय, *Rām Rāy*, the Rathāūr.

776. लच्छन दास कवि, the poet *Lachchhan Dās*.

I have found a poem in the Braj dialect, and bearing his name, in Mithilā.

He was son of Rājā Khēm Pāl the Rathāūr.

777. लक्ष्मण सरन दास, *Lachhman Saran Dās*.

778. सगुन दास कवि, the poet *Sagun Dās*.

779. स्याम मनोहर कवि, the poet *Syām Manōhar*.

VI.—Poet mentioned in the Ras Chandroday of Thakur Par'sad (No. 570), and therefore earlier than 1863 A.D.

780. कालिका कवि, the poet and bard *Kālikā*, of *Banāras*. Alive in 1883. Also in Sun.

VII.—Poets mentioned in the Dig-bijai Bhukhan of Gokul Par'sad (No. 694), and therefore earlier than 1868 A.D.

781. खान कवि, the poet *Khān*.

782. धुरन्धर कवि, the poet *Dhurandhar*.

Also Sring.

783. नायक कवि, the poet *Nāyak*.

Also Sring.

VIII.—Poets mentioned in the Sundari Tilak of Harishchandr' (No. 581), and therefore earlier than 1869 A.D.

784. आलीमन कवि, the poet *Āliman*.

785. कवि राम, *Kabi Rām alias Rām Nāth*, the *Kāyasth*.

Sib Singh gives two poets of this name. One he puts down as alive in 1883, and the other as born in 1841. Probably they are the same.

786. तुलसी श्री ओझा जी, *Tul'sī Sri Ōjhā Ji*, of *Jōdh'pur (Mār'wār)*.

He is said to be an elegant erotic poet.

787. दया निधि, *Dayā Nidhī*, a *Brāhman*, of *Paṭ'nā*.

Possibly the same as a *Dayā Nidhī Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh, also without date. Cf. No. 365.

788. नजीब खान, *Najīb Khān alias* the poet *Rasiyā*, councillor of the *Mahārāj* of *Paṭiyālā*.

789. नब निधि कवि, the poet *Nab Nidhī*.

790. नबीन कवि, the poet *Nabīn*.

An erotic poet.

791. नरेस कवि, the poet *Narēs*.

It appears from a reference in one of his detached poems that he was the author of a treatise on lovers (see note to No. 87).

792. पारस कवि, the poet *Pāras*.

793. महाराज कवि, the poet *Mah'rāj*.

Also Sring.

794. रिखि नाथ कवि, the poet *Rikhi Nāth*.

Also Sring. An erotic poet.

795. सेखर कवि, the poet *Sēkhar*.

An erotic poet.

796. हनुमान कवि, the poet and bard *Hanumān*, of *Banūras*.

IX.—Poets mentioned in the *Kabya Sangrah* of Mahes Datt' (No. 696), and therefore earlier than 1875 A.D.

797. कृपा राम, *Kripā Rām*, the Brāhman, of *Narāināpur*, district *Gōḍā*.

He translated the whole *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* into simple language in *dōhās* and *chāupāīs*. Cf. No. 328.

He is probably the same as a *Kripā Rām Kabi* (date unknown) who was the author of a poem in the *Champū* style, entitled *Mādhav Sulōchanā*, and

as another *Kripā Rām Kabi* (date also unknown), author of an erotic poem in the *dōhā* metre, entitled *Hit Taranginī*.

798. नवल दास, *Nawal Dās*, the *Chhattrī*, of *Gūr Gāw*, district *Bārābanḳī*.

He is the author of a work entitled *Gyān Sarōbar*. His date is (certainly incorrectly) put by *Sib Singh* at *Sambat 1316* (A.D. 1259).

X.—Miscellaneous poets whose dates I have been unable to fix.
Collected from various sources, principally the
Sib Singh Saroj.

799. अमर जी कवि, the poet *Amar Jī*, of *Rāj'putānā*.

According to *Sib Singh* he is mentioned by *Tod* in his *Rājasthān*, but I have been unable to find the place.

800. कल्याण सिद्ध भट्ट, *Kalyān Singh Bhatt*.

801. काली चरन बाजपेयी, *Kālī Charan Bāj'pēyī*, of *Bīgah'pur*, district *Unāo*.

Said to have been a skilled poet.

802. काली दीन कवि, the poet *Kālī Dīn*.

He translated poems in honour of *Durgā*.

803. कुञ्ज गोपी, *Kuñj Gōpī*, the *Gāūr Brāhman*, of *Jāipur*.

An erotic writer.

804. केसवर राम कवि, the poet *Kēs'war Rām*.

Author of a work entitled *Bhramar-gīt*, or songs of a bee, which however, according to *Garcin de Tassy* (I, 302), was written by *Krish'n Dās*, No. 806.

805. क्रियाल कवि, the poet *Kripāl*.

An erotic writer.

806. क्रिष्ण दास, *Krish'n Dās*.

Author of a commentary on the *Bhakt Mālā* (see No. 51). See *Garcin de Tassy*, I, 302. *Garcin de Tassy* makes him also possibly the author of a *Bhramar-gīt* (see No. 804), and of a religious treatise entitled *Prēm Sattwa Nirūp*.

807. खान मुलतान कवि, the poet *Khān Mul'tān*.

808. खुसाल पाठक, *Khusāl Pāthak*, of *Rāy Barēli*.

He wrote on lovers (see note to No. 87).

809. खूब चन्द कवि, the poet *Khūb Chand*, of *Mār'wār*.

He composed a poem in honour of *Rājā Gambhīr Sāhī*, of *Īdar*.

810. खेतल कवि, the poet *Khētal*.

He wrote on lovers (see note to No. 87).

811. गङ्गा धर कवि, the poet *Gaṅgā Dhar*.

He has written a commentary on the *Sat Saī* of *Bihārī* (No. 196) in the *kuṇḍaliya* and *dōhā* metres, named the *Up'sat'sāyā*.

812. गज सिङ्घ, Gaj Singh.

The author of the *Gaj Singh Bilās*.
(Cf., however, No. 190.)

813. गीध कवि, the poet Gidh.

Some detached *chhappāns* and *dōhās* by him are extant.

814. गुमानी कवि, the poet Gumānī, of Pat'nā.

He wrote a number of verses, which are in every one's mouth in Bihār. The first three lines are in Sanskrit, and the fourth of each is a Hindī proverb. Specimens have been published in the *Indian Antiquary*. An example is

यावद्रामः शस्त्रधारी
नायातीह त्वसंहारी
तावत्तस्मै देया नारी
च्यौ भौंजे त्यौ कम्बल भारी

(Mandōdarī addresses Rāvāṇa).
(*Sanskrit*) Before Rāma come armed here to fight with thee, do thou return his wife to him, for (*Hindī proverb*) 'The longer a blanket moisteneth (in the dew), the heavier it is.'

815. गुलाम राम कवि, the poet Gulām Rām.

His poems are said to be good.

816. गुलामी कवि, the poet Gulāmī.

His poems are said to be good.

817. गोसाँई कवि, the poet Gosāī, of Rāj'putānā.

His occasional *dōhās* and those on morals are excellent.

818. गोपाल राय कवि, the poet Gōpāl Rāy.

He wrote some verses in praise of *Narēndr' Lāl Sahī* and *'Ādil Khān*.

819. गोपाल सिङ्घ, Gōpāl Singh, of Braj.

He wrote the *Tul'sī Sabdārth Par'kāś*. In it he describes the *Ashta Chhāp* (see No. 35).

820. गोविन्द राम, the bard Gōbind Rām, of Rāj'putānā.

He was author of a work entitled the *Hārāwatī*, which is a history of the Hārā family (cf. Tod's *Rājāsthān*, II, 454; Calc. ed. ii, 499).

821. घासी भट्ट, Ghāśī Bhāṭṭ.

822. चक्र पानि, Chākr' Pānī.
A Māthil poet (see J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 91).

823. चतुरभुज, Chatur'bhuj.
A Māthil poet (see J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 87).

824. चोखे कवि, the poet Chōkhē.

Sib Singh says that his poems are clever (चोखी).

825. छत्तन कवि, the poet Chhattan.

826. जगन्नेस कवि, the poet Jag'nēs.

827. जनारदन भट्ट, Janār'dan Bhāṭṭ.

He wrote a treatise on medicine entitled *Bāidyā Ratan*.

828. जयानन्द, Jayānand.

He was a Māthil poet, a Karan Kāyasth by caste (see J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 85).

829. जुगल परसाद चौबे, Jugul Par'sād Chāubē.

He has written a good *Dōhābālī*.

830. जै क्रिष्ण कवि, the poet Jāi Krish'n.

He was son of the poet *Bhawānī Dās*. Cf. No. 683. He wrote a treatise on prosody entitled *Chhand Sār*.

831. जै सिङ्घ कवि, the poet Jāi Singh.

An erotic writer.

832. टहकन कवि, the poet *Tah'kan*, of the *Pañjāb*.

He has translated the episode of the Sacrifices of the Pāṇḍavas (*Pāṇḍavō kē yajña*) from Sanskrit into the vernacular.

833. ठाकुर राम कवि, the poet *Thākur Rām*.

A quietistic poet.

834. डाक, *Ḍāk*, an agricultural poet (see Ghāgh (No. 217) and cf. *Bihār Peasant Life*).

835. ढाकन कवि, the poet *Ḍhākan*.

836. दया देव कवि, the poet *Dayā Dēb*.

Sring.

837. दान कवि, the poet *Dān*.

An erotic poet.

838. दिलीप कवि, the poet *Dillip*.

839. देव नाथ कवि, the poet *Dēb Nāth*.

840. देव मनि कवि, the poet *Dēb Mani*.

He wrote a commentary in the vernacular to the first 16 *adhyāyas* of *Chāṇakya's Rājanīti* (Rāg. Cf. Nos. 574 and 919).

841. देवी कवि, the poet *Dēbi*.

An erotic poet. Probably the same as one of the many other poets whose names commence with *Dēbi*.

842. देवी दत्त कवि, the poet *Dēbi Datt'*.

A writer of quietistic and occasional pieces.

843. देवी सिद्ध कवि, the poet *Dēbi Singh*.

Sring.

844. द्विज मन्द कवि, the poet *Dwij Nand*.

845. नजामी, *Najāmi*.

I know nothing about this poet, except one short poem in praise of Sib, bearing his name, in the Bais'wārī dialect, which I collected orally in Mithilā.

846. नन्द राम कवि, the poet *Nand Rām*.

A quietistic poet.

847. नन्दीपति, *Nandīpatī*.

A Māṭhil poet. See J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 79.

848. नबी कवि, the poet *Nabi*.

Sring. The author of an excellent *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87).

849. नवल किशोर कवि, the poet *Nawal Kishōr*.

No particulars. He is possibly the same as one of the other poets whose name commences with *Nawal*, and as a poet mentioned by Sib Singh, without date, as *Nawal Kabi*.

850. नाथ, *Nāth*.

Sring. Many poets, such as *Kāsi Nāth* (No. 139), *Uday Nāth* (No. 334), *Sib Nāth* (No. 632), &c., often call themselves, as *nom de guerre*, simply *Nāth*, which has given rise to great confusion. Cf. Nos. 68, 147, 162, 440, 632.

851. नेही कवि, the poet *Nēhi*.

852. नैन कवि, the poet *Nāin*.

853. पखाने कवि, the poet *Pakhānē*.

854. परन्धान केसब राय कवि, the poet *Par'dhān Kēsab Rāy*.

He wrote a treatise on veterinary surgery entitled *Sālihōtr'* (Rāg). He is possibly the same as a *Par'dhān Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh, without date or particulars.

855. परमल, *Par'mall*.

He was son of *Sanhar*, and was author of a Jān work entitled *Sripāl Chāritr'*. See Garcin de Tassy, I, 401. Cf. id. I, 520.

856. पुरान कवि, the poet *Purān*.

857. पुष्कर कवि, the poet *Pushkar*.

The author of a work on composition (साहित्य) entitled *Ras-ratan*.

858. पूरन चन्द जूथ, *Pūran Chand Jūth*.

He wrote a work entitled the *Rām-rāhasya Rāmāyan*.

859. प्रेम केसर दास, *Prēm Kēswar Dās*.

Author of a translation into the vernacular of the 12th book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The India Office Library is said by Garcin de Tassy (I, 404) to possess a copy.

860. फेरन कवि, the poet *Phēran*.

861. बकसी कवि, the poet *Bak'sī*.

Possibly the same as a *Bak'sū* mentioned in the preface to *Rāg*.

862. बजरङ्ग कवि, the poet *Baj'rang*.

863. बदन कवि, the poet *Badan*.

864. बन्सी घर मिसर, *Bansī Dhar Misar*, of *Sandilā*.

A quietistie poet.

865. बरग राय, *Bar'g Rāy*.

Author of a work entitled *Gōpā-chalakathā*, or History of *Gwāliyar*. See Garcin de Tassy, I, 518.

866. बाबू भट्ट कवि, the poet *Bābū Bhaṭṭ*.

867. बिदुख कवि, the poet *Bidukh*.

A poet who dealt with the sports of *Kṛiṣṇa*.

868. बिन्दा दत्त कवि, the poet *Bindā Datt'*.

An erotic poet.

869. बिसम्बर कवि, the poet *Bisambhar* or *Biswāambar*.

An erotic poet.

870. बिसेसर कवि, the poet *Bisēsar*.

871. बुद्ध सेन कवि, the poet *Buddh Sēn*.

872. बुध सिङ्घ, *Budh Singh*, the *Pañjābī*.

Author of an elegant translation into the vernacular of the story of *Mādhavānala* or *Mādhōnal*. (Cf. Nos. 216, 629.)

873. बुलाकी दास, *Bulākī Dās*.
A prolific writer of *ghāṭōs* or songs peculiar to the month of *Chāit* in the *Bhoj'pūrī* dialect. See *Some Bhoj'pūrī Folk-songs*, J. R. A. S., vol. xviii.

874. बेनी माधव भट्ट, *Bēnī Mādhab Bhaṭṭ*.

875. बैन कवि, the poet *Bāin*.

876. बोधी राम कवि, the poet *Bōdhī Rām*.

877. ब्रज मोहन कवि, the poet *Braj Mōhan*.

An erotic poet.

878. ब्रजेस कवि, the poet *Brajēs*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*.

879. ब्रिन्द कवि, the poet *Brind*.

880. भगवान दास निरञ्जनी, *Bhag'wān Dās, Nirañjanī*.

He translated the *Bhartṛihari Ḍātaka* into the vernacular under the name of *Bhrityahari Sat*.

881. भञ्जन, *Bhañjan*.

A Māthil poet. See J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 90.

882. भड्डर, *Bhaḍḍar*, an agricultural poet. See *Ghāgh* (No. 217) and cf. *Bihār Peasant Life*.

He was by tradition a noted astrologer, and is said to have belonged to the *Shāhābād* district. Many folk-tales are current concerning him.

883. भोला नाथ, *Bhōlā Nāth*, a *Brāhman*, of *Kanāuj*.

He wrote a metrical version of the *Bāitāl Pachīsī* (Rāg.).

884. मङ्गद कवि, the poet *Manḡad*.

885. मनसा राम कवि, the poet *Man'sā Rām*.

Sring. A writer on lovers (see note to No. 87). He is possibly the same as a *Man'sā Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as a great master of alliteration.

886. मनी राय कवि, the poet *Manī Rāy*.

An erotic poet.

887. मन्यठ कवि, the poet *Manya*.
An erotic poet.

888. मनोहर दास निरञ्जनी, *Manōhar Dās, Nirañjanī*.

The author of a Vedantic work entitled *Gyān-chūran Bachanikā*.

889. महन्ताब कवि, the poet *Mah'tāb*.

The author of an admired *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87).

890. महिपति, *Mahipatī*.

A Māthil poet. See J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 84.

891. मानिक दास कवि, the poet *Mānik Dās*, of *Mathurā*.

The author of a work entitled *Mānik-bōdh*, treating of Kṛiṣṇa's sports.

892. मीरन कवि, the poet *Miran*.

Sring. The author of an admired *Nakh'sikh* (see note to No. 87).

893. मुनि लाल कवि, the poet *Muni Lāl*.

894. मुसाहिब, *Musāhib*, Rājā of *Bijāur*.

He wrote commentaries on the *Binay Pattrikā* (see No. 128) and on the *Ras Rāj* (see No. 146).

895. मून, *Mūn*, the *Asōthar*, a *Brāhman*, of *Ghāzipur*.

The author of many works. Amongst them the *Rām Rāban kā juddh* may be mentioned.

896. रघु राम, *Raghu Rām*, the *Guj'rātī*, of *Ah'madābād*.

The author of a play entitled *Mādhav Bilās* (? Rāg. Cf. No. 629).

897. रघु लाल कवि, the poet *Raghu Lāl*.

An erotic poet.

898. रज्जब कवि, the poet *Rajjab*.

Sring. An esteemed author of *dōhās*.

899. रतन पाल कवि, the poet *Ratan Pāl*.

The author of various *dōhās* on morals.

900. रमापति, the poet *Ramāpatī*.

? Sring. A Māthil poet. See J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 83.

901. रस पुञ्ज दास, *Ras Puñj Dās*, the *Dādū Panthī*.

The author of two good works on prosody, entitled *Prastār Prabhākar* and *Brittya Binōd*.

902. राम चरन, *Rām Charan*, a *Brāhman* of *Ganēs'pur*, district *Bārābaṅkī*.

The author of a Sanskrit work entitled *Kāyastha-kula Bhāskara*, and of a vernacular work entitled *Kāyasth-dhar'm Dar'pan*.

903. राम दत्त कवि, the poet *Rām Datt'*.

904. राम दया कवि, the poet *Rām Dayā*.

The author of a work entitled *Rāg Mālā* (Rag.). Cf. No. 400.

905. राम देव सिङ्घ, *Rām Dēb Singh*, a *Chhattī* of the Solar race, of *Khaṇḍāsā*.

906. राम नाथ मिसर, *Rām Nāth Misar*, of *Āzam'garh*.

907. राम बख्श, *Rām Bakhsh*
alias Rām Kabi.

He attended the court of the Rānā of *Sir'māūr*. He is the author of a treatise on vernacular composition (साहित्य) and of a commentary to the *Sat Sai* of *Bihārī Lāl* (No. 196).

908. राम लाल कवि, the poet
Rām Lāl.

909. राम सेख कवि, the poet
Rām Sēkh, a Brāhman.

The author of a play entitled *Nritya Rāghab Milan*.

910. राम सेवक कवि, the poet
Rām Sēbak.

The author of a work entitled *Dhyān Chintāmani*.

911. रामा कन्त, *Rāmā Kant.*

I have collected songs in the Braj dialect in Mithilā, purporting to be by this poet.

912. राय चन्द कवि, the poet
Rāy Chand, of *Nāgar*, in *Guj'rāt*.

According to Sib Singh he attends the dar'bār of *Rājā Dāl Chand*, *Jagat Sēṭh* in *Murshidābād*, and is the author of two displays of learning, entitled (1) *Git'gōbindādarshan* (a translation of the *Gīta Gōvinda*) and (2) *Lilāvati* (Rāg.). There was a *Rājā Dāl Chand* of *Murshidābād* who was great-grandfather of *Rājā Śiva Prasād* (No. 699, *q.v.*), who may possibly be the person referred to by Sib Singh.

913. राय जू कवि, the poet
Rāy Jū.

An erotic poet. Possibly the same as a *Rāy Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh, also as an erotic poet.

914. लक्ष्मन कवि, the poet
Lachhuman.

He wrote a *Sālihōtr'*, or treatise on veterinary surgery.

915. लक्ष्मन सिङ्घ, *Lachhuman*
Singh.

An erotic poet.

916. लक्ष्मी कवि, the poet
Lachhmī.

Sib says he is mentioned by *Saran* (?)

917. ललित राम कवि, the poet
Lalit Rām.

918. लाजब कवि, the poet
Lājab.

919. लाल कवि, the poet *Lāl.*

He translated *Chāṇakya's Rājanīti* (Rāg.) into the vernacular. Cf. Nos. 525, 574, and 840.

920. लाल चन्द कवि, the poet
Lāl Chand.

The author of emblematic *kabittas* and *kuṇḍaliyās*.

921. लोक मनि कवि, the poet
Lōk Manī.

Sib Singh says that he is mentioned by *Saran* (?)

922. लोने कवि, the poet and
bard *Lōnē*, of *Bundēl'khaṇḍ*.

An erotic poet.

923. वज्रहन, *Waz'han.*

A quietistic Vedantic author of *dōhās*.

924. वहाब, *Wahāb.*

The author of a well-known *Bārā Māsā*, or song descriptive of the 12 months.

925. वाहिद कवि, the poet
Wāhid.

An erotic poet.

926. सत्रु जीत सिङ्घ, *Rājā Satru*
Jit Singh, the *Bundēlā* of *Datiyā*, in
Bundēl'khaṇḍ.

The author of a treatise on rhetoric, &c., under cover of a commentary to the *Ras Rāj* (No. 146).

927. सबल स्याम कवि, the poet
Sabal Syām.

928. सम्भु नाथ मिसर, *Sambhu Nāth Misar*, of *Murādābād*, district *Unāo*.

929. सम्भु परसाद कवि, the poet *Sambhu Par'sād*.

An erotic poet.

930. सरस राम, *Saras Rām*.

A Māthil poet, who attended the court of a King *Sundar*. See J. A. S. B., vol. LIII, p. 87. Possibly this King was the *Rājā Sundar Thākur* of *Tir'hut*, who came to the throne 1641 A.D. and died 1666 A.D.

931. ससिनाथ कवि, the poet *Sasi Nāth*.

Sring. An erotic poet.

932. सिब राज, *Sib Rāj* of *Jāipur*.

† Sring. A writer of whom *Garcin de Tassy* (I, 476) speaks as follows:— "We owe to him a work entitled *Ratan-mālā*, quoted by *Ward* in his *History of the Hindūs*, II, 481. I do not know if it is the same work which *Mr. Wilson* has made use of for his dictionary. This last is a list of the names of vegetable and mineral drugs in Sanskrit and Hindī. We owe to the same author the *Sib-Sāgar*, a work also cited by *Ward*." The author is also mentioned in the *Sib Singh Sarōj*.

933. सुजान कवि, the poet *Sujān*.

An erotic poet.

934. सुन्दर कवि, the poet and bard *Sundar*, of *As'nī*, district *Fatih'pur*.

The author of a work entitled *Ras Par'bōdh*.

935. सुलतान कवि, the poet *Sul'tān*.

An erotic poet.

936. सोम कवि, the poet *Sōbh*.
An erotic poet.

937. सोम नाथ कवि, the poet *Sōbh Nāth*.

938. हनुमन्त कवि, the poet *Hanumant*.

He attended the court of *Rājā Bhānu Par'tāp Singh*.

939. हर चरन दास कवि, the poet *Har Charan Dās*.

The author of a good work on vernacular composition (साहित्य) entitled *Brihat Kabi-ballabh*.

940. हर जीवन कवि, the poet *Har Jiban*.

941. हर दयाल कवि, the poet *Har Dayāl*.

An erotic poet.

942. हरि चन्द कवि, the poet *Hari Chand*, of *Bar'sānā*, in *Braj*.

The author of a prosody entitled *Chhand Swarūpinī*.

943. हरि देब कवि, the poet *Hari Dēb*, a *Baniyā*, of *Brindāban*, in *Braj*.

The author of a prosody entitled *Chhand Payōnidhi*.

944. हरि बल्लभ कवि, the poet *Hari Ballabh*.

A quietistic poet.

945. हरि भानु कवि, the poet *Hari Bhānū*.

The author of a treatise on vernacular composition (साहित्य) entitled *Narind Bhūkhan*.

946. हरि लाल कवि, the poet *Hari Lāl*.

Sring. Possibly the same as another *Hari Lāl Kabi*, also mentioned by *Sib Singh* without date, as an erotic poet.

947. हित नन्द कवि, the poet *Hit Nand*.

Possibly the same as a *Hit Ānand* mentioned in the preface to *Rāg*.

948. हीरा लाल कवि, the poet *Hirā Lāl*.

An erotic poet.

949. हुलास राम कवि, the poet *Hulās Rām*.

The author of a treatise on veterinary surgery entitled *Sālihōtr'* (*Rāg*). Possibly the same as a *Hulās Kabi* mentioned by Sib Singh as an erotic poet.

950. हेम कवि, the poet *Hēm*. *Sring*. An erotic poet.

951. हेम गोपाल कवि, the poet *Hēm Gōpāl*.

The author of an emblematic verse, which is all that is known to have survived of his work.

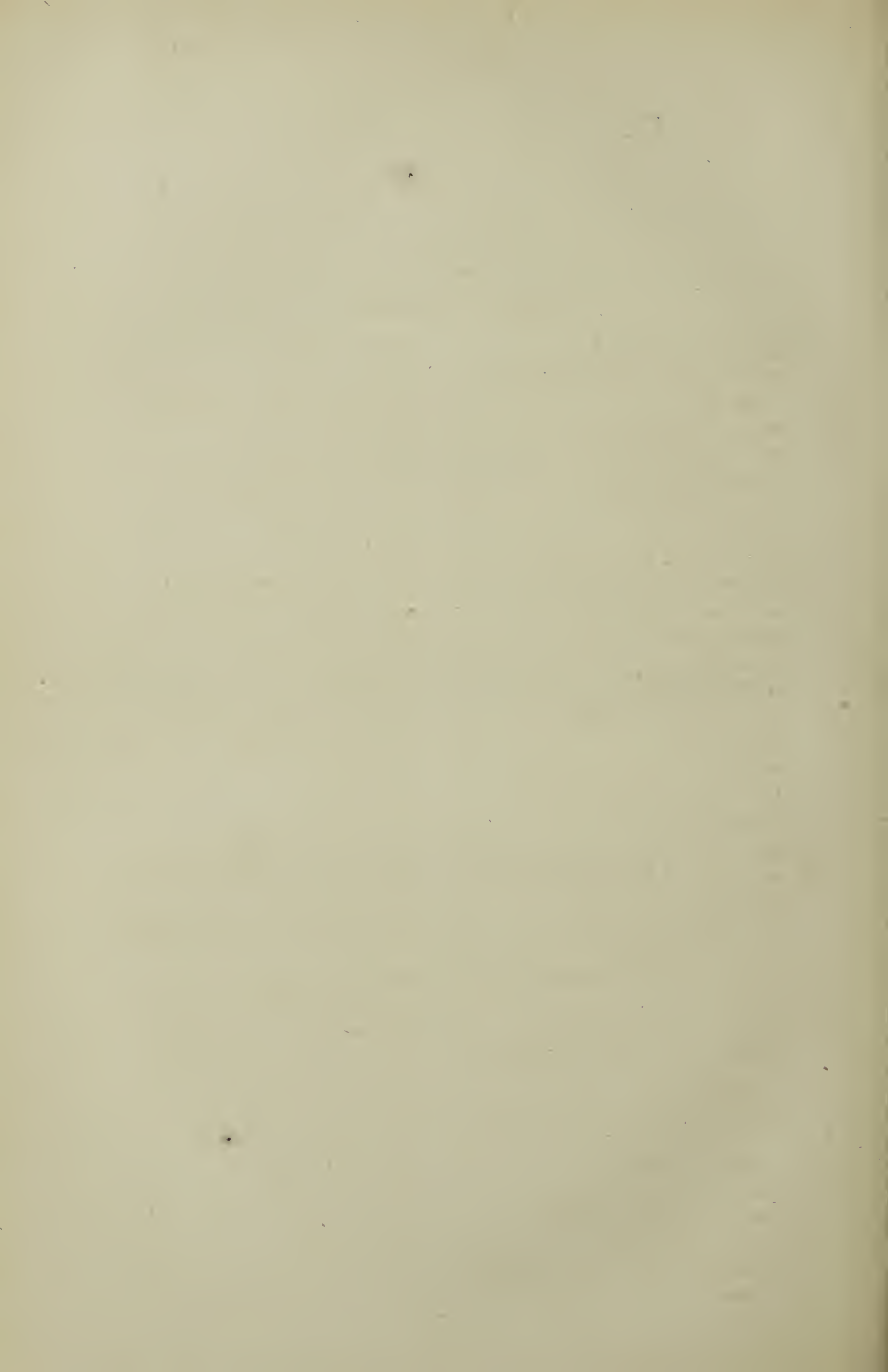
952. हेम नाथ कवि, the poet *Hēm Nath*.

He attended the court of *Kalyān Singh*, of *Keh'ri*.

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