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OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

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VOL. XXXIX.

PART I.

(Nos. I to IV,—1870.)

(With thirteen plates.)

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THE HONORARY SECRETARIES.

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“It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, 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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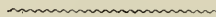
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ERRATA

in Part I, Journal, for 1870.

Page 52, line		14, after 'corruption of the Sanscrit,' supply	
		<i>vayas.</i>	
„ 207, „		9, Raddhati	<i>read Paddhati.</i>
„ 217, „		6, Azardirachta	<i>read Azaddirachta.</i>
„ 244, „		34, for अयेनं	<i>read अयेनं.</i>
„ „ „		„ for अनश्वेद्युञ्जात्	<i>read अनश्वेद्युञ्जात्.</i>
„ 245, „		25, for शुद्रा	<i>read शुद्रो.</i>
„ „ „		31, for Brahman (dead)	<i>read twice born dead.</i>
„ „ „		„ for or	<i>read nor.</i>
„ „ „		32, for Brahman	<i>read twice-born.</i>
„ „ „		35, for Sudra	<i>read a Súdra.</i>
„ „ „		37, for month	<i>read a month.</i>
„ 247, „		34, for पिवतुदकं	<i>read पिवतूदकं.</i>
„ 249, „		9, for Vaidya	<i>read Vaisya.</i>
„ „ „		39, for अभिसतीः	<i>read अभिसातीः</i>
„ 252, „	11-14, for award	<i>read reward.</i>	
„ 254, „		35, for उत	<i>read ऊत.</i>
„ 258, „		28, for to look	<i>read when looking.</i>
„ 260, „		21, for तेत्राः	<i>read नेत्राः</i>
„ „ „		22, for तद्वृज्जिता	<i>read तद्वृज्जिता.</i>





JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1870.

*Translations from the Tārīkh i Fīrūz Shāhī, by the late MAJOR
A. R. FULLER, Director of Public Instruction, Panjāb.*

(Communicated by T. W. H. Tolbort, Esq., C. S.)

[Continued from No. IV. of Part I., for 1869.]

[Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 282.]* When Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn had witnessed four consecutive revolts, commencing with that in Gujrāt which was raised by the new converts to Islām, up to that of Hājī Maulā, he awoke from his slumber of apathy and oblivion, and recovered from his various insane fancies. While using his utmost exertions in the prosecution of the siege of Rantambhūr, he held privy councils both by day and night, to which were convoked Malik Hamīduddīn, and Malik A'azzuddīn, the sons of 'Alā Dabīr, and Malik 'Ainulmulk of Multān, every one of whom was an Aḥaf and a Buzurjmīhr in soundness of judgment, as well as some other sage advisers. With these he held consultations and conferences, as to the cause of the revolts, in order that when their origins and causes had been correctly ascertained, they might be altogether removed, so that hereafter no revolt might possibly occur again.

After several days and nights' deliberation, the conclusion arrived at by these councillors was, that the cause of the revolts was comprised

* The foot notes and passages in [] are additions made by the Editor of this Journal.

in four things; first, the king's disregard as to the affairs of the nation, whether they are prosperous or adverse; secondly, wine, for people are in the habit of having parties for the purpose of wine-drinking, when they disclose their most secret thoughts to each other, make confederates and hatch conspiracies; thirdly, the friendship, amity, relationship, and constant intercourse existing among the Maliks and Amírs, and their close connexion with one another; so that if any accident befalls one of them, a hundred others on account of their connexion, relationship, and attachment to him, become his confederates; and fourthly, wealth, by reason of which the ideas of treason and disaffection enter their brains, and disloyalty and ingratitude come to a head; for, were people destitute of wealth, every one would attend to his own business and employment, without giving heed to conspiracies and rebellions; and were no means at their disposal, such ideas would never enter the minds of poor and impoverished folks.

Some time after Hájí Maulá's revolt, Sulţán 'Aláuddín succeeded with immense toil and difficulty in capturing the fort of Rantambhúr, whereupon he put Rai Hamír Deo, and the new converts, who had fled from the Gujrát insurrection and taken shelter with him, to death. Rantambhúr, together with the surrounding country, was given to Ulugh Khán, and whatever was in the fort became his.

The Sulţán then returned from Rantambhúr to Dihlí, and being greatly incensed against the inhabitants of that city, sentenced many of the chief men to be exiled from it; and he himself would not enter the town, but took up his quarters in the suburbs.

Ulugh Khán for four or five months during the Sulţán's absence enlisted an immense force, purposing to effect the invasion of Talinga and Ma'bar [Malabar]; but fate happened to overtake him, and he was seized with death about the time of his approach to the capital. His corpse was accordingly brought into the city, and interred in his own mansion. The Sulţán was deeply grieved at the sad event [and distributed a great deal of alms to the memory of the departed].

[The Sulţán 'Aláuddín* then took active measures to render revolts in future impossible. First of all, he commenced with confiscating

* Here is a blank in Major Fuller's translation, extending from p. 283, l. 5, from below, Ed. Bibl. Indica, to p. 285, last line. The text of this portion is

the property of certain classes, and gave the order that all villages which people held as *milk*, or *in'ám*, or *waqf*, should forthwith be resumed and made Imperial Domain land. The officers, moreover, were to treat the people as tyrannically as possible ; they should think of pretexts for extorting money, and leave no one in possession of gold. After a short time matters had gone so far, that only in the houses of the Maliks, and Amírs, and officers, and Multání merchants, and... . not even so much money remained .. .and from his excessive demands only a few thousand tankahs.....to him in Dílhí.....all pensions, grants of land,.....and legacies in the whole kingdom they opened (?), and the whole people had so much to do with earning their livelihood, that no one had even time to pronounce the word 'rebellion.'

[Secondly, with the view of making revolts impossible, the Sultán appointed informers (*munhiyán*), and their number was so great, that he knew the good and bad things that men did. People could not utter a syllable without his knowledge ; and whatever happened in the houses of the Amírs and the Maliks, of wellknown and great men, of the officers and collectors, was, in the course of time, brought to the full of blunders, and a few words have remained untranslated. Ed. Bibl. Ind. p. 283, l. 2 from below, for بکشانید, read بکشاندند *bikashánand*. For ایار, in the last line, read ایام ; and as بس خلق زررا رها نکند has no sense, we may perhaps read بهیچ خلق زررا رها نکنند, or بر خلق, and leave no one in possession of gold.

P. 284, l. 2, *sáhán* is unclear to me. After *án qadre*, a sentence with *ك* is wanting. For *khánah* we expect *khánahá*, though it is in accordance with the clumsy style of Zíá i Baraní. *Mafrúz* on l. 3 is a queer word, and should be either بادروزه *bádrozah*, or روزینه *rozínah*, daily allowance, the same as *wazíjah*. Another queer word is عزامت on l. 14, for which we have perhaps to read غرامت fine, mulct. For جاها و زندان on l. 4 from below, read چاههای زندان, as on p. 285, l. 2 from below. For *míddánd* on l. 9 of the same page (284), we should perhaps read *míddád*, if *daur* be the subject ; for the plural *míkkardand* in the following line is used *honoris causá* of the Sultán. The word بگاگ is doubtful.

The word *daur* is evidently the name which 'Aláuddín gave his corps of spies, and is the same as *naubat*, a watch, a patrol.

On p. 285, l. 13 *dele* و before گاه An amusing alteration by the printer's devil and his 'superintendent' may be found on p. 287, l. 3, where for *fitnah*. *angezí*, we read *fitnah i Angrezí* !!

Sultán. Nor did he treat indifferently (*farú naguzasht*) whatever information was brought to him by the patrol (*daur*), but he made the patrol responsible for it. The spies were so intruding, that the Maliks in Hazár Sitún could no longer say a single word openly, and if they had to say anything, they made use of gestures. Day and night they trembled in their houses, lest the patrol of informers should come; and they no longer spoke, nor did they do anything which might subject them to reproof, fines (*gharimat*), or punishments (*ta'zír*).* Every Bázár news, sales and purchases, and the doings of the people in the markets were reported by the watch, and inquired into by the Sultán.]

[Thirdly, with the view of preventing revolts in future, the drinking and the sale of wines were prohibited. Afterwards the Sultán also prohibited *bagní*† and hemp (*bang*), as also gambling. Great exertions were made to carry out the prohibition of the sale of wine and *bagní*, and special wells were constructed to serve as prisons. Drunkards, gamblers, *bagní*-vendors, were driven out of the city into the country, and the enormous taxes which the state had derived from them, had to be struck off the revenue books. The Sultán, first of all, gave the order to remove from the social assembly rooms of the palace all decanters, *ma'barís*,‡ the porcelain vessels painted with gold, and the glasses and

* *Ta'zír* (تعزیر) is a punishment not fixed by the Qorán, and is opposed to *hadd* (حد) when the Qorán fixes the punishment, as stoning for adultery. In the former the judge may use his discretion, and control the degree of the punishment according to circumstances.

† I do not know why the 'superintendents' of the Ed. Bibl. Ind. have written *bugní*. The word is only given in the *Majma'ul-furs* by Surúrí (vide J. A. S. B., 1868, p. 16), who has—

بگنی بفتح با وسکون کاف فارسی نوعی از شراب باشد که آنرا بعربی نبیند
خوانند • مثالش طیان گوید
* بیت *
مست گشتم ز جرعه بگنی شد مزاجم ز بنگ مستغنی
و دبای فارسی [یعنی پگنی] نیز بنظر آمده ۛ

From this *Burhán* has copied, though he has left out the form *pagní*, which has also come under Surúrí's observation.

‡ The text (p. 284, l. 1) has *معبری*, a word not to be found in our dictionaries. From the context it is clear that a vessel for holding wine is intended. It may come from *ma'bar*, Malabar.

bottles. All were smashed, and the broken bits were thrown in heaps before the Badáon gate. The bottles of wine were also taken from the assembly rooms and poured out, and the quantity of wine thus thrown away was so great, that pools and puddles were formed as in the rainy season. The Sultán 'Aláuddín also discontinued his wine-assemblies, and he told the Maliks to mount elephants and go to the gates of the city, and into the streets and the districts, the bázárs and saráis, and proclaim that it was his order that no one should drink or sell wine, or have anything to do with wine. Decent people gave up wine drinking as soon as the order was published, but shameless ill-disposed wretches, pimps and panderers, erected stills (*Hind. bhattí*), and distilled spirits from sugar, and drank and sold wine in secret; or they filled leather bags outside the town with wine and put them between loads of grass or fuel, or had recourse to other tricks of conveying wine into the city. The spies made strict inquiries, and the guards at the gates and the runners (*barí'd*) posted there examined every one, and seized the wine and the owners, and took them before the Palace. It was then ordered to give the wine to the elephants of the Imperial stables to drink; and such as had sold it, or smuggled it into the city, or had drank any, were beaten with sticks, and fettered, and put into prison, where they were detained for some time. But as the number of the prisoners increased very much, they made wells before the Badáon gate at a place where all people pass by, and into these wells all were thrown that drank or sold wine.]

Some from the distress and misery they suffered in the wells died there, while others who were released after a time, came out half dead, and it took ages for them gradually to recover their health, and pull up strength. Many, therefore, through fear of imprisonment, abjured the use of wine, and if they were unable to control their appetites, they used to go [to the fords] of the Jamnah, and the villages ten or twelve *kos* off, and drink it there. In Ghiáspúr, however, and Indarpat,* and Kílúk'harí, and the villages four or five

* Ghiáspúr and Indarpat are portions of Dihlí. Kílók'harí had been noticed before. Ghiáspúr is that portion of Dihlí where Nizámuddin Auliá lies buried. It is also called Mughulpúr; from a party of Mughuls that were converted to Islám and settled there; *Badáoní* I., p. 173, l. 4. I am not quite sure whether this Mughulpúr is not the same as *Afghánpúr*, mentioned before (J. A. S. B. for 1869, p. 214, note); for the parganah and the town of Afghánpúr in Sambhal also were called both Afghánpúr and Mughulpúr.

kos away, as well as in the Saráis outside the town, the sale and purchase of liquor was no longer feasible. It is nevertheless certain that some reckless individuals continued to distil wine at their own houses, and to drink and to sell it; and ultimately suffered disgrace and infamy, and were cast into prison.

When the prohibition of the use of wine began to press too severely, the Sultán gave orders that, if any one distilled spirits privately, and drank the liquor in seclusion, without having a party or assembly, and without selling it, the spies were not to interfere with him, nor enter his house, nor apprehend him.

From the day that the use of wine was interdicted in the city, treasonous conferences and conspiracies began to decrease, and thoughts and ideas of rebellion were no longer agitated by the people.

Fourthly, with a view to obviate the causes of revolt, it was directed that the Maliks and Amírs, and all the noble and confidential officers of the crown, should not go to one another's houses, and give parties and entertainments, nor should they, without first reporting the matter before the throne, enter into family alliances with one another, nor permit the people to have constant intercourse with them at their houses.

This order also was enforced with such strictness that not a stranger was permitted to stay in the houses of the Maliks and Amírs; and feasts and entertainments, when a great concourse of people would be gathered, were altogether stopped.* The Maliks and Amírs, though fear of the patrols, behaved most cautiously, and never held an assembly, nor uttered an imprudent expression, nor allowed any rebellious, infamous, or disaffected character to come near them. When they repaired to the palace, moreover, it was no longer possible for them to put their heads close to one another's ears, and to utter and hear whispered conversations, nor could they sit down in close proximity at one spot, and give vent to the sorrows of their hearts, and to complaints against the world.

* So perhaps in Major Fuller's MS. The last line on p. 286, of the *Edit. Bibl. Indica* has no grammar. Page 287 of the same edition is dreadfully disfigured by blunders and typographical errors. Line 3, read *angezí* for *angrezí*. For *mushattííl* with a ط, we expect *mushattiti*, with a ت. Line 15, for *áwardan* read *awardand*. Line 17, for *khátán* read *khátánvá*. Line 18, for *yá* read *tá*. Line 19, for *charái*, read *charái*; for *bistánúd* read *bistánand*; and *sukúnatjarí* should not be broken up. Line 20, for *ghubbate* read *ghabane*.

Owing to this prohibition also, no information of a treasonous conference ever reached Sultán 'Aláuddín, nor did any revolt again occur.

After settling the above regulations, Sultán 'Aláuddín requested his counsellors to suggest some rule or regulation, whereby the Hindús might be ground down, and their property or wealth, which is the source of rebellion and dissaffection, might no longer remain with them; and that one law respecting the payment of revenue might be instituted for all of them, whether landlords or tenants,* and the revenue due from the strong might not fall upon the weak; and that so much should not be left to the Hindús as to admit of their riding horses, wearing fine clothes, and indulging in sumptuous and luxurious habits.

In furtherance of the above object, which is indeed the chief of all objects of government, they suggested two regulations. First this, that whatsoever the Hindús cultivated, whether great or little, they should give one half agreeably to the measurement and [the full value of the produce per *biswah*], without any distinction, and that they should leave the landlords nothing beyond their proprietary rights [?]. Secondly, that they should levy a grazing tax on every animal that gives milk, from a cow to a she-goat, and that they should collect them in a fold in rear of every dwelling house [?][†], so that no opportunity might be left for

* The text has *خوطه و بلاهر*. Lower down we find *خوطان و بلاهران*. *Baláhar* may be Hindústání, and signify a low-caste servant. *Khúf* is a rare Arabic word signifying a *fine, strong man*. From the passages below it is quite clear that these terms mean *the strong and the weak*, and most probably *landlords and tenants*, as translated by Major Fuller. If I did not know that Major Fuller's MS. had *خوطه* with a *خ* — he says in a foot note that the words *خوطه و بلاهر* are unintelligible to him —, I would say that *خوطه* was a blunder for *فوطه*, with a *ف*.

I have never seen these terms used in any other book.

† The text has *bahukm i masáhat o wafá i biswah bikunand*,—very unclear terms. Major Fuller left a blank. 'Aláuddín wants to grind down the Hindús; they are to pay taxes amounting to one-half, *i. e.* 50 per cent., and their lands are to be measured, and not even a *biswah* of their grounds is to escape taxation.

The words from *without distinction* to *dwelling house*, with all due deference to a scholar like Major Fuller, are wrongly translated, though I am not sure whether the following is absolutely free from objections. Translate—

'First this, that they (the officers) should measure, and tax to the full value, even the last *biswah*, whatever grounds the Hindús cultivated, whether great or little; and that the Hindús should pay 50 per cent. without distinction, and that there should be no difference between the powerful and the weak, and that they (the officers) should remit the powerful nothing of the sums due by them for their wealth. Secondly, they should levy a grazing tax on every

evasion or subterfuge in levying the tax, and the burden of the strong might not fall upon the weak, but that both to the strong and to the weak there might be but one law for the payment of the revenue.

On this duty, and in calling to account those functionaries, clerks, overseers, and agents, who were in the habit of taking bribes and committing embezzlements, Sharif i Qáyiní,* Náib Wazír of the Empire, who had not his equal in the art of caligraphy throughout the whole Kingdom, and was conspicuously distinguished for his judgment and ability and his elegant composition, was several years employed. He used the greatest efforts, until he made all the villages around the capital, the towns and districts in the Duáb, from Biyánah to Jháyin, from Pálam to Deopálpúr, and Lúhúr, all the territories of Samánah and Sunnám, from Rewári to Nágór, from Karah to Kánodí, and Amrohah, Afghánpúr, and Kábar, from Dabhái to Badaón, and K'harak, and Koelah, and the whole of Kaṭehar,†—until he made all these places, with regard to the payment of revenue, subject to one standing regulation of measurement and [the full value of the produce per *biswah*, and of a house tax, and] the grazing tax, as if they were but one village.

He carried out the system so well too, that contumacy and rebellion, and the riding‡ of horses, carrying of weapons, wearing of fine clothes, and eating of betel, went out entirely among the Chowdries,

animal that gives milk, from a cow to a she-goat. And this grazing tax was established. Also, for every house, they should demand a dwelling tax, so that no opportunity, &c.' The difficult words are *az pas i har khánah sukúnat-garí ṭatab numáyand.* Ziá, as shall be shewn below, is a most miserable writer, as far as style is concerned. His language is Hindí literally translated into Persian. Even in his work on the History of the Barmakides his style is very poor. *Az pas i har khánah* is idiomatic Hindí or Hindústání, *har g'har ke pichhe*, behind every house, *i. e.* for every house, *per* house. That a new tax is meant is clear from p. 288, l. 10 and p. 323, l. 10, where كرهى is either گدھى, or گھري, from گدھ (گڑھ), or گھر, a house.

* So according to Major Fuller's MS. Qáyin (قاین) is the well known in Persia.

† Samánah and Sunnám occur often together. They belong to the Sirkár of Sarhind; Dabhái (دبھائی, or with a nasal *n*, دنبھائی) belongs to the Sirkár of Kol, and must not be confounded with دبھبا, Dehbá, (now دھمه *Dahmah*) in the Sirkár of Gházípur. Kánaudí, or Kánaudah, belongs to the Sirkár of Nárnaul; Kaṭehar is Rohilcund. Kábur is in Sambhal; another Kábur belongs to the Sirkár of Bihár in Bihár. Amrohah lies in Sambhal. For كهرك Major Fuller's MS. had كيزك (?).

‡ Compare J. A. S. B., 1869, I., p. 121, l. 15.

landed proprietors, and other opulent men. In collecting the revenue he made one law applicable to all of them, and to such a degree did their obedience extend, that a single constable of the revenue department in exacting the taxes would seize some twenty landed proprietors, chief men, and agents, and minister kicks and blows to them. It was not possible in fact for a Hindú to hold up his head, and in their houses not a sign was left of gold and silver [and *tankahs* and *jétals*], and articles of luxury, which are the main incentives to disaffection and rebellion. In consequence of their impoverished state, the wives of the landed proprietors and chief men even used to come to the houses of the Musalmáns, and do work there, and receive wages for it.

The same Sharaf of Qáyin, the Náib Wazír, also carried out the business of investigating and recovering the embezzlements of all the superintendents, overseers, revenue officers, and functionaries, agents, and collectors, to such an extent, and effected such a close scrutiny, that every *jetal* standing against the name of each of them was extracted from the ledgers (*bahí*) of the *paṭwárís* (or village accountants), and in accordance with that, the sums were levied from them under pain of torture. It was no longer possible, therefore, for any one to take one tankah or any single thing indeed from either a Hindú or Musalmán by way of bribe.*

He thus reduced the revenue officers, collectors, and other functionaries to a state of poverty and destitution; for he used to commit them to prison, and kept them for years in irons for the sake of a thousand or five hundred tankahs, so that these appointments were regarded with greater disgust by the people than a plague. The office of revenue clerk too fell into bad odour, so that no one would give his daughter in marriage to such a person, while the post of superintendent would only be accepted by one who had no regard for his life; for these officials and collectors passed most of their days [on suspicion] in confinement, suffering from blows and kicks.

* In the *Ed. Bibl. Indica*, p. 289, l. 3 *dele* the words *barishwat* before *chíze*. On l. 9, the word شق has either the meaning *the jail situated in the shiqqah of a shiqdár (?)*, or it is blunder for شك, and *dar shakk* means *on suspicion*.

In Shakespear's *Hindústání Dictionary* I find شقदार *shiqqdár* given in the sense of *perplexing, uncertain*; but surely, this is a mistake, or an Indian spelling, for شكدار from شك *shakk*, doubt.

Sultán 'Aláuddín was a monarch, who had not a particle of education, and had never cultivated the society of intelligent persons.

On attaining to the sovereignty, he formed the opinion in his own mind, that the business of ruling and governing was a totally distinct affair from giving efficacy to the statutes of religion, and that royal mandates appertained to Kings, but the commandments of the law of the Prophet to Qázis and Muftís. In accordance with this idea, therefore, whatever measure in the course of government pleased him, or appeared advantageous to the State, that he invariably adopted, no matter whether it was consonant with the precepts of religion or not; and never, in the transaction of state affairs, did he ask for an ecclesiastical verdict or decree on the propriety of any measure. Very few intelligent persons had frequent intercourse with him; but of those who used to visit him were, first, Qází Ziáuddín of Biyánah; second, Mauláná Zahíruddín Lang, and third, Mauláná Mushayyid of Guhrám.* [They were ordered to sit at the table, and sat together with the Amírs outside]. Qází Mughísuddín of Biyánah also had constant communication with the Sultán, and used to attend both at public and private audiences.

One day, about the time when a great deal of trouble was being taken with regard to levying heavier taxes, and imposing fines and recoveries on revenue officers, Sultán Aláuddín told the Qází Mughís that he intended asking him for his professional opinion on several subjects, and required him to state the exact truth in return. Qází Mughís said in reply: "It seems as if the hour of my death were near at hand;" whereupon the Sultán enquired, "Why should you think so?" "Because," exclaimed the Qází, "when your Majesty asks my opinion on religious points, and I state the truth, your Majesty will get enraged and put me to death." "Rest assured," said the Sultán, "that I will not harm you; only reply with truth and sincerity to whatever questions I may put to you." Qází Mughís answered, "Whatever I have read in theological works, that will I assert."

The first question proposed by Sultán 'Aláuddín to the Qází Mughís was: "Under what circumstances can the epithets of *Khiráj*-

* Guhrám is a town and parganah in the Sirkar of Sarhind. In Elliot's works, also in Prof. Dawson's Edition, the name is wrongly spelt *Kokhrám*.

dāh, and *Khirājguzār* be properly applied to a Hindú?" The Qází replied, "By the ecclesiastical law, the term 'Khirāj-guzār' is applicable to a Hindú only, who, as soon as the revenue collector demands the sum due from him, pays the same with meekness and humility, coupled with the utmost respect, and free from all reluctance; and who, should the collector choose to spit in his mouth, opens the same without hesitation, so that the official may spit into it, and under such circumstances continues to pay him homage. The purport of this extreme meekness and humility on his part, and of the collector's spitting into his mouth, is to shew the extreme subservience incumbent on this class, the glory of Islám and the orthodox faith, and the degradation of false religion. God Almighty himself [in the Qorán] declares with regard to their being subjected to degradation '*an yadīn wahum ḡghirūna*,'* and thus he expressly commands their complete degradation, inasmuch as these Hindús are the deadliest foes of the true Prophet. Mustafá, on whom be blessing and peace, has given orders regarding the slaying, plundering, and imprisoning of them, ordaining that they must either follow the true faith, or else be slain and imprisoned, and have all their wealth and property confiscated. With the exception of the Imám i A'zam [Abú Hanífah], whose doctrines we uphold, we have no other great divine as authority for accepting the poll tax (*jazyah*) from a Hindú; for the opinion of other learned men is based on the [*Hadís*] text, "either death, or Islám." Sulṭán 'Aláuddín burst out laughing at Qází Mughís's answer, and said: "I know nothing of the subjects that you have been talking about; but it had often struck me, that the landed proprietors and chief men used to ride fine horses, wear handsome clothes, shoot with the Persian bow [*i. e.*, cross bow], fight among themselves, and follow the chase, and yet never paid a *jetal* of their taxes on lands, persons, flocks and herds, although they took their proprietary share of the produce separately, and that they were further in the habit of having parties and drinking wine; yet some of them would never come to the collectorate, whether summoned or not, nor pay the least respect to the revenue officers. My anger was roused at this, and glowing with passion, I said to myself: Here am I desirous of conquering other countries, and bringing more realms under

* Qorán 9, 29. Sale's Qorán, 1857, p. 152. *Vide* Kín translation, p. 237, note 1.

my subjection, while a hundred classes, in my own Kingdom, do not shew that obedience to my rule that ought to be shewn; how can I then expect to bring other countries properly under my subjection? For this reason I have established laws, and made my subjects thoroughly submissive, so that under fear of my commands they would all escape into a mouse hole; and now you tell me that it is inculcated in the divine law, that the Hindú should be made obedient and submissive in the extreme. You are a learned man, O Mauláná Mughís, but you possess no experience; while I have no learning, but a vast stock of experience. Rest assured, that the Hindú will never be submissive and obedient to the Musalmán, until he becomes destitute, and impoverished. I have, therefore, directed that so much only shall be left to my subjects as will maintain them from year to year in the produce of the ground, and milk and curds, without admitting of their storing up or having articles in excess."

The second question proposed by Sultán 'Aláuddín to Qází Mughís was this: "As to the robbery, embezzlement, and bribery, going on among officials, and the way in which they falsify accounts and defraud the revenue; is this mentioned anywhere in the divine law?" Qází Mughís replied: "It has never occurred to me, nor have I ever read in any book, that when officials receive a sufficient salary, and yet rob the money of the public treasury, which contains the aggregate of the national income, or receive bribes, or defraud the revenue, they cannot be chastised by their superiors, either by fine, imprisonment, or other infliction as may seem most advisable; but for such a delinquent, who robs in his official capacity, amputation of the hand has not been authorized (*i. e.*, the recognized sentence awarded to a common thief.)"

The Sultán said: "Well, I have ordered the revenue commissioners to recover by means of various kinds of torture whatever sums may appear on investigation against the names of the agents, superintendents, and other officials; and ever since they have been called so strictly to account, I hear robbery and bribery have greatly diminished. I have, however, also directed, that the salary of superintendents, and other officials shall be fixed at such a rate as to allow of their living respectably; and if, notwithstanding this, they still commit frauds, and decrease the actual sums received, it shall be

recovered from them with stripes ; and accordingly you yourself can see how it fares in the present day with persons holding these appointments."

The third question proposed by the Sultán to Qází Mughís was this : " As regards the wealth that I brought from Deogír with so much trouble, on my gaining the sovereignty ; is that wealth my private property, or does it belong to the national treasury of all Musulmáns ?" Qází Mughís replied : " I have no option but to speak the truth before the royal throne ; the wealth that your Majesty brought from Deogír, was gained by the force of the army of Islám ; and whatever is gained by such means, becomes the national treasure of all Musulmáns. Had your Majesty acquired the wealth from anywhere by yourself, it would be a satisfactory reason according to divine law, and the wealth so acquired would be Your Majesty's private property."

The Sultán getting testy with Qází Mughís, then exclaimed, " What is this you say ? and are you thoroughly aware of what you are speaking about ? How can the wealth, for which I staked my own life and that of my followers, and which at the time of my gaining the sovereignty I took from certain Hindús, whose name and designation even were not known at Dihlí, reserving it for my own use without placing it in the royal coffers ; how can such wealth (I say) belong to the national treasury ?" Qází Mughís replied : " Your Majesty has proposed a question in divine law to me, and if I speak not agreeably to what I have read in the Scriptures, and your Majesty should, by way of test, enquire of other learned men also, and they give a different opinion to what I have given, while I speak in accordance with the royal inclination, how could your Majesty retain any confidence in me, or enquire of me as to the statutes of the divine law ?"

The fourth question proposed by Sultán 'Aláuddín to Qází Mughís was this : " What portion of the national treasury belongs by right to myself and my children ?" Qází Mughís exclaimed : " Surely my hour of death has arrived ;" to which the Sultán replied : " Why should your hour of death have arrived ?" " Because," said the Qází, " if I answer this question which your Majesty has put to me, according to the truth, your Majesty will get into a passion, and put me to death ; and should I tell an untruth, on the day of

judgment, I shall have to enter into hell." The Sultán replied: "State whatever is authorized by the divine law, and I shall not harm you." Then said Mughís: "If your Majesty intends following the example of the virtuous Caliphs, and desires the highest honours of a future state, you should take for your own use and that of your family just as much only as you have assigned to each of the soldiery, viz., 234 tankahs. But if your Majesty prefers following a middle course, and considers that that sum would not suffice to maintain the dignity of your exalted position, you might take for your own use and that of your family as much as you give to the chief dignitaries of your Court, such as Malik Qirán, Malik Qirbak, Malik Náib Wakílídár and Malik Kháç Hájib. Or should your Majesty adopt the opinions of the sages of the world, in taking a sum from the national treasury for your own use and that of your family, you should take a portion that is larger and better than that of other nobles of your Court, in order that a distinction may be drawn between yourself and others, and the dignity of your exalted position may not be lowered. Whatever your Majesty takes from the national treasury however, in excess of these three modes which I have represented, and for all the lakhs, and krons, and gold jewels you bestow on your family, you will have to answer for at the day of judgment."

Sultán 'Aláuddín flew into a passion, and exclaimed: "Do you not fear my sword, that you dare to say, all the wealth which is spent on my family is unauthorized by divine law?" Qází Mughís replied: "I dread your Majesty's sword (I assure you), and lay before you my shroud, which is my turban; but your Majesty having asked me a question on divine law, I have replied to it according to what I know. Were your Majesty to seek information as to its political expediency, I should say that whatever is expended on your family should be increased a thousand fold, in order that the royal dignity might thereby be enhanced in the eyes of the people; for this enhancement of the royal dignity is essential to political expediency."

After discussing the aforesaid questions, Sultán 'Aláuddín said to Qází Mughís: "After the way in which you have stigmatized my acts as contrary to divine law, listen to this: I have even established a fine of three years' pay for every horseman, who does not stand muster; I cast into prison all who indulge in wine or sell it; when any one

commits adultery with another's wife, I cut off his (offending) organ and put the woman to death ; in revolts I slay both the good and the bad ; embezzled money I recover by means of various kinds of torture, and keep the delinquents in prison and in chains so long as one *jetal* of the sum remains unliquidated, and revenue defalcators I make prisoners for life. Now, do you mean to say all these acts are contrary to divine law ? ”

Qází Mughísuddín then rose from his seat, and advancing to the foot of the throne, bowed his head upon the ground, and cried in a loud voice : “ O monarch of the world ! whether you permit your poor slave to live, or whether you order me, this instant, to be removed from the world, I must declare that all are contrary to divine law ; and in the tradition of the Prophet, (on whom be peace !) and in the doctrines of the learned, it is nowhere stated that a sovereign may do whatever he chooses with regard to the promulgation of orders.”

Sulţán 'Aláuddín offered no reply on hearing the above speech, but, putting on his slippers, retired into his private apartments. Qází Mughís also returned home, and next day, having taken a final adieu of his family, dispensed alms, and performed ablutions, entered the royal Court, and came before the Sulţán, prepared to undergo execution. Sulţán 'Aláuddín, however, summoning him to the front, treated him with great kindness, and giving him a robe and a thousand tankahs, said : O Qází Mughís, although I am not versed in learning, yet for many generations have my ancestors been Musalmáns ; and in order that insurrections may not occur, in which so many thousands of Musalmáns are constantly destroyed, I adopt such measures towards the people, as seem most to their advantage. The people, however, shew a rebellious and contumacious spirit, and will not fulfil my commands ; and I am, therefore, compelled to make such severe laws as will reduce them to obedience. I know not whether these laws are sanctioned by our faith or not ; but whatever I conceive to be for the good of the State, and whatever appears expedient to me at the time, that I order, and as for what may happen to me on the approaching day of judgment, that I know not.”

[But stop, O Mauláná Mughís ! One thing I do not forget in my prayers to God, and I often say, “ O God, thou knowest that my kingdom suffers nothing, if any man sleeps with the wife of his neigh-

bour ; or that it is no loss to me, if any one drinks wine ; and that I feel no grief, if any one commits a robbery, for he won't steal anything from my inheritance ; or that if any one takes advances of money and does not go to his work, the work will yet go on, even if ten or twenty people are lazy. With regard to these four things I certainly act according to the orders of the Prophets. But the people of these times, from one to a lac, nay to five hundred lacs and one thousand lacs, do nothing but talk and boast, caring neither for this world nor the world to come. Now I am ignorant and do not know how to read and write ; in fact my whole knowledge consists in saying an *Alhamdu* (the first chapter of the Qorán), a *Qul hua-Iláhu* (*Qor.*, Sur. 112,) the prayer *Qunút* (as described in law books), and the formulæ of blessing the prophets ; but it is I who have given the order in my realm that a married man who commits adultery with the wife of another, shall be castrated ; and yet, notwithstanding this harsh and bloody order, several men stand before the Palace who have slept with the wives of others.]

[And those who take advances of money and then do not go to their work, are made liable to refund advances of three years.* But in every employment there are hundreds, two hundreds that are made liable to refund three years' advances, and yet people will take money and not work, and prefer to live broken down in the jails. And for thefts committed in the city, I have reduced to beggary about ten thousand clerks and collectors ; nay, I have made their flesh so sore, that worms eat up their bodies, in order to see whether that bad lot will keep their fingers from stealing ; for keeping accounts and stealing at the same time is what a clerk, in these days, is born to.]

[And as regards selling and drinking wine, I have killed and am now killing people in the wells. What do they care for being inside ? What is a jail to them ?—They will drink wine, they will sell it. No one has ever managed God's ' pious subjects,' and I can't either.]

[In the same year in which the Sulţán 'Aláuddín asked Qází Mughis on some questions of the law, Mauláná Shamsuddín Turk, a very

* On p. 296, *Ed. Bibl. Indica*, l. 15 read *bá zan i yake* for *zan i yake*, and *kunad* for *kunand* ; on l. 18, read *bistánad* for *bistánand*, and *bandámzadí* for *namzadí*.

Bád i burút zadan (l. 12) is said, of men, to *boast* ; of women, we say *bád i gesú zadan*.

The whole page is about the most difficult and doubtful page in Baraní.

excellent and learned teacher of the Hadís, had come to Multán, bringing with him a collection of four hundred works on the Hadís. He would not go beyond Multán, because he had heard that the Sulţán said no prayers, nor attended the Friday-prayer in the mosque. Fazlullah, son of Shaikhul Islám Qadrudín, became his pupil. This learned man, while at Multán, wrote a commentary on the Science of the Hadís, which he sent, together with a pamphlet in Persian, to Court. In the preface, he had said much to the praise of the Sulţán. In the pamphlet the following passage occurred. ‘I have come from Egypt with the wish of seeing your Majesty and the city of Dihlí, and my intention was there to establish a school of followers of the Hadís,* and to deliver the Musalmáns from acting upon the traditions of learned but irreligious men. But when I heard that your Majesty says no prayers, nor attends the mosque on Fridays, I returned from Multán. However, I heard of two or three qualities which your Majesty possesses in common with pious kings, and I also heard that your Majesty has two or three qualities which do not belong to religious kings.’]

[‘Now, the good sides of your Majesty are these. I am told that the wretchedness and the misery and the despicable condition and the worthlessness of the Hindús are now so great, that Hindú children and women will go about begging at the doors of the Musalmáns. Hail, king of Islám! the protection which thou affordest the religion of Muhammad (God’s peace rest on him!) is such that, if for a single act done by thee to the glory of Islám, a measure of sins filling Heaven and Earth be not forgiven thee, thou mayest grasp the hem of my garment on the morrow of resurrection.’]

[*Secondly*, I have heard that thou hast made grain and apparel and other things so cheap, that no one could improve matters by the breadth of the point of a needle; and it is a matter of astonishment how in this important matter also, which interests all men on earth, and which other kings of Islám have striven to bring about by labours extending over twenty, thirty years, and yet have failed, thou, O king of Islám, hast so well succeeded.’]

* *I. e.*, the Manláná rejected the decisions of the early lawyers, unless based upon the Qorán and the Hadís.

[*Thirdly*, I have heard that your Majesty has banished everything that intoxicates, and that the lust and the lying of the lusty and the liars have turned bitterer than poison. Hail, hail, bravo, bravo, O king, that thou hast brought about this result.']

[*Fourthly*, I have heard that thou hast driven the trades people with their voluble tongues into mice holes, and hast taken the cheating, and lying, and falsifying out of them; and yet thou thinkest* it little that, in this regard also, thou hast managed bázár-people as no king ever has done since the days of Adam. O king, bless God that thou sittest for such deeds in the company of the prophets !]

[*But* the other things which I have heard of your Majesty, are such as neither God, nor the prophets and the saints, nor even the rationalist, can approve of. *First*, for the office of *Qází* of the realm (a most critical office which suits no one, except he despise the world) thou hast appointed *Hamíd* of *Multán*, whose family from the times of his grandfather and father have lived on usury. Nor dost thou carefully enquire into the belief of thy other *Qázís*, and thou givest the laws of the Prophet into the hands of the covetous, the avaricious, and the worldly. Be on thy guard, lest thou shouldst not be able to bear thy sinful drowsiness on the morrow of resurrection.']

[*Secondly*, I have heard that people in thy city give up walking after the tradition of the Prophet, and walk after the sayings of the 'wise.' It is difficult for me to understand why thy town, the people of which have the tradition but do not follow it, has not long ago become a heap of rubbish, or why the visitations of heaven do not pour down upon it.]

[*Thirdly*, I have heard that ill-starred, black-faced, learned men in thy town sit in the mosques with abominable law books and decisions before them, making money, and perverting the right of *Musal-máns* by interpreting, and cheating, and adopting various ways of swindling. They drown the accuser and the accused; but they too shall be drowned.']

* On p. 298, in Bibl. Ind. edition, l. 4, read *bamanáfi'* for *manáfi'*, and on l. 11, *máshumárá* for *mashumárá*. It looks as if *mashumárá* had been taken in the sense of *nashumárá*, because the same grammatical blunder is perpetrated three times on p. 327.

On p. 302, l. 8, read *lashkar* for *shukr*; l. 11, *nágirift* for *tá girift*; l. 17, *az* for *ar*.

[‘But I have also heard that these two last things are not brought to thy notice, on account of the impious and shameless Qází who stands near thy throne ; else, thou wouldst never give thy sanction to such a rebellion against the religion of Muhammad.’]

[Now the book and the pamphlet written by this teacher of the Hadís came into the hands of Baháuddín, the Counsellor ; and Baháuddín, the ungrateful Counsellor, gave the book to Sulṭán ’Aláuddín, but the pamphlet he did not give and kept it hidden, on account of his partiality for Qází Hamíd of Multán. But I, the author of this book, have heard from Malik Qírá Beg that the Sulṭán learned from Sa’d, the logician, that such a pamphlet had arrived ; and he called for the pamphlet, and he wanted to make away with Baháuddín and his son, because he had not given up the pamphlet, and the Sulṭán was very sorry that Mauláná Shamsuddín Turk had returned from Multán disappointed.] (Ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 299.)

Death of Ulugh Khán. Conquest of Chítor. Invasion of the Mughuls.

Not long after Sulṭán ’Aláuddín had returned from Rantambhúr to Dihlí, and begun pursuing this parsimonious and cruel conduct towards the people, and had thrown open the gate of fines and chastisements ; Ulugh Khán fell sick, and while proceeding to the Capital, he died at one of the halting-places on the road.

Malik A’azzuddín Abúrjá, [Búr Khán (?), *Ed. Bibl. Ind.*] was appointed Wazír in [Shahr i Nau (Jháyin)] the revenue of which was now levied, like that of the environs of Dehli, according to measurement and the exact value *per biswah*.

Sulṭán ’Aláuddín then took the army away again from the Capital, and marching to Chítor, invested that fort, and speedily reduced it, after which he returned to the Capital. Just about the time of his return, an invasion of the Mughuls took place ; for the Mughuls had heard in Máwarannah, that Sulṭán ’Aláuddín had marched with his army to a distant fortress, and was engaged in besieging it, and that Dihlí was consequently unprotected. Turghí accordingly got together two or three *tumáns* of horse, and reached Dihlí by a series of rapid marches with the utmost celerity.

During this year too, in which the Sulṭán had proceeded to capture the stronghold of Chitor, Malik Fakhruddín Júná Dádbak i hazrat, and

Malik Jhujhú, Jágírdár [*muqta'*] of Karah, the nephew (brother's son) of Nuçrat Khán, together with all the Amírs of Hindústán, had been dispatched to Arangul ; but by the time they arrived there, the rains had begun to descend from the sky, and the season became most unpropitious, so that the army of Hindústán could effect nothing at Arangul, and ultimately returned about the beginning of the cold weather, totally disorganized, and with all its stores and equipments lost and ruined.

It was during this very year, when Sulţán 'Aláuddín had returned to Dihlí after the capture of Chitor, and the army that had started along with him, had lost all its stores and equipments during the rainy season, and a month had not elapsed since the time of the Sulţán's return, so that the soldiery had not yet been mustered, nor their kits renewed, that the invasion of the Mughuls took place, and the accursed Turghí, advancing swiftly with 40,000 horsemen, encamped on the banks of the river Jamnah, and blockaded the roads of ingress and egress of the city.

A strange incident was this that befel the soldiery during this year ; for Sulţán 'Aláuddín, after returning from the capture of Chitor, had not sufficient time to provide the army with horses and arms after the loss of equipments they had sustained at Chitor, and Malik Fakhr-uddín Júná, the Dádbak, having returned with the army of Hindústán broken and disorganized from Arangul into the provinces, not a horseman or footman out of it could force his way into the city, on account of the blockade kept up by the Mughuls on all the roads, and the piquets they had stationed. In Multán, Sámánah, and Deopálpúr, moreover, there was no force of sufficient strength to overthrow the Mughul army, and join the Sulţán's camp [at Sírí]. The army of Hindústán was summoned to advance, but in consequence of the hostile presence of the Mughuls, they remained at Kol and Baran. [The Mughuls moreover had occupied all fords (of the Jamnah)].

Sulţán 'Aláuddín, therefore, with the few horsemen that he had at the Capital, came out of the city, and fixing his head quarters at Sírí, pitched his camp there. The Sulţán was then under the necessity of having a trench dug round the camp, and palisades, formed of the planks of house doors, erected along side the trench, whereby he prevented the Mughuls from forcing an entrance into the camp. He

also kept his troops ever alert and vigilant, and constantly on the guard and watch, and in every [trench, *alang*] under arms ready to receive any assault of the Mughuls; but he deferred engaging in a pitched battle. With each division and in each trench too, were stationed five elephants incased in armour, and a party of infantry to keep guard and watch over them. On the other hand the Mughuls used to go round and round the camp, longing to make a sudden irruption on it, and destroy it.

So formidable an invasion of the Mughuls as this, had never before been witnessed at Dihlí for many ages; for did Tughí remain but a single month longer on the banks of the Jamnah, he would inspire such dread, as to create utter desolation in Dihlí. During the present blockade, however, whereby the supply of water, forage, and firewood was rendered very difficult for the people, the entrance of caravans of grain totally prevented, and the dread of the Mughuls so widely spread that their horsemen used to advance up to Chautrah Segani, [*Bibl. Ind.* Subhání, as on p. 320] and Murdodhi [Mori and Hadhi, *Bibl. Ind.*], and the reservoir, and alight at these places, and drink wine there; grain and stores were sold at a moderate price out of the royal depôts, and no great scarcity was felt.*

On two or three occasions desultory conflicts and skirmishes occurred between the outposts on either side, but neither party gained any decided advantage. By the grace of God, Tughí found himself unable to force his way by any means into the Sultán's camp; and by virtue of the supplications of the poor, after a period of two months, the accursed wretch marched off with his army, and made the best of his way back to his own country.

This occasion, on which the army of Islám had received no injury from the Mughul force, and the city of Dihlí had escaped unharmed, appeared one of the miracles of the age to all intelligent persons; for the Mughuls had arrived in great force quite early in the season, and had blockaded the roads against the entry of reinforcements or supplies; and the royal army was suffering under the want of proper equipments, while they were in the most flourishing and hearty condition.

* *Vide* a plan of 'Aláuddín's Intrenchment in Campbell's 'Note on the Topography of Dihlí,' J. A. S. Bengal, 1866, Pt. I., p. 217.

As soon as the danger threatened by Tūrghī, which indeed appeared most appalling (for the time), had passed away, the Sultān awoke from his lethargy, and gave up carrying on wars and sieges. He built a palace at Sīrī, and took up his abode there, making Sīrī his capital, and rendering it populous, and flourishing. He also directed the fortress of Dihlī to be built up, and issued orders that the forts on the line of march of the Mughuls, which had gone to ruin, should be repaired, and that new ones should be erected wherever they were required, and distinguished and able governors appointed to all these strongholds in the direction whence the inroads of the Mughuls occurred. He further commanded that they should make up numerous warlike engines, enlist expert marksmen, establish magazines for arms of all kinds, and accumulate stores of grain and fodder after the manner of granaries, within the ramparts; that numerous picked and chosen troops should be enrolled at Sámānah, and Deopālpur, and kept ready for service, and that the districts in the direction of the Mughul inroads should be confided to experienced nobles, and firm and energetic chiefs.

Administrative Measures of 'Alāuddīn. (*Ed. Bibl. Indica*, p. 303 to p. 326.)

After Sultān 'Alāuddīn had taken care to make these preparations against another inroad of the Mughuls, he used to have discussions with his councillors both by day and night as to the means of effectually resisting and annihilating these marauders; and on this point he was most particular in procuring the best advice. After prolonged deliberation, it was agreed and determined by the Sultān and his advisers, that an immense army was required for the purpose; and that all the troops should be picked and chosen men, expert archers, well armed, and well mounted; so that they might be always fully equipped and [well-mounted.] With the exception of this one plan, none other appeared feasible for resisting the Mughuls.

The Sultān then took counsel with his advisers, every one of whom was unequalled and eminently distinguished, saying: "To maintain an immense picked and chosen force well mounted, so that they may be fully equipped and efficient at all times, is impossible, without the expenditure of vast treasures; for one must give regularly every year

whatever sum is fixed upon at first ; and if I settle a high rate of pay upon the soldiery, and continue to disburse money to them at that rate annually, at the end of a few years, notwithstanding all the treasure I possess, nothing will be left, and without treasure it is of course impossible to govern or deliberate.”

“ I am accordingly desirous of having a large force, well mounted, of picked and chosen men, expert archers, and well armed that will remain embodied for years ; and I will give 234 *tankahs* to a *Murattab* and 78 *tankahs* to a *Du-aspah* ; from the former of whom I shall require two horses with their corresponding equipments, and from the latter one* with its usual gear. Consider now and inform me how this idea that has entered into my mind about raising a large force, and maintaining it permanently, may be carried into execution.”

The councillors, endowed with abilities like those of Aḥṣaf, exercised their brilliant intellects, and after some reflection unanimously expressed the following opinion before the throne : “ As it has entered into your Majesty’s heart, and become implanted† there, to raise a large force and permanently maintained on small allowances [*ba mawājib i andak,*] such can never be accomplished unless horses, arms, and all the equip-

* *I. e.*, one horse. The Edit. Bibl. Ind. has *yak aspah*, one horseman.

This passage is unfortunately unclear and useless, because Baranī has not supplied a commentary. *First*, it is clear from the following that the wages of 78 and 234 (*i. e.*, 78 × 3) *tankahs* were unusually low, and Baranī has not stated what the ordinary rates were. *Secondly*, it is also clear that ‘Alāuddīn takes the terms *Murattab* and *Duaspah* in a new sense, because he defines them for his councillors, and Baranī has not stated what their usual meanings were. The word *Murattab* does not appear to occur in later histories ; it may mean *equipped*, though *murattib* would give a meaning too. To call a man *duaspah*, because he joins the army with *one* horse, is extraordinary, and against the meaning which the word has in the Akbar-nāmah, Badāonī, the Pādishāhnāmah, &c. *Vide* the annotator’s note on Akbar’s *Manḡabs* (Ain translation, p. 238 to 247). *Thirdly*, we expect in the wages a proportion of 1 : 2, not 1 : 3, because ‘Alāuddīn’s *Murattab* furnishes two, and his *Duaspah* one horse ; but this difficulty may be explained away (*vide* Ain translation, p. 251, l. 3, where also the rates are given which Akbar gave his *Yakaspahs*).

Badāonī’s interesting remark that Akbar’s *Dāgh*-law had been the rule under ‘Alāuddīn i Khiljī and Sher Shāh (Ain translation, p. 242, and J. A. S. Bengal for 1869, p. 126) can but little be verified by a reference to Zia’s work, though the word *dāgh* (in Akbar’s sense) occurs on p. 319, l. 2 from below (*Ed. Bibl. Ind.*), and p. 477, l. 6, (Muhammad Shāh’s reign)—also an interesting page for the military history of India, inasmuch an army of 380,000 troopers is mentioned, a statement which may advantageously be compared with Ain translation, p. 245.

† The text has *jāgir*, which is taken in its etymological meaning of *jā-girīf-tah*, having taken a place, having taking root, *vide* Ain translation, p. 256, note. The earliest passage at present known to me, of *jāgir* being taken in a sense

ments of a soldier, as well as subsistence for his wife and family, become excessively cheap, and are reduced to the price of water; for if your Majesty can succeed in lowering the price of provisions beyond measure, a large force can be raised and permanently maintained according to the idea that has entered your august mind; and by the aid of this vast force all fear of danger from the Mughuls will be averted."

The Sultán then consulted with his trusty and experienced councillors and ministers, as to what he should do, in order that the means of livelihood might be made exceedingly cheap and moderate, without introducing capital punishment, torture, or severe coercion. The Sultán's ministers and advisers represented, that until fixed rules were established, and permanent regulations introduced for lowering prices, the means of livelihood would never get exceedingly cheap. First then, for the cheapening of grain, the benefit of which is common to all, they proposed certain measures, and by the adoption of these measures, grain became cheap, and remained so for years.

These measures were as follows: a fixed price current; a magistrate (to carry out the provisions) of the law; royal granaries; prohibition against all sales at enhanced prices; consignment of the caravans of grain into the hands of the magistrate of the market; sale of grain by the cultivators at their own fields; publication of the price current daily before the throne.

By the adoption of the seven measures detailed above, whatever was the price current determined before the throne, it never rose a *dáing*, whether there was an excess or a scarcity of rain.

[For the last two paragraphs, the Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 304, l. 4 from below to p. 305, l. 10, has the following:—

Regulation I.—The price of grain to be fixed before the throne.

approaching its later (Indian) meaning of *lands assigned to military commanders*, occurs in Baraní (Ed. B. I., p. 40, l. 13)—

چهار هزار سوار جاگیر و بداؤن اقطاع داشت

'He had 4000 troopers as *jágír*, and held Badáon as *aqtá'*; for which later Historians would say

چهار هزار سوار منصب و بداون جاگیر داشت

The word *mançab*, like *zamíndár*, is old, and occurs even in the *Tabaqát i Náçírí*.

It is of interest to watch the changes of meaning which the word *jágír* has gone through.

Regulation II.—The Sultān to store a large quantity of grain in granaries.

Regulation III.—To appoint a *Shihnah* (inspector) of the market (*mandī*) and trustworthy men with full power and dignity.

Regulation IV.—The merchants (*kārwanān*) of all parts of the empire to be registered in a *Daftar*. They are to be in charge of the *Shihnah i Mandī*.

Regulation V.—The revenue of the Duáb and the country to a distance of 100 *kos* so to be settled, that the subjects cannot even lay by 10 *mans* of grain, and the subjects to be ground down to such an extent, that they sell the grain on the fields to the merchants. (For *طلبند*, l. 2, p. 305, read *نطلبند*!)

Regulation VI.—To take certificates from the Collectors [*kārkunān*]* of the country to shew that the merchants get the grain on the fields. (For *ولایت کارکنان* read *ولایت کارکنان*, as is clear from p. 307).

Regulation VII.—To appoint a trustworthy travelling agent (*barīd*) who, together with the *Shihnah*, is to report to the Sultān on the state of the market.

Regulation VIII. for rendering produce cheap.—In times of drought, no produce, not even for a *dāng*, uselessly to be sold in the markets.

In consequence of these *eight* rules, the price of grain did not rise a *dāng*, whether there was an excess or a scarcity of rain. (The last regulation is not enumerated separately on p. 308 of the text.)

The *first* regulation was of this description—Wheat, $7\frac{1}{2}$ *jetals* per *man*; barley, 4 *j.*; gram, 5 *j.*; rice, 5 *j.*; másh, 5 *j.*; and mot'h, 3 *j.*† The above prices held good for years, and as long as Sultān 'Aláuddín was alive, grain never did rise a *dāng* above that, either during an excess or a scarcity of rain, and this establishment of a fixed price in the market was considered one of the wonders of the age.

* We should not forget that *Kárkun* was the title of a class of Revenue officials under the 'Amīl, or Collector. During the reign of Akbar, the 'Amīl, had two *bitīchís* or 'writers' under him, whose titles were *Kárkun* and *Khāṅ-nawís*. Abulfazl specifies their duties in the *Akbarnámah* (beginning of the 27th year).

The *Barīd* (pr. 'runner,' from the Latin *veredus*), in time of Baraní had to perform those duties which the *Wāqī'ahnawís* under the Mughuls had to perform. *Vide* my *Kín* translation, p. 258. Abulfazl, indeed, says that the office of the *Wāqī'ahnawís* was an innovation by Akbar; but from Baraní (*Eld. Bibl. Ind.*, p. 40, l. 6 from below) it is quite clear that the office existed as early as in the reign of Balban, though the 'Wāqī'ahnawís' was called *barīd*. Hence *news agent* would be perhaps a better term than *travelling agent*.

† Professor Cowell, I think, observes very correctly that these price lists would be more interesting, if the coins and their value were better understood. But they may be compared with the price lists in the *Kín*, p. 62.

The *second* regulation for effecting a cheapness in the price of grain was, that Malik Qabúl [a servant of Ulugh Khán], who was a wise, discreet, and trustworthy noble, was appointed magistrate (*shiknah*) over the market. The official in question was granted a large estate, and a large body of cavalry and infantry to support his power and consequence. A deputy, shrewd and experienced, was also appointed from the throne, out of the circle of his friends, and a distinguished travelling agent [*baríd*] with a due sense of respect for royalty was also installed in the market.

The *third* regulation for the same purpose was, the accumulation of vast hoards of grain in store-houses. Sultán 'Aláuddín gave orders that throughout the crown lands in the Duáb, they should take the grain itself in place of money payments for revenue, and send it into the royal granaries at the capital, while in [Shahr i nau] and its adjoining territory, they should take a moiety of the royal share in kind, and that in Jháyin and its several districts also, they should form depôts for grain, and forward it by the caravans to the capital. In short, so much of the royal grain reached Dihilí, that there was scarcely a street, which did not contain two or three of the royal store-houses filled with it; and when there was a scarcity of rain, or the caravans, from some cause or other, failed to convey sufficient grain into the market, they used to bring it into market from the royal stores, selling it at the regulated price, and supplying the people according to their wants, while in *Shahr i nau* they used to consign the grain out of the royal depôts to the caravans. By these two arrangements, there was never a dearth of grain in the market, nor did it ever rise one *dáing* above the regulated price.

The *fourth* regulation for the same purpose was, the consignment of the caravans to (the charge of) Malik Qabúl, magistrate of the market. Sultán 'Aláuddín gave orders, that the whole of the caravans from all parts of the kingdom should be subject to the magistrate of the market, and their leaders should be [fettered and chained]. The magistrate also was directed to keep the leaders of the caravans [fettered and chained] ever present before him, until they became of the same mind, and agreed to sign a deed on mutual security, and that until they brought their wives, children, cattle, and property with them, and set up their abodes in the villages bordering on the Jamnah, where the

jurisdiction of the magistrate would extend over them and their wives and children, and the caravans would be completely subject to him, he should not remove the chains from their necks. By the establishment of this regulation, so much grain began to pour into the market, that there was no need for the royal stores, and the price never rose a *dáng* above the fixed rate.

The *fifth* regulation for the above purpose was, the prohibition against the hoarding up of grain and selling it at enhanced prices. This check was so rigorously enforced during the 'Alái reign, that it was not possible for any one of the various classes of merchants, traders, grain-dealers, &c., to hoard up a single *man* of grain, or sell it secretly at their own houses for one *dáng* or *diram* above the fixed price; and if any hoarded grain was discovered, it became confiscated to the crown, and the proprietor was fined. Written agreements were also taken from the superintendents and agents of the territory lying within the Duáb, binding them not to permit any one within their jurisdiction to hoard up grain, and engaging that if anybody was detected at this practice, the officials themselves should be considered at fault, and have to answer for it before the throne.

Owing to the enforcement of this prohibition therefore, the price current in the market never rose a single *dáng* or *diram* either during the greatest superabundance or scarcity of rain.

The *sixth* regulation for securing the cheapness of grain, was the taking of written agreements from the superintendents and agents of districts to this effect, that they would cause the grain to be delivered to the caravans by the cultivators at their own fields. Sultán 'Aláuddin accordingly gave orders, that at the chief office of revenue, written engagements should be taken from the magistrates and collectors of the country lying within the Duáb, which is nearest to the city, binding them to exact the revenue due from the cultivators with the utmost rigour, so that it might be impossible for them to carry off any large quantities of grain from the fields to their own houses, and hoard it there, and that they might thus be induced to sell it to the caravans at the fields at a cheap rate.

By the establishment of the above regulation, no excuse was left to the caravans for not bringing grain into the market, and constant supplies consequently were continually arriving, while the agriculturists also found it to their own advantage to convey as much of their

grain as they could, from their fields to the market, and sell it at the regular price.

The *seventh* regulation for the above purpose [consisted* in this that reports had to be furnished of the prices current in the Bázárs. The continuance of the prosperity of the Bázárs was ascertained in three ways. *First*, the *Shihnah i Mandi* had to furnish a list of prices and report on the condition of the Bázár. *Secondly*, the *Barid i Mandi*, reported on the quality of the articles. *Thirdly*, the informers who had been appointed for every Bázár made reports. If there were discrepancies between the reports of the informers and that of the Barid and that of the Shihnah, the Shihnah got for it what he had to get. But as the officers appointed in the Bázárs knew that the Sulṭán got his reports on the transactions and the state of the market from three sources, it was impossible to deviate, even in the least, from the Bázár regulations. Experienced people that lived during the reign of 'Aláuddín were astonished to see how firm the prices of articles remained; for though it is nothing uncommon to see prices remain firm during years when the season is good and there is plenty of rain, it was most remarkable that during the reign of 'Aláuddín no famine occurred at Dihlí, not even in years when there was a draught and people thought a famine unavoidable. Neither the grain of the Sulṭán, nor the grain of the merchants could indeed rise a single

* Here is a blank in Major Fuller's translation, extending from p. 308, l. 3, *Ed. Bibl. Indica*, to p. 312, l. 4 from below. On page 308, l. 5 from below for ار read او; l. 3 from below, dele و, and for بست یگان read یسنگان. Page 310 l. 5 read كونله for كونه; the Hamzah cannot be left out, as the word is an adjective; l. 7 dele the Hamzah, and read سه و نیم for سینم; l. 10. سلامتی for سلاحتی; l. 12 read شکر تر for شکر تری; l. 14. سه for سر, and دو نیم for دید و یک; l. 19, اسامی for تذکره اسامی. Page 311, l. 4 the second word is *birasánand*; l. 6, dele the Hamzah of اقمشه; l. 13, dele و; l. 18, read اسپهائی (of Shushtar or Shustar) for شش تری. Page 313, l. 3, read اسپهائی for اسپهائی; and compare lines 14 and 15 with l. 20. Page 314, l. 6, کردندندے for کردندے; l. 11, نخواده for خواهد; l. 12 read كند از میزان ویدش for the absurd—از میزان ویدش; l. 19. هزار for بهزار. Page 315, l. 10, read مذکور for مذکور; last line, زحمت for زحمت, and موزة for موزة. The pages from 308 to 332 of the *Bibl. Indica* Edition look like uncorrected proof sheets.

dang, and it is certainly a matter of astonishment that no other king besides 'Aláuddín ever did effect such results. If even once or twice the Shihnah i Mandí petitioned the Sultán to raise the price of grain by half a *jetal* on account of a season of draught, he got twenty lashes].

[In seasons of draught, the merchants of each quarter of the town received daily a supply of grain according to the number of the inhabitants in each quarter, and they issued grain to the common people at a rate not exceeding half a *man* per individual; but rich people also and notables, who were not in possession of villages and lands, got grain from the Bázár. If during a season of drought poor and helpless people crowded to the Bázárs and got crushed to death, and the officers neglected to pay attention to the influx, the matter was immediately reported to the Sultán, and the Shihnah had to suffer for it].

[Five regulations were also given to keep all articles at low prices, as cloth, common sugar, refined sugar (*nabát*), fruits, grease, oil; and on account of the continuance of these five regulations, the cheapness of the articles continued. The prices fixed by the king did not rise, and the people got what they wanted. These five regulations referred to

1. The establishment of the *Sarái 'Adl*.
2. The fixing of prices.
3. The registration of all merchants in the Empire.
4. Advances made from the Treasury to rich and respectable Mul-tání traders, who were put in charge of the *Sarái 'Adl*.
5. Passes to be given by the chief of the town (*rais*)* to great and rich people when they wanted to purchase costly articles].

[The *first* regulation for keeping the prices of articles low, consisted in the establishment of the *Sarái 'Adl*. The open space inside the Badáon Gate, in the direction of the *Koshak i sabz*, which for years had not been used, was called *Sarái 'Adl*, and 'Aláuddín gave the order that no article belonging to the Sultán or to merchants of the town and the country, should be stored up in any other place but the *Sarái 'Adl*. Every article should there be sold at the price fixed by the Sultán, and if any one should store up wares in his own house, or sell them, or sell them a *jetal* dearer than was

* Perhaps the *Díwán*, as below, in the third regulation, Baraní uses *Ráis* as equivalent to *Díwán i Riyásat*.

fixed, such wares should lapse to the Sultān, and the owner should be liable to severe punishment. On account of this regulation all wares were deposited in the *Sardī 'Adl*, whether in value from one hundred, or from thousand to ten thousand *tankahs*.]

[The *second* regulation for the above purpose fixed the prices of sundry articles. Thus the prices of silk, &c., were as follows:—

Dihli <i>Khazz</i> Silk,	16 <i>Tankahs</i> .
Orange coloured, raw silk, <i>Khazz i Kaunlai</i> (<i>كونلائے</i>)*.....	6 <i>T</i> .
Half silks mixed with hair, as prescribed in the Muhammudan law, fine,	3 <i>T</i> .
Red striped stuffs,	6 <i>Jetals</i> .
Common stuffs,	3½ <i>J</i> .
Red lining as woven at Nāgor,	24 <i>J</i> .
Coarse lining,	12 <i>J</i> .
<i>Shīrīn bāft</i> , fine,.....	5 <i>T</i> .
Do., Middling,.....	3 <i>T</i> .
Do., Coarse,.....	2 <i>T</i> .
<i>Silāhatī</i> ,† fine,.....	6 <i>T</i> . (?)
Do., Middling,	4 <i>T</i> .
Do., Coarse,	2 <i>T</i> .
Long cloth (<i>Kīrpās</i>), fine, ...	1 <i>T</i> ., for 20 <i>gaz</i> .
Do., Coarse,	1 <i>T</i> ., for 40 <i>gaz</i> .
Again, White sugar,	2½ <i>Jetal</i> , per <i>ser</i> .
Light brown sugar (<i>shakar i tar</i>),	1½ <i>J</i> ., Do.
Brown sugar,	1½ <i>J</i> ., for 3 <i>ser</i> s.
Grease, of different animals,	1 <i>J</i> ., for 1½ <i>s</i> .
Sesame oil,	1 <i>J</i> ., for 3 <i>s</i> .
Salt,.....	1 <i>J</i> ., for 2½ <i>mans</i> .

* Regarding *Khazz* silk, *vide* *Ain* translation p. 92, note 4. The word *كونلائے* must be written with a hamzah above the *g*, as in all other adjectives denoting colour; e. g., *پستال* *pistal*, looking green like the pistachio nut, *نقرائے* *nuqraī* looking like silver, *چھرائے* *chihraī* pink, &c. *Vide* J. A. S. Bengal, for 1868, p. 41.

Hence *كونلائے*, looking like a *كونلا* (*Hind.* an orange), as raw cocoon silk looks.

† The price mentioned is very high. The stuff which people now-a-days call *Silāhatī* is a kind of cloth made of cotton, and was even at the times of Akbar very cheap. *Ain* translation, p. 95. Compare the above list with Briggs I, p. 356.

[The prices of other fine and coarse articles may be inferred from those which I have given].

[The *Sarái 'Adl* was open from early morning till the time of the last prayer. People thus got what they needed, and no one returned disappointed].

[The *third* regulation for the above purpose was this that the name of the merchants of the town and the country had to be registered in the book of the *Díwán (raís)*. The Sultán 'Aláuddín ordered that the names of all merchants, whether Musalmáns or Hindús, of the Empire should be registered in the book of the *Díwán (Díwán i riyásat)*, and further that a regulation should be made for all merchants in the town and outside. According to this order a regulation was made, and merchants had to sign engagements, whereby they were compelled to bring a certain quantity of wares to town and to sell them at the rates fixed by the Sultán. When the latter provision of the regulation was carried out, the articles which the Sultán had to furnish, fell off in number, and the merchants that came within the regulation, brought a great deal of wares to the *Sarái 'Adl*, where they were stored up for a long time without being sold].

[The *fourth* regulation for the above purpose provided that advances from the Treasury should be made to Multání traders, so that they might bring articles to town, and sell them in the *Sarái 'Adl* at the rates fixed by the Sultán. The Sultán 'Aláuddín ordered that advances within twenty lacs of tankahs should be made to rich Multání merchants from the treasury, who were to be put in charge of the *Sarái 'Adl*; and he told the Multánis to bring articles from all parts of the Empire, and sell them at the rates fixed by the Sultán in the *Sarái*. Whenever merchants did not bring articles to town, this regulation was applied, and articles remained cheap].

[The *fifth* regulation for the above purpose consisted in this that the *Díwán (raís)* was ordered to grant passes for the purchase of costly articles. The Sultán 'Aláuddín ordered that no man should be allowed to buy in the *Sarái 'Adl* costly stuffs, as *Tasbih*, *Tabrizí*, embroidered, cloths with gold threads, *Dihlí floselle* silks, *kamkhábs*, *Shushtar* silks, *Haríri* silks, Chinese silks, *Bhíram (?)* silks, *Deogir* silks, and other stuffs which common people do not use, without first obtaining a pass from the *Díwán*, and writing out a receipt for them. The *Díwán* then

used to give Amírs, Maliks, great and well known men, passes according to his knowledge of their circumstances; but if he knew that some of them, though not merchants, had merely applied to him for permission to take costly stuffs from the *Sarái 'Adl*, in order to sell them in the country at four or five times the price at which they had got them from the stores of the Sulţán, he refused to give passes. The very reason why the pass system had been introduced, had in fact been this, to prevent merchants, both in and outside the town, from obtaining costly stuffs from the *Sarái 'Adl* at the rates fixed by the Sulţán, and then taking them to the country where they could not be had, and selling them at high prices].

[In consequence of the continuance of these five regulations, all things remained so cheap in Dihilí, as to astonish old experienced people. Politicians of the age used to ascribe the low prices prevailing during the reign of 'Aláuddín to four reasons; *first*, the harsh way in which he enforced his orders, from which there was absolutely no escape; *secondly*, the oppressiveness of the taxes and the rigour with which they were exacted, so that people had to sell grain and other articles at the rates fixed by the Sulţán; *thirdly*, the scarcity of money among the people, which was so great that the proverb got *en vogue*, 'a camel (may be had) for a *dáing*; but where is the *dáing* to be had?' *fourthly*, the impartiality and consequent harshness of the officials, who would neither take a bribe, nor pay regard to the rank of any man].

[Four regulations also were given to maintain cheap rates for horses, slaves, and cattle. They were introduced in a very short time. These four regulations were—]

Specification of quality, and its corresponding price; prohibition of purchase by dealers and monied men; coercion and castigation of brokers, dealers, and monied men; investigation into the sale and purchase of each market at certain intervals before the throne. By the institution of the four laws mentioned above, at the end of a year or two, such a reduction in the prices of horses, slaves, and cattle ensued as was never witnessed subsequent to the 'Alái reign.

First, with respect to the specification of quality and the corresponding price of a horse, it was determined thus. Horses coming under the designation of taxable animals, were divided into three qualities, with

fixed prices [?]*; that of the first quality varying from 100 to 120 tankahs, the second from 80 to 90, and the third from 60 to 70; while such as did not pass through the custom house [or rather, the *Dīwān's muster*], were called *tattoos* (ponies), averaging from 10 to 20 tankahs.

The *second* regulation for securing the cheapness of horses was the prohibition of dealers and monied men from purchasing animals in the market, or employing any one to purchase on their account. Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn directed, with regard to the establishment of the above regulation, which is the very basis of all laws for the cheapening of horses, that no dealer should be allowed to go about the horse market. Such strictness was observed in carrying out this regulation, that no dealer was accordingly permitted to frequent the horse mart, and several of them, who for years had been getting a profit and gaining a livelihood by traffic in horses, and were in league with the chief brokers of the market, were fined, and overthrown, and both themselves and the chief brokers were banished to distant fortresses. By the establishment of this regulation for the suppression of purchasing on the part of dealers, the current price of horses began to be very much reduced.

The *third* regulation for the above purpose, was the coercion and castigation of the chief horse brokers, who were a most arrogant, rebellious, and audacious class of people. These they treated with immense rigour and severity, and expelled some from the city, until the price of horses began to get cheap; for these chief brokers are in reality the rulers of the market, and until they are brought into order by coercion and castigation, and cease taking the bribes which they receive from both parties, and abstain from mediating between the buyer and the seller, the price of horseflesh can never fall. It was a matter of some difficulty to bring these bare-faced brokers into order, nor would they have behaved themselves properly except through fear of the Sulṭān's

* I do not know what Major Fuller's MS. had. The *Edit. Bibl. Indica*, p. 313, l. 3, has (reading *asphāi* for the absurd *asāni*)—

'Horses which under the designation of *hasham* (*i. e.* fit for war) passed the muster of the *Dīwān*, were divided into three classes, and (pattern horses) were shewn to brokers with the prices fixed for them.

The passage may be compared with my *Ain* translation, p. 234, bottom.

Akbar also prohibited the export of horses (Bad. II, 390, l. 4 from below); but he encouraged the import by wise regulations *Ain*, p. 133).

harsh disposition, whereby it was no longer possible for them to prevaricate and tell falsehoods.

The *fourth* regulation for the above purpose was, the investigation into the quality and price of horseflesh before the throne. Every month or six weeks, Sultán 'Aláuddín used to summon before him [for a day or two] a specimen* of all these qualities of horses, together with the chief brokers, when he both examined and tested the quality of the animal, and ascertained its prices. If any variation appeared between its sterling worth, and the specification of its quality and price, the brokers suffered penalties and punishments accordingly. Owing to this scrutiny, inasmuch as the chief brokers were liable to be summoned quite suddenly before the throne, it was impossible for them to set up a price and quality of their own, or to take any thing from the buyer and seller, or to enhance or diminish, or to exceed the standard [and yet pass in muster before the throne].

The institution of laws for cheapening slaves and cattle was managed on the same principle, as that which I have just written regarding the cheapening of horses. It was not possible for dealers and monied men to go about the market, and shew [get a glance even at the hair of] a slave in any way. The standard value of a working girl was fixed at from 5 to 12 tankahs, and the price of a singing girl at from 20 to 30 or 40, while one or two hundred tankahs was a price seldom fetched by any slave; and should a slave, such as is not to be procured in these days for a thousand or two thousand tankahs, appear in the market, who was there that could buy him for fear of the watch? The price of a handsome young slave boy† ranged from 20 to 30 tankahs,

* Major Fuller's MS. seems to read نونہ for مہمی (?) which the Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 314, l. 6, has.

† Major Fuller passes mildly over the obscene phrases of the text (p. 314, the last six lines.) *Kanīzak i kindári* means, of course a girl for embracing (*kindárah*), a concubine, not necessarily a singing girl. The words *Ghulámán i kárkardah* and *bachagán i naukárí*, which Major Fuller translates 'working men' and 'ill-favoured boys,' have another meaning. *Kárkardah* is the same as *maf'úl*, not 'working,' but worked upon,' a *catamitus*; hence *ghulámán i kárkardah*, slaves that are practised and may be used by sodomites. *Ghulámán bachagán i naukárí*, who fetched of course less money, are 'novices in the art.'

To the great joy of Baraní 'beardless slaves, beautiful eunuchs, pretty slave girls fetched (during the next reign) 500 to 1000 Tankahs, and even 2000 T?; vide Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 384, where, *passim*, we have to read on the last lines *arzishádí* (prices) for the absurd *az* (on one line) and *rishtaháí* (on the other line.)

and that of working men [?] from 10 to 15, while ill-favoured boys [?] were procurable at 7 and 8.

Such penalties were inflicted on the chief brokers, that life even became distasteful to them; and they longed eagerly for death.

In the cattle market, by the introduction of these regulations, the price of the best beasts of burthen which in these times fetch 40 tankahs, was 4, or at the outside 5 tankahs. A cow for slaughtering fetched a tankah and a half, while a milch cow was valued at from 3 to 4. The price of a cow buffalo in milk averaged from 10 to 12 tankaks, [one for slaughtering, from 5 to 6 tankahs], and that of a fat kid from 10 to 12 [and 14] jetals.

The cheapness of all the three markets mentioned above was so securely established, that it would be impossible to improve upon it; and as further precaution, police men were stationed throughout the three markets, who used to take cognizance of all the good and bad, obedience and disobedience, and fair and unfair dealing that was going on in them, and were bound to furnish daily reports of the same to the Sultán. Whatever therefore reached the Sultán through the reports of the police, it was impossible that it could escape the most rigorous scrutiny and investigation, nor could the culprit's guilt fail to be brought to light, and punishment to be inflicted upon him. From fear of the police, people both high and low, whether belonging to the market or not, became very careful of their behaviour, obedient, and submissive, and subdued with fear and awe; nor did any one dare to swerve a needle's point from the letter of the law, to increase or diminish any of the royal standard prices, to indulge in vain desires and excesses of any sort, or to accept anything from buyers and sellers.

In the establishment of laws for the market people, which belongs to the financial department [*díwán i riyásat*] of the State, and for the establishment of the price of articles sold in the stalls of the market, a great deal of trouble was taken; and with immense toil, everything connected with the markets, from caps to socks, combs to needles, sugar cane to vegetables, [*Harísah* to broth, *Çabúní* sweatmeats to *Réorís*,* cakes and baked bread to rice bread and fishcakes, from *pán-*

* *Réorí* is perhaps familiar to all in India. For *Harísah*, we have Abulfazl's recipe, *Kín translation*, p. 60, l. 18; and p. 33, *Note*.

leaves] to betel nuts, roses, and greens, was put thoroughly in order.

Sultán 'Aláuddín effected this and reduced everything to cheapness by instituting of his own accord the following measures: the appointment of a superintendent of ability and judgment, with a stern, relentless disposition and parsimonious* character; the strict supervision and control over the traffic of every person in the market; the appointment of a magistrate in every market on the part of the finance department; and the severe coercion, intimidation, and chastigation of the market people, even to the cutting of the flesh of both cheeks.

For the establishment of regulations for the public markets too, the advantages of which extend to the whole population at large, Sultán 'Aláuddín made strenuous efforts, and was constantly employed in appraising every article, however slight it might be, such as needles, combs, slippers, shoes, cups, pitchers, and goblets; and the prices of all these he determined according to the estimated cost of the articles, with a fair profit to the seller; and schedules of the prices fixed before the throne were given into the office of finance.

The first measure for establishing the cheapness of articles, appertaining to public markets, was the appointment of an able superintendent, and a stern harsh-tempered magistrate; [for the people of the markets are shameless, bold, cunning, and debauched, they 'burn' fools and lie, and(?); they arbitrarily fix the prices of articles themselves. Kings have been unable to reduce them to obedience by laying down price lists, and ministers have failed to devise laws and regulate the transactions of this forward set of people. After much reflection, 'Aláuddín appointed Ya'qúb, the superintendent (*názir*), to the new office of *Díván i riyásat*; for he knew the whole town, and the transactions and the sales and purchases of every class, and was not only a trustworthy and upright man, but also ill-tempered, hard and close, cruel and coarse. But on account of the respect in which he was held, and the obedience which people shewed to his orders, the Sultán gave him the *riyásat*, in addition to his duties as *názir*, and the *Muhtasib*-ship of the Empire. Such a *ráis* conferred indeed every honor on the office. From the numerous corporeal punishments which he inflicted and had inflicted, from the imprisoning and fettering, and the

* *Kotahdast*.—Baraní means a man who will not take a bribe.

ignominies which he heaped on the bázár people, every one of them stood in awe of him, and sold his things cheap ; but notwithstanding all severities and scoldings, they could not keep from giving less, or shewing purchasers one thing as a pattern and then giving something inferior, or from burning fools, and cheating and falsifying.]

[The *second* regulation for keeping bázár prices low was this, that the Sultán should continually make enquiries ; for if a king wishes to regulate the doings of bázár people who never were subject to regulations, he should not befriend (?)* nor neglect continually to enquire into their doings ; for kings of olden times have said that it

* The misprints in the Ed. Bibl. Indiae are again so numerous, that it is difficult to get any sense at all. P. 316, l. 6, read ضوابط و ضوابط for ضوابط ; l. 11, در در for در ; l. 18, در بر آورد (an estimate) for در بر آورد ; l. 14, كالائى for كالائى ; l. 14, بر آورد (an estimate) for در بر آورد ; l. 18, سفیده for سفیده سوزنده ; l. 20, رئیس for نصب رئیس ; بازارها for بازارهای ; و سوزنده is a word, which very likely has no meaning. P. 317, l. 5, read کم دهی وجهه for کم دهی و وجهه ; l. 9, ریاست نظرت با نظارت ریاست ; l. 10, نمودند for نمودن, and وجهه for وجهه ; l. 11, شدت او شدت و تکلیف ; l. 14, either الفت is wrong, or a word has fallen out before it, as *bá ghaflat ulfat nakunad* ; l. 15, read نه نماید for نماید ; l. 17, باز آرند for باز آرند ; l. 19, استقصای for استقصای ; l. 20, کار نرخ ارزانی for کار نرخ ارزانی, and *dele* تذکرهای ; l. 22, اند for است. P. 318, l. 1, read بان for بان, and تذکره های for تذکره ; l. 3, the word اشیای is *twice* written with a *بی*, though no adjective follows ; l. 4, for نباید read نیاید, and خریدگان for خردگان ; l. 6, the whole line has no sense ; l. 7, again اشیای with an impossible *بی* ; l. 16, *kibár* is doubtful ; l. 20, the first word is *ghulám-bachagán*. P. 319, l. 1, read بیدار کسه for بیدار کسه ; l. 3 *dele* the first و ; and for آرند read آرد ; l. 5, read اشیای with a *بی* for اشیا ; l. 8, دادع for کم دادع ; l. 9, put the words او را از دوکان at the end of the line, and *dele* the و after دوکان, which is moreover a bad Indian spelling for دکان ; l. 12, اشیاء has received a Hamzah, the editors being doubtful as to the propriety of a final *بی* ; l. 15, for هزار read هزار ; l. 16, for این read این, and *dele* ها ; l. 17, read بیست و سی و چهار ; l. 21, *dele* و. The sentence, moreover, is either one of Barani's bad sentences, as there are two different subjects, *Sultán 'Aláuddín*, and on p. 320, l. 1, the *Mughuls*; or the editors have not looked up the MSS. P. 320, l. 1 *dele* و after ; l. 10, the و before علی has no sense ; l. 11, read چنگر for چنگر ; l. 13, for نایک read نایک as on p. 241 ; but the chance is that even that is

was an easy matter to clear the outskirts of a jungle, and subject distant nations, but it was difficult to clear a jungle from within and suppress rebellious bázár people. But Sulṭán 'Aláuddín inquired personally so carefully into the sales and purchases of the articles of every bázár as to astonish every one ; and in consequence of his minute examination of the prices, the prices of the bázár—a very difficult matter—did get low.]

[The *third* regulation for keeping prices low referred to the appointment of *Shihnahs* on the part of the *Diwán i Riyásat*. Ya'qúb, the *Názir* and *Ráis* of the town, selected and appointed *Shihnahs* for each bázár, gave each *Shihnah* a copy of the price lists which had emanated from the throne, and ordered them, whenever bázár people should sell things, to write down the prices at which they had been sold ; and should they have no opportunity to write down the sales, the *Shihnah* should always enquire from the purchasers how much they had paid for anything. Should then a marketman be found out to have sold things at a price not sanctioned by the price lists, he should be taken before the *Ráis*, and the responsibility of that bázár which if they give less weight (?) the *Shihnah* (?). The appointment of a *Shihnah* for each bázár was very conducive to keeping prices low.]

[The *fourth* regulation calculated to keep prices low, was this, that the *Názir* Ya'qúb should illtreat and beat the people of the bázárs and cut off pieces of flesh from their cheeks, if they did not give proper weights. Young and old people in the city were unanimous that no *Diwán i Riyásat*, in any age, could have been harsher than the *Názir* Ya'qúb ; for in every bázár he used (daily) ten, twenty times to enquire into the prices at which articles were sold, and at each enquiry he discovered deficiencies in weight and lashed the tradespeople mercilessly, and illtreated them in every possible way. But notwithstanding his harshness and his lashes and punishments, the bázár people would not desist from giving short weight ; for though they sold things at the

wrong, for on p. 323, l. 17, the editors have put *Tátak* ; l. 15, read *تَرَتَاک* for *تَرَبَاک*, as on lines 10 and 18, unless again both are wrong ; l. 17, read *حَرْبِگَال* for *حَرْبِگَال* ; l. 21, read *اَنْدَرِپِت*. P. 321, l. 1, *dele* the Hamzah, which is against Persian Grammar ; l. 7, *dele* *و* ; l. 15, read *رَاهِگِير* for *رَاهِهَائِي* ; l. 17, *رَاهِهَائِي* for *رَاهِهَا* ; l. 20, *بُرَد* for *بُرَد*.

fixed rates, they would cheat in the weights and decrease the quantity of the wares (?), and would 'burn' the buyers, especially such as were simple or young. When the Sulṭān 'Aláuddīn enquired and saw that the people of the bázár would not be submissive as behoved them, and did not desist from giving short weight, falsifying, and 'burning' the simple and the young, he called sometimes simple slaves from his pigeon houses, gave them ten or twenty dirhams (*i. e.*, tankahs), and told them to go to the bázár, ordering one to bring bread and roast-meat, and another to fetch bread and *Yakhni*, a third to bring *Halwá*, a fourth to bring *Reorí*, a fifth, melons, a sixth, cucumbers, and so on; and when the boys returned with the things they had bought, the Sulṭān sent for the Raís, and had the articles brought by the boys weighed in his presence. Whatever was found to be deficient in the articles the boys had brought, was given to the Raís, and he went and stood before the shop of the fraudulent seller, cut a quantity of flesh equal to the deficiency from his two cheeks, and then kicked him out of the shop. These punishments were continued for some time till, at last, the bázár people become quite submissive, and discontinued giving short weight, and cheating and falsifying, and burning inexperienced purchasers and cheating the young; nay, they even gave so much and so correct weights, that on enquiry it was found out that they had given above the fixed quantity.]

[But this rule, these enquiries, the strictness with which the orders were carried out, and the punishments inflicted on the bázár people, came to an end with the death of 'Aláuddīn, and of all the thousand regulations of the 'Alái reign, his son Sulṭān Quṭbuddīn could not enforce this regulation.]

Effect of 'Aláuddīn's Administrative Measures. (*Ed. Bibl. Indica*, p. 319 to 326.)*

[As soon as the prices had become low and things were cheap, a *Murattab* (p. 23) could be enlisted for 234, and a *Duaspah* for 78

* The following errors occur on pp. 322 to 325 in the *Ed. Bibl. Indica* :—

P. 322, l. 2 read نرینه ; l. 6 read جوئے ; l. 9 the name is wrong (*vide* below).
P. 323, l. 1, wo expect قويم for قدیم ; transfer the last *Alif* to the end of the third line ; l. 12 *dele* باطن ; l. 13 read گدّے or گدّے گھڑ ; l. 14 read دھار for دھا, and علائپور or علائپور for علائپور ; l. 17 read بغازی for بغاری ; l. 18 جہاين for جہاين

tankehs, and the army was numerous and was never disbanded. The recruits also of the whole empire in passing muster before the '*Arz i Mamālik* were examined in archery, and such only were entered (*ṣahīh shudan*) as were archers and had good armours. By order of the Sulṭān also, the prices of horses and the brand (*dāgh*) were regulated.]

[As soon then the cheapness of all necessaries of life had been secured, and a large standing army could be entertained, the Mughuls were defeated each time they invaded Dihlī or the Dihlī territory, and were slain, or captured, and the standard of Islām obtained one signal victory after the other over them. Several thousand Mughuls with ropes on their necks were brought to Dihlī and trampled to death by elephants. Of their heads, they formed a large platform (*chautarah*), or made turrets of the Mughul skulls, and the stench in the city of the dead bodies of such as had been killed in battle or had been executed in Dihlī, was very great. The army of Islām gained in fact such victories over the Mughuls, that a *Duaspath* would bring in ten Mughuls with ropes on their necks, or a single Musalmān trooper would drive one hundred Mughuls before himself.]

[Thus on one occasion 'Alī Beg and Tartāk (?) who were the leaders of the Mughul army (the said 'Alī Beg was supposed to be a descendant of Chingiz Khān, the accursed), occupied with thirty, forty thousand Mughuls the foot of the hills in the district of Amrohah, and Sulṭān 'Alāud-dīn sent against them Malik Atābak(?), the master of horse. He attacked them in the confines of Amrohah, and God gave the army of Islām the victory. The said 'Alī Beg and Tartāk were both caught alive, and the greater part of their army was slain and completely overthrown; on the battlefields heaps were erected of dead Mughuls, and a rich harvest

(a blunder which goes through the editions of Baranī and Badāonī); *میسرتی*, according to Fuller's MS., is a mistake for *میرتی*; l. 21, insert *و* after *برن*, and write *کابیر* for *کابر*. P. 324, l. 9, *دله* after *کلیات* which, like *تمامی*, has the *Ixáfat*; l. 16, *دلخواست* is very doubtful for *دلخواه*; for *اندیشه* read *اندیشیده*; l. 18, *رضا* is absurd. P. 325, l. 5, read *آید* for *اند*; l. 10, read *منظور نظر* for *نظر* only; l. 11, read *علائی*; l. 12, read *آید*; l. 13, read *متعدیه* *muta'addiyah* for *متعدیه*, or *معدیه* *mut'ad bihi* (many); l. 22, *دله* the *و* before *حصار*, where the apodosis commences,

was brought in. 'Alí Beg and Tarták and several others, with ropes on their necks, were taken before 'Aláuddín, who had given orders for a splendid darbár to be held in the Chantarah i Subhání, from which place as far as Indarpat the army stood drawn up in two lines. The crowds that were present were so great, that on that day people gladly paid twenty *jétals*, and half a *tankah*, for a goglet of water. 'Alí Beg and Tarták, together with the other captives and the spoils, were brought to this Darbár and marched past the throne, and all the captives were trampled to death by elephants in this very Darbár, and torrents of blood flowed along.]

[On another occasion, in another year, the army of Islám engaged the Mughuls under Gung (?) the accursed, at Khekar (on the G'haggar? *vide* p. 45, l. 12,) and God again gave the Musalmáns the victory, and Gung, the accursed, was captured alive, taken before the Sultán, and trampled to death by elephants. On this occasion also, a great number of Mughuls were killed, both on the battle field and in the town, and of their heads a tower was raised before the Badáon gate, at which tower people look at to the present day and think of Sultán 'Aláuddín.]

[In the following year, three or four commanders of *tumáns* fell blindly with thirty, forty thousand Mughuls over the districts in the Sawálik Hills, plundering and carrying off spoil. 'Aláuddín sent an army against them, and ordered it to occupy the roads by which the Mughuls would return, and to encamp on the banks of rivers, in order to chastise them on their return, when want of water would bring them to the rivers.] The army of Islám seized the roads by which the Mughuls would have to return, and bivouacked on the banks of the river. By the will of the Almighty, it chanced that the Mughuls having overrun the Sawáliks, and performed a long journey from thence, arrived at the river bank with their horses and themselves both parched with thirst, and disordered. The army of Islám, who had been looking out for their arrival for several days, thus gained a most advantageous opportunity over them; and the Mughuls putting their ten fingers into their mouths, begged for water of the army of Islám, and the whole of them, together with their wives and children, fell into the hands of the latter. A glorious victory accordingly fell to the lot of the army of Islám, who carried several thousands of the Mughuls as prisoners to the fort of Naráinah, and conveyed their wives and children to Dihlí, where

they were sold in the [slave] market, like the slave boys and girls of Hindústán. Malik Khág, the Hájib, was deputed from the throne to proceed to Naráinah, and on his arrival there, the whole of the Mughuls were put relentlessly to the sword, and their polluted blood began to flow in torrents.

Next year Iqbálmindah headed an invasion with a large body of Mughuls, and Sultán 'Aláuddín despatched an army to repel them. On this occasion also the army of Islám joined battle with the Dard-mindah force of Amír Alí [?]* and gained the victory over them. Iqbálmindah himself was slain, and some thousands of the Mughuls fell a prey to the sword. Such of the Mughul Amírs as were [commanders of one thousand or one hundred] and were taken prisoners alive, were conveyed to Dihlí, and there trampled under foot by elephants.

After this victory, in which Iqbálmindah was slain, and not one of the Mughuls managed to return alive, they conceived such a dread and terror of the army of Islám, that the desire of invading Hindústán was altogether erased from their hearts; and until the close of the Quṭbí reign, the Mughuls never again allowed the name of Hindústán to escape from their mouths, nor did they wander about the frontiers. Through fear of the army of Islám, in fact, they could not enjoy a satisfactory sleep; for during sleep even they used to see the swords of their adversaries hanging over their heads.

The incursions of the Mughuls were thus totally removed from Dihlí, and its adjoining districts, and perfect peace and security prevailed throughout the country, so that the inhabitants of those quarters which were usually invaded by the Mughuls, engaged to their hearts' content in farming and agriculture.

Sultán Tughluq Sháh, who in those days was called Ghází Malik, acquired a great name and reputation in Khurásán and Hindústán, and became, until the close of the Quṭbí reign, the great bulwark against the advance of the Mughuls in [his] districts of Deopálpúr, and

* So Major Fuller. The Ed. Bibl. Indica (p. 322, l. 9) has *joined battle at a place called* *تَبْدَذْءُ امیرعلی واهن*, which has no sense. If Badáoní is correct, we might expect a phrase *to avenge the death of Amír 'Alí Beg*. My MS. of the *Ṭabaqát*, however, has *at* *دهنده امیرعلی واهن*. *Dihandah* (Bad. I, p. 274, l. 1.) was the name of a river near Ajodhan (Patan i Panjáb), S. W. of Deopálpúr, Ghází Malik's *aqtá'*.

Láhor. He was appointed in the place of Sher Khán, the former* commander, and every year during the cold season he used to march out of Deopálpúr with a select force of his own, and advance to the Mughul frontiers, and there publicly challenge† them to an engagement; while the Mughuls could not even approach their own frontiers for the purpose of guarding them. Such security prevailed at last, that not only did no outbreak of the Mughuls occur at Dihlí,‡ but their name even never passed any body's lips.

* * Note by the EDITOR.

[*Synopsis of the Mughul invasions which took place during the reign of 'Aláuddín, according to Zid i Barani, Nizám i Harawí, Badaóní, and Firishtah.*

Barani'.

(Major Fuller's translation in *J. A. S. B.* for 1869, and 1870.)

- | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|------------------|--|---------------------|
| 1. (J. A. S. B. 1869, p. 189) | 696 | Ulugh Khán, and | ? | | |
| | | A. H. Zafar Khán. | | | Jarímanjúr. |
| 2. (p. 193) | 3rd year of | 'Aláuddín's | | | |
| | reign. | Zafar Khán. | Çaldí. | | Siwistán. |
| 3. (p. 194) | End of the | 'Aláuddín, Zafar | Qutlugh- | | |
| | 3rd year. | Khán, and Ulugh | Khwájah | | |
| | | Khán. | and Tughí. Kílí. | | |
| 4. (J. A. S. B. 1870 p. 20) | ? | 'Aláuddín besieged | | | |
| | | | by Tughí. | | In Sírí. |
| 5. (p. 40) | ? | Malik Atábak (?), | 'Alí Beg and | | |
| | | the Master of | Tarták (?) | | |
| | | Horse. | | | Amrohah. |
| 6. (p. 41) | ? | ? | Gung (?) | | Khekar (?) |
| | | | | | (on the G'haggar ?) |

* The words of the Text (*Ed. Bibl. Indica*, p. 323, l. 1) *ba jái Sher Khán qadím o mustaqím gashtah* have no sense. If the *o* is correct, we must read *qawím* for *qadím*. Fuller leaves out the *o*, and reads *Sher Khán i qadím*, 'Sher Khán the former Commander;' but this is doubtful.

† Or rather, *he advanced to the Mughul frontier, and having kindled the lamp, he searched for the Mughuls (an Indian phrase for searching carefully for anything), and the Mughuls found it impossible to approach their own frontiers by way of visiting them.*

‡ So perhaps Major Fuller's MS. The *Ed. Bibl. Indica* reads, *not only did outbreaks of the Mughuls occur to no one (dar díle—not dihlí—míyuzásht), but their name, &c.*

7. (p. 41) ? ? ? Near some river beyond Naráinah.

8. (p. 42) ? ? Iqbálmadah. ?

Besides these, there were several attacks made by Ghází Malik (later Sultán Tughluq) on the Mughuls near the Indus.

Firishtah, (Briggs, Vol. I).

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|-------------|-------------------------|---|--|
| 1. (p. 326) | 2nd year of Ulugh Khán. | Amír Dáúd. | Láhor. |
| | 'Aláuddín's reign. | | |
| 2. (p. 329) | 697 | Zafar Khán. | Chaldí Khán. Sivistán. |
| 3. (p. 329) | 697 | Zafar Khán, Ulugh Khán, 'Aláuddín, Nuçrat Khán. | Qutlugh Khán, son of Amír Dáúd. Dihlí. |
| 4. (p. 354) | 703 A. H. | 'Aláuddín besieged | Turghí Khán. Dihlí. |
| 5. (p. 361) | 704 A. H. | Tughluq Khán. | Alí Beg and Khwájah Tásh. Amrohah. |
| 6. (p. 363) | 705 A. H. | Ghází Beg Tughluq. | Aibak Khán, to avenge On the No. 5. Indus. |
| 7. (p. 364) | 706 ? | Ghází Beg Tughluq | Iqbálmadah. ? |

Badaoni'.

(*Ed. Bibl. Indica*, I., p. 184 to 186.)

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|----|-----------|--|---|
| 1. | 698 A. H. | Ulugh Khán, Tughluq Khán. | ? Járan-Manjúr. |
| 2. | ? | Zafar Khán, Ulugh Khán. | Qutlugh Khwájah, son of Dáúd. Kílí. |
| 3. | | Malik Fakhruddín, relieved by Malik Tughluq. | Turghí captured. Baran. |
| 4. | ? | Malik Mánik (= Káfúr Náib Hazár Dínári.) | 'Alí Beg and Muhammad Taryáq (?), princes of Khurásán. Rahab. |

5.	?	Malik Náib, and Malik Tughluq.	Iqbálmindah, and Kapak, to avenge No. 4.	?
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Niza'm i Harawi'.

Nizám, in his *Tabaqát i Akbarí*, follows Baraní. The first expedition, according to MS. 87 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—a very fair MS.—took place at *Járan Majhúr* (sic) in Sind (!). The names of the Mughul commanders of the second, third, and sixth expeditions are given as *Çaldí* and *Qutlugh*, son of *Dáúd*, and *Kapík* or *Kabik*. He calls 'Alí Beg (fifth expedition) the grandson (*nabíсах*) of Chengiz Khán. For *K'hekar* (sixth expedition), he has *K'hak'harah*, in all probability the river G'haggar near Patiálá (Sarhind); and he says that the river mentioned in the seventh expedition was the *Rávi* (Láhor).

Thus we see that Baraní and Nizám have more than *eight*, Firishtah has *seven*, and Badáoní *five* invasions. Firishtah agrees more with Ziá i Baraní than Badáoní. The Mughul leader *Kapak*, in expedition No. 5, is evidently the same as Gung in No 6 of Baraní, as كپك and كنگ only differ in the diacritical points. As Badáoní's events differ materially from those of the other two historians, I subjoin a translation of Badáoní (I., pp. 184 to 186).

'In 698, Chataldí (*sic*), a leader of the Mughuls crossed the Indus, and invaded Hindústán. Ulugh Khán and Tughluq Khán, governor of Dípálpúr (Panjáb), who is the same as Ghází Malik, were sent against him. They met him in the confines of Járan Manjhúr, defeated him, killed some, and captured others, and 'Aláuddín's army returned victorious with much plunder.

'The *second* time Qutlugh Khwájah, son of Dáúd, came from Máwaránnahr with countless hordes to conquer Hindústán, and came as far as the environs of Dihlí to Árah (?); but he did not ravage the districts. In Dihlí things got very dear, and the condition of the inhabitants was miserable. Sultán 'Aláuddín appointed Ulugh Khán and Zafar Khán commanders, and sent them with a large army to fight the Mughuls. A battle took place at Gelí (Kílí), in which Zafar Khán was killed. In his death also 'Aláuddín saw an advantage. Qutlugh Khán fled to Khurásán, where he died.'

'The *third* time Ṭurghī Mughul, who belonged to the *markanán* (?), *i. e.*, unerring archers, of his country, came with a lot of foot soldiers, and 20,000 intrepid and renowned horsemen, occupied the foot of the hills and the districts lying there, and advanced as far as Baran, whose governor Malik Fakhruddīn, the Mīr Dád, shut himself up in the Fort. Malik Tughluq* was sent to his relief from the capital, when Malik Fakhruddīn left the Fort and effected a junction with Malik Tughluq. Both fell upon the Mughuls at night, defeated them, and captured Ṭurghī, who was taken by Tughluq to Dihlí.'

'The *fourth* time, Muhammad Taryáq (?), Tartáq ?, Tarqáq ?) and 'Alí Beg, who were princes royal of Khurásán, advanced with a large army, one corps of which plundered Nágór, and the other occupied the Sirmúr mountains as far as the Bayáh, or Kálí, river. Sulṭán 'Aláuddīn sent his slave Malik Mánik (?), who is the same as Káfúr Náib Hazár Dínárí, and Malik Tughluq, governor of Dípálpúr, towards Amrohah; and when the Mughuls with their cattle and spoils arrived at the Rahab, Malik Mánik fell over them from the rear. A great battle ensued; both princes fought bravely, but were at last captured and executed. Most of these accursed invaders were killed, and those that escaped fled in a wretched condition to their country. The heads of the two leaders were fixed on the battlements of the Fort at Badáon. The following Rubá'í was composed by a poet of that time, and may now be seen inscribed on the southern gate of that town (Badáon)—

O Fort, may God's protection be thy friend,
 And may the conquests and the victories of the Sháh be thy standard !
 The present King has built thee up again,
 May Ṭurghí also, like 'Alí Beg, † be thy prisoner.'

'And Mīr Khusrau also has described the war of Malik Mánik, who had now received the title of Malik Náib, in his history entitled *Khazáinulfutūh*, the language of which is a miracle and exceeds human power, though, in fact, every thing written by this Prince of poets, is of the same kind, so that it would be idle and wrong to make distinctions and preferring one poem to another.'

'The *fifth* time Iqbálmadah and Kapak (?) collected an army of

* The Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 185, l. 9, has wrong Malik Tughluq *and* Ghází Malik. It is one and the same man.

† The text has wrong 'Alá Beg. Besides, did Tughluq release Ṭurghí, whom he had captured in the *third* Expedition ?

Mughuls, and invaded Multán, to avenge the death of Muhammad Taryáq (?) and 'Alí Beg. 'Aláuddín sent this time also Malik Náib and Malik Tughluq against them. When the Mughuls returned, 'Aláuddín's army followed them in forced marches. Kapak was caught in the fight, but he was exchanged for the prisoners and the spoils which had fallen into the hands of the infidel Tátárs.'

'From that day the desire of invading Hindústán grew cold in the hearts of the Mughuls, and the teeth of their rapaciousness were all on edge.'—

Of the five invasions mentioned by Badáoní, the third is not to be found in any other historical work. It is a matter of surprise that Baraní should have said nothing about it, as Baran was the centre of the expedition. For the fourth invasion also, Badáoní has a few new particulars.

I have not seen a MS. of Khusrau's *Khazáin ulfutúh*, though it would be of interest to examine that book as also his *Qirán ussa'dain* from a historical point of view.

Brigg's *Firishtah* has only a few differences in the proper nouns, and his variations might be increased by comparing the Bombay and the Lucknow editions.

Badáoní complains that 'historians, in narrating these invasions, have let the thread of chronology slip from their hands;' but it is not only the chronology which is unsatisfactory: the geographical details of this period have been as much neglected by the historians, as in other parts of Indian History. From *Firishtah* and from p. 327, l. 1, of Baraní's text edition it is, however, clear that the Mughul invasions all took place before A. H. 708 or 709.]

* * *

Thus had Sultán 'Aláuddín eradicated the Mughuls, and stopped up completely the road of their invasions, while the soldiery from the establishment of a cheap price for every military equipment, and article of consumption, were in a flourishing condition. The provinces in every quarter were under the administration of trusty nobles and worthy courtiers, the rebellious had become obedient and submissive, and the system of imperial taxation* [according to measurement, and

* 'Aláuddín's house tax (*gharí*) and grazing tax (*charáí*) corresponds to the *Khánahshumári* and *Gáoshumári* of later reigns. Both taxes were looked upon as illegal and odious. *Vide* my *Áin* text, p. 301, l. 5.

the house-tax] and the grazing duties having entered into the minds of all the people, all ideas of rebellion vanished from their hearts, and they pursued cheerfully their several avocations and trades. Rantambhūr, Chítor, [Mandalgadh], Dhár, Ujain, Mándú, 'Aláipúr, Chanderí, Yrij, Siwánah and Jálor,* which are all strong places beyond the limits of the empire [?] had fallen under the control of various provincial governors, and jágirdárs [muqta']; while the territory of Gujrát flourished under Alan [Alp?] Khán, Multán and Sístán under Tájulmulk Káfúrí, and Deopálpúr and Láhor under Ghází Malik Tughluk Sháh, Sámánah and Sunnám under Malik Akhurbak Nának (?), Dhár and Ujain under 'Ainmulk of Multán, Jháyin under Fakhruilmulk of Mírat, Chítor under Malik Abú Muhammad, Chanderí and Yrij under Malik Tamar, Badáon, Koelah, and K'harak under Malik Dínár, superintendent of elephants, Audh under Malik Takir [*Ed. Bibl. Ind.*, Baktan], and Kaṛah under Malik Naṣiruddín Sauteliyah. Kol, Baran, Mírat, Amrohah, Afghánpúr, Kábar, and all the districts lying within the Duáb, were under the influence of the same law, as if they were one single village; they were crown lands, and applied to the support of the soldiery. The entire revenue was paid into the treasury, even to the last *dāng* and *diram*, and in the same way was pay issued to the soldiery from the treasury, and the expenses of all establishments defrayed.

In short, the imperial administration of Sulṭán 'Aláuddín had reached such a state of perfection that vice and crimes were totally expelled from the capital, and the safety of the highways throughout the provinces had become so great, that the Hindú landed proprietors and tenants [*Muqaddimán o Khúṭán*] used to stand on the highroads, and keep watch over way-farers and caravans, while travellers with goods, fabrics, cash, or any other property used to alight in the midst of the

* *Mandalgarh* (the *Ed. Bibl. Indica*, p. 323, l. 13, has wrong *Mandalk'hr*) is the name of a town and Parganah in Chítor. *Siwánah* or *Siwáná* (سوانه or سيوانا) is the name of a town and Parganah in Jodhpúr. For Mándú, Major Fullers has *Mándú* and *Kahár*(?), and the *Ed. Bibl. Indica* has ماندوكهر for ماندوكده; but *Mándúgarh* is the same as *Mandú* or *Mándú*.

For 'Aláipúr the MSS. of the *Áin* have 'Aláipúr. It is a town with a fort, and also a parganah, in the Sirkár of Gwáliár. Abulfazl says that before the time of 'Aláuddín it had another name; but none of the thirteen MSS. in my possession gives the old name legibly; the MSS. have اكهار, كهار, and سهار.

Major Fuller's words, *which are all strong (mazbút) places beyond (khárij) the limits of the Empire*, are scarcely correct. Translate, *which do not belong to mazbút districts, i. e., they were not yet under Musalmán Zábíts or Governors*.

plains and deserts. From the excessive rigour of his rule, the good and evil, favorable and unfavorable transactions of the inhabitants in the capital, as well as the affairs of the whole of the residents in the provinces, were never unknown to him. The hearts of all his subjects both high and low were deeply impressed with awe and reverence for his severe rule and harsh disposition, and the royal seed* having settled in the breasts of the public generally, the roots of his empire had sunk deep.

It never crossed the minds of people on beholding this state of things, that the sovereignty would pass away from his house so speedily, and revert to another family; and when by the aid of the accidental luck and good fortune, which attended him, the measures of his government turned out satisfactorily, and his enterprises, both premeditated and unpremeditated, were accomplished as speedily as he could wish, worldly-minded persons, who consider greatness to depend upon the attainment of worldly prosperity, and the success of one's designs, attributed the favorable results of Sultán 'Aláuddín's measures to his consummate ability, and imagined that the expressions which used to fall from his lips regarding the execution of state affairs, and the victories and triumphs of his armies, proceeded from inspiration. Those, however, learned in civil and religious law, and versed in the irresistible decrees of God Almighty, [and those] whose far-seeing judgment penetrates the realities of things, and whose conclusions are more certain that the revolution of the heavens, and the immobility of the earth, used to remark on beholding the frequency of Sultán 'Aláuddín's victories and triumphs, and the constantly successful issue of his undertakings, that every triumph and victory which accrued to the standard of Islám in his age, and every undertaking of his and of all his subjects which turned out well, and every measure of advantage and improvement which was apparent throughout the kingdom, arose from the virtues and benedictions of Shaikhul Islám Nizámuddín of Ghiáspúr. He, (they said) is the beloved and chosen of God, and on his head the divine grace, bounty, and beneficence is being constantly showered; and in consequence of the continual favours that are pour-

* *Verbally*, the hearts of men were generally (*'ámatan*) settled regarding his rule, and the roots of his kingdom which he himself had caused to sink (into the hearts of men), on beholding them (the roots), it never crossed, &c. This is one of Barání's bad sentences.

ing down upon his head, and owing to the blessings of his auspicious existence, which has been eternally and perpetually the object of divine affection, the undertaking of both the rulers and the ruled of this government have been accomplished satisfactorily, and the standard of Islám has been exalted time after time with celestial victory and triumph; whereas what relation can virtue and divine inspiration have to Sultán 'Aláuddín, who is polluted with so many sins, both active and passive,* and from indulgence in cruelty and bloodshed, has become a habitual and bloodthirsty murderer. All the comforts, general prosperity, and perfect peace and security of people from perils of every kind, and the inclination of the people to obedience and devotion, have arisen from the blessings of Shaikh Nízámuddín.

The author's object in noticing the stability which Sultán 'Aláuddín's government had acquired, and the satisfaction he enjoyed from the success of his undertakings, is this, that as soon as the Sultán's state affairs and negotiations were settled, and his mind was satisfied with the condition of every quarter that belonged to him, he [built Fort Síri and peopled it. Sultán 'Aláuddín then] engaged in territorial conquests. With the view of overthrowing the Hindú chieftains and lords of other principalities, and carrying off wealth and elephants from the kingdoms towards the south, he organized and equipped another force besides the one which he maintained for the Mughul inroads.—(*Ed. Bibl. Indica*, p. 326.)

(Here ends Major Fuller's translation.)

* * Baraní then proceeds to narrate 'Aláuddín's expeditions to the Dak'hin, which extend from p. 326 *Edit. Bibl. Indica* to p. 337. The text is, however, so carelessly edited that without the help of several MSS. it would be useless to attempt a translation. On p. 327 alone, there are sixteen blunders, grammatical, historical, and typographical. The following list of corrections may prove acceptable.

P. 326, l. 20, read *zist* for *zabast*; l. 22, *khidmatíhá* for *khidmát*; and for *duwum* (the second) we have probably to read *duwázduhum* (the twelfth).

P. 327, l. 1., *tis'a watis'amiyah* (909 A. H.) is nonsense, as 'Aláuddín lived 200 years earlier; perhaps we should read *tis'a wa sab'a miyah* 709, or better *samíní wa sab'amiyah*, 708; l. 2, read *Arangul* for *Aratgul*; l. 5,

* *Ma'ácl i lázimah o muta'addiyah*, 'active and passive,' inherent and passing on to others. Crimes are *lázimah* when they are ذاتى, *i. e.* attach to the sinner himself; and *muta'addiyah*, when a man causes others to sin.

nabáshí for *mabáshí*, a grammatical blunder which is repeated four times on this page in different verbs! l. 9, read *murá'át* for *murá'at*; l. 10, *napardázi* for *mapardázi*; l. 12, dele *kih*; l. 13, read *nayáyad* for *biyáyad*, which would be the opposite; *khiyánathái* for *khiyanathá*; and put a *Hamzah* over the last letter of this line; l. 16, read *khái* for *khái*, as required by Persian grammar; l. 17, a *wáw* has been omitted before *nek*; and read *nabáshí* for *mabáshí*; l. 19, read *ta'arruz* for *ta'azzuz*, or *tanaghghuz*; l. 20, read *chand* for *chatad*; l. 22, spell *هرگهرا* for *هرگهرا*.

P. 328, l. 1 read *dar* for *do*; l. 2 for *bá hamchunán* read *hamchunán yá*; l. 5, for *Rábrí* read *Ráprí*; l. 10, *khiđmatíhái* for *khiđmathái*; l. 22, *yahtáju* for *yahtiáju*; and for *rishtah* on p. 328 and *qábí* the first on p. 329, read *rishtatáblí*!

P. 329, l. 15, read *bá* for *az*; l. 20, for *nairah* read *naizah*; l. 21, for *bastand* read *bisitadand*.

P. 330, l. 2, read *khiđmatíhái* for *khiđmatiyán*; l. 11, *Jháyin* for *Jhábin*; l. 16, *darángáh kih* for *daránkih*; l. 22, dele the first *wáw*, and put *kih* after *ánjá*.

P. 331, l. 10, read *barkhastah* for *bikhástah*; p. 14, insert a *rá* after *Nizám-uddín*.

P. 333, l. 2, read *Ráprí* for *Rábrí*; l. 5, read *lagámrez* for *lagámzír*; l. 6, *sí o shash*; l. 8, *raftaná* has no sense; l. 9, for the absurd *qaranháí* read *az qaranhá*; l. 11, strike out either *andázah* or *bayán*; l. 12, for *búd* read *búđand*; l. 19, for *namíkán* read *níngán*; l. 22, read *búđah ast* for *ast*.

P. 334, l. 15, for *او* read only *و*; and for *hákim* read *hukm*; l. 20, dele the *wáw*.

P. 335, l. 3, read *mígyand* for *mígyad*; l. 12, *mímánad* for *mínunáyad*; l. 17, *daráim* for *daráim* (a clever spelling); l. 18, *mítuwánim* for *mítuwánam*.

P. 336, l. 3, dele *او*; l. 7, the word *búđhkán* has no sense; l. 11, read *'alái* for *'alái*; l. 14, dele the two *u* vowel signs, they are wrong; l. 17 read *'alái* for *'alái*; and *nadásh* for *nadáshant*; l. 18, *fareb* for *qariyat*; l. 19, for the third time on this page, read *'alái* for *'alái*.

P. 337, l. 3. Here read *'alái* for *'alái*; l. 4 and l. 5, *Qáyini* for *Qánini*; l. 11, here read *'alái* for *'alái*, and dele the *wáw* before *panj*; l. 16, read again *Qáyini* for *Qánini*, and perhaps *riyásat* for *risálat*; l. 17, a few words are left out after *inshá*; l. 19, the Arabic word is *lá yuflih*, with the Persian plural, a *ح* *h* not a *خ* *kh*.

Rejoinder to Mr. Beames, by F. S. GROWSE, Esq., M. A., B. C. S.
(See Vol. XXXVIII. for 1869, p. 176.)

Mr. Beames in replying to my criticisms on his translation, has evidently written under great excitement; but at this I am not surprised; it must be very annoying for a translator of Chand to be convicted of not knowing some of the commonest Hindi words. I am aware that *nísán* will not be found in Forbes, or any similar dictionary of modern Hindústání; but it occurs repeatedly in the Rámáyana of Tulsí Dás, and in the glossary appended to most native editions of that poem is explained by the words *nagára* and *ḍanká*. The derivation is no very recondite mystery; since the root is simply the Sanscrit *swan* (Latin *sonare*) with the prefix *ni*. In the same glossary, Mr. Beames will also see the word *bais* explained by *avasthá*, and the Hindi form is so evidently a corruption of the Sanskrit, that I should have imagined the fact would be obvious to the merest tyro in philology. But to discuss Mr. Beames's reply in detail:—

I.—I am dissatisfied with his reproduction of the text, since I detect in it several conjectural emendations. I should much prefer to have seen it precisely as it stands in the MS. and with the words undivided. I also miss the concluding stanza, which I was particularly curious to see, as the English version of it is anything but lucid.

II.—Mr. Beames's sarcasms are quite innocuous, being mainly directed against the imperfections of my text. I always stated it to be a mere fragment, never vaunted its accuracy, and am even willing to follow Mr. Beames in stigmatizing it as a 'bad, faulty garble and jumble.' Still the question remains, which of the two translators has made the better use of his materials? And further, if the differences are so exceedingly great, how comes it that I at once discovered in my copy the parallel passage to Mr. Beames's specimen? The difficulty ought to have told equally against both of us.

III.—Assuming my text to be faulty, my translation of it at least appears to be tolerably correct. Mr. Beames, with natural anxiety to discover the joints in my harness, has hit only upon four vulnerable points, which I now proceed to examine.

1st.—He says *Bijay*, or *subijay*, as it stands in his text, (*su* being merely an expletive) cannot be a proper name as I translate it, but

must be an epithet, since the king's real name is given lower down as Padam-sen. To this I reply that Padam-sen is not the king, but the king's son, as is sufficiently indicated by the title 'Kunwar,' a title which is never given to the head of a house, but always to one of its subordinate members.

2nd.—He says *mahábhuj* (as it stands in his text) cannot mean, as I should translate it, 'very exalted,' but must mean 'long-armed.' To this I reply, 1st, that the Sanskrit for 'arm' is not *bhuj*, as Mr. Beames imagines, but *bhujá*; and though a palatal at the end of a word is liable to be changed into a guttural, a palatal in the middle of a word and with a vowel following it is not so liable. 2nd. One of the MSS. reads *abhang*: now this rhymes neither with *durg* nor *drug*, and has all the appearance of being a gloss: it is a very good gloss on *mahábhuj* in my sense, but not at all so of *mahábhuj* with the sense of 'long-armed.' 3rd. Whether my text correctly represents the original or not, it is certain that the copyist intended the words to convey some meaning. Now *bhuj*, as a corruption of *bhris'* fits in equally well with either reading; with Mr. Beames's interpretation of the word, my text would be absolutely untranslatable. 4th. Whether in this particular case, *bhuj* really represents *bhris'* or not, it is certain that by the recognized rules of Prákrit formation, it might represent it. Even Mr. Beames will scarcely deny this, when he reflects that *buddha* is the Hindi equivalent for the Sanscrit *vridhha*, and *dis'* is as often as not represented by *dig*. If the above explanation be not accepted, I fall back upon my old alternative and take *bhug* in the sense of *bhugat*; forming it from *bhu* precisely in the same way that *khag* is formed from *kha*. Thus his charge of 'simple nonsense' recoils upon himself.

3rd.—He says *sevahin* must be a dative plural, and is exceedingly amused at my regarding it as a verb. To this I reply, by merely taking a copy of the Rámáyana and opening it at random. On the very first page that presents itself, I find the following line—

वज्ररि वज्ररि भेंटहिं महातारो— करहिं

And again a little lower down—

सुर प्रसून वरपहिं हरषि करहिं अक्षरा गान

May I ask Mr. Beames if *bhentahin*, *karahin*, *barakhahin* are also datives? If so I should be glad to see his rendering of the lines quoted.

There is of course a dative with a similar ending of very common occurrence—thus on the very same page of the Rámáyana सिष रामहि ससर्पीः but if ‘to servants’ were the meaning intended, the word would have to be not *sevahin*, but *sevakhin* from *sevak*, as *seva* means not ‘a servant,’ but ‘service.’ Certainly my respect for Mr. Beames’s scholarship (in spite of his reference to Lassen) is not enhanced by his remarks either here or on the word *bais*. I strongly advise him to adhere to his resolution of not again attempting to answer my criticisms.

4th.—He says with regard to the line in my MS.

हीर कीर अरु हंस मानु झाडत भूष जोती

“Your text as it stands is not intelligible, and I should like to know by what process you get your English out of it,” and proceeds to be facetious about my expression ‘shimmering like a fish in a stream.’ I reply that the text to my simple intelligence appears tolerably clear. It admits of two constructions, but both yield precisely the same sense. If *jhakh joti* be taken as a compound adjective, its most literal translation possible is ‘shimmering like a fish;’ the words ‘in a stream’ were added simply because, according to English usage, it would not be considered complimentary to style a woman ‘like a fish.’ If *jhakh* and *joti* be regarded as two distinct words, *jhakh* must be taken with *hír*, *kír* and *hans* as forming the subject of the verb *chhárat* which will then govern *joti*, and *mánu* will stand for the imperative *máno*; whereas under the alternative construction, it stands for the substantive *mán*.

These are the only four blots which Mr. Beames flatters himself he has detected in my translation: it has not been very difficult to dispose of them.*

IV.—On reading Mr. Beames’s text, I find that the verbal differences are more considerable than I had anticipated (the number I imagine would be reduced, were the conjectural emendations expunged).

* Referring again to Mr. Beames’s onslaught, I find there is yet one more point on which he attacks me. In line 4 of my text I translate *prabal bhúp* by ‘puissant chiefs;’ upon which my critic writes, “The puissant chiefs of Mr. Growse’s translation are evidently a creation of his own brain, or of his Pandit’s, for I do not see how he gets it out of his own text even.” It is difficult to answer a remark of this kind: however much Mr. Beames may disparage his own intelligence, I cannot believe him to be so utterly unversed in the language, as to be ignorant of the meaning of two such ordinary words as *prabal* and *bhúp*.

The general sense remains the same in both MSS, and thus I have been to some extent misled, and in several places have too hastily condemned the translator for carelessness and inaccuracy. All such criticisms I very gladly cancel. Still it is only the minor premiss of my argument that requires modification, the conclusion remains unaltered. Thus, taking Mr. Beames's text as he gives it me, and comparing it with his translation, I find in the very short space of 19 couplets (even after omitting the lines which his alterations have made obscure or unintelligible) the following formidable list of errors :—

<i>Hindi.</i>	<i>True meaning.</i>	<i>Mr. Beames's rendering.</i>
nisán	a kettle drum	a standard
sevalin	they serve	to servants
nag	a jewel	a horse's hoof !
khanjan	a wagtail	(omitted)
rás	a heap or bundle	perfection
kok	a swan (<i>anas casarca</i>)	a lotus !
sudes	well arranged	fair to see
pik	betel juice	a koil !
bay sandh	girlhood	(omitted)
makarand	nectar	god of love.

Further, on Mr. Beames's translation of his 7th stanza, I would observe that as *ang* is often used to denote the numeral 6, I hesitate to believe that Chand speaks of 14 *angs*. He might speak of 14 *vidyás*. If Mr. Beames will look at his text again, I think he will find that what he has printed as *chatur das* is in the MS. *chatur dis*.

Again, the obvious purport of Mr. Beames's 10th stanza is, that the princess began teaching the parrot to say Rám Rám. The translator declares that this cannot be. Why? Simply because he has been pleased to render the words 'Gai khel sab bhúl' by 'she went to play forgetting all about him.' Surely he must see that the words quoted can, with equal grammatical propriety, be translated 'she forgot all her play'—and as this is the only translation which harmonizes with the context, it must be the correct one. Again, in his concluding stanza, after the word *pik*, the mistranslation of which I have already noted, comes the word *sad*, which he explains by 'voice.' My impression is, that there is no such word in the language as *sad* :

but, however, that may be, it is quite certain that the word here intended is *rad*, the teeth, and if Mr. Beames will only look a little more closely, he will probably find it in his MS.

In Mr. Beames's own phrase, 'Is not this enough?' Yet one word more : since he speaks of me as a self-constituted interpreter, let me remind him that the MS. was in the first instance made over to me by the chief authority in these Provinces. Subsequently I received a requisition from another quarter that the book might be sent to Calcutta to be photographed. As soon as it reached Calcutta, Mr. Beames volunteered to edit it, and I have since seen no more of it. Whether of the twain, I would ask, seems to be rather the self-constituted interpreter? Still, if the literary world are satisfied with Mr. Beames's proficiency, I have no wish to interfere with him; and if he will only stay quiet for a year or two, and in the mean time extend his knowledge of old Hindi by reading a few books of the Rámáyana under the guidance of any intelligent native—whether Bráhmaṇ or Baniya, it matters not—I see no reason why he should not eventually produce a very creditable performance.

Mainpuri, Dec. 29th, 1869.

Postscript.—Within the last day or two I have had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Beames's new edition of Sir H. Elliot's Supplementary Glossary. The additional matter supplied by the editor, is not very considerable; but under the word *Gahlot*, I notice that he quotes 4 lines from Chand, and refers the passage to the place which it occupies in his MS. of the Prithirájras. Singularly enough, it happens that these very 4 lines, with some verbal differences, were included in a specimen of the Hindi text given in an article of mine contributed to this Society's Journal in February, 1869. I mention the coincidence, because Mr. Beames has excused himself from criticising my translation by saying that the Hindi, from which I translate, is not traceable in either of his copies. It is of course quite possible that Mr. Beames may not have seen the parallel passage as quoted by me, and may not have read any part of my article (since I have no pretensions to rank among European scholars) but, under the word *Chandel*, he apparently quotes from the very article, though without acknowledgment.

Since the immediate subject of discussion at the present moment is Mr. Beames, as a translator of Hindí, it may not be out of place to notice a few more specimens of his skill. In the original edition of the Glossary occur several curious local proverbs, which were nearly all left untranslated. Mr. Beames, in his new edition, has very properly essayed to supply this omission; but his explanations are scarcely so brilliant or even so accurate as the public has a right to expect from a scholar of European celebrity. Thus in the couplet

Nának, nanhá ho raho jaisa nanhi dúb
Aur ghás jal jaenge dúb khúb ki khúb.

to translate the last words by “dúb remains fresh and fresh” seems neither literal nor idiomatic. It should rather be ‘the dúb remains fresh as ever.’ This, however, may be a mere question of taste and style; but (under the word *gúma*) to translate the words *sab rang ráti* by ‘all coloured red’ is absolutely wrong.

Again, the lines—

Des Málwá gáihir gambhír,
Ḍag Ḍag roḷi, pag pag nír.

are translated by Elliot correctly enough, while Mr. Beames renders them thus: “The land of Málwá is deep and rich; at every step bread, on every path water;” apparently confusing *pag* with *pagdandi*. I would suggest the following equivalent:—

Rich and deep is the Málwá plain;
 At every step water, at every foot grain.

Again, “Hairy ears

Buy these, do not let them go”

is certainly rather a feeble representation of the lines

Kár, Kachharuḷa jhabre Kán
Inhen chhándi na bijije án

Which might be rendered thus—

When buying cattle, choose the black,
 With bushy ears and hollow back.

And, to conclude, under the heading *akhtij* occur two lines, which Mr. Beames leaves unaltered in their original obscurity and does not attempt to translate:

Poi mávas mál bin, bin rohini khetij,
Sravan salono bári kyún bakhare bij.

It may help him over the difficulty to suggest that the first word बोई should be corrected to कुइ.

Mainpuri, March 9th, 1870.

F. S. GROWSE.

Addenda.—In the 40 Hindí verses occurring on pages 162, 163 of Part I. of the Journal for 1869, correct as follows :—

Line 5, for सजे बजे read सज्ज बज्जे, *sajje bajje* ; 16, for अरु read अरु, *aru* ; and for क्षात read क्षाढत, *chhárat* ; 19, for स्त्री read रची, *rachi* ; 20, for आसि read आसि *ási* ; 27, for चक्रात read चक्रत, *chakrat* ; 28, for चङ्ग्यौ read चङ्गट्यौ *chahutyau* ; 31, for खलु read खलु, *khelu* ; 32, for चङ्ग्यो read चङ्गट्यो *chahutyo* ; and for फूलि read फूलि *phúli* ; 37, for मत्ति read मुत्ति, *mutti* ; 38, for सुखु read सुखु, *sukhn* ; and for मरति read मूर्ति, *murti* ; 39, for हरि read हेरि *heri*.

Note on a Circle of Stones situated in the District of Eusoofzye, by COLONEL SIR ARTHUR PHAYRE, Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (With a plate.)

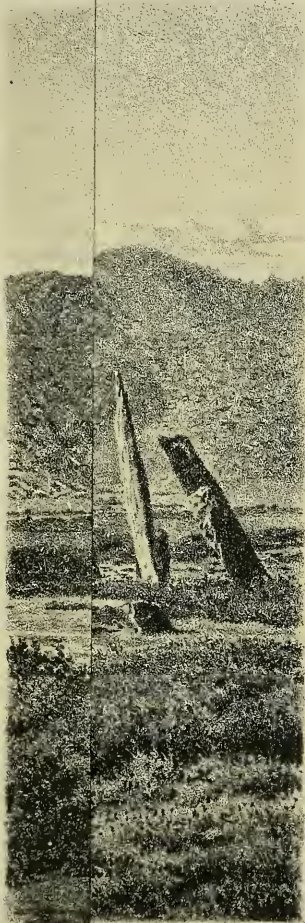
(*Vide* Proceedings A. S. Bengal, for January, 1870.)

About fifteen miles east of Murdan, the head quarter station of the corps of guides, in Eusoofzye, near a place called Sung Butté, is a remarkable circle of tall upright stones. These stones, or masses of rock, consist of rough slabs of granite, with a few squared, or otherwise worked pillars of the same material. Only ten of what appear to be of the original size, are now in an upright position. The rest lie upon the ground, some broken and some half buried in the ground. Two or three though still upright are the mere stumps of the original stones. The accompanying plate will render detailed description unnecessary, but a few remarks may be acceptable.

The circle has been over fifty feet in diameter. The highest of the pillars which remain upright, is about eleven feet. The largest of the rough slabs, which have the appearance of being in the state in which they were quarried from the rock, is about the same height, two and a half feet broad in its broadest part, and two feet thick.

Journ: As

Pl: I.



J. Schaud



J. Schaumborg Lith

VIEW OF A STONE-HENGE NEAR SUNG BUTTÉ (EUSUFZYE DISTRICT)
(From a photograph)

The squared stones are from twelve to fourteen inches square. The stones are placed from three to four feet apart. There is no appearance of any stones having been placed across the tops of the uprights. On the north side, two short upright stones are placed against the taller ones, as if to mark an entrance to the circle. In the centre of the circle, there has once stood an upright pillar, now thrown down and half hidden with earth. A hole some four feet deep shows that this pillar has been undermined, probably in search of treasure.

There are traces of an outer circle of smaller stones having once surrounded that now described, at a distance of fifty or sixty feet. The people of the country call this stone circle in the Pushto language *Lukki Tiggi*, signifying, I am informed by Colonel Keyes, C. B., Commanding the Guides, "Upright stones."

The only tradition or legend they have regarding the fabric, as far as I could learn is, that the members of a marriage, while passing over the plain, were changed into these stones, by some powerful magician, or malignant demon. Within a mile or two there are indications, in the shape of granite slabs, smaller than those in the large circle, lying about in the fields, of other similar monuments having once existed. It may be mentioned also, that many Muhammadan tombs in the vicinity, have unusually high slabs of stone, placed at the head and foot of the grave. Some of these slabs, though thin, are from eight to ten feet high. Whether any of these have been appropriated from ancient circles is doubtful; but in an adjoining village I saw two massive squared granite pillars about five feet high, put up as gate posts to a house. These apparently had once belonged to a smaller stone circle, such as those already alluded to.

The country of Eusoofzye is full of Buddhist remains, such as ruined stone monasteries, topes, idol temples, carved images, and so on. These stone circles are believed to be in no way connected with them, and they probably existed before the Buddhist era. The present population is almost entirely Muhammadan. They take no interest in the ruined buildings or monuments of the Káfirs, and cannot help the enquirer with trustworthy traditions.

A Covenant of 'Alí, fourth Caliph of Baghdád, granting certain Immunities and Privileges to the Armenian nation.—BY JOHANNES AVDALL, ESQ., M. A. S.

[Received 23rd September, 1869.]

An authentic historical document is extant, originally written in Cufic characters, and purporting to be an Edict or Covenant of 'Alí, the Lion of God, fourth Caliph of Baghdád, and son-in-law of the Prophet, bestowing certain immunities and privileges on the Armenian nation. The Edict was given in the year of the Hijrah 40, or A. D. 660, just a year before 'Alí's death. It was first translated into Armenian by Gregor Campan, on the 15th January 1767, in Astrachan, and afterwards by M. Saragian, authenticated by Joakim Gregor Bagratuni of Constantinople in the year 1804.

I was in possession of a copy of the original document, written in Cufic characters, which I lent some years ago to the late Henry Torrens, Esq., Vice-President of the Asiatic Society, for translation and insertion in the Journal. It appears that this rare piece of antiquity was lost or mislaid among his unpublished papers. The following is a correct and faithful version from the Armenian translation of the Edict or Covenant of the Caliph 'Alí.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE BENEFICENT AND THE MERCIFUL FROM
WHOM WE SOLICIT HELP.

“ Praise and thanksgiving to the Creator of the universe, and blessings upon the great chief and benign Muhammad and his sacred tribe.

“ After all this, it is the purport of the translation of the Covenant, which was written by Hášhim, the son of Athap,* the son of Valas,* according to the command of the blessed chief of the Arabians, and of the Lion of God, of the holy of the holies, of 'Alí, the grandson of Abúťalib, the exalted, in Cufic character, in the celebrated domicile of Kharanthala,* in the magnificent palace, in the month of Çafar, in the fortieth year of Hijrah.†

“ Whereas certain of the Armenian nation, men of distinction, famous for their erudition and honoured for their dignity, namely, Jacob

* So in the Armenian text. For *Hášhim* the Armenian has *Hášham*, according to the Persian pronunciation of all Arabic Part. Present.

† June, July, 660.

Sayyid 'Abdul-Shuyúkh, and the son of Sahan, and Abraham the Priest, Bishop Isaiah, and several others, forty in number, having communicated with me, and being present in the enactment of this Covenant, solicited me to do this, and have rendered every assistance in their power to our agent whom we had sent to our forts and frontiers, (which was the occasion of our conference and the enactment of this Covenant)—Therefore I have made this Covenant with them on my behalf, as well as on behalf of all tribes of Islám, from east to west. To this end they are, in reality, fully under my fostering care and protection, as long as I live, and after my death, so long as the religion of Islám shall prevail, and the doctrine of Christianity shall continue. It shall be the duty of all potentates and of all princes, and of all men to carry out our Covenant by the help of God, so long as the sea shall be capable of wetting wool, tufts and briers, and rain shall descend from heaven, and grass shall grow from the earth, and stars shall give light, and the moon shall rise upon aliens and strangers. No man shall dare to violate or alter this my Covenant, nor increase and decrease or change the same, because he that increases it, increases his punishment, and decreases our patience.

“And those who violate this Covenant, shall be considered intriguing infringers of that which I have bestowed on them (the Armenians), and in league with those who do not profess loyalty to me. They also become transgressors against the divine ordinance, and thus incur the just indignation of the only God.

“Moreover, the testimony of the Sayyid (Arch) Bishop and of the others, whose names have been written above, is a binding and sufficient authority. Because the principal followers of Christianity requested me to establish a Covenant and a treaty among all the Christians, placed under the shadow of the rule of the Musalmáns, now, by virtue of this Covenant, there shall be perpetual peace and tranquillity between Christians and Musalmáns. The contents of this Covenant are indubitable and true, and I have given it to them (the Armenians) of my own accord and with a cheerful countenance. I shall abide by this Covenant and act accordingly, so long as the Armenians shall be faithful to me and continue in their loyalty to my government, and take no part in opposing the religion of my people.

If they remain steadfast in the observance of this Covenant, they shall resemble the Musalmáns and the *Múmins*.

“Moreover, I have convened together the grandees of the Musalmáns and the leading men of my elders and dignitaries, and in their presence have established my Covenant, which the Christian nation requested of me and desired to possess. I have written down and recorded for them conditions and stipulations, which are hereafter to stand firm and remain in force. Should, in future, any monarch or prince, or any person of rank and authority, oppress them and treat them with cruelty, they should produce and present this record of my Covenant, because it is incumbent on monarchs, and on all Musalmáns to act according to our behests; but the Armenians also, by acts of fidelity and loyalty, should comply with our mandates and obey our will, in conformity with the contents of the treaty which I have made and established with them. There shall be no disobedience or opposition to my commands and wishes. Moreover, it is politic and expedient, not to molest and oppress the Christians, so that by the adoption of a conciliatory course, they might be induced to comply with the stipulations contained in this my Covenant.

“This my Covenant is a burden and an obligation to its recipients, and wearisome and irksome to maliciously disposed and evil-minded persons, and I desire that there should be no contention between the Christians and my exalted nation. But if any one shall act against all that I have written concerning the Christians, who have proved themselves worthy of my favor and benevolence, such a person acts against the will of God, who inspired me with grace to do this act of goodness to that nation and to save them from troubles and vexations; for I have entered into a Covenant with them, because they requested and solicited it from me and from all my friends. I have thus given them a divine Covenant, a Covenant of patriarchs, of prophets and of all holy men from the first to the last. And the word of God to the holy prophets, which was brought down from heaven by the angel, enjoins obedience to the laws and performance of duties, and also faithfulness to this my divine Covenant. Because the Christians under my authority are my subjects, and I am ruler over them, it is my duty to have a paternal eye over them, and to protect them from all evils and

troubles; and thus a good reward shall be given in heaven both to me and to my nation which is scattered in different parts of the world.

“And the scale of taxation fixed by me for these nobles should be strictly adhered to. No demand should be made from them beyond what has already been written down and sanctioned. They should not be molested or oppressed. Their country should not be taken from them. They should not be alienated from their country. The priests should not be deprived of their holy calling. The Christians should not be converted from Christianity. The monks and hermits should not be disturbed in their solitudes, nor removed from their monasteries. Their preachers should not be prohibited to preach. Their habitations and their hereditary lands should not be devastated. Their property should not be meddled with when they build Churches. Nobody should remove or to pull down the bells from the steeples of their Churches. This is the law which I have made for them. But, those who shall infringe my Covenant, by disobeying my behests, shall be transgressors of the ordinance of God, and shall suffer severe punishments and eternal penalties.

“Let no crowned head or man of authority of the Musalmáns or believers, compel the Christians to profess the religion of Musalmáns. Nor let them hold any controversies with them on matters of religion, but let them treat them with kindness and tenderness; and, under the shadow of their mercy and clemency, protect them from all sorts of oppression and tribulations, wherever they may be found or wherever they may reside. And if the Christian people be in want of money or in need of pecuniary help for the building of Churches and monasteries, for their national and social assemblies, and for their civil and domestic purposes, the Musalmáns ought to assist them and supply them with the necessary means, by granting them a portion of their superabundant and disowned property. And this should be done not by granting them a loan, but by way of charity. They should also aid them by good advice and suggestions in their transactions, because doing so is pleasing and acceptable in the sight of God and his apostle. But, if any one should infringe the contents of this my Covenant, he is an unbeliever and an apostate from the divine prophet, and he will assuredly be deprived of his merits, and the prophet shall look upon him with anger and

displeasure. If the stubborn and refractory shall prove themselves unfaithful and disobedient to the Covenant which I have established, they cannot remain faithful and obedient to the son of Abú'tálib, the exalted. For, whatever he may command and ordain, it is the duty of Musalmáns to carry out his orders, by succouring and commiserating them (the Armenians) at all times, so long as this world shall last. Glory to the Creator of the universe!"

The tragical events of the last twelve centuries, recorded on the pages of the history of oriental nations, and in the ecclesiastical chronicles of eastern Christendom, sufficiently testify how far the contents of this Covenant of the pious and humane 'Alí, fourth Caliph of Baghdád, have been kept inviolate by his successors and his co-religionists.



JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY.



PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

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No. II.—1870.  
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Memorandum on and tentative reading of the Sûe Vihâr Inscription from near Bhâwalpûr.—By E. C. BAYLEY, Esq., C. S. I., C. S.

(With two plates.)

I enclose a tracing of an inscription and the accompanying note from Major Stubbs, R. A.

The place 'Sûe Vihâr' in which this copper-plate inscription was found, is situated about sixteen miles S. W. of Bhâwulpûr, and the plate formed the bottom of a small arched chamber in which the vertical shaft which pierced the tower, terminated at the level of the summit of the mound.

Major Stubbs says—

'The name of the place, where the tower stands, is Sûe Vihâr. Its present height is about 45 feet; but report says that 6 or 8 feet have recently fallen. Upon approaching it from the north, it is seen that but half of it is standing, having been cut, as it were, right down the diameter, passing from N. E. to S. W. Half the exterior height is made up of a mound; and about 20 feet above the place where the tower rises from the mound, there are the remains of a large square chamber, about 8 feet square, its sides facing the cardinal points. Above the floor of this, the walls rise at present about 11 feet size. In the centre of the floor, there is a square hole of 16 inches, opening

into a shaft of the same size down to the top of the mound. This shaft is quite exposed from about 3 feet of the floor down to the top of the mound, by the falling away of half the tower, whenever that occurred. The tower is built of very large sun-dried bricks, $17 \times 13 \times 3.5''$. But in this chamber was formerly a flooring of burnt bricks of the same size as the sun-dried ones, laid in lime cement with the copper-plate bedded in the middle, while round the plate on the four sides, walls of the same kind of brick and mortar were raised, about 2 feet high, forming a sort of chamber with the copperplate at the bottom. In this, the coins, mixed with some pieces of iron, a few beads, fragments of ornaments, all mixed up with ashes and earth, were found. The men who were charged with the clearing out of this, unfortunately pulled the whole of the masonry down.'

'The mound upon first sight appears to be merely a heap of earth covered with the *debris* fallen from the tower; but upon closer examination, it turns out to be a regularly built tower, formed wholly of the sun-dried bricks above described.'

'When we arrived on Monday about noon, such was the state we found it in, the workmen already assembled had dug a few holes here and there in the mounds, and had come upon some loose bricks (*pucca*) at the S. E. After some consideration, we divided the men into two companies, and thinking there might be a second chamber at some distance under where the first was found, as in the top of Manikyala, we set one of the companies to sink a trench at the middle of the mound, carrying it right at the centre of the tower as shewn by the dotted line in the plan. (*Vide* Pl. III.) The others were set to work to excavate the mound where the bricks had been discovered. The result of the two days' labour was the cutting of the trench into the heart of the tower to a depth of 10 feet below the original level, or 25 feet below the floor of the chamber, but as yet some 10 or 12 feet to the ground level remained unexplored. Nothing, down to this, had been found. The whole had been remarkably well built of sun-dried bricks of unusual compactness. The other work proved more interesting by uncovering a considerable portion of a piece of well built foundations arranged as shewn in the plan, consisting in some places of a double wall, 35 feet thick, with a

space of 1 foot between them. These were built of burnt bricks of the same size as the others, but not cemented with mortar. Excavation at this place was very difficult, owing to the quantity of loose and broken bricks which overlaid the foundation. Three fragments of curved bricks were found among these.'

'I hear that there is another tower similar to this in another part of this state about 100 miles still S. W. of this, at a place called Noshera.'

I read the first nine words as follows (*vide* Plate II)—

Maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Kanishkasa samvatsarè ekadaṣe (here follows the cipher for eleven, as to which more hereafter) Däisikasa Masasa. That is "In the eleventh sambat of the great king, the king of kings, the god-born Kanishka,—of the month Däisik."

Then follows the number of the day of the month, written in cipher. The tracing here is not clear, and I have failed to read it.

So much for the first line. The important points are, *first*, the use of the samvat of Kanishka. I have long thought that the frequent occurrence of this king's name evidently in connection with a date, betokened the existence of a Kanishka æra. It seems clear now that it does. The question is, what was it? Was it the year of his reign only, or was it a new æra? Was it the Saka æra which dated from the death of a Saka king? Perhaps the coins found with the plate, might help; they show at least what coins were current in the eleventh year of the æra.

Next comes the symbol, evidently standing for *ten*. This is the symbol which has been hitherto conjectured to stand for a contraction of "Samvatsure." This discovery will render needful correction of some dates as hitherto read, in this class of inscriptions.

Lastly, the name of the month, evidently the Macedonian "Dæsius," or an attempt at it, confirms Cunningham's conjectural reading of the month on the Taxila plate, and shows that in some parts of India, the Macedonian months were in use. I now read the name of the month in the Wardak inscription as "Athwami-siyasa for "of Artemisius."

This is one argument, I think, fairly deducible from the first line.

The second line I attempt to read as—Atreswarasa Bhichusa

Naganatasa Dhakha kélisa átreýura matrávisishtasa átreýubhrate prasishtasa yatri éva puyäe iha Dámáne (third line) vihar,—and tentatively I would read this as follows :—

“This vihar, in Dámána, for the religious advantage (puyäe) equivalent to a pilgrimage (yatri éva. .yatra-iva?) of Dhákakélis (Dhákukelis?) the excellent mother and very excellent brothers of the Bhikshu Atreshwara of Naganata.”

The verb must come in the third line, which I have not as yet had time to work out; but I do not like to keep the papers longer. I will copy out the tracing, however, and if I can make any further probable guesses, will send them afterwards. The only importance which attaches to the second line is that which is derived (if my reading is correct) from the mention of pilgrimages, as showing that they were in use among the Buddhists of the early date to which this inscription apparently belongs (not later than the *first* century, A. D.), and that they were considered as conferring religious merit.

If the Society publish the inscription, they should, I think, get a loan at least of the plate. It is much more satisfactory to read from the original than from the best tracing or copy.

May 1st, 1869.

Major Stubbs having kindly sent me the original copper-plate found at Súe Vihár near Bháwalpúr, I am now in a position to add somewhat to the tentative readings before submitted to the Society, though I regret to say that I am still unable to complete the whole inscription. This mainly arises from doubts as to the value of certain characters which appear to occur here for the first time. If my readings, however, are right as far as they go, they seem to indicate that the pillar was set up as a *quasi* expiatory offering by some one who had at some period of his career lapsed into heresy, or into the commission of some grave crime. The only other point of importance brought out is the date of the day of the month, which is clearly the *nineteenth*; but as will be seen, there is some difficulty as to the cypher for this, which hardly accords with that given for the date of the year eleven. The first figure

3 is either a contraction for 123 (11), or else there is some omission in the engraving.

I

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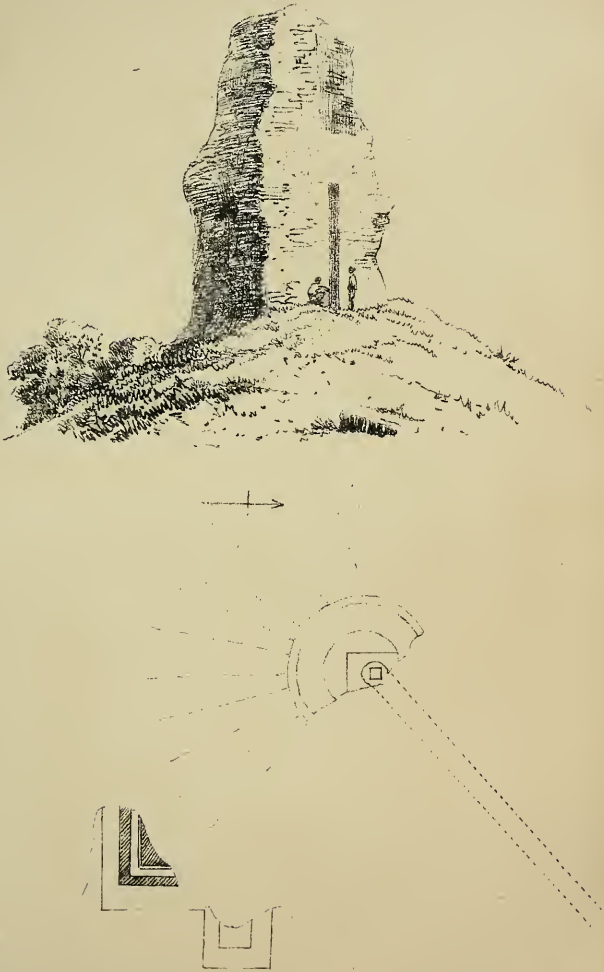
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VALPÚR.



INSCRIPTION found at SUE VIHAR, near BHAWALPUR.

Photocographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta



The Tower at Sic Vihar near Bhawalpur

The transliteration which I would now propose is as follows :

1st line.

Maharâjasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Kanishkasa samvatsare
ekadaṣe, 11. Dâisikasa masasa divase anullvimsate × × ? 19 ?

2nd line.

Atreshwarasa bhichhusasa Naganatasa Dhakhbhalisa. Achha-
yuḍa matata vasishtusu achhayu bhrataprasishtasa yati evu puyâe
iha dâmane

3rd line.

Vihara samine upâsika ananânda. Swa si — — — lajaya matata
chha imraya vipatita anupatrimra anupatitata, dadati sarva budha

4th line.

Strasa sukhaya bhavatu.

Translation of the 1st line.

The translation of the 1st line cannot be mistaken, I think. It is merely "On the 19th day of the month Dâisik ($\Delta\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$) in the "11th year of the divinely descended great king, king of kings "Kanishka."

2nd.

"For the religious benefit (equivalent to a pilgrimage) of Dhakhbhalisa the good the excellent mother and of the good and pre-excellent brother of Atreshwara of Naganata the religious mendicant, (this) for the holy lord ("samine" for swamine) the vihar, this worshipper gives (dadati), turned back (vipatita) from his maternal (virtue?)—fallen away (anupatitata) from his ancestral . . . ? May it be for a cause of happiness to all Buddhism (?)."

In the second line, I have some doubts as to the reading of the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 9th and 10th words, and my version of the 5th and 7th is purely conjectural. It may be a corruption of the word "âcharyya," or more probably perhaps from the same source as the Hindî term for "good."

3rd and 4th lines.

The third line is extremely dubious both as to reading and version, but the last compound letter of ananânda is new, though "d" evidently enters into the compound, and the other letters may

well be "n." The letter next after ananánda, I can only guess at. One seems an "ñ" or "m." The word "irma" or "imra" (most probably the latter), may have some connection with "amrit" which becomes in some Hindí dialects "imrit."

The end of the third and the fourth line contains a common Buddhist formula employed at the end of dedicating inscriptions; the word which I have rendered "Budhastrasa" is alone doubtful.

I am sorry to have the version so incomplete, but send it so rather than detain the plate longer, as I have no prospect of being able to give that attention to it which a more complete version would necessitate.

1st April, 1870.

Notes on Old Delhi.—By J. D. TREMLETT, Esq., M. A., C. S.

[Received 12th March, 1870.]

In the present paper I purpose restricting my remarks to such ancient Hindú and Pat'hán buildings as have a historical or architectural interest, and are situated in or around the site of old Delhi. As, moreover, I intend these notes to be merely supplementary to the learned Paper of General Cunningham on the same subject, published in Vol. XXXIII. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I pass over in general all matters therein discussed.

The Tank of Súraj Kundh.

For the reasons given in the previous paragraph, I omit alluding to the two Pillars of Asoká, the iron pillar at Mihrauli, and the Hindú period of Indrapat (Puráná Qil'ah). As, however, Cunningham's description of the tank of Súraj Kundh is confined to a few lines (p. xix) and that of Sayyid Ahmad in his *Ásár-uççanádíd* contains one or two inaccuracies, it may be well to dwell on this in some detail.

Sayyid Ahmad attributes the construction of this tank to Súraj Pál, the fifth son of that Rájah Anekpál, who was the first king of the Tunwar dynasty, about 676 A. D. General Cunningham, however, holds that the popular date should be referred to the Balabhi era, which would give A. D. 1061, during the reign of the second

Anekpál or Anangpál who restored the city of Delhi, making it again the capital of his kingdom.

The tank which is situated on high ground in the Delhi Hills a mile or so south of 'Adilábád, is not round as stated by Sayyid Ahmad, but is rather in the shape of an arc of a circle, since the west side is a straight line for very nearly its whole length, until at its north end it turns with a re-entering angle, and is continued a short distance towards a gorge which here meets the tank, and pours into it the drainage of the hilly ground. Except at this corner, where the stone-work probably was entirely discontinued to receive the hill streams, the tank is surrounded by a series of steps formed by large blocks of smoothed stone. These steps for a height of nine or ten feet are about the ordinary width of tank steps, but higher up, the space between successive steps becomes much wider, and the floor between is covered with cement, so as to form a succession of spacious terraces, running one above the other round the water; the upper terrace which was on a level with the adjacent country, being surrounded with a massive stone wall. In the centre of the western wall, is a broad staircase with side walls of simply sculptured stone leading to the Fort, or fortified Hawelí rather, of the constructor of the tank. The ruins of this building are still distinctly visible, occupying the hill top, which is here of no great size. The outer wall which crowns the crest of the ravine at the North-West corner of the tank before referred to, is very thick, and seems very singularly to be constructed as two walls standing side by side and forming one a lining to the other. In one spot on this face, I observed the ground had been taken advantage of to build a circular projecting tower. Immediately opposite the staircase leading to this fort, a precisely similar one was carried up to the top of the tank enclosure, where stands what is now a confused ruin of no great size, but probably once was a temple. Towards the northern portion of this curved side, is a sloping way for the use of cattle.

Although this fine work now stands in a desolate and apparently hopelessly sterile portion of the hilly range, there are numerous wells and relics of ancient buildings scattered around, showing it was once a populous locality. Do not the broken or dried up wells and ruins found so frequently in the Delhi hills, where the

country is now seemingly sterile as well as deserted, point to a process of desiccation going on there, or in the country at large, and felt the sooner in these Highlands?

The Great Mosque of the Qutb.

The Colonnade.

The features of the colonnades in the mosque of Qutbud-dín, as detailed by General Cunningham are, I conceive, such as to settle finally the question that the pillars are not in their original positions, but have been removed by the Muhammadans, as recorded over the eastern gateway, from the Hindú temples of the town. The fact that these beautiful Hindú columns were covered with plaster by the idol-hating conqueror does not rest on an inference from the presence of one or two groups of sculptured figures, as Cunningham appears to put it at p. xlix of his Paper, but in sheltered spots the plaster can even now be picked from the more deeply carved stones: besides the columns, and especially the capitals, are *constantly* adorned with human or divine figures which although usually mutilated in the face must still have stunk in the nostrils of Qutbud-dín and his savage hordes.

In reference to Cunningham's remark at p. x, that "a single pillar amongst the many hundreds that now form the colonnades of the Qutb Manár, may perhaps belong to the old city, that is the town anterior to the Tunwar dynasty, as it bears a figure either of Buddha the Ascetic seated in contemplation, or of one of the Jain hierarchs," I would remark that in the south colonnade, and in the roofs of the S. E. and N. E. galleries, are several figures of seated Buddhas, or figures which answer exactly to the seated Buddhas of Benares and Ceylon, (I add this as I have unfortunately no knowledge of Jain sculptures). I should therefore be inclined to believe that, besides the column alluded to in the foregoing extract, no less than six of the lozenge-shaped roof compartments belong to the Buddhist period of Delhi. The pillars from the temples to which these roof compartments belonged, probably stood in that portion of the south cloister which has now been destroyed.

The sculptures on these Hindú columns give us some light, although but little, on the garb and appearance of the people of

Delhi at the time of the Muhammadan conquest. The capitals of the columns are frequently formed by female figures which spring at the waist from the pillar, and with their heads support the roof: these figures appear to wear the same covering for the breasts which is still in use (*angiya*), and a waist cloth, the stomach being bare; they wear as ornaments bracelets, armlets, chains round the neck, often with lockets attached, and a singular looking chain passing from the necklace over the left breast and reaching to the waist covering; also waist chains, and in one group, of dancing girls apparently, pendant chains depend from this waist chain over the thighs. These female figures have usually a kind of coronet on their heads, but I am inclined to think this was added to give a larger space of support to the beam above. The workmanship of the ornaments is very varied, and many of the patterns are highly artistic. The men appear to wear dhotis, with the end hanging down in front. Elephants covered with a pad and horses are seen ridden; the head-gear of the latter is much like that now in use, but the riders seem to have no stirrups; there are chains round the animals' necks like the chains of white shells still in fashion. The riders on the elephants are strangely enough depicted as riding across the creature's back, as if it had been a horse. Over the north gate is a car with a heavy, clumsy wheel. I have observed no instance of a camel being introduced. Among the articles of furniture, may be seen round earthen pots and beds like those now in use, and round ottomans apparently of open cane-work. If I be right in identifying certain pyramidal carvings as temples, they also were in shape much like those erected now-a-days; that they were low buildings, the height of the columns now standing in the cloisters clearly shows. So far therefore as these glimpses of a past age serve us, the subjects of Prit'hvī Rájah differed little in appearance from their descendants of to-day.

Before quitting this subject I would mention that besides the two slabs described by General Cunningham at page xlix, there are numerous similar narrow slabs containing groups or processions built into the wall or roof, but usually so mutilated or filled with plaster, that it is difficult to discover their meaning; perhaps though the greatest difficulty is caused by our ignorance of the occurrences or history of which these are the dumb records.

On the construction of the Mosques.

At p. xlviiii General Cunningham speaks of Qutbud-din's mosque as a wall pierced by a line of *seven* arches. This must surely be a *lapsus calami* for *five*, which is the true number, the colonnade being carried into the mosque by a continuation of the straight roof of the arcade.

A great difficulty I conceive with regard to these buildings is the manner in which the body of the mosques was roofed over. Enough, however, remains to show clearly that the line of the roof cut the arches, and that even columns stood in, and on the line of the open arches. Barbarous as it may appear that these noble arches should have their beauty marred, by being cut at about half their height, by the line of the roof of the room behind, there can be no doubt from an inspection of the ground, that such was the case; and it should be remembered, that there is no connection between the arts of sculpture and architecture, and that it is in no sense improbable that the men, who could carve the pillars of the so-called 'But-khánah,' and cover the mosque wall with its elaborate and delicate tracery, would be still quite incompetent to attempt the feat of raising the body of the mosque to the height required to correspond to the lofty wall which the conqueror directed to be built: in fact, the whole mosque is clearly the work of men who did not know how to extend the appliances and skill which sufficed for Hindú temples, low in height and limited in area, to the more difficult task now imposed on them; while many proofs can be drawn from the early Pat'hán buildings to show that at the time of the conquest they had to depend on their Hindú subjects, and that the glories of Pat'hán architecture were the results of the subsequent progress of a race now enjoying the wealth of India, and the leisure which such fortune brings. One other question anent the roof remains; *viz.*, whether the mosque itself was a two-storied building or not. On mature consideration, I am inclined to believe not, as in one place, a dome still remains above the first floor, which is coated on the outside in the same manner as the other domes are, which were exposed to the weather; whereas, if a second floor had been superimposed, this would probably have

been left without a special coating in the midst of the material intervening between the roof below and the floor above; and secondly, I am not aware of any case of a story being built above the story on the Court level. The only thing to support the theory of a double story is the bad effect of arches opening below into a room and above to the sky; and a block of stone projecting on the back of the front wall of the north mosque at a height above the level of the roof, and looking as if it belonged to the support of a roof or other erection at that higher level. As to the first of these reasons, the remaining features of the building, as already discussed, show how unsafe it would be to apply our notions to the way in which these arches were treated; and as to the second point, although I have no theory even to offer as to the purpose to which the projecting stone was applied, it seems less difficult to admit this than to hang on it alone the anomaly of an upper story.

Extent of the Mosques of Shams ud-din Altamsh.

From the language used by General Cunningham at p. 2, it is clear that he considers the whole of the longer and outer southern cloister as belonging to these mosques. With all deference to his authority as an archæologist, I more than doubt whether the cloisters of Altamsh extended further than the Quṭb Manár itself, and the portion to the east, I believe, belongs to a later period, probably that of 'Alá-ud-din Khiljí. I found this on four reasons; *first*, the pillars to the west of the Manár are all of one pattern, and this the same as in the fragmentary colonnade before the east door of the lesser mosque, which I consider belongs to this erection, while the columns to the east of the Manár, which are also all alike, are of a different pattern; *secondly*, the line of the columns to the east and west of the Manár is slightly different; *thirdly*, the stones facing the wall at the east end are larger and better cut than those in the west part; and *lastly* and principally, the windows in the wall near the mosque are oblong, and generally resemble those in Quṭb-ud-din's building, whereas to the east from the Manár downwards they are arched and filled in with trellis work in red sandstone, and closely resemble the windows in 'Aláud-din's porch. I infer therefore that Shamsud-din's north and south walls reached only

to the line of the Manár, and were connected by a triple colonnade without a wall, which was probably omitted owing to the close proximity here of the east wall of the inner mosque. Considering, however, the admirable taste with which the ground was cleared by Major Smith of rubbish (! !), to make way for paths and flower-beds, it is possible that a wall may have stood at this end, of which all traces are now gone. I conceive that 'Aláud-dín added, not only his gateway, but also enlarged the cloisters by the columns to the east of the Manár, possibly altering or pulling down a little of the S. E. corner of Altamsh's arcade, in order to join on his new additions.

Sultán Ghárí.

About three miles to the N. W. of the Quṭb are some remains of considerable historical interest, known in the neighbourhood as Sultán Ghárí. The principal building is said by Sayyid Ahmad to be the tomb of a prince Sultán Náçir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the eldest son of Altamsh, who died in his father's lifetime, and by whom this tomb was erected in his honor in 1229, A. D. The tomb is approached by a lofty flight of steps which leads to a door surrounded by an inscription in white marble in the old Kufic character. This gate enters on a small court; in the centre of which stands a large octagonal vault rising about four feet above the yard, the outer sides being coated with slabs of marble; in one side is a small door which opens on a flight of 15 steps leading to the bottom of the vault. This crypt which is only lighted from the door is faced with the stone of the neighbourhood, and supported by massive columns of the same. In it are the tombs of three adults and one child, all massively built, and covered with chunam, in the style of those in the mausoleum at Tughluqábád. At the west end of the court, is a marble *qiblahgáh*, handsomely carved: along both the east and west wall, is a single covered colonnade of fluted pillars, and in front of the entrance, and opposite it, in front of the *qiblahgáh*, the roof of the colonnade is raised into a low dome lined with projecting rows of carved stone in the Hindú fashion, as seen in the domes of Quṭbud-dín's mosque. The pillars which support the *qiblahgáh* dome are, like the *qiblahgáh* itself, of white marble

and project slightly beyond the line of the rest of the colonnade. At the four corners of the tomb yard, are small circular towers surmounted by low domes, built in the Hindú fashion, by layers of stone projecting one above the other. If the learned Sayyid have rightly interpreted the inscriptions on this tomb, this will be, I believe, the earliest in India of any interest in the eye of the historian. The popular name is probably a corruption either of the word *Ghorí*, a not inapplicable race-name to give to a son of Altamsh, or is derived from the vault (غار, *ghár*) in which the tombs are built.

At the south side of this tomb, and on the natural surface of the ground, stand two monuments, each consisting of eight columns and surmounted by domes. These tombs stand each in a small enclosure, consisting of a low rough stone wall, entered on the east sides by narrow gateways. These tombs, Sayyid Ahmad considers to be those of Ruknud-dín, the son and successor of Altamsh, and of Mu'izzud-dín Bahrám, another son of the same emperor. I presume, he identifies these tombs from the account given of their repair by Fírúz Sháh; for there is not a vestige of inscription on or about the tombs themselves, so far as I could discover. The pillars in the more eastern tomb closely resemble those in Náçirud-dín's. The domes, as they exist at present, I have no doubt are the work of Fírúz Sháh, who is said to have repaired both buildings, as their shape and size points to a much later era than the Hindú-like domes of their brother's tomb hard by; and the rubble masonry of which they are constructed, while quite in the style of Fírúz Sháh's time, contrasts unnaturally with the massive stone slabs by which the columns are surmounted. I greatly doubt if in the early portion of the 13th century, the Pat'háns had acquired the art of surmounting a *spacious* building by a dome, and am inclined to believe that they finished them off by a few projecting layers of stone, leaving the centre open to the sky, much in fact as in the case of the tomb of Shamsud-dín Altamsh, which there appears to be little reason for considering to have ever been domed over, Fírúz Tughluq's annalist notwithstanding. At a short distance from Náçirud-dín's tomb is an interesting specimen of the mosque of those times, when Hindú temples were not at hand to be plundered. The mosque

roof, which is flat, rests on parallel rows of columns, from each one of which, excepting of course the outside rows, spring four narrow arches, two resting on the two adjacent pillars in the row parallel to the west wall, and two on the two adjacent pillars in the row at right angles to that wall, the spandrels of the arches forming a part of the solid roof, which is built of rubble masonry.

Tomb of Ghiásud-dín Balban.

Just beyond a mosque known at the Quṭb as that of Jamálí Kamáli, stand the remains of the tomb of this famous slave king. It is situated in a small yard, surrounded by a low wall, pierced by a row of arched openings. Under the north door, which is approached by two flights of steps parallel to the wall, is an aperture, out of which water seems to have flowed through a pipe, as a slab of stone worked into the ordinary honey-combed pattern, is placed under the pipe. The tomb itself is a square building of masonry, covered with plaster and painted. The four corners have been cut off on the exterior by a six-sided recess becoming circular at the top. Inside over the east and west doors are inscriptions in Arabic. There is no trace now of the actual grave, and the inside is encumbered with massive fragments of the dome which has fallen in within recent memory. The qiblahgáh is constructed in the wall of the court, which, opposite to the west door of the tomb, is raised to about double the height of the rest of the wall. The gateways in the court wall are narrow and flat at the top, but arched over with masonry. Ibn Batútá, who visited Delhi about fifty years after Balban's decease, says (p. 113, Lee's Translation), "One of his (Balban's) pious acts was his building a house, which was called the House of Safety; for, whenever any debtor entered this, his debt was adjudged; and in like manner every oppressed person found justice; every manslayer deliverance from his adversary; and every person in fear, protection. When he died, he was buried in this house, and there I myself visited his grave." If the Dár ul-aman were no larger than the tomb or even its court, the skirts of Balban's protection were but scanty; I should be inclined, however, to think that the tomb was erected in the grounds of the house, both because the present area seems too limited for an

Alsatia, and also because it was not the custom for these Pat'háns to be buried within actual dwelling-houses, and I take it, the Dár-ul-aman was probably such, or a row of such dwellings, possibly in the form of a Sarái. Sayyid Ahmad who was perhaps unacquainted with this almost contemporary statement of the Arab traveller, places the tomb at Mihraulí (the Quṭb) and the House of Safety some miles off, close to the shrine of Nizámud-dín, where is a village called Ghiáspúr. As is his wont, the Sayyid does not give his reason for the identification, but if it rest at all on the name of the village, that seems too common a one to be worth much.

'A'dilábád.

This fortress, attributed to Muhammad Tughluq, lies on the southern side of the tank, in which the tomb, erected by this king to his father, was situated. Although on a much smaller scale, this place, like Tughluqábád itself, consists of a strong fort on the highest ground and an outer line of fortifications probably enclosing a small town or bazar. These outer fortifications diverge from the Fort wall close to the main gateway, and after enclosing a considerable space of ground to the south, approach close to the Fort at its east end, and then by a double line of walls cross the head of the tank on an embankment and join the walls of Tughluqábád. Inside the citadel of this place are still to be seen the foundations of the palace.

At a short distance to the west of 'Ádilábád stands another Fort with its dependent fortified suburb. This place which is very much smaller than even 'Ádilábád, goes in the neighbourhood by the unintelligible name of the Sweeper's Fort, or the Washerman's Fort. Inside the Fort, and scattered over the hill on which it stands, I found numerous fragments of red sandstone, showing that an ornamental building of some nature had once stood within the fortress, but all other traces of it have now disappeared. Both this place and 'Ádilábád are built in the style of Tughluqábád of enormous blocks of stone. It seems difficult to believe that Fírúz Tughluq succeeded the builders of these works, which embody the highest ideas of simplicity joined to strength.

The Palace of Fírúzábád.

The ruins known as ‘Fírúz Sháh ká kotilah’ close to the Delhi gate of the modern city, undoubtedly constitute only the palace of Fírúzábád, which itself reached far into the modern town of Sháhjahán, and on the other hand it, or its suburbs, are said to have stretched to the present village of Hauz Kháç, and to Indrapat. I have carefully searched, and I believe not a single inscription can be found throughout the whole palace, probably because time has kindly removed or blackened the plaster in which this king so delighted. Immediately to the south of the pyramid, on which Asoká’s pillar has been set up, is the mosque, which Sayyid Ahmad identifies as the Jámí’ Masjid of Timur Lang’s days, and its size, situation, as well as the absence of any other ruins on the old river bank, which could be the mosque in question, render this highly probable, notwithstanding its position inside the palace. If, however, it be the mosque, then that gracious monarch seems to have been guilty of exaggeration in describing it as a “noble mosque of polished marble” (Elphinstone’s Hist. of India, p. 358), as it is only built of masonry, covered with plaster, and can never have been anything else, since in one or two places, ornamental medallions of raised plaster work still remain on the walls, and bear due testimony that the building was not raised in a reign of marble and sand-stone.

Mosques of Jahán Khán.

General Cunningham speaks of the *Kálá Masjid*, now within the enclosure of modern Delhi, as a characteristic and favourable specimen of the architecture of those days. It is a trite saying *De gustibus non est disputandum*, but it seems difficult to see what there is to admire in low colonnades, surmounted by rows of hemispherical domes of small diameter, each one touching its fellow, with one of larger size here and there over a gateway. It may be doubted too, if the sloping walls which crown so proudly the crests of the Tughluqábád hills, are much adapted for crowded streets, especially when for huge blocks of squared stone are substituted paint and plaster. However, for admirers of the later Tughluq style, I may observe that the mosque at the village of Khirkhí by

Muhammad Tughluq's hand, and that of Begumpur near the road from Delhi to the Qutb, are both much finer specimens of Jahán Khán's erections than the Black Mosque. Whatever may be the architectural beauties, however, of these mosques, they have a certain historical interest, as they were the fruits of Jahán Khán's desire to ingratiate himself with the people, when he was taking advantage of his master Fírúz Sháh's age and consequent imbecility and his own position as vazír, to intrigue for the succession to the already almost vacant throne.

Tomb of Fírúz Sháh Tughluq.

This monument stands in the village of Hauz Khác. It is a square lofty building of masonry. The principal entrance is on the south, where a stone wall of grey sandstone about two feet high with a broad coping stone forms a diminutive court by which to approach the door, which is raised by three steps, and is wide and oblong, but set in an arch, the upper portion being filled in with stone lattice work; the lintels and side-posts of the door are of grey stone, and at the top, the side-posts are made to project and carved slightly. The east door resembles the one just described; at the west and north are recesses in the wall, resembling those in which the opposite doors are set. At the side of the north recess is a narrow pointed arch now blocked up, but leading apparently to the Madrasah. At a considerable height above the floor, the shape of the walls is changed from a square to an octagon and then to a sixteen sided figure and so on, by filling up the corners with masonry worked into a beautiful honey-comb kind of pattern, and richly painted. The dome, a hemispherical one, is of considerable diameter, with a large circle painted in an elegant pattern at the top, from which belts cutting each other are drawn down to the bottom of the dome. In the intersections of the belt are three rows of medallions of different sizes and figures: the belts and medallions being all painted on the white ground of the dome. Outside the south door is an Arabic inscription. Round the top of the square building, and around the low cylinder, from which the dome springs, is a narrow band of red stone, carved in a graceful pattern. Inside are three marble, and one masonry tomb, all much injured. Sayyid

Ahmad states that Náçirud-din Tughluq and 'Aláud-din Sikandar Sháh (the Humáyún Tughluq apparently of Elphinstone) also lie buried here. Adjoining the tomb to the north is a range of low masonry buildings, probably the Madrasah which Fírúz Sháh erected here; although at present unoccupied, this building is blocked up by the walls by which the villagers have adapted it to the wants of their modern civilization. Around the royal tomb are numerous open monuments of the common form of cupolas resting on pillars.

Tomb of Mubárik Sháh.

Near the tomb of Çafdar Jang, stands the little village of Mubárikpúr. This is built in the midst of a large yard surrounded by a stone battlemented wall. The gates leading into this Court have the side posts and lintels of grey stone, and are oblong in shape except at the top where the side posts project in the usual fashion. About the actual doorway, is a narrow line of plain blue encaustic tiles, and below two full blown lotus flowers in white marble. A short approach from this gate leads to the tomb itself, a massive octagonal building constructed of the grey stone of the country. It stands on a plinth, approached by an ascent of two steps with a sloping way of stone between. The tomb is surrounded by a covered colonnade; the pillars, twenty-four in number, stand on the edge of the plinth. These pillars are of a highly peculiar form, being oblong, and so cut as to present the appearance of two oblong shaped pillars joined by a narrower belt; at each corner of the octagon, the outer pillar is strengthened by a buttress of solid stone, which greatly contributes to the general appearance of strength and solidity which characterize the building. The dome springs from a low cylinder, ornamented with colour and with sixteen finials. The dome itself is crowned with an open octagonal lantern of red stone; around the dome are eight octagonal cupolas resting on low pillars. There is only one door into the tomb, that to the south, which is of similar construction to the one in the outer court. In the space between the lintel of the doorway and the apex of the arch in which it is set, is a fan-light of lattice work in stone. The other six apertures, except the west one, answer to this south doorway, except that the doorway in their case is filled up

with stone lattice work, divided by two horizontal bars of solid stone. The west side is filled up with a handsomely carved qiblahgáh, also in stone. This niche wall is also carved on the reverse. Above the range of the doors are four arched windows in stone openwork and over them springs the dome. This is of ample diameter and is painted with belts of colour running diagonally from the bottom up to a circle of colour which fills the centre. Immediately under the centre of the dome is a tomb of a man, and to the right two women's graves, while in a row nearer the south door, are the tombs of two females, and two male children. All these graves are of stone; but owing to the tomb having been formerly utilized as a dwelling-house, I was unable to discover the stone of which the tombs and the qiblahgáh were constructed, but I rather think it was marble. At a short distance to the south-west inside the court-yard stands a three-domed mosque evidently of the same period. The wall of this building is pierced with five arches resting on low square pillars of grey stone plainly cut. There is a second row of columns running down the centre of the mosque.

This tomb is considered to be that of Mubárik Sháh, the second of the Sayyid dynasty; Sayyid Ahmad, however, doubts whether this be the tomb of the king, as the town which he was building when murdered, and where he was buried, was on the banks of the Jamnah, which Mubárikpúr never can have been. Unless indeed, the historical evidence be express that the monarch was buried actually within, and not in the vicinity of his unfinished town, I think the tomb itself affords strong evidence that the tradition is right, and that the name of the site relates to the hapless Sayyid. The shape of the dome, the limited use of encaustic tiles as a decoration, the fashion of the door ornaments, all point to the early part of the fifteenth century as the date of the building, while the costly nature of the tomb, the ample court in which it stands with its accompanying mosque, seem to place it beyond the means of a mere nobleman, especially at a time when Delhi was at its lowest point of depression. Unless therefore there be strong *contemporary* evidence against it; I am inclined to think that the principal tomb is that of the second Sayyid king.

At a short distance from Çafdar Jang's tomb, close to the road leading to Nizámud-dín, is the tomb of Muhammad Sháh, the next Sayyid. It resembles, however, Mubárik Sháh's so closely, as to call for no special description. The surrounding court here has perished.

Tomb of Buhlál Lodhí.

This tomb stands close to the shrine of Náçirud-dín Raushan Chirágh i Dihlí, and is now unfortunately occupied by the lomberdar of the village. The interior is therefore dark and dirty, but the gravestone of carved stone is still visible ; it is now a dark brown colour, the result I presume of discoloration. Above, the tomb is surmounted by five domes, the centre one being somewhat higher than the rest and ornamented with vertical flutings.

Tomb of Sikandar Lodhí.

About a quarter of a mile from Çafdar Jang's tomb, close to an ancient bridge which probably stood on the road leading from Fírúzábád to one or other of the towns stretching from Sírí to Lálkot, stands the mausoleum of this greatest of the Lodhís, who, though he died at Ágrah, is said to have been buried here by his son and successor. The tomb closely resembles in style that of Mubárik Sháh, but the increased perpendicularity of the dome indicates a somewhat later period. There is a large court surrounded by a battlemented wall, with a gate in the south wall. This gate is protected by a square outwork in front, the means of egress being by turning to the right and passing through an aperture in the *west* side of this advanced work, the south side being a continuous wall. At each end of this last named wall, are two cupolas adorned with encaustic tiles.

Dihlí Sher Sháh.

In regard to the southern limits of this city I entertain great doubt if, as General Cunningham considers, it ever reached so far as to include *within its walls* the Mausoleum of Humáyún. My reason for holding this view is, that just opposite the west gate of Puráná Qil'ah stands a gate, now known as the Lál Darwázah, in the same style, though larger and finer than the Lál Darwázah opposite the jail, which latter is generally admitted to be a north

gate of this city. On both sides of this southern gate, are protecting towers and a little of the wall, both the gate and the walls being to all appearance those of an important city from the size and appearance, and yet their direction is such as to make it inconceivable, especially as Puráná Qil'ah was then standing, that they could have been part of an enceinte including Humáyún's tomb ; this argument rests on the narrowness of the space between the gate and the old course of the river compared with the distance southerly to Humáyún's tomb, and also on the fact that the wall to the east of the gate turns northward and not southward. If too I be right in identifying the masses of masonry between the north gate of Puráná Qil'ah and the road as being a part of the wall of Dihlí Sher Sháh, the argument is considerably strengthened, as then the wall would be found running more than half a mile north of the mausoleum. I think too the authorities quoted by General Cunningham at p. lxxix of his paper may be interpreted consistently with the view I am taking. Finch's statement of 'two kos' was undoubtedly his own approximation, or else the popular distance, and I think if allowance be made for the windings of the streets, for there seems no reason, from the nature of the ground, for believing that the two gates which chance to remain were connected by a straight road, the distance between them might be set down roughly at two *kos*, though undoubtedly somewhat less. Again it seems a somewhat arbitrary assumption, that the gate near the jail was the chief north gate : there can be no doubt that many of the gates must have perished, and this particular one is by no means on so grand a scale as the one opposite Puráná Qil'ah. The bridge might well be said to be only a short distance from Dihlí, even if the walls stopped at Puráná Qil'ah, as the suburbs would beyond question extend some way beyond the wall along so important a road as the Mat'hurá one must then have been ; and this consideration seems to meet Purchas' statement that Humáyún's tomb was in the city. At any rate before the southern limits be fixed below Humáyún's tomb on the authority of this writer, for the quotations from Finch seem quite inconclusive till we know where his north gate stood, it seems to me essential that some satisfactory account should be given of the great gate opposite Puráná Qil'ah

and its adjoining walls, as well as of the wall opposite the N. W. corner of the just named fort.

Puráná Qil'ah.

Although the walls of this Fort are attributed to Humáyún, both the buildings now remaining in it, are attributed to Sher Sháh Súr, and exhibit Pat'hán architecture at its highest perfection.

The Jámi' Masjid which has recently been repaired by Government with great success, is a large building of grey stone, of five arches. These arches are all more or less elaborately adorned with inlaid stones of marble, red sandstone and a kind of black basalt, the stone-work being elaborately carved with passages from the Qorán, and scroll work. Nothing but a painting can do full justice to a result in which colour and workmanship alike contribute to the charm which the spectator cannot but feel. The qiblahgáhs are also carved in marble and adorned with inlaid patterns and red sandstone, the ceiling and dome have been covered with painted patterns. It may suffice to point out certain characteristics of this style of mosque. Above the doorways, in the upper portion of the arch in which they are set, are introduced small arched window-like apertures: at the north and south sides, oriel windows are constructed, surmounted with cupolas resting on pillars. These oriel windows are also introduced into the back wall of this mosque, while each end of the back wall terminates in a rounded tower running to the top of the building. Mosques belonging to this period and exhibiting the style, will be found in the Jamáli Kamáli mosque at the Quṭb, in the North Masjid near Mubárikpúr and in a nameless mosque at Khairpúr, about a third of a mile from Çafdar Jang's tomb. This last mosque is noteworthy, as being perhaps the finest remaining specimen of the success with which the Pat'háns worked inscriptions and tracery in stucco.

The other building in Puráná Qil'ah, the Sher Maṅḍal, which derives its interest from being the place where Humáyún met with the fall which caused his death, is an octagonal building of red stone standing on a plinth. The first story is solid, but in the second there is a room panelled with encaustic tiles to the height of about 3 feet and painted above. This room is a square from which lesser squares have been cut off at the corners, as shown in the

figure. On the roof is an octagonal cupola; the supporting pillars of red sandstone have their shafts richly carved with chevron work, and the bases are also worked with an elegant pattern.

Proposed Criteria towards fixing the dates of Pat'hán buildings at Delhi.

Although there is a very wide difference indeed between the barbarous simplicity of the Sultán Ghári mosque, and the stately Jámi' Masjid of Sher Sháh's days, a very little observation will show that these changes have taken place in successive periods and not arbitrarily, and so regularly as to enable the date of any building of size to be very closely approximated to.

One of the most conspicuous parts of Pat'hán building is the dome, and in the shape and fashion of the dome, these successive developments of Pat'hán architecture are very clearly marked. I have already pointed out that the first conquerors were compelled to use Hindú builders; accordingly, the dome of the early slave-kings is constructed of successive concentric rings of stone, the diameter of each layer being somewhat less than that of the layer below it, the whole being capped by a circular stone, covering the small remaining aperture. This Hindú looking dome, which is of small height and usually of trifling base-diameter also, is coated on the outside with masonry and stucco. Instances are the domes on the Quṭb mosque and in the tomb of Náçirud-dín at Sultán Ghári.

I conceive it was the coating just mentioned which taught the Dihlí Pat'háns the secret of building their domes on truer principles. They found that this masonry coating would stand without the layers of projecting stones below; and then I assume that all subsequent advances were mere questions of the natural development of the secret just obtained. Accordingly in the lower part of Mihraulí is now standing an old mosque rudely built, in which the domes resemble in diminutiveness those of the Quṭb mosque, but are constructed without any under-coating of stone-work.

Towards the end of the slave dynasty and in that of the Khiljí princes, the dome is broader and higher in a considerable degree. It springs, however, still directly from the flat roof, without any intervening cylinder. The remains of Balban's tomb and the

gateway of 'Aláud-dín Khiljí at the Quṭb may be instanced as shewing the style of this half century.

The dome of the early Tughluq period is marked by the introduction of a low cylinder of a slightly larger diameter than that of the dome, from which the latter springs: the domes too are of a somewhat peculiar shape, as seen in the well known tomb at Tughlaqábád, and in that of Shaikh Çaláhud-dín between Sháh-púr and Khirkhí. In Fírúz Sháh's time, the cylinder has considerably increased in height, and becomes a conspicuous object in the dome-construction; the curved portion of the dome is still continued, however, down to the place where it springs from the cylinder.

Under the Sayyid and Lodhí lines (the fifteenth century), the changes consist in increasing still more the length of the cylinder, which is now adorned with diminutive pinnacles, and in bringing the dome down to the cylinder by a curve which for a greater and greater distance from the base tended, as time went on, towards a straight line as its limit.

I may add that this lengthening of the cylinder and strengthening of the lower lines of the dome, was the direct cause which led to the introduction of the "false dome," (witness Humáyún's tomb, and those standing near it); the graceful forms of Sháh-jahán's day being a later improvement.

Among the other criteria may be mentioned the doorways, and these are often useful in distinguishing between buildings from Fírúz Tughluq's time and downwards; the aperture was always oblong, though usually set in an arch (I do not now speak of the arches in mosque walls), and ornamented at the top by side-posts being made to project. These doorways, which are wide and ample in Fírúz Sháh's days, became subsequently more and more narrow, while the ornamentation at the top became more finished and elaborated, until specimens are found to rival even the beautiful workmanship of Fathpúr Síkrí and the Ágrah Fort.

Besides the foregoing tests, buildings belonging to the Tughluq dynasty, may be recognized usually by the slope of the walls, described by General Cunningham; those of Jahán Khán by the sloping walls and multitudinous small hemispherical domes, while during the fifteenth century, there was a gradually increasing use of encaustic tiles.

Notes on Archeological Remains at Sháh ki Dherí and the site of Taxila.—By J. G. DELMERICK, ESQ.

[Received 18th April, 1870.]

(*Vide* Proceedings for June and July, 1870.)

I have the pleasure of sending you a photograph of certain heads and images recently dug up near Sháh ki Dherí.

The images are of stone, but the heads are of common plaster, and are evidently those of Buddha; for they closely resemble the figure of Buddha as depicted on the cover of Beale's new translation of Fa Hian's pilgrimage.

Sháh ki Dherí is about three miles from Kálá Serái on the Láhor and Pesháwar road. Near it are still to be seen the remains of fortifications several miles in circumference. The area enclosed within the walls is known to the people as Kot *Atial*.* The soil is rich and is covered with mounds and the debris of ancient habitations.

Indo-Scythic and Indo-Bactrian coins are commonly turned up by the plough, and on former occasions very interesting Bactro-Buddhist relics have been brought to light by actual digging of the mounds.

In 1859, a plate or plates of copper covered with Bactro-Pali inscriptions were found by Núr, a *khádim* or servant in the masjid of Ghilá adjoining Sháh ki Dherí. Núr presented this plate to the late Mr. A. A. Roberts, then Commissioner and Superintendent of the Ráwal Pindí Division.

Again in 1861, the same Núr found a stone trough, a crystal figure, representing a duck or a turtle and a gold leaf bearing a short Bactro-Pali inscription, all of which are fully noticed and described in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, No. 2 of 1862.

* Probably *Atelites*. "According to De Guignes, their name was properly "Te-le or Tie-le to which, from their inhabiting the banks of the Oxus, the syllable *áb*, "water" was prefixed. They are commonly confounded under the denomination of Indo-Scythi with their predecessors, the Sakas, and "Yu-Chi; as is done by Gibbon when he observes that the Indo-Scythæ "reigned upon the confines of India from the time of Augustus to that of "Justin the Elder, A. D. 530" (*vide* note 3, page 388 of Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*).

In 1863, Núr likewise discovered a bar of pure gold, worth about 400 Rs. which, although it was not interesting in an archæological point of view, led to the inference that the city, which once existed in the neighbourhood, had not only been very large but very wealthy.

The plate of copper discovered in 1859 was sent to Calcutta by Mr. Roberts, and was described by him to have been found at Hasan Abdál. I am not aware of the reason why Hasan Abdál was selected above all other places, perhaps because, though several miles away from the place of discovery: it is on the Grand Trunk road, and is the nearest *town* best known to Europeans, or more probably because Núr brought this curiosity to Mr. Roberts, while he was encamped at Hasan Abdál.

I have visited the locality, and have personally inspected the mound where the plate of copper was found. The name of the place is Topí, a small tope having existed here once. It is situated midway between the village of Mohra Moradú, and Mohra Malliár, and is on the boundary of the lands belonging to the village of Gangu Jumma. It is about two miles to the north-east of the ruins of Koṭ Atial.

Professor J. Dowson of Sandhurst College, in a letter* addressed to Mr. E. Thomas, translates the inscription on the plate as follows:—

“In the year seventy-eight (78) of the great king Mogo on the fifth (5) day of the month Panæmus, on this notable occasion the satrap of Chhahara and Chukhsa by name Liako Kusuluko deposits a relic of the holy Sakyamuni in the *Sepatiko*, which he had established in the country called Chhema, north-east of the city of Taxila in honor of the great collective body of worshippers, and of all the Buddhas, for the honoring of his father and mother, for the long life, strength and prosperity of the satrap’s son and wife, for the honoring of all his brothers and relatives and for making known his great liberality, fame, and success.”

The great king Mogo is identified by General Cunningham and Professor Dowson to be the same as the Moa or Mauas of the coins which are frequently found in the neighbourhood.

* Published in the Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, No. 4 of 1863.

Liak, the name of the satrap, is still a common name among the Hindus of this part of the country.

Kusuluko represented probably the family name or title a Kusulu Kadphises.

General Cunningham believes Chharhara and Chukhsa to be Chuch and Huzara. There are, however, about 15 miles to the north-west of the spot where the inscription was found, in the 'Iláqah of Haroh, two villages within a couple of miles of each other, still known by the name of Chahar and Chukshaia or Shai. There are extensive ruins near both these villages, where Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins are often found. I am of opinion therefore that Liako Kusuluko was the satrap or governor of the 'Iláqah or district of Haroh, of which Chahar and Chukshai were the chief towns.

Moreover I think that the ruins near Sháh ki Dherí can be no other than those of the celebrated city of Taxila, and, in addition to what has been stated above, my reasons for believing them to be so, are as follows:—

I.—According to Menu,* the King is recommended to fix his capital in a fertile part of his dominion, but in an immediate neighbourhood, difficult of access, and incapable of supporting invading armies. Any one looking at the site of Koṭ Atial would at once perceive that the city must have been built in strict accordance with the precepts of the Dharma Shastra.

II.—Taxila is described by the Greek writers† to have been the largest city between the Indus and the Hydaspes. The ruins are very extensive, having still the appearance of a very large fortified town. There are no ruins at any other spot in the Sind Ságar Duáb covering even half as much ground.

III.—Pliny‡ calls Taxila a famous city lying on a low, but level plain, the general name of the district being Amenda. Chhema was, however, the name of the country where the relics, according to the inscription, were deposited. No such country is now known, but *chhema* is a Sanscrit word, signifying pardon, forgiveness, absolu-

* Chapter VII. of the Code.

† Arrian, Chapter VIII, Book V., et passim.

‡ Book VI., Chapter 23.

tion. Perhaps then the locality or country was expressly set apart for the deposit of propitiatory offerings "to all the Buddhas" particularly as the whole of the surrounding country from Khurram Gújar on the one side and Khánpúr on the other, is dotted with small topes,* the majority of which have been almost entirely demolished by zamíndárs and others, in search of coins and relics which are eagerly bought by dealers in the town of Ráwal Pindí.

IV.—General Cunningham has translated the word *utarena prachu* in the inscription, as *North West*, for no other reason as far as I can see, than because the inscription was stated to have been found at Hasan Abdál, north west of Manikyála, which he then believed was the site of Taxila; but the inscription was not found at Hasan Abdál at all, as has already been stated, but at a place called Topi to the *North East* of Koṭ Atial, which is now believed to be the spot where Taxila once existed. Professor Dowson asserts that the letters "of the word *prachu* (east) are as perfect and distinct as any in the whole inscription and they form most unequivocally the word *prachu*."

V.—In the itinerary of the Chinese traveller, Hwan Thsang, Tanchashilo, or Taxila, is described to be on the boundary of India towards the north, and a dependency of Cashmere. Certain slokas in the Ramayana also allude to Taxila (Takshilla) as a dependency of Cashmere, and in the latter it is stated that the name of the town is derived from the founders of it, *viz.*, Takshan, the son of Bharata; but it is possible that the name may be derived from *Taksh*, a celebrated serpent-god, and *sila* a stone or rock: the hill overhanging the valley of Koṭ Atial having a serpentine appearance, as viewed by me from Khurram Gújar. Or the name of the town may have originated from a passage cut through the hill like the Margalla Pass in the vicinity, from *taksh*, to cleave, and *sila*, a stone.

VI.—When Alexander the Great halted at Taxila to refresh his

* General Cunningham in 1864 found the remains of 58 small topes at and near Sháh ki Dheri.

† Subsequently in a letter, dated 23rd January, 1864, to the address of Col. R. Maclagan, Secretary to Government, P. W. D., Punjab, the General declared that the ruins in the neighbourhood of Sháh ki Dheri were almost certainly the remains of Taxila.

army, the brother and ambassadors of Abisares* who was king of Abisara (the Abhisara of the Hindus) or the modern Hazárah, waited upon him with tribute, and Pliny† distinctly states that above Taxila, among the mountains, is the territory of Abisares. It is therefore apparent that Taxila must have been near Hazárah to menace the safety of his kingdom, and to render it expedient for Abisares to propitiate the Macedonian. It is hardly worth while to mention that Sháh ki Dheri is on the borders of the Hazárah district.

VII.—In excavating a mound near Mohra Malliár, there was recently found part of an upright column of a temple, probably the temple of the sun which Apollonius after crossing the Indus is said to have visited at Taxila. The column was of sandstone and clearly belonged to the Grecian style of architecture, and it has been ascertained that General Cunningham discovered in 1864 at this very spot the remains of a similar pillar which was removed to Láhor, and is now on the grass plot in front of the Museum. In describing the pillar, the General in a letter dated 23rd January, 1864 to Colonel Maclagan, states “that the base is a specimen of “what is called the *Attic base*, and as it is unornamented, I believe “it to have belonged to an Ionic column. The only difference “between this Taxila specimen and those of Greece, is in the upper “fillet which at Athens was made of smaller diameter than the “upper torus, but which in this specimen is made of exactly the “same diameter as the upper torus.”

VIII.—Hwan Thsang‡ states to the south-east of Tanchashilo at 30 li (5 miles) was a monastery built by Asoká.

To the south-east 5 miles from Koṭ Atial near the village of Khuram Gújar almost half way up the hill, there are ruins still existing, probably of this very monastery. These ruins are called Nara.

Hwan Thsang further adds that to the south-east of the town was a stupa built by Keu-lang-nu, the son of Asoka.

* Arrian, Chapters VIII. and XX. Book V., and Quintus Curt. Chapter XIII. Book VIII.

† Sec. 28, Chapter XXVIII. Book XV.

‡ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for July 1848.

To the south-east of Kot Atial near the village of Sháh-púr a large tope still exists. It was opened by General Ventura in 1832, with what result is not known.

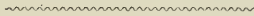
IX.—Fa Hian* a Chinese traveller in the beginning of the 5th century after Christ states that “at this place (Takshasila) and at another place to the eastward, two days’ journey from it, the people have raised great towers, adorned with all the precious substances.”

The second tower to the eastward is very probably the Great Tope of Manikyala which is at the present time by the shortest route over the Sháh Aladitta hill, not less than 35 miles or two days’ journey from Sháh ki Dherí.

X.—Pliny† gives the distance of Taxila from the Indus to the Hydaspes at 120 Roman miles or 110 British miles. By the ancient road of the country abandoned for the present Grand Trunk road, the distance from Sháh ki Dherí to Ráwal Pindí was 30 miles, avoiding the old Margulla cutting which, according to the inscription still existing there, was completed in A. H. 1083 corresponding with A. D. 1672, or about the time when the Emperor Aurangzeb marched to Hasan Abdál and sent his son Prince Sul-tán with an army against the Khattaks and other Trans-Indus tribes; and from Ráwal Pindí to Jhelam, the distance was 80 miles viá Manikyála, Dhamak and Rahtás. The whole distance therefore exactly agrees with Pliny’s statement.

* Beale’s Fa Hian, Chapter XI., page 32.

† Book VI. Chapter 21.



List of words and phrases to be noted and used as test words for the discovery of the radical affinities of languages and for easy comparison, drawn up by Mr. Justice CAMPBELL.—Translated into Kashmírí, by W. J. ELSMLIE, Esq., M. D., Srinagar.*

Rules for the pronunciation of the vowels and consonants made use of in this list.

- a as the u of 'but.'
 a represents a sound which must be learned from the lips of a native of Kashmír.
 á as the a in ark.
 â nearly as the au of 'cause.'
 ai as ai in aisle.
 au as ou in sound.
 ai as y in my.
 d in sounding this letter, the tongue is turned back and made to strike the roof of the mouth.
 ě as e in pet.
 e as a in spade.
 f as f in fall. Kashmírís nearly always change the sound of f into that of p aspirated.
 g as g in goat.
 gh as g aspirated. Kashmírís cannot pronounce the letter ghain correctly.
 i as i in pin. The Final i is pronounced very slightly.
 í as ee in glee.
 kh as k aspirated; kh is generally incorrectly sounded by the Kashmírís.
 ñ as n in the French mon.
 ñ as ñ in the Spanish Coruña.
 o as o in not.
 ó as o in tone.

* The two Kashmírí and Gond Vocabularies given in the following pages have been drawn up according to Mr. Justice Campbell's Model Vocabulary. Their distinguishing feature lies in this that the words are expressed in the Persian and Nágirí characters, which removes every doubt as to the correct pronunciation. THE EDITOR.

ph	as p aspirated.
r	in pronouncing this letter, the tongue must be rolled back upon itself.
t	in sounding this letter correctly, the tongue is rolled back and made to strike the roof of the mouth.
ts	as in cots.
u	as in pull.
ú	as u in rule.

Meanings of Contractions.

<i>f</i>	feminine.	
<i>H</i>	used chiefly by Hindús.	
<i>i</i>	indeclinable.	
<i>M</i>	used chiefly by Musalmans.	<i>A.</i> Arabic.
<i>m</i>	masculine.	<i>P.</i> Persian.
<i>n</i>	nominative.	
<i>p.p.</i>	past or perfect participle.	
<i>pl.</i>	plural.	
<i>pr.p.</i>	present participle.	
<i>s.</i>	singular.	

<i>Numerals.</i>	1	اك	Ak.
	2	زه	Zah.
	3	ترة	Trih.
	4	ژور	Zsór.
	5	پانزده	Pántsh.
	6	شه	Shih.
	7	ست	Sat.
	8	آته	A'th.
	9	{ نون نو }	Nanṁ. Nau.
	10	ده	Dah.
	20	وه	Wuh.
	50	پانزده	Pántshah.
	100	هات	Hát.

Pronouns.

I	به	Böh.	
Of me or mine	{	ميون	Myón (n. s. m.)
		ميان	Myâni (n. pl. m.)
		ميان	Myâni (n. s. f.)
		ميانه	Myânih (n. pl. f.)
We	اس	Ais.	
Of us or our	{	سون	Són (n. s. m.)
		سان	Sâni (n. pl. m.)
		سان	Sâni (n. s. f.)
		سانه	Sânih (n. pl. f.)
Thou	ژه	Tsah.	
Of thee or thine	{	چون	Chón (n. s. m.)
		چان	Châni (n. pl. m.)
		چان	Châni (n. s. f.)
		چانه	Chânih (n. pl. f.)
You	ته	Tôhi.	
Of you or your	{	تهند	Tuhund (n. s. m.)
		تهندي	Tuhandi (n. pl. m.)
		تهنزه	Tuhanz (n. s. f.)
		تهنزه	Tuhanzah (n. pl. f.)
He	سو	Sü (when a person is absent and out of sight.)	
Of him or his	{	تسند	Tasund n. s. m.)
		تسند	Tasandi (n. pl. m.)
		تسنزه	Tasanz (n. s. f.)
		تسنزه	Tasanzah (n. pl. f.)
Other forms of the above genitive are			
	{	تهند	Tahund, &c.
		تيسند	Taimsund, &c.
They	{	تم	Tim (m.)
		تمه	Timah (f.)
Of them or their	{	تمن هيوند	Timan hyund (n. s. m.)
		تمن هندی	Timan hindi (n. pl. m.)
		تمن هنزه	Timan hinz (n. s. f.)
		تمن هنزه	Timan hinzah (n. pl. f.)

These are used adjectively.

Used adjectively.

Used adjectively.

Used adjectively.

Used adjectively.

Used adjectively.

Used adjectively.

Another form of the above genitive is—

	تهيند	Tihyund, &c.	
He	هو	Hü (where person spoken of is present, but distant from the speaker).	
Of him or his	هوسند	Humsund, &c.	
They	{	هم	Hum (m.)
		همه	Humah (f)
Of them or their	همنهيند	Human hyund, &c.	
He	يه	Yih (when the person spoken of is present and near the speaker).	
Of him or his	يوسند	Yimsund, &c.	
They	{	يم	Yim (m.)
		يمه	Yimah (f.)
Of them or their	يومانهيند	Yiman hyund, &c.	

Hü and yih are also used as demonstrative pronouns for “that” and “this” respectively.

Nouns.

Hand	آتهه	Áthah.	
Foot	{	كهه	Khör (M.)
		كههه	Khór (H.)
Nose	نست	Nast.	
Eye	اچه	Achh.	
Mouth	آس	Ás.	
Tooth	دند	Dand.	
Ear	كن	Kan.	
Hair	{	وال	Wál.
		رم	Rum (H.)
Head	كله P.	Kalah.	
Tongue	زو	Zéo.	
Belly	يډه	Yaḍ.	
Back	تههه	Thar.	
Iron	شستر	Shistar.	
Gold	سون	Sön.	
Silver	رپ	Röp.	

Father	{ مول	Mól.
	{ باب	Bab (M.)
	{ پیتا	Pitá (H.)
Mother	{ مویج	Mój (M.)
	{ دد	Dad.
	{ ماتا	Mátá (H.)
Brother	بوی	Boe.
Sister	{ بن	Biñi.
	{ بگن	Bagañi.
Man	{ مهنو	Möhñú.
	{ مرد	Mard (M.)
	{ پوروش	Pörush (H.)
	{ منش	Manush (H.)
Woman	زنانه P.	Zanáñah.
Wife	{ کلی	Kölai.
	{ آشین	Ashaiñi.
Child	شور	Shur.
Son	{ نچو	Něchú.
	{ فرزند P.	Farzand (m.)
Daughter	کور	Kúr.
Slave	{ غلام A.	Ghulám (m.)
	{ ژنز	Tsöñz (f.)
Cultivator	گروست	Gróst.
Shepherd	پهل	Pöhöl.
God	{ خدا P.	Khudá.
	{ دي	Dai (H.)
Devil	شیطان A.	Shetán.
Sun	{ آفتاب P.	Aftáb (M.)
	{ سري	Serí (H.)
Moon	{ زون	Zún.
	{ ژندرمه	Tsandramah (H.)
Star	تارک	Táruk.
Fire	نار A.	Nár.

Water	{	پون	Póin (H.)
		آب P.	Ab (M.)
House	{	گوه	Garah.
		لار	Lár.
Horse		گور	Gur.
Cow		گاو P.	Gáo.
Dog		هون	Hún.
Cat		برآر	Brâr.
Cock		ککر	Kökur.
Duck		بتک	Batuk.
Ass		خر P.	Khar.
Camel		وونته	Wúnth.
Bird		جاناور	Jánáwar.
		<i>Verbs.</i>	
Go		ژة	Gatsh.
Eat		کها	Khih.
Sit		بيہ	Biah
Come		وله	Walah.
Come		يه	Yih.
Beat	{	لاي	Láe.
		مار	Már.
Stand		وته	Wöth.
Die		مر	Mar.
Give		ده	Dih.
Up	{	پت	Pët.
		هيدر	Hyur.
Down		بن	Bön.
Before	{	بونته	Bónth.
		برونته	Brónth.
Near		نکه	Nakhah.
Far		دور	Dúr.
Behind		پت	Pat.
Who	{	يس	Yus.
	{	کس	Kus?

What	{ What	{ یس	Yus.
What	{ What?	{ کس	Kus?
Why?		کیہ	Kyah?
And		کیازہ	Kyázih?
But		تہ	Tah.
		بیہ	Biyih.
		اما A.	Amá.
		ہرگہ P.	Hargah.
		ای	Ai.
		اوه	Auwah.
		اون	On.
		ادسا	Addasá.
		نہ	Nah.
		افسوس P.	Afsús.
		وہولا	Wahwilá.
<hr/>			
A father		مول Mól.	
Of a father	{	مال سند	Máli sand (n. s. m.)
		مال سندی	Máli sandi (n. pl. m.)
		مال سنز	Máli sanz (n. s. f.)
		مال سنزہ	Máli sanzah (n. pl. f.)
			} Used ad- jectively.
To a father		مالس Mális.	
From a father		مالس نشہ Mális nishih.	
Two fathers		زہ مال Zah Máli.	
Fathers		مال Máli	
Of fathers	{	مالن ہند	Málin hyund (n. s. m.)
		مالن ہندی	Málin hindi (n. pl. m.)
		مالن ہنز	Málin hinz (n. s. f.)
		مالن ہنزہ	Málin hinzah (n. pl. f.)
			} Used ad- jectively.
To fathers		مالن Málin.	
From fathers		مالن نشہ Málin nishih.	
A daughter		کور Kúr.	
Of a daughter	{	کورہ ہند	Kóri hyund (n. s. m.)
		کورہ ہندی	Kóri hindi (n. pl. m.)
		کورہ ہنز	Kóri hinz (n. s. f.)
		کورہ ہنزہ	Kóri hinzah (n. pl. f.)
			} Used ad- jectively.

To a daughter	كور	Kóri.									
From a daughter	كورنشه	Kóri nishih.									
Two daughters	زه كوره	Zah kórih.									
Daughters	كوره	Kórih.									
Of daughters	{ <table border="0"> <tr> <td>كورن هيند</td> <td>Kórin hyund(n. s. m.)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>كورن هند</td> <td>Kórin hindi(n. pl. m.)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>كورن هينز</td> <td>Kórin hinz (n. s. f.)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>كورن هينزه</td> <td>Kórin hinzah(n. pl. f.)</td> </tr> </table>	كورن هيند	Kórin hyund(n. s. m.)	كورن هند	Kórin hindi(n. pl. m.)	كورن هينز	Kórin hinz (n. s. f.)	كورن هينزه	Kórin hinzah(n. pl. f.)		Used ad- jectively.
كورن هيند	Kórin hyund(n. s. m.)										
كورن هند	Kórin hindi(n. pl. m.)										
كورن هينز	Kórin hinz (n. s. f.)										
كورن هينزه	Kórin hinzah(n. pl. f.)										
To daughters	كورن	Kórin.									
From daughters	كورن نشه	Kórin nishih.									
A good man	رت مهنو	Rut mōhñú.									
Of a good man	رتس مهنوسند	Ratis mōhñivisund, &c.									
To a good man	رتس مهنوس	Ratis mohñivis.									
From a good man	رتس مهنوس نشه	Ratis mōhñivis nishih.									
Two good men	زه رت مهنو	Zah rati mōhñivi.									
Good men	رت مهنو	Rāti mōhñivi.									
Of good men	رتن مهنون هيند	Ratin mōhñivēn hyund, &c.									
To good men	رتن مهنون	Ratin mōhñiven.									
From good men	رتن مهنون نشه	Ratin mōhñiven nishih.									
A good woman	رژ زانه	Rats zanánah.									
Good women	رژة زانه	Ratsah zanánah.									
A bad boy	يچه نچو	Yachh nēchú.									
A bad girl	يچه كور	Yachh kúr.									
Good	رت	Rut.									
Better	سته رت	Sēṭhah rut, (when <i>khōtah</i> (than) is expressed, <i>sethah</i> is dispensed with.									
Best	يژرت	Yats rut.									
High	تهد	Thōd.									
Higher	سته تهد	Sēṭhah thōd.									
Highest	يژتهد	Yats thōd.									
A horse	گر	Gur.									
Horses	گر	Guri.									
A mare	گر	Guir.									
Mares	گره	Gurih.									

A bull	داند	Dánd.
Bulls	داند	Dánd.
A cow	گاو	Gáo.
Cows	گاو	Gáo.
A dog	هون	Hún.
Dogs	هون	Húni.
A bitch	هون	Húin.
Bitches	هونه	Hónih.
A he-goat	ژهاول	Tsháwul.
A female goat	ژهاوج	Tsháwaj.
Goats	ژهاوجه	Tsháwajih (pl. f.)
A male deer	روس	Rús.
A female deer	روسكت	Rúskaṭ.
Deer	روسكچه	Rús kachih (pl. f.)
I (m.) am	به چهس	Böh chhus.
I (f.) am	به چهس	Böh chhas.
Thou (m.) art	ژه چهك	Tshah chhuk.
Thou (f.) art	ژه چهك	Tshah chhak.
He is	س چه	Su chhu.
We (m.) are	اس چهه	Ais chhieh (ih = e <i>anglice.</i>)
We (f.) are	اس چهه	Ais chhieh (ih = e in <i>pet anglice.</i>)
You (m.) are	ته چهوه	Töhi chhiwah (i = e <i>anglice.</i>)
You (f.) are	ته چهوه	Töhi chhiwah (i = e in <i>pet anglice.</i>)
They (m.) are	تم چهه	Tim chhieh (ih = e <i>anglice.</i>)
They (f.) are	تمه چهه	Timah chhieh (ih = e in <i>pet anglice.</i>)
I (m.) was	به آوسس	Böh ósus.
I (f.) was	به آسس	Böh ásas.
Thou (m.) wast	ژه آوسك	Tshah ósuk.
Thou (f.) wast	ژه آسك	Tshah ásak.
He was	س اوس	Su ós.
We (m.) were	اس آس	Ais áis.
We (f.) were	اس آسه	Ais áсах.
You (m.) were	ته آسوه	Töhi ásiwah.
You (f.) were	ته آسوه	Töhi ásawah.
They (m.) were	تم آس	Tim áis.

They (f.) were	ٽمہ آسہ	Timah áсах.	
Be	{ آس	As (s.)	
To be	{ آسو	Ásyú (pl.)	
	{ آسن	Ásun.	
Being	{ آسان	Ásán (present participle, indeclinable.)	
	{ آست	Ásit (conjunctive participle, indeclinable.)	
Having been.	{ اوسمت	O'smut (n. s. m.)	} Past or perfect participle.
	{ آسمت	Asmati (n. pl. m.)	
	{ آسمڑ	Asmats (n. s. f.)	
	{ آسمڑہ	Asmatsah (n. pl. f.)	
I (m. & f.) may be	}		
I (m. & f.) shall be			
I (m. & f.) should be			
Beat	{ لاي	Láe (s. m. f.)	
To beat	{ لايو	Láyú (pl. m. f.)	
Beating	{ لاين	Láyun.	
	{ لايان	Láyán (present participle, indeclinable.)	
Having beaten	{ { لويمت	Loemut (n. s. m.)	} Past or perfect participle, used adjectively.
	{ لايمت	Lâemati (n. pl. m.)	
	{ لايمڑ	Lâemats (n. s. f.)	
	{ لايمڑہ	Láyimatsah n. pl. f.)	
	{ لايت	Lâyit (conjunctive participle, indeclinable.)	
I (m.) beat	به چہس لايان	Bõh chhus láyán.	
I (f.) beat	به چہس لايان	Bõh chhas láyán.	
Thou (m.) beatest	ڑہ چہک لايان	Tsah chhuk láyán.	
Thou (f.) beatest	ڑہ چہک لايان	Tsah chhak láyán.	
He beats	س چہ لايان	Su chhu láyán.	
We (m.) beat	اس چہ لايان	Ais chhih láyán (ih = e anglice.)	
We (f.) beat	اس چہ لايان	Ais chhih láyán (ih = e in <i>pet</i> anglice.)	
You (m.) beat	ٹہ چہوہ لايان	Tõhi chhiwah láyán (i = e anglice.)	

You (f.) beat	تہ چہوہ لایان	Tōhi chhiwah láyán (i=e in <i>pet</i> anglice.)
They (m.) beat	تم چہہ لایان	Tim chhih láyán (ih=e anglice.)
They (f.) beat	تمہ چہہ لایان	Timah chhih láyán (ih=e in <i>pet</i> anglice.)
I (m.) am beating	بہ چہس لایان	Bōh chhus láyán.
I (f.) am beating	بہ چہس لایان	Bōh chhas láyán.
I (m.) was beating	بہ اوسس لایان	Bōh ósus láyán.
I (f.) was beating	بہ آسس لایان	Bōh âsas láyán.
I (m. f.) had beaten	لویمت اوسم	Loemut ósum.
I (m. f.) may beat	بہ لایہ	Bōh láyih.
I (m. f.) shall beat	بہ لایہ	Bōh láyih.
I (m. f.) should beat	بہ لایہ	Bōh láyih.
I (m. f.) am beaten	لاینہ آم	Láyinah ám.
I (m. f.) was beaten	لاینہ آمت اوسم	Láyinah ámut ósum.
I (m. f.) shall be beaten	لاینہ ییم	Láyinah yiyam.
I (m.) go	بہ چہس گڑھان	Bōh chhus gatshán.
I (f.) go	بہ چہس گڑھان	Bōh chhas gatshán.
Thou (m.) goest	ژہ چہک گڑھان	Tsah chhuk gatshán.
Thou (f.) goest	ژہ چہک گڑھان	Tsah chhak gatshán.
He goes	س چہ گڑھان	Su chhu gatshán.
I (m.) went	بہ گوس	Bōh gós
I (f.) went	بہ گیس	Bōh gayas.
Thou (m.) wentest	ژہ گوک	Tsah gók.
Thou (f.) wentest	ژہ گیگ	Tsah gayak.
He went	س گو	Su gau.
Go	{ گڑہ گڑھو	Gatsh (s. m. and f.) Gatshyú (pl. m. and f.)
Going	گڑھان	Gatshán (present participle indeclinable).
Gone	{ گومت گامت گامڑ گامڑہ	{ Gómut (n. s. m.) Gâmati (n. pl. m.) Gâmats (n. s. f.) Gâmatsah (n. pl. f.)

Past or perfect participle.

What is your name ?	{	چون ناو کیه چه	Chón náó kyah chhu ?	} Not idio- matic.
		تھند ناو کیه چه	Tuhund náó kyah chhu ?	
		ژہ کیه چه ہی ناو	Z̄ih kyah chhui náó ?	} Idiomatic.
		تہ کیه چه ہوناو	Tōhi kyah chhu-wah náó.	
How old is this horse ?		یہ گور کڑا وھر چه	Yih gur katsah wōhur chhu ?	
How far is it from here to Kashmír ?		یتھ پنڈہ کشمیر نامت۔ کوٹہ چه دور	Yitih pēthah Kashíri támat kótah chhu dūr ?	
How many sons are there in your father's house ?	{	چانس مال سند۔	Chânis mâli sandi gari	} Not i d i o - matic.
		گور کڑا نچو چه	káts nēchivi chhīh ?	
		تھندس مال سند	Tuhandis mâli sandi gari	} Idiomatic.
		گور کڑا نچو چه	káts nēchivi chhīh ?	
I have walked a long way to-day.	{	چانس مالس کڑا	Chânis mâlis káts	} Idiomatic.
		نچو چه	nēchivi chhīh ?	
		تھندس مالس کڑا	Tuhandis mâlis káts	} Idiomatic.
		نچو چه	nēchivi chhīh ?	
The son of my uncle is married to her sister.	{	از پکس بہ دور لا پتہ	Az pōkus bōh dūrih pēthah.	
		میان پتر سند نچو	Myâni pitar sandi nēchivi chhu	} or
		چه تھنزین سیت	tahanzi biñi set nethar	
		نیتھر کرموت	kurmut.	
In the house is the saddle of the white horse.	{	میان پتر بای چه	Myâni pitar báyi chhu	} or
		تھنزین سیت	tahanzi biñi set nethar	
		نیتھر کرموت	kurmut.	} or
		میان مام سند نچو	Myâni mamasandi nēchivi, &c.	
		السخ		
		گرس منز چه نلہ گور	Garas manz chhu nilah guri	
		سند زین	sund zín.	

Put the saddle upon his back.	{	تهنز تھریٹ تھوزین	Tahanzi thari pēt̄ thau zín (not idiomatic), <i>or</i>	} Idiomatic.
		زین کرتس زین لدس	Zín kar tas. Zín ladus.	
I have beaten his son with many stripes.	{	ستہ کمچہ لایم تھندس نچوس	Sēṭhah kamchih lá- yim tahandis nē- chivis, <i>or</i>	} Idiomatic.
		ستہ کمچہ دتیم تھندس نچوس	Sēṭhah kamchih di- tim tahandis nē- chivis.	
He is grazing cat- tle on the top of the hill.		س چہ گپھان رچن کہ کلس پت	Su chhu gupan ra- chhán koh-kalas pēt̄.	
He is sitting on a horse under that tree.		ھت کلس تل چہ گرس کہست	Hut kulas tal chhu guris khasit̄.	
His brother is taller than his (not his own) sister.		تھند بوئی چہ تھنرین کہتہ تھد	Tahund boe chhu- tahanzi bīni khō- tah thōd̄.	
The price of that is two rupees and a half.		ھمک مل چہ ڈایہ رپیہ	Humyuk mōl chhu ḍáyih rōpayih.	
My father lives in that small house.		میون مول چہ ھت لرهن منر یسان	Myón mól chhu hut larihañimanz basán.	
Give this rupee to him.	{	یہ رپی دہ ھمس	Yih rōpai dih humis.	}
		یہ رپی دیو ھمس	Yihrōpai diyú humis.	
Take those rupees from him.		ھمہ رپیہ ھہ ھمس	Humah rōpayih hih humis.	
Beat him well and bind him with ropes.	{	زبور چوب دلا ھمس بیہ	Zabar chób dih humis biyih razau set ganḍun.	} Idiomatic.
		زبور ست گندن زبور لایت رزوست گندن	Zabar lâyt̄ razau set gan- ḍun (more idiomatic).	
Draw water from the well.		کریره اندرہ کھار آب	Krerih andrah khár áb.	
Walk before me.		مہ بونٹہ پک	Mih bônṭh pak.	

Whose boy comes behind you ?	كهذند نچوچه زلا پته پته يوان	Kõhund nëchú chhu tsih patah patah yiwán ?
From whom did you buy that ?	لا كس نشه هتت	Hu kas nishih hētut ?
From a shop-keeper of the village.	گامکس اکس وانوالس نشه	Gámakis akis wánawális nishih.

Gondi Words and Phrases.—By REV. JAMES DAWSON, *Missionary to the Gonds, Chindwara, Central Provinces.*

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Numerals.

One	undí	उन्दी
Two	raṇḍ	रण्ड
Three	múnḍ	मुण्ड
Four	nálúṅ	नालुंग
Five	saiyúṅ	सैयुंग
Six	sárúṅ	सारुंग
Seven	yerúṅ	येरुंग
Eight	armur	अमूर
Nine	unmák	उन्माक
Ten	pad	पद
Twenty	vísá	वीसा H.
Fifty	pachás	पचास H.
A hundred	núr	नूर

1st Personal Pronoun, Sing.

Nom.	I	anná	अन्ना
Gen.	Of me, mine,	náwor, náwork,	नावोर, नावोर्क
....		náwá, náváṅ	नावा, नावांग
Dat. Acc.		nák, nákun	नाक नाकुन

The Genitive has four forms which are determined by the Gender and Number of the noun following, *e. g.* :—

Náwor tammur	नावोर तम्मुर	my brother.
Náwork tammurk	नावोर्क तम्मुर्क	my brothers.
Náwá selár	नावा सेलार	my sister.
Náwáng selárk	नावांग सेलार्क	my sisters.

This rule is applicable to the Genitive case of all nouns and pronouns.

Plural.

Nom.	we	ammoṭ	अम्मोट
Gen.	of us, our	máwor, máwork	मावोर मावोर्क
—		máwá, máwáng	मावा मावांग
Acc.	us	mák, mákun	माक माकुन

2nd Personal Pronoun, Sing.

Nom.	thou	immá	इम्मा
Gen.	of thee, thine,	niwor, niwork,	नीवोर, नीवोर्क
—		niwá, niwáng	नीवा, नीवांग
Acc.	thee	ník, níkun	नीक, नीकुन

Plural.

Nom.	you	immát	इम्माट
Gen.	of you, your,	niwor, niwork	नीवोर नीवोर्क
—		niwá, niwáng	नीवा नीवांग
Acc.	you	mík, míkun	मीक मीकुन

3rd Personal Pronoun, Sing. Masc.

Nom.	he	or	ओर
Gen.	of him, his	onhor, onhork	ओन्होर, ओन्होर्क
—		onhá, onháng	ओन्हा ओन्हांग
Acc.	him	on	ओन

Plural Masc.

Nom.	they	ork	ओर्क
Gen.	of them, their	orknor, orknork	ओर्कनोर ओर्कनोर्क
—		orkna, orknáng	ओर्कना ओर्कनांग
Acc.	them	orkun	ओर्कुन

Third Personal Pronoun, Sing. Fem.

Nom.	she	ad	अद
Gen.	of her, hers	tánnor, táanna	तान्नोर तान्ना, or
—		addenor, addená	अदेनोर, अदेना
Acc.	her	tán	तान

Plural Fem.

Nom.	they	au	औ
Gen.	theirs	aveknor, aveknork	अवेक्नोर, अवेक्नोर्क
—		avekná, aveknáng	अवेक्ना, अवेक्नांग
Acc.	them	avekun	अवेकुन

Hand	kai	कै
Foot	kál	काल
Nose	massor	मस्सोर
Eye	kan	कन
Mouth	tuḍi	टुडी
Ear	kaví	कवो
Tooth	pal	पल
Hair	chuṭiṅg	चुटिंग
Tongue	wanjer	वन्जेर
Belly	pír	पीर
Back	murchul	मुर्चुल
Iron	kachi	कचि
Gold	sono H.	सोनो
Silver	chándí H.	चान्दी
Father	dháú	धाऊ
Mother	dhái	धाई
Brother	tammur	तम्मुर
Sister	selár	सेलार
Man	mánwál	मान्वाल
Woman	ár	आर
Wife	ár	आर
Child	chauwá	चौवा
Son	marrí	मरी
Daughter	miár	मौआर

Slave	barskályál	बस्काळ्याल
Cultivator	not known
Shepherd	gádrí	गाडरी
God	Ishwar	इश्वर
Devil	daitúr	दैतूर
Sun	suriyál	सुरि थाल
Moon	chandarmál	चन्दमाल
Star	suku	सुकु
Fire	kis	किस
Water	yer	येर
House	ron	रोन
Horse	koḍá	कोडा
Cow	múra	मूडा
Dog	nai	नै
Cat	bilál	बीलाल
Cock	gogoṭí	गोगोटी
Duck	not known
Ass	gadhál	गधाल
Camel	úṭúm	ऊटम
Bird	piṭṭe	पिट्टे
Go	han	हन
Eat	tin	तिन
Sit	udhá	उधा
Come	waṛá	वडा
Beat	jím	जीम
Stand	nitá	निता
Die	sási han	सासी हन
Give	sím	सीम
Run	vitá	विता

The above are in the singular, as, Go thou, immá han, इस्मा हन.
Pl. Go ye, immát haṅṭ, इस्माट हण्ट. The plural imperative is
formed from the singular by adding t, ट.

Up	parro	पर्रो
Near	karrum	कारूम
Who	bor	बोर
And	uṇḍe	उण्डे

Yes	inge	इंगे
Down	khálwá	खाल्वा
Far	lakh	लख
What	báng	बांग
But	uṅḍe	उण्डे
No	halle	हल्ले
Before	munne	मुन्ने
Behind	pijá	पिजा
Why	báři	बाड़ो
If	uṅḍe	उण्डे
Alas	háı háı	हाई हाई H.

Declension of Nouns. Sing.

Nom.	a father	dháú	धाऊ
Gen.	of a father, m.	dháúnor-nork	धाऊनोर-नोर्क
—	of a father, f.	dháúná-náng	धाऊना-नांग
Dat.	to a father	dháún	धाऊन
Abl.	from a father	dháúnsín	धाऊनसीन

Plural.

Nom.	fathers	dháúrk	धाऊर्क
Gen.	of fathers, m.	dháúrknor-nork	धाऊर्कनोर-नोर्क
—	of fathers, f.	dháúrkná-náng	धाऊर्कना-नांग
Dat.	to fathers	dháúrkun	धाऊर्कुन
Abl.	from fathers	dháúrksín	धाऊर्कसीन

There is no dual.

Sing.

A daughter	míár	मीआर
Of a daughter, m.	míánor-nork	मीआनोर-नोर्क
Of a daughter, f.	míáná-náng	मीआना-नांग
To a daughter	míán	मीआन
From a daughter	míansín	मीआनसीन

Plural.

Daughters	míárk	मीआर्क
Of daughters, m.	míárknor-nork	मीआर्कनोर-नोर्क
Of daughters, f.	míárkná-náng	मीआर्कना-नांग
To daughters	míárkun	मीआर्कुन
From daughters	míarksín	मीआर्कसीन

Sing. with adjective.

A good man	chokho mánwál	चाखो मान्वाल
Of a good man, m.	chokho mánwánor	चाखो मान्वानोर
Of a good man, f.	chokho mánwáná	चाखो मान्वाना
To a good man	chokho mánwán	चाखो मान्वान
From a good man	chokho mánwánsín	चाखो मान्वानसीन

The Plural of Genitive as above.

Plural Noun with Adjective.

Good men	chokho mánwálk	चाखो मान्वाल्क
Of good men, m.	chokho mánwáلكnor	चाखो मान्वाल्कनोर
Of good men, f.	chokho mánwáلكná	चाखो मान्वाल्कना
To good men	chokho mánwáلكun	चाखो मान्वाल्कुन
From good men	chokho mánwáلكsín	चाखो मान्वाल्कसीन

The Plural of Genitive as formerly.

A good woman	chokho ár	चाखो आर
Good women	chokho ásk	चाखो आस्क
A bad boy	burtor pedgál	बुर्तोर पेडगाल
A bad girl	burtai pedgi	बुर्तै पेडगी
Good	chokho	चाखो
Better	tán sín chokho	तान सीन चाखो
Best	sabrot sín chokho	सब्रोत सीन चाखो
High	ḍhongál	ढोंगाल
Higher	tán sín ḍhongál	तान सीन ढोंगाल
Highest	sabrot sín ḍhongál	सब्रोत सीन ढोंगाल
A horse	koḍá	कोडा
A mare	koḍá	कोडा
Horses	koḍáng	कोडांग
Mares	koḍáng	कोडांग
A bull	kurrá	कुर्रा
A cow	múra	मूड़ा
Bulls	kurráng	कुर्रांग
Cows	múráng	मूडांग
A dog	nai	नै
Dogs	naik	नैक
Rich	nai	नै

Bitches	naik	नैक
A he goat	bakrál	बक्राल
Goats	bakrálk	बक्रालक
A female goat	yeṭi	येटी
Female goats	yeṭiṅg	येटींग
A deer	máo	माओ
Deer	máok	माओक
A female deer	máo	माओ
I am	anná ándán	अन्ना आन्दान
Thou art	immá ándín	इम्मा आन्दौन
He is	or ándur	ओर आन्दुर
We are	ammoṭ ándom	अम्मोट आन्दोम
You are	immaṭ ándit	इम्माट आन्दोत
They are	ork ándurk	ओर्क आन्दुर्क
I was	anná mathoná	अन्ना मथोना
Thou wast	immá mathoní	इम्मा मथोनी
He was	or mathor	ओर मथोर
We were	ammoṭ mathoram	अम्मोट मथोराम
You were	immaṭ mathorit	इम्माट मथोरौत
They were	ork mathork	ओर्क मथोर्क
Be	ám	आम
To be	aiáná	ऐआना
Being	áteke, or	आतेके, or
—	ásode	आसोडे
Having been	ásikun	आसिकुन
I may be	aiáká	ऐआका
I shall be	áiaká	ऐआका
I should be	aiátá (?)	ऐआता
Beat	jím	जोम
To beat	jiáná	जीआना
Beating	jíteke	जीतेके and जोसोडे
Having beaten	jísikun	जीसिकुन
I beat	anná jíátoná	अन्ना जीआतोना
Thou beatest	imma jíátoni	इम्मा जीआतोनी
He beats	or jíátor	ओर जीआतोर
We beat	ammoṭ jíátoram	अम्मोट जीआतोराम
You beat	immaṭ jíátorit	इम्माट जीआतोरौत

They beat	ork jíátork	ओर्क जीआतोर्क
I am beating	anná jíátoná	अन्ना जीआतोना
I was beating	anná jíndán	अन्ना जीन्दान
I had beaten	anná jisi mathoná	अन्ना जोसि मथोना
I may beat	anná jíáká	अन्ना जाआका
I shall beat	anná jíáká	अन्ना जोआका
I should beat	anná jíátoná (?)	अन्ना जोआतोना (?)
I am beaten	anná már tindátoná	अन्ना मारतिन्दातोना
I was beaten	anná már titán	अन्ना मारतितान
I shall be beaten	anná már tindáká	अन्ना मारतिन्दाका
I go	anná handátoná	अन्ना हन्दातोना
Thou goest	immá handátoní	इम्मा हन्दातोनी
He goes	or handátor	ओर हन्दातोर्
I went	anná hatán	अन्ना हतान
Thou wentest	immá hatín	इम्मा हतीन
He went	or hatur	ओर हतुर
Go	han	हन
Going	hateke, and	हतेके and
—	hanjoḍe	हज्जोडे
Gone	hanjikun	हन्जिकुन

What is your name ?

Míwá paṛol báng ándu ?

मीवा पड़ोल बांग आन्दु ?

How old is this horse ?

Id koḍá bachále warsán ná ándu ?

इद कोडा बचाले वर्सान ना आन्दु ?

How far is it from here to Kashmir ?

Igátál Káshmirṭun bachále lakh ándu ?

इगाटाल काश्मीर्तुन बचाले लख आन्दु ?

How many sons are there in your father's house ?

Míwor dháú ná rot te bachále mark ándurk ?

मीवोर धाऊ ना रोट ते बचाले मर्क आन्दुर्क ?

I have walked a long way to-day.

Neṇḍ anná lakh táktoná.

नेण्ड अन्ना लख ताक्तोना.

The son of my uncle is married to her sister.

Návor káká nor marri tánná seláná marming kítur.

नावार काका नार मर्री तान ना सेला ना मड़मींग कीतर.

In the house is the saddle of the white horse.

Pánpri kođá tá khogír rot te ándu.

पाण्डी कोडा ता खोगीर रोट ते आन्दु.

Put the saddle upon his back.

Tán ná murchut parro khogír irá.

तान ना मुर्चुत पर्री खोगीर इरा.

I have beaten his son with many stripes.

Anná onhor marrin walle kořáng jítán.

अन्ना आन्होर मरीन वल्ले कोड़ांग जीतान.

He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill.

Or maťá tá chendit parro múráng kondáng mehtátor.

आर मट्टा ता चेंदित पर्री मूड़ांग कोन्दांग मेहतातोर.

He is sitting on a horse under that tree.

Or ad marrát khálwá kođát parro uditor.

आर अद मर्रात खल्ला कोडात पर्री उदितोर.

His brother is taller than his sister.

Onhor tammur onhá selán sín dhongál ándur.

आन्होर तम्मुर आन्हा सेलान सीन ढोंगाल आन्दुर.

The price of that is two rupees and a half.

Tán ná molá ařháí rupiáng ándu.

तान ना मोला अदाई रुपीआंग आन्दु.

My father lives in that small house.

Návor dháú ad chuđor rot te mandátor.

नावार धाऊ अद चुड़ार रोट ते मन्दातोर.

Give this rupee to him.

Id rupiá on sím.

इद रुपीआ आन सीम.

Take those rupees from him.

Au rupiáng on sín yená.

आ रुपीआंग आन सीन येना.

Beat him well and bind him with ropes.

On walle kořáng jisikun nune te dohát.

आन वल्ले कोड़ांग जीसिकुन नुने ते दोहाट.

Draw water from the well.

Kúṛá tá yer úmát.

कूआ ता येर उमाट.

Walk before me.

Ná munne tákáṭ.

ना मुन्ने ताकाट.

Whose boy comes behind me ?

Miwá pijá bonhor chauwá waiátor ?

मीवा पिजा बोन्होर चौवा वैआतोर.

From whom did you buy that ?

Immát tán bon sín molá te yetit.

इममट तान बोन सीन मोला ते येतीन.

From a shopkeeper of the village.

Nátenor undí baniyán sín.

नाटे नोर उन्दी बनियान सीन.



Notes on Sanskrit Inscriptions from Mathurá.—By Bábú RA'JENDRA-
LÁLA MITRA.

[Read 2nd September, 1868.]

In the Proceedings for May, 1862, mention is made of some sculptures and inscriptions which the Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces had placed at the disposal of the Society. These had been found by Mr. Best, Collector of Mathurá, while engaged in clearing away, in 1860, a large earthen mound for the site of a new courthouse at the entrance of that station by the main road leading from it to Agra.

At one time there stood on this mound "a masjid of some antiquity which had been blown down for military reasons during the mutiny," and under it there existed the remains of what was once a Buddhist monastery. No attempt was made to ascertain the extent of the building or to trace its ground-plan, but from the size of the mound, and the quantity of stones and building materials found, it was evident that the monastery must have been a large one, and included at least two temples dedicated at different times. Among the articles found, were a number of sculptures in the coarse

red sandstone, so common in Delhi and Agra, and including a lot of statues, cornices, bas-reliefs and pillars. "These were," according to Mr. Best, "all more or less mutilated, and appeared to be of varying antiquity." "It was probable," he therefore thought, "that the building had passed through several stages of decay, repair and additions, before its final destruction." Although most of the sculptures are of very inferior workmanship, "they are," says General Cunningham, "very interesting on account of their variety, as they comprise statues of all sizes, bas-reliefs, pillars, Buddhist railings, votive stupas, stone umbrellas, and many other objects peculiar to Buddhism, of a date as early as the first century of the Christian era. Amongst the broken statues, there is the left hand of a colossal figure of Buddha, the teacher, which measures one foot across the palm. The statue itself, therefore, could not have been less than from 20 to 24 feet in height. Stone statues of this great size are so difficult to move, that they can be very rarely made. It is true that some of the Jain statues of Gwalior are larger, such as the standing colossus in the *Urváhi* of the fort, which is 57 feet high, with a foot 9 feet in length, and the great-seated figure on the east side of the fort, which is 29 feet, with a hand 7 feet in length. But these figures are hewn out of the solid rock to which they are still attached by the back."** "I look therefore with great interest to the discovery of other portions of the Mathurá colossus, especially to that of the pedestal, on which we may expect to find the name of the donor of this costly and difficult work."* Some of them are interesting also, from the circumstance of their bearing inscriptions in the ancient Gupta character with dates in figures of a new type. One of the sculptures is thus described by General Cunningham.

"The most remarkable piece of sculpture is that of a female of rather more than half life size. The figure is naked, save a girdle of beads round the waist, the same as is seen in the Bhilsa sculptures and Ajanta paintings. The attitude and the positions of the hands are similar to those of the famous statue of Venus of the Capitol. But in the Mathurá statue, the left hand is brought across the right breast, while the right hand holds up a small portion

* Archæological Report for 1862-63, p. 4.

of drapery. The head is slightly inclined towards the right shoulder, and the hair is dressed in a new and peculiar manner, with long curls on each side of the face, which fall from a large circular ornament on the top of the head. The back of the figure is supported by a thick cluster of lotus stalks covered with buds and flowers, which are very gracefully arranged and boldly executed. The plump face with its broad smile is the least satisfactory part of this work. Altogether this statue is one of the best specimens of unaided Indian art that I have met with. I presume that it represents a dancing girl.”*

Mr. E. C. Bayley who was, at the time of the discovery, Judge of Mathurá, had the inscriptions removed to his bungalow, and facsimiles prepared of some of them. These were early placed at my disposal. Major General Cunningham who saw the inscriptions soon after, also prepared reduced transcripts of a number of them, and placed them in my hands. I had been assured by Mr. Bayley that he had taken immense pains in transcribing the inscriptions with his own hands, after testing each letter by holding the unwieldy stones in different lights, and I well knew the care and attention which General Cunningham devoted to such work; I was prepared therefore to find that the two sets of facsimiles would prove to be exactly alike. But on examination, I found them to differ in some material points, and I was obliged to lay them by, until I got an opportunity of comparing them with the originals, which I expected would soon be sent to the Society’s museum. These were received in 1863,† and on comparing them with my facsimiles, I

* *Ibid*, p. 5.

† These include—

1st. The feet of a large image supported by male and female figures at the sides and smaller figures between the feet (No. 830 A.)

2nd. Figures representing portion of a procession in honor, apparently, of Buddha (No. 830 B.)

3rd. The feet of a small image, apparently, of Buddha, bearing an inscription (830 C.)

4th. A stone ladder which, apparently, had been used as a drain-pipe, bearing part of a very interesting inscription (876 A.)

5th. Twelve bases of round pillars bearing inscriptions.

6th. A fragment of red sandstone about 3 feet high with Buddhist figures in relief on two sides. One of these sets of figures represents the birth of Buddha, No. 880 A.

7th. A very perfect figure of Buddha, about 6 feet in height, the head encircled by an ornamental halo (887 A.)

found that out of 10 facsimiles of Mr. Bayley, the Society had received the originals of only 8, and out of 18 transcripts of General Cunningham, only 11 were forthcoming, the rest being missing, most probably converted into ballast for the repair of roads by some Benthamite overseer in the Public Works Department; for in reply to my enquiry on the subject, Mr. Bayley wrote to me, "I fear some of Cunningham's are hopelessly gone, as I could not find them, and a good deal of stone-breaking had gone on in the meanwhile."

Among the missing stones was a most important dated one, which in the two sets of facsimiles appeared to differ in their details. There were, however, among the stones sent to the Society, two originals which were not included in either set of the facsimiles.

The inscriptions were all more or less defaced, worn out and smudgy, and it was by filling up the interstices of the letters with powdered black-lead, that I could read some of them. Others it was impossible to decypher, and the facsimiles now presented to the readers of the Journal (plates IV, V, VI and VII.) are, to a great extent, imperfect. They are taken from General Cunningham's transcripts, with such corrections and emendations as a careful examination of the original and comparison with Mr. Bayley's transcripts would warrant, leaving all doubtful letters as they were read by the General.

Fourteen of the inscriptions are inscribed on bases of pillars, three occur on the pedestals of statues, one on a stone ladder, one on an oblong slab, and one on a *stupa* or *chaitya*, *i. e.*, model of a funeral monument. According to General Cunningham "altogether the bases of 30 pillars were discovered, of which 15 were inscribed with the names of the donors who presented the columns to the monastery." But, he says, "as one of these gifts consisted of 6 pillars, a second of 25 pillars, and a third of 26 pillars, there still remain 40 columns to be discovered, which will bring up the total number to 70."* The inscriptions from which these facts have been

8th. A figure similar to the above, but with the halo broken, about 5½ feet (887 B.)

9th. A Buddhist naked female figure about 4 feet high.

* Loc. cit. p. 4.

collected are, however, not before me, or if they be mentioned in any portion of the inscriptions communicated to me by the General, they are not legible to me.

The plinths of the pillars are squares of $23\frac{1}{2}$ to 24 inches each side, having on each corner the figure of a lion, half projecting from the base moulding. Little can be said of the execution of these figures, but their style is characteristic. From above their body rise the shafts, which are not, as is usual among purely Indian columns, polygonal and cylindrical at intervals, but cylindrical throughout, as is the case in some of the columns in the temple of Martand and other structures in Kashmir. The diameter of the shafts may be roughly given at 18 inches. Ordinarily the length of Indian pillars varies from 7 to 9 diameters, and taking 8 at an average, the height of the veranda to which the pillars were attached, may be assumed at 16 feet. The temples themselves must have been considerably higher to make room for statues, one of which was 24 feet in height.

The inscriptions on the pillars are in several instances repeated, first inscribed on the torus and then on the plinth. But in more than one instance, the two inscriptions appear to be different.

The statues call for no remark. They are of the usual Sárnáth type, two being standing figures with one hand lifted as in lecturing, and the other holding the hem of a light drapery thrown over the person; the third is a seated figure: the head in all the three instances is encircled by a halo.

The stone ladder is peculiar. Mr. Bayley describes it to have "originally formed part of a sculptured drain pipe, which was subsequently made to do duty as part of a stone ladder, and the ruthless hands which fitted it for the latter purpose, had unfortunately hacked away a great portion of a very interesting inscription which it originally bore." Possibly it was originally a drain pipe; if so, it could not have then borne any inscription, for the inscription appears to have been incised after its conversion into a ladder, beginning at the bottom of the left hand bar and carried from above downwards on the right hand side, the feet of the letters on the opposite sides being reversed. Had the inscription been cut before the making of the steps, the writing would have all run in the

same direction. The ladder as we now possess it (Plate VI. Fig. XIV) is only a fragment, the upper half being lost. This circumstance, and the injuries which the letters have received from time and ill-usage, render the complete decipherment of the record quite out of the question. From the few words that I have been able to read, I take the steps to have been presented by a mendicant, named Buddha-dása, for the use of the pious, or, to quote his own words, "for the good of all mankind" (*sarvasatta hitáya*).

The inscriptions on the pillars are likewise records of gifts to the monastery, and in language, style and grammar differ not in the least from similar records in Sanchi and other Buddhist sanctuaries. The shortest inscriptions of this class simply say "the gift of so and so;" others add the purpose for which the gift is made, being the good of one's ownself, or that of his parents, or of mankind at large; and the more elaborate include the date of the gift, the name of the monastery, and perhaps the name of the reigning sovereign. The nature of the gift is sometimes mentioned, but not often; and the question may be raised as to whether in the case of inscriptions, recording gifts (*dána*) without specifying their nature, they are to be taken as mere records of gifts, or of the gift of the objects on which they occur? General Cunningham is in favour of the latter alternative, and is of opinion that the things on which donative inscriptions occur, are themselves the objects of these inscriptions. There is generally, however, no pronoun of any kind in such inscriptions to fix such a meaning, and it often happens, that a single bar of a railing, records two or three or more gifts of different dates, each in the usual form of gifts of so and so—*amukasya dánam*. Of the two inscriptions given on plate V. (No. v,) that on the torus records the gift of some Dása, the son of Vasunihira, while the one on the plinth, gives the name of Vis'vasika Vikramahára, son of Siñha. They cannot possibly be intended to record the gift of the pillar, but of some gift in money or other article to the shrine. Had the object been the joint gift of two or more persons, their names would have been given, not in separate inscriptions, but in one record, as is the case in many inscriptions which have come under notice. I am disposed to think, therefore, that the *dána* inscriptions were

designed partly by wily covetous priests who, for a consideration, dispensed sanctity to ordinary mortal names by recording them on sacred edifices, and partly by a desire to buy celebrity or immortality at a cheap cost by having one's name recorded on buildings frequented by millions, and which were supposed to last to all but eternity; a counterpart of that feeling which makes the modern tourists scribble their names under the dome of St. Peter. The late Major Markham Kittoe availed himself of this idea, and recorded the name of each subscriber to the Benares College Building Fund over or around a separate arch or doorway of the College Building as the donor of that particular object, and not as a contributor to the general fund.

In the case of the inscriptions on statues (Nos. XII. XIII. XVII. the language is throughout different, and they leave no doubt in the mind as to the object of their writers.

One of the pillar inscriptions describes the edifice in which it was found as the monastery (*vihára*) of Huvishka, whose titles were "the great king, the king of kings, the son of God," following closely the numismatic Greek legend *Basileus Basileun theodotoy*. Major General Cunningham first identified this prince with the Hushka of the *Rájataranginí* and the Oerki of our Indo-Scythian coins. He reigned in Kashmir in the middle of the first century before Christ, and from the circumstance of a monastery dedicated by him existing in Mathurá, we may fairly infer that his dominion extended, at least, as far down as that ancient city.

A second inscription (Plate XI. No. xv.) gives the name of another prince with the same ultra regal titles of *Mahárájá*, *rájátirájá*, and *devaputra*, but owing to a lacuna in the stone, it cannot be fully read. The first two syllables are unmistakably *Vásu*, after which there is space in the facsimiles for three letters which Mr. Bayley thinks were either *mitrasya* or *devasya*, making the whole name either *Vasumitra* or *Vasudeva*. As the mark of the long vowel is distinct and *Vásumitra* is not strictly correct, I take the name to be *Vásudeva*. That this prince was a successor of Huvishka, must follow as a matter of course, if our inference about the date of this inscription be correct: if it be doubted still, judging from the character of his inscription, his time was not much removed from that of the S'aka king.

Some of the inscriptions, as already stated, are dated, and the figures of these dates are by far the most interesting, and at the same time the most puzzling elements in their composition. General Cunningham, some time ago, commented on them at great length in this Journal,* but without coming to a satisfactory conclusion. Nor can I congratulate myself upon having raised the question much above the region of mere conjecture, though the conclusions I have come to, appear to be much more probable and consistent. After the decypherment of the dated inscriptions of Násik by the learned Dr. Bhau Dáji,† the values of most of the figures must now be accepted as settled; but they cannot be read in the ordinary decimal style, without producing very doubtful results, I propose, therefore, to read them from the right in arithmetical series as numerical notations without reference to their local values. This may, at first sight, appear objectionable in a writing which proceeds from left to right, but seeing that the Arabs and the Persians read their figures, borrowed from the Hindus, from left to right, though their writing proceeds from an opposite direction, it may be presumed that the ancient Buddhists, who evidently took their figures from the Aryan type, did not alter the original style of the figures and wrote them from right to left. Hence it is that even in modern chronograms, a rule is observed which says “figures, proceed to the left.” अङ्कस्य वासागतिः। Raghunandana, the author of the 28 *Tattvas*, in his treatise on astrology, *Jyotis Tattva*, three hundred years ago, quoted a s’loka to the effect that “in writing many figures of one denomination the progress should be to the left.” सजातीयानेकसङ्ख्याप्रखारे वासतो गतिः; and to this day all chronograms in Sanskrit are read in that way. Brown, in his Essay on Sanskrit Prosody, notices the practice, though he does not quote any authority. Following this rule, the four figures of No. 1, (plate IV.) may be read as $40 + 10 + 5 + 4 = 59$. Reading from left to right the result would be $4 + 5 + 10 + 40$; which would be absurd as progressing from small to large figures. If the third and the fourth letters be taken for 9 and 6, and the whole be read decimally according to their relative position, the date would be 4596, which would

* Ante Vol. XXXI, p. 426.

† Journal, Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VIII. p. 228.

correspond with no known or probable era. The value of the first figure is unquestionable; the second is somewhat like a 7, and the counterparts of the third and fourth are so exactly reproduced in the Násik records, that they cannot be gainsaid. Reading from right to left, I am unwilling to read the third letter as a 7, for it is not at all likely that eleven would be indicated by $7 + 4$ when a figure for 10 was in use. The only material objection to this reading would be, the figure for day, which looks very much like the last figure of the year read from the left. But the difficulty is not insuperable. Something very similar to it occurs in the Násik caves for a 6, but the two are not exactly alike. I am disposed, however, to take it to be the same figure which occurs in the year, *i. e.*, 40. Such a figure for the day of the month would, no doubt, be inadmissible, but as no month is named in the record, the 40th day of the year 59, would not be an unreasonable way of expressing the date.

Inscription, No. II, read from the right in the way indicated above, would give the date the 80th day of the year 59. In No. VI there are only two figures, one of which is the same which I have taken for 40 in Nos. 1 and 2, but the other is very doubtful and I cannot positively say whether it is that figure or 100. It looks very like a 7, but a 7 before a 40 would be inconsistent, and it is probably therefore a mutilated remnant of the figure for a 100. If so, the date would be 140. No. XIV has a single figure which occurs repeatedly in the Násik caves No. 23, for 10, and its date therefore may be without any hesitation taken for the year 10. No. XV has two figures, one of which is 40 and the other $4 = 44$. The word for the era in it is given in full, *samvatsare*, and then follows the word *varshe* "in the year," very much in the same way, as if a man were to say "in the year 44 *Anno Domini*." This repetition, however, is common in India, and such a mode of expression as **सन १२६५ साल** is frequently met with. The last letter in the third line is *ma*, after which, three letters are missing, which contained the name of the month, on the 1st of which (*prathama divas'e*) the record was inscribed. The subsequent lines are so full of lacunæ, that it is impossible to make out the purport of the document. The last three lines (8th, 9th, 10th) are completely obliterated.

The era to which these several years belong, would at first sight appear to be the same which is used in the Wardak, Manikiyala, Hidda and other Aryan inscriptions; but No. vi has the word, *s'áke*, "in the year of S'áka," distinctly given, the *k* being indicated by an upright cross with a mark on the top for the vowel-point, differing thus from the figure for 4 which is formed like an oblique cross in Nos. 1 and 2, and it may be fairly asked if the word *san* in the other cases is not an abbreviation of *s'áke*, the usual mode of indicating the elision of a letter being a dot or an anusvara after the preceding letter: in many instances, the *s* alone is given without the dot. No. xv uses the word *samvatsare* which means "in the full year," probably of the prince named, or possibly, but not likely, in the samvat year.

It is not at all likely, however, that different eras would be used in documents of one class, and arguing on this premiss, it would not be unreasonable to conclude the dates of all the inscriptions to refer to the S'aka era. The character, style, language, the princes named, and the circumstances detailed, all point to the first two centuries after the birth of Christ, and by reading the dates as belonging to the S'aka era, we bring the documents exactly to that epoch; the earliest 44 being equal to 120 A. D. and the latest 140, to 216, A. D. Dr. Bhau Dáji, in his valuable paper on the ancient Sanskrit numerals in the cave Inscriptions, has already pointed out that the S'aka was a Scythian era, and if this inference be tenable, and, as far as I am aware, there seems to exist no very cogent argument to bring against it, the Aryan records may all be assigned to the same epoch. No. xv would suggest the idea of that document being dated on the 44th year of Vásudeva's reign, but the record is so full of breaks that we cannot by any means positively declare that the genitive *Vásudevasya* relates to *samvatsara* and not to some other word. If it be excluded as belonging to the era of Vásudeva, still the argument would remain unaltered in regard to the others.

I have appended to the plate a reduced facsimile of an inscription on the pedestal of a statue of Buddha found in the village of Sahet Mahet in Oudh. The village has been identified by General Cunningham with the S'rávasti of the Buddhist records. It bore a date, which is now completely obliterated. The General reads

the last word of the first line as S'rávasti, but it appears to me to be very unlike it. After a very careful study of the original for some hours, I make it out to be *bhikshusya*, the last two letters corresponding with the *sadya* of the next line. The figure is 7 feet high, and is cut in the same material (red sandstone) of which the Mathurá sculptures are formed. It was dedicated by two Buddhist mendicants, Mihira and Tripitaka, with funds received for the good of mankind from one Bakrateya. The grammatical connection of the third line with the second is not obvious, and the meaning had therefore to be guessed from the instrumental case of the phrase *Bakrateya sucharyena*.

Transcripts and Translations of the Mathurá Inscriptions.

Plate IV. No. I.—Round the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.)

सं ५९ दि ४० महाराजस्य रजातिरजस्य देवपुत्रस्य उद्विष्कस्य विहारे दानं
भिक्षु जीवकस्य उदियनकस्य कुम्भको सज सर्व्यसत्त्व हेतु सुखभवत् सघे चतुर्दशे ।

A present, on the 40th day of the year 59, to the Vihára of the great king, the king of kings, the divinely born (or the son of a Deva) Huvishka, by the mendicant (Bhikshu) Jivaka Udiyanaka, known by the name of the breath-suspended.* May it prove a blessing to all mankind! The fourteenth congregation.

Plate IV. No. II.—Round the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.)—

दानं देविलिस्य दधिकुर्षदेविकुलिकस्य सं ५९ दिवस ८० । †

The gift of Devili of the race of Dadhikurna Deví, on the 80th day of the year 59.

Plate V. No. III.—Round the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.)—

दानं भिक्षुस्य बुद्धदासस्य संघमितस देवि परोसपचत्रिशस्य भं दा + पित्रो व्व
सुखस्य ‡

The gift of the mendicant (Bhikshu) Buddha-dása Sañgha-

* The words in the original are *Kumbhaka saña*, which I take to be a corruption of *Kumbhaka-sañña* from *Kumbhaka*, suspension of breath in religious meditation, and *sañña* a name.

† The reading of the figure is doubtful.

‡ The reading of the last word is conjectural.

mitra, (or the friend of the congregation), (and) of the Devi Parosapachatris 'a * * * *

Plate V. No. iv.—Round the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society).—

दानं भिक्षुस्य बुद्धघोषस्य फल * *

The gift of the mendicant Buddha-ghosha. The fruit of—

Plate V. No. v. a.—Round the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.)

दानं वसुभिहिर पुत्रस्य पत्र (?) स दास ।

The gift of Patrama (?) the son of Vasú-mihira.

Plate V. No. v. b.—Round the Plinth of the same Pillar:

दानं विश्वसिकस्य बुद्ध(ध?)मिहिरस्य सिद्धपुत्रे * * रमनक * * * * मेन देवीध-
र्माय रि दने * * *

The gift of Visvasika, and Buddha-mihira, the sons of Siñha—

Plate V. No. vi.—Round the base of a Pillar.

दानं सके १४ बुधमिहिरस्य सिद्धपुत्र * * * * * ।

* * धम्मभीच्छुद * * *

The gift of Budha-mihira, son of Siñha, on the 140th S'aka year.

Plate VI. No. vii.—On the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society).—

दानं भिक्षुस्य बुद्धरक्षितस्य शक्य भिक्षुस्य स ।

The gift of the mendicant S'ákya Bhikshu, the protected of Buddha—or of the mendicant Buddha Rakshita a mendicant of Sákya Buddha.

Plate V. No. viii.—On the base of a Pillar.

दानं सध पुत्र * * * । The gift of Sangha-putra.

Plate V. No. ix.—On the base of a Pillar.

दानं संघप्रविरस्य * * * । The gift of Sangha-pravira.

Plate V. No. x.—On the base of a Pillar.

दानं भिक्षुस्य बुद्धरक्षितस्य मभिक्षुस्य ।

The gift of the mendicant Mabhikshu, the protected of Buddha—
or of Buddha Rakshita, the unworthy mendicant.*

Plate V. No. xi.—On the Pedestal of a statue.

देय धम्मोयं शक्य भिक्षो भिदत्तत्रक्षसिहस्य यदत्र पुण्यं तद्भवतु सर्वसत्वानां
शतोत्तरज्ञानावाप्तये ।

* The word *mabhikshu* translated “unworthy mendicant” is ungrammatical.

This virtuous dedication to Sákya Bhikshu, (is) by Bhidatta Brahma Siñha. Whatever fruits will proceed from this act of religion, may be for the acquisition of a hundred-fold knowledge on the part of all mankind.

Plate V. No. XII.—On the Pedestal of a small statue.

देव धर्मायं शाक्य भिक्षो धर्मादासस्य यदत्र पुण्यं तत्त्रिणे (मा)तु सर्वसत्त्वेन च.

This virtuous dedication to Sákya Bhikshu (is by) Dharma-dása. Whatever fruits will proceed from this may be enjoyed by my father, mother and all mankind.

Plate V. No. XIII.—On a small stupa.

नशाप्रियाये सुरनस्य दानं ।

The gift of Surana* to Nasápriyá.

Plate VI. No. XIV.—On the side of a flight of stone steps (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society).

* * सं १० सर्ववुद्धाय दानं भिक्षुस्य बुद्धदा(स)स्य * * सर्वसत्त्वानां * * सव
ठल्यरा * * * ।

In the 10th year: the gift of the mendicant Buddha-dása, to Buddha for the good of all mankind and ——— .

Plate VI. No. xv.—On a block of sandstone.

महाराजास्य र (जातिराज)

स्य देवपुत्रस्य वासु(देवस्य)

सवत्सरे ४४ वर्षे म * * *

स प्रथम दिवसे * *

त्रिशूल अस्य पूर्व्ये

दल्लोकियं महादाने

* * मयेकस्य व *

लिनस्य क्रतु मेहि

Here three lines are illegible.

The text is too corrupt to admit of an attempt at translation.

Plate VI. No. xvi.—On the Pedestal of a seated figure.

The first line of this record is illegible, the second has the words महाराजास्य रजातिरजस्य देवपुत्रस्य वसु * *, “of the great king, the king of kings, the divine born Vasu,” shewing that it was inscribed in the time of the same prince whose name has been conjectured to be Vásudeva in No. xv.

* The reading of this word is quite conjectural and very doubtful.

Plate VI. No. xvii.—On the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society).

दिवस ५ स * * * पुर्वये दानं भिक्षुस्य धम्मदत्तस्य ।

Gift of the mendicant Dharma-datta to — ? Purva, on the 5th day of —. If the compound letter before Purva, be read as *shashtha*, the meaning may be the fifth preceding the sixth, a form of expression still current in Nágari *hundi*s or drafts, but this form would scarcely be used in monumental records.

Plate VII. No. xviii.—On the base of a Pillar (deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.)

दत्तन र सर (४४ ?) दिवस ५ प्रबु(?)द्वाय दानं भिक्षुस्य धम्मदत्तस्य ।

Gift of the mendicant Dharma-datta to — the great Buddha on the 5th day of — ?

Plate VII. No. xix.—On the base of a Pillar.

दानं भिक्षुस्य बुद्धभीमस्य भिक्षुस्य * * * ।

The gift of the mendicant Buddha-bhima ——— the unworthy Bhikshu, —

Plate VII. No. xx.—On the base of a Pillar.

दत्तभिक्षुस्य दानं संघपुत्रस्य द्वार सुद्धत * * *

देवधर्म परत भतत * * *

The gift of Datta-bhikshu, son of Sangha, the rest illegible.

Plate VII. No. xxi.—From the base of a colossal statue found at Sahet Mahet, and deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society.

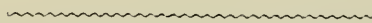
* * * * * दिवसये पमये भिक्षुस्य प्रथ

सय मिहिरस्य भिक्षुस्य वरस्य त्रिपिटकस्य दानं बद्धसत्त्वच्छेत्तुं दानफलावाप्तये भगवतो चक्रम

कस्य वक्रदेय सुचर्येण सर्वस्वेतदानं प्रदत्तम् ।

The gift of the mendicant (Purya Sadya) Mihira and the noble mendicant Tripitaka, for the relief of involved mortals, and the attainment of the fruit of (such a) gift, (as also) for the enjoyment (lit. movement) of Bhagaván—(from) the donation of the well-behaved Bakratēya for the good of mankind.

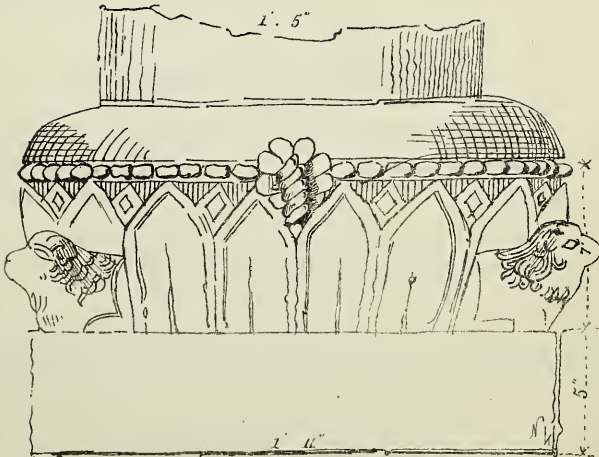
The document is very puzzling; the translation here given is a mere guess.





N° 1.
Base of Pillar.

1' 11"



N° 11. Base of Pillar.

३ ३
६ ६ देवे ये मुदरी कर्कटेरु ये मयि x ११ पुट्ट वरु

N° III. Base of Pillar.

= २२११११ ११११ ११११ ११११ ११११ ११११ ११११ ११११ ११११ ११११
११११ ११११ ११११ ११११ ११११ ११११ ११११ ११११ ११११ ११११

N° IV. Base of Pillar.

११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११

N° V. Base of Pillar.

११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११

N° V. Plinth of Base

= ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११
= ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११

N° VI Base of Pillar

११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११
११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११

N° VII. Base of Pillar.

११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११

N° VIII. Base of Pillars. N° IX

११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११

N° X. Base of Pillar.

११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११

N° XI. Square Pedestal of Statue.

११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११

N° XII. Pedestal of Small Statue

११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११

N° XIII. Small Stupa

११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११ ११११११



Nº XVIII. Base of Pillar.

১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ

Nº XIX. Base of Pillar.

১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ

Nº XX. Base of Pillar.

১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ

Nº XXI. From Base of a Celossal Statue from Sahet Mahet.

১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ ১৮৭৮খ্রীঃ

*Contributions towards Vernacular Lexicography, No. I—By**Babu PRATA'PACHANDRA GHOSHIA, B. A.*

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Like other subjects of study regarding the Hindus, the history of the Bengali language and literature is obscure. There is however, no lack of internal evidence to lead if not to an accurate at least an approximate idea of the real state of things in the earlier days. The science of the history of language is of modern date, and even if it had been in existence in the days of the *rshis* and *munis* of ancient India, their habitual silence with regard to history would have added but little to our meagre knowledge of the subject. The Muhammadans in painting the portrait of a prince give a minute representation of the dress and the ornaments, but they scrupulously avoid giving any features to the face, which they leave blank, an oval space without eyes or nose. The Hindus in the same way are prolix in poetical and other irrelevant descriptions, but when they come to historical facts, they are studiously silent. A dull description of sober and unexaggerated facts is not compatible with their highly imaginative and over-poetic disposition. The wonderful and marvellous is the back-bone of their themes. Exceptions are rare and unique, but even in them, foreign influence is not unfrequently seen. The inquisitive eye of the antiquarian, however, penetrates the thick veil of the marvellous and the hyperbolic, and grasps at once the real image. Facts are chained together in the relation of cause and effect, and the willing mind with a little labour traces link after link, and thus reaches the first cause. Experience of modern events in the way of analogy leads much to the elucidation of antecedent facts. Written history may sometimes mislead, but internal evidence cannot be altered by the prejudices of contemporaneous historians or by the colour of legendary tales. Internal evidence, however, is weak on some points. Several dissimilar causes sometimes lead to the same or apparently the same consequence, and considerable judgment and discrimination is therefore required to connect the sequel with its real and only cause. Hasty

generalization and faint analogy are serious impediments to this mode of enquiry. Serious consideration and careful weighing of the evidence ought always to accompany the tracing up to real antecedents and the distinguishing of proper relationship. Paucity of language and the frequent occurrence of synonymous terms cloud the real meaning in obscurity, and alliteration in sound is a great misleading element in the feminine language of the Bengalis.

Theories often precede the actual collection of facts, and the brilliant ideas once taken hold of, are seldom abandoned till there is an absolute dearth in the finding of the most distantly related supporting facts. Every flutter of the wing or the rustle of the leaves is an alarming sound to an imaginative mind. Indeed theories are first formed and facts are next collected and twisted and turned to suit or to support or prove the foregone conclusions.

Bengali works earlier than the fourteenth century after Christ are not to be met with, and inscriptions and MSS. in the present Bengali character scarcely go back earlier. Tradition in this particular is silent, so much so that there is no legend pointing directly or indirectly to the relation of the Bengali to other languages. The compound word *Vangabháshá* is so recent, that a distinct name of the Bengali language cannot be found in earlier works. Abul Fazl once uses it, but it is not certain whether any books were then in existence in the language. *Bánglá* is an older term, it stands for the name of the country, as well as for the dialects spoken by its people. These dialects were numerous in earlier days, and traces of their differences may still be seen in the language of obscure villages of distant districts. The gradual extension of commercial intercourse has introduced changes in the spoken language of the people, and differences in accent, pronunciation, and terminals, and initials, slowly but steadily disappeared, till all became one and identical. Radical changes in the orthography, proper pronunciation of words, go on increasing till people settle into a habit of writing, the inconvenience of the want of which is felt with increasing intercourse and business. Private, and lengthy messages are better sent in writing than by verbal instructions. It is superfluous to dwell here on the circumstances and necessities which led to the practice of giving ocular shape to the meaning of sounds uttered by

man for conveying his ideas to his fellows. Ocular evidence is more easily comprehended, and is less liable to be misunderstood than auricular ones. Permanent marks or an enduring collection of signs conveying ideas are more advantageous and useful than temporary and evanescent figures by a move of the hand or a nod or a wink. Words are permanently fixed by writing, and then they are susceptible of such changes only as the forms of the characters admit of. Roughly speaking, however, the Bengali language and the Bengali characters are contemporaneous, they are derivations of the Sanscrit and Nágari respectively, and the difference between the derivative and the original languages is so well proportionate to that between the original and the derivative characters, that excepting a few exotics and lately introduced foreigners, the progress of the language may be said to be always cotemporary with that of the characters.

The characters, as they are now, are more true to the original stock, the Nágari of the Gupta type, from which they have been derived, than the language; and the reason for this difference is obvious. The Bengali recension of the Nágari characters is of later date than the Bengali recension of the Sanscrit language. Both, however, have gradually receded from the original stock, and this difference in the degree of divergence in the two, the language and the characters, can only be explained by supposing that the characters were later adopted than the language. The characters again were less frequently used, and this, though true of all the languages of the world, speaks of a low state of civilization in the earlier history of Bengal. Since the breaking up of the petty Hindu dynasties that ruled in Bengal, and the arrival of the Muhammadans in this country, it sank into the position of a third class subordinate province. Excluded from the sunshine of the Emperors of Delhi and governed by everchanging Subahdars and Nawabs, Bengal occupied an obscure corner in the empire of Hindustan, and would have dwindled into a jungly forest, had not fate brought the Briton to its shores. Energy had failed the Bengalis for some centuries, and literature was a mere name.

The signs are about eighty in number, and are therefore quite sufficient to represent all the sounds which had to be represented.

When the people came in contact with the Muhammadans who were then the rulers of the land, sounds like ق, غ, ژ puzzled the people, and they would have been obliged to invent if not new letters, at least such modifying signs as to indicate the peculiar sounds, had the real pronunciation of the same been preserved. The Urdu had occasion to represent the Hindi sound ष and it soon adapted itself. The enervating influence of the climate, however, so far affected the Hindus, that soon after the period of the Vedas, the big ऋ that guttural sound so much resembling the Arabic ق was lost, and not even a trace of its existence could now be found except in the very oldest works of *Nirukta*. It is not for me to trace the several shades of change through which the Nāgari has passed before it assumed the Bengali form. Suffice it to say that the connecting link is the character known as *Gauḍiya* found in some inscriptions.

The language, however, has undergone serious changes, and in its way has adopted so many foreign elements, that to eliminate them now is more than impossible. As the adoption of foreign words to represent new and foreign ideas rests with the common people, they are faster adopted and modified in sound than the adoption of foreign characters. All new words of a scientific or philosophical nature are formed in the laboratories of the learned, and the Sanscrit roots are the elements of which they are compounds. Every nation with which the Bengalis came in contact contributed more or less according to the duration of contact, to the enrichment of the language.

The great bulk of the words of the language is Sanscrit, so slightly modified that the original Sanscrit words are in many instances identical with them, and in some may be easily detected, there being only three cases in the Bengali and scarcely any variation in the terminal modifications of tenses or persons of verbs.

It is not very far from the truth to say that the Bengali language originated in the hearth with the illiterate women of the country, whose shortness of breath and ignorance of the laws of grammar and untrained tongue and hasty utterance soon modified the original Sanscrit into a distinct, coarse and feminine dialect. The Pāli and the Prākṛit are the immediate degenerated descendants of the

Sanscrit. And to these we must look for a clue to the inexplicable forms of modern Bengali words. The Gáthá language, however, is found useful to explain such cases where the segregation of the consonants of a compound and the interposition of an অ after র occur. Thus মৰ্ম is মরম in Gáthá, Prákṛita and Bengali, ধৰ্ম—ধরম, কৰ্ম—করম, পৰ্ব—পর্ব. মরম, ধরম and such forms are evidently much older than কৰ্ম and ধৰ্ম, of which I shall speak hereafter. Properly speaking, they are the real Bengali forms of the Sanscrit words and these contain in them a more permanent form than কৰ্ম and ধৰ্ম which are slang, provincialisms or effects of bad pronunciation. To the Gáthá* may be traced all the variations of the verb *to be*, which the several derivative dialects of the Sanscrit have given rise to. Sanscrit भवति is in Gáthá ভোতি, in Magadhi হোতি, in Khárikoli হোয়ে, in Maháráshtri आहे, in Hindi होता है, and in Bengali হয়. Can we trace to the Gáthá the Bengali case terminations? নভসি in Gáthá is নভে, রাত্রী is রাत्रিতে. The Hindi दूखि and the Bengali তুরিয়ে are derived from the Gáthá. গিল্লা, is it from the Gáthá গिलानো and Sanscrit ग्लानो?

The Páli and the Prákṛita were in use as early as the second and third centuries before Christ. They have their distinct grammar, though in many instances the grammarian has failed to point out the reasons for modifications in several words. They have derived all their words from the Sanscrit, though many of them have lost the original import, and it is difficult to explain how the later meanings have arisen.

Opinions differ as to the proper limits of the Bengali language. With some every Sanscrit word or compound without the case affix is Bengali. Others again confine themselves to the more commonly used terms. From the general tendency of modern Bengali writers, it appears that the former opinion has the greater number of supporters. With reference to the words imported or derived from foreign languages, some writers eliminate them altogether. Thus the word মোকদ্দমা is rejected by the more orthodox writers, while others of a more utilitarian tendency adopt it for the sake of its common and frequent use. Indeed it involves a serious linguistic question which has yet to be solved. Excepting the slang and the

* J. A. S. vol. XXIII. p. 604.

technical terms of the poorer trade, are words of other than Sanscrit origin, used by the people generally, to be considered as legitimate Bengali or such of them only as are in use in writing by the learned and the pedantic? It must be noted here that the learned and the higher classes use in ordinary conversation many words which they would not like to see in writing. The discussion has hitherto been limited to the use of Persian and Arabic words, but if those which have been long incorporated in the language, are to be considered as part and parcel of it, surely it cannot be right to condemn the use of words which have come into fashion, simply because they have been derived from foreign languages other than Persian and Arabic. The Bengali language is so very modern, and the works written in it are much more so, that the length of the period of the use of a particular word cannot be considered an argument either for or against its adoption.

The oldest works in Bengali are the *Kavikankana Chandī*, the *Chaitanyacharitāmṛta*, and the abstracts of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. The first two contain a great many words so awkwardly distorted that to a Bengali of the present age, they are unintelligible. Many of these monstrosities have too much of the *Uḍiā* and *Rāḍha* form in them. The refined composition of *Bhāratachandra*, the popular poet of Bengal, who flourished in the beginning of the present century, is not free from such barbarisms. The tendency of present compositions, however, is towards purity.

Lexicography in the true sense of the word is unknown in the Bengali language. Several dictionaries have been compiled within the last sixty years, and only a few can be said to go back still earlier. The idea of preparing a dictionary of the Bengali language, and that alphabetically arranged, was derived from the Europeans, who felt the want of it in studying the language. Before the advent of Europeans in this country, there was no dictionary, in short no literature except a dozen commonplace books. Short vocabularies were first formed, and they were in Bengali and English. An exclusively Bengali dictionary originated with the School Book Society, and it was more of an elementary nature than of a comprehensive character. Within the last twenty years we have been furnished with several volumes of dictionaries of the Bengali language. In the

formation of these, no system or plan has been followed. Principally they are compilations from Sanscrit dictionaries, and the common colloquial distortions of many Sanscrit and foreign words have been inserted, without rhyme or reason, to swell the bulk of the work. Indeed so little attention has been given in the selection of words, and so little care has been taken in arranging them, that the several modifications of a word as pronounced by the illiterate have been put in, as so many distinct and independent words. No compiler of an English dictionary would dare put in *idear* as a distinct word from *idea*, though it is so pronounced by many. The compiler of a Bengali dictionary, however, puts in the following বাঁকা, বাঁকা, বাঁগ, বক্র, বাক, and বাগ as so many distinct words. Words that have not retained the entire Sanscrit form have been by some regarded as Prakrit, though such forms are never to be seen in that language and others with equal carelessness been introduced as original Bengali. Indeed the negligence is so great, that in one dictionary I find the word অইন (wine) marked as a Prakrit word.

It is held by some that the language of the aborigines of Bengal has largely contributed to the formation of modern Bengali, and that though Sanscrit forms the nine-tenth part, or even a greater proportion, of the whole bulk of the language; the case-terminations are the relics of the aboriginal Bengalis. This is not the place to discuss the origin of the language; it must, however, be admitted that many of the case-terminations can be traced to the Prakrit, a derivative of the Sanscrit, and the rest may be explained without recourse to fanciful suppositions.

With these few prefatory remarks on the formation of words in this language, I propose to give here a list of derivations which I have endeavoured to trace to the Sanscrit or other languages, and from time to time in subsequent papers to discuss the genealogy of different words.

In common conversation, it may be observed that the illiterate, and especially the women of the lower classes, eliminate the *r* *ṛ* from words which contain it, or insert one in words having none. In Prakrit this is arrived at by a more comprehensive rule,* viz., that sharp consonant compounds are filed off by the elision of the final

* Cowell's Prakrit Grammar.

letter and the reduplication of the second. Thus for अञ्ज in Sanscrit, we have अञ्ज in Prakrit, as well in the older dialect Pāli; so for कर्म-कर्म; धर्म-धर्म. In short, this application of the laws of euphony is to be found in all strong vocalic languages, and in those in which pronunciation is slurred, indistinct, and hasty. And though we know every educated Bengali calls the mirror in common conversation आरसि, from आदर्श, the vulgar pronounce it as आरसि. Some again go so far as to transpose the *r* and call it रासि. Similarly आरना becomes रारना. गरु is common both to the high and the low, though it is derived from Prakṛita गउ, Sanscrit गे। Here it may be noticed that in Prakṛit and Bengali, the diphthong vowels ऐ and औ are simplified into distinct sounds of अई and अउ constituents of the compound sound, and sometimes one of these simple sounds is even elided, as कुत्रापि in Sanscrit is कइ in Prakṛit, and कै in Bengali. This elimination of the र, as in आरसि, is used by the very lowest classes. The र is left out in such words as प्रदीप and व्यायु, and they are in Bengali पिदीप, पिदीम, पदीप, and बाग or बाय, as also आमु आम or आब. The double द in पिदीप is evidently owing to the rule of pronunciation in Sanscrit, which lays down that the consonant preceding a compound is always to be doubled; so also consonants following a *visarga*. As regards बाग from व्यायु, in Bengali ग and घ are generally interchangeable, as घোमটা from अबघुठन. The same may be said of त and द, ट and ड. Compounds of a liquid and an aspirate are generally modified in Pāli, Prakṛit, and Bengali by elision of the former. The Sanscrit पद्म becomes पद् in all three, as also सद्म, सद्, and हर्द्दु, हलिद्। Here in the derivation of the dialectic form पद् we find a clue to the custom peculiar in Bengal of pronouncing consonant compounds of म in a manner so as to give a nasal sound to it. The only exceptions to this are कश्मीर, शाल्मली, बाल्मीक. In Sanscrit and modern Hindustani, the म after द is distinctly pronounced.

To the Prakṛit many of the Bengal forms may be traced which cannot be so easily referred to the Sanscrit.

Thus the Bengali numerals :—

Sanscrit	Prākṛita	Bengali
এক	আক	য়াক
দ্বি	দুইঅং	দুই
দ্বিতীয়ম্ }		
ত্রীণ্	তিনি	তিন
চত্বার	চারি	চার
পঞ্চ	পাঞ্চ	পাচ
ষট্	ছ	ছয়
ষষ্ঠ		
ষষ্ঠপদ } ছকেকা		
ষষ্ঠপদ } ছপ্পং	ছেপায়ী	
সপ্ত	সত্ত	সাত
সপ্তপর্ণ	ছত্তবন্নে	ছাতিম
অষ্ট	অট্ট	আট
নবম্	নঅম	নয়
একাদশ	এগারহ	এগার, য়াগার
দ্বাদশ	বারহ	বার
ত্রয়োদশ	তেরহো	তের
চতুর্দশ	চোদহ	চোদ
পঞ্চদশ	পন্নরহো	পণের
ষোড়শ	মোলহো	ষোল
সপ্তদশ	সত্তারহো	সতের
অষ্টাদশ	অট্টারহো	আঠার
উনবিংশ	উন্নিমো	উনিশ
সপ্তবিংশ	সত্তাইমো	সাতাশ
অষ্টবিংশ	অট্টাইমো	আটাশ
ত্রিংশৎ	তীমো	ত্রিশ
চত্বারিংশ	চউআলীমো	চোয়াল্লিশ
শত	সঙ	শ.

Such words as একুশ and বাইশ are evidently derived from একবিংশ and দ্বাবিংশ. In একুশ the *anusvāra* is first elided as in বিশ from বিংশতি, and the final vowel of ক being elided, it assumes the form of এক্বিশ (এক্.বিশ). This form is found in Hindustani, which has এককীশ for twenty-one. In Bengali, a less masculine and more euphonic language, in the strong sound of *kvé* the long *é* is slightly and gradually flattened, till it becomes একুশ, which again

by a slight modification becomes একশ. Indeed, when the Bengalis speak amongst themselves, it is very difficult to catch the very flat sound of *u*, which they simply use to connect the consonants ক and শ. বাইশ is দ্বাবিশ or দ্বাইশ, where দ is elided. The numerals from fifty-one to fifty-eight are all formations with পান্ন, standing for fifty and এক, দ্বই (দ্বা-বা), তিন (ত্রি তি), চার (চা) &c., preceding. In euphony প after ক, দ, ব, and চ is harsh, and hence instead of একপান্ন we have একান্ন, বাবান্ন তিপ্পান্ন চাবান্ন পঞ্চান্ন &c. In তিপ্পান্ন the প is doubled as the original form ত্রিপান্ন had a compound ত্রি preceding পান্ন. The Prákrit rule is : before two consonants a long vowel is sharpened, and if the long vowel is retained, one of the consonants is elided as ঝগ্গ for ঞার্গ, দিগ্ঘ for দীর্ঘ, পূৰ for পূৰ্, and ঙৈশর for ঙৈশ্র, and a short vowel before two consonants is occasionally lengthened, and one of the consonants omitted, as জীহা for জিহা. The Hindustanis, however, have retained the forms একপান্ন, বাবান্ন, তিপ্পান্ন, পাঁচপান্ন. The Bengali form পুঁজী (a group of five) is evidently a corruption of the Sanscrit পঞ্চী; of such forms as গণ্ডা, কাহন, কুড়ী, &c., more hereafter. From the above derivations, it appears that the Hindi has derived all its numerals from Prákrit, while the Bengali, though not from the Sanscrit direct, yet not from the Prákrit either. It has to be decided whether it is justifiable to draw the conclusion that Bengali is a language independent of the Prákrit and contemporaneous with it? But the mass of evidence on the other side is so great as to leave no doubt whatever of its drawing largely from the Prákrit. That the Bengali is an independent derivative of the Sanscrit, is tenable under the supposition that the rules of derivation in Bengali are similar to those of the Prákrit. At all events the subject is open to discussion.

Many distortions met with both in Prákrit and Bengali words may be traced to the laws of *Sandhi* of Sanscrit grammar. Thus, when an aspirate consonant becomes doubled, one of them becomes a simple one.

Sanscrit আঢ়, in Prákrit instead of being আঢ়টো is আড়টো, and in Bengali আড়—so is অনর্থ—অণথো!—অনহ, দীর্ঘিকা—দিগ্ঘিরা—দিঘি, দুধ্ব—দুধ্ব—দুধ. Similarly, a simple consonant is changed into an aspirate, গৃহ—ঘরো—ঘর.

In the Bengali numeral ষাক derived from এক, the vowel অ in

Prākṛit or য় in Bengali has taken the place of এ. Thus একাকী—অকেলঙ—একেলা—একলা—য়াকলা. The study of these forms is to Philology what the science of Embryology is to Natural History. The classification into genera is greatly assisted by the embryonic forms which the animals undergo, and it is then only that their resemblance to the allied genera or species is most vividly exhibited. The other day, some small seedlings of *Artocarpus indicus*, the Jack-fruit, in my garden threw out leaves so perfectly serrated in the manner of those of the bread-fruit, that I was at once struck with the similarity, and on exhibiting it to a friend of mine, he observed, that though not himself a scientific man to appreciate the close relation which existed between the two dissimilar leaves, it had always been a puzzle to him. Returning to য়াক from এক, this form can be explained as in Sanscrit *Sandhi*; for য্ is formed in the place of এ and there is a rule in *Mugdhavodha*, stating that the consonants formed in places of vowels can again be transformed into those vowels. For ই we get য়—for উ, ব— for ঙ্, র, for ঞ, ল্ as also conversely for য়—ই, for ব—উ. It is interesting to note that ই+অ=য় is pronounced as *ya* and উ+অ=ব *va*. From this it may be observed that the sound of য় is not *j*, but *ya*, and that the Bengali custom of pronouncing it as *j* is to be traced to the Prakrit where অয়ণ is অজনো; and though in Yajurveda the য় is always pronounced as *j*. May we hazard a suggestion that since the aboriginal brāhmins of Bengal were wholly Yajurvedic, they have given to the Bengali the *j* sound of য়? A learned brāhmin being asked why য় in Sanscrit became জ in Prākṛita, very coolly replied, “It is because the women were so much addicted to pan-chewing.” Thus again অদ্য—অজ্জ—আজ,—যুধ—জুজ্ব—জোব, দাত্য—জুঅ্য—জুরা, যোত্র্য—জোত্র্য—জোওর.

It has been noted above that the Sanscrit দ্বিতীয়ম্ is দুইঅ্য in Prākṛit. Instances of such breaking up of the particles of a word are not rare. They are in conformity with Prākṛit rules. Thus the Sanscrit দুঃশ্লিষ্ট is in Prākṛit দুশ্লিষ্টো, and প্রাণ is পরাণ in Bengali and প্রীতি is পিরীতি, স্পর্শমণি is পরসমণি, also পরেস পাথর, প্রেরসো is পিরারি and শ্লেচ্ছ is মলেচ্ছা. Similarly চর্ম্ম is চামরা in Prākṛit and চামড়া in Bengali. পৌরুষ, is পউরিস, মানুষ is মুনিষ, পুরুষ is পুরিস, কৃষ্ণসার is কষণসার and কষ্ট is কমট, গরম from গ্লাম and হিন্না from Prākṛit হিঅঅম্ and Sanscrit হদয়ম্.

Then by *Sandhi* forte consonants are changed into lenes as also fortes or lenes of one class into lenes or fortes of another.

ঢিলো from Prákṛita মিচিলো from Sanscrit শিথিল; এদের—এদেশিৎ—এতেষাৎ, উঠ—উটই—উতিষ্ঠতি, বডড—বড—বাড়—বটই—উদ্বর্তয়তি, কড়া—কড়াহো—কটাহ, কড়াছিরি is Hindi, কীলা—ক্রীড়া, কুকড়ো—কক্কুড়ো—কুক্কুট, কুমর—কুমারো—কুন্ডকার, কুটী—কোটো—কোষ্ঠ, খাম—কথ—খন্দো—স্বন্দ, খন্দ—খন্দো—স্কন্দ, খা—খাউ—অদনে.

In many of the above, Hindi forms may be detected, several of which point to a greater intimacy with Prákṛit than Bengali. The Hindi form খট্টা, meaning sub-acid in taste, has a close resemblance to খাউ meaning to eat. The word appears to have been extended to the later meaning sub-acid in taste, as to the Hindustani it is a stimulant to eating. The word চাটনী literally means that which is to be eaten or licked. Its present meaning, however, is a sub-acid acrid pie. In Bengali, words are easily contracted and harsh sounds often eliminated, পলা is from the Prákṛit পবালো from the Sanscrit প্রবাল, বৌ from বধু and বামনী from বাস্কণী.

Words ending with a compound consonant and the vowel *i*, in passing from Sanscrit to Prákṛit and Bengali generally drop the consonant; as, গাই from গাভি, গাই from গায়তি, খাই from খাদতি, হাই—জুড়াই—জুড়তি; thus জুই—জুহিয়া—যুথিকা, বাপ—বাম্পই—বাম্পয়তি—আচ্ছাদয়তি, দই—দহি—দধি, দুখভাই—দুকথভাই—দুঃখভাগী, পাক—পাইক—পায়সো—পদাতী, কেওড়া—কঅই—কেতকী.

In compliance with the general rule about the fortes and lenes of one class changing into fortes or lenes of another, the following changes may be observed; ডাঁহিণা—ডাহিণা—দক্ষিণা. The Hindi form ডোলনা is evidently from the Prákṛit ডোলা, Sanscrit দোলা. It is important to notice how the original meaning has been lost. Again ডালিম্—দালিম—দাড়িম are instances of ড substituted by দ. The Prákṛit has only changed the ড into ল; such change is still observed in Sanscrit grammar, and several Sanscrit words up to the present day are spelt in both ways হুঁডে সোঁমি is also হুঁলে, and very often the ল stands for র, as in রোমহ and লোমহ. As an instance of ড=ল, we have the word তলাও (Hindi) from the Prákṛit তড়াও, Sanscrit তড়াগ. In this we find that গ in Sanscrit is changed to ও in Prákṛit. But most peculiar is the change of ল into গ, and ট into ড. In tracing

the change of ল to গ, we have to suppose an intermediate step *viz.*, that of changing it into ড. Now amongst the cerebrals ড has the same value that গ has amongst the gutturals and, as stated before, lenes of one class are changed into lenes of another. Now since ড = ল, and গ being equal to ড, গ is also equal ল. In the change of গ to ড we have only to notice that the fortis is changed into a lenis of the same class. Thus the Sanscrit টলমল is ডগমগ in Prákrit and Bengali.

The following is a list of words similarly derived :—

Sanscrit	Prákrit	Bengali
আচ্য	আড্যে	আড়
কোঢী	{ ক্রোড় কোড়ি }	ক্রোর
ঘোটক		ঘোড়া
ঘট		ঘড়া
যোগ	জোঙ	জোড়
ডুগ্ধ	ডুগ্ধ	টোড়া
পাঠম্	পঠম্	পড়া
পৎল্	পড়	পড়
বার্ঢী		বাড়ি
শ্ৰটিকা	শ্রলিয়া	শ্রলি
মৃত	মড়া	মড়া
বৃদ্ধ	বুড়া	বড়, বুড়
বৃদ্ধা	বুড়ী	বুড়ী
দিল্লী	ঢিল্লী	দিল্লী

In deriving দাড়া from the Sanscrit দক্ষ্ণা, we observe that the Sanscrit ট is changed into ড় in Bengali and ঢ in Prákrit, and that both derivative languages have elided the *anusvára*, the liquid র after ট, as well as ষ, and have instead lengthened the vowel into আ; দাড়া Bengali, দাঢ়া Prákrit.

From the word মৃত is the Bengali infinitive মরা, and মড়া is exclusively used to indicate a dead body.

In the following the aspirate ত, a dental fortis, is changed into the simple ট, a cerebral fortis.

গুন্তি—গণ্টি—গাঁট, স্থা—টা—টায়, স্থান—টাই—টাই.

In the following, ষ and the liquid র are eliminated.

অফ—অউ—আট, উফু—উটু—উট, অফবক্তি—অটা মটা—আট যটী, অষ্ঠীবৎ—অটী—হাঁটু. Here the *sloka* for which the poet Kálidása was abused by his spouse may be cited as an example of bad pronunciation “উফে ল্পতি রশা বশা ভম্মৈ দত্তা বিপুল নিভশা.”

The following is an instance of a lenis standing for a fortis, এতে-ষাৎ—এদেশিং—এদের, গুরুতর—গুরুদর—দর, তর.

The aspirate হ is sometimes found to stand for the aspirate ভ-গভীরম্—গহিরৎ—গহেরা; and in some instances for থ, কদাপি—কভহু—কভু or কবু

Sanscrit	Prákrit	Bengali
কথা	কহা	কহা
কুত্রাপি	কহি	কঁহি (Hindi)
যথা	যহা	জাঁহা (Hindi)
থরথরায়তে	থরহরেদি	থরহরি

In Sandhi, ছ takes the place of the palatal শ. But as in Prákrit a great confusion exists between the three *ses*, we have the following—

Sanscrit	Prákrit	Bengali
অপ্‌সরা	অচ্ছরা	অপ্‌ছর
উৎসব	উচ্ছবো	উচ্ছব
শাবক	ছাবও	ছানা, ছেলে

The compound ক্ষ is pronounced in three ways, as ksh, kkh, and chchh, *i. e.*, কষ, কখ, and as ছ.

Thus we have :—

Sanscrit	Prákrit	Bengali
অক্ষতম্	অক্‌খদৎ	
উক্ষা	উচ্ছা	উচ্ছে
ক্ষুদ্র	ছোট	ছোট
ক্ষারৎ	ছারৎ	ছার, ছাই
লক্ষ্মী	লচ্ছমী	লক্ষ্মী
বৎস	বাচ্ছা	বাচ্ছা
বৎসর		বছর

In ক্ষুদ্র, the দ is changed according to the rule above mentioned into চ and the liquid র is dropped.

As stated before, such harsh compounds are softened in the derivative languages, as—

পাশ্চিম	পাশ্চিম
অপ্প	অপ্প
উল্কা	উকো, উখা
ওষ্ঠ	ওছো, ঠোঁট
ক্ষুধ	কাঁধ
ক্ষন্দআলু	সাঁকআলু
অদৃষ্টা	অদেকখিয়, অদেখা

In the word পীলশুদ, or পীলশুজ, the law of transmutability of letters is carried to the maximum : it is evidently a corruption of দীপশূল, where দ is changed to প, and প to ল, and lastly ল to দ or জ ; some, however, derive it from পীতল শূল.

In some cases, ত stands for চ, as নৃত্যং নচ্চং নাচ, and in others for থ, as থাকা from থাককই—তিষ্ঠতি

The ব is changed into উ or ও, as—

দেবর	দেওর
দ্বারং	দোর
দেবকুল	দেউল
বধু	বউ
স্বর্ণ	সোণা

In the following ব stands for ভ—ভ্রাতা—বৃদ্ধর, ভায়া। In the word বিবাহ the second ব, being *va*, is changed into যা in Bengali, বিবাহ-বিবাহো—বিয়া.

The following is a list of some words traceable to the Prákrit.

আত্মা	অপপা	আপনি
আলক্কক	অলক্কও	আলতা
কৃতং	কৃত্যং	করা
কদলী	কঅলী	কলা
কুত্র	কই	কৈ
কপিথ	কইথো	কথবেল
কচ্ছপ	কচ্ছ	কাছিম
কাষ্ঠং	কট্টং	কাঠ
কর্ণ	{ কন্নো } { কালো }	কাণ
ক্রম	কমো	কম (অপ্প)
কৃষ্ণ	কান্ন	কাণ

গ্রাম	গাম	গাঁ	
গোময়	গোছাড়ে	গোবর	
পাদ্	গোড়ে	গোড়	
ঘণা	ঘুণ	ঘোল	
চতুর্বেদী	চউষেদী	চৌবে	} (Hindi)
ত্রিবেদী		তেওয়ারি	
দ্বিবেদী		দৌবে	
যাচতে	চাহদি	চাহা	
চর্ণ	চূণা	চুণ	
অবশ্য	অবস্ম	অবিস্ম	
ছিদ্	ছিন্দ	ছেঁদা	
সপৃষ্ঠা	ছিবিঅ	ছিপি (তরা)	
জীবন্তী	জীঅন্তী	জেন্ত	
কোপ	জুর	জোর	
ঘৃষ্ট	ঠিদো	ঠেঁটা	
আচ্ছাদিত	চৌকিত	চাকা	
নকুল	নউল	নেউল	
নফী (কৃত)	নটীকিদো	নট (ক্ষীর)	
মান	স্থান	নহান, নাওয়া	
লৌহ	লোহা	নো	
তাম্বু	তম্ব	তঁাবা	
অম্ব	তুম্ব	তুম্বি, তুঁ	
যুষ্মাদৃশ	তুম্বহারিসো	তুম্বহার, ভোয়ার, তোর	
অম্ব	তুছম্ব		
তৈলম্ব	ভেল্ল	তেল	
দেবর	দিঅরো	দেওব	
দূর্বা	দুর্বা	দুর্ঝো	
পুত্রী	ধী	ঝি	
দুহিতা	ধীদা, ধীআ	ঝিআ	
পাদম্ব	পাঅম্ব	পা	
পারাবত	পারাবও, পাক্কাও	পায়রা	
দূরীকৃত্য	ফেলিঅ	ফেল	
বলীবর্দ	{ বইল্লো	বৈল (Hindi)	
	{ বলদো	বলদ	
ভগিনী	বহিনিআ	বহিণ	

বধটিকা	বহুলিআ	বহুডী
ভদ্রা	ভদ্রারো	ভাতার
ভ্রাতা	ভাদা	দাদা
মধ্যম	ভিতরৎ	ভিতর
মুকুল	মউল	মোল
মুকুট	মউর	মোর
মৎস্য	মচ্ছো	মাহ
মধ্য	মজেঝা	মাঝ, মেজ
অপরকাষ্ঠ		গোবরাট
বরগু		বারাণ্ডা
ধৌতস্থালী		ধুচুনি
অস্থানকুল, অনস্থাকুল		আস্তাকুড়
দীপশলাকী		দিয়াশলাই
নৃতন	নতুন	নতুন
পৃষ্ঠৎ	পীঠৎ	পীঠ
পঠতি	ফলাই	ফলায়
শ্লিথ		ঠাণ্ডা
শিখা	শিম	শিম
ভ্রাতৃবধূ		ভাদুবৌ
ভ্রাতৃজায়া		ভাজ
কুপ	কুবো	কুরা
শ্মশান		মশাণ
অপত্যৎ	অবচ্ৎ	বাচ্ছা
আগত	আঅও	এমেছ
আস্থা		আচ্ছা, ভাল
উষাকাল	সকাল	সকাল
কোকিল	কোইল	(Hindi)
গর্ভঃ	গড়্‌ডো	গাড়া (Hindi)
জৃদ্ভতে	জম্মাঅই	হাই
শিরস্ত্রাণ	টোপ্পরো	টোপর
নিষ্ক্রমণ	নিক্রমণ	নিকল
ভৃঙ্গার	ভিঙ্গারো	গাডু
মৃত্তিকা	মট্‌টিয়া	মাটি
মধু	মছ	মৌ
মাতা	মাআ	মা

রক্ষি	রস্মা	রসি
রুদিত্তম্	রুগৎ	রোণা (Hindi)
যক্তি	লট্টা	লাঠী
গৃহিত্তম্	লিঙ্গ	লেনা, লওন
লবণ	লোণ	নুন
যবন	যোন	
বক্রৎ	বক্ষৎ	বাঁকা
বমতি	বমই	বমি
বক্রি	বলই	বলা
বাহ্যৎ	বাহি	বাহির
বিদ্যৎ	বিজ্জুলী	বিজলি (Hindi)
বিষ্কা	বিস্কিঅ	বিধা
বিড়াল	বিরালো	বিরাল
বেত্রৎ	বেত্রৎ	বেত
বৃন্ত	বেণ্টৎ	বোঁটা
ভ্রুমতি	বেলাবই	বূলা
সঙ্ক্যা	সঙ্কা	সংয্যা, সাঁয়
শাটিকা	সারিয়া	সাড়ি
শৃগাল	সিআলো	শিয়াল, শ্যাল
শৃঙ্গৎ	সিঙ্গ	শিং
সিঙ্কা	সিঞ্জিঅ	সিচা, ছেঁচা
স্মানৎ	সিগান	সিনান
শুকর	সুঅরো	শুরর, শোর
সূচা	সুই	ছুঁচ
ঘোষণা	হকেকা	হাঁক
হস্ত	হন্তো	হাত
হস্তি	হস্থি	হাতি
হর্ষ	হরিসো	হরিস
হরিদা	হলদা	হলুদ
ডাকিনী	হাইনী	ডাইনী
হৃদয়	হিআ	হিয়া
কুকুর	ছড়ো	
ভূঞা	ছুবই	হওয়া
অধঃ	হেট্ট	হেঁট
লোফ্ট	নোড়া	

In the following the original meaning has been lost. Thus *সন্দেশ* literally means 'information,' and its present meaning is a kind of sweetmeat, a confection of *chháná*, which is always carried by persons sent to enquire after the health of friends and relations residing at a distance. Similarly, the word *তত্ত্ব* meant to enquire, but it now means 'presents of sweetmeats, fruits, clothes, &c., made to friends or relatives.'

Amongst five brothers, the first is designated *বড়*, meaning eldest, the second *মেজ* literally intermediate, the third *সেজ* (is it a derivation from the Persian *siyum*—third?). The fourth is *ন*, evidently derived from *নব*=new, and the last *ছোট*. It is interesting to notice how the word *ন* came to be applied to the fourth of a group consisting of more than four members.

The Sanscrit word *ঘট* as well as its two derivatives *ঘটী*, *ঘড়া* are in use in Bengali, but they indicate three distinct objects. The *ঘট*, the original Sanscrit word, is applied to the old form of the water-pot now in use, only for religious purposes. *ঘটী* is a metal water-pot smaller than the *ঘড়া*, and *চুমকী*, *লোটী*, *আবঘড়া*, *অমৃতি*, *ফেরৌ*, and *বাটলো* are differently formed water-pots. *চুমকী* is derived from *চুম্বন* to kiss, to drink with the lips or rather to sip, *চুকুড়ী* a peculiar sound used for quieting horses by drawing air through tightly closed lips. The infinitive *চুমড়ান্* is evidently a contraction of *চুমকুড়ী*, though some by a slight modification in spelling make it *চুমরা*, and have tried to derive it from *চামর*, and the proverb *বৈড়েকে চুম্বেনওরা* being misunderstood has caused the idea. *বাটলো* comes from *বর্হুল* spherical, the shape of the pot. *অমৃতি* appears to be the oldest among these, and this form of a pot is out of fashion. It means sweetened, and the brim of the vessel being turned into a lip, it sweetens as it were the liquid drawn from it. *শিল* and *নোড়া* (*লোফ্ট*) both literally mean pieces of stone, their present application, however, is to a set of grinding apparatus, the slab of stone is *শিল* and the grinding roller *নোড়া*. *জাঁতা* again, a derivation of *যন্ত্র* a machine, is a pair of circular grinding stones.

সগড়ী and *এঁট* are from *স্বকরী* and *উচ্ছিষ্ট* respectively, meaning made by one's own hands, and the offals of one's dish. Boiled rice is therefore *সগড়ী*, and a remnant of a piece of bread after a part of it has been eaten is *এঁট* (*জুঠা* in Hindi).

টোঁড়া, as stated before, is a corruption of the Sanscrit *दुग्धुत्*, a water-snake. It is now used to indicate the innocuous water-snake as well as a powerless man. *কাপড়* comes from *कार्पास*, cotton, and here the material has given name to the cloth made from it. Its present signification, however, is more extensive. It is in Bengali a generic term for cloth. *ধুতী* means that which is washed, and as the piece of cloth round the waist of a Bengali is the only part of his dress which he has to change about four times or oftener in a day, that piece of cloth is by *par excellence* called *ধুতী*. *সূতা* comes from *सूत्र* a thread. It is now used exclusively to represent cotton thread, and cloth made of cotton is *সূতার কাপড়*, as distinguished from *বেশমের কাপড়*.

জুতা is *झोड़ा* in Hindi, and appears to be part of the Sanscrit word *युग्म पादुका*, a pair of shoes.

ছানা means cassien of milk, separated by boiling it with an acid. It is derived from *छिन्न* to break up, to tear asunder, and the compound *ছেঁড়া দুধ* supports this derivation.

চিনের বাদাম (Chinese almond), *বিলাতি কুমড়া* (English gourd), *গুজরাতী হাতি* (Guzrat elephant), appear to be misnomers. The first is no more an almond than it is Chinese. Its more rustic name is *মাটবাদাম* or *মাট কড়াই* (field almond, or field lentils), which expresses its nature better than the other term. The *বিলাতি কুমড়া* is called *বিলাতি*, because crews of vessels store them up before they leave the port for the sea, as it can be preserved as long as the potatoe without getting rotten. The name, however, may mislead, were we to consider it as an introduced fruit, as also the word *বিলাতি বট* (Indiarubber tree). The Hindi word *नफरि कुम्हरा* (traveller's gourd) is a clue to its origin. The people of obscure villages have preserved its real name *মিঠেকুমড়া*, sweet-gourd.

ছেড়া and *চেরা*, as stated above, are both derived from the Sanscrit *छिद*, but *ছেড়া* in Bengali is 'to tear,' and *চেরা* is to divide longitudinally. Thus the slit of a pen is its *চির*. *ফাটা*, *ফুটা* *ফোটা*, *ফুট-কলাই* are derivatives of the Sanscrit *स्फट*. *ফাটা* to crack, *ফোটা* to boil, as also to break by frying, as in *ফুটকলাই*, a kind of lentil that cracks when fried. *ফুটি* is a cucumber which bursts when ripe.

ছককড় and শগড় are derived from শকট, which word is also in use in Bengali. ছককড় in Bengali is a hackney—carriage, and শগড় a cart on two wheels drawn by bullocks.

I will conclude this my first paper on vernacular derivations with a few words derived from the modern European languages.

From the Portuguese, পাদু, ইস্কাতর, কেদারা, গিরজা and কেরানি.

From the French, পঁউরুটী (*pain* = bread).

From the English, আস্তাবল, গুদাম, জজ, ডিক্রি, ডিসমিস, ফিট, ননসুট, নিট, ডাক্তর, and আপীল.

JOURNAL
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PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

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No. III.—1870.  
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*Extracts from letters addressed by the REV. T. FOULKES, Chaplain of
Vepery, to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, dated
29th May, and 26th June, 1869, regarding three sets of Copper
Sasanams discovered in the Vizagapatam Districts.**

“I have the honor to return the three sets of copper-plates and the package of printed impressions, together with the letters of the Collectors of Vizagapatam and Nellore, which were sent to me with that memorandum, and to send herewith, a translation, of the oldest of the three copper-plate inscriptions which accompanied that letter.

“In referring to these copper-plate sets in this letter, I will call them No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3, in the order of their date.

“No. 1, which may be distinguished by its thinner plates, and the greater boldness of the characters inscribed on them, is a grant of a village called Kalvakonda, in the district of Dimila, made by Vishnu Vardhana Maharaja to two brahman brothers, Vishnu Sharmma and Madhava Sharmma, to be converted into a brahman settlement, in commemoration of an eclipse of the moon.

* Published in the Journal by order of the Council. Impressions taken from the three Sasanams described by the Rev. Mr. Foulkes, as also a large set of impressions of other copper Sasanams in the Central Museum, Madras, have been received from the Madras Government through the Government of India, and are now preserved in the Society's Library. THE EDITOR.

“Several princes of the name of Vishnu Vardhana have reigned in Southern India; but the present grantor is identified in these plates as the younger brother of Satyashraya of the Chalukya dynasty.

“This dynasty was founded by Jaya Sinha, who invaded the Deccan about the beginning of the fifth century, A. D., but was defeated by Trilochana, king of the Pallavas, who were then the dominant race in those parts. Jaya Sinha's posthumous son, Vishnu Vardhana, subsequently reversed his father's misfortune, and established himself in the kingdom of Kuntala, the capital of which was Kalyan, which still exists in the neighbourhood of Beder in the Nizam's territory, where his descendants reigned down to the close of the twelfth century, A. D. His great-grandson, Kirtti Varmma, had two sons, Satyashraya, who succeeded to the throne of Kalyan, and Vishnu Vardhana, the donor of inscription No. 1.

“On the death of Kirtti Varmma, there appears to have been some political disorder at Kalyan; for Satyashraya did not succeed his father until after his uncle, Mangalisa, had reigned for some time. It was probably in consequence of this usurpation, that the younger son, the grantor of No. 1, was induced to push his own fortunes at a distance from the scene of the family troubles. Whatever may have been the cause of the emigration, this Vishnu Vardhana, who is surnamed Kubja, or Little, went eastwards into the Telugu districts below the ghauts, and conquered Vengiparam, the capital of the country, between the rivers Godavery and Kistna, and founded the dynasty of the Western Chalukyas, whose capital was subsequently fixed at Rajahmundry, and whose territory ultimately extended from Ganjam to Nellore, over which they reigned down to the latter half of the eleventh century A. D.

“The Agraharam of Kalavakonda which was bestowed by grant No. 1, appears to have been swept away during this long interval, or its name has been changed. I have made several inquiries about it, from persons acquainted with the neighbourhood of its probable site, but unsuccessfully.

“My search for Dimila, the district in which this village was situated, has been more successful. The Collector of Vizagapatam

has been kind enough to make inquiries for me in his district, and I have received the following letter from him :—

‘ *Vizagapatam, 12th May, 1869.*

‘ After making all inquiries on the subject of your letter of the 4th March, I regret to be unable to assist you in your researches. The Sasanam in question was found near the village of Cheeparupilli, but there are no traces in the neighbourhood of any Agraharam called Kalvakondah.

‘ There is a village called Dimila in the talook of Sarvassiddy, about five miles from the coast, and about eighty-five miles to the south of Cheepurupilli, which at one time was of more importance than now, and may have been the head-quarters of a district.’

“ The present grant is not dated, but the period of Vishnu Vardhanna’s conquests is ascertainable from other sources. A grant made by his grandfather Pulakesi, which is in the British Museum, bears the date 411 of Salivahana’s era, corresponding with 489, A. D., and a similar grant by his own brother, Satyashraya, is in the possession of a Jaina Guru at Haidarábád, and bears the date 534 of Salivahana, or A. D. 612. The date of No. 1 may thus be fixed about the beginning of the 7th century A. D., and this set of copper-plates will, therefore, be about twelve hundred years old.

“ The language of this grant is Sanscrit, and the character in which it is written, is a developed form of that which is found in the inscriptions on the topes and caves of Central and Western India.

“ It appears from Mr. Master’s letter to Government of the 30th October, 1867, forwarding these copper-plates, that he had ‘ tried every means of deciphering the characters by sending them to some of the learned Pundits in the Maharaja of Vizianagram’s service, but without success.’ Before attempting to decipher the plates myself, I also similarly tried to find some one in Madras or the neighbourhood who could read this character; and I have been equally unsuccessful. It is much to be regretted, that this and other cognate ancient alphabets of India, should have become so generally a dead letter, and that consequently the inscriptions on grants like the present one, and on the walls of temples, &c., should

be incapable of being read by learned natives, who could most readily turn these almost solitary memorials of the ancient history of their country to proper account.

“Plates No. 2, and No. 3, are similar grants of villages to brahmans. Both of them are written in the Sanscrit language, and the mixed characters used in them are of two somewhat later forms of that in which No. 1 is written; but the engraving of No. 2 and No. 3, is of an inferior kind and carelessly done, and, therefore, the forms of some of the letters cannot always be fixed with certainty. Several of the letters are also partially or wholly obliterated. Some of the letters of the Devanagari character are introduced in these two grants, while the corresponding letters of the ‘cave alphabet,’ seem to be quite familiar to the engraver. This seems to show that, at the time when these grants were made, the Devanagari alphabet was growing into use, but had not yet superseded the older characters.

“No. 2, which is the shorter of the two inscriptions on the thicker plates, having only three sides of writing, is a grant of a village, the name of which I have not been able to make out, by Shri Ananta Varmma Deva, the son of Shri Jaya Varmma Deva, to a brahman named Vishnu Sharmma of the Gautama Jatra, to commemorate an eclipse of the moon.

“No. 3, is a similar grant of the village of Pankipachri to Ajjashthamayya Sharmma, the son of Susugaya Sharmma, of the Sohita Gotra, by Shri Rajendra Varmma Deva Raja, the son of Ananta Varmma Deva, (the donor of No. 2,) the son of Jaya Varmma Deva, to commemorate an eclipse of the sun.

“I have not been able to identify the series of princes here named. A king of the name of Jaya Varmma Deva, the only one of this name which I can find, reigned in Malwa in A. D., 1143; but his pedigree does not correspond with that of these grants. ‘Deva Raja’ was a common title of one of the dynasties of the Orissa princes; but the donors of these grants are not amongst them.”

Translation of Inscription No. 1.

Prosperity. The royal moon risen above the ocean of the glorious Chalakyra race, whose two lotus-like feet glitter with the

radiance of the gems of the crown of rival kings bowing down before him like creeping plants, defeated by his frowns, is the illustrious Satyashraya Vallabha Maharaja.

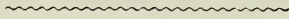
His beloved younger brother, the surmounter of difficulties, who has succeeded in penetrating inaccessible fortresses situated in the midst of plains, lakes, forests, and mountains; the cow of plenty, raining down showers of wealth upon distressed and poverty-stricken brahmans; the crocodile bannered one, (the Hindu Cupid,) who by his beautiful form inspires young maidens with love; the destroyer of the spirit of misery, (Kali) drowning it in the whirlpools of the ocean of his benefactions; adorned with unsullied and highly distinguished glory arising out of its many wars and conquests; revered throughout the world like Manu, full of renown like Prithu, and accounted wise as Vrihaspati; an orthodox worshipper of supreme Brahma, the illustrious Vishnu Vardhana Maharaja issues his commands in this present matter to the assembled heads of families inhabiting the village of Kalvakonda, in the district of Dimila, as follows:—

In order to promote his own religious merit, length of days, good health, and fame, on account of the eclipse of the moon which took place in the month of July, the above-named village has been granted to Vishnu Sharmma and Madhava Sharmma of the Gautama tribe and the Jaittiriva sect, of the village of Chejhuplara in the district of Plaiki, learned in the Vedas, Vedangas, Itikasas, Puranas, Dharma Shastras, and many other technical books, the sons of Durga Sharmma, zealous in the performance of the rites of his order as prescribed in his own section of the Veda which he has thoroughly studied, and the grandsons of Brahma Sharmma, a successful student of the Vedas and Vedangas, to be converted into a brahman settlement (Agraphara) free of all taxes.

Let no one molest them in the enjoyment of it; in accordance with the following two verses of the Jyana Gita:

First, Lands have been bestowed by many persons;
 By many also they have continued to be protected;
 Whosoever and whatsoever those lands may have been,
 He has obtained a corresponding reward.

Secondly, The bestower of land shall be happy in heaven,
 For sixty thousand years :
 And both he who resumes it,
 And he who concurs in the act,
 Must dwell in hell for the same number of years.



Notes on the Antiquities of the Náliti, the Assia, and the Mahábináyaka hills of Cuttack.—By Bábú CHANDRAS'EKHARA BÁNURJÍ, *Deputy Magistrate, Jájapur.*

[Read 3rd August, 1870.]

The following notes are taken from my diary of an official tour during the last cold weather, when I had scarcely any leisure to devote to antiquarian researches. My object in putting them together, is more to stimulate, than to satisfy, the curiosity of the reader regarding a few of the out-of-the-way antiquities of a district which has been, for the last two thousand years, famous for its peculiar architecture and unrivalled temples.

The ruins inspected, occur on the summits of three ranges of hills, two of which are situate in the centre of the district, and the other on its western border. The names which the natives give to these ranges are—(1) Assia (marked Assiah in the maps). (2) Náliti, and (3) Mahábináyaka.

The Assia range runs in a south-easterly direction in the 'Alamgír estate of Parganah Álti, throwing out spurs towards the west and the east. Near the centre of the range, there is an open space, lower than the surrounding heights, and which communicates with the plains towards the east. This passage forms, as it were, the key to the fortified places on the peaks. The rangs is accessible from the village of Bar-chaná on the Trunk Road, and is about 27 miles to the N. E. of Cuttack.

The Náliti Hill is merely a spur of the Assia range, but is separated from the latter by the stream of the Birupá, which flows between them ; the hill stands on the north-western borders of the Matcadnagar parganah.

The Mahábináyaka Hill has also another name, Bârunibántá. This is the high hill of Qil'ah Darpan which, in almost all weathers, is visible from the banks of the Mahánadí near Cuttack.

Nálti Giri. The name Nálti is said to be merely a corruption of the Arabic word *la'nat* (لعنة) or "curse," so named from a tradition hereafter detailed. The hill has two peaks of unequal height, bearing little vegetation, except a few sandal trees, being the only places in Orissa where that valuable plant is met with. On the lower peak, I found the ruins of two very ancient structures, placed at the distance of about four hundred yards from each other. One of these stands on a bold prominence, the heads and sides of the rocks around being bald, moss-covered, and jagged. The ruins appear to be the remains of an old Buddhist temple; they consist of massive slabs of granite whitened with age. The "mandapa" or porch, is a complete ruin, portions of monolithic pillars 7 to 8 feet in height, only standing on the corners of the basement with the figure of a Hindu (?) god cut in the pedestal of one. The structure had been raised on a substantial foundation, and it is probable that some other force than the wasting influence of time only, has been at work to pull it down. This appears the more probable from the ruins of a Musalmán's tomb standing by, perhaps built from the debris of the more ancient building.

The other structure, which stands on the pass between the two peaks, was built on precisely the same plan as the first, consisting of a porch and a cella, surmounted by a small pyramidal tower. This is in a better state of preservation. The roof of the porch has given way, but that of the cella still stands. It has no columns, and is formed of solid walls with niches in the interior for the figures of Buddha or "Ananta Purushottama," as the people on the spot call them. The figures are all erect, about five feet in height, holding in the left hand a lotus with a long stem, cut in high relief. The other hand is mutilated; so is the nose. The eyes have all a meek expression, and the curled hair is tied with a fillet round the middle of the head. The ears, breast, arms, and wrist have ornaments similar to those of the figures in the Bhubanesvar and other old temples of Orissa; the style of their execution point clearly to the same age and the same state of the

art. There are inscriptions on the stone behind the shoulders, and in one instance near the feet. I found it difficult either to decipher or to copy them, but I thought the style of writing to be the same as I found in another part of the hill and which will be noticed below. In front of this temple, there is a brick pillar. It is round, but encircled at places by raised rings, and has also small niches, and projecting bricks intended for ascension.

On the higher peak and on the highest point of the Náliti Giri, at an elevation of about 1000 feet above the surrounding country, I found the ruins of a round building. Three circular layers of stone are alone to be seen now, which formed the base of the temple. In the middle of this platform, there are traces of three other layers, and a number of cut stones lie scattered round it, among which I found a slab, bearing an inscription of ten lines. I had not time enough to copy the inscription, but I found no difficulty in removing it to my tent, and hope to submit it to the Society shortly.

About five hundred feet below the above point on the western slope of the hill, there is a place called the "Háthi-khál" or the elephant hole or cave. I have no doubt there was formerly a large cave cut in the rock at this place, the roof of which must have come down, the hill itself having been disturbed by an earthquake whence the tradition at this place of its being cursed. I saw six figures of Buddha of the same size and height, standing in a line, portions of their legs up to the knee having gone down or been filled up by the fall of the cave, in front of which they must originally have stood. These figures are four feet in height (from knee to head) and cut in slabs of sandstone, two feet three inches in breadth. They appeared to be very old, and enveloped in milk-white moss that had very nearly filled up the lines of an inscription which, after some difficulty, I succeeded in recovering from one of the slabs. The inscription contains the Buddhist creed *Ye dharmál'hetu*, &c., in the Kutila character.

A few yards from the above figures I found a broken pedestal ornamented with two lions-couchant with a lotus in the middle, on which a Devi was sitting whose feet and dress up to the waist only were visible. The pedestal is elegantly cut and exhibits a

good style of art. There can be no doubt that more images are concealed in the brushwood and jungle around.

The people in the vicinity informed me that the images and the temples on the Náliti hill had been constructed by Rájá Báshokalpa; but I should think, that was an attempt to transfer the tradition of another (the Chulia) hill, and localise it in this place. The inscription, being unmistakably Buddhist, leaves no doubt as to the origin of the shrine.

Evident traces of buildings, scattered bricks, broken capitals, cornices, and images of gods with inscriptions now daubed with vermilion by the villagers, lie scattered on and at the foot of the hill, which clearly shew that a better people once lived there than those who at present inhabit it.

Assia Giri. These hills cover a larger extent of the country than any other in the district. The locality is now known as 'Alamgír, a name given to it by its Muhammadan conquerors. The ancient Hindu name was *Chatushpitha*, subsequently corrupted into *Chár-pulie*, or the "four seats" or "shrines," and was so called after the four highest peaks of the chain. One of these peaks, which overlooks the stream of the Birupá, is now known as the 'Alamgír hill, on which stands a mosque on the summit of a precipice, about 2,500 feet above the level of the country, one of the most prominent and commanding spots in Orissa. The mosque is a plain building, consisting of a single room, $29 \times 19 \times 9\cdot4$, surmounted by a dome, and bearing an inscription of three couplets in Persian engraved on three slabs of black chlorite which form the freize.

The inscription has been partly read by Mr. J. Beames, and from his reading, it would appear that the *Tárikh* of the Mosque is given in the words

رشك فردوس برین

Rashk i Firdaus i barín.

'It vies with Paradise.'

The sum obtained by adding the numerical values of the letters composing the *Tárikh* is 1132 of the Hijra era, corresponding with A. D. 1719-20, when Shujá'uddín reigned in Orissa as Deputy of Nawáb Murshid Qulí Khán.

The tradition connected with the building of the mosque runs as follows :—

Once upon a time the prophet Muhammad was winging his way in mid-air on his celestial throne, with a large retinue. When the hour for prayer arrived, he alighted on Nalti Giri. The throne was too heavy for the hill, and the hill too small for the retinue. Hence the hill commenced to shake and sink. The prophet got annoyed, pronounced a *la'nat*, or curse on it, and repaired to the more elevated and spacious mount of Char-piṭhā, on the precipitous rock, where the mosque now stands. There he addressed his prayer, and the print of his knees and fingers are pointed out on the stone which is preserved in the shrine. His followers rested on the four peaks. No water being accessible on the hill, Muhammad struck the rock with his wand, and a bubbling spring of pure water at once rose up; traces of which are still shewn to pilgrims. A darvish, by virtue of his prayers, came to know this sacred spot, went up to it, and, on a Khirní tree which stood close by and still stands, hoisted the prophet's flag made of his handkerchief.

When Shujá'uddín was marching to Cuttack, he was encamped at Erakpur, whence he heard the voice of prayer chanted on the top of the hill at the distance of six miles. The followers of Shujá' became anxious to visit the shrine, but he dissuaded them, taking the vow at the same time to come back, and pray on the spot with them, should his march prove successful. Successful it proved. Shujá' returned, made the road of about two miles in length up the hill on foot, through one of its easy slopes, and built the mosque which still bears his inscription.

The mosque faces the East. In front there is a platform surrounded by a thick wall with a gate. Towards the west, high and rough rocks overlook the building. But to its north, a high terrace has been raised for the reception of darvishes and pilgrims.

The tradition narrated above, may be construed merely to refer to the conquest of the Moslem over Hinduism, the demolition of Hindu temples, the mutilation of Hindu gods and goddesses, and the reduction of the Hindu supremacy on the Nalti hill by the followers of the prophet, and the hoisting of the prophet's flag on a rival and

more elevated spot, perhaps already sanctified by the residence of a pious Musalmán : the old name Nálati affording an easy transition to *la'nat*. But whatever might have been the origin of the tradition, the popular belief still remains, that the bald and barren Náliti Giri is a cursed hill, and the prophet still reigns on 'Álamgír. The expense of the shrine is covered by the profit of sixty acres of land, endowed by Shujá'uddín. The mosque is lighted every evening, the rocks resound with the voice of prayer every morning and evening, and the people in the neighbourhood, both Hindu and Moslem, offer homage at the shrine.

The Hindu name of the 'Álamgír peak was *Mandaka*, from the village of that name at its foot, where the *manda* or the primitive system of ordeal by fire or boiled oil, &c., was held during the Hindu period.

Udaya Giri. This is one of the Char-piṭhá or four peaks of the Assia group. The spur on which old ruins are found, is an elevated terrace, sloping from one hundred and fifty feet above, to the level of the plain. It is situated towards the north-eastern extremity of the group, surrounded by a semicircular range of pointed boulders, leaving an opening towards the east. On the latter side it overlooks the Káliá river, which runs about two hundred yards from its base. It appears that this, the only side from which it was accessible from the plain, was at one time protected by an entrenchment cut in the rocks from precipice to precipice. It was appropriately termed Udaya Giri or the "Sunrise Hill," from its being the most eastern extremity of the group and of the Cuttack district. At one time the sea, according to local tradition, laved its foot. This tradition is still preserved in a saying which the Uriyás repeat, to signify an impossibility : "You cannot expect it. The sea is now far off from Udaya Giri." The soil beyond the Udaya Giri is pure alluvion. Between it and the sea, scarcely a stone can be seen. The country is a flat, arid, sandy plain, in most places devoid of all vegetation, and the tradition, therefore, appears very probable. The more so, as it receives peculiar support from two passages in Messrs. W. T. and H. F. Blandford and W. Theobald's Report on the Talcheer Coal Field. "From this plain, the alluvion from the coast to the foot of the hills in Cuttack," say those gentlemen,

small isolated and steep hills rise in a few places to the north of Cuttack and, taken in connection with the bosses and whale-back ridges which stud the surrounding country, present all the features of an upraised archipelago, and lead to the belief, that, at no very remote geological period, the water of the western portion of the Bay of Bengal dashed against many a rugged cliff, and rolled around clusters of islands which studded over what is now the Province of Cuttack: indeed a comparatively trifling depression of the country might reproduce the same phenomena." In a subsequent part of their report, they state "around the gneiss hills which have been mentioned as rising suddenly from the alluvial plain, a quantity of water-worn pebbles are always found, evidently the remains of an old beach. Although, owing to weathering, these pebbles have somewhat lost their rounded form and smooth surface, yet this mode of occurrence and the absence of large angular blocks, prove that they are of beach origin, and not merely rolled from the hills."*

It must be added, however, that what the men of science suppose to have accrued at a former geological period, the tradition brings within the history of man. Anyhow the table-land of Udaya Giri must have been peculiarly adapted to the Buddhists for a sanctuary; a variety of hills and dales, green-woods and plains, a limpid stream in front, combined with the solitude of the place, amply inspiring a devotional feeling, "the vision and the faculty divine."

At the foot of the hill, the eye is caught by a colossal image of Buddha, half covered in jungle, and a portion buried under the earth. It is fully nine feet in height, the length from the knee to the head being seven feet. The figure is cut in high relief on a single slab of rough chlorite, holding a large lotus in the left hand; the nose and the right hand are mutilated. The ear, arms, wrist, and breast are decorated with ornaments, and the cloth round the waist is fastened with three chains answering to the *gote* of the present day, worn tight like a belt. The breast-plate furnishes an excellent pattern, more elegant than any that I remember to have seen in the

* Memoirs, Geological Survey of India, I, pp. 33 and 70.

Bhuvanesvara, Khaṇḍa Giri, or any other temple in Orissa. Between this image and the Bápi or large well, situated about fifty feet higher up the ground, the place is spread with the ruins of ancient edifices, the ground plans of which may still be traced.

Passing over the ruins we come to the Bápi or well cut in the rock. The Swarga Gangá on the Khaṇḍa Giri hill is insignificant compared to this reservoir. It is 23 feet square, cut 28 feet deep from the top of the rock to the water's edge, surrounded by a stone terrace, 94 feet 6 inches long, and 38 feet 11 inches broad. The entrance to the terrace is guarded by two monolithic pillars, the tops of which are broken. The edge of the well and the extremity of the terrace are lined with battlements of large blocks of wrought stone, rounded on the top, and three feet in height, leaving a wide passage or walk behind. The well is situated towards the southern extremity of the terrace. From the north and in the middle of the terrace, a few yards off the entrance, a flight of steps (3 feet in breadth, and 31 in number) runs down the rock as an approach to the water. The rock between the lowest step and the well has been cut into an arch, and on its face there is an inscription of which a transcript is given below—

বালক শ্রীবজলাল বায়ী.

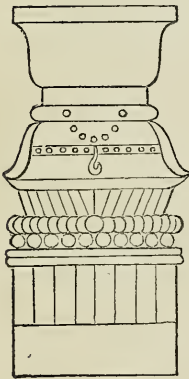
The same inscription appears in another part of the rock on the right side of the steps, and also on the eastern wall of the terrace. The rock appears to have been quarried, marks of the chisel being evident; but I should suppose from the cracks and smoky stains on the rock down the well, that fire or some other force was also used to split it.

About fifty feet higher up in the jungle, there is another platform on which once stood a sanctuary of Buddha. Numbers of images of gods and goddesses, engraven on slabs of different shapes, are scattered around. A group, with the heads and arms mutilated, is still worshipped by the people who had succeeded in effacing all trace of its original character, by painting the figures with repeated layers of vermilion and turmeric. These images, no

doubt, belong to a subsequent period, when Buddhism had lost its influence, and was passing into Brahmanism. The chief interest of the place, however, lies in the ruins of a gate and the figure of a Buddha. The place was so enveloped in jungle, and the ruins so buried in earth, that it was difficult for me to form an idea of the edifice which once stood there, but from the gate in front and the rock in the rear to which the figure of Buddha is engaged, I have little doubt that the sanctuary was partly constructed and partly excavated.

The Gate is composed of three heavy rectangular blocks of stone. One of them is placed transversely over the other two, to form an entablature. The height of the gate, omitting the portion that has been buried by accumulation of rubbish, is 7 feet 8 inches.

The upright blocks have been cut into five bands highly ornamented with sculpture, which appears fresh and sharp as if just cut by the chisel. The innermost band contains wreaths of the true lotus (*Nelumbium speciosum*). There are altogether 12 groups of the flower. The second band is divided into pannels, bearing male and female figures in armour. The middle one contains a wreath of flowers. On the fourth band there is a continuous winding wreath, encircling figures of men and women. The last or the outermost band is a wreath of large flowers of great beauty. The middle band is capped by a capital, of which a rough sketch is shewn in the margin.



The architrave and the frieze are embellished with a great number of grotesque figures. On the middle of the frieze, there are two niches containing figures of Buddha. In the middle of the architrave, another figure of Buddha appears, over whose head two elephants twist and wave their trunks from opposite sides. On both sides of the group, small, grotesque male and female figures have been cut into the form of a wreath; the waving hand and

forefinger of each touching a point on the shoulder of the figure preceding, and the toe placed on the projected knee of the one following.

I am disposed to think that this gate was provided with doors. There are two big holes in the corners, which were no doubt intended to receive the hinges.

The image of Budha. About 16 feet beyond the gate, behind a narrow passage blocked up by brambles, I came to a cell, 9 feet square and as many feet deep. In this a large image of Buddha is placed in a sitting and meditating posture. It is 5 feet, 6 inches long from waist to head. The face itself is 1-6 by 1-5, and the breast, 3 feet 6 inches broad. It is made of three pieces of bluish chlorite. The head is formed of one piece, the neck down to the breast of another, and all below of a third. The joints have cracked a little now, but they could not originally have been discerned. I paid a passing visit to this image, nearly three years ago, when employed in enquiries connected with the late famine, but I do not remember to have then observed these joints. The rock behind the image has been smoothed with layers of small bricks. There are four huge stone pillars, two standing near the cell, and two near the gate, which must have at one time supported a roof and formed a porch in front of the cell.

There is an expression of strength and boldness about the straight gait and broad breast of the image which contrasts strikingly with the meekness of the eyes. The left arm has been placed carelessly over the thigh, the palm being visible; the right hand has been mutilated; so is the nose.

Scarcely one image was met with on these hills, which had escaped the ravages either of time or of fanaticism. The tradition regarding the mutilation of the nose, is the same everywhere. Ask the humblest Uriyá of the cause, and the reply is: "it dropped at the sound of Kálápahár's kettle-drum," thus significantly pointing out the origin, but superstitiously veiling the manner of its destruction. One thing, however, is certain, that there is no spot in Orissa, however remote or secluded, to which the arms of the Moslem conquest did not reach, or which did not suffer from its ruinous influence. The lover of antiquity cannot turn to these

images, without wishing confusion on the Moslem banner, and ruin on those fanatic hands which raised it.

The two other peaks of the Chár-piṭhá are *Achala Basanta* or "Eternal Spring," so named, perhaps, from the luxuriance of its ever-green trees and flowers; and the *Baro Dehi*, or "seat of the Great."

At the foot of *Achala Basanta* lie scattered the ruins of *Majhi Pura*, the residence of the brethren and the relatives of the old hill-chief. Dilapidated remains of old gates, stone platforms, and broken walls are all that are now visible: they do not suffice to give any idea of the size of the original edifice.

The *Baro Dehi*, or the seat of the chieftain, is at the foot of the highest peak. There are the ruins of an old fort in the jungle, which I had not an opportunity to visit, but the tradition connected with it, as given to me by a native, runs as follows:—

In olden time, the fort was held by a chief who was a washerman by caste. From *Khalicoti* (Calicut) in the far south, came an outlaw, by name Lokanáth Bhumija. He besieged the fort by night, surprised the old chief, put him with his family to the sword, and established his sway over the hills. He then assumed the name of *Bali* from the fact of his having taken possession of Baro Dehi by mere *bal*, or strength, a name yet retained by his family. During the Musalmán and Mahratta periods, the hill estate of 'Álamgír ranked among the *Qil'lahjâts* of the permanently settled estates of Cuttack. At the time of British settlement, the Rájá proved recusant from a mistaken notion of his own superiority, and the estate was therefore included within the *Mughalbandí*, or revenue-paying temporary settled estates. It is stated that the Rájá subsequently made his submission, but his title could not be recognised by the Settlement Commissioner as his title-deed appeared to be suspicious. The 'Álamgír estate has now been split up, and has passed into the hands of different purchasers, and the representative of the old Raja's family is a pauper, living on the produce of a few acres of land, which has been assigned to him by the gratitude of an old servant of his family, the *Garh Náyaka* or governor of the fort.

Amarávatí. This Hill is now known as the Chatia Hill from its proximity to the village of that name on the Trunk Road to Cuttack. Its ancient name was "Amarávatí Kaṭaka," and I am disposed to think that this was one of the Kaṭakas, or fortified places of the Gangá Vansa kings of Orissa, to which Mr. Sterling assigns no locality. On the eastern foot of the hill there are the remains of an old fort, the broad and extensive rampart of which, made of the laterite of the hills, forms the most prominent feature of the ruins. The stone wall is 4 feet deep, and the people say it ran one cos square. Within the rampart there is a high platform, accessible by a flight of steps. The wall over it, made entirely of stone, is broken. A number of broken pillars and capitals was also observed, but the place on which the inner apartment stood, is covered with such thick jungle and thorny brambles that I could not form a conjecture as to the plan of the edifice. On another platform, I observed the images of two goddesses (*Indrání*) cut in *alto relievo* out of two blocks of slate-stone; they are remarkable for their elegance and beauty.

The people in the neighbourhood informed me that before the construction of the Cuttack Trunk Road, the ramparts were in a much better condition than in what they now are: the Vandals of the Public Works Department having demolished them for the sake of the stone, with which they metalled the road. Nor was their conduct in this case singular, for, whether at Jájapur, Chatia, or Cuttack, they have everywhere proved equally destructive, and what escaped the ravages of time and of Muhammadan bigotry for centuries, have yielded to their sacrilegious hands. This is much to be regretted, the more so as it appears altogether inconsistent with that enlightened spirit in which Government has called the attention of its servants to the collection of facts and traditions which may tend to throw light on the past history of the country; any how such conduct, on the part of any class of its officers, however unintentional, cannot be too highly reprehended.

There is a spacious and magnificent tank, covering about 20 acres, within half a mile of Amarávatí Kaṭaka. The people call it *Nilu Pukhar*, evidently a corruption of *Nilaya Pushkarini* or "tank with a dwelling;" for in the centre of this tank, there are the ruins of

an old building, of considerable dimensions, partly covered with shrubs, and partly whitened with moss, and the refuse of aquatic birds. There is a curious tradition connected with this building of about the age of Kálápáhar, the general of Sulaimán Afghán, (A. D. 1558,) who, it is said drove out Bashu Kalpa, the chief of the Bárunibántá (Darpan) Hill and compelled him to take refuge in the Dhanabántá hills (Chatia). Bashu Kalpa became subsequently the lord of the Amarávatí fort. The structure in the tank was built to protect his grandson on his wedding-day, when it was predicted a tiger would kill him. I do not give the anecdote at length, as it resembles in all its details the story of Chánd Sadágar, as sung by one of our early Bengali poets. The enemy of Chánd Sadágar of Chámpánagara was the serpent, as instigated by the goddess Manasâ ; that of Paddalochan, the Uriya prince, the tiger, as instigated by Satya Náráyana. Evidently the authors of the Bengali and the Uriya poems got the idea of the enemy to their heroes from the nature of the country they inhabited: Chámpánagara stands on a flat plane near Budbud, not far from the Damudá, and is subject to floods. The serpent is still dreaded there, and a *melá* is annually held to worship it. Chatia is close to the forest, and still suffers from the ravages of leopards. It is curious that there is a place near Chatia also known as *Champai Háť*.

Mahá-vináyaka. This is one of the peaks of the highest chain in the district of Cuttack, viz., the Bárunibántá hills in Killa Darpan. The country around it is wild, and inhabited by an aboriginal race known as Śawars, evidently the Savaras mentioned in Menu, who, in physical and mental peculiarities, resemble the Sonthals of Western Bengal. The hill is covered with primitive jungle, and seldom visited by any but pilgrims. It was probably from the beginning occupied by the Sivites, no sign of the worship of Buddha being traceable on it. The prospect from the top of the hill is glorious. The Sivites could not have selected a better spot for their *Bhajana Mandapa* or temple of worship. From the point where I ascended, the country around seemed a magnificent panorama of light and shade, diversified by carpets and crests of evergreens. The sun was just up, and under its rays far below in the distance, every patch of water appeared like a mass of blazing diamonds; every running brook,

a rich gorget on the breast of emerald earth. The high level canal with its numerous curves appeared like a silver girdle nicely set round the waist of the chain. The course of the Birupá, a distance of 24 or 26 miles, through all its windings from Mandaka, perhaps Chowdwar near Cuttack, could be traced like a thread of melted silver. It appeared to be a spot pre-eminently fitted for "meditation and sacred song." On the northern slope of the hill, about 400 feet above the level of the country, there is an *Asthala* or monastery now occupied by Vaishnavas, who have evidently superseded the Sivites of old. The base, formed of a piece of cut stone, is all that remains of the original sanctuary of the place. The walls and the steeples appear to have been repaired or rebuilt after they were destroyed by the Muhammadans. The principal curiosity of this place is, the god Mahá Vináyaka, which is a massive piece of rock over which the modern temple has been built. The rock must be more than 12 feet in circumference, it is oval at the top, and has three faces in front. The middle one has a good resemblance to the head of an elephant with its trunk, and is accordingly worshipped as Ganes'ha or Vináyaka. The right face of the rock is considered to be Siva, and what it wants in actual resemblance, has been made up by paint of sandal and vermilion. The left face of the rock has a knot over it, which is fancied to be the tresses of the goddess Gaurí bound up. The rock is accordingly worshipped as the union of the gods Siva and Ganesá and the goddess Gaurí. The place is by no means very ancient, but the veneration for it is increasing with the increase of age. There is a waterfall about 30 feet higher up, which supplies water to the temple and pilgrims. A few steps above this fall, there are a few images of Siva, called the "Ashta Lingam" from their number. Besides the foliage of the trees and the canopy of heaven, there is no other shade for these gods. The ground on all sides is covered with dense jungle, high and ancient mangoe trees predominating. Considering the insecurity of the place, it displays a steadfast devotion, and bold indifference for life on the part of those who, centuries ago, first inhabited these hills for the purpose of religious worship.

Additional Gondi Vocabulary.—By REV. JAMES DAWSON,
Chindwara, C. P.

(Continued from p. 117).

PRONOUNS.

Personal Pronouns.—First person.

अन्ना, *anná*, I.

Singular.

- Nom. अन्ना, *anná*, I.
 Gen. नावेर, नावेर्क, नावा, नावांग, *návor, náwork, náwá, náwáng*,
 my, of me.
 D. Ac. नाक, नाकुन, *nák, or nákun*, to me, me.
 Ab. ना सीन, *ná sín*, from me.
 L. नावा ईपिडे, *náwá ípide*, in me.

Plural.

- Nom. अम्माट, *ammot*, we.
 Gen. मावेर, मावेर्क, मावा, मावांग, *mávor, máwork, máwá, máwáng*,
 our, of us.
 D. Ac. माक, माकुन, *mák, mákun*, to us, us.
 Ab. मा सीन, *má sín*, from us.
 L. मावा ईपिडे, *máwá ípide*, in us.

Personal Pronouns.—Second person.

इम्मा, *immá*, thou.

Singular.

- Nom. इम्मा, *immá*, thou.
 Gen. नीवेर, नीवेर्क, नीवा, नीवांग, *nívor, níwork, níwá, níwáng*,
 thy, of thee.
 D. Ac. नीक, नीकुन, *ník, níkun*, to thee, thee.
 Ab. नी सीन, *ní sín*, from thee.
 L. नीवा ईपिडे, *níwá ípide*, in thee.
 V. हे इम्मा, *he immá*, O thou.

Plural.

- Nom. इम्माट, *immát*, you, ye.
 Gen. मावेर, मावेर्क, मावा, मावांग, *mávor, máwork, máwá, máwáng*,
 your, of you.

- D. Ac. माक, माकुन, *mák, mákun*, to you, you.
 Ab. मी सीन, *mí sín*, from you.
 L. मीवा ईपिडे, *míwá ípide*, in you.
 V. हे इम्माट, *he immát*, O you.

Personal Pronouns.—Third person.

ओर, *or*, he ; that.

Singular.

- Nom. ओर, *or*, he, that.
 Gen. ओन्हेर, ओन्हेरक, ओन्हा, ओन्हांग, *onhor, onhork, onhá, onháng*, his, of him.
 D. Ac. ओन, *on*, to him, him.
 Ab. ओन सीन, *on sín*, from him.
 L. आपिडे, *ápide*, in him.

Plural.

- Nom. ओरक, *ork*, they, those.
 Gen. ओरक नोर, नोरक, ना, नांग, *orknor, orknork, orkná, orknáng*, theirs, of them.
 D. Ac. ओरकुन, *orkun*, to them, them.
 Ab. ओरक सीन, *ork sín*, from them.
 L. आपिडे, *ápide*, in them.

Personal Pronouns.—Third person, Feminine.

अद, *ad*, she, it ; that.

Singular.

- Nom. अद, *ad*, she it ; that.
 Gen. तान्नोर, नोरक, ना, नांग, *tánnor, tánnork, tánná, tánnáng*, or अदे नोर, नोरक, ना, नांग, *addenor, addenork, addená, addenáng*, hers, of her.
 D. Ac. तान, *tán*, to her, her.
 Ab. तान सीन, *tán sín*, from her, from it.
 L. आपिडे, *ápide*, in her, in it.

Plural.

- Nom. ओ, *au*, they, those.
 Gen. अवेकनोर, नोरक, ना, नांग, *aveknor, aveknork, avekná, aveknáng*, theirs, of them.
 D. Ac. अवेकुन, *avekun*, to them, them.
 Ab. अवेक, सीन, *avek sín*, from them.
 L. आपिडे, *ápide*, in them.

Demonstrative Pronouns.—Near demonstrative, Masc. Sing.

एर *er*, this (man).

Singular.

Nom. एर, *er*, this (man).

Gen. एन्नोर, नोर्क, ना, नांग, *ennor, ennork, enná, ennáng*, of this.

D. Ac. एन, *en*, to this, this.

Ab. एन सीन, *en sín*, from this.

L. ईपिडे *ípide*, in this.

Plural.

Nom. ऐर्क, *erk*, these (men).

Gen. ऐर्कनोर, नोर्क, ना, नांग, *erknor, erkork, erkná, erkńáng*, of these.

D. Ac. ऐर्कुन *erkun*, these.

Ab. ऐर्क सीन, *erk sín*, from these.

L. ईपिडे *ípide*, in these.

Demonstrative Pronouns.—Near demonstrative Fem.

इद *id*, this (woman).

Singular.

Nom. इद *id*, this (woman) or (thing).

Gen. तेन्नोर, नोर्क, ना, नांग, *tennor, tennork, tenná, tennáng*, of this.

D. Ac. तेन, *ten*, to this, this.

Ab. तेन सीन, *ten sín*, from this.

L. ईपिडे *ípide*, in this.

Plural.

Nom. ईऊ, *íu*, these (women) or (things).

Gen. इवेकनोर, नोर्क, ना, नांग, *iveknor, iveknork, ivekná, iveknáng*, of these.

D. Ac. इवकुन, *ivekun*, to these, these.

Ab. इवेक सीन, *ivek sín*, from these.

L. ईपिडे *ípide*, in these.

Demonstrative Pronouns.—Remote demonstrative.

The remote demonstrative ओर *or*, that (man), अद *ad*, that (woman or thing) with their plurals ओर्क *ork*, those (men), औ *au*, those (women) are declined like the third personal pronoun.

Masc.

एर मान्वाल, *er mánwál*, this man.

एर्क मान्वाल्क, *erk mánwalk*, these men.

ओर मान्वाल, *or mánwál*, that man.

ओर्क मान्वाल्क, *ork mánwalk*, those men.

Fem.

इद आर, *id ár*, this woman.

ईज आस्क, *íú ásk*, these women.

अद आर, *ad ár*, that woman.

ओ आस्क, *au ásk*, those women.

When the demonstrative pronouns are used with nouns, they are not declined, but are always used in the nominative case, although the nouns which they qualify are in the oblique case. When the demonstrative pronouns are used by themselves, they are declined as above.

Relative Pronouns.

The Relative pronoun is the same as the Interrogative बोर *bor*, who?, and the correlative is supplied by the remote demonstrative ओर *or*, that; *e. g.*—

बोन्हा लेंग अन्ना केन्जतान ओन्हा लेंग चोखो मन्दा, *bonhá leng anná kenjtán onhá leng chokho mandá*. Whose voice I heard his voice is good. His voice whose I heard is good.

Interrogative Pronouns.

The interrogatives are बोर *bor*, वद् *bad*, and बांग *báng*, and are thus declined.

बोर *bor* who? Masc. Sing.

Nom. बोर, *bor*, who? which?

Gen. बोन्होर, चोर्क, हा, हांग, *bonhor, bonhork, bonhá, bonháng*, whose?

D. Ac. बोन, *bon*, to whom? whom?

Ab. बोन सीन, *bon sín*, from whom?

L. बापिडे, *bápide*, in whom?

Masc. Plural.

Nom. बोर्क, *bork*, who? which?

Gen. बार्कनोर, नोर्क, ना, नांग, *borknor, borknork, borkná, borknáng*, whose?

- D. Ac. बोर्कुन, *borkun*, to whom? whom?
 Ab. बोर्क सीन, *bork sín*, from whom?
 L. बापिडे, *bápiḍe*, in whom?

The Feminine and Neuter is वद् *bad*. It is declined like the 3rd person pronoun feminine अद् *ad*, by the insertion of ब before it; thus:—

- Nom. वद्, *bad*, who? which?
 Gen. वद्दे नोर, नोर्क, ना, नांग, *baddenor, baddenork, baddená, badde-náng*, whose?
 D. Ac. वद्दे न, *badden*, to whom? whom?
 Ab. वद्दे न सीन, *badden sín*, from whom?
 L. बापिडे, *bápiḍe*, in whom?

Fem. Plural.

- Nom. बै, *bau*, who? which?
 Gen. बवेक्नोर, नोर्क, ना, नांग, *baveknor, baveknork, bavekná, bavek-náng*, whose?
 D. Ac. बवकुन, *bavekun*, to whom? whom?
 Ab. बवेक सीन, *bavek sín*, from whom?
 L. बापिडे, *bápiḍe*, in whom?

बांग, *báng*, what?

Singular and Plural.

- N. & Ac. बांग, *báng*, what?
 Gen. बान्दोर, दोर्क, दा, दांग, *bándor, bándork, bándá, bándáng*, of what?
 D. बात्कुन, *bátkun*, to or for what?
 Ab. बात्सीन, *bátsín*, from what?
 L. बापिडे, *bápiḍe*, in what?

Indefinite Pronouns.

बोरे, *bore*, any one, some one.

- Nom. बोरे, *bore*, any one, some one.
 Gen. बोन्होरे, होर्क, है, हांगे, *bonhore, bonhorke, bonhai, bonhánge*, of any one, &c.
 D. Ac. बोने, *bone*, to any one, any one.
 Ab. बोने सीन, *bone sín*, from any one.
 L. बोने रोपा, *bone ropá*, in any one.

बांगे, *bánge*, any thing, something.

Indeclinable.

Phrases.

बांगे हल्ले, *bánge halle*, nothing.

बांगे ना बांगे, *bánge ná bánge*, something or other.

बांगे आई, *bánge áí*, whatever may happen, come what may.

Verb.

कीआना *kíáná*, to do.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense. I do or am doing.

1. अन्ना कीआताना, *anná kíátóná*.
2. इस्मा कीआतानी, *immá kíátóní*.
3. m. ओर कीआतोर, *or kíátor*.
3. f. अद् कीआता, *ad kíátá*.
1. अस्मोट कीआतोरम, *ammot kíatoram*.
2. इस्माट कीआतोरित, *immát kíátorít*.
3. m. ओर्क कीआतोरक, *ork kíátork*.
3. f. औ कीआतांग, *áu kíátáng*.

Imperfect Tense. I was doing.

अन्ना कीन्दान, *anná kíndán*.

इस्मा कीन्दीन, *immá kíndín*.

m. ओर कीन्दुर, *or kíndur*.

f. अद् कीन्दु, *ad kíndu*.

अस्मोट कीन्दोम, *ammot kíndom*.

इस्माट कीन्दीत, *immát kíndít*.

ओर्क कीन्दुर्क, औ कीन्दुंग, *ork kíndurk, au kíndung*.

Past Tense. I did.

अन्ना कीतान, *anná kí tán*.

इस्मा कीतीन, *dimmá kí tín*.

ओर कीतुर, *or kí tur*, अद् कीतु, *ad kí tu*.

अस्मोट कीतोम, *ammot kí tom*.

इस्माट कीतीत, *immát kí tít*.

ओर्क कीतुर्क, औ कीतुंग, *ork kí turk, au kí tung*.

Perfect Tense. I have done.

1. कीतोना, *kítóná*.
2. कीतोनी, *kítóní*.
3. कीतोर्, f. कीता, *kítor*, f. *kítá*.
1. कीतोर्स, *kítoram*.
2. कीतोर्रीत, *kítorít*.
3. कीतोर्क, कीतांग, *kítork*, f. *kítáng*.

Pluperfect Tense. I had done.

1. कोसि मथोना, *kísi mathoná*.
2. कोसि मथोनी, *kísi mathoní*.
3. कोसि मथोर्, कोसि मथा, *kísi mathor*, f. *kísi mathá*.
1. कोसि मथोर्स, *kísi mathoram*.
2. कोसि मथोर्रीत, *kísi mathorít*.
3. कोसि मथोर्क, थांग, *kísi mathork*, *kísi matháng*.

Future Tense. I shall or will do.

1. कोआका, *kíáká*.
2. कोआकी, *kíákí*.
3. कोआनुर, *kíánur*; कोआल, *kíál*.
1. कोआकोम, *kíákom*.
2. कोआकीत, *kíákit*.
3. कोआनुर्क, *kíánurk*, कोआनुंग, *kíánung*.

Conditional Mood.

Present Tense. If I do.

1. कोआका, *kíáká*.
2. कोआकी, *kíákí*.
3. कोर्, को, *kír*, *kí*.
1. कोआकोम, *kíákom*.
2. कोआकीत, *kíákit*.
3. कोर्क, कींग, *kírk*, *kíng*.

Imperative Mood.

2. इम्मा कोम, *immá kím*, do thou.
2. इम्माठ कोम, *immát kímṭ*, do ye.

Infinitive Mood.

कीआना, कोआले *kíáná* or *kíále*, to do.

Participles.

Present. कीतेके, कीसोडे, *kíteke* or *kísode*, doing.Perfect. कीसिकुन, *kísikun*, having done.आयाना *áyáná* to be, or to become.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

am, or I become.

1. आन्दान *ándán*.
2. आन्दीन, *ándín*.
3. आन्दुर, आन्दु, *ándur*, *ándu*.
1. आन्दोम, *ándom*.
2. अन्दोत *ándít*.
3. आन्दुर्क, आन्दुंग, *ándurk*, *ándung*.

Past Tense.

I was, or I became.

1. आतान, *átán*.
2. आतीन, *átín*.
3. आतुर, आतु, *átur*, *átu*.
1. आतोम, *átom*.
2. आतीत, *átít*.
3. आतुर्क, आतुंग, *áturk*, *átung*.

मन्दाना, *mandáná*, to be, or to remain.

Indicative Mood, Present Tense.

I am, or I remain.

1. मन्दाना, *mandóná*.
2. मन्दानी, *mandóní*.
3. मन्दोर, मन्दा, *mandor*, *mandá*.
1. मन्दोरम, *mandoram*.
2. मन्दोरौत, *mandorít*.
3. मन्दोर्क, मन्दांग, *mandork*, *mandáng*.

Past Tense.

I was, or I remained.

1. मथोना, *mathóná*.
2. मथोनी, *mathóní*.
3. मथोर, मथा, *mathor*, *mathá*.

1. मथोरम, *mathoram*.
2. मथोरीत, *mathorit*.
3. मथोर्क, मथांग, *mathork, matháng*.

The remaining tenses of the verb "to be" are formed regularly from आयाना *áyáná*. The Gonds seem to use मन्दाना *mandáná* more frequently to express "existence," and "become" they always express by आयाना *áyáná*.

There is also a peculiarity in the language in regard to the use of the negative हल्ले *halle* with the verb. This particle causes a change on the form of certain parts of the verb as will be seen by using it, along with कीयाना *kíáná*, to do, which has already been conjugated. It affects some moods and tenses, but not others.

Conjugation of the verb कीयाना *kíáná* with the negation हल्ले *halle*, not to do.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

I am not doing.

1. अन्ना हल्ले कीयान, *anná halle kíon*, I am not doing.
2. इम्मा हल्ले कीवी, *immá halle kíví*.
3. ओर हल्ले कीओर, *or halle kíor*.
अद् हल्ले कीओ, *ad halle kíod*.
1. अम्माट हल्ले कीयाम, *ammot halle kíom*.
2. इम्माट हल्ले कीवीत, *immát halle kívít*.
3. ओर्क हल्ले कीओर्क, *ork halle kíork*.
ओ हल्ले कीओंग, *au halle kíong*.

Imperfect Tense. Same as the Affirmative.

I was not doing.

Past and Perfect Tenses are alike.

I did not and I have not done.

1. अन्ना हल्ले कीता, *anná halle kítá*.
2. इम्मा हल्ले कीता, *immá halle kítá*.
3. ओर हल्ले कीता, *or halle kítá, ad halle kítá*.
1. अम्माट हल्ले कीता, *ammot halle kítá*.
2. इम्माट हल्ले कीता, *immát halle kítá*.
3. ओर्क, ओ हल्ले कीता, *ork, au halle kítá*.

Pluperfect Tense. I had not eaten.

Same form as Aff.

Future Tense.

I shall or will not do.

1. अन्ना हल्ले कीनाल, *anná halle kínál.*
2. इस्मा हल्ले कीनाल, *immá halle kínál.*
3. ओर, अद् हल्ले कीनाल, *or, ad halle kínál.*
1. अस्माट हल्ले कीनाल, *ammot halle kínál.*
2. इस्माट हल्ले कीनाल, *immát halle kínál.*
3. ओर्क, औ हल्ले कौनाल, *ork, au halle kínál.*

Conditional Mood same as the Future except in the third persons Singular and Plural which are the same as in the Affirmative Conditional.

Imperative Mood.

2. इस्मा मन्नो केमा, *immá manní kemá,* do not thou do.
2. इस्माट मन्नो केमाट, *immát manní kemát,* do not ye do.

Infinitive Mood and Participles are the same as the Aff. forms.

Abbreviations used in Vocabulary.

s. substantive ; a. adjective ; v. t. verb transitive ; v. i. verb intransitive ; ad. adverb.

k. क. *kíáná* कौञ्चाना, to do ; m. म. *máyáná* मायाना, which seems to be another form of *mandáná* मन्दाना, to be or to remain ; s. स. *síáná* सीञ्चाना, to give. H. Hindí or Hindustání.

A.

Awake, v. i. <i>chaile máyáná</i>	चैले मायाना.
Awake, v. t. <i>chaile kíáná</i>	चैले कौञ्चाना.
Afterwards, ad. <i>pijá</i>	पिजा.
Amputate, v. t. <i>narksí wátáná</i>	नर्क सी वाटाना.
Alone, a. <i>warror</i> , f. <i>warrai</i>	वरोर f. वरै.
And, conj. <i>unde</i>	उण्डे.
Acquire, v. t. <i>páye máyáná</i>	पाय मायाना.
Appear, v. i. <i>dísáná</i>	दीसाना.
Altar, s. <i>bhíná</i> , pl. <i>bhínáng</i>	भौना pl. सीनांग.

Afflict, v. t. *tarse kíáná*
 Ancestor, s. *ájál*, pl. *ájálk*
 Almighty, a. *sabro-chísk-kíánwále*
 Advance, v. i. *munne víđáná*
 As, conj. *báhun*
 Ask, v. t. *púchhe kíána*
 Appoint, v. t. *badhe kíáná*
 Appointed, a. *badhe-kitál*
 Alike, a. *lekhá*
 According to, a. *lekhá*
 Ashes, s. *nír*
 Abate, v. i. *ghaṭe máyáná*
 Again, ad. *usode*
 Alas, interj. *háe* H.
 Angel, s. *dút*, pl. *dútk*
 Anything, s. *bángo*
 Archer, s. *kamṭá-írránwále*
 Arrow, s. *tír*, pl. *tírk* H.
 Army, s. *fauj*, H.
 Ass, s. *gadhál*, pl. *gadháng*
 Answer, s. *jawáb*, pl. *jawábk* H.
 Accumulate, v. t. *saure k.*
 Artless, a. *súdhó* m. f.
 Among, prep. *te* and sometimes *ne*
 Affliction, s. *dukh*, H.

तर्से कौआना.
 आजाल pl. आजाक.
 सत्रो-चीस्क-कौआनवाले.
 मुन्ने वीडाना.
 बाऊन.
 पूच्चे कौआना.
 बधे कौआना.
 बधे-कौताल.
 लेखा.
 लेखा.
 नौर.
 घटे मायाना.
 उसोडे.
 हाय.
 दूत pl. दूत्क.
 बांगे.
 कम्टा इरानवाले.
 तौर तोकै.
 फौज.
 गधाल pl. गधांग.
 जवाब, जवाबक.
 सौड़े क.
 सूधो.
 ते, ने
 दुख.

B.

Blood, s. *nathur*
 Brother, s. *tammur*
 Back, s. *murchul*, pl. *murchulk*
 Be, v. s. *mandáná*
 Become, v. i. *áyáná*
 Behind, prep. *píjá*
 Bury, v. t. *mistáná*
 Bind, v. t. *dohtáná*
 Breathe, v. t. *dam yetáná*
 Blow, v. t. *ukáná*

नथुर.
 तम्मुर.
 मुर्चुल pl. मुर्चुल्क,
 मन्दाना.
 आयाना.
 पिजा.
 मिस्ताना.
 दोह्ताना.
 दम येताना.
 उकाना.

Bite, v. t. <i>kaskáná</i>	कस्कांना.
Begin, v. t. <i>lágána</i>	लागाना.
Belly, s. <i>pír</i> , pl. <i>pírk</i>	पीर, पीर्क.
Burst, v. t. <i>oráná</i>	ओराना.
Body, s. <i>mendol</i> , pl. <i>mendolk</i>	मेन्दोल, मेन्दोल्क.
Breath, s. <i>dam</i>	दम.
Beginning, s. <i>mothur</i>	मोथुर.
Border, s. <i>siwár</i> , pl. <i>siwárk</i>	सिवार, सिवार्क.
Burn, v. t. <i>atáná</i>	अताना.
Because, conj. <i>baríki</i>	बारीकि.
Before, prep. <i>munne</i>	मुन्ने.
Barren, a. <i>bahilál</i>	बहिलाल.
But, conj. <i>unde</i>	उण्डे.
Bad, a. <i>burtor</i> , f. <i>burtai</i>	बुर्तोर f. बुर्तै.
Breadth, s. <i>rundopan</i>	रुन्दोपन.
Broad, a. <i>rundo</i>	रुन्दो.
By, prep. <i>sín</i>	सीन.
Beneath, prep. <i>khálwá</i>	खालवा.
Bring, v. t. <i>tatáná</i>	तताना.
Bread, s. <i>sári</i>	साड़ी.
Bird, s. <i>pitte</i> pl. <i>pitteŋg</i>	पिट्टे, पिट्टेङ्ग.
Bear, v. t. <i>wáhtáná</i>	वाह्ताना, to bring forth.
Bear, v. t. <i>sádáná</i>	सादाना, as a fruit tree.
Bosom, s. <i>korá</i> , pl. <i>koráŋg</i>	कोरा, कोराङ्ग.
Break, v. t. <i>urutáná</i>	उरुताना.
Bake, v. t. <i>aťáná</i>	अटाना.
Butter, s. <i>loní</i>	लोनी.
Bawl, v. i. <i>háká síána</i>	हाका सीआना.
Blind, a. <i>surál</i> , <i>andrál</i>	सुराल, अन्द्राल.
Blindness, s. <i>andrálpan</i>	अन्द्रालपन.
Bull, s. <i>kurrá</i> , pl. <i>kurráŋg</i>	कुर्रा, कुर्राङ्ग.
Bullock, s. <i>kondá</i> pl. <i>kondáŋg</i>	कोन्दा, कोन्दाङ्ग.
Bottle, s. <i>bádlá</i> , pl. <i>bádláŋg</i>	बाद्ला, बाद्लाङ्ग, made of
Bow, s. <i>kamťá</i>	कम्टा. [leather.
Business, s. <i>dhandho</i> , pl. <i>dhandhong</i> .	धंधो, धंधोङ्ग.
Bush, s. <i>jhúr</i> , pl. <i>jhúrċ</i>	भूड़, भूड़क.
Brushwood, s. <i>jhúr</i> , pl. <i>jhúrċ</i>	भूड़, भूड़क.

Bow, v. i. *mursána*
 Boundary, s. *síwár*, pl. *síwárk*
 Bracelet, s. *chúrú*, pl. *chúrúng*
 Blame, s. *dosh* H.

मर्साना.
 सीवार, सीवारक.
 चूड़ा, चूड़ांग.
 दोश.

C.

Cloud, s. *ábhár*
 Cut, v. t. *narkána*
 Cut, v. t. *koiána*
 Cut, v. t. *askána*
 Cloth, s. *ḍikarí*, pl. *ḍikaríng*
 Come, v. i. *wáyána*
 Come out, v. i. *pasitána*
 Creep, v. i. *kodítána*, *ghurse m.*
 Conceal, v. t. *murutána*
 Conceal, v. t. *maksutána*
 Cubit, s. *kúṭa*, pl. *kúṭáng*
 Cattle, s. *kondáng*, *murúng*
 Camel, s. *uṭṭum*, pl. *uṭṭunk*
 Call, v. t. *keána*
 Choose, v. t. *pehekána*
 Count, v. t. *káhtána*
 Chase, v. t. *pijá yetána*
 Chicken, s. *pílál*
 Crow, s. *káwál*, pl. *káwálk*
 Corpse, s. *múrdá*
 Carcase, s. *múrdá*
 Cake, s. *phulorí*
 Cook, v. t. *aṭána*
 Calf, s. *paiyá*
 Complete, v. t. *púro k.*
 Close, v. t. *kehchí síána*
 Concerning, prep. *híkke*
 Cow, s. *múra*
 Call, v. t. *háká s.*
 Cleave, v. t. *pahitána*

आभार.
 नर्काना, applied to wood.
 कोइयाना, applied to
 grass, &c.
 अस्काना, as with a knife.
 डिकड़ा, डिकड़ांग.
 वायाना.
 पसिताना.
 कोड़िताना, धुर्से म.
 मुड़ुताना.
 मकुसुताना.
 हूटा, हूटांग.
 कान्दांग, मुड़ांग.
 उट्टुम, उट्टुक.
 केयाना.
 पेहेकाना.
 काह्ताना.
 पिजा येताना.
 पीलाल.
 कावाल, कावाल्क.
 मुर्दा.
 मुर्दा.
 फुलोरी.
 अटाना.
 पैया.
 पूरो क.
 केहची सीयाना.
 हिके, ईपिडे.
 मूड़ा.
 हाका स.
 पहिताना.

Cave, s. <i>khodro</i>	खोद्रो.
City, s. <i>nagar</i> , p. <i>nagark</i>	नगर, नगर्क.
Concubine, s. <i>irtál ár</i> , p. <i>irtálk ásk</i> ,	इर्ताल आर, इर्ताल्क आस्क.
Collect, v. t. <i>saure k.</i>	सौड़े क.
Censure, s. <i>chuglí</i>	चुग्ली.
Command, s. <i>lukm H.</i>	ऊक्म.
Command, v. t. <i>lukm k.</i>	ऊक्म क.
Crime, s. <i>dosh H.</i>	दोश.
Cover, v. t. <i>muhtáná</i>	मुह्ताना.
Commander, s. of an army, <i>fauj tor</i> <i>subál,</i>	फौज तोर सुवाल.

D.

Descend, v. i. <i>ragáná, ráitáná,</i>	रगाना, रैताना.
Descend, to cause to, v. t. <i>rehtáná</i>	रेह्ताना.
Drink, v. t. <i>undáná</i>	उण्डाना.
Die, v. i. <i>sáyáná</i>	सायाना.
Do, v. t. <i>kiáná</i>	कोआना.
Dress, v. i. <i>pondáná</i>	पोन्दाना, (one's self).
Dress, v. t. <i>ponsutáná</i>	पोन्सुताना, (another).
Destroy, v. t. <i>miṭe k., násh k.</i>	मिटे क, नाश क.
Dry, a. <i>watál</i>	बताल.
Deceive, v. t. <i>bahake k.</i>	बहके क.
Daughter, s. <i>miár</i> , p. <i>miárk</i>	मीआर, मीआर्क.
Daughter-in-law, s. <i>koḍiár</i>	कोडिआर.
Drag, v. t. <i>arítáná</i>	अरीताना.
Dust, s. <i>dhúldo</i>	धूलदो.
Day, s. <i>din</i> , p. <i>dink</i>	दिन, दिक्क.
Drive, v. t. <i>púnáná</i>	पूनाना.
Despise, v. t. <i>útár k.</i>	उतार क.
Darkness, s. <i>ándár H.</i>	आन्दार.
Divide, v. t. <i>juddo k.</i>	जुदो क.
Deny, v. t. <i>badle m.</i>	बदूले म.
Decrease, v. i. <i>ghate m.</i>	घटे म.
Dinner, s. <i>jává</i>	जावा, p. जावांग.
Direction, s. <i>khák</i>	खाक.
Direction, from every, <i>nálung te khák nál,</i>	नालूंग ते खाक नाल.

Desire, v. t. <i>cháhe m.</i>	चाहे म.
Draw, v. t. <i>umána</i>	उमाना, as water from
Delay, s. <i>jhel.</i>	भेले. [a well.
Delay, v. t. <i>jhel k.</i>	भेले क.
Dream, s. <i>kanchkána</i>	कंच्काना.
Dream, v. t. <i>kanchkána</i>	कंच्काना.
Death, s. <i>sáyán</i>	सायान.
Dig, v. t. <i>kátána, khode k.</i>	कानाना, खोदे क.
Dead, a. <i>murdá, p. murdang</i>	मुर्दा, मुर्दांग.
Dismiss, v. t. <i>bidá k.</i>	बिदा क.

E.

Establish, v. t. <i>nílutána</i>	निलुताना.
Expel, v. t. <i>tandána</i>	टण्डाना.
Eight, a. <i>armúr</i>	अर्मर.
Embark, v. i. <i>targána</i>	तर्गाना.
Eye, s. <i>kan, p. kank</i>	कन, कन्क.
Each, a. <i>undí undí</i>	उन्दो उन्दो.
Every, a. <i>undí undí</i>	उन्दो उन्दो.
✓ Eagle, s. <i>gídhál, p. gídháalk</i>	गीधाल, गीधाल्क.
Empty, a. <i>súno</i>	सूनो.
Evening, s. <i>núlpe p. núlpeng</i>	नूलपे, नूलपेंग.
Eternity, s. <i>letu</i>	लेतु.
Ear, s. <i>kaví, p. kawk</i>	कवी, कौक.
Entertainment, s. <i>jáwá</i>	जावा.
Extend, v. t. <i>viřsutána</i> (as the arm)	विड़सुताना.
Everything, s. <i>sab-báenge</i>	सब-बांगे.
Explain, v. t. <i>vehtána</i>	वेहताना.
Enemy, s. <i>bairí, p. bhairírk H.</i>	बैरो, बैरीर्क.
Evil, a. <i>buro</i>	बुरो.
Enlarge, v. t. <i>viřsutána</i>	विड़सुताना.
Earn, v. t. <i>puřsutána, kamái k.</i>	पुटसुताना, कमाइ क.
Envy, v. t. <i>karvitána</i>	कड़विताना.
Earth, s. <i>thorí</i>	थोड़ो.
Earth the, s. <i>dhartí</i>	धती.
Enmity, s. <i>bair H.</i>	बैर.

F.

Fructify, v. t. <i>sádustána</i>	सादुसाना.
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Fear, s. <i>warre</i>	वर.
Form, s. <i>chola</i>	चोला.
Field, s. <i>neli</i> , p. <i>neling</i>	नेली, नेलींग.
Face, s. <i>tudi</i>	टुडो.
Fling, v. t. <i>watána</i>	वाटाना.
Four, a. <i>nalung</i>	नालंग.
Five, a. <i>saivung</i>	सैयूंग.
Fifty, a. <i>pachás</i> , <i>ardho núr</i>	पचास, अर्धो नूर.
Flesh, s. <i>khánk</i> , <i>khándum</i>	खांक, खाण्डुम.
Fill, v. t. <i>nítána</i>	नोइताना.
Fall, v. i. <i>arána</i>	अराना.
Float, v. i. <i>pongána</i>	पोंगाना.
Forsake, v. t. <i>chhore k.</i>	छोड़े क.
Fire, s. <i>kis</i> , p. <i>kisk</i>	किस, किस्क.
Father, s. <i>dháú</i> , p. <i>dháúrk</i>	धाऊ, धाऊर्क.
Find, v. t. <i>páye m.</i>	पाये म.
Family, s. <i>got</i> (tribe)	गोत.
Famine, s. <i>kár</i> , p. <i>kárk H.</i>	कार, कार्क.
Flock, s. <i>yeiting</i> , applied to sheep or goats,	येटींग.
From, prep. <i>tal</i> , <i>sín</i>	ताल, सीन. From a person, <i>sín</i> , सीन, from a place, <i>tal</i> ताल.
Flee, v. i. <i>sodítána</i>	सोडिताना.
Food, s. <i>tindána</i> , <i>undána</i>	तिन्दाना, उण्डाना.
Fear, v. t. <i>waritána</i>	वरिताना.
Fruit, s. <i>kaigáng</i>	कैयांग.
Forefather, s. <i>ájál</i> , p. <i>ájálk</i>	आजानल, आज ल्क.
Fountain, s. <i>jíría</i>	जीरिआ.
Fountain, s. <i>monghá</i> (as of a well)	भोंघा.
First, a. <i>páhilo</i>	पाहिलो.
Fish, s. <i>mín</i> , p. <i>mínk</i>	मीन, मीन्क.
Fruit-bearing, a. <i>kaiyáng-wála</i>	कैयांग-वाला.
Foreskin, s. <i>naddum tá thol</i>	नड्डुम ता थोल.
Flour, s. <i>pindí</i>	पिण्डो.
Fine, a. <i>chokho</i>	चोखो.
Finish, v. t. <i>púro k.</i>	पूरो क.
Far, a. <i>lakh</i>	लख.

Feast, s. <i>jává</i>	जावा.
Fell, v. t. as a tree, <i>arutáná</i>	अरुताना.
Fraud, s. <i>chhal</i> H.	छल.
Force, s. <i>barbas</i> H.	बर्बस.
Full, a. <i>púro</i>	पुरो.
Feed, v. t. <i>tíhtáná</i>	तीहताना.
Fault, s. <i>dosh</i> H.	दोश.
Farewell, s. <i>bidá</i> H.	विदा.

G.

Green, a. <i>hírwo</i>	हीरवो.
Graze, v. t. <i>mehrtáná</i>	मेहताना.
Graze, v. i. <i>meáná</i>	मेअाना.
Go out, v. i. <i>pasitáná</i>	पसिताना.
Go, v. i. <i>handáná</i>	हन्दाना.
Grave, s. <i>marghat, masoní</i>	मर्घट, मसोखी.
Grow, v. i. <i>borsáná</i> , as a child	बोरसाना.
Grow, v. i. <i>piráná</i> , as a plant	पिराना.
Grow, v. t. <i>pirsutáná</i>	पिरसुताना.
Guarding, s. <i>markhúm</i> , applied to men	मखूम.
Guarding, s. <i>jágali</i> , applied to fields	जागली.
Generation, s. <i>velí</i> , p. <i>velíng</i>	वेली, वेलींग.
Great, a. <i>paṛor</i> , f. <i>paṛá</i>	पड़ोर, पड़ा.
Get, v. t. <i>páye m.</i>	पाय म.
Give, v. t. <i>síáná</i>	सीअाना.
Grass, s. <i>jáří</i> , p. <i>járing</i>	जाड़ी, जाड़ींग.
Good, a. <i>chokho</i> , m. and f.	चोखो
Good, a. <i>bhalo</i> , m. and f.	भलो.
Good, ad. <i>bhalo</i>	भलो
Girl, s. <i>túrí</i> , p. <i>túring</i>	टूड़ी p. टूड़ींग.
Gain, v. t. <i>puṣutáná</i>	पुटसुताना.
Gain, v. t. <i>kamáí k.</i> H.	कमाई क.
General a, s. <i>fauj tor subál</i>	फौज तार सुवाल.

H.

Hundred, a. <i>núr</i> , p. <i>núrk</i>	नूर, नूर्क.
Husband, s. <i>rot-tor</i> the man of the house	रोत-तोर.
Hide, v. i. <i>makáná</i>	सकाना.
Hide, v. t. <i>maksutáná</i>	सकसुताना.

Hill, s. <i>maṭá</i> , p. <i>maṭáng</i>	मटा, मटांग.
House, s. <i>ron</i> , <i>rot-te</i> in the house	रोन, रोत-ते.
Herdsman, s. <i>mehtánwále</i>	मेहतानवाले.
Hand, s. <i>kai</i> , p. <i>kaiḱ</i>	कै, कैक.
Hand, left, <i>ḍáwo kai</i>	डावो कै.
Hand, right, <i>jeono kai</i>	जेओनो कै.
Here, ad. <i>iggá</i>	इग्गा.
Hence, ad. <i>iggátál</i>	इग्गाताल.
Hither, ad. <i>hikke</i>	हिक्के.
How, ad. <i>báhun</i>	बाहुन.
Heifer, s. <i>paḍḍá</i>	पड्डा.
Hinder, v. t. <i>roke k.</i>	रोके क.
Heaven, s. <i>ágás</i>	आगास.
Heat, s. <i>adí</i>	अदी.
Haste, s. <i>utáwalí</i>	उतावली.
Hasten, v. i. <i>utáwali k.</i>	उतावली क.
Heavy, a. <i>puhtá</i>	पुहता.
Heavy, to be, v. i. <i>puhtána</i>	पुहताना.
Hasten, v. t. <i>jaldí kisutána</i>	जल्दी कीसुताना.
Herd, s. of cattle, <i>múráng kondáng</i>	मूडांग कोन्दांग.
Heir, s. <i>adhikárá</i> H.	अधिकारो.
Horn, s. <i>kor</i> , p. <i>kohk</i>	कोर कोहक.
Half, a. <i>áḍho</i>	आधो.
Heel, s. <i>ḍaká</i>	डाका
Happen, v. i. <i>aráná</i>	अराना.
Hatred, s. <i>bair</i> H.	बैर.

I.

Increase, v. i. <i>borsána</i>	बोरसाना.
Increase, to cause to, v. t. <i>bursútána</i>	बुर्सुताना
Inquire, v. t. <i>púchhe k.</i>	पूछे क,
Inform, v. t. <i>kenchutána</i>	कैचुताना.
Inhabitant, s. <i>mandánwále</i>	मन्दानवाले.

J.

Judge, v. t. <i>nyáo k.</i>	न्याओ क.
Judge s. <i>nyáo-kíánwále</i>	न्याओ-कीआन्वाले.
Judgment, s. <i>nyáo</i>	न्याओ.
Journey, s. <i>jaṭrá</i> H.	जत्रा.

K.

Know, v. t. <i>pundáná</i>	पुण्डाना.
Keep, v. t. as a garden, <i>sudhare k.</i>	सुधरे क.
Keeping, s. <i>markhám, jágalí</i>	मखुंम, जागली.
Kill, v. t. <i>jóksí wáṭáná</i>	जोकसो वाटाना.
Knead, v. t. <i>piskáná</i>	पिस्काना.
Kindness, s. <i>míhr H.</i>	मिहर.
Knife, s. <i>chhurí</i>	छुरी.

L.

Live, v. i. <i>pisáná</i>	पिसाना.
Leather, s. <i>tol</i>	तोल्.
Laugh, v. i. <i>kauwáná</i>	कौवाना.
Leave, v. t. <i>chhore k.</i>	छोड़े क.
Land, s. <i>dhartí</i>	धर्ती.
Lift, v. t. <i>táhtáná</i>	ताह्ताना.
Light, s., a candle or lamp, <i>díviá</i>	डौविआ.
Light of day, s. <i>verchí</i>	वेड्ची.
Light, a. <i>hallo</i>	हल्लो.
Large, a. <i>paror, f. pará</i>	पड़ोर, पड़ा.
Little, a. <i>chudor, m. and f.</i>	चुडोर.
Like, a. <i>lekhá</i>	लेखा.
Learn, v. t. <i>karitáná</i>	करिताना.
Lamb, s. <i>khálmányál ná pílal</i>	खालमान्याल ना पीलाल.
Lead, v. t. <i>munne tákáná</i>	मुन्ने ताकाना.
Look, s. <i>nigáh H.</i>	निगाह.

M.

Middle, s. <i>naddum</i>	नड्डुम.
Make, v. t. <i>bane k.</i>	बने क.
Morning, s. <i>sakále</i>	सकाले.
Mother, s. <i>dhái</i>	धाई.
Meet, v. t. <i>kalitáná</i>	कलिताना.
Milk, s. <i>pál</i>	पाल.
Month, s. <i>túdí</i>	टुडी.
Marriage, s. <i>marmíng</i>	मड्मींग.
Marry, v. t. <i>marmíng</i>	मड्मींग क.
Mock, v. t. <i>ṭhaṭhá k.</i>	ठठा क.
Mocker, s. <i>ṭhaṭhá-kíán-wále</i>	ठठा-कौआन्वाले.

Master, s. *málik* H.

मालिक.

Merchant, s. *baipári*, *baipárik*

बैपारी p. बैपारीक.

N.

Naked, a. *kuráke*

कुड़ाके.

Nakedness, s. *kurákepan*

कुड़ाकेपन.

Nine, a. *unmák*

उन्माक.

Not, ad. with imp. mood, *manni*

मन्नि.

Not, ad. with other moods, *halle*

हल्ले.

Name, s. *parol*, p. *parolk*

पड़ाल, पड़ाल्क.

Now, ad. *ingá*

इंगा.

Nephew, a brother's son, s. *sanimarri*

सनिमरीं.

Number, v. t. *káhtána*

काह्ताना.

Night, s. *narká*

नर्का.

Nothing, s. *bángo-halle*

बांगे-हल्ले.

Nose, s. *massor*, p. *massork*

मस्सोर, मस्सोर्क.

O.

One, a. *undí*.

उन्दी.

Open, v. t. *ugare k.*

उगड़े क.

Open, to be, *ugare m.*

उगड़े म.

Open, a. *ugare*

उगड़े.

Obtain, v. t. *paye m.*

पाय म.

Observe, v. t. *máne m.*

माने म.

Obey, v. t. *máne m.*

माने म.

Old, a. *senál*, f. *seno*

सेनाल, सेनो, applied to persons.

Old, a. *junor*, f. *junál*

जुनोर, जुनाल, applied to things, sometimes to persons.

Out, ad. *báharo*

बाहरो.

Outside, ad. *báharo*

बाहरो.

Overturn, v. t. *ulfe k.*

उल्लटे क.

Ox, s. *kondá*, p. *kondáng*

कोन्दा, कोन्दांग.

Outstretch, v. t. *virsutána*

वीड़सुताना.

Occur, v. i. *aráná*

अराना.

P.

Plant, v. t. *lage kíána*

लगे क.

Place, v. t. *iráná*

इराना.

Pull, v. t. <i>úmáná</i> , as water from a well	ऊमाना.
Property, s. <i>dhan-doulet</i>	धन-दौलेत.
Pitch, v. t. <i>nilutáná</i> . (as a tent)	निलुताना.
Pit, s. <i>sorá</i>	सोरा.
Pursue, v. t. <i>pijá k.</i>	पिजा क.
Persecute, v. t. <i>tarse k.</i>	तर्म क.
Prevent, v. t. <i>roke k.</i>	रोके क.
Pregnant, a. <i>ranjiwáná</i>	रञ्जिवाना.
Produce, v. t. <i>sádáná</i>	सादाना.
Proceed, v. i. <i>munne vírána</i>	मुन्ने वौडाना.
Place, s. <i>thikán</i>	ठिकान.
Press, v. t. <i>admáná</i>	अदमाना.
Pillar, s. <i>dhárun</i>	धारून.
Person, s. <i>jan</i> , p. <i>jank</i>	जन, जन्क.
Proprietor, s. <i>adhikárá</i> H.	अधिकारी.
Prove, v. t. <i>parkhe k.</i>	पर्खे क.
Prince, s. <i>subál</i>	सुवाल.
Price, s. <i>molá</i>	मोला.
Pour, v. t. <i>ríchi k.</i>	रीचि क.
Pulse, s. <i>darí</i>	डारौ.
Pottage, s. <i>jává</i>	जावा.
Play, v. i. <i>garsáná</i>	गर्साना.
Plain, s. <i>chaugán</i> H.	चौगान.
Pain, s. <i>dukh</i> H.	दुख.

Q.

Quarrel, v. i. <i>tarutáná</i>	तडुताना.
Quickly, ad. <i>japne</i>	जप्ने.

R.

Rainbow, s. <i>bhímál</i>	भीमाल.
Remain, v. i. <i>mandáná</i>	मन्दाना.
Road, s. <i>sarrí</i>	सरी.
Rib, s. <i>paneká</i>	पनेका.
Run, v. i. <i>vitáná</i>	वीताना.
Raise, v. t. <i>táhtáná</i>	ताह्ताना.
Rise, v. i. <i>tedáná</i>	तेदाना.
Reach, v. i. <i>auáná</i>	औयाना.
Rain, s. <i>pir</i>	पिर.

Rain, v. i. *arutána*
 Receive, v. t. *páye m.*
 Rebel, v. i. *badle mási handána*
 Ram, s. *mendhál*
 Return, v. i. *malsí wáyána*
 River, s. *dhodá*
 Reptile, s. *ghurse-máyánwála*
 Rest, s. *árám H.*
 Roar, v. i. *kílitána*, as a tiger
 Recline, v. i. *lete m.*
 Regarding, *prep. hikke*
 Rebuke, v. t. *dapte k. H.*
 Right, a. *haqq, H.*
 Reproach, s. *chuglí*

अरुताना.
 पाये म.
 बदली मासो हन्दाजा.
 मेढाल
 मल्सो वाघाना.
 डोडा.
 घुर्से-माथान्वाला.
 आराम
 कीलिताना.
 लेटे म.
 हिके.
 डपटे क.
 हक्क.
 चुगली.

S.

Spread, v. t. *pongsutána*
 Sign, s. *chakhína*
 Spread, v. t. *bagare k.*
 Shoulder, *bákhá*
 See, v. t. *hurána*
 Son, s. *marí*, p. *mark*
 Say, v. t. *indána*
 Speech, s. *wankána*
 Share, v. t. *tústána*
 Separate, v. t. *juddo k.*
 Stoop, v. i. *mursána*
 Surround, v. t. *tirítána*
 Sleep, v. i. *narmána*
 Serpent, s. *tarás*, p. *tarásk*
 Shoe, s. *sarpum*, p. *sarpuk*
 Shut, v. t. *konde k.*
 Smell, v. t. *muskána*
 Six, a. *sárung*
 Seven, a. *yerung*
 Speak, v. t. *indána*
 Stone, s. *ʔongí*

पोंगसुताना.
 चखीना.
 बगरे क.
 बाखा.
 हुड़ाना.
 मरी, मर्क.
 इन्दाना.
 वंकाना.
 तुस्ताना.
 जुद्धो क.
 मुसुआना.
 तिरौताना.
 नर्मनाना.
 तरास, तरास्क.
 सर्पुम, सर्पुक.
 कोण्डे क.
 मुस्काना.
 सारुंग.
 येरुंग.
 इन्दाना.
 टोंगी.

Summit, of a mountain, s. <i>chendi</i>	चेन्दी.
Shew, v. t. <i>hursutána</i>	ऊड़सुताना.
Sojourn, v. i. <i>mulgírí k.</i>	मुलकगीरी क.
Save, v. t. <i>pisutána</i>	पिसुताना.
Sister, s. <i>selár</i> , pl. <i>selárk</i>	सेलार, सेलार्क.
Strive, v. i. <i>tarutána</i>	तड़ताना.
Salt, a. <i>kharo</i>	खरो.
Salt, s. <i>sawar</i>	सवड़.
Smite, v. t. <i>jíána</i>	जीथाना.
Slime, s. <i>chiklá</i>	चिक्ला.
Steal, v. t. <i>kalána</i>	कलाना.
Stealer, s. <i>kalle</i>	कल्ले.
Seize, v. t. <i>boitána</i>	बोदताना.
Sun, s. <i>suryát</i>	सुर्याल.
Set, v. i. as the sun, <i>mulitána</i>	मुलिताना.
Seem, v. i. <i>lágána</i> (it seems)	लागाना.
Spring, s. <i>jíriá</i>	जीरिआ.
Seed, s. <i>vijá</i>	विजा.
Swim, v. i. <i>pohe m.</i>	पोहे म.
Second, a. <i>dúsero</i>	दूसेरो.
Small, a. <i>chudor m.</i> and f.	चुडोर.
Star, s. <i>sukum</i> , p. <i>sukkuk</i>	सुकुम, सुकुक.
Set, v. t. <i>írrána</i>	इराना.
Skin, s. <i>thol</i> , p. <i>tholk</i>	थोल, थोल्क.
Sunshine, s. <i>adí</i>	अदो.
Stand, v. i. <i>nitána</i>	निताना.
Salute, v. t. <i>sewájár k.</i>	सेवाजार क.
So, conj. <i>áhun</i>	आऊन.
Surely, ad. <i>kharo</i>	खरो.
Send, v. t. <i>rohtána</i>	रेह्ताना.
Scream, v. i. <i>kilitána</i>	कोलिताना.
Similar, a. <i>lekhá</i>	लेखा.
Sit, v. i. <i>udána</i>	उटाना.
Side, s. <i>khák</i>	खाक
Shut, v. t. <i>kehehí síána</i>	केह्चीसौआना (asadoor).
Shout, v. t. <i>háká s.</i>	हाका स.
Shade, s. <i>dharmaí</i>	धड़्मो.

Search, v. t. <i>parkána</i>	पर्काना.
Seek, v. t. <i>parkána</i>	पर्काना.
Son-in-law, s. <i>sanne</i> , p. <i>sannerk</i>	सन्ने, सन्नेर्क.
Strike, as a tent, v. t. <i>arutána</i>	अरुताना.
Slay, v. t. <i>joksí waťána</i>	जोक्सी वाटाना.
Self, s. <i>tanai</i>	तनै.
Swear, v. t. <i>kiriyá tindána</i>	किड़िया तिन्दाना.
Sheep, s. <i>khálmányál</i> p. <i>-yáلك</i>	खाल्मान्याल, -याल्क.
Shew, v. t. <i>vehtána</i>	वेहताना.
Sacrifice, v. t. <i>tarhutána</i>	तर्हुताना.
Split, v. t. <i>pahitána</i> , applied to wood,	पहिताना.
Shore, s. <i>tharí</i>	थड़ौ.
Sand, s. <i>waru</i>	वारु.
So many, a. <i>ichehho</i>	इच्छो.
Sure, a. <i>pakko</i>	पक्को.
Simple, a. <i>súđho</i> m. and f.	सूधो.
Sell, v. t. <i>momána</i>	मोमाना.
Sport, v. i. <i>garsána</i>	गर्साना.
Spring, s. as of a well, <i>monghá</i>	मोंघा.
Sorrow, s. <i>dukh</i> , H.	दुख.

T.

Tie, v. t. <i>dohtána</i>	दोहताना.
Tent, s. <i>pál</i> , pl. <i>páلك</i>	पाल, पाल्क.
Tell, v. t. <i>samjhe k.</i>	संभे क.
Throw down, v. t. <i>wáťána</i>	वाटाना.
Two, a. <i>rand</i>	रण्ड.
Three, a. <i>múnd</i>	मूण्ड.
Ten, a. <i>pad</i> , pl. <i>patk</i>	पद, पत्क.
Twenty, a. <i>visá</i> H.	वीसा.
Take, v. t. <i>yetána</i>	येताना.
Turn, v. t. <i>tiritána</i>	तिरिताना.
Turn, v. t. <i>tirhutána</i>	तिर्हुताना.
This, dem. p., <i>id</i> , pl. <i>íú</i> , f.	इद, ईक, applied to fe-
	males and things.
<i>er</i> , pl. <i>erk</i> , m.	एर, एर्क, applied to men.

That, dem. pron., <i>ad</i> , pl. <i>au</i> , f.	अद, औ applied to females, &c. [men.
<i>or</i> , pl. <i>ork</i> , m.	ओर, ओर्क applied to
Touch, v. t. <i>iřáná</i>	इटाना.
Throw away, v. t. <i>wátsi s.</i>	वाट्सी स.
Take away, v. t. <i>woiánu</i>	वेइआना.
There, <i>ad. aggá</i>	अग्गा.
Top, s. <i>chendi</i> , the summit of hill	चेन्दी.
Tribe, s. <i>got</i>	गेत.
Together, <i>ad. undíkattho</i>	उन्द्रीकट्टो.
Towards, prep. <i>hikke</i>	हिके.
Thither, <i>ad. hakke</i>	हके.
Thence, <i>ad. aggátál</i>	अग्गाटाल.
Thus, <i>ad. ihun</i>	इऊन.
Thief, s. <i>kalle</i> , pl. <i>kallerk</i>	कल्ले, कल्लेर्क.
Thread, s. <i>núl</i>	नूल.
Tree, s. <i>mará</i>	मड़ा.
Tender, a. <i>kauro</i>	कौरो.
True, a. <i>kharo</i>	खरो.
Truly, <i>ad. kharo</i>	खरो.
Then, <i>ad. aske</i>	अस्के.
Teach, v. t. <i>karutáná</i>	करताना.
Tire, v. i. <i>doráná</i>	दोराना.
Tire, v. t. <i>dorsutáná</i>	दोर्सुताना.
To-day, s. <i>nend</i>	नेण्ड.
To-morrow, s. <i>nári</i> , <i>ninne</i>	नाड़ी, निन्ने.
Truth, s. <i>kharopan</i>	खरोपन.
Tell, v. t. <i>kenchutáná</i>	केन्चुताना.
Try, v. t. <i>parkhe k.</i>	पर्खे क.
Thicket, s. <i>jhur</i>	भूड़.
Town, s. <i>nagar</i> , p. <i>nagark</i> H.	नगर, नगर्क.
Thigh, s. <i>jáugh</i> H.	जांघ.
Trough, s. <i>đongá</i>	डोंगा.
Thing, s. <i>chíz</i> , p. <i>chíz k</i>	चीज, चीज्क.
Therefore, conj. <i>ten láyáno</i>	तेन लायानो.
Themselves, rec. pron. <i>ápus</i> H.	आपुस.
<i>ápus te</i> , among themselves	आपुस ते.

V.

Vegetable, s. *bhásplá*
 Voice, s. *leng*
 Village, s. *nár*, p. *nárk*
 Very, ad. *pará*
 Victuals, s. *tindána undána*.
 Void, a. *súno*
 Visit, v. t. *kalitána*
 Vagabond, s. *mulk-gírí k. v.*
 Veil, s. *adám*
 Value, s. *rokar* H.

भास्पला.
 लेंग.
 नार, नार्क
 पड़ा.
 तिनदाना उण्डाना.
 लूनो.
 कलिताना.
 मुल्क-गौरी क. व.
 अडाम.
 रोकड़.

W.

Walk, v. i. *handána*
 Weep, v. i. *arána*
 Wife, s. *rot-tá*
 Who, inter. pro *bor*
 Whose, *bonhá*
 Whom, *bon*
 Wealth, s. *dhan-daulet*
 Why, ad. *bárá*
 Warn, v. t. *indána*
 Woman, s. *ár*, p. *ásk*
 Where, ad. *baggá*
 Whence, ad. *buggátál*
 Whither, ad. *beke*
 With, prep. *sín*
 Wilderness, s. *dongur*
 Whip, v. t. *jánána*
 Waterpot, s. *sora*
 Well, ad. *bes, chokho*
 Wash, v. t. *nurána*
 Wash, v. t. *sukkána*
 Wish, v. t. *cháhe m.*
 Water, s. *yer*
 Water, v. t. to cause to drink, *uhtána*

हन्दाना.
 अड़ाना.
 रोन-ता, the woman of
 the house.
 बोर. } See interr.
 वेन्हा. } pronouns.
 वोन. }
 धन-दौलेत.
 पारो.
 इन्दाना.
 आर, आस्क.
 बग्गा.
 बग्गाताल.
 बेके.
 सीन.
 डोंगुर.
 जीआना.
 सोरा.
 बेस, चोखो. [person.
 नुराना, applied to the
 सुक्काना, to wash clothes.
 चाहे म.
 येर.
 उह्ताना.

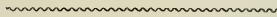
Wanderer, s. <i>mulk-gíri k. w.</i>	मुल्क-गीरी क. व.
Womb, s. <i>potá</i>	पोता.
Wean, v. t. <i>onhá pál chhuṭe k.</i>	ओन्हा पाल छुटे क.
Wander, v. i. <i>bhule máteke wallitáná</i>	भुले मातेके वल्लिताना.
Work, s. <i>dhandho</i>	धंधो
Witness, s. <i>gohái, pl. goháirk</i>	गोहाई, गोहाईर्क.
Wood, s. <i>kaṭiá</i>	कटिआ.
Weigh, v. t. <i>joke k.</i>	जाके क.
Well, s. <i>kúá H., pl. kúáng</i>	कूआ, कूआंग.
Wonder, s. <i>achambhá H.</i>	अचंभा.
Wonder, v. i. <i>achambhá k.</i>	अचंभा क.
Wearied, pp. <i>dorsí</i>	दोसीर्.
Weary, to be, v. i. <i>doráná</i>	दोराना.
Window, s. <i>khirkí</i>	खिड़की.
Wrangle, v. i. <i>tarutáná</i>	तडुताना.

Y.

Year, s. <i>warsá</i>	वर्सा.
Yes, ad. <i>inge</i>	इंगे.
Youth, s. <i>raior, p. raiork</i>	रैआर, रैआर्क. [persons.
Young, a. <i>raior, f. raia</i>	रैआर, रैआ, applied to
Yesterday, s. <i>nári, ninne</i>	नाड़ी, निन्ने.

NUMERALS.

The Gonds in this district count the length of ten in the Gondí, and then use the Hindí numerals.



The Vástu Yága and its bearings upon Tree and Serpent Worship in India.—By PRATÁPACHANDRA GHOSHA, B. A.

(Read 7th September, 1870.)

In the history of human progress, the feeling of fear has perhaps proved as active an agent in invention as necessity. The philosophy of fear is most interesting: originating in the want of strength, or in a feeling of want of strength, fear often, to use a paradox, concentrates, if it does not create, strength. It impels an individual to flight, sometimes with such extraordinary rapidity as to baffle all pursuit. The energy spent in avoiding a danger if concentrated and better directed, might, in many cases, lead to the overcoming of the obstacle; but as the mind shrinks within itself at the very idea of danger, it slackens the nerves for all action except flight. A man runs with the greatest velocity when impelled by fear. In the very flight he may have unconsciously overcome several difficulties, which, in sober moments, he would rather have fled from, than manfully encountered and overcome. It is contagious, because the exhibition of fear in a companion damps the hope of relief from that quarter: it makes one feel lonely, the most favourable condition for engendering fear. It advances as hope recedes, after the faith in our own strength has been shaken. It originates superstition; for when human aid fails, the mind naturally looks to the supernatural and the mysterious: mantras, charms, and sacrifices are resorted to, with a view to propitiate the imaginary evil-doers, and sacrifices are selected to suit the nature of the evil spirits.

In the earliest portraits of the *Aryan* race, as delineated in the Vedas, we find their ideas and their thoughts centred in their homes, their cattle, their fields, and in the discomfiture of their enemies. Their wants were few, and their prayers, therefore, were less varied; and their ceremonies were, probably, equally simple. But this simplicity bore within itself the seed of a very complex system of thought. Everything that was useful in some way or other, everything that was beautiful or awful in nature, or that excited unusual feelings, or suggested new ideas, was estranged from the ordinary and associated with the supernatural.

A new current of thought soon after set in. In the freshness of imagination during the primitive state of society, comparisons, metaphors, and allegories, were soon changed into real entities, and mythology rapidly gained ground in men's minds. Thus the Puránas, by a natural poetical idea, made the sun and the moon, which witness all that is done on the earth, the spies of the divine ruler—a myth describing the all-pervading nature of their rays. In the Vedas, they are regarded as the universal witnesses of all ceremonies. The *Ráhu*, the ascending node, is derived from the verb literally meaning to abandon, void, hence also black, darkness, shadow, &c., and is represented in mythology as having no body, the *umbra* of the astronomers. The *umbra* may be said to devour as it were the luminaries. Later mythology makes *Ráhu* a trunkless head, an ingenious mythological adaptation of the *umbra* which devours, but inasmuch as it has no body, the moon comes out from the throat. Again, poetic imagination or extreme fear, personifies qualities, and that to such an extraordinary extent, that while describing the blood-thirsty vengeance of S'aktí, she is said to have, in the *Chhinnamastá* incarnation, cut off her own head from the trunk, and with the gaping trunkless skull gluttonously drunk her own blood which springs with the warmth of life. However hideous the conception is, it is the result of the license allowed to poets to use partial similitudes. To such flights of unshackled imagination, the variously formed sphinxes of the Chaldeans are but mere flutters of the wings. As allegories illustrative of the concentration of force to overcome difficulties, and the adaptation of means to a purpose, the achievements of Durgá offer many interesting instances. On the occasion of vanquishing the mighty *Asuras*, Sumbha and Nisumbha, and their general, named Mahishásura, (the buffalo-demon) the several gods are made to direct their energy to their weapons for the purpose. The goddess Durgá, representative of this union, sprung forth with ten arms fit to crush several *Asuras* at one fell swoop. Káli, another incarnation of Sakti, in the war with Raktavíja, a demon multiplying his race, as his name implies, from the drops of blood flowing from his body, and touching the earth, is represented as having licked up the blood as it streamed forth from his person with a view to arrest that dreadful propagation.

Many of these myths, again, may be traced partly to oriental hyperbole and partly to the many-sided meanings of the words used in describing them : figurative expressions were seized and new myths were invented in illustration of them. Others again are illustrative of national customs ; thus the protruded tongue of Káli has been the theme of several fanciful tales. With some, in the heat of the battle, Káli was so maddened, that the gods despaired of the world, and sent S'iva, her husband to appease her. S'iva crept among the dead soldiers lying on the field, and contrived to pass under the feet of Káli, who no sooner perceived her husband trampled under her feet, than she became abashed, and, in the fashion of the women of the country, bit her tongue as expressive of her regret and indelicacy.

It is amusing to follow the line of argument put forth in the *Puránas* in support of these myths. In some instances, they approach so near the ludicrous, that were it not for their thorough adaptability to the state of native society of the time, their fallacies would have been long ago exposed, and the whole *Pauránic* system spurned and despised.

S'aktí is Force. Originally a sect of Hindus worshipped force and matter as eternal. The word being in the feminine gender, its personification is a female divinity of supernatural powers, and every occupation which called for great exercise of energy and power at once selected her as tutelary goddess, and she is now the most popular of all the three and thirty millions of the Hindu pantheon. *S'áktáism* has since imbibed so many brutal practices of cannibalism, human sacrifice, and bacchanalian rites, that the very name of a *S'áktá*, inspires horror and disgust; nevertheless the unholy Tantras, which propound and explain the principles of this doctrine, and give rules for worshipping the different forms of S'akti, are increasing in number and popularity. They were, until lately, comparatively unknown beyond the frontiers of Bengal, but copies of MSS. are now demanded from every quarter of Hindustan. The Tántric system is of Bengali origin, and its rites and customs are intimately interwoven with those of the hill tribes, especially those of Nepal and Assam. Demonology is a principal feature in the *S'áktá* faith, and the various nocturnal ceremonies are fixed which

were much in vogue in Bengal, even as late as about fifty years ago.

Nor did fear and superstition stop with the creation of gods out of poetical objects. In men's anxiety to avail themselves of supernatural aid, they did not hesitate to borrow from foreign and otherwise hated sources.

Sattipír, *Mánikpír*, *Sháhjummá Faqír*, *Sháh Faríd*, *Olábíbí*, and many other similar *dii minores* and saints, found their places in Hindu mythology entirely from this cause. In jungly districts and infested rivers and creeks, *Kálu Ráyá* and *Dakshin Ráyá* are as commonly worshipped as the local *Pírs* and *Gházís*. It is remarkable that *Kálu Ráyá* and *Dakshin Ráyá* are represented by trunkless mitred heads. They are held to be guardians of the forest, and they ride on tigers and crocodiles. On the 30th day of the month of *Pausha*, these two forest demigods are worshipped, and with them earthen figures of their tigers and crocodiles. But this is limited to the southern districts of Bengal, where these ferocious animals abound. They are worshipped as *Kshetrapálas* or field gods, and are said to have originated from the heads of *Brahmá*, the creator, cut off by *S'íva*. To them sacrifices of goats and ducks are offered, perhaps more to appease the tigers and the crocodiles than the gods themselves.

That the same principle of appeasing the unmanageable and the dreadful is the basis of serpent worship, is easy to demonstrate. The serpent goddess is worshipped in the *Euphorbia antiquorum*. The goddess mother of the serpents, and goddess presiding over them, is *Manasá*, the object of love and devotion, and, as the name implies, an allegorical creation. Indeed, tree and serpent worship may be said to have originated partly, if not entirely, in the imagination of the people, and in figures of speech. The chief of the serpents is अनन्त, eternity, literally endless, of which the universally acknowledged symbol is a coiled snake. Though represented as the support of *Vishṇu*, while floating on the fathomless sea of chaos before creation, (God in eternity), he is, in the *Puránas*, described as having the form of *Vishṇu*, meaning, perhaps, the eternity of *Vishṇu*. Thus the *Puranas* describe him as

“ A thousand-hooded, four-armed &c.”*

In Purānic mythology, he is the bed on which *Nārāyana* is said to have rested before creation, and will rest after the creation is destroyed.

अनन्तस्रज गत्वा तु यत्र क्षीरोद्दसागरः ।
तत्र स्वयं त्रियायुक्तं सुसुप्सन्नं जनार्दनं ॥
तस्योपधानमकरोत् अनन्तो दक्षिणां फणां ।
उत्तरां पाददोश्चक्रे उपधानं मचावलं ॥
नाल्लटन्तं तदा चक्रे शशेषपश्चिमां फणां ।
स्वयन्तु जीवयामास शेषरूपो जनार्दनं ॥

Here *Ananta*, (eternity) in the form of a serpent is described as doing menial work and waving a fan. But elsewhere he is said to be an incarnation of Vishṇu.

The myth of the Atlas serpent named *S'esha* (the end) is acknowledged to be allegorical. Thus the Kurma Purāna.

एकाभगवतो मूर्च्छिज्ञानरूपाशिवामला ।
वासुदेवाभिधाना सा गुणातीता सुनिष्कला ॥
द्वितीया कालसंज्ञान्या तामसो शेषसंज्ञिका ।
निश्चिन्ति सकलांश्चान्ते वैष्णवी परमा तनुः ॥
कूर्मपुराणं ।

It is the Hindu form of chaos. The figure in it was, as usual, soon forgotten, and the frequent earthquakes that visited parts of India were accounted for by a slight extension of the idea contained in the myth. The शेष, the serpent of eternity, has a thousand hoods, and upon one of them he holds the earth. At times he relieves himself by changing the load from one to another hood, and the motion caused by his replacement of the load is said to be the cause of earthquakes.

Vishṇu is repeatedly brought in contact with the serpent. As the presiding god of the sun, in fact the sun himself (sun = Vish-

* फणासदृखसंयुक्तं चतुर्बाहुं किरोटिनं ।
नवाक्षपल्लवाकारं पिङ्गलश्मश्रुलोचनं ॥
पीताम्बरधरं देवं शङ्खचक्रगदाधरं ।
कराग्रे दक्षिणे पद्मं गदां तस्याप्यधः करे ॥
दधानं सर्वलोकेषु सर्वाभरणभूषितं ॥

nu = Hari) he is an enemy of Ráhu, whose stellar form is that of a serpent, and who, as a demon, was cut into two by Vishṇu's discus on the occasion of the distribution of nectar churned from the ocean of life, *alias* light, the sweets of knowledge to the gods. Ráhu (to be abandoned) is, as we have said before, also black, darkness, or ignorance. According to the *Graha Yajna Tantra*, an astrological work of great importance amongst the Hindus, the presiding god of Ráhu is *Kála* (Death = Time), and the subordinate god (प्रत्यञ्चिदेवता) is a serpent:—an idea which reminds us of the tree of knowledge and the serpent in the Mosaic legend. Ráhu is the lord of bones, and it presides over the southwest quarter of the globe, (*niríti*) over misfortunes and calamities. Ráhubhedi, the destroyer, or literally the dissector, of Ráhu, darkness, is Vishṇu, *alias* Surya (the Sun), who has also the name of *Ráhuhá*, the killer of Ráhu. Its mythical origin is distinctly acknowledged in astronomical works, in one of which we find:—

चक्षुषा दर्शनं राहो र्यत्तद्ग्रहणमुच्यते ।

“When the Ráhu is perceptible by the eyes, it is called an eclipse.”

In the *Bhágavat Purána*, Krishna, or Vishṇu incarnate, in one of his miracles, is devoured by a great ophidian demon, in whose stomach he plays several tricks, and at last, getting out of it, exhibits the whole universe dancing on the tongue of the serpent (eternity), whom he afterwards overcomes (as creator). He is also described as breaking the several heads of *Káliya*, a Nága king of Romanak country, whom Krishna would have completely destroyed, had not some of his wives, who were Nága women, interfered. Garuda, the bird-god, is the vehicle of Vishṇu, and though a step-brother to the Nágas, is their deadly enemy.

In the Mahábhárata, Parikshita, grandson of the Pándavas, is described to have defiled the body of a sage while in his meditation with a dead snake, whereupon the Muni's son cursed him. To carry out this malediction, *Takshaka*, commonly identified with the Gecko that makes a “*tak tak*” noise, and sometimes with the dragon-lizard, one of the great serpents, visited Parikshita, attired as a Bráhman, and made the usual salutation, and blessed the king by offering him a small plum. No sooner held the king the

proffered fruit to his nose, than a snake, the *takshaka* serpent, issued forth from it and stung him. The Rájá fell a victim to the virulent venom of the snake. Janmejaya, his son, with a view to avenge the death of his father, instituted a Yajna, entitled *sarpasatra*, the snake-sacrifice. The priests with their mantras poured purified *ghí* into the blazing altar, and snakes from all parts of the world, coming in millions, fell senseless into it, and were soon consumed. The sacrifice went on till Takshaka's turn came, and when the unswerving priest offered his *áhúti* (oblation of *ghí*) with a powerful *mantra* to Agni invoking Takshaka, the great serpent felt deeply the irresistible influence of the sacrificial fire. Yet unwilling to yield to it, and trembling at his approaching doom, he fled to the court of Indra. But the mantras of the sacred munis were even more potent than the lord of the immortals, and Takshaka was wrenched from his hiding-place. He hovered over the blazing flame, and was about to fall into it, when Astika, the offspring of the intermarriage between an Aryan and a Naga woman, a nephew of Vásuki, the serpent king, interfered. He begged of Janmejaya to put a stop to the sacrifice, and thereby saved the serpent race. Both these stories, however, appear more like poetical versions of border warfare with antagonistic races, than pure myths.

These stories regarding the Nágas and serpents are obviously mythical, and may be explained away by unravelling the allegories upon which they are based. In none does the true reptile, the snake, make its appearance. Nor is this remarkable, for the authors of *S'ástras* have carefully separated the *Nágas* and *Sarpas*, the ophidian race from true snakes. The Nágas are a class of demigods, some of whom at will assume the forms of men, but generally have the lower extremities of their body ending in a snake's tail, while above the waist they are shaped like gods and men. In some cases, however, their heads are backed by hoods of serpents. But this form of the Nága, though frequently found in sculptured stones, appears to be a later representation. Everywhere in the Puráñas, the Nágas speak like men, and have bodies like them. The Sarpas on the other hand are a family of reptiles not at all connected with the Nágas, and are in no Purána found to speak or act like men. Nor are they ever worshipped by the Brahmans, though a later

Uppapurána, one of those interpolations, which has mixed the real with the unreal, and has complicated our meagre historical data, describes them as descendants of Nágas, much degenerated and enfeebled.

In the whole cyclopædia of Hindu sacrifices and ceremonies, no sacrifice connected with Nágas or Sarpas, is more frequently practised and with greater *eclat* than the *Vástu Yága*. It is, indeed, considered a Vaidic rite, and without it no house, temple, or tank is fit for divine or human use. It is a ceremony that every Hindu has to perform, and without it none can inhabit a new house. *Vástu* is partly a Vaidic god. He is the tutelary deity of the house, and is regarded by the Hindu with a peculiar veneration; for the homestead has a sanctity in his eyes which is not met with in other countries. To have the privilege of dwelling in the house of his forefathers is an object of pride with him, and the greatest misfortune that can happen to a Hindu is the loss of his domicile. Few things appear more dreadful than when an incensed bráhman pronounces the awful curse "Let doves take possession of your *Vastu*" (domicile), and an enemy vows vengeance by threatening to sow sesamum in the *Vástu bhítá*, or the site of the homestead, that is to say, to reduce the homestead to a field under the plough. Each *Vástu*, or domicile, is believed to have a representative snake, called the *Vástu-Sarpa*, which is regarded with great awe. If the *Vástu-Sarpa* is seen to abandon a house, it is an unlucky omen, and the perpetuity of the house, the continuity of the race or family, is believed to be endangered.

The *Vástu Yága* ceremony is performed in the manner described below.

VA'STU YÁGA.—On the morning of the day previously fixed for entering a new house, the owner performs the usual morning prayers and ablutions, and having thus purified himself, he presents pieces of gold to bráhmans according to his means. A water-pot is filled with water, and on it are placed fruits, flowers, and mango leaves. It is decorated by Bráhmans with curd and rice, under the usual *mantras*. The owner then touches respectfully the tail of a cow, crowns his head with garlands, anoints his person with sandal-wood paste, and places his lawful wife on his

left bearing a *ghaṭa* on her loins and a *kula* with grains on her head. Thus prepared, he enters his new house. The water-pot mentioned above, is carried by a Brahman, who leads the procession.

The *Ābhyudāyika Srāddha* and the *pūjā* of the sixteen *Mātrikās* with the *ganādhipas* is performed at a separate place.

In the new house, the owner, having made the *āchamana*, commences the *Vástu Yága*.

It is begun with formally making a resolution (*Sankalpa*) to complete the rite, and for this purpose the *Raddhati* says:—‘Let him sit on an *Āsana* (carpet) or a mat of kusa grass with his face towards the east, and let him pronounce “om tat sat” “om, to-day in the month of (here mention the lunar month), in the (here mention the bright or the dark fortnight,) on (here mention the number *tithi* or lunar day), I, of (here mention the family) family or *gotra* (here mention the name) with a view to avoid the defects and evils of this human habitation, perform the *Vásta Yága*.” The *Sankalpa* hymn is then to be repeated. Let him next worship Vishṇu and the nine planets, and let him next let drop the *Vasudhárás*, of melted butter, against a wall so as to run in a given number of lines. The *Ayushmya* hymn is next repeated.’

The appointment of priests (*Varana*):—‘The Bráhmans, previously selected for the performance of the sacrifices and ceremonies, have to be seated on carpets with their faces towards the north. The *Yajamána* is to propitiate them with sandal paste. Let him then pronounce “Om. I am blessed. Om. On the occasion of this Vástu Yága (enjoined by holy writ) do you, the respected three, pronounce ‘*Om Svasti*’ om, blessed be the act.”

The three priests respond “*Om Svasti*.”

The *Yajamána*: “Om, on the occasion of this *Vástu Yága* ceremony, do you three pronounce *om riddhim* (om prosperity).”

The priests respond “om, may you prosper.”

Let rice be scattered around by the Bráhmans present with the *mantras* which commence with “*Om, Svasti no Indra viddhasrava, Svasti no Pusha visvaveda, Svasti, &c.*” “Om, may Indra, propagator of ceremonies, bless us; may Pushá, &c.” Then let the hymn “*Om Suryah somo yamah kálah, &c.*” “In the presence of the sun, the moon, death, time, twilight, bhutas (spirits), day, night, wind,

dikpati (gods of the ten cardinal points), earth, sky, inhabitants of the firmament (*kashara*), and gods, as Bráhma witnesses, I promise."

The Brahmá or chief priest should be appointed first.

Let the Yajamána, seated as before with joined palms, address the Brahmá, "Om, you are *Sadhu* (gentle,) be seated.

Let the Brahmá, reply "Om! verily I am *sadhu*."

Yajamána :—Om, I will propitiate you.

Brahmá :—Om, do propitiate.

Let the Yajamána then offer sandal wood paste, flowers, cloth, and ornaments to the Brahmá, and let him next touch his right thigh and say, "Om, this day (as mentioned before) in my promised *Vástu Yága* ceremony, I do hereby appoint you (state the name of the Brahmá) of — family, of — *pravara*, worshipped with sandal wood &c., to perform the duties of a Brahmá.

Brahmá :—"Om! I am appointed."

Yajamána :—Om! perform the duties of a Brahmá as directed (in the Sástras).

Brahmá :—"Om, according to my knowledge I shall."

Should the Yajamána be not qualified to perform himself the *homa*, let him appoint a Brahman as a *hotá*, in the same way as the Brahmá is appointed. Then let the *Áchárya*, *Tantradháraka*, and *Sadasya* be appointed in order.

The sacrificial altar, *Vedi*, should be eight cubits long, and eight cubits broad, and one cubit high. It should be purified by sprinkling successively the urine of the cow with the *Gáyatri mantra*, cow-dung with the *mantra* which commences, "Om *Gandhadvaram duradharshyam*, &c.," cow's milk with that which commences "om *Apyayasva*, &c.," curds with that which begins with "om *dadhi krávno*, &c.," and lastly, *ghi* (clarified butter) with *om tejosi*, &c., kusa grass and water should be sprinkled with "om *deva satva* &c." Then, let autumnal paddy, winter paddy, *muga*, wheat, mustard, sesamum, and barley be mixed with water and scattered on the *Vedi*.

The *Vástu mandala* is a square diagram of mystic import. It is thus described in *Vástu Proyogu* :—"Commencing from the north-eastern corner of it, at the four corners four sticks of *khadira*, *Mimosa catechu*,

each 12 fingers long are to be nailed down with the following mantra: *om Sísantu te talé nága, &c.*, “om, O you serpents, fast runners, protectors of all animals, enter under this Vedi, and stay in this house, continually bestowing on me long life and strength.” By the sides of these sticks, with the following mantra, make offerings of *mása* “*om Agnibhyo pyatha sarpebhyo.* “Om to the Agnis, to the serpents, and to those others who are dependent on them, I offer this pure and excellent food.”

Join the four pegs with strings each four cubits long and with these as sides describe a square. Divide this square into 64 smaller equal squares, and with fine coloured powders fill them in the manner described.”

Here follow directions for filling up the squares, and the names of 45 *nágas* or serpents presiding over particular single squares or groups of them.

Having invoked forty-five *nagas* or *pitris* on the squares, place by the side of the four pegs, four water-pots decorated with cloth, garlands, &c. On the south-eastern corner close by the water-pot invoke *Vidári* on a black square. On the middle of the eastern side of the square, without it, invoke *Skanda* on a yellow square. On the southern *Aryamana*, red. On southwest near the water-pot *Putaná*, black. On the west *Jambhaka*, black; on north-west, *Pápa-rákshasi* black, on the north *Pili-pinja*, black; on the north-east near the water-pot *Charaki*, black.

The sacrifice.—On the *ghata* (water-pot) beyond the squares invoke the nine *Grahas* (holders-planets) and worship them one after the other. Commencing from the east towards the four sides distribute *mása* with the following mantras “*om bhútáni rákshasávápi, &c., om bhutás* (spirits,) or *rákshasas* (demons) whosoever dwell here may they all receive again this offering as I do my dwelling house.”

Then with rice and flowers invoke *Is'a*; “om! *Is'a*, come hither. This *pádyá* is given to *Is'a*, Om! This food is offered to *Is'a*, Om! These three handfuls of flowers are offered to *Is'a*.”

Similarly let the following be invoked and worshipped in the several squares in order:—*Paryanya, Jayanta, Sakra, Bháskara, Satya, Bhṛsa, Vyoma, Hutása, Pushaná, Vitatha, Grhakshata, Vaiva-svata, or Yama, Gandharva, Bṛngá, Mṛga, Pitṛs, Davnvarika, Su-*

griva, Pushpadanta, Varuna, Asura, S'esha, Pápa, Roga, Nága, Visvakarmá, Bhalláta, Yajnesvara, Nágarája, S'ri, Aditi, Apa, Apavatsa, Aryamna, Soma, Vivasvata, Indra, Indrátmaja, Mitra, Rudra, Rájayakshmana, Dharádharma, Brahman, Skanda, Vidári, Putaná, Jambhaka, Páparákshasi, Pilipinja, Charaka.

In the square for Brahman, *Vasudeva* is to be invoked and worshipped with sixteen *upacháras*, or articles of worship. There also *Lakshmi* and *Vasudevaganas*, are to be worshipped. In the same square with the same kinds of offerings *Dhará* (earth) is likewise to be worshipped with the following. *Om sarvaloka dharam*, &c. "Om, supporter of all creation, female figured, well ornamented, be propitiated." In the four squares of Brahmá is to be scattered rice, and thereon a new strong water-pot filled with water is to be placed, and into it gold and silver pieces and *Sarvoushadhi* are to be dropped, and the whole covered with a *Vardhani*. In this water-pot, the four-headed deity, Brahmá, should be invoked and worshipped with sixteen kinds of offerings, *upacháras*. Towards the north-eastern corner of this water-pot, another pot full of pure water into which have been put the five *ratnas* (jewels) and gold and silver pieces is to be placed and, tying round its neck a pair of new clothes, a garland, twigs of *Asvatha*, (the religious fig) *vata* (the banian), mango, *plaksha* (the vulgar fig) and *Udumbara* (the sacrificial fig) trees. Placing upon these a dish filled with barley, the priest should recite the mantra "*Ajighra Kalasam, &c.*" also the invocation, *Varuna*, the water-god, *om Varunasyothambhanamas'i* &c.

Then follows the invocation of the holy places "*om Gangádyá Saritah, &c.*" Om, all the rivers beginning with Ganga, oceans and seas, all rivers, all oceans, all seas and all lakes, destroyers of ill-luck of *Yajamána*, come hither." Then are to be dropped into the water-pot various kinds of earth, such as earth from stables, from where elephants live, from ant-hills, from the confluence of rivers, from the banks of a lake, from the fields where cattle graze, and from the ruts of chariot-wheels, also water from sacred places, and *sarvoushadi* and *durvá* grass.

On the west of this water-pot, according to the rules of his own *Grihyasutra*, let the owner or his representative *Hotá* establish the

fire (sacrificial) and repeat Virupáksha hymn and make Kushandiká.

Having finished the *Kushandiká*, Agni under the name of *Prajápati*, should be worshipped according to the rules of *Aditya Purána* “*Om pingabhru, &c.*” “Om! brown-browed, brown-bearded, brown-haired and brown-eyed, high-featured, red-stomached, seated on a goat, seed-wreathed Agni, you are powerful.” Then are to be offered one hundred and eight oblations or *dhutis* to *Brahma* with a mixture of honey, *ghi*, sesamum, and barley. And next, ten offerings should be made to each of the worshipped gods.

The *Vilvapanchaka homa*, or five offerings, with the leaves of the tree *Marmelosæglops* has then to be performed. The five hymns for the purpose have *Visvámitra* for their rishi; they are in *Jagati* metre, their god is *Vástu*, their use lies in the propitiation of *Vástu*. “*Om Vastosphté prati, &c.*”

Then with *ghi* alone, “*Om Agnaye, &c. sváká.* Om to Agni, the originator and supporter of Sacrifices, this is given to Agni.” After the principal sacrifice and the *Mahávyáhrti homa* are over, the *tushni samit* has to be offered without any mantras. Then follow the *práyashitta homa*, the chanting of the *Vámadevya* hymn, and taking a handful of curd, repeat the following, “*Om Yajnam Gachchha, &c.*” Om, the sacrifice be ended, &c. Finally the fire is to be extinguished with curd.

This is to be followed by offering to the *Vástu* gods rice boiled with milk with the mantra ‘*esha páyasa vali om Is’aya namah,*’ and so on. “This offering of milk and rice to Is’a, and so on, to other *Vástu* gods.”

Then uttering *Svasti* perform *S’ánti*.

Om in the *S’ánti* work, om, do you three pronounce, “I am blessed.” The following are the directions for the performance of the ceremony of *S’ánti*.

Let the priest sprinkle on the *Yajamána*, seated with his sons and family facing east, water from the *S’ánti-ghata* with the mantra, “*Om, Surástvámabhi sinchantu, &c.* Om, may the gods purify you with water; may *Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Mahesvara*, *Vasudeva*, *Jagannátha* as well as *Sankarshana* purify you. May *Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha* give you victory. May *Akhandala*, *Agni*, *Yama*,

Nairta and Varuna Pavan Cuvera and Siva and Sesha with brahmans and dikpálas ever purify you. May all the assembled gods bless you with reputation and fame, wealth, memory, reasoning, health, veneration and mercy, ingenuity, modesty, bodily comfort, quietude, and loveliness. May the planets, the sun, the moon, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, all the planets, together with *Ráhu* and *Ketu* propitiated, purify you. May devas, danavas, gándharvas, yakshas, rákshas, serpents, rishis, munis, cows, devamátás also deva-patnis, adhvraas, snakes, daityas and apsaras, weapons, all S'astras, rajas and carriers and medicines, jewels and the degrees of time, lakes, seas, mountains, holy places, clouds, rivers, prepare you towards the attainment of piety, desires and wealth! Om, *Svasti*."

The *Vástu yága*, described above, is evidently a sacrifice invented by the ancient Aryan conquerors with a view to propitiate the aborigines or primeval owners of the land. Such a practice is not uncommon in Hindu theosophy. Everything that has a place in a ceremony, is worshipped or propitiated. The earth is pacified before lighting up a sacrificial fire, and is appeased after the *homa* is over. The tree from which faggots are collected is worshipped, and is propitiated by *mantras*. The sacrificial goat even is first addressed with a proper prayer to the effect "that beasts were created by *Brahmá* for sacrifice, and killing in a *Yajna* is therefore no killing (तस्मात् यज्ञे बधोऽबधः।)." Again, "Indra, Soma, and other gods, for the sake of sacrifice became beasts and so forth." Indeed, without a preliminary *archan.í* (worship), no offering is deemed fit for presentation and no god is prepared to receive any without it. The *Vetálas* and *Pisáchas* (the gods of the aborigines) are first propitiated, they have the precedence in all ceremonies. In days of yore, such ceremonies were very frequently interrupted by the *dasyus* and *daityas*, and the holy sages who celebrated them, were often obliged to ask for assistance from princes and warriors for protecting them against such depredations. In the *Rámayana*, Visvámitra carries with him young Rámachandra and Lakshmana to protect his sacrifice. In the performance of a *sráddha*, the first offering is made to the *Bhusvámí*, the lord of the soil, and the *Smirtis* teach us that it is not lawful to perform any ceremony on another man's soil without satisfying

his claims, and though rajas and owners of their own houses perform the *sráddha* on their own land, they have still to make offerings to *Vástu Purusha*, which we fancy represents the aboriginal owners of the country. The modern expounders it is true identify the *Vástu Purusha* and the *Bhusvami* with *Vishnu*, but as a separate plate is always offered along with it to *Vishnu*, neither *Bhusvami* nor *Vástu Purusha* can mean anything else, but what it literally says, unless it be a typical offering to the sovereign of the country.

In the *Vástu Yága*, one of the oldest ceremonies of the Aryans, *Vástu* is the principal god, and though the aborigines themselves are not worshipped by name, the *Nága* is no doubt the ostensible object of worship. The several gods, properly *pitrs*, (ancestors,) manes, former owners, that occupy the several *mandalas*, are also the names of *Nágas*. The *Vástu* is the god Earth, quite distinct from *Dhará*, the mother-earth (terra), and in the prayer he is represented as the supporter of the world.

सर्वे वासुमया देवाः सर्वं वासुमयं जगत् ।
 पृथ्वीधरस्तु विज्ञेयो वासुदेव नमस्तु ते ॥

All the gods are pervaded by *Vástu*, *Vástu* pervades the creation; he is the supporter of the earth. Salutation be unto you, O *Vástudeva* !

It is remarkable that nowhere in the *Puránic* or *Tántric* cosmogony, is *Vástu* named as distinct from *Sesha*, or the primal snake (अनन्तवासुकी, eternity).

पृथ्वीधरो हि वायुः तदुपरि कसटः तत्र शेषः ततो भूः ॥

The supporter of the universe is air, above which is the atlas-tortoise (colosochelys atlas ?) upon which rests the *Sesha*, and upon it the earth.

The *Vástu Yága* therefore, appears to be a memorial of the foundation of the new Aryan home and of the *Nágas*, a race of powerful aborigines of India. Their name is connected with the several vegetable products of the soil, which the first Aryan settlers soon found to be useful and worthy of preservation. Thus—

Nágapása, or the lasso, a weapon of the *Nágas*; *Nágavandhu* the religious fig tree (*Ficus religiosa*), the friendly shelter of the *Nágas*; *Nagarenu*, *Nagaja*, and *Naga Sambhava* for vermilion, litharge, and gajena, all probably first mined by the *Nágas*; *Naga pushpika*, the golden Jasmine (*Jasminum fruticans*); *Naga Kesara*, the *Mesua ferrea* flower;

Nága pushpa, *Calophyllum inophyllum*, *Nága Valli*, the betel-leaf plant (*Piper betle*), *Nágaphala* (*Trichosanthes diæca*). Words bearing ample evidence not only of the Nága origin of the things they indicate, but of the Nága influence on the Aryan settlers. The word Naga is also used for an elephant, for lead, and for tin. Even as the word Uzbek was a term of abuse with the Mogul emperors of Delhi, so was *Nágabit* among the Aryan, meaning the veriest rascal.

In the Vástu Yága for consecrating a tank, a long pole is sunk in the centre of the new excavation, and this pole in Sanscrit is *Naga yashti*, or the Nága pole. In course of the ceremony, several Nágas presiding over the several quarters of the maṇḍalas, are worshipped, and though in later times, the practice of throwing golden images of serpents, frogs, and tortoises, in a freshly excavated tank is observed, the *Naga yashti* cannot be said to have any connection with reptiles or snakes. The application of the term Naga to the reptile class, is probably due to the fact of the aborigines living in a wild jungly country, infested by snakes, having been snake-charmers, and great adepts in handling and killing such reptiles; a figure of metonymy, confounding the Nága aborigines with the Nága serpents.

Ananta is worshipped on certain days of the year, and if *Ananta* were a reptile and not an allegorical myth of eternity and the creator, we should have had all over India, idols of serpents like those of other gods. In no place, however, have we observed an idol of a serpent, made and worshipped, unless as an appendix to idols of some other more important gods, though Manasá and Nagas are common in our ceremonies. *Ananta chaturdasi* is a common ceremony. It is performed for fourteen years, and after the completion of the period, the devotee ties round his right arm a cotton string made of fourteen threads having fourteen knots. The ceremony is specially serpentine in its name and forms of worship, but nowhere does the actual reptile appear. *Ananta* is worshipped as Vishnu, and the cord round the arm, promises perpetual enjoyment of heavenly bliss.

Naga panchami is an auspicious day for the worship of the Nagas. On the occasion, Manasa is worshipped in the *Euphorbia* plant. This is an instance of tree-worship connected with serpents. It may

properly be called a case of reptile worship. But though the Hindu propitiates Manasa with a view to be saved from snake-bites during the next twelve months, on no account whatever does he worship idols of snakes. Here it may be noted that *Ananta* is classed among the great snakes. The Sastra runs thus---

सुप्ते जनार्दने दृष्ये पञ्चम्यां भवनाङ्गने ।
 पूजयेन्मनसा देवीं स्तुहीविटपसंस्थितां ॥
 पद्मनाभे गते शय्यां देवैः सर्वैरनन्तरं ।
 पञ्चम्यामसिते पक्षे समुत्तिष्ठन्ति पद्मगी ॥
 देवीं संपूज्य नत्वा च न सर्पभयमाप्नुयात् ।
 पञ्चम्यां पूजयेन्नागाननन्ताद्यान्महोरगान् ॥

देवीपूराणं ।

After Vishnu has gone to sleep on the fifth lunar day of the dark fortnight, let the goddess Manasá abiding in the milky-juice tree be worshipped. After Vishnu has retired, and all the other gods on the fifth wane the *Pannagi* (she-serpent) awakes. One who worships the Devi and makes obeisance to her, and on the fifth day makes offerings to the Nagas, commencing with *Ananta*, one of the great serpents, has never to fear from snakes. *Devi Purána*.

The several *Nágas* mentioned to be worshipped are : *Ananta*, *Vásuki*, *Padma*, *S'ankha*, *Kamvala*, *Karkotaka*, *Dhrtaráshttra*, *Saukhaka*, *Káliya*, *Takshaka*, &c.*

Of these the first eight serpents serve for the consecration of a tank. Their names are inscribed on mango leaves, and these are put

* अनन्तं वासुकिं पद्मं शङ्खं कम्बलमेव च ।
 तथा कर्कोटकं नागं धृतराष्ट्रञ्च शङ्खकं ॥
 कालीयं तक्षकञ्चैव पिङ्गलं मामि मासि च ।
 यजेत्तानसिते नागान् ददृमुक्तो दिवे व्रजेत् ॥
 गारुडपुराणं ।

शेषः पद्मो महापद्मः कुलीरः शङ्खपालकः ।
 वासुकितक्षकञ्चैव कालीयो मणिभद्रकः ॥
 ऐरावतो धृतराष्ट्रः कर्कोटकधनञ्जयौ ।
 योऽसौ चाननरूपेण ब्रह्माण्डं खचराचरं ॥
 पुष्यवद्वारयेन्मूर्ध्नि तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥
 मत्स्यपुराणं ।

अनन्तो वासुकिः पद्मो महापद्मोऽथ तक्षकः ।
 कुलीरः कर्कोटः शङ्खो ह्यथै नागाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

in a pot full of water. A boy is made to draw one out, and the name that is drawn out first becomes the presiding deity of the tank. In other words, the Nāga aborigines being propitiated are entrusted with the protection of the tank. The protecting Nāga is then to be well fed.*

This was no doubt an ingenious method of meeting the difficulty, when several Nagas presented themselves as candidates for the guardianship.

The Naga-yashti or the Naga flag-post, or the rod as it were of the guardian Nāga, is to be made of one of the following trees common in the Nāga hills. A piece straight and free from crooked knots is preferred.

वेणुकं वारुणञ्चैव पुन्नागं नागकेशरं ।
वकुलं चम्पकञ्चैव निम्बञ्चैवाथ खादिरं ॥

The trees recommended are : Bamboo, Varuna, the Punnaga, Messua ferrea, Mimusops elenchi, Azaddirachta indica, and Acacia catechu.

The Nāga, it appears, has to plant the post on the banks of the tank, so that no other Nāga may come and interfere. The *Nāga yashti*, or *Fuhi kātha*, is now made upwards of 30 feet long, and is driven into the ground at the geometrical centre of the tank. But such practices, denoting a forgetfulness of the original motives, are not at all rare among the Hindus.

The *Das'aharā* is a festival in honour of the monsoons and the first freshes in the river. It is, according to Hindu mythology, the anniversary of the day when *Bhagiratha*, an ancestor of *Rāma-*

* नागानामष्टनामानि लिखितानि पृथक् पृथक् ।
ततः कुम्भे च निःक्षिप्य गायत्र्या च विलोढवै ॥
उद्धरेत् पत्रिकामेकां तत्रैव नागमीक्षयेत् ।
यस्य नामोद्धरेत् वत्स स वै जलाधिपः स्मृतः ॥
तच्च सम्पूज्य गन्धार्थैर्दद्यात् क्षीरञ्च पायसः ।
कपिलः ।

Having inscribed the names of the eight Nagas on separate leaves, drop them into a pot filled with water, and raffle them with the *Gāyatri mantra*. On taking out one leaf, the name of the (presiding) Naga appears. The Naga whose name is taken out by the boy, is the guardian of the tank. Worship the said Naga with *Chandana*, &c., and give him milk and rice boiled in milk.

chandra, brought down the river Ganges from the heavens. On the same day, the goddess Manasá is also worshipped in the *Euphorbia* plant; and bits of green lime, *uchhhe* (*Momordica charantia*), and jack fruit are swallowed as safeguards against the venom of snakes. Another mythical specific for the same is a compound of lentils and *nim* (*Azadirachta indica*) leaves.*

A remarkable myth connected with the Nágas, is the bestowal of the art of music by *Sarasvati* upon *Kamvala* and *Asvatara nágas* mentioned in the *Márkandeya Purána*.†

This implies a toleration of the aborigines quite inconsistent with the feeling of hatred, disgust and animosity which prevailed amongst the first Aryan settlers, and which is so pointedly displayed in the Rig-Veda, and can only be accounted for on the supposition that in course of time the two races were reconciled and came to a compromise. The Aryans remained engaged in intellectual occupations and religious worship, while such works as tilling the soil, tending the cattle, dancing, singing, and playing on the lute, &c., were left to the more intelligent of the aborigines. And though the invention of a

* मसूरं निम्बपत्राभ्यां शोचिसेषगते रवौ ।
अपि रोषान्वितस्तस्य तच्छकः किं करिष्यति ॥

द्वत्यचिन्तामणिः ।

He who eats lentils with Nim leaves when the sun enters Aries, what can even the enraged Takshaka do to him ?

† ज्ञास्यते मत्प्रसादेन भुजगेन्द्रपरं तथा ।
चतुर्विधं पदं तालं त्रिःप्रकारं लयं त्रयं ।
यति एक तथा तोद्यं सया दत्तं चतुर्विधं ।
एतद्भवान्मत्प्रसादात् पन्नगेन्द्रापरञ्च यत् ।
अस्यान्वर्गतमापन्नं खरव्यञ्जनयेद्य यत् ।
तद्दृष्टेयं सया दत्तं भवतः कम्बलस्य च ॥
यथा नान्यस्य भूर्लोकं पातालं वापि पन्नगा ॥

मार्कण्डेयपुराणं ।

Through my favour you, noble chief of serpents, (*bhujagendrapara*) shall learn the four kinds of feet, the three kinds of measures of time, the three harmonies, the pause, as also, &c., &c., given by me, from my favour, you noble chief of serpents, shall also learn in connexion with these, the distinction between vowels and consonants. All these have been imparted by me to you and to *Kamvala*, in a manner, the like of which none had before either on earth or in the lower region.

tune or the fitting a new song to a tune, were exclusively the work of the Aryans, the actual art was entrusted to the Nágas. The myth represents *Sarasvati* imparting the art of music to the Nágas, who excelled in its practise both Aryan and non-Aryan performers. According to the *Puránas*, the *Nagas*, the *gandharvas*, the *apsaras*, and the *kinnaras* were the dancers and songsters in ancient India.

The name of a good man is always considered a good omen, and one of the morning duties of the Hindus is to pronounce the names of the most eminent of their historical personages. Among these we find the name of *Karkotaka*, one of the principal *Nágas*. It may be said that the name of a Nága is enjoined to be uttered with a view to propitiate him; yet when it is associated with such names as *Nala* and *Damayanti*, the inference is inevitable that the person named was held in great estimation for some merit or other; possibly it was the name of a person who had acted in a friendly manner to the Aryans.

पृथिवीं नमस्कृत्य कर्कोटकं स्मरेत् ।

Having bowed to the earth, let *Karkotaka* be remembered.

If the above be at all ambiguous as to the use of the name of this Nága, the following from the *Mahábhárata* is at once positive and conclusive.

कर्कोटकस्य नागस्य दमयन्त्या नलस्य च ।

ऋतुपर्णस्य राजर्षे कीर्त्तनं कलिनाशनं ॥

The uttering of the names of *Karkotaka Naga*, of *Damayanti*, of *Nala*, and of *Rituparna*, the hermit Prince, destroys all sin.

From what we have stated above, we are led to believe, that serpent-worship in the true sense of a creature worship, was never prevalent in India, though the Hindus entertain a kind of respect for the allegorical characters *Ananta* and *Vásuki*. This worship may in the present day be seen practised under peculiar circumstances by several hill tribes, but it must be admitted that such a practice does not obtain among the Aryans. The serpent, as an emblem of eternity, may be respected; but then it is the worship of Vishnu, the eternal creating principle, it is the emblem, the form, rather the curve of the serpent and not the reptile. Serpents have crept into our mythological legends; but in whatever form they come, they were openly put down as enemies of Vishnu. The cow

as the giver of milk from which *ghi* is made, is respected and tended with care, not because she is the true goddess *Bhagavati* (goddess of prosperity), but because she confers so many benefits on the Hindus. In the month of Vaisákha, the hottest month in the year, the cow is worshipped every morning, if we may so call the practice of careful tending. The matron of the house fans the cow, anoints her hoofs and horns with oil and turmeric, gives her tender heads of grass and fruits and vegetables. With a napkin her hoofs are cleaned. Some have gone so far as to raise the dust of the hoof to their own heads.

If figures of Nagas occur in sculptured stones, they are sometimes mere ornaments, serving the purpose of a twisted cord, a cornice, or a frieze, or forming when hooded the best fanciful supports of thick architraves or bases of pillars, more beautiful perhaps than horses, lions, and elephants, subjects equally common, but of more difficult execution. In nature, what can be deserving of greater admiration than the graceful undulations, curves, and attitudes of a hooded snake standing erect when enraged. If serpents at one or two places appear as receivers of homage and respect, they are then invariably represented with human faces, and as such, they are nothing but allegorical representations of the aborigines, whose nether parts were coils of snakes—

“The one seem’d woman to the waist, and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fold
Voluminous and vast; a serpent arm’d with mortal sting.”

Or they are mere fanciful figures, as the dragons, &c., of mediæval Christianity. Their occurrence in architectural ornamentation does not lead us to a belief that they were ever objects worshipped; they are what Caryatides were to Greek architecture.

Crocodiles, frogs, monkeys, parrots, and various other birds and animals occur in the architectural remains of India, and with the ludicrous scenes describing the pranks of these animals and birds occur several scenes in which these are represented as adored. Nevertheless no Hindu ever worships a crocodile or a frog. The hanumán, a monkey with black face and hands, is an object of worship in the North-Western Provinces; but this monkey represents the *Mahávira* (the great hero), the allegorical personifi-

cation of brutal force. In vulgar superstition the mouse is the carrier of Ganes'a, the peacock of Kártika, the owl of Lakshmi, and so on, but the Hindu has never been seen to worship any of these as animals, though they are respected on account of their deities. Again, if a Nága appear in a dream, the person is said to be soon blessed with numerous children, a myth apparently connected with the aborigines of the soil, and their influence is still to be seen in the surname of a family of the lower order of *Káyasthas* of Bengal. It is remarkable also that this Naga family has *Vasuki* for its *gotra*.

It is interesting to note how advantage has been taken of the spectacle mark on the hood of the *coluber naja* (the Cobra de Capello) and the myth about the foot mark of Krishna interwoven with it.

Káliya, a Nága prince of Romanaka, used to live in a tank in Vrindávana, and Krishna on one occasion broke its several heads, and would have destroyed him altogether when his two wives interfered. The Nága was let loose and was ordered to return to his country. But as he was afraid of Garuḍa, the carrier eagle of Vishnu, he prayed that he might be saved from the attacks of the bird. Krishna then assured him that he and his tribes bearing Krishna's foot-mark should be exempted from the attacks of Garuḍa.*

Of tree worship, if worship it is to be called, as it amounts to little more than a recognition of benefits received, many instances may be quoted in addition to what has been adduced by Mr. Fergusson. In a country like India, anything that offers a cool shelter from the burning rays of the sun, is regarded with a feeling of grateful respect. The wide-spreading banyan tree is planted and nursed with care, only because it offers a shelter to many a weary traveller. Extreme usefulness of the thing is the only motive perceivable, in the careful rearing of other trees. They are protected by religious injunctions, and the planting of them is encouraged by promises of eternal bliss in the future world. The injunction

* मन्वाद्पद्मचिह्नैः कराति दण्डनाडनं । द्विगुणं ब्रह्मरुत्यायाभविता तस्य
किल्बिषं ॥

against injuring a banyan or a fig tree is so strict, that in the Ramayana even Rávana, an unbeliever, is made to say, "I have not cut down any fig-tree in the month of Vaisakha, why then does the calamity (alluding to the several defeats his army sustained in the war with Rámachandra and to the loss of his sons and brother) befall me?"

The medicinal properties of many plants soon attracted notice, and were cultivated with much care. With the illiterate, the medicinal virtues of a drug are increased with its scarcity; and to enhance its value, it was soon associated with difficulties, and to keep it secret from public knowledge, it was culled in the dark and witching hours of night.

Trees have frequently been identified with gods: thus in the Padma Purána, the religious fig-tree is an incarnation of Vishnu, the Indian fig-tree (*F. indica*) of Rudra, and the Palása (*Butea frondosa*, Roxb.) of Brahma.*

In the Varáha Purána, the planter of a group of trees of a particular species is promised heavenly bliss, and it is needless to point out that from the names of the trees recommended, the extreme utility of the act must be acknowledged. Thus it is said, "he never goes to hell who plants an as'vatha, or a pichumarda, or a banyan, or ten jessamines, or two pomegranates, a *pañchámra*, or five mangoes.†

The Tithitvatva gives a slightly different list, substituting two champakas, three kes'ara, seven tála-palms, and nine cocoanuts, instead of the banyan, the jessamines, the pomegranates, and the *pañchámra*.‡

* अश्वत्थरूपो भगवान् विष्णुरेव न संशयः ।

रुद्रो रूपवटसद्वत्पलाशो ब्रह्मरूपधृक् ॥

पद्मपुराणं ।—उत्तरखण्डे ।

† अश्वत्थमेकं पिचुमर्दमेकं न्यग्रोधमेकं दशपुष्पजातीः ।

द्वे द्वे तथा दाडिममातुलंगे पञ्चास्रवापी नरकं न याति ।।

वराहपुराणं ।

‡ अश्वत्थ एकः पिचुमर्द एको द्वौ चम्पकौ त्रीणि च केशराणि ।

सप्तम्य ताला नव नारिकेलः पञ्चास्रवापी नरकं न याति ।।

तिथितत्त्वम् ।

As early as the Rāmāyana, the planting of a group of trees was held meritorious. The celebrated *Panchavati* garden where *Sitā* was imprisoned, has been reproduced by many a religious Hindu, and should any of them not have sufficient space to cultivate the five trees, the custom is to plant them in a small pot where they are dwarfed into small shrubs. Such substitutes and make-shifts are not at all uncommon in the ecclesiastical history of India. In Buddhist India, millions of miniature stone and clay temples, some of them not higher than two inches, were often dedicated when more substantial structures were not possible. The *Panchavati* consists of the as'vatha planted on the east side, the vilva or *Ægle marmelos* on the north, the banian on the west, the *Emblica officinalis* on the south and the asoka on the south-east.*

The Skanda Purāna recommends a vilva in the centre and four others on four sides; four bānians in four corners, twenty-five asokas in a circle, with a myrobalan, on one side, as the constituents of a great punchavaṭi.†

Superstition has always been active in drawing nice distinctions between the auspicious and the inauspicious, and it is curious to observe how the auspicious qualities of some plants have been extolled. Some are considered auspicious when planted near a dwelling house.

No tree with fruits or blossoms can be cut down, as the following sloka threatens the cutter with the destruction of his family and wealth.

* अश्वत्यविल्ववृक्षञ्च वटघात्री अशोककं ।
वटीपञ्चकमित्युक्तं स्थापयेत् पञ्च दिक्षु च ॥
अश्वत्थं स्थापयेत् प्राचि विल्वमुत्तरभागतः ।
वटं पश्चिमभागे तु घात्रीं दक्षिणतस्तथा ॥
अशोकं वज्जिदिक् स्थाप्यं तपस्यार्थं सुरेश्वरि ।

† विल्ववृक्षं मध्यभागे चतुर्दिक्षु चतुष्टयं ।
वटवृक्षं चतुष्कोणे वेदसंख्यप्ररोपयेत् ॥
अशोकं वर्तुलाकारं पञ्चविंशतिसमिप्तं ।
दिकविदिक्ष्वामलकीञ्चैव एकैकं परमेश्वरी ॥
अश्वत्यञ्च चतुर्दिक्षु वृक्षन् पञ्चवटी भवेत् ॥

स्कन्दपुराणं ।

तस्मान्न ह्येदयेत् वृक्षान् सुपुष्पफलितान् कदा ।

यदीच्छेत् कुलवृद्धिञ्च धनवृद्धिञ्च शाश्वतं ॥

अग्निपुराणं ।

Therefore never cut down any tree that bears good flowers or fruits, if you desire the increase of your family, of your wealth and of your future happiness.

Superstition has associated supernatural properties with many plants, and several have been identified with the gods.

The *durrá*, a kind of grass very common in all parts of India, is excellent fodder for cattle. It is an essential article in the worship of all gods. It is said to have originated from the thigh of *Vishnu*.

The religious fig tree makes one rich, the *Jonesia Asoka* destroys all sorrow, the *Ficus venosa* is said to be useful in sacrifices, and the *Nim* gives much happiness. *Syzygium Jambolanum*, promises heavenly bliss, and the pomegranate a good wife. *Ficus glomerata* cures diseases, and *Butea frondosa* gives the protection of Brahma. The *Calotropis gigantea* is useful as it pleases the sun every day, the bel-tree pleases Siva, and the *Pátalá* pleases Párvati. The Apsaras are pleased with *Bombax malabaricum*, and the Gandharvas with Jasminum, the *Terminalia chebula* increases the number of servants, and the *Mimusops elenchi* gives maid-servants. The *Túl* is injurious to children, and the *Mimusops elenchi* productive of large families. The cocoa-nut gives many wives, and the vine gives a beautiful body; the *Cordia latifolia* increases desires, and the *Pandanus odoratissimum* destroys all.*

* धनोचाश्वत्यवृक्षेण अशोकः शोकनाशनः ।

स्रक्षो यज्ञप्रदः प्रोक्तो निम्बस्याशुप्रदः स्मृतः ॥

जम्बुकी नाकदा प्रोक्ता भार्यादा दाडिमो तथा ।

डुम्बरो रोगनाशाय पलाशा ब्रह्मदस्तथा ॥

अर्कपुष्पा चोपकारा नित्यं तुष्येद्विवाकरः ।

श्रीवृक्षः शंकरोदेवः पाटलायान्नु पार्वती ॥

शिसपायामप्सरसः कुन्दे गन्धर्वसत्तया ।

विभीतके दासवृद्धिर्वकुलोदास्यदस्तथा ॥

अपत्यनाशकस्तालो वकुलः कुलवर्द्धनः ।

वज्रभार्या नारिकेलो द्राक्षः सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरः ॥

रतिप्रदा तथा केलो केतकी सर्वनाशिनो ॥

पद्मपुराणं ।

The tamarind tree is considered most inauspicious, and, according to the *Vaidya Śāstras*, is very injurious to health. The *Carica papeya* plant is more so. Though an introduced plant, the natives were early acquainted with the injurious influence of the exhalations from the leaves of the plant. The Sunflower, *Helianthus*, is supposed to emit gases that destroy miasma.

There is no department of Hindu literature in which the hyperbole has not an important part. The *Haritaki*, one of the myrobalans, is so much valued, that in the following sloka it is said to be more invigorating than the milk of a mother.

हरोतकी भुङ्क्व राजन् मातेव हितकारिणः ।
कदाचित् कुपिता माता नोदरस्या हरोतकी ॥

Prince, eat Haritaki : it is as beneficial as the mother, the mother may occasionally get annoyed, but never the swallowed Haritaki.

The following trees are said to have peculiar virtues.

भवनस्य वटः पूर्वे द्विभागे सार्वकालिकः ।
उडुम्बरस्तथा याम्ये वारुणे पिप्लवः शुभः ॥
स्रक्षोत्तरतो घन्या विपरीतस्त्वसिद्धये ।
कण्टकी क्षीरवृक्षश्च आसन्नः सफलोद्भुसः ॥
भ्रमं हानिं प्रजाहानिं कुर्वन्ति क्रमलः सदा ।
न द्विन्द्याद्यदि तानन्यानन्तरे स्थापयेत् शुभान् ॥
पुन्नागाशोकवकुलसमोतिलकचम्पकान् ।
दाडिमीपिप्ललोद्राक्षा तथा कुसुमसण्डपं ॥

जम्बीरपूगपनसद्रुसकेतकीभिर्जातोसरोजशतपत्रिकसल्लिकाभिः ।
यन्नारिकेलकदलोदलपाटलाभिर्युक्तं तदत्र भवनं त्रियदातनोति ॥

सत्स्यपुराणं ।

The Indian fig tree, if on the east side of a house, is always auspicious ; so also is the Uḍumvara tree if on the west, and the pipul if on the south, &c.

The following are supposed to have a peculiar influence on particular spots.

आयमे नारिकेलश्च गृहिनाञ्च धनप्रदः ।
शिविरस्य यदोशाने पूर्वे पुत्रप्रदस्तुतः ॥
सर्वत्र मङ्गलार्हश्च तरुराजोमनोहरः ।
रसालवृक्षपूर्वस्मिन्नुष्णं सम्पत्प्रदस्तथा ॥
शुभप्रदश्च सर्वत्र सुरकारो निशमय ।
विष्वस्य पनस्यैव जम्बीरवदरीस्तथा ॥

The cocoa-nut tree near the dwelling-house confers wealth on the family, and if on the east or north-east of an encampment, the tree is the donor of sons. The mango tree, the best of trees, is auspicious at every place, and if situated on the east, gives wealth to men. The *Bel* tree, the jack tree, and the citron tree, and the plum tree, are in all situations conducive to prosperity.

The *Durvāshtami* is one of the many vratas observed by Hindu females. It is celebrated on the eighth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhádra.

ब्रह्मन् भाद्रपदे मासि शुक्लाष्टम्यां उपोषितः ।
 दूर्वां गौरीं गणेशञ्च फलाकारं शिवं यजन् ॥
 फलत्रोच्चादिभिः सर्वैः शम्भुं नमः शिवाय च ।
 अन्नभिपक्वमशोयान्मुच्यत ब्रह्महृत्यया ॥

गरुडपुराणं ।

On the day fixed for worshipping Durvá, a fast is observed, and Durvá, Gauri, Ganesá, and Siva, are worshipped with rice, fruits, and flowers.

Durvá is described as

नोलोत्पलदलश्यामां सर्वदेवशिरोधृतां ।
 विष्णुदेहोद्भवां पुण्याममृतैरभिषिञ्चितां ॥
 सर्वदेवाजरां दूर्वाममरा विष्णुरूषिणीं ।
 दिव्यसन्तानसंदात्रीं धर्मार्थकाममोक्षदां ॥

Dark as the petals of a blue lotus, held on the heads of all gods, pure, born from the body of Vishnu, anointed with nectar, free from all sickness, immortal, incarnation of Vishnu, and giver of good children and virtue, wealth and salvation.

A thread, with eight knots, and fruits, &c., are presented to Durvá, and the following prayer is then read :

त्वं दूर्वेऽमृतनामासि पूजितासि सुरासुरैः ।
 सौभाग्यं सन्ततिं दत्त्वा सर्वकार्यकरी भव ॥
 यथा शाखा प्रशाखाभिर्विस्तृतासि महीतले ।
 तथा मामपि सन्तानं देहि त्वमजरामरं ॥

Durvá, you are called immortal, and you are worshipped both by gods and asuras. Having blessed us with prosperity and children, fulfil all our wishes. As you extend over the earth with your suckers and branches, in the same way give me healthy and immortal children.

After the usual pujá, the thread with eight knots is tied on the left arm and the worshipper listens to the legend of Durvá repeated by the officiating priest.

क्षीरोद्सागरे पूर्वं मथ्यमानेऽमृतार्थिना ।
 विष्णुणा वाङ्मज्ज्वाभ्यां विष्टत्समन्दरं गिरिं ॥
 भ्रमता तेन वेगेन लोमान्यावर्षितानि वै ।
 जर्मिभिस्तानि लोमानि चात्क्षिप्रानि तटान्तरे ॥
 अजायत शुभा दूर्वा रम्या हरितशङ्खला ।
 एवमेषा समुत्पन्ना दूर्वा विष्णुतनूद्भवा ॥
 तस्य उपरि विन्यस्तं मथितामृतमुत्तमं ॥

When the Kshiroda ocean was churned for nectar, Vishnu had with his arms and thighs held the Mandar hill, and the forcible rotation of the hill shed some hair off his body.

These were carried by the waves to the other bank and became pure green Durvá. Thus originated Durvá from the body of Vishnu, and upon Durvá, the excellent nectar, generated from the churning of the ocean, was placed.

The Asokáshtami, the Arunodaya Saptami, and the Madanotsava are three other vratas in which trees are worshipped.

From the *Sakrotthána*, the rising of Indra after the new moon preceding the Durgá pujá, the whole fortnight is devoted to one or other form of tree-worship.

Asokáshtami is observed on the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra. Eight blossoms of *Jonesia asoka* in water are drunk, with the following mantra :

त्वामशोककराभीष्टं मधुमाससमुद्भवं ।
 *पिबामि शोकसन्तप्तो मामशोकं सदाकुरु ॥

In the Bhavishya Purána, the vrata of Arunodaya Saptami is described.†

* अशोककलिका चाष्टौ ये पिबन्ति पुनर्वसौ ।
 चैत्रे मासि सिताष्टम्यां न ते श्रे.कसुपमुचुः ॥
 † सप्तवदरपत्राणि सप्तार्कपत्राणि च शिरसि निधाय ।
 यद्यज्जन्मकृतं पापं मया सप्तसु जन्मसु ।
 तन्मे रोगञ्च शोकञ्च माकरो हनु सप्तमी ॥
 अर्कपत्रैः सवदरैः दूर्वाक्षतसचन्दनैः ।
 अष्टाङ्गविधिना चार्धं दद्यादादित्यतुष्टये ॥

In the month of Chaitra on the thirteenth lunar day, the Madanotsava is celebrated and the Asoka tree is worshipped.

But the most important instance of tree worship is the Durgá-pujá. Although the festival is a rejoicing at the promising crops in the field, and although it may be traced to the solar myth and Ushá or dawn worship, it is undoubtedly one of the most extensive festivals of tree-worship.

Along with the goddess Durgá, the *Nava patricí* or the nine leaves are worshipped. The nine are

रश्मा कञ्ची हरिद्रा च जयन्तो विल्वदाडिमौ ।

अशोको मानकञ्चैव धान्यञ्च नवपत्रिका ॥

On the morning of the first day of the pujá, nine branches with leaves are tied together with a plant of अशोकराजिता, (*Clitoria ternata*, *alba*) and* a twig of the विल्व bearing a pair of fruits with suitable

माघे च फाल्गुणे वापि भवेद्वै माघसप्तमी ॥

भविष्यपुराणं ।

* The following mantras are repeated before cutting the twig.

मेरुमन्दरकैलासच्छिमवच्छिखरे गिरौ ।

जातः श्रीफलवृक्षं त्वं अम्बिकायाः सदा प्रियः ॥

श्रीशैलशिखरे जातः श्रीफलः श्रीनिकेतनः ।

नेतव्येसि मया गच्छ पूज्या दुर्गास्वरूपतः ॥

श्रीं विल्ववृक्षमहाभाग सदा त्वं शङ्करप्रिय ।

गृहीत्वा तव शाखाञ्च देवीपूजां करोम्यहं ॥

शाखाच्छेदोद्भवं दुःखं न च कार्यं त्वया प्रभो ।

देवैर्गृहीत्वा तच्छाखां पूज्या दुर्गेतिविश्रुतिः ॥

हिमालयाद्रिसम्भूत पार्वत्याह्निवियग्रह ।

शिवालिङ्गितसर्वाङ्ग विल्ववृक्षं नमोस्तु ते ॥

त्वं हि मङ्गलकार्येसि भगवत्याः सदा प्रियः ।

भवान्याः पुत्रमित्याहुः सदा सिद्धं प्रयच्छ मे ॥

Sripkala tree, you are born on the mountain Mandar, Meru Kailasa and at the top of the Himavat, you are always a favourite of Ambica. Born on the top of the Sri hill Sripkala ! You are the resting-place of prosperity, I take you away to worship you as Durga herself.

Om Vilva tree, most prosperous, always a favourite of Sankara, I worship the devi, having taken away your branch. O Lord, you must not mind the pain generated by the separation of your branch, for it is said the gods have worshipped Durga, having taken away your branch. I bow to the Vilva tree born on the Himalaya mountain, favourite of Parvati and embraced by Siva. You are auspicious in action and a favourite of Bhagavati ; for the sake of Bhavani's words, give me all success.

mantras, is stuck into the bundle. The bundle is then anointed with various cosmetics and aromatic drugs and oils, and is placed by the side of the idols.* The several plants are then separately invoked, and the goddesses presiding over each, are worshipped. Brahmāni is the goddess of the *Musa paradisæica*. Kālikā of the *Colocasia antiquorum*, Durgā of the *C. cuma longa*, Kārtiki of *Sesbania Cefyp-tiaca*, Siva of *Ægle marmelos*, Raktadantikā of *Punica granatum* Sokarahitā of *Jonesia asoka*, Chāmundā of *Colocasia indica*, and Lakshmi of *Oryza sativa*.

The following are the mantras for worshipping them :

ओं रम्भाधिष्ठात्र्यै ब्रह्माण्डे नमः ।

ओं दुर्गे देवि समागच्छ सन्निध्यमिह कल्पय ।

ब्रह्मरूपेण सर्वत्र शान्तिं कुरु नमोस्तु ते ॥

ओं कच्चधिष्ठात्र्यै कालिकायै नमः ।

ओं महिषासुरयुद्धेषु कञ्चीभूतासि सुव्रते ।

मम चानुग्रहार्थाय आगतासि हरप्रिये ॥

* With the following mantras the nine plants are anointed with water.

ओं कदल्लोतरसंस्थामि विष्णोर्वक्षःस्थलाग्रये ।

नमस्ते नवपत्रि त्वं नमस्ते चण्डनाथिके ॥

ओं कच्चि त्वं स्यावरस्थामि सदा सिद्धिप्रदधिनि ।

दुर्गारूपेण सर्वत्र स्वानेन विजयं कुरु ॥

ओं हरिद्रे हररूपासि शङ्करस्य प्रिया सदा ।

रुद्ररूपासि देवि त्वं सर्वशान्तिं प्रयच्छ मे ॥

ओं जयन्ति जयरूपासि जगतां जयकारिणि ।

स्नापयामीह देवि त्वं जयं देहि गृहे मम ॥

ओं श्रीफलश्रीनिकेतोसि सदा विजयवर्द्धनः ।

देहि मे हितकामांश्च प्रसन्नो भव सर्वदा ॥

ओं दाडिम्यघविनाशाय क्षुब्राशाय सदा भुवि ।

निर्मिता फलकामाय प्रसीद त्वं हरप्रिये ॥

ओं स्थिरा भव सदा दुर्गे अशोके शोकहारिणि ।

मया त्वं पूजिता दुर्ग स्थिरा भव भवप्रिये ॥

ओं मानो मानेषु वृक्षेषु माननीयः सुरासुरैः ।

स्नापयामि सहादेवीं मानं देहि नमोस्तु ते ॥

ओं लक्ष्मीरुत्वं धान्यरूपासि प्राणिनां प्राणदायिणी ।

स्थिरात्यन्तं हिनो भूत्वा गृहे कामप्रदा भव ॥

ओं हरिद्राधिष्ठात्र्यै दुर्गायै नमः ।

ओं हरिद्रे हररूपासि उमारूपासि सुव्रते ।

मम विघ्नविनाशाय पूजां गृह्ण प्रसीद मे ॥

ओं जयन्त्याधिष्ठात्र्यै कार्तिक्यै नमः ।

ओं निशुम्भशुम्भमथने सेन्द्रैर्देवगणैः सह ।

जय न्त पूजितासि त्वं अस्माकं वरदा भव ॥

ओं विल्वाधिष्ठत्र्यै श्रिवायै नमः ।

ओं महादेव प्रियकरो वासुदेवप्रियः सदा ।

उमाप्रीतिकरो वृक्षो विल्ववृक्ष नमोस्तु ते ॥

ओं दाडिम्यधिष्ठात्र्यै रक्तदन्तिकायै नमः ।

ओं दाडिमि त्वं पुरा युद्धे रक्तवीजस्य सम्मुखे ।

उमाकार्यं कृतं यस्मादस्माकं वरदा भव ॥

ओं अशोकाधिष्ठात्र्यै शोकरहितायै नमः ।

ओं हरप्रीतिकरो वृक्षः अशोकः शोकराशनः ।

दुर्गाप्रीतिकरो यस्मान्मामशोकं सदा कुरु ॥

ओं मानाधिष्ठात्र्यै चामुण्डायै नमः ।

ओं यस्य पत्रे वसेद्देवो मानवृक्ष शचीप्रियः ।

मम चानुग्रहायैय पूजां गृह्ण प्रसीद मे ॥

ओं धान्यधिष्ठात्र्यै लक्ष्म्यै नमः ।

ओं जगतः प्राणरक्षार्थं ब्रह्मणा निर्मितं पुरा ।

उमाप्रीतिकरं धान्यं तस्मात्त्वं रक्ष मां सदा ॥

Om, salutation be to Bráhmāni, the goddess dwelling in the plantain tree. Om, Devi Durgá, welcome, come near us. In the Brahma form distribute peace to all. Om, salutations be to you.

Om, salutation be to Kálíká, the goddess dwelling in the Arum plant. Om, good-natured in the war of Mahisha demon, you became arum plant. Om, the beloved of Hara, come hither for my blessing.

Om, salutation be to Durga, the goddess, dwelling in the turmeric plant. Om, Haridra, you are Hara incarnate. Om, good-natured you are Umá incarnate. For the destruction of my ill-luck, do receive my puja and be propitiated.

Om, salutation be to Kártiki, the goddess, dwelling in the Sesvānia plant. Om, during the destruction of Sumbha and Nisumbha,

demons, goddess of success, you were worshipped by Indra and all gods. Be pleased with us.

Om, salutation be to Sivá, the goddess, dwelling in the vilva tree. Om, beloved of Mahadeva and beloved of Vishnu, beloved of Uma, vilva tree, I salute you.

Om, salutation be to Raktadantiká (blood-teethed), the goddess, dwelling in the pomegranate tree. Om, formerly in the war, you became Dádimi in the presence of Raktavija demon, you acted the part of Uma, therefore bless us.

Om, salutation be to Sokarahitá (devoid of sorrow), the goddess, dwelling in the asoka tree. Om, Asoka tree, you please Siva and you destroy all sorrow. Make me sorrowless in the same way as you please Durgá.

Om, salutation be to Chámundá, the goddess, dwelling in the Mán tree. Om, on whose leaves rests the Devi, beloved of Sachi, for my prosperity receive my pujá.

Om, salutations be to Lakshmi, the goddess, dwelling in the rice plant. Om, for the preservation of the life of all beings you were created by Brahma. Om, preserve me in the same way as you please Umá.

The following is a list of plants regarded by the Hindus with religious veneration. Some of these are worshipped on certain occasions, and others are connected with several forms of worship.

अशोक—*Jonesia asoka*.

अश्वत्थ—*Ficus religiosa*.

आकन्द—*Calotropis gigantea*, R.

आमलकी—*Emblica officinalis*, Gärtn.

कचु—*Colocasia antiquorum*, L.

कदम्ब—*Nauclea cadomba*, Roxb.

केलिकदम्ब—*N. cordifolia*, Roxb.

कदली—*Musa paradisaica*, L.

निस—*Azadirachta indica*, Ad Juss.

पलाश—*Butea frondosa*, Roxb.

पालितामादार—*Erythrina indica*, Lam.

डालिस—*Punica granatum*, L.

दूर्वा—*Cynodon dactylon*.

धतुरा—*Datura alba*, Rumph.

- वकुल—*Mimusops elengi*, L.
 कलमी—*Ipomœa reptans*, Poir.
 वनतुलसी—*Ocimum adscendens*, Willd.
 बावला—*Acacia arabica*, Willd.
 बेल—*Ægle marmelos*, Cuv.
 भूतुलसी—*Salvia plebeia*, R.
 मानकचु } —*Colocasia indica*.
 मानगौरि)
 रक्तचन्दन—*Pterocarpus santalum*, L.
 रामतुलसी—*Adenantha pavokina*, L.
 श्रेयोङ्गा—*Zrophis aspera*, Retz.
 सोमलता—*Sarcostema acidum*, Roxb.
 हल्कसी—*Leucas martinicensis*, R.
 हरिद्रा—*Curcuma longa*, Roxb.
 हरौतकी—*Mirobalans cheduba*, L.
 कुश.—*Poa cynosuroides*, Retz.
 दृष्यतुलसी—*O. sanctum*, L.
 काश—*Saacharum spontaneum*, L.
 खदिर—*Acacia catechu*, L.
 खाजुर—*Phoenix silvestris*, Roxb.
 जयन्ती—*Sesbania cefyptiaca*, Pers.
 नारिकेल—*Cocos nucifera*, L.
 निर्माली—*Strychnos potatorum*, L.
 आम्र—*Mangifera indica*, L.
 पारुल—*Bignonea suaveolens*, L.
 यज्ञदुम्बुर—*Ficus glomerata*, Roxb.
 तुलसी—*Ocimum vellosum*.
 धान्य—*Oryza sativa*, L.
 नाटा—*Guilandina bonduc*, L.
 वक—*Agati grandiflorani*, Desre.
 वट—*Ficus indica*, L.
 वनचाङ्गल—*Desmodium gyrans*, L.
 वयडा—*Terminalia moluccana*, Roxb.
 वावुदतुलसी—*Ocimum basilicum, pilosum*, Benth.
 भाट—*Clerodendron viscosum*, Vent.
 माधवीलता—*Hiptage madablota*, Garts.
 मासकलाद—*Phaseolus roxburghii*, W. A.

- लवङ्ग —Luvunga scandens, Buch.
 भाँइ —Acacia suma, Buch.
 द्विताल—Phœnix paludosa, Roxb.
 कनकचांपा—Pterospermum acerifotum, L.
 अर्जुन—Mirobalans arguna, W.

Extracts from my Diary regarding the Bonhara Temple near Omerpore, Behár, and other Antiquities of the place.—By BABU RASHBIHARI BOSE, SUB-DIVISIONAL OFFICER, BANKA, BHAGALPUR.

December 7th, 1869.—At 5 P. M., I went to Bonhara, which is almost contiguous to Omerpore, to see the large dighi or tank and the mosque on its bank, which are generally ascribed to Prince Sháh Shujá'. The tank is about 1300 feet in length and about 700 feet broad. It is gradually filling up, but is never dry; and in the centre, the water is said to be very deep. Traces may be seen of the large masonry steps leading to it on the eastern bank, on which the mosque stood. Old people still remember that there was a covered passage leading from the mosque to the tank, by which Muhammadan ladies could carry water to the former, without exposing themselves to the gaze of the multitude bathing in the latter. The mosque has entirely disappeared, several mounds of bricks embedded in the earth being all that is left to mark the spot where it stood. But a marble slab which was placed on it by the founder, bearing inscriptions in Arabic, may still be seen by the side of a tomb latterly erected near the place. The inscriptions, I was told, had never before been deciphered,* though many of the learned had attempted it. But as it grew dark, I was obliged to return to camp.

December 8th, 1869.—On enquiry, I learnt that the mosque, which, in the language of the peasantry, had been as high as the tallest of the palm trees, was pulled down by Zemindar Baneeprasad Chowdry for the sake of some hidden treasure it contained,

* The inscription was published in the Proceedings of the Society for November, 1870.

but which no one dared to touch on account of the solemn injunction, said to be recorded on the marble slab, to the effect that the offender, if a Hindu, was to eat beef, and if a Muhammadan, was to take pork. For seven days and nights, so runs the legend, the treasure consisting of gold and silver coins, was carried in carts to Baneeprasad's house. He was formerly one of the greatest and richest zemindars in the Sub-Division, but the moment the hidden wealth was dug up in spite of the solemn injunction, the ghost of the original owner haunted him day and night: he never after prospered in whatever he undertook; he became almost insane; his wealth disappeared, no one knew how; his estates were sold; the indigo factory he had raised on the western bank of the tank with the bricks taken from the mosque, fell into disuse; and at last he died a ruined man. This is believed to be the fate of all who misappropriate hidden treasure. In some cases, the treasure is supposed to be guarded by hideous snakes, wasps, or ghosts. The treasure often appears to its intended victim in dreams, reveals the place of its concealment, and asks him to sacrifice his son or sons before digging it out. If he misappropriate it without sacrificing what is wanted, his children are sure to die, or he himself becomes blind. Few people in this country therefore run the risk of misappropriating hidden treasure. It is then no wonder if Baneeprasad, after committing the sacrilege, was haunted by a guilty conscience, and was reduced from affluence to poverty, as is proved by the condition of his grandsons at the present day. It must have been in a moment of deep repentance that he rebuilt a tomb erected to one La'l Khán which he had pulled down, and placed on it the tablet belonging to the mosque.

At 7 A. M., I went to the place with a Maulawí, in order to decipher the inscription on the tablet. After poring over it for nearly an hour, he declared his inability to proceed further than the first line, especially as the ignorant mason had placed the slab upside down. After the kacheri was over at 4 P. M., I therefore visited the tomb once more, and after having rubbed some ink and oil over the inscription, obtained an impression of it on paper, which was made over to several learned Maulawís to decipher. Afterwards I went to see another very old tank about a mile further north, which goes

by the name of Namáz Taláo, signifying "tank for prayer." It is situated in the midst of a large plain, and is now used as a place for the cremation of the dead.

At 4 p. m., I went to see the remains of the old fort of Debí Raja at Dumráwan which is about a mile north from the town of Omerpur. The fort was about a mile or more in circuit, consisting entirely of mud walls surrounded by a deep ditch. The only approaches to the fort were by seven large gates, some of which are still to be seen. The walls near these gates are tolerably high, but in most places they are scarcely more than two or three feet above ground, while in few places they have been levelled with the ground by the cultivator's plough. There was a small fort within the fort for the accommodation of the women, and in it there is a small tank which still goes by the name of 'Ranee Gurree,' or the Ranee's tank. Near this tank lie some bricks to mark the spot where stood the palace of the Raja or his seraglio.

It was within this fort that the last struggle for independence made by the Khetaurí Raja against the Muhammadan invaders appears to have taken place. Tradition has preserved an anecdote regarding the romantic courage and prowess evinced by Debí Raja during the contest.

It is said that being besieged by the Muhammadans in his capital, and finding himself unequal to the contest, he resolved to abandon his capital, and left it at night with his little band of devoted followers. A washer-woman, who was with child, could not run so fast as the soldiers wished. One of the latter having thereupon sneeringly observed, with reference to her pregnancy, "Who told you to bring yourself to this pass?" she replied:—"The Raja told me to do so; for had I known he would cowardly desert his capital, I should not have been what I am." This speech being reported to the Raja, he felt ashamed of his cowardice, immediately returned to his capital with his troops, contested, at fearful odds, every inch of ground with the enemy, and was at last cut off to a man.

It is believed by some that the Raja had an improper connection with the washer-woman.

An Account of Copilmuni and its Antiquities, in connection with the Fair held there in March, 1868, being extracts from my Diaries of a cold weather tour in Sub-Division Khulnea in Jessore.—By BABOO RASHBIHARI BOSE, SUB-DIVISIONAL OFFICER, BANKA, BHAGALPUR.

March 20th, 1868.—I examined many respectable people about the origin of the fair, but no one could give a satisfactory account. They have lived up to old age, as their fathers did before them, without troubling themselves about the inquiry. They even wondered why I took the trouble of asking them about it. According to them, the fair is held because it has been held before. I called and examined the mohunts of the place, who are the descendants of Bâgnath Mohunt, a recluse of great sanctity who is said to have buried himself alive near the temple or rather the hermitage of Copil; but they could give me no other information than that the fair used to be held before the time of their great ancestor, though on a smaller scale than at present.

March 21st, 1868.—On my way back, I found a large number of pilgrims going to bathe in the Copotuc, which, during the Baroni festival, is considered to assume the sacred virtues of the Ganges. The vast multitude of pilgrims that come to bathe in the stream at this time of the year, has no doubt given rise to the *mela*, or fair. But the difficulty lies in accounting for the Copotuc being considered at the time of the Baroni to be as sacred as the Ganges.

On my return to my tent, I received a visit from the priest of the temple of Copileshuri, the goddess who is supposed to preside over the destiny of Copilmuni. He was unwilling to relate the traditions connected with the fair, they being, he said, idle stories which were not fit for the ear of a hákim. Being, however, pressed on the subject, he stated that it was on the thirteenth day after the full moon, (the day of the Baroni festival) that Copil became *Sidha*, or had his prayers accepted in heaven, and it was to commemorate that event that he instituted the fair, which had continued to be held on that day. This account does not satis-

factorily explain how the Copotuc came to assume the virtues of the sacred Ganges. The priest further related that the daughter of one Bungsi Chakrabati came one evening to light up the temple of Copileshuri, but both the girl and the goddess thereupon disappeared from the temple. The bereaved father having searched for his child in vain, at last fell in *dhurna* before the temple. On the third day, the goddess appeared to him in his dream, and said, she had destroyed the girl for presuming to enter her temple in an impure dress, and that her own stone image having deserted the new temple so profaned, had retired to the ancient temple built by Copil, which was to be found beneath the waters of Copotuc, but that she would continue to accept the offerings made in the former before an image built of clay. The priest further related a story about Bágmath Mohunt to the effect that he sent something which cannot be mentioned with decency, enclosed in an earthen pot as a present to the emperor of Dilhi; but when the enraged monarch ordered it to be thrown open, he was surprised to see it filled with the sweetest things in the world. Some of the jagirs granted to Bágmath on that occasion are held by his descendants up to this day.

Around the tomb of Ja'far-Auliá, a Muhammadan saint who died about seventy years ago, and a few yards from those of the great Copil and Bágmath, was gathered this day a large crowd of pilgrims, chiefly women, who had come to bathe in the stream. These women kept up singing the whole night through, almost disturbing the bones of the mighty saint.

At night, I received visits from a large number of respectable men of the surrounding villages. In reply to my inquiries about the origin of the fair, one of them stated that Copil's mother having expressed a desire to go on a pilgrimage to the Ganges at the time of Baroni, when that sacred river is thought to become specially sacred, Copil said she need not take so much trouble, as he could bring the goddess herself to grace the stream flowing beneath her cottage. Accordingly on the day of Baroni, Copil invoked the Ganga, and the goddess testified her presence in the Copetuc by thrusting her hand out of the water, the rest of her body remaining buried under the waves. It is said that at the request of Co-

pil, she agreed in future to appear at that place for an hour at the time of the Baroni festival, in consequence of which the stream flowing under the hermitage of Copil became sacred on that particular day, and attracted crowds of pilgrims from the surrounding villages.

March 22nd, 1868.—At dawn, I went to the river side to witness the bathing of the pilgrims. In order to have a better view of the scene, I entered a boat on the river, and rowed up to the place where the hermitage or the temple of Copil is supposed to lie buried beneath the waters. To my front was the tomb of Ja'far-Auliá, which both Hindus and Muhammadans revere as containing the mortal remains of one who knew the past, the present, and the future. On my right, stood the Nimba tree which is said to have witnessed the birth, suicide, and resurrection of Bágnaath Mohunt: for three days after he had buried himself alive under its shade, his disciples could find no trace of his body under the earth. On my left was the temple of Copileshuri, containing the unsightly image of a naked goddess standing with up-lifted hands and protruding tongue over the prostrate body of her divine lord, and rendered still more hideous by wreaths of bloody heads hanging by way of ornament from her neck down to her knees. In the space enclosed between these sacred monuments of by-gone ages, were assembled about four thousand pilgrims, eager to wash off their sins at the ghát where Copil's mother is supposed to have seen the Ganga. Husbands going arm in arm with their bashful wives, and women taking their infant children on their breasts, rushed promiscuously to the stream. Many of them were provided with a small piece of bark from the plantain tree containing a few grains of rice and *teel*, some leaves from the tulsi, a piece or two of ripe plantain, and some sweetmeats. Over these they pronounced mantras dictated by their priest, and then throwing a portion into the stream, greedily devoured the rest. Several were seen to offer sweetmeats to Copileshuri, which gave the officiating priest an opportunity of playing the part of a shopkeeper with a vengeance; for he had set up a shop of his own, from which the pilgrims were required to purchase the sweetmeats, as being most acceptable to the goddess, and as soon as they were offered before her image, they were again transferred to his shop and sold to the

next pilgrim who called for the purpose. In this way he appeared to have realized a profit of a rupee on every pice worth of goods he had in his shop.

Among the pilgrims, I could not find a single káyast, boido, or brahman. All the lower classes of Hindus, almost without a single exception, were present. The reason is, the three higher classes named above do not believe in the sanctity of the Copotuc at the time of the Baroni. This would seem to prove that Copil was born of low parentage. Indeed, he is suspected by some to be an ancestor of the present mohunts of Copilmuni, who are Jugis (cloth-weavers) by caste. Hence his influence over the higher castes of Hindus is very small. It is necessary to state that Copil is a different individual from his great namesake who figures so conspicuously in the Ramayan, and is said to have destroyed sixty thousand sons of Rajah Sagur on being disturbed by them in his devotions, which subsequently caused the Ganges, in compliance with the prayers of one of their descendants, named Bhagirath, to pour from the heavens like an avalanche over the Himalaya, and thence thundering down to the plains, pass over the spot where his ancestors had been reduced to ashes.

March 23rd, 1868.—At night I received visits from the respectable people of Mahmúdkati, Hurriddhahe, &c. One of them stated, on the authority of an old man who had again heard it from his grandfather, that on the day of the Baroni festival, Copil became *Sidha*, and being anxious to test the fact by ocular demonstration, invoked his favourite goddess. The goddess came riding over the waves, and when she departed, Copil threw himself into her waters and died praying that on the anniversary of his death she would make her appearance on that spot for an hour. This, however, differs from the popular account given above.

March 24th, 1868.—I heard a legend about Copil. It is said, he used daily to bathe in the Ganges at dawn, and then perform his morning prayers at his hermitage on the banks of the Copotuc, the distance travelled being about three days' journey.

March 26th, 1868.—At dawn I took a walk towards the famous old tank known by the name of Lahona Khulna. It is perfectly dry and overgrown with tall trees, which the superstitious

wood-cutters dare not touch. The barren women from the surrounding villages come to bathe in a well in the tank, in the belief that a dip in its waters would make them fruitful. Almost contiguous to the Lahona Khulna, flows the small rivulet which goes by the name of Magra. The readers of the immortal work called Kavi Kunkun Chandi are aware that Lahana and Khulna are the wives of Dhonoputty Sadager, and that the Magra is the river where his son Srimunto Sadager encountered a terrific storm raised by the goddess Chandi to test his sincerity and devotion to her. It is therefore believed that Copilmuni or its neighbourhood is the place where the scene of Kavi Kankan Chandi is laid. In proof of this, people further appeal to the remains of ancient buildings found buried in the bosom of the earth at a place called Agra, which is about a mile north-east of Copilmuni, while the Lahana Khulna and Magra are situated about two miles towards the south-east. But the poet lays the scene of his hero's birth-place at Ujaini, or Ujeni, which is the name of the capital of Malwa. This discrepancy may, however, be reconciled by the supposition that the place was formerly called Ujani, which was afterwards changed into Copilmuni by the famous anchorite of that name. A pandit suggested to me the improbability of a small place on the banks of the Copotuc bearing the classical name of Ujaini, on which I reminded him that the contiguous village was called Agra. It is natural for a man to associate himself with great names; and if Dhonoputty Sadager or his son Srimunto chose to call his maritime port according to the city of the Great Akbar, he might as well designate his birth-place the capital of the romantic and heroic Vikramaditya.

March 27th, 1868.—At dawn I took a walk as far as Agra, with a view to see the remains of ancient buildings supposed to have belonged to Dhonoputty Sadager. In several places there are little hillocks of earth in the form of cones, whose apexes are about twenty feet above the level of the surrounding country. In these lie buried magnificent brick structures which have sunk entire in the bosom of the earth,—time's all destroying hand having as yet worked upon them in vain. In one place are to be seen walls about eight feet broad, which probably once formed the wings of a

gigantic temple. In front of it are the remains of a pucca road which seem to have extended as far as the river. The cultivators in the neighbourhood told me that for a mile or two around, bricks might be found in various places only a few inches under ground. Considering all that has been stated before, it is impossible to resist the conviction that Copilmuni and its neighbourhood contain the ruins of a large city whose splendours have long since passed away.

March 28th, 1868.—At night, I heard two legends about Ja'far-Auliá. They are as follows:—A certain man had a cow which he prized much, but it sickened and died. Being extremely poor, he goes to Ja'far-Auliá and cries till his eyes are red. "Why do you cry," said the prophet, "Your cow is not dead, it is only sleeping." Thereupon he called one of his disciples, and said, "Take this stick which I give unto thee, and having touched the cow with it, call the animal hither." The disciple goes to the field and striking the cow with the stick, says, "Why sleepest thou so long? Come, thy master calls." The cow rose as if it had been sleeping, and followed the disciple to the cottage of Ja'far-Auliá.

A disciple of Ja'far-Auliá once did a wrong act. The saint said to his other disciples, "Go and throw him into the river in a gunny bag, after closing its mouth with a string." The disciples did as they were directed to do, but the bag would not sink and floated down the stream. The prophet was at the time on his way to the Sundarbun. When he had completed a day's journey, the disciple within the bag cried and said, "Master, behold I am not dead. Take pity on a fallen creature and restore me to thy favour." The saint thereupon ordered his disciples to take the bag from the river, and let out the culprit, considering him sufficiently punished.

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On the Funeral Ceremonies of the Ancient Hindus.—By Bábú
RA'JENDRALÁ'LA MITRA.

[Read November, 1870.]

Two elaborate papers have already appeared on the funeral ceremonies of the Hindus. The first, by H. T. Colebrooke, was published in the Transactions of this Society about seventy years ago,* and an abstract of it was soon after issued in Ward's History of the Hindus. It contains the modern ritual as given in the *Suddhi Tattva* of Raghunandana and other current works on the subject. The second, entitled *Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen*, appeared in the 9th volume of the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society. Dr. Max Müller, its author, gives in it the whole of Ās'valáyana's Sítaras on the ancient ritual, and quotes largely from the Rig Veda Sañhitá and the aphorisms of Kátyáyana. A portion of it, that bearing on the sepulchral ceremonies, has since been rendered into English, by that learned scholar, and published by Professor Wilson as a part of his Essay "on the supposed Vaidik authority for the burning of Hindu widows."† Dr. Max Müller is of opinion that—"These burial ceremonies have been described in detail by Ās'valáyana only, and it is possible that the burial was

* Asiatic Researches, VII. pp. 232—285. Essays, I. 155.

† Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVI, pp. 201-214.

not considered as an essential part of that class of rites which is comprehended under the name of *Samskāra*.' Such, however, does not seem to be the case; for the whole of the funeral ceremonies, including those required to be observed at burials, are given in detail in the sixth chapter of the *Āraṇyaka* of the Black Yajur Veda, aphorised by Baudhāyana and Bharadvāja in their *Sūtras*, and commented upon by Śāyana Achārya. I find that Hiranyakes'ī also has written on the subject, but I have not his work at hand to refer to, nor has Śāyana noticed him. A hand-book for the performance of funeral ceremonies, professing to be founded on the rules of Hiranyakes'ī, exists in the Society's Library and is entitled:—*Hiranyakes'yanteshtī-prayogamaṇi*; but it is a compilation by a modern author, Abhayaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, and does not correspond with the rules of the other *Sūtrakāras*. It treats of the whole of the rites due on the first thirteen days after death, but it does not anywhere quote the rules of Hiranyakes'ī, and so simplifies the operations detailed in the works of the early writers that it cannot be accepted as a trustworthy guide to the most ancient ritual.

The *Āraṇyaka* describes the ceremonies under the title of *Pitṛi-medha*, or rites for the welfare of the manes, and gives all the mantras required for the ceremonials of the first ten days after death, leaving the *srāddha*, or the rites meet for the eleventh day, altogether unnoticed. The mantras are taken mostly from the *Rig Veda*, and arranged in consecutive order, but without any clue to the particular rituals for which they are intended. The two *Sūtrakāras* supply this deficiency, and as they point out several peculiarities not to be found in *As'valāyana*, I propose to give here a summary of the subject. The bulk of the mantras and the rules are the same as given by *As'valāyana*; but as that author's work, lately published by the Society, has already been commented upon by Dr. Max Müller,* it is not necessary to notice it in detail.

The first mantra given in the *Āraṇyaka* refers to the performance of a *homa* immediately after the death of a man who had always maintained the sacrificial fires in his house. According to Baudhāyana, four offerings should be made, while touching the

* Vide passim Grimm's Essay on the Burning of the Dead, and Dr. Roth's article "on Burial in India."

right hand of the dead, to the *Gárhapatya* fire, with a spoon overflowing full of clarified butter. Bharadvája prefers the *Ahavaníya* fire, and is silent as to whether the offering should be fourfold or not. Ás'valáyana recommends the rite to be performed at a subsequent stage of the funeral. All three take it for granted that death has happened within the house, if not near the place where the sacrificial fires are kept, and none has anything to say regarding the taking of the dying to the river-side, or of the ceremony of immersing the lower half of the body in water at the moment of death, (*antarjali*) which forms so offensive a part of the modern ceremonial in Bengal, and which has been, by a flourish of incisive rhetoric and at a considerable sacrifice of truth, called "ghat murder." Looking to this negative evidence against it, to its total absence in other parts of India, and to the oldest authorities on the subject being the most recent of the Puránas, it may be fairly concluded that it is of modern origin. None of the authorities usually quoted, enjoin it as a positive duty, and it has come into general practice probably since the date of Raghunandana and his contemporary Smṛitikáras of the 16th century.*

* The authorities usually quoted are the following :—

शुद्धितत्त्वे १६७ । गङ्गायां त्यजतः प्राणान् कथयामि वरानने । कर्णे तत्परमं
ब्रह्म ददामि मामकं पदं ॥ स्कान्दं ।

"I shall relate to you, O handsome-faced, the merit of giving up life in the Ganges. I give him (who does so) my own rank, and pour in his ears the mantra of the Great Brahma." *Skanda Purána*, quoted in the *Suddhi tattva*.

२९२ प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्वे । अर्द्धादके तु जाऋत्यां द्वियतेऽनश्नेन यः । स याति न
पुनर्जन्म ब्रह्मसायुच्यमेति च ॥ आग्नेयं । अर्द्धादकं चरणान्नाभिपर्यन्तमिति स्मार्त्त-
याख्या २९६ । नाभ्यन्तर्गततोयानां स्तनानां क्वापि द्दिनां । तस्य तोर्थफलावाप्तिः
नात्र कार्या विचारणात् ॥ स्कान्दं ।

"He who fasting dies with half his body immersed in the water of the *Jáhnávi* (Ganges), is never born again, and attains equality with Brahma." *Agni Purána*, quoted in the *Práyaschitta tattva*.

"The embodied who dies with its body up to the navel in water, attains the fruit of all the sacred waters, tirthas. There is no doubt about it." *Skanda Purána*.

क्रियायोगसारे । गङ्गायां त्यजतां देहं भूयो जन्म न विद्यते इति । १२ ।

"After giving up the body in the Ganges there is no second birth." *Kriyá-yogasára*.

सन्त्यज्य देहं गङ्गायां ब्रह्महापि च मुक्तये । ४५ ।

"Even the crime of Bráhmanicide may be expiated by giving up the body in the Gauges." *Kriyáyogasára*.

After the homa, a cot made of Udumbara wood (*Ficus glommarata*) is to be provided, and, having spread on it a piece of black antelope skin with the hairy side downwards and the head pointing to the south, the corpse is to be laid thereon with the face upwards. A son, brother or other relative, or in their absence whoever takes the lead, should next address the corpse to give up its old clothing, and dress it in a new suit.* The body is then covered with a piece of unbleached, uncut cloth, having fringes on both sides; the operation being performed while repeating a mantra.† Then, wrapping it in its bedding or a mat, it is to be borne on its cot to the place of cremation. The removal, according to some authorities, should be made by aged slaves; according to others on a cart drawn by two bullocks. The mantra for the purpose, says, “I harness these two bullocks to the cart, for the conveyance of your life, whereby you may repair to the region of Yama—to the place where the virtuous resort,”‡ clearly indicating that the most ancient custom was, to employ a cart and not men. *Ās'valáyana* suggests one bullock. Anyhow, the ancient *Sútrakáras* evince none of the repugnance to the employment of *Súdras* for the removal of the corpse of a *Bráhmaṇ*, which the modern *Smárthas* entertain on the subject. According to the latter, none but the kith and kin of the dead should perform this duty, and the touch of other than men of one's own caste is pollution, which can be atoned for only by the performance of an expiatory ceremony.§ When Sir Cecil Beadon, the late Lieutenant-

* The mantra for the purpose says :—

अपैतद्रू ह यदिहाविभः पुरा ! इष्टापूर्त्तस्मनुसम्पश्य दक्षिणां यथा ते दत्तं
बद्धधा वि वन्मुषु ॥ ३ ॥

“Give up the cloth thou hast hitherto worn; remember the *ishta* and *purta* sacrifices thou hast performed, the fees (to Brahmins thou hast given) and those (gifts thou hast) bestowed on thy friends.”

† इदन्त्वा वस्त्रं प्रथमं न्वागन् ॥ २ ॥

“This cloth comes to thee first.”

‡ अथैनमेतया आसन्द्या सह तत्तल्पेन कटेन वा संवेष्ट्या दासाः प्रवयसो वहेयुः
अथैनं अनसा वदन्त्येकेषां अनस्येदुञ्जात् ।

इमौ युनज्मि ते वक्त्रो असुनीथाय वेदवे । याम्यां यमस्य सादनं सुकृताञ्चापि
गच्छतात् ॥ ४ ॥

§ This prejudice first manifested itself, though in a mitigated form, in the time of Manu, who says, “Let no kinsman, whilst any of his own class are at

Governor of Bengal, proposed the removal of the Hindu dead of Calcutta by the Mutlah Railway to Gariáh, the strongest opposition was offered by the people, on the ground that it would involve a most serious pollution and loss of caste, to allow a corpse to be touched by other than its own caste men. They quoted a number of texts in support of their opinion, including those given above, and had no doubt custom—a greater authority than written laws—to plead in their favour; but the most revered and most ancient of their S'ástras was opposed to them, for it recommended for the Bráhmán dead a bullock cart as the most fitting conveyance, and a Súdra slave as its substitute.

The road from the house to the burning-ground used to be divided into three stages, and at the end of each, the procession used to halt, deposit the body on its cot on the ground, and address a mantra. As'valáyana says nothing about the division of the road into stages, nor of the mantras to be repeated, but recommends the procession to be headed by the eldest member of the family. The first mantra in the Aranyaka runs as follows: "Pushá, who knows the road well, has well-trained animals, to carry you, and is the protector of regions, is bearing you away hence; may he translate you hence to the region of the pitris. May Agni, who knows what

hand, cause a deceased Brahman to be carried out by a Súdra; since the funeral rite, polluted by the touch of a servile man, obstructs his passage to heaven." Chap. V. ver. 104. The following are the subsequent authorities:—

विष्णुः । सृतं द्विजं न शूद्रेण न च शूद्रं द्विजातिना । यमः । यस्यानयति शूद्रे-
ऽग्निं दणकाष्ठहवीषि च । दहन्मनः । अशूद्रपतितासान्या सृताश्चेद् द्विजमन्दिरे ।
मौचं तत्र प्रवक्ष्यामि मनुना भाषितं यथा । दशरात्राक्षुनि सृते सासाक्षूद्रे भवेच्छु-
चिः । द्वाभ्यान् पतिते गेहं अन्ये सासचतुष्टयात् । अत्यन्ते वर्ज्येद्रेहमित्येवं मनु-
र-
व्रवोत् । यमः । द्विजस्य मरणे वेश्म विशुद्ध्यति दिनत्रयात् । दिनैकेन वह्निभूमिर-
ग्निप्रोक्षणलेपनैः ।

"The Bráhmán (dead) should not be removed by a Súdra, or a Sudra (dead) by a Bráhmán. Vishnu.

"Whoever causes fire, grass, wood, and ghi to be brought by a Súdra (should perform an expiatory rite). Yama. I shall now relate to you the mode of purification as ordained by Manu, from the pollution caused by a dog, Súdra, an outcaste and the low dying in the house of a Bráhmán. Ten nights for a dog, month for a Súdra, twice that time for an outcaste, and twice that for the low. The house should be forsaken in the case of the lowest, says Manu. Vrihanmanu. A house becomes purified in three days after the death of a Brahman; the courtyard outside of the house is purified in one day by the touch of fire, and by smearing it with cow dung. Yama.

is meet for you, bear you away.”* The commentator in explaining the term *Anashṭapas'u* “well-trained animals,” attempts to include in the text the slaves recommended by the *Sútrakāras* by the remark “the human bearers are two-footed animals, and the two bullocks four-footed animals :” *vāhakāḥ manushyāḥ dvipāt-pasavaḥ anadvāhanu chatuspātpasú*. The second and the third mantras are, in substance, very much like the first, and call for no remark.

A most important member of the funeral procession is an animal called *anustaraṇi* or *rājagavi*. An old cow is recommended as the most appropriate, next a black one, next a black-eyed one, next one with black hairs, and lastly one with black hoofs. If none of these are available, a black tender-hoofed goat may be substituted. *Aśvaláyana* recommends an animal of one colour, or a black kid, and says that it should be brought with a rope tied to the near fore-foot. The animal is to be brought with the mantra, “Protector of regions, this is an offering for thee.”† An oblation is to be poured on the fire in connexion with this offering with the *idá* or *chamasa* spoon, saying, “May this prove acceptable to wealthy Agni.”‡

According to the *Sútrakāras*, the cow should be sacrificed, but should any accident happen at the time of the sacrifice, the fore left foot is to be broken, and the wound being dressed with dust,

* Mantra to be repeated at the end of the first stage.

पूषा त्वेत्श्चावयतु प्र विद्वाननद्यपशुर्भुवनस्य गोपाः । स त्वैतेभ्यः परिददा-
न्पितृभ्याऽग्निर्देवेभ्यः सुविदत्रेभ्यः ॥ ५ ॥

Mantra to be repeated at the end of the second stage.

पूषेमा आशा अनुवेद सर्वाः सो अस्मां अभयतमेन नेषत् । खस्तिदा अष्टृणिः
सर्ववीरोऽप्रयुच्छन् पुर एतु प्रविद्वान् ॥ ६ ॥

“Pushá knows all these sides ; may he bear you away hence by the safest road ; may he, who is beneficent, kind to us, and mighty against all, knowing the road well, lead us without obstruction.”

Mantra to be repeated at the end of the third stage.

आयुर्विश्वायुः परिपामति त्वा पूषा त्वा पातु प्रपथे पुरस्तात् । यथाऽऽसते सुकृते
यत्र ते ययुस्तत्र त्वा देवः सविता दधातु ॥ ७ ॥

“The life, the life of the world wishes to take charge of you. May Pushá, leading, protect you in the difficult road ; may the divine sun, leading you by the way of the virtuous, place you where the pious dwell.”

† भुवनस्य पत इदं हविः ॥ ८ ॥

‡ अग्रथे रथिमते स्वाहा ॥ ९ ॥

the animal is to be set free. The mantra for the sacrifice says : “ Companion of the dead, we have removed the sins of the dead by thee ; so that no sin or decrepitude may approach us.”* The address after the immolation runs thus : “ Companion of the dead, we have made thy life inert ; thou attainest the earth by thy body, and the region of the manes by thy life. Pardon us and our children in this world.”† A third address to the cow follows when her body is being dusted, it is to this effect—“ O dear one, say not that I am so killed, for thou art a goddess and virtuous, going to the region of the Pitris, travelling by the adorable sky : keep us well supplied with milk in this and the future world.”‡

If it be necessary to let loose the cow, she is to be made to walk thrice round the pyre, while the leader repeats a mantra each time, then sanctified by another which simply says, “ Mayest thou be a source of satisfaction by thy milk to those who are living (in my family), and those who are dead, and those who are just born, as well as those who may be born hereafter,”§ and, lastly, let loose with the words, “ This cow is the mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Adityas, and the pivot of our happiness, therefore I solemnly say unto all wise men, kill not this sacred harmless cow. Let her drink water and eat grass. Om ! I let her loose.”||

The next operations are to dig a trench, arrange fuel thereon, wash, shave and pare the nails of the corpse, and place it on the pyre

* पुरुषस्य सयावर्षेपेदधानि ऋजमहे । यथा नो अत्र नापरः पुरा जरस आ-
यति ॥ १० ॥

† पुरुषस्य सयावरि वि ते प्राणमसिस्वसं । शरीरेण महीमिहि स्वधयेहि पितृनुप-
प्रजयाऽस्मानिच्छावह ॥ ११ ॥

‡ मैवं माऽस्ता प्रियेऽहं देवी सती पितृलोकं यदेषि । विश्ववारा नभसा संव्य-
न्त्युभौ नो लोकौ पथसाऽभ्यावदत्स ॥ १२ ॥

§ ये जीवा ये च ऋता ये जाता ये च जन्याः । तेभ्यो धृतस्य धारयितुं
मधुधारा व्यन्दती ॥

|| माता रुद्राणां दुहिता वसूनाऽ स्वसाऽदित्यानामऋतस्य नाभिः । प्रणु वेचं
चिकितुषे जनाय मा गामनागामदितिं वधिष्ठ । धिवतूदकं दणान्यत्तु । आमु-
त्सृजत ॥

along with the wife. They were probably performed without the aid of any mantra, for the *Āraṇyaka* does not allude to them. The trench, according to *Ās'valāyana*, should be twelve fingers deep, five spans* wide, and as long as the corpse with its hands uplifted. The corpse, in the opinion of some, should be disembowelled, and the cavity filled with ghi. When placed on the pyre, it should have in its hands, if a *Brāhman*, a bit of gold, if a *Kshatriya* a bow, and if a *Vaisya*, a jewel. The wife should lie down on the left side of the corpse according to *Baudhāyana* and *Sāyaṇa*. *Ās'valāyana* recommends that she should be placed near the head on the north side. The chief mourner, or he who is to set fire to the pyre, should then address the dead saying, "O mortal, this woman, (your wife), wishing to be joined to you in a future world, (lit. to obtain the *Patiloka*, or the region of husbands) is lying by thy corpse; she has always observed the duties of a faithful wife; grant her your permission to abide in this world, and relinquish your wealth to your descendants."† A younger brother of the dead, or a disciple, or a servant, should then proceed to the pyre, hold the left hand of the woman, and ask her to come away, saying, "Rise up, woman, thou liest by the side of the lifeless; come to the world of the living, away from thy husband, and become the wife of him who holds thy hand and is willing to marry thee."‡ In a subsequent mantra, she is to be asked to bring away the bit of gold above alluded to, from the hand of the corpse. The words for the purpose are—"For the promotion of thy wealth, and glory as a *Brāhman* woman, and beauty and power, take the gold from the hand

* *Aratni* extending from the thumb to the tip of the index finger.

† इयं नारी पतिलोकं दृष्टाना निपद्यत उप त्वा मर्त्यं प्रेतं । विश्वं पुराणमनु-
पालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजां द्रविणञ्चेह धेहि ॥

‡ उदोर्व्ये नार्यभि जीवलोकमभितासुमेतमुपशेष एहि । हस्तग्राभस्य द्विधिषो-
स्त्वमेतत्पत्युर्जनित्वमभिसम्भूव ॥

हे 'नारि', त्वं 'इतासु' गतप्राणं, 'एतं' पतिं, 'उपशेषे' उपेत्य शयनं करोषि,
'उदोर्व्ये' अस्मात्पतिसमीपादुत्तिष्ठ, 'जीवलोकमभि' जीवन्तं प्राणिसमूहमभिलक्ष्य,
'एहि' आगच्छ । 'त्वं', 'हस्तग्राभस्य' पाणिग्राहवतः, 'द्विधिषोः' पुनर्विवाहेच्छेः
'पत्युः', 'एतत्', 'जनित्वं' जायात्वं, 'अभिसम्भूव' अभिमुख्येन सम्यक् प्राप्नुहि ॥

The *Rig Vedic* reading of this verse will be noticed further on.

of the dead, (and abide) in this (region); we (shall dwell) here well served and prospering, and overcoming all presumptuous assailants.”* The scholiast of *As’valáyana* says the remover of the widow, and not the widow, herself should take the gold, and that in the event of his being a slave, this and the two preceding mantras should be repeated by the chief mourner, and Wilson and Max Müller take it in the same sense; but *Sáyana’s* comment is opposed to this interpretation.† The words to be addressed to a *Kshatríya* or a *Vaidya* woman, are the same, the words *bow* and *jewel* being respectively substituted for *gold*, and *Kshatríya* and *Vaisya* respectively for *Bráhmaṇa*. Under any circumstance the removal of the widow and the articles is completed. The *Áranyaka* contemplates no alternative, and the *Sútrakáras* are silent on the subject, shewing clearly that when the *Áranyaka* was compiled, the inhuman practice of burning the living wife with her dead husband, had not obtained currency in the country, and as we know from the writings of Greek authors that the *Satí* rite had formed an important part of the Hindu funeral ceremony three centuries before Christ, and at least four centuries before that the *Rámáyana* and the *Mahábhárata*, alluded to it, it may be pre-

* सुवर्णं हस्तादादानां मृतस्य त्रियै ब्रह्मणे तेजसे बलाय । अत्रैव त्वमिह वयं सुशेवा विश्वाः स्पृधा अभिमतीर्जयेम ॥

This verse does not occur in the 10th *Māṇḍala* of the *Rig Veda*, but the counterpart of it, in connexion with the bow, occurs with a different reading, thus—

धनुर्हस्तादादानो मृतस्यास्ते क्षत्राय वर्चसे बलाय । अत्रैव त्वमिह वयं सुवीरा विश्वाः स्पृधा अभिमतीर्जयेम ।

Dr. Max Müller renders the last as follows: “I take the bow from the hand of the dead, to be, to us, help, glory, and strength. Thou art there, we are still here, with our brave sons; may we conquer all enemies that attack us.” Dr. Wilson’s version is slightly different in words, but is in substance the same. “Taking his bow from the hand of the dead that it may be to us for help, for strength, for fame, (I say) here verily art thou, and here are we: accompanied by our valiant descendants may we overcome all arrogant adversaries.”—*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, XVI, p. 202.

† हे नारि त्वं ‘त्रियै’ सम्पदर्थं, ‘ब्रह्मणे’ ब्राह्मणजात्यर्थं, ‘तेजसे’ कान्त्यर्थं, ‘बलाय’ शरीरबलार्थं, ‘मृतस्य’ पुरुषस्य, ‘हस्तात्’ ‘सुवर्णं’ ‘आदानां’ सती, ‘अत्रैव’ लोके तिष्ठ । ‘वयं’ अपि ‘इह’ लोके, ‘सुशेवा’ सुखं सेवमानाः सन्तः, ‘स्पृधाः’ अस्माभिः सह स्पृद्धमानाः, ‘विश्वाः’ ‘अभिमतीः’ सर्वान् शत्रून् ‘जयेम’ ।

sumed that our text dates from at least eight centuries before the Christian era. The allusions in the Rámáyana and the Mahábhá-rata may, possibly, be interpolations, and if so, the Áraṇyaka may be a century or two later, but that it was compiled long before the advent of Alexander in India, and that Baudháyana flourished before Bharadvája and Kátyáyana cannot be questioned.

The sacrificial vessels which the defunct used to employ in his ceremonial rites, are now to be placed on the different parts of his body ; the *Agni-hotra-havani*, filled with butter and curds, on the mouth ; the *sruva* spoon, broken into two, on the nostrils ; two bits of gold or the butter spoon, (*ajyasruva*) broken into two, on the eyes ; the *prásitra-harana*, broken into two, on the ears ; the *kapála* pot, broken into fragments, on the head ; a pot-herd on the forehead ; and, the *chamasa* spoon on the head. The mantra for the purpose consists of a prayer to Agni not to injure the *chamasa* spoon.* Ás'valáyana arranges the sacrificial vessels differently ; he places the *juhú* on the right hand, the *upabhrít* on the left hand, the *sphya*, sacrificial knife, on the right side, the *Agnihotra-havani* on the left side, the *grávna* on the teeth, the *kapálas* on the head, the *dhruvá* on the breast, the *sruva* on the nostrils, the *prásitra-harana* on the nostrils, the *chamasa* and the *pátri* on the belly, the *sami* on the genitals, the pestle and mortar on the lower part of the thighs, the *arani* on the upper part of the thighs, the *súrpa* on the feet, and other vessels on the body as convenient. He says, further, that the fat of the slaughtered cow should be placed on the head and on the eyes with the mantra "Agni &c." and her kidneys on the hands with the mantra "Ati" &c., her heart on the cardiac region, and her flesh and organs on other parts of the body ; and that, in the event of the cow being let loose, imitations of her organs made with rice and barley meal, should be placed on the parts mentioned ; the fat being replaced by cakes. The Áraṇyaka

* दसमग्ने चमसं मा विजीर्णः प्रियो देवानामुत सोम्यानां । एष यश्चमसे
देवपानसस्मिन् देवा अमृता मादयन्तां ॥

"Destroy not, Agni, this spoon ; it is dear to the Devas and the performers of the Soma rites. This spoon is the drinking vessel of the Devas ; may the immortal Devas therefore make us happy."

says nothing about these offerings, nor recognises any substitute. Possibly Baudháyana and Bharadvája have provided for them ; but I have not the necessary MSS. at hand to ascertain it. The *Aranyaka*, after arranging the sacrificial vessels, gives the mantra for covering the corpse with the raw hide of the cow, which should be entire with head, hair and feet, the hairy side being kept uppermost. The mantra for the purpose is addressed to the hide ; “ Cuirass, carefully protect this body from the light of Agni ; envelope it with thy thick fat, and marrow ; holding this impudent Agni, desirous of seeing and consuming it by his vigour, allow him not to go astray.”*

The pile is now ready to be lighted, and a fire should be applied to it with the prayer : “ Agni, consume not this body to cinders ; nor give it pain ; nor scatter around its skin or limbs ! O Játavedas, when the body is fairly burnt, convey the spirit to its ancestors.”† A second prayer to the same divinity is due when the fire is in full blaze, but its purport is not very different. It is followed by an address to the organs of the dead. It says, “ May thy organ of vision proceed to the sun ; may thy vital air merge in the atmosphere ; mayest thou proceed, according to thy virtuous deeds, to heaven or earth or the region of water, whichever place is beneficial to thee ; mayest thou there, provided with food, exist in corporeal existence.”‡

If instead of a cow, a goat is brought with the corpse, it is to be tied with a weak string near the fire, so that it may break its bond and escape. The chief mourner should then offer twelve oblations to the fire with a spoon made of palása wood, for which the *Aranyaka* supplies the necessary mantras. Nine prayers next follow, of which the first four are addressed to Agni, the fifth to Yama, the sixth to the messengers of death, and the last three

* अग्नेर्वम परि गोभिर्ययस्मोर्णुष्व मेदसा पीवसा च । नेत् त्वाष्ट्युर्हरसा
जर्हृषाणो दधद्विधद्यन् पर्यङ्कयति ॥

† मैनमग्ने विद्दो माऽभिशोचो माऽस्यत्वचं चिच्छिपो मा शरीरं । यदा शृतं
करवो जातवेदोऽथेमेनं प्रक्षिणतात् पिढभ्यः ॥

‡ सूर्यं ते चतुर्गच्छतु वातमात्मा द्याञ्च गच्छ श्रथिवो च धर्मणा । अपो वा गच्छ
यदि तत्र ते हितमापधोष प्रनितिष्ठा शरीरैः ॥

for a good region for the deceased. The one addressed to Yama describes him as having two cerberis for warders at his gate. "King Yama, place this spirit under the care of thy two four-eyed dogs, which guard the roads and your mansion, and whom men avoid: keep it in ease and free from disease."* The dogs are the offspring of Saramá; long-snouted, self-satisfied, and exceedingly powerful; they are the messengers of Yama and roam about in search of men. The last three prayers I shall give entire. "1. Some purify the Soma juice, others worship with clarified butter, others again follow true knowledge (*madhu vidyá*) in quest of felicity; may this spirit attain the same (reward). 2. May the award of those who fight in the battle-field, and of heroes who sacrifice their lives, and of virtuous men who grant a thousand gifts, await this spirit. 3. May the award of those who in penance pass a blameless life, and of those who are gone to heaven by their penance, and of those who have performed most rigorous austerities await this spirit."†

After this, leaving the funeral pyre to smoulder, the chief mourner excavates three trenches to the north of the pyre, and lining them with pebbles and sand, fills them with water brought in an odd number of jars. The people who followed the procession are then requested to purify themselves by bathing in them; which being done, a yoke is put up with three palása branches stuck in the ground and tied at the top with a piece of weak string, and they are made to pass under it. The chief mourner passes last, and then, plucking out the yoke, offers a prayer to the sun. Thereupon, the party proceed to the nearest stream, and without looking at each other, purify themselves by bathing and a prayer

* यै ते श्वानौ यम रक्षितारो चतुरक्षौ पथिरक्षौ वृचक्षसा । ताभ्यां राजन्
परिदेह्येनं खसि चास्मा अनमीवच्च घेहि ॥

† सोम एकेभ्यः पवते घृतमेक उपासते । येभ्यो मधु प्रधावति तांश्चिदेवापि
गच्छतात् ॥

ये युध्यन्ते प्रधनेषु शूरासो ये तनुत्यजः । ये वा सहस्रदक्षिणासांश्चिदेवापि
गच्छतात् ॥

तपसा ये अनाद्यथास्तपसा ये सुवर्गताः । तपो ये चक्रिरे महत् तांश्चिदे-
वापि गच्छतात् ॥

to Prajapati. Ās'valáyana says nothing of the three trenches, but takes the people at once to the river to bathe, where "they immerse themselves, and on rising throw a handful of water into the air while they pronounce the name of the deceased, and that of his family. They then get out of the water, put on dry clothes, and after once wringing those that they had on before, they spread them out towards the north, and sit down there themselves till the stars are seen. According to others, they do not go home before sun-rise. Then the young ones walk first, and the old ones last, and when they arrive at their home, they touch, by way of purifying themselves, "the stone, the fire, cow-dung, grain, (tila seed,) oil and water before they step in."* This part of the ceremony and the mourning which follows, have been described by Manu, Yájñavalkya and others, and need not be further noticed. The Āranyaka is entirely silent on the subject.

For the ceremony of burial, the first operation is, the collection of the half-burnt bones. This should be done according to Ās'valáyana on the 11th, 13th or 15th day of the wane ; Baudhayána enjoins the 3rd, 5th or 7th from the day of cremation. The dates *tritiyá*, *pañchaní* and *saptamí* are, given in the feminine gender in the text, and cannot imply day, as in ordinary acceptance they indicate the age of the moon. As the ceremonies, however, of the tenth day are given in a subsequent part of the work, and the *Prayoga* noticed above names days, it is probable, that the morning of the 3rd, 5th or 7th day is meant, the elipse in the sūtra being supplied by the word *tithí* in the sense of a day. The first act is to sprinkle milk and water on the cinders, and to strike on the heap with an udumvara staff to separate the bones. This is done while repeating five mantras. The cinders are then collected and thrown towards the south side, leaving the bones behind. Three oblations are next offered to Agni with a *śruva* spoon. Thereupon the senior wife is to come forward, and, with two bits of red and blue strings to which a stone is tied, to draw out the bones with her left hand saying : "Arise hence, and assume a (new) shape. Leave none of your members or your body behind. Repair to whichever place you wish ; may Savitá establish you there. This is one of your

* Journal Royal As. Soc. xvi, 213.

bones, be joined with the third (other bones) in glory ; having joined all the bones be handsome in person ; be beloved of the gods in a noble place.”* The bones should then be washed and deposited in an urn, or tied up in a piece of black antelope skin. The urn or bundle is then to be hung from the branch of a sami or palása tree. Should the bones belong to a person who had performed a Soma sacrifice, they should be burnt again ; otherwise they should be buried. For the latter purpose, an urn is absolutely necessary, and after placing the bones into it, it should be filled up with curds mixed with honey, and then covered over with grass. As’valáyana recommends an urn with a spout for females and one without it for males. Two mantras are given, one for pouring the mixture, and the other to be addressed to its droppings.

Subsequently a proper place having been selected, a funeral procession should proceed to it in the morning, and the chief mourner should begin the operations of the day by sweeping the spot with a piece of leather or a broom of palása or sami wood. Then, yoking a pair of bullocks to a plough, he should dig six furrows running from east to west, and, saluting them with a mantra, deposit the urn in the central furrow. The bullocks should now be let loose by the south side, and water sprinkled over the place with an udumvara branch or from a jar. The covering of the urn is then removed, some aromatic herbs, *sarvaushadhi*, are put into the urn, and subsequently closed with pebbles and sand ; each of the operations being performed while repeating an appropriate mantra. A mantra should likewise be pronounced for every one of the operations which follow, and these include, first, the putting of bricks around the urn ; 2nd, the throwing thereon some sesamum seed and fried barley ; 3rd, placing some butter on an unbaked plate on the south side ; 4th, spreading there some darbha grass ; 5th, surrounding the tumulus with a palisade of palása branches, and 6th, crowning the whole by sticking on the top a flowering head of the *nalu* reed—*arundo karka*. The operator then anoints his body with

* उत्तिष्ठास्तस्मिन्नुव॑ सभ्रस्व मे॒द्द गात्रमव॑द्वा मा शरीरं । यत्र भूमौ दृ॒णसे तत्र
गच्छ॑ तत्र त्वा देवः सविता दधातु । इ॒दन्त॑ एक॒म्पर॑ उत॒ एकं॑ तृतीयेन॒ ज्योतिषा॑
संविश॑स्व । संवेश॑नस्तनु॒वै चा॒रुरेधि॑ प्रियो दे॒वानां॑ परमे सध॒स्ये ॥

old ghi, and, without looking at the urn, places it on the spread grass, invokes the manes, wipes the urn with a bit of old rag, sprinkles some water with an udumvara branch, or from a jar, having covered his own person with an old cloth, and then buries the urn with bricks laid over it.

Some charu rice is then cooked, sanctified by a mantra, and while the chief mourner repeats five others, is put on the five sides of the urn. Sesamum seed and barley are now scattered around, some herbs put on the mound and more bricks added. Water should subsequently be sprinkled on the place, a prayer should be addressed to the gods, a branch of the varuna tree and a lot of brick-bats, a sami branch and some barley, should be placed on the mound, and the dead be invoked to translate himself to whichever region he likes. "Go to the earth, go to the void above, go to the sky, go to the quarters, go to heaven; go, go to heaven, go to the quarters, go to the sky, go to the void above, go to the earth, or go to the waters, wherever embodied thou canst live with the good and in peace."*

A few holes being now dug round the mound, the ceremony of burial is completed. The operations, it will be seen, though oft-repeated and tedious, are of the simplest kind possible; the prayers are throughout addressed for the sensuous enjoyment and ease of the dead, and no where is any indication given of a desire for spiritual benefit, liberation from the wheel of transmigration, salvation or beatitude. Even sin is lightly looked upon, and the prayer for redemption from it, is slight and casual. The whole ceremony is of the most primitive type, and bespeaks an epoch of remote antiquity. It is worthy of note also that the double ceremonial of first incineration and subsequent burial, was common among the Greeks, Romans and other ancient Aryan races, and that in the fifth century before Christ, the remains of S'ákya Buddha were disposed of in the same way.

The last ceremony I have to notice is called *s'ántikarma* or rites for the well-being of the living. It should be performed on the

* पृथिवीं गच्छान्नरिचं गच्छ दिवं गच्छ दिशो गच्छ सुवर्गच्छ सुवर्गच्छ दिशो गच्छ दिवं गच्छान्नरिचं गच्छ पृथिवीं गच्छापो वा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते हितमेषधीषु प्रतिनिष्ठा शरीरैः ॥

morning following the ninth night after death, *i. e.*, on the tenth day. This is an addition to the shaving and paring of nails and bathing, which are enjoined by mediæval and modern Smṛitikāras, and are still current. Ās'valāyana recommends that this should be performed on the burning-ground on the 15th of the wane, *i. e.*, on the day of the new moon. But our text fixes the day, and leaves it optional with the mourners to select any place out of a town, whether it be a burning ground or not, that may be convenient. The relatives by blood both male and female, having assembled, a fire should be lighted, and they should be requested to sit down on a bullock-hide of a red colour spread on the ground, with its neck-side facing the east, and its hairs directed towards the north. The request should be made in the following words : "Ascend on this life-giving (skin), as you wish to live to a decrepit old age. According to your seniority attempt carefully to abide on it. May the well-born and well-adorned fire of this ceremony bestow long life on you. Even as days follow days, and seasons are attached to seasons ; even as the young forsake not their elders, may Dhátá so prolong the life of these (people) according to their age."* The assembly being thereupon seated, the chief mourner offers four oblations to the fire with a spoon made of varuṇa wood. The relatives then rise up, and placing themselves on the north of the fire, and facing the east, recite a mantra, while touching a red bull. The women are then requested to put on collyrium with these words—"Let these women, who are not widowed, who have good husbands, apply the collyrious butter to their eyes ; without tears, without disease, worthy of every attention, let these wives enter the house."† The collyrium should be made of a substance called *traikakuda* which is brought from the Trikakut or triple humped peak of the Himalayá, meaning evidently the sulphuret of antimony or sur-

* आरोहतायुर्जरसं गृणाना अनुपूर्वं यतमानायतिष्ठ । इह त्वया सुजनिमा
सुरतो दीर्घमायुः करतु जीवसे वः ॥

यथाऽहान्यनुपूर्वं भवन्ति यथर्त्तव ऋतुभिर्यन्ति क्लृप्ताः । यथा न पूर्वमपरो
जहात्येवा धातरायुष्मि कल्पयैषां ॥

† इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा समृशन्तां । अनश्रवो अनमीवाः
सुश्रेवा आरोहन्तु जनयो येनिमग्ने ॥

má of the Indian bazars. It should be applied with the three central unexpanded leaves of the kusa grass which are thin, pliant, and pointed, like a camel hair brush, and answer the purpose better than the iron or stone style or bodkin which up-country women now use. The leaves being afterwards thrown away on a bundle of that grass, while repeating a mantra, the party proceed towards the east, leading the bull and saying: "These men, forsaking the dead, are returning. This day we invoke the gods for our good, for success over enemies, and for our merriment. We proceed eastward, having well sustained long lives."*

The last of the party, who is the chief mourner, should then recite another mantra, and with a sami branch efface the foot-marks of the bull that precedes the party. On the departure of the last man, the Adhvaryu should place a circle of stones behind him as a wall to prevent death overtaking those that have gone forward, praying—"I place this circle (of stones) for the living; may we and others not go beyond it in mid-life; may we all live a hundred autumns, driving death away by this heap."† The party then repair to the house of the chief mourner and feast on kid and barley, cooked for the purpose. Separate mantras are given for the eating of the two articles.

The most important of all the mantras above quoted, is the one which is intended as a direction to women to put on collyrium. It was first translated by Colebrooke, in 1795, as "the only Vaidik authority for the rite of Sati." Before him the compiler of the twenty-eight Smritis had quoted it for the same purpose, and no doubt thousands over thousands of deluded women, in the moment of their greatest grief, have been sent to the blazing pyre with this

* इमे जीवा वि ष्टैराववर्त्तिन्नभूद्भद्रा देवहृतिर्नो अद्य । प्राञ्जोऽगामा ष्टये
हसाय द्राघीय आयुः प्रतरां दधानाः ॥

This verse, in the original, occurs a little before the one about the application of the collyrium. I have displaced it for the sake of consistency.

† इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधामि मा नोऽनुगादपरो अर्द्धमेतं । शतं जीवन्तु
शरदः पुरुचोस्तिरो ष्टयुं दद्महे पर्वतेन ॥

Most of the mantras quoted above occur in the 10th Mandala of the Rig Veda, but their readings there are different, and they do not appear in the same order. Wilson's translations thereof do not, therefore, in many essential particulars, correspond with what I have given above. *Vide Journal R. As. Soc. XVI, 201-2.*

miserable passport to heaven. Dr. Wilson was the first to suspect, in 1856, in a paper published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. xvi, p. 201), that “it had reference to some procession, one possibly accompanying the corpse, but had nothing whatever to do with consigning live females to the fire;” and, for a guess, it was as close as it well could be. The late Śīr Rājā Rādhākānta Deva wrote a reply to this paper, in 1858, and in 1867, in a foot-note about three times larger than the paper to which it is attached, a writer, in the same periodical, (Vol. II, N. S. pp. 184-191,) entered into an elaborate verbal and punctilious criticism, but the ceremony for which the stanza was intended or to which it was applied, was left undetermined. In Rājā Rādhākānta’s letter to Dr. Wilson, a quotation was given from the Sūtras of Bharadvāja which gave the real clue to it, but none noticed it at the time. The true bearing is now made manifest, for, I believe, few will venture to question the authority of Baudhāyana in such a matter. His words are—*athaitāh patnayo nayane sarpiśā samṃṛis’anti*: “Now these women smear their eyes with butter.” Bharadvāja says, *strīṅām anjalishu sampātānavanayatīmānārīriti*: “For placing of the sampāta in the hands of the women the mantra *Imā nārīh, &c.*” According to Ās’valāyana, the verse should be repeated by the chief mourner when looking at the women after they have applied the collyrium; *imā nārīravīdhavāh supatnīrityanjānā iksheta*. This difference is due evidently to the authors belonging to different sākhas. Anyhow, it is abundantly clear that the verse was not intended to recommend self-immolation, but to be addressed to female mourners, wives of kinsmen, having their husbands living, not the widow, to put on collyrium, or to look at them after the operation. The *Prayogakāra* says, *tatah sampātāpātramādāya sabhatrikastrīṅām anjalishu sampātān avanayati*, “then taking the sampāta pātra he places it on the hands of the women who have husbands, with the mantra *imāh, &c.*”

The reading of the stanza appears differently in different recensions. According to Raghunundana, as given in the Śerampur edition of his works, and in my MS. it is as follows:—

इमा नारीरविधवाः सपत्नीरञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु ।

अनसूरोऽनमीरा सुरला आरोहन्तु जलधोनिमग्नैः ॥

Colebrooke's version, apparently taken down from hearsay, has—

दमा नारीर अविधवाः सुपत्नीर अञ्जनेन सर्षिषा संविसन्तु विभावसु
अनसरोनारिराः सुरत्वा आरोहन्तु जलयोनिम् अग्ने ।

Professor Wilson's reading, quoted from the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rīg Veda, differs materially from these ; it runs thus :

इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्षिषा संविशन्तु
अतश्चोऽनमोवाः सुरत्वारोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्ने ।

Dr. Max Müller accepts this reading, correcting only *suratnāro-*
hantu into *suratnā á rohantu*. Our text, as quoted on page 256 and
founded upon six manuscripts and the concurrent testimony of the
Sútrakáras, differs in one important particular. It replaces the
last word of the first line, *sañvis'antu*, usually translated "let them
enter," by *samṣis'antu*, "let them smear." It changes also *suratnā*
"well ornamented," into *sus'évá* "well served" or "worthy of
every attention."

With such differences in the text, it is not to be wondered at
that the English renderings which have been, from time to time,
published, should be markedly different. Colebrooke was the
first to take the stanza in hand, and he translated it into—"Om.
Let these women, not to be widowed, good wives, adorned with
collyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire.
Immortal, not childless, nor husbandless, well adorned with gems,
let them pass into fire, whose original is water."* Ward, Mac-
naughten, Rámamohana Ráya and others have adopted this reading,
and given translations more or less different from each other.
But as the reading itself has not yet been traced to any authentic
MS. of the Vedas, it may be dismissed without further notice.

Wilson's translation runs thus : "May these women, who are
not widows, who have good husbands, who are mothers, enter
with unguents and clarified butter : without tears, without sorrow,
let them first go up into the dwelling."† Max Müller's rendering
is nearly the same. He writes—

"Es treten ein die Frau'n, mit Oel und Butter,
Nicht Witwen sie, nein, stolz auf edle Männer.
Die Mütter gehn zuerst hinauf zur Stätte,
In schönem Schmuck und ohne Leid und Thränen."‡

* As. Researches, IV, p. 213.

† Journal R. As. Soc. XVI, p. 202.

‡ Zeitschrift, Band, IX, p. XXV.

The writer of the foot-note above alluded to, adopts Max Müller's reading, but attempts to improve upon his translation by the following :—“ Let these women, unwidowed, having good husbands, and with anointing butter on their eyes, enter their houses. Let the mothers, untearful, unmiserable, possessed of excellent wealth, go up to the house first.” He adds “ I have here followed Sáyana, save in not rendering आं रोहन्तु by “ approach,” आगच्छन्तु. What is meant by योनिं, Sáyana's “ house,” is not obvious.”*

The most material error in the above translations is due to Sáyana. That great commentator, when he took up the Rîg Veda, depended more upon the lexicographic meanings of words than upon the relation of the mantras to the ceremonials of the Yajur Veda, and hence many discrepancies are to be met with between his interpretations and those of the ancient Sûtrakâras, and sometimes in his own interpretations of the same verse in the Rîg, Yajur and the Sâma Vedas. Nowhere is this more prominently apparent than in his commentary on the stanza under notice, in the Rîg and the Yajur Vedas. When he met with it in the former, he wrote :

इमा नारोरिति । अविधवाः धवः पतिः अविगतपतिकाः जीवद्भर्तका इत्यर्थः । सुपत्नीः शोभनपतिकाः इमा नारोः नार्या आञ्जनेन सर्व्वतोऽञ्जनसाधनेन सर्पिषा घृतेन अक्ततेवाः सत्यः संविशन्तु खगृहान् प्रविशन्तु तथा अनश्रवः अश्रुवर्ज्जिताः अरुदत्यः अनमीवाः अमीवा रोगखदूर्ज्जिता मानसदुःखवर्ज्जिता इत्यर्थः । सुरताः शोभनधनसहिताः । जनयः जनयन्त्यपत्यमिति जनयो भार्याः । ता अये सर्व्वेषां प्रथमत एव योनिं गृहं । आरोहन्तु आगच्छन्तु । देवरादिकः प्रेतपत्नीमुदीर्य्य नारीत्यनया भर्तृसकाशादुत्थापयेत् स्तुतितच्च ॥

Subsequently, with the light of Baudháyana, Bharadvája and Hiranyakes'í, he perceived the true bearing of the stanza, and then interpreted it thus :—

‘इमा नारीः’ एतास्त्रियः, ‘अविधवाः’ वैधव्यरहिताः, ‘सुपत्नीः’ शोभनपतियुक्ताः सत्यः, ‘आञ्जनेन’ अञ्जनहेतुना, ‘सर्पिषा’, ‘सम्ब्रह्मन्तां’ चक्षुषी संसृशन्तु । ‘अनश्रवः’ अश्रुरहिताः, ‘अनमीवाः’ रोगरहिताः, ‘सुशेवाः’ सुष्ठु सेवितुं योग्याः, ‘जनयः’ जायाः, ‘अये’ इतः परं, ‘योनिं’ स्वस्थानं, ‘आरोहन्तु’ प्राप्नुवन्तु ॥

That the last is the most consistent rendering may be accepted without hesitation.

The meaning of the stanza, word for word, would be *imáh* "these," *nárih* irregular plural nominative of *nári*, "woman," alluding to the ladies of the kinsmen who have assembled at the ceremony; the regular form is *náryah*. The women have for epithets, *avidhaváh* "not widows," or "unwidowed," and *supatní*, "having good husbands," (*supati*). Those who apply the stanza to consecration explain the first word by "not to be widowed," a meaning which it cannot be made to bear, there being neither any rule nor analogy to support it. The next word *ánjanena* is an adjective qualifying *sarpishá*, both in the instrumental case, meaning "with collyrious butter." The next word *náyane* is in the locative case—"on the eye." The verb necessary for these elements should be one which means "applying or "smearing," and this is what we have in *samprisantám*, "let smear," from the root *mrís'* "to smear." The R̥g Vedic reading *sañvis'antu*, from the root *vis'* "to enter," can have no relation to the instrumental, except as entering with the butter applied to the eye, in which case the ordinary plan would be to convert the instrumental and the locative into one epithet, serving as an adjective to the nominative, women. It is therefore probable that the root *vis'* had, in ancient times, the meaning of decorating or putting on, as we have now the same root used to indicate "dressing," *ves'a*, whence *ves'yá* "a woman who lives by her dress,—a harlot." Yáska adopts this meaning when he includes *ves'-ati* among the verbs for ornamentation, *kántikarma*. Sáyana, not perceiving this when he commented on the R̥g Veda, took the word in its ordinary signification, and so interpreted the stanza as to make the women first enter their own houses—*sagrihán privis'antu*, and subsequently the house '*joni*' of the chief mourner; in so doing he had to supply what he supposed was an elipse, and entirely to mislead his readers. The new reading of the word in the Áraṇyaka now leaves no doubt on the subject.

The words of the second line *anas'raváh* "tearless," *anamíváh* "diseaseless" or free from pain either of body or mind, (it has been loosely rendered in one of the above quotations by "not miserable,") *sus'eváh* "well served," all refer to, and are epithets of, *janayah* "wives" which follows. In the R̥g Veda the last epithet is

changed to *suratnáh* "well ornamented" without in any way altering the construction. The verb is *árohantu* "let ascend" or "proceed," and agrees with the nominative *janayah* "wives." The dative is *jonim* "to house" in the singular, the house of the chief mourner, where they are to partake of a feast, and not that of the females. The last word *agre*, "first or foremost" is an adverb qualifying the verb *árohantu*.

The words *ánjanena sarpishá* have confounded all the European translators. Wilson has rendered them into "unguents and butter," and Max Müller into "oel und butter." One has dropt the word *ánjanena* and used only "butter;" he is particular in reminding his readers that he has followed Sáyana, but his assurance must be received with some reservation, for the scholiast neither omits the first word nor is remiss in explaining it; his words are *anjana-sádhanena sarpishá* "with butter for making collyrium" or *anjanahetuná sarpishá* "with butter the source of collyrium," that is, as I have rendered, "with collyrious butter, or collyrium made of butter," the other element of the unguent being, as stated in a subsequent mantra, a mineral of the name of *traikakuda*, which I guess to be sulphuret of antimony or *surmá*. The object of the mantra is to prohibit the use of the ordinary collyrium, which is differently made. The usual practice to this day is to smear a little butter or oil in the bowl of a spoon, and to hold it over a lamp, so that a quantity of lamp-black may be deposited on it, and when the two are mixed together with the fingers, they constitute the collyrium. The sulphuret is still used in the North-West Provinces.

The second mantra to which I wish to draw the attention of the reader is the one with which a brother, student, or servant of the deceased is to remove the widow from the pyre; inasmuch as it clearly shows that the widow at the time was not burnt, but taken to abide in the land of the living, and to marry if she liked. That the removal was positive and final, and not nominal, is evident from the rules of the Sútrakáras. Baudháyana says, "He who approaches her should, holding her by the left hand, take her up," *táñ pratigatah sarye páñávabhípadýotthápayati*. This is done after obtaining the permission of the deceased by a formal mantra,

ante p. 247, and on the 3rd, 5th or 7th day after the cremation, the widow, or the eldest widow, if there should happen to be more than one, is expected to go to the burning ground and collect the bones of the dead with her left hand. *Ās'valáyana* is equally precise, and adds that, should the widow be removed by an old servant, the chief mourner should repeat the mantra, (*Kartá vrishale japet*, *Sútra*, 4. 2 19). The author of the *Prayoga*, it is true, takes this direction to apply to pregnant women only who should not be burnt alive, but his authority in such a case is of little value, when opposed to that of the oldest *Sútrakáras*, and the evident purport of the mantra. It may be also observed that the widow is to take away the gold, bow and jewel, which are put into the hands of the *Bráhma*n, *Kshetríya* and *Vaisya* dead respectively—with which, according to a subsequent mantra, she is to live in wealth, splendour and glory in the society of the remover, in this world, and this she could not do, if she were immolated.

The mantra, as given in our text, ante page 248, is slightly different from a similar stanza in the second *S'ukta* of the second *Anuváka* of the 10th *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛig Veda*, and quoted by Wilson and Max Müller in the papers above alluded to; the words *ításu* and *abhisambabhva* of our text being replaced by *gatásu* and *abhisambabhutha*. The words, however, are synonymous, and therefore the difference is of no moment. The second word, a verb, is, in the *Ṛig Veda*, in the third person, dual irregular, having for its nominative *tvāñ* “thou,” understood, and in our text it is in the third person singular, both may therefore be taken as Vedic peculiarities.

The most important word in the mantra is *didhishu*, which *Sáya*na, when commenting on the *Ṛig Veda*, took to imply impregnation *didhishoh garbhasya nidhátoh*. In the *Āraṇyaka* he accepts it in its ordinary well-established dictionary meaning of a man “who marries a widow” or “the second husband of a woman twice married,” as Wilson gives it. The result is a material difference in the meaning. The version given by Wilson is as follows:—“Rise up, woman, come to the world of living beings, thou sleepest nigh unto the lifeless. Come: thou hast been associated with maternity through the husband by whom thy hand

was formerly taken.”* Max Müller’s reading is closely similar. He writes—

“ Steh auf, o Weib ! Komm zu der Welt des Lebens !
Du schläfst bei einem Todten—Komm hernieder !
Du bist genug jetzt Gattin ihm gewesen,
Ihm, der Dich wählte und zur Mutter machte.†”

In our version, following Sáyana’s second and more recent commentary, we take the word *hastagrābhāsyā* “ of him who holds thy hand,” and the other predicates in the present tense, and the *didhishu* in its crude sense, and apply them to the party who holds the widow’s hand while lying on the pyre. This appears the most consistent and in keeping with the whole ceremony, and therefore preferable to referring them to the dead. The only objection to this reading is to be found in the fact that the verb is in the past perfect tense, but seeing that Pāṇini has laid down more than one special rule for the use of the past for the imperative (*Līnārthe* leṭ 3, 4, 7, &c.), and Sáyana has accepted the same, it is perfectly immaterial. In a pamphlet on the impropriety of widow marriage, lately published by some of the Professors of the Benares Sanskrit College, the word *jīvalokam* “ the world of living beings” has been rendered by *martyalokāt anyam*, “ other than the region of mortals,” but such a meaning is not admissible either by any positive rule or by analogy. Sáyana renders it, in one place, by—“ the region of the living sons and grandsons,” *jīvánām putrapautrádīnām lokam*, and in another, by “ aiming at the region of the living creatures,” *jīvantam prāṇīsamūhamabhīlakshya*. Other interpretations of the Professors are equally open to question, but it is not necessary to notice them. That the re-marriage of widows in Vedic times was a national custom can be easily established by a variety of proofs and arguments ; the very fact of the Sanskrit language having, from ancient times, such words as *didhishu*, “ a man that has married a widow,” *parapūrvā* “ a woman that has taken a second husband,” *paunarbhava*, “ son of a woman by her second husband,” are enough to establish it ; but it would be foreign to the subject of this paper to enter into it here.

* Journal, R. As. Soc., XVI, p. 202.

† Zeitschrift, IX, p. vi.

Some Account of the Rishis or Hermits of Kashmír.—By LIEUT.-COL.
D. J. F. NEWALL, R. A.

I have already in a paper on the Hindú pilgrimages of Kashmír* alluded to the fact of many shrines being equally held in reverence by the Hindú and Muhammadan, and have stated as the reason that the fragments of overthrown or ruined Hindú temples had been used in the construction of the Moslem *Ziárats* or Mosques, and also that the Kashmír Muhammadan in some degree still clings to the superstitions of his Hindú ancestors. As an illustration of this assertion, I now proceed to give some account of an order of recluses which in the earlier years of the Muhammadan occupation of Kashmír attained considerable celebrity in the Moslem world, I mean the order of “Rishis” or “Hermits,” who from about A. H. 782 [A. D. 1380], when the celebrated Sayyid 'Alí Hamadání, and his son Mír Muhammad Hamadání, fugitives from Persia, appeared in Kashmír, and began to attract proselytes from amongst the various native religious sects existing at the period in Kashmír. Abul Fazl records that in his time 45 places of worship existed to Siva, 64 to Vishnu, 3 to Brahma, 22 to Budha, together with nearly 700 figures of *serpent gods*, in Kashmír; and these numbers may be taken approximately to represent the religion of the country at the period of Muhammadan usurpation. Note that the worship of the *Tree and Serpent*, that mystic and primitive form of superstition, entered largely into the character of the religion, and may have in its sylvan proclivities in some degree influenced these Muhammadan Rishis or Hermits in the solitudes. I would further add that the tendency to seclusion so characteristic of Buddhism may have also influenced these solitaires. We have an instance of the cave of Bhima Devi (near Martund),† formerly the residence and burying-place of the ascetic king *Areer Rhyie*, who lived about A. D. 330, being adopted for a similar purpose by Muhammadan faqírs in modern times, and the tomb pointed out as that of Areer Rhyie, who was probably a convert to the

* *Vide Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, July, 1866.*

† The small cave temple of Bhaumejo in the immediate vicinity is probably a Buddhist temple attributed to Bhauma-*dyotis*—the planet Mars—as its tutelary “Rishi.” *Vide Cunningham's Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture, p 251, and Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1848, p. 254.*

Budhistic schism. The said tomb, however, is probably that of some more modern recluse.

Deeply imbued with the çúfism of the age and country from which they emigrated, these Sayyids and their followers seem to have imported into Kashmir the doctrines of the *Shí'ah* sect, and with them that tendency to mysticism and miracle making, so characteristic of the sect: perhaps also shocked at the tyranny and self-assertion of Timur Lang (Tamerlane), at that time dominant in Central Asia, they may have sought refuge in the regions of abstract thought as a solace for the worldly repression under which they laboured. Be it observed that the human mind has ever tended towards mysticism and solitude at times when tyrants flourished, and in the present case, no doubt, the wrath of Timur had been aroused against these Sayyids, who perhaps may have attempted to usurp an independence of act and speech displeasing to a barbarous oriental conqueror.

Be this as it may, they and their disciples appear to have found in Kashmir an apt soil in which to transplant their religious dogmas; and in the succeeding years the remarkable sect of which I am about to attempt some short account arose from amidst them.*

At page 6 of my "*Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmir*" published in the Society's Journal, September, 1854, I alluded to the Historian Muhammad 'Azim as the chief authority for the chronicles of this sect. They are also described in the pages of Firishtah and Abul Fazl as a very respectable order in their time (A. D. 1600), some 2,000 in number, abstaining from luxury and sexual intercourse, living on berries and the wild fruits of the mountains, in the remote corners of which many of them had taken up their abodes for purposes of meditation and seclusion. In some instances they had constructed shrines or *ziárats*, many of which remain to this day, attesting in their traditions their founders' austerities and virtues, and forming local schools of holy men or priests, whose influence on the whole has been beneficial to the people, as promulgating the principles of humanity and moral virtues, as contra-

* The *Tuzuk i Jahángírí* also contains many facts deserving of attention regarding Kashmir hermits; but I have not consulted it in drawing up this paper.

distinguished from the religious dogmas and propaganda of the Moslem faith. Before proceeding to enumerate a few of these worthies and their holy acts and miracles, real or pretended, as recorded by the Historian Muhammad 'Azím, I must premise that *Shihábuddín*, fourth (or according to some, fifth) Muhammadan king of Kashmir, styled the Iconoclast, had died in the year 1376, A. D., and had been succeeded by his brother Qutbuddín, in whose reign the famous Sayyid 'Alí Hamadání alluded to above, arrived in Kashmir; and his advent is recorded in the following couplet, which also contains the date (A. H. 782):

سال تاریخ مہدم اورا جوی از مقدم شرایف او

corresponding with A. D. 1380; but I find I had better quote from the pages of my Sketch of History before alluded to, to lead up to the enumeration of the worthies I have undertaken to describe.

Page 6. "*Sayyid 'Alí Hamadání*. This celebrated Sayyid was a fugitive from his native city, Hamadán, where he had incurred the wrath of Timur. Seven hundred Sayyids are said to have accompanied his flight to Kashmir, where he remained six years, and which he named the Garden of Solomon (Bágh-i-Sulaimán). He died at Pak'hlí whilst on his return to Persia (A. H. 786.)

"His son Mír Muhammad Hamadání was also a fugitive, and brought in his train three hundred Sayyids to Kashmir, where he remained twelve years.

"These two emigrations of fugitive Sayyids fixed the religion of the country, and were doubtless the chief cause of the religious persecutions, which ensued in the following reign. They established shrines all over the country, many of which remain to this day. They originated the sect of *rishis* or hermits, which are described by Abul Fazl as a very respectable and inoffensive order in his time, some 2,000 in number, living upon fruits and berries and abstaining from sexual intercourse; their numbers, however, afterwards declined, until they were quite extinguished by the courtiers and creatures of the Emperors of Delhi. Muhammad 'Azím, the Historian, enumerates many worthies of this sect. * * Kashmir having been, previous to this influx of zealots, in a transition state as to religion, the

advent of a Muhammadan saint such as Sayyid 'Alí seems to have hailed with enthusiasm, and proselytism to have commenced in real earnest."

Previous to the advent of Sayyid 'Alí, however, the noted Faqir Bulbul Sháh had appeared in Kashmir, and been instrumental in the conversion of *Ranjpoi* (or Ranjú Sháh) to Islám. He is famed as the first Moslem who appeared in Kashmir. His original name was Sayyid Sharafuddín, and he was so holy, that singing birds (*bulbuls*) are said to have nestled in his hair and beard. At his instigation, Ranjú Sháh is stated to have built the first mosque ever constructed in Kashmir. Bulbul Sháh died in A. H. 727, according to the following distich—

سال تاریخ وصل حضرت شاه بلبل قدس گفت خاى اله

which corresponds with A. D. 1327. I scarcely, however, include the three above-named amongst the number of Rishis properly so called, and which I now proceed to enumerate.

1. *Shaikh Núruddín*, whose *ziárat* is still extant in the Trahal pergunnah, is stated to have 'repented' at 30 years of age, and to have lived for twelve years in the wilderness, marvellously subsisting on grass. After that, he sustained life on one cup of milk daily, and finally reduced himself to water alone for 2½ years, when he died. He was born in the reign of Qutbuddín, about the time of Sayyid 'Alí's advent in Kashmir, as is expressly recorded in the histories.

2. *Bábá Pám Rishi* (Father Grey Beard) was minister of Zainul-'ábidín. One day observing ants carrying grain to their stores, he fell into meditation, and became impressed with the necessity of laying up stores for the 'life to come,' and accordingly renounced the world, and established his hermitage in the Bongil pergunnah, where his monastery is seen to this day, close under the lovely plain of Gul Murg. It is an instance of the remark made in the preliminary paragraph of this paper as to the Moslem and Hindú being often seen worshipping together at the same shrine. It is a noted resort even now.

3. *Shamsuddín Rishi*, of the Deosir pergunnah.

4. *Sharkh Pír Báz*, of Utterhail.

5. *Rajab-uddín*, of Martund, was originally a soldier.
6. *Haidur But*, of Lar pergunnah.
- 7 and 8. *Reygie Rishi* and *Naurúz Rishi*.
9. *Bábá Bamuddín*. A Brahmin. His Hindú name was Bóma Sadi.
10. *Shaikh Hamzah Makhdúmi*. His *ziárat* is on the Koh i Márán. He flourished in the time of the Chaks.
11. *Sayyid Ahmad Kírmáni*, and
12. *Sayyid Madínah* (of that city), flourished in the time of Zainul-'ábidín.

13. *Sayyid Muhammad Hiçári*, a Sayyid and follower of Mír Muhammad Hamadání. Of him is related the following story : " Having fallen into a trance, a copious stream of water flowed down from his sleeves and garments. On enquiry as to this phenomenon, the Sayyid stated that one of his *muríds* (disciples) was on a voyage to Mecca ; and that his ship was sinking, whereupon he had prayed to his Pír Murshid (spiritual director) for help ; which he (Sayyid Muhammad Hiçári) had accorded, having, in spirit, plunged into the water to his assistance ; hence the water from his garments.

14. *Sayyid Muhammad Núrístání* was distinguished in the building of the Jámi' Masjid. It appears that the foundation kept sinking, and would not hold together, till this Sayyid appeared and personally applied to the work. He is also stated to have relieved indigent persons by converting a lump of clay into gold.

15. *Sayyid Muhammad Madan* detected by intuition dishes composed of game improperly killed (not *halál*).

16. *Mír Husain Mantíqí* (the logician), son of *Sayyid Muhammad Anír Mantíqí*, went to visit the king (Zainul-'ábidín), and found him surrounded by women and musicians ; whereupon, being displeased, he plunged into a river of water and was apparently lost ; but shortly afterwards on the king's approaching his home, he saw the Sayyid calmly sitting reading.

17. *Bábá Hají Ádam*. A companion of Shaikh Núrúddín. Produced salt by a miracle from the Pír Panjal.

18. *Nurí Rishi*. A miracle similar to that of the " Loaves and Fishes" is recorded of this hermit.

19. *Bábá Lañíuddín*. Son of a chief of Murardwin. His name before conversion to Islám was Laddy Reyna.

20. *Naçíruddín* and
 21. *Bábá Qiámuddín.* } disciples of Shaikh Núruddín.
 22. *Bábá Asmánuché gonyie.*
 23. *Háfiz Fathullah Khúkvání.*
 24. *Rauni Bábá.* Lived to the age of 120, during 109 years of which he fasted (*rozah*) by day.
 25. *Shaikh Hájí U'tur.* Went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Ate nothing on the road.
 26. *Bábá Zain-uddín Rishi.* His *Çauma'ah* (cell) in the Khawlpáre, where a spring of water is said to have spontaneously gushed forth for his use.

This brings me to the end of the notes I have taken on the subject of the Hermits or Rishis of Kashmír, and I almost regret that my notes on the subject are so brief.

Without having inaugurated much philosophy, or displayed marked learning, these holy men seem in the main to have been actuated by motives of piety and a desire for moral advancement. We might smile at the weak credulity which has invested their memories with the attributes of superhuman wisdom and power, had we not parallel examples in sects of our own faith. We may fairly credit to many of them lives of purity and moral excellence. Dwelling amidst scenes of natural beauty and grandeur, the wild freshness of nature seems to have touched their hearts with something of its kindred influences. In them far beyond most orientals, do we recognise some germ of the romantic spirit of the north and love of the picturesque, which we fail to trace in the southern Shemitic races, but gleams of which sometimes crop out in the Tátár and Mughul tribes. To complete this fragmentary sketch, views of the localities and *ziárats* alluded to would be requisite, as tending to shew the picturesque solitudes into which the musing spirit of these recluses led them to wander. We need not wonder at the choice of such retreats by calm and God-fearing men, where amidst some of the most glorious scenery this earth contains, they could taste of simple pleasures, exercise free thought, and 'look from nature up to nature's God.'

Forest of Kújear, Chumba, June, 1870.

Facsimiles of several Autographs of Jahángír, Sháhjahán, and Prince Dárá Shikoh, together with Notes on the Literary Character and the Capture and Death of Dárá Shikoh.—By H. BLOCHMANN Esq., M. A., Assistant Professor, Calcutta Madrasah.

(With a Plate.)

Nos. 1. and 2. (Plate XIII, 1 and 2.) *Autographs of the Emperors Jahángír and Sháhjahán.*

The splendid MS. on the fly-leaf of which these two autographs stand, belongs to Bábú Pratápa Chandra Ghosh, Assistant Secretary, Asiatic Society, and was described in the Proceedings of the Society, for July, 1869, p. 190, where the text and translation will be found, together with a remark on the historical value of Sháhjahán's autograph.

The facsimiles of the plate are perfect and resemble the original in the minutest particulars.

The MS. has at the end the following remark—

تمت علي يد العبد الفقير المذنب ميرعلي السلطاني الكاتب السلطان
 الاعدل الاعظم الاكرم السلطان بن السلطان معزالسلطنة والدنيا
 والدين ابو الغازي سلطان عبد العزيز بهادر خلدالله تعالي ملكه وسلطانه
 وافاض علي العالمين برة واحسانه في اوائل ذي قعدة سنة خمس واربعين
 وتسعمائة ببلدة بخارا ॥

from which it will appear that the book was copied in the end of Zí Qa'dah, 945 (April, 1539, A. D.) at Bukhárá, during the reign of Abul Ghází Sulṭán 'Abdul 'Azíz Bahádur.

On the other fly-leaf there are numerous signatures of Librarians and officers who inspected the Imperial Library; hence the frequent *عرض ديدة شدة*, 'arz *dídahshudah*, 'inspected.' The term *ديدن* *عرض*, 'arz *dídan*, which means *to inspect, to muster*, if not a usual phrase, appears to have been the technical term used at the Mughul Court; and if MSS. have on their fly-leaves the words *عرض ديدة شدة*, they are sure to have once belonged to the Imperial Library.

Jahángír's spelling *سيديوم*, for *سيوم*, is unorthographical.

The value of the MS. was fixed at 3000 Rupees.

In the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí* (Sayyid Ahmad's edition, p. 81), mention is made of another master-piece of the same calligrapher, which was valued at 1000 goldmuhurs (9000 Rupees)—

“The Khán Khánán presented [in 1019, A. H.] a copy of Jámí’s Yúsf Zalikhá, in the handwriting of Mír ’Alí, illustrated and gilded, bound in gold, a most splendid copy. Its price is one thousand goldmuhurs.”

This MS. was evidently the fellow to Bábú Pratápa Chandra Ghosh’s MS.

No. 3. *Another autograph of Sháhjahán.*

خ
م
 پادشاهنامه جلد دوم این نیازمند درگاه الهی حرره
 شاه جهان پادشاه بن جهانگیر پادشاه بن اکبر پادشاه غازی

The second volume of the Pádisháhnámah which belongs to this adorer of God’s throne. Written by Sháhjahán Pádisháh, son of Jahángír Pádisháh, son of Akbar Pádisháh i Ghází.

The MS. on the first page of which this autograph is written, belongs to the Asiatic Society, Bengal, (Persian MSS., No. 71).

The autograph contains a correction indicated by the letters م (*mugaddam*) and خ (*muakhkhar*) above the first three words. The first word should stand second. It also shews that Sháhjahán called the book *Pádisháhnámah*, and not *Bádsháhnámah*.

The similarity between autographs 2 and 3 is striking, and proves the genuineness of either. The former looks more flowing than the latter. Sháhjahán was born A. H. 1000; hence he was 36 [solar] years old when he wrote the first (A. H. 1037). The 2nd Volume of the Pádisháhnámah ends with 1057 A. H.; thus when Sháhjahán wrote No. 3, he must have been older than 56 years.

4. *An autograph of Prince Dárá Shikoh.*

هو القهار
 مثنوي سلطان ولد
 بخط مبارک ایشان
 راقمه محمد دارا شکوه

He is the Sovereign !

The Masnawí of Sultán Walad, in his own handwriting.

The writer of these words is Muhammad Dárá Shikoh.

The MS. on the fly-leaf of which this autograph is found, belongs to the Government of India, and was noticed in the Proceedings of the Society for August, 1870, p. 251.

The Literary Character of Dárá Shikoh.

A particular interest attaches to the religious views and the literary character of Dárá Shikoh. Aurangzíb calls him an atheist, and the historians of his reign look upon his sentence of death as a service rendered to Islám. But from his works, it is clear that Dárá was no atheist, but had a strong leaning to Çúfism and natural religion. With the Çúfis he shared the belief that the ordinances of the Prophet are excellent for the unthinking masses: thinking places a man above the ceremonial law, and renders him free (*ázád*). But the thinking man, whilst standing above the ceremonial law, is not necessarily opposed to it; in his search for truth he has reached a stage where revealed religion and its commands no longer apply to him. Hence it is unnecessary that he should formally renounce Islám; he may even outwardly conform to its ordinances. As far as he is concerned, Islám stands on a level with all other religions, *e. g.*, Hinduism, the study of the philosophy of which ceases to be objectionable, and may even lead to further emancipation of thought.* Hence Dárá Shikoh devoted his zeal to the translation of the *Upanishads* into Persian, and wrote at the same time his *Safínat-ulauliyá*, a biographical work on the lives of Muhammadan Saints. In style and arrangement, his book does not differ from similar works written by pious Muhammadans. Another book composed by Dárá Shikoh, treats of the principles of Çúfism.† The latter work only possesses a historical interest as being written by a Prince of Dihlí. In the former work, the *Safínah*, Dárá Shikoh calls himself Muhammad Dárá Shikoh i Hanafí i Qádirí, to shew that he was a Hanafí Sunní and a follower of the great orthodox Saint 'Abdul Qádir of Gílán, whose disciples form the Qádiriyah Sect. The only MS. which I have seen, belongs to the Government of India, and was written in 1151, the 21st year of Muhammad Sháh. It contains 216 leaves, 15 lines per page, and is very worm-eaten. It begins with an *alhamdu lilláhi*, &c. The next sentence is—

اما بعد اگرچه احوال و معجزات حضرت سید الانام و مذاقب اصحاب كرام
ودوازة امام و مقامات اوليائي عظام اظهر من الشمس است الخ

* Bernier (Calcutta Edition, I, p. 326) also speaks of Dárá's close intimacy with the Jesuit Father Buzée.

† MSS. are rare. The only one I have seen is preserved among the Delhi MSS. belonging to the Government of India. Its title is *Risálah i Haq-numá*.

Although the circumstances and the miracles of the Lord of mankind [the Prophet], and the excellent qualities of his companions, and of the twelve Imáms, and the sayings of the Saints, are clearer than day light, &c.

The book ends with the following sentence —

اگر بمقتضای بشریت سهوی و خطائی شده ارباب دانش آنرا بذیل اصلاح
پدوشند * الحمد لله حمدا كثيرا دائما ابدا *

If there should be an error or mistake in this book (for man may err), the learned are requested to cover it with the hem of correction. Praise be to God, praise for now and ever.

In the *Khazínat ul Aṣfiá* (خزینة الصغیا)*, a very full compilation in Persian of biographical notes on Muhammadan Saints by Muftí Ghulám Sarwar of Láhor, there is a short notice of Muhammad Dárá Shikoh i Qádirí (p. 163). Besides the *Safínat-ulauliá* and the *Risálah i Haq-numá*, the author mentions four other works composed by Dárá, —1. The *Sakínat-ulauliá*; 2. The *Sirr i akbar*; 3. The *Diwán i Iksír i A'zam*; and 4. The *Risálah i Ma'árif*. I have not seen MSS. of these works. From an extract given by Ghulám Sarwar (p. 162), I conclude that the *Sakínah*, like the *Safínah*, contains biographical notes on Saints. The titles of the other three works imply that the contents are Çúfistic.

The interest which Dárá took in the lives and the views of Muhammadan Saints is very conspicuous in the *Safínah*. He made it a point to visit their *dargáhs*, and has thus been enabled, in several cases, to give valuable historical details. Thus on a visit to Ghazní, he took occasion to visit the tomb of the renowned poet and saint Hakím Sanái, and he states in the *Safínah* that the epitaph shewed Sanái's death to have occurred in 525, A. H. The year of Sanái's death is variously given in works on Persian Literature.

The Capture and Death of Dárá Shikoh.

The sad fate of Prince Dárá Shikoh deserves to be noticed. It created so much pity at the time, that the people of Dihlí for once

* Lithographed at Láhor, A. H. 1284. Royal 8vo., 1072 pages text, and 18 pages Index. There exists at present no other compilation that is so full of notes on Indian Saints and their *Dargáhs*.

Muftí Ghulám Sarwar has also published another Persian book, entitled *Ganj i Táríkh*, which contains upwards of fifteen hundred *Táríkh*s of Muhammadan celebrities. Lithographed at Láhor, Kóhi Núr Press, Royal 8vo., 256 pages, no index.

went into rebellion, instead of mutely looking, as had been their custom, on the atrocities which they called "decrees of fate."

The principal events of his capture and death are known from the European Histories; but the following particulars may assist future Historians in giving a more correct description of Dárá's fate.

Aurangzib defeated Dárá Shikoh in two battles. The first was fought on the 6th Ramazán 1068, or 28th May, 1658, A. D., at Samogar (سموگر), 9 miles east of Ágrah in the pergunah of Fathábád; and the second, on the 27th and 28th Jumáda II, 1069, or 12th and 13th March, 1659, A. D., at Deorá (دیورا), which lies 3 kos south of Ajmír. Dárá fled on the evening of the second day, accompanied by his son, Sipíhr Shikoh, and a courtier of the name of Fírúz i Mewátí. Dárá's wife and daughter, under the charge Khwájah Ma'qúl, waited, far from the scene of the battle, at Anáságar Taláo, in the neighbourhood of Ajmír. As soon as the result of the battle was known, their Rájput guards dispersed; but some came back and plundered the elephants and the mules that were laden with treasure. Dárá met his wife next day.

After a flight of eight or nine days, Dárá arrived at Ahmadábád in Gujrát. Finding no support, he fled to Karí, whence Kánjí Kolí (كانچي كولي) guided him to Kachh. Here Gul Muhammad, whom Dárá had made Faujdár of Súrat, joined the Prince with 50 horse and 200 footmen. But as the Rájah of Kachh would not take up his cause, Dárá fled towards Bhakkar on the Indus, with the view of passing over Qandahár into Persia.

From here the details of Dárá's flight and capture, as given in European Histories, differ materially from the Muhammadan sources from which they profess to be taken. Elphinstone says (fifth edition, p. 609)—*Dárá pursued his way [from Kachh] towards Qandahár, and reached the small territory of Jún or Juin, on the eastern frontier of Sindh. *** Dárá's wife died at this place, . . . and when the period of mourning permitted, he set out on prosecution of his journey to the Indus.* So also Marshman, who, however, adds that the chief of Jún was a Rájah, whilst Elphinstone correctly supposes that he was an Afghán.

But the fact is that Dárá crossed the Indus at Bhakkar, passed through the district inhabited by the Chandí tribe, where he and

his followers had to fight for their lives, and came to the territory of the Magasís, the chief (*mírzá*) of whom received him hospitably. The chief town of the Chandís is Chandia (also called Dehí Koṭ, Long. 67° 34, Lat. 27° 38), and the district of the Magasís, an unimportant Balúchí tribe, lies north of Chandia. Dárá then directed his march towards Dádar (Long. 67° 41' ; Lat. 29° 26'), the Afghán chief of which, Malik Jíwan, lay under obligations to the prince. At Dádar, a town which is notoriously the hottest inhabited place on earth, Dárá wished to rest from the fatigues of the journey. Malik Jíwan sent his headman Ayyúb to receive him, and when the prince entered the territory of Dádar, he arrived himself, and took him to the town. Before they had entered Dádar, Dárá's wife died. The corpse was taken to Malik Jíwan's residence, but as it had been her dying wish to be buried in Hindústání soil, Dárá, "with a disregard of circumstances that looks like infatuation," sent away Khwájah Ma'qúl and the faithful Gul Muhammad—Fírúz i Mewáṭí had left him at Bhakkar—with seventy horse to escort the coffin to Láhor, where the princess was buried in the house of the revered Miyán Mír, whose disciple Dárá professed to be.

After staying several days at Dádar, Dárá, on the 29th Ramazán 1069 A. H. (11th June, 1659, A. D.) left Malik Jíwan, and proceeded to Qandahár. No sooner had he gone than Malik Jíwan—Kháffí Khán says, his brother—fell on Dárá, made him and his son prisoners, and sent reports of his doings to Bahádur Khán and Rájah Jai Singh, who had followed Dárá beyond the Indus, and to Báqir Khán, Faujdár of Bhakkar. Báqir immediately despatched a courier to Aurangzíb at Dihlí.

The name of the treacherous chief of Dádar, Malik Jíwan (ملك جيون) has perhaps been the occasion of the geographical errors into which European historians have fallen. It looks as if Elphinstone, or the author whose work he used, read مالك *málik*, 'owner,' instead of ملك *málik* ; and as if *jíwan* had been arbitrarily changed to *Jún*, in order to suit the word *owner*. But the name of the district and town in Eastern Sindh to which Elphinstone refers, is جون Jon, not *Jún*. Jon, like U'ch, Daibal, T'hat'hah, and other towns of the shifting Indus Delta, is now an unimportant place between T'hat'hah and Amrkoṭ ; at the time of Humáyún it was renowned for its

gardens (*Akbarnámah*). That Malik Jiwan was a Muhammadan, and not a Rájah, as Marshman says, is clear from the fact that he was chief of Dádar, and also from the title of *Bakhtyár Khán*, which Aurangzib conferred upon him as reward for his treachery. There is no instance on record that the title of *Khán* was ever "conferred" upon a Hindú.

Dárá and Sipihir Shikoh were escorted by Bahádur Khán and Malik Jiwan to Dihlí, where they arrived on the 14th or 15th Zí Hajjah 1069. They were confined in the palace of Khizrábád (Dihlí). On the 20th of the same month, Aurangzib ordered them to be paraded (*tashhír*) on an elephant through the streets of Dihlí, the inhabitants of which were to satisfy themselves that it was really Dárá; else false Dárás were sure to create disturbances in future times. Behind them on the elephant sat the desperate Nazar Beg, one of Aurangzib's 'trust-worthy' slaves, and Bahádur Khán's troopers formed the escort.

Two days after Dárá and Sipihir had been lodged at Khizrábád (*i. e.* on the 16th or 17th Zí Hajjah), the people of Dihlí expressed their sympathies for Dárá by attacking Malik Jiwan and his Afgháns, and the troopers of Bahádur Khán, as related in the histories. The leader of the revolt was an Ahadí of the name of Haibat. He was seized and executed. Aurangzib expected a general rising. "His Majesty, therefore, animated by a desire to promote the religion of the Prophet and obey his law, and compelled by circumstances and a regard for his own rule," thought it necessary to kill Dárá, "determined no longer to allow the Prince's atheism (*ilhád*) and rebelliousness—each a sufficient reason in itself for killing him—to interfere with the peace of the country." (*Alamgírnámah*.)

The order was given the day after Dárá had been paraded in the streets, on the 21st Zí Hajjah 1069; and Saif Khán, and several trustworthy Chelahs (slaves), as Nazar Beg, killed Dárá in the beginning of the night at Khizrábád (Tuesday evening, 30th August, 1659).* His body was taken to Humáyún's tomb, and buried below

* The last day (29th Zí Hajjah) of the year 1069 coincides with Wednesday, 7th September, 1659. Hence the 21st Zí Hajjah is Tuesday, 30th August. The Muhammadan Historian say, Dárá was killed on a *Wednesday evening*. This fully agrees with our computation; for the Muhammadan Wednesday commenced on Tuesday, 6 o'clock P. M.

the dome, where Dányál and Murád, Akbar's sons, lie buried, and which was subsequently filled with corpses of other Timurides.

These details are taken from the 'Álamgírnámah, pp. 218 to 325, 408 to 415, 430 to 435, with which the *Mír-át ul 'Álam* and the *Maásir i 'Álamgírí* agree.

Kháfí Khán (Ed. Bibl. Indica, II, 82 to 87) differs from them in several particulars.

First, he makes Dárá's wife die *in the house* of Malik Jíwan.

Secondly, Dárá is captured by Malik Jíwan's brother.

Thirdly, Dárá is sentenced to death for heresy.*

Fourthly, Dárá's corpse also was paraded in the streets of Dilhí.

Fifthly, he says, Dárá was killed on the last (29th) day of Zil-Hajjah, instead of on the 21st.

Bernier in his *Travels* gives a few additional particulars. He calls Malik Jíwan *Jihon Khán*; hence the correct pronunciation may be Malik *Jíon* (جیون). Bernier evidently did not know where Malik Jíon's territory was; but he calls him a Pat'hán. Dárá's wife, according to his story, did not die a natural death, but swallowed poison *at Láhor, to which town Dárá had been taken from Tattah*,—which is most improbable.

The author of the excellent *Miftáh uttawárikh* (Mr. Thomas بیلی) says that Dárá and his son arrived as prisoners in Dihlí on the 20th Zí Hajjah, 1069, corresponding to the 17th Shahriwar of Akbar's era; but that the day of Dárá's execution was not certain, inasmuch as some sources mentioned the 21st Zí Hajjah, 1069, and others the 1st Muharram, 1070. The author evidently preferred the former date, as is shewn by his clever *Tíríkh on Dárá's death* (Metre *Kháfíf*)—

قتل دارا شکوه شد تاریخ	عقل یائے ادب گروت و بگفت
۱۰۶۷	۲

Wit seized the foot (last letter) of decorum (*adab*, the last letter of which is ب = 2) and said, *Qatl i Dárá Shikoh* (the murder of Dárá Shikoh) is the *Tíríkh*. I. e.,

* On the next day [the day after Haibat's execution] *i. e.*, on the last day of Zí Hajjah, his Majesty ordered Dárá to be killed conformably to the decision of lawyers that he had stepped out of the boundary of the Muhammadan law, had brought Čúfism into bad repute, and had passed into open heresy and schism. *Kháfí Khán* II, p. 87.

ق + ت + ل + د + ا + ر + ا + ش + ك + و + ه = ۱۰۶۷
 100 + 400 + 30 + 4 + 1 + 200 + 1 + 300 + 20 + 6 + 5 = 1067,
 to which ب or 2 is to be added, hence 1069.

The *Mukhbir ul Wáçilín*, a collection of *Tárikhs* on Muhammadan Saints printed in the beginning of this century at Calcutta, has also the 1st Muharram, 1070, and from it the *Miftáh* and the *Khazínat ul Açfiá* have evidently copied. But there is no historical evidence for fixing upon the 1st Muharram, 1070, as the day of Dárá's execution. Even Kháfí Khán's date (29th Zil Hajjah, 1069) is open to doubt, inasmuch as it differs from the date given in the contemporaneous histories the '*Álamgírnámah* and the *Mír-át ul 'Álam*.

Dárá Shikoh's wife was a daughter of Prince Parwíz (son of Jahángír) by Jahán Bánú Begum, daughter of Sulţán Murád (son of Akbar). Dárá had married her on the 8th Jumáda I, 1042. Her name was Nádirah Begum, and according to Kháfí Khán, Dárá was much attached to her. The disease of which she died is called in the '*Álamgírnámah* *سل* ; but in Kháfí Khán *سپهال*.

Dárá's children were (*Pádisháhn*. II, 101, 337, 388)—

1. *Sulaimán Shikoh*, born 26th Ramazán, 1044.
2. *Míhr Shikoh*, born in Rabí' I, 1048. Died after 40 days.
3. *Mumtáz Shikoh*, born on the last Jumáda I, 1053.
4. *Sipíhr Shikoh*, born 15th Sha'bán, 1054.
 - a. *A daughter*, born 29th Rajab, 1043. Died soon after.
 - b. *Pák Nihád Bánú Begum*, born 29th Jumáda I, 1051.
 - c. *Jahán Zíb Bánú Begum* (married subsequently Muhammad A'zam).

Sulaimán Shikoh married in 1065 a daughter of Rájah Gaj Singh, *Kháfí Khán*, p. 730. His daughter, Salímah Bánú Begum, married Prince Muhammad Akbar, Aurangzíb's fourth son. Their offspring was Nekúsiyar, who was proclaimed emperor at Ágrah, but imprisoned by Rafí'uddaulah.

Sipíhr Shikoh married Zubdatunnissá Begum, Aurangzíb's fourth daughter. Their son, 'Alí Tabár, was born on the 12th Jumáda I, 1087, and died in the end of 1088 (*Maásir i 'Álamgírí*, pp. 125, 160)

Notes on the Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the Húglí District.—By H. BLOCHMANN, Esq., M. A., *Assist. Professor, Calcutta Madrasah.*

(With 5 plates.)

The following notes form the sequel to my paper on ‘*Places of Historical Interest in the District of Húglí*, which was published in the Proceedings of the Society for April, 1870. The inscriptions given in this article are all of Muhammadan origin; the more important ones are in Arabic, the Persian inscriptions being few and modern. The originals are at Tribení, Mullá Simlá, Sátgánw, Paṇḍuah, and Dinánáth.

The earliest Arabic inscription mentions the year A. H. 698, or A. D. 1298; the latest belongs to A. H. 936, or A. D. 1530. They are all cut in basalt, with the letters raised, and the character of nearly all of them is *Tughrá*, which renders the reading difficult, and has probably been the reason why these inscriptions, though so near our metropolis, have never been collected.

Sátgánw and Tribení lie N. W. and N., respectively, of Húglí; but visitors will find it convenient to go to Mugrá, the Railway Station next to Húglí, as both places are each only about two miles distant from the terminus. Sátgánw lies S. W., and Tribení to the E. of the station.

Sátgánw is reached by the Grand Trunk Road. Half way between Mugra and Sátgánw, the road meets the Saraswatí, or Sursuttee, now varying in breadth from three to six feet, but a few centuries ago a broad river. The old banks are still clearly visible. After passing the bridge, a ruined mosque will be seen to the right of the road. This mosque which, together with a few tombs near it, is the only remnant of the old capital of Lower Bengal, was built, as will be seen below, by Sayyid Jamál Dín (Jamáluddín), son of Sayyid Fakhruddín, who, according to the inscriptions, had come from Ámul, a town on the Caspian Sea. The *Khádim*, who is attached to the mosque, knew nothing of this Sayyid; he said, Fakhruddín had come with his friends Sháh Çafi of Paṇḍuah and Gházi Zafar Khán of Tribení to Bengal.

This is, however, impossible, as the inscription on the mosque shews that Jamáluddín lived as late as A. H. 936. The walls of the mosque are built of small bricks, and are handsomely adorned, inside and out-side, with arabesques. The central *mihráb*, or niche, looks very fine; but the upper part of the west wall having fallen down, half the mosque is filled with stones and rubbish, so that it is impossible to see the whole of the niche. The arches and domes are in the later Pat'hán style. Over each entrance, inside, there is a crescent. Near the S. E. angle of the mosque, is an enclosure with three tombs, where Sayyid Fakhruddín, his wife, and his eunuch, are said to be buried. The wall forming the enclosure is in many places broken down. I found two long basalt tablets placed slantingly against the inner side of the north wall. A third square basalt tablet is fixed into the wall; unfortunately, it is broken in the middle, and the wall is half pierced, to allow the customary lamp to be put into the cavity. These three inscriptions should be removed to a museum. It is impossible to say how they came into the enclosure. When the public buildings in Sátgánw and Tribení decayed, pious hands, probably, rescued the inscriptions, and stored them up in holy places as Fakhruddín's enclosure and Zafar Khán's mosque and tomb, or even fixed them into the walls at the time of repairs; thus turning each of these *astánahs* into a sort of museum.

There is also an inscription on Fakruddín's tomb; but it is illegible, though it could perhaps be deciphered, if the letters were carefully painted.

A short distance higher up the Grand Trunk Road lie the eleven huts, which form the modern Sátgánw. The ground between them and the Saraswatí, towards a small village of the name of Lál Jhápah, which lies W. of it, is very uneven, and looks as if it had been the site of an extensive settlement. At one place, not far from the road, the capital of a large pillar merges from the ground. The people called it *pádisháhí fíl pái*.

From Sátgánw, a narrow footpath leads to Tribení along the old right bank of the Saraswatí. The river itself appears to be nothing else but an arm of the Ganges (Bhagiruttee), though on the maps of the Húglí district, it looks like a river which takes

its rise near the Rájahpúr Jhíl, west of Habrah (Howrah). A *khal* passes from the Saraswatí to the Ganges about five miles below the Botanic Garden. To the north of the mouth of the Saraswatí lies the broad and high Tribení Ghát, a magnificent flight of steps, said to have been built by Mukund Deo, the last Gajpatí of Oṛísá; and S. of it, on the high river bank lies Tribení itself with the *Astánah* of Ghází Zafar Khán, generally called by the people *Gází Çahib ká dargáh*. Tribení is often called *Tripáni*, and by the Muhammadans, *Tripáni Sháhépúr*, or *Fírúzábád*. The people refer the last name to Fírúz Sháh of Dihlí; but it is more natural to connect it with Shamsuddín Fírúz Sháh (I.), king of Bengal, whose name will be found below in the inscription of Zafar Khán's Madrasah. The name of 'Tribení,' or 'Three Streams' is said by the natives of the place to refer to the junction of the Ganges, the Saraswatí, and Jamnah. The Jamnah, or Jabunah, flows into the Ganges on the left side, opposite to the southern extremity of the extensive island in the middle of the Ganges.

The curious legend of Zafar Khán has been related by Mr. D. Money in his article on the Tribení Temple, published in the XVth volume of the Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1847, p. 393. The *Astánah* consists of two enclosures. The first, which lies at the road leading along the bank of the Húglí, is built of large basalt stones, said to have been taken from an old Hindú temple, which Zafar Khán destroyed. Its east wall which faces the river, shews clear traces of mutilated Hindú idols and dragons; and fixed into it, at a height of about six feet from the ground, is a piece of iron, said to be the handle of Zafar Khán's battle-axe. The second enclosure, which is joined to the west wall of the first, is built of sandstone. The *Khádim* of the *Astánah*, a man not altogether illiterate, told me that the western tomb was that of Zafar Khán. The other three, he said, are those of 'Ain Khán Ghází and Ghain Khán Ghází (عین خان غازی, and غین خان غازی), sons of Zafar Khán, and of the wife of Barkhán Ghází. The first enclosure contains the tombs of Barkhán Ghází (برخان غازی), third son of Zafar Khán, and of Rahím Khán Ghází and Karím Khán Ghází, sons of Barkhán. Mr. Money mentions a son of Zafar Khán of the name of Ugwán Khán, who according to the *Kursínámah*, or family register,

“of the *Khádims*, defeated the Rájah of Húgli, conquered him, converted the infidels to Muhammadanism, and married his daughter. “After some time, Ugwán Khán also died at Tribení.”

About twenty yards to the west of the second enclosure, are the ruins of an old mosque, likewise built with the materials of an old Hindú temple. The low basalt pillars supporting the arches are unusually thick, and the domes, as in the Panđuah mosque are built of bricks, of successive rings of stones, the diameter of each layer being somewhat less than that of the layer below, the whole being capped by a circular stone, covering the small remaining aperture. This corresponds to the domes described by Mr. Tremlett in his ‘Notes on Old Dihlí’, p. 87 of this volume of the Journal. Two of the domes are broken. On the western wall, there are several inscriptions, as described below. According to the Arabic verses round about the principal *Mihrab*, the mosque was built by Khán Muhammad Zafar Khán, who is called a Turk, in A. H. 698, or A. D. 1298. The ground round about the mosque is very uneven; several basalt pillars lie about, and there are foundations of several structures, as also a few tombs, which are said to be the resting-places of former *Khádims*.

I now proceed to the inscriptions which I have arranged according to their age.

A. Tribení.

Inscription I. (Arabic and Persian.)

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

رَبِّمَا آتْنَا فِي الدُّنْيَا حَسَنَةً وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ حَسَنَةٌ * نَصَرَ مِنَ اللّٰهِ وَ
 فَتَحَ قَرِيبٌ وَبَشَّرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ - قَالَ اللّٰهُ تَعَالَى اِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللّٰهِ
 مِنْ اَمْنٍ بِاللّٰهِ وَ الْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَاَقَامَ الصَّلَاةَ وَ اَتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَ لَمْ يَخْشَ
 اِلَّا اللّٰهَ فَعَسَى اُولَئِكَ اَنْ يَكُوْنُوْنَ (sic) مِنَ الْمُهْتَدِيْنَ * يَعْنِي هَرَكَةُ عِمَارَتِ
 كَذَلِكَ مَسَاجِدَ خُدَايَ رَا بَعْثَكَ وَ شَبَّهَ اِيْمَانَ اَرْنَدَهٗ بِاَشَدِّ وَ هِدَايَتِ
 يَافِتْنَدَهٗ (sic) بِاَشَدِّ بِخُدَايَ * وَ قَوْلُهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ السَّعْيُ مَتْنِيَّ وَ الْاِتْمَامُ
 مِنَ اللّٰهِ تَعَالَى * قَالَ اللّٰهُ تَعَالَى اِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلّٰهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللّٰهِ
 اِحْدًا * بَنِي هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ الْجَامِعِ صَاحِبِ السَّيْفِ وَ الْقَلَمِ بِهَلْوَى

العصر والزمان الخ مجلس المجلس اختيار و سر لشكر و وزير
 شهر مشهور حسين آباد بزرگ و عرصه ساچلا مذکبه باد و سر لشکر تهانه
 لاوبلا و شهر هاديگور عرف رکن الدين رکنخان ابن علاء الدين السمرهتي
 مد الله عمره الى غير النهاية و ادام الله حڪومتہ على العالمين
 و ابقى الله خيراته للمسلمين دائما و نصرة الله تعالى على القوم
 الكافرين لظہار دين الحق - آمين رب العالمين * هرکه اين مسجد
 مرمت کند خدای تعالی بروی و حمت کند و نعوذ بالله منها
 اگر کسی این مسجد را بے عزت گرداند خدای تعالی اورا بے عزت
 گرداند *

O God, vouchsafe unto us in this world a great comfort, and in the world to come a great comfort. [Qorán, II, 197.] A help from God, and an approaching gift; announce it to the believers. [Qorán, LXI, 13.]

God has said—'Surely he will build the mosques of God who believes in Him and in a future life, and performs his prayers, and gives the legal alms, and fears no one except God. Such perhaps will belong to those that are guided. [Qorán, IX, 18.] *That means [Persian], every one who builds mosques for God, is certainly and without doubt a believer and will find guidance.* And he upon whom be peace [the Prophet] has said—'To try and to begin is mine; but the completion rests with God.'

God has said—'The mosques belong to God. Worship no one else but God.' [Qorán, LXXII, 18.]

This Jami' Mosque has been erected by the Lord of the sword and the pen, the hero of the age and the period, U lugh Majlis ul Majális, the Majlis Ikhtiyár, the Commander-in-chief and Vazír of the town of Husáinábád the Great, of the District of Sájlá Mankhábád, Commander of the Thánah of Láoblá and the town of Hádígáñ, who is known as Ruknuddín Rukn Khán, son of 'Aláuddín of Sirhat—may God grant him long life, without end, and may He lengthen his reign over mankind, may He cause the benefits to last for ever, which he bestows upon the faithful, may God give him victory over the Infidels, to the glory of the true faith. Amen, O Lord of the universe. (Persian) He who repairs this mosque, will find mercy with God; but should any one, which God forbid, dishonour this mosque, may God dishonour him.

This inscription is fixed into the west wall to the right of the northern *Mihráb* (niche) in the Tribení Mosque. Like all other inscriptions in Tribení and Sátgánw, it is in black basalt, and the let-

ters are raised. The characters are not in *Ṭughrá*, and look awkward. Regarding the geographical names, *vide* below. I have placed this inscription first, as it appears to be the oldest, or at least of the same time as the next inscription. In neither of them do we find an allusion to the reigning king.

The *Jámi'* Mosque mentioned in the inscription cannot be the *Tribení* mosque, which to judge from the next inscription, was built by *Zafar Khán*, although it is impossible to say when or wherefrom the slab was brought to the place where it now is.

To the left of this inscription is another in black basalt; but the letters are so broken and effaced, that only the words

لدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان

“—*uddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh*” are legible. As *Husain Sháh* (II.) reigned in the beginning of the 10th century of the *Hijrah*, it is clear that this inscription also has been brought to the *Tribení* mosque from some other place.

Further to the left of these two inscriptions, we come to another *Mihráb*, or niche. Although no *Mimbar*, or pulpit, stands within it, it would appear that this *Mihráb* was the principal one. It looks like a walled up door; the posts are of black basalt, and on them there is an inscription. The post opposite to the threshold is horizontal, and above it there is a long inscription, which, together with the words on a small separate key-stone, forms a part of that on the posts. It is a long Arabic poem, a *Qaṣídah* with a rhyme in *sín*. The letters are, however, in many places illegible, especially those over the niche. The poem commences on the right hand post, near the ground, goes upwards, and ends with a *Tárikh* on the lower end on the other post. The following lines are all that I have deciphered.

Inscription II. (Arabic.)

(*Zafar Khán's Mosque*).

* * * * *

فيرجو من الفقها بافيد دعوة لتثبيت ايمان اوان الكنادس
 جزى الله خيراته محض رحمة وبرو احسان لعل (؟) القلازس *

And I [Zafar Khán] hope to obtain the pious wishes of such as are learned in the law, that God may strengthen my faith* at the time I am in the grave.

May God reward me ; for He is truly merciful, and liberal, and kind; and [I hope that] He will honor me.†

Then follows on the top—

والتخاذ المدارس	لنصب	*	*	*	*	*
(?)	يلقب بالبرهان فاضلي الحمارس	نصير محمد	*	*	*	*
دارس	من كل دارس	ليرضى به الرحمن	في الدين حسبة	*	*	*

'The seventh and eighth hemistichs are illegible.

س	*	*	*	*	واظهار دين الله من الع	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	حكي عن عهده الأخير لكل العمالس	عضلة	قرب	من	الدين
						سعي			
						بيوم	(?)	سماطان	السلاطين

The 15th and 16th hemistichs are quite illegible.

س	*	*	*	*	بترك ظفرخان هزير الع	*	*	*	*
					وسيد بناء الخير بعد العوارس	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	وبذل كنوز المال في كل	وقلع	علوج	الكفر	بالسيف
						والقنا			

* * Zafar Khán, the Turk, the lion of lions, * * * * and the most excellent one of builders of benevolent edifices, after the heroes, and by smiting the Infidels with sword and spear, and lavishing treasures on every * *

The remaining lines to the 24th hemistich are illegible. Then follow the lines on the left post—

*	و تعظيم علماء	الشريعة	جملة	لاعلاء	اعلام	العلماء	الكنادس	*
*	بتاريخ	حاء	من	سنتين	وصادها	و خاء	حروف	الوقف
								حسبان

And by honouring all the learned of the faith, in order to elevate the standard of God (?).

The date is expressed by the *Wafq* letters ص, ح, and خ, according to the reckoning of him who counts.

Unsatisfactory as the deciphering is, the date of the foundation of the mosque and the name of the founder have escaped the ravages of time. Zafar Khán is called a Turk, and the found-

* In allusion to the *imtihán ul qabr*, or the examination in the grave. Shortly after the burial, the corpse is visited, according to the belief of the Muslims, by two angels who examine the dead man as to his creed.

† I have substituted for the sake of clearness the first person. The text has the third.

† The reading is very likely لا اعلاء القانوس, 'that He will raise his [Zafar's] turban,' *i. e.*, that he will honor him. The preposition ل, like the ل in لتثبيت, seems to depend from فيوجو.

ation of his mosque at Tribení on the ruins of the old Hindú edifices which he destroyed, is expressed by $ح + ص + خ = 8 + 90 + 600$, or 698 A. H., which corresponds to A. D. 1298. Zafar Khán's Madrasah, as will appear from the following inscription, was founded fifteen years later, in A. H. 713, or A. D. 1313.

There is no doubt that the above verses are one of the oldest inscriptions, if not the oldest, in Lower Bengal.

Inscription III. (Arabic.)

(Zafar Khán's Madrasah.)

الحمد لولئى الحمد * بنيت هذه المدرسة المسماة دار الخيرات ، في
 عهد سلطنة والى المبررات ، صاحب التاج و الخاتم ، ظلّ الله في
 العالم ، المكرم الاكرام الاعظم ، مالك رقاب الامم ، شمس الدنيا و
 الدين ، المخصوص بعناية رب العالمين ، وارث ملك سليمان ، ابو (sic)
 المظفر فيروز شاه السطان ، خلد الله سلطانه ،
 باصر الخان الاجل ، الكريم المبجل ، الجزيل العطاء ، الجميل
 الثناء ، نصير الاسلام ، ظهير الانام ، شهاب الحق و الدين ، معين
 الملوك و السلاطين ، مربى ارباب اليقين ، خان محمد ظفر خان ،
 اظفرو الله على اعدائه ، و حفظ اوليائه (sic) ، في غرة المحرم
 المضاف الى سنة ثلث عشرة و سبعمائه *

Praise be to Him to whom praise is due! This Madrasah which goes by the name of *Dár ul Khairát* [house of benevolence], was built during the reign of the Lord of munificence, the owner of the crown and the signet, the shadow of God on earth, the generous, the liberal, the great, the master of the necks of nations, the sun of the world and the faith [*shams uddunyá wa-ddín*], who is distinguished by the grace of the Lord of the universe, the heir of the realm of Sulaimán, [Shamsuddín] *Abu Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh*—may God perpetuate his reign—(second slab) by order of the distinguished Khán, the generous, the respected, the liberal, the praiseworthy, the helper of Islám, the aider of mankind, the meteor of truth and faith, the supporter of kings and sovereigns, the patron of enquirers, *Khán Muhammád Zafar Khán*—may God give him victory over his enemies and guard his friends.

Dated 1st Muharram, 713. [28th April, 1313].

This inscription is written on two long basalt tablets which are now imbedded in the northern side of Zafar Khán's tomb, in the second enclosure of the Tribení *Astánah*. The second tablet, which commences with the words *bi-amril Khán*, &c., has been placed by the ignorant masons first, and was pretty correctly deciphered by Mr. D. Money. According to the *Kursínámah* preserved by the Mutawallís of Zafar's Tomb, it would appear that Zafar Khán came from Márgánw (مانرگانو), in the Parganah Kunwar Partáb, Chaklah Murshidábád (Makhçúçábád)*. From the above inscription it is clear that his name was K h á n M u h a m m a d, Zafar Khán being his title. Common people, as Mr. Money says, pronounce *Darap Khán*, an interchange in position of an *f* and a liquid, as in *qufl* (Arabic, a *lock*) and *qulf*, the pronunciation current among the people. I heard also people pronounce *Dapar*.

The king mentioned in this inscription is S h a m s u d d í n A b u l M u z a f f a r F í r ú z S h á h S u l t á n. His name is not given in the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*, nor by *Firishtah*, who copied from the *Ṭabaqát*. Mr. E. Thomas, the distinguished numismatician, was the first that assigned him his proper place. In his essay on the Initial Coinage of Bengal, which forms the basis of our historical knowledge of the early Muhammadan period of Bengal (Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1867, pp. 1 to 73), Mr. Thomas describes coins struck by this Fírúz Sháh of Bengal between A. H. 715 and 722; another coin perhaps belongs to the year 702. The above inscription mentions 713, and it is clear that Fírúz Sháh must have then been firmly established in Western Bengal.

It is remarkable that neither this inscription, nor the coins published by Mr. Thomas (*l. c.*, p. 45), mention the name of the father of Fírúz Shah, or the words *بن سلطان*, which are not left out on the coins of Ruknuddin Kai Káuś; and secondly, that the preceding inscription of A. H. 698, mentions no king at all, which agrees with the fact that up to the present time no coins have been found struck by a Bengal king between 695 and 702, *i. e.* for the beginning of the reign of 'Aláuddín of Dihlí.

* I am told, there is a legend still current at Márgánw that Ugwán Khán, Zafar's son, defeated Mánpat Singh, Rájah of Bír bhúm.

In point of execution and beauty of the letters, this inscription is superior to the preceding, which itself is vastly superior to Inscription No. I. It looks indeed as if all following inscriptions had taken this one as model. Even the latest inscription of Nuçrah Sháh of Sátgánw of the 10th century shews the same manner of execution. With the establishment of the Mughul government in India, the characters commence to change, and though Tughrá letters are still in use, they gradually drift into modern *Nasta'liq*.

The following inscription, which stands to the right of the *Mihrab* gives the same date as No. III.

Inscription IV. (Arabic.)

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 تَبَارَكَ اللّٰهُ اَحْسَنُ الْخَالِقِیْنَ خَالِقُ الْخَلْقِ * * *
 تَبَارَكَ الَّذِیْ بِيَدِهِ الْمَلَكُ وَهُوَ عَلٰی كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِیْرٌ
 تَبَارَكَ الَّذِیْ اَنْزَلَ الْقُرْآنَ عَلٰی عَبْدِهِ لِيَكُوْنَ لِلْعَالَمِیْنَ ذِكْرًا
 تَبَارَكَ اللّٰهُ اَحْسَنُ الْخَالِقِیْنَ يَا اَلٰهِيْ وَ اَلٰهَ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَ الْاَرْضِیْنَ
 فِیْ غُرَّةِ الْمَكْرَمِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِ عَشْرَةٍ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ ۥ

Blessed is God, the great creator, the creator of the people, * *

Blessed is He in whose hands the kingdom is. His power extends over every thing.

Blessed is He who has sent down the Qorán to His servant, that he may be a warner to all generations.

Blessed is God, the great Creator. O God, O God of the heavens, and the earth * *

Dated 1st Muharram, 713.

Inscriptions V and VI. (Arabic.)

اللّٰهُ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّوْمُ لَا تَاْخُذُهٗ سَنَةٌ وَّ لَا نَوْمٌ - لَهٗ مَا فِی
 السَّمٰوٰتِ وَ مَا فِی الْاَرْضِ - مَنْ ذَا الَّذِیْ يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهٗ اِلَّا بِاِذْنِهٖ - يَعْلَمُ مَا
 بَيْنَ اَيْدِيْهِمْ وَ مَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَ لَا يُحِیْطُوْنَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ عِلْمِهٖ اِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ - وَ سِعَ
 كُرْسِيِّهٖ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَ الْاَرْضِ وَ لَا يَؤُودُهٗ حِفْظُهُمَا وَ هُوَ الْعَلِیُّ الْعَظِیْمُ *

This inscription is of no interest, and consists in a well known verse from the Qorán (Sur. II., 256), which is frequently used for inscriptions on mosques. The verse itself goes by the name of *A'yat ulkursí*, because the word *kursí* (throne) occurs in it. Muhammadans have a very high idea of its beauty; they often repeat it after prayers, and blow on their chests, or blow on their hands, which are then rubbed over the arms and the body. The blessings inherent in the verse are thus distributed over the whole body.

The inscription stands to the right of the words *uddin Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh*, mentioned on p. 285.

Another inscription of no value, to the left of the *Mihráb*, commences with the words—

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ * * * وَنَمَّ بِالْخَيْرِ

After several illegible words, we find—

تَبَارَكَ * * * يَا اَلٰهِي وَاَلِ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَاَلِ الْبُرُوْجِ * * * وَمَا فِیْہِیْنَ وَاَلِ الْاَرْضِیْنَ
* * * وَمَا فِیْہِیْنَ۔ صَلِّ عَلٰی مُحَمَّدٍ وَاَلِ وَاَعَلٰی * * * بِالْجَنَّةِ وَاَجْنٰی مِنْ النَّارِ
اِنَّكَ * * * اِنَّكَ الْمَعْطٰی الْمَنَّانِ ॥

Of greater interest is the following.

Inscription VII. (Arabic.)

قال الله ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا * بنى المسجد
الخان الاعظم والخاقان المعظم آخ اجمل خان سلمه الله تعالى فى
الدارين سرخين خان معظم اقرار خان جازدار عز محل و سر لشكر
وزبير عرصه ساچلا مدكهيدان و شهر بلاولا (sic) دامت معاليه فى
العهد (sic) الملك العادل البادل الفاضل الكامل بارك شاه بن
محمود شاه السلطان- فى تاريخ الكادي من المحرم وستين ثمانمائه ॥

God has said, 'The mosques belong to God. Worship no one else besides God. (Qorán LXXII., 18).

This mosque was built by the great Khán, the exalted grandee, Ulugh Ajmal Khán—may God preserve him in both worlds,—the Commander of the army of the exalted nobleman Iqrár Khán, who is the guardian (*jándár*) of the honor of the royal Harem, Commander and Vazír of the District of Sájlá Mankhá, and the town of Láoblá—may his exalted qualities endure for ever,—during the reign of the just, liberal, learned, and perfect king, Bárbak Sháh, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the Sulṭán. Dated A. H. 860.

As far spelling and grammar are concerned, this inscription is one of the worst I have seen. Generally speaking, the Arabic of none of these inscriptions is classic. One curious mistake occurs on almost every Bengal inscription—the word ابو *abú* is not changed to ابى *abí*, though in the genitive case. Thus in Inscriptions III., VII, IX, X. ; and the word مشهور ‘known as,’ is not followed by the preposition *bi*, as it ought to be; *vide* Insc. I and X. In the above lines we have *Biláoblá* for *Láoblá*, and *fí-l’ahd*, with the article, instead of *fí ’ahd*! The date is so extraordinarily expressed, that I at first doubted its correctness (Proceedings, 1870, p. 189). But the difficulty may be got over by supplying السنة, or من السنة, between the *wáv* and *sittín*.

The inscription lies at present on the ground in the enclosure where Zafar Khán is buried, between the entrance and the tomb. The surface of the stone is about a square yard, and its thickness about a foot. On turning it round, I found that the reverse contained numerous serpents and dragons, cut in relief, but partly mutilated. The stone is of the same basalt as the buildings at Tribení.

Regarding the king and the date mentioned in the inscription, *vide* below No. X.

B. Mulla’ Simla’, near Biddibáṭí.

Biddibáṭí is the station on the E. I. Railway after Serampore. About six miles west of it lies a village of the name of Mullá Simlá, called on the maps *Molnah Simla*, where there is an old, low mosque, and the *dargáh*, or tomb, of ‘Hazrat M u h a m m a d K a b í r Ç á h i b,’ generally called Sh á h A n w á r (انوار) Q u l í of A l e p p o. The *Khádim*s attached to the Dargáh know nothing about the saint, nor did they know the meaning of the inscription. They say that the mosque was built after Sháh Anwár’s death by some ambassador, who endowed it with lands, a copy of the *sanad* being preserved in the court at Húglí. They also point out two stones close to the tomb, where the saint used to kneel down (*dozánú*) at the time of shaving, and the stones “still shew impressions of his knees.” The saint is said to have been fond of looking-glasses; hence pilgrims bring often with them small looking-glasses, which are placed on the tomb.

But after buying them, they must not look in them on their way to the *dargáh*; “else misfortunes will surely befall them, as was the case with a man who some time ago, while on his way to Mullá Simlá, fell down dead, because he looked at his face in the glass which he had bought for the saint.”

This curious custom of offering up looking-glasses seems to be connected with the birth-place of Sháh Anwár. Aleppo was formerly famous in the East for its glass wares.

The inscription is on black basalt, in *Tughrá* characters, and is fixed over the entrance to the *Dargáh*, although it must have belonged in former times to the mosque. The old mosque itself has at present no inscription.

Inscription VIII. (Arabic.)

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا - قال النبي عليه
السلام من بني مسجد الله في الدنيا بني الله له في الجنة سبعين قصرا *
بني المسجد الاكبر اعظم الغ مخلص خان في سنة سبعة و سبعين و
سبعمائه ॥

God has said, ‘The mosques belong to God. Worship no one else besides God.’ [Qorán LXXII, 18.]

The Prophet—upon whom be peace—has said, ‘He who builds for God a mosque on earth, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise. [*Hadís.*]

This mosque was built by the great Khán Ulugh Mukhliç Khán, in the year 777 [A. D. 1375.]

If, as the Khádims say, the ambassador got rid of certain difficulties by praying at the tomb, one might think that he would have shewn his gratefulness by mentioning the saint’s name on the inscription; but the slab mentions neither Sháh Anwár, nor the king who reigned in 777 [Sultán-ussalátín].

I owe this inscription to the kindness of Maulawí ’Abdul Hai, of the Calcutta Madrasah.

C. Sa’tga’nw.

Inscription IX. (Arabic.)

(Náçir Husain Sháh’s Mosque.)

قال الله تعالى اذا ما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم
الآخر و اقام الصلوة و آتى الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى اولئك

ان يكونوا من المهتدين * و قال عز من قائل جل جلاله وعم نواله
 ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا * و قال النبي صلى الله عليه
 و على آله واصحابه من بنى مسجدا في الدنيا بنى الله له بيتا
 في الجنة * * * * *
 * بالحجة * والبحران غوث الاسلام و المسلمين ناصر الدنيا
 والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلى
 امره و شانه * بنى الخان الاعظم المعظم المكرم المخاطب بخطاب
 تربيتخان سامه الله تعالى عن آفات آخر الزمان بمنه و كمال كرمه -
 في سنة الحادي و الستين و ثمانمائه *

God has said, 'That man will build the mosques of God who believes in Him and the last day, and performs the daily prayers and gives the alms demanded by the law, and fears no one except God. Such perhaps belong to those that are guided [Qorán IX, 18.]

And He whose glory is glorious and whose benefits are general, has also said, 'The mosques belong to God. Worship no one else besides God.' [Qorán, LXXII, 18.]

The prophet (upon whom be peace) has said, 'He who builds for God a mosque in this world, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise'.

(* * * two lines broken and illegible) [of him who is strengthened*] by proof and testimony, the refuge of Islám and the Moslems, Náçiruddín Abul Muzañfar Husain Sháh, the Sultán. May God perpetuate his reign and rule, and elevate his state and dignity.

This mosque was built by the great, exalted, and honoured Khán who has the title of Tarbiyat Khán. May God preserve him from the misfortunes of the end of time by His benevolence and perfect grace.

In the year A. H. 861 [A. D. 1457.]

This valuable inscription is written on a thin basalt tablet and is fixed into the northern wall of the enclosure of Fakhruddín's Tomb at Sátgánw.

Regarding the king mentioned above, *vide* Inscription X.

Inscription X. (Arabic.)

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا * و قال النبي

* The word مؤيد, *mu'ayyad*, seems to have stood before *burhán*.

صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا فى الدنيا بنى الله له
 فى الجنة قصرا * بنى المسجد فى عهد الملك العادل البادل
 جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالهظفر فتح شاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه سلطان
 خد الله ملكه * بنى المسجد المجيد العظيم صاحب السيف
 والقلم الخ مجلس نور سواشكر و وزير عرصه ساغلا منكهيدان و شهر
 مشهور سملايان و سواشكر تهانه لاولا و مكربك عرصه و محل
 هاد يگر ساهم الله تعالى فى الدارين * مؤرخا فى الرابع من المحرم
 سنة اثنى عشر و تسعين و ثمانمائة * بخط عبد ضعيف آخوند ملك *

God has said, 'The mosques, &c.' [Qorán, LXXII, 18.]. And the prophet (may peace be upon him!) has said, 'He who builds a mosque on earth will have a castle built for him by God in Paradise'.

This mosque was built during the reign of the just and liberal king Jalá l-uddín Abul Muza ffar Fath Sháh, the Sulţán, son of Mahmúd the Sulţán, may God perpetuate his reign!

The builder of this noble and great mosque is the Lord of the sword and the pen, U lugh Majlis Nú r, commander and Vazír of the district of Sájlá Mankhbád, and the town known as Simlá bád, and Commandant of the Thánah Láoblá and Mihrbak, District and Mahall (Perganah) of Hádígar,—may God preserve him in both worlds!

Dated 4th Muharram, 892, [1st January, 1487.]. Written by the humble servant Akhund Malik.

This inscription is written on a long basalt tablet, which at present stands leaning against the northern wall of Fakhruddín's enclosure.

Inscriptions Nos. I., VII., and X. mention—

1. The District of *Sájlá Mankhbád*.
2. The District of *Hádígar*.
3. The Thánahs of *Láoblá*, or *Láobalá*,* and *Mihrbak*, the first of which was called 'a town' in inscription VII.
4. The town of *Simlá bád*.

* There is a place 10 miles E. of Tribení, on the other side of the Húglí, called on the maps *Láopallah*, near the Jamnah or Jabunah, mentioned above on p. 282, on the border of the 24-Parganahs. In an *Arabic* Inscription, 'Láopallah' would have to be spelt 'Láobalá.' It is also noticeable that there are several Muhammadan villages near this Láopallah. The maps show a Fathpúr, Sháhpúr, Háthíkhánah, &c.

I have not succeeded in identifying these five places, although six months of enquiry and search have elapsed since I first mentioned them in the Proceedings of the Society (June, 1870, p. 188.)

The name even of '*Husainábád the Great*,' mentioned in Inscr. I. is somewhat doubtful; but the Husainábád in the Murshidábád district may be meant. The only name which is certain is that of the town of *Sarhat* (in Bír bhúm), which on Inscr. I. is spelled *Sirhat*, with an *i*.

It is noticeable that in none of the inscriptions the words *Sirkár* and *parganah* occur. The word '*arçah* (عرصه) may be equivalent to *sirkár*, and the word *mahall* is used, even in the *Áin*, in the same sense as '*parganah*.' The term '*arçah*' seems also to have given rise to the name of the *parganah* *Arsá*, to which Sátgánw and Tribení belong, though *Arsá* is spelt in the *Áin*, and by Muhammadans now-a-days, ارسا, not عرصه. In this case the real name of the district would have been omitted. There are many similar cases on record. Thus the *parganah* opposite to Tribení is called *Hawelí shahr*, and corrupted *Hálíshahr*, the proper noun having likewise fallen away.

The word *thánah* meant in those days a 'standing camp,' as the Muhammadans used to erect in newly conquered districts.

The names and dates of the Bengal kings mentioned in these inscriptions, do not entirely agree, as might have been expected, with those given in our histories. The kings mentioned are—

1. Shamsuddín Fírúz Sháh (I.),—A. H. 713 (Inscr. III).
2. Bárbak Sháh, son of Mahmúd Sháh,—A. H. 860, (Inscr. VII).
3. Náçiruddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh (I.),—A. H. 861, (Inscr. IX).
4. Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, son of Bárbak Sháh, no year. *Vide* below under '*Pañduah*.'
5. Jaláluddín Abul Muzaffar Fath Sháh, son of Mahmúd Sháh,—A. H. 892, (Inscr. X).
6. Nuçrah Sháh, son of 'Aláuddín Husain Sháh (II.),—A. H. 936 (*vide* below Inscr. XI, XII).

The place in history of the first king, Fírúz Sháh (I), has been alluded to above, on p. 288.

Of Bárbak Sháh, Marsden (II., 573) has published a coin, dated A. H. 873, which seems to agree with the statement of the histories that he reigned from A. H. 862 to 879. Inscr. VII. gives 860; but should no coin confirm this early date, I would almost doubt the reliability of the inscription which, as I said above, is full of mistakes. The unit might have been omitted. Besides, the year 860 seems to be rendered impossible by Inscr. IX., unless we assume that Bárbak proclaimed himself king during the lifetime of Náçiruddín Husain Sháh. As correctly observed by Marsden, the histories make Bárbak Sháh the son of Náçir Sháh, against the testimony of coins and Inscr. VII., which call his father Mahmúd Sháh. But Mahmúd Sháh has not yet been assigned a place among the Bengal kings.*

The third king, Náçiruddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh is called in the histories *Náçir Sháh*, and is said to have reigned from A. H. 830 to 862. Inscr. IX. mentions clearly 861, and thus confirms the histories as far the *end* of his reign is concerned. But the histories are wrong in calling him *Náçir Sháh*, for the full name given in the inscription shews that he should be called *Husain Sháh* (I). A similar confusion occurs in the name of 'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh al Husainí, father of Nuçrah Sháh, whom the histories call likewise by the first name 'Aláuddín, instead of *Husain Sháh* (II).†

The fifth king, Fath Sháh, appears like the preceding, with his full, or *julús*, name. Inscr. X. confirms the fact, mentioned by Marsden and Laidley, that Fath Sháh was the son of Mahmúd Sháh, and therefore brother of Bárbak Sháh. According to the histories, Bárbak Sháh died in 879, and was succeeded by his son Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, who is mentioned in Gaur Inscriptions of A. H. 880 and 885. He is said to have died without issue, and the throne was claimed by a member of the royal family, of the name of Sikandar Sháh. But he was immediately deposed, and Fath Sháh, uncle of Yúsuf Sháh, ascended the throne.

* The author of the *Sharafnámah i Ibráhímí*, a Persian dictionary, praises Bárbak Sháh and calls him *Abul Muzaffar Bárbak Sháh*. But the only (incomplete) MS. which I have seen of the work, mentions no year. In Marsden's reading of a Bárbak Sháh coin, Area L., we find by mistake د م م م م for د م م م م , though his translation has correctly *Mahmúd*.

The numerous Bárbakpúrs, Bárbak Singhs, &c., in Bengal seem to refer to Bárbak Sháh.

† For a similar incorrectness in Málwah History, *vide* Proceedings A. S. Bengal, for 1869, p. 267, note 3.

Inscriptions XI and XII. (Arabic and Persian).

(The Sâtgánw Mosque.) *

Both inscriptions refer to the building of the Sâtgánw mosque, the ruins of which still exist. The first inscription is a long basalt tablet, which stands in a slanting position within the enclosure of Fakhruddín's tomb, at the side of Inscr. X.

قال الله تعالى يا ايها الذين آمنوا إذا نودي للصلاة من يوم الجمعة فاسعوا إلى ذكر الله وذكروا البيع ذلكم خير لكم إن كنتم تعلمون * الوقف لا يملك * قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم إذا خرجت من بيتك و يوم الجمعة فانت مهاجر فان مت في الطريق فانت في الجنة في عليين * وقال عليه السلام من تصرف بالغضب مال المسجد والوقف كالزنا [كانه زني ؟] ابنته و أمه و اخته * المساجد من الوقف * * * نور وجه يوم القيامة كليلة البدر * في زمان السلطان العادل الكامل ابوالمظفر سلطان نصره شاه ابن حسين شاه سلطان الحسيني خلد الله تعالى ملكه . ساطنته بنا كرد مسجد جامع خان سيادت پناه سيد جمال الدين حسين ابن سيد فخر الدين آملی في تاريخ شهر رمضان المبارك سنة ست و ثلثين وتسعمائة * بنا بر آنکه جماعتی ملایان و ارباب اگر بصرف اوقاف خیانت کنند بلعدت خدا گرفتار شوند واجب و لازم آید حکام و قضات را بجانے که مانع خیانت شوند تا روز قیامت در مظالم گرفتار نیایند *

God has said,—‘O ye that believe, when the call to prayer is heard on Fridays, hasten to the worship of God, and give up buying and selling. This is good for ye, if ye did believe.’ [Qorán, LXII., 9]. Legacies are not to be taken possession of. The prophet, may God's blessing rest upon him, has said,—‘When thou goest out of thine house, and it be Friday, thou art a *Muhájir* (companion of Muhammad's flight); and shouldst thou die on the road, thou wilt be in Paradise, in the highest.’ And the prophet has also said,—‘He who wrongly takes possession of the property of a mosque and legacies, acts as if he committed adultery with his daughter and his mother and his sister.’ The mosques belong to legacies * * * (illegible)—the light of his countenance on

the day of resurrection will be like that of the full moon. (Persian). This Jámi' Masjid was built during the reign of the just and perfect Sultán, Ábul Muzaffar Sultán Nuçrah Sháh, son of Husain Sháh, the descendant of Husain,—may God perpetuate his rule—by the refuge of Sayyidship, Sayyid Jamáluddín Husain, son of Sayyid Fakhruddín of Ámul, during the month of Ramazán, 936. [May, A. D. 1529]. Because the Mullás and Zamúdárs (*arbáb*), if defrauding legacies, are overtaken by the curse of God, it is the earnest (*bajáne*) duty of governors and *qázis*, to prevent such frauds, so that on the day of resurrection they may not be caught in their wicked deeds.

The other (Arabic) inscription is fixed into the wall over the entrance to the mosque.

قال الله تعالى اذما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم
الآخر و أقام الصلوة و أتى الزكوة و لم يخش إلا الله فعسى اولئك
ان يكونوا من المهتدين * قال النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى
مسجدا فى الدنيا بنى الله له سبعين قصرا فى الجنة * فى زمان
السلطان العادل ابوالمظفر نصره شاه سلطان ابن حسين شاه سلطان
الكسيني - بنى مسجد جامع عاليجذاب سيادت مآب و فخر آل
طه سيد جمال دين بن سيد فخرالدين آملى سلمه الله فى الدنيا
و الدين - فى تاريخ شهر رمضان المبارك سنة ست و ثلاثين و تسعمائة *

God has said, 'That man will build, &c.' [Qorán IX., 18; *vide* Inscr. IX].

The prophet has said, 'He who builds for God a mosque in the world, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.'

This Jámi' Masjid was built in the reign of the just king, Ábul Muzaffar Nuçrah Sháh, the Sultán, son of Husain Sháh the Sultán, the descendant of Husain, by the worthy Sayyid Jamál Dín Husain, son of Sayyid Fakhruddín of Ámul, the asylum of the Sayyids, and glory of the descendants of *Táhá* [the prophet],—may God preserve him in the world and the faith,—during the blessed month of Ramazán, 936 [May, 1529.]

Both inscriptions call the son of Husain Sháh *Nuçrah Sháh* (نصرة, not نصرة, or نصرت), though the word نصرة is generally written and pronounced *nuçrat*. For *Nuçrah Sháh* the histories, as is well known, have *Naçíb Sháh* (نصيب شاه). The Gaur inscriptions and the two coins published by Mr. Laidley (Journal, As. Soc., for 1846, Pl. V., Nos. 22 and 23, and p. 332) have

likewise *Nuḡrah*,* and give the *julús*-name in full, *Náḡiruddín Abul Muzaffar Nuḡrah Sháh*. The year mentioned in the above inscription (end of 936) is important. It confirms the statement of the histories that Nuḡrah Shah reigned eleven years after the death of his father, which would make the date of his death 937 (end) or 988.

Nuḡrah's brother was Mahmúd, of whom Mr. Laidley has published a coin dated 933. His *julús*-name is Ghiásuddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh. The year of the coin and that of the inscription would shew that Bengal was blessed by two rival kings. Mr. Laidley also mentions that some of the coins have the word Jannatábád on them, and it would be of historical interest to know whether that mint occurs on such of Mahmúd's coins† as were struck before Nuḡrah's death, because the possession of the capital generally makes a rival the lawful king.

* The Arabic نصرَة, *assistance, victory*, has a *zammah* above the *nún*, not a *fathah*.

† The words within the concentric circle of Mahmúd Sháh's coin, which Mr. Laidley reads نذر شاهي, appear to me to be بدر شاهي *badr i sháhí*, 'the royal full moon.' Silver coins are compared to the moon, and gold coins to the sun. Hence for example, Aurangzib's *sikkah i chún mihir u máh*.

The correct legend on Marsden's and Laidley's Tájuddín Fírúz Sháh (Marsden, II., p. 575, and Laidley, l. c., Pl. V., No. 17) is—

سلطان العهد والزمان
بناييد الرحمن
تاج الدنيا و الدين
فيدروز شاه السلطان

which is readily suggested by the *saj'a* or rhyme, of the legend.

In Marsden's copper Fath Sháh (II., p. 574), we observe the form سلطاني, as on Jaunpúr coins (*vide* Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, for 1870, p. 152).

The word left out by Mr. Laidley in the obverse of his Ahmad Sháh (p. 327) looks like المعظم or الأعظم.

The title عون الاسلام, on Marsden and Laidley's Sikandar and A'zam Sháh, should be غوث الاسلام, which is the standing epithet.

Saifuddín's name as king is not clear on Marsden's plate. It looks like *Kibrat Sháh* or *Kisrá Sháh*. The title *Sultán ussalátn* is not on the coin.

Marsden's Bárbak Sháh appears to have on the obverse the word ضرب and, as correctly read by Laidley, خزانه on the reverse. The margin evidently contained the names of the first four Khalífahs. The words عمر الفاروق, عثمان بن [عقمان], and ابوبكر [بن] قهاقه,

are clear. The *nún* in 'Umar, however, is not distinct.

Laidley's Mahmúd Sháh (Pl. V., No. 18) seems to have on the reverse the following words—

المعتمد بناييد الرحمن خليفة الله في [العصر] والزمان

Dr. W. Oldham, C. S., lately sent me a rubbing of a black basalt inscription in Tughrá, found near the village of Sikandar-púr in the 'Azíngarh District. It refers to the building of a mosque which was completed on the 27th Rajab, 933, and Nuçrah Shah is mentioned as the reigning sovereign.

D. Panduah.

The great mosque of Panduah has no inscription, nor did I see one on the tower. Plates VIII. to X. shew the interior of the mosque, its principal niche at the side of the pulpit, and three of the most finished basalt pillars, with the Budhistic bells, of which there are also many on the outer wall of the mosque. Plates XI. and XII. give views of the tower, east of the mosque, and its door. The tower is drawn from a photograph; the other views are excellent drawings by Mons. Jules Schaumberg. To complete the series of plates, a view of the mosque itself would be required, as also a drawing, shewing some of the numerous ornaments on the outer walls, which are in excellent preservation.

The mosque which stands to the west of the *Astánah* of Sháh Cafí has four inscriptions, of which one is inside. They are unfortunately very high from the ground, and it was with much difficulty that I could get a good facsimile of one, and an imperfect one of the central tablet. I hope at some future time to get a complete rubbing of the latter, which is the most important of the four. From the imperfect rubbing which I have at present, it is clear that the mosque was built during the reign of Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, son of Bárbak Sháh (1474 to 1482). The other inscription contains blessings on the prophet, and has therefore no historical value. It runs—

Inscription XIII. (Arabic).

اللهم صل على محمد و على آل محمد و بارك و سلم و صل
على جميع الانبياء والمرسلين و على الملائكة المقربين و على
عباد الله الصالحين برحمتك يا ارحم الراحمين

The *lám* and *zé* of *al-zamán* are in one, and the *zé* touches the *mím*, which has the initial form. Here we have again the *saja*.'

Mr. Laidley says that there are many monuments in Bengal of Husain Sháh's munificence. An Arabic inscription referring to the digging of a well in

The characters of the inscription are *Tughrá*; but unlike those of the Tribení inscriptions, they abound in round strokes (*dawáir*), which brings the writing nearer to modern *Nasta'liq*.

The modern Quṭb Ḥáhib Mosque, so called from Hazrat Sháh Quṭbuddín, a pious man who is said to have come from Bhágalpúr to Paṇduah, has the following inscription.

Inscription XIV. (Persian).

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

بدوران محمد شاه غازي * که * * فضل و تایید خدا شد
فتح خان بن شجاع افغان لقب سور * چو توفیق خدایش رهنما شد
به پندوه مسجد زیبا بنا ساخت * که خورشید از صفایش پرضیا شد
نهم سال از جلوس پادشاه بود * که این فرخ مکان رونق افزا شد
ز ه تاریخ هجری گمت آزاد • چه مسجد کعبه ثانی بنا شد
سنه ۱۱۶۰ |

Hence the mosque was built in the 9th year of Muhammad Shah of Dihlí, A. H. 1140, or A. D. 1727-28, by one Fath Khán, son of Shujá' Afghán Súr. The poet Ázád, who mentions, himself in the last line, I am told, was the son of Munshí Shákir, of whom a letter-writer exists, entitled *Inshá i Shákir*. The first hemistich of the second verse is faulty in metre; for in scanning the 'ain of *Shujá'* has to be eliminated, and فتح must be read فته *fatah*, according to the Hindústání pronunciation. The *Tárikh* also is awkward. The last *miḡrâ'* gives 1130; and the *hamzah* over the final *h* in *ka'bah* must be counted, as it does in scanning, for a *yá*, which gives 10 more; hence 1140.

Birbhúm near the old Pádisháhi road by that King, was published in Journal A. S. Bengal, for 1861, p. 390. The inscription mentions the year A. H. 922 (A. D. 1516). Two others of A. H. 908 and 909 (A. D. 1502 and 1503) will be found in the Proceedings for 1870, p. 112, note and p. 297.

The legend on the Husain Sháh published by Laidley, Pl. V. No. 21, is very unclear. The words after *assultán* are evidently a *du'á* on the king. The first word looks like *abqáhu* or *abqáhá*, the second seems to be *lil-kájjah*; then comes a broken word, after which there is a *minanuhu wa mahámíduhu bi'indiyat* (?) *illáhi*. The rest is clear.

In the mosque of the *Astánah*, there is a short inscription which shews that it was once repaired by a Hindú.*

Inscription XV. (Persian).

[کلمه طيبة]

چراغ و مسجد و محراب و منبر

ابو بكر و عمر عثمان و حيدر

باهتمام لال كهنوناتهه * سنه ۱۱۷۷

THE KALIMAH.

The lamp, the mosque, the niche, the pulpit, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmán, and Haidar ('Alí). A. H. 1177. [A. D., 1763]. Built by Lál Kunwar Náth.

E. Di'na'na'th.

Dínánáth lies about a *kos* east of Madáran, in the parganah of Jahánábád, which forms the north-western portion of the Húglí District. The *farúdgáh* mentioned in the Proceedings for this year, p. 120, has two inscriptions. The southern entrance has the following verses (metre, short *Hazaj*).

Inscription XVI. (Persian).

بعهد پادشاه خلق پرور * محمد شاه شاهنشاه اعظم
چونواب اسد جنگ از آديسه * نموده عزم بنگاله مصمم
همين جائيكه ديذاناته نام است * شده با نصرت و اقبال محكم
براي انتظام صوبه بنگ * رسيد از پيش خاقان حكم محكم
دل و جانها از بين مرده بباليد * جهان شد زين بشارت شان و خورم
مبارك منزل اين ز انام كورند * كه شد حاصل مراد خاص عالم
چو شد آباد اين جا دل افروز * ز بهرش مصعبه تاريخ جستم
بگوشم هاتف غيب اين ندادان * مبارك منزل دولت سرا هم

* As remarked on p. 123 of the Proceedings for 1870, *dargáhs* of saints belong to the people, and the spiritual blessings attending on pilgrimages to holy places are distributed without reference to creed. I do not think that Muhammadans ever contributed money to the erection of Hindú temples, &c.; but Hindús have done so for mosques, in order to please their rulers. Thus Rájah Bhagván Dás built during Akbar's reign the *Jámi Masjid* of Láhor. The heavenly rewards which Hindús thus earn in the opinion of Muhammadans, are somewhat limited, and all that Muslims will say is to

In the reign of Muhammad Sháh, when Nawáb Asad Jang had left Orísá for Bengal, he encamped at this place which is called Dínánáth, and devoted himself to establishing order in the Súbah of Bengal, according to the strict order of the sovereign. The hearts of the subjects rejoiced at the happy news. This place has therefore been called *Mubárák Manzal*; for the wishes of the people were fulfilled.

When this happy spot was laid out, I (the poet) searched for a hemistich which was to give the *tárikh*, and a voice from heaven whispered into my ear, ‘*Mubárák Manzil e daulatsará ham*’.

This gives A. H. 1136, or A. D. 1723-24.

On the northern gateway, there are two verses (metre *Mujtass*).

Inscription XVII. (Persian).

بامر عالی نواب فیض بخش جهان * چو این مکان امن شد مرتب و محکم
 ز سال فرخ تمام گفت هائف غیب * سرای موتمن الملك ملجأ عالم

When by order of the generous Nawáb, this place of safety was erected, the voice from heaven said regarding the auspicious year the words ‘*Sarái Mutaminulmulk malja e ‘alam*’, this is the Sarái of Mutaminulmulk, the refuge of the world.

The letters of the *Tárikh* give A. H. 1143, or A. D. 1730-31. Regarding Mutamin ul Mulk Shujá’uddaulah Asad-jang Bahádur, *vide* Stewart’s Bengal, p. 261.

In conclusion I may be allowed to express a hope that the members of the Society will forward to Calcutta rubbings of inscriptions. It is thus alone that our imperfect knowledge of the history of this country can be completed. For Bengal especially, inscriptions are of great value, because old histories have perished, and coins and local records are the only available sources.*

repeat the words which the author of the *Tabaqát i Náqirí* has in praise of the unparalleled liberality of Lachman Sen, the last King of Bengal, ‘*khaffafa Alláhu ‘anhu-l ‘azáb*,’ may God lessen his punishment in hell! (*Tabq. Náqirí*, p. 149).

* Since writing the above, rubbings and copies of (Muhammadan) inscriptions have been sent to the Society by Messrs. Delmerick (Rawulpindi), Harrison (Bareli), Tiery (Chaprah), Carleyle (Agrah), Oldham (Gházipúr), and by a Muhammadan gentleman in Bardwán. They will be published in the next number of the Journal. Information has also been received of inscriptions existing at Ambiká Kálnah (Culna on the Hooghly) near the tomb of one Ukul Khán.

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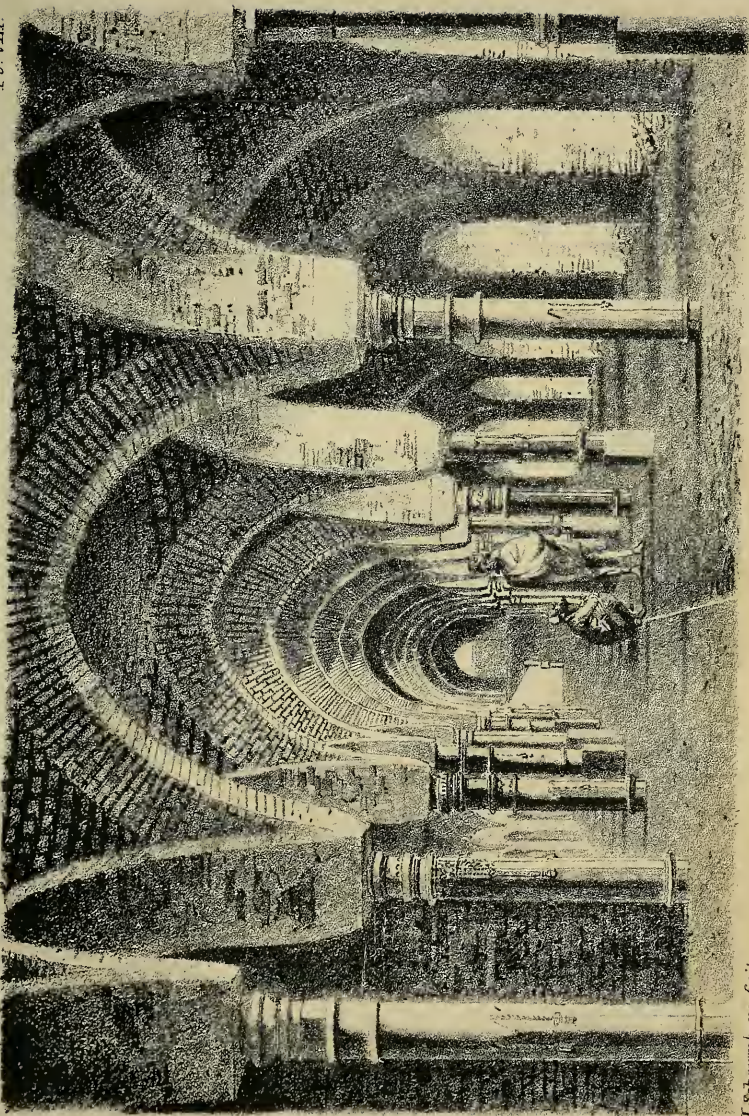
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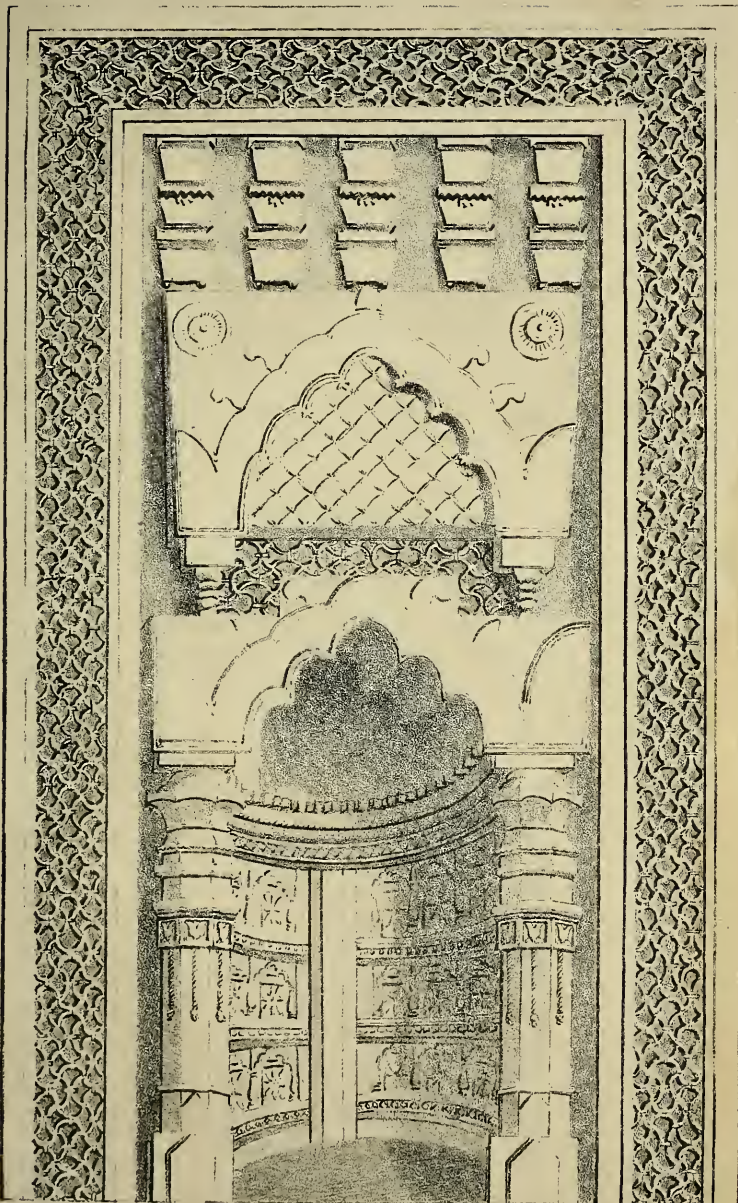
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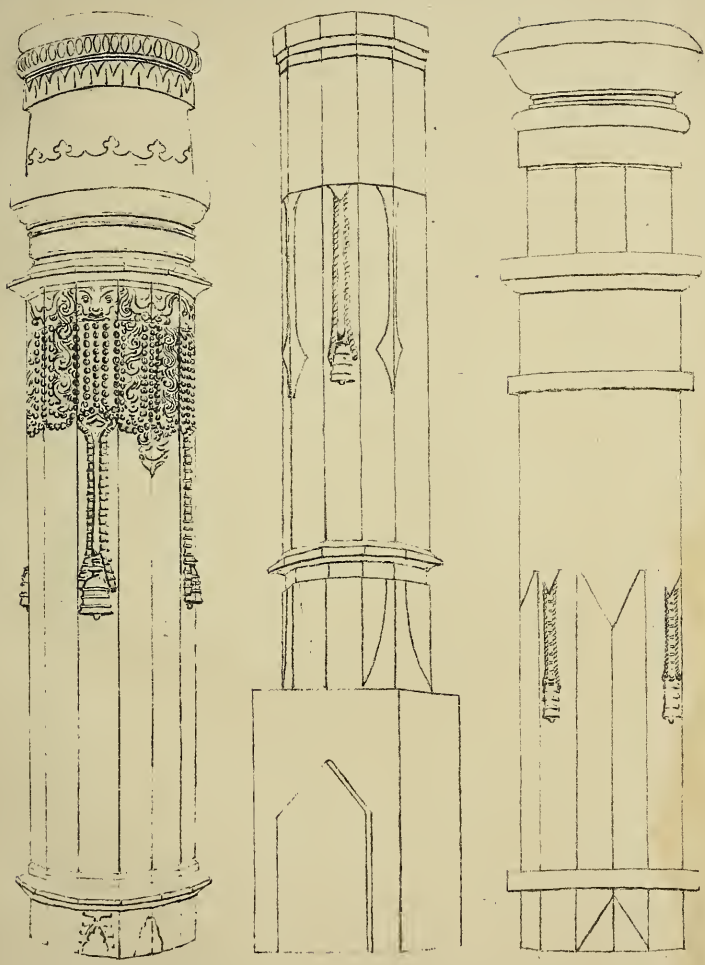
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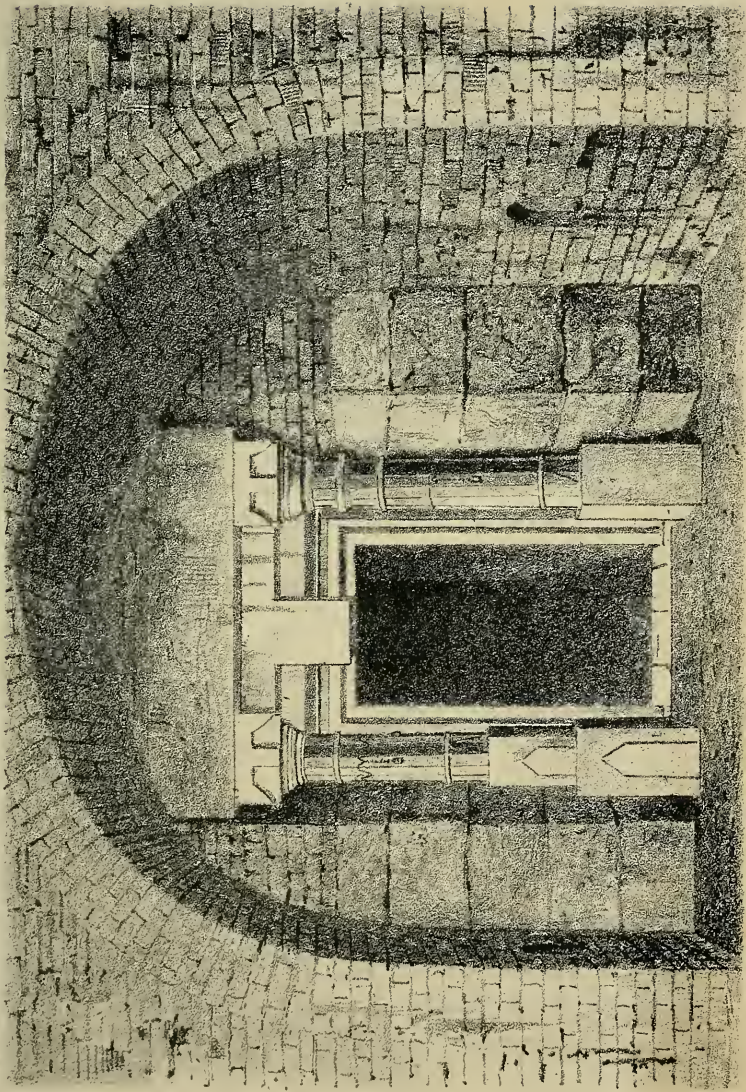
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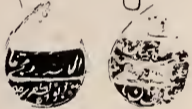
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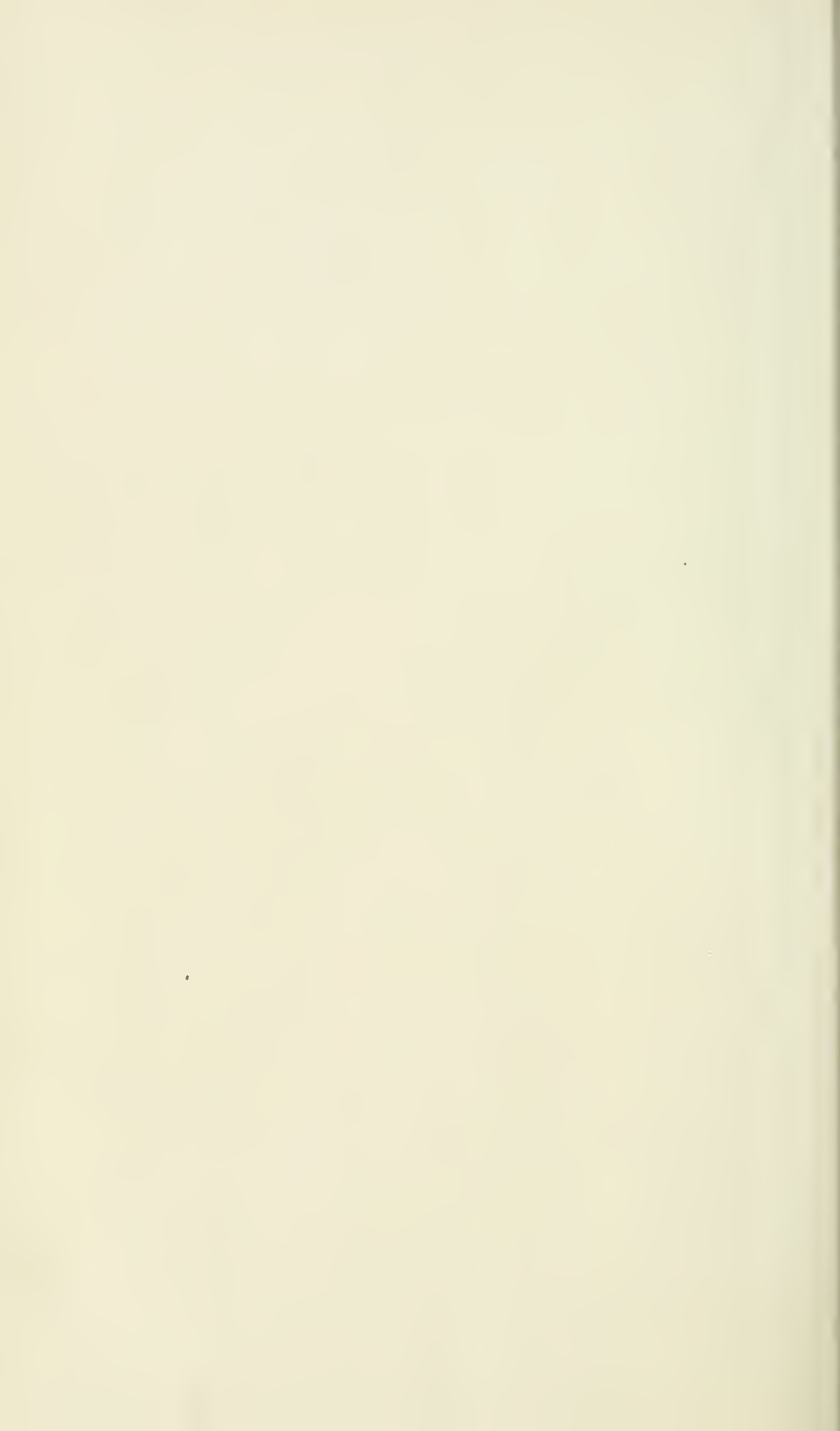
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