

*Rao G. C. ...*

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

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JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1890.

*A Grammar of the Dialect of Chhattísgarh in the Central Provinces. Written in Hindí by MR. HÍRÁLÁL KÁVYOPÁDHYÁYA, Headmaster of the Anglo-Vernacular School in Dhamtarí, District Ráipur, Central Provinces, translated and edited by GEORGE A. GRIERSON, Esq., C. S.*

INTRODUCTION.

1. **Chhattísgarh** (the thirty-six forts) is the name of the most eastern of the divisions of the Central Provinces. It is bounded on the north by Chutiyá Nágpur, on the east by Orissa, and on the south and west by other portions of the Central Provinces.

2. The **language** spoken in this tract belongs clearly to the Eastern Gauḍian Family. It may be classed as a dialect of Bihárá. Its verbal forms are most closely connected with those of Baiswárá, while its system of declension more closely resembles that of Bhoj'purí. In one important point, the formation of the plural, it shows a close connexion with Upiyá.

3. The **present grammar** has been written by Mr. Hírálál Kávyópádhya, Headmaster of the Anglo-Vernacular school at Dhamtarí, District Ráipur, Central Provinces. It was written in the Hindí language, and it has fallen to my lot to translate it, and to rearrange a portion of it, according to the custom of European grammars. Here and there I have added a few philological notes.

4. We are all indebted to Mr. Hírálál Kávyópádhyaáya for his very careful and interesting work, and I gladly welcome him as an accession to the small band of those who are attempting to throw light on the dark byways of Indian vernaculars. It is only by enlisting the assistance of gentlemen like him, who take an intelligent interest in the subject, and who are willing and able to put in writing that knowledge of facts which can only be attained by local experience, that we can hope to be able to finally map out the true relationship between the various languages of India.

G. A. G.

## PART I.

### CHAPTER I. ORTHOGRAPHY.

5. The **nasals** ञ, ज, and ण, when standing alone are all equally pronounced like the dental न, thus रण 'battle' is pronounced रन.

6. A Tatsama श is pronounced like स. Thus, शीत, 'cold' is pronounced सीत. A Tatsama ष is pronounced like ख. Thus, भाषा, 'language' is pronounced भाखा, and दोष, 'a fault' is pronounced दोख.

7. EXCEPTION,—In the word शेष-नाग, 'the serpent of eternity,' ष is pronounced like स,— thus, सेस-नाग.

8. The remaining letters are pronounced as in Hindí.

9. In the following grammar, words will be spelled as they are pronounced. So that we shall spell रन and not रण, सीत and not शीत, भाखा and not भाषा, दोख and not दोष, सेस-नाग and not शेष-नाग.

10. *Note by translator.* The above are very few of the letter changes in this dialect. This is, however, of little importance, as all will be found in Dr Hoernlo's Gaudian Grammar.

One very important change may be noticed here,—the **shortening of an antepenultimate vowel**. When, in a *tadbhava* word, a long vowel, owing to inflexion, conjugation, or other cause, finds itself in the antepenultimate or other earlier syllable of a word, that vowel is shortened. Thus, the long form of आम 'a mango' is आमवा and of घोरा 'a horse,' घोरवा. For further particulars on this point, and also for particulars regarding **Long and Redundant forms**, the reader is referred to the Gaudian Grammar, and to the Introduction to A Comparative Dictionary of the Bihári Language by A. F. R. Hoernlo and G. A. Grierson.

The short vowels आ (like  $\bar{a}$  in *bállo*), ए (like  $\bar{e}$  in *mét*), and ओ, ओ (the short of ओ, ओ); the imperfect or neutral vowel ँ (as in घोरावा *ghor'wá*); and the peculiar long अ (pronounced like *a* in *fall*), which occurs in the root हव, will all be found in this dialect, and the reader is referred to the preface of the Bihári Dictionary, above referred to, for further information concerning them.



## PART II. NOUNS.

## CHAPTER II. FORMATION OF NOUNS.

(Secondary and other nominal suffixes.)

11. **Secondary suffixes** form nouns from other nouns, as distinct from primary suffixes which form them from roots.

12. The following secondary suffixes are those given by the author. The translator has added references to Dr. Hoernle's Gaudian Grammar which will be found useful. Primary suffixes will be found discussed in chapter X.

13. Some of the so-called suffixes given by the author are not *taḍbhavas*, being either *tatsamas* or of foreign derivation. These the translator has put at the end after the others.

14. चा, feminine स्त्री, signifies a person connected with anything, or a vessel for containing anything.

Example,—

उद्धार.चा 'a traveller' from उद्धार 'a road.'

घोरा.चा 'a rider' from घोरा 'a horse,'

बजार.चा or

बजारि.चा, fem. बजार.स्त्री } 'a marketer,' 'a petty shopkeeper,'

तेल.चा 'an oil-vessel' तेल 'oil.'

घिव.चा 'a *ghī*-vessel' घीव '*ghī*.'

दूध.चा, 'a milk-vessel' दूध 'milk.'

See Gd. Gr. §§ 206, 207.

15. क added to nouns forms **nouns of agency**.

Example,—

मया 'illusion' मयाक 'one who causes illusion.'

See Gd. Gr. §§ 209, 1, b and 210.

16. अई or चाई added to adjectives forms **abstract nouns**.

Examples,—

करु 'acid.'

करुअई 'acidity.'

सुन्दर 'beautiful.'

सुन्दरअई or सुन्दरचई 'beauty.'

आमठ 'sour.'

आमठअई 'sourness.'

See Gd. Gr. §§ 220, 221.

17. पा or पन added to adjectives forms **abstract nouns**.

Examples,—

बूढ़ा 'old'

बुढ़ाप 'old age.'

आमठ 'sour'

आमठ:पन 'sourness'

See Gd. Gr. §§ 228, 229.

18. **Diminutives** are formed by using the feminine termination ई.

Sometimes the masculine long form in **वा** is used and more often the feminine long form in **द्या**.

Examples,—

डोला 'a palanquin.'	डोली 'a petty palanquin.'
टुकना 'a basket.'	टुकनी 'a little basket.'
बेटा 'a son.'	बेटवा 'a little son.'
लोटा 'a water-vessel.'	लोटिया 'a little water-vessel.'
लोड़ा 'a pestle.'	लोड़िया 'a small pestle.'

See Gd. Gr. §§ 256, 257, 195, 199, 201.

19. **आस** added to adjectives forms **abstract nouns**.

Examples,—

मीठ 'sweet.'	मीठास 'sweetness.'
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Cf. Gd. Gr. §§ 281, 282.

20. **वाला**, fem. **वाली**, added to nouns forms nouns signifying **possession**.

Examples,—

धन 'wealth.'	धनवाला, fem. धनवाली, 'a wealthy person.'
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See Gd. Gr. §§ 293, 294, Cf. §§ 315 and ff.

21. **हार**, or **हारा**, feminine **हारिन** or **हारनिन**, signifies an **agent**.

*E. g.*, लकरिहारा, fem. लकरिहारिन or लकरिहारनिन, 'a woodman' from लकरी 'wood.'

This is probably the same as **वारा**, through confusion of the suffixes **अनेवारा** and **अनिहारा**.

See Gd. Gr. §§ 293—296, 315—321.

22. **प्र** added to substantives forms **adjectives**.

Example,—

भूख 'hunger.'	भूखे 'hungry.'
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These are connected with the Bihári termination **इअ**, forming the past participle. Cf. Gd. Gr. §§ 302 and ff.

23. **क**, or **उच्चा**, added to a substantive, forms **adjectives of relation**.

Example,—

घर 'a house.'	घरू or घरच्चा 'of' or 'belonging to a house.'
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See Gd. Gr. §§ 330, 331, where however **क** is given only as a primary suffix.

24. **ई** is used to form **adjectives** from substantives; *e. g.*

गुनी 'possessing qualities,' 'wise' from गुन 'quality.'

This is not a *tadbhava* termination. It is the Sanskrit termination ई (इन), and is only found in *tatsamas*.

25. वान 'possessing' is added to substantives to form **adjectives**.

Example,—

रूप 'beauty.'

रूपवान, 'possessing beauty,' 'beautiful.'

This is not a *tadbhava* suffix at all. The word is borrowed direct from the Sanskrit, ready compounded as a *tatsama*.

26. गुन added to numerals, signifies **multiplication**.

Example,—

तीन 'three

तिगुन 'three-fold.'

This is not properly a suffix at all, but is derived from a compound already formed in Sanskrit.

27. ई added to adjectives makes **substantives**.

Example,—

जुवान 'young.'

जुवानी 'youth.'

This is the Persian suffix ی.

28. दार, signifies **possession**, e. g. जमीन्दार 'a land holder,' from जमीन 'land.'

This is the Persian suffix دار.

### CHAPTER III.

#### GENDER.

29. There are two **genders**,—Masculine and Feminine. The gender of names of living things follows their nature, males being masculine and females being feminine. Of things without life, those names which are identical or nearly identical with Hindí names generally follow the Hindí usage. The following rules will be found useful.

30. Words ending in वा and in a silent consonant which is not न, are generally masculine, and those in ई and त are generally feminine.

Examples.

#### Masculine.

Chhattisgarhí.	Hindí.	English.
दुवार	द्वार	'a doorway.'
चाउर	चावल	'rice.'
पाना	पान	'betel.'
टाटा	टाट	'sackcloth.'
ओढ़ना	ओढ़ना	'clothes.'
पत्थरना	पत्थर	'a stone.'
दसनना	दसनना	'bedding.'

#### Feminine.

माती	माटी	'earth.'
रूठी	—	'wood ashes.'

लाठी	लाठी	'a stick.'
चटई	चटई	'a mat.'
बात	बात	'a word.'
रात	रात	'night.'

## EXCEPTIONS.

*Masculine.*

हाँथी	हाथी	'an elephant.'
गाँवई	गाँव	'a village.'
चाँटी	चींटा	'a black-ant.'
भात	भात	'boiled rice.'

*Feminine.*

दार	दाल	'pulse.'
ढार	ढाल	'a shield.'
सुतिया	—	'a neck-ring.'
फरिया	फरिया	'a kind of veil.'

and others as described below.

31. Abstract nouns in व, अब, उव, वव, आ, आप, पा, पन, are masculine.

Those in ई, ही, आई, अई, आस, सी, are feminine.

*Examples,—*

*Masculine.*

मिलव, 'meeting.'  
पिअव, 'drinking.'  
सजाउव, 'deeking.'  
ठगावव, 'cheating.'  
ढूआ, 'touching.'  
मिलाप, 'union.'  
अमठ-पन, 'sourness.'

*Feminine.*

जुआनी, 'ripeness.'  
ठगाही, 'cheating.'  
पिआई, 'giving to drink.'  
करअई, 'acidity.'  
मिठास, 'sweetness.'  
घन-रासी, 'confusion.'

32. Feminines are formed from masculines as follows :

(1) Masculines in आ form their feminines in ई; Thus,—

दूरा, 'a boy.'

डौका or डैका, 'a master.'

दूरी, 'a girl.'

डौकी or डैकी, 'a mistress.'

(2) Long forms in वा form their feminines in इया; thus,—

घोर-वा, 'a horse.'

बुढ़-वा, 'an old man.'

घोरिया, 'a mare.'

बुढ़िया, 'an old woman.'

so also

परिवा 'a buffalo bull-calf.'

परिया 'a buffalo heifer.'

(3) Sometimes in the last ease ँनिन is substituted for इया; thus,—

बघ-वा, 'a tiger.'

बघ-निन, 'a tigress.'

This ःनिन is sometimes applied differently; thus,—

(4) Masculines containing a long vowel, shorten it before ःनिन, thus,—

भाट, 'a bard.'

भटःनिन, 'his wife.'

ऊँट, 'a camel.'

ऊँटःनिन, 'a she-camel.'

(5) Masculines in ई, and its long form इया, take ःनिन regularly; thus,—

हाँथी, 'an elephant.'

हाँथःनिन, 'a cow-elephant.'

बानौ, 'a shop-keeper.'

बनःनिन or बनिन, 'his wife.'

नाती, 'a daughter's son.'

नतःनिन, 'a daughter's daughter.'

बनिया, 'a shop-keeper.'

बनःनिन, 'his wife.'

घसिया 'a grass-cutter.'

घसःनिन 'his wife.'

(6) So also words in a silent consonant, आ, and ई, signifying persons of a certain trade or profession; thus,—

बरेठ, 'a washerman.'

बरेठःनिन, 'his wife.'

लोहार, 'a smith.'

लोहारःनिन, 'his wife.'

अहिरा 'a cowherd.'

अहिरःनिन, 'his wife.'

तेलौ, 'an oilman.'

तेलःनिन, 'his wife.'

Sometimes the Hindī custom is followed; thus,—बरेठिन, अहिरिन, तेलिन, &c.

(7) Names of Brāhman tribes take ःनिन; thus,—

ओभा

ओभःनिन

तिवारी

तिवारःनिन, or तिवरःनिन.

चौबे

चौबःनिन.

डुबे

डुबःनिन.

(8) Some nouns are irregular; thus,—

ददा 'a father.'

दाई 'a mother.'

भाइ 'a brother.'

बहिनौ, 'a sister.'

बोकःरा, 'a he-goat.'

बेरौ or बेरिया, 'a she-goat.'

## CHAPTER IV.

### NUMBER.

33. There are two numbers, Singular and Plural.

34. (1) The **Plural** is formed from the Singular by adding the suffix मन; thus,—

*Singular.*

*Plural.*

मनुख, masc., 'a man.'

मनुख-मन.

बदला, masc. 'a bullock.'

बदला मन.

सोलौ, masc. 'a potter's wheel.'

सोलौ-मन.

चरू, masc., 'a cup.'	चरू-मन.
मन-से, masc., 'a man.'	मन-से-मन.
भाँटी, masc., 'a sister's husband.'	भाँटी-मन.
जिनिस, fem., 'goods and chattels.'	जिनिस-मन.
सुतिया, fem., 'a neck-ring.'	सुतिया मन.
हेरौ, fem., 'a she-goat.'	हेरौ-मन.
पती, fem., 'a daughter-in-law.'	पती-मन.

35. (2) मन is sometimes omitted, especially in the nominative plural, and in the case of things without life; thus, मनुख, 'a man,' or 'men'; बड़ला, 'a bullock,' or 'bullocks'; हेरौ 'a she-goat' or 'she-goats,' and so on.

36. (3) An old form of the plural, which is now very rarely used, is formed by adding न to the singular. If the word ends with a long vowel, that vowel is shortened; thus बड़ला, 'a bullock'; nom. plur. बड़लन acc. plur. बड़लन-का.

37. *Affinity.* With the plural suffix मन, compare the old Hindi मनइ, 'men,' and the Uṛiyá plural suffix माने. The old form in न is the regular Bihári plural oblique termination.

38. (4) Sometimes the plural is formed by prefixing the words सब, सबो, सब्बो, जमा, or जम्मा; thus,—

*Singular.*

*Plural.*

बड़ला	सब बड़ला, सबो बड़ला, सब्बो बड़ला, जमा बड़ला. or जम्मा बड़ला.
हेरौ	सब हेरौ सबो हेरौ, सब्बो हेरौ, जमा हेरौ or जम्मा हेरौ.

39. (5) Sometimes with सब &c., मन is also used at the same time, thus,—

Singular पती.

Plural सब पती-मन, सबो पती-मन, सब्बो पती-मन, जमा पती-मन, or जम्मा पती-मन.

This last form is very common.

## CHAPTER V.

### INFLEXION.

40. The cases are formed with the following postpositions, which are added to the noun direct. In the plural, they follow the suffix मन.

Nominativo	— or चर.
Accusativo	का or ला.
Instrumental	ले.
Dative	का, ला or वर.
Ablative	ले.
Genitivo	के.
Locativo	माँ.
Vocative	—

41. The postposition **हर** of the nominative does not correspond to the Hindi **ने**. It is used to give the idea of definiteness. Thus **गर**, 'a neck,' but **गर-हर** 'the neck.' In the plural it is rarely used with the suffix **मन**, thus **गर-हर**, rarely **गर-मन-हर**, 'the necks.'

42. In the Accusative and Dative, **का** is more used by the polite, and **ला** more by rustics. In the Dative, rustics sometimes use **खातिर** or **खातर**, with or without the Genitive postposition **के** prefixed,—thus, **गर-खातिर**, **गर-खातर**, **गर-के-खातिर** **गर-के-खातर**.

43. The typical vocative interjections are **ए** and **ओ**, which are sometimes written **ये**, and **वो**.

44. *Affinities.*—Except **हर**, all these postpositions are the same as these in use in Bihári and other Eastern Gaudian languages, or, at most, are but slightly changed. Regarding **हर**, I do not know of any closely related word in other Gaudian languages. In Bihári, the pleonastic long form termination **वा** is used in a similar sense. This tends to point to the probability of the origin of **हर** being the Prákṛit pleonastic termination **ड** or **बड** (Hém. IV, 429.) [Thus **गलः**, **गलबड**, **गरवर** or, with onphonic **ह**, **गरहर**. G. A. G.]

45. The following is an example of the declension of a masculine noun ending in a silent consonant.

**गर, 'a neck.'**

SINGULAR.	Nom.	<b>गर, गर-हर</b>	'a neck,' 'the neck.'
	Acc.	<b>गर-का गर-ला</b>	'a neck.'
	Instr.	<b>गर-ले</b>	'by a neck.'
	Dat.	<b>गर-का, गर-ला, गर-वर</b>	'to' or 'for a neck.'
	Abl.	<b>गर-ले</b>	'from a neck.'
	Gen.	<b>गर-के</b>	'of a neck.'
	Loc.	<b>गर-माँ</b>	'in a neck.'
	Voc.	<b>ए गर</b>	'O neck.'
PLURAL.	Nom.	<b>गर, गर-मन, गर-हर,</b> (rare) <b>गर-मन-हर,</b>	'necks,' 'the necks'.
	Acc.	<b>गर-मन-का, गर-मन-ला</b>	'necks.'
	Instr.	<b>गर-मन-ले</b>	'by necks.'
	Dat.	<b>गर-मन-का, गर-मन-ला,</b> <b>गर-मन-वर</b>	'to' or 'for necks.'
	Abl.	<b>गर-मन-ले,</b>	'from necks.'
	Gen.	<b>गर-मन-के,</b>	'of necks.'
	Loc.	<b>गर-मन-माँ</b>	'in necks.'
	Voc.	<b>ए गर-मन</b>	'O necks.'

The old, rare, form of the plural is **गरन**, **गरन-का**.

Similarly are declined, **फर**, 'fruit,' **पौपर**, 'ficus religiosa,' **मनख**, 'a man,' **पिसान**, 'flour,' **कुकर**, 'a dog,' &c.

46. The following is an example of the declension of a masculine noun, ending in long आ.

लडका, 'a boy.'

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom. लडका, लडका-र	लडका, लडका-र, लडका-मन
Acc. लडका-का, लडका-ला	लडका-मन-का, -ला
Instr. and Abl. लडका-ले	लडका-मन-ले
Dat. लडका-का, -ला, -वर	लडका-मन-का, -ला, -वर
Gen. लडका-के	लडका-मन-के
Loc. लडका-माँ	लडका-मन-माँ
Voc. ए लडका	ए लडका-मन.

The old, rare, form of the plural is लडकन, लडकन-का, &c.

Similarly are declined,

बडला 'a bullock,'	घोरवा 'a horso,'
पिलवा 'a whelp,'	ओढ़ना 'clothes,'
टुकुवा 'a basket,'	मेढा 'a moustache.'
बकरा 'a calf,' &c.	

47. All nouns are declined in the same way, and it is hence needless to give further paradigms. The following are examples of nouns of every possible termination.

48. (3) *Masculine in short इ.*

There are no nouns ending in short इ. Sanskrit words ending in इ, when adopted as *tatsamas* into this dialect, (a) sometimes drop the final vowel, and are declined like nouns ending in a silent consonant, and (b) sometimes lengthen it, and are declined like nouns in ई.

Thus, (a) मणि 'a gem,' becomes मन, and (b) बलि 'an offering' becomes बली, and हरि 'Vishnu,' हरौ.

49. (4) *Masculines in long ई.*

Examples; हाँथी 'an elephant,' चाँटी 'a black ant,' परोसी 'a neighbour,' सीली 'a potter's wheel,' गँवई 'a village.'

50. (3) *Masculines in short उ.*

There are no nouns ending in short उ. Sanskrit words ending in उ, when adopted as *tatsamas* into this dialect, (a) sometimes drop the final vowel, and are declined like nouns ending in a silent consonant, and (b) sometimes lengthen it, and are declined like nouns in ऊ.

Thus (a) पशु 'a brute,' becomes पस, and (b) साधु 'a saint,' becomes साधू.

51. (6) *Masculines in long ऊ.*

Examples; चूँ 'a cup,' गूँ 'wheat.'



52. (7) *Masculine in छ.*

Examples; मनःखे 'a man,' मनःसे 'a man,' परःले 'the last day.'

53. (8) *Masculines in औ.*

Examples; भाँटो 'a sister's husband'; आरो (Skr. चारव) 'news.'

54. (9) No masculine nouns end in ऐ or in औ.

55. (10) *Feminines in a silent consonant.*

Examples; जिनिस 'goods and chattels,' मन 'mind,' बुध 'wisdom,' गोठ 'conversation,' मस 'ink.'

56. (11) *Feminines in long आ.*

Examples; जाँता 'a mill-stone,' दुतिया 'a neck-ring,' चरिहा 'a small basket,' फरिया 'a kind of veil.'

57. (12) *Feminines in short इ.* See masculines in short इ, No. 3.

58. (13) *Feminines in long ई.*

Examples: हेरो 'a she-goat,' गोदो 'gravel.'

माती 'earth,' दाई 'mother,' दीदो 'sister,' मसानी 'ink-stand,' चँधःरो 'a washer.'

59. (14) *Feminines in short उ.* See masculines in उ, No. 5.

60 (15) *Feminines in औ.*

Examples: पतो 'a daughter-in-law,' परःको 'a test.'

61. (16) There are no feminine nouns in ऐ or in औ.

## CHAPTER VI.

### ADJECTIVES.

62. The following is a list of **common adjectives**, with their Hindí and English equivalents.

<i>Chhattisgarhí.</i>	<i>Hindí.</i>	<i>English.</i>
बने, नङ्गद	अच्छा	good.
बड़, बड़े, बड़का, बड़के,	बड़ा	big.
कोट, कोटे, कोटका, नान, नान्द, नान्दे,	कोटा	small.
ननका,	लम्बा	long.
लाम, लामा,	चौरा	wide.
चाकर, चकारा,	पीला	yellow.
पीथर, पिँवरा,	नीला	dark blue.
लीला, लील,	काला	black.
कारा, करिया,	श्वेत	white.
पँटरा, धौरा, धौरा,	हरा	green.
हरिचर,	लाल	red.
लाली,		

बुधियार, चतुरा,	चतुर	'intelligent.'
बहुत, बहुतें, बहुती, खूबी, खूब,	बहुत	'many.'
थोर, थोरे, थोरिक, थोर-की, चिटक,	थोड़ा	'few.'
चिट-की,		

63. *Tadbhava* adjectives in चा form their **feminines** in ई; thus,— कारी, बड़-की, छोटा-की, नन-की; but this rule is often neglected, and the genders are mixed up; thus, छोटाका बाबू, or छोटा-की बाबू 'a little gentleman'; छोटाका नौनी, or छोटा-की नौनी 'a little girl.'

64. To give the meaning of **likeness** or **resemblance**, the following suffixes are used,—equivalent to the Hindī सा.

With nouns or with the genitive cases of pronouns, ऐसन, असन, अस, सन.

With adjectives, प्रकन, अकन, कन, अक, कुन, किन, क; thus,—

<i>Oḥhattīgarhī.</i>	<i>Hindī.</i>	<i>English.</i>
गँवई-ऐसन, गँवई-असन, गँवई-अस, or गँवई-सन	गाँव-सा	'like a village.'
चन्दा-ऐसन, चन्दा-असन, चन्दा-अस, or चन्दा-सन	चाँद-सा	'like the moon.'
मीर-ऐसन, मीर-असन, मीर-अस, or मीर-सन	मेरा-सा	'like me.'
ओकर-ऐसन, ओकर-असन, ओकर-अस, ओकर-सन	उस-का-सा	'like that.'
बड़-प्रकन, बड़-अकन, बड़-कन, बड़-अक, बड़-कुन, बड़-किन; बड़-का-अकन, बड़-का-अक, बड़-का-कन, बड़-का-कुन, बड़-का-क	बड़ा-सा	'biggish.'
छोटा-कन, छोटा-अकन, छोटा-अक, छोटा-प्रकन, छोटा-कुन, छोटा-किन	छोटा-सा	'littleish.'

#### *Numerals.*

65. The **Cardinals** are the same as in Hindī. The syllable ओ added to a cardinal makes it definite; thus,—एकी 'the one,' दूओ 'the two,' 'both,' तीनी 'the three,' सैओ 'the hundred.'

66. **Indefiniteness** is given by adding प्रकन or अकन, thus पाँच-प्रकन 'about five,' दू-अकन 'about two,' कौरी-प्रकन 'about a score,' सै-अकन 'about a hundred.'

67. **Exactness** is given by adding the syllables ठी, ठिन, or ठन; thus,—प्रक-ठी, प्रक-ठिन, प्रक-ठन 'exactly one.' दू-ठी, दू-ठिन, दू-ठन 'exactly two.'

68. **Multiplication** is denoted by adding the syllables गुन, पैँत, घाव, or बेर, before the first of which a long vowel is usually shortened;

thus,—दु-गुन, दू-गुन 'twice,' ति-गुन, तौ-गुन 'thrice,' चर-गुन, चार-गुन 'four times,' एक पैँत 'once,' दू पैँत 'twice,' तौन घाव 'thrice,' चार घाव 'four times,' पाँच बेर 'five times,' पाँच-गुन 'five times,' सत-गुन 'seven times,' अठ-गुन 'eight times.'

69. **Fractional numbers**;—the following may be noted.

सूका or सूखा,	'a quarter.'
आधा	'a half.'
पयन	'three quarters.'
देड़	'one and a half.'
अढ़ई	'two and a half.'
अउठ	'three and a half.'

70. **Ordinals**;—the following may be noted.

First,	पहिल, पबील, पहिलावन, पहिलाँवन, पहिलाँवट.
Second,	दूसर, दुसःरावन, दुसःरावन, दुसःरावट.
Third,	तीसर, तीसःरावन, तिसःरावन, तिसःराट.
Fourth,	चौथ, चौथावन, चौथावट.

The words in आवन and आवट may optionally have anunasik on either of the last two syllables; thus, दुसःराँवन, or दुसःराँवन, दुसःराँवट, or दुसःराँवट, and so on.

#### *Adjectives used as Substantives.*

71. When adjectives are used as substantives, they are treated as such.

Thus बड़े 'a big' is thus declined as a substantive.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	बड़े, बड़े हर	बड़े-मन.
Ace.	बड़े-का,-ला	बड़े-मन-का,-ला

and so on.

## CHAPTER VII.

### PRONOUNS.

72. The declension of pronouns is somewhat peculiar. Each pronoun has in each number three forms,—a direct, an oblique, and a genitive. The direct form is that used with the nominative, the oblique is that used in the accusative and sometimes in the dative, the genitive is that used in the other cases, and sometimes in the dative. In other words the oblique form is used in the accusative, with the postpositions का and ला, and it is also used in the dative with the same postpositions. The genitive form is used by itself for the genitive, and with the usual postpositions for the other cases. Moreover it is used with the post-

position बर and खातिर or खातर of the dative. We thus got the following scheme.

Nom.	Direct form.
Acc.	Oblique form with का or ला.
Instr.	Genitive with ले.
Dat.	Oblique form with का or ला, and Genitive with बर, खातिर, or खातर.
Abl.	Genitive with ले.
Gen.	Genitive form.
Loc.	Genitive with माँ.

73. In the plural, there are moreover two forms, a simple, declined as above, and a periphrastic formed by adding मन to the simple plural form. This periphrastic form is declined regularly like a substantive.

74. In some places the instrumental and ablative are used with the oblique and not with the genitive form, but this custom is dying out.

*Personal Pronouns.*

75. The Personal Pronouns of the first and second persons are as follows.—For the third person, the Remote Demonstrative Pronoun is used.

		First person.	Second person.	
Singular	{	Direct	मँ or मैँ 'I'      तँ or तैँ 'thou.'	
		Oblique	मो 'me'      तो 'thee.'	
		Genitive	मोर 'my'      तोर 'thy.'	
Plural	{	Simple {	Direct	हम, 'we'      तम, 'ye.'
			Oblique	हम, 'us'      तुन्ह 'you.'
		Periphrastic	Genitive	हमार 'our'      तुन्हार 'your.'
				हम-मन 'we'      तुम-मन 'ye.'

The forms मँ and तँ are used by the vulgar, मैँ and तैँ by the educated; sometimes तू or तुह is used instead of तँ, to express respect.

76. मँ or मैँ 'I' is declined as follows :

*Singular.*

Nom.	मँ or मैँ	'I.'
Acc.	मो-का, मो-ला	'me.'
Instr.	मोर-ले	'by me.'
Dat.	मो-का, मो-ला; मोर-बर, मोर-खातिर, मोर-खातर,	'to' or 'for me.'
Abl.	मोर-ले	'from me.'
Gen.	मोर	'my.'
Loc.	मोर-माँ	'in me.'

## Plural.

	Simple.	Periphrastic.	
Nom.	हम	हम-मन	'we.'
Acc.	हम-का, हम ला,	हम-मन-का,-ला	'us.'
Instr.	हमार ले	हम-मन-ले	'by us.'
Dat.	हम-का,-ला; हमार-बर &c.	हम-मन-का, -ला,- बर, &c.	'to' or 'for us.'
Abl.	हमार-ले	हम-मन-ले	'from us.'
Gen.	हमार	हम-मन-के	'our.'
Loc.	हमार-माँ	हम-मन-माँ	'in us.'

77. तौ or तै 'thou' is similarly declined; thus,—

## Singular.

Nom.	तौ or तै	'thou.'
Acc.	तो-का, तो-ला	'thee.'
Instr.	तोर-ले	'by thee.'
Dat.	तो-का-ला; तोर-बर,-खातिर, -खातर,	'to' or 'for thee.'
Abl.	तोर-ले	'from thee.'
Gen.	तोर	'thy.'
Loc.	तोर-माँ	'in thee.'

## Plural.

	Simple.	Periphrastic.	
Nom.	तुम	तुम-मन	'ye.'
Acc.	तुम्ह-का,-ला	तुम-मन-का,-ला	'you.'
Instr.	तुम्हार-ले	तुम-मन-ल	'by you.'
Dat.	तुम्ह-का,-ला, तुम्हार-बर, &c.	तुम-मन-का,-ला,-बर &c.	'to' or 'for you.'
Abl.	तुम्हार-ले	तुम-मन-ले	'from you.'
Gen.	तुम्हार	तुम-मन-के	'of you.'
Loc.	तुम्हार-माँ	तुम-मन-माँ	'in you.'

In the oblique plural form, तुम is sometimes written for तुम्ह.

When तू or तुह is used to express respect, the forms are as follows :—

	Singular.	Simple Plural.	Periphrastic Plural.
Direct	तू or तुह	wanting	तुह-मन.
Oblique	तुह	wanting	तुह-मन.
Genitive	तुहार	तुहार-मन	तुह-मन.

This respectful form is rarely used, and appears to be dying out.

78. As already explained, the instrumental and ablative of these pronouns in some places are used with the oblique instead of with the genitive forms; thus—**मो-ले, हम-ले, तौ-ले** and **तुम-ले**, instead of **मोर-ले, हमार-ले, तौर-ले** and **तुम्हार-ले**.

79. The periphrastic plural is formed, it will be seen, by adding **मन** to the simple nominative plural. Sometimes, however, it is added to the simple genitive plural, thus **हमार-मन, हमार-मन-का, हमार-मन-ले; तुम्हार-मन, तुम्हार-मन-का, तुम्हार-मन-ले, &c.**

#### *Reflexive Pronoun*

80. The Reflexive Pronoun **अपन** 'self' is declined regularly in the singular like a substantive, except that the genitive takes no termination; thus—

Nom.	अपन, अपन-हर	'self.'
Acc.	अपन-का,-ला	'self.'
Instr.	अपन-ले	'by self.'
Dat.	अपन-का,-ला,-बर	'to' or 'for self.'
Abl.	अपन-ले	'from self.'
Gen.	अपन	'own.'
Loc.	अपन-माँ	'in self.'

The plural is formed by repeating the word thus Nom. **अपन अपन अपन अपन-हर** 'selves,' Acc. **अपन अपन-का**, and so on.

This pronoun is frequently compounded with personal pronouns; thus,—

Acc.	मैं अपन-का	'myself.'
Acc.	तैं अपन-का	'thyself.'
Acc.	औ अपन-का	'himself.'
Acc.	हम-मन अपन-का	'ourselves.'
Acc.	तुम-मन अपन-का	'yourselves.'
Acc.	औ-मत अपन-का	'themselves.'

#### *The Mutual Reflexive Pronoun.*

81. The mutual reflexive pronoun **आपुस** or **आपुसी** occurs only in the Genitive and Locative of both numbers; thus,—

#### SINGULAR.

Gen.	आपुस के आपुसी-के	'of each other.'
Loc.	आपुस-माँ, आपुसी-माँ	'in each other.'

#### PLURAL.

Gen.	आपुस आपुस-के, आपुसी आपुसी-के	'of each other.'
Loc.	आपुस आपुस-माँ, आपुसी आपुसी-माँ	'in each other.'

The vulgar sometimes make a plural with **मन**; thus,—**आपुस-मन-क आपुसी-मन-के, &c.**

*Demonstrative Pronouns.*

82. The proximate Demonstrative Pronoun ए, sometimes spelt ये 'this' and the Remote Demonstrative Pronoun ओ 'ho,' 'she,' 'it,' 'that,' are declined exactly like the personal pronouns.

The principal forms are as follows :

Singular	{	Direct	ए, ए-हर	ओ, ओ-हर	
		Oblique	ए	ओ	
		Genitive	ए-कर	ओ-कर	
Plural	{	Simple	Direct	इन, इन-हर	उन, उन-हर
			Oblique	इन्ह	उन्ह
			Genitive	इन्ह-कर,	उन्ह-कर
	Periphrastic		ए-मन or इन्ह मन	ओ-मन, उन्ह-मन	

The accusative frequently drops its postposition thus ए देख 'see this,' instead of ए का देख; ओ देख 'see that,' instead of ओ-का देख.

In the genitive case singular, the forms ए-के ओ-के are sometimes used. So also, in the genitive case plural, the forms इन्ह-के and उन्ह-के are sometimes used.

Instead of इन्ह and उन्ह, इन and उन are sometimes used.

It is unnecessary to decline these in full.

*The Correlative Pronouns.*

83. These include the Relative Pronoun जे 'who,' and its Correlative ते 'he (who).' They are declined exactly like the Demonstrative pronouns, except that the nominative has three pairs of forms, founded on the three sets, जे, जौन and जउन, and ते, तीन and तउन respectively.

The principal parts are as follows :

Singular	{	Direct	जे, जे-हर; जौन, जौन-हर; ते, ते-हर; तीन, or जउन, जउन-हर	ते, ते-हर; तीन, तीन-हर; or तउन, तउन-हर	
		Oblique	जे, जौन or जउन	ते, तीन or तउन	
		Genitive	जे-कर	ते-कर	
Plural	{	Simple	Direct	जिन, जिन-हर	तिन, तिन-कर
			Oblique	जिन्ह	तिन्ह
			Genitive	जिन्ह-हर	तिन्ह-कर
	Periphrastic		जे-मन, जौन-मन, जउन मन or जिन्ह-मन	ते मन, तीन-मन, तउन-मन, or तिन्ह-मन	

The accusative frequently drops the postposition; thus जउन देख '(He) whom you see'; जे कहत-हौ, ते बताव 'show that about which you speak.'

In the genitive case singular and plural के is sometimes substituted

for कर; thus जे-के, जिन्ह-के; ते-के, तिन्ह के, instead of जे-कर, जिन्ह-कर; ते-कर, तिन्ह कर, &c.

Instead of जिन्ह and तिन्ह, जिन and तिन are sometimes used.  
It is not necessary to decline these pronouns in full.

*Interrogative Pronouns.*

84. The **Masculine and Feminine Interrogative Pronoun** कोन or कउन is declined like the Correlatives. The only difference is that there is no direct form के as might be expected, and that there is an additional singular obliquo form का.

*Principal Parts.*

Singular	{	Direct	कोन, कोन-हर, or कउन, कउन-हर	
		Oblique	कोन, कउन or का	
		Genitive	का कर	
Plural	{	Simple	Direct	} not used.
			Obliquo	
			Genitive	
		Periphrastic	कोन, कोन-मन, or कउन, कउन-मन	

The genitive singular is also कोन-के, कउन-के or का-के

To signify 'which of many,' this pronoun is frequently repeated, and is then thus declined in the plural.

Nom. कोन कोन (-हर); कउन कउन (-हर);  
कोन कोन-मन; or कउन or कउन-मन.

Acc. कोन कोन-का,-ला; कउन कउन-का,-ला;  
कोन कोन मन-का,-ला; कउन कउन-मन-का,-ला;  
का-ला का-ला; or का-का का-का.

And so on: when the oblique form का is used, the postposition is repeated after each member of the compound, while with other forms, it is only used after the second member.

85. The **Neuter Interrogative Pronoun** का 'what,' is one of the few survivals of the neuter gender in the dialect.

It has an oblique form काहे, but in other respects is declined in the singular regularly like a substantive, thus,—

Nom. का; Acc. काहे-का,-ला; Instr. काहे-ले, and so on.

Sometimes का is used instead of काहे; thus, का-का,-ला, का-ले, and so on.

The plural is formed by doubling the pronoun; thus—

Nom. का का; Acc. काहे काहे-का, ला; Instr. काहे काहे ले, and so on.



*Indefinite Pronouns.*

86. The **Indefinite Pronoun** कोनो or कउनो 'any one,' 'some one,' is declined regularly in the singular like a substantive; thus,—

Nom.	कोनो, कानो ढर; or कउनो कउनो-ढर
Acc.	कोनो का,-ला; or कउनो-का,-ला, and so on.
The plural is formed by reduplication,—thus,	
Nom.	कोनो कोनो कोनो कोनो-ढर; or कउनो कउनो, कउनो कउनो-ढर
Acc.	कोनो कोनो-का,-ला; &c.
and so on.	

The vulgar sometimes add मन; thus,—Acc. कोनो कोनो-मन-का, and so on. Somotimes an oblique form का-करो is used; thus, Acc. का-करो-का, and so on.

87. कुडू 'anything', 'something' is declined similarly; thus,—sing. Nom. कुडू; Acc. कुडू, कुडू-का,-ला, and so on.

Plur. Nom. कुडू कुडू; Acc. कुडू कुडू, or कुडू कुडू-का,-ला and so on, the vulgar adding मन as above.

88. Other Indefinite Pronouns are एक 'a,' 'a certain'; दूसर, आन, बिरान 'another,' अउर, अऊ 'other'; दुन्नो, दूनों 'both'; सब, सब्बो 'all'; कत-को 'some,' 'several.'

These are all declined like कुडू, above.

89. When two pronouns are used together, or when a pronoun and a noun are used together, the case postpositions are added to the latter of the two; thus,

एक दूसर-का	(acc.) 'one or other'
जउन जउन-ले	'from whosoever'
कउन बइला-वर	'for what bullock'
दूसर दूसर मन-खे-का	'each to a different man'
दूसर दूसर मन-खे-मन-ले	'each by different men'
and so on.	

90. The following are **Pronominal Adjectives.**

A. *Quantity.*

Proximate Demonstrativo or (vulgar) or	प्रतःका,	प्रतक,	प्रतःको,	प्रतोक,	प्रतःके,	} 'this much'
	अतःका,	अतक,	अतःको,	अतोक,	अतःके,	
	इतःका,	इतक,	इतःको,	इतोक,	इतःके,	
	अडक					

Remote De-					} 'that much.'	
monstrative	ओतःका,	ओतक,	ओतःकी,	अतीक,		ओतःके
or	वतःका,	वतक,	वतःकी,	वतीक,		वतःके
or (vulgar)	उतःका,	उतक,	उतःकी,	उतीक,		उतःके,
	or	बहुक.				
Relative	जतःका,	जतक,	&c.		} 'what much.'	
or	जतःका	जतक,	&c.			
or (vulgar)	जितःका,	जितक,	&c.			
or	जहुक,					
Correlative	ततःका,	ततक,	&c.		} 'that much.'	
or	ततःका,	ततक,	&c.			
or (vulgar)	तितःका,	तितक,	&c.			
or	तहुक					
Interrogative	केतःका,	केतक,	&c.		} 'how much.'	
or	कतःका,	कतक,	&c.			
or (vulgar)	कितःका,	कितक,	&c.			
or	कहुक					

Sometimes जे is used to mean 'what much,' and के to mean 'how much?'

#### B. Quality.

Proximate Demonstrative	ऐसन,	ऐसःने,	ऐसे,	अस	'in this way,' 'this.'
Remote Demonstrative	वैसन,	वैसःने,	वैसे	(वस is not used),	'in that way.'
Relative	जैसन,	जैसःने,	जैसे,	जस	'in what way.'
Correlative	तैसन,	तैसःने,	तैसे,	(तस rare)	'in that way.'
Interrogative	कैसन,	कैसःने,	कैसे,	कस	'in what way.'

## PART III. THE VERB.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## INTRODUCTORY.

91. There are two **numbers**,—Singular and Plural.

92. There are three **persons**, first, second, and third.

93. There is no distinction of **gender**.

94. In the present tense of the defective auxiliary verb in the future tense indicative of all verbs, and in tenses derived from them, the **polite** and the **vulgar** use different forms for each person. These will be made clear in the paradigms.

95. Every verb has a **root**, from which every other form is derived. The root may be found by taking the infinitive in **न** and discarding that letter. The remainder is the root. Thus घुचन 'to move,' Root घुच 'move' or it may be found by taking the third singular present conjunctive, and discarding the termination रे. Thus घुचै '(If) he move,' Root घुच. The 2nd singular Imperative is always the same as the root.

96. There are two **auxiliary verbs** in use;—(1) the **Defective auxiliary verb**, (2) the **Complete auxiliary verb**.

The **Defective auxiliary verb** uses up two roots in its conjugation, *viz.*, √ हव 'be,' and the √ रह 'remain.'

The **Complete auxiliary verb** is formed from the √ हो 'become,' and is conjugated regularly throughout; except that its preterite is irregular. Its preterite is never used as an auxiliary, but only as a verb substantive.

## CHAPTER IX.

## FORMATION OF MOODS AND TENSES.

97. There are three **moods**, the Indicative, the Conjunctive or Conditional, and the Imperative.

The moods have the following **tenses** :

INDICATIVE,—	Preterite.
	Future.
	Present Definite.
	Imperfect.
	Future Durative.

	Perfect.
	Pluperfect.
	Future Exact.
CONJUNCTIVE,—	Present.
	Preterite.
	Futuro.
	Present Durative.
	Future Exact.
	2nd Preterite.
IMPERATIVE,—	Present.

The Imperativo has also an Honorific form.

Tenses may be also divided into simple (or Radical and Participial), and Periphrastic. The former are formed by taking the Root or a Participle, and adding the personal terminations direct. The latter are formed with the aid of auxiliary verbs subjoined to the present or past participlo. Classifying them according to this system we get

Simple,—Indicative,—Preterite and Future ; Conjunctive,—Present and Pretorite ; Imperative,—Present and Honorific.

Periphrastic,—Indicative,—Present Definite, Imperfect, Durativo Future, Perfect, Pluperfect, and Future Exact ; Conjunctive,—Future, Durative Present, Futuro Exact and 2nd Preterite.

In the following Paradigms, the tenses will be classed according to this last system. First the Simple and then the Periphrastic tenses, in order.

The tenses are formed in the following way :

#### A. Simple Tenses.

98. The **Preterite Indicative** is formed by adding the following terminations to the root :

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1st	ऊँव	ऊँन
2nd	ए or एस	एव
3rd	इस	इन

99. The **Future indicative** is formed by adding the following terminations to the root. This tense has two forms, one used by the polite and the other by the vulgar.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1	इहाँ	ऱँ	अब or इहन	बो or बोन
2	बे	बे	इही	ऱँ
3	इहे or ई	ऱी	इहे	ऱीँ

When the root ends in a vowel, these terminations are liable to slight changes.

100. The **Present Conjunctive (Conditional)** is formed by adding the following terminations to the root.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1	औँ	अन
2	अस	औ
3	रे	रें

When the root ends in a vowel, the अ of अस and अन is sometimes elided.

101. The **Preterite Conjunctive (Conditional)** is formed by adding the terminations of the Preterite Indicative to the Present Participle.

102. The **Present Imperative** is the same as the Present Conjunctive, except that the termination अस is dropped in the second person singular.

The Honorific Imperative is formed by adding ई to the root.

#### B. *Periphrastic Tenses.*

103. The **Definite Present** is formed by adding the persons of the Present tense of the Defective Auxiliary Verb, to the Present Participle; thus,—मै घुचत-ऱैँ, or (vulgar) मैँ घुचत-ऱैँवैँ 'I am moving.'

With negative particles, irregular forms like औ नइ जान-रे 'he is not going,' हम नौ जान-अन 'I am not going,' occur.

104. The **Imperfect Indicative** is formed by adding the persons of the Preterite tense of the Defective Auxiliary Verb to the Present Participle; thus, मैँ घुचत-रहेँव 'I was moving.'

Sometimes the Perfect of the Dofectivo Auxiliary Verb is used instead; thus, मै घुचन-रहे-हैं 'I was moving.'

105. The **Durative Future Indicative** is formed by adding the persons of the Futuro Indicativo of the Completo Auxiliary Verb to the Present Participle; thus,—मै घुचन-हो-हैं 'I shall be moving.'

106. The **Perfect Indicative** is formed by adding the following terminations to the root. It will be seen that the latter half of the terminations is the Present of the Defective Auxiliary Verb.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	घ्र-होँ	घ्र-होँ	घ्र-हन	घ्र-हन
2.	घ्र-होस	घ्र-होस	घ्र-हो	घ्र-हो
3.	हस-है	हस-है	हन-है	हन-है

If the root ends in a vowel, ये is used instead of घ्र.

107. The **Pluperfect Indicative** is formed by adding the persons of the Preterite tense of the Defective Auxiliary Verb to the Past Participle; thus, मै घुचे-रहँव 'I had removed.'

Sometimes the perfect of the Defective Auxiliary Verb is used instead; thus—

मै घुचे रहँव-हैं 'I had moved.'

108. The **Future Exact** is formed by adding the persons of the Futuro Indicativo of the Completo Auxiliary Verb to the Past Participle; thus,—मै घुचे-हो-हैं 'I shall have moved,' 'I may have moved.'

In the third person, sometimes, instead of adding घ्र to the root, the third person of the preterite is used. This gives the idea of greater uncertainty. Thus, ओ घुचे-हो-है means 'he will almost certainly have moved,' but ओ घुचिस-हो-है 'he will probably have moved.' आज बाल मकुन्द पाठ-साला-माँ गये-हो-है 'to-day Bál Makund will almost certainly have gone to school.' This would be said if he always went regularly, and never missed attendance; but if every now and then he missed, and his attendance to-day would not be so certain, the phrase used would be आज बाल मकुन्द पाठ-साला-माँ गरस-हो-है.

109. The **Future Conjunctive** is formed by adding the persons of the Present Conjunctive of the Completo Auxiliary Verb to the Present Participle: thus,—मै घुचन-हो-होँ ' (If) I be moving.'

110. The **Durative Present Conjunctive** is formed by adding the persons of the Preterite Conjunctive of the Complete Auxiliary Verb to the Present Participle; thus,—**मै घुचत-होतेव** ' (If) I were moving.'

111. The **Future Exact Conjunctive** is formed by adding the persons of the Present Conjunctive of the Complete Auxiliary Verb, to the Past Participle; thus,—**मै घचे होजै** ' (If) I have moved.'

112. The **Second Preterite Conjunctive** is formed by adding the persons of the Preterite Conjunctive of the Complete Auxiliary Verb, to the Past Participle; thus,—**मै घुचे-होतेव**. ' (If) I had moved.'

113. The **Conjunctive Participle** is formed by adding the participle **के** to the first infinitive; thus,—**घुच-के** 'having moved'; **होय-के** 'having been.'

## CHAPTER X.

### OTHER VERBAL DERIVATIVES (PRIMARY SUFFIXES).

114. The formation of **verbal nouns** and **adjectives**, including **infinitives** and **participles** will now be described. In the paradigms only the Present and Past Participles and the three Infinitives will be given.

115. The following terminations make **nouns of Agency**.

ऐया,	<i>e. g.</i> added to	✓ बोल 'speak,'	forms बोहैया 'a speaker.'
"	"	✓ पी 'drink,'	" पिऐया 'a drinker.'
"	"	✓ कमा 'labour,'	" कमेया 'a labourer.'
वैया	"	✓ बोल 'speak,'	" बोल-वैया 'a speaker.'
"	"	✓ खा 'eat,'	" खवैया 'an cater.'
"	"	✓ पी 'drink,'	" पिवैया 'a drinker.'
"	"	✓ कमा 'labour,'	" कम-वैया 'a labourer.'
वार	"	✓ राख 'keep,'	" रख-वार 'a keeper.'
आ, fem. ई	"	✓ गिजर 'laugh,'	" गिजर:रा fem. गिजर:रौ 'a laugher.'
हा, fem. ही	"	✓ गिजर 'laugh,'	" गिजर:हा, fem. गिजर:ही 'a laugher.'
"	"	✓ ठग 'cheat.'	" ठग:हा, fem. ठग:ही 'a cheater.'
"	"	✓ चटर 'gabble,'	" चटर:हा, fem. चटर:ही 'a gabbler.'
न:हा, fem. न:ही	"	✓ रो 'weep,'	" रोन:हा, fem. रोन:हो 'a weeper.'
ऊ	"	✓ कमा 'labour,'	" कमाऊ 'industrious.'

116. The following terminations form **abstract verbal nouns** or nouns expressing the act of the root. The first three are usually treated as **infinitives**.

—,* oblique <b>प्र</b> (first infinitive)	✓ बोल 'speak,'	बोल, obl. बोलै 'the act of speaking.'
	✓ घुच 'move,'	घुच 'the act of moving;' dat. घचे-ला 'for moving.'
	✓ हो 'be,'	होय, 'the act of being;' obl. होये.
	✓ जा 'go,'	जाय 'the act of going,' ablative जाये-ले 'from going.'
न (2nd infinitive)	✓ दे 'give,'	देन, 'the act of giving,' 'to give.'
	✓ बोल 'speak,'	बोलन 'the act of speaking,' 'to speak.'
अब, उव, वव, † दव (3rd infinitive)	✓ बोल 'speak,'	बोलव 'the act of speaking,' 'to speak.'
	✓ मिल 'meet,'	मिलव 'the act of meeting,' 'union,' 'to meet.'
	✓ पी 'drink,'	पीअव or पीवव 'the act of drinking,' 'to drink.'
	✓ सजा 'array,'	सजाउव or सजावव 'the act of arraying,' 'to array.'
	✓ टगा 'to cheat,'	टगाउव, or टगावव 'the act of cheating,' 'to cheat.'
	✓ आ 'come,'	आउव 'the act of coming,' 'to come.'
	✓ गा 'sing,'	गाउव 'the act of singing,' 'to sing.'
	✓ घबरा 'be amazed,'	घबरादव 'the act of being amazed,' 'to be amazed.'

\* I. e., the root is used without termination in the nominative, but takes the termination **प्र** in the oblique form. Sometimes **य** is added to the direct form of verbs ending in vowels.

† उव is used when the root is causal, and ends in a long आ; also with the roots आ 'come' and गा 'sing'. दव is used with other verbs in आ. वव may be used whenever the root ends in a vowel.



	✓ दिखा 'be visible,'	दिखाइव 'tho act of being visible,' 'to be visible.'
	✓ देखा 'show,'	देखाउव 'the act of showing,' 'to show.'
	✓ खा 'eat,'	खाइव 'eating,' 'to eat.'
आप	✓ मिल 'unite,'	मिलाप 'union.'
आस	✓ पी 'drink,'	पिआस 'tho act of drinking.'
आसी	✓ घबरा 'be amazed.'	घबरासी 'amazement.'
आ	✓ छू 'touch,'	छूआ 'a touch.'
आई, वाई*	✓ ल 'cut,'	लुआई 'cutting.'
	✓ पी 'drink,'	पिआई 'drinking.'
	✓ आ 'come,'	आवाई 'arrival.'

117. The following terminations form **nouns of instrument**:

ना	✓ ओढ़ 'cover,'	ओढ़ना 'clothes.'
	✓ बन्ध 'bind,'	बँधना 'bonds.'
	✓ बेल 'to spread out,'	बेलना 'a rolling pin.'
	✓ झूल 'swing,'	झूलना 'a swing,' 'a cradle.'
नी	✓ खोद 'dig,'	खोदनी 'a hoe.'
ई	✓ बोहार 'sweep,'	बोहारी or बहिरि 'a broom.'

118. **Participles** are formed with the following terminations:

Present, त, or ते; e. g.	✓ कर 'do,'	pres. past करत or करते 'doing.'
	✓ जा 'go.'	„ जान or जाते 'going.'
Past. छ (der. & obl.);	✓ कर 'do,'	past past. करे 'done.'
	✓ रह 'remain,'	„ रहे 'remained.'
	✓ मार 'beat,'	„ मारे 'beaten.'
	✓ घुच 'move,'	„ घुचे 'moved.'
	✓ धर 'seize,'	„ धरे 'seized.'
	✓ जा 'go,'	„ जाये or गये 'gone.'

Examples of the adjectival use of participles.

जाते मन-खे-ला	'for a going man,' 'for a man who is going.'
करत काम-का भिन रोकी	'do not stop a work in progress.'
रहे बेरी-ला	'for the she-goat that has removed behind.'

\* वाइ is used only with causal roots in आ, and with the roots आ 'come,' and गा 'sing.'

## CHAPTER XI. AUXILIARY VERBS.

119. As already stated, there are two **auxiliary verbs**, one Defective, and the other Complete.

The **Defective auxiliary verb** is quite irregular, and is not bound by the foregoing rules.

The **Complete auxiliary verb** is only sometimes slightly irregular in the Past Participle and the tenses connected with it.

## DEFECTIVE AUXILIARY VERB.

हूँ 'be,'

✓ रह 'remain.'

120. There are only three **tenses**, the present, the preterite and the perfect; the rest is borrowed from the complete verb ✓ हो 'become.'

The present is formed from the ✓ हूँ, and the preterite from the ✓ रह.

## 121. Present, 'I am' &amp;c.

Pro-noun.	Singular.		Pro-noun.	Plural.	
	Polite form.	Vulgar form.		Polite form.	Vulgar form.
मैं	हूँ	हूँ	हम	हैं	हैं
तू	हूँ	हूँ	तुम	हो	हो
औ	हो	हो	उन	हैं	हैं

The final vowel of the second person plural is often not clearly pronounced, so that it is difficult to say whether it is औ, ओ, or आ.

## 122. Preterite, 'I was' &amp;c.

Singular.		Plural.	
मैं	रहूँ	हम	रहे
तू	रहे, रहस, or रहस	तुम	रहे
औ	रहिस	उन	रहिन

## 123. Perfect, 'I have been' &amp;c.

Pro-noun.	Singular.		Pro-noun.	Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.		Polite.	Vulgar.
मैं	रह-हैं	रह-हैं	हम	रह-हैं	रह-हैं
तू	रह-हैस	रह-हैस	तुम	रह-है	रह-है
वो	रहिस-है	रहिस-है	उन	रहिन-है	रहिन-है

NOTE. In future paradigms the Personal Pronouns will be omitted and only the numbers of the persons will be specified.

## COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

✓ हो 'be' 'become.'

## A. SIMPLE TENSES.

## INDICATIVE MOOD.

## 124. Preterite Indicative, 'I became' &amp;c.

(Irregular)

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	भयव	भयेन
2.	भये, भयेस	भयव
3.	भइस	भइन

Sometimes this tense is conjugated regularly;—thus, होव, होयेस, &c.

This tense is never used as an auxiliary but always as a verb substantive.

## 125. Future Indicative, 'I shall be,' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	होहैं	होहैं	होव	होवो
2.	होवै	होवै	होहो	होहो
3.	होहै, or होई	होही	होहै	होहो

## CONJUNCTIVE (CONDITIONAL) MOOD.

126. Present, 'I may be,' '(If) I be' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	होऔं	होन
2.	होस	होऔ
3.	होऐ	होऐँ

127. Preterite, '(If) I had been been,' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	होतैव	होतेन
2.	होते, होतैस	होतैव
3.	होतिस	होतिन

## IMPERATIVE MOOD.

128. Present, 'Let me be' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	होऔं	होन
2.	हो	होऔ
3.	होऐ	होऐँ

Honorific Imperative, 'Please to be.'

2nd Person होई.

## B. PERIPHRASTIC TENSES.

129. Present Participle (in Composition) होत  
 Past Participle भये or होय

## INDICATIVE MOOD.

## 130. Present Definite, 'I am becoming,' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	होत हैँ	होत-हँवैँ	होत-हँन	होत-हँवन
2.	होत-हँस	होत-हँवस	होत-हँी	होत-हँवौ
3.	होत-हँ	होत-हँवै	होत-हँँ	होत-हँवैँ

## 131. Imperfect, 'I was being' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	होत-रहँव	होत-रहँन
2.	होत-रहँ or होत-रहँस	होत-रहँव
3.	होत-रहँस	होत-रहँन

Sometimes the Perfect of the Defective Auxiliary verb is used, and the forms are होत-रहँ-हँँ or होत-रहँव-हँँ, and so on.

## 132. Future Durative, 'I shall be being' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	होत-होहँँ	होत-होहँँ	होत-होब	होत-होबो
2.	होत-होबे	होत-होबे	होत-होहँी	होत-होहँी
3.	होत-होहँै	होत-होहँी	होत-होहँै	होत-होहँै

## 133. Perfect, 'I have been,' §c.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	भय-हैं	भय-हूँ	भय-हैं	भय-हूँ
2.	भय-हैं	भय-हूँ	भय-हैं	भय-हूँ
3.	भय-हैं	भय-हूँ	भय-हैं	भय-हूँ

Sometimes होयें हैं &c. are used instead of भय-हैं, &c.

## 134. Pluperfect, 'I had been' §c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
	1.	भय-रहूँ
2.	भय-रहे or भय-रहस	भय-रहें
3.	भय-रहिस	भय-रहिन

Sometimes होयें-रहूँ &c. are used instead of भय-रहूँ.

Sometimes the Perfect of the Defective Auxiliary verb is used, and we get भय-रहूँ-हैं or भय-रहे-हैं, and so on.

## 135. Future Exact, 'I shall have been,' 'I may have been,' §c.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	भय-होहैं	भय-होहूँ	भय-होहैं	भय-होहूँ
2.	भय-होहैं	भय-होहूँ	भय-होहैं	भय-होहूँ
3.	भय-होहैं	भय-होहूँ	भय-होहैं	भय-होहूँ

Sometimes होयें-होहैं, &c. are used instead of भय-होहैं &c. If doubt is to be clearly expressed, the third person would be भय-होहैं, भय-होहैं, भय-होहैं, and भय-होहैं; or होइस-होहैं, होइस-होहैं, होइस-होहैं, and होइस-होहैं, See § 108.

## CONJUNCTIVE (CONDITIONAL) MOOD.

## 136. Future. '(If) I be being,' &amp;c.

Person	Singular.	Plural.
1.	होत-होखीँ	होत-होन
2.	होत-होस	होत-होखी
3.	होत-होरे	होत-होरेँ

## 137. Present Durative. '(If) I were being,' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	होत-होतँव	होत-होतन
2.	होत-होते, होत-होतंस	होत-होतव
3.	होत-होतिस	होत-होतिस

## 138. Future Exact. '(If) I have been,' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	भये-होखीँ	भये-होन
2.	भये-होस	भये-होखी
3.	भये-होरे	भये-होरे

Sometimes होये-होखीँ, &c. are used instead of भये-होखीँ, &c.

## 139. 2nd Preterite. '(If) I had been,' &amp;c.

Person	Singular.	Plural.
1.	भये-होतँव	भये-होतन
2.	भये-होते, भये-होतंस	भये-होतव
3.	भये-होतिस	भये-होतिस

Sometimes होये-होतँव &c. are used instead of भये-होतँव, &c.

## 140. PARTICIPLES.

## Adjectival.

Present.	होत or होतं,	'being.'
Past	भये or होये,	'been.'

## Conjunctive.

हो-के or होय-के, 'having been.'

## 141. INFINITIVES.

- |                         |                                |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. हो or होय, obl. होये | } 'the act of being,' 'to be.' |
| 2. होन                  |                                |
| 3. होव                  |                                |

The first is declined like a noun,—thus

Nom.	होय or हो
Acc.	होये-का
Instr.	होये-ले
Dat.	होये-ला
Abl.	होये-ले
Gen.	होये-के
Loc.	होये-माँ

## CHAPTER XII. THE REGULAR VERB.

142. There is only **one conjugation** of all verbs, if we except a few irregular ones to be noted further on. Active and Neuter Verbs are conjugated in the same way. Verbs whose roots end in vowels exhibit slight variations, which will be explained at the proper place.

## Example of a Neuter Verb.

घचन 'to move' (✓ घुच, 'move').

## A. SIMPLE TENSES.

## INDICATIVE MOOD.

143. (a) Preterite: 'I moved,' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	घुचँव	घुचँन
2.	घुचै, घुचैस	घुचैव
3.	घुचिस	घुचिन



## 144. Future : 'I shall move,' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	घुचिहौं	घुचःहँ	घुचव or घुचिदन	घुचःवो or घुचःवोन
2.	घुचःवे	घुचःवे	घुचिहौ	घुचःहँ
3.	घुचिहै or घुची	घुचःही	घुचिहै	घुचःहौं

## CONJUNCTIVE (CONDITIONAL) MOOD.

## 145. Present : 'I may move,' '(If) I move,' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	घुचैँ	घुचन
2.	घुचस	घुचौ
3.	घुचै	घुचैँ

## 146. Preterite : '(If) I had seen,' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	घुचःतँव	घुचःतँन
2.	घुचःते, घुचःतँस	घुचःतँव
3.	घुचःतिष	घुचःतिन

## IMPERATIVE MOOD.

## 147. Present : 'Let me move,' &amp;c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	घुचैँ	घुचन
2.	घुच	घुचौ
3.	घुचै	घुचैँ

Honorific form, Second Person ; घुचौ, 'be good enough to move.'

**B. PERIPHRASTIC TENSES.**

148. As these are conjugated fully in the case of the ✓ हो, it will suffice to give here the first person singular of each tense.

149. Present Participle (in composition) घुचत.  
Past Do. घुचे.

**INDICATIVE MOOD.**

150. Present Definite : 'I am moving.'  
मैं घुचत-हैँ, vulgar में घुचत-हैँवैँ.
151. Imperfect : 'I was moving.'  
मैं घुचत-रहैँव.
152. Future Durative : 'I shall be moving.'  
मैं घुचत-होहैँ, vulgar में घुचत होहैँ.
153. Perfect : 'I have moved.'  
मैं घुचे-हैँ, vulgar में घुचे-हैँवैँ.
154. Pluperfect : 'I had moved.'  
मैं घुचे-रहैँव.
155. Future Exact : 'I shall have moved', 'I may have moved.'  
मैं घुचे-होहैँ, vulgar में घुचे-होहैँ.

**CONJUNCTIVE MOOD.**

156. Future, '(If) I be moving.'  
मैं घुचत-होऔँ.
157. Durative Present, '(If) I were moving.'  
मैं घुचत-होतैँव.
158. Future Exact, '(If) I have moved.'  
मैं घुचे-होऔँ.
159. Second Preterite, '(If) I had moved.'  
मैं घुचे-होतैँव.

**160. PARTICIPLES.****Adjectival.**

- Present, घुचत or घुचतैँ, 'moving.'  
Past, घुचे, 'moved.'

**Conjunctive.**

- घुच-केँ, 'having moved.'

## 161. INFINITIVES OR VERBAL NOUNS

- (1.) घुच, oblique घुचें  
 Acc घुचें-का  
 Instr. घुचें-से, and so on
- (2.) घुचन
- (3.) घुचब
- } 'The act of moving,'  
 'to move.'

162. Similarly is conjugated the हीटन 'to come out' (✓ हीट, 'come out'), 'separate.' As this root contains a long vowel, it is shortened when it falls in the antepenultimate.

The four simple tenses are as follows :

**Indicative; Preterite:** मैं हीटेंव, 'I came out.'

**Future:** मैं हिटिहों, 'I shall come out,' तै हिट.वे 'thou wilt come out,' and so on.

**Conjunctive Present:** मैं हीटौं, '(If) I come out.'

**Preterite:** मैं हिट.तेव, '(If) I had come out.'

The **Periphrastic tenses** are quite easy; thus, Indicative, Present, मैं हीटत-हौं, 'I am coming out,' and so on.

163. **Transitive verbs** are conjugated in the same way. An example is तोपन 'to cover' (✓ तोप, 'cover'). Thus:—

164. **Indicative; Preterite:** 'I covered,' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	तोपेंव	तोपेन
2.	तोपे or तोपेस	तोपेव
3.	तोपिस	तोपिन

165. **Future:** मैं तोपिहों, 'I shall cover;' तै तोप.वे, 'thou wilt cover,' and so on.

166. **Conjunctive; Present:** मैं तोपेँ, '(If) I cover.'

167. **Preterite:** मैं तोप.तेव, '(If) I had covered.' and so on.

## CHAPTER XIII, VOCALIC ROOTS.

168. When a **root ends in a vowel**, the conjugation is slightly different, owing to the fact that, when the termination commences with a vowel, an euphonic य or व is usually inserted. In the future, however, the terminations इहौं, &c., which commence with इ, lose that vowel.

The following examples will make the matter clear.

169. मड़ान 'to place,' (✓ मड़ा, 'place.')

**Indicative; Preterite:** मैं मड़ायेँव, 'I placed' तैँ मड़ाये, or तैँ मड़ायेँस, 'thou placedst,' औ मराइँस, 'he placed,' and so on.

170. **Future:** मैं मड़ाहौँ, 'I shall place,' तैँ मड़ावे, 'thou wilt place,' and so on.

171. **Conjunctive; Present:** मैं मड़ाचौँ or मड़ाँव, '(If) I place,' तैँ मड़ास or मड़ावस '(If) thou place,' औ मड़ाऐ or मड़ावै, '(If) he place,' हम मड़ान or मड़ावन, '(If) we place,' तुम मड़ाचौ or मड़ावौ, '(If) ye place,' उन मड़ाऐँ or मड़ावैँ, '(If) they place.'

172. **Preterite:** मैं मड़ातेँव, '(If) I had placed,' and so on.

173. **Present Participle:** मड़ात, 'placing,'

Past ,, मड़ाये, 'placed.'

**Conjunctive ,,** मड़ा-के, मड़ाय-के, 'having placed.'

174. **Infinitives:** (1) मड़ाय, obl. मड़ायेँ }  
(2) मड़ान, } 'to place.'  
(3) मड़ाउव or मड़ावव }

175. भपोन 'to fill up' (✓ भपो, 'to fill up.')

**Indicative; Preterite:** मैं भपोयेँव, 'I filled up,' तैँ भपोये or भपोयेँस, 'thou filledst up,' औ भपोइँस, 'he filled up.'

176. **Future:** मैं भपोहौँ, 'I shall fill up,' तैँ भपोवे, 'thou wilt fill up,' and so on.

177. **Conjunctive; Present:** मैं भपोचौँ, '(If) I fill up,' तैँ भपोस '(If) thou fill up,' औ भपोऐ, '(If) he fill up,' हम भपोन, '(If) we fill up,' तुम भपोचौ '(If) you fill up,' उन भपोऐँ, '(If) they fill up.'

178. **Preterite:** मैं भपोतेँव, '(If) I had filled up,' and so on.

179. **Present Participle:** भपोत 'filling up.'

Past ,, भपोये 'filled up.'

**Conjunctive ,,** भपो-के, भपोय-के 'having filled up.'

180. **1st Infinitive:** भपो or भपोय, obl. भपोयेँ, 'to fill.'

#### CHAPTER XIV. IRREGULAR VERBS.

181. The verbs ✓ हो, 'become,' ✓ जा, 'go,' ✓ कर, 'do,' 'make,' ✓ दे, 'give,' ✓ ले, 'take,' are **irregular** in the formation of the past participle, and its derived tenses. The conjugation ✓ हो has already been given in full. The irregular past participles are as follows:

##### *Past participle.*

होन (✓ हो), 'to become,'

होये or भये.

जान (✓ जा), 'to go,'

गये.

करन (✓ कर), 'to do,'

करे, किये, or किये.

## Past participle.

देन (√ दे), 'to give,' दिये, or दिह्.

लेन (√ ले), 'to take,' लिये or लिह्.

Examples. मैं भयव or मैं होयव. 'I became,' मैं गयव 'I went,' ओ गइस, 'he went,' ओ करिस, ओ किइस ओ किहिस, 'he did,' मैं दियव or मैं दिहव, 'I gave,' ओ लिहिस 'he took.'

## CHAPTER XV. THE USE OF NEGATIVES.

182. The following examples will show the use of **negatives** used emphatically.

मैं नई जांव, मैं नी जांव	}	'I certainly will not go.'
मैं नई जाओँ, मैं नी जाओँ,		
तैं नई जास, तैं नी जास,	}	'thou shalt not go.'
तैं नई जावस, तैं नी जावस,		

and so on.

Note also irregular optional forms like

ओ नई जात-रे, for ओ नहीँ जात-रै, 'he is not going.'  
 हम नी जा:न-चन, for हम नहीँ जात-चन, 'we are not going.'

## CHAPTER XVI. THE PASSIVE VOICE.

183. The **Passive voice** of any verb is formed by conjugating the √ जा with the past participle of the verb: thus,—

√ बँक, 'stop,' 'prevent,' 'stand across the way.'

Passive Indicative,—

Preterite:	मैं बँक-गयव,	'I was stopped.'
Future:	मैं बँक-जाहँ,	'I shall be stopped.'
Present:	मैं बँक-जाओँ,	'(If) I be stopped.'
Preterite:	मैं बँक-ज तव,	'(If) I had been stopped.'

And so on.

## CHAPTER XVII. CAUSAL VERBS.

184. A **Causal verb** is regularly formed by adding चा to the root of the simple verb, and a double causal by adding वा. The stems thus formed are conjugated exactly like verbs whose roots end in चा. See § 169.

185. Thus take the simple verb √ धउर, 'run.' The first future indicative of its causal would be मैं धउराहँ, 'I shall cause to run,' and of the double causal, मैं धउरवाहँ, 'I shall cause to cause to run.'

186. The following are examples of the **regular formation** of causals and double causals.

Simple Verb.	Causal.	Double Causal.
✓ धरँ, (Hindí दौर) 'run,'	धरँरा, 'cause to run,'	धरँरवा, 'cause to cause to run.'
✓ चघ (Hindí चढ़) 'ascend,'	चघा 'lift,'	चघवा, 'cause to lift.'
✓ फब, 'befit,'	फबा, 'fit,'	फबवा, 'cause to fit.'
✓ घच, 'be moved,'	घुचा, 'move,'	घुचवा, 'get moved.'
✓ उच (Hindí उठ) 'rise,'	उचा 'raise,'	उचवा, 'cause to raise.'

187. If the simple root contains a **long vowel**, it is shortened in the causal and double causal; thus,—

✓ चीर, 'split,'	चिरा, 'cause to split,'	चिरवा, 'cause to cause to split.'
✓ चाँड़, 'let go,'	हँड़ा, 'get set free,'	हँड़वा 'cause to get set free.'
✓ पी, 'drink,'	पिआ, 'give to drink,'	पिवा, 'cause to give to drink.'
✓ तीर, 'draw,'	तिरा, 'cause to draw,'	तिरवा, 'cause to cause to draw.'
✓ दे, 'give,'	देआ, 'cause to give,'	देवा, 'cause to cause to give.'
✓ ले, 'take,'	आ, 'cause to take,'	लेवा, 'cause to cause to take.'
✓ पेर, 'press,'	पेरा, 'cause to press,'	पेरवा, 'cause to cause to press.'
✓ धो, 'wash,'	धोआ, 'cause to wash,'	धोवा, 'cause to cause to wash.'
✓ पोष, 'cherish,'	पोसा, 'cause to cherish,'	पोसवा, 'cause to cause to cherish.'

188. Some causals are formed by **adding चो** Thus,—

✓ फील, 'be wet,'	फिलो, 'moisten,'	फिलवा, 'cause to moisten,'
✓ भृर, 'dry' (neuter),	भृरो, 'dry' (active),	भृरवा, 'cause to dry.'
✓ चुर, 'ripen' (neuter),	चुरो, 'ripen' (active),	चुरवा, 'cause to ripen.'
✓ जम, 'solidify' (neuter),	जमो, 'solidify' (active),	जमवा, 'cause to solidify.'
✓ पट, 'be watered,'	पटो, 'irrigate,'	पटवा, 'cause to irrigate.'

189. Some primitive neutre verbs, having a monosyllabic root enclosing a short vowel, form the first causal by simply lengthening that vowel. The double causal is formed either like a regular causal or in the usual way; thus—

✓ पड़ or पर 'fall,	पाड़ or पार 'throw down,'	पड़ा or परा or पड़वा or परवा 'cause to throw down.'
✓ पिट 'be beaten,'	पौट 'beat,'	पिटा or पिटवा 'cause to beat.'
✓ दिल 'be open,' 'be let go,'	दोल 'open,' 'unlock,'	दिला or दिलवा 'cause to open,' &c.
✓ चिर 'be split,'	चीर 'split,'	चिरा or चिरवा 'cause to split.'

190. The following are irregular.

✓ फट or फाट 'burst,'	फार 'burst,'	फरा or फरवा 'cause to burst.'
✓ रह 'remain,'	राख 'place,'	रखा or रखवा 'cause to place.'
✓ जा 'go,'	पठो 'send,'	पठा or पठवा 'cause to send.'
✓ आ 'come,'	लान or आन 'bring,'	लैवा 'cause to bring.'
✓ हो 'be,'	कर 'make,'	करा or करवा, 'cause to make.'
✓ हीट 'come out,'	हेर 'take out,'	हेरा or हेरवा 'cause to take out.'
✓ दिख or दिखा 'be visible,'	देख 'see,'	देखा or देखव 'show.'

#### CHAPTER XVIII. COMPOUND VERBS.

191. Compound verbs are either formed from a verb and a noun, or from the union of two verbs. The first are called nominal verbs; and examples are, सुध कर, 'to do remembering,' 'to remember,' ध्यान देन, 'to give attention,' 'to attend,' and so on.

192. The second class consists of compound verbs proper. The compound consists of either a verbal noun or a participle prefixed to some other verb. The latter alone is conjugated.

(1) Those formed with a verbal noun are—

(a) Intensives,	(e) Desideratives,
(b) Potentials,	(f) Inceptives,
(c) Completives,	(g) Permissives,
(d) Frequentatives,	(h) Acquisitives.

(2) Those formed with participle are—

(a) Continuatives,	(b) Staticals.
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**Class I.—COMPOUNDS FORMED WITH THE VERBAL  
NOUN.**

193. There are many varieties of the verbal noun, but only two are used in compound verbs; *viz.*,

(a) Those ending in **ञ** (silent) with an oblique form in **ऋ**; thus घञ् 'the act of moving,' oblique घृञ्.

This oblique form should be carefully distinguished from the similarly formed Past Participle.

(b) Those ending in **न**; thus घृचन 'the act of moving.'

194. With the **direct form** of the **first variety** are formed—

(1) Intonsives, (2) Potentials, (3) Completives.

With the **oblique form** of the **first variety** are formed

(1) Frequentatives, (2) Desideratives, (3) Inceptives, and sometimes (4) Permissives, (5) Acquisitives.

With the **second form** are sometimes formed—

(1) Permissives, (2) Acquisitives.

195. **Intensive Compounds** intensify or otherwise modify the meaning of the verb whose root stands first in the compound. They are formed by adding, to the direct form of the first variety of the verbal noun, one of certain other verbs, which latter verb, in conjunction with the verbal noun, is then conjugated as usual. This second conjugated member does not, however, retain its separate character and significance, but only modifies, in accordance with the general idea which it embodies, the meaning of the unconjugated verbal noun to which it is attached. Examples are—

मडान 'to place,'

खान 'to eat,'

धरन 'to place,'

पीन 'to drink,'

खान 'to eat,'

आन 'to come,'

चलन 'to go,'

निहार 'to look at,'

मडा देन 'to put down.'

खा लेन 'to sit down and eat,' 'to eat up.'

धर देन 'to put down.'

पी डारन 'to drink up.'

खा डारन 'to eat up.'

आ जान 'to arrive.'

चल देन 'to set out.'

निहार लेन 'to inspect.'

196. The **auxiliary verbs** usually employed to form intensives are—

देन 'to give,'

डारन 'to throw,'

आन 'to come,'

जान 'to go,'

पड़न or परन 'to fall,'

implying *intensity*.

*violence*.

*completion*.

*chance*.



उचन 'to rise,'	<i>suddenness.</i>
लेन 'to take,'	<i>reflexiveness.</i>

197. **Potentials** are formed by adding to the same form of the verbal noun of any verb, the verb सकन 'to be able,' which may then be conjugated throughout. Examples are कर सकन 'to be able to do,' जा सकन 'to be able to go,' श्री धउर सकत-हे 'he can go.'

198. **Completives** are formed by adding to the same form of the verbal noun, the verb चकन 'to finish,' which may then be conjugated throughout. The compound denotes the *completion* of the act denoted by the primary member of the compound. Examples are—

श्री खा चुकिस-हे,	'he has done eating.'
जब श्री खा चुकिस-हे,	'when he shall have eaten.'
श्री तो जा चुकिस,	'he is indeed already gone.'

199. **Frequentatives** are formed by adding, to the oblique form of the first variety of the verbal noun, the verb करन 'to do,' which may then be used in any tense. Examples are—

आये करी,	'be good enough to come often.'
तै मोर बात माने कर,	'always obey my words.'
खने करन,	'to keep digging.'
जाये (not गये) करन,	'to go often.'

200. **Desideratives** are formed with the same form of the verbal noun, substituting चाहन 'to wish,' for करन. The compound denotes primarily *desire* to do action expressed by the principal member, and secondarily, the *immediate futurity* of the action. Examples are—

श्री बोले चाहत-हे,	'he wishes to go.'
श्री जाये (not गये) चाहत-रहिस,	'he was wishing to go.'
घड़ी बाजि चाहत-हे,	'the clock is on the point of striking.'
श्री मरे चाहत-हे,	'he is at the point of death.'

The desiderative compound in the precative form with चाही is idiomatically used to express obligation or duty. Examples are—

ए पाथी-का पढ़े चाही,	'one ought to read this book.'
तो-का उहाँ जाऊ चाही,	'you ought to go there.'

201. **Inceptives** are formed by using the oblique form of the first

variety of the verbal noun with the verb लागन 'to begin;' and denotes the action of the verbal noun as *beginning*. Examples are—

ओ कहै लागिस, 'he began to say.'  
बघवा खाये लागिस, 'the tiger began to eat.'

202. **Permissives** are formed by combining the same form of the verbal noun with the verb देन 'to give,' and express *permission* to do the act denoted by the verbal noun. Examples are—

मो-का जाये देओ, 'let me go,'  
ओ ओ-का खाये दिहिस, 'he allowed him to eat.'

203. **Acquisitives** are the exact converse of the preceding; and are formed in the same way, substituting पान 'to get,' for देन 'to give.' Examples are—

तेँ उहाँ जाये नई पावे, 'thou wilt not obtain permission to go there.'  
मैँ बैठे नई पायेव, 'I was not allowed to sit.'

Sometimes Permissives and Acquisitives are formed with the second variety of the verbal noun नः thus करन देन 'to allow to do;' ओ ओ-का जान दिहिस 'he allowed him to go;' हम ओ-का मड़ान पाव 'we shall be allowed to place it.'

## Class II.—COMPOUNDS FORMED WITH THE PARTICIPLES.

204. **Continuatives** are formed by combining the present participles of any verb with the verbs जान 'to go,' or रहन 'to remain.' The compound with जान implies *steady progression*, and that with रहन, the *continuance of a complete action*. Examples—

ओ लिखत जात-है, 'he is going on writing.'  
ओ रँगत गईस, 'he went on walking.'  
ओ टूरी पढ़त जात-रहिन, 'those girls were going on reading.'  
पानी बहत जात-है, 'the water keeps flowing away.'  
नदी-के धार बहत रहत-है, 'the stream of the river keeps flowing on.'

205. **Statics** denote motion in a state of doing anything. They are formed by combining a verb of motion with a present participle. Examples are,—

ओ रोवत आत है, 'he comes weeping.'  
एकी हैकी गान आत-रहिस, 'a woman was coming singing.'

## PART IV. INDECLINABLES.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## ADVERBS.

206. Adverbs of **Time**

अब,	'now.'
जब,	'when.'
तब,	'then.'
कब,	'when?'
आज,	'to-day.'
काली,	'to-morrow,' 'yesterday.'
पराँ,	'the day after to-morrow,' 'the day before yesterday.'
नराँ,	'the fourth day hence' or 'to come,' (three days intervening).
बिह्नियाँ,	'to-morrow morning.'
सञ्झा, साँझ साँझे,	'at evening.'
मँझनिया,	'at midday.'
नित,	'continually.'
लऊचा,	'quickly.'
पुन,	'again.'
तुरन्त,	'at once.'

207. Adverbs of **Place**.

इहाँ,	'here.'
उहाँ,	'there.'
जहाँ or जिहाँ,	'where.'
तहाँ or तिहाँ,	'there,' (correlative).
कहाँ or कहाँ,	'where?'
एतो, एते or इतो,	'hither.'
ओतो. ओते or उतो,	'thither.'
जेतो, जेते or जितो,	'whither.'
तेतो, तेते or तितो,	'thither,' (correlative).
केतो, केते or कितो,	'whither?'
दुरिहा,	'far off.'
कगर or कगरा,	'near.'
आगू or आगीत,	'before.'
पाछू or पछीत,	'behind.'
अनो,	'elsewhere.'

ए कोत or ए कोती,	'on this side.'
ओ कोत or ओ कोती	'on that side.'
जे कोत or जे कोती,	'on what side.'
ते कोत or ते कोती,	'on that side,' (correlative).
के कोत or के कोती,	'on what side ?'
ए मॅर,	'here.'
ओ मॅर,	'there.'
जे मॅर,	'where.'
ते मॅर,	'there,' (correlative).
के मॅर,	'where ?'

208. Adverbs of **Manner**.

ऐसन, ऐसःने, ऐसे, अस,	'in this way,' 'thus.'
वैसन, वैसःने, वैसे,	'in that way.'
जैसन, जैसःने, जैसे, जस,	'in what way,' 'how.'
तैसन, तैसःने, तैसे, (rare) तस,	'in that way,' (correlative).
कैसन, कैसःने, कैसे, कस,	'in what way ?' 'how ?'
सँतौ मँतौ,	'gratis.'
न, नई, नौ, नची, नौ	'not.'
भन, भिन,	'do not,' (prohibitive, with im- perative.)
भाट, भाप, भाटःदिनी, भाटःदिसे	'at once.'
निचट, नीचर,	'entirely.'
खाचिन,	'certainly,' 'truly.'

209. Adverbs of **Quality**.

अतीक, अतःका, अतःकी, अतँक, अतःके	'this much,' 'so much.'
ओतीक, ओतःका, ओतःकी, ओतँक, ओतःके	'that much,' 'so much.'
जतीक, जतःका, जतःकी, जतँक, जतःके	'how much.'
ततीक, ततःका, ततःकी, ततँक, ततःके,	'so much,' (correlative).
कतीक, कतःका, कतःकी, कतँक, कतःके,	'how much ?'

For other forms see § 90.

अघात, बडनो or बडँते, बडियन, बडियन,	'very,' 'much.'
चिटिक, चिटिकुन, चिटिकन, चिटिकिन,	
रँचःकिन, रँचःकुन, रँचःकन,	'little.'

210. च or चँ, or एच or एचँ added to an adverb give **Emphasis**.

Examples—

अभीच,	'at this very time.'
कहँचे,	'at even any place.'

चिटिकाचे,	'even a little,' 'very slightly.'
बहुतसे,	'even much,' 'very much.'
निश्चयसे, निश्चयसे,	'absolutely and entirely.'
अतःसे,	'even this much.'

211. By inserting न between two adverbs, **indefiniteness** is expressed. Examples—

कहाँ न कहाँ,	'in some place or other.'
कभी न कभीसे,	'even at some time or other.'
आज न काली,	'now-a-days.'

212. Adverbs are sometimes **compounded**. Thus—

बेर बेर	'continually.'
कहाँ नही	'never.'
दू दू आव,	'twice each.'

213. They are capable of being **declined, like substantives**; e. g. अब-ले 'from now,' कब-ले 'from when'? इहाँ-के 'of here;' but they or adjectives used adverbially do not change for gender: e. g. श्री बने रंगत-से 'she walks well.'

## CHAPTER XX.

### PREPOSITIONS.

214. आगू, अगौत,	'before.'
पाहू, पछौत,	'behind.'
भितरी	'within,'
बहिरी,	'outside.'
सामू,	'in front of.'
खाले तरी,	'beneath.'
मेर,	'near,' 'by the side of.'
बरोबर,	'on a level with.'
सुझा,	'together with.'

These are added either to the noun or pronoun direct, or to its genitive. Examples—

दाई आगू or दाई-के आगू,	'before the mother.'
रुख तरी or रुख-के तरी,	'beneath the tree.'
मीर पछौत,	'behind me.'
श्री खाले or श्री-कर खाले,	'beneath it.'

Sometimes the nominal postpositions are added to prepositions. Examples—

पीपर खाले-माँ	'under the fig-tree.'
मीर मेर-ले,	'from by me.'

## CHAPTER XXI.

## CONJUNCTIONS.

215. Examples—

अउ or अउर,	‘and.’
तो,	‘then’ (illatively).
पुन,	‘on the other hand.’
चाहै,	‘whether,’ ‘or.’
नाहीं तो,	‘otherwise.’
भलुक (Hindí बरिक्),	‘nay rather.’
के,	‘that.’

## CHAPTER XXII.

## INTERJECTIONS.

216. Examples are—

Interjections of sorrow ;	हाय हाय, आह, अहा,	‘alas.’
„	अओ दाई,	‘ah Mother,’ &c.
„ of astonishment ;	अरे ददा-रै, बाप-रै,	‘O Father !
„ of joy ;	वाह, वाह-वा, वा, वह-वा, बह-बा, &c.	
„ of disgust ;	हौ, ऊह,	‘fie.’

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## PARTICLES OF EMPHASIS.

217. These are चढ, ए and एचढ, which mean ‘even’ and औ, औचढ, ऋ, which mean ‘also.’

Examples—

द ईचढ-का,	‘even to the mother.’
मोरेचढ,	‘even mine.’
ओकरौ,	‘his also.’
मौऋ,	‘I also.’
तोरै,	‘even thy.’
तीरोचढ,	‘thy also.’

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## PREFIXES.

218. These are the same as in Hindí. Examples—

औ, signifying ‘deficiency,’ e. g. औगुन ‘a fault,’ औकाली ‘untimely.’  
सम्, ‘connexion,’ e. g. सन्नी ‘a companion,’ सङ्घरी ‘a fellow.’

- क, कु, 'inferiority,' e. g. कपूत, 'a bad son,' or 'a bad-tempered fellow,'  
कुलक-ना, 'a bad sign.'
- स, सु, 'excellence,' e. g. सपूत, 'a good son,' or 'a good-tempered fellow,'  
सुलक-ना, 'a good sign.'
- परि, 'circuitry,' e. g. परिकरमा, 'circumambulation.'
- उप, 'subsidiariness,' e. g. उपकार, 'benefit.'
- दुसु, 'badness,' e. g. दुःखट, 'difficult of accomplishment.'
- अ, 'negation,' e. g. अगम, 'inaccessible.'

## PART V.

## CHAPTER XXV. SYNTAX AND COMPOUND WORDS.

219. The rules of syntax are the same as those in Hindí.

The following notes on Compound Words may be useful.

*Compound words.*

220. These may be classified as in Sanskrit. Examples are—

- (a) Tatpurusha, माँस-खाव, 'the eating of flesh;' लात-मार, 'a kicking;'  
घर-रहव, 'staying at home;'  
बूता-चोर, 'a work-thief,' i. e. 'a lazy servant.'
- (b) Dvigu, तिर-लोक, 'the three worlds;'  
तीन-मुड़िहा (fem. -ही)  
'one with three heads.'
- (c) Karmadháraya बड़-ददा ( बड़े + ददा ) 'great-father,' 'a father's  
elder brother;'  
बड़-दाई (बड़े + दाई) 'great-mother,'  
'a father's elder brother's wife;'  
बान्धन-देवता, 'a  
Brahmanical god,' i. e., 'a Bráhman equal to a god;'  
भाई-ददा 'a fraternal father,' i. e., 'an elder brother.'
- (d) Bahuvrîhi, सब-देखैया, 'he who sees everything,' 'God;'  
पार-लैया 'he who crosses one over (the sea of existence),' 'God.'
- (e) Dvandva, माई-पिन्ना or माई-पीला, 'mother and children;'  
पूँजी, 'capital and stock;'  
खवाई-पिचवाई, 'giving to eat and giving to drink,' also 'eating and drinking.'
- (f) Avyayíbháva, कुरीती 'in a bad fashion;'  
सु-चाल 'in a good way.'

(To be continued.)

[Mr. Grierson wishes to explain, that he has put the sign <sup>s</sup> on हँव on his own responsibility, on the analogy of the pronunciation of the word in neighbouring dialects. He has not been able to satisfy himself on the correct pronunciation of this root in Chhattisgarh, and the sign is inserted subject to subsequent correction. The meaning of the sign is that हँव is pronounced something like the English word "haw," while the ह in हव, without the <sup>s</sup> would be pronounced like the hu in "hurry." The sign will be omitted, as doubtful, in the selections to be subsequently published. ED.]

*Notes on a Buddhist Monastery at Bhoṭ Bágán (Howrah), on two rare and valuable Tibetan MSS. discovered there, and on Púran Gir Gosain, the celebrated Indian Achárya and Government Emissary at the Court of the Tashi Lama, Tibet, in the last century.—By GAUR DÁS BYSACK.*

(With two Plates.)

Opposite to Calcutta, on the right bank of the river, is the village of Ghusapi.<sup>1</sup> Ascending the flight of steps of a ghát at this place, a visitor is struck at the sight of a range of templos, behind which is a building of a peculiar structure, exhibiting marks of old construction with subsequent additions. It is a two-storied house of worship with a boundary wall, having in its centro a gateway facing the river, and affording a passage into the main quadrangle within the enclosure. The special feature in the construction is the absence of arches, and its partaking of a Tibetan character. A garden is attached to it, and the lands which formed part of the *demesnes* are let out to tenants on permanent leases; on one of the holdings, stands the "Goosery Cotton Mill." The following is a detailed description of the building for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. B. Gwyther, A. R. I., B. A., of the Public Works Department, who very readily complied with my request to visit the place and examine the structure. (See Plate I.)

"The structure, in the main, consists of the principal courtyard for religious, and a back-yard, for domestic purposes. The former is towards and entered from the riverside by the gateway which forms the subject of one of the sketches. A casual visitor arriving at the ghát would, on glancing at this face of the structure, find his attention first drawn to the portion over the entrance where the primitive trabeated form of construction is now seen in its original character, despoiled of course to a great extent by the hand of time."

"Without speculating upon the details and forms in any minute degree, it must be expected, from the history and associations of the Tibetan visitors who established this place of worship, that a feeling

<sup>1</sup> *Ghusapir tyámk* (घुषड़िर चाँक, sometimes spelled घुसुड़िर *ghusurir*, Ed.), 'the turning jut of Ghusapi,' and the *Vishálakshmt\** *daha* or *Visáákshir† daha* 'the whirlpool of disastrous water' or 'whirlpool of the broad eyed (Durgá),' are the Seylla and Charybdis of the Hughli river between Calcutta and Barrackpur, the *maelstrom* being near Titagarh. The dangers in doubling the *tyámk* are illustrated in the familiar song of the East Bengal boatmen. They are now not so much dreaded as in former days.

\* *Visha* 'water,' *alakshmt* 'misfortune.'

† *Visáala*, large; *akshí* 'eye.'



“and peculiarity common to their own architectural instincts must have been imported: but there is nothing at present known which can show how much was originally built, and when and by whom subsequent additions were made. It cannot, however, be questioned that the portion closest to the river presents those peculiarities which might be looked for in a structure built under Tibetan influence. A plain wall, pierced here and there with small openings, forms the outer boundary, in the centre of which is the doorway. Over this doorway is a sort of gallery which overlooks the river on one side and the principal court on the other. Just within the enclosure wall is a double-storied construction: the ground floor, about a foot high, extends from that wall to the edge of the court; about a yard back, a row of massive square pillars, about 7 feet high, stand carrying a wooden architrave which forms the outer support to the beams, resting on the wall at one end and cantilevered forward at the other to form a projecting verandah.”

“The same construction is repeated on the upper story. The projecting ends of the beams are in some cases moulded ogee or double-ogee fashion and protected by means of an eaves-board, the lower edge of which is ornamented with a tooth or saw profile. The moulded beams and particularly the eaves-boards have come down to us from the original structure. The saw-edges are those which merely have triangular pieces cut out so as to leave a row of consecutive triangular points. In the tooth form, the face of the projecting points is dressed back towards the apex and a line or groove cut longitudinally where the teeth spring from.”

“The construction of the roof over the gallery appears to be a feature of no small significance. The strictly trabeated arrangement, to the exclusion of the arch, the use of which is suggested by the circumstances of the case, and the manner of obtaining height and prominence to this central portion by tilting the roof, are decidedly classic in idea. That classic influence extended to Kashmir and North Western India is well-known, and it is quite as possible as not that a careful examination of existing buildings in Tibet would reveal traces of several features associated with European architecture.

“The windows which pierce the enclosure wall already mentioned, and others which look out into the quadrangle, are peculiar in their construction, and must have been put up in the first instance, being made up on the lines given to the builders by Tibetan architects. The outer frame is cross-braced by means of a vertical and a transom bar, which divide the opening into four equal spaces. In some cases ordinary square bars are interspersed vertically for the sake of security.

“The two leaves of the window, which open inwards, close up against “the stouter bars.”

The locality goes by the name of *Bhoṭ Bāgán*,<sup>1</sup> the structure is called *Bhoṭ Mandir* or *Maṭh*, the priest in charge of it is styled *Bhoṭ-Gosain*<sup>2</sup> or *Bhoṭ-Mahant*,<sup>3</sup> and the ghát passes under the designation of *Bhoṭ-Mahant's Ghát*.

Inside the Maṭh are to be seen a lot of idols of the Hindú and mostly of the Tibeto-Buddhist mythology. Among the former may be mentioned those of Vishṇu, Durgá, Vindhyávasiní, Gaṇeśa, Gopála, Śalagráma, and Śiva-lingas of various sorts, including the rare oviform ones of three different colours, also Śiva's bull; and among the latter those of Árya Tára, Mahákála Bhairava, Sambhara Chakra, Samája Guhya, Vajra Bhrúkuṭi and Padmapáñi.<sup>4</sup> There are also a stamp of Kapila Muni's foot, and a pair of *khaṇams* or wooden sandals. A description of the first five Tibetan divinities, by my friend Bábu Sarat Chandra Dás, is given below. Such a room full of images is designated *Lha-khang*<sup>5</sup> in Tibet. On the ground immediately be-

<sup>1</sup> *Bhoṭ Bāgán*, lit., ‘Tibet garden.’ *Bhoṭ* or *Bhoṭ* is the name by which the Tibetans call their country; *bāgán* is the Bengali form of the plural of the Persian *bāgh*, ‘garden.’

<sup>2</sup> *Bhoṭ Gosain*, lit, Tibet Gosain. *Gosain* (properly *gosáñ* गोसाई) is the vernacular form of Goswámí, which has several literal significations such as master or possessor of kine, controller of the organs of the senses, the comprehender of the *Gáyatrí*, the lord of the earth or of the heaven. In these latter significations the term implies a holy man, a religious teacher or a saint. Among the Śaivas, or followers of Śiva, the *Udásís*, or non-householders, prevail more than in any other sect, and they pass under the designation of *Sannyásís* or *Gosáñs*, though the latter appellation is appropriated in Bengal by the *Vaiṣṇava gurus*, specially the followers of Chaitanya, the descendants of Adwaita and Nityánanda. In the Upper Provinces the term *Sádhu* is applied to the Vaishṇava Udásís, and Gosain to the Śaiva Sannyásís. The people of the two persuasions are easily distinguished by their *tilakas* or lines painted on the forehead.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhoṭ Mahanta*, lit. a mahanta or chief or superior of a Tibetan monastery. The term *Mahanta* generally signifies the head of a religious establishment of the mendicant orders.

<sup>4</sup> This is the name of the Bodhisatva who incarnated himself as Godun-tubpa, a reformer, who received the spirit of the previous reformer Tseng-khapa in 1419, and built the monastery of Tashi Lhunpo in 1445 and repeatedly appeared as a Tashi Lama.

<sup>5</sup> *Lha-Khang* (ལྷ་ཁང་) *Lha* is the Tibetan for gods and spirits who, by transmigration into other bodies in blissful regions, reap the rewards of their meritorious deeds. They are invoked and revered. There are six places for the transmigration of the soul of every living being.

hind the Maṭh is a low roofed small honso, which may be characterised as a temple. Within it is a cubiform *samádhi-stambha*<sup>1</sup> ro tomb, which the Tibetans would call a *Dungten* or relie repository. It is surmounted by the usual *lingam* or phallus of S'iva or Mahádeva. The services performed in the Maṭha consist of a mixture of Hindú and Tibetan rituals.

### No. I. TARÁ.

“The principal deity is Árya Tárá. She is identified by the Nepalese Buddhists with Prajñá Páramitá or transcendental wisdom and is universally believed to be the mother of all the past Tathá-gatas, or Buddhas, in Tibet. According to the esoteric doctrine of the Tántric school of the Northern Buddhists, she is the wife of all the present, past and future Buddhas, in which case she resembles the female energy or *Sakti* of the Indian Tántrics. The Tibetan namo of Tárá is Grolma. Her image is made of copper, gilt with Chincso gold. It was evidently brought from Chiua (Pekiug) by Púran Gir who accompanied the Tashi Lama to Pekiug.

“During my stay at Peking I paid a visit to the imago manufactory near Hwangs-so or the yellow templo, which is situated at a distance of three *li* to the north of the Antaman gate, where I saw images resembling this (image) in construction. The goddess Tárá holds a mendicant's bowl filled with gems in her left hand. With her right hand she holds a lotus. She wears a crown with five spires all of which are studded with rubies and turquoises. Her locks are coiled, in the Indian Buddhist fashion, at the crown of her head, at the top of which there is a beautiful gem, called *Norbu-minbar*. Her dress is different from that of the Tibetan imago of Tárá. She wears a Chinese petticoat with broad and loose sleeves, and a pair of Chinese embroidered shoes like a Manchu lady. The image is about two feet high. The daughter of the Emperor Tai-tsung of the great Tang dynasty was married to the first Tibetan king in 630 A. D. She

<sup>1</sup> *Samádhi-stambha*. Its familiar meaning is a tomb, with a *stambha* or monumental column erected on a *samádhi-kshetra* or burial ground. But this term *samádhi*, in its esoteric signification, is the absorption of the *jívdtmá* or vital principle in the *paramátmá* or supreme soul of the universe, as stated in the verso **तुरीयमन्तरं ब्रह्म अहमस्मि परमदं । अहं ब्रह्मत्ववस्थानं समाधिरिति गीयते ॥** Though the burning of the dead is now the principal custom among the Hindús, yet among most *Akhará-dhári Vairágtis* and *S'aiva Sanyásts*, burial or throwing the corpse into the river is the unvarying custom. In Benares, Mirzapur and other districts in the North-West, the dead body is often put into a stone coffin before depositing it into the earth.

was an acknowledged incarnation of Tárá. The imago probably represents her figure.”<sup>1</sup>

## No. II.

“The most ingoniously constructed image is that of Mahákála Bhairava. It represents him in a hideous mood, with his *Sakti* in his embrace. His nine heads on all four sides, with a central one on the top, his thirty-six arms and eighteen legs, his weapons, and the string of skulls hanging down his neck to the extremity of his belly, give him a truly horrible appearance. He is the principal guardian of the Tibetan Lamas, particularly of the Tashi Lama.”

## No. III.

“Sambhara Chakra is the chief of the Tántric deities of Tibet. He has ten arms, but one head. He also has the *Sakti* in his clasp. He stands on the breast of a vanquished demon, probably the devil *Márá*. He is painted with yellow. The image is of copper gilt, about nine inches high.”

## No. IV.

“Samája Guhya is another Tántric deity, with three faces and six arms. He clasps his consort *Sakti* who also has three faces and six arms.”

## No. V.

“Another form of Tárá is called Vajra Bhrúkuṭi. The figure of it, evidently cast in Nepal, represents the second wife of king Srongtsan gampa. She was the daughter of king Prabhávama of Nepal, who reigned between 630 and 640 A. D. There is a saint's glory round her head.”

There is an inscription on the door top of the tomb in the Bengali language and character. It states, in very ungrammatical and corrupt language, that the principal *Mukhtiyárkár*<sup>2</sup> and *chela* (or disciple) Daljít Gir Mahant placed the symbol of Mahádeva on the *samádhi* of the late Púran Gir Mahant, and enjoins that all people should honour and worship this shrine and the Mahádeva; a Hindú not doing so would incur the sin of bráhmanicide, and a Musalmán and others, for the like offence, would go to *dozakh* (hell), as affected with guilt at the seat of

<sup>1</sup> On the pedestal of the statuo is inscribed in Bengali the name S'ri Khás Kámini (कामिनौ or female energy and *خامی* chief, favourite), and the date, perhaps of the consecration, Samvat 1852, 15th of the light half of the month of Margaśira (November). Then follows the name Bholá Giri of Lhasa in the country of Bhoṭa-kshetra.

<sup>2</sup> *Mukhtiyárkár* is the Ar. *مختاركار* “a superintendent.”

*Khodá-ta'álatá* or the most high God. The date of the consecration is given as Śaṃvat 1852, Śakábdá 1717, Bangábdá 1202,<sup>1</sup> 23rd Vaiśákha, Sunday, within 12 daṇḍas<sup>2</sup> of the Púrṇimá. This date corresponds with the 3rd May 1795.

This cursory examination of the place, and its important objects suggest most important enquiries such as these: what is the history and origin of the Buddhistic temple on the river side so near to Calcutta, established in the early days of the British power in India? How comes it that images of Hindú gods and goddesses are mixed up with those of Tibet and receive due worship? Who was Púran Gir Gosain Mahant, claiming worship and honour from Hindús, Musalmáns and other religionists?

My request to the present head of the establishment Umráo Gir Gosain Mahant for any papers and documents in his custody that may throw light on these questions, was very readily and kindly complied with. His presentation to the Society, at my suggestion, of two rare and valuable Tibetan manuscripts was noticed at the January meeting. He produced four Persian *sanads* or grants and a passport in Tibetan, of which I have taken copies; and these, with translations, in the annexures appear, I believe, for the first time before the public.

Nos. 1 and 2 show that the former grants, free of rent, 100 bighás and 8 biswás<sup>3</sup> of land on the river side, made up of one portion situated in Mauza Bárbakpúr, Parganah Boro, and of another portion situated in Mauza Ghusarí, Parganah Páikán, unto Púran Gir Gosain,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The Bangábdá or B. S. (Bangálí Śaṃvat) is the same as what is commonly known as the "Fazli year." See the Tables in General Sir A. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 196, Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Daṇḍa*, one-sixtieth of a day and night; hence equal to 24 minutes.

<sup>3</sup> *Biswá*, lit. a twentieth part of a *bighá*. Hence it is equivalent to a *kaṭṭhá*.

<sup>4</sup> *Púran Gir Gosain*. In the sanads, Púran is written پوران, but in the Bengálí inscription পুরান Parán. I think these are vulgar readings of the Sanskrit पूरान *Púrāna*. Gir, of course, is the vernacular of *Giri*, indicating that the Gosain belonged to the *Giri* sect of the *Dakṣiṇáms*, and that he was initiated at the *Jyost Maṭh* in the Badarikásrama, a fact which is confirmed by the statement of the present Mahanta of the Bhoṭ Bágán. It is said that the great philosopher Ś'ankarácárya, towards the end of the 8th century, tried to introduce reforms based on the doctrines of the Vedantic school, and for the purpose of spreading his teachings, founded four *maṭhas* in four different places; viz. *S'ringa Giri Maṭha* near Tunga-bhadra where Vyása is said to have had his monastery, *Sáradá Maṭha* in Dwáriká in Gujarát, *Covardhana Maṭha* in Jagannáthapurí, and *Jyost Maṭha* in the Badarikásrama, situated near the sources of the Ganges. Ś'ankarácárya had at first four disciples and each of them had several others: 1, Padmapáda who had two followers who received the titles of *Tírtha* and *Kárama*; 2, Hastámalaka who had

the most sage and wise and the head of all the seekers of truth, in consideration of his virtue and piety that he may erect a temple thereon and plant a garden. The latter grants to the same individual in the same terms, 50 *highás* of land on the same site in Mauza Bár-bakpúr, consisting of three portions situated within the properties of Mahárája Nab Kishan,<sup>1</sup> Ráj Chand Rái, and Rájá Rám Lechan.<sup>2</sup>

also two with the titles of *Vana* and *Araṇya* : 3, Mandana who had three designated *Giri*, *Párvata* and *Ságara* : Toṭaka who had likewise three with the appellations of *Sarasvatí*, *Bháratí* and *Purí*. Daśanámí (having ten names) is the name of these four disciples and their followers collectively. The first two founded a school of teaching in the Sárada Māṭha ; the second two in the Govardhana Māṭha ; the next three, including *Giri*, in the Jyotí Māṭha ; and the last three in the S'ringagiri Māṭha. The common characteristic of all the Daśanámí is their regarding S'iva as another name of Brahma, and their faith mainly accepts the teachings of the Vedantic philosophy according to the interpretation of S'ankara's commentary. The S'iva Samhitá teaches the contemplation of S'iva as *nirákára* (having no form), the *achintya* or inconceivable, the *ananta* or infinite, the *amara* or immortal, the one, the all-pervading &c. Among the Daśanámí were celebrated characters of great scholarship and ascetic lives, authors and commentators : the name of Ananda *Giri* is well-known as the writer of the S'ankara Digvijaya and of the glosses on the commentaries of the Vedanta S'utra and of the Upanishats ; Rámáśrama was a commentator of the Veda, Mádhváchárya had the title of Vidyáraya Svámí. There were also, amongst this class of ascetics, men who were possessed of indomitable courage and of extraordinary powers of endurance, who were great travellers in India or in the most distant countries beyond it, as seekers of knowledge and experience, or as enterprising merchants. Onr Púrṇa *Giri* Gosain and Púrṇa *Purí* are the names of two most unique characters reflecting the highest credit on the Daśanámí as enterprising spirits, combining the qualities of active benevolence and philanthropy with knowledge of philosophy, piety, devotion, and in the case of the latter, of a travelling *tapasví* practising the most astounding austerities. The life of the former appears in the text, and that of Púrṇa *Purí* has appeared in the Researches of the Society and in other books. Captain Turner saw him and heard much of him from the Regent at Tashi Lhunpo, and he gives some notices of him in his report. [See Jonathan Duncan's account in the *Asiatic Researches* Vol. V, p. 37ff, VI, p. 102. With regard to S'ankaráchárya and the Daśanámí, see H. H. Wilson's account, *ibid.*, vol. XVII, p. 178-182. According to him, the *Giris*, *Párvatas* and *Ságaras* are disciples of Toṭaka. Ed.]

<sup>1</sup> *Nab Kishan*, corruption of *Navakrishna*. The sanad has only نكبش *Nab Kish*. The well-known Mahárája's estate still holds lands in Bárhakpúr, on the other side of the river opposite to Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> *Rájá Rám Lochan* and *Ráj Chand Rai*. These persons were the sons of Rámacharan Rai, who was the Dewán of Governor Vansittart and General Smith. He acquired a large fortune and lived in Pathuriyághatta in Calcutta, his descendants removed to Andni, and were known as Andni Rájás. One of their scions, Rájá Rájánáráyana, attempted to establish the identity of his caste (*Káyastha*) with the *Kshatriya*, and is said to have put on the sacrificial thread, but his caste-mon repudiated the pretension, or dared not follow his example. He was also vain enough to introduce a new era in his family, styled the *Anduládda* !

Both these sanads are as usual addressed to Mutaʿaddîs,<sup>1</sup> Chaudharîs,<sup>2</sup> Qânúngos, Taʿaluqdárs, &c., their jurisdiction being described as that of Darî Bárbakpúr, Parganah Boro, in Sarkár Sâtgáon,<sup>3</sup> appertaining to Chaklah Húglî in Şúbáh *Jannatu-l-bilád*<sup>4</sup> Bangálah. Both

<sup>1</sup> *Mutaʿaddî* has various meanings, such as clerk, accountant, &c., but in the last century it was used to signify superior officers in the fiscal department.

<sup>2</sup> *Chaudharî* is used both in Hindî and Bengali to mean the headman of a caste or profession, also as an honorific title. Mr. Bogle speaks of a "*chaudri*" who came to visit him while he was in Tibet; and Markham, p. 172, on the authority of Hamilton, explains in a note that "*chauduri*" or '*desali*' in Nepal is a subordinate revenue officer under the Fanzdár, and he identifies the word with *chautariya* (minister), an officer next in rank among the Kerantis in Nepal whose title and office were hereditary. Hamilton also describes a *chauduri* as a zamindár acting as a minister to a chief among the Kerantis, and says *chautariya* is the title of the collateral of the royal Gorkha family who sometimes became ministers. In Bengal the titular affix *chaudharî* is common to names of persons belonging to the highest as well as to the lowest castes. In the latter case it bears the sense of headman of a guild or profession, and in the former it is an honorific epithet, which is borne out by tracing it to the Sanskrit *chaturadhurîna* "sagacious chief or manager of affairs" or to *chaturdhurîna* "chief of four (departments)." In the Upper Provinces the term is applied, I believe, only to the headman of a trade or guild. In early days, in Bengal, it was a title of landholders superior to taluqdárs. There are many families whose ancestors, from one reason or other, had this title, and among them it has become, like Majmúdárs, Sarkárs, &c., hereditary.

<sup>3</sup> *Sarkár Sâtgáon*. The Muhammadan empire in the time of Akbar was at first divided into twelve large sections, called *şubahs* or vicerealties, which were subsequently increased to fifteen. Each of these was subdivided for fiscal purposes into *sarkárs* or provinces, each *sarkár* comprehending a number of *parganahs* or *mahals*. Aggregates of several *parganahs* again were formed into groups which in the reign of Sháh Jahán were designated *chaklahs*. In the tables of the *taqsim jamá*' in the *Ain-i-Akbarî şubah Bangálah* is divided into 24 *sarkárs*, one of which is *Sâtgáon* (Sanskrit *saptagrâma*), a group of seven villages. In its relation to *chaklah Húglî*, as described in the sanads to the Tashi Lama and Púran Gir, it must, with the latter district, have formed part of the dominions of the ancient kings of Tâmrâlipti (Tamluk) which had been visited by Fahian. It was formerly of immense size, the residence of kings, and had a famous place of worship in it. A reference to the tables of the fiscal divisions of the Mughal empire in the *Ain-i-Akbarî*, will show that *Sarkár Sâtgáon*, in which the sanads speak of the place being comprehended, contain *mahals*, two of which are named Bárbakpúr. One stands by itself, and the other is linked to *Kalkattá* and to another place Bakná. No doubt the place opposite to *Kalkattá* (Calcutta) derived its name from the one at the Calcutta side. Whether the names *Bárbakpúr* and *Bakud* were the old designations of the place, now known as *Satánntî* and *Govindpur*, which together with *Kalkattá*, formed old Calcutta, is a point worthy of research. As to the *Mahal Bárbakpur* in the 'Ain, Blochmann indicates in a note to the Persian text that another reading gives *Bárikpur*. So has *Bakud* many other readings, as *Maçnmá* &c. Our *Kalkattá* is variously named *Kaltás*, *Kalná* and *Talpá*.

<sup>4</sup> *Jannatu-l-bilád*, the paradise of civilized nations. This epithet was applied

of them also bear on the top two square seals.<sup>1</sup> The date of No. 1 is 12th June 1778, 1st Āshādha 1185 B. S., 16th Jumáda-l-awal of the 20th year of the imperial reign; and that of No. 2 is 11th February 1782, 2nd Fálgun 1189 B. S.

The two other sanads, marked No. 3 and No. 4, bear the same dates as, and grant the same quantities of land as those mentioned in Nos. 1 and 2 respectively. In fact the two former appear to be duplicates of the latter two, with this very material difference that, in Nos. 3 and 4, in place of the grantee's name being Púran Gir, it is *Teshí Lámah Panchan Ardání Bakdeo Panchan*,<sup>2</sup> and the attributes of the latter are exactly those of the former. The seals also are different: on Nos. 3 and 4 they are those of the East India Company as dewán and servant of Sháh 'Alam Bádsháh. No. 3, moreover, bears two seals, one at the top, the other on the right margin. Both sanads bear the signature of Warren Hastings almost obliterated.

The simple facts now disclosed are, that in the years 1778 and 1782, a Hindú ascetic, named Púran Gir Gosain, and a Buddhist Pontiff conjointly, but by two sets of grants, one in the name of each, received a certain quantity of land on the river side, which aggregated 150 bighás and constituted the area of Bhoṭ Bágán, and that the former died in 1795, and was buried as a saint near his Maṭh there, by his *chela* or disciple Daljit Gir Gosain.

This information, though by itself it does not satisfy but rather magnifies the curiosity already raised, affords a clue to the line of historical investigation which would carry us to the goal. The inquiry, however, leading, as it does, into the most eventful period of British Indian history, proves almost unfruitful. Vain is the search for such apparently trifling incidents as the foundation of the Bhoṭ Mandir or the career of merely a Hindú mendicant, in the annals of the

to Bengal by Aurangzib, and in the last century it was customary to describe Bengal in public records and formal documents with this title. Humáyún called Gaur *Janmatábád*, 'a paradiso settlement,' though when the plague was raging there, which depopulated it and led to its desertion, the pun came into vogue as *Gaur ba gor*, "from Gaur to the grave."

<sup>1</sup> One seal has an inscription in Nágari characters. See footnote on p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Teshí* (تېشی), so spelled in the sanads. The Tibetan is *bkraśis blama*, pronounced Tashi Lama. The full name of the Lama was Panchhen Nágwañ Lossañ Paldan Yeshe. The first element, spelled *panchan* (པཎཅན) in the sanads is a compound of *Pan* 'a paṇḍita' or 'learned man' and *chan* 'groat' or 'conspicuous.' *Ardání* is a corruption of *Erteni*, a gom. The Gom epithet, though not exclusively applied to a Tashi Lama, indicates, in his case, perfection and the efficacy of his adoration. The terms *ertení* and the Sanskrit *ratna* seem to be congeners. *Bakdeo* is the Sanskrit *Vákyadeva*, equivalent to the Tibetan *Nágwañ*.



statesmen who were laying the basis of the British Power in India. In practice, "History," says Arnold, "has been beguiled, so to speak, from its proper business, and has ceased to describe the life of a Commonwealth," much more so in respect of the history of this country under its peculiar circumstances. It is, therefore, from the bye-ways of history, personal narratives, accounts of travellers, published correspondence, and official reports, and authentic traditions, from materials in fact out of which history is constructed, that threads have been gathered and woven into the following story. The story itself, apart from many of its interesting features and almost romantic character, has important bearings upon questions of the greatest moment which occupied the attention of the infant British Indian Government, and which still perplex its Council in its imperial growth.

The first part of the retrospective inquiry leads to the time when the great *Chhivāttara Manwantara*,<sup>1</sup> as the great famine of 1176 B. S. is called by the people of Bengal, was raging in its fiercest fury in the country, and decimating its people by thousands, when the streets of Calcutta were strewn with bodies of the dying and the dead, and when Governor Cartier was feeding daily 15000 people in the city. A little earlier than this catastrophe on the plains, a cruel and destructive war had broken out on the mountain heights and valleys on the frontier.

The aggressive incursions of the ambitious Prithvī Nārāyan, chief of the Gorkhas, into the valley of Nepal, led to that great revolution in this State which subverted its tripartite rule,<sup>2</sup> and brought it under

<sup>1</sup> *Chhivāttara Manwantara* the famine of 1176 B. S. or 1770 A. D. Preceded by three years of scarcity, and followed by three years of plenty, it was strictly a one-year's famine, but it was the most appalling and disastrous calamity that ever visited Bengal, or perhaps any other part of the world. It exhibited, in its course and its sequel, such harrowing and extensive scenes of dreadful suffering, pain, misery, disease and death, as to have obtained in our country the singular name of a *manwantara*, which literally means a period equal to 4,320,000 years, implying thereby that it was such a visitation as recurs only at intervals of æons, the ordinary names of famine *durbhikṣha* ('when alms are not obtainable') and *akāla* 'bad time' not being thought of sufficient significance. In fact, no Sanskrit dictionaries that I have consulted attach to *Manwantara* famine as its synonym. Some information on this great famine will be found in Sir W. Hunter's *Rural Bengal* and in the letters of Mr. Beglo (see Markham, p. cxxxix) who was himself an eye-witness of the calamity, as well as in sundry notices and poems.

<sup>2</sup> *Tripartite rule of Nepal*. Before the Gorkha conquest of Nepal proper, it was occupied by an agricultural and commercial race called Newars, who had borrowed their arts and civilization from Tibet, and who encouraged trade between Tibet and India by allowing it to be carried on through the Nepal passes. Their chiefs had the title of *Malla* (Sanskrit *malla*.) Since the death of the sixth king of this dynasty, his dominions according to his directions, were divided into three

the subjection of that warlike tribe. It is said that unheard of cruelties were perpetrated in this war, which were witnessed by two members of the Roman Catholic Mission. This warfare, brought on by interneeino dissonsions, led one of the Nepalese old dynasties to ontreat for aid from the English in India, with the result of the despatch, in 1769, perhaps for the first time, of a force under Captain Kinloch to the frontiers, though it proved unfructuous. Following close upon the Gorkha conquest of Nepal, Depa Shidar,<sup>1</sup> the chief of Bhutan, urged by purely hostile propensities, pounced upon Sikkim, retained possession of it, for a short while, and subsequently in 1772, when Warren Hastings had just assumed the rule of Bengal, invaded the Kuch Behar Ráj.<sup>2</sup> This Ráj, in its distress, sought the aid of that keen-sighted statesman, who lost no time to send a battalion of native infantry against the invaders.<sup>3</sup> The Bhutanese, after a desperate resistance, were utterly routed, pursued into their fastnesses, and forced to sue for peace. Depa Shidar entreated the Tashi Lama who was then Regent of Tibet and

principalities governed by three branches who had their respective capitals in Kathmandu, Lalita Pattan and Bhatgáon. These were subverted by the Gorkha chief. Their religion was Buddhist, but they recognised casto. Their descendants, now obscure, still follow the Buddhist faith. The dissensions of the kings of the three principalities led to the chief of Bhatgáon to seek the aid of the Gorkha Prithví Náráyan who, after subduing the enemies of his ally, turned his arms against the latter, and after long years of fighting made himself completely master of the whole country.

<sup>1</sup> *Depa Shidar* (ཇ་པ་ཤིང་ལ་ཤིང་ལ་); also called *De-tar-yag* or *De-tar-ya*, the “Dêh Terria” of Turner.

<sup>2</sup> Kuch Bohar, a state on the north-east frontier of British India. It lies between Bengal and Assam, and is divided from Bhutan by the *Dudrs*. In olden times it was very extensive, and formed the western division of the ancient Kámráp Ráj. The name of the place is a museum of mythio history. According to a certain Tantra (the Yogini) Hírâ Doyî was a great devotee of S’iva who incarnated himself and lived in *Kuchinîpârdâ*, a settlement of the *Kuch* or *Konch* tribe, and the fruit of his amour with her was a chief who became a great Rájâ, and as the Ráj was the result of S’iva’s *vihâra* (cor. Behar) or ‘dalliance,’ the State received the appellation of *Kuch Vihâr*. Kámráp is the mine of the Tantras, and hence these works spread on both sides, to the hills and the plains. Wilson, in a note in his translation of the Vishnu Purâna, includes Kuch Bohar in the *Matsya Dehá*.

<sup>3</sup> Hastings in his two letters to Sir George Colebrooke and John Purling dated, respectively, 15th January and 31st March 1773, writes of the famine and of this war. Among other things, he says, “I shall ever oppose remote projects of conquests, yet I shall sedulously promote every undertaking which can complete the line of our possessions or add to its security.” The Bhutanese “are a resolute and daring people. They made a desperate defence of the fort of Bohar.” (Cooch Behar.) “Many of them meeting death at the muzzle of the sopoy’s pieces.” (See Gleig’s *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, I. pp. 278 and 295.)

the guardian of the minor Dalai Lama of Lhasa, to intercede in his behalf, and the Lama accordingly sent a deputation to Calcutta, with a letter to Warren Hastings in 1773. This letter of mediation was received by Warren Hastings on the 29th March 1774, when it was laid before the Board. It is a remarkable document, and is given in Captain Turner's Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Tashi Lama in Tibet.

“The affairs of this quarter in every respect flourish: I am night and day employed in prayers for the increase of your happiness and prosperity. Having been informed, by travellers from your country, of your exalted fame and reputation, my heart, like the blossoms of spring, abounds with satisfaction, gladness, and joy. Praise be to God that the star of your fortune is in its ascension. Praise be to him that happiness and ease are the surrounding attendants of myself and family. Neither to molest, nor persecute, is my aim: it is even the characteristic of my sect, to deprive ourselves of the necessary refreshment of sleep, should an injury be done to a single individual; but in justice and humanity, I am informed, you far surpass us. May you ever adorn the seat of justice and power, that mankind may, in the shadow of your bosom, enjoy the blessings of peace and affluence. By your favour I am the Rája and Lama of this country, and rule over a number of subjects, a circumstance with which you have no doubt been made acquainted, by travellers from these parts. I have been repeatedly informed, that you have been engaged in hostilities against the Dêh Terria (De-tar-ya), to which, it is said, the Dêh's own criminal conduct in committing ravages and other outrages on your frontiers, gave rise. As he is of a rude and ignorant race, past times are not destitute of instances of the like misconduct, which his own avarice tempted him to commit. It is not unlikely that he has now renewed those instances: and the ravages and plunder which he may have committed on the skirts of the provinces of Bengal and Behar,<sup>1</sup> have given you provocation to send your avenging army against him. Nevertheless his party has been defeated, many of his people have been killed, three forts have been taken from him, and he has met with the punishment he deserved. It is as evident as the sun that your army has been victorious; and that, if you had been desirous of it, you might, in the space of two days, have entirely extirpated him; for he had not power to resist your efforts. But I now take upon me to be his mediator; and to represent to you, that, as the said Dêh Terria (Deb Rája)<sup>2</sup> is dependent upon the Dalai

<sup>1</sup> Kuch Behar.

<sup>2</sup> The person who performs all administrative functions in Blntan is called

“Lama, who rules in this country with unlimited sway, though, on account of his being yet in his minority, the charge and administration of the country, for the present, is committed to me; should you persist in offering further molestation to the Dêh Terria's country, it will irritate both the Lama and all his subjects against you. Therefore, from a regard to our religion and customs, I request you will cease from all hostilities against him; and in doing this, you will confer the greatest favour and friendship upon me. I have reprimanded the Dêh for his past conduct; and I have admonished him to desist from his evil practices in future, and to be submissive to you in all things. I am persuaded that he will conform to the advice which I have given him; and it will be necessary that you treat him with compassion and clemency. As to my part, I am but a Fakcer; and it is the custom of my sect, with the rosary in our hands, to pray for the welfare of mankind, and for the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of this country; and I do now, with my head uncovered, entreat that you will cease from all hostilities against the Dêh in future. It would be needless to add to the length of this letter, as the bearer of it, who is a Gosein,<sup>1</sup> will represent to you all particulars; and it is hoped that you will comply therewith. In this country the worship of the Almighty is the profession of all. We poor creatures are in nothing equal to you. Having, however, a few things in hand I send them to you as tokens of remembrance and hope for your acceptance of them.”<sup>2</sup>

It will be seen from the letter that the Tashi Lama alludes therein to a Gosain who headed the deputation, and Turner thus speaks of him:—“Of the persons deputed on this occasion by the Lama, two only ventured to encounter the burning atmosphere of Bengal; one a native of Tibet, named Paima; the other a pilgrim from Hindostan whose name I have already mentioned, Poorungheer Gosein.”<sup>3</sup>

The request of the Lama was very favourably received. Warren Hastings became eager to know more intimately the writer of this letter, which was conceived in a very friendly spirit and founded on

Deb Râja, also Kushe Depa, while the spiritual head is called Lama Rinpoche or Dharma Râja. “But the real power has long been in the hands of the military governors, or Penlos of east and west Bhutan, whose capitals are respectively at Tong-sar and Paro.” Markham, *Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, etc.*, Introd., p. lv.

<sup>1</sup> This is Pûran Gir.

<sup>2</sup> Turner's *Account of an Embassy to the Court of Teshoo Lama in Tibet*, Introd., pp. ix—xii.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, Introd., p. xiii.

good sense, which evinced high sentiments and self-respect and, at the same time, conveyed a gentle menace, couched in the most humble language. He perceived in it also the best opportunity to carry out his cherished view for the extension of British intercourse with the *terra incognita* on the Himalayan heights.

A treaty of peace was accordingly entered into and ratified between the Governments of Bengal and Bhutan, on the 25th of April, 1774. By the different articles of this treaty it was, among other things, agreed that the English would relinquish the Deb Rájá's possessions acquired by conquest; that they would deliver up the Kuch Behar Rájá Dwijendra Náráyan and his brother Devan Dec who had been taken away as prisoners of war; that the Bhutanese Mahants shall have their former privilege of duty-free trade, and allowed to visit Rangpur annually; that the Bhutanese shall not cause incursions into the country, nor molest the rayats (or subjects) of the Company; whatever Sannyásis are considered by the English as enemies, the Deb Rájá shall not allow to take shelter in any part of the districts now given up, nor permit them to enter into the Honourable Company's territories or through any part of his.<sup>1</sup>

This treaty having been concluded in the interest of Kuch Behar and the Company on the one hand, and in that of Bhutan on the other, whereby the Lama's intercession was completely respected, Warren Hastings' mind was turned upon commercial schemes, which were not a little matured at the sight of the presents which the Lama had sent by his deputation. He conceived the idea of sending a mission to the Lama in Tibet, and accordingly framed a letter to him, proposing, among other things, a treaty of amity and commerce between the Bengal and Tibetan states, and entrusted it to a deputation composed of Mr. George Bogle, servant of the Company, and Dr. Hamilton, with Púran Gir Gosain, as their sincere and faithful friend.

This is the first of a series of missions which Hastings successively sent to the *cis*- and *trans*-nivean states on the frontier heights, and it is from among the incidents of this initial deputation that the main facts which led to the grant of the *sanads*, the foundation of the Bhoṭ Mandir, and the consecration of the motley group of idols there, are to be gleaned. In this mission as well as in the second attempted embassy to Tibet under Mr. Bogle in 1779, in the third, under Captain Turner in 1783, and in the last, under Púran Gir Gosain himself, just at the closing period of the same statesman's career in 1785, are to be sought all the important services that the great Gosain has rendered to the British Government, and the conspicuous traits of his remarkable character, and

<sup>1</sup> Captain R. Boileau Pomberton's Report on Bhutan, App., p. 178.

some portions of the concluding history of the Bhoṭ Bágán down to the period of the chivalrous Gosain's tragic end. A rapid sketch therefore follows, of the broad features of these missions, bearing upon the present subject, based mainly upon the records left by Mr. Bogle, which form the narrative of Mr. Markham, and upon Turner's report.

It was moreover from the proceedings of these missions that the first administrator of India obtained a thorough knowledge of the wonderful politico-religious influence which, emanating from Tibet, operated, with more or less effect on China and Mongolia, and on its then protected state of Sikkim, and the semi-independent principality of Bhutan as well as on Nepal.

The communication of the Lama stirred the fertile brain of Warren Hastings, to conceive a consummate policy of peace and friendship with the hierarchial chief, believed to be an incarnation of Buddha himself, seated in his snow-clad mountain home. By this policy he aimed at the commercial prosperity of Bengal. Through two successive missions to Tibet, and four to Bhutan, he succeeded, in some respect, to re-establish the old trade routes and re-open, in a partial way, that active commercial intercourse which had subsisted and prevailed, from before the Muhammadan rule, between the plateau of Tibet and the plains of Bengal through the passes of Nepal, Bhutan and other channels, but which were sadly interrupted and checked by diverse causes.

The first mission under Mr. Bogle started from Calcutta in 1774, and, after proceeding to the hills, called Nagarkoṭ in Bengal and Boḍla<sup>1</sup> in Tibet, which form the common boundary of these two countries in the north, Bogle says, the only scanty information about the roads, the climate and the people which he there received, was from the Sannyásis.

Proceeding, stage after stage, Mr. Bogle, with his party, arrived at Tashi Chhoijong,<sup>2</sup> the capital of Bhutan, and met the Deb Rája,<sup>3</sup> who gave him a good reception, but great obstacles having been raised in respect

<sup>1</sup> *Boḍ* (native name of Thibet) + *la* 'a pass' = 'The pass into Thibet' Markham, *ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Tashi Chhoijong is the modern capital of Bhutan, 106 miles from the town of Kuch Behar. There is in it a palace and a citadel. The latter is a lofty stone building of seven stories, in the fourth of which the Deb Rája of Bhutan resides.

<sup>3</sup> Deb Rája. According to Sir Ashley Eden, the country, now called Bhutan, was formerly occupied by a people from Kuch Behar, who were, three centuries ago, driven away by an invading army of Tibetans over whom a Lama of the Red sect named Dugwang Sabdung acquired paramount influence as "Lama Rinpoche or Dharma Rája. On his death Sabdung became incarnate in a little child at Lhasa who "was conveyed to Bhutan. When this child grew up, he confined himself to spiritual "concerns and appointed a Regent called the Deb Rája." He is now elected by a council of six for three years.

of his intended visit to Tibet by a concatenation of influences ultimately emanating from China, they were finally removed by the zealous, persevering and masterly services of Púran Gir Gosain. The party accordingly left that capital, on the 13th October, and came to a place called Phari-jeng,<sup>1</sup> where were observed the boundary-marks that separate Bhutan from Tibet. Thence they rode up, on the 8th November, to the gate of Tashi Rabgya,<sup>2</sup> the palace of the Tashi Lama. After several interviews with him, and residence there for some time, they, at his desire, accompanied him to his next palace and monastery, Tashi Lhunpo. Here, during a sojourn of five months, Mr. Bogle picked up some knowledge of the Tibetan language, acquainted himself with the religious tenets and practices of the people, studied their character, habits and manners, noted their unique marriage customs, penetrated into the mystery of their peculiar hierarchical government, threaded his way into the mysterious labyrinth of their politics, and, with cautious or rather furtive observation, acquired a partial knowledge of the productive resources and the trade routes of the country, old and new, but could carry out the object of his mission in only a limited way. And the little that he was able to do in this last respect, was due to his frankness and ability to understand the people and above all to conform to their ways that were innocent. He himself says, "The Lama used daily to send a priest to me in the early morning, with some bread and tea or some boiled rice and chopped mutton, of which last, as I always like to do at Romo as they do at Rome, I used to eat very heartily." He used even to put on "a Tibetan dress consisting of a purple satin tunic lined" with "Siberian furskins, a yellow satin cap, faced round with sable, and crossed with a red silk tape and a pair of red silk Bulgar hide boots." He followed the Lama's example and gave alms to the Sannyásis and Faqirs. He was not only admitted into the churches where he saw the idols, and the nature of the holy service, but introduced to the ladies of the Lama's household; and thus there grew up between Mr. Bogle and the good Lama a real personal friendship. Púran Gir Gosain, who enjoyed the esteem and confidence of both these persons, contributed in a great measure to bring about this desirable state of things. The deputation left Tashi Lhunpo, in April 1775, and returned in June following. Warren Hastings, in order to keep up an intercourse with the Himalayan states, so auspiciously opened, sent Dr.

<sup>1</sup> Phari-jong is a pass at the head of the Chumbi valley which was used both by Bogle and Turner. Near it is the city of Paro which Mr. Bogle selected as a trade mart for the merchandise of Bengal and Tibet.

<sup>2</sup> Tashi Rabgya is a small place in which the Tashi Lama temporarily resided, when small-pox broke out at Tashi Lhunpo.

Hamilton, who had accompanied Mr. Bogle to Tibet, to Bhutan on two successive missions, one in November 1775, and the other in July 1777. With these the present theme has no concern.

Mr. Bogle was again appointed an envoy to Tibet in April 1779, and Púran Gir Gosain, who had returned with him, was also to have accompanied the mission as before, but it was postponed on account of the arrival of the news that the Tashi Lama was, at the invitation of the old Chinese Emperor Künghlung, about to start for Peking. During this delay Mr. Bogle, with all the persevering zeal he possessed in the cause of the Government, made the grand project of presenting himself before the Chinese Court, through the influence of the Lama, that he might thereby explain matters in a proper way, in the hope of removing Chinophobia from the Tibetan authorities in the matter of dealings with foreigners. And in this affair also, as on other important occasions, Púran Gir, the trusted and favourite agent of the Lama and the Bengal Government, was desired previously to join the Lama before he left Tibet. This the Gosain accordingly did, when the Lama had already started on his journey, and accompanied the Lama to the Chinese capital where his most important services will be described further on. There was the greatest probability of the success of Mr. Bogle's most wisely conceived scheme, which was founded upon the previous assurances he had received from the Lama while at Tashi Lhunpo, and which, as the sequel will show on the evidence of Púran Gir, the good honest Lama had almost brought about, but the death of the Lama in November 1780 from small-pox at Peking, and of Mr. Bogle at Calcutta in April 1781, prevented the realisation of this great object.<sup>1</sup>

According to the politico-religious theory which regulates the elective hierarchical Government of Tibet, and of its dependencies, and of the territories which acknowledge a theocratic sway, a grand Lama revivifies himself after his death in some infant form which is discovered by some signs, and the child becomes the succeeding Lama. There are two principal Lamas in Tibet: one the Tashi Lama, at Tashi Lhunpo, the other the Dalai Lama at Lhasa, with equal authority, but the latter, on account of the residence of Chinese officials and troops at his capital, is assumed to be the superior.

At the time of Bogle's mission in 1774, the Dalai Lama was a minor, and the Tashi Lama was his Regent, and on account of his learning, piety and great virtue, was deservedly esteemed and revered throughout Buddhodom. On his death, his brother Chanje Kusho was ruling at Tashi Lhunpo, as Regent during the interregnum.

This Regent communicated to Warren Hastings the sad intelligence

<sup>1</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, *Introd.*, p. lxx.



of the death of the Tashi Lama at Peking by a letter which was received on the 12th February 1782. In this letter, among other things, the Regent spoke of his fervent hope in the return of the hour "of transmigration, that the bodies may be speedily exchanged, and our departed Lama again be restored to our sight."<sup>1</sup>

The happy news of the discovery of the spirit of the Tashi Lama, incarnated in an infant in the valley of Painom,<sup>2</sup> was soon received by Hastings, and he determined to seize the opportunity of communicating to the Regent his congratulations on this auspicious event, as the best occasion for sending another mission to Tibet. He accordingly selected Captain Samuel Turner for this purpose, who, with Lieut. Samuel Davis and Dr. Robert Saunders and the inevitable Púran Gir Gosain as their guide and adviser, left Calcutta on the 9th January 1783.

Captain Turner followed the previous route of Mr. Bogle, and on arriving at Tashi Chhoijong transacted such affairs relating to Bhutan as he had been instructed to attend to, and after a stay of three months at this capital, proceeded to his destination. Early in the morning of the 22nd September, dazed at the sight of the resplendent beams of the rising sun reflected from the gilt tops of the monasteries, and regaled with "the deep tone of many sonorous instruments which were "summoning the religious to their morning orisons," the party found themselves ushered into the very splendid apartments of the Tashi Lhnpo palace.<sup>3</sup> The Regent gave the Governor-General's envoy a hearty and respectful reception, assured him of the identity of the Lama who, in his previous existence, had been a great friend of Hastings', and informed him of his regeneration having been acknowledged by the Emperor of China. The mission had indeed arrived in Tibet at one of its most important eras; it was at a time when the nation was preparing by a grand demonstration to announce their acknowledgment of the regenerated Lama who was then being removed into the Tharpa Ling monastery for that customary training and education, for which the Chinese Emperor had issued strict injunctions. The Captain witnessed here most interesting objects and scenes, and collected materials by his intelligent observation and inquiry, whereby he confirmed and widened the knowledge regarding the country which had been laid open by his predecessor. When the time came to leave the place, he was introduced to the infant Lama, then only a child eighteen months old, and he gives the most surprising and most romantic account of this audience, and of the manner in which this little *Avatár* comported himself. Throughout the whole period of the sojourn of the mission our Púran Gir was most

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, p. 450.

<sup>2</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, 230.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, p. 240.

actively engaged in all such departments of business in which he could prove himself useful. At length on the 2nd of December the mission departed from Tashi Lhunpe on the return journey to Bengal, where they reached Patna in March 1784, and there the Captain submitted to Mr. Hastings his official report detailing an account of the result of his mission.<sup>1</sup>

At the commencement of 1785 Warren Hastings contemplated appointing Púran Gir Gosain as a diplomatic agent at the Tibetan court, and delivered to him despatches for the new or rather regenerated Tashi Lama and the Regent. On the 8th of February 1785, he resigned his Governor-Generalship and embarked for England. Captain Turner introduced the Gosain to the officiating Governor-General John Macpherson, and he was allowed to proceed on his mission which started in March of the same year. Passing through Bhutan and transacting business there, the Gosain arrived at Tashi Lhunpo. He too had come here on a momentous occasion, he saw the removal of the child Lama from the Tharpa Ling monastery, and his installation on the throne of his predecessors, who in fact were believed to have been different corporeal forms of his own spirit. He had frequent interviews with the Regent and various Tibetan authorities, during which he did his best to confirm the friendship between the Bengal Government and the Tashi Lhunpo Court, under the shadow of which he remained for five months, and then returned to Calcutta with letters from the Lama and the Regent, which together with his own report he delivered to the above statesman.<sup>2</sup>

Thus ends a brief summary of the salient points of the missions to Tibet under Warren Hastings' rule; and in fact Púran Gir's diplomatic agency is the last of the missions which the British Government has, up to this moment, been able to send to that land of mystery.

The Bhot Bágán originated from the incidents of the first mission in the following way. Mr. Bogle in relating the conversations he had with the Tashi Lama at Tashi Rabgya says, that on one occasion the Lama assured him that "his heart was open, and well disposed towards the English, and that he gave no credit to the representations which had been made to their disadvantage."

"I wish to have a place on the banks of the Ganges to which I might send my people to pray. I intend to write to the Governor on this subject, and wish you would second my application." "I replied that as I knew how desirous the Governor was to cultivate his friendship, I was persuaded on this or on any other occasion he would find him very ready to gratify him as far as in his power."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, pp. 326—358.

<sup>2</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, p. 419.

Mr. Bogle in his letter to Mr. Hastings of the 5th December, which perhaps he wrote from the above place, alludes to the Lama's desire of founding a religious house on the banks of the Ganges, and adds what he had heard from the Lama. "About seven or eight hundred years ago, the Tibetan Pontiffs had many monasteries in Bengal, and their priests used to travel to that country in order to study the religion and languages of the Brahmans and to visit the holy places in Hindustan. The Musulmâns, upon conquering Bengal, plundered and destroyed their temples, and drove them out of the country. Since then there has been little intercourse between the two kingdoms. The Lama is sensible that it will throw great lustre on his pontificate, and serve to extend his fame and character, if he can, after so long an interval, obtain a religious establishment in Bengal, and he is very solicitous about this point. He proposes, also, to send some of his Gylongs, during the cold season, to wait upon you at Calcutta, and afterwards to go on pilgrimage to Gaya and other places, and has written to Chedzum Tamba,<sup>1</sup> at Peking, who has great interest with the Emperor, informing him that the English are now masters of Bengal; that you, their chief, have shown him great favour; that the English allow every one to follow his own religion unmolested; and advising him to send some persons to wait upon you, and to visit the principal temples in Bengal. I own I encouraged all this, in the view of strengthening the intercourse and connection with Tibet, and thinking it would be of advantage to the Company to open any channel of communication with the Court of China; and although I am not so sanguine as the Lama about the success of his endeavours, however sincere, to obtain leave for you to send a person to the Emperor, I do not altogether despair, by your favour, of one day or other getting a sight of Peking."<sup>2</sup>

Again, in the course of the first visit which Mr. Bogle paid to the Tashi Lama, on his return to Tashi Lhunpo, the latter referred to his previous proposal in respect of forming a religious house on the Ganges, and on receiving the reiterated assurance of the former, as to its compliance, the Lama spoke of the Chankya Lama,<sup>3</sup> the high priest at Peking, and of his great influence at the Chinese Court, and of his intention to

<sup>1</sup> Properly *Jetsun Dampa*, identified with the Táránáth Lama. He is the third Pontiff of the Gelugpa or yellow cap sect, and resides north of Tibet among the Khalka tribes of outer Mongolia near Urga.

<sup>2</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> The Tashi Lama always spoke to Mr. Bogle of this high priest of China with great respect, and described him as having great influence over the Chinese emperor. Through his mediation an attempt was made for resort of Chinese trading pilgrims to Hindústán.

write to this personage, to the effect that the Feringís<sup>1</sup> were masters of Bengal, and had shown him great favour, and added that he thought it probable that the priest would send some of his people to visit the principal religious places, and expected, in the event of his doing so, that the Governor would give them a good reception.<sup>2</sup> At another interview, the Lama desired that Mr. Hastings should send an embassy to the Dalai Lama, when he would come of age, and that, in the event of his obtaining a grant of land on the banks of the Ganges, *he would place Púran Gir Gosain there*, and if he should stand in need of any small matter, he trusted the Governor would supply him.<sup>3</sup>

On Mr. Bogle's inquiry as to what site he would prefer, the Lama said, *he would like some place in the neighbourhood of Calcutta*, that the people to be sent down might have opportunities of seeing the Governor, to whom and to the Pandits he would leave the matter; the only thing he would press for, was that it might be near the Ganges. He further explained his idea on the subject of building a house there, and said, "I propose that Púran Gir who was then down in Calcutta should settle it. I do not wish it to be a large house, and let it be built in the fashion of Bengal." He intimated, that he would give the necessary instructions to Púran, who, he said, "has served me well, and I have not found him guilty of so many lies as most other fakirs, and I hope the Governor will show him favour." He here mentioned the name of another old Gosain 'Sukh Deb' who, he said, "has also asked me leave to go down to Calcutta, he will accompany you; and I have also written to the Governor about him, and I hope he will favour him."<sup>4</sup>

On another occasion the Lama showed Mr. Bogle *the images with their dress which he intended to send down to Bengal*, through Púran Gir, to be put up in the proposed temple, and inquired particularly about the situation of a town called Sambhal.<sup>5</sup> The reason assigned by the

<sup>1</sup> *Feringís*, a term usually applied in most parts of Asia to Europeans. It is said to have been derived from Frank. A stranger is generally called *Peling*.

<sup>2</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>5</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, p. 168. S'ambhal is a fabulous city, the Utopia of the Northern Buddhists, on which Bábú S. C. Dás has supplied the following information. The Tashi Lama wrote a book called Shambalai Lamyig, *i. e.*, a journey to Shambala. According to the Tihetan work "Selki-melon," the name S'ambhala is derived from that of king S'ambhaka of the S'akya race. Literally it means "one who makes happy," and S'ambha is the name of Íswara. According to the Tihetans, the position of the country of S'ambhala is as follows. It is a vast plain of the shape of a lotus of eight petals, entirely surrounded by a wall of snowy

Lama for his fondness for Bengal was that "although in the different " periods of his roviscence he had chosen many regions for the plaecs of " his birth, yot Bengal was the only country in which he had been born " twice; for which reason," he said, " ho had a predelection for it beyond " any other, and was desirous of making it a place of his abode, ap- " parently estoeming the sanctity of the Ganges, as a consideration of " inferior importance."<sup>1</sup>

The religious prejudices which endear Bengal to the Tibetans, are again thus explained by Turner, who bases his information upon what he had heard from the Regent and Sapon Chenpo :<sup>2</sup>—" But Bengal is ren- " dered peculiarly dear to them by the powerful influence of religious " prejudice. The regeneration of their Lama is said to have taken " place, in times of remoto antiquity, near the site of the ancient and " ruined city of Gowr, and all those places held in veneration by the " Hindoos, as Gya, Benares, Mahow and Allahabad, are equally ob- " jects of superstitious zeal, with a votary of the Tibet faith, who " thinks himself blessed above his fellow disciples, if he can but perform " a pilgrimago to these hallowed spots."<sup>3</sup>

After Mr. Bogle's return to Calcutta, the Lama, as he had proposed in his first conversation with him on the subject of his proposed temple, wrote to Mr. Hastings on the subject,<sup>4</sup> and Mr. Bogle in his general report, speaking of the apprehension of Tibet merchants, in respect of the heat and unhealthiness of Bengal, urged that " prejudices of this " kind are to be cured only by habit, and your compliaance with the " Teshu Lama's desire of founding a monastery and temple on the banks

mountains, and conveniently intersected by many great rivers. At the centre of this great country stands as the filament of a lotus, its capital, the city of Kalápa, with extonsive gardens and parks ronnd it, which are protected by a cironlar wall of very lofty snowy mountains with four gates. Four rivers issning from the snowy barriers, water the city and its garden, and then flow into two lakes, called Upaságara and Pundaríka, which adorn the earthly paradise of Kalápa. At the southern extremity of the city stands the garden of Malaya, with the palaeo of the Chakravartí Rája Chandra Bhadra. The mansions of the 25 Knlika emperors, who followed the lino of the seven Dharma Rájas, stand on the bank of the river and lino the lotus. The first Chakravartí emperor of Sámabhala was Súryaprabha. In each of the eight petal-like divisions of Sámabhala there are 12,000,000 cities, in consequence of which 96,000,000 of cities cover the ontire empire. The Enropean scholars of Northern Buddhism are inclined to identify Sámabhala with Europe, making London (tho Wostern) Kalápa.

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Sapon Chenpo was emp-boarer and minister to the Tashi Lama; ho was during the Regency of Chanjo Knsho second in rank at the court of Tashi Lhunpo.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, p. 268.

<sup>4</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, p. 138, note.

“of the Ganges will probably tend to remove these strong prepossessions  
 “against the climate of Bengal, and to produce an intercourse with the  
 “northern nations. The safe return of the people whom the Lama  
 “proposes to send next winter to visit the holy places in Bengal will  
 “serve to inspire their countrymen with confidence; the fondness to  
 “the Tibetans for every thing strange or curious, strengthened by reli-  
 “gion, will probably lead many others to undertake so meritorious  
 “a journey; and these pilgrimages, like the Hajj at Mekkah, may in  
 “time open a considerable mart for the commodities of Bengal.”<sup>1</sup>

Warren Hastings, apprised of the Lama's wish by his direct communication, and urged by Mr. Bogle as to the paramount necessity of complying with it, issued the necessary orders under which a piece of land was purchased and given to the Tashi Lama, and the construction of a Buddhist temple was commenced under the direction of Mr. Bogle, who had been previously trusted by the Lama with a considerable remittance in money. As soon as it was completed, Hastings wrote thus on the subject to the Lama, who had previously sent images to be deposited in it—“By the blessing of God it will be the means of making your name known in this country, and of strengthening the friendship which is between us, and you will consider it as a mark of the confidence and regard which I bear to you.”<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Markham discovered a note on the manuscript of Mr. Bogle which he supposes to be in the handwriting of A. Dalrymple, Esq. It records some of the above facts, and adds that “people from Tibet and Bhutan constantly resorted to it “(Bhot Mandir)” during the time for which my knowledge reaches.”<sup>3</sup>

The connection of the British Government in India with the Bhot Bágán is now so far revealed as to make it clear that Warren Hastings at the earnest and repeated solicitations of one of the Grand Lamas of Tibet designated the Tashi Lama, and wishing to cultivate his friendship in the interest of Tibeto-Bengal trade, made choice, at his direction, of a little upwards of a hundred bighás of land (either originally rent-free or subsequently made such), purchased it, and in 1778 by the sanad No. 3 gave it to him formally, and actually to Púran Gir Gosain as their protegé and deserved favourite. It does not appear in the history of the missions how the 50 bighás of land, mentioned in the sanads Nos. 2 and 4, came to be granted to them in 1783,<sup>4</sup> but from

<sup>1</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, note 1, p. 138, note 1, p. 146, and Turner, *ibid.*, *Introd.*, p. xv.

<sup>3</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, note 1, page 138.

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted here that the Sanad No. 4 for 50 bighás was executed in favour of a Lama in 1783, but his name is identical with that of the then deceased Lama, who had, while living in 1778, received a grant of 100 bighás by sanad No.

an episode relating to the Bhoṭ Bágán, which will be noticed hereafter, it will be seen that Captain Turner refers to these 50 bighás, when he says in one of his communications to the Governor-General (John Macpherson) in 1786, that it "is a part of the land situated on the western bank of the river, opposite to Calcutta, which was formerly granted, under a sunnud of this government, to Teshoo Lama, for the foundation of a place of worship, and as a resort for those pilgrims of his nation, who might occasionally make visits to the consecrated Ganges."<sup>1</sup> He also in the same paper describes the whole as Púran "Gir's little territory."

History then corroborates the statements in the sanads that the total area of the Bhoṭ Bágán is a trifle upwards of 150 bighás, and shows that the object of the grant was fully carried out by the liberality of the Lama, the amount of whose remittance, received by Mr. Bogle for the construction of the temple and dwelling, though not traceable now, is stated to have been 'considerable,' and hence the structures were no doubt originally commensurate with the large expenditure that had been incurred on account of them. There were also guest-houses, (as the traditions of the place confirm), in which people from Tibet, some of whom were important enough to have been introduced to Warren Hastings, were lodged. The building that is now seen, with partial reconstruction of some ruined portions, must be the remains of what was once of much larger dimension and extent.<sup>2</sup>

Of the grantees whose names the sanads mention, one is the Lama, the other Púran Gir Gosain. The title of the former, as given in the Persian, and as already set forth, is *Teshí Lámah Panchan Ardání Bak-deo Panchan*, which I think would be correctly *Tashi Lama Panchan Erteni Vákya Deva*, meaning "the Tashi Lama Paṇḍita, the gem of great Paṇḍitas, Vákya-deva (lord of speech.)" It was thus for the first and last time in the annals of Tibet and Buddhism and of British India, that an *Avatár*, the living divinity, who from his palace on the highest regions where man can dwell, exercises his hierarchical sway over the largest extent of territories in the world, condescended to accept sanads from the representative of the British Power in India and to become his Jagírdár a hundred and twenty years ago! The personage who gave the kindest reception to Mr. Bogle and formed with him a real friendship,

2. This anomaly may be explained by the fact that it is not the name of a person, but the official designation that is mentioned in both the sanads.

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, p. 432.

<sup>2</sup> The Bhoṭ Bágán or rather Bhoṭ Mandir in fact was constituted a *maṭh* in which character it is perhaps the only one besides that of the celebrated Tarkośwar, in Bengal.

and who was in fact the formal assignee of the Bhoṭ Bágán land, is described by the latter as having been forty years of age, and of low stature, fairer than an ordinary Tibetan with jet-black hair, and eyes small and black. He could speak Hindústání tolerably. His disposition was open, candid, and generous, and merry and entertaining in his conversation. Says Mr. Boglo, "I endeavoured to find out, in his character, those defects which are inseparable from humanity, but he is so universally beloved that I had no success, and not a man could find in his heart to speak ill of him."<sup>1</sup> He remarks elsewhere, that the Lama's thirst for knowledge was insatiable. The other assignee's name in the sanads appears in Persian as Púran Gir, and in the Bengali inscription on the tomb-house door-top in the Bhoṭ Bágán as Purán Giri Mahanta.

The next point of inquiry is, how under the influence of Buddhism, a religion so well-known to be antagonistic in its main tenets to Hinduism as derived from the Vedas and Puráṇas—representatives of Hindú and Buddhist mythology are found mixed up in the Bhoṭ Mandir ?

In the sixth century before the Christian era Buddhism was founded in India; three centuries later it became the state religion of the country, and in the early part of the fourth century before the same era, it was introduced into Ceylon where it is believed to have been preserved in its purest state, but as missionaries began to spread it in different countries out of India, great departures from the original institution began to take place. It was accepted in China, at the commencement of the era, and it reached Tibet,<sup>2</sup> in the beginning of the seventh century through the influence of a Chinese princess. It came from China and India in two mixed streams; from the former country flowing through successive beds of old religions and indigenous philosophy, and from the latter, as from its main source, it came in continuous currents through translations and retranslations of its hagiology, and through Puránic and Tántric literature under the teachings of the Bráhmans, and from both weighted with exhaustless legends since the days of Sakyamuni. Among the holy books imported into Tibet from India are mentioned the Tantras in twenty-two volumes. According to the commentary on the Káalachakra Tantra, after Buddha's death "the compilers *writing* in three books the three vehicles (or works on

<sup>1</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> "It is said that a native king established the seat of Government at Lhasa in 617 A. D.; that he married a Chinese princess of the Buddhist persuasion, and that he sent his minister to India, who returned with the great body of truth contained in the Buddhist canonical Scriptures, framed the Tibetan alphabet from the Devanagari of India, and commenced the translation of the canon from Sanskrit into the language of the country. Markham, *ibid.*, pp. xlv, xlvi.



“three fold principles), they expressed all the three true repositories of “Sutra, of Tathagata, in his language. The Prajñyá-páramitá and the “Mantras in Sanscrit; the several sorts of Tantras in several languages, “Sanskrit, Pracrit, Apabhrañsha, in that of the mountaineers, and all “sorts of mlechchhas. Accordingly all the three Vehicles (yánam) in “Tibet were written in the Tibetan language.”<sup>1</sup> Csoma Kőrösi describes four different systems of Buddhism derived from India.

Mahámáyá<sup>2</sup>, a revered name in Hindú mythology, and specially in the Śakti doctrine, is also the name of the mother of Buddha, and as such, around it have accumulated legendary accretions, which, in Tibet, have greatly predominated. The incarnation of the Grand Lamas, though it may at first appear, in its temporal aspect, peculiar to Tibet, is in its essence the widely accepted doctrine of metempsychosis in Hindú mythology and philosophy.

Besides the circumstance of the import of Hindú Śástras of different periods into Tibet, its very situation in the midst of mountains and lofty peaks, sources of great rivers and springs, and lakes held equally sacred by the Hindús and Buddhists, has, from the remotest times, rendered it the common meeting ground of pilgrims of both faiths, not to mention the frequency of such meetings between the mountaineers and the people of the plains bent upon mercantile errands, whereby a blending of the two religions became inevitable.

The history of the missions, moreover, brings out striking proofs of such blending. The very first thing, at every stage of their journeys from the *duárs*<sup>3</sup> of Bhutan up to the mountain terraces, to Tashi Lhunpo, which the two envoys Bogle and Turner marked, was the very great respect paid by the people and the chiefs to the Gosains and Sannyásis, the Gelongs,<sup>4</sup> and even Faqírs.<sup>5</sup> They both saw in the palace of the Lama, in the temples and monasteries, and in other places, idols and church services, to confirm them in the belief that Tibetan Buddhism was intimately connected with many important phases of mediæval and modern Hinduism. Says Begle “The religion of the Lamas is somewhat connected with that of the Hindus, and many of their deities are “the same, the Shaster is translated into their language; and they hold

<sup>1</sup> Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 188-189.

<sup>2</sup> Mahámáyá. In one of the Játakas there is a legend that king Sanja became Siddhodana, the father of Gotama Buddha; the queen Phusatí became Mahámáyá Deví, his mother. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 118, 133.

<sup>3</sup> *Duárs* from Sanskrit *dvára*, door, gate.

<sup>4</sup> Gelong, i. e., *dGe-slong*, a monk.

<sup>5</sup> *Faqírs*. Though applied to Muhammadan mendicants, the term is loosely applied to mendicants of all religions.

“in veneration the holy places of Hindustan.” In the gallery of the Tashi Lhunpo palace he saw, among others, the image of the god of war; probably it was that of Kártikeya. In speaking to him on one occasion on the subject of trade, the Tashi Lama said that “the Lama had temples “in Benares, Gaya, somewhere in Purneah and at several other places; “that their priests used to travel there to study the Shaster and the “religion of the Brahmans; and after remaining there ten, twenty, or “thirty years, returned to Tibet communicating their knowledge to “their countrymen, and thereby gaining great reputation; that about “eight hundred years ago Bengal was invaded and conquered by the “Mussulmans, who destroyed and pillaged the temples and plundered “the people, so that such as escaped returned to their mountains along “with some Brahmans who fled from the persecutions; since which “time the inhabitants of Tibet have had little connection with Bengal “or the southern countries.” In a conversation turning specially on religion, the Lama pointed out the connection between his faith and that of the Bráhmaṇ, said, the Tibetans worshipped the three Hindú gods Brahmá, Vishṇu and Śiva, but not their inferior deities.<sup>1</sup> These three names symbolically express the three attributes of the deity as comprehended in the Vedic holy syllable *Om*, but the three emblems *Om Han Hoong* which Bogle saw on three round brass plates on the front of the Tashi Rabgya palace, are said to refer to Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.

Turner, when speaking of the places of pilgrimage in India which Tibetans frequented, says “Gungasaugor (Gangá ságara) an uninhabited “island situated at the confluence of the Ganges with the sea, and the “pagoda of Juggernath (Jagannátha) on the coast of Orissa, are also “deemed of equal sanctity.” He notices also the practice of pilgrimage by proxy—he had heard the late Tashi Lama having by his agents pilgrimized to Kási, Prayága, Gangá Ságar, and Jaggannáth Purí. Among the assemblage of gods he saw in Tibet, he mentions the Hindú deities, Durgá and Kálí, Gaṇeśa and Kártikeya. He refers elsewhere to a Bhutanese Durgá Pújá. Thus cumulative proof is found to justify Tibeto-Buddhism, allowing Buddhistic and Hindú idols to be worshipped in the same temple, as it is seen in the Bhoṭ Mandir.

The public services of Púran Gir commenced, so far as records show, when as a young Sannyási, not more than perhaps twenty-five years old, he received from the Tashi Lama, the famous letter of mediation on behalf of Depa Shidar of Bhutan, and with a single Tibetan companion of the name of Paima, came down the mountain heights, and “ventured “to encounter the burning atmosphere of Bengal” towards the end of March 1774.

<sup>1</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, pp. 72, 142.

We see in our mind's eye this personage in his ascetic garb with *danda* and *kamañḍalu* in his hands, and with his tiger skin flung on his shoulders, ushered into the saloon of our Government House, and introduced to the first Governor-General as the holy envoy from the Grand Lama. He presents his credentials to him, and lays before him the Lama's presents, which included "talents of gold and silver, burses of gold dust, and bags of "genuine musk." Long and searching were the inquiries which were made by the inquisitive Mr. Hastings, and the answers he received were most satisfactory and suggestive, and led to the mission of Mr. Bogle. When Púran Gir accompanied Mr. Bogle on this mission, his services were found of immense value, and almost indispensable at every important stage of the journey. At Tashi Chhoijang, while the mission waited to receive the Lama's permission to proceed to Tibet, Chinese intrigue and jealousy at Lhasa, operating at the Tashi Lhunpo Court, threatened to cut short the progress of the deputation. The Tashi Lama had written letters to Mr. Hastings, to Mr. Bogle, and to Púran Gir, which were received by the Deb Rája. In the two former, the addressees were informed that "his (the Lama's) country being subject to the Emperor of China, whose order it is that he shall admit no Moghul, Hindustani, Patan or Fringy, he is without remedy, and China being at the distance of a year's journey, prevents his writing to the Emperor, for permission, and desires me therefore to return to Calcutta."<sup>1</sup> The communication to Púran Gir again informed him that he (the Lama) wished to postpone Mr. Bogle's visit to Tibet on account of small-pox breaking out there. Suspecting these to be mere pretences to cover some real cause of aversion on the part of the Lama to see him, Mr. Bogle now almost in despair turned towards our Gosain Púran, and says he, "In this situation all my hopes of seeing Teshu Lama were chiefly founded on the Gosain. As my journey had been undertaken upon his assurances, he was engaged in honour to see it accomplished, and I endeavoured to strengthen this principle by powerful motives. While he remained at Tassisudon (Tashi Chhoijang), he could be of no service, and I readily consented to his proceeding to the Lama."<sup>2</sup>

The noble Gosain was keenly alive to a true sense of honour; he was much trusted by the Lama, and his words carried weight. He explained to him the true state of things, and disabused his mind of wrong impressions against the English, and at his suggestion the Tashi Lama wrote to the Dalai Lama's Minister, drawing his attention to the courtesy and high-mindedness of the Feringis in their dealings with the defeated Depa Shidar in compliance with his request, and warning him of the consequence of refusing permission to the admittance of the mission.

<sup>1</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, p. 46.

The permission was granted and forwarded to Mr. Bogle through the Deb Rája. Not content with being instrumental in obtaining passports, he came down to meet the mission in their journey up, and joining them at Giansu, conducted them at once to the Lama's Tashi Rabgya palæe.

During the whole period of Mr. Bogle's sojourn in Tibet, Púran Gir was not only his cicerone, interpreter, and adviser, but he was unremitting in his endeavours to establish a friendly disposition in the mind of the Tashi Lama towards the British Government, and to bring about that intimacy which grew up between these personages. Ho was the constant referée of both on various matters of importance, and often cited by them as a witness in respect of the personal dealings of each relating to the mission on any points in the administrations of Tibet and Bengal. Bogle asking him to say how tolerant of religious matters, and how successful in promoting security of life and property was the Government of Hastings, and the Lama inviting him to testify how peace-loving and quiet were his people, and how grateful were his sentiments towards Mr. Hastings for his ready compliance with his request, of whom he said "ho (Mr. Hastings) has made him very happy, and "has done a very pious action. My servants (among whom was "Púran Gir) who went to Calcutta were only little men, and the kind "reception they had from the Governor I consider as another mark of "his friendship."<sup>1</sup>

It has been already stated that the contemplated second mission to Tibet under Mr. Bogle in 1779 was prevented by the departure of the Tashi Lama at the time to Peking, and by the death of Bogle himself in 1781, and that Púran Gir Gosain had, at the instance of the Government of Bengal, accompanied the Lama to China.

He showed his powers of observation by taking notes of every important event in the journey of the Lama, of his interview with the Emperor and of his reception. He actually wrote out a graphic account of all this. Who translated it is not known, but a translation was with Mr. Hastings from whom, through various channels, Mr. A. Dalrymple obtained it, and published it in the *Oriental Repertory*. It is most interesting and of special value in connection with the present subject, it, or rather its original, being the literary production of our versatile Gosain. Among many facts contained in it, those that should be noted here are:—the extraordinary veneration and esteem which the Chinese Emperor exhibited towards the Lama in his repeated treaties, whereby he pressed him to come to China on his having at first declined to go there; in the grand and expensive preparations that were made throughout the entire course of a long and slow journey, and in the assiduous

<sup>1</sup> Markham, *ibid.*, p. 136.

and respectful attentions shown him during his sojourn in Peking, where, on his arrival, he was seated on the highest cushion on the imperial throne on the right side of the Emperor; the proceedings of the spiritual initiation through the Lama's whispering of the *mantra* or sacred text into the Emperor's ear after the Hindú fashion in the presence of Changya guru,<sup>1</sup> and the particular interview in which the good Tashi Lama, true to his word, informed the Emperor that "in the country of Hindústán, which lies on the borders of my country, there resides a great prince or ruler for whom I have the greatest friendship. I wish you should now regard him also, and if you will write him a letter of friendship and receive his in return, it will afford me great pleasure, as I wish you should be known to each other, and that a friendly communication should, in future, subsist between you."

The Emperor, on hearing this request from the much venerated Lama, replied that it was a very small one indeed, "but that this or any thing else he desired, should be complied with. He continued to inquire of the Lama what that Prince or Governor's name was, the extent of the country he ruled over and the number of forces &c." At this stage the Lama sent for his confidential Púran Gir, presented him before his Celestial Majesty, and desired him to answer the inquiries of the Emperor regarding the Governor of Hindústán "as (he) the writer<sup>2</sup> had often been in his country. The writer "then informed him that the Governor of Hindústán was called Mr. Hastings, that the extent of the country he governed was not near equal to that of China, but superior to any other he knew, and that the troops of that country were upwards of three lacks of horsemen."<sup>3</sup>

On another occasion the Lama in the presence of Púran Gir reminded the Emperor that "he had some time before mentioned to him a prince or governor of Hindústán, called Mr. Hastings, with whom he (the Lama) held strict friendship, and repeated his wish that the Emperor should know him and hold friendly intercourse with him also by writing to him and receiving his friendly answers. Much more was said by the Lama on this subject, to all of which the Emperor replied, that he could only assure the Lama, he joined most heartily with him in what he wished, as it would give him much pleasure to know and correspond with the Governor of Hindústán, his friend; and to convince him of his sincerity, he would, if the Lama desired it, cause a letter immediately to be written to the Governor in such

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese high priest.

<sup>2</sup> Púran does not speak of himself in the first person but as 'the writer.'

<sup>3</sup> Oriental Repository, VII, pp. 145—164.

“terms as the Lama should dictate, or if the Lama thought, it would be more effectual towards establishing the friendship, he wished that the letter should be in readiness when the Lama took his departure from China, and that he should take it with him, and have the care of forwarding it, in such manner as he thought best, to the Governor of Hindústán. The latter mode the Lama made choice of, and expressed much satisfaction.”

It was destined, however, that all this friendly endeavour on the very eve of bearing fruit should be frustrated, for the Lama was seized, as elsewhere stated, with small-pox, about which he had forebodings before he left Tashi Lhunpo, and in fact had written to the Emperor as one of his apprehensions which disinclined him to go to China. Of this disease the Lama died on the evening of the 12th November 1780 as he sat at prayer. Púran Gir, whom the Lama in his dying hour had sent for and conversed with, describes his death “to have been remarkably tranquil.”

The Emperor who, on receipt of the sad news, had come to see the dead body still remaining in a sitting posture through the help of pillows, was moved to tears.<sup>1</sup> In that position it was put into a coffin, then into a large temple-shaped receptacle of pure gold, with an outer covering of copper, and was sent in great procession to Tashi Lhunpo, under the charge of the departed Lama's brother, to whom the Emperor said that “he trusted to the Almighty soon to hear of his arrival there, but above all other things he would impatiently long to hear of the *Lama's regeneration*,” which it was his special request strictly to inform him of.

Púran Gir accompanied this procession, and saw the gold eased earthly tenement of the Lama deposited in a mausoleum in Tashi Lhunpo, while the Buddha world in the north remained expectant for the appearance of an infant, vivified by the departed spirit of the Tashi Lama to be elected his successor.

The Chinese Emperor Kuen-lung's proceedings with reference to the Lama closed with a letter which he addressed to the Dalai Lama, informing him of his death, and touchingly alluding to the foreboding which had at first disinclined him to visit China.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The affecting scene described by Púran Gir, when the Chinese Emperor was shedding tears at the bedside of the dying Tashi Lama, bears some resemblance to the great Akbar repairing with his *Hakim* to the house of his favourite Faizi the celebrated poet and scholar, when he found him breathing his last, throwing away his head gear as a mark of great sorrow and bitterly uttering an extemporised mourning verse.

<sup>2</sup> A translation of this letter by M. Amiot, a missionary, is also published in the *Or. Rep.* vii, p. 273. Mr. Amiot had previously communicated information to

The Regent<sup>1</sup> above named as well as the minister to the late Lama Soipon Chenpo, in two very curious letters, conveyed to Warren Hastings the melancholy intelligence of the death of the Lama at Peking, expressing at the same time a hope for the speedy incarnation of his soul. In both these letters our Púran Gir is often and often mentioned with expressions of great confidence in his character and ability. The Soipon Chenpo writes—"From the relation of Púran Gir inform yourself of those things which are past, and of those which are present, and of those things which are to come to pass," and the Regent after giving a brief account of the late Tashi Lama's visit to China and his melancholy fate and funeral, says, "Poorungbeer Gosein arrived here in the year 1193, after the departure of the Lama towards China and two letters, and nine strings of pearls, &c. &c. arrived safe" \* \* "I have communicated other matters, and other things, to the faithful Poorungbeer by whom you will be informed of them. In compliance with your wishes, you will permit him to remain under the shadow of your protection, and favour him with such marks of your kindness, as may enable him to pass his days in returning thanks for your goodness.<sup>2</sup>

There is, in the last letter, allusion in two places to some "village of the Raja" in respect of which Hastings had shown the Lama some favour and likewise with reference to "the certain portion of land and the *mahsool* thereon and in settling the disputes appertaining thereto." It is obvious that the allusions refer to the encroachment on the Bhot Bágún to be noticed further on. The Regent also applies for the grant of "a lot of land<sup>3</sup> in the noble city of Calcutta, on the bank of the river." Concerning this affair says he, "I have spoken fully and particularly to the Gosein Poorungbeer, and he will make known to you the whole thereof, and you will comply with my request."

Púran Gir, when he accompanied Captain Turner to Tibet, rendered services in promoting the object of the mission as valuable as in the case of Mr. Bogle, and the Regent reposed in him the same confidence as had been done by the deceased Tashi Lama; and though the Captain does not, in his report and narrative, refer to him as often as his prede-

a Paris Journal of the imperial preparation for the celebration of a ceremony on the seventeenth birthday of the Emperor, to which the *Pan-tchan Erteni*, as he calls him, was invited. The Emperor writes in the above letter, "Although I am well aware that *to come and to go are but as the same thing to the Panchan Erteni*, yet when I reflect &c."

<sup>1</sup> The Regent's letter has already been incidentally noticed.

<sup>2</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, Ap., pp. 449—456.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to have been a fresh request for land within the city of Calcutta. It is not known how it was dealt with.

essor did, he always speaks of him with great appreciation, calls him a Hindú Gosain, a kind of religious hermit or pilgrim, and says, “ Motives of religious duty, which, among the order of Goseins more specially, attaches peculiar respect to every kind and degree of penance, having occasionally led Poorungheer among the different tribes of Tartars, he had acquired, during his residence amongst them, a very competent knowledge of their manners, and of their language, which he spoke with apparent ease; and by the exemplary regularity of conduct he had uniformly preserved in his intercourse with the inhabitants of these regions, I found that he had strongly recommended himself to their notice, and obtained the favour of all their chiefs.”<sup>1</sup> And again that he as well as the Tibetan Panima “ were men of acute understanding and ready information, and from them much knowledge was collected both of the country from which they came, and of the way which led to it.”

It was a grand and momentous occasion when the Bengal Mission arrived in Tibet. It was the celebration of a festival on the Tashi Lama's (a Boddhisatwa) having sacrificed his Buddhahood for the behoof of his devotees and reappeared in the flesh. There was a mighty stir and flutter throughout the Buddha domains, extending on the one hand to China and Tartary, and on the other to Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal. Magnificent preparations, calculated to produce a spectacular effect, were made to remove the infant Lama from his house in the Painon valley to the monastery of Tharpaling for his training. Turner sought, through the mediation of Púran Gir, to obtain for him admittance into the arena of the imposing ceremony, but the assiduous Gosain failed in his endeavour. Chinese jealousy of strangers was apprehended, and the Regent's and Soipon Chenpo's conversation on a former occasion explained this, when they cited Púran Gir as witness to “ the anxiety they had laboured under, in contriving to conduct ” the Captain to Tashi Lhunpo. Captain Turner was perfectly satisfied as to the genuineness of this dread of Chinese influence, though this nation deify the Lama. He says in the recital of their embarrassments, “ though they are averse to own any immediate dependance upon the Chinese, I could plainly trace the greatest awe of the Emperor of China, of his officers stationed at the court of Lassa styled Umbas, as well as of the Jasoos, and the Raja of that place, Gesnb Rimbechay<sup>2</sup> who had usurped even,

<sup>1</sup> Turner; *ibid.*, p. 38, note.

<sup>2</sup> Properly Gyotshab Rinpoche (also called Sadag for which Turner finds no exact English equivalent, but supposes it to mean Primo minister and something more, *ibid.*, p. 245) is a temporal sovereign who, during the minority of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa, presides as the Regent. As this minority is of frequent occurrence, the



“from the hands of the Dalai Lama, the greatest portion of his temporal power.”

The Rogent and the minister, however, soon after the retirement of the Chinese troops and officers, who had been sent by the Emperor to escort the infant Lama to the monastery, allowed Captain Turner to obtain, through the Gosain's endeavour, a ready compliance with such requests as he made from time to time. He was admitted into the monasteries, and allowed to enter the mausoleum of the late Tashi Lama, the structure, adornments, and riches of which, and the ceremonies in which, he describes with great circumstantiality. He saw depicted, upon the pedestal, the imperial Chinese dragon—a conspicuous indication of the suzerainty of this nation. Under the portico of the mausoleum, sat a priest reading a book<sup>1</sup> with the greatest attention, indifferent to what was going around; there were others to relieve him, it being their duty to pray perpetually upon the same spot, and keep alive the sacred fire<sup>2</sup> that burns before the shrine. The departed Tashi Lama, whose corpse cased in gold was deposited at the base of the pyramidal tomb, in an upright sitting devotional attitude, was represented on the top in an effigy of gold. Púran Gir Gosain and others “prostrated themselves nine times with devout humility.” The Captain saw also every religious edifice adorned with the head of the lion evincing the Tibetan veneration for the animal.

Towards the commencement of December, when, on the return journey, the deputation came to the foot of the hill on which was situated the Tharpaling monastery already noticed, in which the infant Lama, then eighteen months old had been lodged for education, Captain Turner was allowed to visit this Lama, whom he found seated in great form upon his throne with his parents on each side. The child turned towards a crowd of visitors that came to worship him, “and received them all with a cheerful look of complacency.” The father, among other things said, that the Lama rose earlier than usual, “because the English gentlemen were arrived, and he could not sleep.” “During the time we were in the room,” says the Captain, “I observed that “the Lama's eyes were scarcely ever turned from us, and when our “cups were empty of tea, he appeared uneasy, \* \* \* until “they were filled again. He took some burnt sugar out of a golden cup,

Gosab in fact is considered as the real sovereign, the Dalai on coming to years of maturity often tries to shake off the control of the ambitious Gosabs, but the latter succeed by foul means to retain power.

<sup>1</sup> Like the reading of the *Chandi* in the Hindú shrines; but the Tibetan practice of unremitting recitation is unique.

<sup>2</sup> The preservation of the sacred fire is another old Hindú religious practice adopted by the Tibetans.

“containing some confectionary, and, stretching out his arm, made a motion to his attendant, to give them to me. \* \* \* \* \*

“I found myself, though visiting an infant, under the necessity of saying something; for it was hinted to me, that notwithstanding he is unable to reply, it is not to be inferred that he cannot understand.” Ho, the Captain, then made a brief speech, beginning with an allusion to his (the Lama’s) death in China and happy regeneration, and to the joy of the Governor-General at this last auspicious event, and ending with a request for an extensive communication between his votaries and the dependants of the British Nation. “The little creature turned,” writes Captain Turner, “looking stedfastly towards me, with the appearance of much attention while I spoke, and nodded with repeated but slow movements of the head, as though he understood and approved every word, but could not utter a reply. \* \* \*

“His whole attention was directed to us; he was silent and sedate, never once looking towards his parents; \* \* \* his behaviour, on this occasion, appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any external action, or sign of authority. \* \* \*

“Ho made the most expressive signs, and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum. \* \* \* Ho had an animated expression of countenance; altogether, I thought him one of the handsomest children I had ever seen.” When a watch on another visit was presented to him, “he admired it, but with gravity and without any childish emotion.”<sup>1</sup>

The work performed by Púran Gir, when he himself as envoy of the Governor-General presented himself before the Regent of the minor Tashi Lama, has already been briefly noticed. In his journey through Bhutan, he received from the subjects of the Deb Rája the most ample and voluntary assistance to the frontier of his territory, and experienced upon the borders of Tibet such an unusually inclement weather by a heavy fall of snow as to leave him no doubt of his falling a victim to it, but an early change taking place, the party were enabled to advance. The mission reached Tashi Lhunpo on the 8th May, and Púran Gir immediately presented himself at the Durbar of the Chanjo Kusho, Panchhen Ertini Nomankhan, and explained the object of his mission which was the same as the previous ones. The Gosain received a most favourable reception, as duo to one in whom the late Lama, the Regent himself and the Governor-General of India reposed the utmost confidence and whom the people of Tibet and Bhutan venerated. He was introduced into the garden, where the young Lama<sup>2</sup> was then taking

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, p. 331-36.

<sup>2</sup> Then within his fourth year.

his recreation, attended by the Regent, his parents and others. Here he made his prostration, and showed other marks of veneration. The despatches were broken open by the Lama, who examined every article of the present brought to him, and regarded the Gosain with a very kind and significant look, talked to him in the Tibetan language, and gave his dismissal by laying his hand upon his head which he had previously uncovered for the purpose.

Púran Gir witnessed one of the grandest and most imposing ceremonies in Tibet, which was the removal of the child Lama from the Tharpaling monastery to that of Tashi Lhunpo, and his installation there on the throne of his predecessors. Here he saw ambassadors from China, the Dalai Lama himself from Lhasa, and deputies from many other countries, accompanied by numerous trains of attendants and officers, swelled by an unprecedented crowd of people whose devotion or the pleasure of sight-seeing had drawn thither, and he beheld with wonderment arrangements which were conducive to pomp and parade, grandeur and magnificence.

The Gosain had frequent interviews with the Regent and the Tibetan authorities at Tashi Lhunpo, who all assured him of their desire to encourage the commercial intercourse established under the auspices of the late Governor-General, and of the respect they entertained for the integrity of the character of the English nation, of which they had been convinced by intercourse with the agents of Warren Hastings, specially as the Regent said that "the views of the English tended to "no scheme of ambition, but were confined merely to objects of utility "and curiosity."

With Púran Gir's mission in 1785 ended the statesmanly and most wisely concerted proceedings of the first Governor-General of India, to open friendly and commercial relations between the Tibetan, Bhutanese and other Himalayan states and Central Asian regions on the one side, and the British Government and its subjects on the other—relations which received a rude shock under the Government of Lord Cornwallis, when he failed to realise the importance of promptitude of action in protecting the Tashi Lama's realm from the unprovoked and wanton invasion by the Gurkháli dynasty of Nepal, in 1792. The tardy measures which led to "the despatch of Captain Kirkpatrick, followed too late after the Chinese General Sund Fo had vindicated the honour of the Tashi Lama, and curbed the ambitious chief of Nepal by a crushing defeat of his army."

It will now be seen that while the establishment of Bhot Bágán and the despatch of the Tibet missions owe their origin remotely to the Gurkha invasion of Sikkim, followed by the Blutanese invasion of

Kuch Behar, in 1769, and the masterly and conciliatory policy of Warren Hastings; and proximately to the mysterious doctrine of Lama metempsychosis and the zealous and faithful service of a Sivite Sannyásí; the most audacious Gurkhálí invasion above alluded to, culminating in the sack of Tashi Lhunpo and the flight to Lhasa of the same Tashi Lama who as an infant had received the Turner and the Gosain missions, as well as the foresightless and the masterly inactive policy of the Cornwallis rule, are to be regarded as immediate causes of the final closure of the gates for British officials to the *Cis-* and *Trans-nivean* states. It was also within a short while subsequent to those events that in the Bhot Bágán the brave Gosain met his death at the hands of robbers, as the sequel of the narrative will show. The Gurkha invasions, therefore, of 1769 and 1792, should be remembered as the two mile-stones of very important occurrences in the history of British India.

The important features of the extraordinary character of Púran Gir, the co-assignee of the Tashi Lama, have been gleaned from the history of the missions to Tibet. He possessed remarkable intelligence and wisdom, a fund of inexhaustible energy, a mastery of many languages including Tibetan and Mongolian, a wide range of experience acquired by travel in and out of India, a practical insight into all the commercial relations of Asia of which Tibet formed the heart, and enjoyed and deserved a reputation for piety and integrity which made him the trusted agent of the Tashi Lhunpo authorities and the Bengal Government.

Of the personal history of this remarkable and extraordinary Sannyásí, unfortunately there exists no record; whatever was known of him, has, like that of most of our illustrious countrymen, passed into oblivion. It is a happy thing that so many particulars and incidents connected with his public life and such abundant testimony to his character, capacity and comprehensive knowledge of the important affairs of the time, have been preserved in the pages of Markham's "Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet"—a narrative the materials of which were traced by the author in the possession of private individuals, and were not found in the public records of Government; and in the Reports of Captain Turner as well as of the Gosain himself. The statement of the Gosain was taken down by Turner and submitted to the Governor-General Macpherson, and this forms an annexure of the Report. But even such information as is here given from these works is of a meagre character, and is so promiscuously scattered rather as digressive matter that it had to be collected with great circumspection.

Among the papers which were kindly delivered to me by Umrao

Gir, the present Mahanta of Bhot Bágán, is, as already stated, a passport<sup>1</sup> in Tibetan, which had been given to Púran Gir by the Tashi Lama for his pilgrimage to the celebrated sacred Lake of Mana Sarovara, the source of the Sutlej, 800 miles from Lhasa. This document shows what great regard and respect the Lama had for our Gosain, for whose comfort and convenience most minute injunctions were given in it. A facsimile of the text (see Plate II) with a translation by Bábú Sarat Chandra Dás is annexed.

Some particulars about the Gosain have been gathered from the statements of the said Mahanta. According to him Púran was a Bráhmaṇa by caste, though as a *Daṇḍí*<sup>2</sup> he had cast off his sacrificial thread. His title Gir (or Giri) shows he was a follower of Śankarácárya's teachings and one of the *Daśanámí daṇḍís*, and must have been initiated at the *Jyotí maṭh*. In the passport the Tashi Lama describes him as an *Áchárya*. He was a young man when he went to Tibet as a pilgrim, he had fair features, and was tall, strong and sinewy. His usual dress consisted of the Sannyási's *kaupína*, with a short rod ochre-dyed piece of cloth wrapped round his loins, and a tiger skin thrown over his shoulders, but on certain public occasions he wore a kind of toga, and covered his head with a turban. He was also a good rider, as testified to by Messrs. Bogle and Turner, with whom he rode races on the Himalayan plateau. His habits were simple and his heart pure, he took a single spare meal, and cooked his own food consisting of rice and vegetables only. He never ate before feeding his guests. Pious men of all sects frequented his monastery, and many of them lodged there. He used to be entrusted with valuable commodities, chiefly gold, for sale in Bengal, and he had a concern of his own also, but he never amassed any fortune, which he could easily have done, but he bestowed what he gained in large and open-handed charities. It was the special wish of the Lama that in the

<sup>1</sup> The passport granted to Púran Gir by the Tashi Lama, from Tashi Lhunpo, may be compared with the one granted to the Dalai Lama, from Lhasa, to an Armenian in 1688, published with a translation by Csoma de Kőrös in the 2nd volume of this Journal. Though indeed they are for different purposes. It may be here stated in passing that the seal attached to Púran Gir's passport is the oval signet seal of the Tashi Lama, and that on the Armenian's passport is a square seal of the Dalai Lama. If the engraving in the latter had been shown, there would have been an opportunity of comparing it with the seals on the Persian sanads given to Púran Gir. Púran Gir is described in the passport as an *Áchárya*.

<sup>2</sup> *Daṇḍí*, *lit.* one who carries a *daṇḍa* in his hand. Though this term applies generally to a mendicant carrying a staff, it is the peculiar appellation of a mendicant of that particular order which follows the teachings of Śankarácárya.

<sup>3</sup> *Kaupína* is a strip of cloth worn crosswise between the thighs to cover the privities.

Bhoṭ Bágán monastery Tibetans, who resorted to places of pilgrimage in Bengal and its neighbourhood, should meet with Púran Gir's hospitality. Captain Turner himself gives an instance of a tall, emaciated Sannyási pilgrim from Tibet, whom he met in the streets of Calcutta, introduced to the Governor-General, and made over to Púran Gir to be lodged in the Bhoṭ Bágán during the period of his sojourn in Bengal. Mr. Dalrymple also, as alluded to elsewhere, testifies to such facts by his personal knowledge.

In speaking of Púran Gir's last mission it has already been stated that he returned to Bengal after its successful prosecution. Captain Turner, in his most valuable memorandum of information, which he gathered from the Gosain and which he submitted to Mr. Macpherson on the 6th February 1786, draws among other things, the attention of the Governor-General to the important facts which he ascertained with infinite satisfaction from the Gosain and says "I learn from the reports of Peerungher, the flourishing state of the lately projected scheme of trade; to promote which, he assures me, not anything has been wanting in facility of intercourse; that the adventurers, who had invested their property, had experienced perfect security in conducting their commerce, had carried their articles to an exceeding good market, and found the rate of exchange materially in their favour."<sup>1</sup>

When Púran Gir was away in Tibet on the Government service, he had left the Bhoṭ Bágán in charge of his *chela* or disciple Daljít Gir, but when he returned with despatches from the Tashi Lama, he found to his mortification that a portion of his, or the Lama's, property on the banks of the river had been invaded and taken possession of by a zamíndár. On the subject of this encroachment, the good Captain Turner thus put in a paragraph in the memorandum alluded to:—"the little territory his adopted *chela* was left in charge of, having during his absence been violently invaded by Raaj Chund, a neighbouring zemeendar, and to the amount of 50 begas forcibly taken out of his hands. Prevailed on by his earnest and repeated solicitation, I am induced to say for him, that in your justice and favour are his only hopes of relief from his embarrassments, and he humbly asks your protection in restoring and securing him in the possession of his invaded rights. The liberty of this intercession, I am confident to think, would be forgiven, were it not in favour of one who has rendered various useful services to this Government; but though of trivial importance, it affords also an authentic instance, of the encroaching disposition of inferior zemeendars. Yet another circumstance, it may not be improper to point out; that the ground alluded to, is a part of the land situated

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, p. 433.

“on the western bank of the river, opposite to Calcutta, which was formerly granted, under a *sunnu* of this Government to Teshoo Lama, for the foundation of a place of worship, and as a resort for those pilgrims of his nation, who might occasionally make visits to the consecrated Ganges.”<sup>1</sup>

It will be remembered that in one of the sanads already described, dated 11th February 1783, a portion of the 50 bighás of land, thereby granted to Púran Gir or the Lama, is stated to be situated within the property of Rájchand Rái. Now in the absence of Púran from his *math*, this Rájchand, believing perhaps he was dead and not recognising the title of his *cheli* to the property, seized not only the portion of land which no doubt had been purchased of him or his brother Rámlochan, but the other portions which, together with it, made up the 50 bighás mentioned in the sanad. It does not appear what was the result of Captain Turner's mediation for the restoration of the land; probably Púran regained possession of it.

Our Púran Gir Gosain, now between 1785 and 1786, settled down for good in his *demesne*, which, in his time, it is said, was exclusively and rigidly devoted to the purposes intended by the Lama. They were both religious and secular, that is, the encouragement of the Tibeto-Buddhist religion and the promotion of the interests of the Tibeto-Bengal trade. His little territory had numerous cottages all around for the accommodation of pilgrims and traders from Tibet, and he divided his time between devotion and the carrying out of mercantile projects, which latter, so far as he was concerned, he advanced to enable him to perform those acts of piety and charity, in which the Lama, his patron, and he took supreme pleasure.

He is said to have understood the esoteric principles of the *S'ákta Tantras* as well as those which, perhaps in a modified form, found their way into Tibet or were of indigenous origin there, and he adopted the ideas of the Vedánta philosophy, as represented in Saivism by Sankarácárya, to the *Giri* branch of whose school he belonged. He, moreover, was constituted an agent to conduct mercantile transactions in which regular traders as well as pilgrims from Tibet and Bhutan participated. With reference to the latter it is stated by Mr. Bogle and Turner, that Sannyásis used to be entrusted with “articles of great value but of little bulk and weight.” His principal agency business was directed to help the traders or their people in disposing of their wares and making purchases. The principal commodities,

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *ibid.*, pp. 431, 432.

which people from the various regions used to bring, were gold dust<sup>1</sup> in bambú barrels, musk, &c. ; and the goods they carried back to their countries consisted chiefly of cotton, Maldah cloth, broad-cloth, spices, sandalwood, indigo, amber, and various miscellaneous articles, such as knives, snuff boxes, &c

For about a decade since his final return from Tibet, Púran Gir Gosain lived happily, piously and usefully in the Bhoṭ Bágán, enjoying the pious veneration of all people who came into contact with him, and the high esteem and regard of the Bengal Government. The Governor-General, it is said, used to visit him at times in his maṭh.

But a terrible catastrophe soon happened which cut short his extraordinary career and the happy and useful life he was enjoying under almost the very shadow of the Government House. The fame of Bhoṭ Bágán, as a store-house of the richest gold, had spread far and wide. Dakoities, which in their terrible aspect, formed the sequel of the great famine known to our countrymen as the *manwantara* of '76, were then the order of the day. The ranks of the dakoits<sup>2</sup> were also swelled by roving bands of sannyásís, who in the guise of mendicants traversed different countries, and lost no opportunities of ravaging and plundering them. The official correspondence of the time is rife with statements regarding them, and projects for their suppression. It will be remembered that, in the treaty with the Deb Rája already noticed, there is an extradition clause regarding these sannyásís.

On an unlucky night a gang of dakoits, whether dakoits or hypocrite sannyásís who had perhaps experienced the hospitality of the Bhoṭ Bágán, it is not known, burst within its precincts and sacrilegiously entered the *maṭh* with the intention of plundering it; but our valiant Gosain, it is said, snatched a sword, kept the robbers at bay by its dexterous use, fought for a short while, and at last was overpowered and fell senseless, pierced with the thrust of a *sarkí* or bambú spear. The robbers took no further notice of him, and swept clean the temple and dwelling of whatever valuables could be found therein, and decamped as quickly as possible. The news of this calamity was promptly conveyed to the Governor-General, who lost no time to send a surgeon to help the poor Gosain, and if possible to bring him round, but all the arts of the physician were of no avail, and the victim of violence and perhaps treachery and ingratitude, after lingering for about thirty-seven hours, breathed his last, unfavourably commenting no doubt on his own statement to the Tashi Lama and Regent as

<sup>1</sup> It is said a *maund* of gold dust used to come from Tibet every year. This quantity at the rate of 16 Rs. a *told* would be worth 51,200 Rs.

<sup>2</sup> Dakoits, properly *dákait*, i. e., robbers.



to the undisturbed security of life and property under the British *rāj* at that time. This occurred most probably in the early part of 1795, the date of the consecration of the tomb being the 23rd Vaisákha of 1202, 3rd May 1795. At this time his age is said to have been not less than fifty years, a statement which harmonises with the fact, which Mr. Bogle has incidentally noticed in his narrative, that Púran Gir, when he first saw him, that is in 1774, was a young man.

Thus ended the life of the great Púran Gir Gosain, the Bhot Bágán mahant, the linguist, traveller, religionist, and merchant, the first and the only ambassador of the Tashi Lama sent to Bengal, the guide and material helper of the British missions to Tibet, the companion of the Lama in his journey to China, where in the court of Peking he stood before the Emperor, and perhaps in Chinese described to him the grandeur of the Ráj of Hindústán ruled by a great king of the name of Hastings Sahib who was solicitous to open a friendly and commercial intercourse between Bengal and Tibet and his empire, and lastly, the man who exhibited such strong and repeated instances of his ability, intelligence, intrepidity and faithfulness as to be appointed, by that keen-sighted statesman Warren Hastings, the sole envoy accredited to the court of Tashi Lhumpo in 1785.

One may be excused in indulging a hope that had this Gosain's life been prolonged, he would no doubt have succeeded, with officers of the style of Bogle, Turner and Hodgson, to open that desirable commercial intercourse between the Himalayan states generally, and specially the commerce-promoting, peace-loving and peace and knowledge-seeking Tibet, on the one hand, and the Indian provinces on the other, and saved that trouble, expense, and waste of energy which our Government, under one policy or other, is, up to this time, undergoing to attain that great object.

Daljit Gir Gosain mahant, the *chela* and successor of Púran Gir, formally reported the melancholy news of his death to the Government. Sharp was the enquiry and quick the vindication of justice that followed:—four dakoits expiated their guilt on the gallows, erected in the Bhot Bágán itself.

The pious Daljit lost no time in performing the funeral rites of his *guru* or spiritual teacher, whose corpse was laid in a coffin in a sitting posture, as was the case with the Tashi Lama's dead body, and interred in a place behind the main portion of the *mañh*. A *samádhi stambha* or tomb was raised over the grave with the already mentioned inscription in the Bengálí language and character, and the structure was crowned at the top with the phallus emblem of Mahádeva, into whose spirit, as the inscription describes, that of Púran Gir was absorbed. In

order to carry the account of Bhoṭ Bágán and Púran Gir Bhoṭ mahanta, down to the present time, I should say in passing, that the Lama, or rather the Regent, had requested Captain Turner to take with him to Bengal the old Suk Deo (Sukha Deva) Gosain, who was afraid to travel through Bhutau with his wealth accumulated by his forty years' mercantile journeys over various distant countries reaching to Siberia on the north. This old Gosain is said to have lived for a short time in the Bhoṭ Bágán monastery.

After Púran Gir's death, his successor Daljít Gir continued to be the head of the *maṭh* for nearly forty-three years, as his death is recorded on the said tomb to have happened on the 6th Mágha 1243 B. S. His place was taken by Kálí Gir Mahanta, who built one of the Śiva temples in the vicinity of the *maṭh* previously noticed, on the 15th Aświna 1254 B. S., and died on the 2nd Vaisákha 1264 B. S. One of the two present<sup>1</sup> Mahantas, Bilás Gir Gosain, having consecrated the said temple in the month of Vaisákha 1265 B. S., was installed on the *gaddí* of the *maṭh*. There was some litigation between him and another Gosain, named Umráo Gir, who, having established his claim, has become an associate Mahanta with equal rights and privileges.

The Bhoṭ Bágán has gradually lost its primitive character; for a long time since the murder of Púran Gir, and the plunder of the *maṭh*, the place became notorious as a nest of robbers and wicked people; guest houses fell into ruins, and hospitality and charity died away, a mere mummerly of unmeaning *púja* has been kept up, the lands have been leased away piecemeal in *maurúgi* and *mugarrari* tenure, and nothing but the *maṭh* now remains, enshrining grotesque and even obscene figures of Hindú and Tibeto-Buddhistic mythology, a solitary monument of the genius and policy of the first Governor-General of India, of the piety of the Tashi Lama, and of the Tibeto-Bengal trade which flourished centuries ago, and was restored, though in a stifled form, a century ago.

Before concluding this paper I am tempted to point to certain facts and make some observations, which the account of Bhoṭ Bágán and the story of Púran Gir Gosain suggest. In the first place, the history of the missions connected with these accounts unfolds the fact that Tibet, from time immemorial, has been the resort of merchants.

Tibet, in the days of Warren Hastings, was little known except to readers of the rare works containing accounts of the travellers and Capuchin Missionaries, whom curiosity, love of knowledge, or religious

<sup>1</sup> Bilása Gir Mahanta, who had been suffering from a lingering disease for some time, expired on the 28th February 1889, and was duly buried by his associate Umráo Gir Gosain, who has now become the sole mahanta of the *maṭh*.

zeal impelled to visit that place, and it is said by his faithful Boswell, Gleig, that he prepared himself by a study of some of these books to give proper instructions to the first mission under Mr. Bogle, as to how he should proceed, and what he should do. With an eagle's glance he ascertained what wealth the bleak regions on the summits of the lofty Himálaya could yield, and through his missions completed his knowledge of the trade and commerce, and of the most curious hierarchical form of government existing in the world that, with the aid of religion, minimises the dangers of an elective monarchy. His grand policy was to tap, by a really sincere and friendly method, the vast productive resources of that region, to link the trade of Bengal with those commercial arteries, which from Tibet as their heart, ramify down the Himalayan slopes, and extend to China and Seythia, and confines of Siberia; and well did he, with his reputed sagacity for selection, choose his officers, not despising the mendicant Gosain Púran Gir to make one of his ambassadors. He moved step by step, understood the difficulties of his friend, the Tashi Lama, inspired though the latter was with a natural and sincere desire to promote Tibeto-Bengal trade, in the face of Chinese opposition. He understood the people he was dealing with, an unambitious, peace-loving, peace-seeking race, bent upon promoting commercial prosperity, and in spite of repeated attempts by interested monopolisers and prejudiced Chinese, embracing Europeans with open arms, who by their learning, sincerity and ways of dealing captivated their hearts.

Great and most powerful are the ties which bind Tibet to Bengal; the religious associations, the traditions and remembrance of ancient commercial intercourse should attract the Tibetans to our country. If the policy of the first administrator of India had been only continuous, our Government could, by this time, have enjoyed its best results. A sensitive people like the Tibetans, where a disturbing object is rightly or wrongly apprehended, shrinks from contact, as the tortoise draws in its limbs under a similar instinctive fear. A statesmanship with tact, caution, delicacy and foresight, and guided by a knowledge of the political history, religion and customs of the country, cannot but serve to restore the old policy of the last century. Nor at times should native agency, about which Bogle and Hodgson say much, be despised. Even if sannyási agency be sought, there would be no difficulty perhaps to find men who, though not equal to Púran Gir and Púran Purí,<sup>1</sup> may be their not undeserving followers. We lately saw sannyásis,

<sup>1</sup> Parān Purí. Turner saw him in 1783 in the streets of Calcutta riding upon a Tangan horse from Bhutan. He was then forty years of age. Two Gosains attended him and assisted him in mounting and alighting from his horse, for his hands were

learned in the Śāstras, with an unquenching thirst for knowledge, in their mendicant dress, and with matted hair, orating cleverly in English in the midst of a large audience at the Town Hall, and at other places.

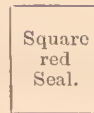
And cannot Bhoṭ Bágán or any other place be utilised to draw the affections of the Lama towards Bengal ?

I cannot resist the temptation of quoting here a kind of peroration and prayer of Mr. Boglo.

“Farowell ye honest and simple people ! May ye long enjoy that happiness which is denied to more polished nations, and while they are engaged in the endless pursuits of avarice and ambition, defonded by your barren mountains, may ye continue to live in peace and contentment, and know no want but those of nature.” And who would not say Amen !

#### APPENDIX.

##### Sanad, No. 1.<sup>1</sup>



مصدقیان مهمات حال و استقبال و چودھریان قانونگویمان و تعلقداران و رعایا  
 و مزارعان  
 دری باربک پور وغیرہ عملہ پرکنگہ بورو وغیرہ سرکار سانگام متعاقتہ چکلہ  
 ہوگلی مضاف صوبہ

immovably fixed over his head with the fingers locked into each other. “The circulation of blood seemed to have forsaken his arms, they were withered, void of “sensation and inflexible,” but he assured the Captain that he would recover their use in the following year when his penance would end. He is said to have been a Panjābī of the Kshatriya caste, he started “by crossing the Peninsula of India, “through Guzerat ; he then passed by Sarat to Bnssora, and thence to Constanti- “nople, from Turkey he went to Ispahan ; and sojourned so long among the different “Persian tribes, as to obtain a considerable knowledge of their language, in which “he conversed with tolerable ease. In his passage thence towards Russia, he fell in “with the Knsnaucs (hordes of Cossacks) upon the borders of the Caspian Sea, “where he narrowly escaped being condemned to perpetual slavery : at length he “was suffered to pass on, and reached Moscow ; he then travelled along the nor- “thern boundary of the Russian empire, and through Siberia arrived at Pekin in “China, from whence he came through Tibet, by the way of Teshoo Loomboo “and Nipal, down to Calcutta.” Turner, *ibid.*, p. 271.

<sup>1</sup> Of the two square seals on Sanads I and II, the red seal is larger than the black one. The former, which is the Grand Lama’s seal, contains a legend, in three perpendicular lines, in Lantschan (Nágari) characters, the exterior ones beings मं (man-

جنت البلاد بنگالہ بدانند موازی یکصد بیگہ و ہشت بسوہ اراضی کہ منجملہ آن شست و

شش بیگہ از موضع دری باربک پور پرگنہ بورو و سی و چہار بیگہ ہشت بسوہ از موضع

کہوسادی پرگنہ پایکان کہ بلب گنگ در یکجا واقع است نظر بر حق پرستی و حق بینی بمستجمع دانش و فرہنگ سالار حق پڑوہان بی ربورنگ مظہر کمالات حق بینی

پورن گیو گسائین در وجہ لاجراج بذابر احداث معبد و باغات من ابتدای سنہ ۱۱۸۵ یکہزار و یکصد و ہشتاد و پنج مقرر گشتہ کہ جایی عبادت و باغات احداث نمودہ

قبض و متصرف بودہ باشند باید کہ آنها خراج اراضی مذکورہ را معاف و مرفوع القلم دانستہ اخذ مالگذاری آن ننمایند و بوجہی من الوجوہ مزاحم و متعرض نباشند

و سند مجدد نطلبند درینباب تاکید مزید دانند بتاریخ دوازدهم ماہ جون سنہ ۱۷۷۸ انگریزی مطابق غرہ ماہہ اسادہ سنہ ۱۱۸۵ بنگلہ موافق شانزدهم شہر جمادی الاول

سنہ ۲۰ جلوس والا قلمی شد \*

No. 2.

Square  
red  
Seal.

Square  
black  
Seal.

منصدیان مہمات حال و استقبال و چودھریان و قانونگویان و تعلقداران و رعایا و

مزارعان دری باربک پور عملہ پرگنہ بورو سرکار سانگام متعلقہ چکلہ ہوگلی مضاف

سویہ جنت البلاد بنگالہ بدانند موازی پنچاسہ بیگہ اراضی در موضع باربک پور مذکور

کہ منجملہ آن نہ بیگہ ہفت بسوہ در تعلقہ مہاراجہ نبکش و بیست و نہ بیگہ در تعلقہ

راج چند رای و یازدہ بیگہ سیزدہ بسوہ در تعلقہ راجہ رام لوچن بلب گنگ

(gala), the medial, an illegible monogram. The latter is the Court seal of the Tashi Lama, containing an illegible legend in two perpendicular lines, in the square form of the ancient Mongolian character, called the Yugar, used in Mongolia in the 11th and 12th centuries A. D. In the upper margin of the red seal is inserted the sign of the *lingam*, in that of the black seal the mark 卍.

در یکجا واقع است نظر بر حق پرستی و حق بینی بمستجمع دانش و فرهنگ سالار

حق پڑوهان بی ریورنگ مظهر کمالات حق بینی پورن کیر گسائین در وجه  
لاخراج بذابر احداث معبد و باغات من ابتدای سنه ۱۱۸۹ بکھزار و یکصد  
و هشتاد و نه بنگله مقرر گشته که جایی عبادت و باغات نمودہ  
قابض و متصرف بودہ باشند باید کہ آنها خراج اراضی مذکورہ را معاف  
و مرفوع القلم دانستہ اخذ مالگذاری آن ننمایند و بوجهی من الوجوه مزاحم  
و متعرض نباشند و سد مجدد نطلبند درین باب تاکید مزید داند

بتاریخ یازدهم

سنه ۱۷ \* \* \* انگریزی مطابق دوم مہا پھاگن سنه ۱۱۸۹ بنگله قلمی شد \*

No. 3.

Warren Hastings.

Black oval.  
Seal of English  
Government.

متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال و چودھریان و قانونگویان  
و تعلقداران و رعایا و مزارعان دری باریک پور و غیرہ عملہ پرنگنہ  
بورو و غیرہ سرکار سانگام متعلقہ چکلہ هوگلی مضاف صوبہ  
جنت البلاد بنگالا بدانند موازی یکصد بیگہ و ہشت بسوہ اراضی  
کہ منجملہ آن شست و شش بیگہ از موضع دری باریک پور پرنگنہ بورو  
و سی و چہار بیگہ ہشت بسوہ از موضع کہوسازی پرنگنہ پایکان  
کہ بلب گنگ یکجا واقع است نظر بر حق پرستی و حق بینی

بمستجمع دانش و فرهنگ سالار حق پڑوهان بی ریو

ورنگ مظهر کمالات حق بینی تیشی لامہ پنچین  
اردنی بکدبو پنچین در وجه لاجراج بذابر احداث  
معبد و باغات من ابتدای سنه ۱۱۸۵ بکھزار و یکصد و  
ہشتاد و پنج مقرر گشته کہ جایی عبادت و باغات  
احداث نمودہ قابض و متصرف بودہ باشند  
باید کہ آنها خراج اراضی مذکورہ را معاف و  
مرفوع القلم دانستہ اخذ مالگذاری آن ننمایند  
و بوجهی من الوجوه مزاحم و متعرض نباشند  
و سد مجدد نطلبند درین باب تاکید مزید داند

Black oval.  
Seal of English  
Government.

<sup>1</sup> Two figures of the English date are torn away.

بقاریخ دوازدهم ماه جون سنه ۱۷۷۸ انگریزی مطابق غرغ  
 ماه اساطه سنه ۱۱۸۵ بذله موافق شانزدهم شهر جمادی الاول  
 سنه ۲۰ جلوس والا قلمی شد \*

[N. B. This seal bears the autograph signature of Warren Hastings  
 on the left of the seal.]

No. 4.

Black oval  
 seal of English  
 Government.

متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال و چودھریان و قانونگویان  
 و تعلقداران و رعایا و مزارعان دری بارنگ پور عملہ پرنگنہ  
 بورو و سرکار سائگام متعلقہ چکلہ ہوگلی مضاف صوبہ  
 جنت البلد بنگالا بدانند موازی پنچلا بیگہ اراضی در  
 موضع باربکپور مذکور کہ منجملہ آن نہ بیگہ ہفت بسوہ در تعلقہ  
 مہاراجہ نبکش و بیست ونہ بیگہ در تعلقہ راج چند رای  
 و یازدہ بیگہ سیدزہ بسوہ در تعلقہ راجہ رام لوچن بلب گنگ  
 در یکجا واقع است نظر بر حق پرستی و حق بینی بمستجمع دانش  
 و فرہنگ سالار حق پڑوہان بی ریورنگ مظہر کمالات  
 حق بینی تیشی لامہ پنچن اردنی بکدیو پنچن دروجہ لاخراج  
 بذابرا احداث معبد و باغات من ابتداء سنہ ۱۱۸۹ یکہزار یکصد و  
 ہشتاد ونہ بنگلہ مقرر گشتہ کہ جایی عبادت و باغات  
 احداث نمودہ قابض و مصصرف بودہ باشند  
 باید کہ آنها خراج اراضی مذکورہ را معاف و  
 مرفوع القلم دانستہ اخذ مالگذاری آن ننمایند و بوجہی  
 من الوجوہ مؤاحم و متعرض نباشند و سند مسجد  
 نطلبند درینباب تاکید مزید دانند بقاریخ یازدہم  
 ماه فبروری سنہ ۱۷۸۳ انگریزی مطابق دوم ماه پہاکن سنہ ۱۱۸۹

قلمی شد •

*Translation of Sanad I.*

Know ye, the Mutaṣa'addís of affairs, for the present and future times, Chandharis, Qánúngos, Ta'aluqdárs, tenants and cultivators of Darí Bárbakpúr, etc., in parganaḥ Boro etc., sarkár Satgáon, appertaining to chaklah Hughlí, in the súbah of Bengal, the Paradise of countries, <sup>1</sup>[that 100 bíghahs and 8 biswahs of cultivated land, out of which 66 bíghahs are situated in mauza' Darí Bárbakpúr, parganaḥ Boro, and 34 bíghahs and 8 biswahs in mauza' Ghusarí, parganaḥ Páikán,] and all collectively situated on the bank of the Ganges, are rent-free granted to <sup>2</sup>[Púrangir Gosain], the store of wisdom and prudence, the head of the unpretending seekers of truth, and the source of perfect righteousness, in consideration of his righteousness and devotion to truth, for the purpose of erecting a temple and planting a garden, from the beginning of the Bengalí year <sup>3</sup>[1185]. It is desired that in erecting a temple and planting a garden on the land, he should possess and enjoy the same. You must know the said land to be free of rent; you shall not receive the rent thereof, shall not in any way interfere, and shall not demand any new sanad. You are to know that in this matter strict observance is required.

<sup>3</sup>[Dated the 12th June 1778 English, corresponding to the 1st Asárh 1185 Bangalí and 16th of the lunar month Jamádi-l-Awal of the 20th year of the reign].

Sanad II is identical with Sanad I in every respect, excepting the two portions, marked<sup>1</sup> and<sup>3</sup> in brackets, which run as follows:

<sup>1</sup>[that 50 bíghahs of cultivated land in the said mauza' Bárbakpúr, out of which 9 bíghahs and 7 biswahs are on the property of Maharájah Nabkish, 29 bíghahs in that of Rájah Rái Chand Rái, and 11 bíghahs and 13 biswahs in that of Rájah Ram Lochan].

<sup>3</sup>[Dated the 11th ..... 17 ... English, corresponding to the 2nd of Fálgun 1189 Bangalí].

Sanad III is identical with Sanad I in every respect, excepting the portion marked<sup>2</sup> in brackets, which runs as follows:

<sup>2</sup>[to Teshí Lámah Panchan Ardaní Bakdeo Panchan].

Sanad IV is identical with Sanad II, but contains the portion, marked<sup>2</sup> in brackets, as given in Sanad III. The date, which is mutilated in Sanad II, is perfect in this Sanad, and runs as follows:

<sup>3</sup>[Dated the 11th February 1783 English, corresponding to the 2nd of Fálgun 1189 Bangalí].



*Literal translation of the Lam-yig or passport from Tashi Lhunpo.*

To—the districts of Narthañ, Gya-chluñ, Ño-dsoñ, Phuñ-tshog-liñ, Lhar-tse, Ñamriñ and the Lama of Neriñ. Take notice—that one of the servants of this (Government) Acharya Punagiri with three attendants proceeds to make ablution in the lake Mapham (Mausarawara) and to walk round it. In the above mentioned places, (the party) should be provided with fuels, earthen ware, &c., cooking utensils, ponies, cook servants, &c., other necessaries when required, during morning and night halts.

Four ponies and seven strong beasts of burden will be required. The relay of ponies should be arranged from here to Phun-tshog-liñ, from Phun-tshog-liñ to Lhar-tse, from Lhar-tse to Ñamriñ, from Ñamriñ to Sagah-wa. The chief grooms in charge of the pasture lands in the different districts and sub-divisions, should, as directed by the letter preceding this, arrange for relaying strong ponies of the above named number and also send pony returners quickly and render (the party) all possible help (in the journey). The relay of the beasts of burden should be arranged from the town of Shiga-tse to Phun-tshog-liñ, from Phun-tshog-liñ to Ñamriñ through, from Ñamriñ to Neriñ and from Neriñ to Sagah-wa at once. The party should be furnished at every stage with returners of the conveyance animals and an experienced and intelligent guide to accompany them (in their journey). All possible help should be rendered to (the party). Similar arrangements to the above effect should be made during the return journey. This is important—dated year Earth-Dog, 1778 A. D.



