

BOOK NO.
934

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

ZOOLOGICAL GARDEN
CALCUTTA

VOL. LII.

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

(Nos. I. TO IV.—1883: with 23 Plates.)

EDITED BY

THE PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

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

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED BY J. W. THOMAS, AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,

AND PUBLISHED BY THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY, 57, PARK STREET.

1883.

977
860

ZOOLOGICAL GARDEN
Kolkata
700017
AT

Acc no- 969
9/01/16

505
PHI

ZOOLOGICAL GARDEN
CALCUTTA

CONTENTS

OF

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, VOL. LII, PART I, FOR 1883.

No. I.

Page

Folklore from Eastern Gorakhpur (N. W. P.)—By HUGH FRASER, C. S., ... 1

The Pagoda or Varáha of Southern India.—By Surgeon Major G. BIDIE, M. B., C. I. E., Superintendent Government Central Museum, Madras (with three Plates), ... 33

Coins Supplementary to Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi," No. III.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, Principal Normal College, Amritsar, (with two Plates), ... 55

Relics from Ancient Persia, in Gold, Silver, and Copper.—By Major-Genl. A. CUNNINGHAM, C. S. I., C. I. E. (with two Plates), ... 64

Note on a Sanskrit Inscription from the Lalitpur District.—By RA'JENDRALA'LA MITRA, LL. D., C. I. E., ... 67

No. II.

Folktales from the Upper Panjáb.—By the REV. C. SWYNNERTON, M. R. A. S., Chaplain of Naushera, ... 81

The Rupees of the Months of the Iláhí Years of Akbar.—By CH. J. RODGERS, Principal Normal College, Amritsar, (with two Plates), ... 97

Notes on the Remains of portions of Old Fort William discovered during the erection of the East India Railway Company's Offices.—By R. ROSKELL BAYNE, (with five Plates), ... 105

Essays on Bihári Declension and Conjugation.—By G. A. GRIERSON, B. C. S., ... 119

Note on the preceding Essay.—By DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE,... 159

On the Temples of Deoghar.—By DR. RA'JENDRALA'LA MITRA, (with one Plate), ... 164

Nos. III & IV.

Page

Memorandum on the superstitions connected with child birth, and precautions taken and rites performed on the occasion of the birth of a child among the Jáṭs of Hoshiyárpur in the Panjáb. —By Sirdar Gurdyal Singh, ... 205

A new find of Muhammadan Coins of Bengal (Independent Period). —By Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, (with two Plates), ... 211

On Stone Implements from the North Western Provinces of India. —By J. H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., C. S., C. I. E., F. S. A., &c., (with three Plates), ... 221

Notes on the History of Orissa under the Mahomedan, Maratha, and English rule.—By John Beames, B. C. S., ... 231

Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper.—By Major General A. Cunningham, C. S. I., C. I. E., (with one Plate), 258

On Goṇikáputra and Gonardíya as Names of Patañjali.—By Ra'jendrala'la Mitra, LL. D., C. I. E., ... 261

The Town of Bulandshahr.—By F. S. Growse, C. I. E., (with two Plates), ... 270

LIST OF PLATES

IN

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

FOR 1883.

Pl. I—III, (pp. 37). Pagoda or Varáha Coins of Southern India.

Pl. IV, V, (pp. 55). Coins Supplementary to Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings."

Pl. VI, VII, (pp. 65, 66). Relics from Ancient Persia.

Pl. VIII, IX, (p. 103). Rupees of the Months of Akbar's Iláhí years.

Pl. X, (pp. 106, 114, 116, 117). Plan of the neighbourhood of the Old Fort William, shewing the Streets, etc., existing in 1847.

Pl. XI, (pp. 107, 114). Plan showing the portions of the walls of Old Fort William, uncovered in building the E. I. Railway Co.'s new offices.

Pl. XII, XIII, (pp. 107, 114). Remains of the Old Fort William, Calcutta.

Pl. XIV, (pp. 107). Rough Sketch showing N. E. Bastion of Old Fort William.

Pl. XV, (p. 177). Ground plan of the Temples at Vaidyanáth.

Pl. XVI, XVII, (pp. 217), Rupees of Mahmúd Sháh I and Bárbak Sháh of Bengal.

Pl. XVIII, XX, (pp. 224). Stone implements from the N. W. Provinces of India.

Pl. XXI, (pp. 258). Relics from Ancient Persia.

Pl. XXII, XXIII, (pp. 272, 274). Terra-cotta Antiquities from Bulandshahr.

ZOOLOGICAL GARDEN.
CALCUTTA.

LIST OF ERRATA.

page	23,	line	3	*for*	मार	*read* मारे
,,	24,	,,	3	,,	हा	,, हौ
,,	24,	,,	23	,,	भेंजल	,, भेंजले
,,	24,	,,	27	,,	गोफ़ड़वा	,, गोफ़ँड़वा
,,	24,	,,	36	,,	खिण्वौं	,, खिण्वौं
,,	25,	,,	9	,,	चिट्ठी	,, चिट्ठी
,,	25,	,,	12	,,	but the	,, but with
,,	25,	,,	33	,,	though	,, thou
,,	25,	,,	38	,,	चिन्हेलौं	,, चिन्हेलो
,,	26,	,,	26	,,	मोरे	,, मोरे
,,	26,	,,	35	,,	कर	,, करे
,,	28,	,,	17	,,	जोग	,, जोगे
,,	28,	,,	24	,,	दवु	,, देवु
,,	30,	,,	29	,,	पहिर	,, पहिरा
,,	31,	,,	1	,,	आचर	,, आँचर
,,	81,			,,	hazráh	,, huzrá
,,	82,			,,	Gangar	,, Gandgar
,,	83,			,,	Márgir	,, Máhsír
,,	89,			,,	bhangh	,, bángh
,,	124,	,,	1	,,	छुरिए	,, छुरिएँ
,,	124,	,,	20	,,	कथे	,, कथँ
,,	125,	,,	27	,,	भाखति	,, भाखथि
,,	126,	,,	28	,,	ए	,, एँ
,,	148,	,,	37	,,	जे	,, जेँ
,,	150,	,,	32	,,	देखब, देखबै	,, देखब, देखबै
,,	153,	,,	30	,,	घोड़चढ	,, घोडचढ
,,	157,	,,	16	,,	लिख	,, लिख्
,,	158,	,,	14	,,	देखि	,, देखि
,,	160,	,,	1	,,	पाछै	,, पाछैं
,,	160,	,,	20	,,	भउजै	,, भउजैं
,,	161,	,,	7	,,	thee	,, these
,,	163,	,,	19	,,	सत्तमँ	,, सत्तमैं
,,	163,	,,	23	,,	or ए	,, or एँ
,,	163,	,,	37	,,	151	,, 154
,,	211, 212,		*passim*	,,	Mahmúd	,, Mahmúd
,,	219,	,,	25	transfer السلطان to the end of the legend.		

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1883.

Folklore from Eastern Gorakhpur (N. W. P.)—By HUGH FRASER, C. S

Communicated by F. H. Fisher, C. S., and edited by G. A. Grierson, C. S.*

[The following songs and snatches were collected and translated by Mr. Hugh Fraser, C. S., during his residence at Kasia, the head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name. He kindly placed them at my disposal for use in the Statistical Memoirs which are under preparation in connection with the North-Western Provinces' Gazetteer. As the volume containing the Gorakhpur Memoir had been published before these songs were received, I have forwarded them to Dr. Hoernle for publication in the B. A. S. Journal. In his note accompanying the contribution, Mr. Fraser says, "I have written the songs down exactly as I heard them, but have had no time to go over them thoroughly, so cannot be absolutely certain as to the spelling, especially as regards dotted letters; but except these points I think they are correct, although many of the letters may seem strange; *e. g.*, *pahira* for *pahina*, *inhailí* for *nihailí*, &c. I am sure, however, that many of the verb endings are not correct though they are as they were given to me." The notes to the songs, &c. are Mr. Fraser's. —F. H. F.]

* [The translations and notes are by Mr. Fraser. The notes added by Messrs. F. H. Fisher and G. A. Grierson are distinguished by their initials, F. H. F. and G. A. G. The text which was originally communicated in a romanized version, has been very carefully revised and transcribed into Nágarí by Mr. G. A. Grierson, with the assistance of Bihárí Paṇḍits, and may now be accepted as perfectly correct. The Hindí prosodical mark ˌ (= English ˘) has been used for marking doubtful vowels, when they are short. Mr. Grierson has also contributed some valuable notes on certain dialectic peculiarities, noticeable in the songs.—ED.]

No. I.

Sung by women and boys while weeding.

MELODY. कजरी गीत।

(6 + 4 + 4 + 2, + 6 + 4 + 4 + 1 = 31 instants).

केथिफ़ँ धुमिल भैलें कारि रे बदरवा।
दैया केथिफ़ँ धुमिल भैलें बलमुआ॥ ॥ १ ॥
धुआँ में धुमिल भैलें कारि रे बदरवा।
दैया सेजिफ़ँ धुमिल भैलें बलमुआ॥ ॥ २ ॥
निझरल निझरल अँगना बहरलों।
रजवा चलावें फ़क रोरिआ ना॥ ॥ ३ ॥
"गाँव के लोगवा राजा भाइ रे भतिजवा।
दैया हमरा से कैसन ठठोलिआ ना॥" ॥ ४ ॥
फुल लोढ़े गैलों मैं राजा फुलवरिआ।
रजवा फ़क रोरिआ चलावें ना॥ ॥ ५ ॥
"का तुम राजा रोरिआ चलावेला।
हमहूँ तो गाँव के बेटीवा ना॥" ॥ ६ ॥
"जो तुम हउ हो गाँव के बेटीवा।
तो का करे ऐलू फुलवरिआ ना॥ ॥ ७ ॥
"फ़हि रे समैआ गोरि खेलि खुनि लेऊ।
फिर तुँ हो जैबू लरखोरिआ ना॥ ॥ ८ ॥
निझरल निझरल पनिआँ के गैलों।
दैया केऊ न चिन्हे लरखोरिआ ना॥ ॥ ९ ॥
कहवें उपजे गोरि कारि रे कजरवा।
काहाँ उपजे इँगुरा के रोरिआ ना॥ ॥ १० ॥
दिया में उपजे गोरि कारि रे कजरवा।
बनिया घर इँगुरा के रोरिआ ना॥ ॥ ११ ॥

कहवें सोभेला गोरि कारि रे कजरवा ।
काहाँ सोभेला इँगुरा के रोरिआ ना ॥ ॥ १२ ॥
नैना सोभेला गोरि कारि रे कजरवा ।
लिलरा सोभेला इँगुरा के रोरिआ ना ॥ ॥ १३ ॥

Notes.—I write as it was given me, but think two if not three songs must have been mixed up, *i. e.*, the first four lines, and the last eight lines seem to differ from the middle ones. [Mr. Fraser is correct. In Sháhábád, where the above is also current, verses 3—9, inclusive, are a separate song.—G. A. G.]

The frequent ना at the end of the verse, is put for rhyme and metre, and has no sense. [Cf. Vidyápati XXVI for a similar use of the word ना in Maithilí. The word gives emphasis to the verb of the sentence, and is said to represent the Sanskrit ननु.—G. A. G.]

Translation I.

In what was the unseemliness in the black clouds; ye gods! in what was the unseemliness of a husband. In smoke was the unseemliness of the black clouds; in his marriage-relations that of a husband.

Stooping low I swept out the yard. The Rájá threw a clod* at me. The people of the village, Rájá, are your brothers and nephews—ye gods! how do you jest with me thus. I went to pluck flowers in the Rájá's garden. The Rájá threw a clod at me. "Why did you throw a clod at me, Rájá? Am not I too a daughter of the village?" "Even if you are a daughter of the village, what came you to do in the garden? This is the time, fair one, for taking your sport. Afterwards you will become worn with child-bearing. Stooping low I went for water, lest, ye gods, any one might recognize that I was the mother of a child.

Where, fair one, is produced the dark lamp-black, and where the fragments of red lead? In the candle, fair one, is produced the dark lamp-black, in the baniá's house the fragments of red lead. Where, fair one, does the dark lamp-black look beautiful, and where the fragments (or powder) of red lead? On the eyes, fair one, the dark lamp-black, on the forehead the red lead is beautiful.

---

* Throwing a clod is the village manner of inviting to an intrigue.

No. II.

MELODY. कजरी गीत।

(6 + 4 + 4 + 2, + 6 + 4 + 4 + 2 = 32 instants).

चिठिआ लिखि लिखि भेजले सँवलिआ।
नँद लाल नेवरिआ चढ़ के आवा ॥ हो ना ॥ ॥ १ ॥
जब काँधा ऐलेन गाँव के गोड़ँवा।
धिमिर धिमिर बँसिआ बजावेले ना ॥ ॥ २ ॥
कहवँ बँधैबू हथिआ से घोरवा।
काहाँ नँद लाल के नेवरिआ हो ना ॥ ॥ ३ ॥
बगिआ मे बँधैबोँ हथिआ से घोरवा।
कोठवा रखैबोँ नँद लाल के नेवरिआ ॥ हो ना ॥ ॥ ४ ॥
का रे किऐबू हथिआ से घोरवा।
का रे किऐबु नँद लाल के नेवरिआ ॥ हो ना ॥ ॥ ५ ॥
दाना घास किऐबोँ हथिआ से घोरवा।
खोआ किऐबोँ नँद लाल के नेवरिआ ॥ हो ना ॥ ॥ ६ ॥

Notes.—The word हो ना, at the end of every verse except verse 2, and the word ना at the end of verse 2, are a sort of chorus without sense. [It is really two words, *viz.*, the interjection हो, and ना which occurred in the last song. It should be noted that except in v. 3, हो ना does not form any portion of the metre. Nor, I fancy, should it in verse 3, in which a word seems to have been dropped out. I would conjecturally amend the latter half to काहाँ बँधैबु नँद लाल के नेवरिआ ॥ हो ना ॥ Similarly, I should read for the second verse (second half) धिमिर धिमिर से बँसिआ बजावेला ॥ हो ना ॥—G. A. G.]

नेवरिआ I cannot find in the dictionary, it is equivalent to सवारी. [नेवरिआ would be the long form of नेवार or नेवारी, but no dictionary with which I am acquainted gives this meaning to either of these words. —G. A. G.]

I am not quite sure of the meaning of काँधा, which I cannot find, but think it means Sweet-heart. [In Bihárí ह्न and ँध are interchangeable. काँधा therefore equals कान्हा, the strong form of कान्ह, Krishn, also called Nand Lál, who forms the subject of the poem.—G. A. G.]

TRANSLATION II.

The beautiful girl (lit. medium coloured) wrote and sent a letter—"Nandlál mount with your train and come." When her sweetheart (?) reached the fields near the village he softly softly plays the flutes. "Where will you fasten the train from elephants to horses; where Nandlál's following?" "In the grove I will fasten the elephants and horses; in the house I will put up Nandlál's following." "With what then will you feed the elephants and horses, with what Nandlál's following?" "The elephants and horses I will feed with grain and grass; I will give curds to Nandlál's following."

No. III.

MELODY. कजरी गीत।

(6 + 4 + 4 + 2, 4 + 4 + 4 = 28 instants).

(*Chorus*, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2 = 16).

अमवा मोंझर गैलें मऊआ टपक गैलें।
कैकरा से पठाबौं सनेसा ॥
(*chorus*) रे निरमोहिआ छोड़ दे नौकरिआ ॥ ॥ १ ॥
मोरा पिछुअरवा भिकम कथ्थवा।
लिख देऊ एकहिं चिठीवा ॥
(*ch.*) रे निरमोहिआ इत्यादि ॥ ॥ २ ॥
केथि के मैं करबौं रे कोरा रे कगजवा।
केथि के करबौं मशनीआ ॥
(*ch.*) रे निरमोहिआ इत्यादि ॥ ॥ ३ ॥
आँचर फार फार कोरा रे कगजवा।
नैना काजर मशनीआ ॥
(*ch.*) रे निरमोहिआ इत्यादि ॥ ॥ ४ ॥
आरे पास लिखिहो सर रे सनेसवा।
बिचे ठैयाँ बरहो बिओगवा ॥
(*ch.*) रे निरमोहिआ इत्यादि ॥ ॥ ५ ॥

बाट रे बटोहिया तूँ मोर भैया
हमरो सनेसवा ले जैहो
(*ch.*) रे निरमोहिया इत्यादि ॥ ॥ ६ ॥
हमरो सनेसवा बलमुआ से कहियो ।
तोरि धनि बिरहें बेआकुल ॥
(*ch.*) रे निरमोहिया इत्यादि ॥ ॥ ७ ॥
तोहरा बलमुआ के चिन्हलों ना जानलों ।
केकरा से कहबों सनेसवा ॥
(*ch.*) रे निरमोहिया इत्यादि ॥ ॥ ८ ॥
ठिक दुपहरिया नवाब कचहरिया ।
ताहि बिचे बैठे ग्रामि मोरा ॥
(*ch.*) रे निरमोहिया इत्यादि ॥ ॥ ९ ॥
हथवा लिफाफ़ चिठिया लिहलें बचलेन ।
अति धनि लिखले बिओगवा ॥
(*ch.*) रे निरमोहिया इत्यादि ॥ ॥ १० ॥

TRANSLATION III.

The mango trees have blossomed and the mahuwás dropped their flowers. By whom shall I send a message? Ah! heartless one, leave thy service.

O Bhikam Káyath, who dwellest behind my house, write but one small letter; Ah! heartless one &c.

Of what shall I make the paper, of what the ink? Ah! heartless one &c.

Tearing up my skirts, of them shall I make my paper, from the lamp-black in my eyelids the ink; Ah! heartless one &c.

Round the edge write all the message, in the middle the separation for twelve months; Ah! heartless one &c.

Wayfarer on the road thou art my brother; take thou my message; Ah! heartless one &c.

Tell thou my message to my husband, thy wife, mourning the separation, is disturbed; Ah! heartless one &c.

"Thy husband I nor know nor recognize; to whom shall I tell the message?" Ah! heartless one &c.

"Exact at noon in the Nawáb's court there in the middle sits my husband;" Ah! heartless one &c.

He stretched forth his hand took the letter and read it. "Behold" said he "my wife writes of our separation;" Ah! heartless one &c.

No. IV.

METRE. ठुमरी गीत।

(6 + 4 + 4 + 2, 4 + 4 + 4 = 28 instants.)

पियवा मोरे गैलेन पुरबि बनिजिआ।
अहो राम! दे गैलेन ना॥ ॥१॥
अहो राम! एक रे* सुगवा भदेसवा।
अहो राम! दे गैलेन ना॥ ॥२॥
दिन के खिऐबों (सुगवा) दुध भात खोरवाँ।
अहो राम! राति बेरिआ ना॥ ॥३॥
ए* सूतेबों कतिआ के बिचवा।
अहो राम! राति बेरिआ ना॥ ॥४॥
घड़ि राति गैले पहर राति बाकी।
अहो राम! आधि रतिआ ना॥ ॥५॥
सुगवा काटे चोलिआ बँधवा।
अहो राम! आधि रतिआ ना॥ ॥६॥
(एक) मन करे सुगवा भुइआँ दे पटकतों।
अहो राम! दुजे मनवा ना॥ ॥७॥
सुगवा* मोरा हरि के खेलौना।
अहो राम! दुजे मनवा ना॥ ॥८॥
तोहि के खिऐबों (सुगवा) दुध भात खोरवाँ।
अहो राम! जैबऽ सुगवा ना॥ ॥९॥
मोरा पिआ के उदेसवा (जैबऽ) सुगवा।
अहो राम! जैबऽ सुगवा ना॥ ॥१०॥

उरेला उरेला (सुगवा) गैले कलकतवा ।
अहो राम ! बैठे(ले) सुगवा ना ॥ ॥ ११ ॥
मोरा पिआ के पगरिआ बैठले सुगवा ।
अहो राम ! बैठे(ले) सुगवा ना ॥ ॥ १२ ॥
सिर से उतारलेन जँघिआ बैठउलेन ।
अहो राम ! पुछे लगलेन ना ॥ ॥ १३ ॥
[सुगवा रे कहन] मोरा घर कुशलतिया ।
अहो राम ! पुछे लगलेन ना ॥ ॥ १४ ॥
मेहर रोअलि घड़ि रे पहरवा ।
अहो राम ! माता रोअलि ना ॥ ॥ १५ ॥
मेहर* ए रोअलि चौमसवा ।
अहो राम ! माता रोअलि ना ॥ ॥ १६ ॥

TRANSLATION IV.

My beloved went to the East to trade and (ere going) gave me a country parrot.

"By day I will feed you, parrot, with milk and rice from a dish And at night will take you to sleep between my breasts."

An hour of the night past a watch remained. In the midst of the night the parrot bit through the fastening of my bodice.

Had I followed my first thought, parrot, I had thrown you on the ground.—Ah Rám! my second thought was, 'tis the plaything of my husband.

Ah parrot! I will give thee milk and rice in a dish; thou wilt go, parrot, thou wilt go in search of my beloved one. Ah Rám! thou wilt go, parrot?

Flying far the parrot went to Calcutta, and sat on the turban of my beloved.

He took it from his head and seated it on his knee (thigh), (Ah Rám!) and began to ask, is all well at my house?

Thy wife weeps daily and hourly (Ah Rám!) thy mother weeps; yes, thy mother weeps the whole year through.

No. V.

METRE. कजरी गीत।

(6 + 4 + 4 + 2, + 4 + 4 + 3).

हमरा पिछुअरवा तेलिआ हितवा भैआ।
तिसिआ के तेल पेरि दे(ओ) ॥
(*chorus.*) परदेसि भँवरवा ॥ ॥ १ ॥
तिसिआ के तेल गोरि माथे लगविले।
से बरवा गैले लटियाइ ॥
(*ch.*) परदेसि भँवरवा ॥ ॥ २ ॥
माथ मिसे गैलौं मैं बाबा का सगरवा।
टिकुलि गिरिले मझ धार ॥
(*ch.*) परदेसि भँवरवा ॥ ॥ ३ ॥
पैआ तोर लागीला लछरा देवरवा।
सगरे डरा दे मछा जाल ॥
(*ch.*) परदेसि भँवरवा ॥ ॥ ४ ॥
एक ओर बाभेला घाँघिआ सेवरवा।
एक ओर टिकुलि हमार ॥
(*ch.*) परदेसि भँवरवा ॥ ॥ ५ ॥
गोर तोर लागीला लछरा देवरवा।
टिकुलि उठा मोहि देओ ॥
(*ch.*) परदेसि भँवरवा ॥ ॥ ६ ॥
जो तो टिकुलि उठा तोहि देबौं।
तुं का देबु हमरा के दान ॥
(*ch.*) परदेसि भँवरवा ॥ ॥ ७ ॥
तोहि के (हम) देबौं देवर हाथ के मुनरवा।
तोहरा बऊआ जोगे हार ॥
(*ch.*) परदेसि भँवरवा ॥ ॥ ८ ॥

अगिआ लगाओं, भौजि, हाथ के मुनरवा ।
बजर परे तोहि हार ॥
(*ch.*) परदेसि भँवरवा ॥ ॥ ९ ॥

तोहरा खोइँछा, भौजि, दो फल नरिअर ।
एक हमार एक भैया के दान* ॥
(*ch.*) परदेसि भँवरवा ॥ ॥ १० ॥

TRANSLATION V.

Behind my house, brother telí ;† press out linseed oil.
(Ch.) oh ! foreign Bee.‡
The fair girl put linseed oil on her head, so her hair all got clotted.
(Ch.) oh ! foreign Bee.
I went to rub my locks (forehead) in my father's tank, and my "ṭikulí"§ fell into the middle of the stream.
(Ch.) oh ! foreign Bee.
I touch your feet, young brother-in-law. Throw a big net into the tank.
(Ch.) oh ! foreign Bee.
On one side was entangled shells and weeds. On one side my "ṭikulí."
(Ch.) oh ! foreign Bee.
I touch your feet, young brother-in-law. Take up my "ṭikulí" and give it me.
(Ch.) oh ! foreign Bee.

* Concerning the metre of this line see my note.—G. A. G.

† *Telí*, long form *teliá*, a man of the oilman caste.—G. A. G.

‡ A black bee with a yellow tail like a Bumble Bee. [This song appears to me to be originally, of a Vaishṇava character, the mystic meaning of which may or may not have been lost. If a Vaishṇava poem, it represents a conversation between Kṛishṇ and some married Gopí. A close parallel will be found in Vid. V. In all these love songs a gallant (whether Kṛishṇ or not) is frequently represented as a Bee or as a mosquito, reference being frequently made to their insinuating voices. Thus in Vid. XXXVII 4, 6, the poet calls the lover "the bee." An enhanced attraction in such illicit love is that the lover is a foreigner come from a far country (compare Vid. LXXX for another example), and hence a refrain such as "Oh foreign Bee," though having no direct reference to the subject matter of the text is fitting according to native ideas to a song of intrigue like the present.—G. A. G.]

§ The spot of silver worn on a woman's forehead.—G. A. G.

If I should take up your "ṭikulí" and give it you, then what will you give as a gift to me?

(Ch.) oh! foreign Bee.

I'll give you, brother-in-law, a ring for your hand, a necklace fit for your wife.

(Ch.) oh! foreign Bee.

In the fire would I cast your finger-ring, sister-in-law; may the lightning blast your necklace.

(Ch.) oh! foreign Bee.

In the folds of your dress, sister-in-law, are two cocoanuts; one a gift to me, one to my brother.

(Ch.) oh! foreign Bee.

ZOOLOGICAL GARDEN CALCUTTA

No. VI.

METRE. IRREGULAR.

(6 + 4 + 4 + 2, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2 = 32 instants.)

छत्तिस कोट बत्तिस दरवाजा।
ता पर हँसुलि गढ़ावे महाराजा॥ ॥ १ ॥

डार दे मालिन मोरा गले हारा।
मोरा गले हार सइयाँ गले माला॥ ॥ २ ॥

And so on *ad infinitum*, merely changing the name of the jewel each time.

TRANSLATION VI.

Thirty-six towers, thirty-two doors—there the Rája had a hãsuli* made.

Place, Málin,† a garland round my neck; on my neck a garland, on my husband's a rosary.

---

* A kind of neck-ring.—G. A. G.

† Fem. of Málí, a gardener.—G. A. G.

No. VII.

Sung by women while using the handmill (जाँत).

जतसारी गीत।

(6+4+4+2,+(1)+4+4+3=28 instants.)

मोरा पिकुअरवा रे निबिआ के गछिआ।
से निबिआ सीतल जुरि छाँन॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ! निबिआ सीतल जुरि छाँन॥ ॥१॥

ओहि तरे ऐलें रे जुलमि सिपहिआ।
से पगिआ अटकि गैले डार॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ! पगिआ अटकि गैले डार॥ ॥२॥

मोरा पिकुअरवा बढ़ैआ भैआ हितवा।
से निबिआ के देऊ ना गिराइ॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ! निबिआ इत्यादि॥ ॥३॥

एक छेव मारलें दोसर छेव मारलेन।
से निबिआ गिरिले अरराइ॥
रे दैआ! निबिआ इत्यादि॥ ॥४॥

ओहि रे निबिआ के पलङ्ग सलवलों *।
से पलङ्ग भइले मजेदार॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ! पलङ्ग इत्यादि॥ ॥५॥

ओहि पर सुतिलेन जुलमि सिपहिआ।
से पाटि चोलि भिंगिले हमार॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ! पाटि इत्यादि॥ ॥६॥

भैले गरमिआ रे भीगि गैले चोलिया।
से तनिएक सूतव बचाइ॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ! तनिएक इत्यादि॥ ॥७॥

* I am not quite sure of the meaning of this, whether it refers to stretching the running bed ropes (सिलाना), or going to sleep on the bed (सुलाना). [See my note on dialectic peculiarities of this song.—G. A. G.]

ए॒त बचन जालिम सुनै हि ना॒ पवलन ।
से घोड़ी॑ पीटि भैलैं सवार ॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ ! घोड़ी॑ इत्यादि ॥ ॥ ८ ॥

सास के जगवलौं ननद के जगवलौं ।
से सैँआ॑ मोर रीसल जाए ॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ ! सैँआ॑ मोर इत्यादि ॥ ॥ ९ ॥

सास धैलि अटुका ननद धैलि पटुका ।
से हम धनि घोड़ा के लगाम ॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ ! हम धनि इत्यादि ॥ ॥ १० ॥

काड़ु काड़ु अटुका ओ काड़ु काड़ु पटुका ।
से काड़ु धनि घोड़ा के लगाम ॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ ! काड़ु इत्यादि ॥ ॥ ११ ॥

ऐसन बात धनि हम नहिँ सहबौं ।
से हम करबौं दोसर बियाह ॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ ! हम इत्यादि ॥ ॥ १२ ॥

प्रतिना बचन सुन काढ़लौं कटरिआ ।
से मारु सैँआ॑ जिअरा हमार ॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ ! मारु इत्यादि ॥ ॥ १३ ॥

सास समुझौलि ननद समुझौली ।
से मानि गैलै बलमु हमार ॥
(*ch.*) रे दैआ ! मानि इत्यादि ॥ ॥ १४ ॥

TRANSLATION VII.

Behind my house is a lemon tree,
And the lemon tree's shade is cool.
(Ch.) ye gods ! the lemon tree's shade is cool.

Beneath that tree came my cruel soldier,
And his turban struck its branch.
(Ch.) ye gods ! his turban struck its branch.

Behind my house carpenter, brother and friend,
Wilt thou not fell that tree ?
(Ch.) ye gods ! &c.

One stroke he struck and a second struck,
And the lemon tree fell with a crash.
(Ch.) ye gods! &c.

Of that lemon tree I had a bed made,
And the bed was pleasing to me.
(Ch.) ye gods! &c.

Upon it lay down my tyrannous soldier,
And my clothes and bodice got wet.
(Ch.) ye gods! &c.

"The heat is great and my bodice wet,
For a moment" said I "lie apart."
(Ch.) ye gods! &c.

Scarce did this word reach my tyrant's ears,
But he mounted astride his mare.
(Ch.) ye gods! &c.

I woke his mother, I woke his sister,
Shall my husband go in wrath?
(Ch.) ye gods! &c.

The one seized his clothes, and the other seized his clothes,
I, his wife, seized the horse's rein.
(Ch.) ye gods! &c.

Let go you my clothes, and let go you my clothes,
Let go, wife, the horse's rein.
(Ch.) ye gods! &c.

Such a thing, wife, I will never endure,
I will marry another wife.
(Ch.) ye gods! &c.

On hearing this word I fetched forth a knife,
Saying, strike husband, strike for my life.
(Ch.) ye gods! &c.

His mother implored him, his sister implored him,
And at last my husband gave ear.
(Ch.) ye gods! at last my husband gave ear.

No. VIII.

बिरहा।

The two following are birhás *sung only by* Ahírs *and* Dhobís.

(6+4+4+2,+1+4+4+3=27 instants.)

सब के बियहलें (बाबा) एँड़वा से गोफ़्ड़वा।
से हम (के) बियहलें बड़ि दूर॥ ॥१॥

चलत (तो) चलत मोर पइयां पिरैलन।
से लहँगा में लाग गैलि धूर॥ ॥२॥

गोरिया के ऐले नियार जोरिदरवा।
से रोफ़्ला सहरिया के लोग॥ ॥३॥

डोलिया के बाँस धैले रोफ़्ले मिलनुआ।
कि जोरि बिछरौले जाला मोर॥ ॥४॥

Translation VIII.

All the rest my father married round the village site.
But me he has married far away.
With walking and walking my feet begin to ache.
And the dust loads my petticoat each day.

The day has arrived when the bride must leave her home.
The people of the town wept sore.
Sorely wept her lover as he seized the "ḍolí"* pole.
For his mate is going to leave him ever more.

---

* A kind of litter.—G. A. G.

No. IX.

METRE. IRREGULAR.

(6+4+4+2,+5+4+3=27 instants).

प्रश्न ।

के इहँ जे चलेला उनमुन घुनमुन ।
के इहँ जे चलेला पराइ* ॥ ॥ १ ॥
के इहँ जे चलेला अपना दिमाग से ।
जेकर डवरु चलेला मनमार ॥ ॥ २ ॥

उत्तर ।

नेउरा जे चलेला उनमुन घुनमुन ।
सिअरा जे चलेला पराइ ॥ ॥ ३ ॥
बिघवा जे चलेला अपना दिमाग से ।
जेकर डवरु चलेला मनमार ॥ ॥ ४ ॥

* पराइ was translated to me as meaning 'quickly.'? should it be फिराइ, turning to look.' [See note on dialectic peculiarities G. A. G.]

TRANSLATION IX.

Question.

Who it is that goes with twinkling feet?
Who that goes hastily away?
Who that proudly carries his head?
Whose young one goes slinking off?

Answer.

'Tis the mungoose goes with twinkling feet.
The jackal goes hastily away.
The hyæna who proudly carries his head.
Whose young one goes slinking off.

No. X.

कजरी गीत।

(6+4+4+2,+4+4+3=27 instants).

प्रश्न।

के इहँ जे होइ रे ताजिआ घोड़वा।
से के इहँ होइ असवार॥ ॥१॥
के इहँ जे होए जुलमि सिपहिआ।
(से) केकरा (के) पकड़ हो ले जाइ॥ ॥२॥

उत्तर।

ऊकवा जे होए ताजिआ घोड़वा।
चिलम होए असवार॥ ॥३॥
सेओटा जे होए जुलमि सिपहिआ।
(से) अगिआ (के) पकड़ हो ले जाइ॥ ॥४॥

X.

Question.

Who is it that is as the Arab horse?
Who is its rider?
Who the tyrannous soldier?
Whom does he seize and carry off?

Answer.

'Tis the hukká that is the Arab horse.
Its bowl is the rider.
The tongs are the tyrannous soldier.
And it seizes and carries off the fire.

The following is an incantation sung by a snake charmer (झाड़) over a boy supposed to have been bitten.

No. XI.

METRE IRREGULAR.

हमरा पिकुअरवा मितवा सोनार।
गुजि घर हैं दुइ सै चार ॥ ॥ १ ॥
पिअरा सरसों घन मँगावे।
हाथ के बेरी हाथ बैठावे ॥ ॥ २ ॥
कव माह।
कव धरती लागे ॥ ॥ ३ ॥
हरिन लागे खाइ।
जाग जाग जोगिनि माइ ॥ ॥ ४ ॥
सत गुरु के वन्दौं पार ॥ ॥ ५ ॥
चार चौकोरी पोखरा।
रोटी बनावल घाट ॥ ॥ ६ ॥
तँ बैठ के देवी निहैली।
गरलँ परल हाँक ॥ ॥ ७ ॥
निकरत देवी पहिरा सारी।
सब डाँग पर हाथ पसारी ॥ ॥ ८ ॥
आलम से चलल पुकारा।
से बिख निजिवे खोदा ॥ ॥ ९ ॥
सत गुरु के वन्दौं पार ॥ ॥ १० ॥

TRANSLATION XI.

Behind my house is a goldsmith my friend.
There are two hundred and four beetles in my house.
Kindly fetch yellow mustard seed.
Put the bracelet on the arm.
Six months six earths there are.
The deer began to eat.
Wake, wake, Jogin mother.

(Mantra) Sat guru ke bandõ pár.
A four cornered tank.
At the landing place Debi made bread.
There sitting she bathed.
The Garur gave a cry.
Debi came out and put on her *sárí* (veil).
And stretched forth her hand on every sting,
Then cried aloud to all the world,
Thus may God deaden poison.
(Mantra) Sat guru ke bandõ pár.

[Note: Being an incantation the lines are nonsense. The "Sat guru &c," is the effective mantra. The above is the nearest meaning I can arrive at.]

No. XII.

METRE. ठुमरी गीत।

(6+4+4+2, 4+4+4=28 instants).

नागा बैसलेन अमवा डढ़िए।
नागिन बिनलि टिकोढ़ा॥ ॥ १ ॥
नागा बैसलेन लवँगिया डढ़िए।
नागिन बिनलि लवँगिया॥ ॥ २ ॥
जो हम जनितोँ कि नागा ऐहे हमरा हियाँ।
(तो) अचरा डगरिया बहारितोँ॥ ॥ ३ ॥

TRANSLATION XII.

The snake sat on the mango branch.
His wife picked up the mangoes.
The snake sat on the clove tree.
His wife picked up the cloves.
Had I but known that the snake would come to my house.
I had swept the path with my skirts.

* * * *

[In the end of 1880 crowds of respectable persons went begging all over the district. It turned out that this was a "Nágpújá." One person

from each house in a village went out for 2½ days begging. During that time they would not sleep under a roof or eat salt. They generally had a drum and went about singing the song of which having lost my notes I can only give a fragment. Half the proceeds of begging were give to Bráhmans and the other half invested in salt and batása which was eaten by the whole village. This form of pújá may be used to avert any calamity, but in that instance it was to avert danger from snake-bite. I could not discover in what quarter the movement originated but it spread from village to village and hardly a single village failed to join.]

No. XIII. Proverb.

बिप्र टहलुआ, चीक धन, ओ बेटिन के बाढ़।
प्रह्न से धन न घटे, तो करो बड़न से राड़॥

Translation.

If one cannot get rid of his wealth by having a bráhman servant, trading in goats, or from an excess of daughters, he will do it by fighting with bigger men.

[A better translation would be, 'If you cannot get rid of your wealth by having a bráhman servant, keeping possession of money received from a butcher, &c.' A *chík* is a butcher of goats and sheep, but not of oxen, and it is considered unlucky to use money received from one. If any such happens to be in the house on an otherwise unlucky day, it is put to one side, and not touched. The translation of Mr. Fraser is, however, a possible one.—G. A. G.]

Notes on dialectic peculiarities.

No. I.

This and the following poems are in nearly pure Bhojpúrí,—a dialect of the Bihárí language. Two other dialects of the same language, Maithilí and Mágadhí, will be found referred to below.

As might be expected, such songs taken down as they are from the mouths of ignorant and uncultivated people are seldom correct as regards the laws of metre. This is especially the case in the first song, which presents several difficulties in the way of scansion. All the lines can, it is true, be read after a metric fashion, if the prosodial marks given in the text are followed, but this can sometimes only be done by altering the usual pronunciation of the words. The fact is that these songs were composed for singing, and not for metric recitation, and in

such all pronunciation is made to yield to the necessities of the tune. Take for example the first word in these songs, कथिफ़ँ; as I have heard it sung, the second syllable, थि, is pronounced and held on for as long as five or six other syllables together, so that, to judge by the singing even कथीफ़ँ would be a very inadequate representation of the pronunciation of the word. Yet the word is certainly कथिएँ in ordinary prose, and कँथिएँ (or rather कँथिफ़ँ, see next note) is required by the metre, such as it is.

Hence, except in the case of No. IV, I have not given the name of the metre at the head of each song, but the name of the air to which it is sung. No. IV is not sung to any special air, and hence I have given the name of the metre as *Ṭhumarí*. Most of the songs are sung to the air called *Kajarí gít*, an air which is popular at the commencement of the rainy season, when the sky is covered with clouds, and which is so called for that reason, the clouds being compared to काजर or lamp-black collyrium. If it is wished to classify the songs under any known metre, it will be found easiest to class all *Kajarís* as irregular *Ṭhumarís*, but pandits deny that they fall under any metrical system whatever.

V. 1. कथिफ़ँ is instr. sing. (shortened from कँथिएँ for the sake of metre) of the neuter interrogative pronoun, का, 'what'. One of the oblique forms of का is केथी, which regularly becomes in the instr. कथिएँ, or for metre कँथिफ़ँ. This instr. in एँ is common throughout the Bihárí dialects. In Mágadhí it is only used in the case of masc. nouns ending in a silent consonant,—thus हम बलँ ले जाएब, 'I shall take away by force', where बलँ is the instr. of बल 'force.' As केथी does not end in a silent consonant, the form कँथिएँ could not occur in Mágadhí. In Maithilí, as in Bhojpúrí, the term एँ can be added to any noun, and (also in this like Bhojpúrí) a final long vowel is shortened before it,—or when the final vowel is आ, the vowel is elided. Hence we get in Maithilí नैनिएँ from नैनी, 'a girl': and घोड़ँ from घोड़ा, 'a horse.' Similarly in Bhojpúrí we get कँथिएँ from केथी, 'what (*obl.*)', and सजिएँ (see *v.* 2 of the present song where the word is written सँजिफ़ँ for metre) from सजिआ, 'a bed'. The only difference in custom between Bhojpúrí and Maithilí is that the former shortens the first syllables of कथिएँ and सँजिएँ, as they are in the antepenult., and followed by a consonant, while, according to the most trustworthy authorities on Maithilí, this shortening of the antepenultimate does not occur in the instrumental.

भेलँ, for भेलँ, both syllables being shortened for the sake of metre. भेलँ is the 3rd plur. (*or* honorific) past of the √ हो, 'become'. The form of the termination is unusual. The usual form would be भेले (singular) भेलन or (in Sáran) भेलेन (plural). If we consider भेले as a further development of भेलेन, than an intermediate form भेलँ must be supposed, just as there actually exists at the present day in Mágadhí a form भेलहिन, beside

the further developed form भैलहीं, 'they became', the short vowel in the final syllable being lengthened to compensate for the weakening of the nasal. Maithilí has a still older form of भेलन or भेलेन, *viz.* भेलन्हि. In the text the second भैलें is plural only in an honorific sense.

कौरि, The perpendicular mark over the first syllable, and elsewhere over syllables which would naturally be pronounced long, means that for the purposes of scansion the syllable is to be considered short.

बदरवा is the long form of बादर, 'a cloud' and बलमुआ of बलम्, 'a husband', the first syllable of the former is shortened, as falling earlier than the antepenultimate. See Hoernle's Gaudian Gram. § 25 and § 356.

V. 2. सेजिए़ —see note on कैथिए़ above.

V. 2. निङरल is the past part. of √ निङर 'bow', 'bend'.

अँगना, is the oblique form of आँगन, 'a court yard'. Skr. अंगन: = Mágadhí Prákṛit अंगने = Bihárí अँगन; Skr. अंगनस्य = Mágadhí Prákṛit अंगनास्स = Bihárí oblique अँगना. Hence nominative, आँगन, 'a courtyard', but *loc.* अँगना में, 'in a courtyard'. Occasionally, however, अँगना is incorrectly used in the sense of the nominative.

रजवा is long form of राजा, 'a king'; and रोरिआ of रोरी, 'a lump'.

बहरलौं, 1st singular past, of √ बहार, 'sweep'. The singular termination in औं is rare in Bhojpúrí, though common in Mágadhí. Bhojpúrí usually adopts the plural termination ईं ; thus, बहरलीं.—बहरलौं is a contraction of the still older form बहरलऊँ, which still survives in Maithilí. बहरलऊँ, is probably a compound of the past part बहारल, and an obsolete verb अऊँ, 'I am'. अऊँ no longer survives, but we have अहिऊँ, 'I am', in the Rámáyan of Tulsí Dás, and अहि, 'he is', and other forms in Maithilí.

चलावें, 3rd plur. (*i. e.* honorific) pres. conj., in sense of Indicative of √ चलाव. The usual form would be चलावन, see note on भल above.

V. 4. लोगवा is the long form of लोग, 'people'; भतिजवा of भतीज, 'a brother's son': ठठालिआ of ठठोली, 'a jest, joke'. In the translation of this verse I would prefer to read 'my' instead of 'your'.

हमरा is the oblique form of हमार, just as अँगना is of आँगन.—हमार is the genitive of हम, 'I', and its oblique form is used as an optional general oblique base of the pronoun ;—so also in all dialects of Bihárí.

V. 5. लोढ़,—this is the oblique form of an old verbal noun लोढ़ि, 'a plucking'. The direct form (लोढ़ि) is common in the Rámáyan (whether in this particular verb or not, I have not noted), and still survives in Maithilí. I have, elsewhere, gone into the question of these oblique forms very fully, and it will be sufficient to point out here that the direct form has become in Hindí and Bihárí what is called the "Root" in intensive compounds, the final इ in this case being dropped. Thus मार देना, in Hindí means, 'to beat violently', *literally*, 'to give a beating'. This verbal noun मार, or मारि, 'a beating', has the following oblique forms.

In the Rámáyan मारे or मारे.
In Maithilí, मारे or मारब.
In Mágadhí and Bhojpúrí मारे.

They are common in desiderative compounds, generally with a dative postposition, ला or के. Thus (Bhojpúrí), ऊ मारे ला चाहेला, 'he wishes for beating', *i. e.*, he wishes to beat. So also we have in Maráṭhí बाटतँ मला खाया ला पाहतेा, 'I fancy he wants to eat me'. It will be seen that in Maráṭhí the oblique form खाया ends in या. This is also the case in Hindí, where such phrases as मारा मारी, 'a beating on a beating', are common. Here the word मारा is undoubtedly the oblique form of मारी, as I have shown elsewhere. This oblique form in या explains the desiderative and frequentative compound in Hindí, which has much puzzled grammarians. These compounds are usually stated to be formed with the past part., thus पढ़ा करना, 'to read frequently', and बोला चाहना, 'to wish to speak', where पढ़ा and बोला are called past participles. Really they are oblique forms of the verbal noun (or root), पढ़ा being the oblique form of पढ़ (पढ़ि, or पढ़ी), and बोला, the oblique form of बोल (बोलि or बोली). Hence we get मरा चाहना (and not मुआ चाहना), 'to wish to die', because मरा, and not मुआ is the oblique form of मर (मरि or मरी), 'the act of dying'.

V. 6. का is the regular Bhojpúrí form for the neuter interrogative pronoun, 'what?'. का is used also in western Mágadhí, but in eastern Mágadhí and in Maithilí we first meet the Bangáli की.

चलावेला is the regular Bhojpúrí 3 sg. pres., see Hoernle's Gd. Gram.

हमइँ is emphatic for हम, 'I also'.

बटोवा is a contraction of बेटियवा, the redundant form of बेटिया, which is the long form of बेटी, 'a daughter', see Gd. Gram. § 356. ना in this verse, has not, I believe, any negative force. Hence, I would translate 'I too am', instead of 'Am not I too'; and omit the mark of interrogation.

V. 7. हउ हेा, altered from हऊ हेा for the sake of metre. हऊ is the regular feminine 2 Plur. of the present tense of the verb subst. √ हव 'be'. हेा added gives the force of the conjunctive mood The termination ऊ is the peculiar mark of the 2 plur. feminine through all tenses of all verbs: compare ऐलू, लेऊ, and जैबू further on.

के is the direct sign of the genitive, and is unaffected by gender Its oblique form is का, also unaffected by gender. There are the pure Bhojpúrí forms; those given by Hoernle (Gd. Gram., § 373) refer to the Western Bhojpúrí spoken near Banáras.

तेा, वेाँ, वें, हूँ, or हुँ, are all forms of the 2nd pers. pronoun non-honorific.

करऽ, oblique verbal noun,—direct form कर (करि or करी). See लाइ above.

ऐलू 2. plur. fem. past. of √ आ, 'come'. See हउ हो above.

V. 8. एहि is the oblique adjectival form of ई, 'this'. एहि समैआ therefore means rather 'at this time', than, 'this is the time'; समैआ is either the oblique, or the long form of समै, 'time'.

लेऊ is more usually pronounced लिअ. The √ ले 'take' takes in the pres. imperat. an optional base लिह (in Mágadhí, लीह), whence 2. imperat. form लिअ.

जैबू, contracted for जइबू, 2 plur. fut. fem. of √ जा 'go'.

लरखोरिआ, (more properly लरकोरिआ), is the long form of लरकोरी, fem. of लरकोरा, 'a parent'.

V. 9. पनिआँ, long form of पानी, 'water'.

V. 10. कारि is the usual word for 'black', in Bihárí. कजरवा is long form of काजर, 'collyrium'. इँगुरा is oblique of इङ्गुर, 'vermilion'.

V. 12. नैना (loc. 'in the eye'), is oblique form of नैन, 'eye': and लिलरा ('on the forehead') of लिलार, 'brow'.

The translation makes the ना in the 6th verse a negative. This, however, is hardly necessary; the sentence being equally capable of being translated as a simple direct statement, instead of a negative question, expecting an affirmative reply.

No. II.

V. 1. भेजल, for भेजले, the regular 3rd sing. past of √ भेज, 'send'. See note on भैले above.

सँवलिआ long form feminine of सँवल, 'light brown'.

आवा, for आवऽ, 2nd plur. imperat. of √ आ, 'come'.

V. 2. गाँफड़वा, long form of गाएँड़, 'the lands near a village',—a common Bihárí word.

बजावैले would be better बजावैला, see note on चलावैला, above.

V. 3. बँधैबू, in this and other similar words, the ऊ (or उ, short for metre) at the end of the word, is the sign of the 2nd plur. feminine. बँधैबू, रखैबौं, &c. are causals, hence the diphthong in the last syllable but one.

V. 4. बगिआ is long form of बाग, 'a garden'. बगिआ is generally specialized to mean, as here, 'an orchard'.

V. 5, 6. किऐबू, &c. are almost certainly incorrect for खिऐबू, खिएबौं, &c. The causal of √ खा 'eat', is खिआव, and not किआव, 'cause to eat'.

No. III.

V. 1. मोझर,—I doubt the correctness of the spelling of this word. It is more usually spelt मोजर.

सनेसा,—*i. e.* सनेस with final vowel lengthened for the sake of metre, is a very common Bihárí corruption of संदेश.

V. 2. पिछुअरवा is long form of पिछुआर, 'the ground behind a house'.

भिकस is more usually spelt भीखस.

देऊ, 2nd imperat. plural of √ दे, 'give'. The termination ऊ for the 2nd plural is rare in Bhojpúrí; but is the usual one in Mágadhí. It also occurs in Maithilí in the termination ऊन्हि, which is simply ऊ, with the redundant plural termination अन्हि added thereto.

एकहिँ is emphatic of एक, 'one only'.

चिठौवा is contracted from चिठियवा, the redundant form of चिठिया, which is the long form of चिट्ठी, 'a letter'.

V. 3. कैथि, see note on कैथिएँ in the 1st song.

कोरा is a common adjective used with कागज, 'paper'. It means literally, 'fresh, clean', but with कागज, has the special sense of 'not written upon'. कगजवा is the long form of कागज.

मगनौआ is an unusual form. A more usual form would be मसिहाना.

V. 4. आँचर has a common oblique form अचरा (*cf.* Song xii, 4). नैना as already pointed out is oblique, in the sense of the locative.

V. 5. आरे is oblique form of आर, 'an edge', just as लोढ़े is of लोढ़. An older form of आर is आरि or आड़ि, which still survives in Maithilí; cf. the Mth. लोढ़ि, noted above.

लिखिहो is the precative imperative.

बिच is oblique of बीच, and ठैँयाँ of ठाँइँ, 'a place'. The regular oblique of ठाँइँ would be ठाँइँयाँ, but the first syllable is shortened, owing to its falling in the antepenult, and a euphonic य is inserted. Hence we get ठँइयाँ or ठैँयाँ. बिचे ठैँयाँ means 'in the middle place'.

बरहो, this is बारह, 'twelve', with emphatic ओ added. The आ of the first syllable is shortened as it falls in the antepenultimate.

V. 6. Cf. Vidyápati 79,9. जैहो is a precative form.

हमरो, emphatic for हमर, 'my'.

V. 7. तरि, is almost certainly incorrect for तोरि, the gen. fem. of तूँ, 'though'.

बिरहँ, is instrumental of बिरह.

V. 8. तोहरा, is the oblique genitive of तूँ, 'thou'. The direct genitive is तोहर, which, when agreeing with a noun in an oblique case (like बलमुआ के), takes the obl. form तोहरा.

चिन्हेलों and जानेलों are the regular Bhojpúrí 1 sing. pres. ind.

V. 9. ठिक is altered from ठीक for the sake of metre.

दुपहरिआ is long form of दुपहर, 'midday'. The word is feminine, and hence takes the long form दुपहरिआ, instead of दुपहरवा.

ताहि is the general oblique form of से, 'that', used as an adjective agreeing with बिचे. बिच is for बीचे the locative of बीच, both syllables being shortened for metre.

V. 10. लिफाइ, conj. participle of the √ लिफाव, 'extend', more usually written लफाव.

लिहलें and बचलन, are 3 plur. past. while लिखल is 3 sing. past. The √ बच or बाच, 'say', is a rare one. The more usual one is बाज, common in Maithilí. In Maithilí बाजब means 'to speak', exactly like the Hindí बोलना, and its causal बजाइब means 'to call', exactly like the Hindí बुलाना.

No. IV.

In copying this song into the Devanágarí character, I was met by its extreme corruptness. Several of the verses have more words than will scan, for instance सुगवा is superfluous in v. 3. Again words are evidently missing in others, for instance two instants are missing in v. 2. This song is known in Arrah, and by the help of competent pandits I have been able to make it fairly correct. In order, however, to show what changes have been made, I have enclosed in marks of parenthesis those words or portions of words which, like सुगवा in v. 3, and ले in v. 11, are superfluous in the original. Words added to fill up the metre of the original, like रे in v. 2, and सुगवा in v. 8, are marked with an asterisk. In verse 14 a whole phrase has had to be added, which I have enclosed in square brackets. In this verse the portion in square brackets was not in the original.

In vv. 8, 10, 12, 14, I have altered मोरे to मोरा: मोरे according to all authorities is certainly incorrect as an oblique form of मोर, 'my'. It has probably been written through confusion with the Hindí मेरे. मोरे is a form of Western Bhojpúrí, but, so far as I can ascertain, it is not used in Gorakhpúr, nor anywhere where pure Bhojpúrí is spoken.

V. 1. मोरे is here an optional direct form of मोर, 'my'. Just as the genitive of घोड़ा, 'a horse', is घोड़क, or घोड़ा के with oblique घोड़ा का, so the genitive of मैं, 'I', is मोर, or मोरे with oblique मोरा..

V. 2. भदसवा, long form of भदेस. भदेस has two meanings, so far as I am aware, 1, the country of Magadh (Gayá), and 2, Uncouth. The two meanings are closely connected according to popular opinion, but which meaning is the original, and which the derivative I do not know.

V. 3. बेर is feminine. Hence its long form is बेरिया.

V. 4. ए is contracted from इहि, the general oblique form of ई this.

V. 7. करें is probably incorrect for करौं, 'I do'. पटकतौं is 1. sing. pret. conditional.

V. 9. तोहि is general oblique form of तूँ. It is really a genitive. *Cf.* song V. 9.

जैबऽ is 2 plur. fut. The first person is जाइब, the 2nd plur. जइबऽ or, contracted, जैबऽ.

V. 11. उरेला is the regular 3 pres. ind. of √ उर (= Hindí उड़), 'fly'.

बैठेल will not scan. बैठ would be the 3 sing. pres. conj. used in the sense of the indicative, as frequently happens.

V. 13. पुइ is the oblique verbal noun governed by लगलेन: see note on लोढ़े above

V. 14. कुअलतिया is long form of कुअलता.

V. 15. रोअलि is the regular 3 sing. fem. pres. ind. of √ रो, 'weep'.

No. V.

The metre of this song is one instant short throughout the 2nd line, the measure of which should be 4 + 4 + 4. In Sháhábád this is corrected by lengthening the final syllable of each line.

V. 1. देओ.—The word is दे in the original, but देओ is the version current in Sháhábád, and is required by the metre. It is 2 plur. imperat. of √ दे, 'give'.

V. 2. माथे, loc. sg. of माथ, 'a head'.

लगविल is the 3rd plur. pret. of √ लगाव, 'to join'. The past participle is लगावल or लगाविल. It must be noted that usually in Bhojpúrí the past part. ends in अल, the term. इल being rare, and confined principally to the Western districts of the dialect. In Maithilí and Mágadhí, the termination इल is never used; hence the past participle in these dialects would be always लगावल (लगाओल). So also in these dialects the past participle of √ देख, 'see', is देखल, and never देखिल. It is not till we get to the extreme east where Bangálí is spoken that we find the termination इल again. So sharply is this distinction preserved, that a Tirhut man, who speaks Maithilí, would at once pronounce any person who said देखिलअँ (instead of देखलअँ), meaning 'I saw', to be a Bangálí from this fact alone. We may summarise the above as follows:

Bhojpúrí has	generally	अल.
	sometimes	इल.
Maithilí, Mágadhí	have always	अल.
Bangálí has always		इल.

बरवा is long form of बार (Hindí बाल), 'hair'.

V. 4. लागेला is the regular Bhojpúrí 1 pres. ind.

लउरा is the adj. लउ (= लघु) with the pleonastic suffix रा.

सगरे is loc. sing. of सागर, 'a tank'. The first syllable is shortened as it now falls in the antepenult.: so also in the long form सगरवा.

डरा, see note to song VI, 2.

V. 5. बाझेला is the regular Bh. 3 pres. ind.

V. 7. तेा is contracted for तोहि, the oblique form of तूं, 'thou'.

V. 8. हम is evidently superfluous, and spoils the metre.

मुनरवा is a long form of मुन्दर. The regular long form would be मन्दरवा, but, as the first syllable is farther back in the word than the penultimate, it is lightened by changing the class nasal न to *anunásik*. We thus get मुँदरवा. But, as I have mentioned in my note on काँधा, just as ँध can be written न्ह, so can ँद be written न, hence we get finally मनरवा. This word is an illustration of a general rule of spelling in Bihárí, that when *anunásik* is followed by the third or fourth consonant of any class, the two together may be represented by the nasal of the class or nasal of the class aspirated respectively. Thus, we have—

(1) आँग or आङ, 'a limb', आँजू or आजू (rare) 'a tear', आँड़ or आण 'testicle', नींद or नीन, 'sleep', नींव or नीम, 'a *nim* tree.'

(2) सींघ or सीङ्ह, 'a lion', सांझ or साञ्झ, *(rare)* 'middle', कींड़ or कोण्ह, 'a pumpkin', कांध or कान्ह, 'Krishn', खांभ or खाम्ह 'a pillar'.

मुन्दर is feminine, and the proper form would be मुनरिया. मुनरिया is the form in the version of the song current in Sháhábád.

जोगे.—I am unable to account for the final ए in this word. It is possibly incorrect. In the Sháhábád version the word is जोग: जोगे may be the old Mágadhí Prákrit nominative, if it is really correct.

V. 9. तोहि is here in its true meaning of a genitive singular.

V. 10. दो फल नरिअर,—The Sháhábád version is दुइ फल निबुआ, 'two lemons'. It is probably the correct one, as दुइ, and not दो, is the Bhojpúrí for 'two'.

The last line will not scan. I can make nothing of it. The Sháhábád version is तूँ दबु हमरा के दाना, which is only a repetition of the latter half of v. 7.

No. VI.

V. 2. डार is the Hindí डाल. Another form of the same root is डराव met with in v. 4 of the last song.

गले is locative.

No. VII.

This song is sung to the melody called जतसारी, a name derived from जाँत, 'a handmill', and सार, 'a house', *i. e.*, 'the song of the mill'. It is a very melancholy air.

V. 1. निबिआ, long form of नींव or नीम *(fem.)*, (see note above on मुनरवा, in V, 8.) 'a *nim* tree', and not 'a lemon tree' as has been translated. निबुआ (*see* V. 10) is the word for a lemon. जुरि, for जूरि for sake of metre. जूरि is fem. of जूर, 'cool', a common Bihárí word, (*cf.* जुड़ि रइनि, 'the cool night', Vid. 50, 3.) The Hindí word is जूड़ा.

V. 2. तरे, *loc.* of तर, 'base'.

अटकि, the old form of अटक, the direct verbal noun (root) of the verb, used in the sense of the conjunctive participle. See note on छोड़े in No. I.

V. 3. गिराइ, also the direct form of the verb. noun. This termination इ still survives in Bhojpúrí in the case of causal and other verbs whose roots end in आ, or आव.

V. 4. अराइ, direct verb. noun of √ अरा, (Hindí अर्राना, 'to produce a continued loud sound'). In Maithilí the form is अड़रा, as in Manbodh's Haribans, 2, 52, कटला तरु जक खसु अड़राइ, 'she fell crashing like a cut tree'.

V. 5. सलवलौं, 1 sing. past. of √ सलाव, 'mortice'. साल means 'a mortice', and सलाइब, 'to join by morticing'.

V 6. सुतिलेन, 3 plur. past. of √ सूत 'sleep'. The root vowel is shortened as it falls in the antepenult., and is followed by a consonant. The long vowel appears in the 2 plur. imperat. सूतऽ in the next verse.

पाटि is translated as 'clothes'. I have not met the word in that meaning. The version of the song current in Sháhábád gives पीठ, 'back': which hardly gives a better meaning. पाटि means literally, 'any flat surface',—one of the resultant meanings is 'the side-boards of a bed': another meaning of पाटि is 'a bandage', or 'fillet'.

V. 9. The Sháhábád version gives उठवलौं in place of the second जगवलौं.

V. 10. धैलि, 3 sing. past. fem. of √ धर, 'seize', 'place'. The masc. would be धैल.

V. 11. छाडु 2 plur. imperat. fem. of √ छाड़, 'release', = the Hindí √ छोड़. छाड़ is the usual Bihárí form of the root, छोड़ being comparatively rare.

V. 14. The Sháhábád version has रे बुझौलो instead of सुमुझौलो.

No. VIII.

The metre in the first two verses is very doubtful. I have conjecturally enclosed in marks of parenthesis, words which should be omitted to make the verses scan.

V. 1. ऐंड़वा, or as it is more usually written ओंड़वा, has the same meaning ss गोंड़वा. See note on this latter word above (Song II, 2).

बड़ि, fem. of बड़, 'great'. बड़ has an oblique form बड़ा with which it is often ignorantly confounded.

V. 2. गैलि 3 sing. fem. past.

V. 3. नियार is the invitation sent by the husband's family to the bride's family, to send the bride to her husband.

जोरिदरवा (long form of जोरिदार) is in the vocative case, and means 'O companion'; the man who brings the invitation being the person supposed to speak.

V. 4. जाला, 3 sing. pres. ind. of √ जा, 'go'.

No. IX.

V. 1. के इहँ means 'who is this'. इहँ is merely a strengthened form of ई, 'this'.

पराइ, does not equal फिराइ. It is the verbal noun (conj. participle), of √ परा, 'run away', (*cf.* Bangálí पलाइते). The √ परा is common in Bihárí: thus, in the Maithilí Haribans of Manbodh (10, 38), रन तजि नरपति चलल पराइ, 'deserting the field of battle the king ran away'.

V. 2. अपना is oblique of अप्पन, 'own'. The latter half of this verse, and of v. 4 has four instants too many.

V. 4. बिघवा is an optional form of बघवा, the long form of बाघ, 'a tiger'. I have never met the word in the sense of 'hyæna'.

No. X.

स and क in the 2nd and 4th verses appears to be superfluous.

No. XI.

The metre of this incantation is most irregular. It affords no assistance towards judging the correctness or otherwise of the spelling.

As usual in these doggrel incantations, in which the charmer assumes an air of superior education, it is full of Hindí forms. Examples are छै 'they are', in the 1st verse, and the typical long के of the 2nd verse. In the Bihár dialects के the sign of the direct (and not the oblique genitive) is always short.

V. 1. घर, one would have expected घरे, the locative here.

V. 5. This is Hindí. पार is almost certainly incorrect for पाए or पाँव, and the whole means 'I reverence the feet of the good (*or possibly* seven) teacher (*or* teachers).

V. 7. निचैलौ for निचैलि is a regular Bihárí 3. sing. fem. past of √ निचा (or √ न्हा), 'bathe'.

गरुल is instr. sing. of गरुल = गरुड़.

V. 8. पहिरा is the Hindí past tense of पहिरना, 'to put on'.

निकरत = Hindí निकलना. पसारौ, for पसारि, is conj. participle of √ पसार, 'stretch out', the causal of √ पसर, 'be scattered'.

Judging from the language of the above song, the charmer was probably a Muhammadan.

No. XII.

V. 1. बैसलेन, 3 plur. past of √ बैस, 'set'. बैस is the regular Bihárí root. √ बैठ is borrowed from Hindí, when used at all, as in the last song. डढ़िए is locative of डाढ़ि, 'a bough'.

V. 3. The metre of these two lines is beyond correction. जनितौं is 1 sing. pret. conditional of √ जान, 'know'. ऐहैं is 3 plur. future of √ आ,

contracted from अदरेँ. अचरा, is oblique of आँचर, 'a cloth'.—(*Cf.* Song II, 4). डगरिआ is long form of डगर, which is feminine.

I would now draw attention to the ample evidence these songs afford of the existence of an oblique form in Bihárí nouns, different from the direct form.

At present too little is known to form any complete set of general rules, but I may recapitulate what I have stated more fully in other places.

1. The verbal noun, usually called the root, has in Bhojpúrí and Mágadhí an oblique form in ए (on Maithilí ऐ or अ). Thus देख (देखि), 'the act of seeing', oblique form देखे (= the Hindí देखा in desiderative compounds); आर (आरि), 'an edge,' obl. आरे.

2. A certain number of nouns, pronouns and adjectives ending in र, ड़, ल, and न, have an oblique form in आ. Examples are,

दोसर, 'second',	obl.	दोसरा.
बड़, 'great',	„	बड़ा.
देखल, 'the act of seeing',	„	देखला.
अप्पन, 'own',	„	अपना.

This includes all the pronominal genitives, such as हमार, *obl.* हमरा: &c. A complete catalogue of the nouns of this class is not now availablo, but it is a very large one, and every week's study gives me new examples. Probably it will be found that every *tadbhava* noun ending as above described can have this oblique form, but it would require a more intimate knowledge of Bihárí than is at present possessed by any European to entitle any one to speak authoritatively on this point.

Another set of grammatical forms of which there are many examples in the foregoing songs, is the instrumental in एँ, and the locative in ए: attention has frequently been drawn to them in my notes.

It is not to be expected that these songs, sung as they are by the most ignorant classes should satisfy strictly all metrical laws; but the metre is generally clearly discernible, and when obscured the reason may often be found in the tendency to repetition, and to the use of long and redundant forms.

These songs were sent to the Asiatic Society written in the Roman character, and it has fallen to my lot to transliterate them back again into Deva Nágarí. I have altered as little as possible; the only changes which I have ventured to make I have noted, except where the original transcript was undoubtedly and clearly wrong. I have been assisted in my task by several pandits whose native language is Bhojpúrí, and who were also acquainted with the songs themselves.

Most of the songs are current in this district (Sháhábád), with more or less variations from the text herewith printed. As an example of the variations, I here give the second song, as dictated to me in Árá (Arrah).

चिठिया लिखि लिखि भेजलि सँवरिया।
आउ हो नंद लाल नेवरिया चढ़ि ॥ ॥ १ ॥
जब काँधा अहलन गाँव के गोहँड़वा।
धीसे धीसे बसिया बजावे हो ॥ ॥ २ ॥
कहवाँ बँधैबू हथिया से घोड़वा।
कहवाँ टिकैबू नंद लाल हो ॥ ॥ ३ ॥
बगिया बँधैबौं हथिया से घोड़वा।
कोठवा टिकैबौं नंद लाल हो ॥ ॥ ४ ॥
का रे खिऐबू हथिया से घोड़वा।
का रे खिऐबू नंद लाल हो ॥ ॥ ५ ॥
दाना घास खिऐबौं हथिया से घोड़वा।
खोअवा खिऐबौं नंद लाल हो ॥ ॥ ६ ॥

The above version appears to me to be the more distinctly, Bihárí of the two; *e. g.* the Bihárí टिकैबू, 'you will cause to stay,' in the 3rd verse compared with the Gorakhpúrí रखैबू, which has a very Hindí air about it.

The last song given by Mr. Fraser is a specimen of the Nág song, of which there are several examples in my Maithil Chrestomathy.

In conclusion, I would express a hope that this most interesting collection of folk-songs will stimulate other gentlemen having equal opportunities with Messrs. Fraser and Fisher, to lend a hand at collecting materials for a most fascinating study. The Bihárí folk-songs are a mine almost entirely unworked, and there is hardly a line in one of them which if published now will not give valuable ore, in the shape of an explanation of some philological difficulty. But it is from comparison of various versions of the same song from various portions of the Bihárí tract that there is most hope of tangible result: and this can only be attained if other gentlemen, officials and non-officials, can be induced to collect a few of the songs current in their own immediate neighbourhood and forward them to the Society, where it is unnecessary to say that they will be valued and welcomed.

The Pagoda or Varáha coins of Southern India.—*By Surgeon Major* G. BIDIE, M. B., *C. I. E., Superintendent Government Central Museum, Madras.*

(With three Plates)

The monetary system of Southern India in the olden time was simple enough, the unit being the gold *pagoda*, which was subdivided into *fanams* and *cash*. Latterly, from political causes, the varieties of these coins became very numerous, so that their discrimination at the present day is a matter of some difficulty. The immediate prototype of the pagoda is found in a globular punch struck coin, Plate I, Fig. 1, weighing 51·945 grs. and having only just the trace of a device. It is believed to be of Buddhist origin, and to belong to an early type of that class of money. This rude form was succeeded by coins made with a die or dies, some of which are known as *Tankas*. All these bear Buddhist symbols and are heavier than the more recent pagodas. One of this type, represented in Fig. 2, weighed 60.1 grs. and has a strong resemblance to the ordinary pagoda. The next forms, in chronological succession, which have come under my notice are the *Chalukyan*, *Nonambavadi* and *Gajapati* pagodas, which are followed by those of the house of *Vijayanagar*. The sovereigns of these dynasties would appear to have reserved to themselves the right of coining money, but, after the conquest of Vijayanagar by the Mahomedan kings of the Dakhan in 1565, every petty state assumed the privilege of setting up a mint. This gave rise to an infinity of forms and Col. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro, writing in 1806, regarding the coins in the Bellary district, says, "the currency consists of 32 different kinds of pagodas and 15 of Rupees. They are chiefly local having been issued by Nawabs, Rajahs and Poligars."* Taken as a whole the pagodas afford most valuable and interesting information, regarding the early political history of India south of the Kistna. Unfortunately their value in this respect was long overlooked, and until recent times no systematic attempt was made to form a permanent public collection of the series. Owing to this neglect many of the forms, more especially the older ones, are quite unknown to numismatists, and there is but little prospect now of making good this defect. As regards those that have been preserved but very little information of a reliable kind has been recorded, and the few facts that remain refer mostly to the more modern forms and are scattered in local histories, travels and such like, which sometimes contain incidental allusions to the currency of the day. The vernacular designations of the several types of the pagoda

* Kelsall's "Manual of the Bellary District" p. 287.

differed in the various districts in which they circulated, and cannot be much relied on as affording trustworthy information, regarding either the chief who struck a coin, or its place of mintage. There is also reason to suspect, that after the fall of Vijayanagar some of its former vassals made coins which were exact copies of those previously issued by the superior power; just as after the ruin of the Mughul Empire, many Native States coined rupees bearing the name of some former Emperor of Delhi. This no doubt was done partly as an act of homage to a power that might again be in the ascendant, and partly out of deference to popular prejudice which was apt to regard with suspicion any new form of coin. Thus Munro in speaking of the varieties of pagodas in the Bellary district remarks "in Raidrug the Venkatapati pagoda is commonest, while in Gurramconda the ryots will not look at it."* Even Hyder, when building up his mushroom kingdom on the plateau of Mysore, did not dare to risk the opposition of popular feeling by introducing a new pagoda, but actually overcame his pride and religious scruples so far as to copy a familiar Hindu form, with an obverse bearing figures of Siva and Parvati! So also, after the fall of Seringapatam, Krishna Raja, who was then placed on the throne of Mysore, selected the same old Hindu symbols for the obverse of his pagoda as had been adopted by Hyder. To numismatists, who have been accustomed to study old European coins or those of the Mahomedan sovereigns of India, the Madras pagodas appear particularly puzzling and uninteresting, as they do not always bear the name of the sovereign who struck them, and never give any information as to the place or date of mintage. Although the name *Pagoda*, as applied to a coin, is of comparatively modern origin, the derivation of the term is very obscure. Prinsep says it is "a Portuguese appellation derived from the pyramidal temple depicted on one side of it,"† and this would appear to be the general opinion of other authorities. Bartolomeo, who lived in Southern India from 1776 to 1789, calls the coin "Bhagavadi," and describes it thus: "a gold coin with the figure of the goddess Bhagavadi, called by the Europeans very improperly *Pagodi* or *Pagoda*, is round and on one side a little convex."‡ *Bhagavadi* or *Bhagavati* is one of the names of *Durga* or *Parvati*;§ and, as Bartolomeo was an accomplished linguist, his etymology of the term Pagoda is probably correct.‖ The gold and silver pagodas of the East India Company with the figure of a temple on the reverse (Pl. 3, Fig. 24) are com-

* Kelsall's "Manual of the Bellary District," p. 287.

† Thomas's "Prinsep's Indian Antiquities," Useful Tables, p. 17.

‡ Translation of a voyage to the East Indies &c., by Fra Paolino Da San Bartolomeo, p. 87.

§ Ziegenbalg's "South Indian gods," translated by Metzger, p. 145.

‖ The pagoda alluded to by Bartolomeo is doubtless the "Durgi," Pl. 2, Fig. 12.

paratively modern, and it seems more probable that this device was adopted with reference to the prevailing popular European designation of the piece, than that the coin was called "Pagoda" on account of its bearing the figure of a temple. The common Tamil name for the pagoda is *Varáha*, an appellation due to the circumstance, that some of the older types had on the obverse the figure of a *Varáha* or *Boar*—the symbol of the Chalukyas and kings of Vijayanagar—or the image of Vishnu in the Varáha avatár. The Hindustani name of the pagoda is *Hun*, a word probably derived from *Honnu*, the Canarese designation of the half pagoda. That the Mahomedans should have adopted this corruption of the Canarese term for the coin is explained by the fact, that when they invaded the Carnatic, they first saw the pagoda or half pagoda in the hands of a Canarese speaking people. According to Sir Walter Elliot the term *varáha* is never used in ancient Tamil records in connection with money, but the word *pon*, which originally signified gold. He is also of opinion "that the normal standard coin was a piece equal to the modern half pagoda, the pagoda itself being the double *pon*, which ultimately became the *varáha*." The weights of the different forms of the *varáha* vary, and it is a curious fact, that the Venetian Sequin, which used to circulate freely on the Malabar Coast, and the Ducat which also found its way to Madras are very nearly of the same weight as the pagoda. According to Prinsep the weights of the 3 coins were as follows:*

	Grains.
Venetian Sequin	52·40
Ducat	53·50
Star Pagoda, average	52·40

Kelly gives the weight of the star pagoda as 52·56 grains and adds that the metal was 19½ carats fine, which gives "42·048 grains of fine gold."†

Other pagodas of native States varied in weight from 45·30 to 52·87 grains each.

Prior to 1818 all public and mercantile accounts were kept in *Pagodas*, *Fanams* and *Cash* as follows:—

80 Cash = 1 Fanam
42 Fanams = 1 Pagoda.

The complete system, however, for some time prior to the introduction of the rupee as the monetary standard, embraced other coins, thus:—

10 Cash = 1 Doodie
2 Doodies = 1 Pice

* Thomas's "Prinsep's Indian Antiquities," U. T., pp. 43 and 44.
† Kelly's "Universal Cambist," Vol. I, p. 90.

4 Pice = 1 Fanam
42 Fanams = 1 Pagoda.

The East India Company and other European merchants kept "their accounts at 12 Fanams the Rupee, and 42 Fanams or 3½ Rupees the Star pagoda, but the natives reckoned "the Rupee at 12 Fanams, 60 cash, and the Star pagoda at 44 fanams, 50 cash."*

The present paper does not include all the forms of the pagoda that have been in circulation in Southern India, but only those of which there are specimens in the Madras Museum, together with a few others which have been deemed necessary to illustrate the subject, or to render the monograph more complete. In describing the coins they will be grouped as far as possible according to dynasties, and the groups arranged in chronological order. In treating of coins concerning which so little has been recorded, and which are intrinsically so difficult, it is hardly to be expected that all my conclusions will invariably be accepted, but I shall be glad if they excite discussion and elicit further reliable information.

Buddhist Coins.—The Buddhist religion was introduced into Southern India in the time of the great Aśoka. In the 17th year of his reign, 246 B. C., the third Buddhist Council was held, after which Missionaries were sent to propagate the faith in Mysore, Kanara and the Dakhan.† Of the success of this propagandism we have abundant evidence in architectural remains, in inscriptions, and in the narrative of the Chinese pilgrim Huen Thsang, who came to India in the 7th century of our era, to see the shrines and learn the doctrines of Buddhism. It is also known that the early Pallava kings, who ruled the country throughout which the Telugu language is now spoken, were Buddhists,‡ and it is probable that, like Aśoka, they made it the State religion. The well known remains of the tope at Amrávati in the Guntoor district, "are perhaps the most beautiful and perfect Buddhist sculptures yet found in India."§ This magnificent structure was erected in the 4th century of our era, and quite recently a more ancient tope, at Juggiapett on the opposite side of the Kistna, was brought to notice by Mr. R. Sewell, C. S., and explored by Dr. Burgess. There is also reason to believe, that the oldest temple at Conjeveram was originally a Buddhist shrine, and undoubted remains of similar structures at one time existed near Nagapatam, and in the Tinnevelly and Trichnopoly districts.‖ A huge stone Buddha image was also some years ago dug

* Kelly's "Universal Cambist," Vol. I, p. 90.
† "Cave Temples of India," p. 17.
‡ Rice's "Mysore Inscriptions," Introduction, p. 88.
§ "Cave Temples of India," p. 64.
‖ Elliot in Journal, Madras Literary Society, Vol. XIX for 1857-58, p. 226.

up near Tuticorin, and is now lodged in the Government Central Museum.* We may therefore infer that Buddhism flourished over the whole of Southern India for about 1000 years. In the 7th century of our era it was on the decline, in the 8th it was rapidly disappearing and shortly after that it vanished from the country generally.† The causes of the extinction of Buddhism are not well known, but it was probably due partly to the increase of the Jains, and partly to Brahminical persecution and the rivalry of Sivaism. The specimens of Buddhist coins found in the Madras Presidency are made of lead, copper, silver and gold. Some of the older gold and silver forms are simply globules, or irregular shaped flat pieces of metal on which various figures have been stamped with a punch. On the other hand, some of the lead coins are of superior make, and bear on the obverse bold and fairly well designed figures of the elephant, lion, bull or horse, or of a ship. The coin No. 1 described below, belongs to a series older than, and which was probably the prototype of, the pagoda. In form it greatly resembles some of the pagodas, and its weight is so very nearly the same, that the difference may be attributed to loss by wear.

Pl. I, Fig. 1. Globular with traces of punch marks on both sides This coin was received years ago from the Collector of Dharwar, under the name of *Goolrourha pagoda*, probably a corruption of *Gutika*, "pilulus," the ancient name of these small spherical coins.‡ This specimen probably belongs to the 1st or 2nd century of the Christian era.

Weight 51.945 grains.

Pl. I, Fig. 2. This figure has been copied from Sir Walter Elliot's "Numismatic Gleanings,"§ as a good example of an early die-struck coin, and as the scroll on the reverse is of a type which is repeated on some of the older Hindu pagodas. It also appears in the carvings of some Madras temples, and not unfrequently is tacked on as the tail to a swan-like bird.

Ob. A State chair or seat surmounted with four dots or spheres, and placed under the portico of a temple: above the lintel of the portico parts of 2 lotus flowers.

Rev. The tail of a bird; or arabesque of foliage according to Elliot.

Chalukya Coins. The Chalukyas, ancient sovereigns of Oudh, invaded the South of India in the 4th century, and soon became the dominant power. Their capital was at Kalayana, in the Nizam's territory, and their signet was the *boar*. Their other insignia were the *peacock-fan*, the *ankusha* or elephant goad, the *golden sceptre, &c.* ‖ About the beginning

* Dr. Burgess says it may be Jain, but it has all the appearance of Buddha.

† "Cave Temples of India," p. 19.

‡ Sir W. Elliot in Journal, Madras Literary Society, Vol. XX, 1858, p. 84.

§ Journal, Madras Literary Society, Vol. XIX, 1857-58, Pl. VIII, Fig. 30.

‖ "Rice's Gazetteer of Mysore," Vol. I, p. 205.

of the 7th century the Chalukyas separated into two branches one of which, the western, remained at Kalyana and the other, the eastern, made Vengi their head-quarters. The western line continued to flourish till about the middle of the 12th century, after which it rapidly declined, and the Chalukyas ceased to exist as a royal house in Southern India before the beginning of the 12th century.

Pl. I, Fig. 3. This is copied from pl. 1, fig. 5, of Elliot's "Numismatic Gleanings," No. 2.

Ob. A boar caparisoned, and surmounted with the sun and moon.

Rev. A central boss surrounded with dots, which, Sir Walter Elliot says, represent a *chakra* or wheel. It probably was coined in the 7th or 8th century of our era.

Pl. I, Fig 4.

Ob. Boar to the right richly caparisoned, and with scrolls above and below.

Rev. According to Elliot a radiating *chakra* or *wheel;* but it may be a *snake* ornament or the *lotus.* Probable date of coinage 8th or 9th century of our era.

Weight, 58.225 grains.

It will be observed that its weight exceeds that of the ordinary pagoda.

This coin was sent to the Museum in 1855 by the Collector of Bellary, under the erroneous name of "Gajapati pagoda."

Pl. I, Fig. 5. Copied from pl. 104, fig. 13, Moore's "Hindu Pantheon," which is a figure of a specimen found in Tippu's Cabinet.

Ob. Boar to the left, with sun and moon, and part of a scroll above, below a scroll, and dagger like a cross.

Rev. A scroll or bird's tail like that on Fig. 2.

Nonambavadi Coin. According to Rice "the name of the Nolambavadi or Nonambavadi thirty-two thousand provinces, extending over most of the Chitaldroog and Bellary districts, specially connects itself to all appearance with the Pallavas."* This line of sovereigns ruled the whole of the country from Calingapatam in the north to the seven Pagodas in the south, their western limit extending into Mysore.† As already stated, the early kings of the dynasty were Buddhists, and the topes at Amrávati and elsewhere in the north were erected in their reign. So also were the monolithic temples of the Seven Pagodas, but at a later date; for although the architectural designs are exclusively Buddhist, they are covered with purely Brahminical emblems. The date of the Amrávati tope has been fixed at about A. D. 400, and that of Mahavallipuram, or the Seven Pago-

* "Mysore Inscriptions," p. 53.

† Rice's "Mysore Gazetteer," Vol. I, p. 202.

das, at about A. D. 700.* Mr. Rice has from inscriptions given a tentative list of Pallava kings, extending from A. D. 200 to A. D. 1120.† For many centuries of the latter years of their sway they were in continual feud with the Cholas, Chalukyas and other Southern powers, and were finally conquered and driven from their kingdom by a Chalukya king, A. D. 1138 to 1150.‡ Up to the close of the 6th century their capital was in the north country called Vengi, but shortly after this they were dispossessed there, and established their seat of Government at Conjeveram.§ It is probable that about this time they built or encouraged the building of the rock-cut temples at the Seven Pagodas, and the fact that these were never completed may have been due to some interruption in the shape of struggles with warlike neighbours. That such marvellous structures should have been undertaken by a people who had erected the topes at Amrávati and elsewhere in the north, is just what might have been expected, and the mingling of Buddhist and Brahminical designs in the work is explained by the circumstance, that the people had long been familiar with Buddhist architecture, and had but recently adopted the Brahminical creed. In short the latter had not yet had time to create an architectural style of its own. The Nonambavadi district was wrested from the Pallavas by the Chalukyas, and subsequently passed into the hands of the Hoysala Ballalas. While thus owned it continued to be called Nonambavadi, but apparently dropped this name on coming under the sway of the Vijayanagar house.‖ In the Bangalore Museum there is a coin which has the name "Nonambavadi" in Hale Kannada characters on the reverse, and Mr. Rice infers, that as this title was never applied to the district in later times, "the coin would be as old as the 13th century, and perhaps older." There is no specimen of this most interesting coin in the Madras Museum, but simply an electrotype copy, which fails to bring out properly the figure on the obverse.

Pl. I, Fig. 6.

Ob. Figure of Harihara:¶

Rev. Three lines in Hale Kannada, the middle one reading (*No*)*nambavadi.*

For a long time this was the only copy of this coin known to exist, but of late I have heard of another one passing into private hands, and probably when next seen it will have been converted into a shirt-stud!

* "Cave Temples of India," p. 110.

† "Mysore Inscriptions," p. 53.

‡ "Mysore Inscriptions," p. 58.

§ Rice's "Mysore Inscriptions," p. 52.

‖ Rice's "Mysore Gazetteer," Vol. I, Supplement, p. 3.

¶ Union of Vishnu and Siva, Dowson's "Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology," p. 117; also product of "Siva's union with Vishnu in the female form," Ziegenbalg's "South Indian Gods" by Metzger, p. 6.

GAJAPATI DYNASTY or *Elephant Lords.**

The device of the elephant† originally belonged to the *Kongus* or *Cheras*, whose dominion first included the Malabar, Coimbatore and Salem districts, and latterly a large portion of what is the modern Mysore territory. At one time their capital was at Skandapura in N. lat. 11° 40′ and East long. 77°, but in the 3rd century it was moved to Talkad on the Cauvery. The Cheras are supposed to have been the people called by Ptolemy *Carei*, and their country the *Carura regia Cerebothri.*‡ About the 9th century of our era their capital Talkad having been captured by the Cholas, the Kongus fled to Orissa, and established there the *Ganga vamsa* line of kings. They were also called *Gajapati*, and it is believed struck the Gajapati Pagodas. Wilson in his "Description of Select Coins"§ says "they are not unfrequent, and are the work of the Gajapati princes of *Orissa*, who reigned from the 11th to the 16th century." In Southern India genuine copies of the Gajapati pagodas are scarce and dear, but at Bangalore fictitious ones are made, according to demand, with such ingenuity that it is by no means easy to distinguish the real from the false.

Pl. I, Fig. 7.

Ob. Elephant to the right caparisoned with jewelled trappings.

Rev. A scroll of foliage or peacock's tail, as in fig. 2.

There are two specimens of this in the Museum, one of which was got from the Collector of Darwar and the other purchased.

Probable date of coinage, 13th century.

Weight. One weighs 60·75 grains and the other 60·24 grains. These weights are also much above the average of the pagoda.

LINGAYAT PAGODA. I have adopted this designation for this pagoda with some hesitation, as the symbols on it are, as regards their significance, very obscure. Marsden in his "Numismata Orientalia" Part II, pl. 48, fig. 1077, gives a representation of it, and at page 740 states, that it is a coin of a Hindu prince of Bijapur who resigned some time prior to Yusuf Adil Shah, who founded the Adil Shahi dynasty there in 1489. One of the specimens of this coin, now in the Museum, was sent from Canara to the Madras Exhibition of 1855, under the name of "Lingaity Pagoda," and this identification has been adopted as a popular and probable one. The Lingayat sect of Hindus was founded about 1160, at Kalayana, by Basava, prime minister to Bijjala, a Kalachurya prince.‖ The distinctive mark of the

* Rice's "Mysore Inscriptions", p. 47 and "Asiatic Annual Register for 1804," Section "Characters."

† Thomas's "Pathan Kings of Delhi," p. 170, note.

‡ Rice's "Mysore Gazetteer," Vol. I, pp. 197, 198.

§ "Asiatic Researches," Vol. XVII, p. 593.

‖ Rice's "Mysore Gazetteer," Vol, I, pp. 210, 382.

Lingayats is a peculiar shaped silver case containing a small black stone. This box is either fastened to the arm or suspended from the neck, and the symbols on the coin may have reference to this portable linga.

Pl. I, Fig. 8. *Ob.* A figure which may be the linga with a snake-like scroll on it.

Rev. A figure which may be the yoni, or linga and yoni combined.*

Probable date, 14th century.

Weight. One specimen weighs 51·025 and the other 50·85 grains.

Vijayanagar or Bijanagar Pagodas. This dynasty was the last great Hindu power, and one of the most important that ever existed, in Southern India. Its capital was built near the site of the ancient Kishkinda, the kingdom of the monkey-flag, and the magnificent ruins of it which still exist testify to the wealth, power and splendour of this once famous sovereignty. The city was situated on the banks of the Tungabhadra about 34 miles N. W. of Bellary, near Anagundi, the Rajah of which claims to be descended of the royal house of Vijayanagar. The empire, as well as the city, was founded by two brothers Hakka—afterwards named Harihara—and Bukka, with the assistance of the learned Madhava who afterwards became their prime minister. There is no very certain information as to the descent of the two brothers, but Rice† states that they "were sons of Sangama, described as a prince of the Yadava line and the lunar race," who had their capital at Devagiri, the modern Daulatabad. The Vijayanagar house rose into prominence between A. D. 1336 and 1350. For some time its territory was confined to the neighbourhood of the capital, but when at the zenith of its power it ruled the greater part of Karnata and Telingana, and also the Canara Coast. The empire lasted, with varying fortune, from 1336 till the 25th January 1565, when its forces, under Rama Raja the usurper, were defeated and its power shattered on the fatal field of Talikota, by a combination of the armies of the four Mahommedan principalities of the Dakhan. The accounts given of Vijayanagar, by European travellers who visited India prior to the ruin of the dynasty, speak of the general prosperity of the country and the great splendour of the city. This state of affairs did not last after Talikota, as the various Palegars and other petty chiefs, who were thus relieved of the yoke of the empire, at once began to fight amongst themselves for supremacy, and the land groaned under pillage and rapine. As already mentioned, these subordinate States on becoming independent at once assumed the right to coin money, and hence the numerous varieties of coins found in Southern India. About a year after the decisive battle, Tirumala Raja, the brother of Rama Raja, returned to Vijayanagar, and attempted to restore it, but finding this

* It has also been suggested that the symbols may be of Jain origin.

† "Mysore Inscriptions," p. 81.

hopeless he retired to Penkonda. The descendants of the true line finally took shelter from the storm of Mahommedan invasion at Chandragiri, a hill fort, which together with that of Vellore, was built by Rayas of Vijayanagar. From the former fastness Sri Ranga Raya, the then representative of the old house, granted, in 1640, a deed handing over to the English the site of modern Madras. Unfortunately that document was lost during the French occupation of Fort St. George, but it is stated, that in addition to the grant of land it conferred the privilege of coining money, on the condition, that the English should preserve on their coinage "the representation of that deity who was the favourite object of his worship."* Six years after this he was a fugitive from the Mahommedan power of Golcondah, and with him the Vijayanagar family may be said to have disappeared from the political horizon of Southern India.

Pl. I, Fig. 9.† This coin is of great interest as pertaining to one of the two brothers who founded the Vijayanagar Empire. There are two copies of it in the Museum one of which was received from the Mysore treasury under the name of "Hanumuntaroi," and the other from an unknown source with the designation "Hanoomuntha" pagoda. From this it would appear that the figure on the obverse is popularly supposed to be a representation of Hanuman, to which it has a strong resemblance. It is possible that Bukka adopted this emblem from the circumstance, that the city of Vijayanagar was built near the site of the ancient Kishkinda, the capital of the monkey race; or its assumption may be due to his having subdued the country of the powerful Kadambas, whose ensign was the *monkey-flag*.

Ob. Hanuman seated on a throne; right arm uplifted and grasping something in the hand, left hand resting on the thigh.

Rev. Inscription partly cut and worn away, but with the name "Bukka" distinct. Probable date A. D. 1350—79.

Weight. One specimen weighs 52·5 grains and the other 50·65 grains.

Pl. I, Fig. 10*a*. This figure is borrowed from pl. 104, fig. 3 of Moore's Hindu Pantheon, and is the representation of one of the many coins the property of Tippu Sultan, which fell into the hands of the captors of Seringapatam. Moore supposes the figure on the obverse to be "Garuda," but says he has seen it called "*Kandubarundup*," an evident corruption of "Ghunda Bhairunda," the name of a coin included in the Mackenzie Collection. Wilson in plate 4 of his "Description of Select Coins"‡

* Marsden's "Numismata Orientalia," Part II, p. 739.

† For the deciphering of the inscription on this, and on following coins bearing Sanscrit inscriptions, I am indebted to the kindness of R. Sewell, Esq., Madras Civil Service, of the Archæological department.

‡ "Asiatic Researches," Vol. XVII, p. 595.

gives 4 figures of coins of the same series and observes, that they are ascribed to the Vira Raya of *Coimbatore*, and are the "Garuda Mudras," No. 11 of the Mackenzie Catalogue of Hindu gold coins. This would appear to be a mistake, as they are undoubtedly the "Gunda Bharundas," No. 30 of the Mackenzie Collection. The figure on the coin is described by Wilson as "a double-headed figure of Garura, holding an elephant in each beak and each claw." In Southern India this two-headed bird is always known as "Ghunda Bhairunda," and is regarded as distinct from *Garuda*, which has but one head. Considerable doubt has hitherto existed as to the dynasty to which these remarkable coins belong, but this is now settled by the coin figured, for the reading of which I am indebted to Dr. James Burgess. Specimens of the "Ghunda Bhairunda" are not uncommon in copper, and a representation of one of these is given in plate II, fig. 10.

Ob. A two-headed bird like the Russian emblem, but holding a small elephant in each beak and in each claw.

Rev. Sri Pratapa Deva Raya.

The Deva Raya here referred to was the third king of the Vijayanagar line, counting Harihara and Bukka as conjoint sovereigns. He reigned from 1401 to 1451, and was frequently involved in sanguinary wars with Firoz Shah of the Bahmani house of Kalbargah, although Firoz married his daughter. Abdul Razzak the Persian ambassador who visited Vijayanagar in A. D. 1441, during Deva Raya's reign, says,* that the city was "such as eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth." "In the king's treasury there are chambers with excavations in them filled with molten gold in one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazaar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers." "The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazaar." The architectural and general features of the city are also described, and it is said "the country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile, and about 300 good seaports belong to it," also that it "is so well populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it."

Pl. I, Fig. 11. The forms of this coin in the Museum, although evidently struck with different dies, yet agree generally both as regards the inscription and the figures on the obverse. The popular names under which they were from time to time received from various districts of the country differ greatly, and, curious to say, not one of them implies that the coin belonged to the Vijayanagar house. The type of the obverse of this pagoda appears to have been a favourite one, as not only was it adopted by subsequent sovereigns of the dynasty, but also by the Nayaks of Bednur,

* Rice's "Mysore Gazetteer," Vol. I, pp. 228, 229.

who were vassals of Vijayanagar, as well as by Hyder, and Krishna Raja Wodeyar, of Mysore.

Ob. Siva and Parvati seated, and with the sun and moon overhead. In some there is just a trace of the deer to the right of Parvati; in some Siva holds in his right hand the *Damaru* or *Drum;* and in some it grasps the *Club* or *Khatwanga.* In one the right hand holds something suspiciously like the *Chank*, but it is probably intended to represent his *Bow.*

Rev. Srî Pratápa Deva Ráya. In some the word Deva is given as Dáva.

Weight, 52·525 grains.

Pl. II, Fig. 12, 12*a* and 12*b*. This coin has long been popularly known as the *Durgi pagoda*, the figure on the obverse being regarded as Durgá the bull-headed consort of Siva. From the examination of a number of specimens, however, it is apparent, that the symbols that accompany the figure on the obverse are not Sivaite, but the *chank* or *chakra* of Vishnu, and that the figure itself represents the *Varaha* or *Boar* incarnation. In fact it is from the figure of the boar on this and the Chalukyan coins already described, that the pagoda got the Tamil name of *Varáha.* The inscription on the reverse shews that this form was first struck by a Vijayanagar king, but there is strong reason for believing that it was subsequently reproduced by tributaries of that house, and notably by the Chitaldroog Nayak about the end of the 17th century. It is also probable that the term *Durgi* as applied to this pagoda had originally no reference to the figure on the obverse, but was simply a popular modification of the word "Durga" a *hill-fort*, and the diminutive title of Chitaldroog the place at which the more modern specimens were struck.

Ob. Figure of Vishnu in the boar incarnation, with the chank or chakra emblems.

Rev. Sri Pratápa Krishna Ráya.

Weight. From 50·875 to 51·837.

In some specimens the inscription is not quite complete, and there are several types of the Varaha figure on the obverse. The Krishna Raya who struck the coin reigned from 1508 to 1542. With his predecessor Narasimha the line was changed, and various romantic accounts are given of Krishna's descent and early years. It will be observed that he or some predecessor changed the State religion, the figures of Siva and Parvati on the coinage having given place to that of Vishnu. During Krishna Raya's reign the kingdom of Vijayanagar was at its zenith, as regards its power, extent, prosperity and wealth, and he appears to have been one of the most distinguished sovereigns that ever sat on the throne. "He kept possession of all the country up to the Krishna: eastwards he captured

Warangal and ascended to Cuttack, where he married the daughter of the raja as the bond of peace, while westwards his conquests extended up to Salsette."* About the end of his reign shadows began to fall on the prosperity of the Vijayanagar house, and gradually it was involved in ruinous revolutions and contests.

Pl. II, Fig. 13. This is a coin of Sadásiva of Vijayanagar who reigned, nominally, from A. D. 1542 to 1573, but was virtually controlled by Rama Raja his minister who finally usurped the throne.

Ob. Siva with the trisúl in his right hand and the antelope in his left. Parvati on the left side of her lord.

Rev. Sadásiva.

Weight. 52·912 grs.

The obverse of this coin is the exact prototype of the "Ikkéri" and "Bahaduri" pagodas, and at one time I had doubts as to whether the Sadásiva, whose name is on the reverse, was not the Nayak of that name who founded the Ikkéri house in the Shimoga district of Mysore,† and established a mint there which was afterwards captured and worked by Hyder. Originally a poor man, he is said to have discovered some hidden treasure with which he built a fort. He then visited the Court of Vijayanagar and obtained, in A. D. 1560, a grant of the Government of Barkur, Mangalur and Chandragutti, with the title of Sadá Siva Nayak. His successor established the capital at Ikkéri, but in 1639 it was moved to Bednur, the modern Nagar of the Shimoga district, and at one time a place of great strength and importance.‡

Pl. II, Fig. 14. This coin has originally been somewhat roughly executed, and the die of the reverse has apparently slipped to one side, so that the inscription is not in the centre and is partly incomplete. The reading is therefore not quite satisfactory, but the name seems to be that of Tirumala Raja, who was the maternal uncle of Sadásiva. He is said to have for a time usurped the throne of Vijayanagar, but having rendered himself disagreeable to the Court and people, Rama Raja with the assistance of the nobles expelled him, on which he committed suicide. A romantic story is told of his having transferred the sovereignty of part of Mysore to the Wadeyars, but this is very doubtful.

Ob. Siva and Parvati.

Rev. Sri Ti (rumala) Raja.

The specimen in the Museum is a half pagoda.

Weight. 25·8 grs.

* Rice's "Mysore Gazetteer," Vol. I, p. 230.

† Buchanan's "Mysore," Vol. III, p. 254.

‡ Rice's "Mysore Gazetteer," Vol. II, p. 355.

Pl. II, Fig. 15 and 15*a*. The two specimens of this coin figured were both received under the name of "Venkatapati pagoda," viz. one from the Collector of Bellary and one from the Mysore Commissioner's Treasury. Marsden* gives a figure and description of a coin of this type and says it resembles two figures of S. Indian coins, in the work of the old traveller Tavernier "which he attributes to a *raja* of *Velouche*, probably a corruption of Vellore." Wilson also alludes to this pagoda and states, that it was struck by Venkatapati Raja of *Chandragiri* in the beginning of the 17th century, after the overthrow of the *Vijayanagar* kingdom."† Referring next to Capt. Newbold's account of the Bellary district,‡ written in 1839, it appears, that at one time Venkatapati pagodas were also coined at Raidrug, and this statement is further borne out by the fact, that the Collector of the District in sending specimens of the pagoda to Madras in 1855 says, that they were coined at Raidrug by "Vencatapaty Naidoo Poligar of that place." It seems likely therefore that the *Venkatapati pagoda* was first coined at Chandragiri by the ex-raja of Vijayanagar, and latterly at Raidrug. One of the last Palegars of that place was named Venkatapati, and as the family were descended of a former Commander-in-Chief of Vijayanagar and were long vassals of that house, they would naturally, on setting up a mint, copy the coinage of the dynasty with which they had been so intimately connected. Venkatapati the Palegar was a contemporary of Hyder, and had to yield allegiance first to Delhi, and finally to Seringapatam.

Ob. Figure of Vishnu under a canopy; four-armed and holding up the usual symbols.

Rev. Sri V(en)kat(e)svarâ(ya)namah.

Weight of one 51·05 gr. and of the other 50·725.

It will be observed that this pagoda is very different in every respect from those issued by the rajas of Vijayanagar, when in the zenith of their power; in fact the coin has more the appearance of a religious token than of a piece of current money, and would seem to imply, that in their humiliation and troubles the rajas sought consolation from devotion to religious duties. Or it may have been adopted with reference to the neighbouring shrine of Tripati having been taken under their special protection.

GANDIKATA PAGODA.

Pl. II, Fig. 16. This coin was sent to the Madras Exhibition of 1855 by the Collector of Bellary as a "Timmanayanee Perathapum, coined at Goondicotta by Timma-Naidoo Palaigar of that place." According to Newbold also the "Gundicotta" pagoda was termed "Timma Naid Pertap,"

* "Numismata Orientalia," Part II, p. 738, fig. 1073.

† "Asiatic Researches," Vol. XVII, p. 596 and Pl. IV, fig. 96.

‡ "Madras Journal of Literature and Science," Vol. X, p. 131.

and was in circulation in the Ceded Districts in 1839.* Gandikota is a hill fortress in the Cuddapah District, and stands on a scarped rock some 300 feet above the bed of the Pennar river. It is said to have been built before Vijayanagar, and it had a famous temple endowed by one of the Vijayanagar kings.† In the old days the fort was considered impregnable, and was held by a line of Palegars, who were vassals of Vijayanagar. This explains the adoption of the obverse which is identical with that of fig. 15, and is a further illustration of the retention of a familiar device in deference to popular prejudice. A formidable place like Gandikota was not likely to remain unnoticed by the various chiefs who sought in succession to acquire the territory that formerly belonged to Vijayanagar. Accordingly we find that it was first captured by Mahommed Kuli of Golkonda, early in the 17th century. Subsequently it passed into the possession of various other powers, and was finally captured by Capt. Little in 1791. The inscription on the reverse is said to be in debased Nagari which probably implies, that the coins are copies of still older ones, struck probably late in the 16th century before the capture of the fortress by Mahommed Kuli.‡

Ob. Figure of Vishnu under a canopy; four-armed and holding the usual symbols.

Rev.

Sri Ram.
Rajá Ram.
Ram Rajá.

Weight.—26·15 gr. (a half pagoda).

The Rama of the inscription is probably the usurper Rama Rajah, who occupied the throne of Vijayanagar about the middle of the 16th century. It was he who led the Hindu forces against the Mahommedans at the battle of Talikota, which ended in his death and the ruin of the empire. Specimens of this pagoda are by no means rare, and forged modern ones are quite common.

CHITALDROOG PAGODA.

Pl. II, Fig. 17. This is no doubt one form of the real *Durgi pagoda*, struck by the Nayaks of Chitaldroog after the fall of Vijayanagar. Chitaldroog was long held by a warlike family of the Bédar, or hunter caste, founded by Timmana Nayak about A. D. 1508. Although nominally vassals of Vijayanagar they maintained a semi-independence, and being bold and ambitious gradually acquired a large extent of territory. During the

* G le's "Cuddapah Manual," p. 301.

† "Madras Journal of Literature and Science," Vol. X, p. 131.

‡ The legend on this coin was deciphered by Pandit Bhaja Vandal Indraji for whose kind aid I am indebted to Dr. Codrington, Secretary B. B. Royal Asiatic Society.

wars that raged in that part of Southern India in the 17th and 18th centuries, Chitaldroog not only managed to maintain its existence, but to take a more or less conspicuous place in the turmoil. Finally, having attracted the cupidity of Hyder, the fort of Chitaldroog was captured by him though treachery in 1779, after several vain attempts to seize it by force of arms. The ruling Nayak at the time was also taken and sent, along with his family, a prisoner to Seringapatam. Not content with this Hyder deported 20,000 of the inhabitants of the place who were also of the bold and hardy Bédar caste, with the object of completely breaking up the power which had manifested such formidable and enduring resistance.

Ob. Durga, a form of Parvati.

Rev. Some coarse imitations of Nagari characters.

Weight. 52·25 grs.

Hawkes describes and figures a "Doorga" and "Molay Doorgee" pagoda, both of which were struck at Chitaldroog.

Travancore Pagoda.

Pl. III, Fig. 22. Two specimens of this coin were got from the Treasury of H. H. the Maharajah of Travancore, one of which was designated "Anantha Varahen."

Ob. Peculiar figure of Vishnu placed between two lotus flowers, with conventional representations of the usual symbols in his hand.

Rev. Convex granulated.

Weight. 52·43 grs.

Pl. II, Fig. 18. This coin, a double pagoda, was struck by His Highness the late Rama Varma, G. C. S. I., Maharajah of Travancore, and is very well executed. There is also a single pagoda of the same type.

Ob. The sacred shell surrounded with a wreath.

Rev. Round the margin, Travancore, and in the centre within a wreath

1877.
R. V.

the letters being the initials of H. H. the Maharajah.

Weight. 78·8 grs.

East India Company's Pagodas.

Very little has been recorded regarding the earlier coinage of the East India Company, and accordingly the effort to arrange their pagodas and those of their contemporaries in chronological order has been a task of great difficulty. Permission was granted by Charles II in 1677 to the Company to coin money, on the condition that it should not resemble English currency. For a long time after this the process of minting was the rude native method. Moor in his "Narrative of the operations of Capt.

Little's Detachment"* gives the following account of the state of the mint and mode of coining in Bombay, in the end of last century.

"In Bombay there is no mechanical process either for ascertaining the value of the piece, or of giving it the impression. The manner is as follows: the metal is brought to the mint in bars the size of the little finger, where are a number of persons seated on the ground provided with scales and weights, a hammer, and an instrument between a chisel and a punch; before each man's berth is fixed a stone by way of anvil. The bars are cut into pieces, by guess, and if, on weighing, any deficiency is found, a little particle is punched into the intended rupee; if too heavy, a piece is cut off, and so on until the exact quantity remains. These pieces are then taken to a second person, whose whole apparatus consists in a hammer and a stone anvil, and he batters them into something of a round shape, about seven-eighths of an inch diameter, and one-eighth thick; when they are ready for the impression. The die is composed of two pieces, one inserted firmly into the ground; the other, about eight inches long, is held in the right hand of the operator, who squatting on his heels (the posture in which all mechanics and artists work; the posture, indeed, in which every thing is done in India, for if a man has a dram given him, he finds it convenient to squat upon his heels to drink it), fills his left hand with the intended coins, which he with inconceivable quickness slips upon the fixed die with his thumb and middle finger, with his fore finger as dexterously removing them when his assistant, a second man with a mall, has given it the impression, which he does as rapidly, as he can raise, and strike with the mall on the die held in the right hand of the coiner. The diameter of the die is about an inch and a half, inscribed with the Great Moghul's names, titles, date of the Hejra, his reign, &c., but as the coins are not so large, they do not, consequently, receive all, nor the same impression. The rupee is then sent to the treasury, ready for currency, as no milling, or any farther process is thought necessary."

With so simple a process it was not difficult to set up a mint, wherever deemed necessary. In the south the chief mint towns were Madras and Arcot, but money was also coined at Porto Novo and various other places. Pagodas continued to be struck by the Company up to 1819, the year in which the change was made from pagodas to rupees in the keeping of public accounts. In the year 1835 the Company's coinage was adjusted according to the Standard of the present day, as regards weight and quality.

Pl. II, Fig. 19. This pagoda was apparently originally struck by one of the ex-rajahs of Vijayanagar, when resident at Chandrageri. Marsden, pl. 48, fig. 1076 gives a representation of the pagoda and makes the following remarks regarding the Chandrageri rajahs and their coinage. "It was from

* London 1794.

one of these *rajahs* that the English East India Company purchased, in the year 1620, the spot of ground on which stood the old fort and factory of Madras, now enclosed within the works of Fort Saint George, together with the privilege of coining money, under the stipulation that the English should not fail to preserve on their coinage the representation of that deity who was the favourite object of his worship." Unfortunately the latter portion of this statement cannot now be verified, as the document under which the Rajah made a grant of the site of Madras to the Company appears to have been lost or destroyed when the French had possession of Fort Saint George, in 1746. The Company, however, for many years adhered to this type in their issues of the pagoda.

Ob. Three rude standing figures of Venkatesvara and his two wives.

Rev. Convex granulated.

Weight :— 52·7625 gr.
„ 53·525 „
„ 52·53 „
„ 53·62 „

Pl. II, Fig. 20. Of the two specimens of this coin in the Museum one was received from Bellary under the name of "Carmamutty Pagoda" struck at Masulipatam, Coconada &c., by a Nizam of the Dakhan. The other came from the Mysore Treasury under the name of "Imam Oodeen" pagoda. Newbold in his paper on the Ceded Districts* says, "a number of gold pagodas were introduced by the Asaph Jah or Hyderabad chiefs, among which was the Karkmodi coined at Karkmod, Masulipatam &c." Where Karkmod is I have been unable to discover, probably it is an obsolete name of some town or village. Marsden in Pl. 48, fig. 1083 gives a figure of this coin and says, this *hun* is named by Sonnerat "pagoda ancienne d' Arcate" and "has three figures on the obverse like those of Porto Novo and some of Chandrageri." It appears probable therefore that the obverse of the pagoda was copied from a Chandrageri coin, first by Abdullah Kutb Shah of Golkonda who captured Chandrageri in 1646, and latterly by Nawabs of the Carnatic. The symbol on the reverse is said by Marsden to represent the Arabic letter ع the initial of Muhammad Ali Nawab, as it was of Abdulla Kutb Shah.† We have thus a clear line of descent for the obverse of this coin, the device having been first adopted by the ex-Raya of Vijayanagar when living at Chandrageri, next by the kings of Golkonda during their tenure of the fortress, thirdly by the Nawabs of the Carnatic who wrested Chandrageri from the Golkonda chiefs, and finally by the East India Company.

* "Madras Journ. of Literat. and Science," Vol. 10, p. 131.

† As will be seen hereafter Haidar put his initial on the reverse of his coinage of the Ikkéri pagoda.

Ob. Rude figure of Vishnu, as Venkateswara, and his two wives.

Rev. Convex granulated and with a symbol or letter in the centre.

Weight.—52·55 grains.

Pl. III, Fig. 21. This coin is known as "Porto Novo," "Scott," "Purunki," &c. pagoda. It appears to have been first struck by the Dutch, and to have had an extensive circulation. Subsequently it was copied by agents of the East India Company, as is evident from the following extract of a letter from the Madras Council, to the Deputy Governor of Fort Saint David (near Cuddalore), under date the 21st July 1691.* "We doubt the Dutch will make a clamour at your coining their pagodas and decry them all they can; however, make the experiment, but be sure to equal them in all respects both in fineness and weight and stamp, and we shall give them all the reputation we can here and to the southward and could you effect it, currently it would be of great service to the Honourable Company in their trade in those parts, but if you fail you must make another stamp."

Ob. Figure of Vishnu.

Rev. Convex granulated.

Weight.—52·2375 grs.

Pl. III, Fig. 23. This is the old *Star pagoda* of Madras, and is sometimes termed "Company varáha" and also "Puli varáha." It was the form of the star pagoda current prior to that described under fig. 24, but is not of such good quality as the old pagoda, fig. 19. The former, according to Kelly,† is 19¼ carats fine, whereas the latter is about 20⅔ carats. Shekleton in the Assay Tables‡ says the star pagoda weighs on an average 52·400 gr., and contains 42·550 gr. of pure metal.

Ob. A figure intended, apparently, for Vishnu with a star above the head.

Rev. Convex granulated and with a star having 5 rays.

Weight of one specimen 53·0875 grs. and of another 52·625 grs.

This is the coin in which all public and private accounts were kept, and all dues and salaries paid, for a number of years.

Pl. III, Fig. 24. This is a double star pagoda of the Honourable East India Company, and is the most modern development of the coin. There is also a single gold pagoda with precisely the same obverse and reverse; and half and quarter pagodas of the same type were struck in silver. It is of this form that Moor in his "Hindu Pantheon" says, "this coin I imagine to be intended for the use of Madras, and cannot but lament that

* Garsten's "Manual of South Arcot," p. 33.

† "Universal Cambist", Vol. X, p. 90.

‡ "Assay Tables of Indian and other coins," p. 11.

so miserable a specimen of our taste and talents should be suffered to go forth." In designing it the artist seems to have deemed it necessary to give some reason for the name *pagoda*, by putting on the reverse the figure of the gopuram of a Hindu temple, and he then surrounded this with stars to indicate that it was a star pagoda. Again on the obverse, to keep it in harmony with the old forms, he has introduced the figure of a Hindu god, which is apparently intended for Vishnu. There is no date on the coin, but it appears to have been first brought into circulation early in the present century.

Ob. The Gopuram of a temple surrounded with stars, and the inscription "Two pagodas."

Rev. Vishnu surrounded with dots, and the words two pagodas in Tamil and Telugu.

Weight.—91·3 grs. Shekleton's "Assay Tables" give the weight as 91·640 grs.

Counterfeit specimens of this pagoda are very often seen in jewelry, but may usually be easily detected, as in the genuine huns, the milling on the edge is obliqne like a section of a rope, whereas in the forged ones the milling is like that on modern English coins. The coin as a whole is certainly a hideous production, but curious as perhaps the first departure from a native towards a European type.

ADONI PAGODAS.

Pl. III, Fig. 25. This coin came from Bellary under the name of "Muhammad Shahi pagoda." It bears no date, but has the name of the mint-town Imtyazgurh, which is the designation that was given to Adoni, in the Bellary district, by Humayun. The obverse bears the name of Muhammad Shah. Adoni was formerly a place of great strength, and from its position came to occupy a conspicuous place in the wars and feuds that for so many years desolated the southern parts of the Dakhan. During the existence of Vijayanagar it was held by the Rayas, and on the fall of that state, in 1565, it was annexed by the Adil Shahi dynasty. In 1690 it was captured by the forces of Aurangzib, and included in the Soubah of Bijapur, under the empire of Dehli. When the authority of the latter began to decline it was appropriated by the Nizam, and held for a series of years by various younger branches of that house. Haider twice attacked Adoni without being able to capture it, but in 1786 Tippu took it, after a seige of a month, and destroyed its fortifications. On the conclusion of peace in 1789 it was restored to the Nizam, and in 1799 was handed over to the English as part of the Ceded Districts. This coin was probably struck in the first half of last century, while Adoni was still nominally under the authority of imperial Dehli. On another specimen which I have

seen, the hun is said to have been coined in the 3rd year of the reign of Muhammad Shah, which would be about A. D. 1722.

Ob. امتیاز گر
Rev. محمد شاہ
Weight.—51·35 grs.

Pl. III, Fig. 26. The two specimens of this coin in the Museum were received from the Collectors of Bellary and Dharwar respectively. It is a hun of Alemgir II struck at Adoni, and must have been coined there while that place was held by the Nizam. The reverse in both the Museum specimens is illegible, but I have seen others in which the name of the mint town, Imtyazgurh or Adoni, was quite visible.

Ob. عالم گیر ثانی
Rev. ضرب کد
Weight.—57·2375 grs.

Mysore Pagodas.

Pl. III, Fig. 27. This coin has already been alluded to in this paper. The form of obverse which it exhibits, with figures of Siva and Parvati, was first adopted by the Vijayanagar Rajahs, and subsequently copied by the Bednur Nayaks. The capital of the latter was originally, and up to A. D. 1640, situated at a place called Ikkéri, and hence the coin from having been first struck there received and still retains the name of "Ikkéri pagoda." In the year above mentioned the seat of Government and mint were transferred from Ikkéri, to a village that received the name of Bidanur or Bednur. In course of time, as the Nayaks added to their territories, Bednur became a place of great importance and wealth, and was very strongly fortified. In 1763, during the time of Rani Virammáji it was captured by Hyder Ali, and it is said that the booty thus obtained amounted to 12 millions sterling.* Hyder changed the name of the town to Hyder Nagar, and established his chief arsenal there for the manufacture of arms and ammunition. He also continued the mint which he found in existence, and there first struck coins in his own name. For his huns he adopted the obverse of the old "Ikkéri pagoda," but on the reverse he erased the Nagari inscription which had previously existed, and substituted his own initial. Various issues of this coin took place during Hyder's reign, but he appears to have been rather ashamed of the obverse and to have been careless about the dies, as the figures of Siva and Parvati in some of the pagodas are very badly executed. The form struck by Hyder is known as the "Bahádur" hun or pagoda, and being made of superior gold it always commanded a favourable rate of exchange. An issue of the same coin was

* Rice's "Mysore Gazetteer," Vol. 2, p. 383.

struck by Hyder at Bangalore, and this hun is said to be distinguished by the name of "Pedda-talei Bangaloorei."*

Ob. Figures of Siva and Parvati, with the trident and deer.

Rev. A granulated surface with Hyder's initial ح in the centre.

Weight.—52·8 grs.

Pl. III, Fig. 28. This is a "Sultani" pagoda, struck by Tippu. It will be observed that he discarded the old Ikkéri obverse with its obnoxious Hindu figures, and boldly adopted a new one of a type common to Muhammadan coinage. The reverse bears the initial of his father Hyder, with the numeral 4 indicating the year of Tippu's reign, and also the word Nagar the place of mintage. There are several forms of this hun agreeing generally except as regards the mint towns, some having been struck at Puttun or Seringapatam, others at Dharwar &c. This specimen was coined before Tippu introduced his reformed calendar, which runs from the date of the conversion of Muhammad, or 13 years prior to the date of the Hejira. The date given is A. H. 1200 which corresponds with A. D. 1785; and as Hyder died on the 1st day of A. H. 1197, the year of Tippu's reign given, *viz.*, the 4th, is correct. The retention of Hyder's initial on the reverse was probably a mark of filial respect, on the part of Tippu, but he may have also been influenced by a desire not to change too abruptly the reverse of the Ikkéri hun, coined by his father. In another specimen in the Museum struck at Dharwar, the date is A. H. 1216, that is according to the revised calendar, and the year of reign the 6th.

Ob. هوالسلطان العادل

سنه ۱۲۰۰ هجري

Rev. ضرب نگر

Weight.—52·7625 grs.

Pl. III, Fig. 29. This coin is known as the "Farokhi pagoda" and, according to Hawkes, "is supposed to have been so called by Tippu in honour of a new sect of this name." Others state that it was so designated from the circumstance, that *Farokhi* was a title of one of Muhammad's successors. Marsden (Vol. II, p. 717) observes regarding the term "on some of the copper money we shall find it to stand, apparently, for the name of a place, otherwise called New Calicut." At first I was inclined to adopt the last suggestion, and there seems little doubt that in some cases the words *Farokhi patan* do indicate that the coin was struck at a fort near Calicut, which, according to Wilks, was called "Ferrockhee."† In other instances this cannot be the case. Thus on the hun described by Marsden, Part II, p. 716, the place of mintage given along with the word Farokhi is Hyder Nagar (Bednur). Probably the term was originally adopted as a

* Hawkes' "Coinage of Mysore," p. 5.

† Wilk's "History of Mysore," Vol. II, p. 180. *Madras Edition of* 1869.

pious token of respect for one of Muhammad's successors, and subsequently in some cases did double duty by expressing this and also the place of mintage.

Ob. ۱۲۲۱ هوالسلطان الوحید العادل محمد سنه

Rev. فاروقے پڈن سنه ۱۱

Weight.—52·8 grs.

Pl. III, Fig. 30. This is one of the pagodas issued in the name of Krishna Raja Wodeyar, who after the death of Tippu was put on the Mysore throne by the English. The first issue was struck in 1800 by the Dewan Purniaiya. Buchanan* says regarding it "on the fall of Tippu the Mysore government having found it convenient to coin pagodas of the same value with those before current, struck them at Mysore and Nagara, but restored the old name of Ikkéri." In addition to this, as already mentioned, the obverse of the original Ikkéri was also retained, and the inscription on the reverse is a palpable imitation of the legend on the Vijayanagar pagodas, the word "Pratápa" being omitted. This hun was, according to Mr. Rice, called the *Hosa Ikkéri Varaha*, or new Ikkéri pagoda, to distinguish it from the old form, the *Hale Ikkéri Varaha* †

Ob. Siva with the triśula in his right hand; to the right Parvati and the conventional deer; overhead the sun and moon.

Rev. Sri Krishna Raja.

Weight.—52·7125 grs.

Coins Supplementary to Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi," No. III.—By Chas. J. Rodgers, *Principal Normal College, Amritsar.*

(With two Plates.)

My only excuse for giving a third supplement to the excellent work of Mr. Thomas is this, that just before leaving India and after my arrival in England I obtained from Afghanistan and India a great quantity of coins amongst which were many which have not yet been edited. Information about these would I thought be welcome to the numismatic world and to historians.

Pl. IV, No. 1. *Obverse.* الملك المعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمد بن سام

Reverse. Horseman with inscription illegible.

No. 2. *Obv.* عبدہ الملك المعظم تاج الدنيا و الدين يلدز

Reverse. Horseman under which كرمان The ن is under the nose of the horse.

* "Journey through Mysore," Vol. III, p. 258.

† "Mysore Gazetteer," p. 3 of Appendix, Vol. I.

No. 3. *Obv.* معز الدنيا

Rev. والدين

No. 4. *Obv.* عدل السلطان الاعظم ابوالمظفر محمد بن سام

Rev. श्री मज inverted as in type (in old Hindí) intended for Srí Muizz. جلا on rump of bull.

No. 5. *Obv.* Bull over which श्री मद्दमद्

Rev. Horseman on hind quarters of which جلال and over the horse श्री हमीर:

No. 6. *Obv.* السلطان الا عظم *Weight* 146·6 grs.
معز الدنيا و
لدين ابو المظفر
محمد بن سام

Margins :— ضرب هذه الدينار ببلده غزنه في شهور سنه خمس و ست مايه

Rev. لااله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
الناصر لدين الله
امير المومنين

Margin :— هوالذي ارسل رسوله بالهدي و دين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله

No. 7. *Obv.* لااله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
السلطان الاعظم
غياث الدنيا و الدين
ابو الفتح محمد بن سام

Margin :— ضرب هذه .. شهور ثمان و تسعين و خمس مايه

Rev. الناصر الدين الله *Weight* 82·5 grs.
السلطان المعظم
معز الدنيا و
الدين ابوالمظفر
محمد بن سام

Margin :—Same as in Reverse of No. 6.

No. 8. *Obv.* فراوان
السلطان الا عظم
علا الدنيا والدين
ابوالفتح محمد
بن السلطان

Margin :—.....في شهور سنه اربع و عشو.....

Rev. Same as on Rev. of No. 6. } Above فراوان

Margin :— ditto. }

No. 9. *Obv.* in circle same as in No. 8 but without فروان
Margin :—Same as on No. 8 but with mint غزنه and year probably different.
Rev. Same as on No. 8. *Weight* 94 grains.
Margin ditto.

No. 10. *Obv.* علا الدنيا *Weight* 45·1 grs.
و الدين محمد
بن السلطان
Rev. الناصر
لدين الله
امير المومنين

No. 11. *Rev.* and *Obv.* same as in No. 10. Margin has no dots. Obv. has remains of mint over it, probably زمين داور

No. 12. *Obv.* فروان
السلطان
الا عظم علا
الدنيا وا ال
دين
فروان
ابوالفتح
محمد بن
السلطان

No. 13. *Obv.* round bull महमद, under Bull سكندر
Rev. To right of Horseman श्रीमद्

No. 14. *Obv.* in square which is in a circle :—
السلطان
الا عظم
علاالد ن (؟)
Rev. in square inscribed in a circle :—
محمد بن
السلطان
تكش

No. 15. *Obv.* in dotted circle السلطان
الاعظم
ابو الفتح
Rev. margin round small dotted double circle which encloses a rose : محمد بن السلطان تكش

Plate V, No. 16. *Obv.* دهلي
السلطان
الاعظم شمش
الدنيا و الدين

Rev. To right of and above horseman ايلسمس السلطان

No. 17. *Obv.* دهلي
عدل

Rev. السلطان

No. 18. *Obv.* اگره

Rev. تكر (تكر a piece or bit ?)

No. 19. *Obv.* श्री महमद कनक्क

Rev. غزنه (ناصرالدنيا و الدين on margin)

No. 20. *Obv.* غياث الدينا و الدنيا

Rev. السلطان الاعظم

No. 21. *Obv.* السلطان
الاعظم عالا
الدنيا و الدين

Rev. ابو الفتح
محمد بن
السلطان

No. 22. *Obv.* in a circle السلطان الاعظم
غياث الدنيا و الدين
ابوالمظفر بلبن
السلطان

Rev. الامام
المستعصم امير
المومنين

Margins :— ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة دهلي سنه ثمان و ستين و ستمايه

No. 23. *Obverse* in margin السلطان الاعظم محمد ابن السلطان
in circle كويزوان (?)

Rev. in dotted circle. لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول
الله

No. 24. *Obverse.* Over horseman बजय.

Rev. Bull, inscription illegible.

No. 25. Same as above, showing व in old Hindí.

No. 26. *Obverse* in a circle :—

السلطان الاعظم
حلال الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر فيروز شاه
السلطان
Reverse.] الامام
المستعصم امير
المومنين

Margins to both obverse and reverse :—
ضرب هذه السكه بحضرت دهلي سنه احدي و تسعين و ستمايه

No. 27. *Obverse* عدل
سلطان
تيمور
Rev. ضرب
بحضرت
دهلي

No. 28. Obverse and reverse same as in No. 26 but the year is probably different, the word الفضه takes the place of السكه and the inscriptions are enclosed in squares inscribed in the marginal circles.

No. 29. *Obv.* (السلطان)
السعيد الشهيد
الغازي غياث الدنيا
والدين
Rev. ابو المظفر
تغلق شاه السلطان
انار الله برهانه
٧٣١

This coin is of silver and copper. Thomas says his (No. 178a, foot note, pages 212 and 213) is "of fine silver."

No. 30. *Obv.* بهاول شاه السلطان
Rev. نايب امير المومنين (parts of)
Weights 37·6 grs.

No. 31. *Obverse* من اطاع
السلطان
فقد اطاع
الرحمن
Margin :— اقليم لكهنوتي سال برهفت صد سی دو
Reverse not given, same as No 195 of Thomas, p. 249.

No. 32. *Obverse*:—Same as in 31.

Margin:— اقليم تغلق پور عرفه مرهت سال برهفت صد سي يک

Reverse as in No. 31

No. 33. *Obverse* as in No. 31.

Margin:— درعرصهٔ سنکانویر سال هفت صد سي يک

Reverse as in No. 31.

No. 34. Same as No. 33, but with mint in the margin دار الا سلام

No. 35. Same as No. 33, but with mint in the margin دهلي simply, without the title تخت گاه

The inscriptions on the above coins mostly tell the story of each. It may be as well perhaps to direct attention to the peculiarities which led me to figure them.

Plate IV, No. 1 is to me a new coin. I have seen several of Ilduz of this type. Indeed No. 2 is one of that general's. As there are in existence coins of 'Alá-ud-dín Khwárizmí of this type, I judge them to be of the same mint, Kirmán.

No. 3 I attribute to Mu'izz-ud-dín bin Sám. The peculiar lozenge on either side is unique.

No. 4 is a new type of the some sovereign's mintage.

No. 5 is still another new type of the same king's.

No. 6 is a large gold coin. The one in the British Museum weighs 320 grs. The inscriptions are identical but are not distributed exactly as on that coin. Again this one has a pellet in the middle of the lines forming the squares. It weighs 146·6 grs. only. I obtained it at Lahore after the last Afghán war from a merchant.

No. 7 is one from Dr. Stulpnagel's find. The one edited by him of this kind was double struck. This one gives the names of the two brothers plainly.

No. 8 is a beautiful coin of 'Alá-ud-dín Khwárizmí struck at Farwán.

No. 9 is a similar one struck at Gazní. (In the India office collection are two drawers full of gold coins of this sovereign. This collection is now in the British Museum, and it will be thoroughly examined and catalogued. Let us hope that of the numerous duplicates some will find their way back to the shores whence they were taken. This India office collection shows how utterly useless a collection of valuable things may become. There is no catalogue of it, and no interpreter. No one knows as yet what may or may not be in it. Had it stayed in India, native students of history might have obtained much information from it. And I hold that the more information, just and accurate, a native of India obtains of former rulers and governments, the more loyal will he be towards the present most righteous rule of India.)

No. 10 is a new type in small silver of 'Alá-ud-dín Khwárizmí. It

weighs but 45·1 grs. It is of the same type as a coin of *Chingiz Khán* given by Thomas, No. 76, p. 91. As I had a specimen of both these sovereign's coins of this type I made them over to the British Museum.

No. 11 another new type of the same king's.

No. 12. In copper a beautiful specimen of the Farwán mintage of the same sovereign.

No. 13. Another old specimen of the same king's coins. The *Sikandar* under the bull is quite a novelty.

No. 14 is still one more novelty with the patronymic *Takash* on it.

No. 15 is again a similar type differently treated.

Plate V, No 16 is a second copy of a coin I have before edited. No. 10, pl. XVIII, Vol. XLIX, Pt. I, 1881. That coin had on the top of the obverse certain signs I could not make out. On the present coin they are plain enough.

No. 17 is also a Dehli coin of very small dimensions. I have several of these which I attribute to Shams-ud-dín Altamsh.

No. 18. I am not quite sure of my readings of this coin. "*Agrah*" is certain. But the name of the coin is not so certain.

No 19 is important as giving us certain information about the king of whom there are but sparse notices in history. This shows him once in possession of Gazní.

*No. 20 is the only small silver coin I have ever seen or heard of, of the early Patháns. It is rarer than Queen Ann's farthings and much older.

No. 21 is a silver gilt coin of 'Alá-ud-dín Khwárizmí. It is the only one of this type I have ever seen.

No. 23 is also a coin of this sovereign. In this paper alone I give ten. These are all perfectly different from each other in treatment.

No. 22 is the earliest gold coin struck at Dehlí that I know of. Possessing as it does the margin on the reverse in its entirety it is a fine coin. The margins were the same on both sides.

Nos. 24 and 25 are coins I attribute to *Malik Chhajú* in the reign of Jalál-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh. He was the nephew of Balban. To complete the numismatic record of the interregnum between the reigns of Mu'izz-ud-dín Kaikúbád and Jalál-ud-dín we wanted not only this coin but of Kaiumours whom Jalál-ud-dín placed temporarily on the throne. Mr. Delmerick had this coin I believe. If not, it is still with Pandit Naráin of Dehlí. Chhajú was a rebel but it is distinctly recorded of him that he struck coins in his own name.

* Since drawing the above I have seen in Mr. Grant's cabinet a similar coin of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd. It weighs 13·2 grs. Mine is 13·8 grs. being in somewhat better condition.

No. 26 is a fine gold mohur of Jalál-ud-dín Fíruz. It has the margin on both sides, as has also the rupee of his which I have figured No. 28. Both these coins are drawn simply to illustrate this fact of their possessing *two* margins. Mr. Thomas says of his No. 121, that the obverse occupies "the entire surface of the coin." He gives only the margin on the reverse. All the other rupees I have are like this one of Mr. Thomas. But for all that, I believe the dies had marginal legends. The mohur No. 26 is in remarkably good condition, and the inscriptions come out as plainly as those on the rupees. From this I infer that not only does it bear the name of Dehlí but that it was also struck there.

No. 27 is one of those little damrís that no one would think of picking up. But it bears the dreaded name of *Taimúr* and it was struck at the capital of his Indian conquests *Dehlí*. So far as I know it is unique.

No. 29. The inscriptions on this coin are given by Thomas. But his was of fine silver, and as he did not figure it, I thought it right to do so. See footnote, p. 213 of his work.

No. 30. This is quite a new type of the coins of Bahlol Lodí. Thomas gives 5 types of this king's coins. This is the *fourth new* type I have discovered.

Nos. 31 to 35 are five coins of Muhammad Tughlaq. The mints are new in this type being Lakhnautí, Tughlaqpúr, Satgáon, Dár ul Islám and Dehlí. This type (it is No. 195 in Thomas) rejoices now in seven mints; the five given here and the *Daulatábád* and *Takhtgáh i Dehlí* ones edited by Thomas. *Tughlaqpúr* is new to history. The title Iklím as applied to a town is not new on coins. These five coins were found amongst thousands in Dehlí and Jagádrí. They are the results of many hours of weary hunting under a hot sun. The Daulatábád type of this coin is very rare in the Panjáb. But the gold coin struck at Deogir I have seen several of both 728 and 727 A. H. (Thomas, No. 174.)

Of all the coins here edited No. 19 is the most important. I have upwards of twenty of the bilingual coins of this king. They all, with the exception of this coin, have a small badly drawn outline of a horse in the centre round which the Arabic marginal legend runs. In the case of this coin, however, we have the name of the mint instead of the horse—Gazní. Now up to the present all the notice we had of this ruler was a statement that he was a ruler of Sind. His father had ruled in Gazní and Kirmán. This coin gives us evidence of his rule in his father's dominions. As I have seen some thousands of Gazní coins and have only seen this one of this ruler, I judge that he reigned but a short time in Gazní. The coins with the horse are common, but no two coins seem to be from the same die. Hence we may infer that in his seat of government, wherever it was,

(I have found his coins most abundantly at Amritsar and Lúdiánah) he ruled a goodly number of years and was a powerful sovereign.

If I am correct in my assignment of coin No. 24 it shows us that we should not despise the meanest bit of stamped copper that falls into our hands. Mr. Thomas quotes the fact of his having struck coins in his own name. Every such quotation it should be the delight of the numismatist to corroborate by the production of the actual coins. There are numerous instances of the record of this fact. But if we hunt in the Museums of the country for numismatic corroboration we shall look in vain. And private cabinets would not help us much I am afraid.* This should not deter us from searching in the public cabinets of every market town—the heaps of old coins in the possession of every money changer.

Coin No. 27 is another illustration of this very point. When I read the story of the invasion of Taimúr, I wondered that I had never met with his Indian coins. Many of course must have been melted down. I have a dim idea of having once seen in a notice of some one's collection, the mention of a gold coin of Taimúr's struck at Dehli. I should like to know from my fellow workers if this coin is still in existence. My copper one is now in the British Museum. Nearly all the other coins here drawn and described are also now in the National Collection. They ought to have come back to India. But I found that in England they would be taken care of, shown to all enquirers and properly catalogued and described. In India I know of no place fit for the proper keeping of historic medals. The immense empire of India is too poor to support a curator of coins and cannot as yet boast of an Imperial Cabinet. And yet we talk of India being a continent. And in truth it is so, and each country of that continent has its record in coins (in some cases in coins only). It were surely well if Imperial indifference could be transformed into Imperial interest in this matter.

* I have just been reading the life of George Thomas, the only Irishman who ruled in India as an independent sovereign. He says he struck coins in his own name. I believe some are in existence still, but I have not as yet seen one. Neither does the Lahore Museum as yet contain one. We, Panjab collectors, are a slow lot of folks after all.

Relics from Ancient Persia, in Gold, Silver, and Copper.—*By Major-Gen.* A. CUNNINGHAM, C. S. I., C. I. E.

(With two Plates.)

Second Notice.

Since I wrote my previous account of the "Relics from Ancient Persia in gold, silver, and copper,"§ several new objects have been discovered, as well as a large number of coins. The find spot of these relics is on the banks of the Oxus, near a place called Kawat or Kuâd, two marches from Kunduz and about midway between Khulm and Kobádian. The place is one of the most frequented ferries on the Oxus, and has always been the chief thoroughfare on the road to Samarkand. My informants, whose agents are still at Khulm, say that the owner of the land has now stopped all search by other people, and that he intends to explore on his own account.

The coins which I have seen, consist of 14 gold and 76 silver pieces. Amongst the former there is one inscribed double Daric, five common Darics, one double stater with a king's head covered within Elephants skin, and Reverse, Victory with wreath (see Plate XVII, fig. 9 of my previous account); besides some fine staters of Antiochus, and two of Diodotus. The silver coins consist chiefly of tetradrachms of Athens (archaic), with one of Akanthus in Macedonia; the remainder being of Alexander, Seleukus I, Seleukus and Antiochus, Euthydemus and Antimachus. There was also one Nickel coin of Agathokles, and a few copper coins of Euthydemus and Agathokles. The discovery is still marked by the continued absence of any Parthian coins, which would seem to show that the deposit must have been made before the time of Mithridates I (Arsakes VI). This conclusion is further borne out by the absence of the coins of Eukratides, the contemporary of Mithridates. As the coins of both of these Princes are very common, I conclude with some confidence that the deposit must have been made before their time, or not later than 200 to 180 B. C.

The ornaments and other articles of gold which have been discovered, though few in number, are of considerable interest—as they present us with several novel objects. They comprise a gold circlet of large size with two winged and horned gryphons at the end: 4¾ inches each way. As an engraving of this fine specimen of ancient Persian work has already appeared in the London Illustrated London News with a description by Sir Geo. Birdwood, it need not be given here. Sir George rightly divined

§ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. L, Part I, 1881, p. 151.

that it was of ancient Persian origin. Its use is a puzzle. It is too small for the neck and rather too large for the arm, and the inward bend of the smooth portion seems to preclude all idea of such a purpose. Its intrinsic value is between 600 and 700 Rupees. Major Burton, the owner of this very fine piece of ancient Persian art, kindly showed it to me, and at the same time permitted me to have a photograph of it. The tips of the horns have been flattened, which I take to be a proof that the ornament was intended for actual use. It may have been a handle for the lid of a box, a purpose for which the inward bend of the smooth portion would specially fit it. The bend might have played in a ring fastened in the middle of the lid, and the handle, when not required for lifting, would have lain flat on the lid.

The principal object in Plate VI, marked A, is a small figure of solid gold, weighing 518 grains, or about 5½ Darics. It is two inches and one-tenth in height, and is very minutely and neatly wrought. It represents a Magus in full costume, with the *barsom*, or holy wand in his right hand. On comparing this figure with that of the larger one in my previous account (Vol. L, Plate XIV), it will be seen that they mutually illustrate each other, and at the same time confirm the accuracy of Strabo's description of the Magus.

"The Persians," he says "have also certain large shrines called "Pyrætheia. In the middle of these is an altar an which is a great quan- "tity of ashes, where the Magi maintain an unextinguished fire. They "enter daily, and continue their incantation for nearly an hour, holding "before the fire a bundle of rods, and wear round their heads high *tiaras* of "felt, reaching down on each side, so as to cover the lips and the sides of "the cheeks."

In the large figure the upper part of the tall head dress is thrown back behind the head, thus showing that it must have been made of a soft material like felt, as stated by Strabo. In the two views of the present small figure which I have given, we see the tall head dress of felt represented erect, like that worn by the horseman in the Plate of Statuettes of my previous account (Vol. L, Plate XIII, fig. 1). Here also the lappets cover the cheeks, and apparently also the lips. The lappet over the mouth, however, is embroidered, and as the head dress is almost quite plain, the mouth lappet may not have been attached to the cap. The small figure also carries the *barsom*, or wand of twigs, in the right hand of the larger figure. The dress also is different, as the tunic of this small figure reaches quite down to the feet, while that of the other only came down to the knees. The long tunic was the old *Sarâpis* or Median dress, while the shorter tunic was the *Kandys* or Persian dress of a later date. The smaller figure is therefore of an earlier date than the larger one, and it may perhaps represent a *Magus*

of the times of Darius or Xerxes, while the other belongs to the later period shortly before the conquest of Alexander. The smaller figure also has some marks on the forehead, which in India would be distinctive symbols of the religious sect of the wearer, as a votary of Mahádeva and Párvatí.

B is a gold seal with fine, deeply cut symbols, not unlike hieroglyphic characters. As I am not acquainted with these characters, I am unable to say whether the seal is a genuine one or not. Its weight is 178 grains.

C is a thin gold ring of inferior workmanship, weighing only 35 grains. It represents a lion couchant.

D is a circular boss of 3¾ inches in diameter and convex on the upper surface. This curious ornament weighs 851 grains and is in my own possession. In the middle there is a slight rise or knob, pierced with 5 holes, through which I suppose that pins were passed for fastening the plate to some back ground. Round the outer edge there is a continuous corded pattern, one quarter of an inch in breadth. The circle itself is filled with a hunting scene consisting of three horsemen, one of whom is pursuing two stags at which he is preparing to hurl a spear. The second is pursuing a pair of Ibex with upraised spear, and the third is shooting an arrow at a hare. The gold is thin, and the work has been beaten up from behind (repoussè). Each horseman has a bow case on the left side of his horse. Their dress appears to be similar to that of the Satraps on the coins, the head dress being a soft cap with long lappets. The *Kandys*, or tunic, is striped and embroidered down the front. The trowsers of the horseman pursuing the hare are cross-barred, which probably represents the ποικίλαι ἀναξυρίδες or "parti-coloured" trowsers of Xenophon.

As to the use of this circular ornament I conjecture that it may have been a boss for the centre of a shield. In India it is usual to have five similar ornaments on a shield, one in the middle and the other four at equal distances around it. To strengthen it for such a purpose, it would of course have had a plate of iron or brass behind it.

The three gold bracelets in Plate VII, are complete. All the others that I have seen previously have been cut in pieces by the finders. They are of three different kinds, plain, ribbed, and twisted, and are also of three different lengths of single, double and triple coils.

No. 1 is a plain bracelet of one coil ending in two Antelope heads. It weighs 1310 grains or 10 Darics, and is of good workmanship, the animals' heads being neatly and artistically wrought. The horns are made to lie back on the neck, so as not to present any points to catch in the dress of the wearer.

No. 2 is a ribbed bracelet of two coils ending in two lions' heads. It weighs 3555 grains, or about 26 Darics, and is 22 inches in length.

No. 3 is a spirally twisted bracelet of three coils ending in two

Antelopes' heads, like those of No. 1. It is 31½ inches in length, and weighs 3600 grains or about 26½ Darics. The spiral twist is very evenly made, and the workmanship is good. The antelopes' heads are somewhat worn by use.

No. 4 is a lion's head which formed one end of a spiral bracelet. The half which came into my possession is 10 inches in length, so that the bracelet was most probably of two coils.

No. 5 is a lion's head from *one* end of a bracelet. This fragment is all that came into my possession, and as it is rather thinner than any of the others, I think that it may have been a three coil bracelet. The lion's head is of very superior execution. The mouth is open, showing several pointed teeth, and the mane has been separately wrought in curly locks which have now become flattened. The deeply sunk eyes must, I think, have been originally filled with small rubies.

Note on a Sanskrit Inscription from the Lalitpur District.—*By* Rájendralála Mitra, LL. D., C. I. E.

Some time ago Mr. F. C. Black presented to the Society a large stone slab, which he had discovered in the Lalitpur District. It was found in a jungle which had overgrown the ruins of the old fort of Deoghar. When discovered it was seen, says Mr. Black, "standing, loosely propped up against two small columns in the eastern portion of the fort, and near to a group of ruined Jain temples there." This shows that it was not *in situ*, but there is no reason to doubt that it belonged originally to one of the temples, from which it had fallen off, and was afterwards set up against the columns by some wood-cutters or others. Mr. Black remarks that "it would probably have been destroyed in a few years had it remained in the jungle, so I removed it."

The slab measures 6′ 2″ × 2′—9″ with an average thickness of 3 inches. From marks on its sides and back it is evident that it was originally built into a wall. Its front is smooth, and set off on all four sides with a raised flat band, one inch broad, having a cyma on the inner edge. The surface is covered with a Sanskrit inscription in 34 lines. There is also a line of inscribed letters on the upper band, but it is not all legible. At the beginning of the record, at the upper left corner, there is a circle 5″—5‴ inches in diameter, bearing the conventional outlines of an eight-petalled lotus, and on the petals there are letters arranged enigmatically, which I have not been able to read. In front of this lotus there is a mystic diagram having letters within the loops of its twining lines, but the purport thereof I cannot make out. The letters of the record are of the old Deva-nágarí type, each about an inch long. They were carefully and

well cut, but owing to exposure and ill-usage they have been obliterated at many places, and at others become so smudgy as to be unfit for reading. These accidents have caused breaks in almost every line, and it is impossible to interpret the record fully and satisfactorily.

The language of the record is exceedingly verbose, highly inflated and involved, full of meritricious ornaments, and, with the breaks caused by the abrasions aforesaid, not easy of comprehension. I pored over the record for many days, and had the assistance of my learned friend, Professor Kámákhyánátha Tarkaratna, who went over the first tentative reading letter by letter with the original stone before him, but could not secure a perfect reading. The translation annexed has been prepared by Bábu Haraprasáda Śástrí, from the revised reading of Professor Kámákhyánátha.

The date, which occurs at about the middle of it, (line 15,) is given with some care, and both in letters and figures. It is—"Thursday, the full moon of Vaiśákha in the era of Vikramáditya 1481, corresponding with the 1346th year of the era of Sáliváhana, when the constellation Sváti was on the ascendant, and Leo in conjunction." This would be about the end of April or beginning of May in the year 1424 of Christ. The sovereign named is Sháh Álambhaka, of the Ghori dynasty, king of Málava or Málwá. I know of no king of this name; but in the Ghorian dynasty of Málwá, founded by Sultán Diláwar Ghori, the second chief was Sultán Húshang Ghori *alias* Alap Khán, who founded the town of Mándu, removed thereto the capital of the kingdom from Dhár, and reigned from 1405 to 1432, and there is no doubt that it is this chief we have in the Sanskritized Álambhaka. The name of his new capital occurs in the inscription as Maṇḍapapura.

The subject of the record is the dedication of two images, one of Padmanandi and the other of Damavasanta, by a Jain priest of the name of Holí. The dedication was made by order of Subhachandra, who probably was a high priest of the sect. He has no royal epithet added to his name.

The record opens with an eulogium on Vṛishabha, who is to dwell at Kánta in the town of Varddhamána. This is evidently meant for an image of Ṛishabha Deva, the first Tírthankara, who is addressed as Sugata, and also as Sadáśiva, or eternally auspicious. The next saint eulogized is Śrí Śaṅkara, who is identified with Ananta. The next is Chandra, and next come successively Takshaka, Śántasoma, Śaśi, and, after a break, Sarvajña. Having praised these deified saints, the writer turns to mortals. The names are Madasárada, Śrímúla, Śríkuna, Dharmachandra, Ratnakírti, and Prabhachandra Deva. These were probably high priests who preceded Padmanandi who was living in the time of the encomiast, and in whose

honour the monument was set up. He was a great saint, endowed with manifold virtues, but I find nothing tangible in his praise that would be worth relating. Now, after a break, occurs the day and the name of Sháh Alambhaka, who issues forth from Maṇḍapapura with his valiant army, intent on conquest. Then occurs a break, and there is nothing to show how the Muslim chief happens to be connected with the subject matter of the record. Apparently he had a Hindu wife of the name of Ambiká, but from breaks preceding the name I cannot be sure of it. Anyhow this lady had a son named Holí, who is praised for his religious devotion and high moral qualities. Nothing is said of his position as a king or ruler, and obviously he had not any pretension of that kind.

Now comes, after a few breaks, a genealogical table in which the following names are legible:

I. Sáyadeha.
II. Valladeva, son of I.
III. Lakshmípáladeva, son of II.
IV. Kshemarája, son of III.
V. ?
VI. Padmaśrí.
VII. Ratna.
VIII. Rambhamaya.
X. Padmasiñha.

Next follows the notice of the dedication, which was apparently effected by Holí with the coöporation of Guṇakírti, Harapati, Vardhamána, Nandana, Sunandana and others.

Holí is then eulogized for his virtues as the lord of the congregation, meaning of course the Jain congregation of the place where the dedication was made, *i. e.*, the town of Vardhamána.

The writer concludes the record by giving a brief account of himself. He belonged to the Gotra of Garga, and of the family of Agrotaka. One Haṭabudha, had three sons named Kshúṇa, Haragangí and Amara. A break now disturbs the genealogy, and then comes Vilhana by Palkeka. Hara had by Ratnaśrí a son named Talkana. Then a break, and it is followed by the statement that Vilhana was the son of Vardhamána, who styles himself a great poet and devout worshipper of Jina.

As all the persons named were either Jain ascetics or private householders, the information afforded by the inscription is of no historical value.

Transcript of an Inscription from Lalitpur.

१। ह्रपभ जयत संश्रीमद्वर्द्धमानमहोदये विपुलं विलसत्कान्तौ कान्ताश्लेऽस्तसागरे। सुगत सुमतिमन्नेणाङ्काकलङ्क सकौमुद् वितनुते सतां शान्तौ शान्तिं श्रियं सुमतिं जयं ॥ १+ + + + भुंवः श्रोते नश्वरानुदयाय ते। तच्चिदुद्यज्ज्वलज्ज्योतिराहंतं जेयसे श्रये ॥ २ पायादपायात्सदयः सदा नः सदा शिवो यद्विग्रहो चितात्री चच्चिदा- १

२। नन्दविग्रुडचन्द्रयुतौ चकोरं त्यपि(?) शुद्धहंसाः॥ ३ श्रीशङ्करं श्रीरमणाभिरामं + + + सच्चक्षणमर्हणार्हं। जिनेन्द्रनन्दं धनदं सुमिचमजातशत्रुं विभजे चकोरं ॥ ४ खवा-ससायामयमप्यसायं वामं लसच्चक्षणमर्हणार्हं। सीतेशसुग्रीवमहार्हणार्हं वन्दे २

३। सच्चर्षं सच्चसैकशीर्षं ॥ ५ सशल्यदुःशासनबाशचेतुमजातशत्रुं सच्चदेववर्य्यं। वन्दे विशा-लार्जुन सद्य + + नन्दत्सुतां कर्णकुलं सगाङ्कं॥ ६ वामयेधाष्टकं(?) स्वेन कर्म्माधाचोद्-यरचरं(?)। साधोर्द्वार्दं दुरेखं तन्त्रंलीये विलयत्रिये ॥ ७ विगर्ज्जन्नागरजाङ्क- २

४। मजितं तच्चकं नुमः। दुर्घटं सुघटद्वर्द्धमानजैनमहोत्सवं ॥ ८ वदनपरिगरीशो——— विद्दिशन———वेचवत्याकलैर्यत्। प्रभवतु स सुगाङ्कोप्यसदोषोऽकलङ्कः। कुवलयसुख-हेतुर्नः श्रिये शान्तिसोमः ॥ ९ योदीदहच तिलकेक्षणवह्निनेह कामं ४

५। अमीमरद्रं जनकं तदीयं। शक्त्यान्वितस्त्रिनयनोप्यपवामबामः शान्तीश्वरस्त्रिजगतां स शिवाय———पद्मयुग्म———ङ्घ्र उपास्महे तद्दहं मुदा यदमर्त्यमर्त्यभृङ्गमनस्कमौ-लिकुलाम्भजित्। विद्लत्तमालसमुज्ज्वलसुनखेन्दुमण्डलमण्डलीविगलांशुभिर्भवत्री—५

६। मुषः शशिनोऽहैतो भवसंभवे॥ ११ क्षीरकर्पूरनीहारहारक्षीरहरावरां कुन्देन्दुकुमु——— क्षीरसमुद्रसान्द्रविलसत्कक्षोल्लसालोज्ज्वलां श्रीसर्व्वज्ञसुधांशुमण्डलसिलतृखलोककक्षो-लिनीं। विद्रावन् निजभक्तचेतसि समुन्मीलत्तमोपद्रवां वन्दे ६

७। जाग्रभिदे मुदे च भगवद्वाणीश सत्सम्पदे ॥ १ श्रीमूलसङ्घा ह्यपनन्दिसंघे गच्छेपतु-च्छे सदसारदाख्ये। चणे बलात्कारगणे गरिष्ठे श्रीकुं———जिनेन्द्रचन्द्रागमदुर्गमार्गो यस्योऽपं त्यच सतां हि वाचः। अद्याप्युदञ्चद्यशसामजस्रबन्धाय स धर्म्मचन्द्रः ॥ २ यस्याशागजकर्णकेरवचना- ७

८। नन्दैकसत्कौमुदीकीर्त्तिर्नागनरामरेन्द्रभुवने जेगीयतेऽहर्निशं। धर्म्मेन्दुः सकलः कलङ्क-विकलः स स्याच्छुधांशुश्रिये श्रीमूल———विलसत्र———दये ॥ ३ धर्म्मचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रस्य पट्टोत्तमोदयाचले। यस्योदयोऽभवत्तस्य तमस्तोमापनोदिनः ॥ ४ रत्नकीर्त्तिर्लसन्मूर्त्तिर-ग्रांशोः क- ८

९। मलोदये। सतामप्यपपङ्कानां तपसां सूर्य्यतोऽग्रवः ॥ ५ अद्याप्युद्यैर्जजृम्भे चरणचयचित-खच्छदच्छादृदीया ज्योत्स्नेवानुष्णरश्मेः चरदमृतमयी———: सस्या———समिनां पुण्यपुण्योपदेष्टा स्पष्टा सन्नप्रतिष्ठास्तु च जिनशशिनो रत्नकीर्त्तिः प्रशस्ये ॥ २ रत्नकीर्त्ति-पदाम्भोजकमलालङ्कृतानने। ये नोदद्वाग्वि- ९

१० । लासेन भारती भूषणायितं ॥ १ गर्ज्जद्दुर्वादिदन्दाम्बुददलनविधौ योऽभवत्तीव्रवातस्त्वेकान्ध्यान्तभानुः कुवलयसुखकृद्यस्त्वनैकान्त——— द्रान्ताङ्कोकलङ्कः——सकलकलः शङ्करो + + दृत्तः स्याद्वादी मूलसङ्घामलकमलनिधौ श्रीप्रभाचन्द्रदेवः ॥ २ पदे ततो नमद्शेषमहीशभालललग्नानि यत् क्रमरजस्तिलकान्यभूवन् १०

११ ॥ कल्याणकारिकमलाकुचकेलिदानि पापापहानि समभूदिह पद्मनन्दी ॥ १ कः सरीसर्त्ति साम्यत्वं सन्निधावजनन्दिनः । न ——— न सम्मे यस्य स——॥ २ के के पुराणसारीणं शिष्यानाकर्ण्य कर्णयोः । श्रीपद्मनन्दिनः प्राप्तः सन्निधां धर्म्मदेशनां ॥ ३ प्रेम्ना कज्जलितं विशच्चलभितं चेतोभुवा वर्त्ति- ११

१२ ॥ तं रागाद्यैः क्षयदूषितैः परमतैर्भस्मत्तमस्तोमितं । भावैः प्रस्फुटितं नयैर्विरचितं धर्म्मैः समुद्योतितं सत्याचाम्बुजनन्दिदीपतपसि प्राग्जैनधर्म्मालये ॥ ४ सै——— क + चलति सद्वंसत्यनुष्णा द्युतिः चीराम्भोधतिचन्द्रमत्यहरहः स्पर्द्धन्ति हन्तो यति । श्रीमानम्बुजनन्दिनस्त्रिभुवने जेगीयमाना न यै- १२

१३ । वाद्यत्यद्यशसा न केन सुनटी कीर्त्तिर्नरीनर्त्त्यते ॥ ५ ज्ञानार्णवः समयसारगभीरशब्द सच्चक्षणः प्रणवलीनलयः प्रमाणः । सि——भुवनोपकृत्यै——॥ ६ इन्द्रोपेन्द्रफणीन्द्रगीष्पतिमतिं यः कोऽपि धत्ते पुमान् मन्ये पङ्कजनन्दिनो गणगुणान् वक्तुं न सोऽपीशते । संसारार्णवतीर्ण- १३

१४ । यामलधिया सन्नौकया सन्मुनेर्निष्कलोलचिदम्बुधावचलया पद्मायितं लीलया ॥ ३ श्रीपद्मनन्दिसुगुरोः पदपद्मप——————धर्म्मोपलक्षितदिशा——————मार मनोभिरम्यः प्रोद्भेद्य कौमुदमरं शुभचन्द्रदेवः ॥ १ अथ संवत्सरेस्मिन् श्रीविक्रमादित्यगताब्द १४ ८१ शा- १४

१५ । के श्रीशालिवाहानाम् १३४६ वैशाखमासशुक्लपक्षीयपूर्णमास्यां गुरुवासरे । स्वातिनक्षत्रे । सिंहलग्नोदये ॥ अतिविक्र + + र्य्यब्दे चन्द्राब्ध्यब्धीन्दु———वैशाखे पूर्णराकायां——— सुखोदये ॥——साक्षद्दक्षपाणपाणिविलसत्तीव्रप्रतापानलज्वालाजालसमाकुलीकृतगजाधीशा- १५

१६ । धरीशेषपे । श्रीमान्मालवपालकेशकटपे गोरीकुलोद्योतके निःक्रान्ते विजयाय मण्डपपुराच्छ्रीसाहिशालस्मके ॥ १———सुमण्डलमण्डमानाखण्डलबालकुलमण्डमपी + + न्ये । संनिर्म्मले शिवशिरोमणिवन्मनोज्ञं सद्बोधिनः सुविधिना सुविधिः सुबोधः ॥ १ सोऽभूत्तस्मिन् त्रिभुवनपालो भुवने १६

१७ । लसद्यशःकलशः । दोऽलं त्रिभुवनलक्ष्मा लेभे गणगुणं गणा + रणं ॥ २ निर्दग्धःसख गर्ज्जद्गजघकलकला + + लाङ्काकलङ्कं———विपुलयशसो यस्य चित्रं पवित्रं । तस्य श्रीपुण्यलक्ष्माखिलगुणनिलयो धीरधीरो गभीरः पुत्रो गोवाभप + पममत्रिसनिधिर्धीरधीः साधुसाधुः ॥ ३ + + लबालकीर्त्तिर्लतावि- १७

१८ । नानधारावरः सुसमयोपेतमस्कल्पः । सन्तापहारि———कापसार्य्यभव———— वनिवि + देवः ॥ विद्युल्लतेव विमला———पतिव्रताङ्गा सौभाग्यभूधरसुता नररत्नग-

भौ तस्याम्बिका च वनिता जनतास्विकेव ॥ ५ अभूदममसौम्योपि तयोर्वागर्थयोरिव
चोलीसुनन्दनः श्रीमान् १८

१९। रसोत्साहाभिनन्दनः ॥ ६ वर्द्धमानार्थिनामर्थैर्वर्द्धमानान् मनोरथान् सार्थयनर्थतः श्री
मान् चोली कल्पाङ्घ्रिपायते ॥ ७ सन्मूलः सदलोल्लसत्———प्रशाखोच्छिखः स्नाध्य
स्वच्छकुलैः फलैरविकलः सुच्छायकायश्रियः। सन्तापेऽपि चपाकरः कुवलये श्रीचोलि--
कल्पाङ्घ्रिपो जीयात्तर्ज्जितदुर्ज्जनोऽर्जुनय- १९

२०। श्रीवासोऽर्कचन्द्रार्थिभिः(?) ॥ ८ अविकल्पलल्पलतया सुकान्तया कान्तया कान्तः। असक्रत्
सुक्रतसमुन्नतधाराधरनिर्भरासारैः ॥ ९ यः कान्ता + + लत———कमलाख्यया-
धनाख्यं धनदं सुधनञ्जयं साधुः ॥ १० वधूधनश्रीफलमालयालं गच्छेश्रवंशानुजनन्दनैश्च
सुवर्णरत्नाक्षिरमा- २०

२१। गरैभिः सरलभुजगरत्नकुराग्रैः ॥ ११ गाम्भीर्य्यजलदासये विचलतां दैवाचलो मार्दवं
ह्रत्यत्कार्त्तिककेकिकाय विगलत्य + + तं + दयः———मदाश्रिततया सर्व्वं सह-
लं धरा यस्मादेव मिता ददुः स जयतात् श्रीचोलिसङ्गाधिपः ॥ १२ विस्मयन्ते धरि-
त्राणि———चोलिसाधुना। य- २१

२२। यशोऽक्षुण्ण दुग्धाब्धौ दृषः कौमुदमेधते ॥ १३ यद्यशो विष्णुनाणुवैः कलावण्यकलङ्किना।
+ + स भेत्रशेषत्वं विश्वविश्वमुपाददे ॥ १४ + दैव + ति सुजनयाच्ञ——
णां। अनु भवति वचांसि गुरुर्विस्मयति चोलिक्षती ॥ १५ गुणवानपि धर्म्मात्मा-
वक्रः सद्धर्म्मजोपि यः। यद् + शोमदो चो-२२

२३। ली ऋजुपन्थाप्यलोभभाक्॥ १६ रोदसांवरसच्चुल्लासंपुराद्धु यद् यशोलसत् मुक्ता
मुक्त्यङ्गना मुक्त हारं चोल्ला रसोचैतात् ॥ १७ सत्केतकीकु———काशसंकास——
यशसात्मयीक्षताग्रः। सोल्लासमारसनिवासिमया महान्तो चोलीश्वरोऽस्तु सधनञ्जय-
सार्थवाहः ॥ १८ नाको- २३

२४। सिलमहं दृषलनुतनुः किं पुच पिचोः शुचा सानन्दं वद सद्य किं सगयसे भूयोवतारस्य
योः। त + + ञ कलौ वदाशु हरवे किं वर्द्धमानेऽक्षये———मद्रूपो———
चोलि सं + + रे ॥ १९ श्रीचोलीकमलाकरे कुवलयं सत्कीर्त्तिकञ्जायते शेषेनालसि
सद्लीयति गजैर्दिग्वप्रकाशीयति। मेरौ चिरम- २४

२५। जाच चिरमपि तन्निवासचिन्तापभट्टयन्नालीयति सन्नरालति कलङ्की यच शेषा-
करः ॥ २० चन्द्रो निहसिता + तिप्रविकशद्र————जन्मालति। सदीपत्यखि-
लाचलाचलविभुर्भ + + नन्नमितत्यद्यचोलियशोम्बुधौ सम———धस्मकनैकेत्यचो ॥
२६। २१ तत्राप्यचैको चेतुसदृथा तथा हि ॥ विविक्तः शक्तिमान् चोली विविद्यशोक्ति-
मानहं। इत्यावयोर्महान् खेदः सततं वदचे बुधाः ॥ २२ येनाकारि मनोहारि——
पुरन्दर ———— श्रीलजिनालयं ॥ २३ सतां सन्तोषपोषाय श्रेयसे चात्मनः
श्रिये। सुखाय त्रिमुखाद्यानां चेह खेदाय पश्यतां ॥ २४ खण्डे भू + त + शो— २६।

२० । तंसोभूत् साधुदेवाख्यः । वेदत्रिया स लेभे सुसुतं श्रीवज्रदेवाख्यं ॥ स वज्रण श्रीरमणेपि सूनुं विचक्षणं लक्षणलक्षिताङ्गं । लेभे स्वयं लक्षणपालदेवं देवा———— त्रिया श्रीमत्त्रेमराजाभिधाङ्गजं । धर्म्मार्थकामसंसिद्धिसाधकं भाग्यतोऽलभत् ॥ २ द्वितीयमद्वितीयोयत्प्रतापातापि- २०

२८ । तद्विधं । + + भारधुराधूर्य्यवर्य्यं साधूर्य्यसागरं ॥ ४ नाम्ना देवरतिं सदोदयमतं सन्मन्त्रिलक्ष्मीपतिं धर्म्मध्यानगतिं निरस्तकुमतिं योनित्यमेवादरे । यश्चक्रे जिन + र्चने ऽचलरतिं स———साधुजनेवि——॥ ५ श्रेष्ठः पद्मत्रिया श्रेष्ठं स्वंशाम्भोजभास्करं सूनुं नयनसिंघाख्यं लेभे रत्नमरावरं? ॥ ६ स्फटलं रत्ननामानम- २८

२९ । यलाभ्यलपादवं ? । सुतमाप्य समस्तासत्कुमतिं स दिवं ययौ ॥ ७ श्रीलभन्मल्हणदे- वनयारम्भाभयाङ्गजं चाथ । बालकलेशमिवालं कलया कलया———पतिसङ्गनाथो— दिल्हणदेव्याभिनन्दितनन्दनः । अथ पद्मसिंहनन्दनमल्हीरपि नन्दतादनिशं ॥ ९ प्रति- ष्ठयातिगारिष्ठं यन्नामादेव देहिनां । तस्माज्जनन्दि- २९

३० । नो मूर्त्तेः कः प्रतिष्ठाघटामटेत् ॥ १ शुभसोमाह्वया सेसौ तथापि गुणकीर्त्तिना । वर्द्ध मानाभिधैः श्रीमद्वरपत्यादिभिर्बुधैः ॥ २ श्रीपद्मनन्दि————दसवसन्तमहाक्षने मूर्त्तेर्व्विधाय विधिनाभिमतां प्रतिष्ठामेतां हि नन्दनसनन्दननन्दनाद्यैः ॥ ३ सङ्घे- श्वरः कुवलयेऽमलहेलिचन्द्रः सङ्घेग- ३०

३१ । देवपतिवाक्पतिनेन्द्रमुद्रः । सन्मङ्गलैः सकलबन्धुजनो + ष्टदैर्वर्षत् सहर्षमुपकार- सुधाशुधारां ॥ ४ परोपकारकर्त्ता यो यद्यशा————श्रीमान् सततधर्म्मात्म दृष्टिं यो दानवारिणा । धत्ते स सत्यधर्म्मेशो जीयाद्धोली नरोत्तमः ॥ २ मोदत् कुव लयं यस्य यशस्तिलकमुत्तमं । दि- ३१

३२ । द्वीपे उपमं सोमः स जीयाद्धोलिगङ्करः ॥ ३ प्रातः कालीयरागदलदखिलतमोरेणुरे- पादपद्मच्छत्पद्मोल्लासिलक्ष्म्यास्तरुण————चच्चन्द्रीयशाकलङ्क सकलकुवलये साधुतां हेलिसाधोः ॥ ४ अपोतकान्वये गर्गगोत्रे स्फटबुधाङ्गजाः बभू- ३२

३३ । युः साधवः क्षीमाह्वरङ्गामराभिधाः ॥ ५ तेषामाद्यात्मजस्तत्र वील्हेभूत्पल्हिकाङ्गज स्फुरत्नत्रियोः सूनुस्तेभूत्तल्हणः सुहृक् ॥ २————गनया ततः ॥ ३ समजनि वसन्तकीर्त्तार्य्या वील्हणवर्द्धमानजन्मा सगयन् माताजयितश्रीचाल्हीचार्य्या- करो द्विसासबुधः ॥ ३३

३४ । प्रशस्तिमुद्यद्वृषभार्च्चन्द्रसान्द्रार्थतीर्थो + + धा चकारः । सतां मुदे सत्कविवर्द्धम नो जिनं समाराध्य विवर्द्धमानं ॥ ५ श्रीवर्द्धमानविबुधाननपद्मचञ्चत् पीयू————— ——धारां पीत्वा द्रुतां श्रुतिपुटाञ्जलिभिस्त्वमीमां नन्दन्तु संतुमनसः शुचिचञ्चरीकाः। ६ ॥ शुभमस्तु सतां सदा ॥

————सुतश्चिरं जीयात्। रिपुदृप्तसिन्धुसवा———विभू————पस्मा- च्चि चाल्हणः ॥ १ श्रीचाल्हाधिपतनुजे रिभूपमौलिमाणिके। गर्जति गर्जनखाने- ग + + गोरीकुलं कुवलयेक्षिन्————

Translation of an Inscription from Lalitpur.

Line 1. Victory, be to thee, O Vṛishabha, in the sea of nectar, named Kánta, whose beauty shines forth supreme, and which is situate in Varddhamána.

O thou great minded Sugata, thou spotless moon, bright with light, for the welfare of the good, thou spreadest victory, right thinking, prosperity and peace. (1)

* * * * I take refuge under the Arhatine lustre, resplendent and glorious, for the non-appearance of what is mortal in me in this stream of transmigration. (2)

May the kind Sadáśiva (eternally auspicious) protect us always from destruction! It is ready (to help) in the attainment of what is good. (3)

Line 2. Even the pure flamingo becomes like a chakora in the clear moonlight of Chidánanda (eternal gladness of the soul).

I worship Śríśaṅkara, charming like the lord of prosperity * * * * possessing all the signs of greatness, the delighter Jinendra, the good friend, one to whom no enemies are born. He is like a chakora.* (4)

I salute with delight the one-headed lord, worthy of receiving great honours from the lord of cultivated land,† with a beautiful neck, well deserving of worship, furnished with signs, the Amáya (without illusion), though with Máyá or illusion on his left side (as wife). (5)

Line 3. I adore Chandra, among the chief gods, to whom no enemy was born, the cause of the destruction of the ungovernable, with sticks in their hands, the abode of great whiteness * * * * the delighter of the ears of the good, whose symbol is the stag. (6)

For the prosperity of nirvána I merge in the essence of him who by his power burnt the eight works which destroy the future world and which pervade the regions above, below, and on all sides. (7)

I bow to Takshaka, the unconquered, whose symbol is the hissing lord of serpents. (8)

Line 4. One who brings about the Jaina ceremony of Varddhamána, though so very difficult.

With the lord of the mountains on his face * * * * with variegated teeth * * * * because of Vetrávalí and Kálí. May Śántisoma, without fault, the cause of the happiness of the whole world, the spotless moon, prevail for our prosperity. (9)

* The simile is intended to convey the idea that even as the chakora or Greek partridge is fabled to be satisfied with, and to subsist on, moonbeams, so is an Arhat satisfied with purity as his sustenance.

† I take the mythological proper names like गोवेश, सुग्रीव &c. in their derivative meanings; most likely they are double entendres.

He who consumed Káma by the fire of the eye on his forehead, who killed Káma's father, who is followed by Śákti, who has three eyes, who is without any female on his left, (who has not married) * * * * (10)

Line 5. Śántisoma * * * * for the prosperity of the three worlds.

When there is a possibility of transmigration, I worship with delight on the pretext * * * * the heir of lotus feet * * * * because the conqueror of precious stones from the lowly heads of mortals, of immortals, and of the serpents, of the Arhat Śaśi, the destroyer of Śiva's beauty through the rays issuing from the orbs of nails shining moonlike as it were from the midst of a beautiful tamála tree * * * * (11)

Line 6. I adore, for breaking the chain of transmigration, for delight, and for prosperity, the speech of the lord who dispels the evils of darkness from the melting hearts of his worshippers. I adore also the celestial river falling on the disk of Śrí Śarvajña, the moon; both these are white like milk, camphor, dew, necklace, diamond and Mahádeva, and are bright with the shining and thick ripples of the milky sea scattered over with the moon, the kunda flower and the kumuda flower. (1*)

Line 7. In the great ceremony, named Madasárada, of Śrí Múla kshmí on the waterside, not to be slighted, where the crowds delight the king, where violences occur * * * * Dharmachandra is the only person, whose words are the only means of access to the inaccessible moonlike Jinendra named Śrikuna * * * * and whose rising fame is still flowing continuously. (2)

Line 8. He whose fame is chanted day and night in the worlds of mortals, immortals and serpents, whose fame is like moonlight, delightful to the kumuda-like ears of the elephants of the quarters,—may he, Dharmachandra, a spotless fullmoon obtain in the rise * * * * * shining Śrímúla * * * obtain the prosperity of the moon! (3)

On the Udayáchala hill the moonlike Dharmachandra, the dispeller of darkness, more brilliant than silk, was followed by Ratnakírti.

Line 9. May the rays of fame of the brilliant sunlike Ratnakírti prevail, for the blooming of lotuslike, pure and untarnished asceticism. (4)

He whose * * like the nectar-dripping light of the moon on account of issuing from his feet * * * prevails over all. (5)

May Ratnakírti, the teacher of the holiest of the holy in the seven holy places, * * * for the glory of the moonlike Jina * * *

He who made the goddess of speech an ornament to himself by the elegance and flow of his language, on the seat adorned by the lotuslike feet of Ratnakírti. (1)

* The figures within parantheses indicate the number of the stanza; the stanzas, however, have not been numbered in one continuous, but in different, series.

Line 10. He who is like a powerful storm in the crushing jousts of malignant antagonists, who is like the sun in dispelling darkness and spreading happiness over the world, who is like the fullmoon without a stain, the giver of happiness,—may that Śríprabhachandra Deva prevail for the prosperity of the original congregation!

Him followed Padmanandí, the sin-dispelling dust of whose feet adorned the breasts of their females, and was carried away on the crowns of the crowds of kings who bowed to him and used it as their frontal mark.

In the presence of Padmanandí who could claim a rivalry * * * No * * * No * * * measures him who * (2)

Who were they! Alas! who were the fortunate men that after hearing sages speaking in accordance with the Puráṇas were blessed with the religious teaching from Padmanandí's smiling face? (3)

In the religious places of the Jainas the asceticism of Padmanandí was like a lamp which burnt out and converted it into black collyrium, and Káma like a moth flew into the flame.

Line 12. Passions were put to shame; adverse opinions were dispelled like darkness; sentiments had their full play; moral principles were established; and religion flourished. (4)

The soothing brilliancy of * * * * becomes like a pure white flamingo, like the milky ocean, like the moon. Those that had not before chanted often and often the fame of Padmanandí in the three worlds, now vie with each other to do so.

Line 13. His fame, the good actress, dances well in unison with any tune of renown. (5)

He is like an ocean of knowledge. His august voice was the most substantial thing of his time. He was an authority. He melted in Praṇava * * * * for the benefit of the world. (6)

I think the man who is possessed of the intelligence of Indra, of Upendra, of the serpent king, and also of Vṛihaspati, even he will not be able to enumerate the numerous good qualities of Padmanandí.

Line 14. The pure intelligence of the noble sage, entering into the ocean of the world fixed itself in the calm ocean of intelligence, which intelligence may be compared to a boat, which plays the part of a lotus merrily. (7)

The lotus feet of Padmanandí * * * * with eyes fixed on religion * * * delightful to the mind of * * * blooming like the kumuda flower is Subhachandra Deva. (1)

In the year of king Vikramáditya, 1481, that of Saliváhana 1346, on the fullmoon of the month of Vaishákha, on Thursday, the asterism being Svátí in conjunction with Siñha (the same given in figures)—the king Sáhi Alambhaka, the illuminator of the race of Gauri (Ghor), the ruler of

Málava and Palakeska, issued forth with his sword uplifted, followed by his invulnerable army, from the city of Mandapapura in quest of victory.

The intelligent and methodical (king) built according to rules * * * delightful as the crown-jewel of Siva * * for the great *Bodhi.* (1)

There was such a lord of the three worlds on earth with a shining vessel of fame.

Line 17. Who obtained all the qualities to make the three worlds happy. (2)

He who had a pure painting of his wide-spread fame * * * * * spotless moon * * * with the sounds of elephants trumpeting with pride. (3)

The Lord * * * the mitigator of sufferings * * without pride even in good times * * * like clouds watering the creepers of fame * * * * * (4)

He had a wife named Ambiká, pure like lightning * * * * devoted to her husband, fortunate like the daughter of the mountain, the mother of jewels amongst men, she was like Jagadambá. (5)

They (husband and wife) got a son named Holí, the delighter, a lover of poetry and enterprise, and possessing matchless beauty.

Line 18. His parents were, like word and its meaning, intimately associated with each other. (6)

Line 19. Holí, by fulfilling the growing desires of the beggars of Varddhamána, became as it were the all-granting tree of desire. (7)

Victory be to Holí, the all-granting tree of desire, whose roots are firm, whose leaves are beautiful, whose branches are tall, which is full of fruits, pure and delicious, shady and beautiful in appearance.

He is refreshing like the moon even in heat, the punisher of bad men.

Line 20. A better abode of lustrous fame than the sun and moon. (8)

By means of continuous showering of high and well-formed clouds did he often delight his beautiful wife, a creeper on a princely bed. (9)

He who * * * his wife * * * good himself, the conqueror and giver of wealth named Dhana * * * by the name of Kamalá. (10)

No need of bel fruit, the wealth of females (their busts); no need of the younger sons of the family of Galhesha; no need of gold, diamond and agallochum; no need of the earth with jewels and also of gojara. (?)(11)

Line 21. May the Lord of the congregation, may the lord Holí, conquer * * * * * * because * * * they gave * * * being the protegé, the earth her quality of sustaining everything. (12)

Line 22. The worlds are wonderstruck by the good Holí, whose fame increases the moonlight in the boundless milky ocean, like Vishnu. (13)

Whose universal fame in Kali (age) is by the spotless Vishnu * * he, dwindling down into the moon * * * * (14)

The successful Holí, the teacher, feels the weight of speeches and makes the world wonderstruck. (15)

He is accomplished, virtuous, straightforward, lover of the good religion.

Line 23. His ways are straight, and he has no greed nor ambition. (16)

The fame, which issues forth from the white palace of the sky, is used by females, leaving off pearl ornaments. (17)

May Holí, the boundless, become united with the leader Dhananjaya. Holí is a man whose fame, white like the ketaki flower * * * pervaded all the quarters—the fame which is identified as it were with cranes, full of hilarity. (18)

You are, oh my son, heaven itself, and I am Vṛisha, * * * very weak.

Line 24. Tell me cheerfully why do you lament over your parents? Why do you search for them? Do you long for their springing into life again? "Where is Kali, tell me, O royal poet * * * in the indestructible Varddhamána * * * like me * * * Holí. (19)

In Holí, the lotus tank, fame spreading over the whole world becomes a lotus, and S'esha becomes its stalk. The elephants become its leaves. Light spreads over all the quarters. (20)

Line 25. In the Meru the spotless moon, driving away the fear of sunset, oh wonder! sports like a Marála, or plays like a lotus-stalk.

The moon being laughed at * * * * blossoming * * * becomes * * * when the fame of Holí spreads like the ocean all over the world. It appears like an all-pervading mountain, and becomes like a boat of religion. There is one reason for this, and that is as it should be. (21)

Line 26. It is a fact that Holí is powerful, it is also a fact that I am to be made known as one strong in the power of speech. It is, therefore, oh Sages, that our affection grew with our age. (22)

He who made the delightful * * * Indra * * * * the temple of Jina. (23)

For the increase of his own contentment, for his own blessings, for his own prosperity, as well for the delight of those that have conquered their passions as well of those that are mere spectators, * * * (24)

Line 27. In the quarter * * * there was one named Sáyudeva. He got a son named Valladeva by Vedaśrí. (1)

He too got a son named Lakshmaṇapála Deva, the wise, furnished with all the signs of greatness. (2)

A son named Kshemarája by S'rí * * * * He was perfectly successful in the attainment of virtue, desires and wealth. (3)

He was the second, but second to none in harassing his enemies by his rising power.

Line 28. He was an ocean of sweetness, and very strong in bearing the burden of state. (4)

He always preferred the company of Devaratí, free from all bad feelings, the only refuge of meditation and virtue, always desiring prosperity, and the lord of all prosperous men. It is he who devoted himself to Jina * * * * in good men. (5)

He obtained by Padmaśrí a son named Nayanasiñha, the sun of the lotus of his race. He was inferior only to gods. (6)

Line 29. He went to heaven,—leaving a son named Ratna, devoid of all bad feelings. (7)

He obtained, by Malhana Deganá, a son named Rambhámaya. He was like a young moon, by means of his knowledge of the fine arts (kalá), * * * * * * desirous also of associating with her husband * * * the son beloved to Queen Dilhaná. May the chief descendants of Padmasiñha be in prosperity! (8)

Line 30. Who can perform the ceremony of consecrating the statue of Padmanandí? His name alone is sufficient, the consecration is a great thing.

Still he, by the command of Subhasoma, through the aid of Guṇakírtí, of the sages Harapati and others, and of Varddhamán, (2)

and also of Nandana, Sunandana and others, consecrated, according to rules, the statues of Padmanandí and * * * * Dama-vasanta, two great souls. (3)

Holí in this world is the lord of the congregation.

Line 31. He was the seal-bearer of the lord of the congregation, of the lord of gods, and also of the lord of speech. He is followed by all his friends * * by means of all the auspicious ceremonies, he cheerfully helps all. He pours showers of nectar. (4)

May Holí, the greatest of men, be victorious! He is the lord of truth and virtue. By the water he has to pour for consecrating his gifts, Holí every day sends a heavy shower. (1)

He is always full of religion. He is always prosperous. He is always munificent. His fame * * * * (2)

May Holí, the giver of prosperity, be victorious! The glad earth is the frontal mark of his fame.

Line 32. He shines like a rival of the moon. (3)

The goodness of wise Holí all over the world * * * * the tremulous light of the spotless moon * * the young * * * of the * * * of beauty * * * of the lotus heart at the lotus feet of the spiritual guide, the enemy of eternal darkness which are being dispelled by the morning beams. (4)

In the family of Agrotaka, in the gotra of Garga, were born the wise sons of Hátabudha,

Line 33. named Kshúṇa, Haragangá, and Amara. (5)

The son of the first was Vilhana, whose mother was Pálhiká. Hara has, by Ratnaśrí, a son named Talhana with beautiful eyes.

Then * * * * (3)

The venerable Vilhana was born of Varddhamán by Vasantakírtí. * * * * (4)

(I do not understand a few words here.)

Line 34. The good poet Varddhamán, the chakora, after worshipping Jina the ascendant, for the delight of the good * * * * this eulogium (*praśasti.*) (5)

(I do not understand a few words here.)

May well-meaning men delight in drinking with their ears the nectareferous * * * * words issuing from the mouth of Varddhamán! * * * * * May the good be prosperous! May the son live long! * * * * Sáhi Álambhaka.

The son of Sáhi Álambhaka, the crown jewel of hostile kings, roaring at his proper place * * * * Gaurikula in this world * * * * *.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1883.

Folktales from the Upper Panjáb.—*By the* Rev. C. Swynnerton, M. R. A. S., *Chaplain of Nausherá.*

"In Winter's tedious nights, sit by the fire
With good old folks, and let them tell thee tales!"

The tales and stories which I propose to present to the notice of members have been literally gathered on winter's nights from the lips of the peasantry of the Upper Panjáb. So far as I am aware, not one of them has appeared in print; but in any case, whether some few of them have been published or not, there must still exist in the ensuing series a peculiarity of treatment and a freshness of incident, together with many other important points of difference, which will mark this collection as an original effort, interesting in itself, and interesting too for purposes of comparison. The story-tellers were partly Panjábís, and partly Páṭháns; some of them were tottering old men, and some of them youths, robust and strong. They are the tales which are the delight of the village Hazráh on winter's nights, when icy winds are blowing, and when the young men gather round the blazing fire to hear of the fantastic deeds of giants and fairies, and the adventures of animals and men, or when the village guest, if not too tired to sit up, alternates the recital of fictitious wonders by news from the great world, or commands the attention of auditors as simple as himself by circumstantial accounts of most disastrous chances, of moving accidents of his own, by flood and fell. It was at the little village of Gházi on the river Indus, thirty miles above Aṭak, that many of these stories were

told to the compiler, and translated to him *vivâ voce* from the Panjábí by his hospitable host and attached friend Thomas Lambert Barlow, Esq. There within sight and hearing of the majestic river of history and romance, in a district exclusively pastoral, close to the fabled mountain of Gangar, in the midst of many a ruined temple and fortress of an earlier race and a former faith, on ground historical and even classical though now so obscure and unknown, these interesting gleanings of old-world folklore were carefully gathered and stored. Exactly opposite lies a line of rocky hills overlooking the rushing waters of the river. On this spot stood an ancient city of fabulous strength and vast extent, the home of four Hindú brothers, all of them kings. Each of the low peaks of which there are several is crowned by a tower, a palace or a temple, while traces of connecting walls and ruined dwellings traverse the ground on all sides to the very edge of the cliff. This city according to tradition was so vast that one of its gates was close to Hund, an equally ancient site, which stands on the same bank about twenty miles to the south. What was the name of this once mighty capital? Possibly it may survive among the popular names of the peaks and ravines on which it was built, as Gálláh, Pihúr, Gharri dhá Lar, Parri dhá Kátthá, Gaddhi dhá Kátthá, Gangáriánh dhá Kassi, Bhoru dhá Kátthá. Hund has been identified as the spot where "Sikander Bádsháh" crossed over his conquering army of Greeks, and undoubtedly it possessed an important ferry from the very earliest ages.

A few miles to the north of Gházi where the hills begin to close in, we can almost see the collection of hamlets known as Torbela, the inhabitants of which are addicted to the curious vice of eating clay, as people in other parts are given to the consumption of opium. Opposite Torbelá stands the warlike independent village of Kabbal. It is here, between these two rival villages not more than twelve miles from Gházi, that the Indus breaks through the gorge of the restraining peaks on either side, the last spurs of the Himálayas, forming the territory, in part independent, but partly under our dominion, which the inhabitants call Yákistán. How beautiful is the view miles and miles up the river, with the descending lines of the precipitous mountains, one behind the other, receding ever more and more into blue haze, until crowned by the distant snows! As one sits in the warm winter sun, among the river boulders at Gházi, where the gold-washers are busy at work, and as one directs one's gaze northwards, past the bare tawny hills into the remote distance, one thinks how all this land was once in the hands of a dynasty of Greeks, of helmed Menander, or lightning-wielding Antialkidas, whose coins attest the excellency of the arts in these remote places when under their accomplished sway, but of whose influence every living trace seems to have disappeared, unless, in the classical designs of the village basketwork, or in the graceful devices in red and green on the

country nambdás of felt, one may be permitted to detect a remnant, however slight, of Grecian taste and western refinement. Passing on to a succeeding era, one remembers the local tradition of king Rásálu who, from those very heights to the left, hurled at his rival on the eastern bank a mighty defiance in the shape of a huge mass of greenstone weighing a maund and a half. Five kos it hurtled through the air, and it still reposes on the spot where it fell. Or, one longs for a holiday, however short, and for money and men, to penetrate beyond the tributary Sirin, famous for márśir, and to visit the remoter hills of Thánnaul, the district of Nawáb Akram Khán, whose Summer House gleams from a distant peak, there, among much besides, to search for and to find the "*Haldí Dillí*," or great Rocking Stone, of which the people tell, and which though of towering size can be moved, say they, by a touch of a single finger.

However, it is time to address myself to the Folktales. I shall attempt in this issue little or no commentary, but I would leave each one of them to speak for itself, merely premising that the first series shall consist of a selected number of fables and short stories, and the next of longer and more ambitious stories having much resemblance in general character to the tales in the "Arabian Nights."

I. The Weaver and the Prophecy.

A village weaver went out to cut firewood. Climbing a tree he stood upon one of the branches, which he began to hew off close to the trunk. "My friend," said a traveller passing below, "you are standing on the very limb which you are cutting off. In a few minutes you and it will both fall to the ground." The weaver unconcernedly continued his task and soon both the branch and himself fell to the foot of the tree as the traveller had foretold. Limping after him the weaver cried, "Sir, you are God, you are God, Sir, you are God—what you prophesied has come to pass." "Tut, man, tut," answered the traveller, "I'm not God." "Nay, but you are," replied the weaver, "and now pray, O pray, tell me when I am to die?" To be rid of his importunity, the traveller answered, "You will die on the day on which your mouth bleeds," and he pursued his way.

Some days had elapsed when the weaver happened to be making some scarlet cloth, and as he had frequently to separate the threads with his mouth, a piece of the coloured fibre by chance stuck in one of his front teeth. Catching sight of this in a glass, and instantly concluding that it was blood, and that his last hour was at hand, he entered his hut, and said "Wife, wife, I'm sick; in a few moments I shall be dead: let me lie down, and go, dig my grave!" So he lay down on his bed, and turning his face to the wall, closed his eyes, and began deliberately to die. And indeed, such is the power of the imagination among these people, that he would have died with-

out doubt, if a customer had not called for his clothes. He seeing the man's condition and hearing of the prophecy, asked to examine his mouth. "Ah," said he, "what an idiot are you? Call you this blood?" and taking out the thread he held it before the weaver's eyes. The weaver, as a man reprieved from death, was overjoyed, and springing to his feet he resumed his work, having been rescued, as he imagined, from the very brink of the grave.

II. The three Weavers.

There were three weavers, all brothers, who lived in the same village. One day the eldest said to the others "I am going to buy a milch buffalo." So he went to a farmer, paid for the buffalo, and brought it home to his house.

The second brother was quite touched by the sight of it. He viewed its heads, its horns, and its teats, and then said "O brother, allow me to be a partner in this beautiful buffalo?" Said the elder, "I have paid for this beautiful buffalo twenty-two rupees. If you wish to be a partner in her, you had better go to the farmer, and pay him twenty-two rupees too, and then we shall have equal shares in her."

Shortly after the third brother came in and said, "O brother, you have allowed our brother to be a partner with you in this buffalo, won't you let me take a share too?" "Willingly," answered the other, "but first you must go to the farmer and pay him twenty-two rupees as we have done." So the third brother did so, while the farmer chuckled, saying, "This is a fine thing for me getting all this money for my skinny old buffalo!"

The three brothers now agreed that each one of them should have a day's milk from the buffalo in turn, and that each should bring his own pot. The two elder brothers had their turns, but when the third day came, the youngest said, "Alas! what shall I do? I have no pot in my house!" In this perplexity the eldest remarked, "This is a most difficult business, because you see if you milk the buffalo without a pot, the milk will be spilt. You had better milk her into your mouth." His ingenious solution of the problem was at once adopted, and the youngest brother milked the buffalo into his mouth. Going home he was met by his wife who asked, "Well, where is the milk?" Her husband answered, "I had no pot, so I had to milk the buffalo into my mouth." "O you did, did you," cried she, "and so your wife counts as no one? I am to have no milk? If I am not to have my share, in this house I refuse to remain." And she went off in anger to the house of her mother.

Then the three brothers went together to the headman of the village, and complained, begging him to order the woman to return to her husband. So the headman summoned her and said, "O woman, you may have your share of the milk too, just the same as your husband. Let him visit the

buffalo in the morning and drink the milk, and do you visit her in the evening." Said she, "But why could not my husband have said so? Now it is all right, and besides I shall be saved all the trouble of setting the milk for butter!"

III. The Weaver and the Water-melon.

Once upon a time a poor country weaver visited a town, where he saw a quantity of water-melons piled up one above the other in front of a baniá's shop. "Eggs of other birds there are," he said, "and I have seen them: but what bird's eggs are these eggs? These must be mare's eggs!" So he asked the baniá, "Are these eggs mare's eggs?" The baniá instantly cocked his ears, and perceiving that he was a simpleton answered, "Yes, these bird's eggs are mare's eggs." "What is the price?" "One hundred rupees apiece" said the baniá. The simple weaver took out his bag of money and counting out the price, bought one of the melons and carried it off. As he went along the road, he began to say to himself, "When I get home I will put this egg in a warm corner of my house, and by and bye a foal will be born, and when the foal is big enough, I shall mount it and ride it to the house of my father-in-law. Won't he be astonished?" As the day was unusually hot, he stopped at a pool of water to bathe.* But first of all he deposited the melon most carefully in the middle of a low bush, and then he proceeded to undress himself. His garments were not half laid aside, when out from the bush sprang a hare, and the weaver, snatching up part of his clothing while the rest hung about his legs in disorder, made desperate efforts to chase and overtake the hare, crying out, "Ah there goes the foal, wo, old boy, wo, wo!" But he ran in vain, for the hare easily escaped, and was soon out of sight.

The poor weaver reconciled himself to his loss as best he could, "Kismet!" cried he: "And as for the egg, it is of course of no use now and not worth returning for, since the foal has left it." So he made his way home and said to his wife, "O wife, I have had a great loss this day!" "Why," said she, "what have you done?" "I paid one hundred rupees for a mare's egg, but while I stopped on the road to bathe, the foal jumped out and ran away." His wife replied, "Ah, what a pity! if you had only brought the foal here, I would have got on his back and ridden him to my father's house!" Hearing this, the weaver fell into a rage, and pulling a stick out of his loom began to belabour his wife, crying, "What, you would break the back of a young foal? Ah you slut, let me break yours!"

After this he went out, and began to lament his loss to his friends and neighbours, warning them all, "If any of you should see a stray foal, don't forget to let me know." To the village herdsmen especially he

* Literally: On his way home he tarried *ut alvum exoneraret.*

related his wonderful story, how the foal came out of the egg, and ran away, and would perhaps be found grazing on the common lands somewhere. One or two of the farmers, however, to whom the tale was repeated said "What is this nonsense? Mares never have eggs. Where did you put this egg of yours?" "I put my egg in a bush," said the weaver, "near the tank on the way to the town." The farmers said, "Come and show us!" "All right," assented the weaver, "come along." When they arrived at the spot the melon was found untouched in the middle of the bush. "Here it is," cried the weaver, "here's my mare's egg. This is the thing out of which my foal jumped." The farmers turned the melon over and over, and said, "But what part of this egg did the foal jump out of?" So the weaver took the melon and began to examine it. "Out of this," cried one of the farmers, snatching back the melon, "no foal ever jumped. You are a simpleton and you have been cheated. We'll show you what the foals are." So he smashed the melon on a stone, and giving the seeds to the weaver, said, "Here are foals enough for you," while the farmers themselves amid much laughter sat down and ate up the fruit.

IV. The Weaver-girl.

A certain quarter of a village was inhabited only by weavers. One day a fine young weaver-girl was sweeping out the house, and as she swept, she said to herself, "My father and mother and all my relations belong to this village. It would be a good thing if I married in this village and settled here too, so that we should always be together." "But," continued she, "if I did marry here, and had a son, and if my son were to die, oh how my aunts and my friends would come, and how they would all bewail him!" Thinking of this she laid her broom against the wall and began to cry. In came her aunts and her friends, and seeing her in such distress, they all began to cry too. Then came her father and her uncles and her brothers, and they also began to cry most bitterly, but not one of them had the wit to say, "What is the matter? For whom is this wailing?" At last, when the noise and the weeping had continued for some time, a neighbour said, "What bad news have you had? Who is dead here?" One of the uncles answered, "I don't know; these women know; ask one of them!" At this point, the headman arrived at the spot, and cried, "Stop, stop this hubbub, good people, and let us find out what is the matter." Addressing himself to an old woman, he said, "What is all this disturbance in the village for?" "I don't know," answered she, "when I came here, I found this weaver-girl crying about something." Then the weaver-girl on being questioned, said, "I was weeping because I could not help thinking that if I married in this village and had a son, and if my son were to die, all my aunts would come round me and bewail him. The thought of this made

me cry." On hearing this, the headman and his followers began to laugh, and the crowd dispersed.

V. The two Weavers and the Grasshoppers.

Two weavers took guns and went out for a day's sport. As they passed through the fields, one of them espied an immense grasshopper sitting on a mádár plant, which as they approached flew on to the shoulder of his companion. "See, see, there he is!" cried he, and levelling his piece, he shot his friend through the heart.

VI. The old Weaver and the Camel's footprints.

One night a camel trespassing in a weaver's field, left there the marks of his feet. In the morning the owner brought to the spot the oldest weaver in the village, expecting that he would be able to explain what manner of animal had trodden down his corn. The old man on seeing the footprints both laughed and cried. Said the people "O father, you both laugh and cry. What does this mean?" "I cry," said he, "because I think to myself, 'What will these poor children do for some one to explain these things to them when I am dead,' and I laugh, because, as for these foot-prints, I know not what they are!"

VII. Greeba the Weaver.

At the village of Bhurran lived an old weaver named Greeba who for a wonder was shrewd enough. It happened that Habbíb Khán the lambardár laid a tax on the weavers' houses at the rate of two rupees for every doorway. When Greeba heard of this, he tore down his door and laying it on his shoulders carried it off to the Khán's. "Here, Khán," said he with a profound salaam, "I have heard you want doorways, so I have brought you mine. I also hear you want the sidewalls, and I am now going to fetch them too." Hearing this, the Khán laughed and said, "O Greeba the weaver, take back your door, your tax is paid."

VIII. The Black Bee and the Black Beetle.

A villager once reared a black bee and a black beetle together, imagining them to be brothers. In looks they were not unlike, and the "boom" which they uttered seemed precisely the same. One day he set them flying. The bee lighted on a rose, while the beetle settled on a dunghill. "Ah," said the village seer, "these creatures are like ourselves, and it is only by observation that we can say who is worthy of friendship and who is not."

IX. The Gardiner's Wife, the Potter's Wife, and the Camel.

A gardener's wife and a potter's wife once hired a camel to carry their goods to market. One side of the beast was well laden with vegetables,

and the other with pottery. As they went along the road, the camel kept stretching back his long neck to pilfer the vegetables. Upon observing this, the potter's wife began laughing, and jested her friend on her ill-luck. "Sister," said she, "at the end of the journey there will not be a single vegetable left—you'll have nothing whatever to sell!" "It is true you are luckier than I am," answered the gardener's wife, "but remember the first to win are the last to lose!" When they arrived at the market place, the camel man ordered his animal to kneel down, but the weight on one side was so much greater, by this time, than the weight on the other, that the camel gave a lurch as he got on his foreknees, and crushed the pottery between himself and the earth, so that most of it was smashed, and what was not smashed was cracked. So it ended that the gardener's wife had something at least to sell, but the potter's wife had nothing.

X. The Mule and the Traveller.

A certain mule, having a great opinion of himself, began braying pretentiously, so that every one stopped to say "Who is that?" A traveller passing by at that moment said to him, "O Sir, pray tell me what was the name of your mother?" "My mother's name was Mare" answered the mule proudly. "And what was your father's name?" continued the traveller. "Be off," said the mule, "be off! None of your jesting with *me*. You are impertinent!"

XI. The Tiger and the Cat.

Tigers at first were ignorant, until the king of the tigers once came to the cat and begged him for lessons. The cat consenting taught the tiger to watch, to crouch, to spring, and all the other accomplishments so familiar to the race. At last when he thought he had learnt everything the cat had to impart, the tiger made a spring at his teacher intending to tear him and eat him. Instantly the cat ran nimbly up a tree whither the tiger was unable to follow. "Come down," cried the tiger, "come down instantly!" "No, no," replied the cat. "How fortunate for me that I did not teach you more! Otherwise you would have been able to pursue me even here."

XII. The Dog and the Cock.

Once upon a time a dog and a cock were sworn friends. But a famine fell on the land and the dog said to the cock, "There is no food for me here, so I am going away to another country. I tell you this that you may not blame me, and say, 'This dog was my friend, but he left me without a word!'" The cock answered, "O dog, we are both friends. If you go, I go. Let us go together, and as you are a dog you can forage for us both, since if I expose myself the village dogs will set on me and eat me

up." "Agreed," said the dog, "when I go for food, you shall hide in the jungle, and whatever I find I will fetch to you, and we'll share and share alike." So the two friends set out. After a time they began to approach a village, and the dog said, "Now I am going forward for food, but do you remain here. Only, first of all, if anything should happen to you when I am away, how shall I know it?" Said the cock, "Whenever you hear me crow several times, then hasten back to me." So for some time they lived happily, the dog bringing in supplies every day, while at night he slept beneath the tree on which the cock sat safely at roost.

One day in the absence of the dog, a jackal came to the tree and looking up, said, "O uncle, why, pray, are you perched so high? Come down and let us say our prayers together!" "Most willingly," answered the cock, "but first let me cry the bhangh* for all good Musalmans to come and join us." So the cock crew most lustily three or four times, until the dog in the village heard him, and said, "Ah something is about to happen to my friend—I must get back." He at once started for the jungle, but the jackal, when he perceived his approach, began to sneak off. Then cried the cock, "O good nephew, don't go away, stop at any rate for prayers. See, here's a pious neighbour coming to join us!" "Alas, friend, I would stop with pleasure," replied the jackal, "but it just occurs to my mind that I quite forgot to perform my ablutions.† Farewell!" And quickening his pace, he disappeared.

XIII. The Silversmith and his Mother's Bangle.

Silversmiths as a class bear a bad reputation for mixing up an undue quantity of alloy in the silver of their customers. There was once a silversmith who in a moment of disinterestedness promised his mother that he would give her a bangle which should contain nothing but pure silver. "You are my mother," said he, "and I as your son who owe you so much cannot do less." So he cast a bangle for his mother out of unmixed silver, and when it was finished, he stored it up for her and went to bed. But he was quite unable to get a wink of sleep. He turned from side to side, and moaned and fretted in torment, frequently exclaiming, "Ah that wretched bangle! What a simpleton was I to make a bangle without alloy!" At last he could stand it no longer, so he got up, lighted his lamp, and did not rest until, having melted down the silver once more, he had recast it with a considerable admixture of base metal. Then with a conscience purged of offence he returned to his deserted couch, and in an instant he

* The Musalman cry to prayers is called the BHANGH. So also is the crow of a cock.

† Literally, "Proh dolor, amice, pepedi: domum redire me decet ut ablutiones meas perficiam. Vale!"—a satirical reference to the frivolous regard which the stricter Muhammadans pay to the punctilios of ceremonial washings.

was asleep, while a fat smile of pleasure and contentment betokened the satisfaction of his mind.

XIV. The Jackal and the Voice of fame.

A jackal prowling round a village one evening was spied by some of the village dogs which instantly gave the alarm. At the same time some wayfarers began to point at him and cry, "See, there he goes, there he goes!" "This always strikes me as a most remarkable thing," said the jackal as he cleared off, "I haven't a single acquaintance out of my own set in the world, and yet wherever I go, everyone seems to know me! How inconvenient is fame!"

XV. The Four Associates.

Once upon a time a crow, a jackal, a hyena, and a camel swore a friendship, and agreed to seek their food in common. Said the camel to the crow, "Friend, you can fly. Go forth and reconnoitre the country for us." So the crow flew away from tree to tree, until he came to a fine field of mashmelons, and then he returned and reported the fact to his companions. "You," said he to the camel, "can eat the leaves, but the fruit must be the share of the jackal, the hyena, and myself." When it was night all four visited the field, and began to make a hearty supper. Suddenly the owner woke up and rushed to the rescue. The crow, the jackal and the hyena easily escaped, but the camel was caught and driven out with cruel blows. Overtaking his comrades, he said, "Pretty partners you are, to leave your friend in the lurch!" Said the jackal, "We were surprised, but cheer up, to-night we'll stand by you, and won't allow you to be thrashed again."

The next day the owner as a precaution covered his field with nets and nooses.

At midnight, the four friends returned again, and began devouring as before. The crow, the jackal and the hyena soon had eaten their fill, but not so the camel, who had hardly satisfied the cravings of hunger, when the jackal suddenly remarked, "Camel, I feel a strong inclination to bark." "For Heaven's sake don't," said the camel, "You'll bring up the owner, and then while you all escape, I shall be thrashed again." "Bark I must," replied the jackal who set up a dismal yell. Out from his hut ran the owner, but it happened that while the camel, the crow and the jackal succeeded in getting away, the stupid hyena was caught in a net. "Friends, friends" cried he "are you going to abandon me? I shall be killed." "Obey my directions" said the crow, "and all will be right." "What shall I do?" asked the hyena. "Lie down and pretend to be dead," said the crow, "and the owner will merely throw you out, after which you can

run away." He had hardly spoken when the owner came to the spot, and seeing what he believed to be a dead hyena, he seized him by the hind legs and threw him out of the field, when at once the delighted hyena sprang to his feet and trotted away. "Ah," said the man, "this rascal was not dead after all!"

When the four associates met again, the camel said to the jackal, "Your barking, friend, might have got me another beating. Never mind, all's well that ends well; to-day yours, to-morrow mine."

Some time afterwards the camel said, "Jackal, I'm going out for a walk. If you will get on my back, I'll give you a ride, and you can see the world." The jackal agreed, and stooping down the camel allowed him to mount on his back. As they were going along, they came to a village, whereupon all the dogs rushed out and began barking furiously at the jackal whom they eyed on the camel's back. Then said the camel to the jackal, "Jackal, I feel a strong inclination to roll." "For Heaven's sake, don't," pleaded the jackal, "I shall be worried." "Roll I must," replied the camel, and he rolled, while the village dogs fell on the jackal before he could escape, and tore him to pieces. Then the camel returned and reported the traitor's death to his friends, who mightily approved the deed.

XVI. The Jackal and the Ewe sheep.

Once upon a time a certain jackal made a dash at a ewe-sheep hoping to catch her. The sheep rushed into a half-dry tank where she stuck in the mud. The jackal attempting to follow her stuck in the mud too. Then said the jackal, "O aunt, this is a bad business!" "O nephew," answered she, "it is by no means so bad as it will be soon, when my master appears. On his shoulder he will have a sángal (forked-stick), and behind him will follow his two dogs Dabbú and Bholú. One blow with his stick will hit you in two places, and his dogs will drag you out by the legs. Then, dear nephew, you will know this business is not so bad now as it will be then!"

XVII. The Páthán and the Plums.*

There is a certain small black plum grown in the Hazárá District, called the Ámlok, which, when dried, looks like a species of black beetle. One day a Páthán stopped in a bazaar and bought some of them, laying them in a corner of his lunghí. As he went along he took out a handful in which there chanced to be one of these beetles alive, and the little creature feeling the pressure of the man's hand began buzzing and squealing. But the Páthán determined to be deprived of no portion of his money's worth, said "Friend, you may buzz, or, friend, you may squeal, but in the measure

* This tale and "The Páthán and the Ass" ridicule two of the principal characteristics of the Páthánsaccording to popular estimation.

you came, and in the measure you'll go." Saying which he clapt the whole handful, plums and beetle together, into his mouth and devoured them.

XVIII. The Páthán and the Ass.

A Páthán was one day sitting in a ferry-boat which was moored to the bank of the Indus. His talwár or sword lay by his side. Presently down came a countryman driving a donkey and requesting to be ferried across the river. The donkey, however, having come to the boat refused to enter, utterly regardless of entreaties, threats and blows. Suddenly the Páthán sprang from his seat, seized his tulwar, and at a blow smote off the donkey's head. "To a Páthán," cried he, "this stubborn pride is permissible; but to an ass—never!"

The people of Baner, though noted for their bravery, are considered by their neighbours as the most stupid of mankind, not even excepting weavers. This fact is illustrated by the following anecdotes:

XIX. The Baner Man and the Mill.

A Banerí came down to the Indus where he saw a water-mill at work. Said he to himself, "People say that God is known by His wonderful ways. Now here is a wonderful thing with wonderful ways though it has neither hands nor feet. It must be God." So he went forward and kissed the walls, but he merely cut his face with the sharp stones.

XX. One Banerí asked another,

"If the Indus were set on fire where would the fishes go?" "They would get on the trees" said the other. Then said the first, "Are fishes like buffaloes to climb up trees?"*

XXI. The Widow of Baner.

There was a widow of Baner who had two sons. They had cut the harvest of their little ancestral field, and their two bullocks were treading out the grain, when suddenly the sky became overcast, and a storm of rain swept by. The poor silly woman instantly caught a certain familiar insect, a friend to man, and, running a needle and thread through it, hung it up to a neighbouring ber tree, as a charm to drive away the unwelcome shower. At the same time she addressed God in the following words: "O God, my boys are but children, and in this thing are innocent. But thou art a white-bearded man. Didst thou not see that this rain was not wanted for thrashing out my wheat?"

XXII. The Baner man and the boat.

A countryman who had spent the whole of his life in the fastnesses

* This tale was not a mere invention of the story-teller. It is frequently told in ridicule of the dense stupidity of the Baneris.

of Baner and had never seen the Indus determined to perform a journey. Descending to the Yusafzai plains he made his way to Aṭak, and when he saw one of the large eight-oared ferry boats crossing with the flood to the opposite bank of the river, he cried to the bystanders—"What long legs that creature must have!"

XXIII. The Banerí and his drowned wife.

There was once a sudden flood in the Indus which washed away numbers of people, and among others, the wife of a certain Banerí. The distracted husband was wandering along the banks of the river looking for the dead body, when a countryman accosted him thus, "O friend, if, as I am informed, your wife has been carried away in the flood, she must have floated down the stream with the rest of the poor creatures. Yet you are going up the stream." "Ah sir," answered the wretched Banerí, "you did not know that wife of mine. She always took an opposite course to every one else. And even now that she is drowned, I know full well that, if other bodies have floated down the river, hers must have floated up!"

XXIV. The man and the Bear.

One day when the river was in flood, a certain dark object was seen floating down the stream. Thereupon a poor man, mistaking it for a log of wood, plunged into the water and swimming with vigorous strokes, seized it with both his hands. When too late he discovered that he was clasped in the shaggy embrace of a bear. "Ah," cried his friends from the shore, "let him go, let him go!" "Just what I am trying to do," answered the unhappy man, "but he won't let *me* go!"*

XXV. The Crow and its young.

An old mother crow was once engaged in giving sound advice to her newly fledged young ones. "Remember" said she, "your principal enemy will be man. Whenever you detect a man in the act of even stooping towards the ground as if for a stone, at once take wing and fly." "Very good," answered one of her precocious youngsters, "but what if the man happens to have a stone already in his hand? Can you advise us how we shall proceed then?"

XXVI. The Jackal and the Fleas.†

There was once a jackal so infested with fleas that life was a burden to him. Determined to be rid of them, he sought for a pool of water, and

* Logs of deodár are frequently floated down the Indus from the Himálayas. During floods many of these logs are washed away from the "timber yards" far up in the mountains. For every log recovered the villagers along the banks receive a reward of four annas from the owners. Each log bears its owner's mark.

† The English fable of the Fox and the Fleas is almost exactly similar.

snatching up a small piece of dry wood in his mouth, he began to enter the water with 'measured steps and slow.' Gradually as he advanced, the astonished fleas rushed up his legs, and took refuge on his back. The rising water again drove them in multitudes from his back to his head, and from his head to his nose, whence they escaped on to the piece of wood which became perfectly black with them. When the sly jackal perceived the situation of his foes, he suddenly bobbed his head into the water, relinquished the wood, and with a chuckle swam back to the shore, leaving the fleas to their fate.

XXVII. The Elephant and his keeper.*

There was an elephant which was accustomed to suffer most cruel treatment at the hands of his keeper, and the keeper knowing the sagacity of these animals, and being in fear of his life, used to sleep some little distance from the tree to which the elephant was tied. One night the elephant, taking up a long loose branch, chewed the end of it in order to separate the fibres, and having twisted them in the long hair of the sleeping man, he dragged him within reach and trampled him to death.

XXVIII. The Miser and the Grain of Wheat.

A great miser was once sitting on a precipice and dangling his feet over the edge. Hunger having become insupportable, he took out his small bag of parched grain, and began to toss the food, grain by grain, into his mouth. All at once a single grain missed its destination and fell to the bottom of the ravine. "Ah what a loss!" cried he. "But even a grain of wheat is of value and only a simpleton would lose it." Whereupon he incontinently leaped down from the rock, and broke both his legs.

XXIX. The Miser and the Pice.

A miser once found his way into the bazar to buy bread. The weather was unusually warm, and as he trudged along, the perspiration gathered round the coin, which was closely clutched in his hand. Arresting his steps, he gazed at the moist piece with a fond eye and said, "I won't spend you—weep not, dear Pice, we shall not separate after all—I will starve first!" So he restored the money to his bag, and begged for scraps from door to door.

XXX. The two Misers.

Once upon a time two misers hobnobbed together to eat their food. One of them had a small vessel of ghee into which he sparingly and grudgingly dipped his morsels of bread. The other miser, observing this, protested vehemently against such wasteful extravagance. "Why waste so

* This anecdote, told by a Panjábi, probably belongs to Hindústán.

much ghee," said he; "and why do you risk the waste of so much more, seeing that your bread might slip from your fingers and become totally immersed? Think better of it, and imitate me. I take my vessel of ghee, and hang it just out of reach to a nail in the wall. Then I point at the ghee my scraps of bread, one by one, as I eat, and I assure you I not only enjoy my ghee just as well, but I make no waste."*

XXXI. The False Witness.

A caravan of merchants came and pitched for the night at a certain spot on the way down to Hindústán. In the morning it was found that the back of one of the camels was so sore, that it was considered expedient not to load him again, but to turn him loose into the wilderness. So they left him behind. The camel, after grazing about the whole day, became exceedingly thirsty, and meeting a jackal, he said to him, "Uncle, uncle, I am very thirsty. Can you show me some water?" "I can show you water" said the jackal, "but if I do, you must agree to give me a good feed of meat from your sore back." "I do agree," said the camel, "but first show me the water." So he followed his small friend, until they came to a running stream, where he drank such quantities of water that the jackal thought he would never stop. He then with some politeness invited the jackal to his repast. "Come, uncle, you can now have your supper off my back." "Nay," said the jackal, "our agreement was that I should feed not off your back, but off your tongue,† dear nephew. This you distinctly promised, if I would take you to water." "Very well," replied the camel, "produce a witness to prove your words, and you can have it so." "A witness I have and will bring him presently," replied the jackal. So he went to the Wolf, and stating the case, persuaded him to witness falsely. "You see, wolf, if I eat the tongue, the camel will certainly die, and then we shall both have a grand feed to which we can invite all our friends." The two returned to the camel and the jackal appealing to the wolf asked, "Did not I engage to show the camel to water on condition that he would give me his tongue?" "Of course you did," said the

* This anecdote is an instance of the truth of the saying of Solomon—"There is no new thing under the sun." Many readers will be reminded of the Irish dish "Potatoes and point," consisting of a large supply of potatoes and of a very limited supply of meat, bacon, or even fish. The potatoes are eaten, but the more solid fare is merely pointed at. The following passage from Carlyle's "Count Cagliostro" refers to this singular custom—"And so the catastrophe ends by bathing our poor half-dead Recipiendary first in blood, then, after some genuflexions, in water; and 'serving him a repast composed of roots,'—we grieve to say, mere *potatoes—and—point!*"

† "Sore back" in Panjábí being *chigh*, and "tongue" *jíb*, there was sufficient similarity of sound to suggest prevarication.

wolf confidently, "and the camel agreed." "Be it so;" said the camel, "as you both delight in lies and have no conscience, come and eat some of my tongue," and he lowered his head within reach of the jackal. But the latter said to the wolf, "Friend, you see what a diminutive animal I am. I am too weak to drag out that enormous tongue. Do you seize it and hold it for me." Then the wolf ventured his head into the camel's mouth to pull forward the tongue, but the camel instantly closed his powerful jaws, and crushing the skull of his enemy, he shook him to death. Meanwhile the jackal danced and skipped with glee, crying out, "Behold the fate of the false witness—behold the fate of the false witness!"*

XXXII. The Traveller and his Camel.

Once upon a time a traveller, coming along the desert road with his laden camel, stopped to rest during the noon-tide heat under a shady tree. There he fell asleep. When he awoke he looked at the camel, and finding to his sorrow that the faithful companion of all his journeys was dead, he thus apostrophized him:—

"Where is the spirit fled, ah, where,
The life that cheered the weary ways?
Could'st thou not wait one hour, nor spare
For me, thy Friend, one parting gaze?"

कहाँ गिया उह भोर जो उठावे भार नू।
चलती वार ना मिलिया इस महरम यार नू॥ †

* This story is intended as a satire on the practice which prevails so widely among the natives of all parts of India of getting up false cases and procuring false witness in courts of law.

† Literally—"Where is the spirit fled which bore the load? When leaving, it saw not me its well-known friend!"

The Rupees of the Months of the Iláhí Years of Akbar.—*By* CH. J. RODGERS, *Principal, Normal College, Amritsar.*

(With two Plates.)

The work of Marsden made known the coins of Jahángír on which are struck the signs of the zodiac. These coins were in gold and silver. If I remember right Marsden gives a complete set of the signs for one year. And these were all struck at one place. But the zodiacal coins were struck at more mints than one. Ahmadábád and Ágra were, however, the chief. Asírgarh and Ágra had struck coins on which was an image of a hawk, in the time of Akbar. Ajmír struck the bacchanalian coin of Jahángír. All these coins are now so exceedingly rare that they command fabulous prices, and these prices have tempted unscrupulous men to imitate them so that the market is full of imitations of several degrees of degeneracy.

The custom of striking the month as well as the year on the coin seems to have been an old one in the East. Mr. Thomas in J. R. A. S. Vol. IX, p. 345, gives Coin No. 79 with رمضان on it, and on p. 346, No. 80 as the same month. No. 84 has محرم, No. 85 رجب, No. 86 شوال. In the British Museum Coin Catalogue, Vol. II, Oriental Coins, p. 148, coin 503 has محرم on it. This is one of Mahmúd's. My own small collection of Gazní coins has one of Mas'aúd's with the same month on it, and two coins of Maudúd, varying in other particulars of inscriptions, agree in having this same month. One of the same king has رمضان. One of Farrukhzád's coins has محرم. Dr. Stulpnagel in this Journal, Vol. XLIX, part I, 1880 edited a coin of Gyásuddín and Muizzuddín struck at Ghazní in the month ذي الحجه of the year 596 A. H. It was a common thing to say that the coin was struck في شهور during the months of such and such a year. The coins of Firwán and Ghazní and of the Sultáns of Kashmír indulge in this expression.

In my paper on the "Copper Coins of Akbar," I drew attention to the fact that the 28 coins therein figured gave the names of no less than six months of Akbar's Iláhí years. In the present paper I propose giving rupees of each month of the same years. I was in hopes that I should be able to get the whole of the months of one year struck in one place. As yet I have not succeeded in this. I have seven months of one year of Jahángír (for Jahángír struck also in the same manner as his father Akbar and used the same names of the months); six of these were struck at Láhore and one at Qandahár. Of Akbar's 49th Iláhí year I have seven rupees all of different months, but of these, two were struck at Tatta, three at Láhore, one at Ahmadábád and one at Burhánpúr. I have also one other rupee of this 49th year, but its mint I can't make out بلور (Sitápúr ?). Of the years 46 and 48 I have rupees of five months. The whole of my collection of Akbar's rupees (I have rupees of each year of his reign except 965) enables me to give each month, and the fact that these coins were

struck at different mints in different years, will take away from the monotonous nature of a series issued from the same place. The styles of the coins issued from the Lahore mint differed very considerably as we shall see, but Ahmadábád and Tatta were rigidly monotonous in their issues.*

Up to the year 992 A. H. the coins of Akbar had been strictly orthodox in their inscriptions. The name and titles of the Emperor had occupied the obverse, the margins containing the mint &c. being in nearly all cases illegible. The reverse had gloried in the Kalimah, and its fragmentary margins were embellished with portions of the names of the four companions of Muhammad. The first rupees were round and of the size of those of Sher Sháh and his successors. My first square rupee of Akbar is dated 984. Láhore and Fathpúr Sikrí seem to have begun coining square rupees in 985. After 986 for several years I have no round rupees in my cabinet. They are all square. The coins in my cabinet with Iláhí years on them begin from the 30th year. On these coins, instead of the Kalimah, we have الله اکبر جل جلاله "God is the greatest, may his brightness shine forth." The year and month and mint complete the inscriptions. The Kalimah rupees, however, did not cease being struck. I have them of 993, 994, 995, الف 1000 and 1001.

The use of the Persian months by Akbar leads us to consider what the Persian year was. Prinsep in his "Useful Tables, an appendix to the Journal of the Asiatic Society" published in 1836, gives at p. 12 a short account of "The Era of Yezdegird III or the Persian Era," and at p. 37 "The Táríkh Iláhy or Era of Akbar." In "Historia Religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum" by Thos. Hyde, S. T. D. Regius Professor of Hebrew and Laudianus Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, published at Oxford in 1700 A. D., there is a full account of the various Persian epochs and years in Chap. XIV. In Chap. XV he gives the months in Pahlaví and Persian together with the Greek corruptions of the names. He also gives the names of the 30 days of the month in both Pahlaví and Persian. In Chap. XVI he gives the months and days of the year of Yezdegird with the names of the appended five days. In Chap. XVII he treats of "Years and Epochs in general and of the Persian year in particular." In the XIXth Chap. he shows the origin of the names of the Persian months. In the عجایب المخلوقات (a short account of the contents of which book was printed in this Journal many years ago, and which has lately been lithographed and published in India) amongst wonders many, is given a sober account of the Persian months. And again in the تقویم مؤید المورخین or کارنامهٔ نوآئین, a most useful little book of 70 pages by

* Mr. Grant has let me have a coin of Ahmadábád which is similar to the later Láhore coins of Akbar. It is of the 47th year and of the month Tír and of same type as No. 2, plate I.

Munshí Deví Pershád published by Nawal Kishore, Lakhnau, 1878 A. D (the result of five years of labour as the author tells us), in Chap. II t. I, p. 52 &c., we have a short but clear account of the Persian, Jalál and Iláhí years. Much more may have been written on these subjects.* I shall here give as plain and brief a notice as will suffice us for our present purpose, and I refer those who have time and opportunity to the works already mentioned and to others, for fuller and more particular information.

The Persian year was instituted by Yezdegird III eight days after the death of Muhammad. The year was divided into 365 days. There were twelve months each of which had 30 days, except the twelfth which had 35 days. The fractions of the days in 120 years made another month, so that every 120 years there were 13 months in the year. The first month was duplicated, for the first time this occurred, the second month for the second time, &c. The names of the months were :

Farwardín
Ardibihisht
Khúrdád
Tír
Amardád or Mardád
Shahríyar
Mihr
Abán
Azar
Dí
Bahman
Isfandármuz.

There were no weeks. But each day of the month was named separately. Hyde gives these names both in Persian and Pahlaví.

Malik Sháh Sultán of Khorásán improved somewhat on the above. Making his year commence on the entrance of the sun in Aries, he ordered that the year should receive an additional day whenever it was required. This was mostly as with us every fourth year. But after the day had been added seven or eight times, the addition was postponed for a year. The days were added at the end of Abán, not at the end of Isfandármuz. These days were called روز کبیسه. The five days added to the Persian year were termed خمسهٔ مسترقه. First of all the months were called—

Máh Nau
Nau Bahár
Garmá Fazá

* In the History of Gujrát is a translation of the proclamation of Akbar in his 30th year about the Iláhí year.

Roz Afzún
Jahán Táb
Jahán Árái
Mihr Kán
Khazán
Surmá Fazá
Shab Afzún
Átish Afzún
Sál Afzún.

But after awhile the old Persian names were again used.

In the 30th year of Akbar, *i. e.*, in 992 A. H. Hakím Fathullah Shírází got out a new era and year for India. The object in view was to create a uniform year throughout the vast empire Akbar had conquered. The era began with the reign of Akbar, *i. e.*, on 19th February 1556. The months and days were similar to those of the Persian year. There were no intercalary days. Hence the days of this year never corresponded with the days of the Jalálí years of Malik Sháh's era. This year was termed الهي Iláhí.

The Iláhí years of Akbar's coins begin with the 30th year. He as I have already stated after a few years left off the use of the Kalimah on his coins and also the names of the four companions. To make his departure from established usage more marked, he made all his *early* Iláhí rupees *square*.

Jahángír commenced his coinage by reverting to the year of the Hejirah and by putting the year of his reign without the use of the word *Iláhí*. It was simply سنه ۱ or سنه ۲ &c. In his 6th year (according to coins in my cabinet) or perhaps before, the Lahore mint commenced a series of coins inferior to none of Jehángír's in beauty and finish, on which were the year and month of the Iláhí year (commencing, however, from the 1st year of Jahángír) on one side, and the names of Jahángír and Akbar on the other. This series was copied at the mints of Akbarnagar, Qandahár, Jahángírnagar, Tatta, and Kashmír.

In two large square heavy rupees I have, the Iláhí month was woven into a couplet thus :—

به اردي بهشت اين سكه در لاهور زد بر زر
شهنشاه زمان شاه جهان گير ابن شاه اكبر

and again

بمـــاه تير در لاهور زد اين سكه را بر زر
ملك دين پناه شاه جهان گير ابن شاه اكبر*

* In the Cabinet of Alexander Grant, Esq., C. E. is a large *round* coin weighing 217·3 grains on which is this couplet with "Bahman" month in it.

درماه بهمن چون مه انور شد زر لاهور
بدور نور الدين جهـــان گير ابن شاه اكبر

There may be a series of couplets of this kind. Mr. Delmerick edited one with the month Isfandármuz on it, the couplet running thus :—

دراسفندار مر این سکه در لاهور زد برزر
شهنشاه *اسم شاه جهان گیر ابن شاه اکبر

My coins weigh 217 and 216 grs. Mr. Delmerick puts his down at 219 grs. Dr. Stulpnagel had some coins of this square heavy series stolen. General Cunningham in 1880 had one also. The whole of the months may, I have not the slightest doubt, be obtained in time. The twelve months of the zodiacal coins, and the twelve months of the Iláhí years of Jahángír I have already noticed would of themselves form a trio of most interesting series.†

When Jahángír died and Sháhjahán ascended the throne, the Kalimah which had been absent so many years of the reign of Jahángír from the coinage at once took its place again on the issues from all the mints. I have three rupees of Sháhjahán's first year. The one struck at Súrat has on it سنه هجري ۱۰۳۸. In another place it has سنه احد. Of his second year I have two rupees, one struck at Patna in Amardád Máh of the Iláhí year 2. It has on it the Kalimah in full, also the date 1038. The other one was struck at Multán in Abán Máh of the same year. It also has on it the Kalimah and date 1038. The series of Sháhjahán's rupees, on which the square lozenge comes, as a rule ignores the Iláhí years. One, however, which I have was struck at Bhakkhur in Abán Iláhí.

After the death of Sháhjahán no Emperor put the Iláhí months on his coin. Each rupee was dated with the year of the Hejirah, and with the year of the reign in which it was struck. The Iláhí system may be said to have died out, therefore in the early part of the reign of Sháhjahán, so far as the coinage was concerned. In the Akbar series of Iláhí rupees there is one portion on which the names of the months do not come. Only the year is there without any mint. Some of the earliest of the series are in this fashion. I have one gold one of this type and several silver ones. From their scarcity I judge them to have been proof coins. Some of them are in a beautiful state of preservation, fresh as from the mint.

Gold coins of the Iláhí years are also procurable. They are scarcer than the silver ones, but still I have no doubt that were an exhaustive, scientific and systematic search to be made, the whole of the months might

* In the B. M. there is a coin which has زمان instead of اسم

† I find in my small cabinet one of Jahangir's *gold* coins of exquisite beauty and finish has فروردین worked up into a couplet, thus.

بفروردین زر آگره فروزان است چون اختر
ز نور سکـــهٔ شاه جهان گیر ابن شاه اکبـــر

This coin weighs 219 grains but it has a small loop on it.

be eventually recovered. Of course it is late in the day now to commence. In my previous papers I have stated that old coins were getting scarcer and scarcer. In the Calcutta Review for April 1881 I showed how "Portable Indian Antiquities" were quickly and quietly disappearing from the country. Native ladies like their ornaments of pure gold and silver such as are in mohurs and rupees. English educated officers (and what officer is not now thoroughly educated) are constantly on the look out for these memorials of past glories. Hence search as we will, coins really good and old are seldom met with. One cannot help hoping that the coins in the India Office in England may be ultimately restored to India. These would form a nucleus for an Imperial collection. They are now in the British Museum for the purpose of being arranged. There are no doubt many duplicates. These should be distributed to Madras, Bombay, Kurrachee and Lahore where there are gentlemen in charge of the Museums who take a pride in their work and in the Institutions committed to their care. Beyond and above all present collections is the one belonging to General Cunningham which contains coins of greater beauty and rarity than any other. Whatever else the Government of India does, the reversion of this collection to India should be secured.

I am not so sanguine about a copper series of Akbar's Iláhí months. I have eight months now. But copper coins disappear relentlessly. Every manufacturer of copper vessels, and their number in India is legion, regards an old copper *fulús* or *sikka* of Akbar, with its 315 or so grains of good copper, as a god-send, and he melts it down or beats it out ruthlessly. As Akbar was the only Mogul who tried *to rule* India, and as mementoes of his reign are not so very numerous, we ought to have a complete collection of his coins in gold, silver, and copper. The editor of the Aín-i-Akbarí gives a few gold, silver and copper coins in the latest Lucknow edition of that work. The author of the مختصر سیر گلشن هند gives a list of *ten* coins at the end of Akbar's reign. One of these is the gold coin with figures of Rám and Sítá on it, and on the other side the month and Iláhí year, ۵۰ فروردین.* This is the coin from which all the sapient money changers of the bazaars name *all* coins with figures on them "*Sítá Rámí.*" It is also noticed by the editor of the Aín-i-Akbarí.

Akbar went on coining until his death; hence the list of mints given in the Aín is not complete or correct. There were several active mints not noticed in that work, *e. g.*, Asírgarh, Burhánpúr, Srínagar, Gobindpúr, Tatta, Fathpúr and Lahrí Bandar. I have coins of Akbar struck in all these mints except Asírgarh. But there are many mints given in the Aín from which I have not as yet seen a coin of any kind.

* On the gold coin in the British Museum there are the two figures but without any inscription in Hindí.

Besides rupees there are parts or divisions of rupees of Akbar's mints obtainable. Three coins in my cabinet average 17·2 grains.

Five coins average 42·75 grains. Five average 75·9. I have a gold Iláhí coin weighing over 186 grains. The first Iláhí rupees average about 175 grains.

Now what I should consider an exhaustive, scientific and systematic collection of Akbar's coins would include a specimen of every type struck at all his mints in different metals, weights, shapes, sizes, months and years. The possible coins to be obtained should be tabulated, and as specimens of each are obtained, each should be marked off. The collector would thus see what his *wants* were.

It seems strange that about 100 years after the time of Akbar, James II should strike coins with the names of the months on them. His gun money has months on it. I should think there are collections in England in which each month is represented. Knowing next to nothing of English coins I cannot say.

Without further prelude I will at once proceed to examine the rupees drawn in the accompanying plates. The first twelve are round ones. They all agree in the matter of reverse. It is اكبر الله كبر الله جل جلاله

The obverses are as follows, in order of the months

(1)	فروردين الهي ضرب آگرة ۴۴	Farwardín.
(2)	اردي بهشت الهي ضرب لاهور ۴۹	Ardíbihisht.
(3)	خور داد الهي ضرب احمدآباد ۴۳	Khúrdád.
(4)	تير الهي ضرب احمد اباد ۴۰	Tír.
(5)	امرداد الهي ضرب آگرة ۵۰	Amardád.
(6)	شهريور الهي ضرب لاهور ۳۹	Shahrewar.
(7)	مهر الهي ضرب سيتاپور ۴۹	Mihr
(8)	ماه ابان الهي ضرب برهان پور ۴۹	Abán.
(9)	اذر الهي ضرب لهري بندر	Azar.
(10)	دي الهي ضرب لاهور ۳۸	Dí.
(11)	بهمن الهي ضرب احمدآباد ۴۱	Bahman.
(12)	اسفندارمز الهي ضرب برهان پور ۴۵	Isfandármuz.

It will be noticed that only No. 8 has anything beyond the name of the month. This rupee has the word for month ماه on it. The ornamentation on each rupee varies according to the mint. Agra and Lahore have by far the most graceful writing on them. The inscriptions on the Ahmadábád rupees are particularly stiff and formal and ugly. I am not quite sure whether No. 7 was struck at Sítápúr or not. The mint is new to me. I have a second one of the same mint and month, but of another year. No. 9 is of a new mint—*Lahribandar*, a port of Sind now no longer known

by the people of Sind. These two mints are not in the Áín-i-Akbarí. Neither is that of Nos. 8 and 12, Burhánpúr.

It will be noticed also that none of these *round* rupees are of Akbar's early Iláhí years. The earliest I have is the 38th year (No. 10.) From the 30th year all my rupees of Akbar are square. Perhaps more fortunate collectors may possess earlier *round* Iláhí rupees.

The inscriptions on the square rupees are as follow :—

	Obverse.		Reverse.
(13)		الله اكبر	جل جلاله ٣٠ الهي
(14)		الله اكبر جل جلاله	اردي بهشت ٣٧ الهي
(15)		Do.	خورداد الهي ٣٩ ضرب تته
(16)		Do.	تير الهي ٣٩ ضرب تته
(17)		Do.	امرداد ٣٥ الهي
(18)	ضرب دهلي	Do.	ماه شهريور ٣٧ الهي
(19)	Do.	Do.	ماه مهر ٣٣ الهي
(20)	Do.	Do.	ماه ابان ٣٠ الهي
(21)		Do.	اذر الهي ٤٠ ضرب ملتان
(22)		الله اكبر جل جلاله	دي الهي ٣٦ ضرب لاهور
(23)	ضرب دهلي	Do.	ماه بهمن ٣٠ الهي
(24)		الله اكبر	جل جلاله ٣٩

I have not square rupees with the months Farwardín* and Isfandármuz on them. Hence I put in their places Nos. 13 and 24, two novelties of the Iláhí series. They are destitute of both mint and month. They have only the Iláhí years. Three of the rupees Nos. 13, 20 and 23 are of the first Iláhí year.† *Tatta*‡ is a new mint town not in the Áín-i-Akbarí. It and *Lahrí Bandar* seem to have been Akbar's only mints in Sind. Bhakkhar is in the Áín as a mint.

Nos. 13, 14, 17, and 24 are without mints on them. I have several more mintless square rupees all of great beauty.

I almost dare to indulge the hope that some day or other I shall get a complete series of square rupees of each mint. I dare not hope that I shall get one of each month of each year, for I do not think that every

* There is a Tatta one of this month in the British Museum, and since drawing the plate, I have myself obtained one, through the generosity of my friend W. Theobald, Esq., struck at Dehli in 37 Iláhí.

† I have since obtained a fourth of the month Dí struck at Dehlí. This gives me three Dehlí rupees all struck in the first Iláhí year of Akbar, *i. e.*, the 30th of his reign.

‡ There is a possibility that this mint may be Patna. The coins are, however, so rough that they do not in any way resemble some remarkably fine coins I have, struck undoubtedly at Patna.

mint was always so busy as to issue rupees monthly for a series of years [illegible]y mints of Akbar's are as yet unrepresented in my cabinet. My means [illegible]mall: my opportunities few. I cannot afford to purchase all I see. [illegible]e I have given will, however, convince my co-workers in numismatics that the coinage of Akbar offers a field worthy of being searched in. The results give us variety in inscriptions, in mints and in execution.

The weights are given to each rupee, the figures underneath the bar indicating the No. of grains in each case.

Notes on the remains of portions of Old Fort William discovered during the erection of the East Indian Railway Company's Offices.—By R. Roskell Bayne.

I presume that I may take it for granted that most of my readers know from "Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation [illegible]in Indostan" published in 1778, something of the locality and the form [illegible]of the first Fort William. To those who do not, Vol. II, Book VI, headed "the war in Bengal", of the above work will give a very good general idea of it, and the Map of "Calcutta in 1756" contains much interesting information that has been of considerable use and guidance to me. In p. 62, from Orme's account of Old Fort William we read as follows:

"The fort of Calcutta, called Fort William, was situated near the river, and nearly half way between the northern and southern extremities of the Company's territory. Its sides to the east and west extended 210 yards; the southern side 130, and the northern 100: it had four bastions, mounting each 10 guns: the curtains were only four feet thick, and, like the factory of Cossimbazar, terraces, which were the roofs of chambers, formed the top of the ramparts; and windows belonging to these chambers were in several places opened in the curtains: the gateway on the eastern side projected, and mounted five guns, three in front, and one on each flank towards the bastions: under the western face and on the brink of the river, was a line of heavy cannon, mounted in embrasures of solid masonry; and this work was joined to the two western bastions by two slender walls, in each of which was a gate of palisadoes. In the year 1747 warehouses had been built contiguous to the southern curtain, and projecting on the outside, between the two bastions, rendered them useless to one another; however, the terraces of these warehouses were strong enough to bear the firing of three-pounders which were mounted in barbette over a slight parapet."

by the people of Sind. These two mints are not in the Aín-i-Akbarí. Neither is that of Nos. 8 and 12, Burhánpúr.

It will be noticed also that none of these *round* rupees are of Akbar's early Iláhí years. The earliest I have is the 38th year (No. 10.) From the 30th year all my rupees of Akbar are square. Perhaps more fortunate collectors may possess earlier *round* Iláhí rupees.

The inscriptions on the square rupees are as follow :—

	Obverse.		Reverse.
(13)		الله اكبر	جل جلاله ٣٠ الهي
(14)		الله اكبر جل جلاله	اردي بهشت ٣٧ الهي
(15)		Do.	خورداد الهي ٤٩ ضرب تته
(16)		Do.	تير الهي ٤٩ ضرب تته
(17)		Do.	امرداد ٣٥ الهي
(18)	ضرب دهلي	Do.	ماه شهريور ٣٧ الهي
(19)	Do.	Do.	ماه مهر ٤٣ الهي
(20)	Do.	Do.	ماه ابان ٣٠ الهي
(21)		Do.	اذر الهي ٤٠ ضرب ملتان
(22)		الله اكبر جل جلاله	دي الهي ٣٦ ضرب لاهور
(23)	ضرب دهلي	Do.	ماه بهمن ٣٠ الهي
(24)		الله اكبر	جل جلاله ٣٩

I have not square rupees with the months Farwardín* and Isfandármuz on them. Hence I put in their places Nos. 13 and 24, two novelties of the Iláhí series. They are destitute of both mint and month. They have only the Iláhí years. Three of the rupees Nos. 13, 20 and 23 are of the first Iláhí year.† *Tatta*‡ is a new mint town not in the Aín-i-Akbarí. It and *Lahrí Bandar* seem to have been Akbar's only mints in Sind. Bhakkhar is in the Aín as a mint.

Nos. 13, 14, 17, and 24 are without mints on them. I have several more mintless square rupees all of great beauty.

I almost dare to indulge the hope that some day or other I shall get a complete series of square rupees of each mint. I dare not hope that I shall get one of each month of each year, for I do not think that every

* There is a Tatta one of this month in the British Museum, and since drawing the plate, I have myself obtained one, through the generosity of my friend W. Theobald, Esq., struck at Dehli in 37 Iláhí.

† I have since obtained a fourth of the month Dí struck at Dehlí. This gives me three Dehlí rupees all struck in the first Iláhí year of Akbar, *i. e.*, the 30th of his reign.

‡ There is a possibility that this mint may be Patna. The coins are, however, so rough that they do not in any way resemble some remarkably fine coins I have, struck undoubtedly at Patna.

mint was always so busy as to issue rupees monthly for a series of years Many mints of Akbar's are as yet unrepresented in my cabinet. My means are small: my opportunities few. I cannot afford to purchase all I see. Those I have given will, however, convince my co-workers in numismatics that the coinage of Akbar offers a field worthy of being searched in. The results give us variety in inscriptions, in mints and in execution.

The weights are given to each rupee, the figures underneath the bar indicating the No. of grains in each case.

Notes on the remains of portions of Old Fort William discovered during the erection of the East Indian Railway Company's Offices.—By R. Roskell Bayne.

I presume that I may take it for granted that most of my readers know from "Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan" published in 1778, something of the locality and the form of the first Fort William. To those who do not, Vol. II, Book VI, headed "the war in Bengal", of the above work will give a very good general idea of it, and the Map of "Calcutta in 1756" contains much interesting information that has been of considerable use and guidance to me. In p. 62, from Orme's account of Old Fort William we read as follows:

"The fort of Calcutta, called Fort William, was situated near the river, and nearly half way between the northern and southern extremities of the Company's territory. Its sides to the east and west extended 210 yards; the southern side 130, and the northern 100: it had four bastions, mounting each 10 guns: the curtains were only four feet thick, and, like the factory of Cossimbazar, terraces, which were the roofs of chambers, formed the top of the ramparts; and windows belonging to these chambers were in several places opened in the curtains: the gateway on the eastern side projected, and mounted five guns, three in front, and one on each flank towards the bastions: under the western face and on the brink of the river, was a line of heavy cannon, mounted in embrasures of solid masonry; and this work was joined to the two western bastions by two slender walls, in each of which was a gate of palisadoes. In the year 1747 warehouses had been built contiguous to the southern curtain, and projecting on the outside, between the two bastions, rendered them useless to one another; however, the terraces of these warehouses were strong enough to bear the firing of three-pounders which were mounted in barbette over a slight parapet."

Fort William was not the first Fort built by the English Traders in Bengal; that at Hugli had been erected either at the first voyage to Bengal or soon after, about 1640; it was called a Factory, and the Mogul Empire jealously prevented anything like a bastion being erected about it.

In 1696 on the outbreak of a war between the Rajas on the western side of the river Hugli and the Mogul Empire, the three European settlements were allowed to enclose their factories for the protection of their goods, and says Orme, "they, taking for granted what was not positively forbidden, with great diligence raised walls with bastions round their factories." Such was the origin of Hugli, Chandernagore and Calcutta Forts. Calcutta is then described as a small town contiguous to Sootanutty: we may ascribe the date of 1696 to the first Fort William as an enclosed fort.

In 1753, the Mahratta ditch was dug, originally intended to be seven miles long, only three were completed, this was a work carried out at the request and "at the cost," so says Orme (p. 45), "of the Indian inhabitants of the colony." He remarks, "Allaverdy made no objection to this work, and moreover permitted the English the same year to raise a rampart with bastions of brickwork round their factory at Cossimbazar." This, I am inclined to think, must have been the date of the addition of the outer bastions of Fort William; which, as I shall be able to shew, are additions. I, however, cannot find any direct allusion to their being built.

In 1756, repairs to the fort were begun in compliance with orders from the Court of Directors. Holwell writing in a letter, dated November 30th, 1756, says—"On the receipt of your letter by the Delawar in April we began to put the settlement into as good a posture of defence as we could, and as the parapet and embrazures as well as the gun carriages to the westward of the fort were much out of repair, they became the first object of our attention; a number of workmen were employed, and I believe the parapet and embrazures, the greater part of which we were obliged to pull down, were more than half run up—when they were stopped by a Purwannah from the Suba."

That these repairs had been going on for some time past, and that they were extensive, is evident from the fact that considerable diligence had been employed in excluding spies from the city who had reported that the place was being fortified.

The excuse sent was to the effect that war had broken out between England and France, and in order to prevent their factory from being taken by the French, they state, "we were only repairing our line of guns to the water side," which Orme states "extended on the brink of the river in front of the western side of the fort."

I have prepared a plan, Plate X, from a portion of Simm's Map, which

is a particularly accurate survey shewing the buildings as they stood in 1847, and over it I have shewn the fort in a thick outline, following Orme's measurements for the south curtain and the length of the east and west sides. The measurements taken by me comprised the whole of the north east bastion, a portion of the north west sufficient to determine its junction with the curtains, all the north curtain with about 150 feet of each of the east and west curtains. All these dimensions I have accurately taken, and with them and Orme's figures, I have laid out the east the west and also the south sides.

Measurements made on this Map near the north west bastion at its junction with the curtain wall to the river are as follows: water line in 1756 about 70 feet, in 1847-49, 425 feet, to Jetty edge of to-day, 1882, very nearly 800 feet. They serve to shew how the river bank has been pushed west.

The second or larger scale Plan, Plate XI, that I have prepared, shews the outline of the buildings newly erected. The walls which are tinted black are the walls and bastions of the first erected fort; whether the small inner square of the north west corner should be shewn as belonging to the old Fort, I cannot now say as I failed to note if the work is butted or bonded into the curtains. The lighter tint shews the bastions erected *after* the square towers, with faces, flanks and salient. The next lighter tint shews some inner walls, always in brickwork in mud, and running parallel to the curtains, and about 13 to 14 feet within them. Occasionally I find a cross wall, but I have failed to note them all, or I have missed them.

I have also shewn on this plan such drains as I found. The regularly formed building in the centre, it will be seen, I have called the Carpenter's shop. The small diagrams to a larger scale are the sections of walls, Plates XII and XIII, drains etc.

The whole of the dimensions recorded were made by myself in order to ensure a faithful record of what I found.

The small perspective sketch, Plate XIV, has been made from the measured plan and filled in from a little pencil sketch made in my note book at the time; at no period of the excavation was it laid as completely bare as is here shewn, I was hurrying on with the work of building the Company's offices and had no time to stop to expose the whole at a time.

I will now proceed to recount to you what I found, as nearly as I can, in the order in which I found the works shewn on my plans.

On January 2nd, 1880, I opened the ground on which the East India Railway Company's offices are built. It had just been cleared to floor level of some Custom House sheds built at various periods, some I believe as recently as 1866. I took the curb level at the junction of Clive Street and Fairlie Place as my datum for levels, calling it 101·5. The general

level of the floors of the godowns was about 1·0″ above this. The floor of the new building, to which I shall have to refer in a comparison of levels, is 1·5 feet above my datum or 103·00.

In starting the setting out of my foundations I selected as a commencement the longest straight wall; it is a wall 220 feet long. Before we had been at work excavating a day, I might almost say a few hours, we found we were on an old wall, the full length of our proposed wall, and almost in exact alignment with it and 4 feet thick.

Knowing as I did that I was in the locality of old Fort William, I inferred that I was on the wall or one of the walls of the Fort, and I proceeded at once to dig down at its side in three or four places in order to see how far it went down and what it was like. I found it went down nearly two feet below the level at which it had been decided our walls and concrete were to go, and as it was a good straight solid wall with a fair base, it was decided to build on it in place of pulling it up. Its base being smaller than our calculated areas and pressures, it has a greater load than the one ton to the foot of the other walls; its load is 1¼ tons, but its solidity has warranted the use made of it, and it saved some two or three thousand Rupees. In addition the wall, buried though it be, we know it to be there, it has not been annihilated.

In setting out this 220 feet wall of the new building, I had been guided by the curb stone of the footpath of Fairlie Place, and had laid out my wall parallel to it. I now found, (after it had been settled to make use of the wall), that it was 9 in. in its length out of parallel with the curb, so in order to utilize the wall, I had to throw my centre line longitudinally westward to the north and eastward to the south on a centre point 9 in. each way, and my new wall then lay exactly over the centre of the wall that proved to be the north curtain of old Fort William. I mention this in detail, as I wish to call attention to the very close alignment of streets of to-day with those shewn on the small Map that accompanies Orme's Vol. II, already referred to. The plan is headed—"Plan for the intelligence of the Military Operations in Calcutta when attacked and taken by Seeraj-ul Dowleh, 1756"—I shall have occasion later on to call attention to this close adherence to old lines of streets, this case I think a very remarkable one.

So soon as I had satisfied myself that this wall was a part of the old Fort, I narrowly watched the excavations following it and began to keep a careful record of the walls as they were exposed. Immediately following this discovery of the north curtain wall, I found we were on some very heavy and closely built walls that soon proclaimed themselves in their raking lines as the flanks and faces of a bastion. As far as I possibly could, without delaying my work, I had the earth from between the walls

excavated before the demolition of the walls themselves was begun, as it may be imagined there was very little of the old walls left, for the levellers of the new building, made up as they are of a main staircase, bath-rooms and urinals, implies a network of cross walls in the new work. In every case the old walls go down some two feet below the new walls, and in some cases (the north face wall for example) have a slice cut off their inner face from nil at one end to one or two feet at the other, and so we cut and sliced them to make way for our foundations. About this time we found the walls of a staircase or ramp in the junction of the north curtain wall and the old square bastion of the earlier construction. There was another, a stair, at the corresponding corner at the south-east bastion; for Holwell tells us at the time the prisoners were in the verandah near the Governor's House: "Besides the guard over us, another was placed at the foot of the stairs at the south end of this verandah leading up to the south-east bastion to prevent any of us escaping that way."

As I have already said, the fort walls were founded at a lower level than the walls of the new building by 2 feet, so that below our foundations, would still be found a map as it were of the old Fort.

I now found that the outer bastion with its flanking faces and salient was a later work, as the junctions of the flank walls with the older curtains butted and did not bond, in addition the old plaster surface had not been taken off but the new work was built against it. I afterwards found this to be the case with the north-west bastion, which, as will be seen, had not a square bastion similar to the north-east corner.

The walls were battered with a fall in of about one in ten, and the outer faces were finished with a thin coat of lime plaster of a rich crimson tint, and reticulated in imitation of stone work, the stones being about 1·6 long by about 9 to 10 in. deep. This was the case with both the bastions.

It struck me, as I exposed this deep red plaster, that probably this factory bastion would be called the Lall Killa (Red Fort), and it suggested itself to me that the Lall Diggee (Red Tank) may have taken its name from the Red Fort.

All this work of the bastions, more particularly the later portion, was of very good material and excessively hard to break into. The bricks of all their old works were $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$. The lime used here was shell lime. We often found large oyster shells, of a size that would weigh a seer to a seer and a half, embedded in the wall, and by the hundreds strewn about and buried in the fillings.

The spaces between the older walls of the bastion were loose earth filling and no floor, the spaces behind the new bastion faces and flanks were paved brick on edge. The level of this paving and the bottom edge of the external plaster was 98·00, or 3·6 below my datum line, 5·0 below

the floor level of the new building. On a corner of the plaster in the passage way behind the bastion north face was a bench mark, consisting of an inverted arrow-head, in black on the white plaster.

Of the east curtain wall we saw but little, only where we cut through it with our cross walls, and it began to be a matter of regret whenever we had to cut through it, it was such a labour and toil and caused such delay.

The soil to the north curtain wall appeared to have been but little disturbed, and so far as I noted. to keep about the level of the plaster noted in the north-east bastion. Unfortunately a little north of this wall there had been a wall of the Custom House sheds that had disturbed the soil, but as a rule the level seemed, as far as my observation went pretty regular. On the east curtain wall there had been little or no disturbance, the soil was often quite undisturbed, and only here and there were potsherds in it.

I could not make much of the north-west bastion; it was nothing like so regularly built, and had not the older inner square tower (unless the two square walls shewn on my plan belonged to it), there was no ramp or stair to the roof that I noted, and altogether it was very confused, and we were pushing on with concrete and walls, that there was no time to wait until disjointed fragments could be read and understood. Here I find at least th[illegible] the old walls of the north and west curtains met with a small rounded corner, as the older plaster was still on the walls where the newer work butted it. This bastion appears to me to have been of very much smaller size. Added to all this I had not the opportunity of exposing the salient, as I had done in the north-east one.

As already stated the east and west curtain walls I have traced for 140 feet south.

In one place in the east wall I found, what appeared to me to be a sill of a door and a plastered jamb, but a Custom House wall had gone through the old wall about here, and so obliterated it that I could not make certain of it. On the north curtain wall there was neither break nor opening.

My next discovery of interest was a shed that had evidently been built an open one, and afterwards enclosed. It was 90 feet long by 40 feet wide, built parallel to the north curtain wall with a row of 8 piers down the centre, just such a flat-roofed godown on brick piers as is to be found all over Calcutta to-day. Down the centre face of each pier had been a sunk water channel, all were visible at floor line and the shallow drain on the north side into which they ran was perfect. The spaces between the columns on the faces had been filled in, thus turning an open into a closed shed.

The floor of this shed was brick on edge, and all over the floor in some places 1½, in others up to 8 or 9 inches in thickness was burnt wood ash, the floor of the godown in places where I had to cut through it bearing

traces of severe fire. This place I identify as the Carpenters' shop, and to which I will draw attention later on. The floor of this godown was 98·28 which makes it very nearly 4·9″ below our present ground floor level. The wall plaster was uninjured, but we know that lime plaster will bear without injury a severe fire. The wood ash I take to be the debris at the time of the burning of the fort; above it, as will be seen from my section, is the khoa debris from a roof fallen by fire or demolition. It evidently was never cleared out after the fire, but had become a heap of rubbish, and so built over by the succeeding floor, shewn at the next higher level. Along the north wall of this shed I found large heaps of cinder with pieces vitrified as if from a forge. The earth to the north was about 1·9′ below the floor level of the shed.

I now come to the lightly tinted walls behind and parallel to the curtain walls. They vary in width, as will be seen from the plan, in no case 18 feet, the dimension given by Holwell of the "Black Hole". In one place only did I find any outer verandah, namely, on the west wall.

In every case these walls were of brickwork in mud, at least that portion that I found below the ground. They were very deep, almost as deep the curtain walls, and very thick, all of them made of very thin 1½ brick. In a few places I found cross walls, and I find in my note book a note to the following effect: "behind the 3′ 0″ mud walls, the space seems to be divided into cells." I do not, however, find actual record of more than a few of these cross walls. I would very probably miss them, as, if there were but few, it would be quite a chance my coming on to them, and unless my walls or column foundations coincided with them, I should of course miss them, and I had no time to spend over searching for them. I could do little more than note and record what I came across.

I have a particular object in specially drawing attention to these inner walls and chambers which, as will be anticipated, points to the locality, size and character of the Black Hole, but this I will postpone until I have described the walls etc., found, only repeating that my explanation of not always finding the cross walls of the chambers equally applies to my not finding the outer verandahs corresponding to those of the Black Hole. I simply did not hit on them in the foundations of my walls, or it may be that the "court of guard" rooms *only* had a verandah. Along that portion of the west wall, also alongside an entrance door to be alluded to presently, and where most probably a guard would be stationed and would require a verandah, did I find verandah foundations.

I will return to the western wall, but before describing it, I must remark that as the walls of the new building running north and south approached the west, I found the natural ground sloped west, and that the drain followed a depression, which by the time it reached the west curtain wall had grown

almost into a creek, compelling me to put in the foundations of the last two walls 3, 4 and 5 feet below the other walls, and the soil there was black, stinking river mud full of pot-sherds, and here we found a great many boars tusks of a small size.

Following the west curtain wall from the north west bastion, and about 45 feet from it, we found a Sumph into which the drains all emptied, or over which as we found them they all ended. We came on to this Sumph from behind, and before we actually found out what it was, we had destroyed its east face, and the loose filling caved in from the top as we cleared it out at the bottom, thus proclaiming its nature.

The main drain, that running from beyond the Carpenters' shop, I had traced right up to the west curtain wall. I have shewn it in section in fig. 3, Plate XII, it was a parallel-sided drain, at the upper end not more than 6 in. wide, widening to 13 in. at the lower end, and everywhere filled up with black mould. Over it and burying it was a later drain, a broad saucer drain, that in its turn had become filled in and buried. The two drains kept the same course; it was only the last 75 or 80 feet that the second drain was found. The Sumph into which these drains emptied was about 3′·6″ square, and as I have said, coming on as we did from the side of an opened trench, we had destroyed it in part before we knew what it was, so that we did not see the entry of the two drains into it. The parallel-sided and lower drain fell fast toward the Sumph nearly 2 feet in 10; where we had cut across it, we found it full of pot-sherds, a coarse glazed blue and white ware, not a scrap of old willow pattern, square ended broken glass bottles, a black loamy earth, and a few very coarse thick pipe stems and bowls. We cleared out about 4 feet of this drain, tunelling as it were into it and then ceased.

The Sumph had been filled in with brick rubbish very loosely, so that the filling was full of cavities into which water had filtered, leaving on all the bricks a thin deposit of clay. This Sumph was nearly perfect up to about the second level of floors and material, above the rest the road ran. On emptying this Sumph we found on its western face a low arch with a versed sine of about 6 in. and above the floor of the Sumph. Into this opening we thrust a rod and found it 3 feet deep with water; probing 3 feet deep, we could feel a bottom of brickwork; we then tried it horizontally, and thrust our rod into vacuity; we tried a second and a third time and at last, finding that 20 feet found no end, we concluded it to be a drain.

As we had found water of which we were in want for our building operations, we decided to make use of it, and sank out to the bottom of the culvert which we then found to be a parallel-sided drain 2·6″ wide and 3 feet 6 high with an arched bottom and top; on a man trying to go into the drain we found it silted up about 2 feet deep. We put up a one H. P. Ryder Engine, and for 12 months drew water from this source. The water was perfectly clear and limpid. The workmen all drank of it.

Since the completion of the building a man hole has been sunk over this culvert, 45 feet to the west of the curtain, and a Tangye Engine has now drawn for 21 months about 10,000 gallons of water a day from it. At a point, 30 feet beyond this well and to the west, is an iron grating, so I have been told by the coolies who have been into the drain to clean it out. The culvert falls about 15 inches in 30 feet from the well to the grating. The old Sumph was filled in on the completion of the work and not destroyed.

The water is clearly river water as a green vegetation grows over it in the hot weather, precisely similar to a vegetation growing over the Chand Pál water in an adjoining tank pumped direct from the River, so that there is still existing some communication or filtration.

To continue my account of the west wall, at 55 feet from the flank wall of the bastion I found one jamb of a doorway in a wall 6 feet thick. This extra thickness of wall I could not understand at first, but on consideration I could see that the wall had been thickened on account of the door opening, and on looking for the other jamb I found a Custom House wall passed through and destroyed it. I then looked for and found the extent of the thickened wall, which I found to be 16 feet wide, leaving an opening of 8′·4″. There is a change of level in the pavement, inside and out, in this door opening; they both have been additions on the date of the wall as the plaster jambs go below both floors. On finding this door in the curtain wall I dug west, following the pavement and looking for the rampart wall which I found at 25 feet distance. I looked for this, guided by the Panorama of Calcutta in Orme's Vol. II. Again referring to his plan, I could see that I was not at the limit of the ground west of the curtain, so I continued my searching west, until at 45 feet from the curtain wall I found a second wall 2′·6″ thick and parallel with the first and second walls; this I take to be the River or Quay wall. The doorway of the rampart wall measures 7′·1″ wide, it has a stone sill in the opening, and here again the paving has been added since the door was originally built, as the plaster jambs and step go behind and below the pavement. These doors are the River side entrances alluded to by Holwell in his letter of November 30th, 1756 in which he states that "The Suba from his litter returned my salaam," this was on his resigning his sword "and moved round to the northward and entered the fort by the small western gate." These two outer walls I have found again further south. The entire space, so far as I have found it between the curtain wall and the next wall west, is paved with a brick on edge, a good large 10 inch brick well burnt, laid in sand or soorkey on a brick flat which is laid on 2 or 3 inches of burnt wood ash, the whole forming a good level well laid floor. In places at a lower level of 4½ I find this floor again inside the curtain wall. I found it

the whole length of the north curtain, between it and the mud and brick wall. I do not know if on the west side it only occurs in the gateway or if it continues north and south, I do not recollect it to the north towards the Sumph, but I found it further south in some gun platforms I have yet to describe. These details I have just described I found since the completion of the building, and on searching for some information as to a wall on which I found myself in doubt when preparing the diagrams for this paper.

In putting in the drain pipe from our latrines I cut through what appears to me to have been a sunken gun platform and the commencement of a second to the south. There were three steps down into it, plastered with splayed edges almost as if new, so perfect was the plaster and the edges. The three steps were respectively 6″, 8″ and 4 inches in one place, the 8″ and the 4″ uniting into one of 12″; the change had been broken away before I saw it. The curtain wall had a sunken face in it, thus thinning it to about 3 feet. This work was all addition as there were plaster faces behind the platform work. The outer face of this curtain was in some cases plastered, in some only whitewashed.

I imagine these to be some of the hurried works taken in hand, alluded to by Orme, at the time the fort was assailed.

I would point out here (shewn on the Plan, Pl. X, O and Pl. XI) the verandah foundations opposite this western gate the only place in which I have found signs of verandahs. I do not now understand the cross wall shewn in my plan opposite the entrance gate. On the east face of this verandah wall was a very perfect surface drain, with a second one coming into it. I have no record of cutting through this verandah wall when putting in the drain already alluded to, so that I presume it stops short of the gun platform. This completes my notes of this wall.

I particularly drew attention to the inner parallel walls behind all the curtains, north, east and west, referring to Orme's description of the fort telling us of these inner walls. I have drawn to a small scale, Fig. 5 Plate XIII, the south-east bastion, reproducing the north-east bastion with its stairs to the terrace. My authority for shewing these stairs at this bastion I have already cited from Orme.

From the small map in Orme's Vol. II, of Calcutta, I make the centre gateway to be about 180 feet from the south-east bastion. I have shewn in my conjectural plan this central portion as having 94 feet clear width inside and 100 feet outside. I scale this projecting portion as 10 feet, and Orme tells us it had one gun on each flank, for which I have allowed a projection of about 12 feet, whether more or less, does not affect what I want to draw attention to. On the right, so called by Holwell, that is the south, I have put the room of the guard allowing a small verandah on the north, of 10 feet

in width; the room itself I have shewn 20 feet. The barracks behind it I shew as 40 feet. I next shew a chamber 17 feet wide; this, as will be seen, brings us up to the face of the square bastion, the first built portion of the Fort. So that we have only to shorten by one foot the barracks, or the room of the guard, or the space inside the gate, to make up this dimension to 18 feet. In any case here undoubtedly was the Military Prison, the Black Hole, so called by soldiers themselves, not so called, as many suppose, because of the events that occurred here.

I have drawn your attention to a shed which I have called the Carpenters' shop. I will now quote a few lines from Holwell's account of the closing events of the 20th June.

"As soon as it was dark, we were all, without distinction directed by the guard over us, to collect ourselves into one body, and sit down quietly under the arched verandah or piazza to the west of the Black Hole prison, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard; and just over against the windows of the Governor's easterly apartments. Besides the guard over us, another was placed at the foot of the stairs at the south end of this verandah, leading up to the south-east bastion, to prevent any of us escaping that way. On the parade (where you will remember the two twenty-four pounders stood) were also drawn up about four or five hundred gun-men with lighted matches.

"At this time the factory was in flames to the right and left of us; to the right the Armory and Laboratory; to the left the Carpenters' yard: though at this time we imagined it was the Cotta-warehouses.* Various were our conjectures on this appearance; the fire advanced with rapidity on both sides; and it was the prevailing opinion, that they intended suffocating us between the two fires: and this notion was confirmed by the appearance, about half an hour past seven, of some officers and people with lighted torches in their hands, who went into all the apartments under the easterly curtain to the right of us; to which we apprehended they were setting fire, to expedite their scheme of burning us. On this we presently came to a resolution, of rushing on the guard, seizing their scymitars and attacking the troops upon the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted to death. But to be satisfied of their intentions, I advanced, at the request of Messrs. Baillie, Jenks and Revely, to see if they were really setting fire to the apartments, and found the contrary; for in fact, as it appeared afterwards, they were only searching for a place to confine us in: the last they examined being the barracks of the court of guard behind us.

"They ordered us all to rise and go into the barracks to the left of the court of guard. The barracks, you may remember, have a large

* The Company's cloth warehouses.

wooden platform for the soldiers to sleep on, and are open to the west by arches and a small parapet-wall, corresponding to the arches of the verandah without. In we went most readily, and were pleasing ourselves with the prospect of passing a comfortable night on the platform, little dreaming of the infernal apartments in reserve for us. For we were no sooner all within the barracks, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet-wall; and, with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the furthermost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black Hole prison; whilst others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn scimitars, pressed upon those of us next to them.

"Figure to yourself, my friend, if possible, the situation of a hundred and forty-six wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of about eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal, shut up to the eastward and southward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron, from which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air."

I do not think there is any room to doubt now the *exact* locality the Black Hole.

In the plan attached I think it is on the spot marked N (on Plate X) and if my scaling from Orme's Map is correct, and if his 210 yards given as the length of the east face is correct, the foundations of the building still remain, and their exact locality could with very little trouble or expense be found, because, as I have stated, these verandah walls go down very deep, deeper than the Custom House shed walls, and would consequently be, as I found those to the north, undisturbed. The salient and the faces of this bastion there is no doubt have been destroyed by the Post Office buildings, but the inner corner of the older square bastion appears to me to have fallen beyond the Post Office building, if, as I have said, Orme's figures are correct; and as I have shown they are *exact* on the north face.

I would now draw attention to the south-west corner. It will be seen that a considerable portion of this lies beyond the old Military Accounts Office. If the building is condemned as one to come down, I do hope attention will be called to obtaining a faithful record of all to be found here, and I am persuaded that all the bastion foundations will be found below those of the house as intact as I found those of the north-east bastion.

An expenditure of 150 Rupees judiciously applied would enable us to determine a good deal more of the fort walls without disturbing any building or breaking up any floors.

To return again to the levels of the old fort, I would draw attention

to the floor and differences of level. The Carpenters' shop, for instance, with its floor of brick on edge over 3 in. of fine concrete laid on 3 in. of brick rubbish; going upwards above this floor, wood ash, and the debris from the destroyed roof, then a tile floor on concrete 1'·5" above the first floor, then again over that 1"·6" of rubbish, and then a metaled road, that in this place ran between two Custom House sheds; then, if I had made my section through one of the sheds, its floor of brick on edge over brick flat, and now again the floors of the new buildings, of stone pavement on 6 in. of concrete or 8 in. of concrete with Portland cement finishing. These two last are four feet nine inches above that of the Carpenters' shed of 1756. Thus there are four floors in succession, first that of 1756, then the tile floor, age doubtful, then one of 1866, and now the new one of 1883.

I have incidentally referred to the streets shewn on Orme's map, comparing them with those of to-day. In the extract from Simm's Map, on which I have shewn by a thick dotted line the water edge as shewn on Orme's map, a ghaut will be noticed that does not quite fit in with the end of Khoyla Ghaut Street. This non-fit is due I fancy to an error in Orme's map increased by my plotting from a map without a scale. I have, however, adhered closely to what I have measured or scaled, and have not cooked my dimensions in order to make them fit in. The angle of the street is exactly as at the present time.

The wide opening in Clive Street opposite the Bonded Ware Houses, and the little bend west at the head of Clive Ghaut Street are as exact as this small scale could shew them. Church Lane is another accurately fitting bit, and so in fact are numerous others.

Judging from the Map already referred to, "the Park," now Dalhousie Square or Lall Diggee, appears to me to have extended itself north a little, and the road on the north of it to have been correspondingly narrowed.

I have shewn on the Plan (Plate X) the place which I conjecture to be the un-finished Ravelin, into the ditch of which Holwell says "the dead bodies were next morning thrown."

At the time the drainage pipe was put down in Fairlie Place, Mr. Bradford Leslie, then Engineer to the Municipality, noted that they had to cut through a pucca ghaut exactly opposite the lane leading up to No. 2 Fairlie Place. It agrees exactly with the ghaut shewn on Orme's map, and also on the perspective sketch from the river side. This is a valuable piece of confirmatory evidence of the correctness of this plan and the old line of river bank at that date.

Nothing of interest was found in the excavations save a chain shot or two, some 30 or 40 cannon ball of varying sizes, and of malleable iron, some almost bullets in size; these were mostly found at the west end of the Carpenters' shop and outside it. The breach end of an old 10 pounder

gun, and the top end and ring of an old anchor stock was all that was turned up.

In conclusion, I would here note a record I have made of the building, and of the extreme point of the north-east bastion (the salient as it is termed).

Whilst rounding off the corner of our boundary wall so as to ease the foot traffic passing it, I have secured the little bit of triangular land belonging to the building by paving it, and on this paving I have had cut, in the northern line of the bastion face and on the eastern edge, a line parallel to the eastern face but two feet removed within it, as the actual line lies below the foot path and off the East Indian Railway land.

I would have liked to have placed a small tablet here to record one fixed point of the old fort, but as I was spending money belonging to the Government of Bengal, I could not do it. The stone to carry a tablet is inserted, ready if at any time the money to pay for the tablet is forthcoming. My idea was a brass plate with an engraving on it of the outline of the fort and a short legend of explanation.

I would solicit permission to make a few excavations here and there in the Custom House compound. Digging a few holes does not cost very much, and with the north portion of the fort and lines to start with, the exact spots could be indicated without much guess work or hunting for them.

I think an excavation (I don't ask for it) at a place measured from the point of the central or east gate drawn east, and about 100 feet east of the east curtain would find the burial place of the victims of the night of June 20th, 1756.

I do not know if any records were kept of what was found during the building of the Post Office north-east corner, I fear none. It was stated that when the Port Commissioners offices were built, some of the foundations then uncovered were those of the fort. A glance at Simms Map, now that we have the north curtain fixed, will shew that this cannot have been the case, as this site in 1756 lay in the river or at least beyond the river wall of the fort, and in the mud banks.

In the excavation for the buildings now going on in Koyla Ghaut Street, the river wall shewn in Orme's map should have been found just about here, but as I have found this river wall to be only a small wall, 2′.6″ thick, it would probably escape detection amongst such a maze of walls, and of so many ages. I was repeatedly over these excavations to see if anything of interest was to be found.

One wall I found, a battering wall 2′·10″ thick, 2′·3″ at an upper point, but it was too far inland to be the river wall. The character of the work, however, was the same as that found in the inner walls of the Fort, partly

bricks in mortar, partly in mud; on the outer face the earth sloped Riverwards as if tipped in from the wall; it had behind it a sort of floor roughly laid, small khoa over a large quantity of oyster shells and brick rubbish.

Essays on Bihárí Declension and Conjugation.—By G. A. Grierson, B. C. S.

A. Introductory.

The dialects of the Bihárí* language present many interesting facts to the student of philology. Hitherto only two of these dialects have been thoroughly investigated, and each of these in one special form. Dr Hoernle's Grammar treats of the Bhojpúrí dialect as spoken near Banáras, where it is by no means free from the influence of its neighbour the Baiswárí, and the present author's Maithilí grammar treats mainly of the standard dialect of the centre of Mithilá. The Mágadhí dialect has not been treated of in any form, but it will be found a most useful object of study, as showing the stepping-stone between the somewhat archaic forms contained in standard Maithilí, and the more phonetically attrited forms which we find in Bhojpúrí. The last language, extending to nearly the centre of Hindústán, and spoken by a warlike energetic race may be considered as the most phonetically advanced of the three Bihárí dialects. Its people have no literature to which their speech can be referred, and with the energy peculiar to their race they have disembarrased themselves to a large extent of the somewhat cumbrous grammatical forms of their ancestors, and have succeeded in wearing down periphrases and compounds into new words bearing no outward sign of their origin. The inhabitants of Mithilá, on the contrary, intensely conservative from beyond historic times,† and possessing a literature dating from the fourteenth century, have changed their language but little during all this period. As Maithilí was born at the time when the Gaudian languages first emerged from the Prákrit, so it has remained to the present day, and the herd-boy, as he tends his buffaloes in 1882, speaks the same language as that in which the old master-singer Vidyápati sang of the loves of Rádhá and Krishna to king Siv Singh five centuries ago. It is to Maithilí therefore that we must look for the earliest forms of Bihárí declension, and if we do we shall rarely be disap-

* This is the name which I have adopted here and elsewhere for the "Eastern Hindí language" treated of by Dr. Hoernle in his Gaudian Grammar.

† At the marriage of Sitá, which took place at Janakapura in Mithilá, Rám is said, in Maithil tradition, to have cursed the haughty Maithil Bráhmans, who refused to hold any account of the foreign prince from Audh. The curse runs,

गर्वे शूरा, रणे भीता, परस्परविरोधिन: ।
कुलाभिमानिनो यूयं मिथिलायां भविष्यथ ॥

pointed. Mágadhí all this time held a middle course. Its peculiar home was the hilly country about Bihár and Gayá, where there was little intercourse with other tribes, and little mental or material progress. It had no literature, and therefore nothing to retard, while it had little to aid its progress. Hence its middle position between the antique Maithilí, and the practical work-a-day Bhojpúrí.

The object of these papers is to bring to a common focus all the information which I have collected concerning the dialects of Bihár, and to lay them in this shape before the Society. I shall treat mainly of the following dialects:

A. Bhojpúrí, spoken in west Bihár.
B. Mágadhí, spoken in south Bihár.
C. Maithilí, spoken in north and east Bihár.

Of the last there are two sub-dialects.

1. North Maithilí spoken in north Tirhut and Bhagalpúr.
2. South Maithilí spoken in south-east Tirhut, and north Munger.

Besides these the dialects of language borderlands will be considered, *viz.*:—

A. The Baiswárí of the Rámáyan of Tulsí Dás, which is the border dialect between Bihárí (Bhojpúrí) and Hindí.
B. The dialects of the border land between Bihárí (Maithilí) and Bangálí, spoken in (1) south Bhagalpúr, and (2) central and western Purniyá.

I shall also have occasion to refer to the dialects of dialect borderlands, *viz.*:

A. Maithilí-Bhojpúrí of south-west Tirhut.
B. Maithilí-Mágadhí of south Munger.

There is not any borderland of importance between Mágadhí and Bhojpúrí. The following table shows the relative positions of these dialects and sub-dialects.

HINDI, *Baiswárí, Banáras-Bhojpúrí*

BHOJPÚRÍ

North Maithilí

MAITHILÍ

Maithil-Bhojpúrí

South Maithilí

Maithil-Mágadhí

MÁGADHÍ

BANGÁLÍ, *Maithil-Bangálí*

B. Declension.

I. *Case.*

I divide the consideration of this point into two heads:

a. Organic declension.

β. Inorganic declension.

By organic declension, I mean that kind of declension which is not formed by postpositions, but by actual inflection. By inorganic declension I mean that kind of declension which is formed by postpositions added to a base whether inflected or not.

In Bihárí there is a very full organic declension in the singular number. It is found in its fullest form in the north Maithilí dialect, and the terminations are as follows. They can only be added to the weak* form of a noun.

	Baiswárí of Rámáyan.	North Maithilí.	Other Bihárí dialects.	
Nom.	—	—	—	
Acc.	हि, हिँ	हि, हिँ	—	
Instr.	ऍ, एँ	एँ	ऍँ*	* In South-Bhagulpúrí ऐ, *e. g.* भूखे मरै छी, 'I die of hunger.' In Purníyá, the form is एँ, भूखेँ मरै छी. In western Bhojpúrí it is अन, हम भखन मरीला.
	हि, हिँ	हि, हिँ		
		ऊँ		
Dat.	हि, हिँ			
		ऊ	—	
Abl.	हि, हि	हि	—	
		ऊ, ऊँ		
Gen.	हि, हिँ			
		ऊ	—	
	र, सु	र, सु, च		
Loc.	ए	ए	ए	
	हि, हिँ	हि, हिँ		
	ऊ, ऊँ	ऊ, ऊँ		

* I adopt the terms weak, strong, short, long, and redundant, from Hoernle's Gaudian Grammar. §§ 201, 356.

The following are examples of the above terminations :

A.—Baiswárí.

Acc. हि,—तब ब्रह्मा घरनिहि समुझावा, 'then Brahmá advised no[illegible] earth'. *Rám. Bá. ch.* 199, 9.

हिँ,—रामहिँ प्रेम समेत लखि सखिन समीप बुलाइ, 'beholding Rám with affection she called near her friends.' *Rám. Bá. do.* 265, 1.

Instr. हि,—रघुपति सैनहि लखन निवारे, 'Rám warned Lakhan with a sign.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 284, 8.

हिँ,—प्रभु आदरहिँ प्रेम पहिचानी पूछहिँ कुसल, 'the Lord, sensible of their affection, asked their welfare with politeness.' *Rám. A. ch.* 25, 2.

ऍं,—पाछैं अनहित मन कुटिलाई, 'Behind one's back an enemy in the viciousness of his soul.' *Rám. Kis. ch.* 7, 7, where पाछैं is in the instrumental case, much like the Hindí पीछे से, which means both 'behind' (*instr.*) and 'from behind' (*abl.*).

ऍं,—जल हिमउपल बिलग नहिँ जैसैं, 'as water is not different from crystallized ice.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 123, 11.

Dat. हि—सब रीति प्रीति समेत करि सो ब्याहि बिप भरतहि दयौ, 'after affectionately performing every rite, the king gave (her) in marriage to Bharat.' *Rám. Bá. chh.* 49, 4.

हिँ,—बहु बिधि चेरिहिँ आदर देइ, 'in many ways he shows honour to the bondmaid.' *Rám. A. ch.* 24, 4.

Abl. हि,—गुरुहि पूछि करि कुलबिधि राजा, 'the king having inquired from the guru, performed the family rites.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 319, 8.

हिँ,—मातुहिँ पितहिँ उरिन भये नीके, 'from your mother and your father you have well become debt-absolved.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 284, 2.

Gen. हि,—बोलत लखनहि जनक डेराहीँ, 'at the words of Lakhan, Janak became afraid.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 286, 4.

हिँ,—राजहिँ तुम पर बड़ सनेहू, 'There is a great love of the king for you.' *Rám. A. ch.* 40, 6.

सु,—*only used with pronouns* (*omitting* 1*st and* 2*nd personal pronouns*) तासु निकट पुनि सब चलि आवे, 'again all approached hers.' *Rám. Kis. ch.* 25, 3.

र,—*only used with* 1*st and* 2*nd personal pronouns,* मैं अरु मोर तोर तैं माया, 'an illusion (arising) from egoism and from "mine" and "thine."' *Rám. Ar. ch.* 12, 2.

Loc. हि,—उबरा सो जनवाँसहि आवा, 'what remained over went into the guests' quarters.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 332, 7.

भोरहि आजु नहाइ प्रयागा, 'at dawn to-day having bathed at Prayág.' *Ram. A. ch.* 262, 6.

हिँ,—सब तरु फरे रामहित लागी, रितु अनरितुहिँ कालगति त्यागी, 'to please Rám every tree was laden with fruit, whether in season or not in season, without regard to the time of year.' *Rám. Ln. ch.* 6, 5.

ञ,—हठ कीन्हे अन्तहु उर दाहू, 'if he persist in obstinacy, in the end it burns his bosom.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 259, 5.

ञँ,—अन्तहुँ कीच तहाँ जहँ पानी, 'where there is water, in the end there will be mud.' *Rám. A. ch.* 175, 4.

ए,—पाछे पवननतय सिर नावा, 'afterwards the son of the wind bowed his head.' *Rám. Kis. ch.* 23, 9.

The terminations एँ of the instrumental, and ञ, ञँ and ए of the locative are rare in the Rámáyan, and survive only in a few indeclinables like माझेँ, पाछे, अन्तञ, *&c.* There may be isolated instances of ञ and ञँ being used to form other cases, but I have not noted them in the course of my reading.

Probably the Baiswárí case postpositions सँ, तँ, मँ, and others are also instrumentals, *cf. post* Maithilí जँ, एँ, and तँ.

NOTE. It is better to consider this form in ऐँ as an instrumental, and not as a locative, as (1) the locative is already supplied with another organic termination and (2) comparison with the Maithilí dialect shows the termination as exclusively used in the instrumental case in that dialect, and (3) other dialects such as Panjábí and Maráṭhí show traces of the same tendency. *See post*, under head of derivation.

B.—*Maithilí.*

Acc. हि,—हमर से हित जे सचुहि आन, 'he is my friend who brings my enemy.' *Man'bodh*, 6, 39.

हिँ,—खेत महिसी चर, पड़बहिँ मार, 'the buffalos are grazing in the field, beat the calves.' *Prov.*

Instr. हि,—बान्ह छान सभ फोड़ल बलहि, 'he opened the bonds and fetters with violence.' *Man.* 4, 42.

हिँ,—अचरहिँ झारि झुरि दितऊँ, 'I would have swept it with my body-cloth,' *Nág Songs, No.* 1.

ऊँ,—अधरऊँ आध सेहो दुरि गेला, '(as much as I would say) with half my lip, that also is gone far away,' *Vid.* 73, 4.

Instr. एँ,—कमर बाँधे छुरिएँ काटारें, 'he binds his waist with knife and dagger,' *Mars.* 4, 1.

This example is Musalmáni-Maithilí, and the words re- tle be nom. plurals fem. borrowed from Urdú. I sh- hence give other examples.

गोरि मागु गौरवें आन्हरि, a fair woman is blinded by pride. *Prov.*

नेरु हेरैनें जेहन धेनु गाफ्र, 'like a cow (distracted) by the losing of her calf,' *Man.* 3, 17.

To this must be added the very common colloquial forms एँ 'by this,' जेँ, 'by which,' तेँ, 'by that' which occur in literature only in company with prepositions; and the illative conjunction तेँ, or तैँ, 'therefore.' Examples of the first are,

एँ परि रासक मण्डल भेल, 'in this way was the circle of the *rás.*' *Man.* 6, 5.

जेँ परि पहरु सुति गेल, 'in what way the guards had gone to sleep.' *Ib.*, 17.

The following are colloquial examples, not made to order.

एँ, कथे ई भेल, 'for this reason (by this), it happened by conversation.'

जेँ कानें खोमद्भागवत सुनल कोरान नहिँ सुनि सकैछी, 'I cannot hear the Ḳurán by the ears, with which I have heard the *Srímad bhágavat.*'

अपनें कें प्रसन्न देखलन्हि, तेँ ओ ऐलाह, 'he saw you pleased, therefore he came.'

अपना मँ ऐक्य नहिँ छल, तेँ विपत्ति परल, 'there was no unity amongst themselves, thence fell the adversity.'

कथे कथे झगड़ा भेल, 'by discussions a quarrel arose.'

Compare the following example of the instr. of को 'what?'

कथी हमरा चोर बनबैछी, 'why do you make me out a thief?'

Classical examples of the use of तेँ or तैँ are the following:

तेँ नहिँ करथि गरासे, 'therefore he does not eclipse it.' *Vid.* 14, 8.

तैँ नहिँ कमल सुखाई, 'therefore the lotus does not dry up.' *Vid.* 14, 6.

Dat. ऊ,—सबऊ जथोचित कैल परनाम, 'to all he made meet reverence.' *Man.* 9, 62.

Abl. हि,—नेन्दहि सिख चरवाहि चहीर, from boyhood cowherds learn cattle-tending. *Man.* 4, 12.

ऊ,—ओतऊ मनोरथ ओहने रहल, 'from that place their hopes remained equally (unsatisfied).' *Man.* 1, 8.

ऊँ,—किछु नहिँ ततऊँ भेल, 'nothing came to pass from there.' *Ib.* 7.

Gen. ऊ,—अकरूड़ऊ चलऊक डौल, 'a means of the going of Akrúr.' *Man.* 7, 17.

सु,—*only used with pronouns* (omitting 1st and 2nd personal pronouns), जसु मन परम तरासे, 'whose mind trembles exceedingly,' *Vid.* 7, 5.

र,—*only used with 1st and 2nd personal pronouns,* नहिँ मोर देओर, 'he is not my brother-in-law,' *Vid.* 79, 7.

च,—*only used in the 2nd personal pronoun,* पाए परसल मातु तुच पानी, 'my feet have touched thy water, O mother,' *Vid.* 78, 3.

Loc. हि,—जमुना हरदहि गेल ब्रजनाथ, 'into the Jamuná-pool went Kṛishṇ.' *Man.* 4, 18.

हिँ,—अदंकहिँ सिंदुर मेट गेल, 'in her astonishment, the vermilion was rubbed off,' *Vid.* 26, 4.

गदरी खेतहिँ सुखाऊल, 'the *gadarí* has dried up in the fields.' *Famine song,* 12.

ऊ,—पहड़ऊ निपुन परम ब्रजनाथ, 'Kṛishṇ was extremely skilled in wrestling.' *Man.* 9, 30.

ऊँ,—कोपऊँ कटु नहिँ भाखथि कबऊ, 'even at any time he spake not harshly in anger.' *Man.* 7, 35.

ए,—जाऊब ओघट घाटे, 'I shall go on an unfrequented river bank,' *Vid.* 5, 3.

This form of locative is very common in all Bihárí dialects in phrases such as घरे घरे, 'in every house,' &c.

From the above we are justified in drawing up the following model paradigm of the organic declension of the word घोड़, the weak form of घोड़ा, 'a horse,' in the singular number.

	Baiswárí of Rámáyan.	North Maithilí.	Other Bihárí dialects.
Nom. ...	घोड़,	घोड़,	घोड़,
Acc. ...	घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ,	घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ,	Wanting
Instr. ...	*घोड़ेँ, *घोड़ैँ, घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ,	घोड़ेँ, घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ, घोड़ञँ,	घोड़ेँ, घोड़न,
Dat. ...	घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ,	घोड़ञ,	Wanting
Abl. ...	घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ,	घोड़हि, घोड़ञ, घोड़ञँ,	Wanting
Gen. ...	घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ, (तोर, जासु),	घोड़ञ, (तुअ, तोर, जसु)	Wanting
Loc. ...	*घोड़े, घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ, घोड़ञ, घोड़ञँ,	घोड़े घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ, घोड़ञ, घोड़ञँ,	घोड़े.

Note as to Plural. The above is the singular declension. In the Rámáyan the terminations in हिँ are used in a plural sense; thus, सगुनहिँ अगुनहिँ नहिँ कछु भेदा, 'there is no difference between things possessing qualities, and those without them,' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 123, 1: native pandits, indeed, maintain that the termination हिँ is properly only used in the plural, and that when used in the singular, it is always in an honorific sense. This theory is generally borne out so far as my experience goes, and hence it will be convenient to assume that in the Rámáyan the terminations हि, ऐँ, ऐँ, and ए are singular, and the termination हिँ plural.

In Maithilí, the termination हिँ and ञँ are used equally in a singular and in a plural sense. An example of the plural usage of हिँ will be found in the example given for the Locative.

The termination ए of the Instrumental is used only in the singular of nouns. Of Pronouns the case is different, *vide post.* Maithilí nouns always form their plural periphrastically by adding a noun of multitude, which is

itself declined in the singular, taking the singular terminations. The only words which take a new base in the plural (both for the nominative, and oblique cases) are the words समनि, सबहि, and लोकनि, (see Mth. Gram. § 25 for the two last) which form their instrumentals समनिएँ, सबहिएँ, and लोकनिएँ. I am unable to give any examples from literature of the use of these three words.

For further remarks concerning these plural forms in नि, *vide post.*

Derivation.

At present I do not propose to consider the genitive terminations क, र, and क, as they are only used in connection with pronouns, and can be more conveniently discussed under that head.

The remaining terminations are

Rámáyan,	हि,	हिँ,	ऊ,	ऊँ,	ऐं,	एँ,	ए,
Maithilí,	हि,	हिँ,	ऊ,	ऊँ,	—	एँ,	ए.

Before proceeding further, I must warn against another set of terminations in use in these dialects, which are merely particles of emphasis, *viz.*, हि, हिँ, ही or हीँ, ऊ or ऊँ, see Hoernle, G. G., § 550, and the Author's Mth. Gram., § 205. These are entirely different in origin, but are liable to lead to confusion.

The following table shows the declensional terminations in Apabhraṃśa Prákṛit. H. C. means the fourth book of Hemachandra's Grammar. K. I. means Kramadíśvara quoted in Lassen, pp. 449 and ff. Md. means Márkaṇḍeya quoted by Hoernle.

Table showing the declensional terminations of nouns in Apabhraṃśa Prákṛit.

	Singular.			
	Terminations common to all masculine and neuter nouns.	Terminations peculiar to अ bases, masc. and neut.	Terminations peculiar to इ and उ bases.	Feminine terminations for all nouns.
Nom.	—(H. C. 344), हो (Mḍ.), उं (only in neuter nouns in क, (H. C. 354)).	उ (H. C. 331), डो (masc., H. C. 332).	None.	—(H. C. 344).
Acc.	Same as Nom.	Same as Nom.	None.	—H. C. 344).
Instr.	एं (Mḍ.)	ड्डें (H. C. 333, 342, K. I. 24), डेण (Lass. p. 461).	एं, ण, ˙ (H. C. 343), णा (K. I. 25)	ए (with shortening of penult. vowel, H. C. 349, K. I. 38), एं (without shortening Mḍ.)
Abl.	हे (H. C. 336, 341, K. I. 29, 36, Md.), हो (Mḍ. and K. I. 34).	ड (H. C. 336).	None.	हे (with shortening of penult. H. C. 350, K. I. 35), हो, हे (without shortening, Mḍ.).
Gen.	—(H. C. 345), हो (K. I. 30, 34).	स्सु, ह्सु, हो (H. C. 338) ड्सु, स्सु (K. I. 30).	हे (K. I. 36).	हे (with shortening of penult. H. C. 350, K. I. 35).
Loc.	म्मिं (K. I. 26).	म्मि, डे (H. C. 334, K. I. 27).	म्मि (H. C. 341).	म्मि (with shortening of penult. H. C. 352).
Voc.				हे (Mḍ.)

Table showing the declensional terminations [illegible] Apabhraṃśa Prákṛit.

	Plural.				Remarks.
	Terminations common to all masc. and neut. nouns.	Terminations peculiar to अ bases, masc. and neut.	Terminations peculiar to इ and उ bases.	Feminine terminations.	
Nom.	—(H. C. 344), हे (Md.), ई (only neut., H. C. 353, with optional lengthening of penult., Md.).	None.	None.	उ, ओ (H. C. 348) वे (Md.).	The sign — means that no termination is added to the base.
Acc.	Same as Nom.	None.	None.	Same as Nom.	
Instr.	हिं (H. C. 347).	ेहिं (H. C. 335).	None.	हिं (H. C. 347)	The letter ड is only a sign showing the elision of the final vowel of the base, and does not form part of the termination.
Abl.	ड़ं (H. C. 337, 341, Md.), हुं (Md.).	ड़ं (K. I. 28).	हुं (K. I, 33).	ड़ (H. C. 351)	Long vowels may be shortened, and short vowels lengthened in any of the terminations (H. C. 330).
Gen.	—(H. C. 345), हुं (Md., H. C. 339, 340, K. I. 31), ड़ं (Md.).	None.	ड़ं (H. C. 340). हुं (K. I. 32).		
Loc.	हिं (H. C. 347), ड़ं (H. C. 340), हुं (Md.).	None.	None.	हिं (H. C. 347)	
Voc.	हो (H. C. 346).	None.	None.	हो (H. C. 346)	

With shortening of penult. vowel.

The casual terminations of the Rámáyan have been discussed by Hoernle (G. G. pp. 195—212). The results arrived at are as follows: With the exception of ऐं, which may be considered as a strengthened form of ँ all the above forms are found in Apabhraṃśa Prákṛit. Taking each form separately we find;

A. With regard to हि, that it is used in the following cases:—

Ap. Prákṛit. (हे or हि)	Rámáyan.	Maithilí.
——	Accusative.	Accusative.
——	Instrumental.	Instrumental.
——	Dative.	——
Ablative. (हे)	Ablative.	Ablative.
Genitive. (हे)	Genitive.	——
Locative. (हि)	Locative.	Locative.

See Hoernle G. G., §§ 365 and 367. As regards the Prákṛit form हि, it is a weakened form of हे, which is properly a termination of the genitive singular, and has been extended to the abl. and loc. in Prákṛit, and further extended to the acc. instr. and dat. in the Rámáyan. In Maithilí, from has altogether lost its genitival sense, and is not used in the dative, as in the Rámáyan. This termination हि is derived from the Sanskṛit termination स्य of the genitive. So that we get the series Skr. घोटस्य, Ap. Pr. घोडहे, Bihárí घोड़हि, 'of a horse.' It will be seen that the termination हि in Bihárí, being added to the weak form of the noun, presupposes a Skr. घोटस्य, and not घोटकस्य, which latter would become Ap. Pr, घोडअहे, and Bihárí घोड़ाहि.

Other examples are *Skr.* मुनि, 'a sage,' *gen. sing.* मुने: (for मुनिस्य), *Ap. Pr.* मुनिहे, मुणिहि, *Bihárí*, मुनिहि: and *Skr.* गुरु 'a teacher,' *gen. sing* गुरो: (for गुरुस्य), *Ap. Pr.* गुरुहे, गुरुहि, *Bihárí*, गुरुहि.

It is not necessary to give examples of Skr. strong forms in क for our present purposes,—for the termination हि is, in Bihárí, only added to the weak form of nouns.

B. हिँ, is used in the Rámáyan only in a plural sense. In Maithilí it has (to a great extent in use) superseded हि, and is used in the sense both of singular and plural in the following cases:—

Ap. Pr. (हिं or हिँ)	Rámáyan.	Maithilí.
——	Acc. plur.*	Acc. sing. and plur.
Instr. plur. (हिँ)*	Instr. plur.*	Instr. sing. and plur.
——	Dat. plur.*	——
——	Abl. plur.*	——
Gen. plur. (हिं)*	Gen. plur.*	——
Loc. sing. plur. (हिँ)*	Loc. plur.*	Loc. sing. and plur.

* Used also sometimes in singular, *vide* Hoernle, p. 208.

See Hoernle §§ 367 and 369. As regards the Prákṛit form, two derivations are plausible. One connects it with the Prákṛit abl. plur. suffix हिंतो, and the other with Skr. abl. dual termination भ्यां (see Hoernle *l. c.*), which would regularly change in Pr. to हिं or हिं.

The following examples will show the process. Skr. *घोट, 'a horse:' abl. dual, *घोटाभ्यां; or Pr. abl. plur. (Árṣha) घोडेहिंतो; Ap. Pr. gen. plur. घोडहँ: Bihárí घोड़हिँ:

Skr. मुनि, 'a sage;' abl. dual, मुनिभ्यां; or Pr. abl. plur. (Árṣha) मुनिहिंतो; Ap. Pr. gen. plur. मुनिहँ; Bihárí, मुनिहिँ.

Skr. गुरु, 'a teacher;' abl. dual, गुरुभ्यां; or Pr. abl. plur. (Árṣha) गुरुहिंतो; Ap. Pr. gen. plur. गुरुहँ; Bihárí गुरुहिँ.

It is possible that these two derivations are not incompatible with each other. It will be observed, that when the Skr. has a long vowel before भ्यां, Árṣha Prákṛit has (and only then) a long vowel before हिंतो. It is possible therefore that the first three syllables of गुरुहिंतो, are directly connected with गुरुभ्यां, and that the syllable तो is an additional pleonastic ablatival suffix.

C. ङ. It is rarely used in the Rámáyan, and probably only in the locative. It is evidently a weakened form of the Ap. Prákṛit हो. Both ङ and हो occur in all masculine and neuter nouns having अ bases in Ap. Pr. Bases in इ and उ take only हो. Feminine bases use ङ as the terminatic of the abl. and gen. plur. (H. C. IV, 351). In Maithilí ङ is used in all genders and with all weak bases. The use of these two terminations is as follows:

Ap. Pr. (masc. and neut).		Maithilí.
अ bases.	इ and उ bases.	
Nom. (हो)	हो	———
Acc. (हो)	हो	———
———	———	———
———	———	Dat.
Abl. (ङ, हो)	हो	Abl.
Gen. (हो)	हो	Gen.
———	———	Loc.

The use of these terminations has therefore been extended in Maithilí to the locative and dative. The dative, it need hardly be pointed out does not occur in Prákṛit. The origin of हो is obscure. Lassen, (p. 462) identifies it with an assumed Skr. suffix स्व; while Hoernle (§ 368) connects it with the Skr. abl. plur. suffix भ्यस, through भ्यो.

D. ङँ. It is rarely used in the Rámáyan, and probably only in the locative. In Ap. Prákṛit, and Maithilí it is used as follows:

Ap. Prákṛit.	Maithilí.
———	———
———	———
———	Instr. sing. and plur.
———	———
Abl. plur. (ङं)	Abl. sing. and plur.
Gen. plur. (ङं)	———
Loc. plur. (ङं)	Loc. sing. and plur.

See Hoernle, §§ 367, 369.

This termination is probably a weakened form of the Prákṛit abl. pl. suffix सुंतो. The derivation of सुंतो is obscure. From the analogy of च्चंतो, we might expect it to be a compound of सुं + तो (Lassen, p. 310): सुं is the Prákṛit termination of the locative plural, and it may be noted that whatever vowel precedes the termination सुं in Prákṛit declension, the same vowel precedes सुंतो.

Thus, Prákṛit,—

Nom. Singular.	Loc. plural.	Abl. plural.
देवो	देवेसुं	देवेसुंतो
गंगा	गंगासुं	गंगासुंतो
अग्गी	अग्गीसुं	अग्गीसुंतो
वुद्धी	वुद्धीसुं	वुद्धीसुंतो

The termination सुं occurs in Árṣha Prákṛit, but not सुंतो, which tends also to show that the latter is a later, and may be a compound form.

One example of this form will suffice. Skr. मुनि a sage; loc. plur. मुनिषु; Árṣha Prákṛit, मुनिसुं: Prákṛit, मुणीसुं: Pr. abl. plur. मुणीसुंतो; Ap. Pr. gen. plur. मुणिङं: Bihárí instr. plur. मुनिङँ.

Note in the above that it is only in classical Prákṛit that the final vowel of मुनि is lengthened. We have Árṣha, मुनिसुं, and Ap. मुनिङं, so that we are justified in assuming an intermediate form मुनिसुंतो.

It is easier to derive मुनिङं from मुनिसुंतो rather than from मुनिसुं directly; as it is more natural to derive the genitive from the ablative than from the locative. As regards the formation of an ablative by the

addition of an ablative sign to a locative, this is of common occurrence in Gaudian languages. It is quite usual to hear phrases such as घोड़े पर से गिर पड़ा, which is, literally, 'he fell from on the horse,' and which means *i.* English, 'he fell from,' or, 'off the horse.'

E. एँ, ऐं,—the latter of these I consider to be simply a lengthened form of the former: and with this remark it will be sufficient to dismiss it. With regard to ए, the case is different, and will require more elaborate treatment.

एँ is used in the following cases:

Ap. Pr.	Rámáyan.	Maithilí.
Instr. (एं)	Instr.	Instr.

It will be seen that this case is used throughout all dialects as an instrumental termination,—and so also in Panjábí (seldom), *e. g.*, in the word भावें (*Skr.* भावेन) 'indeed,' 'truly;' *hence* 'although;' and in Maráṭhí, *e. g.*, घरें, 'by a house.' In western Bhojpurí it takes the form अन; thus, डरन, 'by fear,' भूखन, 'by hunger.'

In Ap. Pr., according to Mḍ., the termination is added directly to the base of the noun, whatever it is; so that we have वणएं, 'by a forest,' from वण, वाल्लाएं 'by a girl,' from वाल्ला, अग्गिएं 'by fire,' from अग्गि (nom. अग्गी), ,उएं 'by wind,' from वाउ, (nom. वाऊ). (Examples taken from Mḍ. *apud* Hoernle, § 367.) It will be observed that when the nom. sing. ends in long आ, it is unchanged, but when in long ई, or long ऊ, the final vowel is shortened before एं. H. C. and K. I. do not give the termination to feminine nouns, and give वणें instead of वणएं. In other respects they agree with Mḍ. Mḍ.'s वणएं is probably for वणकें so that the three grammarians are at one, except with reference to feminine nouns.

Maithilí goes a step farther. It (Gram. § 19) substitutes the एँ for the final vowel in all nouns whose direct forms end in अ or आ, so that we have फलें, 'by fruit,' from फल, कथें, 'by a story' from कथा, or to use the same examples as are given for Prákṛit, it has वनें for Pr. वणएं, and वालें for Pr. वाल्लाएं.

With regard to nouns ending in other vowels, it follows the Prákṛit rule. The एँ is simply added, and the final vowel, if long is shortened,—

so that we have बेटिएँ 'by a daughter,' from बेटी. With regard to the Pr. examples, the nominatives both end in short vowels in Maithilí; आगि, 'fire,' makes अगिएँ, and वाउ 'wind,' makes वउएँ, or वौएँ.*

Finally the forms एँ, जेँ, तेँ in Maithilí referred to above must be again noted here, as important, and pointing clearly to the derivation. The only remaining cognate form is the word कथीँ, used colloquially as the instrumental of the oblique form, कथी, of the neuter interrogative pronoun की, 'what,' (see Mth. Chr. Voc. *s. v.* की).

As to the derivation of these forms, they may possibly come from the Skr. instrumental in न, which exists in अ bases in the form एन (श्विवेन). The forms which most plainly show their origin are the pronominal ones, एँ, जेँ, and तेँ. It must be noted that these are not formed from the oblique bases of their respective pronouns, which are ह्यि (or ह्रदि), जनि (or जादि), and तनि (or तादि) respectively (Mth. Gram. §§ 71, 76, 78), but stand completely apart from the declension of these pronouns as isolated forms. The nominatives of these pronouns are ई, जे, and से, so that in one of these cases at least it has not been formed by nasalizing that case. It is hence most rational to derive them through missing Prákṛit forms from Sanskrit एन (Vaidik), 'by this,' येन, 'by which,' and तेन, 'by that.' It must be noted also that while the proximate demonstrative in Maithilí ई, 'this,' has an instrumental form एँ, the remote demonstrative ओ, 'that,' has no such corresponding form, (see Mth. Gr. § 70, addenda). Similarly the Skr. proximate demonstrative pronominal base अ, has no remote demonstrative form. Classical Skr. has अनेन instead of the simpler Vaidik instrumental form एन, 'by this'; for an example of the latter, see R. V. I, 173, 9, एन, which the Vedártha Yatna translates अनेन.

As regards the form कथीँ, the termination may be referred to the Skr. instrumental termination इना, (अग्निना), Pr. इणा (अग्गिणा), but the derivation of the stem is involved in much obscurity.

Having thus shown that these pronominal forms एँ, जेँ, and तेँ are most probably connected with the Skr. instrumental, it remains to consider the nominal forms. With regard to अ bases, the same reasoning applies, and घोड़ेँ bears exactly the same relation to घोडेन, that एँ does to एन. With regard to feminine bases ending in आ, the case is different. In it the Skr. instr. ends in अया, from which I would derive the Prákṛit termination आए. The lengthening of the penult. in Pr. is probably due to the force of analogy, all the other cases in Sanskrit, except the vocative having a long penultimate. The termination एँ cannot of course be attributed to this

* With regard to the shortening of the Antepenultimate, see Mth. Gr. § 5, addenda. I have written the words as they are pronounced, and not as they are usually written.

form, and I refer it to the well known tendency of Prákṛit to reduce all nouns to one common declension, which is carried further by Ap. Pr. and the modern Vernaculars, than we find in the classical Prákṛit of Vararuchi.

By a similar process I would account for the instrumental forms of bases with other vocalic endings.

E. ए. This is the most universally distributed of all the case terminations. It occurs in all the Bihárí dialects, and in the Rámáyan. It appears in all the Prákṛit dialects from the classical of Vararuchi to the Apabhraṃśa; and, to take examples of cognate modern languages it is found in Bangálí, and in all the local dialects of Hindí. It also occurs in Sanskrit as the locative of nouns whose bases end in अ. In the modern languages, too, it is only used with nouns ending in a final (silent) अ. Thus we have घाटे 'on a landing place,' from घाट, गासे 'in a village, from गास, but no corresponding forms for words like कथा, or पानि. Similarly also in Bangálí बालक, 'a boy,' makes बालके, but the locative of घोड़ी 'a mare,' is quite a different form, घोड़ीते. It is the same in classical Prákṛit, Árṣha, and Páli; in all these ए is only used as the termination of the locative of अ bases. We thus get the following table:

Sanskrit.	Páli.	Árṣha.	Prákṛit.	Bihárí.	Bangálí.
अ base					
देवे	देवे	देवे	देवे	देवे	देवे
but					
आ base					
गंगायां	गंगाय	गंगाए	गंगाए	गंगा स	गंगाय
इ base					
अग्नौ	अग्गिम्हि	अग्गिम्मि	अग्गिम्मि	आगि मँ	अग्निते
उ base					
गुरौ	गुरुम्हि	गुरुम्मि	गुरुम्मि	गुरु मँ	गुरुते.

From the above it is evident that the locative termination ए is used throughout all these languages only with bases in अ. Feminine bases in आ are no exception to this rule, for the termination ए in Árṣha and Prákṛit is of entirely different origin. In Apabhraṃśa Prákṛit there are two forms of the locative one in ए (तले), and one a weakened form in इ (तलि), both of which are used only with bases in अ. The latter it appears to me not unreasonable to consider to be a weakened form of the former.

It therefore appears possible that this Bihárí locative in एं is the Skr. and classical Prákṛit loc. suffix ए, which has been preserved unchanged. The fact that it has remained unchanged in the modern languages need not surprise us: for it has admittedly remained unchanged in the classical Prákṛits, while all the other case suffixes have changed in them. If therefore the locative has retained vitality so far, it need not astonish us that it has retained it to the last.

Note on the above. It will be seen that in these derivations of एँ and ए, I have given an etymology different from that put forward by so high an authority as Dr. Hoernle in his Gauḍian Grammar, §§ 367 and following. Dr. Hoernle considers एँ as a contraction of अहिं, and ए as a contraction of अहि respectively, terminations which have already been discussed and disposed of. This derivation is also plausible, but I venture to think that an equal amount of plausibility attaches to the derivation given above, on the following grounds.

Lassen (p. 461) connects the termination एँ with Skr. term. एन, but Dr. Hoernle considers that this is untenable because Skr. एन cannot be added to feminine bases in आ. This point has been already discussed by me, and I need not repeat what I have said here,—but, admitting for the sake of argument that Lassen is wrong, Dr. Hoernle's theory is also open to objection. Dr. Hoernle takes the termination अहिं, and supposes an elision of ह, which gives अइं, which is contracted to एं; hence he gets the forms in Apabhraṃśa Prákṛit, वणएं, वाल्लाएं, अग्गिएं, and बाउएं, which he derives from supposititious forms *वणअहिं, *वाल्लाअहिं, *अग्गिअहिं, and *बाउअहि which he considers old genitives. It thus appears that the letter अ in the termination is absolutely necessary for the theory; only अहिं can be contracted to एं; if the termination ever takes the form इहिं, it must be contracted to ईं, and if it takes the form उहिं, it can only become उइं. It must be remembered that we are only dealing with weak bases, for in the modern languages, एँ is only added to weak bases, and never to strong ones;* and it remains to be seen what form अहिं takes with weak bases. Really, this termination is हिं and not अहिं, and the vowel अ is only the termination of the base,

* This may be denied; but the fact remains that some weak forms do undoubtedly take the termination एँ, *e. g.* बात 'a word,' instrumental बातेँ; so also एँ, जेँ, and तेँ, which are undoubtedly formed from a weak bases, and this is quite sufficient for my argument. If I can prove that a single weak form takes एँ in the instrumental, it does away with the argument that हुएँ or उएँ can in all cases be derived from हुअहिं, उअहिं. It may be noted here that in the Mágadhí dialect of Bihárí only masculine weak forms ending in a silent consonant take एँ, and ए; thus, from बल 'force', instr. बलेँ; but never पनिएँ, or बातेँ.

so that the weak forms of the old genitive plural, above quoted, would be वणहिं and not वणअहिं, बालाहिं and not बालाअहिं, अग्गिहिं and not अग्गिअहिं गाउहिं and not गाउअहिं. Now, it is possible to derive वनें from वणहिँ, but impossible to derive आगिएँ from अग्गिहिँ. I know that it can be assumed that आगिएँ is derived from the strong form अग्गिअहिं, but it is equally easy to derive it from the instrumental (Prákṛit) अग्गिणा (or देवें from देवेण), and this last derivation has the following advantages:

(1) It accounts for the termination एँ in nouns which (like बात) are never used in modern languages in their strong, but always in their weak forms.

(2) It accounts for the fact that एँ is always (with one or two isolated exceptions) used in a singular sense, while the termination हिँ is distinctly a plural one.

(3) It accounts for the western Bhojpúrí forms in अन, such as डरन, भूखन.

(4) It is simpler to derive the instrumental एँ from a Skr. instrumental, and the locative ए from a Skr. locative, than to take two terminations, for one case (the genitive), one singular, and the other plural, and to ...pt one, for no very valid reason, as a locative singular, and the other as ... instrumental singular.

Another argument of Dr. Hoernle's given in the foot note to p. 208 is as follows; 'this explains why the Maráṭhí instr. in एँ is seldom used except with the prepositions करून or कडून; for it is really a genitive or oblique form, and as such naturally takes a postposition. If it were, as commonly supposed, identical with the old Skr. instr. in एन, the addition of the postposition would be very superfluous and anomalous.' The addition of the postposition may be superfluous, but it is not, I think anomalous. In Maithili the preposition बिना 'without' governs the instrumental, both in the form in एँ, and in its inorganic or periphrastic form.

Examples are,

(1.) Organic instrumental.

Famine song, 10.

बिना जलें जग किछु नहिँ उपजल, 'without water nothing sprouted in the world.'

(2.) Periphrastic instrumental.

Sal. 3.

बिना पुरुष सौं कोना दिवस गमाएब, 'without a husband how can I pass my days?'

These examples taken together show that there is no idea of a genitive sense, but that there is a pure idea of an instrumental sense in जलें in the first example.

With regard to the locative termination ए, the arguments respecting

it are exactly the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as those regarding ँ, and I do not repeat them.

β. Inorganic Declension of nouns.

By Inorganic declension I mean that kind of periphrastic declension which is formed by postpositions added to a base whether inflected or not. In Bihárí the base undergoes regular inflection or preparation for the reception of postpositions. This occurs both in the singular and plural, each of which has a direct (or nominative) and an oblique form.

It will be convenient to deal with the question of number first. The following are the plural forms.

	Baiswári.	Banáras Bhojpúrí.	Bhojpúrí.	Maithil Bhojpúrí.	North Maithilí.	South Maithilí.	Purniyá Maithilí.	Bhágalpur Maithilí.	Maithil Mágadhí.	Mágadhí.
(1) Weak forms, घोर, 'a horse,' *Direct Plural.*	घोर	घोर	घोर	घोर	घोर	घोर	घोड़	घोड़	घोड़	घोड़
			घोरन	घोरन					घोड़वनि	घोड़न
Oblique.	घोरन्हि									
	घोरन्ह		घोरन्ह		*deest.*					
			घोरनि		(लोकनि)	*deest.*	*deest.*	*deest.*	घोड़वनि	
	घोरन	घोरन	घोरन	घोरन						घोड़न
(2) Strong forms in आ, घोरा, 'a horse,' *Direct Plural.*	घोरे*	घोरा	घोरा	घोरा	घोरा	घोरा	घोड़ा	घोड़ा	घोड़ा	घोड़ा
Oblique.	*deest.*	*deest.*	*deest.*	*deest.*	*deest.*	*deest.*	*deest.*	*deest.*	*deest.*	*deest.*

In all these, the oblique forms of the weak form of the noun is always used.

Similarly all other nouns. Those ending in long vowels, always shorten them before the oblique terminations of the plural. In short, the plural terminations in न्हि &c. can only be added to the weak form of a noun, and even when the weak form is not used in the singular it can always be used in the plural before these terminations.

In certain dialects peculiar affixes are used, which can be added to all nouns, to form a plural. They are direct and oblique,

			स०				सौ, सिवौ आर	सन्हौ, आरहिन		

In addition to the above, various forms of the words सब, or सभ,'all,' and लोग 'people,' can be used to form a periphrastic plural.

* Rám. A. Ch. 138, सगु चलहिं न घोरे, a form which Kellogg seems to have overlooked (Gram. p. 78).

Reference to the above will show that the oblique form of the plural has four terminations, *viz.*, ह्, न, न्हि, नि: and these terminations are only added to the weak base of a noun. This is even the case when the noun is not used in the singular or in the nominative plural in the weak form. *E. g.*, (Banáras-Bhojpúrí) nom. sing. नाऊ (strong form), 'a barber'; nom. plur. नाऊ (strong form); and obl. plur. नाउन (weak form). It is commonly said that strong-forms shorten their termination before न in the oblique plural, but this is hardly the correct way of looking at the matter. The base घोड़न cannot be said to be formed from the base घोड़ा, for this would presuppose (as will be seen further on) a Skr. form घोटकानां, which would become in Prákrit घोडअणं (see Hoernle, p. 211) (whence perhaps O. H. मच्छिलानं, द्रव्यान, cf. Hoernle, p. 195), *घोडअणं, *घोडअण्ह, which would become in Bihárí घोड़वन or घोड़ान, and not घोड़न.

The only exception to this is the Maithil-Mágadhí sub-dialect, which forms the oblique plural on the base of the long form, which may be referred to the Prákrit long form घोडअणं above referred to.

These plural oblique forms are not used in Maithilí in the case of nouns, except in a few isolated words like सभनि, 'all,' and लोकनि 'people.' They are common, however, in Maithilí pronouns where the plural form has acquired a singular honorific sense,—thus, तनि 'him,' जनि, 'whom.'

Wherever these forms are used in the oblique plural, they can also be used in the sense of a direct plural, in most of the dialects. The oldest dialect (that of the Rámáyan) confines these forms principally to the oblique case, but not universally, as in the phrase जिन्ह मोहि मारा ते मैं° मारे 'I have beaten those who have beaten me.'* Banárás Bhojpúrí follows the Rámáyan very closely in this particular, but the other dialects use the oblique form indifferently in the direct and oblique cases plural.

To sum up the results of the above, we find that in Bihárí the nominative plural can always† be the same as the nominative singular; and certain dialects also form an oblique plural in ह्, न, न्हि, or नि, which is also in certain of these adopted by the nominative.

With regard to the periphrastic plural, the usual affixes are सभ 'all,' and लोग 'people.' Bhojpúrí, however, and the sub-dialects of Purniyá, and Bhagalpúr add the words

Bhojpúrí सब
Purniyá-Maithilí सौ, सिबो
Bhagalpúr-Maithilí सन्हो

* Kellogg (p. 224) adduces this verse as an example of the use of the case of the agent before a transitive verb. As, however, मैं° which occurs in the same sentence also before a transitive verb is undoubtedly in the nominative (the oblique form being मोहि) it is more convenient to consider जिन्ह as an example of the oblique plural used in a nominative sense.

† The Rámáyan घोरे is very rare, and is probably a form borrowed from Hindí.

The first I believe to be a deroded form of सब, सभ, 'all,' through an intermediate form सह; सन्ही then appears naturally as its oblique plural, with a lengthening of the final vowel.

Similarly, I would connect सिवि, with the Maithil word सबहि 'all.' through an intermediate form सिवहि or सिविह, and then सी easily appears as a contracted form of the same word.

In the Bihár districts bordering on Bangál a form आर or आरहिन is used to form a plural. A reference to the neighbouring Bangálí gives the word आर, meaning 'and', 'other.' This is derived from the Skr. अपर meaning 'other.' Its use in Purniyá and Bhagalpúr is best seen in the pronouns, where it is used with the oblique form of the genitive singular, thus हमरा आर 'others of me', 'we.' So also घोड़ा आर, घोड़ा आरहिन, 'horses.' आरहिन, I consider a plural of आर, through transposition from आरन्हि.

Affinities and derivation.

The derivation of the plural termination न्ह, न, न्हि, नि, is from the Skr. gen. plural in आनां, through Prákrit आणं, *अणं, अपहं (*cf.* पंचपहं, 'of five'), (*cf.* Hoernle, pp. 202 and 211). The only difficulty in this derivation is the termination र in न्हि and नि. This I believe to be inorganic, and is due either to the memory of the Skr. neuter nom. plur. in नि which led to confusion, or (more probably) to false analogy with the very common termination of the third person plural of the Bihárí verb in न्हि, which has quite a different origin, *viz.*, from the Skr. न्ति. *E. g.*, the 3rd plural past of the verb देख 'see,' is देखलन्हि, which is frequently written देखलन्ह देखलनि, or देखलन. Seeing therefore these three plural verbal terminations, false analogy would inevitably suggest the addition of the form घोरन्हि to the regular plural substantival forms घोरन्ह and घोरन. It may be noted here that there is also a Skr. nom. neut. plur. in न्ति (भगवन्ति), which may have lent its aid to the false analogy.

On the preparation of the base.

It is commonly said that in Bihárí the oblique form of nouns is the same as the direct. This, however, is not the fact, and I hope to be able to shew that a distinct oblique form of nouns and of possessive pronouns exists throughout all the dialects.

It will be convenient to consider first the Bhojpúrí affixes of the genitive. Hoernle (p. 220) gives the genitival affixes (amongst others) as के, oblique के. The latter termination in use in Banáras, is not, however, pure Bhojpúrí. It appears to me to be borrowed from Hindí and not to be a pure Bihárí form. The oblique form के is almost universal over the Hindí area, and is not used in any Bihárí dialect with which I am acquainted.

In the pure Bhojpúrí of western Bihár the forms are—

Direct, के or कें (sometimes written क), and *oblique*, का.

Examples are the following.

Direct, के——ई राजा के मंदिर बाटे, 'this is the king's house.'

हम कन्स के लौंड़ी हईं, 'I am the maid-servant of king Kans.'

Direct, क——हर रंगक बात सुनल गइल, 'matters of every kind were heard.'

Indirect, का——कपटी का मारला कें कुछो दोख नाहीं, 'there is no sin in (*lit.* of) the slaying of a deceiver.'

पंडितन का घरे ढेर पोथी बाटे, 'there are many books in the pandits' house.'

In Maithilí, also, there is a genitive in क (Mth. G. § 22). In the case of nouns this has lost all inflexion, but in pronouns we see the inflexions still remaining. *E. g.*, the Relative pronoun जे, obl. form plur. (used as an honorific singular) जनि (Mth. Gr. § 76): hence, adding the sign of the genitive we get जनिक. This has an oblique form जनिका, used as a base of the other cases, but that it is really an oblique genitive is evident from the following example (*Vid.* 39, 2).

जनिका जन्म चोइत गेलऊँ, 'at whose birth I went,' in which जन्म is in the locative case, the postposition being poetically omitted.

Again the gen. honor. of ओ (Mth. Gr.) is ऊनक (ऊनिक), and its oblique form is ऊनका, as in (*Sal.* 1),

ऊनका कारन, 'for the sake of him', and (*Sal.* 21)

ऊनका पहरा में, 'in his watch.'

It must be noted, however, that the oblique form का is more rare in Maithilí than in Bhojpúrí, for it has disappeared altogether in nouns. There is in fact, a distinct tendency in *theṭh* Maithilí to use, even in the case of pronouns, direct forms instead of oblique ones. *E. g.*, in *Sal.* 1 we have ऊनक कारन beside the more correct ऊनका कारन, and so we have (*Sal.* 10) ऊनक डाक सँ instead of the more correct ऊनका डाक सँ, 'from his cry.' The Song of Salhes is, it must be remembered, in very *theṭh* language; that is to say, in the language of the lowest people, and is in one or two places absolutely incorrect.

A similar pronominal oblique genitive form in का may be noted in all the other Bihárí dialects, but, for want of a literature, it is difficult to give authoritative examples.

To sum up this part of the explication; 1—Bihárí has a genitive postposition कें or क, which has an oblique form का. This oblique form has in the eastern and southern dialects fallen into disuse in the case of substantives, but still survives everywhere in the pronouns.

The question of genitive postpositions naturally leads to possessive pronouns. The following are the possessive pronouns in Maithilí. As they will be treated of at length under their proper heading it is not necessary to give them for other dialects.

Pronoun.	*Possessive.*
मैं, 'I,'	मोर, 'my.'
हम, 'I,'	हम्मर, हमार, 'my.'
तैं, 'thou,'	तोर, 'thy.'
तोँह, 'thou,'	तोहर, तोहार, 'thy.'
अपने, 'self' (*Sal.* 18)	अपन, अप्पन, 'own.'
ई, 'this,'	एकर, 'of this.'
ओ, 'that,'	ओकर, 'of that.'
जे, 'who,'	जकर, 'whose.'
से, 'that,'	तकर, 'of that.'
के, 'who?'	ककर, 'whose?'

The last five are not properly possessive pronouns, but are regular genitives formed by adding the genitive postposition कर, to the pronominal bases ए, ओ, ज, त, and क respectively. As, however, in their adoption of an oblique base they run exactly on all fours with the true possessive pronouns, it is convenient at present to consider them also as such.

All these possessives are used as genitives of the various corresponding pronouns, and are usually considered as such. Thus मोर is said to be the genitive of मैं, हम्मर of हम, अप्पन of अपने, and so on.

All these possessive pronouns have an oblique form, formed by shortening the antepenultimate or penultimate, and lengthening the final vowel to आ. Thus,

Possessive.	*Oblique.*
मोर,	मोरा.
हम्मर, हमार,	हमरा.
तोर,	तोरा.
तोहर, तोहार,	तोहरा.
अप्पन, अपन,	अपना.
एकर,	एकरा.
ओकर,	ओकरा.
जकर,	जकरा.
तकर,	तकरा.
ककर,	ककरा.

This oblique form is used for two purposes.

A, as a true oblique genitive.

B, as a declensional oblique base.

A, *as a true oblique genitive.*

Examples. हमरा घर में, 'in my house.' (*Sal.* 19).

अपना सिरकी में, 'in one's own hovel.' (*Sal.* 20).

अपना चढ़ेक घोड़ी, 'the mare of his own riding.' (*Sal.* 21).

Occasionally the direct form is used instead of the oblique, as (*Sal.* 17).

अपन इजतिक अकरार, 'a bond of my own chastity' (*ib.*).

It is difficult to give examples out of Vidyápati, as he frequently lengthens a final vowel for the sake of metre, which is misleading.

B, *as a declensional oblique base.*

The correlative pronouns have each two proper declensional bases,—1, a singular one, and 2, a plural one. In Maithilí the singular has in all cases acquired a non-honorific sense, and, in the case of ई, 'this,' ओ, 'that,' custom has further confined it to referring to inanimate objects only. (Mth. Gr. §§ 70, 72, 79, 85, and 86). The plural base has in all cases assumed a singular honorific sense. In addition to these bases (which appear under similar circumstances in all Bihárí dialects, *vide post*), the oblique form of the genitive is frequently used in the sense of another oblique declensional base. This is quite regular, for as will be seen later on, the postpositions attached to this base are all nouns either in the instrumental or locative case. Thus जकरा मँ, means 'in the middle of which,' (Mg. Pr. जअस्स केरअस्स मज्झि, *Skr.* यस्य दुतकस्य मध्ये) in which the Pr. केरअस्स in the genitive case is (as will be seen hereafter) the direct origin of the oblique form करा. The following table shows the three oblique declensional forms of each of the pronouns in Maithilí.

Nom.	Proper oblique Singular.	Proper oblique Plural.	Periphrastic oblique base made from oblique Genitive.
मे, 'I.'	मोहि.	*Wanting.*	मोरा.
हम, 'I.'	*Wanting.*	*Wanting, but Bhojpúrí* हमनी.	हमरा.
तों, 'thou.'	तोहि.	*Wanting.*	तोरा.
तोंह, 'thou.'	*Wanting.*	*Wanting, but Bhojpúrí* तोहनी.	तोहरा.
अपने, 'self.'	*Wanting.*	*Wanting, but Bhojpúrí* अपनन.	अपना.
ई, 'this.'	एहि.	हिन (हिनि).	एकरा, हिनका.
ओ, 'that.'	ओहि.	ऊन (ऊनि).	ओकरा, ऊनका.
जे, 'who.'	जाहि.	जनि.	जकरा, जनिका.
से, 'that.'	ताहि (*old* तेहि, *Vid.* 28, 4).	तनि.	तकरा, तनिका.
के, 'who.'	*काहि (Mth. Gr. § 79).	कनि.	ककरा, कनिका.

From the above it will be seen that both the oblique genitive singular and the oblique genitive plural form new periphrastic declensional ...s, one singular, and the other plural.

As far as use goes, it may be noted that the proper oblique forms singular and plural of the correlative pronouns are generally used as adjectives, and the periphrastic ones are always used as substantives.

The following examples show the use of these forms.

A. *Proper oblique singular.*

Vid. 34, 2, मंद् वचन तोहि के न कहल चहि, 'hath any one used reproachful words to thee?'

Sal. 1, ताहि दिन लिखि देल(क), 'he wrote down that day,'

B. *Proper oblique plural.*

Bhojpúrí fables, 6, हमनी के लड़ावत फिरेले, 'he goes about causing us to fight.'

Sal. 1, ऊनि स्वामीक कारन, 'for the sake of that lord.'

C. *Periphrastic oblique singular.*

Vid. 55, 4, फेरि माँगब पऊ तोरा, 'in return I will ask for thee, my p...rd.'

Sal. 12, तकरा पार मति करह, 'do not pass him over.'

D. *Periphrastic oblique plural, or honorific.*

Mth. chr. p. 2, हमरा बेटा जेहन छथि, से खूब जनैछी, 'you know well what sort of son there is to me (*mihi filius qualis est*)', where हमरा is idiomatically used for the dative हमरा कें, and must not be confounded with the genitive हमर.

Sal. 13, तौ लागी ऊनका फुरसति नहिँ, 'till then there will not be leave to depart to him (*illi*).'

Sal. 19, हमरा सौँ की लेबै खोजह इनाम, 'How wilt thou get a present from me.'

Under the last head, two examples have been given of a dative of possession. These forms which at first sight look like oblique forms of the genitive used in a direct sense, are thus explained by competent natives. This explanation is most reasonable, for there can be no doubt about हमरा बेटा being very different in meaning from हमर बेटा, and about ऊनका फुरसति being different in meaning from ऊनक फुरसति.

In conclusion I append here, a list of all the pronominal genitival forms which I have collected from the prose of the Maithil Chrestomathy. I have submitted them all to Bábú S'rí Náráyan Singh of Darbhangá, a gentleman who has an intimate acquaintance with the Maithilí language, united to an intelligent knowledge of English. He has noted for me any optional form, when such case be used.

A. *direct genitives governed by a nominative.*

Sal. 7, नकर तिरिया केहन सुरखी, 'how beautiful the woman of that.'

Sal. 15, हमर सक नहिँ थीकि, 'I have not the power.'
Sal. 16, केकर बेटा, 'whose son?'
Sal. 20, हमर रोज हरज होइत, 'my profession will be damaged.'

B. *direct genitives governed by an accusative in the form of the nominative.*

Sal. 5, ऊनक कानब सुनि, 'hearing whose weeping.'
Sal. 7, जकर बेदुली लाएल(ह), 'whose *beduli* you have brought.'
Sal. 8, लिअ अपन बेदुली, 'take your *beduli*.'
Sal. 16, तकर अकरार लिखि, 'having written a bond of that.'
Sal. 18, घर अप्पन जाह, 'go to your house.'
Sal. 20, लावे गेल अप्पन भाई, 'he went to fetch his brother.'
Sal. 20, अप्पन मुदै बान्हू, 'bind your enemy.'

C. *direct genitives governed by a noun in an oblique case,*—rare, but permissible.

Sal. 1, ऊनक कारन, 'for the sake of him.'
Sal. 10, ऊनक डाक सँ, 'from his call.'
Sal. 17, अपन इजतिक, 'of (my) own chastity.'

According to Bábú S'rí Náráyaṇ Singh, the direct form is admissible wherever the oblique form is usually employed, but not *vice versâ*. Thus the following pairs are equally correct.

	admissible.	*usual.*
(1)	ऊनक कारन	— ऊनका कारन
(2)	ऊनक डाक सँ	— ऊनका डाक सँ
(3)	ऊनक पहरा मे	— ऊनका पहरा मे
(4)	अप्पन इजतिक	— अपना इजतिक
(5)	अप्पन चढेक घोड़ा	— अपना चढेक घोड़ा

Where, however, the governing noun is in the nominative or in the accusative in the form of the nominative, the oblique form can never be used. The following therefore are wrong.

ऊनका कानब सुनि, तकरा अकरार लिखि, अपना मुदै बान्हू, हमरा रोज हरज होइत, ककरा बेटा छथि।

The phrase हमरा सक नहिँ is, however, correct, but then हमरा is the dative of possession, 'to me there is no power.'

D. *Proper oblique genitives governed by nouns in oblique cases.*
Governed by,
Instr. Sal. 1, 2, 3, ऊनका कारन, 'for the sake of him' (*cf.* C.)
Gen. Sal. 21, अपना चढेक घोड़ा, 'the horse of his own riding,' 'his own riding horse.'

Loc. *Sal.* 5, जुमलीह अपना फुलवारी, 'she arrived at her own garden.'
ib. आइलि ऊनका फुलवाड़ी, (her companions) came to her garden.
Sal. 6, आनि अपना फुलवाड़ी, 'having brought him to your garden.'
Sal. 9, ऐलीह अपना फुलवाड़ी, 'she came to her garden.'
Sal. 11, ऊनका सिरमा मेँ, 'at her bed-head.'
Sal. 16, हमरा पास, 'near me.'
Sal. 19, हमरा घर मेँ, 'in my house.'
Sal. 19, तोहरा घर मेँ, 'in thy house.'
Sal. 19, अपना सिरकी मेँ, 'in my own hovel.'
Sal. 20, हमरा लग, 'near me.'
Sal. 10, 21, ऊनका पहरा मेँ, 'in his beat.'

E. *Oblique genitives used as an oblique declensional base.*
Sal. 5, ककरा दिआ, 'having given whom?' 'through whom.'
Sal. 6, तोहरा छाड़ि, 'having abandoned thee,' 'except thee,'
Sal. 11, तकरा तजवीज करे, '(he began to) consider this,' (तजवीज करब is a compound verb.)
Sal. 12, तकरा पार मति करह, 'do not pass him over.'
Sal. 13, ऊनका कहबैन्हि, 'I would tell him.'
Sal. 13, तकरा दिआ, 'through him.'
Sal. 14, हमरा बाँधि देल अछि, 'you have tied me up.'
Sal. 17, हमरा बन्ध खोलौलिँहि, 'you got me released.'
Sal. 19, तोहरा मन पुराएब, 'I will satisfy thee.'
Nág. songs, 4, हमरा रटना रटौलन्हि, 'he caused me to journey a journey.'
Instr. *Sal.* 16, तोहरा सेँ विवाह करी, 'I may marry thee.'
Sal. 20, तकरा सभ सेँ लड़ने, 'in fighting with all them.'
Dat. *Mth. Chr.* p. 1, ऊनिका माता नहिँ, 'he has no mother.'
ib. p. 2, हमरा बेटा जेहन छथि 'what sort of son I have,' *see above.*
Sal. 5, ऊनका माए बाप गारी देलक 'have her father and mother given her abuse?'
Sal. 13, ऊनका फुरसति नहिँ '(there will) not (be) leave to him to depart.'
Sal. 15, तोहरा फुरसति देबइ, 'I will give you leave to depart.'
Sal. 15, तकरा जाय कहब, 'go to her and say.'
Sal. 19, से इनाम दह हमरा, 'give that to me as a reward.'
Sal. 19, तोरा इनाम दैत छौ, 'I give you a reward.'
Famine song, 5, ककरा करब बखान, 'to whom shall I relate?'

Abl.
Sal. 19, हमरा सेँ की लेबै, 'what will you take from me.'
Nág. Songs, 4, हमरा सेँ भिखिआ मँगौलन्हि, 'he asked alms from me.'

Loc. *Sal.* 14, तोहरा अहैत, in your presence.'
Sal. 20, ना में, in the meantime.

Occasionally the oblique form ends in आँ; *e.g.* तन्हिकाँ पाछाँ धरनी, 'after him (went) the earth,' *Man.* 1, 12.

Having exhausted the question of the oblique form of the genitives or pronouns, it now remains to consider those of substantives.

First we shall take the following words, which, ending in न, ल, ड़, and र, offer examples of nouns with oblique forms exactly like those of pronominal genitives. There are doubtless many others, but these are those of which I am at present able to give proof by means of examples. They are—

आँगन, 'a courtyard,'	*oblique*	अँगना.
नैन, 'an eye,'	„	नैना.
पहिल, 'first,'	„	पहिला.
बड़, 'great,'	„	बड़ा.
दोसर, 'second,'	„	दोसरा.
तेसर, 'third,'	„	तेसरा.
पहर, पहरु, 'a watch,'	„	पहरा.
आँचर, आचर, 'a cloth,'	„	अँचरा, अचरा.
आन्हर, 'blind,'	„	आन्हरा.
इँगुर, 'vermilion,'	„	इँगुरा.
बहीर, 'deaf,'	„	बहिरा.
लिलार, 'the forehead,'	„	लिलरा.

To these may be added the following,

अगूँ, आगूँ, 'front,'	*oblique*	अगाँ, आगाँ, 'before.'
पछूँ, पाछूँ, 'rear,'	„	पछाँ, पाछाँ, 'behind.'
ठाँईं, 'place,'	„	ठैयाँ, 'in a place.'

Examples are,—

Direct, आँगन सुन देखि, 'seeing the courtyard empty,' *Man.* 3, 15.
नयन (*i. e.*, नैन) नोराएल, 'her eyes filled with tears,' *ib.*
पहिल खण्ड हम लेब, 'I shall take the first portion,' *Fable*, 7.
बड़ (*dir.*) अनुरोध बड़ा (*obl.*) पद राख, 'lay (the burden of) great favours upon the great,' *Vid.* 3, 6.
दोसर रोये चन्ना, 'the second one who weeps is Channá,' *Mars.* 3, 2.
तीनिक तेसर, 'the third after three,' *Vid.* 9, 1.
जे परि पहर खति गेल, 'how the watch went to sleep,' *Man.* 6, 17.
छाड़ कन्हैया मोर आचर, 'let go, O Krishn, my cloth,' *Vid.* 21, 3.

आन्हर कुकुर बसावें भूके, 'a blind dog barks at the wind,' *Prov.*

It is not necessary to give examples of other direct forms in र.

आगू (*or* आगूँ) थलथल, 'a pendulous front,' *Mth. Chr. Voc. s. v.* आगू.

पाछूँ (*or* पाछूँ) भारी, 'a heavy behind,' *ib. s. v.* पाछूँ.

I do not know of any authoritative example of ठाँढ़ें, but the word is common colloquially.

Oblique, कटगर तरु अँगना केओ राख, 'does any one keep a thorn tree in his courtyard,' *Man.* 2, 7.

नैना काजर पेन्हि लेलि, 'on her eyes she applied collyrium,' *Sal.* 18.

I do not know of any authoritative example of पहिला, but it is commonly used in conversation to mean, 'at first'.

An example of बड़ा has been given above.

सँसराक अन्त, 'the end of the third,' *Vid.* 60, 3.

सलहेसक पहरा सँ, 'from Salhes's watch,' *Sal.* 12.

अचरा डगरिआ बहारितेँ, 'I would have swept the road with my cloth,' *Gorakhpúrí songs,* No. 12.

बहिराक सुतनहिँ की, आन्हराक जगनहिँ की, 'what does a deaf man lose by sleeping, or a blind man by waking,' *Prov.*

लिलरा सोभेला इँगुरा के रोरिआ ना, 'on the forehead the fragments of red lead are beautiful,' *Gor. Sgs., No.* 1.

अगाँ पछाँ* बिदा भेल, 'they departed one behind the other,' *Sal.* 17.

बिचे ठेँयाँ बरहो बिओगवा, 'in the middle place, (write) the separation of twelve (months).' *Gor. Sgs. No.* 3.

Finally we come to the two verbal nouns in ब and ल, described in Mth. Gr. § 189. These two forms are current throughout all the dialects of Bihárí, as will be seen later on, and in nearly all these dialects, they have an oblique form as follows:

Banáras Bhojpúrí.

Direct.	*Oblique.*
देखब	देखबे.
देखल	देखले.

* The text has अगा पछा but अगाँ पछाँ would be more correct. There is a tendency in the *ṭheṭh boli* to drop nasal sounds.

Bhojpúrí.

देखब (rare)	not used.
देखल	देखला.

Examples,

Direct, ऊ कहल करेला, 'he does speaking,' 'he speaks frequently.'

Oblique, पछतउला सँ का होला, 'what comes from regretting?', where पछतउला is the oblique form of पछतावल. (*Fable* 15).

Maithilí-Bhojpúrí.

देखब, (rare)	not used,
देखल	देखला,

Examples,

Direct, ऊ कहल करइअ, 'he speaks frequently.'

Oblique, पछतौला से की हो सकइत छइ, 'what can come of regretting?' where पछतौला is oblique form of पछतावल.

Northern Maithilí.

देखब	देखबा.

Examples,

Direct, झनक कानब सुनि, 'hearing her cries,' (*Sal.* 5).

Oblique, पछतैबाक नहिँ चाही. 'it is not proper to regret,' (*Fable* 15), where पछतैबाक is the genitive of पछताएब, (for पछतएबाक).

Occasionally the oblique form in this dialect ends in याँ; *e. g.*, किछु कहबाँ लागु 'she began to say something,' *Man.* 1, 12.

देखल	देखला.

Direct, ओ कहल करैछथि, 'he speaks frequently.' (*Grammar*).

Oblique, दौड़धूप कैला सँ किछु नहिँ हैत, 'from fussing nothing will come to pass.' (*Fable* 14).

The verbal noun in ल has had an influence even on foreign words. Thus the Arabic word बदल, has an oblique form बदला, as in the sentence, एहि उपकारक बदला, 'in exchange for this benefit,' (*Fable* 15).

Southern Maithilí. *Purniyá Maithilí.*

Same as Northern Maithilí.

Bhagulpúrí-Maithilí has the oblique form of देखब, देखबै, but authoritative examples are wanting. It has for the oblique form of देखल, देखला or देखलऽ, according to locality.

In *Maithil-Mágadhí* the verbal noun in ब appears to have dropped out of use. The verbal noun in ल follows Northern Maithilí.

Finally, *Mágadhí* agrees with Maithilí.

We thus find that with the exception of a doubtful form in Bhagulpúr and the extreme Western case of Banáras-Bhojpúrí, an oblique form ...rbal nouns in व and ल, ending in वा and ला obtains more or less ...rrency.

In South Bhagulpúr this ला is weakened to लऽ, which it is important ...ote, as it gives the clue to the derivation of another set of oblique ...s to be now noted.

In the *Maithilí of South Bhagulpúr* nouns ending in a silent consonant (that is to say weak forms in च), vocalize that consonant in the oblique cases. Thus घर, 'a house,' Acc. घरऽ कैं. The same dialect has a feminine genitive affix केरी, the masculine of which is केरऽ, which leads one to presume that as in the same district देखलऽ is a weakened form of देखला, so also घरऽ is a weakened form of घरा.

In *Mágadhí* such nouns ending in a silent consonant (that is to say weak forms in च) have an oblique form in ए: thus, घर, Obl. घरे. Mágadhí immediately adjoins the Maithilí of Bhagulpúr, and hence it is evident that this oblique form is weakened from घरा. The weakening of आ to ए is borne out by the old Maithilí accusative postposition कां, which has become in modern Maithilí कें, and the close connection between ए and च is shown by the indeclinable participle of the root कर 'to do,' which is either कें (Mth. Gr. § 172) or कै (Vid. 66, 5).

This concludes the discussion concerning the different varieties of oblique forms in Bihárí which end in आ. To sum up, we may reduce what we have observed to the following.

In Bhojpúrí the affix of the genitive has an oblique form in आ, thus के, oblique का; and in all Bihárí dialects the pronouns have an oblique genitive in आ, thus एकर, एकरा. This oblique genitive is also used as a general oblique declensional base.

In Mágadhí, and a cognate sub-dialect, all nouns in the weak form have an oblique form in ए or च, thus, घर, *oblique* घरे or घरऽ.

This oblique ए or च is either a weakened form of or a form closely connected with the above oblique form in आ.

In the majority of Bihárí dialects, verbal nouns in व and ल, have oblique forms in आ or आँ, and so also there are cases of other and even foreign nouns in र, ड़, न, and ल which have similar oblique forms; also a few cases of nouns ending in ई, and ऊँ.

[Note on some apparently irregular forms in the song of Salhes.

It must be remembered that this song is printed exactly as it was taken down from the mouth of a Dom. These Doms are great wanderers, and hence besides the *theṭh* or vulgar forms (such as देल for देलक &c.) which abound in it, there are one or two forms which must be referred to other dialects, viz.

Sal. 7. तोहरे कारन, Banáras Bhojpúrí for तोहरा कारन. The form is never used in Maithilí.

Sal. 18. चिन्हले लोग अनचिन्ह भै गेल, if this means 'recognized people became unrecognized,' it must also be Banáras Bhojpúrí. It may, however, mean 'in recognition, people became unrecognized,' in which case चिन्हले is the regular locative of the verbal noun चिन्हल, 'recognition,' obl. चिन्हला, instr. चिन्हलें, loc. चिनले. Similarly in

Sal. 18. सुखले नदी पार भै जाएब, सुखले may be considered as locative of सुखल, and the sentence mean literally, 'in dryness I will cross the river.' The following also are locatives :—

Sal. 17, 18. असले, 'in reality.'

Sal. 7, 12, 14. सगले, 'at once.'

Sal. 12, पहिले. 'at first.'

Sal. 20. लड़ने, 'in fighting,' for लड़ले, न being frequently substituted for ल in *theṭh boli :* as it is also done in the line immediately preceding where we have खेहारनें for खेहारलें, and in the very common and vulgar लेनें or लेनें जाएब for लेलें जाएब, (*see gram.* § 197).

The only other form to be noted is the anomalous

Sal. 19. जाति के हम नटिन, 'by caste I am a gipsy,' where के is not a Maithilí, but a western form appropriate enough in the mouth of such a woman. Compare, however, *Sal.* 20, हम जातिक कसबीन].

Derivation.

We have already seen that the oblique plural in न or न्ह (नि or न्हि) is derived from the Sanskrit genitive plural ; and by parity of reasoning we should be led to expect that the Bihárí oblique form singular in आ is derived from the Sanskrit genitive singular. It will now be shown that this is the fact.* It must be observed that these oblique forms are used (as far as we have hitherto investigated) only with nouns in the weak form. Thus, ऊनक, एकर, देखब, देखल, घर, are all weak forms. Strong nouns of the अ base in आ are commonly said to remain unchanged in the oblique cases, thus, घोड़ा, 'a horse,' obl. घोड़ा, but in reality as will also be now seen, the oblique form, though the same in appearance as the nominative, is of different derivation,—in short, just as घर (nominative) corresponds to Skr. गृहं, and घरा (old form of oblique घरउ) to Skr. गृहस्य ; so घोड़ा (nominative) corresponds to Skr. घोटकः, and घोड़ा (oblique) to Skr. घोटकस्य. We thus come to the general rule that strong forms of अ bases always, and weak forms of अ bases frequently have an oblique form in आ.

* With regard to the following, see Hoernle, pp. 194, 195. I have, however, come to slightly different conclusions.

Let us take weak forms first :—

(1). Skr. nom. sing. गृहं 'a house;' gen. sing. गृहस्य; Mágadhí Pr. nom. sing. घरं, 'a house,' gen. sing. घरस्स, hence (घरास) घराह; hence, by curron of final ह, Bihárí oblique form, घरा.

(2). Skr. nom. sing. कर्त्तव्यं, 'what is to be done;' gen. sing. कर्त्तव्यस्य; Mg. Pr. nom. sing. करेअव्वं; gen. sing. करेअव्वस्स, करेअव्वाह; hence Bihárí nominative करब, 'what is to be done,' 'an action;' oblique करबा 'of an action:' Bihárí locative, करबा मे॰ = Mg. Pr. करेअव्वाह मज्झि; Skr. कर्त्तव्यस्य मध्ये.

(3). Skr. nom. sing. कृतं, 'a thing done;' gen. sing. कृतस्य; Mg. Pr. nom. sing. कलिदं (as if from Skr. करितं), gen. sing. कलिदस्स, कलिदाह; Árddha Mg. Pr. nom. sing. कलिअं; gen. sing. कलिआह; Bihárí nom. sing. कइल (कैल) 'an action,' loc. sing. कइला (कैला) मे॰ = Pr. कलिदस्स मज्झि = Skr. करितस्य (कृतस्य) मध्ये, 'in an action.'

One example of a strong form will suffice, Skr. nom. sing. घोटकः, 'a horse;' gen. sing. घोटकस्य; Mg. Pr. nom. sing. घोडअ, 'a horse,' gen. sing. घोडअस्स, घोडआह; Bihárí, nom. sing. घोड़ा, 'a horse,' oblique form, घोड़ा, loc. sing. घोड़ा मे॰, = Mg. Pr. घोडआह मज्झि, = Skr. घोटकस्य मध्ये.

Similarly the Bihárí oblique form in आँ, is really a plural, and is derived from the Sanskṛit genitive plural, through the Mg. Pr. gen. plur. in आहँ (H. C. IV, 300), thus,—

Skr. nom. sing. *कथितव्यं (for कथयितव्यं), 'what is to be said;' gen. plur. *कथितव्यानां; Mg. Pr. nom. sing. कहिअव्वं; gen. plur. कहिअव्वाहँ; Ap. Pr. nom. sing. कहिव्वं (K. I. 50); gen. plur. कहिव्वहं; hence Bihárí nom. sing. कहब; obl. (with elision of ह and contraction of concurrent vowels) कहबाँ (for कहबअँ); loc. plur. कहबाँ मे॰ = Ap. Pr. कहिव्वहं मज्झि = Mg. Pr. कहिअव्वाहँ मज्झि = Skr. *कथितव्यानां मध्ये.

Note, it is difficult to derive the Bihárí oblique form from the Ap. Pr. gen. termination अड्ड, for, though this would account for strong forms like घोड़ा (= घोड़अड्ड by contraction of the two concurrent vowels), it will not account for weak forms like घरा, which would be in Ap. Pr. घरड्ड, and not घरअड्ड. But see contra Hoernle, pp. 194, 195.

Affinity.

One affinity must be noted here, the Bangálí so-called gerund in the genitive case in आर, *e. g.* देखिबार; that is to say देखिबा + र, just as in Bihárí we have देखबाक, देखबा + क;—र and क being respectively the signs of the genitive.

Other oblique forms.

There is another oblique form of the verbal noun which requires careful noting. We find it in the following forms :—

Baiswárí	देखे,
Banáras Bhojpúrí	देखै (? देखे).
Bhojpúrí	देखे.
Maithil Bhojpúrí	देखे.
North Maithilí	देखे, देखब, (Purniyá) देखे,
South Maithilí	देखे, देखे, देखब.
Maithil-Bangálí	देखे,
Maithil-Mágadhí	देखे, देखब,
Mágadhí	देखे.

These forms are all of them oblique, and are never used in the sense of the nominative. They are especially common in compound verbs, in the sense of the dative, *e. g.*, in the phrase घड़ी बाजे चहैछलि, "the clock wished for the act of striking," *i. e.*, "was about to strike," मारे लागल, "he became attached to beating," *i. e.*, "he began to beat."

Verbs ending in vowels sometimes insert a euphonic व or ब, so that we get phrases like पिवैक भर, "the fill of drinking," "as much as one can drink." Examples of this form are very common, and one or two others will be given subsequently.

I have met one or two other cases of nouns, which are not verbal nouns, such as धारि, 'an edge,' having a similar oblique form. *Examples,*—

(*Direct*) धारि जाइ तऽ कपार लाठी, 'if you go to the edge (of a field), have a stick (to protect) your head,' *Mth. Prov.*

(*Oblique*) धारे पास लिखिहो, 'write near the edge,' *Gor. Sgs.* 3.

It will be seen that in all the dialects (except, perhaps, Banáras Bhojpúrí), the termination is short, and that each dialect has one or more of these terminations, *viz.*, रे, ए, or अ. To trace the derivation of these forms it will be more convenient, first to consider the derivation of the suffix of the Genitive, which as will be seen further on occurs in the following forms in the various dialects of Bihárí के, कें, and क, or in old Bihárí कऽ, as in Rám. Bá. do., 35, नीके तुलसी कऽ, in which कऽ is written an absolutely separate word. These genitival affixes are all derived from the Sanskrit कृतः, through the Mg. Pr. किए. Here we have a termination रे, ए, or अ, formed from a Mg. Pr. termination in इए.

Now, to trace the derivation of the Bihárí oblique form, we are bound by all analogy to refer it to a Mg. Pr. genitive case, and, judging from the analogy of कें, के, or कऽ, we may refer the oblique form of the verbal noun of which we are now treating to a Mg. Pr. genitive case in इए or ईए.

We shall now change the example, and take the root मार, 'beat,' as more convenient to deal with than the root देख, 'see,' which has only doubtful equivalents in Prákṛit. We are entitled, then, as above shown, to derive मारे, मारे, or मारऽ from a Mg. Pr. genitive मारिए or मारीए, if

such exists. Such a form as मारीए does exist both in Sauraseni and Mágadhí Prákṛit (see Vara. V, 22). Feminine nouns in long ई, form their genitives in ईए, thus नई, "a river," gen. sing. नईए. Moreover, just as मारे, is weakened to मारइ, so in later Prákṛit नईए, is weakened to नईआ, or नईअ.

We may hence conclude that मारे is the direct descendent of मारीए, the genitive singular of the Mágadhí Prákṛit feminine noun मारी.

It now remains (*a*) to see what has become of this Prákṛit nom. fem. मारी in the later Gaudian languages, and (*b*) to trace it to its Sanskṛit origin.

(*a*). The usual phonetic law of development is that Prákṛit nouns ending in long vowels, shorten these vowels in the modern Gaudian languages. Under another well known Gaudian phonetic law, these final short vowels are, in some dialects, liable to elision. Hence we should expect to find a form मारि or मार in the modern languages. Both these forms do exist in the modern languages. Eastern Gaudian (*i. e.*, Bangálí, and Bihárí) prefers the form मारि,* while western Gaudian and Maráṭhí prefer the shortened form मार. In all these cases the word is feminine, which shows that मार cannot be derived from a Prákṛit masc. nom. मारो; and the derivation I have suggested is borne out by the following reasons.

(1.) Western Hindí possesses a parallel strong form मारी, derived from the Prákṛit strong form मारिआ, which is itself the strong form of the Prákṛit मारी, from which the modern मारि or मार is derived.

(2.) The declension of this verbal noun in Maráṭhí (see Man. 2nd Ed., p. 53) shows clearly the derivation. In the second declension of Maráṭhí nouns, all nouns derived from Sanskṛit nouns in इ (such as भिंत, 'a wall' from Skr. भित्ति) or ई (such as सुंठ "dry ginger," from Skr. शुंठी) form their oblique form in ई, thus,—भिंती and सुंठी. This is plainly derived from the Prákṛit genitive भित्तीअ, भित्तीइ (Var. V, 22) and शुंठीअ or शुंठीइ, the genitive of feminine nouns in ई and इ having in Prákṛit similar forms. But in Maráṭhí another class of nouns also follows the same declension, *viz.*, "feminine nouns derived from Maráṭhí verbs," such as तूट, 'a deficiency,' obl. तूटी, connected with तुटणें "to break;" and मार, "a beating," connected with मारणें "to beat." That is to say, they are derived from Prákṛit nouns in ई or इ, *viz.*, Maráṭhí तूट, obl. तूटी, corresponds to the Prákṛit तुट्टी, gen. तुट्टीइ, and Maráṭhí मार, obl. मारी; H. dir. मार or मारि; Bihárí मारि, obl. मारे correspond to the Pr. मारी, gen. मारीइ, or मारीए.

In this series, I have given no oblique form for Hindí. In the majority of cases this has disappeared in that language, but it survives in

* Maithilí prefers the form मारि, but Bhojpúrí and Mágadhí (except in poetry) always have मार.

phrases like मारा मारी (a beating on a beating) 'a mutual assault,' दौड़ा दौड़ी, 'a mutual running,' 'a running here and there.' In these phrases मारी and दौड़ी are the direct strong forms corresponding to the Prákṛit nominative मारिआ, and द्वडिआ respectively, but मारा and दौड़ा are distinctly oblique forms, which I would derive as follows :—

Pr. nom.	*Pr. gen.*	*Hindí obl.*
मारी	मारीआ (Var. V, 22)	मारा
द्वडी	द्वडीआ	दौड़ा.

The contraction of these terminations ईआ to आ need not cause any objection. ईआ would naturally become या, and finally चा, just as Pr. किओ, became कौ and finally का, and Pr. कहिओ became Hindí कह्यौ and finally H. H., कहा. Moreover the form in Páli is मारिया, द्वडिया, with a short penultimate, and though no similar form is recorded for Ap. Pr. still H. C. IV, 329 would entitle us to assume the possible existence of such a one.

This direct verbal noun मार or मारि is what is called the root in Hindí grammars. It occurs frequently in Intensive compounds in forms like मार देना, 'to give a beating', &c., and in the so-called conjunctive participle मार के or मारि के or (with the के dropped) simply मार, 'having beaten,' literally 'having done a beating.' So also कर के 'having done the action of doing,' and मार कर के 'having done the action of doing a beating.' के, as will be shown under the head of conjugation, = the Vedic Skr. कर्य (Skr. ह्त्वा), 'having done'; hence, S'r. Pr. करिअ (H. C. 4, 271), and Hindí (with elision of र) के. Mg. Pr. (Vara. XI, 16) has instead करिदाणि, hence (through करिआणि,) the corresponding Bihárí form कै. (See, however, Hoernle, § 491, for a different explanation of the forms.)

The oblique Hindí form of the verbal noun, मारा, also occurs in Desiderative compounds; *e. g.* वह मारा चाहता है, 'he wishes to beat,' in which मारा is for मारा लिये 'he wishes for a beating'. This is borne out by the Bihárí practice of introducing the post-position ला in such compounds; *e. g.*, (Mágadhí) भेजे ला चाहऽ हौ, 'I wish for sending,' 'I wish to send' (Gr. § 118). It also explains the fact that in Hindí this form (miscalled by grammarians the Past Participle) does not change for gender. Moreover in Hindí it explains clearly the (so-called) anomalous forms जाया (not गया) चाहना, 'to wish to go,' and मरा (not मुआ) चाहना 'to wish to die' (see Kellogg, p. 193). The same form (with the dative particle ला) is also used in Maráṭhí; *e. g.*, (Man. p. 151) वाटतें मला खाया ला पाहतो, 'I fancy he wishes to eat me.'

To recapitulate therefore;—

There is a Prákṛit feminine nominative मारी, which is the direct ancestor of the Gauḍian verbal noun मार or मारि.

This Prákṛit fem. has a genitive which has three forms to be noted at present, *viz*, मारीए, मारीइ, मारीआ, from which I derive the Gauḍian oblique forms as follows :—

Prá. nom.	Gauḍian nom.	Prá. gen.	Gauḍian obl.
मारी	Bihárí मारि	मारीए	मारे
	Maráṭhí मार	मारीइ	मारी
	H. मार	मारीआ	मारा
(strong form) मारिआ	H. मारी	मारिअहे (Ap.)	मारी

(*b.*) It now remains to trace this Prákṛit मारी to its Sanskṛit original. This is the abstract noun formed in Sanskṛit by the affix टाप् or ङीष्. These two affixes are closely connected, only differing in the kind of verb with which they are employed. They form verbal nouns by adding आ to the stem. Thus—

Verbal stem.	*Verbal noun.*
जीव् "live"	जीवा "life"
लेख् (लिख) "write"	लेखा "a line"

and so many others.

Sometimes a parallel feminine form is found in ई (affix ङीष्). Example

नद् "roar"	नदी "a river."
मार् "kill"	मारी "a pestilence."

The rules as to which stems in Sanskṛit take आ and which take ई, are very intricate, and in the vulgar language were certainly not always adhered to. At any rate, in Prákṛit we find the termination ई superseding the termination आ, so that we have (Var. V, 24).

Sanskṛit.	*Prákṛit.*
सहमाना, "enduring."	सहमाणा or सहमाणी.
हरिद्रा, "turmeric."	हलद्दा or हलद्दी.
छाया, "shade."	छाआ or छाही.

Vararuchi in the *Sútra* confines the change to four words only, but we find the option largely extended in the later Prákṛit of Hemachandra

(III, 32, &c.), and it is therefore only fair to assume that in the modern languages the change had become the rule.

We are justified therefore in considering that the Gaudian verbal noun ending in इ or in a silent consonant, is derived from the Sanskrit feminine verbal noun in आ or ई (टाप् or ङीष् or ङीप्).

In conclusion I now give examples of the various forms (direct and oblique) of this verbal noun.

(*a*) Direct form ending in इ.

वर कन्या के भेंट नहिं, बठोंगर लै मारि, "the bridegroom has not yet met the bride, and they are fighting about the wedding bracelet," *Prov.*

देखि ओ नन भेल पञ तोरा, "the act even of seeing thee, my husband, did not take place," *i. e.*, "you were not even seen by me." *Vid.* V, 5.

This last is a good example of the formation of the passive voice from this form of the verbal noun. Observe that देखि in the last example must be a verbal noun. If it is attempted to construe it in the sense of the conjunctive participle, nonsense can only ensue. Observe also that it is still a *verbal* noun, and governs the accusative (तोरा).

(*b*). Direct form ending in a silent consonant. (H. Hindí) मुझ को बड़ी मार मारा, "he beat me a great beating," Beames, C. G. II, 50.

(*c*). Oblique form ending in ए or ऊ.

सुमिरे लागल देवी असावरि, "he began remembering the goddess Asávari," *Sal.* 10.

लावे गेल छपन भाई मोतीराम, "he went for the bringing of his brother Motírám," *i. e.*, "he went to bring him." *Sal.* 20.

Bhojpúrí,—फुल छोड़े गेलों, 'I went for plucking flowers,' *Gor. Sgs.*. 1.
तो का करे एलू, 'for doing what did you come,' *ib.*

Baiswári,—पर अघ सुनै सहसदस काना, "with ten thousand ears for hearing others' faults." *Rám. Bá. ch.* 5, 9.

(*d* & *e*). Oblique form in आ, and strong direct form in ई.

(H. H.) मारा मारी, "a mutual beating."

(*f*). Oblique form in ई.

Maráthí, या तोडी चा घोडा कोढे नाची, "nowhere is there a horse of this kind." Molesworth, *s. v.* तोड.

We have already seen that the Bihárí terminations हि, हिं, ङ and ञ were originally used as terminations of the genitive in Prákrit. We may hence expect to meet them also used as terminations of general oblique base in Bihárí. This will be found to be the case. I have not noted any instances of हिं being so used, but instances of the other three are common. The following examples are taken from Manbodh's Haribans.

हि,—अगिलहि दिन सभ उपटल सपडि, 'next day all arose together,' 4, 7.
बिखहिक (बिखहि+क) आगि शिखा, 'the flame of fire was (one) of poison,' 4, 21.

पहिलहि सौं मोहि डुग डुग रहइ, 'from the first, have I had this fear,' 6, 21.

ऊ,—लागल सवऊक मुँह पनिआइ, 'the mouths of all began to water, 5, 2.

ऊँ,—हरिऊँक आँखि आइल भरि नीर, 'the eyes of Hari became filled with tears', 9, 52.

अगनऊँ सौं बहराथि, 'he goes out from the courtyard,' 3, 2.

Note on the preceding Essay.—By A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Ph. D.

The great difficulty which one still too commonly meets in the comparative study of the Gauḍian languages, with regard to the derivation of their inflectional forms, is the want of continuity in the descent of the latter. We know them in their modern Gauḍian stage, and in their ancient Prákrit stage; but very often the intermediate links are unknown. These would have to be looked for in the popular literature of the period intermediate between Gauḍian and Prákrit; that is, about 700 to 1000 years ago. I say, the *popular* literature, because the Gauḍians are not descended from the Literary Prákrits, but from the vernacular (Apabhraṃśa) forms of Prákrit. Of such popular literature, if it existed, very little has survived, or, at least, is known to have survived. One of the oldest specimens is the Hindí Epic of Chand, the *Prithiráj Rásau*, which is about 700 years old. Moreover, this as well as nearly all of the older popular literature known to us is in verse, while, for the particular question of derivation, prose literature would be far more useful.

Besides such fragments of survived popular literature, some help is afforded by those portions of the later Prákrit grammars which treat of the Apabhraṃśa Prákrit, and in which their authors have embodied many comparatively modern forms, current in their own time, mixed up with much older forms known to them traditionally. This remark applies, for example, to the grammar of Hemachandra, who lived about 750 years ago.

Whenever the intermediate links are wanting, it is both natural and right to bridge the gap by the help of conjecture, and it is nothing surprising, that conjecture sometimes takes differing lines and arrives at different results. There are, however, instances of forms, of which the series of links of descent is almost, if not entirely, complete; and it may be hoped, that gradually, as our knowledge extends, their number will increase.

One such instance occurs among the forms referred to in the preceding Essay. This is the form ending in ऍं, एँ or ऐ, ए and occurring in such words as पाछे or पौछे "behind" or "afterwards", जैसे-तैसे "*as-so*," etc. These forms

(III, 32, &c.), and it is therefore only fair to assume that in the modern languages the change had become the rule.

We are justified therefore in considering that the Gauḍian verbal noun ending in इ or in a silent consonant, is derived from the Sanskṛit feminine verbal noun in आ or ई (टाप् or ङीष् or ङीप्).

In conclusion I now give examples of the various forms (direct and oblique) of this verbal noun.

(*a*) Direct form ending in इ.

वर कन्या के भेंट नहिँ, अटोँगर ले मारि, "the bridegroom has not yet met the bride, and they are fighting about the wedding bracelet," *Prov.*

देखि ओ नञ भेल पञ तोरा, "the act even of seeing thee, my husband, did not take place," *i. e.*, "you were not even seen by me." *Vid.* V, 5.

This last is a good example of the formation of the passive voice from this form of the verbal noun. Observe that देखि in the last example must be a verbal noun. If it is attempted to construe it in the sense of the conjunctive participle, nonsense can only ensue. Observe also that it is still a *verbal* noun, and governs the accusative (तोरा).

(*b*). Direct form ending in a silent consonant. (H. Hindí) मुझ को बड़ी मार मारा, "he beat me a great beating," Beames, C. G. II, 50.

(*c*). Oblique form ending in ए or ए.

सुमिरे लागल देवी असावरि, "he began remembering the goddess Asávari," *Sal.* 10.

लावे गेल अपन भाई मोतीराम, "he went for the bringing of his brother Motírám," *i. e.*, "he went to bring him." *Sal.* 20.

Bhojpúrí,—फूल लोढ़े गेलों, 'I went for plucking flowers,' *Gor. Sgs.*. 1.
तो का करे ऐलू, 'for doing what did you come,' *ib.*

Baiswári,—पर अघ सुनै सहसदस काना, "with ten thousand ears for hearing others' faults." *Rám. Bá. ch.* 5, 9.

(*d* & *e*). Oblique form in आ, and strong direct form in ई.

(H. H.) मारा मारी, "a mutual beating."

(*f*). Oblique form in ई.

Maráṭhí, या तोडी चा घोडा कोठे नाही, "nowhere is there a horse of this kind." Molesworth, *s. v.* तोड.

We have already seen that the Bihárí terminations हि, हिँ, ऊ and ऊ were originally used as terminations of the genitive in Prákrit. We may hence expect to meet them also used as terminations of general oblique base in Bihárí. This will be found to be the case. I have not noted any instances of हिँ being so used, but instances of the other three are common. The following examples are taken from Manbodh's Haribans.

हि,—अगिलहि दिन सभ उपटल सपटि, 'next day all arose together,' 4, 7.
बिखहिक (बिखहि+क) आगि शिखा, 'the flame of fire was (one) of poison,' 4, 21.

पहिलहि सौं मोहि डुग डुग रहइ, 'from the first, have I had this fear,' 6, 21.

ङ,—लागल सवङक मुँह पनिआइ, 'the mouths of all began to water, 5, 2.

ङँ,—हरिङँक आँखि आइल भरि नोर, 'the eyes of Hari became filled with tears', 9, 52.

आगनङँ सौं बहराथि, 'he goes out from the courtyard,' 3, 2.

Note on the preceding Essay.—By A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Ph. D.

The great difficulty which one still too commonly meets in the comparative study of the Gauḍian languages, with regard to the derivation of their inflectional forms, is the want of continuity in the descent of the latter. We know them in their modern Gauḍian stage, and in their ancient Prákrit stage; but very often the intermediate links are unknown. These would have to be looked for in the popular literature of the period intermediate between Gauḍian and Prákrit; that is, about 700 to 1000 years ago. I say, the *popular* literature, because the Gauḍians are not descended from the Literary Prákrits, but from the vernacular (Apabhraṃśa) forms of Prákrit. Of such popular literature, if it existed, very little has survived, or, at least, is known to have survived. One of the oldest specimens is the Hindí Epic of Chand, the *Prithiráj Rásau*, which is about 700 years old. Moreover, this as well as nearly all of the older popular literature known to us is in verse, while, for the particular question of derivation, prose literature would be far more useful.

Besides such fragments of survived popular literature, some help is afforded by those portions of the later Prákrit grammars which treat of the Apabhraṃśa Prákrit, and in which their authors have embodied many comparatively modern forms, current in their own time, mixed up with much older forms known to them traditionally. This remark applies, for example, to the grammar of Hemachandra, who lived about 750 years ago.

Whenever the intermediate links are wanting, it is both natural and right to bridge the gap by the help of conjecture, and it is nothing surprising, that conjecture sometimes takes differing lines and arrives at different results. There are, however, instances of forms, of which the series of links of descent is almost, if not entirely, complete; and it may be hoped, that gradually, as our knowledge extends, their number will increase.

One such instance occurs among the forms referred to in the preceding Essay. This is the form ending in एँ, एँ or ऐ, ए and occurring in such words as पाछे or पोछे "behind" or "afterwards", जैसे-तैसे "*as-so*," etc. These forms

may end in *ai*, or *e*, with or without a nasal; thus पावै or पावे, पावैं or पावें. The nasalised and unnasalised forms are equally common; but the forms in ए or ए are modern and in present use, while those in ऐ or ऐं are older. The latter are still met with in the Rámáyan side by side with the more modern forms. Examples of both may be seen on pages 122, 123. In the much older Hindí of Chand's *Prithiráj Rásau*, only the forms in ऐ or ऐं occur; both, with or without nasal, being used promiscuously. But by the side of them, a still older form in अइ or अइं is occasionally met with. Thus; ऐ in

इकं इक पच्छै वियं जंन जोरं। "the men walked in pairs, one (pair) behind the other," XXXV, 18.

सुनि हाऊलि हंमीर हत्थ जोरै वप अग्गै। "Hahuli Hammír, hearing it, joined his hands before the king," XXXV, 16.

सकल भूमि को भेद राज जानै ए भग्गै। "the king knows the whole condition of the land in this part (of the country)" XXXV, 17.

ता पचिलै पायान जोध रन असुरन कड्ढिय। "before that (*i. e.* sunrise) the warriors mounted and issued forth to the battle-field against the enemies," XXXIV, 32.

Again ऐं in

मानों कि रास मज्झैं गुपाल। "just like Gopál in the midst of his sport," XXXV, 25.

दीय कगद लिषि अग्गैं। "he gave (him) a letter, which he had written before," XXXIV, 21.

पच्छैं हौ भज्जिये चोद दुज्जनां हसाईं। "if ever you flee back, it will be the laughing-stock of the enemies," XXXIII, 19.

रविवार सुरंग सु सत्तमैं गुन प्रमान जंबुअ पुल्यौ। "on a Sunday, the seventh (of the month), by means of a mine, cleverly laid, the fort of Jambu was breached;" XXXV, 21.

त्यौंकाज त्यौराम सु अंजु हनमंतह तैसें। स्वामि काज सामंत वियौ धर संभव जैसें॥ "The Sámantas in the service of their lord entered into the enemy's country exactly in the same artful way as Hanumán did in the glorious service of Ráma," XXXV, 21.

असवार ऐसैं सनाहंत कट्टं। मनो दौय सौकौ पियं भाग वट्टं॥ "The armoured horsemen were so cut to pieces, as a husband's fortune is scattered by (his taking to himself) a second wife," XXXII, 62.*

Again अइं

occurs in the last quoted instance, where one manuscript has preserved the old form जैसइं.

There is good reason to believe that these older forms in अइ, for ऐ, were much more frequent in the Epic as originally composed by Chand. For

* The printed edition has ऐसें, which is a misprint.

occasionally, where the MSS. now read ऐ, the metre requires अइ, thus showing that the form ऐ is a later one, due to subsequent copyists.*

Now turning to Hema Chandra, we find that the usual form in not Apabraṃśa Prákrit is अइ, while by the side of it occasionally अइं and अहिं occur.†

Thus: अइ in

एहउँ वढ़ चिंतंतहं पच्चइ चोइ विहाण। "for thee, O fool, who think thus, it becomes at last morning;" IV, 362, 420.

तो हउँ जानउँ एउ हरि जइ मइ अग्गइ बोल्लि। "hence I know (that) it is Hari when he speaks before me," IV, 391.

पिअ जोअँतिहे मुहकमलु एम्वइ सुरउ समत्तु। "when I see the lotus-face of my beloved, then my pleasure is complete," IV, 332, 420.

Again अइँ in

पइँ विणु धवल न चडइ भरु एम्वइँ वुत्तउँ काइँ। "without thee, beloved, the load does not fall, why then art thou grieved?" IV, 421, 423.

Again अहिं in

एम्वहिं राह पओहरहँ जं भावइ तं होउ। "now let what may happen to the breasts of Rádhá," IV, 420.

जामहिं विसमी कज्जगइ जीवहँ मज्झे एइ। तामहिं अच्छउ इअरु जणु सुअणु वि अंतरु देइ॥

"As long as there is this perverse mode of business among men, so long let the evil man engage in it, but the good keeps aloof," IV, 406.

Here एम्वइ, एम्वइँ and एम्वहिं are evidently equivalent forms, an inflection of the pronominal base एम्व, corresponding to जेम्व, तेम्व (see H. C. IV, 401, 418). In Chand this inflection occurs in the modified form अच्चै or अवै "then," "now."

* There is a similar case. The termination of the third pers. sing. present in Hindí is now ए; the older form is ऐ, and a still older form is अइ. The latter occasionally occurs in Chand; *e. g.*, मुकइ न गिद्धि पच्छै चजूह, "the flock of vultures does not cease (following) behind," XXXV, 22. Similarly कइइ "he is angry," नइइ "it is spoilt," in XXXV, 25. In XXVI, 52 थानथान नर उडै "men fly up in different places," we have उडै, for उडइ as the metre requires, which shows that Chand must have written उडइ. The form in अइ is Prákrit.

† In the examples quoted from Hemachandra, I have substituted the *anunásika* (˜) in several places for the *anusvára* which appears in the printed edition of Prof. Pischel, who follows herein the MSS. That the former is correct, is shown by the metre, which is the well-known *dohá* in all those examples. Prosodically the difference between the two sounds is great, the *anusvára* making the preceding vowel *long by position*, while the *anunásika* has no such effect. In *writing* Natives are apt to overlook this difference, but never in *pronunciation*.—In the second example (from IV, 391) the printed edition (and MSS.) has एहो which, as the metre shows, should be एउ (cf. H. C. IV, 362).—In the sixth example (from IV, 406) एइ does not represent the Skr. एति "it goes," as Trivikrama's commentary erroneously translates, but the Skr. एषा (nom. sing. fem. of एतद्) "that" (see H. C. IV, 363); it qualifies कज्जगइ.

Similarly जामहिँ—तामहिँ "*so long-as*," "*when-then*," are inflections of the pronominal bases जाम, ताम, which, with the same meaning, are met with, both in the Ap. Prák. and in Chand, *e. g.*,

जाम न निवडइ कुम्भयडि सीहचवेडचडक्क । ताम स मत्तहँ मयगलहँ पइ पइ more ढक्क ॥ "so long as the cracking blow of a lion's paw does not fall on their broad forehead, that noise of the mad, furious elephants resounds," H. C. IV, 406.

हंकरै सिंह कैादह ति बाम। उत्तरै देवि दाहिन सु ताम ॥ "a lion roared on their left side, then Devi descended on the right (side)," *Prithiráj Rásau*, XXXV, 22.

Both this and the preceding set of pronominal bases correspond to the Sanskrit इयत्, यावत्, तावत्.

Now this evidence shows that the Gaudian termination ँ, ए, etc., cannot be identified with the Sanskrit instrumental termination एन, but that it is to be traced back to the Apabhraṃśa Prákrit ending अहि or अहिं.

There is another circumstance, making for the same conclusion, which is worth noting. There is good reason to believe that the Sanskrit termination एन, whenever it was employed in the later vernaculars (which happened occasionally) was always felt to be a tatsama and preserved nearly intact. The vowel ए was, sometimes, shortened, but the final न was not changed into a mere nasalisation of ए. In Chand the Sanskrit instrumental in एन occurs but very rarely, and always unchanged; thus,

इह सार छुड मिहिय डरेन। जानियै चौय वयसंधि तेन ॥ "In this battle success was missed through their cowardice; thereby you may know (that they behaved like) young women," XXXIII, 30.

In Bangálí the forms हेन *hěna* "so," केन *kěna* "why," केन ना *kěn'na* "because," जेन *jěna* "as if" are still in use (see Shama Churn Sircar's Bg. Gr., pp. 217, 218, 237, 238); here *ě* is short, but *na* is intact. Perhaps the commoner Bangálí forms जेमन *jěman* "as," तेमन *těman* "so," केमन *kěman* "how" (*ibid.*, p. 216) may be similarly explained as instrumentals of the Apabhraṃśa pronominal bases जेम्व, तेम्व, केम्व (above noticed), the old ending एन being shortened to अन, but again keeping the final न intact. In Maithilí, also, occur जेना *jenă* "as," तेना *tenă* "so," (see Grierson's Mth. Gr. Part I, p. 109, in Extra No. of J. A. S. B., 1880),* where the final long ा is merely the Maithilí way of indicating a short open *ă* as distinct from अ, which latter is pronounced something like *ăw*.

There remains the question to what inflectional case the Apabhraṃśa Prákrit terminations अहि or अहिं belong. Now Hemachandra (IV, 357) expressly ascribes the suffix हिं to the locative sing. of masc. and neut. bases in *a*, and also (IV, 347) to the loc. plur. of all bases, whether ending in *a* or *i* or *u*. He further ascribes (IV, 341, 352) the suffix हि to the loc. sing. of all bases in *i* and *u*, and to fem. bases in *a*. We have therefore Hema-

* Maithilí जै°, तै° are, I think, contractions of the Ap. Pr. जहिं, तहिं (H. C. IV, 357).

chandra's express authority for looking on the termination अहिं as indicating the loc. sing.; and since the suffix हि (as a locative suffix) is in all probability a mere variety of the suffix हिं, we may assume that, even though not noticed by Hemachandra, it might also be used with bases in *a*, just as with bases in *i* and *u*.* However that may be, it is certain that in after times both suffixes हिं and हि were used as terminations of the locative singular. This is proved both by the usage of Tulsí Dás in his Rámáyan and of the Maithilí, as already stated in the preceding Essay, pp. 126, 130. If modern pandits maintain that the suffix हिं is always used by Tulsí Dás in a plural sense, they can only do by saying that when it is used in the singular it conveys an honorific sense. But this is merely an easy method of theirs of squaring awkward facts with a pre-conceived theory. *Pace* the pandits, we must judge for ourselves; for instance, taking the example, quoted on p. 123, there is no conceivable reason why अनरितुहिँ "not in season," should have a plural sense, whether honorific or otherwise, standing as it does by the side of the singular रितु "in season". Many other examples, of similar undeniable singulars, might be cited.

It may be added that in the examples quoted above (p. 160) from Chand the words भग्गै "in this part," सत्तम° "on the seventh day," and many other similar instances, cannot well be explained as anything else than locatives.

However, I am not absolutely concerned to prove that every single modern form in ए or ऐ corresponds to an Ap. Prák. locative. It is certain that a later period, the affixes हिं and हि were used in a much looser way, as a sort of general inflectional suffix (as may be seen from the examples, cited on pp. 122—125), and it is, therefore, quite permissible to say, that the modern termination ऍं is used in the sense of the instrumental in certain cases (*viz.*, in the regular declension of the Maithilí, see Grierson's Mth. Gr. Part I, p. 9). This does not apply, however, to phrases like पाछेँ, आगेँ, etc., which can be directly traced to the Ap. Pr. and shown to be locatives. But in any case, by whatever particular case-name they may be called, the modern forms in ऍं, ए are direct descendants of Ap. Pr. forms in अहिं, अहि.

I will only add, in conclusion, that I am inclined to agree with the theory put forward on pp. 154ff regarding the probable derivation of the verbal noun in *a* or *i*, obl. *ai* or *e*, though I should carry up the descent of the oblique forms to the Ap. Pr. terminations in हि and ङ rather than to the literary Pr. termination in ईए. Thus, the obl. देखऽ and देखे (p. 151) correspond to the oblique घरऽ and घरे (see p. 151), and I would identify the South Maithilí and Mágadhí oblique घर॰ (pronounced *gharāw* with *aw* as in the English "law") with Ap. Pr घरङ, while the Mágadhí obl. घरे is the same as Ap. Pr. घरहि. I hope to have another opportunity of further explaining this view.

* Indeed, as H. C. gives both forms एअह (= एअहि) and एअहं (= एअहि) promiscuously, he virtually allows the unnasalised suffix हि to *a*-bases.

*On the Temples of Deoghar.**—*By* Rájendralála Mitra, LL. D., C. I. E.

(With a Plate.)

Deoghar, 'the home of gods,' is a small town, four miles to the south of the Baidyanáth Station on the chord line of the East Indian Railway, and about two hundred miles due west of Calcutta. Lat. 24° 29′ 43″ N. Long. 86° 44′ 36″ E. During the later Muhammadan rule it formed a part of the Bîrbhúm district, but it is now included in the Santál Pargannahs, lying on its west side. It is situated on a rocky plain, having a small forest immediately on the north, a low hill on the north-west, called Nandana Páháḍa, a large hill called Trikúṭa-parvata about five miles to the east,† and other hills to the south-east (Jálme and Páthádu), south (Phuljüárí), and south-west (Digheriá), at varying distances, but within twelve miles from its centre. Immediately to the west of the town proper there is a small rivulet named Yamunájor, about 20 feet broad, which exists as a dry ditch for the greater part of the year. About half a mile to the west of this runs the river Dhárawá, which, making a bend, runs also along the south at a distance of about a mile from the town. The space between the town proper and the river on the south side belongs to the Ghátwáli estate of Rohiní; but the town of Rohiní is situated about three miles to the west of the river. The river varies in width from 50 to 120 yards, and during the rains and for two months afterwards is a shallow stream, but in the hot months it is a dry bed of sand from which water is drawn by scraping the sand to the depth of about a foot. It takes its rise in the hills of the Házaríbág district, and, after a winding course, falls into the Mor or *Mayúrákshí* 'the peacock-eyed,' *i. e.*, having water lustrous as the eye of the peacock, near Suri, receiving, before the junction, the waters of the aforesaid Yamunájor. It is subject to very serious freshets. After a heavy shower during the preceding night, I noticed, one morning at 6 o'clock at the end of October, 1881, the water to be barely three feet deep, and four hours

* There are notices of the archæology of the place in Montgomery Martin's 'Eastern India', Vol. II; in Hunter's 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' and in his 'Statistical Account of Bengal,' Vol. XIV; in the 'Mukarjee Magazine,' (a note by Bábu Bholánáth Chunder); and in the Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. VIII, (Mr Beglar's Report); but none of them is such as to preclude the necessity of a detailed account. None of them gives the inscriptions to be found at the place.

† Mr. Beglar says, "Eight miles *north-west* from Baijnath is a group of hills with three curious peaks, it is known as the Trikuta hills," p. 145. The direction given is quite wrong.

afterwards, there was an impetuous current eight feet deep, and so strong that none could swim across it. I was, on the occasion, placed in a ludicrous situation. My cook had forded the river at early dawn, right opposite to my bungalow, and at 10 o'clock, when he returned with his purchases, the river was impassable, and I had to satisfy myself with the sight of the materials of my breakfast waiting on the opposite bank. The water subsided at 3 P. M., when my servant easily recrossed the river by fording. I have been told that the freshets are at times so sudden that a person may be overtaken by one before he has half crossed the river.

The forest on the north is called Dátá Jungle, deriving its name from that of a Fakir, whose descendants now own the land. It appeared to me very like a hunting-ground or Shíkárgáh of some old Rájá, not unlike the hunting-ground of the Dumraon Mahárájá, but much smaller, being limited to an area of about a mile and a half. It is not much encumbered by brushwood, and one can very easily walk about in different parts of it.

The area of Deoghar is under two miles, and the fixed population at the last Census was reckoned at 8005, of which 4964 were males and 3041 were females. But the influx of pilgrims on particular holidays is said to rise from two to fifty thousand heads. The pilgrims, however, do not, generally speaking, prolong their stay in the town for more than 10 to 12 hours, and their presence does not seem ordinarily to affect much the sanitary condition of the town, which has the reputation of being highly salubrious. The soil is fertile, and the crops are rich; but the cultivation is carried on principally by the Santáls who live in the neighbourhood, and not by the Hindú population, among whom there are about 300 families of priests, a good many of whom look for their earnings mainly to the gullibility and the religious zeal of the pilgrims.

Deoghar is now the head-quarters of a subdivision, and has besides the usual public offices, a good hospital and a school teaching up to the Entrance standard of the Calcutta University. A Municipal Committee, with an income of about two thousand rupees a year, has charge of the sanitary establishment of the town, and to their credit it must be said that the roads and drains of the place look clean and well taken care of.

In so far the place is of little importance. It is, however, of much interest to antiquarians, on account of a large sanctuary which stands in its centre.

There is no temple in Bengal which can claim a higher sanctity than that of Baidyanátha at Deoghar. Its renown is acknowledged by a hundred thousand pilgrims, who resort to it every year, and its antiquity is carried back in some of the Puráṇas to the second age of the world. It was in the Tretá Yuga, says the Śiva Puráṇa, that the cruel Titan, Rávaṇa,

feeling that his golden metropolis in Ceylon, rich and unrivalled as it was, would not be perfect without the presence in it of the great god Mahádeva himself, repaired to the Kailása mountain to secure the grace of that dread divinity. It so happened, however, that the god was at that time in the society of his consort, who was then in a huff, and Nandi, the warder at the gate of his mansion, would not permit a stranger to pass in. But the demon was not to be so easily baulked. He seized the warder by the neck, and hurled him to a great distance from his post. This made the mountain tremble, and the lady in very fear gave up her anger, and sought the protection of her lord.* Síva was greatly pleased at this occurrence, and when the unmannerly demon pleaded in excuse of his conduct by asserting to the host that as a son he was justified in appearing before his parents at all seasons, and the warder had no business to prevent him, the god readily offered him a boon. The prayer was then made in due form that he should take his permanent residence with the demon. This was, however, not granted. Rávaṇa was told that one of the twelve resplendent emblems of the divinity (*Jyotirliṅga*) would be quite as effective as Síva *in propriâ personâ*, and that Rávaṇa might take it away on the only condition that the transfer should be effected without a break in the journey, but that should the liṅgam be deposited anywhere on the earth in course of the journey, it would proceed no further, but stick there for ever. To Rávaṇa, accustomed to travel from Ceylon to the heaven of Indra and back, the condition did not seem very hard, and he assented. The liṅgam was immediately taken up, and the journey begun. There were, however, difficulties in the way which the demon did not think of. The gods dreaded the effect of the liṅgam being established in the kingdom of one who was the most powerful enemy of the celestial hierarchy, and if Mahádeva were to be the protector of that demon's metropolis, there would be no means left them for his overthrow. They accordingly sat in solemn conclave, and devised their plan of outwitting their enemy. Varuṇa, the regent of the waters, entered the belly of the demon, and created an unpleasant sensation, and a pressing necessity soon arose for Rávaṇa to relieve himself. Vishṇu, in the garb of a decrepit old Bráhman, appeared before him, and accosted him. Unconscious of the plan that had been laid to entrap him, Rávaṇa begged of the Bráhman to help him by holding the god for a few minutes, and the request was readily acceded to. Rávaṇa made over the liṅgam to him, and retired to a side. He was greatly delayed in his return by the mischievous action of the god of waters within him, and

* There is a story very like this in Pilpay's 'Fables,' and in it the presence of a thief makes a truant wife reconciled to her lord.

when he came back, lo! the Bráhman had disappeared, and the liṅgam was lying on the ground at a considerable distance from the spot where he had alighted.* The spot where Rávaṇa had descended is now called Hárlájuri; the place where the liṅgam was deposited is Deoghar; and the Vaidya-

* कैलासशिखरे गौरी यदा मानवती सती।
दर्शनार्थं दशग्रीवस्तत्काले समुपागतः ॥ ८९ ॥
द्वारमुल्लङ्घ्य सहसा पुरं गन्तुं समुद्यतः।
नन्दिना वारितस्तत्र कुत्र यास्यसि रावण ॥ ९० ॥
एवं श्रुत्वा दशग्रीवो महाक्रोधैः परिप्लुतः।
निक्षिप्य नन्दिं सहसा कैलासं चालयत्तदा ॥ ९१ ॥
कैलासाचलकम्पेन गौरी भयसमाकुला।
मानं त्यक्त्वा ततो देवी शिवस्य शरणं गता ॥ ९२ ॥
पार्व्वत्या गमनं दृष्ट्वा महाहर्षेण संयुतः।
केनेदं चालितं शैलं कथयामास नन्दिनं ॥ ९३ ॥

रावण उवाच। मयेदं चालितं शम्भो शैलं चैव दयानिधे।
नन्दिना मदमत्तेन त्वद्दर्शननिवारणात् ॥ ९४ ॥
अज्ञानोऽहं महादेव मोहितस्तव मायया।
न ज्ञातं विहितं कर्म्म दोषोऽयं क्षन्तुमर्हसि ॥ ९५ ॥

श्रीमहादेव उवाच। भयं त्यजसि हे वत्स प्रसन्नोऽहं दशानन।
वरं वृणुष्व भद्रन्ते ददामि मनसेप्सितं ॥ ९६ ॥

रावण उवाच। यदि प्रसन्नो भगवन् वरं दास्यसि मे प्रभो।
तर्हि त्वं मम लङ्कायां गच्छ कामसुसिद्धये ॥ ९७ ॥

श्रीमहादेव उवाच। गृहाणेदं महालिङ्गं ज्योतीरूपं निरामयं।
सर्व्वेषां कामजननं भूमिस्पर्शनकं विना ॥ ९८ ॥
एतस्मिन्नन्तरे तत्र पार्व्वती रावणाय वै।
आचमनार्थं जलमदात् मन्त्रेण मेघसंयुतं ॥ ९९ ॥
तेनाचम्य दशग्रीवो लिङ्गमुत्थाप्य यत्नतः।
स्कन्धे संस्थाप्य सहसा गतो यामुदिशं प्रति ॥ १०० ॥
ततस्तु प्रार्थितो देवैर्विष्णुर्वैद्यपीठके।
दृष्ट्वा ब्राह्मणरूपेण प्रच्छन्नः प्राकृतो यथा ॥ १०१ ॥
एतस्मिन्नन्तरे तत्र रावणो मूत्रपीड़ितः।
आगत्य ब्राह्मणं दृष्ट्वा प्रणम्याह सशङ्कितः ॥ १०२ ॥

nátha of our day is the liṅgam aforesaid. Deoghar as a name of the place is, however, quite modern. In Sanskrit works we find in its place Hárdapíṭha, Haridrápíṭha, Rávaṇa-kánana, Ketaki-vana, Haritaki-vana, and Vaidyanátha. In Bengal the place was generally known under the last name, but the East Indian Railway Company having opened a station near it and assigned to the town that has grown up around it the name of Baidyánatha, the people, for the sake of distinction, have used the name of Deoghar. In the Post Office seal the name is Baidyanáth Deoghar.

The story as related in the Vaidyanátha-máhátmya of the Śiva Puráṇa is embellished with many tedious and circumstantial details which it is not necessary to notice here, particularly as those details are not borne out by the Padma Puráṇa, which alters them to a considerable extent. As both the versions are fictitious—the results of wild, uncontrolled fancy—they are of no interest except to the pious Hindú.

The story runs that Rávaṇa tried hard to remove the liṅgam from the spot where it had been placed, but failed. The divinity would on no account move from the place. The Titan, growing desperate, used violence; but that served only to knock off a bit from the top of the liṅgam, but not to move the divinity from the position it had taken. This showed the folly of the course Rávaṇa had adopted, and he fell at the feet of the liṅgam, and begged for pardon. He made amends, too, for his sacrilegious violence by daily coming to the place and worshipping the divinity with sacred water brought from the source of the Ganges on the Himálaya mountains. The latter part of the operation was subsequently dispensed with by the excavation of a well in which the waters of all the sacred pools on the face of the earth were deposited.

दण्डमात्रं लया ब्रह्मन् लिङ्गन्तु येन केन वै।
धारणीयं प्रयत्नेन इत्युक्ता तत्करे ददौ ॥ १०३ ॥
ततो देव्या प्रदत्तेन तोयेन वज्रमूचकः।
रावणो ह्यभवत्तत्र दुःखेन पीडितो भृशं ॥ १०४ ॥
तदा व्यतीतकाले तु विष्णुना द्विजरूपिणा।
स्थापितो वैद्यनाथाख्यः पातालस्य च भेदकः ॥ १०५ ॥
गते कियति काले तु रावणः शौचमाचरन्।
वाजभिः सहसोत्थातुं न शक्नोवत्नमोहितः ॥ १०६ ॥
तदा च सुदृढं स्थाप्य निजचिह्नस्य हेतुना।
प्रणम्य गिरिजाकान्तं गतश्च स्वं निकेतनं ॥ १०७ ॥
एवं वज्रपु कल्पेषु रावणस्य च हेतवे।
प्रभवद् वैद्यनाथाख्यो ज्योतिर्लिङ्गो महाप्रभः ॥ १०८ ॥

Vaidyanátha-máhátmya of the Śiva Puráṇa. Chapter 4.

According to the Padma Puráṇa, the Bráhman deposited the liṅgam in due form, consecrated it with water from a neighbouring tank, repeated his prayers, and then departed. A Bheel was present when this was done; he received instructions from the Bráhman and, following his example, worshipped the liṅgam, but having no vessel handy, brought the water for worship in his mouth, and used it in his adoration. When Rávaṇa at last returned, he related all the circumstances, and pointed out that the Bráhman was no other than Vishṇu himself. Rávaṇa then excavated a well with an arrow, brought into it the waters of all the sacred pools on earth, and duly worshipped the god.* This is obviously a Sivite version of the story of the

* तावत्तेन तु सन्दिष्टो ब्राह्मणस्तत्र सोऽपि वै ।
भिल्लो दृष्ट्य गङ्गोदपूर्णवक्त्रो विमत्सरः ॥ ८१ ॥
लिङ्गमध्ये तु गङ्गोददायकोयवनोपमः ।
दृष्ट्वा तं कथयामास रावणो विस्मयान्वितः ॥ ८२ ॥
कोऽसि त्वं केन चायं वै लिङ्गः संस्थापितो वद ।
किञ्चानेन फलं नित्यपूजकेभ्यः प्रदीयते ॥ ८३ ॥
कथङ्कारं जनैः सेव्यं क्व गतः स च ब्राह्मणः ।
स्थापनस्य माहात्म्यञ्च तन्मे ब्रूहि यथार्थतः ॥ ८४ ॥
श्रुत्वा (सत्येन तु) त्वया वाच्यं सुहृत्संश्रयसाधकं (भङ्गनं) ।
इति लङ्केशवचनं श्रुत्वा भिल्लः कृपापरः ॥ ८५ ॥
कथयामास तत्सर्व्वमादितोऽन्तावधि स्वयं ।
दशग्रीव त्वया यस्य हस्ते लिङ्गः समर्पितः ॥ ८६ ॥
स वै विष्णुर्विप्ररूपी वञ्चनाय समागतः ।
आचमनापदेशेन पार्श्वतोप्रेषितेन च ॥ ८७ ॥
तवोदरे प्रविष्टेन मेढ्रेन चिरमूचितं ।
भवत्तापं विनिर्नेतुं मुक्तोदङ्मेव च ॥ ८८ ॥
कालं दृष्ट्वा च हरिणा प्रतिज्ञारक्षकेण च ।
अतिक्रान्ते तु तत्काले लोकानां मुक्तिहेतवे ॥ ८९ ॥
प्रस्थापितमिदं लिङ्गं लोकानां भाग्यहेतुकं ।
विष्णुना स्थापितं लिङ्गं पूजयेद्यो विधानतः ॥ ९० ॥
सोऽचिरेणैव कालेन लब्धकामो भविष्यति ।
मया तु फललाभाय तस्य विप्रस्य वाक्यतः ॥ ९१ ॥
प्राप्यमप्राप्यविधिना केवलैभक्तिभावतः ॥
वङ्केणानेन गङ्गोदस्थापितं प्रतिपर्व्वणि ॥ ९२ ॥
सम्पूज्यते लिङ्गमेतत् धर्म्मकामार्थसिद्धये ॥ ९३ ॥

Vaidyanátha-máhátmya of the Padma-puráṇa. Chapter 2.

fowler Viśvavasu who worshipped Jagannátha before the Hindús took up that divinity.*

After the death of Rávaṇa, according to one set of traditions, (not noticed in any Puráṇa), the liṅgam lay neglected for ages, until it was noticed by a rude hunter, Vaijú by name, who accepted it for his god, and worshipped it daily, and proclaimed it to the world as the lord of Vaijú—Vaidyanátha. Before this occurrence, the liṅgam was known by its original name of *Jyotirliṅga*, the liṅgam of light, or the name it derived on its transfer, Rávaṇeśvara.

The Santál tradition differs from this. According to it, as summarised by Dr. Hunter in his interesting 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' "In the olden time,' they say, 'a band of Bráhmans settled on the banks of the beautiful highland lake beside which the holy city stands. Around them there was nothing but the forest and mountains, in which dwelt the black races. The Bráhmans placed the symbol of their god S'iva near the lake, and did sacrifice to it; but the black tribes would not sacrifice to it, but came, as before, to the three great stones which their fathers had worshipped, and which are to be seen at the western entrance of the holy city to this day. The Bráhmans, moreover, ploughed the land, and brought water from the lake to nourish the soil; but the hill-men hunted and fished as of old, or tended their herds, while their women tilled little patches of Indian-corn. But in process of time the Bráhmans, finding the land good, became slothful, giving themselves up to lust, and seldom calling on their god S'iva. This the black tribes, who came to worship the great stones, saw and wondered at more and more, till at last one of them, by name Byju, a man of a mighty arm, and rich in all sorts of cattle, became wroth at the lies and wantonness of the Bráhmans, and vowed he would beat the symbol of their god S'iva with his club every day before touching food. This he did; but one morning his cattle strayed into the forest, and after seeking them all day, he came home hungry and weary, and having hastily bathed in the lake, sat down to his supper. Just as he stretched out his hand to take the food, he called to mind his vow; and, worn out as he was, he got up, limped painfully to the Bráhmans' idol on the margin of the lake, and beat it with his club. Then suddenly a splendid form, sparkling with jewels, rose from the waters, and said: 'Behold the man who forgets his hunger and his weariness to beat me, while my priests sleep with their concubines at home, and neither give me to eat nor to drink. Let him ask of me what he will, and it shall be given.' Byju answered, 'I am strong of arm and rich in cattle. I am a leader of my people; what want I more? Thou art called *Náth* (Lord); let me too be called Lord, and let thy temple go by my name.' 'Amen,' replied

* Cf. my Antiquities of Orissa, II, p. 102.

the deity; 'henceforth thou art not Byju, but Byjnáth, and my temple shall be called by thy name.' "*

Romantically as this story has been narrated by the charming writer, it is as thoroughly fictitious as the one that the Hindús recite, and utterly worthless as data for any historical inference. It cannot be under any circumstance more than three hundred years old; it is probably of a much more recent date. The Indian-corn, which the women of the black races are said to have cultivated, was unknown in this country before the Spaniards or the Portuguese brought it from America, and the black races could not possibly have known it in the olden time, or about the time when the temple was first built. There is no name for the corn in the Sanskrit language, and the vernacular names *Janérá*, *Bhuṭṭá*, *Makká* are all obviously foreign. In *Janérá* we have Rio Janeiro, and in *Makká* we recognize the *Mahiz* of the Island of Hayti, whence maize was first brought to Europe. It is true that the aboriginal races now cultivate it very largely, but that is not due to its being an aboriginal product, but to its being easily cultivated, and therefore better suited to the primitive husbandry of the Santáls. The "three stones of aboriginal worship" are altogether a misidentification. As will be shown in the sequel, they are parts of a purely Hindú structure, attached to a Hindú temple, and used for Hindú ceremonials. It may be added that the tomb in which the mortal remains of Byju are alleged to be deposited is scarcely two hundred years old. Byju is no other then a clumsy copy of the Puránic Bhilla, the forester, and must go the way of his archetype.

Some of the Puráṇas, without openly rejecting the story of Rávaṇa, carry the date of Vaidyanátha's advent at Deoghar to a much earlier period. It was not in the second, but in the first, age of the world, *Satya Yuga* or the "age of Truth," when the gods of heaven had not yet settled down to their respective places, and jealousies and rivalry and dissensions were rife for precedence, that Śiva, claiming a higher rank than that of his father-in-law, Daksha, treated him with marked discourtesy at a public assembly. The patriarch resented this by not inviting him to a grand sacrifice, and Sati, the daughter of Daksha, failing in her expostulations with her father, committed suicide, rather than continue to be known as the daughter of one who had reviled her divine husband. Overpowered by grief, Śiva, in a fit of frenzy, stuck the corpse of his wife on the point of his trident, and roamed about as a madman. The sight created a scandal, and nobody being able to approach and remonstrate with Śiva, Vishṇu cut up the body with his discus into fifty-two parts, which fell on different parts of India. The heart fell at Deoghar, and thence that place attained its sanctity, and became known by the name of *Hárdapíṭha* "the sanctuary of the heart."

* 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' pp. 191*f*.

Siva nursed his grief here for a long time, carrying the heart on his breast like the Scotch knight who brought away the heart of Richard I, from France, and earned the surname of Lockheart, changed afterwards to Lockhart. It is added, that inasmuch as this was the only way in which Siva offered the final obsequies to his consort, the place derived the alternative name of *Chitábhúmi*, the "cremation ground." It is worthy of note, however, that at present there is no temple, shrine, or spot at Deoghar which is associated with this occurrence, though at all the other fifty-one places mementos of some kind or other are still extant.

Yet another story. It was again at the first age of the world that Siva manifested himself as liṅgams of light at twelve different places under different names. These included 1st, Somanátha, in Saurásht्ra; 2nd, Mallikárjuna at Śríśaila; 3rd, Mahákála at Ujjain; 4th, Oṅkára, at Amareśvara; 5th, Kedára, on the Himálaya; 6th, Bhímaśaṅkara, at Ḍákiní; 7th, Viśveśvara, at Benares; 8th, Tryambaka, on the banks of the Gautamí; 9th, Vaidyanátha, at Chitábhúmi; 10th, Nágeśa at Dwárká; 11th, Rámeśa, at Setubandha; and 12th, Ghuśriṇeśa, at Śiválaya.* These include all the principal and most celebrated liṅgams in India.

On the top of the liṅgam at Deoghar, the goddess Sati appeared as a pandanus flower, and for a long time afterwards dwelt in a grove near it in order to be ready at hand to worship the emblem of her lord. Owing to this circumstance the place became known as *Ketakivana*, or the "pandanus grove."

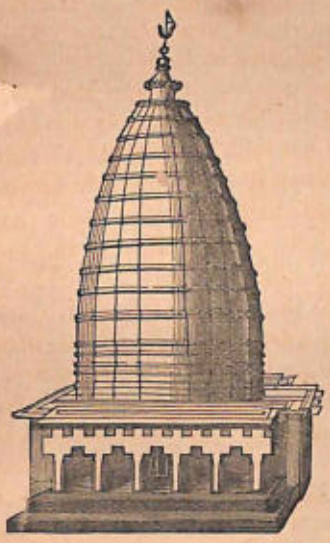
How our Pandits reconcile these contradictory stories, I know not, and it would be futile to inquire into the subject. But to turn to the memorials now extant with which these stories are associated.

The temple of Vaidyanátha now stands in the middle of the town, and is surrounded by a courtyard of an irregular quadrilateral figure. See plan, Plate XV. The east side of the courtyard facing the public road measures, from north to south, 226 feet, and near its southern limit there is a large arched gateway with a Nuhbatkháná on top of it. The Nuhbatkháná is, however, not much used, a separate two-storeyed building, close to the north of it, having been provided for the musicians. The gateway also is not much used, as it has been partially blocked by a one-storeyed building. On the south side, which is faced by a range of shops, the length is 242 feet. On

* सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्জ्जुनं ।
उज्जैन्यां च महाकालं ॐकारममरेश्वरे ॥ ४८ ॥
केदारं हिमवत्पृष्ठे डाकिन्यां भीमशङ्करं ।
वाराणस्यां च विश्वेशं त्र्यम्बकं गौतमीतटे ॥ ४९ ॥
वैद्यनाथं चिताभूमौ नागेशं दारिकावने ।
सेतुबन्धे तु रामेशं घुश्मेशं शिवालये ॥ ५० ॥ वैद्यनाथ माहात्म्यं ।

the west, the length is 215 feet, and, in the middle of it, there is a small doorway leading to a bye-lane.* The greater part of the north side is covered by the private residence of the Head Priest, but towards the north-east corner there is a large gateway with massive side pillars, and it now serves as the principal entrance to the temple enclosure. All pilgrims are expected to enter by this gate. The length of this side is 220 feet. All the above measurements have been taken within the enclosing walls. The whole of the area is paved with flags of chunar free-stone, the gift of a Mirzapur merchant, who spent a large sum on this pious work.

The principal temple stands on the centre of this area, facing the east, as old Hindú temples usually do. It is a plain stone structure, rising to a height of 72 feet on the slope. Its surface is cut into a check pattern by plain perpendicular and horizontal mouldings. When originally built it comprised a single cell 15′ 2″ × 15′, opening due east. A low porch or lobby, 35′ × 12′ divided into two aisles by a row of 4 pillars, was added sometime after, and a second porch, a little shorter, followed at a later date. Both the porches are paved with flags of basalt. The appearance of the façade is shown in the annexed woodcut, copied from a photograph. The woodcut does not show that the central opening is flush with the court-yard. The ends of the lobby are accessible by small doorways, which are reserved for the use of priests and respectable female pilgrims. The other three sides of the cell are faced by pillared verandas which are reserved for the use of those pilgrims who come to fast for days to secure special blessings from the divinity in the temple. On the east side of the northern veranda there is a masonry vat into which flows the water and milk used for the ablutions of the liṅgam. The water in it is of a dirty colour, being loaded with milk, sandal-paste, and washings of flowers,† which impart to it a fragrant



* Mr. Beglar's description of the gates is not correct. He says, "there are four entrances to it; the principal one is to the west, and a similar one is on the north. Of the two minor ones, one is on the north and one on the east," (p. 138). The east gate is the largest and the west one small. The second door on the north is the passage which leads to the Head Priest's residence which forms a part of the sacred premises, and cannot correctly be called an entrance to the courtyard.

† An emulsion of Bháng is often poured on the liṅgam, and occasionally Gánjá is put on its top, but I was told, that such things were not allowed to flow into the vat for fear of their injuriously affecting the pilgrims who drink the water.

smell, and is esteemed as highly sacred. Every pilgrim is expected to taste a few drops of it, and to carry away a phial full of it. I was informed that the water is bailed out of it from time to time, to prevent its becoming tainted by the putrefaction of the vegetable matter mixed with it. When I tasted it, I did not notice any fœtid odour.

The presiding divinity of the temple is the *Jyotirliṅga* or Vaidyanátha of the story cited above. It is of a cylindrical form, five inches in diameter, and rising about four inches from the centre of a large slab of basalt shaped like a yoni and pointing towards the north. Fixed firmly as it is in this slab, it is not possible to ascertain how much of the liṅgam is buried under ground. The top is broken, and has an uneven surface, one side being a little higher than the other side. The fracture is attributed by the Hindú legend to the assault of Rávaṇa, and by the Santál legend to that of the forester Byju; probably the real cause has to be looked for in the fanaticism of some iconoclastic Muslim. Daily pouring of water and milk by hundreds of pilgrims and repeated wipings after every offering, have smoothed the surface and made it even glistening, but the irregular fracture is prominently perceptible.

The cell is exceedingly dark, and, entering it after circumambulating the temple in the glare of the midday sun, one can see nothing in it; and two ghi-fed lamps are all that are held up to help the faithful in beholding the emblem of the divinity: one of them is kept burning all day. With the feeble light of the lamps, and after repeated washings, I noticed the liṅgam to be of a dull amber colour, mottled with black specks. The original colour was doubtless grey, but the washings with milk and frequent smearing with sandal-paste have given it a yellowish tinge, and the specks suggested to me the idea of the stone being granite. The cell contains no furniture of any kind, and the walls are bare and unplastered. One block of basalt on the top of the doorway, I was told, contained an inscription. But going up to it by a ladder and holding two torches by its side, I found the supposed writing to be mere chisel marks.

The lobby in front of the cell is, like the cell itself, paved with flags of basalt, but it contains nothing in the way of furniture or fixtures. There is, however, a small inscription on the left side of the entrance to the cell. This will be noticed lower down.

The second porch has, as shown in the woodcut, in front a row of pillars spanned by blocks of basalt. On the right side there is a sandstone image of a bull, which is by some dignified with the name of *S'ríjuta* or 'his excellency.' Near it there are some small bovine images, and bells hang under the ceiling. Every pilgrim, entering by the front door, has to pull the bell-rope to announce to the divinity the approach of a devotee. In most cases the priests do the needful in behalf of the pilgrims. This rule is strictly enforced at the temple of Viśveśvara at Benares.

The ritual of worship is simple enough. The mantras are few, and the offerings limited. Pouring of water on the liṅgam, smearing it with sandal-paste, and the offering of flowers and a few grains of rice constitute the worship. This is followed by the offering of money in silver or gold, no copper being allowed to be brought in contact with the divinity. Rich people offer horses, cattle, pálkis, gold ornaments and other valuables, and sometimes rent-free land in support of the daily worship, the title-deed in such cases being ordinarily a bel leaf on which the donation is written, and the leaf is swept out in the evening. This deed, however, is more faithfully respected than many muniments on parchment. There is nothing here like the consecration of enormous quantities of dressed food and sweetmeats which obtains at Bhuvanes'vara, Puri, and elsewhere. The god delights in water, bel leaves, sandal and flowers, and they are all that are necessary for his worship. He is, however, very particular about the quality of the leaves and the water. The former has to be brought from the Trikuṭa Hill. For ordinary use the water of the sacred well, excavated by Rávaṇa, is held sufficient; but water from the sources of the Ganges on the Himálaya near Badrínáth, Sanskrit Badarínátha, or from the Mánasarovar lake in Tibet, is highly prized, and thousands of pilgrims, mostly hermits, bring it from those distant places. A great quantity is also brought from the Ganges near the Jaṅgirá rock.* Adverting to it, Mr. Montgomery Martin says, "but the great emolument of the priests arises from about 50,000 pilgrims who at various times come to carry away a load of water which they intend to pour on

* General Cunningham derives the name from that of a saint, and not from that of the Emperor Jahángir as some do. He says, "Here the course of the river is changed by two rocky hills; one called Jangira, standing in the middle of the water, and the other called Báis-karan forming a bluff headland at the end of the stream. The former derives its name from Jahnu Rishi, who had established his cell or *A'śram* in a cleft of the rocks. Hence the rock itself was called *Jáhnavi gṛiha*, or "Jahnu's house," which was gradually shortened to Jáhngira, just as *Rája gṛiha* has now become *Rájgir*." (Archæological Survey Reports, XIV, p. 20.) This is a mere guess, and on the face of it not tenable. If the meaning be "Jahnu's house," the compound should be *Jahnu-gṛiha*, which would correspond with *Rája-gṛiha*, the first member of which is a noun. If the derivative form be accepted, the term should be *Jáhnava gṛiha*, the neuter noun *gṛiha* not admitting of a feminine adjective like *Jáhnaví* to qualify it, nor could the name of the saint be feminine. If the term be taken as a derivative feminine noun, the meaning would be the house of the river Ganges, and we would come to the absurdity of calling the rock the house of the river. If the word be spelt with a short final i in the derivative form, we create our giant *ri* with the object of knocking it down immediately after without any object, and that against the ordinary rules of Sanskrit elision. The name originally was Jahnugiri or "the rock of Jahnu." Both *gṛiha* and *giri* would change into *gir* in the vernacular without any difficulty, and the context can alone determine the original term.

the head of various celebrated images in distant parts. In the south of India I have met pilgrims carrying their load from this place; but by far the greater part goes to Devaghar in Vírabhúm where it is poured on the Priapus or Liñga called Baidyanátha, to whom this water, taken from a scene of former pleasure, is considered as peculiarly acceptable."*

A special charge was formerly made for the offering of this water, and it was called *Gañgájali*. The priests now keep a supply of sacred water in phials to help such pilgrims as come without a supply. A few drops of this water are sprinkled on the flowers which the worshipper offers to the divinity. The water is described to be from Jangirá, or from Badarinátha, or from Mánasarovar according to the whim of the priest at the time.

The verandas on the north, the west, and the south sides of the temple are reserved for such pilgrims as repair to the asylum of the divinity for special blessings. Their daily number varies from 20 to 40, and they include both men and women from all classes of the community, from the richest to the poorest. The plan adopted to extort the blessings is curious. It is a sort of a distress warrant on the divinity, threatening him with the sin of murder if he should decline, and reminds one of the Brehon law of distress, under which a creditor who required payment from a debtor of higher rank than himself should fast upon him. In the ordinary affairs of life this law is well known in this country from an early date under the name of "sitting Dharṇá." At one time it was so prevalent that the British Indian Government felt it necessary to pass a special law, Regulation VII of 1820, to prohibit it. When one fasts on a god the word ordinarily used is *hatyá* or killing, for the resolution is to commit suicide by fasting, should the divinity implored decline to grant the favour sought. It is in fact *Dharṇá* under another name. The blessings sought are various. Ordinarily men fast for the cure of their diseases; women mostly for the cure of the ailments of their children, or for obtaining children. The usual practice is for a pilgrim to bathe in the Sivagañgá tank in the morning, worship the liñgam, and then to lie down on the bare pavement of the veranda till next morning, when he or she rises, performs his or her worship, drinks a mouthful of water from the vat on the north side, and then lies down again. This practice is continued for three days and three nights, in course of which the pleasure of the divinity is generally communicated to him or her in a dream. Sometimes the dream comes on the very first night, sometimes on the second or the third, and sometimes not at all; the dream, when vouchsafed, manifesting itself in such words as "Go away, you are cured;" or "Go, and do such and such things (naming them) and you will be cured;" or "You will be cured;" or "Your wish will be fulfilled in course of such a time"

* Martin's 'Eastern India,' Vol. II, p. 38.

(naming it). Should no dream come, it is understood that the person is too sinful and utterly unworthy of the god's mercy. Formerly the fasting was continued sometimes to seven, eight, or nine days, and dreams came on after such protracted fasting; but, some deaths having taken place from starvation, the priests do not now permit a longer fasting than of three days. The sight of these miserable beings on the third day is pitiful indeed. I once noticed a woman of about 30 years of age, lean and emaciated, who was too weak to walk from her place to the vat, and to have a drink of water, and had to be led thereto by her companion. It should be added, however, that this absolute fast is highly efficacious in many cases. Persons who had suffered for months or years from painful chronic diseases, which had made life a burthen to them, have returned home perfectly cured, while others have been greatly relieved. Nervous diseases, particularly hysteria, are often cured. And there are not women wanting who profess that they have been cured of their barrenness. One common complaint among Hindú women is that their children die young, so that they cannot have two sons living at the same time, and for this they sometimes fast at the gate of the lord, and are not unoften blessed. Of course there can be no statistics to show the percentage of cures, and it must be comparatively small, perhaps not more so than at Lourdes and other places in Europe, but it is sufficiently large to keep up a constant stream of pilgrims submitting to the fast. Some of those who are blessed have their names engraved on the pavement of the verandas, and there are a great many names so engraved. Formerly the pilgrims lay in the open courtyard, but about one hundred and fifty years ago the verandas were built to protect them from the sun and rain.

Leaving now the great temple, I must go over the courtyard to notice the minor sanctuaries. The terrace, marked No. 1 on the annexed plan,* (Plate XV) is used by pandits on cold weather mornings for expounding the Sástras. It is also used for performing śráddhas.

No. 2 has been replaced lately by a large stone temple, which the present Head Priest has erected in honour of his father.

No. 3 is dedicated to the goddess Kálí, a black stone image, similar to what is now prepared in Bengal to represent that divinity. The image is remarkably well executed. On the top of the door there is an inscription which gives the name of Harinátha Ojhá and the Samvat date 1700. A second inscription on a side gives a different date.

* I am indebted for this plan to Bábu Ráshabehári Dutt, Kanungo of Deoghar. He measured the temples without taking any angles, and the location of the different temples is, therefore, not absolutely correct. For all practical purposes, however, the plan is quite satisfactory. Since preparing it, I find Mr. Beglar has published one in the Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. VIII.

No. 4 is dedicated to the goddess Annapúrṇá, 'the great almoner.' It too has an inscription.

No. 5 is the sacred well *Chandrakúpa*,* the repository of the holy waters of all the sacred pools on earth, which Rávaṇa is said to have excavated to relieve himself of the necessity of daily bringing water for worship from the Himálaya mountains. It is very awkwardly situated, right in front of the main entrance to the courtyard. The parapet round the well is of an octagonal form, and is kept in such good repair, with the plaster often renewed, that it is impossible to judge of its age from its appearance or make. The water is very good and clear, and that would suggest the inference that much sediment cannot have accumulated at the bottom. It is largely used both for the daily service of the temples and for drinking purposes by the people of the neighbourhood.

No. 6 is an unfinished temple. Mr. Beglar describes it at some length. He says:

"The finest of all the temples is the unfinished temple D; this, from the plan, is seen to be a single cell, once surrounded on all sides, now on three sides only, by pillars, which supported the roof of a veranda all round. From an examination of the pillars, however, it is clear that they formed no part of the original design, as they differ among each other in form, in size, in execution, and in position with reference to the central building, the pillars being not at a uniform but at varying distances from the walls on the various sides; these pillars further shew that the enclosure wall is a later addition even than themselves, as one of the pillars is imbedded in the eastern enclosure wall.

"Divested of its pillars, this temple is seen to be a single cell, surmounted by a tower roof; it is ornamented externally by plain raised bands of mouldings; these are neither elegant nor bold, and are situated so high up, leaving such a height of bare blankness below, as to look quite out of place. Below, the corners are indented and sculptured into plain rectilinear mouldings by way of ornament; this process has the effect of making the corners look particularly weak, and, but for the veranda, which now acts a friendly part, by breaking up the height, and shutting off as it were the main tower from the basement portion, the error of the proceeding would become painfully evident. * * *

"The tower does not diminish with a graceful curve, but slopes upwards from above a certain point in almost a straight line. The knee or

* गङ्गादिसर्व्वतीर्थस्य जलेनैव प्रपूरितं।
चन्द्रकूपं च तन्नाम विहितं प्रीतिपूर्व्वकं॥
वैद्यनाथ- मा० ५ अ०।

point of intersection of the vertical lower portion and the inclined upper tower portion is so little rounded as to be painfully prominent, and prominent too in such a way, as to shew that the architects really did not know how to deal with it; they had not the courage to leave the line sharp, and bring it out by a bold moulding, and they had not the taste to round it gracefully.

"The form appears to be a compromise between the Muhammadan dome of the early type, *i. e.*, without a bulge, and the Hindu spire; if a semicircle be described on the top of the vertical portion of the tower, and if on the semicircle so described a triangle, whose base is less in width than the diameter of the semicircle, be slipped, till the lower extremities of its sides rest on the curve of the semicircle, we shall get a form that nearly approaches that of these towers."*

Elsewhere he says, "I have described but one of the temples in the enclosure, that is, the best of the group, and may be regarded as the type of the others."†

These disquisitions about art and compromises and types are, however, thrown away. The temple is not a finished work of art; as we now see it, it is the result of an accident, and no general deductions can be drawn from it. It is, moreover, singular in appearance, and cannot have served as a type for any other. It is well known to the people that the temple was undertaken by Vámadeva Ojhá, an early ancestor of the present Head Priest, with the ambitious object of erecting a temple of larger and nobler proportions than the abode of Vaidyanátha, and to dedicate it to Lakshmí-náráyaṇa, thereby making the Vaishṇava divinity outshine the Sivite lord, even in his own stronghold. The plans were settled with this object in view; the plinth was to be 6 feet high, the fane of Vaidyanátha having no plinth at all; the exterior dimensions were fixed at 37 feet by 35 feet, those of Vaidyanátha's temple being 22′ × 21′; the altitude was to have been 120 feet against Vaidyanátha's 70 feet. The work was commenced accordingly; the plinth was completed, and the main building carried to a height of 51 feet, when Vaidyanátha appeared to the presumptuous priest in a dream, and threatened dire retribution if the heterodox idea should be any further pushed on. None could disobey so dreadful a threat. The original idea was abandoned, and the works were stopped at once. To prevent, however, the unsightly walls remaining standing as a monument of folly, a flat roof, 21 feet square, was put on, and the walls somehow plastered. The verandas on the west and the south sides were at a later time covered in, but not on the north and the east sides, though the plinths on those

* Archæological Survey Reports, VIII, pp. 139-8.

† Ibid, p. 142.

sides had been built and the pillars set up. In the annexed plan, the roofed portions alone are shown.* The fact mentioned by Mr. Beglar that one of the pillars juts into the surrounding wall should show that the wall dates from a later time; but the unequal and irregular width of the verandas and their unfinished condition, supported by the belief that they were added subsequently, may well suggest the idea of the wall being of an earlier period. The base of the temple and the boundary wall existing, the width of the verandas had to be regulated according to the space available.

It would seem that no image had been prepared when the temple was taken in hand, and, when the crisis arrived, it was out of the question to think of a new image. But the temple having been roofed in, something had to be put in it, and we now find three images of Vishṇu on the throne which had been designed for one image, that of Lakshmí-náráyaṇa. The images are loosely propped against a wall behind the masonry platform, instead of being fixed by their bases. They are in alto-relievo, each representing a four-handed human figure standing on a lotus throne. They are of unequal size. The largest image is 3′-6″ high, the next 2 feet, and the last 1′-6″; and they have apparently been brought away from some old temple, for they have been injured by the removal; parts of the back-frame have been broken and other parts chipped off.

No. 7 belongs to Ánanda-bhairava, who is represented as a human being, lifesize, squatting on a lotus seat, and engaged in meditation. At first sight one is apt to take it for a Buddha in meditation. The temple was undertaken by Ánandadatta Ojhá, but he did not live long enough to finish it. His son Paramánanda did not care for it, but his grandson, Sarvánanda, completed it in A. D. 1823.

No. 8 is a vat or well, situated right in front of the last. It is assumed to represent the two rivers Ganges and Yamuná, and named accordingly.

No. 9 is situated to the south of No. 7, and is dedicated to the images of Ráma, Lakshmaṇa, and Jánakí. The images are very modern, and call for no remark. The temple was built by Rámadatta Ojhá in the 9th decade of the last century.

No. 10 is the vat wherein flow the waste waters of the great temple, and afford the only sustenance which the pilgrims derive during their rigorous fasts.

No. 11 is the great temple already described.

No. 12 is a flat-roofed temple with a small porch. It contains a liṅgam which has the distinctive name of *Nílakaṇṭha* or the 'Blue-throated.'

* In the plan annexed to Mr. Beglar's note in the Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. VIII, all the four sides are shown.

The story is that, on the occasion of the churning of the ocean by the gods and the demons, a large quantity of poison was evolved which threatened immediate destruction to the churners, and to save them, Siva quaffed off the lethal draught, which stuck in his throat, and caused a blue or black mark to be apparent on it.

No. 13 is dedicated to Párvatí, the consort of the presiding divinity in the great temple, and the eternal union of the two is indicated by a piece of cloth tied by the two ends to the pinnacles of the temples, stretching from one to the other, a distance of about 70 feet. The temple is well built, and stands on a plinth about 8 feet high. On the centre of the cell there is a masonry platform on which are placed two black stone images of unequal size, one a four-handed standing female 1′-6″ high, and named Gaurí, 'the fair one,' the other, eight-handed, standing behind a buffalo which she is destroying; the latter is 14 inches in height and named Párvatí, 'the mountain born.' Both are slightly chipped in some places. They have apparently been brought from some old temple or other, and not made expressly for the fane in which they are now placed. They are held in the highest veneration, and offerings of sweetmeats and other articles are made to them in large quantities. During the three days of the Durgá-pújá, in October, upwards of a thousand kids are sacrificed to their honour besides several buffaloes. Vaidyanátha dislikes these offerings, and is averse even to look at them, and the door of his temple is therefore closely locked during the time the sacrifices are made. This temple was built by Ratnapáni Ojhá at the beginning of the last century.

No. 14 belongs to Vagalá Deví or Vagalámukhí. It was built by Rámadatta Ojhá, between 1782 and 1793 A. D. The goddess is said to be one of the ten forms of Durgá known under the common appellation of Mahávidyá. According to some Tantras she is four-handed; according to others, two-handed. Her *dhyána* pictures her as a female of grave appearance, excited with wine, bright as gold, four-handed, three-eyed, amorously disposed, holding a short club and a lasso in her right hands, and a tongue and a thunderbolt in her left hands, arrayed in a yellow garb, and decorated with golden earrings, her breasts hard and close, and she is seated on a golden throne."* Her peculiar habit is to seize her enemy by the tongue and then

* गम्भीराञ्च मदोन्मत्तां स्वर्णकान्तिसमप्रभां ।
चतुर्भुजां त्रिनयनां कामलालसमानसां ॥
मुद्गरं दक्षिणे पाशं वामे जिह्वाञ्च वज्रकं ।
पीताम्बरधरां देवीं दृढपीनपयोधरां ॥
हेमकुण्डलभूषाञ्च स्वर्णसिंहासनस्थितां ।

Rájá Rádhákánta's Supplement to his 'Sabdakalpadruma,' p. 1258.

break his skull with her club. She is the presiding divinity of a great many malevolent incantations.

No. 15 is a small temple, built by Rámadatta Ojhá, apparently from materials obtained from an old shrine, for, on the architrave of its porch, there is an inscription in the old Lát character. The presiding divinity is named *Súrya* or the sun-god, but the figure, as I saw it, is that of the Buddhist Padmapáṇi, 2 feet in height, and there is on the base of it an inscription beginning with the words *Deya dharmoyam* in the Kuṭila character, which leaves no doubt as to the personage the image was originally intended to represent. Nor is this a singular instance of the adoration of a Buddhist image under a Hindú name. Indian antiquarians have noticed instances of the kind in almost all parts of India. There is a Bengali inscription on the porch of this temple.

No. 16 holds an image of Sarasvatí, a daughter of Mahádeva, and patroness of knowledge. Both the temple and the image are insignificant, and held in little respect.

No. 17 is an open veranda, originally intended for the shelter of pilgrims and hermits, but now used as the repository of several images of different kinds picked up from distant places. The largest image is that of the monkey-general of Ráma, and the temple is named after him Hanumán Kabir.

No. 18 is dedicated to Kála-bhairava, a form of Síva, but the image is of a very suspicious look. I should have taken it for a Dhyáni Buddha had I seen it in a Buddhist temple, and putting it beside Súrya *alias* Padmapáṇi there need be no doubt about its character. It is 3′-6″ in height.

No. 19 is the sanctuary of Sandhyá Deví, the goddess of Vesper. She is also called Sávitrí Deví, the wife of the Sun. Her first name was Tárá Deví, a name well known among Buddhists. Her image, as seen in the temple, is that of a fierce-looking female seated on a car drawn by horses, but the car and horses are broken and smudgy. The temple was built by Kshemakarṇa Ojhá in 1692 A. D.

No. 20 has for its presiding divinity an image of the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa. It is very little cared for. It was built by Rámadatta Ojhá (circa 1782-1793).

No. 21 is a veranda with two ranges of pillars, and originally intended, like No. 17, for the use of pilgrims. It has now some images set up by hermits. The two principal images are Syáma, a form of Kṛishṇa, and Kártikeya, son of Síva.

No. 22 is the eastern gate with a pavilion on top, and intended for musicians, but not in use now.

No. 23 is the two-storeyed Nuhbat-kháná or music-room noticed above, and now in use.

In Captain Sherwill's 'Survey Report on Birbhum' it is stated that "all the temples but three are dedicated to Mahadeo; the remaining three are dedicated to Gauri Párvati, his wife," and this has been quoted in Dr. Hunter's 'Statistical Account of Bengal,' Vol. XIV, p. 324. The details above given will show that such is not the case.

The road leading from the northern gate of the great temple passes along the western edge of a large lake, called *Sivagaṅgá*. The lake measures about 900 × 600 feet, having, in November, when I saw it, about 13 feet of water. The water is of a greenish colour, and held to be impure, though largely used for bathing purposes. The lake forms part of a large tract of low-land or ravine, the western portion of which has been cut off by a heavy embankment, on the top of which runs the road aforesaid. This embankment must have been put up by Mahárájá Mána Siñha, the great general of Akbar, who came to this place on his way to Orissa, as I find his name is associated with the western portion, which is called *Mánasarovara*. This portion has silted up greatly, and, except during the rains, remains dry. It is connected in a roundabout way with the lake by a small rivulet named *Karmanáśá*, which is described to be the spot where Rávaṇa eased himself, and its connection with the lake makes the water thereof impure. The drainage of this portion is discharged into the Yamunájor which runs at some distance to the west.

To the north of the hollow aforesaid there is a small spot of low land which forms the cremation ground of the town. And to the north of it and of the lake stands the forest which forms the northern boundary of the town.

To the south-west of the temple courtyard, on the south side of the main road, there are two small temples with a terrace in front, six feet high, and set off on the upper edge with a trefoiled moulding. On the top of this occurs a stone structure which has been thus described by Captain Sherwill, in his 'Survey Report on Bírbhúm': "At the western entrance to the town of Deoghar is a masonry platform about 6 feet in height, and 20 feet square, supporting three huge monoliths of contorted gneiss rock of great beauty; two are vertical, and the third is laid upon the heads of the two uprights as a horizontal beam. These massive stones are 12 feet in length, each weighing upwards of seven tons; they are quadrilateral, each face being 2 feet 6 inches, or 10 feet round each stone." (These measurements are wrong. The uprights are 12 feet high, having each face 1′ 6″ broad, or 6 feet in the round. The cross piece is 13 feet long, and 1′ 9″ inches broad on each side. The weight must be propotionately reduced.) "The horizontal beam is retained in its place by mortise and tenon. By whom, or when, these ponderous stones were erected, no one knows. There is a faint attempt at sculpture at each end of the vertical faces of the horizontal beam,

representing either elephants' or crocodiles' heads."* Dr. Hunter calls these "the three great stones which their (the Santáls') fathers had worshipped, and which are to be seen at the western entrance of the holy city to this day."† Bábu Bholánáth Chunder dissents from this opinion. He says: "It is evident that Mr. Hunter has written from hearsay, and not from actual local observations. His 'beautiful highland lake beside which the holy city stands,' is no more than a large artificial tank like the Lál Dighi. The 'three great stones'—'two vertical, and the third laid upon the heads of the two uprights as a horizontal beam'—supposed by him to be relics of aboriginal worship,—are at once made out by Hindu eyes to be no more than a Hindu *Dolkát-frame in stone*, with *makara* faces at the extremities of the horizontal beam, which is used for swinging Kṛishṇa in the *Holi* festival. The rude Santhals, who can yet build no more than a thatched cabin, and who depend for all their iron-work and instruments upon the Hindu blacksmith, are not the people to have fashioned the stone into well-edged slender pillars, or cut the mortises and tenons in which is retained the horizontal beam, or carved the elegant *makara* faces at its extremities."‡

The argument about the primitive races not being able to carve large stones is open to question. There are huge stones and carved colossal monoliths in different parts of the earth which are attributed to persons who certainly were not much more civilized than the Santáls of the present day. It is, however, not necessary to enter into this question here. Certain it is, the gallows-like structure is not peculiar to this place, nor has it any connection with the Santáls, who do not now worship it, nor is there any reason to suppose that they ever did so. There is nothing to show that the Santáls were in the habit of worshipping a stone scaffold like the one under notice, and certain it is that in no part of Santália, and indeed in no part of India inhabited by the black races, is there a stone gallows to be seen, which would justify the assumption that such a structure was ever an object of worship. Had any religious sanctity been attached to it, it would have been seen much more abundantly than what appears to be the case. The terrace in front of the temples, however, settles the question as to the use of the gallows. In every part of India where the Kṛishṇa cultus has found access, such gallowses are invariably seen in close proximity of ancient temples. Of course where stone is scarce, wood is generally used to make the scaffolding, but where stone is available it is always preferred. A remarkably handsome structure of this kind will be seen in plate XXX of my 'Antiquities of Orissa,' Vol. II. It is regularly

* *Apud* Hunter's 'Statistical Account of Bengal,' Vol. XIV, p. 325.

† 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' p. 192.

‡ Mookerjee's Magazine, Vol. II, pp. 26*f*.

used at Bhuvaneśvara for the purpose of setting up a swing during the swing festivals. At Puri there is a similar structure to the north of the great temple, and used for the same purpose. Innumerable other instances may be easily cited, but they are, I think, not wanted. In my own house there is a wooden structure for hanging the swing for my family divinity, and almost every old family in Calcutta can produce samples of it.

Mr. Beglar had not, evidently, read Dr. Hunter's work when he wrote his report on Vaidyanátha, and his idea is that the gallows represents a gateway. He writes: "There is, however, one object that must be excepted: this is a great gateway consisting of two pillars spanned by an architrave; this is clearly the remains of some great ancient temple, which has entirely disappeared, leaving its outer gateway alone standing. I infer it to have been an outer gateway from its resemblance in all essentials to the great outer gateway of the temple at Pathári in Central India; like it, it stands entirely isolated, and although the pillars are plain rectangular ones, and have not the elaborate sculpture and the graceful statues that adorn the example at Pathári, there is nevertheless about it an air of impressiveness that takes it out of the commonplace. I could not obtain access to it, but was obliged to content myself with a distant view; it is situated on a small raised spot entirely surrounded by private huts; at present it is known as the *hindolá*, or swing, and at a certain festival the statue of Kṛishṇa is brought and made to swing beneath it."* The terrace, six feet high, on which the pillars are fixed, is sufficient to show that the gate theory is not at all tenable. No one in his senses would have thought it proper or convenient to have a terrace six feet high to block his principal gateway. It might be said that the terrace is a subsequent addition, but to prove this, one must dig into the terrace, and show that the stones are buried below the level of the surrounding ground. Mr. Beglar had got the right information, but he failed to utilise it. I cannot make out how he found any difficulty in coming near the pillars, for they stand right on the side of a public highway, and are easily accessible to all comers.

On the north side of the road, a little to the west of the pillars, there is a small square chamber with a pyramidal roof, which has a plain tomb in its middle, and this is said to contain the mortal remains of Vaiju. The building cannot be two hundred years old, and there is nothing in it to show that it is in any way connected with the alleged discoverer and breaker of the liṅgam which bears his name. In fact the name is an old one, and applied in the Puráṇas to the liṅgam of Śiva in very distant parts of India. It is often applied to Dhanvantari, the oldest Hindú surgeon. It means the "lord of medicine," and Śiva is the great lord of all herbs. The

* Archæological Survey of India, Reports, Vol. VIII, p. 128.

Śiva Puráṇa explains the name to mean 'he who had been worshipped by two physicians' (Vaidyas,* the two Aśvins). It should be added, however, that the Padma Puráṇa recites, in one place, that part of the Santál legend which accounts for the name of Vaidyanátha from that of Vaiju or Vaidya,† and provides for the contradiction by saying that the Bhilla of the second age was born as Vaiju in the present or Kali age, and from that time the name got currency. The *Vaidyanátha-máhátmya* of the Padma Puráṇa, as I have it in print, is, however, of doubtful authority; it names most of the temples, some of which are under 150 years of age, and, even if we rejected those parts as interpolations, the age of the work cannot be carried very far back, while the name of Vaidyanátha is unquestionably old.

To turn now to the inscriptions.‡ The most important record in connexion with the history of the principal temple is the one which occurs in the lobby of that temple, on the left hand side of the doorway. It is engraved in the Nágarí character on a sandstone slab 2'3" × 1'3," and comprises five lines of matter. The letters measure each 2 inches in height. The language is Sanskrit, and the text runs thus:—

No. 1.

अचलनृशिशायकोज्ज्वसितभूमिशाकाब्दके
वलति रघुनाथके वह्(ङ्)लपूजके सदया।
विमलगुणचेतसा सपतिपूरणेनाचिरं
विपुरहरमन्दिरं वरचि सर्व्वकामप्रदं।
नरपतिजतपद्यमिदं।

* वैद्याभ्यां पूजितं सत्यं लिङ्गमेतत् पुरातनं।
वैद्यनाथमिति ख्यातं सर्वकामप्रदायकं॥
Śiva Puráṇa.

† एवं भिल्लाभिधेयोपि जात्यावोधो हरप्रियः।
कलौ जन्म समासाद्य वैद्यनाथा भविष्यति॥ ५८॥
रावणेशं समाराध्य स्तुत्वा भक्तिपुरःसरं।
ततः प्रसन्नस्तं प्राह वरं ब्रूहि महामते॥ ५९॥
वैद्यनाथेति नामेदमुवाच प्रणतः सुधीः।
अद्य प्रभृतिनाम्ना तव नाम भविष्यति॥ ६०॥
वैद्यनाथेति नामेदं चिवारं ये स्मरन्ति वै।
भक्तिमुक्ति सदातेषां करे भवति ध्रुवं॥ ६१॥

‡ Impressions from all the inscriptions noticed here are preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society. They are not of sufficient importance to justify the publication of their facsimiles.

Translation. "In the Śaka year of mountain [8], moon [1], arrows [5], and earth [1, or Śaka 1518 = A. D. 1596], at the request of Raghunátha, through good-will towards numerous worshippers, this temple, designed for the destroyer of Tripura and (itself) the giver of all blessings, was quickly erected by king Púraṇa of pure mind and untarnished qualities.

This stanza is the composition of the king."

As a piece of royal composition this poem is not fit subject for criticism; but the word *balati* in the second line is not Sanskrit, in the sense in which it has been used here. There is an error of spelling too, but it is due to the engraver. The name of the king in full is Púraṇa Malla, a chief of Gidhaur, said to be (but obviously incorrectly) the 9th in a direct line from Víra Vikrama Siñha, who founded the Gidhaur house in A. D. 1167. The fifth from Púraṇa obtained the title of Rájá from the Emperor Shah Jahán in 1651. Gopála Siñha, the 19th from the founder, was the reigning chief when the English took Bihár. Mr. Beglar has failed to read the name, and says, the record "mentions the name of some king with the title of Nripati. Raghunátha's name also occurs in the last line" (p. 140). The name of Raghunátha occurs in the 2nd line, not in the last.

No. 2.

The story runs that the above inscription was forcibly put up by Púraṇa Malla after causing certain repairs to be done to the temple to mark his supremacy and ownership of the surrounding land, including the property called Táluk Deoghar, which he had taken from its former owners. It might be that the chief did more than mere repairs. The lobby is unquestionably of a later date than the temple itself; and the chief probably caused it to be erected to improve the temple. Anyhow, the priest Raghunátha Ojhá, whose name Púraṇa Malla recites, was not at all pleased with the inscription; but, unable to resist the chief, bided his time, and when the chief was gone, caused the porch to be erected and therein set up his own inscription. Tradition has it that the priest fasted for some days at the gate of Vaidyanátha who in mercy revealed to him in a dream that he should build a new porch, and set up an inscription; but he claims the credit of having erected the temple. The record is, like the last, in Sanskrit language, but inscribed in the Bengali character. It extends to 13 lines, each nearly 4 feet long. The letters are about an inch in height. The following is its transcript in the Deva Nágarí character:—

चन्द्रविम्बप्रतीकाशं प्रासादं चातिशोभनं ।
चरिद्रापीठके कर्त्तुं कामोऽस्मिन्नभवन्मुनिः ॥ १ ॥
न चैतन्मानुषं कर्म्म चोलराज महामते ।
भविष्यति न सन्देहः कदाचिच्च कलौ युगे ॥ २ ॥

मुनेः कल्याणमित्रस्य पार्थस्य च महात्मनः ।
संवादं शृणु राजेन्द्र इतिहासं पुरातनं ॥ ३ ॥
यदाकदाचित्स कलौ रामांशेन द्विजन्मना ।
कारयेद्वै मठवरं रावणेश्वरकानने ॥ ४ ॥
स्वयं दाता समागत्य प्रोद्घिद्य मठकूवरं ।
स करिष्यति यत्नेन प्रच्छन्नोनरविग्रहः ॥ ५ ॥
आयतं शतसाहस्रमस्मिन् लिङ्गे प्रतिष्ठितं ।
वस्त्रकुलस्य तल्लिङ्गं वेदिकोपरि चोत्थितं ॥ ६ ॥
यथोर्द्धशिखराकारं योजनार्द्धं सुविस्तृतं ।
लक्षलिङ्गोद्भवं पुण्यं पूजनात्तस्य जायते ॥ ७ ॥
ब्रह्मना पद्मनाभेन वञ्चितस्तु दशाननः ।
रक्षणाय च देवानां दैत्यानां वै वधाय च ॥ ८ ॥
कैलासशिखरे देवी यदा मानवती सती ।
तस्मिन् काले दशग्रीवं द्वारस्थोनन्द्यवारयत् ॥ ९ ॥
दोर्भिर्जग्राह शैलेन्द्रं सिंहनादं चकार सः ।
तेन सन्त्रासिता देवी मानं तत्याज भाविनी ॥ १० ॥
तस्मिन्नुपरते शब्दे जहास परमेश्वरः ।
व्रीडामवाप महतीं दशग्रीवं चुकोप सा ॥ ११ ॥
शश्वत्प्रीतिमना भूत्वा दैत्यराजाय वै पुरा ।
एवं वरं ददौ शम्भुर्लङ्कागमनकारणं ॥ १२ ॥
तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्द्धकोटिश्च देवाः सन्त्रासमाययुः ।
स्मरन्ति देवीं सम्भूय कालरात्रिस्वरूपिणीं ॥ १३ ॥
कामरूपं परित्यज्य सा सन्त्रासमुपागता ।
हरिद्रापीठमासाद्य वशक्ते दशाननं ॥ १४ ॥
एतस्मिन्नन्तरे राजन् द्विजरूपधरोहरिः ।
दृष्ट्वा तु तल्लिङ्गं क्षणमात्रं स्थितस्तदा ॥ १५ ॥
प्रस्रावं कर्तुमारेभे यावदण्डं दशाननः ।
तावत् स विप्रस्त्वरितोलिङ्गं तत्याज भूतले ॥ १६ ॥
करततिभिरकर्षच्चैकवारं द्विवारं त्रितयमपि रटित्वा कुण्ठिता तव शक्तिः ।
करकलितशिरोग्रं जीवितान्ते तुरीयं दशवदनभुजानां जातमन्युर्बभूव ॥ १७ ॥

मुषिक इव तटस्थः सोऽर्थसिद्धेर्निरस्तः स्मरजिदथ निषण्णः सन्नपात्रालविडः ।
चिदशयुवतिभाले दत्तमन्दारमालोदशवदननिकारी प्रादुरासीदयोध्यां ॥ १८ ॥

गते कियति काले तु रावणं भक्षितुं तप ।
निमित्तं राममासाद्य जहास परमेश्वरी ॥ १९ ॥

नातः परतरं स्थानं गुह्यमुक्तन्तु शम्भुना ।
चतुरस्रं क्रोशमितं चतुष्किष्कुसमुच्छ्रितं ॥ २० ॥

यदा यदा भवेद्ग्लानिः स्थानेऽस्मिन् मनुजाधिप ।
तदा तदा चावतरेद्रामः कमललोचनः ॥ २१ ॥

यस्यैषा मानिनी देवी मातेव हितकारिणी ।
स एव रामोविज्ञेयो मठं कारयिता च यः ॥ २२ ॥

नीवैद्यनाथचरणाब्जमधुव्रतेन विप्रावतंसरघुनाथगुणार्णवेन ।
प्राप्य प्रसादम+++मिदं व्यधायि+प्रासादसेतुवनवारिमठादि सर्व्वं ॥ २३ ॥

Translation. "The sage desired to erect on the Haridrá-pítha (an old name of Deoghar) a magnificent edifice, resplendent as moonlight. O wise king of Cholas, such an edifice could not be the work of man, but doubtless it will be accomplished some time in the Kali age. Listen, O king, to the ancient history of the noble-minded sage Kalyána-mitra Pártha, who, born as a Bráhmaṇa and pertaining a portion of Ráma, will some day in the Kali age, build an excellent Maṭha in the forest of Rávaṇeśvara. Himself the donor, he will diligently cause the foundation to rise forth—he a godly being in the guise of a man. There he will establish the liṅgam measuring a hundred thousand (*yojanas*), but rising only eight fingers on the altar. Its top is like the crest of a mountain spreading over half a yojana. By worshipping it one obtains the merit of worshipping a hundred thousand liṅgams. (It had been obtained) by Padmanábha (Vishṇu) craftily from the tenheaded (Rávaṇa) for the preservation of the gods and the overthrow of Daityas.

"At a time when the chaste goddess was in a sulky mood on the Kailása mountain, there came to the gate the ten-necked (Rávaṇa) who, on being prevented by Nandi (from entering the palace), seized with his hands the noble mountain, and burst forth in a lion's roar. Frightened by the noise, the wanton Deví at once gave up her sulks. The great lord laughed on hearing the noise. The lady was abáshed greatly at this, and felt annoyed with the ten-necked. Sámbhu, graciously disposed, blessed the king of Daityas with the promise for removal to Laṅká. Three and a half koṭis of Devas were seized with fear, and in a body sought with prayer the shelter of the Deví of the form of Kálarátrí. Forsaking her bewitching

form, she manifested herself as Vesper (Sandhyá) and, taking her seat at Haridrá-pítha, subjugated the ten-headed. At this time Hari, assuming the form of a Bráhman, took the liñgam in his hands (from those of Rávaṇa), and waited for a moment. The ten-headed was engaged in relieving himself for a daṇḍa (24 minutes), and in the meantime the Bráhmaṇa dropped the liñgam on the earth (and disappeared). He (Rávaṇa) tried once, twice, and thrice to take it with his hands, but his strength failed him. Failing for the fourth time after a final effort, the ten-headed lifted his hands to his head, and felt disgusted with his arms. Desisting from exerting for his object, he stood aside like a mouse, and the overpowerer of Cupid sat firm, penetrating down to the seventh infernal region.

"After a time, O king, he who overcame the ten-headed, who conferred chaplets of Mandára flowers on the heads of celestial damsels, was born in Ayodhyá, and the supreme goddess smiled at seeing in him her tool for the overthrow of Rávaṇa.

"There is no place greater or more secret than this, said S'ambhu; it is two miles square and four cubits high. As often as, O lord of mortals, distress obtains in this place (region), so often does Ráma, the lotus-eyed, descend in incarnation. Verily is this haughty goddess beneficent to him like a mother. He verily should be known to be Ráma who will cause this temple to be made.

"By the noblest Bráhmaṇa Raghunátha, the ocean of merit, the bee on the lotus feet of the auspicious Vaidyanátha, with the grace of ——— has this———been erected,——— ———the palace, the bridge, the grove, the waters, the maṭha and all."

The shrewd priest, it will be noticed, has taken shelter of distorted Puránic legends and ambiguous references to palaces, gardens, bridges, &c., to avoid directly contradicting the powerful chief of the land, and, by a play upon the meaning of his name, has allied himself with Ráma, of whom he claims to be an incarnation. He had acknowledged the aid of the conqueror at the close of the record, but the name of the conqueror has since been obliterated after the word *prasáda* 'grace.' This has obviously been deliberately done. I cannot make out to whom reference is made as the "wise king of Cholas." Mr. Beglar says, the inscription "records the erection, or rather I consider the repairs, of a temple by one Sri Vaidyanátha Mahamyáma. This name and also the name of one Raghunátha occurs in the last line."*

No. 3.

The inscription, on the right hand side pier measures 18 × 7 inches, and comprises 7 lines in the Maithila character. It run thus:—

* Archæological Survey Reports, VIII, p. 140.

१। श्रीमा समुद्रान्तवसुन्धरायाः यष्टाश्वमेधाद्यमहाक्रतूनाम्। आदित्यसेनः प्रथितप्रभा-

२। वोबभूव राजाऽमरतुल्यतेजाः॥ माघ्यां विशाखापदसंयुतायां कृते युगे चोलपुराद-

३। पेत्य (दुपेत्य) महामणीनामयुतत्रयेण त्रिलक्षचामीकरटङ्कनेन॥ दृष्ट्वाश्वमेधत्रित-

४। येन दत्त्वा तुलासप्तकं दशकोटियुक्तम्। श्रीकोशदेव्या सहितोमहिष्या चक्रेकरत् की-

५। र्त्तिमिमां स सर्व्वाम्॥ कृत्वा प्रतिष्ठां विधिवद्द्विजेन्द्रैः स्वयं यथा वेदपथं नरेन्द्रः।

कल्याणहे-

६। तोर्भुवनत्रयस्य चकार संख्यां हरेः स एव॥ स्थापितोबलभद्रेण वराहोभुक्तिमुक्ति-

७। दः। स्वर्गार्थं पितृमातृणां जगतः सुखहेतवे॥ इति मन्दारगिरिप्रकरणम्॥

Translation. Adityasena of great renown, the ruler of the earth to the verge of the ocean, the performer of the horse and other great sacrifices, became king. His vigour was as great as that of the immortals. In the Krita age, issuing forth from the Chola metropolis, after performing the horse-sacrifice three times, giving three lakhs and thirty thousand golden coins to great sages, performing the Túla ceremony a thousand times over, during which he gave away a krore of horses, he, jointly with his queen Koshadeví, performed this noble deed. Having consecrated it through noble Bráhmaṇas, the king himself laid down the divine road for the good of the three worlds by establishing this abode of Nṛihari. This Varáha, the giver of enjoyment and salvation, was established by Balabhadra, for the translation of his parents to heaven, and for their welfare on the earth. This is the chapter on Mandáragiri."

The purport of this Vaishṇavite inscription shows that it has been brought away from the Mandár hill, where Balabhadra, a Chola king, had dedicated images of the boar and the man-lion incarnations, and stuck up here as a curiosity. It has no connection with the temple of Vaidyanátha.

No. 4.

The temple of Kálí has two inscriptions, one over the doorway, and the other on the left hand pier. The former comprises five lines in relief Nágarí letters, each over two inches in height, and divided into two portions by a perpendicular line in the middle. The left hand portion gives some dates, and the right hand portion the name of Harinátha. The purport of the record is not very clear. It appears in the form of a prophecy. Reading the record along with No. 5, I am disposed to think that the temple was undertaken by Harinátha in 1643, and completed by Jayanáráyaṇa in 1712 A. D.

१ । विन्द्वाकाशर्षिचन्द्राब्दे माघे
२ । चतुर्दशीसिते चैकविंशन्म-
३ । ठ० ग्रन्थ० कुर्य्याः पुष्कर इति श-
४ । तम् ००१०० संवत् १७००
५ । माघसुदि + + तिपा ००

Translation. In the year of dot (0), the sky (0), the rishis (7), and the moon (1 = 1700 and corresponding to the Christian year 1643), in the month of Mágha, on the 14th of the waxing moon, made 31 maṭhas ... Pushkara. On hundred ... 100 ... Samvat 1700, Mágha, waxing moon.....

The first date is obviously the Samvat year which is next repeated in figures. The date corresponds to A. D. 1643.

The right hand portion.

१ । चाज्ञा श्रीवैद्यनाथस्य
२ । कालिकाया मठस्थिते
३ । राजगुरुश्च राजेन्द्रोभ-
४ । विष्यसीति वर्णिनि
५ । नाम्ना श्रीहरिनाथब्रह्मणा

Translation. By order of Vaidyanátha, in this maṭha of Káliká, thou, O Brahmachári, shalt become, under the name of Harinátha Bráhmaṇa, a royal priest and noble king (*Rájendra*)." Mr. Beglar says the date is scratched out after the word Samvat. It is not so.

No. 5.

This is the second inscription in the temple of Káli. It comprises nine lines in Nágarí letters, and runs thus :—

१ । खस्ति———————————भगवती——श्री————
२ । ———————रविन्दवरणा——स्तुत्वा विरिञ्चादिभिः । तस्याः
३ । सुन्दरमन्दिरं हि विलसत् सर्व्वार्थदं चाकरोद्विप्रः शम्भुसमर्च्चकोज-
४ । यपुरोनारायणोनामतः ॥ श्रुतिग्निखिरसविधुगणिते शकनरपतिव-
५ । त्सरे माघे । जयनारायणशर्म्मा वरचयदिदं हासित भवनं ॥ तस्याः प्रसाद-
६ । मासाद्य प्रासादं रुचिरं मतं । वरचन्द्राघशुक्लार्था दशम्यां सौरवासरे ॥
७ । भौमं सुन्दरमन्दिरं यदवधि प्रादुर्बभूवावनाविन्दुः खाब्धिगुणं धिगस्तु कथयन्–या-

८। ति चौषतां। + + + पि जातजननैरुजूननौ सञ्चितोमेरुः संस्थितावि-

९। धौ प्रथमतः सैषो (शेषो) व्यधोयन्त्रितः॥

Translation. [The first two lines are illegible; they apparently contain a praise of Kálí.] "For her the Bráhmaṇa of the name of Náráyaṇa preceded by Jaya, the servant of Sambhu, erected this beautiful edifice, the resplendent giver of all blessings. In the month of Mágha of the year numbering the *Srutis* (4), the fire, *Sikhi* (3), the flavours, *rasa* (6), and the moon (1 = 1634, and corresponding to the Christian year 1712) Jayanáráyaṇa Sarmá built this joyous house. Having attained her blessings, he completed this delightful and agreeable house, on Sunday, the 10th of the waxing moon, in the month of Mágha. As long as this beautiful temple shall flourish on the earth so long will the moon, condemning her own qualities, feel degraded, the Meru mountain remain stationary, and Sesha remain sunk in the region below." [The last two lines are full of lacunae, and only their purport is here given.]

No. 6.

This is from the temple of Annapúrṇá. It is inscribed on a slab measuring 13″ × 8″, and fixed over the doorway. It comprises 11 lines of writing in the Bengali character. The following is a transcript of it in Devanágarí letters:

सुराणां वरदे देवि शङ्करप्राणवल्लभे। अन्नपूर्णे दयापात्रे भक्तानां वरदा भव॥ १॥
जवाकुसुमसङ्काशं तव वर्णं रविप्रभे। अधुना किमहं याचे मोक्षं माङ्गं (मङ्गं) ददस्व वै॥२॥
शुद्धस्फटिकसङ्काशं प्रासादञ्चातिनिर्म्मलं। लब्धा मठवरं रम्यं स्वयं शम्भोरनुग्रहात्॥ ३॥
वेदाब्धिसागरयुते चन्द्रे शाके वरे शुभे। प्रमाथीनामवर्षे वै माघे मासि निरन्तरं॥ ४॥
विवेकनिपुनैर्नैव पूजकेन द्विजन्मना। रामदत्तेन विदुषा प्रासादः क्रियते मुदा॥ ५॥
श्रुतं सर्व्वपुराणञ्च दत्तं वित्तं द्विजातये। जातवेदोऽतं हव्यं यज्ञं वेदविधानतः॥ ६॥
प्रभवोनिर्म्मले वंशे विमला(ल)कीर्त्तिकारकः। देवकीनन्दनसुतोरामदत्त इति स्मृतः॥ ७॥
रामाख्येन(?) सुतेनाम ततः शङ्करपूजकः। सुहृद्जनरतोधीरोरघुनाथसमः क्षतौ॥ ८॥

Translation. "O goddess, giver of blessings to immortals, thou art the delighter of the heart of Sańkara. O Annapúrṇá, be thou the giver of blessings to those who are thy deserving votaries! Thy complexion is resplendent as the rising sun of the colour of the hibiscus flower. Deign, O Sańkarí, to grant me salvation which I pray of thee, after having built this noble matha, this pure place, bright as clear crystal through the grace of Sambhu himself. In the Saka year of the Vedas (4), the sky (0), the

oceans (7), and the moon (1, = 1704, and corresponding to the Christian year 1782), in the beneficent year *Pramáthí* (of the cycle of Jupiter), in the month of Mágha, this place was built by the learned Rámadatta, the firm in knowledge, the worshipper, the Bráhmaṇa. He had heard all the Puraṇás, he had given alms to Bráhmaṇas, he had offered oblations to the fire, he had performed Yajṇas according to the rules of the Vedas, he was born in a pure family, the pure, the doer of noble deeds, the son of Devakínandana, he was known as the auspicious Rámadatta. A part of his name was associated with Ráma, and hence he was a worshipper of Saṅkara. He was attached to his friends. He was the doer of good deeds like Raghunátha."

Rámadatta was kept out of the Páṇḍáship of Vaidyanátha by a rival claimant for a long time, but was appointed to the post in 1782, by order of the Provincial Council of Burdwan. The temple marks the year of his installation.

No. 7.

There are two inscriptions in the temple of Ánandabhairava, one on the doorway, and the other on the pedestal of the image. These have been numbered 7 and 8 by me. No. 7 measures 9″ × 5,″ and comprises 9 lines of Sanskrit in the Nágarí character. The following is a transcript :

१ । श्रीमद्रामाभिधेोभूत् क्षितिविबुधवरैर्वन्दनीयप्रभावो-

२ । भूदेवैद्यनाथारुणचरणसरेाजालिवन्मत्तचित्तः ।

३ । श्रानन्दाख्योऽतिदक्षः च(ख)णति वज्रयुतस्तस्य पुत्रेषु

४ । मुख्यः यः सा + + रचक्षुः प्रमुदितहृदयः प्रीतयेऽमुं चका-

५ । र ॥ १ ॥ तत्पौत्रेाभुवि विश्रुतस्तु परमानन्देागुणैश्च-

६ । न्द्रमाः सर्व्वानन्ददवेत्यसौ गुणवि(नि)धेर्जातेाजना-

७ । नन्दनः शाके पञ्चचतुर्मुनीन्दुगणिते पत्ते भि-

८ । ते फाल्गुने मासे भैरवविग्रहं + सद्मनै

९ । संस्थाप्य तस्मै ददौ ॥ २ ॥ सा(शा)के १७४५ ॥

Translation. "He, of the name of Ráma, whose glory was bepraised by all the wise men on earth, who was like a god on earth, whose mind was drunk like a bee at the resplendent lotus-feet of Vaidyanátha, was born. His name was Ánanda; he was well experienced. The noblest among his sons,—of contented mind,—made this for the gratification (of the lord). Paramánanda was born; his grandson renowned in the

world, the moon of good qualities, the delighter of men like Sarvánanda (the son). In the Śaka year reckoning five (5), four (4), the sages (7), and the moon (1 = 1745, and corresponding to the Christian year 1823), in the wane of the month of Phálguṇa, having established an image of Bhairava in this abode, he dedicated it to him. In the Śaka year 1745."

No. 8.

No. 8 is in three lines of Sanskrit. It is so filled up with sandal-paste that I have not been able to get a legible facsimile of it. It seems to be in the Kuṭila character.

No. 9.

The temple of Súrya contains two inscriptions, and I have numbered them 9 and 10. No. 9 occurs on the pedestal of the image, and it comprises two lines of engraving in the Kuṭila character; but the letters have suffered from decay, and have been otherwise so filled up with sandal-paste that I cannot read the whole of it. The legible letters are:

देयधर्म्मोयं गृडक देविकार दाश + मकयता + + + गा उर्कदा + + +

The first five letters are perfectly clear, and they comprise the usual Buddhist formula of dedication—*Deya dharmoyam.* The name of the dedicator cannot satisfactorily be made out. It seems like Gṛiddhaka Devikára-dáśa, unquestionably a Buddhist monk, who had consecrated an image of Padmapáṇi, which now does service for Súrya.

No. 10.

A record in five lines of Bengali character, not legible. The marked difference in the nature and character of the two inscriptions (Nos. 9 and 10) affords very strong presumptive proof of the image having been brought from another place, and not made for the temple.

No. 11.

A record in eleven lines of Bengali character placed on the doorway of the temple of Sávitrí Deví. The following is its transcript in Devanágarí letters:

१। धैर्य्योपास्यगुणार्णवोमुनिसमः सौजन्यरत्ना-
२। करः सत्सेव्यः शरदिन्दुनिर्म्मलयशा विप्रोय-
३। तीसः(शः) शुचिः। श्रीगोवी(वि)न्दपदारविन्दमधुपः श्री
४। खे(चे) मकर्णः सुधीः प्रासादं समचीकरत् सुविपुलं श्रीशै-

५। लजायाः प्रियं॥ शाके वेदद्विमांशुषड्विधुमि-
६। ते माघे दशम्यां शुचौ विप्रत्रीयुत्खे (चे) मक-
७। र्यसुकृती प्रासादमापूपुरत्। यत्रासौ प्रिय-
८। नीलशैलवसतिं विस्मृत्य वासं यथादुत्तानी (दुत्तानी)
९। परिपूरयन्त्यतिमतौ (मति) देवी विपत्तारिणी॥
१०। यज्ञे वङधनं दत्वा दत्वा दानानि———
११। खे (चे) मकर्णोविदित्वा———

Translation. "Firm, adorable, a sea of merit, saint-like, an ocean of good behaviour, honoured by the good, having fame as untarnished as the moonlight in autumn, a Bráhmaṇa, the chief among Yatis, the pure one—such was the wise Kshemakarṇa, the bee on the lotus-feet of Śrí Govinda. He erected this large edifice, the approved of the daughter of the mountain, (Sávitrí is said to have been born of a mountain). In the Śaka year numbering the Vedas (4), the soothing-rayed one = moon (1), six (6) and the moon (1, = Śaka 1614 and corresponding to the Christian year 1692) on the 10th of the waxing moon in the month of Mágha, the Bráhmaṇa Kshemakarṇa, the doer of good deeds, completed this edifice, where dwells the goddess who obviates all misfortunes and fulfils all desires, forgetting her beloved abode on the blue hill. Having given a profusion of wealth at sacrifices, having given alms—Kshemakarṇa knowing"—(concluding part illegible).

Mr. Beglar takes this inscription to mean "the construction of the temple by several people."*

No. 12.

From over the doorway in the temple of Gaṇeśa. An inscription of eight lines in the Bengali character. The following is its transcript in Nágarí letters:

१। सिद्धि (द्धिः)। श्रीगणेसा (शा) य नमः॥
२। वेदवसुरसेन्दुभिर्शाके सङ्गतेऽब्दे
३। सते शुद्धे। टीकारामद्विजेन्द्रेण यथा-
४। र्थि मठसुन्दरं॥ सु (शु) तिवसुरसच-
५। न्द्रैः सङ्गतेऽब्दे विशुद्धे द्विजवरमणि-
६। टीकारामनाम्ना सुधाम्ना। विधुरिव
७। मठ उच्चैर्व्व्यैं (र्व्व्यैं) द्युतासः (भः) क्षतोयं धरसुत-
८। स्पृहवासः सर्व्वदैवं प्रचक्रे।

Translation. "May it be auspicious! Salutation to Gaṇeśa. In the pure year of Śaka, numbering the Vedas (4), the Vasus (8), the flavours (6),

* Archæological Survey Reports, VIII, p. 141.

and the moon (1, making together 1684, and corresponding to the Christian year 1762) the chief of Bráhmaṇas, Ṭikáráma, erected this beautiful temple (maṭha). In the pure year, numbering the *Srutis* (4), the *Vasus* (8), the *Rasas* (6), and the moon (1, corresponding as above) the noble Bráhmaṇa and sage, named Ṭikáráma, whose abode is pure, and who is always engaged in good works, erected this lofty maṭha, beautiful as the moon and resplendent as the lightning, for the abode of the son of Hara."

For a proper understanding of the dates of the different temples above described, it is necessary here to notice the history of the several persons who have been named as their dedicators. They all belong to one family—that of the present High Priest or *Sardár Páṇḍá*, as he is generally called. He says he has a *kursinámah* or genealogical table preserved in the archives of the temple, and has furnished me with extracts from it, from which I work out the following notes. I must add, however, that I have not seen the table in question, and can say nothing about its authenticity.

The tradition is that the liṅgam of Vaidyanátha was in charge of hermits who had worshipped it for ages, but that in the 16th century, twelve Bráhmaṇas, all householders, came from Mithilá and took part in the worship, and officiated as priests for pilgrims who could not themselves consecrate their offerings. This was but natural. Indian hermits are mostly illiterate men, and in a contest for supremacy in religious ministrations it is hopeless for them to get the better of clever Bráhman householders and men of the world. In time one of the twelve was so far successful as to become the leader of the band, and to wheedle Mukunda, the Sannyásí who had then charge of the liṅgam, out of that charge, and make himself the owner and master of the sacred shrine. His name as given me by the Head Priest, was Juḍaṇ Ojhá; but Bábu Bholánáth Chunder, in his article in the *Mookerjee Magazine* calls him Chandra Muni, and the party from whom he got the liṅgam, Chiku, a disciple of Mukunda; but according to my information Chiku was the grandson of Juḍaṇ Ojhá, unless we assume two Chikus. The surname Ojhá, is a corruption of Upádhyáya, and that would suggest the idea that the Bráhman was a professor of Sanskrit learning. When he came to Deoghar is not known, but from what follows it will be seen that he must have come in the second half of the sixteenth century.

(II). His son Raghunátha succeeded him, and, according to the inscription No. 1, requested Púraṇa Malla to erect the great temple in 1596 A. D., or, as the second inscription would have it, himself erected the shrine. In either case he must have become the Chief Priest a few years before 1596 A. D., and his father may be fairly presumed to have had a ministry of 20 to 25 years.

(III). Raghunátha was followed by his son Chiku Ojhá, who seems to have done nothing to commemorate his name. His son was

(IV). Manu Ojhá, who, like his father, did nothing to associate his name with the sanctuary of Vaidyanátha. His successor

(V). Vámadeva commenced the building of the temple of Lakshmínáráyaṇa. Allowing 10 years for the remainder of the ministry of Raghunátha from 1596 and 20 for the duration of the ministry of Chiku and Manu, Vámadeva would come after 1626 A. D. His son

(VI). Kshemakarṇa is credited with the erection of the temple of Sávitrí, and its date is given in inscription No. 11 at 1614 S'aka. = A. D. 1692.

(VII). Sadánanda was the son and successor of Kshemakarṇa. He was followed by his son

(VIII). Chandramohana Ojhá. His successor

(IX). Ratnapáṇi Ojhá built the temple of Párvatí. As Kshemakarṇa dated his temple of Sávitrí in the S'aka year 1614 = A. D. 1692, and Jayanáráyaṇa's temple of Kálí was completed in the S'aka year 1734 = A. D. 1612, Ratnapáṇi, the great-grandson of the former and father of the latter, may be fairly presumed to have lived at the beginning of the 18th century, and the date of the temple of Párvatí must be some time in the first decade of that century.

(X). Jayanáráyaṇa was the son and successor of Ratnapáṇi, and he completed the temple of Kálí. The date of this shrine in inscription No. 5 is 1634 of the S'aka era. His son was

(XI). Yadunandana. He contributed greatly to raise the resources of the temple by obtaining from the Gidhaur Rájas Mardán Siñh and Syáma Siñh a permanent grant of the taluk of Deoghar and of the village of Kuteá in the Gidhaur Ráj, the net income of which now amounts to a considerable sum. The grant is dated 30th of Phálguṇa in the Bengali year 1130 = A. D. 1737. I have seen the deed, and have no reason to doubt its authenticity. It affords a fixed point in the calculation of the dates of the Ojhás. It is not known how long Yadunandana lived after obtaining the grant, but at his death his son appears to have been an infant, who was set aside by one

(XII). Tikáráma, a distant relative, who officiated as head priest for some time. To him is attributed the temple of Gaṇeśa in 1762. He was ultimately deposed from his post by the rightful owner,

(XIII). Devakínandana. Devakí had studied Sanskrit for a long time at Víranagar, and was reputed to be a great scholar. During his ministry Deoghar and the surrounding country were taken from the chief of Gidhaur by the then Rája of Birbhúm, Ali Naki Kháu, who defeated him in battle,* and, on his death, his son Rámadatta was, through Court influence, set aside, and the chief Páṇḍáship was obtained by one

(XIV). Náráyaṇadatta, said to have been a porter in his service. Náráyaṇadatta obtained a sanad from the Rájá of Birbhúm, and officiated

* Hunter's Rural Bengal, p. 435.

as priest for some time. During the 8th decade of the last century, British power was fully established in Bírbhúm by the defeat of Asád Jám Khán, and Rámadatta sued the usurper before the Provincial Council of Burdwan, and obtained a perwana, dated January 31, 1782; but his rights were not fully restored to him until October 23, 1788.

(xv). Rámadatta signalized his ministry by the erection of the temples of Rámachandra, of Súrya, of Sarasvatí, and of Annapúrṇá. On his death in 1793 A. D. his son

(xvi). A'nandadatta succeeded him in the ministry. He commenced the building of the temple of Ánandabhairava, but did not live long enough to finish it. His third son

(xvii). Paramánanda set aside the claims of Sarvánanda, a grandson of Ananda by his eldest son, and himself became the chief priest. He caused a large tank to be excavated in mauzá Kurmidehi, and named it Ánandaságara. He died in 1820 and a dispute arose about the succession, and this lasted for a long time, but the ministry of the temple was conducted by

(xviii). Sarvánanda, who in 1823 completed the temple commenced by his grandfather, and consecrated the image of Ánandabhairava. The date in the inscription on the temple is S'aka 1745 = A. D. 1823. Sarvánanda served as high priest for 14 years.

(xix). I'śvarinandana was the son of the last; he held a long ministry of 40 years. His son Púrṇánanda died in the lifetime of his father, and the succession, after some dispute, devolved in 1876, on the grandson

(xx). S'ailajánandana Ojhá, who is the present Sardár Páṇḍá. He is well versed in the S'ástras, and is generally respected for his learning, piety and public spirit.

According to the details above given the temples may be arranged chronologically thus:—

	Name.	Dedicator.	Date.
1.	Vaidyanátha,	Púraṇa Malla,	1596.
2.	Lakshmí-náráyaṇa,	Vámadeva,	*circa* 1630-40.
3.	Sávitrí,	Kshemakarṇa,	1692.
4.	Párvatí,	Ratnapáṇí,	*circa* 1701-10.
5.	Kálí,	Jayanáráyaṇa,	1712.
6.	Gaṇeśa,	Ṭikáráma,	1762.
7.	Súrya,	Rámadatta,	*circa* 1782-93.
8.	Sarasvatí,	Ditto	Ditto.
9.	Rámachandra,	Ditto	Ditto.
10.	Vagalá Devi,	Ditto	Ditto.
11.	Annapúrṇá,	Ditto	1782.
12.	Ánandabhairava, commenced by Ánandadatta, completed by Sarvánanda,		*circa* 1810-23.

These dates show very clearly that the temples of Deoghar are all very modern. But from what has been stated above with reference to inscription No. 2, it will be seen that I make an exception in favour of the principal temple. According to the inscription No. 1, it should date from 1596 A. D.; but I do not wish to submit to its authority. If we are to believe that there was no temple before the date of Púraṇa Malla, why should Raghunátha request him to build the temple? and what did Juḍaṇ, the father of Raghunátha, obtain and worship? There must have been something which Mukunda and his ancestors had worshipped, and which was made over to Juḍaṇ *alias* Chandra Muni, long before the advent of Púraṇa Malla in Deoghar. The testimony of the Vaidyanátha Máhátmyas, both of the Padma Púráṇa and of the Śiva Puráṇa, is worthless. The Máhátmyas did not originally form a part of the Puráṇas to which they are affiliated, and are obviously of a recent date. I have seen no old MS. of those works, and the quotations above given have been taken from a Benares lithograph of the first, dated Samvat 1931, and from a print of the second, dated Samvat 1938, and both have obviously been tampered with. The Máhátmya affiliated to the Padma Puráṇa refers to the temples of Sávitrí, Gaṇeśa, and Kálí, and they were, as shown above, built in 1692, 1762 and 1712 respectively, and it must therefore either be more recent, or quite corrupt. There are, however, several authentic works on pilgrimages dating from the 12th to the 14th centuries, and they refer to the sanctity of Vaidyanátha. Authentic portions of the Puráṇas also refer to it, and they are unquestionably anterior to the 10th century, and in their time Vaidyanátha must have attained considerable celebrity to be fit for record. And the questions, therefore, arise, did Vaidyanátha then and up to the time of Púraṇa Malla remain only as a stump of stone projecting four inches above the level of the ground, in an open field, and unprovided with any shelter? or, was there a temple over it, which was replaced by a larger one by Púraṇa Malla; or does the record refer to something connected with the temple, and not to the temple itself? The first question is so futile that it must be at once rejected. A place of great sanctity, highly eulogised in the Puráṇas, and strongly recommended as a place of pilgrimage, could not have remained in the form of a stump of four inches on the bare earth in an open field for centuries without a covering, during the Hindú period, after the downfall of Buddhism: some pilgrim or other would have soon provided it with a temple. There are tens of thousands of liṅgams in all parts of India, but out of them only twelve have been selected to be specially sacred and by far the most ancient. As shown above, the Hindús and their Sástras are unanimously of opinion that Vaidyanátha is one of these twelve, and contemporaneous with the Mahákála of Oujein, dating over 2000 years, of Somanátha of Saurásḥtra, of Rámeśa near Cape Comorin noticed in the Rámayáṇa, of Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa,

dating from the 7th century, and seven other equally old and renowned liṅgams, and it could not have all along remained neglected and without a temple. The inference, therefore, is inevitable that there must have been a temple of some kind or other. This leads to the second question as to the present temple having replaced an old one. That might at first sight appear probable; but the belief of the Hindús is that it is a sacrilege to pull down a Śiva temple and rebuild it, and the denunciations in the Smṛitis are dire against such sacrilege. Rebuilding of temples is permitted in all cases where movable images are concerned; but in the case of liṅgams which are fixed to the earth, the pulling down of the temple is equal to the desecration of the liṅgam itself, which from that moment ceases to be adorable, and must at once be cast into a river. I cannot, therefore, believe that Púraṇa Malla knocked down an old temple, and erected a new one in its place. No Hindú remaining a Hindú and claiming religious merit by the act could have done such a thing. Repairs, additions and extensions are allowed—nay commended; but a marked distinction is made between them and pulling down. The latter is not permissable under any circumstance, not even for the purpose of rebuilding. It is true that when Aurangzebe desecrated the temple of Viśveśvara at Benares, the liṅgam there was removed, and subsequently provided with a new temple in its neighbourhood, but the act was not in accord with the canons of the Smṛitis which prohibit the removal of liṅgams, and only tolerated in the case of a very renowned liṅgam, as in the case of Somanátha at Gujarát, but it would be no precedent for a Hindú to follow as a voluntary act of piety. It is obvious to me, therefore, that the tradition which holds the temple to be old, and ascribes to Púraṇa Malla only the lobby is correct, and that having defrayed the cost of the lobby which became a part, and an integral part, of the temple, he, by a figure of synecdoche, claimed credit for the whole. In fact he does not use any equivalent for the word "whole," but only by implication suggests the idea. The inscription, moreover, is placed within the lobby, and its purview need not extend beyond the boundary of that apartment. The same may be said of the inscription of Raghunátha. That worthy defrayed the cost of the porch which put to shade the work of an oppressive superior and conqueror, and by a figure of speech took to himself the credit of building the whole of the temple and a great many other things which probably never existed. The rivalry of the priest and the potentate can be best explained by accepting the truth of this tradition.

Mr. Beglar is of opinion that Deoghar was formerly the seat of a large Buddhist establishment; but the arguments on which he has come to it, do not appear to me by any means satisfactory. He says, "It now remains to ascertain, if possible, why these temples were built here, and

not rather at any other place; this is accounted for by the existence of the two ancient inscribed statues, one of which is clearly Buddhist; and of a third figure, not inscribed, but clearly Buddhist, being a fine-seated statue of Buddha himself, beautifully polished, and equal in execution to the finest statues to be met with in Bihar. These statues prove beyond a doubt that here was at one time a large Buddhist establishment.

"What this establishment was named, it is, perhaps, impossible now to determine with certainty; but if I may be permitted to speculate, I should think it to have been the site of the famous Uttániya monastery of Winjjha. Winjjha is the Páli equivalent of Vindhya; the passages in Turnour referring to it are—p. 115—'the monarch, departing out of his capital and preceding the river procession with his army through the wilderness of Winjjha, reached Tamalitta on the 7th day,' and in p. 171, 'From various foreign countries many priests repaired hither' * * * * 'There Uttaro attended, accompanied by sixty thousand priests from the Uttániya temple in the wilderness of Winjjha.'

"It is evident that the wilderness of Winjjha lay on the route from Páṭaliputra to Tamluk. I have indicated some of the routes from Tamluk to various places. The principal route would, it appears to me, have to pass through, or close to, modern Bankurah; from here there was a choice of several routes. Clearly the route to Bhágalpur would branch off northwards from there, passing through Seuri, under Mandar, close past Bhaskináth; it is remarkable that an old track yet exists from Bhaskináth to Deoghar Byjnáth, whence it goes on skirting the eastern spurs of the Kawalkol range, past Afsand, Parvati, Bihar to Patna. I should consider that this was the route taken by the king when he passed through the wilderness of Winjjha, for it appears to me pretty certain that the wilderness of Winjjha can only refer to the wild country now known in part as the Santál Parganas.

"If this be admitted, we have but one place in the Winjjha forests where Buddhist temples existed, as testified by existing Buddhist relics, and this place is Deoghar Baijnáth.

"It is remarkable that close to the city of Deoghar and still closer to the temples is a small village named Utmuria; this may be a corruption of the original of the Páli Uttama. I put forward this suggestion merely in the absence of any more positive; it is possible that an examination of the 3-line inscription from the Buddhist statue noticed before may throw new light on the subject."*

The starting question "why the temples were built here (at Deoghar) and not rather at any other place" is simply gratuitous. One may as well ask why was London built on the bank of the Thames, and not on that of the

* Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. VIII, pp. 141*f*.

Dee or of the Liffey? There is no reason why it should be elsewhere and not here. A pious man builds a temple and endows it richly, and its grandeur soon secures it notoriety; or a hermit sets up an image and effects miraculous cures, and they suffice to make the place famous, to attract pilgrims, and to promote the construction of costly buildings. When I was at school, I learnt Lourdes to be a very small town, or rather a large village, of no importance whatever, and not worth knowing, though ancient; but the cures lately effected there have made it so famous that not to know it now would imply gross ignorance of passing events. If the cures continue, it will in time become a large town, and a place of great consequence. Vaidyanátha is noted principally for the cures effected there, and it is but reasonable to suppose that it rose into importance from the time when the cures were first effected. Tárakeśvara, in the Hooghly district, is known by every pilgrim to be a modern place, not quite two hundred years old, and not noticed in any authentic Sanskrit work; but the cures effected there makes it a powerful rival of Vaidyanátha. In the case of miraculous cures there is no necessity whatever for any anterior sanctity or fame, so long the cures are satisfactory.

Nor does the presence of the Buddhist statues in any way militate against spontaneous fame. The temples in which the statues occur are of very recent dates. Ánandabhairava's temple dates from A. D. 1823, that of Súrya from 1790, and that of Sávitrí from 1692, and we have nothing to justify the belief that Buddhist sanctuaries existed at the place till such recent dates side by side with Vaidyanátha. I feel certain that even Mr. Beglar would not admit that there was a Buddhist temple at Deoghar in the third decade of this century, from the sanctuary of which the image of Ánandabhairava was removed in 1823. The temples of Lakshmi-náráyaṇa, Párvatí, and Annapúrṇá have images which, I have shown above, have been brought from old temples elsewhere; if we accept the local theory we must believe, by parity of reasoning, that they too thrived side by side with Buddhism. This would be absurd, and the most obvious conclusion would be to assume that the Buddhist, as well as the Hindú, images have been brought from elsewhere, and set up from time to time according to circumstances. Nor is it necessary to assume that they have been brought from one place, and a near place. They are of such a character as to admit of their being easily conveyed from very distant places. The inscription No. 3 is from Mandár, and some of the images may have likewise come from that place.

The speculations regarding the identity of Uttániya with Deoghar are exceedingly imaginative, and cannot by any means serve as data of sufficient importance to justify their being accepted as majors in an argument of this kind. To put the speculations into logical forms:—1. Uttániya lay within a forest of the Vindhya mountain; the Santal Pargannahs

are mostly wild country at the eastern end of the Vindhyan chain; therefore Uttániya is the same with Deoghar. 2. There are several routes from Patna in the north to Tamluk in the south; one of them passes from Bankurah to Bhágalpur to the north-east; therefore Deoghar lay in the way from Patna to Tamluk. 3. Uttániya was a famous monastery from which sixty thousand priests issued forth in a body; Deoghar is a small town surrounded by uninhabitable jungle and wild hills; therefore Deoghar is Uttániya. 4. Uttániya is very like Utmuriá in sound; Utmuriá is near Deoghar; therefore Deoghar is the same with Uttániya. Taking the speculations in these forms one cannot resist the temptation of recalling Fluellen, and saying—there is a river near Monmouth and there is a river near Macedon, and salmons grow in both; therefore king Hal is the same with Alexander the Great.

I feel that my remarks in regard to the origin and date of Vaidyanátha are more destructive than constructive, and that I fail to supply fixed dates and positive statements; but in the absence of satisfactory data, it is better to rest contented with such negative results than to mislead the public by mere conjectures, which are very apt to be taken for facts, and to result in falsifying history.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

Nos. III & IV.—1883.

Memorandum on the superstitions connected with child birth, and precautions taken and rites performed on the occasion of the birth of a child among the Jáṭs of Hoshiyárpur in the Panjáb.—*By* SIRDÁR GURDYAL SINGH.

I have selected the above subject as I think it will give a clear insight into the superstitions of the rural population; for a native woman can never omit to do anything, however ludicrous it may appear to others, which may be thought necessary for the safety of her son, or which may be believed to be conducive to his happiness, or which may be imagined to have the power of warding off any danger, real or imaginary. I wish to be pardoned for mentioning anything herein which may be improper according to our ideas of propriety in such matters, for I must give a faithful description. I have already omitted what appeared to be somewhat indecent.

If abortion has ever happened, or if there is any fear of it, besides the charms which they might get from the Syánás or "cunning men," any one of the following articles is kept on the body of the woman with child to prevent abortion.

1. A small piece of wood taken from a scaffold on which some convict has been hanged.

2. A pice which has been thrown over the coffin (biwán)* of an old man or woman.

3. Tiger's flesh or nail.

As soon as a child is born, the midwife takes it away from the mother, and if it is a male says a girl is born, and if a girl then says "pathar" (stone) is born. "Pathar" so used means a girl, and the knowledge of the

* [Properly the 'bier;' a corruption of Skr. विमान *bimán*. ED.]

birth of a son is kept away from the mother for a time to prevent her feeling a sudden rapture of happiness.

The dáyí (midwife) washes the child with water put in an earthen pot (ṭhikrá), in which must be thrown some silver before the midwife would give the child to the mother. Whether this means a sort of fictitious purchase to defeat the mischiefs of witchcraft, similarly as the 'ḍhukáo' ceremony means an attack on the family of the bride and taking her away by force, (the primitive method of procuring wives), is a question which cannot be hastily answered. But it is a fact that the midwife does not give the male child to the mother until she is paid. For one day and a half the child draws no nourishment from its mother's breast. The pap must be washed by the sister of her husband, if there be any, before any nourishment can be given from it to the son. The husband's sister is paid according to means for this ceremony.

Throwing oil on the ground is the thing done on all auspicious occasions, probably to satisfy the demons of the earth. This is also sanctioned by Brahmanical ritual, and with them worship of the earth-gods to prevent the mischief of the demons inhabiting the lower strata of the earth is frequent. Oil is thrown under the bed of the mother, where green grass is also put, green grass (dúb دوب दूर्व) being the emblem of prosperity. It is also given by friends to the father of the new born child in congratulation of the birth of the son and indicates their good wishes to the new born.

To prevent any mischief to the child or the mother during the time of her confinement, the following precautions are taken:

I. Fire must be constantly kept in the room and should never be allowed to die out. The primitive Aryans were fire-worshippers and I think this is a remnant of their hom (होम) and other ceremonies now never practised except on marriage. The Gubars of Persia used to keep fires burning for hundreds of years, and it was most probably so in ancient India.

II. Grain must be kept near the bed of the mother. Grain represents plenty of good luck, which has a peculiar power of removing all evil.

III. Water should always remain in the room. It is the common belief that witches attack the unclean, and water being a purifier they cannot come near it. This belief is very general and is found as well in Islám as in Brahmanism. The Musalmáns have it on the highest authority that water is the purifier (الماء مطهر), so it is also according to Manu.

IV. Some weapon should also be placed near. It is believed that witches have no power over armed persons, but they attack the weak and the foul. It is from this belief that the bridegroom when marching at the head of a marriage procession must be armed, so that fairies being enamoured with him might not take him away. Those who are now deprived by

the Arms Act of carrying arms, carry a small knife instead, to frighten the fairies and spirits away.

V. The handle of the plough (hal dá munná) is kept under the bed. As the plough turns the soil from which grain is produced, witches do not approach such an implement.

VI. There should be a lock on the bed, or it should be chained round (bel máriá). Iron has great power of preventing the mischief of witchcraft, and a bed chained with iron is therefore quite safe.

VII. On no account should a cat be allowed to enter the room. Her cry even should not be heard by the mother. Some do not even let her name a cat (billí). The most unlucky dream for a woman in her confinement is that of seeing a cat. Some say that witches come in the disguise of a cat which should therefore not be allowed access, and others think that 'Aṭh máha' (اٹھ ماھہ), the habit of a child being born in the eighth month of pregnancy, is engendered by the fact of a cat entering the room of confinement. There are several stories in Oriental literature of sorceresses in love having gone to their beloved in the disguise of cats. I believe there is one in the Arabian Nights, but I have not got that book with me just now and cannot refer to it, and there is another in the Persian book justly called "a jewel in the necklace of a dog", for referring to which I beg to be pardoned. It is in the first part of Bahár Dánish (بہار دانش) in the 6th story related to the prince. (Compare also Æsop's Fable, No. 198). A child born during the eighth month of pregnancy is believed to die on the eighth day after birth, in the eighth month, the eighth year or the eighteenth year. When speaking of the age of a child, the number eight (áṭh اٹھ) is called "an ginat" ان گنت (uncounted) so

ان گنت دن	an-ginat	din	= 8th day
ان گنت مہینہ	do.	mahína	= 8th month
ان گنت برھا	do.	barhá	= 8th year.

By the way I may mention here, a baby is called as many years old as he is days or months old—4 'barhe', 1½ 'barhá', &c. when applied to a small baby means that he is 4 days or 1½ months old. Returning to the unlucky pussy, if a cat happens to enter the room, ashes should be thrown over her to ward off the danger. In native sorcery, the common practice to drive witches away is by throwing enchanted grains, or ashes, or water over the object possessed, followed by the repetition of the charming words. For fairies flowers are used. For semi-gods like Hanumán and goddesses like Deví incense is burnt, and prayers substituted for charming words.

VIII. The house should not be swept clean by a broom, as this might have the effect of sweeping all the luck out of the room.

IX. There should also be no small opening for a drain (morí) in the

room of confinement. If there were it should be closed. For surely through it witches might enter, because it is from its nature unclean.

X. A lamp should be lit during night, and it should not be put out in the morning, but allowed to burn out. Putting a light out means extinguishing the light of good fortune. A son is called by the natives "Light of the house" (ghar ká díwá), for without him it would be all dark, the symbol of unhappiness.

XI. The mother and the baby must not on any account come out of the room for thirteen days. On the thirteenth day after birth, they are to come out of the room in the following manner. The mother takes a bath, and the old clothes worn by her are given away to the midwife employed, who divides them sometimes with the náin or barber woman. This náin, who is the customary maid-servant of the house, brings, in a small earthen pot (ṭhikrá), cow urine, green grass, a nut (supárá), and the "naharná" or instrument for cutting nails. After the mother has finished her toilet (which is a much simpler process than the toilet of European ladies) the 'náin' sprinkles with green grass the cow urine on her person. Incense (dhúp) is burnt and nails are cut by the barber woman, which must not be cut previous to this day. The mother must put on the barber's (nái's),—not the barber woman's but her husband's—slippers. What does it mean? Perhaps she, coming out in the shoes of a servant, may be understood by the witches and other such beings not to be the lady of the house to whom they might cause any mischief; except this I cannot conjecture any other reason. Then the mother takes the child in her arms, and walks forth out of the room. The barber woman throws some oil on the door side and the water woman (jhíwarí, or any other) stands with a pot full of water and green grass; for these they are both duly paid according to the means of the lady. In the outer room the Bidh Mátá (بدھ ماتا), the "Vidhátá Mátá" (विधातामाता) of the learned, the goddess of generation is worshipped. The Bráhmans have no hand in this worship. The women form an idol of cow-dung (gobar), cover it with a red cloth and make their offerings to it, consisting of the food cooked for giving a feast on the occasion. It is to be observed that this is certainly a relic of the manners of those times when primitive Aryans worshipped their gods without the intervention of the priestly caste. Now, the Hindú gods would scarcely listen to prayers of the common folk, unless their cause were pleaded by the Bráhmans. Then drums are beaten, Bráhmans fed and a feast given to all the relatives present, and the members of the household congratulated. That idol is kept in the house till one and a quarter month after the day of birth and then deposited near the well.

This completes virtually all that is necessary for the proper care to be taken in the period of confinement which, however, lasts for forty days.

But the mother must not stain the palms of her hands or feet with the colour of the mahindí or ḥinná plant (*Lawsonia inermis*) and must not wear cloth coloured with kusumbha dye, until the ancestors are worshipped and a feast given to the kinsmen. On this occasion dhiyápís or the girls born in the tribe must also be fed, paid and reverenced. There is no limit of time as to when this grand feast is to be given.

Thenceforth nothing is to be feared except that dreadful goddess "small-pox." She must be periodically worshipped. Of the mode of her worship I will give a separate description; meanwhile suffice it to say that on her days and the days of her bír or follower, Tuesday and Saturday, the boy should not have a bath.

There is one other subject which I think must not remain altogether unnoticed. It is the influence of the evil eye, and what should be done to prevent the mischief caused thereby. Mothers naturally watch their sons with great anxiety. If at any time the baby refuses to take his nourishment, the first thought of the mother is, that he is under the influence of the evil eye. But to be sure whether this is so, she takes on a Saturday or Sunday *seven* red peppers, touches the person of the young one *seven* times with them, and without speaking to any one throws them in the fire. If they give out any odour whilst they burn, the baby is safe from the evil eye, but if no odour comes when the peppers burn, then it cannot be doubted that the young one has been looked at by some evil eye. If the mother, whilst touching him with the peppers, talks to any one, the charm is broken and must be done again. There is also one other method of finding this out, *viz.*, throwing dough wrapped round by cotton thread, after touching the child seven times with it, into the fire. If it burns without the threads being burnt, the boy is under the influence of the evil eye, but if the threads burn first, then the evil eye is not to be feared. This mode of ascertaining the evil eye is not so generally adopted as the one mentioned first. When it is thus found out that it is the evil eye which ails the baby, they then think out who it must be, whose eye fell on the child. Surely it can be no other than the person who stared at the child longest and who *praised* him most. Hence it is the rule with the friendly visitors not to praise the child much. If it be done so by any one, the mother or other friend of the baby takes a little earth in her hand and throws it across the child. Horse owners and dealers are also seen doing this, after some new comer has inspected the horse. When the person whose evil eye fell on the baby comes again, the child is hidden from his eye, and some earth from under the footsteps of the offending person is quietly taken and thrown in the fire. It may be observed that the native method is safer than the English which requires spilling of blood to remove the evil (see the Rev. A. Jessopp's Account of Superstition in Aready in the Nineteenth

Century for November 1882). This will remove the influence of his eye. If it cannot be ascertained who was the person from whose look the child is suffering, recourse is had to the "cunning" man (syáná). He generally gives some charmed water with which the face of the baby and the breast of the mother is to be washed, or some charmed ashes which are applied to the forehead of the child, or anything else which he might think fit to administer. To prevent the mischief of the evil eye, the following precaution is thought to be ordinarily quite sufficient. When the child is going out, or when visitors are expected, or when he has been dressed in new clothes, his forehead or cheek is daubed with a small black mark. Anything black is believed to have the power of warding off the mischief of the evil eye. Thus they put black woollen collars (gaṇḍás) on the necks of beautiful horses, buffaloes, or oxen. It is also from this belief that those hideous black drawings representing old sorceresses, or demons, or witches, we so often see on the walls of newly built houses in the bazar, are drawn. Sometimes a picture of a black snake or fish on the wall is thought to be sufficient. I must stop here, for I have gone already far from my subject which was to give some account of the evil eye as connected with the well-being of children.

In conclusion I have to point out that the above related superstitions and beliefs are by no means peculiar to the Jáṭs of any part of the country. The description given is of superstitions prevalent amongst the Jáṭs of the Eastern Panjáb, and I have gathered the information from the most trustworthy sources, *i. e.*, from old native women. But I find that most of the above will hold good of *all* classes of inhabitants of the Panjáb with a few alterations here and there. I am informed that the Kshatrís, Bráhmans and Baniás of the towns are far more superstitious than are rural population. As to the extent to which such beliefs prevail, there are very few men who really believe in them, but there are very few women who do *not* believe in such things. So all such things are managed by women, and in most cases men do not come to know of them even.

It will appear that on the one hand some of these superstitious beliefs are the relics of old faiths and manners which have in some instances been incorporated in the modern religions, and on the other hand they are the absurd beliefs of an ignorant and credulous people. It is also manifest that the modern religions discard such superstitions. Yet all religions prevalent in the Punjáb, Hindúism, Sikhism, and Muhammadanism have failed to eradicate these superstitions, and it must be so until women are also educated and brought up like men. Truly, every candid native must confess that in India women have their own superstitious religion which does not practically differ much, whether they be nominally Hindús, Muhammadans or Sikhs.

A new find of Muhammadan Coins of Bengal (Independent Period).—By Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle. (With two Plates).

In February or March 1883 a treasure consisting of 85 silver coins (Rupees) was found by some kúlís while they were working at an embankment lying to the north of Daulatpur and south of Bansígrâm in the Thana Dewan Serai in the District of Murshidábád.*

As usual the coins were forwarded to this Society for identification (on the 22nd May 1883) and thus came into my hands. The result I exhibit in the following table:

Name and Number of Sulṭán.†	Date of reign A. H.†	Description.	No. of coins.
V. Abúl Mujáhid Sikandar Sháh,	759-792	Two varieties.	2
VI. Ghiyásu-d-dín Abúl Muẓaffar A'ẓam Sháh,.....	792-799	.....	1
IX. Shihábu-d-dín Abúl Muẓaffar Báyazíd Sháh,.....	808-817	.....	1
X. Jalálu-d-dín Abúl Muẓaffar Muhammad Sháh,.....	817-834	.....	1
XII. Násiru-d-dín Abúl Muẓaffar Mahmúd Sháh I, ...	846-864	Muẓaffar type, several varieties.	28‡
		Mujáhid type, several varieties.	7
XIII. Ruknu-d-dín Abúl Mujáhid Bárbak Sháh, ...	864-879	Mujáhid type, two varieties.	2
		Muẓaffar type, several varieties.	18
		Anonymous type.	25
		Total,...	85

A large number of the coins are very much disfigured by shroff-marks. Regarding the object of such disfigurement, see Blochmann's explanation in this Journal, Vol. XLIV, p. 288, footnote.

* See official letter from H. Mosley, Esq., Collector of Murshedabad to the Commissioner of the Presidency Division, No. 271 G., dated Berhampore, 10th May, 1883.

† Taken from Blochmann's Table in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 308.

‡ One of these is broken in two pieces.

There are several circumstances which give to these coins a particular interest.

In the first place, nearly one half of the coins of Ruknu-d-dín Bárbak Sháh are entirely new. Only a very few coins of this Sulṭán have, hitherto, become known, and they are all of the *anonymous* type; while many of the coins, now found, give his full name Ruknu-d-dín. Also among the coins of Náṣiru-d-dín Mahmúd Sháh I, there are no less than six entirely new types, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, while among the four other, already known types, some give new dates, and others, being in better preservation, throw additional light on the legends.

In the second place, the present coins settle a curious point regarding the use of the so-called *kunyat* or patronymic appellation. I believe it has been generally assumed that no more than one *kunyat* could be borne by the same ruler. At least, this appears to have been the only reason for setting aside those few traces of a contrary evidence which, as I shall presently show, did occasionally crop up. But the testimony of the coins, now discovered, appears to leave no reasonable doubt on the subject that some rulers did make use of two *kunyats*. The Muhammadan histories, to judge from Blochmann's "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal" in Vols. XLII, XLIII, XLIV of this Journal, know of no other *kunyat* for Náṣiru-d-dín I but *Abúl Muẓaffar*, nor any other for Ruknu-d-dín, but *Abúl Mujáhid*. But the present coins show—and other evidence, as I shall presently show, confirms the fact,—that both those Sulṭáns were in the habit of using both names, *Abúl Muẓaffar* and *Abúl Mujáhid*. Whether they did so at will, or for stated reasons, I am not able to determine; but the point might be worth further investigation.

Having once recognized the fact of the use of several *kunyats*, I began to make a search for any previously recorded traces of it. Those I found I shall now enumerate, only premising that my examination was a cursory one, and that a closer search may reveal many more instances.

(*a*). In the Xth Vol. of this Journal the Hon'ble H. T. Prinsep describes a number of Muhammadan coins found in Howrah*. Among them

No. 3 is a coin of Abúl Muẓaffar Sikandar Sháh, the son Ilyás Sháh. He is commonly known by the *kunyat* Abúl Mujáhid.

No. 15 is a coin of Jalálu-d-dín Abúl Mujáhid Muhammad Sháh. He is the tenth Sulṭán of Bengal, from 817-834 A. H., and his usual *kunyat* is Abúl Muẓaffar.

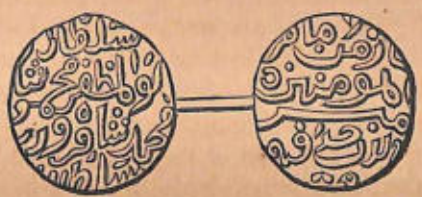
No. 25 is a coin of Saifu-d-dín Abúl Muẓaffar Hamzah Sháh, the son of A'ẓam Sháh. He was the seventh Sulṭán reigning from 800-804 A. H., and he usually bears the *kunyat* Abúl Mujáhid.

* J. A. S. B., Vol. X, pp. 168, 169.

No. 28 is a coin of Náṣiru-d-dín Abúl Mujáhid Maḥmúd Sháh. Prinsep reads "Mahomed Shah"*, and adds that "he appears to be Mahomed Sháh, afterwards king of Hindustán who reigned from A. H. 627-634." This shows that his "Mahomed Sháh" is an error for "Maḥmúd Sháh". It is clear, however, from the style of the legend on the obverse, that the coin is not one of the Dehlí Emperor Náṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh, but of the Bengal king of that name, in fact, of the same Náṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh I, to whom the coins of the new find belong.

Unfortunately these coins were not figured, and it will perhaps not be quite safe to rely implicitly on the correctness of Mr. Prinsep's readings. If the *kunyat* Abúl Mujáhid was read correctly, his coin of Náṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd may have been one like No. 7 or No. 12 of the present set.

(*b*). Mr. Thomas, on p. 136 of his "Chronicles of the Pathán kings of Delhí", describes a gold piece of Maḥmúd Sháh, the grandson of Fírúz Sháh, on which he reads the *kunyat* as Abúl Maḥámid. The letters, however, on the figure of the coin (his Pl. IV, fig. 143), I think, are quite susceptible of being read as Abúl Mujáhid; and still more so on a coin of Maḥmúd's father Muḥammad Sháh (Mr. Thomas' Plate IV, fig. 134).* But however that may be, there is a gold piece of Maḥmúd in the Society's collection, which clearly gives him the *kunyat* Abúl Muẓaffar, as shown



in the wood cut. It, at all events, shows that Maḥmúd assumed two *kunyats*, Abúl Muẓaffar and Abúl Mujáhid or Abúl Maḥámid, whichever of the two latter be the correct reading.

(*c*). Blochmann, in Vol. XLIII of the Journal, quotes an inscription of Bárbak Sháh, of the year 868 A. H., which gives that Sulṭán the *kunyat* Abúl Muẓaffar.† On this he observes in a footnote, that "it seems to be a mistake for Abúl Mujáhid." But there is an old Persian Dictionary, the Sharáfnámah-i-Ibráhímí which, as Blochmann himself informs us, is dedicated to Bárbak Sháh and, in the concluding verse, also styles him

* Thus the large, elongated dot over ـمـ can certainly not be the "zabar" of *Maḥámid*, though it may be the worn "pesh" of *Mujáhid*. I have referred to both Badaoní and Ferishtah; but neither of them mentions the *kunyat* of Maḥmúd.

† J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIII, p. 297.

"Abúl Muẓaffar".* Blochmann suggests that the Bárbak Sháh here intended may be "the Bárbak Sháh of Jounpur who ruled in Jounpur from 879 (the year when the Bengal Bárbak Sháh is said to have died) to 881, etc." But this is not very probable. In any case, the testimony of the inscription, which is really unimpeachable, is confirmed by the coins, now found, which give Ruknu-d-dín's full name and date. Indeed, from the fact that not less than 18 coins of 4 different types (Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16) give him the *kunyat* Abúl Muẓaffar, while only 2 coins of 1 type (No. 12) style him Abúl Mujáhíd, as well as from the fact that the author of the Persian Dictionary, in dedicating his work to Bárbak Sháh, addresses him by the name Abúl Muẓaffar, it would almost seem that Ruknu-d-dín preferred that *kunyat* to Abúl Mujáhid, albeit he is better known by the latter *kunyat* in the histories. Out of four known inscriptions, three call him Abúl Mujáhid, while in the fourth he is called Abúl Muẓaffar.†

(d). In Vol. XLIV of this Journal, Blochmann published a coin (his No. 8) which clearly reads Abúl Mujáhid.‡ This he himself admits; his words are: "if the last had not been found together with the others, I would be inclined to attribute it to Mahmúd Sháh II, as the *kunyat* looks more like Abúl Mujáhid than Abúl Muzaffir." Still for the reason mentioned, and under the prejudice that a king could not use two different *kunyats*, he reads Abúl Muẓaffar. Probably the same reasons prevented Blochmann from recognizing that his coin No. 3 (or fig. 4 of his Plate) also reads "Abúl Mujáhid," though the letters, in this case, are not quite so clear as in the case of his No. 8. But an imperfectly preserved "Abúl Mujáhid" can generally be almost certainly distinguished from an imperfect "Abúl Muẓaffar" by the presence or absence of the connecting stroke after the ظ *za* and ض *já* respectively, which otherwise have a great resemblance to each other. The difference can be very clearly seen by comparing No. 3 with No. 4 in Blochmann's Plate; the former has Abúl Muẓaffar, the latter, Abúl Mujáhid. Moreover, there is fortunately among the newly found coins one (No. 10) which is a duplicate of Blochmann's No. 3 and on which the word "Mujáhid" is clear enough. Now Blochmann's No. 3 is dated 852 A. H.; and my three specimens of No. 8, of the Mujáhid type, are dated 86[*] 862, 865. The only king with whom all these dates agree is Náṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh I, who reigned from 846-865 A. H.; and these coins, therefore, clearly prove that Maḥmúd Sháh I made use of the *kunyat* Abúl Mujáhid as well as of the *kunyat* Abúl Muẓaffar, though in the histories he appears to be only known by

* J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 8, Vol. XXXIX, p. 296, footnote.
† J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 272, Vol. XLIII, pp. 295, 296, Vol. XLIV, p. 291.
‡ J. A. S. B, Vol. XLIV, pp. 288, 289; Plate XI, fig. 9.

the latter. This being so, it becomes very probable that the coins of the same (*i. e.*, Mujáhid) type which bear no date or the date of which is no more legible, must be ascribed to the same Sulṭán Maḥmúd Sháh I. To this class belong my coins Nos. 9 and 11, Blochmann's No. 8 (his fig. 9), and the coin No. DCCXXIV published by Marsden in his *Numismata Orientalia*. The latter was republished by Laidlay in Vol. XV of this Journal.* Both he and Blochmann ascribe it to Náṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh II,† commonly known as Abúl Mujáhid, probably a grandson of the first Náṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh, who is supposed to have reigned in 896 A. H. As they had not the advantage of the present evidence of dated coins, their error is not surprising; nor, indeed, in the absence of legible dates, can their ascription be said to be impossible, but probability is greatly the other way. The second Náṣiru-d-din, as Blochmann shows, can only have been about seven years old at the time of his accession; for at his father Fateḥ Sháh's death (probably in 892) he was two years old; and he was murdered after a reign of only about six months.‡ Under these circumstances there is little probability, that coins—and coins too of various types—were struck in his name. Moreover, it will be observed that the coins of the present find, are nearly all of Maḥmúd I and Ruknu-d-dín; there are only five of previous reigns, but none of any reign after Ruknu-d-dín. If the undated coins of the Mujáhid type were ascribed to Maḥmúd II, there would be a large gap in the series of coins, extending over no less than five reigns, between Ruknu-d-dín and Maḥmúd II. For this reason, too, it is more probable that the undated coins belong to Maḥmúd I.

(*c*). In Vol XLII of this Journal, p. 289, Blochmann has given an inscription of Náṣiru-d-dín Abúl Mujáhid Maḥmúd Sháh. He was unable to read the date, and ascribed the inscription to Maḥmúd Sháh II, on account of the *kunyat* Abúl Mujáhid, mentioned in it, while the *kunyat* of Maḥmúd Sháh I, as he says, was Abúl Muẓaffar. The date, however, is not so illegible as Blochmann makes it out to be. It is in all probability 847 or 849; see his Plate VII, No. 3; in the left-hand lower corner the word سنة "year" is distinct; just above it is clearly enough the word سبع "seven" or تسع "nine"; and above that, again, is the word (rather indistinct) ثمانمايه "eight hundred"; lastly to the immediate right of سنه is the word اربعين "forty"; the whole date being سبع واربعين وثمانمايه 847 or تسع و اربعين وثمانمايه 849. Indeed the date is so clear, that I suspect it was merely because Blochmann felt himself unable

* J. A. S. B., Vol. XV, p. 331; Plate V, No. 18.

† J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 289.

‡ See J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 288.

to make it agree with the reign of Maḥmúd II, that he thought it was illegible. The year 847 or 849 only suits Maḥmúd I, and it shows that the inscription must be ascribed to him and that he used also the *kunyat* Abúl Mujáhid. It thus appears that out of six known inscriptions of this Sulṭán, he calls himself Abúl Muẓaffar in five,* and Abúl Mujáhid in one. A circumstance which tends to confirm the ascription of the last inscription to Maḥmúd I is that it commemorates the erection of a mosque during the Sulṭán's reign (في عهد سلطان), such as could hardly have been built during the short reign of 6 months of Maḥmúd II, a boy 7 years old.

In the third place. My coin No. 8*b* is important as it fixes a new date for Maḥmúd Sháh I. The latest date hitherto ascertained, from inscriptions, was 863.† The earliest known date of Maḥmúd's successor Bárbak Sháh was *Safar* 865. Thence Blochmann rightly concluded that Maḥmúd Sháh must at least have reigned till the beginning of 864.‡ The coin, No. 8*b*, now proves that he actually reigned in the year 864.

In the fourth place. The reverse of No. 8, is noteworthy. Laidlay (J. A. S. B., XV, p. 328) says of Náṣiru-d-dín I, "being unable to record a royal paternity on his coinage, he seems to have contented himself with the simple repetition of his name and title, etc." But Náṣiru-d-dín I evidently had neither cause nor inclination to be so humble, for on the coins No. 8, he claims to be the son as well as the grandson of a Sulṭán. This claim is supported by the histories, which "agree in describing him as a descendant of Ilyás Sháh."§ May not his reverse on No. 8 show that he was actually a grandson of Ilyás Sháh, and a son of Abúl Mujáhid Sikandar Sháh ?

In the fifth place. There is a curious resemblance between my coin, No. 12, of Bárbak Sháh, and the coin of Saifu-d-dín Abúl Muẓaffar Fírúz Sháh II, published by Blochmann in Vol. XLII, p. 288. The resemblance is particularly striking in the reverse.

I now proceed to describe the coins :—

I. Abúl Mujáhid Sikandar Sháh.

Of this Sulṭán there are two coins. One belongs to the type described by Mr. Thomas in the J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXVI, p. 66, No. 26, and figured in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, Plate XXXVI, No. DCCLIX. The other (Plate XVII, No. 18) is also described by Mr. Thomas, *ibidem*, p. 64,

* J. A. S. B., Vol. XLI, pp. 107, 108; Vol. XLII, pp. 270, 271; Vol. XLIII, pp. 294, 295; Vol. XLIV, p. 289.

† J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 269, Vol. XLIV, p. 288.

‡ J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 269.

§ J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 269.

No. 22, but not figured. The mints and dates are not legible on either of the two.

II. Ghiyáṣu-d-dín A'ẓam Sháh.

His coin is of the type figured and described by Mr. Thomas, *ibidem*, p. 69, No. 35. Mint and date illegible.

III. Shiháb-u-d-dín Báyazíd Sháh.

His coin is of the type figured and described by Blochmann in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 263, No. 1. Mint illegible, date apparently 809.

IV. Jaláłu-d-dín Muḥammad Sháh.

His coin is of the type figured and described by Blochmann, *ibid.*, p. 267, No. 3. Mint illegible; date apparently 828.

V. Náṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh I.

(a). *Muẓaffar Type.*

No. 1. (Plate XVI, fig. 1). Five specimens; apparently duplicates of the coin, No. 5, described and figured by Blochmann in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, p. 289, the date of which however was not legible. One of the present coins (fig. 1), now in the Society's Collection, shows the date 848; on the others it is not legible. The legends on both sides are the same as on Col. Hyde's coin, published in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 269, No. 1.

Obv. ناصر الدنیا والدین ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان

Rev. المؤید بتائید الرحمن خلیفة الله بالحجت و البرهان ضرب ۸۴۸

No. 2. (Plate XVI, fig. 2). Nine specimens. The obverse legend is the same as that of No. 1, except that the word شاه is here placed below, instead of above, the word السلطان. The reverse reads:*

نائب غوث الاسلام و المسلمین خلد ملکه و سلطانه سنه ۸۵۳

One of them (fig. 2) shows the date 8[5]3 (خزانه ۸۵۳); two others are dated [85]2 and 859. The coin, No. 7, published by Blochmann, J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, p. 289 (fig. 8 on his Plate) is very much like the coin, now figured, in general appearance; but the latter has a double row of scollops on the obverse, while Blochmann's coin has only one row and, besides, has the words شاه السلطان placed as in No. 1 of the present series.

* The word الاسلام appears on all these coins as الثلام.

No. 3. (Plate XVI, fig. 3). Five specimens; in all respects like No. 2, except that the latter are small, thick pieces, while No. 3 are large and thin with broad ornamented margins. On two specimens the dates are legible; one (fig. 3) has 860; the other probably 8[5]9.

No. 4. (Plate XVI, fig. 4). One specimen; a small thick piece, like No. 2; also with the same legends; but that on the obverse differently arranged, in a rather curious way. Date, probably on reverse, obliterated by shroff-marks.

No. 5. (Plate XVI, fig. 5). Three specimens; very crude pieces, one of them broken in two. Obverse legend as usual; the reverse entirely illegible through shroff-marks.

No. 6. (Plate XVI, fig. 6). Five specimens; with very slight variations; broad, thin pieces, like No. 3, but without any margin on the obverse. The lettered surface of the latter shows the well-known ornamental elongated strokes. The legends on both sides are the same as on No. 1. On one coin (fig. 6) the date is 847, on another apparently 84[8].

(b). *Mujáhid Type.*

No. 7. (Plate XVI, fig. 7). One specimen; in all respects like No. 6, except that the word *Mujáhid* is substituted for *Muzaffar*. The date is 862. A similar coin was published by Laidlay in J. A. S. B., Vol. XV, Plate IV, No. 7, but its reverse legend is different, *viz.*, that of No. 2 of the present series. He wrongly ascribed it to Jalálu-d-dín Muhammad Sháh. Blochmann appears to have read on it Abúl Muzaffar, but the name is exactly as on my coin, and is clearly Abúl Mujáhid.

No. 8. (Plate XVI, figs. 8*a* and 8*b*). Three specimens; in general appearance, like Nos. 6 and 7; the obverse legend is also the same, but the reverse has the following inscription of which the latter portion is continued from the area on to the margin:

in margin — in area

خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه — السلطان ابن السلطان ابن السلطان ضرب ٨٦[٢]

They are all dated; one has 862, another (fig. 8*b*) has 864, the date of the third (fig. 8*a*) is mutilated 86[*].

No. 9. (Plate XVII, fig. 9). One specimen; in general appearance like No. 2; both legends also the same as on No. 2, except that the word *Mujáhid* is substituted for *Muzaffar*. The date which would have been on the reverse margin is unfortunately lost. The coin, No. 8, published, by Blochmann, in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, p. 289 (fig. 9 of his Plate) appears to have been identical with the present one. He makes the legend

on the reverse to be the same as on Col. Hyde's coin (*i. e.*, the same as on No. 1 of the present series); but this is clearly an error; for his coin shows distinctly the word و المسلمين, and on my coins both words اسلام and مسلمين can be made out. But it should be noted that the inscription is distributed over area and margin, as in No. 8, thus:

in margin	in area
ملكه و [سلطانه ضرب * *]	نائب غوث الاسلام و المسلمين خلد

No. 10. (Plate XVII, fig. 10). One specimen; similar to No. 9, but the lettered surface of the obverse is ornamented with elongated strokes. Both legends are the same as on No. 9, but the reverse legend is differently distributed over area and margin, خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه being in the area, and the rest in the margin. This coin is evidently a duplicate of coin, No. 3, published by Blochmann, in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, p. 288 (fig. 4 on his Plate). On the present specimen, the word *Mujáhid* is quite distinct, while Blochmann's coin supplies the date (852) which is illegible on mine.

No. 11. (Plate XVII, fig. 11). One specimen; a broad thin piece, in general appearance like No. 3, but with different ornaments on the margins, and a different legend on the reverse area. The latter is the same as on No. 1, while the legend of No. 3 is the same as on No. 2. Unfortunately the date is illegible.

VI. Ruknu-d-dín Bárbak Sháh.

(a). *Mujáhid Type.*

No. 12. (Plate XVII, fig. 12). Two specimens; broad, thin pieces, with lettered surfaces only; the legends being:

Obv. السلطان ركن الدنيا و الدين ابوالمجاهد باربكشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه

Rev. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله خزانه ٨٧٤

Dates of both, 874.

(b). *Muẓaffar Type.*

No. 13. (Plate XVII, figs. 13*a* and 13*b*). Eleven specimens; in general appearance like No. 11; large thin pieces, with two areas and two broad ornamented margins. The legends on the areas are:

Obv. ركن الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر باربكشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان

Rev. The same as on Nos. 1 and 11.

The following dates can be recognized: 867, 870 (on fig. 13*a* خزانة ٨٧٠), 871, 875, 877. The last date is indistinct and might be 867. One specimen (fig. 13*b*) shows very clearly 827 (بالربع ٨٢٧), though there can be no doubt that the 2 (٢) is either a mistake for 6 (٦) or a badly executed 7 (٧). The words preceding the dates seem to be خزانة "treasury", and بالربع "with the fourth".*

No. 14. (Plate XVII, fig. 14). Two specimens; a slight variety of No. 13, the و of الدين on the obverse commencing the second line of the legend, while on No. 13 it ends the first line. The date is just recognizable as 878. There is no trace of any margin, but they are probably clipped away.

No. 15. (Plate XVII, fig. 15). Three specimens; another slight variety of Nos. 13 and 14, the و being placed as in No. 14, and the last word السلطان being written on the same line with ابن محمود شاه instead of below it, as in Nos. 13, 14. Observed dates 867 (on fig. 15) and 877.

No. 16. (Plate XVII, fig. 16). Two specimens; a variety of No. 15, the letters, especially on the reverse, being much larger and coarser. Date and margins clipped away.

(c). *Anonymous Type.*

No. 17. (Plate XVII, fig. 17). Twenty-five specimens; exactly like the coin, figured and described by Marsden in his *Num. Orient.*, Plate XXXVIII, No. DCCLXXV. Among them there are 16 dated 873, two dated 872 and one dated 870. The dates of five are illegible; and one (fig. 17) seems to show 761 twice! The words preceding the dates are, on some خزانة (on fig. 17), on others بالربع.

All the coins figured on Plates XVI and XVII are now in the Society's collection, except the coin of Sikandar Sháh (Pl. XVII, fig. 18) which is in my possession. In the Society's collection are the following coins: 2 specimens of No. 1 (d. 848); 4 of No. 2 (d. 852, 853, 859); 4 of No. 3 (d. 859, 860); 1 of No. 4; 1 of No. 5; 3 of No. 6 (d. 847, 848); 1 of No. 7; 2 of No. 8 (d. 864, 86*); 1 each of Nos. 9, 10, 11; 1 of No. 12 (d. 874); 13 of No. 13 (d. 867, 870, 871, 875, 877, 827). In my own possession are the following; 1 specimen of No. 1 (d. 8[48]); 1 of No. 2 (d. 859), 1 of No. 3 (d. 8[5]8); 2 of No. 6 (d. 857); 1 of No. 8 (d. 862); 1 of No. 12 (d. 874); 2 of No. 13 (d. 867, 870).

* On the ربع or land-tax of the fourth; see Blochmann in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 219.

On Stone Implements from the North Western Provinces of India.—By J. H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., C. S., C.I.E., F.S.A., &c.

(With three Plates.)

The Proceedings of the Asiatic Society for January 1882 contain a short account of a collection of stone implements, made during the past few years by Mr. J. Cockburn and myself in the Banda District of the the North Western Provinces of India.

It is now proposed to describe the collection more in detail, noticing specially what are believed to be the new types brought to light, together with certain specimens which appear to carry with them the explanation of the manner in which they were manufactured and hefted.

The division of labour between Mr. J. Cockburn and myself has been arranged as follows: The larger stone implements, *i. e.*, the hammers, ringstones and the celts of well known types, many of which have been found or collected during my tour, are to be described by me. Mr. Cockburn has undertaken to figure and describe at length, in a separate paper, the very large, varied and most interesting collection of chert implements which he has found, comprising many new types, none of which had been before found in this part of the country, and to which he has devoted the attention of a careful and enthusiastic observer.

The more rare and interesting of the specimens described by me have been carefully drawn to scale, and will be found figured among the illustrations which accompany this paper.

Even to those who have no knowledge of India, the locality of these finds may be easily indicated on the map, by taking as a starting point, Allahabad, the great city at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumná. For hundreds of miles the huge tract between these rivers, together with the adjoining country beyond, consists of a level plain of alluvial soil containing few trees, beyond the artificially planted groves of the villagers, and no trace of stone save the nodular limestone locally known as kunkur. Some 10 miles to the west of Allahabad, the point where not only the two great rivers meet, but also where the Railway from Bombay and Jabalpur joins the main line of the East Indian Railway, the country suddenly changes, and rock, hill and jungle assert themselves for the first time, extending thence to the south and east for hundreds of miles, through a but little known country towards Kaṭak, and following the Railway line west during its whole course, to within a short distance of Bombay itself.

The Banda District is situated on the eastern boundary of this tract, and is entered by the Railway about twelve miles after leaving Allahabad.

In nearly all its characteristics, Banda differs from its sister Districts of the Doab. The country is hilly and well wooded, and the monotonous level of the plain is exchanged for pleasant valleys and picturesque upland.

The rocks most commonly met with, are the Kaimúr Sandstones, granatoid gneiss, diorite, the hornblendic rock, of which the celts later to be noticed, are chiefly formed, and the basalt of the trap sheet of the Deccan, veins of which intrude themselves here and there among the more common formations. In the south of the district the lower Vindhian formation, known as the Tirhowan Limestone, is met with. This is the matrix of the chert nodules and bands, the material used for the smaller and more delicate implements, the description of which will be found in Mr. Cockburn's paper.

This wild and picturesque country, lying within easy reach of that old established centre of Aryan civilization, Prayág, the "Sangam" or sacred junction of the two holy streams, having been familiar to the Hindús for many centuries, has enjoyed great popularity, and has been invested with a full share of romance by the Aryan invaders, whose appreciation of the picturesque nooks and cool retreats of the upland, must have been enhanced by a long and tedious progress through the monotonous plains of Upper India. It was in the Banda District that Ráma, having resigned his kingdom in filial deference to his father's vow, and accompanied by Sítá, and his brother Lakshman, took up his abode, choosing the wild forest which then covered the hill of Chitrakúṭ, or Kámadagiri, or "abode of delight," a site now marked by hundreds of temples, the annual resort of hundreds of thousands of pilgrims. Some of the most beautiful passages of the Rámáyan describe the picturesque forest, and this pleasant country among the Banda hills, into which civilization has not even yet fully penetrated or robbed of its many sylvan attractions. It was in this forest that Sítá was carried off by Rávaṇa, and it was here that Ráma undertook the avenging expedition against Lanka, during which, as tradition has it, he received valuable assistance from the monkeys of the forest, or in other words from the wild tribes inhabiting this tract, who were probably armed with the stone hatchets and the stone clubs which form the subject of the present paper.

The hill country of which Banda forms the eastern limit, still contains semicivilized tribes, differing in their language, in their physical and other characteristics from the Aryans of the plains. The old Hindú records contain accounts of these wild men of the woods, and the ancient stone carvings, occasionally found among the ruined temples of the forest, or on Buddhist topes like Sanchi, represent a class easily distinguishable in form and feature from the Aryan invaders. A carving found by Mr. Cockburn at Kálanjar, evidently of great antiquity, represents a figure holding in the

right hand an implement which closely resembles a stone celt fixed in a wooden handle. Likewise one of the most interesting of the Sanchi carvings figured by Mr. Fergusson, in his well known work on Tree and Serpent Worship, represents, what is believed to be, a Dasyu with an axe fixed on to the handle by cross bands, in a manner in which it is known this stone implement was hafted. There would then seem reason to believe that the stone implements found in the wild country of Banda are the remains of aboriginal tribes of India, who driven out from the fertile delta, by the wave of invasion from the North, sought refuge in the hills and jungle, in the manner that the aboriginal tribes of Britain are known to have receded to the hilly country of the island before the Saxon and the Dane.

All over the immense jungle tract of Central India, Cromlechs, Kistvaens, stone circles closely resembling those to be found in Britain and on the continent of Europe are to be found. The similarity between the stone implements, now to be described, and those of Europe, is equally remarkable, and there would seem to be little doubt, that these implements were long, and up to a comparatively recent date, in use amongst these tribes, who have as yet made little progress in civilization.

So far as I have yet been able to learn, none of these implements have been found in use at the present day, even among the most backward of these tribes. No one I have met with on my tours had been able to explain the use of any of these implements. They are regarded as wonderful, mysterious, often as holy. Turned up by the plough at some depth below the soil, the celt is supposed to be a thunderbolt, driven deep into the earth from on high, and the finder places it under the village pipul tree, sometimes sanctifying it with a daub of red paint, and constituting it a Mahadeo or Phallus. Stone implements, especially the smaller ones, flakes and arrow-heads, have been found by European officers on the surface of the soil, or in the beds of streams, and notably by Mr. Cockburn, on what would appear to be the sites of old manufactories or encampments. But the village peepul tree is generally the best and surest find. There the villagers, acting unconsciously as valuable coadjutors in the interests of Archæological research, have collected together, and piled up from time immemorial, these curious relics of a bye-gone age, preserving them with that mysterious awe that attaches in their eyes to everything that is old and rare. Save perhaps to what may be the largest and central celt, daubed with red paint, and from its shape worshipped as a Mahádeo, and which they will not part with, the villagers attach no more importance to these implements left there for centuries, than to the other piles of offering stones which surround a jungle shrine. A little good-humoured persuasion, or a few rupees will easily secure them for the collector of antiquarian relics.

Some idea of the abundance of these implements on these shrines may

be formed, from the fact that Mr. Cockburn assisted by the headmen of the village, secured 23 celts in the village of Phuppoondee, Angassie Pergunnah, in about an hour's search. Probably twice this number remained hidden in the great heaps of fragments of sculpture and waterworn pebbles which were not searched.

The number collected by Mr. Cockburn and myself, in this manner, exceeds many hundreds, of all sizes, and of many different types, most of them from the weather-worn condition of the surface, exhibiting undoubted proofs of great age.

In my former papers, read before the Asiatic Society, the practice of objects of antiquarian interest, with which India abounds, being collected and disposed of by amateurs has been strongly condemned. It seems right, therefore, to mention here that no specimens have been kept by either Mr. Cockburn or myself. The best specimens have all been presented to the British Museum, where I am glad to be able to add they have been accepted by the Trustees, and recognised as forming a collection of unusual interest. Casts of the unique specimens have been made for the chief Museums of Europe, America and the Indian Presidency towns, and complete sets have been prepared and presented to these Museums and also to many gentlemen interested in prehistoric research, with a view to comparison with well known European and American types. It is gratifying to notice, that this action has already borne good fruit in the interest that has been awakened in these remains of ancient India, and the Asiatic Society will, I hope, at least consider, that no bad use has been made of this large and varied collection we have been fortunate enough to have made with the assistance and encouragement received from the Society. Several presentations of European prehistoric remains that have been received in exchange have been presented to the India Museum, after having been exhibited before the Society.

Hammer Stones.

The first specimen to be described (Plate XVIII, fig. 1*a*, *b*) is a hammer believed to be of a type unique in India. It was found at Alwara 2 miles north of the Jumna, and 37 miles south-west of Allahabad. This village is actually in the Futtehpore District close to the boundary of Banda. It was found by Mr. Cockburn, placed together with a number of other stones under a sacred tree, and was obligingly given to him, on its nature being explained, by the Thakur who owns the village. It is figured in Plate I. This hammer is of a tough, greyish quartzite and measures 3·50″ in length by 2·10″ in breadth and 1·80″ in thickness. In form, it somewhat resembles a modern hammer, being flat at the ends and slightly curved on the upper surface. A groove ·50″ in width and ·15″ in depth has been carefully carried

round the centre in a manner which is best shown by the accompanying sketch. The base has been hollowed out with equal care in a gouge like form, to the depth of about ·13 of an inch. The whole arrangement suggests that the hammer was attached by a ligature to a wooden or withy handle, the ligature being kept in its place by the upper groove, while the lower groove held the hammer in position on the rounded haft, in a manner somewhat resembling the annexed sketch. Mr. Cockburn has pointed out certain minute marks, especially on the lower groove, which suggest the possibility of metal implements having been used in the fashioning of the hammer, and it may be that this implement belongs to the transition stage from stone to metal, when metal, though available, was scarce. The arrangement for hafting the hammer, closely resembles that described by Dr. C. Rau, in his account of the Archæological collection of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U. S. America, a copy of which he has recently been good enough to send me. This description of the manner of hafting the grooved axes, extracted below, applies equally to the handling of the hammer, and figs. 78 and 79 of the Smithsonian catalogue strongly resemble the Indian specimen now described.

"Owing to their frequency these implements may be counted among "the best known relics of the aborigines and especially in the rural dis- "tricts of the older states. Indian stone tomahawks are familiar objects. "In general they can be defined as wedges, encircled by a groove, usually "nearer the butt end than the edge. The groove served for the reception "of a withe of proper length which was bent round the stone head till "both ends met when they were firmly bound together by ligatures of "hide or some other material. The withe thus formed a convenient han- "dle."

The specimen now figured is it, is believed, the first of this description found in India. It is now in the British Museum, casts having been supplied to several of the leading Museums, including the Indian Museum Calcutta.

The collection contains several other grooved hammers of a less perfect form, bearing no trace of metallic tooling. They appear to be water-worn pebbles, which have been grooved to admit of being attached to a withy handle.

The next specimen, Fig. 2, which I take to be a hammer also, is quite unlike any of those figured in the Catalogues of the European and American Museums that have yet reached me, though it is approached by a Scandinavian hammer, to be noticed later, and is of a type not hitherto found in India. It is a cubical mass of basalt measuring 2·50″ each way. On each of its six sides is a hole or depression about 1″ in diameter and ·25″ in depth. The whole form is not unlike an astragalus, or die of the ancients, and will

best be explained by fig. 2. The implement fits conveniently into the hand, the depressions affording a hold for the fingers, and suggesting its use as a many-sided hammer, the faces of which were changed from time to time when the pit became inconveniently deep for use. Somewhat similar depressions may be noticed on the iron mauls used by masons in the present day. The hammer, together with two celts, was found in the Banda District, embedded in the roots of a pipal tree, which in the course of years had overgrown them, and the specimens were cut out with some difficulty. "Nilsson's Scandinavia" contains a sketch, Plate I, No. 5, of a many-sided hammer of a somewhat similar form.

A flat red quartzite pebble is figured in No. 3. It measures 4·25″ in length by 3″ at the widest part, and is only 1·75″ thick. The two ends are slightly flattened as shown in the engraving. The upper and lower sides exhibit a double groove or notch for the purpose of securing it to a wooden handle. On the upper and lower surfaces double cup-marks or depressions measuring about ·70″ in diameter and nearly ·50″ in depth. The cup-mark depressions are not easily accounted for. Mr. Cockburn is inclined to think that they represent the process of forming a complete groove round the stone, which has been left unfinished. To me the design appears complete, and it would seem as if the end had, at one time, been used for hammering, whilst, at some other time, the cup-like depressions had been utilised. Possibly similar implements, found in other parts of the world, may have been already described and explained.

Fig. 4 is a nearly circular piece of sandstone measuring 3·50″ in diameter and 2·25″ in thickness. The upper and lower portions which were originally flat, show a circular depression 1·60″ in diameter and ·50″ deep. The sides have been grooved to a depth of ·25 of an inch. This implement may have been used as a hammer, for though now somewhat broken, it fits comfortably enough into the hand. Or, as suggested for stones of a similar type, it may have been a sort of rest or stone anvil, on which flint cores were split and worked Implements of a somewhat similar description were found by Major Mockler in Baluchistan.

Fig. 5 represents a curiously wrought piece of basalt 3·50″ in length and 3′ in diameter. It bears the appearance of having been split in two, either by accident or design. A deep but narrow groove runs through the centre, as shown in the sketch. Mr. Cockburn considers it a type of implement resembling the single Bola, or modern slung shot, and supposes the groove to have been intended for the reception of a thong. Mr. Cockburn found a carved figure at Kalinjar, bearing in its hand an implement which he considers resembles that now described. At the back the stone is a small but curious depression, hardly large enough to have been produced by hammering. I am unable to suggest any explanation of its use.

Fig. 6, *a*, *b* of which outline and section are given is a mace-end, or ring stone of a type well known in Europe, and of which several specimens have already been discovered and described in India by Messrs. Ball and others. The specimen in question is of quartzite and measures 5·50″ in diameter and 2·50″ in thickness. The central hole is 2·30″ in diameter. On either surface, towards the centre it narrows, in the manner shown in the section, and characteristic of the working of the implements of this description found both in India and in Europe.

Many examples of the type are to be found figured by Evans and others in their works on stone implements. Perfect specimens in some numbers have been found by Mr. Cockburn and myself, besides a large number of fragments. The perfect specimens are generally found under trees, deposited there together with celts, but numerous fragments have been picked up at the base of hills, on the Kymore plateaux, or in ravines, together with fragments of celts and flint chips and other indications which usually mark the sites of ancient encampments. Large round pebbles with the drilling of the central hole, in a more or less imperfect state, have also been found in considerable numbers, indicating that the process was troublesome and lengthy. Some exhibit a deep cup-mark or depression on either side, others on one side only. They closely resemble the hammer stones found in Europe and America, and figured in the various works on the subject. In many of these cases, it seems doubtful whether it was intended to perforate the stone, which fitted conveniently enough into the hand as a hammer.

Fig. 7 is a four-sided block of diorite 11″ in length 2″ in breadth and 2″ in thickness. At about 3″ from the end it has been ground to a rough point. The implement bears all the appearance of having been used as a pick or hoe, and is well adapted for grubbing out roots or digging out holes. I was originally inclined to think that this instrument may have been a stone ploughshare, such as might well have been used in a rude state of culture. The fact of the point being unsymmetrical, and the right side exhibiting a greater amount of wear than the left, favours this idea.

Plate XIX, fig. 8 is a long tapering well rounded piece of diorite, measuring 9·50″ in length 2·60″ in diameter at the base and 1″ at the top. It bears from top to base the marks of the chipping by which it has been worked into its present state. The implement has all the appearance of having been used as a pestle for pounding grain or other substances. It may possibly have been used as a stone club, like those of the Merai of the New Zealanders, but is rather short for such a purpose.

An ill-shaped rough polygonal block of tough sandstone measuring 50″ in length by 8″ in breadth and 325″ in thickness will be seen No. XVIII in the collection in Plate XX taken from a photograph. It has not been

separately figured. On the sides it has four depressions or holes of an inch in diameter and ·80″ in depth. It fits comfortably into the hand, and the projection at the top is convenient for the thumb and forefinger. It would appear to have been used as a hammer in the same manner as fig. 2 in Plate XVIII. The holes seem well adapted for the narrow conical ends of some of the celts, many of which bear the marks of hammering on the narrow end.

Lastly, before passing to the celts, by far the most numerous class in the collection, some curious and mysterious stones, found in considerable numbers and one of which is figured No. 9, have to be briefly noticed. The only suggestion I can make in regard to them is that they had possibly been used as pivots. It is possible that similar stones may have been found in other parts of the world, and that the sketch may be recognized, and the use of the implement explained by some of my correspondents into whose hands copies of this paper will pass.

Some specimens were picked up in situ by Mr. Cockburn about 1 mile north of the fortress of Bijaygarh, on a stony plateaux that has yielded fragment of celts and chert implements, by which it might be inferred that they were of considerable antiquity.

Celts.

Celts similar in form to those of Europe and America have, as already stated, been found by Mr. Cockburn and myself in very large numbers. It is possible that their preservation is partly to be attributed to their form, which admits of their being accepted as representing the Mahadeo or Phallus. Many have doubtless been ploughed up, but the rainfall in this upland country has cut up the soil into innumerable water-courses and ravines, and this together with the constant denudation of the soil has left exposed many implements which would otherwise have long lain hidden beneath the surface. Besides those collected under trees, many celts have been found on the surface of the soil, possibly not far from the positions in which they had originally been lost. Numbers have been picked out of gravel heaps stacked on the sides of roads. Altogether, including those we have purchased from natives, who have been employed in the search, the number of celts collected by us exceeds 400.

The largest of these is 12″·25 in length by 4″·70 in breadth, weighing 8lbs. 3oz. "The smallest is 2″·50 in length by 2″·15 in breadth, and weighs 3¾oz." The stone selected for the celts is, in the case of the polished ones, diorite of varying degrees of fineness, in some cases nearly approaching porphery. A perfectly distinct type, roughly chipped, are of hard black basalt. As a rule while those of the one class are thick and show an ovate section, the basalt celts are comparatively flat. The basalt weathers differently from the diorite. In rare instances celts of polished sandstone have occurred. The great mass of implements of this material are exceedingly rough pro-

ductions, in hard quartzite somewhat resemble Messrs. Bruce and Fooles specimens from Southern India. They have not, however, yet been found in positions which would admit of their being classed as palæolithic types, though it is quite possible that they may be of an older type than the polished celts.

In material, in shape, and in manufacture the polished and chipped celts of the first two classes closely resemble those found in various parts of Europe, America and Australia. This is the verdict of all the Museums to which they have been sent.

The Count de Limur, the distinguished French Antiquarian, assures me in a recent letter, that those sent to him, so closely resemble the celts dug out of the tumuli of Carnac and other parts of Brittany preserved in the Museum of the Hotel de Limur, that had the latter not all been marked, he would not have been able to distinguish the one from the other.

The collection may be considered under the classification adopted by Evans: 1st, The chipped or rough hewn celts. 2nd, The polished celts.

Class I. Rough hewn celts of basalt may be further subdivided into three types (A.) Heart-shaped or cordate, rather an uncommon type, the edge alone highly polished, and so much rounded as to be almost semicircular. In many cases inequalities of the chipping have been partially removed, but in no case has the implement itself been entirely polished. (B.) Lanceolate. Long and comparatively narrow and coming to a point at the end, resembling the arrow-heads termed "leaf-shaped" in European collections. The side edges have the appearance of being serrated, owing to flakes having been taken off alternate sides. (C.) Very flat and almost triangular in shape. Implements of all these types will be observed in Plate XX which is taken from a photograph.

A rough unfinished celt is given in Plate XIX, figure 10. Fig. 11 represents one of the largest, whilst fig. 12 is a selected specimen of the flat triangular type.

The collection includes a broken basalt celt with a well defined shoulder indicating that this class of implement was handled.

One or two small basalt celts with the greater portion of the surface polished have also been found as far south as Dudhí in South Mirzapore. They are about the length of an average forefinger and fit in between the finger and thumb, and resemble in shape and size a jade knife, from the lake dwellings of Constance, which the distinguished Dr. Fischer was recently good enough to send me. The latter specimen is now in the collection of the Indian Museum and may be compared with the Indian types.

Fig. 13 shows an outline drawing of the largest of the polished celts, its length being 12″·25 by 4″·70 in breadth, and the weight 8lbs. 3oz. It is difficult to conceive how it could have been hafted, so huge are its

proportions. The original polish has not preserved it from the effects of the weather, during, perhaps, several hundreds of years, and the stone is corroded and pitted on the surface, the material being fine-grained diorite.

Fig. 14 a polished celt, much weathered is, from its shape, one of the most interesting in the collection. It is 7·5″ long by 3·50 broad. On either side is a shallow cup-mark or depression, resembling the depressions of the celts found in Europe. It is remarkable as having two notches about half the distance from the cutting edge. These were evidently made for the purpose of binding it to a handle, and the opposite directions of the planes of the notches indicate that the binding was carried round and round. In Evans' "Stone Implements," p. 9, a similar celt from India is noticed as being in the possession of Genl. Pitt-Rivers. The Banda specimen was found in a village about one mile from Kirwee.

The implement illustrated in fig. 15 is a battered and expended celt of a fine-grained diorite, approaching basalt. On either side is a large oval-shaped depression, suggesting that the stone, first used as a celt, was utilized subsequently as a hammer. Evans in his Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain, fig. 207, notices that in England, it is by no means uncommon to find portions of polished celts, which, after the edge has by some means been taken away, have been converted into hammers. The specimen now figured, closely resembles fig. 168 in Evans' volume already noticed.

Fig. 16 is a polished celt of diorite, from Robertsgunge in the Mirzapore District, and differs entirely in shape from the celts already figured. The side view closely resembles fig. 67 of Evans' work, a celt found in the bed of the Thames, London. It has been blunted at the top, and is almost round in section until within an inch and a half from the base, where it expands slightly, as shown in the sketch. From its cylindrical form it more closely resembles a village Mahadeo, and this may account for its having been found on a shrine so far east as Robertsgunge. The habit of preserving celts under trees is not general in the Mirzapore District, although celts must be quite as abundant as in Banda, for Mr. Cockburn and a friend, who searched together, found five in a circuit round Kandakote. Two of these are of a square type not yet obtained in Banda.

The collection comprises several long chisel-shaped celts and a vast number of tiny immature implements of the same shape as the larger celts figured. The latter may either have been hafted or used between the fore-finger and thumb. The diorite when ground and polished takes and preserves, under rough usage, a perfect edge. One of the smaller ones that has been fixed into a handle of staghorn, after the manner of those found in the Swiss Lake dwellings, has been sharpened, and I can testify from experience, chops wood nearly as efficiently as a small iron axe.

The subject will be continued in a later number of the Journal.

Notes on the History of Orissa under the Mahommedan, Marátha, and English rule.—*By* John Beames, B. C. S.

[These notes were written as Chapter II of a manual of the district of Balasore, of which I was Collector from 1869 to 1873. The work when completed was laid before Sir R. Temple (then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) in 1875; but for certain reasons which cannot be here stated, was not printed. In 1877 I was asked by Mr. Blochmann, then Secretary to the Society, to allow him to print the historical portion in the Society's Journal. I was unable to comply with his request at that time, and the work was put aside. Recently being engaged in some researches regarding the history of my present official charge, the Burdwan Division, I have had occasion to refer to it, and as I do not know of any compilation which gives all the facts therein contained, I have thought that it may be useful to print it.]

There is some reason for believing that for many centuries the country between the Kansbans and the Subanrekha was totally uninhabited, and covered with jungle. The legends of the Oriya race render it probable that they came into the province through the hills and down the Mahanadi, and the characteristics of their language lead me to believe that they broke off from the main stream of Aryan immigration somewhere about Shahabad and Gya. That they are not an offshoot of the Bengalis is proved by the fact that their language was already formed as we now have it, at a period when Bengali had not yet attained a separate existence, and when the deltaic portion of Bengal was still almost uninhabited. So that in fact they could not have sprung from the Bengalis, simply because there were then no Bengalis to spring from.

Numerous as are the allusions in early Oriya history to the north-western and western parts of India, and frequent as were their expeditions to the south, it is remarkable that there is nowhere in all their annals more than an obscure occasional mention of Bengal, and then even as a far-off inaccessible place. The similarity between the languages is not by any means so great as some Bengali writers have sought to make out, and what similarity there is, is due to the fact that they are both dialects of the eastern or Mágadhi form of Prákrit.

The ancient sovereigns of Orissa were great builders and employed stone in their works. As the province is not deltaic, but high and rocky, these stone buildings would last for ages, and in fact central and southern Orissa are full of them. Now it is a remarkable fact that in all northern Balasore from the Kansbans to the frontier of Bengal there is not a vestige of a single fort, temple, palace or bridge that can be traced or attributed to any older period than the sixteenth century. It is hardly possible that if this part of the country had been inhabited, the kings and rich men who so lavishly spent their wealth in the rest of the province on temples and

forts, should not have erected a single stone building in a place where stone abounds.

An additional argument for my view is derived from the existence of numerous tenures of a kind originally granted for the purpose of clearing and settling forest land. These tenures, so numerous in northern Balasore, are hardly known south of the Kansbans except in the hills.

I may also point to the very large number of villages whose names begin with the word "Ban" = forest, including according to one derivation Balasore itself, (*i. e*, Baneshwara, forest-lord,* Sanskrit Vaneśwara) and to the very marked prevalence of the Kole or aboriginal type among the lower classes.

Stirling's account of Orissa has been long in print, and is so well known, that it would be superfluous to repeat what is there said about the various dynasties of Orissa. It will have struck many readers of that work that often as the towns and regions of the Cuttack and Pooree districts are mentioned in the historical portion, Balasore is hardly ever spoken of. One would not of course expect to find it mentioned under the name of Balasore, because Balasore as a town is a creation of the English and quite a modern place, but no other towns, villages, or parganas in this part of the province are ever mentioned. Till the arrival of the Musalmans, no event in Oriya history took place there, nor is there any evidence of its having been more than scantily peopled, if at all.

It will not therefore take long to put together the scattered notices that exist during the Hindu and Muhammadan periods. From the people themselves not much can be got, the best informed of them cannot, with few exceptions, go back further than the sanads granted to their ancestors by the provincial governors under Aurangzeb or at furthest Shah Jehan, and the majority do not as a rule know who their own great-grandfathers were, and do not care.

The first of the few notices of any part of this district occurs† in a speech made by Raja Anang Bhim Deo who ruled in Orissa A. D. 1175—1202, in which he informs his courtiers that the kings who had preceded him had ruled from the Kansbans in the north to the Rasikoilah in the south, but that he had extended his sway to the Datai Borhi river on the north. I cannot find what river is meant, but I presume it to be the Subanrekha, which in some parts of its course is still called Dantai. The statement that the whole country from the Ganges to the Godavery was

* [The little village of Balasore which afterwards, under English influence, grew into the present town, is called from a temple to Mahadeva Vaneshwara or "Shiva the forest lord," probably because the place where his temple stood was covered by dense jungles.]

† Stirling's Orissa, p. 109.

under this king's rule is clearly fabulous, and arises from the fact that the Godavery is called by Oriyas the "Sán Ganga" or little Ganges, so that it became a natural phrase in native adulatory language to say a king reigned from the great to the little Ganges. The area of this tract is said to have been measured at 124 million bighas, which is unintelligible, even with the small bighas of those days.

In 1450 we are briefly told that the Mughals came into the country, but it is not said from what quarter, and a prior invasion in 1243 is evidently a mistake.* The expedition was really to Jajnagar in Bengal, a place whose name has been confounded with Jajpore in Orissa. In 1457 we find the Muhammadans attacking Orissa from the south in conjunction with the Telingas, and the invasion of 1450 was probably from the same quarter. The Bhunyans of Garpadda, 15 miles north of Balasore, have in their possession a copper-plate grant of the estate which they still hold, made to their ancestor Potesar Bhatt by the Raja Pursottam Deb in 1503. The amount of land granted, 1,408 batis (= 28,160 acres), is so large that it is evident land was not of much value in northern Orissa in those days.

The road to Orissa must, however, have been practicable in 1516, for in that year, as we know from his life in Bengali, the great reformer Chaitanya travelled from Nadiya to Puri and took up his abode there for the rest of his days. Probably the district began to be cleared and settled about this time under the "Purshethi" system. Still we have no detailed accounts of it. About this time the Afghans from Bengal, however, marched right down to Cuttack itself, and the road which they made or used on this and their subsequent expeditions is still to be traced, and is known to the villagers as the "Pathán sarak." It runs parallel to the present Cuttack Trunk Road but nearer to the hills, and apparently from superstitious motives is left uncultivated to this day.

In 1550 Mukund Deo the last indigenous king of Orissa ascended the throne, and we are told of him that his sway extended to Tribeni Ghat on the Hugli. He it was in all probability who erected the strong chain of forts still standing at Raibanian in the extreme northern corner of the district, just opposite the place where the old Pathán road crosses the Subanrekha. In 1568 this fort was taken by the terrible Kálá Pahár, general of the Afghan forces who overran all Orissa, defeated and deposed Mukund and obtained possession of the whole province.†

* See Blochmann in J. A. S. B. Vol. XIII, p. 237.

† There is some controversy about this date. Dr. Hunter (Orissa, Vol. II, p. 10,) gives a note founded on materials supplied by my friend, the late Mr. Blochmann, from which he derives the conclusion that the date 1568 given by the Muhammadan historian is correct. This view has received signal confirmation from a discovery of my

Balasore now begins to be more important. The road to Bengal was open and the Muhammadan forces passed and repassed and fought many battles along it.

Before entering into the somewhat interesting details of the Musalman invasion, settlement and government of Orissa, it will be advisable to state briefly the general position of India.

Akbar ascended the throne in A. D. 1556, and though very young, soon commenced to consolidate his power. But in all parts of India there were Hindu Rájás who had either themselves wielded independent power, or whose immediate ancestors had done so. There were also numerous bands of Mughals and Afghans who, during the unsettled reigns of Akbar's predecessors, had penetrated into various distant parts of India in search of plunder, or with a view to carving out principalities for themselves by the sword. All these classes were only with extreme difficulty and after repeated chastisements reduced to obedience, and the history of Akbar's reign is chiefly occupied, as are those of his son and grandson, with the accounts of expeditions directed against refractory vassals.

Of the latter kind were the Afghan adventurers who so long held Orissa. In 1567 Sulayman Shah Kirani was viceroy of Bengal;—he was in fact king in all but name. He it was who sent Kálá Pahár into Orissa; the accounts of the histories differ widely as to the date as well as the progress of this invasion. From local legends it would appear that Mukund Deo, after vainly endeavouring to hold the fort of Raibanian, retreated southwards fighting as he went, and was killed at Jájpúr. As Kálá Pahár was an ultra-fanatical Musalman, in the estimation of himself

own. At Srijanga, a village ten miles south of Balasore, I found on the edge of a large tank called the "Achyuta Ságar" an upright stone covered with an inscription. This stone I removed and set up in the compound of my house at Balasore, where it now is. The inscription, as partly decyphered by myself and several Pandits, yields the following results: The tank was dug by a Khandait who describes himself as "Achyut Baliar Singh son of Daitari Biswal, sole ruler in this region"; and he says he erected it when Man Singh, general of Akbar Padshah was in Orissa, in the 4699th year of the Kali Yug, in the 1520th year of the Saka era, in the 30th year of the "Yavan bhog" or Musalman invasion, and in the 37th *anka* or year of the reign of Ram Chandra Dev, first Sudra king of Orissa. Now both the Yug and the Saka years agree in corresponding with A. D. 1598. Consequently if 1598 be the 30th year of Musalman invasion, the first year of that period must be 1568 as Abul Fazl reckons, and not 1558 as Stirling, following the Oriya annalists, puts it. The 37th *anka* would be the 28th year of Ram Chandra's reign, because in reckoning the *anka*, the first two years and every year that has a 6 or a 0 in it are omitted, we must thus omit the years 1, 2, 6, 10, 16, 20, 26 and 30. This takes us back to 1570 as the year of Ram Chandra's accession, which leaves 1569 to represent the period of anarchy when there was no king, according to the native annalists. This discovery of the Srijanga stone is thus valuable as elucidating a disputed date in history.

and his followers any one of them who was slain in battle with the Hindús was entitled to be considered a martyr. Accordingly we find there must have been a battle at Garhpada, for there lies buried one of Kálá Pahár's officers with the title of Shahid or "martyr." His name was Hitam Khán, and a grant of rentfree land of 138 bighas is enjoyed by the Garhpada Bhuyans on condition of keeping up his shrine. At Bastah lies another, Sháh Husayni Shahid, at Ramchandarpur south of Garhpadda is a third Muhammad Khán Shahid, and at Remnah a fourth Gulab Sháh Shahid, from whom also the large bazar of Shahji Patna takes its name. We can thus trace Kálá Pahár all through the district by the tombs of his slain Captains. He left a number of his turbulent followers in Orissa and returned to Bengal where he was killed in battle. A great number of these lawless adventurers settled at Kasba, a suburb of Balasore, and at Bhadrakh and Dhámnagar, where their descendants are still to be found.

In 1574 Daúd Khán, the king of Bengal, being driven out of that province by the forces of the Emperor Akbar under Munim Khán, fled to Orissa and remained hovering backwards and forwards between Cuttack and Jellasore for some time. At last Munim Khán with a large force, accompanied by the celebrated Raja Todar Mal marched down through Midnapore on him. The armies met on the north bank of the Subanrekha, near the village of Tukaroi and the battle took place on the 3rd March 1575.* Munim Khán was victorious and Dáud fled to Bhadrakh. The place where the battle was fought is well known to the villagers and is still called Mughalmárí (the Mughal's slaughter). It runs westward for some six miles from the present Jellasore dak bungalow towards the river. Todar Mal pursued Dáud to Bhadrakh, but Dáud did not wait to be caught. He fled to Cuttack and got into the fort there and garrisoned it strongly. The Imperial forces, however, attacked and took it, and Dáud then submitted to the Emperor. Munim Khán returned to Bengal, where he and many of his officers died of fever said to have been contracted in Orissa, but more probably due to their own imprudence in taking up their residence in the pestilential jungles of Gaur.

After the submission of Dáud he was left in possession of central Orissa as far north as the Baitarani, but the territory now comprised in the Balasore district was annexed to the Subah of Bengal,† and two Thana-

* See Blochmann, Aín, Vol. I, p. 375.

† In the Aín Akbari it is indeed asserted that the whole of Orissa was on this occasion subjugated and added to the Subah of Bengal. It is described as divided into Sirkars like other Subahs. Sirkar Jalesar (Jellasore) includes the greater part of the present district of Midnapore. The other Sirkárs are Bhadrak, Kaṭak (Cuttack), Kalinga Dandpát, and Raj Mahindrah (Rajamundry), but no details are given of the two last, and it is well known that they were not subject to the Empire. (Aín Akbari by Blochmann, Persian text, Vol. II, p. 209).

dars were appointed, one at Jellasore, the other at Bhadrakh. Balasore itself was not a place of importance in those days. After the death of Munim Khán the reins of authority became relaxed, and Dáud came up into Balasore and marched into Bengal. The Afgháns of Orissa were for many years in a characteristically Afghán state of riot and quarrelling, and Balasore, lying as it does between Cuttack and the Bengal frontier, was often the battle-field between the rulers of the two provinces. None of the battles were, however, very decisive, nor are there any traces of the battle-fields still remaining, though many villages and market places with Musalman names in various parts of the district testify to the settlement of Afghán and Mughal invaders.

In 1582 Kutlú Khán, the Afghán leader, who since Daud's death had been the virtual ruler of Orissa, marched through Balasore against the Subahdár of Bengal, and advanced as far as Burdwan, where in 1583 he was defeated by Sadik Khán. At that time the sway of the Afgháns of Orissa extended with a few exceptions as far as the Rúpnaráyan river, but after this victory they were beaten back, and retreated to Cuttack, leaving Balasore as far as the Baitarani river for a time unmolested.

Kutlú Khán died in 1590, and his sons being minors sued for peace and agreed to surrender the temple of Jaganáth and the sacred domain or "khetra" to the Emperor. The Governor of Bengal at this time was Rája Man Singh, who as a Hindú was highly pleased at rescuing the holy city from the hands of the infidels who had long exercised a cruel and tyrannous sway over the priests.

Two years later, however, the treacherous Afgháns again seized Jaganáth and this roused Mán Singh's wrath, and in a great battle fought in 1592 on the northern bank of the Subanrekha, probably on the same site as Munim Khán's victory at Tukaroi or Mughalmari, he utterly crushed the Afgháns and took possession once more of Orissa. The rebels were turned out of Jellasore and fled to Cuttack where they shut themselves up in the strong fort of Sarang Garh, three miles south of the city. Mán Singh soon after besieged and took Sarang Garh, and received the submission of the Afgháns.

Sulṭán Khusrau, grandson of Akbar and son of Jahangir was named Viceroy of Orissa, but he never visited the province, his appointment being probably merely honorary.

Mán Singh having gone to Agra to pay his respects to the Emperor, the Afgháns under 'Usman Khán again rose in 1598 and collected a large force at Bhadrakh, where they defeated the Imperial troops under Maha Singh, occupied a great portion of western Bengal, and again obtained possession of Balasore as far as the Subanrekha. Mán Singh, however, again returned and defeated 'Usman at Sherpur 'Atai north of Burdwan.

'Usman as usual retired to Cuttack, where he was not pursued. In all these constant advances and retreats, the Afgháns seem always to have regarded Bhadrakh as their frontier. Jellasore was the frontier of the Imperialists, and the intermediate country was a debateable ground over which both parties fought at their pleasure. I mention this fact as confirming what I have said on a previous page, that central and northern Balasore even down to so late a period as this, contained no towns of importance but was scantily peopled and not worth fighting for.

For eleven years 'Usman Khán ruled at Cuttack, but does not seem to have exercised much sway over Balasore, as he never during that time came into collision with the Imperial garrison at Jellasore, which he could not have failed to have done had he ventured so far north. In 1611, however, he appears to have begun aggressions once more, and encamped on the banks of the Subanrekha again with an army of 20,000 horse and defied the Emperor's forces. After a fierce encounter which from the accounts given by the native historians appears to have taken place among the marshes near Rájghat on the southern side of the river, 'Usman was shot in the head and died. His troops fled in disorder and Shujáat Khán, the leader of the Mughals, entered the province as a conqueror and annexed it finally to the Empire.

Orissa now enjoyed peace for five years under the able government of Ibrahím Khán, and it is from this epoch that we date the rise of Balasore as a commercial town. The district produces rice in abundance, and when the Afgháns ceased to desolate it, it rapidly recovered and began to export. The weavers of Balasore whose cloths were long so celebrated now begin to be heard of, and it was not many years later than this date that the English established themselves as traders in the district.

In 1621 Prince Khurram son of the Emperor Jehangir (subsequently Emperor under the title of Sháh Jahán) invaded Orissa through the hills, turned out Ahmad Beg, the governor of the province, and after appointing Kuli Khán in his place pushed on through Balasore into Bengal. He does not seem to have stayed long in Orissa, though his rebellion lasted a long time in Bengal and Behar. Orissa does not appear to have suffered in any way from the change of governors, nor is there anything further to be gleaned from the Persian historians save a string of successive governors. We learn incidentally that the cultivation of the soil was increasing and was further promoted by the grant of many military jagirs to old soldiers of the Empire. One of these jagirs was established at Dhamnagar where the descendants of the original grantees still live, and a populous Musalman colony has sprung up. It was during this period as will be seen hereafter that the English obtained from the Emperor Sháh Jahán a firman empowering them to open factories at Pipli and Balasore.

In the time of Mir Taki Khán, who was Naib of Shujauddin, Nawab of Bengal, all that part of the Sirkar of Jellasore lying north of the Subanrekha was transferred to Bengal, thus making that river the northern boundary of Orissa. It is much to be wished that this well defined boundary had been adhered to ever since. Taki Khán ruled Orissa from 1725 to 1734. He was a bigotted Musalman, and in his time the Rája of Khurda found or affected to find it necessary to carry off the idol of Jagannáth to the hills beyond the Chilka. All pilgrimage was in consequence put a stop to, and the revenues of the province greatly injured. Taki Khán lies buried in the Kadam Rasúl at Cuttack, but the local traditions of Balasore represent him as having spent much of his time in that town. He built the masonry tank, and reservoir and the mosque and gardens known as the Kadam Rasul in Balasore.* He is also said to have had a hunting palace at Remna five miles from Balasore under the Nilgiri Hills, a place still abounding with game, and whose name (Sanskrit Ramaṇa=a place of sport, or hunting-ground) supports the legend. There are still at Remna extensive ruins of Muhammadan tombs and buildings. Taki Khán is well remembered in Balasore, and his character for piety stands high. A curious legend is current that the Vaishnava, Nandhá Gosain, whose temple is in Malikáspur a suburb of the town, was in the habit of making a great noise with drums and cymbals while celebrating his kirtans or religious ceremonies. The Nawab's devotions being disturbed by this noise, he ordered it to be stopped. That evening when the naubat, or beating of drums at sunset was about to take place, none of the drums would sound, and this state of things continued till the Nawab withdrew his prohibition from Nandha Gosain, when the drums again sounded as usual.

In 1734 Murshid Kuli Khán was appointed governor of Orissa, and with him came as his Dewan the infamous Mir Habib who afterwards betrayed the province to the Marathas. The first thing Murshid did was to induce the Bráhmans to bring back to Puri the idol of Jagannáth which had been carried off for safety to the hills across the Chilka. By this step the revenues of the province were at once immensely increased, as the stream of pilgrims, which had for some time ceased owing to the disappearance of the object of their worship, now set in again, and the tax on them is said to have risen from a nominal sum to nine lakhs per annum. In 1740 Ali Verdi Khán became Governor of Bengal and made himself virtually independant of the Emperor, whose power had been much shaken

* Probably so named in imitation of that in Cuttack, which derives its name "footstep of the Prophet" from being supposed to contain some relics of Muhammad brought from Mecca.

by the invasion of Nadir Sháh and the sack of Delhi. The Governor of Orissa refused to obey Ali Verdi, and the latter marched against him. The two armies met at Balasore and the native account is so precise that I am able to identify the exact spot where the battle took place. It is about a mile north of the Civil Station where a long ridge of high land, then clothed with woods, slopes down into the marshes between the Nuniajori and the Burhabalang rivers near the villages of Haripur and Dohopara.* The river surrounds this land on three sides, and in so strong a position Murshid might long have defied his adversary, who being cut off from the town could get no provisions and was in much distress. Murshid's son-in-law, however, rashly moved out to attack the Nawab, and the result was a complete victory for the latter. Murshid and his party got on board a ship at Balasore and fled by sea to Masulipatam. The Raja of Rattanpur with much promptness carried off Murshid's women and children from Cuttack and delivered them to him in the south before Ali Verdi could come up.

Sayid Ahmad, the Nawab's nephew, was made Governor, and rendered himself very unpopular by his tyranny. At last the people of Cuttack rose against him and recalled Murshid Kuli. He would not come himself, but sent his son-in-law Bakir Khan, who was, however, conquered again on the banks of the Mahanadi in 1741 by Ali Verdi, who appointed Masum Khán Governor of Orissa. He thinking all danger now at an end, disbanded his troops who mostly returned to their own homes, and contented himself with an escort of five thousand horse and some infantry recruited in the province. In this defenceless state was Orissa, when a great calamity occurred which entirely changed the whole current of its history, and introduced the darkest and bitterest period of suffering that the harrassed and wasted province has ever known.

†In the month of February 1743 (Phalgun 1150) the Marathas‡ from Berar entered the province of Orissa. After the defeat of Murshid Kuli Khán by Ali Verdi Khán at Balasore in 1740, the traitor Mir Habibullah, dewan of the former, had secretly invited the Marathas to attack

* To the traveller approaching Balasore from the north through the centre of Murshid's position along the Calcutta Trunk Road the suitability of this particular spot for a camp of defence is very strikingly apparent. Balasore town and station lie along this high ridge with the swampy Nuniajori winding at its foot and the river just beyond.

† The historical details here given are derived principally from Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas; the minor and local details from native tradition and the records of the Balasore office.

‡ I write this word as the natives themselves do मराठा Maráthá, the common spelling Mahratta is incorrect.

Orissa. At this time Raghoji Bhonsla was ruler of Berar holding his court at Nagpur. Habib's negociations were made in the first instance with Bhaskar Pandit or Pant (as the Marathas corrupt the word) Dewan of Raghoji. With his master's permission Bhaskar Pant made an attack upon Behar in the first instance with twelve thousand horse and got as far as Pachet, before Ali Verdi could get up from Orissa to oppose him. A battle was fought at Katwa in which the Marathas were victorious, and Mir Habib having been (probably on purpose) taken prisoner, at once installed himself as Bhaskar's adviser, and enabled him to take possession of the town of Hugli, and subsequently to overrun the country as far as Midnapore. Ali Verdi, however, was not discouraged, he again attacked the Marathas and drove them through Midnapore, skirmishing as they retreated as far as Balasore. Here they made a stand, and a battle took place on the high land now occupied by the Civil station of Balasore, a little to the south of the camp of Murshid Kuli mentioned in a preceding paragraph. The result of the battle was unfavourable to the Marathas, for they retreated on Cuttack, taking the opportunity, however, of plundering everything they could lay hands on as they went. From Cuttack they retreated through the hills to Berar.

Immediately on their return to Nagpore, Raghoji Bhonsla himself resolved to make an attack on Bengal and marched at once. He arrived at a place between Katwa and Bardwan, but the Maratha Peshwa Balaji Rao having been incited by the Emperor of Delhi to restrain his turbulent feudatory, had marched through Allahabad, Patna and Bhagalpur, effected a junction with Ali Verdi Khán at Murshidabad and bore down on Raghoji. The latter having no mind to come to open blows with the Minister of his nominal sovereign, retreated but was overtaken and defeated, after which with the remnant of his forces he marched again through Balasore, plundering and destroying as he went, back to Berar.

Into the confused history of Maratha politics in those days it is not necessary to enter. Suffice it to say that Raghoji Bhonsla was, next to the Peshwá, the most powerful Maratha noble of the time, and shortly after his return to his capital he marched on Sattara, and extorted from the puppet Rája a deed by which, while the rest of the countries under Maratha rule, or rather misrule, were retained by the Peshwa, to Raghoji himself were assigned the revenues of Oudh, Behar, Bengal and Orissa. The Rája was possibly giving away a good deal more than he possessed, but that did not much matter, Raghoji's horsemen, with their long spears, might be trusted to settle the rest.

In the cold weather of 1744 Raghoji sent an army of 20,000 horse into Orissa apparently by way of Sambhalpur. Ali Verdi met them in

Midnapore and being unable to cope with them in the field proposed negociations. He invited to an entertainment Bhaskar Pant, Ali Karawal and the principal officers, and there murdered them. The army retreated in confusion through Balasore and were much harassed by the peasantry who maintained a guerrilla warfare and cut off all stragglers without mercy.*

In 1745 Raghoji took his revenge. Marching down upon Cuttack in November, he overran the country probably as far as the Subanrekha, and refused to leave unless he was paid three krores of rupees. He then advanced to Katwa, but the indomitable Ali Verdi met him there and defeated him, on which he returned to Berar without his money, but plundering as usual on the way.

Raghoji was now, fortunately for Balasore and Orissa, engaged in wars and intrigues on his own side of the country for some time. In the immediately succeeding years he appears to have left Orissa pretty much to itself, though stray bands of Marathas made their appearance from time to time in 1748 and 1749; but in 1750 Janoji Bhonsla, son of old Raghoji, was sent into Orissa with Mir Habib and the two commenced their old system of plunder and extortion. In 1750 Ali Verdi lost all hope of resisting the marauders and gave up to them the whole province south of the Subanrekha as well as the Pargana of Pattáspúr north of that river. The Marathas were to hold the province as security for the *chauth* or tribute always claimed by them from conquered provinces.

Stirling speaks of a second invasion which occurred in 1753, but this seems doubtful. At any rate it could not have been led by Janoji, for Raghoji died in that year, and Janoji was busy in securing his succession to the hereditary office of Sena Sahib or Commander-in-Chief and was at Puna for that purpose during the greater part of the year.

In the year 1751, during Janoji's occupation of Orissa, the traitor Habib met his deserts. Janoji charged him with embezzlement and made him prisoner in his camp at Garhpada, a large and important village on the borders of Moharbhanj, 15 miles north of Balasore, and still the seat of a respectable family of zemindars. Habib was indignant at being confined, and with a few followers tried to escape, and the guards placed over him hacked him to pieces. The place, where his camp was pitched, is still known as Habibganj. It is a small bazar and village in Pargana Garhpada.

There is nothing further at this period specially relating to Balasore. In 1755 the whole province was finally and conclusively made

* One is glad to see the Oriya peasantry showing some little spirit on this occasion. It would have been better for them had they done so oftener.

over to the Marathas at the request of the zemindars of Midnapore and Burdwan in exchange for 4 lakhs of the "chauth", the remainder to be paid from Bengal. Janoji's attention was engrossed by more exciting events in his own country, and he contented himself with getting as much money as he could out of the province and leaving it to be governed by his officers as they chose. The northern limit of Orissa was at this time not as is generally stated at the Subanrekha, but included Pataspur and Bhograi.

The oppression of the Marathas has often been written about. To this day the peasant's name for anarchy and oppression is "Maratha Amal." Janoji Bhonsla died in 1773, and was succeeded by his brother Sabaji, who ruled till 1775, when he was slain in battle by Madhoji his brother, who succeeded him as regent for his own son Raghoji II who had been adopted by Janoji and named his successor.

Before continuing the history of Balasore under the Marathas it will be interesting to collect the scattered notices of their presence in Orissa as it affected the then growing power of the English. Our countrymen as will be stated more in detail in the next section, had for more than a century been in possession of factories and trading-posts in Orissa.* The chief of these were at Balasore and Pipli on the Subanrekha of which more hereafter. The first entry in the Government records is dated 25th February 1748, and records the alarm caused by the Marathas, then encamped at Katwa in Burdwan and threatening Murshidabad. On the same date Mr. Kelsall, Resident at Balasore, suggests the sending of the post by mounted postmen as faster than runners. The Marathas were in great force in the Santhal Pergunnahs and all over lower Bengal, and took a fort on the site of the present Botanical Gardens. The Nawab sends a hint to the English to the effect that they should drive away these marauders who had plundered the Company's fleet of boats laden with silk from Casimbazar.

In August of the same year, Mr. Kelsall again writes from Balasore that the "Morattoes Horse" had attacked the factory of Balramgarhi at the mouth of the Balasore river, but had been repulsed by the Nawab who had pursued them into Cuttack.

In May 1749 the Nawab was at Cuttack, the Marathas had fled, but were expected to return the next year, which, as we have seen, they did under Janoji. There were still, however, parties of them hanging about Diamond Harbour and the lower reaches of the river. They seem to have given the English a wide berth, though the timid Bengalis could make no

* Selections from the records of the Government of India, by Rev. J. Long 1748 to 1767.

stand against them. The Marathas were not blood-thirsty, their object was plunder, but of that they were insatiable. Too contemptuous of the Oriyas to take any great precautions, they seem to have wandered about in small bands stripping the country bare as they went.

In 1750 with Janoji's return matters grew worse and we find Mr. Kelsall reporting that, owing to the disturbances in the country, he could not "purchase any ready money goods, as the weavers or greater part of them have been obliged to abscond."

Stirling would appear to be correct as to an invasion in 1753, (though I do not think Janoji himself could have been with it), for the Resident at Balasore writes from Balramgarhi on 1st February of that year in a very desponding tone—"Weavers at Balasore complain of the great scarcity of rice and provisions of all kinds occasioned by the devastation of the Mahrattas, who, 600 in number, after plundering Balasore had gone to the Nellegreen (Nilgiri?) hills; several weavers have brought their looms into the factory, and the few who remain declare they shall be obliged to quit the place. Desires he will send him 1500 or 2000 maunds of rice on the Honorable Company's account."

The residency at Cuttack does not seem to have been established till 1757, nearly a hundred years later than Balasore; for there is a letter dated 24th July of that year from Mr. John Bristow urging that he be allowed to hoist the Company's flag there. Again in 1759 Mr. Gray is directed to stay at Cuttack as long as he can with safety to himself, to keep the Government informed of the proceedings of the "Morattoes."

Even so late as 1760 the English do not seem to have contemplated that the Marathas would permanently retain Orissa, though one would have thought that they must have heard of the treaty in 1755, in spite of which "Mr. John Burdett at Balasore requests to be allowed to keep the spies allowed for that Factory, while the Marathas remain in the country, otherwise it will be impossible for him to acquaint us with their motions." (March 27.)

It appears in fact that the Marathas were bad neighbours, and not careful to confine themselves within their treaty boundaries. Long after 1755 the Burdwan Rája collected and kept up troops from fear of them and "Gawsib Singh the Jellasore zamadar, a man of great valour" was sent into Midnapore to protect the ryots. Pattaspore being in the hands of the Marathas, Jellasore must have been a very exposed position, a long narrow strip in fact of the Nawab's territory stretching far down into the country held by the Marathas, and consequently exposed to inroads from them. The collection of troops by the Bardwan Rája was probably simply a feint and was seen through, and he was ordered to disband them. Sheo Bhat Sántra was the first Maratha Subadar of Orissa,

and he it is who is alluded to in the Proceedings of 25th February 1760 as "Shubuts having entered this Province with a party of Marathas and commenced hostilities against us." The people of Balasore have no distinctly historical facts to relate of this period; all they know is, that bands of "Bargis," as the Maratha horse were called, were always wandering about the country, fighting and plundering under pretext of collecting revenue. The zamindars and khandaits were turbulent and refractory, and it is astonishing how little influence the Marathas seem to have had over them.

In 1761 we hear of the troops of "Shah Bhut" coalescing with the Rájas of Birbhum and Bardwan, and subsequently returning to Balasore by way of Midnapore. It appears from Proceedings of September 17, 1761 that Sheo Bhat considered himself entitled to take possession of Midnapore, and to ravage Bengal whenever he did not get his chauth, and the English therefore resolve on that date to "set on foot an expedition against Cuttack," the Nawab to pay the cost by an assignment on the revenues of Jellasore and Cuttack. The omission of all mention of Balasore shews that it had still no importance in the Revenue Department. The old division into the Sirkars of Jellasore, Bhadrakh, and Cuttack was evidently still in force. Sheo Bhat had at this time forcibly annexed the chauth of Midnapore to that of Cuttack and was deaf to the Nawab's remonstrances. Mr. Johnstone the Company's Resident at Midnapore was beseiged in "Midnapore house" 14 days by Sheo Bhat at the head of a large force, and made a gallant defence. This roused the Calcutta Committee and they suggested to the Nawab that the war should be carried into the enemies' country by an expedition to Cuttack, which would have the effect of securing to him "the total ancient possessions of the Soobahs of Bengal" and be "a considerable addition to his revenues and a firm barrier against future incursions of the Marathas." They wrote at the same time to the Bombay Committee urging them to make a simultaneous attack on the Marathas from their side.

Nothing, however, came of this, owing to the Nawab's unwillingness to act. In 1763 there is a letter from the Governor at Balasore to one "Moonshee Gholam Mustapha" directing him to warn Sheo Bhat that in case of his continuing to oppress the ryots "the army that is just arrived from Madras" would be sent against him, and the town of Cuttack taken from him. In 1764 Sheo Bhat was turned out, and Bhawani Pandit appointed in his place. On the 5th October the latter writes a threatening letter stating that the former Nawab's negociations concerning the chauth were never brought to an issue without the approach of an army. Unfortunately the extracts in Mr. Long's book are arranged chronologically, so that we never get the full thread of any one series

of transactions. I cannot say therefore what was the result of this letter, but as the English on their part had their hands full at this time with their quarrel with the Nawab, their inaction is perhaps sufficiently accounted for.

There is, however, great dearth of information about the internal affairs of Balasore at this time. On 4th December comes another letter from Bhawani Pandit stating that two years before the zamindars of Moharbhanj and Nilgiri had plundered the inhabitants of some parts of Balasore and entered into a confederacy with Bháskar Pandit, faujdar of that place, whom they had carried off into Nilgiri and kept there, so that no revenue had been received from him for two years. This is hardly to be reconciled with the fact that two years earlier Sheo Bhat and his cavalry had been ravaging Midnapore and Jellasore. The gleanings remaining after Sheo Bhat, for the Nilgiri zamindar to pick up, must have been scant enough. One wonders after so many years of plundering what there could have been left for any one to take. Bhawani writes again on the 27th to say, he had come to the neighbourhood of Jellasore with his troops, but as the Maharája (Janoji) had always been desirous to do "what is most beneficial for the poor inhabitants of the country" (! !) he had ordered his officers not to enter either Jellasore or Midnapore, so as to avoid any breach with the English. All this while Sheo Bhat was still in Orissa exciting the zamindars and paiks to resist the new Governor Bhawani Pandit. The Rája of Kanika whose territories lay partly in Balasore and partly in Cuttack was notorious for the disturbances he kept up. He and his paiks were conspicuous then, and as we shall see for forty years after, for their oppression and general unruliness.

The Court of Directors in 1764 express their great pleasure at learning that the proposed expedition against the Marathas in Balasore and Cuttack had been given up as "conquests are not our aim." They little foresaw what an amount of conquests would soon be forced on them by circumstances!

The Marathas were now, however, on good terms with the English, and in February 1764 there was a good deal of correspondence. Three residents were appointed, Mr. Marriott at Balasore, Mr. Hope at Cuttack, and Mr. Moore at Malood; their chief business was to keep open the communication between Calcutta and Madras, and on one occasion mention is made of sending letters by this route to Bombay, a project frequently revived in subsequent times. A letter was also written to "Bauskir Pandit, Fauzdar of Ballasore" (probably the Bháskar Pandit mentioned above) requesting him to assist Mr. Marriott who was to live at the Company's Factory; and another curious letter to "Chumina Sen, Chief at Cuttack" requests him to give strict orders to the zamindars to

provide "oil and mushauls, tom-toms and pike-men &c. according to custom." The tom-toms were to be beaten to frighten away tigers which infested the jungles through which the road passed, a significant hint as to the desolate state of the country in those days.

At the end of this year, however, we again hear from Midnapore and Balasore of threatening bodies of Maratha horse on the Balasore frontier, to check whom it was thought advisable to despatch a small force under Major Champion to garrison Midnapore. Janoji appears about this time to have sent a force of 5,000 cavalry to take possession of Midnapore.

We now come to the acquisition by the Company of the Dewany. The Directors in 1767 agree to pay to the Marathas all arrears of chauth on condition of the cession of Orissa, and negociations were in consequence opened with Janoji to this end. A vakil, one Udaipuri Gosain, was appointed by Janoji to treat with the Bengal Council, and the amount was fixed at 13 lakhs of rupees. The vakil, however, pretended that he had no authority to deliver up the province to the English, and there the matter seems to have rested for the time being.

From this point there is little more to record of general history. The internal history of Balasore for the next thirty-four years is also nearly a blank. The Maratha Governors were as follows as far as can be ascertained:

Sheo Bhat Santra	A. D.	1756
Chimna Sahu and Udaipuri Gosain	„	1764
Bhawani Pandit	„	1764
(Sheo Bhat in rebellion in Kanika and Kujang all this time).		
Shambhuji Ganesh	„	1768
Babaji Naik	„	1771
Madhaji Hari	„	1773
Babaji Naik (restored)	„	1775
Madhaji Hari (restored) same year	„	1775
Rajaram Pandit	„	1778
Sadashib Rao	„	1782
Chimnaji Bala...	uncertain.	

Of the local Faujdars in the Balasore district tradition has preserved some scattered reminiscences. Bhaskar Pandit was Faujdar about 1760, and is mentioned as we have seen in the English records. The story of his having been carried off into Nilgiri by the Rája has been noticed above. From him is probably named the village of Bháskarganj opposite to the Mission premises at Balasore.

Lala Kishor Rai is also mentioned as Faujdar, but his date is not certain. He is said to have founded the Lala Bazar near Bárabáti in the town; and to have built a Báradari or twelve-doored palace near that place.

After him came Raghunath Sárang whose name is connected with the village of Raghunáthpur, eighteen miles east of Cuttack; he was succeeded by Motiram whose administration lasted for a long time, some say, for fifteen years, but this is improbable as the Marathas were constantly changing their officials, and few, even of the higher grades, held office for more than four or five years. In his time an expedition was sent against Bairagi Bhanj, Rája of Moharbhanj who had withheld his peshkash. This expedition returned victorious and brought with it, besides the captive Rája, two idols of Hanuman and Lachminarayan which are still worshipped in temples in the town.

The last Maratha Faujdar of Balasore was Mayúra Pandit, commonly called Moro Pant who lived on the site where the Jagannáth temple in Balasore now stands. He appears to have been a rapacious tyrant, and there are several allusions to him in Captain Morgan's early letters. When defeated by the English, he retired to Cuttack plundering the ryots as he went, and in the following year we find the revenue authorities allowing remissions on account of rents forcibly collected in advance on his retreat by Moro Pant. Oddly enough he is stated in the correspondence to be still residing in Cuttack, and it is suggested that he be brought to account for his spoliations, but the wise policy of passing a sponge over all transactions of the former Government, which prevailed at that time probably saved him, as we do not read of his being questioned.

To close the account of the Maratha period, I here bring together various facts or traditions which I have collected from natives of the district. The town of Balasore in those days consisted principally of the bazars which had grown up round the English and Dutch settlements, and of the suburbs lying along the river, then as now, chiefly inhabited by Muhammadans, as Kasba, Muhamadpur, Nurpur &c. Motiganj, now the centre of the town, and the principal market-place was founded by Motiram, probably about 1785—1790. The rest is described as a plain covered with jungle and scrub. The road to Jagannáth ran through the town past the Gargaria tank to Phulwar Ghát and must have been from the nature of the country almost impassable for six months of the year.

Rents were paid chiefly in cowries, and all collections were remitted to Cuttack once in three months, including the peshkash from Morbhanj and Nilgiri. The peshkash of Amboh, Keonjhar, Sokinda, Chidra and other mehals near the Baitarani appears to have been paid through the Faujdar of Bhadrakh. Old men still remember to have heard

their fathers tell of the terrible punishments inflicted by the Maratha rulers. All cases were tried verbally, no record of any kind being kept, and culprits were sentenced to be tied to the heels of a horse which was then flogged through the streets. Others were bound, smeared with sugar and exposed to the ants and other insects. Others again had their fingers tied together and wedges of iron inserted between them.

The trade of the port was even then considerable. Madras ships came for rice and paddy, and the Laccadive and Maldive islanders then as now visited the port. It was from these latter that the cowries, so much used as currency, were obtained.

A seer of rice was sold for 15 gandas or about 70 seers to the rupee. (It was 65 seers in 1805, and now in favourable seasons sells at 30 or 32.) Opium cost a *pan* of cowries per masha, salt 14 karás per seer. The advantages of low prices were, however, much counterbalanced by the capricious exactions of the rulers. Although they seem to have had the sense not to drive away the trade by oppressing foreigners, yet upon the natives of the province itself they had no mercy. It was dangerous to be rich, or at least to display any amount of wealth, lest the attention of the Marathas should be called to the fact, and plunder and extortion follow as a matter of course. It is not surprising therefore that when the English appeared on the scene, the Marathas were left to fight their own battles, quite unsupported by the people. Indeed, they seem to have been so conscious of their unpopularity as never to have attempted to enlist the sympathies of the Oriyas on their behalf. Had they done so, the turbulent Rájas of the hills and the sea-coast might have given us a great deal of trouble and enabled the Marathas to hold out for some time.

The English Period. The English as traders.

To Balasore belongs the honour of containing the first settlement made by our countrymen in any part of the Bengal Presidency. By a firman, dated February 2nd, 1634 the Emperor Shah Jahan granted them permission to establish a factory at Pipli on the Subanrekha.* They were prohibited from settling on the Ganges or any of its branches, in consequence of the disturbances caused by the Portuguese in the Sundarbans and other places shortly before. In 1640 through the intervention of Mr. Boughton, a Surgeon who had obtained great influence over several members of the Royal Family by curing them of various diseases, the English obtained permission to establish factories at Balasore and Hughli. In consequence of this permission they applied to the Nawab who granted them 12 bátis (a báti is 20 bighas) of land near the village of Balasore which was then rising into some importance as a port. The settlement

* Stewart's History of Bengal, page 244.

was called Bárabáti (*i. e.* twelve bátis) from its extent, and is at present the principal quarter of the modern town of Balasore, and the residence of the wealthiest merchants.

It is not exactly known when the Dutch first came to Orissa, their settlement at Balasore, however, is less advantageously situated than that of the English. The latter commands the river and a convenient careening creek, and has also better means of access to the native town, while the Dutch Settlement, still called "Hollandais Sahi", is behind that of the English and cut off from the river and the town by Barabati. I conclude therefore that the English came here first, as if the Dutch had been first in the field, it is not likely that they would have taken the worse site of the two. We do not find any mention of them before 1664 when they had a dispute with the English about their mutual boundaries, which was settled by the Nawab Shaista Khán. The boundaries are, however, very vague and refer to certain trees, roads and ditches which are of course not now in existence. The present boundary is very irregular and overlaps the land of Barobati in several places.

From the Cuttack records it appears that they acquired a plot of land at Balasore from the Nawab Mataqid Khán; this officer was naib for Sháh Shuja son of the Emperor Sháh Jahan and was appointed in A. H. 1055= A. D 1645. (Padshahnamah, II, 473.) This would make them at least 5 years later than the English, even if we suppose them to have got the grant in the very beginning of Mataqid's tenure of office.*

The Danish Settlement, now called "Danemár Dinga" is worse situated than the Dutch, being further up the creek and further from the town, and it is stated by Stewart that they and the French did not arrive in Balasore till 1676. There is a Dutch tomb still standing in the compound of the old factory, on which is the following inscription:

"Michael Jans Burggraaf van Sevenhuisen obiit [ ] Novemb. 1696." The day of the month has unfortunately been broken off in the cyclone of July 1871 by a tree falling against it. Stirling is in error in saying (Orissa, page 30) that this tomb is dated 1660. It is a huge triangular obelisk of brick plastered, about 50 feet high, and the inscription is so high up that a mistake might easily be made in copying it from the ground. To make sure I climbed a mango tree standing close in front and copied it from a distance of a few inches only. The oldest tomb in the English cemetery at Bárabáti is dated 1684 and the inscription runs thus—

$$16\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{coat}\\\text{of}\\\text{arms}\end{matrix}\right\}84$$

* It is probably from this governor that the Parganahs of Matkatabad and Matkatnagar take their names.

Here lyeth the body of Ann late wife of Captain Francis Wishaw who died y^e p^mo. 9 ber aged 26 years.

Also the body of Edward his son who deceased the 27th of the same month aged 4 years Anno Dni. 1684.

There were minor settlements at Soroh and Bhadrakh, and the chief article of trade was that in "Sanahs" a peculiar kind of fine cloth which is still occasionally brought for sale to Balasore. This will explain the frequent allusions to the weavers in the early records.

Balramgarhi is situated at the mouth of the Balasore river, and was formerly a large and flourishing place. The native village was washed away in the storm of 1831 and since then the place has been desolate. The old house, however, has lately been repaired and is inhabited.

We have only scattered notices of Balasore from time to time in the various histories. These I proceed to put together into as continuous a narrative as possible, aided by the few vague local traditions which still remain.

In 1685 Balasore was near being abandoned by the English altogether. Shaista Khán the Nawab of Bengal was accused by them, of oppressing their servants and injuring their trade. Apparently the English were not free from blame themselves. However, as usual they carried matters with a high hand, and the Company at home with permission of James II sent out a fleet of 10 ships under Admiral Nicholson with orders to proceed first to Balasore, and remove the Company's servants and break up the factory. He was then to go to Chittagong, fortify it and make it a base of operations and asylum for the English, from which to commence the war, by first attacking Dacca and gradually over-running Bengal.* Nicholson's fleet, however, met with bad weather and eventually arrived at Hughli, and a war ensued which was not brought to a close till 1687; a peace was made in that year but did not last many months. The Company annoyed at the failure of Nicholson's expedition, sent a second under Captain Heath, whose first proceeding was to carry off Mr. Charnock and the Company's servants from "Chuttanutty" (now Calcutta) and taking them on board his ships sail for Balasore. The Governor of that place, whose name is not mentioned, offered to treat with him, but as Heath would not consent to do so, the Governor seized the Company's two factors and imprisoned them. "Heath landed with a party of soldiers and seamen on the 29th November 1688 attacked and took a redoubt of 30 guns and plundered the town of Balasore."† The

* Stewart, p. 312.

† Stewart, p. 321.

fort could only have been at Muhamadnagar near the present Customs Wharf, as there is no other place near the town where a fort could have been of any use. At that place there are still some curious mounds and ridges which closely resemble fortifications, and the position is one which would command the approach to the town by water as well as the shipping in the port. The two unfortunate factors were sent into the interior and never heard of again. After this senseless and purposeless outrage, Captain Heath sailed away to Chittagong, and the native governor very naturally demolished the Company's factory.

Balasore now remained unoccupied by the English till 1691, when a firman was granted by Aurangzeb for the re-establishment of the factories in Bengal. Mrs. Wishaw's tombstone mentioned above has a great hole in it, which looks as if it had been torn up from its original position and probably thrown away, till restored on the re-occupation of the factory by our countrymen. It is the only tombstone of so early a date. The next is to the memory of Mrs. Kelsall, wife of the factor already mentioned, and is dated 1751. Calcutta was not founded till 1690 and it is curious that we hear nothing of Pipli in all these events. It would seem that Balasore had become the more important place of the two.

Nothing more is known of the condition or circumstances of Balasore Factory till 1748. It is said by some writers that on the capture of Calcutta by Surajuddaulah in 1756 the English fugitives took refuge at Balramgarhi. I find no mention of this in the Records, and it would on the contrary appear that Drake and his garrison were on board their ships at Fulta till the arrival of Clive. In 1763 the French fleet was cruising in Balasore roads and captured some English ships (Long, p. 295), which caused a great panic in Calcutta. Two years previous to this, the following curious and interesting entry is to be found in the Government records (Long, p. 250.) " From Latful Neheman (? Rahman) Thanadar of Balasore, January 1761. Some time ago the merchants were wont to send iron, stone-plates, rice and other things from hence to Calcutta, and they brought tobacco and other things from thence to sell here, and therefore the merchants reaped a profit on both. Two years ago Mr. Burdett came here and Jaggernauth was his Mutsooddy and brought a sloop for his own use and intercepted the trade from Balasore to Calcutta. The merchants were so much distressed that they relinquished trade, and many of them left the place and transacted their business at Kunka, where they remain and those that are here are greatly distressed and are always making complaints. I have represented it to him but he will not listen to it. He has left the factory and embarked on board a sloop, and has intercepted the merchant boats and will not permit them to pass."

It will be observed that the trade in stone-plates and rice constituted then as now, the principal export of Balasore.

The only other notice of this period is a petty squabble in 1766 with the Dutch about a rope walk which was made by the English on land claimed by the Dutch. The land was given up by the former.

Commencement of English rule.

When the war broke out with the Marathas, as a part of the general operations, it was resolved to drive them out of Orissa, and while General Wellesley attacked them from the south, and General Lake from the north, and were victorious respectively in the celebrated battles of Assaye and Laswaree, the 1st Madras Fusileers, with two native Madras Regiments all under Lieutenant-Colonel George Harcourt marched from Ganjam and took the town of Cuttack on the 10th October 1803.

At the same time a detachment of troops, European and native, about 1000 strong under Captain Morgan, and Lieutenant Broughton sailed for Balasore. I cannot find where they came from, but it was most probably from Calcutta, as the native troops belonged to the Bengal army and a detachment of the same troops was sent under Col. Fergusson* to Jellasore to protect the Bengal Frontier. They arrived in three ships, and landed at Jampada near Gabgaon a village adjoining old Balasore on the east, and about three miles below the present town. They were in want of provisions, which were supplied to them by Prahlad Nayak, zamindar of old Balasore. They then advanced along the bank of the river, and owing probably to the difficult nature of the ground, were not opposed by the Marathas till they got close to Balighat just below Bárabáti. Here a band of horsemen bore down on them, and in the skirmish which ensued, one European soldier was killed. The English then rushed forward and attacked the Maratha fort, which stood on the the site of the salt gola, and soon took possession of it. The Marathas appear to have made but a faint resistance, and quickly disappeared. Immediately after this, a drum was beaten in all the bazars announcing that the English had taken possession of the province and would protect all who behaved themselves peaceably.

Finding the old factory in ruins Captain Morgan took up his quarters in a new house built by Mr. Wilkinson the last resident and at once set to work to pacify the district and restore order. The date of the capture of Balasore is 21st September 1803.†

* They were the 1st batt. 5th Bengal N. I. and 2nd batt. 7th N. I.—(Balasore Collectorate records 1804).

† (Morgan to Post Master General 26-9-1804 and Grant Duff History of Marathas.)

The news of this success reached Colonel Harcourt before he arrived at Cuttack. The earliest letter in the records of the Balasore Collectorate is one from Colonel Harcourt to Captain Morgan congratulating him. I give it a portion of it.

"In Camp at Burpoorshuttumpore, 25 miles south of Cuttack, 3rd October 1803.

"SIR,

"I have great satisfaction in acknowledging the receipt of yours of the 22nd ultimo and am happy to hear of your successes in Balasore.

* * * *

"I have &c.

"G. HARCOURT,

"*Lieutenant Colonel.*

"*Coming. in Cuttack.*"

This shews that Morgan had taken Balasore before the British force had even reached Cuttack.

Captain Morgan, who appears to have been a rough and ready, but able officer, pushed on a small detachment and occupied Soroh, which for some reason he miscalls Soorrung, on the 3rd October. The first book of copies of letters sent is unfortunately not to be found, and the earliest letter of Captain Morgan's is dated 12th June 1804, but from a large collection of letters in Colonel Harcourt's own hand still in the office, his and Morgan's movements may be clearly traced.

Their first efforts were to learn the geography of the Moharbhanj and Nilgiri Hills, especially the passes, and to open communications with the Rajas of those two States. Spies were sent into "Mohurbundge and Lilliagerhy" as Harcourt writes them, to keep a watch on the chiefs, and Passports were to be granted to their vakeels or representatives should they desire to visit Cuttack.

Soroh was abandoned and the detachment under Lieutenant Slye marched to Jajpore in November. Morgan was at once entrusted with Revenue duties, in that month he is instructed to make it known that "as it is the intention of the Commissioners for the settlement of the Province of Cuttack to give a general acquittal of all arrears of Revenue due to the Sircar, previous to the arrival of the British Troops in the Province, we mean on the other hand not to attend to any complaints which the zamindars, kandytes, mokuddums or ryots may wish to prefer against their former masters" (Colonel Harcourt to Morgan 3-11-1803.) The Moharbhanj Ráni was at this time apparently half afraid to come in, and half disposed to be turbulent. Harcourt writes frequent letters to him, and enjoins on Morgan the necessity of extremely conciliatory conduct to him. A certain Mr. Possman appears to have been up in Moharbhanj

meddling, he is warned that if he does not return at once to Balasore "immediate steps will be taken against him." Moharbhanj, however, does not appear to have quieted down, and two Companies of Infantry one from Balasore and one from Jellasore were sent to Hariharpur (spelt Hurispore and Huriorpoor) "to promote the peace and tranquillity of the Mohurbundge district." Further instructions are to the effect following :

"Having cause to believe that the Rani of Mohurbundge and her adopted son Te-koit* are both desirous of the protection of the British Government being extended to them you will direct the officer proceeding to Huriorpore in command of a detachment, to conduct himself towards the Rannee and Te-koit, or their vakeels with every mark of friendly attention. He may open any necessary communication with them, but you will be pleased to enjoin him to avoid committing himself by any promises or agreements that may be constructed by them as binding on the British Authorities in Cuttack." (Harcourt, 16-11-1803.)

Cuttack now begins to be noticeable as it is at frequent intervals throughout the early years of British rule as a place in constant want of supplies and always on the verge of famine. On 1st December 1803 an urgent call is made for fifteen thousand maunds of rice from Balasore. Again on the 1st June 1804 Captain Morgan is ordered to warn all pilgrims of the great scarcity of rice and cowries at Cuttack, and to endeavour to induce them to supply themselves with provisions before entering the province.

On the 1st September 1804 a third call is made on Balasore for 20,000 maunds of rice which were accordingly despatched in boats from Dhamra and Churaman. A long correspondence follows in the course of which occurs an important letter of Captain Morgan's, dated 27th September and marched "Private" in which he explains the cause of the continual scarcity at Cuttack.

He begins by pointing out that twenty miles north of the Mahanadi there was no scarcity at all, that Balasore had rice in store enough for three year's consumption, and it was selling at 65 seers (of 80 tolas) for the rupee : there were immense stocks at Dhamra and Churaman intended for export to Madras, and consequently he concludes that the scarcity of rice at Cuttack is not natural, but must have been artificially produced. In examining the causes for this state of things he arrives at the following conclusions :

1. The large number of Marathas still resident at Cuttack are bitterly hostile to the English and do their best to stop the import of rice in

* Te-Koit is Tikáit one bearing the tíká (tilaka) or mark of sovereignty, and is the usual title of the heir-apparent to a throne.

the hope of starving us out. They have ceased to import from Sambhalpore as they used to, for the same reason, and having long had relations with the ryots many of whom still hold their advances for grain unliquidated they are able to prevent them from bringing in grain to Cuttack.

2. The ryots have hitherto always been accustomed to give up nothing until they were compelled. The Marathas took what they wanted by force, and the ryots did not understand our mild method of asking for and paying for what we wanted, they took it for weakness, and were so elated at their release from oppression, that they thought themselves quite independent and would do nothing to oblige any one.

3. The Amils were in league against us, as they had for a long time taken advantage of their position to hold the lion's share of the profitable export trade to Madras, and did not wish to sell in Cuttack.

4. The Commissariat officers were shamefully inert and incompetent, and notwithstanding all the above drawbacks could, if they would only exert themselves, collect a much larger supply than they did. Colonel Harcourt appears to have taken some effective steps to remedy this state of things, for no further rice was required from Balasore during the rest of 1804 or in 1805.

Raja Tripati Raj was at this time sent from Cuttack to Balasore to act as Amil or Collector of the Revenue, and was put under Captain Morgan's orders; and Amils were appointed at Soroh, Bhadrakh and Dolgram, who also were directed to send in their accounts to that officer. They all appear to have been thoroughly untrustworthy; making use of every conceivable pretext to avoid doing what was required of them, and carrying that exasperating policy of passive resistance at which the Oriyas are such adepts to the highest pitch. The correspondence teems with complaints against them. They would not collect the revenue punctually, they never knew anything that they were asked about, they could not be found when wanted, denied having received this or that order, sent in their accounts imperfectly drawn up, long after time, and sometimes not at all, and on the whole behaved as badly as any set of men in their position well could. This indeed appears to have been the general tone of every one in the Province. Well aware of our ignorance of the country, they all with one accord abstained from helping us in any way, no open resistance was ventured upon, but all stolidly sat aloof—papers were hidden, information withheld, boats, bullocks and carts sent out of the way, the zamindars who were ordered to go into Cuttack to settle for their estates did not go, and on searching for them at their homes could not be found, were reported as absent, on a journey, no one knew where. But if from ignorance the English officers committed any mistake, then life suddenly returned to the dull inert mass, and complaints were loud and incessant.

The Amil of Bhadrakh was one Mohan Lal, the name of the Amil of Soroh is not given, and during this year it would seem that Soroh and Balasore were incorporated into one Amilship under Tripati Raj.

From the circumstance of our not having Captain Morgan's letters of this period, I am unable to give more than a fragmentary history of the transactions that took place. Notices from time to time occur of parties of Marathas having been seen or heard of here and there, and there is a great search to find the "Ongole or Ungool Pass"; nobody seems to have known where it was.

Sambhalpur capitulated to Major Broughton on the 12th January 1804, and all further fear from the Marathas was thus at an end. On the 9th of the same month came also the news of a peace having been concluded with the Raja of Berar.

The light thrown upon the events of the following sixty-eight years by the tolerably complete series of English letters in the Balasore office will be duly made use of in the succeeding chapters, but I conceive it unnecessary to do more in this chapter than to record the few events of importance that have occurred in the period in question. Captain Morgan remained at Balasore till 19th November 1804 when he made over charge to Mr. Ker, Collector and Magistrate, Northern Division of Cuttack. During his tenure of office he had been first simply "Commanding at Balasore" but during 1804 he had gradually grown into Collector, Magistrate, Salt and Customs Agent and general factotum.

Mr. Ker made the first settlement, which was very summary and simple. It included all the country now lying within the Jajpore Subdivision of Cuttack, and the statements referring to it are, in part at least, still extant. To the north this settlement did not go beyond Bastah, as Jellasore was under Midnapore, and the country east of that place came under a separate arrangement. This tract of country between Jellasore and the sea was called the "Mahratta Mehals" and consisted of the Parganas of Pattaspur, Kamardachaur and Bhograi, together with the smaller mehals of Shahbandar, Napochaur and Kismat Katsahi.

There is one volume of letters sent and one of letters received for the year of Mr. Ker's incumbency 1804-5 but they contain very little of historical importance. In the early part of the year the Raja of Kanika, always a turbulent and refractory person, made an attack with, it is said, 600 armed paiks on the outpost of "Rigagurh," the place where his principal fort and residence was situated, on the lower Brahmini just above the point where it unites with the Baitarni, which was held by a native officer and a few sepoys. Captain McCarthy in command of the Honorable Company's brig "Scourge" who was at the time lying off Dhamrah sent an express to the Commissioners of Cuttack, who deputed a force of 400

paiks to keep order. The Rája and his family were seized and taken to Balasore where they were suitably lodged in a house prepared for them, and guarded by barkandazes. Kanika was brought under the management of Mr. Ker (Secretary to Commissioners 27-2-05 McCarthy to Commissioners 3-3-05.)

In this year also the question was raised of the expediency of removing the Calcutta Road into British Territory. It previously passed through the Moharbhanj and Nilgiri States, and the Rájas of those places under pretence of securing the safety of travellers, were in the habit of levying heavy and vexatious tolls at certain ghats or passes on the road. As they demurred about relinquishing this source of revenue, the road was removed and carried through Rajghat and Bastah to Balasore. The old road was very soon deserted by travellers as the new route through British Territory was found to be much safer and cheaper.

Major Morgan was allowed a salary of 500 Rs. a month for the period he had been in charge of Balasore (Accountant 30-9-05). The Amils who were in charge of Balasore, Soroh and Bhadrakh appear still to have been very troublesome; the correspondence of 1804 and 1805 is full of complaints of their remissness and refusal to obey orders.

Having completed his settlement Mr. Ker on the 29th August 1805 made over charge of his office to Mr. G. Webb who was appointed Collector of all Orissa, or as they persisted in calling it, the zillah of Cuttack. From this date down to 1815 there was no resident British officer in Balasore, or in fact anywhere north of the Mahanadi, and as the Collector lived at Puri in the extreme south of the province, his hold over the zamindars of the north could have been little more than nominal.

It is perhaps to the relaxation of control for many years in Balasore that we may attribute that special characteristic of the inhabitants of the district which leads them to carry on their affairs without any reference whatever to the law or to the officials of the Government. They never take the trouble to enquire what the law is on any point, but if a question arises, settle it in any way that may seem best to them. To the same cause may be ascribed the excessive prevalence of the practice of levying illegal cesses, the existence of many kinds of singular and pernicious customs, and the general muddle of conflicting interests observable in connection with landed property.

As the early years of our rule in Orissa were fertile in changes, and worked a complete revolution in the position of the classes connected with the land, it would have been interesting to trace the progress of our laws and rules and their effect upon the province. I am, however, precluded from doing this by the fact that from 1806 to 1828 there was no

[The abrupt conclusion of the foregoing article is due to the most unfortunate loss of the concluding pages of Mr. Beames' Manuscript while it was passing through the press. This mischance is the more to be regretted, as the lost MS. was the only copy in the author's possession; which precludes any restoration of the concluding portion. Fortunately the lost portion was very small; and the article is practically complete, and contains everything of interest and value.—Ed.]

Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper by Major General A. Cunningham, C. S. I., C. I. E.

With one Plate.

[Third Notice.]

Since writing my Second Notice of the very curious and interesting discoveries of Ancient Persian Relics on the northern bank of the Oxus, I have obtained three more gold ornaments, and about twenty more coins in all metals.

The coins consist of a gold Daric and a silver Siglos, of the old Persian mint; a tetradrachm and four drachmas of Antiochus Soter; a gold stater and three copper coins of Diodotus of two different types; a tetradrachm, a silver obolus, and a copper coin of Euthydemus; three tetradrachms of Antimachus Theos, with a drachma and a nickel coin of Agathokles. The silver obolus of Euthydemus is of the standing Herakles type, and is I believe unique. I have again to remark on the continued absence of any Parthian coins, which, as I said before, goes far to prove that the deposit must have been made before the time of Mithridates I, (Arsakes VI). The absence of the coins of Eukratides, the contemporary of Mithridates I, points to the same conclusion; and I now feel pretty confident that the deposit must have been made before their time, and not later than 200 to 180 B. C.

The principal ornament is a gold cylinder of fine workmanship, much superior to that of any Persian gems that I have seen. I have given a photograph of it in the accompanying Plate XXI, marked A, in which it will be seen at once that the cylinder is certainly of Persian origin,—as the conventional figure of Ormazd is represented over each of the doomed prisoners. See Figs. B and C from sculptures at Persepolis.

There are two distinct scenes represented on the cylinder, both illustrating the same subject, of a Persian soldier or chief putting a prisoner to death with his own hand.

In the larger scene there are five figures, two being prostrate dead enemies, on which the other figures stand. The prisoner who is kneeling on one knee, has been wounded in the right knee by an arrow. He holds a short sword in his right hand, and a bow in his left hand, and his head is turned away from the Persian soldier who is piercing him with a spear from above, while he grasps his right wrist. The third figure holds the prisoner's left shoulder with his left hand, while he raises his right hand towards the symbol of Ormazd. The Persian soldier is dressed in the same costume as is seen in the sculptures of Persepolis. He wears a long

robe, and has his bow and quiver attached to his left shoulder behind. From the quiver depend three cords, each finished with a tassel at the end, exactly the same as is seen in the figure of the Persian soldiers at Persepolis. See Fig. E of the Plate from a sculpture.

The smaller scene represents the same subject, but there is only one prostrate enemy, and the Persian soldier who is putting the prisoner to death has no assistant. In this scene the prisoner does not kneel but simply bends forward, while the spear is being thrust into him from above. Here also the symbol of Ormazd is placed over the doomed man. For comparison I have given in the Plate two of these symbols of Ormazd from sculptures at Persepolis.

I have also given a copy of a stone cylinder as an illustration of the art of seal engraving in Persia. See Fig. D. of Plate XXI. The subject is similar to that of the gold cylinder; but the style of workmanship is very much inferior. My chief object, however, in giving it a place in the Plate is to draw attention to the two enemies on the right, who are known to be Scythians from their trowsers and peaked head dresses. One of them has already been captured by the Persian soldier who, while he holds him by the peak of his cap with the left hand, is stabbing him with his right hand. Herodotus, VII—64, describes the Sacæ or Scythians in the army of Xerxes as wearing trowsers and tall stiff caps rising to a point. Over the captive there is a symbol of Ormazd exactly the same as is seen on the gold cylinder.

Now just as these two figures are known to be Scythians by their dress, so the two captives as well as the three slain figures on the gold cylinder may be recognized as Indians by their dress. This dress I take to be the well-known Indian *dhoti*, which is gathered round the waist, and covers the thighs down to the knees. The legs are covered with buskins, such as are still worn by the people of North-Western India and the Panjáb as well as by the bordering Afghans. As it was with these peoples that the Persians came into contact, the Indians would of course be represented as dressed in *dhotis* and *buskins*.

If this identification of the dress be correct, then the gold cylinder must be as old as the time of Darius Hystaspes, who was the only Persian king who had been engaged in war with the Indians.

The cylinder is 1·3 inch in height, and 0·54 inch in diameter. It is very thick and heavy, its weight being 1,520 grains, and its intrinsic value 175 Rupees. It is given full size in the Plate.

The second gold object is a circular disc four inches and three quarters in diameter, 1,500 grains in weight, and 175 Rupees in intrinsic value. See Fig. F, of Plate XXI. It has a border one quarter inch in diameter, ornamented with the conventional Greek representation of water. In the

middle in very bold relief is represented a man riding a Sea Lion, or Lion with a Fish's tail. The photograph is only one half of the original size.

On Greek and Phœnician coins the Hippocamps or Sea-Horses, are usually represented with wings,* unless when attached to the Car of Poseidon. But I can find no examples of Sea Lions. These animals, however, are found in the old Indian sculptures of the Asoka Buddhist Railing at Mahábodhi, or Buddha Gaya.† There are no holes or loops of any kind on the back to suggest what may have been the possible use of this large plaque. The other plaque with the representation of a hunting scene (already published with my second notice, p. 64) has four holes near its middle boss, as if for the purpose of fastening it by nails to some plain back ground. The Sea-Lion plaque might perhaps have formed the breast ornament of a king's or noble's dress, such as is seen on an Assyrian royal robe in the sculptures of Nimrud. [See Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies, Vol. I, p. 399.] But there are no holes round the edge by which it could have been sewn on.

The third gold ornament is an Antelope represented in the act of leaping, with its forelegs doubled up, and its hind legs outstretched. See Fig. G of Plate XXI. It weighs 3,020 grains, and its intrinsic value is about 350 Rupees. The photograph is only one half of the original size. The hind legs rest upon an upright flat tablet, one inch and a half in height and one inch broad, with a highly ornamented border on each face. There is an oblong hole under the stomach, half an inch by one quarter, which looks as if it had been intended for the insertion of some slight staff or handle. In this case it might have been carried in the hand as the symbol of some order, just as the Fish (or *Máhi Marátib*) is carried at the present day.

After the above had gone to press, I met a man at Simla who has several times visited the spot where these Oxus relics were found. The place is one stage to the North of the Oxus, and is called *Kawadian*, a large ancient town on the high road to Samarkand. The guess that I made in my first paper on these relics that the find-spot was the old town of *Kobadian* of the Arab Geographers turns out to be correct. I have heard also that the owner of the land has now sold the right of exploration to a single speculator.

* Duc de Luynes, Satrapies, Pl. XV, figs. 44—45 and XV, 46.

† Archæological Survey of India, Vol. III, Pl. 29.

On Goṇikáputra and Gonardíya as Names of Patañjali.—By Rájendralála Mitra, LL. D., C. I. E.

[Received Oct. 4; Read Nov. 7, 1883.]

In the Preface to my edition of the Yoga Aphorisms of Patañjali I have quoted, without demur, from Goldstücker's learned essay on Páṇini, a passage in which Patañjali is described to have been the son of one Goṇiká, and the country of his nativity to have been Gonarda. These facts are indicated by the epithets *Goṇikáputra* and *Gonardíya* which occur in the Mahábháshya, and have been so explained by the distinguished exegetists Kaiyaṭa and Nágojí Bhaṭṭa. Nor are other authorities wanting to support this view of the case. Hemachandra, in his well known glossary, the *Abhidhána-chintámaṇi*, gives *Gonardíya* as a name of Patañjali.* Following him Professor Táránátha Tarkaváchaspati, in his dictionary, the *Váchaspatya*, makes Gonardíya a synonym of Patañjali.† The identification, however, notwithstanding these authorities, seems to be still open to discussion, and it is one which is worthy of enquiry.

The only passage cited by Goldstücker from the Mahábháshya in which *Goṇikáputra* is named, is the commentary on Páṇini's Sútra, I, 4, 51. The subject under consideration being the use of the accusative case under certain circumstances, Patañjali, after quoting several kárikás, and discussing all the *pros* and *cons* with appropriate examples, asks, with reference to the last example adduced, "What should be the correct form? (*atheha katham bhavitavyam*) the leader of the horse *to* Srughna," (*netáśvasya srughnamiti*) (accusative), "or the leader of the horse *of* Srughna" (*áhosvinnetáśvasya srughnasyeti*) (genitive), and then concludes by saying, "both according to Goṇikáputra" (*ubhayathá goṇikáputraḥ*)‡. Who this Goṇikáputra is, is not pointed out by him, nor by Kaiyaṭa; but Nágojí Bhaṭṭa explains that he is the same with the great commentator himself, (*Goṇikáputro bháshyakára ityáhu*), and Dr. Goldstücker takes this to be conclusive. Apart from this gloss of Nágojí, no European scholar, however, reading this passage, can for a moment suppose that the author is here giving his own opinion. No European author would do so in such a way, and it is rarely that Indian authors indulge in such egotisms. There are a few doubtful instances, but, those apart, the practice is quite

* याज्ञवल्क्यो ब्रह्मरातिर्भागवोऽथ पाणिनी।
शालातुरीय-दाक्षेयौ गोनर्दीय पतञ्जलिः ॥ ५१५ ॥

† पतञ्जलिर्मुनौ।

‡ Kielhorn's edition, p. 336. All the quotations from the Mahábháshya, except when otherwise specified, have been taken from the same edition, and the page references refer to it.

different. Certain it is that Patañjali has to give his opinion at an average once in every tenth line in the course of his elaborate exegesis of over 22,000 lines of 32 letters each, and he always does so by the use of participles, such as *jñeyam* "it should be known," *kartavyam* "it should be done," *vaktavyam* "it should be said," and by other devices, and not by naming himself in the third person. Sometimes, but not often, he appears under the ægis of the modern editorial dignity of the first person plural "we," (*vayantu bruma<u>h</u>*, p. 15,) but never under the third person, nor under the name of Patañjali. The question therefore is not easily solved why he should have preferred the derivative and not-very-honorific Goṇikáputra to his own personal name. I have not had an opportunity of lately reading the whole of the Mahábháshya with the special object of finding out how many times the word Goṇikáputra has been used in it; but in the first volume of the work as edited by Dr. Kielhorn and comprising about one-third of the entire text, this is the only instance, and its evidence leans heavily on the other side: at any rate it is certainly not conclusive.

Of Gonardíya the internal evidence is even more unsatisfactory. It occurs twice in the volume above referred to, and in both places in such a dubious, misleading way as not to justify the conclusion arrived at. The first time I meet with it is in Sútra I, 1, 21. The question at issue there is, how should the rules referring to initial and final letters apply to cases where there is an only letter in a word, and the Sútra lays down that the case is the same "in solitaries as in initials and finals."* This gives rise to a long discussion on the necessity, purport, and use of the rule, and Patañjali, after citing a number of vártikas, comes to the conclusion that the rule is not necessary.† He then cites a vártika which says, "Initiality and finality are effected in a solitary letter from the characteristics of its having nothing preceding and nothing following."‡ Commenting on this, he continues, "the character of having nothing preceding is initiality, and the character of having nothing following is finality; this occurs also in solitarity, *i. e.*, from the circumstance of the character of nothing preceding and nothing following (in a word of a single letter) the operations enjoined for initials and finals must take place in solitary letters, and there is no use in saying (as is done in the Sútra) "in the same way as in initials and finals,"§ *i. e.*, the solitary is by its very nature both initial and final, and there is no necessity in saying that the solitary is governed in the same way &c., and the aphorism is redun-

* आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन्।

† आद्यन्तवद्भावश्च शक्योवक्तुं।

‡ अपूर्वानुत्तरलक्षणत्वादाद्यन्तयोः सिद्धमेकस्मिन्।

§ अपूर्वलक्षण आदिरनुत्तरलक्षणोऽन्तः। एतचैकस्मिन्नपि भवति। अपूर्वानुत्तरलक्षणत्वादेतस्मात् कारणादेकस्मिन्नेवाद्यन्तोपदिष्टानि कार्याणि भविष्यन्ति नार्थं आद्यन्तवद्भावेन।

dant. He then adds, "but Gonardíya says, 'it is true when there are others,'" (*Gonardíyas tváha satyam etat sati tvanyasminniti*), *i. e.*, the rule is necessary because the terms initial and final are not applicable without the presence of other letters. Kaiyaṭa paraphrases the first part of this passage by the words *bháshyakáras tváha*—"but the Bháshyakára says."

Nágójí Bhaṭṭa, who comments on the gloss of Kaiyaṭa, says on this passage, "he (Kaiyaṭa) now explains the word Gonardíya; it is the Bháshyakára," (*Gonardíyapadam vyachashṭe, bháshyakára iti.*). These explanations, however, do not meet the requirements of the case. The saying of Gonardíya is so brief and obscure that I cannot flatter myself with the idea that I have understood it correctly; but as it stands following the disjunctive particle *tu* "but," it means something distinct from what the vártika quoted lays down, and Gonardíya to all appearance seems to be distinct from Patañjali. Patañjali quotes a vártika in support of his opinion, and cannot be expected to set it aside by appearing himself under the name of Gonardíya, though he may well cite the opinion of a predecessor who differed from him and that without any remark.

The second citation occurs in the comment on Sútra I, 1, 29. The rule lays down that the words included in the class *sarva* &c., should not be reckoned as *sarvanámas* if they form a part of a *bahuvríhi* compound. Commenting on this, Patañjali shows that the rule is necessary, and its object cannot be subserved by reference to those rules by which the *sarvanámas* are made to be the first member of a compound. Besides, there is a rule which enjoins the use of the affix *akach* after *sarvanámas*; and if the present rule be reckoned redundant, the use of that affix would be justified in the case of *bahuvríhi* compounds with *sarvanámas* instead of *ka*, and the result would be that in the case of the words *asmat* and *yushmat* followed by *pitṛi*, the use of the affix *akach* would be justified, and the words produced would be *makatpitṛika* and *tvakatpitṛika*, whereas the forms desiderated (*ishyate* and proper) are *matkapitṛika* and *tvatkapitṛika*. Discussing then a question about the effect of rules regarding subsidiaries on those regarding essentials (of Kielhorn's *Paribhashendu-sekhara*, pp. 221f.) the commentator decides that the rule is necessary. He then adds—"But Gonardíya says, the affix *akach* and the accent on the first vowel* should be adopted without any hesitation in either member of the compounds, and the forms should certainly be *tvakatpitṛika* and *makatpitṛika*."†

* The *Udátta* change in the vowel is enjoined in the Phit sútras, *Seangaśitámadantamam* &c., and *Sit sarvanáma*.

† न बज्ब व्रीहौ ॥ १ । १ । २९ ॥
किमुदाहरणम्। प्रियविश्वाय। नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्। सर्वाद्यन्तस्य बज्ब्रीहेः प्रतिषेधेन भवितव्यम्। वक्ष्यति चैतत्। बज्ब्रीहौ सर्वनाम संज्ञायोरपसंख्यानमिति। तच्च विध-

The question now is, whether the half s'loka quoted is really a quotation, or a summing up of the argument? The argument led to the conclusion that the logical form should be *matkapitṛika* and not *makatpitṛika*, and the last is pronounced to be the right form on the authority of Gonardíya without any argument in support of it. This is not the way in which Patanjali advances his opinion. He is invariably very careful in fortifying his position by the citation of all the rules that bear upon it. Nor does he break out into a half verse in giving his conclusion. Whenever he cites his own *kárikás* or *ishṭis* he invariably immediately after paraphrases them in different and, what comes to be, easier language. Nothing of the kind has been done here. Further, the question at issue is the use of the affix *akach*, and nothing in the prose remarks has been said about the initial vowel becoming a *udátta*, but the verse quoted refers to it, and that shows that the verse is a quotation, and that, in order to preserve the integrity of his quotation, Patanjali had to take it as it stood. The particle *tu* "but" also suggests that the opinion about to be quoted was opposed to the conclusion arrived at before. Had Patanjali improvised the verse for the occasion, he could have easily written it without reference to the accent on the vowel. It is true that the word Gonardíya here in Dr. Goldstücker's photolithographs is not followed by that conjunction; but in Dr. Ballantyne's edition from which the passage has been quoted below, as

प्रियायेति भवितव्यम् ॥ इदं तर्हि । द्व्यन्याय च्यन्याय । ननु चाषापि सर्वनाम्न एव पूर्वनिपातेन भवितव्यम् । नैषदोषः । वक्ष्यत्येतत् । संख्यासर्वनाम्नोर्यो बहुव्रीहिः परत्वाच्च संख्यायाः पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति ॥ इदं चाप्युदाहरणम् । प्रियविश्वाय । ननु चोक्तं विश्वप्रियायेति भवितव्यमिति । वक्ष्यत्येतत् । वा प्रियस्येति ॥ न खल्वप्यवश्यं सर्वादेरुत्तरस्यैव बहुव्रीहेः प्रतिषेधेन भवितव्यम् । किं तर्हि । असर्वादेरुत्तरस्यापि भवितव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । अकजर्थमिति । किं च स्यादप्यजाकच् स्यात् । को न स्यात् । कथेदानीं काकचोर्विशेषः व्यञ्जनान्तेषु विशेषः । अचकं पितास्य मकत्पिलकः लकं पितास्य लकत्पिलक इति प्राप्नोति मत्कपिलकः लत्कपिलक इति चेष्यते । कथं पुनरिच्छतापि भवता बहिरङ्गेण प्रतिषेधेनान्तरङ्गो विधिः शक्यो बाधितुम् । अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन्बहिरङ्गो विधिर्बाधते गोमत्प्रिय इति यथा । क्रियते तच्च यत्नं प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च [७. १ १७] इति । ननु चेहापि क्रियतेन बहुव्रीहाविति । अस्त्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् । किम् । प्रियविश्वाय । उपसर्जनप्रतिषेधेनाप्येतत् सिद्धम् ॥ अयं खल्वपि बहुव्रीहिरस्त्येव प्राथमकल्पिकः । यस्मिन्नेकपदमेकस्वरमेकविभक्तिकत्वं च । अस्ति तदार्द्धर्चाच्छन्दं । बहुव्रीह्यधानि पदानि बहुव्रीहिरिति । तद्यत्तादर्द्धर्चाच्छन्दं तस्येदं ग्रहणम् ॥ गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह ।

अकच्स्वरौ तु कर्तव्यौ प्रत्यङ्गं मुक्तसंशयौ ।
लकत्पिलकः मकत्पिलकइत्येव भवितव्यमिति ॥

Ballantyne's Edition, pp. 469 *f.*

also in the Benares lithograph of Professor Bála Sástrí (p. 117), it is put in and it seems to be required and appropriate. Dr. Kielhorn has not noticed it even in his table of variants, owing, apparently, not to his having had those editions before him.

This view of the case, however, is opposed to that of the exegetes. Having already expounded the meaning of Gonardíya in the comment in the first Sútra where it occurs, of course neither Kaiyaṭa nor Nágojí takes note of it here. But Bhaṭṭojí Díkshita, in his Siddhánta Kaumudí, when explaining the sútra under notice, alludes to the passage attributed to Gonardíya as that of the Bháshyakára, *i. e.*, Patañjali. His words are: *Bháshyakárastu tvakatpitriko makatpitrika iti rúpe ishṭápattim kritvaitatsútram pratyáchakhyau.* There is nothing to show how the commentators would explain the difficulties I have pointed out above. No question was raised in their time, and therefore nothing was said. It is, however, easy to suppose that had the inconsistencies and contradictions been called to their notice, they would have urged that what I take to be the opinion of Patañjali were anticipatory adverse opinions (*púrvapaksha*), and that the final conclusion occurs in what I take to be a quotation. To my mind the logical sequences and the expressions used would not be consistent with such an interpretation.

Following my view of the case, it may be urged that there is nothing improbable in Patañjali's quoting the opinions of those who had preceded him. It is not at all unusual for him to cite the authority of his predecessors. Apart from the fact of his work being in a manner a running commentary on the vártikas of Kátyáyana, we find him repeatedly naming others, sometimes in support of his own opinions, and sometimes to refute adverse principles.

Sákala is an ancient author, and his name occurs several times in the Mahábháshya as an authority.* Vájapyáyana is an author whose name occurs nowhere in connexion with any Sanskrit work, but Patañjali cites him as an authority with the highly honorific title of Áchárya.† Vyáḍhi is honoured in the same way.‡ Another, Várshyáyaṇi, is honoured with the higher title of Bhagaván, and the verb put by his name is the same (*áha*) which occurs against Gonardíya,§ and his name is perfectly unknown in our days as an author. Dáksháyaṇa is cited only as a compiler.‖ Men

* उभः शाकलस्याचार्य्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवति । p. 72.
Again, शाकलस्याचार्य्यस्य मतेनकं विभाषा यथा स्यात् । p. 72.

† चाक्षत्वविधानादेकं शब्दं विभक्तौ वाजप्यायन आचार्य्यो न्याय्यं मन्यते । p. 242.

‡ द्रव्यभिधानं व्याडिराचार्य्यो न्याय्यं मन्यते । p. 244.

§ षड्भावविकारा इति ह स्माह भगवान् वार्ष्यायणिः । p. 258.

‖ शोभना खल्व दाक्षायणस्य सङ्ग्रहस्य कृतिः । p. 468.

of less repute are cited as belonging to the school of Bharadvája,* or simply as "other grammarians."† And if Patañjali thought proper to cite these authorities, there is no *à priori* reason that he should not name Gonardíya or Goṇikáputra.

It might be said that we have nowhere seen Gonardíya and Goṇikáputra cited as authors, and we assume the existence of authors who probably never existed. Such a line of argument, however, is not admissible. When a trustworthy author quotes from an unknown author, we are bound to take for granted that the unknown author did exist, though his work may have long since died out. We follow this principle in the case of Śákala and Vájapyáyana, and there is no reason why we should not do so in that of Gonardíya.

Nor is it necessary to depend on this logical principle in the present instance. In the *Káma-sútra* of Vátsyáyana, there are the most incontestable proofs in support of the assumption. A learned correspondent, Paṇdit Rámachandra, of Alwar, has lately drawn my attention to that work, and I find in it both Gonardíya and Goṇikáputra cited several times as authorities whose opinions were worthy of the respect from the author of that work. Thus, I find in Chap. I, sec. 4 on the subject of wives:

न चैतेऽन्यद् गृहस्थानां चिन्तयाहकमस्तीति गोनर्दीयः।

And further on, न च मूलकारिका स्यात् न चैतेऽन्यत्प्रत्ययकारणमस्तीति गोनर्दीयः।

Again, श्वेडा भयाच्च निगूढसम्भावनार्थिनी स्यादिति गोनर्दीयः।

Again, गुणेषु सोपभोगेषु सुखमाकल्पात् तस्मात् ततो विशेष इति गोनर्दीयः।

In section V, on unchaste women, यं कञ्चिदुज्ज्वलं पुरुषं दृष्ट्वा स्त्री कामयते तस्या पुरुषोऽपि शोधितं अपेक्षायितुं न प्रवर्तते इति गोणिकापुत्रः।

Again, in Chapter VI, on zenana women, ते हि भयेनार्थेन चान्यं योजयेयरिति तस्मात् कामभयार्थैरपि गुणान् स्थापयेत इति गोणिकापुत्रः।

Again, प्रथमसाहसायां सुखभावायां चेति गोणिकापुत्रः।

Again, संस्कृतयोरपि असंस्कृताकारयोरस्तीति गोणिकापुत्रः।

None will, I venture to think, question, in the face of these quotations, the existence of Goṇikáputra and Gonardíya as authors of repute; but it might be said that the quotations do not suffice to prove that the two were separate authors. It might be supposed that the one and the same

* भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति। p. 136.
Ditto, p. 201.
Again, यद्यपि यथा भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति तथा भवितव्यं प्रतिषेधेन। p. 291.

† इतरे वैयाकरणाः समस्यते विभाषा ज्ञेयमारभन्ते। p. 87.

person had two names, and those names belonged, as stated by Goldstücker on the authority of Kaiyaṭa and Nágojí Bhaṭṭa, to Patañjali. Such, however, was not the case. In the very first section of the work there occur the words गोनर्दीयाभार्य्याधिकारिकं। गोणिकापुत्रः पारदारिकं।

Again, in describing Náyikás or amatory females, in section V, of Chapter I, Vátsyáyana begins by saying, "Náyikás are of three kinds: virgins, twice married, and prostitutes." He then adds, "on the other hand, for special reasons a (married) woman taken by a stranger is the fourth kind; so says Goṇikáputra. The fifth class is the widow, according to Cháráyaṇa; the sixth is the female ascetic according to Suvarṇanábha; the seventh is the daughter of a prostitute, a maid-servant, one who has not been taken by any one before, according to Ghoṭakamukha; the eighth is the woman who, having surpassed her youth, is in the full bloom of her beauty and womanhood, according to Gonardíya."* Here we have two different authors entertaining two different sets of opinion—Goṇikáputra adopting the fourfold division, and Gonardíya the eightfold,—and it is impossible to take them to be *aliases* of Patañjali. Whoever they were, and whatever the names of their respective works, it is unquestionable that they were authors of sufficient eminence and authority to be worthy of citation by Vátsyáyana.

The fact of the two authors having been distinctly separate being thus established, the question suggests itself, when did they live? To this no direct categorical answer can be given; but it is obvious they lived before Vátsyáyana who lived long before the author of the Mahábháshya. Patañjali gives the rule for the derivation of the name Vátsyáyana,† but does not say who this worthy was. Grammatically the word implies a descendant of the sage Vatsa by his son Vátsya, but it is generally used as an individual personal name, a proper noun, and not as a generic term. Hemachandra, in his glossary, says it was a name of Chánakya, who also bore the names of Vishṇugupta, Mallanága, Kauṭilya, Pakshila Svámí, Drámila and Aṅgula.‡

* नायिकास्त्रिविधः कन्या पुनर्भू वेश्या चेति। अन्यकारणवशात् परपरिग्रहीतापत्नी पाक्षिकी चतुर्थी गोणिकापुत्रः। तचैकदेशचारिणी काचित् कन्या वा कार्य्यसम्पादिनी विधवा पञ्चमीति चारायणः। सैव प्रव्रजिता षष्ठीति सुवर्णनाभः। गणिकाया दुहिता परिचारिका वानन्यपूर्व्वा सप्तमीति घोटकमुखः। उत्क्रान्तबालभावाकुलयुवतिरूपलावण्यादष्टमीति गोनर्दीयः।

† प्रत्ययग्रहणं चापत्यस्य प्रयोजनं। यञिञोः फग्भवति। गार्ग्यायणः वात्स्यायनः परमगार्ग्यायणः परमवात्स्यायनः॥ p. 88.

‡ वात्स्यायने मल्लनागः कौटिल्यश्चणकात्मजः।
द्रामिलः पक्षिलस्वामी विष्णुगुप्तोऽङ्गुलश्च सः॥

It would appear that the original personal name of the individual was *Vishṇugupta*, "the protected of Vishṇu," which is a fair index to the religion which his father professed. In the Púrvapíṭhika of the Mudrá-rákshasa there is a story which says that Vishṇugupta and his parents were, by order of the Nanda king, confined in a dungeon where they had nothing to eat but gram (*chanaka*), hence the name Chánakya, but the work is of modern date and its attempt at derivation is obviously fanciful. (Notices of Sanskrit MSS. IV, 227.) Hemachandra's *Chanakátmaja* shows that he was the son of one Chanaka, whence the name Chánakya, a very appropriate patronymic. He was a descendant of the Vátsya clan, whence Vátsyáyana. He was the Machiavelli of his age, and the many complicated schemes by which he dethroned the Nandas and gave the kingdom of Páṭaliputra to Chandragupta, got him the nickname of Kauṭilya, the "tortuous," or "wicked," or "crafty one." The epithet Mallanága means "the serpent among heroes," and perhaps bears relation to the insiduous tactics by which he overcame the army of the Nandas. As a student of Nyáya his memory was so strong that he could remember for a fortnight a thesis once told him, and hence the name Pakshila Svámí.* The epithet Svámí shows that he had at the last stage of his life become an ascetic preceptor. As Drámila he is known as a poet. I have not heard the name Aṅgula associated with any Sanskrit work, ancient or modern. Now, this Vátsyáyana lived at the time of Alexander's invasion of India, and, bearing in mind the fact of the extreme reluctance displayed by Indian authors to cite the authority of their contemporaries, the inference would be almost inevitable that Gonardíya and Goṇikáputra must have lived long before that time. On the other hand Patañjali lived considerably more than a century after the time of Alexander, and it would have been by no means inconsistent for him to quote from authors who had acquired the halo of at least three, and probably four or five, centuries, antiquity before him, and who had two centuries before been quoted by Vátsyáyana.

Respect for the dictum of Kaiyaṭa might induce some to urge—though it would be more a cavilling than an argument—that there may have been a Gonardíya and a Goṇikáputra before the time of Vátsyáyana and necessarily long before that of Patañjali, and yet there was nothing to prevent Patañjali from bearing those epithets as his *aliases*. The manner, however, in which those names have been cited leaves no room for the entertainment of such an opinion; and after all it would amount to a mere *ipse dixit* without a scintilla of proof.

The last issue in the case is a purely personal one, and it is just what an Indian like me cannot approach without the greatest diffidence. Kaiyaṭa, Hemachandra, Bhaṭṭojí Díkshita, and Nágojí Bhaṭṭa are the most renown-

* This is, however, said of Pakshadhara Miśra, a much later author.

ed among mediæval Sanskrit grammarians, and their dicta in regard to the special subject of their study are received throughout India with the highest consideration, and without a single demur. It is extremely hazardous, therefore, for people in the present day to call their opinions into question, even when a very strong array of arguments may be brought forth against them. The question at issue, however, is not a grammatical, but an historical, one, and, however great they may have been as grammarians, they certainly were not very careful and critical in historical matters, and an error on their part in the identification of ancient authors is not such as would be impossible, or calculated to detract from their renown as grammarians. It is obvious, too, that the error in the case of Nágoji Bhaṭṭa who lived about 250 years ago, was one of mere copying. He was engrossed with the grammatical questions he had to deal with, and never thought of enquiring into the authority of his predecessors regarding the identification of obscure names, a branch of study which seldom engaged their attention, and gross anachronisms in that respect were easily passed over. Certain it is that he has given us no clue to the identification of any one of the old names which occur in the Mahábhásya. The same may be said of Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita who preceded him by about two or three hundred years. He had Hemachandra's Glossary before him and probably by heart, and that told him Gonardíya was another name for Patañjali, and straightway he adopted it, as for his purposes that was sufficient. Hemachandra flourished in the eleventh century, and to him the authority of Kaiyaṭa was evidently quite sufficient. The original error rests, therefore, with Kaiyaṭa, and Kaiyaṭa alone. If this error be not admitted, we have to fall on the second branch of the alternative and to believe that the Goṇikáputra and the Gonardíya of Vátsyáyana were different, and Patañjali had these two names as his *aliases*, which he used in his work in a very inconsistent and absurd manner to indicate himself in the third person, though he never even for once used his individual personal name for such a purpose. Put in this form the first branch of the alternative is one which impartial criticism will accept as the right one. In support of this view I find a remarkable sentence in a paper published in the August number of the *Indian Antiquary*, p. 227, in which Dr. Kielhorn says, "I hope elsewhere to show by the help of Bhartṛihari's commentary that later grammarians are wrong in identifying Gonardíya with Patañjali." I regret I have not a copy of that commentary at hand to work out the problem for myself. Anyhow, for the present, I give up the inference drawn from the passages above quoted that Patañjali was the son of Goṇiká and a native of Gonarda.

The town of Bulandshahr.—*By* F. S. Growse, C. I. E.

(With two Plates.)

In 1824, when the present district of Bulandshahr was first formed, the town bearing that name was selected for its capital, chiefly on account of its very convenient and central situation.

Though a place of immemorial antiquity, it had fallen into decay centuries ago and had ultimately dwindled down into a miserably mean and half-deserted village. A ragged and precipitous hill, on the western bank of the narrow winding stream of the Kálindi, was all that remained of the old Fort, or rather of the succession of Forts, that in the course of 3000 years had been built, each on the accumulated debris of its predecessor. On its summit was an unfinished mosque, commenced by Sábit Khán, the Governor of Kol, in 1730, and huddled about it were some fairly large, but mostly ruinous, brick houses, occupied by the impoverished descendants of the old proprietory community and of local Muhammadan officials, such as the Kázi and the Kánungo. The rest of the population consisted of a small colony of agricultural labourers, scavengers and other menial tribes, who had squatted in their mud huts at the foot and to the west of the hill, where low mounds and ridges of broken bricks and pot-sherds, the vestiges of former habitation, alternated with swamps and ravines that collected the drainage of all the surrounding country and passed it on to the river.

Only sixty years have since elapsed and out of such unpromising materials there has now been developed as bright, cleanly and thriving a little town as can be found anywhere in the Province. The population has increased to upwards of 17,000, but it is still of much less commercial importance than the flourishing mart of Khurjá, which is only ten miles to the south and has the further advantage of possessing a station of its own on the main line of the East Indian Railway. It is, however, a matter for congratulation that in determining the site for the head quarters of the district the larger town was not given the preference; for in point of sanitation there is no comparison between the two places, Bulandshahr by reason of its well-raised site and facilities for drainage being as healthy as Khurjá is notoriously the reverse.

The only ground for regret is that when the old historical site was adopted, the old historical name of Baran was not also restored. Bulandshahr, which—in English characters especially—has a most cumbrous and barbaric appearance, has no literary authority. Apparently it was imposed by the Muhammadans during the reign of Aurangzeb, when the ruling power was possessed with a mania—like the modern French—for the abolition of every name that suggested recollections of an earlier dynasty. In large towns, such as Mathurá and Brindaban, where also the experiment

was tried, the popular appellation was too strongly rooted in the affections of the people to admit of suppression by imperial edict; but in a little place like Baran, where too the majority of the inhabitants happened to be Muhammadans, there was no difficulty in giving effect to the official innovation. The most favourable opportunity for reviving the older and shorter name has unfortunately been lost, but even now the change might be effected without causing more than a very slight and merely temporary inconvenience; for the name Baran is still perfectly familiar to the people and even officially is used as the designation both of the Pargana (or Hundred) and also of the parish, which is a very extensive one; the title Bulandshahr being applied exclusively to the town, and originally only to the Upper Town, or Fort. In meaning, it corresponds precisely with the English 'Higham,' and was suggested by the great elevation of the Castle Hill, which far overtops any other ground for many miles away. It is said by some to have been merely an Urdu rendering of the Hindi Uncha-nagar, a form that had already come into use and would bear the same signification; but, in the absence of any documentary proof of this assertion, I very strongly doubt whether the Hindus under the Delhi Emperors ever knew the place by any other name than that of Baran. There would seem to be no reason why they should substitute one indigenous name for another; while the object that the Muhammadans had, in introducing a name from their own vocabulary, is easily intelligible.

Tradition goes that in prehistoric times the town was called Banchhati—which would mean 'a forest-clearing'—and that it was founded by a Tomar, or Pándava chief from Abár, named Parmál. The site of this original settlement is the high ground now occupied by the Collector's House and the new Town Hall, and lies immediately to the west of the modern town. It used to be known as the 'Moti Chauk,' or 'Moti Bazár,' meaning of course not a market where 'pearls' (*moti*) were sold, but simply a 'handsome' bazar, as we might say in English, 'a gem of a place.' The large original mound has for many years been intersected by the high road, and was also cut up by a broad and deep ravine. This latter ran down through the town to the river and was a great nuisance. I have now turned back the drainage into a tank called the 'Lál Diggi,' further to the west, near the Magistrate's Court, the overflow from which is carried by a cutting through the fields into the river higher up in its course.

In order to fill up the ravine I levelled the ridge on its bank and having enclosed the entire area as an adjunct to the Town Hall, am now converting it into a public garden, which—to perpetuate the old tradition—I have designated the 'Moti Bagh.' There is much vague talk of coins and solid bars of silver discovered there in former years, but in the course of my excavations I came upon nothing of much intrinsic value. Abundant proofs

were, however, afforded of the interesting fact that in old times it had been occupied by Buddhists. Among my discoveries were several specimens of the curious plain stone stools, such as are figured in Plate III of Vol. XV of the Archæological Survey. General Cunningham says they are found of the same general pattern from Taxila to Palibothra and only at Buddhist sites. They were all about 6 inches high, and a foot long; but not one was unbroken. The ground had been so often disturbed before, that it was not possible to trace any definite line of building, but the fragments of walls and pavements yielded an enormous number of large and well-burnt bricks, each measuring as much as a cubit in length by half a cubit in breadth and three inches in thickness. They were mostly marked on one side by two parallel lines drawn by the workman's finger in the damp clay. Many were broken in digging them out, but many also had been laid in a broken state, as was evident from the appearance of the fracture.

Of more exceptional interest were the remains of what would seem to have been a special local manufacture, being some scores of strange earthenware flask or vase-like objects (Plates XXII and XXIII, figs. 2, 3, 4). They are all alike in general shape, being pointed at one end like a Roman amphora and with a very small orifice at the other for a mouth; but they vary very much in the patterns with which they have been ornamented, and are of different size, weight and thickness. Some apparently had been squeezed out of shape, before the material of which they were made had had time to dry. The spot where they were found is evidently that where they were baked; for, besides the failures, there was also a large accumulation of broken pieces, all mixed in a deep deposit of ashes and the other refuse of a potter's kiln. I sent one to the British Museum, where it was considered so curious that I have been asked to supply some more; and others were exhibited at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; but from neither quarter have I received any suggestion as to the purpose for which they were intended.

Most natives who have seen them think they were meant to hold either gunpowder or oil, which is what the shape suggests; but the material, on account of its weight, seems unsuitable for such a purpose, if the flask was to be carried about on the person; while the pointed bottom makes it awkward for storing. The idea has also been hazarded that they were meant to be filled with gunpowder and then exploded as a kind of fire-work; but, if this were their object, there would scarcely have been so much trouble spent on their ornamentation. A third theory, which has found much favour on the spot, but which at the time I was inclined to reject as altogether untenable, is that they were intended to form a balustrade for a balcony or the roof of a house. At first my own impression was that they were not at all likely to be of the same age

as the bricks. The site might have been originally occupied by a fort or a monastery and then deserted for centuries before the potters came and set up their kilns on it, making use—for their houses and workshops—of any old building-materials they happened to light upon. But finally I came to the conclusion that the balustrade theory was not so very far wrong, and that these curious objects were manufactured in such numbers in order to serve as finials for miniature Buddhist stupas. The dedication of such votive memorials was a recognized duty on a pilgrimage, and it would obviously be a convenience for worshippers to have an establishment for their manufacture and sale in immediate connection with the shrine. This view is strongly confirmed by the discovery on the same spot of what is unmistakeably a finial (Pl. XXIII, figs. 3, 4, in ½ size). It is of similar configuration and has a similar orifice at one end, which in this case is clearly intended for the admission of a supporting rod. But later again I found a circular flask (Plate XXII, fig. 2, in ½ size), which is of the same material and of equal weight and is ornamented in exactly the same style. It is, however, easy to grasp in the hand, and apparently was intended to hold oil or some similar fluid, for pouring out drop by drop. Thus the only definite conclusion at which it is safe to arrive is that various articles for different uses were turned out at the same factory, all being characterized by ornamentation of a peculiar local pattern.

Most fortunately the presiding genius of the shrine has also been revealed. The sculpture was dug up some twenty years ago and since then had been kept in an adjoining garden; but several people distinctly remember its being found on the same spot where the recent excavations have been made. The stone is a square block measuring in its mutilated state 1 foot 4½ inches either way, the material being a black trap, not the *sang-músa*, or black marble, of Jaypur. The principal figure represents the Buddha, enveloped in a thin robe reaching to the wrists and ankles and falling over the body in a succession of narrow folds. His arms are slightly raised in front of his breast, and the thumb and forefinger of his left hand are joined at the tips, while with his right hand he touches its middle finger, as if summing up the points of an argument. On either side of his throne is a rampant hippogriff, with its back to the sage and rearing its head over a devotee seated in an attitude of prayer. The throne is supported on two recumbent lions, flanked by Hindu caryatides with impossibly distorted limbs as usual; and at the base again are other devotees kneeling on either side of the footstool, the front of which is carved with the mystic wheel between two couchant deer. The upper part of the stone has been broken off, carrying with it the head of the principal figure, but what remains is in good preservation and has

been well executed. On a ledge in a line with the feet is an inscription in characters apparently of the 9th or 10th century, which reads as follows :

Ye dharmmá hetu-prabhavá hetus teshán tathágato hyavadat teshám cha yo nirodha, evam-vádi mahásramaṇaḥ.

This would be in English "All things that proceed from a cause, their cause as well as their destruction the Tathágata has declared : such is the dictum of the great philosopher." It is curious that a popular symbol of faith should have been framed with so much tautology in so short a compass, and also with such inadequacy of expression. For the cardinal feature of the doctrine, *viz.*, that effects can only be destroyed by destroying their causes, is not stated at all but merely implied.

Another very curious find was a terra cotta seal (Pl. XXIII, fig. 5, in full size), probably some 1400 years old, but as fresh and clear as if it had been baked only yesterday, and still showing the pressure of the workman's fingers who had handled the clay while it was yet damp. It was inside a closed earthen jar, which accounts for its excellent preservation. It is oval in shape, with a dotted rim, and is divided by two parallel lines across the centre into two equal compartments. In the upper are two devices, one of which is a conch shell, the other—which is raised on a little stand—looks like a wing, and may possibly be intended to represent the *chakwá*, or Bráhmani duck, so frequently introduced in old Indian painting and sculpture. In the lower compartment is the name 'Mattila,' in characters of about the 5th century A. D.

It is quite possible that the Fort on the river-bank may also have been founded by Parmál, for the protection of his infant town of Banchhati. Tradition, however, ascribes it to one of his successors, who is made to bear the name of Ahi-baran, interpreted to mean 'cobra-coloured.' But this appears to me to be absolutely untenable. Baran is certainly not the Sanskrit word *varna*, 'colour,' but *varana*, 'a hill-fort or enclosure;' and Ahi-baran would thus mean 'snake-fort' or 'Nága fort,' in the same way as Ahi-kshetra means 'Snake-land.' No Rája Ahi-baran, I should conjecture, ever existed, though there may well have been an Ahibaran Rája, the town being so called because it was a stronghold of the Nága tribe. Nor is it impossible that the epithet 'Nága,' like the English 'reptile,' may have been attached to a Buddhist community by their Brahmanical neighbours by way of reproach. Another explanation may, however, be suggested. Some twenty-one miles to the north-east of Bulandshahr, on the right bank of the Ganges, is the small town of Ahár, which (according to local tradition) is the spot where, after Paríkshit, the successor of Rájá Yudhishṭhir on the throne of Hastinápur, had met his death by snake-bite, his son Janamejaya, to avenge his father's death,

performed a sacrifice for the destruction of the whole serpent race. Though still accounted the capital of a Pargana, it is a miserably poor and decayed place with a population, according to the last census, of only 2,414. It is evidently, however, a site of great antiquity. Part of it has been washed away by the river, but heaps of brick and other traces of ruin still extend over a large area, and I found lying about in the streets several fragments of stone sculpture of early date. These I brought away with me to Bulandshahr, as also a once fine but now terribly mutilated round pillar, which I dug up on the very verge of the high cliff overlooking the river. This is specially noticeable as having its base encircled with a coil of serpents, which would seem to corroborate the connection of the local name with the word *ahi*, 'a snake.' The principal residents of the town are Nágar Bráhmans by descent, though—since the time of Aurangzeb—Muhammadans by religion, who believe that their ancestors were the priests employed by Janamejaya to conduct his sacrifice, and that in return for their services they had a grant of the township and the surrounding villages. Immediately after this event it is said that the Páṇḍavas transferred their seat of local government from Ahár to Baran, and it may be that they then first attached the prefix *ahi* to the name of the town—so making it Ahibaran—in order to commemorate the circumstances of the migration. This would imply that the town was already in existence; and it might with much plausibility be identified with the Varanávata,* mentioned in the 143rd chapter of the first Book of the Mahábhárat.

All this, however, is conjectural and refers to a period so remote, nearly 1400 years before Christ, that no tangible record of it could be expected to survive to the present day. To come down to somewhat later times: the Bactrian dynasty, which flourished in the centuries immediately preceding our era, and the Gupta dynasty that succeeded it, have both left traces behind them. In the rains, copper and gold coins with Greek and Páli inscriptions, used so frequently to be washed down in the debris from the high ground of the old town, at a particular point, now called 'the Manihárs' or bangle-makers' quarter,' that after any heavy storm people made it a regular business to search for them. To prevent further cutting away, the slope was built up with masonry in 1876; but even since then two copper coins of Su-Hermæus, styled Basileus Soter, a gold coin of Chandra Gupta II, and another of an intermediate dynasty, have been picked up, which I presented to the coin cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

* General Cunningham proposes to identify with the Varanávata of the Mahábhárata a village, now called Barnáwa, in the Merath district. It has not yet been explored, and it is therefore uncertain whether it is really an ancient site or not.

It may thus be concluded that the town of Baran at the commencement of the Christian era was a place of some wealth and importance; while the discovery of the antiquities above described clearly establishes the interesting fact that a little later, from about 400 to 800 A. D., there was a Buddhist community outside the Fort walls, occupying the site now known as the Moti Bágh. The only ancient inscriptions that have been found in the district are distinctly Brahmanical. The oldest is dated in the reign of Skanda Gupta, in the year 146, which—if the Saka era is intended—would correspond with 224 A. D. But this dynasty had an era of its own, which seems more likely to have been the one used, and an element of considerable uncertainty is thus introduced. For the commencement of the Gupta era is a very *vexata quæstio* among archæologists, being put by some so late as 319 A. D., by others at 190, and now by Gen. Cunningham at 167. A complete transcript and translation of the inscription, by Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, C. I. E. are given in Vol. XLIII of this Journal. It is not in itself of great importance, being simply a provision on the part of a Bráhman, named Deva-vishṇu, for the maintenance of an oil lamp, to burn in a temple of the Sun at Indra-pura. The copper-plate on which it is engraved was dug up at Indor, an artificial mound of great elevation and extent, a little off the high road from Anúpshahr to Aligarh, opposite the eighth mile-stone from the former town. As I have shewn at length in my "Mathurá," by an application of the rules laid down by the Prákrit grammarian Vararuchi, the Sanskrit Indra-pura, in the natural course of phonetic decay, must become Indor in the modern vernacular.

The next inscribed memorial is some centuries later in date, but from exposure to rough usage is in a far less perfect state of preservation and is for the most part illegible. It is an oblong block of stone, measuring 29 inches by 10 by 10, which I brought into the station from a well adjoining the tomb of Khwája Lál Barani, which lies across the Kálindi, about half a mile to the east of the town of Bulandshahr. There are two inscriptions, one opposite the other, in characters of different size, but of the same period, probably about 1200 A. D. Both are records of grants for religious purposes, and the stone must have been intended for deposit among the archives of the temple for which the endowments were provided. But it can never have been actually set up, as it is difficult to imagine a position in which both sides could be conveniently read; it is also evident that preparations had been made for splitting it up into two separate slabs of equal thickness. One of the two inscriptions opens with an invocation of Krishna, in the words *Oṃ Namo Bhagavate Vásudeváya.* The stone has been sent to Dr. Mitra for inspection, and eventually for deposit in the Indian Museum.

Of far greater significance is a copper-plate inscription, which was dug up in 1867 at the village of Mánpur, in the Agota Pargana, about eight miles to the north of the town of Bulandshahr. Natives, even of the higher and more educated classes, have a childish notion, of which it is quite impossible to disabuse them, that these old copper-plate inscriptions always refer to some buried treasure. Thus the Council of the Mahárája of Jaypur, on hearing of the Mánpur find, at once put in a claim for anything of value that might be discovered; on the plea that Mánpur had been founded by Rája Mán Siñh of the Jaypur line. The absurdity of the claim was in this case enhanced by the confusion of chronological ideas; for Mán Siñh was a contemporary of Akbar's, while the plate is anterior to the reign of Prithi Ráj. It was sent to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, and a translation of it into Nágari and English by Pandit Pratápa Chandra Ghosh, appeared in Vol. XXXVIII of this Journal. By a strange fatality, the three most important words in the whole record, *viz.*, those which give the name of the reigning family, the name of the country, and the century of the date, are the most doubtful and illegible. The year—which is written at full length, in words—ends with 'thirty-three,' but the initial letters have been obliterated by rust. The century, however, must be either the eleventh or twelfth, for the characters belong to the period immediately succeeding that of the Kutila inscriptions. The date may thus be confidently accepted as either 1133 or 1233 *Samvat*, *i. e.*, either 1076 or 1176 of the Christian era. The earlier of the two seems the more probable.

The grant—which confers a village named Gandavá on a certain Gaur Bráhman—was made by a Rája Ananga, in whose description a word occurs which the Calcutta Pandit first took to be 'Kalinga.' But the only country so-called is an extensive tract far away on the sea-coast, south of Bengal. It was never owned by a single sovereign—which in itself creates a difficulty—and it is further inconceivable how a plate relating to so distant a region could have found its way into the Doáb. The word is very indistinct and ambiguous and (as the Pandit has remarked) may with equal probability be read *kanishṭha*, which will also give an intelligible sense to the passage. The suggestion of 'Kalinga' seems therefore to have been an unnecessary importation of a somewhat gratuitous difficulty. It might perhaps be *Kolánsa*. This is given in Monier Williams's Dictionary as the name of a district, placed by some in Gangetic Hindustán, with Kanauj for its capital, but which it would seem more natural to identify with the country round about Kol, the modern Aligarh.

The name of the family was read by the Pandit as 'Rodra'; but only with great hesitation, and with the admission that it seemed to be something different, though he could not exactly say what. It is really

Ḍor, the name of an almost extinct Rájput tribe, who once were very notable people in these parts, though a Sanskrit scholar in Bengal may well be pardoned for not remembering them. They claim to be a branch of the great Pramár clan, which in ancient times was the most powerful of all the Rájput tribes; "The world is the Pramár's" being quoted by Col. Tod as a proverbial saying to illustrate their extensive sway. They represent their ancestor to have been a Pramár Rája of Mainpuri, who cut off his own head for a sacrifice to the divinity; whence his descendants were styled Ḍuṇḍ, 'the headless', afterwards corrupted into Ḍor. But this is obviously a mere etymological fable. Chand in the Prithiráj-Rásá celebrates a Ḍor chief of Kasondi, a locality which cannot now be identified with certainty, though probably it was a place that still bears the same name near Ajmir. The Ḍors are also mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription of the time of Prithiráj, which was found by Colonel Skinner at Hánsi. This forms the basis for a rhapsody by Col. Tod in his usual enthusiastic vein, which is published in Vol. I of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the body of the article the tablet is described as commemorating a victory obtained over the Ḍors; but what purports to be a more or less literal summary of the inscription is given at the end of the narrative, and all that can be gathered from this is, that in the course of the concluding stanzas the Ḍors are mentioned, but in what character, whether as foes or allies, does not appear. The summary unfortunately is most inadequate; but the main object of the inscription would seem to have been to record the date not of any victory, but of the extension of a fort at Ásí, which presumably was the older name of Hánsi. This work is said to have been executed by a General named Hammíra in conjunction with the Gahlot chief Kilhana, who is described—in Tod's translation—as Prithiráj's maternal uncle. But here lies a difficulty; for Prithiráj's mother was Kamala-Devi, one of the daughters of King Anangpál, who was a Tomar not a Gahlot, and who had no male issue. The date of this Hánsi inscription is *Sambat* 1224 (1168 A. D.). It was found in 1818 and presented to Lord Hastings; but in 1824, the date of Tod's article, it was not known what had become of it. In fact, a singular fatality seems to attend all the records of this ancient Hindu clan—once so considerable, now virtually extinct—for I find, on enquiry in Calcutta, that the Mánpur inscription also has disappeared and cannot be traced.

This grant enumerates fourteen successive Rájas, beginning with Chandraka, the founder of the particular family. The seventh in descent was Haradatta, who was succeeded first by his brother, secondly by a nephew, and only in the third place by his son, who was subsequently deposed by a Bráhman minister, who both secured the throne for himself and bequeathed it to his son. The parentage of the thirteenth Rája is not

distinctly stated, as it is in every other case, and hence it may be surmised that he was not related to his immediate predecessor, but belonged to the original Ḍor stock. This is the more probable, because if he and his son Ananga had been descendants of the Bráhman usurper, the introduction of the Ḍor pedigree would be altogether out of place.

The names stand as follows:

1. Chandraka.
2. Dharaṇi-varáha.
3. Prabhása.
4. Bhairava.
5. Rudra
6. Govinda-rája (surnamed Yasopara).
7. Hara-datta.
8. Bhogáditya
9. Srikuláditya.
10. Vikramáditya.
11. Bhúpati, surnamed Padmáditya, Bráhman Minister.
12. Bhojadeva.
13. Sahajáditya.
14. Ananga.

The above genealogy is of very exceptional interest, because it is known from other sources that at the time of the invasion of India by Mahmúd of Ghazni in 1017 A. D., Merath, Baran and Kol were all held by the Ḍors and that Hara-datta was the name of their Rája, who had his principal residence at Baran. Unable to meet the Muhammadans in the field, he saved his towns from pillage by a nominal submission to the faith of Islám—as is stated in the Táríkh-i-Yamíni of Al Utbi, Mahmúd's Chronographer—and by the tender of a heavy ransom in treasure and elephants. The disgrace that he thus incurred may very probably be the explanation of the fact briefly stated in the Mánpur inscription that his son was twice passed over in the succession to the throne and was eventually deposed.

Before these events there is reason to conclude that Hara-datta was the most important chief in all this part of the country between Kanauj and Thanesar. For Delhi, though refounded by the Rája Dháva of the Iron Pillar about 319 A. D. and again rebuilt in 731 by Anang Pál, the first Tomar Rája of that name, is not once mentioned either by the Chinese Pilgrims or by Al Utbi, and was probably at this period a small, unfortified and quite unimportant village, the capital of the Tomars being at Kanauj.

When that city was taken by Chandra Deva, the founder of the Rahtor dynasty, about 1050 A. D., Anang Pal II retired to Delhi and there established himself. But at the beginning of the eleventh century, Hara-datta, the Rája of Baran, though nominally a feudatory of Kanauj, appears to have been the virtual sovereign of all the country now included in the districts of Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Merath and Delhi, with parts of Murádabád, Mathurá and Eta.

His name is still perpetuated by Hápur, a corruption of Hara-pur, now the head-quarters of the Stud Depôt, of which town he is the traditional founder, and all the fragments of stone sculpture that have been discovered at Bulandshahr may be assigned to his time. As might have been expected from its nearness to Delhi, the Muhammadans have made a clean sweep of the district and razed to the ground every building, secular or religious, that had been erected by its former Hindu rulers. I have been over every part of it, but the sum total of all the antiquities I have been able to collect may be very briefly enumerated. An unusually lofty column is one of a pair that were dug up in some low ground at the entrance to the town from the Chola Railway Station. Though long since brought under cultivation, the field is still called 'the Sarovar,' and is the traditional site of a large masonry tank which Hara-datta is said to have constructed. The companion column is at Mirath, where it was sent by the Sardár Bahádur, into whose hands it had come, and has been worked up into a house he has built there. The one now in my possession I rescued from his stables, where it had been thrown on the ground and was used by his grass-cutters to sharpen their tools on. Six short pillars of the same period were found buried under the steps of a small mosque on the highest part of the old town. In digging the foundations of a house on the opposite side of the same street I recovered a curious stone, sculptured with a representation of three miniature temples. These are of such different design that, if they had been found separately, I might have been inclined to refer them to different architectural epochs. But the excessively archaic type of one must be attributed to the influence of religious conservatism; similar forms may be seen in conjunction on the front of the temples of Khajuráho, which are known to be of the tenth century A. D. A circular pillar, with a coil of human-headed snakes at the base, is, as already mentioned, from Ahár, as also a mediæval door-jamb and a block carved with rows of temple façades in the style of the Násik caves. This last is probably the oldest of the group. Another door-jamb, found in the court-yard of the mosque at Bulandshahr, is comparatively modern.

The Sarovar, or Tank, field, of which I have spoken above, is bounded on the north by an extensive mound, on which now stands the stable for

Government stallions, and in levelling part of it I came upon two curious terra cotta figures, (Plate XXII, fig. 1,) both alike, 5¼ inches high, representing a woman with a parrot, which she is about to feed with a fruit she holds in one hand. She has enormous ornaments in her ears and a variety of chains and bracelets about her. Another fragment—a head only—shows a chignon of most prodigious dimensions. In the absence of stone, the potter's art seems to have been largely developed for decoration and religious purposes, as is further indicated by a clay statue of the four-armed Krishna, which I discovered in breaking down an old well in the upper town. The exact date of these figures cannot be determined.

The Mánpur inscription gives Vikram-áditya as the name of Haradatta's son, and he is probably the same person as a Rája Vikram Sen of Baran, who figures in an Aligarh pedigree. The capital of that branch of the Ḍoṛ family is said to have been transferred from Jaláli to Kol by Buddh Sen, who was the son of Bijay Rám (brother of Dasarath Siñh, who built the fort at Jalesar) the son of Náhar Siñh, (founder of the Sambhal Fort) the son of Gobind Siñh, who was the son of Mukund Sen, the son of Rája Vikram Sen of Baran. Mangal Sen, who succeeded his father, the above-mentioned Buddh Sen, at Kol, is said to have given his daughter Padmávati in marriage to the heir of Rája Bhím of Mahrára and Etáwa, who soon after his accession was murdered by his younger brothers. The widow then returned to Kol, where her father built for her the tower, which was wantonly destroyed by the local authorities in 1860. It is, however, more commonly believed that the tower was erected by the Muhammadans in 1274 on the site of the principal Hindu temple, to commemorate the final reduction of the town in the reign of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd. Possibly it had been built by the Rája and was only enlarged or otherwise altered by the conquerors.

Eighty years before the fall of Kol, *viz.*, in 1193, the Ḍoṛ line of Rájas at Baran had come to an end in the person of Chandra Sen, who was killed while defending his fort against the army of Shaháb-ud-dín Muhammad Ghori. Before he fell, an arrow from his bow had slain one of the leaders of the invading force, a certain Khwája Lál Ali, whose tomb across the Kálindi is still reverenced as that of a martyr. The gate was opened to the enemy by two traitors, one a Bráhman named Hira Siñh, the other Ajaypál, himself a Ḍoṛ, who probably hoped by this act of perfidy to secure recognition as the future head of the family and the most fitting person to continue its hereditary honours. All, however, that he actually obtained from the conqueror was the subordinate post of Chaudhari, with the sonorous title of Malik Muhammad Daráz Kadd; the latter being the reward for his profession of Islám; while the administration of the new province was conferred upon a fellow-countryman of the victorious General, Kázi

Núr-ud-dín of Ghazni. The descendants of this, the first Muhammadan Governor of Baran, still occupy a respectable position in the town and retain their ancestor's title of Kázi. Similarly, Ajaypál's descendants still style themselves Chaudharis; though the name by which they are more commonly designated is Tánṭas, or Mischief-makers. These unworthy representatives of a long line of independent princes form a fairly numerous section of the community but are badly off and of ill-reputation. They are one and all Muhammadans. During the raid of the Sikhs in 1780 they opened the gate of the town to them, in imitation of their recreant forefather; and again in the Mutiny of 1857 they were the first to plunder the bazar. The social distinction of the old family has been better transmitted in the female line by a daughter of the house, who was given in marriage to the Bargújar chief Pratáp Siñh, who came up from Rajaur, now in the Jaypur State, to join Prithi Ráj of Delhi in his attack on Mahoba. After the conquest he returned no more to his own country, but settled down at Pahásu, where he is now represented by his direct descendant Nawáb Sir Faiz Ali Khán, K. C. S. I.

To sum up the Hindu Annals of Baran. It was founded about a thousand years before Christ by Tomar chiefs from Delhi: under the Indo-Scythian and Gupta dynasties, at the commencement of our era, it was a place of some wealth and importance; and for a considerable period, up to the ninth or tenth century it included in its population a community of Buddhists. About the year 800 A. D. the Dor Rájputs rose to power, and their leader Chandraka, having established himself as a Rája, made Baran his capital. His descendant in the sixth degree, Hara-datta, founded the town of Hápur and ruled an extensive tract of country including Mírath and Kol; but, in 1017, being hard-pressed by Mahmúd's invading force, he submitted to terms, which lost him the confidence of his people. On the withdrawal of the conqueror, domestic disturbances ensued, but—after a temporary usurpation—the old dynasty was eventually restored and occupied the throne till the year 1193, when Rája Chandra Sen, the last of the line, was defeated and killed by the army of Kutb-ud-dín, and the Fort then passed into the hands of the Muhammadans.

Under the new administration it would seem to have been still considered a place of military importance. On the accession of Kai Kubád in 1286 A. D. Malik Tuzáki, a man of high rank and importance in Balban's reign and Muster-master General (*Ariz-i-mamálik*) held the fief of Baran, and after he had been got rid of by the favourite Nizám-ud-dín, his appointments were conferred upon Jálal-ud-dín, who in 1290 became Emperor. His murderer and successor Alá-ud-dín, also made it for some days his head-quarters before he marched upon Delhi, and it was here that he received the submission of all the principal nobles, whom he bought over from

the cause of the rightful heir by a lavish distribution of the treasure that he had captured at Deogiri; the leaders receiving twenty, thirty, and some even fifty *mans* of gold, and all their soldiers 300 *tankas* each.* He is described as holding his levy in the open space before the town mosque. The present Jama Masjid was not built till 440 years later, but an earlier structure probably preceded it on the same site. This is on the verge of the hill, but in front of the main gate there is an area of considerable extent, which is fairly level, though now completely covered by a labyrinth of narrow lanes, with mud hovels reaching up to the very walls of the Mosque enclosure and even built on to the staircase, which is its only approach. As the claim for compensation cannot involve any very large outlay, I now propose to pull down some of these miserable tenements, and again open out a small square in front of what is the principal religious building in the place. That such encroachments should have been allowed, or rather committed by the Muhammadan guardians of the Mosque is an illustration of the carelessness with which the citizens of an Indian town ordinarily administer their own public institutions.

The new Governor, Mayid-ul-Mulk, whom Alá-ud-dín put in charge of Baran,—though of no celebrity himself—is noteworthy as the father of the only distinguished literary character that the town has produced. This was Zia-ud-dín, called Barani from the place of his birth, who wrote the history entitled 'the Chronicles of Firoz Sháh.' It is brought down to the year 1356, at which time the author was 74 years of age. His grave, according to local tradition, is at the spot called the Kálá Ám—from an old mangoe tree that once stood there—at the junction of the six roads near the District Courts. Every Thursday evening a cloth is spread over it and lamps are lit at its head, but there is no monument nor inscription. Indeed, it is asserted by some authorities that he was not buried at Bulandshahr at all, but at Delhi, in the Nizám-ud-dín cemetery, near his friend, the poet Amir Khusro, who died in 1325. Prof. Blochmann, a thoroughly competent critic, speaks of him as a most miserable writer, so far as style is concerned; his language being Hindi literally translated into Persian. As regards matter, however, which in an historical authority is the point of most importance, he is by no means devoid of merit. Despite his literary defects, Prof. Dowson describes him as a vigorous, plain-spoken writer, who may unhesitatingly be indicated as the one most acceptable to a general reader, and whose pages may be read without that feeling of weariness and oppression which the writings of his fellows too commonly produce. His work was intended as a con-

* The *tanka* is the name for the current coinage of the time, the exact value of which is uncertain. Fifty *mans* of gold would be more than 35 cwt.!

tinuation of the Tabakát-i-Násiri of Minháj-ud-dín Jurjáni. It contains the history of eight kings, Balban, Kai-Kubád, the three Khiljis, the two Tughlaks and Firoz Sháh. The history of the last reign, though the one which gives its title to the book, is incomplete and of less interest than the other portions, the value of the narrative being affected by a strain of excessive adulation. He is said to have died in such poverty that even a proper shroud could not be provided for his body, which had to be wrapt up in a piece of coarse matting. But the truth of this tradition may be questioned; the continuer of his history expressly states that his death was greatly regretted by the Emperor, and both his father and uncle had occupied important positions at Court, the latter, Ala-ul-Mulk having been the Kotwal, or Police Magistrate, of Delhi.

In the reign of Firoz's predecessor, Muhammad Tughlak, (1325 to 1351 A. D.) the town of Baran suffered dearly for its proximity to Delhi, being one of the first places where that sanguinary tyrant diverted himself with his favourite spectacle of an unprovoked massacre. In the great famine of 1344, after the removal of the Capital to Deogiri, the country of the Doáb—to use the language of the local historian—"was brought to great distress by heavy taxation and numerous cesses. The Hindus burnt their corn-stacks and turned their cattle out to roam at large. Under the orders of the Sultán the Collectors and Magistrates laid waste the country, killing some of the land-owners and village chiefs and blinding others. Such of the unhappy inhabitants as escaped formed themselves into bands and took refuge in the jungles. So the country was ruined. The Sultán then proceeded on a hunting excursion to Baran, where—under his directions—the whole of that neighbourhood was plundered and laid waste and the heads of the Hindus were brought in and hung upon the ramparts of the Baran Fort." Though it was a matter of impossibility to collect the revenue, the Hindu Governor was put to death for his failure to do so, and a vast number of his kinsmen, a Baniya clan called Baran-wálas, whose ancestors had been settled in the town by its first founders, were driven into exile. Some of them emigrated to Murádabád, while others fled as far as Azamgarh and Gházipur, in both which districts they are now more numerously represented than in their original home.

Of those who remained at Baran, one family in the reign of Akbar acquired for themselves the post of hereditary Kánungo; and one of their descendants, Shaikh Roshan, who was converted to Islám by the persuasive arguments of Aurangzeb, founded the suburb—as it then was—called Shaikh Saráe, which now by the increase of population has become a very central locality. Of the same stock are Munshi Shaháb-ud-dín, the builder of the large mosque, which from its lofty situation is the most con-

spicuous feature in any general view of the town, and the late Masúm Ali Khán of Murádabád, whose son Munawar Ali Khán, being of weak intellect, is under the charge of the Court of Wards. The handsome range of shops in the market-place, built in 1882, is part of his estate.

Of the Baranwálas, who adhered to the old faith, the most conspicuous person in the present century was Sítal Dás, who about the year 1830, built that portion of lower Bulandshahr which is known as Sítal Ganj, and is now the property of his son Prem-sukh Dás.

In spite of the massacre and famine and wholesale expulsion of the inhabitants that took place in 1344, Zia-ud-dín relates that his native town rapidly revived under the more benign sway of Firoz Sháh. At some time during his reign, which lasted from 1351 to 1388, that Emperor founded Khurja, which has become the largest commercial mart in the neighbourhood; a part of it is still called Firoz Ganj. More than a century later, Sikandar Lodi, about the year 1500, founded what are now the two considerable towns of Sikandarabád and Shikárpur, at which latter place—as the name indicates—he had a small hunting-box for occasional residence. The only two other towns of any size in the district, Anúpshahr and Jahángirabád, were founded later still, in the reign of Jahángir; which shows, how essentially modern the present centres of population are, excepting only Bulandshahr itself and Dibhái: the latter is occasionally mentioned by the early Muhammadan historians as a muster-place for troops.

The prosperity which the country had enjoyed during the long and settled reign of Firoz was followed by a series of fratricidal struggles between his sons and grandsons for the possession of the throne, and then by the ruin and rapine of foreign invasion. On the capture of Delhi by the Mughals in 1398, the puppet Emperor Mahmúd fled away to Gujarát, while the Regent, Ikbál Khán, took refuge in the fort of Baran. Tímúr soon returned home with his plunder to Samarkand, and on his departure Nusrat Sháh—also one of Firoz's grandsons—marched up from Merath and re-occupied the ruins of the capital, whence he sent a large force "under Shahább Khán to Baran to overpower Ikbál.* On the way, a band of Hindu foot-soldiers fell upon him in the night and killed him and dispersed his followers. As soon as Ikbál heard of this, and that the elephants also had been abandoned, he hastened to the spot and secured them. From that time his power and renown increased daily, and forces gathered round him, while Nusrat Khán grew weaker and weaker, so that after a stay of ten months he was able to leave Baran and recover possession of Delhi." He also got into his hands the person of the Sultán Mahmúd, whom he afterwards took to Kanauj and left there, while he himself

* Táríkh i Mubárak Sháh of Yahya bin Ahmad.

reigned as the real sovereign of the country, till 1405, when he fell in battle at Multán.

Two years later, *viz.*, in 1407, Ibráhim Sháh, the king of Jaunpur, marched up against Delhi, where Mahmúd was then enthroned; but hearing of disturbances at home he hastened back, leaving Marhaba Khán, a protegé of Ikbál's, with a small force, at Baran. After six months Mahmúd marched from Delhi against Baran, and Marhaba Khán came out to meet him; but in the battle that ensued he was beaten and driven back into the fort, where the Imperial troops followed and killed him.

The next mention of Baran is in 1421, during the reign of Khizr Khán, the first of the Saiyid dynasty, when the Vazír, Táj-ul-Mulk, marched through it on his way to suppress a rebellion in Kol and Etáwa. Again, in 1434, after the assassination of Khizr's successor, Mubárak Sháh, an army of the Hindu Vazír's, Sarwar-ul-Mulk, under the command of Kamál-ud-dín, proceeding against Allah Dád, the chief of the insurgents, halted at Baran, the half-way station between the Jamuná and the Ganges. Allah Dád withdrew to Ahár, where the two generals came to an understanding and turned their combined forces against the Vazír, whom they besieged in the fort of Delhi, where shortly afterwards he was slain in an attempt on the life of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh.

The earliest Persian inscription in Bulandshahr is a tablet let into the wall of the Íd-gáh, which records the construction of a mosque by Nek-bakht Khán, in the year 943 *Hijri* (1536 A. D.) in the reign of the Emperor Humáyun and during the governorship "of the chaste Bánu Begam." The fact of a female Governor is somewhat curious. At Til Begampur, fifteen miles north-west of Bulandshahr, is a bathing-well (or *báolí*) with an inscription dated only two years later, *viz.*, 1538, in which the local Governor's name is given as Amír Fakír Ali Beg. As an Íd-gáh would not be styled a mosque, the stone must have been brought from elsewhere, but probably from the immediate neighbourhood. Fragments of an Arabic inscription in Cufic characters have also been inserted in the same wall at regular distances, to serve as decorative panels, and the later Persian inscription seems to have been utilized with simply the same object. The appearance of this building, with its blackened and crumbling masonry, is scarcely creditable to the Muhammadan community, who should take some steps to clean and repair it.

About 100 yards to the east of the Íd-gáh and the adjoining English cemetery, is a square-domed tomb of substantial brick masonry and some size, but no particular architectural merit, with a Persian inscription. This records its completion during the reign of the Emperor Akbar, in the year 1006 *Hijri* (1597 A. D.) as a monument to the memory of Miyán Bahlol Khán Bahádur. He belonged to the Bahlím clan of Shaikhs, and his

descendants continued in possession of an extensive tract of freehold land in the suburbs, till 1857, when they forfeited it by their complicity with the mutineers. One of the outlying hamlets, included in the straggling parish of Baran, still bears the name of Bahlímpura.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, and probably for some years later, Baran continued to be the capital of a *dastúr*, or district, in the Home Sarkár, or Division, of the Delhi Súba, or Province. But the town must have rapidly sunk into insignificance, and eventually it became a dependency of Kol. It receives no further mention in any historical record after the Ain-i-Akbari, and the only event of even local interest, that forms a landmark in the later Muhammadan period, is the foundation of the Jama Masjid in 1730. This was built by Sábit Khán, who achieved special distinction as Governor of Kol. There he is commemorated by his restoration of the old Fort, which he called Sábit-garh; by a *dargáh*, bearing date 1707; and still more by the great mosque in the centre of the town, which he completed in 1728. His tomb is in the garden now known as Kinloch-ganj. The Bulandshahr mosque is of much less pretension and, being unfinished at the time of his death, remained so till more than a hundred years later. His lineal descendants at Aligarh, however poor their circumstances, and most of them are mere labourers, are distinguished by the personal title of Nawáb, in remembrance of their ancestor. In Bulandshahr his success as a proselytizer is evidenced by several families—originally Thákurs of the Bargújar clan—who were led by him to adopt Muhammadanism and who have ever since borne the name of Sábit-kháni.

Fifty years later, *viz.*, in 1780, Baran had its final fall, being then abandoned even by the Amil, or subordinate revenue official, who had hitherto made it his head-quarters. The spot that he selected in preference was on the opposite side of the river, some six miles to the north. The village had previously been known as Rathora; but the new Fort was placed by its founder, the Amil Hak-dád Khán, under the patronage of a saint, popularly styled Málamál, who had a shrine close by, and it received the name of Málagarh. In 1857 Hak-dád's grandson, Walidád Khán, put himself at the head of the revolt and proved a formidable opponent. He was connected with the royal family of Delhi—his sister's daughter having been married to one of the king's sons—and he had thus obtained from Muhammad Bahádur a formal grant appointing him Súbadar of this part of the Doáb. Málagarh became the resort of all the disaffected from far and near; his troops overran the whole neighbourhood, fought several sharp engagements, and for a few days occupied the town of Bulandshahr. On the 28th of September they were driven out, and their leader escaped across the Ganges. The demolition of his fort at Málagarh, which took

place a few days later, was accompanied by a deplorable accident. The officer who fired the mine was Lieut. Home of the Engineers, one of the heroes of the Kashmir Gate, and he was killed by the explosion. His body was interred in the Station Cemetery, where a handsome stone monument forms a conspicuous object and records the untimely death of the first V. C. in India.

INDEX

TO

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, VOL. LII,

PART I, FOR 1883.

ABUL MUJAHID, a kunyat, p. 212.
Abul Muzaffar, a kunyat, p. 212.
Achyuta Ságar, inscription from, p. 234.
Adoni pagoda coins, p. 52.
Akbar, rupees of the Months of the Iláhí years of, p. 97.
Annals, Hindú, of Baran, p. 282.
Antiquities of Bulandshahr, p. 272.

BARAN, a name of Bulandshahr, p. 271.
———, Hindú Annals of, p. 282.
Bayne, R. Roskell, notes on the remains of Old Fort William, p. 105.
Beames, John, notes on the History of Orissa, p. 231.
Bengal, Muhammadan Coins of, p. 211.
Bidie, Surgeon Major G., the pagoda or Varáha coins of Southern India, p. 33.
Bihárí Declension and Conjugation, essays on, No. I, p. 119.
——, Note on, p. 159.
Bijayanagar Pagoda coins, *see* Vijayanagar.
Buddhist Coins of South India, p. 36.
Bulandshahr, the town of, p. 270.
——— antiquities of, p. 272.

CARNAC, J. H. RIVETT-, on stone implements from the N. W. P., p. 221.
Cash, a species of coin, pp. 33, 35.
Celts, p. 228.
Chalukyan pagodas, p. 33.
——— coins, p. 37.
Childbirth, superstitions of, in the Panjáb, p. 205.
Chiteldroog pagoda coins, p. 47.
Coins, Pagoda or Varáha, of Southern India, p. 33.
Coins, supplementary to Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi", No. III, p. 55.
——, of the Iláhí years of Akbar, p. 97.
——, Muhammadan, of Bengal, p. 211.
——, of Mahmúd Shah, of Delhi, p. 213.
Conjugation, essays on Bihárí, p. 119.
———, note on, p. 159.
Cunningham, Major Gen. A., Relics from Ancient Persia, No. II, p. 64.
———, do., No. III, p. 258.

DECLENSION, essays on Bihárí, p. 119.
———, note on, p. 159.
Deoghar, on the Temples of, p. 164.
———, Sanskrit Inscriptions in temples of, p. 186.
Dor Rájas, of Bulandshahr, p. 277.
———, genealogy of, p. 279.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S pagodas, p. 48.

FANAMS, a species of coin, pp. 33, 35.
Fisher, F. H., on folklore from Eastern Gorakhpur, p. 1.
Folklore from Eastern Gorakhpur, p. 1.
Folktales from the Upper Panjab, p. 81.
Fort William, notes on remains of old, p. 105.
Fraser, Hugh, folklore from Eastern Gorakhpur, p. 1.

GAJAPATI pagodas, p. 33.
——— coins, p. 40.
Gandikata pagoda coins, p. 46.
Gonardíya, a name of Patanjali, p. 261.

Goṇikaputra, a name of Patanjali, p. 261.
Gorakhpur, folklore from Eastern, p. 1.
Grierson, G. A., notes on dialectic peculiarities in folklore from Eastern Gorakhpur, p. 20.
———, essays on Bihárí Declension and Conjugation, No. I, p. 119.
Growse, F. S., the town of Bulandshahr, p. 270.

HAMMER Stones, p. 224.
Hindú Annals of Baran, p. 282.
History of Orissa, Notes on, p. 231.
Hoernle, Dr. A. F. Rudolf, note on Bihárí Declension, p. 159.
———, on Muhammadan Coins of Bengal, p. 211.
Hoshiyárpur, in the Panjáb, superstitions at, p. 205.
Hún, a species of coin, p. 35.

ILÁHÍ years, rupees of the months of, p. 97.
Implements of Stone, from the N. W. Provinces of India, p. 221.
Inscription, Sanskrit, form Lalitpur, note on, p. 67.
———, on Temples of Deoghar, p. 186.
———, from Achyuta Ságar, p. 234.

JÁṬS of the Panjáb, superstitions of, p. 205.

KUNYAT, on the use of, p. 212.

LALITPUR, note on a Sanskrit inscription from, p. 67.
Lingayat Pagoda coins, p. 40.

MAHMÚD SHÁH of Delhi, coin of, p. 213.
Memorandum on the superstitions connected with childbirth, &c., in the Panjáb, p. 205.
Mitra, Dr. R., notes on a Sanskrit Inscription from Lalitpur, p. 67.
———, on the Temples of Deoghar, p. 164.
———, on Goṇikáputra and Gonardíya, as names of Patanjali, p. 261.
Muhammadan Coins of Bengal, p. 211.
Mysore pagoda coins, p. 53.

NÁṢIRU-D-DÍN MAHMÚD SHÁH I, Coins of, p. 211.
Nonambavadi Pagodas, p. 33.
——— coins, p. 38.

OLD FORT WILLIAM, notes on Remains of, p. 105.
Orissa, notes on the History of, p. 231.

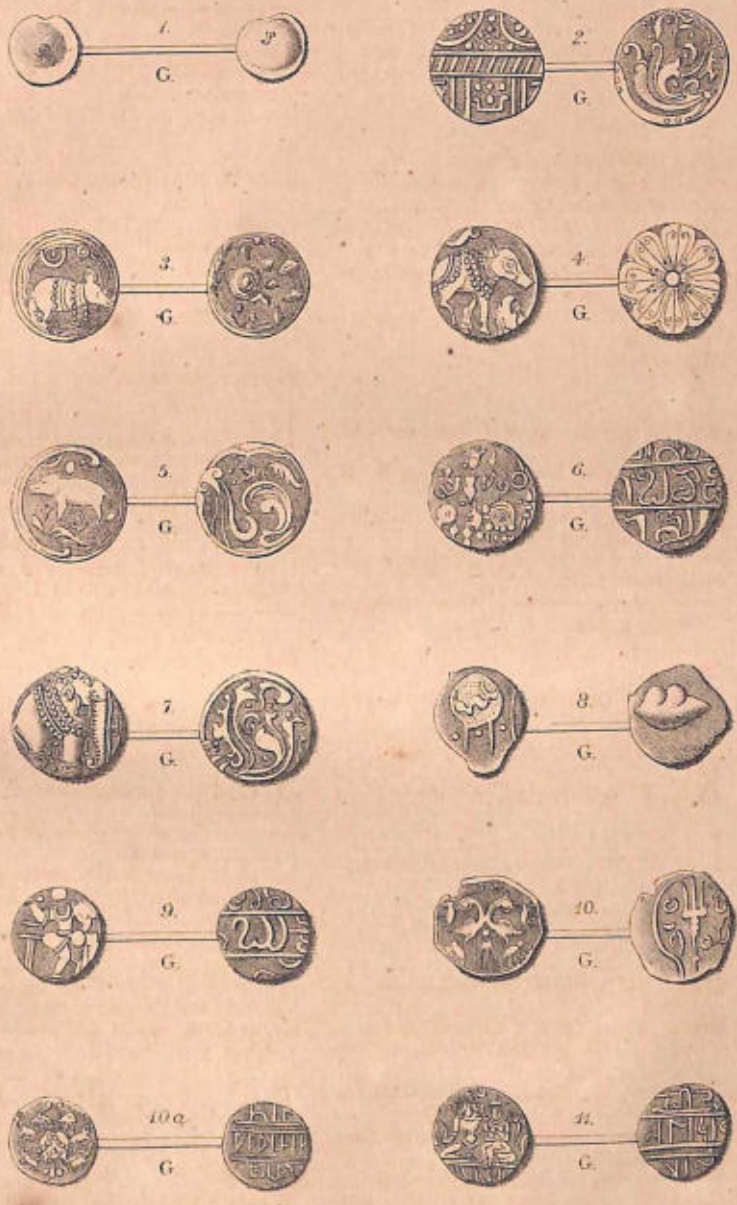
PAGODA or Varáha Coins of Southern India, p. 33.
Panjáb, folktales from the Upper, p. 81.
———, superstitions connected with Childbirth, etc., p. 205.
Patanjali, on his names Goṇikaputra and Gonardíya, p. 261.
Pathán coins, supplementary to Thomas' work, No. III, p. 55.
Persia, relics from, pp. 64, 258.

RELICS from Ancient Persia, in Gold, Silver and Copper, No. II, p. 64.
———, No. III, p. 258.
Remains of the Old Fort William, note on, p. 105.
Rodgers, Chas. J., coins supplementary to Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi"; No. III, p. 55.
———, rupees of the Months of the Iláhí years of Akbar, p. 97.
Ruknu-d-din Bárbak Sháh, coins of, p. 211.
Rupees of the Months of the Iláhí years of Akbar, p. 97.

SANSKRIT Inscription from Lalitpur, note on, p. 67.
———, on Temples of Deoghar, p. 186.
Sculptures from Bulandshahr, p. 273.
Southern India, Pagoda or Varáha coins of, p. 33.
Stone implements from the N. W. Provinces, p, 221.
Superstitions, connected with Childbirth, etc., in the Panjáb, p. 205.
Swynnerton, Rev. C., folktales from the Upper Panjáb, p. 81.

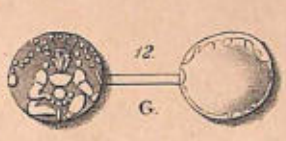
TANKAS, a species of coins, p. 33.
Temples, of Deoghar, p. 164.

VARÁHA or Pagoda coins of Southern India, p. 33.
Vijayanagar pagoda coins, p. 41.

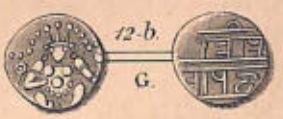


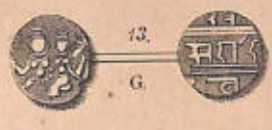
Litho. & Printed by W. Newman & Co., Ld. Calcutta.

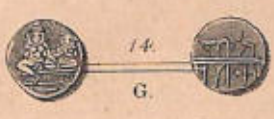
Pagoda or Varaha Coins of Southern India.

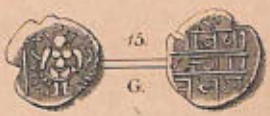




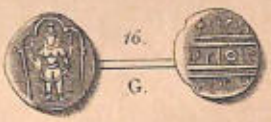


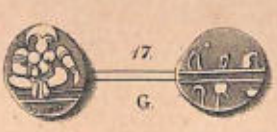




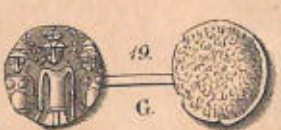


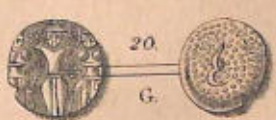






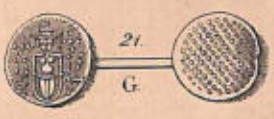


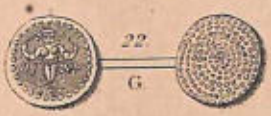


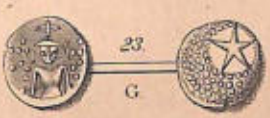


Lith: & Printed by W. Newman & Co., Ld., Calcutta.

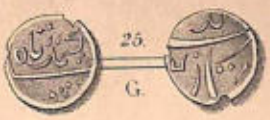
Pagoda or Varaha Coins of Southern India.

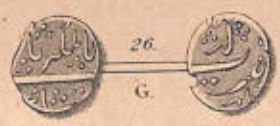




















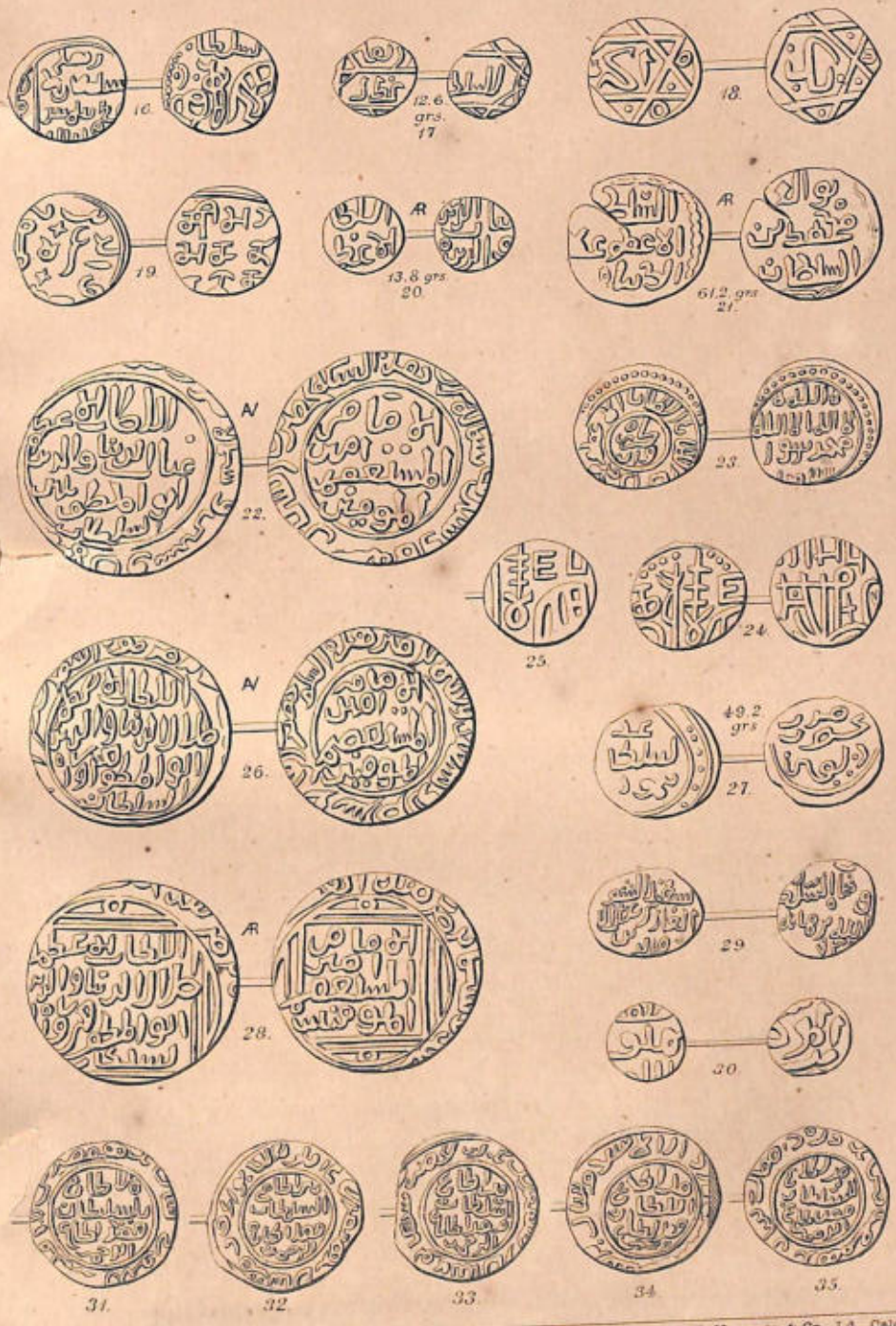
Litho. Printed by W. Newman & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.

Pagoda or Varaha Coins of Southern India.



C. J. Rodgers. del. Lith & Printed by W. Newman & Co. Ld., Calcutta.

Coins Supplementary to Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings."



C. J. Rodgers, del. Lith & Printed by W. Newman & Co. Ld., Calcutta.

Coins Supplementary to Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings."

B.



RING
Gold.



A.
MAGUS
Gold.



C.



RING
Gold.

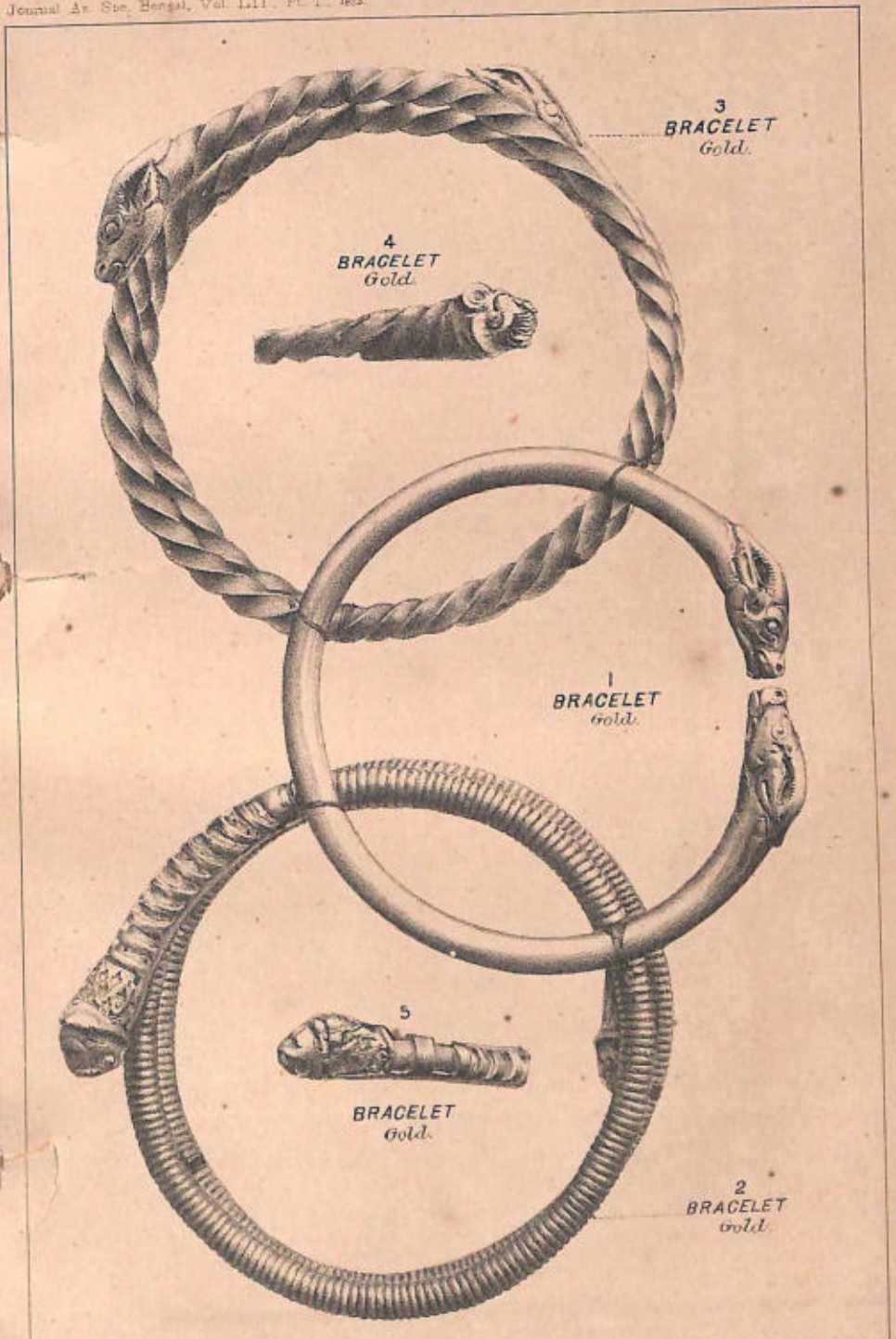
D.



BOSS OF SHIELD
Gold.

Lith: & Printed by W. Newman & Co., Ld., Calcutta.

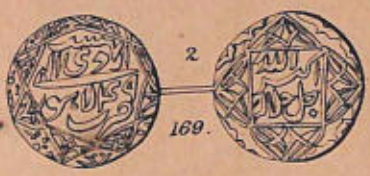
RELICS FROM ANCIENT PERSIA.



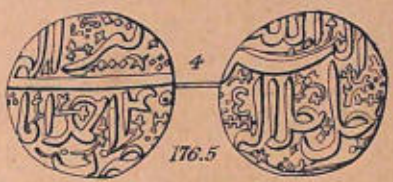
Lith. & Printed by W. Newman & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.

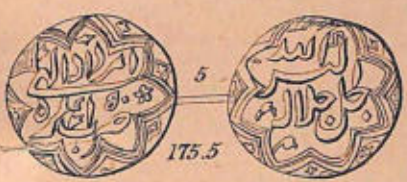
RELICS FROM ANCIENT PERSIA.



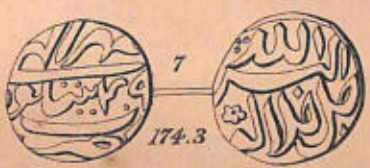


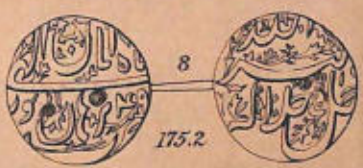






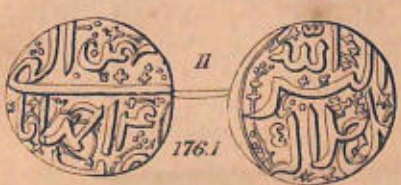












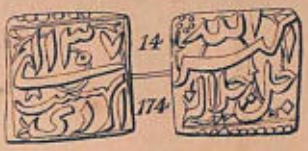


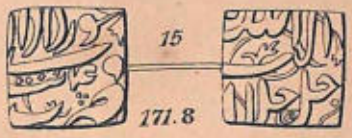
C. J. Rodgers, del.

RUPEES OF THE MONTHS OF AKBAR'S ILÂHÎ YEARS.

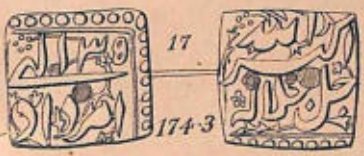
Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, May 1883.

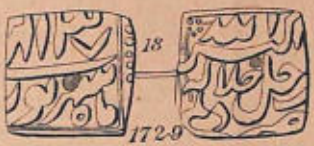


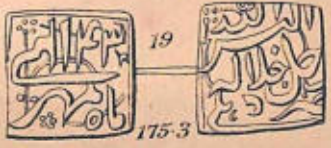


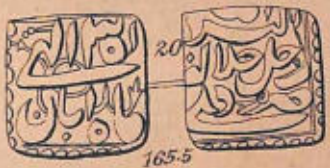






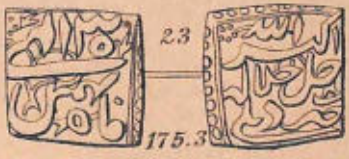


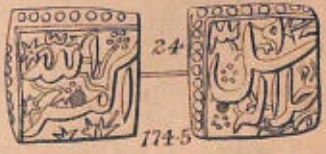










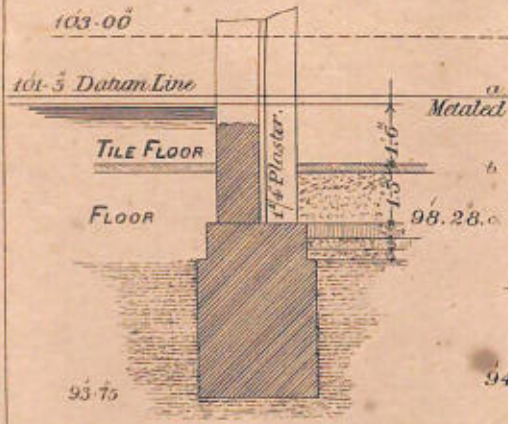


C. J. Rodgers, del.

RUPEES OF THE MONTHS OF AKBAR'S ILÂHÎ YEARS.

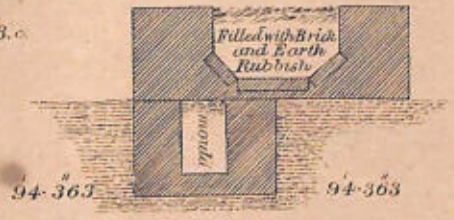
Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, May 1883.

FIG. I



Section of Wall of Carpenter's Shop shewing floors and levels of three dates. a. b. c.

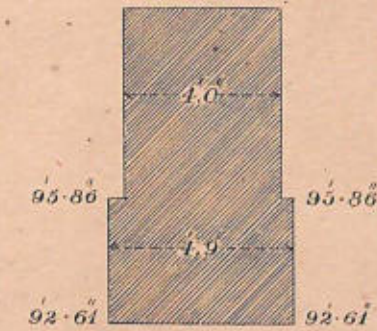
FIG. III



Section of old Drain with Modern Drain over it, both filled in, and Macadam Road over it. Scale 8ft. = 1 inch.

The Lower being the Drain of the Old Fort, the Upper of a later Date.

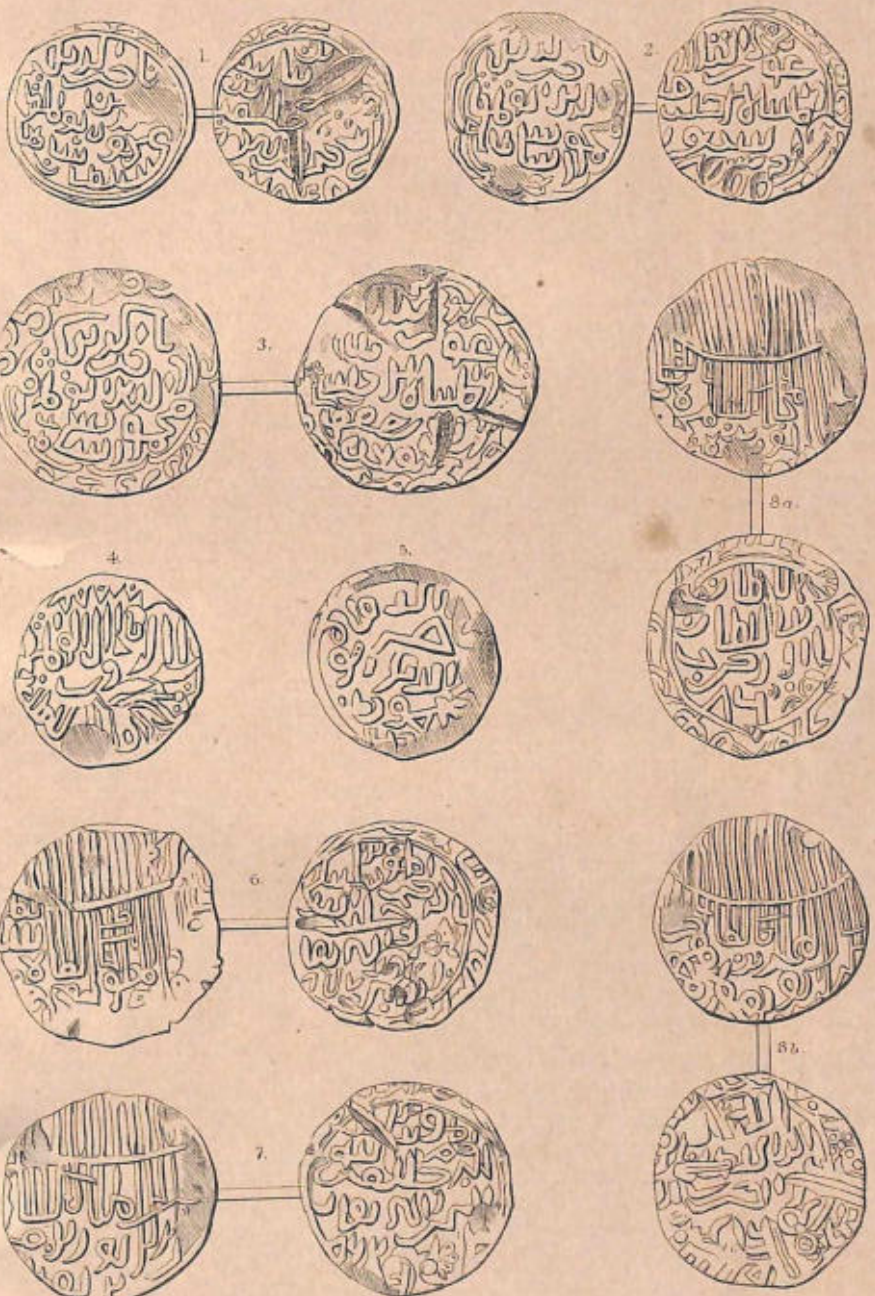
FIG. II



Section of North Curtain Wall.

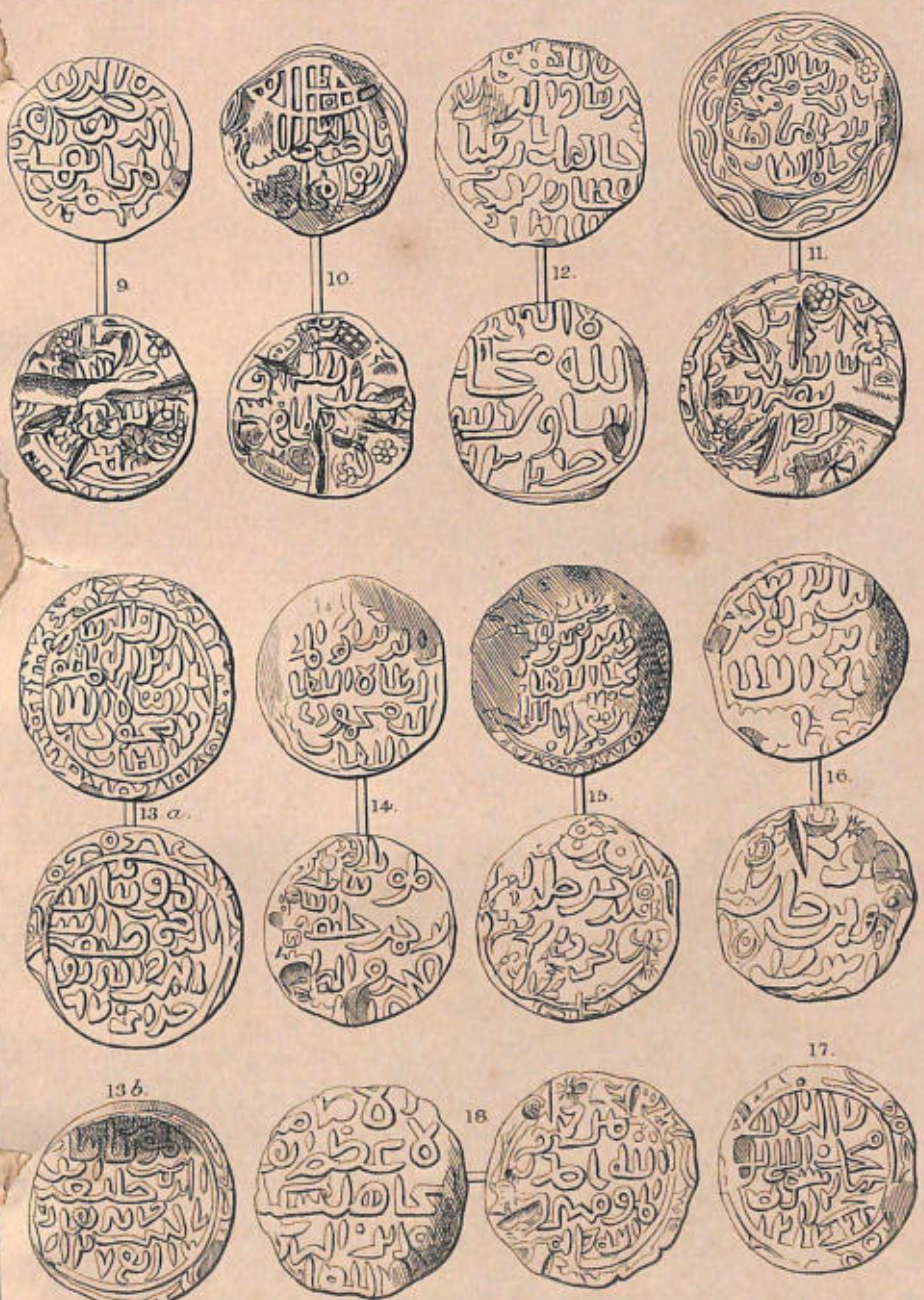
REMAINS OF OLD FORT WILLIAM, CALCUTTA.

Lith. & Printed by W. Newman & Co., Lt. Calcutta.



Lith. & Printed by W. Newman & Co., Ld., Calcutta.

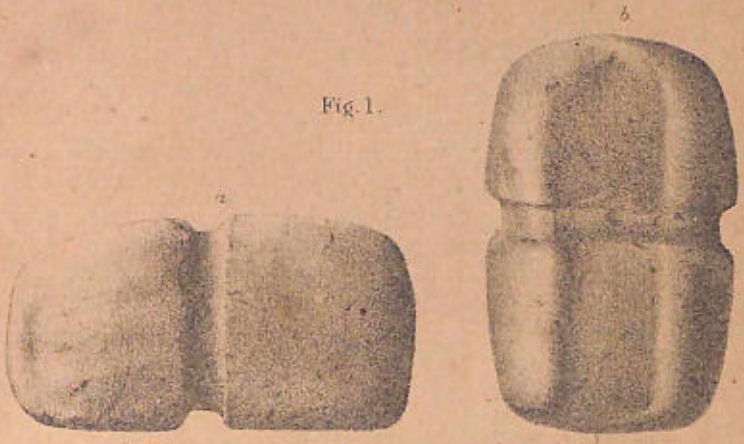
RUPEES OF MAHMUD SHAH I OF BENGAL.



Lith. & Printed by W. Newman & Co., Ld., Calcutta.

RUPEES OF BARBAK SHAH OF BENGAL.

Fig. 1.



½ size (XII in photo: Plate XX)



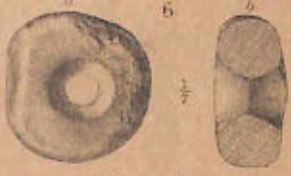
(XI in photo.)



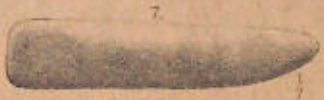




(XVII in photo:)



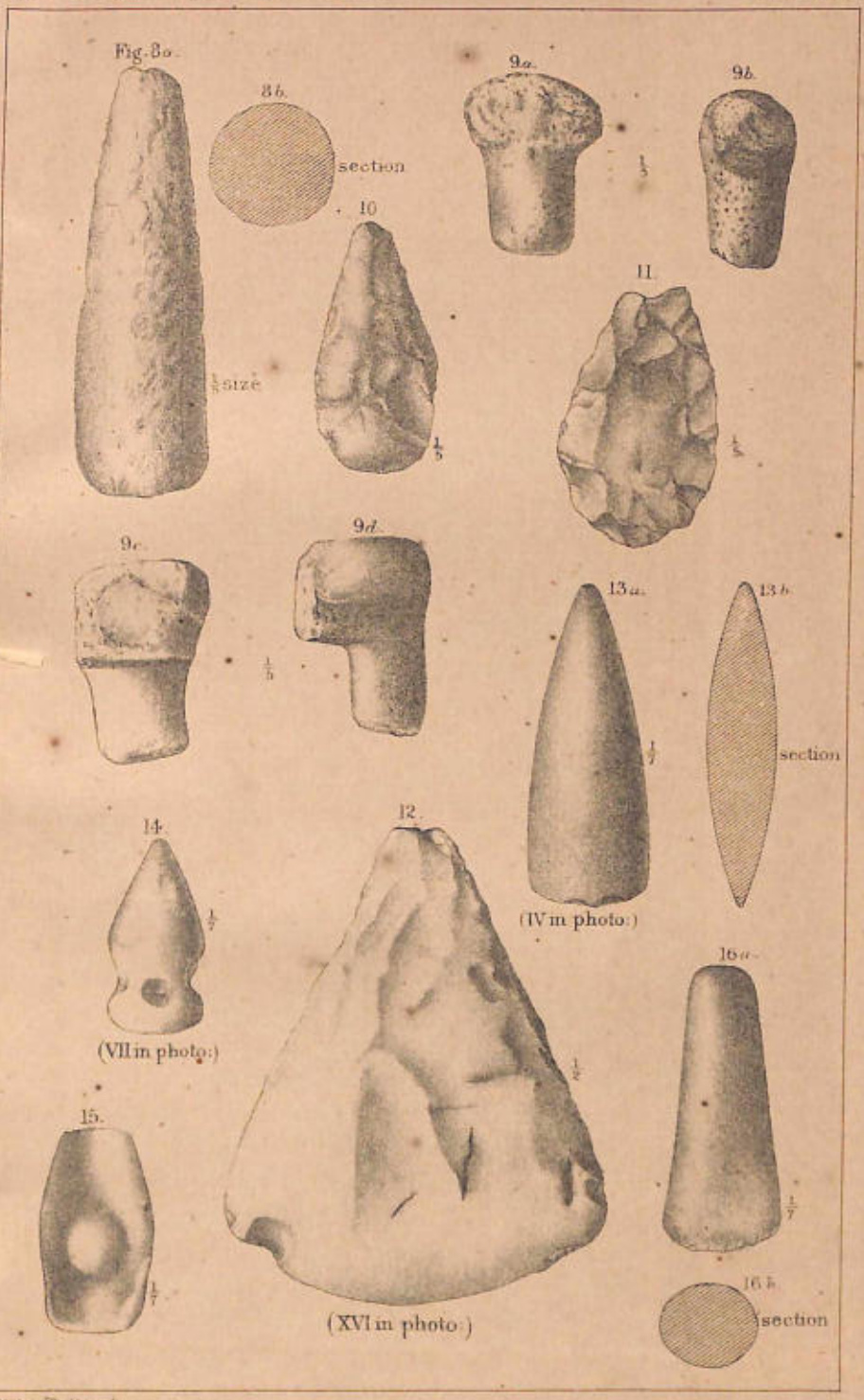
(IX in photo:)



From a Photograph.

STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM THE N. W. PROVINCES OF INDIA.—J. H. RIVETT-CARNAC.

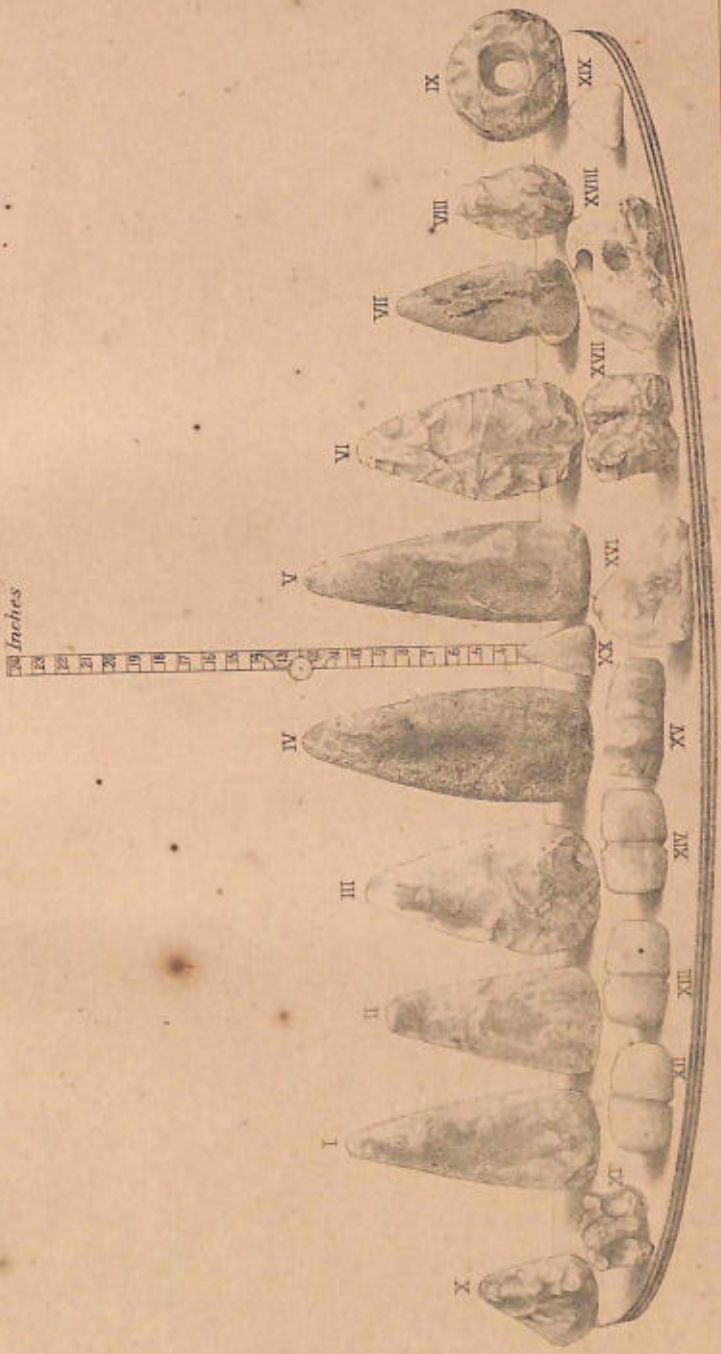
Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, September 1883.



From a Photograph.

STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM THE N. W. PROVINCES OF INDIA.—J. H. RIVETT-CARNAC.

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, September 1883.



From a Photogra

STONE Ib

GOLD CYLINDER.

A.



Full Size _ 1520 Grains.

SYMBOLS OF ORMAZD.



B.



C.

From Persepolis.



D _ Persian Cylinder.



E.

F.



GOLD.

Half Size _ 1500 Grains.

G.
GOLD ANTELOPE.



Half Size _ 3020 Grains.

Lith. & Printed by W. Newman & Co., Ld., Calcutta.

RELICS FROM ANCIENT PERSIA.

Fig. 1.



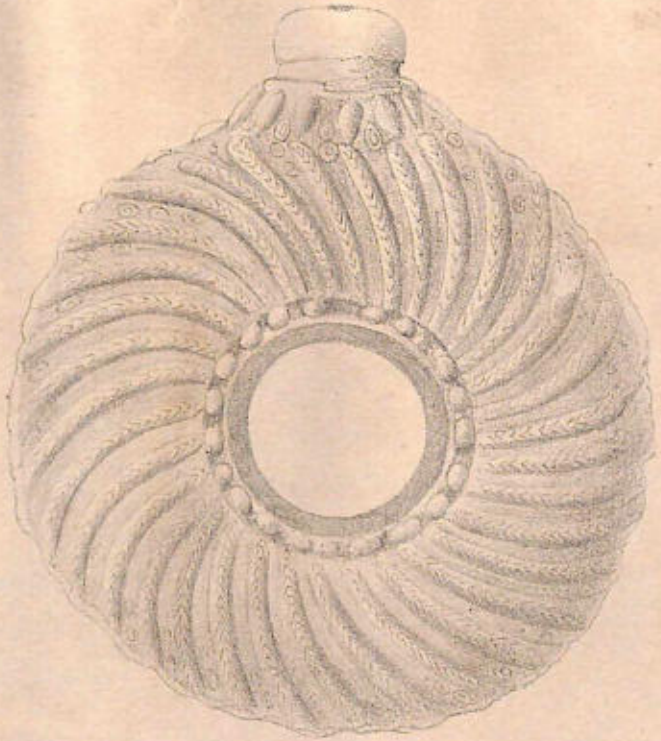


Fig. 2.

Kundan Lal fecit.

TERRA-COTTA ANTIQUITIES FROM BULANDSHAHAR.

Lithed. and printed by W. Newman & Co., Ld.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 5, a.

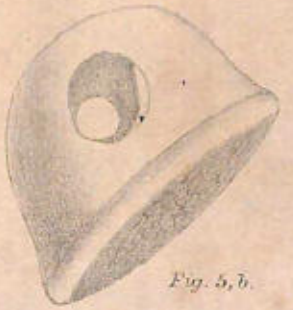


Fig. 5, b.

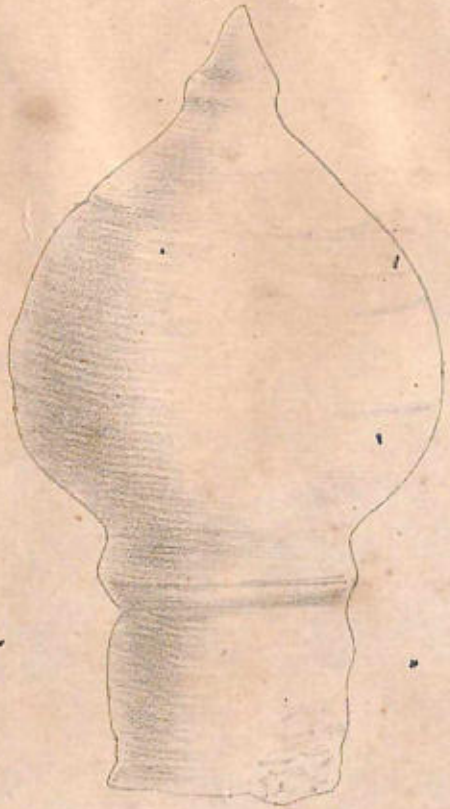


Fig. 4.

Kundun Lal fecit.

TERRA-COTTA ANTIQUITIES FROM BULANDSHAHAR

Litho. and printed by W. Newman & Co., Ld.