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JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, ARCHÆOLOGY, NUMISMATICS,
PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE.

No. I.—1865.

Plates 2, 5 and 6 to illustrate Rev. Mr. Sherring's paper, will be issued with No. 2, of the Historical, &c

[Received 10th April, 1864.]

[Read 4th May, 1864.]

The fact that Benares is the birth-place of Buddhism and that in it Sákya Muni first "turned the wheel of the Law" or in other words promulgated the peculiar dogmas of the Buddhist creed, is generally believed to rest on good historic grounds. This circumstance alone, independent of the concurrent testimony of Hindu writers, gives a high antiquity to the city. If, as there is reason to believe, Sákya Muni in the early part of the sixth century, B. C., in his own estimation attained to the mysterious and mystical condition of Buddhahood under the Bodhi tree at Gya, and thence proceeded to Benares, we may fairly imagine that he did so because it was then a city of much influence, if not also of great sanctity, among the Hindus, especially the Brahmins. In this case the true epoch of ancient Benares must date from an earlier period still.

Had the Hindus been imbued with the desire of recording the memory of themselves in huge buildings of brick and stone, as the

* Copied in the lithographs issued herewith.

Buddhists confessedly were, they would not have left their most sacred city, and one of their most ancient, without some irrefragable proofs in column or cornice, of their residence there prior to the Buddhist reformation. In the present state of ignorance respecting the archaeological remains in Benares, it would be hazarding too strong a conjecture that no such proofs actually exist; but this much may be said, that the probability of their existence is exceedingly small.

As the habits of the Buddhists on this point were, as just observed, so contrary to the practice of the Hindus, we are inclined to believe that a strict investigation instituted in places where Buddhism was once famous and powerful, would in most cases bring to light certain relics which they have left behind them. New discoveries of Buddhist remains are continually being made in various parts of Northern India, every instance of which is a fresh illustration of our conviction that Buddhism has preserved the footprints of itself in all places wheresoever it eminently flourished. That it existed in Benares during many centuries and was the dominant faith professed there, casting into the shade the elder creed, and asserting proudly its triumph over it, admits not of the smallest doubt. It is therefore highly interesting to inquire, what Buddhist remains are yet traceable in the city, whereby its historical position as one of the chief seats of Buddhism may be tested. Strange to say, until very recently, few or no remains in the city proper had been discovered, but the reason of this, we fully believe, was, that they had never been sought after. It is true, extensive ruins have been found at Sarnath, and have been frequently described, but these are three miles distant from the present city, although it is possible, and indeed probable, that they were once situated in, or were adjacent to the ancient city itself.

Now while the hope of finding any buildings of the early Buddhist period in Benares, might be pronounced too sanguine, yet, on the other hand, he would betray a singular ignorance of the massiveness and durability of Buddhist architecture, who should venture to assert that it was otherwise than exceedingly likely that portions of buildings of the later Buddhist period were still existing, waiting to be discovered. Even as late as the seventh century, A. D., when Hinduism had regained much of its ancient prestige and influence, at the time that Hwan Thsang visited Benares, there were then in the city, according to the

testimony of that keen and accurate observer, upwards of thirty *Kialan* or sacred monasteries,—to most or all of which, temples were probably attached—and with them about three thousand priests and disciples were associated. It cannot be for an instant supposed, that these monasteries, which were unquestionably built of strong material, have all been swept away with the lapse of ages, and have “left not a wreck behind.” Indeed the existence of the Sarnath ruins, which are mostly of the later Buddhist period,—some of which were seen by Fa Hian in the fifth century, and nearly all by Hwan Thsang in the seventh, is a strong argument for believing that portions, more or less considerable, of some, perhaps of most of these edifices, are still discoverable. We must not imagine that in any instance they are existing in their original integrity, but on the contrary, that where they exist at all, they have been appropriated by Hindus and Mohammedans, and principally by the latter, for their own purposes, and that therefore they have become blended with other buildings from which they must be disintegrated. The use of numerous pillars in the cloisters of Buddhist monasteries, which were mostly on a uniform pattern, greatly aids the identification of the remains of this ancient period.

A careful examination of Benares will reveal those portions of the city which contain buildings, or parts of buildings, or sculptured stones, or other objects of undeniable antiquity. Such ancient remains are for the most part, we believe, only to be found in the northern division of the city, and among the narrow streets on its eastern border, running parallel with the Ganges, in a thin band, as far as the Man Mandil Observatory.

Under the conviction that Buddhist remains were to be met with in Benares, a search was made for some of them in the course of the year 1863. On the very first day of the search the ruins at Bakariya Kund were discovered, which we shall now proceed to describe.

These ruins are situated at the north-west corner of the city in the Alaipore Mahalla, and are visible from the Raj Ghaut road leading from the cantonments to the Ganges. The path conducting to the tank or Kund leaves the main road a short distance to the west of the 420th mile-stone. The tank commonly known as Bakariya Kund, is about 300 yards distant from this road, and upon the summit of its

banks the ruins are for the most part to be found. In the hot season very little water remains in the Kund, but in the rains it contains a considerable body of water. It is about 550 feet in length and 275 in breadth.

On approaching the tank you pass along the foot of a high mound on its northern side, on the top of which lie several blocks of stone. Proceeding to the western bank you perceive a massive breastwork formed by large stones, bearing upon them various masonic signs, some of which are similar to those inscribed on the stones at Sarnath, and sustaining a solid platform or terrace, which runs by the side of the Kund to a great distance. This terrace is 20 feet above the tank, and supports two others of smaller dimensions, one above the other, each of which is girded by a breastwork of huge stones. The lower terrace is 130 feet broad, and 270 feet long on its western face, and 330 on its eastern face overlooking the tank. It was originally held up by the wall of heavy stones just alluded to, but this wall is in many places much broken down, especially towards the Kund, the great blocks lying in disorder at its ancient base. Nevertheless extensive portions are still standing. On the northern face about 70 feet are visible, while the western wall, which extends to 267 feet, is almost continuous throughout. The height of the terrace is constant, but the height of the wall varies greatly, owing partly to its being in a state of ruin, and partly to the circumstance of its forming in one place the flank of an old edifice, where it attains a height of at least 30 feet, measured from the ground on the western side, which is on a higher level than the tank. Two small windows or doorways open through this part of the wall, and over each a single stone projects, forming its eaves. The bare appearance which the wall would here have presented to the eye, is obviated by a broad moulding half-way down, a foot in width, and by a noble cornice parallel with it above.

Ascending the terrace, you come to the building itself, which is occupied by Mussalmans, one portion being partitioned off and used as a zenana. The beams and slabs constituting the roof are in some cases 9 feet in length, and the roof is supported by three rows of immensely thick stone columns, the capitals of which are in the form of a cross. The cornice decorating the walls is not of modern narrowness, but is twelve inches deep, and is ornamented with carvings of

various elegant devices. As the building is divided into two distinct sections, and moreover as the spaces between the pillars are in several instances filled up with a mud wall, it is impossible to gain a correct idea of its original grandeur. The outer wall on the western side is strengthened by a huge buttress of stone, 14 feet wide and 15 feet high.

With pillars, breastwork, and buttress, of such prodigious strength, it seems not improbable that formerly there were several stories above this lower one, but this point is merely conjectural and is not easy to be decided. Moreover it is not unlikely that other structures once existed along the border of the terrace throughout a considerable portion of its extent, not only on its western side, but also on its northern and eastern sides.

Directly in front of the ancient building just described, are two other extensive elevations of the ground or terraces, one over the other, as already stated. The lower elevation is 86 feet long by $62\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and about 4 feet in height. The upper is $48\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 24, and is crowned with an ornamental cornice, which runs in an unbroken band throughout a large portion of the circuit of the terrace, but this may possibly be of comparatively modern date, the Mohammedans having selected this spot for a mausoleum, and in many cases adopted the prevailing forms of ancient ornamentation. The breastworks of the two terraces by which the enclosed soil is sustained, although they have been evidently at times extensively repaired, nevertheless appear as ancient as the neighbouring building.

Beyond the two upper terraces is another raised terrace, which in all likelihood was originally connected with one of them, but is now isolated from them. On this possibly stood a Buddhist shrine, connected by a cloister with a building on the main terrace. A short distance further on also, are remains of the foundations of probably another, but the traces of this are almost obliterated.

On the eastern side of the Kund is a mound 220 feet long by 90 broad, running parallel with it, which might be taken for a mud embankment thrown up from the tank, were it not for the circumstance that layers of large Buddhist bricks, lying *in situ*, crop out from its side, and that upon its summit and slopes are numerous blocks of sculptured stones, symbols of bygone glory. One brick measured 20 inches in

length, and the bricks of an entire layer were $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. Among the stones was an enormous segment of a kalas or jagged circular stone found on the pinnacles of temples. The original kalas of which this segment is exactly the fourth part, was not less than 9 feet in diameter, and of proportionate thickness, and must have belonged to a temple of vast strength and dimensions. Several small kalases are lying not far from this segment. Eight of these were counted at one time. Excavations into the mound would probably throw some light on the buildings formerly standing here.

To the east of the mound is a small round structure called Jogi-bir, on the site of which, we were informed, a devotee buried himself alive. It is made of earth, but on the top is a hollow circular stone, the exterior surface of which is divided into sixteen equal sections, each of which exhibits the sculpture of a man, with one leg turned up, and the hands apparently grasping a garland which encinctures and connects together all the figures. The stone is in a reversed position. A portion of one similar to it found at the foot of a tree, was afterwards removed, and forms one of a group of sculptured stones taken from Bakariya Kund and photographed. Both of these stones were probably capitals of highly enriched columns.

To the south of the tank is a ghaut, the stones of which are scattered about in great disorder, so that looking at it from a distance, it has the appearance of an utter ruin. And such it really is. But it is nevertheless a comparatively modern structure, for the stones of which it is composed, judging from the elaborate and finished carvings on many of them, have been contributions from fallen edifices in the neighbourhood.

At the south-west corner of the tank is a water-course, depressed considerably below the ground on either side. It is not improbable that formerly this was the main source of water supply to the tank. To the south of this water-course, overhanging the Kund, is a huge breast-work of stone, on the top of which is a spacious courtyard and a Mohammedan Dargah or place of prayer. It is difficult by reason of the carved stones used in the foundations, the underlying mortar and the evident frequent repairs, to say whether any portion of this breast-work or of the buttress jutting out at its base, is really ancient, although some portions seem to be so. The buttress is continuous with the stone ghaut, and merges into it.

To the east of the Dargah is a small mosque, 37 feet long by $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, open to the east, and supported by three rows of pillars, five in each row. The pillars in the second row have deep scroll carvings on their sides, with ornamented corners consisting of lotus seed-pods, one on another. Each pillar is 7 feet 9 inches high, including the capital, and the latter is 2 feet 6 inches in length and 2 feet 4 inches in width. The capitals of the outer pillars are somewhat larger than those of the inner, and are in the form of a cross, the extremities being rounded off; while the upper surface of each limb exhibits a convex curve, the line of which rises higher in proportion as it recedes from the extremity. The architrave is about a foot in thickness, and on it the flat stone roof rests. Seven niches are placed at intervals round the three walls of the room. The entire building is of stone. The western wall, on its outer side, is strengthened by a buttress, at the base of which runs a beautifully carved band, 11 inches broad, which projects a couple of inches from the wall, and below it is a cornice 10 inches in width and 7 in depth, bearing on its front a broad band of exquisite carving. Some parts of this building are certainly original; and there can be no doubt of the antiquity of the pillars, which belonged to some Buddhist cloister, or of the fact of the modern character of the enclosing wall.

A few steps off, is an enclosure in the form of an irregular parallelogram, a wall being on either side, and two small Buddhist buildings at its extremities. That situated at the northern extremity is in some respects like the mosque just described. Its carvings, however, are not all the same, and its ornamented band is of a very ancient type. There is a small building used as a Ranza attached to its north-west angle, and sustained by ancient pillars and modern walls. The building is surmounted by a low cupola of primitive construction. It is not unlikely that originally there were cloisters on this bank of the Kund, and that the three small buildings just described were all at one time connected together.

The edifice at the southern extremity of the enclosure well displays the old Hindu and Buddhist method of making a roof by the imposition of stone beams, one upon another, cross and corner-wise until they met in the middle. The roof of this building exhibits a mass of such beams piled upon each other, exactly like the roof of a house which

children build with their little wooden bricks. A second object of interest here is a cut stone screen, which serves the place of a window.

Nearly a hundred and fifty feet to the east of the last mentioned buildings, is another which has evidently been erected with old materials, and is of doubtful antiquity. It has four pillars, two outer and two inner, exclusive of others imbedded in the walls, and has five recesses on its three sides. The carvings have been to some extent obliterated by the whitewash with which the mosque is bedaubed.

Still further on eastwards, at a distance of 75 feet, is a terrace walled round by a stone breastwork 48 feet long by 36 broad, on which stand four exquisitely carved columns, sustaining an ancient roof, the remains probably of a chaitya or Buddhist temple, or of its innermost shrine. Its position is exactly opposite the Buddhist temple to the west, yet to be described, from which it is distant 550 feet. The columns are 7 feet 7 inches in height including the base, and are elaborately ornamented; in which respect they differ from the pillars of the other temple, which, for the most part, are destitute of ornamentation. The four sides of the base display an elegant carving of a vase with flowers drooping low over the brim—a device always found in these parts in Buddhist shrine-pillars. The well-known representation of a face with a floreated scroll streaming forth from the mouth, eyes and moustache, is repeated four times on each column, and above it runs a band of beads, each of which is nearly an inch in diameter. An arc of the sun's disk rests upon this band, and higher up, the column becomes octagonal. It then becomes quadrilateral again, and on each side is an exquisite design, exceedingly well executed, of an overflowing vase. The pillar is crowned with a capital, beneath which is a broad double moulding. The cornice above the architrave is also beautifully cut. But the ceiling of this shrine, consisting of overlapping stones built as before described, is perhaps its most striking feature. Each stone is richly carved, and was originally coloured, while representations of suns and lotuses are depicted upon them in bold relief. Taking it altogether, this little remnant of antiquity is a charming piece of art, and is in itself a proof of the delicacy in taste and expertness in chiselling of the architects of those times, and is also a proof of the sad degeneracy of their posterity.

This Chaitya seems to have been the eastern extremity of the

range of ancient buildings under notice. Leaving it, the boundary line took a southerly direction and probably included several buildings similar to those on the northern side, very faint traces of the foundations of which, at the most, are visible. The boundary line, however, on its southern side takes in a remarkable structure, consisting of a massive stone breastwork, 130 feet long, 90 feet wide, and 5 feet 4 inches high, sustaining a terrace now used as a Mohammedan burial-ground. The breastwork is in some places in decay, but to a great extent is in good condition. Its stones, especially where exposed in the foundations, have masonic marks upon them, and some have as many as three symbols in a row. It is surmounted by a fine cornice six inches deep. Ascending the terrace no buildings besides Mohammedan tombs are visible, but it is probable that an extensive Buddhist edifice stood on this spacious area. On the western side, exactly in the centre, is a projecting buttress, originally the Singhasun, round which the moulding also runs. On this spot may have stood a gigantic figure of Buddha, visible to every one entering the court—for such we hold it originally to have been. Indeed the large terraces which have been described, may all have been cloistered courts, where disciples and devotees congregated for religious purposes. An inspection of the Atallah and Juma mosques at Jaunpore, formerly Buddhist monasteries, confirms this view.

The most remarkable of these Buddhist ruins yet remains. This is the temple, to which allusion has been already made, and of which a separate Ground Plan has been drawn. The Mohammedans have appropriated this temple and capped it with a dome, and now use it as a mausoleum. It stands on forty-two pillars, all of which are in good order with the exception of one in the southern portico, which has been twisted by the fall of a large tree upon it. Formerly, there were evidently two pillars more than there are at present, sustaining the heavy entablature of the southern portico, so that the whole number of pillars originally, was forty-four. Of these, thirty-two supported the temple proper, and four the roof of each of the northern, southern and eastern porticos. To the west, there is no portico, but simply a sort of projecting buttress or Singhasun, on which probably the chief idol stood, and was at once seen by persons coming in through the main entrance on the east. The northern and southern porticos are

15 feet long by 10 wide, while the eastern is only 12 feet by 10. The inner part of the temple is 18 feet square. Round the whole of the exterior of the temple, above the capitals of the columns, and supported by their external limb, runs an eave-stone nearly 3 feet in width, and, as at the Atallah, Juma Musjid, Pan Dareba at Juanpore, this eaves-stone has been made to imitate wood, thus confirming Fergusson when writing about this class of structures.

Each column is $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, of which the quadrilateral shaft between the capital and the plinth is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The capital is in the form of a cross, each limb consisting of two portions, the lower being bell-shaped with an ornament in the corners. The columns in the temple proper stand two or four together, and the abacus or square stone upon them, between the capital and architrave, is 13 inches deep, and is beautifully carved. The architrave has a rich double band sculptured upon it, which passes all round the temple including the porticos. Above this is a flat stone, and above it again a row of niches which are probably of Mohammedan origin.

Viewing the temple from the outside, a practised eye soon distinguishes between the ancient portion and that added by the Mohammedans. Above the portico, all below the octagonal breastwork is undoubtedly of Buddhist workmanship, and the remainder of Mohammedan; but the Mohammedans, there is reason to suppose, availed themselves of old materials. At the termination of the breastwork at each corner, rests a small kalas, about two-thirds of the circular disk of which is exposed, the remainder being inserted into the wall. Although so many ages have elapsed since this temple was erected, and although it has been exposed to the alternate ruthlessness of Hindu and Mohammedan fanaticism, nevertheless with such wonderful skill have its proportions been designed and its blocks of stone been joined together—yet without cement of any kind—that at the present moment, in spite of its aspect of hoary antiquity, it seems almost if not quite as durable as on the day on which it was finished; and it is unquestionable that if it be not barbarously damaged by uncivilized hands, it will continue to stand for centuries to come. The simplicity combined with the great strength of its parts, and the symmetrical arrangement of the whole, give to the building, notwithstanding the general scantiness of its ornamentation, an appearance which

the most fastidious must pronounce to be of no mean order of beauty. A small cloister was originally connected with the south-west corner of the temple, as is shown by the continuation of the ancient basement moulding, a moulding which surrounds indeed all Buddhist buildings in these parts. This was probably the vestry or retiring room of the officiating priests. Some of its walls are still visible.

It is greatly to be regretted that a large portion of the site of these ruins is in a disgustingly filthy state, so that none but the most ardent investigator would care to visit a place so foul and abominable.

As to the date of the buildings which have been briefly described, some of them at least must have been erected as early as the large tower at Sarnath, which General Cunningham considers was in existence in the beginning of the fifth century of our era, and was then seen by the traveller Fa Hian. They formed probably one of the thirty monasteries referred to by Hwan Thsang, to which allusion has already been made. When looking upon these extensive ruins, we cannot fail to recall the time when they were frequented by crowds of priests and disciples of the Buddhist faith. Then probably the tank was surrounded on three sides by a lofty terrace of stone, while a large ghaut or flight of steps was on its southern side. Around the edges of this terrace, both to the south and west, ran cloisters, and to the east there must have been massive temples capable of carrying such caps or 'kalases,' one of them nine feet in diameter, as have been referred to in this description. It is a matter of much interest to the archæologist, to try and save from total oblivion these few traces of the past, when the Buddhists, who long ages since were expelled from the country, were still famous, if not powerful, and were already engaged in that tremendous struggle with the Brahmins, which eventually terminated in their own utter extinction in India.

We propose shortly submitting some notes relating to the numerous symbols found on the stones at Bakariya Kund and elsewhere, commonly known as mason's marks, and would invite correspondence with any parties interested in the subject. A comparison of symbols found in various places would be curious, and would render our paper more complete.

In illustration of the foregoing paper, there are herewith submitted two Plans, one representing this entire locality, and the other the

Buddhist Temple still standing; and in addition three Photographic Plates, of which the description is as follows:—

Plate, No. 1, shews the Temple before alluded to, a full account of which has already been given.

Plate, No. 2, exhibits the remains of a Buddhist shrine consisting of four handsomely carved pillars, standing on an ancient platform, with the usual Singhasun facing to the east. The ceiling, which has been described in another place, is unfortunately concealed from view in the photograph.

Plate, No. 3, represents a group of stones and pillars brought from Bakariya Kund. To the right and left are two exquisitely chiselled shrine pillars, which are in many respects alike, but the grotesque faces on the four sides of the apex of each pillar, are in no two cases the same. The two bases also are different, for on the pillar to the right, one-half of the chakra is depicted, the symbol from which Buddha derived his title of Chakravarti, while the left pillar displays in this position a deeply compressed human face. Above these portions of the base, the columns become octagonal, and at each angle is a comical face, half on one side and half on the other, with flowing scrolls proceeding from the same. Over the faces a beaded band encompasses the columns, upon which rests the arc of a disc on each of the eight sides. Higher up, the columns again become quadrilateral, and exhibit flattened urns in bas-relief, overflowing with wreathed scrolls, a device exceedingly common on pillars of this age, (about 500, A. D., as we imagine). The uppermost portion of the pillars, on which the human faces are represented, is somewhat larger in circumference than the base. The dimensions of the pillars are as follows. Height 2 feet 8 inches, each face at apex 13 inches.

Between these pillars are two large blocks of stone, which, like the topmost stone of the group, appear to have formed portions of a frieze running round some sculptured chamber, but as they are of different proportions, they probably belonged to different structures. The figures appear very bacchanalian. In the top stone, the man rests his left arm on a large wine jar of a Grecian pattern, whilst with his right he lifts the wine-cup. The other two figures are in nearly the same attitude. A narrow band, beaded or plain, ran round the figures, and by drooping between them, connected together all the portions of the

original frieze. Beneath the loop of the drooping cord is the representation of a gem carved in the stone. Many figures similar to those now described, have been lately found among the ancient buildings in Jaunpore. Plate, No. 4, which represents a group of stones taken from these buildings, is added for the sake of comparison, as it portrays strikingly this similitude. In the College grounds in Benares, are some magnificent sculptures brought from Sarnath, one of which is a long frieze, cut with great boldness, the figures of which are connected by a narrow band or garland. A photograph of this frieze may perhaps at some future time be sent to the Society. The length of what remains of it is $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

The topmost stone shews the projecting position it occupied, by its under-cutting, but it is hard to say in what part of the building this found a place. The next stone beneath it consists of a circle, formed by a narrow band, and surmounted by an elegant ornamentation indicating the central position which it originally occupied, which was probably the crowning decoration of a niche. In the circle itself a very merry face is depicted, by no means that of an ascetic. The large circular stone below this, represents eight human figures standing in most uncomfortable postures and supporting a cord or garland. This was probably the capital of an ornamental column; and there is reason to think that it must be assigned to a later date, on the ground that ancient Buddhist sculptures rarely if ever exhibit any distortion of limbs, while the Jains and modern Brahmins twist and distort their figures in every possible manner. The other half of this circular stone lies at the College, and as Major Kittoe is stated to have taken stones from Bakariya Kund until stopped by the people, may have been brought from this place.

In addition to these Plates which have now been described, Mr. Tresham has kindly taken two others, one representing the south end of the Kund, No. 5, and the other a portion of the retaining wall on the western bank, No. 6, copies of which are also forwarded.

Ancient Indian Weights.—By E. THOMAS, Esq.

(Continued from p. 266 of Vol. XXXIII.)

[Received 28th September, 1864.]

I concluded the first portion of this article with a suggestive rectification of the reading of a passage in Manu, tending to prove that coined money was in use at the period of the compilation of the text of India's earliest lawgiver. Any question that might have remained on this subject may be satisfactorily set at rest by the testimony of the published Sanskrit version of Yājñavalkya,* the commentary on which, known as the *Mitāksharā*, defines the *Kārshika* as "measured by a *Kārsha*" (*Karshenonmita*); while the copper *KĀRSHA* itself is described as *Tāmrasya Vikāra*, or "copper transformed," *i. e.*, worked up from its crude metallic state into some recognised shape.† This proves, in the one case, that the interpretation of the term *Kārsha*, as a *coin*, or fabricated piece of whatever description, is fully authorised; and, in the other, that the copper *Kārshāpana*, as Manu's text would imply, constituted the ready referee of weight, which its general currency as a coin of the period was calculated to ensure. Indeed it is curious to note how near an adherence to very primitive customs this state of things discloses, in that the original idea of the use of definite and subdivided weights of metal for commercial purposes, is still so closely identified with the secondary function these fixed units had come to fulfil in the guise of money, as circulating measures of value, while they retained their hereditary acceptance as bases of the metric system.‡ This duality of function remained so essentially associated in the minds of the people, that the revised scales of weights of the British Government, in compliance with local predilections, were adapted and adjusted under a similar system,—the current *Rupee* recommending itself as the

* *Mitāksharā*, i. 364.

† Professor Wilson missed the full force of this explanation in adhering to the old translation of Manu—where "*Kārsha* or *Pana*" are given.—"Ariana Antiqua," p. 404; Prinsep's "Essays," i. 53, note.

‡ An early example of the use of the *Kārsha* as a weight is given in the Buddhist Legends (Burnouf, *Introd. Hist. Bud.*, p. 258), where one *Kārsha* weight of sandal wood is stated to have cost "500 *Kārshāpanas*." The custom of employing current coins as measures of weight appears to have become subsequently so much of a recognised system in Hindustān, that Sikandar bin Bahlol extended their metric functions into tests of measures of length—41½ diameters of his copper coins being assigned to the *Guz* or local yard.—*Num. Chron.*, xv. 164.

initial datum and "foundation of the *Ser* and *Man*,"* and as the criterion and handy test of the higher weights.

To the most casual inquirer, perusing the precepts and enactments embodied in the Statutes of Manu, the existence of some conventional means of meeting the ordinary wants of commerce and exchange, incident to the state of society therein typified, would be, so to say, self-evident. The scale of fines, the subdivisions of the assessments of tolls, the elaboration of the rates of interest, and even the mere buyings and sellings adverted to, so far in advance of any remnant of a system of barter, would necessitate the employment of *coined* money, or some introductory scheme of equable divisions of metal, authoritatively or otherwise current by tale,† without the need of weighing and testing each unit as it passed from hand to hand. We need not attempt to settle the correct technical definition of coined money, or what amount of mechanical contrivance is required to constitute a coin *proper*,—it is sufficient to say that we have flat pieces of metal, some round, some square or oblong, adjusted with considerable accuracy to a fixed weight, and usually of an uniform purity, seemingly verified and stamped anew with distinctive symbols by succeeding generations, which clearly represented an effective currency long before the ultimate date of the engrossment of the Laws of Manu. The silver pieces of this class, the *Purāṇas*, are found in unusual numbers, and over an almost unlimited extent of the entire breadth of Hindustān: from the banks of the sacred Saraswati; under eighteen feet of the soil which now covers the buried city of Behat;‡ down the Ganges to the sea; on the eastern and western coasts; and in the "Kistvaens" of the ancient races of the Dakhin.§ That the silver coins should have been preserved to the present time, in larger numbers than their more perishable and less esteemed copper equivalents, was to be expected, especially looking to the reconversion of the latter into newer dynastic mintages,

* Prinsep's Useful Tables, ii. 95, 104-6; "Jour. As. Soc., Bengal," 1834, *Appendix*, p. 61, &c. See also "Jour. As. Soc., Bengal," i. 445.

† One example may suffice. "The toll at a ferry is one *paṇa* for an empty cart; half a *paṇa* for a man with a load; a quarter for a beast used in agriculture, or for a woman; and an eighth for an unloaded man."—Manu, viii. 404.

‡ "Jour. As. Soc., Bengal," iii. 44. Prinsep's "Essays," i. 73. For range of localities, see also A. Cunningham, "Bhilsa Topes," p. 354.

§ Caldwell, "Dravidian Grammar," p. 526. Walter Elliot, "Madras Journal Lit. and Science," 1858, p. 227.

and their proverbial absorption for the construction of domestic utensils. But with all this, the relative proportions of each, which reward modern collectors,* would seem to indicate that, of the joint currencies, the silver issues must have already constituted a large measure of the circulating media of the day; and this evidence is by no means unimportant, as showing that while the standard of value was, from the first, *copper*, the interchangeable rates of the two metals must have been in a measure recognised, while these imperfect currencies were in the course of formation and reception into the commerce of the country.

The tenor of the entire text of Mann conclusively demonstrates that the primitive standard of the currencies of the Indians, like that of the geographically less isolated, though equally independent originators of their own proper civilisation, the Egyptians, was based upon copper, a lower metal, which, however it may astound our golden predilections of modern times, was clearly in so far preferable in the early conception of interchangeable metallic equivalents, that it necessarily constituted the most widely distributed and diffused representative of value, brought home to the simplest man's comprehension, and obviously in its very spread the least liable to sudden fluctuation from external causes, such as would more readily affect the comparatively limited available amounts of either of the higher metals. Hence, in remote ages, under an imperfect philosophy of exchange, copper may be said to have been the safest and most equable basis for the determination of all relative values; and so well did it seemingly fulfil its mission in India, that as civilisation advanced with no laggard pace, and foreign conquest brought repeated changes of dominant power, and whatever of superior intelligence may have accompanied the intrusive dynasties, the copper standard continued so much of a fixed institution in the land, that it was only in Akbar's reign (A. D. 1556—1605)† that it even began to

* Col. Stacey's collection contributes 373 silver coins of this class to 30 copper pieces ("Journ. As. Soc. Bengal," vol. xxvii. p. 256; 1858). The British Museum cabinets show 227 silver against 2 copper *punch* coins. Of the former 57 are round; the rest are square, oblong, or irregularly shaped.

† The revenues of Akbar's magnificent empire were all assessed in *Dáms*; a copper coin weighing about 324 grains [N. C., xv. pp. 163—172]. The total demand of the state in A. D. 1596 is given as 3,62,97,55,246 *dáms*. The payments in kind, in the province of Kashmir, are consistently reduced into equivalents in *dáms*, and the single exception to the copper estimate occurs in the Trans-Indus *Sirkár*, of Kandahár, where the taxes were collected in Persian *gold* *Tománs* and

lose its position as the general arbiter of all fiscal and mercantile transactions. With the accumulated increase of wealth, its cumbrous volume made an opening for the silver *Rupee*, which established itself permanently in its place, and as time went on, gold *Muhars* had an exceptional and temporary acceptance; but, like the *rupees* of that monarch, they were left to find their own level in the market, as certain inexperienced servants of the East India Company discovered, to their astonishment, to be still the ruling idea of the community at large, when, in subsequent times, they incautiously declared gold a legal tender.*

I have already extracted from the ancient Sanskrit code the contemporaneous definition of the weights of metal in use "for the purpose of worldly business." I will now examine how much of an approximation to the conventional notion of a money currency had been reached, at the period of the composition of the Vedas and other archaic writings.

Professor Wilson was under the impression that he had discovered a reference to coined money in the Vedas, where, in the enumeration of the gifts bestowed upon the *Rishi* Garga, mention is made of "ten purses" of gold;† unfortunately, the contents of these "purses, bags, or chests," or whatever may have been the intentional meaning of *kosajih* in this place, do not figure in the original text of the hymn, but form part of the conjectural additions of the commentator *Sáyana*.‡ As such, it is useless to speculate further on the passage; but the words *dasa hiranya pindán*, "ten lumps of gold," in the succeeding verse, seem to have a much more direct bearing on the general question, and would almost in themselves establish a reckoning by tale. Had the text merely confined itself to the expression "lumps of gold" in the generic sense, crude and undefined fragments of metal

Dínars [Gladwin's "Ayin Akbari," ii. pp. 3, 107, 110. See also i. pp. 2, 3, 4, 35, 37, 39]. I do not lose sight of the fact of the long-continued use of an intermediate mixed silver and copper currency, which filled in the divisions between, and co-existed with higher and lower coinage of unalloyed metals [N. C., xv. pp. 153, 163; Prinsep's "Essays," Useful Tables, p. 71]. *Dáms*, like the old *Kársha*, were also occasionally used as weights (See *Ayin-Akbari* i. 307).

* Sir James Steuart, "The Principles of Money, &c., in Bengal." Calcutta, 1772, p. 26; Prinsep's "Essays," Useful Tables, pp. 73, 76, 77.

† "Rig Veda Sanhitá," iii. pp. xvi. and 474.

‡ "Rig Veda," text, vol. i. p. 699; Max Müller. See also Wilson, "R. V. S.," i. p. xlix. and iii; and note 4, page 474.

might have been understood; but the deliberate enumeration of ten horses and ten lumps of gold,* would seemingly enforce the conclusion that those lumps were fixed and determined sections of the metal of habitually recognised value, or precisely such divisional portions of gold as we see in the parallel cases of the silver and copper of which Manu speaks, and whose extant survivors find a place in our medal cabinets.

In addition to this allusion to what I suppose to have been *Suvarnas*, the Vedas, on two occasions, distinctly name the *Nishka*. The first reference to this money-weight is to be found in a hymn by that most mercenary *Rishi*, KAKSHIVAT,† devoted to no deity, but to the glorification of a mundane prince dwelling on the Indus, whose beneficence is eulogised, in an extended play upon the number of his gifts, among which the *Rishi* confesses to having “unhesitatingly accepted 100 *Nishkas*, 100 vigorous steeds, and 100 bulls;” evidencing, as in the previous instance, a numerical computation by pieces of recognised value—much in advance of the primitive test of scales and weights. Again, in a subsequent *Sūkta*, GRITSAMADA, a *Rishi* of some celebrity,‡ in addressing the divinity RUDRA, says, “He shines with brilliant golden ornaments.”* * “Worthy thou bearest arrows and a bow; worthy thou wearest an adorable omniform necklace.”§

The mediæval scholiast substitutes the word *hāra*, a necklace, for the *Nishka* of the original text,|| an interpretation which is followed by the modern translator. It would seem that one of the derivative meanings of the word *Nishka*, as in the parallel instance of *Dināra*,¶

* “Rig Veda Sanhitā,” 4th Ashtaka, 7th Adhyāya; “Sūkta,” xlvii. verse 23—“I have received ten horses, ten purses, clothes, and ample food, and ten lumps of gold, from Divodāsa.”

I should prefer the substitution of “cakes or balls” of gold for the “lumps” of the translator. Mr. W. Elliot mentions that “the Canarese *gulige* (Sanskrit *gūṭikā*) was the ancient name of a class of small spherical coins.” See figs. 3, 4, 5, pl. vii., vol. iii., “Madras Journal” (1858). Whence, also, the gold *A’dal Gutkah* (Gutkā) of the “Ayin-Akbari,” i. p. 32.

† Wilson, “Rig Veda Sanhitā,” ii. p. 17. See also i. 312, 316, &c.

‡ Wilson, “Rig Veda Sanhitā,” ii. p. 207.

§ Wilson, “Rig Veda Sanhitā,” 2nd ashtaka, 7th adhyāya. Sūkta xxxiii, vol. ii. p. 291-2.

अर्हन्विभविं मायकानि धन्वाहृद्भिर्वा यजतं विश्वरूपं । अर्हद्भिर्दं दयसे विश्वमभं न
या अोजोयो एद्रलदसि ॥ १० ॥

|| Max Müller, “Rig Veda,” ii. p. 579.

¶ Max Müller, “Sanskrit Literature,” p. 247.

came in process of time to apply to "an ornament of the neck," the component elements supplying the designation in either case. From the passage in question we may reasonably infer that the *Nishka* of the Vedas had, even then, attained so much of a definite and unvarying form, and partial ornamental fashioning, as to be suitable for decorative purposes in its current shape; a deduction which would further imply that the piece itself was understood, or admitted to be of a constant and uniform make, and that, in effect, it carried its description in its name.

It is a question whether it is not also necessary to amend the translation of the adjective, *Vis'wa rūpa*, from "omniform," to the more intelligible "pervaded," or covered "with forms" or symbols,* a rendering which would singularly accord with the state in which we find the silver money of the period. Should any difficulty be felt at the supposition of the adornment of a god with so obvious a work of man's hand, it may be said that bows and arrows are scarcely divine weapons; but the inherent tendency of lightly-clad, imperfectly domiciled races to wear on their persons their more valuable and easily portable wealth, would naturally suggest the notion that the deities followed a similar practice; and the expression instructs us that the people among whom it was uttered were in the habit of hanging round their necks sections of the precious metals, even as their successors in the land for ninety generations have continued to do; having thereby,

* This rendering is in complete harmony with Barnouf's "*Dinâras marqués de signes*" (*lakshanâhatam dînâra dvayam*), two *dinârs* impressed with symbols. A difficulty has been felt about the supposed Latin origin of the word *Dînâr*; but, if the passage quoted by Barnouf truly represents the fabric of the earlier mintages, it does not matter what term the original recorder or translator applied to the piece itself; he may well have used the conventional word of his age for gold coin, without damaging the authenticity or antiquity of the legend, or losing sight of the character of the old type of money he was then describing, and which must have been still abundant in the land. But apart from this, Colebrooke, in his *Algebra of the Hindus* (p. cxxxiii.), has affirmed that *Dînâr* "is a genuine Sanskrit word," the derivation of which Professor Goldstûcker explains by *dî* (preserved in *dîdî*, and kindred with *div*, *dîp*), hence the participle *dîna*, "shining," with the affix *âra*, implying "pre-eminence." As regards the term *Nishka*, Max Müller has thrown out a suggestion that it may be in some way associated with the name of the Indo-Scythian king *Kanishka* ("Sanskrit Literature," p. 332). Professor Goldstûcker, on the other hand, thinks that the word may be satisfactorily derived from *nîs*, "out," and *ka*, "splendour" (from *kan*, "to shine"). *Nishka* occurs in Pânini, v. 1, 20; v. 1, 30; v. 2, 119.

See "Introduction à l'Histoire de Bouddhisme," p. 423; Max Müller, "Sanskrit Literature," p. 245; Prinsep's "Essays," i. 246, note 3; and "Jour. As Soc. Bengal," vi. 459.

in many instances, undesignedly preserved to history the choicest and most interesting numismatic memorials of olden time.

Dr. Weber has collected from the Sutras and later Vedic writings, a number of references to money weights,* the most interesting of which are the notice of the silver Satamána by Kátyáyana (xx. 2, 6), and the mention of a "yellow-gold satamána" (*hiranyam suvarnam s'atamánam*) in the Satapatha Bráhmāna (xii. 7, 2, &c.), showing that the term *s'atamána*, which is given by Manu exclusively as a weight of silver, had come to be used indifferently with its coincident metric denomination, the *Nishka*, which, in earlier times, specially implied a measure of gold,† The quotation of *Suvarṇa S'alákāni* from the Sruti,‡ is also of importance, the *S'aláka* identifying the gold piece directly with the parallel issue of silver, the residuary specimens of which retain the name to this day in the South of India.§

Having obtained from the Vedas themselves so much of an indication of the use of circulating monetary weights at the very early period to which those hymns are now admitted to belong, my task in proving an obvious advance upon the rudimentary phase of the science of money, under Manu, will be simple; especially as so much has already been incidentally brought forward, tending to dissipate any remaining doubt as to the existence of a *coined* copper currency, much anterior to the epoch, when the customs and usages of preceding ages had to be acknowledged as the practical basis of, and as far as might be, conciliated in, the new code which was to make Brahmanism absolute.|| As I have already stated, there is no direct evidence to show what technic art had achieved in those days, or what form or finish was given to the current money; but, as with the copper, so with the divisional parts of gold and silver, in the table quoted from Manu (viii. 131—137); their classification represents something more than a mere theoretical

* "Zeitschrift," 1864, p. 138-9.

† See also the quotation from "Yájñavalkya," section i. sl. 364; Num. Chron., 1864, note, p. 56.

‡ Mádhaba in Kálanirnaya.

§ Walter Elliot, "Madras Journal of Lit. and Science," 1858, p. 224. *Saláka* (Telugu), "A dent or mark on a coin denoting its goodness."—Wilson, "Glossary." The leading meaning of the Sanskrit *S'alákā* is given as a dart, an arrow: one of its derivative meanings is "an oblong quadrangular piece of ivory or bone used in playing a particular game; a domino."—Wilson, "Sanskrit Dictionary."

|| "No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Bráhmāna."—Manu, viii. 381.

enunciation of weights and values, and demonstrates a practical acceptance of a pre-existing order of things; precisely as the general tenor of the text exhibits these weights of metal in full and free employment for the settlement of the ordinary dealings of men, in parallel currency with the copper pieces; whose mention, however, is necessarily more frequent, both as *the standard* and as the money of detail, amid a poor community. Their use in the higher totals would seem to refer to an earlier stage of civilisation, or to a time when the interchangeable values of the different metals were less understood and even more imperfectly determined. There is no attempt to define these relative values, and the omission may, perchance, have been intentional; though some such scale would soon settle itself by custom, and the lawgivers may wisely, in their generation, have abstained from attempting, like our own modern statesmen, to fix the price of gold for all time, to give permanency to an ephemeral balance, or otherwise to swerve from the ancient simplicity of their own copper standard. Neither need there be any distrust of the contrasted passages, as representing different stages of national advancement. The collection of a code of human laws would necessarily embrace the progress and practical adaptations of many generations of men, the older formulæ being retained in the one case, side by side with the more recent enactments and their modified adjuncts. In a compilation of this kind, the retention of such apparent anomalies would indeed be a negative sign of good faith; and as we have to admit considerable uncertainty as to the exact epochs of the origin, application, and classification of these laws, and a still greater margin of time to allow for their versification and ultimate embodiment in writing, it would be as well not to lay too much stress upon their internal evidence, when all the legitimate deductions we seek can be established from external testimony.

The next contribution to the history of coinage in India is derived from the unexpected source of the Grammar of Páṇiṇi, in the text of which pieces of money in a very complete form are adverted to.* That

* Professor Goldstücker has been so obliging as to examine Páṇiṇi for references to coins, and to furnish me with the following note on the subject:—

“That Páṇiṇi knew *coined* money is plainly borne out by his Sūtra, v. 2, 119, rūpád áhata. . . . where he says, ‘the word *rúpya* is in the sense of “struck” (*áhata*), derived from *rúpa*, “form, shape,” with the *taddhita* affix *ya*, here implying possession; when *rúpya* would literally mean “struck (money), havin_g

nominal terms should appear in the grammar of a people would, at the very least, imply that the object designated had attained extensive local recognition. Without touching the higher ground, as to how soon in a nation's linguistic progress fixed grammatical definitions may become a religious, intellectual, or material need, it cannot but be conceded that if the name and description of a coin find a place among rules for the formation of words, this should be evidence sufficient to prove that such a product of mechanical art must long have passed into the dealings and commercial life of the nation at large ere it could have become incorporated in the conventional speech, and been sanctioned in the teachings of the schools.

Admitting these inferences, it remains to decide upon the date of the grammarian himself. Professor Goldstücker conceives that he has lately obtained most important confirmatory testimony that *Pāṇini* lived before *Buddha Śākya Muni* (B.C. 543).^{*} Accepting this period for the record in writing of the passage in question, I am satisfied to leave the limit of the anterior currency of the coins open to free discussion.

The allusions to money in the sacred literature of Śākya Muni are so frequent, in comparison with their rare occurrence in the Vedic writings, as to have led one of our modern inquirers to infer that the Buddhists understood and employed the art of coining long before their Brāhman adversaries; † a more simple and satisfactory reason may be assigned for the apparent data, in the fact that the Vedas and their supplemental rituals refer to an ideal polytheism, while the Buddhist scriptures are based on the personal biography of a man living in the flesh among the people of India, whose manners and customs are thus

a form." Kātyāyana and Patanjali make no observation on these words, but the Kāśikā-vṛitti says that 'form' here means 'the form or shape of a man which was struck on it'; and considering that *rūpa*, 'form,' is in this Sūtra used without any addition—or emphatically, the ellipsis of *puruṣa*, 'man'—is perfectly natural and justified. As to the date of the Kāśikā-vṛitti, nothing positive is as yet known of it; it is certain, however, that it is much later than the Mahābhāṣya; but even without its interpretation, I hold that no other sense than that put by it on this Sūtra could rationally be attributed to it."

^{*} While on the subject of dates, I may mention that since the publication of the earlier portion of this article, a paper has been presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, by Dr. Whitney, "On the Jyotisha Observation" (adverted to in Note 14, page 255, "Journal As. Soc. Bengal," 1864) questioning the accuracy of the results of previous calculations. The utmost possible limit of error, however, is admitted to lie between 1120 and 1187 B.C., instead of within the 1181 and 1186 B.C., already quoted.

† Spence Hardy, "Eastern Monachism," Lond., 1850, p. 66.

incidentally portrayed. So that the Vedas proper, as might be anticipated, furnish but few references to money, and Manu confines his notices to the formal letter of the law, though that brings within its circle even the definition of the lowest rate of wages, which is fixed at one *pana* a day, with an allowance of grain, &c. (vii. 126). The Buddhist legends, on the contrary, abound in illustrations of every-day life, including ordinary commercial dealings, frequent mention of charitable donations and distributions; and in one instance they have preserved a record of the quaint item, that the Anonyma of her day, in the ancient city of Mathurá, estimated her favours at 500 *purānas* (about £16). Burnouf, who cites this anecdote, has further collected in his "Introduction à l'Histoire de Bouddhisme," numerous passages mentioning *suvarnas*, *purānas*, *kakini* (ratis), and *kārshāpanas*,* and among other things he reproduces a tale which exemplifies the curious custom of the women of the period indulging in the habit of ornamenting the skirts of their garments with *kārshāpanas*. The notice of *Dinārs*† has already been referred to, but the most important passage under the numismatic aspect, in the Buddhist literature, is to be found in the text of the "Mahāwanso," where it is stated that the Brāhman Chānakya, the adviser of Chandra Gupta, "with the view of raising resources, converted (by recoinng) each *kaha pana* into eight, and amassed eighty *koṭis* of *kahāpanas*."‡

If the Buddhist legends are to be taken as in any way correct exponents of the state of civilisation existing at the period to which they professedly refer, it is clear that the act of recoinng, and by conversion and depreciation making each *kārshāpana* into eight, would imply unconditionally, not only that the art of coining had reached its most advanced stage, but that the ideas and customs of the country had been already trained by long usage, to identify the regal stamp with the supposed assurance of fixed intrinsic value—a fallacy that was very early

* Pp. 91, 102, 103, 145-7, 236, 238, 243, 245, 258, note 329, note 597.

† Ibid, 423.

‡ Turnour's "Mahāwanso," Ceylon, 1837, p. xl.: and M. Müller, "Sanskrit Lit." 289. The Ceylon writers wrote according to their own lights, as unlike the people of India Proper, who seem to have reserved the term *Kārshapana* for the copper coinage. The inhabitants of Ceylon and the Western coasts appear to have coined both gold and silver into *Kārshāpanas*, *Māshas*, and other established weights; though the generic term *Kārshāpana* in books and inscriptions usually indicates copper coin in the absence of any specification to the contrary.

taken advantage of by the ruling powers. For, while the primitive currencies which bear no royal impress, were endowed with, and retain to the present, a remarkable uniformity of weight and fineness of metal, as in the very nature of things it was necessary for them to be full measure, that they might exchange against full measure in return; on the other hand, from the moment true coins, in our modern sense, make their appearance, irregularity accompanies them, so that in the Indian series, in one of the first completely fashioned mintages, that of the silver Behat type, bearing the name of *Kuṇḍa*,* the weights of fully-stamped well-preserved specimens vary from 29 to 38.2 grains.

The Ceylon annals casually illustrate the subdivisions of the *kārshāpana*, as they may be inferred to have existed under Manu (viii. 404), in the descending scale as 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$. The *Bhikkhus* of "Wesāli" (*Basahr*, north of Patna) asking alms, in 443 B.C., say, "Beloved! bestow on the priesthood either a *kāhāpan*, or half, or a quarter of one, or even the value of a *māsa*."† Without insisting upon this last, which would constitute $\frac{1}{16}$ of the *kārshāpana*, I may notice once again the permanency of Indian institutions, in the fact that Akbar's copper‡ coins were retained under the original and simple division of 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, in the presence of, and associated with, the most curious complications of the weights and values of the currency of the precious metals.

There is little else that will immediately serve our purpose in the notices of Ceylon coins.§ Nor do the more promising inscriptions of the Western Caves throw any particular light on the primitive coinages of Northern India. They contain numerous records of donations of *kāhāpanas*, and in one place notice a *Kāhāpan Sāla*, or Hall for the distribution of *kārshāpanas*.|| *Hāns*¶ and *Paḍikas* are often cited

* Prinsep's "Essays," i. p. 203, pl. xi., fig. 16; vol. ii., pl. xlv., figs. 2, 3, 4; "Ariana Antiqua," p. 415, pl. xv., fig. 23.

† Mahāwanso, J. A. S., Bengal, vi. 729.

‡ "Ayin-Akbari," i. 36.

§ Other references to money are to be found, "Mahāwanso," pp. xli., 10; Spence Hardy, "Manual of Buddhism," pp. 119, 218, 219.

|| "Bombay Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.," 1853; Dr. Stevenson's "Kanheri Caves, Inscrip." No. x. p. 9, and the revision by Mr. E. W. West in 1862, p. 1, et seq. See also "Nāsik Cave Inscriptions," 1853, p. 3; and "Sahyādrī Inscriptions," 1854, p. 1.

¶ The mention of *Hāns* thus early is of some value in this inquiry, as showing the age of the name, associated with the near coincidence of its authorised weight with that of the old Purāna. Mr. Elliot derives the word from *pon*, "gold;" Canarese *honna*. The *Varāha*, or modern Pagoda, being merely a double *honna* of 32 *gunjas*.

and special respect seems to have been shown to a currency called by the local name of *Nāndigera*.

In attempting to ascertain the relation of the weights of ancient and modern days, and to follow the changes that time and local custom may have introduced into the static laws of India, the capital point to be determined is the true weight of the *rati*, as it was understood and accepted when the initiatory metric system was in course of formation. Two different elements have hitherto obstructed any satisfactory settlement of the intrinsic measure of this primary unit—the one, the irregularity of the weight of the *gunja* seeds themselves, which vary with localities and other incidental circumstances of growth;* the other, the importance of which has been rather overlooked, that the modifications in the higher standards, introduced from time to time by despotic authority, were never accompanied by any rise or fall in the nominal total of *ratis* which went to form the altered integer. From these and other causes the rate of the *rati* has been variously estimated as† 1·3125 grains, 1·875 grains, 1·953 grains, and even as high as 2·25 grains.

We have Manu's authority for the fact that 32 *ratis* went to the old silver *dharāṇa* or *purāṇa*, and we are instructed by his commentator, in a needlessly complicated sum, that the *kārsha* was composed of 80 *ratis* of copper. We have likewise seen that this *kārsha* constituted a commercial static measure, its double character as a coin and as a weight being well calculated to ensure its fixity and uniformity in either capacity within the range of its circulation. I shall be able to show that this exact weight retained so distinct a place in the fiscal history of the metropolis of Hindustān, that in the revision and readjustment of the coinage which took place under Muhammad bin

* Colebrooke, As. Res. v. 93.

† Sir W. Jones, "As. Res.," ii. 154, "*Rati* = $1\frac{5}{16}$ of a grain." Prinsep, U. T. (1804-96); Jervis, "Weights of Konkan," p. 40; Wilson, "Glossary," sub voce *Rati*. Col. Anderson, working from Akbar's coins, which were avowedly increased upon the old ratios, made the *rati* 1·94 (Prinsep's "Essays," ii, U. T., p. 22). We need have no further difficulty about Shīr Shāh's or Akbar's coin weights now that we know the bases upon which they were founded. Indeed, the determination of the true value of the *kārsha* enables us to explain many enigmas in the numismatic history of India; why and whence Muhammad bin Tughlak adopted his new 140 grain standard; why the unequally-alloyed billon coins of Firoz and others were all kept at one determinate weight, &c. &c.; N. C., xv. 136, and notes, pp. 153, 163.

Tughlak, in A.D. 1325,* this integer was revived in the form of silver coin, and was further retained as a mint standard by his successors, till Shír Sháh remodelled the currency about the middle of the sixteenth century. In the same way I have already demonstrated elsewhere,† in illustration of an independent question, that a coin retaining with singular fidelity the ponderable ratio of the ancient *purána*, was concurrent with the restored *kársha* under Féroz Sháh (A.D. 1351—1388) and other kings. And to complete the intermediate link, I may cite the fact that when the effects of Greek and Seythian interference had passed away, the 32-rati *Purána* reappeared in the Punjáb and Northern India, as the silver currency of the local dynasty of SYA'LA and SAMANTA DEVA,‡ and furnished in its style and devices the prototype of the Dehli CHOHA'N series of "Bull and Horseman" coins, the *Dilliwálas*, which were retained, unaltered in weight, by the Muhammedans, in joint circulation with the silver double *Dirhams* of 174 grains, of their own system.§

Extant specimens of Syála's coins in the British Museum weigh 54·4 grains and upwards.

If this double series of weights, extending over an interval of time represented by 24 or 25 centuries, and narrowed to an almost identical locality, are found not only to accord with exactitude in themselves, but to approach the only rational solution of the given quantities, the case may be taken as proved.

The ancient *purána* hall-marked silver pieces range as high as 55 grains; copper coins of *Rámadata*|| are extant of 137·5 grains; and other early coins of about 70 grains; while, in parallel exemplification, the later standard weights, under the Muhammedans at Dehli, are found to be 56 and 140 grains. Hence—

$$140 \div 80 \text{ ratis} = 1\cdot75 \text{ grains.}$$

$$56 \div 32 \text{ ,,} = 1\cdot75 \text{ ,,}$$

* "Coins of the Patán Sultáns of Hindustán," Num. Chron., 1847, coin No 87, and vol. xv., No. 24, page 130.

† Num. Chron., xv., notes, pp. 138, 153, &c. In the minor subdivisions, the 34·5 and 17·4 of coins Nos. lix. and lx., p. 155, singularly accord with the weight required for the $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ *kársha*.

‡ J. A. S. Bengal, iv. 674; J. R. A. S., ix. 177; Ariana Antiqua, p. 428; Prinsep's Essays, i. 313.

§ N. C., xv. 136; Prinsep's Essays, U. T., p. 70.

|| Prinsep's "Essays," i. p. 216, pl. xx., figs. 47, 48.

and this is the weight I propose to assign to the original *rati*; there may be some doubt about the second decimal, as we are not bound to demand an exact sum of *even* grains, but the 1·7 may be accepted with full confidence, leaving the hundredth at discretion, though from preference, as well as for simplicity of conversion of figures, I adhere to the $1\frac{3}{4}$. Under this system, then, the definition of each ancient weight by modern grains will stand as follows:—

SILVER . .	{	1 Masha	=	2 Ratis or	3·5 grains.
		1 Dharana, or Purana	=	32 " "	56·0 " "
		1 Satamana	=	320 " "	560 " "
		1 Masha	=	5 " "	8·75 " "
GOLD . .	{	1 Suvarna	=	80 " "	140 " "
		1 Pala, or Nishka	=	320 " "	560 " "
		1 Dharana	=	3200 " "	5600 " "
COPPER .		1 Karsha	=	80 " "	140 " "
Subdivisions of Karsha . .	{	$\frac{1}{2}$	=	40 " "	70 " "
		$\frac{1}{4}$	=	20 " "	35 " "
		$\frac{1}{8}$	=	10 " "	17·5 " "

On some Siamese Inscriptions.—By Dr. A. BASTIAN.

[Received 12th May, 1864.—Read 1st June, 1864.]

Of the Indo-Chinese alphabets, the most interesting one is that of the Siamese. The others, as those of the Cambodian, the Lao, the Shan, the Talein, &c., are all derived, more or less directly, from the Pali characters, which connect them with the circular alphabets of South India and the vernacular Singhalese. The Siamese flows more immediately from the Sanscrit and has, for instance, preserved the three sibilants, whereas there is only one in the Pali and its cognate languages. For a great many of those terms, which all the Buddhistic literatures of eastern India have purloined from the Pali, the Siamese possesses two forms, one taken from the original Sanscrit, and the other modified by its passage through the medium of the Pali. In writing the sacred books of the Trai-Pidak, the Siamese do not employ their vernacular letters, but have borrowed the Pali ones from the Cambodians, and call them therefore *Akson* (*Akkara*) *Khom* or *Khamen* letters. The Birmese use only one alphabet, (with the single exception of the square characters), whereas the Laos and Cambodians have varied a little the

forms of their Pali alphabet for profane uses, but have never employed two distinct alphabets, as has been the case in Siam. The introduction of the Pali alphabet in Ultra-India, is connected everywhere with the arrival of Buddhaghosa, the Brahmin of Maghada, who visited Ceylon to translate the Atthakatha, but the invention of their vernacular alphabet is ascribed by the Siamese to their favourite king Phra-Ruang, whose exact date is a great point of controversy amongst them. In the Phongsavadan Múang nua, or the history of the northern towns, it is said, that Phaya Ruang, (who was carried by his kite to foreign lands, like the Raja of Dewaju), invented for the nations, subjected to his rule, the Xieng thai (Siamese strokes or letters), the Xieng mon (Peguan letters), the Xieng khom (Cambodian letters), and the now unusual employment of the word *Xieng* (inclined or oblique) seems to have reference to the straight and angular shape of the Siamese letters, (recalling the ancient alphabets of the Bugis and Battas in the Eastern Archipelago), in contradistinction to the circular one of the Pali. But without going farther into the claims of Phaya Ruang to the invention of the alphabet, a subject which would require a dissertation by itself, I shall lay before you the translation of an old stone-inscription, found at Sukhothai, (the ancient capital of Siam during the reign of Phaya Ruang and before him,) and placed at present in the palace of Bangkok, by the order of the reigning king. You will see that the king mentioned in it under the name of Ramkhambeng, assigns to himself the honour of having invented the written character, which he, (a very interesting circumstance,) calls *Lai-sú*. The present word for books in the Siamese language is Nangsú, pronounced by a fanciful whim and against all rules of Siamese grammar, as *Nong-sú*. Nang-sú means verbally the writing on skins (*nang*), and thus illustrates in a striking way, the old traditions of the Lawa, Karen, &c., regarding the former existence of parchment books, and it appears that the Siamese, a people of quite recent growth, as they could not understand the reason for the appellation, gave intentionally a different pronunciation, although they retained the original spelling, a manner of proceeding, which could be illustrated by many similar examples in the Siamese language. The other term *Lai-sú* "would, according to the same analogy, mean writing in (various) colours, or writing in stripes." A Chinese officer who visited Cambodia in the year 1295, says of the

literary sect, which, according to his accounts, then existed in the country, "Their books and public records are written on buck-skin dyed black, and cut into the required dimensions. They work down a paste, resembling the China white lime. Of this they form little sticks, and taking one into the hand, like a pencil, form characters, which can never be effaced." He must mean the black books, still in use, amongst the Birmese, Siamese and Cambodians, on which they write with a soft chalk-stone. In the convents they employ wooden tablets, covered with a black varnish, on which the writing of the boys, who trace the letters for exercise, can be easily blotted out, and the same material is used afresh. For documents and memorials, these black books are at present made of vegetable substances like the white paper books, and afterwards covered over with a black varnish. The writing is, however, far from being indelible, and can be effaced without difficulty. If the book is written full and not required to be kept, the leaves (folded up in zigzag,) are rubbed over with a preparation of burnt peas and charcoal, and then used again, as if new. In especially valuable books, the letters, for appearance' sake, are traced with a yellow dye, a preparation from gamboge, on a smoothly varnished surface, but gradually crumble off and become illegible, because the fluid does not enter into chemical composition with the material of the substratum. The white books are written on with Chinese ink. On the leaves of the Talipoin-palm the letters are traced with an iron style. The change from parchment to paper took place very likely in the rigorous times of Buddhism, when the pious priests would not allow the killing of animals to carry on its fabrication.

The inscription, translated here, is written in an ancient kind of character, differing from the present one. The vowels are still written in one line with the consonants, and the diacritical points of the modern alphabet are mostly dispensed with. The complicated system of accentuation in the Siamese of to-day, has developed itself only gradually, and can be traced back in old books to that simplicity, which still reigns in the ruder dialects of the Laos, and makes them unintelligible to the polished ear of the low-landers. I was enabled by the help of some learned friends in Bangkok to extract the antiquated alphabet of the inscription, but have not brought it yet to the state of perfection, which would be desirable for publication. The first lines

in the commencement of the inscription, are to be found in the book about Siam by Sir John Bowring, to whom the king had sent it, and as the form of the letters can be looked for there (Vol. I. p. 278), I abstain from giving specimens.

Two other stone-inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Xiengmai, which were obtained by me in Bangkok, are written likewise in an ancient character, related to that of the inscription of Sukhothai, although differing in many particulars. Both speak of royal offerings and the deposition of relics to establish the sacred period of 5000 years, in terms similar to those employed by the Birnese king Mentara, but I have not yet advanced far enough in the explanation of the characters to translate the whole of them. Even the present translation, which I offer here, is still a very imperfect one, but whenever I was at a fault to make out a satisfactory explanation, I was sure to find the best informed Siamese in the same predicament. The inscription of Sukhothai covers the four sides of a conical stone, and in the same court of Vat Keoh in the royal palace at Bangkok, is placed at its side, another stone, which was brought from Kampheng-phet and bears a Pali inscription. Besides these, stone inscriptions are found in the Siamese province of Ligor, and at the old pagoda of Pathomma-chedi at Nakhon-Xaisi, where also brick medallions are disinterred, resembling those of Tagoung and other localities, and containing the confessional formula of the Buddhists.

I have added for comparison, a few specimens of several inscriptions, which I copied at length from the stone monuments in Cambodia. The ancient characters, called *Akson Mihng*, abound chiefly at Nakhon Tom, but are found also at Nakhon Vat, intermixed with inscriptions of modern date. They are believed by the natives to be wholly unintelligible, but seemingly without real foundation, as I have already succeeded, by consulting the more intelligent members of the priesthood, in decyphering the names of gods, kings and towns, mentioned in them.

Some characters in ancient Devanagari, (resembling the Bengal inscriptions of the 12th century,) I found at the side of Cochin Chinese letters on a sepulchre in the plain of tombs at Saigon, a town which belonged for some time to the kingdom of Chiampa. The sepulchre was that of a priest and the Cochin Chinese Buddhists on such occasions, sometimes mix their writings with fanciful letters of their own invention, and intersperse them with Chinese characters.

TRANSLATION OF THE SUKHOTHAÏ INSCRIPTION.

“My father was called Sinitharattaija, my mother, lady (nang) Súang, my elder brother, Ban-Múang. I had of the same mother (womb), five brothers and sisters, three being brothers and two sisters. Of my elder brothers, the eldest died and departed at a time, when I was still young. When I became large and grown up to about nineteen, the chieftain (Khun) Samxon of the “myang” (town or country) Xot came up to the place of “myang” Tak. My father went to attack Khun Samxon and fight him on the outworks of his camp. Khun Samxon does not delay, he comes forth from the camp. Khun Samxon spread out his troops, covering the open plains of the fields and chased my father, who fled hastily, being defeated. I do not fly. I (ku) mount the elephant, rushing on upon the army. I push on before my father; I close with Khun Samxon; I myself throw down the elephant of Khun Samxon, mounted on which he had come up to the town. Khun Samxon is defeated; he is beaten and takes to flight, jumping on a horse. My father then raised my title, I was called Phra Ram Kamheng (the courageous Lord Rama), because I had thrown down the elephant of the chieftain Samxon. All the time of my father's life, I gave support to my father; I gave support to my mother; I procured the flesh of stags and fishes; I brought them up to my father. I procured fresh areca, sweet areca, which I had tasted myself to be savoury, tasted myself to be good; I bring this up to my father. I set out against the savages, the tribes provided with elephants, to obtain slaves for my father. I fall on their villages, on their towns. I get elephants, get tusks; I get males and females; I get silver; I get gold; I bring it all up with me and deliver it over to my father. Then my father dies. There is still an elder brother. I give support to my elder brother, in the way, as I had supported my father. My elder brother dies. Now the towns come to me, all the four towns. Of all these towns of mine, of me, the father-benefactor (Pho-Khun) Ramkhamheng, this town here, the town of Sukhotay excels. The waters are full of fish, in the field grows rice. The Lord of the town does not exact any duties, he does not tax the people. Undisturbed they go along the roads, leading oxen to trade in them, mounting horses to trade in them. If they wish and desire to trade in elephants, let them do so. They may trade in them in the same way, as they are used to

trade in horses or in cattle. If they should like to trade in silver, trade in gold, trade in slaves, they are free to do so. Let them fearlessly transact their business before the face of the lords, before the host of princes and young nobles. If death occurs, the property of the father goes to his sons, of whatever it may consist. His children, his wives, his servants, his slaves, the fruit-gardens of betel and areca, all and every thing, what the father possessed, is inherited by his son. Whenever disputes arise between the common people and members of the nobility, they will be examined into and decided with justice, both parties being equally regarded as subjects. The judge must not side with the person who clandestinely steals and defrauds. He must not harm the property of the litigants and take from it by his greediness. Whenever traders to buy or sell come in companies to visit the town, let them come. Such as wait for me at the northern frontier, requiring my assistance, shall have it. If they are in want of elephants, or of horses, or of slaves, or of money, it will be given to them. After the goods have been stapled* up in the town and stored, there will be made an election of slaves and a rejection of slaves. Such as are clever in spearing, clever in fighting, shall not be killed, neither shall they be beaten. There is under the portico a bell hung up for the use of the people, the royal subjects, in the centre of each village, in the centre of each town. If in quarrels or injuries of any kind, they wish to speak their mind before the lord or complain to the nobleman, it is not difficult. They go and ring the bell, which has been hung up there for them. The father-benefactor Ramkhamheng, the father (sovereign) of the country, takes it up, he has the matter enquired into and the names of the parties searched out.

“Furthermore in this city of Sukhotay there are planted orchards of areca-palms and betel-vines, all over the town. On every place there are groves of cocoanut trees in great abundance. In this town are parks of the resin tree and plenty of them. In this town are mangoes and plenty of them. In this town are tamarinds and plenty of them. In this town there is liberty to build and plant for whosoever wishes. In the middle of this town of Sukhotay there is a stone basin with a bubbling fountain, the water is clean and clear and good to drink without being distilled, clear like the water of the Ganges (khongka).

* Sic in MSS. Query [secured] ?—Eps.

There is a river, which surrounds this town of Sukhotay in three windings, even at the dry season, two thousand four hundred fathoms in extent. The people in this town of Sukhotay are addicted to almsgivings, are addicted to observe the precepts, are addicted to make offerings. The father-benefactor Ramkhamheng, the sovereign of this town of Sukhotay, he with all his ladies, with the host of lords, all men and women, the whole of the princely race, the sons of nobles, all males and females, as many as there are, the whole multitude, all of them, persevere piously in the religion of Phra-Phuth (Buddha). They keep the precepts during the time of Lent, every one of them. When the rainy season is concluded, they celebrate the processions to throw presents to the priests during one month, and then it is finished. To solemnize this festival, they contribute artificial fruits; they collect the fruits of areca; they bring flowers; they bring cushions; they will reap the fruits of meritorious rewards. Those who present cushions, will sleep on costly canopy couches. The variety of the presents in multifarious patterns, heaped up by royal command and by the common folks, are innumerable, glittering in such quantities that they cannot be counted; they block up all places, filling every spot. The lines of presents extend in piles beyond the precincts of the town till to the outskirts of the jungle. If they have to be transported inside the palace, there is one uninterrupted mass of goods stretching around, before and behind, from the jungle outside. Then in praying and ejaculating pious words, the air resounds with the clashing of voices, with the echo of voices, in the passing and repassing of voices, with singing voices. According to every one's liking, he who feels inclined and wishes to gamble, may gamble; who feels inclined to play, may play; who feels inclined to promenade, may walk about. In this town of Sukhotay there are excellent singers with melodious voices. At the height of the festival the people use to come in in crowds, jostling each other and eager to look on, how they light up the fire-works and let them off. This town of Sukhotay contains a gong, split in halves. This town of Sukhotay possesses a temple; possesses a statue of Buddha, 18 cubits high; possesses a large image of Buddha; possesses a holy convent; possesses aged teachers; possesses a high priest. To the west of the town of Sukhotay there is a jungle-monastery (of hermits). The father-benefactor Ramkhamheng bestows alms on the high priest

(Maha-thero or the great Thero). Amongst the aged teachers there is a learned one, who has read through the *Pidok* in all its three parts. He is the head of the tribe of savans, excelling above all others in this town of Sukhotay, and there is none like him, from the town of Srithammarat to here. In the midst of the jungle there is a monastery. It is very large and roomy and exceedingly beautiful. At the eastern side of this town of Sukhotay there is a monastery with venerable professors; there is a royal lake; there is a forest of areca-palms and betel-vines; there are fields and cultivated tracts; there are homesteads with gardens; there are houses, large and small; there is a forest of mangoe trees; a forest of tamarinds handsome to look at and carefully kept. At the south of the town of Sukhotay there is a market and a school-room; there is the palace; there is a forest of cocoa-palms, a forest of thorny areca; there are fields and cultivated tracts; there are homesteads and gardens; there are houses, large and small. To the north of the town of Sukhotay, there is a convent with the cells of venerable teachers, who live by alms; there is a pretty lake with plenty of fish; there are plantations of cocoa-palms, plantations of resin trees, plantations of mangoes and tamarinds; there is water in a cistern. There is also the lord Khaphung, the demon-angel, who is the mightiest in that mountain and above every other demon. In this country every one of the nobles reverences the town of Sukhotay, and observes the rules of adoration in his worship, paying homage. This town is an upright one. This town stands well with the demons. If mistakes are committed in the worship, if the sacrifice is not correct, the demons in yonder mountain do not guard and protect the town; they disappear.

When the era was dated 1214, in the year of the dragon, the father-benefactor Ramkhamheng, the sovereign of this country (town) of Sisatxanalai-Sukhotay planted a palm tree, and after nineteen rice crops had gone by, he ordered the workmen to prepare the smooth surface of a stone, which was fastened and secured on the middle of the trunk of the palm tree. In the days of the dark moon, at the beginning and at the end, for eight days, and on the days of the full moon and the quarters, the assembly of the aged teachers and the priests ascend the surface of the stone to rest; and the whole circle of pious laymen accomplish the holy law in remembering and observing

the victorious precepts. The father-benefactor Ramkhamheng, the sovereign of the country of Sitxanalai-Sukhotay, ascending to the surface of the stone, sat down; and the host of the lords and the sons of the nobles, the whole multitude, paid homage to him for their villages, paid homage for their towns. On the first and the last day of the dark moon, on the extinguished moon, and at the full moon, the white elephant was adorned in its trappings of costly gold, as it has always been the custom to do. Its name is Ruchasi. The father-benefactor Ramkhamheng, having mounted on its back, proceeds to worship the image of Phra-Phuth in the jungle. He has brought forth the engravings from the town of Xolajong, to place them in the foundation, together with the glorious relics, the jewels holy and splendid from the cave on the source of the waters, the cave on the river's bank, from the precious fountain in the middle of the palm forest. Of the two halls, the one is called the golden, the other the strength of the protecting Buddha. The flat stone, called Manang-sila, in the form of an alms-bowl, is placed (as Dagob) above the relics, to close the foundation formed by the stone. Then all men saw and acknowledged, that the father-benefactor Ramkhamheng, son of the father-benefactor Sinitharathiya, had become king in the country Sri Satxanalai-Sukhotay and over the Ma-kaao, the Lao and the Thay; over all towns, below and above, under the vault of heaven.

All the inhabitants of the mountain U, the dwellers on the banks of the river, were called out in the year of the pig, when the era dated 1209. They were ordered to dig and take out the holy relics. Having come upon them and seen them, they made offerings and worshipped the holy relics. At a favourable day of the sixth month, they took them out and brought them, to be buried in the centre of the town of Sisatxanalai. A pagoda was placed upon them and stone-towers were erected in a circle around the holy relics.

Then three years went by. In former times there was no written character of the Thai. When the era dated 1205, in the year of the horse, the father-benefactor Ramkhamheng, having consulted with the learned teachers, established the letters of the alphabet for the Thai, which exist since that time, when the king arranged them for use. Then it was, that the father-benefactor Ramkhamheng became verily the king and royal lord to all the Thai, because then verily he became

their teacher and instructor, enlightening the Thai, that they might know truly the merits and understand the law. But amongst the people, living in this country of the Thai, there is nobody equal in regard to firmness and boldness, in regard to courage, pre-eminence and strength, equally powerful to overcome the host of enemies.

The country stretches far and wide, being enlarged by conquests. On the side of sunrise, it extends to the royal lake, stretching in two lines through the low grounds along the banks of the river Khong (Mekhong), up to Viengchan and Viengkham, which two forts have been placed there to form the boundary posts. On the south side it comprises the people who inhabit the district Phrek in Suphannaphumiratburi, the boundary line being marked by Petchaburi and Srithammarat on the shores, which are washed by the waters of the sea. On the side of sunset, it extends to the countries of Xot and Bangkapadi, and there are no frontiers along the waters of the ocean. In a northerly direction it comprises the town of Phleh (Pre), the town of Nahn, the town Phlua, stretching to the banks of the large river, where the country of the Xava (Xao) constitutes the boundary. There are eatables cultivated in this territory, that the multitude of villagers and citizens may be provided with food, as it is right and just, according to the laws of line men."

The discussion of the many important points, alluded to in this interesting inscription, I must leave for another occasion. It has been remarked above, that this truly enlightened king, under whom, the people might with more propriety than now, have been styled "the free" (Thai), appears to be identical with the famous Phra Ruang, (at least with one of the different representatives of this name). The Siamese chronicles place his reign generally in the seventh century, but the Peguan history confirms his having reigned at about the epoch here mentioned, which has to be reckoned most probably in the Mahasakkharat: if not, as the era appears to be counted backwards, it begins with the holy period of 5000 years. The first king of Siam makes the date of the inscription 1193 of the Christian era. The town of Sukhothay is one of the oldest capitals of Siam and continually celebrated in the Phongsavadan muang nua, where one of the Brahminical ancestors is called by the name of Satxanalai. The town of Tak

lies now in ruins, in the neighbourhood of the present Rahein, and belonged to the kingdom founded in Kampengpet. The mentioning of the ocean, in defining the frontiers there, recalls the traditions of the Taleins; and Sukhothai itself is said to have been formerly a seaport. According to the Siamese legends, Phra-Ruang sailed from it to conquer China (Kuang Chin), in the same year in which the Chinese historians (616 P. D.) speak of a tribute brought from Siam. The mythic traditions of the Damdukbun place the residence of Phaya Ruang in Nophburi or Lophburi, the ancient capital of the aboriginal occupants of the soil, before the emigration of the Thai. The demon-worship, mentioned in the inscription, continues still in various forms in all Buddhistic countries, and the processions to make presents to the priesthood may still be seen repeated every year at Bangkok, in the way here described. The presents are called Kathin, on account of their variegated components, in remembrance of the checkered garments of the monks, which, according to the founder's institution, had to be sown together in incongruous patchwork. The royal custom of hanging up a bell, which might be rung by complainants seeking access, occurs also in the history of Hongsavadi and is known all over the orient. From the remark, that the stone placed over the relics had the form of an alms-bowl (batr), one would have to conclude, that the shape of the Dagoba is only indirectly connected with the lotus it is supposed to represent. In Cambodia, one often sees pots with bones and ashes of priests, placed under the Pho-tree, the peepul. The town of Xalang is perhaps Jonk-Ceylon (the shipping of Ceylon), a place formerly in intimate connection with the island of Ceylon, where relics were cheap as mushrooms. The places mentioned to define the boundaries of the kingdom, are all still in existence, and can be easily traced by the directions given. The kidnapping of the mountaineers to carry on the slave-trade is still continued at the present day by the Laos. The northern trade, the inscription speaks of, may have been in the hands of Chinese merchants, and the king promises them, (as protection for their valuable cargoes), a safe conduct through the territory occupied by hostile and predatory tribes. The years are counted by crops of rice, as it is often done by the present Siamese, who at other times employ the enumeration of the yearly inundations in their reckonings. The names given to the years are those of the Dodecade.

It is said in Siamese history, that Phra Ruang changed the succession of the series, in which the two cycles intersected each other, and since that time the Siamese have continued to observe two festivals of the new year.

Notes on the Eran Inscriptions, being extracts from a letter to the Editor.—By Professor F. E. HALL.

[Received 4th January, 1864.]

In the volume of your Journal for 1861, pp. 14—22, is a paper of mine, entitled "The Inscriptions of Erikaiņa, now Eran, deciphered and retranslated," dated at Eran, Dec. 31, 1860.

Writing at Saugor, April 30, 1861, I recurred* to an expression in one of the forementioned inscriptions, which I was inclined to read *sansurabhu*, and not *sansuratam*, as Mr. Prinsep read it.

When a second time at Eran, Feb. 26, 1862, I observed: "Four months after my first visit to Eran, writing under the guidance of my facsimile copy, I said of what looked to me like *sansurabhu*,"† &c.

* *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1861, p. 150.

† *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1862, p. 127. I then go on to say that my old reading, *sansurabhu*, must, possibly, be exchanged for *sansurátri*. To bespeak trust in my decipherment of the Eran inscriptions, I had formerly said: "Standing before the originals, I compared my facsimiles, letter by letter, with those that have been lithographed; and every, the slightest dissimilarity of the copies, was patiently tested by the perishing archetypes." Thus I wrote when first at Eran. Afterwards, at Saugor, April 30, 1861, I noted that my *sansurabhu* should have been described as "doubtful in its penultimate syllable, and very doubtful in its final." With these words before him, Bábú Rájendralál Mitra declared himself "disposed to think" my lection "the offspring of an illusion." Later still, Jan. 1, 1862, I said: "I have far from intimated any confidence in the correctness of my reading; and I have no partiality for it whatever. The fact is, simply, that the original symbols looked to me, in the dilapidated condition in which I found them, rather like the constituents of *sansurabhu* than like anything else." At last, Feb. 26, 1862, dating from Eran, I wrote: "For the second time I have just read the old inscriptions here, on the column and on the gigantic stone boar. It has caused me no surprise to find that my former decipherments of them admit of a few corrections." On this the Bábú ejaculates: "No surprise indeed after the 'letter by letter' comparison!" This surprise at my absence of surprise I have no doubt is genuine; and it betrays, to those concerned, a rather interesting piece of psychology.

The Bábú speaks of "what was given with so much positivity as *sansurabhu*." Where have I been at all positive about it? It is true, that,

Referring to the passage just extracted, Bábú Rájendralál Mitra has asserted, that here "we have the learned gentleman * * * informing his readers, that, when his paper on the Eran inscriptions was written, he had only a facsimile before him, and not the original."* The Italics are the Bábú's.

It must be evident enough, I should think, that I am misrepresented. Four months added to Dec. 31, 1860, bring us to April 30, 1861. At the former date I was at Eran; and it was then that I wrote my paper on the inscriptions there, after minute examination of them, as I stated at length. At the latter date I was at Saugor; and at that time I had to trust, in drawing up my additional notes, to my facsimiles of the inscriptions.

Having quoted my words, "Four months after my first visit to Eran, writing under the guidance of my facsimile copy," the Bábú inquires: "And not the original?" Precisely: not the original. The Eran inscriptions are engraved, the one on a monolith some fifty feet high and thirty inches square, and the other on a stone boar about twice as large as a full grown elephant, and hewn out of a rock projecting from the bowels of the earth. The monument and the effigy I was compelled to leave behind me, even as I found them.

Again, the Bábú expresses it as his opinion, that, "when a critic, professedly the most microscopically exact, comes forward with the

reminding the Bábú of my declaration "standing before the originals," &c., I had said that it went, with him, for but little, "as contributing to induce credit in the trustworthiness of my version of the Eran inscriptions." But that is all. As my several statements show, the first time I was at Eran, my attention was not very particularly drawn to what I then read *sansura-bhu*. I made a short note on it, and so let it pass. Perceiving, subsequently, that my facsimile suggested doubts, I entered into further particulars, based on that facsimile; and, eventually, on re-inspection of the inscription itself, I found I must abandon my old position. A little way on, in this letter, quoting myself, I speak of having used my best diligence, when first at Eran, in weighing all the cases where I differed from Mr. Prinsep. These cases are very numerous; and, of course, I gave more heed to those which seemed of moment, than to such as appeared to be of only second-rate importance. That, on re-examination of the original words, I found it necessary to amend some of my earlier conclusions, will astonish but few; and I cheerfully confront the jeopardy of such damage to my reputation as this confession may entail. Change of opinion is not necessarily retrogression; and a man's best diligence is likely to be better the second time than it was the first.

* * *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1862, p. 395.

avowed object of correcting the errors of such a scholar as Prinsep, it is naturally expected that he should take some precaution to ensure accuracy, and not blunder even in those places where the unfortunate subject of his criticism happens to be correct."* This is directed at me ; and I reply to it.

Where have I come "forward with the avowed object of correcting the errors of such a scholar as Prinsep"? Are the words of such an avowal producible? Or can it be inferred, from anything I have put on paper, that my purpose was that here alleged? Adverting to the Eran inscriptions, I have expressed myself as follows, concerning their original decipherer: "Had Mr. Prinsep inspected the documents in discussion, with the advantage of the facilities I have been able to command, it is beyond question that his conclusions respecting them would have differed, as on matters of moment, so as to points of unimportance, from those he has recorded. Writing under obligation of the reserve impressed by this consideration, I shall stay to expatiate on but a few of the discrepancies, touching secondary details, which, on collation of our results, the attentive reader will discover. At the same time, I have weighed these cases, one and all, with my best diligence."† My chief aim, as to the Eran inscriptions, was to read and to translate them anew. That, all along, I studiously aimed, wherever it was practicable, not to provoke comparison of my own work with that of my predecessor, will, I believe, strike most of my readers.

The Bábú, on the other hand, has thus delivered himself with respect to "such a scholar as Prinsep," "the unfortunate subject of" my "criticism:" "Prinsep, notwithstanding his untiring diligence and splendid critical acumen, was obliged, owing to his own want of familiarity with the Sanskrita, to depend upon his interpreters; and they, blind to the importance of the work upon which he was so ardently engaged, neglected their duty, and trifled with him in all matters in which he could not readily detect the imposition they practised upon him. Hence it is, that his translation of the Eran re-

* *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1862, p. 394.

† *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1861, p. 16.

Mr. Prinsep was guided solely by Captain Burt's facsimiles; and I had pored for two whole days on the incised originals.

cords * * is sadly defective in many respects."* To this I need not add one word of comment.

Before passing to other things, I take occasion to say, that, contrary to what has been intimated, not in a single instance that has been pointed out, have I "blundered" where Mr. Prinsep "happens to be correct." And was "such a scholar" correct only by hap?

At the end of my "Note on Budhagupta" are these words: "My paper on the land-grants of Hastin, and that on the Eran inscriptions, as I did not see the proof-sheets, abound in errors of the press, to say nothing of other faults. The more important will here be rectified, and a few comments interspersed."† Referring to me, the Bábú says: "I must, even at the risk of being tedious, adduce my premises for the errors [*sic*] in his reading of the Iran inscriptions, to which I take exception. Dr. Hall has attributed most of them to the printers; but it is difficult to conceive how those scape-goats are to be responsible for the word *sansurata*, which Dr. Hall altered into *sansurabhu* without any authority. * * Regarding the elegant simile of a king electing his wife like a maiden her husband, the Doctor says,"‡ &c. &c.

My "bulky" list of corrigenda and addenda, as the Bábú styles it, takes up just twenty-one lines; and within that space, I set *sánka* and *Suráshtras*, for *s'anika* and *Suráshtra*, to the account of the printer: and this is the entire foundation for the charge that I have attempted to disown my errors.

The Bábú's clause bearing on *sansuratam* certainly stands in need of readjustment. The word was Mr. Prinsep's, not mine.

And now for the "elegant simile," which is altogether the Bábú's own property. I first printed: "Who, by the will of the Ordainer, acquired, like as a maiden *sometimes* elects her husband, the splendour of royalty." This I corrected to: "Providentially preferred by Royal Prosperity, as it had been a maiden who elects her husband." Nowhere have I spoken of "a king electing his wife like a maiden her husband:" and whence does it appear that I took "the splendour of royalty" for anything but an unfl fleshly personification?

* *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1861, p. 268.

† *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1861, p. 149.

‡ *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1862, p. 394.

The Bábú, animadverting on my rendering of the Eran inscriptions, says : " He translates खवंशददितेनाः into the unmeaning* ' derived prosperity to his race ;' when he should have followed Prinsep and given ' for the prosperity of his race.' " On turning to the version of Mr. Prinsep, I am not at all startled to discover that he has not so translated खवंशददितेनाः, an epithet of Harivishnu. He has not translated the expression at all. It is lower down, in the column inscription, that the words occur to which his " for the prosperity of his race " are meant to correspond.† Differing, there, from Mr. Prinsep, in deciphering the original, I have given " with purpose to advance the merit of his father and mother."

When I called पितरमनुजातस्य " a hoary solecism," I should not have done so,—as I wrote near two years ago,—‡ if I had had access, at the time I so characterized it, to a respectable Sanskrit Dictionary. The Bábú, with all the air of a discoverer, magnanimously taunts me with this mistake, notwithstanding my voluntary and explicit admission that I had erred. Who shall say that, but for his ploughing with my heifer, I might not here have eluded the Bábú's penetration? However, my translation of the aforesaid expression, " the counterpart of his sire," is quite correct. The Bábú, with intent to make me out wrong, refers to Dr. Goldstücker's *Sanskrit Dictionary*. Dr. Goldstücker authorizes me to say that my explanation is quite as good as his own.

* More literal than my " who derived prosperity to his race " would have been " cause of the prosperity of his race." Only I wished to make prominent the devolution which is implied by the Sanskrit.

The verb " derive," as employed by me, has been in the English language for several hundred years; and it is not yet obsolete. Within a short time I have met with it, in the acceptation which the Bábú pronounces to be " unmeaning," in three living writers.

" The term, indeed, is derived to us from the Schoolmen; and so far they are chargeable with having perplexed theology with the disquisitions arising out of it." Bishop Hampden's *Bampton Lectures*, third edition, p. 181. Also see pp. 153, 184, 331.

" The king's power of assent is a power derived to him from the whole body of the realm." Gladstone; *The State in its Relations with the Church*, second edition, p. 9. Also see the same author's *Church Principles*, &c. p. 5.

" It is proper to state that I forego any advantage which could be derived to my argument from the idea of abstract right, as a thing independent of utility." J. S. Mill: *on Liberty*, pp. 23, 24. Also see the same author's *Considerations on Representative Government*.

† *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1838, p. 634.

‡ *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1861, p. 139.

Commenting on the Bábú's decipherment of an inscription, I said : "The third line shows an *upadhmáníya* before a प. In the teeth of all grammar, this, as lately edited, had been turned into a *repha*."* To this the Bábú rejoins : "The *upadhmáníya* is a printer's blunder." The Sanskrit scholar cannot fail to discern that there is, in this reply, a blunder incomparably worse than a printer's.

Again, I objected to the Bábú's *मानावितुस्तथा*. The reply is : "My *mátápitustathá* is quite as correct as the suggested *mátápitrostathá* ; the one being an *ítaretarasamása*, and the other a *samáhára*."

In passing, *mátápitustathá* would involve, not, as is here implied, an *ítaretarayoga* compound, but a *samáhára*. A compound of the *samáhára* description must be a neuter singular ; and that "mother" and "father" can be thus combined, the veriest tyro in Sanskrit should know to be impossible.

These specimens of the Bábú's want of accuracy and scholarship might be greatly extended. But I shall have said as much as I care to say, after mentioning that he has credited Mr. Prinsep, † instead of myself, with extracting a full date from the inscription of Budhagupta. This is a trifle ; but it is characteristic.

I had written thus far in April last, but laid my letter aside, with the intention of withholding it. Owing, however, to Bábú Rájendra-lál Mitra's paper on Bhoja, in the second number of this year's Journal, I have resolved to forbear no longer. It would make a long list, if I were to resume the facts of my own finding out which the Bábú there appropriates as though he himself had first brought them to light. Where, too, he assails me, in connexion with the name of Colebrooke, ‡ he knows full well that I was not professing to correct that great scholar as to the meaning of the word *dala*. When re-translating a passage translated by another, it is no just conclusion that I regard as wrong, whatever I do not think fit to copy from his renderings. It was a matter of misreading and metre, in the instance in question, where I showed that Colebrooke had slipped. § For the

* *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1862, p. 128.

† *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1862, p. 396.

‡ *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1863, pp. 106 & 107.

§ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VII., pp. 31 and 45 ; and *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1861, p. 210.

rest, the word *dala* signifies "petal" as well as "leaf." I am told that "it is only on the leaf of the lotus that water is tremulous, and not on its petals." Indeed!

In preceding volumes of this Journal,* I have stated that Bábú Rájendralál Mitra has interpolated an inscription, and thereby created a new king; and this myth, Mahendrapála II., has been adopted as a reality, in Professor Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*.†

Your obedient servant,

F. E. HALL.

King's College, London, Nov. 9, 1863.

P. S. Colonel Cunningham, in his *Archæological Survey Report*, published in your Journal for this year, writing of the year in which the inscription naming Skandagupta is dated, says: "Professor Hall, on the authority of Bápú Deva Sástrí, the learned astronomer of the Benares College, prefers the era of Vikramáditya." I have never expressed any such preference; and I have never appealed, on the subject, to Pandit Bápú Deva. Colonel Cunningham was thinking of the inscription of Budhagupta. I have explicitly said: "Not to my knowledge, is there one particle of proof that Kumáragupta preceded Budhagupta, or that Skandagupta did, whether immediately, or after an interval."‡ The year 141 in the inscription that speaks of Skandagupta I have not suggested to place either before or after Budhagupta's year 165.

By the by, the Udayagiri inscription is not dated in S'rávaṇa, as according to Colonel Cunningham's decipherment, but in A'shādha, and very distinctly. I read the word on the spot in the spring of last year.

* 1861, p. 199; 1862, pp. 5 and 15.

† *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. III., pp. 827 and 1169.

‡ *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, 1861, p. 388.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The large bronze statue of Buddha which was exhumed at Sooltanguge by Mr. Harris and which has been figured in this Journal, has reached England and been presented by Mr. T. Thornton to the town of Birmingham.

Capt. Lees was under a misimpression when he announced at the last August meeting that the Elliot MSS., now under publication in England by Mr. E. B. Cowell and Dr. Reinhold Rost, were being published by our Society. The offer of assistance, which, on the recommendation of our Philological Committee, our Council sent to Lady Elliot in June 1863, through our Honorary Agent in London, Mr. E. Thomas, was not at once accepted, and in the mean time, Mr. Cowell's return to England enabled her ladyship to make other and to her more acceptable arrangements. The historical materials left by Sir H. Elliot, are to be published in 3 volumes, edited by Mr. Cowell, under the title of 'The History of India as told by its own historians,' while M. Rost is to bring out a complete edition of the Glossary under that of 'Memoirs on the history, philology and ethnic distribution of the races of the N. W. Provinces of India.' The History is not to contain any oriental text.

M. Jules Mohl in announcing its projected publication in the *Journ. Asiatique*, makes the following remarks.

"Je ne suis pas, en général, grand partisan des ouvrages posthumes ; mais je suis heureux de voir que l'on sauve de l'oubli tout ce qui peut se publier des matériaux préparés et élaborés par un homme aussi distingué par le cœur, l'esprit et le savoir, que Sir H. Elliot, qui était certainement un des hommes les plus remarquables parmi le grand nombre des savants que le service de la Compagnie des Indes a formés. On ne leur a jamais rendu en Angleterre la même justice que sur le continent, et je crois qu'il en sera de même des ouvrages posthumes dont je parle ici."

Mr. Cowell, we hear, has also undertaken the continuation of Wilson's translation of the Rig Veda.

Brockhaus has undertaken to publish M. Haug's 'Religion of the Zoroastrians,' which is to be in two volumes, the first to contain the

history of Zend and Pehlevee literature, accompanied by translations and grammars of these languages, the second to explain the Zoroastrian dogmas, and to give an account of the origin and development of this religion and of its relations with Vedism.

The Royal Asiatic Society have commenced a new series of their Journal, the first part of which contains a paper by Dr. J. Muir on the Vedic Theogony and Mythology. This is to be followed by others, the Author's object being to examine the religious ideas of the Rig Veda and 'to compare them occasionally with the corresponding conceptions of the early Greeks.'

The Oriental Translation Fund Committee are, we regret to see, unable to proceed with any new publications for want of funds. They propose, therefore, to complete, as soon as practicable, De Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikan and to close their labours.

The following is from General Cunningham, dated October last.

"The coins of *Sophytes* to which Captain Stubbs refers, have only been found in the N. W. of India, as far as I am aware: and I am therefore inclined to assign them to Sophites, or Sopeithes, or Cuphites, the king of the Kathai, who was contemporary with Alexander. The coins themselves appear to be of the same age as those of Alexander and Seleukos.

"Thomas's article on Indian Weights promises to be interesting.—I have been collecting materials for the same subject for nearly 20 years, and I have made many curious discoveries—I see that he quotes Sir William Jones as fixing the weight of the *Krishnala*, or *Rati* seed, at $1\frac{5}{16}$ grain: but I am satisfied that this is a simple misprint of Jones's manuscript, for $1\frac{5}{8}$ or 1.833 grain, which is as nearly as possible the average weight of thousands of seeds which I have tested. The great unit of mediæval and modern times is the *taka* of not less than 145 grains, of which 6 make the *chha-taka*, or *chhatak*, equal to 870 grains, or nearly 2 ounces—and 100 make the *setaka* or *ser*, the derivation being *sat-taka* or 100 *takas*—For convenience I have taken, in all my calculations, the *rati* seed at 1.8229 grain—Then 80 *ratis*, or 145.832 was the weight of the *tangka* of copper, and also of the golden *suvarna*, which multiplied by 6 gives 874.99 grains, or exactly 2 ounces for the *chhataka* or *chhatak*. One

of the most curious facts connected with ancient oriental Numismatics is that *sim* in Persian means both "thirteen" and "silver," which confirms the statement of Herodotus that in the time of Darius gold was 13 times the value of silver."

Extract from Capt. Stubbs' letter to Mr. Grote:—

"I shewed the gold stater of Diodotus, which you may recollect my having, to Messrs. Vaux and Poole at the British Museum, and they held a Committee on it, the result being a clear verdict in its favour: so Mr. Thomas writes me word. They were much pleased with a Sophytus which I gave them,* and Mr. Vaux agrees with me in thinking that General Cunningham's attribution of the name Σοφύτος to the Latin suffes and the Aramean—ܣܘܦܘܬܘܫ is objectionable."

Professor Holmboe of Christiania, in a letter to Bábu Rájendralála Mitra, gives the following summary of certain memoirs lately published by him on the relation which formerly existed between Asia and Scandinavia.

"'A présent je prends la liberté de vous envoyer trois petits mémoires archéologiques: 1. Om Eeds-Ringe c. à. d. sur des anneaux à serment. J'y ai prouvé, que les anneaux, dont se servaient nos ancêtres payens, pour y poser la main en prêtant serment, ont eu la même forme que les anneaux, qu'on voit entre les mains de quelques personnes dans la procession sacrificale sculptée aux murs à côté des escaliers du temple de Pesepolis. J'ai tâché de prouver, que l'usage de prêter serment sur un anneau ait été en usage chez les anciens Perses; particulièrement sous la dynastie der Sassanides, dont les sculptures à Nakhchi Roustam et à Nakhchi Bostan ne représentent pas, comme on a cru, la remise solennelle du symbole de la royauté au nouveau roi, mais le prêtament de serment du nouveau roi sur un anneau, qu'au nom de Dieu lui présente le grand mobed (mobedi mobedân), ce qui démontre assez clairement la tenue de la main du roi. Sur la pl. I, j'ai donné les dessins de deux anciennes monnaies celtiques, dont l'obvers représente la juridiction par un homme tenant l'anneau à serment, et le revers de l'une représente le sacrifice par [d' ?] un quadrupède, sur le dos duquel on

* It is considered a better one than Major Hay's.

voit le manteau sacrificiel. Le résultat, que je tire de mes raisonnements, c'est que le rite de prêter serment sur un anneau, comme tant d'autres rites, a dû passer de l'Orient dans le Nord de l'Europe.

2. Kong Svegders Reise c. à d. le voyage du roi Svegder. On lit dans l'histoire de Norvège par Snorro Sturlason, chap. 15 de l'histoire des Ynglings, qu'un roi de Suède, nommé Svegder, lequel, vu la série des rois qui ont régnés jusqu'au temps où nous avons une chronologie certaine, a dû vivre au 4^{me} siècle de l'ère chrétienne, fit deux voyages pour aller à Godheim ou Asaland, où il espérait trouver Odin (Bouddha?) Le récit rapporte, que dans son premier voyage il visita le pays des Tures, le grand Svithjod c. à d. la Russie actuelle, et Panaheim c. à d. le Taouan ou grand Ouan sur les bord de Jaxartes (Lir devger,) dont parle le Chinois Lee'mutsien dans le Laéki. Le voyage dura cinq ans. Après avoir resté quelque temps à la maison il fit un second voyage dans le même but. Il traversa de nouveau Svithjod, et ayant passé sa limite [?] de l'Est il arriva à un lieu, nommé Stein, où il y avait une pierre (*stein* en Norv. signifie *pierre,*) grande comme une grande maison. Là, sortant le soir d'une maison, où lui et sa suite s'étaient endormis, [?] il observa sous la pierre, un dverg (petit être mystereux de la Mythologie des anciens, demeurant sous terre, mais en sortant le soir et la nuit,) assis sous la pierre. Alors le roi et sa suite se mirent à courir vers la pierre, mais avant d'y arriver, il vit le dverg debout dans la porte, l'appelant et l'invitant à entrer s'il desirait voir Odin. Il entra, la porte se ferma, et on ne le vit plus.

Voilà le contenu du récit. Je suppose que la pierre ait été un Stoupa au Tope, dont l'exterieur bien plâtré lui ait donné l'aspect d'une pierre, d'une masse solide. Le dverg assis a dû être une statuette de Bouddha assis, telle qu'on les voit quelquefois dans les niches de la base des monuments bouddhiques; et la porte a pu être la porte d'une chapelle réunie au tope, telle qu'on voit par exemple au dagobah de Pollanarua à Ceylon (p. 11, du mém.) Un des gardiens du monument a dû l'appeler ainsi, pour s'emparer d'un homme, dont il craignait violence contre le sanctuaire, et sachant qu'il cherchait Odin (Bouddha,) il lui dit, qu'il était là-dedans, où, peut-être, quelques reliques de Bouddha

étaient déposées. Le récit doit donc sortir de la classe des fables, et être réputé historique dans son fond.

3. Thorolf Bægifots Begravelse c. à d. l'enterrement de Thorolf Bægifot. Dans une histoire d'une province de l'Islande nommée Eyrar, concernant les derniers temps du paganisme, on lit d'un homme, nommé Thorolf Bægifot, lequel, revenant un soir d'un voyage, s'assit sur son siège d'honneur et y resta jusqu'au matin, lorsqu'on l'y trouva mort. Son fils étant appelé, enfonça le parois derrière le dos du défunt, et emporta le corps par l'ouverture. C'est, à ce que je sais, le seul exemple en Scandinavie, d'une manière si singulière de faire sortir un corps mort. Mais en Asie on en trouve plusieurs exemples. Marco Paolo raconte, qu'en Tartarie, les astrologues conseillaient vers quel point de l'univers les morts devaient être retirés et s'il n'y avait pas de porte dans la direction indiquée on faisait une ouverture dans le parois, et retiraient par là le mort. Le Rev. Pallagoix raconte, qu'à Siam, au lieu de faire passer le cercueil par la porte, on le descend dans la rue par une ouverture pratiquée au murail. Et M. Pallas raconte, qu'un lama des Kalmuks étant trouvé mort sur son siège d'honneur, on renversa sa demeure par derrière [sic.] Ce exemples éveillent la supposition, que la manière, dont on retirait le corps de Th. B. était une trace de Bouddhisme.

Ayant été enterré dans une vallée, le même Th. B. causait comme revenant tant de malheurs, qu'on se crut forcé de transporter son corps dans le désert, mais arrivé à la sortie de la vallée, le corps devint si *lourd*, que 14 hommes ne pouvaient pas l'emporter plus loin. J'ai comparé ce récit avec celui que rapporte Mr. Schmidt dans ses notes au Scanavy Lectren, à propos de l'enterrement du conquérant célèbre, Dchingis-Khaghan. Etant mort au Tohet, son corps fut transporté à sa demeure. Arrivé là, le corps fut si *lourd*, qu'on s'efforça en vain de descendre le cercueil de la voiture. On se vit obligé de l'élever le tertre sépulcrale au dessus de la voiture. Voilà un nouvel exemple de l'influence de croyances orientales sur celles des Scandinaves.

JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1865.

Ancient Indian Weights, No. III.—By E. THOMAS, Esq.

[Received 15th March, 1865.]

THE EARLIEST INDIAN COINAGE.

So many questions connected with the earliest form of Indian money have been incidentally adverted to in the examination of the weights upon which it was based, and from whose very elements as divisional sections of metal, all Indian coinages took their origin, that but little remains to be said in regard to the introductory phase of local numismatic art, beyond a reference to the technic details, and a casual review of the symbols impressed upon these normal measures of value. The contrast, however, between the mechanical adaptations of the east and west may properly claim a momentary notice, with the view of testing the validity of the assumption I have previously hazarded respecting the complete independence of the invention of a metallic circulating medium by the people of Hindustán.*

Many years ago the late Mr. Burgon† correctly traced, from the then comparatively limited data, the germ and initial development of the art of coining money in Western Asia, describing the process as ema-

* Num. Chron., N. S., vol. iii note, p. 226; and more in detail in my edition of Prinsep's "Essays" (Murray, London, 1858), vol. i. p. 217.

† Numismatic Journal, 1837, vol. i. p. 118.

nating from the Eastern custom of attaching seals, as the pledge of the owner's faith in any given object. This theory satisfactorily predicted the exact order of the derivative fabrication of coins, which may now, with more confidence, be deduced from the largely-increased knowledge of the artisan's craft and mechanical aptitude of the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia, the relics of which the researches of Layard, Loftus, and Botta have recovered in so near an approach to their primal integrity. The universal employment of clay for almost every purpose of life, including official and private writings, with the connecting seals that secured even leather or parchment documents, extending down to the very coffins* in which men were buried, naturally led up to marked improvements in the processes of stamping and impressing the soft substance nature so readily hardened into durability, and to which fire secured so much of indestructibility. If moist clay was so amenable to treatment, and so suitable for the purpose of receiving the signets of the people at large, we need scarcely be unprepared to find yielding metals speedily subjected to a similar process—for the transition from the superficially-cut stone seal to the sunk die of highly-tempered metal which produced the Darics, would occupy but a single step in the development of mechanical appliances. In effect, the first mint stamps were nothing more than authoritative seals, the attestation-mark being confined to one side of the lump of silver or gold, the lower surface bearing traces only of the simple contrivance necessary to fix the crude coin. In opposition to this almost natural course of invention, India, on the other hand, though possessed of, and employing clay for obvious needs,† had little cause to use it as a vehicle of record or as the medium of seal attestations; if the later practice may be held to furnish any evidence of the past, her people must be supposed to have written upon birch bark,‡ or other equally suitable substances so common in the south from very remote ages,§

* Mr. J. E. Taylor, "Jour. Roy. As. Soc.," xv. 414. Loftus, "Chaldea," p. 204.

† Wilson, "Rig Veda," vol. iii. p. xiv. "Arrian," lib. v. cap. xxiv., and lib. viii. cap. x. Hiouen-Thsang, "Mémoires," vol. i. p. 333, &c.

‡ The primitive Persians of the north-east also wrote upon birch bark. Hamza Isfahání, under the events of A. H. 350 (A. D. 961), adverts to the discovery at Jai (Isfahán), of the rituals of the Magi, all of which were written, in the most ancient Persian language, on birch bark. See also Q. Curtius, viii. 9, § 15; Reinaud, "Mém. sur l'Inde," 305; "Ariana Antiqua," pp. 60, 84; Prinsep's "Essays," ii. 46.

§ "Arrian," viii. 7. "La Vie de Hiouen-Thsang," 158.

while the practical advance from ever-recurring weighings towards fixed metallic currencies was probably due to the introductory adoption of lengths of uniformly-shaped bars of silver (Plate XI. Figs. 1, 2), which, when weight and value gradually came to require more formal certificates, were adapted designedly to the new purpose by change of form and a flattening and expansion of surface, in order to receive and retain visibly the authoritative countermarks. One part of the system was so far, by hazard, in accord with the custom of the west, that the upper face alone was impressed with the authenticating stamps, though the guiding motive was probably different, and the object sought may well have been the desirable facility of reference to the serial order of the obverse markings—each successive repetition of which constituted a testimony to the equity of past ages.

The lower face of these domino-like pieces is ordinarily indented with a single minor punch, occupying as a rule nearly the middle of the reverse. The dies, though of lesser size, follow the usual symbolical representations in vogue upon the superior face. There are scarcely sufficient indications to show if the dies in question constituted a projected portion of the anvil; but I should infer to the contrary: nor does the isolation of these symbols, in the first instance, prevent repetitions of small punch-marks over or around their central position; in some cases—though these form the exceptions—the clear field of the reverse is ultimately devoted to the reception of the obverse or larger devices: which anomaly recurs, of necessity, to a greater extent with those pieces which have continued long in circulation, and more especially is this found to be the case among the residue of this description of currency in Central India and the Peninsula, where ancient customs so firmly resisted the encroachments of foreign or extra-provincial civilisation.

As far as the typical designs in themselves, when compared with later Indian symbolical adaptations, are concerned, they would seem to refer to no particular religious or secular division, but, embodying primitive ideas, with but little advanced artistic power of representation, to have been produced or adopted, from time to time, as regal or possibly metropolitan authorities demanded distinctive devices. It would be useless, at this stage of the inquiry, to attempt to decide whether these discriminating re-attestations appertain primarily to

succeeding dynasties, progressive generations of men, or whether they were merely the equitable revisions of contemporary jurisdictions. Though more probably, as a general rule, the simple fixed weights of metal circulated from one end of the country to the other, in virtue of previous marks, only arrested in their course when seeming wear or dubious colour called for fresh attestation : or incidentally, when new conquerors came on the scene and gratuitously added their hereditary symbols. The devices, in the open sense, are all domestic or emblematic within the mundane range of simple people—the highest flight heavenwards is the figure of the sun, but its orb is associated with no other symptom of planetary influences, and no single purely Vedic conception. So also, amid the numerous symbols or esoteric monograms that have been claimed as specially Buddhist,* there is not one that is absolutely and conclusively an origination of, or emanation from, that creed. The *Chaitya* other Scythians had before them ; the *Bodhi-Tree* is no more essentially Buddhist than the Assyrian Sacred Tree, † the Hebrew Grove, ‡ or the popularly venerated trees of India at large. §

Equally on the other part Vedic advocates will now scarcely claim the figure of the objectionable Dog, || or seek to appropriate to Aryan Brahmanism ploughs, harrows, or serpents. In brief, these primitive punch-dies seem to have been the produce of purely home fancies and local thought, until we reach incomprehensible devices, composed of lines, angles, and circles, which clearly depart from Nature's forms ; and while we put these aside as exceptional composite designs, we may accept unhesitatingly as of foreign origin the panther and the vine, engraved in a style of good Greek art, which overlays the mixed impressions of earlier date and provincial imagery, and appears only towards the end of the career of the punch-marked coins, in their north-western spread, before they were finally absorbed in that quarter by

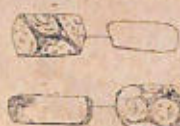
* Sykes, "Journ. R. A. S.," v. 451 ; Cunningham, "Bhilsa Topes," p. 351, plates xxxi., xxxii. B. H. Hodgson, "Journ. R. A. S.," xviii. 393.

† Gosse's "Assyria," p. 94 ; Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," ii. 235.

‡ Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," article "Grove,"—doubts are raised regarding the correctness of the translation of the word *Ashérah* as a grove. See also note in Gesenius, *sub voce Ashérah*.

§ Wilson, "Megha Dūta," ver. 157. Ward's *Hindus*, iii. 204. So also *Tulsi*,—"Ocymum sanctum," or "Sacred Basil."

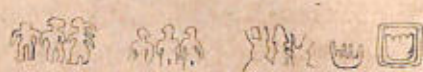
|| *Manu*, iii. 92, iv. 208, x. 51, 91, 106, etc. Max Müller, "Science of Language," ii. 481.



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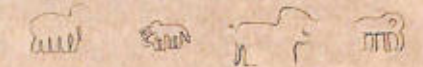
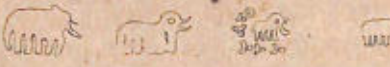


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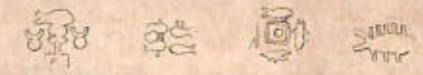


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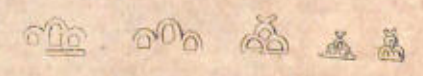
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the nearly full-surface die-struck money with devices of an elephant and a panther;* which class in turn merge naturally into the similar though advanced fabrics of the mints of Agathocles and Pantaleon, of square or oblong form,† a shape the Greeks had not previously made use of, but which when once adopted they retained without scruple, whatever their early prejudices might have been—possibly out of respect for local associations, a motive which weighed sufficiently with their successors and other Bactrian Hellenes to induce them to perpetuate the square indifferently with the circular coins. The exceptional, or in this case indigenous form, found favour in later generations with the Muhammadan conquerors, who sanctioned unreservedly square pieces in common with the circular forms, up to the time of Shâh Jehân (A.D. 1628–58). But though these unshapely bits of metal ran on in free circulation up to the advent of the Greeks, this by no means implies that there were not other and more perfect currencies matured in India. The use of the time-honoured punch survived in the Peninsula till very lately, but no one would infer from this fact that there were not more advanced methods of coining known in the land. In fact, like other nations of the East, the Hindus have uniformly evinced more regard for intrinsic value than criticism of the shape in which money presented itself.

Many of these ancient symbols, more especially the four-fold Sun (17, No 1, Plate XI.) are found established in permanence on the fully-struck coinage of Ujain,‡ of a date not far removed from the reign of Asoka, who once ruled as sub-king of that city; the probable period of issue is assumed from the forms of the Indian-Pâli letters embodying the name of U'JENINI, the local rendering of the later classical Sanskrit *Ujjayini*. Associated in the same group as regards

* These coins are still mere compromises, being formed from an obverse punch, with a full surface reverse. "Ariana Antiqua," pl. xv. figs. 26, 27; Prinsep's "Essays," i. pl. xx. figs. 50, 51, page 220; Cunningham's pl. i., &c.

While upon this subject, I may notice the discovery of the name of Agathocles in Bactrian characters on a coin of similar fabric. His name, it will be remembered, has hitherto only been found in the Indian-Pali transcript of the Greek (Num. Chron. N.S. iv. 196). The piece in question has, on the obverse, a Chaitya, with a seven-pointed star, and the name *Akathakayasa* (possibly *Ankathakrayasa*). The reverse bears the conventional sacred tree, with the title *Maharaja* strangely distorted into *Hi,rajasa,me* or *He,ragasa,me*.

† A. A., pl. vi. figs. 7, 8, 9, 11; Prinsep's "Essays," pl. xxviii. 8, 9; vol. ii. pp. 179, 180; "Jour. des Sav.," 1835, pl. i. fig. i.

‡ "Jour. As. Soc. Bengal," vol. vii., pl. lxi., p. 1054.

general devices, and identified with the apparently cognate mintages of similar time and locality, there appear other symbolical figures which no predilection or prejudice can claim as exclusively Buddhist; indeed, whatever hostility and eventual persecution may ultimately have arisen between the leading creeds of India, it is clear that at this period, and for long after, the indigenous populations lived harmoniously together;* like all things Indian, old notions and pre-existing customs retained too strong a hold upon the masses to be easily revolutionised; and if at times a proselyting Buddhist or able and ambitious Brahman came to the front, and achieved even more than provincial renown, the Indian community at large was but little affected by the momentary influence; and it is only towards the eighth or ninth centuries A. D. that, without knowing the causes which led to the result or the means by which it was accomplished, we find Brahmanism dominant and active in persecution.

I have now to advert to the symbols embodied in the Plate. (No. XI.) I shall notice only those of more moment in the text of this paper, leaving the engraving to explain itself under the subjoined synopsis.

A.	Heavenly bodies	1	Suns.
B.	Man and his members...	2	
	Animals	3	Elephants.
	"	4	Dogs
	"	5	Deer, Cows, &c.
	"	6	Leopards.
	Fish	7	
	Reptiles	8	
C.	Home life	9	Ploughs.
	"	9*	Cups, vases, &c.
	"	10	Harrows.
	"	11	Wheels.
	"	12	Bows and arrows.
D.	Imaginary devices	13	Chaityas.
	"	14	Trees.
	"	15	Ornamental circles.
	"	16	Magic formulæ.
E.	Reverse dies	17	

* Stevenson, "Journal Bombay Br. R. A. Soc." Hiouen-Thsang, *passim*.

Under class A appears the single representation of the Sun : no other planet or denizen of an Eastern sky is reflected in early Indian mint-symbolisation. In examining the general bearing of these designs, the first point to determine is,—does the sun here, as the opening and deepest-sunk emblem, stand for an object of worship? *Savitri* or *Súrya*, undoubtedly held a high position in the primitive Vedic theogony,* and it is a coincidence singularly in accord with its typical isolation on these pieces, that the Indo-Aryans, unlike their Persian brethren, dissociated the *Sun* from all other planetary bodies. But with all this, there is an under-current of evidence that the Scythians had already introduced the leading idea of sun-worship into India, prior to any Aryan immigration; for even the Vedic devotion to the great luminary is mixed up with the obviously Scythic *aswamedha*, or sacrifice of the horse.† Then, again, arises the question as to whether this Sun-type, which appears the earliest among all the mint dies, and is so frequently repeated in slightly modified outlines, does not refer to the more directly Indian traditional family of the *Surya Vans'as*,‡ who eventually are made to come into such poetic hostility with the *Chandra Vans'as*, or Lunar branch. Neither one race nor the other is recognised or alluded to in the text of the Vedas; but abundance of reasons may be given for this abstinence, without implying a necessary non-existence of children of the Sun before the date of the collection of those ancient hymns. However, looking to the decidedly secular nature of the large majority of the figures in subsequent use upon this class of money, I am content for the present to adopt the popular rather than the devotional solution; or, if the latter alternative find favour, it must be conceded that the Buddhists incorporated the symbolism of the early worship of the Sun into their own system, which in itself may fortuitously have carried them through many sacerdotal difficulties, even as, if we are to credit resemblances, the Hindus successfully appropriated the Buddhist adaptation of an older form in the outrageous idol of *Jagannáth*, or secured as a Brahmanic institution the ancient Temple of the Sun at *Multán*.§ Whatever may have been

* Wilson, "Rig Veda Sanhitá," vol. i., pp. xxvii. xxxii.; vol. ii. p. vii.; vol. iii. p. x.

† Wilson, "Rig Veda Sanhitá," vol. ii. p. xiv.

‡ Prinsep's "Essays," vol. ii. U. T., pp. 232, 236.

§ Reinaud, "Mémoire sur l'Inde" (Paris, 1849), p. 97.

the course in other lands, it is clear that, in India, it was primarily needful for the success of any new creed, to humour the prejudices, and consult the eye-training of the multitude, as identified and associated with past superstitious observances.

Among other figures of very frequent occurrence and very varying outlines, a leading place must be given in this series to the so-called *Chaityas*. There is little doubt but that the normal tumulus originally suggested the device, for even to the last, amid all the changes its pictorial delineation was subjected to, there remains the clear ideal trace of the central crypt, for the inhumation of ashes, or the deposit of sacred objects, to which it was devoted in later times.

Much emphasis has been laid upon the peculiarly Buddhistic character of this symbol. It is quite true that its form ultimately entered largely into the exoteric elements of that creed, but it is doubtful if Buddhism, as expounded by *Sākya Sinha*, was even thought of when these fanciful tumuli were first impressed upon the public money; and to show how little of an exclusive title the Buddhists had to the *chaitya* as an object of religious import,* it may be sufficient to cite the fact that, so far as India is concerned, its figured outline appears in conjunction with unquestionable planetary devices on the coins of the Śāh kings of Surashtra,† who clearly were not followers of *Dharma*. But, as the Buddhist religion avowedly developed itself in the land, and was no foreign importation, nothing would be more reasonable than that its votaries should retain and incorporate into their own ritualism many of the devices that had already acquired a quasi-reverence among the vulgar, even as the Sun reasserted its pristine prominence so certainly and unobtrusively, that its traditional worshippers, at the last, scarcely sought to know through what sectional division of composite creeds their votive offerings were consigned to the divinity whose "cultus" patriarchal sages, here and elsewhere, had intuitively inaugurated.

Many of the singular linear combinations classed in the Plate under D, as Nos. 15, 16, which it would be difficult otherwise to interpret,

* Prinsep, "Jour. A. S. B.," iv. p. 687.

† "Jour. Royal Asiatic Society," xii. p. 1. Prinsep's "Essays," i., p. 425; ii. pl. xxxvii, p. 84. "Jour. As. Soc. Bengal," vi. 377; vii. 347. Prinsep's reading of his coin (No. 11, p. 354, "Jour. A. S. B.") as *Jinadāma*, "votary of Buddha," was an error; the name is *Jiva Dāma*.

may reasonably be referred to the independent conceptions of primitive magic ; as, whatever may have been the religion of the various grades of men in its higher sense, it is manifest that even the leading and more intellectual rulers of the people retained a vague faith in the efficacy of charms ; almost all the tales in Persian or Arabic authors bearing upon Alexander's intercourse with the unconquered nations of India, turn upon their proficiency in the black art ;—traditions sufficiently warranted by the probability that he, a Greek, would readily seek revelations of this kind, even as he sought the knowledge of the art of the Chaldees.

So also with their own home legends—one half of the revolution wrought by Chandra Gupta's advisers is placed to the credit of magic, and the Nandas, whom he superseded, appear to have been special proficient in sorcery. If this was the state of things in India in those semi-historical times, may not we adopt the parallel of other nations, and assume that, as so many crude hierarchies grew out of archaic divinings, these Indian symbols, in their degree, may well have been emanations from a similar source, and have run an equal race into the higher dignity of representing things held more sacred ?—as such, their later reception into a series of the typical adjuncts of a faith formed *in situ*, need excite no surprise.

In concluding these papers on Indian Weights, and completing somewhat hastily the illustration of the introductory system of Indian coinages, I am anxious, as the inquiry may end here, to furnish a final and, I trust, a convincing argument against those who affirm that Alexander taught India how to coin money—by meeting them on their own ground, and producing a very perfect piece of an Indian king, a manifest emanation from the gradational advances of indigenous treatment, minted contemporaneously in a part of the country Alexander did not reach. Additional interest will be felt in these coins, when it is known that there are strong grounds for believing that they bear the name and superscription of Xandrames, the king of the Gangetic provinces, who was prepared to meet Alexander should he have ventured to advance towards the Jumna.

The first suggestion for this identification only occurred to me a few days ago, on reading the newly-published French translation of the

second volume of the Arabic text of Masaudi,* where mention is made of Alexander's having, after the conquest of Porus, entered into correspondence with one of the most powerful kings of India, who is incidentally stated to have been addicted to magic, named Kand (کند). Masaudi is not very lucid as to the exact position of this potentate's dominions; but the Arabs of his day (330 A.H.) had but limited knowledge of the geography of India beyond their new home on the Indus. This king, however, I believe to be no other than the *Kananda* (properly, it will be seen, *Krananda*), monarch of the sacred centre of Brahmanism and the valley of the Ganges, whom I have already had occasion to refer to, under the numismatic aspect, as having been unscrupulous in the measure of the value of his coins† (a reproach I shall perhaps now be in a position to relieve him of). The same name of *Kananda*, obscured under the three letters of Semitic alphabets, reappears in the *Sháh Námah* as كید, *Kaid*, "the Indian;" and long stories are told of him and his mystic powers in connection with similar traditions of Alexander.‡ The trilateral designation is preserved in other original authors as كند, with the necessarily imperfect transcription§ incident to the Semitic conversion of Indian words, and the systematic ignoring of short vowels; but the name occurs, as a nearer approach to the apparent original, in a work entitled "The *Mujmal-al-Tawárikh*," compiled about 520 A.H., at the court of Sanjar, wherein the letters appear as قفند,|| a mistake probably for قند, *Kananda*, where the ear perhaps designed to do more in the first instance to restore the true pronunciation, than the hands of succeeding copyists knew how to follow.

Before proceeding to examine what the Indians say of themselves on this subject, I will revert casually to the incidental references in the Greek authors. The leading passage, which contributes the name of

* Maçoudi, "Les Prairies d'Or," par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille. Paris, 1863. "Après avoir tué Porus, l'un des rois de l'Inde, . . . Alexandre . . . aprit alors que dans les extrémités les plus reculées de l'Inde il y avait un roi, plein de sagesse, très-bon administrateur, pratiquant la piété, équitable envers ses sujets. Il avait vécu plusieurs siècles, et il était supérieur à tous les philosophes et à tous les sages de l'Inde. Son nom était Kend." Vol. ii. p. 260.

† Num. Chron. N.S., iv. 128. See also Num. Chron., iii. p. 230, note 8.

‡ Macan's "Sháh Námah," iii. p. 1290—1296, &c.

§ Ibn Badrún, quoted in Masaudi, French Edit., iii. 452.

|| Reinaud, "Fragments Arabes," p. 44, and "Mémoire sur l'Inde," p. 63.

the king of the Gangetic provinces, occurs in Diodorus Siculus, to the effect that *Xandrames* was prepared, with an overwhelming force, to oppose Alexander in his progress beyond the Hyphasis.* Quintus Curtius has preserved the designation in sufficient integrity as *Aggrames*, and attests similarly the reputed power of the monarch in question.† Arrian does not mention the names either of king or people; but after alluding to the autonomous cities‡ to the west of the Hyphasis, goes on to remark, that the country beyond that river was reported to be highly productive and well cultivated, and to be governed equitably by the *Nobility*.§ The earlier classical critics were inclined to think that this testimony of Arrian's conflicted with the assertions of Diodorus, &c.;|| but if I rightly interpret the evidence of the native authors I am about to notice, and its special bearing upon the coins, these seemingly opposing statements are not only reconcilable in themselves, but mutually aid and assist in the single solution that it would be possible to draw from the independent data they are here cited to illustrate.

The materials available from indigenous sources for the illustration of this section of Indian history, though promising, in virtue of the importance attached to the dynastic changes involved, are proportionately meagre in detail and distorted in substance. So that, in preference to relying upon purely local chronicles, we draw our most consistent testimony from the Ceylon annals, which, though they had, in the first instance, to embody foreign events, and possibly to arrive at much of the necessary knowledge through oral channels, have eventually remained intact, unassailed by hostile revision or reconversion for sectarian purposes into simulated Paurānic prophecies, or equally unscrupulous scriptural fabrications. Not to encumber the text of this paper with quotations, it may be sufficient to state the general purport

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. 93. Πρασιῶν καὶ Γανδαριδῶν ἔθνος, τούτων δὲ βασιλεύειν *Ξανδράμην*

† Quintus Curtius, ix., c. 2 :—" § 2. Percontatus igitur Phegelam quæ noscenda erant, 'xi. dierum ultra flumen per vastas solitudines iter esso' cognoscit : 'excipere deinde Gangen,' maximum totius India fluminum. § 3. Ulteriorem ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Pharrasios; eorumque regem esse Aggrammem, xx. millibus equitum ducentisque peditum obsidentem vias." See also Plutarch (Langhorne), iv. 405.

‡ Arrian, Hist. v. cap. xxii. See also Diod. Sic. ii. cap. xxxix.

§ Arrian, v. c. 25. Πρὸς γὰρ τῶν ἀρίστων ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς, τοὺς δὲ αἰδῆν ἕξω τοῦ ἐπικεικένου ἐξηγεῖσθαι

|| Roorkes's "Arrian" (London, 1729), ii. p. 54.

of the information obtained from the Maháwanso and its subordinate commentaries. It would seem that there were *nine* NANDAS, the predecessors of Chandra Gupta, who ruled conjointly,* forming a co-equal brotherhood similar to those of lower degree, so common amid the still existing village communities of India; designated in the vernacular dialect, *Bhaiyáchára*, proprietary fraternities.† The Brahmanical chronicles, though they do not directly confirm this statement of the contemporaneous sovereignty of the NANDAS, incidentally support such a conclusion, as in the expressions, “the Brahman *Kauṭilya* will root out the *nine* Nandas;”‡ and in the southern legend, quoted in the introduction to the Play of the *Mudrá Rákshasa*, the king is represented as consigning the kingdom to his *nine* sons.§ I advert to this point the more prominently, as one of the great difficulties has hitherto been to explain or reconcile the apparent anomaly of Krananda’s designating himself in the coin legends as “*the King, the great King, Krananda, the brother of Amogha* ;” and the question naturally arose, if Amogha had no title, and no apparent position in the government, what was the object of his brother’s claiming relationship in so formal a manner upon the state coinage? The coincidence may now be satisfactorily accounted for, by supposing *Amogha* to have been the eldest living brother in the family oligarchy, a position recognised to this day, while Krananda had already justified, by his talents and administrative ability, the choice of the brotherhood, who had apparently elected him

* Maháwanso, p. 21. “Kálásoko had ten sons; these brothers (conjointly) ruled the empire, righteously, for twenty-two years. Subsequently there were nine; they also, according to their seniority, reigned for twenty-two years.”

Maháwanso, p. xxxviii. [from the commentary, the *Tika*]. “Kálásoko’s own sons were ten brothers. Their names are specified in the *Atthakathá*. The appellation of ‘the nine Nandas’ originates in nine of them bearing that patronymic title. . . . in aforesaid, during the conjoint administration of the (nine) sons of Kálásoko. . . . His brothers next succeeded to the empire in the order of their seniority. They altogether reigned 22 years. It was on this account that (in the Maháwanso) it is stated that there were nine Nandas.” See also J. A. S. B. vi. 714, 726 (Buddhaghosa’s *Atthakathá*) “the ten sons of Kálásoko reigned 22 years. Subsequently to them, Nawanando reigned 22 years.”

† Wilson derives the *chara* from the Sanskrit *achára*, “institute.” I should prefer the local *chára*, “pasturage,” especially as the associate *Bhaiya* is in the Indian form of the classic Aryan, *Bhráta*.

‡ Wilson’s “*Vishnu Purána*,” p. 467. See also note, p. 468, for various readings from Bhágavata, Váyu and Matsya Puráns.

§ The *Mudrá Rákshasa*, in Wilson’s “*Hindu Theatre*,” vol. ii. p. 144. For other notices of the Nandas, see “*Asiatic Researches*,” xx. 167; Rev. W. H. Mill, J. A. S. B. iii. p. 343. Wilson’s “*Essays on Sanskrit Literature*,” i. 174, 178; Burnouf, “*I. 359 and Lotus de la bonne loi*,” p. 452; Max Müller, “*Sanskrit Literature*,” 275.

“*Primus inter pares* ;”* but necessarily with much larger powers and functions in dealing with kingdoms than the ordinary title would carry with it in the mere management of village communities.

I now have to refer to the coins themselves, but as introductory to further details, it is necessary to indicate the leading locality of their discovery, and the epoch to which they should, on independent grounds, be attributed. I have so lately, and so entirely without reference to any present theory, reviewed the chief sites of the discovery of this class of money, under comparatively careful systems of geographical record, that I had better confine myself to a recapitulation of those results, pure and simple. The conclusion I arrived at was, that the kingdom for the supply of whose currency these coins were designed, had “its boundaries extending down the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna below Hastinápura, and westwards beyond the latter river to some extent along the foot of the Himálayas into the Punjab”†—the division of the entire country probably the most advanced, at that

* General Cunningham, many years ago, guessed, in virtue of a portion of the name, that *Kumanda* was one of the nine Nandas, but as he has not ventured to support his conjecture, I conclude that he has abandoned the identification. (“*Bhilsa Topes*,” p. 355.) Max Müller rightly divined that Xandrames might be “the same as the last Nanda” (“*Sanskrit Literature*,” p. 279); though, Wilford, in 1807, had already enunciated, to all intents and purposes, a similar theory. (“*As. Res.*,” ix. p. 94.) Notwithstanding that he had previously so far compromised himself, as to advocate the interpretation of the Greek *Xandrames* as a synonym of the Sanskrit *Chandra Gupta* (*As. Res.* V. 286).

[Referring to priorities of publication, I see that General Cunningham has another grievance against me (*J. A. S. B.* 1864, p. 229). It seems that in examining General Abbott’s coins, in November, 1859, I noted a square piece of Epander, as that of a “new king.” The Memoir in which this statement ultimately appeared, had avowedly been laid aside, and after two years’ delay was inserted in the *Journal of the R. A. S.* (vol. xx. p. 99, July, 1862). In the mean time, as I now learn, General Cunningham had announced to the world that he was the owner of a bad coin of the same king (*J. A. S. B.* 1860, p. 396). But if I offended the General’s susceptibility in this very open date of discovery, I must have afflicted his sensitive and exclusive ideas of patent rights still more acutely, when I again published Col. Abbott’s coin as “*unique*” in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of September, 1864 (p. 207, vol. iii. N. S.)

Though, in truth, I was, in either case, altogether innocent of intent, and to bring this home to the General’s own peculiar feelings, I may state that had I seen the notice he refers me to, I should not have given him credit, in the same article, for a discovery he confesses to be due to Mr. Forrest. And, on the other hand, I should have been most anxious to have been able to cite the conjunction of the names of Antiochus Nikator and Agathocles on the same piece, which so specially bore upon the subject matter of my paper.]

† Prinsep’s “*Essays*,” i. 204. General Cunningham says, “found chiefly between the Indus and Jumna.” Mr. Bayley’s experience coincides with my own in placing their centre more to the eastward. These coins were first brought to notice in 1834, on the occasion of Sir P. Cautley’s discovery and excavation of the ancient city of Behat, on the Jumna, 17 feet below the present general level of the surrounding country. See *J. A. S. B.* iii. 43, 221. Prinsep’s “*Essays*,” i. p. 76.

period, in material wealth, as it was in intellectual development, claims that it has upheld with singular tenacity, under many adverse influences, through more than twenty centuries, until European Calcutta, at last, superseded the Imperialism of Moghul Delhi.

I have a more onerous duty to perform in satisfying my readers in regard to the date internal evidence would assign to these issues. I have previously confessed a difficulty, and admitted that the data for testing the age of this coinage by the style of the letters on its surface were somewhat uncertain, and in a very elaborate examination of every single literal symbol employed on the varying representatives of the class, I came to the conclusion that if certain more archaic forms of letters might take the whole series up in point of time, modifications, approaching to modernisations, might equally reduce individual instances to a comparatively late date.* I was prepared to disavow any adhesion to the old theory that the fixed lapidary type of Asoka's inscriptions was to constitute the one test of all local time and progress, and the sole referee of all gradations in Palæography, though I was not in a condition to cite what I now advance with more confidence—both the exceptional and stiff form of a lapidary alphabet, *per se*, as opposed to the writing of everyday life, which last the numismatic letters would more readily follow; but I subordinated the fact that Asoka's alphabet was designed for all India, and although it condescended to admit modified dialectic changes, all the inscriptions are supposed to have emanated from one official copy, which, however perfect at Palibothra or imposing at Ganjam, may well have been behind the age in that focus of learning to the eastward of the Saraswati, where not only must Indian-Pāli have been brought to unusual caligraphic perfection, but from its contact and association with the Semitic alphabet on the same ground and in the same public documents, may be supposed to have achieved suggestive progress of its own, and to have risen far above the limitations of the writing of ordinary uninstructed communities in other parts of India; so that, whatever doubts or hesitation I may have felt in the once discouraged notion that any approach to perfection existed in India prior to Alexander's advent, I have been forced into, and now willingly acknowledge, diametrically opposite convictions, and concur in the surprise expressed by the Greeks themselves that the Indians were already so far and so independently advanced in civilisation.

* Prinsep's "Essays," i. p. 207.



Silver. Weight 29·0 grains. B. M., J. A. S. B. vii. pl. xxxii. figs. 2, 3, 4, 8.

Obv.—A female figure, holding on high a large flower,* and apparently in attendance on a fanciful representation of a sacred deer.† The animal has curiously curved horns, and a bushy tail like a Himalayan Yák. Monogram ♂.‡

Legend, in Indian-Páli [a similar flower to that in the field is repeated at the commencement of the legend]:—

Rájnah Kraṇandasa Amogha-bhratasa Mahárajasa. (Coin) of the great King, the King Krananda, the brother of Amogha.

Rev.—A Chaitya surmounted by a small umbrella, above which appears a curious symbol§—a serpent is seen at the foot of the Chaitya.

* This is probably intended to represent a lotus, a favourite object of reverence with the Buddhists. One of the Nandas was named *Mahá Padma*, "great Lotus." (Vishṇu Purāṇa, 467. The *Padma-chempo* of Tibetan writers. J. A. S. B. i 2.) "The distinctive mark" of one of the four principal classes of Buddhists (the *Ráhula*) was also "an *utpala-padma* (water-lily) jewel, and tree-leaf, put together in the form of a nosegay." I may as well take the opportunity of noting that the symbols of the remaining three classes of Buddhists were the "shell, or conch" for the *Káshyapa*: a "*sortsika* flower" for the *Upáli*: and "the figure of a wheel" for the *Kátáyana*. (Ceoma Kőrösi, "Jour. As. Soc. Bengal," vii. (1838), pp. 143—4.)

† The deer was typical of the *Pratyeka* Buddhas. Deer were the authorised devices for the signets of the priests ("Jour. A. S. Bengal," 1835, p. 625, As. Res. xx. 86), and deer were from the first cherished and sacred animals among the Buddhists—"The Deer Park of the Immortal," at Sarnáth, near Benáres, was an important feature in connection with the celebrated *Stápa* and religious establishments at that place. ("Foe Koue Ki," chapter xxxiv. "Mémoires," Hiouen-Thsang, i. p. 354.)

‡ I am unable to offer any solution of the meaning of this sign. It may possibly be an older form of the Tree.

§ *Chaityas*, or more properly *Stúpas* (Sanskrit "a pile of earth"), are also called *Dágobas* in the Maháwanso, a name stated to be derived from *Dhátu* and *gabbhan*, "Womb of a relic." (Mah. p. 5.; see also Prinsep's "Essays," i. 165.) The monogram which surmounts the *Stúpa* on the coins eventually came to be recognised as a symbol of *Dharma*; its outline has much in common with the representations of the idol at Jagganáth. (Stevenson, J. R. A. S. viii. 331. Cunningham, "Bhilsa Topes," pl. xxxii.) The device in question recurs frequently on the later Bactrian and Indo-Scythic coins. (Num. Chron. xix. pl. p. 12, No. 166. "Ariana Antiqua," pl. xxii, 156. Burnouf, ii. 627.)

In the field are the Bóddhi tree,* the Swastika cross,† and a later form of one of the devices under No. 13 of the old series of emblems. Legend, in Bactrian-Páli:—

Rajah Krandasa Amogha-bhratisa Mahárajasa. The concluding title of *Mahárajá* is separated from the rest of the legend, and placed independently at the foot of the reverse.‡

* This tree is another chosen emblem of later Buddhism; but, as I have before remarked, it did not appertain *exclusively* to the Buddhists in early times, as it is to be seen on a very ancient coin implying a directly opposing faith, in the fact of its bearing the name of *Vishnu-deva* in old Indian-Páli characters. (J. A. S. B. iii. pl. xxv. fig. 1, and Prinsep's "Essays," ii. 2, vol. i. pl. vii. fig. 1.) So also Q. Curtius, in his notice "Deos putant, quicquid colere coperunt; arbores maxime, quas violare capitale est" (viii. 9, § 34), refers to Indians in general, and not to Buddhists in particular). Another suggestive question is raised by the accompanying devices on the surface of this piece, one of which represents a half-moon—a totally exceptional sign, which in conjunction with the name of *Vishnu*, may be taken to stand for a symbol of Brahmanism as opposed to Buddhism, a coincidence which may be further extended to import the pre-existence of Chandravansas, in designed contrast to Surya Vansas; and an eventual typical acceptance of the name in combination as *Chandra-Gupta Vishnu-Gupta* (Chanáky a)—all evidencing an intentional hostility to the "Children of the Sun" of AYODHYA, with whom Sákya was so immediately identified. I may as well take the opportunity of adding that the remaining objects on the obverse of this coin consist of the triple Caduceus-like symbol, under D 16 in the Plate, together with a deer above the half-moon, and a reverse device of a horse.

† Let the primary ideal which suggested the cross of the *Swastika* be what it may, the resulting emblem seems to have been appropriated by the Buddhists as one of their special devices in the initial stage of the belief of Sákya-Muni. The *Tao szu*, or "Sectaries of the mystical cross," are prominently noticed by Fa Hian. (cap. xxii., xxiii.), and their doctrine is stated to have formed "the ancient religion of Tibet, which prevailed until the general introduction of Buddhism in the ixth century." Mr. Caldwell has instituted an interesting inquiry into the ancient religion of the Dravidians, which bears so aptly on the general question of the rise of subsequent sects in India, that I transcribe the final conclusion he arrives at:—"On comparing their Dravidian system of demonolatry and sorcery with 'Shamanism'—the superstition which prevails amongst the Ugrian races of Siberia and the hill tribes on the south-western frontier of China, which is still mixed up with the Buddhism of the Mongols, and which was the old religion of the whole Tartar race before Buddhism and Muhammadanism were disseminated amongst them—we cannot avoid the conclusion that those two superstitions, though practised by races so widely separated, are not only similar but identical."—*Dravidian Grammar*, p. 519. See also Maháwanso, p. xlv.

‡ Papini enumerates the *Swastika* among the ordinary marks for sheep in use in his day (Goldstückler, p. 59). It eventually became a symbol common to Buddhists, Jainas and Brahmans. The symbols of the 24 Jainas are enumerated by Colebrooke, (As. Res. ix. 301) as follows, No. 1, A Bull; 2, an Elephant; 3 a Horse; 4, an ape; 5, a Curlew; 6, a Lotus; 7, a *Swastika*; 8, the moon; 9, Makara; 10, a [four-petalled] *Sriratsa*; 11, a Rhinoceros; 12, a Buffalo; 13, a Boar; 14, a Falcon; 15, a thunderbolt; 16, an Antelope; 17, a Goat; 18, Nanda varta [an arabesque figure, seemingly designed to repeat the *Swastika* as often as possible in its component lines]; 19, a jar; 20, a Tortoise; 21, a blue water-lily; 22, a conch; 23, a Serpent; 24, a Lion.

Kuvera's treasures or nine Gems, also illustrate the history of Indian symbols,

It has been usual to read the name of this king as *Kuṇanda*, and tested by the limitations of the Indian Pāli alphabet proper, the initial compound should stand for *ku* and nothing else; but as some of the lately-acquired specimens have furnished, for the first time, an approximate reading of the name in the counterpart Bactrian character on the reverse, giving the indubitable foot-stroke to the right, which constitutes the subjunct *r*, appended to the *κ*, there can be no reasonable doubt but that *Kraṇanda* is the correct transliteration. The apparent anomaly of supposing that the Indian Pāli borrowed this form of suffixed *r* from its fellow alphabet is disposed of by its use a second time in this legend, in the Pāli *Bhrata*. With similar licence, the Bactrian writing, to supply its own deficiencies, appropriated the Pāli *jh* in *Rajha*, corresponding with the *Rajnah* of the obverse.

The copper coins of this class follow the typical devices of the silver money, varying, however, in shape and weight to such an extent as to indicate a very general and comprehensive original currency. A peculiarity in which they depart from the parallel issues of silver, is the total omission of the counterpart reverse legend in Bactrian Pāli, occasionally so imperfectly rendered even in the best designed mintages, and the superscription is confined to what we must suppose to have been the local Indian Pāli character, in which mint artisans and the public at large were probably much better versed.

The ninth, or one of the nine Nandas, seems to have been popularly designated *Dhana Nanda*, or the rich Nanda,* and certainly, if the extant specimens of the money bearing the impress of the name of

Wilson (Megha Dūta, verse 534) has the following note on the subject. "The Padma, "Mahāpadma, Sankha, Makara, Kachhapa, Mukunda, Nanda, Nila, and Kharva, are the nine Nidhis."

"Some of the words bear the meanings of precious or holy things: thus Padma is the Lotus; Sankha the shell or conch. Again some of them imply large numbers; thus Padma is 10,000 millions, and Mahāpadma is 100,000 millions, &c. but all of them are not received in either the one or the other acceptation. We may translate almost all into things: thus, a lotus, a large lotus, a shell, a certain fish, a tortoise, a crest, a mathematical figure used by the Jainas [No. 18, above?] Nila refers only to colour; [No' 21 supra?] but Kharvā, the ninth, means a dwarf." See also As. Res. xx. p. 544.

There is a very full list of Buddhist symbols in Captain Low's paper on "Buddha and the Phrabat," in the Transactions of the R. A. S., vol. iii. p. 57, which has been commented on, in detail, by M. E. Burnouf, in his "Lotus de la bonne loi" (Paris, 1852), p. 626.

* Mahāwanso (Tika), xxxix. "Vishnu Purāna," note, p. 468. Max Müller, "Sanskrit Literature," p. 281.

Kraṇanda are any test of the activity of his mints and the amplitude of his treasure, he must have truly deserved the title.

Whatever mythical conceptions may have first determined the outlines of these various coin devices, or whenever they were incorporated into that religious system, it is clear that they one and all eventually came to be regarded as typical emblems of the Buddhist creed.* As such, there can be no hesitation in accepting their combined evidence as conclusive, that the kings who set them forth in such prominence two centuries after the *Nirvāna* of Śākya-Muni, must have been votaries of the faith he originated or reformed.

If the faintly preserved similarity of the names of Xandrames and Kand fortuitously led to their association in the person of *Kraṇanda*, and an almost obvious sequence connected him with one of the *nine* Nandas, and alike the issuer of the coins bearing this designation, it was reserved for the coins themselves to contribute the most important item in the entire combination to the effect that these Nandas were Buddhists, and in this fact to explain much that the whole written history of India, foreign or domestic, had hitherto failed to convey—the exact record of the State religion at the period, thus obscuring the right interpretation of the then impending dynastic revolution, commenced and accomplished, as it would now seem, for the triumph of the Brahmanical hierarchy over the representatives of the more purely indigenous belief.

These considerations, however, open out a larger area of Oriental national progress than the legitimate limits of the scope of the Numismatic Society may justify my entering upon, though history must once again, in this case, admit a debt it owes to the archæology of money. And as antiquaries, we ourselves may frankly recognise the aid conferred by the determination of the correct epoch of these coins, in justifying

* The association of these symbols with a somewhat advanced phase of Buddhism is shown in the retention of the deer, the Bodhi-tree, the Chaitya and the serpent (which is placed perpendicularly on some specimens) on the reverse of a coin, the obverse of which displays the standing figure of Buddha himself, having the lotus and the word *Bhagarata*, his special designation, in the marginal legend. (*J. A. S. B.* iii. pl. xxv. fig. 4., Prinsep's "Essays," i. pl. vii. fig. 4.)

There seems to have been a current tradition in the land, regarding the real faith of the Nandas, signs of which are apparent in Hienon-Thsang's notice, "Les hommes de peu de foi raisonnaient entre eux à ce sujet: Jadis, disaient ils, le roi *Non-tho* (Nanda) a construit ces cinq dépôts pour y amasser les sept matières précieuses" (vol. ii. p. 427).

the arrangement of so many prior and subsequent series of the subordinate mintages of a country whose early annals were so largely perverted or sacrificed to sectarian hostility.

I have still two purely numismatic questions to advert to before concluding this paper. Reference has already been made to the adoption by the Greeks of the Indian or square form of money, but if the period and personal identity of the *Kraṇanda* of these coins are rightly determined, the Greek Bactrians must have condescended to appropriate further oriental mint developments. Alexander the Great, Seleucus, and all those invaders who might have influenced Indian art, had their nominal legends arranged in parallel lines, or at the utmost on three sides of a square, on the inner field of the reverse.

Diodotus, Agathocles, Euthydemus, Demetrius, and other Bactrian Hellenes, who came into closer contact with India to the westward, retained the same practical arrangement of legends. So far as the existing numismatic data authorise a conclusion, Eucratides was the first to commence any marked modification of the practice, and to lean towards the filling up the complete outer margin of the coin with royal names and titles. Of course, if *Kraṇanda* came after all these Bactrian Greeks, he may have imitated their customs; but if, as it would appear, he was a contemporary of Alexander, ruling in a distant and unassailed part of the country, it is clear that local art was thus far independent and in advance of that of Greece, and that the Bactrian and Scythian interlopers* borrowed circular legends from India.

In contrasting the equitable adjustment and full value of the early punch-impressed pieces, with the irregularity in these respects, to be detected in the mechanically improved and more advanced specimens of Indian mintages, I was lately led to instance the identical coins of *Kraṇanda* as proofs of what unscrupulous kings might do, even in the very introductory application of ideas of seigniorage, towards depreciating their own currency. The results in question were cited to exemplify the statement in the *Mahāvanso*, where the Brahman *Chánakya* is accused of so operating on the coin of the realm as to

* The mention of these later Scythians recalls the curious coincidence of many of the subordinate members of the ruling families designating themselves, somewhat after the manner of *Kraṇanda*, "Brothers" and even "Nephews of the King," &c. See Num. Chron. vol. xix. Nos. xxvii. class B, and xxxiv.

convert every *one* into *eight*.^{*} When I quoted the tradition and the numismatic fact in juxtaposition, I little surmised how much more closely the two might be connected, or that instead of the latter affording a mere illustration of the former, that the surviving metallic witnesses would suffice, with the slight introductory^{*} testimony, to put a man's memory on trial for forgery twenty centuries and more after date. But so it would seem: the *Brahman Chánakya*† confesses, through his own advocates, that in his desire to subvert the rule of the Nandas, he seduced sons from their father's palaces, and "with the view of raising resources," to have had recourse to the more than questionable expedient of *depreciating*, or properly speaking *forging*, coins of the ruling monarch, which, however, under the ultimate test of the old money changers, would soon have found their level. The copper coinage of the day was probably beyond any very ready power of transmutation, but if the silver currency is to afford a modern "pix," the Brahman must have worked to advantage, as there may be seen in the cabinets of the British Museum, at this present writing, a piece purporting to be of *Kraṇanda*, with fair legends and full spread of surface, though of tenuity itself, which should in ordinary equity have weighed somewhere over 40 grains, but which on trial barely balances 17·7 grains Troy.‡

* Num. Chron. N.S., iv. pp. 127, 128.

† Maháwanso, p. xl. "Opening the door [of Nanda's palace at Palibothra] with the utmost secrecy, and escaping with the prince out of that passage, they fled into the wilderness of *Wājjhā*. While dwelling there, with the view of raising resources, he converted (by recoinage) each *kahápanan* into eight, and amassed eighty *kóti*s of *kahápanā*. Having buried this treasure, he commenced to search for a second individual entitled (by birth) to be raised to sovereign power, and met with the aforesaid prince of the Móriyan dynasty called *Chanda-gutto*."

‡ This of course is an extreme instance, but it is not a strained example; and although the piece, which I refrained from quoting previously, is damaged, and has lost its oxydised film; it is by no means worn, or anything like a coin which we might legally refuse for want of the king's emblems. The best coin of the class still weighs 38·2 grains. (Num. Chron. N.S., iv. p. 128.)

Description of a Mystic Play, as performed in Ladak, Zaskar, &c.—
By Captain H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, Surveyor, Topographical
Survey, F. R. G. S.

[Received 21st October, 1864].

[Read 2nd November, 1864].

These Mystic Plays of which I am about to give an account, are performed on certain feast days in all the principal monasteries of Ladak, about twice in the year, in spring and autumn. They are also, I have been informed, enacted at Lhassa and Bhootan, but I did not see one when in the latter country. I can give no information as to their origin, and must here state that not being a Tibetan scholar, I cannot vouch for the true orthography of proper names written down at the time *vivá voce*, and which are very difficult to catch. The Play hereafter described, I saw performed in the fine old Gonpa or Monastery of Himis, which is situated in a lateral ravine that joins the river Indus a day's journey above Leh on the left bank of that river. From its secluded position, this was one of the few religious houses that escaped destruction on the invasion of the country by the Dogra army under Wazier Jerawur. At that time much curious and interesting property and valuable religious writings were ruthlessly destroyed. The theatrical property, consisting of silk dresses, masks, &c., are therefore seen in greater perfection at Himis than at any other monastery in the country. On entering the court-yard on the day of performance, we found the head Lhama with all the gylongs (monks) of the establishment were assembled, the musical instruments were arranged ready under the little verandah to the proper right of the large Prayer Cylinder which stands under the centre of it, and every thing betokened the coming scene.

Before commencing an account of the strange performance, it will be as well to roughly describe that portion of the building where it is enacted. The principal entrance to the monastery is through a massive door, from which runs a gently sloping and paved covered way leading into a court-yard about 30 × 40 yards square, having on the left hand a narrow verandah, in the centre of which stands the large Prayer Cylinder above mentioned. The larger picturesque doorway

the entrance of one of the principal idol rooms, is in the extreme right hand corner, massive brass rings affixed to large *bosses* of brass are affixed on either door, the posts of which are of carved and coloured wood work. The walls of the main building with its bay windows of lattice work, enclose the court-yard along the right hand side, the roof is adorned with curious cylindrical pendant devices made of cloth called "Thook;" each surmounted with the Trisool or trident, painted black and red. On the side facing the main entrance, the court-yard is open, leading away to the doorways of other idol rooms. In the centre space stand two high poles "Turpochè," from which hang yaks' tails and white cotton streamers printed in the Thibetan character. Innumerable small prayer wheels are fitted into a hitch that runs round the sides of the court-yard. A few large trees throw their shade on the building, and above them tower the rugged cliffs of the little valley, topped here and there by *Lhatos*, small square built altars, surmounted by bundles of brushwood and wild sheep horns, the thin sticks of the brushwood being covered with offerings of coloured flags printed with some *muntra* or other. All preliminaries over and the actors ready inside the building, the musicians,* wearing curious head-dresses and robes, red being the predominant color, took up their position in the verandah facing the monastery. Their instruments consisted of enormous long trumpets, that draw out like a telescope to 8 or 9 feet; these issue a low, mellow, bass sound, the mouth-piece is of peculiar form being a large flat disc against which the lips are pressed; a narrower trumpet globe-shaped at lower end; flageolets, drums and cymbals completed the set. The drums are peculiar, being fixed to a long handle, the end resting on the ground, they are struck with a bent piece of thin iron, the point of which is covered with a leather button. The musicians commenced a wailing sort of air accompanied by a low chant, to which the drums and cymbals beat a regular tune, but very subdued. Then came, trooping out of the idol room, a set of maskers in the most extraordinary dress it is possible to conceive; they were called TSAM-

* See Captain Melville's photographs, No. 10. This same costume is worn by the musicians of the Deb and Dhurm Raja at Punakha in Bhootan, and it is as well to mention here that the monks of Himis, as well as a few other monasteries in Ladakh, are of the same sect as the Buddhists of Bhootan, viz. the "Dukpah" of whom the spiritual head is the Dhurm Raja.

CHUT,* and in single file led round the flag-poles in the centre of the yard, with a sort of quiet and most laughable dance, slowly turning round and round themselves, and coming to a sudden halt at the end of each bar of the music, which the drummers notified by a louder stroke. Thus the circle moved round the poles while they tossed their arms about and waved the coloured flags they held in their hands. The dresses were all of China silk and Kimkab, the apron embroidered with the face of a hideous demon, the head-dress was a large conical hat with a very broad brim, edged with black wool; from the hat several wide ribbons of different gay coloured silks hung down the back, extending nearly to the heels, but the most extraordinary and striking part of their costume, was the device of a death's head, the eye-sockets, teeth, &c. worked in silk on a white ground. This was suspended from the neck and hung down to just below the breast.

In the left hand they held a sort of spoon having for the bowl a piece of human skull, cut out of the forehead portion, and round the edge of which were attached narrow streamers of silk and some plaited ends of hair. This ghostly ladle is called "BUNDAH." In these spoons, the portions into which the enemy is cut up, are carried away and thrown up into the air as an offering to the gods: of this enemy I shall speak further on. These maskers hold in the right hand a short little stick with red and blue streamers of silk; these and the spoons majestically waived about as they go round in their solemn dance, had the most curious effect I ever saw. Pantomimes and extravaganzas floated round one during the whole performance, yet this was a real mystical religious pageant having some curious and bygone origin, which none of the party knew or could get explained. This dance came to an end at last, and as the troop ascended the steps to the large doorway, the same number, but in a different disguise, came out. The tune was now changed and seemed to be the repeating of a number of stanzas of the same length, the maskers held in the right hand little drums and in the left, bells. To the first, the drums were attached a short string with a small ball at the end, so that when moved quickly backwards and forwards it may strike both ends of the drum. At the end of each stanza they gave a rattle and a ring at the same time, moving round in the same way as did the first set, only stopping to make an obeisance to the

* See Photographs, No. 1.

centre when they used their drums at the end of the intonation. These were also dressed in gaudy China silks, both wore gilt masks with apertures for eyes and mouth, the top of the hat was conical with silk streamers on the sides and a large loose scarf behind. These masks were named "CHIN-BER" or from their copper coloured masks, "ZANG-BUKH, lit. copper mask.* These had no death-like insiguia as the first maskers wore. After these had retired, a short delay, and another more imposing group marched with great dignity out of the monastery. These all wore very large masks of different forms and colours, still all of the same type as the heads of deities, their great peculiarity being the third eye in the centre of the forehead. The principal of these deities was "THLOGAN PUDMA JUNGNAS" or "he born of the lotus" over whom was carried a large umbrella. Among the other attendant maskers of consequence was† SINGE' DRANDROK, DORJE' TROLONG, SANGSPA KURPO (Brahma), ZHIN-SKIONG or Eswara. These are, I believe, intended to represent emblematically the six classes of beings subject to transmigration, viz. 1, gods; 2, demi-gods; 3, men; 4, animals; 5, ghosts; 6, the inhabitants of hell; for although we did not then see the mask of the bull's head, it should have been among the maskers,—perhaps the monks did not take the trouble, and thought us none the wiser,—now this would well represent No. 4 of the above classes; and in another monastery I afterwards saw masks made to represent stags. Attending on this principal group were another set of maskers, who carried the long handled drums and the bent striker. Their dresses were of the same type, long petticoats of rich China silk, but the head-dress a kind of crown with six points, gilt, rising to a high point in the centre, while streamers of silk hung down from the ears to the waist.‡ On each of the six points were the following syllables in the Lantsa character, viz. ¹OM, ²AH, ³SHI, ⁴HUNG, ⁵TRANG.§

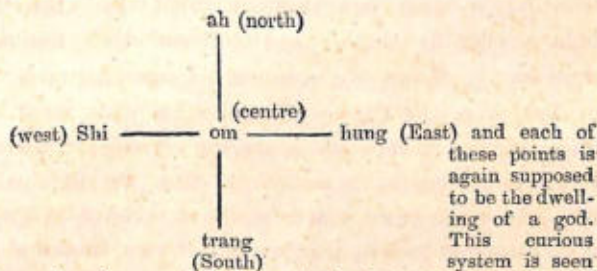
* See fig. 2.

† See Photographs, Nos. 4, 5 and 8.

‡ See No 6 of Captain M.'s photographs.

§ Each of these syllables have some mystical connection with the centre and cardinal points of the compass, thus—

The whole of these last named Maskers marched round the Flag Poles in solemn procession, the band still playing; they then sat down in a line on the ground; THLOGAN PUDMA JUNGNAS in the centre. Then with shrill whistling, made by putting the fingers in the mouth, several boys came rushing out of the monastery, and running up made obeisance to the chief in the centre, and danced wildly about round the Poles. They were called "S_{PAO}," warriors, and wore short skirts, and streamers of silk hung from the waist, round which was a belt carrying small round bells (Gungaroo, Hind.); the same were also attached to the ancles. Their masks were green with a broad face on them, and from the centre of the crown rose a stick with a triangular red flag; they held a bell in the left hand, and a large handled drum in the right. With these also careered about two jesters, one of whom had two small kettle-drums tied on his back, on which the other would occasionally thump, and play other practical jokes for the amusement of the crowd, salaming also in mock respect to Pudma Jungnas and his attendants. There were also another set who made up this court of Indra, of which it may be a representation; these were called KATINCHUN,* wearing a red mitre-shaped hat, silk capes



drawn out on the walls of some of the monasteries, in a complicated sort of labyrinth, called MISKODPA DKYLKHAR, the circle of AKSHOBHYA in Sanscrit. I once saw one in process of construction on a square with sides quite four feet in length. The deities assigned to the different parts are numberless, but of the principal I may name,—North, Tonyüt thúbba, West, Nam-'wa-ta-yas, East, Dorjé Sempspa, South, R. Zingsten Jungidau, Centre, Nang-per-nang-Tsat.

See Hodgson, on the Literature and Religion of the Bhuddists, note, foot of page 117. "In niches at the base of the hemisphere are frequently enshrined four of the five Dhiani Buddhas, one opposite to each cardinal point. AKSHOBHYA occupies the Eastern nitch; RATNA SAMBHAVA, the Southern; AMITA'BHA, the Western and AMOGHASIDDHA the Northern. VATROCHANA, the 1st Dhyan Buddha, is supposed to occupy the centre invisibly. Sometimes, however, he appears visibly, being placed at the right hand of AKSHOBHYA.

* See No. 3 of Capt. M.'s Photographs.

and petticoats, and carried bells and small hand drums; they sat in a solemn row opposite the gods, and may have been intended to represent dewans of the court. After the jesters had danced about and played various antics, both with the actors and the lookers-on, they rose and marched back into the monastery. To these succeeded a set of NUMKINGS with red masks and TSAKINGS* with brown, who both carried the long handled drum, and from their head dress rose a tall stick with a triangular flag, with a narrow brown silk border and a device of three eyes painted on the centre. The two sides named above, faced each other and with a kind of hop dance, advanced towards each other and then retired, striking occasionally in time to the music, not of their own drums, but of those of their *vis a vis*; altogether it was the oddest and most curious spectacle possible to imagine. What this strange masque was intended to represent is more than I can say, and the priests of the monastery seemed to know as little of the matter, or perhaps could not explain it, mixed as the subject must be with theological Buddhist mysteries, the ridiculous grafted upon it for the amusement of the populace.

I will wind up my account by a description of the masque which last appeared upon the scene and ended the performance. The reader must now bear in mind that these last characters hold a place in another and different day's festival, so that we were merely shown the costume. I saw afterwards, on my return to Leh from the Chang Chenmo, this play acted throughout at the monastery of GAWUN, an account of which I will hereafter give. But to return to the actors, those that we last saw, were got up in the most wonderful way to represent skeletons, their clothes being tight fitting and white, the fingers and toes, loose and long, the mask being a really artistic model of the human skull, the lower jaw being moveable. These men danced a slow weird *pas*, grinning at each other, and knocking together their short staves, which at the top were carved into death's heads. The band played a subdued solemn chant while this ghostly dance went on. These men take a part in the festival, when the supposed enemy, an effigy of whom is modelled in dough, is cut up and carried away by these ghostly bearers who are intended to represent the dwellers of the burial-grounds.

* See Photograph, No. 9.

Translation of a MS. obtained in Ladak regarding the Dancing on the 10th day of the 5th month, a great holiday.—By the Rev. H. A. JAESCHKE, of the Moravian Mission, Kyelang, Lahoul.

“DANCE BOOK OF THE 10TH.”

(After some preambulatory lines which I do not thoroughly understand, it continues as follows):—

The time for the first meeting on the 10th having arrived, the performers put on their attire and a nether garment* folded in many beautiful plaits. The leader in front, they enter running quicker and quicker, according to the measure, and form a circle for the dancing called.....† Mustard seed is distributed among the dancers. Then making the sign of the Trident‡ the following steps are gone through at the words§the right hand, and at the words..... the left is stretched out. (This motion I cannot clearly understand.)

Then the leaders turning to the right, and the last in the line to the left, both advancing towards each other, the circle is again closed or formed. (Steps and dancing). Again making the sign of the Trident they retire.

Now enter the Libators of Chang.|| With bells and fans in their hands, and slowly advancing form a circle (dancing) at the wordsthey take the offering of Libation to all the beings of the six classes¶ in the whole world. Each one* prays for whatever wish he desires to be fulfilled. Now, after a signal from the cymbals, the large trumpets, (about 8 or 9 feet long), thin trumpets, globe trumpets, kettle-drums, pipes, &c., and the whistling with the mouth (that extremely shrill kind, which is produced by putting two fingers in the

* Part of the clerical dress, very like a petticoat.

† Here occurs a considerable number of names of different motions, paces, and gestures, often repeated in this little paper, which cannot be translated nor can I properly describe them, as I am not acquainted with the terms used in dancing in the English language.

‡ Viz., with the hands.

§ These refer to the words of the song which accompanies the dance.

|| This word seems to comprehend all sorts of fermented liquors; thus in Lahoul and Kulloo rice-chang is most common; in Ladak barley-chang, a kind of malt liquor without hops; in Koonawur they make a grape-chang or wine.

¶ The six classes of beings subject to transmigration are cha deo (gods); Chanyin (asura demigods); mi (manusha men); dudro (animals); yidags (peta); nyal wapa (or daitya the inhabitants of hell).

* Viz. of the Lhamas present.

mouth), all these instruments concurring to make one loud noise, the performers one after the other sounding his bell, hand-drum, or other instrument, and blowing the air thrice with his face, mentally* summons the noxious enemy† as nobody can do so in reality (dancing).

The time having arrived to put down the venomous (enemy), with dancing, a circle is formed and each performer must successively hit him with his instrument;‡ then follow different steps and words of incantation and exorcism.

Three signals with the cymbals having been made two AT SARAS,§ coming out of the large door of the monastery, post themselves on either side of it, with one arm a kimbo, and blow their *hautbois* twice gently, twice vehemently, and then two Gylongs|| and one terrible person, holding a skull, having performed a series of steps, finally make the sign of the Trident and retire again. After them appear the persons of the burial-ground (ghouls), and after performing many gestures with their arms, retire.

This concludes the 10th day's act.

On the 11th day of the same month, in the first act,—here follows what I am unable to explain; in the second act, adoration is paid to the king;¶ in the third act, mustard seed is thrown on the enemy after some singing and dancing, and the ceremony of fixing the nail is performed,** and hitting the arms, legs and heart of the figure. Now

* Performing things *mentally* when circumstances will not allow of it in reality, is permitted to a great extent in the Buddhist religion, *e. g.* when a person dies without riches, the family may *imagine* themselves to offer gold, precious stones, &c., to any extent to Buddha, who will condescend to take it, as if it were really given. Living Lhamas do not let their flocks off quite so easily.

† Any being, man or demon, adversary to the religion or to the country, &c.

‡ A small figure moulded in dough, representing that enemy, or venomous or noxious person, lies on the ground in a triangular enclosure, and each of the dancers has to hit it, with the sword dagger, or other arms or emblem he may carry.

§ AT SARAS is derived from the Sanscrit *áchárya* teacher, spiritual guide; but according to what I was told, it is now rather used like Yogi or holy mendicant, a Hindoo faqir. Besides this, it must also denote a sort of demon or spirit, as I have met with the word in this signification in books; I am not quite sure which it is here.

|| Gylong, a degree of the Lhama priesthood.

¶ No name is given in the text, it was said to be some deity. (THLOGAN PUDMA JUNGNAS?)

** A nail or peg, in shape of a dagger and often beautifully ornamented, is a magic instrument, occurring very frequently in books, as an emblem of deities, as well as used in exorcisms, &c. often by a gesture of the hand symbolizing its use. By its use, demons are supposed to be bound and enemies killed.

the rulers of the burial-ground* proceeding with dancing, take up the corpse, † making the gesture of the trident. Heruka, a god holding in his right hand a lance with a flag, and in the left a man's heart and a snare, ‡ enters attended by the Lady mother (HERUKA'S wife) having in her right hand a club (KHATOMKA, Sanscrit KHATWÁNGA) and in her left hand, a skull.

Four incantations with bells and faces; four women, who carry a snare, a little child's corpse, § a heart, and a cymitar; their dress a wide human skin, a potka, and leopard skin petticoat. Dancing and music continue, while the last that enter are four Tiger coats, (warriors with bows and arrows).

In the 4th act, the dancers are four Libators of Chang, and eight other performers (some unintelligible words here follow.) A mask named "Large mouth" with a censer, another with a drum and Hashang with his children|| now come on the scene and the MS. concludes with a number of cyphers indicating the number of the steps in each dance.

* Viz. two male and two female demons.

† Lying on the triangle-shaped framework.

‡ A magic rope for catching noxious beings.

§ Such things as the little child's corpse and the human skin are not real, the former is a small figure, the latter a loose counterfeit made of silk or other stuff.

|| HASHANG was originally a Chinese priest whom I find mentioned in Tibetan historical books as a preacher of heretical doctrines. Here in this play, Hashang seems represented as a sort of school-master masked as a very old man and attended by a lot of masked children.

Some Account of Ancient Remains at Saidpúr and Bhitári.—By the
Rev. M. A. SHERRING, LL. B., and C. HORNE, Esq., C. S.

[Received 4th January, 1865.—Read 1st February, 1865.]

Some account of the remains found at Bhitári has been already inserted at various times in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. This refers for the most part to the stone pillar standing there, and to the inscription upon it, dating from the epoch of Sri Kumára Gupta. General Cunningham, in his interesting and valuable Report, printed in a Supplementary Number of the Society's *Journal* for the year 1863, supplies important information respecting other objects at Bhitári. Yet there are several very remarkable relics of the past which, so far as we have ascertained, neither this indefatigable investigator nor any other archæologist has hitherto described. It is our purpose to give a succinct description of these relics.

It is necessary to draw attention to the circumstance that Bhitári is usually spoken of in the Society's *Journal* as Saidpúr-Bhitári, whereas Bhitári and Saidpúr are distinct places, the one being about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant from the other. The high road from Benares to Ghazee pore passes close to the large town of Saidpúr, while the village of Bhitári lies several miles away from this road. Its proximity, however, to Saidpúr, is no doubt the reason why the two have been associated together; besides which, there is good ground for believing that in ancient times both contained large Buddhist structures.

SAIDPUR.

This is a flourishing town of ten thousand inhabitants, chiefly Hindu traders, many of whom, judging from the multitude of well-made houses adorning the streets, are living in comfort, if not in affluence. Two large Hindu temples have been recently erected in the town, which, together with the Government Tahsili school, are situated on the left bank of the Ganges. Passing down the main street to its extremity and thence diverging to the right, you come immediately upon the outer wall of an enclosure, on entering which you observe three separate buildings appropriated by the Mahomedans for sacred purposes. One of these is a modern structure; the remain-

ing two are of undoubted antiquity. These latter we shall proceed to describe.

The first is a small domed building sustained by four stone pillars, the bases of which rest on a platform twelve feet square, raised a few inches above the ground. The shafts of the pillars are square, and the capitals are cruciform, each limb being one foot ten inches in length, and having the usual Buddhist bell-ornamentation. The pillars on the north and east quarters exhibit a groove about 15 inches in height, which evidently once contained a pierced stone railing. The eaves stones above are apparently original, and have a projection of 15 inches. These eaves are strikingly characteristic of the architecture of the early period to which this building must be assigned, and are often of great size and solidity. In ancient Buddhist structures both in Benares and in Jaunpore, as well as in this instance, they are cut on the upper surface to resemble woodwork. Some persons will be reminded by this circumstance of Akber's stone roof at Futtelpore Sikri, cut in imitation of tiles, and of the carved beams in the caves at Elephanta.

The second building is $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 23 broad, and is upheld by at least 34 columns disposed in the following remarkable order, namely, 6 at each of the north-east and south-east corners, 9 couples at intervals in the circumference, and 4 single pillars in the centre, forming a square. The two clusters of six pillars have been united by stone slabs into two thick ones, each $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet square. This curious amalgamation is, in all probability, the work of the Mahomedans, though from what motive, it is hard to conjecture. The building was already strongly supported, and the alteration considerably detracts from its native simplicity. The space between the side pillars is 5 feet 9 inches, between the side and centre pillars 6 feet 4 inches, and between the centre pillars themselves 5 feet 1 inch. The height of each column is 6 feet 11 inches, of which the base is 9 inches, the shaft 4 feet 8 inches, the stone upon it 10 inches, and the capital 1 foot 8 inches. The innermost line of columns is built into a wall of solid masonry composed of ancient stones, and is of more recent date than other parts of the edifice. The roof is of long stone slabs, but in its centre there is a primitive Buddhist ceiling consisting of four stones placed diagonally upon the architraves and crowned by a flat

stone ornamented with a lotus blossom. Each corner stone also exhibits this flower in relief. The existence of the original eaves stone on portions of three sides of this structure, is sufficient proof that it could not have been any larger than it is at present; but the great strength of the supports above alluded to, would appear to indicate that it once possessed a second or even a third story. Upon the roof is a diminutive chamber of comparatively modern construction, sustained by four ancient pillars. The shafts are octagonal, and the capitals and rounded bases are richly carved with the bell and leaf pattern. These pillars have been doubtless taken from old buildings which were formerly situated in this neighbourhood.

We are of opinion that these two edifices were separate chaityas attached to a vihar or monastery, traces of which, owing to the short time at our disposal, we did not attempt to discover. The preservation of these interesting remains is to be attributed to the circumstance of a Mahomedan faqir named Sheikh Samman having taken up his abode in one of them, and having been buried in it at his death. The second chaitya contains the tomb of Makhdum Sáh. It would be worth the while for any one having time at his disposal to explore thoroughly this locality, which abounds with Mahomedan tombs, some of which, it may reasonably be supposed, have been constructed with stone taken from the usual Mussalman quarries of Hindu and Buddhist remains.

BHITARI.

This village is situated on the Gángi river, an affluent of the Ganges, and is called Saidpur-Bhitári, from which Rajah Deo Narain Singh, late member of the Legislative Council of India, derives his title. Its appearance in the distance is that of a long low mound, which, on nearer approach, displays a reddish hue on account of the large quantity of brick rubbish entering into its composition. In form it is nearly rectangular, the measurement of its four sides being as follows:—

East Face,	500 yards.
South ditto,	525 ditto.
West ditto,	685 ditto.
North ditto,	700 ditto.

A mound rises at each corner, and another half way along each face, and many more are within the enclosure itself. There is also a spur running from the south-west angle. The general aspect of the site is that of a fort with projecting towers at the corners, connected together by a low embankment or wall; whilst the debris scattered about in every direction and the numerous mounds, would seem to indicate that formerly extensive buildings existed upon it.

On the spur is a recently erected Imambara, under the foundations of which a hole has been made into the mound on which it stands, revealing the original foundations of a very ancient edifice lying in situ. The bricks are of exceedingly large dimensions, some being 19 inches long, about 1 foot in width, and 3 inches in thickness. It would be interesting to lay bare the whole of these remains, and to trace as far as practicable, without injury to the Imambara, the extent and nature of the earlier structure.

In the year 1863, Mr. Horne was requested by the Government of the North-Western Provinces, at the suggestion of Major-General Cunningham, to make excavations into some of the mounds at Bhitári. Strange to say, although trenches were made into several mounds, yet nothing of importance was discovered. It by no means follows, however, that because no ancient relics were brought to light in those tumuli which were then laid open, that a further and more complete investigation would be fruitless. It is only natural that the changes which have taken place through many generations among the buildings which the successive inhabitants of Bhitari have erected, having recourse to the ancient structures for their materials from century to century, rather than to materials of their own manufacture, should have occasioned the formation of some, perhaps of many, of the existing mounds; and therefore it is no matter for astonishment that Mr. Horne should have found only vast masses of earth, pottery, brick, and other rubbish, especially as his excavations were mostly carried on in the immediate neighbourhood of the inhabited portion of Bhitari. His decided conviction is, that if excavations were conducted on a more extensive scale, and embraced not only the larger tumuli in the interior of the enclosure, but likewise those lying at various distances in the outskirts, it is highly probable that discoveries of great interest to the archaeologist, shedding light on the antiquity of

this entire region, might be made. It is the opinion of General Cunningham that the Bhitari ruins date from the Gupta period, or from A. D. 100 to A. D. 300, and that they are amongst the oldest Brahmanical remains known to us. He is wrong, however, in the implied supposition that they are altogether of Brahmanical origin, as we shall presently show.

Judging from the relics of tombs and religious houses dispersed over the village and its suburbs, Bhitari must have been a place of some importance during the Mahomedan rule in India. The few inhabitants still residing in it are, for the most part, followers of the prophet. The bridge over the Gángi below the village, was erected by the Mahomedans. It dates from at least two eras, and the original structure, General Cunningham considers, 'consisted of only two small arches,' to which two others have been subsequently added. The bridge has been altogether built with cut stones taken from other buildings, and in one place the figure of an animal, such as supports the brackets in the Atáli Masjid in Jáumpur, is inserted into the wall. A mason-mark found on one of the stones, is indisputably of the age of the Guptas. Although in a dilapidated condition, the bridge nevertheless possesses considerable strength; and its thorough repair, which is very desirable, might be effected at a comparatively small cost.

In the enclosure itself, the most noticeable object is undoubtedly the famous column with the Gupta inscription upon it. The column rests upon a roughly hewn stone, and is $28\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. This includes the base which is 10 feet 2 inches high, of which, between five and six are below the level of the adjacent soil. It is out of the perpendicular, and the cause of this, as well as of the injury to the capital, is attributed by the inhabitants to lightning with which, they say, the pillar was struck many years ago; but it is just as probable, perhaps more so, that both results may have been effected by the Mahomedans, who, failing in their attempt to throw down the column, may have mutilated the capital, as is commonly reported they did, with cannon-shot, and destroyed the figure of a lion, which, it is with good reason conjectured, formerly crouched upon it.

In his Report to Government, Mr. Horne says:—"I laid bare the east face of the foundation, as the column slopes to the north, and

found that the base was 3 inches off the foundation-stone on the south side, (Vide woodcut in the margin);



that there were two iron wedges driven under as indicated; and that at some remote period, stone-work of a massive character had been placed around to prevent further

declension. I then cleared the mound away which abutted on the column, hoping to find some traces of foundations at least, of the building to which the monolith may have formed an adjunct. This mound rose from 10 to 12 feet, and extended some distance, and, as far as I could ascertain by cutting a trench and levelling, consists entirely of broken bricks and earth."

There is no doubt that during the Buddhist period in India, several temples and one or two monasteries flourished in Bhitari. In a mosque in the village, of modern erection, are thirty stone pillars, seven of them being elaborately carved. These must have been taken from buildings situated here in ancient times, for they present similar characteristics to the columns of Buddhist shrines and monasteries, of which remains are still found in Benares and elsewhere. In a small uncovered brick enclosure we discovered several old sculptures, among them a rude statue of Buddha in excellent preservation. The entire stone is 5 feet in height, but the figure measures only 2 feet 4 inches. Buddha is seated in contemplation, and is devoid of ornament; and on the palm of his hand the *chakra* symbol is engraved. He is attended by two chauri-bearers and two *kinnaras* or cherubs, and is seated on a semi-circle, below which are four diminutive figures, two representing animals, and two Buddha. The statue has the sacred corona encompassing the head, embellished on the upper part with Indian-corn and leaves, and must have been a prominent object in one of the temples formerly standing here.

Of the other sculptured stones found at this spot, we will only describe two. One of them exhibits the figure of a man seated on a prancing ram, which may possibly be intended to illustrate one of the signs of the Zodiac. The other is a small octagonal pillar in a niche, and on either side of it is an erect human figure. In the middle of the village is a well, by the mouth of which is a collection of old

stones picked up in the neighbourhood at various times. Some of these are of Buddhist, while others may be of Hindu type. Amongst them are two heads alluded to in the note, and also two very curious stones, one representing the front portion of the human skull, and the other a human hand clasping a shell. There is likewise rather a large statue of the god Ganesh, referred to by General Cunningham in his Bhitari Report. It is plainly of modern date, and is not worth even an allusion. Portions of cloister pillars, square below and octagonal above, may be here and there seen. These were manifestly first cut down and rounded by the Hindus, to serve as *lingams*, and when the Mahomedans became dominant, were then used by them as head-stones for their graves, the *chiragh* or lamp being placed on the top instead of in a small niche which it is customary to make for the same. Some of the massive stones of the mosque now used as architraves and pillars were evidently taken from ancient edifices; and it is not difficult to trace roofing stones of old cloisters in some of the stones in the pavement and in the covering stones of the graves.

General Cunningham also partially describes a remarkable stone found not far from the column, respecting which we would make a few remarks in addition to his own. His account is as follows. "There is also a large slab," he says, "with a half-size two-armed female figure, attended by another female figure holding an umbrella over her, both in very high relief. The figures in this sculpture are in the same style and in the same attitudes as those of the similar group of the Raja and his umbrella attendant on the gold coins of the Gupta Princes. This sculpture, I believe, represents a queen on her way to worship at the temple. The group is a favourite one with Hindu artists, and, as far as my observation goes, it is never used singly, but always in pairs, one on each side of the door-way of a temple. The age of this sculpture I am inclined to fix as early as the time of the Gupta kings, partly on account of the similarity of style to that of their gold coins, partly also because the pillar belongs to one of that family, but chiefly because some of the bricks found in various parts of the ruins are stamped with the name of Sri Kumára Gupta." To this interesting information concerning this curious stone, we would add, that seven human figures are sculptured upon it in bas-relief. Of these the chief female figure or queen stands upon a

lotus blossom, and another is remarkable for being seated on the head of a non-descript animal, partly of human form and closely resembling the figure carved upon a stone of the Gángi bridge before described. The figure is decorated with a double necklace, from the centre of which hangs a large pendant, and on its back and beneath its feet runs a band of elaborate scroll-work forming the lowermost division of the sculpture and springing originally from a cherub who has a wonderful head of hair, and whose feet are like the talons of a bird. This peculiar ornamentation is perhaps the most singular feature of the entire sculpture, inasmuch as it fixes the æra of the slab, and also the religious sect from which it proceeded. On the face of the large Buddhist tower at Sarnath is a similar scroll-work connected with a similarly carved cherub. As this tower was most probably erected in the Gupta period, the conjecture of General Cunningham becomes almost a demonstrated fact, that the slab must date from the same epoch, but it is of Buddhist, and not, as he imagines, of Hindu origin, unless it be that the Hindus and Buddhists of about the same period adopted the same style of ornamentation, a supposition which although possible, it would, in the absence of proof, be very hazardous to follow.

It seems evident therefore that the ancient remains at Bhitari are both of Buddhist and of Hindu origin, though it is hard to say precisely which preceded the other. The pillar was erected by Skanda Gupta, of whom, the inscription says, "in the spirit of his own dreadful deeds," he "danced in the fierce dance," and was possessed of a clear insight into the profound wisdom of the Tantras." He was consequently a worshipper of Shiva, and was an enthusiastic admirer of the Tantric mysteries and abominations. But Kumára Gupta, (whose name General Cunningham found stamped on bricks lying about at Bhitari,) who preceded him, and was most probably his father, was certainly not a Shaiva, for in the inscription reference is made both to him and to his father, Chandra Gupta, the second, as worshippers of the "Supreme Bhagavat." It is just possible that this term may mean Vishnu; if so, they were both Vaishnavas. But it is exceedingly probable that the allusion is to Buddha, inasmuch as, one of the titles most usually ascribed to him is that of "Bhagavat." Moreover, the inscription of Chundra Gupta on one of the railings of the Great Topé at Sanchi, sets forth that a sum of money

was given by this monarch "to the followers of Dharma in the great monastery." It is difficult to believe that he would have extended his patronage to this Buddhist monastery, had he not cherished the Buddhist faith. We are strongly inclined therefore with General Cunningham to the opinion that Chandra Gupta and Kumára Gupta, father and son, were Buddhists. The ninth king of this dynasty, Buddha Gupta, corrected the rabid Hindu tendencies of his predecessor Skanda Gupta, and in his turn became a zealous disciple of Buddha. Respecting the remaining kings of this dynasty, it is not known of what creed they were; but it is not a little remarkable that Siladitiya, the great king of Malwa, who vanquished the Guptas and took possession of their vast empire, was attached to the Buddhist religion.

The conclusion, therefore, at which we arrive, is, that ancient Bhitari was alternately in the hands of Buddhist and Hindu monarchs during the Gupta period, who severally embellished it, according to their distinctive religious views. The twofold character of the discovered remains tends to the corroboration of this opinion, and we have no doubt that further research would only more fully confirm it. It is remarkable that the sculptured fragments of a shell grasped by a hand, and also of a skull, the former a symbol of Vaishnavism, and the latter of the Tantric form of Shaivism, should both have been found among the same ruins, showing that both these rival sects of Hinduism were once prevailing there. We hope that excavations on a more extended scale than has yet been attempted, may one day be carried on both within the elevated Bhitari enclosure itself and amongst the outlying mounds.

The iconoclastic zeal of the Mahomedans is too well known to need remark; and as the value of the monolith at Bhitari on account of the historical information it affords regarding the Gupta dynasty is indisputable, it is of considerable importance that the Government remove it to another place, say the Queen's College, Benares, for greater security, to which it would be an interesting architectural ornament; the more so as we have laid out an archaeological garden in the grounds of that institution.

Note.—We subjoin a Lithograph, (Plate XVII.) of a very curious group found at Bhitári and supposed by us, in consequence of other similar groups at the Vishnupad at Gaya and there described as such, to be a portion of the "Nau-

graha" or nine planets. This may perhaps be the stone alluded to by General Cunningham in his Report.

We also found other very curious remains viz. 2 heads (alluded to before), a bust with head, and a sitting figure. The nationality of the parties represented we cannot determine. They are all females and the hair is dressed in a very singular style, being drawn up from the face and bound with a fillet, from which depend elegant ornaments, and then gathered in a mob on the top of the head. The hair over the centre of the forehead is carefully parted, and there is a fine jewel in the centre; over the forehead and in the ears are very large heavy earrings.

Might not these be representations of noble foreign ladies, who having visited this noted spot, had vowed and erected temples, in or near to which in niches were placed their statues in memory of the founders?—Amongst the articles found by Major Kittoe at Sarnath and described by Dr. Butler, is a similar representation made in burnt clay. This head-dressing must not be confounded with that as shewn in the Bhilsa figures of ascetics, who like many of the fugues of the present day did not cut their hair, but gathered it in large bunches at the sides of their heads or plaited it.

(Received 20th January, 1865.)

Since the above paper was written, I have paid another visit to Saidpur. On this occasion I examined the country to the west of the town, which I had not done previously. About three quarters of a mile from Saidpur, on the high road, is the small village of Zuharganj, between which and the river is a mound regarded by the people as the remains of an old fort. Bricks are cropping out of its sides, and for some distance along the banks of the river round to the main road beyond the village, the soil is strewn with broken brick, showing that formerly buildings of this material were standing here. To the north of the road, but almost close to it, is a mound called Rám Tawakku, rising abruptly from the plain on which are also numerous fragments of broken brick. To the north, about a mile from the public road, is an immense terrace raised from 30 to 40 feet high above the surrounding country. Its length is 420 paces, and its breadth 190. The terrace is thickly covered with broken brick, and at one corner there are likewise fragments of stone. This enormous

mound is of an irregular shape. There is little doubt that extensive buildings lie buried here, which, judging from the quantity of brick rubbish found above, are for the most part probably of this material. The people say, that the habitations formerly situated on this spot, fell in; hence, in their estimation, the origin of the mound. Close by, are two other tumuli, and further off are apparently others. Were these mounds, especially the largest, to be excavated, I feel satisfied that the result would amply repay the labour and expense bestowed on the undertaking.

About half a mile beyond Zuharganj, a few steps from the road, is a stone *chabutra* or platform, on which are two figures, one representing the Boar Incarnation, and the other Krishna with his milkmaids. Both are old and in excellent preservation. The ornamentation of the stone representing the former figure, is curious. The carving exhibits a pilaster in bas-relief exceedingly similar in detail to the shrine pillars of Bakariya Kund, Benares, which, strange to say, are undoubtedly of Buddhist origin, while this pilaster belonging to an incarnation of Vishnu is of Hindu origin. Around the base of a tree standing a few steps off, is an assemblage of mutilated sculptures of ancient date. They are not worshipped by the Hindus. I brought away several heads, and a fragment of a seated figure with a short inscription in front. **M. A. S.**

Note on the Pronunciation of the Tibetan Language.—By the Rev. H. A.
JAESCHKE of *Kyèlang*.

[Received 1st February 1865. Read 1st February, 1865.]

The Tibetan language is known to possess a very rich literature, though the smaller part of it is original, most of the Tibetan works being translations from the Buddhistic part of the Sanscrit literature. The whole is not of an older date than the 7th century, as that king of Tibet who despatched one of his ministers to India, in order to learn Sanscrit and create an alphabet for the Tibetan language, was a contemporary of Mohammad. It is incredible, of course, that he should have loaded his writings with a great many superfluous signs, especially when his only pattern was the Sanscrit, with its perfect accommodation of the sign to the sound. On the contrary, he is likely to have expressed in writing, with a few exceptions perhaps, every sound of the language, as it was pronounced at his time. At present, however, the Tibetan mode of spelling differs nearly as much from the actual pronunciation in the greater part of the country as in the English, or rather in the French language, for the discrepancy mostly rests in the consonants, many of which have changed in certain cases their original sounds, or are dropped in speaking, though they are, considered etymologically, essential elements of a word, and therefore appear in writing, in a proportion similar to such French words as : *ils parlent* ; *qu'est cela* &c., e. g. *bkrashis*, pronounced *tashí*. In French, the cause and history of this discrepancy is clear, as we know the Latin mother as well as the Gallic child, and possess specimens from all ages, by which we can trace the gradual changes. In Tibetan, nothing of the kind exists, or at least very little has yet been discovered ; nor is there much reason for hoping that in their own literature anything has been preserved that might throw light on the history of the language, since the grammatical as well as the historical powers of the Tibetan mind seem to be developed to a very small degree, and the ancient orthography has been, with few exceptions, scrupulously left unchanged, since its invention 1200 years ago. Csoma de Kőrös and other grammarians, especially Cunningham

in his work on Ladak, mention some dialectical differences in the pronunciation of various districts, which in some instances agree more accurately with the way of spelling, and the latter states that the more learned Lamas, but these only, pronounce distinctly, though rapidly, the initial letters which are usually silent. But a closer inquisition shows the interesting fact, that in the most western extremity of Tibet in the province of Purig and the northernmost part of Ladak, nearly all the consonants and the ancient pronunciation of the language, as it was at the period of the invention of the alphabet, has been preserved by the *illiterate*, not by a few learned Lamas only, in the case of whom we could not be sure whether their accommodation to the ancient spelling were not merely artificial—a capricious imitation of what they are trained to revere as the dialect of their sacred writings. Let me mention some instances. The letters here in question are more especially those compound consonants, consisting of two or three elements, which are in Tibetan, as in many cases in Sanscrit also, denoted in writing by putting the following consonant *below* the preceding one. Now *e. g.* the letter *s* as initial, with a following *k, t, &c.* is spoken distinctly in Ladak, as in *skad*, language; *stan*, mat; *skarma*, star; *l* in the same case is pronounced even in Lahoul, *e. g.* *ltawa*, to look at; *lehangma*, willow; *r* in the same case, in no instance in Lahoul, but in many in Ladak, *e. g.* *rdowa*, the stone, and in still more, perhaps in every word where it appears in writing, in Purig, *e. g.* *ryyalwa*, victorious, or more commonly, good, excellent, which is pronounced by Ladakees, and I think everywhere else in Tibet: *gyalla*; and so are words as: *rdzogs*, *rdza*, *rdzun*, &c. In a similar way a villager of Purig will call a knife, *gri*; washing, *khruwa*; rice, *bras*; child, *phrugu*; whereas even in Ladak these four words are heard like *dri*, *thruwa*, *dras*, *thruvu*, in Lahoul and more to the East like *di*, *tuwa*, *dai* or *de*, *tugu*, with little or nothing of the innate *r*, and the *p* and *k* sounds changed into *t* sounds with a more or less lingual pronunciation. Again: those connected with what would be spelled *y* in English are pronounced according to their spelling only in Purig and Balti in all cases, *e. g.* *hyang*, north; *phyag*, hand (in respectful language); *phyugpo*, rich; these are spoken like *jang*, *chhag*, *chhugpa* already in the southeastern part of Ladak, and in Lahoul; whereas in the case of the *k* sounds,

in words like *khyi*, the dog, *gyelwa*, to fall down, *Kye-lang*, the name of the village in Lahoul where the Moravian Mission is established, the correct pronunciation has been preserved even in that province, and *chhi* instead of *khyi* is only used by still more Eastern Tibetans. Upon the whole, it may be said that, if not perfectly, still to a certain degree, the different changes which the pronunciation of the language has undergone in the course of upwards of one thousand years, may be traceable even at the present day in the different districts of Tibet from Purig and Balti in the west to the capital town of Lhasa near the Chinese frontier, where the deviation, or we may justly say, the degeneration has reached its highest pitch, in introducing assimilations, dissolving certain consonants nearly into vowels, dropping others entirely, confounding two or three cognate sounds into one intermediate, and mingling the short vowels with one another. Assimilations as in the Latin *compono* instead of *con-pono*, are unheard of in the written Tibetan language, as also in the spoken dialect of the western provinces; the word *gompa* will in Purig mean nothing but a step; a different idea, that of custom, practice, which the Lahoulee will include, being connected with the spelling: *gomspa* or *sgompa*. In the pronunciation of Lhasa two more, *gonpa* to dress, to put on, and *gonpa*, monastery, are mixed up with the two former, by means of assimilation of the *n*. Again: *s* in the end of a syllable is pronounced in Purig and Ladak, but dropped in most other districts, not without a prolonging or changing influence on the preceding vowel. Thus the word *chhos*, religion, law, (*dharma* in Sanscr.) is pronounced *chhös* in Ladak, *chhoi* in Lahoul, *chhō* in upper Kunawur, *chhō* in Lhasa; *d* and *g*, in the end of a syllable, are melted into semivowels or nearly liquid consonants in a similar way as in Danish (though not exactly the same): *skad*, the language, loses its *s* even in Southern Ladak, but in Lhasa it is mutilated into *kē'*; *smad*, the nether part, into *mē'*; *Bod*, proper name of Tibet, the Bhota of Sans., into *Bö'*; *ichags*, iron, into *chä'*, scarcely different in pronunciation from *ja*, tea; *sringmo*, sister, is pronounced *shringmo* in west Tibet, *singmo* or nearly *simo* in Lhasa; *sa* and *za*, *shi* and *zhi* (the latter like *ji* when pronounced as in French,) which are as accurately distinguished by every Lahoulee or Ladakee, as *s* in seal and *z* in zeal, are confounded in Lhasa.

But all this would leave the linguist hopeless as to the question of the historical periods when these changes took place, as it only adds the *à posteriori* proof, that the pronunciation has once agreed with the spelling, to the *à priori* conclusion which everybody may infer from the mere fact of the present discrepancy. A step towards the solution of this question may perhaps be possible by the study of the languages of some frontier districts. An instance of peculiar interest in this respect is found in the Boo-nan language, spoken in a small district of Lahoul, and in part of Kunawur, where it is called Tibar-skad, Tibar-language. It is the familiar tongue of the Lahoul villages in the Bhaga valley, just above the junction of the Bhaga and Chundra rivers, over an extent of about 10 miles on both sides, whereas Tibetan is understood and spoken fluently enough in intercourse with genuine Tibetans by the adult men, but more or less imperfectly by women and children, and many Tibetan words, very common in books, and generally known in Ladak, are not understood by any one in this district. The fact of this language existing in two different provinces, like two islands separated from each other by the pure Tibetan population of Spiti and the pure Hindu nationality of Kooloo, renders the theory of a wider diffusion, of the Tibarskad language in former times probable, and agrees with the assertion of the Lahoul people, that even within the remembrance of the present generation, its district was greater than it is now, and has been more and more encroached upon by the Tibetan. Now in this language a great many Tibetan words are to be met with, which may have induced General Cunningham to class this Tibarskad under the head of dialects of the Tibetan; but I think the great difference of the grammatical structure of both languages (the Boo-nan being at least as elaborate as the Hindi, the Tibetan nearly devoid of inflections at all) and even a closer examination of the lexical stock of the language, must lead to a different opinion. Nearly all the words of primary necessity (an inference against which Latham objects, I do not see exactly with how much reason), and many others are not borrowed from the Tibetan, any more than from Sanscrit, but have an original character. Here is a small list of words all of which seem to be original, or at least I know not from what other language they might be derived.

<i>Kati</i> , scissors.	<i>Debu</i> , snake.
<i>Kirti</i> , basket.	<i>Ɔeg</i> , leather.
<i>Kutulu</i> , bag.	<i>Deska</i> , lie, falsehood.
<i>Kundrang</i> , tub, basin.	<i>Dompa</i> , blacksmith.
<i>Kumtsi</i> , bow, for shooting.	<i>Pug</i> , roasted grains.
<i>Kurkutrig</i> , ant.	<i>Peltsi</i> , milk.
<i>Kyugs</i> , ashes.	<i>Phos</i> , garment, dress.
<i>Koang gul kwang gul</i> , neck (<i>gul</i> is Tib.)	<i>Phyutsi</i> , hole.
<i>Koar</i> , <i>kwar</i> , jug, jar.	<i>Ba</i> , wall.
<i>Khu</i> , smoke.	<i>Bang</i> , foot, leg.
<i>Khudrub</i> , fist.	<i>Bitang</i> , door.
<i>Khug</i> , meal of roasted barley.	<i>Bitsi</i> , thread.
<i>Khur</i> , knife.	<i>Bed</i> , younger brother.
<i>Khul</i> , bag.	<i>Betse</i> , twin.
<i>Khoartum</i> , <i>khwartum</i> , egg.	<i>Botri</i> , buttermilk.
<i>Khoa</i> , <i>khwa</i> , raven.	<i>Botsi</i> , finger.
<i>Gara</i> , donkey.	<i>Byanja</i> , can, pot.
<i>Gogs</i> , spittle.	<i>Byenmo</i> , wife.
<i>Gyugs</i> , dust.	<i>Byerbu</i> , trowsers.
<i>Gyum</i> , house.	<i>Byutsi</i> , mouse, rat.
<i>Gyen</i> , spring (as a season).	<i>Mashung</i> , wife.
<i>Gram</i> , stone.	<i>Mir</i> , fat (melted).
<i>Gring</i> , beam, timber.	<i>Mu</i> , snow.
<i>Goanu</i> , <i>gwanu</i> , fox.	<i>Mutsa</i> , mustachio.
<i>Chatram</i> , sickle.	<i>Me</i> , <i>labs</i> , flame.
<i>Chi</i> , grass.	<i>Me</i> , <i>lum</i> , fire-place.
<i>Nyugtsi</i> , monkey.*	(<i>Me</i> , is Tib. and means fire.)
<i>Tigs</i> , cover, lid, cork.	<i>Tsitsi</i> , child.
<i>Thagadrang</i> , spark.	<i>Tsemed</i> , daughter; girl.
<i>Thigi</i> , leather bag, purse.	<i>Tsam</i> , wool.
<i>Thopo</i> , drinking cup.	<i>Tsog</i> , thornbush.
<i>Dan</i> , belly.	<i>Watsi</i> , clue (of woolthread).
<i>Diptsi</i> , top.	<i>Wal</i> , shovel.
<i>Diskar</i> , thirst.	<i>Wampu</i> , yellow bear (the only bear occurring in Lahoul.)

* Monkeys are not in Lahoul; in the Koonawur Tibarskad, Cunningham mentions only the terms *gonas* and *brandras*: What may the origin of *nyugtsi* be?

<i>Zad</i> , barley.	<i>Sagsa</i> , grasshopper.
<i>Yushi</i> , meal, flour.	<i>Sampa</i> , meat, eatables.
<i>Rangtsi</i> , sleeve.	<i>Sibi</i> , flute, pipe.
<i>Rig</i> , field.	<i>Seshi</i> , friend, acquaintance.
<i>Rindri</i> , lead (plumbum).	<i>Soti</i> , water.
<i>Rëtsi</i> , ear.	<i>Skyugtrong</i> , breast.
<i>Roang, rwang</i> , hill, mountain.	<i>Sta</i> , vein ; artery.
<i>La</i> , goat ; rock, cliff.	<i>Stagorwa</i> , neck.
<i>Lama</i> , sheep.	<i>Smutig</i> , flea.
<i>Lala</i> , song.	<i>Awa</i> , father.
<i>Lang</i> , dung.	<i>Ag</i> , mouth.
<i>Lan</i> , wind.	<i>Amphang</i> , carrot.
<i>Lab</i> , leaf.	<i>Amtsi</i> , road.
<i>Las</i> , price.	<i>Kyui</i> , long.
<i>Lis</i> , ice.	<i>Khai</i> , black.
<i>Len</i> , work, action.	<i>Khyei</i> , sweet.
<i>Lo</i> , carpet.	<i>Khyoi</i> , dry.
<i>Lha</i> , moon.	<i>Gadgad</i> , rough.
<i>Lha Kham</i> , month.	<i>Golwei</i> , blind.
<i>Lhe</i> , tongue.	<i>Grangi, grañi</i> .*
<i>Lhegs</i> , villager ; community.	<i>Ngai</i> , straight.
<i>Shag</i> , birch-tree.	<i>Chung gor</i> , deep.
<i>Sharpa</i> , youth, boy.	<i>Chuini</i> , few.
<i>Shirti</i> , rain.	<i>Chhei</i> , warm.
<i>Shirped</i> , broom.	<i>Chhoi</i> , fat, well-fed.
<i>Shu</i> , blood.	<i>Nyeme</i> , nice (to the taste).
<i>Shugtsi</i> , comb.	<i>Tai</i> , being, having, possessing, rich.
<i>Shel</i> , summer.	<i>Tingi</i> , blue.
<i>Shosha</i> , heart.	<i>Tunig</i> , short.
<i>Shrag</i> , shame.	<i>Thi</i> , wet, thin (in case of liquids).
<i>Shrangs</i> , horse, pony.	<i>Damshi</i> , pure, clean, fine.
<i>Shrig</i> , louse (Tib. <i>shig</i> .)	<i>Dezi</i> , great.
<i>Shrim</i> , arrow.	<i>Nui</i> , new.
<i>Shoantsi, shwantsi</i> , dove.	<i>Noi</i> , much, many.
<i>Sazha</i> , hukka.	

* It is not *ng* in *sing*, but the nasalised vowel as in the Hindustani *men*, *meñ*.

<i>Pari</i> , broad.	<i>Kyulchum</i> , to rob.
<i>Punji</i> , hot, pungent.	<i>Kyormen</i> , to discharge (an arrow).
<i>Pëtsëtsi</i> , little, small.	<i>Khugchum</i> , to find.
<i>Phrei</i> , rough.	<i>Khyuchum</i> , to cover.
<i>Byai</i> , thin (of cloth, paper &c.).	<i>Galchum</i> , to liberate.
<i>Mangi</i> , red.	<i>Gyagsmen</i> , to listen.
<i>Wus</i> , moist.	<i>Gyarchum</i> , to fear, be afraid of.
<i>Zhili</i> , bright (opp. dark).	<i>Grechum</i> , to bite.
<i>Yui</i> , old (as clothes and other things).	<i>Goalchum gwalchum</i> , to hang up.
<i>Lai</i> , thin, fine (as thread &c.).	<i>Chächum</i> , to smear, paint.
<i>Loi</i> , easy.	<i>Chüchum</i> , to press, squeeze.
<i>Lhei</i> , yellow.	<i>Chhingchum</i> , to rob.
<i>Shangtre</i> , old (as men &c.).	<i>Chhülchum</i> , to select.
<i>Shi</i> , white.	<i>Chhurchum</i> , to squeeze out.
<i>Shiri</i> , rough.	<i>Chhuinchum</i> , to bind, fasten.
<i>Shuri</i> , sour.	<i>Tigchum</i> , to cover.
<i>Sil sil</i> , smooth.	<i>Tidmen</i> , to irrigate.
<i>Soi</i> , cold.	<i>Toamen, twamen</i> , to mow, cut grass.
<i>Ebbo</i> , good.	<i>Toanchum, twanchum</i> , to borrow (money).
<i>Gyi</i> , I.	<i>Thugchum</i> , to break.
<i>Han</i> , thou.	<i>Thichum</i> , to melt.
<i>Dal</i> , he, she, it.	<i>Thirchum</i> , to send (a man).
<i>Hingsore</i> , we.	<i>Thogchum</i> , to put off (a coat).
<i>Hantsore</i> , you.	<i>De</i> , is.
<i>Daltsore</i> , they.	<i>Dodmen</i> , to meet.
<i>Tsore</i> , all.	<i>Ni</i> , is.
<i>Thazu</i> , this.	<i>Niza</i> , was.
<i>Thë</i> , that.	<i>Panchum</i> , to fly.
<i>Gyo</i> , which } interj.	<i>Pinchum</i> , to fill.
<i>Kha</i> , what } interj.	<i>Punchum</i> , to grow.
<i>Tiki</i> , one.	<i>Phanchum</i> , to sew.
<i>Bi</i> , four.	<i>Phochum</i> , to put on (clothes).
<i>Kachum</i> , to turn.	<i>Phyamen</i> , to speak.
<i>Kunchum</i> , to look at.	<i>Bruchum</i> , to wipe.
<i>Kugchum</i> , to arrest.	<i>Tsagchum</i> , to put in.
<i>Kyichum</i> , to wash.	<i>Tsabchum</i> , to cleave.

<i>Zhedmen</i> , to sit.	[istence. <i>Alchum</i> , to take away.
<i>Yagsmen</i> , to arise, come into ex,	<i>Elmen</i> , to go.
<i>Yen</i> , is.	<i>Tha</i> , not (in prohibitive and nar-
<i>Richum</i> , to bring.	rating sentences.)
<i>Rochum</i> , to roast.	<i>Thazung</i> , <i>tharang</i> , there.
<i>Ligchum</i> , to do, make.	<i>Thang</i> , to-day.
<i>Lochum</i> , to say.	<i>Thing</i> , <i>thin</i> , (nasal) here.
<i>Shanchum</i> , to rise.	<i>Thindzug</i> , thus.
<i>Smyadchum</i> , to touch.	<i>Thong</i> , therein, within.
<i>Hirchum</i> , to fall.	<i>Nung</i> , there.
<i>Helchum</i> , to carry away.	<i>Hya</i> , yesterday.
<i>Hyugschum</i> , to throw.	<i>Ire</i> , again.
<i>Hoangsmen</i> , <i>hwangsmen</i> , to go out,	<i>Odchi</i> , to-morrow.
come out, flow out, &c.	<i>Chi</i> , from.
<i>Hoanchum</i> , <i>hwanchum</i> , to take out,	<i>Mang</i> , in (-meñ Hind. ?)
bring out, draw out, &c.	

The great multitude of Tibetan words, however, which are adopted in the Boo-nan language can be divided into two classes: 1, those in which the present Boo-nan pronunciation agrees with the Tibetan *spelling*, i. e. the *ancient* Tibetan pronunciation, though this pronunciation is not preserved in the Tibetan of Lahoul itself, in many cases not even in Ladak, perhaps in some instances not anywhere else. The Boo-nan people themselves, whenever they speak Tibetan, use the modern pronunciation according to the custom of Lahoul, which often widely differs from the written letters.

2. Those words in which the Boo-nan pronunciation agrees with the *modern* Tibetan.

To No. 1 belong :

<i>Kres</i> , hunger, in modern Lahoulee, Tibetan unknown.	
<i>Khams</i> , appetite,	kham.
<i>Khral</i> , tax,	thal.
<i>Khrutsi</i> , arm (elbow)	(vacat.)
<i>Khrui</i> , cubit, (ib.).....	thu.
<i>Khaspa</i> , wise, skilful,	khaipa.
<i>Gyogspa</i> , quick,.....	gyogpa.
<i>Grampa</i> , cheek,.....	dampa.
<i>Grogpo</i> , river,.....	dogpo.

<i>Ngospo</i> , truth (in Tib. thing, reality)	ngoipo.
<i>Chespa</i> , dear, cherished,	chepa.
<i>Snyingrus</i> , industry, in Tib. courage,	nyingru.
<i>Snyema</i> , ear (of corn,)	nyema.
<i>Dus</i> , time,	dui.
<i>Stan</i> , carpet,	tan.
<i>Stong</i> , thousand,	tong.
<i>Spu</i> , hair,	pu.
<i>Ugs</i> , breath,	ug, u.
<i>Phyagphulchum</i> , to make reverence, adore,	chhagpulwa.
<i>Phyugpo</i> , rich,	chhugpa.
<i>Brawobrao</i> , buckwheat,	ḍawo.
<i>Brag</i> , rock, cliff,	ḍag.
<i>Brangsa</i> , dwelling-place, habitation,	ḍangsa.
<i>Brichum</i> , to write,	ḍiwa.
<i>Myangchum</i> , to state,	nyangwa.
<i>Zugs</i> , body,	zug.
<i>Yas</i> , right (not left,)	yai.
<i>Ras</i> , cotton cloth,	rai.
<i>Rigs</i> , kind, sort,	rig.
<i>Ruspa</i> , bone,	ruipa.
<i>Sman</i> , medicine,	man.

To No. 2.

Tam, cabbage, Tib. literally; kram.

Kad, language, lit. skad.

Karma, star, lit. skarma.

Thim, judgment jurisdiction, lit. khrim.

Du, corner; ship, lit. gru.

Doi, counsel, advice, lit. gros.

Nyingzhe, compassion, benevolence, lit. snyingzhe.

Tontog, harvest, lit. stontog.

Jungwa, element, lit. byungwa.

Chodpa, behaviour, lit. spyodpa.

Digpa, sin, lit. sdigpa.

Lobma, pupil, *lobpon* teacher, lit. slobma and slobdpon.

This would seem to indicate two different influxes of Tibetan words and ideas, one at a very early period, the other much later,—so many

centuries after the invention of the alphabet, that the pronunciation was already altered to that of the present day. It is not impossible that a more complete dictionary of this language in both its dialects, that of Kunawar and that of Lahoul, and perhaps also of other unwritten Himalayan dialects and languages, situated as they are between the great Tibetan and Indian families, might afford more than one interesting result with regard to the history of the Tibetan language and the histories of the people of these countries, in their political situations as well in their civilisation. If such investigations happened to be aided by the discovery of local records of such a kind as formed the history of Sikkim, destroyed by the Nepalese soldiery (v. Hooker's *Him. Journ.* I. p. 331) it might be possible to clear up parts of the history of these countries hitherto very obscure.

It would seem to me as if the collection of words given above, might suggest the conjecture that the first of the two irruptions of Tibetan power and influence into these valleys, inhabited by Boonan-speaking mountaineers, was merely of a political nature, carrying with it such institutions as *taxes*, very probably the first thing which the small population of a secluded valley is likely to be taught by a foreign invader,—some new articles of manufacture (cotton cloth, carpets, &c.), words for the higher numerals, and some others; whereas the second,—perhaps going on in a more quiet and slow way,—brought with it judicial and governmental institutions of a somewhat higher order, and the religious and philosophical ideas as well as usages of Buddhism.

Notes on the Gurjat State of Patna.—By Major H. B. IMPEY, Deputy Commissioner of Sumbulpore.

[Received 18th October, 1864.]

The following sketch of the history of the Gurjat state of Patna is founded upon the records, genealogical trees, and traditions maintained by successive Rajáhs. Although there may be errors in the calculation of periods, and mistakes in the incidence of events, yet, considering how all natives of pretension or position strive to keep up a remembrance of their ancestors through the services of Brahmins, and how strictly they themselves cherish the links of private history (as for instance, the custom of the Hindus to religiously pronounce the names of their preceding generations, while engaged in their ablutions,) it may be assumed that such records and links, when adjusted by their circumstantial data, as in this case, will generally form a pretty correct chain of evidence in respect to main facts.

Origin of the Mahárajáhs.—The Mahárajáhs of Patna claim direct descent from a race of Rajpoot Rajahs of Gurh Sumbul, near Mynpooree, and count back the individuals of this race for 32 generations.

Foundation of one state, Patna, from a cluster of eight Gurhs.—It is narrated that these Rajahs used to be in constant attendance at the Court of Delhi till the last named Hutumber Singh having intrigued and run off with one of the king's daughters, was pursued and killed, and his family forced to fly. Amongst the wives of this Rajah was one who, escaping, arrived enciente, in Patna, and found refuge with the chief of Khobagurh, being one of eight gurhs,* which at that time, alone formed the territories of Patna, being comprised within the three rivers Ung, Mahanuddy, and Sel, and bounded on the west by Khurriar, (a possession then of Jaypoor), and Bindanawagurh and the chiefs of which took it in turns, a day at a time, to

* 1 Patna.
2 Salabhata.
3 Kongaon.
4 Jhorasinga.

5 Sindeehala.
6 Kolagurh.
7 Gooragurh.
8 Boornagurh.

exercise full authority, as Rajah over the whole. She was placed in charge of the said Chief's Brahmin at Ramoor, and there gave birth to a boy named Raman Deo. The Chief adopted the boy, and subsequently, on his coming of age, himself being sick and weary of rule, resigned his position to him, Raman Deo soon after this succeeded in murdering the other seven Chiefs, and usurping to himself the whole and permanent authority in Patna. Finally he married a daughter of the Ruler of Orissa, through whose influence and power, he was enabled to maintain his usurped position.

Extension of territory and dominion to the right bank of the Mahanuddy.—It would appear that during the time of Raman Deo and the two succeeding Maharajahs the territories and dominion of Patna became extended beyond the Ung river to the right bank of the Mahanuddy: embracing—

1st. Patna Proper, as now, but with the addition to the west, of three gurhs, viz. Kholagurh, Goorhagurh and Koomragurh at present included in the Gurjat state of Khurriar and of 12 villages known then as "Baragam," afterwards as "Borasambeer," and subsequently detached as portion of the Gurjat State of that name, and to the east in continuation between the rivers Ung and Sel to the Mahanuddy.

2nd. As annexed to Patna Proper, all the land embraced within the Ung and Mahanuddy rivers, and bounded on the west by Phooljur and Sarungur, which now comprises the southern portion of Sumbulpore and part of Sonepore.

As Tributary dependencies the Gond Gurjat States of Brindanawagurh,* Phooljhur† and Sarungurh.‡

The lands and estates lying contiguous to the left bank of the Mahanuddy were, it is believed, at that time attached to Sirgooja, with the exception of the North Western portion of the present Sumbulpore district known as Chundurpore and Bhortia which belonged to Ruttunpoor.

Subjugation of States and acquisition of territory on left bank of the Mahanuddy.—The fourth Maharajah, Puthee Singh Deo, subjugated and made tributary to Patna, the three dependencies of Sirgooja, named Bamall, Gangpoor and Bamra, and annexed to Patna itself, by dispossession from the Rajah of Bamra, the zemindaree of Rehracole,

* 3rd.

† 4th.

‡ 5th.

and so much of the lands (now) of Sumbulpore on the left bank of the Mahanuddy, as were contained between Rehracole and Bamra to the east, Bamra and Gangpoor to the north, and to the west by the river Eebe to its sudden bend westward, and from thence by a line running south, to the spot at the extremity of the present city of Sumbulpore where now the Jail Bridge stands.

Erection of a Fort in Phooljur.—Maharajah Bikrumdit Deo, the ninth Rajah of Patna, erected a Fort in Phooljur at Seespalgurh, where its remains are said to be still traceable: a proof this of the unflinching authority then exercised over the Gurjât states.

Acquisition of the "Gurh" of Chundurpoor.—It is probable that the erection of this advanced post in a Tributary State had for its aim, as much the extension of dominion, as the maintenance in security of existing dominancy: for no sooner did the next ruler, Maharajah Baijul Deo 2nd, succeed to the Guddee, than he advanced to Chundurpoor, and forcibly dispossessed the ruler of Ruttunpoor of that "Gurh" with its surrounding lands.

There still remained, to complete the circle known afterwards as the "28 Gurhs:"

1st. The three Northern Gurjat states of Raigurh, Burgurh and Suktee, (dependencies of Sirgooja); 2ndly, the central tract of land (now an integral portion of the Sumbulpore district,) falling between the Eebe and the line drawn therefrom, as before observed to the present Sumbulpore Jail Bridge, and the Gurjat State of Sarungurh, (also belonging to Sirgooja,) and lastly the two eastern Gurjat States of Boad and Atmullrick.

It never fell to the lot of Patna itself to include these remaining States and lands within the scope of its authority or possession. The completion of the circle was not effected till Patna had retired from the banks of the Mahanuddy, so far as the mouth of the Ung river near Binka, and a new state had sprung up under its auspices (on the north of the Ung,) afterwards known as Sumbulpore. It might therefore seem foreign to the object of these "Notes" as touching Patna, to speak of the rise and power of this second State. Nevertheless the advance of the latter was so intimately connected with, and so immediately the result of, the dominion of the former, and again the decline of the former so direct an issue of the rise of the

latter, that it is necessary to trace the history of the extension of power across the Mahanuddy in so far as the grouping of the once known "18 Gurhs" shall be concerned.

Relinquishment by the Rajah of Patna of territory and dominion on the left bank of the Ung River.—Nursing Deo, the 12th Maharajah of Patna, and his brother Bulram Deo quarrelling, the former made over absolutely to the latter, (probably on compulsion,) all such portions of his territories as lay north of the river Ung: the engagement between the two brothers being that each was to be perfectly independent of the other. Bulram Deo, taking possession of his allotment, erected a fort on the right bank of the Mahanuddy, exactly opposite the present city of Sumbulpore at Chowunpore, (where to this day the traces of his fort are visible,) and adopted the title of Rajah of Chowunpore. Shortly after this, he dispossessed Sirgooja of the dependencies of Suktee, Raigurh and Burgurh, and of the remaining portion, as before noticed, of Sumbulpore, and finally included Boad and Atmullick, (now Gurjat States of Cuttack,) among the number of his territory mehals. After this, he abandoned the Fort of Chowunpore, and crossing the river, erected a mud fort on the opposite bank. To this, he gave the name of Sumbulpore, from the number of Seemul trees that existed there on its site. Then changing his own title to that of Maharajah of Sumbulpore, he founded a dominion which soon took the real ascendancy over the parent State of Patna.

The two states of Patna and Sumbulpore were now distinct, and the area of the "28 gurhs" was now fully embraced. But as yet this number of Gurjat States with independent chiefs, tributary to the two paramount rulers of Patna and Sumbulpore, were not fully formed.

Enumeration of the 15 Gurhs of the Sumbulpore and Patna group.—The then existing tributary Gurjat States attached to Sumbulpore were Phooljur, Sarungurh, Suktee, Raigurh, Burgurh, Burmarr, Gangpoor, Bamra, Boad, Atmullick, and, by admission of the Sumbulpore Maharajah, Rehracole: to these may be added Chundurpore, retained by the Maharajah under his own immediate authority. In Patna, the only dependency was Bindanawagurh. The total therefore of the "18 gurhs" or Gurjat States, during the time of Nursing

Deo and Bulram Deo, Maharajahs respectively, of Sumbulpore and Patna, was 15, wanting to complete were Sonopore in the one case, and Khurriar and Borasamber in the other.

Formation of the 8 remaining Gurjat States.—The necessity of providing for younger sons, caused the alienation from the parent states of Sonopore and Khurriar. Thus Sonopore, as far as the left of the river Ung, (the land on the right to the Sel river, still, as before noted, belonging to Patna,) its chief town being Binka, was constituted an independent tributary Gurjat State by the 4th Rajah of Sumbulpore, who made it over with the title of Rajah to his 2nd son Muddun Gopaul. And again the 15th Maharajah of Patna giving over three "gurhs" of the original eight of Patna, viz., Kholagurh, Goorhagurh, and Boomragurh, to his younger son Gopaul Roy, and the latter obtaining Khurriar as a dowry on his marriage with a daughter of the Rajah of Jaipore, those gurhs merged into Khurriar and the whole was constituted one Gurjat state with the title of Rajah.

The last created Gurjat was Borasambur the present chief of which owes his position to the cunning and power of an ancestor. Originally Borasambur consisted of eight villages, which went by the name of "Atgoan," and formed a small zemindaree, part of the integral state of Patna. It is stated that one of the zemindars of "Atgoan" having saved the life of a Sambur deer by killing a "bora" or boa-constrictor which had attacked it, the name of the zemindaree was changed to Borasambur. Notwithstanding the smallness originally of the area of the zemindaree, the proprietor was a man of some importance, he was chief of his caste-men, Bhinjwals—and, on the occasion of a new Maharajah being raised to the Guddee, it was his especial duty to take the latter on his lap and fold over his head the turban of state. Again, the zemindar held an important position: his lands were situated alone on the north side of the range of hills called Goondmardhum, which form part of the northern boundary of Patna, and thus he could hold the approaches through those hills to Patna for or against any hostile forces. It would appear that during the first inroads of the Mahrattas, the zemindar of Borasambur was successful in guarding these approaches. For this service he was granted an extension of property on the Patna side. What

the real grant was, it is impossible now to say : but when the Maharajah of Patna in A. D. 1818 was released from the captivity, in which he had been kept for 14 years by the Mahrattas, under orders of the British Government, and replaced in possession of his estates by Major Roughsedge, it was found that the zemindar had encroached upon a large tract of Patna territory, and it is said, had possessed himself also of some 84 villages of the Phooljur Gurjat. Complaint was made by the restored Maharajah of Patna, and he was forced to retire to his proper side of the hills : a gainer, however, so far that he retained the 84 villages of Phooljur and was allowed to hold possession of Borasambur with them in his own right from that time, as an independent tributary chieftain.

Completion of the 18 "Gurhs."—Thus, then was completed the cluster of the 18 "Gurhs" as follows :—

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| 1.—Patna. | 10.—Burmarr. |
| 2.—Sumbulpore. | 11.—Raigurh. |
| 3.—Sonopore. | 12.—Burgurh. |
| 4.—Bamra. | 13.—Saktee. |
| 5.—Rehracole. | 14.—Chundurpore. |
| 6.—Gangpore. | 15.—Sarungurh. |
| 7.—Boad. | 16.—Bindanawagurh. |
| 8.—Atmullick. | 17.—Khurriar. |
| 9.—Phooljur. | 18.—Borasambur. |

Loss to Patna of the land on the right bank of the Mahanuddy between the Ung and Sel rivers.—Before proceeding to notice the ultimate severance and distribution of these states, it is necessary to refer back briefly to the time of Ræe Singh Deo, the 21st Maharajah of Patna. This chieftain, having recovered possession of his Guddee from an usurping uncle, after a reign of nearly 60 years, and at the age of 80, was ultimately forced, on a general insurrection, to flee his country. He sought refuge at Binka, the seat of the Rajah of Sonopore : and fearful of pursuit or teachery, promised the latter a grant of that portion of his estate which fell between the Ung and the Sel, if he would protect and assist him. The Rajah of Sonopore was not slow to take advantage of the offer. The son secured to himself the possession of the promised land : but assistance was confined to

personal protection, the aged Maharajah three years after died a refugee in Sonapore, without a blow being struck for his restoration. This insurrection caused the loss to Patna of the last relic of its early acquisitions.

Gurjat States brought under direct supervision of the British Government.—The incursions and depredations of the Mahrattas had now caused the intervention of the British Government for the protection of the Gurjat states. This ultimately resulted in 1821; after that Boad and Atmullick had been transferred to Cuttuck, the rest being separately disconnected and placed under the immediate control and supervision of British agency.

In 1861 the states of Bamra and Gangpore were transferred to Ranchee; and thus the circle of Gurjat states became considerably reduced.

Summary.—To sum up, reverting to Patna, it will be observed, that between the time of its foundation by Raman Deo and the reign of its 12th Maharajah, or say during a period of 340 years, Patna had grown from a comparatively small state of eight united gurhs, held by chiefs who, each in turn for a day, aped supreme authority over the rest, to a powerful province extending in territory and dominion for miles across the Mahanuddy to the confines of Sarungurh, and on the left bank from the borders of Atmullick to a line drawn northward, from the west end of the (present) city of Sumbulpore, falling in with the river Eebe, to Gangpoor, and its authority embracing the Gurjat states, surrounding the possessions of Brindanawagurh, Phooljur, Sárungurh, Gangpoor, Bamaee and Bamra. That by the abandonment of all its property and dominion on the north or left side of the Ung river, it relapsed to the area of its original eight gurhs, including the plain between the Sel and Ung rivers, and to the authority over the one Gurjat state of Brindanawagurh; that subsequently it first alienated three of its original gurhs, and afterwards had to relinquish 12 of its most important villages, in return for all which, with additional lands from other quarters, it obtained control over two newly created Gurjat states, viz. Khurriar and Borasambur; that previously to the last noted relinquishment, it had lost the tract of land between the Sel and Ung rivers, and that lastly, being brought under the direct control of the British, it became deprived of the last vestige

of its power, the control of its three tributary states,* and thus finally fell into a smaller circle of power and property than that which it embraced when some 600 years before (dating from the usurpation of Raman Deo) it had first sprung into powerful existence.

Such then is the history of the extension and contraction of the territories and dominion of Patna. Like as at its first sacrifice of ground, and of prospect of further advancement, was owing to family dissension, so also was the final loss of the last tract of its former acquisitions caused by family dissensions. In the one instance, however, it was left with the substance of conquest, and the opportunities from arrested ambition of employing such to the development of its own reserved dominions. But in the other, it was brought ultimately to entire ruin. A glance at the present features of the country of Patna and a brief review of the dissensions that occurred during the time of Ræe Singh Deo, and of their results, will serve to explain these last assertions.

Description of the present area of Patna.—It is calculated that the present territories of Patna contain 5,000 square miles. Although they are dotted at distant intervals with a few small hills, yet it may be stated that they compose a plateau of undulating surface so peculiarly favourable for the cultivation of rice, the pulses, oil seeds and sugar-cane. There are certainly besides the few scattered hills, interruptions also of gravelly or rocky rises covered with jungle and a few forest trees. But making allowance for the deduction of these from the general area, there remains a vast expanse of culturable land, the soil of which is of a good description.

Present condition of the area and indications of past prosperity.—Tracts of scrubby jungle have usurped the sites of former fields, and wild beasts now hold dominion where once stood the habitations of men. The Gurh of Patna is now the centre of such a jungle, radiating 10 coss or say 20 miles in every direction. Close around the "Gurh," at distances varying from one or two miles, are about 100 tanks, and in the surrounding jungle beyond these, at intervals of four or six miles, are said to be the remains of other tanks, with traces of villages marked, not only by the general certain evidence of planted

* 1. Brindanawagurh.

2. Khurriar.

3. Borasambur.

trees, such as the mangoe, but also by the unmistakable proof of old broken tiles and brick foundations of houses and temples. Nor is it alone immediately around the "gurh" of Patna, that signs of former welfare and former energetic rule are to be found. Turning to the southern position of the state in the Kondhan zemindarees of Lowa and Topa, at Jhoorwae in Lowa, at Titoola and Oodeypoor in Topa, are numerous ruins of solid buildings, of from one to three stories high, and generally through the Kondhan lands are the walls of neglected temples at distances of two or four miles apart. Moreover to prove in some measure the earnestness which formerly existed for developing the country, and the respect which is still held for the race of its once energetic rulers, it is to be remarked that the Khonds of the oldest Khond settlement at Saintula claim to have been brought to Patna from Jeypore by Raman Deo, and pride themselves in being still loyal and Khalsa subjects of his descendants. Further indications of decayed prosperity and past enterprise might be adduced and not least, this, the minute respectability and intelligence of some of the Zemindars and Gountiahs of old families; but enough perhaps has been noticed to prove that there is just ground for the boast of the Patna people that their country was once thickly populated and flourishing to such an extent, that even rich merchants were numbered in it up to the time when anarchy at first, and the depredations of the Mahrattas afterwards, compelled them to depart—till the occurrence of these events, which now remain to be noticed, it is believed, then, that the attention of the rulers of Patna, 20 in succession, was given to the welfare and prosperity of their country and subjects.

Cause of decline of power and prosperity.—Hindur Shah Deo, the 20th Maharajah of Patna, died, leaving two young sons, the eldest named Raae Singh Deo under the guardianship of his younger brother, their uncle, Buckraj Singh. This uncle, in view to the usurpation of the Guddee, murdered the mother of the two boys and intended also to kill the latter. But he was frustrated in this intention. For the boys were carried off in security to Phooljur by their maternal uncle, and there brought up. Raae Singh Deo, on coming to age, sought assistance from Nagpore, and, procuring a force of Mahrattas, proceeded to regain his rights. He attacked and killed his uncle, and thus obtained possession of his estate. But, however much this was beneficial to

himself, and pleasing perhaps to a portion of his subjects, still the country paid heavily at the time for his restoration. While party spirit and enmity having now been excited, it was to be expected that, an occasion offering, conflicting interests might again stir them to a blaze; and again, the plains of Patna having now been opened out to the view of the Mahrattas, it might be regarded as certain that their greed would spend itself on the first opportunity of home dissensions in depredatory incursions. And this prospect was indeed brought to issue as follows. Ravee Singh retained his position for many years, but during this period the roused spirit of discontent and rebellion was spreading through the land, till ultimately it was brought to burst upon the unfortunate Maharajah, then nearly 80 years old, by the intrigues of his second wife. The story is, that he had three wives, no offspring by the first, two boys by the second, and one son, the eldest of all, by the third. The second wife was fearful that the eldest son by the third Ravee would, as being his father's favourite, succeed to the Guddee, unless during the Maharajah's life she should take steps to prevent it. The measures she took for prevention were the exciting a general rebellion which resulted as before noted, in the flight of the Maharajah Ravee Singh Deo to Sonopore. The Maharajah, however, frustrated the design of his second wife; for he took her with him to Patna, along with his grandson by his eldest born; and on his death three years afterwards, appointed him his successor by putting the regular Pugree on his head. During these three years, the whole of Patna was in a state of perfect anarchy. The Ravees at Patna were quarrelling for dominion, and their partizans were pillaging the country indiscriminately around. Life and property were nowhere secure. All respectable persons fled to Sonopore and were followed by numbers of the general population. On the death of the old Rajah the people acknowledged his appointed successor, who then returned to Patna. He was, however, but a youth and found none to advise or assist him, except such as had shared in the outrages of the interregnum. Even his father, dismayed at the state of general disturbance and disappointed at the preference given to his son, retired on a pilgrimage to Allahabad and there died. The young Maharajah, Prithee Singh Deo lived only three years after succeeding to the Guddee. The next ruler was Ramchundur Deo, the captive of the

Mahrattas, who now had completely overrun and spoliated the country already so unhappily ripe for spoliation.

It was scarcely to be expected that after an anarchy of three years and a total disruption of order under the force of subsequent events that the Zemindars of the frontier, who had been so long revelling in wild independency, would soon be brought back into proper subjection, especially when the power by entire loss of resources of the succeeding Maharajah (father to the present one) was almost utterly paralyzed. Still less could it be supposed that within the short space of the reign of that one Maharajah, the vacuum in the population would be filled up. Yet it is satisfactory to be able to state that a move towards a clearance of the jungle, and an extension of cultivation is certainly being made, and that out of 22 Zemindars four only are complained of, and of these four, only one is rebellious.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The following is an extract from a letter from Major Pearse, on certain Buddhist antiquities of the Hazara valley.

"In reading the Proceedings of your Society, No. 4 of 1861, page 413, I was much interested by the description of a small crystal figure of a duck found in one of the topes or Stupas near Shah ke Dehri.

"It reminds me that there is one object I obtained from a tope of Shah ke Dehri, of which I should have published the account in our Journal long ago, but I never did so. It may be interesting still at this distant date to do so.

"In January 1850, Major Jas. Abbott, Deputy Commissioner of Hazara, was absent from that district on duty in which I had just arrived. A zumeendar brought me for sale either an emerald, or a green piece of glass or crystal about 2 inches in oblong length, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch thick; the centre of this emerald was scooped out and in it was inserted a small gold casket, and in the casket I found a small piece of bone, which I believe, from subsequent enquiries, to be the bone of the smallest joint of the smallest finger. The goldsmiths of the country all pronounced the ornament to be an emerald. If it was so, it was of a bad pale colour with a

great quantity of flaws. I had intended it for presentation to the British Museum. But the fame of the jewel was so hinted about, that my own Sikh Guard coalesced and carried off the box in which the relic was. The theft was proved, the culprits were all punished, and everything was recovered, but the one great thing, notwithstanding that Major Abbott and myself offered very large rewards for its recovery.

“You may be aware that whilst in Hazara, I greatly amused myself in excavating topes, and only desisted by finding it not at all a paying thing, and besides the natives of the country took to opening the topes and selling any relics found to Major Abbott and myself. Thus from living in the country, hearing the legends of the land, studying coins and books, and from my own explorations, I formed my own conclusions on these topes, which in the main, I believe all subsequent theories and discoveries have proved to be pretty correct. The conclusion was that such large grand topes as Manykyala and Bulhur were the Westminster Abbeys of bygone Buddhist cities, at once a great religious building and the regal burial-place, answering to the great Rangoon Pagoda, and to the Bodh Nath of Nepal, only that these buildings are seen in the days of Buddhistic decadence, those existed in the days of its glory. Around Bulhur and Manykyala are the easily traceable remains of cities that must once have had 150,000 inhabitants each. Taking Bulhur and Shah ke Dehri, places on the right and left banks of the Hurroo river and going up the stream ten miles, you do not go over a yard of what was not, in olden times, built over. I have gone over every inch of it and was astounded to find every where building remains. Thus all the smaller topes, I conclude from the facts already adduced and from what I see of modern Buddhism, were at once both religious and burial buildings in the enciente of old Buddhist cities. And further they belonged either to noble families, good families, guilds, wards, parishes or priests.

“I went to see the Stupa from which my emerald relic was excavated. I conceived, judging from its foundation, that when it stood in its integrity, it was from 50 to 80 feet high, or such a building as could be afforded by a Chinese Mandarin or a Thibetan Lama of our time, and such as still abound in Nepal. I therefore concluded that my emerald relic had belonged to a noble Buddhist lady; that it was in

her lifetime her drop pendant of her forehead ornament, for so all the Hindoos of Hazara pronounced it to be, and that on her death the little gold casket was set in it, and her relic bone placed in it and buried.

“With reference to the duck crystal ornament mentioned at page 413 by Mr. Westropp, it is not a rare figure, but is on the contrary a very common one.

“From all the topes we excavated there was a perfect similarity of objects found in all. And all the objects quite similar to those found by Masson; the coins were of the same kings. A good deal of Greek, nearly purely so, and Græco-Buddhistic statuary was found. I excavated two or three small topes with all the figures of Buddha at the different sides in perfect preservation, and similar in all respects to the Buddhist temples of Nepal. From this I always concluded that these cities did not perish by the hands of the Iconoclast Muhammadans of the 8th and 9th centuries, but had fallen into desuetude centuries before.

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“Steatite vases or boxes were plentiful enough. I found but one inscription on a copper-plate, and that I presented the Society with.”

JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. III.—1865.

Coins of the Nine Nāgas, and of two other Dynasties of Narwar and Gwalior.—By Major-General A. CUNNINGHAM.

[Received 13th July, 1865. Read 2nd August, 1865.]

The old Hindu coins which are engraved in the accompanying plate, were nearly all obtained in the Gwalior territory, and chiefly in the cities of Gwalior, Narwar, and Gobad. Most of them are now published for the first time, as only five specimens out of the whole number will be found in James Prinsep's plates. These are Nos. 7, 11, and 12 of the first series, No. 15 of the second, and No. 25 of the third series. Most of the coins now published are very rare, and several of them are unique; but Nos. 27 and 29 are common, and No. 7 is so exceedingly numerous that upwards of 3,000 specimens have passed through my hands, and there are as many more in the Stacy cabinet of the Asiatic Society's collection. Stacy's specimens were obtained at Gobad, and more than half of mine were found at the same place, but the remainder were procured at Mathurá and Delhi, as well as at Gwalior and Narwar.

2. It is always difficult to feel any interest about ancient kings whose names are known to us only from their coins, and whose kingdoms can only be guessed at by the find-spots of their money. But in the present case I am fortunate in being able to illustrate each of the three different series by references to inscriptions. The last series

of coins give their own dates, which accord exactly with the dates of the inscriptions and with a solitary notice in Ferishta.

3. The first series of coins, from No. 1 to No. 14, may be attributed, I think with considerable probability, to a dynasty of kings whom the Purāṅas call the "Nine Nāgas," and who would appear to have been contemporary with the Guptas. In the Vishṇu Purāṅa, it is stated that "the Nine Nāgas will reign in Padmāvati, Kāntipuri and "Mathurá, and the Guptas of Magadha along the Ganges to Prayāga "and Sáketa, and Magadha." Padmavati was at first identified by H. H. Wilson with some unknown city in Berar, far to the south of the Narbadá, and afterwards with Bhágalpur on the Ganges, but the mention of Mathurá utterly precludes the possibility of either of those places having belonged to the Nāgas. Both cities should no doubt be looked for within some moderate distance of Mathurá. The scene of Bhavabhuti's Málátí and Mád hava is laid in the city of Padmāvati in the Vindhyan mountains. As his description of the locality is a favourable specimen of Hindu poetry, I will not curtail it.

"How wide the prospect spreads, mountain and rock,
 "Towns, villages and woods, and glittering streams,—
 "There where the *Párá* and the *Sindhu* wind,
 "The towers and temples, pinnacles and gates,
 "And spires of *Padmāvati*, like a city
 "Precipitated from the skies, appear
 "Inverted in the pure translucent wave."

The *Sindhu* is, I think the *Sindh* river on which the city of Narwar is situated, and the *Párá* is the *Párbati* or *Párá* river, which flows only 5 miles to the north of the Sindh. Narwar also is in the midst of the Vindhyan mountains, and at a moderate distance, about 160 miles, from Mathurá, so that there are no geographical difficulties to overthrow the proposed identification. On the contrary the subsequent mention of the *Madhuvatí* and the *Lavana* as streams in the neighbourhood of the city, renders this identification almost complete, as the first may be identified with the *Mohwar* or *Madhuwar* on the south, and the other with the *Nán* or *Lán* to the north. With regard to the third city named Kāntipuri, I agree with Wilford in identifying it with the ancient *Kutwál* or *Kutwár*, on the Ahsin river, 20 miles to the north of Gwalior. The kingdom of the Nāgas there-

fore would have included the greater part of the present territories of Bharatpur, Dholpur, Gwalior, and Bundelkhand, and perhaps also some portions of Malwa, as Ujain, Bhilsa and Sāgar. It would thus have embraced nearly the whole of the country lying between the Jumna and the upper course of the Narbada, from the Chambal on the west to the *Kayān* or Cane on the east, an extent of about 1,800 square miles, in which Narwar occupies a central and most commanding position.

4. The identification of Narwar with Padmāvati, the capital city of the Nine Nāgas, is strongly corroborated by the coins which I am about to describe, as most of the earlier specimens were obtained at Narwar, and the remainder at Gwalior. It is also supported by the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, in which the king boasts of the extent of his dominions, and enumerates the different princes and countries which had become subject to his power. In the 18th line he mentions *Ganapati-Nāga* as one of the nine tributary princes of Aryavurta. Now *Ganapati* or *Ganendra* is the name of the Rājā whose coins are the most common and the most widely diffused of all these Narwar kings. The legends of his coins are also in the very same character as those of the Gupta coins and inscriptions. I think therefore that there is every probability in favour of the identity of these two princes. My discovery of an inscription of Samudra Gupta in Mathurā itself is sufficient to show that the Nāgas must have lost that city at an early date. It may also be taken as corroborative of the decay of their power, and of the supremacy of Samudra Gupta, as stated in the Allahabad Pillar inscription. It may be objected that the coins of Ganapati do not bear the additional name of Nāga, and that James Prinsep has rendered Ganapati Nāga as two separate names. To these objections I can reply at once that, so far as I am aware, Nāga is never used alone as a man's name, but always in conjunction with some other word, either preceding it as in Nāga-sena, Nāgārjuna, Nāgāditya, Nāgadatta, &c., or following it as in Skanda-Nāga, Brihaspati-Nāga, and Deva-Nāga of the coins now under review. For this reason I conclude that the name of Samudra Gupta's contemporary must almost certainly have been Ganapati-Nāga. The omission of the latter part of the name in the legends of the coins is sufficiently explained by the minute size of the money, which did not afford room

for a long name. Thus on some of the coins of Brihaspati-Nāga the name is given at full length, while on others it is contracted to Brihaspati and Brihaspa, and even to Briha. Similarly, the name of Deva Nāga is contracted to Deva Nā and Deva, while that of Ganapati himself is variously rendered as *Ganapatya* and *Ganendra* on the larger coins, and as *Gana* and even *Ga* on the smaller coins. A similar omission of the family appellation may be observed on many of the contemporary coins of the Guptas, on which the names of Chandra, Samudra, Kumāra, Skanda and Nāra are found alone under the Raja's arm without the additional title of Gupta which, as we know from other coins and inscriptions, certainly belonged to all of them. From these instances I infer that the title of Nāga belonged not only to Ganapati himself but to every one of the early princes of Narwar, whose coins form the first series of the accompanying plate.

5. The period to which these princes must be assigned depends solely on the date of their contemporaries, the Guptas. In 1851, when I wrote my account of the Bhilsa Topes, I referred the beginning of the Gupta era to the year 319 A. D., but shortly afterwards on comparing the Gupta gold coins with their Indo-Scythian prototypes, and the Gupta silver coins with the *Sak* coins of Saurāshtra, I saw that the first Guptas must certainly have been contemporary with the earlier princes of the Kushān Scythians, and consequently that their date could not possibly be later than the first century of the Christian era. In 1855 Mr. Thomas devoted a special essay to the determination of the date of the Guptas, in which the subject was most fully and ably treated. In this article, and subsequently in his valuable notes on Prinsep's essays, he inclines to refer the dates of the Gupta coins and inscriptions to the Saka era, an opinion in which I fully concur. But in assigning the Bhilsa inscription of Chandra Gupta, which is dated in the year 93 to the first king of that name, he must have overlooked the Udayagiri Cave inscription of the year 82, which, according to H. H. Wilson, refers to Chandra Gupta's great-grandson, the Rājā of Sanakānika. The only scheme, as far as I can see, that will suit all the known dates and other conditions of this dynasty, is to make Chandra Gupta 1st, the founder of the era. By adopting this scheme, his great-grandson the Rājā of Sanakānika may be allowed to have been reigning in the year 82, and his grandson Chandra Gupta

2nd of Magadha in the year 93. But if we assign Chandra Gupta 1st to the year 93, we must then allow that he continued to reign for at least eleven years after the accession of his own *great-grandson* the Rájá of Sanakánika. According to Mr. Thomas's arrangement of the Gupta coins, with which I generally agree, the pieces that bear the title of Vikramāditya are assigned to Chandra Gupta 1st, and those that bear the simpler title of Vikrama to Chandra Gupta 2nd. We know from Abu-Rihân that in his time the origin of the Saka era was attributed to a prince named Vikramāditya after his victory over the Sakas. We learn also from the Allahabad pillar inscription that Samudra Gupta, the son of Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya, professed to have received tribute from the Sakas. From all these concurring testimonies, I am inclined to adopt the *Saka* era, which began in A. D. 79, as the actual era of the Gupta dynasty, and to attribute its establishment to Chandra Gupta 1st.

6. According to this view the date of Samudra Gupta, and therefore also of his contemporary Ganapati Nāga, would be the beginning of the second century, or about A. D. 110. The dynasty of the *Nine Nāgas* may accordingly be assigned to the first and second centuries of the Christian era. In the following list I have arranged the names of the Nāga kings according to the devices on their coins, beginning with those types which seem to me to be the earliest on account of the more ancient appearance of their accompanying inscriptions. It is worthy of note, as corroboratory of the date which I have assigned to the Nāgas that the whole of the devices on these copper coins are to be found on the silver coins of the Guptas themselves, or on those of their acknowledged contemporaries.

No.	Kings' names.	Types.	Fig. in Plate.
I.	Bhima Nāga,	Peacock to left.	2
II.	Kha,	Ditto right.	1
III.	Va,	Ditto ditto.	...
IV.	Skanda Nāga,	Ditto ditto.	3
	Ditto,	Bull recumbent to right.	4
V.	Brihaspati Nāga,	Ditto ditto.	5-6
VI.	Ganapati,	Bull walking to left.	7,8,9
	Ditto,	Wheel.	...
VII.	Vyāghra Nāga,	Ditto.	11
VIII.	Vasu Nāga,	Ditto.	12
IX.	Deva Nāga,	Ditto.	13,14
	Ditto,	Bull recumbent to right.	...
	Ditto,	Trisul.	...

7. I will now proceed to the more technical description of the coins themselves for the benefit of the professed numismatist. The pieces are all of small size, and many of them are so minute, that their average weight is only 7 grains each. The whole of them, however, may be readily divided into four distinct classes, which correspond with the known divisions of the old Indian *pana* or copper coin of 145.833 grains. These divisions were,

	Weight.
The $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>pana</i> ,	72.916 grains.
„ $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>pana</i> , or <i>kākini</i>	36.458 „
„ $\frac{1}{8}$ <i>pana</i> , or $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>kākini</i>	18.229 „
„ $\frac{1}{16}$ <i>pana</i> , or $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>kākini</i>	9.114 „

As the whole of these coins, excepting only the smallest of 9 grains, are mentioned in the Code of Manu, the antiquity of the names is undoubted. In B. VIII, verse 404, the ferry tolls are fixed at the following rates :

An empty cart,	1 <i>pana</i> .
A loaded man,	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
A woman, or ox,	$\frac{1}{4}$ „
An unloaded man,	$\frac{1}{8}$ „

But the *pana* was also called the “copper *Karsha*,” and under this

name it is mentioned by Hesychius, who lived about A. D. 350 to 380, as *κερα Ασιανον νομισμα*

8. Of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *pana*, the few specimens that I possess belong to the Peacock type, but the heaviest weighs only 64 grains. Of the $\frac{1}{4}$ *pana* or *kākini*, the specimens are common and of all the types. One peacock coin of Maharaja Va * * weighs 36 grains, five specimens of Bhima average 34 grains each, three illegible coins give 34.2 grains, twelve peacock coins of Skanda give 34.1 grains, five Bull coins of Skanda give 37.2 grains, nine Bull coins of Ganapati average 34.5 grains, and two of Deva Nāga weigh respectively 39 and 35 grains. Altogether these 37 specimens offer a mean weight of 34.87 grains, which, making allowance for wear, is sufficiently near the standard which I have adopted for the quarter *pana* or *Kākini*. Of the half *kākini*, the specimens are very numerous, embracing three Bull coins of Skanda, all the coins of Brihaspati, the greater number of those of Ganapati, and two coins of Deva Nāga. The three coins of Skanda give a mean of 16 grains each, thirteen coins of Brihaspati give 18.3 grains, thirty-four coins of Ganapati give 17.55 grains each, and two of Deva Nāga give 18.5 each. The mean of these specimens gives a weight of 17.76 grains for the half *kākini*, which is within half a grain of the standard. Of the quarter *kākini*, which was the smallest "coin" of the old Hindu mint, the only examples belong to Ganapati. Twenty of my specimens weigh 140 grains or exactly 7 grains each, the heaviest being $11\frac{1}{2}$ and the lightest $4\frac{1}{2}$ grains. In the original monetary scheme of the Hindus, the copper *pana* was equal in weight to 80 *raktikas* (or *ratis*), and in value to a handful of cowree shells. The average handful was fixed at 80 cowrees a number, which I have tested repeatedly with cowrees of all sizes as the handful always ranged between 70 and 85 shells. To this circumstance the coin owed its name of *pana* or the handful from *pāni*, the hand. Both the name and the value are even now preserved in the Calcutta reckoning of cowrees in which 4 cowrees make 1 *gandá* and 20 *gandás* make 1 *pan*, that is 80 cowrees are still equal to 1 *pan*.

I. BHIMA NĀGA.

Fig. 2.—5 specimens.

Obv.—Peacock standing to left.

Rev.—A horizontal line like a spear-head.

Legend. *Mahārāja Bhima Nāga.*

II. KHA (—)

Fig. 1.—Unique—50 grains.

Obv.—Peacock standing to right.

Rev.—Two uncertain upright objects.

Legend. *Mahārāja Kha * * **

This name must have ended in *Nāga*, as there is room for at least four more letters. The full name may have been *Kharjjura Nāga*, as there is a trace of the vowel *u* at the foot of the second letter.

III. VA (—)

Unique—36 grains.

Obv.—Peacock standing to right.

Rev.—Two uncertain upright objects.

Legend. *Mahārāja Va * * **

This name must also have ended in *Nāga*. It may have been *Vatsa Nāga*, but it was more probably of three syllables, as *Varuna*.

IV. SKANDA NAGA.

Fig. 3.—12 specimens. Average weight 34.1 grains.

Obv.—Peacock standing to right.

Rev.—As on *Fig. 1.*

Legend. *Mahārāja Skanda Nāgasya.*

V. BRIHASPATI NAGA.

Figs. 5, 6.—31 specimens—all half *kākinis*, averaging 18.3 grains.

Obv.—Recumbent Bull to right in a dotted circle.

Rev.—Legend, *Mahārāja Brihaspati Nāga.*

Most of the legends are incomplete in the name, for want of space, several of them reading *Brihaspa* as on No. 6, whilst a few have only *Briha*. It is to be noted that the uncertain object which occupied the field of the previous coins has now disappeared.

VI. GANAPATI (NAGA.)

Figs. 7, 8, 9.—Extremely common:—*Kākinis*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *kākinis*, and $\frac{1}{4}$ *kākinis*.

Obv.—Bull walking to left, in a dotted circle.

Rev.—Legend. *Mahārāja Sri Ganapatya.*

The name varies on different coins both in its form and in its spelling. On No. 7, I read *Ganapatya*, and on No. 8, *Gaṇendra*, both properly spelt with the central *ṇ*. On No. 9 the name of *Gaṇendra*.

incorrectly spelt with the dental *n*. These coins are extremely common. Mr. Thomas has noted that there are 3,479 specimens in the Stacy collection, of which I know that by far the greater number were obtained at Gobad. At the close of the Gwalior Campaign in 1844, Col. Stacy showed me a bag full of these coins weighing about 4 *seers* or 8 lbs. which his coin collector had just brought from Gobad; and as he had not purchased the whole find, I managed to secure the remainder, which were about 2 *seers* or 4 lbs. in weight, and numbered about 1,750 specimens. Since then on different occasions I have procured 812 specimens at Mathura and 357 at Delhi, besides many more at other places more especially at Gwalior and Narwar, which altogether make my number considerably over 3,000.

Unique.—*Kākini* of 35 grains.

Obv.—Wheel in a circle of dots.

Rev.—Legend. *Mahārāja Sri Gane (ndra.)*

VII. VYA'GHRA NA'GA.

Fig. 11.—Unique. Half *kākini* of 18 grains, square.

Obv.—Wheel in a dotted circle.

Rev.—Legend. *Vyāghra (Nā) ga.*

VIII. VASU (NA'GA.)

Fig. 12.—Square. Half *kākini* of 19 grains, duplicate in Dr. Swiney's collection, Thomas's Prinsep, Plate 34, Fig. 30.

Obv.—Wheel in a dotted circle.

Rev.—Legend. *Vasu Nāga.*

IX. DEVA NA'GA.

Figs. 13, 14.—18 *kākinis* and 2 half *kākinis*.

Obv.—Wheel in a dotted circle.

Rev.—Legend. *Mahārāja Sri Deva Nāgasya.*

IXa. Six specimens—all *kākinis*.

Obv.—Recumbent Bull to right in a dotted circle.

Rev.—A *Trisul*, or trident, in the field.

Legend. As on Fig. 13.

IXb. Unique. Half *kākinis* of 17 grains.

Obv.—*Trisul* in a dotted circle.

Rev.—Legend. As on Fig. 13.

9. On a general view of all the coins of the Nâga series, it will be observed that the unique specimens of both *Vyâghra* and *Vasu* are of square form, and that they also differ from the others in omitting the title of Mahârâja. It is possible therefore that they may not belong to the dynasty of the Nine Nâgas, although their type of the wheel is also that of Deva Nâga and Ganapati. It seems probable that a careful scrutiny of the coins in the Stacy collection would increase considerably the variety of types, and perhaps also might add to the number of names of these Nâga kings.

10. The second series of coins consists of five specimens, of which no less than four belong to the same king, *Pasupati*, whose name occurs in the oldest of my Gwalior inscriptions. In that record he is stated to be a mighty sovereign, the son of Toramâna, who was himself first made known to us by the inscription on the great boar statue at Eran. A single silver coin of Toramâna has also been described by Mr. Thomas, who reads the date as "one hundred and eighty odd" of the Gupta era, or about 20 years later than the Eran inscription of Budha Gupta, that is about A. D. 263. If therefore we place Toramâna between the years 260 and 285 A. D., the date of his son Pasupati will be 285 to 310, or about 300 A. D. The coins of Pasupati consist exclusively of copper, and are so extremely rare, that, so far as I am aware, three out of the four specimens now made known are unique, and of the fourth specimen I have only two examples.

PASUPATI.

Fig. 15.—Copper coin weighing 92 grains.

Obv.—Figure of the king seated cross-legged in the Indian fashion, his right hand holding a flower, and his left resting on his hip;—the whole surrounded by a circle of large dots.

Rev.—A vase surmounted by a crescent and star or perhaps a flower, and enclosed in a circle of large dots. Legend in Gupta characters in one straight line, *Pasupati*.

Fig. 16.—Copper coin weighing 109 grains : duplicate 105 grains.

Obv.—Figure of the king seated in the Indian fashion, holding a flower in his right hand and a vase of flowers in his left hand;—the whole surrounded by a circle of large dots.

Rev.—A vase of flowers, surrounded by the same dotted circle. Legend in two lines, *Pasupati*.

Fig. 17.—Copper coin weighing 92 grains.

Obv.—A short trident or trisul, on a stand surrounded by a circle of small dots.—Legend in two lines, *Pasupati*.

Rev.—A globe surrounded by rays, enclosed in a dotted circle. Legend disposed circularly, *Pasupati*.

Fig. 18.—Copper coin weighing 43 grains.

Obv.—Humped Bull to right with a crescent above, and surrounded by a dotted circle.

Rev.—Type and legend the same as No. 17.

Fig. 19.—Copper coin weighing 112 grains.

Obv.—Figure of the king seated in the Indian fashion on a high backed throne, and surrounded by a circular line and an outer circle of dots:—Legend over the head in Gupta characters which are not easily legible. I read doubtfully *Sri Guhila-pati*.

Rev.—An elephant to right surrounded by a circular line and an outer circle of dots.

11. I have added the last coin to this series because it corresponds both in weight and in fabric with the specimens of *Pasupati's* mintage. The type of the obverse also agrees so closely with that of the first example just described that I have little doubt that this coin belongs to some member of the same family. The specimen is unique. I have added two small coins of *Chandra Gupta*, *Figs. 20 and 21*, for the purpose of shewing that similar vases of flowers were used as types by the Gupta dynasty which immediately preceded the family of *Toramána*. *Fig. 22* is another small coin with the flower-vase type, but bearing a different name, *Swarga*, regarding which I am unable to offer any remarks save that its type and fabric range it with the contemporary coins of the Guptas.

12. The third series of coins belongs to a much later period of Indian history, shortly after the capture of Delhi by the Muhammadans. The coins themselves are utterly rude and barbarous imitations of the horseman mintage of the Brahman kings of Kabul;—but they are otherwise interesting and important, as they bear legible dates, from which I have been able to verify two of the names as those of actual *Rájás* of *Narwar*. Of the earliest of these coins belonging to *Malaya Varmna Deva*, I have seen only 5 specimens. On one of them, *Fig. 26*, the date is S. 1280, or it may be S. 1285 as the unit

figure is partly cut off. On a second coin the date is S. 83, and on a third S. 90 odd, the unit being cut off. Here we see that the last two dates must undoubtedly refer to the same century as that of the first coin, because the name of the prince and the fabric of the coins are precisely the same. Of the second prince named *Chāhāḍa Deva*, I have numerous specimens, bearing various dates from 1303 to 1311, of which Figs. 27 and 28 give S. 1305 and S. 1311. Of the third prince, named *Asala Deva*, the specimens, though numerous, are always small and much worn, and the dates are therefore generally imperfect. Two of the more perfect coins, however, give the dates of 1311 and 1312, and a third has 1330 odd: see Figs. 29 and 30. In illustration of these coins, I have engraved a curious specimen of the contemporary coinage of Ala-ud-din Masūd, Fig. 23, which bears on the obverse the well known recumbent Bull with the Nāgari legend *Sri Ala-va-dīna* and the date of 1300, inserted on the quarter of the Bull. This date must certainly refer to the Vikramāditya *Samvat* as Masūd reigned from A. D. 1242, to 1246, and S. 1300 is equal to A. D. 1243.

13. The coins of this third series of Narwar princes are found chiefly about Gwalior, Jhansi, and Narwar, but a few stray specimens may be picked up at Agra and Mathura. The obverse bears the rude figure of a horseman which is only traceable on the coins of *Asala Deva* by comparing them with the earlier pieces of *Malaya Varmma*. A brief description will therefore be sufficient for this barbarous coinage.

I. MALAYA VARMA DEVA.

Figs. 25, 26.—Copper coins weighing from 50 to 56 grains.

Obv.—Rude horseman with no trace of the legend of *Sri Hamir* which is found on all the contemporary Muhammadan mintages.

Rev.—Legend in three lines श्रीमन्मलयवर्मदेव स-१२८ *Sri-man Malaya Varmma Deva*. S. 128 and also S. 83.

II. CHĀHĀḌA DEVA.

Figs. 27, 28.—Copper coins weighing from 50 to 59 grains.

Rev.—Legend in three lines श्रीमच्छाहडदेव स-१२०५, *Sri-Mat Chāhāḍa Deva*, S. 1305.

III. ASALA DEVA.

Figs. 29, 30.—Copper coins weighing from 50 to 57 grains.

Rev.—Legend in three lines श्रीमदासलदेव स- १३११- *Sri-Mad Asala Deva*, S. 1311.

14. All my researches have failed to discover any trace of the first of these princes, but I have found the name of *Chāhāḍa Deva* in two different inscriptions, as well as in Ferishta's history. In the year A. H. 649, or 1251 A. D., the historian relates that Naser-ud-din Mahmud, the king of Delhi "proceeded to the siege of Narwar. The Raja *Jāhīr Dew*, having lately constructed the fort on the summit of a rock, prepared to defend it to the last. He accordingly marched out to oppose the Muhammadans, with 5,000 horse and 200,000 foot. This immense host being defeated with great slaughter, the place was invested and reduced to surrender after a few months' siege." In Dow's translation the Raja is called *Tāhīr Deo*, and under this name he is entered in Prinsep's tables, but with the date of A. D. 1251 transposed as 1215, and the name of Narwar erroneously referred to *Nahrwara*, or *Anahwāra-patan*, in Gujarat. The inscriptions which mention *Chāhāḍa Deva* are dated in S. 1348 and 1355 or A. D. 1291 and 1298, but the first refers apparently to a younger son and the second to a grandson.

15. Of the third prince named *Asala Deva*, I can find no trace in history, but he is mentioned in the Narwar inscription of S. 1355 as the son and successor of *Chāhāḍa Deva*, and I found his name on a *Sati* pillar at Rai, with the date of S. 1327 or A. D. 1270, at which time he was the reigning sovereign. The beginning of his reign is fixed in the year S. 1311 by the agreement of the date of his father's latest coins with that of his own earliest coins. The following table gives the chronology of these three princes as determined from various sources :—

Accession.

	Samvat.	A. D.	
1. Malaya Varma Deva,	1267	1210	Coins S. 1280 odd, 82 & 1290 odd.
2. Chāhāḍa Deva,	1292	1235	Coins S. 1303 to 1311. Ferishta A. D. 1251.
3. Asala Deva,	1311	1254	Coins S. 1311 to 1330 odd.
	1336	1279	Inscription, S. 1327.

All the inscriptions referring to these Narwar princes, will be duly transmitted to Bābu Rājendralāla Mitra in the hope that he will kindly undertake their translation.

On the Sena Rájás of Bengal as commemorated in an Inscription from Rájsháhi, decyphered and translated by C. T. METCALFE, Esq., C. S.—By Bábu RÁJENDRALÁLA MITRA.

[Received 5th July, 1865.

Read 5th July, 1865.]

Subjoined are the text and translation of a Sanskrit inscription of some interest lately found in a part of Rájsháhi called the "Burrin," close by the village of Deoparáh, Thánnáh Godágári. Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, to whom the Society is indebted for the original and the translation, gives the following account of the place where the monument was found. "The tank where I found it," he says, "is some 40 miles from Goa (Gour?); but it stands on the bank of a river which was the old *Pudda* bed, and which river now flows 6 miles to the south, before Rampur Bauleah. The locality is evidently the site of some temple, and the stone records, I should say the inscription, the praises of the founder. While making some further examinations I came to the top of a series of black stone-steps leading underground; one monster stone was 1 yard in thickness. In the tank itself are 2 slabs which can be felt with a bamboo and which, a hoary-headed old man says, were above ground when he was a *chokra* (boy) and kept the village cattle, *i. e.* some 60 years ago." The place was of some distinction, even during the Mahomedan period, for there still stands a magnificent masjid about 650 years old. Mr. Metcalfe describes it as "built entirely of stone without a bit of mortar, and put together like a child's toy-house, the stones fitting the one into the other. The carving on it is beautiful."

The stone slab upon which the inscription is recorded, was found in a dense jungle apparently away from its original position, but amidst a number of large blocks of stone half buried under the earth. It measures 3 ft. 2 inches by 1 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$. Its material is basalt carefully polished on the upper surface.

The letters of the inscription are of the Tirhoot or Gour type, similar to that of the Bákerganj plate of Kesava Sena, decyphered by James Prinsep. Bengali MSS. three centuries old, are written in very much the same characters, and the facsimile of the *Yajñadatta-badha* published by Chezy, bears some resemblance to it. It is in fact

the first transition stage of the Kuṭila in its passage to the modern Bengali. Mr. Metcalfe found considerable difficulty in getting the record decyphered, owing to modern pandits not being familiar with its style of writing, but I have carefully compared his transcript with the original and satisfied myself that his reading is perfectly correct.

The language of the inscription is pure Sanskrit, but its style is highly inflated and hyperbolic. Umápati Mis'ra, the author of it, is never satisfied with an ordinary comparison. If he has to describe a high temple, he cannot stop without making its pinnacle stand as an obstruction to the course of the sun. His kings must upbraid the heroes of the *Rámáyana* and the *Mahábhárata* as vain boasters and insignificant upstarts, and his war-boats, even when stranded on a sand-bank in the Ganges, must eclipse the glory of the moon. This style, common enough in oriental writing, was particularly remarkable in Northern India in the 9th, 10th and the 11th centuries of the Christian era. Whether at Gour or Benares or Kanauj or Onjein or Mathura, this straining after bombast was so universal, that no one familiar with the monumental literature of the period, can mistake it for a moment, and it may therefore be taken as characteristic of the time. I have myself met with it so often, that had I no other guide to ascertain the age of the record under notice, I would have taken its style to be a conclusive proof of its being of the 10th or 11th century.

The subject of the record is, the dedication of a temple which is described to have "extended to all directions in space, and vied in loftiness with the Mount Meru round which the sun, moon and the stars run their course." Its pinnacle of gold, which was shaped like a water-jar, was equal to the Meru in weight. Its locality was the margin of the tank where the inscription was found. Judging from the insignificant remains now traceable in that locality, I believe the edifice was by no means a very extraordinary one. Its presiding deity was Pradyumnesvara or S'iva as the destroyer of Cupid, a form in which he is not often worshipped by his votaries in Bengal. This divinity, who is generally represented as a vagrant mendicant, is said to have exchanged, by the favour of the dedicator of the temple, his tiger skin toga for silken dresses, his serpent neck-chains for garlands of jewels, his ashes for sandal wood powder, his rosary for pearls, and his human bone ornaments for precious gems.

Of the dedicator of the temple, Vijaya, the record is, as usual in such cases, the most lavish in its praise. According to it, he was the greatest of kings that ever held sway on earth; the most valiant, the most charitable, and the most virtuous. While describing the hero as a devout follower of Mahádeva, it does not hesitate to make him even superior to that dread manifestation of the divinity, for the one, says it, destroys all alike, while the other, killed his enemies and cherished his friends. There is, however, very little in the verses devoted to his glorification which may be taken for facts. The time of his reign is not given, nor the name of his caste, nor that of the place where he caused the temple to be erected. He is related to have invaded Assam (Kámarúpa) and the Coromandel Coast between the Chilka Lake and Madras (Kaliṅga), and to have sent a fleet of war-boats up the Ganges to conquer the Western kings; but nothing is said of the results of these invasions: the last is, in a manner, acknowledged to have proved a failure; for the only thing noticeable in it, was the stranding of one of the boats on a sand-bank, poetically described as "the ashes on the forehead of S'iva, changed to mud by contact with the water of the Ganges."

The genealogy of the king includes three names, those of Hemanta Sena, Sumanta Sena, and Vira Sena. The last was evidently the founder of the family, for he appears as a descendant of the moon, without any reference to his immediate progenitors. All the three were kings of Gour, but their names occur nowhere in history. Vijaya the last of the series was, according to tradition, known by the name of Sukha Sena, and under that name he occurs in the *Áyín Akbary*, as the father of Ballála Sena. His name occurs in the Bakerganj plate as the first of a series of four kings, the last of which was Kesava Sena. Vijaya there appears as the father of Ballála Sena. Again, in a manuscript of the *Dánaságara*, a treatise on gifts attributed to Ballála Sena, the author describes himself as the son of Vijaya Sena and the grandson of Hemanta Sena. These facts justify the assumption that the three records allude to the same family, and that Sukha Sena was an alias of Vijaya Sena. If this be admitted, the Sena dynasty of Bengal will have to be extended by the addition of the three names which occur in the inscription now under notice.

Of the descendants of Vijaya, the most distinguished was, no doubt,

his son Ballála. "This prince," to quote the words of an able writer in the *Calcutta Review*, "was held, in such high estimation all over Bengal, that the most extravagant fancies have been indulged and the wildest tales invented in order to connect his memory with the marvellous and the sublime." The same writer continues; "Poets have invested him with the dignity of a divine original and described his infantile precocity in the most glowing colours. He has been represented as the son of the fluvial god Brahmáputra, who had deceived his mother by assuming the form of her own husband. His nativity is said to have taken place in the solitude of a thick forest, where his mother had been banished a few months before her parturition through the jealousy and treachery of his father's two other wives. In these sylvan shades and under the especial protection of heaven he passed his infantile days, undisturbed by the noise and distractions of towns and cities, and uncontaminated by the pleasures and irregularities of riotous society. His divine parent, "the uxorious Amnis," as Horace would perhaps call him, instructed him in the different branches of a Hindu's education, and in the tactics of war and diplomatic policy. While yet a boy he is said to have exhibited extraordinary proofs of heroism and strength. He had discomfited unassisted and alone a whole host of disciplined troops commanded by princes and veteran captains, and armed with all the weapons of native warfare." The whole of this statement, however, is founded upon vague traditions or modern records of doubtful authority. We may dismiss it, therefore, without a remark. The Bakerganj inscription of Ballála's grandson does not allude to the facts noted in it with sufficient circumstantiality to give them any prominence. From what it says, we may take for granted, however, that he was a great patron of learning and himself an author of some pretension.—Vedártha smṛiti saṅgrahádi puruṣha. The treatise on gifts alluded to above shews that his reading was extensive and his knowledge of the s'ástras respectable.* He is,

* The prominent mention made in the work of the author's tutor, Anirudha, would waken a suspicion that, like many other crowned heads in India and Europe, Ballála had assumed to himself a credit which rightly belonged to another. However that be, the authenticity of the work is undoubted. It has been quoted by the author of the *Samoya Prakáśa* who lived several hundred years ago, and Raghu-nandana who flourished at the end of the 15th century, alludes to it in two places in his *Suddhitattva*: अथ साक्षात्कूद्रदत्तदृष्टतत्पुलायनपयोगीति दानसागरः Serampore edition, p. 194. Again: उपकरणं धान्यादि, नियमस्याय, उपवासदिग्रत-

however, better known in this country by the system of hereditary nobility which he established in his court than by his devotion to letters. The main object of that system was to give preëminence to

श्रीज्ञाय इति दानसागरः । Ibid. 20—3. The work is divided into 70 Sections and devoted to a description of 1375 gifts, the mode of consecrating them, the proper persons to give them to, the time meet for making such gifts, &c. &c. The author enumerates in his introduction the different authorities he had consulted in compiling his work, and as his list gives an idea of the works which were reckoned as standard authorities in his time, 9 hundred years ago, I quote it entire.

<i>Purānas.</i>	Vishṇu-dharma.	Yama.
Brahma.	Gopatha Bráhmaṇa.	Yogayajñavalkya.
*Varáha.	Rámáyana.	Devala.
Agni.	Mahábhárata.	Baudháyana.
Bhavishya.	Mann.	Angirasa.
Matsya.	Vasiṣṭha.	Dánavyasa.
Kurma.	Samvarta.	Vrihaspati ? ?
Adya.	Yájnavalkya.	Sankha.
<i>Upapurāna.</i>	Gotama.	Likhita.
Adya.	Kátyáyana.	Apastamba.
Sámba.	Yávala.	Sátyayana.
Káliká.	Sandána.	Máha Vyása.
Nandi.	Vrihaspati.	Laghu Vyása.
Aditya.	Vrihad Vasiṣṭha.	Laghu Hárita.
*Nárasinha.	Hárita.	Chhandoga perisishṭa.
Márkandeya.	Pulasta.	
Vishṇudharmottara.	Vishṇu.	
<i>S'ástras.</i>	Satatapa.	

S'lokas are often repeated by paṇditas, which tradition ascribes to this prince. It is said that once when his son Lakshmaṇa was long absent from home, his daughter-in-law brought the circumstance to his notice by writing the following s'loka on the wall before the place where he used to dine :—

घनत्वचिरतं वारि षट्यन्नि शिखिनो मुदा ।

अथ कान्तः हतान्तो वा दुःखस्थानं कारयति ॥

"The clouds are pouring without intermission and the peacocks are dancing with joy ; on such a day death or my darling alone can remove my suffering."

Touched by it he invited his son back to his home with the following stanza :—

सन्नप्ता दशरुद्धजाद्यगतिना सन्नापिता निर्जने

तूर्य्यद्वादशवत् द्वितीयमतिमुद्रेकादशभक्तनी ।

सा षष्ठो षपपञ्चमस्य भविता भुसन्ननीवर्जिता

प्राभोत्यष्टमवेदनां प्रथमं चे तूर्णं हतायो भव ॥

"O thou who art disposed as the second (the Bull—listen)." Alone and oppressed is she with the breasts like the eleventh (pitchers-globes) of the elephant, by the approach of him who has the tenth (Makara on his flag Cupid), even as are the twelfth (fishes) and the fourth (crabs), on the approach of the shark (makara). That sixth (virgo), with eyebrows without compare, (lit. devoid of the seventh libra), who should belong to the royal fifth (lion-prince is suffering from the pangs of the eighth (scorpio). O, first (aries—my son) hasten and be thou the third

the descendants of the five Brahmins and *Káyasthas who had been brought to Bengal by Adis'úra. The particular qualities which were to characterise his nobles were "good manners, learning, humility, reputation, pilgrimage, faith, fixed profession, austerity, and charity"* but as there was no standard measure for those qualities, and it was difficult to secure them without attaching penalties to personal delinquencies which could never be enforced, he had recourse to other and more definite means for their perpetuation. He availed himself of the popular notion that children invariably inherit the moral qualities of their parents, and hoped that by maintaining the blood of his newly created nobles pure and undefiled, he would attain his end. He forbid all intermarriage between the original Brahmans and Káyasthas of the country and the newcomers, and ordained various and complicated rules for the gradual degradation of those families which should permit any stain to fall on the gentility of their blood. Mis-alliances could not, how-

(gemini)." The *play on the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac in this s'loka cannot be preserved in the English translation.

On another occasion he was himself absent from home for a long time, having been detained in a forest by the charms of a lowly born damsel. The scandal was great, and his son, to stop it, requested his return with the following verse :—

शैत्यं नाम गुणसर्वैव सहजः स्वाभाविकी सच्छता
किं त्रुसः शुचितां भवन्ति शुचयः स्पर्शनं यस्यापरे ।
किञ्चान्यत् कथयामि ते सुतिपदं यज्जाविनां जीवनं
लघेन्नोचपथेन गच्छति पथः कस्त्वां निपेद्ं तसः ॥

"Generally cool art thou, O river, and transparent by nature. Of thy purity what can I say? everything becomes pure by thy touch. What else need I tell in thy praise? thou art the life of all living things. And yet strange to relate, thou flowest downwards and none can withhold thee."

To it the king sent the following reply :—

तापो नापगतक्षुषा न च क्षया धैता न धूलो तनो-
र्न सच्छन्दमकारि कन्दकवलः का नाम केली कथा ॥
दूरोत्क्षिप्रकरेण च्छन्न करिणा स्पृष्टा न वा पद्मिना
प्रारब्धे सधुपैरकारणमचो भङ्गारकोलाहलः ॥

"The elephant has not yet soothed its skin nor allayed its thirst; the dust on its body still remains unwashed, and the tuberos roots of the lotus have hitherto not yielded it a mouthful of food, much less an entertainment; the lotus remains untouched by his far projectile arm: verily the bees have raised an unmeaning hue and cry by their murmurs."

* The authenticity of these s'lokas is, however, not such as may be relied upon.

* Acháro vinayo vidyá pratishthá tirtha darsana, nishthá vṛitti tapo dánam navadhá kula-lakshañam.

ever, be altogether prevented, and the successors of Ballála somewhat encouraged them, by raising the social status of those plebeans who succeeded in securing the alliances of kulinas. Wealthy maulikas largely availed themselves of the opportunity which was thus given them of rising in social rank, and the cupidity of our nobility has of late encouraged them by a system of polygamy which has made kulinism in Bengal, a positive nuisance to society.

The son and successor of Ballála was Lakshmana Sena. The author of the Bakerganj plate makes him erect altars and pillars of victory at Benares, Allahabad, and Jagannath, but "it may reasonably be doubted," says Prinsep, "whether these monuments of his greatness ever existed elsewhere than in the poet's imagination." His prime minister and Lord Chancellor (Dharmádhikára,) was Haláyudha, son of Dhananjaya, of the Vátasya race, a Brahmin of great learning and a descendant of Bhaṭṭanáráyaṇa, the author of the Venisañhára. His eldest brother, Pashupati, wrote a treatise on the *sráddha* and other ceremonies under the title of *Pashupati Paddhati*. His next brother was a great scholar and professor of Smṛiti and the Mīmāṃsá; he wrote a treatise on the diurnal duties of Brahmins which still exists—*Ahnika Paddhati*. Haláyudha himself is said to have written several works on Smṛiti, of which the most important is the *Brahmaṇa Sarvasva*. In it, he describes his patron in the usual grandiloquent terms of his time, but there is nothing in it to shew that he was other than a prince of mediocre merit. He is said by the Mahomedan historians to have greatly embellished the city of Gour, and called it after his own name *Lakhnouty* or *Lakshmana-vatí*; but the inscriptions are silent on the subject, as they are as regards the popular belief of Ballála Sena's having built the town of Gour.

Lakshmana was followed successively by his two sons, Mádhava Sena and Kesava Sena. The *Rájavalí* brings in a Su or Súra Sena after Kesava, and Mahomedan writers have a Noujib, a Narayan, a Lakshmana, and a Lakshmaniyá to follow him; but no monumental record has yet been found to prove their ever having existed. An As'oka Sena also occurs as one of the kings of Gour, but his position in the list is nowhere defined. Of these therefore I have nothing to say. I shall make an exception, however, in favour of the last of the series. The *Tabkát i Násiri* of Minhájuddin Jowzjani says that the last king of

the Sena dynasty was Lakhmaniyá, and this authority must be accepted as correct, as the work was written within fifty-eight years after the conquest of Bengal by Bakhtiar Khilijy, and its author had ample opportunities, during his sojourn in Bengal, of conversing with the contemporaries of Lakhmaniyá who had taken part in that conquest, and of collecting the most authentic information available in his time. The account given in that book is as follows:—

ثقات رواة رحمهم الله چنین روایت کرده اند که چون ذکر شجاعت و مبارزت و فتوح ملک محمد بختیار رحمة الله برای لکهمنیه رسید که در الملک او شهرنودیه بود و او راے بس بزرگ بود و مدت هشتاد سال در تخت بود و بدین موضع حکایتی از حالات آن راے استماع افتداده است در قلم آمد، و آن آنست. که چون پدر آن راے از دنیا نقل کرد این راے لکهمنیه در شکم مادر بود تاج بوشکم مادر او نهادند و همگنان پیش مادر او کمر بستند و خاندان ایشان را رایان هند بزرگی داشتند و بمنزلت خلیفه هند شمرند. چون ولادت لکهمنیه نزدیک رسید و مادرش را آثار وضع حمل ظاهر شد منجمان و برهمنان را جمع کرد تا طالع وقت را نگاه دارند باتفاق گفتند که اگر این فرزند را درین ساعت ولادت باشد نحوست هر چه تمامتر باشد و پادشاهی نرسد و اگر بعد ازین بد و ساعت ولادت باشد مدت هشتاد سال پادشاهی کند چون مادر او این حکم از منجمان بشنید بفرمود تا او را هردو پائے بر هم بستند و نگونسار در آوریدند و منجمان را بنشانند تا طالع می نگر بستند و چون وقت شد اتفاق کردند که وقت ولادت آمد بفرمود تا او را فرو گرفتند در حال لکهمنیه را ولادت بود. چون بزمین آمد مادرش از شدت تحمل آن حالت در گذشت. لکهمنیه را بر تخت نهادند و هشتاد سال پادشاهی کرد.

Translation.—Contemporary historians, on whom be the blessings of God, have thus related: "That when the news of the valour and the wars and subjugation of kingdoms by Mohammed Bakhtyar, may the mercy of God be on him, reached Lakhmaniyá, the capital of his kingdom was Nuddea. The Rája was very learned and had sat on the throne for 80 years. It will not be amiss to mention here an anecdote of the Rája which has come to my knowledge; it is this: When the father of the Rája passed away from this world, Rája Lakhmaniyá was in his mother's womb. The crown was therefore placed on the womb, and the officers of State all girt themselves and stood round and behind the mother. The family of this prince was known as the Rája of Rájás of Hind by the wise men of the time, and reckoned as

the viceroys (khalifá) of India. When the time for the birth of Lakhmaniyá approached near, and the mother felt the pains of delivery, the astrologers and Brahmans were assembled together, so that they may watch the auspicious moment of birth. They unanimously said that should this boy be born immediately, it will be unfortunate in every respect, and he will never attain to royalty. But should he be delivered two hours hence, he will reign for 80 years. When the mother heard this from the astrologers, she ordered that she may be hung up by her two feet as long as the auspicious moment should not come, and that the astrologers should be in attendance to watch that moment. When the proper time arrived and the astrologers said that it was at hand, she was taken down. Thus was Lakhmaniyá born, but his mother immediately died of the pains she had been subjected to. Lakhmaniyá was immediately placed on the throne, where he reigned for eighty years."

Three things may be taken for granted in this statement; first that the name of the last king of the Sena dynasty was Lakhmaniyá; second, that he was a posthumous child; and third, that he reigned for eighty years. It must be admitted, however, that the word Lakhmaniyá is very unlike a Bengali proper name. The only Bengali or Sanskrit word to which it bears any resemblance is the patronymic* *Lakshmaneya*, "a son, grandson or descendant of Lakshmana," and if it be admitted that the *Lakhmaniyá* of the Mahomedan historians is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Lakshmaneya*, it would not be too much to assume that the prince under notice was the grandson of Lakshmana son of Ballála.

The reigns of Mádhava and Kesava Sena were short and inconsequential, and it is very likely that the Lakhmaniyá who succeeded Kesava, and reigned in Bengal for 80 years, was taken by the Mahomedans to be the immediate successor of Lakshmana, son of Ballála, who had a long and prosperous reign of many years. I adopt this assumption.

* The affix *dhak* is ordinarily used after feminine nouns, स्त्रीभ्यां टक् Pāṇini iv, I. 120, but under the especial rule *s'ubhrá-dibhyas'cha* (P. iv, I. 123.) Lakshmana of the Vasishtha gotra* takes that affix. "Lakshmana syámayorvdsishthe." I know not whether the Senas were of the Vasishtha gotra, but such niceties of grammar were so little attended to in the middle ages that I do not think that anybody would have objection to its use in the case of persons not of the Vasishtha gotra. If such an objection be raised, we must take Lakshmaniya to be a matronymic and assume the name of our prince's mother to have been Lakshmana.

tion owing as much to the names of Su Sena Noujib and a second Lakshmana not occurring in any authentic early document, as to there being no sufficient time available between the dates of Ballála Sena and that of the Mahomedan conquest for the allocation of three reigns, after making the necessary allowance for Lakshmana, Madhava and Kesava Senas and Lakhmaniyá. It is possible that those reigns were only of a few months' duration each, but there is nothing authentic to support such a theory, and therefore, I feel fully justified in the assumption I have made above.

The inscriptions are very unsatisfactory on the subject of dates. The Bakerganj plate professes to have been recorded in the month of Jaishṭha in the third year of the king's reign, but does not name any current era. The Rájasháhi stone has no date whatever. But it is not difficult to find the probable time when the different members of the Sena dynasty flourished in Bengal. According to the author of the *Samaya Prakás'a*, the *Dānaságara* was written (or completed?) in the S'aka year 1019* = A. D. 1097. Ballála must therefore have lived at about the end of the eleventh century, and this accords well with the statement of the *Ayin Akbary* which makes that prince commence his reign in the year 1066. Lakshmana, according to Abul Fazel, assumed the sovereignty of Bengal in 1116, which gives a period of 51 years to Ballála. I doubt, however, the accuracy of the last date. The date of Bakhtiar's conquest of Bengal is well known (1203), and the testimony of Minhajuddin regarding the eighty years' reign of Lákshmaniya cannot be easily set aside. This carries us back to 1123. On the other side if we allow only three years to Ballála after the completion of his *Dānaságara* we come to the end of the 11th century, leaving only 23 years between 1101 and 1123 for distribution among Lakshmana, Mádhava and Kesava. The exact period of Lakshmana's reign is not known. Abul Fazel allots to him only 8 years, but Haláyudha, his prime minister, suggests a much longer time. He says that he was in his boyhood made a court paṇdit, by the king; that in his early manhood, he attained to the rank of a minister; and that

* निखिलवृषक्रतिलकश्रीवज्रासुमेनदेवेन । पूर्णे शशि-नव-दशमिते शकाब्दे
दानशगरोरचितः ॥

subsequently he was raised to the office of the Lord Chancellor *Dharmádhihára*.* This is not practicable within the space of eight years, and I feel no hesitation in assigning to him two and a half times that number of years; the remaining three years being left for Mádhava and Kesava and possibly for Su or Sura Sena should a prince of that name be hereafter verified. For the present I am disposed to throw out a hint that Su Súra Noujeb and As'oka were probably the proper name and aliases of the prince whose patronymic was Lakhmaniya. Prinsep, following the Ayin Akbary, takes 1136 to be the date of the Bakerganj plate, but as that authority makes Lakhmaniya begin his reign in the year 1200 A. D. and fly to Orissa three years after, when Minhajuddin, who had ample opportunities of conversing with the contemporaries of Lakshmana, and was himself in Bengal a few years after his overthrow, assures us that that prince reigned for 80 years, we may without compunction reject its evidence as unworthy of belief. The ancestors of Ballála from Hemanta to Vira Sena were hitherto unknown to history, and even now the inscription under notice does not name the time when they flourished. The final settlement of their dates must, therefore, be left for future research. If we assign to them the usual Indian average of 18 years to a reign, the Sena dynasty may be arranged as follows:—

* For those who may be curious on the subject I quote a few stanzas from the *Brahmaja Sarvasva*.

बभूव तस्यां प्रकृतेर्हानिव श्रियो निवासायतनं हलायुधः ।
 यत्कीर्तिरभोनिधिवीचिदण्डोसाधिरोद्वयसमं विभक्तिं ॥
 लब्धं जन्म धनज्ञयाद्भगवतः श्रीलक्ष्मणक्षापते-
 राटत्या लघुता निजस्य बयसः प्राप्ता महापात्रता ।
 शब्दमज्ञ करोदरामलकवद्भे गोचरा सत्क्रिये-
 त्यसि प्रार्थयितव्यस्य कृतिनः किञ्चिद्ग सांसारिकं ॥
 येनासौदजितं न सिन्धुलहरी धौताङ्गनायां चितौ
 यस्याज्ञातमभूद् सप्तभुवने नानाविधं वाङ्मयं ।
 देवः स विजगन्मस्य सहिसा श्रीलक्ष्मणः क्षापति-
 र्भेता यस्य सुनीपिताधिकपुरस्कारोत्तराः सम्यदः ॥
 बाल्ये ष्यापितराजैपण्डितपदः येनांशुविन्नेल्ल-
 ख्वालोस्तिक्तमहामहलानुपदं दत्त्वा नवे यौवने ।
 यस्मै शौचनशेषयोग्यसखिलक्ष्मापालनारायणः
 श्रीमान् लक्ष्मणसेनदेवश्चपतिर्धर्माधिकारं ददौ ॥

	A. D.
Víra Sena,	994
Sámanta Sena,	1012
Hemanta Sena,	1030
Vijaya <i>alias</i> Sukha Sena,	1048
Ballála Sena,	1066
Lakshmana Sena,	1101
Madhava Sena,	1121
Kesava Sena,	1122
Lakhmaniya, <i>alias</i> As'oka Su or Sura Sena,	1123
The last overthrown by Bhakhtiar in	1203

This arrangement brings the age of Víra Sena, probably the first of the family who settled in Bengal, to very near the time which I have assigned to Ádis'úra in my paper on Mahendrapála,* and it would not be too much to assume that Víra was the immediate successor of Ádis'úra. There is, however, no monumental or any ancient authentic record to prove the date of A'dis'úra. The authorities quoted in my paper agree in bringing him down to the time of Ballála, and must therefore be rejected as false. The author of the *Káyastha Kaustubha* places the advent of the Kanauj Brahmans in Bengal in the year 380 Bengali or 892 A. D., which would place A'dis'úra in the midst of the Pálas and be altogether inconsistent with the history of the five original Brahmans and Káyashtas of Bengal. Pere Tieffenthaler's authorities carry Ádis'úra still further back, and place him twenty-two generations away from Ballála. My date of Ádis'úra is founded upon the genealogical tables of the Káyasthas as now current in this country. Those tables give 27 generations from the time of Ádis'úra, and at 3 generations to a century the time of that prince is carried to 964 of the Christian era. If there be any error in the tables, it would no doubt falsify my deduction, but as long as that error is not detected, that deduction will, I expect, command more attention than the authorities I have quoted. But be that as it may, as far as we are at present informed, it must be admitted that the two princes lived at times very close to each other. It is said by some that Ádis'úra was the father of Ballála; while others maintain that he was the progenitor of the Sena dynasty. The first statement may at once be rejected as inconsistent with the inscriptions and the

* Ante Vol. XXX, p. 11.

Dánaságara; but the second may be true, and if so, Vira Sena may well be taken to be the same with *Adis'úra*. The name *Adis'úra* does not sort either with the *Pálas* or with the *Senas*. The word *s'úra* is a synonym of *Vira* a hero, and the *ádi* is indicative of the initial position which *Vira Sena* occupies in the genealogy of the dynasty. It is stated in the genealogical tables of the *Káyasthas* that when *Ballála* established his system of *Kula* the original five *Káyasthas* of *Kanauj* had multiplied to 56 families. Assuming that each generation of the original *Káyasthas* had multiplied two-fold, five generations from *Adis'úra* to *Ballála* would give eighty individuals, who may well represent the alleged number of families. Of the *Brahmans* the total number of families that lived at the time of *Ballála* is not known. But it is evident that it was not large, for we find that he included only ten families in the ranks of his nobles, viz. two of the descendants of *Bhaṭṭanárāyaṇa*, two of those of *Daksha*, one of those of *S'ri Harsha*, three of those of *Chhándada*, and two of those of *Vedagarbha*. They do not suggest a longer period than would be covered by five generations. It should be noted that the editor of the *Venisāñhára*,* *Muktárāma Vidyāvágis'a*, in his genealogical table of the *Tagore* family makes *Haláyudha* minister of *Lakshmaṇa Sena*, to be the 16th in descent from *Bhaṭṭanárāyaṇa*; but inasmuch as his statement has been contradicted by the author of the *Khitis a-vañsávali-charita*† who would have him to be the third in descent from *Bhaṭṭanárāyaṇa*, and both have been contradicted by *Haláyudha* himself, who calls his father *Dhanañjaya*, whereas the one makes him the son of *Nipu* and the other that of *Rámarúpa*, we may well reject his testimony as inadmissible. It must, however, be admitted that the identity I suggest is a mere conjecture, and I hope it will be taken as such and no more.

There is one more circumstance in connexion with the *Senas* to which I wish to allude, before I conclude,—it is with reference to their caste. The universal belief in Bengal is, that the *Senas* were of the medical caste, and families of *Vaidyas* are not wanting in the present day who trace their lineage from *Ballála Sena*. There is, however, nothing authentic to justify this belief. It is well known that a great many of the pedigrees given in *Burke's Landed Gentry* are utterly worthless, and it is notorious that many families of

* Ed. Calcutta, 1855.

† *Percche's Ed.* p. xvi.

obscure origin have their veins filled with the blue blood of generations of kings by the opportune help of popular genealogists, and we feel strongly tempted to believe that the pedigree of the so-called Ballála's descendants is no better. The *Kulapañjiká* of Kulá-chárya Thakura describes Ádis'úra as the "sun of the Kshatriya race." (*Kshatriya vañsa hañsa*); the Bakerganj and the Rájsháhi inscriptions agree in calling the Senas, the descendants of the moon or Kshatriyas of the lunar race (Somavañsa); the latter describes Sámanta Sena as "a garland for the head of the race of noble Kshatriyas"—*brahma kshatriyánám kulos'iro dáma*; and their testimony cannot be rejected in favour of modern tradition. Nor is it difficult to account for the mistake which has given rise to that tradition. There lived in former days in the North-West a race of Kshatriyas of the name of *Ambastha*. The Vishnu Purána alludes to them when enumerating the several races of the North-West Provinces, (मद्रा रामासुयान्मद्राः पारशिकादयस्तथाः) and Pápiní quotes *Ambastha* as an example of the same word meaning a Kshatriya race and a country where they live (Pápiní IV, I, 171.) The Mahábhárata uses the word both as the name of a race of Kshatriyas, and that of a Kshatriya king, and the Mediní, the Viswaprakás'a and the Sabdaratnákara explain it as the name of a country.* It is very likely that the Senas belonged to this section of the military class, and in Bengal, in later days, was confounded with the *Ambasthas* of Manu who were a mixed tribe of Brahmans and Vaisyas, and therefore taken to be of the medical caste. Such confounding of names and their meanings has been so common in India, that one need not be at all surprised at finding the Senas degraded from a military to a mixed caste, from a misapprehension of the meaning of their name. Abul Fazel in the *Ayn Akbary* and Pere Tieffenthaler make the Senas to belong to the *Káyastha* caste, and this may be explained by the fact that the *Káyasthas* in the North-West are even to this day called by the name of *Ambasthas*. If this be not accepted, tradition shall have to be opposed to authentic inscription. James Prinsep noticed in the Bákerganj plate the title of *S'ankara Gaudeś'wara* which, written as the word *s'ankara* is with a palatal *s*, can only mean "the excellent lord of Gaúḍa," unless शङ्कर "excellent" be taken as a euphuism of *sankara*, a mixed race. There is a temple at Kashmir known by the name of San-

* Goldstücker's Sanskrit Dictionary, voce *Ambastha*.

kara* Gaureswara, owing probably to its having been erected by order of one of the Sena Rájás. The epigraph of the *Dánaságara* assigns to Ballála Sena the title of निःशङ्कशङ्कर which, according as the s of *Sankara* is taken to be a palatal or a dental, means "undoubtedly the most excellent," or "undoubtedly of a mixed race." It is very unlikely that anybody would assume the latter for a distinctive title. This is, however, a question of so little consequence to the antiquarian, that I need not dwell upon it any longer.

P. S. As Mr. Metcalfe's translation does not profess to be literal I have not thought proper to alter it in any way, except in the cases of verses 4, 5 and 20, which are susceptible of very different interpretations, one of which would make Vira Sena a king of Dekkan and his great grandson the first who subjugated Bengal, and another take him to be only a Southron by race, but a king of Bengal. (12th Sept. 1865.)

Transcript and Translation of an Inscription from Rájasháhi.—By
C. T. METCALFE, Esq., C. S.

ॐ नमः शिवाय ।

वचोशुकाहरणसाध्वसद्यमौलि-

माखच्छटाहतरतालयदीपभासः ।

देवाख्यपामुकुलितं मुखमिन्दुभाभि-

र्वीक्ष्याननानि हसितानि जयन्ति शम्भोः ॥ १ ॥

Victory be to the mouths of Shambhu (Shiva), who laughed on looking through the light of the moon at the shame-contracted face of Debi who, for fear of the removal of her breast-cloth, turned aside her head, the garland of which drowned the light of the candle in the hymeneal chamber.

लक्ष्मीवल्लभाभशैलजादयितयोरद्वैतलीलागृहं

प्रद्युम्नेश्वरशब्दलाञ्छनमघिष्ठानं नमस्कर्महे ।

यत्रालिङ्गनभङ्गकातरत्तयां यास्थित्वान्तरे कान्तयो-

र्द्देवीभ्यां कथमप्यभिन्नतनुताशिल्योन्तरायः क्षतः ॥ २ ॥

We bow down before the idol of Harihara (Vishnu and Shiva), known under the name of Pradyumneshwara, where the Devis, fearing

* Ante Vol. XVII. Pt. II, p. 233.

lest they should no longer enjoy the embrace of their husbands, went inside (the idol); and became an obstacle to the amalgamation of the two deities.

[When Hari and Hara intended to amalgamate themselves into one form, their wives, being afraid of not recognising their husbands, became an obstacle to executing their purpose, and the deities instead of being able to assume a new form, retained half of each.]

यत् सिंहासनमीश्वरारस्य कौनकप्रायं जटामण्डलं
गङ्गाशीकरमङ्गरोपरिकरैर्यच्चामरप्रक्रिया ।
श्वेतोत्फुल्लफणाक्षलः शिवशिरःसन्दानदामोरग-
श्वत्रं यस्य जयत्वसावचरमो राजा सुधादोधितिः ॥ ३ ॥

Victory be to the first king moon, who sits enthroned on the matted hair (Jaṭá) of Shiva, fanned by a chauri having drops of Ganges water; the white expanded hood of the serpents which adorn the head of Shiva, became the covering of his *chatta* (umbrella), and the serpents, its handle.

[Here the moon is represented as a king, who has the matted hair of Shiva for his throne, and the hood of the serpent's for his umbrella.]

वंशे तस्यामरस्त्रीविततरतकलासाक्षिणो दाक्षिणात्य-
क्षोणीन्द्रैर्वीरसेनप्रभृतिभिरभितः कीर्त्तिमद्भिर्बभूवे ।
यच्चारित्रानुचिन्तापरिचयशुचयः सूक्तिमाध्वीकधाराः
पाराशर्येण विश्वश्रवणपरिसरप्रीणनाय प्रणीताः ॥ ४ ॥

In his race, who enjoyed the companionship of the celestial maidens, and the virtuous deeds of which race were celebrated in honied verses by Vyasa for the satisfaction of the universe, were born king Vira Sena and others, who were Dakshinātyas* and famous everywhere.

तस्मिन् सेनान्ववाये प्रतिसुभटशतोत्सादनब्रह्मवादी
सब्रह्मक्षत्रियाणामजनि कुलशिरोदाम सामन्तसेनः ।
उद्गीयन्ते यदीयाः रखलदुदधिजलोक्षोत्तशोतेषु सेतेः
कच्छान्तेष्वपरोभिर्दृशरयतनयस्यर्द्धया युद्धगाथाः ॥ ५ ॥

* The word *Dākshinātya kshamindra* may mean "a king of the Southern country" Dekkan, or "a king of the Southern race," in the same way in which *pāschātya, Sāraswat, Drāviḍa*, indicate races. R. M.

In that Sena family was born Sámanta Sena, the destroyer of hundreds of the enemy's champions. He was a worshipper of Brahma and a garland for the head of the race of the noblest Kshetriyas; and verses celebrating his heroic deeds were sung by the celestial maidens on the border of the dam cooled by the agitated waves of the ocean, in a manner which might even excite the envy of Rama, the son of Dasharatha.

यस्मिन् सङ्करचत्वरे पटुरटतूर्योपहृतद्विव-
हर्णे येन कृपायकालभुजगः खेलायितः पाणिना ।
द्वैघोभूतविपक्षकुञ्जरघटाविस्मियकुम्भस्थली
मुक्तास्थूलवराटिकापरिकरैर्व्याप्तं तदद्याप्यभूत् ॥ ६ ॥

He did in the field of battle play with his hands his serpent-like swords, where the noise of his battle-drums depressed the spirit of his enemies, and the pearls which fell from the globe over the head of his enemies' elephants, unscamed by his sword, are still to be found scattered in the shape of heavy kouries.

गृह्णाद्गृहमुपागतं व्रजति पत्तनं पत्तना-
दनात् वनमनुव्रतं भ्रमति पादपं पादपात् ।
गिरेर्गिरिमधिश्रितन्तरति तोयधिनोयधे-
र्यदीवमरिसुन्दरीसरकण्डलश्रं यशः ॥ ७ ॥

His fame mounting the backs of his enemies' wives, did travel from house to house, from city to city, from forest to forest, from mountain to mountain, and from ocean to ocean.

दुर्वृत्तानामयमरि कुलाकीर्णकर्माटलक्ष्मी-
लुगटाकानां कदनमतनोत्तादृगेकाङ्गवीरः ।
यस्मादद्याप्यविहृतवसामांसमेदःसुभिक्षां
हृद्यत्पौरख्यजति न दिशं दक्षिणां प्रेतभर्त्ता ॥ ८ ॥

He did extirpate the enemies who plundered the riches of the Carnatic, and the marrow, flesh and bones, (of the dead bodies of his enemies' troops) to be found in abundance there, has caused Yama not to leave the southern quarters up to the present time, becoming himself gladly an inhabitant of the place.

[Yama is lord of the Pretas, a kind of evil spirits or demons, who live upon human flesh and blood.]

उद्धन्वीन्याद्यधूमैर्म्मृगशिशुरसिताखिन्नवैखानसस्त्री-
स्तन्धत्तोरणि वीरप्रकरपरिचितब्रह्मपारायणानि ।
येनासेष्वन्त श्रेष्ठे वयसि भवभयान्कन्दिभिर्म्मखरीन्द्रैः
पूर्वोत्सङ्गानि गङ्गापुलिनपरिसरारण्यपुण्याश्रमाणि ॥ ९ ॥

In his old age he settled himself in the sacred groves of the hilly forests situated on the bank of the Ganges, where the smoke of the incense offerings reached to the skies, and young deer sucked the milk of the wives of the moonies (saints); where parrots have got by rote the Vedas; and where the slopes of the mountains are filled up by the saints who resort there on approach of death.

अचरमपरमात्मज्ञानभोग्यादमुष्मा-
त्रिजभुजमदमत्तारतिमाराङ्कवीरः ।
अभवदनवसानोद्भिन्ननिर्झितवत्त-
दुणनिवहमहिम्नां वैश्वहेमन्तसेनः ॥ १० ॥

From this king, in his manhood, when he had not devoted himself to the contemplation of God, was born Hemanta Sena, who was famous for killing his enemies proud of their strength, and who did acquire from his birth all the pure and virtuous qualities possessed by his ancestors.

मूर्द्धन्यर्द्धेन्दुचूडामणिचरणरजः सत्यवाक् कण्ठभित्ता
शास्त्रं श्रोत्रेरिकेशः पदभुविभुजयोऽक्रमौर्वीकिणाङ्कः ।
नेपथ्यं यस्य जज्ञे सततमिदं ददं रत्नपुष्पाणि हारा
स्ताङ्कं नूपुरसघक्कनकवलयमप्यस्य नृत्याङ्गनानाम् ॥ ११ ॥

He did bear on his head the dust of Shiva's feet, had truth on his throat (*i. e.* spoke truth), had the Vedas in his ear, (*i. e.* heard the Vedas,) had the hairs of his enemies under his feet, (*i. e.* received homage from his enemies), and had the scars of bow-strings on his arms. Such were his ornaments, while the pearl flowers, ear-rings and golden bracelets formed the ornaments of his dancing girls.

[This sloke is so full of participles that it is difficult to translate it clearly.]

यद्दोर्व्वल्लिविलासलब्धगतिभिः शल्यैर्विदीर्क्षीरसां
वीराणां रणतीर्थवैभववशाद्विद्यं वपुर्व्विभ्रताम् ।

In that Sena family was born Sámanta Sena, the destroyer of hundreds of the enemy's champions. He was a worshipper of Brahma and a garland for the head of the race of the noblest Kshetriyas; and verses celebrating his heroic deeds were sung by the celestial maidens on the border of the dam cooled by the agitated waves of the ocean, in a manner which might even excite the envy of Rama, the son of Dasharatha.

यस्मिन् सङ्करचत्वरे पटुरटचूर्योपहृतद्विष-
द्वर्गे येन द्यपाणकालभुजगः खेलायितः पाणिना ।
द्वैधीभूतविपक्षकुञ्जरघटाविस्त्रियकुम्भस्थली
मुक्तास्थूलवराटिकापरिकरैर्व्याप्तं तदद्याप्यभूत् ॥ ६ ॥

He did in the field of battle play with his hands his serpent-like swords, where the noise of his battle-drums depressed the spirit of his enemies, and the pearls which fell from the globe over the head of his enemies' elephants, unseamed by his sword, are still to be found scattered in the shape of heavy kouries.

गृह्णाद्गृहमुपागतं व्रजति पत्तनं पत्तना-
दनात् वनमनुद्रुतं भ्रमति पादपं पादपात् ।
गिरेर्गिरिमधिश्चितन्तरति तोयधिन्तोयधे-
र्यदीयमरिसुन्दरीसरकण्डलमं यशः ॥ ७ ॥

His fame mounting the backs of his enemies' wives, did travel from house to house, from city to city, from forest to forest, from mountain to mountain, and from ocean to ocean.

दुर्वृत्तानामयमरिकुलाकीर्णकूर्साटलक्ष्मी-
लुण्ठकाणां कदनमतनोत्ताटगेकाङ्गवीरः ।
यस्मादद्याप्यविहृतवसामांसमेदःसुभिक्षां
हृष्यत्पौरस्वजति न दिशं दक्षिणां प्रेतभर्ता ॥ ८ ॥

He did extirpate the enemies who plundered the riches of the Carnatic, and the marrow, flesh and bones, (of the dead bodies of his enemies' troops) to be found in abundance there, has caused Yama not to leave the southern quarters up to the present time, becoming himself gladly an inhabitant of the place.

[Yama is lord of the Pretas, a kind of evil spirits or demons, who live upon human flesh and blood.]

उद्धन्वीन्याद्यधूमैर्गग्निशुभ्रसिताखिन्नवैखानसस्त्री-
स्तन्वन्नोराणि कीरप्रकरपरिचितब्रह्मपारायणानि ।
येनासेव्यन्त श्रेष्ठे वयसि भवभयास्त्रान्दिभिर्भङ्गरोन्त्रैः
पूर्वोत्सङ्गानि गङ्गापुलिनपरिसरारण्यपुण्याश्रमाणि ॥ ९ ॥

In his old age he settled himself in the sacred groves of the hilly forests situated on the bank of the Ganges, where the smoke of the incense offerings reached to the skies, and young deer sucked the milk of the wives of the moonies (saints); where parrots have got by rote the Vedas; and where the slopes of the mountains are filled up by the saints who resort there on approach of death.

अचरमपरमात्मज्ञानभोग्नादमुष्णा-
न्निजभुजमदमत्तारातिमाराङ्गवीरः ।
अभवदनवसानोद्धिन्ननिर्षिक्ततत्त-
दूयनिवहमहिम्नां वेषमहेमन्तसेनः ॥ १० ॥

From this king, in his manhood, when he had not devoted himself to the contemplation of God, was born Hemanta Sena, who was famous for killing his enemies proud of their strength, and who did acquire from his birth all the pure and virtuous qualities possessed by his ancestors.

मूर्द्धन्यर्द्धेन्दुचूडामणिकरणरजः सत्ववाक् कण्ठभित्ता
शास्त्रं श्रोत्रेरिकेशाः पदभुविभुजयोऽक्रमौर्वीकिणाङ्गः ।
नेपथ्यं यस्य जज्ञे सततमिदं रत्नपुष्पाणि हारा
स्ताङ्गं नूपुरसघक्कनकवलयमप्यस्य नृत्वाङ्गनानाम् ॥ ११ ॥

He did bear on his head the dust of Shiva's feet, had truth on his throat (*i. e.* spoke truth), had the Vedas in his ear, (*i. e.* heard the Vedas,) had the hairs of his enemies under his feet, (*i. e.* received homage from his enemies), and had the scars of bow-strings on his arms. Such were his ornaments, while the pearl flowers, ear-rings and golden bracelets formed the ornaments of his dancing girls.

[This sloke is so full of participles that it is difficult to translate it clearly.]

यद्दोर्वल्लिविलासलब्धगतिभिः शल्यैर्विदीर्शोरसां
वीराणां रणतीर्थवैभववशाद्दिव्यं वपुर्विभ्रताम् ।

संसक्तामरकामिनीस्तनतटीकाश्लोरपत्राङ्घ्रितं
वक्षः प्रागिव मुग्धसिद्धमिधुनैः सातङ्कमालोकितं ॥ १२ ॥

The breasts of the heroes, who on account of their fall in battle with him, being pierced by his spears, which were spiritedly played by his arms, assumed celestial forms, and were embraced by the celestial maidens, whose breasts were reddened by good-smelling red powders, were looked with terror by the Shiddhas, a species of celestial inhabitants, (for, on account of their breasts being reddened by their embracing the celestial maidens, the Shiddhas were reminded of the time when they fell in battle, their breasts being then besmeared with blood, pierced by his spear).

[It is represented in Hindu mythology, that heroes, after their fall in battle, assume celestial forms and ascend to heaven.]

प्रत्यर्थिव्ययकेलिकर्म्मणि पुरः स्मेरं मुखं विभ्रतो
रेतस्यैतदसेष्य कौशलमभूद्दाने द्वयोरङ्गुतं ।
शत्रोः कोपि दधेऽवसादमपरः सख्युः प्रसादं व्यधा-
देको हारमुपाजहार सुहृदामन्यः प्रहारं द्विषाम् ॥ १३ ॥

His arms and his swords could both assume diverse aspects, the one in acts of benevolence, and the other when killing his foes, both were ingeniously employed. One intended destruction to his enemies, and the other blessing to his friends; one adorned his friends with garlands, and the other his enemies with wounds.

महाराज्ञी यस्य स्वपरनिखिलान्तःपुरवधू-
श्लिरोरत्नश्रेणीकिरणसरणिस्मेरचरणा ।
निधिः कान्ते साध्वी व्रतविततनिखोज्ज्वलयशा
यशोदेवी नाम त्रिभुवनमनोज्ञाकृतिरभूत् ॥ १४ ॥

His queen was of the name of Yasho Debia, who possessed a delightful figure, was a treasure to her husband, was famous for performing ceremonial rites, and the path of her feet was adorned by the rays of the pearls stuck on the crest of the diadem of her friends and enemies' wives.

ततस्त्रिजगदीश्वरात् समजनियु देव्यास्ततो-
प्यरातिबलश्रातनोज्ज्वलकुमारकेलिक्रमः ।

चतुर्जलधिमेखलावलयसीमविश्वम्भरा
विशिष्टजयसान्वयो विजयसेनपृथ्वीपतिः ॥ १५ ॥

From this king of the world and the queen, was born Vijaya Sena, the emperor of the earth, who diverted his youthful days by destroying the strength of his enemies, and extended his conquests to the end of the four oceans* which girdle the world like bracelets.

गणयतु गणशः को भूपतीस्ताननेन
प्रतिदिनरथभाजा ये जिता वा हता वा ।
इह जगति विघेहे स्वस्य वंशस्य पूर्वः
पुरुषे इति सुधांशो केवलं राजशब्दः ॥ १६ ॥

Who can count the number of kings daily killed or conquered by him? The moon, being his first progenitor could only retain the title of Raja before him in this world.

[That is, he defeated or destroyed all the Rajas of this earth, and acquired its possession.]

सङ्घातीतकपोन्द्रसैन्यविभुना तस्यारिजेतुस्तुलां
किं रामेण वदाम पाण्डवचमूनाद्येन पार्थेन वा ।
हेतोः खड्गलतावतंसितभुजामात्रस्य येनार्जितं
सप्ताम्भोधितटीपिनद्धवसुधाचक्रैकराज्यम् फलम् ॥ १७ ॥

As he, being armed only with a sword and with no other assistance, obtained the undisputed dominion of the earth girdled by the seven oceans, can we compare him to Rama, the leader of innumerable monkey forces? or to Pártha (Arjuna) the generalissimo of the Pándava forces?

[In conquering the earth, Rama and Partha had advantages of large armies, while he had none.

Pártha the third son of Pándu was a famous warrior. In the war of the Kurus and Pandavas, he was the general of the Pándavas. His heroic deeds are celebrated in the Mahabharat.

“*Monkey forces.*” This mention of monkey forces, appears to me to agree curiously with the scenes in Homer Il. iii. 6. When speaking of India, he writes—

Ἀνδρασι Πυγμαίοισι φόρον καὶ κῆρα φέρονται
and he goes on to say. (I forget the remaining lines,) that the king of India kept an army of 3000 of them as guards.]

* Ceylon doubtless.

एकैकेन गुणेन यैः परिणतं तेषां विवेकादृते
 कश्चिद्धन्यपरश्च रक्षति स्रजंत्यन्वश्च हृत्सं जगत् ।
 देवोयं तु गुणैः कृतो वज्रतिरैर्द्धीमान् जघान द्विषो
 वृत्तस्थानपुषच्चकार च रिपुच्छेदेन दिव्याः प्रजाः ॥ १८ ॥

Of the (three) qualities of the Deity, which manifest themselves singly, without discrimination, one destroys the universe, the other preserves, and the third creates it. But this king resembled the Deity, on account of his having these eminent qualities, and employing them with discretion, for he destroyed his enemies, preserved the virtuous, and made his subjects happy by destroying their foes.

दत्त्वा दिव्यभुवः प्रति क्षितिभ्रतामुर्व्वीमुरीकुर्व्वता
 वीरास्रगुलिपिलाञ्छिताऽसिरमुना प्रागेव पत्नीकृतः ।
 नेत्थं चेत् कथमन्यथा वसुमती भोगे विवादान्मुखी
 तत्राहृष्टपायघारिणि गता भङ्गं द्विषां सन्ततिः ॥ १९ ॥

He assigned heaven for the residence of his opponent kings, and took upon himself the dominion of the earth; his sword decked with heroes' blood, fulfilled this contract. Had it been otherwise, then why did the descendants of his enemies, fly from the field of battle, where he challenged them with his sword?

त्वं नान्यवीरविजयीति गिरः कवीनां
 श्रुत्वाऽन्यथा मननरूढनिगूढरोधः ।
 गाडेन्द्रमद्रवदपाक्षतकामरूप-
 भूयं कलिङ्गमपि वस्तरसा जिगाय ॥ २० ॥

"Thou hast no hero to conquer" said the bards. On hearing it, through a misconception (the words being susceptible of the meaning "thou hast conquered no hero,") a deep anger rose and assailed the king of Gauda who overcame the king of Kamrupa, and forthwith conquered him of Kalinga.*

* The latter part of the s'loka may mean that the king (not the anger) assailed the king of Gour, subjugated the king of Kamrupa and quickly conquered him of Kalinga; or, he assailed the king of Gour who had subjugated the king of Kamrupa, and quickly conquered him of Kalinga; or he quickly conquered the king of Kalinga who had overcome the king of Kamrupa without the intervention of the king of Gour. R. M.

शूरमन्य इवासि नान्य किमिह खं राघव स्नाघसे
 स्पृष्टं वद्धंन मुञ्च वीर विरतो-नाद्यापि दर्प्यन्तव ।
 इत्यन्यान्यमहर्निशप्रणयिभिः क्लोलाहलैः घ्याभुजां
 यत्कारागृहयामिकैर्नियमितो निद्रापनोदक्रमः ॥ २१ ॥

O Rághava, O Aswineya, O Vardhana, do you boast, calling yourself a hero? away with your boasting, stop your pride. The cries that arose day and night among the captive kings prevented the guards of the prison-house from sleeping (at any time).

पाश्चात्यचक्रजयकेलिषु यस्य यावद्
 गङ्गाप्रवाहमनुधावति नैविताने ।
 भर्गस्य मौलिसरिदम्भसि भस्मपङ्क-
 लमोञ्जितेव तरिरिन्दुकला चकास्ति ॥ २२ ॥

The fleet which he equipped for conquering the western countries, went up the stream of the Ganges, and one of the ships became stuck in the ashes which are on the forehead of Shiva, and which have been changed into mud by constant mixture with the water of the Ganges, and being left there, shines as the moon.

[The Hindu Shasters affirm that the Ganges proceeds from the Jatá (matted hair of Shiva), and hence this sloka means, that this king having resolved to conquer up to the source of this river, one of his ships going up the stream became stuck on the forehead of Shiva, where it shines like the moon.]

मुक्ताः कर्पासबीजैर्मरकतशकलं शाकपत्रैरलावू-
 पुष्यै रूष्याणि रत्नं परिणतिभिदुरैः कुक्षिभिर्दाडिमानाम् ।
 कुष्माखीवह्नरीणां विकसितकुसुमैः काञ्चनं नागरीभिः
 शिष्यन्ति यत् प्रसादाद्ब्रह्मविभवजुषां योषितः श्रोत्रियाणाम् ॥ २३ ॥

Through his favour the wives of the rich Brahmins learned to make diamonds from cotton seeds, black diamonds from grass leaves, silver from the flower of long gourds, pearls from brittle cavities of pomegranates, and gold from flowers of gourd-creepers and euphorbia.

अत्रान्तविश्राणितयज्ञयूप-
 स्तम्भाबर्णी द्रागवलम्बमानः ।

यस्यानुभावाद्भुविसच्चचार-
कालक्रमादेकपदेवि धर्मः ॥ २१ ॥

Though on account of this age, the praise of his virtue is one-legged, yet, through his power, it has travelled over the world, holding the sacrificial posts continuously erected by him (on the earth).

[The import of the sloka is, that he was constantly engaged in performing sacrifices, on which occasion posts are erected on the spot where the ceremony is performed.

Among the Hindus, there are four ages; Satya Yuga is the age of purity, Treta, Dwapara and Kali. In the first, virtue is supposed to be four-legged, in the second, three-legged, in the third two-legged, and in the last one-legged; thereby showing that the world is gradually becoming sinful. This is Kali Yuga, and is said to have commenced from the latter part of the reign of Yudhisthir, king of Hastinapura, the modern Delhi.]

मेरोराहतवैरिसङ्कलतटादाह्वय यज्वामरान्
व्यासं पुरवासिनामकृत यः स्वर्गस्य मर्त्यस्य च ।
उत्तुङ्गैः सुरसद्भिश्च विततैस्तल्लैश्च श्रेयीकृतं
चक्रे येन परस्परस्य च समं द्वावापृथिव्योर्व्वपुः ॥ २५ ॥

Having invited the gods from Meru, which was infested by enemies, this sacrificer made the inhabitants of the heaven and earth to change their places; and by digging deep ponds* and erecting lofty temples, he made the heaven and the earth to resemble each other.

[It is supposed that the peaks of Meru are inhabited by the gods. When any sacrifice is performed, they are suffered to come down to the earth to partake of the offerings.]

दिक्प्राखामूलकागुं गगनतलमहाम्भोधिमध्यान्तरीयं
भानोः प्राक् प्रथमद्विस्थितिमिलदुदयास्तस्य मध्याङ्गशैलम् ।
आलम्भस्तम्भमेकं त्रिभुवनभवनस्यैकशेषं गिरीणां
सप्रदुन्नेश्वरस्य व्यधित वसुमतीवासवः सौधमचैः ॥ २६ ॥

* The Burrin or high land of Rajashahi is covered with the most enormous tanks that astonish every body. I do not know of ever hearing of any other district with the same number of tanks as this. It is no exaggeration to say, that there is a tank measuring 200 to 500 yards in the north of this district, and some most extensive and beautiful.

This king of the earth erected a temple to Pradyumneshwar, which was girdled by the oceans and contained inside the whole ethereal firmament. It extended to all directions in space, and vied in loftiness with Meru, round which the sun, moon and the stars move. It became the mid-day mountain of the sun who rises and sets in the eastern and western mountains.

प्रासादेन तवामुनैव हरितामध्वा निरुद्धो मुधा
भानीद्यापि क्वतोस्ति दक्षिणदिशः कोणान्तवासी मुनिः ।
अन्यामुच्चपथोयमृच्छतु दिशं विन्ध्योप्यसौ वर्द्धतां
यावच्छक्तिं तथापि नास्य पदवीं सौधस्य गाह्वर्यते ॥ २७ ॥

O sun ! in vain have you obliged Agastya to remain in the southern quarter ; look, this lofty temple has obstructed the passage of your horses.* Let Agastya go in any direction he likes, and let Vindya increase its heights as much as it can, but it shall never be able to attain the loftiness of this temple.

[According to the Puráns, the sun is represented as moving round Sumeru, a mountain supposed to be situated in the middle of the earth. This particular honour paid to it, excited the jealousy of Vindhya, another mountain, (the mountains are supposed to possess animal life), and he worshipped Shiva and obtained the power of increasing his body as high as he wished. Vindhya did so, and obstructed the passage of the sun which doomed the half of the earth to darkness. The gods, having perceived this, were alarmed and prevailed upon Agastya, a moonie and spiritual guide of Vindhya, to leave Kashi (Benares) and to prevent his increase. Agastya acceded to their wishes, and went to Vindhya who, seeing his guru, prostrated himself on the ground. Agastya, thereupon in order to serve the purposes of the gods, ordered him to remain in that posture till his return from the southern quarters, where he is supposed still to reside.]

खट्वा यदि खल्यति भूमिचक्रे, सुमेरुमृत्पिण्डविवर्त्तनाभिः ।

तदाघटः स्यादुपमानमस्मिन् सुवर्णकुम्भस्य तदर्पितस्य ॥ २८ ॥

If Brahma, making the earth as a potter's wheel builds a pot, taking as much mud as the Sumeru is in weight, then that pot can bear resemblance to the golden one placed by this king on the summit of this temple.

* The mythological story of Phœbus and his horses.

विलेशयविलासिनीमुकुटकोटिरत्नाङ्गर
 स्फुरत्किरणमञ्जरीच्छुरितवारिपूरं पुरः ।
 घखान पुरवैरिणः सजलमसपौराङ्गना
 स्तनैरामदसारभोच्चलितचञ्चरीकं सरः ॥ २६ ॥

Before the temple of Shiva, he dug a pond in which reflected the rays of the pearls stuck in the diadem of the crest of the female serpent and to which the black bees are attracted by the sweet scent of the musks applied to the breasts of the maidens who go to bathe there.

[The snakes are supposed to reside in Patal, a region below this earth. He dug his pond to such a depth, to cause the rays of the diamonds over the heads of the female snakes to pierce, through its waters.]

उच्चित्राणि दिगम्बरस्य वसनान्यद्भाङ्गना स्वामिने
 रत्नालङ्कृतिभिर्विशेषितवपुःशोभाः शतं सञ्चवः ।
 पौराद्याश्च पुरीः भ्रसानवसतेभिर्क्षाभुजोस्याक्षयां
 लक्ष्मीं सव्यतनेद्दरिद्रभरणे सुज्ञो हि सेनान्वयः ॥ ३० ॥

This descendant of the Sena family did wisely provide for the poor, inasmuch as he clothed Digambar (naked) with coloured dresses, adorned his body with golden ornaments, erected a palace for him, as he used to live in Shashána (a place where dead bodies are burnt,) and made him rich, as he maintained himself by begging.

[In the Hindu mythology, Shiva is represented as naked, living in Shashána, and maintaining himself by begging. He is ornamented, with serpents.]

चित्रद्वैमेभचर्मा हृदयविनिहितस्थूलहारोरगेन्द्रः
 श्रीखण्डक्षोदभस्माकरमिलितमहानीलरत्नाक्षमालः ।
 वेपस्तेनास्य तेने गरुडमणिलता गोनसः कान्तमुक्ता
 नेपथ्य, नृ स्थिरिच्छा समुचितरचनः कल्पकापालिकस्य ॥ ३१ ॥

This king dressed Shiva at his own choice in the shape of Kalpa Kápálika, replacing his (Shiva's) tiger's hide by coloured silken clothes, his serpents by bulky garlands pendent over his breasts, his ashes by sandal wood powders, his rosary by blue pearls, and his human bones by gems.

[A Kalpa is a period of 4,320,000,000 of years (constituting a day and night of Brahma), after which period the universe is supposed to be destroyed by Shiva, who assumes on the occasion the form of Kapálíka, having a tiger's hide for his dress, serpents round his neck, ashes over his body, and a rosary of human bones in his hand.

The carpenter in Marryat's "Midshipman Easy" was evidently acquainted with the Kalpa theory.]

बाहोः केलिभिरद्वितीयकनकच्छत्रं धरित्रीतलं
कुर्वाण्येन न पर्यशेषि किमपि खेनैव तेनेहितम् ।
किन्तस्मै दिशतु प्रसन्नवरदोष्यर्द्धेन्दुमौलिः परं
खं सायुज्यमसावपश्चिमदशाशेषे पुनर्दास्यति ॥ ३२ ॥

He acquired by his arms the government of the world, and gained what was good for him in earth by his own powers. He has nothing to ask for in this world ; but, O Shiva, who hast the half-moon on thy crest, bless him and give him in the end final absorption into yourself.

प्रस्तोतुमस्य परितश्चरितं क्षमः स्यात्
प्राचेतसो यदि पराशरनन्दनो वा
तत्कीर्त्तिपूरसुरसिन्धुविगाहनेन
वाचः पवित्रयितुमत्र तु नः प्रयत्नः ॥ ३३ ॥

It is Valmika and Vyasa who are able awhile to do justice to his life ; we have tried this only to purify our words by emerging in the holy river of his fame.

[Valmika, a saint, is the author of the Ramayana, a famous and beautiful historical poem, containing a life of *Rama*.

I believe *Rama* to be Bacchus, or rather Bacchus to be *Rama*. I have no authority for this idea beyond a curious similarity between the fables of this country and the fables as told by the Greeks.

Rama conquered the Continent of India,
and

nunc quoque qui puer es, quantus tum, Bacche, fuiste

Cum timuit thyrsos India victa tuos !

Victa racemifero lyncas dedit India Baccho.

Ovid. Art. Amorum i. 189, 190. Metam. xv. 413.]

यावद्वास्तोस्यतिपरधुनोभूर्भवः स्वः पुनीते
 यावच्चान्द्री कलयति कलोत्तंसतां भूतभर्तुः ।
 यावच्चेतो गमयति सतांस्त्रेतिमानं त्रिवेदी
 तावत्तासां रचयतु सखी तत्तदेवास्य कीर्त्तिः ॥ ३४ ॥

As long as the Ganges will purify the heaven, the earth, and the Patála, (a region under the earth, Purgatory), as long as the moon will become an ornament of Shiva, and as long as the three Vedas (Rig, Yajus and Sháma) impart true knowledge to the virtuous, so long may his fame, becoming their friends, do similar duties which are done by them !

निर्गिक्तसेनकुलभूपतिमौक्तिकानां-
 मयत्र्यिलयथनपद्मलसूत्रवह्निः ।
 यथा कवेः पदपदान्वर्थविचारशुद्ध-
 बुद्धेरुमापतिधरस्य ह्यतिः प्रशस्तिः ॥ ३५ ॥

This garland of praises, consisting of the gems of the pure Sena family kings, has been constructed by Oomapatidhar, a poet, whose understanding has been refined by study of words and their meanings, (*i. e.* by the study of literature).

धर्मोपनत्ता मनदासनप्ता
 वृहस्पतेः सूनुरिमां प्रशस्ति
 चखान वारिन्द्रकभिल्लिपिगोष्ठी-
 चूडामखीराणक शूलपाणिः ॥ ३६ ॥

This praise has been inscribed (dug) by humble Shulapani, the head of the Barendra artists, son of Brihaspati, grandson of Manadása and great-grandson of Dharma.

Report of the Proceedings of the Archæological Surveyor to the Government of India for the Season of 1862-63.—By Major-General A. CUNNINGHAM, Archæological Surveyor to the Govt. of India.

[Received 3rd Feb., 1865.]

[Read 1st March, 1865.]

(Continued from Vol. XXXIII. page lxxxvii.)

II.—MATHURA.

159. In the Brahmanical city of Mathura, in A. D. 634, the temples of the gods were reckoned by Hwen Thsang at five only, while the Buddhist monasteries amounted to 20, with 2,000 resident monks. The number of *Stupas* and other Buddhist monuments was also very great, there being no less than seven towers, containing relics of the principal disciples of Buddha. The king and his ministers were zealous Buddhists, and the three great fasts of the year were celebrated with much pomp and ceremony, at which times the people flocked eagerly to make their offerings to the holy *Stupas* containing the relics of Buddha's disciples. Each of them, says Hwen Thsang, paid a special visit to the statue of the *Bodhisatwa* whom he regarded as the founder of his own school. Thus the followers of the *Abhidharma*, or transcendental doctrines, made their offerings to *Sáriputra*; they who practised *Samádhi* or meditation, to *Mudgalaputra*; the followers of the *Sautrántikas*, or aphorisms, to *Purva Maitreyani Putra*; they who adhered to the *Vinaya* or discipline, to *Upáli*; the *Bhikshuni* or Nuns, to Ananta; the *Anupásampannas*, or novices, to *Ráhula* (the son of *Buddha*); and they who studied the "Greater means of advancement," to the great *Bodhisatwa Manju Sri* or *Avalokiteswara*, who plays such a conspicuous part in later Buddhism. But notwithstanding this apparently flourishing condition of Buddhism, it is certain that the zeal of the people of Mathura must have lessened considerably since A. D. 400, when Fa Hian reckoned the body of monks in the 20 monasteries to be 3,000, or just one-half more than their number at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in A. D. 634.

160. Fa Hian and his companions halted at Mathura for a whole month, during which time "the clergy held a great assembly and discoursed upon the law." After the meeting they proceeded to the *Stupa* of *Sáriputra*, to which they made an offering of all sorts of

perfumes, and before which they kept lamps burning the whole night. Hwen Thsang describes these processions as carrying flying streamers and stately parasols, while the mists of perfumes and the showers of flowers darkened the sun and moon! I can easily realize the pomp and glittering show of these ceremonies from the similar scenes which I have witnessed in Barma. I have seen streamers from 100 to 200 feet in length carried in processions, and afterwards suspended from pillars or holy trees. I have beheld hundreds of gorgeous parasols of gold and silver brocade flashing in the sun; and I have witnessed the burning of thousands of candles day after day before the great *Stupa* of *Shwe-Dagon* at Rangoon, which is devoutly believed to contain eight hairs of Buddha. Before this sacred tower, I have seen flowers and fruits offered by thousands of people, until they formed large heaps around it, while thousands of votaries still came thronging in with their offerings of candles, and gold leaf, and little flags, with plantains and rice, and flowers of all kinds.

161. From these accounts of the Chinese pilgrims it would appear that the Buddhist establishments at Mathura must have been of considerable importance, and this conclusion is fully borne out by the number and interest of the recent discoveries. Contrary to his usual practice, Hwen Thsang has unfortunately given us but few details regarding the monasteries and temples of Mathura. This is the more to be regretted, as we now know that one of the monasteries was established by the great Indo-Scythian King *Huvishka*, about the beginning of the Christian era, and that one of the stone statues, judging by the size of its hand, could not have been less than 20 feet in height.

162. The first place described by Hwen Thsang is a monastery situated on a mound, at 5 or 6 *li*, or about one mile, to the east of the city. Cells were formed in the sides of the mound, which was approached through a hollow, and in the midst was a *Stupa* containing the nails of Buddha. This monastery is said to have been built by the holy *Upagupta*, who, as we learn from one of the legends of *Pâtali Putra*, was a contemporary of Asoka. The nails and beard of the holy man were still preserved.

163. On another mound to the north of this monastery, there was a cave containing a stone chamber, 20 feet high and 30 feet long,

which was full of bamboo spikes only four inches in length. These spikes represented the number of husbands and their wives who had been converted by *Upagupta*.

164. At 24 or 25 *li*, or just four miles to the south-east of the stone chamber, there was a large dry tank, with a *Stupa* on its bank, which marked the spot where Buddha was said to have taken exercise. On this spot also, according to the local legends, a monkey had offered honey to Buddha, which the teacher graciously accepted and directed that it should be mixed with water and given to the monks. The glad monkey made a wild bound, and fell into the tank and died; but owing to the powerful influence of his good act, he became a man in his next birth.

165. In a forest at a short distance to the north of the tank there was another holy spot, where the four previous Buddhas were said to have taken exercise; and all around it there were numerous *Stupas*, which marked the places where no less than 1,250 *arhats*, or holy men, including *Sáriputra*, *Mudgalaputra*, and others, used to sit in meditation. But besides these, there were several other *Stupas* on the spots where Buddha at different times had explained the law.

166. The two principal sites described by Hwen Thsang can, I think, be fixed with tolerable certainty; namely, that of the famous *Upagupta* monastery, and that of the monkey's offering. The first is said to be at 5 or 6 *li*, or just one mile, to the east of the city; but as an eastern direction would take us to the low ground, on the opposite bank of the *Jumna*, where no ruins now exist, I feel quite satisfied that we should read *west* instead of *east*. This change is rendered almost certain by the discovery of numerous Buddhist remains inside the great square of the *Katra*, which is just one mile to the westward of the old fort of Mathura. But it is rendered quite certain by the more recent discovery of very important Buddhist remains and old inscriptions in a mound *beside a tank* which is situated just three miles to the south-east of the *Katra* mound. This tank mound I take to be the place where Buddha was said to have taken exercise, and where the monkey made his offering of honey. The direction is precisely the same, and the distance agrees also as well as can be made out from Hwen Thsang's statements. He gives the distance as four miles from the stone chamber, which was at some unstated, but certainly short,

distance to the north of the *Upagupta* monastery. The nearest mounds are about half a mile to the north of the *Katra*, which will make the whole distance $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, if measured in a direct line by the British road, which passes outside the city, but which will be fully four miles if measured by the old road, which goes through the city. Had the Chinese pilgrim given us the name of the monastery built by *Upagupta*, we might perhaps have obtained some absolute proof of its identity with the site of the *Katra*; but I believe that the very strong reasons which I have just before given are amply sufficient to fix the site of the *Upagupta* monastery at the present *Katra*.

167. There are a great number of lofty earthen mounds around Mathura which are covered with fragments of stone and brick. Nothing, however, is known about them, although every one of them has a separate name. The numerous fragments of stone which are found upon them show that they are not old brick-kilns, as might have been supposed from their vicinity to the city. Apparently, they are natural mounds such as are found everywhere along the lower course of the *Jumna*, and which have usually been taken advantage of for the sites of forts or temples. Thus the old fort of Mathura is perched upon a similar mound, and so also is the *Jâma Masjid* in the middle of the *Katra Square*. Most of the names of these mounds refer to the Brahmanical divinities; but there are two of them, such as the *Anand Tila* and the *Vinayak Tila*, that are unmistakably Buddhist, and which may possibly refer to the two *Stupas* of *Ananda* and *Upâli* (the *Vinayaka*, or teacher of *Vinaya*) as described by *Hwen Thsang*. Both of these mounds are to the north of the city. To the south there are seven mounds known as the *Sât Tila*, which are severally named as follows:—1, *Dhâ-ka-Tila*; 2, *Sapt Rishi*; 3, *Bal*, or *But, Tila*; 4, *Narad*; 5, *Kans*; 6, *Kal-jug*; 7, *Nâgshesha*. Now, it is remarkable that the number of great *Stupas* of the disciples of Buddha was also seven; but unfortunately as nothing is recorded regarding their relative positions, we are left entirely to conjecture whether these seven mounds may possibly represent the seven famous *Stupas* of Buddha's principal disciples. I think that it would be worth while to make some excavations in all of these seven mounds to the south, as well as in the two northern mounds which still bear Buddhistical names.

168. The *Katra* mound has been successively occupied by Buddhists, Brahmans, and Musalmans.* The *Katra*, or market-place, is an oblong enclosure like a *Sarâ*, 804 feet in length by 653 feet in breadth. In the midst of this square stands the *Jâma Masjid*, on a large mound from 25 to 30 feet in height. The mosque is 172 feet long and 66 feet broad, with a raised terrace in front of the same length, but with a breadth of 86 feet, the whole being 30 feet in height above the ground. About 5 feet lower, there is another terrace 286 feet in length by 268 feet in breadth, on the eastern edge of which stands the mosque. There is no inscription on the building, but the people ascribe it to Aurungzib, who is said to have pulled down the great Hindu temple of *Kesava Deva*, or *Keso Ray*, that formerly stood on this high mound, a most noble position, which commands a fine view of the whole city. Curiously enough, I have been able to verify this charge against Aurungzib by means of some inscriptions on the pavement slabs which were recorded by Hindu pilgrims to the shrine of *Kesava Ray*. In relaying the pavement, the Muhammadan architect was obliged to cut many of the slabs to make them fit into their new places. This is proved by several of the slabs bearing incomplete portions of Nâgari inscriptions of a late date. One slab has "*bat 1713, Phâlgun*," the initial *Sam* of *Sambat* having been cut off. Another slab has the name of *Keso Ray*, the rest being wanting; while a third bears the late date of S. 1720. These dates are equivalent to A. D. 1656 and 1663; and as the latter is *five* years subsequent to the accession of Aurungzib, it is certain that the Hindu temple was still standing at the beginning of his reign.

169. The greater part of the foundations of the Hindu temple of *Kesava Ray* may still be traced at the back of the *Masjid*. Indeed the back wall of the mosque itself is actually built upon the plinth of the temple, one of the *cyma reversa* mouldings being filled up with brick and mortar. I traced the walls for a distance of 163 feet to the westward, but apparently this was not the whole length of the temple, as the mouldings of the Hindu plinth at the back of the *Masjid* are those of an exterior wall. I think it probable that the temple must have extended at least as far as the front of the mosque, which would give a total length of 250 feet, with an extreme breadth of nearly 72 feet, the floor of the building being no less than 25 feet above the

ground. Judging from these dimensions, the temple of *Kesava Deva* must have been one of the largest in India. I was unable to obtain any information as to the probable date of this magnificent fane. It is usually called *Keso Ray*, and attributed to *Raja Jāga Deva*, but some say that the enshrined image was that of *Jaga Deva*, and that the builder's name was *Ray* or *Raja Kesava Deva*. It is possible that it may have been one of the "innumerable temples" described by Mahmud in his letter to the Governor of Ghazni, written in A. D. 1017, as we know that the conqueror spared the temples either through admiration of their beauty, or on account of the difficulty of destroying them. Mahmud remained at Mathura only 20 days, but during that time the city was pillaged and burned, and the temples were rifled of their statues. Amongst these there were "five golden idols whose eyes were of rubies, valued at 50,000 dinars," or £25,000. A sixth golden image weighed 98,300 *mishkals*, or 1,120 lbs., and was decorated with a sapphire weighing 300 *mishkals*, or 3½ lbs. But "besides these images, there were above one hundred idols of silver, which loaded as many camels." Altogether the value of the idols carried off by Mahmud cannot have been less than three millions of Rupees, or £300,000.

170. The date of Mahmud's invasion was A. D. 1017, or somewhat less than 400 years after the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, who in A. D. 634 found only five Brahmanical temples in Mathura. It is during these four centuries, therefore, that we must place, not only the decline and fall of Buddhism, but its total disappearance from this great city, in which it once possessed twenty large monasteries, besides many splendid monuments of its most famous teachers. Of the circumstances which attended the downfall of Buddhism we know almost nothing; but as in the present case we find the remains of a magnificent Brahmanical temple occupying the very site of what must once have been a large Buddhist establishment, we may infer with tolerable certainty that the votaries of *Sakya Muni* were expelled by force, and that their buildings were overthrown to furnish materials for those of their Brahmanical rivals; and now these in their turn have been thrown down by the Musalmans.

171. I made the first discovery of Buddhist remains at the temple of *Kesava Ray* in January 1853, when, after a long search, I found

a broken pillar of a Buddhist railing sculptured with the figure of *Mâyâ Devi* standing under the *Sâl*-tree. At the same time I found the capitals of two large round pillars of an early date, which are most probably Buddhist, along with a⁶ fragment of an inscription of the Gupta dynasty, containing the well known genealogy from Gupta, the founder, down to Samudra Gupta, where the stone is broken off. During the present year I have discovered the peculiarly curved architrave of a Buddhist gateway, which is richly sculptured on both sides with buildings, figures, and trees, including a representation of a gateway itself. I found also a very perfect standing figure of Buddha, the Teacher, which had lately been discovered in clearing out a well at the north-west corner of the temple. The figure is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with the left hand grasping the drapery, and the right hand raised in the act of teaching. On the pedestal there is a dated inscription, in two lines, in characters of an early period. The date is given in figures and is uncertain, but the remainder of the inscription, which is in perfect order, is easily legible. It records the gift of a statue of *Sakya Bhikshu* to the *Yasa Vihâra*, or "splendid monastery," which I take to have been the name of the Buddhist establishment that once existed on this spot. I think also that there are good grounds for believing that this was the famous monastery which was founded by the holy *Upagupta* during the reign of Asoka.

172. In the same well there were found five other pieces of Buddhist sculpture, of which the only specimens worth mentioning are a colossal arm and hand, and a small figure of Buddha, the Ascetic, with an imperfect inscription on its pedestal in characters of the Gupta dynasty. All these discoveries are sufficient to show that the mound of Kesava Ray must have been the site of a Buddhist establishment of much wealth and of considerable size. The inscribed statue proves that here stood the *Yasa* monastery, and the gateway architrave shows that there must also have been a *Stupa* surrounded with the stone railing which is peculiar to Buddhist architecture, and which on that account I have ventured to call the Buddhist railing. The site is a most promising one for a discovery, and as the Masjid has long been disused, owing to many dangerous cracks in both roof and walls, I believe that there would not be any objection whatever to a complete exploration of the mound.

173. The most extensive discoveries at Mathura have been made in a mound close to the Jail, which, according to the inscriptions, would appear to have been the site of at least two different monasteries, named the *Huvishka Vihāra* and the *Kundokhara Vihāra*. The first of these names I deciphered in 1860 from a circular inscription round the base of a column, and the second name I found early in the present year, 1863, on a large flat slab of stone which had apparently been used as a seat.

174. In my notice of the first discovery, which was published in the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1860, I identified this *Huvishka* with his namesake of the Wardak inscription, and with the *Hushka* of the Raja Tarangini; and this identification has since been adopted by all who have made any reference to either of these records. The question is one of considerable importance, as it enables us to fix the date of the building of the monastery in the latter half of the century immediately preceding the Christian era, at which period the three Indo-Scythian princes, *Hushka* and his brothers, *Kanishka* and *Jushka*, ruled over Kabul, Kashmir, and the Punjab. The bases of about 30 pillars belonging to this monastery have now been discovered, of which no less than 15 are inscribed with the names of the donors who presented the columns to the monastery. But as one of these gifts consisted of six pillars, a second of 25, and a third of 26 pillars, there still remain 40 columns to be discovered, which will bring up the total number to 70. The diameter of the circular shafts of these pillars varies from 17 to 18 inches, and the side of the square base from $23\frac{1}{2}$ to 24 inches. They are all very coarsely worked, the rough marks of the chisel never having been smoothed away.

175. The name of the second monastery, *Kundokhara*, refers, I believe, to the tank which lies immediately to the westward of the mound. At most of the old Buddhist sites I have found tanks named in a similar manner, as the *Buddhokhar* at Buddha Gaya, the *Pansokhar* at Nālanda, the *Narokhar* and *Chandokhar* at Sarnath, Benares, the *Buddhokhar* at Punāwa, and the *Chandokhar* at Dharāwat. All of these I believe to be formed of *Pushkhara*, or *Pokhar*, the well known term for a tank, added to the name of Buddha, or to that of the person at whose expense it was excavated.

176. The discoveries already made in the Jail mound, amongst

the ruins of the *Huvishka* and *Kundokhara* monasteries have been very interesting on account of their variety, as they comprise statues of all sizes, bas-reliefs, pillars, Buddhist railings, votive *Stupas*, stone umbrellas, and many other objects peculiar to Buddhism, of a date as early as the first century of the Christian era. Amongst the broken statues there is the left hand of a colossal figure of Buddha, the Teacher, which measures exactly one foot across the palm. The statue itself, therefore, could not have been less than from 20 to 24 feet in height, and with its pedestal, halo, and umbrella canopy it must have been fully 30 feet in height. Stone statues of this great size are so extremely difficult to move, that they can be very rarely made. It is true that some of the Jain statues of Gwalior are larger, such as the standing colossus in the *Urwdhi* of the fort, which is 57 feet high, with a foot 9 feet in length, and the great seated figure on the east side of the fort, which is 29 feet high, with a hand 7 feet in length. But these figures are hewn out of the solid rock, to which they are still attached at the back. There are larger statues also in Barma, but they are built up on the spot of brick and mortar, and cannot be moved. I look forward, therefore, with great interest to the discovery of other portions of the Mathura Colossus, and more especially to that of the pedestal, on which we may expect to find the name of the donor of this costly and difficult work.

177. Most of the statues hitherto discovered at Mathura have been those of Buddha, the Teacher, who is represented either sitting or standing, and with one or both hands raised in the attitude of enforcing his argument. The prevailing number of these statues is satisfactorily illustrated by Hwen Thsang, who records that when Buddha was alive he frequently visited Mathura, and that monuments have been erected "in all the places where he explained the law." Accordingly, on this one spot there have already been found two colossal standing figures of the Teacher, each $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, two life-size seated statues, and one three-quarter size seated statue, besides numerous smaller figures of inferior workmanship.

178. The most remarkable piece of sculpture is that of a female of rather more than half life-size. The figure is naked, save a girdle of beads round the waist, the same as is seen in the Bhilsa sculptures and Ajanta paintings. The attitude and the positions of the

hands are similar to those of the famous statue of Venus of the Capitol. But in the Mathura statue the left hand is brought across the right breast, while the right hand holds up a small portion of drapery. The head is slightly inclined towards the right shoulder, and the hair is dressed in a new and peculiar manner, with long curls on each side of the face, which fall from a large circular ornament on the top of the head. The back of the figure is supported by a thick cluster of lotus stalks covered with buds and flowers, which are very gracefully arranged and boldly executed. The plump face with its broad smile is the least satisfactory part of this work. Altogether this statue is one of the best specimens of unaided Indian art that I have met with. I presume that it represents a dancing girl, and that it once adorned one of the gateways of the great *Stupa* near the monastery of *Huvishka*.

179. Three statues of lions have also been discovered, but they are inferior both in design and in execution to most of the other sculptures. They are all of the same height, 3 feet, and are all in the same attitude, but two of them have the left foot advanced, while the third has the right foot brought forward. The attitudes are stiff, and the workmanship especially of the legs, is hard, wiry and unnatural. It is the fore part only of the animal that is given, as if issuing out of the block of stone in rear, from which I infer that they must originally have occupied the two sides of some large gateway, such as we may suppose to have belonged to the great monastery of *Huvishka*.

180. The most numerous remains are the stone pillars of the Buddhist railings, of which at least three different sizes have been found. Those of the largest size are $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, with a section of $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 inches. When complete with base and coping, this railing would have been about 7 feet in height. The middle-sized pillars are 3 feet 8 inches high, with a section of 9 by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The railings formed of these pillars would have been $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. Those of the smallest size are $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet high, with a section of $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, which would have formed a railing of only 4 feet in height. Of this last size no more than six specimens have yet been found, but two of them are numbered in the ancient Gupta numerals as 118 and 129, so that many more of them still remain to be discovered. If we assume the number of these pillars to have been no more than 129, the length of railing which they formed would have been 144 feet, or with two

entrances not less than 160 feet. This might have been disposed either as a square enclosure of 40 feet side, or as a circular enclosure of upwards of 50 feet diameter. The last would have been sufficient for the circular railing of a *Stupa* 40 feet in diameter.

181. No inscriptions or numbers have been found on any of the large sized pillars, but there can be no doubt that they must have formed parts of the surrounding railings either of *Stupas* or of holy trees, such as are represented in the Sanchi bas-reliefs, or as we see them in still existing examples at Sanchi and Sonâri. Of the middle-sized railing I found a single broken rail, and also a single specimen of the architraves or coping stones. In the Sanchi and Sonâri examples the coping is quite plain, but this Mathura specimen is ornamented on both faces with semi-circular panels or niches containing figures and flowers.

182. The sculptures on the Mathura pillars are of two kinds; namely, large single figures on the front, and on the back either small bas-reliefs in compartments one above the other, or else full-blown flowers at regular intervals. Both in the single figures and in the bas-reliefs we find the same mixture of religious and social subjects as in the sculptures of Sanchi and Buddha Gaya. On one pillar we have a standing figure of Buddha, the Teacher, with a halo and umbrella canopy, and on the back four small bas-reliefs representing, 1st, a holy tree with suspended garlands, surrounded by a Buddhist railing; 2nd, a pair of figures, male and female; 3rd, a kneeling figure presenting an offering to a standing figure; and 4th, an elephant with rider. One of the other single figures is a female holding a water vessel to her lips, and no less than four of the others are representations of Mâyâ Devi standing under the *Sâl* tree, and holding one of its branches, in which position she is described as, having given birth to Buddha. A specimen one of the large sized Mathura pillars may be seen in the Asiatic Society's Museum in Calcutta, where it was deposited by Colonel Stacy.

183. But perhaps the most curious of all the Mathura sculptures is that which was figured and described by James Prinsep in 1836 as a Statue of Silenus. The block is 3 feet 10 inches in height, 3 feet broad, and 1 foot 4 inches thick. On the top there is a circular bason 16 inches in diameter and 8 inches deep. On the front there is a group of three figures about three-fourths of life-size, with two

smaller figures, and on the back a group of four figures of half life-size. In the front group the principal figure is a stout, half naked man resting on a low seat, with ivy or vine-crowned brow, and outstretched arms, which appear to be supported by the figures, male and female, standing one on each side. The dress of the female is most certainly not Indian, and is almost as certainly Greek. The dress of the male figure also appears to be Greek. Colonel Stacy describes it as "a kerchief round the neck with a tie in front as worn by sailors;" but as it widens as it approaches the shoulders, I presume that it must be the short cloak of the Greeks which was fastened in front in the very same manner as represented in this sculpture. Prinsep agrees with Stacy in considering the principal figure to be Silenus: "his portly carcass, drunken lassitude, and vine-wreathed forehead, stamp the individual, while the drapery of his attendants pronounces them at least to be foreign to India, whatever may be thought of Silenus's own costume, which is certainly highly orthodox and Brahmanical. If the sculptor were a Greek, his taste had been somewhat tainted by the Indian beau-ideal of female beauty. In other respects his proportions and attitudes are good; nay, superior to any specimen of pure Hindu sculpture we possess; and considering the object of the group, to support a sacrificial vase (probably of the juice of the grape), it is excellent." Of the group on the back I have but little to say: the two female figures and one of the men are dressed in the same Greek costume as the figures of the other group, but the fourth figure, male, is dressed in a long tunic, which is certainly not Greek, and cannot well be Indian. The religious Buddhist would have his right shoulder bare, and the layman would have the *dhoti*, or waist-cloth. The Greek-clad male figure may possibly be Silenus, but I am unable to offer even a conjecture as to the figure in the tunic.

184. The question now arises, how is the presence of this piece of Greek sculpture to be accounted for? Perhaps the most reasonable solution is to assume the presence of a small body of Bactrian Greek sculptors who would have found ready employment for their services amongst the wealthy Buddhists, just in the same way as goldsmiths and artillerymen afterwards found service with the Mogul Emperors. It must be remembered that Mathura is close to the great sandstone

quarries which for ages past have furnished materials for sculptors and architects of Upper India. All the ancient statues that I have met with in Rohilkhund and Oudh are made of this stone, and there can be little doubt that the Buddhist custom of making gifts of statues and pillars to the various monasteries must have created such a steady demand for the sculptor's works as would have ensured the continuous employment of many skilled workmen. Many of the Bactrian Greeks may thus have found remunerative service amongst the Indian Buddhists. Indeed, this is the only way in which I can account, not only for the very superior execution of many of the earliest specimens of Indian art, but also for many of their ornamental details, such as the fluting of the pillars in the Western Punjab architecture and the honeysuckle and astragal ornaments of Asoka's monoliths, all of which are of undoubted Greek origin. In the great fort of Narwar there still exists a Roman Catholic chapel, with a burial-ground attached, containing fifty tombs of all sizes, of which two only are inscribed. One records the death of a German, named Cornelius Oliver, in A. D. 1747; the other of a young girl named Margarita, the daughter of a *Hakim* or Doctor. The first is recorded in Portuguese, the other in Persian. That the fifty tombs are those of Christians is proved, not only by the presence of the cross on several of the uninscribed head-stones, but by the occurrence of letters I. H. S. surmounted by a cross, on the wall immediately above the altar. I presume that these Christians were gunners who formed the artillery portion of the garrisons of the important fortress of Narwar. Here, then, we have the clearest proof of the existence of a small body of foreigners in the very heart of India, who were permitted the open exercise of their religion by the most bigoted of all mankind, the Indian Muhammadans. Such also I think may have been the position of a small party of Bactrian Greeks amongst the tolerant Buddhists of the great city of Mathura, about the beginning of the Christian era. Their very names are unknown, and their occupations are uncertain, but their foreign religion is attested beyond all doubt by the presence of a Bacchic altar, bearing the known figure of the wine-bibbing Silenus.

III.—KHALSI OR SRUGHNA.

185. About 15 miles to the westward of Masuri, and on the right bank of the Jumna just above the junction of the Tons river, there

stands a huge quartz boulder covered with one of the well known inscriptions of Asoka. The inscribed rock is situated close to the little villages of Byás and Haripur, and about one mile and a half to the south of the large and well known village of Khálsi, by which name I propose to distinguish this copy of Asoka's edicts from those of *Kapurdagiri*, *Junagiri*, *Rohitás*, and *Ganjam*. In speaking of Firuz Shah's Pillar at Delhi, which we know was brought from the foot of the hills on the western bank of the Jumna near Khidrabad, I have already identified the district of Khálsi with part of the ancient kingdom of Srughna, as described by Hwen Thsang. As my reasons for coming to this conclusion are based entirely upon the statements of the Chinese pilgrim, it is necessary that they should be given in detail.

186. On leaving *Sthâneswara* or *Thânesar* Hwen Thsang records that he went 400 *li*, or 66 miles, to the westward, to the kingdom of Su-lu-kin-na. or Surghna, which he describes as being bounded by the Ganges on the east, and by high mountains on the north, and as being watered by the Jumna, which ran through the midst of it. The Capital, which was 20 *li*, or upwards of three miles, in circuit, was situated immediately on the west bank of the Jumna, and although much ruined, its foundations were still standing. Amongst other monuments it possessed a *Stupa* of King Asoka. The direction given by Hwen Thsang is undoubtedly wrong, as the Jumna is not more than 24 miles distant from Thânesar towards the east. But the mention of the hills shows most clearly that the bearing should be north-east, and as the recorded distance of the Jumna at the foot of the hills agrees with the actual distance, the situation of the Capital of Srughna must be looked for along the western bank of the Jumna, somewhere between Khálsi and Khidrabad. At first I was inclined to fix the position of the Capital in the immediate neighbourhood of the inscribed rock of Khálsi, but I could neither find nor hear of any ruins in its vicinity, and the distance is besides too great, being, 71 miles in a direct line, or about 80 miles by the road. If Hwen Thsang's distance is correct, the most probable position of the Capital is *Paota*, on the right bank of the Jumna, which is 57 miles distant from *Thânesar* in a direct line, or about 65 miles by the road. I believe also that *Paota* is the very place from whence Firuz Shah removed the Delhi column, for the name of its original site is variously written as *Taopar*, or *Topara*, or *Taoparsuk*, any

one of which by the mere shifting of the diacritical points might be read as *Paotar*. It is possible also that the word *Suk* may still preserve a trace of the ancient name of *Sughan*, which is the spoken form of the Sanskrit *Srughna*. I propose to explore this neighbourhood during the ensuing cold season. In the meantime I am satisfied with having shown that the inscribed rock of Khâlsi is situated within 18 or 20 miles of the site of the ancient Capital of *Srughna*, in whose great monastery the Chinese pilgrim spent upwards of four months, because the monks discussed the most difficult questions so ably that all doubts were cleared up. By the hands of this learned fraternity were most probably engraved the two copies of the edicts of *Asoka* which are still extant, on the Khâlsi rock and on the Delhi Pillar of *Firuz Shah*.

187. Between Khâlsi and the *Jumna* the land on the western bank of the river is formed in two successive ledges or level steppes, each about 100 feet in height. Near the foot of the upper steppe stands the large quartz boulder which has preserved the edicts of *Asoka* for upwards of 2,000 years. The block is 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height with a breadth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left un-inscribed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or perhaps to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore compressed on the left hand side of the rock.

188. On the right hand side an elephant is traced in outline, with the words *Gaja tame* inscribed between his legs in the same characters as those of the inscription. The exact meaning of these words I do not know; but as the *Junagiri* rock inscription closes with a paragraph stating that the place is called *Sveta Hasti*, or the "white elephant," I think it probable that *Gaja tame* may mean the "dark or black elephant," and may therefore be the name of the rock itself. Amongst the people, however, the rock is known by the name of *Chhatr Sila*,

or "the canopy stone," which would seem to show that the inscribed block had formerly been covered over by some kind of canopy, or perhaps only by an umbrella, as the name imports. There are a number of squared stones lying about close to the rock, as well as several fragments of octagonal pillars and half pillars or pilasters, which are hollowed out or fluted on the shorter faces, after the common fashion of the pillars of Buddhist railings. There is also a large carved stone, 7 feet long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot broad, and 1 foot in height, which from its upper mouldings I judged to have formed the entrance step to some kind of open porch in front of the inscription stone.

189. When found by Mr. Forrest early in 1860 the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages; but on removing this black film the surface became nearly as white as marble. At first sight the inscription looks as if it was imperfect in many places, but this is owing to the engraver having purposely left all the cracked and rougher portions uninscribed. On comparing the different edicts with those of the *Kapurdagiri*, *Junagiri* and *Dhouli* versions, I find the Khâlsi text to be in a more perfect state than any one of them, and more especially in that part of the 13th Edict which contains the names of the five Greek Kings, Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander. The Khâlsi text agrees with that of Dhouli in rejecting the use of the letter *r*, for which *l* is everywhere substituted. But the greatest variation is in the use of the palatal sibilant *s*, ण, which has not been found in any other inscription of this early date. This letter occurs in the word *Pāsanda*, which curiously enough is spelt sometimes with one *s*, and sometimes with the other, even in the same edict. As the proper spelling of this word is *Pashanda*, it seems almost certain that the people of India Proper did not possess the letter *sh* in the time of Asoka.

190. I made a complete impression of the whole of this important inscription. I also copied the whole of the inscription on the left side by eye, as well as most of the more obscure parts in the front inscription. I have since compared the entire text with those of the other rock tablets, and I am now engaged in making a reduced copy of this valuable record for early publication. I propose, however, first to compare it with the *Kapurdagiri* version in the Arian characters. With good copies of all the different texts before them, the scholars

of Europe will be able to give a more satisfactory interpretation of Asoka's edicts than has hitherto been made, even with the aid of all the learning of Burnouf and Wilson.

IV.—MADAWAR, OR MADIPUR.

191. From Srughna the Chinese pilgrim proceeded to Mo-ti-pu-lo, or *Madipur*, to the east of the Ganges, a distance of 800 *li*, or 133 miles. *Madipur* has been identified by M. St. Martin with *Mandāwar*, a large old town in Western Rohilkhand near Bijnor. I had made the same identification myself before reading M. St. Martin's remarks, and I am now able to confirm it by a personal examination of the locality. The actual distance from *Paota* on the Jumna to *Mandāwar* viâ *Haridwâr*, is not more than 110 miles by the present roads; but as it would have been considerably more by the old native tracks leading from village to village, the distance recorded by Hwen Thsang is most probably not far from the truth, more especially when we remember that he paid a visit to Ma-yu-lo, or *Mayurapura*, now *Myapoor*, near *Hardwâr* at the head of the Ganges Canal. But the identity of the site of *Madāwar* with *Madipur* is not dependent on this one distance alone, as will be seen from the subsequent course of the pilgrim, which most fully confirms the position already derived from his previous route.

192. The name of the town is written सडावर, *Madāwar*, the *Mundāwar* of the maps. According to *Johari Lal*, *Chaodri* and *Kanungo* of the place, *Madāwar* was a deserted site in Samvat 1171, or A. D. 1114, when his ancestor *Dwârka Dâs*, an *Agarwâla Baniya*, accompanied by *Katâr Mall*, came from *Morâri* in the *Mirat District*, and occupied the old mound. The present town of *Madāwar* contains 7,000 inhabitants, and is rather more than three-quarters of a mile in length by half a mile in breadth. But the old mound which represents the former town is not more than half a mile square. It has an average height of 10 feet above the rest of the town, and it abounds with large bricks, a certain sign of antiquity. In the middle of the mound there is a ruined fort, 300 feet square, with an elevation of 6 or 7 feet above the rest of the city. To the north-east, distant about one mile from the fort, there is a large village, on another mound, called *Madiya*; and between the two lies a large tank called *Kûnda Tâl*, surrounded by numerous small mounds which are said to be the re-

mains of buildings. Originally these two places would appear to have formed one large town about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in length by half a mile in breadth, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circuit. The *Kanungo* states that *Madāwar* formed part of the dominions of Pithora Raja, and that it possessed a large Hindu temple of stone, which was afterwards destroyed by one of the Ghorī Sultans, who built the present Jāma Masjid on its site, and with its materials. The stones of the mosque are squared blocks of soft grey sandstone, and as many of them exhibit cramp-holes on the outside, there can be no doubt that they must originally have belonged to some other building.

193. To the south-east of the town there is a large, deep, irregularly shaped piece of water called *Pirwāli Tāl*. It is nearly half a mile in length, but not more than 300 feet broad in its widest part. It is filled in the rains by a small channel carrying the drainage of the country from the north-east, and its overflow falls into the *Mālini* River, about two miles distant. This pool is only part of a natural channel of drainage which has been deepened by the excavation of earth for the bricks of the town. But in spite of this evident origin of the *Madāwar* tank, it was gravely asserted by the Buddhists to have been produced by an earthquake which accompanied the death of a celebrated saint named *Vimala Mitra*.

194. According to Hwen Thsang *Madipur* was 20 *li*, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, in circuit, which agrees very closely with what would appear to be the most probable size of the old town. The King was a *Sudra*, who cared nothing for Buddhism, but worshipped the *Devas*. There were 12 Buddhist monasteries, containing about 800 monks, who were mostly attached to the school of the *Sarvāstivādas*, and there were also about 50 Brahmanical temples. To the south of the town, at 4 or 5 *li*, or $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile, there was a small monastery in which *Gunaprabha* was said to have composed 100 works; and at half a mile to the north of this there was a great monastery which was famous as the scene of *Saṅghabhadra's* sudden death from chagrin, when he was overcome in argument by *Vasubandhu*. His relics were deposited in a *Stupa* in the midst of a mango grove only 200 paces to the north-west of the monastery. These two chiefs of Buddhism lived about the beginning of the Christian era, and the *Stupa* was still standing in A. D. 634, at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit. There is no trace

now existing either of the monasteries or of the *Stupa*, but their sites can be fixed with tolerable certainty by the aid of Hwen Thsang's descriptions. The village of Lālpur, which is situated on a mound about three quarters of a mile to the south-south-east of the Jāma Masjid, and which is built partly of old bricks, represents the site of the small monastery of *Gunaprabha*. To the north of Lālpur, and just half a mile distant, is the shrine of Hidāyat Shah, with a Masjid attached, both of which are built of old bricks. This spot I believe to be the site of the great monastery of *Sanghabhadra*. Lastly, to the west-north-west of Hidāyat's shrine, at a distance of 200 paces, there is another shrine, or *Fakir's takia*, standing in the midst of a mango grove, like the old *Stupa* of *Sanghabhadra*, the site of which it represents almost exactly as described by Hwen Thsang.

195. Beside the mango grove, there was a second *Stupa* which contained the relics of *Vimala Mītra*, who, as a disciple of *Sanghabhadra*, must have lived in the first century of the Christian era. The legend relates that on passing the *Stupa* of his master *Sanghabhadra*, he placed his hand on his heart, and with a sigh expressed a wish that he might live to compose a work which should lead all the students of India to renounce the "Great Vehicle" (*Mahā Yāna*), and which should blot out the name of *Vasubandhu* for ever. No sooner had he spoken than he was seized with frenzy, and five spouts of burning hot blood gushed from his mouth. Then feeling himself dying, he wrote a letter "expressing his repentance for having maligned the *Mahā Yāna*, and hoping that his fate might serve as an example to all students." At these words the earth quaked, and he expired instantly. Then *the spot where he died suddenly sank and formed a deep ditch*, and a holy man who witnessed his end, exclaimed, "To-day this master of the scriptures, by giving way to his passions, and by persisting in erroneous opinions, has calumniated the *Mahā Yāna*, for which he has now fallen into everlasting hell." But this opinion of the holy man would appear to have been confined to the followers of the *Mahā Yāna*, for the brethren of *Vimala Mītra*, who were *Sarvāstivādas*, or students of the lesser Vehicle, burned his body and raised a *Stupa* over his relics. It must be remembered, also, that Hwen Thsang, who relates the legend, was a zealous follower of the *Mahā Yāna*, and this no doubt led him to overlook the manifest contradiction between the

statement of the uncharitable *arhat*, and the fact that his brethren had burned his body in the usual manner. This legend, as well as several others, would seem to show that there was a hostile and even bitter feeling between these two great sects of the Buddhist community.

196. The site of *Vimala Mitra's Stupa* is described as being at the edge of the mango grove, and from the details of the legend it is clear that it could have been at no great distance from the *Stupa* of *Sanghabhadra*. It would appear also that it must have stood close by the great ditch, or hollow, which his opponents looked upon as the rent in the earth by which he had sunk down to "everlasting hell." Now, the mango grove which I have before mentioned, extends only 120 paces to the westward to the bank of the deep tank called the *Pirwāli Tāl*. I conclude therefore that the *Stupa* of *Vimala Mitra* must have stood close to the edge of this tank and on the border of the mango grove which still exists in the same position as described by Hwen Tshang.

197. It seems probable that the people of *Madāwar*, as pointed out by M. St. Martin, may be the *Matæ* of Megasthenes who dwelt on the banks of the Erineses. If so, that river must be the *Mālini*. It is true that this is but a small stream, but it was in a sacred grove on the bank of the *Mālini* that *Sakuntala* was brought up, and along its course lay her route to the Court of *Dushmanta* at *Hastinapur*. While the lotus floats on its waters, and while the *Chakwa* calls its mate on its bank, so long will the little *Mālini* live in the verse of *Kālidās*.

V.—KASHIPUR, OR GOVISANA.

198. On leaving *Madipur* the Chinese pilgrim travelled 400 *li*, or 66 miles to the south-east and arrived in the kingdom of *Kiu-pi-shwang-na*, which M. Julien renders by *Govisana*. The Capital was 14 or 15 *li*, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, in circuit. Its position was strong, being elevated, and of difficult access, and it was surrounded by groves, tanks, and fish ponds. There were two monasteries containing 100 monks, and 30 Brahmanical temples. In the middle of the larger monastery, which was outside the city, there was a *Stupa* of Asoka, 200 feet in height, built over the the spot where Buddha was said to have explained the law. There were also two small *Stupas*, only 12 feet high, containing his hair and nails.

199. According to the bearing and distance from Madipur, as given by Hwen Thsang, we must look for Govisana somewhere to the north of Muradabad. In this direction the only place of any antiquity is the old fort of *Ujain*, which is just one mile to the east of Kâshipur. According to the route which I marched the distance is 44 *kos*, or 66 miles. I estimate the value of the *kos* by the measured distance of 59 miles between the Post Offices of Bareli and Muradabad, which is always called 40 *kos* by the natives. The true bearing of Kâshipur is east-south-east, instead of south-east, but the difference is not great; and as the position of Kâshipur is equally clearly indicated by the subsequent route to *Ahichhatra*, I feel quite satisfied that the old fort of *Ujain* represents the ancient city of *Govisana* which was visited by Hwen Thsang.

200. Bishop Heber describes Kâshipur as a "famous place of Hindu pilgrimage which was built by a divinity named Kashi 5,000 years ago." But the good Bishop was grossly deceived by his informant, as it is well known that the town is a modern one, it having been built about A. D. 1718 by Kashi Nâth, a follower of Raja Devi Chandra, or Deb Chand, of Champawat in Kumaon. The old fort is now called *Ujain*, but as that is the name of the nearest village it seems probable that the true name has been lost. The place itself had been deserted for several hundred years before the occupation of Kâshipur, but as the holy tank of *Dron Sâgar* had never ceased to be visited by pilgrims, I presume that the name of the tank must have gradually superseded that of the fort. Even at the present day, the name of *Dron Sâgar* is just as well known as that of Kâshipur.

201. The old fort of *Ujain* is very peculiar in its form, which may be best compared to the body of a guitar. It is 3,000 feet in length from west to east, and 1,500 feet in breadth, the whole circuit being upwards of 9,000 feet, or rather less than 2 miles. Hwen Thsang describes the circuit of *Govisana* as about 12,000 feet, or nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, but in this measurement he must have included the long mound of ruins on the south side, which is evidently the remains of an ancient suburb. By including this mound as an undoubted part of the old city, the circuit of the ruins is upwards of 11,000 feet, or very nearly the same as that given by Hwen Thsang. Numerous groves, tanks,

and fish ponds still surround the place. Indeed, the trees are particularly luxuriant, owing to the high level of the water which is within 5 or 6 feet of the surface. For the same reason the tanks are numerous and always full of water. The largest of these is the *Dron Sâgar*, which, as well as the fort, is said to have been constructed by the five Pandu brothers for the use of their teacher *Drona*. The tank is only 600 feet square, but it is esteemed very holy, and is much frequented by pilgrims on their way to the source of the Ganges. Its high banks are covered with *Sati* monuments of recent date. The walls of the fort are built of large massive bricks, 15 inches by 10 inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which are always a certain sign of antiquity. The general height of the walls is 30 feet above the fields; but the whole is now in complete ruin, and covered with dense jungle. Shallow ditches still exist on all sides except the east. The interior is very uneven, but the mass has a mean height of about 20 feet above the country. There are two low openings in the ramparts, one to the north-west and the other to the south-west, which now serve as entrances to the jungle, and which the people say were the old gates of the fort.

202. There are some small temples on the western bank of the *Dron Sâgar*; but the great place of worship is the modern temple of *Jwâlâ Devi*, 600 feet to the eastward of the fort. This goddess is also called *Ujaini Devi*, and a great fair is held in her honour on the 8th day of the waning moon of Chaitra. Other smaller temples contain symbols of Mahadeva under the titles of *Butesar*, *Muktesar*, *Nâgadh*, and *Jâgesar*. But all of these temples are of recent date; the sites of the more ancient fanes being marked by mounds of various dimensions from 10 to upwards of 30 feet in height. The most remarkable of these mounds is situated inside the northern wall of the fort, above which the ruins rise to a height of 52 feet above the country, and 22 feet above the ramparts. This mound is called *Bhingaja*, or *Bhingada*, that is, Bhim's club, by which I understand a large *lingam* of Mahadeva. Were it not for this name, I should be inclined to look upon this huge mound as the remains of a palace, as I succeeded in tracing the walls of what appeared to have been a large room, 72 feet in length from north to south, by 63 feet in width, the walls being 6 feet thick. About 500 feet beyond the north-east angle of the fort there is another remarkable mound which is rather more than 34 feet in height. It stands in the midst of a

quadrangular terrace, 600 in length by 500 feet in breadth, and, as well as I could ascertain from an excavation at the top, it is the remains of a large square temple. Close by on the east, and within the quadrangle, there are the ruins of two small temples. To the eastward of the *Jwâlâ Devi* temple, there is a curious circular, flat-topped mound of earth, 68 feet in diameter, surrounded by a brick wall from 7 to 11 feet in height. It is called *Râmġir Gosain-ka-tila*, or "the mound of *Râmġir Gosain*," from which I infer that it is the burial place of a modern Gosain. To the south of the fort, near the temple of *Jâgesar Mahadeva*, there is a third large mound, 22 feet in height, which was once crowned by a temple 20 feet square inside. The bricks have only recently been removed, and the square core of earth still remains perfect. To the westward of this last, there is a fourth mound, on which I traced the ruins of a temple 30 feet square standing in the midst of a raised quadrangle about 500 feet square. Besides these there are ten smaller mounds, which make up altogether 14, or just one-half the number of the Brahmanical temples which are mentioned by Hwen Tshang.

203. The only ruin which appeared to me to be of undoubted Buddhist origin was a solid brick mound 20 feet in height, to the south-west of *Jâgesar Mahadeva*, and close to the small village of *Khargpur*. The base of the mound is upwards of 200 feet in diameter. The solid brick-work at the top is still 60 feet thick, but as it is broken all round, its original diameter must have been much greater, probably not less than 80 feet. But even this larger diameter is too small for a *Stupa* of 200 feet in height of the hemispherical form of *Asoka's* time; a *Stupa* of that early period, even when provided with both plinth and cupola, would not have exceeded 100 feet in height. Unless therefore we may suppose that there is a mistake of 100 feet in the text of Hwen Tshang, I feel quite unable to offer any identification whatever of the Buddhist remains of *Govisana* as described by the Chinese pilgrim.

VI.—RAMNAGAR, OR AHICHHATRA.

204. From *Govisana* Hwen Tshang proceeded to the south-east 400 *li*, or 66 miles, to *Ahi-chi-ta-lo*, or *Ahichhatra*. This once famous place still preserves its ancient name as *Ahichhatr*, although it has been deserted for many centuries. Its history reaches back to B. C.

1430, at which time it was the Capital of Northern *Pānchāla*. The name is written *Ahi-kshetra*, as well as *Ahi-chhatra*, but the local legend of *Adi Raja* and the *Nāga*, who formed a canopy over his head when asleep, shows that the latter is the correct form. This grand old fort is said to have been built by *Raja Adi*, an *Ahir*, whose future elevation to sovereignty was foretold by *Drona*, when he found him sleeping under the guardianship of a serpent with expanded hood. The place is mentioned by Ptolemy as *Aśurāḍḍpa*, which proves that the legend attached to the name of *Adi* is at least as old as the beginning of the Christian era. The fort is also called *Adikot*, but the more common name is *Ahichhatr*.

205. According to the *Mahābhārat* the great kingdom of *Pānchāla* extended from the *Himālaya* Mountains to the *Chambal* River. The capital of North *Pānchāla*, or *Rohilkhand*, was *Ahi-chhatra*, and that of South *Pānchāla*, or the Central Gangetic Doab, was *Kāmpilya*, now *Kampil*, on the old Ganges between *Budaon* and *Farokhabad*. Just before the great war, or about 1430 B. C., the King of *Pānchāla*, named *Drupada*, was conquered by *Drona*, the preceptor of the five *Pāndus*. *Drona* retained north *Pānchāla* for himself, but restored the southern half of the kingdom to *Drupada*. According to this account the name of *Ahi-chhatra*, and consequently also the legend of *Adi Raja* and the serpent, are many centuries anterior to the rise of Buddhism.

206. It would appear, however, that the Buddhists must have adopted and altered the legend to do honour to their great teacher, for *Hwen Thsang* records that outside the town there was a *Nāga-hrada*, or "serpent tank," near which *Buddha* had preached the law for seven days in favour of the Serpent King, and that the spot was marked by a *Stupa* of King *Asoka*. Now, as the only existing *Stupa* at this place is called *Chattr*, I infer that the Buddhist legend represented the *Nāga* King after his conversion as forming a canopy over *Buddha* with his expanded hood. I think, also, that the *Stupa* erected on the spot where the conversion took place would naturally have been called *Ahi-chhatra*, or the "serpent canopy." A similar story is told at *Buddha Gya* of the *Nāga* King *Muchalinda*, who with his expanded hood sheltered *Buddha* from the shower of rain produced by the malignant demon *Māra*.

207. The account of *Ahi-chhatra* given by Hwen Thsang is unfortunately very meagre, otherwise we might most probably have identified many of the existing ruins with the Buddhist works of an early age. The Capital was 17, or 18 *li*, or just three miles, in circuit, and was defended by natural obstacles. It possessed 12 monasteries, containing about 1,000 monks, and nine Brahmanical temples, with about 300 worshippers of *Iswara Deva* (Siva), who smeared their bodies with ashes. The *Stupa* near the serpent tank, outside the town, has already been mentioned. Close beside it there were four small *Stupas* built on the spots where the four previous Buddhas had either sat or walked. Both the size and the peculiar position of the ruined fortress of *Ahi-chhatra* agree so exactly with Hwen Thsang's description of the ancient *Ahi-chhatra*, that there can be no doubt whatever of their identity. The circuit of the walls, as they stand at present, is 19,400 feet, or upwards of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The shape may be described as an irregular right-angled triangle, the west side being 5,600 feet in length, the north side 6,400 feet, and the long side to the south-east 7,400 feet. The fort is situated between the *Râm Ganga* and *Gânghan Rivers*, which are both difficult to cross; the former on account of its broad sands, the latter on account of its extensive ravines. Both on the north and east the place is rendered almost inaccessible by the *Pirâ Nala*, a difficult ravine with steep broken banks, and numerous deep pools of water quite impassable by wheeled vehicles. For this reason the cart road to Bareli, distant only 18 miles due east, is not less than 23 miles. Indeed the only accessible side of the position is the north-west, from the direction of *Lakhnor*, the ancient capital of the *Katehria Rajputs*. It therefore fully merits the description of Hwen Thsang as being defended by "natural obstacles." *Ahi-chhatra* is only seven miles to the north of *Aonla*, but the latter half of the road is rendered difficult by the ravines of the *Gânghan River*. It was in this very position, in the jungles to the north of *Aonla*, that the *Katehria Rajputs* withstood the *Muhammadans* under *Firuz Tughlak*.

208. The ruins of *Ahi-chhatra* were first visited by Captain Hodgson, the Surveyor, who describes the place as "the ruins of an ancient fortress several miles in circumference, which appears to have had 34 bastions, and is known in the neighbourhood by the

name of the "Pândus Fort." According to my survey there are only 32 towers, but it is quite possible that one or two may have escaped my notice, as I found many parts so overgrown with thorny jungle as to be inaccessible. The towers are generally from 28 to 30 feet in height, excepting on the west side, where they rise to 35 feet. A single tower near the south-west corner is 47 feet in height above the road outside. The average height of the interior mass is from 15 to 20 feet. Many of the present towers, however, are not ancient, as an attempt was made by Ali Muhammad Khan, about 200 years ago, to restore the fort with a view of making it his stronghold in case he should be pushed to extremities by the King of Delhi. The new walls are said to have been $1\frac{1}{2}$ *guz* thick, which, agrees with my measurements of the parapets on the south-eastern side, which vary from 2 feet 9 inches to 3 feet 3 inches in thickness at top. According to popular tradition, Ali Muhammad expended about a *crore* of rupees, or one million pounds sterling, in this attempt, which he was finally obliged to abandon on account of its costliness. I estimate that he may perhaps have spent about one lakh of rupees, or £10,000, in repairing the ramparts and in rebuilding the parapets. There is an arched gateway on the south-east side, which must have been built by the Musalmans, but as no new bricks were made by them, the cost of their work would have been limited to the labour alone. The ramparts are 18 feet thick at the base in some places, and between 14 and 15 feet in others.

209. There are three great mounds inside the fort, and outside, both to the north and west, there are a number of mounds of all sizes, from 20 feet to 1,000 feet in the diameter. To the north-west, distant one mile, there is a large tank called the *Gandhân Sâgar*, which has an area of 125 *bigahs*, and about one quarter of a mile beyond it there is another tank called the *Adi Sâgar*, which has an area of 150 *bigahs*. The latter is said to have been made by *Adi Raja* at the same time as the fort. The waters are collected by an earthen embankment faced on both sides with bricks of large size. The *Gandhân Sâgar* is also embanked both to the east and south. The mounds to the south of the tanks are covered with large bricks, both plain and moulded; but judging from their shapes, they must all have belonged to temples, or other straight walled buildings, and not to

Stupas. There is nothing to show whether these are the remains of Buddhist or of Brahmanical buildings, but from their extent it is probable that they were the former.

210. According to Hwen Tsang there were only nine Brahmanical temples at *Ahi-chhatra* in A. D. 634, all of which would appear to have been dedicated to Siva. But as Buddhism declined, this number must have been increased, for I discovered the ruins of not less than 20 temples of various sizes, of which one is gigantic, four are large, five are of middle size, and 12 of small dimensions. Three of these are inside the fort, and the others are grouped together outside on the west road. I made excavations in most of these mounds, all of which yielded moulded bricks of various patterns, but only two of them afforded sculptures by which their original purpose could be absolutely identified. These two temples are marked as Nos. I and IV in my survey of the ruins.

211. The remains of No. I temple form a mound, 65 feet 9 inches in height above the country, and upwards of 30 feet above the walls of the fortress. This lofty mound stands inside the fort near the middle of the north wall, and forms the most conspicuous object amongst the ruins of the mighty fortress of *Ahi-chhatra*. The floor of the temple is 60 feet above the ground, and at this enormous height stood a colossal *lingam*, 3 feet 6½ inches in diameter, and upwards of 8 feet in height, which must have been visible from both east and west through the open doors of the temple for a distance of some miles. The interior of the temple is only 14 feet 4 inches by 10½ feet. The north and south walls are 9 feet 5 inches thick, and the east and west walls only 5 feet 9 inches; but on these two sides there are open porches outside the two entrances which increase the thickness of the walls to 19 feet on the west side, and to 14 feet 11 inches on the east. The exterior dimensions of the temple are 48 feet 3 inches by 29 feet 4 inches. From these dimensions I calculate that the temple must have been about 100 feet in height above its own floor, or 165 feet above the country. The base of the stone *lingam* is square, the middle part octagonal, and the upper part hemispherical. A *trisal*, or trident, is cut upon the base. The upper portion of the *lingam* is broken. The people say that it was struck by lightning,

but from the unshattered state of the large block I am more disposed to ascribe the fracture to the hammer of the Muhammadans.

212. Mound No. II, which is also inside the fort to the west of the large mound, is 35 feet in height, and from 5 to 10 feet above the general line of the ramparts. It shows the remains of a large square building with a long flight of steps on the west side. No. III mound is only 30 feet in height, and is covered with scrub jungle. There are traces of walls on the surface, but the jungle prevented their immediate excavation. I will take an early opportunity of exploring both of these mounds, as I feel satisfied that they are the remains of large Brahmanical temples.

213. No. IV mound stands about 1,000 feet outside the west gate of the fort. It is 300 feet square at base, and 30 feet in height, and has two smaller mounds attached to the north-east corner. On excavating the surface I discovered the foundations of a temple, 11 feet square inside, with walls $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, and a long pedestal or raised platform for the reception of statues. The entrance is on the east side towards the town. Amongst the ruins I found a seated terracotta figure of Siva, 12 inches in height, with four arms and three eyes, and one hand holding a large lotus flower. I found also in red stone a small right hand grasping the hilt of a sword, and a left hand of three-quarter life size, grasping a large conch. As the last must have belonged to a figure of Vishnu, it is possible that the temple was dedicated to that god, but a projecting portion of the pedestal leads me to believe that it must have been occupied by a *lingam*, and if so, the principal figure would have been that of Mahadeva. There was also a large quantity of ashes inside this temple, from which I infer that it was most probably destroyed by the Musalmans in one of their early expeditions against the Katchhia Rajputs.

214. The Buddhist remains at *Ahi-chhatra* are both more extensive and more ancient than those of the Brahmans. In my survey I have marked them by the letters of the Alphabet to distinguish them from the Brahmanical ruins, which are numbered. Only three of the Buddhist mounds have been excavated, but as most of the others have furnished materials for the neighbouring villages, it does not seem likely that their excavation would be attended with any success. I

will, however, manage to have them examined at the end of the ensuing season.

215. The most important of the Buddhist ruins is an irregular shaped mound, about 1,000 feet square, from the centre of which rises a large *Stupa* of solid brick-work, which the people call *chhatr*. I have already identified this with the great *Stupa* which was built over the spot where Buddha converted the Serpent King. It is surrounded by eight smaller mounds, of which four would appear to be the ruins of *Stupas*, and three of temples, whilst one only is doubtful. Now, Hwen Thsang describes the great *Stupa* as having on one side of it four small *Stupas*, which account agrees exactly with the position of the four small mounds above mentioned. I have no doubt, therefore, as to the identity of the *chhatr* mound with the *Stupa* of Hwen Thsang, although I was unable to discover any certain trace of the tank called the *Nāga-hrada*, or "serpent pond" by the Chinese pilgrim. It is quite possible, however, that a tank may once have existed on the south-west side, where the ground is still very low.

216. The great ruins called *Chhatr* is a mass of solid brick-work, 40 feet in height above the fields, and 30 feet in diameter at top. The original building was a hemisphere of 50 feet diameter, which was raised upon a base or plinth 15 feet in height. At some later period an outer casing, $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, was added, which increased the diameter to 75 feet, and the height of the crown of the hemisphere to $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Allowing two-sevenths of the diameter for the height of the cupola or pinnacle, which is the proportion observed in the Sanchi bas-reliefs, the total height of the original *Stupa* would have been 57 feet, and that of the later *Stupa* 77 feet. I made several superficial excavations around the base in the hope of finding some portions of the stone railings with which the *Stupa* was most probably surrounded, but without success. I still believe, however, that there must have been the usual Buddhist railings around this *Stupa*, and that a further search would probably bring some of the pillars to light. I found, however, a number of curved wedge-shaped bricks, that must have belonged to a circle of between 15 and 16 feet in diameter, and which, I presume, are the remains of the cupola.

217. If I am right in my identification of this *Stupa* with that which was built near the Serpent Tank, its original construction must be referred to the reign of Asoka, or about 250 B. C. A strong argument in favour of this date is the similarity of its shape to that of the Bhilsa *Topes*, which are undoubtedly of Asoka's age. The date of the enlargement of the *Stupa* can only be fixed approximately by inferring from Hwen Thsang's silence that it must have been in good order at the time of his visit. Admitting this to have been the case, the date of the enlargement cannot be placed earlier than about A. D. 400 to 500.

218. The great *Stupa* attracted the attention of some British Officer, about 30 years ago, who dug a gallery into it, 21 feet in length, and then sunk a well for some unknown depth, which I found filled with rubbish. I made use of this old gallery, and continued it to the centre of the *Stupa*, where it met a shaft which I had sunk from the top. From this point I carried the shaft downwards, making use of the gallery for the removal of the bricks. At a depth of 27 feet from the present top, or at 7 feet below the centre of the older hemisphere, I found a low pyramidal topped vessel of common red unglazed earthenware, 8 inches in diameter. Inside this vessel there was a small steatite box, containing many minute fragments of seed pearls, several pieces of blue glass, one large bead of red amber, and about a tea spoonful of little bits of rock crystal. Mixed with these were ten small cylindrical pierced beads of a dirty white colour like old chalk. They consist chiefly of carbonate of lime with a trace of some other substance, and are most probably only the remains of some artificial beads. The little steatite box is a sphere of 2 inches diameter, but rather pointed at the top and bottom. Its general colour is white with a few purple blotches. The whole is rudely ornamented, the top with flowers, and the bottom with animals of school-boy design. The inside also is rudely ornamented, but with simple lines only. There is no trace of any inscription.

219. At $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet below the deposit just described, or at $13\frac{3}{4}$ feet below the centre of the hemisphere, a second deposit was found imbedded in the ground immediately under the last course of a globular shaped mottled steatite vase, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and 6 inches in height. This vase has a neck 3 inches in diameter inside and $2\frac{3}{4}$

inches in height, thus making the whole height of the vessel $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches. This is divided into two equal portions, the lower half having an inner lip, which is overlapped by the upper half. The vessel is quite plain, excepting only a few belts of simple lines which encircle it. The open mouth was found closed by the lid of a small dark-coloured steatite vase exactly similar to several that were discovered in the Bhilsa *Topes*. Inside there was nothing but a hard cake of earth, 6 inches in diameter, mixed with small stones. A similar earthen cake, but only $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, was found in the earthenware jar of the upper deposit. What this cake may be I cannot at present say, but it does not effervesce with acids.

220. The second Buddhist mound which has yielded important evidence of its former occupation, is called *Katāri Khera*. It is situated 1,200 feet to the north of the old fort, and 1,600 feet to the east of the small village of Nasratganj. The mound is about 400 feet square and 20 feet in height. Close by there is a small pond called the *Maswāse Tāl*; but neither this name, nor that of *Katāri Khera*, would seem to have any reference to the old Buddhist establishment which formerly stood there. Unfortunately this mound has furnished bricks to the neighbouring village for many generations, so that but little is now left to point out the nature of the original buildings. A surface excavation brought to light a temple $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length by 22 feet in breadth outside, and 11 feet square inside. The plinth is still standing $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, formed of blocks of *kankar*, but the walls have altogether disappeared, excepting some portions of a few courses. The doorway faces the east, from which I infer that the enshrined statue was most probably that of the ascetic Buddha, who is always represented seated in a similar position under the holy Pipal Tree of Buddha Gaya. I am also led to the same conclusion by the discovery of a broken statue of Buddha with two flying figures over the right shoulder, which are the usual accompaniments of the ascetic figures of Buddha. This statue is broken at the waist, and both arms are lost; but the fragment is still 2 feet high and 2 feet broad, from which I infer that the size of the original statue was not less than 4 feet in height by 3 feet in breadth; and this I believe to have been the principal figure of the temple.

221. In the same place five other carved and sculptured stones

were discovered, of which one is an inscribed pillar of a Buddhist railing of middle age. The pillar is broken, but the remaining portions of the socket holes are sufficient for the restoration of the original dimensions. The fragment is 1 foot 11 inches in length, with a section of $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 4 inches. The socket holes are 8 inches long, and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches apart, which in a pillar of two rails would give a height of 3 feet $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, or of 4 feet 3 inches in a pillar of three rails. The face of the pillar is sculptured with six rows of naked standing figures, there being five figures in the lowest row, and only four figures in each of the others. On one of the sides there is the following short inscription in four lines of the age of the Guptas:—

Acharya Indranandi Sishya Mahādari Pārsvamatisya Kottari.

The last word but one might perhaps be read as *patisya*; but the remainder of the inscription is quite clear. I understand it to record the gift of "*Mahādari*, the disciple of the teacher *Indranandi*, to the temple (*Kottari*) of *Parswamati*." Perhaps the term *Kottari* may be preserved in the name of *Katāri Khera*, by which the mound is now known.

222. The other sculptured stones are not of much interest. The largest is a broken statue of a standing figure, 3 feet high by 2 feet broad, which appears to be naked. The head, the feet, and the right arm are gone. A second small stone, 1 foot long and 5 inches broad, bears the figures of the *Navagraha*, or "Nine Planets." On the back there is a short inscription of only eight letters, of which two are somewhat doubtful. I read the whole as *Sahada, Bhima, Devindra*, but the word *Bhima* is very doubtful. A third stone, $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ feet square, is the fragment of a large pillar, with a lion sculptured on each of its four faces. The naked figures of these sculptures belong to a somewhat late period of Buddhism, after the introduction of the *Tantrika* doctrines, which, as we learn from Skanda Gupta's inscription on the Bhitari Pillar, were prevalent during the time of the later Guptas, in the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D. As the forms of the letters of these inscriptions are also those of the Gupta period, we may conclude with some certainty that the *Kottari*, or temple, of *Parswamati* was erected before the fall of the Gupta dynasty in A. D. 319.

223. Four hundred feet to the south of the great bastion, and close to the south-west angle of the fort, there is another extensive

mound, marked D in my map, upwards of 300 feet square, and 35 feet in height above the road. The principal mass of ruin, which is in the middle of the west side, is the remains of a large temple, 40 feet square outside. In the middle of the south side there are the ruins of a small building which may perhaps have been the entrance gateway. To the right and left of the entrance there are the ruins of two small temples, each 14 feet square outside, and 9 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches inside, raised upon a plinth 24 feet square. The centre of the square is open, and has evidently never been built upon. My excavations were too limited to ascertain more than I have noted above, but I propose to continue the exploration towards the end of the ensuing cold weather. I believe that this mound is the remains of a very large monastery with its lofty enclosed temple, which could not have been less than 80 or even 100 feet in height.

224. Connected with *Ahi-chhatra* is an inscription of the Gupta period on a square pillar found near the village of *Dilwari*, 3 kos, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, to the south of the fort. The inscription consists of 14 lines of five letters each, the letters of one line being placed exactly under those of the line above, so as to form also five straight perpendicular lines. The stone is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 1 foot broad, and 9 inches thick in the middle, but the continual sharpening of tools has worn down the edges to a breadth of from 7 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The inscription, which is on one of the narrow faces, has accordingly suffered in the partial loss of some of the initial and final letters of several lines. The other three faces of the stone are quite plain, and there is nothing whatever to show what the pillar may have been originally intended for.

225. My account of *Ahi-chhatra* would not be complete without a reference to the gigantic *lingam* near the village of *Gulariya*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of the fort, and to the Priapian name of the village of *Bhim-laur*, one mile to the east of the fort. *Bhim-gaja* and *Bhim-laur* are common names for the *lingam* in all the districts to the north of the Ganges. I have already quoted Hwen Thsang's remark that the nine Brahmanical temples of *Ahi-chhatra* in A. D. 634 were dedicated to Siva, and I may now add in illustration, that only in one of the many ruins above the old fort did I find a trace of the worship of any other divinity.

VII.—SORON, OR SUKARA-KSHETRA.

226. From *Ahi-chhatra* the Chinese pilgrim proceeded in a south direction a distance of from 260 to 270 *li*, from 23 to 25 miles, to the Ganges, which he crossed, and then turning to the south-west he arrived in the kingdom of *Pi-lo-shan-na*. His route to the south would have taken him through Aonla and Budaon to the *Budh Ganga* (or old Ganges) somewhere near Sahâwar, a few miles below *Soron*, both of which places stood on the main stream of the Ganges so late as 400 years ago. As his subsequent route is said to have been to the south-west, I believe that he must have crossed the Ganges close to Sahâwar, which is 42 miles from *Ahi-chhatra* in a direct line. From all my early enquiries I was led to believe that *Soron* was the only ancient place in this vicinity; and as Hwen Thsang does not give any distance for his south-west march, I concluded that *Soron* must have been the place to which he gives the name of *Pi-lo-shan-na*. I accordingly visited *Soron*, which is undoubtedly a place of very great antiquity, but which cannot, I think, be the place visited by the Chinese pilgrim. I will, however, first describe *Soron* before I proceed to discuss the superior claims of the great ruined mound of *Atranji-Khera* to be identified with the *Pi-lo-shan-na* of the Chinese pilgrim.

227. *Soron* is a large town on the right, or western, bank of the Ganges, on the high road between Bareilly and Mathura. The place was originally called *Ukala Kshetra*; but after the demon *Hiranyaksha* had been killed by the *Varâha Avatar*, or Boar incarnation of Vishnu, the name was changed to *Sukura Kshetra*, or "the place of the good deed." The ancient town is represented by a ruined mound called the *Kilah*, or "fort," which is one quarter of a mile in length from north to south, and somewhat less in breadth. It stands on the high bank of the old bed of the Ganges, which is said by some to have flowed immediately under it so late as 200 years ago. The modern town stands at the foot of the old mound on the west and south sides, and probably contains about 5,000 inhabitants. There are no dwellings on the old mound, which is occupied only by the temple of *Sita-Râmji* and the tomb of *Shekh-Jamâl*. But it is covered with broken bricks of large size, and the foundations of walls can be traced in all directions. The mound is said to be the ruins of a fort built by Raja *Somadatta* of *Soron* many hundred years ago. But the original

settlement of the place is very much older, being attributed to the fabulous *Raja Vena Chakravarti*, who plays such a conspicuous part in all the legends of North Bihar, Oudh, and Rohilkhand.

228. The temples of Soron are very numerous, and several of them are said to be old. But the only temples of any consequence are those of *Sita-Rámji*, on the top of the mound, and *Varáhazi* to the north-west of the city. A great annual fair is held near the latter temple on the 11th of the waxing moon of *Márgasirsha*, in remembrance of the destruction of the demon by the Boar incarnation of Vishnu. It contains a statue of *Varáha Lakshmi*, and is visited by crowds of pilgrims. The temple of *Sita-Rámji*, which is said to have been ruined by Aurang Shah (or Aurangzib) was restored by a wealthy Baniya, only four years ago, by building up the space between the pillars with plain white-washed walls. Internally the temple is a square of 27 feet supported on 16 stone pillars; but the people say that the original building was much larger, and that it contained 32 pillars. This account is most probably correct, as the foundations of the walls of the *sanctum*, or shrine, are still standing at the back, or west side, of the temple. There are also 10 superfluous pillars inside the temple, of which two support the broken architraves, and eight are built into the corner spaces of the walls. The style of these columns is similar to that of the set of pillars in the south-east corner of the quadrangle of the Great Kntb Mosque at Delhi, which bear the date of Samvat 1124, or A. D. 1067. That this date is not too early for the Soron temple is proved by the inscriptions of various pilgrims who have visited the shrine. As the oldest legible record bears the date of Samvat 1226, or A. D. 1169, the date of the erection of the temple cannot therefore be placed later than A. D. 1000.

229. These pilgrim's records are generally short and uninteresting, but as there are no less than 38 of them, bearing dates which range from A. D. 1169 to 1511, they become valuable for tracing the history of the temple. The earliest date after the Muhammadan conquest is A. D. 1241, and from that time down to A. D. 1290 there are no less than 15 dated records, showing that Soron continued to be a much frequented place of pilgrimage during the whole period of the *Ghori* dynasty, which ended in A. D. 1289. But during the rule of the next two dynasties, the *Khiljis* and *Tughlaks*, there is only one

inscription, dated in A. D. 1375, in the reign of Firuz. Now, as nearly one-half of this period was occupied by the reigns of the cruel despot Ala-ud-din Khilji and the ferocious madman Muhammad Tughlak, it seems only reasonable to conclude that the people were deterred from making their usual pilgrimages by the persecution of their Muhammadan rulers. The next record is dated in A. D. 1429, and from that time down to 1511 there are 16 dated inscriptions; but as no less than 13 of this number belong to the reign of Bahlol Lodi, I infer that the rule of the Syad dynasty was not favourable to Hindu pilgrimages. I infer also that the temple must have been destroyed during the reign of the intolerant Sikandar Lodi, because the series of inscriptions closes with A. D. 1511, or just six years before the end of his reign. Had the temple existed during the happy century when the sceptre of India was swayed by the tolerant Akbar, the indifferent Jehangir, and the politic Shah Jahan, it is almost certain that some records of the pilgrims' visits would have been inscribed on the pillars of the temple. For this reason I feel satisfied that the destruction of the great temple of Soron must be assigned to an earlier period than that of the bigoted Aurang Shah.

VIII.—ATRANJI-KHERA, OR PI-LO-SHAN-NA.

230. The great mound of ruins called *Atranji-Khera* is situated on the right, or west, bank of the *Kālī Nadi*, four miles to the south of *Karsāna*, and eight miles to the north of *Eyta*, on the Grand Trunk Road. It is also 15 miles to the south of Soron, and 43 miles to the north-west of *Sankisa* in a direct line, the road distance being not less than 48 or 50 miles. In the *Ayin Akbari* Atranji is recorded as one of the Parganahs of Kanoj, under the name of *Sikandar-pur Atreji*. *Sikandarpur*, which is now called *Sikandrabad*, is a village on the left bank of the *Kālī Nadi* opposite Atranji. From this it would appear that Atranji was still occupied in the reign of Akbar. The Parganah was afterwards called *Karsāna*, but it is known by the name of *Sahāwar Karsāna*, or of *Sahāwar* only. The name given by the Chinese pilgrim is *Pi-lo-shan-na*, for which M. Julien proposes to read *Virasana*. So far back as 1848 I pointed out that, as both *pil* and *kar* are Sanskrit names for an elephant, it was probable that *Pilosana* might be the same as *Karsāna*, the large village which I have already men-

tioned as being four miles to the north of *Atranji Khera*. The chief objection to this identification is the fact that *Karsána* is apparently not a very old place, although it is sometimes called *Deora Karsána*, a name which implies the possession of a temple of note at some former period. It is, however, possible that the name of *Karsána* may once have been joined to *Atranji* in the same way that we find *Sikandarapur Atreji* in the *Ayin Akbari*. As the identification of *Karsána* with *Pilosana* is purely conjectural, it is useless to hazard any more speculations on this subject. The bearing and distance from *Sankisa*, as recorded by Hwen Thsang, point to the neighbourhood of *Sirpura*, near which there is a small village called *Pilkuni*, or *Pilokuni*, which is the *Pilukhoni* of our maps. It is, however, a very petty place; and although it boasts of a small *khera*, or mound of ruins, it cannot, I think, have ever been more than one-fourth of the circuit of two miles which Hwen Thsang attributes to *Pi-lo-shan-na*. But there are two strong points in its favour—namely, 1st, its position, which agrees both in bearing and distance with the Chinese pilgrim's account; and 2nd, its name, which is almost identical with the old name, *sh* being very commonly pronounced as *kh*, so that Hwen Thsang's *Piloshana* would usually be pronounced *Pilokhana*.

231. In proposing *Atranji-Khera* as the site of the ancient *Piloshanna*, I am influenced solely by the fact that this is the only large place besides *Soron* of any antiquity in this part of the country. It is true that the distance from *Sankisa* is somewhat greater than that recorded by the Chinese pilgrim—namely, 45 miles, instead of 33 miles; but the bearing is exact; and as it is quite possible that there may be some mistake in Hwen Thsang's recorded distance, I think that *Atranji-Khera* has a better claim than any other place to be identified with the ancient *Piloshana*. I have not visited the place myself, as I was not aware of its importance when I was in its neighbourhood. I propose, however, to take an early opportunity of exploring it in person. In the meantime I have had it inspected by a trustworthy servant, whose report shows that *Atranji* must once have been a place of considerable extent and importance. According to him, the great mound of *Atranji* is 3,250 in length, and 2,550 in breadth at the base. Now, these dimensions would give a circuit of about two miles, which is the very size of *Piloshana* as recorded by Hwen Thsang.

Its highest point is 44 feet 9 inches, which, if my identification is correct, should be the ruins of the great *Stupa* of Asoka, upwards of 100 feet in height, as this lofty tower is said to have been situated inside a monastery in the middle of the town. Outside the town there were two other monasteries, inhabited by 300 monks. These may perhaps be represented by two small mounds which still exist on the east side of the Great *Khera*. To the south there is a third mound, 165 feet in length by 105 feet in breadth, which may possibly be the remains of one or more of the five Brahmanical temples described by Hwen Thsang.

232. *Atranji-Khera* had two gates, one to the east, towards the *Kālī Nadi*, and the other to the south. The foundation of the place is attributed to *Raja Vena Chakravartti*. The mound is covered with broken bricks of large size and fragments of statues, and old coins are said to be frequently found. All the existing fragments of statues are said to be Brahmanical. There is a temple of Mahadeo on the mound, and there are five *lingams* in different places, of which one is 6 feet in height. The principal statue is that of a four-armed female called *Debi*, but which, as she is represented treading upon a prostrate figure, is most probably *Durgā*.

233. The only objection to the identification of *Atranji* with *Piloshanna* is the difference between the distance of 200 *li*, or 33 miles, as stated by Hwen Thsang, and the actual distance of 43 miles direct, or about 48 or 50 miles by road. I have already suggested the possibility of there being some mistake in the recorded distance of Hwen Thsang, but perhaps an equally probable explanation may be found in the difference of the length of the *yojana*. Hwen Thsang states that he allowed 40 Chinese *li* to the *Yojana*; but if the old *yojana* of Rohilkhand differed from that of the Central Doab as much as the *kos* of these districts now differ, his distances would have varied by half a mile in every *kos*, or by two miles in every *yojana*, as the Rohilkhand *kos* is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, while that of the Doab is two miles; the latter being one-third greater. Now, if we apply this difference to Hwen Thsang's measurement of 200 *li*, or 33 miles, we increase the distance at once to 44 miles, which agrees with the direct measured distance on the map. I confess, however, that I am rather inclined to believe in the possibility of there being a mistake in Hwen Thsang's recorded

distance, as I find exactly the same measurement of 200 *li* given as the distance between *Sankisa* and *Kanoj*. Now, the two distances are precisely the same—that is, *Sankisa* is exactly midway between *Atranji* and *Kanoj*; and as the latter distance is just 50 miles by my measurement along the high road, the former must also be the same. I would therefore suggest the probability that both of these distances should be 300 *li*, or 50 miles, instead of 200 *li* as recorded in the text. In favour of this proposed correction I may cite the testimony of the earlier Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, who makes the distance from *Sankisa* to *Kanoj* 7 *yojanas*, or 49 miles. At Hwen Thsang's own valuation of 40 *li* to the *yojana*, this measurement would give 280 *li*; and as Fa Hian does not record half *yojanas*, we may increase the distance by half a *yojana*, or 20 *li*, which brings the total up to 300 *li*, or exactly 50 miles.

234. But whatever may be the true explanation of the difference between the actual distances and those recorded by Hwen Thsang, there still remains the important fact that *Sankisa* was exactly midway between *Kanoj* and *Piloshanna*, just as it now is midway between *Kanoj* and *Atranji*. If we couple this absolute identity of position with the fact that *Atranji* is the only old place in the part of the country indicated by Hwen Thsang, we can scarcely arrive at any other conclusion than that the great ruined mound of *Atranji* is the site of the ancient *Piloshanna*.

(To be concluded.)

JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. IV.—1865.

Report of the Proceedings of the Archæological Surveyor to the Government of India for the Season of 1862-63.—By Major-General A. CUNNINGHAM, Archæological Surveyor to the Govt. of India.

[Received 3rd Feb., 1865.]

[Read 1st March, 1865.]

(Continued from page 193.)

IX.—SANKISA.

235. The site of *Sankisa* was discovered by me in 1842; but it was not until the end of 1862 that I got an opportunity of exploring the ruins at leisure. The name of the place is written *Seng-kia-she* by the Chinese pilgrims, a spelling which is well preserved in the *Sankisa* of the present day, and which represents with considerable faithfulness the *Sangkāśya* of Sanskrit. Hwen Thsang calls it also by the name of *Kie-pi-tha*, or *Kapitha*, of which I was unable to discover any trace. *Sankisa* was one of the most famous places of Buddhist pilgrimage, as it was there that Buddha was believed to have descended from the *Trayastrinsa* heaven by a ladder of gold or gems, accompanied by the gods Indra and Brahma. According to this curious legend, *Māyā*, the mother of Buddha, died seven days after his birth, and ascended at once to the *Trayastrinsa* heaven, the abode of the 33 gods, of whom Indra was the chief. But as she had no opportunity in this abode of the gods of hearing the law of Buddha, her pious son ascended to the *Trayastrinsa* heaven, and preached for three months in her behalf. He then

descended to the earth with the gods Brahma and Indra by three staircases, one of which was formed either of crystal or precious stones, another of gold, and the third of silver. According to Fa Hian, Buddha descended by a staircase formed of the "seven precious things,"—that is, the precious metals and precious gems; whilst Brahma accompanied him on his right side by a silver ladder, and Indra on his left by a golden one. But Hwen Thsang assigns the golden staircase to Buddha himself, and the silver staircase on the right to Brahma, and the crystal staircase on the left to Indra. The descent was accompanied by a multitude of *Devas*, who scattered showers of flowers on all sides as they sang the praises of Buddha.

236. Such are the main points of this curious legend, which is believed as firmly in Barma at the present day, as it was by Asoka 2,100 years ago, or by the Chinese pilgrims of the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries of our era. According to Fa Hian, the three staircases disappeared underground immediately after the descent, leaving only seven steps visible. Apparently these seven steps must have existed in the time of Asoka, as he is reported to have been anxious to behold their foundations, and accordingly sent men to dig down to their base. But the diggers "reached a yellow spring without being able to penetrate to the foundation." The King, however, "felt sensible of a great increase of his faith and veneration," and therefore built a chapel over the three staircases, and upon the middle one erected a full length statue of Buddha 60 feet high. According to Hwen Thsang's account, the three staircases still existed in his time, (A. D. 634), but were completely sunk in the earth. On their foundations, however, the pious Kings of different countries had erected three staircases, similar to the first, of bricks and stones, ornamented with many precious things. The height of these staircases was about 70 feet. Over them there was a *Vihâr* containing statues of Buddha, Brahma, and Indra, who were represented leaning forward as if about to descend. The Barmese say that the descent took place at the full moon of *Thadingkyut*, (October), and that the feet of the steps were at the gate of the city of *Thingka-tha-na-go*, or *Singksanagara*. Hwen Thsang adds that the three staircases were placed in a line from north to south, with the descent facing the east, and that they stood within the walls of a great monastery.

237. Close to the staircase there was a stone pillar, 70 feet in height, which had been erected by King Asoka. It was formed of a hard, fine-grained reddish stone, and had a brilliant polish. On its summit was a lion, who was seated facing the steps. There were figures also sculptured *inside the pillar* with marvellous art, which were visible only to the virtuous. This is Hwen Thsang's account, with which Fa Hian's agrees in almost every particular; but he adds a curious legend about a dispute between the *Sramanas* and heretics. "If," said the former, "this place ought to be the abode of the *Sramanas*, let a supernatural testimony proclaim it. They had no sooner finished this speech than the lion on the summit uttered a loud roar."

238. There were several *Stupas* at *Sankisa*, of which the most famous were the following:—

1st.—On the spot where Buddha descended from the *Trayastrinsa* heaven, accompanied by Indra and Brahma. This *Stupa* is not mentioned by Hwen Thsang, but it is noticed by Fa Hian, and in the *Burmese life of Buddha*.

2nd.—On the spot where the four Buddhas had formerly sat and taken exercise.

3rd.—At the place where Buddha bathed.

4th and 5th.—Two small *Stupas* of Indra and Brahma.

6th.—On the spot where the female mendicant *Pundarikavarnā* obtained the first sight of Buddha on his descent.

7th.—On the spot where Buddha cut his hair and nails.

239. The only other place of note at *Sankisa* was the tank of a *Nāga*, or serpent, which was situated to the south-east of the great *Stupa*. Fa Hian says that this *Nāga* had white ears; that he lived in the dwelling-place of the "ecclesiastics;" and that he conferred fertility and abundance on the "country by causing gentle showers to fall upon the fields, and securing them from all calamities." A chapel was erected for his use,* and he was said to make his appearance once a year. "When the ecclesiastics perceive him, they present him with cream in a copper vessel."

240. Hwen Thsang's account of *Sankisa* is unfortunately so meagre that we have but little to guide us in our attempt to identify the holy places of his time with any of the ruins of the present day. The only spot that can be identified with any certainty is the tank of the

Nāga, which still exists to the south-east of the ruins, in the very position described by Hwen Thsang. The name of the *Nāga* is *Kārewar*, and that of the tank *Kandaiya Tāl*. Milk is offered to him during every day of *Vaisakh*, and on the *Nāg-panchami* of *Sravana*, and "at any other time when rain is wanted." In a note on the word *Chaurāsi* Sir Henry Elliot has given an account of *Sankisa*, in which he asserts that this *Nāga* is the common *Nāg* of the Hindu worship, to whom the *Nāg-panchami* is specially dedicated. But this opinion is certainly wrong, as the above account shows that the *Sankisa Nāga* of the present day is propitiated with offerings of milk whenever rain is wanted, just as he was in A. D. 400, when Fa Hian visited the place. This therefore is not the common *Nāga* of Hindu worship, but the local *Nāga* of *Sankisa*, who is commonly invoked as *Kārewar Nāg Devata*.

241. Before attempting to identify the site of the great monastery with its three famous staircases, its lion pillar and attendant *Stupas*, it will be better to describe the place as it is at present, although but little is now left of the great city of *Sankisa* with all its magnificent monuments. The little village which still preserves the name of *Sankisa* is perched upon a lofty mound of ruins 41 feet in height above the fields. This mound, which is called the *Kilah*, or "fort," is 1,500 feet in length from west to east, and 1,000 feet in breadth. On the north and west faces the sides are steep, but on the other faces the slope is much more easy. Due south from the centre of the *Kilah*, at a distance of 1,600 feet, there is a mound of solid brick-work which is crowned by a modern temple dedicated to *Bisāri Devi*, who is described as a goddess of great power. At 400 feet to the north of the temple mound there is a capital of an ancient pillar bearing the figure of an elephant, standing, but both his trunk and tail are wanting. The capital itself is of the well known bell shape, corded or reeded perpendicularly, with an abacus of honeysuckle similar to that of the Allahabad pillar. The figure of the elephant is by far the best representation of that animal that I have seen in any Indian sculpture. The veins of the legs are carefully chiselled, and the toes of the feet are well and faithfully represented, but the loss of the trunk prevents us from forming a decided opinion as to its excellence as a work of art. If we may judge from the position of the legs, the animal was most probably represent-

ed as standing still with his trunk hanging down. The stone is a fine-grained sandstone of reddish hue, and has been very highly polished. The bell-capital is low, its breadth being greater than its height, in which particular it resembles the Asoka Pillar of *Navandgarh Lauriya*, to the north of Bettiah. Taking all these circumstances into consideration along with the superior execution of the work, I feel satisfied that this capital is of the same age as the well known Asoka Pillars of Allahabad and Navandgarh.

242. Due south from the temple of Bisâri Devi, at a distance of 200 feet, there is a small mound of ruins which appears to be the remains of a *Stupa*. Due east from the temple 600 feet, there is an oblong mound 600 feet in length by 500 feet in breadth, which is known by the name of *Nivi-ka-kot*. *Nivi* would appear to have been the name of the man who formerly brought this piece of ground into cultivation; and *Kot*, in the phraseology of *Sankisa*, means simply any mound of ruins, and is applied to all the isolated portions of the ramparts. *Nivi-ka-kot* would, however, appear to be the remains of some large enclosed building, such as a Buddhist monastery. It is covered with broken bricks of large size, and a few fragments of stone; but I could not trace any remains of walls on the surface. At the south-east and north-east angles of *Nivi-ka-kot* there are large circular mounds which are probably the remains of *Stupas* from which all the available bricks have been removed; and at a short distance to the north there is a third mound of the same character.

243. The *Kilah* and the different mounds of all sizes around the temple form a mass of ruin 3,000 feet in length by 2,000 feet in breadth, or nearly 2 miles in circuit. But this was only the central portion of the ancient city of *Sankisa*, comprising the citadel and the religious buildings that were clustered around the three holy staircases. The city itself, which would appear to have surrounded this central mound on all sides, was enclosed with an earthen rampart, 18,000 feet, or upwards of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, in circuit. The greater part of this rampart still remains, the shape being a tolerably regular duodecagon. On three sides, to the east, the north-east and the south-east, there are breaks or openings in the line of rampart which are traditionally said to be the positions of the three gates of the city. In proof of the tradition, the people refer to the village of *Paor-Kheria*, or "*Gate-village*," which is just outside

the south-east gap in the ramparts. But the name is pronounced *Paor*, पौर, and not *Paur*, पौर, and may therefore refer to the staircases or steps (*Paori*), and not to the gate. The Kali, or *Kalindri Nadi*, flows past the south-west corner of the ramparts from the *Râj-ghât*, which is half a mile distant, to the *Kakra Ghât*, which is rather more than one mile to the south of the line of ramparts.

244. To the north-west, three-quarters of a mile distant, stands the large mound of *Agahat*, which is 40 feet in height, and rather more than half a mile in diameter at base. The name of the old town is said to have been *Agahat*, but the place is now called *Agahat Sarai* (*Agahat* of the maps) from a modern *Sarai*, which was built in A. H. 1080, or A. D. 1670, on the north-east corner of the mound, by the ancestor of the present Pathân Zamindar. The people say that before this, the place had been deserted for several centuries; but as I obtained a tolerably complete series of the copper coins of the Muhammadan Kings of Delhi and Jounpur, I presume that it could not have been deserted for any very long time. The mound is covered with broken bricks of large size, which alone is a sure test of antiquity: and as it is of the same height as that of *Sankisa*, the people are most probably right in their assertion that the two places are of the same age. In both mounds are found the same old coins without any inscriptions, the more ancient being square pieces of silver covered with various punch marks, and the others, square pieces of copper that have been cast in a mould,—all of which are, in my opinion, anterior to the invasion of Alexander the Great.

245. In identifying *Sankisa* with the *Sang Kasya* of the *Ramayana* and the *Seng-kia-she* of the Chinese, we are supported, not only by its absolute identity of name, but likewise by its relative position with regard to three such well known places as *Mathura*, *Kanoj*, and *Ahi-chhatra*. In size, also, it agrees very closely with the measurement given by Hwen Thsang; his circuit of 20 *li*, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, being only a little less than my measurement of 18,900 feet, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the place is actually the same; but in attempting to identify the sites of any of the holy spots mentioned by Hwen Thsang, I find myself baffled at the outset by the indefiniteness as well as the meagreness of the pilgrim's descriptions. It is his usual practice to state the relative bearings and

distances of most of the chief places of Buddhist veneration, but in describing *Sankisa* he has given only one bearing and not a single distance. The tank of the *Nāga* is the one solitary spot that can be identified with certainty, the sites of all the rest being only guesses of more or less probability.

246. But the difficulty regarding the identification of the Asoka Pillar is of a different kind. Both of the Chinese pilgrims make mention of only one pillar at *Sankisa*, which was crowned with the figure of a *lion*, and Fa Hian records a silly legend which refers to the miraculous roar of this lion statue. Now, the only piece of an Asoka Pillar at present existing is the *elephant* capital, which I have already described, and which, however absurd it may seem, I think may possibly be the *lion* pillar of the Chinese pilgrims. The reasons which induce me to think so are the following:—1st, the *elephant* capital is undoubtedly much older than the date of either of the pilgrims, and yet, if it is not the same as the lion capital, it has been left altogether undescribed by them, although its great size could scarcely have allowed it to remain unnoticed; 2nd, the height of the elephant pillar would seem to correspond very closely with that of the lion pillar, as recorded by Fa Hian, who calls it 30 cubits, or from 45 to 60 feet according to the value of the Chinese *chi*. Now, the diameter of the neck of the elephant pillar is 2 feet 9½ inches, which, compared with the dimensions of the Allahabad pillar, 2 feet 2 inches neck diameter, to 35 feet of height, gives a total for the shaft of the *Sankisa* Pillar of 44 feet 3 inches. By adding to this the height of the capital, we obtain 52½ feet as the probable height of the *Sankisa* Pillar. 3rd, as the trunk of the elephant has long been lost, it is possible that it was missing before the time of the Chinese pilgrims, and if so, the nature of the animal might easily have been mistaken at a height of 50 feet above the ground. Indeed, supposing the pillar to be the same, this is the only way in which I can account for the mistake about the animal. But, if the pillar is not the same, the silence of both pilgrims regarding this magnificent elephant pillar seems to me quite unaccountable. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to believe that the elephant's trunk having been long lost, the nature of the animal was mistaken when viewed from a distance of 50 feet beneath. This is confirmed by the discrepancy in the statements of the two pilgrims regarding the capital of one of the *Srāvasti* pillars,

which Fa Hian calls an ox, and Hwen Thsang an elephant. See para. 342 of this Report.

247. Admitting, then, that this elephant capital is not improbably the same as the lion pillar described by the Chinese pilgrims, we have a clue to the site of the great monastery which would seem to have enclosed within its walls the great stone pillar as well as the three holy staircases. I infer, therefore, that the temple of *Bisāri Devi* most probably occupies the site of the three staircases, and that the three mounds which stand to the east of the *Nivi-ka-kot* may be the remains of the three *Stupas* which were erected on the three other holy spots of *Sankisa*, which have already been described. I made several excavations about the different mounds just noticed, but without any success.

248. I made also a careful but an unsuccessful search for some trace of the base of the stone pillar. The people were unanimous that the elephant capital had been in its present position beyond the memory of any one now living, and most of them added that it now stands in its original position. But there were a few men who pointed to a spot on the west of the village, or *Kilah* mound, as the original site of the capital. Here, indeed, there is an octagonal hole in a small mound, from which the bricks of a solid foundation have been removed. If any dependence could be placed upon this statement, the mound on which the village now stands would almost certainly be the site of the great monastery with its three holy staircases, and the three mounds to the east of *Nivi-ka-kot* would still represent the three *Stupas*. The main objection to our accepting this statement as correct is the apparent want of all object in the removal of the elephant capital to any other site. It is, however, quite possible that the capital may have been stopped on its way to the temple of *Mahadeva*, near the *Nāga* mound and tank. The temple of *Bisāri Devi* would then be the site of one of the ten ancient Brahmanical fanes which are described by Hwen Thsang. Altogether, this is perhaps a more probable solution of the case than that first described.

249. In his description of *Sankisa*, Hwen Thsang mentions a curious fact, that the Brahmans who dwelt near the great monastery were "many tens-of-thousands" in number. As an illustration of this statement I may mention that the people have a tradition that *Sankisa* was deserted from 1800 to 1900 years ago, and that 1300 years ago,

or about A. D. 560, it was given by a *Kayath* to a body of Brahmans. They add also that the population of the village of *Paor-Kheria* is known to have been wholly Brahman until a very recent period.

X.—KANOJ.

250. Of the great city of Kanoj, which for many hundred years was the Hindu Capital of Northern India, the existing remains are few and unimportant. In A. D. 1016, when Mahmud of Ghazni approached Kanoj, the historian relates that "he there saw a city which raised its head to the skies, and which in strength and structure might justly boast to have no equal." Just one century earlier, or in A. D. 915, Kanoj is mentioned by Masudi as the Capital of one of the Kings of India, and about A. D. 900 Abu Zaid, on the authority of Ibn Wahab, calls "*Kaduge*, a great city in the kingdom of *Gozar*." At a still earlier date, in A. D. 634, we have the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, who describes Kanoj as being 20 *li* or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, in length, and 4 or 5 *li* or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, in breadth. The city was surrounded by strong walls and deep ditches, and was washed by the Ganges along its eastern face. The last fact is corroborated by Fa Hian, who states that the city touched the River *Heng* (Ganges) when he visited it in A. D. 400. Kanoj is also mentioned by Ptolemy, about A. D. 140, as *Kavoyça*. But the earliest notice of the place is undoubtedly the old familiar legend of the Puranas, which refers the Sanskrit name of *Kanya Kubja*, or the "hump-backed maiden," to the curse of the sage *Vayu* on the hundred daughters of *Kusanāba*.

251. At the time of Hwen Thsang's visit, Kanoj was the Capital of Raja *Harsha Vardhana*, the most powerful Sovereign in Northern India. The Chinese pilgrim calls him a *Fei-she*, *Vaisya*, but it seems probable that he must have mistaken the *Vaisa*, or *Bais*, Rajput, for the *Vaisya*, or *Bais*, which is the name of the mercantile class of the Hindus; otherwise *Harsha Vardhana's* connexion by marriage with the Rajput families of Malwa and Balabhi would have been quite impossible. *Baiswāra*, the country of the *Bais* Rajputs, extends from the neighbourhood of Lucknow to Khara Mānikpur, and thus comprises nearly the whole of Southern Oudh. The *Bais* Rajputs claim descent from the famous *Sdivāhan*, whose capital is said to have been *Daundia Khera*, on the north bank of the Ganges. Their close

proximity to Kanoj is in favour of the sovereignty which they claim for their ancestors over the whole of the Gangetic Doab from Delhi to Allahabad. But their genealogical lists are too imperfect, and most probably also too incorrect, to enable us to identify any of their recorded ancestors with the Princes of Harsha Vardhana's family.

252. The vast empire which Harsha Vardhana raised during his long reign of 44 years, between A. D. 607 and 650, is described by Hwen Thsang as extending from the foot of the Kashmir hills to Assam, and from Nepal to the Narbada River. He intimidated the Raja of Kashmir into surrendering the tooth of Buddha, and his triumphal procession from Pataliputra to Kanoj was attended by no less than 20 tributary Rajas from Assam and Magadha on the east, to Jalandhar on the west. In the plenitude of his power, Harsha Vardhana invaded the countries to the south of the Narbada, where he was successfully opposed by Raja *Pulakesi*, and after many repulses was obliged to retire to his own kingdom. This account of Hwen Thsang is most singularly corroborated in every particular by several ancient inscriptions of the *Chalukya* Rajas of *Kalyán*. According to these inscriptions, Raja Vikramaditya, the grandson of *Pulakesi Vallabha*, gained the title of *Parameswara*, "by the defeat of Sri Harsha Vardhana, famous in the north countries.*" Now Vikramaditya's reign is known to have commenced in *Saka* 514, or A. D. 592, as one of his inscriptions is dated in *Saka* 530, or A. D. 608, which is called the 16th year of his reign; † and as his grandson did not succeed to the throne until the *Saka* year 618, or A. D. 696, it is certain that Vikramaditya must have been a contemporary of Harsha Vardhana throughout the greater part, if not the whole, of his reign. The unusually long reigns of the earlier *Chalukya* Princes have led Mr. Walter Elliot to suspect the accuracy of the dates, although, as he points out, "the succeeding dates tally with each other in a way that affords the strongest presumption of their freedom from any material error." The question of the accuracy of these dates is now most satisfactorily confirmed by the unimpeachable testimony of the contemporary record of Hwen Thsang which I have quoted above.

* Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, III. 206.

† Royal Asiatic Society's Journal IV. 10.

253. In determining the period of Harsha's reign, between the years 607 and 650 A. D., I have been guided by the following evidence:—1st. The date of his death is fixed by the positive statement of Hwen Thsang in the year 650 A. D.—2nd. In speaking of Harsha's career, the pilgrim records that from the time of his accession Harsha was engaged in continual war for $5\frac{1}{2}$ years, and that afterwards for about 30 years he reigned in peace. This statement is repeated by Hwen Thsang, when on his return to China, on the authority of the King himself, who informed him that he had then reigned for upwards of 30 years, and that the quinquennial assembly then collected was the sixth which he had convoked. From these different statements it is certain that at the date of Hwen Thsang's return to China, in A. D. 640, Harsha had reigned upwards of 30 years, and somewhat less than 35 years. His accession must, therefore, be placed between A. D. 605 and 610.—3rd. Now, in the middle of this very period, in A. D. 607, as we learn from Abu Rihan, was established the *Sri Harsha* era, which was still prevalent in Mathura and Kanoj in the beginning of the 11th century. Considering the exact agreement of the names and dates, it is impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that the *Harsha* who established an era in *Kanoj* in A. D. 607 was the great King *Harsha Vardhana* who reigned at Kanoj during the first half of the seventh century.

254. Hwen Thsang adds some particulars regarding the family of Harsha Vardhana which induce me to think it probable that it may be identified with one of the dynasties whose names have been preserved in the genealogies of the Rājvali. The names differ in the various copies, but they agree generally in making *Raj Sing*, who reigned only nine years, the predecessor of *Hara* or *Hari Sing*, who is recorded to have reigned for 44 or 45 years. Now, according to Hwen Thsang, the predecessor and elder brother of *Harsha Vardhana* was *Rajya Vardhana*, who was assassinated shortly after his accession. Here both the names of these two Kings and the lengths of their reigns agree so well together as to suggest the probability of their identity. In most copies of the Rājvali this dynasty of six Kings, of which *Raja* and *Hara* are the 3rd and 4th names, is made the immediate predecessor of the Great Tomar dynasty, whose accession has already been assigned in my account of the Kings of Delhi to the year 736 A. D.

The following lists give the names of all the Kings of this dynasty according to the various authorities in my possession :—

MRITUNJAYA AND WARD.		PUNJAB, M. S.		CHANDERI, M. S.		SAYID AHMAD,		HWEN TUSANG.	
	Yrs.		Yrs.		Yrs.		Yrs.		Yrs.
Dipa Sinha	27	Dip S. ...	17	Dip S.	17	Dip Sing ...	17		
Rana S. ...	22½	Rân S.	14½	Ran S.	14½	Ran Sing ..	14	Prakara Var-	
								dhana.	
Râja S. ...	9½	Râj S. ...	9½	Ram S. ...	9½	Râj Sing ...	9	Rajya ditto.	
Vara S. ...	46	Hari S. ...	45	Mitr S. ...	45	Shir Sing	45	Harsha ditto.	
Nara S. ...	25	Nar S.	43	Bir S.	13	Hara Sing	13		
Jivana	20½	Jiwan ...	8	Jiwan	8	Jiwan Sing	7		
Total ...	151	137	107	105		

According to Sayid Ahmad the accession of *Shir Sing*, who is the *Hara* or *Hari* of the other lists, took place in A. D. 611, or within four years of the date already obtained for Harsha Vardhana.

255. In my account of Delhi I have given my reasons for believing that Kanoj was the Capital of the *Tomars* down to the invasion of Mahmud in A. D. 1021, immediately after the defeat and death of *Râjâ Jai Pâl*. Shortly after that date the small town of Bâri to the north of Lucknow became the Capital, until about A. D. 1050, when the *Tomars* retired to Delhi before the growing power of the *Râhtors*. Once more Kanoj became the Capital of a powerful kingdom, and the rival of Delhi, both in extent and in magnificence. Here Jaya Chandra, the last of the *Râhtors*, celebrated the *Aswamedha*, or "Horse-sacrifice;" and here in open day did Prithi Raja, the daring chief of the *Chohans*, carry off the willing daughter of the *Râhtor* King, in spite of the gallant resistance of the two *Banâfar* heroes *Alha* and *Udal*. The fame of these two brothers, which is fully equal to that of Prithi Raja himself, is still preserved in the songs and traditions of the people amongst the *Chandels* of *Mahoba* and the *Râhtors* and *Chandels* of the *Doab*. After the fall of Delhi in January, 1193, A. D., Muhammad Ghori marched against Kanoj. Raja Jaya Chandra retired before him as far as Benares, where he made his last stand, but was defeated with great slaughter. The Raja escaped from the field, but was drowned in attempting to cross the Ganges. When his body was recovered by the conquerors it was found that he had false teeth

fixed with wires of gold. With Jaya Chandra ended the dynasty of the *Ráhtors* of the Doab and the wealth and importance of the far-famed Capital of Kanoj. Only one hundred and fifty years later it is described by Ibn Batuta as a "small town," and from that time down to the present this ancient city has gradually lessened in consequence; but as it was close to the high road of the Doab, it still continued to be visited by numerous travellers who were attracted by its ancient fame. The final blow to its prosperity has now been given by the diversion of the Railroad to Etawa, which leaves Kanoj far away to the east, to be visited for the future only by the curious antiquary and the Civil Officials of the district.

256. In comparing Hwen Thsang's description of ancient Kanoj with the existing remains of the city, I am obliged to confess with regret that I have not been able to identify even one solitary site with any certainty; so completely has almost every trace of Hindu occupation been obliterated by the Musalmans. According to the traditions of the people, the ancient city extended from the shrine of *Háji Harmáyan* on the north near the Raj Ghát, to the neighbourhood of *Miranka-Sara* on the south, a distance of exactly three miles. Towards the west it is said to have reached to *Kapatya* and *Makaranágar*, two villages on the high road, about three miles from *Háji Harmáyan*. On the east the boundary was the old bed of the Ganges, or *Chota Ganga* as the people call it, although it is recorded in our maps as the *Káli Nadi*. Their account is that the *Káli*, or *Kálin dri Nadi*, formerly joined the Ganges near *Sangirámpur* or *Sangrámpur*; but that several hundred years ago the great river took a more northerly course from that point, while the waters of the *Káli Nadi* continued to flow down the deserted channel. As an open channel still exists between *Sangrámpur* and the *Káli Nadi*, I am satisfied that the popular account is correct, and that the stream which flows under Kanoj, from *Sangrámpur* to *Mhendi Ghát*, although now chiefly filled with the waters of the *Káli Nadi*, was originally the main channel of the Ganges. The accounts of Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang, who place Kanoj on the Ganges, are therefore confirmed, not only by the traditions of the people, but also by the fact that the old channel still exists under the name of the *Chota Ganga*, or Little Ganges.

257. The modern town of Kanoj occupies only the north end of

the site of the old city, including the whole of what is now called the *Kilah* or citadel. The boundaries are well defined by the shrine of *Háji Harmáyan* on the north, the tomb of *Táj Báj* on the south-west, and the *Masjid* and tomb of *Makhdum Jahániya* on the south-east. The houses are much scattered, especially inside the citadel, so that though the city still covers nearly one square mile, yet the population barely exceeds 16,000 in number. The citadel, which occupies all the highest ground, is triangular in shape, its northern point being the shrine of *Háji Harmáyan*, its south-west point the temple of *Ajoy Pál*, and its south-east point the large bastion called *Kshem Kali Bárj*. Each of the faces is about 4,000 feet in length, that to the north-west being protected by the bed of the nameless dry Nala; that to the north-east by the *Chota Ganga*; while that to the south must have been covered by a ditch, which is now one of the main roads of the city, running along the foot of the mound from the bridge below *Ajoy Pál*'s temple to the *Kshem Kali* bastion. On the north-east face the mound rises to 60 and 70 feet in height above the low ground on the bank of the river; and towards the Nala on the north-west, it still maintains a height of from 40 to 50 feet. On the southern side, however, it is not more than 30 feet immediately below the temple of *Ajoy Pál*, but it increases to 40 feet below the tomb of *Bulá Pír*. The situation is a commanding one; and before the use of cannon the height alone must have made Kanoj a strong and important position. The people point out the sites of two gates; the first to the north, near the shrine of *Háji Harmáyan*, and the second to the south-east, close to the *Kshem Kali Bárj*. But as both of these gates lead to the river it is certain that there must have been a third gate on the land side towards the south-west, and the most probable position seems to be immediately under the walls of the *Rang Mahal*, and close to the temple of *Ajoy Pál*.

258. According to tradition, the ancient city contained 84 wards, or *Mahalas*, of which 25 are still existing within the limits of the present town. If we take the area of these 25 wards at three-quarters of a square mile, the 84 wards of the ancient city would have covered just $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. Now, this is the very size that is assigned to the old city by Hwen Thsang, who makes its length 20 *li*, or $3\frac{1}{3}$ miles, and its breadth 4 or 5 *li*, or just three-quarters of a mile, which mul-

tiplied together give just $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. Almost the same limits may be determined from the sites or the existing ruins, which are also the chief *find-spots* of the old coins with which Kanauj abounds. According to the dealers, the old coins are found at *Bála Pir* and *Rang Mahal*, inside the Fort; at *Makhdum Jahániya*, to the south-east of the Fort; at *Makarandnagar* on the high road; and intermediately at the small villages of *Singh Bhawáni* and *Kátlipur*. The only other productive site is said to be *Rájjir*, an ancient mound covered with brick ruins on the bank of *Chota Ganga*, three miles to the south-east of Kanauj. Taking all these evidences into consideration, it appears to me almost certain that the ancient city of Hwen Thsang's time must have extended from *Háji Hurmáyan* and the *Kshem Kali Búrj*, on the bank of the Ganges (now the *Chota Ganga*), in a south-west direction, to *Makarandnagar*, on the Grand Trunk Road, a length of just three miles, with a general breadth of about one mile or somewhat less. Within these limits are found all the ruins that still exist to point out the position of the once famous city of Kanauj.

259. The only remains of any interest are, 1st, the ruins of the old palace, now called the *Rang Mahal*; 2nd, the Hindu pillars of the *Jáma Masjid*; 3rd, the Hindu pillars of the *Masjid of Makhdum Jahániya*; and 4th, the Hindu statues in the village of *Singh Bhawáni*. The other remains are simple mounds of all sizes, covered with broken bricks, traces of brick walls, and broken figures. These are found in several places inside the citadel, but more particularly at the temple of *Ajoy Pál*, a modern building on an ancient site. Outside the citadel they are found chiefly about the shrine of *Makhdum Jahániya* on the south-east, and about *Makarandnagar* on the south-west.

260. The ruins of the *Rang Mahal*, which are situated in the south-west angle of the citadel, consist of a strong brick wall faced with blocks of *kankar*, 240 feet in length, and 25 feet in height above the sloping ruins, but more than 40 feet above the level of the bazar. It is strengthened in front by four towers or buttresses, 14 feet broad and 61 feet apart. The wall itself is 7 feet thick at top, and behind it, at 10 feet distance, there is a second wall 5 feet thick, and at $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet farther back a third wall $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, and a fourth wall at 21 feet. The distances between the walls most probably represent the width of

some of the rooms of the old Hindu palace, which would thus have a breadth of 56 feet. But the block *kankar* walls can be traced for a distance of 180 feet back from the south-east buttress to a wicket or small door which would appear to have formed a side entrance to the courtyard of the palace. As far as it can be now traced, the palace covered an area of 240 feet in length by 180 feet in breadth. It is said to have been built by *Ajoy Pál*, to whom also is attributed a temple which once stood close by. *Ajoy Pál*, and *Mahi Pál* are said to have reigned a short time before *Jay Chand*; but the names of the intervening Princes are not known. I think it highly probable that *Ajoy Pál* is the Tomar Prince *Joy Pál*, who was conquered by Mahmud of Ghaznie, and afterwards defeated and killed, in A. D. 1021, by a confederate army under the leadership of the Chandal Raja of *Kajanjar*. Just outside the south-east buttress of the palace, the people point out a spot where they affirm that 29 golden ingots were discovered in 1834, of which 9 were made over to Mr. Wemyss, the Collector of Cawnpoor, and the remainder were secreted by the finders. Accounts differ as to the weight of the ingots, but the general belief is that they weighed about 1 *ser* or 2 lbs each. The coin dealers, however, affirm that the 9 ingots which were taken to the Cawnpoor Treasury weighed Rs. 13,500, that is Rs 1,500, or $18\frac{3}{4}$ *ser*s, each.

261. The *Jāma*, or *Dina*, *Masjid* of Kanoj is cited by Mr. Fergusson as a specimen of Hindu cloisters, which has been re-arranged to suit the purposes of Muhammadan worship; and in this opinion I most fully concur. The inscription over the entrance doorway is now much decayed, and several portions are quite obliterated, but a copy has been fortunately preserved by Rajab Ali, a teacher of children, in the court of the *Masjid*. According to this copy, the *Masjid* was built in the Hijira year 809, or A. D. 1406, in the reign of Ibrahim Shah (of Jonpur). It is situated on a lofty mound in the very middle of the old fort, and this commanding position alone would be sufficient to show that it must originally have been the site of some Hindu building of considerable importance. This conclusion is partly confirmed by the traditions of the people, who, however, most absurdly call the place *Sitaka Rasü*, or "Sita's kitchen." We know also that it was the usual practice of the Muhammadan Kings of Jonpur to raise their *Masjids* on the sites, and with the materials, of the Hindu temples which they

demolished. On comparing therefore this cloistered Masjid with those of Jonpur, which are acknowledged re-arrangements of Hindu materials, we see at once that the pillars are all Hindu, and that the domes formed of courses of overlapping stones, and decorated with Hindu symbols, are certainly not Muhammadan. When I first visited Kanoj in January, 1838, the arrangement of the pillars was somewhat different from what I found it in November, 1862. The cloisters which originally extended all round the square, are now confined to the Masjid itself, that is, to the west side only. This change is said to have been made by a Muhammadan Tahsildar shortly before 1857. The same individual is also accused of having destroyed all the remains of figures that had been built into the walls of the *Jāma* and *Makhdum Jahāniya* Masjids. It is certain that there are none visible now, although in January 1838, as recorded in my Journal, I saw "several Hindu figures placed sideways and upside down" in the walls of the *Jāma* Masjid and three broken figures lying outside the doorway of the Masjid of *Makhdum Jahāniya*. The inscription over the doorway of the last, which I saw in its place in 1838, is said to have been removed at the same time for the purpose of cutting off a Hindu figure on the back of it. I recovered this inscription by sending to the present Tahsildar for it.

262. The *Jāma* Masjid, as it stands now, is a pillared room, 108 feet in length by 26 feet in width, supported on four rows of columns. The roof is flat, excepting the centre and ends, which are covered with domes formed by circles of stones gradually lessening until they meet. In front of the Masjid there is a courtyard 95 feet in width, the whole being surrounded by a stone wall 6 feet in thickness. The exterior dimensions are 133 feet from west to east, by $120\frac{1}{2}$ feet. In 1838 there were still standing on the three sides of the courtyard portions of the original cloisters formed of two rows of pillars. The Masjid itself was then confined to the five openings in the middle of the west side, the seven openings on each flank of it being formed of only two rows of pillars the same as on the other three sides. The Masjid now consists of a single room supported on 60 pillars without any cloisters; but originally the Masjid itself was supported on 20 pillars with cloisters on each flank, and also on the other three sides of the courtyard. The whole number of pillars was then 128. To make up this number we

have the 60 pillars of the present Masjid, and no less than 58 spare capitals still lying in the courtyard, which together make up 118, or within 10 of the actual number required to complete the original design.

263. The pillars of the *Jāma Masjid* may, I think, be seen in their original Hindu form at the sides of the small doorways in the north and south walls of the court. Each pillar is formed of five pieces, viz., a base and capital, with a middle piece which divides the shaft into two equal portions, and may be called the upper and lower shafts. The shafts are 10 inches square and 3 feet 9 inches in height. The base is 1 foot high, and the middle piece and the capital are each 3 inches, thus making the whole height 9 feet 10 inches. But the pillars, as re-arranged by the Muhammadans, are 14 feet 2 inches high, the extra height having been gained by adding a piece to each portion of the shaft. These shorter pieces, which are 2 feet 1 inch in height, are always placed above the original shafts of 3 feet 8 inches. As there could have been no *difficulty* in purchasing a single shaft of the required length of 5 feet 10 inches, it seems certain that the whole of these made-up pillars must have been obtained after the usual cheap Muhammadan manner—by the demolition of some Hindu buildings, either Buddhist or Brahmanical.

264. The Masjid and tomb of *Makhdum Jahāniya* are situated on a lofty mound in the *Sikhāna Mahalla* to the south-east of the citadel, overlooking the *Chota Ganga*. The mound is 40 feet in height above the fields, and is partly occupied by weavers' houses. The tomb of the *Makhdum* is a common-looking building, 35 feet square. Beside it, there are two other plain square tombs holding the remains of his descendants, both male and female. The tomb itself, as recorded in the mutilated inscription which formerly existed over the doorway, was erected over *Sayid Jalal Makhdum Jahāniya* by his son *Rāja* in the Hijira year 881, or A. D. 1476. The Masjid was built in the same year, in the reign of Husen Shah of Jonpur, to whom Kanauj still belonged, although some writers place his final defeat by Bahlol Lodi of Delhi in this very year, A. H. 881, and others in A. H. 883. The central dome of the Masjid has long ago fallen in, and all the pointed arches are seriously cracked and propped up by unsightly masses of masonry. There is nothing peculiar about the building, save the decoration of the panels of the back wall, which have the name of

Allah inscribed on a tablet suspended by a rope. The appearance of the tablet and rope is so like that of the Hindu bell and chain that one is almost tempted to believe that the Muhammadan architect must have simply chiselled away the bolder points of the Hindu ornament to suit his own design. But whether this may have been the case or not, it is impossible to miss seeing that the Hindu bell and chain must have been directly suggestive of the Muhammadan tablet and cord. The Masjid and tombs are surrounded by a wall with four small towers at the corners, and an entrance gate on the south side. In the steps leading up to this entrance I found in 1838 a broken figure of *Shasti*, the goddess of fecundity, and a pedestal with a short inscription, dated in *Samvat* 1193, or A. D. 1136. The people also affirm that a large statue formerly stood under a tree close by. All of these are now gone, but the fact that two of them were built into the entrance steps is sufficient to show that the mound on which the Masjid stands must once have been the site of some important Hindu building.

265. The two statues in the village of *Singh Bhawani* were discovered about 100 years ago in a field close by the brick hovel in which they are now placed. The people call them *Bām* and *Lakshman*, and the attendant Brahman does so too, although the figures have eight arms each, and although the Fish, Tortoise, Boar and Lion incarnations of Vishnu are represented round the head of one of them. Each of the figures is 3 feet in height, but the whole sculpture is 6 feet. Vishnu is also known by the *discus* (*chakra*), and club (*gadā*), from which he derives his well known titles of *chakradhar* and *gadādhār*. Along with these sculptures there are some other figures, of which the most important is a statue of the Tāntrika Buddhist goddess, *Vajrā Vārāhi*. The figure is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height and has three heads, of which one is porcine, and the usual number of seven hogs is represented on the pedestal. Outside the building there are figures of *Durga* slaying the *Maheshasur*, or buffalo demon, and of *Siva* and *Parvati* sitting on the bull *Nandi*. In the neighbouring village of *Kullupur* I found the lintel of a temple doorway with a figure of Vishnu in the middle, showing that the temple had been dedicated to that god. He is represented sitting on the *Garuda*, or eagle, and holding the club and *discus*.

266. The remaining place of any note is the *Suraj-kund*, or "Tank of the Sun," to the south-east of *Makarandnagar*. It is now

nearly dried up, and at the time of my visit its bed was planted with potatoes. But it is one of the oldest places of worship in Kanoj, and an annual fair is still held on its bank in the month of *Bhadur*, (August-September). Close beside it there is a modern temple of *Mahadevi* which is said to have replaced a ruined one of some antiquity. To the south-west of *Makarandnagar* there are three mounds covered with broken bricks and pottery; and under a tree, on the south mound, are collected a number of fragments of sculpture at a spot dedicated to *Maorári Devi*.

267. Most of the ancient monuments of Kanoj that are noticed by the Chinese pilgrims are of course Buddhist; but numerous as they were, I am unable to do more than offer conjectures more or less probable regarding their sites, as Muhammadan spoliation has not left a single place standing to give even a faint clue towards identification. The position of one of the most remarkable of the monuments is rendered more than usually doubtful by the conflicting evidence of the two pilgrims. According to Fa Hian, the great *Stupa* of *Asoka*, 200 feet in height, which was built on the spot where Buddha had preached on the instability of human existence, was situated at 6 or 7 *li* to the west of the town, and on the north bank of the Ganges. But according to Hwen Thsang, this great *Stupa* was situated at 6 or 7 *li* to the south-east of the capital, and on the south bank of the Ganges. Now, as the ground to the north of the Ganges, as it existed during the first centuries of the Christian era, was very low and therefore liable to inundation, it seems highly improbable that any monument would have been erected in such an insecure position. I conclude therefore that Hwen Thsang's account is most likely right, but I failed in my search for any remains of this vast monument in the position indicated, that is, at rather more than one mile to the south-east of the capital, and on the south bank of the *Chota Ganga*.

268. To the north-west of the town Hwen Thsang places another *Stupa* of *Asoka*, but as he gives no distance, the mere bearing is too vague to enable us to fix upon the site with any probability. Perhaps the small village of *Kapatya*, or *Kapteswari*, nearly opposite the burnt *dák* bungalow, is the most probable site; but although there are the remains of brick buildings in its vicinity, there is nothing to indicate the previous existence of any large *Stupa*. A smaller *Stupa*

containing the hair and nails of Buddha has also disappeared, as well as the memorial monument to the four Buddhas.

269. To the south of the town, and close to the Ganges, there were three monasteries, with similar looking walls, but differing gateways. In one of these monasteries there was a *Vihāra*, or chapel, which possessed a tooth of Buddha preserved in a casket adorned with precious stones raised on a high pedestal. This tooth was shown daily to crowds of people, although the tax charged for its exhibition was "a large piece of gold." Perfumes were burned before it by thousands of votaries, and flowers which were strewn in profusion over it were devoutly believed never to conceal the casket. Right and left in front of the monasteries there were two *Vihāras*, each about 100 feet in height. Their foundations were of stone, but their walls of brick. In front of each *Vihāra* there was a small monastery. The most probable site of the three monasteries and the *Vihāra* with the tooth of Buddha, seems to me to be the large mound immediately to the south of the *Kshem Kali Būrij*, to the south-east of the town, and on the immediate bank of the river. This is now called the *Mahalla* of *Lāla Misr Tola*. The mound is covered with broken bricks, but no remains of any extensive buildings are now visible.

270. At a short distance to the south-east of the three monasteries there was a lofty *Vihāra*, 200 feet in height, which enshrined a statue of Buddha 30 feet high. The foundations of the building were of stone, but the walls of brick. On the surrounding walls of the *Vihāra*, which were of stone, were sculptured all the acts of Buddha's life until he became a *Bodhisatwa*. The position of this lofty *Vihāra* was most probably on the large mound in the midst of the present *Bhatpuri Mahalla*, which stands about 800 feet to the south-east of the mound in the *Mahalla* of *Lāla Misr Tola*. There are no remains now to be seen on this mound, but it is probable that excavations would be attended with success, as there can be little doubt that this was once the site of some important buildings. At a little distance from the *Vihāra* towards the south there was a temple; and a little farther to the south there was a second temple dedicated to *Siva*. Both of these temples were of the same form and size as the *Vihāras* of Buddha. They were built of a blue stone which was highly polished, and adorned with admirable sculptures. The probable position of these Brahmanical temples was on the high
as 1.

mound of *Makhdum Jahániya*, in the *Sikhána* Mahalla, which is about 700 feet to the south of the last mentioned mound in the *Bhatpuri* Mahalla. That this mound was the site of one or more Brahmanical temples seems almost certain from my discovery of a figure of *Shasti*, the goddess of fecundity, and of a pedestal bearing the date of *Samvat* 1193, or A. D. 1136, which is posterior to the extinction of Buddhism in Kanoj. I think it probable that excavations in this mound would be attended with success, as the two temples are said to have been built of stone, which no doubt furnished the whole of the materials for the *Masjid* and tomb of *Makhdum Jahániya*.

XI.—A-YU-TO, OR AYODHYA.

271. From Kanoj the two Chinese pilgrims followed different routes, Fa Hian having proceeded direct to *Sha-chi* (the modern Ajudhya, near Fyzabad on the Ghâghra), while Hwen Thsang followed the course of the Ganges to Prayâg, or Allahabad. The first stage of both pilgrims would, however, appear to be the same. Fa Hian states that he crossed the Ganges and proceeded 3 yojans, or 21 miles, to the forest of *Holi*, where there were several *Stupas* erected on spots where Buddha had "passed, or walked, or sat." Hwen Thsang records that he marched 100 *li*, nearly 17 miles, to the town of *Nava-deva-kula*, which was on the eastern bank of the Ganges, and that at 5 *li*, or nearly 1 mile, to the south-east of the town there was a *Stupa* of Asoka, which was still 100 feet in height, besides some other monuments dedicated to the four previous Buddhas. I think it probable that the two places are the same, and that the site was somewhere near Nobatganj, just above the junction of the *Isan River* and opposite *Nanamow Ghat*. But as there are no existing remains anywhere in that neighbourhood, the place has been most likely swept away by the river. This is rendered almost certain by an examination of the Ganges below the junction of the *Isan*. Formerly the river continued its course almost due south from *Nanamow* for many miles, but some centuries ago it changed its course first to the south-east for 4 or 5 miles, and then to the south-west for about the same distance, where it rejoined its old bed, leaving an island, some 6 miles in length by 4 in breadth, between the two channels. As Hwen Thsang's account places *Nava-deva-kula* on the very site of this island, I conclude

that the town as well as the Buddhist monuments must all have been swept away by the change in the river's course.

272. On leaving *Nava-deva-kula*, Hwen Thsang proceeded 600 *li*, or 100 miles, to the south-east, and recrossing the Ganges he reached the capital city of *A-yu-to*, which was 20 *li*, or upwards of 3 miles, in circuit. Both M. Julien and M. St. Martin have identified this place with *Ayodhya*, the once celebrated capital of Rama. But though I agree with them as to the probable identification of the name as that of the country, I differ with them altogether in looking for the capital along the line of the *Ghâghra River*, which is due east from Kanoj, whereas Hwen Thsang states that his route was to the south-east. It is of course quite possible that the pilgrim may occasionally use the generic name of Ganges as the appellation of any large river, such for instance as the *Ghâghra*, but in the present case, where the recorded bearing of south-east agrees with the course of the Ganges, I think it is almost certain that the Ganges itself was the river intended by the pilgrim. But by adopting the line of the Ganges we encounter a difficulty of a different kind in the great excess of the distance between two such well-known places as Kanoj and Prayâg. According to Hwen Thsang's route, he first made 100 *li* to *Nava-deva-kula*, then 600 *li* to *Ayutho*, then 300 *li* by water to *Hayamukha*, and lastly 700 *li* to *Prayâga*. All these distances added together make a total of 1,700 *li*, or 283 miles, which is just 100 miles, or 600 *li*, in excess of the true distance. But as a part of the journey, viz., 300 *li*, or 50 miles, was performed by water, the actual excess may perhaps not be more than 85 or 90 miles; although it is doubtful whether the distance of 300 *li* may not have been the road measurement and not the river distance. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that Hwen Thsang's recorded measurement is somewhere about 100 miles in excess of the truth. The only explanation of this error that suggests itself to me is, that there may have been an accidental alteration of one set of figures, such as 60 *li* for 600 *li*, or 700 *li* for 70 *li*. Supposing that the former was the case, the distance would be shortened by 540 *li*, or 90 miles, and if the latter, by 630 *li*, or 105 miles. This mode of correction brings the pilgrim's account into fair accordance with the actual distance of 180 miles between Kanoj and Prayâg.

273. By adopting the first supposition, Hwen Thsang's distance from *Nava-deva-kula* to the Capital of *Ayutho* will be only 60 *li*, or 10 miles, to the south-east, which would bring him to the site of an ancient city named *Kâkûpur*, just 1 mile to the north of *Seorâjpoor* and 20 miles to the north-west of *Cawnpoor*. If we adopt the latter correction, the pilgrim's distance to *Ayutho* of 600 *li*, or 100 miles, will remain unchanged, and this would bring him viâ *Mânîkpur*, which is also an ancient place. By the first supposition the subsequent route would have been from *Kâkûpur* to *Daundiakhera* by boat, a distance of exactly 50 miles, or 300 *li*, and from thence to *Prayâg*, a distance of more than 100 miles, which agrees with the 700 *li*, or 116 miles, of the pilgrim. By the second supposition the subsequent route would have been from *Khara* to *Papamow* by water, about 50 miles, and thence to *Prayâg*, about 8 miles of land, which agrees with the 70 *li* of the proposed correction. In favour of this last supposition is the fact that the bearing from *Khara* to *Papamow* of east by south is more in accordance with Hwen Thsang's recorded east direction than the south-east bearing of *Daundiakhera* from *Kâkûpur*. I confess, however, that I am more inclined to adopt the former correction, which places the chief city of *Ayutho* at *Kâkûpur*, and the town of *Hayamukha* at *Daundiakhera*, as we know that the last was the capital of the *Bais Rajputs* for a considerable period. I am partly inclined to this opinion by a suspicion that the name of *Kâkûpur* may be connected with that of *Bagud*, or *Vagud*, of the Tibetan books. According to this authority a *Sâkyâ*, named *Shâmpaka*, on being banished from *Kapila* retired to *Bagud*, carrying with him some of Buddha's hairs and nail-parings, over which he built a *chaitya*. He was made King of *Bagud*, and the monument was named after himself (? *Shâmpaka Stupa*). No clue is given as to the position of *Bagud*, but as I know of no other name that resembles it, I am induced to think that it is probably the same place as the *Ayutho* of Hwen Thsang, which was also possessed of a *Stupa* containing some hairs and nail-parings of Buddha. *Kâkûpur* is well known to the people of *Kanoj*, who affirm that it was once a large city with a Raja of its own. The existing remains of *Kâkûpur* consist of numerous foundations formed of large bricks, and more particularly of a connected set of walls of some large building which the people call "the palace." pa

I have not yet visited this place, which lay out of my line of route, but I hope to have an opportunity of examining it hereafter.

XII.—HAYAMUKHA OR AYOMUKHA.

274. From *Ayutho* the Chinese pilgrim proceeded a distance of 300 *li*, or 50 miles, down the Ganges by boat to *O-ye-mu-khi*, which was situated on the north bank of the river, M. Julien reads this name as *Hayamukha*, equivalent to "Horse face," or "Iron face," which was the name of one of the *Dánavas* or Titans. Neither of these names, however, gives any clue to the site of the old city; but if I am right in my identification of *Ayutho* with *Kákkápur*, it is almost certain that *Ayomukha* must be the same as *Daundiakhera*. Hwen Thsang makes the circuit of the town 20 *li*, or upwards of 3 miles, but *Daundiakhera* presents no appearance of having ever been so large. There still exist the ruins of an old fort or citadel, 385 feet square, with the walls of two buildings which are called the Raja's and Rani's palaces. The foundation of this citadel is attributed to Raja Raghunáth Singh, but he was apparently some comparatively modern *Thákur*, or petty Chief, as *Daundiakhera* is universally allowed to have been the capital of the *Bais* Rajputs, who claim descent from the famous *Sáliváhan*. As there are no remains of any buildings which can be identified with the monuments described by Hwen Thsang, the actual site of *Ayomukha* must still remain doubtful.

XIII.—PRAYAGA, OR ALLAHABAD.

275. From *Ayomukha* the pilgrim proceeded 700 *li*, or 116 miles, to the south-east, to *Prayága*, the well-known place of pilgrimage at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, where Akbar some centuries later built his fort of *Iláhábás*, or *Alláhábád*, as it was afterwards called by Shahjahan. The distance and bearing given by Hwen Thsang agree almost exactly with those of *Prayága* from *Daundiakhera*. The distance is 104 miles by the nearest road to the south of the Ganges; but as the pilgrim followed the north road, the distance must have been increased to about 115 or 120 miles. According to him the city was situated at the confluence of the two rivers, but to the west of a large sandy plain. In the midst of the city there was a Brahmanical temple, to which the presentation of a single piece of money procured as much merit as that of one thousand pieces elsewhere. Before the

principal room of the temple there was a large tree with wide-spreading branches, which was said to be the dwelling of an anthropophagous demon. The tree was surrounded with human bones, the remains of pilgrims who had sacrificed their lives before the temple,—a custom which had been observed from time immemorial.

276. I think there can be little doubt that the famous tree here described by the Chinese pilgrim is the well-known *Akshay Bat*, or "shadowless Banian tree," which is still an object of worship at Allahabad. This tree is now situated underground at one side of a pillared court, which would appear to have been open formerly, and which is, I believe, the remains of the temple described by Hwen Thsang. The temple is situated inside the fort of Allahabad, to the east of the Ellenborough Barracks, and due north from the stone pillar of Asoka and Samudra Gupta. Originally both tree and temple must have been on the natural ground level, but from the constant accumulation of rubbish they have been gradually earthed up, until the whole of the lower portion of the temple has disappeared underground. The upper portion has long ago been removed, and the only access to the *Akshay Bat* now available is by a flight of steps which leads down to a square pillared court-yard. This court has apparently once been open to the sky, but it is now closed in, to secure darkness and mystery for the holy Fig tree.

277. The *Akshay Bat* is next mentioned by Rashid-ud-din in the *Jāmiut-tawārikh*, in which he states that the "tree of Prág" is situated at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. As most of his information was derived from *Abu Rihán*, the date of this notice may with great probability be referred to the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. In the 7th century a great sandy plain, 2 miles in circuit, lay between the city and the confluence of the rivers, and as the tree was in the midst of the city, it must have been at least one mile from the confluence. But nine centuries later, in the beginning of Akbar's reign, Abdul Kādir speaks of the "tree from which people cast themselves into the rivers." From this statement, I infer that, during the long period that intervened between the time of Hwen Thsang and that of Akbar, the two rivers had gradually carried away the whole of the great sandy plain, and had so far encroached upon the city as to place the holy tree on the very brink of the water. Long before this time the old city had no doubt been deserted, for we know that the fort of

Ilāhābās was founded on its site in the 21st year of Akbar's reign, that is in A. H. 982, or A. D. 1572. Indeed the way in which Abu Rihān speaks of the "tree" instead of the city of Prāg, leads me to believe that the city itself had already been deserted before his time. As far as I am aware, it is not once mentioned in any Muhammadan history, until it was refounded by Akbar.

278. As the old city of *Prayāg* has totally disappeared, we can scarcely expect to find any traces of the various Buddhist monuments which were seen and described by the Chinese pilgrim in the 7th century. Indeed from their position to the south-west of the city, it seems very probable that they may have been washed away by the Jumna even before the final abandonment of the city, as the course of that river for 3 miles above the confluence has been due west and east for many centuries past. At any rate, it is quite certain that no remains of these buildings are now to be seen; the only existing Hindu monument being the well known stone pillar which bears the inscriptions of Asoka, Samudra Gupta and Jahāngir. As Hwen Thsang makes no mention of this pillar, it is probable that it was not standing in his day. Even its original position is not exactly known, but it was probably not far from its present site. It was first erected by King Asoka about B. C. 240 for the purpose of inscribing his edicts regarding the propagation of Buddhism. It was next made use of by Samudra Gupta, about the second century of the Christian era, for the record of his extensive sovereignty over the various nations of India from Nepāl to the Dakhan, and from Gujarāt to Assam. Lastly, it was re-erected by the Mogal Emperor Jahāngir to commemorate his accession to the throne in the year 1605 A. D. These are the three principal inscriptions on the Allahabad Pillar, but there are also a number of minor records of the names of travellers and pilgrims of various dates, from about the beginning of the Christian era down to the present century. Regarding these minor inscriptions, James Prinsep remarks that "it is a singular fact that the periods at which the pillar has been overthrown can be thus determined with nearly as much certainty from this desultory writing, as can the epochs of its being re-erected from the more formal inscriptions recording the latter event. Thus, that it was overthrown some time after its first erection by the great Asoka in the middle of the third century before Christ, is proved by the longitudinal or random insertion of several names in a character intermediate between No. 1 and No. 2, in

which the *m*, *b*, &c., retain the old form." Of one of these names he remarks "Now it would have been exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to have cut the name No. 10 up and down at right angles to the other writing, while the pillar was erect, to say nothing of the place being out of reach, unless a scaffold were erected on purpose, which would hardly be the case, since the object of an ambitious visitor would be defeated by placing his name out of sight and in an unreadable position." The pillar "was erected as Samudra Gupta's arm, and there it probably remained until overthrown again by the idol-breaking zeal of the Musalmans; for we find no writings on it of the *Pála*, or *Sárnáth* type (*i. e.*, of the tenth century), but a quantity appears with plain legible dates from the *Samvat* year 1420, or A. D. 1363, down to 1660 odd, and it is remarkable that these occupy one side of the shaft, or that which was uppermost when the pillar was in a prostrate position. A few detached and ill executed *Nágari* names with *Samvat* dates of 1800 odd, show that even since it was laid on the ground again by General Garstin, the passion for recording visits of piety or curiosity has been at work." In this last passage James Prinsep has made a mistake in the name of the Vandal Engineer who overthrew the stone pillar, because it stood in the way of his new line of rampart near the gateway. It was General Kyd, and not General Garstin, who was employed to strengthen the Fort of Allahabad, and his name is still preserved in the suburb of Kydganj, on the *Jumna*, immediately below the city.

279. The pillar was again set up in 1838 by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers, to whom the design of the present capital is entirely due. At first it was intended to have placed a fancy flower as an appropriate finish to the pillar, but as the people had a tradition that the column was originally surmounted by the figure of a lion, it was suggested by a Committee of the Asiatic Society that the design of the new capital should be made as nearly as possible the same as the original, of which the *Bakra* and *Navandgarh* or (*Mathiya*) pillars, were cited as examples. The lion statues which crown the bell capitals of these two pillars I have seen and admired, and I can affirm that they are the figures of veritable lions. Both of them are represented half couchant, with the head raised and the mouth open. The bell capital swells out boldly towards the top to receive a massive abacus, which forms the plinth of the statue. In these examples the broad

swelling capital is in harmony with the stout and massive column. But the new capital designed by Captain Smith, is, in my opinion, a signal failure. The capital lessens towards the top, and is surmounted by an abacus of less diameter than that of the pillar itself. The animal on the top is small and recumbent, and altogether the design is insignificant. Indeed it looks to me not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot.

280. According to the common tradition of the people, the name of Prayâga was derived from a Brahman, who lived during the reign of Akbar. The story is that when the Emperor was building the fort, the walls on the river face repeatedly fell down in spite of all the precautions taken by the architect. On consulting some wise men, Akbar was informed that the foundations could only be secured by being laid in human blood. A proclamation was then made, when a Brahman, called Prayâga, voluntarily offered his life, on the condition that the fort should bear his name. This idle story, which is diligently related to the pilgrims who visit the *Akshay Bat*, may at least serve one useful purpose, in warning us not to place too much faith in these local traditions. The name of *Prayâga* is recorded by Hwen Thsang in the 7th century, and is in all probability as old as the reign of Asoka, who set up the stone pillar about B. C. 240, while the fort was not built until the end of the 16th century.

XIV.—KOSAM, OR KOSAMBI.

281. The city of *Kosâmbi* was one of the most celebrated places in ancient India, and its name was famous amongst Brahmans as well as Buddhists. The city is said to have been founded by *Kusamba*, the tenth in descent from Pururavas; but its fame begins only with the reign of *Chakra*, the eighth in descent from *Arjun Pandu*, who made *Kosâmbi* his capital after *Hastinapura* had been swept away by the Ganges. If the date of the great war (*Mahâbhârata*) be fixed at 1426 B. C., which, as I have already shown in my account of *Dilli*, is the most probable period, then the date of *Chakra* will be about 1200 or 1150 B. C. Twenty-two of his descendants are said to have reigned in the *Kosâmbi* down to *Kshemaka*, the last of the dynasty, but it seems almost certain that some names must have been omitted, as the very longest period of 30 years which can be assigned to a generation of eastern Kings will place the close of the dynasty about B. C. 500, and make the

period of *Udāyana* about 630 to 600 B. C. If we take all the recorded names of the different authorities, then the number of generations will be 24, which will place the close of the dynasty in B. C. 440, and fix the reign of *Udāyana* in 570 to 540 B. C. As *Udāyana* is represented by the Buddhists to have been a contemporary of Buddha, this date may be accepted as wonderfully accurate for so remote a period of Indian History.

282. *Kosāmbi* is mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*, the earliest of the Hindu Poems, which is generally allowed to have been composed before the Christian era. The story of *Udāyana*, King of *Kosāmbi*, is referred to by the poet *Kāli Dāsa* in his *Megha-duta*, or "Cloud messenger," when he says that *Avanti* (or *Ujain*) is great with the number of those versed in the tale of *Udāyana*. Now *Kāli Dāsa* flourished shortly after A. D. 500. In the *Vrihat Katha*, of *Somadeva*, the story of *Udāyana* is given at full length, but the author has made a mistake in the genealogy between the two *Satānikas*. Lastly, the kingdom of *Kosāmbi*, or *Kosāmba Mandala*, is mentioned in an inscription taken from the gateway of the fort of *Khara* which is dated in *Samvat* 1092, or A. D. 1035, at which period it would appear to have been independent of *Kanoj*. *Kosāmbi*, the capital of *Vatsa Rajah*, is the scene of the pleasing drama of *Ratnāvali*, or the "Necklace," which was composed in the reign of King *Harsha Deva*, who is most probably the same as *Harsha Vardhana* of *Kanoj*, as the opening prelude describes amongst the assembled audience "princes from various realms recumbent at his feet." This we know from *Hwen Thsang* to have been true of the *Kanoj Prince*, but which even a Brahman could scarcely have asserted of *Harsha Deva* of *Kashmir*. The date of this notice will therefore lie between 607 and 650 A. D.

283. But the name of *Udāyana*, King of *Kosāmbi*, was perhaps even more famous amongst the Buddhists. In the *Mahāvanso*, which was composed in the 5th century A. D., the venerable *Yasa* is said to have fled from "*Vaisāli* to *Kosāmbi* just before the assembly of the second Buddhist Synod. In the *Lalita Vistara*, which was translated into Chinese between 70 and 76 A. D., and which must therefore have been composed not later than the beginning of the Christian era, *Udāyana Vatsa*, son of *Satanika*, King of *Kosāmbi*, is said to have been born on the same day as Buddha. In other Ceylonese books, *Kosāmbi* is named as one of the 19 capital cities of ancient

India. Udâyana Vatsa, the son of Satanika, is also known to the Tibetans as the King of Kosâmbi. In the Ratnâvali he is called Vatsa Raja, or King of the Vatsas, and his capital *Vatsa pattana*, which is therefore only another name for Kosâmbi. In this celebrated city, Buddha is said to have spent the 6th and 9th years of his Buddhahood. Lastly, Hwen Thsang relates that the famous statue of Buddha in red sandal wood, which was made by King Udâyana during the life time of the Teacher, still existed under a stone dome in the ancient palace of King Udâyana.

284. The site of this great city, the capital of the later Pandu Princes, and the shrine of the most sacred of all the statues of Buddha, has long been sought in vain. The Brahmans generally asserted that it stood either on the Ganges, or close to it, and the discovery of the name of *Kosâmbi mandala*, or "Kingdom of Kosâmbi," in an inscription over the gateway of the fort of *Khara*, seems to confirm the general belief, although the south-west bearing from Prayâga, or Allahabad, as recorded by Hwen Thsang, points unmistakably to the line of the Jumna. In January 1861, Mr. Bayley informed me that he believed the ancient Kosâmbi would be found in the old village of Kosam, on the Jumna, about 30 miles above Allahabad. In the following month I met Bâbu Siva Prasâd, of the Educational Department, who takes a deep and intelligent interest in all archæological subjects, and from him I learned that *Kosam* is still known as *Kosâmbi-nagar*, that it is even now a great resort of the Jains, and that only one century ago it was a large and flourishing town. This information was quite sufficient to satisfy me that *Kosam* was the actual site of the once famous Kosâmbi. Still, however, there was no direct evidence to show that the city was situated on the Jumna; but this missing link in the chain of evidence I shortly afterwards found in the curious legend of Bakkula, which is related at length in Hardy's Manual of Buddhism. The infant Bakkula was born at Kosâmbi, and while his mother was bathing in the *Jumna*, he accidentally fell into the river, and being swallowed by a fish was carried to Benares. There the fish was caught and sold to the wife of a nobleman, who on opening it found the young child still alive inside, and at once adopted it as her own. The true mother hearing of this wonderful escape of the infant, proceeded to Benares, and demanded the return of the child, which was of course refused. The matter was then referred to the King, who decided that

both of the claimants were mothers of the child—the one by *maternity*, the other by *purchase*. The child was accordingly named *Bakula*; that is, of “two *kulas*, or races.” He reached the age of 90 years without once having been ill, when he was converted by the preaching of Buddha, who declared him to^d be “the chief of that class of his disciples who were free from disease.” After this he is said to have lived 90 years more, when he became an *arhat*, or Buddhist saint.

285. But the negative kind of merit which Bakkula acquired, by his freedom from disease, was not appreciated by Asoka, as we learn from a very curious legend which is preserved in the *Divya Avadâna*. In the first ardour of his conversion to Buddhism the zealous Asoka wished to do honour to all the places which the life and teaching of Buddha had rendered famous, by the erection of *stupas*, and the holy Upagupta volunteered to point out the sacred spots. Accordingly the goddess of the Sâl tree, who witnessed Buddha's birth, appeared to Asoka and vouched for the authenticity of the venerated tree, which had given support to Mâyâ-Devi, at the birth of the infant Sakya. Other holy sites are also indicated, such as the *Bodhi-drâm*, or sacred Pipal tree at Buddha Gaya, under which Buddha sat for four years in meditation; and the Sâl trees at Kusinagara, beneath which he obtained *Nirvâna*,—besides various spots rendered famous by the acts of his principal disciples, Sâriputra, Maudgalyâna, Kâsyapa, Ananda. To all these holy places the pious King allotted large sums of money for the erection of *Stupas*. Upagupta then pointed out the holy place of Bakkula at Kosâmbi. “And what was the merit of this sage?” asked Asoka. “He lived,” answered Upagupta, “to a great age without once having known disease.” “On him,” said the King, “I bestow one farthing (*Kâkani*).” * In Burnouf's version of this story, Bakula is said to be the disciple who had encountered the fewest obstacles, from which Asoka rightly argued that the fewer the obstacles the less the merit. The same idea is even more tersely expressed by the old author of the “Land of Cockaigne” in describing the sinlessness of its inhabitants:—

“Very virtuous may they be

“Who temptation never see.”

* The *Kâkani* was the fourth part of the copper *pana*, and was therefore worth only 20 cowrees. Its weight was 20 *raktikas*, or *ratīs* of copper, or $1.8229 \times 20 = 37\frac{1}{2}$ grains nearly.

286. As this legend of Bakula is sufficient to prove that the famous city of Kausâmbi was situated on the Jumna, it now only remains to show that the distance of Kosam from Allahabad corresponds with that between Prayâg and Kosâmbi, as recorded by Hwen Thsang. Unfortunately this distance is differently stated in the life and in the travels of the Chinese pilgrim. In the former, the distance is given as 50 *li*, and in the latter as 500 *li*, whilst in the return journey to China, the pilgrim states that between Prayâg and Kosâmbi he travelled for seven days through a vast forest and over bare plains. Now, as the village of Kosam is only 31 miles from the fort of Allahabad, the last statement would seem to preclude all possibility of its identification with the ancient Kosâmbi. But strange to say, it affords the most satisfactory proof of their identity; for the subsequent route of the pilgrim to Sankissa is said to have occupied one month, and as the whole distance from Prayâg to Sankissa is only 200 miles, the average length of the pilgrim's daily march was not more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles. This slow progress is most satisfactorily accounted for, by the fact that the march from Prayâg to Sankissa was a religious procession, headed by the great King Harsha Vardhana of Kanoj, with a train of no less than 18 tributary Kings, besides many thousands of Buddhist monks, and all the crowd of an Indian camp. According to this reckoning, the distance from Prayâg to Kosâmbi would be 38 miles, which corresponds very closely with the actual road distance as I found it. By one route on going to Kosam, I made the distance 37 miles, and by the return route 35 miles. The only probable explanation of Hwen Thsang's varying distances of 50 *li* and 500 *li* that occurs to me is, that as he converted the Indian *Yojanas* into Chinese *li* at the rate of 40 *li* per *Yojana*, or of 10 *li* per *kos*, he must have written 150 *li*, the equivalent to 15 *kos*, which is the actual distance across the fields for foot passengers from Kosam to the fort of Allahabad, according to the reckoning of the people of Kosam itself. But whether this explanation be correct or not, it is quite certain that the present Kosam stands on the actual site of the ancient *Kosâmbi*; for not only do the people themselves put forward this claim, but it is also distinctly stated in an inscription of the time of Akbar, which is recorded on the great stone pillar, still standing in the midst of the ruins, that this is *Kausâmbi pura*.

287. The present ruins of Kosâmbi consist of an immense fortress

formed of earthen ramparts and bastions, with a circuit of 23,100 feet, or exactly 4 miles and 3 furlongs. The ramparts have a general height of from 30 to 35 feet above the fields, but the bastions are considerably higher; those on the north face rising to upwards of 50 feet, while those at the south-west and south-east angles are more than 60 feet. Originally there were ditches all round the fortress, but at present there are only a few shallow hollows at the foot of the rampart. The parapets were of brick and stone, but although the remains of these defences can be traced nearly all round, I could not find any portion of the old wall with a facing sufficiently perfect to enable me to determine its thickness. The large size of the bricks, which are 19 inches long by $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$, shows that these are the ruins of very old walls. In shape the fortress may be described as an irregular rectangle, with its longer sides running almost due north and south. The length of the different faces is as follows:—

North front.....	4,500 feet
South	6,000 „
East	7,500 „
West	5,100 „
	<hr/>
Total.....	23,100 feet

The difference in length between the north and south fronts is due to the original extension of the fortress on the river face; but the difference between the east and west fronts is, I believe, chiefly, if not wholly, due to the loss of the south-west angle of the ramparts by the gradual encroachments of the Jumna. There are no traces now left of the western half of the ramparts on the southern face, and the houses of the village of *Garhawá* are standing on the very edge of the cliff overhanging the river. The reach of the river also from the *Pakka Burj* at the south-west angle of the fortress up to the hill of *Prabhása*, a clear straight run of 4 miles, bears 12 degrees to the north of east, whereas in the time of Hwen Thsang there were two *stupas* and a cave at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south-west of *Kosámbi*. From all these concurring circumstances, I conclude that the west front of the fortress was originally as nearly as possible of the same length as the east front. This would add 2,400 feet, or nearly half a mile to the length of the west front, and would increase the whole circuit

of the ramparts to 4 miles and 7 furlongs, which is within one furlong of the measurement of 5 miles, or 30 *li* recorded by Hwen Thsang. In the three main points therefore of name, size, and position, the present Kosam corresponds most exactly with the ancient Kosâmbi as it is described by the Chinese pilgrim in the 7th century.

288. Viewed from the outside, the ruins of Kosâmbi present a most striking appearance. My previous enquiries had led me to expect only a ruined mound some 20 or 30 feet in height covered with broken bricks. What was my surprise therefore, when still at some distance from the place on the north-east side, to behold extending for about 2 miles a long line of lofty earthen mounds as high as most of the trees. I felt at once that this was the celebrated Kosâmbi, the capital of the far-famed Raja Udâyana. On reaching the place, I mounted one of the huge earthen bastions, from whence I had a clear view of the interior. This was very uneven, but free from jungle, the whole surface being thickly covered with broken bricks. In many places the bricks were partially cleared away to form fields, but in others the broken bricks were so thickly strewn that the earth beneath was scarcely discernable. But I was disappointed to find that there were no prominent masses of ruin; the only object that caught the eye being a modern Jain temple. I recognized the positions of six gates by the deep depressions in the lines of rampart. There are two of these openings on each of the three land faces of the fortress.

289. The present village of Kosam consists of two distinct portions, named *Kosam Inâm* and *Kosam Khirâj*, or "Rent-free" and "Rent-paying" Kosam, the former being on the west, and the latter on the east side of the old fortress. Inside the ramparts, and on the bank of the Jumna, there are two small villages called *Garhawâ Barâ* and *Garhawâ Chota*, their names being no doubt derived from their position within the fort or *garh*. Beyond Kosam Inâm is the large village of Pâli, containing 100 houses, and beyond Kosam Khirâj on the bank of the Jumna stands the hamlet of *Gop-Sahasa*. To the north there is another hamlet called *Ambâ-Kua*, because it possesses a large old well surrounded by a grove of Mango trees. All these villages together do not contain more than 350 or 400 houses, with about 2,000 inhabitants.

290. The great object of veneration at Kosâmbi was the celebrated statue of Buddha in red sandal wood, which was devoutly believed to have been made during the lifetime of Buddha by a sculptor whom

King Udāyana was permitted to send up to the *Trayastrīṃsa* heaven, while the great Teacher was explaining his law to his mother Mâyā. The statue was placed under a stone dome, within the precincts of the palace of Udāyana, which is described by Hwen Thsang as being situated in the very middle of Kosāmbi. This description shows that the place must have occupied the position of the great central mass of ruin, which is now covered by a small Jain temple. The temple is said to have been built in 1834, and is dedicated to *Pārasnāth*. By the people, however, it is generally called *Deora*, or the Temple, which was the old name of the mound, and which, therefore, points unmistakably to the position of the ancient temple that once held the famous statue of Buddha. The foundations of a large building are still traceable both to the east and west of the temple; but there are no remains either of sculpture or of architectural ornament. But in the village of Bara Garhawā, distant 1,500 feet to the south-west, I found two sculptured pillars of a Buddhist railing, and the pedestal of a statue inscribed with the well-known Buddhist profession of faith, beginning with *Ye dharmma hetu prabhavā*, &c., in characters of the 8th or 9th century. In the village of Chota Garhawā, distant half a mile to the south-east, I found a small square pillar sculptured on three faces with representations of *stupas*. The discovery of these undoubted Buddhist remains is alone sufficient to prove that some large Buddhist establishment must once have existed inside the walls of Kosāmbi. I would therefore assign the two pillars of the Buddhist railing and the inscribed statue to the great *Vihar* in the palace, which contained the famous sandal wood statue of Buddha. The third pillar I would assign to the *stupa* which contained the hair and nails of Buddha, as it was situated inside the south-east corner of the city, on the very site of Chota Garhawā, where the pillar itself was found. The two railing pillars found at Barā Garhawā are sculptured with figures of a male and female, and as both of these figures exhibit the very same scanty clothing as is seen in those of the bas-reliefs of the Sānchi Tope, near Bhilsa, I would refer the Kosāmbi pillars to the same age, or somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era.

291. The only other existing relic of Buddhism inside the fort is a large stone monolith similar to those of Allahabad and Delhi, excepting only that it bears no ancient inscription. This column is now standing at an angle of 52° , about one-half of the shaft being buried in a

mound of brick ruins. The portion of the shaft above ground is 14 feet in length, and close by there are two broken pieces, measuring respectively 4 feet 6 inches and 2 feet 3 inches. I made an excavation completely round the pillar, to a depth of 7 feet 4 inches, without reaching the end of the polished portion of the shaft. All these figures added together give a total length of 28 feet; but the pillar was no doubt several feet longer, as the shafts of all the five known monoliths exceed 30 feet. The smallest diameter is $29\frac{1}{2}$ inches, or nearly the same as that of the *Lauriya-Ara-Raj* pillar, and as the diameter increases in nearly the same proportion, I presume that the Kosambi pillar most probably had about the same height of 36 feet. According to the villagers, this pillar was in one piece as late as 50 years ago; but it was leaning against a large *Nimb* tree. The tree was old and hollow, and some cowherds having accidentally set fire to it, the top of the pillar was broken by the heat. Several different persons affirmed that the shaft was originally nearly double its present height. This would make the height above ground somewhat less than twice 14 feet, or say about 27 feet; which added to the ascertained smooth portion of 7 feet 4 inches under ground, would make the original height of the smooth shaft upwards of 34 feet. I found numerous roots of the old tree in my excavation round the pillar. The statement of the people that the Kosambi pillar has been leaning in its present position as long as they can remember, is curiously corroborated by the fact that an inscription dated in the reign of Akbar is cut across the face of the shaft at an angle of about 50° but parallel to the horizon. It seems certain therefore that the pillar was in its present leaning position as early as the reign of Akbar; and further, as this inscription is within reach of the hand, and as there are also others engraved beneath the present surface of the soil, I conclude that the pillar must have been buried as we now see it for a long time previous to the reign of Akbar.

292. The inscriptions recorded on the Kosambi pillar range from the age of the Guptas down to the present day. The only record of the earliest period is the name of a pilgrim in six letters which I have not succeeded in reading. At the top of the broken shaft there is an incomplete record of three letters ending in *prabhāra*, which I would ascribe to the 4th or 5th century. The letters, which are three inches in length, are boldly cut, but the line which they form is not parallel

to the sides of the pillar. The next inscription in point of time consists of six lines in characters of the 6th or 7th century. As this record is placed on the lower part of the shaft, from 3 to 4 feet beneath the present ground level, and as the lines are perpendicular to the sides of the shaft, I infer that at the time when it was inscribed, the pillar was still standing upright in its original position, and that the surrounding buildings were still in perfect order. This inference is fully borne out by Hwen Thsang's account of the ancient palace of Udāyana with its great Vihāra, 60 feet in height, and its stone dome forming a canopy over the statue of Buddha, all of which would seem to have been in good order at the date of his visit, as he carefully mentions that the two different bath-houses of Buddha, as well as the dwelling house of Asanga Bodhisatwa were in ruins. Just above this inscription there are several records in the peculiar shell-shaped letters which James Prinsep noticed on the Allahabad pillar, and which I have found on most of the other pillars throughout northern India. The remaining inscriptions, which are comparatively modern, are all recorded on the upper part of the shaft. That of Akbar's time, which has already been referred to, is in Nagari as follows:—

Mogal Pātisāh Akbar Patisāh Gaji; or

Mogal Padshāh Akbar Padshāh Ghazi.

This is followed by a short record of a *sonī*, or goldsmith, in three lines, below which is a long inscription dated in Samvat 1621, or A. D. 1564, in the early part of Akbar's reign, detailing the genealogy of a whole family of goldsmiths. It is in this inscription that the name of *Kosāmbipura* occurs, the founder of the family named Anand Rām Das, having died at Kosam. The monolith is called *Rām-ka-charri*, "Ram's walking stick," by some, and by others *Bhim-sen-ka-Gada* or "Bhim-sen's club." Inside the fort also, about midway between the two villages of *Garhawa*, I found a large *lingam*, bearing four heads, with three eyes each, and with the hair massed on the top of each head. The discovery of this costly symbol of Mahadeva shows that the worship of *Siva* must have been firmly established at Kosāmbi at some former period; and as Hwen Thsang mentions the existence of no less than 50 heretical (that is Brahmanical) temples at the time of his visit, I think it probable that the large *lingam* may have belonged to one of those early temples.

294. To the south-west of *Kosāmbi*, distant 8 or 9 *li*, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles,

Hwen Thsang describes a lofty *stupa* of Asoka, 200 feet in height, and a stone cavern of a venomous dragon, in which it was devoutly believed that Buddha had left his shadow. But the truthful pilgrim candidly says that this shadow was not to be seen in his time. If Hwen Thsang's south-west bearing is correct, the holy cave must have been carried away long ago by the encroachment of the Jumna, as the clear reach of the river above Kosāmbi, as far as the hill of Prabhāsa, a distance of 4 miles, now bears 282° from the south-west of the old city, or 12° to the north of west. The hill of Prabhāsa, which is on the left bank of the Jumna, is the only rock in the *Antarved* or Doab of the Ganges and Jumna. In a hollow between its two peaks stands a modern Jain temple, but there is no cavern, and no trace of any ancient buildings.

295. At a short distance to the south-east of *Kosambi*, there was an ancient monastery containing a *stupa* of Asoka, 200 feet in height, which was built on the spot where Buddha had explained the law for many years. Beside the monastery, a householder named *Kiu-shi-lo*, formerly had a garden. Fa Hian calls it the garden of *Kiu-sse-lo*; but by the Buddhists of Ceylon it is called the *Ghosika* garden. M. Julien renders the name doubtfully by *Goshira*, but it appears to me that the true name was most probably the Sanskrit Gosirsha, and the Pali *Gosisa*, which I believe to be still preserved in *Gopsahsa*, the name of a small village close to *Chota Garhawā*. This name is now written गेपस-वसा *Gop-sahasa*, but as the well known name of Janamejaya is written जगमेदै *Jag-medau*, and also जलमेदर *Jalmedar*, by the half educated people of Kosam, I do not think that the slight difference of spelling between the ancient *Gosisa* and the present *Gopsahasa*, forms any very strong objection to their identification, more especially as the position of the *Gosisa* garden must have been as nearly as possible on the site of the *Gopsahasa* village. There are no ancient remains about this village; nor indeed could we expect to find many traces of the garden. But in the neighbouring village of Kosam *Khirāj*, or *Hisāmābād*, the vestiges of ancient occupation are found everywhere, and this village I believe to have been the site of the monastery with its lofty *stupa* of 200 feet, built by *Asoka*, and its smaller *stupa* containing the hair and nails of Buddha. The position of this village, within one quarter of a mile of the south-east corner of the ancient fort, agrees precisely with the site of the monastery as described by Hwen Thsang, "à une petite distance

au sud-est de la ville." In this village squared stones of all sizes may be seen in the walls of most of the houses, and after a little search I succeeded in finding four plain pillars of two different sizes which had once belonged to two different Buddhist railings. Two of these pillars are 4 feet 9 inches in height, with a section of $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 inches, which are also the exact dimensions of the largest railing pillars that have been found at Mathura. The other two pillars are 2 feet 9 inches in height, with a section of 7 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which are the exact dimensions of the smallest sized railing pillars that have been found at Mathura. The larger pillars I would assign to the Buddhist railing, which in all probability once surrounded the lofty *stupa* of Asoka, and the smaller pillars I would assign to the smaller *stupa*, which contained the hair and nails of Buddha.

296. I found also the fragment of a corner pillar with the mortice holes for the reception of the rails on two adjacent sides at right angles to each other. I conclude, therefore, that this pillar must have belonged to the entrance doorway of one of the railings, although its face of 9 inches does not agree with the dimensions of either of the other pillars.

XV.—KUSAPURA.

297. From Kosâmbi the Chinese pilgrim travelled to the north east, through a vast forest as far as the Ganges, after crossing which his route lay to the north for a distance of 700 *li*, or 117 miles, to the town of *Kia-she-pu-lo*, which M. Julien correctly renders by *Kasapura*. In searching for the site of this place, the subsequent route of the pilgrim to *Visâkhâ*, a distance of 170 to 180 *li*, or from 28 to 30 miles, to the north is of equal importance with the bearing and distance from Kosâmbi. For as the *Visâkhâ*, of Hwen Thsang, as I will presently show, is the same place as the *Sha-chi* of Fa Hian, and the *Sâketa* or Ayodhya of the Hindus, we thus obtain two such well fixed points as Kosâmbi and Ayodhya to guide us in our search. A single glance at the map will be sufficient to show that the old town of *Sultânpur* on the *Gomati* (or *Gumti*) River is as nearly as possible in the position indicated. Now the Hindu name of this town was *Kusabhavanapura*, or simply *Kusapura*, which is almost the same name as that of Hwen Thsang. Remembering Mr. Bayley's note of information derived from Raja Mân Sinh that there was "a *tope* near Sultânpur," I pitched my tent on one side of the now utterly desolate city,

and searched the whole place through most carefully, but all in vain: I could neither find the trace of any tope, nor could I even hear of ancient remains of any kind. On the following day, however, after I had left Sultânpur, I heard that the village of Mahmudpur, about 5 miles to the north-west, was situated on an ancient mound of somewhat larger size than that of Sultânpur, and on my arrival at Faizabad, I learned from Lieutenant Swetenham, of the Royal Engineers, that there is an old tope to the north-west of Sultânpur, not far from this village. I conclude, therefore, that Sultânpur, the ancient Kasapura, is the same place as the Kasapura of Hwen Thsang; and this identification will be made even more certain on examination of the recorded distances.

298. On leaving Kosâmbi, the pilgrim proceeded first in a north-east direction to the Ganges, after crossing which he turned to the north to Kasapura, the whole distance being 117 miles. Now, the two great ghats on the Ganges to the north-east of Kosam are at Mau-Saraya and *Pâpa-mau*, the former being 40 miles, and the latter 43 miles distant. But as these two ghats are close together, and almost immediately to the north of Allahabad, the total distance to Kasapura will be the same, whichever place of crossing be taken. From Pâpamau to Sultânpur the direction is due north, and the distance 66 miles; the whole line from Kosam to Sultânpur being 109 miles, which is within 8 miles of the round number of 700 *li*, or $116\frac{2}{3}$ miles, as given by Hwen Thsang; while both of the bearings are in exact accordance with his statements. From Kasapura to *Visâkha* the direction followed by the pilgrim was to the north, and the distance was from 170 to 180 *li*, or from 28 to 38 miles. Now the present city of *Ajudhya*, the ancient *Ayodhya* or Sâketa, is almost due north from Sultânpur, the distance being 30 miles to the nearest point, or just six miles in excess of the distance given by Hwen Thsang. As the former of these distances is in default, while the latter is in excess, I would suggest, as a possible alternative, that our measurements should be taken from the village of *Mahmûdpur*, which would make the route from Kosam to the Buddhist establishment near Kasapura up to 114 miles, or within three miles of the number stated by Hwen Thsang, and lessen the subsequent route to Ayodhya from 36 to 31 miles, which is within one mile of the number given by the Chinese pilgrim. As all the bear-

ings are in perfect accordance, and as the names of the two places agree almost exactly, I think that there can be little hesitation in accepting the identification of *Sultānpur* or *Kusapura*, with the *Kasapura* of Hwen Thsang.

299. *Kusapura* or *Kusa-bhavaṇa-pura*, is said to have been named after Rama's son, *Kusa*. Shortly after the Muhammadan invasion it belonged to a *Bhar* Raja Nand Kunwar, who was expelled by Sultan Alauddin *Ghori* (read *Khilji*). The defences of the town were strengthened by the conqueror, who built a mosque and changed the name of the place to *Sultānpur*. The site of *Kusapura* was, no doubt, selected by its founder as a good military position, on account of its being surrounded on three sides by the River *Gomati* or *Gumti*. The place is now utterly desolate; the whole population having been removed to the new civil station on the opposite or south bank of the river. The ruined fort of *Sultānpur* now forms a large mound, 750 feet square, with brick towers at the four corners. On all sides it is surrounded by the huts of the ruined town, the whole together covering a space of about half a mile square, or about two miles in circuit. This estimate of the size of *Sultānpur* agrees very closely with that of *Kusapura* given by Hwen Thsang, who describes the place as being 10 *li*, or $1\frac{2}{3}$ miles, in circuit.

XVI.—DHOPAPAPURA.

300. Before accompanying the pilgrim to the ancient city of *Sāketa* or *Ayodhya*, I will take the opportunity of describing the famous place of Hindu pilgrimage called *Dhopāpapura*, which is situated on the right or west bank of the *Gomati* River, 18 miles to the south-east of *Sultānpur*, and immediately under the walls of the fort of *Garhā*, or *Shirka-Garhi*. The legend of the place is as follows:—After Rama Chandra had killed the giant *Rāvana*, he wandered about trying to obtain purification for his guilt in having thus extinguished a portion of the spirit of *Brahma* (*Brahma-ka-ans*); but all his efforts were ineffectual, until he met with a white crow, when he was informed by the Muni *Vasishta* that the crow had become white from having bathed in the *Gomati* River at a particular spot. Rama proceeded to bathe at the same spot, and was immediately purified or "cleansed" from his sin. The place was accordingly named *Dho-pāpa*, or "cleanser of sins," and the town which soon sprang up beside it was called *Dhopāpapura*. In Sanskrit the form is *Dhūtapāpa*, which is given in the list of the *Vishnu*

Purana as the name of a river distinct from the Gomati; but as the name immediately follows that of the Gomati, I think it probable that the term may have been intended only as an epithet of the Gomati, as the *Dhutapāpa*, or "Sin-cleanser" in allusion to the legend of Rama's purification. An annual fair is held here on the 10th day on the waxing moon of *Jyesth*, at which time it is said that about fifty thousand people assemble to bathe in the far-renowned pool of *Dhopāpa*.

301. The site of *Dhopāp* is evidently one of very considerable antiquity, as the whole country for more than half a mile around it is covered with broken bricks and pottery. The place is said to have belonged to the *Bhar* Rajaś of *Kusabhavanapura* or Sultānpur, but the only name that I could hear of as specially connected with *Dhopāp*, was that of Raja *Hel* or *Hela*. The village of *Dhopāp-pur* is now a very small one, containing less than 200 houses, but they are all built of burnt brick, and numerous foundations are visible on all sides near the Gomati River. Several carved stones have been collected by the people from the ruined walls of the fort of *Garhá*. Amongst them I observed the following:—1st, a broken pilaster with two human figures; 2nd, a stone bracket; 3rd, a square capital of pillar; 4th, a four-bracket capital of a pillar; 5th, two stones with socket holes for iron cramps. All of these stones point unmistakably to the existence, at some former period, of a large temple at *Dhopāp*, which was probably situated immediately above the bathing ghat. It seems almost certain, however, that there must once have been a considerable number of temples at this place, for the whole of the eastern wall or river front of the fort of *Garhá* has been built or faced with square stones, which, by their carvings and cramp-holes, show that they belonged to Hindu temples.

302. The fort of *Garhá* is situated to the north of the village, on a lofty natural mound overhanging the river Gomati on the east. To the north and south the place is defended by two deep ravines supplied with running water, and to the west by a deep dry ravine. The position is, therefore, a strong one; for, although the neighbouring mounds to the north and west rise to nearly the same height, yet they once formed part of the city, which can only be approached over much low and broken ground. The strength of the position would seem to have early attracted the notice of the Muhammadan Kings of Delhi,

as the fort is stated to have been repaired by Salim Shah, whilst a very old ruinous masjid stands on the west mound. The fort itself is a small place, its northern face being only 550 feet long, its eastern and western faces 550 feet each, whilst its south face is but 250 feet. The greater part of the stone work of the south-east tower has fallen into the river, where many of the stones are now lying, and much of the eastern wall has also disappeared, the stones being very valuable, in a stoneless country, for the sharpening of tools of all kinds. The entrance gate was on the south side, near the river bastion just mentioned. I obtained coins of many of the early Muhammadan Kings, from Nasir-uddin Mahmud Ghori down to Akbar, but not a single specimen of any Hindu coinage, although I was informed that coins bearing figures are found every year during the rainy season.

303. I may here mention that I heard of another place of Hindu pilgrimage on the north bank of the Gomati River, at a spot called *Set-Barāh* that is *Sweta-Varāha*, or "the white Boar," 15 kos, or 30 miles, from Sultānpur towards Lucknow. Two annual fairs are held there—the first on the 9th day of the waxing moon of Chaitra, and the second on the 15th day of the waxing moon of Kartik, when it is said that about fifty thousand people assemble to bathe. The former period is connected with the history of Rama Chandra, as it is commonly known as the *Rām-navami Tirath* or "Rama's ninth (day) place of pilgrimage." I could not learn anything regarding the origin of the name of *Set Barāh*.

XVIII.—SAKETA, OR AJUDHYA.

304. Much difficulty has been felt regarding the position of Fa Hian's "great kingdom of *Sha-chi*, and of Hwen Thsang's *Visákhá*, with its enormous number of heretics," or Brahmanists; but I hope to show in the most satisfactory manner that these two places are identical, and that they are also the same as the *Sáketa* and *Ajudhya* of the Hindus. The difficulty has arisen chiefly from an erroneous bearing recorded by Fa Hian, who places *Shewei*, or *Srāvastī*, to the south of *Sha-chi*, while Hwen Thsang locates it to the north-east, and partly from his erroneous distance of $7 + 3 + 10 = 20$ *Yojans*, instead of 30, from the well-known city of Sankisa. The bearing is shown to be erroneous by the route of a Hindu pilgrim from the banks of

the Godavery to *Sewet*, or *Srāvasti*, as recorded in the Ceylonese Buddhist works. This pilgrim, after passing through Mahissati and Ujani, or Maheshmati and Ujain, reaches Kosāmbi, and from thence passes through *Sāketa* to *Sewet*; that is, along the very route followed by Hwen Thsang. We have, therefore, two authorities in favour of *Sewet* being to the north of Sāket. With regard to the distance, I refer again to the Buddhist books of Ceylon, in which it is recorded that from *Sakespura* (or *Sangkasyapura*, now Sankisa) to *Sewet* was a journey of 30 *Yojans*. Now, Fa Hian makes the distance from Sankisa to Kanoj 7 *Yojans*, thence to the forest of *Holi*, on the Ganges, 3 *Yojans*, and thence to *Shachi* 10 *Yojans*, or altogether only 20 *Yojans*, or 10 less than the Ceylonese books. That Fa Hian's statement is erroneous, is quite clear from the fact that his distance would place *Shachi* in the neighbourhood of Lucknow; whereas the other distance would place it close to *Ajudhya*, or Faizabad, or in the very position indicated by Hwen Thsang's itinerary. Here, again, we have two authorities in favour of the longer distance. I have no hesitation, therefore, in declaring that Fa Hian's recorded bearing of *She-wei* from *Sha-chi* is wrong, and that "north" should be read instead of "south."

305. I have now to show that Fa Hian's *Sha-chi* is the same as Hwen Thsang's *Visākha*, and that both are identical with *Sāketa* or *Ajudhya*. With respect to *Sha-chi*, Fa Hian relates that "on leaving the town by the southern gate you find to the east of the road the place where Buddha bit a branch of the nettle tree and planted it in the ground, where it grew to the height of seven feet, and never increased or diminished in size." Now, this is precisely the same legend that is related of *Visākha* by Hwen Thsang, who says that "to the south of the capital, and to the left of the road (that is to the east as stated by Fa Hian), there was, amongst other holy objects, an extraordinary tree 6 or 7 feet high, which always remained the same, neither growing nor decreasing. This is the celebrated tooth-brush tree of Buddha, to which I shall have occasion to refer presently. Here I need only notice the very precise agreement in the two descriptions of this famous tree, as to its origin, its height, and its position. The perfect correspondence of these details appears to me to leave no doubt of the identity of Fa Hian's *Sha-chi* with the *Visākha* of Hwen Thsang.

306. With respect to the identification of Visākha with the Sāketa of the Hindus, I rest my proofs chiefly on the following points: 1st, that *Visākha*, the most celebrated of all females in Buddhist history, was a resident of Sāketa before her marriage with *Purusa Varddhana*, son of *Mrigara*, the rich merchant of *Srāvasti*;—and 2nd, that Buddha is recorded by Hwen Thsang to have spent 6 years at *Visākha*, while by the Pali annals of Turnour he is stated to have lived 16 years at *Sāketa*.

307. The story of the noble maiden Visākhā is related at great length in the Ceylonese books. According to Hardy, she erected a *Purvārāma* at *Srāvasti*, which is also mentioned by Hwen Thsang. Now, there was also a *Purvārāma* at Sāketa, and it can hardly be doubted that this monastery was likewise built by her. She was the daughter of *Dhananja*, a rich merchant, who had emigrated from *Rajagriha* to *Sāketa*. Now, amongst the oldest inscribed coins which have been discovered only at Ajudhya, we find some bearing the names of *Dhana Deva* and *Visākha-Datta*. I mention this because it seems to me to show the probability that the family of *Dhananja* and *Visākhā* was of great eminence in Sāketa or Ayodhya; and I infer from the recurrence of their names, as well as from the great celebrity of the lady, that the city may possibly have been called *Visākhā* after her name.

308. The other proof which I derive from the years of Buddha's residence is direct and convincing. According to the Ceylonese annals, Buddha was 35 years of age when he attained Buddhahood; he then led a houseless life for 20 years, preaching in various places in Northern India, all of which are detailed; and of the remaining 25 years of his life he spent 9 in the *Jetavana* monastery at *Srāvasti*, and 16 in the *Pubhārāma* monastery at Sāketapura. Now, in the Burmese annals these numbers are given as 19 years and 6 years, and in the last figure we have the exact number recorded by Hwen Thsang. Nothing can be more complete than this proof. There were only two places at which Buddha resided for any length of time, namely, *Srāvasti*, at which he lived either 9 or 19 years, and *Sāketa*, at which he lived either 6 or 16 years; and as according to Hwen Thsang he lived for 6 years at *Visākhā*, which is described as being at some distance to the south of *Srāvasti*, it follows of necessity that *Visākhā* and *Sāketa* were one and the same place.

309. The identity of *Sáketa* and *Ayodhya* has, I believe, always been admitted; but I am not aware that any proof has yet been offered to establish the fact. Cosma-de-Koros in speaking of the place merely says "*Saketana* or *Ayodhya*," and H. H. Wilson, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, calls *Sáketa* "the city *Ayodhya*." But the question would appear to be set at rest by several passages of the *Râmâyana* and *Raghuvansa*, in which *Sáketa* is distinctly called the Capital of Raja *Dasaratha* and his sons. But the following verse of the *Râmâyana*, which was pointed out to me by a Brahman of Lucknow, will be sufficient to establish the identity. *Aswajita*, father of *Kaikeyi*, offers to give his daughter to *Dasaratha*, Rajah of *Sáketa* :—

*Sáketa*m Nagaram Raja Namna Dasaratho bali.
Tasmai deya Kayá Manyá Kaikeyi Námato janá.

310. The ancient city of *Ayodhya* or *Sáketa* is described in the *Râmâyana* as situated on the bank of the *Sarayu* or *Sarju* River. It is said to have been 12 *Yojans*, or nearly 100 miles in circumference, for which we should probably read 12 *kos*, or 24 miles—an extent which the old city, with all its gardens, might once possibly have covered. The distance from the *Guptár* Ghat on the west, to the *Ram* Ghat on the east, is just 6 miles in a direct line, and if we suppose that the city with its suburbs and gardens formerly occupied the whole intervening space to a depth of two miles, its circuit would have agreed exactly with the smaller measurement of 12 *kos*. At the present day the people point to *Ram Ghât* and *Guptár Ghât* as the eastern and western boundaries of the old city, and the southern boundary they extend to *Bharat-Kund*, near *Bhadarsá*, a distance of 6 *kos*. But as these limits include all the places of pilgrimage, it would seem that the people consider them to have been formerly inside the city, which was certainly not the case. In the *Ayin Akbari*, the old city is said to have measured 148 *kos* in length by 36 *kos* in breadth, or in other words it covered the whole of the Province of *Oudh* to the south of the *Ghâghra* River. The origin of the larger number is obvious. The 12 *Yojans* of the *Râmâyana*, which are equal to 48 *kos*, being considered too small for the great city of *Rama*, the Brahmins simply added 100 *kos* to make the size tally with their own extravagant notions. The present city of *Ajudhya*, which is confined to the north-east corner of the old site, is just two miles in length by about three-quarters of a

mile in breadth ; but not one-half of this extent is occupied by buildings, and the whole place wears a look of decay. There are no high mounds of ruins, covered with broken statues and sculptured pillars, such as mark the sites of other ancient cities, but only a low irregular mass of rubbish heaps, from which all the bricks have been excavated for the houses of the neighbouring city of Faizabad. This Muhammadan city, which is two miles and a half in length, by one mile in breadth, is built chiefly of materials extracted from the ruins of Ajudhya. The two cities together occupy an area of nearly six square miles, or just about one-half of the probable size of the ancient Capital of Rama. In Faizabad the only building of any consequence is the stuccoed brick tomb of the old Bhao Begam, whose story was dragged before the public during the famous trial of Warren Hastings. Faizabad was the capital of the first Nawabs of Oudh, but it was deserted by Asaf-ud-daolah in A. D. 1775.

311. According to the Rāmâyana, the city of Ayodhya was founded by Manu, the progenitor of all mankind. In the time of Dasaritha, the father of Râma, it was fortified with towers and gates, and surrounded by a deep ditch. No traces of these works now remain, nor is it likely indeed that any portion of the old city should still exist, as the *Ayodhya* of Râma is said to have been destroyed after the death of *Vrihadbala* in the great war about B. C. 1426, after which it lay deserted until the time of *Vikramâditya*. According to popular tradition this *Vikramâditya* was the famous Sâkâri Prince of Ujain, but as the Hindus of the present day attribute the acts of all *Vikramas* to this one only, their opinion on the subject is utterly worthless. We learn, however, from Hwen Thsang that a powerful Prince of this name was reigning in the neighbouring city of Srâvasti, just one hundred years after Kanishka, or close to 79 A. D., which was the initial year of the *Sâka era* of *Sâlivâhana*. As this *Vikramâditya* is represented as hostile to the Buddhists, he must have been a zealous Brahmanist, and to him therefore I would ascribe the rebuilding of Ayodhya and the restoration of all the holy places referring to the history of Râma. Tradition says that when *Vikramâditya* came to Ayodhya, he found it utterly desolate and overgrown with jungle, but he was able to discover all the famous spots of Râma's history by measurements made from Lakshman Ghat on the *Sarju*, according to the statements of

ancient records. He is said to have erected 360 temples, on as many different spots, sacred to *Râma* and *Sitâ* his wife, to his brothers *Lakshmana*, *Bharata*, and *Satrugna*, and to the monkey god *Hanumân*. The number of 360 is also connected with *Sâlivâhana*, as his clansmen the *Bais Rajputs* assert that he had 360 wives.

312. There are several very holy Brahmanical temples about *Ajudhya*, but they are all of modern date, and without any architectural pretensions whatever. But there can be no doubt that most of them occupy the sites of more ancient temples that were destroyed by the Musalmans. Thus *Râmkot*, or *Hanumân Garhi*, on the east side of the city, is a small walled fort, surrounding a modern temple on the top of an ancient mound. The name of *Râmkot* is certainly old, as it is connected with the traditions of the *Mani Parbat*, which will be hereafter mentioned; but the temple of *Hanumân* is not older than the time of *Aurangzib*. *Ram Ghat*, at the north-east corner of the city, is said to be the spot where *Râma* bathed; and *Sargdwâri*, or *Swargadwâri*, the "gate of Paradise," on the north-west, is believed to be the place where his body was burned. Within a few years ago there was still standing here a very holy Banyan tree called *Asok Bat*, or the "griefless Banyan," a name which was probably connected with that of *Swargadwâri*, in the belief that people who died or were burned at this spot were at once relieved from the necessity of future births. Close by is the *Lakshman Ghat*, where his brother *Lakshman* bathed, and about one-quarter of a mile distant, in the very heart of the city, stands the *Janam Asthân*, or "Birth-place temple" of *Râma*. Almost due west, and upwards of five miles distant is the *Guptar Ghat*, with its group of modern white-washed temples. This is the place where *Lakshman* is said to have disappeared, and hence its name of *Guptâr* from *Gupta*, which means "hidden or concealed." Some say that it was *Râma* who disappeared at this place, but this is at variance with the story of his cremation at *Swargadwâri*.

313. The only remains at *Ajudhya* that appear to be of any antiquity, are three earthen mounds to the south of the city, and about a quarter of a mile distant. These are called *Mani-Parbat*, *Kuber-Parbat* and *Sugrib-Parbat*. The first, which is nearest to the city, is an artificial mound, 65 feet in height, covered with broken bricks and blocks of *kankar*. The old bricks are eleven inches square and three inches thick.

At 46 feet above the ground on the west side, there are the remains of a curved wall faced with *kankar* blocks. The mass at this point is about 40 feet thick, and this was probably somewhat less than the size of the building which once crowned this lofty mound. According to the Brahmans the *Mani-Parbat* is one of the hills which the monkeys made use of when assisting Râma. It was dropped here by Sugriva, the monkey-king of *Kishkindhya*. But the common people, who know nothing of this story, say that the mound was formed by the labourers shaking their baskets on this spot every evening, on their return home from the building of Ramkot. It is therefore best known by the name of *Thowa-Jhâr* or *Ora Jhâr*, both of which mean "basket-shakings." A similar story is told of the large mounds near Benares, Nimsar, and other places.

314. Five hundred feet due south from the large mound stands the second mound called *Kuber-Parbat*, which is only 28 feet in height. The surface is an irregular heap of brick rubbish, with numerous holes made by the people in digging for bricks, which are of large size, 11 inches by $7\frac{1}{4}$ by 2. It is crowned by two old tamarind trees, and is covered with jungle. Close by on the south-west there is a small tank, called *Ganes-Kund* by the Hindus, and *Husen Kund*, or *Imân Talao*, by the Musalmans, because their *Tazias* are annually deposited in it. Still nearer on the south-east there is a large oblong mound called *Sugrib-Parbat*, which is not more than 8 or 10 feet above the ground level. It is divided into two distinct portions; that to the north being upwards of 300 feet square at top, and the other to the south upwards of 200 feet. In the centre of the larger enclosure there is a ruined mound containing bricks $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, and in the centre of the smaller mound there is a well.

315. Between the *Mani* and *Kuber* mounds there is a small Muhammadan enclosure, 64 feet long from east to west and 47 feet broad, containing two brick tombs, which are attributed to *Sis Paighambar* and *Ayub Paighambar*, or the "prophets Seth and Job." The first is 17 feet long, and the other 12 feet. These tombs are mentioned by Abul Fazl, who says, "Near this city are two sepulchral monuments, one 7 and the other 6 cubits in length. The vulgar pretend that they are the tombs of Seth and Job, and they relate wonderful stories of them." This account shows that since the time

of Akbar, the tomb of Seth must have increased in length from 7 cubits, or $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet, to 17 feet through the frequent repairs of pious Musalmans.

316. The mounds are surrounded by Musalman tombs, and as it is the Muhammadan practice to bury the dead along the sides of the high roads close to their cities, I infer that the road which now runs close to the westward of the mounds, is one of the ancient highways of the district. This is confirmed by the existence of an old masonry bridge of three arches over the *Tilaki nala*, to the north-west of the Mani-Parbat, as well as by the direction of the road itself, which leads from the south-end of the city straight to the Bharat-kund, and onwards to Sultānpur or *Kusapura*, and Allahabad or Prâyāga. I notice this road thus minutely, because the identifications which I am about to propose are based partly on its position and direction, as well as on the general agreement of the existing remains with the holy places described by the Chinese pilgrims.

317. According to Fa Hian, the place where Buddha planted the holy tree was to the east of the road, on issuing from the town by the southern gate. Hwen Thsang's account agrees with this exactly, in placing the "extraordinary tree" to the south of the Capital and to the left of the route. This tree was the celebrated "tooth-brush" or twig used in cleaning the teeth, which having been cast away by Buddha, took root and grew to between 6 and 7 feet in height. Now, it will be observed that the ruined mounds that still exist, as well as the tombs of Seth and Job, are to the south of the city and to the east or left of the road. The position therefore is unmistakably the same as that described by the Chinese pilgrims, and as the actual state of the ruins agrees well with the details given by Hwen Thsang, I think that there can be no reasonable doubt of their identity.

318. Hwen Thsang describes the city of *Visākha* as being 16 *li*, or $2\frac{2}{3}$ miles in circuit. In his time therefore the capital of Rāma was not more than half of its present size, although it probably contained a greater population, as not above one-third, or even perhaps less, of the present town is inhabited. The old city then possessed no less than twenty monasteries, with three thousand monks, and about fifty Brahmanical temples, with a very large Brahmanical population. From this account we learn that, so early as the 7th century, more than

three hundred of the original temples of Vikramâditya had already disappeared, and we may therefore reasonably infer that the city had been gradually declining for some time previously. The Buddhist monuments, however, would appear to have been in good order, and the monks were just as numerous as^o in the eminently Buddhist city of Benares.

319. The first monument described by Hwen Thsang is a great monastery without name, but as it was the only notable monastery, it was most probably either the *Kâlakârâma* of Sâketa, or the *Purvâ-râma*, both of which are mentioned in the Ceylonese Mahawanso. The monks were of the school of the *Sammateyas*, and their monastery was famous for having produced three of the most eminent Buddhist controversialists. This monastery I would identify with the *Sugrib Parbat*, which I have already described as being about 500 feet long by 300 feet broad. The great size and rectangular form of this ruin are sufficient to show that it must have been a monastery, but this is placed beyond all doubt by the existence of an interior well and by the remains of cloistered rooms forming the four sides of the enclosure. Its position to the south of the city, and to the east or left of the road, has already been specially noticed as agreeing with the recorded position of the monastery.

320. Beside the monastery there was a *stupa* of Asoka, 200 feet in height, built on the spot where Buddha preached the law during his six years' residence at Sâketa. This monument I would identify with the *Mani-Parbat*, which is still 65 feet in height, and which with its masonry facing must once have been at least as high again, and with the usual lofty pinnacle of metal may easily have reached a height of 200 feet. Hwen Thsang ascribes the erection of this monument to Asoka, and I see no reason to question the accuracy of his statement, as the mixed structure of half earth and half masonry must undoubtedly be very ancient. The earliest *stupas*, or *topes*, were simple earthen mounds or barrows, similar to those that still exist in England. There are many of these barrows still standing at *Lauriya-Navandgarh* to the north of Bettiya, but this is the only place where I have yet seen them. They are undoubtedly the most ancient monuments of the Indian population, and I firmly believe that even the very latest of them cannot be assigned to a lower date than the fifth

century before Christ. I base this belief on the known fact that all the monuments of Asoka's age, whether described by Hwen Tshang, or actually opened by myself near Bhilsa, are either of stone or brick. The earthen barrows are therefore of an earlier age; but such as are Buddhist cannot possibly be earlier than the beginning of the fifth century before Christ. In the case of the *Mani-Parbat* at Ajudhya I infer that the earthen barrow, or lower portion, may belong to the earlier ages of Buddhism, and that the masonry or upper portion was added by Asoka. At the foot of the mound I picked up a broken brick with the letter *sh*, of the oldest form, stamped upon it; but as this is almost certainly of later date than Asoka, it most probably did not belong to the *Mani-Parbat* building.

321. Hwen Tshang next describes the sites of the tooth-brush tree and of the monument where the four previous Buddhas used to sit and to take exercise, as being close to the great *stupa*. These places I would identify with the court-yard containing the tombs of Seth and Job, which touches the south side of the *Mani-Parbat*. The two tombs I take to be the remains of the seats of the four previous Buddhas, and the paved court-yard to be the scene of their daily walks, although I was unable to trace their foot-marks, which were seen by the Chinese pilgrim.

322. The last monument described by Hwen Tshang is a *stupa* containing the hair and nails of Buddha. This was surrounded by a number of smaller monuments which seemed to touch one another, and by several tanks which reflected the sacred buildings in their limpid waters. The *stupa* I would identify with the *Kuber-Parbat*, which touches the south side of the enclosure round the tombs of Seth and Job, and is close to the west side of the ruined monastery. One of the tanks described by the pilgrim may be the *Ganes-Kund*, which has already been noticed; but all the smaller monuments have disappeared long ago, as they afforded cheap and ready materials for the construction of the numerous Muhammadan tombs, as well as of the neighbouring bridge and mosque. If I am right in my identification of this mound as the remains of the *stupa* containing the hair and nails of Buddha, I think that an excavation in the centre of the mound might perhaps verify the accuracy of my conclusions.

323. The people are unanimous in their assertion that the old city

to the north of these mounds was called *Bareta*. Ayodhya, or Ajudhya, they say, was the capital of Rama, but the later city was called *Bareta*. As this name has no similarity either to *Sáketa* or *Visákha*, I can only set it down as another appellation of the old town, for which we have no authority but tradition. I was disappointed, when at Ajudhya, in not hearing even the most distant allusion to the legend of the tooth-brush tree of Buddha, but the tradition still exists, as I heard of it quite unexpectedly at two different places immediately afterwards, first at *Hátıla*, distant 15 miles, and next at Gonda, 29 miles to the north of Ajudhya.

XIX.—HATILA, OR ASOKPUR.

324. The ancient territory of Ayodhya was divided by the Sarju or *Ghâghra* River into two great provinces; that to the north being called *Uttara Kosala*, and that to the south *Banaodha*. Each of these was again subdivided into two districts. In Banaodha these are called *Pachham-rât* and *Purab-rât*, or the western and eastern districts, with reference to their bearing from Ajudhya; and in *Uttara Kosala* they are *Gauda* (vulgarly Gonda) to the south of the Rapti, and Kosala to the north of the Rapti, or *Râwati*, as it is universally called in Oudh. Some of these names are found in the Purânas; thus in the *Vâyu Purâna*, Lava, the son of Râma, is said to have reigned in *Uttara Kosala*; but in the *Matsya*, *Singa*, and *Kurma Purâns*, *Srâvasti* is stated to be in *Gauda*. These apparent discrepancies are satisfactorily explained when we learn that *Gauda* is only a sub-division of *Uttara Kosala*, and that the ruins of *Srâvasti* have actually been discovered in the district of *Gauda*, which is the Gonda of the maps. The extent of *Gauda* is also proved by the old name of *Bal-râmpur* on the Rapti, which was formerly *Ramgarh Gauda*. I presume therefore that both the *Gauda Brahmans* and the *Gauda Tagas* must have belonged to this district originally, and not to the mediæval city of *Gauda* in Bengal. Brahmans of this name are still numerous in Ajudhya and Jâhangirabad, on the right bank of the *Ghâghra* River in Gonda, Pâkhapur, and Jaisni of the Gonda district, and in many parts of the neighbouring province of Gorakhpur.

325. The small village of *Hátıla* derives its name from the sister's son of Sayid Sâlâr. The old Hindu name was *Asokpur*, so called

from a large temple of *Asoknath Mahadeo*. *Hâtîla* was killed in an assault on the temple, and his tomb, a low domed building only 20 feet square, is still much frequented as the shrine of a *Ghazi*, or martyr for the faith. It is built entirely of large bricks from the ruins of the old temple of *Asoknâth*. The remains consist of a low mound, 700 feet long by 500 feet broad, with three prominent masses of ruin on the north side. I made an excavation in the north-west ruin near the base of a large *Mahwa* tree, but without any result, as a small Muhammadan tomb on the top prevented me from digging in the centre. But the coolies employed on the work voluntarily informed me that the *Mahwa* tree had been the "tooth-brush" of a Raja who stuck it in the ground and it grew to be a tree. From this tradition, which also exists at Gonda, I infer that it was usual to make cuttings and to take seeds from the famous *danta-dhâwan* or "tooth-brush tree" of *Saketa* for distribution to religious establishments, just as cuttings from the Bodhi tree at Gaya were made for the same purpose. Both Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang agree in stating that the *Danta-dhâwan* of *Saketa* was only seven feet high, and that it never grew any higher, which would seem to show that it was only a small tree or shrub; and this indeed is actually the case with the *Datton*, or "tooth-brush tree" of Gonda, which is a *Chilbil*, or shrub eaten by goats, that never exceeds 8 or 10 feet. I conclude therefore that the original tooth-brush tree of *Hâtîla* has disappeared, and that the name has been applied to the *Mahwa*, which is the only tree now remaining on the mound.

326. The north-east mound is a mere undistinguishable mass of broken bricks, but the central mound is still covered with the ruins of the temple of *Asoknâth Mahadeo*, containing a large broken *lingam*. Portions of the brick walls, which still remain, show that the temple was only 12 feet square; but the whole has been lifted up by the roots of a gigantic Pīpal tree, which still hold the bricks together by their interlacings. These remains attracted the attention of Buchanan Hamilton during his survey of Gorakhpur, who remarks that "a wild fig tree having taken root on the *linga* will soon cover it." This actually took place, and the *linga* was almost completely hidden by the matted roots of the Pīpal, until the tree was cut down by the Tahsildar of the neighbouring village of Vazirganj in A. D. 1862. As the cut stem of the Pīpal shows 849 annual rings, the tree must have

been planted in A. D. 1013, during the reign of Mahmud of Ghazni. This indeed is about the date of the temple itself, which is said to have been built by *Suhri-dal*, Raja of Asokpur, and the antagonist of Sayid Sâlâr. The Raja is also called *Sūhal-dhar*, *Sohil-dal*, and *Sohil Deo*, and is variously said to have been a *Thâru*, a *Bhar*, a *Kālahansa*, or a *Bais Rajput*. The majority, however, is in favour of his having been a *Thâru*. The mound with the *Mahwa* tree is called *Raja Sohil-dal-ka-khalanga* or "Sohil-dal's seat." His city of Asokpur is said to have extended to *Dumariya-Dih*, 2 kos to the north, and to *Sareya-Dih*, half a kos to the south of the temple. At both of these places there are old brick-covered mounds, in which several hundreds of coins have been lately found. Most of the coins belong to the early Musalman Kings of Delhi, the Ghoris and Khiljis; but there were also a few Hindoo coins, in base silver and copper, with the Boar incarnation of Vishnu on one side, and the legend of *Sri-mad-Adi-Varāha* on the reverse in mediæval characters. As these coins are referred to by name, in an inscription of A. D. 920, as *Sri-mad-Adi-Varāha drammas*, or "Boar incarnation drachmas," the mounds in which they have been discovered must be of still earlier date. Tradition gives the genealogy of the Thâru Râjas of *Gauda* as follows:—

A. D.	900	1	Mora-dhaj, or Mayura-dhwaja.
	925	2	Hans-dhaj, or Hansa-dhwaja.
	950	3	Makar-dhaj, or Makara-dhwaja.
	975	4	Sudhanwa-dhaj.
	1000	5	Subridal-dhaj, contemporary of Mahmud.

I give this genealogy with the probable dates, as it may perhaps be of use hereafter in fixing the age of other Princes and their works.

XX.—SAHET-MAHET, OR SRAVASTI.

327. The position of the famous city of *Srāvastī*, one of the most celebrated places in the annals of Buddhism, has long puzzled our best scholars. This was owing partly to the contradictory statements of the Chinese pilgrims themselves, and partly to the want of a good map of the Province of Oudh. In para. 304 of this report I have compared the bearings and distances recorded by Fa Hian and Hwen

Thsang with those preserved in the Buddhist annals of Ceylon, and I have shown conclusively that Fa Hian's distance from Sankisa and his bearing from *Shachi* or *Sâket* are both erroneous. We know from Hwen Thsang and the Buddhist books of Ceylon, that *Srāvasti* was to the north of *Sâhet* or *Ayodhya*, or in other words that it was in the district of *Gauda*, or *Uttara Kosala*, which is confirmed by the statements of no less than four of the Brahmanical Purānas. As Fa Hian also says that *Shewei* or *Sewet* was in Kosala, there can be no doubt whatever that *Srāvasti* must be looked for within a few days' journey to the northward of *Sâket* or *Ayodhya*. According to Fa Hian the distance was 8 *Yojanas*, or 56 miles, which is increased by Hwen Thsang to 500 *li*, or 83 miles. But as the latter pilgrim reduced the Indian *Yojana* to Chinese measure at the rate of 40 *li* per *Yojana*, we may correct his distance by the nearest round number of 350 *li* or 58 miles, to bring it into accordance with the other. Now, as this is the exact distance from *Ajudhya* of the great ruined city on the south bank of the *Rapti*, called *Sâhet-Mâhet*, in which I discovered a colossal statue of Buddha, with an inscription containing the name of *Srāvasti* itself, I have no hesitation in correcting Hwen Thsang's distance from 500 *li* to 350 *li* as proposed above.

328. The ruined city of *Sâhet-Mâhet* is situated between *Akaona* and *Balrâmpur*, at 5 miles from the former and 12 miles from the latter, and at nearly equi-distances from *Bahraich* and *Gonda*. In shape it is an almost semi-circular crescent, with its diameter of one mile and a third in length curved inwards and facing the north-east, along the old bank of the *Rapti* River. The western front, which runs due north and south for three-quarters of a mile, is the only straight portion of the enclosure. The ramparts vary considerably in height; those to the west being from 35 to 40 feet in height, while those on the south and east are not more than 25 or 30 feet. The highest point is the great north-west bastion, which is 50 feet above the fields. The north-east face, or shorter curve of the crescent was defended by the *Rapti*, which still flows down its old bed during the annual floods. The land ramparts on the longer curve of the crescent must once have been defended by a ditch, the remains of which yet exist as a swamp, nearly half a mile in length, at the south-west corner. Everywhere the ramparts are covered with fragments of brick, of the large size peculiar to very

ancient cities; and though I was unable to trace any remains of walls except in one place, yet the very presence of the bricks is quite sufficient to show that the earthen ramparts must once have been crowned by brick parapets and battlements. The portion of the parapet wall, which I discovered still standing in the middle of the river face, was 10 feet thick. The whole circuit of the old earthen ramparts, according to my survey, is 17,300 feet, or upwards of $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles. Now this is the exact size of 20 *li* or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles which Hwen Thsang gives to the palace alone; but, as the city was then deserted and in ruins, he must have mistaken the city itself for the palace. It is certain at least that the suburbs outside the walls must have been very limited indeed, as the place is almost entirely surrounded with the remains of large religious buildings, which would have left but little room for any private dwellings. I am therefore quite satisfied that the city has been mistaken for the palace; and this mistake is sufficient to show how utterly ruined this once famous city must have been at so distant a period as the 7th century, when the place was visited by Hwen Thsang. As Fa Hian describes the population as already very inconsiderable in A. D. 400, while the Ceylonese annals speak of *Khivadhara*, King of *Sawatthipura* between A. D. 275 and 302, the great decline of Srāvasti must have taken place during the 4th century, and we may perhaps not be far wrong in connecting it with the fall of the Gupta Dynasty in A. D. 319.

329. *Srāvasti* is said to have been built by Raja *Sravasta*, the son of *Yuvanśiva* of the Solar race, and the tenth in descent from *Sūrya* himself. Its foundation therefore reaches to the fabulous ages of Indian history, long anterior to Rāma. During this early period it most probably formed part of the kingdom of Ayodhya, as the Vāyu Purāna assigns it to Lava, the son of Rāma. When *Srāvasti* next appears in history, in the time of Buddha, it was the Capital of King Prasenajit, the son of Maha Kosala. The King became a convert to the new faith, and during the rest of his life he was the firm friend and protector of Buddha. But his son Virudhaka hated the race of the Sākya, and his invasion of their country and subsequent massacre of 500 Sākya maidens, who had been selected for his harem, brought forth the famous prediction of Buddha, that within seven days the King would be consumed by fire. As the story has been preserved

by Buddhists, the prediction was of course fulfilled, and upwards of 11 centuries afterwards, the tank in which the King had sought to avoid the flames was pointed out to the credulous Hwen Thsang.

330. We hear nothing more of Srāvasti until one century after Kanishka, or five centuries after Buddha, when, according to Hwen Thsang, Vikramāditya, King of Srāvasti, became a persecutor of Buddhists, and the famous Manorhita, author of the *Vibhāsha Sāstra*, being worsted in argument by the Brahmans, put himself to death. During the reign of his successor, whose name is not given, the Brahmans were overcome by *Vasubandhu*, the eminent disciple of *Manorhita*. The probable date of these two Kings may be set down as ranging from A. D. 79 to 120. For the next two centuries Srāvasti would seem to have been under the rule of its own Kings, as we find *Khiradhāra* and his nephew mentioned as Rajas between A. D. 275 and 319. But there can be little doubt that during the whole of this time Srāvasti was only a dependency of the powerful Gupta Dynasty of Magadha, as the neighbouring city of Sāketa is specially said to have belonged to them. "Princes of the Gupta race," says the *Vāyu Purāna*, "will possess all those countries; the banks of the Ganges to Prayāga, and Saketa, and Magadha." From this time Srāvasti gradually declined. In A. D. 400 it contained only 200 families; in A. D. 632 it was completely deserted: and at the present day the whole area of the city, excepting only a few clearances near the gateways, is a mass of almost impenetrable jungle.

331. Before attempting to identify the existing remains of *Sāhet-Māhet* with the famous monuments of Srāvasti, it will be as well to compare and reconcile the few discrepant statements of the Chinese pilgrims, so that the description of the holy places may not be interrupted by discussion. Of these discrepancies perhaps the most notable is the difference in the name of the city itself, which Fa Hian gives as *She-wei*, while Hwen Thsang writes it, as correctly as it is possible to do in Chinese syllables, *She-lo-fa-siti*, or Srāvasti. But this difference is more apparent than real, as there can be little doubt that *She-wei* is only a slight alteration of the abbreviated Pali form of *Sewet* for *Sāvatthi*, which is found in most of the Ceylonese books. Similarly the modern name of *Sāhet* is evidently only a variation of the Pali *Sāwet*. The other name of *Māhet* I am unable to explain, but it is perhaps

only the usual rhyming addition of which the Hindus are so fond, as in *ulta pulta*, or "topsy-turvy," which many of the people say is the true meaning of *Sâhet-Mâhet*, in allusion to the utter ruin of the whole place. But some say that the name was originally *Spt-met*, and as this form seems to be only a corruption of *Sewet*, it is probable that *Sahet-mahet* or *Sâhet-mâhet*, is simply a lengthened pronunciation of *Set-met*. One man alone, and he, strange to say, was the Musalman in charge of the tomb of Pir-Barâna close to the ruined city, affirmed that the true name was *Sâvitri*, which is so close to the correct Pali form of *Savâtthi* as to leave but little doubt that it preserves the original name of the place.

332. The next point of difference is the distance of the celebrated monastery of *Jetavana* from the south gate of the city. According to Fa Hian this was 1,200 paces, or about half a mile, which is increased by Hwen Thsang to 5 or 6 *li*, or nearly one mile. But as the only mass of ruins which can possibly be identified with the *Jetavana* is exactly half a mile from the nearest opening in the south rampart of the old city, there is clearly some mistake in the distance given by Hwen Thsang, unless we may suppose him to have approached the monastery by a somewhat longer route through the multitude of holy places, of which the remains still exist to the east of the *Jetavana* ruins. By this route the distance would be increased to three-quarters of a mile, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ *li*, which is sufficiently close to the number given by Hwen Thsang.

333. A third discrepancy is contained in the statement of Fa Hian that "the town has two gates, one facing the east and the other the north," when we know that it had a *south* gate by which both himself and Hwen Thsang had issued from the city, when on their way to the *Jetavana* monastery. Perhaps Fa Hian intended to say that "besides the south gate, the city had two other gates, one to the east and one to the south." But as it is scarcely credible that a city which was $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles in circuit should have possessed only three gates, I think that we may understand that the statements refer only to the principal entrances, and that there were at least as many more smaller gates, or wickets, corresponding with the present openings in the ramparts.

334. Both pilgrims begin their account of *Srâvasti* at the old palace of King *Prasenajita*, and as both, after describing the surround-

ing buildings, leave the city by the south gate, it is certain that the palace was inside the city. Its exact position I was unable to determine, as the greater part of the interior is covered with dense jungle: but as the east half is comparatively clear, and the jungle low, I was able to satisfy myself that no large building had ever existed in this part, and consequently that the palace must have been in the west half of the city. This conclusion is confirmed by the position of the two *Stupas* of Sudatta and the *Anguli-mályas*, which Hwen Thsang places to the east of the palace, for as the only existing mounds that can be identified with these *Stupas* are near the middle of the river face of the city, the palace must have been to the west of them, and therefore in the west half of the city.

335. The two principal places inside the city which are mentioned by both pilgrims as being to the east of the palace, were the dwelling-house and *Stupa* of Sudatta, the builder of the *Jetavana*, and the great *Stupa* of the *Anguli-mályas*. These *Stupas* I have already identified with the two existing mounds near the middle of the river face of the ramparts. The smaller one, which is about 25 feet in height, corresponds with the *Stupa* of Sudatta, and the larger one, which is 35 feet in height, with the other *Stupa*, which is particularly stated to have been a large one. The *Anguli-mályas* were the followers of a particular sect which was established by a converted brigand who had received the name of *Anguli-mála* or "finger garland," from his practice of cutting off the fingers of his victims to form a garland which he wore round his neck.

336. On leaving the city by the south gate, both pilgrims went at once to the great monastery of *Jetavana*, which was one of the eight most celebrated Buddhist buildings in India. It was erected during the lifetime of Buddha by *Sudatta*, the minister of King Prasenajita, and it received its name of *Jetavana*, or "Jeta's garden," because the garden in which it was built had been purchased from Prince Jeta. The story of the building is given by Hardy from the Ceylonese annals. According to these, the prince, who was unwilling to part with his garden, demanded as its price as many gold *masurans* as would cover it, which *Sudatta* at once promised. When the garden was cleared, and all the trees, except Sandal and Mango, were cut down, the money was brought and spread out over the ground until the whole was covered, when the sum

was found to be 18 *Kotis*, or 180 millions of *masurans*. The garden is said to have been 1,000 cubits in length and the same in breadth, or 4,000 cubits in circuit. Extravagant as the sum may seem, it is still too small to have covered the garden, if we are to take Mr. Hardy's cubits at 18 inches, as each *masurañ* would be one inch and eight-tenths in length and breadth, which is about three times the size of the old Indian silver coins. Unfortunately the dimensions of the *Jetavana* are not stated either by Fa Hian or Hwen Thsang; but the ruined mound of the monastery still exists, and its dimensions do not exceed 1,000 feet in length by 700 feet in breadth. Now, it is curious that these numbers give an area which is only one-third of the size of that recorded in the Ceylonese annals, and which therefore would be exactly covered by 180 millions of old Indian silver coins, allowing rather more than half an inch for the length and breadth of each coin. The amount said to have been paid for the garden is of course only the usual extravagant style of Indian exaggeration, for the sum of 18 *kotis*, even if taken at the lowest value of gold as ten times that of silver, would be equal to 45 krons of Rupees or 45 millions sterling.

337. The *Jetavana* is described in the Ceylonese annals as consisting of a central *vihâr*, or temple, with surrounding houses for priests, rooms for day and night, an ambulatory, tanks, and gardens of fruit and flower trees, and around the whole a wall 18 cubits in height. According to this description the *Jetavana* must have included not only the great ruined mound now called *Jogini-baria*, but all the ruins to the east and north of it, unless it extended to the westward, where there are no remains at present existing. But as I can show that most of the ruins to the east correspond with the descriptions which Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang have given of many of the holy places outside the *Jetavana*, it is certain that the original monastery must have been confined to the *Jogini-Baria* only, and that the other buildings, with the tanks and gardens, were outside the walls of the *Jetavana* itself, although it is most probable that many of them were connected together by different enclosing walls. When the *Jetavana* was completed by Sudatta, the Prince Jeta expended the whole of his purchase money in adding a palace, seven stories in height, to each of the four sides of the garden. It is probably to these palaces that Fa Hian

refers when he states that "the temple of *Shi-hwan* (read *Shi-to hwan*," or *Jetavana*) "had originally seven stories. Canopies and streamers were hung up, flowers were scattered, perfumes burned, lanterns supplied the place of day, and even in day time were never extinguished. A rat having taken into its mouth the wick of one of these lanterns, set fire to the flags and to the drapery of the pavilions, and the seven stories of the temple were utterly consumed." This occurred some time before A. D. 400, as Fa Hian adds that "they reconstructed the temple, and when they had completed the second story, they installed the statue in its former place." From this account I infer, though somewhat doubtfully, that the new temple was not more than two stories in height. I conclude also that the place was already on the decline, as a little more than two centuries later, when visited by Hwen Thsang, it was found utterly ruined and deserted.

338. The great mound of ruins, which I propose to identify with the *Jetavana*, is situated just half a mile distant from the south-west corner of the old city. It is rectangular in form, being 1,000 feet long from north-east to south-west, and 700 feet broad. It is worth noting, as it is most probably not accidental, that the central line of the rectangle falls upon a lofty mound, inside the south-west angle of the city, called *Sobhnâth*, which, according to some, is a name of Mahadeva. The shape of the monastery is defined by a gentle rise all round the edge of the mound, which I take to represent the ruins of the monks' cells that once formed the surrounding walls of the enclosure. The highest part, which is the south side, is not more than 12 feet above the neighbouring ground, while the other sides are not more than eight or ten feet. But the whole area was so thickly covered with jungle, that I found it difficult to take even a few measurements. During my stay at Sahet I cut pathways to all the ruined eminences within the enclosure, and after clearing the jungle around them, I began an excavation in each to ascertain the nature of the original building. With the largest mound, which was near the south end of the central line of the enclosure, I was unsuccessful. It was 15 feet in height, and looked the most promising of all, but I found nothing but earth and broken bricks, although I was assured by the people that numbers of large bricks had been carried away from it at different times. Both from its size and position, I am inclined to look upon this mound* as

the remains of the original temple of the *Jetavana*. In a lower mound, close by to the west, my excavations disclosed the walls of a small temple, not quite $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet square inside, with a doorway to the north and the remains of a semi-circular brick pedestal against the south wall. The walls were upwards of three feet thick, but the whole building was only a little more than 13 feet square, from which, taking the altitude at three and a half times the side, I conclude that the temple could not have exceeded 46 feet in height.

339. Near this temple there are three brick wells: the largest to the north is octagonal above, with a side of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and circular below at a depth of 12 feet. The second, to the south, which is circular, is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter; and the third, still farther to the south, is also circular, with a diameter of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It is curious that all these wells, which are the only ones known to the people, are in the south-west corner of the enclosure.

340. A third mound, near the north end of the central line of the enclosure, gave promise of a better result than the others, as a previous excavation had disclosed the head and shoulders of a colossal figure, which from its curly hair and long split ears I knew to be that of Buddha. I was assured, however, that the Jains, who come annually to Sâhet in great numbers during the months of Magh and Baisakh, look upon the statue as belonging to themselves. But my experience having taught me that Jains are no more particular than Brahmans as to the figures that they worship, I began to dig in the certain expectation of finding a very old Buddhist statue, and with a strong hope of discovering some inscription on its pedestal that might perhaps be of value in determining the name and probable date of these long deserted ruins. After a few hours' work the four walls of the temple were brought to light, and the figure was seen to be leaning against the back wall. The interior was only $7\frac{3}{4}$ feet square, but the walls were upwards of 4 feet thick, with a projection of 6 inches in the middle of each face. The front wall to the east was thicker than the rest by one foot, which was the breadth of the jamb of the doorway. The extreme outside dimensions were 19 feet by 18 feet, which would give a probable height of between 60 and 70 feet. As the excavation proceeded, it was seen that the statue was a standing figure which had been broken off a few inches above the ancles by the fall of the temple. After

the figure was removed with much difficulty, on account of its great weight, and the floor of the temple had been cleared, it was seen that the pedestal of the statue was still standing erect in its original position. The floor was paved with large stones, and immediately in front of the pedestal there was a long flat slab $3\frac{3}{4}$ feet by $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot, with a pair of hollow foot-marks in the centre and two sunken panels on each side. At the back of the incised feet towards the pedestal there was a rough hollow, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 4 inches broad, which, judging from what I have seen in Barma, must once have held a long stone or metal frame for the reception of lights in front of the statue. But all this arrangement was certainly of later date than the statue itself, for on opening up the floor it was found that the *Buddha-pad* slab concealed the lower two lines of an inscription, which fortunately had been thus preserved from injury, while the third or uppermost line had been almost entirely destroyed.

§41. The statue is a colossal standing figure of Buddha the Teacher, 7 feet 4 inches in height. His left hand rests on his hip, and his right hand is raised in the act of teaching. The right shoulder is bare as in all Buddhist figures, and there is the usual aureole or nimbus round the head; close to the neck there are two small holes cut through the nimbus which, being larger in front than behind, were evidently intended for metal cramps to fix the statue to the wall. Unfortunately the head is broken, as well as both arms, but the body of the figure is uninjured. The attitude is stiff and restrained, the two feet being exactly in the same position and somewhat too far apart. The statue is of spotted red sandstone, such as is found in the quarries near Mathura and Fatehpur Sikri; and as we know from recent discoveries that the sculptor's art was in a very flourishing state at Mathura during the first centuries of the Christian era, I feel satisfied that the *Srāvasti* colossus must have been brought from that city. The inscription is imperfect at the beginning, just where it must have contained the date. It now opens with the figure 10 and some unit of the Gupta numerals, which must be the day of the month, and then follow the words *claye purvaye*, which, as Professor Dowson has shown, must mean "on this happy occasion," or some equivalent expression. Then come the names of the donors of the statue, three mendicant monks named *Pushpa*, *Siddhya-Mihira*, and *Bala-Treṇṇitaka*. Next

follow the title of *Bodhisatwa*, the name of the place, *Sāvasti*, and the name of Buddha as *Bhagavata*. The inscription closes with the statement that the statue is the "accepted gift of the *Sarvastidina* teachers of the Kosamba hall." Judging from the old shapes of some of the letters in this record, the age of the statue may be fixed with some certainty as not later than the first century of the Christian era. The characters are exactly the same as those of the Mathura inscriptions, which, without doubt, belong to the very beginning of the Christian era; and as the Sravasti statue was in all probability executed at Mathura, the correspondence of the lapidary characters shows that the inscriptions must belong to the same period. As there is no mention of this statue in Fa Hian's narrative, I conclude that the temple in which it stood must have fallen down in the great conflagration which destroyed the seven-storied pavilions. But the account of Fa Hian is not very intelligible. He states that the original image of Buddha was "the head of an ox carved in sandal-wood;" that on Buddha's approach the statue "rose and went to meet him" and that when Buddha said, "Return and be seated," the statue "returned and sat down." The origin of this rather puzzling account must, I believe, be traced to a mistake, either of Fa Hian himself, or of his translator. In Sanskrit, *Gosirsha* or "Bull's head," is the name of the most fragrant kind of sandal-wood, and as we know that the famous early statue of Buddha at Kosambi was made of this very wood, it is natural to conclude that the earliest statue at Sravasti may have been made of the same material. As this is the only figure of Buddha noticed by Fa Hian, I infer that the colossal stone figure which I discovered must have been buried beneath the ruins of its own temple some time before A. D. 400, and most probably therefore during the great fire which destroyed the whole monastery. It was concealed also at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit, in A. D. 632, as he specially mentions that the only temple then standing amidst the ruins of the monastery was a small brick house containing a statue of Buddha in sandal-wood. The statue now discovered was therefore not visible in his time.

342. Both pilgrims agree in stating that the gate of the monastery was on the east side, and although I was unable to find any certain trace of an opening, I am quite satisfied that the gate must have been on the east, as all the existing ruins are on that side. On issuing

from the gate the first monuments noticed by both pilgrims are two lofty stone pillars, one on each side of the road. Hwen Thsang says that they had been erected by Asoka, that they were 70 feet high, and that the left column was crowned by a cupola or dome, and the other by an elephant. But Fa Hian, on the contrary, describes these figures as a wheel and an ox. I feel satisfied that Fa Hian is right as to the first, as the wheel is frequently represented in the Sanchi sculptures as crowning the capitals of columns, and we know that it was also used as a type of Buddha himself as the *Chakravartti Raja*, or King who "turned the wheel" of the law, or in other words who made religion advance. With regard to the animal that crowned the other pillar I am unable to offer any remark, except the obvious explanation that the trunk of the elephant must have been broken off before the time of Fa Hian, otherwise it is impossible to conceive how he could have mistaken the figure for that of an ox. But this discrepancy in the accounts of the two pilgrims is the best argument that I can offer for the mistake which I believe them both to have made regarding the animal that crowned the Sankisa pillar, as noticed in para. 247 of this Report. There are no remains of these pillars, but there are two slight eminences only 300 feet distant from the monastery which may have been the basements on which the pillars stood, as the pathway leading to the ruined mound on the east side runs between them.

343. To the north-east of the monastery of Jetavana, and therefore to the north of the pillars, there was a *Stupa*, built, on the spot where Buddha had washed the hands and feet of a sick monk and had cured his sickness. The remains of this *Stupa* still exist in a mass of solid brick-work, to the north of the presumed pillar basements, and at a distance of 550 feet from the Jetavana monastery. This ruined mass, which is $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, is built entirely of large bricks, 24 by 10 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which is a sufficient proof of its antiquity. I made an excavation from the top, to a depth of 20 feet, without any result save the verification of the fact that the ruin was a mass of solid brick-work.

344. To the east of the monastery, at a distance of 100 paces, or 250 feet, there was a large deep trench, which was said to be the spot where the earth had opened and engulfed *Devadatta*, the cousin and

implacable enemy of Buddha. Fa Hian calls the distance only 70 paces, or less than 200 feet, in a northerly direction from the east gate of the monastery. But as the two pillars and the *Stupa*, which have just been described, stood in the very position here indicated by Fa Hian, it is certain that we must read "southerly." The accuracy of this correction is confirmed by the existence of a large deep tank within 200 feet of the south-east corner of the ruined monastery, called *Bhulānan*. This tank is 600 feet long and 250 feet broad, and is now filled with water. Close by, on the south side, there was another great hollow, in which it was said that the mendicant monk *Kukāli*, a disciple of Devadatta, had been swallowed up alive for calumniating Buddha. This is represented by the *Lambaka Tāl*, a long narrow tank, only 200 feet to the south of the Devadatta gulf. The third great fissure or hollow is described by Hwen Thsang as being at 800 paces, or 2,000 feet, to the south of the second. According to the legend this was the spot in which a Brahmani girl, named *Chanchā*, had been engulfed alive for falsely accusing Buddha of incontinence. This *Chanchā* gulf is represented by a nameless deep tank, 600 feet long by 400 feet broad, which lies 2,200 feet to the south of the *Kukāli* gulf. The exact correspondence of position of these three tanks with the three great fissures or gulfs of the Buddhist legends offers a very strong confirmation of the correctness of identification of the *Jogini-*baria** mound with the great Jetavana monastery.

345. The pilgrims next describe a pair of temples of the same dimensions, of which one was situated to the east and the other to the west of the road, which should therefore be the main road that led from the city towards the south. Hwen Thsang says that the first temple was only 70 paces to the east of the monastery, while Fa Hian places it at the same distance from the eastern gate, but towards the north. The position of these temples is doubtful, as I was unable to discover any remains in the immediate vicinity of the monastery that corresponded with the description. There are, however, in another position the remains of two temples, which answer the description so accurately as to leave but little doubt that they must be the buildings in question. The first, or west temple is described by both pilgrims as containing a seated figure of Buddha, while the second or east temple belonged to the Brahmans. Both were 60 feet in height, and

the Brahmanical temple was called the "shadow-covered," because, as the credulous Buddhists asserted, it was covered by the shadow of the Buddhist temple when the sun was in the west, while its own shadow, when the sun was in the east, never covered the Buddhist temple, but was always "deflected to the north." Now, the two ruins which I would identify with these temples are situated to the east and west of the road leading from the city, and due east and west from each other. They correspond therefore exactly as to relative position with each other; but instead of being only 70 paces, or 175 feet, from the monastery, the nearest is nearly 700 feet from the great mound of ruins. It is highly probable, however, that the surrounding walls of the monastery may have extended as far as the two stone pillars on the east, in which case the nearest temple mound would be within 250 feet of the walls, and the whole enclosure would then correspond in size with the dimensions recorded in the Ceylonese annals. As this increased size would also bring two tanks within the limits of the monastery, which according to the *Cingalese* were actually included within the walls, I feel inclined to adopt the larger measurement of 1,000 cubits side, or 4,000 cubits circuit, as the true size of the Great Jetavana Monastery.

346. To the north-west of the monastery Hwen Thsang placed a well and a small *Stupa*, which marked the spot where *Maudgala-putra* tried in vain to unloose the girdle of *Sâriputra*. As the distance is not mentioned, it may be inferred that the *Stupa* was close by, and therefore I would identify the site with that of the shrine of *Pir-Barâna* in the small village of Husen Jot, which is within 700 feet of the north-west corner of the monastery. Near the same place there was also a *Stupa* of Asoka, and a stone pillar, which the King had raised to note the spot where Buddha and his right-hand disciple *Sâriputra* had taken exercise and explained the law. I could find no trace of any of these monuments, and I conclude that the *Stupas*, as usual, must have furnished materials for the erection of *Pir-Barâna's* shrine.

347. The situation of the next holy place, which Fa Hian calls the "Wood of the Recovered Eyes," is fixed by both pilgrims at $\frac{4}{3}$ li, or two-thirds of a mile, to the north-west of the monastery. This position is now represented exactly by the village of *Rajgarh Gulariya*,

which is situated in the midst of a very large grove of trees. The present grove is said to have been planted only two generations back, but the trees about the village itself are of great age, and the name of *Gulariya* points to some remarkable *Gular* tree as more ancient than the village itself. The legend attached to this spot is sufficiently marvellous. Five hundred brigands, having been blinded by order of King Prasenajita, attracted the commiseration of Buddha, who restored their sight. The five hundred men who had thus recovered their eyesight, threw away their staves, or according to Fa Hian, planted them in the ground, when they immediately took root, and grew to be a large grove, which was called the "Wood of the Recovered Eyes." The monks of *Jetavana* were in the habit of repairing to this grove for exercise and meditation, and all the spots which holy Buddhists had made famous by their meditations were marked by inscriptions or by *Stupas*. There is one small brick mound to the east of the grove, but I could find no trace of any inscriptions, although rewards were offered for even a single letter.

348. We now come to the second great monument of *Srāvasti*, the celebrated *Purvārāma*, or "Eastern Monastery," which was built by the lady *Visākhā*, who has already been mentioned in my account of *Sāhet*. Fa Hian places this monument at 6 or 7 *li*, or rather more than a mile, to the north-east of the *Jetavana*. But this bearing is certainly wrong, as it would carry us right into the middle of the old city. I would therefore read "south-east," which is the direction of a very large mound, called *Ora-jhār*, or "Basket-shakings," that is upwards of a mile from the *Jetavana*. Hwen Thsang places the *Vihāra* and *Stupa* of *Visākhā* at more than 4 *li*, or upwards of 3,500 feet, to the east of the "shadow-covered temple" of the Brahmans. Now, the *Ora-jhār* mound is just 4,000 feet to the south-east of the ruined mound, which I have already identified with the Brahmanical temple. I am therefore quite satisfied that it is the remains of the great *Vihāra* of the *Purvārāma*, or Eastern Monastery. Hwen Thsang's account of this famous monastery is meagre; his whole description being limited to the fact that "in this place Buddha overcame the Brahmans, and received an invitation from a lady named *Visākhā*." Fa Hian's notice is equally brief. We must therefore turn to the Ceylonese annals for an account of the lady and her works. According to them

Visákhá was the daughter of Dhananja, a wealthy merchant of *Sáket*. At 15 years of age she was married to Purnna-Vardhana, the son of *Migára*, a rich merchant of *Srávasti*, and from that time her whole life was spent in the observance of the religious rites of Buddhism. She was the means of converting her father-in-law *Migára*, and "she was called in consequence" *Migára-Mátáwi*, and became the mother or chief of the *Upásekawas*, or female lay-disciples of Buddha. Towards the end of her career she determined to sell her wedding ornaments to obtain funds for the erection of a *Vihára*, "but there was no one in *Sevet* who had wealth enough to purchase them. She therefore bought a garden at the east side of the city, and expended immense treasures in the erection of a *Vihára*, which was called *Purvadráma*, or the Eastern Monastery, from the place in which it stood."

349. The great mound, now called *Ora-jhár*, is a solid mass of earth 70 feet in height, which was formerly crowned by a brick temple. Within the last century a Musalman Fakir, who had lived under the trees at the foot of the mound, was buried in a tomb on the very top of it, which was built with the bricks of the ruin. Some years later his successor was buried beside him, and their two tombs at present preclude all hope of making any excavation from the top of the mound. I cleared the north face completely, and the other three faces partially, until I reached the paved brick flooring which surrounded the original Buddhist temple, at a height of 55 feet above the ground. The wall of the temple on the north face is only 20 feet long, and although I failed to reach the other two corners of the building, I was satisfied that it must have been square. Its height, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ times its side, would not therefore have been more than 70 feet, but as its floor is 55 feet above the ground, the total height of the temple would have been 125 feet. The wall of the north face is divided into four panels by pilasters six inches thick. The bases of these pilasters, which are still very perfect, are of the same style as those at Gaya and Baragaon in Bihár, and of Mánikyala and Shah Dheri in the Punjab. The style would therefore seem to be one that was peculiar to early Buddhism. The other faces of the temple I was unable to examine, as the foundations of the Muhammadan tomb, which are only $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet above the broken walls of the temple, project 16 feet beyond its east and west faces.

Unfortunately the doorway of the temple must have been towards the east, as there are traces of steps at several places down the slope of that side. There is an old well also amongst the trees on the east side of the mound, but I could find no traces of cloisters for the resident monks who ministered at the temple. The mound, however, is still surrounded by fine trees, and there are two small tanks at the very foot of it which would of course have been included within the limits of the monastery.

350. The *Stupa* mentioned by Hwen Thsang as belonging to the *Purvarama* may perhaps be represented by a small ruined mound close to the north-east corner of the *Ora-jhâr*. The mound is only 8 feet high, but an excavation which I made to the depth of 11 feet, showed it to be made of solid bricks of large size, 12 by 9 by 3 inches. It is 40 feet in diameter, and when complete, with its pinnacle, it must have been about 50 or 60 feet in height. From its vicinity to the *Purvarama* I have little doubt that this is the *Stupa* which *Visâkhâ* built on the spot where Buddha had overcome the Brahmans in argument.

351. The last place mentioned by the pilgrims is the spot where King *Virudhaka* halted with his army to converse with Buddha, and out of respect for the teacher gave up his expedition against the *Sakyas*, and returned to his Capital. Hwen Thsang states that this famous spot was close to the monastery of *Visâkhâ* on the south side, while *Fa Hian* says that it was 4 *li*, or two-thirds of a mile, to the south-west of the city. The former is the more probable position, as it is to the south-east and on the high road to *Kapîlanagara*, the capital of the *Sakyas*. Close by there was a *Stupa* to mark the spot where 500 *Sakya* maidens were afterwards massacred by *Virudhaka* for refusing to enter his harem. Near the *Stupa* there was a dry tank, or gulf, in which *Virudhaka* had been swallowed up. According to the legend, Buddha had predicted that *Virudhaka* would be destroyed by fire within seven days after the massacre. When the seventh day arrived, the King, accompanied by his women, proceeded gaily to a large tank, where he entered a boat, and was rowed to the middle of the water. But flames burst forth from the waters and consumed the boat, and the earth opened beneath the tank, and *Virudhaka* "fell alive into hell." The only large piece of water that I could find is a

nameless tank close to the south side of Visákha's temple, and therefore in the very position indicated by Hwen Thsang; but there are no existing remains near it that could be identified with the *Stupa* of the 500 Sakyā maidens.

352. The monuments of *Srāvastī* hitherto described by the pilgrims are directly connected with the personal history of Buddha. The places where he sat and walked, where he taught his law, and where he worsted the Brahmans in argument, were all specially holy in the eyes of devout Buddhists. But these sacred monuments formed only a small portion of the Buddhist buildings of the great city of *Srāvastī*, where, according to Hwen Thsang, the monuments were counted by hundreds. Fa Hian, however, quotes a tradition which limited their number to ninety-eight, at a period not remote from his own time, and as he visited the place nearly two centuries and a half earlier than Hwen Thsang, when most of the monasteries were in ruins, we may be satisfied that their number never reached one hundred even at the most flourishing period of Buddhism. I traced the ruins of nine monasteries in the immediate neighbourhood of the old city, and there are probably as many more within a range of two miles. I found also the foundations of at least ten temples of various sizes, but they were all in too ruinous a state to be of any interest. But when I remember that the *Jetavana* itself, as well as nearly the whole of the ninety-eight monasteries of *Srāvastī* were in complete ruin upwards of twelve centuries ago, I think it is more wonderful that so much should still be left for the use of the archæologist, than that so little should remain of all the magnificent buildings of this once famous city.

XX.—TANDA, OR TADWA.

353. From *Srāvastī* both pilgrims proceeded to visit the birth-place of Kāsyapa Buddha, at *Tu-wei*, which Fa Hian places at 50 *li*, or 8 $\frac{2}{3}$ miles to the west. Hwen Thsang does not name the town, but he states that it was about 60 *li*, or 10 miles, to the north-west of *Srāvastī*. The bearing and distance point to the village of *Tadwa*, which is just 9 miles to the west of *Sahet-mahet*. Some people refer this name to *Tanda*, because for the last hundred years the Banjāras have been in the habit of halting, or of making their *tanda*, at this place. But the people themselves spell the name of their village *Tadwa*, and not *Tanda*,

which properly means the whole venture of goods belonging to a party of Banjaras, but which is also applied to the places at which they halt. I think therefore that the name of *Tadwa* may possibly refer to the old name of *Tu-wei* as it is written by Fa Hian. There can, however, be no doubt as to the identity of the two places, as *Tadwa* is a very old site, which is still covered with brick ruins. According to tradition, the town belonged to Raja *Suhir dal*, after whose death it was destroyed by the Muhammadans, and remained uninhabited until about one hundred years ago, when a *Bairagi*, named *Ajudhya Das*, established himself under the banyan tree, and discovered the female figure which is now worshipped as *Sita Mai*. The present village is situated amongst brick ruins one quarter of a mile to the north of the road leading from Akaona to Bahraich. All the fields around are strewn with broken bricks and within 1,000 feet of the village to the north-west there is a mound of brick ruins 800 feet long from east to west, and 300 feet broad. Beyond the mound, and to the north of the village, there is a large irregular shaped sheet of water, nearly half a mile in length, called *Sita-Deva Tal*. But this name cannot be older than the discovery of the statue which is attributed to *Sitá*.

354. The west end of the mass of ruins is very low, but it is covered with broken walls and fine trees, and was therefore most probably the site of the monastic establishment. The general height of the east end is 16 feet above the fields, but rises to 20 feet at the south-west corner. At this point the mound is formed of solid brick-work, which after close examination I discovered to be the remains of a large *Stupa*. As two different measurements gave a diameter of not less than 70 feet, this *Stupa* must have been one of the largest and most important in the famous province of *Uttara Kosala*. Hwen Tshang mentions only two *Stupas* at this place, one to the south of the town, being built on the spot where *Kasyapa Buddha* had performed his meditations under a banyan tree, and the other to the north of the town, containing the complete body of *Kasyapa*. This is also confirmed by its size, as Fa Hian calls this *Stupa* a great one. The *Stupa* on the mound must certainly represent the latter monument, because the tank precludes the possibility of any other having existed to the northward of it. I wished very much to have made an excavation in this mound, but the presence of a *lingam* of Mahadeo on the top of it,

which with *Sita-Mai* shares the devotions of the villagers, was an effectual check against any excavations. This is the more to be regretted, as the *Stupa* is said to have been built by Asoka, an attribution which might have been verified by an exploration of its interior.

355. The figure which the ignorant villagers worship as *Sita* is in reality a statue of *Maya Devi*, the mother of *Sakya Buddha*. She is represented standing under the *Sál* tree, with her right hand raised and holding one of the branches, which is the well known position in which she is said to have given birth to Sakya. Her left hand is placed on her hip, and there is a parrot perched on her shoulder. The statue is 3 feet 4 inches in height.

XXI.—NIMSAR, OR NIMKAR.

356. *Nimsar* is a famous place of pilgrimage on the left bank of the *Gumti* (or *Gomati*) River, 45 miles to the north-west of Lucknow. The Brahmans derive the name from *Nimisha*, a "twinkling of the eye;" hence *Naimisha-saras*, or *Nimsar*, means the pool where in the twinkling of an eye the sage *Gaura-Mukha* destroyed the *Asuras*. The place is also called *Nimkhár*, which is formed from *Naimisha*, pronounced *Naimikha*, and *aranya* a forest, which becomes *Naimikháran*, and *Nimkhar*. The Vishnu Purána declares that "he who bathes in the *Gomati* at *Naimisha* expiates all his sins." Its popularity is therefore very great. It is noticed in the *Ayin Akbari* as "a famous large fort, with a great number of idolatrous temples, and a reservoir." This reservoir is called the *Chakra-tirtha*, and is said to be the place where the *Chakra*, or "discus," of Vishnu fell during the contest with the *Asuras*. The shape of the pool is nearly hexagonal with a diameter of 120 feet. The water springs up from below and flows out by the south side into a swampy rill about 20 feet broad called the *Godáveri Nala*. The pool is surrounded with a number of shabby brick temples and *Dharmasálas*, and though the water is clear, yet the place looks dirty and uninviting.

357. The fort of *Nimsar* is situated on a precipitous mound to the north of the holy pool, about 1,100 feet long, from east to west, between 300 and 400 feet broad, and 50 feet high. The west end is a high cliff called the *Shah Báj*, or King's Tower, which overhangs

the Gumti. The gate of the fort, which is at the east end, is arched and therefore of Muhammadan construction. But it is built of Hindu materials, partly brick and partly *kankar* blocks, which betray their origin by their carvings and by the presence of the *Swastika* symbol, or mystic cross. The walls were originally of brick, but they have long ago disappeared, and the only parts of the old fort now standing are the gateway and the *Shah Bârj*. The foundation of the latter is, however, of Hindu construction, and as there are many carved bricks lying about, I presume that it was a temple. The fort is provided with a well $8\frac{1}{2}$ broad and $51\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep to the water level.

358. The tradition of the place is that the building of the fort was finished on Friday, the 9th of the waxing moon of *Chaitra*, in the *Samvat* year 1362, or A. D. 1305, by *Hâhâjâl*, a renegade Hindu, who is said to have been the Vazir of *Ala-ud-din Ghori*. For Ghori we must read *Khilji* to bring the King's name into agreement with the date, and as the people are in the habit of styling all the Pathans as Ghoris, the alteration is perfectly allowable. But who was *Hâhâjâl*? As a renegade Hindu and the Vazir of *Ala-ud-din*, he might perhaps be the same person as *Kafûr*, who in A. D. 1305 was appointed as Malik Naib to the command of the army for the conquest of the Dakhan. I procured several of *Ala-ud-din's* coins at Nimsar, and in his reign I conclude that the fort passed from the hands of the Hindus into those of the Musalmans. The original fort is said to have been as old as the Pândus; and if the derivation of the name of the place has been truly handed down, it must have been occupied even earlier than the time of the Pândus.

XXII.—BARIKHAR, OR VAIRATKHERA.

359. *Barikhar* is the name of a village on the top of an extensive old mound called *Vairât-khera* which is situated on the high road between Nimsar and Pilibhit, at 42 miles from the former, and 68 miles from the latter place. *Barikhar* is said to be a corruption of *Bariyâ-khera* or *Vairât-khera*, and its foundation is attributed to *Vairât Raja* in the time of the Pândus. The ruined mound is 1,000 feet in length at top from east to west, by 600 feet in breadth, and from 16 to 20 feet in height. But the dimensions at the base are much more, as the slope is very gentle, being 200 feet in length on the north side, where

I measured it. This would make the base of the mound about 1,400 feet, which agrees with the size of 50 *bigahs*, or 1,400,000 square feet, which is popularly attributed to it by the villagers themselves. But the fields are strewn with broken bricks for upwards of 1,000 feet to the northward, and for 500 or 600 feet to the eastward, where there are the remains of several temples. The area actually covered by ruins is not less than 2,000 feet square, or upwards of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in circuit, which shows that Barikhar must once have been a good sized town, but I strongly doubt the story of the Brahmans which attributes its foundation to Vairât Raja. The name is written by the people themselves *Budishar* बुडीशर, although it is pronounced *Barikhar*, and I believe that similarity of sound alone has led to the identification of Barikhar with Bariyakhera and Vairât Raja.

XXIII.—DEORYIA AND DEWAL.

360. I couple these two places together, because they actually form parts of the old nameless capital of the *Báchhal* Rajas, who ruled over Eastern Rohilkhand and Western Oudh before the time of the *Katehriyas*. Dewal itself is a small village, which has received its name from a temple in which is deposited a very perfect inscription dated in *Samvat* 1049, or A. D. 992. The opposite village is called *Iláhábás* by the Muhammadans, but this name is scarcely known to the people, who usually call it *Garh-Gájana*. The inscription is chiefly remarkable for the clean and beautiful manner in which the letters have been engraved; and its perfect state makes it the more valuable, as it furnishes us with a complete specimen of the alphabet of the *Kutíla* character, in which it is said to be engraved. James Prinsep gave a specimen of the characters, along with a translation of the inscription, in the *Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1837, page 777. But the copy from which he framed his alphabet was made by hand, and although it is wonderfully accurate as a mere transcript of the words, yet it is very faulty as a copy of the individual letters. This is the more to be regretted, as the alphabet thus framed from an inaccurate copy has become the standard specimen of the *Kutíla* characters. Now, the term *Kutíla* means "bent," and as all the letters of the inscription have a bottom stroke or tail, which is turned, or "bent," to the right, I infer that the alphabet was named *Kutíla* from this

peculiarity in the formation of its letters. But this peculiarity was unnoticed by the original transcriber, and consequently the print types of the Kutila characters, which have been prepared both in Germany and in England, are entirely wanting in this special characteristic which gives its name to the alphabet. The letter *l* and the attached vowels are perhaps the most faulty.

361. The village of Dewal is situated 16 miles to the S. S. E. of Pilibhit, on the west bank of the *Kau*, or *Katni Nala*. There are two or three plain brick rooms which are called temples, and in one of these the inscription is deposited; but it is said to have been found amongst the ruins of *Garh-Gājana*, or *Ilāhābās*, on the opposite bank of the stream. *Garh-Gājana* is a large ruined mound, about 800 feet square, which includes two small tanks on the east side; but although it is called a *Garh*, or fort, it was most probably only the country residence of Raja Lalla, who founded it. The small modern village of *Ilāhābās* is situated close to the south-east corner of *Garh-Gājana*, and near it on the south side are the ruins of a very large temple, amongst which the inscription is said to have been discovered. The figure of the *Varāha Avatār* of Vishnu, which is now in the *Dewal* temple, was found in the same place. The mound of ruins is 200 feet square at base, but the walls of the temple are no longer traceable, as the bricks and kankar blocks have been carried away by the villagers. I traced the remains of at least six other temples around the principal mass of ruin, but there was nothing about them worth noting. To the south there are two larger mounds, which appear to be the remains of an old village.

362. The *Kau* or *Katni Nala* continues its course to the south for three miles, until opposite the large village of *Deoriya*, when it turns sharply to the east for two miles, to the south end of a large ruined fort which is now called *Garha-Khera*, or the "fort mound." The *Katni Nala* here turns to the north, and, after running round the three other sides of the ruined fort, returns to within a few hundred yards of the point from whence it took its northerly course. It thus forms a natural ditch to the old stronghold of the *Bāchhal Rajas*, which is only approachable on the southern side. The fort has been deserted for many centuries, and is covered with dense jungle, in which several tigers have been killed within the last few years. A single cart track

leads to the nearest portions of the ruins, which have afforded materials for all the buildings in the large village of Deoriya. The exact extent of the fort is not known, but the position enclosed by the Katni Nala is about 6,000 feet in length from N. W. S., and 4,000 feet in breadth, and the fort is said to be somewhat less than half a *kos*, or just about half a mile in length. The bricks are of large size, 13 by 9 by 2 inches, which shows considerable antiquity, but the statues of *Kankar* are all Brahmanical, such as the goddess *Devi*, *Siva* and his wife, as *Gauri-Sankar*, and two *arghas* of *lingams*. These figures are said to be discovered only in the foundations of the buildings, which, if true would seem to show that the existing remains are the ruins of Muhammadan works constructed of Hindu materials.

363. The Katni Nala is an artificial canal drawn from the *Mála* river near *Sohás*, 10 miles to the south-east of Pilibhit, and 6 miles to the north of Dewal. Its general course is from north to south, excepting where it winds round the old fort of *Garha-Khera*, after which it resumes its southerly course and falls into the *Kanhaut* Nala, about 3 miles to the south of the ruins. Its whole course is just 20 miles in length. All the maps are wrong in giving the name of Katni Nala to the *Mála* river, instead of to the artificial canal which joins the *Mála* and *Kanhaut* rivers. The canal varies in width from 30 and 40 feet to 100 feet, and even more, at the places where it is usually forded. Its very name of *Katni* Nala, or the "cut stream," is sufficient to prove that it is artificial. But this fact is distinctly stated in the inscription, which records that Raja Lalla "made the beautiful and holy *Katha-Nadi*." That this was the *Katni Nala*, which is drawn from the *Mála* river, is proved by the previous verse, which records that the Raja presented to the Brahmans certain villages "shaded by pleasant trees, and watered by the *Nirmala Nadi*." This name is correctly translated by James Prinsep as "pellucid stream," which though perfectly applicable to the limpid waters of the *Mála* river, is evidently the name of the stream itself, and not a mere epithet-descriptive of the clearness of its waters. And as the canal was drawn from the *Nirmala* River, so that villages on its banks are correctly described as being watered by it.

364. The inscription goes on to say that Raja Lalla and his wife *Lakshmi* "made many groves, gardens, lakes, and temples." Prinsep

has given the last as "many other extensive works," but the term in the original is *devalayataneshu cha*, "and temples," *devalaya* being one of the commonest names for a temple of any kind. In the 27th verse the great temple to which the inscription was attached is said to have been dedicated to *Siva* by the Raja, while the Queen built another fane to *Pārvati*. In the next verse they are described as "two divine temples" (*sura-griha*); and in the 32nd verse it is stated that the god and goddess were worshipped together under the title of *Devapalli*. This then must be the origin of the name of *Dewal*, and the great temple mound to the south of *Garh-Gājana* must be the remains of the two temples dedicated to *Devapalli*.

365. In the inscription Raja Lalla calls himself the nephew of *Māns Chandra Pratāpa*, and the grandson of *Vira Varmma*, who is said to be of the race of *Chhindu* and descended from the great Rishi *Chyavana*. This holy sage is mentioned in the Vishnu Purāna as having married *Sukanyā*, the daughter of *Saryāti*, the son of *Manu*. He is also noticed in the *Bhagavata* and *Padma Puranas*, as appropriating a share of the marriage offerings to the *Aswini Kumāras*, which entailed the quarrel with *Indra*, that is alluded to in verse 4 of the inscription. The family therefore was reputed to be of ancient descent; but if *Vira Varmma*, the grandfather of *Lalla*, was the first Raja, the establishment of the dynasty cannot be dated earlier than A. D. 900. Now the *Bāchhal* Rajputs claim descent from Raja *Vena*, whose son was *Virāt*, the reputed founder of *Barikhar* or *Virat Khera*, and whom I believe to be the same as *Vira Varmma* of the inscription. To Raja *Vena*, or *Ben*, is attributed the erection of the great forts of *Garha-khera*, and *Sāhgarh*; and to his queen, *Ketaki Rāni*, is assigned the excavation of the *Rāni Tāl* at the old town of *Kābar*. *Garh Gājana* and the temples of *Dewal* were built by Raja *Lalla*. The town and fort of *Mawaori* are attributed to *Moradhwoj*, and *Barkhera* to *Harmal Raja*; but neither of these names appears in the very imperfect and scanty list of their family which the *Bāchhals* now possess.

366. It is admitted by every one that the *Katehriyas* succeeded the *Bāchhals*, but the *Katehriyas* themselves state that they did not settle in *Katehar* until *Samvat* 1231, or A. D. 1174. Up to this date therefore the *Bāchhal* Rajas may be supposed to have possessed the

dominant power in eastern Rohilkhand beyond the Rāmgangā, while western Rohilkhand was held by the *Bhidar*, *Gwālā*, and other tribes, from whom the *Katehriyas* profess to have wrested it. Gradually the *Bāchhals* must have retired before the *Katehriyas*, until they had lost all their territory to the west of the Deoha or Pilibhit river. Here they made a successful stand, and though frequently afterwards harried by the Muhammadans, they still managed to hold their small territory between the Deoha river and the primeval forests of Pilibhit. When hard pressed, they escaped to the jungle, which still skirts their ancient possessions of *Garh Gājana* and *Garha Khera*. But their resistance was not always successful, as their descendants confess that about 300 or 400 years ago, when their capital *Nigohi* was taken by the King of Delhi, the twelve sons of Raja *Udarana*, or *Aorana*, were all put to death. The twelve cenotaphs of these princes are still shown at *Nigohi*. Shortly after this catastrophe *Chhavi Rana*, the grandson of one of the murdered Princes, fled to the *Lakhi* jungle, where he supported himself by plundering; but when orders were given to exterminate his band, he presented himself before the King of Delhi, and obtained the district of *Nigohi* as a *jāghir*. This place his descendant Tarsam Sing still holds, but the *jāghir* is reduced to the town of *Nigohi* with a few of the surrounding villages.

367. The *Gotrāchārya* of the *Bachhal* Rajputs declares them to be *Chandravansis*, and their high social position is attested by their daughters being taken in marriage by *Chohāns*, *Rāhtors*, and *Kachwāhas*. According to Sir H. Elliot, *Bāchhal* Zemindars are found in the districts of Aligurh and Mathura, as well as in Budaon and Shahjahanpur of Rohilkhand. But the race is even more widely spread than the Gangetic *Bāchhals* are aware of, as Abul Fazl records that "the port of Aramray (in the Peninsula of Gujarāt) is a very strong place inhabited by the tribe of *Bāchhal*." Of the origin of the name nothing is known, but it is probably connected with *bāchhnā*, to select or choose. The title of *Chhindu*, which is given in the inscription, is also utterly unknown to the people, and I can only guess that it may be the name of one of the early ancestors of the race.

XXV.—BALAI KHERA.

368. *Baliya*, or *Balai Khera*, is a large ruined mound about 1,200 feet square, or nearly one mile in circuit, and not less than 20 feet in

height at the southern end. The mound is situated close to the Muhammadan town of *Jahánábád*, which is just 6 miles to the westward of Pilibhit. It is covered with broken bricks of large size, and from its square form I infer that it must once have been fortified, or at least walled round. Near the south-east corner there is a very old banyan tree, and the ruins of a brick temple. To the west there are two tanks and six ruined heaps which are said to be the remains of temples. There is nothing now standing that can give any clue to the probable age of the town, as the bricks are removed to *Jahánábád* as soon as they are discovered. But the large size of the bricks is a proof of antiquity, which is supported by the traditions of the people, who ascribe the foundation of *Balpur* or *Baliya* to the well known Daitya, or demon, named *Bali*.

XXVI.—PARASUA KOT.

369. Four miles to the westward of Balai-Kherā there is a long lofty mound lying east and west called *Parasua-kot*, which is said to be the ruins of a temple and other edifices that Bali Raja built for his *Ahir* servant, named Parasua. The mound is about 1,400 feet long, and 300 feet broad at base, with a height of 35 feet at its loftiest point near the eastern end. On this point there are the brick foundations of a large temple, 42 feet square, with the remains of steps on the east face, and a stone *lintel* or door step, on the west face. I conclude therefore that the temple had two doors, one to the east and the other to the west, and as this is the common arrangement of *lingam* temples, it is almost certain that the building must have been dedicated to Siva. Towards the west, the mound gradually declines in height, until it is lost in the fields. Forty feet to the west of the temple there are some remains of a thick wall which would seem to have formed part of the enclosure of the temple, which must have been not less than 130 feet square. Five hundred feet further west there are the remains of another enclosure, 100 feet square, which most probably once surrounded a second temple, but the height of the ruins at this point is more than 16 feet above the ground. Although the *Parasua* mound is well known to the people for many miles around, yet there are no traditions attached to the place save the story of *Parasua*, the *Ahir*, which has already been noticed. When we consider that a temple 42 feet square

could not have been less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ times its base, or 147 feet in height, and that its floor being 35 feet above the ground the whole height of the building would have been 182 feet, it is strange that no more detailed traditions should exist regarding the builders of so magnificent an edifice. I am of opinion that the temple must have been the work of one of the earlier *Bachhal* Rajas, but unfortunately the records of this race are too imperfect to afford any clue to the ancient history of the country.

XXVII.—KABAR, OR SHIRGARH.

370. The old town of *Kabar* is situated on a lofty mound, 20 miles to the north of Bareli, and 26 miles to the west of Pilibhit. The ruins consist of a circular mound, 900 feet in diameter and 25 feet in height, which is still surrounded by a deep ditch from 50 to 100 feet in width. This was the old fort of *Kabar* in the time of the Hindus, and there are still some remains of the walls of a large oblong building on the top of the mound, which the people say was a temple. The old city, which surrounded the fort on all sides, is now divided into four separate villages, called *Kabar*, *Islampur*, *Dongarpur*, and *Shirgarh*. All these are situated on old mounds which are nearly as lofty as the fort mound itself. The place is usually called *Kabar* by the Hindus, and *Shirgarh* by the Musalmans. It is said to have been taken from the Hindu Rajas 550 years ago, or in A. D. 1313, during the reign of Ala-ud-din Khilji. Falling again into the hands of the Hindus after the death of Firuz Tughlak, it was again captured by Shir Shah, who built the fort of *Shirgarh* to the south of the old fort, for the purpose of keeping the townspeople in check. To the south of Shirgarh there is a fine tank, called *Khawás-Tál*, which no doubt belongs to the same period, as *Khawás Khan* was the name of Shir Sháh's most trusted General. That portion of the town, called *Islampur*, is said to have been built by Islam Shah, the son of Shir Shah, but it was more probably only re-named by *Khawás Khan* in honour of his master's son, during the lifetime of Shir Shah himself. On the north side there is a shallow sheet of water called the *Rám Sâgar*, and on the north-west there is an old tank called *Râni Tál*, which is attributed to *Ketaki Râni*, the queen of Raja Ben, the founder of the dynasty of *Báchhal* Rajputs. The extreme length of the whole mass of ruins from east to west is 3,500 feet, and the breadth 2,500 feet, the complete circuit being 9,800

feet, or nearly 2 miles. The long continued Muhammadan occupation of five centuries has most effectually swept away all traces of Hinduism; but old coins are occasionally found, of which a few belong to the later Hindu dynasties of the ninth and tenth centuries. From the great size of the place, as well as from its evident antiquity, I should have expected that very old Hindu coins would occasionally be found; but all my enquiries were fruitless, and the only actual traces of Hindu occupation that I could hear of were two small stone figures, of which one was a representation of Durgâ slaying the Mahisâsur, or "Buffalo-demon," and the other a broken statue of some god which was too much injured to be recognized.

Notes on Boodh Gya.—By C. HORNE, Esq., C.S.

[Received 24th April, 1865. Read 7th June, 1865.]

During the holidays, October and November, 1864, I had an opportunity of carefully studying the great Tope at Boodh Gya, relative to which interesting remains of the past there would seem to have been considerable discussion between modern archæologists.

The subject of the said discussions, whilst referring to the age of the tope itself, relates more particularly to that of the arches, both pointed and semicircular, found in and near the said tope.

These arches are some of them built of stone, but the greater part are of brick; and they are all constructed on the radiating principle with external faces of truncated wedges or "voussoirs"—the bricks used in their construction being set on edge and of the description commonly termed Buddhist, their dimensions being either $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ or $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$.

There are in all no less than nine (9) of these arches, of which 3 are semicircular and 6 pointed.

But before proceeding farther with my account of them, it will be well to describe as briefly as possible the interior construction of the tope, offering at the same time a few remarks as to its antiquity, as thereby we may be able to infer whether the art of arch-building (radiating, not horizontal) was known to those who built the structure

in which the said arches occur, or whether they may not have been subsequently inserted.

Genl. Cunningham, in his excellent Archæological Report for 1861-62, assigns A. D. 500 as the date of the building of the present tope or temple, and names Amara Sinha as the builder.

He also works out the same date from a certain inscription once said to have been therein found, and which he holds to be authentic.

His arguments from the latter source appear to me to have been fully met and set aside by Baboo Rájendralála Mitra in his paper on Boodh Gya in 1864, which was read before a meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and in which he shews that Sir Charles Wilkin's* inscription, in which the virtues of a shraddh performed here are much extolled—cannot be historically true, and also that the partial silence of Fa Hian, the great Chinese traveller in A. D. 400, does not prove the non-existence of the said tope at that time—the more so as Fa Hian speaks in Chap. XXXI of a great tower having been erected at the place where Foe (Buddha) obtained the law, i. e. under the Bo tree at Boodh Gya.

Fergusson (p. 109, Vol. I) states the earliest authentic Hindu building to date A. D. 657, and in allusion to the great tope of Boodh Gya, which it is doubtful whether he ever visited, says to the effect that “the temple of Boodh Gya is certainly Buddhist—was built in the 14th century A. D. — is a square Hindu Vimana and a true ‘stupa’ as it never possessed any relic.”

Montgomery Martin, in his account of Eastern India, alludes to Asoka as being the reputed founder of the temple, and doubts the authenticity of Amara's inscription, as does also Buchanan Hamilton.

It will thus be seen that the age of the building and of the arches are both open questions.

And now, a few words as to the age of Hindu or Boodhist buildings:—

Fergusson says—pages 4-5, Introduction.—“It is of more importance to our present purpose that with this king (Asoka) B. C. 250, the architectural history of India commences; not one building, nor one sculptured stone having yet been found in the length and

* That above alluded to.

be accounted for by the very small quantity of stone used in or about the building.

From what has been before stated I am led to assign a far greater antiquity to the great tope at Boodh Gya than has been hitherto generally done.

I am of opinion that the temple existed from before the Christian era, when the railing stood around it—say from 200 B. C.; but that it has often been repaired; and once thoroughly renewed by Amara Sinha, most probably about 500 A. D.

I, however, hold that the shell of the building has remained as at first constructed, with alterations to be hereafter pointed out. If this be the case, it would, together with perhaps the remains of some Boodhist Monasteries, be one of the oldest buildings we have in India.

The general external form differs considerably from ordinary Hindu Vimanas, being much more perpendicular; but the system under which it was built allows of great variety of outline.

The tope is exteriorly about 50 feet square at the base, with an original interior diameter of 20 ft. The walls are about 8 ft. thick to a height of perhaps 60 feet, and the rest is made up by a masonry terrace rising from 25 to 30 feet.

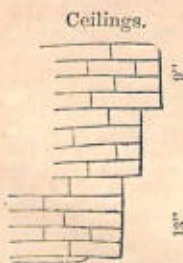
The thickness of the upper part, i. e. from the springing of the curve to the crown, varies from 7 feet to much less at the top.

There has been an opening left at the top* apparently about 6 ft. square, which is at present covered in with beams of Saul wood, and upon this is built a tope-like pinnacle which in its entirety probably reached to 25 feet, including the thickness of the pukka roof over the beams.

The square basement walls have been stated to rise about 60 ft., whilst the interior height of the curved part may also be from 60 to 70 feet. The whole interior I believe to have been originally without intermediate ceilings.

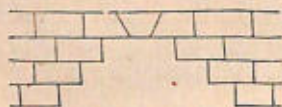
This curved part is built on the system called in Bengal "Lehra" i. e. of over-lapping bricks. In this instance I counted 52 of these laps, each projecting from 3 to 4½ inches.

* Query, whether this was so originally?



The lowest 12 laps were made after the placing of 4 bricks perpendicularly, making a height for each such set of bricks of 9 inches only. Then there came 16 laps, over 5 inches similarly laid and measuring 13 inches in height, whilst again above them came 24 laps over courses of 4 bricks as at first.

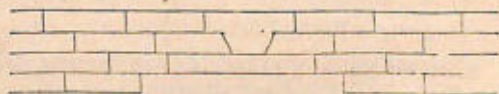
I had hoped to be able to calculate the height accurately in this manner, having with me no means for measuring so great a height; but I imagine the laps got less at the top and the height assigned has therefore only been approximately ascertained. This system of "Lehra" still exists in Orissa. Mr. Armstrong, the assistant to Mr. Shore, Commissioner, has obligingly sent me a drawing of a long draw-bridge of more modern construction at Jajipore near Balasore.



Part of an opening in Jajipur drawbridge.

The openings thus covered are said to be from 8 to 15 feet. The space at Boodh Gya is about 20 feet. At the temple of Kooch Behar, is an excellent example, and it seems to have been universal throughout Eastern Bengal.

Capt. Austen informs me that in Cashmere this "Lehra" is very neatly tied with a T stone.



Cashmere Lehra.

The arrangement above described holds good as regards the north, south and west sides of the temple; but on the east, the front wall is pierced with two large openings, the one over the other, and above these in the curved part are two "Lehras" or horizontal arches running east and west in the thickness of the said wall.

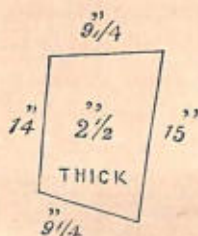
The upper one, which is closed outwardly, was doubtless made to lighten the weight of masonry over the entrance, and both shew plainly that when they were constructed, i. e. at the same time as the original building, the architects of the same, did not know how to build a true arch. The temple at Kooch is similarly constructed.

The lower one which runs through was probably arranged so as to throw the eastern sun-light, at a particular hour, on the figure of

Boodha, which was on the "Singhasun" or throne to the west, and thus lighted the building dimly from over the entrance door-way, as I have observed to be the case in other ancient Buddhist edifices and which has also been remarked upon by Fergusson.

We now approach the arches and arched chambers which have led me to put pen to paper.

In what must have originally been the thickness of the terrace, or what was a projecting porch ere the terrace was raised, we find a ruined pointed arched chamber built with bricks set on edge, the said bricks having been carefully dressed. Their size $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$.



This must evidently have been built round a centering of some kind. The diameter of the arch is $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet and the marginal sketch shews one of the bricks taken from the haunch of the broken arch.

This porch is at present entered by a square door-way built of odd stones, with a long stone serving as an architrave.

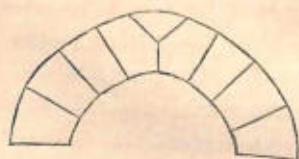
Immediately on entering, there are to the right and left small door-ways covered with semicircular arches in stone, under which there is a flight of steps leading to the terrace above.

These arches are built radiating and of regular "voussoirs" or truncated wedges, and are manifestly of far more recent date than the rest of the building. In fact they would appear to have been built at the same time as the structure called by Genl. Cunningham Amara Sinha's archway.

This archway is evidently the entry to the modern courtyard before the great tower, and runs east and west.

It is built of somewhat smaller bricks than are elsewhere used, set on edge and without any special facing. Its depth, as far as my memory serves, is about 12 feet, and it looks quite modern.

On the top of the flight of steps to the left (or south) is another archway similar to the one below it, and dating probably with the terrace to which it leads.



In the base of the tower is an arched room, approached from the ruined arched

portico before described, by an arched door-way only 5 feet wide. This is faced, as shewn on the preceding page, with Boodhist bricks regularly cut, and is probably built internally of bricks on edge, and has been constructed on a centering, as has the inner room to which it leads.

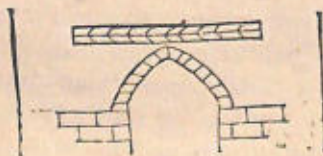
This arched room is $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, the difference between this and 20 feet, which I have stated to have been the original internal width, being occupied with a lining of brick on which the arching rests.

For 12 feet in height the walls north and south are straight—at this point there is a small cornice whence the arch springs, the said arch being evidently built brick on edge.

The whole of the walls to the north and south, as well as the roof of the arching, is plastered white with a chess board pattern, in each square of which is painted in a reddish colour a sitting Boodh. There must thus be many thousands of these figures, now however, much obliterated by the hand of time.

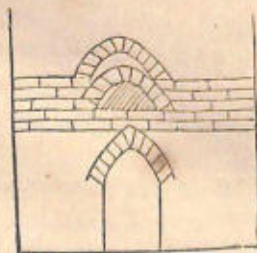
The total height of this chamber may be 20 feet, and adding 4 or 5 feet for the thickness of the flooring of the upper room and of the arch, the story may be allowed to count as 25 feet.

Before ascending to the terrace, I would observe that the "Singhasun" or throne where the figure of Boodha was placed, is still left as arranged at the last restoration (probably 500 A. D.) and there are still the holes in the stones, which were formerly filled by the rivet affixing gilt copper plates.



Over the doorway and above the arch of this basement chamber is inserted in the wall a huge beam of Saul wood, evidently of great

antiquity and to which allusion will be made hereafter.



Ascending to the room above, we find a repetition of the lower arched chamber without the end of semicircular arched recess, and with no less than three arches at the entrance within one another, and all of the same character. The marginal sketch taken from a photograph shews these, and it is difficult to understand their object.

This chamber, the floor of which is at about the level of the terrace, may probably have had before it an open porch; but all traces of this would have disappeared with the falling in of the arched roof below.

I have before alluded to the extraordinary opening—or horizontal arch on the overlapping or *Lehræ* principle as existing in the story above this.

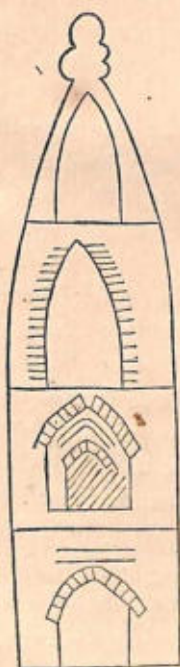
By the aid of ladders and bamboos obligingly furnished me by the Mohunt, I with considerable difficulty got within this, and found the floor to be about 55 feet from the ground, and that within it, on all sides, there was a space of about 5 feet of upright wall before the springing of the curve, and that this bit of wall was plastered!

This room might have been entered from the roof of the porch above suggested; but was evidently not used for any purpose.

The open arch extends just half way in the height. Another similar arch, but closed externally, stands upon it as shewn marginally, and it is very curious that the open arch above mentioned should have been left in its singularly unfinished condition. The temple at Kooch, however, displays the same peculiarity.

I have now at some length described the arches at Boodh Gya, relative to which Bâbu Râjendra-lâla Mitra notes, (p. 4,) that when he brought the fact of their existence to the notice of Capt. Mead, Executive Engineer, who was shewing him through the ruins—"He readily acknowledged that the builders of the temple, whœver they were, certainly knew the art of constructing an arch, and the one before them was a very good specimen of it."

The first thing that strikes an observer, when looking at the great tower from a little distance, and it is clearly seen in the photographs of Boodh Gya kindly prepared for me by my companion, Mr. Peppe of Gya, is, that the whole of the arch arrangements are a subsequent insertion and formed no part of the original building.



Rough plan shewing general elevation.

In fact, together with the arched, plastered and painted chamber, they may and probably were all erected by Amara Sinha, when he thoroughly restored the temple.

The enormous thickness of the walls and the goodness of the mortar would allow of large breaches being made with impunity; whilst the insertion of the great beam over the lowest arch gives colour to this theory. The two interior arched chambers, with the semicircular recessed end of the lower, appear to me to have been subsequently put in. The plaster of the upright wall on the inside above the flooring of the upper room shews how the other work would seemingly have been built on to it.



The outer plastering also, when removed from the capitals of the little columns in relief, shews ornamental work below of a very primitive type: whilst the original brick-work is substantial in the extreme.

The entrance to the basement of the tower was doubtless a somewhat narrow, but extremely lofty rectangular doorway with stone jambs and a stone architrave. If this were the case, the insertion of an arch were extremely easy, and this would correspond with the—in many points similar—temple of Kooch.

The only difference is that the last named temple is smaller—hence many inferences may be drawn therefrom as it was probably a copy of the great tower.

I would, therefore in conclusion, with great deference suggest that the arches are all of them of the date of Amara Sinha, or about 500 A. D., whilst the original building dates back perhaps to 200 B. C.

The country around Boodh Gya, as it is well known, is studded with Boodhist remains of every age, which would well repay careful study, and I shall be very glad if these notes provoke others, as those of Babu Rajendralala Mitra did me, to make a pilgrimage to this very ancient and interesting district which has never yet been explored, except in the most partial manner.

April 20th, 1865.

[Received 6th May, 1865.] [Read 7th June, 1865.]

P. S.—The junction of the inserted work with the original is clear every where. The floor of the upper chamber comes through the wall of the building, i. e. the beaten pukka floor line shews a white line, most plain in the photograph. At the sides too the insertion is most plain. The use of different sized bricks in the different arches, whereas those in the body of the building are all the same, would indicate their having been built at a different date, which most probably was long subsequent.

Nothing in the foregoing paper refers to other structures (excepting to a few temples in Eastern India)—and I am well aware that, as it has been clearly shewn that the radiating arch was known to the builders of the Pyramids, Nineveh, and other very ancient structures, the art of building such arches may have been acquired by travelled Indians; still I am decidedly of opinion that the builders of the original tower of Boodh Gya were not acquainted with the art of constructing a radiating arch, however well they may have constructed them on the horizontal principle."



On Stone from a Photograph by H. L. P.

Lith by H. M. Smith, S. G. C. Calcutta, April, 1865.

BENARES.

HINDU PUNCH COINS.

1



2



3



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14

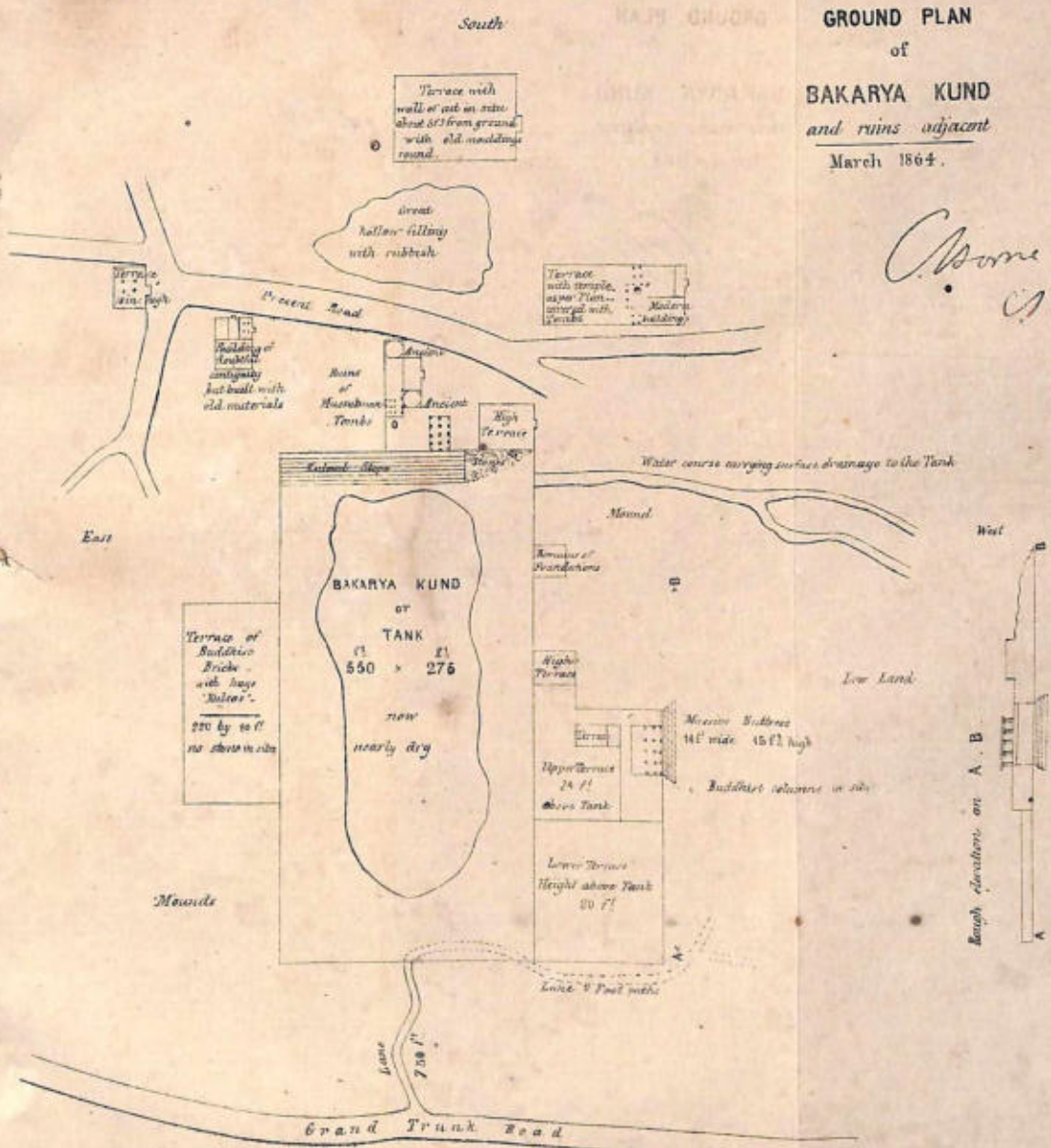


15



GROUND PLAN
of
BAKARYA KUND
and ruins adjacent
March 1864.

Sporne

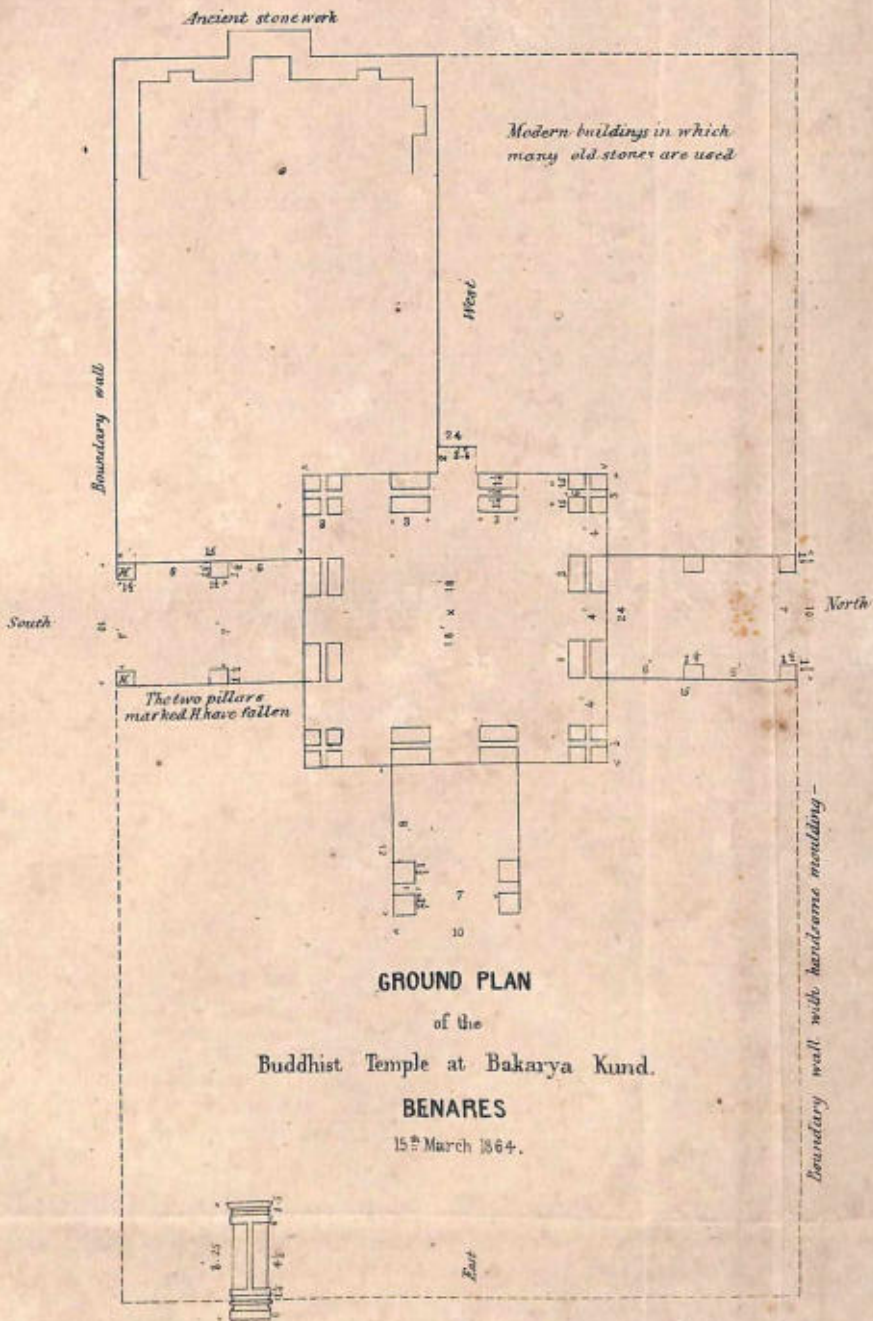


Road
Scale 400 feet to 1 Inch }
Tank & buildings
100 feet to 1 Inch }

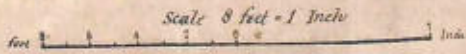


0 1/2 Mile Scale

North



Section of a double pillar as also of a fourfold one ?





1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10

