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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. LXII.

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

Nos. I TO IV.—1893: WITH 9 PLATES.

EDITED BY THE

HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

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

SIR WM. JONES.

CALCUTTA:

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JOURNAL
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1893.

*the Weber MSS.—Another collection of ancient manuscripts from
Central Asia.—By DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.*

(With four Plates.)

In July last I received from the Reverend F. Weber, Moravian Missionary in Leh in Ladak, a small packet, containing ancient manuscripts.

Regarding the circumstances under which the manuscripts were discovered, and given to Mr. Weber, the latter in two letters, dated the 21st June and 29th July last, gives me the following information. They were found in the neighbourhood of a place called Kugiar, in a "house" which, apparently, since times immemorial had been ruined and buried. An Afghan merchant, hoping to discover buried treasure, with much trouble undertook the excavation of the "house." He found, however, only the bodies of some "cows," which on the first contact crumbled into dust. At the same time he found also the manuscripts. As Mr. Weber is known to the people to be a collector of Tibetan curiosities, the manuscripts were taken to him by a person who had received them from the finder. He was also shown an "Urdû" letter from the latter, giving the above account of his exploration, but not knowing "Urdû," Mr. Weber could not read the letter himself.

It would have been satisfactory to learn something more accurate about the identity of the so-called "house" in which, and the "cows"

with which the manuscripts are said to have been found. But, on enquiry, Mr. Weber wrote me that he was unable to obtain any further information.

The place Kugiar will be found on any good map of Central Asia at $77^{\circ} 12'$ long. and $37^{\circ} 25'$ lat., about 60 miles south of Yarkand, at an altitude of 6450'. A straight line, drawn from Leh to Yarkand, very nearly passes through Kugiar; it is a little to the left of that line, and lies just within the borders of the Chinese territory.

I found the manuscripts enclosed, after the fashion of Indian manuscripts, between two pieces of wooden boards. These are of unequal size, one measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the other $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. They are, each, pierced by one hole, which is not in the middle of the board, but towards one side; in the larger board it is at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ " from its narrow margin, in the smaller at $1\frac{1}{2}$ " from its narrow margin. Corresponding holes, on one side only, are in all the leaves of the manuscripts. This one-sided position of the string-hole is also observable in the Bower Manuscripts, and it appears to be a peculiarity of Central Asian manuscripts. I do not remember ever having observed it in any Indian manuscript. These have either one string-hole in the middle of the leaf, or they have two holes, one toward either narrow margin. Facsimiles of leaves with one hole are given in Dr. Mitra's *Sanskrit Notices*, and such of leaves with two holes, in Mr. Bendall's Catalogue of *Buddhist Sanskrit MSS.* The famous Horiuzi Manuscript, which originally came from India, has two holes, as may be seen from the facsimiles published by Prof. Bühler in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Vol. I, Part III. On the other hand, the facsimile of the Central Asian manuscript, published by Mr. S. Oldenbourg, in the Records of the Oriental Transactions of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, Vol. VII, p. 81, 82, shows the peculiar one-sided hole. This practice of using an one-sided hole, therefore, would seem to be a mark by which a manuscript may be distinguished as coming from Central Asia. Another point to be noted is, that, like the Bower MSS., the Weber Manuscripts also are of the oblong shape, usual to Indian manuscripts, as distinguished from the square shaped Kashmirian. The square shape, indeed, appears to be an exceptional peculiarity of the Kashmirian manuscripts. All others, Indian, Nepalese, Tibetan and Central Asian are of an oblong shape.

On examining the Weber Manuscripts, I found that they formed a collection of fragments of nine (or possibly eleven) different manuscripts.

These are fragmentary in two ways. In the first place, not one of them is complete, a more or less large number of leaves being wanting both at the beginning and at the end. Secondly, every leaf is mutilated on the right or left or on both sides. On the other hand, they are, as a

a g fect at the top and bottom. The following is a list of leaves of
â g al parts composing the manuscripts:—

Part	I, consisting of	9 leaves.
"	II	" " 7 "
"	III	" " 6 "
"	IV	" " 1 "
"	V	" " 8 "
"	VI	" " 5 "
"	VII	" " 7 "
"	VIII	" " 8 "
"	IX	" " 25 "

—
 Nine Parts consisting of 76 leaves.

All the nine manuscripts are written on paper. Their paper is of differing qualities. In the main there are two kinds: one kind is thick, soft, flexible and white; it is so soft indeed, that its surface is apt to fret, and thus to injure the writing. The other kind is thin, hard and stiff, and of a more or less brownish colour. No. IX (Central Asian) has the softest and whitest texture. Also soft, but less white is the paper of Nos. 1 and 2 (Indian) and Nos. 6 and 7 (Central Asian). Harder and darker is the paper of Nos. 3 and 4 (Indian) and No. 5 (Central Asian). Distinctly hard and brown is the paper of No. VIII (Central Asian). The manuscripts, written in Central Asian characters, therefore, are inscribed on paper of the greatest variety, from the whitest and softest to the stiffest and darkest.

The paper, by appearance and touch, appears to me to be of the kind, commonly known as Nepalese, which is manufactured from several varieties of the *Daphne* plant. Dr. George King, the Director of the Botanical Gardens, has been good enough to examine the paper, and agrees with me that probably it is paper "made of the fibres of *Daphne papyracea*, or of *Edgeworthia Gardneri*, which are still used as raw material for paper-making in the Himâlayas." The better description of paper is made of fibres of *Edgeworthia Gardneri*. A very full account of this so-called Nepalese paper, its material and manufacture, will be found in Dr. Watt's *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, Vol. III, p. 19, where also references to other sources of information are given.

For the purpose of being inscribed this paper appears to have been specially prepared with some kind of sizing, probably made of white arsenic. On the leaves of some of the manuscripts this size forms a thick glazed coat on which the letters are traced. Occasionally this glazed coat has peeled off, in which case the letters which it bore have disappeared with it. This is particularly the case with Part V, and may

be seen on Plate II, fig. 1. In the case of Part IX, the coat, apparently under the influence of damp, has caused the leaves to stick together, and thus extensive damage has been done, as may be seen from figures 3-5 on Plate III.

A very striking peculiarity of the Weber Manuscripts is, that they are written in two quite distinct types of written characters. One of them—that in which Parts I, II, III and IV are written—is the well-known Indian character of the North-Western Gupta variety, being the same type (though a different sub-variety) as that used in the Bower MSS. This type of character is sufficiently well-known, and I need not say anything more about it here.

The other type of characters, used in Parts V-IX, is what I may call the Central Asian Nāgarī. It is a peculiar angular and slanting form of the Indian Nāgarī characters. On the whole the several Parts exhibit these characters in a variety of handwritings, though the essential type of the characters is the same. There is, however, a distinct variety, not merely of handwriting, but of type, noticeable between the characters used in Parts V-VIII and in Part IX. The test letters are the dental *th* and *dh*. In Part IX their shape is angular and squarish, $\diamond th$ and $\diamond dh$, while in Parts V-VIII it is round, $\circ th$ and $\circ dh$. (See Plate IV.) For the purpose of comparing these two varieties of the Central Asian Nāgarī, Parts VII and IX (Plate II, fig. 6 and Plate III, figs. 3-5) are the best, because in their general style of handwriting they most nearly resemble one another. In the sequel, I shall refer to these two varieties as the round and the square varieties of the Central Asian Nāgarī.

I may here refer to a few other peculiarities of the Central Asian alphabet. Firstly, the curious form of the super-scribed vowel \acute{e} , with its curve turned to the right. Secondly, the curious form of the letter *m*. I have observed this form, in a few rare cases, on gold coins of Samudra Gupta. It has, clearly, grown out of the angular Indo-Scythian form of *m*; and its origination would fall in the early time of the Gupta period (Samudra Gupta 380-395 A.D.). The series of changes would be these \times , \surd , \surd , \surd , all of these forms being represented on Gupta coins, and the last being the parent of the Central Asian form. Thirdly, the curious resemblance between the forms of $\surd t$ and $\surd n$. They can only be distinguished by the fact, that the right-hand angle of *n* is more decidedly acute-angled. Fourthly, the curious symbol of a double dot over letters,—in fact a double anusvāra. It may be seen frequently in Mr. Oldenburg's Kashgar manuscript. In the Weber Manuscripts, it occurs only in Part IX, which, as above remarked, is distinguished by being written in the square variety of the Central Asian Nāgarī. It is,

a	ḡ				
â	ḡ				
i	ḡe i	ḡ rñô,	ḡ nḡa,	ḡ nḡâ.	
î	ḡi	ḡ tva,	ḡ tvâ,	ḡ rtoni.	
u	ḡ u	ḡ thâ,	ḡ thai,	ḡ tthya.	
û		ḡ rdda,	ḡ ddhya,	ḡ ndu,	ḡ dye.
ri		ḡ dhu,	ḡ dhû,	ḡ dhû,	ḡ dhyâ, ḡ dha (IX).
e	ḡ e	ḡ nha.			
ai	ḡ ai				
o					
au		ḡ bu	ḡ bra.		
h	ḡ h	ḡ bhî.			
m					
k	ḡ k	ḡ ya,	ḡ yî,	ḡ yê,	ḡ yô, ḡ syâ.
kh	ḡ kh	ḡ rma,	ḡ rû,	ḡ kna	ḡ tra.
g	ḡ g	ḡ lu,	ḡ lê	ḡ lô	ḡ lpa, ḡ kla.
gh	ḡ gh				
n	ḡ n				

however, not so much the mark of a particular variety of characters, as of a particular language, and its exact power I do not know. Part IX is not written in Sanskrit, nor have I met with the double dot in any Sanskrit text, except once. On the smaller of the two wooden boards, three lines are inscribed in Central Asian characters. The board probably belongs to the work contained in Part VII, which treats of a Buddhist charm, the lines are written in Sanskrit and run as follows:—
 [namô]—*vidyâdharasya*—*dakshinê hastê*—*mañi dhârayitavyam*—*api cha*
 [pūrṇa-]râtr-ôcavustêna—*suchi-snâtêna*—*su-vastra-prâvritêna sâdhayivya*
 [.]ê siddhi ||

The words in brackets are broken off and have been conjecturally supplied. The meaning is: "Salutation to the Vidyâdhara! Let the jewel be placed in the right hand; then having fasted the whole night, washed clean, and put on fresh garments, success will be secured by me."¹

Here there is the double anusvâra over the akshara *vi* of *prâvritêna*. But what it is there intended to signify, I do not know. In Part IX, it is occasionally found on Sanskrit words, thus *mañchamshtham*, which is a mis-spelling for *mañjishthâ*. Here it may possibly mark a modification in the sound of the vowels; but its real power is obscure.

I add a table of the Central Asian alphabet, showing the forms of single as well as compound letters. See Plate IV. They are nearly all excerpted from the leaves shown in my Plates I to III. In this table are also shown the ancient numeral figures. They are found in several of the manuscripts; viz., Parts I, II, IV, VI.

The Central Asian Nâgarî has a curious resemblance to the so-called "Wartu" characters of the Tibetans. In this Journal, for 1888, Vol. LVII, will be found two plates (I and II) showing these "Wartu" characters. It belongs to a paper, published by Bâbû S. C. Das, on *the Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet* (*ibid.*, p. 41). The resemblance, however, is still more striking to certain characters, shown on Plate I, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI (for 1828), and there designated respectively as *Khachechee*, *Gramtsodee*, *Seendoohee*, and *Pookangkee*. The plate seems to have been prepared by Mr. Hodgson from "a vast number of manuscripts, great and small fragments," as specimens of "*Bhotiya*" (*i. e.*, Tibetan) penmanship.²

¹ Perhaps *sâdhayishyatê* should be read for *sâdhayivya*[.]ê, or *sâdhayitavyâ* sê. With *ucavustêna* compare the Pâli *upavuttha*.

² The letters on the Plate would seem to be intended for facsimiles, but the accuracy of the copy is not above suspicion. There are certainly some obvious mistakes in the identification of the letters; thus the third group (from the left) in the last line, is not *p*, *ph*, *b*, *bh*, *m*, but *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n*. Again the third letter in the third line is not *pa*, but *pâ*.

The Tibetan tradition with regard to the "Wartu" characters is rather uncertain. In the paper, above referred to, Bâbû S. C. Das says, that the "Wartu" characters were introduced into Tibet by Sambhoṭa (or Thon-mi, the son of Anu) from Magadha in North-Eastern India, about 630-650 A. D. Since then he has been re-examining the traditions of Tibet on this point, and he now informs me that the "Wartu" characters were rather introduced from the North-Western extremity of India, namely from Kâshmir, called in Tibetan *Kha-che*. He has supplied me with the following passage from the Bu-ston Chos byuñ (fl. 138): "He (*i. e.*, King Srong Tsan Gampo, 630 A. D.) ascended the throne at the age of 18. He brought the border chieftains under subjection. He made presents to them, (and) read letters (sent by them). Before that (time) there was no written language in Tibet. He sent Thon-mi, son of Anu, with sixteen attendants to learn the letters. He learnt from Pandit Deva-vid Simha the Sabda Vidyâ. He designed 30 letters, adapting them to the Tibetan language. He based the four fundamental vowels, called *Āli*, (*i. e.*, *i, e, o, u*) on *a*. In form these letters (vowels and consonants) resembled the characters of *Kha-che*. This was done at the fort of Maru in Lhasa. He wrote eight grammatical works on the orthography and syntax of the Tibetan Grammar." The Bâbû also informs me, that in later days the country of Liyul or Khoten was included in the general name of *Khache*; and further that the letters which were brought from India, through Nepal, were the so-called *Lantsha* (see Plate VIII in Journal, vol. LVII), introduced in the reign of Thisroñ Deu-tsan.

Here the following points may be noted: In the first place, the 34 original letters of Tibet (*i. e.*, 29 consonants and 5 vowels) elaborated by Sambhoṭa, are shown on Plate II(a) in Bâbû S. Ch. Das' paper. They are the so-called *U-chan* or "headed" characters. It will be noticed that among them "the four fundamental vowels" are certainly adaptations of the form of the vowel *a*. This, so far, bears out the tradition above quoted from the Bustan. But, for the rest, the letters show no particular resemblance to the "Wartu" or "Khache" characters, any more than to any other Indian system of writing (*e. g.*, the Gupta or *Lantsha*.) Possibly this may be put down to the fact, that Sambhoṭa may have modified the shapes of the letters he adopted; or it may be due to subsequent alterations, the table not showing the exact shape the letters received at the hands of Sambhoṭa, but such as they assumed in the course of time.

But, secondly, it is noteworthy that the letter *y* in Sambhoṭa's alphabet shows the ancient tri-dentate shape of that letter. In the table of "Wartu" characters, on the other hand, that letter shows its

modern (square) form. It is clear, therefore, that the "Wartu" letters, from which Sambhoṭa copied his own, cannot have been precisely the same as those exhibited in Bâbû S. Ch. Das' table. Now there is an unmistakable similarity of the letters shown in the table of the *Asiatic Researches*, on the one hand, with the Bâbû's "Wartu" characters, and on the other, with the Central Asian characters in the Weber Manuscripts. In the table there is a series of *Khacheechee* letters, that is, clearly, letters of *Khache* (Central Asia.) These, therefore, should be the letters, from which Sambhoṭa adapted his alphabet. And, as a matter of fact, it will be found that the letter *y* shows in that table its old tri-dentate form. But further, in that table the letter *y* appears in three different forms: first, in the distinctly tri-dentate form (**W**) in the second line, then in an intermediate bi-annulate form (**W**) in the third line, and lastly in the (practically) modern square form in the fourth line. The last of these three forms, the modern one, is never found in any portion of our manuscripts. The form in which it is usually occurs in them, is the intermediate, bi-annulate one. In the most ancient tri-dentate form it only occurs, optionally, in Part V of the Weber Manuscripts. With regard to the Tibetan alphabet, the evidence seems to point to this conclusion, that Sambhoṭa had before him a "Khache" alphabet, similar to those shown in the Plate of the *Asiatic Researches*, but sufficiently ancient, to still show uniformly the ancient tri-dentate form of the letter *y*, which, in its turn, explains the presence of that ancient form in the current Tibetan alphabet. The characters he had before him may have been something similar to those seen in Part V of the Weber Manuscripts. On the other hand, the "Wartu" letters, shown in Bâbû S. C. Das' plate had for their prototype a somewhat later "Khache" alphabet,—one which had already adopted the modern square form of the letter *y*.

The whole of the Weber Manuscripts are written in the Sanskrit language, of more or less grammatical purity, except Part IX. This is written in the square variety of the Central Asian Nāgarī, and in a language which to me is unintelligible. The strange ligatures that occur in it, such as *lkkh*, *tsts*, *yl*, *shsh*, *pts*, *bhb*, *ññ*, *ys*, etc., are foreign to Sanskrit or any Sanskrit language that I know of; yet undoubted Sanskrit words do occur numerously interspersed in the text. Such are *aśvakānda* and *aśvagandha*, *sirisha* (Skr. *śirisha*)-*pushpa*, *priyaṅgu*, *punarnava*, *mañchamshthan* (Skr. *mañjishṭhā*), *sārava* (Skr. *sārivā*), *mēdha* and *mahāmēdha* (Skr. *mēda* and *mahāmēda*), *prapūṇḍarikha* or *prapūṇḍarikha* (both spellings occur for Skr. *prapaṇḍarika*), *kaṣṭhā*, *kākōri* and *kshāra-kākōri*, *dēvadāru*, etc. It will be noticed that most of the names are not correctly spelled; unaspirates being ex-

changed with aspirates, sonants with surds, cerebrals with dentals, etc. But there can be no shadow of doubt as to the identity of the words. They are Sanskrit names of medicinal plants. I have not yet been able to give to the subject any thorough examination, but I suspect that we have in Part IX a medical treatise written in some Mongolian (Tibetan) or Turki language, treating of Indian medicine, and hence using Sanskrit medical terms.

The curious circumstance, however, with regard to this Part IX is that, both with reference to the characters (square variety) and the language, it clearly belongs to the same class of manuscripts as the Kashgar MS., published by Mr. Oldenburg. Of the latter manuscript I shall give some account at the end of this paper.

On the age of the Weber MSS., I am not able to give such a definite opinion as on that of the Bower MSS., though I am not disposed to believe that any portion of it can be referred to a date later than the 7th century A. D. In the Indian portions of the manuscript (Parts I to IV) no other than the old tri-dentate form of *y* ever occurs. On this ground these portions should be of the same date as the Bower MSS., *i. e.*, belong to the 5th century A. D. In some points they are even more antique than the Bower MSS. Thus the compound *r*, preceding another consonant, is uniformly written level with the line of writing (never above it, like the vowel marks). The consonant *p* has also preserved a more ancient shape.

The Central Asian portions of the Weber Manuscripts show occasionally in Part V, the old tri-dentate form **W** of *y*, and otherwise throughout the intermediate bi-annulate form **W**. No trace of the modern square form is seen anywhere. I call the bi-annulate form "intermediate," not because it presents a stage of development intermediate between the old tri-dentate and the modern square forms, but simply because it is clearly a "current" form grown out of the older tri-dentate. It seems to me doubtful whether it was ever superseded by the later Indian "current" square form. On the other hand, it is so easily formed out of the older tri-dentate form, that it may have been and probably was nearly contemporaneous with it. I am disposed to believe, that the Gupta *ya* (the old tri-dentate form) as it was carried from Kashmir into the more northern and north-eastern parts (Kashgar, Yarkand, Khoten) of Central Asia, assumed and always retained the bi-annulate form, while in the more south-eastern parts (Western Tibet) it retained at first its tri-dentate form and was afterwards gradually changed into the modern (Indian) square form. When Sambhoṭa went to "Khache" (Central Asia, *i. e.* Kashmir, Liyul, Khotan) to bring thence the letters in 630-650 A. D., he evidently found the tri-dentate form in use in the particular

part of the country which he visited. Towards the end of the 7th century and early in the 8th, Central Asia was overrun by the Muhammadan armies of the Khalifat, and this put an end to the Sanskrit culture of those regions. Hence our Central Asian manuscripts which still show evidences of a distinct Sanskrit culture cannot well be placed after that date.

I now proceed to describe the several parts of the Weber MSS. in detail:—

Part I. (See Plate I, fig. 1.) There are nine leaves, mutilated on the right-hand side. They measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and have eight lines to the page, excepting the obverse of the 14th leaf, which has 9 lines. The leaves are consecutively numbered, from 7 to 15, in the old style of figures. The first six leaves and those after the fifteenth are wanting. The obverse of the 15th leaf is shown in Plate I, fig. 1. The number 15 (*i. e.*, the figure for 10, and below it the figure for 5) is seen on the left-hand margin. The page reads as follows:—

- 1, चक्षु चतुस्रारं गजविक्रमसंस्थितं पञ्चचत्वारिंशसुहृत्तयोगं मधुखाजाचारं वैश्वदेवत मद्र
- 2, जिनचक्षु चितारं गोश्रीर्षसंस्थितं सप्तसुहृत्तयोगं वायुक्रचाक्षा त्रिचक्रायनौगोत्रेण ७ ॥ य
- 3, यमह्यसंस्थितं त्रिंशसुहृत्तयोगं पश्चिमांसाचारं विष्णुदेवतं ब्रह्मावर्णीगोत्रेण ९ ॥ इतो
- 4, पश्चिमद्वारौकानि नक्षत्राणि ॥ धनिष्ठानचक्षु चतुस्रारं शकुनसंस्थितं त्रिंश-
[सुहृत्तयोगं
- 5, वतं कत्याय गोत्रेण ९ ॥ शतभिषा नक्षत्रं एकतारं तिलकसंस्थितं पञ्च-
नौ [दशसुहृत्त
- 6, दैवतं ताण्डायनौगोत्रेण ७८ ॥ पूर्वभद्रपदा नक्षत्रं द्वितारं पताकसंस्थितं त्रिंशमक्ष
- 7, आभिष्टब्दिदेवतं जातुकर्णीगोत्रेण ७९ ॥ उत्तरभद्रपदा नक्षत्रं द्वितारं पताकसंस्थित
- 8, गोमांसाचारं आर्धमाकल्पदैवतं हिरण्णायनौगोत्रेण ७१० ॥ रवतौ नक्षत्रं एक

In the following Roman transliteration I have added, in straight brackets and italics, the missing portions, so far as it is possible to deduce them from the context and other parts of the manuscript. It will be seen that from 9 to 11 aksharas are missing in each line, which would occupy nearly two inches of the leaf. The original size of the leaf, therefore, must have been $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, that is, exactly the size of the larger of the two wooden boards. This circumstance would seem to prove that the larger board was one of the two covers of this particular manuscript.

- 1, kshatraṃ chatus-tāraṃ gaja-vikrama-saṁsthitaṃ pañcha-chatvā-
ri[*m*]śa-muhūrta-yōgaṃ madhu-lāj-āhāraṃ Vaiśya-daivata[*m*]
M[*an*]dga[*lāyanti-gōtrēna* 19 ॥ *Abhi-*]
- 2, ji nakshatraṃ tri-tāraṃ gō-sirsha-saṁsthitaṃ sapta-mōhūrta-yōgaṃ

- vāyu-kraksh-âhâraṃ Brahmāyani-gôtrēṇa 20 || S'ra[*vāṇō naksh-
atram tri-tāram yu-*]
- 3, va-maddhya-saṃsthitam trīṃśa-muhūrta-yōgam pakshi-māms-âhâ-
ram Vikshṇu-dēvatam Brahmāvarṇi-gôtrēṇa 21 || It=i[*māni bhō
Pushkarasâri sapta*]
- 4, paśchima-dvârikâni nakshatrâṇi || Dhanishthâ nakshatram chatu-
tāram śakuna-saṃsthitam trīṃśa-muhūrta-yōgam [. . . -*âhâram
Vāsava-dai-*]
- 15 vataṃ Katyāyani-gôtrēṇa 22 || Satabhishâ nakshatram êka-tāram
tilaka-saṃsthitam pañchadaśa-muhūrta-[*yōgam . . . -âhâram
Varuṇa-*]
- 6, daivatam Tāṇḍāyani-gôtrēṇa 23 || Pūrva-bhadrapadâ nakshatram
dvi-tāram patākâ-saṃsthitam trīṃśa-m[*u]h[ūrta-yōgam . . . -
âhâram]*
- 7, Âbhividdhi-daivatam Jâtukarṇi-gôtrēṇa 24 || Uttamra-bhadrapadâ
nakshatram dvi-tāram patākâ-saṃsthitam[*m pañcha-chatvârīṃśa-
muhūrta-yōgam*]
- 8, gô-māms-âhâram Âryam-âkalpa-daivatam Hiranyāyani-gôtrēṇa 25 ||
Rēvati nakshatram êka[-*tāram . . -saṃsthitam trīṃśa-muhūrta-*]

Fifteenth Leaf : Reverse.

- 1, yōgam guḍa-kamsâr-bhōjanam⁵ Pushya-daivatam Bhârgavân-gô-
trēṇa 26 || Aśvini nakshatram tṛi-tāra[*m . . -saṃsthitam trīṃśa-
muhūrta-yōgam ya-*]
- 2, kṛin-māmsa-bhōjanam Gandharva-daivatam Aśvāyani-gôtrēṇa 27 ||
Bharani nakshatram tri-tāram bhaga-saṃ[*sthitam trīṃśa-mu-
hūrta-yōgam*]
- 3, taṇḍul-âhâram Yama-daivatam (arthavam)⁴ Bhârgavi-gôtrēṇa 28 ||
It=imāni bhō Pushkarasârin=sapt=ôttara-dv[*ârikâni nakshatrâṇi ||
Ity=êśhām*]
- 4, bhō Pushkarasârin ashtâ-vīṃśatinām nakshatrâṇam katamāni nak-
shatrâṇi pañcha-chatvârīṃśa-muhû[*rtāni śaṭ tad-yathâ Rôhīṇi
Punarva-*]
- 5, suḥ uttarâ Phalguni Viśâkhâ uttar=Âshâḍhâ uttarâ Bhadrapadâ —
pañcha nakshatrâṇi pañcha[*daśa-muhūrtāni tad=yathâ Ârdrâ*]
- 6, Aślêshâ Svâti Jyêsthâ Satabhishâ êkâ Abhiji ashtau muhūrta
êśhâṇi trīṃśa-muhūrtāni nakshatr[*âṇi pūrva-dvârikânām*]

⁵ This was the original reading; by the interlinear insertion of the akshara *hâ* it is now changed to *guḍa-kams-âhâra-bhōjanam*.

⁴ This word is inserted interlinearly, with a mark indicating the proper place where it should be read in the line.

- 7, nakshatrâṅgâm Kirtikâ pûrvam Aślêshâ paśchimâ dakṣhiṇa-dvârikâ-nâm nakshatrâṅgâm Maghâ pûrvam Viśâkhâ paśchi[mâ paśchi-ma-dvârikânâm na-]
- 8, kshatrâṅgâm Anurâdhâ pûrvam Śravanah paśchimah uttara-dvârikâ-nâm nakshatrâṅgâm Dhanishṭhâ pûrvam paśchimâ Bha[raṇī]

I may add the remainder of the remarks on the nakshatras from the preceding leaves 13 and 14 :—

Thirteenth Leaf: Reverse.

- 1, katamê Vâtsâ Brâhma-châraṇah Chhandôgâ kati Chhandôgânâm bhêdâḥ shaṭ katamê tad=yathâ gôḍhû[.]
- 2 kapimjalêyâ atyâsanam=iti kim-gôtri mâtâ Pârâsarî—paṭhati bhavan=nakshatra-vaṁsam=atha kim katha[yatu mē tad=yathâ Kṛitikâ 1]
- 3, Rôhiṇi 2 Mṛigaśirah 3 Ârdrâ 4 Punarvasuh 5 Pushyah 6 Aślêshâ 7 Maghâ 8 Pûrva-phalgu[ni 9 Uttara-phalguni 10 Hastah]
- 4, 11 Chitrâ 12 Svâtih 13 Aśâkhâ (sic) 14 Anurâdhâ 15 Jyêshṭhâ 16 Mûlah 17 Pûrvâshâḍhâ [18 Uttarâshâḍhâ 19 Abhiji]
- 5, 20 Śravanah 21 Dhanishṭhâ 22 Satabhishâ 23 Pûrva-bhadrapadâ 24 Uttarâ-bhadrapadâ 25 Rê[vati 26 Aśvinî 27 Bhara-]
- 6, ni 28 ity=êtâny=ashṭâvimśati nakshatrâṅgî kati-târâṅgî kim-samsthânâni kati-muhûrtâni kim-gôtrâṅgî ki[m-bhôjanâni kim-]
- 7, daivatâni—Kṛitikâ nakshatram shaṭ-târam kshura-samsthânâni trîmśa-muhûrta-yôgam dadhi-âhâram Agni-daivatam=Agni[vê-śya-gôtrêṇa 1 || Rôhi-]
- 8, ni nakshatram pañcha-târam śakaṭ-ôddhi-samsthânâni pañcha-chatvârimśa-muhûrta-yôgam vṛisha-matsya-bhôjanam prajâ[patî-daivatam . . . -gôtrêṇa 2 ||]

Fourteenth Leaf: Obverse.

- 1, Mṛigaśirasam nakshatram tri-târam mṛiga-śirsha-samsthitam trîmśa-muhûrta-yôgam mṛiga-matsya-bhôjanam Sôma-d[ai]vata[m . . . -gôtrêṇa 3 || Ârdrâ na-]
- 2, kshatram êka-târam tilaka-samsthitam pañchadaśa-muhûrta-yôgam navanit-âhâram Rudra-daivatam Hâritâyana-gô[trêṇa 4 || Punarvasur=nakshatram]
- 3, dvi-târam patâkâ-samsthitam pañcha-chatvârimśa-yôgam sarpi-maṇḍ-âhâram Âditya-daivatam Vaśishṭha-gôtrê[ṇa 5 || Pushyô nakshatram tri-tâ-]
- 4, raṇi vardhamâna-samsthitam trîmśa-muhûrta-yôgam madhv-âhâram Bṛihaspati-daivatam Alabanêyavi-gôtrê[ṇa 6 || Aślêshâ nakshatram pañ-]

- 5, cha-tāram akāsa-patākā-saṁsthitaṁ pañchadaśa-muhūrta-yōgam matsa-yakṛi-bhōjanam sarpi-dai[*vataṁ . . . -gōtrēṇa 7 || I-*]
- 6, t-imāni bhō Pushkarasāfi sapta pūrva-dvārikāni nakshatrāni || Maghā nakshatram pañcha-tāram nadi-krañja-saṁsthi[*taṁ trīṁśa-muhūrta-yōgam . . .*]
- 7, bhōjanam Pitṛi-dēvatam Piṅgāyani-gōtrēṇa 8 || Pūrva-phalguni nakshatram dvi-tāram patākā-saṁsthitaṁ [*trīṁśa-muhūrta-yōgam . . -āhāram*]
- 8, Bhaga-daivatam Gōtama-gōtrēṇa 9 || Uttarā phalguni nakshatram dvi-tāram patākā-saṁsthitaṁ pañcha-chatvārim[*śa-muhūrta-yōgam . . -āhāram*]

Fourteenth Leaf : Reverse.

- 1, Ārya-daivatam Kauṣiki-gōtrēṇa 10 || Hastō nakshatram hasta-saṁsthitaṁ pañcha-tāram trīṁśa-muhūrta-yōga[*m . . . -āhāram . . . -dai-*]
- 2, vataṁ Kātyāyani-gōtrēṇa 11 || Chitrā nakshatram ēka-tāram tilaka-saṁsthitaṁ trīṁśa-muhūrta-yōgam mudga-[*bhōjanam . . . -daivatam . . .*]
- 3, kī-gōtrēṇa 12 || Svātir=nakshatram ēka-tāram tilaka-saṁsthitaṁ pañchadaśa-muhūrta-yōgam phal-āhāram [. . . -daivatam . . . -gō-]
- 4, trēṇa 13 || Viśākhā nakshatram dvi-tāram vishāpa-saṁsthitaṁ pañcha-chatvārimśa-muhūrta-yōgam ti [. . -āhāram . . . -daivatam]
- 5, Satkṛityāyani-gōtrēṇa 14 || It-imāni bhō Pushkarasārin=sapta nakshatrāni dakṣiṇa-dvārikāni || [*Anurādhā nakshatram . . -tā-*]
- 6, ram ratna-sphaḍika-saṁsthitaṁ trīṁśa-muhūrta-yōgam māsha-sūp-ōdana-bhōjanam Mitra-daivatam Alamba[*nēyavi gōtrēṇa 15 ||*]
- 7, Jyēshthā nakshatram tri-tāram yuva-maddhya-saṁsthitaṁ pañchadaśa-muhūrta-yōgam śāli-yav-āhāram Indra-dēvatam Diya . . . gōtrēṇa 16 || [*Mūlō nakshatram cha-*]
- 8, tus-tāram gaja-vikkrama-saṁsthitaṁ trīṁśa-muhūrta-yōgam nya-grōdha-kashāy-āhāram Āpa-daivatam Darpa-katyāyani-[*gotrēṇa 17 || Pārvāshādhā na-*]
- 9, kshatram tri-tāram pula . . .-saṁsthitaṁ trīṁśa-muhūrta-yō[*gam*] mūla-phal-āhāra[*m*] Nṛiti-daivatam [. . . -gōtrēṇa 18 || Uttarāshādhā na-]

It will be observed that the spelling and grammar is occasionally irregular. Thus we have a wrong quantity on fl. 13b⁷ *trīṁśa* for *trīṁśa* and *ibid.* and fl. 15a⁸ *muhūrta* for *muhūrta*, fl. 14b⁶ *mītra* for *mītra*, fl. 15b⁴ *chatvārimśa* and *vīṁśatīnām*, fl. 15a⁴ (see plate) *dvārikāni* for *dvārikāni*; *ri* for *ri* in fl. 14b⁹ *trīṁśa* for *vīṁśa*, fl. 14b⁷ *tritāram* for *tritāram*;

ir for ri on fl. 15b⁷ in *kīrtikā* for *kṛitikā*; d for t on fl. 14b⁶ in *sphadika*. Want of sandhi: fl. 13b⁷ *dadhi-āhārām* for *dadhyāhārām*. Blunder: fl. 15a⁷ *uttariva* for *uttara*; fl. 15a⁸ *vikṣṇu* for *vishnu*; fl. 13b⁴ *asākhā* for *visākhā*, though these two forms may be synonyms; in the Abridged Petersburg Dictionary both forms are given as synonyms of a certain plant. Similarly fl. 14a⁵ *sarpi* 'serpent' for *sarpa*, fl. 15l¹ *Bhārgavān* for *Bhārgavō*. Omission of final consonant in fl. 14a⁵ *yakri* for *yakrit*, fl. 15a² (see plate) and fl. 15b⁶ *abhiji* for *abhijit*. Anomalous construction in fl. 15b⁶ *ekā abhiji aṣṭau muhūrta*. I am not quite satisfied that I have read correctly the words *kraksha* fl. 15a², *Brahmāvarṇi* fl. 15a³. In fl. 15a² (see plate) there is a curious symbol above *sapta*; and since on fl. 15b⁶ it is stated that *Abhijit* has eight (*aṣṭa*) muhūrtas, I believe that the symbol is the numeral figure 8, intended as a correction. The *s* of *sapta* has not quite its proper shape; I believe the writer or revisor meant to alter *sapta* into *aṣṭa*, but seeing his failure in altering the shape of *sa*, he abandoned his intention and over-wrote the figure 8. There are numerous traces to be met with of a revisor's work; thus in fl. 15a² *krakshāhārām* the *ra* was originally omitted and has been supplied interlinearly; similarly the syllable *nī* of *katyāyanī* in fl. 15a⁵. (See the Plate.)

The portion extracted by me, may be translated thus, observing the proper sequence of the leaves:—

(Leaf 13.) Who are they? They are the Vātsas, Brahmachārins and Chhandōgas. How many are the divisions of the Chhandōgas? Six. Which are they? They are as follows:—Those whose food consists in (1) wheat, (2), (3), (4), (5), (6) francoline partridge.⁵ To which gōtra does their mother belong? To Parāśara's. Has your honour any (particular) reading of the list of Nakshatras? Tell me! They are as follows:—1, Kṛitikā, 2, Rōhiṇi, 3, Mṛigaśira, 4, Ārdrā, 5, Punarvasu, 6, Pushya, 7, Āślēshā, 8, Maghā, 9, Pūrvaphalgunī, 10, Uttara-phalgunī, 11, Hasta, 12, Chitrā, 13, Svāti, 14, Asākhā (Visākhā), 15 Anurādhā, 16, Jyēsthā, 17, Mūla, 18, Pūrvāshāḍhā, 19 Uttarāshāḍhā, 20 Abhiji, 21, Śravaṇa, 22 Dhanishṭhā, 23, Śatabhishā, 24, Pūrvā Bhādrapadā, 25, Uttarā Bhādrapadā, 26, Rēvati, 27, Aśvini, 28, Bharanī. These twenty nakshatras—what are the numbers of their stars, what are their configurations, what are the numbers of their muhūrtas, what are their gōtras, what kinds of food may be taken under them, what are their daivatas?

The following part of the translation, I give in tabular form, for the sake of convenient reference.

⁵ *Atpāsanam* I take to be a mis-reading for *ity āśanam* (= *aśanam*).

No.	Name.	Stars.	Configura- tion.	Muhūrta.	Food.	Daivata.	Gōtra.
1	Kritikā	6	razor	30	curds	Agni	Agnivēśya.
2	Rōhiṇī	5	seat of a cart	45	beef and fish	Prajāpati	?
3	Mrigasīra	3	deer's head	30	venison and fish	Sōma	?
4	Ārdrā	1	mole	15	butter	Rudra	Hāritāyana.
5	Punarvasu	2	flag	45	froth of boiling butter	Āditya	Vaśiṣṭha.
6	Pushya	3	vardhamāna	30	honey	Vrihaspati	Alabaṇḍyavī.
7	Āślēshā	5	flag in the air	15	fish and liver	Sarpa	?

These, oh Pushkarasāri, are the seven nakshatras that are situated in the East.

8	Maghā	5	river-arbour	30	?	Pitri	Piṅgāyani.
9	Pūrva-phal- gunī	2	flag	30	?	Bhaga	Gōtama.
10	Uttara-phal- gunī	2	flag	45	?	Ārya	Kauśiki.
11	Hasta	5	hand	30	?	?	Kātyāyani.
12	Chitrā	1	mole	30	mudga-bean	?	?
13	Svāti	1	mole	15	fruit	?	?
14	Viśākhā	2	horn	45	?	?	Satkrītyāyani.

These, oh Pushkarasārin, are the seven naksharas that are situated in the South.

15	Anurādhā	?	crystal	30	mess of māsha- beans	Mitra	Alaṅbanēyavī.
16	Jyēshthā	3	waist of a youth	15	rice and wheat	Indra	Dīya —.
17	Mūla	4	elephant's foot	30	infusion of Ficus Indica	Āpa	Darpa-katyā- yani.
18	Pūrvāshādhā	3	?	30	roots and fruit	Narīti	?
19	Uttarāshā- dhā	4	elephant's foot	45	honey and parched grain	Vaiśya	Maudgalāyani.
20	Abhijit	3	cow's head	8) 7	vāyu-kraksha (?)	deest	Brahmāyani.
21	Sravaṇa	3	waist of a youth	30	bird's flesh	Vishṇu	Brahmāvārṇī.

These, oh Pushkarasāri, are the seven nakshatras that are situated in the West.

22	Dhanishthā	4	bird (kite)	30	?	Vāsava	Katyāyani.
23	Satabhishā	1	mole	15	?	Varuna	Tāṇḍāyani.
24	Pūrvā-Bha- drapādā	2	flag	30	?	Ābhivridhi	Jātukarṇī.
25	Uttarā Bha- drapādā	2	flag	45	beef	Āryamākalpa	Hiraṇyāyani.
26	Révatī	1	?	30	consistent molas- ses	Pushya	Bhārgavān.
27	Āśvinī	3	?	30	liver and flesh	Gandharva	Āśvāyani.
28	Bharāṇī	3	pudendum muliebre	30	rice	Yama	Bhārgavī.

These, oh Pushkarasārin, are the seven nakshatras that are situated in the North.

Of these twenty-eight nakshatras, oh Puṣhkarasārin, how many nakshatras occupy a period of 45 muhūrtas? Six; they are these:—Rohiṇi, Punarvasu, Uttarā Phalguni, Viśākhā, Uttarāshāḍhā, Uttarā Bhadrāpadā. Five nakshatras take up 15 muhūrtas, namely Ārdrā, Aślēshā, Svāti, Jyēsthā, Satabhishā. One, Abhijit, occupies eight muhūrtas. The remainder are nakshatras occupying 30 muhūrtas. Of the nakshatras, situated in the East, Kṛitikā is the first and Aślēshā, the last (counting from East to West). Of the nakshatras, situated in the South, Maghā is the first, and Viśākhā, the last. Of the nakshatras, situated in the West, Anurādhā is the first, and Śravaṇa, the last. Of the nakshatras, situated in the North, Dhanishthā is the first, and Bharāṇi, the last.

This work is clearly an astronomical treatise of a very ancient type. The most ancient astronomy of the Hindūs was based on the lunar zodiac, comprising 27 (or afterwards 28) asterisms, the so-called nakshatras, the series of which commenced with Kṛitikā or the Pleiades, and ended with Aśvini and Bharāṇi. This system obtained among them till the introduction of Greek astronomy into India, about the middle of the 2nd century A. D. (the time of Ptolemy). About that time the order of the nakshatra series, which was now no more in accordance with reality, was rectified, and the two last nakshatras were placed first, so that the series now commenced with Aśvini (*i. e.*, β and γ in Aries). This new order is that found in all Indian astronomical works, subsequent to the Vedic period.

Further: the older series, beginning with Kṛitikā, consisted originally only of 27 nakshatras. It was, apparently, only in the later stage of the Vedic period of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, that a 28th nakshatra was added; this was Abhijit, which was inserted as No. 20 in the original list. The first mention of Abhijit occurs in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, and it formed already a part of the nakshatra series in the time of the grammarian Pāṇini.⁶ The latter's date is probably at the end of the 3rd century B. C. The earliest mention of the 28 nakshatras in China (introduced by the Buddhists) is in the middle of 3rd century B. C.⁷

Accordingly we have roughly, as the termini *a quo* and *ad quem* for the composition of our treatise, the third century B. C. and the second century A. D. This is about the period of the last stage of the Vedic literature, *viz.*, that of the Sūtras. To this period, belong the two small astronomical treatises, the Nakshatra-kalpa and the Śānti-kalpa,

⁶ See Weber, *Die Vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, part II, pp. 279, 307, 325.

⁷ See *ibidem*, part I, pp. 298, 300.

which are attached to the Kauśika Sūtra of the Atharva Veda.⁸ I have not been able to examine any copies of them, but a brief account of them has been given by Professor Weber in his *Vedische Nachrichten von den Nakshatra* (pp. 390-393). From this account it appears that the statements, especially, in the Nakshatra-kalpa, show a curious resemblance to those in our manuscript. Thus the Nakshatra-kalpa, too, gives lists not only of the shape, the divinity, the number of stars, and the duration of mūhūrtas of every one of the 28 nakshatras, but also of their four-fold distribution into Eastern, Southern, Western and Northern, of their gōtra (or race of Rishi), and of the kind of food that may be taken under them. The Nakshatra-kalpa adds some further particulars, corresponding statements to which may have been in the lost portion of the manuscript, or may possibly be found in that portion which I have not yet been able to examine.

A confirmation of the age of the work may be found in the circumstance, that the information given in it is ascribed to Pushkarasârin. This renowned teacher is said to have been a contemporary of Buddha. He is mentioned as a teacher in the Prâtisâkhya Sūtra; and is also cited in the Vârttikas to Pâṇini by Katyâyana, their author.⁹

On the whole, therefore, and subject to the result of an examination of the whole manuscript, for which I have not yet been able to find time, I have come to the conclusion that this part of the Weber Manuscripts contains a hitherto unknown work belonging to the last stage of the Vedic period of Sanscrit literature.

I will, however, here add a few curious particulars that I have noticed in my cursory comparison of the manuscript with Prof. Weber's account of the Nakshatra-kalpa and similar works. The list of gōtras differs entirely; the only coincidence is in the gōtra of Kṛittikâ. Most of the daivatas agree; the most striking difference is in the case of the 27th nakshatra (Āśvini), for whom our manuscript gives Gandharva as the daivata, while the Nakshatra-kalpa, in common with all other known works, gives the two Āśvins. Other differences may be mere blunders, thus Vaishya in No. 11 and Pushya in No. 26, for Viśvê and Pūshan respectively. Nariti in No. 18 may be a local variety of Nirṛiti. Curious are also, in our manuscript, Âbhivṛiddhi and Āryamâkalpa in Nos. 24 and 25, for Ahirbudhnya and Aja-êkapâd respectively. The transposition of Āpa in No. 17, and of Nariti in No. 18, may be an accidental mistake for Nariti in No. 17 and Āpa in No. 18. In the case of No. 20 (Abhijit) our manuscript gives no daivata at all, the usually given daivata being Brahman; but this, too, may be an accidental omission.

⁸ See Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 153.

⁹ See Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 102, 285

As to the number of stars, composing the several nakshatras, our manuscript differs in nine cases from the Nakshatra-kalpa; viz., in Nos. 2, 7, 8, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 27. Curiously enough in five out of these nine cases (viz., Nos. 2, 7, 8, 16, 20) our manuscript agrees with Brahma-gupta's statements.

With regard to the duration of the muhūrtas, our manuscript has two curious differences. Firstly, it enumerates only five nakshatras of a duration of 15 muhūrtas, while the usual number in the Nakshatra-kalpa and other works is six. These works add Bharani (No. 28), to which in our manuscript a duration of 30 muhūrtas is given. Secondly, our manuscript gives to No. 20 (Abhijit) a duration of 8 muhūrtas, against the usual one of one muhūrta. The whole list of durations stands thus:

Weber MS.		Nakshatra-kalpa, etc.	
6 nakshatras of 45 muhūrtas.		6 naksh. of 45 muh.	
16	„ of 30 „	15	„ „ 30 „
5	„ of 15 „	6	„ „ 15 „
1	„ of 8 „	1	„ „ 1 „

I now proceed to Part II of the Weber Manuscripts. See Plate I, fig. 2. It consists of seven leaves, unfortunately mutilated on the left-hand side, which would have shown the numbers of the leaves. Their size is $6 \times 2\frac{3}{16}$ inches. Four leaves have 9 lines each to the page; the three others, only 6 lines. This may possibly show, that the two sets belong to two different manuscripts, but I have not yet been able to examine them more closely. The characters are again a variety of the North Western Gupta.

The page (obverse of the leaf), figured on Plate I, reads as follows. The paper is very soft, and some portions being rather fretted, are very difficult to read.

- 1, ना द्वादशम् तस्य तद्द्वचनं शुभा रद्रो वचनमत्रवौत् ॐ अहं शिवो
विशालालि त्वं शिवा नामनामतः
- 2, विनाशाय दक्षनाशाय तिष्ठ तु • ॐ थे च त्वां पूजयिष्यन्ति कौर्तयिष्यन्ति
थे नराः प्रदास्यसि वरं तेभ्यो य
- 3, वसुधा • ॐ बलिधूपप्रदानेन पुण्यद्वीपानुलेपनैः भक्त्या च प्रथता मर्त्या
तेषां त्वं भवकामदा • ॐ ॐ
- 4, प्रवक्ष्यामि यानि गुह्यानि ते शिवे • आहूता येस्त्वमागम्य भविष्यसि
वरप्रदा • ॐ ॐ योजनानां
- 5 से पि स्थिता शुभा गमिष्यसि • सोम् जया जयन्तो विजया अमीघा
अपराजिता • जया जांबू

- 6, जंभनी रिपुनाशनी • ॐ सद्यश्चकिरषा भद्रा पुंगवा ब्रह्मचारिणी माया
मायाविनी सद्या कंबुयी
- 7, . . . नना • ॐ शक्तिकर्षी महानामा अजेया अपराजिता • शक्तिकर्षीग्निदंद्वाला
वेताडी वेदनिर्मिताः
- 8, . . . दीर्घलांगुला ऊज्ज्वा जातहारिणी • विदिका विजया धन्या अस्त्रिमा
दकोदरी • ॐ धललला सर्पना
- 9, . . . जिह्वा महामला • तुरूकी च तरुडी च बलूकी च शिवा तथा • ॐ आरणी
च हगाली च भैरवा भीमदर्शनाः

It may be noticed (see the Plate) that the interpunctuation is indicated by a dot, or occasionally two dots. The numerals are, again, of the ancient style. In the following Roman transliteration I have supplied, in brackets and italic type, the missing portions. Here the metre and context has been a guide, though to some extent, of course, the restorations are conjectural. It will be seen from these that, as a rule, the space of four aksharas or $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch is lost, *i. e.*, that the original length of the leaf must have been $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The work is written in the ślōka metre.

- 1, tā hy=aham [1]
tasya tad=bachanam śrutvā Rudrō vachanam=abravīt || 10
Aham Sīvō Viśāl-ākshi tvam Sīvā nāma nāmataḥ [1]
- 2, [Kāma-dēva-]vināśāya Dakṣha-nāśāya tiṣṭha tu || 11
Yē cha tām pūjayisanti kīrtayishyanti yē narāḥ [1]
pradāsyasi varam tēbhyō ya
- 3, vas=tathā || 12
Bali-dhūpa-pradānēna puṣpa-dīp-ānulēpanaiḥ [1]
bhaktyā cha prayatā martyā tēshām tvam bhava-kāma-dā || 13
- 4, pravakshyāmi yāni guhyāni tē Sīvē |
āḥritā yais=tvam=āgamya bhavishyasi vara-pradā || 14
Yōjanānām
- 5, [saha]srē 'pi sthitā śrutvā gamishyasi | om [1]
jayā jayanti vijayā amōghā aparājitā |
javā jāmbū-
- 6, [nada-prabhā] jāmbhani ripu-nāśanī || 15
Sahasra-kiraṇā bhadrā puṅgavā brahma-chāriṇī |
māyā māyāvinī sadyā kambu-grī
- 7, [vā rakt]-ānanā || 16
Sukti-karpī mahā-nāgā ajēyā aparājitā |

- 8, śakti-karṇ=āgni-damśhtrālā¹⁰ vētāḍi vēda-nirmitā ||¹¹ 17
 . . . A dirgha-lāṅgulā hūhukkā jāta-hāriṇī |
 viddhikā vijayā dhanyā asi-lōmā vṛik-ōdari || 18
 Dhalaṅḍhalā sarpa-nā
- 9, [thā dirgha]-jihvā mahā-galā |
 turūki cha tarūḍi cha balūki cha śivā tathā ||¹¹ 19
 Āraṇyī cha srigālī cha bhairavā bhīma-darśanā ||¹¹

This may be translated thus:—

(10) Hearing his (her) words, Rudra spoke as follows: (11) I am Śivā, oh large-eyed-one! Thou shalt be called Śivā after my name; and thou shalt be the cause of Kāmādēva's destruction and Daksha's death. (12) Those men that shall worship and extol thee, to them thou shalt grant gifts, as well as to them that (13) Those mortals that show their faith and devotion to thee by offering of sacrifices and incense, by flowers, lights and anointings, to them thou shalt be the bestower of their worldly desires. (14) I will announce to thee, oh Śivā, all the secret things concerning thee! By whomsoever thou art called upon, to him thou shalt come and bestow on him gifts. (15) Even if thou art at a distance of a thousand yōjanas, yet thou shalt hear and go to him. Om! Thou art victorious, conquering, triumphant, unerring, unsurpassable, swift, brilliant as gold, crushing, destroying (thy) enemies, (16) thousand-rayed (like the sun), good, spouse of the Puṅgava (bull-like man), holy, illusory, creating illusions, ever-new, shell-necked, red-mouthed, (17) oyster-shell-eared, a great Nāga, invincible, unsurpassable, strong-eared, fiery-toothed, a Vētāḍi (goblin), set up by the Vēdas, (18) spouse of him with the long līnga, a roarer, ravisher of new-born babes, transfixer, conqueror, enricher, with sword-like hair and wolf-like belly, (19) *Dhalaṅḍhalā* (?), mistress of serpents, long-tongued, large-throated, *turūki* (swift?), *tarūḍi* (young?), *balūki* (strong?) as well as lucky, wild, jackal-like, awe-inspiring, of fearful aspect.

I add the Roman transliteration of the reverse page. It is still more worn, and still more difficult to read:—

- 1, bandha-mōchanī || 20
 Bhagavatyai namas=tubhyam ēhy=āraṇyē śivē śubhē |
 aduśtē bhaṭṭini bhaṭṭē guhī

¹⁰ The text actually reads *śakti-damśhtr-āgni-karṇ-āgni-damśhtrālā*, with a stroke of cancellation drawn through the first *damśhtrāgni*. For *śakti* probably *śukti* should be read, though the epithet *śukti-karṇ* is already mentioned in the preceding hemistich.

¹¹ The interpunctuation is here indicated by two dots placed one above the other, like the visarga (:), instead of the single dot used everywhere else.

- 2, sinī || 21
Ek-ākshara-ravê dhâtrê t̄ri-lōka-guru-vatsalê |
satya-vâdiny=umê chaṇḍê viśalyê śatru-nâśani || 22
Bhaya-dê dhana-dê
- 3, katu-vinâśani |
daityânâm bala-hartâri mâmsa-śōṇita-bhōjani || 23
Vapâ-dhūpa-priyê rôdri kâla-râtri mahâ-ravê |
asi-
- 4, [lōmē] . . danti śūlalô (?) śūla-bhīshani || 24
Pañch-āyushyê shad-ād̄hikyê na¹² ch=āshṭadaśa-bhīshani |
kṛishṇê gauri pradīptī
- 5, [cha] . . . lam̄ba-chūchukê || 25
Mēgha-dundubhi nirghōshê sarva-vyād̄hi-pramōchani |
sarva-vyasana-mōktâri kali du-svapna-
- 6, [|| 26]
. dâti śivê gauri karâḍê lôhit-ānanê |
prachaṇḍê amṛit-ôdgârê¹³ abhra-yânê manô-javê || 27
- 7, yê vṛiddhê mât̄ri-varga-prachârīṇi |
śri-lakshmir=vapuh-pushtis=tvam̄ siddhiḥ kirtir=ēva cha || 28
Hrī śântiḥ kânti-rasa
- 8, tu sâdhani |
yadi pâśa-balam̄ satyam̄ viśvê dēva-balam̄ yadi |¹⁴
nâśayishyasi śatruṇâm=āyur=vīryam̄ dhanam̄ .
- 9, |
[dēva-râjasya satyēna pūrva-diśi] yadi sthitâ || 30
Dharma-râjasya satyēna dakshinasyam̄ yadi sthitâ |¹⁵
Varuṇasya

This work appears to be a *stōtra*, or hymn, in honour of Śiva's spouse, Pârvatī, after the manner of the Purāṇas. Perhaps it may be possible, hereafter, to identify it with some work already known. I may mention that, in glancing over another page, I have noticed directions given as to the particular kinds of sacrifice which are to be offered (to Pârvatī?) in the case of each of the four castes. The passage runs as follows:—

Amâtyê ghṛita-hōmaḥ kartavyaḥ || Brâhmaṇê dadhi-ghṛita-hōmaḥ
nâma-gōtram̄ sarvēśhâm̄ grâhyam̄ || [Kshatriyê] ghṛita-madhu-hōmaḥ ||
Vais̄yê dhânya-hōmaḥ || Sūdrê matsya-hōmaḥ || Sarva-vaśīkaraṇê vachâ-
hōmaḥ.

¹² Or *navâ* for *nachâ*.

¹³ Or perhaps *ôdbhârê*. The letters are indistinct.

¹⁴ Here the number 29 is omitted in the text.

¹⁵ See note ¹¹ on page 51.

That is: In the case of a minister an oblation of clarified butter should be made; in the case of a Brâhman, an oblation of curds and clarified butter, (and) the name and gôtra should be mentioned in every case; in the case of a Kshatriya, an oblation of clarified butter and honey (should be made); in the case of a Vajśya, an oblation of rice (or grain); in the case of a Sûdra, an oblation of fish; (and) generally for the purpose of subjecting any one to one's power, an oblation of Vachâ (or the root of *Acorus calamus*).

Part III. See Plate I, fig. 3. There are six leaves; four of them are mere fragments, but two are fairly complete; one of the latter has been figured. These two measure $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with 6 lines to the page. The characters are a North Western Gupta variety. The figured page reads as follows:—

- 1, मेन धोवितव्या—स्वस्थो भवति ॥ नमो विद्युजिह्व
- 2, युजु युजु—युजि युजि—मालिनि—विमाननि—अमुकं च
- 3, मथी प्रतिमा कर्मव्या—सा प्रतिमा सर्पवतैलेन मक्षयितव्या
- 4, अ० ग्नि जुह्य ॥ असुको ज्वरितो भवति— ॥ मोचितुकामेन तद्यथा
- 5, इडि इडि—इडि इडि इडि—क्षमसि—माक्षसि—कटकपलि¹⁶—
- 6, टकं प्रेषामि—इमं पर्वतराजानं रवत—कुष्ठहिंशु परिजप्य—

Roman Transliteration.

- 1, mēna dhôvitavyâ | svasthō bhavati || namô Vidyu-
jihva-
- 2, [*mâtamga-râjasya*] yuju yuju | yuji yuji | mâlini | vimānani | amu-
kâṁ çri-
- 3, [*pa-śulva*] mayi pratimâ karttavayâ | sâ pratimâ sarshava-tailēna
makshayitavyâ
- 4, . . . agni juhya || asukô jvaritô bhavati || môchitu-kâmēna | tad-
yathâ
- 5, . . itti itti | itti itti itti | kshamasi | mâkshasi | kaṭaka-pali¹⁶ |
- 6, [*ka*]ṭakâṁ prēshâmi | imâṁ parvata-râjânaṁ ravatu kushṭha-
hiṁgu parijapya |

The reverse page runs as follows:—

- 1, . . m=pitavyô môkshô bhavati || namô Vidyu-jihva-mâtamga-
râjasya | tad=yathâ | kulimâ-
- 2, [*li kulimâ*] li | kulimâli | svâhâ || śulbasya pratimâ kar-
tavâyâ | taila-ghṛitê-

¹⁶ Or, perhaps, only *kaṭa-pali*. The second *ka* is half deleted.

- 3, [*n = ámuka-nri*]pasya náména sô dahyati — || móchitu-kâména |
gandh-ôdakam=parijapya | i-
4, môcha | satasati | dhana-dhana svâhâ || sâ pratimâ
snâpayita-
5, [*vyâ*] mah Sâbarâpâm | prakhalê prakhalê | prakhalê pra-
khalê | viddhê
6, grihya nisêhitavyah ||

This appears to belong to some work on sorcery; and from the fact that on the second leaf occurs the phrase *sarva-siddhânâm pañch-âbhiññânâm namaḥ* it would seem to be a Buddhistic work. For the "five knowledges" are a well-known Buddhist term. The diction is a barbarous mixture of Sanskrit and Pâli. The following is a tentative translation:—

"(The image) should be washed with He will be well. Salutation to the elephant king with the lightning-like tongue! Yuju! Yuju! yuji! yuji! Oh Mâlini, oh Vimânani! Of such and such a king let an image of copper be made! That image should be rubbed with mustard oil, (and) having burned (it in) fire , such a one will be attacked with fever. If it is wished to deliver him (*from fever*), the following (*charm should be used*): "Itti, itti, mayest thou forgive, mayest thou wipe off; Oh Kaṭakapali; I send an army; let him praise this mountain-king!" Having uttered a spell over kushṭha and asafoetida, (this remedy) should be drunk; (*then*) there will be deliverance. Salutation to the elephant-king with the lightning-like tongue! (*Then to be said*) as follows: "Hail to her who bears a chaplet of kuli (*Solanum Jacquini*)!" An image of copper should be made; (this should be rubbed) with oil and clarified butter (*and heated*) in such a king's name; (*then*) he will burn (*with fever*). If it is wished to deliver (*him*), a spell should be said over fragrant water: "itti, itti deliver him, oh Satasati, Dhana-dhana, hail!" That image should be bathed (*with the fragrant water*) (worst) of the Sâbaras! oh wicked one! oh pierced one! Having taken (*him*), he should be warded off.

Part IV. See Plate III, fig. 1. No more than the fragment which has been figured exists of this manuscript. It is, however, of very considerable interest, as it presents a species of the North-Western Gupta character, which forms the link between that and the Central Asian type of Nâgarî characters. For comparison the forms of the super-scripted vowel *e* and of the consonants *j*, *t*, *n* may be especially noticed.

The figured page reads as follows:—

- 1, शय विचक्षणः अष्टाङ्गसंपूर्णान् अर

- 2, . . . , क भवति च्छभिरूपः सुसंस्थितः जातिस्मरो धर्मदान
 3, . . . यताम् ८ द्वास्त्रिंशत्क्षणाभ्येवमशौतियंजनानि च
 4, . . . भवत्यङ्गीरसः कथम् १ लक्षणेः सर्व्वदनेन
 5, . . . श्रद्धते समचित्तेन भवत्यङ्गीरसो मुनिः ०४ हे
 6, समागमो जिनैर्नित्यं

In the following transliteration, I have, as before, supplied missing portions, where it was possible, in brackets and italic type. The work is written in the ślōka metre, and it will be seen that about four or six aksharas are lost on each side, on the assumption that the extant piece formed the middle of the leaf. Accordingly the whole leaf, in its original state, probably measured 7 inches, allowing a little for the margins.

- 1, [ati]śaya-vichakṣaṇaḥ [i]
 aṣṭ-āṅga-saṃprapūru[ḍ] na [d]v[i]r[a] [7 ॥]
 2, k[ḍ] bhavati hy-abhirūpaḥ su-sa[ṁ]sthitaḥ [i]
 jāti-smarō dharma-dān
 3, yatām 8 [॥]
 Dvā-s-tri[ṁ]śal-lakṣaṇāny=ēvam=aśīti-vyamjanāni cha [i]

 4, bhavaty=Aṅgīrasaḥ katham 9 [॥]
 Lakṣaṇaṇiḥ sarvva-d[ā]nēna
 5, [i]
 śuddhyatē sama-chittēna bhavaty=Aṅgīrasō muniḥ 10 [॥]
 Hē
 6, ḥ [i]
 samāgamō jinair=nityam [11 ॥]

Reverse :

- 1, dānasya chēsthitaṁ [i]
 t[ḍ]n-āsi
 2, [12 ॥]
 [S]mṛit[i]m[ā]m[ā]m[ā]=ś=cha katham vā syān=matimām[ā]=ś=cha vicha-
 kṣaṇa[ḥ] [i]

 3, [a]rhasi 13 [॥]
 Aśaṭaḥ smṛitimām[ā]m[ā]m[ā]=ś=cha vicha[kṣaṇaḥ] [i]

 4, ḥ-āpi prajñāyā dharmā-dhāraka 14 [॥]
 Akṣaṇēbhyaḥ ka

- 5, gachchhati [1]
 kēna pramattô bhavati bravihy=êtan=mam=ânaghaḥ 1[5 #]

- 6, [mā]rga-śilēna gachchhati [1]
 śunyatā-bhāvan-âbhyâsa-tapa [16 #]

This may be translated thus:—

(Angirasa is) pre-eminently clever, thoroughly full of the eight-fold (qualities) (7) He is handsome, well-put-together, a rememberer of his former existences, an impartor of the Law (to others) (8) The 32 attributes as well as the 80 marks, how does Angirasa possess them? (9) By his attributes, his imparting of all things,, his equanimity he is purified,—is the Muni Angirasa. (10) his intercourse is constant with the Jinas . . . (11) his function is the imparting (of the Law) (12) How is he thoughtful and intelligent and clever art thou able (to tell me?) (13) He is guileless, thoughtful, intelligent and clever, . . . (full of) wisdom, versed in the Law. (14) From inopportune things he goes (away); with reference to what he is indifferent and (yet remains) sinless,—that do thou tell me! (15) . . . he walks in the moral precepts of the path (of holiness), . . . asceticism (and) the practice of meditation on Sūnyatā (or Nirvāna).

It is difficult to judge from such a small fragment, what the subject of the whole work may have been. That of the fragment itself is an eulogistic description of the Muni Angirasa. From the technical terms, occurring in the fragment, it seems clear that the work is Buddhist.

Part V. See Plate II, fig. 1. There are eight leaves, measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches. They are mutilated, however, on both sides. There are five lines to every page. The characters belong to the round variety of the Central Asian Nāgarī.

The figured page, being the reverse, reads as follows:—

- 1, ष . . . द शयत पूज
 2, द्वाचदण्डेन परिमुञ्चिष्यति—याव एवमेव परिमुञ्च . . .
 3, . . . शक्यं कसमति न विषा नाग्नि नाशौविष न कक्खोर्द न वेताल्ल न
 4, . . . लं करो ति अत्यत्र पुरिमकर्मविपाकेन—एवमुक्त्वा भगवां स . . .
 5, . य . सेनापतिमिदमवोचत्—साधु साधु माण्डिभद्र अनुजानामि मि

In Roman transliteration, as before:—

- 1, sha . . . da śashyata pūja

- 2,¹⁷ ddhy-arha-daṇḍēna parimuchchishyati | yāva evam=eva
parimuchch[ishyati]
- 3, [na] . . śāstra[ni] kramati na vishā n=āgni n=āsi-visha na kak-
khôrḍda¹⁷ na vaitāla na
- 4, . . [ba]lam karōti atyattrā¹⁸ purima-karma-vipākēna | evam-uktō
Bhagavām ma[hārā-]
- 5, [jam] ya[ksha]-sēnāpatim=avōchat | sādhu sādhu Māṇibhadra
anujānāmi mi

The obverse page has the following:—

- 1, manta varṇavanta yaśāsvina 6 [u]
Mahā-bala-mahā-k[ā]ya va [i]
- 2, na . manasā Buddhām vandanti Gautama 7 [u]
Kumbhakarṇō Nikumbhās=cha Siddharttham=aparājitam [i]
ma .
- 3, dantō cha Sahasrākshās=cha Piṅgala [u]
Kavilō Dharmadirṇās=cha Ugratêjō [i]
- 4, tvam śaraṇam yānti su-p-prasannēna chētāsā 9 [u]
tad=yathā kadyē-kōdyō¹⁹

¹⁷ This is the passage referred to in my paper "The Third Instalment of the Bower MSS." in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, p. 369. On another leaf of the same MS., the word occurs once more, but spelled *kākkhōrḍda* with a long *ā*. I wish to take this opportunity to correct my reading of the word in the Bower MS. It is there spelt *kākkhōrḍa*, with the *jihvāmūliya* before *kh*, not *kavkhōrḍa*, as I first read it. I owe this correction to a suggestion of Dr. A. Stein, who informs me that in modern Śāradā writing the difference between a superscribed *r* and the *jihvāmūliya* is very small. He suggests that there may be a clerical error in the Bower MS. This, however, is not probable. The forms of the superscribed *r* and the *jihvāmūliya* are widely different in the Bower MS., but on the other hand (as, for that matter, in Śāradā also) there is a resemblance between the super-compounded *v* and the *jihvāmūliya*. Hence I took the symbol to be that for *v*, while I should have recognized it as the symbol of the *jihvāmūliya*. Dr. Stein, further, informs me that the word *kākkhōrḍa* occurs also in VII, 298 of the Rājataranginī, in the form *khurkhūḥa*, and that it is still used in modern Kashmiri in the form *khurikhākhūs*. He suggests that it is rather these more modern forms that represent the proper spelling of the word, with reference to the correct placement of *r* (i. e., *kārkhōḍa*, not *kākhōrḍa*). I do not agree with this; we have, in the Bower MSS. and the Weber MSS., the earliest (known) spellings of the word, compared with which the more modern spellings in the Rājataranginī and in Kashmiri are more likely to be corruptions.

¹⁸ Perhaps *atyattrā* is an error for *anyattrā*, and *vipākē na* may have to be separated.

¹⁹ The letter which I have read *dy* is doubtful. For a facsimile of it, see Plate IV of the alphabet.

5, i . i . i . i . âha — yattra (sibha-dattâ) bhagava

This may be translated as follows:—

“He will be delivered from condign punishment; and so forth (*as before down to*) even so he will be delivered, no weapon can hurt him, nor poison, nor fire, nor poisonous snake, nor Kakkhôrdda, nor Vaitâla, nor can have power over him here (in this world) through the natural consequence of his deeds (done) in former existences.” Having thus spoken, the Blessed one spoke to the Mahârâja, the General of the Yakshas (thus): “Verily, verily, oh Mâqibhadra! I permit thee

The brilliant, the glorious (6), they of great strength, of great body intently praise Buddha. Gautama, (7) Kumbhakarna, and Nikumbha (praise) the Siddhârtha, the invincible, and . . . danta, Sahasrâksha and Pingala, Kapila, Dharmadîrpa and Ugratêja, they seek thy protection with a well-pleased mind, (9) (saying) as follows: “Kadyê, kôdyê.”

I do not think that much can be lost at the two sides. Lines 4 and 5 of the reverse show this. On two other pages the *mahâyaksha sênâpati Mâqibhadra* and four *mahârâja yakshasênâpati* are spoken of, which shows how the lacuna should probably be filled up. The original size can also be calculated from the *ślokas* on the obverse page. This page seems to give an enumeration of Mahânâgas. Of the *ślokas*, those numbered Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 are preserved. The rest is in prose. The whole reminds one somewhat of the snake-charm in the Bower MSS., which I have published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, p. 349 ff. The full size of the leaf, in its original state, may have been about $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches, inclusive of margins. The figured leaf is the best preserved; some of the others are in a scarcely legible state. But it seems clear from what remains that the work contained a charm given by Buddha (Bhagavân) to the Mahâyaksha Mâqibhadra.

Part VI. See Plate II, fig. 2. There are five leaves, measuring $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with 7 lines to the page. The leaves, though practically complete on the left side, are greatly mutilated on the right side, by nearly one-third. The characters are another specimen of the round variety of the Central Asian Nâgarî.

The figured page is the reverse and reads as follows:—

- 1, स्व एत एत च सन्निरुक्तः . . .
 2, . व . रक्षस संगतां काले कर्त्वितां कवयो वीदुः ॐ
 3, . स् . दत्ता पुत्रप जासु रामन्तामभिनिर्दिशेत् ॐ

- 4, अभिषेक्षा" मदा ○ त्वनो राजपुत्रं कुलोद्गतः B[~] च
 5, . : सप्त प्रकृतयो यस्य राष्ट्रं च निरुपद्रवम् B[~] न
 6, तितः राजानः करदा यस्य विशस्य विजयीकृतः B[~] इष्टिय . .
 7, अनित्यमानुषां लोकांस्तु संजते. B[~] निघण्टुनिगमप्रौ

In Roman transliteration I give the obverse page (not figured) first:—

- 1, 40 [1]
 Vyapêta-rôga-maraṇam vipram sa[m]parikî[r]tyatê [apritiś=ch=âbhishakta . . . [. 41 ||
]
 2, tatô 'yam kuṇḍâśi puṁśchali-patih [1]
 vapâ-pushpa-nibham vastram mahârâja . . . [. 42 ||
]
 3, jâmbukaś=ch=êti tat-samam [1]
 lêhakô 'vyakta-vachanô dhûrtas=tu . rtiva . [. 43 ||
]
 4, vidhushikô matah [1]
 chatur-bhâgas=turiyam syâ jaghanyam kaṭi [. . 44 ||
]
 5, vikramêṇa balêna cha |
 uttamô yaḥ samânêbhyaḥ sa [. 45 ||
]
 6, . . . laukikânâm tath=aiva cha [1]
 parinishthâ-vidhi-jûô yaḥ sa [. 46 ||
]
 7, ni . kaḥ [1]
 shaḍ-varṁśô râja-yajûâ yas=tan-tu [. 47 ||
]

Reverse (figured).

- 1, [1]
 . ndhava vṛitta vṛitta cha sanniruktaḥ [. . . . 48 ||
]
 2, . . va . [1]
 rahasa samgatâm kâlê kartsnitâm kavayô viduḥ 4[9 ||
]
 3, . . m [1]
 [pra]dattâ purusha-jûân=cha râmam tâm=abhinirdiśêt 50 [1]
]
 4, âbhipêkshâm mahâtmanô râja-putram kul-ôdgataḥ 51 [1]
 Ya [.]

- 5, . h [1]
 sapta prakritayô yasya râshtram cha nirupadravam 52 [H]
 na [.] *prakî*
- 6, rtitah [1]
 râjânah kara-dâ yasya viśas=ch=âvijayi-kṛitah 53 [H]
 Ishtîya [.] [1]
- 7, apitya-mânushâm lôkâm=s=tu samjatê²⁰ | 54 [H]
 Nighaṇḍa-nigama-prâm [.] [1]
]

The obverse of the next leaf continues as follows :—

- 1, . . -ch-chhatram kshatriyair=Buddha-nirjitah 55 [H]
 Eka-ch-chhatram mahim vyamktê [.] [1]
]
- 2, vanâd=upavanam smritam [56 H]
 Padminî rēju râjiva-chatra-paṭṭavati smṛi[tâ 1]

The remainder is almost illegible.

The leaf that immêdiately precedes the foregoing two leaves, reads as follows :—

Obverse.

- 1, shthas=chaṇḍa-samjñitam 24 [H]
 Paramê-shthî matah śrêshthah prê . priya . da [.]
]
- 2, [kî]rtitam 25 [H]
 Pada-kṛich=charmakara syât=tapitas=tu vamô matah [1]
 lâvanyam=âhur=madhu [.] 26 H
]
- 3, . svasâ tu bhagini matâ |
 vâta-pitta-kaph-âtmanô vyâdhayah [parikîrtitah 27 H
]
- 4, . . ttâ hy=upadravaḥ [1]
 ajñô vēśah samâkhyâtô nuttam prêritam=uch[yatê 28 H
]
- 5, . . hûtah [1]
 talpam tu śayanam jñeyam khatv=êti . . thâ vaku 2[9 H
] [1]
- 6, kilâsam pâṇḍuram jñeyam dôlâ prênkh=êti samjñitah 30 [H]
 Barhîmsi cha [.] [1]
]

²⁰ This verse is blundered; four syllables are wanting. Perhaps read *samjayatê*. The final double dot is not a visarga, but the mark of interpunctuation.

- 7, . bhavanam=uchyatê | 31 [||]
 Pradhânam²¹ yu[*dha*]m=ity=âhur=âyôdhanam=iti [*smṛitam* |
 32 ||]
 Reverse.
- 1, . da . ô dâsa-vpittayaḥ sarandhra iti saṁsmṛitaḥ [1]
 ada [. 33 ||
]
- 2, . tam vinirdiśêt [1]
 bṛindâarakas=tu vijñeyô yaḥ simha-natavâm taraḥ [34 ||
 |
 .]
- 3, . hanah prêta-râja syâch=chhuslmî tu Maghavam mataḥ 35 [||]
 . . [. ' . . . |
kuṁ]
- 4, . bh[*ê*]las=tu matô nakraḥ kurmo gûḍh-aṅga uchyatê | 36 [||]
 . ptsava [. |
 . .]
- 5, . . panâma syâ kâarakô bhṛitakô mataḥ 37 [||]
 Utthyaṁ praśasta[*m*] vijñê [*yam* |
]
- 6, . prôktô mallêraḥ kêkarô mataḥ 38 [||]
 Parô 'patânam martyam²²=abhidyâ[*nê*]na [. . . |
]
- 7, [*saṁpracha*]kshatê | 39 [||]
 Yôtraḥ sa khalu vijñeyô yaḥ sutasy=âsutô mata[*h* |
]

This work is written in ślôkas, from which it is easy to calculate how many syllables are lost on the right hand side. The number varies from about 12 to 18. Those aksharas which are actually lost are indicated by dots enclosed within straight brackets; those, not thus enclosed, indicate illegible letters. On an average, one-half (or 16 aksharas in each line) is lost of each ślôka. The space required for these lost aksharas would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, allowing for a small margin on the right-hand side. Accordingly the total length of the original leaf must have been $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

In the following I give the translation only of those passages which are complete, taking the proper sequence of the leaves :—

(Verse 25.) By *paramêshthîn* (he who stands foremost) is meant the best. (26) A *pada-kṛit* (foot-maker, shoe-maker) should be (understood to be) a worker in leather. By *tapita* is meant vomiting. (27)

²¹ Read *pradhânam*. So in the Amara Kôsha.

²² This pâda is short by one syllable. Perhaps read '*patânakam*.'

By *svasā* is meant a sister. All diseases (are said to be) due to air, or bile, or phlegm. (28) A disguise is called *ajña* (incognito). Something dispatched is said to be *nuta*. (29) *Talpa* should be known to be a bed. (30) *Kilāsa* should be known to be a kind of jaundice. A swing is termed *prēśkhā*. (32) A war they call *pradhana*; it is also known as *āyōdhana*. (34) That charm which contains the *simha-nata* (? , *nata* is *Tabernæmontana coronaria*) should be known to be the *Vrindāra* (*i. e.*, best of its kind).²³ (35) [*Nri*]hana should be understood to be the king of the Prētas. By *sushmān* (*i. e.*, powerful) is meant Maghavān. (36) By *kumbhīla* is meant a crocodile. The tortoise is said to be *gūdhānga*, (*i. e.*, having hidden limbs). (37) By *kāraka* is meant a paid servant. (38) *Utthya* should be known to be that which is excellent. By *mallēra* is meant squinting. (39) Excessive spasmodic contraction is known by the name of *martya* (*i. e.*, mortal). By *yōtra*, indeed, should be known that which is the means of distilling the Soma extract. (41) A death which is not preceded by any illness is praised as *vipra* (*i. e.*, excellent). (42) A *kuṇḍāsīn* is a keeper of harlots. A garment [fit to be worn by] a Mahārāja is one which resembles flowers and the omentum. (43) A *lēhaka* (licker, lisper) is one who does not speak plainly. (44) *Turīya* should be (understood to be) a quarter. (49) A mystery (plot?) harmonizing in time is what the poets know as *kartsnitā* (*krītsnatā*, or completeness). (52) Whose state possesses its seven constituent elements, and whose country is free of disturbance. . . . (53) To whom kings pay tribute, and whose people are never conquered. . . . (56) An *upavana* (grove or small forest) takes its name from a forest (*vana*). (57) A lotus is known as *rēju* or *rājīva* or *chatrapaṭṭavati* (cf. Skr. *śatapatra*).

This clearly shows that the work is some Sanskrit vocabulary or "kōsha." Perhaps it may be possible, hereafter, to identify it with some one of the existing and known kōshas; or it may turn out to be a new and hitherto unknown kōsha-work. It appears to contain a good number of new words.

On the left-hand margin of the reverse of the last-copied leaf, opposite to the 3rd and 4th lines, there are faint traces left of the number 6. This, therefore, is the sixth leaf of the manuscript. As there are, on the average, 8 ślōkas on a page, or 16 on a leaf, there should be about 90 ślōkas (allowing a blank page to commence with) on the six initial leaves of the work. As the 6th leaf, however, only brings us down to the middle of the 40th ślōka, it may be concluded, that the work was divided in chapters (*adhyaayas*), and that the 40

²³ This is puzzling. Perhas *taraḥ* is a clerical error for *naraḥ*, and the meaning may be "one who has subdued a lion is a *Vrindāra*."

ślōkas, a portion of which has been preserved, belong to the second chapter, while the first chapter must have contained about 50 ślōkas. Perhaps when the remainder of the existing fragment has been read, this point may be more certainly known. I have at present only read and copied those leaves, on which I could discern any numbers. These show us the partial preservation of the following ślōkas: 24-40 and 41-57; and this, consequently, proves that the figured leaf is the seventh of the manuscript.

The manuscript is rather carelessly written; thus we have *vidhushikō* for *vidushikō* on line 4 of the obverse of the 7th leaf; and *kurmō gūḍhāṅga* for *kūrmō gūḍhāṅga* on line 4 of the reverse of the 6th leaf, and other blunders.

Part VII. See Plate II, fig. 3. This manuscript consists of 7 leaves, measuring about 5 by 2½ inches, but they are mutilated on the left-hand side. There are mostly six lines to the page; a few leaves have 7 lines, but these may possibly turn out to belong to a different manuscript. The characters are again another specimen of the round variety of the Central Asian Nāgarī.

The figured page reads as follows:—

- 1, तंज पूजितम् तथागतं नमस्यामि संबुद्धिपदोत्तमम् भग
- 2, . . . स् ॥ उत्तिले—दले—दत्तिले—सिद्धिरस्तु स्वाहा—यः क
- 3, वतः श्रवकः भिक्षुर्वा भिक्षुणी वा उपासको वा उपासिका वा—इ
- 4, . . इमं च मे हृदि पूर्वरात्रमपररात्रं मनसि करिष्यति
- 5, . . . येन परिमुचिष्यति—दण्डार्हाप्रहारेण परिमुचिष्य
- 6, ि . पेण—पि लोम

In Roman transliteration;—

- 1, [.] . jña pūjitam [॥]
Tathāgataṁ namasyāmi sambuddha-dvipad-ōttamam [॥]
Bhaga
- 2, [.] . . . m ॥
Uttilē, dalē, dattilē, siddhir=astu svāha; yaḥ ka [ś=chid=Bhaga-]
- 3, vataḥ śr[ā]vakaḥ bhikshur=vā bhikshuṇī vā upāsakō va upāsikā
vā, i-
- 4, .. imam cha mē hṛida[ya]m pūrva-rātram=apara-rātram manasi
karishyati
- 5, .. [da]ṇ[ḍ]ēna parimuchchishyati, daṇḍ-ārha-prahārēṇa pari-
muchchishya-
- 6; [ti] i . pēṇa; pa . i . ā . -ārḥō lōma-

The reverse reads as follows :—

- 1, [parimu]chchishyati, imê cha . bhadantê bhaga-
- 2, ham=anubhavênâ sa sâgar-ânta-prithivîm=anuvicha-
- 3, tpalô narô, kumbha-karṇô mahâ-kumbha-karṇô, âri, kôri,
kâ-
- 4, lê, pêlôlê, âyê, tâyê, ikshôri, kunê kunikê, yas=cha mê
- 5, śukla-pakshasya pratipadam=upâdâya krishṇa-pakshê vâ snâta-
śu-
- 6, [chî] . . . dharmê saṁghê sa-gauravêṇa, ayô-vihitam chittam
varjitêna âdi . ê

The first passage (obverse, lines 1 and 2) is a ślôka, which affords the means of calculating the extent of the lost portion of the leaf. The dots, inclosed within brackets, indicate the number of lost aksharas. They are ten or eleven, and would occupy the space of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The full size of the original leaf, accordingly, must have been $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This would seem to show that the smaller of the two extant wooden boards belonged to this manuscript; and this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the board is inscribed with a line of writing in Central Asian Nâgarî (see *ante* p. 37). The leaf must have been torn exactly in the place where the string-hole originally was situated.

The remainder of the text is in prose. It seems to be another work giving the story of a Buddhist charm. From a remark, which I have noticed on another leaf, it would appear that the charm was communicated by Buddha himself to the Mahâyaksha Sênâpati Mâṇibhadra, with reference to a son of the latter, called Pûrnaka. The subject of the work, therefore, is similar to that in the Vth Part, and it may possibly turn out to be another copy of the same charm.

The text above quoted may be thus translated :—

I salute the Tathâgata, the best of enlightened men, the Blessed one Uttilê, dalê, duttilê! May it be effective! Svâhâ! If any disciple of the Blessed-one, any male or female mendicant, or any male or female lay-devotee, keeps in mind this my heart in the former part and in the latter part of the night, he will be delivered from punishment, he will be delivered from any stroke of punishment; etc.

On the reverse occur the names of some Nâgas, *e. g.*, Kumbhakarna and Mahâ-kumbhakarna.

Part VIII. See Plate III, fig. 2. Of this manuscript only 4 leaves are preserved, measuring $5 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but mutilated on the right-hand side. They are inscribed with 7 lines to the page, of which the lowest (or the uppermost on the reverse) is almost wholly obliterated. The characters are again a specimen of the round variety of the Central Asian Nâgarî, approaching rather more to the Indian Gupta type.

The figured²⁴ page reads as follows :

- 1 चूर्णेन प्रत्यागच्छन्ति ॥ कपिलाजिह्वां गृह्य
2. पितव्या हि पूरमिश्रतायाः देवप्रतिमाय धूपो दातव्यो ततो सा च
3. स मुंचति गुर्गुलुधूपेन प्रकृतिस्थो भवति ॥ उपर पुटालि चण्ड
4. स्वाह ॥ उपचारः ○ कृष्ये चतुर्दश्यां ढराचोपोषितेन श्वेतप
5. भां दण्डलच्छ्रेण व ति कृष्यते अतसौतैलेन दीपो ज्वालयित
6. . अ स्थां . . तं चा सर्व्वरात्रि विद्य परिजपतया ततः प्र . . .
7. . . तथ . ना

In Roman transliteration :

1. chûrṇēna pratyâgachchham̐ti ॥ kapilâ-jihvâṁ gr̥ihya
2. shitavyâ hi pûra-misritâyâḥ dēva-pratimâya dhûpô datavyô tatô
sâ a
3. sa munçhati gurgulu-dhûpēna prakṛiti-sthō bhavati ॥ uparu pu-
ṭâli chaṇḍa
4. svâha ॥ upachâraḥ kṛishṇē chaturddaśyâṁ ṭri-râtri-ôpôshitēna
śvêta-pa
5. bhâm daṇḍala-sûtrēna varti kṛiyatê atasi-tailēna dipô jvâlayita
6. . jra stham̐ . . tam̐ cha sarvva-râtri vidy[ā] pari-jap[i] tavyâ
tataḥ pra
7. . . tathâ . nâ

Reverse.

1. . . śavi . paśyam̐ti ya ya paṁ ॥
2. kili[k]ilikasya jatu-kârēna śira-gôlakam̐ kârayêt tatra tôlakēna
3. . . rmadēna limpivâ tēna gôlakēna śasy-ôttarê ch=chhubhitavyê
dhâka
4. . dvitîyaḥ ēva bhârô bhavati sarvam̐ vashyati tataḥ prikr̥ich²⁴=
chuddhê
5. dam̐ cha bhavati ॥ tuṇḍa-kilikilikasy=âkshini gr̥ihya pishayê
srôṇchatê
6. push[p]a-yôgēn=ânjîtēna gavâchyû-pisâcham̐ paśyam̐ti tēna cha
purusha-vîrya
7. . . trayam̐ pisâcham̐ hanati tapyasya kachchhât=prasêvaka gr̥ihya
gam̐ [.]

The text is too mutilated to admit of a satisfactory translation. What there is may be thus rendered :—

He approaches with the powder ॥ Taking the tongue of a brown cow the image of the dēva is to be fumigated with incense

²⁴ The reading is uncertain; it may be prikr̥ich or pritr̥ich or prinr̥ich.

mixed with *pûra* (a *fragrant stuff*); then that (image) . . . he gets free (from disease and) through the incense of *guggulu* (a *fragrant gum resin*) he becomes (restored) to good health. Above the figure . . . svâhâ ॥ The physicking (should be had recourse to) in the dark half of the month, on the fourteenth day, by a person after he has fasted for three nights and (put on) white (raiment), . . . a wick should be made of the cord of a *daṇḍala* (churning-stick?), (and) a lamp lighted with linseed oil, . . . and the spell should be repeated throughout the whole night. Then . . . they see . . . ॥ With red lac he is to form a ball representing the head of Kilikilaka (*i. e.*, Siva) . . .; then having rubbed it with a *tôla* of . . ., with that ball in sifted fine grain . . .; the process is repeated once more; every thing is brought in one's power; then in a thoroughly cleaned, . . ., and it becomes . . . ॥ Taking the eyes of (*tunḍa*) Kilikilaka, he should grind (them), he ladles . . .; with . . . anointed with the preparation of flowers . . . they can see a *piśâcha* at a distance of a *gavâchya* (*gavyûti*?, or perhaps the name of a *piśâcha*); and with that power of man . . . he can kill three . . . *piśâchas*; (then) taking a bag from the side of the person that does penance, . . .

From the above extract it would appear that the work treats of medical charms. It is written in the now well-known species of "mixed" Sanskrit, anciently the prevailing literary language in North Western India and the countries beyond.

Part IX. See Plate III, fig. 3, 4, 5. This manuscript consists of 25 leaves. Some of them show a numbering on the left hand margin in very fine and minute figures. Thus, of the three figured leaves, fig. 3. shows the number 30, fig. 4, the number 33, and fig. 5, the number 36. This circumstance proves that the manuscript is not completely extant, though from the fact that one of the extant leaves is only inscribed on one side, it may be concluded that the manuscript is complete at the end, and that some (10 or 12) of the initial leaves are wanting. Unfortunately the last leaf is too damaged to be read.

The leaves are mutilated at the lower corners, but sufficient is extant to show their full size. It is $5\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Each leaf has six lines. Unfortunately, the writing is extensively obliterated, owing to the circumstance that the thick arsenical coating of the leaves, on which the letters were written, has been greatly damaged, apparently, by damp. In many cases the leaves firmly adhered to one another, and on separating them, the coating, together with the letters which it bore, came off. On the original leaves, portions of the obliterated letters, are still sufficiently visible to permit of their being occasionally identified;

III. (Leaf 36. Fig. 5).

- 1, . *da* *ṭṛi* — . *ha-ri-dṛi* — *pi-sa* — *pa-la* — *pra-pu-nta*
 2, *ri-kh* — *su-kshmê-(u)* — *vi-ra-ñkh* — *ni-lu-tpâ-(u)* — *ḥṛi-bê-ra*
 — *kê-lê-ya-kh* — *pa-ri-*
 36 *vê-la-kha* — *va-ra-ṅg tva-chañ* — *mu-stha* — *śa-ra-ba* — *sâ-la-*
 va-rṇi —
 pri-śna-va-rṇi — *jī-va-nti* — *dê-va-dâ-ru* — *śa . . ri . . .* [. .]
 5, [. .] *ê . . .* [.] *pa . . .* *kê . . .* [. . .]
 6, [.]

The reverses of the figured leaves do not yield sufficiently satisfactory readings to quote. But I add transcripts of two other leaves, both obverses and reverses,—of as much as is legible.

IV. (Obverse.)

- 1, [. .] . . [.]
 2, [. .]
 3, [.] *pi ssau lk(kh)a sô k(kh)añ rka tha shshi ptsâ* [. . .]
 4, . . *lyyê—ma lk(kh)ê rsa dha ksha llê a śu sa nâ pa llê—ka . .*
 5, [*pra-pu-*]*nda-ri-kha—ka-ṭu-ka-rô-hi-ṇi—a-śva-kâ-ndha—dê-va-dâ-*
 ru—pi ssau .
 6, *a-pa-mâ-rga — kô shkê .o .m rkê . ô [shsh]ê skê ta . . — . .*

V. (Reverse.)

- 1, . *lkhê rsa trī (kh)añ . llye pa kī yê—pi lk(kh)a rsa ra ñka tsi sau*
 shpa ka ya
 2, *kâ-kô-ri — kshī-ra-kâ-kô-ri — pi-ta-ri — kshī-ra-pi-ta-ri — smu ṛi*
 ysâ rña yañ
 3, *kshī yê—mī tstsā bh(b)a rka bhbha llê—kṛi ñka ñña yô ttsā lau*
 pê kâ
 4, [*pê*] *yâ mu sai tē sa kâ tsô pra ka ra . sna* [. .]
 5, . . *ka ra—yañ [. . .] a . [.]*
 6, [. .] . . . [.]

VI. (Obverse.)

- 1, *kô lyê ñka rya pi ssau ysâ rña yañ kshī yê—sê ku ñcha ga shshī*
 yañ lyyê sañ shpañ
 2, *rka bhbha llê—yô tsa trī (kh)añ bha llê—(tu) mēm kâ tsa sa lau*
 pê yâ mu sai tē sa
 3, *ka tsô ma lya (kka) tha skê dha (ṛi) mâ ylâ rya ṅ a-śva-ga-*
 [*ndha*] *m—[a-pa-]*
 4, *mâ-rga — ta-ka-ru — pra-pu-nta-ri-kha — ma-ñcha-shṭha — ni-lu-*
 [*tpâ-u—*]
 5, [. .] . *m . ê [. . .] . tth — kô stê — pô* [. . .]

VII. (Reverse.)

- 1,
 2,
 3, *ka .i ka llô na kra mô tsa â snê ya . . . llê . [. . .]*
 4, . . rêth sâ tkê || śa-(kk)a-(ṛi) dē-va-dâ-ru — śa-rsha-pâ — ku-shṭha
 5, *kha — trai (kh)ô shshai mai ki sa bh(b)a rka bha llê — pla tkâ rê tha ścha kê tē — sê lai kô*
 6, || lâ — ka — pi .

I cannot attempt to translate these extracts, both because they are too fragmentary, and because they are partially written in a language unintelligible to me. I may notice, however, that they contain series of Sanskrit words alternating with series of Non-Sanskritic passages. The former series consist of Sanskrit names of medicinal plants or drugs, spelled, however, in a most extraordinary fashion. The following is a list of these words with their Sanskrit equivalents:—

Citation.	Name in Weber MS.	Sanskrit.
No. I, line 2	sa-ba-ra-lô-ṭṛi ṭṛi-pha-u pra-pu-ṇḍa-ri-kha (cf. Nos. III, 1, IV, 5, VI, 4) mâ-ñcha-shṭha (cf. No. VI, 4)	śābara-lōḍbra triphala prapaunḍarika mañjishṭhā
No. I, line 3	spri-kha ta-ka-ru (also No. VI, 4)	sprikkā tagara
No. III, line 1	ha-ri-dṛi pra-pu-nta-ri-kh (cf. Nos. I, 2, IV, 5, VI, 4)	haridrā prapaunḍarika
No. III, line 2	su-kshmê-u vi-ra-ñkh (cf. No. III, 3) ni-lu-tpâ-u (also No. VI, 4) hṛi-bê-ra kê-lê-ya-kh pa-ri-vê-la-kha	sūkshmaila varānga nilōtpala hṛivēra kāliyaka paripēlaka
No. III, line 3	va-ra-ṅga tva-chaṃ mu-stha śa-ra-ba sâ-la-va-rṇi	varānga tvacha musta śārivā (?) śāliparṇi
No. III, line 4	pri-śna-va-rṇi ji-va-nti dē-va-dâ-ru (also No. IV, 5, VII, 4)	prīśniparṇi jivanti dēvadāru
No. IV, line 5	pra-pu-ṇḍa-ri-kha (cf. Nos. I, 2, III, 1, VI, 4) ka-ṭu-ka-rô-hi-ṇi a-śva-kâ-ndha	prapaunḍarika kaṭuka-rōhiṇi aśvagandhā

Citaions.*	Name in Weber MS.	Sanskrit.
No. IV, line 6	a-pa-mâ-rga (also No. VI, 3 and below)	apâmârga
No. V, line 2	kâ-kô-rî kshî-ra-kâ kô-rî pi-ta-ri (see bi-dâ-ri, below) kshî-ra-pi-ta-ri	kâkôli kshîra-kâkôli vidâri kshîra-vidâri
No. VI, line 3	a-śva-ga-ndham (see No. IV, 5)	aśvagandhâ
No. VI, line 4	pra-pu-nta-ri-kha (cf. Nos. I, 2, III, 1, IV, 5) ma-ñcha-shṭha (cf. No. I, 2)	prapaunḍarika
No. VII, line 4	śa-kka-ri śa-rsha-pa ku-shṭha-kha	mañjishṭhâ śarkarâ (?) sarshapa kushṭhaka

On some other leaves I have found the following :

a-mṛi-ta-pâ-tṭri	amṛita-patra ²⁵
a-va-mâ-rga (see a-pa-mâ-rga above, No. IV, 6)	apâmârga
ka-ru-ṇa-sâ-ri	kâlânusâri
kshî-ra-bi-dâ-ri	kshîra-vidâri
ta-ma-la-pâ-tṭri and ta-ma-la-pâ-dha-ri	tamâla-patra
tri-phâ-u 3	triphala 3
pi-ppâ-u	pippala
pu-ta-na-kê-sî	pûtanâkêsi
pu-na-rna-ba	punarnavâ
pri-ñka-ra-chaiṁ	bhriṅgarâja
pri-ya-ñku and pri-ya-ñgu	priyaṅgu
bi-dâ-ri (see above, No. V, 2)	vidâli or vidâri
bi-la-pa-tti	vila-patra or vilva-patra ?
bha-lla-ta-kha	bhallâtaka
ma-hâ-mê-dha	mahâ-mêda
mê-dha	mêda
lô-tṭri and lô-dṭri and lô-tta-ri	lôdhra
śâ-ri-ba	śârivâ
śi-ri-sha-pu-shpa	śirishapushpa
śai-lê-ya-kha	śailêyaka
sa-rja-ra-sha	sarja-rasa
styô-ni-ya-kha	sthaunêyaka

The spelling of such words as *tri-phâ-u*, *ni-lu-tpâ-u*, *pi-ppâ-u* is very curious. The identity of the former is clearly established by the numeral figure 3 which I have found following the word in one place, and which is intended to explain its meaning "the three myrobalans." The liquid consonant *l* is apparently omitted, and the vowel attached by a side-

²⁵ Or perhaps for Skr. *amṛta-patra*, a bye-form of *amla-patra*, a kind of sorrel.

stroke to the preceding akshara. This side-stroke is also used with final consonants, when they have no inherent vowel; they are, then, attached to the preceding akshara by a side-stroke and written a little below the line,—a practice which is well-known in ancient Sanskrit writing, being used instead of the modern *virāma*. Thus in *pra-pu-nta-rikkh* (No. III, 1) and *pra-pu-nta-ri-kha* (Nos. IV, 3 and VI, 4) we have an instance of the same consonant (*kh*) being written with and without the inherent vowel (*a*).

Part IX of the Weber MSS. appears to me to belong, both with regard to characters and language, to the same class of writings as the Kashgar manuscript, published by Mr. Oldenburg. The latter, too, is not only written in what I have called the square variety of the Central Asian Nāgari, but it also shows occasional Sanskrit words interspersed in the text. Thus we have *brāhmaṇam* in the 5th line of the reverse (syllables 7-9), and again, on the obverse, *mahākaraṇ* (Skr. *mahākara*, a name of Buddha) in the 1st line (syllables 14-17), *vājirēmākusha* (Skr. *vajrāṅkuśa*) in the 4th line (syllables 10-13), and *brāhma* in the 5th line (syllables 8 and 9). More doubtful are the following: reverse, line 3, *bhṛīṅgārēṅku* (*bhṛīṅgārāṅka*?) and *sāstrēm* (*sāstra*?), line 4 *nērvānaṃ* (*nirvānaṃ*); obverse, line 1, *ōṅku* (*aṅka*?), line 3, *āstrēm* (*astra*?), and further on *klēśa*. Quite certain is the occurrence of numerals. In the obverse, 2nd line, 74 (**74**), 4th line 75 (**75**); in the reverse, 1st line, 77 (**77**), 3rd line, 78 (**78**), 5th line 79 (**79**). This order shows, that the pages are wrongly placed in Mr. Oldenburg's plate. The lower part is really the obverse page of the leaf, and the upper part, the reverse.

The following is my reading of the Kashgar MS., observing the proper sequence of the pages:—

Obverse.

- 1, pa . tsñē kta shshē ê-ñku khā jpi a kau ta chchē—ma-hā-ka-rumī shē khai pē pē ñya chchē pē shpim nu—dha ryā yknē ymē ttsē śmō ña shshē mi na nā śō [.]
- 2, shshē yai nu stmau shña tkha lñē shshē pi su mē rttsē mrā chñē 70+4 pō yēi ñña shshē tkhē ylai ñam ktē nē stya ltsē śai ttsa lkā shshē ñchā nai śai rñē śchya shshē [.]
- 3, syi shshēm ā-strēm ña ○ ktē ttsa kha khā rpō — klē-śa tma shshēm chēm lām tna sū rēm tspō nam kshē ñchai — dha lskō shshē chau khē ma vi trēm śa . shshē ñchai [.]
- 4, tma sa 70+5 ñam kchēm yē tkhēm tsa yai nu vā-jrēm-ñku-sha rnē nē — ylai ñam ktñē khē shsa ka pō sta khrō chchē tē lki nē — krēm tpē [.]

- 5, ysha sta — khê smai klyau nka sta brâ-hma ññai khê rtsyai pô sai shshê — yâ dha shshê ñichai i lai ña ktêm pô ylai ñam ktê ttsâ shtsa pra lya shsha rkhê [... .. — ..]
- 6, pê lai ktê shsha na khro tstsâ na — kham rpô rmêm skkha tma pam lsko shsha na rtau sna yâ kê — bhai shshê ttsê kham ttrê â rskô rshêm yâ [— ..]

Reverse.

- 1, sô kâ nê nê rvâ tshai — khâ ra sta ñis ykhâ rehla klê nê tñâ ktô pkhâ ñmsta ya mña ram nê . . la tma . 70+7 â ñmâ lâ shlhê shshau . shpâ [. — . . .]
- 2, pê shshê kha stsyâ strê nau su pê ñya chchê — tkham tsta ññê jat snai ykô rñê shsha yâ kê ktsê ñê la lam shka sta rya pô ysé ññê shshau rtsa éé ktsau ña [. — .. —]
- 3, bhri-ñgâ-rê-ñku²⁶ sú ○ kê sâ-strêm i tē mai tta rshshê 70+8 pû vñêm ktê shshê tkhê bra mñañm ktê spâ lmêm snai mē nâkh — yai tmu tha ktau tra [... .. —]
- 4, nê rmi tyâ mshê ñichai khnô lmê nô ktya knê sa sta rêm — nê-rvâ-ñam shshai kê tsta sai shshê dha rkau chai êm shkê tstsêm ta ttha shshê . pa khâ kta [. — . . .]
- 5, s̄pu kha kô ya khâ spa brâ-hma-ñam 70+9 ê mprê tma shsha na . . tma stkhâ ra a kshâ sta — klai namtth sa ma skamttth ka rsa tsi . . khâ . [— ..]
- 6, . ru tē pa . mà ga ri — gâ ñpê lai ktê shshai kêm tsa chañ rkâ sta a sta ryai — pô pê sai shshê ka llô ynâ shtsi pê lai . . ñai—

It will be noticed that a mark of interpunctuation occurs at regular intervals, *i. e.*, after every 13th syllable; thus marking off sections of the text of 13 syllables each. Taking this as a basis of calculation, it will be found that the text between each pair of consecutive numbers is made up of six sections; and that from 9 to 13 syllables in each line are lost at the sides of the leaf. The space required for these would be $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The leaf, in its existing state, measures 14 to $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length. The leaf, in its original state, accordingly, must have measured about $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches, allowing a small margin on either side.

The fact that the text is divided and numbered in regular paragraphs renders it probable that the work is composed in some kind of poetry, each paragraph forming a verse or stanza of six sections of 13 syllables each. I am not aware of any Sanskrit verse of this description. I suspect, that the language is some kind of Mongolian, with Sanskrit technical terms interspersed. The nature of the latter, perhaps, suggests that the work belongs to the Buddhist Tantrik class of literature.

²⁶ Or perhaps read *ñri-ñgâ-rê-ñku*.

On the Early Study of Indian Vernaculars in Europe.—By
G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., F. C. S.

Some years ago, while perusing an old number¹ of the *Calcutta Review*, I chanced upon the following sentence. 'Antonio, a Roman Catholic Missionary at Boglipur on the Ganges, translated the Gospels and the Acts into the dialect of the people of that district.' This was given as a quotation from a certain Dr. John, who wrote in 1809, and would refer to a translation of a portion of the New Testament into the local dialect of the people of Bhágalpur some years previously, that is to say at the end of the 18th century. The first translation of the Bible made by Carey was published in 1804 (into Maráthí), and most of the succeeding ones appeared in the second decade of the 19th century, so that so far as I am aware Father Antonio's version was the first translation of the Bible into any language of Northern India, and, curiously enough, it must have been made into Maithilí, a language into which the Bible has never been translated since.²

At the time when this statement of Dr. John caught my attention, I was occupying a good deal of my leisure time with the vernaculars of Bihár, and it seemed to me that, if I could get hold of Father Antonio's translation, it promised to afford me information regarding the condition of Eastern Maithilí a century ago. Such evidence would have been an invaluable witness on the subject of the rate of growth of the Vernacular dialects of North India.

I accordingly communicated with Bhágalpur, and learned that Father Antonio had been a Capuchin Missionary there at the end of the last century, and had thence gone to Patná. No trace of the alleged translation could be found. I enquired at Patná and at Agrá, whither he had subsequently gone as Bishop, with a similar result. From Agrá he returned to Rome. Being at Rome in the year 1890, I called at the College of the Congregatio de propaganda Fide, and, though a total stranger, when I communicated the object of my search, was most kindly and hospitably received, and given every assistance in searching through the magnificent Oriental Library attached to the Congregation. My efforts were in vain, so far as the immediate object was concerned, for no trace of the missing translation could be discovered, though I saw numerous translations into Nepálí of about the same date. Indeed the Jesuit Fathers, who first entered Nepál in 1661,³

¹ Vol. V, p. 722, June 1846.

² I omit from consideration a few detached extracts translated by the late Mr. John Christian.

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- 5, ysha sta — khê smai klyau nka sta brâ-hma ññai khê rtsyai pô sai
shshê — yâ dha shshê ñchai i lai ña ktêm pô ylai ñam ktê ttsâ
shtsa pra lya shsha rkhê [... .. — ..]
- 6, pê lai ktê shsha na khro ttsa na — kham rpô rmêm skkha tma
pañ lsko shsha na rtau sna yâ kê — bhai shshê ttsê kham ttrê
â rskô rshêni yâ [— ..]

Reverse.

- 1, só kâ nê nê rvâ tshai — khâ ra sta ñis ykhâ rchla klê nê tñia ktô
pkhâ ñmsta ya mña râñ nê . . la tma . 70+7 â ñmâ lâ shlñê
shshau . shpâ [... .. — ..]
- 2, pê sbshê kha stsyâ strê nau su pê ñya chchê — tkham ttsa ññê jañ
snai ykô rñê shsha yâ kê ktsê ñê la lam shka sta rya pô ysê
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ttha shshê . pa khâ kta [... .. —]
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appear to have made the language of that country their own in a very special manner. The translations which I saw in Rome, were on a far higher grade of excellence, than those into many Indian languages which issued from the Serampore press more than fifty years afterwards. Father Antonio's Bhágalpurí translation, however, could not be found, and there appears little doubt, but that it was destroyed in one of the disturbances in Patna, when the local mission of the Roman church was burnt down by the '*barbari id est badmashí,*' as a quaint Latin chronicle which I was permitted to see at Patna described them. My inquiries at Rome, however, gave me the clues, by the help of which I have traced the information which follows, and which may be found interesting, as showing glimpses of the growth in Europe of the knowledge of Indian languages.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, Maturin Veyssière La Croze was in charge of the royal library at Berlin. This remarkable scholar, a profound student in oriental lore, as it was then understood, carried on a copious correspondence with nearly every learned man of his time. This correspondence was published in 1742-46 at Leipzig by Uhl, in three closely printed Latin volumes of about three hundred pages each, under the name of the *Thesaurus Epistolicus Lacrozianus*, which is still obtainable in old bookshops. I do not know a more entertaining book than this collection of letters on many subjects. The Latin is throughout easy, and the manner in which the various subjects are treated compels the reader's admiration for the learning and ingenuity displayed, while now and then some pit-fall of error¹ into which the wisest has fallen, warns students of the present day to avoid generalizations till we have made fast and firm the data on which we base them.

In the year 1714 we find David Wilkins writing to La Croze from Amsterdam, asking him for assistance in compiling a collection of translations of the Lord's Prayer² into as many languages as possible, which Wilkins was publishing in conjunction with John Chamberlayne of London. Amongst other languages mentioned, Wilkins³ specially states

a Capuchin, one of whose successors, Father Pinna, wrote a Catechism in Urdú, which he dedicated to the Rajah of Betiá. Father Pinna died in Patna in 1747.

¹ *E. g.*, when La Croze maintains that all languages are derived from Hebrew and cites the Maráthí alphabet in proof thereof (*Th. E. La C.*, III, 65).

² Mott had published a similar collection in London fourteen years previously, and Chamberlayne's '*Orationum dominicarum sylloge*' was a revised and enlarged edition of this.

³ *Loc. Cit.* I, 369, '*alphabetum Singaleum, Javanicum, et Bengalicum*' The Bangálí version is quite unintelligible. It is reprinted in the *Sprachmeister*, v. post.

that he intends to give for the first time specimens in the Singhalese, Javan, and Bangáli languages. This request incited La Croze¹ in November of the same year to write a long communication to Chamberlayne dealing with the subject of the study of languages in general, and vindicating comparative philology from the charge of inutility. He then proceeds to describe briefly the inter-relationship of the various languages as then known to him, and coming to India says, 'I have, however, little to offer concerning the alphabets of this country, except the conjecture that they are derived from that called *Hanscrit*.' The oldest letters of the Brachmans, he adds, can hardly have sprung from any source except from those of the Persians or Assyrians. But, as already remarked, the characters used by the other Indians are most probably derived from those called *Hanscrit*, which are used by the Brahmans, for on the one hand it is from them that the other Indian tribes imbibed their superstitions, and, on the other hand, Xaca, who laid the bonds of false religions on the peoples of the East, was himself brought up amongst the Brachmans. Moreover the order of the alphabet is the same amongst the Brachmans, the people of Malabar, the Singhalese,² Siamese, Javans, and even of the language of Bali, which is the sacred tongue of Laos, Pegu, Cambodia, and Siam.

This change of the initial S of Sanskrit, into H is worth noting from a philological point of view. It seems to point to an authority coming from Eastern Bengal where *s* is in popular speech pronounced as *h*, and no doubt La Croze's immediate source of information was Bernier's travels (1666 A. D.). As Yule and Burnell in the Anglo-Indian Dictionary point out, the term Sanskrit did not come into familiar use till the last quarter of the 18th century. I am in doubt as to what religious reformer is referred to under the name of Xaca. Was it Sákya Muni?

So much for Chamberlayne's *Sylloge*, which was published early in 1715. It did not give great satisfaction to La Croze, for he complains³ in one of his letters that Wilkins, *more suo*, had so 'edited' a Tartar specimen which he had given him, that the donor could hardly recognize it.

In the following year 1716, Ziegenbalg⁴ a Danish Protestant Missionary writes from London. It is evidently a letter in answer to inquiries made by La Croze. The word Brachmann, says Ziegenbalg,

¹ L. C. III, pp. 78 and ff. What letter writers there were in those days! This Epistle covers 17 pages of small type.

² Coilanenses.

³ L. C. III, 20.

⁴ L. C. I, 381.

is wrong, and is not understood in India. The correct word is Braman. So also the language of the Bramans is never called Hanscrit, the only name used by Bramans themselves being *Kirendum*. Here the writer shows that his knowledge is confined to Southern India, *Kirendum* being an attempt to depict the Tamil pronunciation of the word *Grantham*.¹ He adds that the Bramans claim that this tongue is the root of all Indian languages such as the *Malabaric*, the *Wartic*, (*i. e.*, Telugu), and the *Ziglesic*, which are spoken on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, but he cannot believe that others such as the Malaic, the Mogulic, &c., have any connexion in it. As for Chamberlayne's *Sylloge* it is full of errors in the versions into the languages of Malabar, and when he returns to India he will send La Croze some more correct specimens, correctly translated by the boys of his Malabar school.

In September 1716 commenced La Croze's voluminous correspondence with Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, then residing at Leipzig, and subsequently at St. Petersburg, whose name will occur several times in these pages. The early letters afford few points of interest to Indian students. They deal principally with Tangut, Mongolian and Chinese. Incidentally La Croze² complains of the vast extent of his correspondence. People write to him from nearly every part of Europe, to the great damage of his time and of his purse.

In March 1717 Bayer³ ventures to doubt La Croze's theory that the Sanskrit alphabet was derived from Persian, and the latter but faintly defends his opinion, though strongly maintaining that the modern languages of India are derived from that of the Brachmans.⁴

Here there is an interval of some ten years, during which Bayer moved his residence to St. Petersburg, and the year 1717 may be taken as closing the first stage of attempts at a scientific inquiry into Indian languages. Men like La Croze and Bayer had to depend upon the untrained observations of travellers like Bernier, or to chance communications from Missionaries on leave in Europe. In their correspondence, the only vernacular of Northern India which they mention is Bangálí, and I can find no earlier mention of that language in any other work, though Yule⁵ quotes the word as meaning a native of Bengal, from Barros, who wrote in 1552. They make no reference to Hindí or Hindústání, though the word "Hindústán" had been used as meaning the vulgar language of India for more than a century.⁶ Probably the

¹ Cf. *Valentijn* (1727) (*Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*), 'Girandam by others called *Kerendum*, and also *Sanskrita*, is the language of the Brahmins and the learned.' Quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Granthum*.

² L. C. III, 59. ³ L. C. I, 16. ⁴ L. C. III, 22, 23. ⁵ *Hobson-Jobson* s. v.

⁶ *Hobson-Jobson* s. v.

fact that it was a purely vulgar language, and was considered a mere jargon, led to its being neglected.

The foundation of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, on the lines of the great French Academy, were laid by Peter the Great, and it was formally opened by the Empress Catherine. The most learned men of Europe (amongst whom was Bayer) were invited to join it, and finally it was placed in a permanent position by Peter II. The first part of the transactions, relating to the year 1726 was published in 1728.¹ These two volumes are very rare, nearly all having been destroyed in a fire which consumed the Imperial Academy and Printing Offices in 1741.

In the year 1727 Daniel Messerschmid, who had been deputed by Peter the Great to explore Siberia, returned to St. Petersburg, and amongst other curiosities brought with him an inscription, and a Chinese printed book. These were made over to Bayer, and he describes them in the third and fourth volume of the transactions.² The inscription consisted of two short lines, one being in Brahmanical and the other in Tangut letters. It is reproduced here.

तत्रैमतिवद्मन्नैरु इ
॥ॐ मरे पद्म दुः सु॥

It will be recognized that the first line (which Bayer calls Brahmanical) is in the pointed variety of the Devanāgarī alphabet used by the Buddhists of Thibet, and called Lāntsha. The second line is the ordinary Thibetan character. Bayer with the aid of his knowledge of Manchu, and of the book to be subsequently described, deciphered this as '*Ong ma ni pa dme ch³um chi.*' but was unable to translate it. Messerschmid, he says, told him that it was one of the commonest prayers of the Tanguts (*i. e.* Thibetans), and meant 'God have mercy on us.' This decipherment of the well-known Buddhist formula, *Om, maṇi padme,*

¹ Commentarii Academiæ Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitane, Tomus I, Ad Annum cl. locc xxxix, Petropoli, Typis Academiæ cl. locc xviii.

² For the years 1728 and 1729, and published in 1732 and 1735 respectively.

³ Pronounced like a Greek χ.

hūm,¹ though its translation was incorrect, marks the first step in a new stage of the study of Indian languages in Europe. For the next few years, European scholars attacked the languages of Northern India through Chinese and Thibetan.

The other curiosity, the book which consisted of eight leaves, had been printed in China, and may be considered as the Rosetta stone of these explorers. It gave in parallel lines an entire syllabary of the Lántsha Devanágari alphabet, with a transliteration into Thibetan, and into what Bayer calls Mongolian. A reference to Ballhorn's Grammatography will show that these last letters are not in the Mongolian character as now accepted, but more nearly resemble those given as Manchu. They are evidently some Tartar alphabet. A facsimile of the first page and a half² is given on plate V. Bayer's first procedure was to establish as far as possible the Thibetan characters. This was an easy task, for the language was already partly known to him, and he had other Thibetan students and books at his command. Then with the aid of this and of other specimens, he established the Manchu transliteration, and finally from these two, he was enabled to make a very fair attempt at transliterating the Devanágari. In the plate, I have given the transliteration fixed by him. From this he deciphered the *Om mañi padme hūm* of the inscription. It will be observed that the transliteration is incorrect in many particulars.

Having thus made out the Lántsha alphabet, Bayer sent a copy of it to Schultz, a missionary in Madras, and was gratified to learn that the letters could be read by Bráhmans of Northern India.³ Schultz, himself, to judge from the specimens he gives, cannot at that time have known Sanskrit, or, indeed, any Aryan Indian language. He spells the name of Banáras काश or बनारसे, and talks of चापरा: नाघरी: He, however, describes three alphabets and gives specimens of them, the Devanágari, the 'Balabandu,' and the 'Akár Nágari.' They have evidently been sent to Bayer just as they were written down for Schultz who could not read them. By 'Balabandu,' is meant Maráthi, but the three alphabets are really all Devanágari, as written by different hands. Schultz also gave instructions for pronunciation. Some of them may be quoted.

í breue, lingua ad dexteram inclinata.

é longum, lingua ad sinistram mota.

¹ See J. A. S. B. for 1892, Part I, pp. 30—33.

² There were two lines to a page, but as three lines comprise the entire alphabet of simple letters, I have given a page and a half on the plate, in this following Bayer.

³ 'Brahmanes extraneos et peregrinos.'

u brevis, recto ex ore protruditur.

ú longum, quasi duplex, sono in altum prolato.

dha (*d*) *d* formatur lingua quasi apoplectica, vt salivæ ad palatum opem ferat, *h* admodum auditur: ceterum quasi aliquod *n* præmittitur, quod in primis sentitur, quoties vocalis præcedit, e. g., *ba-n-dha*, legitur plane *ban-dha*.

Truly our forefathers must have felt the same difficulties with the cerebral letters, that we have now-a-days, and the 'apoplectic tongue,' is still found in the mouth of many a griffin.

Bayer relates how a certain Calmuc Ambassador named Bordon, who was then in St. Petersburg, helped him to acquire this pronunciation, and concludes with a brief notice, received from India, of the Maráthí, Gujarátí, and Maura languages. By the last named, he apparently means Urdú, what the English subsequently called Gentoo, or Moors. All this time he was conducting an active correspondence with La Croze, in which, not only does the Chinese book find due mention, but we meet one of the earliest efforts of comparative philology, the first four numerals in eight languages.¹ During the next ten years the two friends now and then refer to Indian languages, and to the last La Croze adheres to this old error that the Maráthí alphabet is derived from Hebrew.

In 1745, was printed the first grammar of Hindústání, which I have seen noticed. It was written by the missionary Schultz already mentioned. I have not had the good fortune to see the work itself, and my only information concerning it is the title in the Catalogue of M. Garcin de Tassy's Books, 1879, quoted by Col. Yule in his Anglo-Indian Dictionary.²

In 1748 was published at Leipzig the *Orientalisch-und-occidentali-scher Sprachmeister*, compiled by Johann Friedrich Fritz, and dedicated by him to Schultz. This very curious work contains accounts of over a hundred alphabets from all parts of the world, followed by some two hundred translations of the Lord's Prayer. A good deal of the description of the alphabets of India was contributed by Schultz, whose account of Hindústání is especially interesting and full. This is a general description of the composition of the Urdú language. Attention is drawn to the large number of Arabic and Persian words in its vocabulary, but the student is warned against supposing that it is in any way derived from those speeches. The ordinary Persian alphabet is given, but there is

¹ Thesaurus I, 58. The eight languages are, 'Camacinienses, Arincenses, Camteschatquenses f. Yedsenses et Coracenses, Tangutenses et Tibetenses (1 = *Dscyl*, 2 = *Ny*, 3 = *Ssuum*), Persæ, Mogulenses Indi (1 = *Hicku*, 2 = *Gun*, 3 = *Tray*, 4 = *Tzahr*), Oeselentes, Letti.' Who are meant by the 'Indian Mughals?'

² S. V. Hindustancee.

no mention of the Indian cerebralized four dotted letters of that character. Among the Indian alphabets described may be mentioned, Bangálí, Tamil, Grantham, Telugu, Burmese (called Pegu), Maráthí, Devanágari (three varieties, borrowed from Bayer), and Singhalese. There is also a comparative table of fifty common words, in twelve different Indian languages, including Sanskrit, Canarese, Konkani, and Gujrátí.

The versions of the Lord's Prayer are collected from widely different sources. Some are very fair and legible. Others are grossly incorrect. The Bangálí translation, which is taken from Wilkins' sample given in Chamberlayne's *Sylloge*¹ is almost worth reprinting as a curiosity for the number of seemingly impossible mistakes it contains. In fact it is quite illegible and unintelligible to every native of Bengal to whom I have shown it. It has evidently been made by some person who got a copy of the alphabet and a general description of the language and then 'greatly dared.' Even his knowledge of the alphabet is incomplete. For instance, he knew that the form for a non-initial *e* is *ç*, but did not know that it must come before the consonant to which it is affixed. Hence for *de*, instead of writing *çd*, he wrote *dc*. Other similarly gross blunders occur in the writing,² and as for the language, when deciphered, it is not intelligible. Only here and there can a Bangálí word (usually wrongly spelled) be recognized. The incorrectness of this version is very curious, for under the head of alphabets, the Bangálí character is given with very considerable accuracy. Most of the other translations are fair enough. Amongst them I may mention, Hindústání by Schultz, (Persian character; Commences, *ásmán po* (misprint for *par*) *rahtá, so hamañrá báp*), 'Brachmanic' (the Latin version transliterated into Devanágari), Sanskrit (Devanágari. Commences *úrddhva-loka-sthito mat-pitah*), 'Akar Nagarika ex Caschia' (language, Bhojpurí; character, Devanágari), Gujrátí, Goanese, Tamil (five versions), Telugu, Sanskrit (Telugu characters), Maráthí, Canarese, Sanskrit (Grantham characters), Maráthí (current hand), Singhalese, and Burmese (Pegu). Altogether the Sprachmeister is a fairly correct and interesting compilation.

It held the field as an authority on Oriental languages till 1771 when there appeared, from the press of the College de Propaganda Fide, a Latin pamphlet entitled '*Alphabetum | Brammhanicum | seu | Indostanum | Universitatis Kasi*'. As its name implies it is a description of the Devanágari alphabet, and is the first book printed in

¹ No wonder La Croze lamented over Wilkins' editing.

² For instance the initial form of vowels is sometimes used instead of the non-initial form, and one consonant is used for another. Thus *bappá*, father, is spelled *bámmaa* বাম্মা.

Europe from types in that character.¹ It has an interesting preface summing up the knowledge on Indian subjects gained up to that time. Mention is made of a MS. *Lexicon Linguae Indostanica*, 'Quod Auctorem habet Franciscum M. Turonensem,' a monk of the Surat Mission, which was written in 1704 A.D.² There is also a careful and accurate description of the various appliances adopted in India for writing, and the manner of their use. One hundred and nine pages are devoted to a full account of the Devanāgarī alphabet, as written 'at the University of Kāsi.' This is followed by an account of the Kaithī, or (as it is called in the book) the Nāgarī alphabet. For this character also types were cast, more than a hundred years before they were again cast, under the supervision of the present writer, at the Bengal Secretariat Press. We have then a chapter on numerals, and the little volume concludes with two versions of the Lord's Prayer,—one a transliteration of the Latin into Devanāgarī, and the other a translation into very fair Hindī, followed by an *Ave Maria*, and Apostle's creed in the latter language.

In the following year (1772) appeared in London, Hadley's '*Grammatical Remarks on the Practical and Vulgar Dialect of the Indostan Language commonly called Moors*.' An account of this work will be found in the Anglo-Indian Dictionary.³ It is a very incomplete work, and far behind the one to be next noticed. As Col. Yule gives full particulars of this, the first English Hindūstānī Grammar, a passing notice will suffice here.

Six years subsequently, in 1778, appeared the first attempt at a scientific treatment of Hindūstānī. It was in Portuguese, and the title page runs as follows:—*Gramatica Indostana a mais vulgar que e practica no Imperio do gram Mogol oferecida aos muitos reverendos Padres Missionarios do ditto Imperio em Roma MDCCLXXVIII na Estamperia da Sagrada Congregação de Propaganda Fide.* Like the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum*, this work was published in Rome. It is altogether an excellent work: and the author or authors had evidently a good grip of the language. The transliteration is scientific, though on a system widely differing from that of Sir W. Jones. As an example '*tum ko bahut piār kartā hūn*' is given as '*tōm kō bhōt pēar cartahū.*' For the first time attention is drawn to the use of the particle *ne* with the past tenses of transitive verbs, and the difficult question of compound verbs is treated with

¹ The *Sprachmeister* is a collection of copper plate engravings.

² I searched for this in the College Library at Rome, but could not find it.

³ S. V. Moors.

considerable success. It may be noted that the various postpositions *ká, ke, kí, ko, &c.*, are treated as declensional forms of the indefinite article, which are placed after a substantive, instead of before as in Portuguese.

This concludes my notice of the 'Early Study of Indian Vernaculars in Europe.' A good deal had been done, but the results had hardly penetrated to India. In 1783, the judicious Colebrooke wrote from Calcutta to his family 'you recommend my being assiduous in acquiring the languages. It is what I intend, but there is no danger of my applying too intensely. The one, and that the most necessary, Moors,' *i. e.*, Hindústání, 'by being not written, bars all close application; the other, Persian, is too dry to entice, and is so seldom of any use that I seek its acquisition very leisurely.'¹ The following year (1784) saw the founding of the Asiatic Society, and it is one of our most legitimate sources of pride that it took up the clue where it had been dropped by the Roman Catholic Missionaries, and under the influence of men like Sir W. Jones, Wilkins, and especially Gilchrist, the Indian Vernaculars ceased to be despised for 'not being written' and became the object of investigations which have continued to the present day.

The sacred lamp so lit has never been extinguished, and the greatest living authorities on the subject, Mr. Beames and Dr. Hørnle, are still, I am glad to say, Members of the Society.

ADDENDUM.

LA CROZE.

I am indebted to Mr. Quaritch for the following extract from the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, which gives a full account of this eminent orientalist.

VEYSSIERE DE LA CROZE (Mathurin).—orientaliste français né à Nantes le 4 Décembre 1661, mort à Berlin le 21 Mai 1739. Dégoûté de l'étude par la sévérité mal entendue de son maître, il s'embarqua à quatorze ans, pour la Guadeloupe, où son père négociant éclairé, avait des relations d'affaires. Pendant le séjour qu'il fit dans cette île, il acquit la connaissance des langues anglaise, espagnole et portugaise. A son retour il entra comme novice dans le couvent des bénédictins à Samur (1677), et y prit l'habit (1682). Bien que la vie studieuse de cette ongrégation fut de son goût, il eut des démêlés avec le supérieur et fut menacé de la prison. Effrayé du sort qu'il croyait l'attendre, il réussit à

¹ Life, p. 13.

s'évader et gagna Bâle (1696) où il embrassa le protestantisme. En même temps il prit le nom de la Croze, que était celui d'un petit bien de sa famille. Ayant passé à Berlin, il devint bibliothécaire de l'électeur (fevr. 1697) aux modiques appointements de 200 écus par an. Il se chargea aussi de l'éducation du margrave de Schweltdt. Leibniz avec qui il était lié, le fit nommer professeur à l'université de Helmstädt; mais il fallait pour remplir ces fonctions faire acte de lutheranisme; La Croze se refusa à ce changement de confession. Bientôt après, on lui confia l'éducation de la princesse royale, depuis margrave de Baireuth. Son auguste élève fit augmenter son traitement de bibliothécaire et lui procura la chaire de philosophie au Collège français (1724). Dans son vieillesse il fut assailli par des affections fort graves, la gravelle et l'hypochondrie, résultat de son application excessive à l'étude. Il mourut à soixante-dix-sept ans, d'un mal à la jambe. Doué d'une mémoire prodigieuse et d'un esprit pénétrant, La Croze fut un érudit fort distingué. Il ne lui manqua pour devenir un homme éminent qu'un jugement d'une plus haute portée. Ses qualités morales, non moins que ses connaissances étendues, lui firent de nombreux amis, parmi lesquels il faut citer Spanheim, Bayle, Beausobre, Lenfant, Leibniz, Cuper et A. Fabricius. On a de lui: Actes et titres de la maison de Bouillon; Cologne (Berlin) 1698 in-12: Observations critiques sur les pièces employées par Baluze dans son histoire de la maison d'Auvergne—Dissertations historiques sur divers sujets; Rotterdam 1707, in 8°: il y en a trois qui traitent: du socinianisme et du mahométisme dont les principes fondamentaux sont les mêmes, d'après lui: du système de P. Hardouin sur l'origine supposée des écrits des anciens: et de l'état de la religion chrétienne dans les Indes.—*Vindiciæ veterum scriptorum contra Harduinum*; ibid 1708 in 8°, réfutation d'une hypothèse qui lui parassait pleine de dangers, et sur laquelle il revint encore dans deux lettres, l'un impr. dans la *Rélation du Voyage littér.* de Jordan, l'autre dans la Biblioth. german. t. XXXIII. La Croze s'était imaginé que le paradoxe du P. Hardouin était le résultat d'un complot formé par la société toute entière des Jésuites; sans doute pour détruire le prestige de la littérature ancienne; *Entretiens sur divers sujets d'histoire, de littérature, de religion et de critique*; Cologne (Amst. 1711—in 12) ou quatre entretiens avec un Juif. On y trouve une dissertation sur l'athéisme trad. en anglais, et une critique aussi injuste que passionnée, de l'*Histoire des Juifs de Basnage*;—*Histoire du christianisme dans les Indes*—La Haye 1774 pet. in 8°, et 1758, 2 vol. in 12° trad. en allemand; c'est son meilleur ouvrage. *Histoire du christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Arménie*; ibid 1739 pet. in 8°; cet écrit est bien inférieur au précédent;—*Thesaurus epistolicus Lacrozianus*—Leipzig 1743-46 3 vol. in 4°; recueil publié par le professeur

Uhle;—*Lexicon aegyptiaco—latinum*—Oxford 1775 in 4°; le manuscrit de cet ouvrage considérable a été revu par Scholtz, et annoté par Woide qui le fait paraître au frais de l'Université d'Oxford. Chaque mot copte est suivi de son équivalent en grec et en latin, mais sans autre explication (voy. *Oriental und aegypt. Biblioth. de Michaelis*, t. I, p. 202, et suivi, et *Recherches sur l'Égypte* par Quatremère);—un grand nombre d'articles dans les publications périodiques. Parmi les ouvrages inédits de ce savant, il faut citer un Dictionnaire arménien qui lui avait coûté de longues recherches; un *Dictionnaire slaron.* et un *Dictionnaire syriaque.*

M. N. en *Nouv. Biographie générale*, 1866.

*Note on the History of the East India Company Coinage
from 1753-1835.—By EDGAR THURSTON.*

When I was engaged in collecting material for my 'History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula, and Catalogue of the coins in the Madras Museum,'* the records of the Madras Mint were placed at my disposal by the Madras Government, and I expressed a hope that some one would eventually explore the archives of the Calcutta and Bombay Mints with a view to clearing up many obscure points in the history of the coinage of the Company, which constitutes a complicated branch of modern numismatics.

My head-quarters having, by the fortune of service, been temporarily transferred from Madras to Calcutta, the opportunity has been taken advantage of to examine the records of the Calcutta Mint; and facilities for carrying out the research in my spare moments were courteously given to me by Colonel Baird, F. R. S., Master of the Mint, to whom I have to express my great indebtedness.

The Calcutta Mint Committee Proceedings which are preserved in the Calcutta Mint, commence with the year 1792 (more than thirty years after the establishment of the Calcutta Mint), and are, with very few exceptions, continuous to 1835, where my investigations ceased, as the history of the Company's coinage after that year, in which a general British currency was established, is no longer veiled in doubt and obscurity.

Of the Calcutta Mint Records from the establishment of the Mint in 1760 to 1792, I have been unable to find any trace, and this is the more to be regretted, since the history of the coinage during this

* Madras Government Press, 1890.

period is beset with difficulties, the problem being, as pointed out by Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole* to determine where the native coinage ends and the Company's begins.

1753. In a despatch to the Court of Directors dated 12th February, 1753, it is mentioned that "the utmost

Calcutta. secrecy was necessary with reference to the establishment of a mint at Calcutta, as any attempt to effect an arrangement with the Nawáb would be immediately upset by Juggut Sing." A vakíl was entrusted and consulted, who said that his master, Hackem Beg, had a son in great power at Delhi, who might be able to get a phirmaund from the king; but that this would be attended at least with the expense of 100,000 rupees, and that, on the arrival of the phirmaund at Cossimbazar, it would cost another 100,000 rupees to the mutsuddys and diwáns of the Nawáb to put the phirmaund in force.

1759-60. The establishment of a mint at Calcutta finally took place in 1759 or 1760, and the following is a translation of the parwána: "To the noblest of merchants, the English Company, be the royal favour. In Calcutta a mint is established. You shall coin gold and silver of equal value and fineness with the ashrafees and rupees of Murshidábád in the name of Calcutta. In the suburbs of Bangala, Bihár, and Orissa, they shall be current, and no person shall demand or insist upon a discount upon them. Dated the 11th of the moon Zihada in the 4th year."

1792. In 1792 a Committee was constituted in Calcutta by order of the Governor-General, Earl Cornwallis, for

Bengal. superintending the mints and enquiring into the general state of the coinage in Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa. Among the instructions given to the Committee were:—

1. To enquire particularly into the cause of the little progress which had been made towards the establishment of the general currency of the sikka rupees.

2. To ascertain the causes of the batta or discount that had frequently been levied on the exchange of a gold mohar for silver.

3. To report whether it would be advisable to declare the gold mohars, and the multiples thereof, legal tender of payment in the three provinces in all transactions, public and private, at the value at which they were then received and paid at the general treasury and in all private transactions.

* Catalogue of coins of the Moghul Emperors, 1892.

4. To enquire into the state of the copper coinage.

5. To state their sentiments on the practicability and expediency of coining the gold mohars, rupees and pice, or either of those coins, with machinery of similar construction to that in use in the mints in Europe.

On May 14th, 1792, the Mint Master informed the Committee that he had received orders from the Governor-

Patna, Murshidábád. General to establish mints at Patna and Murshidábád, to facilitate the conversion of the various species of silver coins current in the several districts into sikka rupees.

A new gold mohar and sikka rupee of the current coinage were laid before the Committee, who were of opinion that the size, shape, and impression of the mohar were perfect, and equal, if not superior, to the newest English guinea, or any of the gold coins in Europe, the die being precisely the same size as the coin, which consequently bore the whole legend, the letters being cut flat, and the coin being difficult to drill without defacing it, owing to its being milled and of proper thickness. With respect to the rupee, the Committee considered that it was very defective both with regard to its size, thickness, and impression, which was struck with a die of twice the circumference of the coin, so that only a part of the impression appeared on the coin. The letters were considered to be too prominent, and liable to injury from common wear and filing, and the thickness of the coin and absence of milling rendered it liable to be easily filed, bored, and defaced. The Committee, therefore, recommended that the rupee should be coined in every respect in the same manner as the gold mohar.

In the Calcutta Mint Committee's Proceedings, 1792, the following historical sketch of the Benares mint (con-

Benares.

cerning which great confusion exists) by Mr. Barlow, who had been deputed in 1787 to enquire into the trade and coinage of Benares, is placed on record.

A mint was first established at Benares in the 15th year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh (1734). The assay of the rupee was fixed at 22 chauwals, but, by the connivance of the Superintendents of the mint, it was debased to 32 chauwals at different periods before the 30th and last year of the reign.

During the first three years of the reign of Ahmad Sháh (1748-50) the mint was under the charge of Rájá Balwant Singh, who increased the duties on the coinage by attaching the fees of the officers of the mint, and establishing new ones to the same amount. In the 1st year the assay was kept up to 22 chauwals, but in the 2nd and 3rd years the Rájá farmed the mint to one Naudrám who, to increase his

receipts, debased the coin to 24 and 32 chauwals. The mint records were burnt by Balwant Singh, and no records were kept in the mint until the 17th year of the reign of Sháh 'Alam (1776). The farmers carried away their books in order to conceal the profits they reaped from debasing the coins. The system of farming out the mints, first adopted by Ratan Chaud, Diwán to Farrukhsiyár, at length introduced the custom of changing the value of the rupee every year. Those who had payments to make were consequently obliged to carry their old rupees to the mint to have them re-coined into sikkas, the name given to the rupees of the current year. Previous to the 10th year of the reign of Sháh 'Alam (1769), the new coined sikka rupee, after circulating twelve months, fell 3 per cent., and at the expiration of two years 2 per cent. more, at which value it continued under the denomination 'sanwát.' On the 6th August, 1771, this usage was abolished by the British Government, who resolved that the sikkas coined in the 10th year of the reign should be considered as sanwáts, and that those coined in the 11th and all subsequent years should pass in payment at the same value as the sikkas of the current year.

From the beginning of the 4th to the end of the 6th and last year (1754) of Ahmad Sháh the mint was under the charge of Aghá Asad Beg, Kiladár or Governor of the Fort of Chunár. The assay of the rupees was from 26 to 32 chauwals.

At the commencement of the reign of 'Alamgir II (1754) the mint fell to the Vizier Shujá'ud-daulah. During the 1st and 2nd years the assay of the rupees was from 26 to 28 chauwals. In the 3rd year Shujá'ud-daulah made over the mint to his brother-in-law, Mirza 'Alí Khán, who farmed it to Subháv Chand. The assay of the rupees was from 24 to 32 chauwals. In the 4th year the mint was farmed to the agent of an eminent Benares banker, and the rupees were debased to 64 chauwals and, for the first time, half a ratí in weight. Rájá Balwant Singh refused to receive them into his treasury. In the 5th year the rupees were raised to their proper weight of 9 máshás, 7 ratis (or 632 chauwals), but continued at the debased standard of 40 and 48 chauwals. In the 6th and last year of the reign the rupees were debased to 100 chauwals assay (i. e. $\frac{535}{630}$ silver and $\frac{95}{630}$ alloy) and half a ratí in weight.

In the 1st year of the reign of Sháh 'Alam, Shujá'ud-daulah appointed a person on his own part to superintend the coinage, and the rupee was restored to its former weight, (9m. 7r.) and to 26 chauwals assay. During the 2nd to 8th years the assay remained at 40 chauwals. In the latter year (1767) Shujá'ud-daulah, at the recommendation of Lord Clive, resolved to reform the coin. The Benáres mint was, ac-

cordingly, committed to the care of Mirzá Hasan, who engaged to restore the rupees to their proper weight and standard. A Delhi rupee of the 18th year of Muhammad Sháh was sent as a sample for the new coinage. This rupee was 22 chauwals fine, but, being worn, had lost 2 chauwals in weight. The new rupees were, in consequence, 2 chauwals deficient, and from that time the Benares rupees continued at 9m. 6r. 6 ch., being 2 chauwals less than the original weight of 9m. 7r. In the 9th year the mint was farmed to Monsieur Gentille, the French Agent at Shujá'ud-daulah's court, and the same assay (22 chauwals) was continued until the 15th year (1774). A considerable portion of the rupees issued in the 16th year contained only $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of silver, to $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of copper.

In the 17th year of the reign of Sháh 'Álam (1776) the mint was transferred by the Company to Chait Singh, who engaged to coin rupees of 9m. 9r. 6 ch., weight and 18 chauwals fine, and to continue the die of the 17th san, in order to put an end to the confusion in the currency occasioned by the constant alteration of the value of the coin. "All rupees, therefore," the Records state, "coined in the Benares mint since the 17th year of the present reign, ought to be of the same weight and standard, and to pass current as sikkas* of the present year. The rupees current in the district of Benares may, therefore, be classed as sanwát and sikka, the former coined under the Mughal Princes, and the latter since the 17th year of the reign of Sháh 'Álam, when the mint was ceded to the Company by the Vizier, and by them transferred to Chait Singh."

The following table gives information as to the assays, weights, and names of the rupees coined at the Benares mint from its establishment to 1782:—

* Previous to the time of Farrukhsiyar all rupees coined under the reigning king were considered as sikkas, and passed at their original value during his life. At the accession of a new king, the rupees of the former reign were subject to a batta, and were not received into the royal treasury.

REIGN.	ASSAY.	BENARES WEIGHT.		CALCUTTA WEIGHT.		REMARKS.
		M.	R.	M.	Ch.	
J. I. MUHAMMAD SHÁH. 15th to 22nd years	22	9	7	10	...	
	32	...	...	...	...
	
23th " 28th "	22	
	
	
29th " 30th "	22	
	
	
AHMAD SHÁH. 1st year	
	24	...	...	...	...
	32	...	...	...	...
2nd to 4th years	32	
	32	...	...	...	...
	26	...	...	...	...
5th year	26	
	
	
6th to 7th years	26	
	
	
'ALAMGÍR II. 1st and 2nd years	26	
	28	...	...	...	...
	24	...	...	...	...
3rd year	32	
	64	9	6	9	7 4	
	40	9	7	9	10	
4th "	48	9	7	9	10	
	64	9	6	9	7 4	
	100	...	...	...	...
5th "	64	9	6	9	7 4	
	
	
6th "	100	
	26	9	7	10	...	
	40	...	...	...	...
SHÁH 'ALAM. 1st year	22	9	6	9	7 6	
	22	9	6	9	7 6	
	26	...	...	...	...
2nd to 7th years	26	
	28	...	...	...	...
	28	...	...	...	...
8th " 10th "	28	
	28	...	...	...	...
	28	...	...	...	...
11th year	28	
	28	...	...	...	...
	28	...	...	...	...
12th "	28	
	28	...	...	...	...
	28	...	...	...	...
13th to 14th years	28	
	28	...	...	...	...
	18	...	...	...	...
15th " 16th "	18	
	
	
17th " 28th "	18	
	
	

The rupees of the 4th to 6th years of 'Alamgír II were called *Trisúlis* from having the *trisú* or Hindu trident stamped upon them.

The rupees of the 1st to 7th years were called *Thumká Goharsháhís*; *thumká* signifying small, and *Gohar Sháh* being the name of *Sháh 'Alam* previous to his accession to the throne.
Called *Chaurá* or broad *Goharsháhís** to distinguish them from the *Thumká* or small ones, which *Shujá'ud-dauláh*, at the desire of *Lord Clive*, ordered to be discontinued.

Called *Jhardár* from a mark or branch ↯ marked on the coin.

Sikka rupees of the same weight and fineness, and which ought to pass current at the same value. They are distinguished also by the appellation of *machhidár*, from the head of a fish being stamped upon them.

* Regulation V, 1831, refers to "Ghusháhee or Tirsoolee rupees."

The fact is incidentally mentioned that, when the Sháhzádá (Sháh 'Alam) invaded Bihár, the mint accompanied him, and a large quantity of Benares rupees were melted down and coined into 'rikabees' (*rikáb*, a stirrup) which were 1r. 2ch. deficient in weight, and of 64 chauwals assay, but were made to pass in the camp as sikkas of the established weight and fineness. It is also noted that two lacs of rupees were annually melted down for the manufacture of the laces and rich stuffs for which Benares was celebrated.

From Mr. Barlow's sketch the following account of the coinage of copper has been derived.

The pice current in the city and district of Benares previous to the establishment of the mint, were mostly coined at Gorakhpur in Oudh from copper brought from the northern hills. The first coinage of pice at Benares was in the 23rd year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh (1742), when 100 maunds weight were struck with the die of the sikka rupee. From that period till the 4th year of the reign of Sháh 'Alam (1762), no pice were coined in the Benares mint. In the 5th year the farmer of the mint purchased some English copper, and coined it into pice of 10 máshás stamped with the die of Gorakhpur. The number exchanged for a rupee was 45 to 48. The coinage of pice was again discontinued until the 17th year (1776), when it was re-established by permission of Rájá Chait Singh. The new pice were 10m. 3r. in weight, and passed current at about 50 or 51 to the rupee. In the following year a quantity of copper was brought to Benares from Calcutta, and the coining of pice and exclusive privilege of buying and selling copper in Benares granted to one Káshmirú Mall for Rs. 5,000. The weight of the coins continued to be 10m. 3r. and they passed in the bazár at about 52 or 53 per rupee. In the 19th and 20th years the coinage was declared free, and those who brought copper received pice in return, after paying duties. In the 21st year (1779) a considerable revolution took place in the copper coinage. The Nawáb Vizier issued orders to the officers of the Alláhábád mint to reduce the weight of the pice to 9m. 2r. The merchants, finding that their maund of copper yielded 3,650 pice at Alláhábád and only 3,250 at Benares, carried all their copper to the former place. The coinage of pice was, consequently, at a stand still, only 29 maunds being coined during the year. Large quantities of the new Alláhábád pice were brought by merchants to Benares. Rájá Chait Singh at first refused to authorise their currency, but at length gave his consent, and the Alláhábád pice of 9m. 3r. were declared current, and ordered to be received in payment in common with the old pice of 10m. 3r. The result was that the bankers contrived to lower the value of the pice altogether, and were

assisted in so doing by large importations from Alláhábád. In the 22nd year Rájá Chait Singh ordered pice to be coined of the same size and weight as the Alláhábád pice, and this contributed greatly to overstocking the circulation. In the 23rd and 24th years, after the expulsion of Chait Singh, the same weight (9m. 2r.) was continued, and the price of pice continued to fall until the famine in the next year, when they sold at thirteen for a rupee. In the 27th year the Resident at Benares ordered that no pice should be issued from the mint under 10m. 3r. and that Gorakhpur pice, weighing 10m. to 10m. 3r. and Benares pice, weighing 10m. 3r. should pass at the same value. The price immediately rose to 58 per rupee. In the 28th year (1787), when it was supposed that sufficient new pice had been coined for the city of Benares, the Gorakhpur pice were forbidden, and only the new Benares pice stamped with a trisúl (trident), and weighing from 10m. to 10m. 3r. and the Gorakhpur pice, re-stamped and not under 10m. in weight, were declared current.

As regards the gold coinage at the Benares mint, it is stated that the gold was assayed there by touch on a species of the *salgrám** stone so celebrated in the *śástras* of the Hindus. Upon comparing the Calcutta with the Benares gold mohars, it was found (1787) that the former was about Rs. 2-1-6 better than the latter, *i. e.*, R. 1-14-9 in weight and As 2-9 in assay. It was suggested, therefore, that the Benares mohar should be raised to the same weight and standard as the Calcutta mohar.

1792. On June 26, 1792, the following regulations were submitted, among others, for the consideration of the

Dacca, Patna, Murshidábád. Governor General:—

I. That the rupees coined throughout Bengal, Bihár,† and the district of Benares, be of the same weight, standard, size and impression (the rupee of the 19th san then coined at Calcutta).

II. That the mints of Dacca, Patna and Murshidábád be re-established.

III. That one species of copper coin be declared current throughout the Company's dominions.

In August, 1792, it was notified that directions had already been given by the Governor General for the re-establishment of the mints at Dacca, Patna, and Murshidábád; and in the same month, the follow-

* *Sálagráma* stones are fossil ammonites, which, as worshipped by the Hindus, are commonly perforated by holes believed to have been made by Vishnu.

† I have, for convenience, adopted a uniform spelling of the names, of places, *e. g.*, Bihár and Murshidábád instead of Behar and Moorshedabad.

ing propositions were, among others, made by the Calcutta mint Committee, with a view to drawing the old and light coins into the mints, and establishing the general currency of the sikka rupee:—

I. That after April 10th, 1794, only the san 19 sikka rupees be received at the public treasuries, or issued therefrom;

II. That public notice be given that Government, with a view to enabling individuals to get their old coin or bullion converted into sikka-rupees without delay, have established mints at Dacca, Patna and Murshidábád in addition to the mint at Calcutta;

III. That the rupees coined at Dacca, Patna and Murshidábád, be made precisely of the same shape, weight and standard as the 19 san sikka rupees coined at Calcutta, in order that the rupees struck at the several mints might not be recognisable from each other, and might be received and paid indiscriminately;

IV. That the dies be made of the same size as the coin, and that the coins be milled;

V. That the hijrah year be omitted, as the insertion of it, by showing the year in which the rupees were struck, would defeat the object of Government in continuing the 19th san upon the coins.

The earliest weekly account of the new Dacca mint which I have been able to find, is dated 11th August, 1792, on which day the Assay Master also submitted to the Calcutta Mint Committee the accounts of the preceding three months, and promised in future to forward a weekly account.

On 23rd October, 1792, the Assay Master of the Murshidábád mint reported that he was erecting workshops, etc., at the Dutch Factory, and hoped to begin coining by the end of the following week. The opening of the mint was announced to the Governor General in a letter dated December, 1792.

1793. On 24th February, 1793, the Assay Master of the Patna mint announced to the Calcutta Mint Committee that everything would be ready by the end of the month for the coining of five lacs monthly.

In 1793 a regulation* was passed, by which the gold and silver coin in Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa was reformed, and the currency of any gold or silver coin in these provinces, but the 19th san gold mohar and 19th san sikka rupee, and their respective divisions into halves and quarters, was prohibited.

* See Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, and Thurston, *History of the Coinage of the East India Company*.

1795. In a minute dated 2nd October, 1795, the defective state of the copper coinage in Bengal was dealt with, and the principles upon which the copper currency was regulated under Native administration, and the rules that had been prescribed regarding it by the British Government were noted. "Under the Mogul administration," the minute states, "the silver coin was the only measure of value and legal tender of payments. Gold mohurs and pice were struck at the mints for the convenience of individuals, who carried gold or copper to be converted into those coins. But the Government never fixed the number of pice which should be equivalent to a rupee, any more than the number of rupees which should pass in exchange for a gold mohur. From the year 1772, when the mints at Dacca, Patna, and Murshidábád were withdrawn, no pice were coined in the Provinces until 1783, when a contract was concluded with Mr. Prinsep for coining pice on account of the Government. These pice were of four descriptions, viz., whole or pucka, weighing 20 annas, half pice, quarters and eighths. These pice were issued by the Government at the rate of 32 pucka pice, 64 half, 128 quarter pice, and 256 eighth pice for the sikka rupee."

At a council, over which Sir John Shore, Governor General, presided, held on 2nd October, 1795, it was considered expedient that there should only be two descriptions of copper coin, a whole and half pice, to pass at the value of a quarter and an eighth of an anna respectively. It was, accordingly, resolved that a Regulation should be framed, and published for the establishment of a new copper coinage* for Bengal Bihár, and Orissa. Among the provisions of this Regulation were:—

I. That people in all parts of the country be apprised of the value at which the coin was issued by Government, and to be received and paid by the public and individuals;

II. That the value be inscribed on one surface in Persian, Bangálí and Nágari—the characters used in business in the Provinces;

III. That the coin be declared legal tender of payment for fractions of half a rupee;

IV. That the coin be struck at the Calcutta mint, and not at the three City mints.

The Governor General approved of samples of the new pice and half pice in November, 1795, and orders were issued to coin an equal value of the two coins, until it was ascertained which was likely to be in the greatest demand. A week later, however, the Governor General, understanding that the relative values of the whole and half pice would

* The existing piece was known as the Calcutta, or Prinsep's pice.

be best understood by the Natives, especially the lower orders, by substituting "ek pái sikká" and "ádhá pái sikká" for "paun áná and (the inscriptions originally ordered) resolved that instructions for altering the inscriptions be issued to the Mint Master.

Towards the end of 1795 trouble was caused by the debased quality of the gold mohars issued from the **Dacca, Patna, Murshidábád** Dacca, Patna, and Murshidábád mints, and by the rupees issued from the Patna and Murshidábád mints being below sikká standard. It was, after enquiry into the matter, resolved that the coinage of gold at the Patna mint should be for the time discontinued, and that, for the present, no more coins should be struck at the Murshidábád mint. In the course of the correspondence relating to the debased coinage, reference is made to the distinguishing marks of the three mints, but, for precaution's sake, the nature of these private marks (recognisable with a lens) is not mentioned.

1796. In February, 1796, it was resolved that all the gold bullion **Bengal.** sent to the Calcutta mint should, until further orders, be coined into quarter mohars, inasmuch as these coins were in much greater request among the lower orders than the gold coins of higher value.

In April 1796, in consequence of a report from the Mint Master, that considerable loss would be sustained annually if Government adhered to their original intention of coining the whole pice at 16 annas and the half pice at 8 annas sikká weight, Government was reduced to the alternative of relinquishing the establishment of the new copper coinage altogether, or reducing its value. It was accordingly resolved that the coining of whole pice of 12 annas and half pice of 6 annas sikká weight, be commenced immediately. The Mint Master, however, reported that dies could not be made for pice of smaller diameter than those then in use, as there would not be a sufficient body of metal to yield a bold impression. It was thereupon ordered that, in the event of its appearing impracticable to insert the whole of the inscription, the Persian portion should be omitted instead of the Nágari as suggested by the Mint.

1797. The coinage of money at the Dacca and Patna mints ceased **Dacca, Patna, Murshidábád.** on 31st January 1797, and December 31st 1796, respectively. The date of the closing of the Murshidábád mint I have not been able to find, but the records of 1799 make reference to "assaying materials which may be deposited in the late mint at that station, and to the best means of disposing of the building which was formerly used for a mint at Murshidábád."

1800. In a letter dated 12th December, 1800, on the subject of the irregularities at the Benares mint, the **Benares.** Collector of that city suggested the advisability of a European being placed in charge of the mint, and of having rupees coined there of the same standard as the Bihár sikka rupees.

1801. In April 1801, a Committee was appointed to enquire into the state of the Benares mint, and report on the expediency of continuing it. From the **Benares.** Committee's report it appears that, since the abolition of the Residency, the mint had been left without the superintendence of a European official, and that the same species of gold, silver, and copper coins continued to be struck as at the time when Mr. Barlow reported on the mint (p. 54). In recommending a continuation of the mint, the Committee stated that "a connexion has always subsisted between the mint and the manufacturers of gold and silver wire and thread, and the weavers of rich cloths and embroideries made at Benares, on which the prosperity of the trade in these articles appears so much to depend that, in the event of the abolition of the mint, the manufacturers might require some similar establishment to supply its place." In reviewing the report of the Committee, the Governor-General did not think it advisable either to abolish the mint, or to alter the mode in which the coinage had been hitherto conducted, but ordered that the Agent of the Governor-General, the Magistrate of the city, and the Collector of the Province of Benares be constituted a permanent Committee for the superintendence and control of the mint.

1802. In 1802 letters were received from Madras and Bombay, from which it appeared very necessary that a **Bombay, Madras.** general reform of their coinage should be carried out, and greater uniformity introduced, so as to relieve the public and individuals from the inconvenience arising from so great a variety of coins, and from so frequent fluctuations in their values. The following plan of a new coinage was submitted by the Calcutta Mint:—

I. That the gold and silver coins of Madras, Bombay, and the Ceded Districts, be of the same standard and weight;

II. That the gold mohar (gold rupee) weigh 180 grains troy, and contain 168 grains of gold and 12 grains of alloy;

III. That the silver rupee weigh 186 grains troy, and contain 173 grains of silver and 13 grains of alloy;

IV. That fourteen rupees be equal to, and pass for the gold mohur.

V. That the mohar and rupee of Bombay be divided into halves, quarters, and eighths (which last could be milled and stamped without trouble);

VI. That the Madras quarter mohar pass for 42 silver fánams, and the Madras rupee for 12 fánams.

In this proposed coinage the quarter gold mohar was of the same intrinsic value as the Madras star pagoda, but the rupee was nearly 4 per cent. better than the Madras Arkát rupee. The proposed new rupee was more than 5 per cent. better than the Bombay rupee, which had been adopted from the Surat Mint.

In a letter dated July, 1803, stating that the Governor-General had it in contemplation to establish a coinage of the same weight and standard throughout the provinces ceded to the Company by the Nawáb Vizier, it was announced that a Committee had been appointed for the superintendence of the mints established at Baráílí and Alláhábád, which were to report to Government their suggestions for the improvement of the coinage in the ceded provinces. I have not been able to ascertain how long the coinage of the Alláhábád mint continued, but reference is made in December, 1805, to "base coin issued from the mint at Alláhábád a short time previously to the coinage at that place."

1803. In May, 1803, the Collector of Gorakhpur stated that "it is the opinion of some sensible shroffs that, in the course of the ensuing year, it may be advisable to establish a mint at the town of Gorakhpur. In this case it is my opinion that the Lucknow sikka rupee of the 28th san should be gradually introduced as the standard currency of Gorakhpur. On the other hand, the shroffs would greatly prefer the Gorakhpur rupee because of the advantages always derived from the fluctuation of batta on rupees of different standards."

Farrukhábád. By Regulation XLV, 1803, it was enacted that:—

(Sect. II.) A silver coin, to be denominated the Lucknow sikka rupee of the 45th san, struck in the mint of Farrukhábád, corresponding in weight and standard with the sikka rupee at present struck at Lucknow, in the dominions of the Nawáb Vizier, and thence denominated the Lucknow rupee, is hereby declared to be the established and legal silver coin in the provinces ceded by the Nawáb Vizier to the English East India Company.

(Sect. IV.) A mint shall be established at, or in the immediate vicinity of Farrukhábád, in which Lucknow rupees of the 45th san, and of the prescribed weight and standard, and half and quarter rupees of the same standard and proportionate weight, will be coined.

(Sect. V.) The Lucknow 45th san sikka rupee, as established by this regulation, shall be of the same size and form as the 19th san

sikka rupee struck in the mint at Calcutta, and shall bear the following impression:—

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
الٰہ حاسمی دین محمد سایہ فضل شاہ عالم بادشاہ * سکہ زد برہفت کشور	میمنت مانوس سنہ ۱۴ جلوس ضرب فرخ آباد

(Sect. VI.) The half and quarter rupee shall be proportionately less than the rupee, and bear the same impression as the rupee.

(Sect. XII.) The Mint Master at Calcutta shall cause a private mark to be put on all dies which may be prepared for the mint at Farrukhábád, but in such a manner as not to be distinguished by the naked eye, or by persons unacquainted with it.

1804. In 1804 the Commissioner of Cuttack pointed out that great inconvenience was experienced in the Province of Cuttack from the want of a current coin of small value, especially for the use of the troops, and pilgrims resorting to the temple of Jagannáth, and proposed that the coin should bear on one face the figure of Jagannáth, and on the other the value of the coin in Persian and Uriya, and the date. This coin was never struck.

In this year the Assay Master of the Benares mint expressed a wish that “a coining, milling, and laminating machine may be sent up to Benares to enable me to ascertain by experiments what advantage there might be in introducing the mode at present used in Calcutta, or in continuing the native method of coining with the hammer only, though the whole figure of the die is not impressed on the rupees that are made in any of the native mints. The Riwá rupees, though of inferior value, have to an inexperienced person very much the aspect of Benares rupees, and are sometimes passed as such.”

The Mint Committees in the Ceded Provinces (Barailí and Alláhábád) were called on, in 1804, to report their views as to the introduction of a new copper coinage. The Alláhábád Committee recommended that a new copper coinage should be issued, bearing the same impression as the Lucknow rupees struck at Alláhábád. “There are,” the Committee stated, “two kinds of copper coinage in currency.

* The above is quoted from the text of the Regulation. Mr. Rodgers (J. A. S. B., Vol. LVII, Part I for 1888) gives a slightly different version. Ed.

The average exchange of the first is two to an anna, and of the second four to an anna. We recommend that, for the present, the new coinage be limited to the first sort."

In their report the Barailí Committee gave the following details concerning the history of the copper coinage at that mint. "At Barailí no copper coinage was known until about sixteen years ago, when it was introduced by Mahdí 'Alí Khán, the ámil, who coined pice called shamsher sháhi from their having the figure of a sword stamped upon them. They were generally coined out of old pice or copper utensils. This coinage continued two years, after which the same ámil substituted another species of pice called machhlidárs from their having the figure of a fish stamped upon them. A few years after an improved coinage was introduced by the then ámil of Rohilkhand, whose pice were termed kaṭár from their being stamped with a dagger. After that, when Mahdí 'Alí Khán became ámil for the second time in 1205 (1790), though the name and appearance remained the same, the weight was reduced from 18 10 17 and even 16 máshás. In this diminished state the coinage of the kaṭár sháhís continued until the cession of the provinces to the Company in November, 1801. They are still current in the southern and eastern parts of Rohilkhand, but never obtained circulation equal to that of the najíb khánís, which are current at Rámpur."

The opinion expressed by the Committee was that there were no special circumstances of a local nature which urgently demanded the introduction of a copper coinage, but that it appeared advisable, on general principles, to introduce a sort of pice which would be intrinsically valuable from its purity, and difficult of imitation, and which should bear the same proportion to the local silver currency which the pice in the Lower Provinces bore to the Calcutta sikka rupees.

It appears from a report by Mr. Seton that the system of farming the Barailí mint was abolished in 1802. No alteration was introduced into the standard of the rupee, except that, to mark the period at which the change of system took place, the Persian letter چ (the first letter of the late Súbah Hussain 'Alí Khán) was discontinued, and و (W) substituted in compliment to the Lieutenant-Governor.

1805. In February 1805, the authorities of the Farrukhábád mint recommended the coinage of milled in place of hammered money as a measure tending to correct several existing abuses and imperfections. In July a letter from Government stated that "The Governor General in Council has determined on the immediate introduction of a new silver coin into

the provinces ceded by the Nawáb Vizier to the English East India Company, and into the conquered Provinces of the Nawáb and on the right bank of the river Jumna, including the Zillah of Bundelkhand, to be denominated the Lucknow sikka rupee of the 45th san, struck at Farrukhábád, corresponding in weight and standard with the sikka rupee at present struck at Lucknow in the dominions of the Nawáb Vizier; and has it in contemplation to establish a new copper coin in the provinces above-mentioned, of an uniform weight, to consist of pure copper."

1806. In 1806 the Mint Master at Benares, in a report on the copper currency of the Benares Province, stated that "there is no regulation for the weight, size, or impression of pice that can be the least check on any person making them privately without fear of detection. A great part of the pice now in circulation have been made in Oudh, the Ríwá Rájá's country, and other places, and smuggled into circulation." He, accordingly, suggested for the consideration of Government a new copper coinage (of which specimens were forwarded) to consist of:—

VALUE.	Number to the rupee.	Weight: Grains troy.	Diameter, Inches.
Double Pice. ...	32	240	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Single ,, ...	64	120	1
Half ,, ...	128	60	$\frac{3}{4}$
Quarter ,, ...	256	30	$\frac{5}{16}$

"If," the Mint Master wrote, "the machinery of the Calcutta mint could be used in laminating the derabs, it would greatly reduce the expense of making the pice, but I would by no means advise the impression being stamped in Calcutta, as the prejudices of the Natives in Benares should be conceded to."

In a letter dated 10th December, 1806, the Governor General, in forwarding a letter from the Court of Directors concerning a plan for one general coinage for the Company's possession, expressed his opinion that the coins should be struck in the name of the king of Delhí, and not of the Company with their arms, as proposed by the Court. In the letter referred to, of which the following is a *précis*, the Court of Directors wrote as

General.

follows:—"We think the Earl of Liverpool* has established the principle that "the money or coin which is to be the principal measure of property, ought to be of one metal only." In applying the argument to a coin for general use in India, there cannot be any doubt, in our opinion, that such coinage must be of silver. The standard weight of the silver coins issued from the mints of our several Presidencies we find to be as follows:—

Calcutta sikka rupee.	Troy grs.	...	179 $\frac{2}{3}$.
Madras Arcot	" " "	...	176 $\frac{2}{3}$.
Bombay	" " "	...	179.

"We think it would answer a good purpose to fix the gross weight in whole numbers, and should prefer the weight of 180 grs. troy. The British standard for gold coin is $\frac{1}{12}$ alloy and $\frac{11}{12}$ fine. There is no doubt that $\frac{1}{12}$ alloy of copper would be equally proper for silver coin, and we are of opinion that this proportion should be adopted, in which case the new rupees would have 165 grains of fine silver and 15 grains of alloy. Should the new rupee be ultimately adopted, there may be coined also:—

Half rupee weighing troy grs.	...	90.
Quarter " " " "	...	45.
Anna " " " "	...	11 $\frac{1}{4}$.

"A copper coinage should also be determined on for general circulation, and it is our opinion that it should consist of 6 pice or half anna, 3 pice or quarter anna, and 1 pice pieces.

"We are desirous of establishing a gold coin on a principle fitted for general use. This coin should, in our opinion, be called a gold rupee, and be made of the same standard as the silver rupee, *viz.*, 180 grains gross weight and 165 grains fine, and be divided into halves and quarters. The quarter gold rupee appears well fitted to supply the place of the Madras star pagoda in the payment of the Madras army.

"We have thought the adoption of a new coinage for British India a fit opportunity for giving a new impression to our currency, and the most appropriate, in our esteem, is the Company's arms with an inscription "English East India Company," as also the denomination and value of the coin with the year of coinage, and for the reverse a Persian inscription expressing the English one on the obverse with the date of coinage and value and denomination of the coin. If the smaller gold and silver coins (perhaps all below the half rupee) do not present surface sufficient for a clear impression, it would be proper to substitute for the Company's arms the Company's crest, the inscriptions to remain alike in all."

* Letter to the King on the coins of the realm.

1807. A letter from the Mint Master at Farrukhábád dated 24th October, 1807, asks for new milling dies for **Farrukhábád.** rupees, and states that the mint had not yet been furnished with dies for the half and quarter rupees, the expediency of procuring which had been suggested by the Mint Committee.

In this year, and early in 1808, proclamations were issued by **Madras.** the Government of Madras respecting a new coinage for the Madras Presidency, of which the following is a *résumé*.

A SILVER COINAGE.

“All the silver coins of the Presidency coined at the Madras mint shall be coined direct from dollars when imported, and be of dollar fineness.

“The double rupee will contain double the quantity, the half rupee half the quantity, and the quarter rupee a quarter of the pure silver which the rupee contains.

“There are also coined and issued the following small coins:—
Five fanams, on which is inscribed their denomination in English, Persian, Gentoo (Telugu), and Malabar (Malayálam).

Three*	”	”	”	”	”
Two	”	”	”	”	”
Single	”	”	”	”	”

B. COPPER COINAGE.

“The Governor General in Council has been pleased to issue a new coinage of the following numbers, values, etc.

Double Dubs.	...	24	to the rupee.
Single	”	48	” ” ”
Half	”	96	” ” ”
Quarter	”	192	” ” ”

“In case the above coins are issued at the Presidency, etc., they are to measure with the star pagodas:—

84 double dubs	to one pagoda.
168 single	” ” ” ”
336 half	” ” ” ”
672 quarter	” ” ” ”

“There are also issued the following coins with their denomination inscribed on them in English, Persian, Gentoo, and Malabar:—40 cash, 20 cash, 10 cash, 5 cash.”

* The five fanam pieces are now very scarce. Double and single fanams are fairly common. The three fanam pieces I have never seen, and have met with no other reference to them. I am inclined to think that the mention of them is a mistake.

In this Proclamation, which is dated 22nd August, 1807, it is stated that "the Governor in Council has also deemed it expedient to issue a silver coinage of half and quarter pagodas of dollar fineness."

This Proclamation was repeated on 28th November, 1807, with the addition of a 2½ cash piece as being "also issued."

C. GOLD COINAGE.

"The Governor in Council, having deemed it necessary to establish a new gold currency, has resolved to coin a gold pagoda of 22 carats fine, and a double pagoda of the same fineness, with English, Persian, Gentoo, and Malabar inscriptions."

In August, 1807, the mint master at Benares received a letter from Calcutta* respecting a new copper coinage for the province of Benares, which was to be prepared in the Calcutta mint. This coinage should, it was thought, consist of:—

			Number to a	Calcutta sikka
			rupee.	weight.
Double pice	...	...	32	1-1-6
Single „	...	...	64	0-8-9
Half „	...	...	128	0-4-4½

1809. By Regulation X, 1809, the Calcutta mint was directed to coin pice for the province of Benares, valued at 64 per rupee.

Benares.

1810. In a letter dated 11th September, 1810, reference is made to "London made copper coins at Fort St.

Madras.

George, of which there is stated to be 80,000 pagodas in store, and which cannot be brought into circulation at that Presidency. We are of opinion that the 20 cash pieces might be circulated here at the value of one and a half of the Bengal pice, and that, in the present scarcity of copper, it would be advisable to send the whole of them to Bengal.

1811. A letter dated 16th September, 1811, states that "Government having been pleased to determine that no change shall be made in the local currency

Benares.

of the province of Benares, but that it shall be recognised as the legal currency of that portion of the Company's territories, we entirely concur as to the expediency of placing the mint of that province under the immediate control of the Supreme Government, and of assimilating it in every respect to the mints of Calcutta and Farrukhábád, by which means the coin which may hereafter be struck in the Benares mint will be much improved in point of fabrication and appearance.

The same letter^a states that "the quantity of gold which has been coined in the Benares mint since 1782 only amounted to 121,949 mohars or about 1,768,260 rupees, whilst, during the same period, the silver coinage has amounted to rupees 51,631,000, and it is accordingly proposed by the Board of Commissioners that the Benares mint shall not be open for the coinage of gold bullion in future."

A Regulation for the future management of the Benares mint, (the date* of which is not given in the records), has, among its clauses, the following:—

Benares.

Preamble. Whereas it has been deemed advisable to continue the mint at Benares, and to assimilate the internal management of it to the rules already in force in the Mints of Calcutta and Farrukhábád, the following rules have been enacted to be in force from their promulgation:—

I. The silver coin now current in the Benares province under the denomination of the machhlidár rupee, commonly called the Benares rupee, shall continue to be the established coin of the province, and shall be received as such in all public and private transactions.

II. The Benares rupee is to continue of the following weight, and half and quarter rupees are to be coined of the same standard and proportionate weight:—

Troy grains	...	...	...	175
Pure silver	...	...	...	168.875
Alloy ...	...	...	...	6.125

III. The Benares rupee shall hereafter be struck of the same size and form as the 19th san rupee struck in the mint of Calcutta, and shall bear the same impression as is now in use;

IV. The half and quarter rupee shall be proportionately less than the rupee, and shall have the same impression as the rupee;

V. The edges shall be milled, and the dies (to be cut in the Calcutta mint) shall be made of the same size as the coin, so that the whole impression may appear;

VI. The mint master at Calcutta shall cause a private mark to be put upon all the dies which may be prepared for the Benares mint.

1812. In 1812 the Lieutenant-Governor of Java asked that a supply of copper coinage might be sent from

Java.

Bengal to Batavia, as the want of a small currency was felt throughout the colony. The coinage, it was suggested, should consist of 165 coins to one Dutch pound weight, and the device be either the figure of a buffalo or elephant, and on the reverse, JAVA and the date.

* It was probably 1810, as it refers to "From and after the first day of 1811."

In April, 1812, the Madras mint Committee recommended that, in conformity with the orders of the Court of directors, the coinage of half and quarter pagodas and of pie, two, and single fánams be discontinued, and that the coinage of rupees, half, quarter, and eighth rupees be commenced; and that the half and quarter pagodas and five fánam pieces be re-coined into rupees as fast as possible, leaving the double and single fánams to remain in circulation until the fractions of the rupee were fully established.

1813. **Benares.** In 1813 it was pointed out that, since the "tirsoolee pisa" was originally established as the copper currency of Benares, no measures had been adopted to renew it, and the inscription had, by process of time, become more or less indistinct, and the shroffs had reduced the value of pice in which the trisúl was defective by reducing it 11 per cent. in current value for no other reason than the defectiveness of the trisúl."

By a Resolution dated 7th August, 1813, the Governor-General, anticipating great convenience and advantage from the establishment of an uniform coinage throughout the ceded and conquered provinces, including the districts dependent on Delhi, resolved that the coinage to be carried on henceforth at the Delhi mint be confined to new Farrukhábád rupees of the weight and standard of the coin issued from the Farrukhábád mint, and bearing the same inscription. The Governor-General also expressed his opinion that there could be no objection to coining at the Delhi mint a limited number of rupees bearing the name and title of his present Majesty, Akbar Sháh, these rupees being only intended to be presented to His Majesty on the anniversary of his accession for the purpose of being distributed as complimentary presents.

In 1813 a Regulation for establishing a copper coinage in the Province of Benares was passed, among the clauses of which were the following:—

Benares.
I. A copper coin weighing 100 grains troy, and consisting of pure copper, shall be established in the province of Benares (the coin to be fabricated at the Benares mint);

II. The form, size, and impression of the copper coin shall correspond with those prescribed by Sect. XII, Reg. II, 1803, for the Benares rupee, but the edges shall not be milled or have any mark or impression.

In November, 1813, the Court of Directors expressed their opinion that the coinage for the Bombay Presidency should be executed in the Calcutta mint, and

Bombay.

forwarded a number of coins as showing their views with respect to manner in which the coinage should be executed.

1816. In September, 1816, the Board of Commissioners, Farrukh-

Farrukhábád. ábád, pointed out that for some time only a small quantity of silver had been brought to the mint by individuals for coinage, and suggested the expediency of employing the establishment in the coinage of copper pice on account of Government. The following draft Resolution was submitted by the Commissioners:—

I. That Sect. XLIII, Reg. XLV, 1803, prescribing a specified weight for the copper pice to be struck at Farrukhábád be rescinded

II. That such copper coin be struck at Farrukhábád, weighing 200 grains troy for the whole, or double pice, and 100 grains troy for the half or single pice;

III. That such copper coin shall be issued from the mint at the rate of 32 whole and 64 half pice for each rupee.

In November, 1816, the Mauritius Government wrote to the Governor General that "this Colony is subject to considerable inconvenience and difficulties, especially since the great fire, from the want of a small money for the ordinary daily transactions of common life. It would, therefore, be most desirable to obtain from the mint of the Supreme Government a coinage for the use of this land. A decimal division of the Spanish Dollar, which coin is here equivalent to two sikka rupees, would be the most convenient money for accounts. The books of the merchants and traders being kept in livres, ten of which are in this Colony equal to the Spanish Dollar, it would be desirable that each of the silver coins should be marked ONE LIVRE."

Mauritius. By Regulation XXV, 1817, it was enacted that:—

Bengal. I. The copper pice struck at the Calcutta mint shall be of pure copper, and of the weight of 100 grains troy;

II. The inscription shall be on one side "one pic sikka" in Bangáli, Persian, and Nágari, and the date on the obverse.

III. That the pice shall be issued from the mint and public treasuries at the rate of 64 to 1 sikka rupee....., and be legal tender at the rate of 64 to a rupee of the local currency throughout the provinces subject to the Presidency of Fort William.

IV. The pice struck at the mints of Benares and Farrukhábád, agreeably to the provisions of Regulation X, 1809, Reg. VII, 1814, and Reg. XXI, 1816, shall be also considered as circulating equally

Benares.
Farrukhábád.

with the pice of Calcutta coinage throughout the above-mentioned provinces, and shall in like manner, be received as legal tender in payment of the fractional parts of a rupee of the local currency at the rate of 64 pice for each rupee.

Farrukhábád.

By Regulation XXVI, 1817, it was enacted that:—

I. Whereas it may from time to time be found expedient to coin rupees of the weight and standard of the Farrukhábád rupee at the mints of Calcutta or Benares, it has seemed advisable to rescind so much of section II of Reg. XLV, 1803, as tends to limit the coinage of Farrukhábád rupees to the mint of Farrukhábád, and to direct that the following enactment be henceforth in force:—

II. The silver coin denominated the Farrukhábád rupee, and of the weight and standard prescribed by section II of Reg. III, 1806, struck at the mints of Calcutta, Farrukhábád, or Benares, or at any other mint established by order of the Governor General in Council, is hereby declared to be the established and legal silver coin in the ceded and conquered provinces.

In 1817 the weight of the pice struck in the Calcutta mint was fixed at 100 grains, and they bore the inscription "one pie sikka."

Calcutta.

1818. In June, 1818, the Vice-President in Council expressed his concurrence with the Resident at Delhi as to the inexpediency of maintaining the Delhi

Delhi.

mint, and the Resident was accordingly directed to discontinue its operations, still causing, however, such a number of coins to be struck as might be necessary for the purpose of satisfying the feelings of the king.

In August, 1818, the Calcutta Mint Master submitted for the consideration of Government specimen coins of the weight and standard of the proposed new currency, and stated that, as the difference in size and weight of the new coins might not be considered sufficient to enable all persons to at once distinguish them from the old ones, he had thought it expedient to affix such further distinctive marks as would be obvious to the most ordinary observer. The specimens, which were distinguished from the existing currency by a raised rim and perpendicular milling, were adopted as the pattern for the new coinage.

General.

In 1818 the Calcutta Mint Committee stated that they were not aware of any objection to the inscription on the rupee undergoing an alteration, and that it would be more consistent with the dignity of the British Government of India to authorise its own currencies by its own

peculiar stamp and impression; and suggested that, if any alteration was made, no date should be inserted, as an arbitrary batta on coins of various issues would thus be obviated without having recourse to any fictitious inscription.

**Benares, Farrukhá-
bád.**

1819. By Regulation XI, 1819, it was enacted that:—

1. The coinage of the Benares rupee shall be discontinued;

II. The Farrukhábad rupee shall be considered the legal currency of the province of Benares;

III. The Farrukhábad rupee shall be a legal tender in all the territories under the Bengal Government, with the exception of Bengal, Bibár, and Orissa, whether struck at the mints of Calcutta, Benares, or Farrukhábad, or any other mint that may be hereafter established within the aforesaid limits under the authority of the British Government;

IV. The Farrukhábad rupee to be struck at any of the mints before mentioned, shall be of the value of the present Farrukhábad rupee, and of the standard of the present Calcutta rupee, viz.:

Weight	Troy grs.	...	...	180.234
Pure silver	"	...	...	165.215
Alloy	"	...	...	15.019

In addition to the substitution of the new Farrukhábad rupee, the Mint Committee recommended the temporary establishment of mints at Ajmere and Ságár, to convert the existing

Ajmere, Ságár.

currencies into the new coin. The Ságár mint was at that time issuing rupees called "Saugor or Balashaie." The Government expressed their opinion that the recommendation of the Committee was judicious. I can find no further reference to the Ajmere mint in the records.

Bombay.

1821. The Bombay coinage consisted in 1821 of the following:—

				Troy grs.
Gold.	Mohar	...	...	180
"	Panchia (5 rupees)	...	...	60
"	Rupee	...	...	12
Silver.	Rupee	...	...	180
"	Half Rupee	...	...	90
"	Quarter "	...	...	45
"	Eighth "	...	...	22.5
Copper.	Anna	...	...	400
"	Half Anna	...	...	200
"	Quarter "	...	...	100
"	Pice	...	...	33.33

In this year the Mauritius Government, being put to inconvenience by the use of paper money for the small change of the colony, asked that the Calcutta mint might coin for them small tokens to the value of 100,000 sikka rupees. The wish of the Mauritius Government was acceded to.

1824. In 1824 an application was made by the Resident at Singapore for a supply of small coins to be struck at the Calcutta mint for the use of that

settlement. In the Resident's letter it is stated that the small money in circulation throughout the Malay countries consisted of copper Dutch duyt and pice of Prince of Wales' island, the brass coin of China, and of silver Dutch 2, 6, and 9 silver (stiver?, pieces, and the guilder or florin commonly called by the natives the rupee. The most universally used coins were the duyt and two stiver piece. The duyt was the real money of the most remote and unfrequented parts of Sumatra and Borneo, and the two stiver piece was the true circulating medium of the Celebes, the Spanish dollar being only used in foreign commercial transactions. It was suggested that the duyt and two silver piece should be struck with the same inscriptions, *viz.* the value in the English, Chinese, Malay and Bugies languages, and on the reverse the crest of the East India Company without the supporters, and with the date and motto of the Company beneath.

By Regulation II, 1824, it was decided that the Farrukhábád rupees, to be coined at the Ságar mint of 180 grains, 165 fine and 15 alloy, should be the legal currency of Ságar and territories on the Narmadá (Nerbudda).

A letter from the Bombay Mint Committee, dated 27th September, 1824, refers to a communication received from the Supreme Government, desiring that immediate steps be taken for the coinage of a new rupee of the Madras standard, and asking for their opinion on the measures to be adopted for a general reform of the currency. The Committee suggested, with reference to the first point, that a proclamation should be issued, announcing the alteration of the standard, and declaring the new rupee current at par with the old. They also recommended the division of the anna into sixteen instead of twelve pice, so that the copper currency would consist of:—

Bombay.

				Troy grs.
Anna	...	...	...	400
Half Anna	...	...	...	200
Quarter „	...	...	...	200
Double Pice	...	...	...	50
Single „	...	...	...	25

A draft proclamation was submitted by the Committee, announcing the alteration of the mint standard, the sanction of which by the Supreme Government is not recorded in the Records.

1825. In 1825 various suggestions for a change of impression on

General

the currency were made, and the following extract is from an able report by Lieutenant Forbes, who was superintending the construction of the new Calcutta mint, and who, before proceeding to England in 1820, had been instructed by the Bengal Government to bring the subject of the device for the coin to the notice of the Court of Directors.

"It is observed," Lieutenant Forbes wrote, "that the impression chosen by the king of Oudh for his new currency shows that in reality no prejudice exists against the representation of animals on coins. The common practice of putting Coats-of-Arms on coins having led to the adoption of those of the Hon. Company as a device for some of their copper coins executed in England, the propriety of employing them on the money to be struck for the general circulation of India came first to be considered. From the minuteness of the scale to which they must be reduced on a coin, it was found that the Royal Arms situated in the upper left quarter of the Company's shield became undecipherable, and that, as its plain was otherwise blank, the total effect of the piece was feeble and unmeaning. With the intention of enriching the design, two large lions (the supporters), and a little one (the crest), were introduced. The portion of surface occupied by such a number of animals in the rampant and strange attitudes adopted in heraldry, now left so little space for the shield that the Royal Arms, diminished to a peg, became utterly undistinguishable. The unanimous opinion of artists that such a device would appear inelegant and barbarous was strikingly confirmed by the specimens produced on the money executed at Soho for transmission to Penang and the islands to the eastward. Although some of the dies were engraved by artists of considerable talent, no effort of skill or ingenuity could prevent the little odd lion of the crest from being mistaken for a monkey, nor obviate the misapprehension of common observers in conceiving the figures used as supporters to be ill-designed cats. A praiseworthy attempt to correct such serious defects by the introduction of lions modelled from life brought the question of the Arms to its final issue. It then appeared that the animals with which heraldry is conversant under the denomination of lions are not "real lions," and that correct similitudes of the animal himself, placed in the splay-footed position, required as supporters, had a ludicrous effect.

"I was induced to propose the simple emblem of the Company, a

a solitary lion, as a devise for the Indian coins. As an appropriate type of sovereignty, and as an emblem known and respected wherever British rule has been extended, I suggested that the ease, dignity, and strength which he so nobly personified on some of the coins of ancient Greece would be still more consistent and characteristic when applied to India. Moreover, I suggested that he might be completely localised by the ever-flourishing Palm, an Asiatic though ancient tasteful emblem of perpetuity.

“I have to solicit the attention of the Committee to a model of this devise executed after a drawing by Flaxman.”

It was agreed that this device was well adapted for one face of the new coin, and suggested that either the head of the King (George IV), or the designation of the coin within a wreath, should be placed on the other face.

1826. In 1826 the Collector of Delhi expressed his opinion that a proposal to establish a mint for copper coinage at Delhi would be productive of good to the people, and a check to the impositions practised by the shroffs, whose source of livelihood consisted in the exaction of discount on the various current copper coins.

Delhi.

Calcutta.

1823-27. A volume of the records, 1823-27, is devoted to details connected with the construction of the new Calcutta mint.

In a report on the regulations for the conduct of the coinage subsequently to its transfer to the new Calcutta mint it is recorded that:—

I. It was the intention of the Hon. Court that the scale of the new mint machinery and establishment should be such as would permanently enable it to supply two-thirds of the coin required for the circulation of India;

II. It was their design that the remaining third should be supplied by similar apparatus of half the power to be sent to Bombay;

III. The new Calcutta mint would immediately or eventually have to perform the work of the Calcutta mint, and of the mints of Benares, Farrukhábád, and Ságár;

IV. The Hon. Court held in view that the Calcutta and Bombay mints would, at any period found convenient, afford the means of equalising the coins, and of rendering uniform the coinages of India.

1827. In a letter dated 28th August, 1827, the Mint Master of the “new mint,” Bombay, expressed his opinion that the Bombay division into rupees, quarters, and reas was preferable to the rupees, annas, and pie of the other side of India, and that the division of the gold mohur into fifteen parts was decidedly superior to the Calcutta division into sixteen.

Bombay.

1829. In 1829 it was suggested that the new Calcutta mint might be usefully employed in coining spelter money, which would be very useful to the poorer classes as a substitute for cowries, and which might be called the quarter or páo pice.

Delhi.

The question of the re-establishment of the Delhi mint for the coinage of pice only was

re-opened.

1830. In a letter dated 2nd February, 1830, the Calcutta Mint Committee was informed that the Governor General authorised the discontinuance of the

Benares.

establishment of the Benares mint, and the disposal of the machinery, apparatus, and other property of that mint.

In May, 1830, a letter was submitted by the Calcutta Mint Committee on the subject of the impression of the new coinage, and reiterating their opinion that

General.

the British Indian currencies should bear impressions characterising the authority by which they were issued either in the form of a head, emblem, or coat-of-arms. The Committee, in the same letter, expressed their opinion that, until this question was settled by the Court of Directors, the Bombay coinage should continue to bear the same impression as it did at present. In a further letter, submitting specimens of two Franc pieces, the Committee stated that the French milling could not be advantageously introduced with the existing milling machinery, and recommending that a plain milling should be adopted.

In August, 1830, the Calcutta Mint Committee submitted specimens of copper pice with a request that Government would sanction their coinage, as

Calcutta.

they seemed to be preferable to those in circulation at that time.

In December of the same year the Calcutta Mint Master suggested that a copper coinage might with advantage be carried out at the new mint for the Madras Presidency and the settlements to the eastward (Singapore, etc.,) in which latter the demand for copper coin was at that time very urgent.

Ságar.

1831. A letter dated 11th January, 1831, stated that it had been resolved to abolish the

mint at Ságar.

By an order dated 25th February, 1831, it was notified that "an alteration in the Calcutta sikka and Farrukhábád rupees was authorised by the Governor General in Council under date 13th July last, and that these currencies will in future be struck at the Calcutta mint with a plain flat milling only."

In August, 1831, the Calcutta Mint Committee submitted the following draft of a Regulation for legalising the circulation of the sub-divisions in the copper currency authorised to be coined by Government:—

Bengal.

I. That, besides the copper pice now current, which shall remain unchanged, there shall be coined a copper half-anna piece, and a copper pie or twelfth of an anna;

II. The copper half anna pie shall weigh twice the weight of the present pice, or 200 grains troy, and shall bear on one face the legend "Half anna" in Persian, and Nagári, and on the other the same in English and Bangáli. The exchangeable value of the coin shall be two for one anna, or one for two pice;

III. The twelfth of an anna piece on one pie shall weigh troy grains 33 333, and shall bear on one face the legend "One pái" in Persian and Nágari, and the same on the other in English and Bangáli. The exchangeable value of the coin shall be twelve for one anna or three for one pice.

IV. These coins shall be current at the above rates in all the provinces under the Bengal Presidency.

1833. In a letter from the Assay Master of the Calcutta mint (Mr. Prinsep) in April, 1833, some general information is given with reference to rupee

Rupee coinage.

coinage. "It has ever," he says, "been the expressed desire of the Hon. Court of Directors to equalise the coin of the whole of the Indian possessions both in weight and standard. In this they have but followed the laudable practice of the Muhammadan Governments of India, which, while they arrogated to themselves the prerogative of coining, appear to have maintained with care and good faith the weight and purity of the circulating medium until the Empire was distracted with internal commotions, and the Viceroys of the Crown and tributary states assumed to themselves the control of the various mints, reserving a mere nominal subjection to the sovereign in the legend impressed upon their coin.

"The silver rupee was introduced, according to Ab'íl-fazl, by Sher Sháh, who usurped the throne of Delhi from Humáyún in 1542. It had a weight of $11\frac{1}{2}$ máshás, which, at the rate of $15\frac{1}{2}$ grains per máshá, is equal to 174.4 grains of pure silver. This standard was adopted by Akbar, and accordingly we find coins of his reign weighing from 170 to 174 grains.

"The Murshidábád rupee was adopted for the coinage of the Company's súbah of Bengal, and has accordingly remained unchanged as the present sikka rupee.

“The Súrát rupee was also adopted as the currency of the Bombay Presidency under the treaty with the Nawáb of Súrát, who retained the privilege of coining; but in 1800 its pure contents were found to have sunk to 164·79 grains, when, to prevent further depreciation, the Government assumed charge of the mint, and the rupee was then fixed at the later valuation of 164·7 grains pure.

“The Delhi rupee struck at the Fathgarh mint by the Vizier of Oudh, in like manner, gradually diminished to 165·2 grains pure, when, by cession of the Duáb to the English, it was there arrested, and by a Regulation of 1806, was assumed as the standard currency of the Western Provinces. It was afterwards introduced into the Benares Provinces, where, (that mint having come earlier into our possession), the depreciation of the rupee has not reached the same extent: pure contents 169·2.

“The Arcot rupee in 1788, according to the assay tables, still retained 170 grains of pure silver. When adopted, however, as the standard rupee of the Madras Presidency, it had fallen to 165 grains, and there of course it has since remained.

“The alteration of the standard to $\frac{1}{15}$ of alloy in 1818 did not affect the proportion of pure metal, but the facility of equalising the three coins (Bombay, Madras, Farrukhábád) had been observed both in England and India; and, when the Sagar mint was established in 1825, it was ordered to coin new Farrukhábád rupees of 180 grains weight, the same as the standard of Madras, or containing 165 grains pure. The Bombay mint was ordered to assimilate its coin to the same in 1829. The Benares rupee alone continued to coin Farrukhábáds of 180·234 grains until its abolition in 1829; and the Calcutta mint has since coined them of the same weight, although a good opportunity was afforded by the promulgation of the new system in Bombay to have effected a simultaneous reform here.”

In the letter under notice Mr. Prinsep recommended (and Government saw the expediency of adopting the recommendation)¹ that:—

I. The weight of the Farrukhábád rupee struck at the Calcutta mint be 180 grains troy instead of 180·234 grains; and that the weight of the Calcutta sikka rupee be 192 grains instead of 191·916, corresponding alterations being made in the half and quarter rupee.

II. The sikka weight (contra-distinguished to the sikka rupee) be equalised with the weight of the Farrukhábád rupee.

In October, 1833, Mr. Prinsep recommended that the armorial bearings impressed on both the Bombay and Madras copper coins, should be immediately

Calcutta.

¹ Reg. VII, 1893. See Thurston, *op. cit.*

adopted at Calcutta and that on the reverse should be the value in English, Nágari, and Persian, enclosed in a wreath. "The determination of this point," Mr. Prinsep said, "is the more urgent as it is now in contemplation to issue a large copper coin to replace the tirscolee pice."

1834. In April, 1834, the following recommendations were submitted for the consideration of Government:—

General.

I. That there should be a common device for the coins of the three Presidencies;

II. That this should differ on the three metals, so as to fully distinguish them from one another, and prevent fraud and imposition by gilding or silvering;

III. That the device should be pictorial and essentially English, as, among other reasons, the adoption of such a device would entitle the Government to claim from the Colonial Governments of the Crown a recognition of the coin of India as a national money entitled to circulate at its intrinsic value in all the possessions of the Crown. The rupee in its present form is not so considered beyond the limits of the Company's authority.

IV. That the gold mohar of Bengal should in future be equalised with that of Bombay and Madras;

V. That the coinage of the sikka rupee should be discontinued from the commencement of the new Charter, so as to prevent all confusion from the two coins being permitted to circulate together.

A specimen coin, executed by a native named Kásináth, was submitted with the letter. The obverse bore a facsimile of the king's head on the English Sovereign, and the legend GULIELMUS, III. D. G. BRITANNIARUM, REX. F. D., and the reverse a laurel wreath with ONE RUPEE. 1834. in the centre, and the same in Persian, Bangáli, and Nágari on the margin. This device, with the substitution of MOHUR, was recommended for the gold coinage. Mr. Prinsep had already suggested that the copper coins should bear on the obverse the Company's Arms, and on the reverse a wreath with the designation of the coins in lieu of the word "adil" of Bombay or "ek falús panch kás ast" of Madras. The recommendations of the Committee were referred to the Court of Directors.

Various designs for the new coinage by Mr. Prinsep were also submitted, viz:—

- I. Britannia from the English penny;
- II. A lion from an ancient Greek coin;
- III. An elephant (from the Ceylon coin);
- IV. A ship;

V. A British senator, between a Hindu and Mahommedan, presenting the charter ;

VI. An emblematical figure of Justice and Plenty ;

VII. Typical figures of Britannia and India ;

VIII. The Pípal tree (*Ficus Indica*) from the seal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

1835. Early in 1835 engravings were prepared of the head of the king with the simple legend WILLIAM, III.

General. KING, instead of the titles in Latin, and an impression in pure gold of the King's head with the lion as the reverse (proposed as a double mohur) was submitted.

In April, 1835, the Calcutta Mint Committee was informed that the rupee having on one side the inscription EAST INDIA COMPANY, with the nominal value of the coin in English, Persian, and Nágari, and the representation of a lotus flower and myrtle wreath had been approved by the Governor General as the model for the future coinage of the rupee. The Committee were requested to communicate with the Madras, Bombay, and Ságar mints with the view of effecting a change in the rupee currency throughout British India with all convenient expedition. In a subsequent letter, however, it was resolved that on the obverse of the new silver coinage the title of the king should be simply WILLIAM, III. KING, and that on the reverse should be engraved the denomination of value in English and Persian only.

In June, 1835, it was resolved by the Governor General to abolish the Madras mint in conformity to the orders of the Court of Directors, and the Madras Government was desired to forward to Calcutta or Bombay such parts of the mint machinery as, if publicly sold, might be employed in fabricating coins.

Madras.

In September of the same year, it was resolved that the Ságar mint should be abolished, as it was no longer considered necessary for supplying coin of the new legal currency with reference to the capability of the Calcutta and Bombay mints for the whole coinage of India.

Ságar.

In October the Calcutta Mint Committee submitted specimens of a device which they thought suitable for the copper coinage of Bengal, *i. e.*, on the obverse the Company's Arms as on the piece of Bombay and Madras, and on the reverse the denomination of the coin in English and Persian enclosed in a wreath, and the title of the Hon'ble Company on the margin in correspondence with the device of the new rupee. This device was adopted.

Bengal.

A letter from the Government, dated 25th November 1835, states that "under the circumstances represented, from which it appears that it would lead to considerable further delay to prepare and execute a new device for the gold coin proposed to be issued (with the name of the coin in English within a wreath instead of the lion,) whereas the coinage of double mohurs can be immediately commenced if the die cut with the device according to the design of Flaxman be adopted, the Governor General has been induced to waive his objection to the representation of an animal upon the gold coin of India, and to approve the adoption of this device."

The details of the new coinage were finally laid down by Acts XVII and XXII 1835.

Græco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India. Supplementary Note.—By VINCENT ARTHUR SMITH, M. R. A. S., *Indian Civil Service.*

Sir Alexander Cunningham has favoured me with communications which enable me to make certain corrections in and additions to my second paper on *Græco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India*, published in the *Journal of this Society* for 1892¹.

Concerning the short record dated in the year 68, and numbered II. by M. Senart, I remarked (*page 56 of my paper*):—"It is not known to what object it was attached, but doubtless it was a sculpture of some sort." M. Senart's words are (*page 21 of his paper*):—"Le lieu d'origine de cette courte inscription ne m'est pas connu. Il est probable que, comme presque tous les monuments réunis au musée de Lahore, elle vient du pays des Yusufzais, sur la rive gauche du fleuve de Caboul, de Jamalgarhi, de Takht i Bahi, ou des environs.

Les caractères occupent une longueur de 97 centimètres; on peut en estimer à 3 centimètres et demi la hauteur moyenne. La hauteur de la pierre est de 10 centimètres. Ignorant jusqu'à sa provenance, nous n'avons bien entendu aucun renseignement sur l'objet qu'elle accompagnait primitivement."

Sir A. Cunningham, in a letter dated 17th June, 1892, clears up all doubts as to the place from which the inscription came, and proves that I was mistaken in guessing that it had been directly attached to a sculpture of some sort.

¹ See J. A. S. B. Vol. LXI, Part I for 1892, p. 50 Ed.

He writes:—"Regarding the inscription of S. 68 published by M. Senart, I can say that it was on a very large rough stone, which may have been inserted in a wall, but which could not have been the base of a statue. It was 5 feet 9 inches long, and from 3 feet to 1 foot 9 inches in breadth. The legend was on the edge. It weighed 12 maunds 7 seers [= 1008 lbs. avoirdupois, = 457 kilogrammes], when I got it, but I cut it down to 4 maunds 3 seers, before sending it to the Lahore Museum, where, as I conclude from your account, it is left unregistered as presented by General Cunningham—from Máji, 4 or 5 miles to the south of Fatehjang, ancient Chása, and to the south-west of Ráwal Pindi."¹

The inscription is certainly in the Lahore Museum, because M. Senart expressly states at the beginning of his essay that all the monuments described by him belong to that museum, and were communicated to him by the curator, Mr. L. Kipling.

Concerning the dated Hashtnagar inscription (*page 55 of my paper*) Sir A. Cunningham says that "The date may be either 274 or 284, but it cannot, I think, be referred to 78 A. D." I have already given up the suggestion to refer this date to the S'aka era, and have assumed that the approximate date of the inscribed pedestal is A. D. 220 or 230. Sir A. Cunningham observes that the Panjtár inscription of a Gushán, or Kushán, Mahárája, dated S. 122 is the latest "which can be referred to A. D. 78." If that record is rightly referred to the S'aka era its date will be A. D. 200, which is not far from the approximate date obtained for the Hashtnagar inscription by using the era of Moga or Gondophares. I think it may now be safely assumed that the use of the Gandharian (Kharoshtri) character in Gándhára survived into the first half of the third century A. D. The disuse of this character in India proper does not imply its disuse in Gándhára. It is, no doubt, true that the Gandharian character is not used on the coins of Vasudeva, of whom we have an inscription in old Nágari characters dated S. 98, = A. D. 176, and that coins of Kanishka (KANHPKO) and Vasudeva (BAZOΔHO) which Sir A. Cunningham believes to be posthumous, bear legends in old Nágari. But I see no difficulty in believing that at the same time the Gandharian character had a limited local currency for some purposes within the region of Gándhára.

When quoting (*page 59*) Prof. Rhys Davids, as authority for identifying the "village" Kalasi in the "island" of Alasanda, where king Milinda (Menander) was born, with the *Karisi nagara*, or town of Karisi

¹ For a notice of Fatehjang, see *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. XIV, p. 24.

mentioned on a coin of Eukratides (*circa* B. C. 190), I was not aware that the identification had been made long before by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who published it in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1869, and again two years later in his '*Ancient Geography of India*.'

Sir Alexander Cunningham is of opinion that in the passage quoted by me from Prof. Rhys Davids' translation of the '*Questions of King Milinda*,'—"There is an island called Alasanda. It was there I was born,"—the word *dīpa* (Sanskrit *dvīpa*) should be translated 'region' or 'division of the world' rather than 'island.' He cites in support of this rendering the well known compound *Jambūdvīpa*, and takes *Alasandadīpa* to mean "the country of which Alasanda was the capital," Kalasi being "the same as Alasanda itself."

If, in the passage quoted, the word *dīpa* does not mean 'island', there is, apparently, no reason for supposing the Alexandria in question to have been on the Indus. Sir A. Cunningham places it, as will be seen from the passage to be quoted presently, at a village named Opián or Hupián, 27½ miles north of Kábul. Whatever be the true position of Alexandria or Alasanda, Prof. Rhys Davids' note at page 127 of the '*Questions of King Milinda*' referring to "Alexandria (in Baktria) built on an island in the Indus," is not quite accurate. The Indus was never included within the limits of Baktria, though the banks of the river may at times have been included in the dominions of the Bactrian kings.

My quotation (*same page*) from Professor Percy Gardner was also unfortunate. He describes the legend on the rare coin of Eukratides, giving the name of the town of Karisi as being "the conjectured reading of General Cunningham." This remark is inaccurate. The only word at all doubtful in the reading of the legend on the coin referred to, was *devata*, and the reading of this word has lately, Sir A. Cunningham assures me, been definitely established by a second specimen of the coin. The reading of the name 'Karisí' on the coin was never doubtful.

In order to prevent any further misconception, and to show clearly Sir A. Cunningham's views concerning the probable situation of Alexandria, = Alasanda or Alasadda, = Kalasi, presumably identical with Karisi, I had better quote in full the relevant passage from the '*Ancient Geography of India*,' page 28, which is as follows:—

"If I am right in identifying Begrám with the Kiu-lu-sa-pang of

¹ Prof. Rhys Davids informs me that he also was unaware that Sir A. Cunningham had made the identification previously, and will gladly take the opportunity of the impending publication of the second volume of the '*Milinda*' to acquaint his readers with the fact.

the Chinese pilgrim, the true name of the place must have been *Karsana*, as written by Ptolemy, and not *Cartana*, as noted by Pliny. The same form of the name is also found on a rare coin of Eukratides, with the legend *Karisiye nagara*, or 'city of Karisi', which I have identified with the *Kalasi* of the Buddhist chronicles, as the birthplace of Raja Milindu. In another passage of the same chronicle,¹ Milindu is said to have been born at *Alasanda*, or Alexandria, the capital of the *Yona*, or Greek country. *Kalasi* must, therefore, have been either Alexandria itself, or some place close to it. The latter conclusion agrees exactly with the position of *Begrám*, which is only a few miles to the east of *Opián*. Originally two distinct places, like Delhi and *Sháh Jahánábád*, or London and Westminster, I suppose *Opián* and *Karsana* to have gradually approached each other as they increased in size, until at last they virtually became one large city. On the coins of the earlier Greek kings of Ariana,—Euthydemus, Demetrius, and Eukratides,—we find the monograms of both cities; but, after the time of Eukratides, that of *Opiána* disappears altogether, while that of *Karsana* is common to most of the later princes. The contemporary occurrence of these mint monograms proves that the two cities were existing at the same time; while the sudden disuse of the name of *Opián* may serve to show that, during the latter period of Greek occupation, the city of Alexandria had been temporarily supplanted by *Karsana*."

The Alexandria above referred to is the city founded by Alexander, and described by Pliny as "*Alexandria Opianes*", situated "*sub ipso Caucaso*". The modern name of the site identified with it is said to be variously spelled *Opián*, *Opiyán*, and (Malik) *Hupián*.

The *Maháwanso* calls *Alasanna* "the city, or capital, of the *Yona* country", *Yona naggarálasanna*. (*Turnour*, page 171). *Turnour* himself writes the name as *Alasadda*.

I have not specially studied the ancient geography of Ariana, and therefore abstain from pronouncing any personal opinion on the geographical questions raised in the preceding extracts.

¹ *Milindu-prasna*, quoted by Hardy, in 'Manual of Buddhism', pp. 440, 516.

Uriyá Inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries.—By BĀBŪ MON MOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, M. A., B. L., *Subordinate Executive Service of Bengal.*

These inscriptions are 14 in number; 12 on the left and right side of the Jayavijaya door-way in the temple of Jagannátha at Purí, and 2 on the right side of the door-way in the temple of Mahádeva at Bhuvanesvara. They furnish important dates of Orissa history, and are the earliest known Uriyá writings found in Orissa.¹

The Jayavijaya door is that which leads into the Porch of the Jagannátha temple. The inscriptions are carved on the door-way. This door-way is of black polished *chlorite*. The left side inscriptions begin from a height of three feet, the right side ones from a height of one foot. They then take up about $\frac{3}{4}$ th of the remaining height. The lines run from west to east, and are nearly, but not always, straight.

The letters are Uriyá, and do not generally differ from the present types except in च, ज and र. They are $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times $\frac{1}{3}$ ". The language is throughout Uriyá except at the end of the right side 5th inscription, where are quoted 4 stanzas of Sanskrit slokas. The orthography is often incorrect. The grammatical differences are small.

The inscriptions belong to four reigns, *viz.*,

(1) Kapileśvara Deva ...	...	...	5
(2) Purushottama Deva ...	...	...	4
(3) Pratáparudra Deva ...	...	...	2
(4) Mānagovinda Govinda Deva ...	...	...	1
			12

The above sequence denotes the natural order of the kings in their succession; Kapileśvara Deva being the founder of the Súrya-vaṁśa and Govinda Deva being the overthrower of that dynasty.

The inscriptions begin with an enumeration of the various titles of the inscribing king. It is curious to observe that these titles increase in number and pomposity, the later we come. All these titles are still used by the Rájá of Purí, and may be found on the title-pages of Uriyá almanacs.

¹ A transcript of these 12 inscriptions, and a translation of tenth, have been given by Dr. R. L. Mitra, in his *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 165-167. My readings of the same and my translations differ considerably; hence this article.

Next come the dates. The phraseology of the dates is peculiar. Take No. 1 of left side:—

“*Prabardhamána bijé rájye samasta, 3 anka Sráhi Magúsir kru troyodasi Bhími bare*”=

On Tuesday, the 13th (tithi) of Margasir dark half in the third anka of the prosperous victorious reign of—

Samasta means here “during.”

Sráhi is a technical word, but has no particular meaning in the context.

The dates are of luni-solar months expressed in tithis of dark or bright half. The ankas are regnal years and something more. Certain figures are considered inauspicious and left out in counting. These figures are one, all numbers ending with zero (except 10), and ending with six. 1, 6, 16, 20, 26, 30, &c., should be left out of consideration in calculating the ankas. Hence 19th anka=16th year, 31st anka=25th year, and so forth.

To be of any practical use, the ankas and tithis require conversion into English calendar dates. Below are given the equivalent calendar dates arrived at in the following manner. From Madalá Pánji,* is found out the approximate year of the king's accession. Add the regnal year derived from the anka. The tithis are given as well as the week days. According to Professor Jacobi's Table (Part CCIX, Vol. XVII of the Indian Antiquary), the year in which the tithi in question fell on the stated week-day can then be easily found. Generally this year is within 20 years of the approximate year. These dates are next verified. The sources of verification are—

- (1) The dates of the other inscriptions;
 - (2) The Muhammadan histories;
 - (3) The biographies of Chaitanya;
- (with respect to the reign of Pratáparudra Deva).

I. KAPILEŚVARA DEVA.

Inscriptions.	Uriyá dates.	Equivalent calendar dates.
1. Left, No. 3 ...	4th anka dhannu new moon,	Sunday = 9th December, 1436 A. D. (O. S.)
2. Left, No. 4 ...	41st† anka dhannu sukla 7,	Sunday = 14th December, 1466 A. D. (O. S.)

* Madalá Pánji is the chronicle of the temple of Jagannátha. Hitherto it has been almost the only source for the history of Orissa in the Hindu period.

† A mistake for 39th.

3. Left, No. 5 ... 35th anka Mesha Kṛishṇa
4, Wednesday = 25th April, 1464 A. D.
(O. S.)
4. Right, No. 2... 19th anka Mesha new
moon, Sunday = 12th April, 1450 A. D.
(O. S.)
5. Right, No. 3... 31st anka Kakrá sukla
12, Thursday = 12th July, 1459 A. D.
(O. S.)

II. PURUSHOTTAMA DEVA.

1. Left, No. 1 ... 3rd anka Mārgasir
Kṛishṇa 13, bhau-
mibár = 20th Nov. 1470 A. D.
(O. S.)
2. Left, No. 2 ... } 2nd anka Mesha, sukla
3. Right, No. 1... } Thursday = 12th April, 1470 A. D.
(O. S.)
4. Right, No. 4... 19th anka Siṃha, sukla
8, Thursday = 18th August, 1485 A. D.
(O. S.)

III. PRATÁPARUDRA DEVA.

1. Left, No. 6 ... 4th anka kakrá, sukla 10
Wednesday = 17th July, 1499 A. D.
(O. S.)
2. Left, No. 7 ... 5th anka dhanu 3 (?)
Kru (?), Monday = ?

IV. GOVINDA DEVA.

1. Right, No. 5... 4th anka bichhá, sukla 3,
Tuesday = 7th Nov. 1542 A. D.
(O. S.)

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE TEMPLE OF JAGANNÁTHA.

Left side.

No. I.

Length 4'-6" × 10"—Lines 5.

- L. 1 वीरश्री गजपति गौड़ेश्वर नवकोटी कर्णाट कलवरकेश्वर प्रताप
श्रीपृथोत्तम
- 2 देव माहाराजाङ्ग प्रवर्द्धमान विजेराज्ये समस्तश्च अङ्ग आही मगुसिर क

- 3 चयोदसि मुनिवारे श्री पुरुषोत्तम कटके आइगां होइला दखिणदिगर
 4 दण्डोअसि ओहोर आम्हे ब्राह्मणकु काडिलु दण्डागोपथहरणहि काडिलु
 5 एहा ये हरइ से हरिला दोष पाइ ।

Translation.

On Tuesday, the 13th (tithi) of Margasir dark half of the 3rd anka of the prosperous and victorious reign of the warrior, elephant-lord, king over Gauḍa and the ninety millions (subjects) of Karṇāṭa and Kalabaraka (probably Kulbargá), of the powerful Puruṣhottama Deva Mahārāja, while at camp Puruṣhottama, (*i. e.*, Puri) it was ordered:—I remit the levying from the Bráhmans of the Chaukidári Tax (Daṇḍo-ási Ohor) in the south; I cease to resume the waste lands and the pastures; he who takes, gets the sin in theft.

Left side.

No. II.

Length 4' - 8" × 1' - 9" — Lines 11.

- L. 1 वीर श्री गजपति गौणेश्वर नवकोटी कर्णाटकलवरगेश्वर प्रताप श्री
 पुरुषोत्तम देव माहाराजाङ्ग समस्त
 2 २ आही मेस सु १२ ग्वारे श्रीपुरुषोत्तम कटके विजे समए पुरुषोत्तम
 देव माहाराजाङ्गर दत्
 3 दखिणदिगदण्डपाटे श्रीपुरुषोत्तम जगन्नाथदेवङ्गर एणामाल देशमानर
 दखीणदिग अवदान सेवक
 4 ङ्गर देशमानर प्रमेश्वरङ्ग भोगदेशमान अवदान प्रमेश्वरकु नि (?)
 झालु (?) सेवकमानङ्ग
 5 अवदान सेवकमानङ्ग काडिलि ए एषोत्तम देव माहाराजाङ्ग भोगकु
 अन्तरोधविषे माधोतिल ग्राम
 6 धान भ ५०० कउड़ी का २००० कामलपुर ग्राम ए भोगकु होइला
 परव देदिअं माजना
 7 (7 letters illegible) महादेवङ्ग भोगकु दळीग
 8 दौग दण्डपाटे वाँआचास विसे गोप
 9 पुर ग्राम दिलि ए अवदानमान ए भोग
 10 देश जे हरइ से जगनाथङ्ग द्रोह
 11 करइ ।

Translation.

On Thursday the 12th (tithi) of Mesha bright half of 2nd (anka) of the warrior, the elephant-lord, the king over Gauḍa and the ninety millions in Karṇáta and Kalabaraga, of the powerful Purushottama Deva Mahárája while encamping at camp Purushottama, the (following) gifts of Purushottama Deva Mahárája in Dakshinadiga daṇḍapáta:—(1) for god Jagannátha of Purushottama, a gift of the old mála tracts in the south; (2nd) for the bhoga of the god a gift of lands out of the lands of the sevaks; (3rd) gifts to the priests engaged in sleeping (?) the god, (these) I leave to the sevaks. As offerings of Purushottama Deva Mahárája (personally,) for bhoga, the village Mádhótla in Antarodha Bisi, paddy 500 bharans, cowries 2,000 káháns and the village Kámalpur—these are for the bhoga. For the festivals, &c., of other gods, goddesses and the Mahádeva I bestow the village Gopapura in Bánchez Bisi of Dakshinadiga Daṇḍapáta. These gifts, these lands, he who takes away, rebels against Jagannátha.

Note.

Purushottama Deva got on the throne after a civil war. In this inscription, he hastens to propitiate by gifts the gods and their priests. The gifts are of two sorts:—first he confirms the old grants; secondly he gives in addition three more villages. The phraseology is tautological and somewhat ambiguous. Dakshinadiga Daṇḍapáta is the name of a Division (No. 14 of Sarkár Kaṭak. Abul Fazl). It is not now in existence. The bisis Antarodha and Bánchez still exist as pergunnahs. Gopapura is presumably the present Gope, where a tháná has been located. The other two villages cannot be traced.

Left side.

No. III.

Length 2'—0 × 7"—Lines 8.

- L. 1 वीर श्री प्रताप कपिलेश्वर देव माहाराजाङ्कर विजय राज्ये समस्त ४
अङ्ग आही
- 2 धनु अमावै सौरिवारे श्री पुरुषोत्तम कटके परमेश्वरङ्क दर्शन समय
महापात्र
- 3 ककाइ सान्तरा महापात्र जलसरसेन नरेन्द्र महापात्र गोपीनाथ मंग
राज महापात्र
- 4 काशीविद्याधर महापात्र वेलेश्वर प्रहराज महापात्र लखन पुरोहित
पटनायक दामोदर महा

- 5 सेनापती थाइ परमेश्वरङ्ग श्रीचरण अग्रते भोग परिक्षा पात्र अग्निस्मर्त
मुद्रहस्तर गोच
6 रे वोइला मुदले श्री पुरुषोत्तमदेवङ्ग देउलदारे लेखन करिवा आम्बर
ओडीसा रा
7 ज्यर लोग कउडी मुलकर न्याय्य क्वाडिलि क्वाडिलि क्वाडिलि रहा राजा
होइ जे लङ्कइ से श्री
8 जगन्नाथ देवङ्ग त्रोह करइ ।

Translation.

On Sunday the new moon in Dhanu° of the 4th anka of the victorious reign of the warrior, the powerful Kapileśvara Deva Mahārāja, at camp Purushottama while paying respects to the god, in presence of Mahápátra Kakái Sántará, Mahápátra Jalasara Sena Narendra, Mahápátra Gopinátha Mangarája, Mahápátra Kási Vidyádharma, Mahápátra Belaśvara Praharāja, Mahápátra Lakhan Purohita, Pāṭanaik Dámodara the generalissimo, before the feet of the God, and in the *cognisance* of Pátra Agni Sarmá, the examiner of Bhogas and the seal-bearer, spoke (the king):—Engraver, write on the door of the temple of the God Purushottama—the tax levied on salt and cowries I remit, remit, remit. Whoever being king, violates this, rebels against Lord Jagannátha.

Note.

This is the earliest inscription of the series. According to the Madalá Pánji, Kapileśvara Deva was an usurper, who from a minister became the king. He remits the taxes on salt and shells, apparently to popularise his reign. Of the eight officers named, Kási Vidyádharma and Jalasara Sena Narendra are mentioned in the Madalá Pánji to have been associates of the king in his youth.

Left side.

No. IV.

2 parts.

Part 1—4'—4" × 11"—Lines 9.

- L. 1 श्री वीर प्रताप कपिलेसर नवकोटी कर्णाटकलवणेश्वर गजमि गौड़ेश्वर
देव महाराजाङ्ग विजे राइजे समस्त ४१ आही
2 धनु सुकल सप्तमि रवीवारे श्री पुरुषोत्तम जगन्नाथ देवङ्ग पद्मपादकु
भक्तौ निमित्ते कपिलेसर रजाय सेवा करिदिले रत्न

- 3 तोडरमान श्री भूजर रत्नशंख चक्र दुइ प्रमेश्वरङ्क मनहिंकि सुनायोगाड
यमान आनि प्रवेश कले हासिक माहा
- 4 पात्र जमसर माहापात्र विश्वेश्वर माहापात्र करसु माहापात्र नाथ
माहापात्र एते लोके प्रवेश कले नन्दि माहापात्रङ्क अधिकारे
- 5 माजणामण्डपे चउदशतप्रकरण भोगरागर समस्तन्ती थोइ देली ।
प्रमाणे लागि कराइले रत्नमकुट ८ काणफुल जोडातुंग
- 6 ल ४ नोडका निसव्वा करि योडा ८४ हीरामाणिक विचित्रमाल २
नाना नायक मुदि १२ मुकुता
- 7 घाउलि ८ मुकुता बडकरिठमाल ४ माणिकमुता मा ८ मरकत जाउलि
८ मरकत मुकुता मा ५ नानारत्नकपद्रक ४ मरत्न
- 8 तिसरसरे मानिकमुथा पदसरि ४ मुकुता तीसरा उतुरी २ एका
रत्नहारे १ मुकुता तोडर २
- 9 पादपलव २ नाना नायक वाज्जटी जोडा १२ हिरामानिक वला जो २
जालितोडर २

Part 2—1'—9" × 7"—Lines 6.

- L. 1 नाना परताड योडा १ पाज्ज ४ मुकुता कङ्कनपट ६
- 2 कान्तियरकवर + कटी मेखला कनकभलाइ माल ५
- 3 सुना योगिज १ नाना पदार्थ शंख चक्रर रत्न मा
- 4 ६ १२२ सुना + + + गोटिय श्रीकपिलेश्वर र
- 5 जाय एहा जगनाथ महाप्रसुकु दिलि एहा नेमा वो
- 6 लि ये मनरे धरइ से श्री जगनाथङ्क बोहकरइ ।

Translation.

On Sunday, the 7th (tithi) of Dhanu bright half in the 41st (anka) of the victorious reign of the warrior, the powerful, the elephant-lord, the king over Gaṇḍa and ninety millions of Karṇāṭa and Kalabaraga, Kapileśvara Deva Mahārāja, out of devotion to the lotus-feet of the Lord Jagannātha of Purushottama, Kapileśvara Deva Rāja gave for sacred use :—Ornamented wrist-ornaments (toḍhar), and decorated conch and shells, two for the Lord's arms. For the bhoga of the god, the following (men) brought a supply of gold, viz., Hāsika Mahāpātra, Jamasara Mahāpātra, Viśveśvara Mahāpātra, Karamū Mahāpātra and Nātha Mahāpātra, these (men) supplied, under the superintendence of Nandi Mahāpātra; all (the articles) were placed in the audience hall

for bhogas of 1400 sorts. In accordance with directions (of the Sâstras, the following) were put on the body (of the Lord), viz., one ornamented crown, earrings 8, Tungal in pairs 4, small earrings counted at 14 pairs, necklaces set with diamonds and rubies 2, rings set with various sorts of stones 12, pearl ear-ornaments (jâulis) 8, large necklaces of pearls 4, necklaces of rubies 8, emerald ear-ornaments (jâulis) 8, necklaces of emeralds and pearls 5, lockets set with various sorts of stones 4, three-rowed emerald neck-ornaments with pendant ruby parrot 4, three-rowed pearl breast-ornaments (uturis) 2, ornamented necklace 1, pearled wrist-ornaments (toḍhor) 2, golden feet set with stones (pâda-pallabas) 2, bangles set with various sorts of stones 12 pairs, balâs or wrist-ornaments of rubies and diamonds 2 pairs, netted tor-dhars 2, bracelets or partârdhas one pair, feet-ornaments or pâhurâhs 4, pearl bracelets 6, waistlets with golden drops (?) 5, gold Jogibra (?) 1, the gold of (these) various things, and of the conch and shell is 192 mardas, one (illegible); the king Kapileśvara made a gift of these to Lord Jagannâtha. He who intends to take them, rebels against Jagannâtha.

Note.

The inscription gives an interesting enumeration of the various ornaments bestowed by Kapileśvara Deva on Jagannâtha. Many of these ornaments are still in use.

Left side.

No. V.

2' - 8" x 9" — Lines 6.

- L. 1 वीरश्री गजपति गउडेसर प्रताप कपिलेसर देव माहाराजाङ्कर विजे राज्ये
 2 समस्त इषु आही मेस क्त ४ बुधवारे भो जगनाथ तोह सेवक ए
 3 मतं जनाउआछि रादइजजाके ए साअान्तमानङ्क। मुँइ पाइक राउतकु करि
 4 + + + + + वालकालु पोसि आगिलि एमाने मोते सबुहें
 काडिले
 5 एमानङ्क मुइ ये याहा अरु रूपे विहिवी नियोगिवि विभो जगनाथ
 6 एकथा मोहर दोस अदोस विचार ।

Translation.

On Wednesday the 4th (tithi) of Mesha dark half in the 35th (anka) of the victorious reign of the warrior, the elephant lord, the king over Gaṇḍa, the powerful Kapileśvara Deva Mahārāja:—Oh Jagannâtha, thy servant thus informeth the high officers in the kingdom. From

soldiers and servants (illegible, probably "up to them"), I looked after (all) from boyhood, now they have forsaken me. I will treat them as they deserve. Lord Jagannátha, judge the correctness or incorrectness of mine (acts).

Note.

According to Mādala Pánji, in the 35th anka of Kapileśvara Deva's reign, the Zemindars of Kundajori broke out into rebellion. From the context they appear to have been assisted by many of the king's own officers.

Left side.

No. VI.

3' - 3" × 1' - 3" → Lines 10.

वीर श्री गजनि गउडेस्वर नवकोटीकर्णाट कलवरगैसर विरवर श्री
प्रतापरुद्र देव

माहाराज्जङ्गर समस्त ४ अङ्क आही ककड़ा सु १० बुधवारे अवधारीत
आईंगा प्रमाणे वड़

ठाकुरङ्क गीतगोविन्दठाकुर भोगवेले ए नाट होइव । संभद्युप सरिला
ठारू

वड़ सिंगार परियन्ते ए नाट होइव । वड़ ठाकुरङ्क संपरदा कपिलेश्वर
ठाकुरङ्क वन्धा -

नाचणीमान एरूखा संपरदा तेलंगी संपरदा एमाने सविहें वड़
ठाकुरङ्क गीतगो

विन्द ऊँ आनगीत न सिखीवे । आनगीत न गाइवे । आन नाट होइ
परमेश्वरङ्क कासुरे न

हव ए नाट वितरके वड्याम गाअण चारीजन अकन्ति एमाने
गीतगोविन्द गीतहि से गाइवे

एहाङ्क ठारू अभिहितमाने एकस्वररे शुषी गीतगोविन्द गीतहिं से
शिखीवे आनगीत न शिखीवे एहा

जे परीचा आनगीत नाट कराइले जानी से जगन्नाथङ्क द्रोह करइ ।

Translation.

On Wednesday the 10th (tithi) of Kakaḍá, bright half in the 9th anka of the warrior, the elephant-lord, the king over Gauḍa and ninety millions of Karpáta and Kalabaraga, the mighty Pratáparudra Deva

Máharája according to the ascertained orders:—Dancing will be performed thus at the Bhoga time of the elder Thákur (*i. e.* Balaráma) and Gítagovinda Thákur (*i. e.* Jagaunátha). This dancing will be held from the end of evening dhúpa up to the time of Baṛasingár (bed time) dhúpa. The batch (of dancing girls) of Baṛa Thákur, the fixed female dancers of Kapileśvara Thákur, the old batch, the Telangé batch, all will learn no other song than Gítagovinda of Baṛa Thákur. They will not sing any other song. No other kind of dancing should be performed before the god. Besides the dancing, there are four Vaishṇava singers; they will sing only the Gítagovinda. Hearing in one tene from them, those who are ignorant will learn the Gítagovinda song; they should not learn any other song. That superintendent who knowingly allows other songs to be sung, and other dancings to be performed, rebels against Jagannátha.

Note.

This edict directs what songs are to be sung and what dances are to be performed at the time of night bhogas (from evening to bed-time). The songs will be the songs of Gítagovinda and nothing else. The dancers were in four batches, and they were taught by four Vaishṇava singers.

Left side.

No. VII.

वीर श्री गजपति गौड़ेश्वर नवकोटि कर्णाटकलवरगेश्वर प्रताप
श्रीरुद्रदेव महाराजाङ्ग समस्त
५ अङ्ग आदि घनु तिनदिग (?) सोमवारे + + + कटक विजेसमय

(Rest illegible).

Translation.

On Monday, the 3rd (?) of Dhanu in the 5th anka of the warrior the elephant-lord, the king over Gauḍa and the ninety millions of Karṇáta and Kalabaraga, the powerful Rudra Deva Mahárája, at camp. . . .

Note.

This inscription is the lowermost. Ordinarily the place is dark, and the pilgrims while passing through the door, feel the way by touching the wall. In this manner almost all its lower part has been rubbed off.

Right side.

No. I.

in three parts.

Main part:—2' 9" × 9"—Lines 5.

वीरश्री गजप्रि गौड़ेश्वर नवकोटीकर्णाटककलवरगेश्वर
 प्रताप पृषोत्तम देव माहाराजाङ्कर समस्त २ आही मेस
 सुकल १२ ग्वारे श्री पृषोत्तम कटके विजे समय
 दन्तरत्नपलङ्क १ रत्नकलशध्वजसिंहासने १ रत्नकृति १
 रत्नखट १ सुनामार्य्यणीपट १ रत्नवेष्टचञ्चर २ ।

Western part:—Lines 7

6½" × 11"

पृषोत्तम माहाराजाङ्कर दत्तर
 लपलङ्क २
 रत्नकानफुल
 ४ मेरुगर्भं
 वाङ्गटि थोड़ा २
 रत्नविष्णुना १
 चन्दिआगो १

Eastern part:—Lines 5

1' 0 × 10"

रत्नदर्पण गोटिय
 १ गहानेमा
 रे ये मनरे धरइ
 से जगनाथ देवइ
 मोह करइ ।

Translation.

On Thursday, the 12th of Mesha, bright half in the 2nd (anka) of the warrior, the elephant-lord, the king over Gauḍa and ninety millions of Karṇāṭa and Kalabaraga, the powerful Purushottama Deva Mahārājā, while encamping at camp Purushottama:—Ornamented ivory couch 1, ornamented throne with flags and jars 1, ornamented umbrella 1, ornamented bedstead 1, golden-handled broom 1, ornamented-handled chauris 2.

Eastern part.

Gift of king Purushottama:—
 Ornamented couchés 2,
 Ornamented earrings 4,
 Merugarbha wristlets 2 pairs,
 Ornamented fan 1,
 Chandia (hair-ornament like
 moon) 1.

Western part.

Ornamented mirror 1. He who
 thinks of taking these, rebels
 against Lord Jagannātha.

Note.

This inscription seems to be a continuation of No. II left side, and is of the same date.

Right side.,

No. II.

2' 5" × 1' 2"—Lines 8.

वीर श्री गजपति गउडेश्वर प्रतापकपिलेश्वर देव
 माहाराजाङ्गर विजेराज्ये समस्त १९ अङ्ग आहीमिस अमः
 वै रवीवारे मलिकापरिसादिग विजेकरि बाङ्गडा कटकाइ
 श्री पुरुषोत्तमकटके वीरमोनोइ विजे समय श्रीचरण
 अग्रते कोठघर सान्तरा परिक्षमहापात्र रघुदेशो नरिन्द्र
 अनाई काङ्कराइलाकु आइंगां होइला श्री पुरुषोत्तमर
 एखरिच्छ गोपसाढी देलि एधकु ये अवालघइ से जग
 नाथ देवङ्ग द्रोह करइ ए मुदले केलाइ खुशिया लिहाइला ।

Translation.

On Sunday the new moon in the Mesha of the 19th anka of the victorious reign of the warrior, the elephant-lord, the king of Gauḍa, Kapileśvara Deva Mahārāja, having conquered the side of Mallikā Parisā, on the journey back, at camp Purushottama, while taking his food, the storekeeper and superintendent Raghu Deva Narendra having made known (to the king) it was ordered :—I give to god Purushottam the Sāri cloth known as Puṇḍariksha gopa. Whoever violates this rebels against Jagannātha. This writing Kelai Khunṭiā inscribed.

Note.

The Mādala Panji mentions the conquest of a Mallikā country in the 21st anka—21st may be a mistake for 19. "Puṇḍariksha gopa" may be the name of a village.

Right side.

No. III.

4' 1" × 1' 4"—Lines 7.

वीर श्री गजपति गउडेश्वर नवकोटीकर्णाट कलवरगेश्वर प्रताप
 कपिलेश्वर
 देव माहाराजाङ्गर विजेराज्ये समस्त ३१ अङ्ग आही ककडा सु १२
 गवारे श्री पुरु

शोत्तम कटके दखीनघरे मान्यामखडे विजे स्वर अघधारीत आग्यां
 वोइला सुदले भो श्रीजगनाथ मोहर वाहिन अम्यन्तर समस्तत तु जानु
 मोहर येते रतन पदार्थ अक्कि से तोहर एहा उ आवर आन धन
 जिस अक्कि हुइ, ब्राह्मण हाथरे ताहा येते देइ पारइ ताहा देवि
 ए भूमिखण्ड तु याहाकु अनुग्रह कर मोहर से वेप + वे ।

Translation.

On Thursday, the 12th of Kakrá, bright half of the 31st anka of the victorious reign of the warrior elephant-lord, the king over Gauḍa and ninety millions of Karṇāṭa and Kalabaraga at Camp Purushottama, while holding court in the audience-hall of the southern block (of rooms), it was ordered to be inscribed;—Oh Jagannátha, thou knowest everything of mine both external and internal. Whatever precious things I have, I will bestow on the Bráhmans as much as I can. He, on whom thou pleasest to bestow this land, is my (illegible.)

Note.

Herein the king humbles himself before Jagannátha and promises to make liberal gifts to Bráhmans. The inscription appears to be the outcome of some heavy troubles or impending disasters. The usual curse at the end is wanting.

Right side.

No. 1V.

4' 10" × 10"—Lines 7.

- L. 1 वीरश्री गजपति गजेश्वर नवकोटिकर्णाट कलवरेश्वर प्रताप श्री
 गजपति पुरुषोत्तमदेव माहाराजाङ्कर
 2 विजयराज्ये समस्त १६ अङ्क आहौ सिंह शुक्ल ८ गुरुवारे वाराणसि
 कटके श्रीनचर गोपालप्रिय जगतीर दक्षिणनेदरे वड अघकाशे
 3 समस्त वेहोरा माहापात्र माहापात्र पात्रसनि मिश्र खटन्ति वुडा
 लेङ्का समस्तङ्क मुकाविलारे आइगा होइला आम्हे अनुवव करि शुनी
 देखी ए पृथिवी येतेकाल
 4 घाइ तेतेकाल ए ओड़ीषारान्यर राजामानङ्क तिआर अङ्क सवु
 राजामाने ब्राह्मणङ्क दान देवा शान्तिपूर्वक मनभोग करि धनस्त्री
 प्राण राज्य एहि चारि कथार केवेहें
 5 ब्राह्मणङ्क नियोग न करिव । एहि चारि कर्मरे निभोजिले ब्राह्मण

- जाग कर्महि से करइ ह् (?) लन करइ मुं (?) शतधा + + +
 नेकति आराज्य जाच + धि मानहु आदेश
 6 वचन लङ्घन करि ये अवा आन करइ से जगन्नाथ कु द्रोह करइ । से
 महापातक । अति पातक वि + को समस्त पातक कलार फल पाइ
 7 सर्वुहे एकथा दृढ़करि मनरे धरी आम्बर उपदेश कर ! कर ! कर !

Translation.

On Thursday the 8th of the Simha, bright half in the 19th anka of the victorious reign of the warrior the elephant-lord, the king over Gauḍa and the ninety millions of Karṇāṭa and Kalabarga, the powerful Purushottama Deva Mahārāja, at camp Bārāṇasi (Kaṭak) while holding his great leisure in the southern portion of the royal residence named Gopāla-priya, Behorā Māhāpātra, Māhāpātra Pātra-s (m. ?)-aṇi Miśra, and the old Lenkā being present it was ordered :—Feeling, hearing and seeing, I advise the kings of Orissa as long as this world lasts, all ye kings, ye are to make gifts to the Brāhmins with peaceful and attentive mind. Never deprive Brāhmins of these four matters—wealth, wife, life and land. These four things not being deprived, the Brāhmins will perform the Jāgas, will not deceive (P) (illegible). Whoever, violating these advices and sayings, does otherwise, rebels against Jagannātha. He is a first class sinner (?), a great sin (illegible) gets the effect of all the sins. Let all, bearing in mind this fact, according to my edicts do ! do ! do !

Note.

The inscription is long and partly illegible. Some of the letters have been swallowed up by a crack in the stone; others have been effaced by the constant rubbing of pilgrims' hands. Bārāṇasi is the old name of Kaṭak and still survives in Birdānāsi, the westernmost part of Kaṭak along the Kātjori river. Lenkā is an officer whose duties are not known.

Right side.

No. V.

5' × 2' 3"—Lines 18.

- L. 1 श्री वीर गजपति गउडेस्वर नवकोटी कणाट कलवरगेश्वर श्रीम (हा)
 राजाधिराज मान गोविन्द श्री
 2 गोविन्द देव राजा श्रीश्रीमद्विरवर प्रताप श्रीश्री प्रताप देव
 महाराजाङ्गर विजे राज्ये समस्त

- 3 ४ अह्नि आहि विष्ठा सुकल दृतिष्ठा मङ्गलवारे जगमोहन मण्डपे
श्रीजगन्नाथ ह्यसुरे ज
4 नाइले भो जगन्नाथ तोहपद्मपाद देखी आसिवा धीवारे विना सवुटि
नका विभं उदयगौरि स
5 रि परिजन्ते स्वदेशी परदेशी जाचौमाण्डर दाण प्रति × × × ×
6 गङ्गातर राजामाणे × ×
7 पालना करिवे जे एकथा अन्यथा क
8 रइ से श्रीजगन्नाथकु त्रोह करइ
9 स्वहस्ते ब्राह्मण वध कला पाप
10 नत्वा द्राविनो भूमिपाल
11 दते रामचन्द्र
12 प्राणा काले
13 सालना

} Rest illegible by plastering

Translation.

On Tuesday the 3rd of Bichhá bright half of the 4th anka of the victorious reign of the warrior the elephant-lord, the king over Gauḍa and the ninety millions of Karpāta and Kalabaraga, king of kings, the powerful Mānagovinda Govinda Deva Rájá, Pratápa Deva Mahárájá, in the porch and before Lord Jagannátha he thus made known (his prayer) :—Oh Jagannátha, without going and coming to see your lotus feet all appear as hell. The gifts of pilgrims (of places) up to Vindhya and Udayagiri mountains, whether native or foreigner (rest illegible). The kings of Garjāt (illegible) will obey. He who violates this order rebels against Jagannátha, and gets the sin of killing a Bráhmaṇ with one's own hands.

(Here follow four stanzas of Sanskrit slokas).

Note.

From the date, and the name, Māna Govinda Govinda Deva appears to be the same as Govinda Bidyádhara of the Mádala Pánji. He was a minister of Pratápa Rudra Deva, and became the prime minister during the short reigns of his two sons. Finally he murdered them and ascended the throne himself.

BHUVANESVARA TEMPLE.

Right side.

No. I.

2' 4" × 6"—Lines 6.

- L. 1 विर श्री गजपति गजेश्वर नवकोटी कर्णाट कलवरकेश्वर प्रताप
पुरुषोत्तम देव
2 माहाराजङ्गर विजे राज्ये समस्त अ १६ अ साहितुल कर रइवारे
कृतिवासक
3 टके पुजा अवकासे आग्यां होइलाय ये विसि वेहारा चन्द्रवाण ये
4 जाक करेइ सेहि ताहाकु न लागइ एतेतारि ये तारकर्त्ता निजर
प्रति भुवने
5 स देवङ्कु ताहाइ ये राज द्रोहा आइग्यां होइला विसि वेहारा
लिहाइला
6 सरर्वे

Translation.

On Sunday the 2nd of Tula, dark half in the 19th anka of the victorious reign of the warrior the elephant-lord, the king over Gauḍa and ninety millions of Karnaṭa and Kalabaraka, the powerful Purushotama Deva Mahārāja at camp Kṛitibās during the pūjā leasure, it was ordered:—He who throws magical arrows unto Bisi Behárá will not succeed. In spite of this (order), he who does so, is cursed by (the oath of) god Bhuvaneṣvara, he is a rebel. By order of Bisi Behárá inscribed. All (hear).

Right side.

No. II.

2' 3½" × 5"—Lines 6.

- L. 1 श्रीविर कपिलेसर देव महाराजङ्गर विजेराज्ये समस्त ४ अङ्क आही
2 मिथुन संक्रान्ति कृष्ट ६ मङ्गलवार कृतिवास कटके भितर पुजा अवकासे
3 राय गुरु वास माहापात्र भुवनेसर माहापात्र एदुइ हे आसि
लिहाइलेइ
4 दुहसर गोचरो आग्यां वोलि होइला आम्भर ओड़िसा राज्ये जेते राजा
5 मूल सवुहेँ राजाङ्कु हिते व्रति ये आपना सदाचारे धिवे असदुमार्गे
6 नरहिवेँ राजाङ्क अग्रहिते व्रतिले रजावाहार करि ताहार सर्वस हरि ।

Translation.

On Monday the 9th of the Mithúna, dark half Sankránti in the 4th anka of the victorious reign of the warrior Kapileśvara Deva Mahárāja, at camp Kribás during the inner pújá leisure, it was ordered in the presence of Raiguru Básu Máhápátra and Bhuvaneśvara Máhápátra who caused (this) to be inscribed:—All the kings in my Orissa kingdom should work for the good of the (paramount) sovereign, should keep virtuous ways, should not remain in bad ways. If they act badly towards the sovereign, they will be expelled from the kingdom and all their property confiscated.

Note.

These two inscriptions are on the right jamb of the doorway leading to the porch of the Bara Deúl at Bhuvaneśvara. They are inscribed just in the centre at a man's height. No corresponding inscriptions are to be found on the left jamb.

The general remarks made in the Jagannátha inscriptions apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to these also. The dates do not seem correct. The tithis of the years in question do not fall on the week-days stated.

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*The Topography of Old Fort William.—By C. R. WILSON, M. A.*

In the present paper I propose to lay before the Society the results of certain excavations made during the last four months of the year 1891 and the first four months of the year 1892, on the site of old Fort William, Calcutta.

These are not the first excavations which have been made at this spot. In 1883 Mr. R. R. Bayne, while erecting the East India Railway Offices in Fairlie Place, came across considerable portions of the old fort walls. He reported his discoveries to the Society in a paper which will be found in the *Journal* for 1883, Vol. LII, Part I, No. II.

The general position of the old fort with its adjacent warehouses is well-known. It stood on the ground now occupied by the General Post Office, the New Government Offices, the Custom House, and the East India Railway House. The warehouses built along the south side of the fort skirted Khoila Ghat Street. The north side was in Fairlie Place. The east front looked out on Clive Street and Dalhousie Square. Behind it was the river which then flowed further east than at present.

The fort was in shape an irregular tetragon. Its walls were built of small thin bricks strongly cemented together. According to Orme, "its sides, to the east and west extended 210 yards, the southern side 130, and the northern

**The old Fort.**

side 100. It had four bastions mounting each ten guns. The curtains were four feet thick, and like the factory of Cossimbazar, terraces, which were the roofs of chambers, formed the top of the ramparts; and windows belonging to these chambers were in several places opened in the curtains. The gateway on the eastern side projected, and mounted five guns, three in front and one on each flank towards the bastions. Under the western face, and on the brink of the river, was a line of heavy cannon mounted in embrasures of solid masonry; and this work was joined to the two western bastions by two slender walls, in each of which was a gate of pallasadoes. In the year 1747, warehouses had been built contiguous to the southern curtain, and, projecting on the outside, between the two bastions, rendered them useless to one another. However the terraces of these warehouses were strong enough to bear the firing of three pounders which were mounted in barbets over a slight parapet." There were also blocks of central buildings within the fort. It had two gates on the river side besides that on the east front.

When in 1883 Mr. R. R. Bayne began to dig at the corner of Fairlie Place for the purpose of laying down the foundations of the East India Railway House, he almost immediately came across remains of old walls built of small thin bricks such as have long ceased to be used. These were the walls of the old fort. Mr. Bayne followed up the indications thus found, and in the end was able to put together an almost complete ground plan of the north end of the fort. As a detailed description of these discoveries has been already placed before the Society, it will be quite unnecessary for me to attempt to give any further account of them here. Nor do I wish at present to offer any criticisms upon the suggestions and theories which naturally occurred to Mr. Bayne in connection with his discoveries. I shall at once proceed to set forth the results which have been obtained since 1883 by a persistent search of the records and by recent excavations made on the spot.

The first great step towards completing the work so well begun by Mr. R. R. Bayne was taken by Mr. T. R. Munro, who discovered in the British Museum a copy of a large map of old Calcutta on the scale of 100 ft. = 1 in., dated 1753. The map, it appears, was drawn by a Lieutenant Wells of the Company's Artillery, and was designed to show a projected new fort, but it also shows the old fort in great detail. A photograph of this plan was presented to the Asiatic Society in 1889 by Mr. Munro, and it is with this photograph in my hands that I have been able to carry out extensive excavations of the site of the old fort in the years 1891 and 1892 and thus complete the work of defining the topo-

graphy of the place. The plan, it is true, is not quite accurate, but it is infinitely superior to the little rough sketch of the fort found in Ormo's history, which was all Mr. Bayne had to go upon.

The plan suggested a further searching of the records, both here and at home, to see if they could cast any

**The Records.** further light either upon the plan itself, or on the projected new fort of 1753, or on the state of the old fort generally. Through the kindness of Mr. Forrest, I was enabled to see such records bearing on the subject as are now preserved in the Imperial Library at Calcutta, but I found that they were very meagre. Dr. Basteed, however, most generously devoted a considerable amount of his valuable time to looking up the records at home, and has furnished me with a complete list of all the passages to be found in the extant records which have any bearing whatever on the old fort, and on the question of improving it, or superseding it, which seems to have been so often discussed during the four or five years which preceded the tragedy of the Black Hole. These extracts are provokingly incomplete. They refer to fuller documents, but these fuller documents are not now forthcoming, having been all destroyed. Four plans are mentioned, *viz.*, Colonel Scott's, Captain Jones's, Simson's and Plaisted's, but none of these could be found by Dr. Basteed at the India Office. It is only by some lucky chance that a duplicate copy of Scott's, or Wells's plan found its way into the King's library at the British Museum. As, however, these extracts bring before us very vividly the circumstances under which the plan was drawn up in 1753, I will here give them in full, together with Dr. Basteed's valuable comments on them, before proceeding to speak of the plan itself.

1. From President and Council, Bengal, to the Court of Directors, **Extracts. Scott and Wells.** the 28th February, 1754.

Colonel Scott having laid a project before the Board for securing this settlement against any attack from a country force which, in the present juncture, ought to be guarded against, and as we imagine the expense of it will not be very considerable, we have complied with his proposal and directed him to set about it as soon as possible. A copy of that project we transmit yr. Honours in this packet as we did not chuse for the sake of secrecy to enter it after the consultations.

2. From President and Council, Bengal, to the Court of Directors, the 7th September 1754.

When Col. Scott proceeded to the coast he requested we would permit Lt. Wells to carry on the works he had planned at Perrin's in

his absence which we accordingly complied with. \* \* \* \*. Col. Scott in consequence of Mr. Saunders and Council's<sup>1</sup> request for relieving Major Lawrence in the Field, left us on the 18th March, but it is with concern we informed yr. Hons. he died at Madras on 12th May of a violent fever.

3. From the Bengal Government to Wm. Watts at Moorshedabad, the 22nd August 1755.

It has hitherto been very unfortunate to this Settlement that every gentleman, who has had capacity or been appointed by our employers to fortify this place, have not lived even to make a beginning on the plans proposed,<sup>2</sup> *we have therefore agreed to wait our Masters' last commands by this year's shipping*, when if they are absolute and the situation of affairs in Europe portends war we must employ those who have the most experience and knowledge to execute plans of fortification, and this we shall put in practice without showing any diffidence to the right we have of securing our Settlement.<sup>3</sup>

4. A letter, signed by Messrs. Drake and Manningham, to the Court of Directors, the 3rd September 1755.

The death of Col. Scott put a check to our pursuing his plan for securing this settlement from any attack of the country forces with much alacrity *as we were cautious of laying out much money until yr. Honours signified yr. approbation of that work* which shall now be set about in as expeditious a manner as the season of the year will permit our carrying it into execution. Here we must remark that the Go-

<sup>1</sup> The Council of Madras. H. E. B.

<sup>2</sup> See *Long's Selections* No. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps it would have been wiser if they had shown some "diffidence" now after having for so long neglected their defences, even in the face of repeated orders from home. The new Nawáb in the following year opened their eyes on this subject. However, to give the Fort William Government their due, they had consulted Watts, the chief at Cossimbazar, as to the prudence of seeking permission from the Marshidábád Government before they took their defences in hand. They were prepared to conciliate the Nawáb and to resort to the customary bribery to him and his ministers. Watts opposed the idea, chiefly because the Nawáb was really so rich that no bribe which Calcutta could afford would be likely to convert him if unfavorably inclined; he urged moreover that the precedent of asking and paying for such permission might prove a very embarrassing one in the future, and that if the Nawáb should refuse, the English would be worse off than ever. On the whole Watts advised them to go on with the fortifications and say nothing, and, if in the meantime exception should be taken by the Marshidábád Court, Watts was not without confidence that he could prevail upon the Minister "Huckambeg," for a consideration, to divert the possible anger of the Nawáb. Events did not justify this confidence. H. E. B.

vernment<sup>4</sup> has not attempted to frustrate that design though it has a formidable appearance.

5. From President and Council, Bengal, to the Court of Directors, the 11th September 1755.

We shall pay due regard to yr. orders in regard to the fortifications Col. Scott projected for the defense of the place against a country enemy which are carrying on agreeable to his instructions, but not yet near finished. Mr. Wells who was recommended by the Colonel to overlook those works being dead, we have directed Mr. Barthw. Plaisted to see them executed: for what may relate further to those works or any others that may be found necessary for the defense of the settlement we beg leave to refer yr. Hons. to the gentlemen you have entrusted on that head.<sup>5</sup>

6. From President and Council, Bengal, to the Court of Directors, the 8th December 1755.

Mr. Wm. Wells, 2nd Lieut. of the Train under whose inspection the works at Perrin's were carrying on, departed this life on 8th August. In his room Mr. B. Plaisted took charge of those works jointly with Mr. O'Hara. They have our directions to execute the plan Colonel Scott left behind him.

7. On August 4th, 1755, Captain Jasper Leigh Jones of the <sup>e</sup> Artillery addresses a letter to the President and Council, Fort William, about the state of the defences of Calcutta.<sup>6</sup>

It is with pleasure I hear the Hon'ble Court of Directors have earnestly recommended unto you an inspection in general regarding the Buildings Military (*sic*) and Fortifications. \* \* \* I think it is my duty to study anything for the good of the service. \* \* \* [He enlarges on this duty theme and deprecates the circumstance that he is armed with so little authority to initiate or take up any measures for the defending of a place whose safe custody he considers himself responsible for in a great degree. He proposes to relieve his conscience by giving Government his opinion as to the condition of their so-called defences before he betakes himself to the Coast where he is next for duty. He then goes on to speak of Col. Scott's project.] In the

<sup>4</sup> The Government of Murshidábád. H. E. B.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Drake and Manningham, as those two only sign the letter to the Court of the 3rd September 1755. H. E. B.

<sup>6</sup> "Bengal Consultations," 1755-56.

method I perceive the plan in regard to the inward works may by the order of the Hon'ble Ct. of Ds. be put into execution, but as there is no positive order to go to work on that, it is necessary now we should think for the good of the place we are entrusted with as well as the property of our proprietors and our Hon'ble Masters who employ us. [As there is a probability of a French war in Europe, he counsels that provision for that contingency should be the chief object in view: he considers that there is little or nothing to fear from a 'country enemy' as 'their interest for our continuation will be sufficient']. Provided a general war which is what we have to expect, it is natural to expect the enemy will attack this place, and in order to do this send some ships of war into the river whose coming near the town must be carefully avoided. It is certain the Hon'ble Ct. of Ds. has been always of opinion that if ever Calcutta was attacked it must be by some means from the river, and they, like prudent, experienced and good Masters, have provided their servants in time with the best guns they could procure which by their nature are for defense and not for sale, lying on the warfe unmounted from their landing to this day.

How far we have regarded their hint I can't say, as we have neither a carriage to mount any of them on, or even a gun already mounted in the garrison fit for service, and am very sorry I must be obliged to confess we seem to look more like a ruined and deserted Moor's fort than any place in possession of Europeans, much less a principal Settlement [There is more to the same purpose; his main recommendation is to repair the 'Line Wall' on the river bank, the immediate construction of fascines there as a temporary measure, the providing of vessels to be used as fire ships, and the manning of the batteries proposed by the gentlemen of the Militia Corps with trained Artillerymen intermixed with them]. What guns could be mounted on the 2 bastions by the river side ought likewise to be kept in good order with their platform and embrasures repaired, as they would be of infinite use, being so much higher than the guns of the Line Warfe Wall.

8. Captain Jones returns to the subject again on 11th Sept. 1755.<sup>7</sup>

Having not met with the pleasure of yr. approval in regard to my last letter to which this plan is in some measure a reference, and that it may not be misconstrued by yr. Honors, I hope you will be kind enough to give me leave to send it home, in the packet, for fear it might be thought (without an explanation) I had some views of converting the

<sup>7</sup> "Bengal Consultations," 1755-56.

designs of a more perfect hand—this I hope will show I had no sinister views of my own.<sup>8</sup>

9. It appears from the Consultations of 24th November 1755, that Mr. B. Plaisted also furnished to Mr. Frankland "a plan he had taken of the town of Calcutta."

10. On 25th February, 1756, a letter was addressed to Drake and Manningham<sup>9</sup> by Colin Simson who thus introduces his own plan.<sup>10</sup>

Colin Simson.

Since the time I have had the honor to be appointed Engineer I have had an opportunity to examine the plan projected by Col. Scott for a fortification where Fort Wm. now stands, which appearing to be deficient in some of the things principally requisite in a fortification, I thought it my duty to represent the same to yr. Hons. that if you think proper the representation with the accompanying plan may be transmitted to the Ct. of Ds.

[He proceeds to criticise adversely Scott's plan in many particulars.] The whole Fort when finished will be a narrow slip on the side of the River, and in order to build it, the whole north side of the Factory which contains the apartments for most of the young gentlemen in the Company's service, the magazine for arms and military stores, shop for medicine, smith's shop, &c., must be pulled down immediately, as also

<sup>8</sup> This plan was ordered "to be sent to the Honourable Company in the box of books per *Hardwick*." As for Captain Jones, *R. Drake Junior* and his brethren did not like to be hustled by this plain-spoken and honest man; his gloomy forebodings—too soon to be realized, but from a quarter which even he did not foresee—were most unwelcome. Like the daughter of Priam he possessed the gift of prophecy which nobody believed, and accordingly he got nothing but rebukes for his pains. "On the 4th August Captain Jasper Jones sent in a letter to the Board with his sentiments on the present fortifications of the place, and what he thought necessary for its defense in case of war. The Board being of opinion it was irregular, improper and unnecessary, we ordered our Secretary to inform him that our orders had been issued to his Superior Officer to whom he should have applied if he had anything material to offer." Poor Jones did not go to the coast as he proposed: he died instead on the 22nd November 1755, having been overtaken with monotonous punctuality, by the "violent fever" which had already accounted for so many of those who dealt with the defences of the settlement. The Bengal recording angels said grandiloquently, in their letter to the Court of Directors, that he "demised," and this they announced without the hollow customary formality of any expression of regret. Captain Witherington reigned in his stead, and Lieutenant Grant became a Captain. H. E. B.

<sup>9</sup> The special Committee on fortifications presumably. H. E. B.

<sup>10</sup> Letters from Bengal 1756.

the Church and Hospital; all these buildings are in constant use, they cannot be well spared, and it would be difficult to supply their place immediately.<sup>11</sup> [He repeats this drawback to Scott's plan in another part.] Before the building of the Colonel's plan can be carried on there must be pulled down immediately all the north side of the Factory, the Church, Hospital, godowns of Mr. McGuire's house, the Dockyard, and godowns of the Company's house. Whereas in order to go on with building the Square nothing need be pulled down but the outhouses of the Company's House and a small part of north-east corner of present Fort.

Simson's suggestion was 'to save most of these buildings and to erect a square fort (as by the accompanying plan) which runs from the north side of the present fort round the Church through the Tank towards the horse's Stables and thence down to the water side between Mr. Amiot's house and that of the Company.'<sup>12</sup>

There is only one allusion to be found in Simson's letter to the Fort river-bastions. 'The gun wharf or low battery on the river side which is not flanked by any fire from the Fort is proposed to be left in its present situation, and as its wall projects forward from the angle of the north-western bastion towards the river, it prevents the face of that bastion from being flanked. Neither is the face of the south western bastion towards the river flanked, the line of its face running without side the opposite flank.'

I may now pass on to describe Wells's plan of the fort to which frequent allusion has been made in the foregoing extracts and of which I give a facsimile (Plate VI). The plan is preserved in the British Museum having found its way there from the King's library. It is endorsed "No. 11 Duplicate Plan of Fort William and part of Calcutta by Wm. Wells under Col. Scott drawn in 1753"; and again in another part.—"Received per Dunnington, 10th October 1754." The object of the plan is to show the new fort which Col. Scott projected in 1753, but it incidentally shows the old fort in considerable detail, the scale being 100 ft. = 1 in. Looking at the plan we recognise at once the irregular tetragon with its four bastions, ( $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ .) each having embrasures for ten guns. The north curtain here measures 210 ft., the south curtain 356 ft., the east 546, the west 560. The fort has three gates,  $\epsilon$  the east gate,  $\zeta$  the main south river

<sup>11</sup> See *Long's Selections* No. 165. By an unfortunate misprint, "north side of the Factory" has been converted into "south side" in the *Selections*.

<sup>12</sup> Then the Company's Stables were beyond, i. e., east of, the Hospital, and Amiot's house was just south of Douglas'. H. E. B.

gate, and  $\eta$  the smaller north river gate through which Suraj-ud-daula entered the fort.  $\theta$  is the mound of the great flag-staff,  $\epsilon$  is the passage joining the northern and southern divisions of the fort.  $\kappa\lambda\mu\nu\sigma\pi$  are the series of rooms south of the east gate, of which the southernmost should be the Black Hole.  $\xi$  is the staircase to the south-east bastion  $\alpha$ .  $\rho$  is the verandah in front of the chambers  $\kappa\lambda\mu\nu\sigma\pi$ .  $\sigma$  is the landing stage on which was placed the Company's crane.  $\tau$  is the river wall armed with cannon and protected where necessary with palisades shown as dotted lines. Within the fort is a large central block of buildings marked in the plan as "The Factory." Hamilton calls this the Governor's House, and I prefer to use this name to indicate it, as "the factory" is more commonly used to denote the whole fort. At the same time it must be remembered that the Governor did not live here in 1753, but in the Company's House on the south side of the fort, although he still retained some rooms or offices in the south-east wing of the building for his own use. Adjoining the south-east bastion, we see the Export and Import Warehouses which, as Orme tells us, were added in 1747. Holwell speaks of them as the new, or colta, warehouses. The roofs were strong enough to carry cannon, and the south-east corner of the warehouses when thus armed seems to have been dignified with the title of the new S. E. bastion.<sup>13</sup> The east gate ( $\epsilon$ ) was also armed with five cannon. The warehouse yard is separated from another yard to the west of it by a small zigzag wall. This yard ( $\omega$ ) was, I conjecture, the carpenter's yard, since it is next to the warehouses, and is conveniently situated with reference to the river. As regards the buildings on the north side of the fort, mentioned in Simson's letter of 25th February, 1756, I conjecture that  $\phi\phi$  are the lodgings occupied by the young gentlemen in the Company's service, and that  $\chi$ , the central building in the north division of the fort, is the armoury. The former conjecture is supported by the very nature of the ground plan of the buildings, the latter by the fact that when Mr. R. R. Bayne uncovered the foundations of  $\chi$  in 1883 he found close by it pieces vitrified as if from a forge. The laboratory was situated in the east curtain<sup>14</sup> and must have been one of the rooms  $\psi\psi$ . Generally the

<sup>13</sup> Holwell alludes to the new S. E. bastion several times in his long letter to the Court of Directors. In section 40 he says: "That [outpost] to the eastward at the Court House you will find commanded by the battery over the E. Gate and from the old and new South-east bastions within musket shot." And again: "The whole square between the south face of the fort and the hospital, and gate of the burying ground was commanded not only by the New South-east bastion, but by seven 4-pounders on the new godowns." In section 48 he says: "Accordingly prepared with the flag [of truce] on the original S.-E. bastion where Captain Buchanan was then posted."

<sup>14</sup> I learn this fact from Dr. Busteed who has furnished me with the following

plan has every mark of care and accuracy, and, as regards the northern portion of the fort agrees fairly well with what Mr. Bayne discovered in 1883. There is only one suspicious circumstance to be noted here. The north and south alignment of the Governor's House is not parallel to the east curtain. This is *prima facie* an improbable arrangement.

In the year 1891, all the buildings between the General Post Office and the Custom House were pulled down and the ground dug up for the purpose of laying the foundations of the new Government Offices, Dalhousie Square. As before in 1883, so now, the excavations revealed remains of the strangely fashioned walls of thin brick work which had once formed part of the old fort. In particular the curiosity of the public was much excited by the discovery of a small rectangular chamber faced with hard cement standing in the midst of four larger walls which looked down grimly on it.

At the beginning of September 1891, having made myself acquainted with the main features of the old fort, I went down to see the excavations. Almost the first thing I did was to measure the small rectangular chamber and the space between the larger walls which surrounded it. The small chamber measured east and west 9 ft. 9 in.; the distance between the thick walls east and west was 14 ft. 10 in. These measurements and the general appearance of the walls convinced me that the thick wall on the east was the curtain wall of the fort, that the wall on the west was the wall parallel to the curtain built for the purpose of containing the chambers running along that side of the fort, and that the smaller plastered chamber was a strong-room or godown.

I next identified the remains of the east gate. The walls had been much cut away by the excavations, but enough remained to show their true nature. Moreover, on measuring the distance from the spot where these walls stood to the record plate marking the north-east angle of the fort as determined by Mr. Bayne, I found that it agreed fairly well with the measurements given in the plan.

This discovery of the true position of the east gate was most important, because it settled finally one of the chief disputed points in the topography of the old fort, and it at once became the starting point for further investigations and discoveries. The value and significance of the excavations now became clear to me. If this was the east gate then the

extract from a letter written by Holwell to Bombay, 17th July 1756, when just released from "Muradabad." "The 20th in the morning the enemy formed three assaults at once, against the N.-W. bastion, against the N.-W. Futtoch or barrier, and against the windows of the Laboratory on the eastern curtain, and attempted to scale the North-West window."

mutilated fragments of brick work I had just been touching and measuring were all that remained of the well-known court of guard, barracks and Black Hole, spoken of by Orme and Holwell. West of them was the parade ground where the soldiers of Suráj-ud-daula had been drawn up to keep guard over their captives, and west of this again I should find the foundations of the Governor's House in the Fort. On advancing westward to a distance of about 110 ft. from the east curtain, the walls of the south-east wing of the Governor's House were readily discovered; and after a certain amount of careful excavation its leading features were all ascertained. Meanwhile I was anxiously trying to fix the position of the south curtain wall and the three lines of arches shown in the plan running parallel to the south curtain. The tradition has always been that the old arcade in the yard of the General Post Office was part of the old fort, and although Mr. Bayne had argued that this could not be the case, I felt convinced that tradition was right. I was, however, for a long time baffled in my efforts to prove the truth of the tradition owing to the fact that the actual distances between the lines of the arches of the arcade and the corner of the north-east wing of the factory, which had been discovered, could not be made to agree with the distances shown in the plan between that corner and the lines of arches along the south curtain. It was only after a good deal of excavation that the true position of the south curtain was established, and it became evident that the south face of the old arcade is part of the first line of arches within the curtain, that the pillars in the centre of the arcade belong to the second line of arches, and the north side of the arcade is on the alignment of the third and innermost line of arches.

The settling of this difficulty necessarily led to a further set of investigations. If these were the real positions of the south curtain wall and of the lines of arches within it, it followed that the plan was inaccurate in its representation of this part of the fort. Hence doubts naturally arose as to whether the plan was correct when it represented the east curtain wall as inclined at an angle to the north and south alignment of the Governor's House. It could not but seem more likely that they were parallel. To determine this point, excavations were made in the yard of the Custom House, and by this means the main outlines of the north-east wing of the factory and also the north and south alignment of the main building were ascertained. Here too it turned out that the plan was incorrect.

From this point the work of excavation was comparatively easy. Further investigations cleared up all that was obscure about the south curtain wall, and fixed the position of the block of buildings running east and west dividing the fort into two sections.

The plan given in Pl. VII gives the combined results of the excavations made in 1883 and in 1891. It shows the existing buildings on the site and over them the old fort is drawn. The walls of the darkest tint are the walls discovered by me, those of a lighter tint are walls discovered by Mr. R. R. Bayne. The still lighter tint indicates walls whose position has not yet been verified. In indexing the plan for reference I have tried to follow a uniform system.

I shall now describe the different portions of the fort which have been discovered in 1891, and I shall begin with

**The Governor's House in the Fort.**

"The Factory" or "the Governor's House in the fort," which Hamilton describes is "the best and most regular piece of architecture that I ever saw in India." I have dug up as much of the foundations of this "Piece of Architecture" as was possible without disturbing the existing buildings. I think it merits Hamilton's praise. The walls were undoubtedly strong and well-built, the shape of the building is regular and suggests the quadrangle of a college. The main building (*OPQWVT*) faced the river. Its length north and south was 245 ft.<sup>15</sup> In the centre of this face was the great gate of the Governor's House, and from it a colonade ran down to the south water gate of the fort and the principal landing stage. This was the way by which Governor Drake escaped to the ships in 1756. Entering this gate and turning to your left you ascended the great flight of stairs which led, I conjecture, to the hall and the principal rooms. At right angles to the main building, and at each end of it, were wings running back towards the east curtain. Thus these north-east and south-east wings, together with the main building formed three sides of a rectangle having a raised cloister or piazza running all along the three sides. In the centre, I imagine, was a green grass plat. The south-east wing contained the apartments of the governor, and the factors probably had rooms in different parts of the building. Almost the whole of the ground on which the main building stood is at present occupied with government godowns. A trench was, however, dug from east to west in the passage between the opium godowns and the import godowns, and this enabled me to determine the positions of the principal walls, which were uncovered at the places marked  $p p_1 p_2$ . The wall  $p p_1$  is one of the cross walls of the Governor's House forming the north side of the grand staircase. It is three feet thick. At  $p$  it meets the west wall of the Governor's House which is 3 ft. 9 in. thick, at  $p_1$  it meets the east wall of the principal building (*PV*) which is 4 ft. 6 in. thick. The internal distance between these two walls is 30 ft. 9 in. At  $p'$  the cross wall  $p p_1$

<sup>15</sup> There are at least two or three views given in old prints of the west face of this building.

meets on its south side an inner wall 3 ft. thick, parallel to the main west wall of the building, and at  $p'_1$ , it meets a similar wall 3 ft. 9 in. thick. The internal distance between the main west wall and the inner parallel wall at  $p'$  is 10 ft. 3 in.; the internal distance between the inner wall at  $p'$  and the next one at  $p'_1$  is only 6 ft. 9 in. These inner walls doubtless served to support the grand staircase. The inner wall at  $p'_1$  intersects the cross wall  $pp_1$  and continues on the north side of it. I do not know the reason of this. The wall  $O_2p_2R_2$  is the wall which supported the columns of the cloister, or verandah, which ran round the inside of the quadrangle of the Governor's House. It has been uncovered from  $p_2$  to  $R_2$ , where it turns to run along the inside of the north-east wing. The wall  $O_2p_2R_2$  is 2 ft. 6 in. thick, with an offset of 6 in. at the points where it actually supported the pillars of the cloister. The distance between the pillars of the west cloister, from centre to centre, was 10 ft. 6 in. At  $p_3$ , 4 ft. 6 in. from  $p_2$ , I found a piece of a small wall 1 ft. 6 in. thick. This wall contained the raised terrace on which the cloister stood. There is also at  $p_2$  a wall  $p_2p'_2$  which bonds with the wall  $R_2p_2O_2$ , and which runs back towards, but does not meet, the east wall of the main building  $PV$ . The purpose served by this wall  $p_2p'_2$  is not clear.

Excavations were also made to find the north-west corner of the factory ( $W$ ), and the north-east wing ( $SSR_2S_2$ ). The north-west corner ( $W$ ) was readily found. The walls here are 3 ft. 6 in. thick. From  $W$  the north wall of the factory continues in a straight line for a distance of 50 ft. 3 in., outside measurement, to  $V$ . Here it is set back 3 ft. 6 in. From this point ( $U$ ) the wall again runs on in a straight line for a distance of 18 ft. to  $T$ , where it is set back 4 ft. 9 in. ( $TR=4$  ft. 9 in.), and thence continues as the north wall of the north-east wing ( $RSS_2R_2$ ). The wall  $WVURS$  is throughout 3 ft. 6 in. thick.  $V$ , the point where this wall is first set back, is the north-east corner of the main building, where the wall  $WV$  meets the wall  $VP$ . The second set-back occurs at the point where the wall  $UT$  meets the wall  $TRR_1$ , which runs parallel to  $VP$  and forms the east wall of the staircase on this side of the building. The wall  $TRR$  is 3 ft. 6 in. thick and 36 ft. long. Wells's plan shows a kind of projection or porch  $VVT$  against the wall  $UT$ , but of this I found no trace.

$RS$  the main north wall of the north-east wing is 3 ft. 6 in. thick and 61 ft. long. Parallel to it and of the same length are the walls  $R_1S_1$ ,  $R_2S_2$ .  $R_1S_1$  is the inner wall containing the apartments in the north-east wing of the Governor's House. It is 3 ft. 6 in. thick, and is distant 21 ft. 9 in., internal measurement, from  $RS$ . The remains of  $SS_1$ , the east wall of this wing, are completely buried beneath the Custom House. The smaller walls  $rr_1$  (two feet thick)  $qq_1$ ,  $ss_1$  (each

2 ft. 9 in. thick) divide off the space between  $RS$  and  $R_1S_1$ . The internal distance between  $SS_1$  and  $ss_1$  is 13 ft. 6 in.; between  $ss_1$  and  $qq_1$  it is 16 ft. 3 in.; between  $qq_1$  and  $rr_1$  it is 13 ft. 6 in.; between  $rr_1$  and  $RR_1$  it is 6 ft.  $R_2S_2$  is the foundation wall carrying the arches of the north cloister. It is 41 ft. distant, internal measurement, from  $RS$ .<sup>16</sup> Where it directly supported the pillars of the cloister it is 4 ft. 6 in. thick, elsewhere it is 3 ft. 6 in. thick.

Other excavations were made on the site of the south-east wing of the factory ( $LL_2O_2O$ ), in which the governor's apartments were situated, and considerable remains of its walls were discovered. The east wall of this wing  $LL_1L_2$  was traced out, as also portions of the south main wall of the wing  $LO$ , the inner wall containing the apartments  $L_1O_1$ , and the wall carrying the pillars of the south cloister  $L_2L_2$ . These walls are all 4 ft. thick. The distance of  $L_1O_1$  from  $LO$  is 17 ft. 6 in. and that of  $L_2O_2$  from  $L_1O_1$  is 35 ft. At the corner of this wing 17 ft. 6 in. south of  $L$  stood an isolated pillar 3 ft. square,  $L'$ . There is also a projecting chamber  $MNN'M'$  built out against the main wall  $LO$ , the walls of which are 3 ft. thick,  $LM$  measures 11 ft. 6 in. The chamber  $MNN'M'$  measures inside 18 ft. by 23 ft. The distance of  $L$  from the east curtain wall is 146 ft., that of  $S$  from the east curtain is 143 ft.: thus the north and south alignment of the Governor's House is very nearly parallel to the east curtain.

I now pass on to speak of the south curtain wall and the arcades built within it. This side of the fort was in

### The South Curtain Wall.

all probability used for storing the Company's goods. As originally constructed it had only two parallel lines of arches built along the inside of the curtain forming a double arcade and beyond these arcades, (i. e., on their north side) was an uncovered raised terrace 22 ft. broad. Afterwards a portion of this raised platform was covered in by a third arcade. It also seems to have been found necessary to strengthen the south curtain wall by building another wall against it to support it. Lastly, in 1741, export and import wall houses were built on outside the south curtain. Evidently this side of the fort was subject to a good deal of alteration, and for this reason, or it may be from a desire to make the fort appear more symmetrical than it really was, Wells's plan comes far short of its usual accuracy. I have, accordingly, had some difficulty in determining the topography of this side of the fort, but my doubts have all yielded to patient excavation. The key to their solution was the discovery of the third or innermost of the lines of arches parallel to the south curtain.

<sup>16</sup> This seems a little doubtful. The walls were very thick here, with a footing.

After making a careful search in every likely direction where I might expect to come across them, I find that the third line of these arches was built on the alignment of what is now the north face of the waggon shed in the Post Office yard. The foundations of this wall ( $D_3E_3$ ) have been exposed. It is 2 ft. 6 in. thick and is built against another smaller wall 10 in. thick which is in contact with it, all along its south side but does not bond with it. There can be no doubt about the meaning of this. The smaller wall contained a raised terrace or platform in front of the arcades  $D_1F_1$ ,  $D_2F_2$ . This platform was at first left open, but was afterwards covered in by an arcade, and a thick wall was built against the thin wall containing the platform to support the arches of the new arcade. Clearly then this wall  $D_3E_3$  is the foundation wall of the third row of arches parallel to the south curtain. If this be so there can be no doubt about the situation of the curtain and the two other parallel lines of arches, of which in fact portions still remain standing. In the yard of the General Post Office there is an old arcade and arches which at its west end joins on to a very old house. This old house has been lately used as the store-godown of the Post Office, and the arches serve for a shed to keep the Post Office waggons in. The north side of the waggon-shed  $e_3i_3$  is a modern wall constructed on the alignment of the third arcade wall of the old fort  $D_3E_3$ ; but the two lines of arches  $e_1i_1$ ,  $e_2i_2$  (of which the first  $e_1i_1$  forms the south face of the shed, and the second  $e_2i_2$  runs down its centre) are manifestly portions of the first and second lines of arches  $D_1F_1$ ,  $D_2F_2$ , which ran parallel to the south curtain of the old fort. This agrees with the traditions of the spot and has been proved by my excavations. The arcade  $e_1i_1$   $i_2e_2$  is a fragment. At its west end I find that four more of its pillars,  $i_3i_4$   $F_1F_2$ , are built into the old Post Office godown; and on opening up the ground to the east of the arcade I found that the line of arches  $e_2i_2$  has a foundation wall which runs on eastward underground as  $e_2e'_2$ , and that the line of arches  $e_1i_1$  rests on isolated brick piers which are also continued eastward, and one of which I was able to expose  $e'_1$ .<sup>17</sup> Moreover the arcade  $e_1i_1$   $i_2e_2$  is a fragment of the old fort. It is built of the old thin bricks, the pillars are sunk deep below the present ground level. The foundation wall which carries the line of arches  $e_2i_2$  is 3 ft. 4 in. thick. The production of this wall  $e_2i_2$  is at a distance of 22 ft. 6 in. internal measurement from the wall  $D_3E_3$  which I have identified as the foundation wall of the third or innermost line of arches parallel to the south curtain. This is just the distance which Wells's plan shows between the third and the second lines of these

<sup>17</sup> It is 3 ft. 7 in. square at the top, and 4 ft. 8 in. square at its base.

arches, and hence I consider that  $e_2i_2$  is a segment of the second line of arches. The pillars of these arches are 13 ft. 8 in. distant from each other from centre to centre. For similar reasons I identify the line of arches  $e_1f_1f'_1g'_1g_1i_1$  as segment of the first of the lines of arches within the south curtain. The line of arches  $e_1f_1$  is 19 ft. distant from the line of arches  $e_2f_2$ , by internal measurement. From  $e_1$  to  $f_1$ , a distance of 42 ft. 9 in., it runs straight on parallel to  $e_2f_2$ . Then the whole line of arches is brought out 4 ft. 10 in. farther south ( $f_1f'_1$ ). Then again it continues to run parallel to the wall  $e_2i_2$  for 82 ft. 10 in. ( $f'_1g'_1$ ) after which it returns to its old alignment ( $g_1i_1$ ). Both as regards its distance from the wall  $e_2i_2$ , which I have argued is the second line of arches parallel to the curtain, and as regards the irregularity of its conformation, the line of arches  $e_1f_1f'_1g'_1g_1i_1$  corresponds to the representation given in Wells's plan of the first line of arches within the south curtain, and I think there can be no doubt that it is a segment of that line of arches. Near the south-west corner of the old waggon shed a wall *ik* about 9 ft. thick projects in front of and parallel to the arches; another portion of it is hidden away in the old Post Office Store Godown. This is all that actually remains of the south curtain, but by opening up the ground in the yard of the Post Office I have been able to trace out its position and foundations. The original curtain wall was 3 ft. 2 in. thick. Within it, *i. e.*, on its north side, there was built another wall which was intended to support and strengthen the curtain wall. This wall is irregularly constructed and varies in thickness. At first it is about 3 ft. 8 in. thick with a space of 6 in. left in some places between it and the curtain wall. At *f* it ends in a buttress about 2 ft. 4 in. thick. The south curtain wall is met on its south face by a wall about 2 ft. 2 in. broad, at a point *h*, 53 ft. distant from *k* where the curtain is now cut away. The 2 ft. 2 in. wall runs southwards and a little to the eastwards, for a distance of 24 ft. Then it turns off eastwards. This wall is the wall shown in Wells's plan dividing the warehouses from the yard  $\omega$ . Its discovery in the position indicated for it in Wells's plan places the identification of the south curtain wall beyond dispute.

I have already pointed out one serious inaccuracy in Wells's plan. He makes the east curtain inclined at an angle to the north and south alignment of the Governor's House in the Fort, whereas they really are parallel to each other. I have now to call attention to another serious inaccuracy in Wells's plan. I have shown that  $D_3E_3$  is the northernmost of the three lines of arches built inside the south curtain wall. Its distance from the centre of the east gate in 162 ft. whereas Wells makes it only 150 ft.

As regards the north side of the fort, I have not much to add to what Mr. Bayne discovered in 1883. I have, however, verified by excavation the position of the range of rooms which divided the fort into two, and which, I believe, to have been the 'Writers' Buildings' in the old fort. The south wall of these buildings,  $JG$ , is about 60 ft. distant from  $W$ , the north-west corner of the Governor's House. At  $J$ , 99 ft. from the west curtain wall, there is a passage through the block of buildings 15 ft. wide. The wall  $JG$  is 3 ft. 2 in. broad,<sup>18</sup> north of it, and parallel to it, at a distance of 19 ft. internal measurement, is a wall  $J_1 j_2$ . I also found a cross wall  $j_2 j_3$  to the west of  $J J_1$  and distant from it 24 ft. internally. These cross walls  $J J_1$ , and  $j_2 j_3$ , are 2 ft. 1 in. thick,  $J_1 j_2$  is 2 ft. thick. East of the passage we have no continuous wall corresponding with  $JG$ , but we find instead the bases of a row of columns  $YZ$ . These bases are 11 ft. apart from centre to centre, and measure about 3 ft. by 2 ft. each. At a distance of 9 ft. internally from the row of columns and parallel to it, is an inner wall  $Y_1 Z_1$ , 2 ft. thick. The wall  $Y Y_1$  is 2 ft. 8 in. thick. I have not thought it necessary to trace out the walls  $YZ$ ,  $Y_1 Z_1$ , along their whole length. I have merely exposed  $Z_1$ , the termination of the wall  $Y_1 Z_1$ , where it meets the wall  $Z_1 Z$ . The south face of the wall  $Y_1 Z_1$  is here 22 ft. 6 in. distant from the wall of the present Custom House.  $Z_1$  is also about 190 ft. from the centre of the east gate of the fort, and 30 ft. from the east curtain wall by internal measurement. The whole length of wall  $Y_1 Z_1$  internally is 174 ft. 6 in. The breadth of  $Y_1 Z_1$  and  $Z Z_1$  is 2 ft. All these walls are of poor construction. The buildings here were, in fact, low, one-storied structures, as is evident from the old views of the fort. This also agrees with the supposition that they were inhabited by the writers, for we gather from the records<sup>19</sup> that their lodgings were very damp and unhealthy.

As regards the west curtain I have little to say. Its alignment was determined by Mr. Bayne. I have verified it by excavation at three different spots  $X_1$ ,  $X_2$ ,  $X_3$ . At  $X_1$ , near the south-west bastion of the fort, the curtain wall is unusually thick and measures 6 ft. This is probably due to the same cause which led to the strengthening of the south curtain wall in this direction.

<sup>18</sup> I have not been able to trace this wall westwards from  $J$  for more than about 40 ft. At this point the remains became very confusing. I could only find a small wall 1 ft. 10 in. broad which met the thicker 3 ft. 2 in. wall on its northern face, and which I traced westwards up to the west curtain.

<sup>19</sup> See a letter from the Court of Directors, February 11th, 1756, para. 69, in Long's *Selections*.

It now remains for me to speak of the east side of the fort. The central line of the east gate is 427 ft. from the corner of the north-east bastion, the position of which was fixed by Mr. Bayne in 1883. The gate measures internally 20 ft. from north to south and 36 ft. from east to west. The east face measures externally 26 ft. 6 in. Its salient angles  $B' B' C'$ ,  $B' C' C$  are angles of 120 degrees. The walls are 4 ft. thick. The south wall of the gate  $C' C_1 C_2$  was pierced by a drain which was met at an angle by a second drain running north-east.

On each side of the east gate there ran a double row of arches  $A_1 B_1$ ,  $A_2 B_2$ , and  $C_1 D_1$ ,  $C_2 D_2$ , parallel to the east curtain wall  $AB$ ,  $CD$ . The space between the curtain wall and the line of arches next to it (i. e. between  $AB$  and  $A_1 B_1$  and between  $CD$  and  $C_1 D_1$ ) was divided up by cross walls into chambers. The second row of arches  $A_2 B_2$ ,  $C_2 D_2$  supported the verandah or piazza which extended on each side of the gate before the ranges of chambers.

As regards the rooms to the north of the gate between the east curtain and the line of arches  $A_1 B_1$ , there is little to say. Wells's plan shows that the first cross wall occurred after the fifth arch. The arches thus cut off were left open to the verandah and formed the north court of guard. But the whole interest of these investigations centres in the topography of the range of rooms on the other side of the gate where were situated the court of guard, the barracks, and the Black Hole spoken of by Orme and Holwell. There is no doubt about the position of the curtain wall ( $CD$ ) and the parallel lines of arches within it ( $C_1 D_1$ ,  $C_2 D_2$ ). They have been traced out from the east gate right up to the north face of the General Post Office. The curtain wall  $CD$  is 3 ft. 9 in. thick. The foundation wall which carried the first line of arches  $C_1 D_1$  is 2 ft. 9 in. thick, that which carries the second line of arches  $C_2 D_2$  is 2 ft. 3 in. thick. Between the curtain wall and the wall  $C_1 D_1$  is a distance of 14 ft. 10 in. and between the curtain and  $C_2 D_2$  a distance of 31 ft. 3 in. from inside to inside. The wall  $C_2 D_2$  meets the wall  $D_3 E_3$  at a distance of 162 ft. from the centre of the east gate. So far the topography of this part of the fort is perfectly clear.

There is, however, considerable difficulty in determining the positions of the cross walls which sub-divided the space between  $CD$  and  $C_1 D_1$  into rooms. Here, as I noticed before, Wells's plan is quite inaccurate. It shortens the distance between the east gate and the south-east

bastion, and so vitiates its whole representation of this corner of the fort. In the case of the cross walls it is not easy to check the errors of the plan by actual excavation, for we cannot always expect to find trace of the cross walls which may have been very slightly constructed. As a matter of fact only two cross walls have been actually discovered by excavation. One of these  $dd_1$ , was found by Mr. Bayne in 1883 and was again brought to light by me in 1891. This wall is 1 ft. 6 in. thick, and is 145 ft. 6 in. from the centre of the east gate. Mr. Bayne thought that this wall was the north wall of the Black Hole, I shall show that it is probably the south wall of the prison. The other cross wall ( $bb_1$ ) is a much more solid wall than the wall just described ( $dd_1$ ). It is 2 ft. thick and is at a distance of 100 ft from the centre of the gate.

The position of two other cross walls may be inferred in the following way. A little to the south of cross wall  $bb_1$  there was a subterranean chamber or vault  $b'b'_1c'_1$  which attracted much notice when it was first discovered. Internally this vault measured 19 ft. 3 in. north and south, by 9 ft. 9 in. east and west. It was 7 ft. 2 in. deep. Its walls were 1 ft. 6 in. thick and were covered with a hard coating of plaster. The floor over the vault was carried across by four beams, the holes where the ends of the beams rested being clearly visible. The west wall of the vault ( $b'_1c'_1$ ) was built against the foundation wall of the first line of arches  $C_1D_1$ . The north face of the north wall of the vault  $b'b'_1$  was 3 ft. 3 in. distant from the south face of the cross-wall  $bb_1$ . The internal distance between the east wall of the vault ( $b'_1c'_1$ ) and the curtain was 2 ft. 3 in. In this part of the curtain wall ( $bc$ ) an iron grating was found, built up inside the brick work of the wall just below the level of the floor. It seems to have served no special purpose. The south wall of the vault  $c'_1c'_1$  was coated with plaster on both sides. Its north face was plastered down to the level of the floor of the vault. Its south face was plastered down to a foot below the level of the floor of the chambers along the east curtain. This would seem to show that wall  $c'_1c'_1$  was continued up above the floor level so as to form a cross wall  $cc_1$  dividing up the space between  $bb_1$  and  $dd_1$ , and, I believe, that this was so because there must surely have been a cross wall between  $bb_1$  and  $dd_1$ , and I do not see where else it could have been conveniently placed except above  $c'_1c'_1$  as  $cc_1$ . The north face of this wall will be distant 126 ft. from the centre of the east gate.

There is somewhat similar evidence for the existence of another cross wall  $aa_1$  north of  $bb_1$ . Inside the curtain wall (at  $ab$ ) there was built another wall  $a'a'_1$  1 ft. 6 in. and 24 ft. long which was carried up to within a foot of the floor level of the range of chambers along the

east curtain. This wall and the north face of the wall  $bb_1$  were plastered to a depth of about 7 ft. below the floor level almost to the foundation of the walls. This seems to show that there was another vault immediately north of the wall  $bb_1$ , and that the wall  $a'a'_1$  carried the flooring of the room above. As the wall  $a'a'_1$  is about 24 ft. long, I infer that this was the length of the vault and also of the room above it and, I think, that at 24 ft. north of  $bb_1$  there was another cross wall like  $bb_1$  which below the floor level served as the north wall of a vault and above the floor level was a cross wall sub-dividing the space between the curtain and  $C_1D_1$ .

In this way I have been able to prove by excavation the existence of four cross walls  $aa_1$ ,  $bb_1$ ,  $cc_3$ ,  $dd_1$ . But this is not enough. It is still necessary to consider whether, as Wells's plan implies, there were any other walls besides these four, and in particular whether there were any to the south of  $dd_1$ . For the Black Hole was the southernmost of the rooms built along this part of the east curtain. Consequently its site must be immediately to the north of the last cross wall, and its site is known if the position of the southernmost cross wall is known. I have accordingly traced out the wall  $C_1D_1$ , which contained the chambers built against this part of the east curtain, to a point  $d'_1$ , 166 ft. from the centre of the east gate, where this containing wall stops. Beyond  $d'_1$  there is only a small thin wall, built, I suppose, to contain a pavement. There could have been no cross walls beyond  $d'_1$ , and I have found no trace of any between  $d_1$  and  $d'_1$ . It therefore follows that  $dd_1$  is the southernmost cross wall. I have also traced out the east verandah wall  $C_2D_3$  to  $D_3$ , 166 ft. from the centre of the east gate, where  $C_2D_3$  meets the wall  $D_3E_3$  which carried the third or innermost line of arches on the south side of the fort. Thus my excavations prove that  $dd_1$  is the southernmost cross wall, and that it occurred at about 20 ft. north of the end of the containing wall  $C_1D_1$ , and also at about the same distance north of the junction of the verandah wall  $C_2D_3$  with the third line of arches on the south side  $D_3E_3$ .

This also agrees on the whole with Wells's plan which represents the last cross wall as occurring about 16 ft.

**Comparison of Wells's plan with the results of excavation.**

or 18 ft. north of the end of the containing wall and of the junction between the east verandah wall and the inner line of arches on the south side of the fort. Wells's plan, however, does not exactly agree with the results obtained by excavation as to distances, but this is accounted for by the fact that the length of the curtain wall between the east gate and the south-east bastion is too short by about 12 feet. Whoever it was, who actually drew the plan, he did not discover his

mistake till he came to put in the details of the rooms along the east curtain south of the gate. Then, finding that there was not sufficient room to put those details in properly, he crowded them in together. This, I think, is clearly the case with the cross walls. The discrepancies between Wells's plan and the results obtained by actual excavation may be exhibited as follows:—

|                             |                               |                                        |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Wells's plan shows walls at | 43, 70, 95, 108, 122, 135 ft. | } from the centre of<br>the East gate. |
| Excavation shows walls at   | 75, 100, 126, 146 ft.         |                                        |

Looking at this comparative table, and remembering that Wells's distances are short of the true distances, we easily discover which walls correspond. The first cross wall shown by excavation ( $aa_1$ ) corresponds to the second wall given in Wells's plan. The second cross wall shown by excavation ( $bb_1$ ) corresponds to the third wall in Wells's plan. The fourth cross wall shown by excavation ( $cc_1$ ) corresponds to the fifth wall in Wells's plan; and the last wall in Wells's plan corresponds to the last wall shown by excavation. The two missing walls not shown by excavation are the first cross wall of Wells's plan, which was the south wall of the barracks ( $\mu$ ), and the fourth wall of Wells's plan which must have come between  $bb_1$  and  $cc_1$ . This wall could not have been a very substantial one, as it must have been built over the subterranean chamber  $b'b_1' c'c_1'$ . The room  $\pi$  in Wells's plan, which is the southernmost of the series of rooms built within this part of the east curtain, and is, therefore, the Black Hole, corresponds with the space  $cc_1 dd_1$ . This is the site of the Black Hole. As regards the staircase to the south-east bastion, I have unfortunately very little to say. This staircase is mentioned by Holwell and is shown by Wells in his plan. It is a long staircase. Its head is put by Wells at about 8 ft. from the south face of the southernmost cross wall, and its foot at a distance of about 50 ft. I have not been able to find any trace of it by excavation, but I see no reason for doubting its position to be correctly marked by Wells.

If I might be permitted to make a few conjectures I should arrange

**Arrangement of the rooms along the east curtain.**

the rooms along the east curtain thus. The whole range of rooms is contained between the south wall of the east gate  $CC_1 C_2$  and the cross wall  $dd_1$  and between the east curtain  $CD$  and the first line of arches parallel in the curtain  $C_1 D_1$ . The pillars of these arches were about 8 ft. 9 in. distant from each other from centre to centre. West of them came a second parallel line of arches,  $C_2 D_2$  forming the piazza before the rooms. The first of the cross walls dividing off the rooms occurred after the fourth arch in the first line of arches  $C_1 D_1$ . Thus it would be about 35 ft. distant from the wall  $CC_1 C_2$ . These four arches were left quite open to the

piazza west of them, and formed the court of guard south of the gate. Three arches further on was another cross wall  $aa_1$ . If this wall occurred exactly after the seventh of the first line of arches  $C_1D_1$  and I am right in believing that these arches measured 8 ft. 9 in. from centre to centre, then the centre of the cross wall  $aa_1$  would be 61 ft. 3 in. from the south face of the wall  $CC_1C_2$ . If we rely on the evidence of the excavations its north face was 60 ft. 3 in. from the south face of  $CC_1C_2$ . The next cross wall  $bb_1$  occurred after the tenth arch. As shown by the excavations its north face was 86 ft. distant from the south face of the wall  $CC_1C_2$ , or if we reckon its distance according to the arches, its centre will be 87 ft. 6 in. from  $CC_1C_2$ . I have argued that another cross wall  $cc_1$  was 126 ft. distant from the centre of the east gate, that is its north face is 112 ft. from the south face of  $CC_1C_2$ ; and if we reckon that this wall came after the thirteenth arch its centre will be 113 ft. 9 in. from  $CC_1C_2$ . The last cross wall  $dd_1$  is 131 ft. 6 in. from  $CC_1C_2$ , or if we reckon that it came after the fifteenth arch its centre would be about 131 ft. 3 in. distant. The room cut off by the walls  $cc_1, dd_1$ , is the Black Hole. It measured internally 18 ft. by 14 ft. 10 in. It was bounded on the east by the curtain, on the south by the wall  $dd_1$ , on the north by the wall  $cc_1$ , and on the west by the fourteenth and fifteenth arches of the first line of arches parallel to the east curtain  $C_1D_1$ . These two arches were bricked up and only a window was left in the centre of each. Along the east wall of the Black Hole was a wooden platform about six feet broad and raised three or four feet from the ground, open underneath. It probably projected from the east wall as far as the door in the north wall  $cc_1$ . This door opened inwards. The three rooms between the court of guard and the Black Hole were the barracks. They were bounded on the east by the curtain wall, along which ran a wooden platform similar to that in the Black Hole. The nine arches which bounded the barracks on the south, (*i. e.*, the fifth to the thirteenth arches inclusive) were partially closed by a dwarf wall, or, as Holwell calls it, a parapet wall. The rooms opened one into another and a door in the wall  $cc_1$  led to the Black Hole. South of the Black Hole there were no more rooms, the remaining space being taken up by a straight staircase, fifty feet long, built against the east curtain wall, leading to the south-east bastion.

I believe that this arrangement of the rooms will satisfy all the requirements of Holwell's narrative. The barracks according to him would have been a fairly comfortable place for 146 persons to spend the night in. I make the whole area of the barracks to be 72 ft. by 14 ft. 10 in. This gives 7 sq. ft. 45 sq. in. for each individual. The area of

Black Hole is 18 ft. by 14 ft. 10 in. This allows just 267 sq. ft. of area for 146 persons, or less than 2 sq. ft. each.<sup>20</sup>

The result of all this fresh discussion is to place the site of the Black Hole prison immediately to the north of the site fixed for it by Mr. Bayne, so that Mr. Bayne's conclusion was not so far wrong. Mr. Bayne, however, arrived at his conclusion from two utterly false premises. His first premise was that the south-east corner of the fort was just like the north-east corner. This was completely refuted by Mr. Munro in 1889 when he produced Wells's plan of the fort. Mr. Bayne's second premise was, that the dimensions of the fort stated by Orme in the text of his history and shown in the accompanying plan, were absolutely correct, and Mr. Bayne still held to this belief even though he discovered that there was an error somewhere in Orme's plan when he tried to superpose it upon Simms's Survey of Calcutta. The excavations which I have made prove that the dimensions given by Orme are only approximately correct, accurate enough for the purposes of his history, but not accurate enough for the purpose of settling minute points of topography. Fortunately for Mr. Bayne, the errors of his two premises counteracted each other, and thus, when he made an excavation in the passage north of the General Post Office, where he expected to find the Black Hole, he actually did come across one of its walls. But, like words, walls cannot be interpreted apart from their context. Mr. Bayne was prevented at the time from finding the right context, and he therefore failed to understand these walls; I have merely been more fortunate in my opportunities, and have been able to secure the right context.

Only a few more miscellaneous points as to the topography of the old fort remain to be mentioned. Besides the two drains already spoken of, which I found by the east gate, I also came across a piece of another old surface drain running along the west side of the verandah which extended before the chambers built inside the east curtain. This drain is 4 ft. wide at the top and 2 ft. at the bottom. Its eastern edge is 5 ft. distant internally from the verandah wall  $C_2D_2$ . There is also an old well about 50 ft. east of the east wall of the Governor's House in the fort, and 23 ft. south of its central line, which may have been part of

<sup>20</sup> The only cross wall shown in Wells's plan which I have not accounted for is the wall between the rooms  $v$  and  $o$ . If what I have said as to the other cross walls is correct, this cross wall should come between  $bb_1$  and  $cc_1$ . It could not then have been a substantial wall as it would have been built over the subterranean chamber  $b'b'_1c'c'_1$ . Could this wall have been meant for the wall  $b'b'_1$ ?

the old building. The main walls of the buildings are brick in lime, the minor walls are brick in mud. The parade ground is paved with brick on edge over one flat, covered with six inches of concrete. Its level was visible everywhere in section. If we reckon the level of the curb stone of the footpath in Dalhousie Square as 100 ft. then the level of the parade ground would be 98·07 ft., i. e., a little less than 2 ft. lower down. The level of the floors of the rooms varied. The level of the floor over the subterranean vault was 99·24 ft. At about the middle of the set of rooms built along the east curtain it was 98·5 ft.

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A Specimen of the Padumāvati.—By

G. A. GRIERSON, B.A., I.C.S.

The following is an attempt to give a correct text of a portion of the *Padumāvati*,¹ or *Padmāvati* of Malik Muḥammad of Jāyas in Oudh. He flourished under Shēr Shāh in the year 1540 A. D., and numerous MSS. of his great poem are in existence.

The value of the *Padumāvati* consists chiefly in its age. Malik Muḥammad is, I believe, the oldest vernacular poet of Hindūstān of whom we have any uncontested remains. Chand Bar'dāi was much older, but the genuineness of his Prithirāj Rāy'sā is denied by many competent scholars. Vidyāpati Thākur, who lived in the year 1400 A. D. has only left us a few songs which have come down to us through five centuries of oral transmission, and which now cannot be in the form in which they were written. The preservation of the *Padumāvati* is due mainly to the happy accident of Malik Muḥammad's religious reputation. Although profoundly affected by the teaching of Kabir, and familiarly acquainted with Hindū lore, and with the Hindū Yōga philosophy, he was from the first revered as a saint by his Muḥammadan co-religionists.

He wrote his poem in what was evidently the actual vernacular of his time, tinged slightly with an admixture of a few Persian words and idioms due to his Musalmān predilections. It is also due to his religion that he originally wrote it in the Persian character, and hence

¹ The author himself invariably spells the word thus.

discarded all the favourite devices of paṇḍits, who tried to make their language correct by spelling (while they did not pronounce) vernacular words in the Sanskrit fashion. He had no temptation to do this. The Persian character did not lend itself to any such false antiquarianism. He spelled each word rigorously as it was pronounced. His work is hence a valuable witness to the actual condition of the vernacular language of Northern India in the 16th century. It is, so far as it goes, and with the exception of a few hints in Alberuni's *Indica*, the only trustworthy witness which we have. It is trustworthy, however, only to a certain extent, for it often merely gives the consonantal frame work of the words, the vowels, as is usual in Persian MSS., being generally omitted. Fortunately, the vowels can generally be inserted correctly with the help of a few Dēvanāgarī MSS. of the poem which are in my possession.

Besides its interest as a key to a philological puzzle, the *Padumāwati* also deserves notice for its contents. In itself it is a fine poetical work, and one of the few original ones, not dealing with either Rāma or Kṛishṇa, with which I am acquainted in any Indian language. It is also remarkable for the vein of tolerance which runs through it,—a tolerance in every way worthy of Kabir or of Tal'si Dās. The story of the poem has been a favourite one with eastern authors. Husain Ghaznawī wrote a Persian poem on the subject, entitled *Qissae Padmāwatī*. Rai Gōbind Munshī in 1652 A. D. wrote a version in Persian prose, called (after the chronogram of its date) *Tukfatu'l-Kulūb*. Again Mir Ziyāu'd-dīn 'Ibrat, and Ghulām 'Alī 'Ishrat wrote a joint version in Urdū verse in 1796 A. D. Malik Muḥammad's poem was written in 1540 A. D.

Concerning the author little is known. He tells us himself that he was the disciple of Sayyad Muḥiū'd-dīn. He studied Sanskrit Prosody and Rhetoric from Hindu Paṇḍits at Jāyas. He belonged to the *Chistiyyā Nizāmiyyā*, that is to say, he was the eleventh disciple in descent from the well-known Nizāmu'd-dīn, who died in 1325 A. D. Muḥiū'd-dīn's teacher was Shaikh Burhān, who resided at Kalpī in Bundēl'khaṇḍ, and who is said to have died at the age of a hundred years in A. D. 1562-63. The poet was patronized by Shēr Shāh.

The only other fact which we know for certain is that he was blind of one eye. I have collected the following traditions about him. One of Shēr Shāh's allies was Jagat Dēv, (enthroned 1527 A. D.: died 1573 A. D.), Mahārāj of Ghāzīpur and Bhoj'pur. He was present at the battle of Bagh'sar (Buxar) in which Shēr Shāh defeated Huṁāyūn. Malik Muḥammad is said to have attended his court. Two of Malik Muḥammad's four friends, whom he mentions in his poem (22) were

also patronised by Jagat Dēv. These were Yūsaf Malik and Salōnē Singh (whom Malik Muḥammad calls Miyā as if he was a Muṣalmān). It is said that another attendant at Jagat Dēv's court was a *Katthak*, named Gandharv Rāj, who was skilled in the art of singing. Malik Muḥammad was greatly attached to him and gave him his blessing, prophesying that skill in song would always remain in his family, and, at the same time, begging him to take, as a sign of affection, his title of Malik. Ever since, Gandharv Rāj's descendants have called themselves Malik, and members of the family still live in Talūkā Raipurā and at Haldi in Baliyā District, and are renowned singers.

It is said that the Rājā of Amēthī was childless, but was granted a son, in consequence of the prayers of Malik Muḥammad. When the poet died, he was buried at Amēthī, and his tomb is still shown, and worshipped by believers. Malik Muḥammad's two friends, Malik Yūsaf and Salōnē, died in what is now the district of Gōrakh'pur, from a surfeit of mangoes. Malik Muḥammad was with them at the time, and himself narrowly escaped. The mangoes are said to have been infested by poisonous insects.

The text of the *Padumāvati*, being in the thēṭh Hindi language, and written in the Persian character, is very difficult both to read and to understand. It has been frequently transliterated into the Nāgarī character, but the transcriptions, whether MS. or printed, are full of mistakes, generally guesses to make the meaning clear. The best transliterated edition is that by Paṇḍit Rām Jasan of Banāras; but even in his case (putting instances of sanskritization out of sight) hardly a line is correct. There are several printed editions in the Persian character, but they too are all incorrect. I have been fortunate enough to become possessed of several old MSS. of the poem in the Persian character, and by diligent comparison I have endeavoured to reproduce, in the Nāgarī character, the actual words written by the poet. A glance at the critical notes will show the labour involved in the task. I have also endeavoured to give a tentative translation of text as I went along.

To the text, I append an analysis of the whole poem, which may prove interesting. It must, however, be understood that I do not guarantee its entire correctness. There are many passages which I do not yet understand, and which await further examination. I hope, in process of time, to publish, jointly with Mahāmahōpadhyāya Paṇḍit Sudhākara Dvivēdi, F.A.U., a complete and satisfactory edition of the whole poem. Of that edition, the present specimens may be taken as a provisional sample, and I shall be most grateful for any suggestions which reach me in time to improve the larger work.

For the purposes of these specimens, I have used the following MSS. :—

A. MSS. in Persian character (marked collectively as P).

- (1) India Office Library, Pers. Cat. 1018. Dated 1107 Hij. = 1695 A. D. (Ia).
- (2) Ditto No. 1975. Vowel marks freely used. Correctly written. Dated 1109 Hij. = 1697 A. D. (Ib).
- (3) Ditto No. 1819. Vowel points inserted in red ink by a later hand. Dated 1114 Hij. = 1702 A. D. (Ic).
- (4) India Office Library, Urdu Catalogue, No. 3130. Few vowel points. In two different handwritings. No date, (Id).

All these Persian MSS. are very fairly correct. I have taken Ib. as the basis throughout.

B. MSS. in the Dēva Nāgarī character (marked collectively as N).

- (1) India Office Library, Sanskrit Catalogue, No. 2471. A magnificent copy, profusely illustrated. Written by Thānā Kāyath of Mirzāpur. No date. Spelling highly Sanskritized (Is).

I must here express my thanks to Dr. Rost, and the authorities of the India Office Library, for the loan of the above MSS.

- (2) A well written copy kindly lent me by Kavirāj Syāmal Dās, belonging to the library of the Mahārāj of Udaipur. Spelling not so Sanskritized. Dated Sambat 1895=1838 A. D. (U).

C. MS. in the Kaithī character.

- (1) A clearly written copy. With very irregular spelling; and many important variations in the readings. Written in Sambat 1812=1755 A. D. (K).

In editing the text I have adopted the following principles as regards spelling. Prākṛit words are spelt as in the Persian copies. When the Persian copies give vowels, those vowels are adopted. When no vowels are given, I have used my judgment in adopting the vowels given in the Dēvanāgarī and Kaithī copies.

On the other hand, for precisely similar reasons, I have generally adopted the spelling of Arabic and Persian words which is best vouched for by the Dēvanāgarī and Kaithī copies. Such words are phonetically spelt in that alphabet.

U and K uniformly write उ as क. I have not followed them in this. When U, as it frequently does, gives a short u as the final vowel of a Prākṛit substantive, I have generally adopted it, unless the use of the vowel is contradicted by the Persian copies.

The termination न् *nh*, is capable of being read as equivalent to either the plural oblique termination न्, or to the singular oblique termination ङि or ङि. Unless the context showed that न् is required, I have transliterated it ङि. Even in the best Persian MSS. the nasal is inserted so capriciously, that it is at least doubtful whether it should be used in the singular, and I have accordingly followed the best Dēvanāgarī MSS., in omitting it, in this case, throughout.

The metre of the poem consists of stanzas of seven *caupāis* followed by a *dōhā*. In the latter, a *mātrā* is frequently omitted in the first half. In the *caupāis*, accent is frequently used instead of quantity, a short accented syllable being treated as a long one, especially at the end of a line. Malik Muḥammad wrote long before Kēçav Dās laid down the canons of Hindī metre. Such accented short syllables I have marked, in transliteration with an acute accent, thus,—*niramārē* (II, 3).

I regret that the scheme of transliteration into the Roman character is not that usually adopted in this *Journal*. For various reasons, which it is not necessary to give here, I have been compelled to adhere more closely to that used in the Bihārī Dictionary by Dr. Hoernle and myself.

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED IN THIS PAPER:—

अ *a*, आ *ā*, इ *i*, ई *ī*, उ *u*, ऊ *ū*, ए *e*, ऐ *ē*, ओ *o*, औ *ō*. ० -, thus औ *ā*, औ *ā*, ई *ī*, ई *ī*, and so on. — *ṃ*.

The following vowels occur only in a few Sanskrit words, ए *ri*, ऐ *ai*, औ *au*. In Tadbhava words ऐ and औ do not occur. अइ is transliterated *ai* and अउ *au*. In Nāgarī MSS. when ऐ and औ occur they are plainly stenographic signs for अइ and अउ. This is frequently shown by the metre. There is no danger of confusing अइ, अउ, and ऐ, औ, for they appear in distinct classes of words, अइ, अउ, are always in Tadbhava words, or in corrupted Tatsama words, ऐ and औ occur only in words lifted bodily from Sanskrit:—

क *k*, ख *kh*, ग *g*, घ *gh*, ङ *ṅ*.

च *c*, छ *ch*, ज *j*, झ *jh*, ञ *ṅ*.

ट *t*, ठ *th*, ड *d*, ढ *dh*, ण *ṇ*.

त *t*, थ *th*, द *d*, ध *dh*, न *n*.

प *p*, फ *ph*, ब *b*, भ *bh*, म *m*.

य *y*, र *r*, ल *l*, व *w*, (or in Sanskrit words *v*).

ष *ṣ*, स *s*, ह *h*.

श only occurs in Persian words, representing the Persian ش, or in pure Sanskrit words. In the former case it is transliterated *sh*, and in the latter by *ṣ*.

Arabic and Persian letters.

ث *ṯ*, ح *h*, خ *kh*, ذ *z*, ز *z*, ژ *zh*, ص *ṣ*, ض *ḍ*, ط *t*, ظ *ẓ*, ع *ʿ*, غ *gh*, ف *f*, ق *q*.

अथ असतुति खंड ॥ १ ॥

चौपाई ।

सर्वरुँ आदि एक करतारु । जेइ जिउ दीन्ह कीन्ह संसारु ॥
 कीन्हिसि प्रथम जोति परगारु । कीन्हिसि तेहि परवत कबिलारु ॥
 कीन्हिसि अग्नि पवन जल खेदा । कीन्हिसि वज्रतइ रंग उरेदा ॥
 कीन्हिसि धरती सरग पतारु । कीन्हिसि वरन वरन अउतारु ॥
 कीन्हिसि सपत दीप ब्रह्मंडा । कीन्हिसि भुवन चउदह उ खंडा ॥
 कीन्हिसि दिन दिनियर ससि राती । कीन्हिसि नखत तराप्रन पांती ॥
 कीन्हिसि सीउ धूप अउ बाचाँ । कीन्हिसि मेघ बीजु तेहि माचाँ ॥

दीहा

कीन्ह सवइ अस जा कर दीसर बाज न काहि ।

पहिलइ तेहि कर नाउँ लेइ कथा करउँ अउगाहि ॥ १ ॥

Critical notes.

1. 2. *Kīnhesi*, so apparently Ib, which seems to vocalize the final *س*. The word may, however, be also read *kīnhisa* for *kīnhesa*. The other copies in the Persian character simply have *کیلهس*, which may be read either *kīnhesi*, *kīnhasi*, or *kīnhasa*. Is and K have *kīnheṣi* for *kīnhesi*. U has *kīnhasa*. Throughout the poem a short *e* is inserted to form the past tense. Thus, *dēkhasi*, he sees, *dēkhesi*, he saw. Ia *tīnhahi prīti kabilāsū*, Ibo *parabata kabilāsū*, Id *parabata kailāsū*, Is *tēhi prīti ka bilāsū*, U *tīhi parabata ka bilāsū*. In the Persian character *پریت* and *پریت* and *کیلاسو* and *کبالسو* are easily confused. In each case it is a question of a dot. There can be no doubt about the form *kabilāsū* for *kailāsū* being right. The word is of frequent occurrence in the poem, and is invariably spelt thus in the best MSS. It is a curious corruption, and has puzzled all copyists with Sanskrit predilections. 3. Ib has *paucana agini*, K *agni pauna*, Is *bahutai*, UK *bahutē*, P give no clue. 4. Is *awatārū*.

5. Ia *kīnhesi sapata dīpa brahamaṇḍā*
 Ib " " *lōga* "
 Ic " *sāta saraga* "
 Id " (illegible) P *sēta pēta mahi bhayḍā*
 Is *kīnhesi sata sata brahamaṇḍā* (sic)
 U *kīnhasa sāta saraga* "
 K *kīnhesi* " *dīpa* "

Two printed editions follow Ia, except having *mahi* instead of *dīpa*. Ia is adopted as making the best sense. 6. Ib *duniara*, U *dinakara*, K *duniā*. Printed editions *dīnēsa*. 7. Is *kīnhesi sīta ghāma*. 8. Id *kīnhasi saba asa*. Ias *dusarahi*, U *dusarahu*. 9. Ia *tā kara nāu*, K *karatā kai nāu lei*, Ia *kathā kahaū*, Id *ارگه*, Is *arigāhu*, printed editions and K *uragāhu*.

Translation.

(1). I bear in mind that one and only primal Maker, who gave life and made the world. First made He manifest the Light, then

made He (for the Light) the mighty mountain Kailāsa.¹ He made the fire, the air, the water, and the dust. He made forms² of varied hue. He made the Earth, and Heaven, and Hell; and he made incarnations in many persons.³ He made the mundane egg⁴ with its seven⁵ regions. He made the universe with its fourteen⁶ worlds. He made the sun for the day, and the moon for the night; He made the asterisms and the systems of the stars. He made coolness, sunshine and shade; He made the clouds and lightning (that abideth) in them.

All things are so made by Him, that naught is worthy to be compared with Him. First take I His name, and then in deep thought do I begin⁷ my story.

चौ ॥ कौन्हेसि सात उ समुँद अपारा । कौन्हेसि मेरु खिचिंद पचारा ॥
 कौन्हेसि नदी नार अउ भरना । कौन्हेसि मगर मच्छ बड बरना ॥
 कौन्हेसि सीप भेँति तेहि भरे । कौन्हेसि बडतद नग निरमरे ॥
 कौन्हेसि बन-खँड अउ जरि मूरी । कौन्हेसि तरिवर तार खजूरी ॥
 कौन्हेसि साउज आरन रदहीँ । कौन्हेसि पंखि उदहिँ जचँ चदहीँ ॥
 कौन्हेसि बरन सेत अउ स्यामा । कौन्हेसि नौँद मूख विचरामा ॥
 कौन्हेसि पान फूल रस-भोगू । कौन्हेसि बड अउखद बड रोगू ॥

¹ By 'Light,' the poet refers to Mahādēva, who dwells in Kailāsa. Indian Muṣalmāns frequently consider Adam, the first man, as the same as Mahādēva. The fact that the poet expressly says that Kailāsa was made 'for' the Light, shows that he cannot be referring to light, the first of created things.

² An Urdū gloss. translates *ur̥ha* by نقش, design, stamp, drawing. I have noted it also in 48, 4; 506, 5, *asa mūrata kō dai ur̥hī*, and in 510, 3, *bhāi ur̥ha puhupa saba nāmā*. In the second the Urdū translation gives ظاهرکی and in the latter, the whole line is translated تو یہ معلوم ہوتا تھا کہ رنگ بزرگ پھول ہر قسم کے ہیں. The word is still used in Oudh and Bihār by women, in the sense of *racanā*. It is derived from the Skr. *ullēkha*.

³ Apparently, incarnations in many castes. Alluding to the doctrine that incarnations have occurred in all religions in many parts of the world. Or it may only refer to the various *avatārs* of Viṣṇu.

⁴ I. e., the universe, alluding to the well known tradition detailed in Manu.

⁵ Jambu, Plakṣa or Gōmēdaka, Çālmali, Kuça, Kranūca, Çāka, and Puṣkara.

⁶ There are seven worlds (*lōka*) above, viz., Bhūr-lōka, Bhuvār-l., Svar-l., Mahar-l., Janar-l., Tapar-l., and Satya-l. or Brahma-l., and seven below, viz., A-tala, Vi-tala, Su-tala, Rasā-tala, Talā-tala, Mahā-tala, and Pātāla. According to Musalmāns, there are seven regions (طبق) above (these are heavens), and seven below (earths).

⁷ Two Urdū glosses translate *augāhi* by شروع, a meaning for which I can find no other authority. It means literally to plunge into water, hence to be immersed in anything, to have the mind fully occupied.

दो ॥ निमिष न लाग करत बोधि सवदि कौन्ह पल एक ।

गगन अंतरिख राखा बाजु खंभ विनु टेक ॥ २ ॥

2. 1. *Sāta-u*, so Ib, Ia U K have *hēma* (U reverses the order of the two hemistichs), Is *hīca*, Ic *sātō* with *hēma* as a v. 1. on margin. Id *sāta* (also Rām Jasan), Ic? *bāwara*; *کھکھند* (Sanskrit किकिन्ध for कुखण्ड) evidently puzzled the Nāgarī transcribers. Is has *khaṇḍa khaṇḍa*, U *kinhasa parabata mēru opārā*. The P copies are undecided between *khikhinda* and *khikhiṇḍa*. The former is probably the correct reading. 2. K *mācha*. 3. U *wahu bhārō*, K *jehi bhālō*, *niramālō*. 5. U *rāhai*, *cāhai*, N *uḍai*. 7. U *phūla au*, Id K *aukhadha*. 8. Ia *gagana antarīcha*, Ic *gagana antarīkha*, Ib *khābhā*, U *lagai*, *rākhai*, K *nimikhi*, *karata tehi sabhai kinha chana ēka*. Ias have *ohi*, Ibcd U *wahi*.

2. He made the seven¹ shoreless oceans, &c., and He made the mountains of Mēru and Kukhaṇḍa.² Rivers made He and streams and waterfalls; crocodiles and fish made He of many kinds. He made the oyster shell, and the pearl which filleth it, He made many flawless gems. Forests made He and roots³; tall trees made He, palmyras and date palms. He made the wild animals⁴ which dwell in the forest; He made the fowl which fly where they will. He made colours, white and black; He made sleep, and hunger, and rest. He made the betel-leaf and flowers, and the pleasures of taste; many medicines made He and many sicknesses.

He made them in less than the twinkling of an eye; all made He in a single instant. He fixed the Heavens in space without a pillar and without a prop.

चौ ॥ कौन्हसि मानुस दीन्ह बडाई । कौन्हसि अन्न भुगति तेंहि पाई ॥
 कौन्हसि राजा भुंजइ राजू । कौन्हसि हसि घोर तेंहि साजू ॥
 कौन्हसि तेंहि कष्ट बडत विराख । कौन्हसि कोइ ठाकुर कोइ दाख ॥
 कौन्हसि दरब गरब जेंहि होई । कौन्हसि लोभ अघार न कोई ॥
 कौन्हसि जिअन सदा सव चहा । कौन्हसि मौचु न कोई रहा ॥
 कौन्हसि सुख अउ कोड अनंदू । कौन्हसि दुख चिंता अउ दंडू ॥
 कौन्हसि कोइ भिखारि कोइ धनौ । कौन्हसि संपति विपति बड घनौ ॥

¹ These encircle the seven regions (*dvīpas*) mentioned in I, 5. Their names, are Lavaṇa, Ikṣu, Surā, Ghṛita, Dadhi, Dugdha, Jala. The author, in stanza 141 gives a different enumeration, *vis.* Khāra, Khīra, Dadhi, Jala, Sura, Udadhi, Kilakīla.

² Mēru is the well-known mountain. It represents the northern hemisphere or pole, and is the abode of the Gods. Kukhaṇḍa is Kumēru, the southern hemisphere or pole, the region of the *dāityas* or demons. The poet has mixed this up with Kishkindha, also to the south of Oude, and has confounded the two names.

³ *Jari* is a root used for medicine, and *māri* is a root used for food.

⁴ *Sāuja* is any animal used for food.

दो ॥ कौन्हेसि कोइ निभरोसी कौन्हेसि कोइ बरिआर ।
बारहि तई सब कौन्हेसि पुनि कौन्हेसि सब बार ॥ ३ ॥

3. The order of these sets of *caupāis* is different in different copies. The above is the order of Iab U K, Ied begin 4, 3, and then go on as above. Is begins 15, 16, and then 3, 4, &c., like Ia. 1. Ied *dihesi baḍāi*; Iac *tehi pāi*, Id *tehi khāi*, Is *tinha jāi*. 2. Ib *bahu sājū*, Ic *tehi sājū*. 3. Iac U K *bilāsū*, U K 'kou for *koi*. 4. Iacs U *jehi hōi*. 5. Id transposes ll. 5 and 6. Is *jīu sadā sukha*, U *jīyana sadā tinha*, K *jīva sadā saba*, U *kōū*. 6. Id U *kōṭi*, Is *bahu dandū*; Id *dhandū*, U K *anandā, dandā*. 7. U *kou*, Ia *ati ghāni*, Id K *puni ghāni*, Is *sāga ghāni*, U *jū ghāni*. 8. U *kou* for *koi*. 9. Iacd *chārahi*, Is *tinha chāra*, K *bahuri kinha saba*.

3. He made man, and gave him dominion; He made grain for his food. He made the king who takeh pleasure in his kingdom, He made elephants and horses for his array. He made for him many delights. Some made He lords, and others slaves. Wealth made He from which cometh pride; He made longings which none can satisfy. He made life which all men ever desire; He made death, from which none can escape. Happiness made He and myriads of joys; sorrow made He, and care and doubt.¹ Some made He poor and others rich. He made frequent prosperity and adversity.

Some made He weak, and others strong. From ashes made He all, and again turned He all to ashes.

चौ ॥ कौन्हेसि अजर कसुरी बेना । कौन्हेसि भीमसेनि अउ चेना ॥
कौन्हेसि नाग मुखद विख वसा । कौन्हेसि मंत्र हरद जो उसा ॥
कौन्हेसि अमी जियद जेहि पाई । कौन्हेसि विख जो मौचु तैहि खाई ॥
कौन्हेसि अख मीठ रस भरौ । कौन्हेसि कसद बेलि बड फरौ ॥
कौन्हेसि मधु लावर लैर मांखी । कौन्हेसि भयँर पंखि अउ पांखी ॥
कौन्हेसि लोवा उंदुर चांठी । कौन्हेसि बडत रदहिं खनि मांठी ॥
कौन्हेसि राकस भूत परता । कौन्हेसि भोकस देव दयता ॥

दो ॥ कौन्हेसि सहस अठारह वरन वरन उपराजि ।

भगति दौन्ह पुनि सब कहँ सकल साजना साजि ॥ ४ ॥

4. 1. Ieds *bhīwasēni*, U *bhīmasainiyā*. 2. P *mukha*, which spoils the metre. 3. Id makes this line the sixth, Is *amiya*, Ibd *jīuna jehi*, Ic *jīana jehi*, Ibd *tehi*, Iads U K *pāe, khāe*. 4. K *karui nīmi jō phāri*. 5. K *lārcāi jō mākhī*, Ied K *bhavāra patāga*, Is *bhārcara nāga*. 6. Ia K *ināura*, Ied doubtful, Ibs U clearly *undura*, Iacd *rahaḥī*. 7. So Iacd K, Ibs *kinhasi rākasa dēva dāētā, kinhasi bhōkasa bhūta parētā*, U similar except . . . *dēva dayantā, . . . bhūta parantā*. 9. Ied K *dihisa*, Ib U *sabahī*.

1 Two Urdū glosses translate *danda* by *غم*, grief, but the dictionary meaning of the word is enmity (*dvandva*). Here it means opposition of ideas, doubt.

4. He made agallochum, musk, and the scented *khas* grass; He made the camphors,—*bhīmasēni*¹ and *cēna*.² He made the snake in whose mouth dwelleth poison; He made the snake-charm which carrieth off the bite. He made ambrosia, which giveth eternal life to him who getteth it; He made poiṣon, which is death to him who eateth it. He made the sugarcane filled with sweet juice; He made the acrid creeper with its manifold fruit. He made the honey which the bee stores in its home; He made the humble bee, the birds and winged creatures. He made the fox, the rat and the ant; He made many creatures which dig the earth and dwell therein. He made demons, goblins and ghosts; He made ghouls and *Dēvas* and *Daityas*.

He made eighteen thousand creations of varied kinds. To all he gave a means of existence, and with every decoration did he deck them.

चौ ॥ धनपति उदर जेहि क संसारु । सबहि देइ निति घट न भँडाह ॥
जावँत जगत हलि अउ चाँटा । सब कहँ भुगुति राति दिन वाँटा ॥
ता करि दिखि सबहि उपराहौ । मितर सतर कोर विसरइ नाहौ ॥
पंखी परँग न विसरइ कोइ । परशु गुपुत जहाँ लुगि चौई ॥
भोग भुगुति बड भाँति उपाई । सबहि खिआवइ आपु न खारै ॥
ता कर इहइ जो खाना पिअना । सब कहँ देइ भुगुति अउ जिअना ॥
सबहि आस ता करि हर खाँसा । ओहि न काऊ कर आस निरासा ॥

दो ॥ जग जग देतु घटा नहौ । उभइ दाय तस कौन्ह ।
अउर जो दौन्ह जगत महँ । सो सब ता कर दौन्ह ॥ ५ ॥

5. 1. Ias U ohi, K dhanaita hai jehi kē san°; Is U kā; P have ka; Iād sabai, J nahi ghaṭai. 3. K sabhanha, U kou. 4. Is puts verse 4 after verse 5, U paragaṭi gupati. 5. Ib khawāwai, U āpuni khāi, K āpuna khāi, P might also be read thus. 6. K uhai, Iads sō khā°, Ic sabahi bhuguti dēi au jianā; Is K sabahi dēi, U saba kahā dēhi. 7. Ia sabahi so tā kari hērai āsā | ohi na kāhu, &c. Is hari sāsā, ohi, U sabai, tā kara, sāsā, ohi na kāhu kī āsi, K sabhai āsa tā kari hari phēri | ohi nahi āsa ahai kehu kēri || 8. Iac ghaṭata, U K ghaṭai, U ubhai, tasi. 9. Id jo dēta, U K dēhi, K sabha tā kara.

5. He indeed is a master of wealth, to whom belongeth the universe; to all He giveth continually, yet his storehouse minisheth not. To every creature in the world, from the elephant even to the ant, doth He day and night give its share of nourishment. His eye is upon all: none is forgotten, whether foe or friend; nor bird nor grasshopper, nor aught whether manifest or hidden is forgotten. He deviseth food and

¹ The *Bhīmasēna-karpūra* of Sanskrit.

² The *Cīna-karpūra* of Sanskrit.

nourishment of many kinds. All doth He feed, yet eateth not himself. His meat and His drink is this—that to all He giveth nourishment and life. All have hope in him at every breath, nor hath He ever (turned) the hope of any to despair.

Æon after æon doth He give, yet never minisheth (his store). Yea, so doth He this with both hands, that whatever hath been given in this world, hath all been given by Him.

चौ ॥ आदि सोद वरनउं वड राजा । आदिउ चंत राज जेहि राजा ॥
 सदा सरवदा राज करई । अउ जेहि चहइ राज तेहि देई ॥
 इतर अइतरि निइतरहि जावा । दोसर नाहिं जो सरिवरि पावा ॥
 परवत टाहि देखु सब लोगू । चाँटहि करइ इति सरि जोगू ॥
 वजरहि तिन कइ मारि उडाई । तिनहि वजर कइ देइ वडाई ॥
 काइहि भोग भुगति सुख सारा । काइ भौख भवन दुख मारा ॥
 ता कर कौन्ह न जानइ कोई । करइ सोइ मन चित्त न सोई ॥

दो ॥ सबइ नासि वइ अखिर अइस साज जेहि केरि ।

एक साजइ अउ भाँजइ चहइ खँवारइ फेरि ॥ ६ ॥

6. 1. *Id ādi ēka baranañ sō rājā*; *K ādi anādi karata jehi chājā*. 2. *Ibcd karāi, dāi, Iacs K jehi, tehi. Ibcd achata, Is chatrahi achata nachatrahī, U nichatriya, K chatra nichatra nichatrahī*; *K dōsara kōi na sarabari*. 4. *Is dēkha, U K dēkhu, P give no clue, a third person singular seems required by the sense, Is lōgā, jōgā, Is cīhīhī, Ib karahi, U sājōgā*. 5. *Iac K trina, trinahi, U uḍhāi, tinhai bajara ki dēhi baḍhāi, K tōri u(?)dāi*. 6. *kāhā bhāikha bhāikha dukhā, Ia bhāikha (?) bahuta, U dukha bhārā, K bhāuna bhāikha dukha bhārā*. 7. *Ibs K karai so jō mana cinta na hōi, Ia karai so jō mana cintā hōi*; *K karai sōi jō chi mana hōi*. 8. *U asthirā* (which makes the metre right), *Ias U jehi, K tehi*. 9. *U aru bhājai, K tehi bhā²*.

6. Let me tell of Him as that great primal king, who from the beginning to the end of things is worthy of his rule. Ever and for ever doth He rule, and whom He willeth, rule to him He giveth. Making umbrellaless him who hath the umbrella of royalty, He giveth it unto him who is without it; no other is there who is equal unto Him. The people all look as He upturneth the mountains, and maketh the ant (that crawleth from beneath them) equal unto the elephant. Adamant He maketh like straw and scattereth it, and again He maketh straw like adamant, and giveth it honour. To one He giveth the food of enjoyment and all happiness, another striketh He with sorrow and a home (supported by) alms. No one understandeth what He hath done, for He doeth that which is beyond the power of mind and thought.

All else is non-existent¹. He alone is ever the same, whose wondrous

¹ Urdū gloss فانی, transient.

creations are such as these. He createth one and destroyeth him, and, if he will, he formeth him again.

चौ ॥ अलख अरूप अवरन सो करंता । वरु सब सउं सब ओहि सउं वरता ॥
 परगठ गुपुत सो सरव विद्यापो । धरमौ चौन्ह चौन्ह नहिं पापौ ॥
 ना ओहि पूत न पिता न माता । ना ओहि कुटुंब न कोइ संग-नाता ॥
 जना न काळ न कोइ ओहि जना । जहं लगि सब ता कर मिरजना ॥
 वेद सब कौन्ह जहाँ लगि कोरै । वरु न कौन्ह काळ कर सोरै ॥
 छत पहिलद अउ अब हद सोरै । पुनि सो रहर रहर नहिं कोरै ॥
 अउरु जो सोइ सो वाउर अंधा । दिन दुइ चारि मरद कइ अंधा ॥

दो ॥ जो वेद चहा सो कौन्हसि करइ जो चाहइ कौन्ह ।
 वरजनहार न कोरै सबहि चाहि जिउ दौन्ह ॥ ७ ॥

7. 1. Id reverses the order of ll. 1 and 2. U *baranañ sō*, Ib *saba ohi sañ waha saba mahā baratā*, K *oha saba sō saba mō waha baratā*, Is *has sañ*. 2. Is K *jo saraba U paragañi guputi*, Ia *cinha na cinhata*, Id *cinha na cinhē*. 3. Ia *na ohi sāga*, Id *na koi sāghatā*, U *na kou sāghatā*. 4. Ic *na koi wahi jānā*, Is *na waha koi jānā U na kou wē jānā*, K *ō ki sirajānā*. 5. Ias reverse-order of ll. 5 and 6, K *waha saba*, Ib *wahu na kīnha*, Is *oha kīnha*, K *unha na kīnha*. 6. Ia *hutā so pahilahi sō hai sōi*, Is *au hai aba sōi*, K *hutā pahilahi aba hai sōi*, Ic *sō puni rahai rahai na na kōi*, U *sō puni*, K *rahai rahihī nahi kōi*. 7. Ia *auru jo hōhī*, U *aura kahai sō*, K *aurā je rahai se bā*, Ia *marahī kai*, K *marai kari*. 8. U *jō wai cāhasi kīnhasi*, K *jō oha cāha so kīnhasi*, Iak *karahī*, U *karahī ju cāhahi kīnha*. 9. U *na kāñ*, Ic U *sabai cāhi*, K *sabhāi*, *cāhahi*, U *jiya*.

7. Invisible, formless and untellable is that Creator; He is one with¹ all, and all are one in Him. Whether manifest or hidden, He is all pervading. The righteous recognize Him, but not the sinful. He hath no son nor father nor mother, no family hath He, and no relations. He hath begotten none, nor is He begotten of any, but all created beings proceed from Him. All things, as many as exist, He made; nor was He made by any one. He was at the beginning, and He is now; He alone remaineth existent and no one else. All else that are, are mad and Blind, for after but two or four days they do their work and die.

Whate'er He willed that He did, He doeth that He willeth to do. No one is there to prevent Him, and, by his mere will, He gave life to all.

¹ The Urdū gloss translates *baratā* by نزدیک "near," but I know of no authority for this meaning. *Baratā* means *baṭā huā*, twisted as a rope is twisted, hence involved in, closely connected with. Compare *Bihāri Saṭ'sai*, 59, *dīḥha barata bādḥā aṭani*, twisting their (mutual) glances into a rope, they bind it from balcony to balcony.

चौ ॥ ऋदि विधि चीन्हड करड गिखानू । जस पुरान मरुँ लिखा वखानू ॥
 जीउ नाहिँ पद जिचद गोसाईं । कर नाहीं पद करद सवाईं ॥
 जीभ नाहिँ पद सब किहु बोला । तन नाहीं जो डोलाथो सो डोला ॥
 खन नाहिँ पद सब कहु सुना । दिख नाहीं गुननां सब गुना ॥
 नयन नाहिँ पद सब कहु देखा । कवन भाँति अस जाद विसेखा ॥
 ना कोद होद हद थोहि के रूपा । ना थोहि अस कोद अदस अनूपा ॥
 ना थोहि ठाउँ न थोहि विनु ठाँऊं । रूप रेख विनु निरमल नाऊं ॥

दो ॥ ना वच भिला न वेचरा अदस रहा भरि पूरि ।

दिखिं वत कहुँ नीखर अंध सुख कहुँ दूरि ॥ ८ ॥

8. 1. *Id cīnha jo, K cētahu, Ib purāna mē, Is giānā, bakhānā.* 2. *Ieds jiu nāhī, K jia nāhī or jia nāhī, Ia kara nāhī pai sabahī karāhī, Is karai sawāī, U karahi samāī, K karai saharāī (?)* 3. *Ia reverses the order of ll. 3 and 4, Ib jo ḍolāwe so ḍolā, Id jo ḍolāwahi ḍolā.* 4. *Ic reverses the order of ll. 4 and 5, Is has sūnā, gūnā, Ia U hiyā nāhī, Id hiyā nāhī pai guna saba gūnā, U gūnā.* 5. *Ic U K bhāti so jāi.* 6. *Ib nā koi āhī na ohi kē rūpā, Ic om. this line. Ias om. hoi, U nā kou hai ohi, K na kōi hoi hai ohi, Ia nā kāhū asa rūpa anūpa, Id nā ohi kē asa taisa anūpā, Is na oha kāhu asa taisa sarūpā, U nā kō. asa taisa anūpā, K na oha kāhu asa rūpa anūpā :* possibly *Ia* fits in best with the rest of the passage. 7. *K na binu ohi ḥdā, Ic rūpa rēkha nahī, K niraguna nāhī.* 8. *Ic K nā hai milā na bichurā, U nā hai milā na waiharā.* 9. *U andhi murakhi kahā dāri, Ibd mārakhahī.*

8. In this manner know ye Him, and meditate upon Him, for so is the tale written in the holy book.¹ The Lord hath no life, and yet He liveth, He hath no hands, and yet He maketh all things. He hath no tongue, yet He telleth everything. He hath no bodily form, yet that which He shaketh, is shaken. Ears hath He not, yet heareth He all things; Heart hath He not, yet The Wise One discriminateth all things. He hath no eyes, yet all things doth He see; How can anyone discern as He doth? No one hath a form like unto His; nor, like Him, is any one so incomparable. He hath no abiding place, yet He is not without an abiding place. His form is without flaw, and His name is spotless.

He is not indiscrete, nor is He discrete, yet so doth He dwell (within us), and fill us (with himself). To those who can see, He is near, but is far from the foolish blind.

चौ ॥ अउर जो दीन्हंसि रतन अमोला । ता कर मरम न जानइ भोला ॥
 दीन्हंसि रसना अउ रस-भोगू । दीन्हंसि दसन जो विहंसद जोगू ॥

¹ *Urdū gloss for purāna, قرآن, the Qurān.* This is quite possible. It will be seen that Mallik Muḥammad frequently uses Hindū words as Musalmān technical terms. *E. G. cōlā, 20, 4.*

दौन्हिसि जग देखइ कहँ नयना । दौन्हिसि खवन चुनइ कहँ वयना ॥
 दौन्हिसि कंठ बोलि जेहि मार्याँ । दौन्हिसि कर-पञ्ज वर वार्याँ ॥
 दौन्हिसि चरन अनूप चलाह्यौँ । सी पद मरम जानु जेहि नार्यौँ ॥
 जीवन मरम जानु पद बूढा । मिला न तखनापा जब हूँडा ॥
 दुख कर मरम न जानइ राजा । दुखी जानु जा कहँ दुख बाजा ॥

दो ॥ कथा क मरम जानु पद रोगी भोगी रहइ निचिंत ।
 सब कर मरम गोसाईँ जानइ जो घट घट मरुँ मित ॥ ९ ॥

9. 1. *Io puni jō dīnhesi ratana amūlā, Is sabahi jō dīnhesi, U dīnhasi, K jānahi.* Throughout, Is K have *dīnhesi* and U *dīnhasa*, cf. I. 2, n 2. Is *bihūsi, U bihasē, K dasana bihasi mukha jōgū, lab lōgū for jōgū.* 4. *Iac U jehi mēhā, U tihī mēhā* *Io* reverses the order of ll. 4 and 5. 5. *Iads-sōi jāna jehi dīnhesi nāhī, K sō pai marama janai jehi nāhī.* 6. *Id jāna hō, Is jāna hoi, K jōbana marama na jānai mādha, Ia milā nāhi tarunāpā dhādha, Io saba dhādha, K cahai na tarunāpā cahai dhādha* (sic), Is has *mādhe* and *dhādhe*. 7. *Id sukha kara marama, this makes better sense, and is also the reading of Rām Jasan, K jehi kē dukha bā°.* 8. *K bhōgi rahai anacinta.* 9. *Ib saba kara marama jānu karatā, K ghaṭa raha mīta.*

9. And the simple-minded knoweth not the secret of the priceless jewels which He hath given. He hath given us a tongue, and the pleasure of taste; He hath given us teeth, which brighten¹ a smile. Eyes hath He given us to see the world; ears hath He given us with which to hear language. He hath given the throat in which dwelleth our speech. He hath given us fingers and noble arms. Feet hath He given us with which we gracefully walk. That man knoweth their secret who hath none. Yea, it is the old who know the secret of youth, when they find not their young days though they seek for them. The great man knoweth not the secret of poverty, but the poor man knoweth it, to whom poverty is come.

It is the sick man who knoweth the secret of the body, while the healthy man liveth careless; but the secrets of all are known to the Lord, who abideth ever in everybody.

चौ ॥ अति अपार करता कर करना । वरनि न पारइ काह वरना ॥
 सात सरग जउं कागद करइ । धरती सात समुंद मसि भरइ ॥
 जावँत जगत साख वन-दाँखा । जावँत केस रोवँ पंखि पंखा ॥
 जावँत खेह रेह जहँ तारै । मेघ बूद अउ गगन तरारै ॥
 सब लिखनी कइ लिखु संसार । लिखि न जाइ गति समुंद अपार ॥
 अरस कौन्ह सब गुन परगटा । अबहँ समुंद बूद नहिँ घटा ॥
 अरस जानि मन गरव न होइ । गरव करइ मन वाजर सीइ ॥

¹ Lit., are fit for.

दी ॥ बह गुनवन्त गोसाईं चरु सो होइ नहि बेग ।
अउ अस गनी सँवारइ जो गुन करइ अनेग ॥ १० ॥

10. 1. Ib karatā kē karanā, K karatā kai karanī, Iad barani na kōi pāvai baranā
Ic barani na pāru kāhu kai baranā, Is barani na koi jō pārai karanā, U barani na jāē
āhī bahu baranā, K barani na kāhu pārai jō baranī. 2. Ib saraga sāta, Ia sāta saraga
kānda jāē ka°, Ic kāgada hūi, Is K jāē kāgada, Ic hūi for bharai, K dharati sāta
saraga ma°, U has karahi, bharahi. 3. Ic makes this line the sixth, Ib transposes ll.
3 and 4, Ib rōma, U jāvāta kēsa rōma au pākhā. 4. Ia rēha khēha, Ied U khēha
rēha duniyā, Ib bēna, K nakhata tarāī. 5. U likhai sansārā, Ic ati samā°, Is kabī
amū°, U bidhi carita apārā, K kabi carita apārā कबि is evidently a misreading of क.
6. Iacds ēta guninaha saba guna, U au saba guniyana guna parogātā, K aba guna parā°,
Ic tēhi samūda bēdahi nahī ghātā, Ia bunda, Id aba-hu samūda mahā bunda na ghātā
Is aba-hu samūda tehi bunda na ghātā, U aba-hī bāda samūda nahī ghātā, K as in text,
except nira for bāda. 7. K garaba nē ūthā, K garaba karai sō bāu } jhūthā. 8. Ib
bahu gunā°, U asa gunā°, Iac sō hoi tehi, Ib cahai sō tinha hō bēga, U sō hō tehi, K karai
sō caha tehi bēga, Rām Jasan cahai sāwārai bēga. 9. Id jō guna karahi anēga, Is jō
guna cahai, U karai na nēga.

10. Very immeasurable are the makings of the Maker; no teller can tell them. If the whole universe took the seven heavens¹ for paper, and filled the seas² of the earth with ink. If it took as many branches as cover³ all the forests in the world, and all the hairs and down (of animals), and all the feathers of birds. If it took the motes of dust and the like where'er it found them, and all the drops in the clouds and all the stars of heaven; and turned them all to pens and wrote, still then it could not write the shoreless ocean of his word-drops works. So hath He manifested all His skill, that even now not one drop of that ocean hath decreased. Think thou of this and let not pride be in thy heart. For mad is he, who, in his heart, nourisheth pride.

Very skilled is the Lord. What He willeth, for him that quickly is. And so skilfully doth He arrange (creation), that He displayeth countless kinds of skill.

चौ ॥ कौन्हेसि पुख एक निरमरा । नाउँ सुदमद पूनिउँ करा ॥
प्रथम जोति विधि नहि कर साजी । अउ नहि प्रीति सिद्धि उपराजी ॥
दीपक लेसि जगत कहँ दीन्हा । भा निरमर जग मारग चौन्हा ॥
जउँ नहिँ होत पुख उँजिआरा । सुभि न परत पंथ अँधिआरा ॥
दोसरे ठाउँ दरँ बंद लिखे । भए धरमी जेइ पावत सिखे ॥

¹ The seven Heavens, see note to I, 5.

² The seven seas of Hindu tradition, see II, 1.

³ Bana-dhākhā, is equivalent to bana kē dhākhānē-wālē, (branches) which cover the forest. The subject of all these verbs is sansārā in the fifth line.

जैद नहिं लीन्ह जनम भरि नाऊं । ता करुं कौन्ह नरक मरुं ठाऊं ॥
जगत वसीठ दई थोदि कौन्हा । दुऊं जग तरा नाऊं जैद लीन्हा ॥

दो ॥ गुन अउगुन विधि पूरव होदहि लेख अउ जोख ।
वह विरउव आगद होद करव जगत कर मोख ॥११॥

11. Ch. 1. Ia nāu, U K nāma; U K nīramālā, kālā; Id pūnō U pūnou, K punū
2. Ia unha kai, Is tinha kahā, U jōti tinha kī bidhi, K tā kara, Is tinha priti. 3. Iab U dipaka aisa, U bhā a(ā)jōra. 4. Ibed jāū na hōta asa purukha ujjārā. 5. Id nāū, U thāu dāi K thāwa dāā, Is līkhē sīkhē, K līkhā ... sīkhā. Ia parhatā, K bhau dharamī bhau paṇḍita sīkhē. 6. Is jēi nahī, Ia ohī nāū, K janama bhara. K dīnha naraka mahā. Icd transpose ll. 6 and 7. 7. Ia ohī kīnhā. Ibds U kīnhē ... līnhē. K utima basītha dīnha oi kīnhā, Ibs U K dui, Icd dō. Is U K juga; Id U K tarai nāma. Icd ohī instead of jāi, Is U K unha. 8. K aiguna, Ia pūchihi, U hō kai. 9. Iac ohī, Is U unha, Id binawata, K unha āgē hama bināiba; Id karata.

11. He made one man without a blemish, named Muḥammad glorious as the full moon. It was his radiancy that God first produced, and then for love of him He created the universe. He kindled that light and gave it to the world. The world became clear, and recognized its (true) way. If that bright man had not been, the dark path would not have been visible. The deity wrote the second place for him,¹ and that man became just who learned his creed.² For him, who hath not taken (refuge in) his name throughout his life, God hath prepared a place in hell. The deity made him His messenger to the world, and whoever hath taken his name passes safely across both worlds.³

God will ask of each his virtues and his vices, (when) there will be the (great) casting up of accounts. But he (Muḥammad) will humbly bend before him, and will effect the salvation of the world.

चौ ॥ चारि मौन जो मुहमद ठाऊं । चहूँ क दुऊं जग निरमर नाऊं ॥
अवा बकर सिद्दीक सयाने । पहिलद सिदिद दीन वेद आने ॥
पुनि सी उमर खिताब सोहार । भा जग अदल दीन जो आर ॥
पुनि उसमान पंडित बड गुनौ । लिखा पुरान जो आघत सुनौ ॥
चउथद अली सिंघ बरिआरु । चउद नो काँपद सरग पतरु ॥

¹ That is to say, he was second of all things, God being the first; other created beings followed. Paṇḍit Sudhākara Dvīdī translates this verse, 'Those men became just who learned his teaching, and that God, (*i. e.*, Muḥammad) wrote his name in the second place, (*i. e.*, heaven); but for them, who throughout their lives did not take his name, (*i. e.*, adopt his teaching), he fixed a place in hell,

² *Lit.*, teaching. The Urdu gloss gives *کلمہ*, the Musalmān creed.

³ The *īhatōka* and *paratōka* of the Hindus. This world and the world to come.

चारि-उ एक मतइ एक वार्ता । एक पंथ अउ एक संघाता ॥

वरन एक जो सुनावहिं साँचा । भा परवाँन दुहँ जग वाँचा ॥

दो ॥ जो पुरान विधि पठवा सीई पढत गरंथ ।

अउर जो भूखे आवतहि तेंहि सुनि सागहिं पंथ ॥ १२ ॥

12. 1. Ia *cahū dīnha*, Ied *cahū kā duhū*. 2. Ia *taba ānē*, Ic *wei ānē*, Is *sidika daiya unha mānē*, K *uni ānē*, U *dīna oi jānē*. 3. Ibc U *puni jō*, Id *puni tehi*, Ia *jaba āē*, Ib *ohi āē*, Is *jāū āē*, F *jīnha joga adala dīna kahā lāē*. 4. Ib *bahu gūni*, Id *baḍa paṇḍita gūni*, U *puni usi mahā baḍa paṇḍita*. Ia U K *likhā kurāna*. The correction is evidently a scribe's improvement. 5. Ia *bariārā*, K *bala tē kīpai*. Ias *saūhi na kōū rahā jujhārā* (Is^o *rū*). 7. K *paramāna*. 8. K. *Kurāna* for *purāna*, *sōi likhā karī grantha*. 9. Is *tē saha*, K *tē suḥi*.

12. Muḥammad had four friends, who (followed him) in his place, and the four had spotless names in both worlds. ABŪ BAKR ḤIDDĪQ, the wise, who first truthfully (*ḥidq*) brought the faith (into the world).¹ Then 'UMAR, who adorned the title (of Caliph). Justice came to the world when he adopted the faith. Then 'UṢMĀN, the learned and wise one, who wrote the *Qurān*, as he heard its verses. Fourth came 'ALĪ, the mighty non. When he attacked, both heaven and hell quaked. All four had one mind, and one word, one path and one fellowship. Each preached the same true word, which became authoritative, and read in both worlds.

The very *Qurān*² which God³ sent down (to this world), that holy book they read, and they who (have lost their way) in coming (into the world), when they hear it, find the path.⁴

¹ Lit., brought.

² Here again we have *purāna* used for the Musalmān sacred book.

³ Here *vidhi*, a Hindu technical term.

⁴ Abū Bakr ibn Abī Quhāfa was Muḥammad's dearest friend and father-in-law, and one of his first converts. He enjoyed immense influence with his fellow citizens of Mecca, and earned by his probity the appellation of 'al Ḥiddīq, 'The True.' He accompanied Muḥammad in the Flight, and on his death (632 A. D.) he became the first Caliph. He died 634 A. D.

'Umar ibn Al Khaṭṭab was converted in the 6th year of the call (615 A. D.). His conversion carried with it so much weight that the Musalmān traditions relate it with miraculous attendant details. Abū Bakr by his eloquence and address, and 'Umar by his vigour and promptitude, supplied the want of the practical element in Muḥammad's character. 'Umar set the example of public (instead of private) prayer, which was followed by other Muslims. He was the leading spirit of the Emigrants (*muhājira*) who had left Mecca at the time of the Flight, and settled in Medina. He procured the nomination of Abū Bakr to be first Caliph, and, as a matter of course, succeeded him as second Caliph in 634. He was murdered at Medina in 644.

चौ ॥ वीर साहि देहिली सुलतानू । चारि-उ खंड तपद् जस भानू ॥
 ओही शाज राज अउ पाटू । सब राजद भुईधरा लिलाटू ॥
 जाति खर अउ खंडि खर । अउ बुधिवंत सबद गन पूरा ॥
 खर-नवाई नवो खंड भई । सात-उ दीप दुनो सब नई ॥
 जहँ लगि राज खरग वर लीन्हा । रसकंदर जुलकरन जो कीन्हा ॥
 चाय सुलेमाँ केरि अंगठौ । जग कहँ जिअन दीन्ह तेंचि सूठौ ॥
 अउ अति गरु पुडमि-पति भारौ । टेकि पुडमि सब सिद्धि सँभारौ ॥

दो ॥ दीन्ह अभीस मुसमद करउ जगदि जुग राज ।

पातिसाहि तुन्ह जगल के जग तुम्हार मुसताज ॥ १३ ॥

13. 1. U sēra sāha, K sēra sāha, U sulatānā bhānā. Ia cārihi, Ic cāri-u, Is K jaça. 2. Ib transposes ll. 1 and 2. Ib ohi kahā chāja chatara au pātā, Is chāja chātā au, U ohi chātra sāju au, K ohi pai chāja chatra au, Ia J K pātā.....lilātā. Ib rajai, Ic sabha rājā, Id sabha (or sabahi) rājanha (or rājahi). Is K saba rājanha, U saba rājānu (?); 3. Ia K gunavanta, Ic sabahi, Ib bidhi pārā, Is nidhi pārā. 4. Is nāvāi nāva khāḍahu, K nāva nāva khāḍahi. The final word of the half line بہی, may be transcribed either *bhai* or *bhaē*. All N give the former, but printed editions give the latter. So also نی may be either *naī* or *naē*. I prefer *bhai* and *naī* as giving the best sense. Iad sātahi. U dīpa duniā, Is dīpa duniā sira. 6. Ibds tahā logi. Ia kharaga bala, Icds kh' para; Ia jaia karana na kinhā (چل کرن کینہان), Ib چل کرن. Ic ذوالقران Id ذوالقران U julikandhara kinhā. 6. Ib dēva jabahi bhara māḥi U juga kahā jīva dinha, K jaga kahā jīti linha gahi māḥi. Ia puhumi bhāra saba linha samhāri | ohi sakai puhumipati bhāri || K puhumi bhāra ohi ēka sābhārā | tau thira rahai sakala sansārā || 9. Ia pēdashāha, Ic bādashāha, K tuha jaga para jaga tohāra.

13. Shēr Shāh is Sultan of Delhi, who warmeth the whole world¹

'Uṣmān ibn Affān was one of Muḥammad's first converts, and married his daughter. He was elected third Caliph on the death of 'Umar. The Qurān was compiled in its present form in his reign. He was killed at the age of eighty in 656, in the rebellion which arose in consequence of the movement, the ultimate aim of which was the deposition of 'Uṣmān in favour of 'Alī.

'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib was Muḥammad's cousin, and one of his first converts. He followed him to Medīna three days after the Flight. He succeeded 'Uṣmān as fourth Caliph in 656, and was murdered in 661 A. D.

The first compilation of the Qurān was undertaken by Zāid ibn Sābit, who was appointed to the work by the Caliph Abū Bakr at the instigation of 'Umar. Zāid had been an amanuensis of Muḥammad. This redaction had no canonical authority, and discrepancies in the text soon appeared. Accordingly, about 659 'Uṣmān confided to Zāid and three other Qurānshites the preparation of an edition which was to be canonical for all Muslims. This text was completed in 660, and is the one which is now extant.

¹ Lit., the four quarters. The use of *khaṇḍa* is uncommon, but it is the only meaning which I can suggest here. An Urdū gloss gives چاروں طرف.

like the sun. His kingdom and throne beseem him well; low on the earth have all kings laid their brows before him. By caste a Sūr¹ and with his sword a hero; wise is he and full of all skilfulness. In the nine regions the sun (or all heroes) hath set (or bent low) before him,² and the seven continents³ of the world all bowed before him. All his kingdom he won with the might of his sword, as did Alexander, the Zū'l Qarnain.⁴ On his hand is Solomon's ring, and, with it, he gave gifts to the world with full hand. Majestic is he, and a mighty lord of the earth; like a pillar he supporteth the earth and maintaineth the whole universe.

Muḥammad blessed him and said, reign thou from age to age. Thou art the Emperor of the World. The world is a beggar at thy door.

चौ ॥ वरनउँ सूर पुडमि-पति राजा । पुडमि न भार सद्द जँहि साजा ॥
 द्य-मय सेन चलद जग पूरौ । परवत टूटि उडहिँ होइ धूरौ ॥
 रदनि रेनु होइ रबिहिँ गरासा । मानस पंखि लेहिँ फिरि वासा ॥
 मुदँ उडिँ अंतरिख गर चित मंडा । खँड खँड धरति सिद्धि ब्रह्मंडा ॥

¹ Here, and in the following stanzas there is a series of puns on the word *sūra*, which is not only the name of the Afghān tribe to which Shēr Shāh belonged, but also means a hero, and the sun.

² *Lit.* 'In the nine regions there was a bending of *sūra*,' where, again, there is a pun on the word *sūra*, 'hero' or 'sun.' According to the most ancient Hindū Geographers, India was shaped like an eight-petalled lotus. These eight petals, together with the central division, formed the nine *khaṇḍ*s or regions, *viz.*, Pañcāla (central), Kalinga (S. E.), Avanti (S.), Ānarta (S. W.), Sindhu-Sauvira (W.), Hāra-haura (N. W.), Madra (N.), Kāmpinda (N. E.). The Purāṇas give a different list of names, *viz.*, Indra (E.), Kasērumat (N.), Tāmraparṇa, (? S.), Gabhastimat, Kumārikā (Central), Nāga, Saumya, Vāraṇa (W.), Gāndharva. See Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 5 and 66.

³ See I, 5.

⁴ Zū'l Qarnain, means 'The Master of Two Horns.' Muḥalmān tradition varies about this name. According to some, the Zū'l Qarnain was not Alexander the Great, but another saint, who lived at the time of Khāja Khiṣr, and who was so called from his having two curls hanging, one from each side of his forehead, or because he reached both sides of the world, or because he was noble by descent from both his parents, or because he went through both the light and dark parts of the world, or because he died when struck on one side of the forehead, and then was restored to life, and again died on being struck on the other side of the forehead, and again came to life.

Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, (Ed Keene), says 'Master of Two Horns, a title of Alexander the Great, probably based on coins representing him in the character of Ammon.' Dr. Hoernle informs me that Alexander's coins show his head adorned with two ram's horns. They were widely current in the East, and the Muḥammadans probably gave him that name after his coins.

डोखइ गगन ईंदर डरि कांपा । वासुकि जाइ पतारहि चांपा ॥
 मेर धसमसर ससुंद सुखार्हो । वनखंड टुटि खेच मिलि जाह्यो ॥
 अगिलहि काऊ पानि खर वांटा । पखिलहि काऊ न कांदउं खांटा ॥
 दो ॥ जो गद नपुउ नहि काऊही चलत हीहिं सव चूर ।
 जन-हि चदइ पुडमी-पति सेर साहि जग-खूर ॥ १४ ॥

14. 1. Id *sō sājā*. 2. Ia *hai kī rēnu*, Is *hai gai saina*. U *hai maimanti calai*. Ia *parabata phūfi hōi sama dhūri*. Ib *uḥhahī hoi*, Is *parabata phūfi*, K *ḥīfi jhikaḥi*. 3. Ia *sūca rainu hōi dinahi garāsā*. Ib *parahi rainu*, Is K *raini rēnu*, Id omits this line. 3. K *paūchhi*. 4. Iac U K *ūpara hoi chāwai brahamanḍā*. Ia *ḍolai dharatī au brahamanḍā*, U *nauca khāḍi dharatī sakala brahamanḍā*, K *khaṇḍai dharatī bhau sata khaṇḍā*. 5. Ia transposes this and the next line. U *patālahi jhāpā*, Iac K *patārahi jhāpa*. 6. Is *bhai jāhī*. 7. U *ghara bāḥā*. K *kharha kāḥā*. Ia *pāchai parē sō kādaū*, Id *kahā nahī*, K *kahā kādaū nahī āḥā*. 8. Ia *giri tarivara kahē na rahā calata hōta saba cūra*. Id *hōhi sō cūra*. Is *saina calata giri tarivara hōhī sabai sata cūra*. U *jo gaḥha naai na nōai calata hōhi tē cūra*. K *jo giri tarai na kāhu tē calata hōi sabha cūra*. 9. Ias U K *jaba-hī*. Ia *calai*.

14. I tell of the heroism of this king, Lord of the world, the weight of whose array is greater than the world can bear. When his army full of horsemen advanceth, covering the earth, mountains crash and fly away in powder, night cometh from the clouds of dust which eclipse the sun, so that man and bird alike goeth home to bed. The land taketh flight, and goeth up into the firmament; earth-dust adorneth each continent,—yea the world, the whole creation and the universe.¹ The Heavens tremble, and Indra quaketh in fear; the snake-god Vāsuki fleeth and hideth himself in the lowest Hell.² Meru becometh a quagmire, the oceans dry up, and the forests break and are mingled with the dust. (When his army marcheth to a halting place) some of his advance guard may receive a share of water and of grass, but for none of his rear guard is there even sufficient mud.

Citadels which have never bowed to anyone, when he advanceth all become dust,—when the Lord of the World, Shēr Shāh, the Sun of the Universe attacketh them.

चौ ॥ अदल करउं पुडमी जस हीई । चांठहि चलत न दुखवद कोई ॥
 नउसेरवां जो आदिल कहा । साहि अदल सरि सोउ न अहा ॥
 अदल कीन्ह उमर कइ नाई । भइ अहा सगरी दुनिआई ॥

¹ The \checkmark *manḍ* has two meanings, either 'to adorn' (*manḍana*) or 'to crush,' (*mardana*). The passage here is corrupt in all MSS., and the reading is very doubtful.

² See note to line 5 of the first stanza.

परी नाथ कोइ कुचद न पारा । मारग मानुष सोन उवारा ॥
 गोरु सिंध रँगहिं एक वाटा । दून-उ पानि पिचहिं एक घाटा ॥
 नीर खीर खानइ दरबारा । दूध पानि सब करइ निनारा ॥
 धरम निखाउ चलइ सत भाखा । दूबर बरी एक सम राखा ॥
 दो ॥ पुज्जमौ सबद असीसई जोरि जोरि कर र्हाथ ।
 गांग जउँन जल जव लगौ तव लगि अमर सो माँथ ॥ १५ ॥

15. In Is this is No. 3. Ch. 1. Iabs jasa prithimī hōi. J jasu. K kasa hōi. Ied cāḍā. Is cīḍā, K bāḍa calata dukhawai nahī kōi. 2. U āḍila āhā, K āḍila kāhā. Ib sama sōu. U sō uni rāhā. K sari jōja na tāhā. 3. Iab adala jo kinha umara. Iab bhāi āni, U sigarī, K kirīānā puhumī jahā tāi., 4. U kou. Ib sēna. Ied mānusa saḍ ujiārā. 5. Is U gāi siggha K gāe sēra. Is dua-u (? dāa-u) pāni, U dōnō. K dunau pāni pī. Ia chīra, Ib K chānahī, Is chēni. Ia hōi ninārā, Ibed karai nīrārā. K pāni sō karahi ninārā. 7. Ib barihi, Ic vachā sama, Id balī dā-hī sama. Is dūbars baria dua-u, U baria ēka, K dūbara balī ēka. 8. Ied saba prithimī āsisāi, Is sabai prithimī asisai, U saba prathimī milī asisai, K sabhai prathimī āsisā dēi. Ia lāi lāi bhāi mātha, Ic dūi hātha Id kara hātha U jōra jōra dou hātha. 9. Ia gāga jamuna, Ibd gāggana jamuna, Ies gāga jauna jau lahi jala. U gāgga jamuni jala jau lahi, K gāggā jauna jau lagi jala. Ib ammara nātha, Is J ammara mātha. U tau lagi, Id amara to mātha.

15. I tell of his justice,¹ how it is upon the earth. Not even to a crawling ant doth anyone (dare to) give pain. Naushēr-wān² was called 'The Just,' but even he was not equal to the justice of Shēr Shāh. He did justice like unto 'Umar,³ for the cry for justice to him was (spread over) the whole world. No one dareth even to touch a nose-ring lying fallen on the ground, (much less to pick it up and appropriate it). On the very highways do men sweep up gold. The cow⁴ and the tiger walk together on the same road, and both drink water together at the same landing-ford. He straineth milk and water (mixed together) in his court, and separateth the one from the other. Sincerity marcheth with piety and justice, and the weak and the mighty he keepeth on even terms.

The whole earth blesseth him, folding its hands continually, and crying, may that head endure immortal as long as there is water in the Ganges and the Jamunā.

1 This reference to Shēr Shāh's justice (*adal*) may have a complimentary reference to his son 'Adal. See *J. A. S. B.*, Pt. I, 1890, p. 167.

2 The celebrated king of Persia, surnamed 'Ādil, or the Just. He ascended the throne 531 A. D. He was the Chosroes of the Greeks. Muḥammad (B. 571) used to boast of his good fortune in being born when so just a king reigned. He died 579 A. D.

3 The second Caliph in succession to Muḥammad. See note to 12, 9.

4 *Gōru* is properly any domesticated herbivorous animal.

चौ ॥ पुनि रूपवंत वखानउं काहा । जावंत जगत सबद् सुख चाहा ॥
 ससि चउदसि ओ दई सुंवार । ते-ङ्ग चाहि रूप उंजिचारा ॥
 पाप जाद जउं दरसन दीसा । जग जुहारि कद् देद असीसा ॥
 जदस भानु जग ऊपर तपा । सबद् रूप ओहि आगइ थपा ॥
 अस भा खर पुरुख निरमरा । खर चाहि दस आगि करा ॥
 सउंछ दिखि कद् हेरि न जाई । जेद देखा सो रहा सिर नाई ॥
 रूप सवाई दिन दिन चढा । विधि सुरूप जग ऊपर गढा ॥

दो ॥ रूपवंत मनि माँथद चाँद घाट ओहि बाढि ।

मेदिनि दरस लोभानी असतुति विनवद ठाढि ॥ १६ ॥

16. In Is this is No. 4. 1. *Ib kāhā, cāhā. Id sabahī, K muha.* 2. *U caudasi cāda dai sūcārā. Iabe U dāi, Is daiya. U K tā hā. Ic cāhi adhika ūjī.* 3. *K jāi pāpa. Ia pāpa ghaṭai jāi, U K jō, P jō or jau. U jāgata juhārai dēi.* 4. *Ic K sabhai.* 5. *Icd purukha sīra niramārā. Is bhā asa sūra pu.* 6. *U asi bhaye sīra purakhi naramālā (sic). K asa ohi sūra nāva niramālā. Ibe dāha. U kālā. K ohi āgari kālā.* 7. *U hēru. Ia jāi jāi dēkha rahai, Ib jō dēkhai so rahai, U jō dēkhā so rahā lubhāi, K jō dēkhai sō raha sharamāi.* 8. *Ic saba āpara. Ib surūpa. Other Ps doubtful, N sarūpa. Is darapavanta.* 9. *Is K mēdani darasa lobhāi. U mēdina darasi lu.*

16. Again, how can I describe his comeliness, for all the world desireth the beauty of his countenance. His comeliness surpasseth in brightness even the full moon which God created. Sin abandoneth those who reverently gaze upon him, and the whole world maketh obeisance and blesseth him. As when the sun blazeth over the world, so, before him, all things hide their comeliness (in shame.) Thus did the sun¹ become a spotless man, with ten times more² beauty than the sun itself. No one can look upon him face to face, and if anyone see him, he remaineth with bent head. His comeliness increaseth by a quarter, day by day, for the Creator formed his beauty above the world.

Comely is he with a jewelled (tiara) on his brow, and the moon waneth as he waxeth; while the earth, craving to see him, standeth and humbly offereth its praises.

चौ ॥ पुनि दातार दई वड कौन्हा । अस जग दान न काह् दौन्हा ॥
 बलि विकरम दानी वड अहे । हातिम करन तिआमी कहे ॥
 खेर साहि सरि पूज न कोक । समुंद सुमेरु घटचिं निति दोक ॥
 दान डांक वाजइ दरवारा । कौरति गई समुंद-ची पारा ॥

¹ Here again the word *sūra* is introduced with a threefold meaning, hero, sun and proper name.

² *Āgari* means 'more than.' Cf. 381, 2, and 454, 8.

कंचन परसि खर जग भण्ड । दारिद्र भागि दिसंतर गण्ड ॥
 जउं कोइ जाइ एक बेरि मांगा । जन्म-उ भण्ड न भूँखा नांगा ॥
 दस असमेध जग जेइ कौन्हा । दान पुत्र सरि सी-उ न दौन्हा ॥
 दो ॥ अइस दानि जग उपजा । सेर साहि सुलतान ।
 ना अस भण्ड न चौइही । ना कोइ देइ अस दान ॥ १७ ॥

17. Here Is resumes the correct numbering. 1. Iac U *daī*, Is *daīca*, U *daī*. U *baḍi*, *asi*, *dāni*. 2. Ied K transpose *āhē* and *kāhē*. Ied U *Bali* au *Bikrama dāni*, K *Bali* au *Kārna dātā baḍa*. Is *Hētama*, U *Hōtama*, K *Hētama*. 3. U *sara-pūji*, Is K *ghafai*. U *sumēru bhāḍāri dōn*. 4. Is *ḍāka dāna*. U *dāna ḍayka*. Ia *samūda kai*, Ib U *sumundara pārā*. 5. U *kañcana barsi sāra kali*. K *kañcana barisa sāra kali*. 6. Ia *bāra eka māgā*. Other P *birā* or *biri*. Iac *janama na hāi bhākhā au nāgā*. U *janama hōi nahi bhākhā nāgā*. 7. Ibes *jō kinhā*. U K *dasi asimēda jagya jō*. Ia *tinha-hā surasari dāna na dīnhā*. Ib *dāna punna sari tāhu na dīnhā*. Id *sari saūhi*. Is *sē-u na*, U *sō uni cīnhā*. K *unha sabha hē dīnhā*. 8. U K *jaga ōpara*. 9. U *kou dai asi*.

17. Again God hath made him so greatly generous, that none in the world hath ever given gifts like unto him. Bali¹ and Vikramāditya² were famed for their generosity, and Hātim Tāē³ and Karṇa⁴ were described as lavish; but none of them equalleth Shēr Shāh, for the very ocean and even Mount Mēru, are ever minishing (as they give up their jewels and gold). The kettle-drum of his generosity soundeth at his court, and the fame thereof hath gone even across the ocean. The world touched this Sun,⁵ and became of gold compact, so that poverty fled and went beyond the borders of his kingdom. He who but once approacheth him and asketh, for all his life is free from hunger and from nakedness. Even that (King of old) who performed ten horse-sacrifice,—even he gave not holy gifts like him.

So generous hath Sultan Shēr Shāh been born upon the world, that none hath e'er been like him, or will be, nor doth anyone give such gifts.

चौ ॥ सदयद असरफ पौर पिचारा । तैइ मोहि पंथ दीन्ह उँजिचारा ॥

लेसा हिचइ पैम कर दीचा । उठी जोति भा निरमर चौचा ॥

1 The well-known Daitya, who gave Viṣṇu his famous three paces of ground.

2 "Clarum et venerabile nomen."

3 Familiar to readers of the Bāgh-o-Bahār (story of the second Darwōsh.)

4 The famous Hero of the Mahābhārata. The son of Kuntī by Sūrya. He was more famous for his chivalry than for his generosity.

5 Again the triple pun on the word *sāra*. Shēr Shāh is compared to a philosopher's stone which changed all that touched it into gold.

मारज उता अंधेर अख्ता । भा अंजोर सब जाना वूभा ॥
 खार समुंदर पाप मोर मेला । वोहित धरम लीन्ह कद चेला ॥
 उन्ह मोर करिअ पीडि कद गहा । पाछुँ तीर घाट जो अहा ॥
 जा कहँ हीद अदस कनहारा । ता कहँ गहि लेद लावहि पारा ॥
 दसगीर गाढे के साथी । जहँ अउगाच देहिँ तहँ साथी ॥

दो । जहाँगीर ओहि चिस्ती निहकलंक जस चाँद ।

वेद मखदूम जगत के हउँ उन्ह के घर वाँद ॥ १८ ॥

18. 1. Ia jehi (or jinha) mohi, Is tinha mohi, U tē. P (exc. Ia) tinha or tehī. 2. Ia lēsē-hī eka pēma. Ibid U K prēma, Is pīrama (sic). Ib wahī jōti, U ōhi jōta, Id bhāi sō jōti bhā, Ic bhāi nīramala, K bhāu nīramala. 3. Ib huta ādhēra sō sūjhā, Ic huta jo ādhēra asūjhā, Id illegible, Is māraga hato ādhiāra so sūjhā, so U but ādhēra, K māraga andha hōta sō sūjhā. Ib bhā ājēra, Ic U joga jūnā, Id parā sūjha saba jānā. 4. K rākhu kai. 5. N unhi, P ohī or unha. Ia كړيتي, Ic kari, Id ohī kara mōra pō². Is pōha kai, U paudhi kai K unha mori kairihara (?) paudhi kai gāhī ghāṭa jāhā rāhī. Ia jāhā āhā, U ghāṭī. 6. Ib jā kē, Ic jā kara aisa hōhī, Id U K jā kara hōhī aisa, Ia gahī bēga lei lāwai pārā, Ib K turita bēgi sō utarai, Is turita bēgi so pāwai. U turita ēi lai lāwai. 8. Is oi cistī, K rāpa jai se jaga cāda. K oi ati baḍē jagata mahā. Ic hama unha. Ic unha kara.

18. Saiyad Ashraf (Jahāngīr)¹ was an elect saint, and he it was who threw light upon my path. He lit the lamp of love within my heart; the light burned up, and my heart became pure. My way had been dark and invisible, and lo! it became bright and I understood. He cast my sins into the salt ocean, and making me as his disciple took me into the boat of virtue. He grasped my rudder firmly,² and I reached the landing place on the far bank. If a man hath such a steersman,³ he graspeth him and bringeth to the other side. He is a protector, and one who succoureth in time of trouble, and, where (the water) is fathomless, there giveth he his hand.

His family title was Jahāngīr, pure like the moon. He was the Holy Master of the World, and I am the slave of his house.

¹ Saiyad Ashraf was one of the founders of the line of spiritual preceptors, whose representative in the first half of the 16th century (Muhiu'd-dīn) taught the poet. For full particulars see note to stanza 20.

² This is a difficult passage. *Kariā* is the same as *kaḍī*, an iron ring, or a beam, hence a rudder. Either meaning will do here. Other MSS., and printed editions have *unha mora kara bāḍata kai gāhā*, he grasped my hand as I was sinking. *Pōdhi kai* means 'firmly.'

³ *Kanahāra* or *kanadhāra* is the Sanskrit *karnadhāra*.

चौ ॥ तैहि घर रतन एक निरमरा । हाजी सेख सुभाग्र भरा ॥
 तैहि घर दुद दीपक उंजिआर । पंथ देद कइं दइं सँवारे ॥
 सेख सुबारक पूनिउं करा । सेख कमाल जगत निरमरा ॥
 दुअ-उ अचल धुव डोलहिं नाहीं । मेख खिखिन्द तिन-उ उपराहीं ॥
 दीन्ह रूप अउ ओति गोसाईं । कीन्ह खंभ दुऊं जग कइ ताईं ॥
 दुऊं खंभ टेकी सव मची । दुऊं के भार सिद्धि थिर रची ॥
 जो दरसइ अउ परसइ पाया । पाप हरा निरमर भइ कार्या ॥

दो ॥ मुहमद तहाँ निचिंत पंथ जैहि संग मुरसिद पौर ।
 जैहि रें नाउ अउ खेवक जैगि पाउ सो तौर ॥ १९ ॥

19. 1. *Id ohī or unha.* Is U *unha*, K *tinha*, U K *niramālā*, *bhālā*. Iad شیخ
 Ibc سيكه *sīkha*. Ib *so bhāgai*, Ic *sabhā guna*, U *sabai guna*, K *sabhāgā*. Is U *tinha ghara*.
 K *tinha kō ghara dui dīpa*, Ic *ējiārā*, *sāvārā*. Is *daiya sã*. K *daū sã*. 3. Iad
شیخ Ibc سيكه U *sēkha muhammāda*, Ia U K *kālā*, *niramālā*. 4. Is *khaṇḍa khaṇḍa*.
 U *khakhaṇḍa tāhu*, K *khikhida tāhi*. 5. Is *khābha*, U *jaga kī nāi*. 6. Ia *tēkā*, Is *tēkū*
taba. U *dukhā kō bhāra sristi thira rāhi* | *dōna-hū kara fēhī saba māhī*, K *tau tēhi bhāra*
jagata thira. 7. Is *jinha darasyau au parasyau*, K *jinha darasā parasā unha pāyā*.
 Is *bhau*, K *bhā*. 8. K *nicinta rahu*. 9. All copies insert *kariā* before *khēwaka*,
 except U *jehi rē nāwa hai kariyā*, and K *jehi rē nāwa kariyā*. The omission of either
kariā or *khēwaka* is required by the metre, but, except U and K, all copies have both.
 K *bēgi sō lāwai tīra*.

19. In his house was a spotless jewel, Ḥājī Shēkh by name, full-filled with good fortune. In his house were two bright lights, whom God created to show the way. Shēkh Mubārak glorious as a fullmoon, and Shēkh Kamāl spotless in the world. Both were stedfast, unmoveable like pole-stars, exalted even above Mēru and Kukhaṇḍa.¹ God gave them beauty and glory, and made them pillars of the world. On these two pillars supported He the earth, and under their weight the universe remained firm. Whoever saw them and reverently touched their feet, his sins were lost and his body became pure.

O Muḥammad, there is the road secure, where a saintly teacher beareth company. When he hath a boat and a rower, a man quickly gaineth the other side.

चौ ॥ गुरु मोहिदी खेवक मइं सेवा । चन्द्र उताइल जैहि कर खेवा ॥
 अगुआ भणुअ सेख वरदानू । पंथ लाइ जैहि दीन्ह गिआन ॥
 अलहदाद भल तैहि कर गुरू । दीन दुनी रोसन सुरसु-रू ॥
 सरसद मुहमद के वेद चेला । सिद्ध पुरुख संगम जैइ खला ॥

¹ See line 1 of the second stanza.

दानियाल गुरु पंथ लखाय । हजरत खाज खिदिर नेंद पाय ॥
 भद्र परसन ओहि हजरत खाने । खेद मौरय जहँ सदयद राजे ॥
 ओहि सउं मदँ पाई जव करनी । उघरी जीभ कथा कवि बरनी ॥
 दो ॥ वेद सो गुरु हउं चेला निति विनवउं भा चेर ।
 ओहि इत देखइ पाऊजँ दरस गोसाईं केर ॥ २० ॥

20. 1. U mohi das khē°. K guru mahiudi kaha eka mai sōwā. Iad jā kara, U tīnha kara, K jinha mohi khēwō. 2. K āgē, Iad شيخ Ibc سيكه. U baḡa-hānē; Ic U mohi dīnha. 3. U K tīnha kē gūrū, Iad سرخرو Ibc سرکهرو Is K surukhu rā, U surakhu rā. 4. Ias siddhanha purukhanha jehi sāga khēlā (Is has jyāū), Ic jai rē siddha purukha sāga khēlā. K jinha siddhyā purukhanha sāga khēlā. 5. U lagāē, K dāniara dekkhalāē. Ibc U jehi pāē, K mana lāē. All P givo خضر, N khidira. 6. Ia U K tehi hoj°. Is jē hoj°. U āni milāē saiyaḡa, K lau lagāē lei saidā vājē. 7. Id jō pāē karanī, N saba karanī, P jibha parama (?) (پر), N kathā. 8. tehi ghara kā hoū cēlā, Id tehi guru kā haū, K waha rē guru, U K huai cēra. 9. Ia ohi tai, U jehi tai, K dēkhana.

20. Muḡiu'd-din was my preceptor, my steersman, and I served him. He crosseth speedily who hath the ferry-fare.¹ Before him was Shēkh Burhān, who brought him on the path and gave him knowledge. His spiritual guide was the good Alhadād, who in the world was a light and beauteous in the faith. He was a disciple of Saiyad Muḡammad. Who e'er enjoyed² his fellowship, became a perfected man. To him did Dāniyāl point out the path,—Dāniyāl, who consorted with Ḥazrat Khwāja Khizr. The Ḥazrat Khwāja was pleased with him, and brought him (as a disciple) to Saiyad Rājī Ḥāmid Shāh. From him (Muḡiu'd-din) did I win all my (good) deeds. My tongue was loosened,³ and, a poet, I (learned to) tell my tale.⁴

1 The fare was the service which the poet rendered his master.

2 Lit. sported in his company.

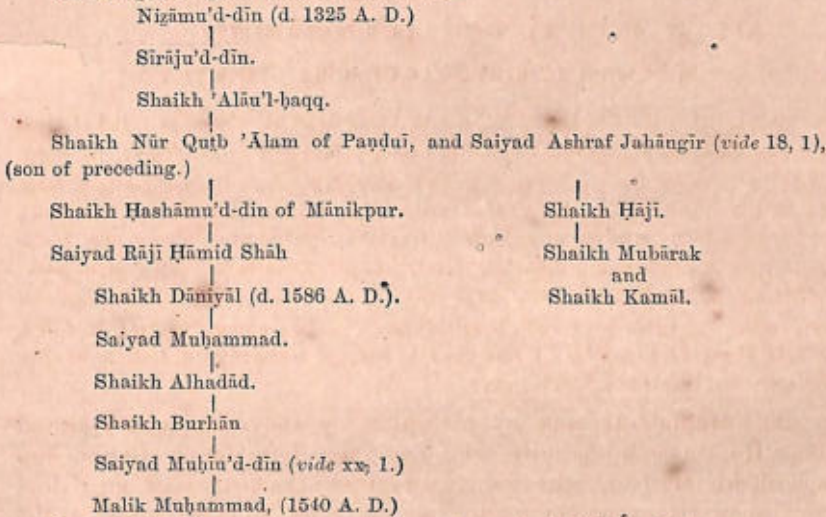
3 Lit. uncovered.

4 The following account of Malik Muḡammad's spiritual ancestors is taken partly from what the poet himself tells us, and partly from the Urdū gloss and other sources.

He belonged to the *Cishtiyyā Niḡāmiyyā*, that is to say he belonged to the spiritual descent which took its name from the celebrated Niḡamu'd-din Auliya, the teacher of Amīr Khusrō, who died about 1325 A. D. His disciple was Sīrāju'd-dīn, whose disciple was Shaikh 'Alāu'l-ḡaqq. 'Alāu'l-ḡaqq's son and disciple was Shaikh Nūr Quḡb 'Ālam (d. 1444) of Paḡḡū, and another disciple was Saiyad Ashraf Jahāngīr (see 13, l.) Ashraf's most famous disciple was Shaikh Ḥājī, whose disciples were Shaikh Muḡarak, and Shaikh Kamāl. Shaikh Nūr Quḡb 'Ālam and Saiyad Ashraf Jahāngīr were fellow disciples (*pīr bhāī*) and from them eighth in descent came Malik Muḡammad. (Fl. 1540 A. D.)

He was my master and I his disciple, evermore do I bow before him as his slave. Through him did I obtain a sight of the Creator.

The full genealogical table is as follows :—



From this it follows that the poet was not an actual disciple of Saiyad Ashraf Jahāngīr, as might be assumed from xviii, 1 and ff. Malik Muḥammad merely refers to him and praises him as his spiritual ancestor. A tradition makes him the poet's *mantra-guru*, while Muḥīn'd-dīn was his *vidyā-guru*, i. e., the one initiated him, and the other taught him, but this seems to be very improbable, though not inconsistent with Malik Muḥammad's own language. Shaikh Dāniyāl, the fifth in the line before the poet appears to have been a friend of the well-known Khwāja Khizr, who introduced him to his preceptor, Saiyad Rājī Ḥāmid Shāh. Shaikh Burhān, Malik Muḥammad's spiritual grandfather resided at Kāl'pī in Bundēl'khāṇḍ, and is said to have died at 100 years of age in A. H., 970, or A. D. 1562-63. See Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind. xxi, 131.

As the prophet Muḥammad (see xii, 1) had four friends, so also had the poet Malik Muḥammad. He tells us their names were Malik Yūsuf, Salār Khādīm, Miyyā Salōnē and Shaikh Baḍē. Concerning these, see the introduction to this paper, and xxii, 1 and ff.

The Urdū gloss concludes (I insert dates and other particulars in parentheses), 'Those who consider that Ḥaḡrat 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī (b. 1078, d. 1166) (God's mercy be upon him) is descended from Saiyad Muḥīn'd-dīn, and that Saiyad Rājū Qattāl (d. 1403) is descended from Saiyad Rājī are far from being in the right. It is clear that the line of Qadariyās is descended from Ḥaḡrat 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī. His preceptor was Ḥaḡrat Abū Saiyad.

'Saiyad Rājū Qattāl was full brother of Ḥaḡrat Saiyad Jalālu'd-dīn of Bukhārā (who was known as Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahān (Gasht Shaikh Jalāl), and was his disciple.) He was a Suharwardīya by sect.

'Another disciple of Ḥaḡrat Nizāmu'd-dīn (the founder of Malik Muḥammad's
J. i. 20

चौ ॥ एक नघन कवि मुहमद गुनी । सोर विमोहा जेंद कधि सुनी ॥
 चाँद जदस जग विधि अचुतारा । दीन्ह कलंक कौन्ह उँजिआरा ॥
 जग खभा एकद नयनार्हा । उचा सूक जस नखतन्ह माहाँ ॥
 जउ लहि आँवदि उँभ न हीई । तउ लहि सुगंध वसाद न सीई ॥
 कौन्ह समुंदर पानि जउ खारा । तउ अति भएउ अखुभ अपारा ॥
 जउ सुमेरु तिरसूल विनासा । भा कंचन गिरि लागु अकासा ॥
 जउ लहि घरी कलंक न परा । काँचु हीद नहिँ कंचन करा ॥

दो ॥ एक नघन जस दरपन अउ तेंदि निरमर भाउ ।

सव रूपवंतइ पाउ मन्दि सुख जोअदि कद चाउ ॥ २१ ॥

21. 1. K kali, K kali pññ. 3. Ids asa, K uā sūra. 4. U K ābā dābha nahī. Rām Jasan's edition gives *basāyana sōi*, but all P give بسای نسوی. 5. Ia tau suñhi, Ib tau asa, Ic taba ati, Ids tau ati kīnha, K tau waha bhaeu. 6. Ias jāñ. 7. K kōcu hōi kañcana ki kārā. 8. U tasa niramala tehi bhāu. 9. K rupavanta bandāwahī, Ia rūpavanta gahi jāhāi, sō karahī gahi pāu. Ib mukha cahāhī kai, J mukha cāhai kai, K mukha dēkhana ke cāu.

21. Muḥammad the poet was skilful, though he had but one eye,¹ and all who heard him were entranced. Even as God created the moon for the universe, so He put a dark spot upon him, while He made him bright. With that one eye the poet saw in the world, as Venus is brilliant among the other stars.² Until there come black spots upon a mango-fruit, it hath no fragrant scent. God made the water of the ocean salt, but nevertheless He made it immeasurably boundless. Mount Mēru was destroyed by (Çiva's) trident,³ and then it became a mountain of gold,⁴ and reached to heaven. Till black firestains defile the crucible, (the ore) remaineth unsmelted, and becometh not pure gold.

line) was Shaikh Ruknu'd-din Abū 'l-faḥ Ma'āsir (fl. 1310), who was also disciple of his own father Shaikh Şadru'd-din ('Arif, d. 1309). This last was disciple of his father Shaikh Babāu'd-din Zikariyā (d. 1266) of Mul'tān, who was disciple of Shaikh Shahābu'd-din (Suharwardiya, d. 1234), who travelled from city to city as missionary (peace be upon him).⁷

Makhdūm Jahāniyān was a disciple of Ruknu'd-din abovementioned. The Suharwardiyas form a branch of the followers of the *çāfi* sect, and are named from Suharward, a town near Bagdad, the birth place of the founder Shahābu'd-din above mentioned.

¹ This means that he was literally blind of one eye. The poet still, however thanks God for all His mercies, and points out that every great and good thing in Nature has some detraction.

² Çukra, the regent of the planet Venus has only one eye.

³ I have not traced this legend. It may be a reference to Indra's cutting off the wings of the mountains.

⁴ It is a golden mountain. See Viṣṇu Purāṇa II, 2.

The poet hath but one eye, but it is (bright) as a mirror, and his soul is pure. All that are beautiful clasp his feet, and desire to see his face.

चौ ॥ चारि मीत कवि मुहमद पाए । जोरि मित्ताई सरि पडँचाए ॥
 युसुफ मलिक पंडित अउ ग्यानी । पहिलर भेद बातं वेद जानी ॥
 पुनि सलार कादिन मति माहाँ । खाँडइ दान उभइ निति वाहाँ ॥
 मिथाँ सलोनै सिंघ अपारु । बीर खेत रन खरग जुभारु ॥
 सेख वडे वड सिद्ध बखाना । कइ अदेस सिद्धन्ह वड माना ॥
 चारि-उ चतुर-दसा गुन पडे । अउ संजोग गोसाईं गडे ॥
 विरिख जो आइहि चंदन पास । चंदन होहिँ वैधि तेहि वासा ॥

दो ॥ मुहमद चारि-उ मीत मिलि भए जो एकर चित्तु ।
 एहि जग साथ जो निवहा ओहि जग विकुरइ कित्तु ॥ २१ ॥

22. 1. P سر, U sira, K ora. 2. Ia *yūsufa mallika paṇḍita gyāni*, Ib *bahu gyā*, Id *baḍa gyā*, K *jō paṇḍita gyā*.² All N have *isapha* for *yusupha*. Iac K *pahilahi*, K *pahili*. 3. Iac *كادن*, Ib *گاجن*, Id *قارن*, Is *kandana*. Ib *khāḍahi*, U *ubhai*, K *uḥai jō bā*. 4. U *apārā, jujhārū*, Ia *khēla au*, K *briga sitaraini* (?) *jo kharaga jōhārū*. 5. Iabc *سيکه*, Id *شيخ*, Ib K *bakhāni, jāni* (K *māni*), Iabd *baḍa jānā*. Is *rādhunha*. 6. Ia *catura guna dasa wei*, Ib K *dasau guṇa*. U *cārō catura au dasi guna* (sic), Icd *au sāga jōga*, K *au saba jōga*. Is repeats the last line by a mistake of the copyist. Printed editions have *siṃha jōga*. 7. Ib *jo rōpahi*, U *jo upajai*. K *purukha jo āpē* (آپی for آچی). K *jau bēdhai bāsā*. 8. Icd *bhā*. 9. Ia *sātha nibāhā*. U *yaha jaga ōra nibāhā*. K *sātha jivcana bhā* (جيو نيبا for جيون بها). Ia U *bichurahi*.

22. The poet Muḥammad¹ had four friends, who by giving him their friendship raised him to equality with themselves. One was Malik Yūsuf, the learned and wise, who first knew the secret doctrine. The next was Salār Khādīm, of mighty mind, whose arms were ever raised either in (wielding) the sword or in (distributing) gifts. The third was Miyā Salōnē, a lion unsurpassed, whose sword fought with heroes in the battle-field. The fourth was Shēkh Baḍē, famed as a sage. He greatly honoured those who were perfected by performing their initiatory rites.² All four were learned in the fourteen³ branches of knowledge, and God himself created their association (with the poet). Let a tree

1 So also had the Prophet Muḥammad, see xii, 1. Regarding these four men, see introductory remarks.

² *Adēsa* is the initiation of a *cēlā* by a *guru*.

³ The 4 Vēdas, the 6 Vēdāngas, the Purāpas, the Mīmāṃsā, the Nyāya, and Dharma.

but dwell near a sandal-grove, and if thou pierce it, the odour of sandal cometh from it.

O Muḥammad, when thou hast found these four friends, and ye all became of one soul, when thou hast accomplished their companionship in this world, how can they be separated in the next?

चौ ॥ आग्रस नगर धरम-असथानू । तहाँ आद कवि कौन्द वखानू ॥
कद विमती पंडितन्ह सउं भजा । टूटि सँवारऊ संरवऊ सजा ॥
चउं सब कवितन्ह कर पइलगा । किहु कहि चला तबल दँद डगा ॥
दिख भंडार नग अइद जो पूंजी । खोली जीभ तार कद कुंजी ॥
रतन पदारथ बोली बोला । सु-रस पैम-सभु भरी अमोला ॥
जहि कद बोलि विरच कइ घाया । कहँ तँहि भूख नौद कहँ द्राया ॥
फेरद भेस रइद भा तपा । धूरि लपेटा मानिक ह्पा ॥

दो ॥ मुहमद कथा जो पैम कद ना तँहि रकत न माँसु ।

जेद मुख देखा तँद हँसा सुनि तँहि आग्रउ आँसु ॥ २२ ॥

23. 1. *Ibd tahavē bahu Ic tahā una kabitanha kī.* Is *tahā āvara*, K *tahā awani*. 2. *Ibs U au bi,* Id *bīnati kara*. U *kabitanha*. K *au paṇḍita sō bīnati bhājā* Ib *bhākhē ... sākhe*, Is *bhājā ... sājā*. Iad *mērehu*. Is *merachu*. U *tāti mirāi sāwāraku sājā*. K *ṣṭala sāwāraba au merabai sājā*. 3. N *paṇḍitanha*, U *pachilāgā ... ḍāgā*. Is *gai ḍagā*. K *kichu kai cohau kathā kara āgā*. 4. *Ia jō kochu pūjī* U *hiyā bhāḍāra ahi naga pūjī*. Is *khōlu*, U *lai kā*. Is *tārā kī*. K *khōlau, tāla au kā*. 5. Is U *bōlē bō*. K *bōlau bō*. Ia K *pēma rasa*, Ids U *pēma maḍa*. 6. So Ia. Ib *kāhā tehi bhākhā kahā tehi kāyā*, Ic *kahā tehi rūpa kahā kai kāyā*, Id *kahā tehi bhākhā kahā tehi māyā*. Is *kā tehi bhākhā nāda kā māyā*. U K *kahā tehi rūpa kahā tehi māyā*. 7. Ia *lāuī bhēsa*. 8. *kayā*, so U K. It makes good sense. P *kabi jō prēma kā*. Is *kabi jō pīrama kā bhā tana rakata*. 9. Ic *sunā to*. Is *sunā tā*.

23. The city Jāyas is a holy spot, there came the poet and told his lay. There humbly waited I upon Hindū scholars, and prayed them¹ to correct and mend the broken (metre) and arrangement (of my song). I am a follower of poets, and I go forward saying my say, and beating the drum with the drum-stick to proclaim it.² My heart is a treasure-house, and it holdeth a store of precious stones. I opened it with the key of my tongue and palate. I spoke words,—jewels, and rubies, sweet, filled with the wine of love, and priceless. He whose speech is

¹ *Bhājā* or *bhājā*, is equivalent to *bhrājā*, i. e., *prakāṣita kiā*, 'made manifest,' hence 'presented' a petition.

² *Pachalāgā* and *ḍāgā* would give better metre. *Ḍāgā* is a drum-stick. The poet means that he is impelled to publish his lay by beat of drum, so to speak, i. e., as loudly as possible. A simpler rendering is obtained by amending the text to *kichu kahi calata bēla dei ḍāgā*, 'saying my say, I progress, setting down the feet of language;' in which language is metaphorically compared to a foot, or step (*ḍāgā*)

wounded by love,¹—What is hunger or sleep or shade to him? He changeth his appearance, and he remaineth in torture, like a jewel covered and hidden in the dust.

O Muḥammad, the body which love hath, hath neither blood nor flesh. Whoever seeth such a man face to face laugheth, but when the lover hearth the laughter tears come (into his eyes).

चौ ॥ सन नउ सद सईतालिस अहे । कथा अरंभ बदन कवि कचे ॥
 सिंघल दीप पदुमिनी रानी । रतन संन चितउर गढ आनी ॥
 अलाउदीन देरिलौ तुलतानू । राघव चेतन कौन्ह बखानू ॥
 सुना साहि गढ बेका आई । हिन्दू तुलकन्ह भई लराई ॥
 आदि अंत जस गाथा अची । लिखि भाखा चउपाई कही ॥
 कवि विद्यास रस कवँला पूरौ । दूरि सो निचर निचर सो दूरौ ॥
 निचरहि दूरि फूल जस काँटा । दूरि जो निचरहि जस गुर चाँटा ॥
 दो ॥ भवँर आइ वन-खंड सउँ । खेइ कवँल रस वास ।
 दादुर वास न पावई । भलहि जो आइर पास ॥ २४ ॥

इति असतुति खंड ॥ १ ॥

24. 1. *Ia āhā ... kāhā. K āhī ... kāhī* All texts agree in giving the date (A. H.) as 947. Rām Jasan's edition gives 927 which is certainly wrong. *Ia tāhī dina kāhā*
 2. *sēni* so *Is K. J* has *saīna*. 3. *Ia suratānū. Is dhīli sulitānū, K dīli, cētani*, so all N. 4. N have *sāha* not *sāhi*, which is the usual spelling elsewhere. 5. *Is kathā āhī. Ia kathā jo ahī, K āhī anta kathā asi āhī kāhī. U bhākhā mai caupāi kāhī.* 6. *Ic K biāsa jasa. Ia dāri jo niarahi niarē dāri, Ic dārihi niara niara bhā dāri, Id dārihi niara jo niarahi dāri. U dāri su niarē niarē dāri.* 7. *Ids sāga kā', U sama kā'.* *Ic K dāri niara jaisai gura. Ids dāri jo niarē sō gura, U dāri so niarē jasa.* 8. *Ic U K khayḍa tai. Is khayḍahū. Id U kī bāsa, Is kai bāsa. Ib U pāvahī.* 9. *Ib jō āchai ohī pāsa. Id K sadū jo āchai pāsa. Is āchahī.*

24. It was the year 947 (of the Hijra,)² when the poet began to tell this tale in words. Of Ceylon and Queen Padmāvati, whom Ratna Sēna brought to Citaur castle; of 'Alāu'd-din, the Sultan of Delhi, and of how Rāghava Caitanya told him of her. How the Emperor heard and besieged the castle, and how there arose the war between the Hindūs and the Muṣalmāns. From beginning to end, just as the story runs, so wrote he it in the language of the people, and told it in verse. The

¹ Here we have the first instance of the poet's use of the word *biraha*. He uses it to mean love, especially unhappy love. In countless places it cannot possibly have the usual meaning of 'separation from a beloved one.' *Ghāyā* is translated in the Urdū Gloss by *بھری* 'full of.' I can find no authority for this.

poet, the bard,¹ and the lotus full of nectar, are near to what is far and far from what is near. That which is near is yet far, like the flower and the thorn (so near and yet so different), and that which is far is near, like sugar and the ants (who dwell so far from it, yet find it out).

So the bee² cometh from the (distant) forest, and findeth the odour of the lotus-nectar, while the frog ne'er findeth the odour, though he dwelleth (in the pond) close to (the flower).

अथ सिंघल-दीप-वरनन खंड ॥ २ ॥

चौ ॥ सिंघल-दीप कथा अब गावउं । अउ सो पडुमिनि वरनि सुनावउं ॥
 वरन क दरपन भाँति विसेखा । जो जेहि रूप सो तरसद देखा ॥
 धनि सो दीप जहँ दीपक नारी । अउ सो पडुमिनि दर अउतारी ॥
 सात दीप वरनद सब लोगू । एक-उ दीप न ओहि सरि जीगू ॥
 दिया-दीप नदि तस उँजिआरा । सरन-दीप सरि हीद न पारा ॥
 जंब दीप कहउं तस नाहीं । लंक-दीप पूज न परिहाचीं ॥
 दीप कुभसथल आरन परा । दीप नउसथल मानस हरा ॥

दो ॥ सब संसार पिरियुनीं आए सात-उ दीप ।

एक-उ दीप न कतिम सिंघल दीप समीप ॥ २५ ॥

25. 1. Is K *gāwau, sunāwau*, U *gāwō, sunāwō*. Id *au bahu padumini, J barana*.
 2. U *niramala darapana, k badana kudana (?) jasa bhānu bisēkhā*, Ia *jō jehi bhāti*.
 Ib *jehi jasa rūpa sōi tasa dēkhā*, Id *jō jehi*, Is *jō jasa rūpa*, U *taisahi, K jehi jasa rūpa*
so taisahi dēkhā. 3. Id *dhani waha dīpa*. Is *dhanya dēsa jehi dīpaka*. K *dhanya*
dīpa jehi. Ia *dāi sāvārī*, Ib *au bidhī padumini autārī*, Ia *au jō padumini dāi sāvārī*,
 Is *dhanya sāvārī*, U *asa padumini dāi autārī*, K *au padumini dāi autārī*. 4. Iods *saba*
baranai (Is *baranahi*) *lōgū*. Ibc *K tehi sari*, Id *waha sari*. 5. Ib *wasa nahi āji?*,
 U *nahi asa*, K *tasa nahi*. U transposes ll. 5 & 6. Is *sarada-dīpa*, U *sārāga-dīpa*,
 K *sarā-dīpa*. 6. U *sari nāhi*. Ia *layka-dīpa sari pūja na tāhī*, Ib *layka-dīpa nahi*
pūjai chāhī. Ic *layka-dīpa pūjai parichāhī*. Id *layka-dīpa pūja parichāhī*. U *laykā-*
dīpa na pūjai chāhī, K *laykā-dīpa na pūja parichāhī*. 7. *Kumbhasathala*, so Iab
 U, Ic *k-s-th-1*; Id, *k-s-sā-h-1*; Is *kūcsthāla*, K *kōsthāla*. Is U *pārā, hārā*, K *āra*
bāhānā. Ia *mahasthala*, Ib *mai asthala*, Ic *mahāsthala*, Id U *mewasthala*, Is *mahāsthala*,
 K *mewasthala*. 8. Is K *prithimī*, U *prathyumī*, Ia *au sāta-u saba dīpa*, Ib *au saba sāta-u*
dīpa, U *āra ju sātō*, K *au yaha sāta-u*. 9. Ia *na ūpamā*, Ib *na ūpara*, Ic *na pāū*,
 U *uttama*, K *dīpa tehi sari*.

¹ Kabi is one who makes poems, *biāsa* (*vyāsa*) is one who recites poems.

² I. e., a prophet has no honour in his own country. The author means that he is aware that his own country-folk, and his own people (the Muṣalmāns) will not care for his poem; but, on the other hand men of distant lands and of other religions (the Hindūs) will be attracted by it, as the bee is attracted by the distant lotus.

CANTO II.

SĪMHALA.

25. Now sing I the tale of Sīmhala-dvīpa,¹ and tell of the perfect woman.² My description is like an excellent mirror, in which each form is seen as it really is. Happy is that land where the women are lights,³ and where God created that (famous) Padminī (Padmāvati). All people tell of seven lands, but none is fit to compare with Sīmhala. The Diyā-land⁴ (or land of lamps) is not so bright as it. The land of Saran⁵ cannot bear comparison with it. I say that Jambū-land⁶ is nowhere like it, and that Laṅka-land cannot even fill (the excellence of) its reflection. The land of Kumbhasthala⁷ fled to the forest (before it), and the land of Mahusthala⁸ lost its inhabitants.

In the whole universe, in the world are seven lands, but none of them is excellent beside the land of Sīmhala.

चौ ॥ गंधर्पसेन सुगंध नरेन्द्र । सो राजा वह ना कर देख ॥
 लंका सुना जो रावन-राजू । ते-ऊ चाहि बड ना कर साजू ॥
 इयन कोटि कटक दर साजा । सबद इतरपति अर गड-राजा ॥
 सोरह सहस घोर घोरसारा । साँव-करन अउ बाँक तुखारा ॥
 सात सहस हस्ती सिंघली । जनु कबिलास इरापति बली ॥

1 Ceylon. The word *dvīpa* means both island and continent.

2 A Padminī is one of the four classes of women and is supremely the best, see 504 and ff. The Singalese women are all supposed to be Padminīs, *omne ignotum pro mirifico*.

3 Here there is a pun on the word (*dīpa* = *dvīpa*), a continent or island, and *dīpaka* a light.

4 The poet now proceeds to compare Sīmhala, not with the seven continents of tradition, referred to in line 4, and catalogued in the note to stanza I, 5, but with half-a-dozen imaginary continents named after parts of the human body. *Diyā-dīpa*, the land of lights, means the land of eyes. *Sarāna-dīpa* (*svavāṇa-dīpa*) means the land of ears. *Jambū-dīpa*, Rose-apple-land, is the land of bosoms, to the nipples of which the rose-apple is often compared. *Laṅka-dīpa*, is the land of hips. *Kumbha-sthala*, jar-land, is the land of rounded breasts; a. v. l. is *gabha-sthala* (*garbha-sthala*) the land of wombs; and finally *mahu-sthala* (*madhya-sthala*), is the land of waists. Under this highly figurative language the poet signifies that the women of Sīmhala surpassed all these imaginary lands, each in its own peculiar excellence. I am indebted to Paṇḍit Sudhākara Dvivedī for the explanation of this very difficult stanza.

5 The poet does not seem to be aware that *Sarāna-dīpa* (*Saran-dīp*, Serendīb) is actually Ceylon itself. Here, as pointed out above, the words also mean 'ear-land.'

6 Hindūstān or bosom-land.

7 Or perhaps *Gabhastala*, one of the nine divisions of *Bhārata-varṣa* (India); here used as equivalent to *garbha-sthala*, the land of wombs.

8 Or *Mēwasthila*.

असु-पती क सिरमउर कचावद् । गज-पती क अाँकुस गज नावद् ॥
 नर-पती क कचउँ अउ नरिंदू । भू-पती क जग दीसर इंदू ॥
 दी ॥ अरस चक्रवर राजा चहँ खंड भय होद् ।
 सबद् आद् सिर नावचौँ सरिवर करद् न कोद् ॥ २६ ॥

26. 1. Is K *sēni*, U *Gandharva sāna sukha khañḍī*, Ia *dhana rājā*. Is *rājā* au *tā*.
 2. U K *rājā ... sājā*. U *tāhu cāhi baḍī*, K *tāhi*. 3. Ibc U K *data*. K *cārau disā kaṭaka*
Aru gaḍha is very doubtful. *Uragahi* is a possible reading of the Persian character.
 The following are the readings of the various MS. Iab اورکنده Ic ارکنده Id در اور
 كند) Is *ōrāgē rājā*, U *ghara ghara rājā*, K o *raygana rājā*. All printed editions have
au gaḍha-rājā. 4. U *sōrāhi sahāsa*, Id *sahāsa*, K *sōraha laccha*. Ib *sāva karava lākā*
tū°, Ic *jasā bāka*, Id *syāma karana śālā tumhārā*, Is *sāva karana cālāka tōrākḥāra* (sic),
 U *bara ganē tu°*, K *syāma karana turaāki jō* (sic) *tokhārā*. The text has no difficulty
 if the technical meaning of *syāma-karṇa* is remembered, and if it is recognized that
tukhāra means 'horse.' 5. Id *aru kailāsa*, Is *imī kapilā airāpati*, U *janu ka bilāsa*
airāpati, K *sakā bandhī rautapai* (sic) *ati bālī*. 6. Ia *sohāvai*, Is *asa-pati*, U *asu-pati*
kā, *gaja-pati kā*, K *asu-patīnha*, K *gaja-pati sira aykusa gaja nāwai*. 7. Ia *nara-pati*
kahañ jō āhi narindū, Ib *nara-pati ku au kahañ*, Is U *nara-pati ka kahāva*, K *nara-pati*
mahā kahalāvai indū, Ia *bhū-pati ka mahā*, Is *bhūa-pati* K *bhūa-pati jaga para*
dāsara ēndū. 8. Ias U *bhai hōi*, K *mō hōi*. 9. K *sabhāi*.

26. Gandharva Sēna was a fragrant¹ prince, He was its king, and that was his dominion. I have heard of Lanḡā,² the kingdom of Rāvapa, greater even than his was his majesty. Fifty-six times ten millions formed his battle-array, and over all were princes and commanders of forts. Sixteen thousand horses were in his stalls, black-eared and gallant steeds.³ Seven thousand Singalese elephants had he, each like the mighty Airāvata⁴ of Kailāsa.⁵ He is called the crown of lords of steeds, and with his goad he causeth to bow low the elephants of lords of elephants. Over lords of men I call him a second Indra, and in the world I also call him the Indra⁶ of the lords of earth.

¹ There is here an alliteration between *Gandhrapa*, Gandharva, and *Gandha*, scent. Some of the MSS. have *Sēni* for *Sēna* throughout the poem. This would lead me to restore the word to the Sanskrit *Sainya*, were there not a strong tradition in favour of *Sēna*.

² Lanḡā is, however, a name of Ceylon. The poet neglects this fact.

³ *Cyāma-karṇa*, black-eared, is a technical name for a horse. It is the kind used in sacrifices. *Tukhāra* means 'horse,' cf. xlvi, 4; and dli, 4.

⁴ The name of Indra's elephant.

⁵ Indra's heaven.

⁶ Here Indra is referred to in two aspects. First he is the mighty king of the lower Gods, and hence supreme over lords of men; and secondly he is the storm-god giving refreshing showers to the earth, and hence an object of worship to everyone who lives by cultivation.

So universal¹ a monarch was he, that all the earth feared him. All men came and bowed their heads before him, no one dared to emulate him.

चौ ॥ जबहि दीप निशरावा जाई । जनु कबिलास निशर भा आई ॥
 घन अँवराउं लाग चड पासा । उठइ पुडमि ऊनि लाग अकासा ॥
 तरिवर सबद मलद-गिरि लाई । भद जग हाँह रदनि होइ काई ॥
 मलद-समीर सोहाई हाँहाँ । जेठ जाउ लागद तेहि माँहाँ ॥
 ओही हाँह रदनि होइ आवद । हरिश्चर सबद अकास देखवद ॥
 पंथिक जउं पऊँचइ सच्चि घानू । दुख विसरइ सुख होइ विसरानू ॥
 जँद वद पाई हाँह अनूपा । बडरि न आइ सचहिँ वद धूपा ॥

दो ॥ अस अँवराउं सघन घन वरनि नू पारउं अंत ।
 पूलइ फरइ कद-उ रितु जानउं सदा वसंत ॥ २७ ॥

27. 1. Ib *jōhu* (?) (५७), *niarācē*, Icd *jō wahi dīpa*, K *jō wahi dīpa kē niarē jāi*.
 Ia *bhau āi*, Iabds U *kabilāsa*, K *kailāsa tinha niarē pāi*. 2. U K *ghani ābarāi*, U *uṭhē bhūmi*, K *uṭhai bhūmi*, Is *lāga*. 3. U *tariwara ācē sobai suhāō*, K *taruvari sabhai milē ohī jāi*, Ib *bhai tasi chāha*, Ic *sītala chāha*, U *raini kai āē*, K *hō jaga chāha raini bhai āi*. 4. Ia *sahāwana*. 5. U *abu jamu chāha*, K *au asi chāha raini bhā*. 6. Ia *jāū sahi āvai ghāmā*, U *panthika cali āvai sahi*. K *panthika pahūcai sahi kai ghāmā*. Ibsk, *ghāmā*, *bisrāmā*, U *bisarai bhāi sukha bisrāmā*, K *biārai chana kai bisrāmā*. 7. Is K *jīnha waha*, U *jō pāvai waha chāha* Ia *sō dhūpā*, Ic *dukha dhūpā*, Id *tehi dhūpā*. 8. U *asi ābarāi suhāwani*, K *asi ābarāi saghani ghanā*, Id *pārai*, Is *parahi*. 9.— Ic *cahu dīsa*, K *phūlahī pharahī chaau*, U *mānahu*.

27. When a man approacheth this land, 'tis as it were he approacheth Kailāsa the mount of heaven. Dense mango-groves lie on every side, rising from the earth to the very sky.* Each tall tree exhaleth the odours of mount Malaya,² and the shade covereth the world as though it were the night. The shade is pleasant with its Malaya-breeze; e'en in the fiery month of Jyaiṣṭha³ 'tis cool amidst it. It is as though night cometh from that shade, and as though from it cometh the greenness of the sky.⁴ When the wayfarer cometh thither, suffering from the heat, he forgetteth his trouble in his blissful rest, and whoso hath found this perfect shade, returneth ne'er again to bear the sun-rays.

So many and so dense are these groves, that I cannot tell their end. The whole six seasons of the year⁵ do they flower and fruit, as though it were always spring.

1 *Cakravai* = *Cakravartī*.

2 The Western Ghats (*ghāṭs*) famous for their growth of sandal trees.

3 The hottest month in the year, May-June, with its pitiless burning blue-grey sky.

4 This is an example of the rhetorical figure *utprēkṣā*, or poetical fancy, with the word expressing comparison omitted. The poet faucifully states that this shade is so dark, that from it is produced all night, while the green shade of the sky is its reflection.

5 Hindūs divide the year into six seasons of two months each.

ANALYSIS

OF THE

PADUMĀWATI.

CANTO I.

THE INVOCATION.

Praise of God, the Creator of the universe (1), and of all that is therein, (2); the maker of men and of all that man hath, (3); of pairs of opposites (4). His bounty (5), and might (6). He is an everlasting mystery, neither made nor created nor begotten (7). He is omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, neither discrete nor indiscrete (8). He hath endowed man with many blessings, of which he cannot gauge the length or breadth or height (9). His wondrous works are indescribable (10). He made one man for the salvation of the world, the prophet Muhammad (11), who had four friends, Abū Bakr Çiddiq, 'Umar, 'Uṣmān, and 'Alī (12). Shēr Shāh Sūr is Sultan of Delhi. His might (13), valour (14), justice (15), comeliness (16), and generosity (17). Praise of Saiyad Ashraf Jahāngīr, the poet's spiritual ancestor (18), and his two descendants Shekh Ḥāji, and Shekh Mubārak (19). Praise of Muḥīn'd-dīn, the poet's spiritual preceptor and his spiritual descent from Saiyad Ashraf Jahāngīr (20). The poet's description of himself as blind of one eye. He is grateful to God for all his mercies (21). He had four friends, Malik Yūsuf, Salār Khādim, Miyā Salōnē, and Shēkh Baḍē (22). Filled with poetic inspiration he came to Jāyas, and studied rhetoric under paṇḍits (23); and in the year 1540 A. D., began to write the poem of Ceylon, of Padmāvati, of Ratna Sēna, of 'Alāu'd-dīn, of Rāghava Caitanya, and the siege of Citaur (24).

CANTO II.

DESCRIPTION OF SIMHALA-DVĪPA.

I describe Siphala, best of all the seven *dvīpas* (25). Gandharva Sēna was its king. No king ever was so mighty (26). The *dvīpa* is covered with cool orchards, throwing inviting shade (27). Its fruit-

trees (28). The singing of the birds (29). Its wells and springs, surrounded by holy men of various sects (30). Its tanks (31), the maidens who draw water therefrom (32), the birds that resort thereto (33). The fruit gardens (34), and flower gardens (35). The chief city, Sīmhala (36). Its streets and markets (37), its courtesan quarter (38), the bazārs (39). The citadel, its height (40), its strength (41), its guards and the regularity with which they are changed (42). Its two rivers Nira and Kṣīra, and the spring of Mōtī Cūra. Its golden tree with magic fruit which gives new youth (43). The four captains of the citadel and their quarters (44). The doorway of the royal palace, with the elephants there (45), the royal stables and horses (46), the royal court (47). The palace buildings (48), the female apartments. The Chief Queen was Rānī Campāvati (49).¹ She becomes pregnant (50), and a girl is born (51). The naming-ceremony of the 6th night after birth. The Paṇḍits declare her name to be Padmāvati (52). The astrologers bless her and go home. She grows up of perfect beauty and at the same time learned. Kings of all countries demand her in marriage but are refused (53). She becomes twelve years of age, and the king hearing that she is fit for marriage, builds her a magnificent palace, and gives her damsels to bear her company. She obtains a very learned parrot named Hīrāmaṇi, and studies the ṣāstras and vēdas with him. Brahmā himself nodded his head as he heard the parrot's explanations (54). Padmāvati becomes *apta viro*. Her charms (55). The King, hearing that the parrot gives wisdom to Padmāvati, becomes enraged, and orders it to be killed, that it may not eclipse its pupil. The barber and torch bearer run to kill it, but the Princess hides it, and sends a respectful remonstrance to the king, 'the parrot is only a bird. It loves food and flying, and speaks by rote' (56). The parrot thanks the princess, and says there is no escape from an angry master (57). The Princess replies, 'I cannot bear to lose thee, my darling parrot' (58).

CANTO III.

THE BATHING.

On a certain festival Padmāvati and her damsels go to bathe in a lake. Description of the various damsels (59). They play on the bank of the lake, and call upon the princess to be happy while she may (60). They disrobe (61). They bathe (62). They sport (62a).² A damsel loses her necklace in the water. They all dive for it (63). The

¹ In some copies a new canto commences here.

² Rām Jasan gives two stanzas the same number, 62.

lake, at the contact of their beauty, becomes clear and the necklace is found (64).

CANTO IV.

THE ADVENTURES OF THE PARROT.

While Padmāvati was thus sporting, a maidservant went into her palace to steal her flowers and betel to give to a lover. The parrot remonstrates (64*a*).¹ The maid in a rage twists the parrot's neck, plucks him, and shuts him up in an earthen pot (64*b*). The parrot's reflections and self-reproaches. He considers what is best to be done (64*c*). The maid takes the vessel and throws it and the parrot down a well in the forest. The parrot as he is thrown calls upon God (64*d*). He has hardly finished his prayer when he sees a fig tree hanging over the well. He climbs into it, finds it full of fruit and thanks God. His feathers grow again (64*e*).² He flies away, and happens on a part of the forest where the birds treat him with great respect. He praises God (65).

When Padmāvati returns, the major-domo tells her that a cat had come into the house, and that the parrot had flown away from the cage. Her grief. She orders search to be made (66). Her maidens assure her that the search is hopeless (67).

When the parrot has rested a few days in the forest, his fellow birds see a hunter, hidden under a screen of leaves, approaching. Smitten with terror at the apparently moving tree they fly away, but the parrot who is absorbed in contemplation, is struck by the bird catcher's five-pronged rod, and caught by the bird-lime attached to it (68). The hunter breaks his wings and thrusts him into a cage with other birds, they ask him how a wiseacre like him has been caught (69). The parrot explains that it was his own fault. He had become happy and careless, and pride goes before a fall (70). The birds comfort him. They agree that the hunter should not be blamed for catching them, but their own stupidity and greed (71).

CANTO V.

CITAU.

Citra Sēna is king of Citaur. His son is Ratna Sēna. Astrologers promise great things for him. He will go to Siṅghala-dvīpa and

¹ From 64(*a*) to 64(*e*) is an interpolation, found only in some copies of very small authority. The style is different from that of the rest of the poem.

² The ordinary editions insert a line here making the parrot escape from his cage in Padmāvati's house.

bring back a lovely treasure (72). Some merchants of Citaur start for Siphala-dvīpa to purchase goods. One of them is a poor Brāhman, who starts with borrowed capital. Prices of things in Siphala-dvīpa are so high, that he cannot afford to buy anything (73). The others return home with their purchase, and he is left lamenting (74). The hunter brings the parrot for sale in the market. The Brāhman sees it, and asks it if it is learned (75). The parrot replies that when he was free he was learned, but he has lost his knowledge, otherwise how could he be in a cage and hawked in a bazār (76). The hunter and the Brāhman converse. The latter purchases the parrot, and overtakes his companions on the way to Citaur (77). In the meantime Ratna Sēna has succeeded his father Citra Sēna on the throne, news is brought to him of the arrival of merchants from Siphala-dvīpa, and amongst them a Brāhman with a wonderful parrot (78). The Brāhman is sent for, brings the parrot, saying he had not intended to sell it, but his belly must be filled and he is poor (79). The parrot introduces himself to the king and praises his own qualifications. Says his name is Hirāmaṇi, and that he lived formerly with Padmāvati (80). The king purchases the parrot for a lākḥ of rupees, and is pleased with its wisdom. He becomes fond of it, and learns much from it (81).

CANTO VI.

THE PARROT AND THE KING.

One day the King goes out hunting, and his chief-queen, Nāgamati, adorns herself, and, being filled with vanity at her reflection in a mirror, asks the parrot if any one in the world is so beautiful as she (82). The parrot remembering the beauty of Padmāvati, looks in the Queen's face and laughs. He says all the women of Siphala are more beautiful. She becomes angry (83), and considers that if the parrot is allowed to remain in the palace, the king will hear of their beauty, and will fall in love with them and turn a Yōgi. She calls a maidservant, says parrots are treacherous things, and orders it to be killed (84). The maidservant goes to do so, but pauses to consider that the king is fond of the learned bird, and will be sure to ask for it (85), so she only hides it. When the king returns from his hunt he does ask for it. The Queen says a cat has carried it away. 'It was an impudent bird. I asked about the women of Siphala, and it called me a Nāgini (snake), and said I was not as beautiful as they. The parrot was pretty but unbearable like a too heavy golden ear-ring' (86). The king is angry, and maintains that the parrot was learned and wise (87). The Queen is afflicted at the king's anger. She goes to the maidservant and laments

(88). The maidservant says the Queen has brought it on herself by being angry. Anger is a bad thing (89). When the Queen is utterly downcast, she returns the parrot to the king, saying to the king that she only wished to test him. She consoles him (90). The king adjures the parrot to tell the truth about his history (91). The parrot says, I am Hirāmaṇi, the parrot of Padmāvati, Princess of Ceylon, a lady of peerless beauty (92). The king's curiosity is excited. He asks for further particulars about Padmāvati, and says he would like to go to Siṃhala (93). Parrot describes the charms of Siṃhala and its women. Its king Gandharva Sēna and his lovely daughter Padmāvati (94). The king asks the parrot to say all this over again. It complies, and the king becomes enamoured of Padmāvati from the parrot's description (95). The parrot warns the king, that the way of love is hard, and may cost him his life. 'Learn wisdom from the cry of the peacock, "I die, I die," *mucū, mucū*, for he hath given himself up to love.' So also other animals are shown as a warning:—the lizard, the ringdove, and the partridge (96). The King replies that he knows that the path of love is hard at the beginning, but he will dare all for the sake of Padmāvati. He asks the parrot for a complete account of every feature of his beloved, in the form of a *nakk'sikk* (97).

CANTO VII.

A TALE OF BEAUTY (THE NAKH'SIKH).

The parrot describes Padmāvati's hair (98), and its parting (99), her forehead (100), eyebrows (101), eyes (102), eyelashes (103), nose (104), lips (105), teeth (106), voice (107), cheeks (108), ears (109), neck (110), arms (111), bosom (112), belly (113), back (114), waist (115), navel (116) and thighs (117).

CANTO VIII.

THE KING'S PASSION.

The King is thrown into a fever by this description of Padmāvati's beauty, and lies senseless (118). His relations and friends come with doctors. They diagnose the disease as the same as that from which Lakṣmaṇa suffered when struck by Rāvaṇa's arrow, but the magic root which alone cures the disease is not available. They recommend that it should be searched for regardless of cost (119). The King revives, but only raves unintelligently, or cries like a newborn child. He complains that he has been brought back from the city of immortality to that of mortality. He asks to die (120). They remonstrate, and say it

is useless to fight with fate. 'Thy love is unattainable, therefore do not yearn for it' (121). The parrot gives similar advice. 'Thou canst not conquer Sīṃhala by force of arms. The way is difficult, and can only be traversed by Ascetics, Sannyāsis, Yōgīs and the like. Thou could'st not bear the discomforts of such a life. An ascetic who doth not practise austerities hath no success (122). No success can be gained without austerities, and thy body is besieged by the thieves of thy passions; awake, fool, ere they steal all that thou hast' (123). The king, aroused by these remonstrances, discovers that he is involved in the darkness of ignorance, and that without a (spiritual) guide he cannot find his way to Padmāvatī (*i.e.* wisdom) (124). His Hindū friends remonstrate, but he refuses to hear them; without a guide (or *guru*), he can do nothing (125). He gives up his kingdom, becomes a Yōgī, and puts on the ascetic dress (126). The astrologers say it is not a lucky day for starting. He retorts that in love-matters, no one considers lucky times or hours. They are for people who are in possession of their senses. 'Doth a *satī* ask if it is a lucky day when she mounteth the funeral pyre? I must start on my quest. Do ye all return to your homes' (127). The captains of his army call upon all to accompany him to Sīṃhala, after providing themselves with necessaries (128).

CANTO IX.

THE FAREWELL.

The King's mother implores the king to stay (129). He asks her not to tempt him from the right way. 'Earthly joys are fleeting. My *guru* hath ordered me to journey to Sīṃhala. Farewell' (130). Nāgamatī weeps. 'Let me go with thee, as Sitā did with Rāma. Thou wilt find no Padminī as beautiful as I am' (131). He replies, 'When Sitā accompanied Rāma, Rāvaṇa carried her off. I cannot take thee and be a Yōgī. See how Rāja Bhartṛihari left sixteen hundred wives, when he took to a life of mortification,' saying this he starts on his journey (132). His mother weeps. So also his Queens. They break their ornaments. Nine maunds of pearls and ten maunds of crystal bracelets are destroyed. At first there was a great confused sound, and then all was silence (133).

CANTO X.

THE LAND JOURNEY.

The king departs from the city, the people hear of it. Sixteen thousand knights accompany him. They all become Yōgīs, and take

the salmon-coloured vestments (134). The good omens at departure. Girls with full waterpots; Goālins crying 'buy my tyre;' flower-girls with garlands; *khañjan* birds seated on snakes' heads; deer to the right, and door-keepers to the left; dark-coloured bullocks lowing on the right, and jackals motionless on the left; white quails in the sky to the left, and foxes coming out and showing themselves; crows on the left, and owls on the right. Vyāsa has promised success to him who sets out with omens such as these (135). He sets out and says, 'Let to-day be a short stage. To-morrow we must take the long journey (*i.e.*, to-day we live, to-morrow we die). There are mountains and rivers to be crossed, with robbers lurking in the bye-ways. He who goeth steadily forward at ten *kūś* a day will arrive safely (136). Go carefully along the road, picking your way, with sandals on your feet. The road is rough and thorny. On the right lies Bidar¹ (Vidarbha) and on the left Candērī, one road goes to Siṃhala-dvīpa and another to Lanḱā (*sic*)' (137). Then says the parrot, 'Let him be guide who knoweth the way. Can the blind lead the blind?' So they asked the way of Vijaya-giri, King of Vijayanagara. He says, 'Behind are Kunda and Gōlā (Golconda (?)). Leave on the left (?) Ādhiāra Khaṭōla. To the south on the right lieth Tilinga, and directly to the north is the Karahakaṭaṅgā (? Karnāṭak).² Midway is the main gate of Ratnapura (Kāncī), and to the left is the hill of Jhārakhaṇḍa (Baij'nāth). To the left front is Orissa, and cross ye the sea to the south' (138). They wander through the forest, and sleep on the ground, the King alone waking through the night, playing on his five-stringed lute, and with his eyes fixed on the road to Padmāvatī (139). After a month's journey they come to the sea-shore. King Gajapati approaches and asks who they are. Ratna Sēna asks for boats (140). Gajapati agrees, but warns him of the danger of the passage. 'There are seven seas to cross, *viz.*—the Kṣāra,³ the Kṣīra, the Dadhi, the Udadhi, the Surā-jala, the Kilakilākūta (and the Mānasara). There is no one capable of crossing all' (141). The King replies, 'To one in love what is death?' I am compelled to follow my path. I am a disciple of Raṅga Nātha (? Kṛiṣṇa, Ṣri-raṅga),

¹ The poet's strong point is certainly not Geography.

² All this is simply a tentative paraphrase. The readings have not been established yet. Paṇḍit Sudhākara Dvivedī suggests that the correct reading may be *hoi kara ekaṭaṅgā*, the fabulous land of one-legged men.

³ The enumeration of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa is Lavaṇa, Ikṣu, Surā, Ghṛita, Dadhi, Dugdha, Jala. *Kilakila* is the boiling sound of rushing water. *Kūta* is a (*hēth* word meaning 'uncertainty, guess.' *Akūta* means 'without uncertainty,' hence 'extreme.' *Kilakilākūta* is the extremely turbulent sea roaring with the boiling caused by subaqueous fire (*baḍavāgni*). The seventh or Mānasara sea is not mentioned till stanza 161. This last name is in direct contradiction to the Purāṇas. Note ² to stanza 2 above should be corrected according to the above list.

I must go where he leadeth me (142). The sea of love is deeper than any of the seven seas. I am not afraid of them (143). I welcome dangers. I have given away all that I have, perhaps God will pass me over in return' (144). Praise of charity (*diyā*, with puns on *diyā*, a thing given, *diyā* a light, and *diyā*, a continent) (145).

CANTO XI.

THE SHIP.

Gajapati seeing his warnings ineffectual gives fully equipped ships (146). They bring the ships to the shore. A minnow, the size of a mountain, appears. The knights express their devotion to the king (147). The boatmen laugh. 'Sea-fish are bigger than fresh-water ones. This is only a minnow. Wait till you see a salmon, which can swallow a thousand of these at one gulp. Then there is a bird, which can carry off a salmon in its beak' (148). They catch the minnow on a fish-line, with an elephant for bait. They pull it in, with difficulty, and it dies (149). Description of the vast size of the minnow. It is cut up and eaten. The knights again express their devotion, at the same time pointing out the dangers of the sea (150). He expresses his determination to go on in spite of dangers, till he finds Padmāvatī (151).

CANTO XII.

THE SEVEN OCEANS.

They embark, set sail and are tossed about. Faith in a spiritual preceptor leads one across all oceans. They cross the Kṣāra, (salt) sea (152). Description of the Kṣāra (milk) sea (153), of the Dadhi (tyre) sea (154), of the Udadhi (hot) sea (155), of the Surā (wine) sea (156), of the Kilakilākūta (boiling) sea. Its flames and whirlpool (157). Hīrāmaṇi, the parrot, explains that this is the most dangerous. It can only be crossed by the elect, and on a path like a sword edge,¹ too narrow even for an ant. He who falls goes to hell. He who crosses safely gets heaven (158). The king gives the betel leaf (token of acceptance of a dangerous task by the recipient) to his followers and encourages them. He is determined to go on (159). The various ships of the fleet. How they fared. First goes the king's ship, and he is led by the parrot. They all pass the Kilakilākūta sea (160). They come to the seventh sea, the Mānasara. Description of this sea. Its delights (161).

¹ An adaptation of the well-known Muḥammadan legend.

CANTO XIII.

THE ARRIVAL AT SĪMHALA-DVĪPA.

The king notices that the air is balmy (162). Hīrāmaṇi congratulates him, and points out the chief town of Sīmhala-dvīpa (163). He points out the fort, and describes it, and its inaccessibility (164). 'Within it dwelleth Padmāvati. If thou desire to see her, follow my advice. On that glittering mountain is the temple of Mahādēva. In the latter fortnight of Māgha,¹ occurs the festival of the Ṣrī-Pañcamī (now called Vasanta Pañcamī). The doors of the temple are opened on that occasion and all the people go there to worship. Padmāvati will come to worship on that day, and then thou canst meet her. Do thou go and wait at the temple, and I will go to Padmāvati and ask her to come' (165). The king says he will climb to heaven if necessary, let alone a mountain. The higher he goes the better. Description of the advantages of elevated aims (166), and of the disadvantages of low aims (167). Hīrāmaṇi starts for Padmāvati's palace, and the king for the mountain. The latter finds a golden temple there, with four doors, and, inside, four pillars. It is a popular place of pilgrimage, for the wishes of pilgrims are granted by it (168).

CANTO XIV.

THE GARDEN, THE GROVE, AND THE TEMPLE.

The king, escorted by 30,000 Yōgis, circumambulates the temple, and prays for a sight of Padmāvati (169). A mysterious voice issues from the temple, in answer to his prayers. 'Love conquereth all. He who serveth a God with all his heart and soul, when the God is pleased, obtaineth the fruit of his service.' On hearing this the king seats himself at the eastern door as a Yōgī (170). There, seated on his tiger-skin, he does austerities, ever muttering the name 'Padmāvati, Padmāvati.' The eyes of his ecstatic sight are ever fixed on her vision. His very clothes are burned with the heat of his fever (171).

Padmāvati at this time, by a coincidence, falls into the toils of love. She passes restless nights, and burns with fever (172). Her condition further described. Her nurse asks her what is the matter with her (173). She describes her fevered state (174). The nurse warns her of the dangers of love (175). Padmāvati replies,—'The pangs of separation from a beloved one are intolerable' (176). Padmāvati not being comforted, the nurse consoles her, and recommends

¹ Note that the month is Pūrṇimānta. The Ṣrī Pañcamī is the 5th of the light half of Māgha.

virtue, (love, of course, means search for wisdom in the allegory), and patience. 'Just as one who restraineth his breath is a Yōgī, so she who restraineth her passions is a *śalī*, a virtuous woman. The spring festival of *Çri-Pañcamī* approacheth. Worship God on that day' (177). Till the day of the festival is reached, *Padmāvati* becomes more and more fevered (178). While she is in this condition, *Hirāmaṇi* arrives. She embraces him and weeps. Her companions sympathize (179).

CANTO XV.

THE MEETING OF PADMAVĀTĪ AND THE PARROT.

Padmāvati asks after the parrot's health, and why it had abandoned its cage. The Parrot replies, and tells the story of its escape. 'The hunter sold me to a Brāhman who took me to Jambu-dvīpa. There he took me to Citra Sēna, king of Citaur, who was succeeded by his son (180), named Ratna Sēna. He is all-perfect. I considered him a fit mate for thee, and praised thee to him (181). Fired by my description, he hath been filled with love for thee. He is become a Yōgī and come to Sīphala with 16,000 knights as his disciples, beside other innumerable friends and companions, who make a crowd like a fair at the temple of Mahādēva. There he is watching for thee. Thou art the lotus and he is the bee' (182). *Padmāvati* pleased at the account. She becomes filled with pride. 'Who hath dared to put his hand in the lion's mouth? Who will dare to tell my father? Who in the world is fit to be my husband?' (183). The parrot insists that Ratna is a golden jewel, and is worthy of her, and describes his pitiful condition (184). *Padmāvati* affected by the description. 'Let me go and see him burning thus. Yet gold improves by burning. I am to blame for this burning. I will visit him. The festival of spring approacheth. I will go to the temple on pretence of worshipping' (185). She rewards the parrot, who prepares to fly away. She taxes him with faithlessness. He says he must return and give the news to Ratna, who is anxiously awaiting him (186). He comes to Ratna, and tells him the news. 'I have met the Guru Gōrakṣanātha,¹ and he (she) sent a gracious message. The Guru is like the black bee,² and the disciple like the fly. That fly alone meeteth the bee, which is ready to give up its life for one meeting.

¹ Here *Padmāvati* (wisdom) is shown as the supreme preceptor of all Yōgīs, Gōrakṣanātha.

² The Bhrīṅga, or potter-bee, devours insects and they are born again as Bhrīṅgas. It is now-a-days called the *kumbhariyā*, *bīlanī*, or *bisundharī*.

The Guru hath shown great kindness to thee, and hath given thee knowledge in a new incarnation. Thou wilt live by thy death, and the Bhrāmara-bee will find the lotus, and drink its nectar. The spring time cometh, and then the bee findeth the nectar. The Yōgī who fully beareth austerities obtaineth final success.' (187).

CANTO XVI.

THE SPRING FESTIVAL.

The festival of the Çrī-Pañcamī comes on. Padmāvati summons her companions to attend her to the temple of Mahādēva (188). They assemble with music, and in gay dresses. All princesses, and of perfect beauty. It is spring time, and they are like spring themselves (189). She starts. Her retinue of various castes (190). Continuation of names of castes (191). They rejoice amongst themselves (192). The fruit they take with them (193). The flowers (194). The musical instruments. They dance as they go (195). They arrive at the temple. The Gods, seeing them, are astonished, and say they must be nymphs escaped from heaven. Other Gods give other similar explanations (196). Padmāvati enters the temple. She makes her offering of flowers and fruit, and prays. 'All my companions are married. I alone am a maiden. Give me a husband' (197). Mahādēva being struck senseless by her beauty¹ gives no answer. A mysterious voice tells her this. Padmāvati complains that it is no use praying to Gods like him (198). Just then a companion comes and tells her that she has seen at the eastern door of the temple a remarkable Yōgī, who looks like a prince (199). She goes to see him. Their eyes meet. He falls senseless with love (200). Padmāvati sprinkles sandal on him to revive him. He does not wake. So, with the sandal, she writes on his chest over his heart, 'Thou hast not learned the art of asking alms. When the damsel came thou didst fall asleep. How canst thou get thy living? If the sun (*i.e.*, thou) be enamoured of the moon (*i.e.*, me), it climbeth to the seventh heaven (*i.e.*, the seventh story of the castle).' She departs with her companions (201). They leave the hill. Lamentations of the Gods at their departure. They are all dead (202). Padmāvati enters the palace, sleeps, and dreams a wonderful dream. She asks her friends to interpret it (203). They interpret it as meaning her marriage (204).

¹ Padmāvati's 'fatal beauty' has this effect on every one who sees her for the first time. So Ratna (200), Rīghava (489), and 'Alāu'd-dīn (609).

CANTO XVII.

THE AUSTERITIES OF RATNA SĒNA.

Ratna Sēna awakes from his faint. His desolation at finding Padmāvati gone (205). The very sandal on his chest burns him (206). His lamentations (207). He complains of Mahādēvā not answering his prayers. Mahādēva is a mere stone. There is no good in watering a rock (208). Mahādēva explains that he himself was struck senseless at Padmāvati's beauty, and could not help (209). Ratna admits the justice of the excuse. He gives up, and prepares for death (210). He arranges to burn himself to death on a pyre lit by the fire (of separation) which consumes him. The Gods fear that the intense heat will consume the universe (211). Hanumān, who was the guardian of the mountain, goes and warns Pārvati and Mahēça.¹ 'I, who burned up Laṅkā, am about to be burned by this Yōgī' (212).

CANTO XVIII.

PĀRVATI AND MAHĒÇA.

Mahēça, Pārvati, and Hanumān haste to the temple. They remonstrate with Ratna on the dangers of a general conflagration (213). Ratna accuses Mahēça of wantonly causing his death, and tells of his hopeless love for Padmāvati. As he says this, the fire of his woe blazes up still more furiously, and, had not Mahēça extinguished it with nectar, the whole world would have been burnt (214). Pārvati determines to test his passion if it is real or not. She takes the form of a celestial nymph, and tempts him (215). He withstands the temptation (216). Pārvati recognizes the love as genuine, and recommends Mahādēva to grant him his desire (217). The king recognizes them as Gods (or perfected ones) (*siddha*), for flies do not settle on their body, they do not wink, they throw no shadow, and suffer neither from hunger nor from illusion. Judging from his appearance, this must be Mahēça. Without a Guru no one finds the path, and without Gorakṣanātha, no Yōgī obtains perfection (*siddhi*) (218). He falls at Mahēça's feet, and weeps floods of tears (219). The universe is flooded: Mahēça consoles him. Advises him,—'Until the burglar breaks into the house, he gets no booty. The fort of Sindhala has seven stories, no one returns alive who once sets foot upon it' (220). Description of the fort, being at the same time a metaphorical description of the human body. At the foot of the fort is a tank with subterranean gallery. Thou must dive into the tank and enter by this, as a thief enters a house by a mine (221).

¹The poet identifies Mahēça and Mahādēva as the same person.

The tenth or inmost door (*i.e.*, internal perception)¹ is only to be approached by mystical suppression of breath,² and by suppression of self. He who doeth this, understandeth that the 'Ego' is all in all, and alone existeth. He is himself both teacher and pupil, life and death, body and soul (222).

CANTO XIX.

THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE CASTLE.

Ratna having thus received instruction in perfection (*siddhi*) from Mahēṣa, offers thānks to Gaṇēṣa, and, under Mahēṣa's advice, the Yōgīs surround the castle. As a thief first examines a house before attacking it, so intend they to dig a mine. The gates are closed, and the King is informed that an army of Yōgīs is surrounding the fort. He sends messengers to find out the truth (223). The messengers come to Ratna and ask if they are Yōgīs or merchants. Directs them to go to a distance from the fort. The King will be angry. 'If ye be merchants, do your traffic and depart. If ye be Yogis, finish your begging and go' (224). Ratna replies. 'I am come to beg, and will take what the King giveth. Padmāvati^o is the daughter of the king, I have become Yōgī for her, and am come here to beg for her' (225). The messenger is angry. Threatens Ratna. 'If the king hear he will let elephants loose on thee, will fire thunderbolts at thee. Thou art demanding a thing thou canst not even see. Art thou mad?' (226.) Ratna replies,—'I am a Yōgī, and can but do what becometh my profession. Thy power is in the elephants of Siṅghala, and mine in the elephant of my Guru. He can destroy thine elephants, and turn mountains into dust' (227). The messenger returns and reports Ratna's words to the king. The latter is enraged, and orders the Yōgīs to be killed. The prime minister remonstrates. 'If thou kill them, they are but beggars; and if thou art defeated, thou wilt be disgraced. Let them remain below the fort. How many Yōgīs have come and gone. Leave them alone, and they will have to go away for want of food' (228). Ratna wonders why the messenger does not return. He writes a letter to Padmāvati, and sends it to her by the parrot (229), with a verbal message, recalling their former meeting (230), and describing his woes (231). He ties the letter with a golden thread to the parrot's neck. The latter carries it to Padmāvati. Her lamentable condition (232). She addresses the parrot, and laments her separation. The parrot

¹ In the previous stanza, the nine openings of the body are described as doors, and the tenth door is internal perception.

² One of the exercises of Yōgī austerities.

replies,—‘The Yōgī whom thou sawest at the temple of Mahādēva is distraught for thee. He doth nought but murmur thy name’ (233). His sufferings. ‘His life-blood is reddening the whole world.’ Her cruelty in not returning the love (234). ‘When thou didst sport at the spring festival, thou didst mix the vermilion of thy forehead with his blood. He wept, and would have burnt himself upon a pyre had not Mahēṣa and Parvātī intervened. They extinguished the fire and showed him the road,—the road that leadeth to death. The path of love is difficult. If a man climb it, heaven is at the top; if he fall on the way, he falleth into hell. His desire is now but to see thee, whether he receive consolation from thee or die hopeless. He hath sent a letter to thee. Now give the order whether he is to live or to die’ (235). He gives her the letter. Poetical description of the effect of the burning words contained in it (236). Padmāvati takes the letter, but doubts the sincerity of his love (237). She writes a letter in reply:—‘When I visited the temple, why didst thou not tie the marriage knot? Thou becamest senseless, and, for modesty, I could not speak before my companions. I threw sandal on thee, but thou didst not awake. Now he, who like the moon, climbeth the sky, and risketh his life, obtaineth his object (238). Other heroes have unavailingly aspired to my hand. I am queen Padmāvati. I live in the seventh heaven (or story of the castle). He will obtain me who first destroyeth himself (239). I am pleased at receiving thy letter. Dare greatly, and thou wilt obtain me’ (240).

Description of Ratna’s condition, while waiting for a reply to his letter. He is at the point of death, when the parrot arrives with Padmāvati’s letter, which was like medicine to him (241). He revives. The parrot gives him the letter and message of Padmāvati, viz., ‘The Guru calleth his disciple quickly. She wisheth to make thee perfected. Come quickly. Life dwelleth in thy name. Thy way is within mine eyes, and thy place is within my heart’ (242). Ratna gets new life. His delight, and desire to obey her (243). He goes by the path which Mahēṣa had pointed out to him, and dives with his disciples into the tank at the foot of the fort.¹ He finds the door of the secret passage. He finds a zig-zag path, but it is morning when he commences to ascend the fort. There is a noise in the town that thieves have entered the castle (244). King Gandharva Sēna sends for his paṇḍits, and asks them what is the proper punishment for Yōgīs who do house-breaking. They reply, impalement (248). The Prime Minister warns the king to be careful. ‘Take care lest these Yōgīs be perfected ones (*siddha*)’ (246). The king orders his army to assemble to seize the Yōgīs. The

¹ See 221.

portents which ensue (247). Ratna Sēna's companions wish to fight the army (248). Ratna Sēna dissuades them. He is ready to sacrifice himself (249). The king-surrounds them. Ratna consoles them, and sings on his lute in honour of the Guru (250). 'I trust in my Guru and care not for what may happen (251). Padmāvati is my Guru, and I am her Cēlā. I am her slave' (252). Padmāvati fades away in Ratna's absence (253). She is heart-broken, her companions sympathize with her (254), and try to console her, but in vain (255).

CANTO XX.

THE CONSOLATION OF PADMĀVATĪ.

The companions console her (256). She laments, asks for poison. She calls for Hirāmaṇi (257). The nurse brings him. He comforts her. She faints, and recovers (258). He continues; describes Ratna Sēna's condition (259). Hirāmaṇi feels her pulse, and finds out that the creeper of love has really taken root in her heart. He describes to her the plant (260). Padmāvati expresses her trust in the parrot: asks him to bring about a meeting between her and her beloved (261). The parrot tells how Ratna had attempted to approach her, but as morning came before he had ascended, he had been seized and condemned to the stake (262). Padmāvati's consternation. 'If Ratna dies, I shall die too. I am no longer Guru. He is Guru, and I am Cēlā' (263). The parrot replies,—'Although he is thy Cēlā, he is now perfected. Thy perfection hath gone to him, and his sorrows have come to thee. Ye are one in one. He cannot now be harmed by death' (264). She is comforted and tells the parrot to tell Ratna to give up asceticism and act as a king, for he is king of her heart (265).

CANTO XXI.

THE IMPALEMENT.

Ratna is led with his followers to the place of impalement. The people pity him and say he cannot be a Yōgi. He must be a prince in love. When he sees the stake he laughs. The people ask why (266). He replies that he is glad to die. He has wished for death. Asks that there may be no delay (267). They tell him to call the one he loves best to mind. He proclaims his love for Padmāvati (268).

The Yōgis being in this danger, the throne of Mahādēva is shaken. He discusses with Pārvatī as to what had best be done. They disguise themselves as bards (bhāṭas) and go with Hanumān to the scene of execution and hide themselves. There Gandharva Sēna has a large army

(269). Ratna is calling to mind Padmāvatī, and thanking Māhēṣa, who showed him the way to her. Pārvatī moved to pity looks at Mahādēva. She asks Mahādēva to save him (270).

In the meantime Hirāmaṇi comes to Ratna with the message of Padmāvatī. Ratna Sēna rejoices at the message. The parrot, and, in sympathy with him, all the people, moved to tears. The parrot and the Bard (Mahādēva) agree to risk their lives, and go towards the king Gandharva Sēna (271). The Bard, seeing Gandharva Sēna, and unable to bear Ratna Sēna's ill-treatment, determines to be a man and risk his life. He approaches Gandharva Sēna, and salutes him and the court with his left hand. He says,—'Yōgis are water. Thou art fire. When these two fight, the fire is extinguished (272). This is not merely a Yōgī. He is a great king. If thou kill him there will be a tremendous battle, and every being will help him. When Mahādēva (his protector) rings his battle-bell, Brahmā, Vāsuki, and the eight elephants of the quarters will appear. Volcanoes will burst forth into action, and mountains will be rent into dust. Kṛiṣṇa will come, and a crowd from Indra's heaven, thirty-three crores of Gods and ninety-six cloud-armies. The ninety *nāthas*¹ and the eighty-four *siddhas* will come. Garuḍa and vultures will hover in the sky' (273).

Gandharva Sēna asks,—'Who is this insolent bard who salutes me with his left hand? Who is this Yōgī who comes to my palace and enters it by a mine like a thief? Indra, Kṛiṣṇa, Brahmā, Vāsuki, the Earth, mount Mēru, the Moon, Sun and Sky, the clouds, the mundane tortoise all fear me. What fear I for all this?'² The Bard warns him to have a care (274). He quotes as an example the case of Rāvaṇa who was killed by two ascetics, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Pride goes before a fall (275).

The Bard, seeing the king angry, comes forward humbly, and addresses him. 'Bards are sacred persons. Bards are incarnations of Iṣvara. A Bard comes with his life in his hands. He is inviolable.' The king asks why the Bard has been so insolent, and tells him to be more respectful, and to tell who he and the Yōgī are (276). The Bard replies :—'The truth is, there is one Ratna Sēna, son of Citra Sēna, King of Citaur in Jambu-dvīpa. Him alone do I salute with my right hand, and none else. My name is Mahāpātra, and I am his impudent beggar' (277).

Mahādēva ashamed (at the king not believing him, and seeing himself compelled to disclose his real name), still in his character as a bard,²

¹ Jagannātha, Vaidyanātha, &c.

² *Dasasandhī*, means 'bard.' It is the Sanskrit *daśadhī*, 'the man of ten wits.' It is commonly used together with *bhāṣa*, the two words together meaning 'bard.'

again addresses the king in humble language. 'Gandharva Sēna, mighty king, I am an incarnation of Mahēṣa,¹ hear what I say. I must tell thee what will happen. Why shouldst thou be angry? This is a prince, and not a Yōgī, who heard of Padmāvatī, and became ascetic for her sake. He is the son of a king of Jambu-dvīpa, and what is written in the book of fate cannot be erased. Thy parrot brought him hither, and thou becamest angry thereat. Then this matter was heard in Ḍivalōka. Marry the pair and do a virtuous action. He who begged from thee, will not leave thy door till he dieth. Even though it be a golden cup, give him alms, and kill him not' (278). Gandharva Sēna angrily calls him a beggar-bard, and tells him to go. 'This Yōgī must be impaled. I fear no one. Who is powerful as I (279)?'

Mahēṣa at length brings up his troops, and puts the Yōgīs behind them. The Prime minister advises the king not to fight, but the latter obstinately persists. Aṅgada, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, comes to help the Yōgīs. He begins by flinging five of the king's elephants into the sky (280). The battalion of elephants is ranged so as to protect the rest of the king's army. Hanumān comes and sweeps away the battalion with his tail (281). Īvara's battle-bell, and Viṣṇu's battle-conch is heard. All the Gods, demous, &c, come down to the fight. Gandharva Sēna falls at Mahādēva's feet, prays for mercy, and offers to give his daughter to whomever he may order (282). Thus Mahēṣa performs the office of an ambassador; at first bitter, then sweet. Recommends Gandharva Sēna to ask Hirāmaṇi about Citaur. 'Ratna is a jewel; test him, and marry him to your daughter' (283). The king sends for the parrot and asks him how the Yōgīs came to the palace (284). The parrot begins by flattering the king (285). He tells his adventures and why he brought Ratna here. The king is pleased (286). The king is convinced, first by the words of the bard, and then by those of Hirāmaṇi. He sends for Ratna Sēna. He is identified as a prince by the thirty-two signs (287). Every one seeing him to be worthy of Padmāvatī, rejoices. The war music is changed to nuptial melodies (288). The king consents to the marriage. The Gods go home. Ratna Sēna and his princes put off their ascetic garments. General happiness (289).

[Here an Urdū edition adds:—

The body is Citaur-fort, and the soul is the king. The heart is Sīphala-dvīpa, and Brāhmā is the Padminī. The *guru* is the parrot who sets one on the way. Illusion is 'Alāu'd-dīn, and Satan is Rāghava. Worldly cares are Nāgamatī (the snake-queen), who biteth those who love her.]

¹ See stanza 212, note¹.

CANTO XXII.

THE MARRIAGE.

The date fixed for the marriage. The preparations (290). The dress for Ratna Sēna (291). The marriage procession (292). Padmāvati mounts to the top of the palace and watches the procession (293). Her companions point out the bridegroom (294). Padmāvati's happiness at seeing Ratna. She faints from ecstasy (295). She recovers and explains that she had fainted in sorrow at the thought of leaving her home (296). The arrival of the procession (297). The feast prepared. The table arrangements (298). The food at the feast (299). There is no music, and Ratna and his guests refuse to eat. The Paṇḍit asks why (300). The king explains that there is no music. Sound was created before the Vēdas. When Adam was created, knowledge entered into his body with sound. At mealtimes there should be enjoyment. The eyes, tongue, nose, and ears should all be gratified (301). The Paṇḍit replies that music is intoxicating and excites the passions; hence it is not allowed at meals (302). *Sharbat* and *attar* are distributed; the marriage ceremonies are performed (303). Continuation of marriage ceremonies (304). Ratna Sēna receives the dower, and is invited by Gandharva Sēna to remain in Siṃhala-dvīpa (305).

CANTO XXIII.

THE NUPTIAL CHAMBER.

Ratna Sēna is given a palace to live in (306). Description of it (307). Of the slaves in the nuptial chamber (308). Of the nuptial bed (309). The bridesmaids separate the bride from the bride-groom till night-fall, and proceed to adorn the latter. The weariness of the hours without Padmāvati (310). At night-fall the bridesmaids come and ask him (teasing him) where she is (311). Ratna entreats to be allowed to meet her (312). (No. 313 not in any edition). His entreaties continued¹ (314). The bridesmaids tease him still. They say they do not know where she is. He is a Yōgi. What has he to do with princesses? She is busy with the twelve methods of adornment (*ābharāṇa*) which are as follows (315),—bathing, application of sandal, vermilion on the parting of the hair, a spangle on the forehead, collyrium, earrings, nose-stud, betel to redden her lips, necklets, armlets, a girdle and anklets. Then there are the sixteen graces (*ṣṛiṅgāra*),—four long, four short, four stout, and four thin (316).

Description of Padmāvati adorning herself (317). Her features

¹ 310-314 are full of similes derived from chemistry.

(318). Her ornaments (319). Being fully adorned she delays going to her husband. She is frightened at what may happen (320). Her bridesmaids encourage her (321). She sets out for the nuptial chamber. Her charms as she goes (322).

She enters the nuptial chamber. Ratna Sēna is struck senseless by her beauty. They revive him, saying his Guru (*i.e.*, Padmāvati) is here (323). He takes her arm and leads her to the bed. She modestly shrinks back. She says he is a Yōgī and she does not like him (324). He says he became Yōgī for her sake. He recounts the dangers he has gone through (325). She replies that self-praise is no recommendation. No one ever heard of a Yōgī-king. She teases him. 'Thou art not a Yōgī, but a mere beggar. A Yōgī, by suppression of his breath, can mount into the air and fly in spirit where'er he listeth. Thou art but a beggar disguised as a Yōgī, as Rāvaṇa was who carried off Sitā. When the night sees the moon it is no longer dark, and so, Yōgī, now that thou hast become king thou hast forgotten thy austerities' (316). He repeats that he was but a pilgrim of love. 'Be kind. Even Sitā gave alms to Rāvaṇa. I have become crimson, (*i.e.*, glorious) from the reflection of thy colour, and like the sun have I mounted to the sky. Where the moon is cool, how can I be hot? Therefore, lady, fulfil my heart's desire (327)! She replies (teasing him still). 'Thou sayest thou art crimson. How didst thou get this colour? It is not from thy fine clothes. It seemeth to come from a burning heart. The red *majitha* dye cometh from long cooking. The Palāça tree has to be burnt before it beareth its scarlet blossoms. Betel and the areca nut do not become red till caustic lime is added' (328). He replies. 'I have been burnt in the fire of love' (329). Padmāvati,—'Thou art a wandering Yōgī, thou wilt not remain faithful' (330). Ratna;—'Though I may roam, I will never forget. But I will not even roam' (331). She challenges him to play *caupar*. He consents (332). He admits that he is beaten by her. Figurative comparison of *caupar*, and the game of love¹ (333). Padmāvati laughs. 'I see indeed thou art crimson from my colour. I went to the temple when Hīrāmaṇi told me thou wast there. I was enchanted at thy beauty, and I loved thee (334).² What magic art thou master of, that thy pains were reborn in me? I suffered all the pangs that thou didst suffer. There is naught between us now, all

¹ Till a proper text is obtained it will be impossible to translate 332 and 333 correctly. They are full of metaphorical allusions to the game of *caupar* or *causar*, the Indian Backgammon. I have taken the trouble to learn the game, and have consulted several good players, but none of them can interpret the present printed text satisfactorily.

² It is possible that this stanza represents the words of the Prince

I have, my body, my soul, my youth, my life, I dedicate to thee' (335). Again she adds, 'Verily thou art crimson from my colour. Thou art a Rājā of noble family. But thy home is in Jambu-dvīpa, how didst thou learn of Sīṃhala? How did Çaṅkara teach thee this love' (336). Ratna replies, 'I did what Hirāmaṇi told me, and I became absorbed in thee' (337). She smiles and confesses that she fell into a like state with regard to him at Hirāmaṇi's words (338). * * * * * Morning comes, then Ratna leaves her. The bridesmaids come and see Padmāvati sleeping (345). They wake her. Her disarray (346). They laugh, and tease her about her disarray and ask how Ratna had treated her (347). She replies that she had learned that there is no one dearer than a husband and that her maiden fears were unfounded (348). She gives further particulars (349). They comment on her disordered condition (350). They run and tell her mother Queen Campāvati, that Padmāvati is not well. 'She looketh withered, and her colour is gone.' Campāvati hearing this, knows what it means, and laughs. She goes with the tiring women to Padmāvati, kisses and blesses her (351). The women sit round and commiserate Padmāvati. 'The child is restless,' they say. 'The lotus bud is full of tenderness, and slender, and delicate is her waist. She is like the moon in eclipse, she who shone like the sun with a thousand rays.' They anoint and bathe her, and again she blooms like the full moon (352). They clothe her in beautiful garments (353).

Ratna Sēna appears in public. His friends who accompanied him from Citaur congratulate him (354). He replies and gets 16,000 Padmini girls, and gives them to his friends as wives (355).

Padmāvati calls her companions, and gives them presents. They rejoice (356). She then goes to Mahādēva's temple and worships him (357).

Night approaches. The bride and bridegroom meet again. Amorous talk. He challenges a fight. She prepares the artillery of her eyes, and calls on him to fight with an equal. She is a Queen and he a Yōgi (358). He replies, 'I am a Yōgi who conquereth both in love and in war. I am both Hanumān and the god of love. A master of horses and of the lower lip. I wound my enemy with the sword, and thy heart also, &c., &c.' (359).

CANTO XXIV.

THE SIX SEASONS AND THE TWELVE MONTHS.

Spring (*Vasanta*) comes, a season of joy (360). The hot season (*Griṣma*) (361). The rains (*Pāvasa*) (362). The autumn (*Çarad*)

(363). The cool and dewy season (*Çiçira*) (364). The winter (*Haimanta*) (365).

Queen Nāgamatī, Ratna's deserted wife, in Citaur, laments her lonely lot (366). Her sad state (367). Her companions console her (368). The *Bārah Māsā*, *Aṣādha* (369), *Çrāvāna* (370), *Bhādra* (371), *Āçvina* (372), *Kārttika* (373), *Agrahāyana* (374), *Pauṣa* (375), *Māgha* (376), *Phālguna* (377), *Caitrā* (378), *Vaiçākha* (379), *Jyaiṣṭha* (380). The year of Nāgamatī's torture again comes round with *Aṣādha* (381). Thus month by month she weeps throughout the year (382).

CANTO XXV.

NĀGAMATĪ'S MESSAGE.

Nāgamatī is distraught and wanders in the forest asking the birds for news of her husband (383). She tells the birds her woes (384). A bird named Vihangama¹ hears Nāgamatī's cries at night, and asks her what is the matter, she tells her woes. 'My husband hath become a Yōgī and gone to Siṃhala-dvīpa. I get no news of him (385). I am dry and bare as a lute (naught but wood and strings, *i. e.*, bones and muscles). Who will go and tell my husband (386)? O, tell Padmāvati to let my husband return to me' (387). The woes of Ratna Sēna's mother Sarasvatī (388).

Vihangama take the message to Siṃhala. The burning message parches all the country. He rests on a tree by the edge of the sea (389). Ratna Sēna is hunting in the forest, and turns to the tree. He ties his horse and sits down. He looks up, sees Vihangama, and asks his name and why he is black. The bird replies 'Two months ago I went to Jambu-dvīpa, I saw a city called Citaur. How can I tell its misery. I am burnt black (390). The Rājā became a Yōgī and departed. The city became empty and dark. His Queen Nāgamatī is burnt by unhappy love. By this time she is probably burnt to ashes. The fire of her woe is consuming the universe, and I was burnt black then, and fled for my life' (391). Ratna Sēna tells who he is and asks for further news (392). Vihangama reproaches him (393), describes his mother's condition (394), and Nāgamatī's (395). The effects of Nāgamatī's sorrow on the outer world (396). The Rājā welcomes the bird, and asks it to come down to him. Vihangama refuses. He prefers freedom (397), and departs. Ratna goes home sorrowful and determines to return to Citaur (398). He is distraught and full of regrets (399).

¹ *Vihangama*, is also the name of an exercise (*mārḡa*) of *Yōga*. There is of course here (as throughout) the double meaning.

He sends his compliments to Gandharva Sēna (400). He goes to him and says that he has had news that Citaur is threatened by the Emperor of Delhi, and that his brother is also threatening it. He must go home (401). The court regrets his departure. He asks for a lucky day to be fixed for the departure (402). Padmāvati ineffectually remonstrates (403). Distress of her companions (404). She calls them and bids them farewell (405). Their lamentations (406). They counsel her to obey her husband (407).

CANTO XXVI.

THE ASTROLOGERS.

The astrologers describe the luck of departures on the various week days (408). On what days of the month the unlucky Yōginī prohibits departure in certain directions (409). The lucky days of the lunar month (410). The signs of the zodiac (411). When the moon and stars are powerful on certain days (412). The Nakṣatras and Yōgas (413).

CANTO XXVII.

THE JOURNEY AND SHIPWRECK.

Padmāvati mounts her litter (414). She departs with Ratna. Her attendants and their glory. The king sends with Ratna valuable presents (415). Ratna, seeing all this wealth, becomes proud. The sea determines to ask for toll (416). The sea appears in person as a beggar, and asks for charity (417). Ratna angrily refuses. The sea threatens him (418).

Before they get half way across the sea, the wind rises. The ships lose their course (419). A sailor of Vibhīṣaṇa, a frightful Rākṣasa, appears in the sea (420). He is delighted at seeing the ships out of command. 'These Padminīs will be dainty morsels for Vibhīṣaṇa.' He approaches the ship and asks what is the matter (421). Ratna calls him and asks him to show the way. He promises jewelry if he brings the ship safe to land (422). The Rākṣasa offers to conduct the ship to the Sētubandha, if he is given a present beforehand (423). The Rākṣasa takes the ship to where the bones of Mahirāvaṇa lie, in a great whirlpool. The ship revolves in it. The King calls out 'What are you doing? Here is the Sētubandha' (424). The Rākṣasa laughs. 'This is the city of Mahirāvaṇa. He used to bear the weight of the earth. When he died his bones remained here' (425). The ship is merged in the whirlpool. The elephants, horses, and men on board all sink. Carnivor-

ous animals assemble. The Rākṣasa dances with delight, but at that moment a huge bird comes and carries him off. The ship is broken to pieces and Ratna and Padmāvati are floated off in different directions, each clinging to a plank (426).

CANTO XXVIII.

THE SEA AND LAKṢMĪ.

Padmāvati is borne fainting away. Lakṣmī, the daughter of the Ocean was sporting with her friends on the sea-shore, and just then the plank with Padmāvati was thrown up by the waves. They go up to look at her (427). Lakṣmī sees the 36 auspicious marks on her, and takes measures to bring her to life. She takes Padmāvati's head in her lap, and has her fanned. Consciousness returns. They give her water. Then Lakṣmī kindly asks about her troubles, and who she is (428). Padmāvati opens her eyes. Asks where she is, and who they are. Where is her husband? (429). They say they do not know. They had found her thrown up by the sea. Gradually memory comes to her. She is almost mad with sorrow (430). Her lamentations. She wishes to become *Satī* (431). She uncovers her head to become *Satī*.¹ Her grief (432). Lakṣmī tries to console her. Promises that her father (the Ocean) will watch at every landing place for her husband. Lakṣmī goes to her father and entreats him to bring the husband and wife together (433).

Ratna Sēna is thrown ashore at a high mountain. He ascends it and sees no one. When he thinks of his lost wealth he strikes his beard and weeps. 'Where is Padmāvati? I have been lost through my egoism (434). Where is Padmāvati (or wisdom)? I will search for her till I find her (435). Where am I to go to find her? (436). He addresses God (Gosāī, the creator). God's might (437). 'Let me die, murmuring Padmāvati's name, unless thou seest good to reunite us. Yet I fear another separation, if we do meet again' (438). So saying he walks into the sea, and prepares to plunge his dagger into his neck. The Ocean (seeing that his egoism has diminished) approaches him as the form of a Brāhmaṇa. He blesses Ratna and asks for his story. Warns him that suicide is a sin (439). Ratna tells his condition. He owned Padmāvati and wealth, and has now lost all in the sea (440). The Ocean smiles, and says, 'It is all the fruit of thine egoism. Had all this been really thine, thou wouldst have it still. All is illusion. Everything

¹ To allow the flames to burst forth. A true *satī* dies of spontaneous combustion. That is a general belief of even educated men at the present day in Bihar.

belongeth to Him who gave them. If he take them back, why dost thou lament?' (441). Ratna,—'I care for naught except Padmāvati. The sea hath taken her, and I will go to heaven and complain of the injustice' (442). The Ocean,—'Be brave like Rāma, and thou wilt find thy Sitā. Close thine eyes, and I will bring thee to Padmāvati.' Ratna complies, and immediately the Ocean takes him to where Padmāvati is (443). Padmāvati's sorrow (444). Lakṣmī takes the form of Padmāvati and waits at the landing-place by which Ratna is coming. Ratna seeing her runs to her, but discovers it is not Padmāvati, and turns from her. Lakṣmī runs to him weeping. 'Why art thou deserting me, my husband?' (445). Ratna says, 'I know thou art not Padmāvati. Thou art like the jasmine, but hast not the scent'¹ (447). Lakṣmī smiles and offers to conduct him to the jasmine. She brings him to Padmāvati. To Padmāvati, she says, 'Drink, O weary lotus. Thy sun who was hidden in the sea hath risen.' To Ratna she says, 'Lo, I have brought the bee to the jasmine' (448). The meeting (449). The same (450). Padmāvati asks Lakṣmī to restore also all their companions, followers, and property. Lakṣmī goes to her father and gets the request granted. The companions, followers, and property are all returned (451). The Ocean also gives them presents of many precious jewels (452).

CANTO XXIX.

THE RETURN TO CITOUR.

They remain ten days as guests of the Ocean, and then take leave. The Ocean gives Ratna five priceless jewels (*naga*), viz., *Amṛita* (ambrosia), *Haṁṣa* (the swan), *Simurgh* (the father of all birds), the Young Lion, and the Philosopher's stone.² They mount on horseback, and set out escorted by a merman (*jala-manuṣa*), after bidding farewell to the Ocean's wife. The merman conducts them to Jagannāth (453). They worship at Jagannāth and spend all their money there. The King's reflections to Padmāvati on the necessity of money (454). Padmāvati says that Lakṣmī gave her at starting a betel leaf in which a number of jewels were wrapped up. He should sell one of these and put himself in funds. Ratna collects his followers and starts for home (455). They approach Citaur (456). Their feelings after the long absence (457).

¹ 446 is missing in Rām Jasan's edition.

² These five mystic jewels, the translation of which, it will be seen, presents some difficulty, have a prominent part in the story, *vide* 500, 526, 573.

Nāgamatī hears of the king's approach. Her happiness. She adorns herself. Her companions ask her why she is so happy (458). She explains. A herald comes and proclaims the arrival of the King (459). The general rejoicings in the city. Ratna's brothers ride out to meet him (460). Music. Ratna arrives and greets his mother. The temples are adorned. Padmāvati's litter arrives. Nāgamatī's jealousy; so Padmāvati is taken to a separate palace. The news about Padmāvati spreads abroad (461). Ratna mounts the throne. Charity distributed. He embraces his brothers and relations, and makes them presents. Music. Holy men of all sects assemble (262).

At nightfall Ratna visits Nāgamatī; filled with jealousy of Padmāvati, she sits with her face turned away from him. She reproaches him (463). He comforts her. Says he still loves her. He embraces her (464). She is consoled; laughs, and asks what kind of women he met in his travels. 'Is Padmāvati as beautiful as I am? Bees wander from flower to flower.' He explains that he cannot compare the two. There he loves one, here he loves another (465). Night passes in conversation. In the morning he goes to Padmāvati. She reproaches him for deserting her for Nāgamatī (466). He says he loves her alone. She tells him he should not go to Nāgamatī (467).

CANTO XXX.

THE RIVAL QUEENS.

The beauty of Nāgamatī's garden. She goes into it with her companions (468). Padmāvati is told of this, 'Nāgamatī is in the garden and the king is sporting with her and her companions' (469). Padmāvati cannot contain her wrath. She hastens to the garden with her companions. She meets her co-wife, they smile and sit down together on the same seat, with sweet words, but hatred in their hearts. Padmāvati remarks on the beauty of the garden, and adds that it is not right that the Sugādhṛāv flower should be in the same garden with the jasmine and the Nāgēsar. Who cares for Jāmun fruit if the Mango grows with it in the same garden (470)? Nāgamatī replies, 'That fruit is the best which the bee loveth. The Jāmun, the Kastūrī, and the Cōā fruits are (it is true) all black, (but still they are the best). The mango is set on high but it weepeth in its heart out of jealousy of them, for the bee loves them and not the mango. So doth the bee love the black Jāmun that he hath planted it in the midst of his garden' (471). Padmāvati replies that the shrubs in her garden may be thorny, but

the fruit is not so bitter as in Nāgamati's. In the latter there are no oranges or vines, and so on. 'Remain in thine own garden and do not fight with me. There is no flower equal to the jasmine' (472). Nāgamati praises the fruits of her own garden. 'When a tree bears fruit, people throw clods at it. When a tree bends humbly down, it is because of the weight of its fruit. I am beautiful, may she who separated me from my love be burnt to ashes. My love is a Rājā, thine is a Yōgi' (473). Padmāvati,—'I am a perfect lotus. I was created to be worshipped. Thou art the snake (*nāga*) of the world, to every one. Thou art dark-featured. Thou art a black bird, and I a swan. I am a pearl-broidered, and thou art a glass-bead-broidered bodice. Thou art an emerald dulled by being beside a diamond. Thou art eclipse, and I the moon. A dark night is not equal to the day' (474). Nāgamati,—'Thou art hard within, like a lotus. Thou spendest thy night lamenting thy husband's absence' (475). Padmāvati,—'I am the lotus beloved of the sun. My heart expandeth when he shineth; while thou, gazing regretfully at the sky, art dried and burnt up. He and I are all in all to each other. Thou art like a wild fig full of flies, whose wings are born, but when it is time for them to die. Thou art a *nāgin* (snake) whose bite is mortal' (476). Nāgamati,—'A lotus bloometh when the sun riseth, but its roots, if touched, foul the water. It grows in stinking slime, and its companions are fish and frogs and turtles. If it be washed a thousand times it will still stink. What shall I say to that beloved who has put coals of fire on my head? In the hope of sport with him, thou hast won and I have lost' (477). Padmāvati,—'Yes, I have won all the charms of the world, my face from the moon, my hair from the black snake, my eyes from the deer, my throat from the voice of the koil, &c. To my form I gave the fragrance of Malaya. Thou art envious of me' (478). Nāgamati,—'Why art thou proud of charms borrowed from others. I am dark with brilliant eyes, my face is fair, and my voice is like the cātaka's, my nose is like a sword, my brow like a bow, &c.' (479). Padmāvati unable to bear any longer cries, 'Nāgamati, thou snake, speak no more.' Then each speaks at the same time. They scream and fight like nymphs wrestling. Each holds the other's arms; bosom to bosom, neither turns back. In vain each tries to bring the other down. No one dares to interfere (480).

The wind whispers in Ratna's ears what is going on. He hastens there and remonstrates. 'Do ye not understand that sometimes it is night, and sometimes day? Ye are like the Ganges and the Jamunā' (481). The two wives embrace. He takes them into the palace and feeds them. He gives Nāgamati a golden palace, and Padmāvati a

silver one. They live happily (482). In due course Nāgamati has a son, named Naga Sēna, and Padmāvati a son called Kamala Sēna. Astrologers prophesy that both will be great *rājās*. They are richly rewarded (483).

CANTO XXXI.

RĀGHAVA CAITANYA.

Amongst the paṇḍits attached to Ratna Sēna's court was one Rāghava Caitanya. He is the wisest of them all (484). Every one has his unlucky moment. One day when it was the first day of the new moon, the king asks when the second of the lunar month would come. Rāghava, by a slip of the tongue says 'to-day.' All the other paṇḍits say 'to-morrow.' Piqued, he adheres to his statement, and, by force of magic, when evening comes, makes the moon appear as if it was the moon of the second day (485). The paṇḍits disgusted. Next day comes, and, behold, the moon is again the moon of the second. They accuse him of being a wizard (486). Rājna in a rage orders Rāghava to be expelled from the country as a wizard (487). Padmāvati hears of this, and by her fore-knowledge perceives that the expulsion will lead to calamity. She sends for Rāghava to the foot of the palace. A Brāhman will go anywhere for hope of a reward, *in cælum jusseris ibit*.¹ He comes there (488). Padmāvati appears at the lattice above, like a spotless moon. Rāghava blesses her. She gives him a bracelet. As she does so the string of her necklace breaks, and the stones of it also fall. Rāghava, startled by her glory and the jewels, falls senseless (489). Padmāvati smiles and tells her maidens to revive him. They take him to the shade, and ask him what ails him (490). Rāghava comes to himself with difficulty, and casts his eyes towards the lattice. He speaks incoherently of having been robbed. 'When Padmāvati looked at me, it was like a *thag's* poisoned sweetmeat' (491). He tells how he has been stricken by Padmāvati's eyes (492). The maidens conclude that he has gone mad. They admonish him, and say that many men have been struck senseless by Padmāvati's beauty, but she is unattainable (493). He comes to himself. He determines to profit by what he has seen. 'I will try and earn another bracelet. The Turk has come to Delhi,—Shāh 'Alāu'd-din, the Emperor. In his mint gold is melted and twelve kinds of dinārs are made. To him will I describe the lotus, and he will come and be the sun to it' (494).

¹ *Svarga jāe jō hōe bolāwā.*

CANTO XXXII.

RĀGHAVA'S JOURNEY TO DELHI.

Rāghava starts for Delhi. He reaches the door of the Emperor's court. Can get no admission, and is in danger of being trampled to death by the crowds of horses (485). The Emperor knew all that was going on. He hears that a Brāhman beggar is standing at his gate with a bracelet in his hand (486). He sends for Rāghava. He has pity on foreigners. He also has been one (497). Rāghava appears. The Emperor asks, 'Why dost thou beg when possessed of such a bracelet?' He replies that Ratna Sēna has a lovely Padminī of Sīmhaldvīpa, for his wife, in Citaur. 'She is beauteous as the moon. She appeared at the lattice, gave me this bracelet for a reward, and took away my life' (498). The Emperor laughs and does not believe him. 'Thou art praising up a piece of glass. Where is this matchless lady? I have sixteen hundred, and, if there is a perfectly beautiful lady anywhere, she is in my palace' (499). Rāghava replies,—'Thou art an emperor, and I a beggar. I have travelled East and West, North and South, but there are four things that thou hast not got, the Padminī, Amṛita, Haṃṣa, and the lion's cub.¹ I have travelled far and wide and if I am ordered, I will describe the four kinds of women, the Hastinī, the Sīmhini, the Citriṇī, and the Padminī (500).

CANTO XXXIII.

THE TALE OF FAIR WOMEN.

Description of the Hastinī (501), the Sīmhini (502), the Citriṇī (503). General account of the Padminī (504). Further particulars (505). Such is the Padminī who has come to Citaur (506). The dangers of her beauty (507). The lightning of her smile (508). Her raven locks (509). The parting of her hair (510). Her brow (511). her eyebrows (512), her eyes (513), her nose (514), her lips (515), her teeth (516), her voice (517), her ear (518), her cheek (519), her neck (520), her arms (521), her bosom (522), her gait (523), her delicate grace (524).

The Emperor is struck senseless by this description of Padmāvati's beauty. He becomes enamoured of her, and asks Rāghava once more to tell him about Citaur and the Padminī (525). Rāghava says that beside her there are five other jewels in Citaur,² and describes them (526). The Emperor richly rewards Rāghava, giving him not only elephants and horses, but a pair to the bracelet, in which were fixed

¹ See 453.

² See 453 and 500.

thirty crores worth of jewels. He promises Rāghava the throne of Citaur on the day on which he obtains possession of Padmāvati. 'I will first take the five jewels and then her.' He calls Sur'jā the wrestler,¹ and gives him a letter to take quickly to the king of Citaurfort. The king (Ratna) receives the letter which, after the usual polite expressions, runs, 'Send me, quickly, the Padmini of Siṃhala-dvipa' (527).

CANTO XXXIV.

THE WAR BETWEEN THE KING AND THE EMPEROR.

Ratna's rage on hearing the letter read. He will not kill Sur'jā for the insult. 'A thirst which the sea cannot extinguish is not affected by a little dew' (528). Sur'jā replies,—'I am come here prepared to die. The Emperor sent me knowing this. Beware of his power. He can destroy thee if he will. Citaur existeth but by his favour. If thou wilt give the Padmini, thou may'st keep Citaur, and will be given Candēri in addition' (529). King,—'If my wife go, what is Citaur, and what Candēri? I am ready to fight like Hammira, of Ran'thambhaur; like Hanumān, or Rāma Candra. I have founded an era, like Vikrama. If the Emperor want money, I will give it him; but if he wish a Padmini, let him go to Siṃhala-dvipa, and fetch one' (530). Sur'jā,—'Boast not, O king! All the earth boweth before the Emperor. If he wish to go to Siṃhala, he can, but the day he besieges thy fort, he will take all that thou dost possess. Be advised in time' (531)! King,—'Go and tell the Turk not to run hither to his death, like Alexander, who hastened to the Kajali forest for ambrosia, but obtained naught but regrets. My fort is strong. Let him come to attack it when he wisheth' (532). Sur'jā returns to the Emperor, and reports. The King refuses to listen. The Sultan's rage. He declares he will destroy Citaur like Ran'thambhaur (533).

He sends out letters in all directions, and calls his nobles. The countless army which assembles (the stock similes) (534). Enumeration of the various kinds of horses (535). The elephants (536). The nobles, and the various countries they come from (537). The equipment. They march (538). The terror inspired in the various citadels on the way (539). Only two citadels stand firm, Citaur and Kam-bhal'nēr.² Ratna hears of the approach of the Turk. He sends letters to all Hindū Rājās,—'Citaur, the holy place of Hindūs, is being attacked by Turks. The sea is in flood and there is no embankment.

¹ See 682.

² This fort plays a prominent part in the poem subsequently; see 628 and ff.

I alone am the dyke. Help it, for your own sakes, otherwise he will attack you all. As long as the dyke remaineth standing, it is well, but once it is breached, the flood cannot be stopped. The betel¹ is ready.' (540). A similar message is sent by Ratna to the Hindū Rājās who are bound by feudal ties to the Emperor. 'They meet and approach the Emperor, saying, 'Citaur is the mother of the Hindūs, nor can we forget the relationship, even though it cause us peril. Ratna Sēna is ready to sacrifice himself, and he is the greatest King amongst the Hindūs. Be friendly and forgive him, or else give us betel as a token that we may depart. Then will we go and die, that the name of our honour be not wiped out.' The Emperor gives them leave to go, and three days' law (541). Ratna Sēna puts Citaur in battle array. The kings come and salute him. Enumeration of Rāj'pūt tribes. They are ready to fight to the death (542). The citadel is provisioned for a seven years' siege. A strong moat is dug zig-zag round it. Range over range of cannon. The battlements crowded with warriors, &c. (543).

The Emperor marches. Description of the effect of the cavalry and elephants (544). The cannon (545). Comparison of a cannon with a lovely woman (546). The progress of the elephants (547). Further description of the progress of the elephants. The dust raised made the world dark as the Kajali forest, when Alexander went to it (548). The dust and consequent darkness (549).

The army approaches Citaur. Ratna and his generals mount the battlements to see it, but its rear reaches so far as to be invisible. The Queen ascends to the roof of the palace, crying, 'Lucky am I in having a king, against whom the Turks have had to raise such an army' (550). Ratna is undismayed at the sight. He and his friends prepare for a sally of cavalry (551). Description of Ratna's steed (552), and of the royal elephants (553). The cavalry and elephants are ready for the fray. In front are the chariots, and in the rear are the death-flags, behind which there is no retreat. The army sallies forth (554). The two armies meet in conflict (555).

CANTO XXXV.

THE TRUCE.

Description of the elephants fighting (556). The hand-to-hand fight (557). The terrific combat. Delight of ghouls (558).² The Emperor urges on more soldiers to meet the ever-advancing Hindūs

¹ Taken by a hero before going on a desperate fight.

² Throughout the following the King and his army are compared to the moon, and the Emperor and his army to the sun.

(559). The Rāj'pūts are beaten back by the Emperor's troops, as a lily closes before the sun (560). The Emperor attacks the fort in the day time (561). By night, the 'Moon' (*i. e.*, the Rāja) rises, and fires blazing bombs at the enemy, which cannot be withstood (562). At day-break, the 'Sun' (the Emperor) again comes forth, and attacks the citadel. The fight lasts the whole day, without result, and so affairs go on day by day (563). The Emperor lays a mine, and bombards the fort. His artillery is officered by Abyssinians (*Habshī*), Greeks (*Rūmī*), and Portuguese (*Firaggī*). The mine explodes (564). The confusion which arises and the damage done in the fort (565). The King, so far from being dismayed, makes arrangements for a dancing entertainment, in full view of the Emperor. Catalogue of the musical instruments. Every device of joy is there; five nautch girls dance. While the Emperor is besieging the fort, the king is diverting himself with a nautch (566). Description of the songs. High up on the fort the dance proceeds, while below the Turks fire off their cannon, as their generals watch the entertainment, rubbing their hands, beating their heads, and crying, 'When will these fall into our hands?' (567). The Dancers (568). In the course of the dance, one of the dancing girls turns her back towards where the Emperor is sitting, down below. The Emperor is angry at the insult. He orders arrows to be fired, and the arrow fired by Jahāngīr, Rājā of Kannauj, strikes the girl, and she is killed. The nautch is stopped. The Turks below applaud the shot (569). The King's people build ramparts of earth and repair the damage caused by the explosion (570). They make preparations for performing *Jūnhar*, if the worst comes to the worst (571).

The siege goes on for eight years. Trees planted by the Emperor grow up and bear fruit. He becomes weary of his task. Just then news comes that, 'Harēwā,¹ the Lord of the West, who used to fly before thee, has now stood up to face thee. He whose face was in the ground has raised his head to heaven crying, "The Emperor is safe fastened at Citaur"' (572). Hearing this, the Emperor meditates, and determines to take Ratna by treachery. He sends Sur'jā, telling him to go to the king and speak gently to him: say, 'I will not take the Padminī. If I am but allowed to see her, I will raise the siege. Take Nehicala and Candēri, in addition to thine own dominions, and only give me the five jewels² which the sea gave thee' (573). Sur'jā goes to the king, and commences by explaining that the Emperor has him like a bird in a cage, and can crush him at any moment, as he did Hammira (574). The king replies, 'I am not an era-maker like Hammira, like Bhōja, or

¹ By tradition, Harēwā is said to have been a noted (*hag*) chief.

² See 453.

Vikrama. But still we have withstood the siege for seven years, and have no want of food. There is also a plentiful natural spring of water. We are still ready to fight, and are still prepared, if need be, to die' (575). Sur'jā,—'O king, he who disobeyeth the Emperor must finally be destroyed,' and so on. 'Thy fort is on the point of crumbling, take heed to what I say if thou would'st escape. Let him see thy five jewels. If his soul is pleased with one, he will forgive all thy wickedness' (576). King,—'The Emperor is my elder (or superior). He can forgive me and do what he wisheth. What are my five jewels? My whole treasury is his. Can Darius cope with Alexander? What thou hast said, I humbly accept, but I will not be satisfied without an oath.' Sur'jā takes the oath with intent to act treacherously, and the king accepts it and summons a herald (577), to whom he makes over the five jewels, and despatches him to the Emperor, with this message,—'O, sun of the world! light of the earth! the black crow boweth himself humbly before thee. Thy glorious light illumineth the world. Nothing in the nine continents is hid from thee. Anger and mercy are both at thy service, thou killest in thy fierce sunshine, and revivest in thy shadow. Let not the Sun be angry with the Moon, who is eclipsed, and confined in a cage. To-morrow morn, the crow will humbly approach thee' (578). When the herald finishes his message, the Emperor replies. He reproaches Ratna for disobedience. This disobedience has made the crow's feathers black (579). 'Go tell the king that, if he is true, there is no fear. He who trusteth himself to me is safe from harm. To-morrow the Sun, (*i. e.*, the Emperor) will visit the fort, that thou may'st lay thine arms before him.' The Herald, taking the betel of friendship, returns to the king, and gives the Emperor's message. The King immediately orders preparations to be made for a feast for the Emperor (580).

CANTO XXXVI.

THE FEAST TO THE EMPEROR.

Description of the animals and fowl brought for the feast (581), the fish (582), the wheat and cakes (583), the rice (584), the spices for the meat (585). The pasties and fruit (586). The way the fish are cooked (587). How the vegetables are cooked (588). The pulse-meal cakes (*barā*) (589). The sweetmeats (590). Everything that is above-mentioned has first to be treated with water before cooking. Praise of water (591).

They spend the night in cooking. In the morning the Emperor comes, preceded by Rāghava Caitanya (592).

CANTO XXXVII.

THE EMPEROR'S VISIT TO THE FORT.

Description of the seven-storied palace. The King meets the Emperor at the gate. The Emperor admires the fort (593). Beauty of the palace. Its gardens and temples (594). The Emperor, looking round, notices Padmāvati's palace. Its beauty, and the way in which it is guarded (595). He arrives at the seventh story. Its magnificence, with its wonderful mirrors. The Emperor is seated on a magnificent throne amidst the mirrors. But he thinks most of all of Padmāvati (596), who however is not visible. The King's hospitality. The Emperor converses with the king, but his soul longs for Padmāvati (597).

Gōrā and Bādāl¹ suspect the Emperor, and whisper to Ratna that they fear treachery (598). Ratna refuses to believe them, especially as treachery always recoils on itself. Witness the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas (599).

The King has 1,600 women slaves, out of whom he selects 84, whom he produces before the Emperor. They all use the artillery of their eyes upon him. He asks Rāghava, which of them is Padmāvati (600). Rāghava replies,—‘These are only her maidservants. These are merely the pearls which set off the diamond. As long as you look upwards (towards the lattice windows of the female apartments), she will not look up.’ The Emperor immediately ceases looking up, ‘A guest has no right to do so. I will act like Arjuna, and succeed with a reflection in a mirror’ (601). He is served with food by damsels beautiful as Indra's nymphs (602). He cannot eat (603) or drink, ‘I would drink with mine eyes, and not with my tongue’ (604). The meal being over, the king waits upon the emperor, offers him trays of jewels, and asks for forgiveness, and that the sun of the Emperor's kindness may shine upon him (605). The Emperor expresses himself pleased, tells him to retain his own country, and to have the land of *Māvō* in addition. He leans upon the King's shoulder, so that, deceiving him by a show of affection, he may capture him by fraud (606). The Emperor sits down to a game of chess with the King, first arranging a mirror on the wall so that it may reflect the lattice window of the female apartments. He sits facing the mirror. The game of chess described metaphorically (607).

The maidens who had served the Emperor go to Padmāvati, de-

¹ See 656.

scribe him to her, and advise her to look at him, or she will miss a sight she will not have a chance of seeing again (608). She goes to the lattice and looks out, and the Emperor sees her reflection in the mirror. He who has been desiring a castle (*rukḥ*) in the game of chess, is checkmated when he sees Padmāvati's face (*rukḥ*). He falls into a stupor. The king, not knowing the reason, expresses concern. Rāghava says he is only overcome by the betel nut,¹ and has him put to bed. Night passes. The Emperor comes to himself in the morning (609). Padmāvati has disappeared, and the Emperor rises, looking like a *Yōgī*. Rāghava goes to him, saying,—‘Hath the lotus become poison, when it saw the sun? Thou art all-powerful. Why art thou so distraught?’ (610). Emperor,—‘I have seen a wondrous vision. A curtain which had been before my eyes was raised. I saw in my mind a lake, in which water had been, and was no longer. Heaven came down and covered the earth. It came upon the earth but I could not grasp it. Again I saw in it a lofty temple. It was within reach of my hand but I could not touch it. In it, I saw, in my mind, an image, but it appeared without body and without life. It was bright as the full-moon, but, like the philosopher's stone, it showed itself and disappeared. Now my life is where that full moon is. How can the sun find the new moon? The lotus bloomed at night, like a flash of lightning (611). That beauteous form hath entered into my soul and dragged out my life. I saw a lion's waist, the might of an elephant, snakes for the elephant goad, and a peacock for its rider. Over it was a lotus blooming, round which bees hovered and drank the odour. Two fluttering *Khañjan* birds, between which sat a parrot, while a two-days-old moon rose with a bow in its hand. A deer appeared and then became invisible. The moon became a snake, and the sun a lamp. I saw it very high, and then start away. Mine eyes followed it, but I could not reach it. While I gazed at it, it faded away. It went, as I gazed and meditated on it’ (612). Rāghava explains the vision. ‘The wondrous form which thou didst see was certainly Padmāvati. She hath a little waist like a tiger's, and her gait is that of an elephant. Her neck is graceful as a peacock's, and her hair (brilliant as the lamp of the sun) resembleth black curling snakes. Her face was the lotus, exhaling gentle odour to the Zephyr, the fluttering *khañjans* were her eyes, and the parrot her nose. The bow is her eyebrows, and the two-day moon her brow. She is that deer which appeared and became invisible, whose locks are like black snakes, and whose soul is a lamp. Thou did'st see her reflection in the mirror, and therefore the image which thou did'st

¹ The Area nut eaten with betel sometimes causes faintness. The idiom used for it is *sōpāri lay gai hai*.

see had no life within it. Now take thought and act. He tasteth the fragrance of those locks on whose lips they fall' (613).¹

CANTO XXXVIII.

THE CAPTURE OF THE KING.

The Emperor asks for his litter, and starts on his return to the camp. The King, delighted at his kindly words sees him off, and heedlessly accompanies him part of the way. The Emperor, conversing with the King, leans his hand upon his shoulder in a friendly way, and uses words which are sweet in the mouth, but poison in the belly (614). As the Emperor passes Padmāvati's palace, she is filled with forebodings. As they pass the first palace, the Emperor gives the King a robe of honour, a hundred horses, thirty elephants, a kettle-drum, and a spice vessel.² As they pass the second palace, he gives cavalry; at the third, costly jewels; at the fourth, 10 millions of money; at the fifth, two pairs of diamonds, at the sixth he gives the kingdom of Mārō, and at the seventh that of Candēri; and when they pass the seventh gate, he has the King seized and carried off a prisoner (615).

Reflections of the poet. There are many waters in this world. Some men cross them and some sink. Some are blind, and cannot see the fire in the way, and others can see clearly and cleverly. To the King success became a disease, for he left heaven and fell down to earth. Why should he have trusted an enemy whom he had released after having him in his grasp,—and so on. A cruel lesson on imprudence is it to the King (616).

They load the King with fetters, and put him in a cage. The news reaches Citaur, and spreads over the country. Lamentation of the people. 'To-day the sun is set and Citaur is in darkness' (617). The cry is 'the Musalmān has conquered the Hindū.' The Emperor marches off with the King. The moral effect of the capture on the whole of India. All tremble, and become submissive to him. He returns to Delhi. All those who had rebelled, again submit (618). The cruelties of the King's imprisonment. He is taunted and beaten if he asks but for water. Burning, in want of water, he falls asleep, and wakes

¹ I have given a more full translation of these three verses than usual, as they are of some importance for following the plot. The passage, as printed, is, however, very corrupt, and the details cannot be accepted as correct.

² A *caugharī*, is a silver or gold jewelled case in four (or more) compartments for holding cardamoms, otto of roses, cloves and the like, when presenting them to a guest.

in the morning after dreaming of oceans (619). They continue taunting him about his disobedience, and tell him his only chance of success is to send for Padmāvati if he wishes to escape (620). He gives no reply, and prepares for death. Description of his ill treatment (621).

Padmāvati's anxiety about her husband's continued absence. She can get no news of him. Her sorrow (622). Her lamentations for her absent husband (623). The same continued (624). Nāgamati's sorrow (625, 626, 627).

CANTO XXXIX.

KUMŌDINĪ.

Rājā Dēva Pāla of Kambhal'nēr,¹ a bitter enemy of Ratna Sēna, hears of his imprisonment, and determines to try and get Padmāvati into his power. He sends for an old bawd named Kumōdini, a Brāhmaṇi by caste, and gives her a betel *bīṛā*,² telling her to go to Citaur and by force, or fraud, to bring Padmāvati to him (628). She is ready to go, and boasts of the power of her charms and incantations (629). She fills a basket with cakes, and starts for Citaur (630). She arrives at Citaur, and after reciting her incantations goes into the palace, finds Padmāvati's apartments, and takes the cakes to her. As she enters, she opens her arms, but Padmāvati does not recognize her. Then she cries. 'Thou and I were born in the same town. My father's name was Bēnī Dūbē; Gandharva Sēna's private priest. When thou wast a child in Siṃhala Dvīpa, I used to give thee milk to drink. I have made a second home in Kambhal'nēr, and hearing that thou art in Citaur, I have come to see thee' (631). When Padmāvati hears the name of her father's house, she falls on the old woman's neck and weeps. She laments fate. 'Why did my parents give me this unhappy lot by marrying me, and giving me a husband who hath been imprisoned? I wish to die, but my shameless life doth not abandon me' (632). Kumōdini embraces her and weeps, and washes Padmāvati's face. Consoles her. 'Who can wipe out what is written on the forehead?' Padmāvati gives no reply, and remains unconsolated (633). Kumōdini uncovers the trays of sweetmeats, but Padmāvati will not eat them. She refuses even to touch them (634). Kumōdini stays. She proffers further consolation. 'Thou art still a young lotus. Thou art still in thy tender youth. Why wear these unbeseeing weeds of

¹ See 540, Note 2.

² Offered to a person entrusted with a dangerous mission, and accepted by him or her.

sorrow. Adorn thyself. Sit upon thy throne, and sport. Enjoyment is but for a few days, and youth once gone doth not return' (635). Padmāvati refuses comfort. 'She hath youth who is in the shadow of her husband's face. The jasmine of my body will take new shoots, when the lord of the house, its waterer, returneth. Till then it will remain withered' (636). Kumōdini,—'Think not thus of life. As long as there is youth there are lovers. No husband is ever constant. Youth, like water, diminisheth day by day, and birds only seek the pond while it containeth water' (637). Padmāvati,—'What is life and youth without a husband. She who is wedded to a lion desireth not a jackal. The true beauty is chastity. Sin maketh the most lovely to be black' (638). Kumōdini,—'Old age will come. It will then be too late for joy. Thy beauty will all disappear; now is the time for happiness' (639). Padmāvati flames up. 'May her beauty be burnt up, who deserteth her own, and lusteth for another. Two kings cannot sit on one throne. Youth may go, and lovers may go, but not the memory of my husband's love. If we meet not in this world, we will meet hereafter. I am sinner enough as it is, for I still live' (640). Kumōdini,—'No taste is appreciated till a new tasta cometh on the tongue. Thou hast not learned the taste of another man. They only know the taste of the first, who have tried another. One sip of nectar filleth not the heart, till another hath been drunk' (641). Padmāvati. 'Thou art my enemy, not my nurse: with inky words hast thou come to cheat me. Water is clean till ink falleth into it. The very moon would become black if defiled with such ink. Thou art insulting me with a smile upon thy mouth. My husband (*ṣyāma*)-lover is brilliant as the sun, other lovers are black (*ṣyāma*) as ink'¹ (642). Kumōdini,—'Thou hast already black ink upon thee,—I see it in the blackness of thine eyes. Nay, black collyrium is adornment; so also is the black mole on the cheek. A line of ink giveth an enhanced charm. The pupils of the eye are black, and the whole world is seen by them, and so on. How can there be whiteness where there is no black? How can there be a body, when there is no reflection? Dēva Pāla is an all-powerful king. Thou wilt forget Citaur, when thou hast gone to Kambhal'nēr' (643). Padmāvati bends her brows in wrath. 'Dēva Pāla is my husband's foe. How paltry is the bear compared to the lion; and, lo! a harlot is telling me a love-message from him. Were my lord here he would cut thy nose, and ears, and paint thy face black. He would shave thy head, and mount thee on an ass' (644).

¹ So the printed editions. The original was probably a pun, or corrupted form of *svāmī* and *ṣyāma*.

CANTO XL.

THE FALSE YŌGINĪ.

Padmāvati finds a Dharma-çālā, in the hope of earning the release of the king. To every traveller who resorts to it, she gives food and water. From all she asks for news of her husband. The Emperor, hearing of this, sends for a harlot, clever in acting. He dresses her like a Yōginī, and sends her to Citaur with instructions to persuade Padmāvati to become a Yōginī, and to bring her to Delhi. She arrives at Citaur, dressed as a Yōginī (645). She comes begging to the palace door. A maid-servant tells Padmāvati of her. 'A Yōginī is at the door, and beggeth like one who hath lost a beloved. Though still in her first youth, she is living in austerity. She hath torn her veil and hath put on the beggar's blanket. She hath the ashes of separation, and matted hair, a skin over her shoulder, and a rosary round her neck. Her voice is wild, and her very footsteps burn the earth' (646). Padmāvati calls her, and asks her whence she has come. 'Why art thou so distraught?' 'My beloved hath gone to a far country, and for him am I become a Yōginī. What are life and youth and body, when my love is gone? So I tore my veil and took the beggar's blanket. I wander everywhere and call for him. Though he dwelleth in my heart, he answereth not (647). I have wandered and wandered. I have gone to Banāras, to Gayā, to Jagannāth and Dwāraka, to Kedāranātha and Ayōdhyā (648), to Gaumukha, Haridwāra, Nagarakōṭa, the *Tūā* of Bālanātha and Mathurā, to Suryakuṇḍa, Bādarīnātha, Rāmanātha, Gomatī, Gurudwār, Sētubandha, Sumēru, Alakāpura (the city of Kuvēra), Brahmāvarta, Bēnī Sangama (*i. e.*, the Prayāga), Nilakanṭha, Miçrikha, Kurajēta, and Gōrakshanātha. I went as far east as Patna, but found not my beloved (649). I wandered everywhere. I saw the Turks at Delhi, and the prisoners of the Emperor. Amongst them I saw one Ratna Sēna, exposed to the sun and denied all shade. I saw other kings prisoners there, who, seeing me to be a Yōginī, fell at my feet, (and implored me to release them). But what could I do. Delhi is not such an easy place. There is no escape from prison there. My body hath lost its soul in compassion at his suffering. How can she live whose husband is such a prisoner?' (650).

Padmāvati learning that her husband is a prisoner, her grief is a hundred-fold intensified. It is like melted butter added to fire. She falls in horror at the Yōginī's feet. 'Let me have thy feet, that I may lay my eyes upon them. O, take me where my husband is! Show him to me as thou hast seen him, and I will give my life to thee as a sacrifice. I will give thee all the rewards of my chastity and religious virtue,

if thou wilt only tell me of him. Thou art *Guru*, I am thy *cēlī*. I was wandering in error and thou hast shown me the way. Wait for me but for a moment, that I may dress as a *Yōginī* and go with thee.' Her maidens advise her to restrain herself. A *Yōginī* cannot divulge her *Guru's* instructions (651). The maidens (suspecting the falseness of the *Yōginī*, continue to her). 'Take alms *Yōginī*, and go.' Then, to *Padmāvati*, 'Thou wilt not find thy love with such trivial deception. Remain at home till thy husband returneth. Let thy austerity be to remain at home. Instead of thy ascetic's vessel, wear thy modest veil, and for thy ascetic's horn, take thy sighs. For thy matted locks, bear the pangs of separation,' and so on. 'Before going with this woman, first seek advice from *Gōrā* and *Bādal*' (652).

CANTO XLI.

THE COUNSEL OF *Gōrā* AND *Bādal*.

Taking the advice of her maidens, she herself runs on foot to *Gōrā*¹ and *Bādal's* palace. The two heroes come out to meet her. She refuses to be seated. They ask her why she comes in such haste on foot and in public (653). *Padmāvati's* tears. Her distraught condition (654). 'Ye, *Gōrā* and *Bādal* are two pillars. No one is brave in the battle-field like ye. The creeper of separation hath become a tree, and overshadoweth the earth. Let me become a *Yōginī* and run thither where my love is a prisoner. Let me be bound, and let me release him' (655).

Gōrā and *Bādal* are greatly distressed. Say they, 'We were vexed with the king and warned him against entering into treaty with the Turk.² Our suspicions have been realized, but as long as we have life we will not retreat, nor should'st thou become a *Yōginī* while thy husband liveth. Be of good cheer. The star *Canopus*³ is risen, and the *Hathiyā* asterism roars. The waters abate, the king will surely return. The rains are over and *Canopus* appeareth. We will saddle and away. We will smite the demon of eclipse and release the sun, and no root or sprout of grief will remain' (656). *Padmāvati* gives *Gōrā* and *Bādal* the betel, exclaiming, 'To what can I compare you? Ye are like *Hanumān* and *Aṅgada*, like *Arjuna* and *Bhīma*,' and so on. 'As *Hanumān* served *Rāghava*, so do ye the king; as *Bhīma* showed valour in the burning lac house, risking his life for others when he dragged the blazing beam, so do ye' (657). Ye are *Rāma* and *Lakṣ-*

¹ *Gōrā* was *Padmāvati's* uncle and *Bādal* her nephew.

² See 598.

³ *I. e.*, Autumn, when Kings go out to fight. The '*Vikrama Kāla*.'

maṇa, Drōṇa and Gāṅgēya,¹ Nakula and Sahadēva, Yudhiṣṭhira and Duryōdhana, Bhōja and Nala, Rāghava and Paraçu Rāma, Bharata and Çatrughna, opponents of Kaṁça and Cānura, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Help me as Bhīma helped the Pāṇḍavas' (658). They take the betel, and tell Padmāvati to call her litter and return home; she should not walk. She revives, and returns joyfully to her palace in a way consonant with her dignity (659).

CANTO XLII.

THE DEPARTURE OF GŌRĀ AND BĀDAL.

Yaçōdā, the mother of Bādal, comes and clasps his feet; saying, 'Thou art but a child, what knowest thou of battle? Mighty kings who opposed the Emperor could not protect Hammīra.' Description of the Emperor's power. 'Where great kings crash to ruin, what hast thou to do? To-day is the day for receiving thy bride home from her father's house. Remain at home and be happy' (660). Bādal,—'Mother, think not of me as a green boy. I am Bādal, the lion of battle. When a lion heareth a herd of elephants his soul is mightily moved, and his lion-racehood² cannot be hidden. I am ready to fight the Emperor alone. I would stand before a mad elephant unmoved, and tear its trunk and out-root its tusks. I will plant myself in the battle-field firm as Angada. Consider me not as a child. Where'er the king is imprisoned, there will I enter and release him, even if it be hell' (661). As Bādal equips himself for battle, the marriage procession of Bādal's bride approaches. The bride appears, moonfaced, and brave in all her finery. Her beauty. She laments when she hears of her husband's departure; 'As I arrive at my husband's gate, he departeth to a distant land.' Her bridesmaids try in vain to console her (662). She casts aside her veil, and stands humbly at the door. She casts a piercing glance at Bādal and gathers up her raiment, but her husband looks another way and hardens his heart. Then she smiles and looks towards him, but he turns his back to her. Turning his face away he is wroth, 'I will not walk towards the woman's face.' The bride wonders at his ill-omened conduct. She is too modest to address him (663). Then she considers, 'I have not gained my love by my modesty, let me cast it aside and address him?' She smiles and catches his waist-band, saying, 'A husband should not refuse his wife's request. To-day I am come for the first time from my father's house, and thou, my love, art going to the battle. I have left my home but to meet thee; what leaving home is that, when my lord leaves me?

¹ The grandfather of Bhīṣma.

² Rāj'pūts call themselves *Siṁha*, lion.

The bride hath not seen her beloved even one eye-full, and the beloved hath not yet met the bride once in his life. I am a lotus full of hope of union, and the bee who sippeth my nectar should not desert me. I lay my forehead at thy feet, (Hear me, my Lord), and, lo, now thy feet are bound in the tangles of my locks, so, how can'st thou leave me?' (664). Bādal,—'Lady, loose my waist-band. When a husband goeth forth to war, his wife should never grasp it. 'Tis true, fair lady, that for thee to-day is thy starting for thy new home, but for me it is the starting for where my king is in prison. Till my king return free, heroism alone fills my soul, not love. Women and land are hand-maidens of the sword, whoso sword conquereth them, to him do they belong. In whoso house the sword is pulled from the fist of the wielder, there is there no virile power, no moustache nor beard. On my face hair has come, let me play with life for a stake, and earn heaven in my master's service. The word of a man ne'er turneth backwards, e'en as the tooth of an elephant, once grown, doth not return into his mouth. Thou art but a girl, O lady, and understandest not. He who fighteth understandeth. A man whose heart is full of war, careth not for love.' (665). The bride replies,—'If thou would'st fight, I have made preparations for a love conflict. My bosom have I made the van, and the army of love in wrath is routing the troops of separation. My heroism is the vermilion on my brow, like the red blood on a naked sword. My brow is a bow, and mine eyes provide the arrows,' and so on. 'First fight with me and then think of war' (666). She is unsuccessful in her entreaties. She weeps, in vain (667).

CANTO XLIII.

THE TALE OF GŌRĀ AND BĀDAL.

Gōrā and Bādal consult together. They determine to meet deceit with deceit. They will deal with the Emperor as he has done with them (668). They prepare 1,600 covered litters, and fill them with knights. They prepare one special litter to represent that of Padmāvatī, in which sits concealed a smith. They adorn it, and surround it with maidens with waving chowries. They cover the litters with jewelled covers. They accompany the litters, proclaiming that Padmāvatī is travelling. 'The Queen is going to release the king, offering herself as a hostage. Thirty thousand horses is she taking, and sixteen hundred litters' (669).

Gōrā goes to the jailor in whose charge the king is. He gives him 10 lākhs of rupees as a bribe and flatters him. 'I supplicate the

Emperor. Padmāvati is come, saying, "I am come humbly to Delhi with the keys of Citaur." She begs, that as she has the keys of the treasury with her, she may obtain permission to see the king for one hour, to make over the keys to him. She will then present herself to the Emperor in the palace.' The jailor, when he sees the bribe, becomes like water. Reflections on the effect on the moral character of taking bribes (670). Under the influence of the bribe the jailor omits to examine the litters. He goes to the Emperor, and says, 'O sun of the earth, the moon hath come, and all the planets and stars with her in 1,600 litters. Padmāvati has come with the keys of the treasury of Citaur. She begs, with folded hands, that she may make them over to the king, for one hour. She begs that she may first see her husband, and then she will come into thy female apartments' (671). The Emperor gives the order to allow one hour's interview, and the royal litter goes in to the king with the others. The smith who is inside disguised as Padmāvati gets out, cuts the king's fetters and makes obeisance. Fury rises in the king's heart as he is made free. He leaps on to a horse and roars like a lion. Gōrā and Bādal grasp their swords, and the other knights mounting their horses all stand ready. Each considers himself devoted to death and slays his thousands. News of the trick, and that they have cut their way out, is brought to the Emperor (672). They take the king off to Citaur. They are pursued by the Emperor with an immense army. Gōrā says to Bādal, 'One eclipse is over, another is about to commence. See the immense army.' Bādal replies, 'Do thou accompany the flight of the king, and I will stay behind and meet the Emperor's troops. I would play a game of polo with the Emperor, and do it alone. I will earn my name of Bādal, when I carry off the ball from the field' (673). Gōrā insists on Bādal accompanying the king, while he stays behind. He is old, what regret will there be for his death. He keeps a thousand knights with him, and sends the others with Bādal, and the King. He awaits with his thousand men, the onset of the Emperor (674). The game of polo begins in right earnest. Poetical comparison of the game of polo to the sport of a woman's love (675). Gōrā roars a challenge in the battle (676). The battle. The charge of Gōrā and his companions (677). The thousand knights are slaughtered one by one. Not one turns his bridle, all their wounds are in front; as one falls another presses forward to die in his place. Finally they are all killed, and Gōrā alone remains alive (678). Gōrā sees that all his companions are dead, and knows that his fate is at hand. He flings himself furiously into the battle, one against thousands, but does not die. He fights desperately. The Emperor orders him to be taken alive without delay,

for Ratna Sēna is escaping (680). The Turks call upon him to surrender. He replies not. He looks upon his death as certain, and refuses to be taken alive. No one captures a lion alive. When he is dead they may drag him as they will. He is determined to cover Ratna's retreat (681). Sur'jā,¹ the wrestler, attacks him, with Mir Ḥamza, 'Alī, Ayūb and Tāyā, the general who had conquered Landhaur. Gōrā is struck in the belly with a javelin, and as it is withdrawn his bowels fall out. A bard exclaims, 'Well done, Prince. Carry thy entrails on thy shoulder that thy horse may not tread on them'² (682). Gōrā cries, 'It is the end, I must fall to the earth. It is the end, and my head must roll in the dust.'—He rushes upon Sur'jā, who again wounds him with a javelin, while Gōrā strikes him with his sword. He strikes a second blow which Sur'jā receives on his shield, and a third which falls on his helmet (683). Sur'jā finally strikes a terrible blow and smashes Gōrā's head.³ The portents which occur at Gōrā's death. Thus Gōrā dies, and the gods bring him water, while Bādāl escorts the king safely to Citaur (684).

Padmāvati's joy at hearing of her husband's release (685). The rejoicings when they meet. She worships his feet, and he kisses her head (686). Padmāvati expresses her desire to sacrifice herself for him (687). Then she addresses Bādāl and praises him (688). The King tells her the horrors of his imprisonment. His only consolation was the hope of meeting her again (689). Padmāvati tells the story of her sorrow (690).

CANTO XLIV.

THE TALE OF DĒVA PĀLA.

Padmāvati continues,—'In addition to this I tell a thing that wringeth my soul. A cruel mountain of sorrow fell on me. Dēva Pāla sent a bawd, in disguise of a Brāhmaṇī, who came to me deceitfully. Her words were like poison to me. I restrained my five senses, and I repeatedly mortified myself' (691). When he hears the conduct of Dēva Pāla, a hard thorn falls into the heart of the King. He determines to seize Dēva Pāla before the Turk arrives at Citaur. He remains awake the whole night.* Next morning he sets out to besiege Kam-bhal'nēr, a difficult fort to take. He has a terrible fight (692).

¹ See 527.

² This refers to an old Rāj'pūt legend. The poet is hardly responsible for it.

³ In the original the sound excellently re-echoes the sense.

CANTO XLV.

THE FIGHT WITH DĒVA PĀLA.

Dēva Pāla roars forth in the battle to Ratna, 'Let me and thee fight in single combat.' He strikes Ratna in the belly with a poisoned javelin, which pierces through his body and comes out at the back. Ratna himself strikes Dēva Pāla and cuts off his head. He then falls senseless, and loses his power of speech. He is brought home on a bed (693).

CANTO XLVI.

THE END OF THE KING.

The King dies, after making over charge of the fort to Bādal (694). Padmāvatī dons her silken *sāri* and goes forth with her beloved to the pyre. She adorns herself to become Satī (695).

CANTO XLVII.

THE SATĪ.

Both Nāgamatī and Padmāvatī become Satīs (696). They prepare the pyre, distribute alms, circumambulate seven times, and are burnt without contortion of a single limb (697).

While they are burning with their beloved the Emperor comes and besieges the fort. He hears the fate of Ratna and Padmāvatī and throwing a handful of ashes in the air, declares that all the world is illusion. His whole army does the same, and cries, 'Until this dust falls on our tombs, the desire of the world will not be satisfied.' Then they take the fort by assault, and Bādal dies fighting in the gate.

Before the Emperor's army takes it, the women of Citaur immolate themselves, and the men all die in battle. He destroys the city, and CITAUR BECAME ISLĀM (698).

'I asked the meaning of all this from learned men, and they told me that they understood it not. The fourteen continents are all in man's body. Citaur is the body, and the King is the soul. Sindhaldvipa is the heart, and Padmāvatī is wisdom. The parrot is the *Guru*, who showeth the right way, without whom the world is void of quality, and Nāgamatī is the cares of this world, and he is saved who is not caught by her. Rāghava, the pandar, is Satan, and 'Alāu'd-din, the Emperor, is illusion. So meditate on this love-story, and let him who can understand Turkish, Arabic, Hindnī, whatever languages there are, in whatever tongue the way of love is told, all praise it (699).

‘I Muḥammad have collected and written this book. He who heareth it may gain the pangs of love. I collected and joined it with my heart’s blood, and, with the love of love, mine eyes flowed tears. Knowing this did I compose my lay, that so a mark might remain of me in this world. *Where is now that Ratna Sēna, and where that wisdom-bearing parrot? Where is that ‘Alāu’d-dīn the Emperor, and where that Rāghava who told him tales? Where is that lovely swan Padmāvati? Naught of them hath remained, but their story. Happy is she whose fame is like unto hers. The flower may die, but its odour remaineth ever.*¹ Who hath not sold his fame in the world, and who hath not bought it? If a man read this lay and also remember me, he hath bought two-fold weight, (*i. e.*, he benefiteth himself and me). (700).

‘Muḥammad, thou art old. Thy youth is gone. Thy strength is departed and thy body is lean. Thy sight is gone and thine eyes give naught but tears. Thy teeth are gone and thy cheeks are sunken. Thy tongue is stiff and thy words are halting. Thy wisdom is gone and people call thee mad. Thy pride is gone and thy head is bent. Thine ears are gone and thou only hearest those who speak loud. The blackness of thy locks is gone, and thy head shaketh. The black bee of thy locks is gone and hath left them grey. Thy youth hath won the game and carried it off for its prize. As long as there is life, youth remaineth, but when death comes, it becometh another’s.

‘When an old man noddeth his head, it shaketh in anger on that account (that his youth is gone). Who was it that blessed me and wished that I might live to (forsooth) a good old age?’ (701).

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF FLOWERS AND TREES.

In several passages Malik Muḥammad gives long lists of names of flowering plants and of trees. Their identification has been difficult, the ordinary dictionaries having been found to be untrustworthy guides. The following is a list of most of the names which occur. The spelling of the vernacular words is only provisional, pending the fixing of a correct text.

I know nothing of botany myself, and must express my acknowledgments to Dr. Prain, of the Botanical Gardens, Sibpur, for the identifications given. The list will be found useful by future lexico-

graphers. Many of the plants named are little known, and a convenient list giving the scientific nomenclature authoritatively has long been wanted.

- Ājīri*, the common Fig, *Ficus carica*, *L.*
- Amṛita bēli*, (?) the Black Currant, *Ribes nigrum*, *L.*
- Āuna*, ? *Āolā*, the Emblic Myrabolan, *Phyllanthus emblica*, *L.*
- Āba*, or *āma*, the Mango, *Mangifera Indica*, *L.*
- Āma*, see *Āba*.
- Imilī*, the Tamarind, *Tamarindus Indica*, *L.*
- Kaṭahari*, the Jack-fruit, *Artocarpus integrifolia*, *L.*
- Kadamba*, the Kuddum, *Anthocephalus cadamba*, *Miq.*
- Kamarakha*, the Averrhoa, *Averrhoa carambola*, *L.*
- Kāraūdā* see *Rāi-karaūdā*.
- Karanā*, the Citron, *Citrus medica*, *L.*, var. *acida*, *Brandis*, *C. acida*, *Roxb.*
- Kisimisa*, the Grape Vine, *Vitis vinifera*, *L.* The same as *dākha*. A Persian form.
- Kunda*, the Indian Jasmine, *Jasminum pubescens*, *Willd.*
- Kūjā*, a kind of Rose, *Rosa Brunoniana*, *Lindl.*
- Keorā*, see *kētakī*.
- Kētakī*, or *keorā*, The Fragrant Screw-pine. *Pandanus odoratissimus*, *L.*
- Kērā*, the Plantain, *Musa paradisiaca*, *L.*
- Kēsara*, the Safflower, *Crocus sativus*, *L.*
- Khajūra*, the Date-palm, *Phoenix sylvestris*, *L.*
- Khiranī*, the *Mimusops hexandra*, *Roxb.*
- Khuruhuri*, the *Khurhur*, *Ficus cunia*, *Ham.*
- Galagala*, the Elephant Lemon, or Kumaon Lemon, *Citrus Limonium*, *L.*
- Gulāla*, the common Basil, see below. *Ocimum Basilicum*, *L.*
- Guā*, the Areca-nut palm, *Areca catechu*, *L.* Roxburgh says this is the Bengali name of *supāri*.
- Camēli*, the Arabian Jasmine, *Jasminum sambac*, *Ait.*
- Campā*, the Champak, *Michelia champaca*, *L.*
- Ciraūjī*, *Buchanania latifolia*, *Roxb.* Its kernels are used instead of the *deśi bādāma*.
- Chohārā*, the Date-palm, *Phoenix dactylifera*, *L.*
- Jābhīri*, the Orange Citron, *Citrus medica*, *L. var.*
- Jāiphara*, the Nutmeg, *Myristica officinalis*, *L. fil.*
- Jāmuna*, the Black Wild Plum, *Eugenia jambolana*, *L.*
- Jāhī*, the Spanish Jasmine. *Jasminum grandiflorum*, *L.*
- Jūhī*, a variety of Indian Jasmine, *Jasminum auriculatum*, *Vahl.*
- Tāra*, the Palmyra Palm, *Borassus flabelliformis*, *L.*
- Turuñja*, the Citron proper, *Citrus medica*, *L.*
- Tūti*, the Mulberry, *Morus Indica*, *L.*

- Dākha*, the Grape Vine, the Hindi name of *Kisimisa*, *Vitis vinifera*, L.
- Dāriū*, or *dārima*, the Pomegranate, *Punica granatum*, L.
- Nariara*, the Coconut, *Cocos nucifera*, L.
- Nāgēsara*, the Rose Chesnut, *Mesua ferrea*, L.
- Nārāga*, the Orange, *Citrus aurantium*, L.
- Nimbu*, see *Nīu*.
- Nīu*, or *nimbu*, the Sour Lime, *Citrus acida*, Roxb.
- Newaṅji* or *nyaūji*, the Red Currant, *Ribes rubrum*, L. The name is only known in Lāhūl now-a-days.
- Nyaūji*, see *Newaṅji*.
- Bakauri*, the Abelia, *Abelia triflora*, Br. Most of the species are Japanese and Chinese. This one is found in the N.-W. Himālaya.
- Baḍahari*, the Baḥal, *Artocarpus lakoocha*, Roxb.
- Baddāma*, the almond, not the *Terminalia catappa*, but the *Prunus Amygdalus*, Baill.
- Bēri* or *baira*, the Jujube, *Zizyphus jujuba*, L.
- Bolasari*, see *mōlasari*.
- Mahuā*, the Mahoowa tree, *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.
- Mālati*, the Clove-scented Aganosma, *Aganosma caryophyllata*, Don.
- Mōlasari* or *Bolasari*, the *Mimusops elengi*, Linn.
- Rāi-karaūḍā*, the Corinda, *Carissa carandas*, L.
- Rasa bēli*, the Wax-plant, or Honey-plant, *Hoya lanceolata*, Wall.
- Saḥkadrāu*, Sorrel, *Rumex vesicarius*, L.
- Satibaraga* or *Sadabaraga*, the Marigold, *Calendula officinalis*, L.
- Siggārahāra*, the Weeping *Nyctanthes*. *Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*, L.
- Sudarasana*, the Rose-apple, *Eugenia jambos*, L.
- Supāri*, see *Guā*, the Areca-nut palm, *Areca catechu*, L.
- Seoti*, the Dog-rose, *Rosa glandulifera*, Roxb.
- Sēu*, the apple, *Pyrus malus*, L.
- Sōnjarada*, the Oleaster or Wild Olive, *Elaeagnus conferta*, Roxb.
- Hariḥāryauri*, the Indian Gooseberry, *Rhodomyrtus tomentosa*, Wight.

Dr. Prain continues:—

'By the bye, the majority of the names have a Pañjābī ring about them, and most of the plants that are not natives of the N.-W. Provinces are ones that come from the West (Pañjāb to Persia), or that come from the Kumoān Hills, rather low down.

'Thus, taking the flowers—

'The *kadamba*, *karanā*, *kunda*, *campā*, *jūhī*, *mālati*, *siggārahāra*, and *sudarasana* might be natives of the writer's country. (But the *kadamba* may have been introduced from the Lower Provinces.)

'The *kēsara*, *camēli*, *jāhī*, *satibaraga*, are Western plants introduced before his time to Oude. (The *jāhī* may also be from Kumāon).

‘The *kadamba*, *kētaki*, *nāgēsara*, *mōlasari* (perhaps), must have been introduced from the eastward by way of the Lower Provinces.

‘The *jāhī* (see however note above), *kūjā*, *bakauri*, *rasa-bēli*, *seoti*, and *sōnjarada* are natives of N.-W. Himālaya, and, except the *jāhī*, which also comes from Afghānistān and Persiū and can stand a deal of heat, can hardly have been known to him, unless he was in the habit of going some way into the hills, for I do not feel sure that they could have been grown in the plains. At any rate, if he could grow them below, they came originally from the hills of Kumāon or Kāshmir.’

In another communication regarding the trees, Dr Prain writes : ‘The names of the oranges and lemons are interesting and fall in exactly with those known to Bonavia, in the very country in which the poet wrote.

‘You will note again the very marked Pañjābī and Himalayan ring about the names, e.g., in the red currant, with a regular Hill name. In this case, I think that the *amrita bēli*¹ must be the black currant. I cannot think why the author gives (in the same passage) the two names, *supārī* and *guā*, of the betel-nut. They mean exactly the same now-a-days. The name for sorrel² I do not find in any of our books, I give, however, the Latin name of sorrel. The Indian gooseberry³ has not any name quoted so far as my reading goes. I give its Latin name also. It is an exception to the rest of his fruits, for it comes from South India and Ceylon, (the only thing that is restricted to these parts in his whole list.)

‘*Gulāla* is the common basil of old-fashioned English gardens. The name is usually given, not to the green-leaved plant we know, but, to a purple-leaved form that one gets in India. By the way, the plant is generally spoken of as *gulāl tulsī*, so that the word is used as an adjective. Our basils are, of course, the Indian *tulsī*, but, owing to our and their interest centering on different ones, they give their name, unqualified, to a different one from the one that is unqualified by us. Thus :—

<i>English name.</i>	<i>Scientific name.</i>	<i>Indian name.</i>
THE BASIL.	<i>Ocimum basilicum.</i>	Gulāl tulsī.
Sacred Basil.	<i>Ocimum sanctum.</i>	TULSĪ.
Sweet Basil.	<i>Ocimum gratissimum.</i>	Rām tulsī.

¹ *Bēli* is the Pañjābī name for the black currant.

² *Saykhadarāu*, which I had identified with the Sanskrit *Saykhaḍraḥ*, which the dictionaries translate by ‘sorrel.’ G. A. G.

³ *Hariphāryauri*, translated in all dictionaries by ‘Indian Gooseberry.’ G. A. G.

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF BIRDS.

The poet also gives (stanza 29) a long list of birds. Unfortunately I know even less about them than I do about botany. I accordingly applied to an acknowledged authority, Dr. Scully. The following is condensed from the information which he very kindly gave me, together with what I have been able to make out from inquiries from natives.

Kāga, the Indian Crow, *Corvus splendens*, Vieillot.

Kōila, the Indian Cuckoo, *Eudynamys honorata*, L. According to the poet, its cry is 'kuhū, kuhū.'

Gudurū. An Urdū glossary translates this by *pōdanā*, the Smaller Skulking Warbler, which Forbes says is *Sylvia olivacea*. Its cry is 'tuhī, tuhī.'

Papīhā. Dictionaries call this the Sparrow-hawk, which is wrong. It is the Hawk-cuckoo, *Hieroccyx varius*, Vahl. It is a true cuckoo and not related to the sparrow-hawk. The poet says its cry is 'piu, piu' (beloved, beloved). The ordinary native tradition is, that it says 'pī kahā' (where is my love?) It is the 'Brain-fever Bird' of Anglo-Indians.

Parēwā, the Blue Rock Pigeon, *Columba intermedia*, Strickland.

Pāṇḍuki, a sort of family name for many species of doves. We may perhaps consider that the particular species intended is the Indian turtle dove, *Turtur meena*, Sykes. Its cry is 'a single tūhī.'

Bhīgarāja, or *Bhīmarāja*. The dictionaries wrongly call it a Shrike. It is the Racket-tailed Drongo, *Dissemurus paradiseus*, L. Sanskrit *Bhrīṅga-rāja*. It is a sort of King-crow. As the poet says, 'It speaks many languages.' It is an excellent talker.

Mahari, not identified. Its cry is *dahī, dahī*.

Mōra, the peacock, *Pavo cristatus*, L.

Sārē, not identified. Forbes gives *sārū*, a kind of bird, a species of black-bird. In the poem it is coupled with the *suā* or parroquet. The cry of both is said to be *raha-caha*, which seems to mean twittering.

Suā, see *sārē*. It is a Parrot or Parroquet. Dr. Scully says, 'In the absence of evidence tending to fix the particular species, we may take the commonest species, viz., the rose-ringed parroquet, *Palæornis torquatus*, Bodd.'

Harēwā, a v. l. for *parēwā*, above, the Gold-fronted Green Bulbul, *Phyllomis aurifrons*, Temm. It is a well-known cage-bird and a beautiful songster.

Hārīla, the green pigeon, *Crocopus phanicopterus*, Latham.

Study of Sanskrit in Ceylon—By PANDIT HARI MOHAN VIDYÁBHŪṢAṆ.

The island of Ceylon has been known to us from very early times: first, as a fabulous country inhabited by a class of men called Rákshasas, who, though civilised in arts and sciences, were yet rude in their habits of life; secondly, as a country of precious stones during the Buddhistic period; and lastly as a country occupied by a large colony from the city of Sīṃhapura in Western Bengal, then called Ráḍha. But after the Arabs, the Portuguese and the Dutch came to trade in the East, and became the lords of the Indian Seas, the Bengalese who used to go to Ceylon, embarking at the ancient port of Tāmraliptí, the modern Tāmluk, ceased to make sea-voyages.

It is owing to this fact, that, at present, communication between Ceylon and Bengal has become a thing of the past. With the exception of a few natives of India who happen to visit Colombo on their way to Europe, the people of this country know very little of Ceylon.

At a time when the spirit of adventure awakened the dormant energy of the Indian people to action, and when the barriers raised by Hinduism against sea-voyages were removed by the enlightened spirit of Buddhism, thousands of barks used to sail from Tāmraliptí to the shores of Ceylon, (*i. e.*, Tāmraparṇí or Tāmraveni of the ancients). It was through the efforts of those merchants that the fame of the mineral wealth of Ceylon became known to the Romans and the Greeks, who had intercourse with the empire of Magadha. More than two centuries before Alexander's conquests in the East, Indian merchants from Srāvastí, the ancient capital of Oudh, used to visit Ceylon, evidence of which is now coming to light from the sacred books of the Buddhists, preserved in the Archives of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa.

Besides what can be gathered from Tibetan sources, something can be gleaned from the Kalpalatá, the Ratnamálá, and other Sanskrit works lately recovered from Tibet by Bábú Sarat Chandra Dás.

The story of Muktálatá, which has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series contains the following:—

ततः कदाचिद्दण्डिजः श्रावस्तीपुरवासिनः ।

मकराकरमुनीर्यं सिञ्चलद्वीपमायुः ॥

* * * * *

कालेन सिञ्चमुनीर्यं सम्प्राप्तास्ते निजां परिम् ।

प्रणम्यावेद्य तद्दृष्टं ददुर्लेखं महात्मने ॥

i. e., "Some time afterwards native merchants from Srāvastí crossed

over the sea and reached the island of Ceylon. Having resided there for some time they crossed the sea again and reached their native town; and after bowing before their Lord they gave him an account of her (*i. e.*, the princess') behaviour and handed over her letter to Him."

Mr. James D'Alwis, in his preface to the descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit, Páli, and Singhalese literary works, observes:—"If the Orient pearls for which Ceylon has been famed from all antiquity, are still highly prized amongst the nations of the world, the intellectual pearls which Oriental scholars of many nations will be enabled to gather from Lañká's store-house of Literature, will not be esteemed as less precious or valuable." This remarkable passage struck me very much when I glanced over the pages of his catalogue. Being a Bráhmaṇ, I did not attach much value to the numerous Páli and Singhalese Buddhist works which have been enumerated in it, nor did I wonder at the mineral wealth and pearls which Ceylon possessed in olden times. What struck me most was the account of the study of Sanskrit which prevailed in Ceylon during the early centuries of the Christian era.

So early as the fifth century the study of Sanskrit was considered essential for all those who passed for literati in Ceylon, and Sanskrit scholars were respected side by side with the professors of Páli, the sacred language of the Buddhists. We are told in the Mahávaṃśa that Brahmanism flourished in Ceylon for about ten centuries, till 1000 A. D. This statement is borne out by facts and also by the Sanskrit works which were written by Singhalese authors. It is also very interesting to note that while the nine gems, called *nava ratna*, adorned the court of Vikramáditya during the 6th century A. D., the Augustan age of India, there should have been a king on the throne of Ceylon, who in scholarship in Sanskrit and in versification was not less gifted than the son of Sarasvatí—the immortal Kálidása.

The fame of Kumáradása as a poet had spread far and wide, and Kálidása who had read one of his productions—the "Jánakí-haraṇa"—was so much struck with the true poetic genius of the Royal Poet of Lañká that he was induced to make a journey to Ceylon to meet him.

Oriental scholars have not yet been able to gather sufficient chronological information about the age of Kálidása to enable us to enter into a discussion on the subject. There are so many conflicting statements as to his date, that one is apt to be bewildered by them. There is a tradition in Bengal that he died in the house of a courtesan. This statement, whether true or false, is borne out by a tradition which can be gathered from Singhalese works. The learned Bliksha Dharmáráma, in the preface to his edition of the "Jánakí-haraṇa," gives prominence to this account. It is said that Kálidása struck with the wonder-

ful poetic genius of Kumáradása, undertook a long and tedious journey from Central India to meet the royal bard in his native land.

“Kumáradása who was a profound Sanskrit scholar and poet reigned nine years, and ended his life by throwing himself into the funeral pile of his friend Kálidása.” The following lines from the Singhalese work called “Perakumbásirita” fully corroborate the above statement and further record the very high merits of the king as a poet:—

*Ejara Kiviyara ninin Jánaki-haraṇaé mahakavbendi,
Kumaradas rada Kálidás nam Kivindu Haṭa Siya divipidi.*

i. e., “The king Kumáradása who with immortal poetic felicity composed the Jánakí-haraṇa and other great epics, sacrificed his life for the great Kálidása.”

An episode so interesting for the light it throws on the lives of Kumáradása and Kálidása demands our attention. The Singhalese story in brief is this:—

The king was in the habit of frequenting the house of a woman to whom he was attached. On one of these visits he wrote on the wall the two lines—

*Padmát padmañ samulbhútam
S'rúyate na chā dṛśyate.*

i. e., “It is heard, but not seen, that a lotus flower is produced from another lotus flower.”

Under them he wrote a line offering a reward to the person who should complete the verse. Kálidása, then on a visit to the great royal bard whose poem he had seen in India, took lodgings that evening, as chance would have it, in the same house, and happening to see the lines on the wall, completed the verse by adding,—

*Bálé tava mukhámhóját
Tvannetrendívaradvayam.*

i. e., “O Maiden! from the lotus of thy face have sprung up the two blue lilies of thine eyes.”

The woman to whom perhaps the poet meant the lines as a compliment, influenced by the hope of obtaining the promised reward, murdered Kálidása that night and hid his body.

When the king visited her the following morning, she demanded the reward as the writer of the couplet. But Kumáradása, detecting in them the genius of a true poet, would not believe her, but insisted on her disclosing the real author. On being threatened, the murderess confessed her crime. When the corpse of Kálidása was brought out, the king's

sorrow and consternation knew no bounds. He ordered a grand funeral in honour of the renowned poet. When the pile was lighted, the generous-hearted monarch, overwhelmed with sorrow, sprang into the fire and was soon consumed by the flames together with his brother bard. Five queens of the king instantly followed his example. According to the Singhalese custom, seven monuments were erected, and seven bô-trees planted on the spot of the cremation. This sad event appears to have happened at Mátara (or Mahátírtha), where the king is said to have resided at the time.

Within the town there is a place by the name of "Hat Bódiwata" (सप्तवेधिवट—the garden of seven bô-trees), which tradition points out as the scene of this tragedy.

In India a similar tradition prevails regarding Kálidása, who is said to have written the following verse :—

कुसुमे कुसुमोत्पत्तिः श्रूयते न च दृश्यते ।
वाले तव मुखाम्बोजे कथमिन्द्रीवरद्वयम् ॥

i. e., "It is a mere hearsay statement, that flower begets flower, but no one has realized (the truth of it) by actually seeing it. O Maiden, how is it that I see two lilies on your lotus-face?"

It is curious that the traditions that prevailed in both countries should be substantially the same, though expressed in different words. Of the two, the Indian *Sloka* is decidedly the better.

Some Oriental scholars have conjectured the date of Kálidása to be in the 6th century. That Kumáradása was a king of Ceylon in the 6th century is a historical fact, as can be gathered from the Mahárámpsa, therefore it is not improbable that the great Indian poet Kálidása was a contemporary of Kumáradása.

It is to be regretted that the original works of Kumáradása should have been lost. But quotations from his Jánakí-haraya are to be found in Patañjali's Mahábháshya, in Rájasekhara's work, in Ujjala-datta's Unádi Vṛitti, and also in Kshemendra's Auchityálañkára. Prof. Peterson, in his paper "On the Auchityálañkára of Kshemendra, with a note on the date of Patañjali," made the following remarks :—

“कुमारदासस्य—

अपि विजहीहि दृढोपगूढं त्यज नवसङ्गमोत्सवज्ञम् ।
अवशकरोद्गम एष यन्ते वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुकुटाः ॥
(Kshemendra's Auchityálañkára.)

i. e., "By Kumáradása—

O, give up the firm (warm) embrace and leave the lover who is

timid at this first union. O beauteous Maiden! the rays of the rising sun are appearing and the cocks are crowing."

"The discovery that Kshemendra quotes this verse and assigns it to Kumáradása will one day, I hope, prove a valuable datum for the Mahábháshya itself. Unfortunately we do not yet know Kumáradása's own date. But the following verses by him are quoted here, as, with the present example, presenting strong internal evidence that a writer who quotes Kumáradása cannot have lived at the date now widely accepted for Patanjali."

Prof. Peterson again published the following note in the *Academy* for the year 1885, page 277:—"I have lately come across a date for Kumáradása and the name of his book. In Jalhana's 'Súkti Muktávali' the following verse of Rájáśekhara's treats of this poet:—

जानकौद्धरणं कर्तुं रघुवंशे स्थिते सति ।

कविः कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि क्षमः ॥

"i. e., 'The poet Kumáradása and Rávana, if any, are the only persons who can achieve the *Jánakí-harāṇa* (or Rape of Sítá) in the face of the *Raghu-vamśa* (or unawed by the dynasty of Raghu).'

"It is clear from this that Kumáradása wrote his '*Jánakí-harāṇam*' after *Kálidása*."

I think, by writing 'after *Kálidása*,' Prof. Peterson meant after the "*Raghu-Vamśa*," for it is only stated in the above śloka that Kumáradása's "*Jánakí-harāṇa*" was a later production than the "*Raghu-Vamśa*." But it does not necessarily follow that Kumáradása flourished after *Kálidása*.

The '*Pada-Chandriká*,' by Ráya-Mukūṭa, a commentary on the *Amarakosha*, which is a work of the 15th century, has numerous quotations from Kumáradása's "*Jánakí-harāṇa*." This shows that the work was largely used in India during the 15th century.

We are told by the Singhalese historians that about the 14th century certain Dravidian kings conquered Ceylon and exterminated all the Sanskrit and Páli works of that island; so much so that the Singhalese, after the downfall of this dynasty, had to bring all the sacred books from Burmah. It seems that Kumáradása's works were also destroyed at that time in Ceylon. But as the *Jánakí-harāṇa* was extant in India up to the 15th century, we may hope that it will, some day, be discovered by the Paṇḍits who are now engaged in collecting Sanskrit Manuscripts under the auspices of the Government.

In 1870 Mr. James D'Alwis, who was entrusted with the work of searching for Sanskrit and Páli manuscripts in Ceylon, discovered a manuscript of the Singhalese *Sanna*, i. e., a literal translation of the

work, the "Jánakí-haraṇa." Being himself a great scholar, he was able to appreciate its excellence. He caused a Paṇḍit to restore ten verses of the work from the said *sanna*, or Singhalese commentary.

I here quote his remarks on the poem: "The Jánakí-haraṇa is a very ancient and very interesting Sanskrit poem. A Singhalese *Sanna*, or literal translation of it, alone has been discovered. It is, however, possible that the original work may still be found in some nook of an old monastic library. Like all Singhalese *Sannas*, this translation quotes the words of the original in their integrity, and it is therefore not impossible to restore the words to their original poetical form; though, we confess, the manuscript in our possession requires much correction after comparison with other copies, which, we hope, may yet be found. But its restoration into metre is undoubtedly a very arduous work. Considering, however, that this poem, according to the opinion of the learned in Ceylon, is 'not inferior to the works of Kálidása,' the Indian Shakespeare, and that it may be ranked amongst the Mahákávyas, or great poems, it may be well worth the trouble of some Oriental scholar in Europe to undertake the work of restoration."

I am glad to notice here that recently Bhikshu Dharmáráma, the learned Principal of the Vidyálañkára Oriental College, Ceylon, has done great service to Oriental scholarship by restoring Kumáradása's Jánakí-haraṇa into metre from the Singhalese literal paraphrase. He has collected several manuscripts of the *sanna*, and has built an edifice with the material contained in them—which, I may hope, will be found to resemble its prototype—the lost Jánakí-haraṇa, if found out in future. Had Mr. D'Alwis been living now, how glad he would have been to see the realization of his hopes about the work in the labours of Bhikshu Dharmáráma—twenty years later.

To enable us to form an estimate of the comparative value of the restored verses, I subjoin a transcription in Devanágari of the first 10 verses of the Canto IX from the present edition, side by side with those restored by Mr. D'Alwis. (See Appendix I.)

From a careful examination of the above it will be seen that the spirit of the verses given by Dharmáráma and D'Alwis is the same, though a slight alteration in the arrangement of the lines may be noticed here and there.

The occasional deviation of Dharmáráma's ślokas from those given by Mr. D'Alwis is due to the use of synonymous words. This is chiefly due to the fact that Dharmáráma had access to more correct and trustworthy manuscripts than Mr. D'Alwis had access to twenty years ago. It is also to be noted that he took greater pains than Mr. D'Alwis, as he had gleaned materials from different sources with a view to publish

the complete work of the "Jánakí-haraṇa." Mr. D'Alwis had frankly confessed his inability to procure further materials, and so he was content with restoring to us only ten verses of the entire work.

It is a pity that Bhikshu Dharmáráma should have thought it fit to publish his edition of the Jánakí-haraṇa in the Singhalese character, which is not intelligible to many of us. I believe, if the production were transliterated into Roman or Devanágari character, it would be sure to receive the recognition it deserves at the hands of many Oriental scholars.

I beg to submit the first forty-two verses of Canto I, which I have transliterated into the Devanágari character. I rejoice to say that, in my humble opinion, true signs of poetic genius can be seen from the verses I have already transliterated.* (See Appendix II.)

APPENDIX I.

VERSES RESTORED BY BHIKSHU DHARMÁRAMA.

CANTO IX.

इति प्रवृत्तस्य सुतस्य केषुचित् गतेषु मासेषु सुखेन भूपतिः ।
 पुरं प्रतस्थे वनितापरिग्रहेः त्रयं सुतानामितरत् समर्थं सः ॥ १
 कञ्चन-भारिण्य च श्लोक-सम्पदा पदद्वयं मञ्जरविक्रमा पितुः ।
 ततान पत्याद्भिरुपेत्य विन्दुभिर्दृशोः प्रयाणाभिसुखी भुवः सुता ॥ २
 गुरुस्ततोऽसौ गुणपद्मवर्तिनीं मतिं समात्मन्व्य गुणैः पुरस्कृतम् ।
 अपत्यकां साधु जगौ गरीथसीं गिरं सतीनामुचितव्रताश्रयाम् ॥ ३
 परं प्रकर्षो वपुषः समुन्नतिगुणस्य तातो नृपतिर्नवं वयः ।
 इति स्म मा मानिनि मानमागमः पतिप्रसादोन्नतयो हि योधितः ॥ ४
 स्त्रियो न पुंसामुदयस्य साधनं त एव तद्भामविभूति-हेतवः ।
 तद्भिद्युक्तोऽपि घ्ननः प्रच्छम्भते विना न मेघं विनसन्ति विद्युतः ॥ ५
 गतापि भर्त्रे परिकोपमायतं गिरोऽकृथा मा परस्वार्थदीपनीः ।
 वदन्ति मौनं हि परं प्रसादनं कुलस्त्रियो भर्तृजनस्य भर्त्सने ॥ ६
 पतिव्रता वश्यमवश्यमङ्गना करोति शीलेन गुणस्पृहं पतिम् ।
 विनष्ट-चारित्र-गुणा गुणैषिण्यः पराभवं भर्तृरुपैति दुस्तरम् ॥ ७

* [On Dharmáráma's edition of the "Jánakí-haraṇa," see Professor E. Leumann's review in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. VII, p. 225. Ed.]

अथं त्वयि व्याहृतिविस्तरेण मे कुरुष्व तत् यच्चरितं त्वदाश्रयम् ।
 श्रुतिं प्रयातं जरसैव जर्जरं सहस्रधेदं हृदयं न दारयेत् ॥ ८
 अथं त्वदेकप्रवणो मनोरथो वृथाद्य दैवादपि नाम नो भवेत् ।
 इति प्रवक्तुर्जरतो निरासिरे निगृह्य कण्ठं वचनानि मन्युना ॥ ९
 उदयभासः शिखया शिखा-मणैः खजा च धम्मिल्लकिरीटदृष्टया ।
 प्रमृज्य पादौ जनकस्य जम्पती क्षयादयातामथ लम्बिताशिषौ ॥ १०

CANTO IX.

VERSES RESTORED BY MR. D'ALWIS.

इति प्रवृत्तस्य सुतस्य केषुचित् गतेषु मासेषु सुखेन भूपतिः ।
 त्रयं सुतानामितरत् समर्थं सः पुरं प्रतस्थे वनिता-परियच्चैः ॥ १
 नितम्बभारेण च श्लोकसम्पदा भुवः सुता मज्जरविक्रमा पितुः ।
 ततान पादावुदविन्दुभिर्दृशोरुपेत्य पत्न्याभिमुखी प्रवृत्तये ॥ २
 गुणस्ततोऽसौ गुणपक्षवर्तिनीं मतिं समालम्ब्य गुणैः पुरस्कृताम् ।
 अपत्यकां साधु-गिरं गरीयसीं जगौ सतीनामुचितव्रताश्रयाम् ॥ ३
 परं प्रकर्षो वपुषः समुन्नतिः गुणस्य तातो वृपतिर्वयो नवम् ।
 इति स्म मा मानिनि मानमागाः पतिप्रसादोन्नतयो हि योषितः ॥ ४
 स्त्रियो न पुंसामुदयस्य साधनं त एव तद्भामविभूति-हेतवः ।
 तडिद्वियुक्तोऽपि घनः प्रवृत्तते विना न मेघं विलसन्ति विद्युतः ॥ ५
 गिरोऽक्षया मा परुषार्थदीपनीः गतापि भर्त्रे परिकोपमायतम् ।
 कुलस्त्रियो भर्तृजनस्य भर्त्सने वदन्ति मौनं हि परं प्रसाधनम् ॥ ६
 पतिव्रता वश्यमवश्यमङ्गना करोति शीलैर्न गुणस्पृहं पतिम् ।
 विनष्ट-चारित्र्य-गुणा गुणैर्षिणः पराभवं भर्तुरुपैति दुस्तरम् ॥ ७
 अथं त्वयि व्याहृति-विस्तरेण मे श्रुतिं प्रयातं चरितं त्वदाश्रयम् ।
 न दारयेद् यज् जरसैव जर्जरं सहस्रधेदं हृदयं कुरुष्व तत् ॥ ८
 अथं त्वदेकप्रवणो मनोरथो वृथाद्य दैवादपि नाम नो भवेत् ।
 इति प्रवक्तुर्वचनानि मन्युना निगृह्य कण्ठे जरतो निरासिरे ॥ ९
 उदयभासः शिखया शिखामणैः खजा च धम्मिल्लकिरीटदृष्टया ।
 प्रमृज्य पादौ जनकस्य जम्पती क्षयादयातामथ लम्बिताशिषौ ॥ १०

CANTO IX.

Translation.

1. Thus when his (eldest) son had happily spent a few months, the king got his three remaining sons married and started for his capital.

2. (The Princess) born of the earth, when about to start in the company of her husband, touched in reverence with tearful eyes the feet of her father. Her steps were graceful and slow owing to the heaviness of her heart (at the prospect of separation) and also to that of her limbs.

3. Then her father addressed his accomplished daughter in language which was (at once) instructive and also befitting the vows of purity in the fair sex; so that she might always abide in virtue.

4. "O my daughter, being possessed of extraordinary self-respect, do not be proud of your personal charms, your high accomplishments, your royal parentage, or of your budding youth; for the welfare of the female sex consists in the love of their husbands.

5. "The worldly success of men is not due to woman. But men are the source of the good fortune and prosperity of their wives. For there cannot be lightning without clouds, though the clouds appear charming when there is no lightning.

6. "Even when you become angry, do not use a strong word to your husband. It is said that silence is the best resource of a noble wife when she is reproved by her husband.

7. "A wife devoted to her husband by her chastity, charms a good husband. A wife who has abandoned a virtuous life, incurs the irredeemable displeasure of a virtue-loving husband.

8. "Your behaviour should be good, so that when it reaches my ear, my heart which is sore and infirm with age, may not be pained in a thousand parts.

9. "Let not this cherished hope of mine, which is centred in you, even by chance end in nothing." When the old man expressed himself in this manner, sorrow choked his throat and he could not speak any more.

10. The couple at last set out from their father's home, having bowed their head to the feet of king Janaka. The wreaths of flowers which adorned the crown of the bridegroom which was topped with glittering gems, and also the dressed locks of the bride now covered the feet of king Janaka.

APPENDIX II.

जानकी-हरणम् ।

CANTO I.

आसीदवन्त्यामतिभोगभारादिवोऽवतीर्णा नगरीव दिव्या ।
 क्षत्रानलस्थानशमी समृद्ध्या पुरामयोध्येति पुरी परार्द्धा ॥ १
 यत्-सौध-ष्टङ्गाग्र-सरोज-राग-रत्नप्रभाविच्छुरितः शशाङ्कः ।
 पौराङ्गनावक्त्र-क्षतावमानो जगाम रोषादिव लोहितत्वम् ॥ २
 क्षत्वापि सर्वस्य मुदं समृद्ध्या हर्षाय नाभूदभिसारिकाणाम् ।
 निश्रासु या काञ्चन-तोरणस्थरत्नांशुभिर्भिन्न-तमिख-राशिः ॥ ३
 चीनांशुकैरभ्रलिङ्गामुदग्र-ष्टङ्गाग्रभागोपहितैर्गृह्याणाम् ।
 विटङ्ककोटिस्त्रलितेन्दु-स्रष्ट-निर्मोक्तपट्टैरिव या वभासे ॥ ४
 दिदृक्षुरन्तःसरसीमलञ्जं यत् खातहंसः समुदीक्ष्य वप्रम् ।
 सस्मार नूनं दृढ-क्रौञ्च-कुञ्ज-भागच्छिदो भार्गव-मार्गण्य ॥ ५
 रथ्यासु यस्यां रंदिनो गृह्याणामादर्शभित्तौ क्षतबन्धघाताः ।
 स्वविम्बमालोक्य ततं प्रमाणं चक्रुर्मदामोदमरिद्धिपानाम् ॥ ६
 लघ्नैकभागं सितचर्म-ष्टङ्के विक्रय्य मन्देन समीरणेन ।
 दीर्घाक्षतं बाल-गृणाल-शुभ्रं करोति यत्र ध्वजक्षत्यमभ्रम् ॥ ७
 यस्यां युवत्यो विहिता विधात्रा रत्नैरिवापूर्वपुषः प्रकर्षम् ।
 प्रवालश्रीर्षा वदनं सुवर्णं मुक्तामयाङ्गावयवा वहन्त्यः ॥ ८
 आलिङ्ग्य तुङ्गं वडभी-विटङ्कं विश्राणितात्मध्वनि पुष्करेषु ।
 यत्सौधकान्तेरिव संविभागं वज्रे सितं शारदमभ्रवृन्दम् ॥ ९
 प्रभा-विट्तिर्वितता पताका स्वासन्नजीमूतघटासु यस्याम् ।
 विद्युन्निभा काञ्चनपिञ्जरासु ततान तोषं शिखिनामुदग्रम् ॥ १०
 यत्र क्षतोद्दंष्ट्रित-तामंसानि रक्ताश्ल-नीलोपल-तोरणानि ।
 क्रोधप्रमोदौ विदधुर्विभाभिर्गरीजनस्य भ्रमतो निश्रासु ॥ ११
 तत्राभवत् पंक्तिरथाभिधानो भर्ता भुवो भानुनिभः प्रभावैः ।
 क्षत्रान्वयैर्विभ्रदक्षमन्य-क्ष्यानाद्यमानं जयमानमोजः ॥ १२

अखण्डमानो मनुजेश्वराणां मान्यो गुणज्ञो गुणजैर्मनोज्ञैः ।
 दिशो यशोभिः प्ररदक्ष-शुभ्रैश्चकार राजा रजतावदाता ॥ १३
 जिगीषुराजावजगन्दगोऽसौ पूर्वं विजिग्येऽन्तरितानजय्यान् ।
 द्विषः घडभ्रस्त-समस्त-शास्त्र-ज्ञानोपरुषेन्द्रिय-वाजिवेगः ॥ १४
 तेनालसत्वं पुरुषोत्तमेन वलिप्रतापापहृविक्रमेण ॥
 त्रैलोक्य-दुर्लभ्य-सुदर्शनेन नानन्तभोगाश्रयिणापि तेने ॥ १५
 दण्डस्ततस्तस्य भुवं जिगीषोः कस्यं वितन्वन् विहिताङ्गमर्हः ।
 तापैक-हेतुस्त्रिदशाधिपस्य दिशं ज्वरस्तीत्र इवाविवेश ॥ १६
 समुद्रमुल्लंघ्य गतस्तदीयस्तेजोऽभिधानो गुहरभिराशिः ।
 नितान्त-सन्तापित-पूर्वकाष्ठः प्रीत्सेदयामास नृपं कटाहे ॥ १७
 भुजङ्गमप्रार्थित-सेव्यवेला काञ्चीगुणाकर्षित-सार्धलोका ।
 दिग्दक्षिणा कर्काश-यत्न-भोग्या वेश्येव मुक्ता नृवरेश तेन ॥ १८
 विनिर्जितोऽप्यस्य प्ररेण घातं लब्ध्वासुरासुप्रघसायुधस्य ।
 आत्मानमन्यैरसमानमानं मेने मनस्वी युधि यावनेन्द्रः ॥ १९
 तेजश्वलेनाथ ऊताशनेन श्रीवासरम्भं प्रदहन् तुरुष्कम् ।
 धूपैरिवासक्तगतैर्यशोभिराश्रीयमन्तं सुरभौचकार ॥ २०
 परेषु वात्पापरिदृष्टितोऽस्य क्रोधाभिधानो युधि चित्रभानुः ।
 आतामनेत्रच्युत-वारिवर्षैरानाथि श्रान्तिं रिपुकाभिनीनाम् ॥ २१
 तस्यैकवागासनभद्रशचोराणोकभूमौ चरणारविन्दे ।
 आसेदतुः सर्वनरेन्द्रमौलिरत्नप्रभालक्तकमण्डनानि ॥ २२
 लोकस्तदीये भुवि हारगौरे कीर्त्तिप्रताने प्रविष्टम्भमाने ।
 अभिन्नकोशं कुमुदं निरीक्ष्य सुमोच चन्द्रोदयशङ्कितानि ॥ २३
 समस्तसामन्तनृपोत्तमाङ्गान्यध्यास्य तस्योन्नतवृत्ति तेजः ।
 जज्वाल चूडागतपद्मरागरागच्छटाविस्फुरणच्छलेन ॥ २४
 नरेन्द्रचन्द्रस्य यशोवितानज्योत्स्ना महीमण्डलमण्डनस्य ।
 तस्यारिनारीनयनेन्दुकान्तनिष्यन्दहेतुर्भुवनं ततान ॥ २५
 माता भवित्री भवतुल्यधाम्न इन्द्रद्विषदुर्मर्त्तुनिस्तदनस्य ।
 तेनोपयेमे समर्थं विदित्वा अभ्येः समर्थं विधिवद्विधेया ॥ २६
 महेन्द्रकल्पस्य महाय देव्याः स्फुरन्मयूखा सरणिर्नखानाम् ।
 पाददयान्ते जितपद्मकोशे मुक्तेव मुक्ताविततिर्विरेजे ॥ २७

लीलागतीरत्र निसर्गसिद्धा मत्तो न दन्ती मुधितो न हंसः ।
 इतीव जंघायुगलं तदीयं चक्रे तुलाकोट्यधिरोहणानि ॥ २८
 तस्या हतं मन्मथवाणपतैः शक्यं विधातुं न निमील्य चक्षुः ।
 ऊरु विधात्रा नु हतौ कथं तावित्यास तस्यां सुमतेर्वितर्कः ॥ २९
 विम्बाधराया नवयौवनश्री-सम्पर्कतो वृद्धिमभिव्रजन्ती ।
 इतीव बद्धा रसनागुणेन श्रोणी पुनर्वृद्धिनिषेधहेतोः ॥ ३०
 षस्योदरस्य प्रतितुल्यशोभं नास्तीति धात्रा भुवनत्रयेऽपि ।
 संख्यानरेखा इव संप्रयुक्तास्तिखो विरेजु वलयः सुदव्याः ॥ ३१
 वयःप्रकर्षादुपचीयमानस्तनद्वयस्योद्बहनश्रमेण ।
 अत्यन्तकार्ष्यं वनजायताच्या मध्यं जगामिति ममैष तर्कः ॥ ३२
 चारालकेष्टा अलके विधात्रा विधीयमाने चलतूलिकायात् ।
 क्षुतस्य विन्दोरसितस्य मार्गरेखेव रेजे नवरोमराजिः ॥ ३३
 तस्या मुखेन्दुं कुचचक्रवाकौ यस्मान्न विश्लेषयति द्वयं नौ ।
 नायं शशी तत्प्रतितुल्यमन्यदिति स्म तर्कादिव पश्यतस्ती ॥ ३४
 निर्जिग्यतुर्वालमृगालनालं सच्छिद्रवृत्तं किल दीर्घसूत्रम् ।
 सुस्निग्धसन्धौ शुभविग्रहौ तौ तन्व्या मुञ्जौ किं यदि तत्र चित्रम् ॥ ३५
 कान्तिप्रकर्षं दृशन्च्छ्देन सन्ध्याघने बद्धपदं हरन्त्याः ।
 तस्या गृहोद्यानसरोषतस्य हस्तस्य एवाम्बुरुहस्य रागः ॥ ३६
 आसीदयं चन्द्रमसो विशेषस्तद्वक्त्रचन्द्रस्य च भासुरस्य ।
 विभर्त्ति पूर्वं सकलं कुरङ्गं तस्यैव नेत्रद्वितयं द्वितीयम् ॥ ३७
 कान्तिश्रिया निर्जितपद्मरागं मनोज्ञगन्धं द्वयमेव श्लक्ष्णम् ।
 नवप्रबुद्धं जलजं जलेषु स्थलेषु तस्या वदनारविन्दम् ॥ ३८
 इन्दीवरस्यान्तरमेतदस्या नेत्रोत्पलस्यापि यतो हिमांशोः ।
 त्विषोऽपि नैकं सहते सुखाख्यनाक्रम्य तस्यावपरं शशाङ्कम् ॥ ३९
 युग्मं भ्रुवोश्चक्षुजिह्वा-पद्म-सम्पर्कभीत्यासितलोचनायाः ।
 प्रोक्षन् दूरोत्तरं विधित्सु मध्येन तस्याविति मे वितर्कः ॥ ४०
 तत्केशपाशावजितात्मवर्द्धभारस्य वासः शिखिनो वनेषु ।
 लज्जां तिरश्चामपि जातु चेतश्चक्रे जनस्य स्पृष्टतीति शङ्काम् ॥ ४१
 दोषोऽपि यस्या भुवनत्रयस्य बभूव रक्षोभयनाशहेतुः ।
 अन्यापि कन्या जितसिद्धकन्या तादृग्गुणा तस्य बभूव देवी ॥ ४२ ॥

CANTO I.

Translation.

1. In this earth there once was a great city of the name of Ayodhyá; a city that surpassed all other cities in respect of wealth and prosperity. So prosperous (was it, that it looked) as if it had fallen down from heaven by the weight of its great wealth. It was a city which was a great resort of the Kshattriya race, as the Śamí tree is the constant abode of fire.

2. The moon became radiant by the reflected refulgence of the rubies that decked the spires of the lofty edifices of that city. Nay, her (the moon's) countenance became florid through jealous wrath at the sight of the superior charms of the fair females that lived there.

3. The opulence and prosperity of that city brought joy to all, except to young maidens that sought their lovers. For the lustre that issued from the gems of the golden gates of that city dissipated darkness and made night bright as day.

4. The glowing flags of China satin, which streamed in the sky from the lofty steeples of the mansions of that city, seemed like projections chiselled out from the moon.

5. The swans that were swimming in the moat surrounding the city-wall cast wistful looks towards the lakes of the city; but out of despair, owing to the lofty walls which stood in their way, they were reminded of the exploits of Paraśu-ráma, who by his arrow cut a passage through the Mount of Krauñcha.

A brief account of Bhāskara, and of the works written, and discoveries made, by him.—BY THE LATE PAṆḌIT BĀPU DEVA ŚĀSTRĪ, C.I.E.

[NOTE BY EDITOR.—The following paper was found amongst the papers of the deceased Paṇḍit after his death in 1890 and communicated to the Society, of which he was an Honorary Member, by his relations. It forms a portion of the preface to his revised edition of Mr. Wilkinson's translation of the *Goldādhya* of the *Siddhānta Śiromani*, published in the "Bibliotheca Indica," so far back as 1861. This preface was, apparently by an accident, not printed at the time, and the Paṇḍit kept it by him, and spent considerable pains over numerous and careful corrections, which he subsequently added. There seems to be no doubt that he intended to publish it on some future occasion, and there cannot be a better place for its appearance than the *Journal* of the Society of which he was so long a valued member.]

Bhāskara was born in 1036 of the *Sālivāhana* era—or in the year 1114, A. D.—Some authors mention that he was an inhabitant of Bira, a Marāṭhā village; but he himself states, at the end of his *Goldādhya*, that his native place was near the Sabyādri, or the Western Ghāts,

and it appears to me that he was an inhabitant of Vájapura, the ancient metropolis of the Karnatik. Some say that he was a Maráthá Bráhmaṇ follower of the Yajurveda; but his method of annotating, which is still current in the Karnatik in annotating poetical works, shews that he was a Kanaṛá Bráhmaṇ of Vájapura. His father, named Maheśvara, was a very great Paṇḍit and Astronomer, and a virtuous man. He had acquired the title of *Acharya* (Doctor) in the assembly of the Paṇḍits.

Bháskara studied all the sciences acquired by him with his father. It cannot be ascertained whether he or his father was patronized by any Rájá, or whether he was a rich or poor man. But it is certainly true that he was expert in science, a very great poet, and an excellent Astronomer.

In his time, Lalla's work on astronomy, called *Sishya-dhívriiddhida-Tantra*, more usually styled the *Dhívriiddhida* simply, was much used, as the *Siddhánta-Síromani* is at present. Bháskara first made a commentary on Lalla's work, and then wrote his own work on astronomy, called *Siddhánta-Síromani*, in two parts, *Gaṇitádhyáya* and *Goládhyáya*, composing before it two introductory works: the first on Arithmetic, called *Páñí*, or *Lílávati*, and the second on Algebra.* He compiled his excellent work *Siddhánta-Síromani* in the 36th year of his age, or 1150, A. D. Its first part, *Gaṇitádhyáya*, is divided into 12 chapters, viz. :—

Chapter I. Called the *Madhyagati*, which treats of the rules for finding the mean places of the planets, contains 7 sections.

Section 1. Kinds of time.

Section 2. Revolutions of the planets, &c.

Section 3. Rules for finding the *ahargana* (or enumeration of mean terrestrial days elapsed from the commencement of the Kalpa) and thence the mean places of the planets, &c.

Section 4. The dimensions of the *Brahmánḍa* (universe), and of the orbits of the planets, and thence the rules for finding the mean places of the planets.

Section 5. This section, called *Pratyabda-Suddhi* (the remainders of additive months at the beginning of each year), treats of rules for finding the remainders of additive months, subtractive days, &c., at the beginning of each year, the small *ahargana* (or enumeration of the days elapsed from the beginning of the current year) and thence the mean places of the planets.

Section 6. Determination of additive months and others.

Section 7. The *Desántara* correction, &c., and conclusion of the first chapter.

* [Or *Vijaganita*. Both have been translated by Colebrooke,—Ed.]

Chapter II. Called the *Spashṭa-gaṭi*, which treats of the rules for finding the apparent places of the planets.

Chapter III. Called the *Tripraśna*, treats of the rules for resolving questions on time, finding the positions of places and directions.

Chapter IV. Called *Parva-sambhava*, on the possibility of the eclipses of the sun and moon.

Chapter V. Of lunar eclipses.

Chapter VI. Of solar eclipses.

Chapter VII. Rules for finding the lengths of the shadows reflected from the planets.

Chapter VIII. On the rising and setting of the planets.

Chapter IX. On the phases of the moon and the position of the moon's cusps.

Chapter X. On the conjunction of the planets.

Chapter XI. On the conjunction of the planets with stars.

Chapter XII. Rules for finding the time at which the declinations of the sun and moon become equal.

The second part of the *Siddhanta-S'īromani*, called *Golādhyāya* is divided into 13 chapters, with an appendix. Of this part the translation is given here.

[The translation of the *Golādhyāya*, or Treatise on the Sphere, being now out of print, the following account of its contents is added for the sake of completeness:—

Chapter I. In praise of the advantages of the study of the sphere.

Chapter II. Questions on the general view of the sphere.

Chapter III. Cosmography, (including a refutation of the supposition that the earth is level).

Chapter IV. On the principles of the rules for finding the mean places of the planets.

Chapter V. On the principles on which the rules for finding the true places of the planets are grounded.

Chapter VI. On the construction of an Armillary Sphere.

Chapter VII. On the principles of the rules for resolving the questions on time, space, and directions.

Chapter VIII. The explanation of the cause of eclipses of the sun and moon.

Chapter IX. On the principles of the rules for finding the time of the rising and setting of the heavenly bodies.

Chapter X. On the cause of the phases of the moon.

Chapter XI. On the use of astronomical instruments, viz., (1) the gnomon, (2) the vertical circle, (3) the *Phalaka* (invented by Bhāskara), (4) the *Yashī*, or staff, (5) the *Dhī-yantra*, or genius-instrument, (6) the self-revolving instrument, (6) the syphon.

Chapter XII. The seasons.

Chapter XIII. Useful questions,—a collection of problems. Ed.].

In this work Bhāskara has variously exposed the errors of Lalla, whose work he had formerly annotated.

We now proceed to mention the discoveries of Bhāskara.

1. He discovered that the earth has the inherent property of attracting all things around it,* and

2. That portion of the equation of time which is due to the inclination of the ecliptic to the equinoctial.†

3. He found out the *tātkālika*, or instantaneous motion of the variable quantities—the planet's longitude, and the sine of the arc.

Bhāskara says “the difference between the longitudes of a planet found at any time on a certain day, and at the same time on the following day, is called its rough motion during that interval of time; and its *tātkālika* motion is its exact motion.”

The *tātkālika*, or instantaneous motion of a planet, is the motion which it would have in a day, had its velocity at any given instant of time remained uniform. This is clear from the meaning of the term *tātkālika*, and it is plain enough to those who are acquainted with the principles of the differential calculus, that this *tātkālika* motion can be no other than the differential of the longitude of a planet. This *tātkālika* motion is determined by Bhāskara in the following manner.‡

* * * * *

Now, the term *tātkālika* applied by Bhāskara to the velocity of a planet, and his method of determining it, correspond exactly to the differential of the longitude of a planet and the way for finding it. Hence it is plain that Bhāskara was fully acquainted with the principle of the differential calculus.§ The subject, however, was only inci-

* [*Siddhanta-S'iromani*. Chap. III, 6.—Ed.]

† [*Siddhanta-S'iromani*. Chap. V, 16, 17.—Ed.]

‡ [The calculations given by the author are omitted, as they have already been published in *J. A. S., B.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 213 and ff.—Ed.]

§ [See, however, two papers by Spottiswoode in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII, p. 222 and Vol. XX, p. 345. Mr. Spottiswoode considered that the paṇḍit had overstated his case. He added ‘Bhāskara undoubtedly conceived the idea of comparing the successive positions of a planet in its path, and of regarding its motion as constant during the interval, and he may be said to have had some rudimentary notion of representing the arc of a curve by means of auxiliary straight lines. But on the other hand, in the method here given, he makes no allusion to one of the most essential features of the Differential Calculus, viz., the infinitesimal magnitude of the intervals of time and space therein employed. Nor indeed is anything specifically said about the fact that the method is an approximative one.

‘Nevertheless, with these reservations, it must be admitted, that the penetration

dentally and briefly treated of by him, and his followers, not comprehending it fully, have hitherto neglected it entirely.

4. The ancient astronomers Lalla and others say that the difference between the mean and true motion of a planet becomes nothing when the planet reaches the point of intersection of the concentric and excentric. But Bhāskara, denying this, says that when the planet reaches the point where the transverse diameter of the concentric cuts the excentric, the difference of the mean and true motions becomes 0.*

For let p be the mean place of a planet at any time on a certain day, and p' that at the same time on the next day; and e and e' be the amounts of the equation respectively: then $p+e$ and $p'+e'$ will be the true places of the planet; $\therefore p'-p+(e'-e)$ will be the true motion of the planet; taking $p'-p$ the mean motion from this, the remainder $e'-e$ is the difference between the amounts of the equation. Thus, it is plain, that the difference between the mean and true motions of the planet is the rate of the increase or decrease of the amount of the equation. Therefore where the amount of the equation becomes greatest, the rate of its increase or decrease will be nothing; or the difference between the mean and true motions equals 0. But as the amount of the equation becomes greatest, when the planet reaches the point of the excentric cut by the transverse diameter of the concentric (see the note on verses 15, 16 and 17 of Chapter V), the rate of its increase or decrease must be nothing; that is, the difference between the mean and true motions will be nothing at the same point. This is the principle of the maxima and minima, with which, it is thus evident, Bhāskara was acquainted.

5. He ascertained that when the arc corresponding to a given sine or cosine is found from the table of sines, this will be not far from its exact value, when it is not nearly equal to 90° or 0° respectively.†

6. He discovered the method of finding the altitude of the sun, when his declination and azimuth and the latitude of the place are given. This is a problem of Spherical Trigonometry, which he first solved by two rules in the *Gaṇitādhyāya*. Of these two rules, we have shown one in the note on verse 46 of the 13th Chapter of the *Golādhyāya*, and the other is the following:—

shown by Bhāskara in his analysis, is in the highest degree remarkable; that the formula which he establishes, and his method of establishing it, bear more than a mere resemblance—they bear a strong analogy—to the corresponding process in modern mathematical astronomy; and that the majority of scientific persons will learn with surprise the existence of such a method in the writings of so distant a period, and so remote a region.' Ed.]

* [*Siddhanta-S'iromani*. Chap. V, 39. Ed.]

† [*Siddhanta-S'iromani*. Appendix. Ed.]

Multiply the equinoctial shadow by the radius and divide the product by the cosine of the azimuth. Assuming the result as an equinoctial shadow, find the sine of an assumed latitude, *i. e.*, finding the *Akshakarṇa* from this equinoctial shadow, say :—

as the *akshakarṇa*
 : the equinoctial shadow or the result
 :: the radius
 : the sine of assumed latitude.

Now the sine of the sun's declination multiplied by the sine of latitude of the given place gives the sine of assumed declination.

Add the assumed declination to the assumed latitude, when the sun's declination is south ; but when the declination is north, subtract it. The result will be the zenith distance of the sun.*

Demonstration. First of all he found the shadow of the gnomon, when the sun, revolving in the equinoctial, arrived at the given vertical circle, *i. e.*, when the sun has the given azimuth, as follows :—

Draw a circle on a level surface with a given radius, and draw two diameters perpendicular to each other, east and west and north and south ; then, at the equinoctial day, if we place a gnomon of 12 digits on the level so that the end of its shadow fall on the centre, the distance of the gnomon's bottom from the east and west line must be equal to the equinoctial shadow of the given place. Now draw a line from the centre to the gnomon's bottom and produce it. It will meet the circumference at the distance of the complement of the azimuth from the east or west point. *

Then say—

as the cosine of the azimuth
 : the radius
 :: the distance of the gnomon's bottom from the east
 and west line, *i. e.*, the equinoctial shadow
 : the gnomon's shadow.

From this shadow find its hypotenuse, then say

as the hypotenuse
 : shadow
 :: radius
 : the sine of the zenith distance when the sun is in
 the equinoctial having the same azimuth.

Call this sine the sine of assumed latitude.

Then by similar triangles—

as the sine of the latitude of the place in the plane of
 the meridian

* That is, assuming the given place of the observer to be in the northern hemisphere.

- : the sine of the assumed latitude in the plane of the vertical
- :: the sine of the sun's declination in the plane of the meridian
- : the sine of the assumed declination in the plane of the vertical.

This is the sine of the arc of the vertical circle intercepted between the equinoctial and the sun's place.

Add this arc to the assumed latitude, or to the arc of the vertical circle from the zenith to the equinoctial when the declination is south; but when it is north subtract the arc, the result will be the zenith distance of the sun. Hence the rule.

Then he says that if the complement of the sun's azimuth be less than his amplitude, when he is in the northern hemisphere, the vertical circle will cut the diurnal circle in two points above the horizon. Hence on the same day the sun will enter the same vertical circle at two different times, and therefore the sun's zenith distance will admit of two different values. Bhāskara determined these two values thus:—

Subtract the assumed latitude above found from 180° . The remainder will be the second value of the assumed latitude. Then from these two values of the assumed latitude find the two different values of the zenith distance. The reason is very plain.

7. The ancient astronomers, Lalla, Śrīpati, &c., erroneously used the versed sine and radius in finding the *valana* or variation (of the ecliptic). Bhāskara himself refuted their rules variously, and used the right sine and the cosine of declination in the place of the versed sine and the radius respectively (see the last portion following the 29th verse of the 8th chapter of the *Goldāhyāya*).

8. It is stated in the *Sūryasiddhānta* and other ancient astronomical works, that the end of the gnomonical shadow revolves in the circumference of a circle, which Bhāskara boldly refuted.

Besides the above Bhāskara discovered many other matters which are not so important as to deserve mention here. He wrote an annotation called *Vāsanābhāshya* on his work himself, the style of which is very good and plain. Before he wrote this commentary, he composed two other works,—one a *Karaṇa** and the other called *Sarvatobhadra-yantra*, to find the hour of the day. Both of these works are now extant. He wrote another *Karaṇa* in the 69th year of his age, which is now very common. It appears, therefore, that Bhāskara lived to the age of more than 69 years. After him, no great astronomer has appeared among the Hindús up to the present time.

* A treatise on astronomical calculation, where the epoch is taken from the commencement of the work.

On some new or rare Muhammadan and Hindú Coins, No. III.—By

DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE. (With two Plates).

[For Nos. I and II of this series, see this *Journal*, Vol. LVIII, Part I of 1889, p. 30, and Vol. LIX, Part I, for 1890, p. 169. Compare also Vol. LII, Part I for 1883, p. 211.]

In the course of examining coins that are submitted to me under the Treasure Trove Act, I have come across some that deserve a fuller description than I could give them in my Reports to the Government.

(A) COINS OF THE INDEPENDENT SULTANS OF BENGAL.

Towards the end of 1891 I received a lot of coins from Sibságar in Assam. Among them there were 38 coins of the Independent Sultáns of Bengal. In July 1892 I received another set of 28 coins of the same Sultáns from Bhágalpur. Reports on both finds are published in the Society's *Proceedings* for August 1893. Among these coins I found the following new types or new varieties of known types.

(XXXV.) JALÁLU-D-DÍN MUHAMMAD SHÁH.

817-835 A. H. = 1414-1431 A. D.

(1) See Plate VIII, fig. 1. Now in the Indian Museum. This is merely a new variety of the coin, published by Mr. Blochmann in this *Journal*, Vol. XLIII, p. 294, pl. XIII, No. 2, and in the British Museum Catalogue, No. 87. The legends on both faces are in tughra characters.

Obv.: 

The date 834, in very large figures, is on the left,* and the mint *Chatgáon* on the right side, partly illegible. In the specimens published by W. Blochmann, the date as well as the mint is on the right side. On the British Museum specimen the mint is said to be beneath. But I doubt this; it appears to me to be the usual legend *خليفة عمر*. The date and mint would be on the sides, but the coin is too badly disfigured by cuts to show them.

(2) Plate VIII, fig. 2. Now in the Indian Museum. This is another specimen of that published in the British Museum Catalogue,

* Unfortunately, owing to a knob caused by a shroff mark on the reverse, the date has not come out very clearly in the photograph. It is however, perfectly distinct on the coin itself.

OBVERSES.

REVERSES.

OBVERSES.

REVERSES.



I



AR.



VII



AR.



II



AR.



VIII



AR.



III



AR.



IX



AR.



IV



AR.



X



AR.



V



AR.



XI



AR.



VI



AR.



XII



AR.

photo-etching.

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1893.

No. 83, and I only publish it here, because it is in nearly perfect condition. The beginning of the name *Jalál* is lost or disfigured in every other specimen I have hitherto seen. The mint also is a curiosity; for it seems to read (left-hand margin) في الفيروزآباد *fi al-Firúzábád*. The more usual form is في البلدة فيروزآباد *fi al-bildat Firúzábád*. The date is 824 (سنه ٨٢٤, bottom, margin). The whole margin reads:

ضرب هذا السكه في الفيروزآباد سنه ٨٢٤

The date is in large sprawling figures.

(3) Plate VIII, fig. 3. Now in the Indian Museum. This is a new type which I do not remember having seen published anywhere. The obverse legend is new.

Obv.: in circular area:

نا الاسلام
واضر
لمسلمين
خلد ملكه

Margin: ضرب هذه السكه في (.....) سنه ٨٢٣.

Rev.: lettered surface with usual legend in tughra.

The date is 83(3?); the last figure may be 3 or 4. I cannot identify the mint name; it seems to be a new mint of 7 or 8 letters, ending in *h*.

(4) Plate VIII, fig. 4. Now in the Indian Museum. This is another new type, with an entirely new kind of obverse design. It consists of a small circular centre with the legend ابد الجبار *Abdu-l-Jabbár* 'Servant of the Omnipotent.' Around is a broad inner circle and a narrow margin, both covered with arabesques. At the bottom of the margin there appears to be the date 8*5 (825 or 835), now partly obliterated by a shroff-mark.

The reverse has the usual legend in tughra, as, e.g., in the British Museum Catalogue, No 33.

(XXXVII.) NAŠIRU-D-DÍN MAḤMÚD SHÁH.

846-864 A. H. = 1442-1459 A. D.

This Sultán struck a very great variety of coins. Mr. Blochmann has published nine different kinds in this *Journal*, Vol. LXIII, p. 295 and Vol. XLIV, pp. 288, 289, Pl. XI, Nos. 2-9. I myself have published eleven other varieties in this *Journal*, Vol. LIII, pp. 217-219, Pl. XVI, Nos. 1-8 and Pl. XVII, Nos. 9-11. Here are four additional varieties.

1. Plate VIII, fig. 5. Now in the Indian Museum. This is a new variety of the same type to which "Col. Hyde's" coin, published by Mr. Blochmann in this *Journal*, Vol. XLIII, p. 295, belongs. The

peculiarity of this type is that both its margins are not filled with legends, but with various ornamental markings. The present coin differs from Col. Hyde's in showing on the reverse the "kunyat" *Abul Mujáhid*, and bearing no date. There are also some other slight differences in the arrangement of the lettering and in the ornamental markings.

Obverse: in circular area:—

المؤيد
بتأييد الرحمن
خليفة الله
واهان
بالحجج لبر

Margin: ornamental scrolls.

Reverse: in circular area:

الدنيا
ناصر ولد
ابوالمجاهد محمود
شاه السلطان

Margin: ornamental scrolls.

There is neither mint nor date.

2. Plate VIII, fig. 6. Now in the Indian Museum. This is merely another die of the same variety of coin, which has been published by Mr. Blochmann in this *Journal*, Vol. XLIV, p. 289, Pl. XI, No. 9, and by myself in Vol. LII, p. 218, Pl. XVII, No. 9. I publish it for three reasons. In the first place, because it is in very good condition and shows plainly the "kunyat" *Abul Mujáhid*. In the second place, because it gives a new date; and in the third place, because it shows that my description given in Vol. LII, p. 219 is wrong. The obverse legend is not (as I then thought, being misled by the bad condition of the coin) distributed over area and margin, but area and margin have, each, their own distinct legend.

Obv.: in circular area:

نا الاسك
واصرم
لمسلمين
خلد ملكه

Obv. margin:

ضرب هذه السكة
في (.....) سنة ٨٤٢

Rev.: in circular area, within
ornamental margin:

الدنيا
ناصر
والدين ابو
المجاهد
محمود شاه
السلطان

The date (just above of *Násir*) is 842. This is noticeable. The earliest proved date, hitherto known, of *Maḥmúd Sháh* was 846, and he reigned up to 864. Native historians give him 27 years (or even

32) of reign. Accordingly his reign should have commenced in 638. Mr. Blochmann, after discussing the subject (Vol. XLII, p. 269), adds: "We require, therefore, more evidence to fix the beginning of Maḥmūd's reign." Here, then, we have evidence carrying that Sultán's reign back to 842.

The mint name I am unable to read satisfactorily, but it is apparently the same as that above on No. 3 of Jalálu-d-dín Muḥammad Sháh. The first part, here, might be *al-Balad*; though, perhaps, the name is only a very crude way of writing *Firázábád*; compare the appearance of the latter name on No. 3, below.

There were five specimens of this coin. One has no date; another has 843; on the remaining two the unit figure is not distinctly legible, it may be 1 or 2 or 3. The specimen dated 843 is now in the British Museum. The undated specimen seems to be of the Mu'azzimábád mint.

3. Plate VIII, fig. 7. Now in my own cabinet. This is a new type.

Obv.: area in indented quatre-foil:

نا الإسلام

واضرم

لمسلمين

خلد ملكه

Obv.: margin in sections:

upper left: ضرب هذبة

lower ,, : السكة في

lower right: فيروزآباد سنه

upper ,, : ٨٤٣

Rev.: in circular area within ornamental border:

الدنيا

ناصر

والدين ابو

المجاهد محمود

شاه السلطان

No marginal legend.

It may be noticed that this is again a coin of the *Abul Mujáhid* type, and that the date is another early one of 843.

There were seven specimens of this coin; all, except two, dated 843. On the remaining two the date is lost. One of them is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta; another, in the British Museum.

4. Plate VIII, fig. 8. Now in the Indian Museum; the only specimen of this kind in the find. It is apparently a duplicate of the coin published by me in this *Journal*, Vol. LII, p. 218, Pl. XVI, No. 4, but it is in much better preservation, showing all the peculiarities of this type of coin.

Obv.: in circular area,
within ornamental margin:

عوث الاسلام
ملكة
والمسلمين خلد
في فيروزآباد ٨٥٨

Rev.: in oblong double-lined toothed
area, within a circle surrounded
by dots:

الدنيا و الد ابوالمظفر
ناصرين
محمود شاه [لسطان]

The toothed or fringe-like orna-
mentation is peculiar.

The date 858 is distinct. The mint *Firúzábád* is probable.

I wish to draw attention to two points:—

Firstly, these new coins carry Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh's rule back to the years 843 and 842. The end of his reign is well ascertained to have been in 864, by Bārbak Shāh's inscription of 865 and Maḥmūd's own coin of 864 (*Journal* LII, p. 216, No. 8b). This gives Maḥmūd Shāh a reign of, at least, 23 years, and goes some way in support of the statement of the native historians. Some of them say, that he reigned 32 years, others, that he reigned "not more than 27" years. These conflicting statements are susceptible of a not improbable explanation. Giving Maḥmūd Shāh 32 years, his reign would have commenced in 833. Mr. Blochmann (*Journal*, Vol. XLII, p. 268) shows with great probability, that Shamsu-d-dīn Aḥmad Shāh's reign must have commenced in 834 or thereabouts. He was the third member of an usurping Hindú dynasty, and the native historians relate, that he was so cruel and tyrannical that Nāṣir Shāh (afterwards Maḥmūd Shāh), a descendant of the old Muḥammadan dynasty of Ilyās Shāh, with the support of the old party, set up an opposition reign. What happened, I suppose then, was this: Aḥmad Shāh succeeded in 832; soon afterwards, in 833, Maḥmūd Shāh set up his counter-reign; Aḥmad certainly lived to 836, as shown by one of his coins (see this *Journal*, Vol. XLII, p. 268, and *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, No. 88), and he probably lived to 838, in which year accordingly Maḥmūd Shāh become sole and undisputed ruler of Bengal. Counting Maḥmūd's reign from 833, we obtain a total of 32 years, but counting from 838, a total of 27 years.

Secondly, in this *Journal*, Vol. LII, pp. 212–216, I have fully proved, that Maḥmūd Shāh I made use of the two kunyats, *Abul Muzaḥfar* as well as *Abul Mujāhid*. I gave another proof of the use of two kunyats in *Journal*, Vol. LIX, p. 167. The coins I now publish add further proof, if any were needed. In the British Museum Catalogue published in 1885, I see, there are two coins still ascribed to Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II (Nos. 103, 104), following herein Mr. Blochmann, who in 1873

(*Journal*, Vol. XLII, p. 289) first ascribed that type of coin to Maḥmūd II. The only reason for this determination, given in the British Museum Catalogue (p. 42, footnote), is that this type of coin gives the kunyat *Abul Mujāhid*, which is said to distinguish Maḥmūd II from Maḥmūd I and Maḥmūd III, both of whom use the kunyat *Abul Muẓaffar*. I proved, already in 1883, that this reason was worthless; for Maḥmūd II uses both *Abul Mujāhid* and *Abul Muẓaffar*. Now the coin, British Museum Catalogue No. 104, is not dated, and therefore there is just a possibility that it may be a coin of Maḥmūd II (who, however, was a mere child and only reigned for six months); but there is no argument in support of that possibility, and the probabilities are all in favour of Maḥmūd I. He coined a great variety of types, and the style of the reverse of that No. 104 reminds one of the very similar style of Maḥmūd I's son and successor Bárbak Sháh in his coin (Br. M. Cat.) No. 90. For my part, therefore, I prefer to ascribe the coin No. 104 (Br. M. Cat.) to Maḥmūd I, until dated coins of Maḥmūd II are found to prove the contrary. For another striking instance of the use of two different kunyats see below under Shamsu-d-dín Muẓaffar Sháh.

(XXXIX.) ŠHAMSU-D-DÍN YÚSAF SHÁH.

879-886 A. H. = 1474-1481 A. D.

(1) Plate VIII, fig. 9. Now in the Indian Museum. Only one coin of this type was found. It is an entirely new type.

Obverse: divided by four intersecting lines, so as to form a central square, with four exterior segments, the centre square itself being divided by a horizontal line into two equal oblong compartments. Thus:—

	على المرتضى	
[عَدَمَانِ]	لا اله الا الله	[رَضَوِي]
	محمد رسول الله	[أَبِي]
	[يُوسُفُ بْنُ]	

The two central compartments contain the creed; the four segments, the names of the four Imáms, of which, however, only 'Alí's name is fully legible in the top segment.

The Reverse is divided into four parallel compartments by three horizontal lines. The legend is as follows:—

الدنيا اذ
شمس وين
—————
لمظفر يوسف
ابو شاه السلطان
—————
بار بكشاه السلطان محمود
—————
[شاه] [سلطان]

There is no mint name and date on the coin, so far as I can see.

(2) Plate VIII, fig. 10. Now in the Indian Museum. Only one coin of this kind was found.

Obv.: in circular area:
The Creed.
Below: Mint and date
illegible.

Rev.: in lozenge area:

نيا
اد وا
شمس لدين
ابو المظفر يوسف شاه
السلطان ابن بار بكشاه
السلطان ابن محمود
شاه السلطان

The marginal segments of the reverse are too much abraded to distinguish whether they bore any legends or merely ornamental scrolls; probably the latter.

(3) Plate VIII, fig. 11. Now in the Indian Museum; only one coin of this kind.

Obv.: in circular area:

لا اله
الله محمد
رسول الله

Rev.: lettered surface:

(الدنيا و الدين)
شمس سف
ابو المجاهد يو
شاه ابن بار بكشاه ابن
(محمود شاه السلطان)

There appears to have been no mint or date on this coin; at least I can discover no space for them.

What is particularly noteworthy, however, is that here we have again further evidence of the use, by the same king, of the two kunyats

OBVERSES.

REVERSES.

OBVERSES.

REVERSES.



XIII



AR.



XXI



AU.



XIV



AR.



XXII



C.



XV



AU.



XXIII



AR.



XVI



M.



XXIV



AR.

XVII



M.

XX



M.

XVIII



M.



XIX



M.



XXV



AR.



XXVI



AR.

Photo-etching.

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1893.

Abul Muẓaffar and *Abul Mujáhid*. The usual kunyat of Yúsuf Sháh, on coins and in inscriptions, is *Abul Muẓaffar*; but on the present coin it is *Abul Mujáhid*.

(XLI.) JALÁLU-D-DÍN FATH SHÁH.

886-892 A. H. = 1481-1486 A. D.

1. Plate VIII, fig. 12. Now in the Indian Museum; only one coin of this kind. It is a new variety of the type, given in the British Museum Catalogue, No. 97. The only difference is in the arrangement of the lettering on the reverse.

Obverse :

The Creed.

Below : خزانة ٨٩٠

(Treasury, 890 A. H.)

Reverse :

السلطان (ابن)

السلطان جلال الدنيا

و الدين ابو المظفر

(فتحشاه السلطان ابن)

[محمود شاه السلطان]

2. Plate IX, fig. 13. Now in the Indian Museum; only one coin of this kind. This is a new variety of the type described in the British Museum Catalogue, No. 98. The latter is not figured, but, to judge from the arrangement of the lettering, I assume it to be the same as that published by Laidlay, in this *Journal*, Vol. XV, p. 329, No. 15. There the legends are in circular areas within ornamental margins. In the present coin, the arrangement is as follows:—

Obv.: area,

double-lined octagon within a circle :

السلطان

ابن السلطان

جلال الدنيا

و الدين ابو

المظفر

Rev.: area,

double-lined octagon within a circle :

فتحشاه

السلطان [ابن]

محمود شاه السلطان

الحميد شاه

محمود آباد ٨٨ *

The mint is clearly Muhammadábád, and the date 88*. The unit figure unfortunately is deleted by a shroff mark.

The riddle of this coin is the correct reading of the phrase in the fourth line of the reverse. This phrase is undoubtedly the same as that which occurs in the third line of the British Museum Catalogue, No. 95, and of this *Journal*, Vol. XLII, pl. IX, No. 8. Mr. Blochmann (p. 282) read it on the latter coin as *مجدد الله الفتح*. This is unques-

tionably wrong, as the letters on the coins are not so many. The British Museum Catalogue (p. 39) reads it *الحسين شاهي* *Al-Husain Sháhi*. On the coins, however, there is no letter (*s*) but the letter (*m*). The latter is distinct enough, even in the photograph of the British Museum specimen, but it is quite unmistakable on the present specimen. Accordingly I prefer to read *al-Ḥamíd Sháhi*. This phrase *al-Ḥamíd Sháhi* is probably of some historical importance. The similar phrase *al-Husaini* is found on coins of the king 'Aláu-d-dín Ḥusain Sháh, where it is applied to Sayyid Ashraf, the father of Ḥusain Sháh. It distinguishes Sayyid Ashraf as belonging to the line of Ḥusain. In the present case the term *al-Ḥamíd Sháhi* is applied to Maḥmúd Sháh, the father of Faṭḥ Sháh, and distinguishes him as belonging to the guild of Ḥamíd Sháh. Now the Riyázu-s-Salatín (Bibl. Indica ed., p. 108, see also Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 93, and *Journal*, Vol. XLII, p. 260, footnote) relates that the king Ghiyáṣu-d-dín 'Azam Sháh was a pupil of a Shaikh Ḥamídu-d-dín of Nagor, whom he used to visit to be taught divinity. Such holy men are not uncommonly popularly called by the title of *Sháh*. Accordingly Ḥamídu-d-dín would be popularly known as Ḥamíd Sháh, and pupils of his, or men professing his guild, would be called *Ḥamíd Sháhi*. Sultán 'Azam Sháh would be known as *al-Ḥamíd Sháhi* or 'the pupil of Ḥamíd Sháh'; and this honorific epithet would be retained by his direct descendants. It would, thence, follow that, in all probability, Maḥmúd Sháh was a younger son of 'Azam Sháh, his elder brother, who succeeded 'Azam Sháh, being Ḥamzah Sháh. Maḥmúd Sháh, in the histories, is simply described as a son of one of the descendants of Ilyás Sháh; and he took possession of the throne, after the short-lived usurpation of the Hindú family of Rájá Kans, on that title of being a descendant of the old legitimate royal family. If I am correct in my combinations, this coin of Faṭḥ Sháh would thus prove that Maḥmúd was a son (if not a grandson) of 'Azam Sháh. 'Azam Sháh, probably reigned up to 799 H., and Maḥmúd Sháh's usurpation, probably (see *supra*), commenced in 833 H. He may, therefore, have very well been a younger son of 'Azam Sháh, being, at the time of his usurpation, a man of between 40 and 50 years. In fact, Maḥmúd Sháh may, in his early youth, have still known Ḥamíd Sháh, and have accompanied his father in his visits to the saint.

(XLV.) SHAMSU-D-DÍN MUZAFFAR SHÁH.

896-899 A. H. = 1490-1493 A. D.

1. Plate IX, fig. 14. Now in the Indian Museum; only one coin of this kind. It is a new variety of the type published in the British Museum Catalogue, No. 105, and by Laidlay in this *Journal*, Vol. XV,

p. 331, No. 19. There is a slight difference in the arrangement of the lettering, but the main difference is the use of the kunyat *Abul Muẓaffar* instead of the usual *Abun-Naṣar*, and in the absence of *khazānah*.

Obv.: lettered surface:

لا اله
الا الله محمد
رسول الله
۸ * ۸
(8 * 8 A. H.)

Rev.: in circular area:

[الدنيا]
شمس
والدين ابو
المظفر مظفر شاه
السلطان خلد
لله ملكه و
[سلطانه]

The date, of course, must be 898. The curiosity of this coin is the kunyat *Abul Muẓaffar*. Its letters are absolutely distinct, which is more than can be said for the kunyat *Abun Naṣar*, which is usually read on his coins. I have never met with any specimen on which *Abun Naṣar* could be read with equally absolute certainty; at the same time, I admit, that the reading *Abun Naṣar* on those coins (as on Br. M. Cat., No. 105) is very probable. Any how, the kunyat *Abun Naṣar* as the usual one of Muẓaffar Sháh is proved by his inscriptions which uniformly give it to him (see this *Journal*, Vol. XLII, p. 290.) Here, then, we have another evidence to confirm the fact that more than one kunyat might be used by the same king. I may add that Blochmann in this *Journal*, Vol. XLIII, p. 297, footnote, affords another evidence in the fact that Aurangzib uses the two kunyats *Abuẓ Zafar* and *Abul Muẓaffar*, on his coins and in his inscriptions respectively. He calls this a "confusion" (whose?), but it is simply a well-established practice of some kings.

(B) COINS OF THE KALACHURI KINGS OF CHEDI.

In January last, I received from the Political Agent of the Chhatisgarh Feudatory States, Raipur, 56 old coins which, on examination, turned out to be coins of some of the Kalachuri kings of Chedi. A report on them has been published in the Society's *Proceedings* for April last. These coins had been found in the Sarangarh State. In May last, I received three more Chedi coins, which had been found in the bed of the river Ang, in the state of Patna, and a report on which is published in the *Proceedings* for August last.

As these coins, as far as I know, are the first of their kind ever found, or at least have never been published, I publish them now the more so, as in one respect I have altered my opinion published in the *Proceedings* for April last.

For information on the Kalachuri dynasty of Chedi I may refer to General Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. XVII, p. 71 ff., and Professor Kielhorn's paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 135-138. On the accounts there given the subjoined genealogical list is based:—

Serial No.	Approximate date of accession.	Names of kings.	Actual dates from inscriptions.
1	1000 A. D.	Kokalla ...	
2	1030 "	Ratnarāja I ...	
3	1060 "	Prithvideva I ...	
4	1090 "	Jājalladeva I ...	1114 A. D. (826 K. S.)
5	1120 "	Ratnadeva II ...	
6	1135 "	Prithvideva II ...	1141 (893 K. S.), *1145 (896 K. S.), 1158 A. D. (910 K. S.)
7	1160 "	Jājalladeva II ...	1167 A. D. (919 K. S.)
8	1175 "	Ratnadeva III ...	1181 A. D. (933 K. S.)
9	1185 "	Prithvideva III ...	1190 A. D. (1247 V. S.)

The following is a list of the coins that have been found:—

Serial No.	Names of kings.	Found in Surangaph State.		Found in Patna State.		Total.		Grand Total.
		large	small	large	small	large	small	
1	Jājalladeva ...	9	17	2	1	11	18	29
2	Ratnadeva ...	...	29	...	...	...	29	29
3	Prithvideva ...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1
	Total ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	59

Two of the coins are of pure gold; *viz.*, one large coin of Jājalla (found in the Patna State), and the large coin of Prithvi Deva. All others are of mixed metal, containing gold in very varying proportions, which could only be determined by a regular assay. The other large coin of Jājalla, found in the Patna State, as well as his small coin, found there, appear to be of nearly pure gold.

In weight and size they are all practically alike; that is, the larger coins measure 0.65, the smaller, 0.5 inches; and the larger coins weigh 57 grains, the smaller, 15 grains. The large gold Prithvi Deva weighs 59 grains, and one large Jājalla Deva of mixed metal weighs only 56 grains; also one small Jājalla, only 14 grains.

* See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 84.

In design the coins are all alike. The margin is formed by a circle of dots. On the obverse is the crude figure of some animal, and on the reverse, the legend.

The legends are the following:—

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| I. Jájalla (Pl. IX, 15-19). | II. Ratna Devá (Pl. IX, 20, 21.) |
| श्रीमज्जा <i>śrī-maj-já</i> | श्रीमद् <i>śrī-maḍ-ṛa</i> |
| जल्लदेव <i>jalla-deva.</i> | मदेव <i>ma-deva.</i> |
| III. Prithví Deva (Pl. IX, fig. 22). | |
| श्रीमत् <i>śrī-mat-pri</i> | |
| थ्वीदेव <i>thvī-deva.</i> | |

The Jájalla coins of mixed metal show on the obverse of the large specimens the akshara **मा** *má*, on that of the small, **म** *ma*. On the obverse of the gold Jájalla and the gold Prithví Deva, in the corresponding places, there is also some mark, which seems to be some akshara, it resembles the numeral figure ५ (5).

What animal the figure on the obverse represents, I do not venture to say. At first, I thought it was the standing figure of Hanumán, and this opinion I expressed in my report, published in the *Proceedings* for April last, p. 92. This figure can be recognized, if one takes the coin (*e.g.*, the gold Prithví Deva, Pl. VII, fig. 22) with the reverse (legend) side facing, and then turns over the obverse side, side-ways, from the right to the left. The obverse side, as then presented to the spectator, shows a crude figure of Hanumán standing, with his head turned to the left (showing profile), body to front, and feet to right; one of the two scrolls being his tail. The figure, of course, is very crude.

But I have since found, that holding the obverse side in a different position, other figures can be made out; and accordingly, I wish to withdraw, for the present, the conclusion which I drew from my recognition of the figure of Hanumán, in the April *Proceedings*, p. 93. If, instead of turning the gold Prithví Deva side-ways, from right to left, it be turned downwards from top to bottom, the obverse side, as now presented to the spectator, shows a distinct small figure of an elephant, in the lower half of the coin. His head, on the right hand side, is quite clear; his trunk is raised up and curves over; within the curve is seen one of his tusks; his body is encircled by a heavy chain (of the *howdah*); the up-turned tail is just seen on the left margin; the fore-legs are partially visible, the hind-legs are cut away. This much is very clear, but what the marks on the upper half of the coin may mean, I cannot make out, unless they can somehow be taken to represent a *howdah*. See No. 21 on Plate IX.

There is still a third possibility. Holding the obverse side, in nearly
J. I. 31

the same position as for the elephant, it is just possible to recognize the figure of a bull (or a horse, or a lion), to the right, in the same recumbent position as seen on the so-called "Bull and Horseman" coins. See obverse of No. 15 on Plate IX. What was before the upturned trunk of the elephant, are now the fore legs of the bull turned under his body. A part of what might be the *howdah* (?) is now the head of the bull (or other animal), near the right hand margin.

I may add, that holding the coin in the position, now described, the akshara म *má* presents itself upright, which renders it probable that this is the proper position in which the coin should be held. See No. 17 on Plate IX.

All this requires some exercise of the imagination, and I will leave it to more experienced numismatic eyes to determine the real nature of the obverse figure. Only one thing appears to me impossible: to recognize in it any figure of the goddess "Durgá, four-armed, seated to front." And in this respect, the coins of the present finds still appear to me very noteworthy. For all coins of the Kalachuri dynasty that hitherto have become known, show on the obverse the figure of Durgá, which is also said to have been "the cognizance of the Haihaya or Kalachuri Princes of Chedi."*

It is impossible to say, to which of the kings of the above given list the coins may belong. Ratna Deva and Prithví Deva, both occur three times, and Jájalla Deva occurs twice. Coins (gold, silver and copper, see *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. X, p. 25) of the Kalachuri king Gangeya Deva are known; so also gold coins of a Kalachuri king, Prithví Devat (see Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 292, and Thomas' *Chronicles*, No. 17, p. 19.) All these, however, are of a different type. They show, on the obverse, the figure of Durgá, seated to front. No coin of any other Kalachuri king has become known before the finds now described by me. Gangeya Deva's date is about 1120–1140 A. D. There is an inscription of his, dated in (789 K. S.) 1038 A. D.† He must, therefore, have been a contemporary of Ratna Deva I. General Sir Alex. Cunningham has shown (*Survey Reports*, Vol. XVII, p. 71) that a Kalachuri king Gayakarṇa Deva was reigning in (866 K. S., or) 1115 A. D., in the very same year as Jájalla Deva I; and that, therefore, there existed two distinct kingdoms of Chedi, the one having its capital at Tripuri, on the Narbada, in Western Chhatisgarh; the other in Ratanpur, in Northern Chhatisgarh. Gangeya Deva was a king of Western

* *Archæolog. Survey Reports*, Vol. X, p. 25.

† That this is the Kalachuri Prithví Deva, and not a Chandel king, is shown by the form of the name. The Chandel is called Prithví Varmma.

‡ *Archæolog. Survey Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 113.

Chhatisgarh or Dahal; he is called so in one of his inscriptions (*Archæolog. Survey Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 113). It may be suggested, that the two Chedi kingdoms had coinages of distinct types. Western Chedi had the four-armed seated Durgá, while Northern Chedi had the coins which I have described in this paper. In that case the Prithví Deva, whose coins show the Durgá device, would not be identical with any of the three Prithví Devas in the list above given, which is a list of the Ratanpur kings of Northern Chedi. He would be another king of the Tripurí dynasty of Western Chedi.

(C) COINS OF THE SULTÁNS OF DELHÍ.

1. See Plate IX, fig. 23. This is a copper coin of uncertain attribution, which I discovered among the coins of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is clearly dated 841 H., and it shows the type current in those days in the mints of the so-called Pathán Sultáns of Delhi. Compare, *e. g.*, the small copper coins of Mubárák Sháh II (824-837), and Muḥammad Sháh IV (837-847). It bears, however, the name of Jalál Sháh. There is no Sultán of that name in the known list of the Sultáns of Delhi. Thomas, in his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 375, mentions a Jalál Lodí, who was a brother of Ibrahim Lodí, and who was placed by the nobles of his own tribe of Lodí on the throne of the kingdom of Jaunpur. But Ibrahim's date is 923-937, and his brother Jalál's date is therefore too late for the present coin. The first known interference of the Lodís with the Delhi Saltanat is connected with Bahlol Lodí, the grand-father of Ibrahim Lodí and of the above-mentioned Jalál Lodí. He was nominally Governor, but virtually, master of the dependencies of Láhor and Sarhind, under the Sultán of Delhi, Muḥammad Sháh IV bin Faríd (837-847). His aid was called in by that Sultán, to relieve him from the attack of Ibrahim, king of Jaunpur. This happened before 844, the date of Ibrahim's death. Bahlol's first mention, therefore, goes back to at least 844 H. (See Thomas, *ibid.*, pp. 320, 336). It might be suggested that Jalál may have been Bahlol's father; but his father's name is given as "Málik Kálá" in Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*. I referred the question to Mr. Rodgers, who possesses an unrivalled acquaintance with the Muhammadan coins of that period; but he was not able to throw any light on Jalál Sháh's identity. The coin reads as follows:—

Obverse :

فتح الدنيا
والدين

٨٤١

Reverse :

جلال شاه

ذ

ملطا

I give the obverse legend, as Mr. Rodgers reads it, though I am not fully satisfied as to its correctness.

2. See Plate IX, fig. 24. This is a rupee of Sher Sháh from my own cabinet. It is of a well-known type, but I publish it for the sake of the strange reverse legend علاءالدين 'Aláu-d-dín, which is clearly shown in the bottom segment. It appears in the place, where one usually finds Sher Sháh's name *Farídu-d-dín*. I cannot account for this anomaly, nor can Mr. Rodgers to whom I referred the coin.

(D) COINS OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS OF DELHI.

1. See Plate IX, fig. 24. This is a square rupee from my own cabinet. The date is perfectly distinct, 1010 H., and the coin, therefore, refers itself to Akbar's reign; yet its true attribution is not without difficulties. I referred the coin to Mr. Rodgers, who informed me that there are two coins like it in the Lahore Museum and that he possesses one specimen himself. He believes that they are "Jahangír's coins with Akbar's name, struck in Bengal." He reads the legends as follows:—

Obverse :	Reverse :
The Creed.	شاه سلیم ۱۰۱۰ اکبر کا بروی ضرب سکه بنگالہ

He tells me that "Akbar," "Sháh Salím" and mint "Bangálah" are plain on one of the above-mentioned three coins. Jahangír succeeded his father Akbar in 1014 H.; his earlier name was Salím Sháh, which appears on some of his early coins, for which see British Museum Catalogue, Nos. 288, 289.

2. See Plate IX, fig. 25. This is a rupee of Jahangír, of the well-known type of the months of the Ilahí years. I publish it, however, for the sake of the mint Rohtás, which is a new one. The legends run as follows:—

Obverse :	Reverse :
اکبر شاه شاه نگیر نورالدين جها	شاه اسفندارالهی ضرب ۱۹ رشتاس

3. See Plate IX, fig. 26. This is a new variety of the well-known type of Sháh Jahán's rupees with two straight-lined square areas. The novelty is that the square is made with double lines, resembling in this respect a certain variety of Sher Sháh's rupees, which is less rare, and a specimen of which is figured in the British Museum Catalogue, No. 544. Sháh Jahán's rupee of this variety is extremely rare. I have only heard of one other specimen, through Mr. Rodgers who informs me that he has seen it in the collection of Mr. Durkee, an American who visited India in the course of last year. The legends are the usual ones; there is, however, one peculiarity, that the Hijra date is given twice, while the Jalús year is omitted. The date is 1056, and is given in the top segment of the obverse, together with the mark of a "sword;" and it is given again in the bottom segment of the reverse with the mint Kattak (कटक).

POSTSCRIPT: The above was in print before I discovered that Jalál Sháh's coin (p. 243) had been already published in the Appendix to the British Museum Catalogue of "The Muhammadan States," No. 500, p. 168, among the "unidentified" coins. In a footnote, it is suggested by the author of the Catalogue that it belongs to the Gujarát group of coins, on the ground that it is "precisely similar" to the coins of Ahmad I of Gujarát. It seems to me that the similiarity is much more striking to some of the Delhi imperial issues, and that, therefore, the prince who issued these coins was more likely to have been one who "made himself temporarily independent" from a Delhi emperor than from a Gujarát king. The facsimile of the Brit. Mus. specimen confirms Mr. Rodger's reading of the obverse legend.

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*On a new find of old Nepalese Manuscripts.*—By PANDIT HARA PRASÁD SHÁSTRÍ.

I have been fortunate enough to obtain through the good offices of my friend Bábu Kshírod Chandra Ráy Chaudhuri, Headmaster, Chapra Zilla School, a collection of ancient Sánskrit MSS. from Nepal. They are twelve in number, eleven of which have been acquired for Government. Five of them are Buddhist works, four of which are absolutely unknown to the learned world. Six of them are Hindu works, five of which are well-known; one only being new to the world. The twelfth work was marked unknown and appeared to be in utter confusion. The great merit of the five Hindú MSS. which are already well-known, and indeed that of the whole collection, is their ancient date. The MSS. were written between 1026 and 1481 A.D.

The most important works of this collection are two; namely, a commentary on the celebrated work on Buddhist philosophy entitled *Bodhicharyávatára*, noticed by the late Rájá Rájendralál Mitra on page 47 of his work on the Nepalese Buddhist MSS. Mr. Bendall in his "Cambridge Catalogue" says that this work is the 9th Section of the well-known *Aśokáavadánamálá*. It is divided into 10 chapters, and is perhaps the only work in which four of the six *páramitás* have been fully explained. Though it is a part of the *Aśokáavadána*, it is always regarded as a separate work on account of the importance of its philosophical doctrines, which are couched—as all such doctrines are—in a language scarcely to be understood without a commentary. And such a commentary is furnished in one of the twelve works in the new collection.

The commentary is by Prajñákara who is styled *Paṇḍita Bhikshu*, i. e., a learned monk. Bábú Sarat Chunder Dás tells me that Prajñákara was a famous disciple of the still more famous Dípañkara S'ri Jñána of Vikramaśíla who introduced the reformed Buddhist faith into Tibet, where he is known as Atishá. This is probably correct. The MS. was copied by one who, from the use of the phrase *Prajñákarapádánám*, appears to have been Prajñákara's disciple. The work was copied in the year 198 of the Nepalese era, i. e., 1078 A.D., and Dípañkara's journey to Tibet is said to have been undertaken in the year 1066. Atishá was about seventy when he was invited to Tibet, and it is quite possible that one of his young disciples wrote a running commentary on one of the most important works of Buddhist philosophy, and that it was copied by a pupil of this disciple.

As a specimen of the commentary, I subjoin an extract from page 213A to the end:—

Text अजरामरलीलानामेवं विहरतां सताम् ।

आयास्यन्वापदो घोराः कृत्वा मरणमयतः ॥ P. 45, a. B. 42.

Comm. अजर इत्यादि । न विद्यते जरा जीर्णता येषां तेऽजराः । न म्रियन्ते येऽमराः । तेषामजराणाममराणामिवलीला विचेष्टितं येषां ते तद्योक्ताः तेषामेवमनया लीलया विहरतां निश्चितं विचरतां सतामायास्यन्ति ङौकिष्यन्ति । आपदो निरन्तरं सर्वे ते दुःखहेतवो जरात्याधिविपत्तयः । घोरा अतीवभयङ्कराः कथमायास्यन्ति । कृत्वा मरणमयतः । मरणमप्रतीकारपरिहारं मृत्युमयतः पुरतः कृत्वा । एतच्चोक्तं भगवता राजाववादसूत्रे, तद्यथा, महाराज चतसृभ्यो दिग्भ्यश्चत्वारः पर्वता आगच्छेयुः दृढाः सारवन्तः अखण्डाः अच्छिद्राः असुशिराः सुसंहताः एकप्राणाः नभःस्पृशन्तः पृथिवीक्षोस्त्रिखन्तः सर्व्वद्वयकालशशाखापर्णपलाशादि

सर्वसत्त्वप्राणभूतान् निमग्नन्तः तेभ्यो न सुकरं जवेन वा पलायितुं बलेन वा  
 द्रव्यमन्त्रौषधैर्वा निवर्त्तयितुं । एवमेव महाराज चत्वारि इमानि महाभयानि  
 आगच्छन्ति । येषां न सुकरं जवेन पलायितुं बलेन वा द्रव्यमन्त्रौषधैर्वा निवर्त्त-  
 यितुं : कतमानि चत्वारि जरा व्याधिर्मरणं विपत्तिश्च । जरा महाराज आग-  
 च्छति यौवनप्रमथ्यमाना, व्याधिर्महाराज आगच्छति. आरोग्यं प्रमग्नन्, मरणं  
 महाराज आगच्छति जीवितं प्रमथ्यमानं, विपत्तिर्महाराज आगच्छति सर्वाः  
 सम्पत्तीः प्रमग्नन्ती । तस्माद्धेतोः । तद्यथा महाराज सिंहो म्हराजो काय-  
 सम्पत्तीर्जवसम्पत्ती . . . . . जातनखदंष्ट्रकरालो म्हराजमनुप्रविश्य म्हराज्  
 म्हराजो यथाकामकरणीयं करोति स च म्हराजोऽतिवलं . . घातमुख-  
 मासाद्य विवशो भवति । एवमेव महाराज विद्वस्य म्हराजोऽपगतमद-  
 स्यान्नाशस्याप्रतिशरणास्यापरायणस्य मन्मैसु ह्यिद्यमानेषु मांसशोणिते परिशु-  
 ख्यमाणे परिहृषितविह्वलवदनस्य करचरणविक्षेपाभियुक्तस्याकर्मण्यस्यासमर्थस्य  
 जालासिंघानकपूप्यूत्रपूरीषपरिलिप्तस्य ईषज्जीवितावशेषस्य कर्मभवात्पुनर्भव  
 मालम्बमानस्य यमपुरुषभयभीतस्य कालरात्रिविश्रमस्य वरमाश्रासप्रश्नासेषु  
 पूरकप्रमाणेष्वेकाकिनोऽद्वितीयस्यासहायस्य इमं लोकं जहतः परलोकमाक्रामतो  
 महापथं व्रजतः महाकान्तारं प्रविशतः महागहनं समवगाहमानस्य महा-  
 कान्तारं प्रपद्यमानस्य महार्णवेनोद्यमानस्य कर्मवायुना नीयमानस्य निमिच्छी-  
 कृतां दिशं व्रजतो नान्यत्त्राणं नान्यच्छरणं नान्यत्प्रयत्नं . . ते धर्माधर्मो हि  
 महाराज तस्मिन् समये त्राणं जयनं शरणं भवति । तद्यथा श्रौतार्त्तस्याग्निप्रतापः,  
 अग्निमध्यगतस्यापि निर्वाणं, उष्णार्त्तस्य वा शैत्यं, व्याधानं प्रतिपन्नस्य सुश्री-  
 तलक्ष्णोपवनं, पिपासितस्य सुश्रीतलं सलिलं, बुभुक्षितस्य वा प्रणीतमन्नं, व्याधि-  
 तस्य वा वैद्यौषधिपरिचारकाः, भयभीतस्य वलवन्तः सहायाः साधवः प्रतिशरणा  
 भवन्तीति विस्तरः । तस्मादेतत् भयपरीहारार्थं कुशलपक्षेभ्येव प्रज्ञापरिशोधितेषु  
 यत्नः करणीयः ।

एवं दुःखाग्निप्रतापानां शान्तिं कुर्यामहं कदा ।

पुण्यमेघसमुद्भूतैः सुखोपकरणैः स्वकैः ॥ P. 45, b. B. 42.

इदानीं जात्यादिदुःखनिघ्नानां दुःखापहरणाय स्वाशयमाशङ्क्यन्नाह, एव-  
 मित्यादि एवमनन्तरोक्तया शीत्या दुःखाग्निप्रतापानां दुःखान्येवाश्रयः तैः स-  
 न्नापितानां सत्त्वानां शान्तिं जात्यादिदुःखानलतापप्रशमनं कुर्यामहं कदा

कस्मिन् काले कुर्यां विदधां । कथं सुखोपकरणैः स्वकैः सुखस्योप-  
करणानि सुखसाधनानि वस्त्राभरणानुलेपनशयनासनप्रभृतीनि । किन्तुदुपार्जितै-  
रेव नेत्यादि, स्वकैः स्वात्मीयैः मया स्वयमुपार्जितैरित्यर्थः । किं निर्माणादि-  
प्रदर्शितेनेत्याह पुण्यमेघसमुद्भूतैः । पुण्यान्येव मेघाः सर्व्वदुःखसन्तापार्तिशमन-  
सुखोपकरणशीतलवृष्टिप्रदाननिदानत्वात् । तेभ्यः समुद्भूतानि जातानि तैः ।

कदोपलम्भदृष्टिभ्यो देशयिष्यामि शून्यताम् ।

सम्बृत्त्याऽनुपलम्भेन पुण्यसम्भारमादरात् ॥ P. 45, b. B. 42.

एवमभ्युदयसम्पदि परेषां चेतो विधाय निःश्रेयसम्पदि प्रदर्शयन्नाह ।

कदेत्यादि । कदा कस्मिन् काले उपलम्भदृष्टिभ्यो भावग्राह्यभिनिष्ठेभ्यो देश-  
यिष्यामि प्रकाशयिष्यामि शून्यतां सर्व्वधर्मनिवृत्तिरूपावहारेण । अन्यथा वि-  
कल्पाविषयतया परमार्थशून्यस्य शून्यताया देशयितुमशक्यत्वात् एवं निःश्रेयस-  
हेतुज्ञानसम्भारनिमित्तमुपदर्शितं तत्कारणं पुण्यसम्भारनिदानमुपदर्शयन्नाह ।  
पुण्येत्यादि । पुण्यस्य दानादेः सम्भारो . . . . . दृष्टिभ्यो देशयिष्यामि  
इति सम्बन्धः । आदरादिति महता । गौरवेण । संहृत्य न यदृच्छ्या केन प्रका-  
रेण अनुपलम्भेन देयदायकप्रतियोग्याहकादिचित्तशानुपलम्भयोगेन त्रिकोटिपरि-  
शुध्यति यावत् एवमुपचितपुण्यसम्भारो बुद्धत्वाधिगमाय जायते तदेवमनेन सर्व्वे-  
नाशेषसंक्षेपहेतु सर्व्वसमारोपविकल्पप्रतिपक्षतया सर्व्वीवरणप्रहानोपायत्वात्  
रमस्ततथागताधिगमहेतुत्वाच्च । सर्व्वदुःखोपशमोपायप्रक्षोपजायते इत्युपदर्शितं  
भवतीति ।

ये गम्भीरनयावगाहनपटुप्रज्ञानिरस्तम्भमाः

संक्षेपव्यवदानपक्षविमलज्ञानोच्छ्रिताः शूरयः ।

ते सक्तो गुणदोषयोरपि च तैः सारं विमिश्रादतो

ग्राह्यं सर्व्वमकल्पधं विषमिव त्याज्यं दुःखतं यदि ॥

न युक्तमुक्तं किमपीह यन्मया परं प्रजातं स्वजनितं तदेव मे ।

ननु राह्वीथ्यन्ति ममात्र साधवो मतिर्ममानेन कृतेन साम्प्रतं ॥

अपि च ।

यः संदृष्ट्या व्रजति मनसो गोचरत्वं कथञ्चित्

तादृश्यर्थं स्वजनति न मतिः कस्य वै मादृशस्य ।

तत् सूक्तार्थप्रविचयवतामध्यमानौतिभाजाम्

दृष्ट्वा किञ्चिद्गणवमिह स्यादुपादेयबुद्धिः ॥

प्रज्ञया विवृतिं विधाय विषदव्याख्यापदैः संवृतं  
सम्यक्ज्ञानविपङ्कट्टिष्ठिविचितव्यामोहशान्त्या मया ।  
यत् पुण्यं समुपार्जितं हितफलं तेनाशु सर्व्वे जने  
मञ्जुश्रीरिव सद्गुणैकवसतिः प्रज्ञाकरो जायतां ॥  
बोधिचर्यावतारे प्रज्ञापारमितापरिच्छेदटीका सम्प्राप्ता । ह्यतिरियं पण्डित-  
भिस्तु प्रज्ञाकरपादानां ।

टीकियं परमां सुयन्तितपदां शुद्धां मगोद्धादिनीं  
संसारार्णवपारगामिनि जने नौयानुयात्रोपमां ।  
आशुप्राप्तिकरीं जिनस्य पदवीं साद्योस्त्रिखित्वा मया •  
प्राप्तं यत् कुशलं सुसम्पदिपदं तेनास्तु बुद्धो जनः ॥  
अष्टानवतिसंयुक्ते शतसम्पति वत्सरे ।  
कृष्णे आवणपद्म्यां वासरे कुजसाङ्गये ॥  
श्रीमच्छङ्करदेवस्य राज्ञो विजयशालिनः ।  
बोधिचर्यावतारख्यटीकासिख्यामिदं शुभं ॥  
श्रीललितपुरे रम्ये श्रीमानीश्वलसंज्ञके ।  
यच्छ्रीराघवनाम्नस्य विहारे सुगतालये ॥  
धन्य स्थविरभिज्ञोस्य बुद्धचन्द्रस्य पुत्तकं ।  
तत् पुण्याद्बोधिसत्त्वत्वं लभते परमं पदं ॥ इति  
विद्वज्जतु सचिह्नं घनो यथेयं भवतु मही बद्धशस्य संप्रयुक्तं ।  
अवतु नरपतिः प्रजा विनाम्नाः भवतु रघनपतेः सुखामिद्विदिः ॥ इति ।  
कायस्थः भुवनाकरघेय लिखितमिति ।

The commentary comes down to the end of the 9th chapter of the *Bodhicharyávatára*, the chapter dealing with Prajñáparámitá. The first page of the MS. is missing; others are missing here and there, and the number of missing pages is about 29.

The second important work is a complete copy of the Chándra-vyá-karapa which represents one of the eight great schools of Sanskrit grammar as stated in the celebrated verse:—

इन्द्रचन्द्रः काशकृत्यापिगलौशाकटायणः ।

पाणिन्यभरकैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यष्टादिशाब्दिकाः ॥

A complete copy of this book is a great desideratum. Mr. Bendall's catalogue of MSS. in the University Library of Cambridge mentions

two MSS. of this work, but both of them are incomplete. Our MS. was transcribed in the Nepal year 476 corresponding to 1356 A.D., and the palæography exactly corresponds with that of the 14th century as given in Mr. Bendall's Tables of letters and numerals. It was written at a time when all Nepal was in a state of confusion, owing to a Kośala invasion led by Hari Singh of Simraon. The MS. was copied by Kshemendra, the principal *Āchārya* of a *Vihār* named *Yosvāccha* (?), in the reign of Rājādhirāj-paramēśvara-paramabhattāraka-śrī-śrī-vijaya-rāja-deva—a king whom it is very difficult to identify. Mr. Bendall is perfectly right when he says that "the *Chandra-vyākaraṇa* follows Pāṇini both in style and treatment and often in actual words, many of the *Sūtras* being identical." This is also the case with many other grammars, some of which have been compiled simply to avoid the study of the cumbrous and diffuse Pāṇini. Mr. Bendall also says that the *Chandra-vyākaraṇa* is divided into six *adhyāyas*, each of which again is sub-divided into four *padas*, though in my MS. the 6th *adhyāya* contains 3 *padas* only.

The next work in importance is a complete copy (one leaf only missing) of the *Amara Kosha* written in the month of Chaitra in the 24th year of Govindapāla Deva whose accession to the throne of Magadha in the year 1161 is known from an inscription in Vol. III of Cunningham's Archeological Report. Thus his 24th year corresponds with 1185 A.D. I have compared portions of the MS. with the printed text of Colebrooke. In the printed text there are metrical colophons at the end of every *kāṇḍa*. But the MS. has no metrical colophons. The last colophon of the MS. is simply *Līṅga-saṅgrahaḥ samāptaḥ*.

Many lines and verses, which are known in latter MSS. as interpolations, do not occur in our MS.—for instance, the synonyms of *Lakshmi* occupy two lines in ordinary MSS. and printed texts of the *Amara Kosha*, whereas our MS. has only one line; and many old pandits whom I consulted, and who in their early youth committed the whole of the work into memory, told me that the second line was always regarded as an interpolation.

The fourth work is a copy of the *Chañḍakaūsika* by Arya Kshemiśvara, dated 1331, A.D.\* So the writing of this work also falls within the period of confusion in Nepal. The Sanskrit scholarship of Nepal at that time was so poor that they could not correctly ascertain the name of the work, but labelled it, in the same character in which the whole book is written, as *Hariśchandra-vikrīya-pustakam*.

\* चन्द्रेय चागरे वर्षे नैपाली शनिवासरे

पौर्णमासी चतुर्थ्यां शुद्ध त्रीरामदासतः ।

Five leaves, from *three* to *seven*, are missing. The book is in other respects complete, and it affords many readings which are much better than those found in the Calcutta editions of the work.

The book contains some hints about the time when it was composed in the following couplet :—

यः संश्रित्य प्रकृतिगद्दनामार्येचाणवनीतिम्  
 दत्त्वा नन्दान् कुसुमनगरं चन्द्रगुप्तो जिगाद्य  
 कर्णाटलं ध्रुवसुपगतानद्य तानेव दत्तम्  
 दोर्दपाद्यःसपुनरभवत् श्रीमद्यौपुस्रदेवः ॥

Mahípála has been put down by Cunningham as the 11th king of the Pála dynasty whose reign commenced in the year 1015. But the question is who the Karṇáṭas, mentioned here, were? Are they the people of Karṇáṭa, or do they belong to the dynasty of Karṇáṭas who reigned in Mithila and Nepal for a long time in the next two centuries. On page 99, Vol. I. of South Indian Inscriptions, Dr. Hultzsch speaks of a Mahípála Deva whose dominions extended to the sea, and from whom eleven elephants were wrested by Rájendra Chora Deva of the Súryavamśa, who reigned from A. D. 1022 to 1063. This is Mahípála of Magadha, who reigned from 1015 to 1040. The Pálas made extensive conquests at this period of their existence. One of their dynasty has been placed by Albiruni on the throne of Kananj about this period, 1020. There is every probability of the Mahípála mentioned in Chandakaśika being the same person as the Mahípála of 1015 to 1040. He had to fight with a South Indian Prince—a Karṇáṭa. The Karṇáṭas were the enemies of Hemanta Sena the great grand-father of Ballála Sena. Hemanta retired to a place on the Bhágirathí, in Bengal, after a life-long contest with the Karṇáṭas, and his grandson, Vijaya, is said to have defeated Nánya Deva, the founder of the Karṇáṭaka dynasty of Nepal. (Epigr. Ind., Vol. I.). These reigned in Nepal for several generations (see Bendall's Catalogue) and the Maithila King under whose patronage Chanḍeśvara wrote his Smṛiti works and led his victorious armies to Nepal, also belonged to the Karṇáṭaka dynasty. (See Eggeling's Cat. I. O. L. MSS.)

The work was very popular at Mahípála's court where a nobleman named Kártika gave the author *Árya Kshemíśvara* a large quantity of gold, silver, and land, as appears from the last verse.

येनोद्दिश्य प्रयोगं घनपुलकभृता नाटकस्यास्य संपात्  
 वस्त्रालङ्कारहेमासनुदिनमलशा राशयःसम्पदत्ता

तस्य चतुप्रसूते भ्रमंतु जगदिदं कार्तिकेयस्य कौर्षिः

पारे क्षीराम्बुचिन्धोरपि कवियशसा सार्द्धमशेषरेण ॥

A drama describing the self-sacrificing spirit of Hariśchandra cannot but be interesting to a Buddhist audience.

The fifth work is *Suddhīratnākara*, by Chaṇḍeśvara. The work has been noticed by the late Rájá Rájendralála Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. VII, No. 2384, as belonging to one Bhaiyálála Jhá, of Dhamdaha-grám in Purnia. The India Office Library has a very imperfect copy of the work, in which both the beginning and the end are missing. The MS. is one of the seven great works of Chaṇḍeśvara's digest. Pages 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 39, 77, and some leaves at the end, in our MS. are missing. The MS. is a much better one than the India Office copy, which is in modern Bengali characters; while ours is in ancient Bengali, and may, on palæological grounds, be referred to the 14th century.

The sixth work is *Buddha-kapála-tīkā*. This is a commentary on the *Buddhakapála*—a Buddhist tántric work not yet obtained. The MS. was copied by a pupil of the author—Abhayákara, a monk belonging to the Vihára of Vikramaśīla. The work is complete in 14 *paṭalas*. The name of the commentary is *Abhaya-paddhati*. On palæographical grounds the work may be referred to the palmiest days of Vikramaśīla, in the 11th and 12th centuries of the Christian era.

The seventh work is *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, in ancient Bengali character, dated ३६२, i. e., 1481 A. D. The work is complete in three chapters, and deals with instrumental and vocal music and dancing. It has marginal notes in Nepalese handwriting. It has already been printed and published at Calcutta.

The eighth is *Samputodbhava*, written in Buddhist Sanskrit prose in the style of the *Prajñāpáramitá*. The MS. is complete, the first two pages are slightly injured, so portions of them are mounted with paper in which the injured portions of the text have been restored in a later hand. It is a Tántric work consisting of ten chapters, each divided into three to four *prakaraṇas*. It was copied in 146 of the Newarí era, i. e., 1026 A. D.

The ninth work is *Vajradák-tantra*. This is a Tántrik work in 51 *paṭalas*, treating of mystic *mantras* and mystic observances. The invocation of serpents, Dákinis, dead bodies, &c., forms the chief feature of the work. The work is incomplete and breaks off with the 225th leaf.

The tenth work of the collection is a beautiful copy of the *Prajñāpáramitá* in 8,000 *ślokas*. The work is on palm leaves pressed between two wooden boards, with sticks inserted through holes in place of

strings. One of the boards is besmeared with sandal paste, which has accumulated there for ages. The MS. was evidently an object of worship and as *Prajñápáramitá* is also called *Rakshá-Bhagavatí* it appears to have been regarded as a charm for protection against evils. The MS. was copied in the 38th year of Govindapála who is styled Gaureśvara, *i. e.*, the year 1198 A.D. Govindapála had certainly lost his kingdom before that time, because his kingdom is not mentioned as a *pravardhamána-vijaya-rájya*, as usual, but as an *atítu-rájya*, *i. e.*, that his kingdom was lost but he was living, perhaps a fugitive. Three of the MSS. belonging to the same reign have been examined by Mr. Bepdall at Cambridge. In one of them, that belonging to the 38th year of this reign, occurs the word *vinashṭa-rájya*, showing that the kingdom was lost at that time. The word used in our MS. is *atítu*, which is the same as *vinashṭa*. The book was copied at Jayanagara in Magadha Maṇḍala at a Vihára established by Rájí Khetallya Deví by Jaináchárya Sríkamalapála. It was a gift by a lay disciple belonging to the Maháyána School named Maluka (?), the son of Maharohasoshṭane (?). Jayanagara at this time was a sort of second capital of Magadha. Cunningham says it was situated near Laskhmiserai. That it was a place of importance is testified by two facts: (1) by the discovery of a number of inscriptions in the 12th century character, and (2) by a number of coins in the Indian Museum, belonging to this place. The rulers of Jayanagara seem to have held a semi-independent authority under the Pálas. Govinda Pála in this MS. is called the king of Gauḍa; this was a mere title. He had no authority in that city which was under the power of the Senas, and Lakshmaṇa Sena is said to have changed its name into Lakshmaṇavátí, and one of his inscriptions is dated from Pauṇḍravardhana, which is by many and, indeed, by the late Mr. Blochmann, identified with Hazrat Paṇḍua, so near Gauḍ.

I have compared the first few leaves with the printed text of Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, and I found them to agree perfectly. This work has not been acquired.

The eleventh MS. is a collection of Saiva tantras. On a careful examination of the whole MS. it appears to be a collection of six Saiva works. (1) Sivapadma, 12 complete chapters, (2) Sivapadmottara, complete in 12 chapters, (3) Sivapadma Saṁgraha, complete in 12 chapters, (4) Umá Mahéśvara Saṁváda, 21 chapters, not complete. Works of this name, belonging to the Skanda and to the Linga Puráṇas, are mentioned in Aufrecht's Catalogue, but there is no good notice of these works. (5) Sivopanishad, complete in eight chapters. This is different from the Sivopanishad by Harihar, noticed by Rájendralála Mitra. (6) Uttarottara Tantra, complete in 10 chapters. The work can safely be placed on paleographic grounds in the 12th century.

The twelfth MS. is labelled as unknown. The first page is missing and the end is far away. On examination it is found that pages from 2 to 210 exist, with the exception of the 129th page. The handwriting is beautiful, much older than the rest of the collection. On examination it proved to be a portion of the Vṛihat-kathá, about a-tenth of the whole work. It is not Somadeva's *Kathá-Saritságara*, nor Kshemendra's *Vṛihat-Kathámañjarí* because in both these works the chapters are divided into *lambakas* and *taraṅgas*, whereas in the present MS. it is divided into *adhyáyas* and *sargas*. The work contains one complete *adhyáya* and a portion of the second. It has altogether 26 *sargas*, the colophons of many of which do not give any information at all. But in some of them appear these significant words *Vrihatkatháyám-śloka-saṅgraha*. In the colophons appear the names of the *sargas*; they often contain proper names, none of which I have been able to identify either in Kshemendra's or in Somadeva's work. So this fragment appears to be a third Sanskrit redaction or version of the original Páisháchi Vṛihat-kathá by Guṇádhya, and the MS. which has been labelled 'unknown' by my Nepalese vendor, turns out to be the most important work of the whole collection.

The letter क in this MS. has a more archaic form than in most of the Nepalese MSS., which leads me to think that this MS. is of higher antiquity than the rest. The क has the turn of the Guptalipi. I may therefore be allowed to venture to say that I have laid my hands on a work copied even before Kshemendra and Somadeva wrote their works on the Vṛihat-Kathá. Bühler, in his paper in Vol. I, Ind. Ant., says that Kshemendra had the Páisháchi version of Guṇádhya before him. Might not he have consulted a big Sanskrit version, too, from which to abridge? I have read the first *sarga* in my MS. It treats of king Gopála renouncing the world, because people calumniated him as a parricide, and making over his kingdom to Pálaka, his brother, in spite of the remonstrances of the Bráhmans. This is a very large work, the first *adhyáya* alone containing more than 4,200 *ślokas*. While Kshemendra's whole work, according to Bühler, consists of a little more than 7,000 *ślokas*. I give here the colophons of this work.

|                                             |     |     |     |     |     | पत्राङ्काः । |
|---------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------|
| दृष्टकथायां श्लोकसंग्रहे प्रथमः सर्गः       | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ५            |
| द्वितीयः सर्गः                              | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ६            |
| दृष्टकथायां श्लोकसंग्रहे कथामुखम् द्वितीयम् | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | १५           |
| पिङ्गलिकाख्यानं                             | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | २१           |
| दोहदसम्पादनो नाम सर्गः                      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ३६           |

पचाङ्का ।

|                                                          |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| कुमारजन्म सर्गः                                          | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ३८  |
| थौवरान्याभिषेकः सर्गः                                    | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ४२  |
| मृगयाविहारः सर्गः                                        | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ४५  |
| पुलिनदर्शनः सर्गः                                        | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ५०  |
| कथासंलापो नाम सर्गः                                      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ६३  |
| श्लोकसंग्रहे मदनमञ्जुकालाभः                              | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ६८  |
| वेगवतीलाभे उद्याननिचयो नाम द्वादशः सर्गः                 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ७२  |
| वेगवतीदर्शनो नाम त्रयोदशः सर्गः                          | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ७५  |
| बृहत्कथायां श्लोकसंग्रहे वेगवतीदर्शनं नाम चतुर्दशः सर्गः | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ८१  |
| वेगवतीलाभो नाम पञ्चदशः सर्गः                             | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ८८  |
| गन्धर्वदत्तालाभरम्यप्रबन्धो नाम षष्ठदशः सर्गः            | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ९२  |
| गन्धर्वदत्ताविवाहः                                       | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | १०० |
| बृहत्कथायां श्लोकसंग्रहे कानुदासकथा                      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | १३० |
| इति बृहत्कथायां श्लोकसंग्रहे अजिनमतीलाभे नलिनिकाख्यानं   | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | १३६ |
| प्रियदर्शनलाभदेवाख्यानं                                  | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | १६८ |
| पुरुषकारकथायां प्रथमोऽध्यायः                             | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | १७४ |
| प्रियदर्शनलाभे पुरुषकारकथा                               | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | १८२ |
| प्रियदर्शनलाभे नन्दोपनन्दकथा                             | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | १८६ |
| प्रियदर्शनलाभे गोमुखत्रिवाहाख्यानम्                      | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | १९७ |
| प्रियदर्शनलाभे प्रियदर्शनास्तनदर्शनः                     | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | २०० |
| प्रियदर्शनविवाहः                                         | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | २०६ |

*Note on the Official Reckoning of the reigns of the later Moghul Emperors and on some of their Mint Towns.*

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In the Philological Secretary's Report on a recent find of coins (Proceedings for June 1893, p. 116), I see that he adopts 1069 H. (Sept. 1658—Sept. 1659), as the year from which Aurangzib 'Alamgir's reign is reckoned. On grounds which I think are overwhelmingly strong, I propose to substitute, 1068 H. (Sept. 1657—Sept. 1658.)

Among European writers we find considerable difference of opinion as to the year in which 'Alamgir began his reign. To mention the latest writer first, Mr. S. Lane Poole, in his "The Moghul Emperors of Hindustan" (1892), p. xxvi, says "in May 1659 (1069) he," i.e., 'Alamgir, "was proclaimed Emperor." I see, however, that in his later work "Aurangzib" (1893) in the series "Rulers of India," Mr. Lane Poole dates the reign from July 1658 (see the Table on p. 21 of that work). Again, in the "Oriental Biographical Dictionary" of T. W. Beale, p. 33, we read "but ('Alamgir) was not crowned till the first "anniversary of his accession, a circumstance which has introduced "some confusion into the chronology of his reign." This statement, in identical words, is found in Elphinstone's "History of India" (4th ed. p. 525), and he relies on Kháfi Khán. Grant Duff ("History of the Mahrattas," Bombay reprint, note on p. 72), although he prefers 1658 (i.e., 1068 H.) to 1659 as the correct year, seems to have suggested Elphinstone's remark. Grant Duff writes "Aurungzebe appears to "have begun by reckoning his reign from the daté of his victory over "Dara, to have subsequently ascended the throne in the following year, "and then changed the date, which he again altered by reverting to "the former date (i.e., 1068 H.) at some later and unknown period." Grant Duff, like Elphinstone, relies upon Kháfi Khán. Now, Kháfi Khán (in the printed text, at any rate) is not to be altogether trusted in the matter of chronology; but I think that in this instance Grant Duff's note misrepresents the facts, even as recorded by Kháfi Khán.

Kháfi Khán founded his statements, as is tolerably obvious, on the *Tárikh-i-dahsáláh* or *'Alamgir-námah* of Muḥammad Kázim, and on the *Ma'ázir-i-'Alamgiri* of Muḥammad Sáqí Musta'id Khán. The latter for the first ten years of the reign, is itself an abstract of Muḥammad Kázim's work (see p. 65 of the printed text of the *Ma'ázir*). The facts, then as related in the *'Alamgir-námah*, the source from which all others are drawn, are as follows:—

Muhammad Kázim commences the second year (1069 H.) with a long excursus on the necessity for a system of chronology and the varying modes of reckoning time, with some remarks on Akbar's Divine Era and that followed by Jahángír. Those two sovereigns reckoned from the 1st Farwardín and used a solar year. He then informs us that Sháhjahán restored the use of the Muhammadan era; and that Alamgír followed his father's practice. "And although the first fortunate enthronement happened on the 1st Zú'l-ka'dh, 1068 H; yet, the effulgence of victory and success and the rising of the world-illuminating light of that founder of the horoscope of felicity and prosperity having thrown the ray of joy on the world in the month of Ramzán of their year (1068 H ?), and the appearing of the star of strength and perpetuity of that chosen one, full of splendour, having lighted up the face of Fortune and Good Luck in those days; the first day of that month of blessed omen, which was the new moon of limitless felicity and pregnant with both worldly and spiritual blessings, was chosen as the first day of the years of that reign, rich in mercies; and the exalted order obtained issue that in offices and calendars and patents and rescripts, they should make record after that manner, and reduce into writing after that fashion all occurrences and the reports of events. Accordingly, by the rule so fixed, I have to this point written with my descriptive pen the story of one year and twenty-four days belonging to the felicitous epoch of the sovereignty and empire of that One worthy of the faith-protecting throne. And previous thereto there are entered the events of four months belonging to the auspicious time of his being still only a Prince of the Blood, beginning from the day of the departure of the victorious army, intent on world-conquering and realm-seizing, from the province (*khitah*) of fortunate foundation, Aurangábád, which took place on the 1st Jumádi I, 1068 H. (*in words*), ending" [*i.e.*, the said four months, Jumádi I, Jumádi II, Rajab, and Sha'bán, 1068 H.] "with the 1st of Ramzán of that year, which is the first day of the years of that reign full of happiness. Altogether the period covered is 1 year, 4 months, and 24 days. Then will follow the second year." After this passage he goes on to the festivities held to celebrate the accession, the abolition of the *Nau-roz* festival, and the substitution of another to be amalgamated with that of the 'Id-ul-fitr. Next, we have the appointment of a Muhtasib, or Censor, as in Muhammad Sáqí. (*Alamgír-námah*, B. M. Addl. MSS., Nos. 26, 229, foll. 102b. to 104a.) I have no copy of the printed text, and therefore cannot give references to it, but the passage can, I have no doubt, be very easily found.

Next in order of date comes Muhammad Sáqí Musta'id Khán and

his *Ma,âşir-i-'Alamgîrî*. The parallel passage to that quoted above from the *'Alamgîr-nâmah* will be found on pp. 22-25 of the printed text. But I will turn first to an earlier page as it explains the circumstances of the previous enthronement in 1068 H. 'Alamgîr determined to proceed to the Panjâb in pursuit of his brother, Dârâ Shukoh. He set out from Akbarâbâd on the 22nd Ramzân, 1068 H. (23rd June 1658.) The astrologers having selected the 1st Zû'l-ka'dh, 1068 H. (31st July 1658), or 11th Amardâd of the Ilâhî year, as the auspicious moment for his enthronement, and there being no time to proceed to the palace at Dihlî and there prepare for this august act, 'Alamgîr halted for several days at the garden of Agharâbâd [also called Shâlihmar, it was just north of Dihlî] to take advantage of the said propitious moment. There he seated himself on the throne of good fortune.....As the preparations for this ceremonial were on a limited scale, most of the observances of an enthronement were put off to the second anniversary (*jalûs*). On this occasion no *khutbah* was read, no coinage issued, and no imperial titles fixed upon. These matters were postponed. [*Ma,âşir-i-'Alamgîrî*, p. 8].

[*Idem*, pp. 22-25.] Year 1069 H. This corresponds to the extract above given from Muḥammad Kâzîm. "Since the ceremonial of the first enthronement, by reason of the advance into the Panjâb and from want of time, was on a reduced scale, while the reading of the *khutbah*, the issue of coin, and the fixing of the imperial titles were postponed; now that more important affairs had been arranged, orders were issued to prepare for the festival" ..... "And on the fortunate day, Sunday, the 24th of the blessed month Ramzân, in the year 1069 H. (15 June 1659), or the 25th Khurdâd of the Ilâhî year, when his age was 40 solar years, 6 months, and 17 days, or 41 lunar years, 10 months and 2 days, 'Alamgîr seated himself on the throne." The *khutbah* was read, coin issued, offerings presented, and gifts bestowed.

The Muhammadan creed was no longer to be impressed on the coin, but, instead, a distich, composed by Mir Abd-ul-Bâkî, was approved. The new emperor's titles were settled; and *farmâns* issued to all provincial governors, announcing the new reign. Several chronograms for the occasion are given; these yield 1069 H. Then follow these words: "As the shining of the light of the victory diffused its felicitous rays on the world in the month of Ramzân, the exalted order was issued that they should record in offices and calendars the 1st of that month as the commencement of the years of this reign." After this comes a passage about the abolition of the *Nau-roz* festival, and the institution instead of it of a festival to be called *Nishât-afroz*. It will be noticed that Muḥammad Sâkî does not expressly state the year, from the 1st

Ramzán of which the reign was dated. But neither he nor Muḥammad Kázim, from whom he copies, give any countenance to a reckoning commencing with 1069 H. On p. 30 and p. 34 we find that according to Muḥammad Sáki, the third year (not the second) began in Ramzán 1070 H., the fourth year (not the third) in Ramzán 1071 H., and so on, throughout the book, to the end of the reign. For his period, the first ten years, Muḥammad Kázim follows exactly the same rule. Finally, Muḥammad Sáki [*Ma,úgir-i-'Alamgírí*, pp. 520 and 523] records that 'Alamgir died early on Friday, the 28th Zú,1-ka'dh 1118 H. (2nd March 1707), in the 51st year of his reign, having reigned 50 lunar years, 2 months, and 27 days. This accords exactly with the mode of reckoning laid down by Muḥammad Kázim. For, if we calculate from the 1st Ramzán 1068 H. to the 28th Zú,1-ka'dh 1118 H.), we get as result (1118y. 10m. 28d.)—(1068y. 8m. 1d.)=(50y. 2m. 27d.). Kámwar Khán, in his *Tárikh-i-Salátn-i-Chaghtaiyah*, gives the same number of years, months, and days; but I attribute to him no independent authority for this reign, having found wherever I have compared the two authors, that Kámwar Khán gives Muḥammad Sáki's facts, in identical order, but in different words.

I add two more extracts from Muḥammad Sáki, as the second of them records a slight change in the observance of the anniversary, and this may have been the reason that Grant Duff thought the date of accession had been twice altered—[*Ma,úgir 'Alamgírí*, p. 30]. Year 1070 H. The third year of the reign commences. The anniversary ceremonies begin on the 24th Ramzán (4th June 1660). [*Idem*, p. 34]. Year 1071 H. The fourth year commences. "Although the date of enthronement (*sarír-árái*) was the 24th Ramzán, and in the previous year "the festival began on that day, yet owing to its falling in the time of "the Fast, when there is no inclination to enter into rejoicings, the beginning of this year's festival was fixed for the day of the 'Id" (*i. e.*, 1st Shawwál). It lasted ten days.

Kháfi Khán's passage, parallel to those in Muḥammad Kázim's *'Alamgír-námah*, and Muḥammad Sáki's *Ma,úgir i 'Alamgírí*, will be found in the Bibliotheca Indica Text, Vol. II pp. 76-79. As it is translated, nearly in full, by Dowson in Elliot's *History of India*, VII, 241, I need not reproduce it here. I only note that Dowson's "4th Ramzán" is the 24th Ramzán in the printed text. Although Kháfi Khán here expands rather than contracts what Muḥammad Kázim wrote, it is strange that he omits the all-important statement that the reign was made to begin on the 1st Ramzán. I have looked through the text on pp. 76-80, and I cannot find any mention of this fact. Kháfi Khán, II, 549, gives the length of the reign as 50 years,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  months; and even these figures, though not

strictly accurate, preclude any reckoning from 1069 H., but carry the first day into 1068 H.

Again, I find in a somewhat later writer, Khushál Chand, author of the *Navádir-uz-Zamáni*, the following statement. He wrote in the reign of Muḥammad Sháh (1131-1161 H.) and was old enough to recollect the excitement caused in Dihlí by the news of 'Alamgír's death. He himself, like his father before him, was a clerk in the Central Revenue Office, and a man likely to have, if any one had, exact knowledge on the point under discussion. His words are: "Although the first auspicious  
"enthronement took place on the 1st of the month Zú, l-ka'dh, 1068 H.  
"(30th July 1658), yet as the blessed rays of the brilliant light of  
"victory and success were displayed to the world in the month of Ram-  
"zán, the first day of that blessed month was assumed as the commence-  
"ment of these years full of miracles, and the exalted order issued that  
"in all offices, and calendars, and patents of appointment, and royal  
"rescripts, this rule should be adopted, in opposition to that of previous  
"sovereigns, rulers in Islám who, following the practice of Jamshíd,  
"Kakhir (Kasrú?) and others, held Farwardín to be the most excellent  
"month, and appointed it for the commencement of their reigns. This  
"rule was now abrogated, and the years of the fortunate reign were ap-  
"pointed to be reckoned by lunar months from the month of Ramzán"  
[B.M. Addl. MSS. No. 24027, fol. 490b.] For this work and its author, see Elliot, VIII. 70, 71. Here he is evidently writing with Muḥammad Kázim's or Muḥammad Sáqí's work before him. The 1st Ramzán, 1068 H., is equivalent to the 2nd June 1658.

We can now account for Muḥammad Sáqí's statement (*Muáṣṣir-i-'Alamgírí*, 523), that 'Alamgír reigned 50 years, 2 months, 27 days.

I think that these authorities prove, without any room for doubt, that 'Alamgír counted his reign from the 1st Ramzán, 1068 H., and after that date had been once fixed upon, no alteration was ever made. This is the result arrived at by considering the historical evidence alone. Do the extant coins of the reign conflict in any way with its historians? Now, there may be some reason for thinking that occasionally some numismatists (in this branch of their subject, at any rate), concentrate their attention too much on the coins themselves, to the neglect of contemporary historians from whom they might derive much assistance. For we are dealing here with a modern period, on the history of which there is an abundance of material available. Be that as it may, let us, too, confine our attention for the moment to the coins themselves. The coins of 'Alamgír, which are already to be found in the British Museum collection, constrain us, unless some of those coins are a posthumous issue, to throw back the initial year of the reign from 1069 H. to 1068 H.

Dated coins for the 51st year of a reign necessarily imply fifty completed years of that reign. Now, the silver coins Nos. 843-846 in the British Museum, are dated in 'Alamgir's 51st year. On the other hand, there is no dispute about the date of his death; it took place in 1118 H. Even if we allow up to the last day of that year, where can you find room, within that limit, for fifty completed years, unless you throw back the first day of the reign into some part of the year 1068 H.?

As I am led to believe, the argument for 1069 H. is founded on the rule that the enthronement, the reading of the *khutbah*, and the issue of coin, taken together, form of themselves the official act of accession. In cases where there is no proof to the contrary, I see no reason to quarrel with this assumption. Indeed, for some purposes, it might even be the only right date to consider. For instance, if I wished to fix the date from which 'Alamgir became undisputed sovereign, I should, with Mr. S. Lane Poole, elect for the year 1069 H. On the other hand, if a sovereign, in defiance of facts, chooses to fix an assumed or fictitious date for his accession, it is useless for us to say that he had no just right to do so. The all-important things for us are: 1st, to know that he ordered the adoption of such official date; and 2ndly, to ascertain, on the best evidence, what that date was. Of all the acts of sovereignty hardly one can be held more formal and official than the issue of coinage: and can we suppose that on the face of that coinage any date would appear, other than one fixed according to official reckoning? Over and over again, we find that the official reckoning and the date of accession, according to actual facts, are altogether discrepant. It is so in the case of 'Alamgir.

**BAHÁDUR SHÁH.** His father died at Ahmadnagar, in the Dakhin, on the 28th Zú'l-Ká'dh, 1118 H. (2nd March, 1707). He heard of the event at Jamrud, west of Pesháwar, on the 18th Zú'l-Hajj, [Kámwar Khán, *Tárikh-i-Saláfin-i-Chaghtaiyah*, my copy, and Jag Jivan Dás, Gujaráti *Muntakhab-ut-Tawárikh*, written in 1120 H., [B.M. Addl. MSS. No. 26,253]. He was enthroned at Pul-i-Sháh Daulah Darvesh, about 15 miles west of Láhor, in Muḥarram 1119 H. Muḥammad Kásim, Láhori, *Ibratnámah*, India Office Library, No. 252, and Jag Jivan Dás, already cited). Muḥammad Ali's *Burhán-ul-Fatúḥ* (B.M. Oriental MSS. No. 1884, fol. 162b.), fixes this enthronement on the 24th Muḥarram (26th April 707). He gained a complete victory over his brother Azam Sháh at Jájau, near Agrah, on the 18th Rabi' I. 1119 H. (18th June 707)—(Dánishmand Khán, *Ali takhallus "Jangnámah,"* and Kháfi Khán, II, 590). But on the 1st Shawwál 1119 H. (25th Dec. 1707), he issued an order that his reign should commence from the 18th Zú'l-Hajj, 1118 H. (22nd March 1707), the day that he heard of his father's death

[Dánishmand Khán, 'Alí, in his *Bahádur Sháh-námah*, entry of the said date and Kháfi Khán, Text II, 607]. The passage in Dánishmand Khán reads as follows: "The 1st Shawwál, 1st year, Ghási Rám, principal clerk to the Chief Intelligencer, or *Wáki'ah-nigár-i-kul*, made a report asking for orders fixing the date from which the reign was to be reckoned, that the same might be entered in the official proceedings. Orders issued to take the 18th Zú'l-Hajj, and a report was called for as to the New Year's day by the solar year. In reply this was stated to be the 1st Farwardín and a Sunday. That day was accordingly fixed and ordered to be recorded." [B.M. Oriental MSS. No. 24, fol. 95a.]. This may mean that the 1st Farwardín or the 18th Zú'l-Hajj was adopted. If the former, that would be the 10th or 11th March, equal to the 5th or 6th Zú'l-Hajj, 1118 H.

JAHÁNDÁR SHÁH. As he did not survive to begin a second year's reign, there does not appear to have been any order passed fixing an official date for his accession. He was enthroned in the plain east of Láhor on the 21st Šafar, 1124 H. (29th March 1712) [*Núr-ud-din*, Multáni, *Jahándár-námah* and Kámwar Khán, *Tárikh-i-S.-i-Ch.*], his father, Bahádur Sháh, having died on the 20th Muḥarram, 1124 H. (27th February 1712) [*Kámwar Khán*].

FARRUKH-SIYAR. He heard of his father Azím-ush-shán's death near Láhor, when he was himself at Paṭnah-Azímábád. He was enthroned there, in the *bágh* known as Afzal Khán's, on the 29th Šafar, 1124 H. (6th April 1712) [Muḥammad Aḥsan, Ijád, *Farrukh-siyar-námah*, B.M. Oriental, No. 25, fol. 40r.]. On the 9th Jumádi II, 1125 H. (2nd July 1713), he ordered that Jahándár Sháh's reign should be struck out of the records and treated as non-existent. He directed at the same time that his own reign should be dated from his enthronement at Patna, namely the 29th Šafar, 1124 H. [*Kámwar Khán*, *Tárikh-i-S.-i-Ch.*: entry of 9th Jumádi II, 1125, and Khushál Chand, B.M. Or. 3288, fol. 397a.] Kháfi Khán, II, 737, has the wrong year, 1123 instead of 1124. He and Khushál Chand have the 1st Rabí' I, which is, of course, the next day to the 29th Šafar, so that there is no practical difference, on this point, between them and Kámwar Khán.

RAFÍ'-UD DARJÁT. As he reigned for a few months only, no order was passed fixing officially the first day of his reign. He was enthroned in the palace at Dihlí on the 9th Rabí' II, 1131 H. (28th February 1719) [*Kámwar Khán*, *Tárikh-i-S.-i-Ch.*: and Kháfi Khán, II, 816]; he was deposed and sent back into the palace on the 17th Rajab, 1131 H. (4th June 1719), and he died there on the 24th of the same month (11th June 1719) [*Kámwar Khán*, and Kháfi Khán II, 830].

RAFÍ'-UD DAULAH. This prince was the next elder brother of the

preceding. At his brother Rafi'-ud-darjât's earnest request he was selected as successor, and raised to the throne some days before his predecessor's death. The enthronement took place in the palace at Dihli, on the 19th Rajab, 1131 H. (6th June 1719) [Kámwar Khán, but Kháfi Khán, II, 831, has the 20th]. The prince died in camp near Agra, on the 4th or 5th Zú'l-Ka'dh, 1131 H. (17th or 18th Sept. 1719) [Kámwar Khán]. In his case also no question can arise, as he did not survive to enter a second year.

NEKÚSIYAR. This pretender, son of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, the fourth son of 'Alamgír, was proclaimed by the mutinous garrison from the battlements of Agra Fort, on the 29th Jamádi II, 1131 H. (18th May 1719) [see Kháfi Khán, II, 825, Kámwar Khán's *Tárikh-i-S.-i-Ch.*, and Muḥammad Kásim's *Ibratnámah*]. Nekúsiyar surrendered to Sayyad Ḥusain Alí Khán between the 22nd and the 27th Ramzán, 1131, H. (July 7-12, 1719) [Kámwar Khán].

MUḤAMMAD SHÁH. This prince was brought from Dihli and reached the imperial camp on the 11th Zú'l-Ka'dh, 1131 H. (24th Sept. 1719) [Kámwar Khán and Kháfi Khán, II, 840]. He was enthroned on the 15th Zú'l-Ka'dh, 1131 H. (28th Sept. 1719), at a village called Bidyápur, between Agra and Fathpur Síkri, three kos and a fraction from the latter place [Kámwar Khán and Kháfi Khán, II, 840]. It was directed that his reign should be reckoned from the deposition of Farrukhsiyar [Muḥammad Alí Khán, *Tárikh-i-Muzaffarí* and Kháfi Khán II, 841]. Accordingly it is counted usually from the 9th Rabi' II, 1131 H. (28th Feb. 1719). But the contemporary authority, Kámwar Khán, gives the first of that month, namely the 1st Rabi' II, 1131 H. (20th Feb. 1719), as the exact reckoning.

I may note that the dates of the Christian era, given in this paper, are all calculated according to the Gregorian or New Style. I have used the "Practical Tables..." of Johannes von Gumpach, London, James Madden, 1856.

Although not strictly within the scope of this paper, I append some remarks on Moghul mint-towns, as likely to be of use to any one interested in my more immediate subject, and I am not likely to find any other early opportunity of placing the results on record. These notes are in continuation of those printed in the Society's *Proceedings* for January 1893.

ALAMGÍRPUR. Places with this name seem very hard to find; I therefore note those I know of. But in the absence of special reasons for doing so, it would be hazardous to suggest that either is the mint-town for coin No. 772 of the British Museum Catalogue. I find by an

entry in Kámwar Khán's *Tárikh-i-Saláttin-i-Chaghtaiyah*, that on the 22nd Ramzán, 1122 H. (13th Nov. 1710), Bahádúr Sháh was encamped at Azímábád Taláori, "alias 'Alamgírpur," being the halting place between Karnál and Thánesar. Also, if I recollect rightly, there is a village 'Alamgírpur close to the east or left bank of the Jamuná, in the Saháranpur district. 'Alamgír was in that part of the country, on at least one occasion, on a hunting expedition to Bádsháhi Mahal and parganah Faizábád (Saháranpur District).

MU'AZZAMÁBÁD. I have little or no doubt that this mint town should be identified with Gorakhpur, Šúbah Audh. When I was serving in that district I recollect seeing the name Mu'azzamábád, Gorakhpur, used in the *Mawázinah* and *Kanángoí* papers of the end of the last century, which twenty years ago were still in existence. Only a few days ago, I was reading the autobiography of some un-named dependant on Fazl 'Alí Khán, once 'Amil of Gházípur. For a few years Fazl 'Alí Khán, was *Faujdar* of Gorakhpur (F. Curwen's translation of Khair-ud-dín Muḥammad, Allabábádi's, *Tuḥfah-i-Tázah*, p. 19). When speaking of this appointment, this anonymous writer calls the place "the *Sirkár* of Sarwár, otherwise Mu'azzamábád-Gorakhpur."

NAŠRATÁBÁD. In the *Ma'áṣir-i-'Alamgírí* (p. 304, year 1098 H.) 'Alamgír, after taking Haidarábád, advanced against Sakkhar, a place between Bijápur and Haidarábád. It was then ruled by Nand (or Parya, or Paid) Náik, a man of the low Dheḥ caste. After it had been taken, the country (*úlkah*) of Sakkhar was by the Emperor's orders re-named Našratábád [*ibidem*, p. 307]. For other notices of it, under its new name, see pp. 344, 345, 360, 364, 384, 410, 416, and 513 of the same volume. It is also mentioned as Našratábád-Sagar in the *Ma'áṣir-ul-Umrá*, II, 291. Thornton, *Gazetteer*, 936, states that "Suggur" is a town in the Nizam's territory, Lat. 16° 36', Long. 76° 51', 124 miles S.-W. by W. from Haidarábád. On the map of India in Johnston's Royal Atlas it appears as Sagar.

SHÁHÁBÁD KANAUJ. In the British Museum Catalogue, p. 212, there is a coin No. 1019, which the author assigns (p. lviii) to Sháhábád in Audh, disregarding the second word, which he reads *Fatúḥ*. I think there can be little doubt that this word should be read *Kanauj*, قنوج. The name is usually spelt by Muhammadans with ق, see, for instance, Kháfi Khán, Text I, pp. 63, 73, 109; also throughout the *Ain i Akbari*, Blochmann's translation, I, 32, etc. (entered in his Index under Q). I was four years in the Farrukhábád district (in which Kanauj is included), and my recollection is that the old official name of the place was Shahábád Kanauj. It is so styled in Dowson's Elliot, VIII. 46. I thus propose Kanauj, Šúbah Akbarábád, instead of Sháhábád, Sirkár Khairábád, Šúbah Audh.

ZAFARÁBAD. Since I wrote my former remarks I have found a direct mention of the occasion when Bidar was re-named Zafarábád. It is also frequently called Muḥammábád Bidar. The passage I refer to is in *Kháfi Khán*, II. p. 3. He tells us that in 1066 H., the thirtieth year of Sháhjahán, Prince Aurangzib was appointed to make a campaign against Bijápur, just after he had "by notable exertions, acquired the fort of Bidar and the Šúbah of Ahmadábád, and the fort of Kaliyáuí, and had re-named them the Šúbah of Zafarábád."

*Note on the preceding Paper.*—BY DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

I fully agree with Mr. Irvine that Aurangzib's reign should be dated from 1068–1118 A. H. or 1658–1707 A. D. I had never made any special enquiries on the exact official date of his accession, and the initial date 1869, given in my coin-reports in the *Proceedings* was simply quoted as that usually assigned. That it is wrong,—if the reign is to be counted from the *officially* fixed date, and not from the date of the *actual* accession,—Mr. Irvine has amply established; and I agree with him, that it is more reasonable to accept the official date as fixed by an emperor himself.

I should, however, put "the two all-important things for us" rather in this form:—1. To know what date was officially fixed by an emperor; 2, to ascertain whether the date, officially fixed, was actually adhered to in dating coins and documents of his reign.

Now with regard to Aurangzib, nearly all his coins do adhere to the officially fixed date. There are, however, a few exceptions:—

1. There is the coin, No. 845 of the British Museum, dated in 1119 Híjrah, and 51 regnāl. It is the only one with this peculiar date that I remember to have come across. As Aurangzib died on the 2nd March 1707, and the Híjrah year 1119 only commenced on the 3rd or 4th April 1707 (or the 1st Muḥarram 1119), it is clear that either the date 1119 is wrong, or that the coin is posthumous. That the latter may be the true explanation, appears from the following facts:—Aurangzib's successor was Bahádur Sháh. He heard of his father's death only three weeks afterwards, on the 22nd March 1707, and his *actual* enthronement took place only on the 26th April 1707, that is, on the 24th Muḥarram 1119. It was not till the 25th December 1707, that the official date of his accession was fixed to be the 22nd March 1707. It is, therefore, quite possible that coins struck in the time intermediate between the 2nd March 1707, the date of Aurangzib's death, and the 26th April 1707, the date of Bahádur Sháh's *actual* accession, were still issued in Aurangzib's name. It would thus occur that a coin,

struck between the 1st and 24th Muḥarram of 1119 Ḥijrah, would be issued as one of Aurangzib's, dated in his 51st year and in 1119 Ḥijrah. This practice would cease as soon as the actual enthronement had taken place, and notice of the fact had been proclaimed in all mint-towns.

It would be interesting to know what the actual practice was with regard to coining during a period of temporary vacancy, whether actual or official, of the throne. When an emperor died, did the coining in his name cease in a mint-town, as soon as the news of his death reached that town; or was coining in his name continued, till news arrived of the *actual* accession of his successor; or was it continued till information was received of the *officially* fixed date of accession? Thus to take Aurangzib's case as an example, did coining in his name cease from the 2nd March 1707 (the date of his death) in Aḥmadnagar (the place of his death), and similarly in other mint-towns as soon as the news of his death was received? Or did it cease from the 26th April 1707, the date of Bahádur Sháb's actual enthronement, in Láhor, and in other places as soon as information of the enthronement was received?

2. There is no real difficulty in the case of coins like the preceding. It is different with such coins of Aurangzib as are dated in his first regnal year, and in 1070 Ḥijrah. No. 728 in the British Museum is such a coin of the Patna mint. It is figured on Plate XIX of the B. M. Catalogue. The regnal year is expressed verbally *aḥad*. In my own collection, I have two such coins, of the mints Multán and Zafarábád respectively. The latter is from a treasure trove found in Champaran in 1892.

Now, reckoning by the *official* date, Aurangzib's first year runs from the 1st Ramaẓán 1068 to the last Sha'bán 1069, and the second year, from the 1st Ramaẓán 1069 to the last Sha'bán 1070. Accordingly the coins of his first year might be dated in 1068 or 1069, those of his second year, in 1069 or 1070. But no coin could be dated both in his first year and in 1070. That dating is only admissible, if the accession of Aurangzib is placed at some point of time in 1069.

These coins require some explanation. They certainly do not agree with the official reckoning. They are undoubtedly exceptional specimens, but they are not exceptionally rare, nor are they a vagary of some obscure or outlying mint-town. They were issued from places so well-known and so far apart, as Patná and Multán. It does seem that in the case of these coins, at least, the accession of Aurangzib was dated from the 24th Ramaẓán 1069 (15th June 1659), the day on which the second enthronement took place with full ceremonials. But if so, how is the non-observance of the officially fixed date to be explained?

Is it possible, that there was an interval between the receipt of the news of the second enthronement and the receipt of the information of the officially fixed date, and that those exceptional coins were struck during that interval? The interval could not have been of long duration, and this explains the paucity of those peculiar coins. One can easily imagine that the news of the ceremonies of the second enthronement travelled faster, than the communication of the matters officially settled at that time. Still the interval must have been, at least, three months; for the Hijrah year 1070 commenced on the 18th September 1659; and no coin, with the dates 1070 and *aḥad*, could have been struck before the first month, or Muḥarram, of 1070 Hijrah (18th September to 17th October 1659). On the theory, here suggested, it is quite possible that also some of the extant coins, dated 1069 Hijrah and *aḥad* (or 1st year) regnal, were struck by the same wrong reckoning, that is, after the termination of the *officially* fixed first year. This would be the case with all those coins which were struck after the second enthronement and during the three last months of the Hijrah year 1069. When once the accession was *officially* antedated on the 1st Ramaẓán 1068, the three months after the Ramaẓán of 1069 (and in fact, that Ramaẓán itself) fell outside the first year of the reign. As the months of coining are not mentioned on Aurangzib's coins (as they are on some classes of coins of his predecessors), it is now impossible to determine, whether any of the coins, with 1069 *aḥad*, are really wrongly dated, if regard is had to the *official* reckoning.

For easy reference I here re-print, from the B. M. Catalogue (p. 392), the portion of the comparative table of the years A. H. and A. D. which is in question. The month, day, and day of the week of the Christian year are placed under each Muhammadan month, and correspond to the first of that month. The week-days are lettered from A (for Sunday) to G (Saturday). The months are indicated by Roman numerals. Thus the first entry 9 X C shows that the month of Muḥarram 1068 began on Tuesday the 9th October 1657.

| A. H. | A. D. | Muḥarram. | Safar. | Rab' I. | Rab' II.  | Jumádi I.  | Jumádi II. |
|-------|-------|-----------|--------|---------|-----------|------------|------------|
| 1068  | 1657  | 9 X C     | 8 XI E | 7 XII F | 58, 6 I A | 4 II B     | 6 III D    |
| 1069  | 1658  | 29 IX A   | 29 X C | 27 XI D | 27 XII F  | 59, 25 I G | 24 II B    |
| 1070  | 1659  | 18 IX E   | 18 X G | 16 XI A | 16 XII C  | 60, 14 I D | 13 II F    |

| A. H. | A. D. | Rajab.   | Sha'bán. | Ramaẓán. | Shawwál. | Zú-l-Qa'dah. | Zú-l-Hijrah. |
|-------|-------|----------|----------|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|
| 1068  | 1657  | 4 IV E   | 4 V G    | 2 VI A   | 2 VII C  | 31 VII D     | 30 VIII F    |
| 1069  | 1658  | 25 III C | 24 IV E  | 23 V F   | 22 VI A  | 21 VII B     | 20 VIII D    |
| 1070  | 1659  | 13 III G | 12 IV B  | 11 V C   | 10 VI A  | 9 VII F      | 8 VIII A     |

*The Koch Kings of Kámarúpa.*—By E. A. GAIT, Esq., I. C. S.

## INTRODUCTION.

Perhaps the most interesting epoch in Assam history is that in which the Koch dynasty rose to power, and after defeating the petty chiefs amongst whom the country had been split up after the fall of the Pála rulers, succeeded in consolidating their rule throughout the ancient Kámarúpa, and in reviving for a time the pristine glories of that once famous kingdom.

Several accounts of the Koch dynasty are already available,\* but by far the most detailed narrative of the early founders of this kingdom with which I am acquainted, is that contained in a manuscript history [ *Vamsávali* or *Purushanáma* ( Sanskrit ) ] in the possession of Raja Lakshmi Náráyana Kuar, the leading representative of the Darang branch of the Koch family.

This history is supposed to have been written, about 1806 A. D., by Súrya Hari Gaṇaka, under the orders of Raja Samudra Náráyana.† It is inscribed on oblong strips of *Sachi* bark, and each page is illustrated. The story ends suddenly with the death of Paríkshít, and as there is nothing to show that the work was considered finished, it is conjectured that the author died before he had completed it.

As no account of this *Vamsávali* has hitherto appeared in print, I propose to furnish an abstract of it now, and to take the opportunity to give a sketch of what is known of the country before the Koch kings rose to power, and to examine one or two questions connected with this dynasty regarding which existing accounts differ, in the light of the information afforded by this history and also of inscriptions on temples and other sources.‡

\* Cf. *Asámburanjis* by Bisveswar and Rái Guṇábhírám Barua, 'Robinson's Descriptive Account of Assam, Dr. Hunter's Statistical accounts of Koch Bihár and Raingpur, and the accounts by Buchanan Hamilton, Babu Rám Chandra Ghosh and other authorities cited in Dr. Hunter's works.

† Súrya Hari Gaṇaka is reputed to have been the greatest Sanskrit scholar of his time in Assam. He was the author of numerous Sanskrit and Assamese works, and his descendant, Manbhál Maṇḍal, holds a deed of gift dated 1720 Sak (1804 A. D.) by which the Ahom King made a grant of land to Súrya Hari in recognition of his learning and piety.

‡ Including the *Vamsávali* of Rájá Prasiddha Náráyana Kuar, a manuscript copy of the *Yoginí Tantra* in the possession of a Bráhmaṇ of Haulí Mohanpur, in which the prophecies of the gods have from time to time been brought up to date, and lastly a few inscription in temples, and the references made to the Koch

The early history of Kámarúpa is wrapped in mystery, and our knowledge of it is drawn from dubious and fragmentary references in the *Mahábhárata*, and in the *Puráṇas* and *Tantras*, chief amongst which may be mentioned the *Yoginí Tantra* and the *Bhágavata* and *Káliká Puráṇas*.

The boundaries of the country varied greatly from time to time.

#### Extent of Kamarupa.

In the *Yoginí Tantra* it is said that Kámarúpa comprised the country between the Karatoyá and the Dikrai, so that it included not only the whole of what is now known as the Brahmaputra Valley, but also Rangpur and the State of Koch Bihár. It was subdivided into four portions, *viz*: Kámapiṭha from the Karatoyá to the Sankosh, Ratnapíṭha from the Sankosh to the Rupahi, Suvarṇapíṭhá from the Rupahi to the Bharali, and Saumarpiṭha from the Bharali to the Dikkara-básiní or Dikrai. It is described as bounded on the North by Kuñjagiri, on the West by the Karatoyá, on the East by the Girikañjaka, and on the South by the junction of the Brahmaputra and Lakshma rivers. It is added that Kámarúpa is three cornered and is 100 yojanas in breadth and 300 yojanas in length.\* According to the *Káliká Puráṇa*, Kámákhyá and Prágjyotishapura were situated in the centre of Kámarúpa, and the *Vishṇu Puráṇa* adds that the country extended around it for 100 yojanas in all directions.† In the *Mahábhárata*, Bhagadatta's Empire of Prágjyotisha or Kámarúpa is spoken of as extending to the seacoast,‡ and the copper plate of Vanamála, which will be referred to further on, says that the rule of that monarch also extended to the sea.§

Hinen Tsiang places the circumference of the country when he visited it, at 10,000 li, from which General Cunningham infers that it must, at that time, have comprised the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley as well as Koch Bihár and Bhotán.||

The name of the country is mythologically explained as follows:—

When Sati died of grief at the reproaches of her husband Siva, the latter, overcome by remorse, wandered about the world carrying her dead body on his head. Vishṇu followed him and lopped

Kings by Muṣalmán historians, which have been made accessible by Blochmann in the J. A. S. B. for 1872.

\* Edition published in Calcutta at the Bangobashi press in 1294 Sal, pp. 76, 77.

† *Káliká Puráṇa*, page 91, of Edition published at the Bangobashi press; and *Vishṇu Puráṇa*, page 81 of Edition published at the same press.

‡ *Sabhá Parva*, XXVI, XXVII. The references found elsewhere to the different parts of the *Mahábhárata* are to the translation of Pratáp Chandra Roy.

§ J. A. S. B. IX, (Part II) 773.

|| *Ancient geography of India*, Volume I, Buddhist period, p 500.

away the body piece-meal with his discus. The body fell to earth in 51 different pieces, and wherever each piece fell, the ground was held to be sacred. Her organs of generation fell on Niláchala hill near Gauháti, and the deity of that place was thenceforth known as Kámákhya, the goddess of sexual desire. As Siva still continued to do penance, the other gods became afraid that he would thereby acquire universal power, and accordingly despatched Kámadeva, the Indian Cupid, to make him fall in love again, and thereby break his penance. Kámadeva succeeded in his Mission, but so enraged was Siva at the result, that he burnt him to ashes by a fiery glance from the eye in the centre of his forehead. Kámadeva eventually recovered his original form, and the place in which this took place was ever afterwards known as Kámárúpa.

The earliest recorded king of Kámárúpa, of whom however, very little is known, was named Mahíraṅga Dánava.\* He was succeeded by his son Háṭaka Asura, after whom came Sambara Asura and then Ratna Asura.†

After this, there was a chief named Ghaṭaka, the ruler of the Kirátas, who are said to have been a powerful race, much addicted to eating flesh and drinking strong drinks.

Ghaṭaka was defeated and slain by Naraka, who was born of the earth by Vishṇu, and had been deputed by him to exterminate the Kirátas. Having succeeded in doing this,‡ he made Prágjyotishapura (the modern Gauháti) his capital,§ and settled numerous Bráhmans at Kámákhya. His rule extended from the Karatoyá on the West, to the Dikráṅg on the East. It is said that he married Máya, the

\* Notices of Mahíraṅga and his successors will be found in the Káliká Puráṇa Chaps. 36-42, and on page 81 of the *Yoginí Tantra*. In the *Raghuvamśa*, it is related that Rághu crossed the Brahmaputra with a view to attacking the king of Prágjyotisha or Kámárúpa. The latter is said to have submitted without venturing to give battle, and to have paid a tribute of war elephants. The name of the king is not mentioned.

† The names Dánava and Asura, indicate that these kings were of aboriginal origin. According to the *Vamśávali* of Prasiddha Náráyan Kuar, Sambar, who is mentioned in the text as the grandson of Mahíraṅga, was the founder of the dynasty. He is there spoken of as the son of Brahmá, and is said to have had his capital at Raṅgamáti.

‡ Apparently he only subdued them. In the *Udyoga Parvan*, his son Bhagadatta is referred to as bringing Kirátas to the aid of Duryodhana. (XVIII, 15-16.)

§ There is a hill near Gauháti which is still known as the hill of Naraka Asur.

daughter of the king of Vidarbha or Kuṇḍina. Naraka was greatly favoured by Vishṇu who placed him in charge of Kámákhyá, and told him that so long as that goddess was pleased with him he would do well, but that if he angered her, he would suffer, and that he himself would then desert him. It is said that Naraka carried off 10,000 girls as wives, and that he became so proud that he asked Kámákhyá to marry him. To this the goddess assented on condition that he erected a temple to her on Niláchala and also constructed a tank and a road to the temple in a single night. Naraka accepted the terms and had almost accomplished his task, when the goddess caused a cock to crow before dawn, and saying that that was a proof that day had come, evaded her promise and refused to marry him. Overcome with rage, Naraka slew the cock, and the place where he did this is still known as Kukuṭa-Kátá (the place where the cock was killed). But Naraka's crowning misfortune was his refusal to permit Vasishṭha Muni to go to worship at Kámákhyá, in consequence of which the Muni cursed Naraka and Kámákhyá, saying that thence forward no one who worshipped at Kámákhyá's shrine should see the fulfilment of his desire. By the aid of Siva, the duration of this curse was limited to three hundred years, but Naraka had now completely alienated both Kámákhyá and Vishṇu and was eventually slain by the latter in the incarnation of Kṛishṇa. Kṛishṇa's invasion of Prágjyotishapūra is described in the *Bhágavata* and *Vishṇu Purána*s, in the latter of which it is stated that his attack on Naraka was instigated by Indra.\* The capital was defended by sharp *pánjís* and by numerous outworks erected by the Asura Muru, but Kṛishṇa cut his way through with his discus and slew Muru and his sons. He then entered the city and engaged in a terrible combat with Naraka, and after killing thousands of daityas, he clove Naraka in twain with his discus. He recovered the golden earrings of Aditi and other property seized by him, and sent the 10,000 girls imprisoned in his harem together with his 6,000 elephants and his horses to Dváraka.

Naraka left two sons, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta, of whom the

Bhagadatta.

former was appointed by Kṛishṇa to succeed him as king of Prágjyotisha. Bhagadatta

is frequently referred to in the *Mahábhárata*. In the *Sabhá Parvan*, it is related that he was defeated by Arjuna after a battle which lasted for eight days.† Later on, when the forces of the Kauravas and Páṇḍavas were being mustered for the last struggle,

\* *Bhágavata Purána* (Edition published at the *Bangobashi* press) X, 59, and *Vishṇu Purána*, pp. 81–83 (V, 29)

† *Sabhá Parvan*, secs. XXVI and XXVII. His troops are described as a host of Kirátas and Chínas, and numerous other warriors that dwelt on the seacoast.

Bhagadatta went to the assistance of Duryodhana with an *Akshauhini* of troops consisting of Chínas and Kirátas.\* At the final battle of Kurukshetra, he performed prodigies of valour, and no less than four sections of the *Droṇa Parvan* are devoted to a narrative of his heroic deeds, from the time when he rescued Duryodhana from the onslaughts of Bhíma to his fight with Arjuna, in which he was at last defeated and slain. The issue of this last combat is ascribed to the magic intervention of Kṛishṇa, who rendered harmless the invincible weapon which he had previously given to Bhagadatta's father Naraka.†

Bhagadatta was succeeded by others of his line, one of whom, Pralambha, is described as having been an unusually powerful prince. By his wife Jivadá, he had a son named Hajara, and the latter, by his wife Tára, who was an incarnation of Lakshmi, had in his turn a son named Vanamála. A copper plate containing a grant of land by the latter to a Bráhmaṇ which was found near Tezpur in 1840 A. D., is the authority for the account of Bhagadatta's successors here given.‡

It has been assumed that Vanamála was of the Pála dynasty, but his asserted descent from Naraka makes this impossible; this assumed ancestry, and the fact that he bore the Kshatriya title Varman or Barman, renders it much more likely that he was a converted aboriginal potentate of the same class as the Khyen and Koch kings.

The so-called Rájás of Ráni, in Kámrúp, claim to be descended from the lineage of Bhagadatta.

Kṛishṇa frequently appears in Assam Mythology. We have already seen how he slew Naraka and set up his son Bhagadatta in his stead. He is also said to have carried off his bride Rukmiṇi from her father Bhisṃmaka, the king of Kuṇḍilya§ or the country around Sadiyá, between the Dikráng and Dibong rivers. The name of this monarch is still preserved in upper Assam, and a ruined fort, some sixteen miles north of Sadiyá, is attributed to his reign.|| The name of the kingdom survives in the Kuṇḍil river.

\* Udyoga Parvan, sec. XVIII.

† Droṇa Parvan, secs. XXVI—XXX.

‡ J. A. S. B. IX, p. 766. The plate bears a date in an unknown era—"Samvat 19". Presumably this refers to the date of the king's succession.

§ According to ordinary Pauránik accounts, Bhisṃmaka was king of Kuṇḍina or Vidarbha, the modern Berar, in Central India.—Ed.

|| These ruins were described by Colonel Hannay in the J. A. S. B. for 1848, p. 459. It is not unlikely that further research amongst this and other ruins in the same direction, would add considerably to our knowledge of ancient Assam history.

Kṛishṇa's grandson, Aniruddha, carried off Ushá, the daughter of Bána Rájá, king of Soṇitápura, the city of blood, now known by the Assamese equivalent, Tezpur—in consequence of which he was caught by that monarch and imprisoned. The subsequent invasion of Bána-Rájá's kingdom by Kṛishṇa and the rescue of Aniruddha is described in the *Bhágavatá Purána* and elsewhere. From the *Káliká Purána* it appears that Rájá Bána was the contemporary and friend of Naraka.\*

From these stories, all that we can gather with certainty is that the Brahmaputra Valley was known to the Aryan invaders of India at a very early period, and that the process of converting the aboriginal tribes to Hinduism, which is going on before our eyes to-day, commenced long before the time of which we have any authentic record.

Kámarúpa appears to have been a famous place for pilgrimages and devotions, and the fame of Kámákhyá and the Brahmakuṇḍa had spread abroad at a very early date. In the *Tantras* it is said: "Elsewhere deities are scarce, but in Kámarúpa, they are found in every house."

At the beginning of the Śakáñtitya era, a king named Deveśvara ruled somewhere in Kámarúpa, but the site of his capital is unknown. He was a Súdra by caste, and is said to have tried to prevent the spread of Buddhism and to propagare the worship of Kámákhyá, but without any very great success.

In the *Yoginí Tantra*, mention is made of Nágaśaṅkara or Nágá-khya, who is said to have been born of the Karatoyá river, about 378 A. D., and to have founded a dynasty which ruled for four hundred years. His capital was above the Nágaśaṅkara temple at Pratápgarh, in Vishṇunátha (Bishnáth).

Our earliest authentic knowledge of the country is derived from the writings of Hiuen Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese traveller and pilgrim. He visited Kámarúpa about 640 A. D., at which time a Hindú prince named

\* Vishṇu Purána, Book V, Chaps. 32, 33, and Káliká Purána, p. 94. The events described here form the subject of one of the earliest known epics in the Assamese language. It is known as *Kumára-harāṇa*, and is said to have been written by Śrī Chandra Bháratí

It should be noted that Tezpur is not the only place which claims to be the site of Rájá Bána's capital. The remains of what is said to be the city of this king are still pointed out at a place a few miles south of Dinájpur, which to this day is known as *Bán Rájár garh*. (Anandarám Borua's Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 113.)

Kumára Bháskara Varman\* was on the throne. He describes this ruler as a Bráhmaṇ, but by this it seems doubtful whether he meant anything more than that he was a Hindú and not a Buddhist. Barman is a well known Kshattriya title, and is one which is commonly adopted today by Kacháris, when they accept Hinduism and assume the sacred thread, on the fiction that they are concealed Kshattriyas. The method of conversion by fiction, such as this is, doubtless, of very ancient date, and from the fact that this prince described himself as "Barman," it seems not unreasonable to presume that he was a Hindú convert from some aboriginal tribe. The presumption is strengthened by the fact that his subjects are described as being of small stature with dark yellow complexions, and by our knowledge that subsequent rulers, *e.g.*, the Khyen and Koch kings, were nothing more than Hinduised aborigines.

Hien Tsiang reports that the people adored and offered sacrifices to the Devas, and adds that although Buddhism was not forbidden, its votaries were scarce.

The soil is described as being deep and fertile, and the towns were surrounded by moats filled with water brought from rivers or banked up lakes.† The people were fierce in appearance, but upright and studious; their language differed somewhat from that spoken in Mid-India. In his time, as now, the country was famous for wild elephants, which were especially numerous in the south-east.‡

After Hien Tsiang's account, we are again left with no authentic information regarding the country. It is said that Subáhu was born in the 19th generation, beginning from Naraka, in the lineage of Bhagaḍatta. Subáhu became an ascetic and went to the Himálayas, and was succeeded by his son Suparuá who was killed by his ministers.

Then a Kshattriya Sannyási named Jitári, came from the west and founded a kingdom. He deserted Gauháṭi and built a capital further west. His contemporary Jalpeśvara had his capital where the Sáкта temple of Jalpeśvara (which he founded) now stands, in the Jalpaiguri District. Jitári was succeeded in turn by Subalí, Padma Náráyana, Chandra Náráyana,

\* *Si-yu-ki*. Beal's trans. II. p. 196.

† The Ahom capitals were in the same way encircled by moats, and the old Kachári capital at Dimápur was similarly protected on two sides, while the Dhan-siri flowed along the third side.

‡ These animals appear always to have been plentiful, for we read in the Raghuvamśa that the king of Kámarúpa or Prágjyotisha gave many elephants as tribute to Raghu (IV—83), and in the Vishnu Purána (p. 81) it is stated that Krishṇa took 6,000 elephants from Naraka's capital, after he had defeated and slain that monarch.

Mahendra Náráyaṇa, Gajendra Náráyaṇa, Práṇa Náráyaṇa, Jaya Náráyaṇa, Kshobha Náráyaṇa, and Ráma Chandra.\*

The next king to be mentioned is Arimatta, who ruled the country on the south bank of the Brahmaputra from the neighbourhood of Gauháṭi, as far as Rahá in Nowgong. He is said to have been born of a princess of the house of Ráma Chandra,† who was raped by the Brahmaputra river. According to the *Vaṁśávali* of Prasiddha Náráyaṇa, Arimatta ruled at Baidargarh until 1160 Śak. (A. D. 1238.)‡

Arimatta.

His son Jaṅgál Báláhu was a mighty warrior, and was engaged in constant feuds with the Kachári and Jaintiá Rájás. The ruins of a fort said to have been built by him are still visible in Sahari Mauza, near Nowgong. He eventually made peace with the Kachári Rájá, and married his daughter, but hostilities again broke out and he was defeated. He fled covered with wounds, and was drowned in the Kallang river.

Jangal Balahu.

Four kings, named Mimaṅg, Gajaṅg, Sribaṅg and Mrigaṅg are mentioned by Guṇábhírám as having reigned for 200 years at Lohityapur in Kámarúpa, and as having been succeeded by Pheṅguá Rájá. In Prasiddha Náráyaṇa's *Vaṁśávali*, on the other hand, it is said that Naraṅg and Mrigaṅg were son and grandson of Arimatta, and that the latter being very pious made over his kingdom to Jaya Simba, a learned Bráhmaṇ of Darraṅg. But these accounts are so vague and uncertain that it seems to be useless to try to reconcile them or to construct a connected history from them.

Mimang, Mrigang, &c.

The Pála rulers still remain to be mentioned. There is no doubt that kings of this name at one time possessed great power in the country, but our information regarding them is very meagre. Rai Guṇábhírám Barná in his

Pala dynasty.

\* So Guṇábhírám and an old chronicle in the possession of a Bráhmaṇ, to which reference was made by General Jenkins in the J. A. S. B., IX., p. 766. Prasiddha Náráyaṇa's *Vaṁśávali* says that Ráma Chandra was 14th in descent from Jitári. Hannay (J. A. S. B. 1848, p. 464) identified Jitári with Dharma Pála, and says that his kingdom was in Central Assam and that the dynasty became extinct with Rája Súkráṅka in 1478 A. D. He quotes no authority for these statements.

† So the *Vaṁśávali* of Prasiddha Náráyaṇa. Guṇábhírám says that the princess was of the Nágákhya line.

‡ The so-called Dimuriá Rájá in Kámrúp claims to be descended from Arimatta, and will not touch the Ari fish in consequence. Baidargarh is near Betná in Kámrúp. Guṇábhírám says that local tradition ascribes its erection to Pheṅguá Rájá. Traditions regarding Arimatta and his son are still current amongst the people, and their history is said to be narrated in an old *puṭhí* (now very rare) which I have not yet succeeded in obtaining.

Buranji gives a list of 17 Pála princes who reigned in Kámarúpa, viz : Jayanta Pála, Chákra Pála, Bhúmi Pála, Prema Pála, Paksha Pála, Daksha Pála, Chandra Pála, Náráyana Pála, Madhu Pála, Indra Pála, Símbha Pála, Krishṇa Pála, Su Pála, Gandha Pála, Mádhava Pála, Syáma Pála, and Lakshmi Pála. He adds that these princes were Buddhists, and that Lakshmi Pála was followed by a king of the name of Subáhu who died childless and was succeeded by his Mantri Sumati.\*

There is a tradition amongst a colony of Bráhmans ( called Basatariá, *i. e.* 72) resident at Suálkachi in Kámarúpa, that they settled there in the reign of one Dharma Pála, and a copperplate in their possession records a grant of land made to them by that prince.

Another plate found recently at Benares and deciphered by Professor Venis, records the grant of two villages Badá and Mundará in the *Vishaya* of Badá in the *Bhukti* of Prágjyotisha in the *Maṇḍala* of Kámarúpa to a Bráhman named Sridhara. The date of the grant has not been deciphered, but Professor Venis is of opinion that it was about 1142 A. D. The name of the prince making the grant is Kumára Pála, son of Ráma Pála and grandson of Vighraha Pála. The inscription says that Ráma Pála killed a certain Rájá Bhíma. Kumára Pála is styled Lord of Gauḍa, and his General is said to have slain a rebellious vassal named Timgya, or Tishya Deva in the East.† From the mention of Ráma Pála and Vighraha Pála and the title Gauḍeśvara assumed by Kumára Pála, this plate would seem to prove that the Rájá in question belonged to the Pála dynasty of Bengal, and the probability that this was so is strengthened by the fact that Deva Pála of that dynasty (who according to General Cunningham ruled from 850 to 885 A. D.) is said to have conquered Kámarúpa.‡

\* In an ancient-looking chronicle shown by a Bráhman to General Jenkins, Lakhi Pála, Subáhu and Sumati are mentioned first, then Jitári and his descendants, then the Pálas, and lastly, Mimaṅg and his successors. It is almost impossible to give reasons for arranging these dynasties in one order rather than in another, particularly as it seems probable that they ruled in different parts of the country. It is supposed for instance that Mimaṅg, and his family reigned at Lohityapura in Kámarúpa, and that the capital of Jitári was outside modern Assam in the Jalpaiguri District.

The list of Pálas in this document differs slightly from that quoted in the text, and is given by General Jenkins as follows :—

Japandu Pála, Hari Pála, Dhamba Pála, Ráma Pála, Pakshya Pála, Chandra Pála, Náráyana Pála, Mantri Pála, Haina Pála, Syáma Pála, Maetya Pála, Su Pála, Gandha Pála, Mádhava Pála, and Lakhiá Pála. The differences are however in many cases clearly due to misreadings of the original.

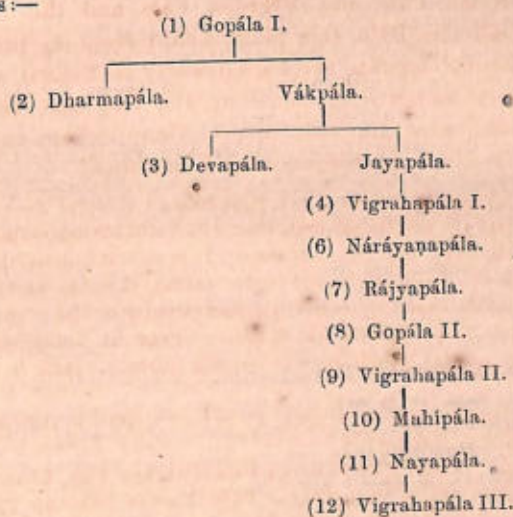
† Supplement to *Pandit* for February, 1893.

‡ *Vide* copperplate found at Bhágalpur and translated by Rajendralála Mitra, J. A. S. B. 1878 page 407. The conquest of Kámarúpa is however uncer-

Mr. Westmacott in his "Traces of Buddhism in Dinájpur," was of opinion that the Bengal Pála dynasty at one timè ruled the country north of the Padma, and Mr. Ferguson in his paper on Hiuen Tsiang says that "Pála kings were ruling east of the Karatoyá long after "Bengal had been subdned by the Senas, before whom indeed the Pálas "probably retreated by degrees to the north-east." The only conquest in Kámarúpa claimed by the Sena line, who succeeded the Pála dynasty in Bengal, is that of Vijaya Sena (1046-1066 A. D. ) who is said in the inscription found at Rajshahye by Mr. Metcalfe, to have conquered the Kings of Gauḍa, Kámarúpa, and Kaliṅga.\*

On the other hand it should be mentioned that the name Pála alone creates very little, if any, presumption regarding the lineage of the rulers bearing it. Many of the Bhuiyás were named Pála, and Dalton speaks of an Aryan dynasty of that name which ruled over Kuṇḍilya or the country around Sadiyá, and succumbed to a Chutiyá or Kachári invasion, probably about the same time that the Koches rose to power lower down the Valley.

tain. According to Doctor Hultzsch the meaning of the verse is that Deva Pála supported the king of Kámarúpa, against the king of Utkala (*Ind. Ant.* Vol XV, p. 308). Cf. Dr. Kielhorn's paper on the Dinájpur Inscription; *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXI, Part I, pp. 77 and ff. The line of Pála Kings is now established to be as follows:—



It is doubtful whether Deva Pála was nephew or son of Dharma Pála.

The dates of Deva Pála, as given above, are those given by General Cunningham, (*Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind.*, XI, 181). Dr Rajendralála Mitra gives 895-915 A. D. *J. A. S. B.* 1878 page 401. It is however not very clear from his inscription whether the conqueror was the Sena prince or the ruler of Gauḍa.

In Glazier's Report on Rañgpur, Dharma Pála is mentioned as the founder of a dynasty. It is said that he was succeeded by his son Bhava Chandra, whose successor, Pála, was the last of the line. The remains of a fortified city which even now retains the name of Dharma Pála, are still to be seen in Rañgpur, and in the Baghdwár pargana of the same district are the ruins of Udayapura, the city of Udaya or Bhava Chandra.

Leaving the Pála dynasty we come upon somewhat more certain ground. Tradition says that there was a certain Bráhmaṇ who had a most restless and troublesome cowherd. Going one day to chastise him, he found him asleep and a cobra shading him with its hood. He then noticed from the marks on his feet that he was destined to be a king. He informed him of the fact, released him from menial work and made him promise to make him his *mantri* when he rose to power. In course of time, acting under the advice of the Brahman, the quondam cowherd deposed the last representative of the Pála race and ascended the throne, making the Bráhmaṇ his councillor. He assumed the name of Niladhvaja, and bringing many Bráhmaṇs from Mithilá did much towards re-establishing Vedic observances. He is said to have belonged to the Khyen tribe, but on conversion to Hinduism, he declared his caste to be that of High Súdra, just as the next dynasty—the Koch—called themselves Rájavaṃśís. He removed the capital to Kamathapura,\* on the western bank of the Dharlá in Koch Bihár. The ruins still exist, and are described by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton who visited them in 1809.† He says that the city was very extensive, being no less than 19 miles in circumference, of which five were protected by the Dharlá and the rest by a rampart and a ditch. The city was built on the usual plan, enclosure within enclosure, wall within wall, the king's palace occupying the centre of the whole.

His son Chakradhvaja succeeded him, and the latter was in turn followed by his son Nilámbara, who attained to great power. His dominions included the

\* He was on this account known as Kamatheśvara. It is doubtful how far Niladhvaja's empire extended, and it is not unlikely that in some portions of Eastern Kámarúpa other rulers were at the same time exercising sovereign rights. The Musalmán historians of the time sometimes refer to Kámarúpa and Kamatha as if the kingdoms were distinct, and sometimes speak as if the terms were synonymous and referred to one and the same country. "Comotay" is shown in the Map in Blaeu's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Vol II (Amsterdam 1650); but the map is too sketchy to enable the boundaries of the country to be ascertained from it.

† Buchanan-Hamilton's account is reproduced almost verbatim in Hunter's *Statistical Account of Koch Bihár*, p. 262. See also *Statistical Account of Rañgpur*, p. 314.

greater part of Kámarúpa, Goálpára and Raúgpur, and also part of Bengal. His attempts to extend his dominions were facilitated by the struggles which the Afghán Kings of Bengal were then making to maintain their independence of the Delhi Emperors.

Nílámbara did much to improve communications, and amongst other works, constructed a magnificent road from Kamathapura to Ghorágháta, a portion of which still forms part of the main road between Koch Bihár, Raúgpur and Bogra. The fall of this monarch was in this wise. The son of his councillor, a Bráhmaṇ named Sauchi Pátra, was enamoured of the queen, and the king, hearing of it, ordered him to be killed and some of his flesh to be cooked. He then invited the father to a banquet, and, after making him partake of his son's flesh, told him what he had eaten and explained the circumstances under which the punishment had been inflicted. The councillor at once left the kingdom, under the pretence of making a pilgrimage to the Ganges in order to wash away the sin committed by his son. But his real object was revenge, and to obtain it, he went to Husain Sháh, the Nawáb at Gauḍa, and telling him of the weakness of the kingdom, persuaded him to send a large army to invade it. The siege of Kamathapura is said to have lasted for twelve years,\* at the end of which period Husain Sháh gave out that he was going to abandon the siege and return to his own country, but that before doing so, his wife wished to pay a visit to Nílámbara's Rání. Under this pretence some armed men were introduced into the city in litters, and with their aid the city was captured. Nílámbara was taken prisoner and put in an iron cage to be taken to Gauḍa, but he made his escape, and Buchanan Hamilton says that in his time the common people of Kámarúpa still looked for his restoration at some future date. The Assam chronicles fix 1498 A. D. as the date of the capture of Kamathapura, and this date is confirmed by a contemporaneous inscription found by Mr. Westmacott, at Maldah bearing date 907 A. H. (A. D. 1501-2), which belonged to a Madrasah built by Husain Sháh in commemoration of his conquest of Kamathá and Kámarúpa.† The author of the *Riáz* refers to the conquest of these and other places, and mentions Rúpa Náráyana Pála, Kumwar Gosa, Lakkhan and Lachhmi Náráyana amongst the princes subdued. Husain Sháh left his son Dányál with a strong army to complete the conquest, "but when the rains set in and the roads were closed "the Rájá issued with his men from the hills and in a short time they were all killed." A very similar account is given in the *Fathiyah*

\* This is doubtless an exaggeration.

† J. A. S. B. 1874, p. 281. A. D. 1498 is also accepted by Blochmann as the correct date (J. A. S. B. 1872, p. 79).

i 'Ibriyah, from which it appears that the Rájá who drove out the Musalmáns was the Ahom king.\*

A few years later (1506 A. D.) a Pathán named Turbuk is said to have advanced as far as Koliabar, where he defeated the Ahoms and was not finally expelled from the Province until 1532 A. D., when he was defeated and slain, and his army chased as far as the Karatoyá river. This invasion is recorded in the Ahom histories, but is not mentioned by Musalmán writers. The Mariás are said to be the descendants of prisoners taken in this war.†

Although Husain Sháh's invasion constituted the first serious attempt of the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal to permanently occupy Kámarúpa, accounts are not wanting of earlier invasions which, however, seem to have partaken more of the nature of filibustering expeditions than of real attempts at conquest.‡

Ghiyásu'd-dín Bahádur Sháh is reported to have invaded Assam about 1220 A. D. and to have ascended the Brahmaputra as far as Sadiyá, but in the end he was defeated and driven back to Gauða §

Ikhtiyáru'd-dín Yuzbak Tughril Khán invaded the country in 1256-57 A. D. For a time he was successful and he celebrated his conquest by erecting a mosque, but, when the rains set in, and the country was flooded, large numbers of his men died. The king of Kámarúpa then returned from his hiding place in the hills and gave battle. Tughril was killed and his army defeated, and only a few escaped to Bengal to tell the tale. || Muḥammad Sháh, son of Tughluq Sháh,

\* Blochmann, J. A. S. B. 1872 pp. 79 and 336. The general account of the Khyen dynasty given above is taken from Guṇábhírám's *Asám buranji*.

† In the Fatḥiyah i 'Ibriyah it is said that they are the descendants of prince Dányál's army. As Turbuk's name is not mentioned in Musalmán histories, it is possible that the name is an Ahom designation of Dányál or some other commander of the forces left by Husain Sháh in Assam.

‡ I do not mention Bakhtiyár Khiljí's invasion, because it has been shown that he did not, as was once supposed, enter Assam and cross the Brahmaputra at Gauháti, but that he marched northwards along the Karatoyá river which formed the boundary of the kingdom of Kámarúpa.

§ Guṇábhírám's *Asám buranji* p. 81.

|| Guṇábhírám's *Asám buranji* p. 82 and Tabaqát i Násiri 263. The practise of flooding the country here referred to was common in early warfare in this part of India. Husain Sháh's second invasion of Tippera was frustrated by a similar operation (Long's Analysis of the Ráj mála, J. A. S. B. 1850 p. 543). Cunningham (Arch: Surv: of India Vol XV p. 170) mentions a tradition that Mughísu'd-dín was killed near Sonárgáoñ, but it is not quite certain that the same person is referred to, and in any case the version given in the text seems to be more authentic.

invaded the country in 1337 A. D. He sent "100,000 horsemen well equipped to Assam; but the whole army perished in that land of witchcraft, and no trace of it was left. He sent a second army to avenge the former disaster, but when they came to Bengal, they would go no further, and the plan had to be given up."\*

In the reign of Barbak, some time about 1460 A. D., Ismá'il Gházi, the celebrated Pir, is said to have defeated Kámešvara, king of Kámarúpa. The story is told at length in a manuscript found by the late Mr. Damant in the possession of a fakir in charge of Ismá'il Gházi's tomb at Kuntá Duár, Rañgpur, but no reference is made to the subject in any Assam Chronicle or tradition.†

The records of these earlier Muhammadan invasions are very scanty, and very few traces of them now remain, beyond a few ruined fortifications (such perhaps as the Baidargarh already referred to), a few occasional finds of coins and the names of places indicating a previous Musalmán occupation.‡

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to give some account of

#### Baro Bhuiyas.

the Báro Bhuiyás. It is generally admitted that they were foreigners, but accounts differ as to the circumstances under which they came to Bengal & Assam. Buchanan's version is that twelve "persons of very high distinction, and mostly named Pála, came from the west and settled" at Mahásthán. He was of opinion that they belonged to the Bhungiyá tribe. Cunningham on the other hand thinks that they were Bráhmaṇs and that the name Bhuiyá is a corruption of Bhumihára, a term applied to them as indication of the fact that they had taken to cultivation as a means of livelihood. He says that they still call themselves Bábhan, and claim to be Bráhmaṇs, but that their enemies say that they are the descendants of men of low caste whom Jarásandha raised to the priesthood. He mentions that they form a large part of the population of Magadha, the chief representative of the clan being the Rájá of Tekári, and from this he surmises that the Pála Rajas "must have been of this caste, as they would appear to have been descendants of some of the Báro Bhuibár Pálas, while in their inscriptions they are silent as to their ancestry."

\* Alamgirnámah, p. 731.

† J. A. S. B. 1874, p. 216.

‡ 30 silver coins were recently discovered near Gauháti by a cooly working on the Assam-Bengal Railway. They bore dates from 1310 to 1399 A. D. Most of them were coins issued by the independent Sultáns of Bengal. Maḥmúd Sháh II, Ghiyásu'd-dín Bahádur Sháh, Ilyas Sháh, &c. A previous find of 33 coins at Gauháti in 1880 formed the subject of an article by Dr. Hoernle in the J. A. S. B. of 1881, p. 53.

Buchanan's identification of the Báro Bhuiyás with the aboriginal tribe called Bhunúgiyá or Bhuiyá was endorsed by Dalton and other writers, but Dr. Wise has made it clear that the word "Bhuiyá" has nothing to do with caste but is simply a word formerly used to denote a chief or ruler.\* He shows that one at least of the "Bhuiyás" was a Musalmán, and quotes Janic as follows:—"Non se tamen dixere reges sed *Boiones*, quasi forsán Principes." Bhuiyá therefore simply means chief, and connotes nothing regarding the caste of the persons to whom it is applied.

Why these Bhuiyás should always be referred to as 12 in number is less clear. It may be that the term was originally "Bar" or "great," and somehow got changed in course of time to Báro or twelve; but this seems unlikely. All that can be said in explanation is that twelve seems to be a favourite number to be fixed for councillors or feudatories in the constitution of kingdoms in this part of India. The Rájá of Jaintiá had twelve *dalais*, and we shall see subsequently that when Viśva Simha came to the throne, he appointed twelve chief Ministers of State.†

The tradition current in Assam regarding the immigration of the Báro Bhuiyás of this Province is as follows:—A Rájá of Kamathapura named Durlabha Náráyaṇa went to war with another Rájá named Dharma Náráyaṇa, who called himself Gauḍeśvara—the Lord of Gauḍa.‡ When peace was concluded Gauḍeśvara§ sent seven houses of Bráhmans and seven of Súdras (Kayasthas) to Durlabha who settled them on his frontier as lords of the marches and gave them lands and slaves. From the position accorded to them, it seems certain that they must have been persons of position in their own country. The names of the seven Bráhmans were Kṛishṇa Paṇḍita, Raghupati, Rámavara, Lohár, Báyan, Dharma and Mathurá; and of the seven Kayasthas—Hari, Srí Hari, Srípati, Srídhara, Chidánanda, Sadánanda and Chaṇḍivara. The last mentioned, who was the ablest and

\* It is in fact simply the Sanskrit equivalent of the Persian word Zamindár. The title was sold by the last kings of Cachar to any one willing to pay for it. Dr. Wise's essays on the Báro Bhuiyás of Bengal will be found in the J. A. S. B. 1874, p. 197 and 1875, p. 181.

† Cf. also the 12 *misals* of the *Khulisa*.

‡ The whole story is told at length in the *Guru Charitra*.

§ It appears that this title was often claimed, even by petty princes, and in the time of the visit to Paṇḍradeśa of Jayapíḍa, the Rájá of Kásmír (779-813 A. D.) there were no less than six petty princes in the province of Gauḍa or Varendra all of whom claimed the title of Gauḍeśvara. The same state of affairs is said by Tárúnátha to have prevailed in the beginning of the ninth century, immediately before the rise of the Pála princes. (Arch. Sur. of Ind. Vol. XV, p. 111.)

most learned, was chief of the Báro Bhuiyás, and acted as their priest, from which fact he was also known as Devidása.\* A story is told of Chaṇḍivara to the effect that he and the other Bhuiyás† went home to fetch their families, and that on starting to return they were seized by Gaṇdeśvara and cast into prison. Shortly afterwards a paṇḍit from Benares visited the country and defeated all the learned men there in argument. The king confronted him with Chaṇḍivara, who soon overcame him, and he left the country covered with shame at his defeat. This so pleased the king that he at once released Chaṇḍivara and his companions and supplied them with boats in which to return to Kámarúpa. They went and settled at Paimagurí, where Chaṇḍivara earned the gratitude of the peasantry by constructing a bund in Baṅgsi pargana, which the Chaudhri of the place, by name Gandharva Rái, had in vain attempted to make. Subsequently the Bhotiás raided and carried off a number of people including Chaṇḍivara's son Rájadhara. Gandharva Rái fled to the south bank of the Brahmaputra, but Chaṇḍivara with the other Bhuiyás followed up the Bhotiá raiders and rescued their captives.

After Nilámbara had been overthrown by the Musalmáns under Husain Sháh and the latter had in their turn been expelled by the Ahoms, the country appears to have been broken up, as it had often been before, into numerous petty kingdoms, and amongst the rulers of these small principalities were twelve Bhuiyás, but whether these were descendants of the Bhuiyás imported by Deveśvara or not is uncertain.

\* His son Rájadhara was the great grandfather of Saṅkara Deva, the celebrated religious reformer.

† The following list of Bhuiyás is taken from Lakshminárayana's *Purushávali*: Cháru, Ugurí, Kusum, Kália, Lukí, Jhárgáoñ, Kabila, Karpapur, Phulgurí, Bijni, Dighala and Pratáp. Of these Ugurí, Lukí, Jhárgáoñ, Karpapur, Phulgurí, Bijni and perhaps Dighala are names of places, and Cháru, Kusum, Kália, Kabila and Pratáp are the names of rulers whose states are not mentioned. The twelve Bhuiyás were not the only rulers in the country during this period of anarchy. Amongst others, two brothers named Chandana and Madana are mentioned by Buchanan Hamilton as having ruled for eight years at a place called Marálávása about twenty miles north of Kamathapura. In a lecture by Bábu Rám Chandra Ghosh, quoted at page 497 of Hunter's *Statistical Account of Koch Bihár*, it is stated that Chandana and Madana were the children of Hariá Maṇḍal by his wife Jirá. But as will be seen hereafter, there is not sufficient evidence to justify this statement. The same Bábu adds that Chandana became king in 1511 and was succeeded by Viśva Siṃha in 1524, after a reign of thirteen years. Guṇábhírám mentions the kings of the following places as having been subdued by Viśva Siṃha:—Dimuriá, Beltola, Ráni, Lukí, Bogái, Pántan, Boko, Bangáoñ, Moirápur, Bholágáoñ, Chaigáoñ, Barnagar, Darrang, Karáibári, Attiáhari, Kamathabári, and Balarámpur.

## THE KOCH KINGS OF KÁMARÚPA.

In the meantime the Koch chiefs were gradually rising to power.

Bisu and Sisu.

In tracing their history I shall follow generally the account given in the *Purushanāma* or *Vaṃśāvali* of Rájá Lakshmi Náráyaṇa Kuar, but shall collate this with other versions and endeavour, where they differ, to show which is most probably correct.

The account begins with the usual attempt to prove that the ruling tribe was of Kshattriya descent. It says that Sahasra, son of Rájá Haihaya, stole the milch cow of Jamadagni. Paraśurāma, son of the latter, on hearing of the theft, slew Sahasra and restored the cow to his father. In revenge, Sahasra's sons, taking advantage of Paraśurāma's absence, killed Jamadagni and cut off his head. When Paraśurāma returned, he waged a war of extermination against the Kshattriyas and recovered the head of Jamadagni, whom he then restored to life. The remnant of the Kshattriyas, flying before the wrath of Paraśurāma, assumed the guise of Meches and discarded the sacred thread. They multiplied rapidly, and eventually a chief was born whose name was Hidri, and who had twelve children—Pánbar, Phedelá, Aorko Guabar, Fed Fedu, Barihana, Jukuabar, Káthya, Baihágu, Meghá, Goratá, Jogai and Dukharu.\* These sons founded twelve families and from one of these sprang Hariá Maṇḍal. One day, when his wife Hirá was carrying his mid-day meal to him in the fields, she was met by S'iva, who had assumed the form of Hariá Maṇḍal, and in that guise consumed the food intended for her husband and had intercourse with her. There was some misunderstanding between her and her husband in the evening, but matters were soon put right, for S'iva appeared to Hariá in a dream and informed him that it was he who had eaten his food and taken such liberties with his wife, and stated that as a result of his intimacy with her, a son would be born who would rise to be a mighty chief. To complete the story, the legend adds that the lady was none other than an incarnation of Párvatí, who had been made to take the form of a Mecháni as a punishment for causing S'iva's death by a curse. Ten months later, on the 1st day of the Bihu, the promised son was born, amidst universal rejoicings, and was named Bisu, in commemoration of the time of his birth. By his second wife Jirá or Dhirá, Hariá Maṇḍal himself begot a son, whom he named Sísu.

The *Purushanāma* continues, that in his boyhood Biśu was known as the chief of cowherds. When he grew up, he at once began to extend his father's principality by bringing the country ruled by the

\* The occurrence of the number twelve will again be remarked. The *Purushanāma* also speaks of the twelve sons of Sahasra.

Bhuiyás under his power. He defeated the Bhuiyás of Ugurí and Luki\* but was defeated by Cháru Bhuiyá. While wandering about after this defeat, he was met by Párvatí disguised as a Mecháni, and following her advice, he again attacked Cháru Bhuiyá at the time of the Baiśákh Bihuá, when his soldiers had dispersed for the festival, and thus overcame and killed him and the few soldiers that were left with him. Following up this success, he defeated and slew the Bhuiyás of Phulgurí and Bijuí, the former of whom is described as being of the race of S'iva.† He gradually extended his power, and after defeating all the Bhuiyás, went and‡ built a magnificent city in Koch Bihár. He worshipped S'iva and Durgá and gave gifts to the disciples of Vishnu. Other accounts mention that he assumed the Hindú name of Viśva Simha and that his brother S'isú called himself S'iva Simha, while the men of his tribe who accepted Hinduism described themselves as Rájavamaśís. He gave alms to the priests, and astrologers, and also to the poor and to the visitors from distant countries. He made S'isú Yuvarája, and appointed twelve ministers from the twelve chief families of the Meches, viz:—Two councillors (one for foreign and one for internal affairs), a commander of the army, a bráhmaṇ, an astrologer, a physician, a betelnut-bearer, a cook, a store-keeper, an accountant, a thár (prophet) and a porter. He also introduced a regular state organization by appointing *Thakuriás* over 20 coolies, *Saikiás* over 100, and *Hazáris* over 1,000, *Umrás* over 3,000, and *Nawábs* over 66,000. Excluding the old and the young, he took an account of his able-bodied male subjects, and found that the number of persons fit to carry arms amounted to no less than 5,225,000. He is said to have possessed numberless elephants, horses, asses, buffaloes, and camels. It is related that he went to make war on the Ahoms, but fell\* short of provisions on the way, and thinking it wrong to plunder, returned home.§ He was preparing to undertake a second expedition, when Káli appeared to him and told him not to engage in war himself. She told him instead to marry, and prophesied that he would have eighteen sons, who would conquer the whole world. In accordance with the divine mandate, he married in one day eighteen wives according to the Gandharva ceremony. Two of these wives

\* If this account can be relied on, it seems to prove that the Koch Kingdom rose in Kámarúpa and gradually extended itself westwards, instead of beginning in Raṅgpur as is generally stated.

† It may be interesting to note that the use of firearms is referred to in the account of his battles with the Bhuiyás.

‡ Guṇábhiraṃa says that he took from them as tribute muga silk, cotton, copper, tin, lead, silver, gold, iron, potters' clay, &c.,

§ The Ahom version which says that he was defeated and made tributary, is more likely to be the real explanation of his return.

came from Nepál, two from Kámarúpa, one from Kásmíra, four from Benares, three from S'õñitapura (the Modern Tezpur) and two from Mithilá. Ten months later, each of his wives gave birth to a son, the names of whom were Nara Simha, Mallá Deva, who was afterwards known as Nara Náráyaṇa, Sukladhvaja, Gosáññ Kamala, Maidan, Rám Chandra, Súra Simha, Mána Simha, Mechá, Vṛishaketu, Ráma Náráyaṇa, Ananta, Dípa Simha, Honadháṇa, Megha Náráyaṇa, Jagat Chandra, and Súra.

Being undecided as to who should succeed him, Viśva Simha, following the advice of Sadá S'iva, caused 18 different articles (including gold, silver, iron, earth, &c.) to be tied up in bundles, and asked his sons to bring each one a bundle. Nara Simha brought the bundle of gold, and so was appointed to be ruler of a foreign country. Mallá Deva brought the bundle of earth, and was thus selected to succeed his father as king. Sukladhvaja, who brought the bundle of iron, was made Yuvarája, while Gosáññ Kamala, because he brought the bundle of wheat, was declared to have for his inheritance unspotted fame and pure glory, and to be destined to construct roads, monasteries and tanks. Minor appointments were allotted to the other sons, according to the contents of their bundles.

Viśva Simha died, after reigning 25 years, of sores brought on by the curse of a Bráhmaṇ,\* but before his death, he enjoined his ministers never to get brides for his family from foreign races, but only from amongst the Mech, Koch and Kachári tribes. It is said that he was carried up to heaven from Sõñitánagara in a chariot driven by Nandí, who had been sent to earth by S'iva for this purpose.

Guṇábhírám tells a story which is not referred to in this Purushanáma. He says that Viśva Simha re-discovered Kámákhyá. The story runs that he went to Niláchala, where he found only a few houses of Meches. No one was at home except one old woman, who was resting under a fig-tree, where there was a mound which she said contained a deity. Viśva Simha prayed that his followers might be caused to arrive, and his prayer was at once granted. He therefore sacrificed a pig and a cock, and resolved, when the country became quiet, to build a golden temple there. He ascertained that the hill was the site of the old temple of Kámákhyá, the ruins of which he discovered, while the image of the goddess herself was dug up from under the mound. Sub-

\* He had asked the Bráhmaṇ why people worship the big toe of a Bráhmaṇ, and on being told in reply that it was because it contained white blood, which is the blood of Brahmá, he had his toe pierced through with a chisel. No white blood was seen, but red blood flowed and could not be stopped, and so the Bráhmaṇ died saying, "As you have caused me this pain, so you also shall die of sores."

sequently he re-built the temple, but instead of making it of gold, he placed a gold coin between each brick. He brought Bráhmaṇs from Kannauj, Mithilá, Benares, &c., to perform religious ceremonies at this and other temples. Guṇábhírám adds that in Viśva Síṃha's time Raṅgaluḡarḡ was the eastern boundary of Koch Biḡár.

Taking advantage of the absence of Mallá Deva and Sukladhvaja, who had been sent to Benares to study under a hermit of the name of Brahmánanda, Nara Síṃha seized the throne. News of this occurrence was sent to Mallá Deva by his nurse, and he at once returned with Sukladhvaja and defeated Nara Síṃha, who fled to the Moḡang country. Mallá Deva and Sukladhvaja defeated the Morang king, and Nara Síṃha fled to Nepál, but the king of Nepál was similarly defeated, and he then took refuge in Kaśmíra. Being unable to cross the passes Mallá Deva gave up the pursuit and returned to his own country. The *Vaiśávali* says that Nara Síṃha subsequently became ruler of Bhotán, and that Pallavas, or local rulers were appointed by him. Their names were Dagar, whose jurisdiction lay in the east; Tongsár in the south; and Páro in the west. Three Jongpons are also mentioned as rulers over Tasirjim, Púrṇakhátá and Undiphérá, respectively, and reference is also made to the "great dewan of Dunerkál," the 'lord of correspondence.'

Returning to Mallá Deva and Sukladhvaja, it is stated that on their return Mallá Deva became king and assumed the name of Nara Náráyana. He made Sukladhvaja his Ynvarája, under the name of Sílarái, the king of the kites. He at once began to turn his attention to the extension of his kingdom, and first of all, he determined to carry out the decision formed by his father to conquer the Ahoms. Bearing in mind the cause of his father's failure, he first of all arranged for the construction of a road as far as a place called Parasu Kuthar, and this task was entrusted to Gosáin Kamala. The latter set to work with vigour, and at the end of a year had completed the road, and had also constructed tanks at regular intervals along it.\* Nara Náráyana then called in Hindú paṇḡits and astrologers, and, after following the usual Hindú observances, prepared to start. But before doing so, he organized a Kachári dance on the banks of the Sankosh, and calling in the aid of a Shamanist, went through the aboriginal rites of his tribe, this leaning to his old tribal superstitions being justified in the *Vaiśávali* by the statement that Siva himself had directed him to observe them. He then started. One night he halted at Tamtumani, where twelve tribes brought him pre-

\* The remains of this road are still visible from North Lakhimpur; the portion which runs through North Kámrúp and the Mangaldai subdivision is still known as the Gosáin Kamala Ali.

sents, in consequence of which the place was called Báraḍala. On another occasion he stopped at Bhramarakuṇḍa where he built a fort and a monastery on a hill called Nil Khámár, a family of Kacháris being appointed to attend on Triśúladeví, the goddess of the place. It is said that he fixed the Gosáñ Kamala Ali as the boundary north of which the Kachári, Koch and Mech aboriginal forms of worship should be practised, while south of it Híndú observances were to be followed. Further on he halted at Siṅgiri Parbat, and after that on the Bharali.

In the meantime, the Ahom king who had heard of the invasion, summoned a meeting of his councillors, and with their advice, caused an iron goat to be made. This goat he sent to Nara Náráyaṇa, saying that if he could sever its head from its body at one stroke he should have his kingdom, but not otherwise. Nara Náráyaṇa offered two goats to Káli, and then taking a sharp sword struck off the head of the iron goat with such force that the sword buried itself in the earth. On hearing of this, the Ahom king was filled with fear, and fled to Charái Kharang.\* Nara Náráyaṇa then entered Gaṛhgáoñ.† Finding that the Ahom king was not disposed to fight, Nara Náráyaṇa, after halting for a year at Gaṛhgáoñ sent word to him saying that if he wished to fight he should come prepared, and that if he did not come, and at the same time did not surrender, he would go and attack him at Charái Kharang. On receiving this message, the Ahom king agreed to acknowledge himself a feudatory of Nara Náráyaṇa, and sent as hostages a prince named Sundara and twenty families of the Ghar-mátha clan, together with one pot of gold and another of silver, 60 elephants and 60 pieces of cloth.‡

After that the Koch king left Gaṛhgáoñ and proceeded first to Maraṅg and thence to Demera.

\* According to other accounts, including that in Gunábhírám's *Asám Buranjí*, the Ahom king is said to have for a time averted defeat by sending forward an army of S'údras mounted on cows. A similar stratagem is referred to in the *Rájamáld* or *Chronicles of the kings of Tippera*.

† The *Purushandána* states that this was formerly the capital of the Chutiya Rájá. The Ahoms were unable to conquer this king and so made peace with him. Their ruler married his daughter, and through her discovered that her father's supremacy was due to the possession of a golden cat. He made his wife steal this for him, and when he had got it, he attacked and killed the Chutiya Rájá, whose sons fled for refuge to the Miri and Miching country.

‡ Sundara and his comrades were subsequently released owing to Sundara having succeeded in worsting Nara Náráyaṇa in a gambling contest. The Ahom chronicles add that when they returned to their own country, they took back goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and other artizans with them. (Gunábhírám's *Asám Buranjí* pp. 68 and 117.)

Subsequently he deputed Silarái to go and conquer Harmesvara, the king of Hidamba or Cachar. It is related that Silarái broke open the gate of the capital with two strokes of his riding whip.\* Seeing this, Harmesvara feared to offer resistance and at once made his submission. He gave 84 elephants and other presents and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 70,000 silver and 1,000 gold mohars and 60 elephants.† The Koch king then sent messengers to the Rájá of Manipur, calling on him to submit and pay tribute, and the Rájá feeling himself too weak to resist so powerful a prince, at once complied with his requisition. His tribute is said to have been fixed at Rupees 20,000, 300 gold coins and ten good elephants. After this Silarái gave battle to the king of Jaintiá and slew him with his own hand. Nara Náráyana set up the deceased Rájá's son as king, after making him promise to pay an annual tribute, and then despatched Silarái to wage war against the king of Tippera. It is said that Silarái's army consisted of 40,000 men, and that in the battle which took place, no fewer than 18,000 men of the Tippera army were slain. The king is said to have met his death, like the king of Jaintiá, at the hands of Silarái himself. Nara Náráyana placed the deceased king's brother upon the vacant throne, and made him pay tribute to the extent of Rs. 10,000, one hundred gold mohars and thirty war horses. In the meantime, Viryavanta the Rájá of Khairam, having heard of Nara Náráyana's prowess and wishing to avoid the fate which had overtaken the kings of Jaintiá and Tippera, hastened to make submission. His tribute was fixed at 15,000 Rupees, 900 gold coins, 50 horses and 30 elephants. He was also made to promise not to stamp coins in his own name, but in that of Nara Náráyana.‡ The next victory was over the Rájá of Dimuriá who was taken prisoner, but was subsequently released on his undertaking to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 7,000. In the course of this expedition, Nara Náráyana is said to have straightened the course of the Brahmaputra opposite Páñdnátha, a place near the foot of the Niláchal hill, some four miles west of Gauháti. After stopping some time at a village

\* Other similar feats are attributed to Silarái. On one occasion he is said to have leapt over the Bharali river on the back of his war horse.

† This story of the invasion of Cachar by Nara Náráyana is confirmed by a tradition current amongst the Deháns, a small tribe of that district, who claim to be descended from the Koches who invaded the district. According to their account, however, the leader of the expedition was not Silarái, but his brother Gosáñi Kamala.

‡ No coins of this king have as yet been found, and the earliest coin of the Rájás of Jaintiá which I have seen is dated more than a hundred years later. Excluding Ahom coins, the only extant coins of this period stamped by kings in Assam are those issued by Nara Náráyana and his successors.

named Rohá, Nara Náráyana determined to attack the king of Siratha (Sylhet), whose kingdom is described as being near Jaintiá, and who is said to have been a very powerful prince. Messengers were sent calling upon him to submit, but this he refused to do, and Silarái was accordingly despatched with a strong force to overcome him. He met the army of the Sylhet king, and a battle took place which lasted three days. At the end of this time as the scales of victory still hung in the balance, Silarái became impatient, and so seizing his sword and shield, he rushed forward like the kite, from which he took his name, and attacked the hostile army. It is related that 100,000 soldiers fell before his all-destroying sword, and that at last the king of Sylhet himself was slain. The king's brother Asirái then tendered his submission and returned with Silarái to the court of Nara Náráyana, who appointed him king in the place of his brother and fixed his tribute at 100 elephants, 200 horses, 300,000 Rupees and 10,000 gold coins.\*

Being thus victorious in three directions, Nara Náráyana determined to invade the kingdom of Gauṛ (Gauḍa). Before doing so, he visited the temple of Kámákhyá, which he found in ruins. He intended to rebuild it, but being possessed by Śani (or the planet Saturn) he postponed this pious act until after his proposed expedition. This incensed the goddess against him, and his army, which was led by Silarái, was defeated by the Pasha of Gauṛ, after a fight which lasted for ten days. Silarái himself performed prodigies of valour, and after his weapons had been broken he disdained to fly, and so continued to fight with rushes until they also were exhausted, and he was taken prisoner. Subsequently, through the favour of Káli, he succeeded in curing the Pasha's mother, who had been bitten by a snake which had been sent into her presence by Silarái in the form of a rope. In return for this cure, Silarái was released, and the Ganges was fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms.

On his return home, he and his brother at once set about the erection of the Kámákhyá temple.† Twice they erected a temple of stone, and each time it fell in a night. Then Párvatí appeared in a dream and

\* Sylhet was conquered by the Musalmáns in 1384 A. D., but may have been temporarily independent at the period here referred to, which was a troublous one in Bengal. Or it may be that the king of Sylhet here referred to was the ruler of Láur, who long continued to maintain his independence of the Musalmán invaders.

† An inscription within the temple records its erection by Silarái during the reign of his brother Nara Náráyana. This inscription which bears date 1487 S'ak (1565 A. D.) will be referred to again further on. Other accounts say that the temple took ten years to build. (Gunábhírám's *Asám Buranji* page 68.)

said that the Musalmáns had destroyed the old stone temple, and as it was now the Kali Yuga, the new one should be constructed of bricks. The brick temple, was constructed in six months, and then Nara Náráyaṇa consecrated it with numerous sacrifices, including 140 men, whose heads he offered to the goddess on copper plates.\* He made a grant of land for the maintenance of the shrine, and gave away alms to the extent of Rs. 25,000. He also caused a statue of himself to be made and placed within the temple.† At this time he caused roads, monasteries and tanks to be constructed, and trees to be planted. Under his auspices the Sástras were published and the Ratnamálá was composed, and even the common people were made to study religious books. Sákṭism was the State religion, but Vaishṇavism was more than tolerated, and great honour was done to Saṅkara Deva, Deva Dámódara, and other Vaishṇava divines. The country enjoyed a period of peace and religion, and trade thrived exceedingly.

Two years later, the Gauṛ Pasha's mother died, and Nara Náráyaṇa then combined with Akbar to attack him. Silarái invaded his kingdom with an army from the east, while Rájá Mán Siágh, who was in command of the Imperial army, advanced upon him from the west.

The ruler of Gauṛ being thus attacked from two sides at the same time was easily defeated, and his kingdom was then divided between the Koch king and the Emperor of Delhi. The Pasha himself fled to the country of the Feringhis.

While engaged on this expedition, news came from the capital that a son had been born to Silarái.‡ The latter, however, was destined never to see him. He was attacked by small-pox and died on the banks of the Ganges, after enjoining his brother Nara Náráyaṇa to take care of his boy. Nara Náráyaṇa performed the funeral ceremonies with great pomp, and at the conclusion sacrificed a bull.

After Silarái's death, a long period of peace ensued, during which the people enjoyed great prosperity, while Nara Náráyaṇa gave such encouragement to religion that he became known as "the pious king."

\* The offering of human sacrifices was by no means uncommon among the Sákṭas of former times. Similar sacrifices were frequently offered at Sadiyá, and at Beltola in Kámrúp, and it was the abduction of four British subjects for this purpose which led to the annexation of Jaintiá in 1835.

† Two statues, said to represent Nara Náráyaṇa and Silarái, are still to be seen within the temple. An older figure carved in the rock on the road leading up to it is said to represent Naraka, the first-recorded guardian of the shrine.

‡ It is related that in honour of this event grants of Brahmottar land were made in the village of Chinakoná (in the Maṅgaldái sub-division.) This grant still exists.

In the meantime Silarái's son, whose name was Raghu Rái, was growing up. He was a great favourite with the king, and when he attained the age of 16, two girls were given to him as wives. It is added that subsequently the number of his wives reached 120.

Shortly after Raghu Rái's marriage, Nara Náráyana himself was at last blessed with a son, to whom he gave the name of Lakshmi Náráyana.\* Up to this time, Raghu Rái had lived in hopes of succeeding his uncle; but hearing that he was now likely to be passed over in favour of the latter's own son, he left the capital with a small following, and settled down at Baṛanagara, or Vijayanagar, where he excavated a tank and built a town called Ghilajaipur. Nara Náráyana sent a messenger, named Para Kárji, to recall him; but he refused to return, and when Kárji invested the place in order to seize him, he fought with, and defeated him. On hearing of this, it is related that Nara Náráyana professed to be pleased at his nephew's prowess, and as an acknowledgment thereof, sent him his wives, together with a large amount of money and jewels from the royal treasure-chest. A few months later, a heavy flood occurred, and taking advantage of it, Raghu made an expedition in boats and raided Bair Baku. When Nara Náráyana heard of this, he went with an army to chastise him, but was prevented from attacking him by Raghu sending his 120 wives to attack Nara Náráyana's army. When the latter heard of this, he determined not to fight and so came to terms.

The kingdom was divided into two parts, and it was settled that Raghu should rule the country east of the Sankosh and that Lakshmi should succeed his father as Rájá of the country west of that river. Raghu continued to reside at Baṛanagara. He visited five places of pilgrimage,—Gaṇeśa, Kedára, Gokarṇa, Garṇa, and Kámesvara; and rebuilt the Maṇikúṭa Temple, which had been broken by the Musalmáns.† He endowed it with grants of land, and when it was finished, he sacrificed at the shrine 700 men, whose heads he offered to the goddess in copper plates. He had a large number of sons, including Paríkshit, Indra Náráyana, Jádurái, Bali Náráyana, and Mána Simha. He is said to have been devoted to religion and to have made liberal gifts to Brahmáns. It is related that he buried 30,00,000 Rs. under the staircase of his palace. In the end he was killed by a demon (*daitya*) sent by an ascetic whose company he had exhorted his son Paríkshit to eschew.

\* It is said that Nara Náráyana married Kamala-priyá, the daughter of Saṅkara Deva's brother Rám Rái. According to other accounts, however, it was Silarái who married her.

† This is the Hayagríva Temple at Hájo, which stands on the hill called Maṇi. An inscription in the temple, dated 1583 A. D., mentions Raghu Deva as the king under whose orders it was re-built.

Paríkshít, on the death of his father, went to Prágjyotishapura and worshipped three times at Kámákyá. An astronomer attached to the temple foretold that unless he became king within two days, he would not get the kingdom for twelve years, and he accordingly set sail and proceeded with all haste to Baṛanagara, where he was hailed as king. It is said that his boatmen were so exhausted by their exertions that on arriving they all lay as if dead, and were only brought back to life by the tender ministrations of 140 girls (sent for the purpose by Paríkshít) who anointed their bodies with oil and acid fruits, and then passed the night with them. Next morning, says the *Vamśávali* each boatman was married to the girl with whom he had slept. Paríkshít is said to have built a town where North Gauháṭi now stands, and to have mounted cannon at Paṇḍunátha, which were still in position at the time when the *Vamśávali* was composed. Subsequently war broke out between Paríkshít and Lakshmi Náráyana, and the latter being worsted, went to Delhi, and giving his sister to the Emperor in marriage, implored him to send an army to his assistance.

In accordance with his request, Paraṇsubha and Mukarram Khán were sent against Paríkshít. Paríkshít was defeated and then entrenched himself in a fort which he built on the banks of the Sankosh, which the Musalmáns besieged for a year without success. They then resorted to stratagem, and by floating rafts of plantain trees down the river by night, made Paríkshít believe that they had crossed it and were marching on his capital. Under this impression, he abandoned his intrenchments and hurried back to Vijayanagara.

In the meantime his brother Bali Náráyana, after taking refuge for a year with a Bára Bhuiyá family residing at Maniári villáge in Dar-rang, went to the Ahom king, Svarga Náráyana, and invoked his aid against the Musalmáns. The latter took the field with a large army, and defeated the Musalmáns, who fled across the Karatoyá. Svarga Náráyana then placed Bali Náráyana, whom he re-named Dharma Náráyana, in charge of the conquered country, the boundaries being on the east the Bharali, on the west the Karatoyá, on the north the Gomiri mountains, and on the south the hills of Siri.

#### COMPARISON OF THE VAMŚÁVALI WITH OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

Thus far the *Vamśávali* of Rájá Lakshmi Náráyana Kuar. I now refer briefly to other accounts of the events

The rise of the Koch with which it deals.\* And first of all, as to the parentage of Bisu and Sisu.

\* Minor points in which other accounts corroborate it, have been noted *passim* in the abstract of the *Vamśávali* given above.

Rájá Prasiddha Náráyaṇa's *Vaṁśávali* agrees with it in all particulars, and the account given by Guṇábhírám in his *Ásám Buranjí* is also practically the same. In the latter, however, Hájo is mentioned as the father of Hírá and Jírá; it does not appear from his account that either of them had a husband, and Siva is said to have been the father of Sisu as well as of Bísu. Buchanan Hamilton says that Hájo Koch had two daughters, Hírá and Jírá, of whom the former was married to Hariyá Mech. She had a son, Bísu, while her sister (whose husband is not mentioned) had a son, Sisu. He adds that Siva was claimed as the progenitor of both Bísu and Sisu. The Raikat family of Baikunṭhpur claim to be descended from Sisu, and over that he was the brother and not the cousin of Bísu. Another account says that Chandan and Madan were the children of Hariyá Mech by his wife Jírá and that Sísu and Bísu were born of his wife Hírá by the god Siva.\*

From these accounts we may, I think, conclude that Sísu and Bísu were the children of Hariyá Mech by his wives Hírá and Jírá, and that the latter were daughters of Hájo, who was of the Koch tribe, a fact which is proved not only by the authorities mentioned above, but also by the fact that the existing representatives of the family still describe themselves as "Koch," and by the Musalmán names for the country, Koch Bihár and Koch Hájo. Ralph Filch also refers to Sukladhvaja as Shukl Koch. There is not sufficient evidence for assuming that Chandan and Madan belonged to this family.

There is less unanimity regarding the kings by whom the Koch kingdom was consolidated and extended and the period at which it was divided into two parts.

The division of the country into two kingdoms.

According to Buchanan Hamilton†, it was Hájo who founded the kingdom, and Viśva Simha who divided it into two parts, giving the position east of the Sankosh to Sukladhvaja and the position west of that river to Nara Náráyaṇa. The same version is given in the family history of the Rájás of Bijni. Other authorities however, agree with Rájá Lakshmí Náráyaṇa's *Vaṁśávali*. Bábú Rám Chandra Ghosh, to whose lecture reference has already been made, says that Nara Náráyaṇa "with the assistance and advice of his younger brother Sukladhvaja, "otherwise called Silarái, "extended his kingdom in all directions. He "conquered the whole of Kámarúpa and carried off in triumph the "*chhattra* or umbrella of the king of Assam. The king gave to his elder

\* Lecture delivered by Bábú Rám Chandra Ghosh before the Koch Bihár Hitaisinhí Sabhá, and printed in Calcutta at the expense of the Ráj in 1865.

† Hunter's Statistical Account of Raṅgpur, page 351.

“brother, Nara Simha, the pargana of Paugá; and to his younger brother “Sukladhvaja, together with the title of Rájá, he gave Bijni, Darrang, “Bentalí (*sic*, Beltola?) and the northern part of the Kámákhya “kshetra.”

In Biśveśvar's *Asám Buranji*, the agreement is still greater. He says: “Rájá Nara Náráyaṇa, having no male issue, determined to appoint “his nephew Raghu Deva as his successor. When old, he had a son, and “Raghu Deva became hopeless. The latter therefore, quitted one day the “palace, under the pretext of going a hunting, but the Rájá, in order “to console him, allotted to him a portion of the Ráj.”

The account given by Guṇábhiraṃ on pages 59–71 of his *Asám Buranji* also confirms that contained in the *Vaṃśávali*, and so does the allusion to the conquest of Garhgáoñ in the Ahom chronicles, and also the Musalmán version of the events dealt with in the *Vaṃśávali* as described in the *Akbarnámah*, except that in the latter, Raghu's rebellion is said to have taken place on the death of Nara Náráyaṇa, and not during his life time.\*

In addition, we have contemporaneous evidence in the shape of two inscriptions, one of which is inside the Kámákhya temple and the other in the temple of Hayagríva at Hájo. The former runs as follows:

“Glory be to king Malládeva, who by virtue of his mercys is kind to the people; “who in archery is like Arjuna, and in charity like Dadhíchi and Karṇa; he is “like an ocean of all goodness, and he is versed in many śástras; his character is “excellent, in beauty he is as bright as Kandarpa; he is a worshipper of Kámá- “khyá. His younger brother Sukládeva built this temple of bright stones on the “Níla hillock, for the worship of the goddess Durgá, in 1487 Saka (1565 A. D.). “His beloved brother Sukladhvaja again, with universal fame, the crown of the “greatest heroes, who like the fabulous Kalpataru, gave all that was devoutly asked “of him, the chief of all devotees of the goddess, constructed this beautiful “temple with heaps of stones on the Níla hill in 1487 Saka.”

Amongst the stone figures in the interior of this temple are two which are said to represent Malládeva and his brother Sukladhvaja.

The inscription inside the temple of Hayagríva may be translated thus:—

“There was a ruler of the earth named Viśva Simha; his illustrious son, the “most wise king Malládeva, was a conqueror of all enemies. In gravity and “liberality and for heroism he had a great reputation, and he was purified by “religious deeds. After him was born his brother Sukladhvaja who subdued

\* It may be explained here that Muhammadan historians refer to the countries ruled by Parikshit and Lakhshmi Náráyaṇa as Koch Hájo and Koch Bihár respectively. Nara Náráyaṇa was known to the Musalmáns as Báli Gosaiñ, and Sukladhvaja as Shukl Gosaiñ.

“many countries. The son of this Sukladhvaja was king Raghudeva, who was like the greatest man of the Raghu race: his glories spread out in all directions; the lord of Kámarúpa, in obedience to the order of destiny, is the slayer of the wicked, who was like water to the flames of the fire of sorrow of the vast populace. Of the seeds of Sukladhvaja, a king was born of the name of Raghudeva, who consoles innumerable persons, and is a worshipper of the feet of Krishna; the king coming of age had a temple built on the hillock called Mani hillock, in 1505 Saka (1583 A. D.) The most skilful and efficient artisan Sridhara himself built it.”

Apart from the authorities quoted in favour of the version given in the *Vaṃśávali*, it seems probable that that version is correct; first, because it is far more detailed than any other, and secondly, because it is the version given by the descendants of Silarái who would not have been likely to represent him as a subject of Nara Náráyaṇa if he had really been an independent prince. We may, therefore, accept the story as told in the *Vaṃśávali* as substantially correct.

The only alternative to accepting the version given in the *Vaṃśávali* is by supposing Silarái to have outlived his brother and to have rebelled when Lakshmi Náráyaṇa succeeded him. This is the version given in the Akbarnámah (J. A. S. B. 1872, page 53), and if correct would simplify the meaning of the inscription in the temple at Hájo. The account given in the *Vaṃśávali* is however, so circumstantial that, in the absence of further evidence, it seems impossible to gainsay it.

#### MUSALMÁN INVASIONS DURING THE PERIOD DEALT WITH IN THE VAṂŚÁVALI.

The *Vaṃśávali* says very little about the relations of the Koch kings with the Mualmáns, and it will therefore be useful to supplement it in this respect by accounts drawn from other sources.

And first should be mentioned the invasion of Kálá Páhár, otherwise known as Rájú, which took place in Kala Pahar's invasion. 1553 A. D. It is said that Nara Náráyaṇa was afraid to fight him, and allowed him to pass up the Brahmaputra unmolested. He was a convert from Hinduism, and like all apostates, was a zealous persecutor of the faith which he had before professed, so that his name is remembered to this day, both in Assam and Orissa, as the arch destroyer of temples and images. To him is attributed the destruction of the old temples at Kámákhyá and Hájo, but beyond these acts of sacrilege, he appears to have left no mark in the country. His invasion is not referred to in the *Vaṃśávali*, except incidentally in the statement that Nara Náráyaṇa rebuilt Kámákhyá “which the wicked Musalmáns had destroyed.\*”

\* I have not referred in the text to the narrative of Ralph Fitch who visited Koch Bihár between 1563 and 1581, and states that the king then ruling was

Another incident not mentioned in the *Vamś-ávali* is that related in the following extract from the *Akbarnámah* :\*—

“To the events of this time (1578 A. D.) belongs the arrival of the *Peshkash* from Bengal and Koch Bihár. Raja Bál Gosaiñ (Nara Náráyana) who is Zamindár of Koch, submitted again, and sent valuable presents from Bengal, with 54 elephants.”

On the other hand, the Musalmán historians of the period make no mention of the assistance said to have been rendered by Nara Náráyana in the subjugation of Dáúd Sháh.

The *Akbarnámah* tells us that when hostilities broke out between Lakshmi Náráyana and the ruler of the eastern Koch kingdom, the former made his submission to the Emperor and met Rájá Mán Singh at Anandapur. It is added that he gave his daughter in marriage to the latter, and not to the Emperor as stated in the *Vamśávali*.

In the *Túzuk i Jahángíri* it is stated that, in 1618 A. D., Lakshmi Náráyana paid his respects personally at court in Gujrát and presented a *nazzar* of 500 mohars.

The invasion of Paríkshít's kingdom however, is attributed, not to the initiation of Lakshmi Náráyana, but to a complaint made by Raghunátha, the Zamindár of Sosing, whose family Paríkshít had imprisoned.

The *Pádisháhnámah* contains a full account of the invasion which followed. The following abridgment is taken from the translation given by Blochmann in the *J. A. S. B.* for 1872 (pages 53–52). Mukarram Khán invaded Koch Hajo with 6,000 horse, 12,000 foot and 500 ships, and took Paríkshít's fort at Dhubrí, at which place he halted

named Suckel Conse (Sukl Koch or Sukladhvaja), because the part of the kingdom which he visited was west of the Sankosh (cf. Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, page 240), and this part has never been claimed as having at any time belonged to S'ukladhvaja or his descendants. It is clear, therefore, that there must be some mistake, and as Sukladhvaja was a far more prominent man than his elder brother, the real king, it is not unlikely that Ralph Fitch thought that he was the ruler *de jure* as well *de facto*. Or it may be, that Ralph Fitch's visit took place during the year for which, according to Guvábhírám, Nara Náráyana left his kingdom in charge of Silarái and wandered about in disguise, in order to avoid the disaster which it was supposed would ensue from the influence of the planet Saturn, under which the astrologers asserted that he had had the misfortune to come. The story of his temporary abdication is not improbable, as the *Gajaks* have always exercised almost unlimited power over credulous converts to Hinduism, and we have an exact parallel in *Ahom* history in the case of the king Siva Síñha, who abdicated in 1720 A. D. in favour of his wife Phúlésvarí, in consequence of an adverse prediction by the astrologers attached to his court.

\* Lucknow edition, III, page 207.

during the rains. Paríkshít was defeated in a naval engagement in the Gajádhar river and retreated, first to Khelah and afterwards to Budhnagar on the Manás, where he at last surrendered, and by the Emperor Jahángír's orders, was sent to Court. His brother Bali Náráyana, or Baldeo, as he is called by the Musalmán historian, fled to the Ahom king.

The Musalmáns proceeded, under Sayyad Hákím and Sayyad Abá Baqr, to invade the country of the Ahoms, but were destroyed in a night attack. A fuller account of this invasion is contained in the Ahom chronicles, where it is stated that the Musalmáns proceeded as far as Bishnunáth. They were at first victorious and took many captives, but were subsequently defeated by the Ahoms, who had called in the aid of the Kacháris of Kháspur. The cause of the invasion is said to have been the murder by the Ahom garrison, at Koliabar, of a Muhammadan trader who was suspected of being a spy. It is stated that Abá Baqr (who is called Bábákar in the Ahom *Buranji*) and his son Ghíyásu'd-dín were slain in the battle, and that the body of the latter was taken back to Hájo and buried there.\*

The *Pádisháhnámah* continues that Bali Náráyana† then persuaded

\* Guṇábhírám says that this invasion is described in the *Guru Bhatina*, a collection of hymns written shortly after the time of the occurrence by Sañkar Deva and his disciple and successor, Mádhava. I have not been able to procure a complete collection of these hymns, but in a selection of them published by Haribilás Gupta, the only Musalmán invasion referred to (page 79) is one in which the ruler of Gauṛ is said to have been utterly defeated by Nara Náráyana. In this account, the destruction of images is not mentioned, and it is possible that some other invasion is referred to.

† The Ahoms called him Dharma Náráyana. In Ahom histories it is said that Bali Narayan or Raghu Deva (accounts differ) gave the daughter of the latter—Mañgaldái by name—to Pratápa, Símhá in marriage. Mañgaldái town and river are said to be named after this princess.

Ghíyásu'd-dín is said to have been a very pious and learned man, and the sanctity attaching to his tomb was consequently so great, that it became a very sacred place in the eyes of the Musalmáns, and was accordingly known as Powa Mekka. The origin of this name is differently accounted for by a writer in the *Calcutta Review* of 1867. He says that after the death of Husain Shah's son, Dányál. Sultán Ghíyásu'd-dín succeeded him, and brought a colony of Musalmáns to Hájo, and made large assignments of lands for religious purposes. He resolved to build a grand mosque at Hájo, and brought earth from Mekka to give additional sanctity to the place. He died however before completing the mosque, and was buried under the holy earth. It is not known from what source this writer derived his information, but it seems on the face of it more probable than the other story, as it is hard to believe that a vanquished army would carry a corpse so great a distance as from Bishnunáth to Hájo. On the other hand, it is unlikely that Musalmáns re-

the Ahoms to invade Hájo, and the latter agreed and sent him thither with an army. He retook Darrang, and reinforcing his army by some discontented Musalmán Jágirdárs of Hájo, seized also pergunas Luki and Bháomanti, and finally attacked 'Abdu's-salám, the Musalmán Governor of the country.

It is not stated how long these events took, but it would appear from other sources of information, that a considerable time must have elapsed between the retaking of Darrang and the attack on 'Abdu's-salám which led, as will be noted further on, to the defeat and death of Bali Náráyana.

The defeat of Paríkshit is stated to have taken place in 1614 A. D. and the final overthrow of Bali Náráyana in 1637. The Ahom chronicles place the defeat of Abá Baqr in 1549 Sak or 1627 A. D. and state that his army was pursued and the Ahom rule extended as far as Gauháti, and that Bali was set up as a tributary of the Ahoms in Darrang and Gaja Náráyana, brother of the latter, at Beltolá. Subsequently, it is stated, Pratápa Simha became lord paramount of the Rájás of Ráni, Luki, Mairápur, and other places. \*These events must have taken time to bring about, and it may therefore, I think, be assumed that Bali became ruler in Darrang at least, if not also in part of Kámrúp, immediately after Abá Baqr's defeat in 1672, so that he ruled there for ten years before his final conflict with the Musalmáns.\*

On being attacked by Bali, 'Abdu's-salám reported matters to Islám Khán, Governór of Bengal. Reinforcements were at once sent to him, but owing to the treachery of Sattrajit, the Thánádár of Páñdu, the dispositions of the Musalmáns were not as effective as they might otherwise have been. In several engagements in the neighbourhood of Páñdú, however, success remained with the Muhammadan army.

Subsequently, as 'Abdu's-salám was moving his fleet from Sríghát towards Hájo, he was attacked at night by the Ahom fleet which numbered 500 ships. Sattrajit took the first opportunity to retire with his fleet, and the Musalmáns were beaten. Bali Náráyana followed up this success by laying siege to Hájo, and after cutting off his supplies, forced 'Abdu's-salám to treat. The latter went with his brother to the hostile camp, where he was at once seized and sent off to Garhgáoñ.

remained at Hájo after prince Dányál's defeat, as Visva Simha was then rapidly rising to power. Besides, the *Fathiyah* i *'Ibriyah* says that the whole of that prince's army was killed or captured. (J. A. S. B. 1872, page 79.)

\* In Gupábhírám's *Asám Buranjí* it is said that Bali Náráyana fixed his capital at Mañgaldái in Darrang, and ruled well.

The Musalmáns then tried to force their way through the enemy, but were all cut up in the attempt.

In the meantime, Parikshit's son Chandra Náráyana, who had established himself with 6,000 or 7,000 Ahoms and Koches at Karaibári, was attacked by the troops left at Sríghát and forced to retreat to pargana Solmári. He was killed shortly afterwards. The Musalmáns then marched to Dhubrí where they found and arrested Sattrajit, who was subsequently executed for his treachery, and thence proceeded to Jogighopá, at which place as well as at Hírápúr on the opposite bank of the Brahmaputra, Bali Náráyana had erected strong fortifications, his fleet being anchored between the two forts. They were harassed on their way by the enemy's troops, but drove them off, and after several assaults, they forced Bali Náráyana to retreat, and followed him across the Manás river. He retreated to Budhnagar where he threw up a strong entrenchment, but withdrew to Chothri on hearing that Muhammad Zamán was marching against him with a strong detachment, under the guidance of Uttama Náráyana, the son of Sardárbar, Zamindár of Budhnagar, who was well acquainted with the country.

This detachment halted at Bishunpur for the rains, but was shortly afterwards attacked by Bali Náráyana, who had received reinforcements which brought the strength of his army up to 40,000 men. He threw up fortifications at the Kalápáni river, about three miles from Bishunpur, behind which he encamped on a well-selected site, protected by rising ground, a river difficult to cross, and dense jungle. From this vantage ground he harassed the Musalmáns by repeated night attacks.

At the close of the rains, in spite of Bali Náráyana's efforts to prevent it, a junction was effected between the detachment at Bishunpur and the main body of the Musalmán army, which had spent the rains at Chandankot. Having united their forces they attacked and defeated Bali Náráyana, who fled to Darrang. A son of the Ahom king was taken prisoner in this battle and was put to death together with all the other prisoners. The Ahom forts at Páñdu and Sríghát were then taken together with 500 war sloops and 300 guns, and Koch Hájo again became a Musalmán\* province. Fort Kajlí (at the junction of the Kallang and the Brahmaputra) was also taken, and a detachment was sent to Darrang to hunt down Bali Náráyana who fled to Siúgiri, where he and his two sons shortly afterwards died. Gaubáti was selected as the seat of Government of the Musalmán proconsul, and a financial settlement of the country was effected.

As already stated, the final overthrow of Bali Náráyana is said to have taken place in 1637 A. D. Strange to say no mention of this struggle is made in any local history.

DATES OF THE KINGS MENTIONED IN THE *VAMŚÁVALI*.

Rájá Lakshmi Náráyaṇa's *Vamśávali* mentions only one date—that of the erection of the Kámákhyá temple, and it is not very easy to fix the exact dates of the kings to whom it refers. Some dates are given in the *Vamśávali* of Prasiddha Náráyaṇa, in Guṇábhírám's *Asám Buranji*, in Buchanan Hamilton's account of Raṭṭpur and elsewhere,\* but these authorities often differ amongst themselves, and it is therefore necessary to examine the matter in some detail.

It will perhaps be easiest to arrive at the truth by dealing in the first instance with the dates of Rájá Nara Náráyaṇa. Three different dates are assigned for the time when he ascended the throne in succession to his father Viśva Síṃha, viz., 1528 A. D. by Guṇábhírám, 1534 in Prasiddha Náráyaṇa's *Vamśávali*, and 1555 by Bábú Rám Chandra Ghosh.

His death is said to have occurred in 1584 A. D., and Prasiddha Náráyaṇa's *Vamśávali* and Guṇábhírám's *Asám Buranji* agree in fixing 1581 as the date of Raghu's accession to power in the eastern part of the old Koch kingdom, while the inscription in the Hayagríva temple at Hájo, which was built during his reign and bears date 1583 A. D., helps to confirm this as the date of the division of the kingdom.

It is recorded in the *Akbarnámah* that Lakshmi Náráyaṇa who had then succeeded his father, made his submission to the Delhi Emperor and paid his respects to Raja Mán Síṅh in 1596 A. D. On the other hand, the Musalmán historians refer to Nara Náráyaṇa as still reigning in 1578.† It is thus certain that Nara Náráyaṇa died between 1573 and 1596 A. D. and we may therefore, I think, confidently accept 1584 as the approximate date of his death.‡

\* I do not refer to the dates given in the manuscript copy of the Yogini Tantra in the possession of a Bráhmaṇ of Hauli Mohanpur, as it appears that they are not trustworthy, so far as these earlier kings are concerned. Prior to the accession of Mahendra Náráyaṇa in 1660, only four dates are given, viz., the erection of Hájo and Kámákhyá and the accessions of Viśva Síṅh and Raghu Deva. The two former, which could always be ascertained from the inscriptions in the temples themselves are correct, but the two latter—1495 A. D. and 1555 A. D. are obviously wrong. It seems probable that the collection of dates in this volume was not commenced until long after the time of these two kings, and that when it was undertaken, their dates were filled in by guess work.

† Blochmann, J. A. S. B. 1872, page 53.

‡ Blochmann, J. A. S. B. 1875, page 306. The name of the ruler mentioned in the Musalmán account is Bál Gosaiñ, but this is clearly only another name for Nara Náráyaṇa. Blochmann says that Bál Gosaiñ was the son of Nara Náráyaṇa and father of Lakshmi Náráyaṇa, but this must be a mistake, as neither in the very full account contained in the *Vamśávali* nor in any other local narrative, is mention made of any

It is less easy to come to a definite conclusion regarding the date of his accession. According to the *Vamśávali* of Prasiddha Náráyana, this took place in 1534; Guṇábhírám following Bisvésvar places it in 1528 and Bábú Rám Chandra Ghosh in 1555 A. D.\* The last mentioned date may be at once rejected, on the testimony of a silver coin of this king which was found some years ago in the Gáro Hills and published in the *J. A. S. B.* for 1875, page 306.† This coin is dated 1477 S'ak (1555 A. D.), or the very year fixed for Nara Náráyana's accession by Bábú Rám Chandra, and as he had to fight with his brother Nara Siṅha before obtaining the throne, it is extremely unlikely that he began to issue coins in the very first year of his reign. It is much more likely that the time when this money was coined, formed the second period in his reign, namely, the interval of peace which followed his earlier expeditions and preceded the second war against the ruler of Gauṛ.

Perhaps the best way of arriving at the probable date of his succession will be to calculate it from several independent data, and then to strike an average. The *Akbarnámah* says that his son was born when he was fifty years of age. As the latter ascended the throne on his father's death without, it would appear, the help of guardians, he cannot at that time have been less than 15 years of age. On this calculation Nara Náráyana must have been born in 1519 A. D., and as he was still a student when his father died, he cannot at that time have been much more than 15 years of age. This would bring his accession to 1534 A. D., which is the very date mentioned in Prasiddha Náráyana's *Vamśávali*.

Another way of arriving at the probable date of his succession is by calculating what time would be required for the different events referred to in the history of his reign, which occurred prior to the erection of Kámákhyá temple, the date of which (1565 A. D.) is known to us by the inscription in the temple itself and by the concurrent testimony of Prasiddha Náráyana's *Vamśávali*, and the manuscript edition

ruler between Nara Náráyana and Lakshmi, and all alike agree in saying that the latter was the son of the former. Besides Blochmann says that the brother of Bál Gosaiñ was S'ukl Gosaiñ, who can be none other than S'ukladvaja. In his notice of the *Akbarnámah* (*J. A. S. B.* 1872, page 52) he quotes a passage which says that Bál Gosaiñ lived the life of an ascetic and did not marry until he was 50 years old, when he took a wife by whom he had a son named Lakshmi Náráyana. Lastly, on page 100 of the number of the *Journal* just quoted, Blochmann himself, in a footnote, explains that Nara Náráyana is called Bál Gosaiñ in the *Akbarnámah*.

\* Statistical Account of Koch Bihár, page 407.

† A similar coin of Nara Náráyana bearing the same date had been previously published in *J. A. S. B.* 1856, page 547, by Rajendralála Mitra.

of the Yoginí Tantra in the possession of the Bráhmaṇ of Hauli Mohanpur.

Briefly these events are:—

- (1.) Expulsion and pursuit of Nara Simha.
- (2.) Construction of Gosaiñ Kamala Ali. This is said to have taken a year to make, but the real time it took was probably considerably longer.
- (3.) Invasion of the Ahom kingdom. The Ahom chronicles mention at least two expeditions, and the *Vaṁśávali* relates that Nara Náráyana remained a year at Garhgaõñ before the Ahom king submitted.
- (4.) Conquest of Hiṙamba or Cachar.
- (5.) War with the king of Jaintiá.
- (6.) War with the king of Tipperah.
- (7.) War with the king of Dimaruá.
- (8.) War with the king of Sylhet.
- (9.) War with the ruler of Gauṙ.
- (10.) Silarái's detention at Gauṙ.
- (11.) Erection of Kámákhyá. According to the *Vaṁśávali* this was carried out in six months, but other accounts say that the temple took ten years to build.

It is difficult to arrive at any exact conclusion as to the time which these events occupied, but bearing in mind the difficulties of locomotion at that time, and the fact that between each war it would probably be necessary for the Rájá to spend some time attending to the internal affairs of his kingdom and consolidating his rule, I do not think it would be safe to allow a smaller period than 30 years for these occurrences. Deducting this period from the date of the erection of Kámákhyá, we get 1535 A. D., as the date of his accession, which is again very nearly the date quoted in Prasiddha Náráyana's *Vaṁśávali*. On the other hand, the Ahom chronicles fix 1562 as the date of his invasion of their country, and as this is one of the earliest events of his reign as recorded in the *Purushanámah*, it would seem that his reign could not have commenced long before that date. As, however, it is certain that Kámákhyá was rebuilt in 1565, and all the intervening events could not possibly have occurred within the short space of three years, it is clear either that this date is incorrect or else that the *Vaṁśávali* does not record events in their historical sequence. On the whole the weight of the evidence seems to show that Nara Náráyana came to the throne in 1534 A. D., or soon afterwards.

The same dates, of course, represent the conclusion of Viśva Simha's reign. As regards its commencement, it will be remembered that Nilámbara was over-

Viśva Simha's dates.

thrown by Husain Sháh in 1498 A. D., and that afterwards Chandana and Madana reigned for a few years at Marálávása, a place some 20 miles north of Kamathapura. If, therefore, Chandana and Madana ruled the whole of the country formerly under the sway of the Khyen Rájás, it would be impossible for Viśva Simha to have begun to rule before 1515–1520 A. D. It has, however, already been shown that after the fall of Nilámbar, there was no ruler of the whole kingdom, but that many petty chiefs exercised supreme power in different parts of the country. This being so, there is no reason why Viśva Simha should not have begun to rule some portion of the country while Chandana and Madana still held sway at Marálávása. Buchanan Hamilton says that “the Bihár Rájás reckon by the era of their ancestor, Viśva, whom they suppose began to govern in the Bengal year 916 or 1509 A. D.,” and as this, on the date arrived at for Nara Náráyana’s accession, would give him a reign of 25 years, there seems to be no reason for discrediting the date thus assigned for Viśva Simha’s accession. We have seen that this prince gradually rose from the position of one of many petty chiefs to be ruler of the whole country from Rangpur to Kámarúpa, and that he eventually found himself strong enough to march against the Ahom king in Upper Assam. It is very unlikely he could have effected all this in a shorter time than that allowed him according to the above calculation. Finally Lakshmi Náráyana’s *Vamśávali* mentions 25 years as the duration of his reign, and this is exactly the period intervening between 1509, the date of his accession according to the Koch era, and 1534, the date of his death according to Prasiddha Náráyana’s *Vamśávali*.

Turning now to the kings who succeeded Nara Náráyana, it has already been shown that Raghu Deva probably became king of the country east of the Sankosh in 1581 A. D. Gunábhírám and Prasiddha Náráyana’s *Vamśávali* agree in saying that his death took place in 1593 A. D., and we know from the *Pádisháhnámah* that Paríkshít was ruling when Jahángír came to the throne in 1605. We may, therefore, accept 1593 as the approximate date of Raghu’s death.

According to Gunábhírám, Paríkshít died in 1606 A. D. at Patna. The *Pádisháhnámah*, however, places his defeat by Mukarram Khán in 1613–14, so that according to this account, his death must have taken place about 1614 or 1615 A. D.

Bali Náráyana, who succeeded Paríkshít, is said by Gunábhírám to have died in 1634 A. D.,\* but it appears from the account given in the *Pádisháhnámah* that

Bali Narayana’s dates.

\* The same date is given in Prasiddha Náráyana’s *Vamśávali*.

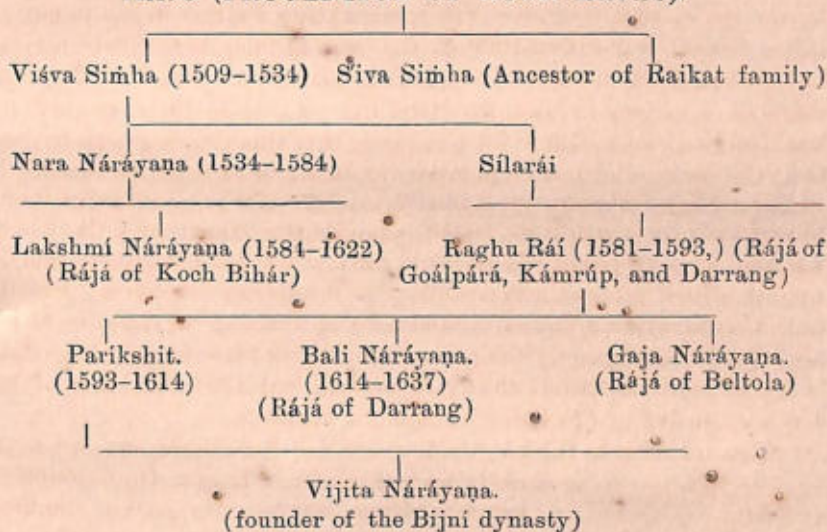
this is too early. According to this authority his death took place in 1637.

Regarding Lakshmi Náráyana, who succeeded his father in the western portion of the Koch kingdom in 1584 A. D., we know from Musalmán sources that he was still reigning in 1618. Babu Rám Chandra Ghosh says that he died in 1622 A. D.

The dates of these earlier Koch Kings appear therefore, to be approximately those shown in the following genealogical tree.

Summary.

HAJO (PROGENITOR OF KOCH RAJAS).



SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE KOCH RÁJÁS.

The subsequent history of the descendants of Lakshmi Náráyana will be found in Hunter's Statistical Account of Koch Bihar family. Koch Bihar, pages 409-426, and the only additional information of any importance of which I am aware, is that contained in the extracts from the *Fathiyah* i' *Ibriyah* which were published by Blochmann in the J. A. S. B. for 1872, pages 63-68. From these extracts it appears that in 1558 A. D., during the wars for the succession to the Delhi throne, Rájá Bhíma Náráyana took advantage of the disturbed state of the country to make raids into Ghoraghát and attempted to recover Kámarúpa. In the latter endeavour he was thwarted by Jayadhvaja Simha, the Ahom king, who had also sent an army into Kámarúpa. When Mír Jumla became governor of Bengal, he at

once took steps to punish Bhíma Náráyana and Jayadhvaja Simba and to recover the lost territory. He began by invading Koch Bihár. Bhíma Náráyana, asked for pardon, but Mir Jumla refused to accept his excuses, and in November 1661, he started from Jahángirnagar with his army. Bhíma Náráyana had fortified the road *via* the Yak Duár, and also the Khunṭaghát road, which passed by Rángamáṭi, but had neglected to protect a third which ran through the Moraṅ country. By this road, therefore, Mir Jumla advanced. The Rájá fled to the Bhotán hills, and the greater part of his baggage and guns and other munitions of war was captured by Mir Jumla's army. The latter sent to the Dharma Rájá of Bhotán, requesting him to deliver up Bhíma Náráyana, but this the Deva Rájá refused to do. Being pressed for time, Mir Jumla did not stay to enforce his request, but proceeded to carry out his projected invasion of Assam.

The Koch King is described in the *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah* as being noble and mighty and fond of company. He was a great wine-bibber, and was so addicted to the pleasures of his harem, that he neglected to look after his kingdom. He had a magnificent palace. There were flower beds in the streets, which were lined on each side with rows of trees. The weapons of the people were swords, firelocks and poisoned arrows.

This invasion by Mir Jumla is not mentioned in the account given by Hunter. Moreover, the name of the king at the time in question is said by him to be Prána Náráyana who came to the throne in 1627 and died in 1666 A. D.

The omission to refer to the invasion may be explained by the fact that it left no permanent effect. Mir Jumla advanced, and the king retreated without giving battle, and apparently returned again to his capital as soon as Mir Jumla vacated it. The discrepancy in the matter of names is also of very little importance. The character of the king as portrayed by Hunter agrees closely with that given in the *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah*; we know that Viśva Simha, Nara Náráyana, Śil-arái and others of the family bore each two different names, and there is thus no reason why Prána Náráyana should not also have been known as Bhíma Náráyana.

After Parikshit's defeat, his son Vijita Náráyana was confirmed by the Musalmáns as Zamíndár of the country

Bijni Family.

between the Manás and the Sankosh. He set-

tled at Bijni and is the ancestor of the existing Bijni family. Under the auspices of this family, a small pamphlet was issued, some years ago, giving an account of Vijita's successors, but as they were not independent princes, there would be little use in dwelling on their history. It may,

however, be interesting to note the present status of the family and the manner in which it was created.\* Under Mughal rule, the Rájá paid an annual tribute of Rs. 5,998, which was afterwards commuted to an annual delivery of 68 elephants. The Názim used to make up for short deliveries by sending a *Sazúwal* into the Rájá's estates and levying the balance due by force, but when the East India Company came into possession of Bengal, this method of recovering outstanding payments was abandoned, and during the years 1776–1787 A. D., only 90 elephants were received out of the 816 which should have been supplied. The contribution of elephants was again changed for a money payment in 1788, the amount fixed being Rs. 2,000. Two years later the Rájá agreed to pay another thousand rupees a year, but this offer was declined by the Governor-General, on the ground that the chance of losing the attachment of a Zamindár in possession of a border estate should not be risked for the sake of Rs. 1,000. Subsequently a deduction of Rs. 850 from his annual payment was allowed as compensation for the abolition of *siyar*, so that the family now pay a total revenue of only Rs. 1,150, for an estate, the annual collections from which amount to very nearly two lakhs of rupees.†

In Darrang, Bali Náráyaṇa was succeeded by Mahendra Náráyaṇa, who is said to have made large grants of *Brahmottar* land to Bráhmaṇs. He died in 1643 A. D., and was succeeded by his son Chandra Náráyaṇa, who died in 1660, and was followed by his son Súrýa Náráyaṇa. This prince is said to have been worsted in battle by Manzúr Khán in 1682, and taken captive to Delhi.‡ He escaped, but declined to resume his place as

\* This information is extracted from a note by Mr. Forbes in 1875, on certain bundles of paper received from the Board of Revenue.

† It has been argued that the estate has never been permanently settled, that the payment is of the nature of a tribute and not an assessment, and that as Bijni is no longer a border estate, the reason for an unduly low assessment no longer exists. But this is a matter with which we are not at present concerned.

‡ According to Gunábhírám. Prasiḍha Náráyaṇa's *Vamśácali* says, that Mansúm Khán was the name of the Musalmán leader, and fixes 1675 as the date of the occurrence. The manuscript *Yogini Tantra* on the other hand, says that it took place in 1709 A. D. No mention is made of the matter by Musalmán historians, and even the name of the Muhammadan leader does not appear in their accounts of events in Kámrúp. I have not mentioned Mír Jumla's invasion, which took place during this prince's reign, as that invasion was directed against the Ahoms, and there is no record of any conflict between Súrýa Náráyaṇa and the Musalmáns. The only reference to this king in the *Fáṭḥiyah i 'Ibriyah* is the following:—"At this time Makar dhvaj, Rájá of Darrang, who is subject to the Rájá of Assam, came and paid his respects to the Nawáb (at Gauháṭi), presented an elephant, received a *Khil'at*, was promised protection, and was ordered to travel with the army."

Rájá.\* He was succeeded by his brother Indra Náráyana, who was at that time only five years old. During his minority, the Ahoms took advantage of dissensions amongst his councillors to strengthen their hold on the country. Darrañg alone remained in his possession, and even for this he had to pay an annual tribute. During his reign, Darrañg is said to have been surveyed under the orders of the Ahom Rájá, presumably with the object of ascertaining the amount of tribute which Indra Náráyana would be able to pay.† When his son Aditya Náráyana succeeded him in 1725, the kingdom consisted only of that portion of the present sub-division of Mañgaldái, which lies south of the Gosaiñ Kamala Ali, and three years later, the greater part of this small vestige of the heritage of his ancestors was wrested from him by his younger brother, Madhu Náráyana, who took also one of the two family idols.‡ From this time, the family sank into comparative insignificance. They were now mere subordinates of the Ahoms, and exercised no powers except such as were conferred on them by the Ahom prince.

Later on, their position was still further reduced, and instead of being tributaries, they were simply agents for the Ahom King, and in return for managing Deś Darrañg were allowed the lands which were cultivated by their personal slaves and servants, which were surveyed, and carefully recorded in the state records of the Ahoms.§ When the English came into possession of the country they were allowed to retain these lands subject to the payment of half the usual revenue on the area under cultivation, so long as they themselves remained in possession. On alienation of any of these lands, however, the privilege of paying at half rates is withdrawn, and an assessment at full rates introduced. The existing representatives of the family still hold most of the land originally granted to them, but owing to their bad management and extravagant habits, they are now reduced to a condition of comparative poverty.

\* In Prasiddha Náráyana's *Vamśávali*, it is said that he was detained in Bengal for 50 years and only returned to Assam in 1725 A. D., where he died ten years afterwards.

† According to the manuscript *Yoginí Tantra* this survey took place in 1707 A. D., and was carried out by one Dhaníráma.

‡ These are the Durgá or Zurí Gosainí and Siva or Burá Gosaiñ. The gold ornaments of these two idols were stolen within a few months of each other, some seven years ago.

§ Report on the Darrang district by Captain Mathie, Principal Assistant, dated 15th February, 1835.

*Bijapur Inscription of Dhavala of Hastikunḍī of the Vīkrama year 1053.*  
(From the materials supplied by Munshī Devīprasād).—By PROFESSOR  
F. KIELHORN, C. I. E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered, more than fifty years ago, by Captain Burt, from whose rubbing fragments of the text and what professes to be a literal translation were published in Vol. X. pp. 819-821 of the Society's *Journal*. The account, there given of its contents, is however quite worthless, and it is therefore fortunate that this document has lately been again brought to public notice by Munshī DEVĪPRASĀD of Jodhpur, a gentleman who takes great interest in the history and antiquities of his country. Munshī Devīprasād, in 1891, furnished the Society with an account of it which will be found in the *Proceedings* for 1892, pp. 2-3; and he has more recently sent in a fuller paper on the same subject, as well as an ink-rubbing of the inscription. These materials have been forwarded to me by the Philological Secretary, with the request that I should publish the text of the inscription. Although the rubbing sent to me does not enable me to do this as it ought to be done, I have great pleasure in giving here, after revision, the substance of Munshī Devīprasād's notes, together with some extracts from the Sanskrit text; and I trust that by doing so I may induce those who have access to the original inscription to furnish either myself or some other scholar with carefully made impressions of it.

According to local report the stone which bears this inscription was originally fixed\* near the entrance of a solitary Jaina temple which stands about two miles south of the village of BĪJAPUR in the Bali-Godwār District of Mārṅwār, among or close to the remains of the old town of HATONḌĪ, the HASTIKUNḌĪ or HASTIKUNḌĪKĀ of this inscription. From there it is said to have been removed, some years ago, to the Dharmśālā of the Jaina community of Bijapur, where it was seen in 1889 by Mr. Joshi Aidān, Inspector of the Historical Department of Mārṅwār. That officer brought it to the notice of Munshī Devīprasād, and it is now probably at Jodhpur, having been made over to the charge of the Historical Department of Mārṅwār.

The inscription contains 32 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2'8½" broad by 1'4" high. Near the proper right margin, all the way down, the writing has suffered a good deal, apparently from exposure to the weather; but otherwise the inscription is in a very fair state of preservation, and I have no doubt that, with a good

\* Captain Burt found the inscription "in the interior of a gateway leading to Manḍir, distant one kos from Beejapoor, on the route from Odeypore to Sirohee near Mount Aboo." See this *Journal*, Vol. X. p. 821.

impression, nearly the whole of the text may be made out with certainty. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī; they closely resemble, but look more modern than those of the Harsha inscription\* of Vigrabarāja of the Vikrama year 1030. The language is Sanskrit, and nearly the whole is in verse. Throughout, the inscription has been written and engraved with great care, and in respect of orthography it need only be stated that the letter *b* has generally (not always) been denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental and palatal sibilants have sometimes been confounded.

The inscription divides itself into two parts. The first part is a *Praśasti* of 41 verses which was composed by SŪRYĀCHĀRYA (line 21), and which is dated (in lines 19 and 22) in the year 1053, on the 13th of the bright half of Māgha, a Sunday, under the *nakshatra* Pushya,—corresponding, for the expired Vikrama year 1053, to Sunday the 24th January A. D. 997, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 5 m., and when the moon was in the *nakshatra* Pushya up to 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. The proper object of this *Praśasti* is, to record the consecration by the Jaina sage ŚĀNTIBHADRA or ŚĀNTYĀCHĀRYA, who during the reign of a certain DHĀVALA lived at that prince's capital HASTIKUṆḌĪ or HASTIKUṆḌĪKĀ of an image of the Tīrthamkāra Rishabhānāthadeva, at a temple that had been founded at Hastikuṇḍī by Dhavala's grandfather VIDAGDHA. But, as is usual in such cases, what is more valuable to us is the genealogy of the prince Dhavala which is given by way of introduction in lines 2-6, and which contains some interesting references to princes who (with perhaps one exception) are known to us from other inscriptions. This genealogical part of the *Praśasti* will be considered below.

The second part of the inscription, from line 23 to 32, is really quite an independent inscription, added on to the preceding *Praśasti* because it records endowments that were made in favour of the same Jaina temple, or of a sage connected with it, by the father and grandfather of the prince Dhavala, mentioned above. This second inscription also (in line 23) opens with some verses on the genealogy of the rulers of HASTIKUṆḌĪ. First there was a prince HARIVARMAN. From him sprang the prince VIDAGDHA who was 'a tree yielding every desire in the garden which was the illustrious RĀSHTRAKŪṬA race.' And his son again was the illustrious MAṆMAṬA. The inscription then records that, in the Vikrama year 973, VIDAGDHA made some donations in favour of a sage named BALABHADRA, and that these gifts were largely added to by the prince MAṆMAṬA in the Vikrama year 996.

From the second inscription we learn, then, that the chiefs of

\* See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 120, plate.

HASTIKUNḌĪ here eulogized, belonged to the RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA family, and that VIDAGDHA, the son of HARIVARMAN, was ruling in Vikrama-saṁvat 973, and his son MAṂMAṬA in Vikrama-saṁvat 996. According to the first inscription, which in verses 4-8 mentions the same princes, MAṂMAṬA was succeeded by his son DHAVALA who was alive in Vikrama-saṁvat 1053, but had then made over the government to his son BĀLA-PRASĀDA. Of Harivarman, Vidagdha and Maṁmaṭa the first inscription says nothing of importance. Of DHAVALA, whose reign fell in the first half of the 11th century of the Vikrama era, verses 10-12 record certain dealings which he had with the princes MUṆḌJARĀJA, DURLABHARĀJA, MŪLARĀJA and DHARAṆĪVARĀHA, though, what these dealings were, is owing to the damaged state of the inscription, not in every case quite clear. From the first half of verse 10 it appears that MUṆḌJARĀJA, who must be taken to be VĀKPATI-MUṆḌJA of MĀLAVA for whom we have dates of the Vikrama years 1031, 1036 and 1050, invaded MEDAPĀṬA (or Mewāḍ), and the second half of the verse probably stated that the ruler of that country on that occasion was either supported or sheltered by Dhavala. Similarly verse 11 seems to record that Dhavala assisted a prince, whose name may have been MAHENDRA or MAHĪNDRA, against a prince DURLABHARĀJA, who probably was the brother of the CHĀHAMĀNA VIGRAHARĀJA of the Harsha inscription. And verse 12, again, states that Dhavala also supported DHARAṆĪVARĀHA, when that prince was attacked by MŪLARĀJA. That this last-mentioned prince was the CHAULUKYA MŪLARĀJA I., whose latest known inscription is dated in Vikrama-saṁvat 1051, is clear; his opponent DHARAṆĪVARĀHA might perhaps be conjectured to have been one of the Chūḍāsamā chiefs,\* but, before trying to identify him, it will be better to wait till his name is found in other records.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

L. 2. . . . . महीभृतां ॥ ३ ॥\*

अभिवि(वि)भ्रुचिं कांतां सावित्रीं चतुराननः ।

हरिवर्मा व(व)भूवाच भुविभुर्भुवनाधिकः ॥ [६ ॥\*]

सकललोकविलोक(च)नपंकजस्फुरदनंबुदवा(वा)लदिवाकरः ।

रिपुवधूवदनेदुहृतद्युतिः

\* See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII. p. 192.



10. [सु]नयतनयं राज्ये वा[ल]प्रसादमतिष्ठिप-  
 त्परिणतवया निःसंगो यो व(व)भूव सुधीः स्वयं ।  
 कृतयुगकृतं कृत्वा कृत्यं कृतात्मचम त्कृतौ-  
 रकृत सुकृतौ नो कालुष्यं करोति कलिः सतां ॥ [१२ ॥ \*]
11. राजधानी भुवो भर्तुस्तस्यास्ते हस्तिकुण्डिका ।  
 अलका धनदस्येव धनाच्छजनसेविता ॥ [२२ ॥ \*]
14. अस्यां स्वरिः सुराणां गुरुस्त्रिव गुरुभिर्गौरवार्हे गुणौघै-  
 भूपालानां त्रिलोकौवलयविल-
15. [सिता?]नंतरानंतकीर्त्तिः ।  
 नाम्ना श्रीशांतिभद्रो[भव]दभिभवितुं भासमाना[स]माना-  
 कामं कामं — — जनितजन — — संपदा [व]स्य मूर्त्तिः ॥ [२६ ॥ \*]
19. शांत्याचार्यस्त्रिपंचाशसहस्रे श्ररदाभियं ।  
 माघशुक्लत्रयोदश्यां सुप्रतिष्ठैः प्रतिष्ठिता ॥३८ ॥ \*]
22. संवत् १०५३ माघशुक्ल १३ रविदिने पुष्यनक्षत्रे श्रीरिषभनाथदेवस्य\*  
 प्रतिष्ठा कृता महाध्वजचारोपितः ॥
23. आसीद्द्वीधनसंमतः शुभगुणो भास्वप्रतापोज्ज्व(ज्व)लो  
 विस्पष्टप्रतिभः प्रभावकलितो भूपोत्तमांगार्चितः ।  
 योषि[त्पौ ?]—
24. — — — — — भिसंगसंलालितो  
 यः श्रीमान्हरिवर्म्मा† [उ]त्तममणिः सहंश्रहारे गुरौ ॥

\* Read श्रुवभ० .

† I believe that this is the actual (though incorrect) reading.

तस्माद्(द्)भूव भुवि भूरिगुणो ७ — —

भूप्रभूतसुकुटार्चितपादपीठः ।

श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलकाननकल्पवृक्षः

श्रीमान्विदग्धन्वपतिः प्रकटप्रतापः ॥

तस्माद्(द्) ७

25.

७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — तः परं भाजनं

संभूतः शु(सु)तनुः सुतोतिमतिमान्\* श्रीमंमटो विश्रुतः ।

येनास्मिन्निजराजवंशगगने चंद्रायितं [चारुणा]

तेनेदं पिष्टशासनं समधिकं कृत्वा पुनः पाल्यते ॥

श्रीवलभद्राचार्यं विदग्धन्वपूजितं समभ्यर्च्य ।

आचंद्राक्षं यावद्दत्तं भवते म . . . [॥]

30.

रामगिरिनंदकलिते विक्रमकाले गते तु शुचिमा[सि ]]

31.

[श्रीम]द्(द्)लभद्रगुरोर्विदग्धराजेन दत्तमिदं ॥

नवसु श्तेषु गतेषु तु यस्मिन्वतीसमधिकेषु माघस्य ।

कृष्यौकादश्यामिच्छ समर्पितं म]मटन्वपेन(ण) ॥

32.

इदं चाक्षयधर्मसाधनं शासनं श्रीविदग्ध[न्वप?]दत्तं संवत् ९७३

श्रीमंमटरा[ज] . . . . संवत् ९९६ ॥ . . . .

\* Read °माञ्ची°.

*The Site of Karṇa Suvarṇa*.—By H. BEVERIDGE, B. C. S. (RETIRED).

Hien Tsiang, the Buddhist pilgrim, visited a town in Bengal which is spelt in Chinese, Kie-la-na-su-fa-la-na. M. Stanislaus Julien transliterates\* this into the Sanscrit words *Karṇa Suvarṇa*, which may mean Karṇa the Golden, or Golden Ear, or simply, wearing gold earrings.† So far as I am aware, the site has not yet been satisfactorily identified, although it has been conjectured, chiefly from the similarity of name, that it lay on the *Suvarṇa Rekhá*, or Streak of Gold, a river which traverses Midnapur, and used to be the boundary between Bengal and Orissa. Some have placed it in Birbhúm, and some in Singhbhúm; and quite recently Dr. Waddell,‡ has suggested that it lay close to Burdwan and is the place now known as Kañchanagar. My chief object in this paper is to show that *Karṇa Suvarṇa* is probably identical with Raṅgamáṭi, in the Murshidábád district, and situated on the right bank of the Bhágirathí, about six miles below Berhampur. But before I discuss this point, I am obliged to say a few words about the records of Hien Tsiang's travels.

It is well known that we have two accounts of his journeying. One is called the *Si-yu-ki*, or *Descriptions of Western Countries*, the other is his biography by Hwui-li and Yen-Tsung. The *Si-yu-ki* is in twelve books, and is regarded as the original and more authoritative account. It was not, however, entirely drawn up by Hien Tsiang. He gave the materials, but the composition is by one Pien-ki. M. Julien conjectures that Hien Tsiang's absence from China for seventeen years had made it difficult for him to write his mother tongue with the elegance required by Chinese officialism, and so the task was assigned to another monk. The biography is in ten books, and is mainly the work of Hwui-li. Both he and his continuator were contemporaries of Hien Tsiang, and as M. Julien remarks, their work is the livelier and more interesting of the two. It is also, I understand, written with greater elegance. That it is more interesting can easily be understood, for it is a biography and a record of Hien Tsiang's adventures; whereas the *Si-yu-ki* is a sort of *gazetteer* or treatise on geography. It is necessary to give these details because there is a remarkable discrepancy between the two records about the route by which Hien Tsiang reached *Karṇa Suvarṇa*, and it is desirable to decide which account should have the preference.

\* III. 84. Beal's translation, II, 201.

† II. 248n. At 250 l. c. the Chinese translation *Kin-enl* is used.

‡ See note at end of this paper.

The following two tables of routes show where the discrepancy lies :—

| Places.                                  | Direction and distance, in miles. | Remarks.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Route according to the Si-yu-ki.</i>  |                                   | I have reckoned the <i>li</i> as one-fifth of a mile, though it is a little more. Champá is Bhágalpur. Kajúghíra, or Kajiṅgara, has not been identified. Lassen points out that according to the biography, (I. 237,*) it lay partly at least, N. of the Ganges, though according to both the routes it lay on the W. bank. It is perhaps the Kajuráhi, or Kharjura-bhága (Sachau I. 202), of Albi-rúni, which he puts as 30 <i>farsákh</i> east of Kamauj. Sir A. Cunningham suggests Kánkjol, but the resemblance is only in position. M. Saint Martin suggests the Cudjiry or Kajiri in Rennel's map (No. 15 of Atlas), near Farukhábad, and opposite Gaur. The first part of the word may be connected with <i>khajur</i> , a date tree. In going to Paṇḍra Vardhana, Hiuen Tsiang crossed the Ganges from west to east. In all probability Mr. Westmacott's suggestion that the place is Paṇḍá, in Maldab, is correct. There is a river in this neighbourhood, and also according to Rennel, a town, called Párnabhába, which sounds like Paṇḍra Vardhana. On his way to Kámrúp, Hiuen Tsiang crossed a great river. This should be the Brahmaputra, but it is curious that he does not name it. The mention of Náráyaṇ as the ancestor of the royal family, seems to indicate that the place visited was Koch Bihár and not Assam proper. Samataṭa (level shore) is the Ganges delta. The two routes agree as far as Paṇḍra Vardhana. The direct distance from Paṇḍra to Raṅgamáti is about 75 miles. The direction is nearly due south, but if, as seems probable, Hiuen Tsiang started from the monastery of Váchpa (? Vásibhá) (I. 180 and III. 75)† 24 <i>li</i> to the west, then the direction of Raṅgamáti would be S. S. E. The delta is E. S. E. from Raṅgamáti, and the direct distance about 180 miles. The direct distance from the seaface of the delta to Tamluk is about the same. The capital of Samataṭa is not known, but if Saśánka was a descendant of Adísúr, it might be Dacca or Sonárgáoñ. Samataṭa extended to the sea shore, but as it was bounded on N. E. by Sylhet (I. 182 and III. 82), it must have extended inland as far as Dacca. |
| Champá                                   | .....                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Kajúghíra                                | E. 80                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Paṇḍra Vardhana                          | E. 120                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Kámrúp                                   | E. 180                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Samataṭa                                 | S. 260                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Tamluk                                   | W. 180                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Karṇa Suvarṇa                            | N. W. 140                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Orissa                                   | S. W. 140                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>Route according to the Biography.</i> |                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Paṇḍra Vardhana                          | .....                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Karṇa Suvarṇa                            | S. E. 140                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Samataṭa                                 | S. E. Not given                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Tamluk                                   | W. 183                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Orissa                                   | S. W. Not given                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |

\* Beal's translation, p. 131.

† Beal's Si-yu-ki, II, 195; Life, 131.

It will be seen that the Si-yu-ki makes Hiuen Tsiang diverge into Kám-rúp (Assam) and arrive at Karṇa Suvarṇa from Tamluk. But the biography makes no mention here of the Assam visit, and brings Hiuen Tsiang direct from Paṇḍra Vardhana, or from Váchpá (? Vásibhá) to Karṇa Suvarṇa. M. Vivien de Saint Martin has pointed out the discrepancy in the note appended to M. Julien's third volume (p. 389). His idea is that the Si-yu-ki version should be unhesitatingly preferred because it is the primary account, and because it is more complete and consistent than that of Hwui-li.\* But, as we have seen, neither account is exactly primary, and perhaps too M. Saint Martin has overlooked the difference in the character of the two works. The Si-yu-ki is a geographical treatise, and so all the information about each country is put in one place, whether the traveller visited it once or twice. For a similar reason, the order of visiting was, perhaps, not always exactly observed, though I have not found another instance of this. The biography on the other hand, joins the various journeys as they occurred. For instance, it describes Hiuen Tsiang as twice visiting Magadha or South Bihár; once on his way to Bengal and again on his return from Southern India, and after he had visited Gujrát, Sindh, and Mathurá. But the Si-yu-ki says nothing about the second visit. It also contains accounts of twenty-eight countries† which Hiuen Tsiang did not visit. It is therefore much less of a personal narrative than the biography is. The latter contains (Book V.) a detailed account of the Assam visit and of what had led to it. But it represents it as occurring after the second visit to Magadha, and it seems likely that Hiuen Tsiang went direct from Magadha to Assam, both because it was the shortest route, and because it was when he was at Nálanda that the Ambassadors from Kám-rúp came to him. It was there, too, that Sílabhadrá urged his compliance with the invitation. Dr. Fergusson (J. R. A. S. VI. 252,) has also noticed the discrepancy between the two accounts. He believes that Hwui-li is more correct about the date and manner of the visit to Assam, but still he holds that he is wrong about the journey to Karṇa Suvarṇa!

There can be no question that the route through Bengal given in the biography is the more natural one of the two. It brings the traveller down to the delta along the course of the Ganges (in those days the Bhágirathí was probably the main stream), and then takes him west and south *via* Tamluk and Orissa. The Si-yu-ki on the other hand,

\* At p. 365, l. c. M. Saint Martin in noticing another discrepancy between the two accounts gives the preference to the itinerary in the biography.

† The Si-yu-ki describes 138 countries, but Hiuen Tsiang only visited 110. Saint Martin, I. App.

makes Hiuen Tsiang diverge to the north-east,\* or Pauṇḍra Vardhana, and also causes him to describe two sides of a nearly equilateral triangle, between Tamluk and Orissa. This may be seen from M. Saint Martin's map where, however, the route is made still more awkward by his supposition that Pauṇḍra Vardhana is Burdwan. This it cannot be, for the itinerary places it on the east of the Ganges.† It is rightly placed there in the Chino-Japanese map of 1710, of which M. Julien has given a reduction. It seems very unlikely, too, that Hiuen Tsiang would turn inland and to the N. W. after arriving at Tamluk. Presumably he went there in order to embark for Ceylon, as his predecessor Fa-Hian had done. The biography, at all events, tells us‡ that he designed when at Tamluk, to sail to Ceylon and that he was dissuaded from doing so by a monk from southern India. This man advised him not to attempt so long and dangerous a navigation, but to sail from the S. W. point of India, whence he could make the journey in three days. This would give him an opportunity, the monk added, of visiting the sacred places of Orissa and other kingdoms, Hiuen Tsiang took this advice and started for the S. W. and arrived at Orissa. This is all straightforward; whereas the going to Karṇa Suvarṇa from Tamluk involved a *détour* of at least 140 miles.

For these reasons I am disposed to prefer the route given in the biography. I am not sure, however, if this is to the advantage of my contention that Karṇa Suvarṇa is Raṅgamāṭī. Neither route is discordant with the identification, but the Si-yu-ki one is more detailed. Raṅgamāṭī§ is nearly due north of Tamluk and 120 or 130 miles off, and the borders of Orissa are about an equal distance to the S. W. of Raṅgamāṭī. We must not press Hiuen Tsiang's measurements closely, for we do not know the exact length of the *li*, nor do we always know to what points he refers. He generally speaks only of countries, not of towns, and it may be that the distances are those to and from the confines of kingdoms.

\* It describes the direction as easterly, but Koch Bihār and Kāmṛup lie N. E. from Paṇḍuā.

† It seems a happy suggestion of Mr. Westmacott's that the name Pauṇḍra is preserved in Abū'l Faḍl's "Sarkār of Panjra." The chief objection to the identification of Paṇḍuā with Pauṇḍra Vardhana seems to be that the central or home-farm pargana of Sarkār Panjra, *viz.*, Havelī Panjra, lies N. E. of Dinājpur and far from Paṇḍuā which apparently is in Shashhazāri. [*Ain*, III, XV; Vol. II, p. 136 of Col. Jarrett's translation where it is called Sarkār Pinjarah. Ed.]

‡ I. 183.

§ There are several Raṅgamāṭīs, and the best known, perhaps, is that in Lower Assam. But the one we have to do with is in Central Bengal and on the Bhāgīrathī. Sir H. Yule suggested that it might be the Kartasina of Ptolemy.

I now come to the principal object of my paper.

Hiuen Tsiang's accounts of Karṇa Suvarṇa are to be found at I. 181 and III. 84-88, of M. Julien's work.\* He describes the kingdom as having a circumference of about 900 miles, and the capital as being about four miles round. The country was fertile and populous, and produced all kinds of fruit and flowers. The inhabitants were well off and had literary tastes, but they were a mixture of true believers (Buddhists), and heretics. There were thirteen monasteries, including those which followed the ritual of Devadatta, and there were fifty Hihdú temples. Then comes the description which I rely upon: "By the side of the capital there rises the monastery called Lo-to-wei-chi-seng-kia-lan. Its halls are spacious and well-lighted, and its towers and pavilions are lofty. All the men of this kingdom who are distinguished for their talents, their learning and their intelligence, assemble in this monastery."

Lo-to-wei-chi-seng-kia-lan is, according to M. Julien, the phonetic rendering of the Sanskrit words *Raktaviṭi Saṅghārāma*, i. e., the monastery of Redlands, and the word *Raktaviṭi* is, I submit, merely a synonym for Raṅgamāṭi. Saṅghārāma is the Buddhist word for a monastery, its original meaning being the grove, or enclosed garden of the congregation. Wei-chi is phonetic for *viṭi*, and Lo-to for *rakta* (blood,) and M. Julien and Mr. Beal agree in translating Lo-to-wei-chi as meaning red earth, one saying "*limon rouge*," and the other, "red mud." In his Index, III. 468, M. Julien uses a still more appropriate word for he renders wei-chi by "argile" or clay. Every one who has seen Raṅgamāṭi knows that its remarkable feature is the cliffs or bluffs of red clay. These extend for miles, are from 30 to 40 ft. high, and formed the bank of the river in the days when the Bhágirathí was the main stream of the Ganges. I must acknowledge that I have not been able to find in the Sanscrit dictionary the word *Viṭi*, though it is clear from the Chinese translation that it means earth. *Raktaviṭi* would, of course, mean red, but I suppose that the Sanskrit equivalent of Raṅgamāṭi would be Rágamṛittika or Raktamṛittika. Possibly *mṛittiká* or *mṛitti* was what Hiuen Tsiang wrote, for in the biography† the word is given as Ki-to-mo-chi for which M. Julien substitutes, in accordance with the Si-yu-ki, Lo-to-wei-chi. But *mo-chi* may be right and may be phonetic for *mṛitti*. However this may be, I submit that the facts of the monastery being known by the name of Redlands and of Karṇasuvārṇaṅgarha, i. e., the golden fortress of Karṇa, being the traditional name of Raṅgamāṭi, are almost conclusive of the latter's being the place visited by Hiuen

Hiuen Tsiang.

\* Beal, Life, 131, Si-yu-ki, II, 201.

† I. 181; Beal's translation, 132.

It is unnecessary for me to dwell on the evidence of Raṅgamāṭī's having once been a great city. This may be found in the paper of Col. Wilford in the 9th volume of the Asiatic Researches, p. 39, and in the descriptions by Capt. Layard, and Mr. Long. Capt. Layard's paper is in the 22nd volume of our Society's *Journal*, p. 281. He gives the name as Kansonapuri or Kuṇ-sona-ka-ghur, but Lassen\* says the proper spelling is Karṇa suvarṇa gaḍa. As noticed by Capt. Layard there is a mound at Raṅgamāṭī, known as the Demon's Mount. This is probably a Buddhist *stupa* and should be excavated. There is also a story of a large signet-ring having been picked up on or near the mound, and having been taken to England. The local legend about the prosperity of the place, and the origin of the title Suvarṇa is that Vibhīshaṇa, the brother of Rāvaṇa, visited the place on the occasion of the king's son's first meal of rice, and caused a shower of gold to fall on the land. It will be shown hereafter that there are other legends connecting the place with Ceylon. The Si-yu-ki goes on to tell how Buddhism was introduced into Karṇa Suvarṇa. It says that at a time when the people did not yet know the religion of Buddha, a heretical teacher came from the South of India and "beat the drum of discussion." His belly was covered with plates of copper, and he carried a torch on his head† When asked why he was so attired,

\* III. 766 n.

† Reinaud in his "Memoir on India before the 11th Century," Paris 1849, p. 293, quotes an account from an Arabic work, the *Kitābu'l-fihrist*, of an Indian sect who took their name from the practice of girding their bodies with iron hoops. Every one who wished to enter this sect had to make a vow of sincerity and humility. He was obliged to have attained a certain degree of perfection before he could don the iron girdle. This girdle, according to the members of the sect, prevented the body from bursting with excess of knowledge, and power of contemplation.

The *Kitābu'l-fihrist* was written in 377 A. H., or 987 A. D., but it refers to an account of the Indian religions, which had been given by a man who had been sent in the last half of the eighth century by Yahya, the son of Khalad the Barmecide, to explore India. This account had been copied out by the famous Al-Kindi in 863 A. D. [Mr. C. J. Lyall, the President of the Society, has been kind enough to contribute the following note on this point:—

The passage in the *Fihrist*, to which M. Reinaud refers, is at p. 318, Vol. I, of Flügel's edition, (M. Reinaud wrote long before the publication of the text, and relied only on one faulty MS.) It runs thus—

و منهم اهل ملّة يقال لهم البكرتينية يعني المصفدين انفسهم بالحديد و سنتهم انهم يحلقون رؤوسهم و اجسادهم و يعبرون اجسادهم ما خلا العورة و ليس من سنتهم ان يعلموا احدا ولا يكلموه دون ان يدخل في دينهم و ياصرون من يدخل في دينهم بالصدق للنواضع بها و من دخل في دينهم لم يصدق بالحديد حتى يبلغ المرتبة التي

he said that he had studied much, and had great wisdom, and so was afraid that he would burst; and that he carried a torch because he was moved with pity for the blindness of men. Ten days passed without any one being able to cope with him in argument. The king was in despair and said, "In the whole of my states are there no enlightened men? If no one can answer the difficult questions of this stranger, it will be a great disgrace for my kingdom. We must search again, and in the most obscure places." Then some one said, that there was an extraordinary *śramaṇa* who lived in a forest. The king went in person to bring him. The *śramaṇa* said that he, too, came from Southern India; and that his learning was but small. However, he would endeavour to satisfy the king on condition that, if he was not worsted, the king would build a monastery, and send for monks to promulgate the law of Buddha. The king assented, and the *śramaṇa* came to the hall of discussion. The heretical doctor produced a writing containing 30,000 words, but, in spite of his profundity and science, he was vanquished by the *śramaṇa* after a hundred words, and had to retire in disgrace. Thereon the king fulfilled his promise of building a monastery, and has since that time, says the biography, zealously propagated the teachings of the law. In the preface of the Si-yu-ki\* there is an allusion to the copper-sheathed belly which seems to imply that Hiuen Tsiang was the victorious *śramaṇa*, but as M. Julien remarks, this does not agree with the account in the body of the work.

Probably the king who built the monastery was Silāditya (the Sun of Righteousness), the Buddhist ruler of Kanauj.† The expression

يستحق بها ذلك و تصفيدهم انفسهم من اوساطهم الى صدرهم لئلا يشق بطونهم  
 زعموا من كثرة العلم و غلبة الفكر \*

In English:—

"Among them is a sect called the Bakrantinis (*sic*: conjectured to be Bakrabantīya, = Vajrabandhīya), that is to say, those who chain themselves with iron chains. Their custom is to shave their heads and faces and to go naked, except as to their private parts. It is their rule not to instruct anyone, or to speak with him, until he spontaneously becomes a member of their sect. And they enjoin upon those accepting their religion to do alms in order that their pride may be humbled. One who joins their body does not put on the iron chains until he reaches the degree which entitles him to do so. They wear the chains from their waists to their breasts, as a protection against the bursting of their bellies—so they say—from excess of knowledge and stress of thought."

The conjecture Vajrabandhīya is Haarbrücker's (see *Fihrist*, Vol. II, p. 183). The passage appears to recur in Shahrīstānī's *Kitābu-n-Nihāl wal-Milāl*, p. 449.—Ed.]

\* II. XXXVII; Beal's translation, 1, 4.

† Possibly however it was Pūrnavarman of Magadha and who according to Hiuen Tsiang was the last descendant of Aśoka.

“in my states” seems to imply that he ruled over more than one kingdom. It is not likely that Śaśānka, the Hindú king of Karṇa Suvarṇa, would allow the introduction of Buddhism into his capital. I presume then that Hiuen Tsiang’s visit was made after Śaśānka had been overcome by Śilāditya.

There are seven other references \* to Karṇa Suvarṇa or to one of its kings. From them we learn that this king was called Śaśānka, *i. e.*, the moon, and that he was jealous of the power of Rájavardhana, the king of Kanauj, and the elder brother and predecessor of Śilāditya. He therefore lured him to a meeting and treacherously murdered him. We also learn that he was a great enemy of the Buddhists and cut down their sacred tree † (*Bodhidruma*). He must have possessed considerable power, for, after destroying the law of Buddha, he went to Patna and tried to deface a stone there which had been set up by Aśoka, and bore the marks of Śákyamuni’s feet. Lassen considers that the assassination of Rájavardhana ‡ took place in 614, the year of Śilāditya’s accession. He also holds § that Śaśānka must have retained his independence during Śiláditya’s reign, or otherwise he never would have ventured to cut down the sacred tree. But it seems clear that Śaśānka had done this long before and in the time of Śiláditya’s predecessor. The words “*dans ces derniers temps*” do not mean recently, and we are expressly told in the 6th book of the Si-yu-ki (II. 349; Beal, II, 42), that the destruction of the law and the dispersion of the monks by Śaśānka occurred a great many years ago. We also find the Bodhisattva, when exhorting Śiláditya to accept the crown, referring to Śaśānka’s previous acts in destroying the law. And at p. 251 l.c. (Beal, I, 213) we are told that Śiláditya became master of the five Indies in his sixth year. According to Mr. Fleet, Harshavardhana, *i. e.*, Śiláditya began to reign in 606 or 607. So we may presume that Śaśānka died not later than 613. The Si-yu-ki (p. 469; Beal, II, 122) describes the manner of his death and says it occurred a long time ago. Śaśānka must then, have been dead twenty or thirty years before Hiuen Tsiang went to Karṇa Suvarṇa. We know that there had been time to introduce Buddhism and to build a large monastery before he visited the place.

\* I. 112, 235, II. 248, 349, 422, 463, 468-9; Beal, *Life*, 83; Si-yu-ki, I, 210-213, II, 42, 91, 118, 121-2

† Púrṇavarman irrigated it with milk, and it shot up in a night to the height of ten feet. At the time of composing the Si-yu-ki it was 44 feet high. If this account be taken as correct, a botanist might calculate the date of Śaśānka’s violence.

‡ He calls him Harshavardhana. Mr. Fleet holds that the accession was in 606 or 607.

§ III. 686.

The name Sāsāṅka,\* does not occur in Abū'l-fazl,† or Tieffenthaler,‡ but the first has a *Shashatdhar*, and the second a *Scheschdar*. These are clearly corruptions of Sāsadhara, (the moon,) and it is quite possible that this is another form of the name Sāsāṅka. Both words mean hare-marked or hare-bearing, i. e., the moon, and apparently the pilgrim translates Sāsāṅka simply by the Chinese word for moon. If this is so, the fact is very important, for Sāsadhara belonged to the line of Adisúra, and was the eighth in succession from him. He is said to have reigned 58 years, but the reigns of all the princes of this line seem unreasonably long. However if Sāsāṅka and Sāsadhara be identical, Adisúra can hardly have been later than the first half of the 6th century. There seems nothing incredible in this for Lassen§ says that he is wrongly referred to the 9th or 10th century, and that he must have lived in the beginning of the 7th century. But if he was not later than 600, he must, I think, be put back still further, for it was Adisúra who brought Bráhmans from Kanauj to Bengal. He could not have done this during the Aditya dynasty for they were Buddhists. Their dynasty began according to Lassen in 580, and so Adisúra must have reigned before that date, and perhaps was contemporary with one of the early Guptas.|| M. Saint Martin suggests that Hiuen Tsiang went out of his road to visit Karṇa Suvarṇa, on account of the connection of the neighbourhood with Vijaya and the conversion of Ceylon. This is not very likely, since Hiuen Tsiang says nothing about it, and he was not deeply interested in Ceylon, for he never went there. The fable, however, about Vijaya is interesting as showing an early connection between Bengal and Ceylon. Vijaya probably came from Singbhúm.¶ His story

\* Mr. Fleet's work, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, for a reference to which I am indebted to Dr. Waddell's paper, shows (p. 283), that there is an inscription of Sāsāṅka at Rohtás. With reference to this identification, however, and also to General Cunningham's remark that there is a tank in Bogra named after Sāsāṅka, it may be well to bear in mind that according to the Buchanan MS., Vol. Bhágápur I. 183, there was a Sāsāṅka, a Kshetrani Rájá of Kharakpur, who was put to death in 1502 (910 Fasli.) [*Apud* Montgomery Martin, II, 57. Ed.]

† *Xin* I. 413.

‡ Tieffenthaler, I. 472.

§ III. 718.

|| III. 393.

¶ His mother was the daughter of the King of Baṅga by a Kaliṅga Princess, a circumstance which points to an early connection between Bengal and the Madras coast. She was brought up in her father's city of Baṅga which presumably lay in South-east Bengal or somewhere about Samatāta. There can be no doubt that the forest of Lála where the caravan in its way to Magadha (S. Bihár) was dispersed, and she fell into the power of a lion, is the Ráph country west of the Bhágirathí. See Upham, *Sacred books of Ceylon*, I. 69 and II, 164.

is told in Chapter VI of the Mahavansa, and in the 11th book of the Si-yu-ki. A more historical event is referred to by Wilford and Layard when they mention the local tradition that Raṅgamāṭī was destroyed by an expedition from Ceylon. This must have occurred after Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Kaṇṇa Suvarṇa, and in my opinion, it belongs to the 12th century. I think that there is no reason to doubt the legend, for people are not in the habit of inventing disasters. But if true, it can only, I think, have occurred in the time of Parākrama Báhu, the Great. His reign is described by Turnour as having been the most martial, enterprising, and glorious in Singhalese history. He, too, seems to have been the only prince of Ceylon who carried his arms across the Bay of Bengal, or who possessed a fleet. There is an account of the expedition in the 76th Chapter of the Mahavansa.\* It was directed against the king of Arámma, or Ramámma, which according to Mr. Wijesinha lay between Arracan and Siam. Five ships came to the port Kúsúmí, in the country of Ramámma and the troops "like furious elephants destroyed a great number of cocoa-nut and "other trees, and the places round about them, and burnt many "villages with fire and destroyed half of the kingdom." A Tamil general named Adhikári, who had volunteered for this service, cast anchor in the port of Papphala (Pippli?). One of the ships attacked the island of Kákadvipa† (?) or Crow Island, and brought away many of the inhabitants as prisoners to Ceylon. Arimaddana, the king of Ramámma was killed by the invaders. Perhaps his name was Ari-Mardana, *i. e.*, the trampler of foes, or it may have been Hari-Madana. (It seems worth while to note here that there was a king of Orissa who was called Madana Mahádeva, and who had a short reign of four years from 1171-75.)

Kúsúmí as the name of the port, reminds us of Wilford's statement that Raṅgamāṭī used to be called Kusumapurí. The name, however, is a common one, and was applied to Patna and other towns. The statement that Ramámma is the country between Siam and Arracan is, perhaps, only a conjecture of Mr. Knighton, though I find that Sir Arthur Phayre mentions Ram-ma-we-li as a town and country near Sandoway (J. A. S. B. XIII. 27). On the other hand, we have Ramana marked in Gastaldi's old map,‡ as a place east of Orissa and near Hijlí.

\* Wijesinha's translation. Colombo, 1889. See also Lassen IV. 328.

† Probably this is Cocanada in the Madras Presidency. According to the Imperial Gazetteer of India the proper spelling is Káka-náda and the meaning is Crow-country. If the Coromandel coast was the point of attack one can see why the services of a Madras officer were valuable.

‡ Cluverius mentions Ramama as the capital of Orissa and as a mart famous for ivory and precious stones. He also says that the country was rich in salt. See

It may also be worth while mentioning that *Sudhárám* is a native name for the district of *Noakhálí*. I do not know its age or origin, but it may mean *Suddha-áráma*, the place of delightful rest, and if so the last half of the name approaches the *Arámma* of *Turnour*. One reason given for the expedition was that "the king of *Ramámma* had obstructed persons who were bringing presents from a king of *India* to *Ceylon*." On one occasion when a certain chief of *India*, *Kassapa* by name, sent presents unto him (*Parákrama*) of great value, with a letter written on a leaf of gold, he hindered the men who bore them from landing and then caused the presents to be taken from them with the letter and sent into the city with great dishonour.\* This looks like the action of a king of *Orissa* or *Bengal*, who would have control of the ports, such as *Támraliptí*, &c. It appears, too, that the expedition ravaged the coast of *Coromandel*, and so may easily have also attacked *Bengal* and *Orissa*. However this may be, and allowing that the expedition was directed against *Siam* or *Cambodia*, it must have been easy for the armament, on its way to or from the seat of war, to sail or march up to *Raṅgamáti* and destroy it. It is not likely that the ships would steer right across the *Bay*, or sail direct from *Ceylon* to *Siam*. It is to be hoped that some day *Kákadvípa*, *Papphala*, &c., will be satisfactorily identified.

As for the date of the expedition it was certainly not earlier than the 16th year of *Parákrama Báhu's* reign. According to *Turnour* his accession took place in 1153, so that the 16th year would be 1169. According to the *Wijesinha*, *Parákrama's* reign began in 1164, which would give 1180 as the 16th year. *Lassen* adopts *Turnour's* date of accession, but places the expedition in the year 1172. We are told that five months were employed in making preparations, and that provisions for twelve months were collected. If *Mr. Wijesinha's* date of accession then be correct, the expedition may have been as late as 1182 or '83. Under any circumstances it would be some years before the *Muḥammadan* invasion of *Bengal*.

According to the tradition collected by *Capt. Layard* there was a king of *Raṅgamáti* called *Karṇa Sena*. If this was so, he cannot have been the *Karṇa* who gave his name to the city. The latter was, perhaps, the *Karṇa* of the *Mahábhárata*, who was sometimes called *Karṇa Dátta*, and was half brother of the *Páṇḍavas*. He was king of *Aṅga*, and had seats at *Bhágapur* and *Monghyr*. No such name as *Karṇa* occurs in the lists of the *Vaidya* kings of *Gaur*.

*Brum's* ed., *Amsterdam*, p. 332. *Philip Clavier* or *Cluverius* was one of the most celebrated of our early geographers. He was born at *Dantzic* in 1580, and died at *Leyden* in 1623.

\* *Wijesinha's Mahávansa*, p. 228.

## NOTE ON DR. WADDELL'S PAPER.\*

I did not know of or see Dr. Waddell's paper until I had nearly finished my own. He proposes to identify Karṇa Suvarṇa with Kañchannagar, near Burdwan. He has taken pains with the subject and his article contains some valuable information, but I think that his identification is quite untenable. It seems to me unfortunate that when Dr. Fergusson † and he had the clue in their hands they should have let it slip. Both of them refer to Raṅgamāṭī, in Murshidābād; but both of them put it aside. Fergusson thought that the capital might afterwards have been transferred to Raṅgamāṭī, and that in this way it got the name of Karṇa Suvarṇa, but he would not accept it as the place visited by Hiuen Tsiang, because he thought Hwui-li's account of the route to it incorrect. Apparently, too, he failed to notice that Raṅgamāṭī was equivalent to the name of the monastery mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. He chose Nagar in Bīrbhūm, a place which I have seen and which I think, has no claim to be Karṇa Suvarṇa. But a writer who refused to believe that the Tāmra-līpti of Hiuen Tsiang was Tamluk cannot be regarded as a safe guide.

Dr. Waddell has rejected Raṅgamāṭī partly, as I conceive, because he has never seen it, and so does not know the evidence of ancient greatness which it exhibits. His words are as follows:—"The proposed identification with the fort of Kuru, near the village of Raṅgamāṭī, in Murshidabad district, about 130 miles to the north-east of Tamluk, is quite untenable, as it is so out of keeping with the pilgrim's text, and possesses nothing suggestive of the site, except the local name of Raṅgamāṭī, and having proceeded so far northwards, the subsequent journey of 700 li to the south-west could not carry the pilgrim to the frontier, much less to the capital of Orissa, his next stage.‡

I do not know what is meant by the phrase "proposed identification" in this extract. So far as I know, Raṅgamāṭī has never been proposed before. Perhaps Colonel Yule made such a proposal, but if so, the reference given by him, J. R. A. S. XVIII. 395, is wrong. The only reference given by Dr. Waddell is to Captain Layard's paper, but certainly that says nothing about Hiuen Tsiang. It was hardly possible, if not quite impossible, that it should, for Layard's paper was published in our Society's *Journal* in 1853, and M. Julien's translation of the biography only appeared in that year, and this translation of the Si-yu-ki not till 1858. Nor do I know what is meant by the "fort of Kuru." Nobody has ever used that name or spoken about the Kurus in connec-

\* Published by the Government of Bengal last year, as an Appendix to a paper on Pātālīputra.

† J. R. A. S., VI. 248.

‡ p. 25.

tion with Raṅgamāṭī. As to the distance-difficulty, I quite admit that so far Burdwan may agree as well with Hiuen Tsiang's statement as Raṅgamāṭī. I do not think, however, that it has any superiority in this respect. I do not know why it should be assumed that Jājpur was the capital of Orissa in Hiuen Tsiang's time, or that his distances are for capitals and not for the confines of kingdoms. The direction of Burdwan from Tamluk is a little more westerly than that of Raṅgamāṭī, but still it is mainly north. Besides Dr. Waddell takes no notice of the route given in the biography, *viz.*, that from Paṇḍuá, or from the monastery five miles to the west of it. That route certainly agrees better with Raṅgamāṭī than with Burdwan. However, I lay little stress on directions and still less on distances. The two strong points in favour of Raṅgamāṭī are—first, it used to be called the Fort of Karṇa Suvarṇa, and secondly, that Raṅgamāṭī is an equivalent for Rakta-Viṭi and Lo-to-wei-chi, or Lo-to-mo-chi. Raṅgamāṭī is not the only place in the neighbourhood which is associated with Karṇa. The village and *tháná* of Go-Karṇa, *i. e.*, the cowshed of Karṇa, is close by.

On the other hand, Kañchannagar seems to be an obscure place, a sort of suburb of Burdwan. No evidence is adduced of its having been "the traditional capital of the country." I do not know who Belásur was, but I see that Captain Layard says there was a tank at Raṅgamāṭī called the Bel Talao. Probably the name is connected in both instances with the Bael tree, which is sacred to Siva. There is also at Raṅgamāṭī the almost obliterated site of an ancient tank called the Jamuná Tank and in which a curious image figured by Captain Layard was found.

Kañchannagar is a common name in Bengal, and has its own distinct meaning, *viz.*, the city of gold. I do not see how it can be twisted into meaning the city of Karṇa Suvarṇa.

*P. S.*—I have lately come upon an interesting piece of evidence about the antiquity of the name of Karṇa Suvarṇa. In the genealogy of Rájá Rádhá Kánta Deva, prefixed to the 8th volume of the *Sabdakalpadruma*, and also in the sketch of his life by the editors of the second edition, it is stated that his earliest known ancestor, Srí Hari Deva, was a resident of Karṇa Suvarṇa, near Murshidábád. Rájá Rádhá Kánta was the twenty-fifth in descent from Srí Hari, and was himself born in 1783, so that Srí Hari probably lived in the 12th century. Rájá Rádhá Kánta lived to at least the age of 76, and if we allow 26 years for each generation of his ancestors, Srí Hari may have lived at Karṇa Suvarṇa before its destruction by the troops of Parákrama Báhu.

For convenience of reference I subjoin Wilford's notes of Raṅgamāṭī in the 9th volume of the *Researches*: "Tradition says that the

“king of Laṅkā, which implies either the country of the Mahārājah of Lapági or Ceylon, but more probably the first, invaded the country of Bengal with a powerful fleet and sailed up the Ganges as far as Raṅgamāti, then called Kusumapurí, and a considerable place where the King or Mahārāja often resided. The invaders plundered the country and destroyed the city. This happened long before the invasion of Bengal by the Musalmans, and seems to coincide with the time of the invasion of the peninsula by the Mahārāja of Lapági. This information was procured at my request by the late Lieutenant Hoare, who was remarkably fond of inquiries of this sort, and to whom I am indebted for several historical inquiries and other particulars relating to the geography of the Gangetic provinces.”

Apparently Lieutenant Hoare is the officer referred to as Captain Hoare in the 7th vol. of the *Researches*, p. 175, as having taken part in procuring copies of the inscriptions on the Dihlí pillar. Wilford thought that Laṅkā might mean Lapági, *i. e.*, Java, because two Arabian travellers of the 9th century mentioned by Ronodot had referred to the king of Lapági's having devastated the coast of India. But there seems no reason for supposing that Laṅká ever meant any other place than Ceylon. Layard, writing in 1853, says, he too was told of the Laṅká expedition, but with a different version. Unfortunately he does not give the version, but, perhaps, it was only that the place was Ceylon and not Java. Layard objects to Lieutenant Hoare's account that Raṅgamāti was formerly called Kusumapura, but it is just possible that it was both called Kusumapura and Karṇa Suvarṇa. Or the Ceylonese may have been mistaken, like Lieutenant Hoare, and written Kusumi instead of Karṇa Suvarṇa.

# INDEX

TO

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

VOL. LXII, PART I, FOR 1893.

- ABŪ BAKR ŠIDDĪQ**, the first Caliph, 143.
- ABĀ BAKR**, SAYYAD, invades Ahom country, 298.
- 'ABDU'L-QĀDIR JILĀNĪ**, Musalmān Saint, 153.
- 'ABDU'S-SALĀM**, Attacked by Bali Nārāyaṇa, 299.
- Abhaya-pāddhati*, Comm. on the *Buddha-kapāla*, MS. of, 252.
- ABHAYAKĀRA**, Author of *Buddhakapāla-tīkā*, 252.
- ABŪ SAYYAD**, Musalmān Saint, 153.
- 'ADAL**, son of Sher Shāh, 147.
- ADĪŠŪRA**, cannot have been later than 6th Century, 323.
- ĀDITYA NĀRĀYAṆA**, of Darrang, 308.
- Agastya**, when this star rises, Autumn begins, 201.
- AHMAD SHĀH** of Gujarāt, coin of, 245.
- Ajmere**, East India Co's. coinage in, 75.
- 'Akār Nāgarī** = Devanāgarī, 46.
- AKBAR**, coin of Jahāngīr, with his name, 244.
- AKBAR**, Unites with Nara Nārāyaṇa against the Pasha of Gaur, 291, 297.
- 'ALAMGĪR**, official date of accession of, 256, 265.
- 'Alamgīrpur**, mint town of Mughal Emperors, 263.
- Alasadda** = Alasanna = Alexandria = Alasanda dīpa, *q. v.*
- Alasanda-dīpa**, site of, 86.
- 'ALĀU'D-DĪN** 188 and ff.
- 'Alexandria** = Alasanda, 86.
- ALHADĀD**, Musalmān Saint, 152, 153.
- 'Alī**, fourth Caliph, 143, 144.
- Allāhābād**, East India Co's. coinage in, 64, 65.
- Alphabetum Brammhanicum*, 48.
- Amarakoṣha*, Old MS. of, 250.
- Amethī**, Rājā of, a patron of Malik Muḥammad, 129.
- ANANTA**, son of Viśva Siṁha, 286.
- ANĠIRASA**, Eulogy of, in Weber MSS., 24.
- ANĪBUDDHA**, carries off Ushā from S'oni-tapura in Assam, 273.
- Añka**, system of dating by, in Orissā, 89.
- Antarodha**, a *Bisi* in Orissā, 92.
- ANTONIO**, a Missionary who translated Gospels and Acts into dialect of Bhā-gulpur, 41.
- ARIMAT**, King of Assam (1238 A.D.), 275.
- ARYA KṢHEMĪVARA**, author of *Chhando-kaufika*, 250.
- ASAD BEG**, AĠHĀ, in charge of Benares Mint, (1752-54) 56.
- Asamburañjis* of Biśveśvar, and Rai Guṇābhīrām Barua, 268, note.\*
- ASHRAF JAHĀNGĪR**, Muḥammadan Saint, 150, 153.
- Āśokāvādānamāliā*, 246.
- Assam**, Great roads in, 283, 286, 279, 287.
- Assam**, Musalmān invasions of, 279, 280.
- Astrological omens**, 183.
- Auchityālakṣāra* of Kshemendra, quotes from Kumārādāsa, 214.
- AURANGZĪB**, official date of accession of, 256, 265.
- BĀBĀKAR**, name of ABĀ BAKR in *A'hom Buranji*, 298.
- Bactria** never included the Indus, 86.
- BĀDAL**, Padmāvati's nephew, 194, 200 and ff.
- BADE**, SHAIKH, a friend of Malik Muḥammad, 155.
- Bodhichāryāvātāra*, New Comm. on, 246.
- Bagh'sar**, Battle of, in which Sher Shāh defeated Humāyūn, 128.
- BAHĀDUR SHĀH**, official date of accession, 261, 265.
- BAHĀU'D-DĪN ZIKARIYĀ**, Musalmān Saint 154.
- BAHLOL LODĪ** of Lahor, 240.
- BALABHADRA**, a Saint at Hastikunḍī, 310.
- 'Balabandu'**, = Marāthī alphabet, 46.
- BALWANT SINGH**, Rājā of Benares, in charge of Benares Mint (1748-50), 54.
- BĀL GosĀIṢ**, Musalmān name of Nara Nārāyaṇa, 295 n.

- BALI, quoted as generous, 149.  
**BALI NÁRÁYAÑA**, son of Raghu Rái, invokes aid of Ahoms against the Musalmáns, 293.  
 ———, takes name of Dharma Náráyaña, 294.  
 ———, date of, 305.  
 ———, his war with the Musalmáns, 299 and ff.  
**BALLÁLA SENA**, 251.  
**BÁNA**, King of Sonitapura in Assam, 273.  
**BÁNHÁS**, a Bisi in Orissá, 92.  
**BÁPÚ DEVA SÁSTRÍ**, article by, on Bháskara, 223 and 66.  
 Báránsi = Katak (Cuttack), 101.  
 Bárah Mása, 181.  
**BARNÍLÍ**, East India Company's coinage in, 64, 65, 66.  
**BARMAN**, a Kshattriya title in Assam, 274.  
**BÁRO BHUIYÁS**, Assam traditions regarding, 282.  
 ———, account of, 281.  
**BAYER**, Theophilus Siegfried. Correspondence with La Croze, 44.  
**BAYNE**, Mr., discoveries in connection with old Fort William, 105.  
 Benares, East India Company's coinage in, 54, 63, 65, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 79.  
 ———, Mint established at, 1734, 54.  
 Bengal, East India Company's coinage in, 53, 60, 61, 62, 73, 80, 83.  
 Bengálí language described in *Sprachmeister*, 48.  
**BEVERIDGE**, H., identifies Karṇa Suvarṇa with Raṅgamāṭi, 315 and ff.  
**BHAGADATTA**, son of Naraka. King of Príśjyotisha, 271.  
**BHÁSKARA**, was he acquainted with the Differential Calculus, 226.  
 ———, discoveries made by, 226 & 66.  
 ———, date and place of his birth, 220.  
**BHÁSKARA VARMA**n, king of Kámarúpa in Hiuen Tsiang's time, 273.  
**BHAVA CHANDRA**, Raṅpur King of the Pála dynasty, 278.  
**BHÍMA RÁJÁ** of Koch Bibár, 306.  
**BHÍMA**, name of a king killed by Vighraha Pála, 276.  
**BHÍSHMAKA**, father of Rukmini, an Assamese (not a Vidarbha) Prince, in Assam history, 272.  
 Bhotiyá characters, 5.  
**BHÚMI PÁLAS** of Assam, 275.  
 Binding, Method of, in Central Asian MSS., 2.  
 Bible, translations of, into Indian Vernaculars, 41.  
 Bijapur inscription, described by Prof. Kielhorn, 309 and ff.  
 Bijní family of Koch Hájo, 307.  
 Birdánási, a quarter of Katak (Cuttack), 101.  
 Birds, list of, identified, 210.  
**BISU AND SÍSÚ** progenitors of Koch Kings of Kámarúpa, 285, 294.  
**BISU**, founder of Koch Kings of Kámarúpa, takes name of Viśva Síńha, 285.  
**BÍSVEŚVAR**, author of Asámburañji, 268 note.†  
 Black Hole of Calcutta, site of, 124.  
 Blood of Bráhmaṇ, white, 286 n.  
 Bombay, East India Company's coinage in, 63, 72, 75, 76, 78.  
 Bráhmaṇ, blood of, white, 286 n.  
 Brahmaputra, straightened by Nara Náráyaña, 290.  
*Buddhokapála-tíká*, MS. of, 252.  
 Buddhist inscription deciphered by Bayer, 1728, 45.  
**BURHÁN**, Shaikh, Musalmán Saint, 128, 152, 153.  
 Bu-ston Chos byuñ, 6.  
 Buxar, see Baghsar.
- C**  
 Cachar or Hiḍamba conquered by Silatái, 289  
 Calcutta, coinage in, 53, 74, 78, 79, 81.  
 ———, mint established at (1753), 53.  
 Central Asian MSS., how shaped, and how bound, 2.  
 Ceylon, attacks on Bengal, 324 and ff.  
 ———, study of, Sanskrit in, 211.  
**CHAIT SINGH**, in charge of Benares mint (1776), 56.  
**CHAKRAVARTÍ**, Mon Mohan, article on Uriyá Inscriptions of 15th and 16th centuries, 88.  
**CHAKRADHYAJA**, of Khyen dynasty in Assam, 279.  
**CHAKRA PÁLA** of Assam, 275.  
**CHAMBERLAYNE**'s correspondence with La Croze, 43.  
**CHAMBERLAYNE**'s Orationum dominicarum sylloge, 43 note<sup>2</sup>, 43.  
**CHAMPÁVATÍ**, Queen of Gandharva Sena 163.  
**CHAND BAN'DÁI**, 127.  
*Chandakausika*, drama, MS. of, 250.  
**CHANDANA AND MADANA**, ruled at Marálávása in Assam (1511), 283n, 294.  
**CHANDEŚVARA**, wrote works on Smṛiti, 251, 252.  
**CHANDÍVARA**, the most famous of the Báro Bhuiyás, 283.  
**CHANDRA NÁRÁYAÑA** of Darrang, 307.  
**CHANDRA PÁLA** of Assam, 275, and 276n.

- Chândra-vydkaraṇa* complete MS. fo, 249.
- Charm given by Buddha to Maṇibhadra in Weber MSS., 26, 32.
- Chaurā Goharshāhī*, a kind of rupee, 57.
- Chedi, Kalachuri Kings of, 239, and ff. coins of, *ib.*
- , two contemporary kingdoms, 242.
- Chīna warriors from Assam, 272.
- Chitaur, fortress of, 164 and ff.
- CHITRA SENA, king of Chitaur, 164.
- Choice of heir, legendary folktale of Viśva Siṃha, 286.
- CHORĀ DEVA, Sūryavaṃśa, (1022-1063), 251.
- Coins, new or rare Muhammadan or Hindū, 230 and ff.
- COLEBROOKE'S opinion of Hindustānī, 50.
- 'Comotay' = Kamathapura, 278.
- Cuttack, East India Co.'s coinage in, 65. —, see Bārāpāsī.
- DALWIS, restored Jānaki-harāṇa, 217.
- Dacca, East Indian Co.'s coinage in, 59, 60, 62.
- Dakshinadiga dandapāṭa, 92.
- DAKSHYA PĀLA of Assam, 275.
- DĀNIYĀL, Musalmān Saint, 152, 153.
- DĀNYĀL, son of Husain Shāh, 230.
- Daphne papyracea*, used for paper-making, 3.
- DĀŪD SHĀH of Gauṛ subjugated by Akbar with help of Nara Nārāyaṇa 291, 297.
- Delhi, coins of Sultāns of, 243.
- Delhi, East India Co.'s coinage in, 74, 78, 79.
- DEVA PĀLA, 227, n.
- DEVA PĀLA, Rājā of Bāmbhal'ner, 197, 204.
- DEVA-VID SIṂHA teaches Tibetans the Alphabet, 6.
- DEVĒSVARA, a King of Kāmarūpa 273.
- DEVĪPRASĀD, Munshī, supplies materials for Bijapur inscriptions, 309.
- Dh in Central Asian Nāgarī, 4.
- DHAMBĀ PĀLA (of Assam?) 276, n.
- DHARMA NĀRĀYAṆA, see Bali Nārāyaṇa, 294.
- , Gaudeśvara, war with Durlabha, n. 282.
- DHARMA PĀLA 277 n.
- , founded a dynasty in Raṅgpur, 278.
- , grants land in Kāmarūpa, 276.
- DHARMĀRĀMA, Bhikshu, has restored Jānaki Harāṇa, 216.
- DHARANĪVARĀHA, mentioned in Bijapur inscription.
- DHAVALA, King of Hastikuṇḍī (907 A. D.), 310.
- Dhivridhdhida*, astronomical work by Lalla, 224.
- Dictionary in Weber MSS., 30.
- Dimuriā, Rājā of, submits to Nara Nārāyaṇa, 290.
- , Rājā of, does not eat Ari fish, being descendant of Arimat, 275, n.
- DĪPA SIṂHĀ, son of Viśva Siṃha, 286.
- DONVILLE, a Jesuit Missionary in Nepal, 41, note 3.
- DURLABHA NĀRĀYAṆA of Kamathapura, attacks Dharma Nārāyaṇa, 282.
- DURLABHA RĀJĀ, mentioned in Bijapur inscription, 311.
- Dvīpas*, the seven, 133, note 5.
- E in Central Asian Nāgarī, 4.
- Edgeworthia Gardneri* used for paper making, 3.
- Elephants, common in Assam, 274.
- EUKRATIDES, coin of, mentions Karisnagara, 86.
- FARRUKHSIYĀB, official date of accession of, 262.
- Farrukhābād, East Indian Co.'s coinage in, 64, 66, 69, 73, 74, 75.
- Flowers, list of, identified, 207.
- Fort William, site of, 104, & ff.
- , site of South Curtain Wall, 117.
- , site of West Curtain, 120.
- , site of Writers' Buildings, 120.
- , site of East Gate, 121.
- , site of Black-Hole, 124.
- , site of Governor's House, 115.
- FRTZ, Johann Friedrich, compiler of *Spracheister*, 47.
- GAIT, E. A. Article on the Koch Kings of Kāmarūpa, 268 and.
- GAJAṆG, King in Assam, 275.
- GANDHA PĀLA of Assam, 276, & n.
- Gandhaffian (Kharoshtri) character, survived in Gandhāra to 3rd cent. A. D., 85.
- GANDHARYA SENA King of Siṃhala, 160 & ff.
- GANDHARY RĀJ, a friend of Malik Muhammad, 155.
- GĀṆGEYADEVA, Kalachuri king of Chedi, 242.
- Gaṇitādhyāya*, by Bhāskara, 224 and ff.
- Gayaḷas*, or astrologers, influence of 297 n.

- Gauhāti, seat of Muhammadan power in Assam, 301.
- GAYAKARNADEVA, Kalachuri king of Chedi, 242.
- 'Gentoo' or 'Moors' = Urdú, 47.
- GHAṬAKA KIRÁTA, king of Kámarúpa, 270.
- GHIYÁS-U-DÍN BARÁDUR SHÁH, invades Assam, (1220 A. D.), 280.
- Ghorágháta, road to, from Kamathapura made by Nilámbara, 279.
- GHULÁM 'ALÍ 'ISHRAT, author, 128.
- Ghurshahee* = *Goharsháhi*, *q. v.*
- 'Girandam,' = Kirendum, *q. v.*, 44, note.<sup>1</sup>
- Goharsháhi*, a kind of rupee, 57.
- Goldáhyáya*, by Bháskara, 224 and ff.
- GONDOPHARES, era of, 85.
- Go PÁLA I, 277 n.
- Go PÁLA II, 277 n.
- Gopapura, a village in Orissá, 92.
- Gorakhpur, East India Co.'s coinage in, 64.
- GORÁ, Padmávati's uncle, 194, 200 and ff.
- GOSÁIN KAMALA, son of Viśva Síma, 286.
- , a great road-maker in Assam, 286.
- , builds Gosáin Kamala Ali 287.
- GOSÁIN Kamala Ali, N. of road, in Assam, 288.
- Gotras of Nakshatras* in Weber MSS., 14, 16.
- GOVINDAPÁLA, (1161), 250.
- GOVINDAPÁLA, (1198), 253.
- GRAMMAR, *Chándra Vyákáraya*, complete MS. of, 249.
- Gramtsodee character, 5.
- GRÁMAM, in Sanskrit, called Kirendum, 44.
- GRIERSON, G. A., Article on early Study of Indian Vernaculars in Europe, 41 and ff.
- GRIERSON, G. A., A specimen of the Padamávati, 127 and ff.
- GRÜBER, a Jesuit Missionary in Nepál, 41, note.<sup>6</sup>
- Gujarátí language described by Bayer, A. D. 1729, 47.
- Gupta character, North Western Variety, in Weber MSS., 17, 21 n.
- GUSHAN, see Kushan.
- H**ACKER BEG, see Hákim Beg.
- HADLEY'S (1772) Hindústání grammar, 49.
- HAJARÁ, descendant of Naraka, king of Assam, 272.
- HÁJO, according to Buchanan Hamilton founded Koch Dynasty, 295.
- HÁJO KOCH, father of Hirá and Jirá, 294.
- HAINA PÁLA, of Assam, 276 n.
- HÁJÍ SHAIKH, Musalmán Saint, 151, 153.
- HÁKIM BEG, Munshí at Murshidábád Court, 58, 107.
- HÁKIM, Sayyad, invades Ahom country, 298.
- Hammira of Ran'thambhaur, 190.
- Hanscrit, *i. e.*, Sanskrit, 43.
- HARA PRASÁD SÁSTRÍ, Article by, on a new find of old Nepalese MSS., 245.
- HAREWÁ, a noted robber chief, 192.
- HARÍÁ MAṆḌAL, ancestor of Koch Kings of Kámarúpa, 284.
- HARI MOHAN VIDYÁBHÚSHAN, Article on the Study of Sanskrit in Ceylon, 211.
- HARI PÁLA of Assam, 276 n.
- HARIYARMAN, King of Hastikunđi, of Ráshtrakúta family, 311.
- Hachtnagar inscription, date of, 85.
- Hastikunđi, inscription of, described by Prof. Kielhorn, 309 & ff.
- Hastikunđi or Hastikunđiká, = modern Hatonđi in Márwár, 310.
- HÁTIM TÁE quoted as generous, 149.
- Hatonđi, the ancient Hastikunđi, 310.
- Hayagríva, temple of, inscription of Raghurá, 296.
- Heir, method of choosing in Assam, by choice of bundles, 286.
- HEMADHARA, son of Viśva Síma, 286.
- HEMANTĀ SENA, great grand-father of Ballála S., fought with the Karṇatas, 251.
- Hidamba or Cachár conquered by Silará, 289.
- HIDKÍ, ancestor of the Koch Kings of Kámarúpa, 284.
- Hindústání grammars, old, (1745) 47, (1772) 49, (1778) 49.
- HIRÁ, ancestress of Koch Kings of Kámarúpa, 284.
- , daughter of Hájo Koch, 294.
- HIRÁMANI, name of parrot, 163 and ff.
- HÍVEN TSIANG, describes Assam, 273.
- , his itinerary from Champá to Orissá, 316.
- , His Journey in Bengal and Assam, 315 and ff.
- , His Travels, and his Life, 315.
- HOERNLE, DR. A. F. RUDOLF, Article on new or rare Muhammadan or Hindú coins, 230 and ff.
- HOERNLE, DR. A. F. RUDOLF, Article on Weber MSS. 1 and ff.
- HOERNLE, DR. A. F. RUDOLF, Article on official dates of accession of Mughal Emperors, 265.
- HUCKAM BEG, see Hákim Beg.
- Human Sacrifices in Assam, by Nara Náráyana, 291.

- HUSAIN GHAZNAWÍ author of *Qis̄as Pad-mácat*, 128.
- HUSAIN SHÁH of Gauḍa, besieges Kama-thapur, and takes Nilámbára captive, 1498 A. D., 279.
- HUPIÁN = OPIÁN G. V.
- HWUI-LI, author of Biography of Hínen Tsiang, 315.
- I**brahím Lodí of Delhi, 243.
- IKHTIYÁRU'D-DÍN YUZBAK TUGHRIL KHÁN, invades Assam, (1256 A. D.), 280.
- Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, founded in 1726, 45.
- INDRA PÁLA of Assam, 276.
- INDRA NÁRÁYAṆA of Darraṅg, 308.
- Indus, not included in Bactria, 86.
- IRVINE, W., article on the Official Reconing of the reigns of the later Mughal Emperors, 256.
- ISMÁ'IL GHÁZÍ, invades Assam, (1460 A. D.), 281.
- Jagannátha, temple of, at Purí, inscription at, 88.
- JAGAT DEVA Mahārāja, ally of Sher Sháh, 128.
- JAGAT CHANDRA, son of Viśva Símbha, 286.
- JAHÁNDÁR SHÁH, official date of accession, 262.
- JAHÁNGÍR, coins of, 244.
- , coin of, with Akbar's name, 244.
- Jaintiá, conquered by Sílarái, 289.
- JÁJALLA DEVA I., Kalachuri King of Chedí, 240.
- JÁJALLA DEVA II., Kalachuri King of Chedí, 240.
- JÁJALLA DEVA, Kalachuri King of Chedí, coin of, 241 & ff.
- JALÁLU'D-DÍN FATḤ SHÁH, coins of, 237.
- JALÁLU'D-DÍN MUḤAMMAD SHÁH, coins of, 230.
- JALÁLU'D-DÍN of Bukhárá, Musalmán Saint, 153.
- JALÁL LODÍ of Jaunpur, 243.
- JALÁL SHÁH, coin of, 243, 245.
- JALASARA SENA, mentioned in Mádala Páñji, 93.
- JALHANA, author of *Sákti muktávali*, mentions Kumáradása, 215.
- JALPEŚVARA, a king of Assam, 274.
- Jánaki-haraya*, poem by Kumáradása, account of, 212 & ff.
- Jánaki-haraya*, quotations from, in Sanskrit works, 214.
- JAṄGÁL BÁLÁHU King of Assam, 275.
- JAPANU PÁLA (?) in Assam, 276 n.
- Java supplied with coins from Bengal, 71.
- Jayanagara, ancient town in Magádhá, 253.
- JAYANTA PÁLA, of Assam, 275.
- JAYA PÁLA, 277 n.
- Jáyas, home of Malik Muḥammad, 127, 156.
- Jayavijaya, doorway of Jagannátha temple, at Purí, 88.
- Jesuit Missionaries in Nepál, 41, note 3.
- Jhardár*, a kind of rapee, 57.
- JIRÁ, ancestress of Koch Kings of Kámarúpa, 285.
- , daughter of Hájo Koch, 294.
- JITÁRI, deserts Gauhátí, 274.
- JONES, Captain, on defences of Calcutta, 108 and ff.
- JONES's plan of old Fort William, 106.
- 'JUGGUT SING,' 53.
- K**ABÍR, influence of, on Malik Muḥammad, 127.
- Kaithí alphabet, described, (1771), 49.
- Kajúghira, question as to its identification, 316.
- Káka-dvīpa (?Cocónada), ravaged by Ceylonese, 324.
- Kákkhoráda* in Weber and Bower MSS., 25, note 17.
- Kalabaraga, name of a place in Orissa 91, 92, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103.
- Kalachuri kings of Chedí, coins of, 239 and ff.
- KÁLÁ PAHÁR, attacks Nara Náráyaṇa, (1553), 296.
- Kalasi, birth-place of Milinda, identified, 85.
- KALIDÁSA, visited Ceylon and died there, (6th century), 212 and ff.
- Kalpi, residence of Shaikh Burhán, 12<sup>e</sup>.
- Kámákhya, re-discovery of, by Viśva Símbha, 287.
- , temple re-built, by Nara Náráyaṇa, 291.
- , temple of, inscription of Sílarái in, 295.
- KAMÁL SHEKH, Musalmán Saint, 151, 153.
- KAMALA PÁLA, name of a Jaina copiest, 253.
- Kámalpur, a village in Orissá, 92.
- Kámarúpa, original extent of, 269.
- , origin of name, 269.
- , a famous place for pilgrimages, 273.
- , early kings of, 270.
- , the Koch Kings of, 268 and ff.
- Kamathapura, founded by Niladhvaja, in Koch Bihár, 278.
- , ruins of, described, 279.
- KAMATPEŚVARA, title of Niladhvaja, 278.
- KANISHKA, character of coins of, 85.

- Kañchannagar, identified with Karṇa Suvarṇa by Dr. Waddell, 315.
- Kansonnepuri, old name of Raṅgamāṭī, 320.
- KAPILEŚVARA DEVA, mentioned in inscription at Parī, 88.
- Karṇa, by Bhāskara, 229.
- Karisinagara, birth-place of Milinda, 85.
- KARṆA quoted as generous, 149.
- Karṇa Suvarṇa site of, paper on, by H. Beveridge, B. C. S., 315 & ff.
- , located in, Bīrbhūm, in Singhbhūm, in Burdwān, and at Raṅgamāṭī, 315.
- Karṇata, ruled over by Uṛiya kings, 91, 92, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103.
- Karṇāṭaka dynasty of Nepāl, 251.
- Karṇāṭas, enemies of Mahīpāla and of Hemanta Sena, 251.
- KĀRTIKA, a nobleman at Mahīpāla's court, 251.
- Kashgār MS., published by Oldenberg, read by Dr. Hoernle, 39.
- Kashmīr, original home of Wartu character, 6.
- KĀŚĪ VIDYĀDHARA, mentioned in-Mādalā Pāñji, 93.
- Katak = Cuttack, see Bārānasi.
- Kātjori river, near Cuttack, 101.
- Kha-che Tibetan for Kāshmir, 6 and ff.
- Khacheehee character, 5.
- Khairam, rājā of, submits to Nara Nārāyaṇa, 289.
- Khāṇḍas, the nine, 145.
- Kharoshṭrī, see Gandharian.
- Khaṅg rītu, 181.
- KHEṢALLYA DEVĪ, Rānī, founded Vihāra in Jūyānagara, 253.
- KHWĀJA KHIZR, Musalmān Saint, 152, 153.
- Khyan dynasty of Assam, 278.
- Kie-la-na-su-fa-la-na = Karṇa Suvarṇa, 315.
- KIELHORN, Prof. F., C. I. E., describes Bijapur inscription, 309 and ff.
- Kirāta warriors from Assam, 272.
- 'Kirendum' = Grantham, south Indian name of Sanskrit, 44.
- Kitābu'l-fihrist*, quoted, 321.
- Koch Bihār and Koch Hājo, 295 r.
- family, history of, 306.
- , invaded by Mīr Jamla, 306.
- dynasty, said to be founded by Hājo, 295.
- , said to be founded by Bisu or Viśva Siṃha, 285.
- Koch Hājo and Koch Bihār, 295 n.
- Kings of Kāmarūpa, 268 and ff.
- , dates of, 305.
- KOKALLA, Kalachūri king of Chedi, 240.
- Kosha* in Weber MSS., 30.
- Kṛitibās, site of camp in Oṛissā, 103, 104.
- KṚISHṆA invades Prāggyotishapura, 271, 272.
- KṚISHṆA PĀLA of Assam, 276.
- Kṛittikā series of Nakshatrās, 15.
- KṚIEMENDRA, author of Anchityālāṅkāra quotes Kumārādāsa, 214, 15.
- Kugiar, place where Weber MSS. found, 2.
- Kukūṭa-kāta, legend of, 271.
- Kukhaṇḍa, the southern hemisphere, 134 note 2.
- KUMĀRADĀSA, Sanskrit author in Ceylon, and king, (6th century) 212, and ff.
- KUMĀRA PĀLA, in Assam, inscription of, 276.
- Kumodini, name of a bawd, 197.
- Kundajori, zamindārs of, in Oṛissā, repelled, 96.
- Kuṇḍilya, the country round Sadiyā in, Assam, 272.
- 'Kurn-sona-ka-ghur' = Raṅgamāṭī, 320.
- KUSHAN or GUSHAN, author of Panjtār, inscription, 85.
- Kusumapuri, old name of Raṅgamāṭī, 324.
- L**A CROZE, 42 and ff, 50.
- LAKHĪĀ PĀLA of Assam, 276 n.
- Lakshmanāvati = Jayanagara, 253.
- LAKSHMĪ NĀRĀYAṆA, son of Nara Nārāyaṇa, 292.
- LAKSHMĪ NĀRĀYAṆA, ruler of Koch Bihār, 295 n.
- , dates of, 305.
- and PARĪKSHĪT, war between, 290.
- , pays respects to Emperor at Gūzrāt, 298.
- , later history of his descendants, 305.
- LAKSHMĪ NĀRĀYAṆA KUAR, possessor of *Vamśāvali*, 268.
- LAKSHMĪ PĀLĀ of Assam, 276.
- LALLA, superseded by Bhāskara, 224.
- Language, unintelligible, in Weber MSS., 7, 35 and ff.
- Lāntsha alphabet, deciphered by Bayer, 17, 29, 46.
- Lantsha character, introduced to Tibet through Nepal, 6.
- Lenka, an official in Oṛissā, 101.
- Lexicon Linguae Indostanicae*, (1704), 49.
- Liyul or Khoten included under Kha-che, 6.
- Lokas, the fourteen, 133, note 6.
- Lo-to-wei-chi = Raktaviṭī, 319.
- M**. in Central Asian Nāgarī, 4.
- MSS. from Central Asia, how bound; shape of, 2.

- Machhlidár* pice, 66.  
**MACTYA PÁLA** of Assam, 276 n.  
**Mádalá Páñji**, a chronicle of the temple of Jagannátha, 89 note.\*  
**MÁDHAVA PÁLA** of Assam, 276 and n.  
**Mádhótla**, name of village in Orissá, 92.  
**MADHU NÁRÁYAṆA** of Darrañg, 308.  
**MADHU PÁLA** of Assam, 276.  
**Madras**, East India Co.'s, coinage in, 63, 69, 70, 72, 83.  
**Mahánágas**, enumerated in Weber MS., 26, 32.  
**Mahátírtha** = Mátara in Ceylon, 214.  
**MAHÁYAKSHA MAṆIBHADRA**, in Weber MS., 26, 32.  
**MAHDÍ 'ALÍ KHÁN**, introduced copper coins in Baraílí, 66.  
**MAHENDRA NÁRÁYAṆA**, of Darrañg, succeeds Bali Náráyaṇa, 307.  
**MAHENDRA** (?) mentioned in Bijapur inscription, 311.  
**MAHÉSVARA**, father of Bháskara, 224.  
**MAHÍ PÁLA**, (1015-1040), 251, 277 n.  
**MAHÍNDRA** (?) mentioned in Bijapur inscription, 311.  
**MAHÍRÁYAṆA**, 183.  
**MAHÍRÁṄGA DÁNAYA**, earliest recorded king of Kámarúpa, 270.  
**MAIDAN**, son of Viśva Síṃha, 286.  
**Maithili**, translations of the Bible into, 41.  
**Máji**, original site of inscriptions in Lahore Museum, 85.  
**MALÍK MUḤAMMAD**, author of Padmá-watí, 27.  
**MALLÁ DEVA**, aliás Nara Náráyaṇa, son of Viśva Síṃha, 286.  
**Malliká**, a country conquered by Kapileśvara Deva of Orissá, 99.  
**MÁMATA**, king of Hastikundi of Ráshtrakúta family, date of (937 V. S.), 311.  
**MÁNA SÍMHA**, son of Viśva Síṃha, 286.  
**MÁNAGOVIDA GOVINDA DEVA**, mentioned in inscription at Purí, 88.  
**MÁNIBHADRA**, in Weber MSS., 26, 32.  
**Mañipura** submits to Nárá Náráyaṇa, 289.  
**MANZÚB KHÁN**, defeats Súrya Náráyaṇa of Darrañg, (1682), 308.  
**'Maurá'** language described by Bayer, (1729), 47.  
**MANTRÍ PÁLA** of Assam, 276 n.  
**Maráthí** language, described by Bayer, (1729), 47.  
**Máśas**, description of the twelve, 181.  
**Mátara** in Ceylon, town of Kálidása's death, 214.  
**Mauritius**, applies to Bengal for coins, 73, 76.  
**MECHÁ**, son of Viśva Síṃha, 286.  
**MEGHA NÁRÁYAṆA**, son of Viśva Síṃha, 286.  
**MENANDER**, see Milinda.  
**Meru**, the Northern hemisphere, 134 note 2.  
**MESSERSCHMID**, deputed by Peter the Great to explore Siberia, 45.  
**MILINDA**, birth-place of, identified, 85.  
**MIMAṄG**, king in Assam, 275.  
**Mint** established at Calcutta, (1753), 53.  
 ————— Benares, (1734), 54.  
**Mint towns** of Mughal Emperors, 263 and ff.  
**MÍR JUMLA**, war of, with Koch Bihár, 306.  
**Moga**, era of, 85.  
**Monars**, (gold) 59, 62.  
**Mongolian** alphabet, described by Bayer, (1729), 46.  
**Months**, description of the twelve, 181.  
**Moors** or **Gentoo** = Urdú, 47.  
**MOTT**, author of a collection of translations of the Lord's Prayer, 42 note 2.  
**MUGAṄG**, king in Assam, 275.  
**Mu'azzamábád**, mint town of Mughal Emperors, 264.  
**MURÁRAE SHÁH**, coin of, 243.  
**MURÁRAK**, **SHEKH**, Musalmán Saint, 151, 153.  
**Mughal Emperors** of Delhi, coins of, 244.  
**Mughal Emperors**, official reckoning of the reigns of, 256.  
**MUḤAMMAD**, Saiyad, a Musalmán Saint, 152, 153.  
**MUḤAMMAD SHÁH**, Official date of accession, 263.  
 —————, coin of, 243.  
**MUḤAMMAD SHÁH IV BIN FARÍD** of Delhi, 243.  
**MUḤAMMAD SHÁH**, son of Tughluq Sháh, invades Assam, (1337), 281.  
**MUḤIU'D-DÍN**, Preceptor of Malik Muḥammad, 126, 152, 153.  
**Muhúrtas**, number of *nakshatras*, in Weber MSS., 17.  
**MUKARRAM KHÁN**, defeats Paríkshít, 293.  
**MÚLARÁJA** (Chaulukya), mentioned as Bijapur inscription, 311.  
**MUṆJARAJA** mentioned in Bijapur inscription, 311.  
**MUNRO**, MR., discoveries in connexion with Old Fort William, 105.  
**Murshidábád**, East Indian Co.'s coinage in, 54, 59, 60, 62.  
**MURU**, an Asura, killed by Kṛishṇa, 271.  
**Musalmáns**, invasions of in Assam, 279, 280.  
**Musalmáns** attack Paríkshít and Bali Náráyaṇa, 293.

- Musalmán, attacks of upon Koch Kings, 296 and ff.
- NĀGAMATĪ**, Queen of Ratna Sena, 165 and ff.
- NĀGARĪ** character (Central Asian), 4 & ff, 24, 26, 31, 32, 35.
- NĀGASAṆKARA** or **NĀGĀKHYA**, an Assam King, 273.
- Nakh'sikh**, a, 166, 189.
- Nakshatras** in Weber MSS., 13 & ff.  
— *—* *—* *kālpā*, 16.
- NĀNYADEVĀ**, founder of Karnāṭaka dynasty of Nepāl, defeated by Vijaya Sena, 251.
- NARAKA**, founded Āyana in Kāmarūpa, 279.
- NARA NĀRĀYAṆA**, son of Viśva Siṁha, 286.
- conquers Nara Siṁha and succeed Viśva Siṁha, 287.
- conquers the Khom King of Assam, 288.
- makes Manipura tributary to him, 289.
- makes Rājā of Khairam tributary, 289.
- straightens the course of the Brahmaputra, 290.
- unites with Akbar against Gauṛ, 291, 297.
- rebuilds the Kāmākhyā temple, 291.
- called by Musalmāns, Bāl Gosāiṅ, 295 n.
- submits to Emperor of Delhi, (1578), 297.
- , dates of, 301 and ff.
- NARĀ-SIṂHA**, son of Viśva Siṁha, 286.
- , becomes ruler of Bhotān, 287.
- NĀRĀYAṆA PĀLA** of Assam, 276 and n., 277 n.
- Naṣratābād**, mint town of Mughal Emperors, 264.
- NĀSIRU'D-DĪN MAḤMŪD SHĀH**, coins of, 231 and ff.
- NAUSHERWĀN**, 147.
- Nāyikā bheda*, 189.
- NAYA PĀLA**, 277 n.
- NEKUSIYĀR**, official date of accession, 263.
- Nepāl**, Karnāṭaka, dynasty of, 251.
- Nepalese paper**, 3.
- Nepālī**, Christian works in that language, 41.
- NĪLADHYAJA**, deposes last Pāla of Assam, and ascends throne, 278.
- NĪLĀMBARA**, last Khyen King of Assam. His life, 279.
- NŪR QUTB 'ĀLAM**, Musalmān Saint, 154.
- NIZĀMU'D-DĪN AULIYĀ**, 128, 152, 153.
- Oṁ**, *maṇi padme, huṁ*, deciphered by Bayer, (1728), 45.
- Orationum dominicarum Sylloge**, by Chamberlayne, 42 note 2, 43.
- Orientalisch-und-occidentalischer Sprachmeister**, by Fritz, (1748), 47.
- Opián**, site of Alasanda, 86.
- Omens**, 168, 183.
- Ornaments**, list of, presented to Jagannātha, 95.
- Pāda-chandrikā**, a comm. on *Amarakośha* 215.
- PADMĀVATĪ**, Princess of Siṁhala, 163 and ff.
- Padmāvatī*, see *Paduāvatī*.
- Paumdwātī*, specimen of, 127.
- PAKSHYA PĀLA** of Assam, 275, 276 n.
- PĀLA**, a king in Raṅgpur, 278.
- PĀLA, DĒVA, Rājā** of Kambhal'ner, 197, 204.
- Pāla dynasty**, account of, 276 n.
- Pāla**, a tribal name in Assam, 278.
- PĀLA**, kings in Assam, list of, 275.
- Paṇḍanātha**, near Gauhātī, founded by Parīkshit, 293.
- Paṇḍanātha**, near Gauhātī, 290.
- Panjār** inscription, date of, 85.
- Paper**, Nepalese, 3.
- Papphala** (? Pippli), ravaged by Ceylonese, 324.
- PARĀKRAMA BĀHU** of Ceylon, probably destroyed Raṅgamātī, 324.
- PARAN SUBHĀ** defeats Parīkshit, 293.
- PĀRVATĪ**, *stotra*, in honour of, in Weber MSS., 20.
- PARĪKSHIT**, son of Raghunārá, succeeds him, and founds capital at Paṇḍanātha, 293.
- , defeated by Paran Subhā and Mukarram Khān, 293.
- , ruler of Koch Hājo, 295 n.
- , war with the Musalmāns, as described by the latter, 298.
- , dates of, 305.
- Pathān Sultāns** of Delhi, coins of, 213.
- Patna**, East India Co., coinage in, 54, 59, 60, 62.
- Paundra Vardhana**, question as to its identification, 316.
- , suggested identification of, with Sarkar of Panjra, 318 n.
- PETERSON**, Prof., on date of Kumārādāsa, 214, 15.
- PHENGUA**, Rājā, king in Assam, 275.
- Pice**, coinage of, 58, 62.
- PINNA**, Father, wrote a catechism in Urdu, in 1740, 41 note 3, 42.

- PLAISTED'S plan of Old Fort William, 106.  
 ———, in charge of construction of Fort William, 108, 110.  
 Pookangkee character, 5.  
 Portuguese Hindústání grammar, 49  
 Prágyjotishapura (Gauháñi), founded by Naraka, 270.  
 ———invaded by Krishna, 271.  
 PRAJÑÁKARA, author of Comm. on *Bodhi-charyávatára*, 246.  
*Prajádpáramitá*, MS. of, 252.  
 PRALAMBHA, descendant of Naraka, king of Assam, 272.  
 PRÁNA NÁRÁYAÑA, ? = Bhíma Náráyana of Koch Bihár, 307  
 PRAŚIDDHA NÁRÁYAÑA KUAR, Rája, owner of a Koch Vamśávali, 268 note 1.  
 PRATÁPARUDRA DEVA, mentioned in inscription at Purí, 88.  
 PREMA PÁLA of Assam, 275.  
*Prithiví Ráj'sá*, genuineness of, 127.  
 PRITHVÍDEVA, Kalachuri King of Chedí, coin of, 241 and ff.  
 PRITHVÍDEVA I, Kalachuri King of Chedí, 240.  
 PRITHVÍDEVA II, Kalachuri King of Chedí, 240.  
 PRITHVÍDEVA III, Kalachuri King of Chedí, 240.  
 Purí, inscription at, 88.  
*Purushandama*, a MS. account of the Koch Kings of Assam, 268.  
 PURUSHOTTAMA DEVA, mentioned in inscription at Purí, 88  
 PUSHKARĀSĀRIN, information in Weber MSS. derived from, a contemporary of Buddha, 16.  
*Qissa Padmávat*, name of Persian poem, 128.  
 RÁDHÁ KÁNTA DEVA, Raja, family come from Karpa Suvárna, 327.  
 RAFI'U'D-DĀULAH, official date of accession, 262.  
 RAFI'U'D-DARAJÁT, official date of accession of, 262.  
 RÁGHAVA CHAITANYÁ, 188 & ff.  
 RÁGHU RÁI, son of Síla Rái, rules country East of Sankosh, 292.  
 ———, his death, 293 a.  
 ———, inscription of, in Hayagríva temple, 296.  
 RÁI GOBIND, MUNSHÍ, author of *Tukfatul gulub*, 128.  
 RÁI GUÑÁBHIRÁM BARUÁ, author of *Asámbaranji*, 268 note 1.  
 RÁJÁŚFKHARA, quoted by Jalhana, 215.  
*Rájavamśas* are Koches who adopted Hinduism, 285.  
 RÁJÍ HÁMÍD SHÁH, Musalmán Saint, 152, 153.  
 RÁJÚ QATTÁL, Musalmán Saint, 153  
 RÁJYA PÁLA, 277 n.  
 Raktavítí, the monastery of Redlands, = Raṅgamatí, 319.  
 RÁMA NÁRÁYAÑA SON of Viśva Sirhla, 286.  
 Ramamma of Ceylon Historians, = Ojissá, 324.  
 RÁMA PÁLA, 276.  
 RÁMACHANDRA, son of Viśva Sirhla, 286.  
 Raṅgamatí described by Wilford, 328  
 ———, once called Kusumapurí, 324.  
 ———, destroyed by an expedition from Ceylon, 324.  
 Ráshtrakúta family, 311.  
 Ratanpur, ancient capital of Chedí dynasty, 242.  
 RATNAKĀJĀ I, Kalachuri King of Chedí, 240.  
 Ratan Chand, Díwán of Farrukhsiyár, first adopted system of farming mints 55.  
 RATNADEVA, Kalachuri King of Chedí, coin of, 241 & ff.  
 RATNADEVA II, Kalachuri King of Chedí, 240.  
 RATNADEVA III, Kalachuri King of Chedí, 240.  
 RATNA SENA, King of Chitaur, 164 & ff.  
 RÁYA-MUKUṬA, author of *Pañca-chandriká*, quotes *Jánaki bhavāna*, 215.  
 RICANETE, a Capuchin Missionary in Nepal, 41 note 3.  
*Rikabi*, a kind of rupee, 58.  
 RISHABHA NÁTHA, Jámia Tirthamkára, image of, consecrated at Hastikandí, (A. D. 997), 310.  
*Ritus*, description of the six, 181.  
 Riwá, rupees of, 65, 67.  
 Roads in Assam, 279, 283, 286, 287.  
 Rohtás, coin of Jahāngir, struck at, 244.  
 RUKMINÍ, carried off by Krishna from Assam, 272.  
 RUKNU'D-DÍN ABÚ'L-FATH MA'ASIR, Musalmán Saint, 150.  
 Rupee coinage under East India Co., 80.  
 Sacrifices, human by Nara Náráyana of Assam, 291.  
 ŠADRU'D-DIN 'Arif' Musalmán Saint, 154.  
 Šágar, East India Co.'s coinage in, 75, 76, 79.  
 ŠALÁR KHÁDIM, a friend of Malik Muhammad, 158.  
 ŠALONE SINGH, a friend of Malik Muhammad, 129, 155.  
 Samatata = the Ganges delta, 316.  
 SAMBHOṬA elaborates U-čan character, 6.  
*Sampudobhava*, MS. of, 252.  
 SAMUDRA GUPTA, letter 'm' on coins of, 4.

- SAMUDRA NĀRĀYAṆA, Koch Rājā, 268.  
*Samudras*, the seven, 134 note, 168.  
*Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, MS. of, 252.  
 SĀNTIBHADRA or SĀNTYĀCHĀRYA, a  
 Jaina Saint, consecrated an image at  
 Hastikunḍī, 310.  
*Sarvatobhadrayantra*, by Bhāskara, 229.  
 SĀSĀṆKA, ? belonged to line of Ādiśūra, 323.  
 ——— suggested reference to him  
 by Abū'l-faẓl, 523.  
 SCHULTZ, contributes to the *Sprach-*  
*meister*, 47.  
 ——— on Indian alphabets, 46.  
 ——— writes a *Hindústānī Grammar*,  
 47.  
 SCOTT'S plan of old Fort William, 106.  
 Seasons, description of the six, 181.  
 Seendochee character, 5.  
 SENA dynasty, conquest of Kāmarūpa  
 by, 277.  
 SHAHABU'D-DĪN, Musalmān Saint, 154.  
 Shāhābād Kanauj Mint town of Mughal  
 Emperors, 264.  
 SHĀH JAHĀN, coin of, 245.  
*Shamshershāhī* pice, 66.  
 SHAMSU'D-DĪN MUẒAFFAR SHĀH, coin of,  
 238.  
 SHAMSU'D-DĪN YŪSAF SHĀH, coins of,  
 235 and ff.  
 SHASHATDHAR of Abū'l-Faẓl? = Sāsāṅka,  
 323.  
*Shat pita*, 181.  
 SHER SHĀH, coin of, 244.  
 ——— patron of Malik Muḥammad,  
 128, 144.  
 CHUJĀ'UD-DĀULĀ, in charge of Benares  
 mint, (1754), 55.  
 SHUKL GOŚAIṆ, Musalmān name of Sukla-  
 dhvaja, 295 n.  
 Siberia, explored by Messerschmid, 45.  
*Siddhanta S'itromani* by Bhāskara, (1150).  
 224 and ff.  
*Sikka* rupee of Lucknow, 64.  
 SĪLARĀÍ see Sukladhvaja, 289.  
 ——— conquers Hidamba or Cachar,  
 289.  
 ——— conquers Jaintiá and Tipperaí,  
 289.  
 ——— conquers Sylhet, 290.  
 ——— defeated by Pasha of Gaur, 290.  
 ——— death of, 292.  
 ——— inscription of, in Kámakhyá  
 temple, 295.  
 SĪMHA PĀLA of Assam, 276.  
*Simbhala-dvīpa*, 159 and ff.  
 SIMSON, Colin, plan for Fort William,  
 110.  
 SIMSON'S plan of old Fort William, 106.  
 Singapore, supplied with coins from  
 Bengal, 76.  
 S'ÍSŪ, takes name of Siva Sīmha, 282.  
*S'ishya-dhārīddhida Tantra*, astrono-  
 mical work by Lalla, 224.  
*S'ivapadma-saṅgraha Tantra*, MS. of, 253  
*S'ivapanishad Tantra*, MS. of, 253.  
*S'ivapadmottara Tantra*, MS. of, 253.  
*S'ivapadma Tantra*, MS. of, 250.  
 SIVA SĪMHA, Ahom king abdicates, 297 n.  
 SIVA SĪMHA, see Sísu, 285.  
 Si-yu-ki, Travels of Hienue Tsiang, 315.  
 SMITH, Vincent Arthur, Article on  
 Græco Roman influence on Civilization  
 of Ancient India, 84 & ff.  
 SONITAPURA = Tezpur in Assam, 273.  
 Sorcery, in Weber MSS., 22  
*Sprachmeister*, by Fritze, (1748), 47.  
 Srāvastī, merchants from, visited Ceylon,  
 211.  
 SRIBAṆḂ, King in Assam, 275.  
 SŪÍ JĪṆA or ATĪṢA, introduced reformed  
 Buddhism into Tibet, 246.  
 SRONG TSAN GAMPO introduces writing  
 in Tibet, 6.  
*Stotra* in honour of Párvatī in Weber  
 MSS., 20.  
 SUBĀHU, a descendant of Naraka, and  
 King of Assam, 274.  
 ——— succeeded Pála dynasty in  
 Assam, 276.  
 SUBHĀV CHAND, farmer of Benares Mint  
 (1757), 55.  
*S'uddhiratnākara* by Chandēsvara, MS.  
 of, 252.  
 SUKLADHVAJA, son of Viśva Sīmha, 286.  
 ——— takes name of Sīlarāí,  
 287.  
 ——— called Musalmāns Shukl  
 Gosāñ, 295 n.  
*Sūktimuktāvalī* by Jalhana, 215.  
 SUMATI, King of Assam, after Pálas, 276.  
 SUPARŪ, last King of Naraka's line in  
 Assam, 274.  
 SU PĀLA of Assam, 276 and n.  
 SURA SĪMHA, son of Viśva Sīmha, 286.  
 SUR'JĀ a Wrestler, 190, 193, 204.  
 SŪRYA, son of Viśva Sīmha, 286.  
 SŪRYA HARI GAṆAKA, author of the Koch  
*Vaṁśāvalī*, 268.  
 SŪRYA NĀRĀYAṆA, of Darraṅg, 308.  
 SŪRYĀCHĀRYA, composer of Bījapur in-  
 scription, 310.  
*Sūryasiddhānta*, errors of, corrected by  
 Bhāskara, 229.  
 Sūryavaṁśa, Uriyá dynasty, 88.  
 SVARGA NĀRĀYAṆA, Ahom King, assists  
 Bali Nārāyana against Musalmāns, 293.  
 SYĀMA PĀLA of Assam, 276 and n.  
 Sylhet, conquered by Sīlarāí, 290.
- T*h in Central Asian Nāgarī, 4.  
 Tāmlak = Tāmlalīpti, 211.



